CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

67512

CONTAINING

THE PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES

OF THE

FIFTY-FIFTH CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION;

ALSO

SPECIAL SESSION OF THE SENATE.

VOLUME XXX.

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VOLUME XXX, PART II.

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD,

FIFTY-FIFTH CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Maine moves that the House do now adjourn.

The question being taken,

Mr. BAILEY demanded the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 90, nays 71, answered "present" 13, not voting 179; as follows:

YEAS—90.

Adams,	Dalzell,	Ketcham,	Russell,
Alexander,	Danford,	Knox,	Shannon,
Baker, Ill.	Davenport,	Lacey,	Shattuc,
Baker, Md.	Dingley,	Landis,	Sherman,
Barber,	Dolliver,	Littauer,	Showalter,
Barrows,	Dovener,	Low,	Smith, Ill.
Bartholdt,	Ellis,	McCleary,	Sprague,
Bennett,	Evans,	McDonald,	Steele,
Booze,	Faris,	McIntire,	Stewart, Wis.
Broderick,	Fowler, N. J.	Mahon,	Stone, C. W.
Brosius,	Gillett, Mass.	Mercer,	Stone, W. A.
Brown,	Graff,	Moody,	Strode, Nebr.
Brownlow,	Grosvenor,	Northway,	Sturtevant,
Butler,	Hawley,	Otjen,	Tawney,
Cannon,	Heatwole,	Parker, N. J.	Tayler, Ohio
Clarke, N. H.	Henry, Conn.	Payne,	Tongue,
Cochrane, N. Y.	Henry, Ind.	Pearce, Mo.	Updegraff,
Codding,	Hepburn,	Pearson,	Walker, Mass.
Connell,	Hilborn,	Pitney,	Walker, Va.
Cooke,	Hill,	Prince,	White, N. C.
Crumpacker,	Hitt,	Quigg,	Wilson, N. Y.
Curtis, Iowa	Jenkins,	Robbins,	
Curtis, Kans.	Johnson, N. Dak.	Royse,	

NAYS—71.

Bailey,	Dinsmore,	Linney,	Robinson, Ind.
Ba tlett,	Elliott,	Livingston,	Sayers,
Bell,	Epes,	Love,	Settle,
Benner, Pa.	Fitzpatrick,	McCormick,	Shafroth,
Bland,	Fleming,	McCulloch,	Shuford,
Bodine,	Fox,	McDowell,	Simpson,
Botkin,	Gunn,	McMillin,	Slayden,
Broussard,	Hay,	McRae,	Sparkman,
Brundidge,	Henry, Miss.	Marsh,	Stark,
Burke,	Hinrichsen,	Martin,	Stephens, Tex.
Clayton,	Howard, Ala.	Maxwell,	Sutherland,
Cochran, Mo.	Hunter,	Ogden,	Tate,
Cooney,	Jett,	Osborne,	Terry,
Cooper, Tex.	King,	Pierce, Tenn.	Underwood,
Cooper, Wis.	Kitchin,	Rhea,	Vandiver,
Cowherd,	Kleberg,	Richardson,	Vincent,
Cummings,	Lanham,	Ridgely,	Williams, Miss.
De Vries,	Lewis, Ga.	Rixey,	

ANSWERED "PRESENT"—13.

Adamson,	Lamb,	Otey,	Young, Va.
Ball,	McAleer,	Sperry,	
Brenner, Ohio	McClellan,	Vehslage,	
Brucker,	Meyer, La.	Yost,	

NOT VOTING—179.

Acheson,	Davis,	Kelley,	Reeves,
Allen,	Davison, Ky.	Kerr,	Robb,
Arnold,	Dayton,	Kirkpatrick,	Robertson, La.
Babcock,	De Armond,	Knowles,	Sauerhering,
Baird,	De Graffenreid,	Kulp,	Shelden,
Bankhead,	Dockery,	Latimer,	Simpkins,
Barham,	Dorr,	Lentz,	Sims,
Barlow,	Eddy,	Lester,	Skinner,
Barney,	Ermentrout,	Lewis, Wash.	Smith, Ky.
Barrett,	Fenton,	Little,	Smith, S. W.
Beach,	Fischer,	Lorimer,	Smith, Wm. Alden
Belden,	Fitzgerald,	Loud,	Snover,
Belford,	Fletcher,	Loudenslager,	Southard,
Belknap,	Foote,	Lovering,	Southwick,
Benton,	Foss,	Lybrand,	Spalding,
Berry,	Fowler, N. C.	McCall,	Stallings,
Bingham,	Gaines,	McEwan,	Stevens, Minn.
Bishop,	Gardner,	McLaurin,	Stewart, N. J.
Boutelle,	Gibson,	Maddox,	Stokes,
Bradley,	Gillet, N. Y.	Maguire,	Strait,
Brantley,	Greene,	Mahany,	Strowd, N. C.
Brewer,	Griffin,	Mann,	Sullivan,
Brewster,	Griggs,	Marshall,	Sulloway,
Bromwell,	Grout,	Meekison,	Sulzer,
Brumm,	Grow,	Mesick,	Swanson,
Bull,	Hager,	Miers, Ind.	Talbert,
Burton,	Hamilton,	Miller,	Taylor, Ala.
Campbell,	Handy,	Mills,	Todd,
Capron,	Harmer,	Minor,	Van Voorhis,
Carmack,	Hartman,	Mitchell,	Wadsworth,
Castle,	Hemenway,	Moon,	Wanger,
Catchings,	Henderson,	Morris,	Ward,
Chickering,	Henry, Tex.	Mudd,	Warner,
Clardy,	Hicks,	Newlands,	Weaver,
Clark, Iowa	Hooker,	Norton,	Weymouth,
Clark, Mo.	Hopkins,	Odell,	Wheeler, Ala.
Colson,	Howard, Ga.	Olmsted,	Wheeler, Ky.
Connolly,	Howe,	Overstreet,	White, Ill.
Corliss,	Howell,	Packer, Pa.	Wilber,
Cousins,	Hull,	Perkins,	Williams, Pa.
Cox,	Hurley,	Peters,	Wilson, S. C.
Cranford,	Johnson, Ind.	Plowman,	Wright,
Crump,	Jones, Va.	Powers,	Young, Pa.
Davey,	Jones, Wash.	Pugh,	Zenor.
Davidson, Wis.	Joy,	Ray,	

The following pairs were announced:

Until further notice:

Mr. MESICK with Mr. PETERS.

Mr. LYBRAND with Mr. LENTZ.

Mr. DAVIDSON of Wisconsin with Mr. NORTON.

Mr. HOOKER with Mr. CATCHINGS.

Mr. BINGHAM with Mr. DECKERY.

Mr. HOPKINS with Mr. MCALEER.

Mr. BELKNAP with Mr. MAGUIRE.

Mr. MILLER with Mr. CLARDY.

Mr. HAGER with Mr. ALLEN.

Mr. YOUNG of Pennsylvania with Mr. BENTON.

Mr. LORIMER with Mr. SMITH of Kentucky.

Mr. WHITE of Illinois with Mr. SIMS.

Mr. BISHOP with Mr. BREWER.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Pennsylvania with Mr. ROBERTSON of Louisiana.

Mr. MORRIS with Mr. WHEELER of Kentucky.

Mr. HENDERSON with Mr. BRANTLEY.

Mr. SPALDING with Mr. CRAWFORD.

Mr. DORR with Mr. MADDOX.

Mr. VAN VOORHIS with Mr. HOWARD of Georgia.

Mr. JOY with Mr. MARSHALL.

Mr. HAMILTON with Mr. TODD.

Mr. WM. ALDEN SMITH with Mr. BRUCKER.

Mr. SHELDON with Mr. YOUNG of Virginia.

Mr. CHICKERING with Mr. BRADLEY.

Mr. DAYTON with Mr. PIERCE of Tennessee.

Mr. FOSS with Mr. DAVEY.

Mr. KULP with Mr. STALLINGS.

Mr. ACHESON with Mr. WILSON of South Carolina.

Mr. CORLISS with Mr. LATIMER.

Mr. MCEWAN with Mr. VEHSLAGE.

Mr. BELDEN with Mr. SULZER.

Mr. BELFORD with Mr. SWANSON.

Mr. SIMPKINS of Massachusetts with Mr. LESTER.

Mr. PUGH with Mr. SUTHERLAND.

Mr. BEACH with Mr. BERRY.

Mr. MUDD with Mr. CLARK of Missouri.

Mr. BARHAM with Mr. LITTLE.

Mr. LOVERING with Mr. FITZGERALD.

Mr. BRUMM with Mr. COX.

Mr. BOUTELLE with Mr. TATE.

Mr. STEVENS of Minnesota with Mr. JONES of Washington.

Mr. SPERRY with Mr. GRIGGS.

Mr. HICKS with Mr. OTEY.

Mr. STEWART of New Jersey with Mr. TAYLOR of Alabama.

Mr. POWERS with Mr. GAINES.

Mr. REEVES with Mr. BALL.

Mr. OVERSTREET with Mr. ZENOR.

Mr. MILLS with Mr. SULLIVAN.

Mr. SULLOWAY with Mr. TALBERT.

Mr. COLSON with Mr. OSBORNE.

Mr. MAHON with Mr. BENNER of Pennsylvania.

Mr. MCCALL with Mr. JONES of Virginia.

Mr. SAUERHERING with Mr. STRAIT.

For this day:

Mr. PERKINS with Mr. ROBB.

Mr. HEPBURN with Mr. DE GRAFFENREID.

Mr. WARD with Mr. LEWIS of Washington.

On this vote:

Mr. EDDY with Mr. BAIRD.

Mr. ODELL with Mr. MCCLELLAN.

Mr. ADAMSON. Mr. Speaker, although I did not hear it read by the Clerk, I am paired with the gentleman from Massachusetts, Mr. WRIGHT, and as a motion to adjourn seems to have been made a political question, I desire to withdraw my vote. I voted "nay."

Mr. TATE. Mr. Speaker, I ask leave of absence for my colleague, Mr. BRANTLEY, who is away on account of sickness in his family.

Mr. RICHARDSON. My colleague, Mr. GAINES, is detained from the House on account of sickness, and I ask indefinite leave of absence for him.

Mr. BRUCKER. Mr. Speaker, I am paired with the gentleman from Michigan, Mr. WM. ALDEN SMITH. I desire to withdraw my vote and to be marked "present."

Mr. ADAMSON. Mr. Speaker, during the session of last Thursday, through inadvertence, caused by an impression that the gentleman from Massachusetts, Mr. WRIGHT, with whom I am paired, was present, I voted on a motion to allow the gentleman from Kansas to proceed in order. Voting first, I could not certainly foresee that the issue would be regarded as a matter for party alignment; perhaps rendered careless because correction could be made before announcement of the result. Being called away from the House before the completion of the roll call, I did not notice until I read the RECORD the next morning that the gentleman from Massachusetts had not been present during the vote. As it appears that the majority party solidly opposed the proposition, and it being too late now to withdraw my vote, I

desire to express my regret and render what justice I can to the gentleman from Massachusetts by stating the facts. By agreement, we were paired until further notice on all party questions, and he had a right to expect that I would not vote and that an announcement of our pair should appear in the RECORD.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted as follows:

To Mr. CLARK of Missouri, indefinitely, on account of important business.

To Mr. VEHSLAGE, for one week, on account of important business.

To Mr. BROSIUS, for the balance of the day, on account of illness.

To Mr. GAINES, indefinitely, on account of sickness.

The result of the vote was then announced as above recorded.

And accordingly (at 3 o'clock and 40 minutes p. m.), the House adjourned until Thursday next.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS.

Under clause 2 of Rule XXIV, the following executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting, with a letter from the Chief of Engineers, an estimate of the cost of improving the Merrimac River, Massachusetts, between Newburyport and Haverhill—to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, and ordered to be printed.

A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting, with a letter from the Chief of Engineers, report of survey of Point Judith Harbor, Rhode Island—to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, and ordered to be printed.

A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Treasury, calling attention to certain changes in the wording of the bill codifying the inland rules of the United States to prevent collisions of vessels—to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, and ordered to be printed.

A letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, calling attention to certain changes desirable in the bill codifying the inland rules of the United States to prevent collisions of vessels—to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, and ordered to be printed.

A letter from the President of the United States, recommending an appropriation for the relief of destitute American citizens in Cuba—to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and ordered to be printed.

PUBLIC BILLS, RESOLUTIONS, AND MEMORIALS INTRODUCED.

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, bills, resolutions, and memorials of the following titles were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. SUTHERLAND: A bill (H. R. 3233) to provide for the purchase of a site for a public building in the city of Hastings, in the State of Nebraska, and for other purposes—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. QUIGG: A bill (H. R. 3234) to amend section 4504 of the Revised Statutes relative to the duties of shipping commissioners—to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3235) to carry out section 61 of the act of Congress of August 28, 1894, entitled "An act to reduce taxation, to provide revenue for the Government, and for other purposes"—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3236) creating an art commission of the United States, and for other purposes—to the Committee on the Library.

By Mr. LAMB: A bill (H. R. 3237) for the erection of a public building in the city of Manchester, State of Virginia—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. LOUD: A bill (H. R. 3238) to define the appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court of the United States and the United States circuit court of appeals for the ninth circuit over the judgments and decrees of the United States circuit court for the District of Alaska—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. QUIGG: A joint resolution (H. Res. 55) to provide for the presentation of medals of honor to certain troops who volunteered their services in 1863 before the battle of Gettysburg, Pa.—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a joint resolution (H. Res. 56) directing the Secretary of the Navy to appoint a commission of naval experts to examine and report upon the Secor direct system of propelling vessels and its applicability to naval purposes—to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. COCHRAN of Missouri: A joint resolution (H. Res. 57) proposing an amendment to the Constitution, authorizing the levy of a tax on incomes—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. STEPHENS of Texas: A joint resolution (H. Res. 58) acknowledging the independence of Cuba—to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. KING: A memorial of the legislature of the State of Utah, asking that certain residents of Utah be reimbursed for services rendered, money expended, and property lost in Indian disturbances in the Territory of Utah during the years from 1865 to 1870, inclusive—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a memorial of the legislature of Utah, praying that the Industrial Home property at Salt Lake City, Utah, be granted to the State of Utah, to be used for educational or charitable purposes—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, a memorial of the legislature of the State of Utah, asking that Congress submit to the legislatures of the several States a proposition to amend section 3, Article I, of the Constitution, so as to provide for the election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people—to the Committee on Election of President, Vice-President, and Representatives in Congress.

Also, a memorial of the legislature of the State of Utah, asking an appropriation for the enlargement and improvement of Fort Douglas military post—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a memorial of the legislature of the State of Utah, praying for the restraint of the Southern Ute Indians—to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

Also, a memorial of the legislature of the State of Utah, for the relief of claimants who suffered from Indian depredations in the Territory of Utah before they became citizens of the United States—to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a memorial of the legislature of the State of Utah, relative to granting to the State of Utah the reservoir sites reserved by the Government of the United States—to the Committee on Irrigation of Arid Lands.

Also, a memorial of the legislature of the State of Utah, representing the conditions existing in Cuba, and praying Congress to protect the American citizens—to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, a memorial of the legislature of the State of Utah, asking that the Uintah and Uncompahgre Indian reservations be opened to settlement and that the State of Utah be given a preference right of selection—to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, a memorial of the legislature of the State of Utah, asking Congress to withdraw from sale and set apart as a State park Fish Lake and certain described lands appurtenant thereto—to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, a memorial of the legislature of the State of Utah, praying that Congress cede to the State of Utah all of the public lands except mineral lands in the State—to the Committee on the Public Lands.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS INTRODUCED.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions of the following titles were introduced and severally referred, as follows:

By Mr. BARLOW: A bill (H. R. 3239) for the relief of Catharine McCarty—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. BOOZE: A bill (H. R. 3240) granting an honorable discharge to Charles H. Rarick—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. BOTKIN: A bill (H. R. 3241) granting a pension to Angelina Welden, of Media, Kans., as army nurse—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. BREWER: A bill (H. R. 3242) for the relief of John W. Martin—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. BRUCKER: A bill (H. R. 3243) for the relief of Cordell B. Green, Company D, Sixteenth Michigan Infantry—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. CLARKE of New Hampshire: A bill (H. R. 3244) granting a pension to Samuel I. Bailey—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3245) granting a pension to Pheroba A. Hale—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3246) for the relief of Capt. Francis A. Benter—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3247) granting a pension to Eliza H. Getchell—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. COCHRAN of Missouri: A bill (H. R. 3248) granting an honorable discharge from the United States Army to James Harrington, late of Company E, Thirty-fifth Missouri Volunteers—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3249) granting a pension to Mrs. Laura J. Scofield—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3250) granting an honorable discharge from the United States Army to William Miers, late of Company F, Ninth Minnesota Volunteers—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3251) for the relief of Napoleon B. Giddings—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3252) for the relief of Fred E. Ernst, executor of the will of Charles F. Ernst, late postmaster at St. Joseph, Mo.—to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. KERR: A bill (H. R. 3253) to reimburse G. L. Cary—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3254) granting a pension to Jefferson Harris—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3255) granting a pension to Clarence E. Doane—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3256) granting a pension to James Hayden—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3257) granting a pension to Robert P. Holliday—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3258) granting a pension to Alexander Scott—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. KETCHAM: A bill (H. R. 3259) for the revival of letters patent for an invention entitled the "P. B. Lawson centrifugal machine," which letters patent are numbered 204834, and bear date the 11th day of June, 1878—to the Committee on Patents.

By Mr. LOUD: A bill (H. R. 3260) referring the claim of Robert W. Dunbar to the Court of Claims—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. McCLEARY: A bill (H. R. 3261) to remove the charge of desertion from the military record of George L. Plummer—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. OSBORNE: A bill (H. R. 3262) granting an increase of pension to George L. Durbin—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. QUIGG: A bill (H. R. 3263) to provide for the extension of letters patent for an "improvement in insulating submarine cables"—to the Committee on Patents.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3264) for the relief of Clara A. Graves and others, heirs of Lewis Smith, deceased—to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3265) granting a pension to Catherine R. Jardine, widow of Brig. Gen. Edward Jardine—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3266) for the relief of Dr. Edward R. Duffy, late United States surgeon—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3267) for the relief of William Plimley, late general superintendent of the money-order division of the post-office at New York— to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3268) to restore the name of Jacob Coffer to the pension roll—to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3269) for the relief of James Eagan, late of Company G, Tenth New York Volunteer Infantry—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3270) to pension Michael McAndrew—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3271) to increase the pension of Mrs. Rebecca S. Foster—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3272) granting an increase of pension to Laura Sprigg Foster—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3273) for the relief of Secor & Co., Perine, Secor & Co., and executors of Zenor Secor—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3274) for the relief of Charles V. Munier, late of Company D, Fourth Excelsior Brigade, subsequently known as Seventy-third Regiment New York Volunteers—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3275) for the relief of Samuel Davis, naval apprentice—to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3276) for the relief of Francis Irsch—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (R. R. 3277) for the relief of Mary Ferguson—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3278) to increase the pension of Mrs. George H. Cooper, widow of the late Rear-Admiral George H. Cooper—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3279) granting an honorable discharge to Thomas J. Miller, late of Company A, Thirty-eighth New York Volunteers—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3280) for the relief of Nancy E. Day, administratrix of the estate of James L. Day, deceased—to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. WEYMOUTH: A bill (H. R. 3281) granting a pension of $50 per month to Henry S. Hitchcock—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. JETT: A bill (H. R. 3282) for the relief of Andrew H. Jordan, alias Andrew Hannon—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3283) for the relief of William B. Craig—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. KING: A bill (H. R. 3284) for the relief of Verona E. Pollock—to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. McMILLIN: A bill (H. R. 3285) for the relief of Willis Cornwell, of Tennessee—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3286) for the relief of J. C. Buntin, of Tennessee—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3287) for the relief of Sampson D. Bridgman, a soldier of the Florida war—to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. RICHARDSON: A joint resolution (H. Res. 59) authorizing John C. Sanders, administrator of B. Sillard, deceased, to present his claim to the Court of Claims—to the Committee on War Claims.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, the following petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

By Mr. ADAMS: Resolutions of the Philadelphia Drug Exchange, favoring the Torrey bankruptcy bill instead of the Nelson bill—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BINGHAM: Resolutions of the Original M. S. Quay Club; also of the Second Ward Republican executive committee; also of the Twenty-fourth Ward Republican executive committee; also of the Twenty-sixth Ward Republican Club; also of the Young Men's Republican Club of the Thirty-first Ward; also of the Penrose Republican Club of the First Ward; also of the Union Republican Club of the Second Ward; also of the Vare Republican Club, all in the city of Philadelphia, Pa., condemning the present civil-service law—to the Committee on Reform in the Civil Service.

By Mr. BRUMM: Petitions of James Morgan, C. Davenport, and other citizens of Shenandoah, Pa., urging the passage of a law restricting immigration—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. BUTLER: Petitions of citizens of West Bradford, Downington, and East Goshen Township, Pa., for the passage of a more rigid immigration law—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. DALZELL: Petition of sundry citizens of Pitcairn, Pa., in favor of the passage of an immigration restriction law—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. GILLETT of Massachusetts: Petition of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Boston and vicinity, for the passage of a bill to prohibit kinetoscope reproductions of prize fights—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. KNOX: Petition of C. E. Richardson and 21 other citizens of Woburn, Mass., favoring a more rigid restriction of immigration—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. LOUD: Resolutions adopted by the Board of Trade of San Jose, Cal., favoring the repeal of the reciprocity treaty with the Hawaiian Islands—to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. MILLER: Petition of J. M. Heasley and other citizens of Mason County, W. Va., asking for the passage of a more rigid immigration law—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. OTJEN: Petition of C. A. Chapin and 198 other citizens of Milwaukee, Wis., praying that a bill be passed authorizing the President to appoint a commission on currency and banking—to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. PAYNE: Petition of Lake Keuka Baptist Church, of Crosby, N. Y., urging the passage of a bill to prohibit lottery and gambling messages by telegraph or telephone; also petition of same to prohibit the transmission of descriptions of prize fights by mail or interstate commerce—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, petition of Lake Keuka Baptist Church, favoring the passage of a bill to enact a Sabbath law for the District of Columbia—to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

Also, petition of Lake Keuka Baptist Church, for the passage of a bill forbidding the sale of intoxicating beverages in Government buildings—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, petitions of Mrs. E. B. Ingalls, Mrs. Ina Mansfield, John Kline, and others, of Keuka College, regulating the sale of cigarettes—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. SHOWALTER: Petitions of citizens of Beaver Falls, Sharpsville, Fredonia, and Sarversville, in the State of Pennsylvania, asking for a more rigid immigration law—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. STEELE: Petition of the United Trades Council of Gas City, Ind., asking that the Government be empowered to take charge of and operate public telegraph lines—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. STRODE of Nebraska: Petition of E. Y. Grupe and other working lithographers, praying for protection against foreign competition—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. ZENOR: Paper to accompany House bill No. 2768 to correct the military record of George Peyton—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, paper to accompany House bill No. 2954, for the relief of Henry Mills, jr.—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

SENATE.

TUESDAY, *May 18, 1897.*

Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. W. H. MILBURN, D. D.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. SEWELL presented petitions of D. Thomas and 22 other citizens of Bayonne, Howard Heisler and 27 other citizens of Marlboro, Samuel Heuling and 52 other citizens of Beverly, F. B. Middleton and 15 other citizens of Jamesburg, N. O. Brewer and 15 other citizens of Rahway, Capt. Thomas R. Mills and 41 other citizens of Newark, and of W. C. Tubbs and 81 other citizens of Elizabeth, all in the State of New Jersey, praying for the enactment of legislation restricting immigration; which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. PLATT of New York presented sundry petitions of citizens of Ilion, Brooklyn, and Prince Bay, all in the State of New York, praying for the enactment of legislation for the more rigid restriction of immigration; which were ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented sundry petitions of kid-glove sewers, cutters, and finishers of Gloversville, N. Y., praying for an increase of the duty on kid gloves; which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. DAVIS presented the petition of Ren Burns and 186 other citizens of Winona, Minn., praying for the adoption of the lumber schedule in the pending tariff bill as passed by the House of Representatives; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a petition of sundry citizens of Duluth, Minn., praying for the enactment of legislation restricting immigration; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. LODGE presented a petition of 70 citizens of Springvale, Mass., and a petition of 25 citizens of Springvale, Mass., praying for the passage of the so-called Lodge immigration bill; which were ordered to lie on the table.

THE RICE INDUSTRY.

Mr. MCENERY presented a statement, signed by members of the Rice Association of Louisiana, Georgia, and South Carolina, relative to the rice industry; which was ordered to lie on the table, and to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A STATEMENT TO THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES RELATIVE TO THE RICE INDUSTRY.

Rice schedule proposed by the Senate and by the House.

Rice.	House bill.	Senate bill.
	Cents.	*Cents.*
Cleaned ..... per pound..	2	1¼
Uncleaned ..... do....	1½	$\frac{9}{10}$
Paddy ..... do....	¾	¾
Rice flour, rice meal, and broken rice which will pass through a wire sieve known commercially as No. 12, per pound	½	½

The undersigned representatives of the rice-producing interests of the United States respectfully represent that the rice industry has special and just claims for protective legislation, among which are the following:

First. While rice planting has been carried on for many years in the United States, improved agricultural machinery has not been employed to any extent in all lines of its production till in the past ten years. If given time and favorable conditions, this application of machinery will revolutionize and Americanize the industry.

Second. It is not a limited and sectional industry. It constitutes the principal cereal product of over 1,000 miles of the coast country of the United States. In this rice belt are millions of acres of land specially adapted to its cultivation; more than sufficient territory to supply, when fully developed, our entire country with rice, which will be rapidly improved under favorable conditions. The rice planters are almost exclusively devoted to the production of this cereal, and hence purchase from the Northwestern States their corn, oats, wheat, pork, butter, horses, and mules, making a large and steady market for these articles. Any legislation that brings ruin to the rice planters is equally a disaster to the Northwest.

Third. The first improvement of a rice farm calls for a large expenditure in levees, ditches, canals, fences, buildings, and irrigating machinery. Every well-equipped rice farm is a user of engines, boilers, pumps, and agricultural implements, which fact appeals strongly to the manufacturing interests of the country. This large first cost is a reason why unfavorable legislation more readily cripples the rice planters than other farmers.

Fourth. With steady and reasonably protective duties on rice all the markets of the United States will soon be supplied by the American product, and prices will be regulated by home competition.

Fifth. Our rice planters compete with the lowest paid labor in the world, and the ocean freights on rice from those foreign countries to New York is less than from some of the rice-producing sections of our own country.

Sixth. Under the McKinley duties the rice industry greatly prospered and rapidly increased. Under the Wilson rates there has been a large decrease in acreage planted and general depression.

Seventh. It is evident from the following statement that unintentiona error has been made in framing the rice duties proposed by the Senate Finance Committee. The rice producers do not object to the rates on broken rice and on paddy. Taking 75 cents per hundred as an equitable duty on paddy, or the rough rice of the planter, what duty ought to be placed on uncleaned rice and on clean rice? It required 168 pounds of paddy or 118 pounds of uncleaned rice to make 100 pounds of clean rice. The duties on these amounts under the Senate rate would be $1.26 on the paddy, 94.4 cents on the uncleaned, and $1.50 on clean. These would be the respective duties on equivalent amounts of rice reduced to cleaned.

The difference in weight between equivalent amounts of paddy and uncleaned rice is 50 pounds, as stated. The freight on this from Asia to New York would be 25 cents; the milling of 168 pounds of paddy to reduce it to 118 pounds of uncleaned would be 15 cents, and the breakage and loss in milling would amount to 10 cents, making a total of 50 cents as the just differential between paddy and uncleaned. That uncleaned rice at $1.25 per hundred duty is still rated somewhat lower than paddy is shown by the fact that when that differential existed very little paddy was imported.

If the duty on uncleaned be placed at $1.25 per hundred, the duty on cleaned should be $2, because it requires 118 pounds of uncleaned, as stated, to make 100 pounds of cleaned, showing a loss of 18 pounds on which first cost, duty, and freight had been paid. The cost of 18 pounds and freight average 30 cents, the duty at 1¼ cents per pound would be 22½ cents, the rice broken in milling and separated from the cleaned shipments we place at 10 cents, making a total of 62½ cents to be added to the uncleaned. The difference between this amount and 75 cents, with the offal, is the margin allowed the importer and miller, which amounts to 30 cents, and is sufficient.

It is thus shown that the differentials of 75 cents, 80 cents, and $1.50 per hundred on the different classes of rice, as in the Senate's schedules, are not equitable differentials, and that 75 cents, $1.25, and $2, as in the Dingley bill, are equitable.

We further represent that under average crop conditions and with the proposed Senate rate of eight-tenths of a cent on uncleaned rice the home producer would receive for his product from $1.27 to $2 per barrel (162 pounds of rough or paddy rice), depending upon the quality. The average would not be over $1.70 per barrel, or a little over 1 cent per pound, and such was the actual result under the Wilson tariff, except for the past season, when the crop was cut short in India and Louisiana by phenomenal drought. Even at the present high prices uncleaned Siam rice was quoted May 10 at $1.50 per hundred, New York delivery, and choice Japan rice at $2.25. Adding duty and the cost and duty on 18 pounds additional to make the amount of uncleaned obtained from a barrel of rice and we have $2.71 and $3.49 as their respective costs in New York, duty paid.

This foreign rice, owing to selection and hand culture, mills more high-price rice per barrel than American rice, and this difference is equal to one-half cent per pound, or 59 cents on 118 pounds. Deducting this amount to place it upon a parity with American rice, we have $2.12 and $2.90 as the price of 118 pounds of American uncleaned rice in New York. From these prices we must deduct partial milling, 15 cents, to produce uncleaned; average freights from the Louisiana plantation to New York, 40 cents, and commissions, 10 cents, making a total of 65 cents, which, deducted from the above, leaves $1.47 and $2.25 as the net price to be paid the producer in close competition with foreign rice, and this under extraordinarily short crops and consequent high prices. The average per barrel under ordinary conditions, as stated above, would not exceed $1.70, which is considerably below the cost of production, as fully shown in the report to the Ways and Means Committee of the House.

Respectfully submitted.

JOHN SCREVEN,
WILLIAM RIDGELY LEAKEN,
Georgia Rice Association.
THEODORE BARKER,
SAMUEL G. STOMY,
CHRISTOPHER FITZ SIMONS,
South Carolina.
S. B. DANIEL,
S. LOCKE BRAEUX,
New Orleans.
C. C. DUSON,
S. P. LOVELL,
Crowley, La.
S. A. KNAPP
Lake Charles (La.) Board of Trade.

TABLETS AT ANTIETAM.

Mr. HALE presented a communication from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting a letter from the Secretary of War, submitting a revised estimate of deficiency in the appropriation for battle lines and sites for tablets at Antietam, to be substituted for the item on page 31 of the general deficiency appropriation bill; which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on Appropriations, and ordered to be printed.

CONSTRUCTION OF DRY DOCKS.

Mr. HALE presented a communication from the Secretary of the Navy, transmitting certain views relative to the appropriations for the construction of a dry dock at the Portsmouth (N. H.) Navy-Yard, and also for the construction of a wooden dry dock at the United States navy-yard, Boston, Mass.; which was referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs, and ordered to be printed.

REPORT OF A COMMITTEE.

Mr. WARREN, from the Committee on Claims, to whom was referred the bill (S. 356) for the relief of Twyman O. Abbott, reported it with an amendment, and submitted a report thereon.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Mr. DAVIS introduced a bill (S. 1999) for the relief of John Berrisford; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. HALE introduced a bill (S. 2000) removing the charge of desertion from the name of Reuben R. Hammond; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying petition, referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. HOAR introduced a bill (S. 2001) to remove the charge of desertion from the record of James J. Murphy; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Mr. BURROWS introduced a bill (S. 2002) granting an increase of pension to Byron R. Pierce; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Pensions.

VISITOR TO WEST POINT.

Mr. WALTHALL. I ask to be excused from service as one of the Visitors appointed at the last session of Congress by the Vice-President to attend the annual examination of cadets at the

Military Academy at West Point. It is not probable that I shall be able to discharge that duty, and I desire to decline the appointment now, so that another Senator may be appointed.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. If there be no objection, the resignation of the Senator from Mississippi as a Visitor to West Point will be received and accepted by the Senate. The Chair hears no objection, and the resignation is accepted. The Chair will appoint the Senator from Florida [Mr. PASCO] as the successor of the Senator from Mississippi as a Visitor to West Point.

PROPOSED FINANCIAL LEGISLATION.

Mr. STEWART. I desire to give notice of an amendment to be proposed to the tariff bill when it is under consideration. I ask that the proposed amendment be read at the desk.

The Secretary read as follows:

That there shall be at all times a reserve fund in the Treasury amounting to the sum of $50,000,000. Whenever the available balance in the Treasury exceeds the sum of $50,000,000, it shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to invest the surplus above such sum in United States bonds, and whenever the available cash balance in the Treasury shall be less than the sum of $50,000,000, it shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to issue United States legal-tender noninterest-bearing Treasury notes to make up the deficiency of $50,000,000. Such notes shall be redeemable out of the first surplus moneys in the Treasury above such sum of $50,000,000. In case insufficient coin to meet the coin obligations of the United States shall come into the Treasury through the ordinary sources of revenue, it shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to exchange the silver certificates paid into the Treasury for the coin which is in the Treasury for the redemption of such certificates, and with the coin paid and obtained through the conversion of silver certificates the coin obligations of the United States shall be discharged, and it shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to coin sufficient of the silver bullion purchased under the law of July 14, 1890, to supply all deficiencies that may occur in the supply of coin under the foregoing provisions to meet and discharge all coin obligations presented.

Mr. STEWART. I ask unanimous consent for a word of explanation.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there any objection? The Chair hears none, and the Senator from Nevada will proceed.

Mr. STEWART. There is now in the Treasury about $230,000,000 of idle money. This amendment would invest about $180,000,000 of that money in United States bonds, thus saving interest and distributing the money among the people.

The amendment further provides that in case a deficiency shall occur so as to reduce the reserve below $50,000,000, the Secretary of the Treasury shall issue legal-tender noninterest-bearing Treasury notes to be redeemed out of the first surplus money that comes into the Treasury above the $50,000,000, so that this issue will be very temporary. In that way there would not be a large amount of idle money in the Treasury at any time, nor would there be any possible danger of a deficiency to meet the obligations of the Government.

The amendment further provides that the revenues coming into the Treasury by silver certificates, which form probably more than half the revenues now, shall be used for the purpose of obtaining coin to meet coin obligations. The silver certificates are exchangeable now in the Treasury for the coin in the Treasury deposited for their issue. This simply requires that that exchange shall be made. That will probably furnish the current coin that may be necessary for redemption.

The amendment further proposes, in order that there may at all times be an ample redemption fund, that the bullion now in the Treasury purchased under the act of 1890 shall be coined, or a sufficient quantity of it to keep up the regular supply of coin. In this way we would not contract and expand the currency by means of our fluctuating revenues.

I have heard it suggested that the tariff bill would raise sufficient revenue to retire a portion or all of the greenbacks. That would be retiring the money upon which the people depend for their business. There is already at least $180,000,000 retired and lying idle in the Treasury, for the retirement of which there is no necessity, and that amount ought not to accumulate. I am opposed to taking what money there is in circulation, or any portion of it, from the people for any purpose whatever. Let it be kept in circulation.

This amendment, if adopted, would put the surplus above $50,000,000 in circulation, and if the revenues should at any time be insufficient, the temporary loan provided for can be made, greenbacks or Treasury notes can be issued and be redeemed by the first surplus revenue that comes in, and Congress would have time to increase taxation, so that there would be revenue enough and still not keep the money out of circulation.

Thus it would not increase the paper circulation permanently at all, but it would prevent a large amount of money from lying idle, and it would repudiate the idea that the tariff bill is to have the sinister purpose of retiring our greenbacks, or retiring any part of our money. I think there is nothing more reprehensible than in times like these, when the country is suffering for money, to tie it up in the Treasury by any scheme whatever.

I shall advocate this amendment earnestly, and I hope that, the attention of the Senate now having been called to it, Senators will think over the subject and help to perfect it, if it is not perfect now, so that it may go on the tariff bill, and that we may have a system of revenue whereby our reserve will be always kept at a certain point and not have to borrow any money, except by a temporary loan to be supplied immediately by new revenue, and without contracting the currency by hoarding the money of the people in the Treasury.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment will lie on the table and be printed.

AMENDMENT TO DEFICIENCY APPROPRIATION BILL.

Mr. HOAR submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the general deficiency appropriation bill; which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations, and ordered to be printed.

AMENDMENTS TO THE TARIFF BILL.

Mr. McENERY submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill (H. R. 379) to provide revenue for the Government and to encourage the industries of the United States; which was ordered to lie on the table and be printed.

Mr. DAVIS submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill (H. R. 379) to provide revenue for the Government and to encourage the industries of the United States; which was ordered to lie on the table and be printed.

Mr. GEAR (by request) submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill (H. R. 379) to provide revenue for the Government and to encourage the industries of the United States; which was ordered to lie on the table and be printed.

ANNALS OF THE ASTROPHYSICAL OBSERVATORY.

Mr. LODGE submitted the following concurrent resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Printing:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That there be printed and bound 3,000 copies of a special report describing the methods and results of the investigations conducted at the astrophysical observatory of the Smithsonian Institution, entitled Annals of the Astrophysical Observatory, of which number 500 copies shall be for the use of the Senate, 1,000 copies for the use of the House of Representatives, and 1,500 for distribution by the Smithsonian Institution.

MOBILE MARINE DOCK COMPANY.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. There being no further morning business, the Calendar under Rule VIII is in order.

Mr. PETTUS. I ask unanimous consent to call up the bill (S. 1038) for the relief of the Mobile Marine Dock Company. The bill has been examined by the Committee on Claims at three different sessions of the Senate; it has been unanimously reported from that committee at three different times, and it has been reported at the present session unanimously. I ask that it be put on its passage.

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill. It proposes to pay to the Mobile Marine Dock Company, or its authorized agent or attorney, $86,202.65, in full payment for the use and occupation of and damage to property of that company taken from April 16 to November 15, 1865, inclusive.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

ROAD TO NATIONAL CEMETERY AT DOVER, TENN.

Mr. BATE. I ask unanimous consent to call up for consideration a bill which has heretofore passed the Senate three times, being the bill (S. 931) to construct a road to the national cemetery at Dover, Tenn.

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill. It proposes to appropriate $11,500 for the purpose of constructing, under the direction of the Secretary of War, a macadamized road, or a road partly of gravel and partly of stone, from the river landing or its vicinity, in the town of Dover, Tenn., to the national cemetery near Old Fort Donaldson.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

BRIDGE ACROSS PEARL RIVER, MISSISSIPPI.

Mr. WALTHALL. Mr. President——

Mr. COCKRELL. The regular order, Mr. President.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The regular order is called for.

Mr. WALTHALL. I ask unanimous consent to proceed to the consideration of Senate bill 1979.

Mr. COCKRELL. As the Senator from Mississippi was recognized as entitled to the floor, I give notice now that when the bill to which he refers is passed the Calendar will have to be proceeded with in regular order.

Mr. WALTHALL. This bill will take but a few minutes.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Unanimous consent is asked for the present consideration of a bill which will be read.

The Secretary read the bill (S. 1979) to authorize the construction of a bridge across Pearl River, in the State of Mississippi; and, there being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to its consideration.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

Mr. COCKRELL. Let us have the regular order now, Mr. President.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The regular order is called for. The Secretary will report the first bill on the Calendar.

HEIRS OF LEWIS SMITH.

Mr. COCKRELL. Yesterday the bill (S. 433) for the relief of Clara A. Graves, Lewis Smith Lee, Florence P. Lee, Mary S. Sheldon, and Florence P. Lee, legal representative of Elizabeth Smith, deceased, heirs of Lewis Smith, deceased, was passed over at my instance, because I supposed a question of interest was involved. I find that the report states no interest has been allowed upon the claim, and that the amount of $2,317.77 is the original claim without any interest. I ask that it may be taken up and acted upon. It has been read.

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The bill was amended yesterday as in Committee of the Whole on motion of the Senator from Missouri [Mr. COCKRELL]. If there be no further amendment as in Committee of the Whole, the bill will be reported to the Senate.

The bill was reported to the Senate as amended, and the amendment was concurred in.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

FANNY B. RANDOLPH AND DORA L. STARK.

The bill (S. 977) for the relief of Fanny B. Randolph and Dora L. Stark was announced as first in order on the Calendar, and the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to its consideration. It proposes to pay to Fanny B. Randolph or her legal representative $8,280, and to Dora L. Stark or her legal representative $8,280, making in all $16,560, the same being in full for, and the receipts of the same to be taken and accepted in full and final discharge of, their claim examined, investigated, and reported favorably by the Court of Claims of the United States under the provisions of the act of March 3, 1883, entitled "An act to afford assistance and relief to Congress and the Executive Departments in the investigation of claims and demands against the Government," and the act of March 3, 1887, entitled "An act to provide for the bringing of suits against the Government of the United States."

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

PUBLIC PARKS IN VALENTINE, NEBR.

The bill (S. 28) granting to the incorporated town of Valentine, in the county of Cherry and State of Nebraska, certain lands, and for other purposes, was announced as next in order.

Mr. COCKRELL. Let that bill be passed over without losing its place.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The bill will be passed over.

HELEN M. FIEDLER.

The next business on the Calendar was the concurrent resolution reported from the Committee on Foreign Relations, requesting the President of the United States to bring to the attention of the Government of Brazil the claim of Helen M. Fiedler, executrix of Ernest Fiedler, deceased, against the Government of Brazil.

The Secretary read the concurrent resolution, reported by Mr. TURPIE from the Committee on Foreign Relations, March 31, 1897, as follows:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the President of the United States be requested to bring to the attention of the Government of Brazil the claim of Helen M. Fiedler, executrix of Ernest Fiedler, deceased, against the Government of Brazil, growing out of a contract, alleged by said claimant to be obligatory on that Government, for the hire of the ship *Circassian* to transport emigrants from the United States to Brazil in the year 1867, with the view to ask said Government to consider the said claim and to provide for the allowance and payment of such sum as shall be found just to such claimant.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the concurrent resolution.

The concurrent resolution was agreed to.

ST. LOUIS RIVER BRIDGE.

The bill (S. 956) to amend an act entitled "An act to authorize the construction of a steel bridge over the St. Louis River between the States of Wisconsin and Minnesota," approved April 24, 1894, as amended by an act approved August 4, 1894, entitled "An act to amend an act to authorize the construction of a steel bridge over the St. Louis River between the States of Minnesota and Wisconsin," was considered as in Committee of the Whole.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

MISSOURI RIVER BRIDGE.

The bill (S. 426) to authorize the construction of bridges across the Missouri River between its mouth and the mouth of the Dakota or James River; and across the Mississippi River between the mouth of the Minnesota River, in the State of Minnesota, and Donaldsonville, in the State of Louisiana; and across the Illinois and Des Plaines rivers between the mouth of the Illinois and the city of Joliet, in the State of Illinois; and to prescribe the character, location, and dimensions of the same, was considered as in Committee of the Whole.

The bill was reported from the Committee on Commerce with amendments.

The first amendment was, in section 1, line 3, before the word "corporations," to strike out "persons, associations, or;" so as to make the section read:

That any corporations complying with the provisions of this act and having the authority of the Secretary of War may hereafter, when public necessity so demands, erect bridges at points where said construction will not materially affect the interests of navigation across the Missouri River between its mouth and the mouth of the Dakota or James River; and across the Mississippi River between the mouth of the Minnesota River and Donaldsonville, La.; and across the Illinois and Des Plaines rivers between the mouth of the Illinois and the city of Joliet, in the State of Illinois, for railroad or other uses, upon compliance with the provisions and requirements of this act; and hereafter no bridge shall be built over said rivers within said limits except under the said provisions and requirements.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in section 5, line 42, after the word "company," to strike out "or persons;" so as to read:

And also that if, by reason of the location of a bridge in or near a city harbor, or from any other cause, the draw opening, channel, or raft span next the shore becomes difficult of access at any season or seasons because of the proximity of river craft which are or may be tied up to the bank, or from any other cause, then the company owning, controlling, or operating said bridge shall, by purchase or otherwise, extinguish the right to obstruct the entrance to said draw opening or span for a distance of at least 700 feet above and 700 feet below the bridge.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in section 10, line 1, before the word "company," to strike out "persons or;" and in line 15, after the word "company," to strike out "or persons;" so as to make the section read:

SEC. 10. That any company constructing any bridge under authority of this act shall build and maintain at all times, as accessory works to such bridge, such booms, piers, dikes, guard fences, and similar devices as may be necessary to insure at all times a permanent channel for a sufficient distance above and below the bridge site, and for the guiding of rafts, steamboats, and other water craft safely under or through said bridge; and if at any time after the construction of the bridge and its accessory works the approaches to draw openings, channel spans, or raft passages in bridges over the navigable waters referred to in this act are found to be dangerous or difficult of access by any important class of river traffic, the Secretary of War may, upon the recommendation of the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, order the company owning, controlling, or operating said bridge to construct under his direction and to maintain such additional sheer booms, dikes, and other devices as will obviate the difficulty mentioned, which additional sheer booms, dikes, and other devices shall be built and maintained at their own expense by said company or persons.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in section 12, line 1, after the word "bridges," to strike out "authorized by this act;" in line 3, before the word "high," to strike out "be" and insert "if;" and in the same line, after the word "bridges," to insert "be constructed;" so as to make the section read:

SEC. 12. That all bridges over the Missouri River below the mouth of the Platte River and above the mouth of the Kaw River shall, if high bridges, be constructed with unbroken and continuous spans, having at least one channel span of not less than 400 feet clear channelway, all other spans over the waterway to have a clear channel way of not less than 300 feet; and all said spans shall have a clear headroom of not less than 50 feet above high-water mark.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in section 13, line 1, after the word "bridges," to strike out "authorized by this act;" in line 3, after the word "shall," to strike out "be" and insert "if;" in the same line, after the word "bridges," to insert "be constructed;" and in line 7, after the word "mark," to insert: "Nothing in this act shall be held to prohibit the construction of low bridges over the Missouri River, subject to the provisions and limitations as to low bridges hereinbefore set forth;" so as to make the section read:

SEC. 13. That all bridges over the Missouri River between its mouth and the mouth of the Kaw River shall, if high bridges, be constructed with unbroken and continuous spans, all spans over the waterway to have a clear channelway of not less than 400 feet, and a clear headroom of not less than 55 feet above high-water mark. Nothing in this act shall be held to prohibit the construction of low bridges over the Missouri River, subject to the provisions and limitations as to low bridges hereinbefore set forth.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in section 19, line 1, after the word "authorized," to strike out "person;" so as to read:

That any authorized company or corporation intending to construct a bridge under the provisions of this act shall give notice for two weeks of such intention, stating the kind of bridge and exact location by publication in papers having a wide circulation, etc.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in section 20, line 4, before the word "company," to strike out "persons or;" in line 7, before the word "company," to strike out "persons or;" and in line 8, after the word "said," to strike out "persons or;" so as to read:

That whenever the Secretary of War has good reason to believe that any of the provisions of sections 7, 10, and 25 of this act have not been complied with by any company owning, controlling, or operating a bridge authorized under the provisions of this act, it shall be the duty of the Secretary of War,

on satisfactory proof thereof, to require the said company to comply with the provisions of said sections, and on failure of said company to comply with said requirements within a reasonable time the Secretary of War shall proceed to cause the necessary work, in the form of additions, alterations, repairs, or removal of obstructions, to be made at the expense of the United States and shall refer the matter, without delay, to the Attorney-General of the United States, etc.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in section 21, line 1, after the word "companies," to strike out "or persons;" so as to read:

That any companies owning, controlling, or operating bridges authorized by this act shall maintain, at their own expense, from sunset to sunrise throughout the season of navigation, such lights and other signals on the bridges as may be required by the Light-House Board for the security of navigation, etc.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was reported to the Senate as amended, and the amendments were concurred in.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

SUFFERERS BY LOSS OF LIGHT VESSEL NO. 37.

The bill (S. 665) for the relief of the heirs of certain seamen lost in the foundering of light vessel No. 37 was considered as in Committee of the Whole. It proposes to settle and pay the accounts of the legal representatives of Howard Selover, mate, and George Richardson, seaman, for value of clothing and effects lost when they were drowned by the foundering of light vessel No. 37, off Cape May, N. J., while on duty thereon during the cyclone of August, 1893, and appropriates $137.25 for that purpose; but the sworn itemized list of losses shall be approved by the proper light-house inspector, and the appropriation recommended by the Light-House Board.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

AIDS TO NAVIGATION.

The bill (S. 673) to provide for light-houses and other aids to navigation was considered as in Committee of the Whole. It proposes to establish and erect light-houses and other aids to navigation, as follows:

A light and fog-signal station on Greens Ledge, Norwalk Harbor, Connecticut, $60,000.

A light and fog-signal station on Pecks Ledge, Norwalk Harbor, Connecticut, $10,000.

A light on Long Beach Day Beacon, Norwalk Harbor, Connecticut, $2,500.

Lighted beacons at Round Beach, Fitchs Point, White Rock Reef, and Grassy Hammock, Norwalk Harbor, Connecticut, $600.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

The bill (S. 674) to provide for aids to navigation was considered as in Committee of the Whole. It proposes to establish and erect a light and fog-signal station on the outer breakwater, entrance to New Haven Harbor, Connecticut.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

QUARANTINE STATION AT ASTORIA, OREG.

The bill (S. 966) providing for the establishment of a quarantine station at or near Astoria, Oreg., was considered as in Committee of the Whole. It appropriates $30,000 for the purchase of site, erection of buildings, pier, disinfecting apparatus, launch, and other appurtenances, for the establishment of a quarantine station at or near Astoria, Oreg., and for the maintenance of that station during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1898, which is to be maintained and operated under the provisions of the quarantine laws of the United States.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

JAMES SIMS.

The bill (S. 937) for the relief of James Sims, of Marshall County, Miss., was announced as next in order on the Calendar.

Mr. CHANDLER. I ask that that bill may go over without prejudice.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. There being no objection, that will be the order.

CUMBERLAND FEMALE COLLEGE, M'MINNVILLE, TENN.

The bill (S. 1106) for the relief of the Cumberland Female College, of McMinnville, Tenn., was considered as in Committee of the Whole. It proposes to pay to the Cumberland Female College, of McMinnville, Tenn., $5,000, in full of all claims of that college for the use, occupation, and consumption of its property for hospital and other army purposes during the late war of 1861 to 1865 by the military authority of the United States, and provides that the acceptance of that sum by the college shall be a complete and absolute bar to any and all claims for damage and destruction of the property of the college or the use and occupation thereof by the armies of the United States.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

NANCY E. DAY.

The bill (S. 675) for the relief of Nancy E. Day, administratrix of James L. Day, deceased, was considered as in Committee of the Whole. It proposes to pay Nancy E. Day, administratrix of the estate of James L. Day, deceased, late of Norwich, Conn., $3,041.66 in payment and satisfaction of the amount found due from the United States to Nancy E. Day by the Court of Claims upon a reference of her claim to that court by the Postmaster-General, under the provisions of section 2 of an act of Congress approved March 3, 1883, entitled "An act to afford assistance and relief to Congress and the Executive Departments in the investigation of claims and demands against the Government."

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

OBSTRUCTION OF NAVIGABLE WATERS BY WATER HYACINTH.

The bill (S. 390) to provide for an investigation of the obstruction of the navigable waters of Florida, Louisiana, and other South Atlantic and Gulf States by the aquatic plant known as the water hyacinth, and for other purposes, was announced as next in order on the Calendar.

Mr. PASCO. I ask that that bill may be transferred under Rule IX. There is an appropriation in the sundry civil bill having the same purpose in view, and, if that be finally adopted, there will be no necessity for the passage of this bill. Let it go over under Rule IX.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. That order will be made, in the absence of objection.

IMPROVEMENTS OF BRIDGEPORT HARBOR, CONNECTICUT.

The joint resolution (S. R. 16) providing for estimate of cost of certain improvements of Bridgeport Harbor, Connecticut, was considered as in Committee of the Whole. It directs the Secretary of War to submit estimates of the cost of extending the channel of Bridgeport Harbor, Connecticut, through an arm of the sea known as Yellow Mill Branch of that harbor, such channel to be 12 feet deep and 200 feet wide; also of widening the main channel to the western harbor line, between the inner beacon and the Naugatuck Railroad wharf, with a depth of 12 feet; all as shown by maps and surveys made in compliance with the provisions of the river and harbor act of August 17, 1894, and submitted to Congress under date of November 29, 1895.

The joint resolution was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

SAIL VESSELS OF OVER 700 TONS.

The bill (S. 622) concerning sail vessels of over 700 tons was announced as next in order on the Calendar.

Mr. COCKRELL. I see that the Senator from Maine [Mr. FRYE] who reported that bill is absent, and I find that he has offered amendments to the bill. Whether they were offered by the authority of the Committee on Commerce or simply as his own amendments, I do not know. I do not object to the bill, but I suggest that it had better be passed over, retaining its place on the Calendar.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Unless there be objection, that will be the order.

CERTIFICATES OF TITLE TO VESSELS.

The bill (S. 946) providing for the collection of fees for furnishing certificates of title to vessels was announced as next in order on the Calendar.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Who reported that bill?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Maine [Mr. FRYE].

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. I think it had better lie over until he comes back.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. If there be no objection, the bill will lie over in the absence of the Senator from Maine.

THE REVENUE-CUTTER SERVICE.

The bill (S. 620) to promote the efficiency of the Revenue-Cutter Service was announced as next in order on the Calendar.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. I think all those bills reported by the Senator from Maine [Mr. FRYE] had better lie over until he returns.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. If there be no objection, it will be so ordered.

REV. J. A. GILFILLAN.

The bill (S. 869) for the relief of Rev. J. A. Gilfillan was considered as in Committee of the Whole. It proposes to pay to the Rev. J. A. Gilfillan $233.81, being an amount expended by him in the purchase and shipment of 322 bushels of seed potatoes, for planting, in May, 1895, for the Leech Lake, Cass Lake, and Winnibigoshish bands of Chippewa Indians, Minnesota.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

GERMAN EVANGELICAL CHURCH, OF MARTINSBURG, W. VA.

The bill (S. 536) for the relief of the trustees of the German Evangelical Church, of Martinsburg, W. Va., was considered as in Committee of the Whole. It proposes to pay to the trustees of the German Evangelical Church, at Martinsburg, W. Va., $2,500 on account of the destruction of their church building and its furniture on the 17th of February, 1863, while in the possession of a portion of the military forces of the United States, and through their carelessness.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

PEARSON C. MONTGOMERY.

The bill (S. 1168) for the relief of Pearson C. Montgomery, of Memphis, Tenn., was considered as in Committee of the Whole. It proposes to pay to Pearson C. Montgomery, of Memphis, Tenn., $3,200, in full compensation for all claims connected with the steamer *New National* and its use while in the service of the United States upon the Mississippi River and its tributaries prior to the 21st of March, 1863.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

CALVIN GUNN.

The bill (S. 262) for the relief of Calvin Gunn, was considered as in Committee of the Whole. It proposes to pay to Calvin Gunn, of St. Louis, Mo., $700, in full compensation for the amount due him as informer and ordered to be paid to him by the United States district court for the eastern district of Missouri in case No. 1387 before that court in the year 1868.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

NAPOLEON B. GIDDINGS.

The bill (S. 226) for the relief of Napoleon B. Giddings was considered as in Committee of the Whole. It directs the Secretary of War to cause to be investigated the circumstances of the alleged taking from Napoleon B. Giddings, in January, 1847, at Santa Fe, N. Mex., and deposit with A. B. Dyer, lieutenant of ordnance, United States Army, by order of Sterling Price, colonel commanding the army in New Mexico at that time, of 140 kegs of gunpowder, and to ascertain and determine the reasonable market value of such powder at that time and place, and whether the same, or any part thereof, was ever returned or delivered back to said Giddings, and the final disposition of such powder; and if the same, or any part thereof, was never returned to or delivered back to said Giddings, then to certify to the Secretary of the Treasury the amount of the reasonable market value at that time and place of the powder so never returned or delivered back to said Giddings; and directs the Secretary of the Treasury to cause to be paid to said Napoleon B. Giddings the amount so certified by the Secretary of War to be the reasonable market value of such powder.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

GEORGE A. ORR.

The bill (S. 227) for the relief of George A. Orr was considered as in Committee of the Whole. It proposes to pay the claim of George A. Orr as acting assistant provost-marshal at Mount Vernon, Mo., from May 28, 1863, to January 30, 1864, at the rate of $100 per month for his services, and such sum for legitimate expenses during that period as may be shown and found to have been actually expended by him in the lawful discharge of his duties and necessary for the public service.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

JOSEPH W. CARMACK.

The bill (S. 228) for the relief of Joseph W. Carmack was considered as in Committee of the Whole. It proposes to pay to Joseph W. Carmack, late of Company A, Sixth Missouri Cavalry, the pay and allowances of a first sergeant of cavalry from the 1st day of May, 1862, to the 30th day of September, 1862, less any pay received by him during that period.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

JOHN S. NEET, JR.

The bill (S. 229) for the relief of John S. Neet, jr., was considered as in Committee of the Whole. It proposes to pay to John S. Neet, jr., late a private in Company C, Third Regiment Missouri State Militia Cavalry, afterwards Company L, Sixth Missouri State Militia Cavalry, $100, in full payment of the sum allowed him in October, 1878, by the Third Auditor of the Treasury Department.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

JOHN M. DAVIS.

The bill (S. 230) for the relief of John M. Davis was considered as in Committee of the Whole. It directs the Secretary of War to revoke and set aside the general order approving and confirming the sentences of the court-martial dismissing John M. Davis, captain of Company H, of the Sixty-third Regiment Illinois Volunteer Infantry, and to issue to him an honorable discharge as of date of April 9, 1865.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Who reported the bill?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The bill was reported from the Committee on Military Affairs by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. COCKRELL].

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. I should like to ask the Senator from Missouri how he supposes that Congress or the President can set aside the judgment of a court-martial?

Mr. COCKRELL. Because the President has express authority to approve or disapprove of it. It has to come to the Department for final action, and the bill simply authorizes them to undo what they have done, and which they could have done in the beginning.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. I suppose the President has once approved of the sentence of the court-martial.

Mr. COCKRELL. Yes. The bill simply vests him with authority to consider the case again, and it is the only way on earth to correct the record of a man who was unjustly dealt with.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. I am very glad the Senator has reported the bill in this form. Whenever I have wanted to accomplish an end of that sort I have been told by the Military Affairs Committee that it was not within the power of Congress to do it.

Mr. COCKRELL. The Senator is mistaken about being so told by the Committee on Military Affairs. This is the form of bill which has now been used for four Congresses. Bills similar to this were passed in the Fifty-second, the Fifty-third, and the Fifty-fourth Congresses. It is the form which has been adopted; it was prepared with great care, after consultation with the officers of the War Department. There have been twenty cases at least which have followed this form where the bills have been passed and are now law.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. That applies to any court-martial?

Mr. COCKRELL. To special and general courts-martial; it does not make any difference which. This was a general court-martial; it recommended the dismissal of the officer, and the proceedings had to come to the War Department for action.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

EZRA S. HAVENS.

The bill (S. 231) for the relief of Ezra S. Havens was considered as in Committee of the Whole. It proposes to pay to Ezra S. Havens, late captain of Company G, Eighteenth Regiment Missouri Volunteer Infantry, the pay and allowances of a captain of infantry in the late volunteer service from the 11th day of March, 1862, to the 2d day of February, 1863.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

MISSOURI MILITARY ACADEMY.

The bill (S. 232) for the relief of A. F. Fleet, superintendent of the Missouri Military Academy, Mexico, Mo., was considered as in Committee of the Whole. It proposes to relieve A. F. Fleet, superintendent of the Missouri Military Academy, Mexico, Mo., from all money responsibility for so much of the ordnance and ordnance stores issued to that academy under its bond as was destroyed by fire September 24, 1896.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

RETIRED PAY OF JUDGES.

The bill (S. 1565) to amend and make certain the intent of section 714 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, providing for salaries of judges in certain cases after retirement, was considered as in Committee of the Whole. It provides that whenever the judge of any court provided for in section 714 of the Revised Statutes of the United States shall have held two or more commissions for different courts, or as justice and chief justice of the same court, his time of service under each of those commissions shall be reckoned in making up his ten years provided for in the act, and he shall be entitled, after retiring, to receive the salary he was entitled to at the time of retiring.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

WILLIAM P. BUCKMASTER.

The bill (S. 252) for the relief of William P. Buckmaster was considered as in Committee of the Whole. It proposes to pay to William P. Buckmaster, surviving partner of James Murphy & Co., late of New York City, $22,386.61, being a balance due for

labor and material furnished by James Murphy & Co. in the construction of the machinery for the double-ender vessel *Otsego*.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

WILLIAM WOLFE.

The bill (S. 251) for the relief of William Wolfe, of Shelbina, Shelby County, Mo., was considered as in Committee of the Whole. It authorizes the Secretary of War to cause to be investigated the claim of William Wolfe for the loss of the schooner *Anna Sophia* and her freight while in the military service of the United States. Upon the certification of the award the Secretary of the Treasury is directed to pay to William Wolfe the amount so found to be due him from the United States, not to exceed $9,262.29.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

HENRY J. HEWITT.

The bill (S. 261) for the relief of Henry J. Hewitt was considered as in Committee of the Whole. It authorizes the Secretary of War to cause to be investigated the claim of Henry J. Hewitt, of Missouri, for corn, oats, hay, horses, and wagons taken from him for the use of the Army in northern Missouri, and for the use and occupation of his hotel, storehouse, and barns by the military authorities of the United States, and to report the result thereof to Congress.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

RICHMOND COLLEGE, RICHMOND, VA.

The bill (S. 677) for the relief of Richmond College, located at Richmond, Va., was considered as in Committee of the Whole. It proposes to pay to Richmond College, Richmond, Va., $25,000 for the occupation of its buildings and grounds by United States troops and officers for the period of eight months and for injury to and destruction of the buildings, the apparatus, libraries, and other property of the college by the troops and officers.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

JOHN F. W. DETTE.

The bill (S. 273) for the relief of John F. W. Dette was considered as in Committee of the Whole. It directs the Secretary of War to cause to be examined the conditions of the contract of John F. W. Dette with the United States to build a stone wall of masonry around the national cemetery at Jefferson Barracks, St. Louis County, Mo., and what, if any, sum is reasonably and equitably due to Mr. Dette, in addition to the amount already paid him, by reason of any changes or modifications in his contract, and to report the result to Congress.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

HEIRS OF JAMES BRIDGER, DECEASED.

The bill (S. 272) for the relief of the heirs of James Bridger, deceased, was considered as in Committee of the Whole. It proposes to pay to the heirs of James Bridger, deceased, $6,000, in full satisfaction for his improvements made at Fort Bridger, Utah Territory, which were appropriated by the United States Army.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

ANNA M. COLMAN.

The bill (S. 253) to permit Anna M. Colman, a widow, to prosecute a claim, was considered as in Committee of the Whole. It proposes to refer to the Court of Claims the claim of Anna M. Colman, widow and sole legatee of Charles D. Colman, deceased, against the United States, on account of the seizure by the United States of certain moneys and securities in St. Louis, Mo., about February, 1865, held by the bailee as a special deposit theretofore made by Charles D. Colman.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

TONNAGE TAX.

The bill (S. 621) concerning tonnage tax was announced as the next business in order on the Calendar.

Mr. COCKRELL. The Senator from Connecticut [Mr. PLATT] suggested that the bills reported by the Senator from Maine [Mr. FRYE], the chairman of the Committee on Commerce, should be passed over. I suggest that this bill be passed over, unless there is some one present to take charge of it.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. If there be no objection, the bill will be passed over.

HEIRS OF THOMAS U. WALTER, DECEASED.

The bill (S. 1269) for the relief of Olivia and Ida Walter, heirs and children of Thomas U. Walter, deceased, was considered as in Committee of the Whole. It proposes to pay to the beneficiaries named $14,000, in full satisfaction of all claims against the United States for services rendered by the testator in connection with any of the public buildings belonging to the Government, whether as architect, designer, disbursing agent, superintendent, or otherwise.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

ST. CHARLES (MO.) COLLEGE.

The bill (S. 249) for the relief of St. Charles College was considered as in Committee of the Whole. It directs the Secretary of War to cause to be investigated the alleged use and occupation by the United States military authorities during the late war of the college buildings and grounds of St. Charles College, in St. Charles County, Mo. Upon certification of the award the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized to pay to the college the amount found to be due from the United States.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

L. ROBERT COATES & CO., OF BALTIMORE.

The bill (S. 714) for the relief of L. Robert Coates & Co., of Baltimore, Md., was considered as in Committee of the Whole. It proposes to pay to L. Robert Coates & Co., of Baltimore, Md., $5,273.30, in full of the bill of the firm for steel plates furnished for and which were used in the construction of the U. S. lighthouse steamer *Zizania*.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

POTOMAC STEAMBOAT COMPANY.

The bill (S. 1010) for the relief of the Potomac Steamboat Company was considered as in Committee of the Whole. It proposes to pay to the Potomac Steamboat Company $5,000, being the amount paid by that company for services rendered to the steamer *Excelsior*, belonging to it, when she was sunk by the U. S. steam tug *Fortune* in Hampton Roads, Virginia.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

RESIDUARY LEGATEES OF MARK DAVIS.

The bill (S. 437) for the relief of the residuary legatees of Mark Davis, deceased, was considered as in Committee of the Whole.

The preamble recites that the military authorities of the United States in command of the city of New Orleans on the 23d day of February, 1863, demanded and received from the agent of Mark Davis, a loyal citizen of the United States, then residing at Petersburg, Va., certain personal property, consisting in part of fifty-five promissory notes, of the amount and value in the aggregate, without interest and deducting certain indorsements thereon, of $27,383.38, and legal currency to the amount of $275.30, and also demanded and received possession of certain real estate belonging to Mark Davis, and subsequently collected certain rents for the use and occupation of the same, all of which personal property and real estate were duly receipted for by the officer receiving the same; and that Mark Davis has since died, leaving a will wherein certain parties are constituted residuary legatees of his estate.

The bill proposes to pay to the personal representative of Mark Davis, deceased, for the use of his residuary legatees named in his last will and testament, or their heirs or assigns, $21,828.33, that being the amount and value of the promissory notes and cash so taken.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

The preamble was agreed to.

BLUE MOUNTAIN IRRIGATION AND IMPROVEMENT COMPANY.

The bill (S. 1233) extending the time allowed the Blue Mountain Irrigation and Improvement Company for the construction of its reservoirs and canal in and through the Umatilla Indian Reservation, in the State of Oregon, was announced as next in order on the Calendar.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The senior Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. CHANDLER], who is not now in his seat, requested that the bill be passed over, retaining its place. It will be passed over.

JOHN W. LEWIS.

The bill (S. 1153) for the relief of John W. Lewis, of Oregon, was considered as in Committee of the Whole. It proposes to pay to John W. Lewis, register of the land office at The Dalles, Oreg., $521.97, being the amount of his maximum compensation in addition to his salary from April 17, 1890, to July 7, 1890.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

CLASSIFICATION OF LANDS IN OREGON.

The bill (S. 746) to provide for the examination and classification of certain lands in the State of Oregon was announced as next in order.

Mr. COCKRELL. That is quite a lengthy bill, and the Senator

reporting it is not here. I suggest that it be passed over without losing its place.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The bill will lie over.

BRIDGE ACROSS THE RED RIVER OF THE NORTH.

The bill (S. 1451) to authorize the construction of a bridge across the Red River of the North at Drayton, N. Dak., was considered as in Committee of the Whole.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

INDIAN APPROPRIATION BILL.

Mr. PETTIGREW submitted the following report:

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate numbered 10 to the bill (H. R. 15) making appropriations for the current and contingent expenses of the Indian Department and for fulfilling treaty stipulations with various Indian tribes for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1898, and for other purposes, having met, after full and free conference have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 10, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter inserted by said amendment insert the following:

"The Secretary of the Interior is hereby directed to at once allot agricultural lands in severalty to the Uncompahgre Ute Indians now located upon or belonging to the Uncompahgre Indian Reservation in the State of Utah, said allotments to be upon the Uncompahgre and Uintah reservations or elsewhere in said State. And all the lands of said Uncompahgre Reservation not theretofore allotted in severalty to said Uncompahgre Utes shall, on and after the 1st day of April, 1898, be open for location and entry under all the land laws of the United States."

And the Senate agree to the same.

R. F. PETTIGREW,
F. M. COCKRELL,
Managers on the part of the Senate.

J. S. SHERMAN,
CHARLES CURTIS,
Managers on the part of the House.

Mr. PETTIGREW. I ask that the conference report be agreed to.

The report was concurred in.

PORTRAIT OF DANIEL D. TOMPKINS.

The bill (S. 107) to purchase a portrait of Daniel D. Tompkins, late Vice-President of the United States, painted by Jarvis in 1812, was announced as next in order on the Calendar.

Mr. COCKRELL. Let that be passed over.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The bill will be passed over.

FORT PEMBINA MILITARY RESERVATION.

The bill (S. 1492) providing for the selection of the lands within Fort Pembina Military Reservation, N. Dak., by the State of North Dakota was considered as in Committee of the Whole. It provides that the lands within the limits of the Fort Pembina Military Reservation, in the State of North Dakota, may be selected, at any time within one year after the passage of this act or the approval of the survey of the reservation by the Secretary of the Interior, by the State of North Dakota as a part of the lands granted to the State under the provisions of an act to provide for the admission of North Dakota into the Union, approved February 22, 1889; and when the lands are selected as herein provided, the Secretary of the Interior shall cause patents to be issued to the State of North Dakota. But if the State of North Dakota shall select the lands, such selections shall embrace all the lands in the reservation in the State of North Dakota, not exceeding the amount of land granted the State by the enabling act.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

EXECUTOR OF C. M. SHAFFER.

The bill (S. 537) for the relief of the executor of C. M. Shaffer, deceased, was considered as in Committee of the Whole.

The bill was reported from the Committee on Claims with amendments.

The first amendment was, in line 7, before the word "hundred," to strike out "five" and insert "four;" so as to read:

That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to pay to the executor of C. M. Shaffer, deceased, of Berkeley County, W. Va., out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of $1,400, in full payment for rent and occupation of his warehouse in the town of Martinsburg, in said county and State, as a commissary storehouse during the war of the rebellion.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was to add at the end of the bill the following proviso:

Provided, That he is satisfied after examining the claim that said warehouse was actually occupied by the United States for the purpose alleged; and the claim shall be allowed at the rate of $50 a month for such time as it was so occupied and not paid for.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was reported to the Senate as amended, and the amendments were concurred in.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

WAR IN CUBA.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The hour of 2 o'clock having arrived, it is the duty of the Chair to lay before the Senate the unfinished business, which is Senate joint resolution 26.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the joint resolution (S. R. 26) declaring that a condition of public war exists in Cuba, and that strict neutrality shall be maintained.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The pending question is on the motion of the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE] to refer the joint resolution to the Committee on Foreign Relations, on which the Senator from Illinois [Mr. MASON] is entitled to the floor.

Mr. MASON. Mr. President, that we may have a fair understanding as to the pending joint resolution, I desire briefly to state its contents. As I understand it, it is Senate joint resolution No. 26, Order of Business on the Calendar 59. I desire to call the attention of the Senate to the fact that it was introduced on the 1st day of April, and on the 6th of April it was placed on the Calendar.

The provisions of the joint resolution are, simply:

Resolved, etc., That a condition of public war exists between the Government of Spain and a government proclaimed and for some time maintained by force of arms by the people of Cuba, and that the United States of America shall maintain a strict neutrality between the contending powers, according to each all the rights of belligerents in the ports and territory of the United States.

One of the interesting things to be discussed might be the "state of the art," as we call it in the law business, of this particular resolution. It will be the "state of the art" of polite delay, to take the place of the old-fashioned game we used to call filibustering. Some of our distinguished friends in the minority have delayed action day after day upon the pending joint resolution upon one pretense after another, although long before I took my seat in this Chamber the people of the United States had expected this body to speak upon this question. Day after day the people have heard for the past month the voice of eloquent Senators saying what must be done in this great cause.

Day after day the papers have been full of the announcement that this country was at last to speak, and that the barbarities inflicted by the Spaniard on the Cuban were to have some rebuke at least in the Senate of the United States. The rules of the Senate, to which we all bow with such graceful dignity, have permitted this gentlemanly filibuster to continue until there is to-day no guaranty that the voice of the people will be heard here, or that there is to be any protest from the American people, either in the legislature or by the Executive, against the sale of girls, the murder of children, and the barbarities that the Spaniard calls "war."

That is the state of the art.

But I want to say to my colleagues now, at the opening of the discussion that I shall be indulged in, I am not going to deal in technicalities. I am not going to dwell long on international law. Every student of international law knows that it is made by force and that there is no barbarity of all the past that did not find its precedent in international law. International law is as flexible as time, as changeable as everything else in the earth.

I am not studied much in the use of language. I much believe in the old-fashioned definition that language is the means of communicating thought. I have not yet learned to appreciate the modern diplomatic definition that language is the means of concealing thought. I am here to say as a Republican, I am here to carry out the pledges of my party in convention assembled, that there is no question before the American people so much demanded by the hearts of the intelligent Christian people of this country as the demand made upon us here and now that we shall lift our voices and our hands in defense of liberty in the Island of Cuba. Day after day has passed, Mr. President, but no vote has been had. No one in this body doubts the reason why. A majority of us favor the measure, but the majority can not control.

The Executive, that splendid American citizen, has been somewhat criticised, I think by the Senator from Nevada [Mr. STEWART], upon some of his ideas upon silver; for there is no discussion so sacred that will not invite the question if there is the jingle of a 10-cent piece on the carpet. He criticises our President upon his position on the financial question. Some of the other friends have been inclined to praise him on account of other things. I am here neither to praise nor to criticise the President. It is enough for me to know that in the most exciting political campaign this country has ever seen, amidst the heat of battle and the dust and noise, William McKinley's name, his splendid character, his beautiful life, was like a pillar of fire by night that led us to the greatest victory we have known in modern times, for an honest currency and for protection to the industries of the country. I do not and I shall not criticise him for the delay. I trust his judgment even though I may differ with him. I reserve the right to express my opinion and to cast my vote upon this question when the hour shall come.

And to prove to you, Mr. President, and to my colleagues upon this floor, that the hour has come, let me read to you the message of yesterday. What is it that we contend for in the joint resolution? Namely, that there is a state of war, and that we will agree to keep hands off and give every side fair play; to let the insurgents come into this country as well as the Spaniards. Here is the proof of the necessity of the pending joint resolution, in the communication made yesterday by the President of the United States. I desire to read but a part of it. The President says:

The agricultural classes have been forced from their farms into the nearest towns, where they are without work or money.

Who forced them from their farms? Was it the insurgents? If so, then there is war by the confession of the document itself. Was it the Spaniards who forced 800 American citizens away from a chance to eat bread in the sweat of their own face? Then if there is not war, there ought to be, and with us. Eight hundred American citizens driven from their homes, starving and unsheltered; yet friends upon this floor say, "We do not think there is much of a war." Answer me, then, the question, Who drove these American citizens from their homes? Stand by them one way or the other. If they were driven away by the insurgent, you admit the insurgent is strong enough to make war. If they were driven away by the Spaniard, you ought to be man enough to stand up and give heart and courage to the struggling people of Cuba and to defend American citizens, not alone with a piece of bread, but, if need be, with bayonets and a "Long Tom."

I call your attention, Mr. President, to another part of this message. I voted for it. I had no desire to antagonize that resolution in order to pass this resolution, which I think more important. It was half a loaf better than none. Let me read you further on in this same message:

The local authorities of the several towns, however kindly disposed, are unable to relieve the needs of their own people and are altogether powerless to help our citizens.

What is the matter with our citizens in Cuba? They are hungry in a state of peace, in a land flowing with milk and honey, where all you have to do is to put your hand out and gather the gifts of God Almighty to cover yourself and feed yourself, and yet we are told by the people who say there is no war that they need means to provide them with the things they need to eat. Again I say, Who prevents it? Is it the insurgent? Then there is war. Is it the Spaniard? Then there ought to be war.

I will read one more sentence from this document, which proves the necessity of the passage of the joint resolution under consideration:

The latest report of Consul-General Lee estimates six to eight hundred Americans are without means of support.

How did it happen, Mr. President? American citizens there investing their money, tying their life and their futures with the future of Cuba. How did it happen that six or eight hundred of them, known to the consul-general, are out of food and out of employment?

It is desirable that a part of the sum which may be appropriated by Congress should, in the discretion of the Secretary of State, also be used for the transportation of American citizens who, desiring to return to the United States, are without means to do so.

Eight hundred starving Americans in the Island of Cuba, and we boasting of the right of an American to go anywhere in the world! And now we stand in this position: Instead of demanding protection of the Spaniard alike with the insurgent for American citizens, we say: "Please, Mr. Spaniard, we do not mind your killing the Cuban women and children; we do not mind your selling the daughters of the insurgent to the lustful sensuality of the Spanish army, but, oh, please, kind Mr. Spaniard, with the gentle, insinuating stiletto, let us take a little of American bread to give to our poor, starving Americans in your peaceable island; and then, if they want to, please let us bring them home, that we can protect them under our flag." [Manifestations of applause in the galleries.]

The PRESIDING OFFICER rapped with his gavel.

Mr. MASON. And yet there is no war in Cuba! If the noncombatant is starving to death, what is the combatant doing? If the American citizens, 800 in one place, are being driven like dogs and swine into a herd, and the Spanish Government, refusing to feed them, compels us to send from our store, in the name of God, if it is not war, what is it?

The joint resolution we passed was this:

That the sum of $50,000 be, and the same is hereby, appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, for the relief of suffering American citizens in the Island of Cuba, said money to be expended at the discretion and under the direction of the consul-general of the United States at Habana.

Suffering American citizens! Do we mean to give notice to the world that Coxey's army has moved down to the Island of Cuba—that they are tramps—or do you mean to say by the resolution that passed yesterday that 800 American citizens, as good as you or I, entitled to the same defense under our flag as you or I, are suffering because the brute in command of the island drives them like dogs away from the place where they can supply their daily needs? We are so tender and so fearful of injuring the delicate feelings of the Spanish minister that we are willing to humiliate our citizens and feed them with the hand of charity, and yet the Senate of the United States says there is no war—the minority says so, and a minority of this body is always the Senate of the United States. [Laughter.]

Mr. President, I only want one minute upon the question of what brought about this condition of affairs. It is familiar to every gentleman upon this floor. Those people suffer exactly as our fathers suffered in 1770 and on until we relieved ourselves of the yoke of England—that lovely old mother country to whom we owe so much, as my eloquent friend from Maryland says. Yes, we do owe her a great deal, but, thank God, we settled a part of it at Bunker Hill. [Laughter.] There may have been a little balance in her favor, but we settled that by our votes here within the past two weeks.

TAXATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION.

The very moment that a Cuban baby comes from the womb of a Cuban mother that baby is taxed. When it is taken out of the cradle, its very swaddling clothes are taxed. Carried to the church to be christened, the very benediction of God is taxed—not by a kind of a tariff tax, Brother MILLS, but a tax to go toward keeping the Spaniard in idleness and lazy luxury. They are taxed from the cradle to the grave. When the groom takes his bride to the altar, she is taxed, if she has not been before sacrificed to some brute of a Spaniard.

Revolution after revolution came up, and when the insurgents had about won the prize the Spaniard, with that simple diplomacy—they are always diplomatic—with which they have always convinced the insurgents in revolution after revolution, persuaded them if they would only lay down their arms they would be better treated. Ten years at one time they stayed out. This time they have been out two years. Is it wonderful, Mr. President, is it at all surprising, that to-day the brave leader of the insurgent army says he has no compromise to make? The Cubans have been taxed and robbed until there is no place but death and starvation.

After the boy married the girl and went into business he was taxed. The sign over his door was taxed. The Spaniard found that was not enough, and put a tax upon each letter of his sign. They taxed his clerks, his amount of business, and stopped only when their grinding exactions threatened to crush out his life, and thus put an end to extortion. The native-born Cuban, up to some two years ago, could not even teach school in his own bailiwick, and has never been permitted to hold any office of honor or trust. Some of their children came to our schools. They heard the music of Yankee Doodle, and they took back to their insurgent father and brother the story of Bunker Hill, and they have begun to demand their right—their right to govern themselves.

Let me say to you, Mr. President, whether we shall sit silent on and on; whether we shall continue, in this dignified body, to be silent when all the people ask us to speak; whether the United States shall do its duty or not, under the providence of God, Cuba shall be free. There shall be no slave on the continent where our flag floats. [Manifestations of applause in the galleries.]

My friend from Maryland yesterday asked the question: "Where is the Cuban government?" I am going to ask the Secretary to read a statement which will take but two minutes. I propose to give my authority—Mr. Decker, one of those newspaper men who like to deal in fiction when they run short of facts, as my brother said, which I do not agree with.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SEWELL in the chair). The Secretary will read as requested, in the absence of objection.

The Secretary read as follows:

CUBAN GOVERNMENT.

Salvador Cisneros, President of the Republic of Cuba, has his headquarters, with a full cabinet of officers (and has continuously maintained it there), within 2 miles of Cubitas. Cubitas is a Spanish fortified town in the province of Puerto Principe, and about 50 miles northwest of Puerto Principe, the capital of that province. It is to the east of the trocha. In January last President Cisneros and his cabinet crossed the trocha and joined Gomez and remained with him until the end of February, when, at Gomez's suggestion, he again crossed the trocha and returned to his headquarters, Gomez remarking: "You know you are perfectly safe there." They have a constitution, a code of civil law, a code of military law, a military recruiting law, and an electoral law.

Under that law twenty-four delegates are now being elected to a central congress which is to convene September 2, 1897, for the purpose of electing a President and for the transaction of such other business as may come before it. The island is divided into districts, which are again divided into prefectures, and these into subprefectures. These prefects and subprefects are administering civil government according to the civil code. They also act as commissaries for the army and as postal officers. A very perfect and efficient postal service is in operation. Mr. Karl Decker, who is authority for these statements, having just come from a two months' sojourn with Gomez and the Cuban patriots, wrote and mailed through this insurgent postal service a letter to Consul General Lee at Habana detailing the death of Mr. Crosby and started for Habana the same day. His letter reached Habana six days before he did.

Mr. WELLINGTON. Will the Senator allow me one question?

Mr. MASON. Yes, sir.

Mr. WELLINGTON. I wish to ask the Senator whether that is the kind of information the Senate of the United States is to accept as to the existence of a government in the Island of Cuba?

Mr. MASON. Mr. President, when struggling humanity can only speak through its best methods; when the insurgent is surrounded by the Spaniard, who sells his daughter and murders his boy; when American correspondents of the newspapers go into the forests to find the news, and when the Spaniard covers every port of entry on the Island of Cuba, we should, in the name of humanity, take the best we can get and be satisfied with that. If this account should overstate the facts; if it be not true that they have an election; if it be not true that they have a capital, we do know this: The wealth of a nation is not measured by the capitol dome; the wealth of humanity is not measured by the money in the banks or the miles of railroad, and if the government of struggling Cuba to-day holds its capital under the trees, with nothing but God and the stars for a shelter, I am for that government just the same. [Manifestations of applause in the galleries.]

The information, of course, has not been conveyed by an ambassador nor other representative of the insurgent government, for none is here; he has not yet been received by our Executive; we have not yet declared that such government exists, and the effort to day is, upon the information we have, to lend a helping hand to this extent, by acknowledging their belligerent rights and giving the insurgents who fight for liberty the same right to buy our wheat, the same right to buy our corn, and the same right to buy our guns that the Spaniard has in our open markets.

Mr. GALLINGER. If the Senator will permit me, in addition to the testimony given by Mr. Karl Decker, I hold in my hand Document No. 19, published by the Senate, which shows the absolute existence of a government in the Island of Cuba, and not only that, but gives the constitution of the Republic of Cuba and certain laws which have been passed. Perhaps the Senator has overlooked the existence of this document.

Mr. MASON. I had heard of the document, but have never seen it.

Mr. GALLINGER. I think it would be well for the Senator from Maryland to see it.

Mr. MASON. "A government on paper," says the Senator from Maryland. That is more than Washington had at Valley Forge.

Mr. WELLINGTON. I beg the Senator's pardon.

Mr. MASON. I will give you pardon, but that is true. [Laughter.]

Mr. WELLINGTON. I deny it.

Mr. MASON. I do not care what you deny; it is true.

Mr. WELLINGTON. Oh, but stick to facts. Mr. President, I insist upon having fairness in this discussion. It is not necessary to go outside of the truth and start in upon fiction. You know, sir, and I know, that when Washington was at Valley Forge he had a government back of him. He had a government back of him before he went to Valley Forge. We know very well that when Washington was at Valley Forge it was the darkest hour of the Revolution. It is true that he was then surrounded by his Continentals, barefooted, hatless, ragged, and torn, but back of them there was a government, back of them was a Continental Congress, which had appointed Washington to be the Commander in Chief of that army. The Senator very well knows it. Let us be fair in this discussion. So far as I am concerned, I am willing to stand by fairness, but I will not be misrepresented upon the floor of the Senate. I will not have American history falsified upon the floor of the Senate for the benefit of even the Cuban insurgents.

Mr. MASON. Mr. President, I am extremely surprised that my friend should get excited. I made the statement that Washington at Valley Forge had a paper government, and it was a paper government. That paper was not worth a continental damn. [Laughter.] The money of your Government was not worth more than waste paper in the markets of the world, and you would not have had the power at Valley Forge to stem the incoming tide of the English if it had not been for Lafayette and public sentiment that came to our relief from all over the world. We propose now to give to Cuba what Lafayette gave to Washington at Valley Forge. [Applause in the galleries.]

Mr. WELLINGTON. Mr. President, one question more.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Maryland will suspend a moment. Occupants of the galleries are reminded that they occupy their seats by the courtesy of the Senate, and any infringement of the rules of the Senate which require order will necessitate having the galleries cleared by the Presiding Officer.

Mr. WELLINGTON. Mr. President, I am sure that my friend the Senator from Illinois is carried away by his sympathy for Cuba into making statements that will not be verified by written history. He knows when Washington was at Valley Forge there stood back of him not only a central Government under the Continental Congress, but there was back of that Continental Congress thirteen State governments which had been built upon the colonies which formed the United States of America. He knows full well that there were thirteen colonies that had been formed into States by the will of the people on each and every occasion. History will tell that the State of Maryland had been formed, and that the governor of Maryland, a civil officer of that State, sent the first regiment that left the Southern colonies to go to the assistance of Massachusetts in the great Revolutionary struggle—the Alleghany Riflemen, from my own section of the State. The Senator must know this.

I want to emphasize, sir, here and now, that there is not in Cuba to-day, and there never has been since the beginning of this rebellion or revolution, such a government as you can look to. There have been no jury trials, and you know that. Sir, there is not in existence there anywhere, in a province or in a central port, any government whatsoever that can be so denominated according to law.

Let us be fair. Let us discuss this. I know I am here in defense of a proposition that does not seem to be popular in the country to-day. I am willing to wait for vindication, because I am for my country and its best interests.

Mr. GALLINGER. You will wait forever.

Mr. WELLINGTON. The Senator says we can wait forever.

Mr. GALLINGER. No; you will wait forever, I say.

Mr. WELLINGTON. No; I am not going to wait forever.

Mr. GALLINGER. You will die waiting.

Mr. WELLINGTON. No; I am not going to die at present. [Laughter.] Oh, no; but if you are in favor of liberty and freedom, I will tell you how you can best get it for Cuba, and how you can best get it for all the countries around you—make republican institutions respectable, say when there is a republic that there shall be back of it conservatism and law.

I am proud of my country, and I do not intend to be placed in a false position upon this matter. I am as much an American as is the Senator from Illinois. I believe in liberty as much as he does. I believe in the flag of the country as much as he does, and when it comes to waving the American flag I can do that as well as he can.

But that is not the question. We are now discussing as to whether it is best that the United States of America should recognize the belligerency of Cuba. In my humble opinion, it is not best to do so, and for that reason I have taken the position that I took yesterday. One thing I did accomplish yesterday. It seems to have stirred up the gentlemen on the other side. It seems to have brought to the fore and front this morning the Senator from Illinois. It has brought him so far that he has left the land of truth back of him and is wandering in the land of romance and fiction created by himself. Unfortunately, that is not good ground to stand upon when you go into international questions. It is not a question of what the sympathies of this people may be, but it is a question, and a great question, to know as to what the effect will be upon the United States of America.

Mr. President, so far as I am concerned, the applause of the galleries or their hootings and laughter make but very little difference to me. I am here to carry out for the State I represent the feeling and sentiment I have and what I believe to be just, honest, and correct, and for the best interests of my country.

Mr. MASON. Mr. President, the statement of fact by my colleague from Maryland that he will not die is quite sufficient to gratify my most sanguine hopes. I hope it is true, but it is like some of his other statements in regard to the provisional or the present government of Cuba. This document, reported by the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. DAVIS], and the papers accompanying the report submitted by Hon. J. D. Cameron from the Committee on Foreign Relations of the United States Senate on December 21, 1896, on a joint resolution acknowledging the independence of Cuba, gives a full statement of the officers of that government; it shows what part of the island is under their control, and shows how they collect their taxes.

It is conceded that we gained our independence with but 3,000,000 of inhabitants. In the Island of Cuba to-day there are a million and a half at least; but the Senator would measure in his scales of justice and equity the divine question of liberty by mere questions of numbers. It follows, therefore, that if 3,000,000 Americans were entitled to liberty, a million and a half of Cubans are only entitled to 50 per cent of liberty. [Laughter.]

Here is their government. There is a report made by a committee before you and I became statesmen [laughter], before we took the oath of office at that desk and began to draw our salaries with great regularity [laughter]—speaking for myself. There is the report; there is the evidence. The Senator speaks of the great duty of the United States Senate. I call his attention to a publication in this morning's newspapers. I know, from the statement of the Senator and from many of my colleagues, that a newspaper statement is like a gentle breeze against the great Rock of Gibraltar; but here is the breeze, here is a petition signed by the leading merchants of the great cities in your country and mine.

Let me read you just one line of it. Let me show to the Senator that the Republican party was right in its convention platform when it said the great question to be settled in the future was to recognize belligerency and declare the independence of the Island of Cuba. You were elected on that platform, and so was I. The President of the United States accepted that platform in every detail, was elected on that platform, and I am here to stand by that platform while I continue on the pay rolls. [Laughter.]

The subscribers to this memorial, citizens of the United States, doing business as bankers, merchants, manufacturers, steamship owners, and agents in the cities of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Savannah, Charleston, Jacksonville, New Orleans, and other places, and also other citizens of the United States, who have been for many years engaged in the export and import trade with the Island of Cuba, finding that their several interests are suffering severely from the long continuance of the struggle now going on in the Island of Cuba.

Oh, there is no struggle there. They are mistaken. They have not been informed so officially by the Spanish minister in Washington. Every merchant who signed this petition was probably a common-sense American citizen. He did not have to wait to be notified officially that his cargoes could not go in or come out at the ports of entry. He did not need a telegram from the descendants of Queen Isabella that he could not do business in the State of New York and in the Island of Cuba. This is their petition. It is too long to read in full.

The magnitude of the American commerce with the Island of Cuba is readily shown by citing the volume of our trade with that island for the three years 1893, 1894, and 1895, in each of which years the value of our imports from Cuba exceeded $75,000,000. Our exports to Cuba ranged in value from $25,000,000 to $30,000,000 a year during these years, and had been even greater in previous years, during the reciprocity treaty of the United States with Spain.

When you read it you can see we have some financial and commercial interests in this little island as well as the sentiment that my friend likes to talk about—that sentiment, that splendid sentiment which is not moved at the sale of women and children, but that sentiment that brings tears to the eye at the thought of the great-great-great-grandmother who pawned her jewels for Columbus to cross the ocean. [Laughter.] Yes; she did. We have done her all the honors we can, and to her memory. It is not against Isabella; but let me call the Senator's attention to the fact, in passing, that the Spaniard in 1492 was a Spaniard and a Spaniard true. She sent Columbus across the water, risking her money against his life, to find gold for the queen; but when he could not produce the thing that the Spaniard wanted he put him in irons, and he died a pauper, and he is not buried in Spanish soil, thank God! who doeth all things well.

I am not familiar with the practice of the Senate, but I am growing somewhat familiar with some of its practices. [Laughter.] I desire, if it is proper, to save the time of the Senate, that this splendid petition, containing names of leading merchants in the great cities of New York, Philadelphia, and in Bethlehem, Pa., St. Louis, signers in Boston, signers in New Orleans, signers in Mobile, signers in Pensacola, Fla., signers in Brunswick, Ga., and so on to the end of the chapter—I shall be pleased, if it is proper (and if it is not, I shall ask the Secretary to read it, so that it may go into the RECORD, not all the names to encumber the RECORD), that it be printed in the RECORD, so that the Senators of the United States may know what the business men of this country think of this proposition, that the time has come that America should defend her own in the Island of Cuba.

Mr. MORGAN. I will suggest to the honorable Senator, if he will allow me, that he print that document as an appendix to his remarks, and put in all the names.

Mr. MASON. I ask unanimous consent to do so.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If there be no objection, the document will be printed in the RECORD, as suggested.

Mr. MASON. Speaking again of the government of Cuba, I have here a half dozen newspapers printed there; in the woods, they say. I can not read them. I can not even tell the dates. I have only the word of the gentleman who gave me them, and because I happen to be a Senator of the United States I do not think I ought to get so far on top of the Capitol that I can not receive common, ordinary, intelligent communications. The Spanish minister has not sent with his seal the statement that that [indicating] is a Cuban paper, but I believe it and you believe it.

It is common sense we are after. It is the common sense that our friends on the other side seek to avoid. I want it understood here now, as I present this petition from the merchants and the business men of these great cities, that it finds echo in every hamlet among the people where I live. During the political campaign just closed, during the great struggle for supremacy of the two great parties, I felt the pulse of thousands of people. There are no Senate rules among the people. In Illinois, if they do not like what you say they say so, and if they do, they let you know it.

In Illinois, from Cairo to Dunleith, 400 miles of the best State in the Union, the plain people there, as well as the merchants, in response to the proposition that the Cubans should be free, agreed with one acclaim whenever it was mentioned; and, while to-day the people are waiting with bated breath and financial affairs are based upon our action on the tariff, when you get at the deep undertone of the conscience of the Christian people of this country they say, "Let us have freedom in Cuba. Let the Spaniard go back to his own land, and let us have no slaves upon our continent."

Not that alone makes me make this plea. My friend the Senator from Maryland [Mr. WELLINGTON] understands that I appreciate and honor him for his convictions, and I ask at his kind and generous hands only the same consideration I give to him. I have not called names. I shall not indulge in that, and I shall not permit it. You can call jingo as long as you like. You may define jingo as long as you please. Patrick Henry was a jingoist according to the definition of the gentlemen who are trying to keep the insurgents in Cuba. Every man who had rather fight than to buy peace at the dishonor of his wife or his child has been called a jingo from the days of early republics until now.

I am for the liberty, for the independence of Cuba on a better and broader ground. I propose such action as shall secure for that island and for ourselves a better environment, not only for trade or commerce, not at all for the extension of territory—and that is the difference between the ordinary English lawmaker and ourselves. A friend of mine who was entertained at a dinner in London within three months related to me that when one of the great officers of the English navy said, "We are as ready as ever to extend English trade with the English navy," the merchants of London jumped into their chairs and put their napkins above their heads. That is not the sentiment of the American citizen. Nineteen hundred years we have professed to follow the Nazarene. It is not the sentiment that comes from an American conscience. I would not extend our trade one dollar nor sell one pound of American corn at the point of a bayonet. I would not steal the Island of Cuba, nor seek the acquisition of territory by force—which is another name for grand larceny—and I would not put the American flag in Hawaii or Cuba, or on the smallest island of the sea, to add glory to the flag, without the consent of the poorest inhabitant who lived in that island. That is the difference. I do not want Cuba. I am not praying for annexation. I hope I have one glimpse of the divine thought that was in Lincoln's mind when, driving along one day, he saw a struggling bug upon its back and got out of the carriage and with his cane turned the insect to its feet, and when he got back he said, "Well, I have given him a show, an equal show with all the other bugs." [Laughter.]

I wish to give Cuba an equal show. She is not getting it to-day. You are keeping it from her. To-day Spain can come into your market and buy every gun you have to sell, if she has the money. Last night a little band started out to cross the water to take guns and ammunition and dynamite to the insurgents. We watched it like hawks. We have filled our prisons with them. We are paying taxes to-day to keep native Cubans from going back to fight for their own country; and this is America, and this is the United States Senate!

Equal before the law is the demand of the joint resolution. Equal rights of belligerency—that is all that is asked for in the joint resolution by the Senator who has offered it—not preference, not help to the insurgents, but simply to give them a chance, one struggling chance, to come to our shores and with their money buy our goods. When you do it, when the sanctity of law is above it, in the providence of God there is a Lafayette in this country—I do not know his name, but somewhere among men who have grown weary of worshiping the millions some American will have told to him by his boy the story of Lafayette, and he will build the ship if the Government refuses to do so. He will bring ships, he will furnish the courage to the insurgents, he will stand for equal rights before the law; and all we ask is this simple proposition, that hereafter when the Cuban government, so called, offers to buy in our markets, offers to set sail from our ports, we will treat her exactly as we do the Spanish Government.

We hesitate because of an ancient barnacle known as international law—Presidential prerogative, Congressional jurisdiction—and we mingle words with the divine principles of liberty, forgetting for the time that we come from the great liberty-loving people of all the world.

Mr. President, I was going to read extracts from what purported to be instructions of the Assistant Secretary of State to one of our consuls in Cuba. Most of you are familiar with them. I do not believe it is fair to put into the RECORD those statements when the gentleman is said to deny them. The only denial I see is in the press this morning, which says that the State Department says that Mr. Rockhill never sent any such letters.

Therefore it is but fair to him, it is but fair to myself, and but fair to the cause I represent, not to quote those things and make them a part of the RECORD. It is charged; he denies it; the proof is not here. I leave it with his conscience, but I call his attention to one fact: In the communication yesterday received from the Executive Mansion, the facts of which were furnished to the President, presumably from the State Department, it is stated

that "official information from our consuls in Cuba establishes the fact that a large number of Americans," etc. When did this gentleman get that information to furnish the Executive? Let him answer the people and through the press to-morrow. He says he never told a United States consul to shade a report; he never told him to mark it "confidential" to keep the Senate from getting it.

Let him make answer through the press and over his name to-night or to-morrow, if he will. When, Mr. Rockhill, did you get the information that you sent to the Senate that 800 American citizens are starving in Cuba? Did you get it yesterday? Did you get it last night? Did you get it last month? You know what we know. Let him answer. He may deny, if he will, directing the United States consuls to withhold reports, but he can not deny, and show the file mark of his office upon the proposition that we believe to be true, that for days and months he has had possession of that information and that it never went to the Executive until Saturday.

One word, Mr. President, and I shall conclude. My good friend the Senator from Maryland [Mr. WELLINGTON], who is always in earnest and always good-natured, and who wrested the great State he represents from the fallacies of free silver and free trade, seemed to think yesterday, and has intimated to-day, that no newspaper reports can be relied upon. My rule in that regard is this: When they speak well of me, I am sure it is true, and if they speak ill, everybody knows it is false. [Laughter.] So we are very apt to act, I admit, when we read these reports from Cuba in the newspapers. When they do not happen to fit his idea of independence, belligerency, he can not possibly believe them, and I can not help believing them. It is the way we are made.

But as to his general statement in regard to them, he never means to be unfair, but he was. Chicago had a reporter on the field of a three-days engagement in Cuba. Charles Crosby was killed in the Island of Cuba. He was not there to write romances. He was there to furnish the great, throbbing 70,000,000 of people with news, news of struggling Cuba; to put a light upon the watch tower of the liberty-loving people of America that they might know whether liberty was dead or whether on this continent the slave should still be held. Crosby was not a romancer. He answered to his profession with his life. Of ten of the correspondents of the United States newspapers who have gone to Cuba, five have left their lives there. Fifty per cent of the ten we know. Four are dead, one of them is standing to-day in the shadow of the grave, and yet, going into a climate that is dangerous, going into the very field of battle, as the old war correspondents used to do in 1860 to 1865, they have stood where the fight was hot, and no man who carried a gun earned more honor in many a field than the brave newspaper lad who sent the news, sent home tidings of victory for the Union flag.

I insist that while newspaper reports are often conflicting, often, it may be, exaggerated, I insist that after eighteen months of repeated statements, after eighteen months of conflicting news—not conflicting upon one proposition—after eighteen months of regular reports from the scene of conflict, it is time for gentlemen to say we have got to accept the newspaper reports. There is no contradicting it. I do not deny the fact that they are often enlarged upon, but I do say that the best means of information we have comes from that source, and I am sure my distinguished friend did not mean, in the heat of his argument, to cast a reflection upon a class of men whose profession is as honorable as his or mine, and more laborious, involving much more suffering, God knows, to that class of them certainly who have to sit in the gallery at about $40 a week and listen to the speeches we make on this floor.

Mr. GALLINGER. Will the Senator from Illinois permit an observation?

Mr. MASON. Certainly.

Mr. GALLINGER. As I remember the matter, Mr. Crosby, the correspondent of the Chicago newspaper, lost his life while he was on the field observing a battle between the Spanish and Cuban forces. Is that correct?

Mr. MASON. Yes, sir. He stood within 6 feet of the insurgent general. He was shot by a sharpshooter. It is the first time I have ever known a Chicago newspaper man to get the worst of it. [Laughter.] He always gets the news and never gets hurt; but this brave boy, who was reporting for one of our Chicago dailies, was struck here [indicating] and the bullet came out there [indicating], and he fell, mortally wounded. He was a newspaper man, not a writer of fiction.

Mr. GALLINGER. Yet we seem to be hesitating, and some Senators are declaiming against our acknowledging a state of war in Cuba. They say it does not exist.

Mr. MASON. Mr. President, one word and I shall be through. I am sorry to have taken so long. I have felt that I wanted to vote upon this question, and following my platform, every line of which I read and a part of which I wish to insert in my speech, I intend to vote upon this question if it takes all summer.

My friend says that the four years of depression came from a lack of confidence in Europe. It is true to a certain extent.

Mr. WELLINGTON. I beg the Senator's pardon, if he will permit me right here again. I am sure he does not want to be unfair.

Mr. MASON. Not at all.

Mr. WELLINGTON. I said it arose from a lack of confidence both among ourselves and in European countries.

Mr. MASON. All right. I will accept the amendment. Still he has not told it all. It came from the widespread dissatisfaction and distrust; but it came principally because the money of the country would not circulate among the arteries of trade.

Mr. WELLINGTON. Why was that?

Mr. MASON. Because of the passage of the bill that encouraged Americans to give labor to foreigners when it should have been given to the American people. You preached that doctrine from every stump in Maryland, and believe it as well as I do.

Mr. WELLINGTON. Certainly. I merely wished to emphasize the fact of the lack of confidence.

Mr. MASON. Yes; but it was not produced by anything we had done by way of demanding our rights among the nations of the world. Fear of Europe! Afraid of war! He suggested how gunboats would clean our frontier.

Mr. President, if we did not have a ship in the world, if every gun was melted into a plowshare, if every bayonet was buried, if every ship we ever had was sunk in the middle of the sea, there is no nation in the world, much less Spain, that would ever dare strike our colors or invade American soil. [Applause in the galleries.]

Here is my doctrine at St. Louis. Its location was a trifle bad. [Laughter.] "Cuba" is the heading. I am reading to you, my colleagues upon this floor, the platform I submitted to the intelligent people of Illinois as a reason why McKinley should be President and I or some other good Republican should be Senator from that State. I read it, and I want every gentleman on this side of the Chamber to remember, and those of you who have changed your minds, say so when you help to filibuster against the joint resolution. Oh, filibuster is a harsh word! It jars upon the sensitive minds and the delicate touch of those of us who are popular in Spanish quarters, but filibuster is the word. You have indulged in it with a grave and gentle smile. You have kept from a vote with a filibuster, covered with a masked face and kid gloves, but I give you notice that when you get a filibuster from Illinois there will be no mask, there will be no kid gloves. It will be a straight filibuster from the start to the finish.

Here is my platform that I was pledged to when I came here: "Cuba."

You remember how the great hall rang. The great, struggling, liberty-loving people of the world said: "At last the Republican party is on the high road to success. McKinley, sure! Liberty for Cuba will come." The Republican party spoke, and from the days of Lincoln to the days of McKinley it has never stepped backward from one plank of its platform, and it will not do so now.

"Cuba!" at St. Louis when we wanted votes. [Laughter.] Listen, my good Republican brother. There is here no question of Presidential jurisdiction or Congressional jurisdiction. The jurisdiction of the convention decided it—the jurisdiction of the convention—and there never has been a convention since Lincoln was nominated that came closer from the hearts of the people than the convention at St. Louis. Hear what the jurisdiction of the people was. Hear the decree of a court that always has jurisdiction once in four years:

The Government of Spain having lost control of Cuba—

What—

having lost control of Cuba—

Now, as a Republican, I ask the Republicans who live upon that platform, have they lost control, or do you rise to the dizzy height of Senatorial jurisdiction and forget your promises made before election and in convention?

Spain having lost jurisdiction—

having lost control of Cuba, and being unable to protect the property or lives of resident American citizens—

Was it not true? In the name of God and the light of prophecy, have you read the message of McKinley? Then go back and read the first chapter (our platform), and see whether, in the light of prophecy, taking Mr. McKinley's message, our splendid President and our splendid convention, it was not true. Did he not tell you that 800 American citizens are starving there? Did we not tell you in our convention that they had so lost control of Cuba that they could not protect American citizens?

Just let me read this plank:

CUBA.

From the hour of achieving their own independence the people of the United States have regarded with sympathy the struggles of other American peoples to free themselves from European domination. We watch with deep

and abiding interest the heroic battle of the Cuban patriots against cruelty and oppression, and our best hopes go out for the full success of their determined contest for liberty.

The Government of Spain having lost control of Cuba and being unable to protect the property or lives of resident American citizens, or to comply with its treaty obligations, we believe that the Government of the United States should actively use its influence and good offices to restore peace and give independence to the island.

In convention pledged to the loaf of independence, in the hour of success we hesitate to give the crumb of belligerency. I am proud to be a member of the party that never broke its pledge. Yes, it has once or twice, because the Senate was in the control of the minority. But from the days of Lincoln to the days of McKinley that party has never broken its pledge when it had the power in legislative bodies to fulfill it. In your convention at St. Louis pledges were made by those upon this side of the Chamber. My distinguished friend the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] was on the committee to draw up the resolution, and when it was heard, reciprocity shook the rafters, protection set everybody to work with hands and feet; but when we spoke the broad, deep tone of liberty, when we said we remembered Valley Forge, and by the eternal freedom there won, by everything dear to Americans, the Republican party was committed to the independence of Cuba, the hall and the rafters rang and the people all over the whole United States said, "Thank God! Amen, and amen."

Are you as good as your promises before election? Did you believe in the platform then? There is no one on this side of the Chamber who did not speak for it in all its planks, and to-day you stand here idle, not like Republicans, but like men who seem to have gone to sleep, men who seem to have forgotten the pledges their party made.

Mr. President, I had intended to read one or two instances where we do not rely altogether on newspaper reports. No one doubts the statement of John McCullough, an American who owns his own farm 20 miles east of Sagua la Grande. In February, 600 refugees were upon his farm starving, sick with fever. He rode to the officers of the Spanish army begging to buy quinine and other medicines, and the reply was: "Let them suffer." Mr. McCullough protested in the name of humanity, and he said they were pacific, innocent peasants. "But they are Cubans, are they not?" asked the Spaniard. Mr. McCullough said they were Cubans, yes. "Then let them die. So much the better. The quicker the breed is extinguished the better I like it."

No one doubts his statement. He is not a newspaper correspondent writing friction. No one doubts the statement made by the woman who has spoken in different parts, who saw the outrages in the past. No one doubts that they took the Cuban boy, 15 or 16 years old, and stood him in a line and shot him like a dog, not for what he had done, but that the blood of an insurgent was in his veins. You remember it possibly, about the time we came here; when I thought I saw the grandest nation in the world under one roof. I saw my colleagues come in one by one. I saw the Representatives of the House, and recognized that here was the lawmaking power of the greatest nation in the world. I saw the Supreme Court, in its dignity and its great equipment for work, file in one by one, and remembered that that judiciary, in all the annals of the past, had never had its character impugned or its reputation assailed.

I saw the representatives of the Army and Navy come in and take their seats here. I saw our wives and our children in the galleries, and I was inspired with the thought that this is the greatest nation in the world, strong in war or in peace; and at that very moment I remembered the Cuban boy, without a name, taken out the day before by the Spaniard to be shot to death. He asked only one privilege, that his eyes might be uncovered, that he might turn his eyes to the hills from whence he came. I have been outraged and shocked by the cruelties of the past, but I was inspired by the death of that Cuban boy, and I have been silent too long to carry out the wishes of the plain people who sent me here.

I hold my commission, Mr. President, from no set of men. I got my seat from no boss. I hold my place, your equals politically, through the machinations or dictations of no machine. By the eternal power I hold my commission from the people. I promised the people I would speak, but if I have been too long silent or too long speaking I shall answer to my people and my people alone.

You know the outrages. You do not need official returns. You know them from the reports of women in our country who have seen them pass the daughters of the Cuban out of the windows as a prey to the brutal licentiousness of the Spanish soldier, and we, fathers of daughters, gather our children about our own hearthstone and lock the outside door and say, "Am I my brother's keeper?" I am my brother's keeper! Then we march back to the Senate of the United States, with the voices of children and women in our ears, innocent girls ravished and murdered by the Spanish soldiery, and not denied; we gather around in our dignified way and talk about Presidential jurisdiction, Congressional jurisdiction!

Mr. President, no one expects war, but if to keep our promises with Cuba and protect her means war, let it come. If to protest against the butchery of women and children means war, let it come. If to defend the honest daughters of brave patriots means an insult to Spain and war, in the name of God, let it come, and come quickly. Whether you sleep bound hand and foot by the rules of order, or whether you speak like American brave men, the march of the Nazarene is upon us; liberty shall prevail, and the Island of Cuba, under the providence of God, shall be free.

APPENDIX.

BUSINESS, IMPERILED, VOICES ITS DEMAND FOR PEACE IN CUBA.

To the Hon. JOHN SHERMAN, *Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.:*

The subscribers to this memorial, citizens of the United States, doing business as bankers, merchants, manufacturers, steamship owners and agents, who have been for many years engaged in the export and import trade with the Island of Cuba, finding that their several interests are suffering severely from the long continuance of the struggle now going on in the Island of Cuba, desire to present for your careful consideration the following facts, in the hope that you may be able to devise measures whereby the termination of the struggle between the armed forces in the Island of Cuba may be hastened and the sufferings and losses of your subscribers may be relieved and commerce may be reestablished between the United States and the Island of Cuba.

The magnitude of the American commerce with the Island of Cuba is readily shown by citing the volume of our trade with that island for the years 1893, 1894, and 1895, in each of which years the value of our imports from Cuba exceeded $75,000,000. Our exports to Cuba ranged in value from $25,000,000 to $30,000,000 a year during these years, and had been even greater in previous years during the reciprocity treaty of the United States with Spain.

The struggle in the Island of Cuba has continued for more than two years, to the serious derangement of our commerce with the island, our imports from Cuba shrinking in value to some $30,000,000 in 1896 and our exports to Cuba in 1896 amounting to only $7,000,000, so far as ascertainable.

Many of your subscribers, moreover, have large interests in Cuba, either as property holders or holders of mortgages, or in the shape of business credit advances, and your subscribers see these interests, already seriously injured, now threatened with annihilation by the continuance of a state of affairs under which we can neither operate any business in the Island of Cuba with safety nor take the precautions possible in ordinary times to protect our interests.

It appears to your subscribers that for the reasons above cited they may venture to lay these facts before you most appropriately at this time, and they sincerely hope that you may be inclined, in view of the magnitude and importance of the American commercial interests that are involved, to give careful consideration to the serious blow inflicted upon our commerce and trade by the present disturbance in Cuba and to determine upon the expediency of taking measures which may facilitate an honorable reconciliation between the contending parties.

The restoration of peace in Cuba now, or within the present rainy season, would probably not only rescue from destruction the large interests of American citizens there at stake and serve to reestablish an important branch of our nation's commerce, but would prevent further loss of life, destruction of property, widespread distress, hunger, and suffering that are inevitably increasing accompaniments of an armed conflict such as has existed for more than two years now in Cuba.

Your subscribers especially solicit your speedy consideration of this matter, desiring relief for their own large interests involved, and desiring also to aid in securing the inestimable blessings of peace for one and a half million of residents of the Island of Cuba now enduring unspeakable distress and suffering.

The great cause of true humanity will be furthered jointly with that of American commerce by such measures as your subscribers trust you may deem expedient at this juncture.

New York: Lawrence Turnure & Co.; Muller, Schall & Co.; George Amsinck & Co.; Mosle Bros.; August Belmont & Co.; Berwind White Coal Mining Company; Morewood & Co.; Hugh Kelly; Munson Steamship Line; Schroeder, Baum & Co.; James E. Ward & Co.; Benjamin Perkins; Osgood Welsh; Henry Heidegger; Sartorus & Co.; Bartram Bros.; George B. Numois; Dieckerhoff, Laffloer & Co.; Peale, Peacock & Kerr; Flint & Co.; Flint, Eddy & Co.; H. W. Erichs; Henry D. McCord & Sons; Holt & Co.; Babcock & Wilcox Company; George F. Blake Manufacturing Company; Waydell & Co.; Gould Manufacturing Company; Bemett Watson & Co.; S. S. Hepworth Company; Colgate Hoyt; P. M. Dingee & Sons; Anglo-American Packing Company; Anderson, Favre & Co.; Fowler Bros., Limited; John Sinclair & Co.; Charles E. Matthage; The Ramapo Iron Works; The Ramapo Wheel and Foundry Company; Spery & Barnes; Halstead & Co.; Stevens & Benedict; W. J. Wilcox Lard Company; Carl Dreier; Central Lard Company; Edward Rorke & Co.; M. W. Peabody & Co.; E. George & Co.; H. A. Kessel; Hewlett & Lee; Cornell, Underhill & Boyd; Manning, Maxwell & Moore; Pond Machine Tool Company; Consolidated Safety Valve Company; Ashcroft Manufacturing Company; American Tube Works; American Tube and Iron Company; Pancoast and Rogers; Eppinger & Russell Company; North Packing and Provision Company; James Moore, jr.; E. A. Ferris & Co.; Rober & Bros.; John Wakeman & Co.; John Turl's Sons; Robert Deeley & Co.; Willard Hawes & Co.; John A. Stewart; Mrs. N. A. Bartlett de Oviado; Rothschild & Bro.; E. Hoffman Sons; Levi Blumenthal & Co.; F. C. Linde, Hamilton & Co.; Davidson Bros.; P. Denneriein & Son; Collins & Co.

Philadelphia: Alison Manufacturing Company; Baldwin Locomotive Company; E. A. Calves & Co.; H. M. Sciple & Co.; K. Straus & Co.; L. V. Kimmig & Co.; Castle & Schell; Morris, Rosenberg & Co.; Young & Newman; Benjamin Labe & Sons; Leopold Loeb & Co.; Lewis Bremer's Sons; F. Eckerson & Co.; Bremer Bros. & Bachen; Freyer & Eisenlohr; Sutter Bros.; Berwin White Coal Mining Company; Robert Steel; J. N. Brock, jr.; J. B. Hamel & Co.; J. J. Buchey & Co.; W. F. Hager & Co.; E. H. Bailey & Co.; Penn. Sugar Refining Company; Pennsylvania Warehouse and Safe Deposit Company; Isaac Hough & Co; Tatnall Paulding; Charles F. Meyer & Co.; H. D. May & Co.; J. E. Prague & Co.; George Harris, jr., & Co.; Barker & McCall; J. L. Nicholson; J. Middleton; James M. Stetson & Co.; Thomas Winsmore & Co.; W. J. McCahan Sugar Refining Company; Johnson & Higgins; Westmoreland Coal Company; J. W. Wartman & Co.; George Burghard & Co.; Julius Hirschberg & Bro.; J. B. Heil; Oblinger Bros. & Co.; Farmers' Leaf Tobacco Company; Teller Bros.; Walker T. Wilson & Co.; F. Loeb & Co.; L. G. Haeusermann; N. Louis.

Bethlehem, Pa.: Oliver Williams; S. W. Fuller; O. F. Liebert; J. M. Dodson; Charles W. Dodson; W. Dodson & Co.; F. E. Luckenbach & Bros.; B. O. Luckenbach; A. A. Luckenbach; William E. Stout.

St. Louis: E. O. Standard Milling Company; Kehler Bros.; G. P. Clamp Milling Company; Langenberg Bros. & Co.; Brinson Judd Grain Company; J. Mullaly Commission Company; J. W. Kauffman; Dabney Carr; J. J. Schulte & Co.; A. C. Coleman Commission Company; Messmore, Gannett & Co.; W. B. Orthwein Grain Company; Chapin & Co.; John P. Smith; R. Cleary Commission Company; C. B. Eads; E. D. White Grain Company; Wanson Commission Company; Hegel Milling Company; F. Hallersley & Co.; W. P. Gueys & Son; J. F. Imbs & Co.; Buchanan Grain Company; Annan, Bing & Smith; Fisher Flour Company; Sessinghaus Milling Company; Eggers Milling Company; D. J. Hancock; Newcomb Bros.; W. P. Howard & Co.; Saxony Mills; H. J. Childs; W. B. Westcutt; E. Beckmann & Co.; Bruce Commission Company; E. Begeman; Pipe Commission Company; W. E. Beckman; Acker Goldman Commission Company; Bulte Commission Company; Lessea Cotton Company; Brockmeier & Sieding; H. & L. Chase Bag Company; H. W. Baker Produce Company; H. C. Hollmann's Produce Company; R. Hartmann & Co.; Punsten Bros. & Co.; Muth & Bumgard; Hellman-Godlove Mercantile Company; Hassendeubel Bros. & Co.; Buxton & Skinner Stationery Company; J. E. Hall Commission Company; Block, Dean & Co.; M. Mello McKeen & Co.; C. A. Eberle; Geldehaus, Wulfing & Co.; Goebel & Wetterau; George A. Bayle; J. Hogan Printing Company; Charles Stiermier; Essmueller-Heyde Mill Furnishing Company; Smith Vincent & Co.; Connor Bros. & Co.; Armstrong Cock Company; Bemis Bros. Bag Company; Meyer Schmidt Grain Company; Steinwender Steffregen Coffee Company; O. H. Peckham Candy Manufacturing Company.

Boston: Charles B. Perkins & Co.; W. H. & C. R. Noyes; Estabrook & Eaton; The S. S. Pierce Company; I. Kaffenburgh & Sons; Waitt & Bond; H. Traiser & Co.; Seavers & Co.

New Orleans: Von Meysenburgh & Co.; W. J. Sanders; Silas Weeks & Co.; Alex. Harns; Elder, Dempster & Co.; Knoop, Frerichs & Co.

Mobile: Sullivan Timber Co.; R. F. McConnoll; Charles L. Hagar; Richard P. Deshin; F. H. Bromberg; John J. Meyer; R. E. Wilson; English Mfg. Co.; A. M. Bright; J. F. Cunningham; Anson Arnold; Meyer Jassen & Co.; James McPhillips; G. W. Thrufoot; B. F. Feist; T. H. Gusnard; Martin Horst; E. W. Christian; J. W. Bancroft; J. N. Vidmer; Christian & Croft Co.; H. D. Henderson; Castello & Bates Co.; S. Richard & Son; Wittich Bros. & Co.; R. C. Fosdick; Chas. J. Green, jr.; Roh & Joenes; F. A. Goodbrad; C. W. Barnett; J. M. Smith; G. L. Hopkins; R. F. Neville; H. B. Williams; F. Harrison; G. H. Randall; R. H. Codman; J. A. Laurence; Hubbard Bros.; J. L. Hubbard; J. M. Walsh; W. Henderson; Jacob Bright; H. Jones; Thos. Sadler; Geo. Van Deusen; Geo. Shears & Co.; Jos. Jossen; Hunter, Bonn & Co.; Heuronymus Bros.

Pensacola, Fla.: Southern States Land and Timber Company; John A. Merritt & Co.; R. A. Hyer; F. O. Hows & Co.; G. B. Kaftern; W. L. Wittich & Co.; Scarritt Moreno; Knowles Bros.; Cary & Co.; Rosases Bros.; J. Hilton Green; Jacob Kruger; J. W. Frater; Downing & Wilson; Doemus Burns; A. M. Moses & Co.; Henry McLoughlin; Pensacola Land and Lumber Company; L. Le Baron; J. L. Linsard; Edwain Fox; W. E. Bingham; F. B. Haberman; A. J. Hubbard.

Brunswick, Ga.: The Downing Company; National Bank of Brunswick; Brunswick and Florida Steamboat Company; E. H. Mayson, mayor; Charles S. Hirsch & Co.; Cancy & Parker; Southern Atlantic Towing Company; Rosendo Torras; Brunswick Foundry, Machine, and Manufacturing Company.

Mr. HOAR. Mr. President, it is not my purpose this afternoon to enter into a discussion of the question before the Senate. I hope before the debate shall be over to find an opportunity to say what I think of the proper policy of the United States and the power and jurisdiction of the Senate as affecting the great question of our international relations with which we have to deal. I shall, I suppose, retain the respect for the Constitution I have sworn to support which the Senator from Illinois seems to despise.

Mr. MASON. Seems to what?

Mr. HOAR. I shall retain also—I will repeat what I said, if the Senator did not hear it—I say I expect to retain that respect for the Constitution I have sworn to support which the Senator from Illinois seems to despise.

Mr. MASON. The Constitution or the oath?

Mr. HOAR. I shall retain also my respect for what he terms the ancient barnacle known as international law, notwithstanding the impassioned and exuberant oratory to which we have listened. I believe in international law, that mighty force under which nations are compelled to submit to a power other and greater than their own desires, and upon which depends in the last resort every hope of human liberty, every hope of peace, the security of the workman's wages, civilization, commerce, the sanctity of every human home the world over—and this notwithstanding the utterances of the honorable Senator from Illinois. But at this moment I wish to call attention to the position of the Senate and to the position of the Senator, and I ask that the pending joint resolution may be read at the desk.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read the joint resolution.

The Secretary read as follows:

A joint resolution (S. R. 26) declaring that a condition of public war exists in Cuba, and that strict neutrality shall be maintained.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That a condition of public war exists between the Government of Spain and the government proclaimed and for some time maintained by force of arms by the people of Cuba, and that the United States of America shall maintain a strict neutrality between the contending powers, according to each all the rights of belligerents in the ports and territory of the United States.

Mr. HOAR. Mr. President, Cuba, as has been said, is surrounded by a sea controlled by a Spanish fleet. Her citizens have no access, as Mexico would if she were in a like condition, to our territory. The only effect of that resolution, which is to be interpreted, and must be, and is meant to be, by "that ancient barnacle, international law," is that it declares that while the present condition of things continues Spain may search our ships at sea at her discretion, and that our citizen on that island who suffers from lawlessness there shall have in the future no remedy or recompense against Spain whatever; and that is the whole of it.

Six months ago that was declared and demonstrated by citing authorities in abundance, our own and those of other countries, as the whole effect of a resolution declaring the belligerency of Cuba and Spain; and the eloquent Senator stands up here and for two hours denounces those of us who hesitate to take that step with being indifferent to human liberty and attempting to postpone and to suppress his innocent and youthful ardor.

Mr. MASON. Mr. President, will the Senator from Massachusetts yield for a question?

Mr. HOAR. Certainly; for six.

Mr. MASON. All right; I only want one. Are you willing that we should have a vote in the Senate on the pending resolution?

Mr. HOAR. I expect to have one.

Mr. MASON. Are you willing to help us get a vote?

Mr. HOAR. I expect to help get a vote, and I expect before we get through to make that vote a little more intelligent than some Senators seem disposed to make it.

Mr. MASON. I have no doubt that that is your idea.

Mr. HOAR. Mr. President, my honorable friend has read from the platform of the Republican party, and I should like to have his attention for a moment, because, I dare say, he may want to ask me another question before I get through:

From the hour of achieving their own independence the people of the United States have regarded with sympathy the struggles of other American peoples to free themselves from European domination.

Amen! I declare now my renewed allegiance to that noble utterance.

We watch with deep and abiding interest the heroic battle of the patriots against cruelty and oppression, and our best hopes go out for the full success of their determined contests for liberty.

The Government of Spain having lost control of Cuba and being unable to protect the property or lives of resident American citizens, or to comply with its treaty obligations, we believe that the Government of the United States should actively use its influence and good offices to restore peace and give independence to the island.

We have listened delighted to the rhetoric which that declaration inspired in the Senator. But what is the logic? The United States must actively use its influence to restore peace; therefore we recognize belligerency. The United States sympathizes with Cuba in her heroic efforts at independence; therefore Spain may in the future, if she sees fit, search all American ships in those waters, and therefore we will abandon any just claim our citizens may hereafter have for damages they suffered in the island. That is the Senator's logic.

If you feel as you say, why do you not put a resolution in here:

Resolved, That the war in Cuba has become a butchery and an outrage, and therefore we declare war against Spain.

You are attacking us as filibusters, and yet you are sitting here silent for two months and likely to sit silent, as far as that is concerned, for months to come; you say that we ought to declare war and that this is an outrageous condition of things right at our doors, and not a man of you has the pluck to stand up here and offer a bill or a resolution based on your own doctrines; not a single blessed individual man of you is proposing to carry out your logic.

Mr. MASON. May I ask another question?

Mr. HOAR. Certainly.

Mr. MASON. You say that an acknowledgment of the belligerent rights of Cuba gives the Spaniard a right to examine our ships?

Mr. HOAR. I do.

Mr. MASON. All right. Is that any nearer a declaration of war than you want? Do you pretend to say that the mere acknowledgment of the belligerent rights of a nation is a cause for war under your so-called law of nations?

Mr. HOAR. Not at all.

Mr. MASON. Do you not know that it is not a cause of war?

Mr. HOAR. I do not think it is a cause of war.

Mr. MASON. Then you mean to say that an American citizen who suffers damages by reason of being in Cuba can not recover damages from Spain?

Mr. HOAR. I do.

Mr. MASON. I can not agree with you there. You and I will agree to disagree upon that point.

Mr. HOAR. What I mean to say is exactly this, that if Spain has mobs and disturbances or claims to have them in that island, and the property of an American citizen there is destroyed, we have a good claim against her for not preventing them.

Mr. MASON. Why do you not prevent it instead of appropriating $50,000 to feed them?

Mr. HOAR. I am talking about what you are doing now, and not what I am doing. I am coming to that a little later. I am talking about what you are doing, and I say that all this great brass band of talk about humanity and the outrages on women and children practiced at our doors is followed by this little slender, squeaking mouse of a resolution:

"Whereas our ancestors have loved liberty and we have loved liberty, and whereas we are the greatest nation on earth—Mr. President, when we are the greatest nation on earth, we shall stop talking about it; no great nation brags—whereas we are the greatest nation on earth, whereas all humanity are looking at us, and whereas our hearts are stirred to the very roots and our sympathies are boiling over with love, and whereas we are courageous and we are not afraid of Spain, and if we had not any ships, and had not any gunboats, and had not any army, and had not any guns, all the nations on earth would not dare to touch our flag; therefore, hereafter, Mrs. Spain, search our ships if you want to, and hereafter let your mobs destroy our citizens' plantations in Cuba if you want to, and we will not make any claim against you."

I think that is rather a lame and impotent conclusion. I do not see how this resolution, which the Senator is going to stay here all summer to get a vote on, carries out the Republican platform.

Mr. President, I will tell you what I think ought to be done, and what I think ought to have been done last winter; what I proposed to do, and voted to do, and advocated doing. I think the President of the United States should be asked by Congress to use his good offices with Spain to secure peace and independence in that island, and that is just what the Republican platform said. The Republican platform adopted the very proposition which the Senate had included in one of its resolutions, for which I voted, and which I advocated on the floor. I was reproached then by some of the gentlemen who take this theory that I went a great deal further than they did. The then Senator from Ohio, Mr. Sherman, thought I was going too far in that particular.

If that mediation fail, then I would have the President of the United States or the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate, or both, make a clear, calm, temperate, and well-proved statement of the facts existing there. I would not take them from newspaper correspondents, and I mean no disrespect to newspaper correspondents either. I would have them found as facts, just as a court finds the facts on which it enters its judgment; and if those facts be what the Senator supposes, and he does not think that Mr. McKinley would misstate them, I would proceed to say to Spain, "We find such and such to be the facts, on which we propose to act; and if you do not stop that war we will stop it ourselves." That is the way for a self-respecting nation to do—not stand here and brag and bluster and sputter in the Senate of the United States.

Mr. MASON. How long do you think it would take, under the present rules of this body, to pass a resolution of that kind?

Mr. HOAR. I think we would have rules that would pass it. I do not think you would find a resolution of that kind met by anything but the grave and serious and proper consideration which every Senator would agree belonged to it.

Mr. President, I do not know but I am an old-fashioned barnacle, as the Senator from Illinois thinks international law is; but I am one of those persons who have a profound respect for the Senate of the United States. Whatever title I have to human memory or human respect, whatever right I have to suppose I have rendered any service to my country or to mankind in my not now short life, depends upon what I have been permitted by the kindness of my constituents to say or to do in this Chamber. I have studied as well as I could the history of its foundation. There were two things which the United States of America contributed to the science of government, to the protection of human liberty, and to the ascendency of law among mankind. One was the institution of the Supreme Court of the United States and the other was the institution of the Senate. They were intended to be, they were, and still are, and, so far as I can have anything to do with it, they ever shall continue to be of equal authority and dignity. When the Senate of the United States has spoken or has acted, a great action, a great transaction, has taken place in the sight of mankind. We were expected in the beginning to be a tribunal raised above the tempests of human passion, the excitements of popular feeling, the flames even of amiable and honest and honorable popular emotion.

What would be thought if, when the Supreme Court of the United States assembled some morning, one of the judges should say, "I hear there is a man going to commit an assault and battery down in New Orleans; I read it in the newspaper, and I move that we pass a resolution to this effect, that if he commit that assault and battery this court will see that he is punished; and if we do not do it pretty quick, either the assault will not take place or it will be over." [Laughter.]

Then suppose another judge should say "I understand that there is an American citizen in a Cuban jail, and if we do not pass a resolution that the Supreme Court of the United States will sustain any proper method of setting him free, he will get out of jail; I understand arrangements are making and the man will get out of jail before we can get our resolution passed." Then suppose one of the other judges should say, "Will you allow me to ask you whether that man is really an American citizen or whether he has not got a naturalization paper that is fraudulent on its face?" and the judge interrupted should proceed to chatter, chatter, chatter for three or four hours, and say, "I will not submit to any interruption, and you will find the consequences exceedingly troublesome if you insist upon doing it."

Mr. President, that kind of performance is no more creditable to the Senate of the United States than it would be if it took place in the Supreme Court of the United States. It is not two days since a long resolution was introduced here, reciting that whereas it was alleged that somebody was going to apply for a pardon, therefore the Senate resolved that the pardon ought not to be granted until the man was first put into jail and then, being in jail, where he could not get out, came before the Senate and purged himself of contempt. [Laughter.] That resolution was referred to the law committee of this body, and they found not only that neither the President nor the Attorney-General had ever heard of an application for pardon, but the man never had any thought of making one.

I am sick of this kind of behavior in the Senate. I think it is discreditable, and I do not think I shall change my mind whoever berates or whoever reviles me for taking that attitude.

I do not think a recognition of belligerency is the way to deal with this condition of things. The Senator from Illinois wants to put down a cruel Spanish army, and he is calling into requisition the service of a mosquito to do it, and a mosquito with a very little sting.

Mr. MASON. You have never been in New Jersey. [Laughter.]

Mr. HOAR. I have never been in New Jersey [laughter], but I know the reputation of the New Jersey mosquito; and a New Jersey mosquito two seconds old out of the egg—if that is where he comes from—has more strength and more sense than the resolution of which the Senator from Illinois is so earnest an advocate. [Laughter.]

Mr. President, I want that plank of the Republican platform read, and annexed to my remarks when they go into the RECORD. I stand by every line of it. I call upon the Senate, I call upon the great Committee of Foreign Relations, I call upon my honorable friend from Minnesota [Mr. DAVIS], a great soldier and a great statesman, and the successor in his great place on that committee of great statesmen, to rise to the condition, to the dignity and the importance of this transaction. Do not let us talk about recognizing belligerency when one belligerent is surrounded by an occupied sea and the whole advantage of the recognition is to go to the party against whom we feel all our sympathies are enlisted. Bring on your resolution and your facts in a temperate, clear, strong, well-considered, and well-founded narration, and declare what you propose to do about it, and let Spain and the rest of the world understand it, and we will stand by you.

I believe, as the Senator from Illinois says he believes, that President McKinley is to be trusted to deal with this great transaction. If he wants any support from the Senate, so far as my vote is concerned he shall have it, but I am not going to get up here to make speeches for buncombe or for Chicago [laughter], which are to be followed by no practical action and by no sensible or discreet proposal.

The plank in the Republican platform of 1896, referred to by Mr. HOAR, is as follows:

CUBA.

From the hour of achieving their own independence the people of the United States have regarded with sympathy the struggles of other American people to free themselves from European domination. We watch with deep and abiding interest the heroic battle of the Cuban patriots against cruelty and oppression, and our best hopes go out for the full success of their determined contest for liberty.

The Government of Spain having lost control of Cuba, and being unable to protect the property or lives of resident American citizens, or to comply with its treaty obligations, we believe that the Government of the United States should actively use its influence and good offices to restore peace and give independence to the island.

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President, I remember when, a few weeks ago, we had a concurrent resolution recognizing the belligerency of Cuba before the Senate, the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] was very much disturbed because it was not a joint resolution. Now we have a joint resolution before the Senate, and he says it is of no more consequence than the voice of a mosquito of New Jersey or of some other State. It seems to be impossible to please the opponents of Cuba in this debate; and I submit that it is a very extraordinary statement for

Senators so old and so learned as the Senator from Massachusetts to make, that the passage of a joint resolution through both Houses of Congress is not a matter of some concern. It certainly is a matter that the Chief Executive will have to take notice of either by giving it his sanction or by giving it his disapproval.

The Senator from Massachusetts—and I am only going to occupy a moment of time to-day—treats with utter contempt this resolution, and indicates that those of us who advocate it are talking for buncombe for our own States or our own communities. That may be the highest form of Senatorial courtesy in dealing between Senators, and it may be one of the ways that the Senator is going to elevate this body to the dizzy heights that the Supreme Court occupies in the hearts and consciences of the American people. For myself, Mr. President, I claim to be just as sincere, just as earnest, and just as honest in my contention as is the Senator from Massachusetts in his; I claim nothing more for myself than I extend to him; but he is not justified, he has not been asked, and it is not his province to stand here and say that I or any other Senator who is advocating this resolution in behalf of Cuba is simply talking for the applause of the galleries or for buncombe with his constituents.

Mr. President, in 1870, when Cuba certainly was no nearer freedom than she is to-day, when she had fought two years, as she now has fought more than two years, a very distinguished Senator, older than the Senator from Massachusetts both in service in this body and in years, stood on this floor and presented a resolution in almost identical terms with the one that is now under consideration. I read it once before, Mr. President, and I want to read it again, because in all these criticisms which the Senator from Massachusetts makes of those of us who are young in the service and inexperienced in public life, and who have not had the advantages of education and learning which have come to that great Senator, I want him to realize the fact that when he is criticising the Senator from Illinois and the junior Senator from New Hampshire he is likewise criticising the present Secretary of State in the Administration of President McKinley. John Sherman stood in this Chamber on the 11th of February, 1870, and offered this resolution:

> Whereas the United States observe with deep interest the civil war now existing in Cuba, and sympathize with the people of all American nations or colonies in their efforts to secure independence of European power: Therefore,
>
> *Be it resolved*, That the United States recognize the existence of a state of war between the Kingdom of Spain and the colony of Cuba, waged on the part of Cuba to establish its independence, and the United States will observe strict neutrality between the belligerent parties, as is their duty under the law of nations.

Mr. ELKINS. May I ask the Senator a question?

Mr. GALLINGER. Certainly.

Mr. ELKINS. Was that resolution passed?

Mr. GALLINGER. It was not.

Mr. ELKINS. That is all I want.

Mr. GALLINGER. It was not, for we had filibustering in 1870 as well as in 1897.

Mr. MASON. And the same old rules.

Mr. GALLINGER. Yes, the same old rules.

Mr. WHITE. Do I understand the Senator to say that that resolution was presented here by the present Secretary of State?

Mr. GALLINGER. I did so state.

Mr. WHITE. There has been no similar document emanating from that office since, I believe.

Mr. GALLINGER. I do not know how that may be. The present Secretary of State was then a member of this body. I have read the great discussion that occurred on this resolution, and I have not discovered that any Senator in 1870 ventured to so flippantly discuss the matter as certain Senators are discussing this matter at the present time. They looked upon it as a serious question, and, while the resolution did not pass, the resolution was offered here by John Sherman, Senator of the United States from the State of Ohio, now Secretary of State of the United States in President McKinley's Cabinet.

Mr. HALE. Will the Senator let me ask if he will amplify a little on the intimation which he made just now, that there had been filibustering resorted to to defeat or to delay this resolution?

Mr. GALLINGER. It does not need any amplification. It speaks for itself.

Mr. HALE. Will the Senator allow me to make a very brief statement upon that point?

Mr. GALLINGER. Well, I think I will—yes. I am always delighted to hear the Senator from Maine, for he is always entertaining.

Mr. HALE. The resolution of the Senator from Alabama [Mr. MORGAN] was presented by him and debated by him for five days. He was not interrupted and could have had a vote at any time, but he submitted so many propositions that needed answer, and demanded answer, that brief answers were made by Senators opposed to his resolution; but all of the answers made up to yesterday did not take one-fifth of the time that he consumed in advocating his resolution. Then the Senator from Indiana [Mr. TURPIE] made another extended speech, which I did not understand to be done for filibustering, but which still delayed consideration; and up to yesterday, Mr. President, the advocates of this resolution had consumed five hours of the time of the Senate where its objectors and those opposed to it had consumed one.

The debate again started yesterday, and the Senator from Maryland [Mr. WELLINGTON], opposed to the resolution, consumed thirty minutes of the time of the Senate, and the Senator from Virginia [Mr. DANIEL], in advocacy of the resolution, delivered one of his masterly and splendid specimens of argument and rhetoric, and he consumed two hours and a half. I have not heard that called filibustering. Then the resolution went over, and to-day, when it came up at 2 o'clock, the Senator from Illinois [Mr. MASON] claimed the floor in advocacy of the resolution and talked in his entertaining fashion for an hour and a half, and then asked the Senator from Massachusetts, who was replying briefly and did not take up twenty-five minutes, if he was ready to take a vote.

Mr. MASON. I desire to interrupt the Senator, and to correct him.

Mr. GALLINGER. Interrupt me, if the Senator please, for I have the floor.

Mr. HALE. I am speaking by the courtesy of the Senator from New Hampshire.

Mr. MASON. Then I desire to interrupt both of you, by the consent of both of you.

Mr. GALLINGER. I am pleased to yield to the Senator.

Mr. HALE. So am I.

Mr. MASON. I did not ask the Senator from Massachusetts if he was ready to take a vote; I do not ask you if you are ready, but I ask you if you will give unanimous consent at any time within one day, two days, or two weeks that the vote may be taken on the resolution? Now I ask, Will you agree to unanimous consent to let us vote within a month on this resolution?

Mr. HALE. Of course I will. We will get a vote a great deal quicker than that.

Mr. MASON. All right.

Mr. HALE. But it is the height of audacity and impudence here in this body——

Mr. GALLINGER. I do not yield for that kind of language.

Mr. HALE. I withdraw that. It is the height of audacity, certainly, and it is a kind of colossal cheek—— [Laughter.]

Mr. GALLINGER. I have the floor.

Mr. HALE. I withdraw that.

Mr. GALLINGER. I am entitled to the floor.

Mr. HALE. I will withdraw that.

Mr. GALLINGER. I insist on my rights, Mr. President.

Mr. HALE. Let me finish my sentence.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair recognizes the Senator from New Hampshire as entitled to the floor.

Mr. HALE. We are not filibustering; we are not even talking——

Mr. GALLINGER. If the Senator will take his seat, I will proceed.

When I inadvertently used the word "filibustering," I did not suppose that I was to receive such a lecture from the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE]. The Senator is willing to withdraw his very offensive terms which he has used toward me—inadvertently, I presume, for they were very offensive—so far as this debate is concerned, and I am willing to withdraw the term "filibustering," because I had no intention of speaking more than a moment this afternoon. I rose merely to call attention to the fact that the senior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] had read some of us a lesson, and had called attention to the fact that this body ought to emulate the Supreme Court in its dignity and in its methods of procedure, and that we were doing a very wrong thing in advocating so insignificant and unnecessary a resolution as is now before this body.

Mr. HOAR. May I ask the Senator a question?

Mr. GALLINGER. Certainly.

Mr. HOAR. Did I allude to the Senator from New Hampshire in any form or manner?

Mr. GALLINGER. I presume, being a member of this body, the Senator did allude to me. He alluded to the Senate. If he does not consider me as a part of it——

Mr. HOAR. Did I allude to the Senator in any form or manner?

Mr. GALLINGER. If the Senator does not consider me a member of this body, he did not allude to me; but if he does consider me a member of it, then he did allude to me.

I will proceed for only a moment. What I desire to call attention to is the fact that this is not an extraordinary resolution, that during the other contest that Cuba had with Spain, lasting ten long years, precisely such resolutions were offered, and they were offered by the colleagues of the Senator from Massachusetts at that time, men whose names are prominent in the history of this country, names that will be remembered after the Senator from Massachusetts and myself are both dead and gone. That is about all I intended to say.

Now, Mr. President, in answer to the Senator from Maine, I simply desire to say this—and I have the authority of the Senator who offered this resolution to say it—that if those who oppose the resolution are ready to agree to take a vote on the resolution on Friday or Saturday of the present week, or Tuesday or Wednesday or Thursday or Friday of next week, we shall be very glad to enter into an agreement with them to have the vote taken at that time. I think the Senator from Alabama will bear me out that I have stated what he said to me a moment ago.

Mr. MORGAN. That is correct, Mr. President. Very frequently during the time the Senator from Maine has referred to I have asked him if he would fix a day or would consent to a day for taking the vote, and twice I have let the resolution go over for his personal accommodation.

Mr. HALE. Does not the Senator think such a request would come with better grace if, after presenting his case so elaborately, some reasonable opportunity should be given to Senators upon the other side to present their views? There is nobody on this side who proposes to occupy very much time; there is nobody who has occupied very much time in opposition to the resolution. The Senator from California [Mr. WHITE] spoke briefly, and when I had the honor to address the Senate I spoke less than an hour. I was then obliged to leave town by a message that I could not disregard. Nobody has made long speeches or has resorted to any tactics or any parliamentary devices to turn aside this resolution or to prevent a vote upon it. There might have been a vote after the Senator from Maryland [Mr. WELLINGTON] had spoken, but for the fact that the Senator from Virginia [Mr. DANIEL], as he had the perfect right to do, and ought to have done if he felt it his duty, addressed the Senate.

Mr. GALLINGER. Now, I should like to proceed, Mr. President.

Mr. HALE. I thought the Senator was through.

Mr. GALLINGER. I am not.

Mr. HALE. Let me finish my sentence. The Senator from Virginia made a remarkably strong speech and presented points that certain Senators want to answer, not at length, but briefly. I will guarantee that the Senator will get his vote. There is no doubt about that. But there will be, Mr. President, and there ought to be, a fair opportunity for reasonable discussion of this resolution, and at the end of that time neither the Senator from Alabama nor the Senator from New Hampshire need fear that there will be any attempt to delay action upon it. The Senate has a right to vote upon the resolution, and I want to see it out of the way.

Mr. GALLINGER. The Senator from Maine is a very adroit tactician and parliamentarian; we have learned that during the debate on all these Cuban resolutions; and when the Senator from Maine says we might have had a vote yesterday at the close of the very extraordinary speech made by the Senator from Maryland, he is possibly not aware of the fact that he had said in my presence that the opponents of the resolution had arranged to occupy the entire day and send the resolution over to this legislative day.

Mr. HALE. That was after the Senator from Virginia had spoken.

Mr. GALLINGER. It was not; it was during the speech of the Senator from Maryland that I heard the statement made.

The Senator is a very adroit tactician and parliamentarian. He knows perfectly well that the tariff bill is to appear here next Monday, that the debate on the tariff bill is to begin on Monday next, and he understood very well that certain appropriation bills were to come into this body and obstruct this resolution.

Mr. HALE. I wish I felt as certain about the tariff bill coming up next Monday as the Senator does. I hope it will.

Mr. GALLINGER. Of course, it is just possible it may not.

Mr. HALE. But there is no attempt to run this resolution into interference with the tariff bill.

Mr. GALLINGER. It is just possible it may be run into interference with the passage of the tariff bill.

I have said all I purposed to say when I rose. I simply desire now to make a brief statement in defense of those of us who have the audacity and the cheek and the temerity—to use some of the terms that have been used to-day—to say a word in behalf of struggling Cuba, under the circumstances that engaged the attention of this honorable Senate in 1870, when greater men were here than those of us who chance to be advocating the cause of Cuba to-day. It was dignified then. It was treated as a proper thing at that time; and I simply want to say, so far as I am concerned, that I am acting in quite as good faith as the Senator from Maine or the Senator from Massachusetts, and all I claim for myself in this debate is the same courtesy and rights that I very gladly extend to those distinguished Senators.

Mr. HAWLEY. Mr. President, I shall occupy the time of the Senate but for a very few moments.

I listened with a good deal of interest, and an occasional thrill, to the very vigorous eloquence of the Senator from Illinois [Mr. MASON], and the old French phrase occurred to me, "This is magnificent, but it is not war."

I have wished sometimes, not irreverently, I hope, that I might possess the power of omnipotence. I feel so when I look upon the condition of Cuba and the indescribable cruelties, the exceptional cruelties, that occurred there during that civil war; and every generous man's heart warms up when he reads the story about Greece and the wonderful behavior of the Christian powers in relation to Greece and Turkey. We are soon to see—mark the prediction; it is an easy one to make—we are soon to see Great Britain crush the Transvaal, the land of sturdy, brave, liberty-loving men, because the Transvaal stands in the way of that domination which Great Britain intends to extend over Africa, from Egypt down to the Cape. All these things I should like to be able, with a nod or a quiver of the finger, to put an end to. But I am afraid I should use my power unjustly; I am afraid I should be cruel also; but I sometimes wish I could do it.

We are in no condition as a country to step forward into the arena of the world and say we are going to see justice done by every poor people everywhere; that we will interfere; that we will declare belligerency, or that we will declare war. The Senator from Illinois asked with some vigor once or twice if we were afraid of war. Yes; I am. I am afraid of war on the part of an unprepared nation. I declare that we are not fit to undertake a war against any but the very weakest of the nations of the earth, and this is the text upon which I have been preaching these ten or twelve years, more or less. My hope is to see our coast defenses and our Navy put into such condition that we can conduct an international debate, for we can not have an international debate without the guns; and when we have something of an armament that is befitting our great place in the world, we can then afford to assume the responsibilities the Almighty placed upon us by reason of our wealth and our power.

I should be glad to have somebody explain more particularly and satisfactorily what would be the result of this declaration of belligerency. I have looked at the books, and I am not quite clear about it. I find that now the Cubans may have all the guns they can pay for from this country, and all the munitions of war they can pay for. The difficulty comes in landing them at the ports, at which Spain has exclusive and complete control. I do not see that the declaration of belligerency would help the Cubans in the matter of obtaining supplies at all.

Mr. MASON. Will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. HAWLEY. Oh, yes.

Mr. MASON. Are you not aware that our Government is arresting and is preventing people from taking guns and munitions of war from our ports to Cuba?

Mr. HAWLEY. Oh, yes; and we should have to do it more particularly after the declaration of neutrality under this resolution.

Mr. MASON. You said just now that the Cubans could buy all the arms they wanted from us.

Mr. HAWLEY. We have the right to sell.

Mr. MASON. But we have refused to let them be delivered.

Mr. HAWLEY. Our citizens have the right to sell, but if our Government believes they are going to use them to interfere in a war against a friendly government, it is our business not to let them do so.

Mr. MASON. We have a right to sell, but they can not buy.

Mr. HOAR. The Senator from Connecticut, I think inadvertently, made a mistake in his answer to the Senator from Illinois.

Mr. MASON. I think so, too, but that is all right. I will accept the explanation.

Mr. HOAR. If this is a mere matter of a circus, I will sit down.

Mr. MASON. If the Senator from Massachusetts understands this to be a circus, he does not understand it from me.

Mr. HOAR. Very well. Then I should like to say, seriously, Mr. President, I mean no discourtesy to the Senator, but I thought his answer was hardly fitting——

Mr. MASON. I shall endeavor to take care of myself.

Mr. HAWLEY. I shall be glad to have the Senator from Massachusetts correct me.

Mr. HOAR. We have, as I understand it, under the laws of nations, the right to sell arms or any munitions of war, and our Government does not interfere with that now. It is only military expeditions that we interfere with.

Mr. MASON. Only what?

Mr. HOAR. Military expeditions, and those military expeditions have the same character whether we declare neutrality and belligerency or whether it remains as now. There is no different right in the least under the law of nations except the right of search.

An American vessel can take a load of arms intended for the belligerents in Cuba. She can fly the American flag, and Spain can not touch her until she gets within the 3-mile line. Then they can seize her if they choose.

Mr. MASON. Does the Senator——

Mr. HOAR. Let me finish my statement. After this the pending joint resolution becomes operative; or when it does, Spain can search that vessel 10 miles off the Florida coast.

Mr. MASON. Just one moment, if the Senator from Connecticut will pardon me. Does not the Senator from Massachusetts know that the insurgents can not buy guns or ammunition and sail from any port if the officers of this Government know it?

Mr. HOAR. No, sir; I do not.

Mr. MASON. Let me read to the Senator an extract which is simply an illustration of what is occurring every day. It seems to me the Senator ought to be aware of it:

Filibusters get away.

Mr. HOAR. Yes.

Mr. MASON—

The *Jones* landed at the railroad wharf and took on two carloads of material. The *Long* also took on provisions and a cargo of dynamite, and then to evade suspicion loaded a small cargo of coal—

This is from the morning paper—

The *Jones* had been under the eye of the officials for some time.

This was in North Carolina. The Senator from North Carolina [Mr. PRITCHARD] knows from personal observation that our Government is engaged every day in stopping the sending of munitions of war to the insurgents, and every day the Spaniards can buy such articles, and do enjoy privileges here which the insurgents can not enjoy. Does the Senator from Massachusetts deny it?

Mr. HOAR. I do deny it most emphatically. If the United States stopped that vessel, it had something more than a load of arms or breadstuffs or anything else on board. It had men on board, which made it a military expedition. It was the soldier, the recruit, going with the arms.

Mr. MASON. Could recruits go out of any harbor of our coast to day to fight for Spain in Cuba? Would our Government stop them? You know it would not. Any Spanish vessel can start today on our coast and recruit an army from our people, and our officers and our Government would be silent. All we ask now, sir, is that you shall give the insurgent the same show that you give the Spaniard.

Mr. HOAR. I am sorry to differ so much with my honorable friend. Spain can not under our laws recruit troops for her armies here. We dismissed the British minister for doing that long ago.

Mr. HAWLEY. Mr. President, I thank the Senator from Massachusetts for correcting what I supposed was an error, but I find that I understood the question just as he does. I may have been unfortunate in expressing myself, however.

As I said, I did not rise to make a speech. I rise to protest against the spirit of war, the light way of saying that nobody on earth dares to touch our flag. The same people here will frequently vote against completing our coast defenses or vote against necessary increase of the Navy. Let us make ourselves fit for war before we indulge in great talk about war. I remember what Jefferson said, that a distinguished love of peace combined with a defenseless condition is the surest possible invitation to insults.

Mr. BURROWS. Mr. President——

Mr. HOAR. Does the Senator from Michigan desire to proceed to-night?

Mr. BURROWS. I should like to take the floor to make some observations on this matter.

Mr. HOAR. With the Senator's leave, then, I will move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

Mr. BURROWS. I yield, and will take the floor to-morrow.

Mr. HOAR. I make that motion.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Massachusetts moves that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After seventeen minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened, and (at 4 o'clock and 32 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Wednesday, May 19, 1897, at 12 o'clock meridian.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate May 18, 1897.

SOLICITOR OF INTERNAL REVENUE.

George Morgan Thomas, of Kentucky, to be Solicitor of Internal Revenue, vice Robert T. Hough, resigned.

CIRCUIT JUDGE.

William W. Morrow, of California, to be United States circuit judge for the ninth judicial circuit, vice Joseph McKenna, resigned.

INDIAN AGENT.

Samuel G. Morse, of Port Angeles, Wash., to be agent for the Indians of the Neah Bay Agency in Washington, vice John C. Keenan, resigned.

CHIEF ENGINEER IN THE NAVY.

P. A. Engineer Frank H. Eldridge, to be a chief engineer in the Navy, from the 9th day of May, 1897, vice Chief Engineer Robert Potts, retired.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate May 18, 1897.

UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGE.

William H. H. Clayton, of Arkansas, to be judge of the United States court of the central district in the Indian Territory.

APPOINTMENT IN THE NAVY.

John Hancock Merriam, a citizen of Minnesota, to be an assistant paymaster in the Navy.

POSTMASTERS.

D. E. Peiper, to be postmaster at Fitzgerald, in the county of Irwin and State of Georgia.

George D. Breed, to be postmaster at Chilton, in the county of Calumet and State of Wisconsin.

Hubert E. Carpenter, to be postmaster at East Hampton, in the county of Middlesex and State of Connecticut.

Martin E. Stanger, to be postmaster at Downers Grove, in the county of Dupage and State of Illinois.

William H. Gilliam, to be postmaster at Vienna, in the county of Johnson and State of Illinois.

Mrs. Mary W. Morrow, to be postmaster at Abilene, in the county of Taylor and State of Texas.

J. Henry Norcross, to be postmaster at Medford, in the county of Middlesex and State of Massachusetts.

Dexter Grose, to be postmaster at North Abington, in the county of Plymouth and State of Massachusetts.

James C. Cooper, to be postmaster at Chester, in the county of Hampden and State of Massachusetts.

W. M. Moss, to be postmaster at Jackson, in the county of Madison and State of Tennessee.

Herschel P. Kinsolving, to be postmaster at Malden, in the county of Dunklin and State of Missouri.

Orlando P. Robinson, to be postmaster at Ayer, in the county of Middlesex and State of Massachusetts.

John H. Meyer, to be postmaster at Newport, in the county of Campbell and State of Kentucky.

Alexander Barron, to be postmaster at Kirwin, in the county of Phillips and State of Kansas.

Alpheus A. B. Cavaness, to be postmaster at Baldwin, in the county of Douglas and State of Kansas.

Samuel M. Yost, to be postmaster at Staunton, in the county of Augusta and State of Virginia.

John M. Griffin, to be postmaster at Fredericksburg, in the county of Spottsylvania and State of Virginia.

James T. Stephens, to be postmaster at Hickman, in the county of Fulton and State of Kentucky.

John Marshall, to be postmaster at Bonneterre, in the county of Saint Francois and State of Missouri.

James Lewis, to be postmaster at Canton, in the county of Lincoln and State of South Dakota.

Owen S. Higgins, to be postmaster at Lebanon, in the county of Warren and State of Ohio.

SENATE.

WEDNESDAY, *May 19, 1897.*

Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. W. H. MILBURN, D. D.

The Secretary proceeded to read the Journal of yesterday's proceedings, when, on motion of Mr. MITCHELL, and by unanimous consent, the further reading was dispensed with.

AGREEMENT WITH CHOCTAW AND CHICKASAW INDIANS.

The VICE-PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the Secretary of the Interior, transmitting, in compliance with the provisions contained in the sixteenth section of the Indian appropriation act of March 3, 1893, an agreement between the commissioners of the United States to negotiate with the Five Civilized Tribes and the commissioners on the part of the Choctaw and Chickasaw Indians concluded on the 23d day of April, 1897, together with a communication from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, stating that, so far as is known to his office, this agreement is satisfactory to those persons having interests in the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations or who may be affected by the agreement; which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs, and ordered to be printed.

PROPOSED ADJOURNMENT OVER FROM THURSDAY.

Mr. HOAR. I move that when the Senate adjourn to-morrow it adjourn to meet on the following Monday. I make the motion now in order that Senators may be able to make arrangements for Friday.

Mr. MILLS. I suggest the want of a quorum, Mr. President.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The roll will be called.

The Secretary called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Allison,	Davis,	Kyle,	Pettus,
Baker,	Deboe,	Lindsay,	Platt, N. Y.
Bate,	Fairbanks,	Lodge,	Pritchard,
Berry,	Faulkner,	McBride,	Rawlins,
Butler,	Foraker,	McEnery,	Roach,
Cannon,	Gallinger,	Martin,	Sewell,
Carter,	Gear,	Mills,	Smith,
Chandler,	Hanna,	Mitchell,	Stewart,
Clark,	Harris, Kans.	Morgan,	Turpie,
Clay,	Hawley,	Nelson,	Vest,
Cockrell,	Heitfeld,	Pasco,	Walthall,
Cullom,	Hoar,	Perkins,	Wetmore,
Daniel,	Kenney,	Pettigrew,	White.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Fifty-two Senators have answered to their names. A quorum is present. The Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] moves that when the Senate adjourn to-morrow it adjourn to meet on Monday next.

Mr. MORGAN. I believe that that is a debatable motion, being made to-day.

Mr. HOAR. I shall not press it if a single Senator objects to it.

Mr. MORGAN. I object to it.

Mr. HOAR. Considerably more than half of the Senate have made an arrangement to be absent from the city, to go to Monticello, on Friday. I thought it might be well to have the adjournment over agreed upon in advance, so that arrangements could be made; but if the Senator from Alabama would prefer not to have the motion made now, I will wait until to-morrow before making it.

Mr. MORGAN. I do not propose to interfere with any of the pleasures of the Senate, even on a junket of this kind, while the gravest possible matters are existing and in terrible force in this and in a neighboring country, but I do not think that the motion ought to be passed upon to-day.

Mr. HOAR. Very well; I will withdraw it, Mr. President.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The motion is withdrawn.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

The VICE-PRESIDENT presented a petition of Capital City Council, No. 327, Junior Order United American Mechanics, of Harrisburg, Pa., praying for the enactment of legislation for a more rigid restriction of immigration; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. MITCHELL presented a petition of sundry citizens of Iowa County, Wis., praying for the enactment of legislation prohibiting the sale of intoxicating liquors in the Capitol building and in all parts of the United States under Federal jurisdiction; which was referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

He also presented a petition of the Board of Trade of La Crosse, Wis., praying for the appointment of a banking and currency commission; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. FAIRBANKS presented sundry petitions of citizens of Muncie, Ind., praying for the enactment of legislation for a more rigid restriction of immigration; which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. HOAR presented a petition of sundry citizens of Massachusetts, praying for the enactment of legislation for the more rigid restriction of immigration; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. LODGE presented a petition of 5 citizens of Westfield, Mass., and a petition of 44 citizens of Brooklyn, N. Y., praying for the passage of the so-called Lodge immigration bill; which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. KYLE. I present a petition in behalf of a large number of citizens of Aberdeen, S. Dak., praying for free lumber in the pending tariff bill. I have received a large number of letters from individual citizens throughout the State, regardless of political faith, asking for the same thing. I present this petition as embodying in general their views. The case may be stated in a few words from the petition, as follows:

> The total consumption of pine, spruce, and hemlock lumber for the year 1892 is estimated by high authority at about 16,000,000,000 feet and that of 1895 at about 12,000,000,000. The importation of Canadian lumber for the year 1892 averaged 669,000,000 feet, and for 1895 the average was 693,000,000. Complaints of the lumber trade are comprehensible when founded on this reduction of 4,000,000,000 feet in the yearly home demand, but ridiculous when aimed at the little quantity from Canada, which has been coming in at substantially the same rate for ten years.
>
> Thus the market for lumber has fallen something like 4,000,000,000 feet in five years. The people have been unable to buy even at existing prices. The whole people are consumers of lumber. The producers are few, and, unlike the typical case of stimulated production, under protective legislation must grow fewer.

I ask that the petition lie on the table, to be considered in connection with the pending tariff bill.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. It will be so ordered.

Mr. SMITH presented sundry petitions of citizens of Beverly, Dividing Creek, Jersey City, Marlboro, Newark, Rahway, and Spotswood, all in the State of New Jersey, praying for the enactment of legislation restricting immigration; which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. SEWELL presented the petition of William S. Fay and 49 other citizens of Newark, N. J., and the petition of A. K. Davidson and 38 other citizens of Newark, N. J., praying for the enactment of legislation for the more rigid restriction of immigration; which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. TURPIE presented a petition of the Acme Milling Company, of Indianapolis, Ind., praying that a reciprocity clause be inserted in the pending tariff bill; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented the petition of Rosengarten & Sons, of Philadelphia, Pa., praying that a duty be placed upon quinia, sulphate of, and all alkaloids or salts of cinchona bark; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a petition of the Board of Managers of the Trades League of Philadelphia, Pa., praying Congress to take such measures as may be necessary to increase the capacity of our coastwise system of canals for defense and commerce; which was referred to the Committee on Commerce.

He also presented a memorial of the Board of Managers of the Trades League of Philadelphia, Pa., remonstrating against the repeal of the present civil-service law; which was referred to the Committee on Civil Service and Retrenchment.

He also presented the memorial of Henry W. Mitchell, of New York City, remonstrating against the adoption of paragraph No. 267 in the pending tariff bill, relating to the duty on oranges, lemons, limes, etc.; which was ordered to lie on the table

Mr. LINDSAY presented a petition of sundry citizens of Paris, Ky., praying for the enactment of legislation to regulate the importation and sale of agricultural seed; which was referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

He also presented a memorial of Cigar Makers' Union No. 105, of Maysville, Ky., remonstrating against the proposed increase of duty on Sumatra and Habana tobacco; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a petition of sundry hemp growers of Shelby County, Ky., praying for the enactment of legislation placing such a tariff on jute and all other textile fibers which come into competition with the hemp grown in this country as will be a sufficient protection to the home industry; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. WETMORE presented a petition of 165 citizens of Rhode Island, praying for the enactment of legislation for a more rigid restriction of immigration; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. FAULKNER presented petitions of E. T. Glover and 77 other citizens of Wise, E. G. Thrasher and 51 other citizens of Gormania, H. B. Turner and 13 other citizens of Barboursville, J. K. Snodgrass and 117 other citizens of Roane County, and A. M. Prince and 51 other citizens of Bluefield, all in the State of West Virginia, praying for the enactment of legislation restricting immigration; which were ordered to lie on the table.

REPORT OF A COMMITTEE.

Mr. PASCO, from the Committee on Claims, to whom was referred the bill (S. 1197) for the relief of Rinaldo P. Smith, of Baltimore, Md., reported it without amendment, and submitted a report thereon.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Mr. FAIRBANKS introduced a bill (S. 2003) to remove the charge of desertion from the record of William Cruse, of Prairieton, Vigo County, Ind.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. BAKER introduced a bill (S. 2004) for the relief of Joseph B. McCooey; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. BUTLER introduced a bill (S. 2005) to increase the pension of Mrs. Elizabeth V. Harman; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

AMENDMENTS TO THE TARIFF BILL.

Mr. PETTIGREW submitted four amendments intended to be proposed by him to the bill (H. R. 379) to provide revenue for the Government and to encourage the industries of the United States; which were ordered to lie on the table and be printed.

AMENDMENT TO DEFICIENCY APPROPRIATION BILL.

Mr. CULLOM submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the general deficiency appropriation bill; which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations, and ordered to be printed.

PRINTING OF BILLS TO REGULATE COMMERCE.

Mr. GORMAN submitted the following resolution; which was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to:

Resolved, That there be printed for the use of the Senate 500 copies each of House bill No. 7273, Fifty-third Congress, as passed by the House of Representatives December 11, 1894; House bill No. 3837, Fifty-fourth Congress, as introduced in the House January 13, 1896; and Senate bill No. 1932, Fifty-fifth

Congress, as introduced in the Senate May 11, 1897, all being bills to amend an act entitled "An act to regulate commerce," approved February 4, 1887, said bills to be delivered to the Senate document room.

DISTRICT PARK LIGHTING CONTRACTS.

Mr. FAULKNER submitted the following resolution; which was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to:

Resolved, That the Secretary of War be, and he is hereby, directed to inform the Senate if it is true that the superintendent of public buildings and grounds has accepted bids for park lighting at the rate of $91.25 per light and rejected bids at the rate of $10 per light per year; and if true, the reasons for such action; and also to inform the Senate if the contracts for such lighting have been completed.

C. B. BRYAN & CO.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The morning business is closed, and the Calendar is in order. The first bill on the Calendar will be stated.

The bill (S. 936) for the relief of C. B. Bryan & Co. was announced as first in order on the Calendar, and the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to its consideration. It proposes to pay to C. B. Bryan & Co., of Memphis, Tenn., $3,643.60, being for the value of a coal barge and 16,968 bushels of Pittsburg coal, as found by the Court of Claims.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

TAXATION OF INDIAN LANDS HELD IN SEVERALTY.

Mr. PETTIGREW. The bill (S. 374) extending relief to Indian citizens, and for other purposes, was passed over the other day. I desire to have it called up at this time. It is under Rule VIII.

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill, which was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the lands now allotted to or which may be hereafter allotted to any Indians in severalty, under agreements already made, when such Indians, under the provisions of any existing law, have become or shall become entitled to the benefits of and subject to the laws of any State, and when such lands shall be embraced in and as a part of any county or town organization, so as to enjoy full and equal participation in the benefits of such local government, and when the Indians enjoy their equal privileges as citizens, shall be subject to State and local assessment and taxation, the same as any other lands similarly located in such State: *Provided, however*, That nothing herein contained shall authorize the sale or incumbrance of any such land on account of such assessment and taxation or in any manner interfere with the trust in which such lands are held by the United States while such trust continues: *And provided further*, That during the continuance of said trust said taxes so assessed and levied shall be paid from the Treasury of the United States to the county treasurer or other legally authorized officer of the county or municipality to which such taxes are payable at such time as said taxes shall become due and payable: *And also provided further*, That said taxes shall only be paid on the receipt of the sworn statement of the county treasurer or other legally authorized officer of the county or municipality to which such taxes are payable, showing that such tax has been legally assessed and levied, and that said tax is then due and payable, accompanied by the certificate of the Secretary of the Interior that said lands are within the State and county described in said statement, and that the lands therein described have been allotted in severalty or belong to Indian citizens of the United States, and that he is satisfied, after sufficient inquiry, that the assessment of the lands for taxation is a fair and reasonable one, and the taxes levied just and equitable, both independently and in proportion to the valuation and taxation of lands in the same county, town, or other municipal corporation: *And provided further*, That no moneys shall be so paid for road or highway taxes, which, by the laws of the State, may be discharged by work, but the Indians owning such lands shall be required to so discharge such taxes: *And provided further*, That the Secretary of the Interior shall be satisfied, and so certify, that the public expenditure of such taxes is fairly made to give the lands of such Indians their just share of benefit.

SEC. 2. That from and after the passage of this act there shall be paid annually, from any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, such sum as shall be necessary to pay such taxes so certified under section 1 of this act.

SEC. 3. That all agreements hereafter made for the purchase of the unallotted lands in any Indian reservation shall provide a fund for the payment of taxes upon inalienable allotments in the manner provided by this act.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, and was read the third time.

Mr. COCKRELL. I simply desire to record my vote by placing in the RECORD the statement that I am opposed to the principle involved in this bill.

The bill was passed.

JAMES SIMS.

Mr. WALTHALL. Yesterday the bill (S. 937) for the relief of James Sims, of Marshall County, Miss., was passed over without prejudice on the objection made by a Senator. That Senator tells me that after an examination of the bill he has no objection to its passage. I ask the Senate to proceed to its consideration.

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill. It proposes to pay $6,338 to James Sims, of Marshall County, in the State of Mississippi, for quartermaster and commissary stores furnished by him to the Army of the United States in the years 1862 and 1863.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

ANNA W. OSBORNE.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The next bill on the Calendar will be proceeded with.

The bill (S. 415) for the relief of Anna W. Osborne was announced as next in order on the Calendar, and was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to pay to Anna W. Osborne the sum of $800, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the same being the amount of personal property belonging to her and to John W. Osborne, her late husband, of the United States Army, destroyed by fire at the destruction of the post hospital at Fort Ripley, Minn., July 21, 1870.

Mr. COCKRELL. I should like to know why this claim was not adjudicated by the War Department under the general authority which it has to adjudicate all claims arising from loss by fire. We passed a number of years ago a general law for the very purpose of keeping this class of claims out of the committees of Congress.

Mr. PASCO. I do not know why the claim was not presented to the Department under the general law. The bill came before the Committee on Claims and was carefully examined there. The Senator from Missouri will find by the report, which is on file, that it is a meritorious case. I see no reason why the bill should not be passed.

Mr. COCKRELL. But this is the question: A man has a just claim and we have provided a tribunal for the adjudication of it, where it can be adjusted, and yet he comes to us and insists that we shall pass a special law. There is no use in passing a general law if Congress has to pass a special act for every little case that comes up, and a man can take his choice and come to Congress or go before the Department.

Mr. PASCO. I do not remember the general law to which the Senator from Missouri calls attention.

Mr. COCKRELL. I have always understood that the Committee on Claims and the Committee on Military Affairs refused to report favorably claims of citizens who had a remedy before the Departments and would not pursue that remedy.

Mr. PASCO. This claim has been before Congress ever since the days when Mr. Wilson was Vice-President, and no one has ever before suggested that it came under a general law. The bill was reported unanimously by the Committee on Claims in the last Congress and passed then, and I do not see any reason why the same course should not be pursued now.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President——

Mr. COCKRELL. I object to the consideration of the bill until we can ascertain whether the Department has jurisdiction of the case. If it has, I object to the Senate wasting its time in considering matters that properly belong to the executive branch of the Government to adjudicate. The report does not show any reason why it was not presented to the Department. There may be some just cause.

Mr. PASCO. I hope the Senator from Missouri will withhold his objection until the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. NELSON] can be heard. He introduced the bill, and he may be able to give the Senator the special information he desires.

Mr. COCKRELL. Certainly; I will withhold it until the Senator is heard.

Mr. NELSON. I trust the Senator from Missouri will withdraw his objection. This is a very small claim.

Mr. COCKRELL. If the Senator will excuse me, it does not make a bit of difference how small it is or how large it is. The principle involved is the question whether Congress shall waste its time in considering little claims of individual citizens when by a general law the executive branch of the Government has full power to adjudicate and pay them. I insist that a citizen shall not have the right to come to Congress when we have provided another tribunal.

Mr. NELSON. I am not aware of any general law under which this claim can be adjudicated.

Mr. COCKRELL. If the Senator will just let the bill be passed by, I will furnish him with a copy of the law. It was enacted years ago. This is the first of these claims that I have seen here in Congress for some time. There is no question about such a law having been enacted.

Mr. PASCO. I wish to state that this lady, a widow, with two children, has been before Congress ever since the Forty-seventh Congress endeavoring to get the claim paid. The bill has been reported favorably in both Houses, and yet she never has been able to get the claim adjusted. It would have been very kind and fair for the Senator from Missouri during all those years to have called our attention to this fact before, so that the poor woman might have gotten her relief without waiting as many years as she has in order to get it through the action of Congress. He has never before suggested that there was a general law which would cover the case.

There was no such suggestion made in the papers, and there was no such suggestion before the committee. There was no such suggestion before the House of Representatives when a favorable report was made there. I hope that she will not be further delayed, so far as the action of the Senate is concerned. It is a meritorious case. The attention of the committee was not called

to the fact that she could get relief under a general law. I ask, if the bill is to be passed over, that the report, which is brief, be printed as a part of my remarks.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and the report will be printed.

The report is as follows:

[Senate Report No. 78, Fifty-fifth Congress, first session.]

April 14, 1897.

Mr. PASCO, from the Committee on Claims, submitted the following report, to accompany S. 415.

The Committee on Claims, to whom was referred the bill (S. 415) for the relief of Anna W. Osborne, have examined the same and submit the following report thereon:

This claim was before the committee during the Fifty-fourth Congress, and the bill for its settlement was favorably reported and was passed by the Senate.

This report was as follows:

[Senate Report No. 1454, Fifty-fourth Congress, second session.]

"The Committee on Claims, to whom was referred the bill (S. 114) for the relief of Anna W. Osborne, have carefully considered the same, and submit the following report thereon:

"The claimant is the widow of John W. Osborne, who served for three years during the late war as a member of Company E, Thirty-sixth Massachusetts Volunteers. He reenlisted soon after his discharge in June, 1865, and was appointed as hospital steward and served as such until October 28, 1870, when he was accidentally killed at Fort Ripley, Minn., where he was on duty at the time.

"About three months before his death the hospital building at the fort was destroyed by fire, and Osborne and his family, who were living in the building, lost all they had. It is stated that Osborne, instead of trying to save his property, exerted himself to rescue the patients and save the property of the Government. This statement is supported by some of the officers who were on duty at the post.

"Before his death Osborne applied to the late Vice-President Wilson, then a Senator from Massachusetts, for aid in securing relief, and some letters written by him, acknowledging the receipt of the papers, are before the committee. Some of the papers sent to Senator Wilson were subsequently lost or mislaid, and among them an itemized statement of the losses which, according to the recollection of the widow, was among them. This loss is supplied by the widow, who has submitted a list of the losses as full and correct as was possible after the lapse of so many years. Her statement is that this loss amounted to $800.

"The death of her husband left the widow with three young children depending upon her for support. She came to Congress with her claim during the first session of the Forty-third Congress and asked for an appropriation of $600, and a bill giving her this relief was passed in the House of Representatives, but no action was taken in the Senate.

"Since that time her claim has been frequently before the House and a number of favorable reports have been made by the committees which have considered the case. Similar bills have been introduced from time to time in the Senate, but with no final results in any case.

"The claim seems to be meritorious, and the House committees, after careful consideration and, it is to be presumed, on sufficient evidence, having frequently recommended the sum of $600 as fair and just, the committee are disposed to accept that amount as a proper recompense for the loss sustained, without looking for further evidence than that contained in the record.

"The committee therefore recommend that the bill do pass."

The present bill is in the same terms and has the same purpose in view, and the committee recommend that it do pass.

Mr. HOAR. I should like to ask the Senator from Missouri, before the bill is passed over, what is the general law to which he refers?

Mr. COCKRELL. I have sent for a copy of it. There is a general law which authorizes the War Department to consider all these claims. We had an immense number of them pending here at one time.

Mr. HOAR. Will the Senator listen to me one moment? I ought not to have interposed when he was answering my question, but he has answered that he has sent for a copy of the general law. I should like the attention of the Senate for one moment.

This is a case where the papers of this widow were sent to Vice-President Wilson when a member of the Senate and by him lost. The general law only authorizes the War Department to pay proved claims and not to exercise an equitable discretion in regard to accepting other than the ordinary legal evidence. So she could not get relief under the general law. It is a six-hundred-dollar claim of the widow of an officer who, it is said, lost his property because when the flames broke out he neglected his own property and looked after the public property. Proof of that fact was sent to the Senate, and my distinguished predecessor, Senator Wilson, lost the papers. Thereupon this lady came to the committee. They have reported several times that they are satisfied those are the facts, and they have taken, instead of legal evidence, such moral evidence as to the probability of the fact as they could get, including her affidavit, and the committee report that she ought to be paid $600.

I submit to my honorable friend from Missouri that that makes an exception to the principle, which I agree to as much as he does, that we should leave these people to the general law where they come within the general law. It would leave it to my honorable friend's sense of justice.

Mr. COCKRELL. I can not consent. It is a valid law. I have sent for a copy of the law. When I get it, we can ascertain whether the claimant has ever applied to the Department for relief, and if she has not applied to the Department, and the law covers her case, she can get it infinitely more quickly than she will ever get Mr. REED to pass the bill through another branch of Congress.

Mr. HOAR. But the general law does not apply. Let me read this sentence from the report of the committee:

Before his death Osborne applied to the late Vice President Wilson, then a Senator from Massachusetts, for aid in securing relief, and some letters written by him, acknowledging the receipt of the papers, are before the committee. Some of the papers sent to Senator Wilson were subsequently lost or mislaid, and among them an itemized statement of the losses, which, according to the recollection of the widow, was among them. This loss is supplied by the widow, who has submitted a list of the losses as full and correct as was possible after the lapse of so many years. Her statement is that this loss amounted to $800.

It seems to me that that makes an exception to the ordinary case, because the Department can not waive the law for this purpose.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is objection made to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. COCKRELL. The Senator does not seem to have read the report carefully. I have read every word in it. "This loss" of papers "is supplied by the widow, who has submitted a list of the losses as full and correct as was possible after the lapse of so many years."

Mr. HOAR. That is what I read.

Mr. COCKRELL. There is no controversy about the items of the account. I object to the present consideration of the bill.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Missouri objects, and the bill will lie over. The next bill on the Calendar will be stated.

Mr. NELSON. What becomes of the Osborne bill?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. It lies over under objection.

Mr. PASCO. I understand that it goes over without prejudice.

Mr. COCKRELL. I asked a while ago that it might go over without prejudice, and it was still insisted on and I had to object; but if the Senator is willing to let it go over without prejudice, I will withdraw my objection and let that course be taken.

Mr. PASCO. If it does not go over without prejudice, I shall ask that it be taken up notwithstanding the objection.

Mr. COCKRELL. I am perfectly willing to let it go over without prejudice.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The bill goes over without prejudice.

MARTHA A. BAGWELL.

The bill (S. 1559) for the relief of Martha A. Bagwell, executrix of Sally Hardmond, deceased, was announced as next in order on the Calendar.

Mr. NELSON. I will inquire whether there is any general law covering that case? I would make the inquiry of the Senator from Missouri.

Mr. COCKRELL. The distinguished Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] introduced this bill, and he is presumed to know all about it. He can answer if he desires. If not, and if the Senator from Minnesota can show any valid reason why it should not be passed, I would be very glad to hear it. I never object unless I have some reason for objecting.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill. It proposes to pay to Martha A. Bagwell, executrix of Sally Hardmond, deceased, $4,850, being the balance due said Sally Hardmond on account of her personal services as a nurse in the Bureau of Freedmen, Refugees, and Abandoned Lands, district of Virginia, and for rent of a dwelling house in the city of Richmond, in the State of Virginia, and for one house hired by and used for the purposes of the Bureau, and for money expended by her in and for the Bureau.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

PORT HUDSON FORLORN-HOPE STORMING PARTY.

The bill (S. 1557) to grant medals to the survivors and heirs of volunteers of the Port Hudson forlorn-hope storming party was considered as in Committee of the Whole. It directs the Secretary of War to procure a suitable medal to be presented to the survivors of the forlorn-hope storming party against the works at Port Hudson, La., June 15, 1863, in fulfillment of the promises made by Maj. Gen. N. P. Banks, commanding the Department of the Gulf, and contained in his General Order, No. 49; and in case of decease of such volunteers said medals shall be given to the widow or oldest heir.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

SUFFERERS BY WRECK OF GALLATIN.

The bill (S. 117) for the relief of the sufferers by the wreck of the U. S. revenue cutter *Gallatin* off the coast of Massachusetts was announced as next in order.

Mr. COCKRELL. Let that bill be passed over.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Objection is made, and the bill will be passed over.

CHRISTOPHER SCHMIDT.

The bill (S. 1464) for the relief of Christopher Schmidt was considered as in Committee of the Whole. It proposes to pay $40 a month for and during the term of his natural life to Christopher Schmidt, of St. Paul, Minn., for injuries received from accidental shot on the rifle range at Fort Snelling July 14, 1892, in quarterly payments, upon such vouchers as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

LEGAL REPRESENTATIVES OF JOHN ROACH.

The bill (S. 1115) for the relief of the legal representatives of John Roach, deceased, was considered as in Committee of the Whole. To carry out the provisions of the act making appropriations for the naval service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1884 (22 Stats., page 477), the bill proposes to pay to the legal representatives of John Roach, deceased, the sum of $28,160.25 for labor and material furnished by the said John Roach in completing the dispatch boat *Dolphin* under the advice and assistance of the naval advisory board mentioned in that act.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

HEIRS OF THE LATE JOHN ROACH.

The bill (S. 1116) to pay the heirs of the late John Roach, deceased, $330,151.42 for labor and material, dockage, and detention and occupation of yards and shops for the gunboats *Chicago*, *Boston*, and *Atlanta* was announced as next in order, and was read.

Mr. BATE. I do not know who introduced the bill, but I think he ought to explain why the large sum of $330,000 is proposed to be appropriated by the bill out of the Treasury. The bill has been up heretofore, I know, and it was perhaps discussed at a previous session.

Mr. CHANDLER. The adjustment of the claim has been very carefully made by a board of officers, and by the committee it has been carefully examined. Nevertheless, as it is a large sum, and members of the committee are not here, I think it quite right for the Senator from Tennessee to ask that the bill may go over.

Mr. BATE. Yes, let it go over without prejudice. I want to examine it.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. That will be the order.

PAY OF NONCOMMISSIONED OFFICERS OF THE ARMY.

The bill (S. 661) to regulate the pay of noncommissioned officers in the Army was considered as in Committee of the Whole.

The bill was reported by the Committee on Military Affairs with an amendment, in line 4, to strike out the date "1896" and insert "1898;" so as to make the bill read:

Be it enacted, etc., That on and after the 1st day of July, 1898, the pay per month of the following noncommissioned officers of the line of the Army shall be as follows: Sergeant-major, artillery, cavalry, and infantry, $30; regimental quartermaster-sergeant, artillery, cavalry, and infantry, $30; first sergeant, artillery, cavalry, and infantry, $30; sergeant, artillery, cavalry, and infantry, $23; corporal, artillery, cavalry, and infantry, $17: *Provided*, That nothing in this act shall be construed to prevent the increase of pay to noncommissioned officers of the Army by reason of longevity service now provided by law: *Provided further*, That nothing in this act shall be construed to increase the pay of noncommissioned officers of the Army on the retired list July 1, 1898.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. SEWELL. I would state that a similar bill to the one now before the Senate received the full consideration of the Senate at the last Congress and passed without any objection.

The bill was reported to the Senate as amended, and the amendment was concurred in.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

JOHN STULL.

The bill (S. 660) for the relief of John Stull was considered as in Committee of the Whole. It directs the Secretary of War to revoke and set aside Special Orders, No. 144, paragraph 1, of the War Department, dated April 11, 1864, dismissing from the service John Stull, late captain of Company M, Third Regiment New Jersey Cavalry Volunteers, and to grant him an honorable discharge as of date April 11, 1864.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

CHRISTIAN M. KIRKPATRICK.

The bill (S. 136) to provide for the payment of the claim of Christian M. Kirkpatrick for paving the street adjacent to the United States arsenal at Indianapolis, Ind., was considered as in Committee of the Whole. It proposes to appropriate $6,044.22 for the payment of the claim of Christian M. Kirkpatrick for improving with brick the street known as Clifford avenue from the tracks of the Cleveland, Cincinnati, Chicago and St. Louis Railroad Company to a point 145 feet east of Newman street, including the roadway in front of and adjacent to the ground owned by the United States Government, known and designated as the United States arsenal at Indianapolis, Ind.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

CONTINENTAL FIRE INSURANCE COMPANY AND OTHERS.

The bill (S. 436) for the relief of the Continental Fire Insurance Company and others was considered as in Committee of the Whole. It directs the Secretary of the Treasury to cause the Commissioner of Internal Revenue to reopen and reexamine the refunding claims of the Continental Fire Insurance Company, the Eagle Fire Insurance Company, the City Fire Insurance Company, the Commercial Mutual Insurance Company of the State of New York, the Maryland Fire Insurance Company, the Western National Bank, the Merchants' National Bank, the Chesapeake Bank of the State of Maryland, and the Eastern Railroad Company of the State of Massachusetts for taxes erroneously paid by them and now on file in his office, and to examine and allow such amounts as he may find those companies and banks have paid as a duplicate tax upon the same identical income or profits, and to transmit his allowances to the proper accounting officers of the Treasury for certification to Congress, in compliance with the second section of the act of Congress approved July 7, 1884.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

FRANCIS W. SEELEY.

The bill (S. 659) to place Francis W. Seeley on the retired list of the Army was considered as in Committee of the Whole. It proposes to authorize the President of the United States to nominate and, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to appoint Francis W. Seeley, late a captain in the Fourth Regiment United States Artillery, a captain of artillery in the Army, and to place him on the retired list thereof with that rank and pay, the retired list being thereby increased in number to that extent; to suspend all laws and parts of laws in conflict with such action for that purpose only; but from and after his appointment under the provisions of the act no pension shall be paid him.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

BVT. COL. THOMAS P. O'REILLY.

The bill (S. 1594) for the relief of Bvt. Col. Thomas P. O'Reilly was considered as in Committee of the Whole. It proposes to authorize the President of the United States to appoint Thomas P. O'Reilly, late second lieutenant in the Twenty-second Infantry of the Army, a first lieutenant in the Army, and to place him upon the retired list of the Army in his late grade, the retired list being thereby increased in number to that extent.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

ORIN R. M'DANIEL.

The bill (S. 809) for the relief of Orin R. McDaniel was considered as in Committee of the Whole. It directs the Secretary of War to place the name of Orin R. McDaniel, late an enrolled soldier of Company H, Sixty-fourth Regiment Illinois Volunteers, upon the records of that company as enrolled December 26, 1863, and discharged February 14, 1864, for disability, and to grant him an honorable discharge accordingly, as of date February 14, 1864, for disability.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

CHARLES FLETCHER, ALIAS JAMES H. MITCHELL.

The bill (S. 394) for the relief of Charles Fletcher, alias James H. Mitchell, was considered as in Committee of the Whole. It proposes to remove the charge of desertion standing against Charles Fletcher, who served under the name James H. Mitchell as a private in Company H, Ninety-fifth Regiment of New York State Infantry Volunteers, and directs the Secretary of War to discharge that soldier as of the date of July 16, 1865, to which that company and regiment were paid on their discharge.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

JOHN CLYDE SULLIVAN.

The bill (S. 1340) for the relief of John Clyde Sullivan was considered as in Committee of the Whole. It authorizes the President of the United States to nominate, and, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to reappoint John Clyde Sullivan a paymaster in the Navy with the relative rank of lieutenant-commander at the foot of the list of paymasters having the relative rank of lieutenant-commander.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

LEGAL REPRESENTATIVES OF JOHN ROACH, DECEASED.

The bill (S. 958) for the relief of the legal representatives of John Roach, deceased, was announced as next in order on the Calendar.

Mr. BATE. I see that that bill is reported by the same Senator who reported Senate bill 1115, and has the same title. In his absence, I think it had better be passed over for the present.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The bill will lie over.

Mr. BATE. It may be that the bills are the same.

ESTATE OF RICHARD LAWSON.

The bill (S. 1194) for the relief of the estate of Richard Lawson was considered as in Committee of the Whole. It authorizes the administrator de bonis non of the estate of Richard Lawson, late of Baltimore, Md., to sue in the United States Court of Claims for his individual interest as a partner in the late firm of John McFadon & Co., and also the late firm of William McFadon & Co., formerly of Baltimore, Md., on account of French spoliations committed prior to the year 1800, and directs such court to pass upon the facts and law in the case and report the same to Congress.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

DORENCE ATWATER.

The bill (S. 400) for the relief of Dorence Atwater was considered as in Committee of the Whole.

The bill was reported from the Committee on Military Affairs with an amendment, in line 7, after the words "directed to," to strike out "revoke" and insert "annul;" so as to make the bill read:

Be it enacted, etc., That Dorence Atwater be, and he is hereby, relieved and absolved from the effect of the sentence adjudged against him by a court-martial on the 11th day of September, 1865, and that the Secretary of War be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to annul the order dishonorably discharging said Atwater as a private, general service, United States Army, and to issue to him an honorable discharge from said service, to date from the 22d day of September, 1865.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was reported to the Senate as amended, and the amendment was concurred in.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

PUBLIC BUILDING AT ALTOONA, PA.

The bill (S. 1273) for a public building at the city of Altoona, Pa., and appropriating money therefor, was considered as in Committee of the Whole. It directs the Secretary of the Treasury to purchase by private sale or secure by condemnation a site for, and cause to be erected thereon, a suitable building, with fireproof vaults therein, for the accommodation of the United States district and circuit courts, post-office, and other Government offices, at the city of Altoona, in the county of Blair, State of Pennsylvania, the cost not to exceed, for the site and building, complete, $125,000.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

PUBLIC BUILDING AT MAMMOTH HOT SPRINGS.

The bill (S. 422) to provide for the erection of a public building for the use and accommodation of the post-office at Mammoth Hot Springs, in the Yellowstone National Park, was considered as in Committee of the Whole. It directs the Secretary of the Interior and the Postmaster-General to select a suitable site at Mammoth Hot Springs, in the Yellowstone National Park, and cause to be erected thereon a suitable building for the use and accommodation of the post-office at that place, such building not to exceed in cost $10,000.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

PUBLIC BUILDING AT EVANSTON, WYO.

The bill (S. 134) to provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Evanston, in the State of Wyoming, was considered as in Committee of the Whole. It directs the Secretary of the Treasury to acquire, by purchase or otherwise, a site, and cause to be erected thereon a suitable building, including fireproof vaults, heating and ventilating apparatus, and approaches, for the use and accommodation of the United States courts, post-office, land offices, and for other Government purposes, at Evanston, in the State of Wyoming, the cost of such site and building complete not to exceed $100,000, not more than $15,000 of which shall be used for the purchase of the site.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

DR. S. A. BROWN.

The bill (S. 377) for the relief of Dr. S. A. Brown was considered as in Committee of the Whole. It proposes to pay $485.47 to S. A. Brown, of Sioux Falls, S. Dak., for services as passed assistant surgeon, United States Navy, during the years 1876, 1877, and 1878, said account having been allowed by the Treasury Department.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

HEIRS OF STERLING T. AUSTIN.

The bill (S. 432) for the relief of the heirs of Sterling T. Austin, deceased, was considered as in Committee of the Whole. It proposes to pay to Florine A. Albright and Missouri A. Pollard, heirs of Sterling T. Austin, deceased, $59,287, being the proceeds of the sale of 360 bales of cotton, the property of Sterling T. Austin, seized by the civil and military authorities of the United States and received into the Treasury, as found by the Court of Claims.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

MISSISSIPPI RIVER BRIDGES AT ST. PAUL, MINN.

The bill (S. 1687) to authorize the construction and maintenance of two railroad bridges across the Mississippi River at or near the city of St. Paul, Minn., was considered as in Committee of the Whole.

The bill was reported from the Committee on Commerce with amendments.

The first amendment was, in section 4, line 4, before the word "feet," to strike out "fifty" and insert "fifty-five;" so as to read:

The main span shall be over the main channel of the river and not less than 300 feet in length in the clear, nor less than 55 feet in the clear above high-water mark.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was to insert as a new section the following:

SEC. 5. That all railroad companies desiring the use of said bridges, or either of them, shall have and be entitled to equal rights and privileges relative to the passage of trains or cars over the same and over the approaches thereto upon the payment of a reasonable compensation for such use; and in case the owner or owners of said bridges, or either of them, and the several railroad companies, or any one of them, desiring such use shall fail to agree upon the sum or sums to be paid, and upon the rules and conditions to which each shall conform in using said bridges, or either of them, all matters at issue between them shall be decided by the Secretary of War upon a hearing of the allegations and proofs of the parties.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was to insert as a new section the following:

SEC. 7. That this act shall be null and void if the bridges herein authorized be not commenced within one year and completed within three years from the date of approval hereof.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was reported to the Senate as amended, and the amendments were concurred in.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

AMERICAN REGISTER FOR BARKENTINE SHARPSHOOTER.

The bill (S. 1788) to provide an American register for the barkentine *Sharpshooter*, of San Francisco, Cal., was considered as in Committee of the Whole.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

PORT OF ENTRY AT GREAT FALLS, MONT.

The bill (S. 1716) making Great Falls, Mont., a port of entry was considered as in Committee of the Whole.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

THE CENSUS.

The bill (S. 94) to provide for the Twelfth and subsequent censuses was announced as the next business in order on the Calendar.

Mr. COCKRELL. Let the bill be passed over.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. It will be passed over.

LEGAL REPRESENTATIVES OF EDWIN DE LEON.

The bill (S. 1357) for the relief of the legal representatives of Edwin De Leon, deceased, late consul-general of the United States in Egypt, was considered as in Committee of the Whole. It proposes to pay to the legal representatives of Edwin De Leon, deceased, late consul-general of the United States in Egypt, $479.11, being the balance due him on adjustment of his official accounts by the First Comptroller of the Treasury.

Mr. COCKRELL. After the word "Secretary," in line 6, I move to insert "of the Treasury;" so as to read: "Secretary of the Treasury."

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was reported to the Senate as amended, and the amendment was concurred in.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

PUBLIC BUILDING AT OAKLAND, CAL.

The bill (S. 706) to provide for the purchase of a site for and the erection of a public building at Oakland, in the State of California,

was considered as in Committee of the Whole. It directs the Secretary of the Treasury to acquire, by purchase, condemnation, or otherwise, a site, and cause to be erected thereon a suitable building, including fireproof vaults, heating and ventilating apparatus, elevators, and approaches, for the use and accommodation of the United States post-office and other Government offices, in the city of Oakland and State of California, the cost of site and building, including vaults, heating and ventilating apparatus, elevators, and approaches, complete, not to exceed $350,000.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

BLUE MOUNTAIN IRRIGATION AND IMPROVEMENT COMPANY.

Mr. McBRIDE. I ask unanimous consent to return to the bill (S. 1233) extending the time allowed the Blue Mountain Irrigation and Improvement Company for the construction of its reservoirs and canal in and through the Umatilla Indian Reservation, in the State of Oregon. It was passed over yesterday during my absence from the Chamber.

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill.

Mr. McBRIDE. In line 8, I move to strike out "five" and insert "eight."

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In line 8, it is proposed to strike out "five" and insert "eight;" so as to make the bill read:

Be it enacted, etc., That the time prescribed by the act of Congress approved January 12, 1893, for the construction and completion of the irrigation ditch, or canal, and reservoirs of the Blue Mountain Irrigation and Improvement Company across the Umatilla Indian Reservation, in the State of Oregon, is hereby extended eight years from the date of the passage of said act.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was reported to the Senate as amended, and the amendment was concurred in.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

FIRST LIEUT. BENJAMIN W. LORING.

The bill (S. 1337) to commission First Lieut. Benjamin W. Loring a captain was announced as the next business in order on the Calendar.

Mr. BATE. This seems to be a bill to promote an officer from first lieutenant to captain. There ought to be some reason given for it. It may be that the ordinary channels of promotion are open to him. There ought to be some explanation given. I do not see present the Senator who reported the bill, and I think it should be passed over without prejudice.

Mr. COCKRELL. The Senator who introduced the bill is present.

Mr. BATE. The Senator from Maine [Mr. FRYE] reported it.

Mr. PLATT of New York. I could not hear what the Senator from Tennessee said. Will he please repeat it?

Mr. BATE. I do not know who introduced the bill, but it was reported by the Senator from Maine [Mr. FRYE], who is not in the Chamber.

It seems to me from the caption on the Calendar that here is an effort to promote a first lieutenant to a captaincy by a Congressional act, which is unusual. There must be some extraordinary reason for it, and none seems to be given. I should like to have an explanation of the matter, or else let the bill be passed over until the Senator from Maine comes in.

Mr. PLATT of New York. I will say to the Senator from Tennessee that I have not the facts before me. I ask that the bill may be passed over for the present.

Mr. BATE. Very well.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The bill will be passed over.

PREVENTION OF CRUELTY TO ANIMALS IN THE DISTRICT.

The bill (S. 1063) for the further prevention of cruelty to animals in the District of Columbia was announced as the next business in order on the Calendar.

Mr. COCKRELL. Let the bill be passed over.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. It will be passed over.

PETER VON ESSEN BEQUEST.

The bill (S. 468) authorizing the Commissioners of the District of Columbia to accept the bequest of the late Peter Von Essen for the use of the public white schools of that portion of said District formerly known as Georgetown was considered as in Committee of the Whole.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

REGULATION OF CEMETERIES IN THE DISTRICT.

The bill (S. 467) for the regulation of cemeteries and the disposal of dead bodies in the District of Columbia was considered as in Committee of the Whole.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

ADJOURNMENT FROM THURSDAY UNTIL MONDAY.

Mr. CHANDLER. I desire the attention of the Senator from Alabama [Mr. MORGAN] to a motion which I wish to make at this time. I move that when the Senate adjourn to-morrow it be to meet on Monday next. I make the motion because it is well known that many Senators desire to be absent from Washington Friday for a purpose which everyone will commend. The Senator from Alabama objected this morning to a similar motion when made by the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR], the objection being made, I suppose, in the interest of the Cuban joint resolution and with a view to having a time fixed for voting upon it.

It seems to me, Mr. President, if the Senator from Alabama will allow me to make a suggestion, that the best course would be on Monday morning next to ask to have a time fixed for voting upon the Cuban joint resolution. I do not think the friends of the joint resolution ought this week to ask that a time should be fixed. It is due to truth to say that there has not been filibustering against the joint resolution in the ordinary sense of the term or in any sense of the term. When a few weeks ago the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE] asked that there might be delay upon the joint resolution, he explicitly stated that he was willing at the proper time to agree to a date for voting upon the question. The Senator from Maine renewed that assurance yesterday, and I know of no opponent of the Cuban joint resolution who does not propose to agree, when it is proper for the friends of the joint resolution to ask for it, that a time shall be fixed for voting.

I think the opponents of the joint resolution, so far as appearances hitherto are concerned, should be acquitted of any disposition to delay a vote upon the measure after reasonable discussion. The discussion has been largely conducted by the friends of the resolution, and the Senators who are opposed to it I know intend to allow a vote to be taken upon it in due time. The Senator from California [Mr. WHITE] who has just entered the Chamber and who has spoken upon the resolution has himself said not only that he sympathizes with the Cubans in their struggle for independence, but that he is willing at the proper time to have a vote taken upon the belligerency resolution.

Mr. President, having acquitted, as far as I am concerned, the opponents of the resolution of any intention to delay action upon it, I suggest to the Senator from Alabama not to object to the motion which I now make, and to ask on Monday next, before the tariff bill is taken up, that a time may be fixed for voting upon the Cuban resolution. I will certainly at that time help him to secure a vote upon the resolution. I move that when the Senate adjourn to-morrow it adjourn to meet on Monday next.

Mr. MORGAN. If I have the privilege of speaking upon the motion, by unanimous consent, I would be glad to be heard upon it.

I objected this morning to the consideration to-day of a motion that was to operate to-morrow, for the reason that I had the hope, from the course of debate upon the joint resolution, that we might be able to-morrow to reach a solution of that question, at least one part of it, which, I must insist, I think is intended for delay, and only for delay—that is, the motion to refer the joint resolution to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

With that motion out of the way and a direct vote to be taken on the joint resolution, a great deal of the embarrassment would be removed from this case. The joint resolution, on its merits, is probably stronger than it would be upon the motion to commit, because, say what we may about it, there is a desire on the part of some Senators and others to have a delay in the passage of the resolution. For my part, I think that every day of delay is a day of wretchedness to the people in Cuba, a day of suspense to the people of the United States, and a day of injustice to our own character as a country. Therefore I have desired to try to urge the joint resolution as well as I could upon the attention of the Senate, and I hoped that by to-morrow at least we would be able to reach a vote on the question of committing it to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

I beg to assure the Senate that the Committee on Foreign Relations understand this question to-day as well as they will a week from now, and they understand it to-day better than a great many Senators do here, for the reason that some of the members of that committee, not including myself, have had an opportunity to look over the dispatches. I had the opportunity also, but I did not avail myself of it, to look over the dispatches from our consuls and consul-general in Cuba. They will not say on this floor that the situation as presented by the reports of our consuls is less aggravated, less intense, than that which has been reported by the correspondents of the newspaper press who have gone to Cuba and made personal examination.

The evidence as it has been reported to the committee from the gentlemen who have looked at the dispatches shows that a state of affairs exists in Cuba worse (if it is possible to make a statement of anything that is worse) than that which has been represented by the newspaper press of the United States.

I desire that the motion to commit this measure to the committee shall be disposed of by a vote of the Senate some time this week, say to-morrow evening, and then that would leave us entirely free to go on the expedition to Monticello, in which I wish to participate also, without any embarrassment at all. The Senator from New Hampshire suggests to me that I should let the matter go over really until Monday, and that then I shall ask that a day be fixed for voting.

Mr. CHANDLER. The Senator from Alabama misunderstands me.

Mr. MORGAN. Oh!

Mr. CHANDLER. I am willing the whole of to-morrow shall be devoted to the subject, but I suggested to the Senator to refrain from asking the opponents of the joint resolution to agree to a time for voting until Monday morning, and that Monday morning he should make the request. He may make it to-morrow if he chooses. What I want to do now is to persuade the Senator to consent to have it understood that we shall adjourn from to-morrow until Monday, because if we are going to Monticello we must know it. Now, will the Senator consent to that?

Mr. MORGAN. I have been extremely solicitous, and I think I can claim for myself that I have been patriotically solicitous, to keep the joint resolution out of collision with any political question in the United States. That the tariff is a political question, and that, too, of the severest and most exacting character, I think no one can deny. I have been trying to get a vote upon the joint resolution before the tariff bill was ready for discussion. I do not want to postpone the tariff a second on account of the joint resolution. I do not want to bring up any collision between the tariff bill and the joint resolution. We can not do this country proper justice, nor can we do proper justice to our own motives, if we permit a domestic question of this kind to come in and displace the joint resolution, when we now have the power, and when, I think, it is our duty, to vote upon the joint resolution before a political question intrudes itself.

If we can get a vote on the motion to commit, then we shall understand the whole situation exactly; and if the joint resolution should not be committed, I would have no objection to letting the case go over until Monday, and then asking a time to be fixed for voting on the resolution, except one, and that is that it would bring me into an attitude that I do not wish to occupy, of antagonism to action upon the tariff. Now, why should I be forced into that attitude by the Senate when we have ample time now to avoid it?

Mr. VEST. Will the Senator permit me?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes.

Mr. VEST. The Senator knows that I sympathize with him entirely in his view upon the Cuban question, but he has made an allusion here which I think deserves some inquiry. It has been stated in the public press that three Senators, the Senator from Alabama being one of them, had been invited by the State Department to examine the reports made by our consular agents in Cuba, and that the examination had been made. The Senator from Alabama informs us this morning that he did not participate in that examination. I take it for granted that the other two Senators did.

I submit that the result of that examination ought to be made known to the Senate. I have never seen any authoritative statement as to what General Lee has said about the condition of affairs in Cuba. I have my own opinion, based upon unofficial information, but which I must confess was to a large extent satisfactory to me. Now, may I be permitted to ask the Senator from Alabama whether those Senators were invited there, whether they made the examination, what was the result, and where it is? We are entitled to have it.

Mr. MORGAN. The three Senators were not invited; they were sent by the Committee on Foreign Relations as a subcommittee to confer with the President and Secretary of State. The injunction was imposed upon us that in speaking of this matter in the Senate we should not name General Lee or any other consul; that we should not state the place from which any dispatch was written; that we might give the substance of what the dispatches contained, and no more.

Mr. VEST. Without the authority.

Mr. MORGAN. Without the authority, except to say that it came from consular authority. When the question was asked as to the reason for that, it was because there was apprehension that if the names of these gentlemen were given, they would be massacred in Cuba. Another question was asked, why such an apprehension could be indulged when we had no gunboats and no ships of war in the ports of Cuba; that we had made no provision, so far as I have ever heard, for meeting such desperate consequences from such a desperate and such a depraved people as must be in Cuba if our consuls are expected or it is dreaded that they will be massacred because they have told the truth.

Mr. WHITE. Will the Senator from Alabama permit me to ask him who expressed the opinion that they would be massacred? Was that an official expression?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes; official.

Mr. WHITE. I will ask one further question, with the permission of the Senator from Alabama. Does the Senator understand that the Committee on Foreign Relations has a right to obtain official information directly pertinent to a matter before the Senate and withhold that information from the Senate, when the Senate must act upon the subject?

Mr. MORGAN. I refused to go with that committee and examine the dispatches because of these injunctions. I informed the officials of the Government that I knew enough about Cuba and its situation and its affairs to justify me in my action and in my vote and to convince the Senate and the world that I was standing upon no false foundation or imaginary ground; and I declined to be handicapped with any confidences at all, for after I had received them I could not then be permitted to speak out as a Senator should, without at least the appearance of having violated confidences, which I did not choose to have imputed to me.

So I stand here to-day informed in regard to all the affairs about Cuba as well as any man on this floor. But there are other sources of information besides consuls. There are letters from credible people, and there is that historian that never told a lie—the photograph. I have them now in my desk here, if gentlemen want to examine them, and they show the conditions in Cuba. I have letters from women in Cuba who are not given to lying in regard to the outrages perpetrated upon them and their children. I have all the information I want, and I would not receive from the Executive of the United States any information at all under any injunctions that I could not communicate it to my colleagues on this floor, nor will I ever do it.

Mr. ELKINS. Let me ask the Senator a question. Is it fair to Senators who have to vote on this question that some Senators will have information that they can not impart, and which may control their judgment, while it is denied to other Senators?

Mr. MORGAN. If that be unfair, charge it upon the Executive and not upon me or the country. There we stand.

Mr. ELKINS. As I understand, three Senators know some facts here that other Senators are not permitted to know.

Mr. MORGAN. Two Senators.

Mr. ELKINS. Well, two Senators. Why should two Senators have facts that they are permitted to know and other Senators are not to have them in voting upon a question that is to become a world-wide transaction?

Mr. MORGAN. If the Senator from West Virginia will go to the White House or to the State Department and make that inquiry, he will get an answer that will satisfy him, I have no doubt. It does not satisfy me, but it will satisfy him.

Mr. ELKINS. We ought to have the White House and State Department to communicate all the facts if they want us to act intelligently upon the state of affairs in Cuba. We are entitled to know the facts.

Mr. MORGAN. They have not communicated any facts. On the contrary, on the 29th day of April I asked the Senate to pass a resolution, and it was passed, calling for all the correspondence of the consul-general and the consuls of the United States relating to affairs in Cuba which had been sent to the State Department and not heretofore published. On the 5th day of May I wrote to the Secretary of State, inclosing him a copy of the resolution, and asked him if he expected to comply with it, inasmuch as the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE] and myself had agreed that on the next Monday we would take up this case for final disposal. The reply was that it would take several weeks to prepare the information.

That to me, I must confess, was rather an astounding piece of information in regard to the imbecility of this Government in furnishing the information to the Senate. I do not know that that excuse was ever before made. And then that it would depend upon whether the President saw proper to make the communication. I have the letter in my desk.

Mr. BURROWS. Let me ask the Senator whether there has been any response to that resolution?

Mr. MORGAN. There has not been and there will not be for six months, if it can be avoided.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The hour of 2 o'clock has arrived, and it is the duty of the Chair to lay before the Senate the unfinished business of yesterday, which will be stated.

The SECRETARY. A joint resolution (S. R. 26) declaring that a condition of public war exists in Cuba, and that strict neutrality shall be maintained.

Mr. CANNON and Mr. CHANDLER addressed the Chair.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Utah.

Mr. CHANDLER. I now make my motion, which I suppose is a privileged motion, and I ask the attention of the Senator from Alabama to the motion. I move, as a privileged motion, that when the Senate adjourns to-morrow it adjourn to meet on Monday

next. I want to bring the attention of the Senator from Alabama to that precise question and for the moment away from the Cuban question. Does the Senator see any real objection to having that motion adopted at the present time?

Mr. MORGAN. I am entirely indifferent about that. I want, though, to get a vote taken on the motion to commit. Does the Senator object to my having a vote to-day?

Mr. CHANDLER. I say to the Senator from Alabama that immediately after the motion to commit is voted upon, if it is voted down, as I have no doubt it will be, there will be a vote upon the main question. As a friend of the resolution, as good a friend to it as he is, I do not think it advisable to attempt to get a vote this week upon the motion to commit. Therefore I hope the Senator will allow my motion to be adopted.

Mr. MORGAN. I am not aware that any Senator desires to speak upon this subject except the Senator from Michigan [Mr. BURROWS], and he has just informed me that he does not feel disposed to go on to-day.

Mr. FAULKNER. The Senator from Utah [Mr. CANNON] is ready to proceed.

Mr. MORGAN. I was not aware of it.

Mr. CHANDLER. If the Senator from Utah will allow me a word, I am frank to say that I do not think the friends of the resolution are entitled to ask, either to-day or to-morrow, to have a time fixed for voting upon the resolution, unless we are prepared to give up the visit to Monticello on Friday. Therefore I urge the friends of the resolution to let the motion be adopted which I have made. I shall say no more about it.

Mr. VEST. Before this matter passes away, I should like to ask the Senator from Alabama one question.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Utah yield?

Mr. CANNON. Certainly.

Mr. VEST. I am not certain that I understood him, and I think he ought to be understood. As I did understand him, a committee or a subcommittee of three members of the Foreign Relations Committee were sent or invited to the State Department.

Mr. MORGAN. They were sent. They were not invited.

Mr. VEST. They were sent by the committee, then, to examine the correspondence with our consular agents in Cuba in regard to the condition of affairs there. Do I understand the Senator from Alabama to say that there were conditions, antecedent conditions, imposed upon that committee or subcommittee that they should not make known the authority upon which their statements were made afterwards, but that they were permitted to go there, and when they went there they were permitted to examine this correspondence, and then retain that information for the committee, not to be given to the Senate? I should like to understand exactly how that was.

Mr. MORGAN. I do not think there was any injunction imposed or attempted to be imposed upon the committee at large in communicating to the Senate what the subcommittee might report to them. I do not understand that. The injunctions that were imposed upon the subcommittee were that the names of consuls who had made the communication to the executive department of the Government should not be mentioned in the Senate and that the places at which the dispatches were written should not be stated. But we were at liberty, as I understand, to give, not copies, but the substance of what our consular agents in Cuba had communicated to the executive department, the reason being, as I have already stated, that there was an apprehension that if the names were given or the places at which the dispatches were dated it would result in the massacre of our consuls.

Mr. WHITE. Has the Senator from Alabama any objection to stating what official of the Government of the United States made that statement?

Mr. MORGAN. Well, both the officials concerned in the matter made the statement—the President and Secretary of State.

Mr. CHANDLER. I ask unanimous consent for a vote upon my motion.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from New Hampshire moves that when the Senate adjourn to-morrow it be to meet on Monday next.

The motion was agreed to.

WAR IN CUBA.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the joint resolution (S. R. 26) declaring that a condition of public war exists in Cuba, and that strict neutrality shall be maintained, the pending question being on the motion of Mr. HALE to refer the joint resolution to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Utah [Mr. CANNON] is entitled to the floor.

Mr. FORAKER. Will the Senator from Utah yield to me for just one moment?

Mr. CANNON. Certainly.

Mr. FORAKER. I think I should state, in addition to what has been said by the Senator from Alabama, that there was no limitation placed by the President or the State Department upon the use by the committee of all the information the State Department is in possession of. We were not denied access to any document on file there. On the contrary, full information was given to us. Great pains were taken to make us fully acquainted with everything in the way of knowledge that was possessed by the officials of the Government. The subcommittee deputed by the Foreign Relations Committee for that purpose has full information. I have not any restriction upon me that I know of, beyond the mere use of names and the making of other statements that might identify persons and lead to excitements, and possibly lead to personal injuries.

I expect to address the Senate before this debate closes, and I am not conscious of any restriction upon me as to the use of all the knowledge (to be used, of course, in an appropriate way) that I have in this matter become possessed of.

Mr. VEST. May I ask the Senator from Ohio a question?

Mr. FORAKER. Certainly, if the Senator will first allow me just a moment. In addition to that, I should state—and I state it only because of what has already been said—that the State Department are now engaged in the labor of preparing, for the use of the Senate, full copies of all the correspondence called for by the resolution recently adopted by the Senate, according to the terms of which resolution all correspondence in regard to the Cuban difficulty is called for which has not been heretofore printed. But it is quite a labor, more than I anticipated, more than I had appreciated, and some little time will necessarily elapse, I understand, before the correspondence is ready for this body. I am not asking any delay so far as I am concerned.

Mr. VEST. I call the attention of the Senator from Ohio to the remarkable statement of the Senator from Alabama, that the President of the United States and the Secretary of State informed the Committee on Foreign Relations that the authority for this information, the names of our consular agents and representatives in Cuba, should not be given for fear it would involve their assassination. Is that so or not?

Mr. FORAKER. No; the statement was not made in just that language, as I recollect it.

Mr. VEST. Was it made to that effect?

Mr. FORAKER. But the President and other officials were apprehensive, I will say, now that the statement has been made, and did so express themselves, that the publication of the correspondence at this time, if not made in a judicious and advised manner, might precipitate violence, and possibly do more harm than good. But there was no disposition upon the part of the President or the State Department to withhold from the committee or from the Senate the substance of all the knowledge they have, or the details either, in so far as they might be essential.

Mr. VEST. But I understood the Senator from Ohio to state distinctly that there was no limitation, in his opinion, upon the information he received. Does the Senator mean to say that it is no limitation when the authority for a statement is not to be given?

Mr. FORAKER. No; I said no limitation except that.

Mr. VEST. Except that?

Mr. FORAKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. VEST. Then I will take the amendment. Now, Mr. President, I come to the serious question, Has the Government of the United States undertaken to send any gunboats or war vessels there to protect the representatives of this Government in the discharge of their official functions? That, it seems to me, is the highest duty of any government upon earth. Are we to be told now that we can not ascertain whether it was General Lee or some other consul or diplomatic representative who made these statements for fear that they will be assassinated? Has this Government come to that low degree of power and protection over its own official representatives that we are to be content with the statement that they might be assassinated if their names are given? That is a most serious question.

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. President, I desire in just a word to put myself in a correct attitude before the Senate and the country about this matter. After the subcommittee had conferred with the President and got permission under these limitations to examine the correspondence, we went to the State Department. The Secretary of State seemed to be entirely reluctant to give the information under those conditions, I thought. He said at first that he would read us the dispatches. It turned out upon an examination that the dispatches were not present in the Department—that they were in the hands of Mr. Rockhill for the purpose, as I understood it, of being edited or arranged in some way. Thereupon Mr. Day, the Assistant Secretary of State, came in and gave us that information.

Mr. Sherman then, addressing himself to me personally, said: "Mr. MORGAN, you will understand that these communications are strictly confidential, and that you have no right to name any of the consuls or the places from which the information was written, at which the dispatches were dated." In reply to that, after

some other little matters occurred between him and myself, I stated to him that I would not receive his communication under any such injunction. Thereupon it was arranged that at night we should meet at the Secretary's house to look at the dispatches. I availed myself of the occasion to write a note to the Secretary and tell him that I would not be there for the purpose of examining them. So I have not seen any of the dispatches, and I rely entirely upon my colleagues for the information that they contain.

Mr. FORAKER. If I may be allowed another word, that statement is entirely correct so far as it goes. But there was one other reason assigned, and the chief reason, as I understood it at the time, the one most in the mind of the State Department and the President, why the correspondence ought not to be given out without some kind of restriction, and that was the fear that it might cut off our source of information.

Mr. MORGAN. That is true.

Mr. FORAKER. That was distinctly stated.

Mr. MORGAN. Yes; that was stated.

Mr. FORAKER. And the other remark was incidental, I think, rather than otherwise, as a part of the conversation that followed. Certainly it must be appreciated in the mind of every Senator that we want to be correctly informed, and that to be so correctly informed our consular representatives must feel free to write the exact truth, and they write it under the understanding that it is all in the nature of a confidential communication to the State Department.

Mr. VEST. May I be permitted to ask the Senator from Ohio what he means when he states that the means of communication between this Government and its representatives in Cuba might be cut off?

Mr. FORAKER. I did not make any such remark as I understand from the question of the Senator.

Mr. VEST. I beg pardon. I might have used the wrong verbiage.

Mr. FORAKER. I misunderstood the Senator. What was in the mind of the State Department, whether justly so or not, was this: They said that if the confidential communications of our consular representatives were to be given out to the public without any restriction or limitation whatever there might be, on that account, some reserve on the part of the consular representatives in communicating with the Government. The Government wants every kind of facts pertaining to the situation, in order that it may be fully advised, and it wants every consular representative to feel that he is writing under the protection of the State Department.

I do not understand that there is anything unusual in the proposition to protect the communications of this Government's foreign representatives. That, I think, has been the practice from the beginning of this Government, and has been the practice of every government.

Mr. WHITE. Can the Senator from Ohio state whether the various communications which are now being edited will, when the edited edition is sent to the Senate, contain the names of the parties who sent the information—the names of the consular agents?

Mr. FORAKER. Yes, sir. What I mean is that every scrap in the way of a communication that may be on file in the State Department will be sent to the Senate, but it will be sent as a confidential communication from the President to this coordinate branch of the Government.

Mr. WHITE. That is proper.

Mr. FORAKER. And we will consider it in executive session. That is the way I understand it.

Mr. WHITE. It should have been considered there before this.

Mr. HOAR. I should like to be permitted to state one fact, if the Senator who is entitled to the floor will allow me.

Mr. CANNON. Certainly.

Mr. HOAR. It is the universal rule, as I understand it, a rule for the protection of the consuls themselves—I do not mean now that there is any reason for any apprehension of violence—that their communications are to be treated as highly confidential, except such as may be in the discretion of the Department given to the public without interfering with the usefulness of the consuls where they are.

It happened a little while ago, during the Administration of President Grant, that one of the most brilliant and distinguished of our ministers to a South American Republic observed in one of his dispatches in regard to an important claim by an American citizen against that country that it was necessary in order to get a legislative appropriation that some expenditure of money must be had.

That was the condition of the legislature of that country, a fact almost as notorious to all mankind as the existence of the country itself. The communication, by a mere accident at the Department, got printed, the matter was called by the minister here to the attention of his Government, and the recall of our minister was demanded; and our Administration had to accede to it as a matter of course. Our minister had done absolutely his duty to his own Government; he had stated a notorious fact; and yet that South American Government had a perfect right to treat that statement as offensive to it, and did so treat it.

Now, if a tithe of what the Senator from Alabama claims to be true, and a tithe of what we all believe to be true be true in Cuba, be put into the report of a United States consul and printed, as a matter of course the recall of that consul would be demanded by Spain, and it could not be otherwise. It seems to me it would be an innovation on the practice of civilized governments to hold that as a matter of course these communications are to be presented and the names of the authors made known to the public at the discretion of anybody except the Secretary of State or the President himself.

We always put into our resolutions a direction to all other Departments of the Government; we deal with the question ourselves whether the Secretary of the Treasury or the Secretary of the Navy or the Postmaster-General should state certain facts; but in regard to everything affecting our foreign relations we address our request to the President as a request, and insert in it "if not in his judgment incompatible with the public interests."

Mr. CANNON. Mr. President——

Mr. VEST. Will the Senator allow me?

Mr. CANNON. I will yield to the Senator from Missouri to propound an inquiry.

Mr. VEST. Just a single question. Unquestionably the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] is correct in regard to the general statement he has made, but I should like to ask him if, in his long experience here, he has ever known a case before when a subcommittee of the Committee on Foreign Relations has been sent to the head of an Executive Department, the Secretary of State, for instance, and had been given certain information with the statement that the author of that information was not to be made known to the Senate? Has there ever before been such a case?

Mr. HOAR. I do not know, but I have no doubt it has been done a hundred times. I should expect that it would be so, that it has happened a hundred times. I have not been on that committee, however, and do not know.

Mr. FORAKER. If the Senator from Massachusetts will allow me, that was not the statement that was made; that was not the restriction at all. There was no restriction imposed by anybody as to giving the names, places, and all details to the Senate, but the restriction was simply put upon making it public property, to be known and read of all men in this country and elsewhere.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. President——

Mr. HOAR. If the Senator will allow me, I wish to make one observation in regard to the order of business.

Mr. CANNON. I yield for that purpose.

Mr. HOAR. I am one of those Senators who desire that there shall be an early vote upon this question. I have never seen any advantage to be gained in postponing it after the time of reasonable debate has exhausted itself. I am especially desirous that it shall be out of the way, because there is other important business now ripe and ready for the action of the Senate, for which this special session of Congress was called, and for which the business men and the workingmen of the country, both alike, are impatiently waiting.

I have not felt disposed, when Senators who have occupied on their side five hours at least, if not ten, to one hour that has been occupied on the other side closed long three or four hour speeches with the demand, "Are you going to filibuster or are you going to delay a vote; and, if not, will you now fix a time when we can vote?"—I have not felt that it was in accordance with my own self-respect to jump up and answer such a question as that in the affirmative. That in substance is what has happened. But I am prepared, for one, to have this matter come to an early vote; and, as an evidence of my sincerity in that particular, I desire to say that I have had in my possession some remarks, which I very carefully prepared, intended to go over the whole question of the authority of the legislative and the executive power in regard to the recognition of belligerency and of independence and of making war, the whole condition of things in Cuba, the effect of resolutions of recognition of belligerency or of independence under the law of nations, our relations to Spain, and the expediency of one or another course of action on this subject; and I have refrained from making those remarks to the Senate for the sole reason that I wanted this thing out of the way so that we might take up the tariff bill.

I therefore hope that our friends who are in favor of these resolutions, when the Senators who shall have something to say upon them in the course of the next two or three days shall have said half as much against them as has been said in their favor, will propose a vote and a time—and I hope they will be polite enough to do it without calling us names when they do it—and I think if they do, they will probably find their desires gratified.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. President——

Mr. GALLINGER. Will the Senator yield to me for a single moment?

Mr. CANNON. Certainly.

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President, a little time ago it was agreed that the tariff bill should be taken up on Monday of the present week; but, through the good nature, I take it, of the friends of the bill largely on this side of the Chamber, a delay of another week was granted, and the understanding now is that it shall be taken up next Monday.

We have had under consideration, Mr. President, a simple resolution for forty-nine days in this Senate, which requires only to be read to be perfectly understood. It was introduced on the 1st day of April, and it is now the 19th day of May, and yet the Senate of the United States, acting under those musty old rules it has had almost from its organization, is not ready to vote upon a simple resolution after forty-nine days have come and gone.

Some of us have been found fault with because we have said there was unnecessary delay, and the statement is made by the opponents of this resolution that they have not been accorded an opportunity to present their side of the case. Why, Mr. President, there has not been a day during those forty-nine days that a Senator who was opposed to that resolution might not have had an opportunity to be heard on that question. I think I can say for the Senator from Alabama [Mr. MORGAN], who has occupied some time that no one else was prepared to occupy, that he would cheerfully have yielded to any Senator who desired to present his views in opposition to the views that the Senator from Alabama holds.

Mr. VEST. I beg the Senator's pardon, but does he undertake to say or mean that any of the delay attending the consideration of the tariff bill has come from this side of the Chamber?

Mr. GALLINGER. I do not say anything of the kind, and my language can not be contorted into meaning that; but I did mean to say, Mr. President, that at the end of forty-nine days, with the tariff bill before us, to be taken up on Monday next, we have today deliberately voted—and I believe my vote was the only one in the negative—to leave the city on Friday morning and go down into Virginia and spend Friday and Saturday in a pleasure trip. I had promised myself that pleasure; but I was unwilling to vote to carry out my desires in that respect if it interfered for one single moment with the consideration of the tariff bill, the importance of which is being pressed upon us by the business interests of every city and of every hamlet in the United States. I think we ought to remain here on Friday and Saturday and dispose of this pending resolution, if it can be disposed of, at least to facilitate action upon it, with a view of not permitting this question to come in next Monday to delay and to possibly endanger the passage of the tariff bill.

It is said that on Monday next we shall come to some agreement as to when we shall reach a vote on the pending resolution, but that statement is likewise coupled with the statement that we are to continue to debate this resolution. While we debate this resolution, the business interests of this country continue to suffer, and the laboring men and manufacturers of this country continue to plead with us, to urge us to work and to vote as soon as we can get an opportunity, to pass a tariff law that they hope will bring some relief to the destitution and suffering that now exist.

I desire simply to put myself on record as opposed to taking any pleasure trips or any holidays that would interfere in the slightest degree with the consideration of that great measure which is to come before the Senate on Monday morning next, which ought to be disposed of at the earliest possible opportunity, and which our Democratic friends have assured us over and over again that they do not propose to unduly delay. That is all I desire to say.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. President, I am gratified that I received my lecture from the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] antecedent to my remarks, and trust that the usual scolding which follows any declaration affirmative concerning this resolution will be omitted subsequent to what I shall say.

Mr. President, jingoism in this country is a fluctuating characteristic. When I had the honor to be admitted to a seat in this Chamber there were, I believe, but three defenders of the then existing Administration; and therefore there were but three anti-jingoes in the Senate. So long as a Democratic President sat in the White House, it was the general impression in this body that no Republican could be quite loyal to his party and the people and the traditions of America unless he outjingoed jingoism; and it was partly upon a promise to do better things toward our duty in the world that the American people reversed their verdict of 1892 and gave to the Republicans a victory in 1896. But no sooner does the triumphant party come to its own than it begins to pursue in this body the tactics which it reprehended when another Administration was in power.

Parties may come and parties may go in their control in the United States Senate and in the affairs of Government in this country, but jingoism among the people of the United States will go on forever. If it be jingoism, Mr. President, to desire that the United States shall stretch out the arm of its power and seize that mad dog, Weyler, the Captain-General of Cuba, the ravisher of women, the assassin of men, the crucifier of children—if it be jingoism to hope that no longer will we write words of cowardice in chapters of American history, then 71,000,000 Americans are jingoes. The remaining 263,000 of our population are, some of them, engaged in trade, in counting houses; a few of them, a very few, thank Heaven, in newspaper offices; and a few, still fewer in number, but, alas, greater in power, are in the Senate of the United States. [Laughter.]

Mr. President, this building should be the very temple of human liberty, and every man in either House of Congress should be a guardian of the ark of freedom's covenant. This place should be the sanctuary to which might come all those who desire refuge. Even pagans have recognized that right of sanctuary. But what have we seen here during these two years? Supplicating, bleeding Cuba bowing before us; and by adroitness and by chicanery, if not by absolute opposition, we have denied to her the right of entrance here.

When I listened on yesterday and the day before to remarks which were made here, I could almost have believed myself a witness of proceedings before the Spanish Cortes. I was reminded on day before yesterday, when a plea was offered in behalf of the commercial interests and the conservatism of the United States in matters of high duty, of something that I saw in New York a year or two ago. A great painting of the Man of Sorrows was on exhibition in a hall. The perspective had been so arranged that after a minute or two of contemplation one could almost fancy that he saw the scene where on the mount Christ taught, where in the garden He suffered His agony, and where on the hill He died that we might live. When I went to leave the building, I looked at the book in which men who had come to view the painting had written their sentiments. There on the open page I saw, inscribed by a man who is now a member of the United States Senate, these words: "O Christ, come back; the money changers are in the temple!" On Monday, when I listened to the money-changing sentiments, I thought, "O Christ, come back; the money changers are in the temple of human liberty!"

We can not stand alone, we are told, Mr. President. Then we have fallen into doddering old age. We could stand alone more than a century ago. We can not stand alone, but must be encrutched by the monarchies of Europe for the support of our faltering and senile steps to the grave. If we can not stand alone, we would better blot out the stripes of white from the flag and place there the yellow of Spain, and the ground of blue from the flag and put in the black of Germany. We can not stand alone! when we are the most prosperous, the most intelligent, the most industrious nation under the sun. The only thing needed to enable us to stand alone, patriotically, politically, commercially, financially, is a little more of the jingoism which has fallen into disrepute in this body since the 4th day of last March.

We can not stand alone! and Mulhall, the English statistician, indulges, in our behalf, in a little of that bluster condemned on yesterday. He says we are the greatest nation under the sun; that we have more energy than Germany, Great Britain, and France combined. It is true, sir, that we have more education than any other nation. We pay more money for our public schools than is paid in Austria and Germany and Italy and Spain and France combined. We have 12,000,000 school children attending 236,000 public schools in the United States. We have four and one-half million farms; we have an annual production of $9,000,000,000 of manufactured products; and with this glorious base upon which to establish our feet, we can not stand alone because we need European capital to come here and further enslave our people. We would better stand alone, weak though we may be, until the end of our work, when God will blot us out, as, in His providence, He has blotted out other failures.

Mr. President, the people of the United States, some of them, want a new tariff bill, and some of them do not; some of them want currency reform, and some of them do not. We were told on Monday what the people of the United States wanted. Almost without exception the people of the United States want a declaration from the Congress of the United States that we are prepared to do our duty, not only toward our own people, but toward all other lands under the sun.

What we need more than tariff laws or currency reform in this country is a revival of a spirit of unity among the people. Sectionalism is deplored, the warring of selfish interests is deplored. Nothing could occur to bring the people of the United States into greater harmony one with another, to restore the feeling of confidence, which is a necessary part of national progress, than for the United States to step boldly into the arena of the world and say, "Within this hemisphere, consecrated from the beginning to human liberty, the United States is paramount, and will guard all the lands which adjoin it from tyranny."

Mr. President, the joint resolution under consideration is not such an one as I prefer. I believe in the resolution proposed by the Senator from Texas [Mr. MILLS], and I should like to vote for it. I believe it is the duty of the United States to establish a

protectorate over the Island of Cuba and to hold it sacred from Spanish domination until the people are fit to govern themselves. I do not propose, because of that radical opinion, as some may term it, to vote against the pending resolution, but rather to vote for it, and if one who is new to the Senate, new to the consideration of these great public questions in a public capacity, may be permitted to allude to the arguments which have been advanced in opposition to the resolution, I shall address myself to a few of them.

The distinguished Senator from Massachusetts thinks that by the passage of this resolution we would do injury to American citizens in Cuba; that if we shall declare belligerency, American citizens resident there losing life and property will not have redress against the Spanish Government. What remedy the Senator proposes was not distinctly stated, but it was a fair inference that the message which he would send to our fellow-citizens in Cuba would be, "Endure, O suffering ones, even unto the death, and we will collect damages for your estates from Spain after you are gone. [Laughter.] You ask us for bread, for liberty, for protection, and we will give your heirs a lawsuit against a bankrupt monarchy."

It certainly can not have escaped the attention of so careful a lawyer as the senior Senator from Massachusetts that the existing situation is that which affords danger to the estates and the lives of American citizens. There will be but one power in Cuba with a right to protect, with a right to assail, and with the property to pay damages, and that will be, in some day not far distant, the Cuban Republic. This is the declaration of the provisional government of that republic in its constitution:

ART. 20. The plantations and property of whatever description belonging to foreigners are subject to the payment of taxes for the revolution while their respective governments do not recognize the rights of belligerency of Cuba.

The estates, the plantations, the other property of American citizens are liable to confiscation at this moment and rightfully, too. If this Republic will not recognize the belligerency of Cuba, and gives her sympathy, and thereby her support, to Spain, the provisional government of Cuba has a right in law and morals to tax, even to the point of confiscation, the property of foreigners to maintain the war against the tyranny of Spain.

I do not share the solicitude of the Senator from Massachusetts as to citizens of this country now denizens of Cuba if the joint resolution shall pass. On that particular point of contention it is enough for me to know that Cubans and Americans desire to have the joint resolution passed and that Spain and Spanish-Americans do not want to have it passed. Just in so far as the joint resolution will give comfort to Cuba, just in so far as it will add to the power of Cuba to resist oppression, just in so far as it will prevent Spain from obtaining blood money in the markets of the world, it will answer the purpose of the American people, and I am for it. I think the joint resolution will pass and that it will accomplish good, and I think that neither the tariff nor any other question will be permitted to prevent a vote in this body upon the joint resolution unless jingoism is dead in all other quarters besides the Republican contingent here.

But these practical reasons failing, Mr. President, we were treated to a dissertation on international law as a reason why we should not vote for a joint resolution of this character. During the brief time I have been in this body I have discovered that every time there is an external right to be asserted by the people of the United States or a wrong to be redressed in our behalf or in behalf of humanity, somebody rises and with trembling voice and bowed frame cries out "international law."

What is international law? By what national legislatures unitedly was international law written? The manner in which the subject is alluded to here might lead us to believe that the slightest act of manhood and national integrity on the part of the United States would call forth from the vasty deep some monster to crush the Republic in its folds. Is international law a gyve upon the hands of a republic and a sword in the hands of a tyranny? International law as used here in this discussion by its advocates is not a barnacle; it is a hissing serpent, and it is the duty of the United States to set its heel upon the serpent's head, according to the commandment, even though we may be bruised in doing it.

If international law binds us, as we were told yesterday, then it is time for the one great nation of freedom to revise the code of international law and make the world accept it in all our relations to the world. Tory was once a name of honor in this land, but it soon became a word of reproach. In later generations, when those who come after us to inherit weal or woe from what we do, shall read the history of these times, perhaps they will think of the international lawyers of America as we now think of the Tories of one hundred and twenty years ago.

When the plea for international law fails, we are edified by instructions as to the Presidential prerogative. The speech of the Senator from Virginia [Mr. DANIEL] was a complete and conclusive answer. But the President has a prerogative. I have not been asked, of course, to advise him, nor have I requested to be his mouthpiece here, but if I had been on terms of desire and opportunity to advise, I should have said before the 4th of March last, "The greatest right, privilege, or prerogative which any President of the United States has had since Lincoln is now with you."

The President of the United States might have said to his fellow-citizens: "In this time, when men are shelterless and foodless and ragged, it is not wise that we should have pageantry; the inauguration of a President is a solemn thing." The personal stateliness surrounding the man who would walk to the Capitol and there take the oath of office would have been more impressive to the American people than all the parade, than all the display, which filled Pennsylvania avenue on the 4th of last March. Then, if the President, immediately after inauguration, had said: "Contemporaneous with or even antecedent to the remedy of ills at home this nation will stop the bloodshed in Cuba," he would have been enshrined in the hearts of his countrymen in an unassailable position. There is ample opportunity for the assertion of Presidential prerogative. If the Senate will do its duty by the joint resolution, and if the House shall pass it, the President of the United States may assert an undisputed prerogative. He may either sign or veto it, and so far as the discussion in this body is concerned that ought to be sufficient.

Mr. President, there is a higher ground than even our right to pass the joint resolution. There is the ground of our duty to pass it. The Senator whose utterances in this body concerning the Army are usually accepted as conclusive tells us we are not prepared for war. We are better prepared for war in the measure of the generations to-day than we are prepared for that deadly, silent disintegration of the Republic which follows fast upon cowardice. If Spain were to declare war against us because of any act of justice on our part, we would be thrice armed.

We owe a duty to this hemisphere and toward all the world—a duty which we must pay. Above international law, above Presidential prerogative, above the fear of war, above the commercial interests of the United States, stands the immutable law of retribution. The people of this country, the inheritors of the free thought of all the ages crystallized for our well-being, can not avoid the solemn obligation which they owe. Senators may plan and men may plot for commercial advantage, but if we fail to discharge the duty which we owe, behind us will stalk unerring vengeance.

Columbus discovered America, we heard the other day. He did not; but that makes no difference to the joint resolution, except by way of corroboratory argument to the idea that we owe a duty to the world. What kept Leif Ericson and the Vikings from making permanent establishment upon this soil? Because in the providence of Almighty God freedom had not grown to such stature in other lands as to make it desirable to open this.

This hemisphere was held sacred through all the dark ages until such time as men had developed their thought and hope so far as possible under monarchies, and then Columbus sailed; the crimson gates of the sunset hemisphere opened wide, and there was established here the tree of liberty which could not grow upon the blood-soaked soil of Europe. It was not the jewels of Isabella which filled the sails of Columbus's ships. It was the spirit of God moving upon the waters to make a new world, to establish man anew in power and in might. In just so far as we fail in the duty which we owe to mankind on this hemisphere, just so far we shall suffer under that law of retribution.

Mr. President, Cuba is lost to Spain. The first place on which the Italian navigator landed will be the last on which she will set her cloven hoof. She will be banished from the island, and with her will go the last tyranny that infests the Western Hemisphere. If we shall do our duty, we shall aid Cuba in throwing off the yoke. Spain has violated every treaty obligation to us. She has made war upon this country. That which she has done by one citizen in the darkness of a dungeon she would have done by all our citizens if she had had the power.

We were told not long since that the cause of Cuban independence was dead and buried. Who was the purse-bearing Judas in America who betrayed it to death and burial? If the Senate of the United States will rise to the wonderful opportunity now afforded for an assertion of the dignity of Americanism, and if the House shall do its part, and if the President, exercising prerogative and right and discharging his obligation to the people of this country, shall sign the joint resolution, and if following them there shall be such aggressive action on the part of the people of the United States as shall serve notice on tyranny that faith is absolved, the American people will roll the stone from the grave away, and Cuban independence will be resurrected to be mighty and powerful, as a further example to the liberty loving of all lands of what the Western Hemisphere can do under the providence of God. [Applause in the galleries.]

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. GALLINGER in the chair). The Chair will inform the occupants of the galleries that the rules of the Senate prohibit manifestations either of approval or disapproval, and if the offense is repeated it will be the duty of

the Chair, through the Sergeant-at-Arms, to have the galleries cleared.

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. President, I believed it to be the duty of this Government, more than a year ago to recognize the revolution in Cuba as having attained the condition of belligerency, and I believe if that policy had been pursued, instead of a year of cruelty and horrors, the war would have assumed the status of civilized warfare, and the world would not to-day look upon a spectacle which horrifies every eye that is attracted to the unfortunate island.

We were told the other day that it would be an idle act to recognize the belligerency of the Cuban revolutionists; that it would add nothing to their standing, and would subject the American people to difficulties which we ought to avoid. It will not do to attempt to minimize the importance of such a recognition to the struggling Cuban patriots. The American conscience will not accept any such disposition of the question, and, besides, the recognition of belligerency is the first great step to the ultimate independence of the Cuban people.

For nearly three years those people, without resources, have struggled against a power strong enough to have crushed any ordinary insurrection, and although there have been individual expressions of sympathy, not a single power on earth has raised its voice in an authoritative way to give encouragement to the struggling patriots. Let it go forth to the world that the United States has recognized the Cubans as belligerents; let the soldiers in Cuba understand that there is one power on earth which recognizes the fact that they are making war, and that they are not mere outlaws, and a new spirit will be given them, a message of encouragement will go which will induce them to struggle on against adversity until in the end their triumph shall come.

But, independent of this proposition, is it a mere matter of form to acknowledge the belligerency of the struggling revolutionists? What do the law writers, the international-law writers, say upon this subject?

> The recognition of belligerent rights is not solely to the advantage of the insurgents. They gain the great advantage of a recognized status, and the opportunity to employ commissioned cruisers at sea, and to exert all the powers known to maritime warfare, with the sanction of foreign nations. They can obtain abroad loans, military and naval materials, and enlist men as against everything but neutrality laws; their flag and commissions are acknowledged; their revenue laws are respected, and they acquire a quasi-political recognition.

Does this amount to nothing? Does this add nothing to the standing of a struggling people? This acknowledgment establishes the quasi political character of the people engaged in the struggle.

Have we reached that point at which we may safely make this recognition? Is it true, as a matter of international law, that before revolutionists who are seeking to establish their independence and to set up a new government shall be recognized as belligerents they must accomplish all, as I have heard insisted here, that entitles them to the recognition of their independence?

Is it essential that war shall be conducted according to the rules of civilized warfare? Is it essential that flags of truce shall be exchanged? Is it essential that prisoners shall be treated as prisoners of war? If it be, then the parent country can put off for all time the recognition by any foreign government of the belligerency of the revolutionists. Is it necessary that they shall have a civil government, capable of administering municipal law as though peace prevails? Is it essential that they shall show themselves able, the war ceasing, to go on and discharge all the duties which a government owes to its people and to the world?

I maintain that such is not the law and that such was not claimed to be the law until within the last eighteen or twenty years. The question is, Does a state of war exist; have the revolutionists such cohesion, such power that they have organized armies and conducted a war for a reasonable period of time which the parent country has been unable to subdue? When they ask for recognition as war-making power, it is not a question as to what their civil government is or shall be in the future. It is a question whether they have armies, whether they are able to conduct war and do conduct war. I maintain that in almost all the successful revolutions of the world military despotism has denominated the revolution until independence has been virtually secured. Civil government comes not in the war and with the war. Civil government comes as a consequence to a successful war, and it is a misapplication of the rule to say that the belligerent shall never have his belligerency acknowledged until he shall have virtually accomplished his independence.

What is belligerency and when has it been acknowledged by the nations of the world? I read an extract from Abdy's Kent:

> It has been the constant practice of European nations and of the United States to "look upon belligerency as a fact rather than a principle," holding, with Mr. Canning, "that a certain degree of force and consistency acquired by a mass of population engaged in war entitled that population to be treated as belligerent."

If that state of case has been established in the Cuban struggle, then we have reached a point at which we may with propriety acknowledge the belligerency of the revolutionary government, whether it be a civil government or a military government. If the revolutionists so far submit to and support the government they have, as to indicate it is the government they desire, then the question is, Have they an army; do they maintain and prosecute war as wars are usually maintained and prosecuted?

Are 160,000 Spanish soldiers in the Island of Cuba engaged in suppressing not a belligerent power, but in an attempt to keep the peace in the island? The very statement of the proposition carries with it its contradiction. Talk to me about it requiring 160,000 regular troops to maintain order in an island of 1,500,000 people, one-half of whom are confined in cities within the Spanish military lines. If there be no war in Cuba, then the Spanish army is a travesty upon an army. In the history of the world there has been no instance of a mere band of conspirators, or outlaws, or disaffected and lawless people who could maintain against such an army a struggle for two years and a half, as these people have done.

The condition of affairs in Cuba to-day demonstrates that the armed forces of the revolutionists, whether they be guerrillas or regulars, are backed by the people of Cuba. What is the condition of affairs in Cuba? We have had frequent references to the last Administration's want of sympathy with the Cuban movement; yet in December last the President of the United States thus described affairs in that unhappy island:

> The spectacle of the utter ruin of an adjoining country, by nature one of the most fertile and charming on the globe, would engage the serious attention of the Government and people of the United States in any circumstances. In point of fact, they have a concern with it which is by no means of a wholly sentimental or philanthropic character. It lies so near to us as to be hardly separated from our territory. Our actual pecuniary interest in it is second only to that of the people and Government of Spain.
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> It is reasonably estimated that at least from $30,000,000 to $50,000,000 of American capital are invested in plantations and in railroad, mining, and other business enterprises on the island. The volume of trade between the United States and Cuba, which in 1889 amounted to about $64,000,000, rose in 1893 to about $103,000,000, and in 1894, the year before the present insurrection broke out, amounted to nearly $96,000,000.

What had been the effect upon the material interests of the Island of Cuba up to the time at which this message was written, and what are the duties we owe to that people and ourselves?

It should be added—

Said the President—

> It should be added that it can not be reasonably assumed that the hitherto expectant attitude of the United States will be indefinitely maintained. While we are anxious to accord all due respect to the sovereignty of Spain, we can not view the pending conflict in all its features, and properly apprehend our inevitably close relations to it and its possible results, without considering that by the course of events we may be drawn into such an unusual and unprecedented condition as will fix a limit to our patient waiting for Spain to end the contest, either alone and in her way, or with our friendly cooperation.
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> When the inability of Spain to deal successfully with the insurrection has become manifest, and it is demonstrated that her sovereignty is extinct in Cuba for all purposes of its rightful existence, and when a hopeless struggle for its reestablishment has degenerated into a strife which means nothing more than the useless sacrifice of human life and the utter destruction of the very subject-matter of the conflict, a situation will be presented in which our obligations to the sovereignty of Spain will be superseded by higher obligations which we can hardly hesitate to recognize and discharge.
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> Deferring the choice of ways and methods until the time for action arrives, we should make them depend upon the precise conditions then existing; and they should not be determined upon without giving careful heed to every consideration involving our honor and interest or the international duty we owe to Spain. Until we face the contingencies suggested, or the situation is by other incidents imperatively changed, we should continue in the line of conduct heretofore pursued, thus in all circumstances exhibiting our obedience to the requirements of public law and our regard for the duty enjoined upon us by the position we occupy in the family of nations.
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> A contemplation of emergencies that may arise should plainly lead us to avoid their creation, either through a careless disregard of present duty or even an undue stimulation and ill-timed expression of feeling. But I have deemed it not amiss to remind the Congress that a time may arrive when a correct policy and care for our interests, as well as a regard for the interests of other nations and their citizens, joined by considerations of humanity and a desire to see a rich and fertile country, intimately related to us, saved from complete devastation, will constrain our Government to such action as will subserve the interests thus involved and at the same time promise to Cuba and its inhabitants an opportunity to enjoy the blessings of peace.

That was the view of the last Administration when the last campaign was just beginning. What are the conditions now that that campaign has virtually come to a close? The message which the President sent to the Senate and House the other day discloses. The agricultural people have been driven from their homes; they have been taken captive and carried into the Spanish fortresses and towns, and in the richest country the sun has ever shone upon starvation has set in. The Spanish authorities can not feed their own people, and the President of the United States has asked an appropriation to feed the 700 or 800 Americans who have suffered in this common calamity, or else to take them out from this scene of desolation and starvation.

Now, if these conditions exist just as the rainy season has set in, what will naturally be the conditions when the next campaign commences six months hence? They will be just as they were six months ago; the revolutionists will reoccupy all the country as they did when the present campaign commenced; and the campaign of 1898 will be but a repetition of the campaign of 1897.

It is not whether the belligerency or this revolutionary uprising ought to be acknowledged, but whether the Government of the United States, owing to its contiguity to Cuba and to its past history so far as the Cuban people are concerned, ought not to go at once beyond the recognition of the belligerency and intervene to save the island and the people from utter destruction.

We have made ourselves the sponsor for the Spanish title to Cuba and the right of the Spanish Government to rule over the Cuban people. In 1823 we served notice upon Europe and all the European powers that no other power should ever own Cuba than Spain, and as time progressed we gave assurance to Spain that we would uphold and defend her title against any other power. We are the sponsors for her right to govern these people, and we can not shut our eyes to our duty to see that they be governed and not exterminated. That is the issue we have to meet to-day. It is not a mere question of belligerency. It is not a mere question of temporary policy.

We are to determine the ultimate destiny of the Cuban people. Spain has demonstrated her incapacity or else her unwillingness to give these people good government, and a condition of affairs has been wrought out by the inevitable march of events which proclaims to every people the fact that Spain and Cuba can never live together except the one be treated as a subjugated province and governed by the strong arm of martial law.

This great question has been considered by statesmen who have gone before us. In 1874, while the former Cuban revolution was in progress and after the Government of the United States had refused to recognize the belligerency of the struggling patriots, Mr. Fish, in a letter to Mr. Cushing, our minister at Madrid, in discussing the unfortunate condition of affairs, used the following language:

And, grievous as this inconvenience is to the United States in ordinary times, it is more intolerable now—

The grievance consisted in the inadequacy of the Spanish Government in the Island of Cuba—

seeing that, as abundantly appears, the contest in Cuba is between peninsular Spaniards on the one hand and native-born Spanish-Americans on the other, the former being the real representatives of Spanish force in Cuba, and exerting that force when they choose, with little, if any, respect for the metropolitan power of Spain. The Captain-General is efficient to injure, but not to redress, and if disposed to redress, he may be hampered, if not prevented, by resolute opposition on the part of the Spaniards around him, disobedient alike to him and to the supreme Government.

In fine, Cuba, like the former continental colonies of Spain in America, ought to belong to the great family of American Republics, with political forms and public policy of their own, and attached to Europe by no ties save those of international amity and of intellectual, commercial, and social intercourse. The desire of independence on the part of the Cubans is a natural and legitimate aspiration of theirs, because they are Americans. And while such independence is the manifest exigency of the political interests of the Cuban themselves, it is equally so that of the rest of America, including the United States.

Then the prediction is made in this letter:

That the ultimate issue of events in Cuba will be its independence, however that issue may be produced, whether by means of negotiation, or as the result of military operations or of one of those unexpected incidents which so frequently determine the fate of nations, it is impossible to doubt. If there be one lesson in history more cogent in its teachings than any other, it is that no part of America large enough to constitute a self-sustaining state can be permanently held in forced colonial subjection to Europe. Complete separation between the metropolis and its colony may be postponed by the former conceding to the latter a greater or less degree of local autonomy, nearly approaching to independence. But in all cases where a positive antagonism has come to exist between the mother country and its colonial subjects, where the sense of oppression is strongly felt by the latter, and especially where years of relentless warfare have alienated the parties one from another more widely than they are sundered by the ocean itself, their political separation is inevitable. It is one of those conclusions which have been aptly called the inexorable logic of events.

This was written in 1874. In 1897 we have the same conditions more intensified than they were twenty-three years ago, and we had as well look the truth in the face and recognize the fact that the time has come when "the inexorable logic of events" declares that Spain and Cuba shall separate, and separate forever. The only question is what steps can be with the greatest propriety taken, how far we shall go to-day, and how far we shall forbear to go. Owing to the situation of Cuba, lying as it does under our very feet, with the fact staring us in the face that the Cubans can not live longer under the Spanish Government except as the servile minions of military power, we have reached a point where we can not longer refuse to act.

I have no disposition to force the present Administration to act before it is ready, but I do think the Administration should understand, as the people understand, as the world understands, that the time for action has come, and that that action is to be directed not to the mere temporary cessation of bloodshed which we look upon with so much horror, but to final and everlasting separation between the Island of Cuba and the Kingdom of Spain. In this same letter Mr. Fish, speaking for the President, said:

Withal the President can not but regard independence, and emancipation, of course, as the only certain, and even the necessary, solution of the question of Cuba. And, in his mind, all incidental questions are quite subordinate to those, the larger objects of the United States in this respect.

Emancipation and independence. Emancipation has long since come; independence must and will follow, and it will follow through our intervention, if not without it.

It requires to be borne in mind that, in so far as we may contribute to the solution of these questions, this Government is not actuated by any selfish or interested motive. The President does not meditate or desire the annexation of Cuba to the United States, but its elevation into an independent republic of freemen, in harmony with ourselves and with the other republics of America.

You will understand, therefore, that the policy of the United States in reference to Cuba at the present time is one of expectancy, but with positive and fixed convictions as to the duty of the United States when the time or emergency of action shall arrive. When it shall arrive, you will receive specific instructions what to do.

That was the manner in which General Grant looked at the question of Cuban independence in 1874. These are the words used by his Secretary of State in expressing the fact that he looked forward with expectancy to the ultimate independence of Cuba, and that when the opportune moment should arrive his minister to Spain would receive his proper instructions.

Grant has passed away. A great concourse assembled the other day in New York to do his memory honor. He is but a memory to the younger generation, and yet at this late day we are still hesitating to take the second step in the direction pointed out by General Grant twenty years ago. Emancipation and independence, the two together, to be the fate of Cuba. He lived to see emancipation. Shall not those of his own generation live to see the ultimate independence of that unfortunate island?

The inability of Spain to deal successfully with the revolution has become manifest. It has been demonstrated that her sovereignty in Cuba "is extinct for all the purposes of its rightful existence," the hopeless struggle "has degenerated into a strife which means nothing more than the useless sacrifice of human life and the utter destruction of the very subject-matter of the conflict." We are met with those higher obligations which, in the language of Mr. Cleveland in December last, "we can hardly hesitate to recognize and discharge."

How far we ought to go it is not for me to point out, but that we may go as far as it is proposed by the pending joint resolution to go seems to me clear beyond all reasonable doubt. The recognition of the belligerency of the Cuban insurgents is not an act of war. It is not an unfriendly act to Spain.

I have had difficulties, and I still have difficulties, in regard to the question where this power of recognition lies. I do not agree that it is exclusively an executive power. I see difficulties in the way of its being a legislative power. I do not concede that it is a concurrent power that one branch may exercise to the necessary exclusion of the other. It is rather a power to be ordinarily jointly exercised by the executive and legislative branches of the Government. Generally the executive will take the initiative, and the legislative will go no further in advance of the Executive than to tender its advice and to give assurance of its support in case he chooses to act.

I would much have preferred in this exigency that the preliminary step had been taken by the Executive, but for a year and a half this question has been considered in Congress and out of it, and the Executive has failed to act. I appreciate the anomalous attitude of Congress in declaring a fact, stopping with the declaration of that fact, and sending the declaration to the President, that he may either approve or disapprove of it. But the joint resolution goes further than to declare a fact. If it stopped merely with the declaration that a state of war exists between Spain and those engaged in insurrection against the Government of Spain in the Island of Cuba, and therefore we recognize the belligerency of the insurgents or revolutionists, I would say that was a very difficult proposition to deal with. That would be a mere question of opinion with which the Executive may differ, if he chooses, and I feel that we would be in an awkward attitude in voting by a two-thirds vote, that our opinion should prevail over his.

But the joint resolution does not stop with the declaration of a fact. The declaration of fact may be omitted, and still the joint resolution would provide that the Government shall occupy a position of strict neutrality between the two contending powers and treat each as it treats the other, which amounts to a rule of action prescribed by the lawmaking power which I think will govern the Executive.

Suppose we should provide that a state of neutrality shall exist between these two contending forces and that we will treat them as equals during the continuance of the present war; then it follows that when the Cuban cruiser comes into our ports we shall treat it as we treat the Spanish cruiser. Wherever our people come in contact with those who represent the Cuban government, we will be bound to treat them as we would treat the representatives of the Spanish Government. This rule of action would govern not only the Chief Executive of the country, but all the executive and ministerial officers of the country. None of the difficulties which have been pointed out will follow in case of the overturning of the government of Cuba.

Suppose we recognize belligerency to-day and to-morrow peace

and pacification be established throughout all the Cuban country; then our declaration of neutrality will go for nothing, because the occasion for its exercise will never arise. It was no more necessary that an act of Congress should be passed to raise the blockade of the Southern ports after Lee and Johnston had surrendered, in order to open the blockade, than it would be necessary to pass an act of Congress to declare that we shall no longer act as a neutral between two powers one of which had ceased to exist.

The difficulties are imaginary. Our conduct will change with the change of conditions, and another declaration will not be necessary. So long as the Cuban insurrection maintains itself, so long as it can bring itself in contact with the American Government, just that long this resolution, if it be adopted by the Senate and House of Representatives, will bind the President and bind all our executive and ministerial officers; and the very moment peace be restored to Cuba, whether the war ends by a treaty between the two countries or whether it ends by driving the Spaniards out of Cuba or by the overthrow of the Cuban insurrection, the result will be all the same. The resolution will no longer apply, because the conditions which called for it no longer exist.

There is one other phase of this question to which I must call the attention of the Senate. Can it be said that perfect peace prevails between Spain and the United States, and that we should be reluctant to do that which is right for fear of giving offense to our peaceful neighbor, when the statement is made on the floor of the Senate that our consular officers on the Island of Cuba can not afford to have it published to the world that they have reported the truth in relation to affairs as they there exist for fear of putting their personal safety in danger? In danger from whom? In danger from the lawless Spaniards? Why, sir, the lawless Spaniards are dominated by 160,000 regular soldiers; there is not a Cuban port in which resides an American consul which is not a garrisoned town and subject to the domination of the troops there stationed.

Has it reached the point that the truth can not be told without exciting in the breasts of the people who represent the Government with which we claim to be at peace feelings of resentment to such an extent as that our public officials will be put in danger? If this be true, if there be any reasonable ground for believing this to be true, then we ought to act at once and go further than this resolution provides.

It has been intimated here a half dozen times that the last Administration withheld facts from the Senate because it feared by giving out information it would put our representatives in Cuba in danger; but it was only to-day that the authoritative information came to the Senate that this Administration shares that fear and that this Administration is willing on that account that the legislative branch of the Government shall know the truth only upon condition that the truth be disclosed to it in confidence.

I understand why every fact that comes to the State Department shall not be given out, even to Congress. Communications made by other Governments are confidential in their nature, and ought not to be disclosed without their consent; communications made by our representatives of facts they receive from Governments to which they are accredited ought not to be given out, because that might be regarded as a kind of breach of faith; but when our consul is sent there to look after our material interests, and he is required to report to Washington not that which he learns from the Spanish authorities but that which comes under his daily observation, and those facts are reported to this Government in order that this Government may base its future action upon them, shall we say that such information is to be treated as confidential? Confidential between whom? Confidential not between Spain and the United States, not between the representatives of Spain and the United States, but confidential between this Government and its own agents, to be given out only under such conditions as will protect the reporting agent from danger at the hands of the people and the Government to whom he has been accredited.

I say if General Lee is in danger, or would be endangered by having the public taken into the confidence of the Government as to any fact which he reports from his own knowledge or observation, or if any consul, however humble he may be, would be put in danger because of a report which he makes being given to the public, then the time has come either when our Navy should be sent down to Cuba to protect those agents against violence, which the Spanish Government either can not or will not protect them from, or else they should be required to leave the island and come home, and all diplomatic relations should terminate between this Government and Spain.

I do not advise any such extreme measure as this, but I do think the first step ought now to be taken, and I do think the honor and dignity of the United States require that we shall officially recognize a fact which we all know exists.

Independent of these dispatches, which we have not had the opportunity to read, the messages of two Presidents, the message of December last and the message of May, leave no question about the condition of affairs in Cuba; and that condition of affairs, considered in the light of seventy years of our history, that condition of affairs considered in the light of seventy years of a policy which we had established, and to which we have always adhered, with regard to relations between Spain and Cuba, demands that the first step looking to the ultimate relief of Cuba from the oppressions of a Government that either can not or will not give it good government ought to be taken; and as this is the only tangible step that is anywhere proposed, I am prepared to give my vote for the resolution.

Mr. FORAKER. Mr. President, the question before the Senate is on the motion to refer the resolution of the Senator from Alabama [Mr. MORGAN] to the Committee on Foreign Relations. I have already spoken, briefly, it is true, but, nevertheless, sufficiently to show my favor for that motion.

It has seemed to me that a resolution of this importance, a resolution of the far-reaching consequences of this resolution, ought to take the regular course, meet with thorough consideration at the hands of the Committee on Foreign Relations, and be in the regular way reported to the Senate before the Senate should take action upon it; this to the end that we may have on record as the predicate for our action the report of the committee embodying such facts as they might be able with propriety to present to this body.

Having entertained that view and having expressed that opinion, I did not expect to speak to the merit of the resolution of the Senator from Alabama until after a vote had been taken on the motion to refer to the committee; but, sir, this debate has taken such range and such things have been said in this debate that I now feel that it will be with propriety, at least, notwithstanding I am a member of the committee to which, according to this motion, this resolution should be referred, that I should speak as to the merit of the resolution itself.

And, coming to speak upon the merit of that resolution, I want to say at the outset that I propose to vote for that resolution or some other resolution of kindred character whenever we come to the point of taking a vote.

I want to say further, Mr. President, that, in order that I may support that resolution, it is not necessary, according to my judgment, that there should be any violation by this Senate of any principle of international law. On the contrary, in my judgment, we shall act strictly in accordance with the principles of international law in now taking the step which this resolution provides shall be taken. And I speak at this time upon the merit of this proposition because, in view of that which has been said here, it seems to me very appropriate and important that it should be pointed out that the resolution of the Senator from Alabama, if adopted by this body, will not be adopted in violation of international law, but in recognition and in consistency with the principles of international law.

Mr. President, there are just four ways in which a foreign power, acting at all, can take notice of internal dissensions and disturbances in another country. They are: First, by a recognition of independence; in the second place, by a recognition of belligerency; in the third place, by a tender of friendly offices as a mediator, and, in the fourth place, by the drastic method suggested by the senior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] yesterday—intervention.

No one pretends, I believe—at least I have not heard that any one does—that we could with propriety consider a proposition to recognize independence in Cuba. There can be no recognition of independence until independence shall have been achieved. No one claims that the independence of Cuba has yet been achieved.

So far as mediation is concerned, that, too, may be considered beyond consideration in connection with the consideration of this proposition. We were told yesterday by the Senator from Massachusetts that he believed it to be the duty of this Administration to first propose mediation, and then, if mediation be not promptly accepted, to intervene and compel a cessation of hostilities and the establishment of peace.

The Senator doubtless spoke in ignorance of the fact, which I feel myself, notwithstanding some restrictions that have been adverted to, at liberty to state to the Senate that mediation has been tendered by this Government and has been rejected by Spain. As long ago as April 4, 1896, Secretary Olney addressed to the Spanish Government, through the Spanish minister resident in this city, a communication, a copy of which I hold in my hand, of very considerable length and very great ability, in which he recounted the then existing conditions in Cuba, pointed out the necessity for a cessation of such practices as were then being resorted to in the prosecution of that war, and also pointed out the interests of the United States as prejudicially affected by that war, and, as the result of it all, upon that as a basis for it, tendered to the Spanish Government the friendly offices of the United States Government to secure peace in the Island of Cuba consistent with the dignity and the honor and the continued sovereignty of Spain in that island.

I hold in my hand, also, part of the answer which some two

months later was made by the Spanish Government to that communication. I read from it just one sentence. It is under date of June 4, 1896. The answer is equally as long as the communication of Mr. Olney. In it a great many things were said which I do not feel I should be justified in commenting upon here in public. At the conclusion of the argument he made in behalf of the position Spain took in rejecting that friendly mediation, the Spanish minister uses this sentence:

In brief, there is no effectual way to pacify Cuba, unless it begins with the actual submission of the armed rebels to the mother country.

That, Mr. President, was the end, so far as I have been able to discover, of the efforts on the part of our Government as a friendly mediator. Those efforts came to naught. They came to naught because of the rejection on the part of the Spanish Government of this friendly tender.

Reference was made yesterday to the Republican platform in regard to Cuba——

Mr. HOAR. Before the Senator leaves that point, will he allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. FORAKER. Certainly; with pleasure.

Mr. HOAR. I desire to ask the Senator from Ohio whether the tender of mediation was a tender of the good offices of this Government to secure the independence of Cuba, or whether it was limited to a tender of the good offices of our Government to secure pacification there by the adoption by Spain of certain legislative or other reforms?

Mr. FORAKER. I have not been honored with the attention of the Senator from Massachusetts that I complimented myself I was being honored with.

Mr. HOAR. Yes; the Senator has.

Mr. FORAKER. I stated distinctly that the tender by this Government to the Spanish Government was to use the good offices of this Government to secure peace to the Island of Cuba on terms consistent with the dignity, the honor, and the continued sovereignty in Cuba of the Spanish Government.

Mr. HOAR. If the Senator will pardon me, I understood it exactly so; and I wish to call the attention of the Senator—because the Senator perhaps has not honored me with the attention which I should have deemed a very great compliment if I had received it——

Mr. FORAKER. I did not know that I was bound to be watching the Senator while I was addressing the Senate.

Mr. HOAR. The Senator quoted what I said yesterday.

Mr. FORAKER. Yes.

Mr. HOAR. What I said yesterday was that I was in favor of an offer of mediation of this Government to secure the independence of Cuba. The Senator then, undertaking to take up what I said yesterday and referring to it, objects to that proceeding by quoting an offer to mediate on the terms made four or five months ago or a year ago, an offer to mediate on the terms of the continued authority of Spain; and I asked him to restate the offer in that letter, in order that he might see the distinction between my proposition and the offer of our Government through Mr. Olney. When I said that the honorable Senator had not exactly listened to me, I referred to the remark which he was quoting, and not to what is going on now.

Mr. FORAKER. The Senator from Massachusetts is laboring under a misapprehension when he supposes I did not understand him. I was speaking as to the four ways in which we might take notice of the fact that there was a disturbance, not to use the term war, in Cuba at this time. I had spoken of the fact that independence was not to be considered, for the reasons I gave. I was just now speaking of the fact that mediation was not to be considered properly, because that effort had been made and had been rejected.

I have appealed to the record to sustain me in that respect. What is it the record shows—the letter of Mr. Olney and the answer thereto? It shows that what this Government offered to do was to intervene as a friendly mediator, to secure a peace consistent with the honor, the dignity, and the continued sovereignty of Spain in Cuba. Does the Senator from Massachusetts suppose that the Spanish Government, having rejected that proposition, would entertain one now based upon the proposition that we should become a friendly mediator to secure peace on condition that the Island of Cuba should be given independence?

Mr. HOAR. I do.

Mr. FORAKER. You do? You think Spain would entertain more favorably a proposition that she should abdicate than that she should continue sovereign? I submit to Senators that I need not dwell upon the idea I am seeking to advance, that the greater includes the less, and that, if Spain would not entertain a proposition continuing her sovereignty, we could not expect her to entertain a proposition based on a condition precedent of abdication of authority.

Mr. HOAR. If the Senator will pardon me one moment, I shall not interrupt him again——

Mr. FORAKER. I shall be delighted to have the Senator interrupt me at his pleasure.

Mr. HOAR. I shall say what I wish to say on the general subject after the Senator gets through.

It seems to me, whether reasonably or unreasonably, that Spain now, a year and three months or four months later, might entertain a proposition for intervention to secure independence, or, if she did not, we should have some reason to know where we stood, notwithstanding the fact that she declined to permit the mediation of a foreign country to determine what laws she should make for her subjects.

Now, I conceive it would be a much greater loss of dignity on the part of the United States, if one of our States were in revolution, to permit a foreign government to dictate or suggest what laws we should pass while she continued ours than it would be to suggest the impossibility of our longer maintaining our control at all. So, not only are the two propositions separated from each other by a year and three months of time crowded with important events, but they seem to me, with great deference to my honorable and distinguished friend, to be different from each other in point of acceptability to Spain. However, I will say what I have to say about that later.

Mr. FORAKER. I quite agree with the Senator from Massachusetts that what Spain refused to do a year or more ago she might be willing to do to-day; but is it reasonable—for we are to consider what is reasonable here—taking into consideration her past history with respect to this matter, to expect that a change of mind has overcome her? We must all remember in this connection that when the ten years' war was in progress there the friendly offices of this Government were tendered to the end that peace might be secured, and they were then rejected, but with the reservation that Spain appreciated the friendship manifested toward her by the United States, and would, if circumstances should change later in the progress of that war, avail herself of our friendly offices; but the whole ten years of that fearful struggle passed, and nothing more was heard from Spain.

Now, in view of that fact, and in view of the manner in which these friendly offices were rejected, I for one deem it entirely unreasonable to suppose that Spain would entertain with any more favor now than she did one year ago a tender of the friendly offices of this Government; and I remain yet to be convinced that it would add to the agreeableness, in the estimation of Spain, of this tender if it should be based on the condition of abdication instead of a continuation of sovereignty.

Therefore, to resume the argument I was making, I, for the purposes of the discussion in which I intend to engage this afternoon, consider as beyond our right of consideration here two of the recognized methods of intervention, or taking notice of that which transpires in another country of a warlike character—independence and mediation are to be set aside. There remains but the two other ways I have specified. We can take notice of that condition of things by the recognition of belligerency, according to the belligerents belligerent rights, or we can intervene. It is my judgment, Mr. President, that intervention is the better, the shorter, the more Christian-like way to settle the difficulty in Cuba.

I think the time has come when the United States Government would be justified in saying to Spain that the proceedings which have been there going on so long should, in the name of civilization, in the name of humanity, as well as because of their destructive influences upon our interests, come to a stop, and come to a stop immediately. That is what I think. [Manifestations of applause in the galleries.]

But, Mr. President, the author of this resolution has not seen fit to go so far. He has simply proposed by this resolution that we shall recognize the belligerent rights of the contending Cubans. That does not necessarily involve war. The insurgents in Cuba have no right to demand of us that we give them this recognition, and, on the other side, Spain has no right to complain of our action if we see fit to give it to them. It is an action, Mr. President, which is to be taken at our option, having regard to our own interests, whenever circumstances are such as to justify us in doing so; and when I say whenever circumstances are such as to justify us in doing so, I mean justify us under international law—the international law applicable to such a case.

What are the conditions, Mr. President, that will justify us in adopting the joint resolution recognizing the belligerent rights of the Cubans? According to all international text writers two conditions precedent must coexist. There must be in the first place war in the international sense, and in the second place we must have rights or interests prejudicially affected by that war, and if there be war and if our rights and interests be prejudicially affected, then the only remaining question is one of expediency. Is it expedient to do it? Is it to our interest to do it?

I propose, in the first place, to show that there is war in Cuba within the meaning of international law applicable to such a case. I had not supposed until I heard the discussions in this Chamber that it was necessary to read out of law books on that proposition,

but inasmuch as that seems to be a necessity, I desire to call attention to what is said on this subject by one of the ablest of the writers on international law. I read from Professor Pomeroy's book on International Law at section 280, page 287. After reviewing other text writers who had written on that subject previously, and after distinguishing their various views, he then, as a summing up of the whole argument and as a statement of the condition necessary to constitute war in its international sense, says:

This, then, is the sole criterion. The measures which the parent state uses to repress the rebellion must be something more than the ordinary civil means of arrest and punishment; more than the aid of the civil officers by the posse comitatus; more, even, than the aid of the civil power by the military. The civil means must be for a while suspended, and all coercive efforts must be made by the military arm.

On the other hand, the resistance of the insurgents must be something more than the energies of a tumultuous mob or of unorganized multitudes. The very idea of the resistance amounting to war does demand that the insurgents should occupy some territory which they claim as their own, and over which they exercise some jurisdiction; that these insurgents should be organized into some form of political society, acknowledging some government that exercises over them supreme authority. But it can not be necessary that this government should be anything more than provisional. Finally, the resistance itself must be military in its character.

I might read further to the same point, but without shedding any additional light. The truth of the matter is, therefore, according to this authority—and I submit, without fear of successful challenge, that it is a standard authority, recognized all over the world—it is sufficient to constitute war in the international sense in which we are now using that term when it is required, in order to enforce civil authority, that the military powers shall be invoked in the sense in which the author here describes. Is not that true in Cuba?

Much solicitude has been manifested as to the character of the civil government of the insurgents in Cuba. Has anybody described the civil government of the Spaniard in Cuba? The Spaniard has no civil government in Cuba. He has throughout the island, wheresoever he asserts authority at all, only martial law and military force. There is no pretense of any other kind of government. On the contrary, although it has been said that this is but a paper government, the fact is found and reported to the Senate by the Committee on Foreign Relations, and established also by communications of an official character on file in the State Department, that the insurgent Cubans have a thoroughly organized government, in the sense that they have a written constitution, a president and other officers of state; they have a cabinet; they have all the machinery necessary, if it were only left to itself, to administer the civil affairs of the people and to entitle them to take a place among the nations of the earth.

That is the character of the situation in that respect. What is it in others? We are told we must not rely upon newspaper reports. I am happy in the fact that I do not have to rely on newspaper reports. I have in my hand again the official communication from the then Secretary of State, Mr. Olney, dated April 4, 1896, in which, under all the solemnities of his official position, in the discharge of the high duty upon which he had entered, he describes the existing conditions in Cuba as they had been theretofore made known to him by official communications on file in the Department of which he was the head.

When a newspaper article is referred to, and a Senator says, "I do not choose to believe it," that is his privilege; it is unofficial; it is unauthorized. You may believe it; I may disbelieve it. We may have different opinions about its credibility. But, Mr. President, when the duly authorized agents of this Government in their official communications state facts to us, we are all alike bound to believe them.

Secretary Olney believed that there existed in Cuba the conditions which he described. I shall read only briefly and shall ask permission that this paper, inasmuch as it has never been printed, may be published in the RECORD in connection with my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, that order will be made.

Mr. FORAKER. Secretary Olney says to the Spanish minister:

It is now some nine or ten months since the nature and prospects of the insurrection were first discussed between us. In explanation of its rapid and, up to that time, quite unopposed growth and progress you called attention to the rainy season, which from May or June until November renders regular military operations impracticable. Spain was pouring such numbers of troops into Cuba that your theory and opinion that when they could be used in an active campaign, the insurrection would be almost instantly suppressed seemed reasonable and probable. In this particular you believed, and sincerely believed, that the present insurrection would offer a most marked contrast to that which began in 1868 and which, being feebly encountered with comparatively small forces, prolonged its life for upward of ten years.

It is impossible to deny that the expectations thus entertained by you in the summer and fall of 1895, and shared not merely by all Spaniards but by most disinterested observers as well, have been completely disappointed. The insurgents seem to-day to command a larger part of the island than ever before. Their men under arms, estimated a year ago at from ten to twenty thousand, are now conceded to be at least two or three times as many. Meanwhile, their discipline has been improved and their supply of modern weapons and equipment has been greatly enlarged, while the mere fact that they have held out to this time has given them confidence in their own eyes and prestige with the world at large. In short, it can hardly be questioned that the insurrection, instead of being quelled, is to-day more formidable than ever and enters upon the second year of its existence with decidedly improved prospects of successful results. Whether a condition of things entitling the insurgents to recognition as belligerents has yet been brought about may, for the purposes of the present communication, be regarded as immaterial.

Then he passes on to say that it is the desire of this Government, as I have stated, only to interpose as a friendly mediator; but he does not say, on the contrary, by implication—he plainly says the opposite—that a condition of war does not exist, one that would justify this Government in the recognition of belligerent rights. Now, that was the warlike condition of the island one year ago, when the Secretary of State spoke on the subject, and spoke from official information.

I now have in my hand all that I am allowed to have under the limitations and restrictions which have been imposed upon us with respect to the information that has been given the Committee on Foreign Relations, but it is sufficient to show that all the then Secretary of State said is true, only in a stronger degree at this time. There is no official communication on file in any Department of this Government which is not in harmony with the few lines I shall read; there is no communication which is not confirmatory of all I shall read, and there is so much on file that, as it has been stated in this Chamber to-day, the State Department will be several weeks engaged in the labor of copying and preparing for the Senate the correspondence called for by the resolution which has been adopted. But I say it is all comprised in the little I shall read.

This is of recent date, being only a few days old. It has reference to a proclamation issued by General Weyler, in which he claimed that the entire island, except only the province of Santiago de Cuba, had been pacified; and I call attention now, as I should have done a moment ago, to the fact that it is admitted by Spanish authority that the insurgents have control of the largest of the six provinces of the island, and therefore they have the footing necessary, according to some international law-text writers, to a recognition of belligerent rights.

They are not only in possession of the larger part of that province, but let me say further, while it is in my mind, that the official information of this Government sustains that which has been said unofficially, that the government which it is claimed exists only on paper has a postal system in operation with a high degree of success under the trying circumstances attending the operation of such a system. It has a fiscal system more satisfactory, measured by the results in money in the treasury, than was the fiscal system of the thirteen colonies during the war of the Revolution.

I now wish to read what I referred to a moment ago:

I can not understand the truth of the claim that all the provinces of the island are in the main pacified, except that of Santiago de Cuba, because there are more insurgents under arms at this time than—

I will leave out a word or two here to avoid identification—"than there were" will give the sense of it—

ten months ago.

That would carry you back to the time when Secretary Olney wrote:

I do not think it is a fair inference to draw from existing conditions that the war is approaching a termination—

This writer does not hesitate to say there is war, and to use the term—

because in pursuance of an established policy the insurgents avoid as far as possible all serious engagements. The impossibility of expelling the Spanish troops from this island by force of arms is well known to them, and they do not propose to risk the lives of their men and the success of their cause upon one or more pitched battles. I conclude, therefore, that the war will drag its weary length along so long as the insurgents can dig sustenance from the ground on the one side, or money be obtained by the other, with the continued result of untold human suffering, loss of human life, the murder of innocent men, women, and children.

There is more that I might read to the same effect.

The Senator from Minnesota [Mr. DAVIS] calls my attention quite properly to the fact that in a communication other than the one from which I read, but a communication with which the Senator is familiar, the organization and the number of troops of each and every province is given in a detailed way, and in such a way as to show beyond all controvertibility that there is not only in Cuba perhaps more than 40,000 men under arms, but that they are distributed over the island throughout all the provinces, each having its own army, and that the army of 40,000 men, now an army of veterans, is armed chiefly with repeating rifles; that it is organized not only into companies, but also into regiments, brigades, divisions, and corps, thoroughly officered and thoroughly disciplined.

Not only that, but they tell us further that the troops and the insurgents throughout the island are to-day not only stronger, but that they are more encouraged, more hopeful, more determined on ultimate and triumphant success than ever before in the history of the insurrection.

Mr. WHITE. Will the Senator from Ohio yield for a question?

Mr. FORAKER. Certainly.

Mr. WHITE. The Senator from Ohio is a member of the Committee on Foreign Relations. I desire to ask him whether it is contemplated to give to the Senate the information to which he alludes, and which he now says he is prevented from disclosing because of an injunction of secrecy imposed, presumably, by the State Department.

Mr. FORAKER. If I had my way about it, I would give it to the world before to-morrow morning. [Applause in the galleries.]

The PRESIDING OFFICER rapped with his gavel.

Mr. FORAKER. But what will be done about it further I do not know. I know simply that we are possessed of certain information, controlled by certain limitations and restrictions, and beyond that I can not state, except as I have already stated in the progress of this argument, that I have been informed by the State Department that they are now engaged in the work necessary to enable the State Department to comply with the resolution of the Senate requesting all the correspondence on the subject.

Mr. WHITE. I merely wish to call attention to what I consider to be the right of the Senate to any information possessed by its Committee on Foreign Relations. Of course, as to whether it is to be disclosed in executive session or publicly is an entirely different matter. I think we ought to have the information, so that we may judge for ourselves, as the Senator is able to judge for himself, with respect to the facts.

Mr. FORAKER. I think so, too, and I will not for a minute stand in the way of the Senate having it in executive session or otherwise when the proper time comes. But I am not the judge, and I have not any disposition to criticise anybody who is a judge, of what should be done or what is to be done in that respect. I can only give the Senator the benefit of what information I have.

So, therefore, without pursuing the matter further, I think we are safe in concluding that there is war in Cuba. As was said by the senior Senator from Kentucky [Mr. LINDSAY], when speaking a few minutes ago, the Spanish Government has sent into that island for the suppression of the insurrection, as they call it, nearly 200,000 drilled and disciplined veterans of the Spanish army, a greater military force than the combined armies of Grant and Lee in the battles of the Wilderness, and yet we are told that it is a debatable question whether or not there is war in Cuba.

I am not speaking about the effect upon this question of the action already taken by the Executive. Surely it is not a condition of peace that prevails in an island only 90 miles distant from our shores when six to eight hundred American citizens, in company with thousands of the natives of the island, are impounded like so many cattle, there to be literally and purposely starved to death.

Mr. ELKINS. Let me ask the Senator from Ohio where is the proof of the fact that they are impounded?

Mr. FORAKER. The proof of that fact is on file in the State Department, and it was upon that information that the President acted when he sent the message.

Mr. ELKINS. We do not know it officially in the Senate.

Mr. FORAKER. I tell it to the Senator officially.

Mr. ELKINS. We do not take it from you officially. We do not take facts from another Senator. Each Senator has his rights here——

Mr. FORAKER. Certainly.

Mr. ELKINS. Equal as to every other Senator.

Mr. FORAKER. It is in the message.

Mr. ELKINS. What message? It does not say they are impounded, to be starved to death. The President of the United States said nothing of the kind. The Senator from Ohio said that.

Mr. FORAKER. I will say it to the Senator, and he can go to the State Department and ascertain it, as I have done, or he can wait until the State Department sends it here. If he has any compunction about receiving it at my hands, he is not bound to, I suppose. But I state it as a Senator who obtained his information in the performance of a duty.

Mr. ELKINS. Let me ask one other question. Will the Senator pardon me?

Mr. FORAKER. Certainly.

Mr. ELKINS. Does each one of us have to walk up Pennsylvania avenue to the State Department, be admitted there, with the blinds pulled down, while the Secretary of State tells us to hush, and have to come back to the Senate and get up and proclaim that we have these facts? Is that the way we get facts from the State Department or from the Executive?

Mr. FORAKER. I have not been a member of the Senate long enough to give the Senator from West Virginia the information.

Mr. ELKINS. Why do you not report those facts as all other resolutions or bills are reported upon from the Foreign Relations Committee? You belong to the committee. You have facts that I do not have.

Mr. FORAKER. Yes.

Mr. ELKINS. Are you afraid to assemble those facts and put them before us? This is a great transaction. The world is looking on. We are asked to vote without a fact in the world being submitted. We are asked to vote upon what Senators on the Foreign Relations Committee learn by going to the State Department. Hid away in a room, they get the facts, and, slipping out, they come to the Senate and dole out this information, and then say "filibuster" if we do not vote right off, blindly and without the facts.

Mr. FORAKER. The Senator should not use the term "filibuster" with respect to myself.

Mr. ELKINS. I have heard that word used.

Mr. FORAKER. I am on the side that is asking the reference of the joint resolution to the committee. The Senator from West Virginia certainly could not have been in the Chamber listening during the whole of my remarks. What I said at the outset was that I had not purposed to speak on this question until a vote had been taken upon the motion to refer, and if the resolution shall be referred, as I have hoped it might be, it is my purpose then to speak in support of the report we may make. I said I desired a reference in order that the matter might take the usual course and in order that we might present to the Senate the facts which I am giving now, not by way of report from the committee, but as a Senator in the discharge of my duty. Of course the Senator is not bound to accept any statement I may make, but he should not become irritated about it when he has the delicious privilege of rejecting it. [Laughter.]

Resuming my argument, I assume that the first of the two conditions precedent to the recognition of belligerency, namely, the existence of war, does exist.

Now, the next question is whether or not the rights and the interests of the United States are so prejudicially affected thereby as to justify us in taking any notice of it. All text writers are agreed that if there be rebellion in a country with which we have no transactions, or a rebellion that does not in any way whatsoever affect us, there would be no justification in our taking any note of it; but, on the other hand, all text writers are in accord that when we do have rights and interests that are prejudicially affected, it is not only our right, Mr. President, but our duty to act, and to act seasonably, in the language of the text writers. The question is whether or not our interests and rights are affected.

Let me recur to an authority which those who are opposing the resolution of the Senator from Alabama should not dispute. I read again from Secretary Olney. I read from him now as to the interests of the United States which are affected by the war. He says:

> The situation thus described is of great interest to the people of the United States. They are interested in any struggle anywhere for freer political institutions, but necessarily, and in special measure, in a struggle that is raging almost in sight of our shores. They are interested, as a civilized and Christian nation, in the speedy termination of a civil strife characterized by exceptional bitterness and exceptional excesses on the part of both combatants. They are interested in the noninterruption of extensive trade relations which have been and should continue to be of great advantage to both countries.
>
> They are interested in the prevention of that wholesale destruction of property on the island which, making no discrimination between enemies and neutrals, is utterly destroying American investments that should be of immense value and is utterly impoverishing great numbers of American citizens. On all these grounds and in all these ways the interest of the United States in the existing situation in Cuba yields in extent only to that of Spain herself, and has led many good and honest persons to insist that intervention to terminate the conflict is the immediate and imperative duty of the United States.

And then he goes on to say that he does not now propose to discuss the question of intervention, but only the question whether they will permit the United States to act as a friendly mediator.

But, Mr. President, not to detain the Senate unduly, if I have talked to any purpose thus far, I have shown that war exists by authority that no Senator has a right to question, because it is official; and I have shown, also, that interests and rights of the very highest character, property rights, commerce rights, the right to life and liberty, all are prejudicially affected by the war that is proceeding in Cuba. If these things be established, then there remains, as I said a while ago, but one further general question, and that is whether it is expedient for us to adopt the pending resolution.

When we come to the question of expediency, it is, according to the text writers, more a question of politics than of international law, but it is one of those political questions that international law deals with. Being a question of expediency, it is right and proper that we should answer (for in that lies the whole controversy) the question propounded by the senior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] when, yesterday at the conclusion of the address of the Senator from Illinois [Mr. MASON], he made an inquiry as to what would be the result. I can not give his language exactly, but he is watching me so intently that I believe I will read it. I said he put it as an inquiry. He did

not. He put it as a statement of his opinion as to the result. He said:

The only effect of that resolution—

Referring to the joint resolution of the Senator from Alabama—

which is to be interpreted, and must be, and is meant to be, by "that ancient barnacle, international law"—

It is fair to the Senator from Massachusetts that I should say that is a quotation [laughter]—

is that it declares that while the present condition of things continues Spain may search our ships at sea at her discretion, and that our citizens on that island who suffer from lawlessness there shall have in the future no remedy or recompense against Spain whatever; and that is the whole of it.

In other words, Mr. President, we are told that the legal results and consequences that will flow from the adoption of the resolution will be, first, a right of search conferred upon the Spaniard with respect to our merchantmen on the high seas, and, secondly, a release of Spain from liability to make reparation.

Mr. HOAR. From the acts of the insurgents.

Mr. FORAKER. Now, let me speak briefly upon that point. It is true that these are two of the consequences that would result, but not in the unlimited extent stated by the Senator. It is true that from the moment the joint resolution is adopted and signed by the President, and thus given effect—from the moment there is recognition of belligerency, in other words—we do release Spain from liability to make reparation to us for losses incurred by American citizens in that island because of the acts of the insurgents.

That is true. But, Mr. President, I do not regard that as a serious loss. I have been to the State Department upon that subject as well as others. I find in the State Department, as any Senator can find, that claims are piled up there amounting to many millions, preferred by this Government against the Spanish Government in behalf of American citizens in Cuba whose property in Cuba has been destroyed by the insurgents. I find, furthermore, that in each and every instance of the presentation to the Spanish Government of such a claim there has been a long, prolonged diplomatic correspondence, winding up in the end, without an exception, in every case, with a flat final repudiation by Spain of the claim and a refusal to pay it.

To begin with, therefore, Spain does not recognize any such claims. In the second place, it is a fact notorious to all that if she did recognize them she is not able to pay them. I do not think there is much loss in releasing Spain from liability to make reparation to American citizens. On the contrary, Mr. President, I say it in all seriousness, I would rather have the obligation of the insurgents of the Republic of Cuba than the obligation of Spain. [Applause in the galleries.]

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair again reminds the occupants of the galleries that a violation of the customs of the Senate in making manifestations of either dissent or assent will be followed by the clearing of the galleries. Those who occupy the galleries will please bear this in mind.

Mr. FORAKER. Now, as to the other disagreeable result that would flow from this action. We are told, as though it was some terrible thing, that a recognition of belligerency would instantly confer upon Spain a right of visit and search of American merchantmen upon the high seas. That is true. But what is this right of search? Is it, as the Senator from Massachusetts yesterday said, a right that is to be exercised without limitation; that, to give his own language accurately, "Spain may search our ships at sea at her discretion?"

No, Mr. President; according to international law no such right as that is conferred upon Spain. The right that is conferred upon Spain is the right to hail, to stop, to board, with one officer in the first instance, any merchantman of our country traveling on the high seas, respectfully to request an examination of the ship's papers, and make such other examination, the character of which is well described in all international law, as may be deemed necessary to determine whether there are on board that ship any contraband goods of war. What are contraband goods of war?

In the absence of any specific naming of contraband goods, such as is customary in treaties between countries, there is much discussion in the authorities as to what are contraband goods of war. But in the treaty between this country and Spain we are told what are contraband goods of war. I read from the treaty between Spain and this country of 1795, Article XVI:

This liberty of navigation and commerce—

Which in preceding sections has been described—

This liberty of navigation and commerce shall extend to all kinds of merchandises, excepting those only which are distinguished by the name of contraband; and under this name of contraband or prohibited goods, shall be comprehended arms, great guns, bombs, with the fuses, and other things belonging to them, cannon-ball, gunpowder, match, pikes, swords, lances, spears, halberds, mortars, petards, granades, saltpetre, muskets, musket-balls, bucklers, helmets, breast-plates, coats of mail, and the like kind of arms proper for arming soldiers, musket-rests, belts, horses with their furniture, and all other warlike instruments whatever.

In other words, Mr. President, there could be no question here as to whether clothing on board the ship was contraband goods of war, as has so frequently been discussed as to character of an article of that kind when found by the exercise of the right of search. Nothing is contraband of war except only arms and munitions of war, to state it concisely.

Now, it is true that just so soon as we recognize the belligerency of the insurgents, if we do, Spain will have the right to hail and detain our ships until she may have examined the ship's papers to determine whether there are any contraband goods on board destined to the belligerents. I quote upon this subject from Lawrence, upon The Principles of International Law, a book very recently issued, but one that is very ably written. Having spoken of the right, and stating that it is the duty of the ship desiring to exercise the right of search to hail the merchantman, the author proceeds:

Assuming that the summons of the belligerent cruiser is obeyed, the next step taken by her commander is to send an officer in uniform on board the vessel to be searched. The visiting officer should question the master of the vessel and examine her papers. If any circumstances of suspicion are revealed by his examination, but not otherwise, he is at liberty to call his boat's crew on board and order them to make a thorough search of the vessel. Should the search confirm the suspicions, the commander of the cruiser may take possession of the ship, secure her papers, and hold her master and crew as prisoners. But throughout his proceedings he is bound to use courtesy and consideration, and to carry on the search with as little disturbance as possible of the interior economy or navigation of the suspected vessel.

The regular course is to send her to the most accessible prize court of his own state for adjudication. If the grounds on which the capture was effected turn out to be good, condemnation will ensue, and the captors will receive the proceeds of the sale of the captured property in the form of prize money. If the evidence against the vessel is not conclusive in spite of circumstances of just and reasonable suspicion, she will be released, but her owners will have to bear the expense of detention and delay. But if the capture was effected on frivolous and foolish grounds, the officer responsible for it will be condemned in costs and damages.

In other words, Mr. President, there is no liability to the right of search upon the part of any American merchantman who does not carry contraband of war, and there is no contraband of war under the treaty between the United States and Spain except only arms and munitions of war, and the arms and munitions of war that are contraband under that treaty before the merchantman shall be subjected to liability to the right of search shall be shown to be destined to the insurgents. When there is this right of search, if there be no contraband on board there is not anything disagreeable about it. It is the delay of only a few minutes. International law says the officer boarding the American merchantman will have to be considerate and courteous, and I think he would be.

Mr. ELKINS. May I interrupt the Senator from Ohio?

Mr. FORAKER. With pleasure.

Mr. ELKINS. How long do you think you could avert war if you allowed the Spanish Government to overhaul one of our merchant ships and have her examined, and certainly if they made a mistake? With all the war feeling there is in the Senate and out of the Senate, I tell the Senator he invites us to this very result of war.

Mr. FORAKER. Certainly not.

Mr. ELKINS. It follows logically, when we recognize belligerency, that Spain has a right to search our ships, and that means war, and that is the way to bring on war, too.

Mr. FORAKER. If the record were to show that there are 100,000 armed men in Cuba constituting the insurgent army and a civil government as firmly established as was the civil government of the Southern Confederacy in its capital at Richmond, the Senator would yet say, "We will not recognize belligerency, because the right of search will be conferred, and that means war."

Mr. ELKINS. But, if the Senator will allow me, there is no proof before the Senate proving it in the way you say, by information from the State Department, that there is any hundred thousand men firmly established and intrenched as was the Southern Confederacy. A comparison between Cuba and the Southern Confederacy is a travesty.

Mr. FORAKER. I have not said there are 100,000 men in the Cuban army—I was illustrating—but there are 40,000 men in that army. The Senator is bound to accept without question the official statement of officers of this Government. I have read to him here in open Senate in the course of these remarks the official statements of the Secretary of State made more than a year ago, and I have read to him an extract from an official statement that has been confirmed over and over again, as he can learn by a recurrence to the files of the State Department.

Mr. CHANDLER. Mr. President, will the Senator from Ohio allow me a moment?

Mr. FORAKER. Certainly.

Mr. CHANDLER. I should like to inquire of the Senator from West Virginia where he obtained the facts upon which he voted a year ago, upon the yeas and nays, for a resolution in exactly the same terms as the resolution now before the Senate?

Mr. ELKINS. I had some assurances that I found out were not true when I investigated the facts. They were newspaper

reports, I will tell the Senator from New Hampshire; they were not facts which were brought into the Senate. Now, what do we appeal for and beg for? If the Senator from Ohio will allow me, I will state that the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] got up here on behalf of the Committee on Foreign Relations and begged that the resolution be referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, that we might have a report. Now, report the facts, if you have got them. A Cuban officer belonging to the insurgents says that the facts are not the same that they were a year ago; that there have been great changes.

Mr. CHANDLER. Then the Senator has changed his mind since a year ago?

Mr. ELKINS. I have not said I did; not at all. And, Mr. President, allow me to say this is the hardest way I ever heard to prove a war. We know that there is a war going on between Turkey and Greece.

Mr. FORAKER. How do you know?

Mr. CHANDLER. How do you know it?

Mr. ELKINS. It is all over the world. But here you twist the President's message for relief. One Senator argues it in one way. Another Senator says, "I have been admitted into the sanctum sanctorum of the State Department, and I have got it; you must take it from me; and if you do not want to take it from me, you must leave it alone." Where are the facts?

Mr. FORAKER. I hope the Senator from West Virginia will not interrupt me further with a mere repetition of questions that I have answered two or three times already.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Ohio declines to yield further. The Chair will suggest to Senators that under the rule they can only interrupt a Senator on the floor by asking permission through the Chair. The rule will be observed in the future.

Mr. FORAKER. Now, referring to the statement made by the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] yesterday, that the whole result of a recognition of belligerency was to confer upon Spain the right of search and release her from liability to make reparation, that and nothing more, to quote his exact language, I desire to call attention to another fact. What, Mr. President, is the attitude of this Government toward the insurgent Cubans now? It is one of absolute refusal to give them any recognition whatever. We as a Government know only one people, one Government, one authority on the Island of Cuba. That being the case, when a Cuban comes into this country, I would say to the Senator from Massachusetts, if he comes to act with respect to insurgency in Cuba, he comes here subject to the municipal laws of the United States. The policing of our seacoast that was referred to by Senators in the debate yesterday was in pursuance of and in recognition of that fact and in accordance with the proclamation of the President of the United States.

I desire to call attention in this connection to the proclamation issued by Mr. Cleveland, as President, June 12, 1895, and to read a part of it. He said:

Whereas the Island of Cuba is now the seat of serious civil disturbances accompanied by armed resistance to the authority of the established Government of Spain, a power with which the United States are and desire to remain on terms of peace and amity; and

Whereas the laws of the United States prohibit their citizens, as well as all others being within and subject to their jurisdiction—

"All others" are the Cubans—

from taking part in such disturbances adversely to such established Government—

That is, our municipal laws prohibit Cubans from coming here and being kept from taking part adversely to the authority of Spain—

by accepting or exercising commissions for warlike service against it, by enlistment or procuring others to enlist for such service, by fitting out or arming or procuring to be fitted out and armed ships of war for such service, by augmenting the force of any ship of war engaged in such service and arriving in a port of the United States, and by setting on foot or providing or preparing the means for military enterprises to be carried on from the United States against the territory of such Government—

The Government of Spain—

Now, therefore, in recognition of the laws aforesaid and in discharge of the obligations of the United States toward a friendly power, and as a measure of precaution, and to the end that citizens of the United States and all others within their jurisdiction may be deterred from subjecting themselves to legal forfeitures and penalties, I, Grover Cleveland—

Do command that you do not do these things so prohibited—not taking the time to read the proclamation through to the end.

Now, the laws to which he refers, in pursuance of which he makes the proclamation, are entitled our neutrality laws, and they will be found at section 5281 of our Revised Statutes et sequitur. If you will recur to those sections and read them, you will find that the prohibitions are throughout against any action being taken by anybody in this country that is in the nature of hostile action against the Government of Spain in the Island of Cuba.

I answer again the inquiry made by the Senator from Massachusetts yesterday. You will remember what it was. He appealed to the Senator from Illinois to know what earthly benefit could result to the insurgents of Cuba from a recognition of their belligerency. I will tell the Senator from Massachusetts. The first result will be the substitution of international for municipal law to govern all who are interested in Cuba while they are here in the territory and in the jurisdiction of the United States.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President——

Mr. FORAKER. I will tell it to you in a plainer way, if you will bear with me a minute. The insurgent in Cuba to-day, in the absence of the recognition proposed by this joint resolution, is but a traitor on land and a pirate on sea. He is shot like a dog when captured on shore, instead of being treated as a prisoner of war. If they had a battle ship, and he were on her and captured, he would be hanged at the yardarm as a pirate. And here in our country he is known only as a violator of our municipal law, and denied all recognition under the law of nations. Recognition will change all this. Let me particularize further.

Every such case as this is to be determined by its particular facts. There are to-day hundreds of American youths in the insurgent army. One of them, captured with a gun in his hand, taken in battle, is, like the Cuban insurgent, but a traitor to be shot in his tracks. When this Government refuses to recognize belligerency, great and mighty and powerful as it is, it is absolutely without the power to protest against it; but when we shall have recognized belligerency, we have invested this Government with power to say that a man fighting for human liberty, for national independence, taken in the line of duty, with arms in his hands, gallant and heroic, shall be treated as a soldier engaged in legitimate war, and shall be accorded all the rights and privileges that belong to prisoners of war captured in battle.

So, while it is true that Spain gets the right of search, and gets release from further obligation to us, yet it is also true that this act puts the Cuban cause on a higher plane; the Cuban Republic at once takes a place among the nations of the earth; the soldier of that republic is henceforth engaged in legitimate war; taken in battle, he is entitled to be treated as a prisoner of war.

Furthermore, comes this result to us as a people: It puts us in a position of neutrality. We are not in a position of neutrality now. Every Cuban who comes into this country comes here subject to the municipal regulations to which I have referred. He comes under the surveillance of this Government until, as in many cases that have occurred, he is arrested and brought to trial; but no Spaniard is under any such surveillance, because our municipal code only prohibits those things and makes them unlawful which are done in hostility to a recognized power with which we are on friendly relations. Therefore it is that there is an important consideration here to which I wish to call attention. We are not a neutral power now as between these belligerents, but the very moment we recognize belligerency we become absolutely neutral according to all international law.

What does becoming neutral mean? It means that we have recognized the Cuban Republic as a friendly power, that we are at peace with that power, and that we can prohibit, as in violation of our municipal law, schemes set on foot in the United States in hostility to Cuba, as we now can only schemes set on foot in the United States in hostility to Spain.

Another thing—I might stand here and dwell upon this almost without limit—in all this matter there is something of higher concern to me, something that appeals to my conscience more than anything else that has been adverted to in this debate. Do you not think it time for the United States to cease to police her country and enforce her municipal regulations in the interest of Spain? Is it not time for us to take a position of absolute neutrality? What do we do by this? We do not make war on Spain; we simply say we will have nothing more to do with your war; we will put the contest on the high plane of legitimate warfare, and there leave you to fight it out.

What is the consequence to us? The consequence to us, Mr. President, is that we at once cease a responsibility for that which has shocked and horrified all Christendom. The United States has not any right in a moral point of view to stand longer a quasi copartner with Spain in the conduct of this brutal and atrocious war. The time has come to put an end to it. It is another "covenant with sin and league with hell," and, for my part, by no word or speech or act or vote of mine shall the unholy alliance longer continue than until this resolution comes to be voted upon by the Senate. [Applause in the galleries.]

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Order must be preserved in the galleries.

APPENDIX.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, *Washington, April 4, 1896.*

SIR: It might well be deemed a dereliction of duty to the Government of the United States, as well as a censurable want of candor to that of Spain, if I were longer to defer official expression as well of the anxiety with which the President regards the existing situation in Cuba as of his earnest desire for the prompt and permanent pacification of that island. Any plan giving reasonable assurance of that result and not inconsistent with the just rights and reasonable demands of all concerned would be earnestly promoted by him by all means which the Constitution and laws of this country place at his disposal.

It is now some nine or ten months since the nature and prospects of the insurrection were first discussed between us. In explanation of its rapid

and, up to that time, quite unopposed growth and progress, you called attention to the rainy season which from May or June until November renders regular military operations impracticable. Spain was pouring such numbers of troops into Cuba that your theory and opinion that, when they could be used in an active campaign, the insurrection would be almost instantly suppressed, seemed reasonable and probable. In this particular you believed, and sincerely believed, that the present insurrection would offer a most marked contrast to that which began in 1868, and which, being feebly encountered with comparatively small forces, prolonged its life for upward of ten years.

It is impossible to deny that the expectations thus entertained by you in the summer and fall of 1895, and shared not merely by all Spaniards but by most disinterested observers as well, have been completely disappointed. The insurgents seem to-day to command a larger part of the island than ever before. Their men under arms, estimated a year ago at from ten to twenty thousand, are now conceded to be at least two or three times as many. Meanwhile, their discipline has been improved, and their supply of modern weapons and equipment has been greatly enlarged, while the mere fact that they have held out to this time has given them confidence in their own eyes and prestige with the world at large. In short, it can hardly be questioned that the insurrection, instead of being quelled, is to-day more formidable than ever, and enters upon the second year of its existence with decidedly improved prospects of successful results.

Whether a condition of things entitling the insurgents to recognition as belligerents has yet been brought about may, for the purposes of the present communication, be regarded as immaterial. If it has not been, it is because they are still without an established and organized civil government, having an ascertained situs, presiding over a defined territory, controlling the armed forces in the field, and not only fulfilling the functions of a regular government within its own frontiers, but capable internationally of exercising those powers and discharging those obligations which necessarily devolve upon every member of the family of nations. It is immaterial for present purposes that such is the present political status of the insurgents, because their defiance of the authority of Spain remains none the less pronounced and successful, and their displacement of that authority throughout a very large portion of the island is none the less obvious and real.

When, in 1877, the president of the so-called Cuban Republic was captured, its legislative chamber surprised in the mountains and dispersed, and its presiding officer and other principal functionaries killed, it was asserted in some quarters that the insurrection had received its deathblow and might well be deemed to be extinct. The leading organ of the insurrectionists, however, made this response:

"The organization of the liberating army is such that a brigade, a regiment, a battalion, a company, or a party of twenty-five men can operate independently against the enemy in any department without requiring any instructions save those of their immediate military officers, because their purpose is but one, and that is known by heart as well by the general as the soldier, by the negro as well as the white man or the Chinese, viz., to make war on the enemy at all times, in all places, and by all means, with the gun, the machete, and the firebrand. In order to do this, which is the duty of every Cuban soldier, the direction of a government or a legislative chamber is not needed; the order of a subaltern officer, serving under the general-in-chief, is sufficient. Thus it is that the government and chamber have in reality been a superfluous luxury for the revolution."

The situation thus vividly described in 1877 is reproduced to-day. Even if it be granted that a condition of insurgency prevails and nothing more, it is on so large a scale and diffused over so extensive a region, and is so favored by the physical features and the climate of the country, that the authority of Spain is subverted and the functions of its Government are in abeyance or practically suspended throughout a great part of the island. Spain still holds the seaports and most, if not all, of the large towns in the interior. Nevertheless, a vast area of the territory of the island is in effect under the control of roving bands of insurgents, which, if driven from one place to-day by an exhibition of superior force, abandon it only to return to-morrow when that force has moved on for their dislodgment in other quarters.

The consequences of this state of things can not be disguised. Outside of the towns still under Spanish rule, anarchy, lawlessness, and terrorism are rampant. The insurgents realize that the wholesale destruction of crops, factories, and machinery advances their cause in two ways. It cripples the resources of Spain on the one hand. On the other, it drives into their ranks the laborers who are thus thrown out of employment. The result is a systematic war upon the industries of the island and upon all the means by which they are carried on, and whereas the normal annual product of the island is valued at something like eighty or a hundred millions, its value for the present year is estimated by competent authority as not exceeding twenty millions.

Bad as is this showing for the present year, it must be even worse for the next year and for every succeeding year during which the rebellion continues to live. Some planters have made their crops this year who will not be allowed to make them again. Some have worked their fields and operated their mills this year in the face of a certain loss who have neither the heart nor the means to do so again under the present even more depressing conditions. Not only is it certain that no fresh money is being invested on the island, but it is no secret that capital is fast withdrawing from it, frightened away by the utter hopelessness of the outlook. Why should it not be? What can a prudent man foresee as the outcome of existing conditions except the complete devastation of the island, the entire annihilation of its industries, an the absolute impoverishment of such of its inhabitants as are unwise or unfortunate enough not to seasonably escape from it?

The last preceding insurrection lasted for ten years and then was not subdued, but only succumbed to the influence of certain promised reforms. Where is found the promise that the present rebellion will have a shorter lease of life, unless the end is sooner reached through the exhaustion of Spain herself? Taught by experience, Spain wisely undertook to make its struggle with the present insurrection short, sharp, and decisive, to stamp it out in its very beginnings by concentrating upon it large and well-organized armies, armies infinitely superior in numbers, in discipline, and in equipment to any the insurgents could oppose to them.

Those armies were put under the command of its ablest general, as well as its most renowned statesman—of one whose very name was an assurance to the insurgents both of the skillful generalship with which they would be fought and of the reasonable and liberal temper in which just demands for redress of grievances would be received. Yet the efforts of Campos seem to have utterly failed, and his successor, a man who, rightfully or wrongfully, seems to have intensified all the acerbities of the struggle, is now being reenforced with additional troops. It may well be feared, therefore, that if the present is to be of shorter duration than the last insurrection, it will be because the end is to come sooner or later through the inability of Spain to prolong the conflict, and through her abandonment of the island to the heterogeneous combination of elements and of races now in arms against her.

Such a conclusion of the struggle can not be viewed even by the most devoted friend of Cuba and the most enthusiastic advocate of popular government except with the gravest apprehension. There are only too strong reasons to fear that, once Spain were withdrawn from the island, the sole bond of union between the different factions of the insurgents would disappear; that a war of races would be precipitated, all the more sanguinary for the discipline and experience acquired during the insurrection, and that, even if there were to be temporary peace, it could only be through the establishment of a white and a black republic, which, even if agreeing at the outset upon a division of the island between them, would be enemies from the start, and would never rest until the one had been completely vanquished and subdued by the other.

The situation thus described is of great interest to the people of the United States. They are interested in any struggle anywhere for freer political institutions, but necessarily and in special measure in a struggle that is raging almost in sight of our shores. They are interested, as a civilized and Christian nation, in the speedy termination of a civil strife characterized by exceptional bitterness and exceptional excesses on the part of both combatants. They are interested in the noninterruption of extensive trade relations which have been and should continue to be of great advantage to both countries. They are interested in the prevention of that wholesale destruction of property on the island which, making no discrimination between enemies and neutrals, is utterly destroying American investments that should be of immense value, and is utterly impoverishing great numbers of American citizens.

On all these grounds and in all these ways the interest of the United States in the existing situation in Cuba yields in extent only to that of Spain herself, and has led many good and honest persons to insist that intervention to terminate the conflict is the immediate and imperative duty of the United States. It is not proposed now to consider whether existing conditions would justify such intervention at the present time, or how much longer those conditions should be endured before such intervention would be justified. That the United States can not contemplate with complacency another ten years of Cuban insurrection, with all its injurious and distressing incidents, may certainly be taken for granted.

The object of the present communication, however, is not to discuss intervention, nor to propose intervention, nor to pave the way for intervention. The purpose is exactly the reverse—to suggest whether a solution of present troubles can not be found which will prevent all thought of intervention by rendering it unnecessary. What the United States desires to do, if the way can be pointed out, is to cooperate with Spain in the immediate pacification of the island on such a plan as, leaving Spain her rights of sovereignty, shall yet secure to the people of the island all such rights and powers of local self-government as they can reasonably ask. To that end the United States offers and will use her good offices at such time and in such manner as may be deemed most advisable. Its mediation, it is believed, should not be rejected in any quarter, since none could misconceive or mistrust its purpose.

Spain could not, because our respect for her sovereignty and our determination to do nothing to impair it have been maintained for many years at great cost and in spite of many temptations. The insurgents could not, because anything assented to by this Government which did not satisfy the reasonable demands and aspirations of Cuba would arouse the indignation of our whole people. It only remains to suggest that, if anything can be done in the direction indicated, it should be done at once and on the initiative of Spain.

The more the contest is prolonged, the more bitter and more irreconcilable is the antagonism created, while there is danger that concessions may be so delayed as to be chargeable to weakness and fear of the issue of the contest, and thus be infinitely less acceptable and persuasive than if made while the result still hangs in the balance, and they could be properly credited in some degree at least to a sense of right and justice. Thus far Spain has faced the insurrection sword in hand, and has made no sign to show that surrender and submission would be followed by anything but a return to the old order of things. Would it not be wise to modify that policy and to accompany the application of military force with an authentic declaration of the organic changes that are meditated in the administration of the island with a view to remove all just grounds of complaint?

It is for Spain to consider and determine what those changes would be. But should they be such that the United States could urge their adoption, as substantially removing well-founded grievances, its influence would be exerted for their acceptance, and it can hardly be doubted, would be most potential for the termination of hostilities and the restoration of peace and order to the island. One result of the course of proceeding outlined, if no other, would be sure to follow, namely, that the rebellion would lose largely, if not altogether, the moral countenance and support it now enjoys from the people of the United States.

In closing this communication it is hardly necessary to repeat that it is prompted by the friendliest feelings toward Spain and the Spanish people. To attribute to the United States any hostile or hidden purposes would be a grave and most lamentable error. The United States has no designs upon Cuba and no designs against the sovereignty of Spain. Neither is it actuated by any spirit of meddlesomeness nor by any desire to force its will upon another nation. Its geographical proximity and all the considerations above detailed compel it to be interested in the solution of the Cuban problem whether it will or no. Its only anxiety is that that solution should be speedy, and, by being founded on truth and justice, should also be permanent.

To aid in that solution, it offers the suggestions herein contained. They will be totally misapprehended unless the United States be credited with entertaining no other purpose toward Spain than that of lending its assistance to such termination of a fratricidal contest as will leave her honor and dignity unimpaired at the same time that it promotes and conserves the true interests of all parties concerned.

I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to you, Mr. Minister, the assurances of my highest consideration.

RICHARD OLNEY.

Señor DON ENRIQUE DUPUY DE LÔME, etc.

Mr. THURSTON. Mr. President, I will take the floor for the purpose of submitting some remarks on the pending resolution, but I do not care to go on to-night.

Mr. CULLOM. If the Senator will allow me, I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

Mr. HOAR. If the Senator from Nebraska does not care to go on to-night, I should like, if he will allow me, to ask the Senator from Illinois to withdraw his motion for an executive session and to renew it after I get through.

Mr. CULLOM. I will withdraw the motion with that understanding.

Mr. HOAR. Mr. President, I so far sympathize with the gentlemen who desire to conclude this discussion——

Mr. PETTUS. Mr. President——

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Massachusetts has the floor.

Mr. PETTUS. I desire to make a point of order, Mr. President.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Alabama will state his point of order.

Mr. PETTUS. I do not want to interrupt the Senator, but I do not think he ought to speak until there is order in the Senate.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The point of order is well taken. The Senate will please come to order. [A pause.] The Senator from Massachusetts will now proceed.

Mr. HOAR. Mr. President, I so far sympathize with those persons who desire to bring this discussion to a conclusion that I desire to take a few minutes to-night, instead of consuming another day, in pointing out the precise distinction between the Senator from Ohio and myself, so far as our opinion upon this matter is concerned. I think the Senate should have authoritative facts, and should set them forth in a finding like a judicial decree on which it should base action.

I think my honorable friend from Ohio does not altogether seem to dissent from that proposition, although he desires us to act, as I understand him, upon the information given to him contained in two papers, one of which the Senate is not permitted to read through. He gives us a letter from the Secretary of State and an extract only from the reply; and we are asked to vote on this great question without knowing or being able to judge for ourselves whether the sentences which the honorable Senator withholds from his associates here modify, control, or contradict anything which is said in the garbled paper. I do not use the word "garbled" as implying impropriety, but we only know what is contained in the portion of the paper which he has read to the Senate.

Mr. FORAKER. I shall append the paper to my remarks.

Mr. HOAR. The Senator says he will put in the paper on which he founds his case the whole of the letter to the Spanish minister, but he withholds part of the answer and the last sentences of a report from somebody on the ground that if he were to give that report in full, it would disclose to us the author.

Mr. FORAKER. No; on the ground that I am limited by the injunction placed upon me when I received it.

Mr. HOAR. Not to disclose to us its author?

Mr. FORAKER. That is one of the reasons, and only one. I did not give that reason, and I would not give that reason.

Mr. HOAR. I thought the Senator did. I do not mean to say that he himself would prefer not to disclose the author. What I stated was that he, not being at liberty to disclose the author, will not disclose to us the whole paper.

Mr. FORAKER. That is all right.

Mr. HOAR. Now, I say that is not the way in which great transactions in our foreign affairs should be conducted. But, Mr. President, to hasten to the principal proposition of the honorable Senator, he thinks we had better declare belligerency and stop.

Mr. FORAKER. No; I did not say that. I said I would rather have intervention, but I stopped with belligerency because that was proposed.

Mr. HOAR. The Senator says he would rather have intervention, but he stops at belligerency because that is all that is proposed either by him or by anybody else. I say the proper thing to do is to propose mediation in favor of independence.

Mr. FORAKER. Very well, then; propose it.

Mr. HOAR. I am going to do so before I get through, or somebody before we get through will propose mediation in favor of independence, and, if that is rejected, then to have the facts reported to the Senate and take the action which the facts require.

The Senator says he does not believe in calling that power into exercise, and he proposes to stop with what I think is this little mouse of a resolution following a great brass band of proclamation, because, in the first place, he says Spain has once declined. Well, that was more than a year ago.

Mr. FORAKER. It was in June.

Mr. HOAR. The proffer was made more than a year ago; and, in the next place, what Spain declined was a proposal that it strikes me every self-respecting government on earth would decline, to wit, that while she continued her authority over Cuba the United States should dictate or advise and suggest what laws she should make for a part of her Kingdom.

I do not agree with my honorable and most able friend from Ohio in thinking that the refusal to permit us to tell Spain what kind of laws she shall make involves a refusal to accept our mediation in regard to the matter of independence. But if I heard correctly—I have not had a chance to examine it carefully—the paper that the Senator read, the Spanish Government intimated that there might come a condition of things later when she might accept.

Mr. FORAKER. No; that was twenty years ago.

Mr. HOAR. That was twenty years ago. Very well. When we proposed to mediate for independence twenty years ago, the Spanish Government replied that the condition of things then did not make her willing to accept it—it seems she put down that rebellion—but that there might come a condition of things later when she would not consider such a proposal one to be rejected.

So we have got a declaration from Spain herself that there may be circumstances under which she would not consider such a proposition unfriendly, and under which she might accede to it; and if the picture drawn by the honorable Senator from Ohio be true, I should think that the gentlemen who agree with him might think that that golden moment had now come. So much for that.

Mr. FORAKER. If the Senator will allow me, I wish to suggest that the recognition of belligerency will not interfere with friendly mediation. We do not undertake by the recognition of belligerency to stop the war or to take part with either side, but simply to take a neutral position from which we can all the better interpose our friendly offices.

Mr. HOAR. I do not think we can do all of that, but I think what the Senator says is quite true, that it will not interfere.

Mr. FORAKER. I will join with you, if this be adopted, in such an effort.

Mr. DANIEL. Will the honorable Senator from Massachusetts permit me to ask him a question? I do not wish to interrupt or break the thread of his discourse.

Mr. HOAR. I will yield.

Mr. DANIEL. I observed on yesterday when the Senator was speaking—and I will quote his words from the RECORD as I find them——

Mr. HOAR. Does it relate to what I am saying now?

Mr. DANIEL. It is apropos of what the Senator is now discussing. The Senator said:

> I think the President of the United States should be asked by Congress to use his good offices with Spain to secure peace and independence in that island, and that is just what the Republican platform said.

Then the Senator goes on to suggest that, having offered our friendly offices, finally, if these mediatory steps fail, we would say to Spain, "If you do not stop that war, we will stop it ourselves." Are not those declarations of the Senator as to securing peace and his intimation that the time might come when he would say to Spain, "Stop that war," predicated upon the recognition in his own mind that there is war now in Cuba with Spain?

Mr. HOAR. Very well, suppose there is.

Mr. DANIEL. Well, supposing there is, is it not proper for us, in the first place, to recognize the condition which will be the basis of our conduct in dealing with it?

Mr. HOAR. Well, Mr. President, when we get the facts in an authoritative form, so that we can settle and affirm them, that question will become a practical one. It does not seem to me to affect the particular argument I am now making.

Mr. DANIEL. Would not the natural and orderly procedure be first to proclaim and recognize the condition of things as introductory to any method which we might see proper afterwards to employ to deal with it?

Mr. HOAR. Mr. President, I will come to that in a moment when I deal with what I understand recognition of belligerency to mean. I do not understand that by the law of nations every condition of belligerency warrants interference or recognition. Indeed, I understood the honorable Senator from Ohio to expressly affirm that belligerency exists in fact when hostilities exist too strong for the constable and where military forces are used on either side. The question for us whether a condition of things exists which, under the law of nations, makes it our duty to ourselves, having due regard to our own interests, to affirm the condition of belligerency, and if, there being a condition of belligerency, we make the affirmation—and I desire the attention of my friend from Ohio—if, there being a condition of belligerency, we affirm and recognize and declare it, not because of our own interests, but from sympathy for or desire to aid one of the parties, we are then guilty of an unfriendly and hostile act to the other. This is the law.

Mr. FORAKER. I argued, upon that very proposition, that it is a question for us to decide whether or not we will recognize belligerency, governed by our own interests.

Mr. HOAR. I cite the authority of the eminent jurist from Ohio to that proposition and in answer to the inquiry of the Senator from Virginia. But before I come to that——

Mr. FORAKER. If the Senator will allow me, I say we are to decide that from the result to the Cubans and the counter result to us. That is a beneficial and a legitimate consideration.

Mr. HOAR. Certainly. I was about, before coming to that, which was all I wish to detain the Senate about, to discuss and to point out one very instructive fact in the letter of Mr. Secretary Olney which was not read, and which Senators will find there, and which may perhaps not excuse, not perhaps even palliate, but may account for some of the transactions which some of the Senators on the other side have dwelt upon with so much eloquence and pathos. He says this war is conducted by the insurgents not by meeting their antagonists in pitched battles, but by applying the torch to the houses of peaceful citizens, destroying their industries, burning their plantations, and starving out, or attempting to starve out, the Spanish troops by destroying the entire resources of that island.

That is what the Cubans are doing, according to the information which the honorable Senator from Ohio has furnished to the Senate. Now, if that be true, and the American citizens who are caught by the Spanish armies are doing that as their method of warfare, is it or not a violation of the laws of war and the laws of humanity to punish them with death for that offense? Who knows? Who answers? I should like a report from the Committee on Foreign Relations on that particular proposition, if it shall become material.

Senators talk about this recognition of belligerency stopping these things. I shall say a word about that presently. But if we can act upon the authority which the Senator from Ohio says, we ought to act upon the Spanish Government. I am not affirming this; I do not know; but he knows, and he tells us a good deal of what he knows, and a good deal he does not tell us because it is in strict confidence.

Mr. FORAKER. I shall not keep it from the Senator.

Mr. HOAR. I do not know what is in that paper, but this one thing the Senator tells us, that the Cubans have undertaken to throw off what used to be the lawful authority of Spain by saying they will turn that island into a wilderness and will burn over the heads of peaceful, neutral, unoffending citizens, women and children, the warehouses, the sugar houses, the factories, and the dwelling houses where they dwell, and will burn the plants on their plantations, not only the crop for the existing year—that is not in the paper, however, but that everybody has heard as a fact—but will destroy the entire plant, so that there shall be no new crop made for years to come. It is that war which Spain is engaged in putting down.

Now, I do not know whether, if an American citizen or a Cuban be caught red-handed after setting that fire, it be lawful to put him to death or no. I have heard that some people, of whom the Senator from Virginia and the Senator from Alabama have heard—I will not revive any unpleasant memories—caught Northern Union soldiers burning a military bridge, and they were put to death by a drumhead court-martial, without judge or jury, and not treated as prisoners of war. There is a good deal of evidence of that fact in the archives of this body. But that is merely in passing.

My honorable friend says that he admits that our interests are affected, and to some extent injuriously, if we recognize belligerency, which we are to do for our interest, he agrees, and not for the interest of the Cubans. All the eloquence, all the denunciation of Spain, all the sympathy are admitted away by the inexorable logic of the honorable Senator from Ohio when he admits that it is not for these things we have a right under the law of nations to recognize belligerency.

The whole argument of the honorable and eloquent Senator from Utah [Mr. CANNON], the whole argument of the honorable Senator from Illinois [Mr. MASON] yesterday, the whole argument of the honorable and very polite junior Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. GALLINGER], are all gone, because none of those things, says the representative of the Committee on Foreign Relations, warrants or affects our recognition of belligerency. It is a question of the interest of the United States. Now, we have that settled from the Committee on Foreign Relations.

I say that the interest of the United States is against permitting Spain to search our vessels at sea anywhere she catches them, instead of having the flag protect any ship or cargo or crew unless Spain catches her within the 3-mile limit. Now, that is my first proposition. How does the honorable Senator answer it? He says that the right of search is bound to be very politely exercised; that only one officer is allowed on board in the beginning, and if he suspects there is anything contraband of war, arms or gunpowder, muskets or cannon, or anything else, then he can take the ship into a Spanish port, and if the Spanish judge thinks he was polite, he is not punished.

If the Spanish judge, after a trial in a Spanish court, which may last years, finds there was no probable cause for the seizure, the vessel will be dismissed with costs; and if he finds there was probable cause for the seizure, for the suspicion, although in fact the ship did not have any such things aboard, or they were not intended for Cuba, then the vessel, after a three years' detention, is to be dismissed without costs. And the Senator thinks that is not much of an injury.

It is a very polite, agreeable, and pleasant kind of proceeding. It does not hurt the United States to have it happen, and to have it happen under the control of such an authority as he has described Spain, irritated by our recognition of belligerency.

Now, I wish to put against my honorable friend's opinion, which I rate a great deal more highly than he does himself, with his great modesty, the opinion of Gen. Ulysses S. Grant, who said that the recognition of belligerency and the right of search in Spain could not exist three months and have it possible to prevent a war with that nation.

Mr. FORAKER. Where did he say that?

Mr. HOAR. Either in his message to Congress or in one of his letters.

Mr. FORAKER. I have his messages here, and he never said any such thing officially. That is sure.

Mr. HOAR. I do not remember where he said it.

Mr. FORAKER. I know what he said.

Mr. HOAR. I know he said it.

Mr. FORAKER. I know where he said what he did say, and if the Senator will allow me, I will read it.

Mr. HOAR. He said a good many things.

Mr. FORAKER. He was a great general and a great President, but not the greatest international lawyer this country has produced.

Mr. HOAR. Perhaps not. I know there are international lawyers greater.

Mr. FORAKER. Here is what he does say:

It would give rise to countless vexatious questions, would release the parent government from responsibility for acts done by the insurgents——

Mr. HOAR. If the Senator wishes to read something else that General Grant said, I will yield.

Mr. FORAKER. I was about to read upon the point to which the Senator referred.

Mr. HOAR. He said what I have said on the point I referred to.

Mr. FORAKER. In no official paper. He may have said it to the Senator when the Senator was visiting the White House. If the Senator will allow me, I will read it.

Mr. HOAR. By all means. I should like to have it.

Mr. FORAKER. Speaking of the consequences of belligerency, General Grant said in his message:

Such recognition entails upon the country according the rights which flow from it difficult and complicated duties, and requires the exaction from the contending parties of the strict observance of their rights and obligations. It confers the right of search upon the high seas by vessels of both parties; it would subject the carrying of arms and munitions of war, which now may be transported freely and without interruption in the vessels of the United States, to detention and to possible seizure; it would give rise to countless vexatious questions, would release the parent Government from responsibility for acts done by the insurgents, and would invest Spain with the right to exercise the supervision recognized by our treaty of 1795 over our commerce on the high seas.

Upon that I have commented.

Mr. HOAR. Read on.

Mr. FORAKER. I will read as much as the Senator likes, but I do not like to interrupt him unduly. General Grant goes on to say that intervention will be necessary unless they shortly desist.

Mr. HOAR. Has the Senator read all General Grant says about that point?

Mr. FORAKER. I believe so.

Mr. HOAR. Then I will resume.

Taking what General Grant says, is there any question in anybody's mind that the right of search by Spain would lead to a war in three months? We have had some experience about that. We remember when the little English middy used to come aboard our vessels to search for British seamen. It created a war, and although England did not abandon the right formally, she has never since ventured to exercise it against this country.

Now, Mr. President, another thing is suggested. It is not only the right of search, if my honorable friend from Ohio will allow me to have his attention a minute longer, but it is the right to seize on suspicion. You propose a resolution into which the law of nations writes, "We hereafter accord to Spain the right to seize any American merchant vessel, if, after search, the officer going aboard is of opinion that the vessel contains contraband of war destined for the Cuban insurgents." The consequence of the right to seize is that the vessel is taken into a Spanish port, tried in a Spanish prize court, and if the court holds that the officer had reasonable grounds for suspicion, it is discharge at the end of a long lawsuit, without costs.

If he finds that the officer was right, then the property is condemned and taken from the owner. That you are substituting for a condition of things under which the United States flag guards the vessel, except it is within 3 miles of the Cuban shore. And Senators gravely get up here and say that is not much of an inconvenience.

Mr. GALLINGER. Will it disturb the Senator from Massachusetts if I interrupt him for a moment?

Mr. HOAR. Not in the least. For what purpose does the Senator wish to interrupt me?

Mr. GALLINGER. To ask a question.

Mr. HOAR. I will yield if the question is pertinent to what I am saying.

Mr. GALLINGER. Precisely. The Senator says that if we recognize the insurgents in Cuba as belligerents, necessarily it would result in war. Spain recognized the Confederacy——

Mr. HOAR. I never said so. General Grant said it.

Mr. GALLINGER. The Senator is arguing on that line. The Senator has constantly held up the specter of war in this debate. If that be true, how did it happen that when England and Spain recognized the Confederacy we did not go to war?

Mr. HOAR. Because the Confederacy had but one war ship at sea during most of the time or a part of the time.

Mr. GALLINGER. Why did we not search the vessels of Spain or England and get into a war with those countries?

Mr. HOAR. There are a good many reasons why we did not. To some extent those vessels——

Mr. HAWLEY. If the Senator will allow me, we did seize British ships in abundance and we confiscated them.

Mr. GALLINGER. But we did not have war with those countries.

Mr. HAWLEY. We caught them carrying guns into Wilmington and Charleston and Savannah.

Mr. GALLINGER. That is all true, but we did not have war.

Mr. HOAR. I think the reflections of Senators will probably lead them, without my taking their time to answer the question, to see the distinction in those cases——

Mr. GALLINGER. I have not discovered it.

Mr. HOAR. And to see that President Grant was entirely right in that proposition.

But there is another thing which the Senator said, speaking of our rights. We now have, as he agrees, for every injury to the millions of American property in Cuba by a mob or lawlessness, a right to indemnity from Spain; but he says, "Do you not know"——

Mr. FORAKER. Those are claims for damages done by Spaniards as well as Cubans.

Mr. HOAR. Spaniards as well as Cubans. But he says, "Do you not know that we presented those claims? Spain has refused point blank to acknowledge them." I think very likely that is all true, but I think it does not at all follow that Spain will not be able to pay and will not be compelled to pay every just claim due to an American citizen. England point blank refused to pay the *Alabama* claims, and after Mr. Adams had sent them in one after another for a few months the foreign office said to Mr. Adams that they would regard it as offensive or unfriendly, or some phrase of that kind, to have the subject renewed again.

But it turned out that the subject was renewed, and it turned out that $15,000,000 went into our Treasury, and every American citizen who had a loss and had one of these claims which England point blank refused to acknowledge got his money, with interest, in his pocket, and there was some left in our Treasury when we got through. I think the power which was able to compel Great Britain to make a recompense which she had point blank refused will find itself able to make Spain compensate our citizens for every lawful obligation. So, if I am right in my view, the recognition of belligerency would be a great injury to the United States, and if we make it, we are doing it because we think that it will encourage the Cubans, and not, as all the writers whom the Senator acknowledges as authority say it is, for our own interest. Therefore it will become an offensive and unfriendly act.

But the learned Senator says that, although Spain may seize and search our vessels, if the resolution gets through, and the Spanish officer is to judge the courtesy, and the Spanish court is to judge the reasonable cause, there are other things, and that is that we shall stop, if I understood him, this policing of our coasts to prevent hostile expeditions in the interest of Cuba. The Senator cites President Cleveland's proclamation of neutrality.

Mr. FORAKER. I said stop it in the interest of only one party.

Mr. HOAR. In the interest of only one.

Now, I affirm, and I challenge contradiction from any quarter, that our duty, our obligation of neutrality, and our national conduct will be exactly in that particular the same after the recognition of belligerency as before, and that there will not be the slightest change in this particular in any respect whatever.

Mr. MASON. I desire to ask the Senator from Massachusetts a question.

Mr. HOAR. Certainly.

Mr. MASON. Does the Senator admit that after we recognize belligerency we can determine and say that prisoners of war shall be treated as prisoners of war and not be shot without trial? Does the Senator admit that to be true?

Mr. FORAKER. In legitimate warfare.

Mr. MASON. That as to prisoners taken in war we shall have a right, as one of the nations having acknowledged the belligerency of Cuba, to interfere and say, "You shall not shoot the prisoner of war?"

Mr. HOAR. I understand, he being an American citizen——

Mr. MASON. I do not care of what country he is a citizen.

Mr. HOAR. Very well. I will answer the question of the Senator, and I am glad he asked it, because I was intending to come to that matter, and I might have forgotten it.

We have affirmed that doctrine so far as relates to American citizens, and Spain has granted it. Whether by the law of nations Spain might shoot American citizens taken in arms on the side of Cuba or no, as a general proposition, it is the settled law between these two countries that she can not. So that it becomes a matter——

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. President——

Mr. HOAR. No; I can not yield now. I am answering another question. I will yield to the Senator when I have answered this question.

So, as regards American citizenship, the question is the same before or after the recognition of belligerency. So, as affects prisoners not American citizens, our right, power, duty, and obligation are exactly the same. We have the same right to interfere to put down in Spain or Armenia a government which is cruelly dealing with its own subjects, charged with rebellion, as we have to interfere if there be a war between that country and its own subjects conducted in a horrible and brutal way.

Mr. MASON. Does the Senator base that on international law?

Mr. HOAR. I base it on international law. That is the opinion of the ancient barnacle.

Mr. MASON. I admit it. I am not contradicting it.

Mr. HOAR. Very well.

So there is not one single purpose, one single circumstance, suggested by the honorable Senator from Ohio or by anyone else in which the recognition of belligerency could be of any benefit to Cuba or in which it could be anything other than a serious injury and grievance and wrong to the people of the United States.

Mr. MORGAN. I desire to ask the Senator a question, if he will permit me.

Mr. HOAR. Certainly.

Mr. MORGAN. Can the Senator recite any case in which Spain has decided, either through her courts or her military authorities, that she has no right to execute an American citizen taken with arms as a prisoner of war?

Mr. HOAR. No; I can not.

Mr. MORGAN. Very well.

Mr. HOAR. But her Government has assured our Government on its demand that it shall not be done.

Mr. MORGAN. I have not seen the assurance.

Mr. HOAR. I have, I think.

Mr. MORGAN. I know that cases have been decided the other way. She exercises the pardoning power.

Mr. HOAR. In that particular it makes no difference. The right of this Government to interpose, if there be a cruel and brutal treatment, not according to the forms of civil law, of an American citizen taken in arms against a government when his side is not recognized as a belligerent, is the same as if belligerency had been recognized. We have been interfering all along, as the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE] suggests to me. So that impassioned argument disappears.

The Senator from Ohio ended his argument by saying we will have to police the seas if the present condition of things continues. We shall have to police the seas quite as much when we recognize belligerency. England was held to the performance of her neutral duties and to damages for failing in the performance, although she recognized the belligerency of the Confederacy almost as soon as the rebellion broke out.

Is there any doubt about that proposition? The Senator from Ohio concludes by saying that he sums up the whole thing by the fact that before the recognition of belligerency the Cuban is a rebel on land and a pirate by sea. I have shown that there is no difference in his legal status. In the first place, that would seem to be a pretty strong contradiction of the Senator's position that we are not doing these things for the benefit of the Cubans, but only for our own interest, and with which he, being entirely sane on this subject, agrees.

But, passing that by, I have shown, I think, conclusively that so far as his position on land is concerned, there is no difference in it. So far as our obligation of neutrality is concerned, there is no difference. So far as our interest is concerned, the only difference is that we expose ourselves to the right of search and lose the claims of our citizens. So far as the Cuban being a pirate at sea is concerned, I think there is very probably, as far as I have investigated or reflected upon the question, some reason for thinking that the Senator is right. I should like to reflect on it a little further before absolutely agreeing to it.

Mr. WHITE. If the Senator from Massachusetts will permit me, I think that when Mr. Frelinghuysen was Secretary of State he stated, and afterwards Mr. Bayard stated, that while this nation had the power to recognize as a pirate or to consider as a pirate a case similar to that supposed by the Senator, yet as a matter of policy we would not do it; and we have explicitly and absolutely refused to do it.

Mr. HOAR. But still I suppose it is true that Cuba not being recognized, if she should get at some time in the future a ship of war and get it to sea, as our Southern brethren did the *Alabama*, and capture some Spanish ships and take one of them into an American port, we would not admit her to hospitality, and our prize courts would not condemn for her her prize or treat the capture as a lawful prize, and to that extent she would be worse off. But I respectfully submit to my honorable friend from Ohio that that is a contingency so remote and distant that it is hardly worth while for us to go through the great discomfort to commit what seems to me, with great respect, the great folly of passing this joint resolution recognizing belligerency in order that it may

possibly benefit Cuba if at some time in the future she gets a ship of war and that ship of war happens to come into one of our ports.

I am sorry to have detained the Senate so long. I make no apology, however, to those Senators who think we are endeavoring to delay on this side of the Chamber, because I have taken the time to-night instead of waiting until to-morrow.

Mr. THURSTON. I understand that I had the floor and yielded it to the Senator from Massachusetts. I shall desire to take it to-morrow at 2 o'clock on the pending resolution.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. To-morrow at 2 o'clock the Senator from Nebraska will be recognized as entitled to the floor.

Mr. MORGAN. I move that the Senate adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 6 o'clock p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Thursday, May 20, 1897, at 12 o'clock meridian.

SENATE.

THURSDAY, *May 20, 1897.*

Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. W. H. MILBURN, D. D.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

DIFFERENTIAL DUTY ON SUGAR.

The VICE-PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the Secretary of State, transmitting, agreeably to the request of the German ambassador, copies of correspondence in regard to the protest of the German Government against differential treatment of bountied sugars in the pending tariff bill; which was read, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Finance, and ordered to be printed.

LANDS IN GREER COUNTY, OKLA.

The VICE-PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a letter from the Commissioner of the General Land Office, setting forth the necessity for an extension of the time allowed by the act of January 8, 1897, to bona fide purchasers of lands in Greer County, Okla., to place their claims of record in the local office at Mangum, together with a copy of a draft of a section prepared in the General Land Office granting an extension of time required and calling attention to the necessity of the proposed legislation; which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on Public Lands, and ordered to be printed.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. W. J. BROWNING, its Chief Clerk, announced that the House had passed the joint resolution (S. R. 42) appropriating $50,000 for the relief of suffering American citizens in the Island of Cuba.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

The VICE-PRESIDENT presented a petition of the Ninth Annual Convention of Railroad Commissioners, praying for the enactment of legislation effectually to prohibit the transportation evils and abuses, relating to carriers engaged in interstate commerce, such as are described in the annual reports of the Interstate Commerce Commission for the years 1890 to 1896; which was referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

Mr. SHOUP presented the petition of S. D. Coulter and 49 other citizens of Boise City, Idaho, praying for the enactment of legislation for the more rigid restriction of immigration; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. McBRIDE presented a petition of 48 citizens of Washington County, Oreg., praying for the abrogation of the Hawaiian reciprocity treaty; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also presented a petition of 41 citizens of Multnomah County, Oreg., praying for the enactment of legislation for the more rigid restriction of immigration; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. TURPIE presented a memorial of C. H. Ankeny & Co., of Lafayette, Ind., remonstrating against the proposed increase of duty on watches and watch movements; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a memorial of the Tappan Shoe Manufacturing Company, of Muncie, Ind., remonstrating against the imposition of a duty on foreign hides; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a memorial of sundry citizens of Evansville, Ind., remonstrating against the passage of the so-called Nelson bankruptcy bill; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a petition of the Art Institute, of Chicago, Ill., praying that all works of art imported into this country be admitted free of duty; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented the petition of W. C. Rall, past chief conductor of Division No. 120, Order of Railway Conductors, of Huntington, Ind., praying for the passage of Senate bill No. 1479, to amend an act entitled "An act to regulate commerce," approved February 4, 1887; which was referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

Mr. HOAR presented a petition of sundry citizens of Massachusetts, praying for the enactment of legislation for the more rigid restriction of immigration; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. ELKINS presented sundry petitions of citizens of West Virginia, praying for the enactment of legislation restricting immigration; which were ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented sundry memorials of citizens of West Virginia, remonstrating against the enactment of legislation intended to destroy the present system of ticket brokerage; which were referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

REPORTS OF A COMMITTEE.

Mr. MARTIN, from the Committee on Claims, to whom was referred the bill (S. 135) for the relief of George F. Roberts, administrator of the estate of William B. Thayer, deceased, surviving partner of Thayer Bros., and others, reported it without amendment, and submitted a report thereon.

Mr. PASCO. I am directed by the Committee on Claims to submit a supplemental report to accompany the bill (S. 415) for the relief of Anna W. Osborne. I ask that the report be printed.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The report will be printed under the rule.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Mr. GALLINGER introduced a bill (S. 2006) to remove the charge of desertion from the military record of Richard J. Huntoon; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. McBRIDE introduced a bill (S. 2007) for the relief of John Kelly; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. BURROWS introduced a bill (S. 2008) granting an increase of pension to Rosa S. Webb; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. HAWLEY introduced a bill (S. 2009) to provide for the restatement, readjustment, and payment of dues to army officers or ex-officers in certain cases; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. PERKINS introduced a bill (S. 2010) to establish a new land district, to be known as the Yukon land district, in the Territory of Alaska; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Territories.

Mr. HOAR introduced a bill (S. 2011) to place John Dolan on the retired list of the United States Army; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. WARREN introduced a bill (S. 2012) providing that the circuit court of appeals of the eighth judicial circuit of the United States shall hold at least one term of said court annually in the city of Denver, in the State of Colorado, or in the city of Cheyenne, in the State of Wyoming, on the first Monday in September in each year; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also introduced a bill (S. 2013) for the relief of Hattie A. Phillips; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

TRANSPORTATION OF FOOD CONTRIBUTIONS TO INDIA.

Mr. HALE. I introduce a joint resolution, which I ask to have read. Then I shall ask unanimous consent for its consideration on a statement which I will make.

The joint resolution (S. R. 43) directing the Secretary of the Treasury to give an American register to the foreign-built steamships *Massapequa* and *Menantic*, to enable them to carry grain under the American flag to the sufferers by famine in India was read the first time by its title and the second time at length, as follows:

Whereas there is now stored in New York warehouses about 3,000 tons of grain contributed by the charitable people of the United States for the famishing inhabitants of India; and

Whereas there has been contributed about $100,000 for the purchase of additional food products for the same purpose; and

Whereas it is incumbent upon the United States Government to furnish at the earliest possible moment transportation for this grain to India to relieve the starving poor; and

Whereas it is desirable that this grain should be transported under the flag of the United States; and

Whereas there can not be chartered a sufficient number of United States registered steamships to carry this grain to India: Therefore, it is

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby directed to cause the foreign-built steamships *Massapequa* and *Menantic*, owned by Charles W. Hogan, of the firm of T. Hogan & Sons, of New York City, a citizen of the United States, to be registered as vessels of the United States, upon being notified by the Secretary of the Navy that a contract has been entered into between the Navy Department and said Charles W. Hogan, of the firm of T. Hogan & Sons, for the transportation of about 8,000 tons of wheat in bulk or its equivalent in space for corn to India for the famishing poor.

SEC. 2. The Secretary of the Navy is hereby authorized to accept the proposition of T. Hogan & Sons made to him in their letter dated May 13, 1897, and

to enter into a contract with Charles W. Hogan, of said firm, to carry the aforesaid wheat or equivalent of corn in bulk in the steamships *Massapequa* and *Menantic* to India, and a sufficient sum of money is hereby appropriated for said purpose out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated.

Mr. HALE. Mr. President, there is no opportunity in this emergency for any committee to consider the joint resolution. Senators will remember that by joint resolution approved by the President we provided that the Secretary of the Navy might, either in naval vessels or American vessels that he could charter, transport the gifts of grain, etc., which have been given by American citizens for the suffering people in India. The Secretary has found two things. No naval ships are adapted to such transportation. The statement of that fact will at once carry with it its demonstration. Everyone will see that the ships of the Navy are not built for any such purpose. He has also found that he can not charter any American registered ships. He can not find them. He has searched far and wide, and they are not obtainable.

Under these conditions and under the act of Congress the Secretary is unable to move the large quantities of supplies that have been given by benevolent people and are now in New York. I sent a moment ago for a letter from the Secretary of the Navy on the subject, but I will ask to have read now a letter which I have received from an American citizen in New York.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The letter will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

THE ARLINGTON, *Washington, D. C., May 20, 1897.*

Hon. EUGENE HALE,
Chairman Committee on Naval Affairs, United States Senate.

DEAR SIR: I am informed that the Secretary of the Navy has sent to Congress (presumably to your committee) the proposition of my firm, T. Hogan & Sons, of New York city, to carry the grain contributed by the American people for the starving poor of India. I inclose copy of my firm's proposition to Secretary Long, dated May 13th instant. I have purchased since the date of the letter containing the proposition both of the ships named in the letter from the firm, and have bills of sale for the same. I am a citizen of the United States. Both of the ships have arrived in New York harbor within the past twenty-four hours, and their cargoes can be discharged and the grain for India loaded on them and they can be ready for the voyage in one week from this date. I take the liberty of inclosing herewith for the consideration of yourself and your committee a joint resolution which I should be pleased to have you and your committee report favorably to the Senate.

The adoption of this resolution will enable the United States Government to ship this grain in ships wholly owned by a citizen of the United States, wholly officered by citizens of the United States, and carrying the flag of the United States. It is the speediest method of sending the relief to India, and would save the Government the humiliation of having to send it in vessels owned by foreigners, officered by foreigners, and carrying the foreign flag. No charter can be made for the transportation of this food in a foreign vessel as speedily as a charter can be made with us, and besides the price I have charged for the transportation, being below cost, will be largely exceeded if the transportation is made in vessels owned by foreign subjects, as there is no inducement for them to lower their rates. The editor of the Christian Herald, who has charge of the transportation of this grain, is convinced that our proposition is the only one that promises an early settlement of the transportation question. He has recommended to you and to the Secretary of the Navy the acceptance of our proposition.

In addition to the advantages to be derived in the acceptance of our proposition hereinbefore set forth, our vessels would make a very valuable addition to the auxiliary navy; and we are perfectly willing that section 4 of the act of Congress, approved May 10, 1894, entitled "An act to encourage American shipbuilding," which placed the *City of Paris* and the *City of New York* in the auxiliary navy, shall be added to the joint resolution. These vessels, as you will see by reference to my letter to Secretary Long, are first-class steamships in every respect. We could carry easily 1,000 soldiers in each ship, and having repeatedly carried over 600 head of cattle across the Atlantic, in case of war these vessels would prove valuable troop ships, and could be arranged to carry fully 600 horses in addition to 4,000 tons of coal or measurement of stores in the lower hold.

Very truly, yours,

CHAS. W. HOGAN.

P. S.—Address me care room 38, Corcoran Building, Washington, D. C.

Mr. HALE. I ask that there also be read a letter to the Secretary of the Navy, which is referred to in the communication just read.

The Secretary read as follows:

T. HOGAN & SONS, 95 BROAD STREET, *New York, May 13, 1897.*

SIR: In view of the efforts made by our Government to procure American steamers to take the cargoes of grain to the starving people of India, we would state that two of our steamers, in every way suited for the business, are due here with cargoes within the next week and could be discharged so as to be at the service of the Government within a short time thereafter.

The names of these steamers are *Massapequa* and *Menantic*, each of which will carry 4,100 tons gross weight of cargo in addition to 500 tons bunker coals, and when loaded will steam about 10 knots per hour. They were built in October, 1893, by Messrs. Jos. L. Thompson & Sons, Sunderland, England, and are first class in every respect. They are 1,935 tons net register or 3,027 tons gross register each, 322 feet in length, 42 feet 7 inches breadth, and 28 feet 6 inches molded depth, and are classed 100 A1 at British Lloyds. These steamers belong to the Menantic Steamship Company, Limited, the stock of which is owned by American citizens.

We would be willing to take a full cargo of grain in each, provided the Government would naturalize these two steamers before they leave this side. On this condition we would charge for grain in bulk $6 per ton of 2,240 pounds hence to Bombay, or $7 per ton of 2,240 pounds hence to Calcutta. Should it be requisite to ship the cargoes in bags our price would be $6.70 per ton to Bombay and $7.70 to Calcutta.

We are satisfied that these two steamers would be a valuable acquisition to the merchant marine of this country and afford the means of giving employment to quite a number of American citizens.

Trusting that this matter will receive your favorable consideration,

We are, sir, yours respectfully,

T. HOGAN & SONS.

Hon. JOHN D. LONG,
Secretary of Navy, Washington, D. C.

Mr. HALE. Now I ask that there be read a brief letter from the Secretary of the Navy.

The Secretary read as follows:

NAVY DEPARTMENT, *Washington, May 18, 1897.*

SIR: Referring to public resolution No. 8, "Authorizing the Secretary of the Navy to transport contributions for the relief of the suffering poor in India," approved April 7, 1897, I have the honor to submit the following statement:

The resolution, after reciting the fact that a famine exists in India which can readily be relieved from the surplus products of this country, now being freely contributed by the people of the United States, authorizes the Secretary of the Navy, first, to employ and place at the disposal of the collector of the port of New York any ship or vessel belonging to the Navy best adapted for such service, or, secondly, to charter and employ "a suitable American steamship or vessel" for the purpose, with a cargo capacity of 2,000 to 4,000 tons.

The use of a naval vessel for the transportation of these supplies is wholly impracticable. None of the older vessels of the Navy are in a condition to warrant their use for such an undertaking, and with respect to the modern vessels it may be said that their construction differs so radically from that of vessels of the merchant service employed in the carrying trade, the space allotted in mercantile vessels to cargo being filled in the latter with machinery, armament, and necessary quarters for officers and men, as to preclude their use for purposes of transportation. There is, therefore, no naval vessel adapted or readily adaptable to the purpose.

The utilization of a vessel of the Navy being out of the question for the reasons stated, the Department has made every effort to charter a suitable American vessel, but with little success. Indeed, it appears, unfortunately, to be a fact that at the present time few American vessels of sufficient size are available for the purposes named in the resolution. Propositions have, however, been received from the owners of vessels sailing under a foreign flag, but deemed to be otherwise suitable, offering to transport to Bombay or Calcutta the food supplies referred to, provided such vessels can be admitted to American registry and thus brought within the terms of the resolution; and it is understood that vessels owned wholly by American citizens, but not admitted to American registry because built abroad, can be chartered upon terms deemed reasonable.

This Department is in receipt of reports indicating that sufficient food supplies have been contributed to load two vessels, whereas the resolution authorizes the chartering of but one.

While it seems impossible to obtain an American vessel of 4,000 tons, it might occur that two such vessels of 2,000 tons each could be procured. Under these circumstances, and in order that the efforts of the contributors to this work of international benevolence may not fail of success for want of the necessary means of transportation, I have the honor to recommend that the authority conferred by the public resolution be so enlarged as to empower this Department to charter two vessels having a capacity of two to four thousand tons each instead of one such vessel; and, inasmuch as even these smaller vessels may not be procurable within a reasonable time, that further special authority be granted by Congress for the admission to American registry of one or two such vessels as may be required, of about 4,000 tons each, for the transportation of supplies from New York to India, in pursuance of public resolution No. 8.

It is suggested that the terms, with respect to inspection, etc., provided in section 3 of the "Act to encourage American shipbuilding," approved May 10, 1892, in pursuance of which the foreign-built steamers *New York* and *Paris* were granted American registry, might with propriety be adopted in the case under consideration.

In this connection attention is invited to the inclosed copy of a communication from Messrs. T. Hogan & Sons, offering to charter to the Government, for the purpose of transporting food supplies to India, the vessels *Massapequa* and *Menantic*, upon terms specified, if these vessels can be "naturalized."

Very respectfully,

JOHN D. LONG, *Secretary.*

The CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE ON NAVAL AFFAIRS,
United States Senate.

Mr. CHANDLER. I shall ask that the joint resolution which the Senator from Maine has introduced, sent here by the Navy Department, may go over until Monday. I think the Secretary of the Navy has made a mistake in the remedy which he proposes to apply in connection with the difficulty which he encounters. Congress should at once remove the restriction upon the Secretary in hiring a ship to transport the food products to India which requires that it shall be an American ship.

Mr. HALE. If the Senator will allow me, this is the language of the joint resolution passed April 7, 1897:

Or to charter and employ, under the authority of the United States, a suitable American steamship or vessel.

That is the trouble with the Secretary.

Mr. CHANDLER. Yes, but the Secretary should have recommended to us to strike out the word "American," which we never should have put into the original authority. When we were providing for speedily sending the contributions of the liberal people of the United States to the starving people of India, we should not have limited the means of transportation to American ships. Everyone knew perfectly well, as the Senator from Maine has stated, and as the Secretary of the Navy has stated, that there would be found no suitable naval vessel, because a ship of war is not suited to transport cargo, and the United States possesses no naval transport vessels. So that authorization was a mere form. We should have authorized the Secretary of the Navy to transport the contributions in any steamship which he could procure at short notice for a reasonable price. He has discovered that there is no American steamship promptly available, and he now proposes that we shall give an American register to one or two foreign ships in order that they may carry the contributions.

Mr. HALE. The Secretary does not enforce this remedy. He simply refers to it, and incloses the communication from the New York parties who own the ships. I do not understand that the Secretary urges Congress especially to do this.

Mr. CHANDLER. The Senator will excuse me. I thought the Senator introduced a joint resolution coming from the Secretary for the admission of these ships to an American register.

Mr. HALE. No; the Secretary only refers to the measure. It does not to any further extent than that have his indorsement. He only refers to it as suggesting a remedy.

Mr. CHANDLER. The simplest thing in the world is for the Senator from Maine to introduce a bill striking out the word "American" from that authorization. These ships ought to carry the contributions, if they are ready to go. They ought not to be detained, but there is no need of admitting them to an American register. All we need to do is to authorize the ships, with the nationality that now belongs to them, to transport under an English register, if they are English ships, these American contributions to the suffering people of English India.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. President——

Mr. CULLOM. Will the Senator allow me to make a suggestion?

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. President, I rise to a point of order.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Alabama will state his point of order.

Mr. MORGAN. I understood that the Senator from New Hampshire objected to the present consideration of the joint resolution.

Mr. CULLOM. I desire to suggest, as there have been a good many documents read which we have heard only in part, that it would be as well that the whole matter should go over and let the papers be printed.

Mr. PERKINS. That was the request I rose to make, and to supplement it with the statement that a few weeks since I was the author of a similar resolution. The charitable people west of the Missouri River contributed sufficient to load the ship. We had no difficulty in finding an American ship to transport the gift of the American people to the sufferers in India. The price that is proposed here to pay for these ships, granting them an American register, I venture to say, will amount to much more in value to the owners of the vessels than will the amount of freight, if we are obliged to pay it. I believe we have American ships flying the American flag that we can charter to take this freight, and we should pay them a larger sum than we pay to any ship flying a foreign flag.

But I want to second the request of the Senator from Illinois, that all the documents may be printed in relation to this matter, and that they may lie upon the table until Monday next.

Mr. HALE. Mr. President——

Mr. MORGAN. I object to the further discussion of this subject, inasmuch as it goes over to Monday.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The point of order made by the Senator from Alabama is sustained by the Chair.

Mr. HALE. Will the Senator let me say one word?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes.

Mr. HALE. I see the force of the points that have been made by the Senator from Illinois, the Senator from New Hampshire, and the Senator from California, and I do not object to the whole matter going over in order that we may have time to consider it, and perfect some measure that will perhaps cover the point suggested by the Senator from New Hampshire.

I ask that there also be printed the act of April 7, 1897, so that all the documents relating to the subject may appear together.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The act will be printed in the RECORD, in the absence of objection, and also printed with the other papers in document form.

The act referred to is as follows:

[PUBLIC RESOLUTION—NO. 8.]

Joint resolution authorizing the Secretary of the Navy to transport contributions for the relief of the suffering poor in India.

Whereas a famine exists in India which is daily causing thousands of deaths among the poor, which famine can readily be relieved from the surplus products of other parts of the world; and

Whereas generous people of the United States in different States are freely giving wheat, flour, and corn for the relief of the famishing inhabitants in India: Therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Secretary of the Navy be, and he is hereby, authorized to employ and place at the disposal of the collector of the port of New York any ship or vessel belonging to the Navy of the United States best adapted for such service for the purpose of transporting to the famishing poor of India such contributions as may be made for their relief, or to charter and employ under the authority of the United States a suitable American steamship or vessel, with a cargo capacity of 2,000 to 4,000 tons, for the same purpose. Any sum of money which may be necessary to carry out the object of this resolution is hereby appropriated out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated.

Approved April 7, 1897.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The joint resolution introduced by the Senator from Maine lies over.

AMENDMENTS TO THE TARIFF BILL.

Mr. HALE submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill (H. R. 379) to provide revenue for the Government and to encourage the industries of the United States; which was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

Mr. SEWELL submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill (H. R. 379) to provide revenue for the Government and to encourage the industries of the United States; which was referred to the Committee on Finance, and ordered to be printed.

Mr. HARRIS of Kansas (by request) submitted two amendments intended to be proposed by him to the bill (H. R. 379) to provide revenue for the Government and to encourage the industries of the United States; which were ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

AMENDMENTS TO DEFICIENCY APPROPRIATION BILL.

Mr. GALLINGER submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the deficiency appropriation bill; which was referred to the Committee on Civil Service and Retrenchment, and ordered to be printed.

Mr. MCBRIDE submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the deficiency appropriation bill; which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations, and ordered to be printed.

VICTOR H. MACCORD.

Mr. CULLOM submitted the following resolution; which was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to:

Resolved, That the Secretary of State be, and is hereby, directed to furnish for the use of the Senate a copy of Secretary Olney's note to Mr. Richard R. Neill, No. 210, dated Department of State, December 28, 1896, and copies of all communication and correspondence between the State Department and its legation at Lima, Peru, relating to the claim of Victor H. MacCord, a citizen of Pennsylvania, late a consular agent of the United States to Peru, against the Government of Peru, in South America.

BRIDGES ACROSS THE MISSOURI, MISSISSIPPI, ETC.

Mr. CAFFERY. A few days ago the Senate passed the bill (S. 426) to authorize the construction of bridges across the Missouri River, between its mouth and the mouth of the Dakota or James River; and across the Mississippi River, between the mouth of the Minnesota River, in the State of Minnesota, and Donaldsonville, in the State of Louisiana; and across the Illinois and Des Plaines rivers, between the mouth of the Illinois and the city of Joliet, in the State of Illinois; and to prescribe the character, location, and dimensions of the same. I enter a motion to reconsider the votes by which the bill was ordered to a third reading and passed. I move that the House of Representatives be requested to return the bill to the Senate.

The motion was agreed to.

FIRST LIEUT. BENJAMIN W. LORING.

Mr. PLATT of New York. I desire to call up the bill (S. 1337) to commission First Lieut. Benjamin W. Loring a captain. The bill was passed over yesterday for the purpose of information.

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill.

Mr. BATE. That is the case I objected to yesterday. I have since read the whole of the report. It is a peculiar case. While I can not support it, I do not propose to antagonize it at this time, especially as it has come unanimously approved by the Committee on Naval Affairs, who, I suppose, investigated it thoroughly, and it did not come from the Committee on Military Affairs, as I had at first supposed.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. President——

Mr. HOAR. Let the title of the bill be read again.

The SECRETARY. "A bill to commission First Lieut. Benjamin W. Loring as captain."

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Alabama is recognized.

Mr. HOAR. What became of the bill which has just been before the Senate?

Mr. MORGAN. I object to any further consideration of the bill unless upon a motion to reconsider. It has passed.

Mr. HOAR. I rose before the Chair declared the bill passed, and after the passage of the bill the question is upon the title. So I am in time. I desire simply to state to the Senator who has the bill in charge that a bill to commission a person as an officer of the United States is not certainly a bill within the power of this body, and that the title should be changed. It is a bill to authorize such a commission. I merely suggest that the words "to authorize the President" be inserted in the title of the bill.

Mr. PLATT of New York. I ask that that amendment be made in the title.

The title was amended so as to read: "A bill to authorize the President to commission First Lieut. Benjamin W. Loring a captain."

WAR IN CUBA.

Mr. MORGAN. I ask that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the joint resolution (S. R. 26) declaring that a condition of public war exists in Cuba, and that strict neutrality shall be

maintained. I desire that the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. THURSTON], who has the floor, may have an opportunity to proceed with his remarks.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Alabama that the Senate proceed to the consideration of joint resolution No. 26 at this time?

Mr. HALE. The Senator proposes to take up the Cuban resolution now instead of waiting until 2 o'clock?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes; it is the regular order for 2 o'clock. I desire to take it up now so that the Senator from Nebraska may proceed with his remarks.

Mr. HALE. I do not object to that at all. I did not understand the request.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. If no objection be made, that will be the order.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the joint resolution (S. R. 26) declaring that a condition of public war exists in Cuba and that strict neutrality shall be maintained, the pending question being on the motion of Mr. HALE to refer the joint resolution to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. THURSTON. Mr. President, this is the first time I have risen in my place to speak upon the Cuban question. For two regular sessions and a part of an extraordinary session of Congress I have occupied a seat in the Senate of the United States. During all that time the Cuban question has held a foremost place. It has been considered and discussed without limit and without restriction. It has been referred and reported, referred and reported, referred and not reported, in one form or another time and time again. During all this time the Cuban situation has appealed to and has aroused the sympathy and enlisted the interest of the liberty-loving people of the United States.

During all this time it has been exploited by the great newspapers of our country, whose brave correspondents have written their dispatches from the field of battle, knowing that at any moment death might close the written page. During all this time this question has been the subject of inquiry by individual citizens and by public officials. It has been the occasion for platform declarations on the part of all the great political parties of the country in national convention assembled. The records of the Senate are filled with reports and information upon the subject, and there are volumes and volumes of testimony in the archives of the State Department.

Mr. President, after the lapse of all this time, in view of the vast and varied information as to what has taken place in a little island at our very door, it does seem to me that every man in the United States ought to be ready and must be ready for action at this time. If there is a Senator upon this floor who has not yet information enough to enable him to conscientiously, honestly, and immediately act upon this great question, I respectfully commend him to the enthusiastic suffrage of his constituents for another term in the Senate.

Mr. President, my party has shown me where my duty lies. In the great Republican national convention held in the city of St. Louis in June last, over the deliberations of which I had the distinguished honor to preside, the Republicans of the United States, with a mighty and a triumphant shout that seemed to lift the roof above our heads, ratified and adopted the following resolution:

> From the hour of achieving their own independence the people of the United States have regarded with sympathy the struggles of other American people to free themselves from European domination. We watch with deep and abiding interest the heroic battle of the Cuban patriots against cruelty and oppression, and our best hopes go out for the full success of their determined contest for liberty.
>
> The Government of Spain having lost control of Cuba, and being unable to protect the property or lives of resident American citizens, or to comply with its treaty obligations, we believe that the Government of the United States should actively use its influence and good offices to restore peace and give independence to the island.

Mr. President, the great Senator from the State of Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] has endeavored to place an impossible interpretation upon that declaration of the Republican platform, but I ask the Senate to read it for themselves. The Senator from Massachusetts says that the pledge of our party is to actively use the influence and good offices of this Government to restore peace and give independence to the island; and the Senator from Massachusetts says—at least the Senator implies—that the duty of the Senate and of the United States is to intervene in the Cuban situation rather than to first acknowledge the belligerency of the participants in that great struggle.

I ask the Senator from Massachusetts what conditions precedent are necessary to authorize the intervention of the United States in the Cuban situation for the purpose of securing the independence of that island? Is interference for independence justifiable on our part unless a state of war exists? Is it justifiable on our part unless the revolutionists have a government of their own? Is it justifiable unless they have a territory which they hold and occupy against all comers? Is it justifiable unless they have maintained that struggle long enough so that, in the opinion of this country, their speedy overthrow is not probable or certain? Is interference on our part for independence justifiable until the revolutionists occupy a position before the world as warriors in the field, as defenders of a government of their own, and as accredited belligerents before the civilized world?

For my part, with my weaker apprehension of this great problem, it seems to me that the preliminary step of all others which would alone justify the active intervention of this country for the purpose of securing independence is to accord to those people a standing as belligerents, entitled to the treatment and the rights of belligerents. And reading that declaration of my party, as I believe aright, I insist that it can not be faithfully enforced, it can not be faithfully carried out unless, if the facts justify it, we first declare that the revolutionists in Cuba are entitled to the rights of belligerents, and thereby lay the foundation upon which we can afterwards properly and decently and lawfully intervene.

It has been whispered about the Halls of this National Capitol that we should in some way side-track the pending resolution because it comes from a Democratic source. It is said that this Administration is of the Republican party and that the Republican party should have full credit for any steps taken by the Government to settle this vexed and disturbing question.

Mr. President, I am a partisan of the ultra type. I stand by the declarations of my party. I labor for its welfare, and I glory in its success, but over and above my duty to my party, I hold my love of country, my sympathy with humanity, and my worship of Almighty God; and I would be unworthy of the further confidence of my great party if I took any action upon the pending resolution influenced in the slightest degree by party considerations. No Republican, from party considerations, can afford to vote against the pending resolution, even although it was inspired and introduced by the venerable Senator from Alabama [Mr. MORGAN], who has, unfortunately, wasted so many years of an otherwise splendid life in following the false doctrines and worshiping the false idols of the Democratic party.

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. President, if the Senator will allow me, I wish to say, as was stated by the Senator from Ohio [Mr. FORAKER] on yesterday, that this resolution, in substance, if not in exact words, was copied from a resolution twice offered in the Senate by the honorable Senator from Ohio who is now the Secretary of State, and I think before that time it was offered in the House of Representatives. So that, if there is any political origin of this resolution at all, it originated in the brain of what I suppose might be considered the leading Republican to-day in the United States next to the President. So that in merely copying this resolution I claim no sort of agency in its origination, except in the same sense precisely that the honorable Senator is now patriotically expressing, disregarding all considerations of party, and looking alone to our own duty and the welfare of our own people. I had the honor to introduce the resolution, but after it had been passed in another form by the Senate more than a year ago.

Mr. THURSTON. Mr. President, I thank the Senator for his statement; but, without regard to that, this is a great, patriotic question, and for my part I can not consent to tolerate for a single moment the idea that any party consideration should be given to it.

The eminent Senator from Massachusetts has sought to interpose against the passage of the present resolution international law and the Constitution of the United States. I do not yield to the venerable Senator in my respect for international law, that great accumulated code of centuries, under which the commerce of the world is peaceably and safely carried on; but international law was not written by any delegated body representing the peoples and the countries of the earth. It is a series of chapters that were formulated by the cannon and by the sword. It is a series of rules laid down by the power of the great maritime nations of the earth for their protection and in their interest.

Mr. President, the book of international law has been contributed to by all the great powers to secure them in particular rights. In 1812 international law permitted a man-of-war of Great Britain to stop our merchantmen on the high seas and take the sailors from our ships for impressment into the British service; but, thank God, the sailors and marines of 1812 wrote with their blood another chapter of international law that made the deck of an American ship American soil. There is yet ample room for the writing of another chapter; and, if it is necessary for the proper solution of the Cuban question, I pray to God that my country may write that chapter in harmony with the advanced spirit and civilization of the closing hours of the nineteenth century.

Mr. President, what is the requirement of international law upon the question of whether or not this Government shall accord to the Cubans belligerent rights? I will discuss it dispassionately and as clearly as I can, without any attempt to arouse sentiment or to stir up passion or prejudice. International law, as laid down by the accepted writers, requires that a people, in order to have

their belligerency acknowledged, must first set up the standard of a revolution. That has been done in Cuba. They must for a certain length of time maintain a territory against the enemy. That has been done in Cuba for two years and a half. Read the declaration that was presented by the Senator from Ohio on yesterday, wherein the fact is thoroughly established that for all the period of that revolution one province of Cuba has been maintained and held by the Cuban patriots and revolutionists.

International law says that there must be an established form of government. Has there not been in this case? Could a war of this character for two years and a half have been carried on, think you, unless it were carried on under the form of an organized government, with some central authority behind it to secure moneys to arm and equip its soldiers, to issue commissions, and to authorize and direct the movements of the army?

International law also says that there must be a seat of government, and I have heard it contended upon this floor that belligerent rights can not be accorded because there is not found upon the map of Cuba a known or a fortified or an important town wherein the seat of the revolutionary government has been established.

A seat of government need not be held within fortified walls; it need not be a place where the habitations of men are clustered together and about. Sir, it need not be held within buildings made by hands or under domes erected for the purpose of beauty and adornment. It may be that the Cubans, from the necessities of the case, have gone to the mountains and have set up their seat of government under the eternal stars.

Liberty has always fled to the mountains for its safety and its shelter. In the hilltops the spirit of liberty first knew birth. In the eternal hills the standard of revolution for liberty has always been raised, and down from the mountains have always come the sturdy patriots who have eventually wrested from tyranny and oppression the governments of many of the peoples of the earth. God bless the hills; and if there is no reason other than that the revolutionary government is held in the mountains, where Providence has given them bastions and parapets and escarpments and fortifications without cost, then I say that international law has been fully complied with and there stands no reason, so far as a seat of government is concerned, why this declaration can not now be properly made.

Mr. President, international law requires that a state of warfare shall be carried on to such an extent that the civil authorities of the dominant government are no longer enabled to preserve and maintain the peace. Is there a man on all the earth who believes that for the past two years the civil authorities in Cuba have been enabled to preserve the peace and tranquillity of that island by the ordinary civil procedure, backed up by any proper aid of the military arm? No defender of the Spanish cause, no one who apologizes for their atrocities, no one who seeks to hinder and delay action upon this resolution, has so far even suggested that Spain can hold that island in peace and tranquillity under the ordinary processes of the civil authorities.

What then, Mr. President? International law requires that the revolution must have so far progressed that there is serious doubt about the power of the mother government to suppress it or subdue it in the near future. Is there any doubt that the war in Cuba has progressed that far? Has anyone challenged it? Why, Mr. President, let me read to you the dispatch in the newspaper of this morning coming from Spain, the utterance of one of her greatest statesmen:

MADRID, *May 19.*

At a meeting of the Liberal senators and deputies to-day Señor Sagasta, former premier, made an important speech, in the course of which he said: "We have 200,000 troops in Cuba"—

And no war! No war, with 200,000 troops gathered from the farms and the hillsides of Spain, the last desperate levy of the Spanish authority upon the youth of that land. Two hundred thousand troops in Cuba, and no war! Cuba is pacified; no trouble; the day for action by the United States of America has passed away! Only 200,000 Spanish troops in that little island!—

"but we are not even masters of the territory trodden by our soldiers."

I do not take the newspaper correspondence; I do not take the unverified statements from interested parties; I take the public declaration made by the former premier of Spain on yesterday to the Spanish people in the capital of that Kingdom:

But we are not even masters of the territory trodden by our soldiers. The picture could not be gloomier. We have war in Cuba and in the Philippines.

War in Cuba, not on the authority of newspaper correspondence; not on the authority of a letter from one who is in the insurgent ranks; not on the authority of rumor or repute, but on the authority of the former premier of Spain. He says, "We have war in Cuba;" and can civilized mankind question the sincerity or propriety of the Government of the United States in saying the same? Yet we are constantly hearing that the island is pacified.

The commander of 200,000 men has sent his bulletins over all the world and announced that peace prevails. What for, Mr. President? He who runs may read. Spain has drawn upon her last available man; Spain has exhausted her credit in the money centers of Christendom. If she gets another loan with which to carry on that sanguinary war for even a few more months she must do it by satisfying the money loaners of the world that she is already within sight of ultimate victory, and that the resources of that island are within her grasp for the repayment of the loan.

Peace in Cuba! If there is peace in Cuba, it is the peace of devastated fields. Peace in Cuba! If there is peace in Cuba, it is the peace of blazing homes. Peace in Cuba! If there is peace in Cuba, it is the peace of ravished women. Peace in Cuba! If there is peace in Cuba, it is the peace of starving children; yea, and its pæans are sung alone by the silent lips of the unconfined dead, whose white, upturned faces are nightly kissed by the pitying stars. No, no, Mr. President, there is war in Cuba; bloody, sanguinary, awful war. Our ears can not be dulled to its roar; we can not lightly put aside the fact. War is in Cuba; war has been maintained in Cuba for two years and a half; and to-day Spain is no nearer the subjugation of the revolutionists than she was at the moment of the first engagement.

What then? All the conditions of international law are met. That being the case, I state as an absolute and unanswerable proposition that this Government has the right to recognize the belligerency of the revolutionists, and in availing itself of that right it does not offer any affront under the law of nations to the Government of Spain. Read what the international law writers have said upon this subject. I have not the time, nor is it my purpose to-day, to present them in detail to the Senate, but I know what the principles are. I have read them and all that has been written on the subject.

The right of deciding when a cause for recognition of belligerency exists is a right belonging solely and alone to the nation that takes the action. With that decision and that declaration no other government on earth can find fault. It is a right we exercise, recognized by the law of nations, often acted upon by the great powers of the world. When Spain recognized the belligerency of the Southern Confederacy, we neither did nor could we have taken exception to that determination and that action on her part. It was her right to decide then, and it is our right to decide now.

Why should we not act? The great Senator from Massachusetts, it seems to me, has dwarfed and narrowed the consideration of this proposition. He puts it upon purely commercial and material and monetary considerations. Why should we not act? Mr. President, Cuba lies at our very doors, within a few hours' sail from our ports. We have with her, or had with her, a great and an advantageous trade relation. Our citizens have acquired and occupied and carried on great plantations in the Island of Cuba for their own advantage and for the trade advantage of the people of this country.

Why should we not act? There is no nation, there is no place upon the face of the earth with which we have such immediate, such direct, such important commercial and other relations as with and in the Island of Cuba. Greece and Turkey may engage in war, and it matters little to us. Russia, Germany, Italy, and England may embroil themselves; Africa may become the seat of great strife and warfare; but they are distant countries; our relations with them are not relatively of the same immediate importance as our relations with the Island of Cuba.

Why should we not act? I will put it upon no other than purely commercial grounds, if you please. During the pendency of that war our trade has been practically cut off; we have lost the advantage of the Cuban market. During these two years and a half the interests of American citizens in that island have been swept away by sword and fire. During these two years and a half the citizens of our country temporarily resident therein have been subjected to the inconveniences and the dangers, and oftentimes to the horrors, of that warfare. Yea, even to-day, in the sunshine of the nineteenth century, in "a pacified island," American citizens, 800 in a group, are homeless and houseless and hungry and starving and appealing to us just for bread. Has a situation ever before arisen which has shown so great necessity for action upon the part of this Government as does the Cuban present situation?

Mr. President, why should we not grant belligerent rights to the revolutionists? We should do it, first, because every thoughtful man is convinced that Spain never can subdue that island, and that if peace comes to it, it will come in some other way. If the plantations once more bloom and blossom, it will be from some other cause. If our citizens once more have protection and shelter and food, it will be because of some other reason than any probable or anticipated triumph of the Spanish authorities over the revolutionists. Why should we not act now?

It is the abiding conviction of the American people, fortified by the solemn facts of the case, that if peace ever comes to Cuba it will come under the Cuban flag, under the government of its own people, as a part of that grand result which will drive the last

claimant of despotic authority in America to the other side of the Atlantic Ocean.

Mr. President, I am not asking or urging intervention at the present time. The grounds are not properly laid. We can not intervene in Cuba now. We can not carry out the ultimate declaration of the Republican party now. We must first lay the foundation, and that foundation can only be laid by a declaration on the part of the proper power in the United States according belligerent rights to the Cuban revolutionists.

How shall that action be taken? It has been gravely urged on the part of Senators opposing this resolution that this proposed action calls for the exercise of one of those constitutional powers exclusive in its nature and vested alone in the President of the United States. I yield to no man in my respect for the Constitution of my country—that sublime document which has stood and will stand for ages yet to come as the bulwark of human liberty—and yet we can not close our eyes to the fact that constitutions are written by statesmen in the light of the knowledge and the experience of their own times, while they are construed, as generation follows generation, by the gathered wisdom and the ripened experience of progressive and advancing civilization.

Mr. President, I propose to discuss for a few moments the question as to how the power of this Government to recognize belligerent rights can properly be exercised. I ask Senators to read the Constitution of the United States in all its provisions, and tell me in what line there is any direct grant either to the President or the Congress to recognize the belligerency of a revolutionary people. It can not be found. Criticism has been made upon the fact that there is no such direct grant in that great instrument to the Congress of the United States; neither is there any direct grant of that power to the President of the United States.

In whatever way, by whatever authority that power is to be exercised, that action taken, the right to do it must be derived from the implied and not the expressed powers conferred upon one branch or the other of this Government under the Constitution of the United States. Congress has power to regulate commerce, Congress has power to make war, Congress has power to raise armies, and it is given special power and broad authority to exercise all such other powers as are necessary to carry into force and effect the powers specifically given.

Under what provision is the claim made that the Executive alone can act in this matter? I call the attention of Senators to the effect of that proposition. If the Executive alone can act, then for four long years the one-man power in the United States may stand in the way of the unanimous desire of the people of this country in its relations to a neighboring people. I assert, in the first instance and in the broadest possible way, that neither by direct provision nor by intendment did our fathers ever vest in any one man the power to stand for four years against the wishes and the will of the American people.

There is given to the President of the United States the right to receive foreign ministers and ambassadors, but does that give the President of the United States the sole and exclusive right to determine for himself and for the whole period of his executive term what nations or what peoples are upon such relations with us that they are entitled to send ambassadors and ministers to the United States?

In the President of the United States under the Constitution is vested the executive power, and when you run this question down, it will be found that the contention of the opposition rests finally and alone upon the broad proposition that the recognition of belligerent rights or the independence of a neighboring people is a mere executive act. I deny it. I deny it for the people of this country, who have a right to participate in any such action. Executive power! What is executive power? Where shall we turn to discover that indefinite, that shifting, that transitory line of demarcation among powers purely executive and powers quasi executive, and powers partially legislative and powers partially executive? Where shall we turn? Will it be to the recorded decisions of the courts of our country?

I have read every case that has been cited on the great question of executive power as applied to a situation of this kind. I grant you—and I call the Senators' attention to the proposition—that while the courts of our country have repeatedly declared that the President of the United States may lawfully give recognition to a people under conditions similar to that of the Cubans, while the courts of our country admit that when such recognition is accorded by the action of the President of the United States, it stands as the action of the country, I challenge the Senators to find me one case, to read me one line in the decisions of the courts of the United States which, directly or indirectly, by exact statement or by intendment, denies that that same power may be otherwise exercised or that the Congress of the United States may not also act.

Where shall we turn for the definition of executive power? Shall we go to the established doctrines of monarchies under other systems? We can not safely look there. If we do, the Congress of the United States, under our Constitution, as to all those subjects over which it is given jurisdiction, has the same absolute power of action as has the Parliament of Great Britain, and the power of Great Britain through its Parliament has never been limited, but is supreme. Where shall we go? Let us go to the spirit of republican institutions which animated our fathers when they drew that sublime instrument, and going there, I insist that they did not believe in a government of any one man, and they did not intend to vest, and did not vest in any one man the sole power of action in great and important matters affecting the welfare of the whole people.

Mr. President, I grant you that this act of recognition partakes in some degree of an executive function, but not wholly and alone. It is one of those quasi executive-legislative actions that can be taken properly either by the President or by the Congress of the United States. Why not? When the Congress of the United States acts, it acts as the Senate, it acts as the House, and it acts as the President. All three branches concurring in the joint resolution exercise their full power and have their full say. Yet the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] has repeatedly upon this floor put the apparently posing proposition: "Suppose the Congress of the United States recognizes Cuba, and suppose that when Congress adjourns the Cuban revolution is over and the Spanish authority is supreme. Suppose in the meantime we have accepted and received an ambassador from that country. What will happen?"

When the state of facts ceases to exist the power of the ambassador is gone. You might as well tell me that because the President of the United States has received an ambassador from Greece, if Greece to-morrow should be wiped out of existence, the Congress of the United States could not, by appropriate action, declare the newly formed relations of this country with Greece and Turkey and the other European powers.

Mr. President, it is best that the Congress of the United States should act in a grave crisis like the one existing at the present time. We have the utmost confidence in our present Executive. There is no man living upon the earth who has a higher estimation of his grand and glorious qualities than the speaker of the hour. It is not a question of the present Executive. It is a question to be considered for all time and as to all Executives who may follow him. It is best that this great power of recognition and of intervention and of acknowledgment of independence should be exercised by the Congress of the United States, by the three coordinate branches of the Government acting jointly and together, rather than to trust its exercise to any living man, or any Executive we may ever have.

When it is proposed that this great power, upon which may depend the peace and happiness and prosperity of this country, the improper exercise of which may lead to bloody and disastrous war, shall rest with one man alone, I cry to the people of my country, "Take care; it is a dangerous ground to stand upon." I say to my country, "Take care; it is a dangerous place upon which to rest the welfare and the safety of our posterity."

The Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] has sought to stop the passage of the joint resolution by pointing out that its enactment will operate entirely for the benefit of Spain and disastrously to the revolutionists of Cuba. Is it not strange that the party who is to be most benefited by the passage of the joint resolution has inspired its opposition wherever that opposition has been found?

Is it not strange that Spain, which is to be accorded the right of search of American ships, is the only power upon all the earth that is protesting vigorously against this action on the part of the Government of the United States? I judge of probable results by the anticipation of the parties in interest, and when I find one party earnestly opposing and protesting against a particular action and the other party earnestly and eagerly seeking it, I am satisfied for myself to believe that those two great parties in interest know what they want and what the effect of our action will be.

Mr. President, what will be the changed relations as to the Cuban people and the Spaniards when the revolutionists are accorded the recognition of belligerency by a great power like ours? In the first place—and I say it advisedly, and Spain knows it—from the hour that recognition is given, Spain can not borrow a dollar for her bankrupt treasury from the money loaners of the earth. She can not get another dollar to buy a sword, to load a musket, to sail a ship. Spain knows it. From the hour that recognition is accorded by a great power like ours, the Cuban revolutionists will be the parties who can find faith and credit with the money loaners of the earth. Spain knows that, too.

To-day there is no government in Cuba of a kind or character or of a recognized existence that will make a Cuban bond collectible even if independence be afterwards achieved. But from the hour that the revolutionary forces are recognized by a great nation as entitled to belligerent rights, from that hour, if they eventually achieve their independence, their securities can be enforced as the valid and existing obligations of the new government. These are the propositions: To-day Spain has the credit. After we have

recognized the Cubans, the revolutionists will have the credit in the money markets of the world. That means the settlement of the whole controversy. That means the favorable termination of the revolution. That means the independence of Cuba.

But this is not all, Mr. President. There is something else. The great Senator from Ohio [Mr. FORAKER] pointedly stated yesterday the other advantages that would accrue to the Cuban people and the other advantages that would accrue to the people of the United States in our maritime relations and at our ports by the recognition of belligerency.

To-day the Cuban cause has not even a name that is accepted in the civilized world. To-day her ships have no right upon the seas; her armies no place upon a recognized field. To-day, if a small schooner manned by Cuban sailors were to put into an American port for refuge, we could not maintain our treaty obligations with Spain and protect it in our harbor. To-day Spain can sail her ships into the harbors of the United States and load them with guns and ammunitions, with soldiers, with horses, with cannon, and freely sail out upon the high seas without surveillance, without detention, without inspection, and she can carry those munitions of war to the Cuban shores.

Mr. President, it is within the knowledge of Senators upon the other side of the Chamber that the authorities of Spain have been purchasing munitions of war and horses in the United States, taking them freely from our ports to use against the insurgents in Cuba. And yet we are compelled under our treaty, under the law of nations, under the statutes of Congress, to police our harbors, to spy upon every act of any suspected man, to chase every little vessel that sails from our shore for fear she carries a dynamite gun or a bomb of some kind to be used against the Kingdom of Spain.

I do not altogether agree with the Senator from Ohio that the acknowledgment of belligerent rights will particularly change our duty in our harbors and our ports toward the Cubans, but it will change our duties toward the Spanish people and put Spain and Cuba on the same footing in every port of the United States. That is an advantage to Cuba. That is an advantage to us.

The Senator from Massachusetts, great in all things, has argued upon this floor that we ought not to perform our plain duty because if we do Spain, under the law of nations, can search our ships upon the high seas. To-day under the law of nations Greece can search our ships upon the high seas; Turkey can search our ships upon the high seas. If Great Britain and France go to war we must maintain neutrality between them, and either party may search our ships upon the high seas. Is that inconvenience; is that right on the part of Spain a reason why this great Republic should fail in the performance of a solemn and important duty?

The Senator from Massachusetts has stated that Ulysses S. Grant—great in war and great in peace—said that the right of search of American vessels by Spanish ships would lead to war. Why lead to war? If that search were conducted in accordance with the rules of international law, there could be no provocation for war upon either side, and if that search were conducted without regard to the rules of international law by Spain, or any other power on the face of God's round globe, then there ought to be war, to maintain the honor of the nation.

Mr. President, war is an abhorrent thing. I hope that its bloody shadow may never fall athwart our sky again. War is a terrible thing, and yet no advance toward liberty has ever been made except by the bloody pathway of war. War in defense of human liberty and human right is God's thunderstorm; it clears the air for humanity's advance.

Let us have no talk of war. It is nonsensical. It is interjected in this debate for the mere purpose of delaying, of procrastinating, of defeating action in this important matter.

Mr. President, I have already occupied the time of the Senate too long. I have only sought, in a general way, to show to the people of the United States that our proposed action is right and just. I am a conservative—conservative in thought, in judgment, and in action. I hold by inheritance the stubborn conservatism of the New England hills. By my professional life I have been taught that every question should be carefully considered, scrutinized, and examined, and that hasty action is always dangerous.

I have not been hasty in reaching the conclusion to vote for the pending joint resolution. I have not resolved upon my course without the most careful and patient examination of the Constitution of my country. I have not determined what I would do without listening to all this great debate, without fortifying myself with a thorough knowledge of international law and all the facts that exist in regard to the Island of Cuba. When I vote there will be behind my vote my deliberate judgment, my conscience, and my manhood as an American citizen.

Mr. President, I am free to confess to the great Senator from Massachusetts that in the consideration of this question my sympathy, my love of country, my love of liberty have gone hand in hand with my investigation of the important facts and my study of the principles of law that govern the case. I would not divest myself in this important action from all considerations of sentiment.

Almost thirty years ago a story went the rounds of the American press, and this was it: The story said that one day a little ship was captured by the Spanish authorities in an attempt to land arms upon the Cuban shore. The crew were seized, tried by drumhead court-martial, and sentenced to be shot at the sunrise of the morrow. Among those men was one humble, simple American sailor. He had enlisted for the voyage without knowing the destination of the vessel or the character of the cargo carried; yet he was, seized and tried, if you may so call it, and sentenced to be shot at the sunrise of the morrow.

In some way late at night word reached the American consul at the nearest seaport town. He had no opportunity to wait upon the authorities of Spain; he had no chance to appeal for official action; but, as a representative of the United States, at daylight of the morning he mounted his horse and hastened away to the scene of the execution. When he arrived he found these sailors, and among them the American sailor, drawn up in line, and opposite them, with guns in their hands ready to shoot them down, were the soldiers of Spain.

Our consul went to the officer in charge and said, "Sir, that man is a citizen of the United States. He has committed no intentional crime against the King of Spain. In the name of my country I demand that he be given an opportunity in the civil courts of Cuba to establish and maintain his innocence." The officer said, "Sir, I have the warrant of the King of Spain to shoot that man at the rising of the sun, and he will surely die."

The sun came over the sea, kissing the distant billows with a tinge of glory. That same ray of sunshine, it may be, shone through the window of a little cottage in the northern land, upon the sleeping face of a devoted wife and the curly head of the innocent babe that lay at rest upon her holy breast.

The sun came over the sea and fell upon the brow of this American citizen condemned to die. The order was given, "Ready! Aim!" The American consul, seeing that no other effort would avail, drew from his bosom a silken flag of our own free land, and, springing forward, wrapped its glorious folds around this man condemned to die, and turning to the soldiery of Spain cried out, "Shoot if you dare; but if you shoot that man, you shoot the flag of the greatest nation of the earth!" And the flag saved him.

Mr. President, that story may have been but the merest fancy of a romancer's brain, but I have loved to believe it true. I have loved to believe that the flag of my country would protect its citizens on land and sea the wide world round. I have loved to believe that the power and prestige of my country would be recognized by all of the potentates of all the earth. I have loved to believe, I do believe, that the United States of America readily accepts that supreme position of power and leadership assigned her by Providence as the one great nation of the Western Hemisphere, the one great republic of the earth. I have loved to believe that the friendly offices, the divine sympathy of our people would go readily and speedily forth to give succor and aid and comfort and assistance to every people struggling to achieve freedom for themselves. These to the selfish and sordid and grasping spirit of mercenary times may seem but dreams, but on their realization hangs the welfare of mankind.

Mr. President, I love the Constitution. I observe the laws of my country. But under the Constitution and by the laws of my country I insist that this Government can now at this time give the Cuban revolutionists a proper standing before the world. Under the Constitution and by the law we can give them the right to float a flag on land and sea; we can give them a right to insist upon the ordinary and recognized usages of civilized warfare; we can give them a right to stand side by side with Spain in the money markets of the world, and we can see to it that from this day on in the Island of Cuba no American citizen shall be deprived of his property, his liberty, or his life without due process of the law.

Mr. President, these things the United States of America can constitutionally, lawfully, and properly do. Let us do them now. Yea, Mr. President, and as an earnest of our sincerity and good faith, let us dispatch the most powerful battle ship of the United States to Cuban waters. Let us station her there in the harbor of Habana—in the harbor of Habana, where her frowning guns may disturb the spirit of tyranny by night, and where by day the shining stars of her floating flag may gladden the eyes and inspire the hearts of those who struggle to be free. [Applause in the galleries.]

Mr. ELKINS obtained the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. PERKINS in the chair). The Chair will ask the Senator from West Virginia to suspend a few moments while the Chair lays before the Senate a message from the President of the United States.

Mr. ELKINS. Certainly.

PACIFIC COAST DEEP-WATER HARBOR.

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate the following message from the President of the United States; which was

read, and, on motion of Mr. WHITE, was, with the accompanying papers, ordered to lie on the table, and to be printed.

To the Senate of the United States:

I transmit herewith, in response to the Senate resolution of the 10th instant, addressed to the Secretary of War, a report from that officer, and accompanying map and papers, relating to the completion of the improvement of the harbor for commerce and of refuge at Port Los Angeles or at San Pedro, Cal., under the provisions of the river and harbor act of June 3, 1896.

WILLIAM MCKINLEY.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, *May 20, 1897.*

MANUFACTURE OF ARMOR PLATE.

Mr. BUTLER. With the permission of the Senator from West Virginia, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the resolution I send to the desk.

The resolution was read, as follows:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Navy be, and he is hereby, directed to inform the Senate the amounts of armor plate purchased by the Government at various times from the Bethlehem Iron Company and the Carnegie Steel Company, respectively, and the price paid per ton, and how much financial assistance, if any, the Government has given these companies, either by extra price per ton for armor plate or in any other way to assist them in building and equipping and conducting their armor-making plants.

Mr. HALE. All of that information is contained in the reports that have come from the previous investigation made by the Committee on Naval Affairs. The Senator can find in those volumes every item of information that he seeks for; but if he prefers to go over the ground again and oblige the Navy Department to make a new report, I have no objection. There is no need of the resolution.

Mr. BUTLER. I would prefer to have the information together in the form of a report from the Department just at this time, inasmuch as the question will come before Congress at an early day.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

Mr. CHANDLER. I dislike to object, but what the Senator from Maine states is exactly true. The report of the committee and the report of the Secretary of the Navy, Secretary Herbert, give every single fact that the Senator from North Carolina asks for.

Mr. HALE. And in very compact form.

Mr. CHANDLER. And it can be collated and put together in five minutes. I can take, and so can the chairman of the Committee on Naval Affairs take, the resolution, and from the documents already printed by the Senate in document form, and inserted in the RECORD by the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. QUAY] as a special number of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I can in five minutes write out the answers to the questions put by the Senator in his resolution.

Mr. BUTLER. Then certainly it will not give the Department very much trouble, and it will be very valuable information to the Senate. We shall get it in a very compact form, and it will give the Department very little trouble to collate it.

Mr. CHANDLER. I ask that the resolution go over.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The resolution will go over, under objection.

Mr. BUTLER. I hope the Senator from New Hampshire will not object, inasmuch as the matter is now before the committee.

Mr. CHANDLER. If the Senator wants to have the resolution passed on Monday next, I shall not make any objection; but I do think that, when we have from a Department every fact that can be given, certainly every fact the Senator asks for and which ought to be made public, we ought not to ask them to duplicate the information merely to gratify the notion of one Senator. However, if the Senator wants it passed on Monday next, I shall not object. I do object now, Mr. President.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection is made, and the resolution goes over.

ENROLLED BILL SIGNED.

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. W. J. BROWNING, its Chief Clerk, announced that the Speaker of the House had signed the enrolled joint resolution (S. R. 42) appropriating $50,000 for the relief of suffering American citizens in the Island of Cuba.

WAR IN CUBA.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the joint resolution (S. R. 26) declaring that a condition of public war exists in Cuba, and that strict neutrality shall be maintained, the pending question being on the motion of Mr. HALE to refer the joint resolution to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. ELKINS. Mr. President, it is not my purpose to detain the Senate with a discussion of the merits of the pending resolution. I want to speak more particularly to the motion to refer the resolution to the Committee on Foreign Relations, so that it may have full consideration, be reported upon, and the facts, findings, and conclusions of law be made fully to appear for the information of Senators before they vote on this most important and far-reaching subject.

The joint resolution was introduced on the 1st day of April, and there is not officially before the Senate one fact in its support. There is no report containing the evidence and the facts whatever before the Senate that would enable the Senate to reach a conclusion. There is no finding of facts, as there should be, to support the statements in the resolution. There is no information from the Foreign Relations Committee or any other committee as to the effect of the resolution, nor are there any reasons before the Senate, except the able speeches of Senators in its behalf, to show why it should pass.

Ordinarily any joint resolution of moment or any bill is referred to a committee. What for? To have it investigated, considered, and passed upon, and a report made for the information of the Senate. We can not take out of the Treasury of the United States a hundred dollars without having the report of a committee upon the subject. Now, here is a joint resolution which promises to be, and perhaps is, the most important subject which the Senate will be called upon to consider during the present session. It is a great transaction taking place in the Senate of the United States, in the presence of the country and the whole world looking on, which will either assist in the birth of a new nation or lead to war, or possibly both, and yet it does not have the consideration of a committee.

It is not treated in the usual and ordinary way that joint resolutions and bills are treated in the Senate. There is nothing to establish, prove, or support in any way the statements set forth in the resolution. I may remark just here that this extraordinary session of Congress was called for one purpose only, to look after the interests of the country, provide revenue for a bankrupt Treasury, and revive languishing industries. We have trials, troubles, and difficulties at home, the welfare of our people to care for, and we ought not to take on ourselves the burdens of other people. People out of employment, hunting for work to support worthy families, need our care quite as much as the Cubans.

The joint resolution recites—

That a condition of public war exists between the Government of Spain and the government proclaimed and for some time maintained by force of arms by the people of Cuba.

Now, Mr. President, Senators are here in a double capacity, legislative and judicial. We are called upon to vote whether this is a fact or not, and I insist there is nothing before the Senate to prove or establish the fact that there is a public war in Cuba. Senators have their own information and their own ideas on the subject; but there is nothing before the Senate that wears the stamp of authority to support the statement.

If there is a public war there, we are entitled to know, before we vote upon the joint resolution, all about the war. We are entitled to know the number of soldiers on either side. We are entitled to know where the insurrectionary government has its capital or headquarters. We are entitled to know if battles have ever been fought there of any moment, and if so, where. We are entitled to know the number of insurgents, so as to judge how respectable their claims are to be called an army. But there is not one word; and I challenge the Senators on the other side advocating the immediate passage of the joint resolution to show, in proper form, any fact in support of these statements. I mean facts officially ascertained and determined in a proper way.

Has this resolution been referred to the State Department for report, information, and advice? The State Department has all needed information on the subject. The usual rule of the Senate is to refer all bills and resolutions to the proper Department for report and suggestions, so that Senators may be advised and have all the facts before them. If, as claimed, all the facts are in favor of the Cuban insurgents and support this resolution, why not bring them into the Senate in the ordinary way?

Mr. CHANDLER. Mr. President, will the Senator from West Virginia allow me to answer that challenge?

Mr. ELKINS. I will be interrupted for that purpose.

Mr. CHANDLER. The Senator, on the 28th day of February, 1896, last year, voted himself, on two or three roll calls, in support of a resolution in the exact language of the resolution which he has just read. Now, that is something of authority. But there were also before the Senator at that time the report of Senator Cameron from the Committee on Foreign Relations, and the papers accompanying the report in two documents, Fifty-fourth Congress, second session, Report No. 1160, Senate Document——

Mr. ELKINS. I understand the Senator.

Mr. CHANDLER. Wait a minute. Those documents were before the Senator then to justify his vote at that time and they are before him now. When the Senator challenges the Senators who desire to vote upon the joint resolution without referring it to a committee for some evidence, here is the evidence backed up by his own vote one year ago.

Mr. ELKINS. That resolution was a concurrent resolution and this is a joint resolution; one has the force of law, and the other is only advisory, and the Senator knew it when he interrogated

me. I tell the Senator now there is not a scintilla of evidence, there is not a fact before the Senate wearing the stamp of authority, in support of the pending resolution. There never was a resolution like this in this Senate before. The other resolution was quite different. This resolution means a great deal more. This means the coercion, the embarrassment of the President of the United States in the performance of a duty that belongs to him alone, and compels him to do what perhaps he may not want to do, namely, veto the joint resolution or approve it. I want the Senator now to make good his statement. Where is the fact that you have before the Senate under this resolution?

Mr. CHANDLER. Here they are.

Mr. ELKINS. That is not in support of this joint resolution, and you know it. Does that come from any committee?

Mr. CHANDLER. Certainly.

Mr. ELKINS. What committee?

Mr. CHANDLER. It was reported from a committee.

Mr. ELKINS. What on?

Mr. CHANDLER. A minority report from the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. ELKINS. On what?

Mr. CHANDLER. On a resolution——

Mr. ELKINS. Yes, a resolution, but not the one now under consideration. This resolution proposes, in my judgment, to take from the President his rightful prerogative under the Constitution. It proposes to embarrass him in the discharge of a delicate duty that belongs to the Executive under the Constitution, and not to Congress.

If you want to help the Cuban cause or do justice between Spain and the insurgents, this is not the proper way. This is not the way to restore peace to that unhappy island, but it is the direct way to intensify the war and imbitter at least one of the parties to it.

Mr. CHANDLER. If the Senator will allow me, and not get excited, in the exact language of the joint resolution that he is now talking against, except that one was a concurrent and the other is a joint resolution. But that makes no difference in the assertion nor in the facts upon which the Senator gave his vote two years ago, and now for some reason or other has changed his vote.

Mr. ELKINS. The Senator admits that that was in support of a concurrent resolution before the Senate two years ago.

Mr. CHANDLER. A year ago.

Mr. ELKINS. A year ago, then. The Senator has not made good his proposition that there is anything officially before the Senate in support of this resolution. Senators are not permitted to know anything officially. The distinguished Senator from Ohio [Mr. FORAKER] let in a little official light in the debate yesterday. How eager the Senate was to get this mite of official information which he had, and one other Senator, as I know. Why not give the facts to the Senate and to the country? Let me tell Senators who advocate this resolution that this question is of tremendous importance to the whole country, and the facts should not rest with a few Senators, who are permitted to know all about the case when others are not. This question concerns deeply the people of the United States; they are entitled to know the facts.

I repeat with emphasis that you have produced nothing here in support of the joint resolution. Bringing out the report on another and different resolution passed a year ago, I hold, proves nothing. Courts in the trial of an ordinary case would not proceed in this way. A judge who had to pronounce judgment or give a decision would require the facts to be presented.

It is evident that the resolution is going to pass. Why can it not be passed in the orderly and dignified way? The Senate is engaged in an important and serious transaction. Why can not the resolution be referred to the Foreign Relations Committee, and this great committee bring in a report Monday, Tuesday, or Wednesday, giving all the facts, their findings, and the law, stating as well the rights of all parties in interest if the resolution should become a law? There is no disposition to delay a vote upon this question. It is evident that Senators are going to vote for the joint resolution. Ought we not to inform the people of the United States and the world upon what we based our judgment and action? Should we not leave recorded in the Senate the reasons that moved Senators to vote for the resolution?

History will be made up in this matter after this fashion: A resolution of five lines recognizing the belligerency of the insurgents in Cuba passed the Senate on such a day; no facts given; no reasons assigned. Those who follow us in the Senate will look in vain for something, for some reasons for this strange precedent, this departure from the orderly procedure of the Senate in such cases. Those who come after us can not hear and be captivated and fascinated by the oratory we have listened to from the distinguished Senators who have spoken in the last two or three days. The people are entitled to know, and posterity is entitled to know, and the world should know, why and how the Senate reached a conclusion on this subject. Called on to vote, I have no light or information on this subject that is authoritative, only vague rumor.

The resolution says:

> A state of public war maintained by force for some time, etc.

How long? First, we ought to have knowledge as to the character and duration of the war. We should know where the capital of the insurgents is situate. Where and to whom will you send this resolution when it is passed? How is the President of the United States to find the post-office address of the president of the Cuban Republic? Who knows where it is? You will have to send General Miles with the Army to deliver this joint resolution. You can not find the Cuban officials. So far as we know, under this resolution, there is no proof of their existence.

The contest in Cuba has been likened to our civil war. Why, the Confederate government had a capital. It had a congress. It had courts. It exercised authority and jurisdiction through civil and military power over a third of the Republic and a third of the inhabitants.

You always knew where to find the Confederate army, Confederate generals, the Confederate government, its president and officers. This government maintained itself for four years. Its armies and generals were as fine as the world ever saw, and the people engaged in the revolt against the United States were brave, courageous, intelligent; nearly everything favored their success but the cause for which they struggled, and notwithstanding all this, we denied the right of European nations to recognize their independence. And the Cuban insurrection is cited as a parallel. Why did not the distinguished Senator who drafted the resolution say how long the war has been maintained—for two years, or three years, or one year, or long enough to authorize us to believe and feel it is an actual and public war? The resolution goes on to say further:

> And that the United States of America shall maintain a strict neutrality between the contending powers, according to each all the rights of belligerents.

Mr. President, the Senate ought to be advised by the Foreign Relations Committee as to what these belligerent rights are and how far and in what way the resolution will affect or help the Cuban insurgents; how far it will affect the people of the United States, and how far it will affect the Spanish Government, and present our relations with each and all of those people. We are entitled to know this at the hands of the Foreign Relations Committee and to be advised on all these points. Then we could vote knowingly and perhaps wisely on this subject.

The question of belligerent rights is a legal question. The Senator from Ohio differs from the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts on this subject, but if we had the report of the Foreign Relations Committee, matured, well digested, fortified by authorities, then we would know, or feel we knew, what the law is in this case, as well as all the important facts necessary to reach a conclusion.

Mr. President, we do know, from the speech of the Senator from Ohio yesterday, that there is danger of war if the joint resolution passes, so far as the United States is concerned. I have some patriotism left in me, and I love liberty, but I stand here as the trustee of a great nation, not to be moved by my sympathies nor by pure sentiment, nor to work myself up into a frenzy about oppression and outrage on the part of a people struggling for independence and forget the true interests of my country.

Sympathy and sentiment should have no part or place in the treatment of foreign questions. We can only be guided by justice, international law, and the interests of our own Government.

The distinguished Senator from Illinois [Mr. MASON], in his great speech, said the Spaniards taxed children immediately after birth and brides at the altar. Listening to him and his lurid eloquence, I wondered why Spain did not tax grown-up men and women.

Mr. MASON. Very few of them grow up.

Mr. ELKINS. And he reasoned from this unjust taxation a state of war existed in Cuba, and therefore we must recognize belligerency. The peroration of the distinguished Senator from Nebraska [Mr. THURSTON], which moved the Senate, as his glowing periods always do, is in keeping with the line of argument of the Senator from Illinois. He declares he loves liberty, and therefore we must pass this resolution.

That is not the way to proceed in a dignified transaction which may involve this country in war and the possible expenditure of a thousand million of dollars of the people's money. There is danger of war; but one of the Senators favoring this resolution says, "In case of war, what can Spain do?" Even if Spain is weak and could do nothing, we should proceed with caution and justice on our side. I will tell you what Spain can do. She can declare war and not fire a gun, and it would cost this Government $500,000,000 to even get ready to meet Spain.

We know Spain can not conquer us; we know that we are powerful and in the end must conquer Spain. But after spending thousands of millions to do this, we would in the end have Cuba,

and we do not want Cuba. Mr. President, we can not pass this resolution without the danger of war. The Senator from Ohio brought out this fact in his able speech. The moment that this resolution is passed the right will vest in the Spanish Government to search our ships. With the inflamed popular mind in this country and with the feeling in the Senate, Spain could not take a sailing vessel of a hundred tons into port without our gunboats going down there and taking it away. We would not wait for any proceedings in her courts.

There is danger of war; and I insist that we should proceed with caution and be fortified with facts; that we should be advised. Why should the Senator from Ohio not let us have all the light he has on the subject? He read a long letter of Secretary Olney and a part of the reply from the Spanish minister. Why not have both of these letters in full, and all other facts, before the Senate? We are entitled to them, and the people of the United States are entitled to them. If we are not entitled to them, then the President of the United States should say we are not entitled, and not Senators.

In my judgment, Mr. President, this proceeding should be initiated by the Executive. He has the power and the jurisdiction under the Constitution. He is in possession of all the facts and has all the information. He has his hand on the pulse. He knows every hour what is going on in Cuba. He is as patriotic as any of the Senators who become frenzied with patriotism and love of liberty. He can be trusted. I am willing to follow where he leads. He knows when this Government should take action. His oath is as solemn as ours, and the interests and dignity of the Government are safe in his hands. Leave this great question with him, where it belongs; in his own way and at the proper time he will act and act wisely. It does seem to me to proceed in this way is a sort of impeachment of the wisdom and patriotism of the President of the United States.

As yet he has advised no course of action; he has said nothing on this question to us; no message from him has reached us that the time has come in his judgment for action. Responding to popular clamor, the Senate proposes to pass a resolution which coerces the President, forces him to take action before he may desire to do so. The passage of this resolution can only embarrass him and possibly bring him into conflict with Congress. He has sent his own agent to Cuba. I am satisfied he is giving this question the best and wisest consideration. Congress is powerless to control his action.

Mr. President, there is no precedent for this proposed action. Nothing of the kind has ever been attempted before. I doubt if anything like this proceeding has ever occurred in the history of the Government—forcing the Executive to take action that may involve the country in war, and against his judgment. We can not go on in this way, with a conflict between the executive and legislative branches of the Government.

I have not had time to examine this question. I do not belong to the Foreign Relations Committee. Senators can not pursue all great questions coming before the Senate to proper conclusions. We are charged with different duties, and we must rely on the great committees of the Senate. The Foreign Relations Committee makes no report; is not asked to make any.

Mr. FORAKER. The resolution has not yet been referred to the committee.

Mr. ELKINS. No; and it is not intended to be referred. That is what I am speaking about. It has been for a month before the Senate and not referred to the Foreign Relations Committee. I ask, in common fairness to Senators who have to vote on this question; I ask, in the name of the people of the country, who are entitled to the confidence of the Senate in this great transaction. Why not have a report? I do not assume to deny anything that is charged or alleged here for or against the Cubans or Spain.

There is nothing said about the indignities perpetrated by the insurgents; they are not accused here in the Senate of the United States, and I do not know that they can be accused; but I know that in another revolution in that island General Quesada, it is said, shot down 680 Spanish prisoners. Nobody has tried to bring out such facts. It is the cruelties of Spain all the time of which we hear. I favor the Republican platform on the subject of Cuba; I am for peace on the Island of Cuba; I am for doing ample justice to Cuba, but I do not believe that this resolution will reach these ends. I think the President can and should be trusted to do what is right, and in due season he will act.

I am not here to make any charges against the insurgents in Cuba; I am not here to excuse or to assail; but I am here as an American Senator to say that I am not advised either by the Executive of the United States or by the Foreign Relations Committee, or by anyone else, as to just what is the best course to pursue. I am not against doing justice to Cuba and bringing to a speedy termination the contest going on in Cuba, but before I act or undertake to say what should be done I want to know the facts.

We are asked as judges to pronounce judgment. Give us something to pronounce it on more than oratory—even good oratory. What we want is information. If you want to make one of these overpatriotic liberty-loving Senators angry, just ask him for facts. One of them stated that 800 of our people were impounded in Cuba. Who impounded them? Did he learn that from the State Department?

Mr. MASON. May I ask the Senator a question?

Mr. ELKINS. Yes.

Mr. MASON. Have you read the President's message on that subject?

Mr. ELKINS. I have.

Mr. MASON. Does it not state that from six to eight hundred Americans were confined in the towns there?

Mr. ELKINS. He did not say "impounded." The Senator proves a state of war in Cuba by the fact that Americans are in towns, and somebody must have driven them there, and therefore there is war. That is the argument of the Senator from Illinois.

Mr. MASON. Who do you think put them there?

Mr. ELKINS. I think a lot of the Americans put themselves in the towns of Cuba. They can get no work, and are therefore destitute. I suppose if I were an American down there, and did not have work, and was in need, I should try to get some money from the United States; but this would not be a good argument to prove a state of war.

Mr. MASON. Does not the Senator believe that war exists? Does not the President state the people there are not permitted to go out to work?

Mr. ELKINS. Well, Mr. President, that is the Senator's argument——

Mr. MASON. That is the fact.

Mr. ELKINS. That these poor Americans can not get work, and therefore there is a state of war, and we must recognize the insurgents as belligerents. Many of these facts are in the imagination of these Senators.

Mr. CHANDLER. Will the Senator allow me?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from West Virginia yield to the Senator from New Hampshire?

Mr. ELKINS. Always. That Senator does not occupy much of the time of the Senate, and I always like to hear him.

Mr. CHANDLER. The Senator says this is all in the imagination and that we are sensitive when we are asked for facts. When the Senator, on the 28th day of February, 1896, voted that, in the opinion of Congress, a condition of public war existed between the Government of Spain and the Republic of Cuba, what facts did he have to warrant that vote of his?

Mr. ELKINS. Because just such allegations were made from newspaper reports as are now made I was led to believe that they were; but it was not upon such a proposition as this. Besides, Mr. President, I was misled as to the facts then, and I do not intend to be again deceived. I want official information, not newspaper reports

Mr. CHANDLER. Then the Senator admits he was mistaken in his vote of a year ago?

Mr. ELKINS. No. I do not admit anything. I did not vote upon such a resolution as this; one entirely different. Of course a majority can force anything through. But really, Mr. President, I do not think this is the best procedure, even for the insurgents. If the insurgents have the good case that Senators claim they have, why not make out the case, and make it out not only to the satisfaction of the Senate, but to the people of the United States and the world.

If the facts exist, this can be easily done. Let the Foreign Relations Committee make out the case, so that this action of ours, whatever it may be, and the record we are about to make, will be justified in the eyes of the world.

This is no trifling matter. It is a great transaction, as I have said, and the world looks on.

Mr. President, I did not feel that I ought, as a Senator, to allow this vote to be had without making my protest against action being taken here without light, without knowledge, and without the facts.

I am just as good a friend of Cuba as any of the Senators favoring this resolution. I favor Cuba as much as they. I desire peace on the island and the independence of Cuba as much as they. I believe in the Republican platform and love liberty and hate oppression as much as they; but I believe in a different method of procedure to make plain all these things than the one proposed by this resolution. I believe in leaving this question where it belongs, to the President of the United States, and trusting in him and his good judgment.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President, those who are opposed to the adoption of this resolution, and those who, while favoring its ultimate passage, believe that it should be referred in any event, have been listening here patiently, by the hour and day, to the remarks of those who hold the affirmative. We are astonished as we stand in the presence of the obstructive tactics of those who allege in lengthy oratorical effort that they favor the pending proposition.

I am persuaded, unless this obstruction be continued by the alleged friends of the resolution, we can have a vote upon it this afternoon and can dispose of the entire subject.

I propose to make a very few remarks. I am not aware that more than one or two Senators intend to submit additional views. But if the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. CHANDLER], who, I observe, is looking at me, does not obstruct us further, I have no question that he will have the opportunity of recording himself, so that the public may know just where he stands.

Mr. CHANDLER. I am always grateful to the Senator for what he accords to me, whether it be a bottle of California wine or his attention when I speak, and I will not interrupt him in the remarks that he is about to make, except, as he has said he is to speak a little while and then help us to a vote, I should like to ask him a question.

Mr. WHITE. There it is, Mr. President; obstruction already. But still the Senator may proceed.

Mr. CHANDLER. Certainly the Senator is willing to have a question asked him?

Mr. WHITE. I have listened so long to obstructive tactics that I am willing for the continuance. I do not feel competent to prevent the misfortune.

Mr. CHANDLER. The Senator's waggery is irresistible. The Senator a year ago proposed a substitute for the resolution, which then passed, which declared that a state of war existed in Cuba and recognized belligerency; and it was the opinion of the Senator that the Executive should recognize the belligerency of those who were maintaining themselves in Cuba in armed opposition to Spain. Now, if the Senator please—I do not ask him to speak, but I hope I have not frightened him from speaking—will he be kind enough to enlighten the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. ELKINS] as to the facts which led him to propose one year ago that the United States, by its Executive, should recognize the belligerency of the Cuban insurgents?

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President, I do not shrink from the task of attempting to enlighten the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. ELKINS], because I feel that he can absorb a sensible suggestion; but I am glad the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. CHANDLER] has not put upon me the burden of bringing about a similar result as to himself. [Laughter.] I also feel, though it is somewhat foreign to this subject, that I ought to correct the Senator in reference to a personal remark. He referred to me as having in his case donated some California wine.

I heretofore supposed that there was not anything about the transaction referred to by him to indicate that the Senator from New Hampshire was not able to make the proper discrimination or to appreciate the exact character of my gift; and I wish to remark, as the Senator from Ohio [Mr. FORAKER] would say regarding a diplomatic message not fit for the public ear, that it was brandy, not wine, which I contributed to my friend from New Hampshire. [Laughter.]

Mr. President, the Senator from New Hampshire forgets the resolution which I offered some time ago in the Senate. It expressed an opinion favorable to the recognition of belligerency. It did not purport to declare, but merely advised belligerency. It was not adopted. I afterwards voted for a resolution which was adopted, and which I attempted to quote two or three days ago in the absence of the original, but I find, by referring to the RECORD, that I did not quote it correctly. So I will now refer to the actual resolution which was passed. It reads:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That, in the opinion of Congress, a condition of public war exists between the Government of Spain and the government proclaimed and for some time maintained by force of arms by the people of Cuba; and that the United States of America should maintain a strict neutrality between the contending powers, according to each all the rights of belligerents in the ports and territory of the United States.

Resolved further, That the friendly offices of the United States should be offered by the President to the Spanish Government for the recognition of the independence of Cuba.

The Senator from New Hampshire seems to think that I am about to say something inconsistent with my attitude then, and, if I have that Senator's attention, I may express to him, in rather sorrowful mood, too, that he has evidently not listened to anything I have heretofore uttered upon this topic.

I took the position then, and attempted to enforce it by such argument as I was capable of making, that the recognition of belligerency and of independence was, in each case, purely an Executive function. I am attempting to do the same now. I have not made any argument, and do not intend to make any argument, with reference to the fact of war in Cuba, or as to whether there is or is not sufficient basis for Executive action.

It seems to me somewhat singular that my friends upon the other side of the Chamber, who have led the credulous American people to believe that much confidence should be reposed in the present Executive, are now casting in his pathway the serious obstructions apparent here, many of which are projected by the Senator from New Hampshire and by others equally ardent in the Republican cause.

I do not intend to repeat what I have heretofore stated upon the question of jurisdiction. If I understood the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. THURSTON] aright, he declared that he had examined all the decisions upon this subject, and that nowhere was there a case stating that the Executive had exclusive jurisdiction. I shall not run over precedents again. I have collected many and furnished them to the Senate. I will refer him to an authority which he and his associates may deem indifferent. I mean Judge Story. That great lawyer and judge said:

It is very clear that it belongs exclusively to the executive department of our Government to recognize, from time to time, any new governments which "may arise in the political revolutions of the world; and until such new governments are so recognized they can not be admitted by our courts of justice to have or to exercise the common rights and prerogatives of sovereignty."

That phraseology will be found in 3 Sumner, page 372, and a similar interpretation of the Constitution will be discovered in Judge Story's Commentaries on the Constitution, wherein he considers the construction placed upon the ambassador clause of the organic law by Mr. Rawle, and dissents from the latter view. But it will serve no useful purpose to continue this discussion upon this line. The matter has been fully covered, and I rise principally for the purpose of saying a word or two with reference to misconceptions, as it seems to me, which prevail in some quarters regarding the effect of the passage of this resolution.

I have said that I do not intend to run over the facts regarding the question of the existence or nonexistence of war. Perhaps if I needed much evidence as to the existence of a war I could find it in the statement of the Senator from Illinois [Mr. MASON], who stated that a newspaper correspondent from Chicago had been killed in Cuba, and the Senator asked, "Will anybody now doubt that there was war?" Of course it must have been a very serious situation which could have resulted in the taking away of any life, and perhaps nothing less than a large army, estimated, I believe, at 200,000, would have succeeded in troubling a Chicago newspaper man. [Laughter.]

But apart from the question of belligerency, I will respond to a few suggestions made yesterday. I understood the Senator from Ohio [Mr. FORAKER] to say that each insurgent so-called can be considered a pirate or should be considered a pirate or traitor. The law upon that subject is not in a very clear condition. But I think our policy is plainly demarked. It is very well stated in a late compilation—Glenn on International Law. On page 101 that author says:

Acts of rebels or insurgents, if done under the sanction of an organized community or sovereign state, would be considered as acts of war. After belligerency has been recognized they in fact become lawful as acts of war, but previous to such recognition they possess all the characteristics of piracy, or at least would be technically so classed. It is true that the test of piracy is the want of competent authority, but the acts of insurgents are performed for the purpose of establishing a new order of things, or a new community, and are undertaken for a public end in contradistinction to a private pursuit for the satisfaction of personal greed or personal vengeance by means of murder or robbery on the high seas.

Such persons are not and should not be considered as enemies of the human race, but simply as enemies of the particular country against which their acts are directed. If, therefore, the insurgents limit their acts to such as are recognized as pertaining to belligerents, they should not be considered as piratical. If, on the other hand, their acts are not limited as stated, but they are guilty of indiscriminate plunder and other acts of violence, or the society which they represent is not sufficiently stable to hold out guaranties that their acts will be so limited and controlled, they can be treated as pirates.

The right to treat these people as pirates when they overstep the bounds of recognized belligerency must be recognized, because, if denied, the commerce of all nations would be at the mercy of all marauders and irresponsible insurgents, under the cloak of war. In the case of United States *vs.* The Ambrose Light it was held that a vessel on the high seas, in the hands of insurgents who have not been recognized as belligerents by any independent nation, may be regarded as piratical; but the decision in this case has been very much criticised, and in Wharton's Digest (section 381) the author not only severely criticises it, but cites letters to the same effect from Fiore, Martens, Baron de Neumann, Calvo, and others. As illustrating the foregoing, certain cases arose during the civil war in this country in 1861-1865.

Then follows a discussion of the subject, and the author concludes that under our system and practice we can not recognize or claim insurgents to be piratical. Senators who may desire to examine this subject more fully will find in 3 Wharton, page 468, a very full discussion, with references to Woolsey, Calvo, Phillimore, and all modern authors upon international law. There seems to be a practical consensus of opinion that parties contending who are recognized not as belligerents, but whose insurgency has been admitted, can not be justly treated as pirates, and such recognition of insurgency (not belligerency) has been accorded here. There is, therefore, no danger that the Cuban insurgents can be adjudged pirates by our courts.

Said the Supreme Court in the *Three Friends* case:

The distinction between recognition of belligerency and recognition of a condition of political revolt, between recognition of the existence of war in a material sense and of war in a legal sense, is sharply illustrated by the case before us; for here the political department (in this case the President) has not recognized the existence of a de facto belligerent power engaged in hostility with Spain, but has recognized the existence of insurrectionary warfare prevailing before, at the time, and since this forfeiture is alleged to have been incurred.

So that we have a decision by the court that the President, styled in this opinion the political department, had recognized the existence of insurgency. It is clear, therefore, that we will not treat the

insurgents of Cuba as pirates. But we can not, as to the subjects of a foreign state, control domestic action unless we intervene and take possession of the country. This we may do in any case if we have the inclination and the power combined.

Again, yesterday the distinguished and honorable Senator from Ohio [Mr. FORAKER], in the course of his very eloquent and instructive remarks, referred to the Revised Statutes of the United States. The sections which he named, as he stated, constitute our neutrality law. Under these particular provisions of our municipal law we find the definition of crime and the punishment prescribed not only as to insurgents, but also as to those who, being recognized belligerents, engage in fitting out military enterprises or organizing expeditions here.

These provisions of our Federal law are as applicable to recognized belligerents as they are to insurgents. It was claimed some time ago that the sections read here had no application to insurgency. This contention was overthrown in the *Wiborg* and *Three Friends* cases. It was determined, particularly in the latter case, that these sections apply equally in cases of belligerency as in cases of insurgency, and, indeed, so thoroughly is the distinction heretofore attempted to be made demolished by these adjudications that it is now immaterial in a libel or in an indictment to aver belligerency at all. It is not a matter upon which the court is called upon to make a finding, and it is a recitation which would be stricken from a pleading as irrelevant and redundant, because it is of no importance legally as to whether or not belligerency has been conceded.

What rights have the insurgents, then, under prevailing conditions? What rights will they have if belligerency is accorded? The enactments under consideration, as I remarked, apply equally to both cases. Section 5286 of the Revised Statutes is in these words:

> Every person who, within the territory or jurisdiction of the United States, begins, or sets on foot, or provides or prepares the means for, any military expedition or enterprise, to be carried on from thence against the territory or dominions of any foreign prince or state, or of any colony, district, or people, with whom the United States are at peace, shall be deemed guilty of a high misdemeanor, and shall be fined not exceeding $3,000 and imprisoned not more than three years.

Under that law Captain Hart was indicted in the eastern district of Pennsylvania, and on the trial before Judge Butler, in the United States district court, that distinguished jurist charged the jury in effect as follows:

> (1) Setting on foot, within the United States, a military expedition, to be carried on from thence against the territory or dominion of any power, etc., with whom the United States are at peace; (2) providing the means for such an expedition, as, for instance, means for transportation.
>
> To justify a conviction of preparing or providing means for such a military expedition, it must be proved (1) that a military expedition was organized in this country, and (2) that defendant, in the district of his trial, provided means for it, as charged, with knowledge that it was such an expedition.
>
> It is lawful for men, many or few, to leave this country as individuals, without combination or organization here, to go abroad, even by the same vessel, with the purpose of enlisting with a body of insurgents to fight against a foreign government; and it is immaterial that the vessel also carries arms, as merchandise, which are to be carried on shore in packages, as merchandise, by the men, who so intend to enlist. And the transportation of such persons, knowing their intent, constitutes no offense.

That is the decision of the United States court, rendered on the 22d of February of this year.

This, Mr. President, disposes of the proposition that was made here by the Senator from Illinois [Mr. MASON], to the effect that it is impossible to transport arms or ammunition from here to Cuba unless there is a recognition of belligerency. I assert that the indictment which was so framed in the Hart case would be good in the presence of the recognition of belligerency, and that no additional word would in that event be necessary to its legal efficacy.

In other words, recognition or nonrecognition is immaterial as far as the transportation of supplies is concerned. So true is this that if we adopt this joint resolution, if the House adopts it, if it is signed by the President and becomes a valid declaration of belligerency, it will be impossible to test its legal effect, for no case will, under existing conditions, be framed to challenge it. No issue can be presented to the courts of the United States as to the Cuban insurgents which will test the validity of this recognition, because it will be practically without legal force.

True, I concede that it may have a moral force. Senators who favor the joint resolution are right as to that. It may stimulate and assist the Cubans by encouraging them, and perhaps give them some status abroad not based upon any potentiality in law, but predicated, possibly, upon the notion that the adoption of the joint resolution discloses the possibility or probability of intervention upon the part of the United States.

Mr. BACON. Will the Senator from California permit me to ask him a question?

Mr. WHITE. Certainly.

Mr. BACON. I ask it because I know the Senator has given very careful investigation to this question not only as it affects the question before the Senate, but in matters of business in his profession. As the law now is, it would be a violation for any party to fit out in this country an expedition for the aid of the insurgents in Cuba.

Mr. WHITE. Yes.

Mr. BACON. It is not unlawful for the Spaniards to fit out an expedition here for the purpose of putting down that insurrection. Am I correct? If the right of belligerency were granted to the Cubans, would it still be lawful for the Spaniards to fit out expeditions in this country for the purpose of putting down the insurrection in Cuba?

Mr. WHITE. The question addressed to me by the Senator suggests a matter which I was just about to consider, and I will consider it immediately.

As a practical proposition, there is nothing in the suggestion. If it were possible for Spain to organize an expedition in this country, or to use this country as a basis of warlike supply, there would be a practical side to the suggestion, but as it is now no one pretends that Spain is equipping any force here. How can she do so? She has no sympathy and can expect no comfort or assistance here. Public sentiment is so universally against her that the proposition of the Senator from Georgia is relieved of any practical character and becomes no more than a theory—perhaps a legal distinction such as the Senator indicates.

Mr. BACON. If the Senator will permit me, I will say that the question was suggested by the statement which I understood the Senator to make that the legal status of the parties would be in no wise changed. I think in that important particular the legal status would be very materially and radically changed.

Mr. WHITE. I spoke of this country and the insurgents. To those parties I alluded. There is no difference at all in the status of this country toward insurgents as between themselves, and no practical difference as to Spain, because Spain fits out no expeditions, and, as I say, in the nature of the situation can fit out no expeditions in this country. Perhaps the effect of the *Three Friends* case may be to prevent Spain, even where there is no recognition, fitting out expeditions here. As to this, I am not prepared to fully express myself. It is not important.

I have said that there is nothing to prevent the insurgents loading arms upon a ship and sending the same as merchandise to Cuba except the danger of capture. We can not prevent this, and if there is any officer of any gunboat or vessel who assumes to impede such traffic he is violating the law as laid down on the 22d day of February by the district court for the eastern district of Pennsylvania and long the law of the United States.

Mr. MASON. Will the Senator from California yield to me for a question?

Mr. WHITE. Certainly.

Mr. MASON. What are the men in prison for now in Baltimore?

Mr. WHITE. I will say to the Senator that if he had honored me by being in the Chamber a few moments ago it would not be necessary for me to say what I will now repeat. Captain Hart—I suppose he is the person to whom the Senator refers—was indicted for violation of section 5286 of the Federal statutes, for fitting out and organizing an expedition, and the court in that case charged the jury (I will read from the charge again):

> It is lawful for men, many or few, to leave this country as individuals, without combination or organization here, to go abroad, even by the same vessel, with the purpose of enlisting with a body of insurgents to fight against a foreign government; and it is immaterial that the vessel also carries arms as merchandise, which are to be carried on shore in packages, as merchandise, by the men who so intend to enlist. And the transportation of such persons, knowing their intent, constitutes no offense.

Now, a conviction was had because it appeared from the testimony that the defendant organized a military expedition; that the vessel was fitted out to fight; that the men upon it were prepared for war, and in one of the cases heretofore tried the parties charged actually engaged the Spaniards upon the sea. If we recognize belligerency, and if Captain Hart does the very things which he has done in the past, he will be subject to indictment and punishment under the section of the Revised Statutes read by me, regardless of whether the Cubans are insurgents or belligerents.

Mr. CHANDLER. Will the Senator allow me to help him a little?

Mr. WHITE. I am always thankful for the assistance of the Senator from New Hampshire, although I hope he will not prolong the debate.

Mr. CHANDLER. I merely wish to ask the Senator a question. The Senator is quite right, as I concede, in his statement about the law. The neutrality laws are the same, whether the insurgents remain insurgents or are recognized as belligerents. We pledge ourselves by those laws not to allow expeditions to be fitted out in our ports against a power with which we are at peace; and we shall remain at peace with Spain after the passage of the joint resolution. So it makes no difference, as the Senator from Massachusetts said yesterday and as the Senator from California states now.

Under those circumstances, I wish to ask the Senator why a year ago he wanted the United States to recognize the belligerency of the Cuban insurgents?

Mr. WHITE. I will say to the Senator that at the time I remarked—and I regret that my remarks then made had only passing effect upon the Senator from New Hampshire—that I did not believe the adoption of the resolution would have any real result beyond such moral benefit as might be derived therefrom by the insurgents, but that, as the sentiment was in favor of such a resolution, I would vote for it. Notwithstanding the somewhat injurious effect which the declaration of belligerency would have upon the country, I was willing to go that far. I did not, however, vote to declare belligerency, but only to advise the Executive, which is not the proposition before the Senate.

Mr. CHANDLER. But the Senator did not vote to advise the Executive to do a thing which the United States ought not to do. He voted to advise the President to do what he thought he ought to do. Now, the Senator did that to help Cuba, as I understand him to say——

Mr. WHITE. Yes.

Mr. CHANDLER. Because of the moral effect upon the Cuban cause of the resolution which he proposed, and which was voted down, and the resolution which we adopted, and for which he voted. Why is he not now willing to vote to give Cuba the same moral assistance which he wanted to give her a year ago?

Mr. WHITE. Is it possible that the Senator from New Hampshire has not arisen to the fact that the present is an attempt by Congress to declare belligerency? Does he not know that he is not presenting the same proposition? Let him present in lieu of the pending joint resolution the resolution proposed by me before, and I will vote for it; but I will not, with my views of the jurisdiction of this body, vote for the pending proposition.

Mr. CHANDLER. The Senator voted for the resolution that was passed before, which is in the exact language, I repeat—it seems to be hard to get it into the heads of some Senators—of the resolution proposed to-day, except that one was a concurrent resolution——

Mr. WHITE. Yes; "except."

Mr. CHANDLER. And the other is a joint resolution. But the declaration that it was advisable to recognize belligerency was the same a year ago that it is now. A year ago the Senator was for it, to-day he is against it.

Mr. WHITE. The Senator does not state the facts. I admit that it is very hard to penetrate the minds of some Senators, and that there are obstructions to the entrance of ideas into the heads of those who do not wish to learn. The effect of the pending resolution, if it pass as a joint resolution and receives Executive sanction, will be, according to the Senator, the absolute recognition of belligerency.

We do not make a suggestion here of our opinion to the Executive, as we did before. There we passed a concurrent resolution with the explicit understanding on the part of those who voted for it, and our words are of record here, that it was nothing more than an expression of opinion, that it was a concurrent resolution, which had no effect as law, and was nothing more than advisory to the Executive, who treated it as such, negatively.

Now you assert that the Congress itself has the power to pass the joint resolution as an original proposition and to declare belligerency, and, passing it over the Executive's veto, to make it an efficacious announcement of belligerency. That I deny, and denying it, I am against the proposition. The argument of the Senator that I am inconsistent is not warranted by the facts and is not sound in reason, and I am astonished that the Senator should have interrupted me for the purpose of making a suggestion so utterly void of merit.

Mr. CHANDLER. I should like to ask the Senator whether he is just as much in favor of having belligerency recognized now as he was a year ago, and only objects to having Congress and the President do it by joint resolution instead of having it done by the President and upon the advice of Congress by a concurrent resolution? Is that the only difference?

Mr. WHITE. This utterly irrelevant question will be answered by me as follows: As I am not as intimate with the political powers now in possession of the Government as is the Senator from New Hampshire, I do not care to advise those powers with reference to the discharge of their constitutional duty, unless the condition shall become so flagrant as to warrant me in saying something. I hope the Senator from New Hampshire will not continue thus to hamper the progress of his own party on the way to good times. [Laughter.] I trust that the joint resolution will get out of the way of the tariff bill, because we know that when that measure passes, there will be no shortage in our funds, no end to our pleasure, and we can then, perhaps, afford to declare war with profit to ourselves and disadvantage to our enemies.

Mr. President, the law as laid down in the district court of Pennsylvania is not inconsistent with previous decisions. All are in the same line. I had occasion heretofore, probably a couple of years ago, to call attention to the circumstance that when the Chilean difficulty was on hand, we refused to recognize the insurgents. Our executive department and the legislative department utterly ignored the existence of the party there which finally became dominant. At the time that party controlled the navy, had with it nearly all the representatives of the house and the senators, possessed a large part of the Chilean territory, and finally succeeded.

During the progress of that revolution the Chilean insurgents sent a vessel to a port of the United States convoyed by a ship of war as far as Cape San Lucas. The vessel thus convoyed—the *Itata*—came within our waters and shipped $80,000 worth of arms, purchased in the city of New York and sent by rail to San Francisco and then transferred by schooner on board this vessel. Our Government, having refused to recognize the insurgents, conceived the idea that its duty led to the prosecution of the men who had purchased the arms and to libel the vessel. We sent the *Charleston* down to the harbor of Iquique and seized the *Itata* and brought her back to the United States. The United States filed a libel in the southern district of California against the vessel, and, under the criminal laws of the United States, tried a Chilean congressman who had purchased the arms; and yet the court of appeals, in passing upon the case, said:

"It will thus be seen that the cases relied upon are clearly distinguishable from the case of the *Itata*. It is true that in this case there were criminating circumstances sufficient to arouse suspicion as to a hostile intent on the part of the *Itata*. The sending of the war ship *Esmeralda* as a convoy for a part of the way, the *Itata* being under the command of a captain of the navy, with soldiers, cannon, and muskets on board; the concealment of the cannon; the change of dress of a part of the crew; the failure to give the bond required by law; the circuitous methods adopted to take the arms and ammunition from the schooner *Robert and Minnie*, are all proper circumstances to be considered, and were perhaps sufficient to cast the burden of proof upon the *Itata* to establish her innocence by showing, as she did, that notwithstanding these suspicions and incriminating circumstances, she was not a war vessel; that she had done nothing, and did not intend to do anything, contrary to the provisions of section 5283; that she was not fitted out or armed, or attempted to be fitted out or armed, or procured to be fitted out or armed or furnished, with intent that she should be employed "in the service of any foreign prince or state, or any colony, district, or people, to cruise or commit hostilities against the subjects, citizens, or property of any foreign prince or state, or of any colony, district, or people with whom the United States were at peace."

The case of *The Florida* (4 Ben., 432) was a libel against the vessel for an alleged forfeiture claimed to have been incurred by a violation of section 5283 of the Revised Statutes, and in its facts bears a closer analogy to the facts of this case than any of the other cases to which our attention has been called. The court said:

"Admitting that persons acting as agents of the insurrectionary party in Cuba—

This was a former Cuban war—

"were the real owners of the vessel and her cargo of arms and munitions of war, and that the transaction of the borrowing by Darr from Castillo of the money wherewith the vessel and her cargo were purchased was a sham, and that the vessel was to proceed with her cargo to Vera Cruz, and there the vessel and cargo were to be transferred by Darr, their nominal owner, to persons acting for the insurrectionary party in Cuba, and that thence the vessel was to take the cargo to some point off the coast of Cuba, and land it on the shore by the use of rafts made out of the lumber on board, towed by the steam launch on board through shallow water to the shore, and that Darr and such real owners of the vessel and cargo had intent to do all this in fitting out the vessel and putting her cargo on board, still a violation of the third section of the act of 1818 is not thereby made out."

A perusal of that case, decided in 4 Benedict, will reaffirm everything I have said.

The issues in the *Itata* case were practically determined in United States *vs.* Trumbull, 48 Federal Reporter, 107.

When Mr. Trumbull, the Chilean congressman, was under indictment for his admitted participancy in loading the *Itata* with arms, ammunition, and other supplies for the Chilean insurgents, Judge Ross, then district, and now circuit, judge of the United States, said:

There is nothing in the evidence tending to show that any of the arms or ammunition were intended for use by the *Itata*. On the contrary, the whole case shows that the defendants caused them to be put on board of her with the intention that she should transport them to Chile for the use of the insurrectionary party there.

This does not constitute the fitting out, arming, or furnishing of the *Itata* with intent that she should be employed to cruise or commit hostilities in the service of the insurrectionary party against the then Government of Chile. In principle the case is, I think, much like that of the *Florida*, decided by Judge Blatchford in 1871 and reported in 4 Ben. 432.

Judge Ross proceeds to show that Judge Blatchford in that case adopted the view which justified the purchase and shipment by the insurgents of arms and supplies.

The following are the sections of the Revised Statutes to which I have alluded:

SEC. 5281. Every citizen of the United States who, within the territory or jurisdiction thereof, accepts and exercises a commission to serve a foreign prince, state, colony, district, or people, in war, by land or by sea, against any prince, state, colony, district, or people, with whom the United States are at peace, shall be deemed guilty of a high misdemeanor, and shall be fined not more than $2,000 and imprisoned not more than three years.

SEC. 5282. Every person who, within the territory or jurisdiction of the United States, enlists or enters himself, or hires or retains another person to enlist or enter himself, or to go beyond the limits or jurisdiction of the United States with intent to be enlisted or entered in the service of any foreign prince, state, colony, district, or people, as a soldier, or as a marine or seaman, on board of any vessel of war, letter of marque, or privateer, shall be deemed guilty of high misdemeanor, and shall be fined not more than $1,000 and imprisoned not more than three years.

SEC. 5283. Every person who, within the limits of the United States, fits out and arms, or attempts to fit out and arm, or procures to be fitted out and

armed, or knowingly is concerned in the furnishing, fitting out, or arming, of any vessel, with intent that such vessel shall be employed in the service of any foreign prince or state, or of any colony, district, or people, to cruise or commit hostilities against the subjects, citizens, or property of any foreign prince or state, or of any colony, district, or people, with whom the United States are at peace, or who issues or delivers a commission within the territory or jurisdiction of the United States for any vessel, to the intent that she may be so employed, shall be deemed guilty of a high misdemeanor, and shall be fined not more than $10,000, and imprisoned not more than three years. And every such vessel, her tackle, apparel, and furniture, together with all materials, arms, ammunition, and stores, which may have been procured for the building and equipment thereof, shall be forfeited, one half to the use of the informer, and the other half to the use of the United States.

SEC. 5284. Every citizen of the United States who, without the limits thereof, fits out and arms, or attempts to fit out and arm, or procures to be fitted out and armed, or knowingly aids or is concerned in furnishing, fitting out, or arming any private vessel of war, or privateer, with intent that such vessel shall be employed to cruise, or commit hostilities, upon the citizens of the United States, or their property, or who takes the command of, or enters on board of any such vessel, for such intent, or who purchases any interest in any such vessel, with a view to share in the profits thereof, shall be deemed guilty of a high misdemeanor, and fined not more that $10,000, and imprisoned not more than ten years. And the trial for such offense, if committed without the limits of the United States, shall be in the district in which the offender shall be apprehended or first brought.

SEC. 5285. Every person who, within the territory or jurisdiction of the United States, increases or augments, or procures to be increased or augmented, or knowingly is concerned in increasing or augmenting the force of any ship of war, cruiser, or other armed vessel, which, at the time of her arrival within the United States, was a ship of war, or cruiser, or armed vessel, in the service of any foreign prince or state, or of any colony, district, or people, or belonging to the subjects or citizens of any such prince or state, colony, district, or people, the same being at war with any foreign prince or state, or of any colony, district, or people, with whom the United States are at peace, by adding to the number of the guns of such vessels, or by changing those on board of her for guns of a larger caliber, or by adding thereto any equipment solely applicable to war, shall be deemed guilty of a high misdemeanor, and shall be fined not more than $1,000 and be imprisoned not more than one year.

SEC. 5286. Every person who, within the territory or jurisdiction of the United States, begins, or sets on foot, or provides, or prepares the means for, any military expedition or enterprise, to be carried on from thence against the territory or dominions of any foreign prince or state, or of any colony, district, or people with whom the United States are at peace, shall be deemed guilty of a high misdemeanor, and shall be fined not exceeding $3,000 and imprisoned not more than three years.

Mr. President, I am opposed to the passage of the joint resolution, because I believe this subject-matter to be within the exclusive authority of the Executive, and I base this conclusion upon the reasons heretofore assigned. When the Executive refuses to act, and whenever Congress concludes that a time has come for war, we may discuss that momentous problem. No such issue is tendered. It appears to me that when Senators standing in their places here assert that the declaration of belligerency is not or should not be offensive, and then, in the same breath, proceed to make statements in connection with their reasons for that declaration which are in themselves grossly offensive, the motive is at once disclosed, and that the real object is ultimately to bring about a war, though they do not venture the direct announcement.

Mr. President, I know that it is easy to incite the fervid imaginations and patriotic sentiments of the American people. I know, and glory in the thought, that every American loves right. Liberty is cherished by each of our people. In the generosity of their hearts they wish universal freedom. But the man who appreciates true liberty knows how to conserve it. He knows that in desperate conflict liberty is not always ultimately victorious. He knows that though this Government is powerful enough to subvert Spain, and powerful enough to wrench Cuba from her hands, when that end has been accomplished it is exceedingly dubious whether the cause of liberty will have been promoted here or our interests favorably affected.

I said a day or two ago that grave problems confront us now. Let us not be diverted from their consideration. Let us defend our citizens. Our Executive has the power to do so. He has behind him the sentiment of the American people, and whenever he appeals to Congress for any aid in that direction he will receive a ready response. But a few days have passed since Mr. McKinley took charge. He has sent his own messenger to Cuba to investigate. He is acting within the power conferred upon him by the Constitution, and though he were not so acting, I should not feel myself at liberty to disregard constitutional obligations.

We must each decide this question for ourselves; but it is satisfactory to me to feel that the Executive will not fail in his duty here, but will meet the situation properly and wisely.

The Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. GALLINGER] showed us a copy of a resolution which had been offered here by the present Secretary of State, and to-day the distinguished and honorable Senator from Alabama again informed us that after all the pending resolution was either a copy or a paraphrase of one or two that had been offered by the present Secretary of State.

Have we any doubt of his feelings in this matter? Have we any question as to what his sentiments are? Why is it that Senators who say that they are really anxious to know the facts are not willing to submit this proposition to a man whose views, when he was a Senator, have been often expressed, who is as familiar with this subject as anyone in this Chamber, and who has the facilities which are given him by law enabling him to know more about it than any member of this body? Why is it that they are unwilling to trust him or to trust the Executive elected by their own votes?

Though I am opposed politically to both, though I regard the policies which they have stated to be theirs as fraught with disaster to the American people, nevertheless I do not intend to permit my political views or prejudices to enter into the consideration of this grave subject; and whatever may be done by others, my vote will be cast first for reference. If that motion fails, my vote will be cast against the joint resolution. If the joint resolution passes, we may be relieved from responsibility, as far as anything direct is concerned, but I could not avoid responsibility in the presence of my construction of the Constitution if I voted affirmatively in this regard. I know the sentiment of Senators who are antagonistic to the joint resolution. They do not desire delay. We have taken comparatively little time in this debate, and I believe there is nothing to prevent a vote this afternoon.

Mr. HAWLEY. Mr. President, I wish to say merely a few words. I suppose every man sometimes wonders why the rest of the world does not think precisely as he does. I am to some extent in that situation now. I wonder why the majority of the body does not see that it is the wiser course to refer the joint resolution. I wonder why the friends of the joint resolution do not see how clearly it would be an advantage to their cause if the resolution should come back from the Committee on Foreign Relations accompanied by a report which should clearly and distinctly set forth to us what is meant by a declaration of belligerency; what is meant technically in this connection by a state of war, with a codification of the valuable papers or extracts from the papers submitted by the Senator from Ohio [Mr. FORAKER], adding to it some suggestions made to us by the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. THURSTON], and especially his statement of the remarkable and applicable declaration of Sagasta, late prime minister, that a state of war does now exist.

I submit that all of us, though supposed to know these things, are not ready with an answer to the legal questions which might be asked of us. Such a report would do justice to the Committee on Foreign Relations and justice to the Senate in this very important and perhaps very serious emergency. Of course most of this can be found, if one will read the RECORD for two or three weeks, but it might be put in six or eight pages of an ordinary miscellaneous document. It would strengthen the cause of the people with whom I shall not vote, but I should be glad to send to my constituents a clear, legal statement of the views which in the minds of other Senators justify the passage of such a joint resolution. I think it would be better for all of us, on whichever side we may be, to have such a report made, and it can be well done. The speeches made by members of that committee are such, and the character of the men who have not made speeches is such, that we know the report may easily be made complete, logical, legal, instructive, and brief.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE] to refer the joint resolution to the Committee on Foreign Relations, upon which the yeas and nays have been ordered. The Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BERRY (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the Senator from Colorado [Mr. TELLER]. Being advised that he would vote the same way that I shall, I will cast my vote, I vote "nay."

Mr. CLAY (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE]. Were he present, he would vote in favor of referring the resolution and I should vote "nay."

Mr. CULLOM (when his name was called). I am paired with the senior Senator from Delaware [Mr. GRAY]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. ELKINS (when his name was called). I am paired with my colleague [Mr. FAULKNER]. If he were present, I think he would vote "nay," and I should vote "yea."

Mr. WALTHALL (when Mr. GEORGE'S name was called). My colleague [Mr. GEORGE] has a general pair with the junior Senator from Colorado [Mr. WOLCOTT].

Mr. GORMAN (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Maine [Mr. FRYE].

Mr. BATE (when the name of Mr. HARRIS of Tennessee was called). My colleague [Mr. HARRIS] is paired with the senior Senator from Vermont [Mr. MORRILL], neither of whom is in the Chamber.

Mr. KENNEY (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the junior Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. PENROSE]. I do not know how he would vote. He not being here, I withhold my vote. Were he present and voting, I should vote "nay."

Mr. KYLE (when his name was called). I am paired upon this question with the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. PLATT]. The Senator from Nebraska [Mr. ALLEN] is absent, and would vote "nay" were he present. I should like, with the consent of the

director of pairs on this side, to transfer my pair to the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. ALLEN] and vote.

Mr. MILLS. The Senator from South Dakota can do it.

Mr. STEWART. There is no objection.

Mr. KYLE. I should like to ask the Senator from Florida [Mr. PASCO] if the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. ALLEN] is paired with any Senator?

Mr. PASCO. I do not now know of any arrangement to pair him. If I learn that one has been made, I will advise the Senator from South Dakota.

Mr. KYLE. Then I transfer my pair to the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. ALLEN] and will vote. I vote "nay."

Mr. LINDSAY (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the senior Senator from Michigan [Mr. MCMILLAN]. If he were present, I should vote "nay."

Mr. MCENERY (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from New York [Mr. PLATT]. If he were present, I should vote "nay."

Mr. MANTLE (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the junior Senator from Virginia [Mr. MARTIN]. I do not see him in the Chamber. If he were here, I should vote "nay."

Mr. NELSON (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST].

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. FORAKER. I have a pair with the junior Senator from South Carolina [Mr. EARLE]. I am told that if he were here he would vote "nay." Therefore I withhold my vote. If I were at liberty to vote, I should vote "yea."

Mr. DANIEL. I beg leave to state that if my colleague [Mr. MARTIN] were here he would vote "nay." Therefore the Senator from Montana [Mr. MANTLE], who is paired with my colleague and would vote the same way, is at liberty to vote.

Mr. MANTLE. I thank the Senator from Virginia for the information. I will vote. I vote "nay."

Mr. BURROWS. My colleague [Mr. MCMILLAN] is paired with the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. LINDSAY]. If my colleague were present and at liberty to vote, he would vote "yea."

Mr. PASCO. The senior Senator from West Virginia [Mr. FAULKNER], who is absent, desired me to announce that he is paired with his colleague [Mr. ELKINS]. If the senior Senator from West Virginia were present, he would vote "nay," against the reference of the joint resolution.

Mr. COCKRELL. My colleague [Mr. VEST], as has been announced, is paired with the junior Senator from Minnesota [Mr. NELSON]. If my colleague were present, he would vote "nay."

Mr. PASCO. I wish to announce the pair of the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH] with the Senator from Colorado [Mr. TELLER]. If the Senator from Rhode Island were present, he would vote "yea," and the Senator from Colorado would vote "nay."

Mr. HOAR. I think a pair has been announced with the Senator from Colorado.

Mr. PASCO. To what pair does the Senator from Massachusetts refer?

Mr. HOAR. I do not remember now. Another pair has been announced, I believe.

Mr. PASCO. I think no other pair has been arranged for the Senator from Colorado. I was authorized to make the pair I have announced.

The result was announced—yeas 19, nays 34; as follows:

YEAS—19.

Allison,	Gear,	Hoar,	Wellington,
Burrows,	Hale,	McBride,	Wetmore,
Caffery,	Hanna,	Perkins,	White,
Davis,	Hansbrough,	Shoup,	Wilson.
Fairbanks,	Hawley,	Spooner,	

NAYS—34.

Bacon,	Clark,	Mason,	Stewart,
Baker,	Cockrell,	Mills,	Thurston,
Bate,	Daniel,	Morgan,	Tillman,
Berry,	Gallinger,	Pasco,	Turner,
Butler,	Harris, Kans.	Pettigrew,	Turpie,
Cannon,	Heitfeld,	Pettus,	Walthall,
Carter,	Jones, Ark.	Pritchard,	Warren.
Chandler,	Kyle,	Rawlins,	
Chilton,	Mantle,	Roach,	

NOT VOTING—35.

Aldrich,	Frye,	McEnery,	Platt, N. Y.
Allen,	George,	McMillan,	Proctor,
Clay,	Gorman,	Martin,	Quay,
Cullom,	Gray,	Mitchell,	Sewell,
Deboe,	Harris, Tenn.	Morrill,	Smith,
Earle,	Jones, Nev.	Murphy,	Teller,
Elkins,	Kenney,	Nelson,	Vest,
Faulkner,	Lindsay,	Penrose,	Wolcott.
Foraker,	Lodge,	Platt, Conn.	

So the Senate refused to refer the joint resolution to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. FAIRBANKS. Mr. President, it has not been my purpose until now to invite the attention of the Senate in this debate, and it is my present intention to add but a few words. I shall not indulge in criticism upon the Senate or its members, for my brief presence here has but increased my respect for both. My observation is that there is no one here who possesses more patriotism or love of liberty than others; that in that respect there is an absolute equality here. I further observe, Mr. President, as this debate has progressed, that there is no difference among the honorable Senators with respect to their desire for the freedom of Cuba. All wish to see peace reign and liberty established in the desolated island. The difference arises, sir, with regard to the means which shall be employed to attain the hoped-for end.

The immediate division of opinion has been with reference to the motion of the distinguished Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE] to refer the resolution of the honorable Senator from Alabama [Mr. MORGAN] to the Committee on Foreign Relations. Those who opposed the reference felt that they had adequate information upon which to act, while those who favored the reference desired in an orderly and usual way to secure information in the State Department bearing upon the subject under consideration; and they also desired to have the deliberate judgment of the able Committee on Foreign Relations with respect to it. Their desire in this regard was intensified by the partial disclosures made yesterday by the distinguished Senator from Ohio [Mr. FORAKER].

Mr. President, it seems to me that those who favored the reference for the reasons indicated are not wanting in humanity and love of country and are not unreasonable in their demands. Few questions can arise in this Chamber more momentous than this, and it should have that consideration which comports with its magnitude. Some Senators may be satisfied with the fragmentary information of affairs in Cuba, which they have from private sources, from the public press, and from the State Department, but others may not be.

It would seem that as a predicate for action upon this question, so important in its immediate results and which shall become a notable precedent, there should be upon the table of every Senator all the official information obtainable and a well-considered report from the appropriate committee. Each Senator must act upon the solemnity of his oath, and a nice regard for the obligation he has taken upon his entrance to this Chamber demands that he have the essential facts officially ascertained before he records his deliberate potential judgment.

I observe that this course was adopted by the Senate at the last session. The resolution concerning Cuba was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations. The committee, after mature deliberation, reported it back to the Senate with substitute resolutions. The majority report was presented by the honorable Senator from Alabama, who now opposes the reference of his own resolution upon the same subject in the same manner to the same committee. If deliberation and orderly procedure was observed then, why not now? What exigency has arisen which demands the present departure from the practices of the Senate in the past?

Mr. President, I shall not stop to discuss the question as to whether, under the Constitution, the recognition of belligerency is an executive or legislative function, or whether the executive and legislative branches of the Government should act conjointly. But it seems to me that in the conduct of our foreign affairs the practice has been for the Committee on Foreign Relations to act upon these international questions to some degree in conjunction with the executive department of the Government. If such has not been the practice heretofore now is the time to set a good precedent.

A new Administration is in power, not yet three months old—an Administration charged with great responsibility. Shall we act in this grave matter regardless of its views or policies respecting foreign affairs? Shall the Congress take one position and the Executive another upon a question of such moment and obvious delicacy? If so, what will be the effect, not only upon the fortune of Cuba, but upon our domestic affairs, sensitive and unsettled as they are?

Mr. President, if I correctly apprehend those who favor the resolution of the Senator from Alabama, one of the chief purposes to be accomplished by the recognition of belligerency is to legitimatize the war in Cuba; it is to change barbarous warfare into civilized warfare. The immediate purpose is not to stop the war, but to alter its character.

Sir, I hold to the opinion that all war is barbarous. I am against war, civilized or uncivilized, except it be necessary to redeem people from oppression, or be for national defense, or to sustain the national honor in the protection of American citizenship. I preferred a reference of the joint resolution to the Foreign Relations Committee, that it might determine whether under all the facts, according to the official information in the possession of the Government, it could not report a resolution which will accomplish what the resolution offered by the Senator from Alabama fails to secure, and that is, peace and the independence of Cuba.

Upon the recognition of belligerent rights, Mr. President, we

do not stop the war; we merely dignify it. When will it cease? How much longer will the slaughter continue? How much longer will the sword and torch devour? No one can tell; no one can measure the loss.

I would prefer a policy more certain, more direct. Let us come out into the open and be for war or against it. If a great moral responsibility rests upon us, as I believe it does, let us discharge it squarely and fairly.

Sir, I would forthwith tender the good offices of this Government to the Spanish cabinet, to the end that war cease. And further, I would open amicable negotiations to secure the independence of Cuba, which, under the providence of the Almighty, is its manifest destiny. If these peaceful and honorable methods fail and the war should continue, I would have no hesitancy in reaching out the mighty arm of this Government and saying, "This war shall cease." But, sir, such an extreme measure will not be necessary to accomplish an honorable peace.

Some of the distinguished Senators who belong to the party which holds my loyal allegiance have professed to support the resolution of the Senator from Alabama because, as they hold, it is in consonance with the platform adopted at St. Louis. I heard the distinguished Senator from Nebraska [Mr. THURSTON], who presided over the deliberations of that great congress of American citizens assembled at St. Louis with such conspicuous ability, read the platform this morning and declare his approval of it. With due deference to the honorable Senator, I must utterly and entirely repudiate the suggestion that the resolution proposed by the Senator from Alabama is in accord with the Republican platform, for, in my judgment, it is against it. The platform upon the Cuban question declared that—

From the hour of achieving their own independence the people of the United States have regarded with sympathy the struggles of other American people to free themselves from European domination. We watch with deep and abiding interest the heroic battle of the Cuban patriots against cruelty and oppression, and our best hopes go out for the full success of their determined contest for liberty.

The Government of Spain having lost control of Cuba, and being unable to protect the property or lives of resident American citizens, or to comply with its treaty obligations—

Note carefully what follows—

we believe that the Government of the United States should actively use its influence and good offices to restore peace and give independence to the island.

This language is free from ambiguity. Its meaning is not involved in the slightest doubt. Peace and independence are to be obtained through the active agency of the United States.

Let me read the resolution offered by the Senator from Alabama:

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That a condition of public war exists between the Government of Spain and the government proclaimed and for some time maintained by force of arms by the people of Cuba, and that the United States of America shall maintain a strict neutrality between the contending powers, according to each all the rights of belligerents in the ports and territory of the United States.

The policy to which this resolution commits the Government is one of—

Strict neutrality between the contending powers, according to each all the rights of belligerents in the ports and territory of the United States.

I yield to no Senator, I yield to no Republican in my attachment to the doctrines of the Republican party. I believe that when the platform was adopted at St. Louis it was a covenant to be executed honestly, fearlessly, faithfully, and I am here, Mr. President, to execute it to the best of my humble ability.

The scope and purpose of the resolution and the Republican platform are totally dissimilar. The former recognizes the rights of belligerency and maintains an attitude of strict neutrality—nothing more—while the platform requires the Government to tender its good offices to restore peace and give independence to the island. The distinction between tendering the good offices of the Government and acknowledging belligerency, according to international law, is broad and marked.

I believe the golden moment of which the honorable Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] has spoken has arrived. The condition in Cuba, except the horrors in the pestilential camps, which the President's message has wisely attempted to mitigate, seems to be worse than ever; the hold of Spain on Cuba is less certain; her revenues have decreased; the burdens of war have increased. The rainy season is at hand, when the march must stop. A large army is to be maintained at heavy cost until the seasons permit a new campaign. The issue is in the balance. Sir, it would seem that the highest considerations which can move men or nations would suggest the tender and acceptance of the good offices of this Government.

Mr. President, before closing, I wish to say that I am deeply sensible of the distress in Cuba. I have no doubt of the substantial accuracy of the reports of the press of the country with respect to it. I am also conscious of the distress and suffering in our own country. Every hour the pathetic appeals of our own countrymen come to us. Over 2,000,000 good and loyal American workmen are walking the streets and highways of our country asking for work; seeking not charity, but a chance to labor. Their eyes are on this Chamber. Every hour is precious to them. They are not threatened by the barbarity of Weyler, but by the cruelty of want.

For every soldier that falls on the fields of Cuba a hundred fall in the ranks of labor. The manufacturers have been discouraged and the merchants have been idle in the marts of trade. In the name of these, sir, I protest against delay in the consideration of the matters for which we were convoked in this extraordinary session. "Pass the tariff; pass the tariff" comes from our expectant countrymen night and day. A tariff law and a currency commission are the imperative demands of the hour. Whatever will interfere with early securing them, no matter how important it is, I shall steadfastly oppose.

I offer as an amendment to the resolution of the Senator from Alabama what I send to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. CHANDLER in the chair). The Secretary will state the amendment proposed by the Senator from Indiana to the joint resolution.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to strike out all after the resolving clause and insert:

That the Congress of the United States views with deep solicitude the deplorable civil strife in the Island of Cuba, which is so destructible to life and property, and which is embarrassing and destroying the commerce of the United States with Cuba. The highest motives of humanity and public interest require the cessation of hostilities and the establishment of peace, and that the President shall, in a friendly spirit, tender the good offices of the United States to Spain, to the end that bloodshed may speedily cease and that honorable and permanent peace may be established in the Island of Cuba; and further,

That the President, in a spirit of amity, tender the good offices of the United States to Spain in an endeavor to secure the independence of Cuba upon terms alike honorable and just to all powers concerned. And if the President shall be unable by such friendly intercession to secure the independence of Cuba, within a reasonable time, he shall communicate the facts to Congress, with his recommendations thereon.

Mr. CAFFERY. Mr. President, I do not propose to take up any considerable time of the Senate after the question has been so thoroughly discussed and so ably discussed on both sides. I will say to the Senator from Indiana [Mr. FAIRBANKS] that from the vote upon the motion to commit the joint resolution to the Committee on Foreign Relations it is very easy to perceive what will be the fate of his substitute. It will be voted down likewise.

While we all sympathize with the Cubans, and while we all respect and admire their efforts to obtain independence, it appears to me that there is a consideration of much more moment which has been entirely lost sight of in this discussion. It is whether or not this joint resolution of the Senator from Alabama [Mr. MORGAN] is in conformity with the Constitution of our country, and, if it is, whether we have pursued, in the matter of the consideration of that resolution, the ordinary form of procedure that we apply to any matter of the commonest business before the Senate.

The contention has never been successfully met that the prerogative or power of recognizing the independence of a new nation or the fact of belligerency rests with the Executive. There have been general assertions, but there has been nothing, in my opinion, in the way of argument to show that the Congress of the United States is charged with the power of recognizing a new state or recognizing a condition of belligerency. That first point has not been met.

The precedents of one hundred years have been adduced to the Senate to show that the lawmaking branch of the Government is without authority in the premises for recognizing belligerency or recognizing independence. The uniform custom and practice of the Government, if the matter were of doubtful construction, would settle the point in favor of the recognition of the independence or the condition of belligerency by the executive branch of the Government. So the first point, in my opinion, largely transcends any question of sympathy for a struggling people, for the question of a flagrant violation of our Constitution would have a much more far-reaching consequence than the question of promoting the interests of the Cubans in their struggle for liberty.

But, Mr. President, it has been shown with as much potency as possible that even the recognition of belligerency would do the Cubans no good. So we are confronted with the proposition that the precedents of a hundred years and the plain deductions from the Constitution itself must be violated in order that this Senate may express its views upon a question of fact being enacted in a distant country. If there was anything more needed to show the utter inability of this body as a mass to properly consider questions of fact, we have that evidence in the disclosures of yesterday. It appears that several Senators, members of the Foreign Relations Committee, visited the Secretary of State in order to glean some information as to what was going on in Cuba. This information was detailed by them, filtered out by them to the Senate of the United States, after a series of questions amounting to almost cross-examination.

What did we glean? We gleaned the statement from the honorable Senator from Alabama that the communications between the United States consuls in Cuba and the Secretary of State ought

not to be given out to the public or to the Senate with the names of the consuls attached for fear of massacre—I suppose of those consuls. The distinguished Senator from Ohio filters out information to the purport or to the extent that if this information is given out there would be some fear of violence somewhere. He does not go to the extent of the massacring of General Lee or our consuls; and upon this testimony, delivered before the Senate, we are called upon to recognize a condition of belligerency in Cuba!

First, the testimony has nothing to do as to the matter of fact; second, it does not come to us in proper form. If it be true that the lives of American consuls in Cuba are threatened with violence, that would be an occasion for us to sever diplomatic relations with Spain, which probably, with the strained relations existing between the United States and Spain to-day, would develop into war. But that does not signify that there is a case of belligerency in Cuba.

Mr. President, it is easy to inflame the patriotic disposition of the American people. It is a much more difficult task in times of excitement to curb the erroneous patriotic sympathies of a large mass of people, and that, in my opinion, is what we ought to do to-day. There is no sentiment which will create applause, there is no remark which will create enthusiasm in regard to this matter, unless it is in an exaltation of the Cubans and in condemnation of the Spaniards. Our sympathy for liberty ought not to lead us to undertake, first, a province that we can not fill—the province of finding matters of fact; and, second, of passing upon matters of fact without the power and the capacity to procure all the evidence.

It leaked out in the communication yesterday that the Secretary of State did not want even to give the names of the consuls. The Secretary of State can withhold and has withheld the information, and it is absolutely prerequisite to forming a judgment upon a matter of this sort that we should have the evidence, and all the evidence, in the most official way; and we have none.

General Grant had this case, or a similar one, under consideration for ten years. His then able Secretary of State, Mr. Fish, after investigating every condition surrounding the insurrection in Cuba, rightly declared that there was no cause or no pretext for the United States recognizing belligerency in Cuba.

The last Administration had this matter under consideration, and from the testimony adduced before Mr. Olney he concluded that there was not such a condition of affairs as would warrant the recognition of public war in Cuba. The present Administration has had it in hand, and likewise, with all the information gathered in advance, and with the fresh information before them, with every desire and opportunity to do justice in the premises and keep the United States within the lines of international law, they have not seen fit to recognize a state of belligerency in Cuba.

Who, Mr. President, is to recognize such a question of fact? I propounded to the honorable Senator from Virginia [Mr. DANIEL] the question, when he was debating this matter before the Senate a day or two ago, whether the province of a legislative body was to find matters of fact or to enact legislation, and from what article of the Constitution he implied the authority upon the part of this body to go into investigations of matters of fact. You can not deduce it from the general power of legislation; it does not flow as a natural or as a necessary consequence. We enact laws for this great nation; we prescribe the rule of conduct of these 70,000,000 people; but we have no authority or power to go outside of the United States and to establish any matter of fact of any kind or character whatever; and the question of belligerency is a pure question of fact.

International law writers differ as regards some of the immaterial facts necessary to exist before you can recognize; but they generally agree, on the whole, and they universally agree, so far as I know, and the practice of nations is in accord with it, that it is purely a question of fact, to be deduced from a congeries of facts, to be deduced from the surrounding facts; and it is a question which a great nation ought to approach with a great deal of care, a great deal of circumspection, and a great deal of caution; and here we are to plunge into a possible collision with Spain without having even the evidence upon which you could send a man to the penitentiary for stealing a ginger cake.

No sort of evidence of any kind has been adduced to this body which a jury would consent to take and arrive at a proper solution and a proper finding of a matter of fact. Our evidence has been entirely ex parte; it has been altogether on one side. Inflammatory newspaper articles, sensational newspaper reports, unauthenticated and irresponsible, are gravely cited as establishing a matter of fact. That sort of evidence, Mr. President, does not satisfy me. I have no doubt that some of the gentlemen who give these startling statements in regard to Cuba believe what they stated, if they were a hundred miles off from the scene; but these statements have been controverted by the facts themselves.

Some of these newspaper correspondents have proven more than their case. They have established the fact of a triumphant insurrection; they have established the fact of the Cuban insurgents holding possession of the country and chasing and locking up the Spaniards in fortified towns. If that be so, Mr. President, their independence is already achieved.

Then, again, pronunciamentos from Weyler are heard, and Spanish sympathizers come into the press and make their statements. Upon statements, we may say, of interested parties, statements largely emanating from the Cuban junta, which fights its battles at a safe distance, the Senate of the United States is called upon to pass upon this international fact of very considerable and grave moment.

I protest against this action. I deny the authority of the Senate of the United States to sit as a commissioner to find a fact. If it has that authority, bring your evidence from both sides; let all sides be heard; let there be a patient, careful, and patriotic consideration of the question, and let not our minds be carried away with exaggerated sympathy or with simulated patriotism.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the amendment proposed by the Senator from Indiana [Mr. FAIRBANKS].

Mr. MORGAN. I move to lay the amendment on the table.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Alabama to lay the amendment on the table.

Mr. HALE. Let us have the yeas and nays on that, Mr. President.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. HALE. Now, let the Chair state the question, so that Senators may understand it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the motion to lay on the table the amendment proposed by the Senator from Indiana.

Mr. HALE. Let the amendment be read.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to strike out all after the resolving clause and insert:

That the Congress of the United States views with deep solicitude the deplorable civil strife in the Island of Cuba, which is so destructible to life and property, and which is embarrassing and destroying the commerce of the United States with Cuba. The highest motives of humanity and public interest require the cessation of hostilities and the establishment of peace, and that the President shall, in a friendly spirit, tender the good offices of the United States to Spain to the end that bloodshed may speedily cease, and that honorable and permanent peace may be established in the Island of Cuba; and, further,

That the President, in a spirit of amity, tender the good offices of the United States to Spain in an endeavor to secure the independence of Cuba upon terms alike honorable and just to all powers concerned. And if the President shall be unable by such friendly intercession to secure the independence of Cuba within a reasonable time, he shall communicate the facts to Congress, with his recommendations thereon.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The pending question is on the motion to lay the amendment which has just been read upon the table, upon which the yeas and nays have been ordered.

The Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CLAY (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE], but I transfer that pair to the senior Senator from Virginia [Mr. DANIEL] and vote "yea."

Mr. ELKINS (when his name was called). I am paired with my colleague [Mr. FAULKNER].

Mr. FORAKER (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from South Carolina [Mr. EARLE], but I understand that, if here, he would vote "yea." I therefore vote "yea."

Mr. WALTHALL (when Mr. GEORGE's name was called). I again announce that my colleague [Mr. GEORGE] is paired with the Senator from Colorado [Mr. TELLER]. I ask that this announcement may apply to any other yea-and-nay votes taken during the day.

Mr. GORMAN (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the Senator from Maine [Mr. FRYE], and therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. KENNEY (when his name was called). I again announce my pair with the junior Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. PENROSE]. He not being present, I withhold my vote. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. KYLE (when his name was called). I transfer my pair with the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. PLATT], as before, to the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. ALLEN], and vote "yea."

Mr. LINDSAY (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the senior Senator from Michigan [Mr. MCMILLAN]. If he were present, I should vote "yea," but he being absent, I withhold my vote.

Mr. MCENERY (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from New York [Mr. PLATT], and therefore withhold my vote. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. MANTLE (when his name was called). I desire to again announce my pair with the junior Senator from Virginia [Mr. MARTIN]; but with the statement made upon the other vote by the senior Senator from Virginia [Mr. DANIEL], I think that I am at liberty to vote upon this question. I therefore vote "yea."

Mr. NELSON (when his name was called). I am paired with

the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST], and therefore withhold my vote.

Mr PERKINS (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the junior Senator from North Dakota [Mr. ROACH], who is absent from the Senate Chamber, and therefore I withhold my vote.

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. CULLOM. I have a general pair with the senior Senator from Delaware [Mr. GRAY], and shall therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. BATE. I desire to announce that my colleague [Mr. HARRIS of Tennessee], who is not present, is paired with the Senator from Vermont [Mr. MORRILL].

Mr. CAFFERY (after having voted in the negative). I am paired on this question with the Senator from Virginia [Mr. DANIEL], who is absent. I voted inadvertently, and therefore desire to withdraw my vote.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator's vote is withdrawn.

The result was announced—yeas 35, nays 15; as follows:

YEAS—35.

Bacon,	Clark,	Jones, Ark.	Rawlins,
Baker,	Clay,	Kyle,	Shoup,
Bate,	Cockrell,	Mantle,	Stewart,
Berry,	Davis,	Mason,	Thurston,
Butler,	Foraker,	Mills,	Tillman,
Cannon,	Gallinger,	Morgan,	Turner,
Carter,	Hansbrough,	Pasco,	Turpie,
Chandler,	Harris, Kans.	Pettigrew,	Walthall.
Chilton,	Heitfeld,	Pettus,	

NAYS—15.

Allison,	Hale,	McBride,	Wetmore,
Burrows,	Hanna,	Pritchard,	White,
Fairbanks,	Hawley,	Spooner,	Wilson.
Gear,	Hoar,	Wellington,	

NOT VOTING—38.

Aldrich,	George,	Martin,	Quay,
Allen,	Gorman,	Mitchell,	Roach,
Caffery,	Gray,	Morrill,	Sewell,
Cullom,	Harris, Tenn.	Murphy,	Smith,
Daniel,	Jones, Nev.	Nelson,	Teller,
Deboe,	Kenney,	Penrose,	Vest,
Earle,	Lindsay,	Perkins,	Warren,
Elkins,	Lodge,	Platt, Conn.	Wolcott.
Faulkner,	McEnery,	Platt, N. Y.	
Frye,	McMillan,	Proctor,	

So the motion to lay the amendment on the table was agreed to.

The joint resolution was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, and was read the third time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is, Shall the joint resolution pass?

Mr. HALE. Upon that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. HALE. Mr. President, I do not think anything further that can now be said or done can stay the march of the joint resolution. The votes already taken in the Senate show that so far as this body goes the foreign policy of the present Administration has been taken possession of and is to be shaped by its political opponent. I believe that to be an unprecedented thing in the history of all Administrations. I believe the passage of the joint resolution involves the United States possibly, and I fear probably, in the danger of actual war in the near future, and I call attention—and that is why I have risen—to the record which the roll call has made to-day.

The solid opposition vote against the Republican party, including Democrats and Populists, with two exceptions, have declared, by a vote of 34 to 19, against even arresting this measure long enough to send it to the committee of this body which, by its rules, has authority over the subject-matter. That vote is made up, as I have said, by the solid opposition to the Republican party, with two exceptions—the Senator from California [Mr. WHITE] and the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. CAFFERY]—and nine Republicans; and to-day the Administration stands before the country with its foreign policy, and a possible war involved, mapped for it by practically the solid vote of the opposition and a fraction of Republicans.

I lament that most remarkable condition. I grieve that at the outset of President McKinley's Administration this is to be done, without deliberation of a committee, without the act of the President in any way suggesting it, nay, in the face of the fact that the President has shown his interest in the subject by communicating to us a special message in which he has asked for relief and in which he has carefully excluded every other suggestion. We have the President of the United States, elected lately as its President, new in office, on record as submitting to the Senate his judgment of the extent to which Congress should go at present, and that recommendation is to be ignored by literally going beyond anything he has suggested, a result to be accomplished in this body by the solid votes of our opponents and a fraction of Republicans.

I can not hinder that. No Senator sympathizing with me can hinder it. No amount of speaking can deter the Senators from voting finally on the subject-matter. It is a fact that here in the Senate seems to be the center of this determination to drive Congress and the United States on to the perilous edge of war, and that can not be hindered with the constitution of the Senate, as is manifest by the votes we have had this afternoon. Contenting myself with the fear—I will not say prophecy—that at no distant day regrets will arise in many Senators' minds for the action of to-day, and with my protest against this action, I shall take no more of the time of the Senate.

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President, I have said very little in the course of this debate, and I propose to say but little in its closing hours. We have heard all sorts of reasons given why the joint resolution should not be adopted, and now that we are about to take the final vote we have had a new reason thrust upon us, and that is a political one.

I do not share in the apprehensions which seem to fill the mind of the distinguished Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE] so far as the Republican party is concerned in the record it is making to-day. I was at the great convention in St. Louis, and I heard the platform read, I think, by the distinguished Senator from Ohio [Mr. FORAKER], who addressed us so eloquently yesterday, and who was chairman of the committee on resolutions; and I remember, as I sat there in that auditorium, with probably 10,000 people, interested and earnest, with what acclaim the resolution relating to Cuba was accorded the approbation of that great audience. Sir, from that time to the present I have stood consistently upon the record we made in St. Louis and upon that plank of the Republican platform. If I as a Republican violate to-day any tenet of my political faith because I stand upon that platform now as I did then, I am willing to take my individual responsibility so far as my individual act is concerned.

I think those of us who believe the time has arrived to say a word and cast a vote for Cuba need not fear the indignation either of the American people or of the political party to which we belong. I am ready, sir, to risk my interests in the hands of that party upon the platform I occupy and upon the vote I cast, and I am willing that the distinguished Senator from Maine should square his account with the people whom he so ably represents in this Chamber.

Mr. President, what have we said to-day; what are we trying to say to-day? We are trying to say to the American people and to the world that a state of war exists on the Island of Cuba; and that is all we are trying to say. I have in my desk extracts from almost every writer upon international law which justify me in saying upon their authority that a state of flagrant, wicked, murderous war exists in the island, and yet we hesitate to declare it.

What are those 200,000 Spanish soldiers doing in the Island of Cuba? Are they there for their health? [Laughter.] Have they gone there for a holiday excursion? Are they there for any other purpose than to wage a relentless war upon the people who are trying to establish the principles of freedom and independence in that once beautiful and now desolate isle? And yet all we are trying to say to-day, supported by facts incontrovertible, and which every Senator can ascertain for himself, if he will take the trouble, is that those 200,000 Spanish soldiers with cannon and with muskets and with murderous implements of warfare are waging in that island a war against the people who are trying to establish their independence and to become a free republic.

Mr. President, that is all I care to say. I have no apologies to make, either to the distinguished Senator from Maine, to the Republican party, or to the country, for the action I have taken, and which I propose further to take upon the votes on this great question. I am willing to risk my political faith; I am willing to risk anything that may come to me politically or otherwise, when the conscience of the American people is aroused as it is aroused on this great question; and I shall cast my vote for the passage of the joint resolution with the sincere conviction that I am doing my duty to myself, to my State, and the nation I love as well as the Senator from Maine or any other Senator in this Chamber loves it.

Mr. WELLINGTON rose.

Mr. GALLINGER. Does the Senator from Maryland desire to interrupt me?

Mr. WELLINGTON. May I ask the Senator from New Hampshire a question?

Mr. GALLINGER. Certainly.

Mr. WELLINGTON. The Senator has said something about loyalty to the platform of the party adopted in St. Louis. I wish to ask him whether he does not recognize the fact that to-day we have voted upon this floor against a resolution presented by the Senator from Indiana [Mr. FAIRBANKS] that was couched in the exact language of the Republican platform adopted at St. Louis?

Mr. GALLINGER. When I am in a battle, I do not permit the enemy to furnish me with my ammunition. [Applause in the galleries.]

Mr. WELLINGTON. Upon this occasion, however, the Senator from New Hampshire has allowed the enemy to furnish him with his ammunition.

Mr. GALLINGER. If I had allowed the Senator from Maryland to furnish the ammunition, it would certainly have come from the enemy. There is no doubt about that. [Applause in the galleries.]

Mr. HOAR. Mr. President, are we to have order in the galleries, or are we to proceed without order?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. At the suggestion of the Senator from Massachusetts, it is the duty of the Chair to notify the occupants of the galleries that demonstrations of any kind are not permitted. If they continue, the galleries will be cleared.

Mr. HOAR. It was the duty of the Chair to do that without my suggestion.

Mr. THURSTON. I suggest to the Senator from New Hampshire that the amendment proposed by the Senator from Indiana was not in the exact language of the platform of the Republican party and, in my judgment, was not in harmony therewith.

Mr. GALLINGER. There is no question about that, but I do not care to take a single moment of the time of the Senate beyond what I have occupied, and which has been so courteously granted to me. I am done. I stand upon my individual responsibility and record as a Republican and as a member of this body, and I shall esteem it one of the grandest privileges of my life, an opportunity such as will seldom come to me, to cast my vote in behalf of the same principles that underlie our own grand Republic and that go to make up the highest possible privilege of American citizenship, that of independence as a nation and liberty as a people.

Mr. SPOONER. Mr. President, I am constrained by my view of duty to vote against the joint resolution. I had intended to address the Senate with some elaboration—I supposed I should have an opportunity on Monday—against the power of Congress to exercise what I consider an executive function. My memoranda are not accessible, and I am ill, and shall content myself simply with a statement of the reasons which impel me to record my vote against the joint resolution.

I think the President of the United States, without any aid from Congress, has the power to proclaim neutrality and to recognize the belligerency of Cuba. President Washington did it in the war between England and France, and his action drew upon him great criticism, for England had oppressed and made war upon us, while France had been our friend.

Mr. COCKRELL. Was there any belligerency in that case? Were they not two established nations?

Mr. SPOONER. That fact is of no consequence. He did it, and as an executive act.

Mr. COCKRELL. He recognized belligerency?

Mr. SPOONER. He recognized belligerency.

Mr. COCKRELL. The belligerency of which one?

Mr. SPOONER. It was a proclamation of neutrality, and the consensus of opinion has sustained his power. Essentially, what is the recognition of belligerency but a declaration of neutrality? What follows from a recognition of belligerency except neutrality? There is nothing in the pending joint resolution——

Mr. HOAR. "The United States shall maintain a strict neutrality," is the language of the joint resolution.

Mr. SPOONER. There is nothing in the joint resolution, in fact and in law, but a mere declaration of belligerency. All that follows it is surplusage, because, the fact of belligerency being recognized or declared, rights of belligerency follow, not from any law of ours, not from our Constitution, but from the law of nations.

A ship flying the flag of the Cuban Republic would have a right to enter one of our harbors, not by virtue of any act of Congress, but because of the law of nations. Senators have asked here in a sneering way, "What is the law of nations?" The Supreme Court of the United States, in the Prize Cases, answered that question through Mr. Justice Grier thus:

> The law of nations is also called the law of nature. It rests upon the common consent and the common sense of nations.

I doubt not the Senator from Alabama will concede that if every word of his joint resolution were stricken out except the declaration that a state of public war exists between the Cubans and Spain, all the rights or declarations which follow would result from international law. The resolution, if passed and valid, would be efficient for no other purpose save that of recognizing belligerency.

Mr. President, as I have said, the President has the power to recognize the belligerency of Cuba without any action of Congress. President Lincoln blockaded the Southern ports. The Supreme Court of the United States held it to be valid. Recognition of belligerency by executive act being valid, I am led to say that there is one thing in all this discussion which I have not been able to understand, and that is how it can be an executive act, as all Senators seem to admit, and at the same time be a legislative act and within the constitutional competency of Congress.

It must be one or the other. It can not be both. From my understanding of the theory of our Government and the Constitution under which we live, the President has the power, and I think the sole power, to recognize, sometimes in conjunction with the Senate, independence. Under the Articles of Confederation the Congress had the power to send and receive ambassadors. Under the Constitution of the United States the power is given to the President to send ambassadors and other ministers and to receive them.

That involves in its very nature and its essence the power to recognize independence. If he accepts an ambassador or minister, that recognizes by an Executive act the independence of the government which sends him. If he accredits one to another government, that recognizes the independence of that government.

It has been argued that Congress has the power to overrule that. I deny it. Congress has the power, I admit, to repeal every act creating the office of consul or minister or ambassador to a particular country; Congress has the power to repeal every act fixing a salary to be paid to ambassadors, to ministers, and to consuls, if it chooses to exercise the power; but notwithstanding all that, the power is lodged in the President of the United States, and no Congress can deprive him of it, to send envoys and ministers if they go without salary, and he has the power to receive them from their governments and to conduct our foreign relations through them here.

Congress has power to declare war. That power is conferred by the Constitution upon Congress. Congress can declare war against the Republic of Cuba, using that phrase, and thereby recognize the existence of the Republic of Cuba; but that will be a result, an incident in the exercise of a clearly conferred and indisputable power resting in Congress. It is another matter to declare the fact, for independence is a fact, substantively by Congressional action. Congress has power to pass an act regulating our commerce with the Republic of Cuba. That would recognize in legislation the Republic of Cuba; but it would be an incident in the exercise of a clear legislative power, and only that.

Congress might by act regulate commercial intercourse with the "Republic of Cuba," and still the President might decline to receive a minister from the Republic of Cuba or to send one there. Congress can pass an act fixing the value of the coins of the "Republic of Cuba" for circulation throughout our country, and in that way recognize the existence of the Republic of Cuba; but it would be a mere incident in the exercise of a power which confessedly is legislative, conferred upon the Congress.

I repeat, that I do not see how the power in question can be at once executive and legislative. The Constitution provides, in my view, no such anomaly. If it be legislative, it is for Congress to take the initiative and Congress alone. If it is executive, it is for the President to take the initiative and the President alone. If it is legislative, Congress could not delegate the power to the President. If executive, the President can not turn it over to Congress. Congress has the power to abrogate a treaty the day after it is made, but that does not in the slightest degree deprive the President, in conjunction with the Senate, the President taking the initiative, of course, from exercising the treaty-making power given by the Constitution. I discover in the Constitution no power, express or implied, to pass this measure.

What is this proposition? It is a proposition to recognize in a qualified way the government of Cuba. I do not stand here to contend that there is, in fact, no Republic of Cuba. There may be. The President, in the exercise of his functions, using all the facilities which from the foundation of the Republic have been given into the hands of the President, may ascertain facts which will justify him a month hence in recognizing the independence of a "Republic of Cuba." I say that a recognition of belligerency is a qualified recognition, because you can only accord belligerent rights to an entity, a governmental entity, supported in a manner by force of arms.

I can not persuade myself to believe that the framers of the Constitution intended to give to the President the power of recognizing independence, and yet to give to the Congress the power to exercise this qualified recognition of belligerency. The one is no more or less simply a fact than is the other.

Now, Mr. President, upon what possible theory is it that this can be called legislation? What is it? Senators will not question that it is nothing more than the declaration of a fact, or that, the fact being lawfully declared, international law gives certain rights. Where does Congress obtain under the Constitution the power to simply declare a fact, or, if you choose to say so, to simply recognize a fact? Is that legislation? An act passed by Congress within the power conferred upon it by the Constitution is a rule of conduct. It is not a rule of conduct which lasts only a week. It is not a rule of conduct which is to be binding only in the daytime. It is a rule of conduct which lasts until the power which made it unmakes it.

When there is a changed condition of facts, when there is no longer occasion for such a law, when the public interest no longer

demands its operation, the Congress can and will repeal it. No other power can repeal it. But how about the assertion of a fact, something that may be true to-day and false next week? War changes from day to day the condition of affairs. To-day there may be a condition of public war in Cuba. Sixty days from now, notwithstanding this attempted recognition of belligerency, there may be none.

But you will have what our friends call a law upon the statute book declaring the fact of belligerency. How long is this to be operative? Six months later a new rebellion may have been organized and carried to a condition of public war. Would this thing you call a law be operative? Would it impose any duty upon the Executive? Would Congress have to pass a new law declaring the new fact or would this answer the purpose?

Mr. President, I stand by the Republican platform at St. Louis, although I never yet have been willing to admit that a party platform can constrain a Senator on either side of this body upon a question of constitutional law. But I yield to no man in my loyalty to the Republican party or in my loyalty to its platform declarations. I deny, however, that this platform commits the party to this proposition.

It is said that the people of the United States demand this action of the Senate.

It is unquestioned that the people of the United States deeply sympathize with Cuba. So do I. I hope for her independence and prosperity. I am not in my heart any friend of Spain in her relation to Cuba. She has in that regard forfeited any claim to sympathy or friendship by long years of misrule, oppression, and broken promises in Cuba. Senators have no right to say, if a Senator thinks it his duty to vote against this joint resolution, that he is in hostility to Cuba, that he is friendly to Spain, that the spirit of liberty does not dwell in his heart. Not at all.

The people of the United States have not been advised that this proposition is a novel one, and that never in the history of the Republic has it been carried into effect before, although the power has been by different public men sometimes asserted. If this were a concurrent resolution expressing the opinion of Congress as to what the action of the Executive ought to be, that would be one thing. It is not that. It would then only be advisory. That might strengthen the hands of the Executive in a moral way. This would tie them in a legal way, if it be law, Mr. President. Congress before has passed resolutions expressive of its opinion upon such questions.

It is proper that Congress should do it in certain circumstances. This is a proposition to go beyond any precedent, so far as I know, and to compel the President to express his public approval or disapproval of this Congressional declaration of a fact.

Recognition of belligerency is not only to my mind executive in its nature, proper only to be exercised by an Executive who can gather in an authentic way the facts upon which his action should be predicated, but it is exclusively executive. This is a proposition designed necessarily to force the hand of the President in a grave matter of our foreign policy. Never from the foundation of the Government, as I understand it, has the Senate, although a part of the treaty-making power, claimed the right to demand of the President papers in the Department of State relating to our foreign relations.

President Washington denied that right. The Senate has always recognized the right of the President to decline. Not so as to matters which we have a right to know in order to discharge intelligently our duty in passing laws. It can not be possible that the Senate can demand of the present Administration—demand, I use the word advisedly—that there shall be transmitted here for the use of the public, or use in public, the reports of our consuls in Cuba, and the correspondence between Secretaries Olney and Sherman and Spain.

If the President should decline upon the ground that in his judgment it was incompatible with the public interests, no Senator would insist that it was discourteous to the Senate. The right to withhold such information must, in the very nature of things, rest with that department of the Government which, under the Constitution and in accordance with our traditions, has charge of our foreign relations.

If the Congress of the United States, or the Senate, had possessed and successfully exercised the power during the war to bring out by a resolution into the light of day the correspondence which was going on between Mr. Seward and the British Government in relation to the *Trent* affair, we would have had war between Great Britain and the United States. There might be to-day a negotiation well along, initiated by the executive department with Spain, for the independence of Cuba. If Congress could and should pass a law interfering with our relation to Cuba, changing the attitude of the United States to Cuba, that negotiation would inevitably be embarrassed or defeated.

Negotiation with foreign nations, as negotiations among business men, requires unity of action. There can not be too many engaged in negotiation at once. It must be confidential; it must be, in order to be successful, in a measure secret. It is hardly possible, I submit to Senators, although I know that I submit it vainly, that if this were a legislative power under the Constitution, neither House of Congress would have had from the beginning, unchallenged, the right to demand information from the State Department essential to enable it to legislate intelligently upon a subject within its constitutional legislative capacity.

And yet there is not a writer upon our constitutional law—Story, Pomeroy, Kent, and all—who does not concede that communications sent and received in the course of our intercourse with foreign nations may, in the discretion of the President, be kept away from the public, or, what is nearly the same thing in these days, from the Senate.

Mr. President, I beg leave to repeat that I can not conceive it possible that this power can be a concurrent power, that it can be lodged in the Executive and at the same time lodged in the Houses of Congress. The concurrent jurisdiction and the principle which regulates it we all understand. That jurisdiction which first attaches goes on to the end. Two jurisdictions can not be efficiently exercised at the same time.

The conclusion and action of each might differ, and this would practically destroy the power. The principle of concurrent jurisdiction can not possibly apply to coordinate departments of the Government; otherwise we might have the Houses of Congress passing a joint resolution one way, and the President acting in another—Congress declaring a fact one way, and the President declaring it another way. This joint resolution, if it be passed, and it will pass this body, will be a vicious precedent, in my judgment, and a fruitful source of weakness and friction in the conduct of our foreign relations.

We have had in all the years of our history little cause to criticise the management of our foreign affairs by the executive department. As a rule, from the beginning to to-day they have been managed with discretion, with ability, and with true American spirit.

There is no occasion now for any innovation. There is no occasion, if there be warrant, for Congress to attempt to force the President into an unwilling partnership in the conduct of our foreign relations, the most sensitive, the most far-reaching, and at times the most delicate and dangerous of any function devolved upon any department of the Government.

Mr. Clay went as far as anyone in asserting the power of Congress jointly with the Executive to recognize independence; but Congress never passed anything but an advisory resolution. Scattered all through the books are the utterances of the ablest statesmen of both parties denying the power of Congress to trench in this wise upon the power of the Executive.

Mr. President, no Senator will doubt that if this practice is now inaugurated it will be pursued. No Senator who stops to think will doubt that there is danger at least that in this most difficult and delicate relation and transaction of the Government the Congress will at inopportune times for the interest of the people intervene in the conduct of our foreign affairs. The President would be likely to wait for Congress. Congress would not be as likely to wait for the President. In such matters there is obvious weakness in divided responsibility. I am not afraid of "one-man power" in the President in this regard.

He is responsible to the people, and is subject to impeachment. We heard during the war much about "one-man power." We heard Abraham Lincoln denounced from one end of the land to the other as usurping and exercising legislative and judicial functions, that we were living under a "one-man power;" but to-day all the people from ocean to ocean rise up and bless him, and his memory throughout the world is fragrant, and to be fragrant forever.

General Grant was permitted by Congress to pursue his way with reference to the recognition of Cuba through many years. He was a liberty-loving man; he was a soldier; he was an American; he was in favor of the Monroe doctrine. No Congress sought to force him in what was then and what is now a situation of danger by compelling him to sign or veto a declaration of belligerency. Shall we do it with our new President? The power must at least be considered doubtful, as eminent lawyers in this body differ about it.

If it be a doubtful question whether Congress possesses the power to pass such a resolution, should one be passed and the President forced to sign it or veto, except under extraordinary circumstances, evincing either blindness or indifference to the popular will?

A President might and would likely be placed at a very unfair disadvantage by such action. He might, from information in his possession which he could not make public, feel it a duty to withhold approval and be disabled from giving to Congress frankly and fully his reasons for disapproval.

Senators on the other side waited a great many months for Mr. Cleveland to act in the Cuban matter, fourteen, I think, or more. He was not perhaps very greatly beloved at times by his party in

the Senate. Yet you did not insist upon forcing his hand by such action upon the Cuban question. The Senate did not vote to force him to sign or to veto a joint resolution—the same in legal effect as a bill—declaring belligerency.

Yet now, when this Administration has been in power only since the 4th of March, it is proposed to force the hand of President McKinley by compelling him to sign or disapprove a bill declaring that public war exists in Cuba. I deny the power thus to act and I deny the justice of such action.

He has sent a messenger of his own choice to Cuba to investigate. He may employ and send there agents known and unknown. He has facilities for investigation which we have not. He will be able to furnish to the Senate after a little, if it is in his opinion wise to do it, the result of his investigation, and he will be able to act upon full and authentic information in adopting a policy with reference to Cuba not only as to belligerency, but in general.

I ask again, Why attempt to force the hand of the President in this way, within ninety days after he has taken the oath of office, in the absence of any desire expressed on his part for Congressional action? Is it fair to a President? Is it fair to the country? Is it a good precedent, Senators? I do not doubt the sincerity of any colleague in this body; I do not doubt his love of liberty; I do not think because he chooses to speak upon a question he is a legislative filibuster.

I believe every Senator in this body wishes to do in a calm and deliberate way his duty. I say to Senators on the other side: The time may come when the political situation will be changed. You may have another Democratic President. I hope you will not, but you may have another Democratic President. You may at the same time have a Republican Congress, and your President may be confronted with a situation of delicacy and danger, as the present President is, and as was President Grant.

I doubt if you would think it statesmanship, I doubt if you would think it wise, when he was performing in a confidential way, as he must in such affairs, his duty, when he was seeking that information upon which alone he could intelligently base Executive action, to force him by a joint resolution.

I suspect that if William McKinley had been defeated at the last election, if Mr. Bryan had been chosen and occupied the White House, and it was proposed by a Republican Congress to take away from him this important phase of the conduct of our foreign relations, to force him to approve or to disapprove a Congressional declaration of fact, to put upon him in this way a policy with reference to a great and delicate matter which he did not believe to be right or in the interest of the American people without further information, which he was seeking, Senators on the other side would make the rafters shake in this building with their eloquent denunciation of it as unjust to the Executive.

I deny, Mr. President, that the people are demanding the establishment of any new precedent of this kind in the legislative history of our Republic. They sympathize with Cuba. They wish to see Cuba free, as I wish to see Cuba free. But I believe, Mr. President, that the American people have implicit confidence in the present occupant of the White House. They chose him in the constitutional way to be their President. They placed in his hands, under the Constitution, the executive power, and I firmly believe, if this matter were submitted to them to decide, they would say, "Give him a fair chance."

There is no reason to doubt his sentiment in regard to Cuba. There is no reason to doubt his patriotism. He testified his love of liberty under our flag on many a battlefield. He never has made an utterance or done an act in public or in private life not in harmony with liberty and true, patriotic, American policy. He did not falter in his duty as a soldier. He will not falter in his duty as a President. Give him a fair chance.

Mr. President, I rose simply to explain in a few words the reasons why I can not, with my conviction of duty, vote for the pending joint resolution. I am painfully aware that I have spoken in a desultory way, and I have taken very much longer time than I intended, for which I apologize to the Senate.

Mr. GORMAN. Mr. President, during the entire consideration of the Cuban question I have contented myself with remaining quiet and not taking part in the discussion, recognizing, as I have, the delicacy of the question involved, and with a desire to see the executive branch of the Government take such action as the facts presented to them would warrant. We have waited for months and months, and, so far as we are advised, no action looking to the relief of those people, the settlement of that controversy, or the protection of American interests has been had.

I had preferred, in view of the conditions in our own country, the distress among our people commercially, that nothing should intervene to prevent a steady progress to a better condition of affairs. Nor would I now say one word but for the utterances of the distinguished Senators from Maine and Wisconsin, who seek to make somewhat a party matter of the consideration of the pending resolution, and to arraign, as the Senator from Maine has done, nearly all of those who are in opposition to the Republican party in the Senate as being actuated by motives intended to embarrass the present Administration.

Mr. HALE. Mr. President, did I in the least wise either arraign or refer to any motive? Did I indicate that I suspected any improper motive? I only brought out the remarkable fact that the resolution here, brought in by the oldest Democratic Senator, was supported by every Democrat except two and carried by that solid vote of the other side, and a fraction, nine only, of Republicans. Did I anywhere, may I ask the Senator, arraign the other side or intimate an arraignment; and should the Senator be sensitive on that point unless there is something to make him sensitive? I did not suggest it. He is the first who has suggested any political motive why it is that he and his fellows are found solidly voting to force the President's hand. Neither the Senator from Wisconsin nor I charged any improper motive. But it is a picturesque fact that the country will take notice of.

Mr. GORMAN. If the Senator from Maine did not intend to convey the impression to the country that a solid vote on this side and of all in opposition to the present Administration was a political movement, I have no idea what he meant; and the Senator from Wisconsin follows it by the plain statement that if Mr. Bryan had been elected President of the United States instead of Mr. McKinley, we would have found a different condition of affairs on this side of the Chamber. What can it mean, I ask the Senator in all fairness, if it was not simply intended to convey the impression to the country that political sentiments enter into the matter of votes upon this question? He denies it. He says he does not intend to make such a statement. Of course I accept it, but I could not permit such a statement to go out without entering my protest against it.

Mr. President, I know how serious a matter we are dealing with. I could not be found to cast my vote, no matter who was President, for a resolution of this character unless the case was an exceptional one. President Cleveland, during his Administration, and in the last message which he delivered to Congress, informed us of the serious condition in Cuba as he understood it. He asked Congress not to take action to precipitate further and graver affairs, and Congress waited. But with true statesmanship he informed Congress that the time might come (and he intimated that it might come within a reasonably short period) when some action would be required to protect life and liberty and our commercial interests, which are great, in that island. Have we reached that period? I was never satisfied in my own mind until yesterday that a case was before us where I could not hesitate longer to act. That was the most remarkable spectacle that has ever been presented to the Senate of the United States.

The Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. SPOONER] and the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE] say that no such action as is contemplated by this resolution has ever been taken by Congress from General Washington's day until this. No such case has ever been presented to the Senate of the United States as was presented here yesterday with the statement from the Senator from Alabama [Mr. MORGAN] and the Senator from Ohio [Mr. FORAKER], both members of the Committee on Foreign Relations, that the President of the United States and the Secretary of State had informed them that they could not communicate to Congress the information which they had officially from our representatives on the Island of Cuba for fear that those representatives would be assassinated or that their lives would be in danger. Yet this Administration, with that message delivered in that extraordinary way, so far as we are advised has taken no action whatever to protect the lives of the honored men who represent the United States in the Island of Cuba.

With a fleet of magnificent vessels lying in Hampton Roads and along the coast as far as New Orleans, not a gunboat has been ordered to Cuba to protect the lives of our representatives, to say nothing of the property interests and the commerce which are involved. When such a case arises, it is the duty, in my judgment, Mr. President, of Congress to take some action; and it seems that the only action that is feasible is the passage of this resolution. I shall vote for it not with any hostility to the Administration, but because I believe the Administration, if the message which comes to us through our own members be true, is derelict in its duty. It has not protected American interests or the lives of our representatives, and whether the Administration be Democratic or Republican, I want the opportunity to give my expression that that condition shall no longer continue.

Is there a Senator here who represents the Administration, who is in political accord with it, who will say that the President and the Secretary of State, having the powers they have, have taken the proper action to protect our people? If so, then I believe that Congress ought to wait; but in the absence of such an assurance, in the face of the fact that we know protection has not been given, what should be done? Remain silent and permit these interests to be sacrificed? No, no, Mr. President. Pass the resolution as it is, if nothing better can be had, and, if it amounts to nothing more, it will be a declaration to the country that at least the

Senate of the United States insists in the present condition that some action shall be taken.

Mr. HOAR. I desire to ask the Senator, before he proceeds to his next sentence, whether I clearly understand his last, because I should like to know that. Do I understand the Senator to say that he puts his support of this resolution and asks for its passage on the ground of the delinquency of the present President of the United States, and that he would not vote for it but for that delinquency?

Mr. GORMAN. I say in the present condition, as communicated to us by Senators, members of the Foreign Relations Committee, it becomes, in my opinion, my duty to vote for a resolution which expresses the opinion of this body that some vigorous action should be taken to protect life, liberty, and property in the Island of Cuba.

Mr. HOAR. Do I understand the Senator to say further that the President has been delinquent, and but for that belief he should not have supported the resolution? I so understand him, and I want him to make it distinct to the Senate.

Mr. GORMAN. I say if it be true that the State Department possesses information which has convinced the Secretary of State and the President of the United States that they can not with safety give the names of our consuls in Cuba who gave the information, then the Executive is delinquent when he fails to send a vessel of war to protect our representatives. No great nation on the face of the earth that I know of in any case of war or insurrection would permit its own representatives to be thus in jeopardy when they had the power to protect them. Does the Senator from Massachusetts deny that proposition? Does not the Senator from Massachusetts agree with me that our representatives ought to be protected? The Senator nods his head.

Mr. HOAR. I do not agree with the Senator from Maryland in the fact that there has been any delinquency on the part of the President, and I do not propose to vote for a resolution which is based by nine-tenths of its supporters, speaking through their leader, upon that proposition.

Mr. MASON. Whether it is right or not?

Mr. HOAR. Does the Senator from Illinois think it is?

Mr. MASON. I think it is.

Mr. GORMAN. Mr. President, I should have regarded it as most unfortunate in this or in any other case where questions between this country and foreign nations were involved that this Chamber should ever be divided by that aisle. No such division has ever existed heretofore when we have dealt with the rights of American citizens in any country on the face of the globe, and I do not believe it exists now. I resent the suggestion that there is any political advantage or any political pressure or sentiment which influences a single vote on this side of the Chamber, so far as I know, and I trust it may always be so. I hope, during the present Administration, to follow President McKinley in every act of his that looks to promoting the welfare of this people abroad. He shall have as earnest support from me as had his two predecessors. But in view of this failure, as I view it, on their part, I believe that it becomes my duty to support this resolution, though it may not be more than an expression of the opinion of the Senate of the United States.

Mr. HALE. Failure by whom? The Senator says in view of their failure. Failure by whom?

Mr. GORMAN. By the executive branch of the Government.

Mr. HALE. I supposed so.

Mr. MILLS. By both the President and the Secretary of State.

Mr. GORMAN. The Senator asked me to whom I applied the remark. I applied it to the President of the United States and the Secretary of State, who sent this message to the Senate of the United States by two or three Senators. I assume that what has been said here is the literal truth; and coming from those, too, who have the power, and who, being clothed with the power by the Constitution, ought to have acted. Because of their failure, I am ready to take my share of the responsibility of having the Senate say that American interests must be protected.

Mr. President, as to party advantage in this question, there is none. I know that the great business interests of the country centered in our section upon the seaboard are hostile to anything being done in Congress which would put in jeopardy for a moment their languishing trade, and I am in sympathy with their desires to an extent; but I can not permit that to control me when I believe the honor of the country and the lives of our representatives in a foreign land are in jeopardy.

Mr. CAFFERY. Before the Senator sits down, I should like to make an inquiry of him. I desire to know whether any danger to the lives of our consuls in Cuba has any relation whatever as evidence to establish the fact of public war; and, if so, in what direction?

Mr. GORMAN. I have no idea that we shall have a war, Mr. President.

Mr. CAFFERY. No; that is not my question. My question is, whether the fact of the danger of assassination by somebody, whether by the insurgents or by the Spaniards, of our consuls in Cuba, is any evidence of the fact of public war, and whether or not that danger may not arise from murderous people in a state of profound peace as well as in a state of public war?

Mr. GORMAN. The Senator and I both know, and everybody knows, that there is war in Cuba of very great proportions. There is no doubt that it exists. To what extent the Cubans have a government in a fixed place is a question which has been debated, and I do not intend to go into it. The country is satisfied upon that point. It is true there is a difference of opinion in this body, but the underlying fact that the President and the Secretary of State of this great nation of 70,000,000 people are afraid to intrust to the Senate of the United States the names of our consuls who give the President information is enough, in my opinion, to warrant the sending of war vessels to Cuba, and saying to the world that that condition shall not continue. In my judgment, such action will not produce war, but if it shall, we have gone to war, Mr. President, for very much less cause.

Mr. CAFFERY. Mr. President, I did not intend by the question I asked the Senator from Maryland to say that our action would produce war or get us into war; but the point of my question was simply whether, with this evidence before us, which the Senator says has convinced his mind to vote for this resolution, this evidence that there is danger to life of the American consul in Habana from some murderous gang or band of assassins, is any proof whatever of such a condition of public war as would authorize the United States to recognize it as a national affair? The lives of those gentlemen, or of any consul, can be in danger in any lawless community from attacks of mobs.

If the fact that the lives of those gentlemen, or any of them, are in danger is conceded, that does not by any means establish the fact of international war or public war. Some time ago I read in the newspapers that there had been an American envoy or consul shot somewhere in Central America. That is no evidence of public war in that country. It is a very slim basis for Congress to predicate the fact of public war on. It might be a case of declaration of war on the part of the United States against Spain for not protecting the lives of its citizens; but it would not establish at all the case of belligerency in Cuba, even if it existed. So I say that we are apt to run off at a tangent in this matter, and not apt to consider the real question before the body. Is there that sort of proof before this body—conceding its jurisdiction—to justify any Senator in voting to establish by his vote a case of public war between Spain and her revolting colony?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is, Shall the joint resolution pass?

Mr. HALE. The yeas and nays, I think, have been heretofore ordered on that question.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The yeas and nays have been ordered. The Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CLAY (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE], but he stated to me before he left here that if the resolution came to a vote he would vote for it, and I was authorized to vote. I therefore vote "yea."

Mr. ELKINS (when his name was called). I am paired with my colleague [Mr. FAULKNER], and therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. PASCO (when Mr. FAULKNER'S name was called). The Senator from West Virginia [Mr. FAULKNER] is not in the city. He desired me to announce that if present he would vote "yea" on the passage of the resolution. His pair with his colleague has already been announced.

Mr. FORAKER (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from South Carolina [Mr. EARLE], but I am informed that if he were present he would vote "yea." I therefore vote "yea."

Mr. GORMAN (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the Senator from Maine [Mr. FRYE], which I have observed on all the votes leading up to this final vote, but I understand from the Senator's colleague and from members of the committee that the Senator from Maine is in favor of the joint resolution. Therefore I take the liberty to vote.

Mr. HALE. I can say to the Senator that, while my colleague left no message of that kind, it is my impression that he would vote that way; but I do not know, and I would not claim to state how he would vote if present.

Mr. MORGAN. I think I know that he would vote "yea."

Mr. GORMAN. Then I vote "yea."

Mr. BATE (when the name of Mr. HARRIS of Tennessee was called). This being the final vote on the joint resolution, I desire to say that my colleague [Mr. HARRIS of Tennessee] has a pair with the Senator from Vermont [Mr. MORRILL], and that my colleague, if present, would vote "yea."

Mr. KENNEY (when his name was called). Under the terms of my pair with the junior Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. PENROSE] I am at liberty to vote on the joint resolution, and therefore I vote "yea."

Mr. LINDSAY (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the senior Senator from Michigan [Mr. MCMILLAN], and therefore withhold my vote. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. GALLINGER. The Senator from Utah [Mr. CANNON] was compelled to leave the Chamber a moment ago. He is very earnestly in favor of the resolution, and requested me as a special courtesy to him to secure a pair. If agreeable to the Senator from Kentucky, the Senator from Utah might be paired with the Senator from Michigan [Mr. MCMILLAN] with whom the Senator from Kentucky is paired, and that would allow the Senator to vote.

Mr. LINDSAY. With that understanding I vote "yea."

Mr. MCENERY (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from New York [Mr. PLATT]. If he were present I should vote "yea," but being paired, I withhold my vote.

Mr. MANTLE (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the Senator from Virginia [Mr. MARTIN], but I am informed that he would vote in favor of this resolution, if present, and I shall therefore vote. I vote "yea."

Mr. PERKINS (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the junior Senator from North Dakota [Mr. ROACH]. As he is absent, I shall withhold my vote.

Mr. CLARK (when Mr. WARREN's name was called). My colleague [Mr. WARREN] is unavoidably absent from the Chamber. He asked me to announce that, if present, he would wish to be recorded in favor of the passage of the resolution.

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. CULLOM. I have a general pair with the Senator from Delaware [Mr. GRAY]. I understand that the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. CAFFERY] has a pair with the Senator from Virginia [Mr. DANIEL]. I suggest that we transfer our pairs, so that we can both vote, and the Senator from Virginia will stand paired with the Senator from Delaware. Is that agreeable?

Mr. CAFFERY. I will inform the Senator that I voted inadvertently, but intended to withdraw it, the Senator from Virginia [Mr. DANIEL] with whom I am paired not having voted; but under the arrangement suggested by the Senator from Illinois I will let my vote stand.

Mr. CULLOM. I vote "yea."

Mr. HAWLEY. My colleague [Mr. PLATT of Connecticut] is absent and paired with the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. ALLEN]. If my colleague were present and at liberty to vote, he would vote "nay."

Mr. COCKRELL. My colleague [Mr. VEST] is unavoidably detained upon important work outside of the Senate Chamber. He is paired with the junior Senator from Minnesota [Mr. NELSON]. If my colleague were present, he would vote "yea."

The result was announced—yeas 41, nays 14; as follows:

YEAS—41.

Bacon,	Cullom,	Lindsay,	Rawlins,
Baker,	Davis,	McBride,	Shoup,
Bate,	Deboe,	Mantle,	Stewart,
Berry,	Forakor,	Mason,	Thurston,
Butler,	Gallinger,	Mills,	Tillman,
Carter,	Gorman,	Morgan,	Turner,
Chandler,	Hansbrough,	Nelson,	Turpie,
Chilton,	Harris, Kans.	Pasco,	Walthall.
Clark,	Heitfeld,	Pettigrew,	
Clay,	Jones, Ark.	Pettus,	
Cockrell,	Kenney,	Pritchard,	

NAYS—14.

Allison,	Gear,	Hoar,	White,
Burrows,	Hale,	Spooner,	Wilson.
Caffery,	Hanna,	Wellington,	
Fairbanks,	Hawley,	Wetmore,	

NOT VOTING—33.

Aldrich,	Gray,	Morrill,	Sewell,
Allen,	Harris, Tenn.	Murphy,	Smith,
Cannon,	Jones, Nev.	Penrose,	Teller,
Daniel,	Kyle,	Perkins,	Vest,
Earle,	Lodge,	Platt, Conn.	Warren,
Elkins,	McEnery,	Platt, N. Y.	Wolcott.
Faulkner,	McMillan,	Proctor,	
Frye,	Martin,	Quay,	
George,	Mitchell,	Roach,	

So the joint resolution was passed. It is as follows:

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives, etc., That a condition of public war exists between the Government of Spain and the government proclaimed and for some time maintained by force of arms by the people of Cuba, and that the United States of America shall maintain a strict neutrality between the contending powers, according to each all the rights of belligerents in the ports and territory of the United States.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. HALE. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After thirteen minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened, and (at 5 o'clock and 48 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until Monday, May 24, 1897, at 12 o'clock meridian.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate May 20, 1897.

GOVERNOR OF ARIZONA.

Myron H. McCord, of Phœnix, Ariz., to be governor of Arizona, vice Benjamin J. Franklin, removed.

SECRETARY OF ARIZONA.

Charles H. Akers, of Prescott, Ariz., to be secretary of Arizona Territory, vice Charles M. Bruce, removed.

UNITED STATES ATTORNEY.

Joseph H. Gaines, of West Virginia, to be attorney of the United States for the district of West Virginia, vice Cornelius C. Watts, resigned.

ASSISTANT COMMISSIONER OF PATENTS.

Arthur P. Greeley, of Concord, N. H., now an examiner in chief in the patent office, to be Assistant Commissioner of Patents, vice Samuel T. Fisher, resigned.

EXAMINER IN CHIEF, PATENT OFFICE.

Thomas G. Steward, of Piano, Ill., now a principal examiner in the Patent Office, to be an examiner in chief in the Patent Office, vice Arthur P. Greeley, nominated to be Assistant Commissioner of Patents.

POSTMASTERS.

Earle E. Doud, to be postmaster at Sheffield, in the county of Colbert and State of Alabama, in the place of James R. Crowe, removed.

Daniel E. Sherman, to be postmaster at Montrose, in the county of Montrose and State of Colorado, in the place of James F. Kyle, removed.

Charles F. Douglass, to be postmaster at Ashland, in the county of Cass and State of Illinois, the appointment of a postmaster for the said office having, by law, become vested in the President on and after January 1, 1897.

Samuel H. Watson, to be postmaster at Mount Vernon, in the county of Jefferson and State of Illinois, in the place of Allen C. Tanner, removed.

Hiram Yerkes, to be postmaster at Fairmount, in the county of Vermilion and State of Illinois, in the place of Samuel H. Gunder, removed.

Jasper H. Thornburg, to be postmaster at Boonville, in the county of Warrick and State of Indiana, in the place of Jacob B. Ashley, resigned.

James L. Berry, to be postmaster at Humeston, in the county of Wayne and State of Iowa, the appointment of a postmaster for the said office having, by law, become vested in the President on and after January 1, 1897.

C. N. Marvin, to be postmaster at Shenandoah, in the county of Page and State of Iowa, in the place of George C. Pearce, removed.

James A. Wilson, to be postmaster at Williamsburg, in the county of Iowa and State of Iowa, the appointment of a postmaster for the said office having, by law, become vested in the President on and after October 1, 1896. Richard H. Mobley, appointed by the President, and by him nominated to the Senate, not having been confirmed.

Joe Carey, to be postmaster at Garnett, in the county of Anderson and State of Kansas, in the place of J. T. Highley, resigned.

William E. Hogueland, to be postmaster at Yates Center, in the county of Woodson and State of Kansas, in the place of Harrison C. Rollins, resigned.

Edward U. Fordyce, to be postmaster at Bowling Green, in the county of Warren and State of Kentucky, in the place of John B. Gaines, resigned.

J. D. Wilson, to be postmaster at Cloverport, in the county of Breckinridge and State of Kentucky, in the place of Lela Henley, whose commission expired April 12, 1897.

David M. Donaldson, to be postmaster at South Hadley Falls, in the county of Hampshire and State of Massachusetts, in the place of John Kirkpatrick, removed.

William G. Earp, to be postmaster at Swampscott, in the county of Essex and State of Massachusetts, in the place of George W. Marshall, deceased.

John T. Lovett, to be postmaster at Little Silver, in the county of Monmouth and State of New Jersey, in the place of J. Elwood Harvey, removed.

Emmett B. Hawkins, to be postmaster at Huntington, in the county of Suffolk and State of New York, in the place of Camillus P. Rogers, removed.

Ellsworth Sweet, to be postmaster at Waterloo, in the county of Seneca and State of New York, in the place of Samuel R. Welles, removed.

J. H. Porter, to be postmaster at New Wilmington, in the county of Lawrence and State of Pennsylvania, the appointment of a postmaster for the said office having, by law, become vested in the President on and after January 1, 1897.

WITHDRAWAL.

Executive nomination withdrawn from the Senate May 19, 1897.

Simon S. Matthews, whose nomination was delivered to the Senate on April 20, 1897, to be register of the land office at Jackson, Miss.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate May 20, 1897.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

Frank A. Vanderlip, of Illinois, to be Assistant Secretary of the Treasury.

PROMOTION IN THE ARMY.

General officer.

Brig. Gen. Zenas Randall Bliss, to be major-general.

SOLICITOR OF INTERNAL REVENUE.

George Morgan Thomas, of Kentucky, to be Solicitor of Internal Revenue.

UNITED STATES CIRCUIT JUDGE.

William W. Morrow, of California, to be United States circuit judge for the ninth judicial circuit.

SECRETARY OF LEGATION.

Stanton Sickles, of New York, to be secretary of the legation of the United States at Madrid.

PROMOTION IN THE NAVY.

P. A. Engineer Frank H. Eldridge, to be a chief engineer.

SURVEYOR OF CUSTOMS.

Richard S. Bostwick, of Illinois, to be surveyor of customs for the port of Galena, in the State of Illinois.

INDIAN AGENT.

Samuel G. Morse, of Port Angeles, Wash., to be agent for the Indians of the Neah Bay Agency, in Washington.

REGISTER OF THE LAND OFFICE.

David C. Fleming, of Sterling, Colo., to be register of the land office at Sterling, Colo.

POSTMASTERS.

H. S. McGiffin, to be postmaster at Edgerton, in the county of Rock and State of Wisconsin.

E. S. Goodell, to be postmaster at Viroqua, in the county of Vernon and State of Wisconsin.

Daniel Gunn, to be postmaster at Kinmundy, in the county of Marion and State of Illinois.

Frederick Chapman, to be postmaster at Woodstock, in the county of Windsor and State of Vermont.

A. E. Kincaid, to be postmaster at Walnut, in the county of Pottawattamie and State of Iowa.

Marion Bruce, to be postmaster at Rolfe, in the county of Pocahontas and State of Iowa.

Fletcher W. Boyd, to be postmaster at Covington, in the county of Fountain and State of Indiana.

James E. Zook, to be postmaster at Ballard, in the county of King and State of Washington.

Alfred Cruse, to be postmaster at Iron Mountain, in the county of Dickinson and State of Michigan.

Henry R. Huntington, to be postmaster at Benton Harbor, in the county of Berrien and State of Michigan.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

THURSDAY, *May 20, 1897.*

The House met at 12 o'clock m. Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. HENRY N. COUDEN.

THE JOURNAL.

The Journal of Monday last was read, omitting the text of the conference report on the Indian appropriation bill, Executive communications referred, bills, resolutions, memorials, and petitions introduced and referred.

Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas. Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER. Without objection, the Journal will be considered as approved.

Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas. The Journal has not all been read, has it? I would like to have it all read.

The SPEAKER. It has been read in the usual manner.

Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas. I want it all read.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman has a right to ask for the reading of the entire Journal; and the Clerk will read the parts that have not been read.

The Clerk then read the parts of the Journal omitted in the first reading.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, the Journal will be considered as agreed to.

Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, I rise to correct the Journal.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state his correction.

Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas. I notice here the introduction of bills of different kinds, and particularly bills introduced in pension cases. Here is a bill introduced by Mr. BOTKIN of Kansas, which was referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions. Now, Mr. Speaker, the correction I want made is this: That there is no such committee. The Speaker not having appointed the committee, there is no Committee on Invalid Pensions; and consequently a bill can not be referred to a committee that does not exist.

Now, the RECORD goes to the public libraries and the newspapers, and the people out in my State have access to them. There are many old soldiers who are desirous of having their claims acted upon in this House who write to me about this matter——

Mr. PAYNE. I rise to a point of order.

Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas. And I have to reply to them, "You can not get any action on the claim, because there is no such committee appointed;" and therefore I——

The SPEAKER. The gentleman has made no proposition.

Mr. PAYNE. I rise to a point of order.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York rises to a point of order.

Mr. PAYNE. The gentleman from Kansas stated that he rose to correct the Journal, and there is nothing before the House. I move, therefore, that the Journal be approved, and on that I wish to say a word or two.

Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas. My correction, Mr. Speaker, is this.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman did not state any proposition.

Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas (continuing). That this is a false record, and that the record ought to be corrected. I said there is no such committee——

The SPEAKER. The gentleman has stated no proposition, and the gentleman from New York [Mr. PAYNE] moves that the Journal be approved.

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. Speaker, I want to say a word or two upon that, because I think it better that debate be had before the previous question is ordered than afterwards. The Journal has been read to the House, not only what is usually read, but the whole thing has been read in extenso; and it does not seem that there is anything of criticism to be offered upon the Journal itself. The gentleman from Kansas has occupied some five or ten minutes, and has not been able to suggest any mistake made in the Journal itself. Therefore I move the previous question upon the approval of the Journal.

Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from New York——

Mr. BLAND. I rise to a point of order.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. BLAND. The gentleman from Kansas was on the floor, and the gentleman [Mr. PAYNE] can not take him off the floor.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York made a point of order that the gentleman from Kansas had made no proposition for the House to discuss.

Mr. BLAND. He made a point of order, but he can not take him off the floor on a point of order. The gentleman from Kansas has the right to make a motion to strike out matters.

The SPEAKER. The question is on ordering the previous question.

The question was taken; and the Speaker announced that the ayes seemed to have it.

Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas. Division, Mr. Speaker.

The House divided; and there were—ayes 120, noes 36.

Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas. No quorum, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. There is evidently a quorum present.

So the previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. The question now is on the approval of the Journal.

The question was taken; and the Journal was approved.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Mr. DALZELL. Mr. Speaker, I submit a privileged report. After the reading I shall demand the previous question.

Mr. BAILEY. How is that? I understood the gentleman from Pennsylvania made some observation about the previous question.

Mr. DALZELL. I shall demand the previous question as soon as it is read.

Mr. BAILEY. Then, of course, it must be read.

The Clerk read as follows:

The Committee on Rules, to whom was referred House resolution No. —, have had the same under consideration, and ask leave to report it with the recommendation that it do pass.

Resolved, That upon the adoption of this resolution the House shall proceed to the consideration of Senate resolution 42, and at the end of the debate, which shall not exceed two hours, a vote shall be taken thereon to its final disposition.

Mr. DALZELL. I ask for the previous question on the adoption of the resolution.

Mr. BAILEY. I desire, Mr. Speaker, to submit the views of the minority of the Committee on Rules.

Mr. DALZELL. I submit to my friend from Texas that I have the floor, and I do not yield it.

The SPEAKER. The Chair thinks they would have to be filed with the Clerk.

Mr. BAILEY. Does the gentleman from Pennsylvania insist that he has the floor?

Mr. DALZELL. I do.

Mr. BAILEY. Then I insist that he has not the floor until the Speaker has first stated the question. The gentleman who introduces a proposition in this House can not retain the floor while the Speaker is stating the question; and so the gentleman from Pennsylvania——

Mr. DALZELL. The Clerk had read the report.

Mr. BAILEY. The gentleman from Pennsylvania must certainly have yielded the floor.

The SPEAKER. The Chair recognized the gentleman from Pennsylvania, and the gentleman from Pennsylvania has asked for the previous question.

Mr. DALZELL. I gave notice prior to the reading of the report that I should do so.

Mr. BAILEY. And that evinced your unseemly haste. The Chair can undoubtedly, in his discretion, recognize the gentleman from Pennsylvania as often as he pleases, but the Chair must exercise that discretion as often as the gentleman from Pennsylvania seeks recognition. We are not willing to have it ruled that when a gentleman rises for one purpose and submits a proposition, he still retains the floor while the Speaker is stating the proposition. And if I needed to enforce that observation, I need only invoke the ruling of the Chair the other day, when the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND] had appealed from the decision of the Chair and the gentleman from New York promptly rose and moved to table the appeal. The gentleman from Missouri contended that he had not yielded the floor. The Chair ruled that he must have yielded the floor while the Chair was stating the question on the appeal.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Texas is correct. The gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. DALZELL] is recognized. [Laughter.]

Mr. BAILEY. Now, Mr. Speaker——

Mr. DALZELL. I move the previous question.

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker——

Mr. DALZELL. I decline to yield the floor to the gentleman from Texas. I do not want to be guilty of any discourtesy.

Mr. BAILEY. Then I rise to a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. DALZELL. I have the floor.

Mr. BAILEY. I do not infringe the right of the gentleman from Pennsylvania when I submit a parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. DALZELL. I did not hear the remark of the gentleman; I beg his pardon.

Mr. BAILEY. The gentleman ought to be listening. I know he is determined upon his course; but let him pursue it in an orderly way.

Mr. DALZELL. We will try to do so.

Mr. BAILEY. And with some fair degree of decency. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. Speaker, I submit as a question of order that it is not competent for the Speaker, with the assistance of a majority, to deny the minority on this floor an opportunity to be heard. It is power enough that the Speaker bestows recognition.

The SPEAKER. Will the gentleman from Texas state his parliamentary inquiry?

Mr. DALZELL. This is not a parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. BAILEY. I will state it. I was proceeding to lay the predicate for stating it——

The SPEAKER. The Chair thinks that the question hardly needs a predicate. [Laughter.]

Mr. BAILEY. Well, it needs it in order to make gentlemen on the other side understand. If they were disposed to be fair, there would be no need of it. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Now, Mr. Speaker, as I was proceeding to say——

The SPEAKER. Will the gentleman state his parliamentary inquiry?

Mr. BAILEY. It would appear that the minority are going to be denied the opportunity to present every proposition——

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Texas is not in order.

Mr. BAILEY. Then I say to the gentleman from Pennsylvania that if he will withdraw the demand for the previous question and permit us to offer our proposition——

The SPEAKER. The question is on the demand for the previous question.

Mr. DALZELL. I must decline to withdraw the demand.

The SPEAKER (after putting the question). The ayes seem to have it.

Mr. BAILEY and Mr. LEWIS of Washington called for a division.

The question being again taken, there were—ayes 123, noes 84.

Mr. BAILEY. I call for tellers.

Mr. DALZELL. Let us have the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 117, nays 81, answered "present" 25, not voting 130; as follows:

YEAS—117.

Adams,	Davison, Ky.	Johnson, N. Dak.	Russell,
Alexander,	Dayton,	Ketcham,	Shannon,
Arnold.	Dingley,	Knox,	Shattuc,
Babcock,	Dolliver,	Kulp,	Sherman,
Baker, Md.	Eddy,	Lacey,	Smith, Ill.
Barber,	Ellis,	Landis,	Southard,
Barrows,	Evans,	Linney,	Sprague,
Bartholdt,	Faris,	Littauer,	Steele,
Beach,	Foote,	Loud,	Stewart, Wis.
Booze,	Fowler, N. J.	Loudenslager,	Stone, C. W.
Brewster,	Gardner,	Low,	Stone, W. A.
Broderick,	Gibson,	McCleary,	Strode, Nebr.
Bromwell,	Gillet, N. Y.	Marsh,	Sturtevant,
Brown,	Graff,	Mercer,	Tawney,
Brownlow,	Grosvenor,	Mitchell,	Tayler, Ohio
Bull,	Grout,	Mudd,	Tongue,
Butler,	Harmer,	Odell,	Updegraff,
Cannon,	Hawley,	Olmsted,	Van Voorhis,
Clarke, N. H.	Heatwole,	Otjen,	Walker, Va.
Cochrane, N. Y.	Hemenway,	Packer, Pa.	Wanger,
Codding,	Henderson,	Parker, N. J.	Ward,
Connell,	Henry, Conn.	Payne,	Warner,
Cooke,	Henry, Ind.	Pearce, Mo.	Weymouth,
Corliss,	Hicks,	Pearson,	White, N. C.
Crumpacker,	Hilborn,	Pitney,	Williams, Pa.
Curtis, Iowa	Hitt,	Prince,	Wilson, N. Y.
Curtis, Kans.	Howe,	Quigg,	Yost.
Dalzell,	Howell,	Ray,	
Danford,	Hull,	Robbins,	
Davenport,	Hurley,	Royse,	

NAYS—81.

Bailey,	De Vries,	Livingston,	Robinson, Ind.
Baker, Ill.	Dinsmore,	Love,	Sayers,
Barlow,	Elliott,	McClellan,	Settle,
Bartlett,	Epes,	McCormick,	Shafroth,
Bell,	Fitzpatrick,	McCulloch,	Shuford,
Bland,	Fleming,	McDowell,	Simpson,
Bodine,	Fox,	McMillin,	Skinner,
Botkin,	Handy,	McRae,	Slayden,
Brewer,	Hartman,	Marshall,	Sparkman,
Broussard,	Hay,	Martin,	Stark,
Brundidge,	Henry, Miss.	Maxwell,	Stephens, Tex.
Burke,	Henry, Tex.	Meyer, La.	Tate,
Castle,	Hinrichsen,	Miers, Ind.	Underwood,
Clayton,	Howard, Ala.	Ogden,	Vandiver,
Cochran, Mo.	Hunter,	Osborne,	Vincent,
Colson,	Jett,	Otey,	Wheeler, Ala.
Cooney,	King,	Pierce, Tenn.	Williams, Miss.
Cooper, Wis.	Lamb,	Plowman,	Young, Va.
Cowherd,	Lanham,	Rhea,	
Cummings,	Lewis, Ga.	Richardson,	
De Graffenreid,	Lewis, Wash.	Ridgely,	

ANSWERED "PRESENT"—25.

Adamson,	Cooper, Tex.	Mahon,	Sperry,
Ball,	Dorr,	Miller,	Terry,
Bingham,	Gaines,	Mills,	Young, Pa.
Brenner, Ohio	Gunn,	Minor,	Zenor.
Brosius,	Jenkins,	Sims.	
Brucker,	Jones, Wash.	Smith, Ky.	
Brumm,	Lybrand,	Spalding,	

NOT VOTING—130.

Acheson,	Davidson, Wis.	Latimer,	Sauerhering,
Allen,	Davis,	Lentz,	Shelden,
Baird,	De Armond,	Lester,	Showalter,
Bankhead,	Dockery,	Little,	Simpkins,
Barham,	Dovener,	Lorimer,	Smith, S. W.
Barney,	Ermentrout,	Lovering,	Smith, Wm. Alden,
Barrett,	Fenton,	McAleer,	Snover,
Belden,	Fischer,	McCall,	Southwick,
Belford,	Fitzgerald,	McDonald,	Stallings,
Belknap,	Fletcher,	McEwan,	Stevens, Minn.
Benner, Pa.	Foss,	McIntire,	Stewart, N. J.
Bennett,	Fowler, N. C.	McLaurin,	Stokes,
Benton,	Gillett, Mass.	Maddox,	Strait,
Berry,	Greene,	Maguire,	Strowd, N. C.
Bishop,	Griffin,	Mahany,	Sullivan,
Boutelle,	Griggs,	Mann,	Sulloway,
Bradley,	Grow,	Meekison,	Sulzer,
Brantley,	Hager,	Mesick,	Sutherland,
Burton,	Hamilton,	Moody,	Swanson,
Campbell,	Hepburn,	Moon,	Talbert,
Capron,	Hill,	Morris,	Taylor, Ala.
Carmack,	Hooker,	Newlands,	Todd.
Catchings,	Hopkins,	Northway,	Vehslage,
Chickering,	Howard, Ga.	Norton,	Wadsworth,
Clardy,	Johnson, Ind.	Overstreet,	Walker, Mass.
Clark, Iowa	Jones, Va.	Perkins,	Weaver,
Clark, Mo.	Joy,	Peters,	Wheeler, Ky.
Connolly,	Kelley,	Powers,	White, Ill.
Cousins,	Kerr,	Pugh,	Wilber,
Cox,	Kirkpatrick,	Reeves,	Wilson, S. C.
Cranford,	Kitchin,	Rixey,	Wright.
Crump,	Kleberg,	Robb,	
Davey,	Knowles,	Robertson, La.	

So the previous question was ordered.

The following pairs were announced:
Until further notice:
Mr. McCALL with Mr. McLAURIN.
Mr. JENKINS with Mr. STOKES.
Mr. PITNEY with Mr. CARMACK.
Mr. OVERSTREET with Mr. DE ARMOND.
Mr. BRUMM with Mr. COX.
Mr. McINTIRE with Mr. HOWARD of Georgia.
Mr. BINGHAM with Mr. DOCKERY.
Mr. KERR with Mr. ROBB.
Mr. MESICK with Mr. PETERS.
Mr. LORIMER with Mr. BERRY.
Mr. MILLER with Mr. CLARDY.
Mr. STEVENS of Minnesota with Mr. JONES of Washington.
Mr. WHITE of Illinois with Mr. SIMS.
Mr. BISHOP with Mr. BREWER.
Mr. HENDERSON with Mr. BRANTLEY.
Mr. SPALDING with Mr. CRANFORD.
Mr. DORR with Mr. MADDOX.
Mr. LYBRAND with Mr. LENTZ.
Mr. DAVIDSON of Wisconsin with Mr. NORTON.
Mr. HOPKINS with Mr. McALEER.
Mr. BELKNAP with Mr. MAGUIRE.
Mr. HAGER with Mr. ALLEN.
Mr. YOUNG of Pennsylvania with Mr. BENTON.
Mr. WILLIAMS of Pennsylvania with Mr. ROBERTSON of Louisiana.
Mr. MORRIS with Mr. WHEELER of Kentucky.
Mr. JOY with Mr. MARSHALL.
Mr. HAMILTON with Mr. TODD.
Mr. WRIGHT with Mr. ADAMSON.
Mr. WM. ALDEN SMITH with Mr. BRUCKER.
Mr. CHICKERING with Mr. BRADLEY.
Mr. DAYTON with Mr. PIERCE of Tennessee.
Mr. FOSS with Mr. DAVEY.
Mr. McEWAN with Mr. VEHSLAGE.
Mr. BELDEN with Mr. SULZER.
Mr. BELFORD with Mr. SWANSON.
Mr. SIMPKINS of Massachusetts with Mr. LESTER.
Mr. PUGH with Mr. SUTHERLAND.
Mr. BARHAM with Mr. LITTLE.
Mr. LOVERING with Mr. FITZGERALD.
Mr. SPERRY with Mr. GRIGGS.
Mr. STEWART of New Jersey with Mr. TAYLOR of Alabama.
Mr. POWERS with Mr. GAINES.
Mr. REEVES with Mr. BALL.
Mr. MILLS with Mr. SULLIVAN.
Mr. SULLOWAY with Mr. TALBERT.
Mr. MAHON with Mr. BENNER of Pennsylvania.
Mr. SAUERHERING with Mr. STRAIT.
Mr. DOVENER with Mr. DAVIS.
Mr. BARNEY with Mr. BANKHEAD.
Mr. HILL with Mr. LATIMER.
Mr. ACHESON with Mr. WILSON of South Carolina.
Mr. HOOKER with Mr. CATCHINGS.
Mr. SHELDEN with Mr. RIXEY.
Mr. BOUTELLE with Mr. CLARK of Missouri.
Mr. FISCHER with Mr. CUMMINGS.
Mr. JOHNSON of Indiana with Mr. MOON.
Mr. BROSIUS with Mr. ERMENTROUT.
For this day:
Mr. HEPBURN with Mr. STALLINGS.
Mr. GILLETT of Massachusetts with Mr. TERRY.

Mr. COOPER of Texas. Mr. Speaker, on political questions I am paired with the gentleman from Iowa, Mr. PERKINS. This appears to be a political question, and therefore I desire to withdraw my vote.

Mr. TERRY. I wish to inquire whether the gentleman from Massachusetts, Mr. GILLETT, is recorded as voting?

The SPEAKER. He did not vote.

Mr. TERRY. Then, having voted "no" on this question, I desire to withdraw my vote, being paired with the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. JENKINS. I have voted in the affirmative; but I wish to withdraw my vote, being paired with the gentleman from South Carolina, Mr. STOKES.

Mr. SIMS. I supposed that the pair I have had with the gentleman from Illinois, Mr. WHITE, expired to-day; but as that pair has just been announced, I presume it continues. I will therefore withdraw my vote. I voted in the negative.

Mr. GAINES. As I find that I am paired with the gentleman from Vermont, Mr. POWERS, I desire to withdraw my vote.

Mr. ADAMSON. Mr. Speaker, I wish to inquire whether the gentleman from Massachusetts, Mr. WRIGHT, voted on this question?

The SPEAKER. He did not.

Mr. ADAMSON. I am paired with that gentleman. I have voted in the negative, but desire to withdraw my vote.

Mr. BALL. Mr. Speaker, I have voted "no" on this question; but finding that I am paired with the gentleman from Illinois, Mr. REEVES, I withdraw my vote.

Mr. MILLS. I wish to inquire whether the gentleman from Mississippi, Mr. SULLIVAN, has voted?

The SPEAKER. He has not.

Mr. MILLS. I am paired with that gentleman, and therefore withdraw the vote that I cast in the affirmative.

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, I thought that the gentleman from Missouri, Mr. DOCKERY, with whom I have been paired was present and had voted. I am paired with him, and therefore desire to withdraw the vote which I have cast in the affirmative, and to be recorded as "present."

Mr. BRUCKER. Mr. Speaker, I am paired with my colleague, Mr. WM. ALDEN SMITH. I voted "no," and desire to withdraw my vote and be marked "present."

Mr. DORR. Mr. Speaker, as I find I am paired with the gentleman from Georgia, Mr. MADDOX, I will withdraw the vote which I have cast in the affirmative.

The result of the vote was announced as above stated.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. DALZELL] is entitled to the floor for twenty minutes, and the gentleman from Texas [Mr. BAILEY] is entitled to the floor for twenty minutes.

Mr. DALZELL. Mr. Speaker, I do not propose to occupy any great length of time. I will simply restate the terms of the resolution. It provides that the House shall now proceed to consider Senate resolution No. 42, and that there shall be debate thereon, if the House so desires, for two hours. Senate resolution No. 42 passed the Senate on Monday last, and is in these words:

That the sum of $50,000 be, and the same is hereby, appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, for the relief of destitute citizens of the United States in the Island of Cuba, said money to be expended at the discretion and under the direction of the President of the United States in the purchase and furnishing of food, clothing, and medicines to such citizens and for transporting to the United States such of them as so desire and who are without means to transport themselves.

This resolution was passed by the Senate, I may say, without debate, pursuant to a message from the President of the United States to Congress, which advised Congress that, according to official reports, there are some six or seven hundred Americans in the Island of Cuba who are destitute, poverty stricken, and in disease. The House will observe, therefore, that the only question before the House is whether or not the House will join the Senate in its action, whether the American Congress will respond to the call of the American President and come to the relief of suffering Americans in the Island of Cuba, whether we shall provide the means that shall take food to the hungry and medicine to the sick. No other question, so far as I can see, is before the House for discussion, outside of this one.

I do not apprehend—I think the Committee on Rules did not apprehend at the time—that there was any necessity for two hours' debate; but lest there should be any criticism of the committee's action, that provision was inserted. And I assume, Mr. Speaker, that the time will be divided between the two sides of the House, although I assume also that there will be only one side when the question comes to a vote.

I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. OGDEN. Before the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. DALZELL] sits down, will he be pleased to give the House some information as to the cause of this suffering of these six or seven hundred American citizens in Cuba? Will he state what is the necessity for our appropriating this money?

Mr. DALZELL. The question under discussion now is the adoption of this rule. When we come to debate the resolution, the gentleman will probably receive information upon that question, if he goes to the proper sources. They are just as open to him as they are to me.

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, I agree with the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. DALZELL] that the only question now before the House is the adoption of the Senate resolution, but he must not mislead the country into believing that that is the only question which ought to be before the House.

I desire to read a proposition which does not conflict with, but which is supplemental to, the proposition now before the House, and which itself would be before the House except for the opposition of the Republican members. I ask the Clerk to read the resolution which I attempted to offer.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That upon the adoption of this resolution the House shall proceed to the consideration of Senate resolution 42, and at the end of the debate, which shall not exceed two hours, a vote shall be taken thereon, to its final disposition; and upon the final disposition of the Senate resolution, the House shall proceed to consider the following resolution, to wit:

Joint resolution declaring that a condition of public war exists in Cuba, and that strict neutrality shall be maintained.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That a condition of public war exists between

the Government of Spain and the government proclaimed and for some time maintained by force of arms by the people of Cuba, and that the United States of America shall maintain a strict neutrality between the contending powers, according to each all the rights of belligerents in the ports and territory of the United States.

Mr. BAILEY. That, Mr. Speaker, is the resolution which I sought to offer this morning and the reading of which was prevented by the demand for the previous question. Last Monday the majority of this House evidenced to the country that they would suffer American citizens in Cuba to starve rather than permit this House to vote on a resolution recognizing the belligerency of the Cuban patriots. To-day they have shown themselves willing to trample upon the rights of the minority and to disregard the ancient and well-established methods of procedure rather than be brought face to face with a vote on this proposition.

It is well enough for the majority to execute its will, but it ought to do so frankly and fairly. There is not a gentleman on that side of the Chamber who does not know that, if this House were once permitted to vote upon the direct proposition to recognize the belligerency of Cuba, it would carry by an overwhelming majority. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

And so it is, Mr. Speaker, that when we are denied the opportunity to bring that question before the House it is not the will of the majority which you are enforcing, but it is the will of the majority which you are suppressing. [Applause on the Democratic side.] If you believe you can vote it down, why not meet it like men and vote it down? The country would have vastly more respect for you if you faced it in that way than it will have for you when you refuse to face it at all, and run from it every time it is presented to you.

Mr. Speaker, it is a singular course which the majority have determined to pursue. They have resolved to take $50,000 from the public Treasury to relieve the distress of American citizens in Cuba. They admit that the distress which they seek to relieve is due to the war which now desolates that unhappy island, and yet, while they recognize that great distress has been produced by this war, they blindly refuse to recognize the existence of the war.

If war does not exist in Cuba, Spain has no right to confine American citizens in overcrowded towns and cities, thus exposing them to the horrors of pestilence and famine; and her resort to such an extreme measure is a confession before all the world that war wages between her and her revolted colony. If war does not exist between Spain and Cuba, then war ought to exist between the United States and Spain [applause on the Democratic side], because the cruelties which have been practiced upon our people are defensible only upon the ground that they are the necessities of war.

There are two, and only two, manly and self-respecting courses open to us. Either we ought to demand of Spain an immediate and a complete reparation for the wrongs which she has inflicted upon our citizens, or else it is our duty to recognize the existence of a war, which alone can excuse those wrongs.

The attitude of the Republican members of this House upon this question must greatly surprise the Republican masses throughout the country. But a short time ago you were eager to assist Cuba, and you bitterly denounced a former Administration for its inactive and indifferent policy. When the Republican party assembled in its national convention last summer, it went far beyond the resolution upon which we are asking you to vote. You were not then content to let the people of Cuba fight their own battles and win their own victories, but, pretending a zeal for liberty which you do not cherish, you professed yourselves willing to help them. You declared that it is the duty of the United States not merely to recognize that a war existed, but you went further and declared that it was our duty to terminate that war. Without being asked to recognize the independence of the Cuban Republic, you went to the extent of committing yourselves to aid in the establishment of its independence. Here is your platform. It declares that—

> We watch with deep and abiding interest the heroic battle of the Cuban patriots against cruelty and oppression, and our best hopes go out for the full success of their determined contest for liberty. The Government of Spain having lost control of Cuba, and being unable to protect the property or lives of resident American citizens, or to comply with its treaty obligations, we believe that the Government of the United States should actively use its influence and good offices to restore peace and give independence to the island.

[Applause on the Democratic side.]

Those are fine words; but they are in strange contrast with your actions to-day. Then you promised more than the deliberate judgment of the country would have sanctioned; now you perform less than the dictates of reason and justice demand. You have halted—not because conditions have changed, for the changes have simply aggravated the conditions—but because powerful influences have been exerted to prevent your proceeding. The stock gamblers have become alarmed, and they would rather see their country insulted than to have their operations disturbed. The immensely rich, always and naturally on the side of power, have appealed to you to desist; and preferring, as you always have, the interests of wealth above the rights of humanity, you are endeavoring to evade and postpone this question. Gentlemen, you may escape it here by violating your rules and overriding the minority, but you can not escape it before the American people. To them you must answer, and neither a demand for the previous question nor a point of order will save you from their indignant judgment. [Applause on the Democratic side.] They understand as well as we do the real question which we are trying to settle here to-day. They know that we will join with you in relieving American citizens from destitution and hunger, and that we only ask you to join with us in affording to the Cuban people the right to relieve themselves from Spanish despotism.

We do not ask you to declare war against Spain, or to do anything which will justify Spain in declaring war against us. Our recognition of Cuban belligerency can not constitute a just cause of offense to Spain; and if that nation should be so rash as to provoke a war with us because we had exercised a right conceded by all of the authorities on international law, the responsibility, sir, will be upon them and not upon us. And much as I should deplore a war, even under such circumstances, I would not shrink from it; for bad as war is, its calamities can not be compared with the loss of national self-respect; nor would I weigh its dreadful consequences against the performance of our duty toward a weak and struggling nation. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

We do not call upon you now to redeem your promise to assist in the establishment of Cuban independence; we simply ask you to recognize the right of the Cuban people to fight for their own independence; and surely this Government ought to be swift to recognize that sacred right wherever a brave and an oppressed people are striving to assert it. [Applause on the Democratic side.] I do not forget that when our fathers were engaged in their glorious struggle for independence, men of other nations were gladly welcomed to their ranks; and, remembering that, I shall never vote to leave the sentence of a pirate's death suspended over those who give to Cuba the same aid which America so gladly received from France. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. DALZELL. I yield so much of my time as he may want to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. HITT].

Mr. HITT. Mr. Speaker, the necessity for the measure that is before the House, appropriating $50,000 for the relief of our suffering fellow-citizens in Cuba, is abundantly shown by the President's message, and in detail, as he states, by the reports of our officers. Its urgency is apparent to any man who is an American and capable of sympathy with suffering human beings. We have done the like often before for our fellow-citizens; and in this case it is necessary that Congress should act, because there is no fund within the reach of the Department that can be used for this purpose without action of the Legislature. We had a fund that I thought was available for such purposes, called the "emergency fund," and the President proposed to use it, but the law officers have given an opinion that it can not be used in this specific case.

The method of employing this $50,000 is simple and evident. The men who need it are many of them personally named in the dispatches. Those who are American citizens, who are destitute and suffering, are personally known and reported by the various consuls and consular agents. They are scattered in many places in the Island of Cuba. A telegraphic dispatch from the Secretary of State, by direction of the President, to those consuls to immediately draw for the money necessary to give relief by the purchase of food for men who are in want, to procure medical attendance for the sick—all that can be done in a few hours in most cases; and it is urgent, it is pressing. It ought to have been done when the message came into this House Monday, and it would have been done if a gentleman had not attempted, for pure politics, to bring in an old resolution passed a year ago, passed twice, and changed from the form of a concurrent resolution or expression of the opinion of the country into a joint resolution which is a law, by which we might peremptorily interfere and embarrass the President by a sudden intrusion of legislative power into a negotiation. [Applause on the Republican side.]

That is the point of it all. The amendment that the gentleman proposes, bear clearly in mind, is not an expression, such as resolutions ordinarily are. It is to be a law; and that in the midst of negotiations; at a time when a new Administration has come into power and is actively engaged, and with strong sympathies, in a cause in which all our hearts are sympathetic. Already, only a few weeks installed in power, it has secured the liberation of all Americans who were imprisoned except those who were charged with being seized with arms in their hands. More than fifty liberations of American citizens have been granted under the energetic and firm demands of this Administration. Even the individuals who were claimed to be liable to martial law, taken in arms, have been accorded civil procedure as in ordinary cases.

In the meanwhile it is proposed to suddenly take the subject out of the President's hands by declaring recognition of belligerency, while the whole great subject is under discussion, and the President not aiming at any further war or belligerency by anybody,

but at peace and the independence of Cuba. That is the declaration of the Republican party, that is the purpose of the Republicans in power—to secure peace with independence. [Loud applause on the Republican side.]

The state of affairs in Cuba has greatly changed since a year ago. The comparative force and respective resources and hopes of the Cubans and of the Spaniards have changed. The war is clearly becoming hopeless to Spain. Did you read the last telegraphic dispatches from Spain giving declarations of a man who will within a few days probably be the prime minister of Spain? Far different from the confident, repelling, arrogant assertions of Mr. Canovas, the present minister, who is conducting this war.

Mr. Sagasta said on yesterday that the war was substantially hopeless. That utterance is from Spain—Spanish opinion at the center, from the man who very soon will be charged with power. That impression has been produced by the facts in Cuba and by the position of the Executive of the United States; and while this is actively going on a gentleman who desires to play politics comes in and proposes by a law to interfere with negotiations by legislative action declaring a recognition of belligerency, which must be decided within ten days from the time it reaches the President, with all the consequences, giving Spanish naval vessels the immediate right to search all our ships, with risks of "perilous collision" and war. He said he did not want war, nor did he court it.

Now, the declaration of belligerency is a serious step which will entail many consequences. I have believed that the Cubans were belligerents, because they were in fact carrying on war. That was my opinion. I have declared it here; and last year urged it upon Democrats to try to get as many votes as I could on that side for that declaration of opinion. But I am not charged, nor was I then charged, with executive power, and did not then assume to interfere by more than this expression of the opinion of the House. [Laughter on the Democratic side.] The Executive is in possession of all the facts, with the whole state of negotiations, and is directly responsible for the result of the action taken. We know the general facts known to the world, not what ends the Executive is securing, or how it is being done. That makes a great difference. Gentlemen think that is amusing. Do they not know that the declaration of an opinion on a general view of a case as to what the general line of action should be is very different from attempting by law to fix each step that must be taken by the Executive, moving all the parts of the power with which he is charged, in the presence of any exigency. [Laughter on the Democratic side.]

Mr. RICHARDSON. Then you admit you are speaking "in a Pickwickian sense?"

Mr. HITT. I do not. I was speaking from the standpoint of common sense—the practical and successful conduct of grave public business.

Now, there was undoubtedly a great deal known to the President and his advisers then—many facts and details that we did not know. But on the face of things there was, we believed, a genuine belligerency, a state of war in Cuba. And we think so now.

The question of recognizing that belligerency is for our Government purely one of expediency. It is our duty to act in view of the interests of the people of the United States. That is a duty devolving upon the Executive. In this question we know well the disposition of the Executive. We know by many declarations—by the evidence of many acts thus far in these few weeks—the purpose, the spirit on the part of the Executive. We know the view that was in the mind of the Secretary of State, why he brought in this very resolution and advocated it as an expression of the opinion of the people in warm sympathy with the Cubans. But he has to consider all sides, all facts, the whole outlook of the question. And, really, no one among us all wants any belligerency at all. We want peace, and we want the independence of Cuba. That is the real purpose in view. That is what we should seek to attain.

I do not pretend to know all the facts connected with the negotiations that may be in progress, but I do know that no negotiation can be forwarded by having another part of the Government interfere, and by legislative acts—by law—suddenly change the situation. Does anybody believe that our President or the Secretary of State will sacrifice the rights of Americans or abandon them anywhere, will abate one jot or tittle of demand for everything that concerns our interests; that he or any of those with him will forget the high faith that we have so long cherished in the Monroe doctrine, the sympathy that our people feel for every people in the world struggling for liberty, and our belief that this continent is destined to freedom and self-government forever?

It has been stated so often as the policy of the Government that you may believe—everyone ought to believe—that our Executive is earnestly exerting every force to practically succeed in that purpose. And I think the best thing we could do just now would be to act upon his request for the means to relieve the American citizens who are starving. As he has already secured relief for American citizens who were in prison, we hope and believe that soon he will solve, as far as the powers within his reach, the circumstances that surround the case, will admit, and as speedily as possible, the whole Cuban question; and then we shall have free Cuba by our side.

Mr. BLAND. I should like to ask a question for information. I understood the gentleman to say a few moments ago that the war was about at an end, that the Cubans were all whipped.

Mr. HITT. I have made no such suggestion.

Mr. BLAND. I understood the gentleman to say that the war was about at an end.

Mr. HITT. I did not say so; I said nothing of that kind as to the Cubans. A Spanish statesman says the Spanish cause is substantially hopeless.

Mr. DALZELL. Mr. Speaker, how much time have I left?

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. PAYNE). Five minutes.

Mr. DALZELL. How much time has the gentleman from Texas remaining?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Ten minutes.

Mr. DALZELL. I hope my friend from Texas will now occupy his time.

Mr. BAILEY. I yield my time to the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. WHEELER].

Mr. WHEELER of Alabama. As I am informed by the gentleman from Texas that he desires to reply to the remarks of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. HITT], I yield the time back to the gentleman from Texas and will take time on the general debate.

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, I occupied more time than I had first intended, and in doing so I left less time than the gentleman from Alabama desired. Inasmuch, however, as it suits him better to occupy the ten minutes which will be required to complete his remarks at a later stage of the proceedings, I will avail myself of the time remaining to call the attention of the House and the the country to some remarkable admissions which have been made by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. HITT].

The gentleman from Illinois declares that my whole purpose in this procedure is to raise a political question, and thus obtain some political advantage. Is the gentleman from Illinois ready to admit that whether or not we shall recognize the right of the Cuban people to fight for their own independence is a political question? I am more than ready to accept that test. And let it be understood that every Democrat is in favor of recognizing their right, and that all Republicans are against it. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

The gentleman unwittingly said that in the last Congress, when he and his party were not charged with the Executive power, he played politics——

Mr. HITT. No.

Mr. BAILEY. And voted for a resolution identical with that I am trying to force this House to vote upon to-day.

Mr. HITT. May I interrupt the gentleman?

Mr. BAILEY. Here is the record.

Mr. HITT. May I interrupt the gentleman?

Mr. BAILEY. Certainly.

Mr. HITT. That the gentleman may do me no injustice, I will say that instead of my "playing politics" a year ago, I refused then to amend the resolution, which was concurrent and expressive of the opinion of the American people, to do what the gentleman is doing now and which I was asked to do—to put a trap for Cleveland and make the resolution a law, so as to force diplomacy and take diplomacy in the hands of the House.

I refused to do it because I did not believe it was a patriotic act on the part of an American legislator to invade the proper constitutional function of another branch of the Government because the President was a Democrat.

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, I am ready to confess that I have not reached such skill in diplomacy that I am willing to vote an opinion which I would not crystallize into a law. [Applause on the Democratic side.] If I believed that the Cuban people are entitled to belligerent rights, I would vote to accord such rights to them by joint resolution, by concurrent resolution, or by a statutory enactment. The difference between the gentleman from Illinois and myself is that he will say what he means, but he will not make it effective. [Applause on the Democratic side.] If the gentleman desires to assume that position, I do not envy him the attitude he voluntarily takes.

The truth about it is that the Democratic party—no, not the Democratic party, but a President elected by the Democratic party—was then responsible for the executive administration of the Government. We had been compelled to repudiate him on other questions; and it was charitable enough on the part of the gentleman from Illinois to come to his rescue on this question. [Laughter and applause on the Democratic side.] He had done the Republican party so many favors that it was a poor return for the gentleman to do him that. [Renewed laughter and applause.] Yet, Mr. Speaker, we are told that for two years this question has been avoided, and although these people have been entitled to this

recognition, they have been made to wait until, waiting, they have almost despaired.

We do not oppose sending provisions to the starving Americans in Cuba. We favor doing so; but while we are anxious to send bread to our own people, we desire to send with it a message to the Cuban patriots that this great Republic is not indifferent to their noble aspirations for freedom. [Applause.] The Republicans desire to send the bread without the message. We desire to send both, because the message will do more to relieve their sufferings than all the bread your ships can carry. [Applause.]

Mr. DALZELL. I yield the remainder of my time to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. GROSVENOR].

Mr. GROSVENOR. Mr. Speaker, while the gentleman from Texas has been masquerading before the people of the country no human wisdom can tell how many men of the United States have died of starvation in the Island of Cuba. While he has been masquerading here no estimate can be given of how many women and children have been turned naked and hungry out under the pitiless storms of that tropical country. He has delayed the relief sought to be extended three days.

No greater exhibition of unmixed demagogy ever was presented to the American Congress than the declaration of the gentleman from Texas that he desires in good faith to lead a great movement of a great nation to settle a great controversy between the United States and the Government of Spain. When did this zeal of his become manifest? When was it that he first was seized by this desire to be a leader of a great crusade on behalf of the people of Cuba? He stood silently by while the then President of the United States defied the expression of Congress and refused to act under its declaration.

I heard then no protest from the eloquent gentleman. I did not understand at that time that he felt clothed with such responsibility as demanded that he should rise up here and, at the head of the various factions of the army that somebody else has at last secured solid action from [laughter], should proclaim his undying allegiance to liberty and the cause of free Cuba.

Let me say to the gentleman that the Republicans of the United States were born and raised in sympathy with Cuba—free Cuba. It was a Republican President who, against the protest of the Democratic party, sought to relieve Cuba of her troubles long ago. And it is the Republicans on this floor who feel a genuine and honest sympathy for Cuba. And when the right time comes, in the right order of things and upon their own motion they will be found voting not only for belligerent rights to Cuba, but they will be found demanding liberty and national independence for the men of Cuba who have suffered. [Applause on the Republican side.]

But, Mr. Speaker, they will do it in their own way. [Renewed applause.] The minority may shift their commanding officers. [Laughter.] The minority may retire their failing generals and bring into action new men to take charge of their conglomerate organization [renewed laughter], but the Republicans on this floor will stand together behind the great leader of their party, and when the proper time comes they will march to the music of the Union, and liberty, and free Cuba. [Applause.]

But we will not be put into line of battle by the enemy. The note of the bugle that will sound the rallying cry will not be blown by the breath of a Democrat. [Applause.] The current Administration in the brief two months of its existence has done more for the liberation of Cuba than was ever done in the four years of Cleveland's Administration—ten thousand times to one. It has organized a public sentiment in this country in favor of action, and is ready to lead that sentiment. [Derisive laughter on the Democratic side.]

Mr. WHEELER of Alabama. When did that sentiment commence? I thought it had existed a long time.

Mr. GROSVENOR. Now, if the gentleman will not put four pages of that remark into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I shall be greatly obliged to him. [Laughter.] This Republican Administration, by its course of procedure, has liberated more than fifty American citizens from the prisons of Cuba and is moving in its own way to greater results.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman has expired.

A MEMBER (on the Democratic side). Regular order.

The SPEAKER. The regular order is demanded. The question is on agreeing to the resolution reported by the Committee on Rules.

Mr. BAILEY. I move to recommit the resolution reported by the Committee on Rules to the Committee on Rules, with instructions to report back that resolution with an amendment providing for the consideration of the resolution recognizing the belligerent rights of the Cuban people.

Mr. DALZELL. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that the amendment is not germane to the pending resolution.

The SPEAKER. The Chair thinks that is very clear, but will hear the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. BAILEY. I recognize, Mr. Speaker, that no amount of argument will change the ruling of the Speaker, and I appeal from that decision, and on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The SPEAKER. The Chair has not made any ruling, but the Chair will make a ruling in accordance with what the gentleman from Texas [Mr. BAILEY] evidently thinks is the proper parliamentary ruling, which is that the amendment is in no wise in order.

Mr. BAILEY. I do it on the assurance of the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. DALZELL] that the Chair would so hold.

The SPEAKER. The Chair thinks the gentleman from Texas [Mr. BAILEY] probably had a more "inner light" than that. [Laughter.]

Mr. BAILEY. I demand the yeas and nays upon the appeal.

Mr. DALZELL. I move to lay the appeal on the table.

Mr. BAILEY. But when I demand the yeas and nays, Mr. Speaker, what purpose—even admitting that the gentleman could have the right to do that—what purpose is there in doing it? We do not delay it, and I insist upon the yeas and nays upon the appeal.

Mr. DALZELL. I have the right to make the motion which I have made.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. DALZELL] moves that the appeal be laid on the table. The Chair has decided that the motion to recommit is not in order. The gentleman from Texas [Mr. BAILEY] takes an appeal from that, and the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. DALZELL] moves that the appeal be laid on the table.

Mr. BAILEY. But before the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. DALZELL] moved to lay the appeal on the table "the gentleman from Texas" had demanded the yeas and nays upon it.

The SPEAKER. Precisely; and if the appeal is not laid on the table, the House will either order or not order the yeas and nays, as it pleases.

Mr. BAILEY. I simply wanted to demonstrate to the country that the majority are not willing to face this question.

Mr. DALZELL. This does not demonstrate anything of the kind.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion to lay the appeal on the table.

The question being taken, on a division (demanded by Mr. BAILEY) there were—ayes 109, noes 79.

Mr. BAILEY. Tellers, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. DALZELL. Yeas and nays, Mr. Speaker.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 114, nays 83, answered "present" 12, not voting 144; as follows:

YEAS—114.

Adams,	Davison, Ky.	Hurley,	Russell,
Alexander,	Dayton,	Johnson, N. Dak.	Shannon,
Arnold,	Dingley,	Ketcham,	Shattuc,
Babcock,	Dorr,	Knox,	Sherman,
Baker, Md.	Eddy,	Kulp,	Smith, Ill.
Barber,	Ellis,	Lacey,	Southard,
Barrows,	Evans,	Landis,	Sprague,
Bartholdt,	Faris,	Linney,	Steele,
Booze,	Foote,	Loudenslager,	Stewart, Wis.
Brewster,	Fowler, N. J.	Low,	Stone, C. W.
Broderick,	Gardner,	McCleary,	Stone, W. A.
Bromwell,	Gibson,	Marsh,	Strode, Nebr.
Brown,	Gillet, N. Y.	Mercer,	Sturtevant,
Brownlow,	Graff,	Minor,	Tawney,
Butler,	Grosvenor,	Mitchell,	Tayler, Ohio
Cannon,	Grout,	Mudd,	Tongue,
Clarke, N. H.	Harmer,	Odell,	Updegraff,
Cochrane, N. Y.	Hawley,	Olmsted,	Van Voorhis,
Codding,	Heatwole,	Otjen,	Walker, Va.
Connell,	Hemenway,	Packer, Pa.	Wanger,
Cooke,	Henderson,	Parker, N. J.	Ward,
Corliss,	Henry, Conn.	Payne,	Warner,
Cousins,	Henry, Ind.	Pearce, Mo.	Weymouth,
Crumpacker,	Hicks,	Pearson,	White, N. C.
Curtis, Iowa	Hilborn,	Pitney,	Williams, Pa.
Curtis, Kans.	Hitt,	Prince,	Wilson, N. Y.
Dalzell,	Howe,	Quigg,	Yost.
Danford,	Howell,	Ray,	
Davenport,	Hull,	Royse,	

NAYS—83.

Bailey,	Epes,	McClellan,	Robinson, Ind.
Baker, Ill.	Fitzpatrick,	McCormick,	Sayers,
Barlow,	Fleming,	McCulloch,	Settle,
Bartlett,	Fox,	McDowell,	Shafroth,
Bell,	Gunn,	McMillin,	Shuford,
Bland,	Handy,	McRae,	Simpson,
Bodine,	Hartman,	Marshall,	Sims,
Botkin,	Hay,	Martin,	Skinner,
Broussard,	Henry, Miss.	Maxwell,	Slayden,
Brundidge,	Henry, Tex.	Meekison,	Smith, Ky.
Burke,	Hinrichsen,	Meyer, La.	Sparkman,
Castle,	Howard, Ala.	Miers, Ind.	Stark.
Clayton,	Hunter,	Ogden,	Stephens, Tex.
Cochran, Mo.	Jett,	Osborne,	Tate,
Cooney,	King,	Otey,	Underwood,
Cowherd,	Kleberg,	Pierce, Tenn.	Vandiver,
Cummings,	Lamb,	Plowman,	Vincent,
De Graffenreid,	Lanham,	Rhea,	Wheeler, Ala.
De Vries,	Lewis, Ga.	Richardson,	Williams, Miss.
Dinsmore,	Lewis, Wash.	Ridgely,	Young, Va.
Elliott,	Love,	Robbins,	

ANSWERED "PRESENT"—12.

Bingham,	Brumm,	Mahon,	Terry,
Brosius,	Jenkins,	Spalding,	Young, Pa.
Brucker,	McEwan,	Sperry,	Zenor.

NOT VOTING—144.

Acheson,	Cooper, Wis.	Kerr,	Pugh,
Adamson,	Cox,	Kirkpatrick,	Reeves,
Allen,	Cranford,	Kitchin,	Rixey,
Baird,	Crump,	Knowles,	Robb,
Ball,	Davey,	Latimer,	Robertson, La.
Bankhead,	Davidson, Wis.	Lentz,	Sauerhering,
Barham,	Davis,	Lester,	Shelden,
Barney,	De Armond,	Littauer,	Showalter,
Barrett,	Dockery,	Little,	Simpkins,
Beach,	Dolliver,	Livingston,	Smith, S. W.
Belden,	Dovener,	Lorimer,	Smith, Wm. Alden
Belford,	Ermentrout,	Loud,	Snover,
Belknap,	Fenton,	Lovering,	Southwick,
Benner, Pa.	Fischer,	Lybrand,	Stallings,
Bennett,	Fitzgerald,	McAleer,	Stevens, Minn.
Benton,	Fletcher,	McCall,	Stewart, N. J.
Berry,	Foss,	McDonald,	Stokes,
Bishop,	Fowler, N. C.	McIntire,	Strait,
Boutelle,	Gaines,	McLaurin,	Strowd, N. C.
Bradley,	Gillett, Mass.	Maddox,	Sullivan,
Brantley,	Greene,	Maguire,	Sulloway,
Brenner, Ohio	Griffin,	Mahany,	Sulzer,
Brewer,	Griggs,	Mann,	Sutherland,
Bull,	Grow,	Mesick,	Swanson,
Burton,	Hager,	Miller,	Talbert,
Campbell,	Hamilton,	Mills,	Taylor, Ala.
Capron,	Hepburn,	Moody,	Todd,
Carmack,	Hill,	Moon,	Vehslage,
Catchings,	Hooker,	Morris,	Wadsworth,
Chickering,	Hopkins,	Newlands,	Walker, Mass.
Clardy,	Howard, Ga.	Northway,	Weaver,
Clark, Iowa	Johnson, Ind.	Norton,	Wheeler, Ky.
Clark, Mo.	Jones, Va.	Overstreet	White, Ill.
Colson,	Jones, Wash.	Perkins,	Wilber,
Connolly,	Joy,	Peters,	Wilson, S. C.
Cooper, Tex.	Kelley,	Powers,	Wright.

So the motion to lay the appeal on the table was agreed to.

Mr. TERRY. If there are no additional pairs, I desire to say that I voted "no" on this call; but, being paired with the gentleman from Massachusetts, Mr. GILLETT, I desire to withdraw my vote.

The result of the vote was then announced as above recorded.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question now is on the adoption of the resolution.

The question was put; and the resolution was agreed to.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will now report the joint resolution.

The Clerk read as follows:

Joint resolution (S. R. 42) appropriating $50,000 for the relief of destitute citizens of the United States in the Island of Cuba.

Resolved, etc., That the sum of $50,000 be, and the same is hereby, appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, for the relief of destitute citizens of the United States in the Island of Cuba, said money to be expended at the discretion and under the direction of the President of the United States in the purchase and furnishing of food, clothing, and medicines to such citizens, and for transporting to the United States such of them as so desire and who are without means to transport themselves.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the special order, debate on this resolution is limited to two hours. The Chair will recognize the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. HITT] to control the time in the affirmative and the gentleman from Texas [Mr. BAILEY] to control the time in the negative. If no one desires to debate, the Chair will put the question.

Mr. WHEELER of Alabama. We all desire to debate. [Laughter.]

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Texas is recognized.

Mr. BAILEY. I yield fifteen minutes to the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. WILLIAMS].

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, it is said that times change and men change with them—whole bodies of men change with them. It was but a little time ago when the Republican party was boasting in loud tones that it was the party of "courage" in this country; above all things, that it was the party of "courage." But we have become so accustomed of late to see the Republican party run away from great public questions that it has ceased to be a novelty. We saw it at the beginning of this session run away from the Pacific railroad bill; we saw it later on run away from the consideration of the bankruptcy bill as it came from the Senate, and we see it now running away from the consideration of the Cuban question. When we come to examine more closely, Mr. Speaker, we find, however, that the Republican party has not changed its skin, nor the leopard its spots; we discover that back of each of these questions lies a plutocratic influence which is interested in nonaction.

Not only do whole bodies of men change as times change, but even the Speaker of this House, unchangeable, like the laws of the Medes and Persians, as we fondly imagined, changes with the times, too. There was a time a little while ago when, if he had been the chief of some Indian tribe, they would have called him "Big Man Defiant of Everything;" and now, to-day, they would add another title, and call him "Big Man Afraid of His Following." He is wiser than Epimetheus. He does not want to open Pandora's box. He is afraid to allow you men upon that side of the House to consider almost any great public question for fear chaos would follow in council; and upon this particular question he knows that American manhood, whether Democratic or Republican, would assert itself in favor of freedom wherever freedom's battle flag was hung to the breeze, whether in Cuba or elsewhere.

Now, Mr. Speaker, there are some other changes of more importance to the world than these; and the change that I note as the saddest is the change in the spirit of the great English-speaking race on both sides of the Atlantic. Time was when the names of Kossuth and Bolivar, or the cause of freedom in South America, or the cause of freedom in Greece, stirred every Anglo-Saxon heart in the world. But to-day it must be said of this great race, the greatest that the world ever saw and perhaps ever will see, that the British branch of it is aiding the despotisms of Europe in preserving the power of the barbarous Turk, while it manacles the sea power of Greece in the Mediterranean, while the American branch of the race is refusing even a hearing to the cause of freedom at their very back doors, in the very center of the American Mediterranean, where a people are struggling for the common right which every people possesses to change their form of government when old governments are unsatisfactory to civilization or do not answer to the public welfare.

In the great American House of Congress, where once Clay thundered, and where Benton and Mason and men of their type thundered in behalf of freedom everywhere, we can not obtain the poor boon of having an admitted fact passed upon and recognized, if that fact is one the consideration of which would be favorable to those people. Mr. Speaker, belligerency is simply a question of fact. It is not a question of law. There is nothing mysterious about it. Belligerency is "a condition of public warfare," and when you recognize belligerency in a country you merely recognize that public warfare exists there, and that as a consequence both sides should be accorded equal treatment.

The republicans in Cuba to-day are knocking at our back door, praying only that we shall take cognizance of the fact of existing war—belligerency. They are not asking any favor of your present Administration, only equal privileges with the Spaniard. Yet the Republican House of Representatives has to-day voted down a resolution which merely recognizes the existence of the fact of belligerency. I know you will say that you have not voted it down, that you have merely refused to consider it; but when you deliberately shut your eyes to a fact, and that fact is a fact the recognition of which is necessary to neutrality, necessary to doing equal justice to belligerents, you can not fool the people long with the idea that you have not deliberately done it. I know that the gentleman from Illinois said that the President was about to interfere by "diplomacy."

By the way, Mr. Speaker, did you ever think how utterly too-too mysterious it makes a man to be on the Committee on Foreign Relations of either House of Congress? I have known gentlemen who were the very pictures of geniality and bonhomie and frankness go upon that committee and become at once afflicted with the disease of mystery. Whenever anything is touched upon which affects foreign relations, the cry goes up: "Hush, hush, hush, for this is the bogey man! The most interminable consequences will follow if you put your unholy hands upon this sacred thing!"

But there is nothing mysterious about the question of Cuban belligerency, and the idea that the President, if he is really trying to bring about a recognition of Cuban belligerency or of Cuban independence, can possibly be injured by having the world know that the legislative branch of the American Government agrees with him, is entirely too absurd for serious consideration.

Mr. Speaker, there seems an easy way in which all these House and Senate proceedings can be brought to an end. Let the gentleman who has been and who will be chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs in this House rise upon his feet now or at any time and say that the President has told him that he intends, by executive action, to recognize Cuban belligerency. If he will do so, there will be no other word spoken here. Let the President say it to the country, and there will be no word further spoken here.

Now, then, Mr. Speaker, as I said a moment ago, belligerency is a fact. The question is, Does a condition of public warfare exist between certain peoples, or between certain fractions of a people? If so, belligerency exists. Is it a fact, then, that a condition of public warfare exists in Cuba to-day? I want no better evidence than that which was furnished by the gentleman from Illinois, when he quoted from Signor Sagasta, the leader of the Liberal party in Spain to-day, and who will probably soon be the premier of that country.

Mr. Sagasta said in so many words, "We (the Spaniards) exercise no administration or domination in the territory of Cuba east of Sacugeunay." He says, furthermore:

We have 200,000 troops in Cuba, but we are not even masters of the territory trodden by our soldiers.

Gentlemen say that there are no facts upon which to support the recognition of Cuban belligerency. Signor Sagasta answers them.

Mr. Speaker, no facts! There are facts that would support a declaration of war upon the part of the people of America against Spain. The gentleman himself says the executive department acknowledges, everybody acknowledges, that between 700 and 800 American citizens are, under military orders, herded up like sheep in certain refuge cities in Cuba, without anyone to care for them or any ability to do anything for their own support, and without any provision being made by the Government of Spain for supporting them.

Spain has no more right to put men to death by starvation than she has to put them to death by the bullet; and yet Spain must be affected with the natural consequences of her own deliberate act when she drives men, women, and children, under penalty of military execution, from their homes, to herd them, while deprived of ability to engage in their life avocations, in certain places chosen by her, and there leaves them without food, clothing, or shelter. It is the cruelest of possible murders, and 700 or 800 of the people subjected to this treatment are American citizens!

What would have been thought during the late civil war if General Grant or General Lee had issued a proclamation, or if the government of either of the contending forces had issued a proclamation to the effect that all men, women, and children, including British subjects and French citizens, be gathered together in four cities—let us say New York, St. Louis, Memphis, and Washington—and then had made no provision whatever to feed them or clothe them, no provision even to furnish them with a local habitation while they were there?

Do you suppose that Great Britain—the other great branch of the English-speaking race—would not have spoken to us in unmistakable tones? Do you suppose that Napoleon III—at that time seated upon the imperial throne of France—would not have followed that action with action of his own which would have meant something against the power that was maltreating defenseless aliens and in favor of the power on the other side? Yet this is a fact which nobody denies: These hundreds are thus huddled and herded.

Now, what does the Republican party propose to do? Gentlemen, I ask you seriously to consider this. You propose to treat American citizens who are thus huddled, deliberately, as I believe, for starvation and for pestilence, not like American citizens, but like paupers. You propose to send them relief, you propose to deal out charity to them instead of dealing out what this magnificent race has always dealt out to its citizens everywhere, under every sun and in every clime—protection in the enjoyment of their rights. Notice of protection, intervention for protection, is the step that you ought to take here to-day.

I shall, of course, vote to send relief, but my only objection to this resolution is that it does not go far enough. Even the resolution attempted to be proposed by Mr. BAILEY of Texas, as an amendment to the one now being considered, does not go far enough, in my opinion. And why do gentlemen object to recognizing Cuban belligerency, to recognizing a plain and palpable fact—a condition of existing public warfare in Cuba? Why, sir, we have objection made based on a condition of things of which the American "middle classes" and "lower classes"—meaning by those terms the less rich and the least rich—are growing tired day by day. The only objection made is that it will "disturb business relations."

In this latter end of the nineteenth century, men seem to think not only that "the age of chivalry has gone," but that this magnificent piece of humanity that God has created and which we call man, with "an imagination to body forth the shapes of things unknown," with an intellect to probe into the very secrets of nature, with a heart to feel for suffering and for liberty everywhere in the world, is nothing but a miserable money-making machine. It is bad enough for an individual to feel that way. He sinks immediately to the contempt of all men. He sinks to the contempt of God Almighty.

Poetry goes out from him; imagination ceases to exist with him. Chivalry is dead; manhood itself is sapped. But for a nation—and, worse than all, for a great race like the two branches of this English-speaking race of ours—to come to the conclusion, as they seem to have done lately, that the only thing to be considered in their relations with the other nations of the earth is the money question, the trade question, the effect on stocks and bonds, the disturbance of business, carries degradation so far that I do not believe any man was ever gifted with power to express the contempt that a real man ought to feel for it. [Applause.]

[Here the hammer fell.]

Mr. BAILEY. I yield five minutes more to the gentleman from Mississippi.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, I say away with considerations like that, where justice and freedom stand before you! It was said in the old days that a Roman citizen, wherever he walked on the face of the globe, being disturbed in the exercise of his rights, held himself up proudly and said, "Civis Romanus sum." And I want to see the day when, wherever an American citizen may be, he shall hold himself proudly, and in response to all attempts at outrage shall say, "I am an American citizen."

And I want to see the time when a naturalization paper from this great Republic may be like the flag of the Republic itself, when it shall protect whatever and whoever stands under it, and when all the world shall know that no prince, power, or potentate, no nation, no sovereign's satrap, dares to question it or dares to go behind it; when it shall cover a citizen like a shield against all outrage and all infamy.

I said a moment ago that we were coming to the point where considerations of business relations prevented you from recognizing officially a fact when it was plain, patent, and acknowledged of all men. But that is not all. We seem to be coming to the point where, if civilization itself is confronted with business interests, civilization must stand aside; when outrage and rape and arson at our very doors—things that curdle the very blood when we read about them—are to be passed over lightly with the remark, "Do not put your unholy hand on this; you can not tell what may follow; this is a matter of diplomacy." And when we push the matter further, we find that behind the "diplomacy" is always some matter of business interests.

But, leaving that consideration, I hold that, from the standpoint of business even, vulgar and plebeian as that consideration is, this war ought to be put an end to, and we have the power to put an end to it. From the standpoint of political expediency we ought to intervene. Why, not long ago gentlemen cheered as if they were wild when something was said about the annexation of Hawaii and the acquirement of a little coaling station more than a thousand miles from the nearest point on the American Continent.

I am not a jingo; I am not an annexationist. I would not try to spread the wings of the American eagle all over the islands of the sea. Nor would I upon every occasion flop those wings and scream in exultant boast at our own prowess. But there is a proper sphere of influence within the view of every nation—the sphere of its own proper action; and if the Gulf of Mexico, the American Mediterranean, is not within our national sphere, then I know not what is. The Island of Cuba commands the mouth of the Mississippi River, bearing the greatest inland commerce in the world.

It will command the mouth of the Nicaragua Canal when it is dug, and it will therefore command the passage to and fro of American troops and ships from coast to coast. We want it within the hands of a friendly power, and the Cubans will be friendly. Spain is historically, traditionally, and from the very natures of the Spaniard and the Anglo-Saxon an enemy to the English-speaking race always and everywhere when she dares to show her enmity.

Therefore, as a mere matter of political expediency, while I would do no wrong, while I would start no crusade of "manifest destiny," I would take advantage of every piece of good fortune that may befall ourselves, and every piece of bad fortune that may befall any of our natural enemies, to weaken them in the American Mediterranean and to establish there, so far as we can, our own power or the power of peoples who are friendly to us, who from the very nature of things would be friendly, who, whether or not they were under our protection in a territorial government later on, as might happen, would be allies, just as Platæa and Athens were allies by reason of propinquity and by necessity of situation. [Applause.]

[Here the hammer fell.]

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, I assume, of course, that the gentleman in charge of the time on the other side of the House will now consume some part of it.

Mr. HITT. I yield three minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. ROBBINS].

Mr. ROBBINS. Mr. Speaker, having visited the Island of Cuba in January last, I wish to advocate the passage of this resolution appropriating money for the relief of American citizens on that island. In doing so I am influenced by my personal observation of the condition of affairs there.

I am somewhat surprised that this resolution should be termed in anywise political; and I know that gentlemen who are opposing its passage by filibustering are certainly not familiar with the real condition of our American citizens on that island.

I do not intend, Mr. Speaker, to enter into any argument upon the legal phases of this question—whether Congress or the President should take the initiative in passing a law to recognize the belligerency of Cuba. I propose to devote my time entirely to showing the pressing necessity of relieving American citizens in the prison pens, starving, as they were in January last, and in a condition of far greater suffering as I know they are to-day.

I visited Habana for the purpose of investigating the Cuban question. I visited the country round about Habana for 30 or 40

miles; and every case that I shall state to this House is a case that came under my own personal observation and was investigated for my own personal satisfaction. I want to state the case of Charles Govin, an American citizen, to show that Spain has no right at this time to claim from us that we are infringing upon international law or any treaty rights when we propose to relieve Americans suffering on that island.

By reason of the advantages given me, I visited the Cabanas fortress—I think on the 2d of January. A prisoner was brought out to me who exhibited the marks upon his arms, and told me that a short time before he had been captured in the insurgents' army with one Charles Govin, an American citizen. He told me that when Govin was captured he was entirely uninjured; that he exhibited to the commanding officer of the Spanish guard who took him his papers as a citizen of the United States, his appointment as a correspondent of a newspaper in the city of New York—I think it was the Journal—and his passport admitting him to that territory. And when the Spanish officer discovered what those papers were he struck them from his hands and tied him to two other prisoners for the night.

This same prisoner told me that the next morning at daybreak Charles Govin was taken out in plain view, tied to a tree, and the Spanish cavalry ordered to ride by and cut him with their machetes as they did so, which order was obeyed until the man was attually cut to pieces by the Spanish cavalry. And when this prisoner with whom I talked, Mr. Speaker, was afterwards put in the Cabanas prison, he applied to the consul-general of the United States, claiming his right as an American citizen and stating that he did not assert such right on the field because he "feared the fate of Charles Govin." The whole official correspondence is here, Mr. Speaker, published in Senate Document 30 of the Fifty-fourth Congress. The correspondence is open to all of us. That is the treatment that one American citizen received.

Mr. Speaker, it was my good fortune to meet the brother of Charles Govin at Tampa, Fla. Because the claim is made that these same people come to the United States and procure fraudulent papers and go back to Cuba, I want to say that this man was as thorough an American as I am myself—a permanent resident of the United States—as was also his brother Charles, who was so cruelly murdered by the Spanish.

Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Does the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROBBINS. If it is not to come out of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Of course it will come out of the gentleman's time.

Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas. I wish to ask the gentleman a question.

Mr. ROBBINS. Very well.

Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas. Does the gentleman think he can change those conditions by an appropriation of $50,000?

Mr. ROBBINS. I think, Mr. Speaker, that $50,000 will relieve to that extent, and, if it is necessary, the following of it up by $100,000, the sending of food and medicine, is the very thing we want to do. This is the beginning of a great work. We do not want to quibble about forms of law and diplomacy. We want to send these people substantial relief, and send it at once.

One other case, Mr. Speaker. Here is the card of Frederic L. Craycroft, who called on me at the Hotel Ingleterre, in Habana, and who came from the State of Indiana, I believe. I am not sure but that he was a citizen of the late Judge Holman's district. By the death of a friend this young man, who was 26 years of age, was called to Cuba to settle up an estate, which consisted of a farm within 20 miles of the city of Habana. He told me that the Spanish troops came to his place early in December, under the command of a commissioned officer, troops that were sent by Spain to the Island of Cuba to enforce the law and preserve order. He told me that that commissioned officer demanded money from him, and when he refused to give it, struck him on the head with his sword.

I saw myself the mark on the young man's head and saw his clothes that were cut. I saw these at the American consulate. Mr. Speaker, when he was finally knocked down and almost kicked into insensibility, he gave the commissioned officer $100, and his soldiers grabbed up some $29, all that he had left, and took his horse and other property. On that same expedition, that same Spanish officer, with these men, went on burning up the houses and killing peaceful citizens—pacificos, as they are called—until in that raid 28 peaceful citizens were killed. This American, when I saw him, almost a month later, was a fugitive in the city of Habana, living upon the alms of the American citizens in Habana, fearing to return to his farm.

Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas. Now, what good will this $50,000 do those dead men?

Mr. ROBBINS. This man is not dead.

Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas. Will you let them be killed first and feed them afterwards?

Mr. ROBBINS. This man is starving in the city of Habana, driven from his plantation. Fifty thousand dollars, if properly expended, will at least give him bread, that he may live.

Mr. Speaker, we all know the case of Julio Sanguily, an American citizen who was tried and condemned contrary to the treaty rights with Spain. His lawyer was imprisoned. The lawyer who took his appeal at Madrid was deprived of his office. These are some ways in which Spain is treating citizens of the United States.

Mr. Speaker, after the battle of Guanabacoa, the day after that fight, I saw American citizens, whom certainly the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. SIMPSON] would say should be relieved by an appropriation of money. The day after that fight there were huddled in the little city of Guanabacoa, within 6 miles of Habana, more than 2,000 people, they told me, and the streets were crowded. They told me those people had been driven in from the provinces outside.

Spain does not make any pretense of furnishing those people with food. They have been driven from their plantations, deprived of their horses, deprived of every means of support, and among those 2,000 fugitive people from the country round about they told me, and I heard it officially at the American consulate, there were some eight or ten American citizens that were in actual want and in actual starvation.

Mr. BRUCKER. Mr. Speaker, I should like to ask the gentleman when it was that he saw all of these horrors taking place?

Mr. ROBBINS. I went to the Island of Cuba on the 24th day of December and came away in January of this year.

Mr. BRUCKER. Is not what you saw and what you describe here the legitimate result of war?

Mr. ROBBINS. To attack peaceable citizens, to kill women and children, to drive old men, defenseless women, and little children from the country, from their homes, into the towns to starve, is not "legitimate war" nor the result of "legitimate war." It is extermination; it is cold, cruel, deliberate murder.

No, this terrible condition of affairs is the result of the "brutal policy of Spain" and not the result of "legitimate war."

No, I say again, it is not the legitimate result of war, Mr. Speaker. In the treaty with Spain which I have here, Spain guarantees protection to every American citizen on the Island of Cuba, under the articles of 1795, and again in protocol of 1877, this right is guaranteed, but under this proclamation of General Weyler, issued October 21, 1896, this condition of affairs is brought about in Cuba—and I want to read just one paragraph of it for the enlightenment of gentlemen upon the other side. This proclamation reads:

> That all the inhabitants of the country districts, or those who reside outside the lines of fortifications of the towns, shall within a delay of eight days enter the towns which are occupied by the troops. Any individual found outside the lines in the country at the expiration of this period shall be considered a rebel, and shall be dealt with as such.—*Proclamation of General Weyler, dated October 21, 1896, sec. 1.*

Mr. Speaker, all the inhabitants—Americans, pacificos, noncombatants, men, women, and children—are driven into the towns by this nefarious proclamation of the butcher Weyler, to starve, as they are doing, in those fortified towns of Cuba; for to remain outside means to be shot, as these poor wretches have learned by bitter experience. To be driven into the towns means death by starvation and disease.

Mr. BRUCKER. I should like to ask the gentleman another question, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. ROBBINS. I can not be interrupted. I have only ten minutes.

Several MEMBERS. Go ahead.

Mr. ROBBINS. I do not wish to refuse. I will answer the gentleman in any way I can; but my time is so short.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman declines to yield.

Mr. ROBBINS. Mr. Speaker, this condition of affairs existing in the Island of Cuba, this is the condition of affairs existing with reference to some 600 or 800 Americans resident in the country districts of Cuba, as we are informed by the President's message, and it ought to demand at the hands of the American people some immediate and urgent relief. If this appropriation can be expended for their relief, it ought to be granted gladly and at once. Talk about a condition of war! Here, Mr. Speaker, is the list of American prisoners confined in the Cuban prisons.

This list, which is officially furnished by the Secretary of State to the United States Senate, and is a Senate document, discloses the names of 74 American citizens. We have been told to-day by the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs [Mr. HITT] that nearly all of them have, by the urgency of a Republican Executive, been liberated from those prisons since the 4th of March. We want to go further, Mr. Speaker. We want to relieve the suffering of American citizens in Cuba in these starvation pens in these fortified towns; this condition of affairs which has been brought about, not by the legitimate results of war, but by the results of an order the parallel of which is only found in the Inquisition, the order that General Weyler promulgated in the fall of 1896.

I believe Cuba should be free. I will vote to acknowledge the

Republic of Cuba at the first opportunity. Spain has broken every treaty obligation with us. She has murdered our citizens and destroyed their property. We owe her nothing now. Our duty to our own citizens demands that we protect their lives and property and relieve them from starvation. Does citizenship of the United States mean nothing? Will we not protect it? We have notified the world that we will not permit any other nation to interfere between Spain and Cuba. Yet we will not. We spend thousands of dollars guarding our ports and patrolling the high seas to prevent arms, men, and supplies from being shipped to Cuban patriots, while the Spaniards buy all these here and send them openly to Cuba. Let us grant equal rights to each. Let us acknowledge belligerency; recognize the independence of the Cuban Republic. Let us grant, Mr. Speaker, to the Cubans the Spaniard's chance.

Let us appropriate this money and appropriate it quickly, Mr. Speaker, and if that does not bring about the release of American citizens from starvation and death, let us send after it another $50,000, and if that does not bring the result, then I for one shall vote for and do all that I can to send after these donations war ships and armed troops. I believe first, Mr. Speaker, in attempting in some rational and substantial manner to relieve these starving Americans quickly and without delay. [Applause on the Republican side.]

[Here the hammer fell.]

Mr. BAILEY. I yield ten minutes to the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. LIVINGSTON].

Mr. LIVINGSTON. Mr. Speaker, we are all agreed as to the necessity for relieving these suffering Americans in Cuba, and I presume that we are all agreed upon another proposition, that there is war in Cuba. I do not think that any intelligent Republican will dare to deny that proposition.

Now, the only practical question to-day before this House and before the people of America is how best and most safely and surely to relieve these people in whom we are interested in Cuba. Your proposition is to feed them for thirty-one days with $50,000, for that is the length of time that it will suffice. At the end of thirty-one days you must repeat the appropriation, and at the end of sixty-two days you must repeat it again.

Now, I shall vote for the $50,000, but I lay down the proposition that it is not the practical way in which to get at this business. In the first place, what brought about the necessity for the expenditure of the $50,000? The simple fact that General Weyler, in a war on noncombatants, has driven them from their rural homes into the cities and villages of Cuba, without any excuse under the heavens but that he intends to exterminate every Cuban on the island.

Those he can not kill or banish he proposes to starve to death; and I want to say to my friend from Illinois [Mr. HITT], of whom I am so fond, that it came with very bad grace from him this morning to throw across onto this side of the House the charge that the gentleman from Texas [Mr. BAILEY], the leader of the minority, was delaying the provisioning of these starving people. You and your party could have done just the same thing last Monday which you did to-day. Your Committee on Rules could have brought in this rule on last Monday just as well as to-day. Why did you not do it?

But there is another thing that I want to bring to your attention. John Sherman, Secretary of State, knew just as well on the 5th of March of the existing condition of affairs as he knows them to-day.

Mr. HITT. How do you know that?

Mr. SHAFROTH. The gentleman from Illinois scarcely needs to ask that question, for he was chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs in the last House.

Mr. LIVINGSTON. Why, of course he was. Now, Mr. Speaker, since the 5th day of March he has had access to the private files and correspondence from Cuba, that have been kept from Congress, and intentionally kept from the public, for fear of creating a feeling which would have compelled decided action in behalf of these Cuban people. Much was and is expected of this Administration. The last did not meet the demands so urgently pressed upon it by Congress and the public. This should have and, if acceptable to the people, must have more Americanism and less Spanish and less English.

There should be Americanism in it sufficient at least to insure safety to Americans in Cuba. You have an Administration that for sixty days, since Mr. McKinley and Mr. Sherman came in, know that there were starving Americans in Cuba; John Sherman for sixty days know that these people were starving, and yet you charge on this side, upon the minority leader of this House, that he purposely delayed this provision for four days, when you have simply deliberately and knowingly delayed it for more than sixty days.

Now, let me suggest that it would have been delayed sixty days more if it had not come to the knowledge of the Republican Administration that the Morgan resolution in the Senate had just dragged itself along for thirty days and could drag no longer, that the Senate was bound to act upon it, and that they were going to pass it; and just at the very threshold or doorway of its passage you come in here with a proposition and say, "Give us a little more time and the President will certainly do it."

Oh, I remember these promises from the Executive, made when the question was up for the repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman Act, that gave so many Democrats on this side so much trouble, and that from that day to this made them cover their faces in shame. Now, Mr. Speaker, I want to suggest, in all candor, to that side of the House one way out of this whole business. Vote the $50,000 to feed these starving American citizens, and send along with it a notice to General Weyler that he must turn these noncombatants loose and let them go back to the rural districts where they can get fruits and roots and meat to live upon, and get rid of the $50,000 appropriated hereafter. Why not?

Mr. STEELE. Who will live on roots?

Mr. LIVINGSTON. The gentleman says, Who would live on roots? For gentlemen over there, I would not be sure but that it would be a very good thing for them to live on roots for a while. [Laughter and applause on the Democratic side.] It might cause them to have a little more Americanism if they had to live on roots for a while in Cuba. [Renewed laughter.]

But, Mr. Speaker, let me suggest in all candor a removal of the cause that brought on these existing conditions that call for this appropriation; and I know, sir, that you will agree with me, and I know that my friend from Illinois will agree with me, that the only way to practically and permanently get rid of this thing is to remove the cause that brought about this necessity. Now, the necessity is brought about by Weyler's order. I should notify him that it must be revoked.

Mr. HITT. May I ask the gentleman a question?

Mr. LIVINGSTON. Certainly.

Mr. HITT. Do you not think the better way to remove the cause would be to have the President, with all his authority and with all the ability of his advisers, to secure the independence of Cuba instead of the belligerency or anything else? [Applause on the Republican side.]

Mr. LIVINGSTON. Yes. Will you answer one question for me? Will the President do that? [Applause on the Democratic side.] Now, answer. That is fair. When will he do it? My friend is an honest man; let him answer that.

Mr. HITT. Mr. Speaker, I have no right to speak by any authority.

Mr. LIVINGSTON. Then you have no right to make that proposition to me. [Laughter on the Democratic side.]

Mr. HITT. I asked you a question, and you have asked me one.

Mr. LIVINGSTON. Yes.

Mr. HITT. Do you want an answer?

Mr. LIVINGSTON. I do want an answer.

Mr. HITT. Then I will answer the gentleman. As one member, and speaking for myself, I have reason to believe that the President is taking as active——

Mr. LIVINGSTON. This comes out of my time. Be in a hurry and go ahead.

Mr. HITT. The President is taking as active and as effective steps as he can looking to securing the independence of Cuba. I just stated to you a fact showing the outlook in Cuba, that that conviction is shared at headquarters in Spain, that the minister who will probably be in charge of that Government in a few days has said as to the Cuban struggle that the prospect is substantially hopeless for Spain. [Applause on the Republican side.]

Mr. LIVINGSTON. Let me ask the gentleman one further question. Have you any confidence, to any extent, in Spanish promises? Now, come down to it, honestly.

Mr. HITT. I do not think that there is any promise in question.

Mr. LIVINGSTON. Now, from the same process of reasoning, we can reason all along the other side, and I know you are candid. I have a great deal of faith in Mr. McKinley, although he is a Republican. I am afraid, however, that he is in the hands of the Philistines, as Cleveland was. [Laughter and applause on the Democratic side.]

I am afraid they will manipulate him, and I would rather act so to give him more backbone, so that he would send a declaration: "To General Weyler: For once and forever that order of yours must be revoked; these noncombatants must go back to their homes in the rural sections, so that they can get their own food. We will not submit to it, by the eternal!" That is what we ought to do; and why not amend your resolution? Why not do that?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. BAILEY. I yield ten minutes to the gentleman from Alabama.

Mr. WHEELER of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, the highest parliamentary body of the greatest Government on earth is called upon to determine from the evidence before it whether war does or does not exist on the Island of Cuba.

That is the only question, Mr. Speaker.

Only on yesterday, at the very time prominent Republican statesmen were asserting that war did not exist on that island, the distinguished Spanish senator and ex-premier, Señor Sagasta, was making a speech in Madrid, in which he asserted in the most positive terms that war did exist; that Spain had 200,000 troops in Cuba, but he painfully admitted that Spain was not master even of the territory trodden by her soldiers. I read his exact words as they appear in the cablegram from Madrid in the Post of this morning:

MADRID, *May 19.*

At a meeting of Liberal senators and deputies to-day Señor Sagasta, former premier, made an important speech, in the course of which he said:

"We have 200,000 troops in Cuba, but we are not even masters of the territory trodden by our soldiers. At the same moment Carlism is organizing itself in the peninsula and menaces us with a new war, thanks to the impunity it enjoys, while the seeds of separatism are germinating in some of the provinces.

"The picture could not be gloomier. We have war in Cuba and in the Philippines, and we have attempts at civil war at home."

Two hundred thousand Spanish soldiers in arms and in line of battle in the Island of Cuba, and an official report before us stating that

EIGHT HUNDRED AMERICANS DESPOILED, IMPOUNDED, AND STARVING.

Eight hundred American citizens are driven from their homes, deprived of their property, despoiled of their estates, impounded and corralled and starving in the towns and villages of Cuba, and yet men who have forgotten that honor and chivalry are the priceless heritage of the American people would make us believe that the Island of Cuba is blessed with profound peace.

For three years the Spanish bulletins have been reporting frequent engagements with superior bodies of insurgents. They have told us of the slaughter of the insurgents in battle, and the sound of musketry shooting down helpless prisoners, including combatants and noncombatants, including Cubans and Americans, has been heard every day of the reign of the Nero of the nineteenth century; "King Weyler the First;" and yet, after all this slaughter, the distinguished Spanish senator and ex-premier proclaims in Madrid, Spain's beautiful capital:

We have 200,000 troops in Cuba, but we are not even masters of the territory trodden by our soldiers.

This is an important statement from a Spanish senator and ex-premier, and the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. HITT] who has just taken his seat informs us that Señor Sagasta will in a few days again become the premier of that Government, and this fact gives even more significance to his words. He tells the people of Spain that because of an insurgent army of superior numbers the 200,000 Spanish troops are not even masters of the territory they stand upon, and the gentleman from Pennsylvania who spoke half an hour ago told us that the warfare carried on by these 200,000 soldiers was brutal, cruel, and atrocious.

The statement by Señor Sagasta that—

Spain is not even master of the territory trodden by her 200,000 soldiers—

is an admission that the Cubans have practically the control of the entire island. This alone entitles the struggling patriots to the rights of belligerents.

All works on international law assert that actual possession of the territory is sufficient.

Wildman, quoted approvingly by Halleck, pays 68, says:

When, in the result of a civil war, a state changes its government, or a province, or colony, that before had no separate existence, is in the possession of the rights of sovereignty, the possession of sovereignty de facto is taken to be possession de jure; and any foreign power is at liberty to recognize such sovereignty by treating with the possessor of it as an independent state. In international transactions possession is sufficient.

Davis in international law, page 200, says:

The parties to a war are called belligerants. The recognition of such rights by foreign governments in no way involves the recognition of the rebellious government as a separate political recognition. It only implies that the laws of war are to prevail in the military operations.

Lorimer, Vol. 1, page 142, says:

By recognizing belligerent rights neutral powers pronounce no judgment whatever, either on the merits of the claim or the probability of its ultimate vindication. Belligerent recognition is a mere declaration of impartiality. To withhold from the claimant for recognition the rights of belligerency, whilst we extend them to the parent state, would plainly be to take part against it in the war.

Notwithstanding all this, the money changers and owners of Spanish bonds tell the people that there is no war in Cuba, and that we must not recognize Cubans as entitled to belligerent rights.

SPANISH ARMY IN CUBA FIVEFOLD OUR ARMY OF 1776 OR 1812.

From 1776 to 1781 the average enrolled force of our continental soldiers was 38,263, while the average force of British troops in America during that time, which I take from eleven different official reports, was 82,208, to which force should be added their American adherents, which at one time numbered 8,954 men, making the average British force somewhat in excess of 40,000 soldiers; yet all historical works, including our school histories, tell us that the period from Lexington and Concord, April 19, 1775, to Yorktown, October 19, 1781, was a condition of bloody, cruel, and desolating war.

Our losses during that seven-years conflict was but 2,200 killed and 6,500 wounded, a less number than the Spaniards claim are killed in a single season, either killed in battle or shot down in Weyler's slaughter pens. In the war of 1812 we had 1,877 killed and died of wounds, and 3,737 were wounded and recovered; and in the war with Mexico 1,049 were killed and died from wounds, and 3,928 were wounded and recovered.

MANY TIMES GREATER THAN THE ARMIES IN MEXICO.

The greatest force commanded by General Taylor, with which he won the victories of Palo Alto, Resaca de la Palma, and Monterey, was 6,650, and his great victory at Buena Vista was accomplished with a force of 4,733 men, and Santa Anna's entire army at that battle was reported on paper as 19,993 men.

General Scott carried the Stars and Stripes from Vera Cruz to the halls of Montezuma with an army whose maximum strength was 12,776 men, and the entire force brought against him by Santa Anna was estimated to be 30,000 strong [applause]; and yet American history has dignified these occurrences as real, actual, bloody warfare. Mr. Speaker, we have to either stop Fourth of July celebrations and undo the elections of Old Hickory in 1848 and Pierce in 1852, who the people elected because they were told that old Zach Taylor and Franklin Pierce were both heroes in actual war, or else we have got to admit that the array of hostile armies more than five times as formidable as those which fought the campaign in Mexico or the battles of the Revolution have created a condition of actual war in Cuba.

TEN TIMES JACKSON'S ARMY IN THE VALLEY.

Stonewall Jackson in his campaign in the Valley had less than 17,000 men, and much less than that number in his engagements at Kernstown with General Shields, at McDowell with General Milroy, at Front Royal and Winchester with General Banks, and at Cross Keys and Port Republic with Generals Frémont and Shields, and yet all these gallant soldiers, driven from these fields by the sagacity, skill, and courage of the superb Jackson, hastened forward couriers, dispatches, and telegrams assuring the Government that the once peaceful valley of Shenandoah had become a theater of actual war.

If we are to vote that war does not exist in Cuba, we must also vote that there was no war in the Shenandoah Valley.

LESS THAN TWO HUNDRED THOUSAND CONFEDERATES UNDER ARMS IN 1863.

Again, Mr. Speaker, the War Record Reports tell us that in 1863 the total effective of all the Confederate force east of the Mississippi River was only 153,780 men, and it must be remembered that in 1861, before half that number of soldiers were in the field, the Spanish Cortes declared that war existed between the United States and the Confederate government. If we now decide that there are not a sufficient number of Spanish troops in Cuba to create a condition of war, we must also decide that war did not exist in this country from 1861 to 1865, and we must follow up that by repealing all the pension laws, bringing the dead to life, making the lame to walk, revising history, and teaching the children that there were no such persons as Lincoln, McClellan, Grant, Sherman, Sheridan, Hancock, Schofield, or Lee, Jackson, and Jefferson Davis. We must do one of these things, Mr. Speaker, or else admit that the same facts which created a condition of war in one country does not create it in another.

FRANCE HAD BUT 195,801 SOLDIERS IN 1815.

The returns of all the armies of France of June 1, 1815, show that their entire strength was 195,801 men. This included the Army of the North with which the Emperor fought the battles of Ligny, Quartre Bras, and Waterloo; Army of the Rhine, under Rapp; Army of the Alps, under Suchet; Army of the Jura, under Lecourbe; Army of the Var, under Brune; Army of the Eastern Pyrenees, under Decaen; Army of the Western Pyrenees, under Clauzel, and Army of the La Vendee, under Lamarque. The entire force under arms in France was therefore less in number than the strength of the Spanish army which Señor Sagasta tells us is now fighting a war of oppression and conquest in Cuba.

If Republican statesmen are right that war does not now exist in Cuba, then war did not exist in Europe, and the stories of Napoleon and Wellington and Blucher and Waterloo are fairy tales which should be blotted out of history.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Alabama has expired.

Mr. WHEELER of Alabama. I ask two minutes more.

Mr. BAILEY. I have yielded all the time under my control.

Mr. WHEELER of Alabama. I ask unanimous consent for an extension of two minutes.

There was no objection.

Mr. WHEELER of Alabama. I thank the House for this courtesy.

The trouble is, Mr. Speaker, that the controlling element in this country has changed.

HONOR THE DOMINANT SPIRIT ONCE; GOLD THE CONTROLLING POWER NOW.

From 1776 to 1865 the dominant spirit which controlled in this Republic was one of honor, glory, chivalry, and patriotism. The dominant spirit of to-day is the pride of gold, of palaces, of marriage alliances with dukes, and princes, and counts, and an exercise of the whole power of the Government in the interests of money changers, millionaires, and monopolies, and this, too, whether they are Astors, Goulds, Vanderbilts, or Rockefellers of America, or Barings and Rothschilds from across the sea.

I do not know what others may say or how others may vote, but I for one proclaim on this floor that war, cruel, brutal, murderous war, does exist in that "gem of the ocean"—that beautiful "Queen of the Antilles"—and I here assert that it is our duty as the representatives of the greatest people upon earth to so declare in the highest councils that exist under the canopy of heaven. [Applause.]

If this declaration will aid our brethren struggling for liberty, we are only doing what we promised to do when God vouchsafed victory and liberty to us. If we fail to do this, we are recreant to our pledges, to Christianity, to civilization, to humanity, and to God. [Loud applause.]

Mr. HITT. I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. ADAMS].

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. Speaker, as I entered the House a moment ago, I heard a gentleman from Georgia making an appeal to this side of the Chamber to pass these belligerent resolutions to "stiffen the backbone" of the man to whom the American people have just intrusted the charge of this Government.

I wish to say, in reply to the gentleman from Georgia, that the man who within thirty days after taking his seat in the executive chair forced open the prison doors of Cuba and set free the sixty Americans who had been languishing in prison cells, owing to the weakness of the Democratic Administration, needs no strengthening at the hands of either side of this Chamber. [Applause.]

Mr. Speaker, there have been some comments made here upon the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the last House. As the chairman of the subcommittee that had charge of the subject of Cuba in that Congress, I wish to say that, while not occupying that official position now—while, in fact, not a member of any committee—I wish to state that we reported to this House a resolution which called for the protection of American property and the protection of the liberty of American citizens to the point of armed intervention. And we need no suggestion now from the Democratic side of the Chamber as to what the Republican party hould do.

Our position on this subject is declared in our platform. We stand pledged to that position, and we will carry it out. But, sir, we will do it in our own way and in our own time, and upon the suggestion of the executive branch of this Government, not at the dictation of a minority party whom the people of this country have just sent to the rear. We hold ourselves responsible, and we will meet the issue. When our Executive sends to this Congress a message asking us to provide for feeding starving Americans, we ask no suggestion from the other side of the Chamber.

We will feed starving Americans; and if gentlemen on the other side want to go on record against it on a parliamentary quibble, let them do so at their peril, and the people will hold them accountable for their actions. The people of the North and of the South will ask, Was there any objection when it was proposed to send food to Russia? Was there any objection when it was proposed to send food to India?

Nay, more. Coming right to our own homes, was there any objection when, in view of the floods in the Mississippi Valley, aid was sought here? And yet gentlemen from the other side, coming from that very section, have the effrontery to stand in this Chamber and to oppose by a parliamentary quibble, for the sake of a small political advantage, the sending of food to starving Americans in Cuba.

Mr. Speaker, this is not a question of international law. The question is not whether our country is in danger of being involved in any difficulty. Spain, that has kept at arm's length any propositions from the last Administration, has received this proposition cordially—has offered no opposition to feeding these people. Where is the necessity for any action on the part of this House to "strengthen the backbone" of the Executive? Has Spain ever accepted any proposition of any kind from the last Administration? No, sir; for she knew the weakness of the Executive; she knew she had the sympathies of the Executive and the Secretary of State on the Cuban question; and she would not have dared to hold out her hand so that this might be done. The "backbone" is there in the present Executive; and if Spain had dared to refuse this offer of America to feed her sons residing in a foreign land, the force would have been there and food would have gone, if we had been obliged to fire it down the throats of the hot-headed Spaniards. [Applause.]

[Here the hammer fell.]

Mr. BAILEY. I yield ten minutes to the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. CLAYTON].

Mr. CLAYTON. Mr. Speaker, to a plain and average American citizen it seems to be strange, if not anomalous, for time to be so precious here that this House can devote but two hours to the consideration of the important question now before us, when it is remembered that under the rule of the Republican majority we adjourned last Monday, when this matter was first presented, over until to-day. But in the brief time allowed me I can advert only to this offense against proper legislative deliberation, this prevention of free speech, and the injustice done here to the minority. And I can not hope to do more than refer to some of the features of the Cuban question.

Mr. Speaker, in the discussion indulged in here to-day, brief as it has been, there have been made some remarkable utterances. Some members of the majority who are charged with the responsibility of acting or of defeating action have said repeatedly that this Administration would extend to the Cuban patriots and to the suffering Americans in the Island of Cuba a complete remedy and a complete cessation of the ills which they endure. But when these self-constituted witnesses are cross-examined by gentlemen on this side of the Chamber and are called upon for their authority to make any such statement, they disclaim their authority; and, in the language of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. HITT], they each say: "I have no right to speak by any authority. As one member, and speaking for myself, I have reason to believe," etc.

The country has heard too often the language of diplomacy and evasion. It has so often heard in respect to the great economic question—that of the currency—which has agitated this country for several years past, the old, old cry of "Wait, wait; don't discuss, don't agitate, and confidence, prosperity, and happiness will come to the people," until now confidence has been lost in your professions. [Applause on the Democratic side.] Let us not longer delay, but let us give the Americans in Cuba some evidence, some action, that will assure them that this great Government is not only willing to contribute the means to alleviate their present suffering, but intends to see to it that other atrocities shall not be committed.

The resolution proposed by the gentleman from Texas would doubtless do all this, while the isolated proposition embodied in the joint resolution reported by the Republican members of the Committee on Rules extends temporary succor only. The complaint against the resolution reported by the committee is not that the proposed relief is not timely and proper, but that it falls short of meeting the whole exigency of the case.

The question involved in the resolution which the gentleman from Texas, the leader on this side, attempted to offer, and has had read, is not a new one. Its favorable disposition here ought not to admit of any further delay. Is there any man in this House, is there any American anywhere, who can read the newspapers, the great disseminators of intelligence, is there anyone thus blessed who can doubt the situation in Cuba and doubt our duty to-day? I say that the proposition is not new. If you of the majority have voted down the amendment offered by the gentleman from Texas upon the ground that you have not information of a state of war in Cuba, you stultify the former House of Representatives, including the members here present who were members of that House; you stultify the Senate of the United States.

In the time of President Cleveland Congress knew of a state of war existing there. The Senate and the House by a formal concurrent resolution so declared. That resolution was reported to the Senate by Mr. Sherman, who is now Secretary of State. Since then the evidence has accumulated. So that the existence of a war in Cuba can no longer be doubted. The disclosures made in the Senate on yesterday furnish overwhelming and indisputable proof that a war does exist in Cuba. I ask that if there be any doubting Thomas let him thrust his hand into the gaping wounds laid bare by the members of the subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee on yesterday.

These startling and interesting disclosures are here in the RECORD and are doubtless familiar to the gentlemen on the Republican side, who tell us to wait and say to us that the President ought to postpone action until he is in possession of fuller and better information from the special agent he has sent to Cuba. I shall not consume time to read these disclosures. Suffice it to say that reports now on file in the State Department—and they have been there for some time past—show that the Island of Cuba is, in the main, not pacified, but in a state of war; that two-thirds of its territory is in possession of the Cuban insurgents; that Spain, with her vast number of soldiers—about 200,000—sent to that unhappy land within the last three years, has not been able to subdue the unconquerable patriots in that stricken island.

I am glad that the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. HITT] has added to this discussion the statement that Mr. Sagasta, who will shortly be the new prime minister of Spain, said on yesterday that the war in Cuba was substantially hopeless for Spain. Then why not pass the resolution proposed by the gentleman from Texas, a resolution that may induce the President to take some immediate and active steps toward protecting American property and interests

and American lives? Why delay when we are now informed that if the State Department should publish to the world the names of the American consuls in Cuba who have by official reports told of the conditions and horrors there it would probably bring upon these officers, entitled to all the protection that this great country can afford, Spanish violence, and perhaps death by means of the Spanish stiletto or the Spanish dagger?

I appeal to you, my Republican countrymen, not to let the center aisle in this Chamber be a dividing line between Americans for Americans in Cuba on this side and Republicans for Spain, with her bloody atrocities, on the other. No, gentlemen, when you now delay, we doubt you; and when I say we, I speak for this side of the Chamber. I say that the great common people of America, that make America great, to whom we belong, doubt your sweet and fervent pretensions.

More than two years ago this war began in Cuba. But not until yesterday did we get the fullest authentic information in the case, and we are indebted to the Senate of the United States and not to the President for this information. I might refer to the Senate of the United States as that great popular branch of the American National Legislature. [Applause on the Democratic side.] It responds more readily in these latter days to the popular will than this supposed popular branch, under Republican domination.

It is that Senate which stands to-day as the one deliberative body of the Congress; that Senate which has in the past, when all else failed, been the last refuge of the people of my beloved Southland when political passion and persecution sought to nullify their self-government; that Senate which now is our only hope against the organized rapacity of the insolent money power. No longer ago than yesterday, and I might say, I trust with propriety, in that same Senate, there was a disclosure of the attitude of the last Administration in regard to Cuba, and its offer to Spain of friendly mediation, and the rejection of that mediation. The correspondence showing what that Administration announced as its policy was furnished there. I desire to read a part of what Mr. Olney, as Secretary of State, said to the Spanish minister on April 4, 1896:

It is now some nine or ten months since the nature and prospects of the insurrection were first discussed between us. In explanation of its rapid and, up to that time, quite unopposed growth and progress, you called attention to the rainy season, which from May or June until November renders regular military operations impracticable. Spain was pouring such numbers of troops into Cuba that your theory and opinion that, when they could be used in an active campaign, the insurrection would be almost instantly suppressed seemed reasonable and probable. In this particular you believed, and sincerely believed, that the present insurrection would offer a most marked contrast to that which began in 1868 and which, being feebly encountered with comparatively small forces, prolonged its life for upward of ten years.

It is impossible to deny that the expectations thus entertained by you in the summer and fall of 1895, and shared not merely by all Spaniards but by most disinterested observers as well, have been completely disappointed. The insurgents seem to-day to command a larger part of the island than ever before. Their men under arms, estimated a year ago at from ten to twenty thousand, are now conceded to be at least two or three times as many. Meanwhile, their discipline has been improved and their supply of modern weapons and equipment has been greatly enlarged, while the mere fact that they have held out to this time has given them confidence in their own eyes and prestige with the world at large. In short, it can hardly be questioned that the insurrection, instead of being quelled, is to-day more formidable than ever and enters upon the second year of its existence with decidedly improved prospects of successful results. Whether a condition of things entitling the insurgents to recognition as belligerents has yet been brought about may, for the purposes of the present communication, be regarded as immaterial.

The Spanish Government then asked for delay on account of the rains. The rainy season has come and gone, and there is yet no peace. To-day you ask for delay on the plea of desiring to procure information. What more information do you want? You do not want to delay in this matter for the purpose of recognizing the independence of that country, but the belief is entertained by many that you wish to delay so that Spain may carry on, not the process of pacification, not the process of liberating imprisoned Americans, not the process of protecting American interests, not the process of stopping her bloody butcheries, but that you want to delay in order that the Spanish Government may carry on a war of extermination. Then, when a war of butchery shall have done its worst, the "diplomats" will come before Congress and say: "The situation has changed. We were once in favor of recognizing the belligerent rights of that country, we were once in favor of recognizing its independence, but the situation has changed." And indeed it will change, perhaps, if the United States longer submit to the outrages that are daily perpetrated upon our own citizens and are threatened against our consuls.

This resolution, proposed by the distinguished gentleman from Texas, identical in form, has been under the public eye and in the public prints and under discussion since the 1st day of April last, when it was introduced in the Senate. I will read what the author of this Senate resolution, a distinguished Senator, Mr. MORGAN of Alabama, whose learning has adorned the pages of our legislative history for nearly twenty years, said in regard to such resolution:

But our people have suffered in one respect a degree of mortification and humiliation as well as a degree of personal distress that it has always been within the power of our Government to prevent. If the Government of the United States had taken care of its own people in the Island of Cuba according to the full measure of its duty, many a life would have been saved in the former struggles and in the present one, much property would have been spared from destruction, great anguish of feeling would have been spared to our people, both native born and adopted. But the Government of the United States has not taken proper care of her own people in Cuba, and it is time that we begin to do so.

The object of the introduction of the joint resolution which is before the Senate to-day is to put the Government of the United States in a proper legal attitude toward the Government of Spain in Cuba, and to enable us simply to take care of our own citizens. I have always declared that this was my leading motive, and in fact my exclusive motive, as a Senator of the United States, in whatever support I have given to measures here in respect of our controversies and difficulties with Spain in the Island of Cuba. I have kept my mind fixed firmly and exclusively upon the duty of the Government of the United States to the citizens of the United States in the presence of this state of facts. I am trying to get from the Congress of the United States—and I hope the Executive will concur with us—a definition and statement of a legal status or situation which makes it possible for us, under the laws of nations, to protect the lives and property of our people in the Island of Cuba.

In accomplishing this result, Mr. President, it may turn out—and I would be very glad that it should—that assistance will be given to the people of the Island of Cuba in the establishment of their independence, in freeing themselves from an abominable yoke, which, so far as they are concerned, has never resulted in any benefit to the people there at all, but has been imposed upon them and maintained over them for the mere purpose of leeching out of them their substance and of keeping them as serfs and feudatories to the Crown of Spain and to the nobility and gentry of that country. I should be very glad that a result of that sort should follow; but whether that result shall follow, or one still more disastrous to the people of Cuba, nevertheless it is a duty that we can not abdicate to take care, so far as in us lies, of our people in that island.

We are willing on this side to give this relief or remedy as far as it may go, but we want some expression and some action, if need be, that will prevent further atrocities. In the one hand you offer charity, but in the other hand you ought to offer assurance that these atrocities shall not again be perpetrated. The world ought to understand, and Spain, with all her cruelties and barbarities, ought to understand, that there is an American conscience that has been quickened in behalf of suffering human beings, whether they be citizens of the United States by nativity or adoption, or patriots in the Cuban Republic. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

But, Mr. Speaker, some gentlemen on that side of the Chamber have said that the President has been in office but a few weeks; therefore let us delay any expression other than what may be implied from this appropriation of money. You did not talk that way at your convention last summer at St. Louis. You then comprehended the situation. Your President was elected upon a platform that comprehended the situation. The country understood it. Instead of affairs growing better they have grown worse. So we say, now that you have the opportunity to fulfill your promises, do not give the country more promises, but relieve the necessities of suffering Americans and give some guaranty that these atrocities shall not be repeated, that these six or eight hundred American people may return to their peaceful occupations, that they may be protected in their lives, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

Also, give the Cuban patriots the kindly assurance that this great Republic recognizes the march of republicanism; that on the Western Hemisphere monarchy is out of place; that it is our belief that only republics should grow and flourish on this side of the world. Let the Cuban flag float upon the high seas without danger to the Cuban patriots of being condemned as pirates and hanged from the yardarms of their vessels. Let the Cuban flag unfold to the breezes on every high sea in every clime. Let it be planted among the banners of nations. Let the Cuban patriots have their Yorktown, if they can win it by their own swords. Let them have their George Washington, and add another illustrious name to those of the apostles of human liberty. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. Speaker, I need not say that this resolution for the recognition of belligerency should not be a dividing line between the political parties, for, sir, in their conventions last summer, these parties declared for a vigorous American foreign policy, expressed sympathy for the Cuban patriots, and announced for the protection of Americans in foreign lands.

The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. HITT] has suggested that the declaration of belligerency is a serious one, and so it is. But my reply is that the gentleman himself voted for such a declaration in the last Congress, and that if the declaration is serious now it was serious then. Besides, sir, if the condition of affairs in Cuba then were such as to justify the declaration then, they more abundantly justify the declaration proposed by the gentleman from Texas now, for the conditions in that war-cursed land have not been modified by the vast army of Spain, but those conditions have been aggravated beyond the point of exaggeration.

If we were concerned a year ago in ending the war, we are much more concerned now. Behold the spectacle of the Spanish fleet guarding that little island, situated, as it is, within about 100 miles of our own shores! Witness the long and ineffectual effort of Spain to conquer the Cubans. No one on this side of the House wants war, but we wish to terminate a war which Spain can never terminate until she acknowledges the birth of the new Republic of

Cuba. We are forced to protect our own rights where Spanish impotency has failed.

Look at the Administration of Mr. Cleveland and that of Mr. McKinley sedulously and vigilantly taking care that this Government does not permit its citizens to furnish aid to the Cubans! We see monarchy endeavoring to suppress liberty by murdering its devotees. Absolutism warring for subjugation and continued oppressive taxation. Power impotent against the right. Power that can not conquer the unconquerable, and that now confessedly is unable to make secure the rights, interests, and lives of the citizens of a great and hitherto friendly nation. We can not be indifferent to the spectacle. Our country and its citizens first, and our country and its citizens in every emergency forever. Let us love the immortal sentiment of Webster, "Our country to be cherished in all our hearts; our country to be defended by all our hands." [Applause.]

APPENDIX.

We reassert the Monroe doctrine in its full extent, and we reaffirm the right of the United States to give the doctrine effect by responding to the appeals of any American state for friendly intervention in case of European encroachment. We have not interfered and shall not interfere with the existing possessions of any European power in this hemisphere, but those possessions must not, on any pretext, be extended. We hopefully look forward to the eventual withdrawal of the European powers from this hemisphere and to the ultimate union of all English-speaking parts of the continent by the free consent of all of its inhabitants.

From the hour of achieving their own independence the people of the United States have regarded with sympathy the struggles of other American people to free themselves from European domination. We watch with deep and abiding interest the heroic battle of the Cuban patriots against cruelty and oppression, and our best hopes go out for the full success of their determined contest for liberty. The Government of Spain having lost control of Cuba, and being unable to protect the property or lives of resident American citizens or to comply with its treaty obligations, we believe the Government of the United States should actively use its influence and good offices to restore peace and give independence to the island.—*From the Republican Platform* adopted at St. Louis in 1896.

The Monroe doctrine, as originally declared, and as interpreted by the succeeding Presidents, is a permanent part of the foreign policy of the United States, and must at all times be maintained.

We extend our sympathy to the people of Cuba in their heroic struggle for liberty and independence.—*From the Democratic Platform* adopted at Chicago in 1856.

We tender to the patriotic people of Cuba our deepest sympathy in their heroic struggle for political freedom and independence, and we believe the time has come when the United States, the great Republic of the world, should recognize that Cuba is, and of right ought to be, a free and independent state.—*From People's Party Platform* adopted at St. Louis in 1896.

Mr. BAILEY. I yield ten minutes to the gentleman from Tennessee.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman has nine minutes remaining.

Mr. MCMILLIN. That is as much as I shall want.

Mr. BAILEY. I yield it to the gentleman.

Mr. MCMILLIN. Mr. Speaker, if anything can show the importance of this Congress being organized or in condition to do business, it is the fact that we are in such a disorganized state—committees not appointed—that if every man on this side of the House, and two-thirds of the men on the other side of the House wanted to pass a resolution or to adopt measures concerning Cuba or anything else, it could not be done as a matter of right.

If every man who is to be on the next Committee on Foreign Affairs were to-day here and were in favor of the adoption of a resolution recognizing the belligerency of Cuba, they could not find any way to express it. Let it not be forgotten at any stage of these proceedings that the House of Representatives, as at present constituted, is one man and two committees, and that the other members might just as well not be in Congress for the power they can have in originating or putting through legislation that does not meet with favor elsewhere.

The session drags along; important questions arise daily; the country is in a desperate condition, and yet the House is unorganized, and business can only be done by special rules, and then without any investigation by or report from a committee.

Now, sir, as to the merits of the resolution. Mr. Speaker, this is a proposition to send to destitute citizens in a foreign country supplies, without which it is said they will starve. It is a function peculiarly governmental.

It can not be done by individuals, because Spain might refuse to allow individuals to send supplies. It can not be done by the several States, because she could exercise the same authority as to the States that she could as to the individual. But when 70,000,000 American people, with the American flag, and, if need be, with an American squadron along with that flag, send those supplies, the Government of Spain dare not refuse to let us feed our starving. It is work that individuals and States can not do. What has brought about this condition of affairs in Cuba?

The Spanish Government has ordered all the inhabitants in a certain territory to come within the Spanish lines or be treated as outlaws and public enemies. This has filled the towns with half-naked or half-starved people who have been forced to leave their supplies at their deserted homes. Some here question our right to acknowledge the belligerent rights of the struggling Cubans. I can not see how they can do it. We clearly have the right, and ought without further parley to do it.

A war exists there that has taken from 150,000 to 200,000 soldiers from Spain, and they have not thus far been able to suppress what they call an insurrection.

Two hundred thousand soldiers mustered, the biggest army Spain has mustered since the Napoleonic wars, the mother country almost exhausted and impoverished, and yet we are told that no state of belligerency exists there! Suppose that the same action that has characterized us had characterized France in our war for independence, as was stated in the eloquent appeal of my friend from Alabama [Mr. CLAYTON] who has just said, "Give Cuba her Yorktown." We could not do so, because America would have had no Yorktown, and independence would at least have been deferred.

Sir, I believe in the doctrine of Thomas Jefferson, "Peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations, and entangling alliances with none." But I believe in that further doctrine of which he was the magnificent exponent, that the American Government has the power and the American Government ought to exercise the authority to protect every American citizen, whether he is in the Occident or in the Orient; and if I were President of the United States, there would be an American armed vessel in sight of the Cuban coast to-day. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

So far as I am concerned, I would be glad to vote for a resolution that I understand the Senate is now voting on, to recognize the belligerency of Cuba. Not belligerents, when the man, as has been told us by the gentleman from Illinois, who is to be the next premier has admitted that the war is a failure! Not belligerents, when they control two-thirds or three-fourths of all the territory of the country now! Not belligerents, when the Spaniards have been forced to drive American citizens and other citizens into the towns and herd them so that they are reduced to a state of starvation like a lot of sheep! Not belligerents, when 200,000 troops can not suppress them!

When the gentleman from Pennsylvania has the facts that have been detailed within his knowledge to-day, how can he hesitate to recognize the belligerency of Cuba? How can the gentleman from Illinois, the distinguished gentleman who was chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs in the last Congress, fail to support a resolution of that kind, when every intimation he has made here to-day is that the war there is a failure?

Oh, but they say that the Government of the United States ought not to declare belligerency in that territory. What, gentlemen, in your opinion, does constitute belligerency? When, in your opinion, may we declare the Cubans belligerents?

Some reference has also been made to the fact that during the Administration of Mr. Cleveland we passed a resolution here through both Houses of Congress favorable to Cuba and that he disregarded the expressed will of the people. Our friends on the opposite side criticise him for it.

I beg the gentleman to remember that the resolution faces Mr. McKinley, the present President, and ought to be just as potent with him as his predecessor. It is just as obligatory, morally and otherwise, on President McKinley to-day as it was on President Cleveland at any time.

Mr. Speaker, I do not propose to speak for other people. I do not know how others may feel upon this question; but I for one, believing that a republican form of government is that which is wisest and best for men, seeing the great progress that this great Republic has made under our free institutions, seeing what its influence has brought about in France, and that it is moving on in other countries, never expect to see the day when Cubans think they ought to be free and exhibit the power they now exhibit that I would not say Cuba is entitled to belligerent rights along with Spain. [Loud applause on the Democratic side.]

Let them have equal rights and an equal chance among our people along with Spain. Let us not help to crush Cuba by showing favoritism to Spain.

Who has not seen with sorrow the bombardment of the Christians in Crete? Who has not heard the sad wail of the dying Christians whom the oriental invaders have put to the sword? The Turk aspires to pull down the cross and raise the crescent over Mars Hill, where the lion-hearted Paul preached Christ nearly two thousand years ago. To-day the Turk has barely been halted this side of Athens. In these struggles of might against right will we sit silent?

Month after month we have sat here and allowed the cries of our citizens in Cuba to go unheeded. We have allowed the patriotic voice of a suffering and aspiring people to go unheard. We have given no greedy ear, as we should have done, to the cry that Cuba should be accorded belligerent rights and given a fair chance in her struggles for freedom. Let us make haste to undo this wrong.

Let us do what Jefferson would have done; let us do what Jackson would have done; let us do what Polk would have done, and what we will be inexcusable for if we do not do; not simply send supplies to those of our citizens who are suffering there, but, as

far as a neutral power may do, send words of good cheer to the aspiring Cubans and wish them godspeed in their great struggle. [Loud applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. Speaker, if I have any time, I yield it to the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. McRAE].

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that fifteen minutes be allowed to gentlemen on the floor who represent the Populist party. I think it ought to be done in all fairness. I had intended to yield that much time myself, but in computing the time I found that I have made a mistake. I have conferred with the gentleman from Illinois, and he agrees that this is a reasonable request, and I therefore ask for fifteen minutes for them.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Texas asks unanimous consent that the time for debate be extended fifteen minutes, that time to be controlled by representatives of the Populist party.

Mr. ODELL. I object.

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, I appeal to the gentleman's sense of fairness. There are twenty-one members of the Populist party on the floor; and I appeal to him not to do that.

Mr. DINGLEY. I hope the gentleman will not put it on any such ground as that. Here is a question on which there is but an affirmative and negative side. The time has been equally divided, and the gentleman from Texas has controlled the time of the opposition. Now, I am entirely willing to grant this request as a matter of courtesy, that gentlemen shall have that time, but I am not willing that the gentleman shall put it on the ground of fairness.

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Maine can say that in fairness I ought to have granted the time.

Mr. DINGLEY. I agree in that.

Mr. BAILEY. But I insist that in all fairness these gentlemen are entitled to recognition.

Mr. DINGLEY. But the gentleman himself has deprived them of their right.

Mr. BAILEY. I make no point on that. My simple request is that they may be allowed fifteen minutes. I repeat the request.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request that the time for debate be extended fifteen minutes?

Mr. SHATTUC. May I ask what is the name of the Populist who is to occupy the time?

Mr. BAILEY. I ask that the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. SIMPSON] be permitted to control that time.

Mr. SHATTUC. I object.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman objects.

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask, then, that the time for debate be extended fifteen minutes, and that I be permitted to control the additional time.

Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas. As one of the interested parties, I would like to say just one word in regard to this matter. The gentleman from Texas [Mr. BAILEY] asked me what time we wanted as the Populist party. I told him fifteen minutes. He said he would give us fifteen minutes. It seems he has already given his hour away to his side of the House, and that leaves us outside of the breastworks, so to speak. Now, Mr. Speaker, I do not want to be under obligation to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. BAILEY] or the Democratic party in this matter.

Mr. BAILEY. Then I withdraw the request. [Laughter and applause on the Republican side.]

Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas. And therefore, Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for fifteen minutes.

[Cries of "Regular order!"]

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Kansas asks unanimous consent that the time for this debate be extended fifteen minutes, and that the time be controlled by himself.

Mr. LACEY. Is that to be used in opposition to this resolution?

Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas. Well, I can not say. I have not consulted with all the members of my party.

Mr. ODELL and others. I object.

Mr. HITT. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. SIMPSON] will accept it, I will yield to him. How much time does he desire?

Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas. Fifteen minutes.

Mr. HITT. How much does the gentleman wish for himself alone?

Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas. Ten minutes.

Mr. HITT. I yield the gentleman that much time. [Applause.]

Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas. If the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. HITT] does not object, I will yield five minutes to the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. BELL].

Mr. HITT. I have no objection.

Mr. BELL. Mr. Speaker, it occurs to me that we are about to do something that is of great importance and ought to be thoroughly considered. In the first place, it is admitted that we have about 800 impoverished American citizens in a foreign country. This fact we all deplore. We come forward and in harmony with the American spirit say we should relieve their distress. With that proposition I agree; but I want to suggest this for consideration: We are making a great many appropriations, and in this case we are making an appropriation that, unless things change, must be repeated and repeated over and over again.

Now, my friends, I want you to look at this proposition. I have information as to the condition of affairs in Cuba from an eye-witness, a man who has been in Cuba for over two months. He tells me there is no scarcity of provisions on the Island of Cuba. He ridicules the idea of our proposition to send provisions there. He says that the Americans with whom he associated (and his associations were mostly with them) ridicule the idea of Americans here trying to benefit them by sending them provisions.

He says there is no famine of provisions on the Island of Cuba; but he says there is a famine of guns and powder among the insurgents, and what they want is not to be fed in prison. And you must bear in mind, gentlemen, that if an American citizen is forced from his plantation, where he has been living in plenty, into the circumscribed military limits of a city, he is as much in prison as though he were in the stockade of the Spanish Government.

Seven hundred or eight hundred American citizens are in prison; they are not at liberty. But what they ask—so say the men who give us information from there—is that the American people shall so aid them that they may return to their plantations, where they have abundance, and enjoy the liberties of American citizens. They are noncombatants and entitled to return to their peaceful homes.

Now, suppose we make this appropriation. You contribute $50,000 to the Spanish cause. You do nothing else with this money, as they are Spanish prisoners, and Spain should be forced to care for them, feed and clothe them, until permitted to return to their homes. And bear in mind, I am going to vote for this proposition.

Mr. CANNON. Why?

Mr. BELL. Because of the fact that, as you say, our people are in distress there and must have immediate relief.

Mr. CANNON. But you say they are not.

Mr. BELL. And your party is doing this simply to avoid doing something substantial and in order to distract the attention of the American people from the real cause of the distress.

Mr. CANNON. Then why should you help us to do that?

Mr. BELL. I am willing to give those people this temporary relief, hoping that the American people will be strong enough to withstand the commercial spirit and the demands of the vested interests which are seeking to put this measure through this House to-day in order to prevent a recognition of the belligerent rights of Cuba. In this proposition nothing else speaks but those interests.

Gentlemen may talk of the backbone of their President—and I have the highest regard for him; but when it was announced in the newspapers that there would be a conference with the Cabinet preparatory to sending a message to Congress, practically every paper in this city, as well as papers throughout the country, teemed with the information that Mr. Atkinson and others came speedily to Washington to see that nothing in that message should interfere with vested rights in Cuba.

It is not any principle of humanity that actuates this resolution. There is nothing in it but a little temporary relief. It does not take the men out of prison in Cuba. And I care not what you say, a man forced within the limits of the lines of the military of Spain within an incorporated city is in a Spanish prison. Now, are you willing to say that the American people will stand by and feed those paupers in the Spanish prison? I will vote for a proposition of this kind once, but I hope I shall never have to do so again.

[Here the hammer fell.]

Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, in the first place, I want to acknowledge the generosity of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. HITT] in granting me ten minutes, without which I would not have had the opportunity to be heard on this question.

I have listened to the speeches on this resolution; but I have heard very little as to the question before the House. This, as I understand it, Mr. Speaker, is a proposition to take $50,000 out of the Treasury of the United States, gathered by taxation from the people, and to give it to some supposed starving Americans in Cuba. Ordinarily I am very ready to vote for propositions of this kind for charitable purposes. I voted to send relief to the sufferers along the Mississippi. But, Mr. Speaker, that was at home. I contend that charity should at least begin at home. We have many thousands of people on the verge of starvation in this country, and it seems to me we ought first to address ourselves to their needs.

Mr. Speaker, I picked up a leading Republican newspaper the other day, in which I read an interview with ex-Postmaster-General Wanamaker, in which he gets off somewhat of a "calamity howl." At least it would be called a "calamity howl" if I should utter such words. He said:

> I confess that five years of listening to a steady stream of people passing through this office with their tales of woe, suffering, and starvation have worn upon me, and I confess, also, that I am alarmed by the increase in the numbers of that procession the last few months.

That is in the great city of Philadelphia—the City of Brotherly Love. And certainly, if anywhere in the United States, charity ought to begin there.

The gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. ADAMS] intimated to this House that the Republican party here want no suggestions from the minority; that in good time they will attend to all these matters concerning Cuba. That is the explanation of the violation of their platform declarations and the promises of their speakers on the stump. They promise not alone to relieve the people of Cuba, but "in their own good time" to bring prosperity to the country. When will that time come, gentlemen? You know to-day that you are in power under false pretenses. You went before the country and you said: "Elect the Republican party and you will get prosperity at once." Yet here is that prominent member of your own party, ex-Postmaster-General Wanamaker, declaring—

The country is not prosperous. Since the outset of the last Presidential campaign the party press and political leaders generally fixed the November election of 1898 as the date of the beginning of good times. A full half of the year has expired since the will of the Republican party was declared. Thus far but one of the important issues of the campaign is nearing settlement, and hardly any noticeable improvement of the wretched times is manifest.

Mr. RICHARDSON. Mr. Wanamaker does not say that.

Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas. That is the language of Mr. Wanamaker, one of the great Republican leaders, who goes down into his "bar'l" and contributes to the campaign fund every Presidential year.

Gentlemen on the other side suggest that "in good time" they will attend to all these matters. When will that bugle note be blown? Gentlemen, I want to make here and now the prophecy that that note will never be sounded until it comes from some back-stairs office of some of the sugar syndicates or bondholders' conventions. Whenever the great "property interests," as you are pleased to call them, give consent that the belligerent rights of struggling Cuba shall be recognized, then the Republican party will fall in line, will march in step to their music, and not before. [Applause.]

[Here the hammer fell.]

Mr. HITT. I yield three minutes to the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. HULL].

Mr. HULL. Mr. Speaker, of course I do not expect or desire, in the course of three minutes, to enter into any discussion of the Cuban question. I am for all proper measures looking to the establishment of a republic in Cuba. I also want to say that the zeal of our Democratic friends for the immediate recognition of Cuba is something that rather astonishes me, in view of the fact that for four years they had absolute power in the executive branch of the Government, and for a large part of that period absolute power in Congress, and yet took no steps to secure the recognition of Cuba at the hands of their own Executive.

I want to say further that this measure of relief for starving Americans should not be coupled with anything which does not relate to its distinct purpose—the immediate relief of suffering Americans in Cuba. This relief must be given out under the authority of Spain, and would be inoperative if coupled with a practical declaration of war.

Mr. Speaker, I believe that the Republicans of the United States are in favor of extending belligerent rights to Cuba after our Executive has made the fullest effort to learn all the facts on which to base action, and then it will be done in a proper and substantial way and at the proper time. Within the last three weeks the President of the United States has sent to Cuba a man of highest character and ability to gather information to be laid before the President. When this information, showing the true situation in Cuba, is submitted, we shall hear from the Executive in a special message, and the Republicans of the House of Representatives will respond by granting appropriate relief to the struggling patriots of Cuba. I believe that relief will be the recognition of belligerent rights at least.

I wish to say further, Mr. Speaker, that to expect our Republican President in sixty days to take up this question, reverse the foreign policy of the previous Administration, and enter upon an entirely new line of policy is asking something unreasonable. Our Democratic friends claim to have faith in the Americanism of President McKinley. Why not trust him? If my friend from Tennessee [Mr. MCMILLIN] is correct in his statement that no matter how strong the sentiment of this House may be on any question we can not get consideration of it when the House desires to consider it, I want to suggest to him that we need liberty here about as much as they need it in Cuba. [Laughter and applause.]

Such a statement from so able and experienced a Representative is an absurdity. The majority of the members of this House can absolutely control its action. The majority has the right and the power to block all other legislation and force the consideration of any measure at any time such majority may desire.

Mr. Speaker, this House has never yet been unable to obtain consideration of any question where the dominant sentiment of the House demanded its consideration. That dominant sentiment may not be on the Democratic side, and it certainly is not at this time. So that their failure to secure consideration is no evidence of lack of power in the majority. To say that we can not get consideration of a resolution at the proper time is nonsense, and such statements do not deceive any member of the House or any citizen of the country. [Applause on the Republican side.]

[Here the hammer fell.]

Mr. HITT. I yield ten minutes to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. BROWN].

Mr. BROWN. Mr. Speaker, I can not fully excuse myself for seeking an opportunity to add a single word to this discussion; and I would not be willing to consume one moment of time now but for the position assumed in the speech made this morning by the Democratic leader of this House, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. BAILEY].

What, Mr. Speaker, is the subject-matter before the House? It is something coming to us in the message from the President of the United States. The statement in that message is:

Official information from our consuls in Cuba establishes the fact that a large number of American citizens in the inland are in a state of destitution, suffering for want of food and medicines. This applies particularly to the rural districts of the central and eastern parts.

The agricultural classes have been forced from their farms into the nearest towns, where they are without work or money.

Mr. Speaker, it is a source of some humiliation to me, and certainly it must be to all the members of this House who think rightly upon a question like this, that we are here to-day consuming two hours of time in the discussion of a proposition to vote relief, not to Cubans, but to American citizens in the Island of Cuba. It certainly would have been a source of pride to every member of this House if this resolution had been agreed to to-day without the adoption of any rule, and without the consumption of one minute of time. And yet such was not the fact. It would have been the source of still greater gratification if this resolution had been agreed to in this House on Monday last.

Mr. Speaker, why was it not agreed to on Monday last? It was not agreed to then for the reason that objection was made to its consideration. From which side of the House did that objection come? From this side? No, sir; it came from the other side of this House. Who was it that objected on the other side of this House to the consideration of this resolution on Monday last? Was it some gentleman who spoke for himself simply? No, sir; the objection to the consideration of this resolution on Monday last came from the Democratic leader in this House. He has seen fit here to-day, as have other gentlemen on his side of the House, to charge that this side of the House is running away from a great and important American question.

Mr. Speaker, the question that came to this House on Monday last was a question of bread, not for starving citizens of another country, but for hungry and starving American citizens. On this side of the House no member raised a voice against the immediate consideration of a question to vote bread to starving American citizens. The objection, as I say—and we all understand it, and it must go to the country in that way—the objection that came to the consideration of that question, a question of bread to starving Americans, came from the Democratic side of this House and from the Democratic leader on the other side of this House.

Now, Mr. Speaker, the resolution will be agreed to. There will be no dissenting voice; but I simply wish that it may be well understood by the country that the reason why this beneficent measure was not acted upon and agreed to on Monday last was because of the fact that it was Democratic objection that interposed.

Mr. BARTLETT. Who made the motion to adjourn on Monday, and who voted for it—Democrats or Republicans?

Mr. BROWN. The motion was made and carried for the reason that your side of the House said that we should not vote bread to starving Americans unless we at the same time engaged to take up the consideration of the question of belligerency. [Applause on the Republican side.] We were ready then to vote bread. We are ready now to do it. The responsibility for the delay rests upon you. The country understands that the reason why this resolution was not agreed to three days ago was because of your objection.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Will the gentleman yield for a question? Are you not ready to vote for the belligerency of the Cubans?

Mr. BROWN. I shall be ready in my own good time and in the good time of this Republican Administration to meet that question.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. One other question. When will that good time come?

Mr. BROWN. That good time will speedily come, in my opinion. This Republican Administration, this American Administration, is at this moment considering the question of some sort of action with reference to Cuba, and I have no doubt, Mr. Speaker, that within its good time and within our good time——

Mr. FITZPATRICK. How long, oh, how long!

Mr. BROWN (continuing). Within our good time we will have an opportunity to express ourselves in a manner consistent with our character, as the friends of men struggling for liberty anywhere on earth. [Applause on the Republican side.]

Mr. HITT. Mr. Speaker, I ask for a vote.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the third reading of the joint resolution.

The joint resolution was ordered to a third reading; and it was accordingly read the third time, and passed.

On motion of Mr. HITT, a motion to reconsider the last vote was laid on the table.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. PLATT, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed bills and joint resolutions of the following titles; in which the concurrence of the House was requested:

A bill (S. 927) for the erection of a public building at Aberdeen, S. Dak.;

A bill (S. 995) for the relief of George M. Anderson, of the State of Nebraska;

A bill (S. 1896) to provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Salt Lake City, the capital of the State of Utah;

A bill (S. 27) for the relief of Isaac Marsh;

A bill (S. 390) to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to settle the mutual account between the United States and the State of Florida, heretofore examined and stated by said Secretary under the authority of the Congress, and for other purposes;

A bill (S. 629) to confer jurisdiction on the Court of Claims in the case of the book agents of the Methodist Episcopal Church South against the United States;

A bill (S. 1310) making an appropriation for the benefit of the estate of William Moss, deceased;

A bill (S. 438) for the relief of the estate of Charles M. Roberts, deceased;

A bill (S. 712) for the relief of the estate of Thomas Sherwin;

A bill (S. 693) for the relief of John Veeley;

A bill (S. 240) to authorize Joseph J. Kinyoun, passed assistant surgeon of the Marine-Hospital Service, to accept a medal from the President of the Republic of Venezuela;

A bill (S. 931) to construct a road to the national cemetery at Dover, Tenn.;

A bill (S. 433) for the relief of Clara A. Graves, Lewis Smith Lee, Florence P. Lee, Mary Sheldon, and Florence P. Lee, legal representative of Elizabeth Smith, deceased, heirs of Lewis Smith, deceased;

A bill (S. 977) for the relief of Fanny B. Randolph and Dora L. Stark;

A bill (S. 956) to amend an act entitled "An act to authorize the construction of a steel bridge over the St. Louis River between the States of Wisconsin and Minnesota," approved April 24, 1894, as amended by an act approved August 4, 1894, entitled "An act to amend an act to authorize the construction of a steel bridge over the St. Louis River between the States of Minnesota and Wisconsin;"

A bill (S. 426) to authorize the construction of bridges across the Missouri River between its mouth and the mouth of the Dakota or James River; and across the Mississippi River between the mouth of the Minnesota River, in the State of Minnesota, and Donaldsonville, in the State of Louisiana; and across the Illinois and Des Plaines rivers between the mouth of the Illinois and the city of Joliet, in the State of Illinois; and to prescribe the character, location, and the dimensions of the same;

A bill (S. 665) for the relief of the heirs of certain seamen lost in the foundering of light-vessel No. 37;

A bill (S. 673) to provide for light-houses and other aids to navigation;

A bill (S. 966) providing for the establishment of a quarantine station at or near Astoria, Oreg.;

A bill (S. 1106) for the relief of the Cumberland Female College, of McMinnville, Tenn.;

A bill (S. 675) for the relief of Nancy E. Day, administratrix of James L. Day, deceased;

Joint resolution (S. R. 16) providing for estimate of cost of certain improvements of Bridgeport Harbor, Connecticut;

A bill (S. 869) for the relief of Rev. J. A. Gilfillan;

A bill (S. 536) for the relief of the trustees of the German Evangelical Church, of Martinsburg, W. Va.;

A bill (S. 1163) for the relief of Pearson C. Montgomery, of Memphis, Tenn.;

A bill (S. 262) for the relief of Calvin Gunn;

A bill (S. 226) for the relief of Napoleon B. Giddings;

A bill (S. 227) for the relief of George A. Orr;

A bill (S. 228) for the relief of Joseph W. Carmack;

A bill (S. 229) for the relief of John S. Neet, jr.;

A bill (S. 230) for the relief of John M. Davis;

A bill (S. 231) for the relief of Ezra S. Havens;

A bill (S. 232) for the relief of A. F. Fleet, superintendent of the Missouri Military Academy, Mexico, Mo.;

A bill (S. 1565) to amend and make certain the intent of section 714 of the Revised Statutes, providing for salaries of judges in certain cases after retirement;

A bill (S. 252) for the relief of William P. Buckmaster;

A bill (S. 251) for the relief of William Wolfe, of Shelbina, Shelby County, Mo.;

A bill (S. 261) for the relief of Henry J. Hewitt;

A bill (S. 677) for the relief of Richmond College, located at Richmond, Va.;

A bill (S. 273) for the relief of John F. W. Dette;

A bill (S. 272) for the relief of the heirs of James Bridger, deceased;

A bill (S. 253) to permit Anna M. Colman, a widow, to prosecute a claim;

A bill (S. 1269) for the relief of Olivia and Ida Walter, heirs and children of Thomas U. Walter, deceased;

A bill (S. 249) for the relief of St. Charles College;

A bill (S. 714) for the relief of L. Robert Coates & Co., of Baltimore, Md.;

A bill (S. 1010) for the relief of the Potomac Steamboat Company;

A bill (S. 437) for the relief of the residuary legatees of Mark Davis, deceased;

A bill (S. 936) for the relief of C. B. Bryan & Co.;

A bill (S. 374) extending relief to Indian citizens, and for other purposes;

A bill (S. 937) for the relief of James Sims, of Marshall County, Miss.;

A bill (S. 1559) for the relief of Martha A. Bagwell, executrix of Sally Hardmond, deceased;

A bill (S. 1557) to grant medals to the survivors and heirs of volunteers of the Port Hudson forlorn-hope storming party;

A bill (S. 1464) for the relief of Christopher Schmidt;

A bill (S. 1115) for the relief of the legal representatives of John Roach, deceased;

A bill (S. 661) to regulate the pay of noncommissioned officers in the Army;

A bill (S. 660) for the relief of John Stull;

A bill (S. 136) to provide for the payment of the claim of Christian M. Kirkpatrick for paving the street adjacent to the United States arsenal at Indianapolis, Ind.;

A bill (S. 436) for the relief of the Continental Fire Insurance Company and others;

A bill (S. 659) to place Francis W. Seeley on the retired list of the Army;

A bill (S. 1594) for the relief of Bvt. Col. Thomas P. O'Reilly;

A bill (S. 809) for the relief of Orin R. McDaniel;

A bill (S. 394) for the relief of Charles Fletcher, alias James H. Mitchell;

A bill (S. 1340) for the relief of John Clyde Sullivan;

A bill (S. 1194) for the relief of the estate of Richard Lawson;

A bill (S. 400) for the relief of Dorence Atwater;

A bill (S. 1273) for a public building at Altoona, Pa., and appropriating money therefor;

A bill (S. 422) to provide for the erection of a public building for the use and accommodation of the post-office at Mammoth Hot Springs, in the Yellowstone National Park;

A bill (S. 134) to provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Evanston, in the State of Wyoming;

A bill (S. 377) for the relief of Dr. S. A. Brown;

A bill (S. 432) for the relief of the heirs of Sterling T. Austin, deceased;

A bill (S. 1687) to authorize the construction and maintenance of two railroad bridges across the Mississippi River at or near the city of St. Paul, Minn.;

A bill (S. 1716) making Greatfalls, Mont., a port of entry;

A bill (S. 1357) for the relief of the legal representatives of Edwin De Leon, deceased, late consul-general of the United States in Egypt;

A bill (S. 706) to provide for the purchase of a site for and the erection of a public building at Oakland, in the State of California;

A bill (S. 1233) extending the time allowed the Blue Mountain Irrigation and Improvement Company for the construction of its reservoirs and canal in and through the Umatilla Indian Reservation, in the State of Oregon;

A bill (S. 468) authorizing the Commissioners of the District of Columbia to accept the bequest of the late Peter Von Essen for the use of the public white schools of that portion of said District formerly known as Georgetown;

A bill (S. 467) for the regulation of cemeteries and the disposal of dead bodies in the District of Columbia;

A bill (S. 1153) for the relief of John W. Lewis, of Oregon;

A bill (S. 1451) to authorize the construction of a bridge across the Red River of the North at Drayton, N. Dak.;

A bill (S. 1492) providing for the selection of the lands within Fort Pembina Military Reservation, N. Dak., by the State of North Dakota;

A bill (S. 537) for the relief of the executor of C. M. Shaffer, deceased;

A bill (S. 475) to remove the charge of desertion from the military record of Patrick Larkin;

A bill (S. 1979) to authorize the construction of a bridge across Pearl River, in the State of Mississippi;

A bill (S. 1788) to provide an American register for the barkentine *Sharpshooter*, of San Francisco, Cal.;

A bill (S. 1038) for the relief of Mobile Marine Dock Company;

A bill (S. 109) for the erection of a public building at Aberdeen, S. Dak.; and

A bill (S. 674) to provide for aids to navigation.

The message also announced that the Senate still further insisted upon its amendment numbered 10 to the bill (H. R. 15) making appropriations for the current and contingent expenses of the Indian Department and for fulfilling treaty stipulations with various Indian tribes for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1898, and for other purposes, disagreed to by the House of Representatives, had agreed to the further conference asked by the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and had appointed Mr. PETTIGREW, Mr. TELLER, and Mr. COCKRELL as the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed without amendment the following resolution:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the President of the United States be requested to bring to the attention of the Government of Brazil the claim of Helen M. Fiedler, executrix of Ernest Fiedler, deceased, against the Govern ment of Brazil, growing out of a contract, alleged by said claimant to be obligatory on that Government, for the hire of the ship *Circassian* to transport emigrants from the United States to Brazil in the year 1867, with the view to ask said Government to consider the said claim and to provide for the allowance and payment of such sum as shall be found just to such claimant.

The message also announced that the Senate had agreed to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 15) making appropriations for the current and contingent expenses of the Indian Department and for fulfilling treaty stipulations with various Indian tribes for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1898, and for other purposes.

SENATE BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS REFERRED.

Under clause 2 of Rule XXIV, the following Senate bills were taken from the Speaker's table and referred to their appropriate committees, as indicated below:

A bill (S. 927) for the erection of a public building at Aberdeen, S. Dak.—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, when appointed.

A bill (S. 995) for the relief of George M. Anderson, of the State of Nebraska—to the Committee on Private Land Claims, when appointed.

A bill (S. 1896) to provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Salt Lake City, the capital of the State of Utah—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, when appointed.

A bill (S. 27) for the relief of Isaac Marsh—to the Committee on Private Land Claims, when appointed.

A bill (S. 380) to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to settle the mutual account between the United States and the State of Florida, heretofore examined and stated by said Secretary under the authority of the Congress, and for other purposes—to the Committee on Claims, when appointed.

A bill (S. 374) extending relief to Indian citizens, and for other purposes—to the Committee on Indian Affairs, when appointed.

A bill (S. 937) for the relief of James Sims, of Marshall County, Miss.—to the Committee on War Claims, when appointed.

A bill (S. 1557) to grant medals to the survivors and heirs of volunteers of the Port Hudson forlorn-hope storming party—to the Committee on Military Affairs, when appointed.

A bill (S. 1115) for the relief of the legal representatives of John Roach, deceased—to the Committee on Claims, when appointed.

A bill (S. 661) to regulate the pay of noncommissioned officers in the Army—to the Committee on Military Affairs, when appointed.

A bill (S. 660) for the relief of John Stull—to the Committee on Military Affairs, when appointed.

A bill (S. 136) to provide for the payment of the claim of Christian M. Kirkpatrick for paving the street adjacent to the United States arsenal at Indianapolis, Ind.—to the Committee on Claims, when appointed.

A bill (S. 436) for the relief of the Continental Fire Insurance Company and others—to the Committee on Claims, when appointed.

A bill (S. 659) to place Francis W. Seeley on the retired list of the Army—to the Committee on Military Affairs, when appointed.

A bill (S. 1594) for the relief of Bvt. Col. Thomas F. O'Reilly—to the Committee on Military Affairs, when appointed.

A bill (S. 809) for the relief of Orin R. McDaniel—to the Committee on War Claims, when appointed.

A bill (S. 394) for the relief of Charles Fletcher, alias James H. Mitchell—to the Committee on Military Affairs, when appointed.

A bill (S. 1340) for the relief of John Clyde Sullivan—to the Committee on Naval Affairs, when appointed.

A bill (S. 400) for the relief of Dorence Atwater—to the Committee on Military Affairs, when appointed.

A bill (S. 1273) for a public building at Altoona, Pa., and appropriating money therefor—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, when appointed.

A bill (S. 422) to provide for the erection of a public building for the use and accommodation of the post-office at Mammoth Hot Springs, in the Yellowstone National Park—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, when appointed.

A bill (S. 134) to provide for the purchase of a site, and the erection of a public building thereon, at Evanston, in the State of Wyoming—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, when appointed.

A bill (S. 377) for the relief of Dr. S. A. Brown—to the Committee on Claims, when appointed.

A bill (S. 432) for the relief of the heirs of Sterling T. Austin, deceased—to the Committee on War Claims, when appointed.

A bill (S. 1687) to authorize the construction and maintenance of two railroad bridges across the Mississippi River at or near the city of St. Paul, Minn.—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, when appointed.

A bill (S. 1716) making Greatfalls, Mont., a port of entry—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

A bill (S. 1357) for the relief of the legal representatives of Edwin De Leon, deceased, late consul-general of the United States in Egypt—to the Committee on Claims, when appointed.

A bill (S. 706) to provide for the purchase of a site for and the erection of a public building at Oakland, in the State of California—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, when appointed.

A bill (S. 1233) extending the time allowed the Blue Mountain Irrigation and Improvement Company for the construction of its reservoirs and canal in and through the Umatilla Indian Reservation, in the State of Oregon—to the Committee on Indian Affairs, when appointed.

A bill (S. 468) authorizing the Commissioners of the District of Columbia to accept the bequest of the late Peter Von Essen for the use of the public white schools of that portion of said District formerly known as Georgetown—to the Committee on the District of Columbia, when appointed.

A bill (S. 467) for the regulation of cemeteries and the disposal of dead bodies in the District of Columbia—to the Committee on the District of Columbia, when appointed.

A bill (S. 629) to confer jurisdiction on the Court of Claims in the case of the book agents of the Methodist Episcopal Church South against the United States—to the Committee on War Claims, when appointed.

A bill (S. 1310) making an appropriation for the benefit of the estate of William Moss, deceased—to the Committee on Claims, when appointed.

A bill (S. 712) for the relief of the estate of Thomas Sherwin—to the Committee on War Claims, when appointed.

A bill (S. 693) for the relief of John Veeley—to the Committee on Claims, when appointed.

A bill (S. 240) to authorize Joseph J. Kinyoun, passed assistant surgeon of the Marine-Hospital Service, to accept a medal from the President of the Republic of Venezuela—to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, when appointed.

A bill (S. 931) to construct a road to the national cemetery at Dover, Tenn.—to the Committee on Military Affairs, when appointed.

A bill (S. 433) for the relief of Clara A. Graves, Lewis Smith Lee, Florence P. Lee, Mary Sheldon, and Florence F. Lee, legal representative of Elizabeth Smith, deceased, heirs of Lewis Smith, deceased—to the Committee on War Claims, when appointed.

A bill (S. 956) to amend an act entitled "An act to authorize the construction of a steel bridge over the St. Louis River between the States of Wisconsin and Minnesota," approved April 24, 1894, as amended by an act approved August 4, 1894, entitled "An act to amend an act to authorize the construction of a steel bridge over the St. Louis River between the States of Minnesota and Wisconsin"—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, when appointed.

A bill (S. 426) to authorize the construction of bridges across the Missouri River between its mouth and the mouth of the Dakota or James River; and across the Mississippi River between the mouth of the Minnesota River, in the State of Minnesota, and Donaldsonville, in the State of Louisiana; and across the Illinois and Des Plaines rivers between the mouth of the Illinois and the city of Joliet, in the State of Illinois; and to prescribe the character, location, and the dimensions of the same—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, when appointed.

A bill (S. 665) for the relief of the heirs of certain seamen lost

in the foundering of light vessel No. 37—to the Committee on Claims, when appointed.

A bill (S. 673) to provide for light-houses and other aids to navigation—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, when appointed.

A bill (S. 966) providing for the establishment of a quarantine station at or near Astoria, Oreg.—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, when appointed.

A bill (S. 675) for the relief of Nancy E. Day, administratrix of James L. Day, deceased—to the Committee on Claims, when appointed.

Joint resolution (S. R. 16) providing for estimate of cost of certain improvements of Bridgeport Harbor, Connecticut—to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, when appointed.

A bill (S. 869) for the relief of Rev. J. A. Gilfillan—to the Committee on Claims, when appointed.

A bill (S. 536) for the relief of the trustees of the German Evangelical Church, of Martinsburg, W. Va.—to the Committee on War Claims, when appointed.

A bill (S. 1168) for the relief of Pearson C. Montgomery, of Memphis, Tenn.—to the Committee on War Claims, when appointed.

A bill (S. 262) for the relief of Calvin Gunn—to the Committee on Claims, when appointed.

A bill (S. 226) for the relief of Napoleon B. Giddings—to the Committee on Claims, when appointed.

A bill (S. 227) for the relief of George A. Orr—to the Committee on War Claims, when appointed.

A bill (S. 228) for the relief of Joseph W. Carmack—to the Committee on War Claims, when appointed.

A bill (S. 229) for the relief of John S. Neet, jr.—to the Committee on War Claims, when appointed.

A bill (S. 230) for the relief of John M. Davis—to the Committee on Military Affairs, when appointed.

A bill (S. 231) for the relief of Ezra S. Havens—to the Committee on War Claims, when appointed.

A bill (S. 232) for the relief of A. F. Fleet, superintendent of the Missouri Military Academy, Mexico, Mo.—to the Committee on Claims, when appointed.

A bill (S. 1565) to amend and make certain the intent of section 714 of the Revised Statutes, providing for salaries of judges in certain cases after retirement—to the Committee on the Judiciary, when appointed.

A bill (S. 252) for the relief of William P. Buckmaster—to the Committee on War Claims, when appointed.

A bill (S. 251) for the relief of William Wolfe, of Shelbina, Shelby County, Mo.—to the Committee on Claims, when appointed.

A bill (S. 261) for the relief of Henry J. Hewitt—to the Committee on War Claims, when appointed.

A bill (S. 677) for the relief of Richmond College, located at Richmond, Va.—to the Committee on War Claims, when appointed.

A bill (S. 273) for the relief of John F. W. Dette—to the Committee on Claims, when appointed.

A bill (S. 272) for the relief of the heirs of James Bridger, deceased—to the Committee on War Claims, when appointed.

A bill (S. 253) to permit Anna M. Colman, a widow, to prosecute a claim—to the Committee on War Claims, when appointed.

A bill (S. 1289) for the relief of Olivia and Ida Walter, heirs and children of Thomas U. Walter, deceased—to the Committee on Claims, when appointed.

A bill (S. 249) for the relief of St. Charles College—to the Committee on War Claims, when appointed.

A bill (S. 714) for the relief of L. Robert Coates & Co., of Baltimore, Md.—to the Committee on Claims, when appointed.

A bill (S. 1010) for the relief of the Potomac Steamboat Company—to the Committee on Claims, when appointed.

A bill (S. 437) for the relief of the residuary legatees of Mark Davis, deceased—to the Committee on War Claims, when appointed.

A bill (S. 1153) for the relief of John W. Lewis, of Oregon—to the Committee on Claims, when appointed.

A bill (S. 1451) to authorize the construction of a bridge across the Red River of the North at Drayton, N. Dak.—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, when appointed.

A bill (S. 1492) providing for the selection of the lands within Fort Pembina Military Reservation, N. Dak., in the State of North Dakota—to the Committee on Military Affairs, when appointed.

A bill (S. 537) for the relief of the executor of C. M. Shaffer, deceased—to the Committee on War Claims, when appointed.

Concurrent resolution:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the President of the United States be requested to bring to the attention of the Government of Brazil the claim of Helen M. Fiedler, executrix of Ernest Fiedler, deceased, against the Government of Brazil, growing out of a contract, alleged by said claimant to be obligatory on that Government, for the hire of the ship *Circassian* to transport emigrants from the United States to Brazil in the year 1867, with the view to ask said Government to consider the said claim and to provide for the allowance and payment of such sum as shall be found just to such claimant—

To the Committee on Foreign Affairs, when appointed.

A bill (S. 475) to remove the charge of desertion from the military record of Patrick Larkin—to the Committee on Military Affairs, when appointed.

A bill (S. 109) for the erection of a public building at Aberdeen, S. Dak.—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, when appointed.

A bill (S. 1038) for the relief of Mobile Marine Dock Company—to the Committee on War Claims, when appointed.

A bill (S. 1106) for the relief of Cumberland Female College, of McMinnville, Tenn.—to the Committee on War Claims, when appointed.

A bill (S. 1788) to provide an American register for the barkentine *Sharpshooter*, of San Francisco, Cal.—to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, when appointed.

A bill (S. 674) to provide for aids to navigation—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, when appointed.

A bill (S. 1979) to authorize the construction of a bridge across Pearl River, in the State of Mississippi—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, when appointed.

A bill (S. 1559) for the relief of Martha A. Bagwell, executrix of Sally Hardmond, deceased—to the Committee on War Claims, when appointed.

INDIAN APPROPRIATION BILL.

Mr. SHERMAN. Mr. Speaker, I present a conference report on the Indian appropriation bill.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York [Mr. SHERMAN] presents a conference report.

The Clerk read as follows:

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate numbered 10 to the bill (H. R. 15) making appropriations for the current and contingent expenses of the Indian Department and for fulfilling treaty stipulations with various Indian tribes for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1898, and for other purposes, having met, after full and free conference, have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 10, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows:

In lieu of the matter inserted by said amendment insert the following:

"The Secretary of the Interior is hereby directed to at once allot agricultural lands in severalty to the Uncompahgre Ute Indians now located upon or belonging to the Uncompahgre Indian Reservation in the State of Utah; said allotments to be upon the Uncompahgre and Uintah Reservations or elsewhere in said State. And all the lands of said Uncompahgre Reservation not theretofore allotted in severalty to said Uncompahgre Utes shall, on and after the 1st day of April, 1898, be open for location and entry under all the land laws of the United States."

And the Senate agree to the same.

J. S. SHERMAN,
CHARLES CURTIS,
Managers on the part of the House.

R. F. PETTIGREW,
F. M. COCKRELL,
Managers on the part of the Senate.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will read the statement.

The statement of the House conferees was read, as follows:

This report deals with the only remaining matter of difference between the two Houses, to wit, amendment No. 10, relating to the lands on which the Uncompahgre Indians are located.

The amendment is self-explanatory, and, as it is embodied in the report, it need not be repeated here.

Mr. SHERMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask for the previous question on the report.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York [Mr. SHERMAN] has twenty minutes. Does the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. LACEY] rise to oppose it?

Mr. LACEY. I rise to oppose it.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Iowa [Mr. LACEY] has twenty minutes.

Mr. SHERMAN. Mr. Speaker, this proposition is different from any that has yet been brought in. The first proposition submitted was for the opening of these lands, immediately upon the passage of the bill, for settlement under the mineral laws of the United States. That did not at any time meet my approval or the approval of the House conferees, Mr. Speaker, because it in no way provided for the Indians now located in that reservation. Under this amendment the Secretary is given until the 1st day of next April to locate the Indians now situated upon the Uncompahgre Reservation, and thereafter all the lands, mineral and otherwise, are open for entry under all the land laws of the United States.

After the first proposition was brought in some weeks ago the House seemed to desire that a royalty proposition should be submitted, and the conferees on the part of the House, in obedience to its apparent wish, brought in the other day a royalty proposition, which was quite promptly rejected by the House. Another royalty proposition, submitted by my friend from Iowa [Mr. LACEY], and somewhat more stringent, was offered as an instruction to the House conferees, and that was rejected; so that the conferees went back to meet with the Senate conferees uninstructed.

Mr. Speaker, the Uncompahgre Indians are located on this land in Utah under an executive order of the President. In 1880 a treaty was entered into between the United States and these Indians, then located in Colorado, under which they agreed to move from their Colorado lands over into Utah, and eventually to take allotments. Pending the time when allotment should be made to them in severalty, they were located by an Executive order on this Uncompahgre Reservation, so that they have no absolute title to that land.

Now, the proposition here is that the Secretary of the Interior shall use the lands of the Uncompahgre "Executive-order reservation," as it is called, to locate these Indians, so far as the land is sufficient, so far as it is agricultural land, and then to locate them on other land on the Uintah Reservation, the title of which is still in the United States, never having been ceded to the Uintahs. They simply have been allowed to go there under the act of 1864. There is no treaty providing for their location on that reservation.

It ought not to be a difficult matter to locate them all in severalty prior to the 1st day of April, 1898. When these Indians have all been taken care of, with their rights protected as they will be by this amendment, I believe this amendment proposes that all the lands be opened up under the mineral-land laws of the United States. It seems to me a very proper way to dispose of the matter, Mr. Speaker, and I trust that the House will take this view of the proposition.

Mr. CANNON. Will the gentleman allow me?

Mr. SHERMAN. Certainly.

Mr. CANNON. As to the so-called gilsonite lands, if this conference report is adopted, they would be subject to entry under the mineral laws, as I understand.

Mr. SHERMAN. Certainly.

Mr. CANNON. What amount could one man enter?

Mr. SHERMAN. The number of his claims is not limited under this proposition. If he located a so-called "lode claim," the size of his claim would be precisely 10 acres, if I recollect aright.

Mr. CURTIS of Kansas. Will the gentleman permit me?

Mr. SHERMAN. Certainly.

Mr. CURTIS of Kansas. I think that under the act of 1892 the number of claims was limited to two.

Mr. SHERMAN. It was by that act, and if that act is not repealed, by implication the number of claims will be limited to two. The size of the claim would be either 10 or 20 acres, depending upon the law under which the entry was made.

I reserve the balance of my time, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. LACEY. Mr. Speaker, I shall consume the time of the House but for a few minutes. This matter has been thoroughly debated in the Committee of the Whole, and the House instructed the committee of conference, or at least indicated its desire that the committee of conference should secure some sort of an agreement to prevent a monopoly of these mines, and also that the lands should be opened up under some form of lease, with a royalty coming to the Government.

The last conference report came in obedience to this instruction, or suggestion, made by the Committee of the Whole, although not made by the House; but there were some defects, in my judgment, in the form in which the amendment of the conference report came here, and therefore I, in conjunction with a number of other gentlemen in the House, opposed the amendment. There were, however, others who were in favor of giving this property away, or opening it under all the general mineral-land laws, which amounts to that.

In view of the limited quantity of this mineral, and its richness, or rather in view of the limited area in which it is found, it seemed to me that we ought to limit the amount that any individual could hold, and that there should be some royalty growing out of it to the Government. In ordinary mineral claims the discovery entitles the claimant to certain rights, and it ought to do so. He goes and finds the mineral and exploits it, and therefore he is entitled to it in compensation for his discovery, his expenditure, and his risk. In this case the mineral has already been examined.

A Government survey has been made by the Geological Survey, and all that a claimant has to do is to take possession of that part which has been pointed out under the Geological Survey as containing this valuable mineral. The last Administration refused to open up this land because of that fact, and the act of 1894 limited the claimant to two lots of 10 acres each.

This present amendment proposes to open it up without any limitation, and possibly, under the coal and stone act, the claimant could take 160 acres; and there would be nothing to prevent the Barber or any other company, by purchase, or by assignment, or by location of claims, to take all of it. Now, that ought to be avoided. The House has already fully discussed this question and understands it, and I want, in the limited time that I have, to yield some to the gentleman from Arkansas.

Mr. HARTMAN. Will the gentleman yield to me for a question?

Mr. LACEY. Certainly.

Mr. HARTMAN. The gentleman says there is some danger of this land being taken under the coal-land act. I wish the gentleman would explain to the House in what way gilsonite can be taken up as coal.

Mr. LACEY. This proposition is that all these lands shall be taken up under all the mineral-land laws of the United States.

Mr. HARTMAN. Oh, no.

Mr. LACEY. Oh, yes; it says so in terms.

Mr. HARTMAN. I think not.

Mr. LACEY. The gentleman may be right. It may be that I am not sustained in this construction. We ought not to legislate in a way so as to leave it open to any such possible construction as this. Whether that be true or not, it makes no difference—there is absolutely no difference whatever in the fact.

It says that anybody, at midnight on the night before the 1st day of April, may go on that land and take it, and I think it is well that they have designated the 1st day of April. [Laughter.] They may go on the 1st day of April and take possession of just as many claims as they can stake off, or take the whole body of it if they happen to be in ahead of others. It makes no matter whether it is 160 acres or 10 acres.

Mr. HARTMAN. Without using it in any offensive sense, does the gentleman think anybody would be fool enough to go in and take one-half of it or even one-tenth of it?

Mr. LACEY. Very well; there are a great many "fools" in this country trying to do that.

Mr. HARTMAN. Undoubtedly that is true.

Mr. LACEY. Let us "protect them against themselves."

Mr. SAYERS. I want to ask the gentleman whether or not it is his judgment that the agreement reached by the conferees is more vicious than that of any of the agreements that have been made?

Mr. LACEY. I will not say "vicious," but I think it is more——

Mr. SAYERS. I did not mean that in an offensive sense.

Mr. LACEY. I understand the gentleman did not mean that in an offensive sense; but I think this amendment as it now comes as a proposition to this House is the most objectionable form in which it has come, because the other propositions provided some limit of the number of claims, and this provides none.

Mr. HARTMAN. Will the gentleman yield to me for another question?

Mr. LACEY. I can not yield. I must yield some time to the gentleman from Arkansas.

Mr. HARTMAN. I just wanted to ask the gentleman one question. Does not the act of 1894 apply to these claims, and would not that limit them to two claims?

Mr. LACEY. I think not. I think this repeals the act of 1894.

Mr. GAINES. What is to prevent a monopoly from getting the whole of this gilsonite land?

Mr. LACEY. Nothing whatever. This proposition would encourage a monopoly. I think we would make a very great mistake to allow them such an opportunity. This matter was very fully discussed before.

Mr. GAINES. We have been trying to avoid a monopoly, and now it seeks to create one.

Mr. SHAFROTH. There is no more a monopoly in this than there is under other mineral laws. I am against a monopoly all the time.

Mr. GAINES. I am trying to prevent its being controlled by a monopoly, and I want to see what is right done.

Mr. LACEY. I want to say to our friends, there is no limit over the control of these lands which is imposed by this proposition. This land is in a peculiar situation, and I think where the tract is small, and it is of so very great richness, it should be made exceptional. While I agree with my friend from Colorado [Mr. SHAFROTH] on the general mineral-land laws, I think we are confronted with an exceptional case, and that it would be a great mistake if we did not recognize the peculiar circumstances surrounding these lands and make an exception with reference to them.

Mr. GAINES. What sort of an exception do you want to make?

Mr. LACEY. I have prepared one that I want to offer if we can vote down this conference report.

Mr. GAINES. If we vote for this proposition, then it leaves it in the hands of a monopoly to control.

Mr. LACEY. If we vote for this conference report, it would place a monopoly in control, in my judgment. I think that would be the result, and therefore we should not adopt the conference report. I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. MCRAE].

Mr. MCRAE. Mr. Speaker, we have so often discussed this matter that I do not wish to go at length into the consideration of it to-day; but of all the propositions that have been presented by the several conference reports on this bill and its predecessor in

the last House this, in my judgment, is the worst. In the act of August 15, 1894, there is a limitation as to the area that can be located by any person. I will read it:

That no person shall be entitled to locate more than two claims, neither to exceed 10 acres, of any land containing asphaltum, gilsonite, or like substance.

The Senate amendment numbered 10, that the House disagreed to, and which disagreement we have insisted upon more than once, is as follows:

That the mineral lands of the Uncompahgre Indian Reservation, in the State of Utah, are hereby declared open to public entry under the mineral-land laws of the United States, and no one person shall be allowed to make more than one claim on lands containing gilsonite. And on and after January 1, 1898, all of said reservation unallotted to Indians shall be open to public entry under the land laws of the United States.

The pending report, if adopted, will strike out that amendment and insert the following:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 10, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter inserted by said amendment insert the following:

"The Secretary of the Interior is hereby directed to at once allot agricultural lands in severalty to the Uncompahgre Ute Indians now located upon or belonging to the Uncompahgre Indian Reservation, in the State of Utah, said allotments to be upon the Uncompahgre and Uintah reservations or elsewhere in said State. And all the lands of said Uncompahgre Reservation not theretofore allotted in severalty to said Uncompahgre Utes shall, on and after the 1st day of April, 1898, be open for location and entry under all the land laws of the United States."

And the Senate agree to the same.

It will be seen from this that the result will be that all limitations upon the locations and holdings are to be removed. Except that the original Senate amendment does not provide for allotment to the Indians, it is a better provision than this one, and I would prefer to vote to concur in it than to adopt this report. Some gentlemen do not appear to understand that under the general mining laws there is no limit to the number of claims that can be located by each claimant. Each claim is limited in area to about 20 acres, but as many locations can be made as the applicant is willing to work or pay for.

The amount of work required on each claim each year is $100 worth. If the assessment work, which is exacted as evidence of good faith on the part of the locator, is performed, he can hold it indefinitely without the payment of anything for the land. And so under this proposition the Government may never get anything for this deposit which was discovered by its officers in their official capacity.

If, however, the locator of the land sees fit to take the title from the Government by a patent to him, he is only required to pay $5 an acre, but that is not necessary if he is willing to go on with his operations. So you see there is no limit as to the number of claims that any individual can take; there is no requirement that he shall pay for the land unless he prefers to do so. It is true that the most of the rich mines are patented, but never until shown to be valuable.

Mr. GAINES. Is there anything to prevent one person from going there and making claim of a large quantity of land for himself and others?

Mr. McRAE. There is nothing to prevent that being done if desired. I state as my deliberate judgment that this provision, if passed, will repeal the act of August 15, 1894. It will do what it undertakes to do—open the lands containing this particular deposit to entry under the general mining laws, and will repeal all laws inconsistent with them. As I said last Monday, I am not much in favor of renting these lands for royalty or in any way. And yet, in view of the fact that the discovery has been made, and the value of the deposit is known, and in view of the fact that a monopoly can be easily secured under the operation of the general law, I am not willing to see this particular reservation opened in that way.

I shall, therefore, if this report is voted down, support the amendment in the nature of instructions proposed by the gentleman from Iowa, providing for the leasing of these lands upon a rental to be fixed by the Secretary of the Interior. It vests a large discretion in that officer, but I think that better than to give the land away for nothing.

Mr. GAINES. Does that amendment arrange matters so that the monopolists can not get hold of the property?

Mr. McRAE. Certainly; at least that has been our purpose in formulating it, and if honestly administered and fairly construed I think it will prevent monopoly. I appeal to gentlemen here who want fairness and justice done to the Government in this important matter and who want these deposits protected for all the people to defeat this conference report.

Mr. LACEY. I now yield three minutes to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. COOKE].

Mr. COOKE. Mr. Speaker, I hope the House will vote down the conference report, for the reason that it allows this very peculiar and limited body of mineral to be so disposed of that it may fall into the hands of private monopolies. We ought to guard the interests of the Government in this matter, because this product, in the nature of asphaltum, is very limited in quantity and may become exceedingly valuable to the various cities and towns of the United States that may want to use it in paving their streets.

As there is no other known deposit of gilsonite having a commercial value in the United States, the region containing it being only about 10,000 square acres, its total market value, however, being many millions of dollars, as it is alleged, and as it is almost certain to find its way into the hands of a monopolizing company if the lands are allowed to be acquired in fee, it ought not to be open to purchase under the land or mineral laws of the United States. It ought to be preserved from the hands of monopolists, that the product may find its way at as low a price as possible into the open markets.

The gentleman from Iowa [Mr. LACEY] has prepared an amendment which he intends to offer if the report is voted down, giving full authority to the Secretary of the Interior to lease the lands containing gilsonite, etc., without much restriction of the power so given. That amendment, I think, ought to prevail over the conference report. It is a safe provision, though it places large power in the hands of the Secretary. I should really prefer, however, to prescribe by law certain limitations for the leases, as to the main features thereof, at least. On account of the hoarse condition of my voice, I am unable to continue my remarks in explanation of the amendment I should prefer to see adopted. I will therefore send to the desk to be read in my time the amendment itself, which I shall be glad to have adopted, unless the House shall prefer that to be offered by the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. LACEY].

The Clerk read as follows:

Provided, That the title to all lands containing gilsonite, elaterite, asphaltum or other like substances shall remain in the United States; and the Secretary of the Interior is authorized to lease said lands, in legal subdivisions of not to exceed 160 acres to any one tenant, for a term of not to exceed ten years, to the highest and best bidders therefor, upon such security for the payment to the United States of the rental of such lands as shall be prescribed and approved by the Secretary of the Interior; and the Secretary of the Interior is authorized to make regulations for the offering of said reserved lands to bidders for such leases, and for the enforcement of the terms of such leases: *And provided further*, That no person, partnership, or corporation shall hold or enjoy by assignment or otherwise the right to the use or possession of more that 160 acres of such reserved lands under or by virtue of the leases hereby authorized to be made.

Mr. LACEY. I now yield three minutes to the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. UNDERWOOD].

Mr. UNDERWOOD. Mr. Speaker, I have already stated to the House my objection to opening this land under the general mineral-land laws. Some days ago the conference committee brought in a proposition that was far more acceptable than this one to those of us who are unwilling to perpetuate a monopoly in what are practically the only asphaltum beds in this country. In pursuance of the mineral laws, under which it is proposed now to open these lands, these companies who may desire them can go there and take not only one claim, but every claim.

There is no provision whatever for preventing or limiting monopoly control of these lands, which are to furnish the asphaltum needed for paving our streets. I feel that as long as we have cities to develop, as long as we want to beautify and decorate our towns, we have no right to thus give away these deposits; for that is what it means. If you open these lands under the mineral laws, as proposed in this report, you practically give away a tract of land which a Government expert has said is worth a million of dollars—you give it away to certain syndicates or combinations of persons when the people of your different districts or communities need this material for cheap paving. I understand that the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. LACEY] will introduce a resolution which will have a tendency to prevent any monopoly from getting hold of this property.

As a general proposition, I do not believe that the leasing system is a good one for the Government. I do not contend that it is wise for us to put our gold and silver mines under a leasing system. But all good rules have their exceptions; and when we find a tract of land containing mineral deposits so useful and beneficial to the people of the United States as will be this asphaltum deposit, I say that, even though it be an exception to our general policy, Congress, instead of throwing this land open to monopolies or syndicates, should look to the interest of the people of the United States and establish safeguards for the development of this property so as properly to care for the people of future generations.

Mr. LACEY. Mr. Speaker, how much time have I remaining?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Three minutes.

Mr. LACEY. I yield the remainder of my time to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. COOPER].

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, the statement made by the chairman of the committee, that this amendment is a great improvement on what was originally proposed, seems to me, while not intentionally misleading, to be a clear misstatement of the facts. The original amendment was to this effect:

That the mineral lands of the Uncompahgre Indian Reservation, in the State of Utah, are hereby declared open to public entry under the mineral-land laws of the United States, and no one person shall be allowed to make

more than one claim on lands containing gilsonite. And on and after January 1, 1898, all of said reservation unallotted to Indians shall be open to public entry under the land laws of the United States.

By this provision the asphaltum land to be taken by any one individual was limited to one claim—two, I think, in the original amendment, and one as it came back to us. Under the amendment as now agreed upon by the conference committee, the amount of asphaltum land which may be taken up under any one claim or by any one monopoly is unlimited.

Moreover, this allotment of the Indians has been characterized by Lieutenant-Colonel Randlett, in speaking of an amendment which was supposed to have been passed by the last Congress, as calculated to work an outrage upon the Indians because there was not, as he said, enough of agricultural lands there to be allotted in proper proportions to the Indians on this reservation; and while there might be enough land on the other, yet time ought to be given for the Government to make inspection and to ascertain the facts; that to go to work and allot lands to the Indians on those reservations, without regard to their rights, would be, in fact, an outrage upon their rights.

The gentleman from Colorado interrupted a moment ago to propound the question whether we wanted any such laws with regard to the gold mines of the country as we now propose to apply to these gilsonite deposits. I say no, because there can not be any monopoly of the gold mines. They are scattered here, there, and everywhere, all over the Western country. But this is the only body of gilsonite or asphaltum land in the United States; it can be acquired by a very few persons, and an absolute monopoly of it secured and maintained. In making this statement I rely upon official reports of Government officers.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Does not the gentleman know that there are gilsonite beds in California and in Colorado and in the Indian Territory, besides these in Utah?

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. I am surprised that the gentleman from Colorado keeps asking a question which has no relevancy or pertinency. If the facts are as he states, there has not been anything for years and years to prevent anybody opening up those asphaltum mines in Colorado and California. They stand in a different situation from the mineral deposit on this reservation. Why have not those deposits in Colorado and California been opened up years ago?

Mr. SHAFROTH. The reason is that they are not worth development.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. But we are talking about these deposits in Utah, which are worth much, according to the statements of agents of the Government. These deposits amount to 23,000,000 tons, making a valuation of over $30,000,000, as stated by the gentleman from Maine [Mr. DINGLEY].

[Here the hammer fell.]

Mr. SHERMAN. I now yield five minutes to the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. CURTIS].

Mr. CURTIS of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, I hope this conference report will be agreed to. I disagree with gentlemen who say that there is no difference between the amendment as now proposed and the amendment as it first came from the Senate. This amendment proposes to prevent any monopoly from taking possession of the gilsonite beds on this reservation in Utah. The other amendment provided for the opening of the lands in such a way as would permit a monopoly to take possession of all of them.

By this amendment one year is allowed for the opening of these lands, giving the poorest man in the country ample opportunity to go there and take a claim. The very fact that the time for opening this reservation is put off one year gives every man in the country an opportunity to take a mining claim.

Mr. McRAE. Does not the gentleman know that the Senate amendment, upon which all this controversy arose, fixes January, 1898, as the date for opening this reservation?

Mr. CURTIS of Kansas. It was not the mineral lands that were to be opened, but the agricultural lands.

Mr. McRAE. No. I have the provision here. The last clause reads:

And on or after January 1, 1898, all of said reservation unallotted to Indians shall be open to public entry under the land laws of the United States.

Mr. CURTIS of Kansas. But that never was passed.

Mr. McRAE. That is the amendment now pending.

Mr. CURTIS of Kansas. I beg the gentleman's pardon.

Mr. McRAE. The gentleman will find that I am correct.

Mr. CURTIS of Kansas. I think not. Now, another thing. In the first place, the conferees on the part of the House objected to the original amendment because it made no provision for the Indians. The Indians on that reservation are entitled to take allotments. By this amendment about one year is given the Department in which to allot the lands to the Uncompahgre Indians. After that is done, the remainder of the reservation is to be opened up for settlement under the mineral laws of the United States.

I do not agree with the lawyers on this floor when they say that this amendment repeals the act of 1894. In our practice out West I have always understood that where there are two different laws applying to the same subject they are to be construed together if possible. There is nothing in this amendment which directly repeals the act of 1894. Therefore the claims which may be taken by any one individual are limited in number to two—virtually to one—because the act of 1894 contains a limitation of two 10-acre claims.

The gentlemen are surely mistaken when they claim that these are the only asphalt beds in the country.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. On what authority does the gentleman make the statement that under the general laws a party will be entitled to two 10-acre claims?

Mr. CURTIS of Kansas. Under the act of 1894, which applies to this reservation.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. But this proposition repeals the law of 1894.

Mr. CURTIS of Kansas. Oh, I beg your pardon; I do not believe that it repeals the law of 1894. The provision of that law of 1894 is that no person shall be entitled to take more than two claims.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. Where does the gentleman get his authority for the belief that the Government has ever classed asphaltum as coming within the mineral laws that provide for the location of fissure veins?

Mr. SHAFROTH. Because it is found in true fissure veins.

Mr. CURTIS of Kansas. The gentleman from Colorado has answered the question.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. Well, but a coal seam may be in a fissure vein. It is not the shape of the vein that determines the law under which it may be located.

Mr. SHAFROTH. The law expressly limits a coal-mining claim to 160 acres, but the asphaltum, being found in true fissure veins, must be located under the mineral laws applicable to gold and silver mining.

Mr. CURTIS of Kansas. Further, Mr. Speaker, there are beds of gilsonite in Utah outside of this reservation. It is found in Texas, Colorado, and in the Indian Territory. A treaty has just been made with the Chickasaws and Choctaws, wherein they provide for the disposition of gilsonite on their reservations. It is there in vast amounts. It is found in California and in Montana, and within a week it has been discovered in southern Kansas. The gentleman says, "Why were not these beds opened up before?" I might ask the same question in regard to the gilsonite in this Indian reservation.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. SHERMAN. I yield five minutes more to the gentleman.

ENROLLED JOINT RESOLUTION SIGNED.

The SPEAKER announced his signature to an enrolled joint resolution of the following title:

Joint resolution (S. R. 42) appropriating $50,000 for the relief of suffering American citizens in the Island of Cuba.

INDIAN APPROPRIATION BILL.

The consideration of the conference report on the Indian appropriation bill was resumed.

Mr. CURTIS of Kansas. The gilsonite beds in these other places were not worked for the same reason that those on the Uncompahgre Reservation were not prior to 1880. These Indians were not placed upon this reservation until after 1880. The reason was that people did not know about it. It is being discovered now in various parts of the country.

I do not believe in the Government exacting a royalty. I do not believe in the system of leasing mineral lands by the Government. I believe that the gilsonite beds should be opened just the same as the gold and silver mines of this country are.

I want to say to Republicans and Democrats alike, if you adopt the policy of leasing the gilsonite lands of this country, that policy will stare you in the face ever after, and the people will come here, Congress after Congress, and ask you to apply it to the coal mines of the country, to the gold mines of the country, to the silver mines of the country, and to all other mineral lands.

Now, the conference committee has worked hard to get an agreement. We believe that this is the best that can be done, and, speaking for myself, I want to say that from the first I have believed that this matter should be settled in this way: First the Indians should be taken care of, and then after reasonable notice the gilsonite lands should be opened for settlement, and all should be given an equal opportunity to secure a claim.

Mr. COOKE. Then the gentleman has not struggled very hard against the other conferees.

Mr. CURTIS of Kansas. We have had several meetings and brought in two or three reports. One of the amendments was along the line suggested by the House, but it was not accepted. The result of the vote on the last conference report showed that the House did not desire to instruct us. I hope this conference report will be agreed to.

Mr. SHERMAN. Just one word, Mr. Speaker. I will not detain the House long. The gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. COOPER] says that I said this report was better than the last. I did so state, Mr. Speaker, that it was better for the Indians. He quotes the report of Major Randlett, in which he says that the original proposition, as passed by the Senate, was an outrage upon these Indians. I thought so, Mr. Speaker, and that is why I opposed it just as strenuously as I could, all the way through. It was an outrage upon the Indians. This report is not. This provision takes ample care of all the rights of the Indians before it disposes of a foot of this land, and that is what we want; that is what we of the Indian conference committee of this House have been contending for all the way through.

By this amendment the rights of the Indians are cared for. Every single Indian is given his allotment in severalty before the balance of this land is opened up under the general land laws of the United States. Now, my friend from Alabama [Mr. UNDERWOOD] says that this proposition that is now here is not so good as the one that came in the other day. Perhaps my friend is right about that; but let me call his attention to the fact that the proposition which came in the other day was rejected by this House by a majority of more than two to one, and that thereafter, when the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. LACEY] offered a proposition as an instruction, which I believed was better even than what we succeeded in getting in the conference committee—when he offered his instruction to the conferees, the House rejected that.

Mr. Speaker, the conferees have done their best to carry out the wishes of the House, and have brought back here a proposition which we thought was in accord with their wishes, and have seen it stricken down by a vote of two to one. We have seen on two different occasions the House refuse us instructions as to what we should do; and we have done the very best we could and have finally come here with a proposition which opens these lands under all the land laws of the United States; and for the life of me I see no reason why this particular body of land in the State of Utah should be opened up differently from what all the other lands of the United States have been opened up in the last twenty-five years. I think the proposition is a fair one, Mr. Speaker, and I hope the House will adopt it; and I ask for a vote.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the conference report.

The question was taken; and the Speaker announced that the noes seemed to have it.

Mr. SHERMAN. Division, Mr. Speaker.

The House divided; and there were—ayes 56, noes 64.

So the conference report was disagreed to.

Mr. SHERMAN. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House concur in the Senate amendment; and I desire to say in making that motion that I do not make it in the hope that the House will pass it in just that form, but I do it in the hope that the proposition will be so amended that something will be agreed upon, so that the Senate will recede and accept the desires of the House.

Mr. CANNON. May I ask the gentleman a question?

Mr. SHERMAN. Certainly.

Mr. CANNON. I desire to know if the conferees of the House believe that the Senate would accept an amendment ceding these lands to the State of Utah?

Mr. SHERMAN. I will say this, Mr. Speaker, that the chairman of the conference committee on the part of the Senate said to us the other day that if this report was returned, that whatever came back to the Senate as the will of the House he should move that the Senate accede to it, and then, if that motion failed, he would then move that the Senate recede from the entire proposition.

Mr. LACEY. Now, Mr. Speaker, I move to substitute for the motion of the gentleman from New York the following.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York moves to recede from the disagreement and concur in the Senate amendment, and the gentleman from Iowa moves to concur with the following amendment, which the Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Concur in Senate amendment numbered 10 by striking out the same and substituting the following inlieu thereof:

"The Secretary of the Interior is hereby directed to allot agricultural lands in severalty to the Uncompahgre Ute Indians now located upon or belonging to the Uncompahgre Indian Reservation in the State of Utah, said allotments to be upon the Uncompahgre and Uintah reservations or elsewhere in said State. And all the lands of said Uncompahgre Reservation not theretofore allotted in severalty to said Uncompahgre Utes shall, on and after the 1st of April, 1898, be open for location and entry under all the land laws of the United States; excepting, however, therefrom all lands containing gilsonite, asphalt, elaterite, or other like substances.

"And the title to all of the said lands containing gilsonite, asphaltum, elaterite, or other like substances is reserved to the United States.

"And the Secretary of the Interior is authorized to lease the said reserved lands containing said minerals; said leases to be upon such royalty as the said Secretary may determine to be reasonable, and said leases to be for such periods, not exceeding ten years, as he may determine; and regulations and limitations shall be provided by the Secretary as to the amount of lands embraced in each lease, or as to assignments of said leases, so as to prevent any monopoly of said minerals; and the Secretary will make all such rules and regulations as may be necessary for the purpose of carrying out the objects of this act."

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. CANNON. Is that in the nature of an instruction?

The SPEAKER. As the Chair understands it, it is a motion to recede and concur with the following amendment, to strike out and insert.

Mr. CANNON. Is that open to discussion? I would like to have just a minute to say——

Mr. SAYERS. Mr. Speaker, I should like to ask the gentleman from Iowa if there is anything in that amendment which he proposes that would prevent either two, three, or four men from combining together and obtaining control of the whole tract?

Mr. LACEY. The amendment proposes, and expressly says, the Secretary of the Interior shall make such regulations as will prevent a monopoly. That leaves the question as to the size of the leases in his discretion, to make them large enough to work, and yet divide them sufficiently to prevent a monopoly. After a consultation with the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. MCRAE] and others who have given this matter thought, it was deemed best to not attempt to define the exact size of these claims, that there are many things that we can hardly understand with respect to this legislation, and it will be safer to leave a wider discretion in the Secretary than would be involved in the proposition to give a certain number of acres, that may not be enough for them to proceed to do the work, and the leases have been limited to ten years, so that if there is any mistake it can be corrected. It is not as irremediable as would be the effect of adopting the amendment proposed by the conference committee.

Mr. SAYERS. I understand the gentleman to say that he has submitted it to the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. MCRAE], and it has his approval.

Mr. LACEY. I submitted this to him, and made some alterations at his suggestion.

Mr. CANNON. I only want a minute to say——

Mr. LACEY. I yield such time as the gentleman desires.

Mr. CANNON (continuing). That this is the Indian appropriation bill. There seems to be no difference about the House and Senate agreeing upon the amount of money for the Indian service for the coming fiscal year. The House very wisely has provided by its rules that appropriation bills shall not carry legislation. Now, the history of this bill shows the absolute wisdom of that rule. It goes to the Senate, and they proceed to put legislation upon it. It comes back to the House, is considered, and the difference between the House and the Senate is touching legislation. Time and again the conference report is turned down.

Now, what ought to be done, in my judgment, is that the House and Senate should stop this matter of general legislation upon supply bills; and in this case, if an agreement is not practical, I should be very glad indeed to see all legislation stricken out of this bill touching this matter. Now, there is no one who has a greater respect for the gentleman from Iowa than I have. I know of his industry and ability, and also that of the gentleman from Arkansas, but they can not, sir, know all things. No committee that originates a general appropriation bill can be equipped all along the line touching matters of legislation that should come from forty or fifty different committees.

I do not know what is to be the end of this controversy. I must confess——

Mr. LACEY. Will the gentleman yield for a suggestion?

Mr. CANNON. Yes, sir.

Mr. LACEY. Possibly the remarks of my friend from Illinois may be misunderstood. The action of the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. MCRAE] and myself, in taking active interest in this Indian bill, was not intended as an intrusion into a subject which we had not been considering or had not acted upon in the past. But land legislation—legislation which would appropriately have gone to the Committee on Public Lands, of which we were members in the last Congress—was incorporated in this bill by the Senate. Therefore, at the suggestion of gentlemen who were members of the former Indian Committee, we have conferred and acted upon this subject with them, endeavoring to aid them. Unfortunately they and we have not agreed. They have taken one view—the view adopted by the Senate—while we have taken a different view. And the House has thus far agreed with us, or rather, we have agreed with the House. I only make this statement because the remark of the gentleman from Illinois might otherwise be misunderstood by some gentlemen not familiar with the situation.

Mr. CANNON. I am not criticising the gentleman from Iowa. On the contrary, I concede his knowledge and good judgment, especially touching matters of which the Committee on Public Lands of the last Congress had jurisdiction. I am simply trying to emphasize the impropriety of loading up these various supply bills with legislation. I should be glad indeed if in this matter the conference committee could agree to strike out from the bill all legislation, allowing the various committees which had charge of these several matters in the House and the Senate to perform their appropriate functions.

I appreciate the ability of the gentlemen. I have the honor to be serving as a conferee of this House on the sundry civil bill, carrying provisions under existing law which run into almost every branch of the public service, that could have been agreed to and would have been agreed to promptly were it not that the Senate, in defiance of the rules of that body and of this House, has placed upon the bill legislation about which the House conferees, charged with matters of appropriations purely, have no adequate knowledge, so that in our weakness and ignorance we have been compelled to turn to the eminent gentlemen from Iowa [Mr. LACEY] and Arkansas [Mr. MCRAE] for counsel; and with their help we are proceeding as best we can.

But under these circumstances a great bill, carrying forty or fifty million dollars, is held up upon items of legislation which the committees on appropriations of the House are not charged with and of which they have not sufficient knowledge to deal with them properly. I trust the time is not far distant that this House, as a matter of practice, when its bills come back loaded with general legislation, which is sought to be put through by reason of the need of the Government for appropriations, will lay such bills on the table. [Applause.]

Mr. LACEY. I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. MCRAE].

Mr. MCRAE. Mr. Speaker, I indorse what the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON] has said with respect to new legislation on appropriation bills. This Senate amendment has no business here. I have repeatedly stated in this House what I believe is true, that almost all the objectionable land legislation which has passed Congress, and about which they have complained since I have been in Congress, has been such as has been, like this proposition, put upon appropriation bills contrary to the rules of the House and the Senate.

I believe that the best and most speedy solution of this whole matter would be that the Senate recede from its amendment and leave the law as it now is, and let the Interior Department proceed with the allotments. There is no necessity for any haste about this matter. The allotments have not been made and the reservation ought not to be opened until this is done. The provisions of the act of August 15, 1894, on this subject are better than anything that has been proposed by the conferences; yet it is not as good as it ought to be.

There would come no great calamity to the people if this whole provision should fail by the Senate receding from its amendment, because the reservation will still be there; the gilsonite will remain untouched, and can be disposed of under that act as soon as the allotments are made.

If that could be accomplished, it would, in my opinion, be a good solution to this controversy; and if any further legislation is needed, let it be formulated by the Public Lands Committee when appointed. At any rate, this bill ought not to be held up for such propositions that have no business upon it.

Mr. LACEY. I now yield five minutes to the gentleman from Utah [Mr. KING].

Mr. KING. Mr. Speaker, it does seem to me that some misapprehension exists on the part of the distinguished gentleman from Iowa and some other members of this House in regard to the manner of operating mines. If the amendment suggested by the gentleman from Iowa should prevail, if this instruction should be given and the provision proposed by him be embodied in the bill, it means the absolute destruction of that branch of the mining business to which it applies.

No person will lease mineral lands and incur expense in their development when the title is not in them and when such restrictions are imposed as suggested in the proposed amendment. I come from a mining State and I am somewhat familiar with mining operations, and I can assure gentlemen from a knowledge of the system of mining and the methods which prevail among mining men that you can not upon leased public lands have such developments made as will be advantageous to the public and bring to the people the mineral wealth which the lands contain.

Persons will be reluctant, if not unwilling, to spend ten, twenty, or one hundred thousand dollars to develop a mine when the title is not in them, and if they do lease a portion of the public domain for the purpose of extracting ore, they will obtain the ore without providing proper protection for the mine. If it needs timbering, as many mines do, they will gopher (to use a mining expression) from the ground as quickly as possible and at the least possible expense the ore which is in sight; and when the lease expires there remains a mine that can not be operated unless tens of thousands of dollars perhaps are expended in order to put it again in workable condition.

If the proposition of the gentleman from Iowa should prevail, it will mean this: Assuming that the mines are as valuable as my friend from Alabama represents them to be, a man will go upon the public domain and will extract as quickly as possible all the ore that is in sight. He will not timber the mine; he will not protect it; he plans only for the present, treats the property as belonging to another, is willing to sacrifice and destroy if only immediate profits are obtained, and when his lease expires the Government will have a mine that is despoiled and robbed and plundered handed back, valueless and bankrupt. And before it can be leased again to any advantage or profit—before anybody else will undertake to develop it further—thousands and tens of thousands of dollars must be expended in order to make mining operations safe or to perform the necessary development work before the mineral wealth can be extracted.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. If the Government makes the lease, has it not the power to provide in the lease protection against the very difficulty which the gentleman anticipates?

Mr. KING. I take it that the Government will not exercise greater care over mining property than an individual usually does. I have known mines to be leased by private persons, and in the leases most drastic provisions would be inserted for the preservation of the mines.

But almost invariably, when the mine was turned back to the landlord or lessor, it proved to be "gutted" and "gophered" and unprotected, so that a large expenditure was necessary in order to prepare it for safe and profitable explorations and development. And when you place in the hands of the Secretary of the Interior lands two or three thousand miles away, when you attempt to operate those mines under the surveillance of the Government, can you expect better results than accrue when mines are operated under the direct supervision of the owner?

With officials constantly changing, with the mutations coming to governments, with the ignorance of Government employees, can you predict for this obnoxious, infamous, damnable system of leasing advantage or revenue to the Government or benefit to the public?

Besides, sir, the amendment offered by the gentleman from Iowa imposes no restriction upon the Secretary of the Interior. He can create a monopoly; he can indulge in favoritism; and we know too well that the interests of the people have not been subserved or guarded by committing to administrative and executive officers such unlimited powers.

Let me tell you, gentlemen, that in my humble opinion it is a slander upon the American Congress to say that it can not legislate upon these matters, but must relegate to executive officers the control of this property of the Government. Can not the American people be trusted? Are not the treasures of earth and the broad domains of our great nation the inheritance of the people? Open these lands to the American people.

Do not introduce feudalism. Do not revive mediævalism. These lands are the patrimony of the people, and it is violative of the spirit of our institutions to treat them as tenants and vassals, paying tribute to the petty minions of the law that harass and annoy or abuse their powers, and uphold nepotism and introduce favoritism, so that the select and chosen may obtain possession and the worthy and poor be rejected and driven out.

I had the honor a few days ago to refer to eminent statesmen like Frémont, of California; Seward, of New York, and Benton, of Missouri, who had condemned in unmeasured terms the system of leasing mineral lands, and who had stated that wherever that system had prevailed the most disastrous results had accrued. In the Senate in 1851 they animadverted upon the evils of the leasing system, and in an elaborate discourse showed conclusively, as did other Senators, that when the Government undertakes to lease the public domain and undertakes to go into the mining business in partnership with private individuals, scandals, frauds, and wrongs are perpetrated, to the disgrace of the Government and the injury of the people. [Applause.]

[Here the hammer fell.]

Mr. LACEY. I ask for the previous question.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. The question is upon the amendment of the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. BARTHOLDT. I rise to a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. BARTHOLDT. I raise the question whether a conference report is amendable.

The SPEAKER. The conference report has been rejected and is no longer before the House. A motion has been made that the House recede from its disagreement and concur in the Senate amendment, to which the gentleman from Iowa offered the amendment which has been reported to the House. The question is upon agreeing to that amendment.

Mr. BARTHOLDT. My impression is that the only thing in order would be instructions to the conference committee. This is not an instruction; this is an amendment.

The SPEAKER. This is not an amendment to the conference report. It is a proposition that the House recede from its nonconcurrence and concur with an amendment, and the question is on the amendment.

The question being taken, on a division (demanded by Mr. KING and Mr. HARTMAN) there were—ayes 74, noes 42.

Mr. KING. I make the point of no quorum.
Several MEMBERS. Oh, no.
The SPEAKER. The gentleman makes the point that there is no quorum present.
Mr. KING. I withdraw the point.
The SPEAKER. The point is withdrawn; the ayes have it, and the amendment is agreed to. The question recurs on the original motion to recede and concur with the amendment which the House has already adopted.
The motion was agreed to.
Mr. DALZELL. I move that the House do now adjourn.
The SPEAKER. One moment. The Chair thinks if the House desires to finish it up——
Mr. LACEY. I move to reconsider and to lay that motion upon the table.
The SPEAKER. The point the Chair wished to suggest was that the House might wish to ask another conference.
Mr. SHERMAN. Why, Mr. Speaker, we have receded and agreed to concur with an amendment. I think it is hardly necessary to ask for another conference.
Mr. RICHARDSON. All that would be necessary now would be for the Senate to concur in the amendment which the House has adopted.
The SPEAKER. The gentleman is right.
On motion of Mr. LACEY, a motion to reconsider the last vote was laid on the table.
Mr. CANNON. Did the Senate ask for a conference?
The SPEAKER. No; the Senate did not ask for a conference.
Mr. CANNON. I will ask the gentleman from New York [Mr. SHERMAN] if he is going to ask for a conference?
Mr. SHERMAN. I am not.
Mr. CANNON. I will suggest to the gentleman that while perhaps it should go to the Senate under the ordinary parliamentary usages, yet there are many precedents for the House on the one hand, or the Senate on the other, asking for a conference, anticipating the action of the other House; in other words, for the purpose of forwarding legislation. If the gentleman thinks there will be another conference——
Mr. SHERMAN. Well, I anticipate, Mr. Speaker, that the Senate will either accept this amendment or recede entirely from the whole proposition. That is what I anticipate.
Mr. CANNON. That would take a conference, however, to recede entirely.
Mr. SHERMAN. Not at all. That would not need a conference.
Mr. McRAE. Mr. Speaker, I wish to make a further parliamentary inquiry.
The SPEAKER. Will the gentleman state it?
Mr. McRAE. In view of the fact that we have only two meetings a week, and no other session until Monday next, if the gentleman from New York is not entirely satisfied that the Senate will terminate this controversy by either receding from its amendment or agreeing to the amendment we have adopted, I suggest to him that we will save time by asking for a conference and appointing the conferees now; because whatever disagreements there may be, if there be any more, could be gone over between now and the next meeting, in the light of this action of the House, while, upon the other hand, if we do not and the Senate insists upon the amendment, the bill will be hung up in the air, as it were, with nobody to consider it until our next meeting, when we will be required to agree to a conference they may ask.
Mr. LACEY. The conference can subsequently be ordered.
Mr. McRAE. But that delays consideration, and we are all interested in getting this bill on the statute book. Of course, the Senate will ask for a conference if they disagree to our amendment, or it can agree to one we ask. It is only a question of time. It can just as well do what the gentleman from New York [Mr. SHERMAN] suggests, if we ask a conference, as if we did not. It seems to me that, as a matter of safety, it would be better to ask it. There will then be one of three things for the Senate to do: Recede from its amendment, agree to our amendment, or consent to further conference.
Mr. McMILLIN. Otherwise it hangs up the whole bill.
Mr. SHERMAN. Mr. Speaker, the conferees on the part of the House have spent so much time in this matter now—most of the winter and most of the summer—that the matter of a month or two does not "cut much ice" with them. I do not think we will move for another conference. We will wait and see if this proposition is rejected, and then perhaps we will move for another conference; but we will not ask for a conference until it is absolutely essential.
Mr. KING. Mr. Speaker, a parliamentary inquiry. Will the Speaker recognize me to move the appointment of a conference committee at this time?
The SPEAKER. The Chair will do so.
Mr. KING. I move the appointment of a conference committee to confer with a like committee from the Senate, and that the House ask for a further conference.
The SPEAKER. The gentleman moves that the House ask for a further conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses.
Mr. LACEY. In view of the suggestion made by the conferees, it seems to me that we had better give the Senate an opportunity to consider this without ordering a conference.
Mr. SHERMAN. I think so.
The SPEAKER. That is for the House to determine. As many as favor the motion of the gentleman from Utah [Mr. KING]——
Mr. FLEMING. Mr. Speaker, I rise to a point of order.
The SPEAKER. Will the gentleman allow the Chair to state the proposition?
Mr. FLEMING. Certainly.
The SPEAKER. The proposition of the gentleman from Utah [Mr. KING] is that the House ask for a further conference with the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses.
Mr. FLEMING. Mr. Speaker, my parliamentary inquiry is whether it is in order for one body to ask for a conference with the other body unless they have disagreed in some way to action which the other body has had an opportunity to vote upon? It seems to me that under parliamentary law we are not in a position to ask a conference with the Senate until they have had an opportunity to accept or reject our proposition.
The SPEAKER. Still, the practice has been otherwise.
Mr. FLEMING. I was going to suggest, in that connection, that the only parliamentary motion would be to authorize the Speaker to appoint a conference committee during the recess, in the event that the Senate should disagree to our proposition.
The SPEAKER. The Chair thinks it has been the custom to take the action suggested by the gentleman from Utah, but the Chair is ready to be informed about it, if anybody has any information. The question is on the motion of the gentleman from Utah, that the House ask a further conference with the Senate.
The question was taken; and the Chair announcing that he was in doubt, on a division there were—ayes 49, noes 48.
Accordingly, the motion of Mr. KING was agreed to; and the Speaker appointed as conferees on the part of the House Mr. SHERMAN, Mr. CURTIS of Kansas, and Mr. ALLEN.

LEAVE TO EXTEND REMARKS.

Mr. CLAYTON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend in the RECORD my remarks made to-day on Senate resolution 42.
The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Alabama asks leave to extend in the RECORD his remarks made to-day on Senate resolution 43. Is there objection?
There was no objection.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted as follows:
To Mr. MARTIN, indefinitely, on account of important business.
To Mr. PITNEY, indefinitely, on account of important business.
To Mr. HAGER, indefinitely, on account of sickness.
To Mr. JENKINS, for ten days, on account of business.
To Mr. PERKINS, until further notice, on account of illness in his family.
To Mr. NORTHWAY, indefinitely, on account of sickness in his family.
To Mr. ZENOR, for three weeks, on account of important business.
To Mr. HAMILTON, for ten days, on account of important business.
To Mr. MESICK, indefinitely, on account of illness in his family.
And then, on motion of Mr. DALZELL (at 5 o'clock and 20 minutes p. m.), the House, under the order heretofore adopted, adjourned until Monday next at 12 o'clock noon.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS.

Under clause 2 of Rule XXIV, the following executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:
A letter from the Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a letter from the Commissioner of the General Land Office, inclosing a communication from the officers of the land office at Mangum, Okla., recommending relief for certain settlers in Greer County, with draft of a section of an act therefor—to the Committee on the Public Lands, and ordered to be printed.
A letter from the Secretary of the Navy, recommending legislation to admit temporarily to American registry a vessel or vessels to transport food to those starving in India, and transmitting communication from T. Hogan & Sons recommending certain vessels—to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, and ordered to be printed.
A letter from the Secretary of the Navy, recommending an emergency appropriation for the repair of the dry docks at the

Brooklyn Navy-Yard—to the Committee on Naval Affairs, and ordered to be printed.

A letter from the Secretary of the Interior, transmitting an agreement between the commissioners of the United States and those of the Choctaw and Chickasaw Indians, together with a communication from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs—to the Committee on Indian Affairs, and ordered to be printed.

PUBLIC BILLS, RESOLUTIONS, AND MEMORIALS INTRODUCED.

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, bills, resolutions, and memorials of the following titles were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. HILBORN: A bill (H. R. 3288) to provide an American register for the barkentine *Sharpshooter*, of San Francisco, Cal.—to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. GAINES: A bill (H. R. 3289) to create retrenchment commission, to reorganize Departments, to abolish unnecessary bureaus, to reduce the number of employees in the service of the Government, to reduce salaries and expenses, to reform pension list, to regulate our system of internal improvements, and for other purposes—to the Committee on Reform in the Civil Service.

By Mr. QUIGG: A bill (H. R. 3290) to incorporate the National Association of Manufacturers—to the Committee on Manufactures.

By Mr. HARTMAN: A bill (H. R. 3291) ceding to the respective States the public lands situate therein—to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. MAXWELL: A bill (H. R. 3292) to abolish the distinction between actions at law and suits in equity in all actions and suits in the United States courts, and to simplify the procedure in such courts—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ELLIOTT: A bill (H. R. 3293) to establish a depot for the Sixth light-house district and to make appropriation for the same—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. CRUMPACKER: A bill (H. R. 3294) making all pensions of minors commence with the accrual of the right—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3295) providing for the distribution of Government publications to State universities and colleges—to the Committee on Printing.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3296) fixing a rule of evidence in certain pension cases and providing pensions for increased disabilities—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. DALZELL: A resolution (House Res. No. 45) fixing time to consider S. R. 42, appropriating $50,000 for the relief of American citizens in Cuba—to the Committee on Rules.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS INTRODUCED.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions of the following titles were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BABCOCK: A bill (H. R. 3297) to remove the charge of desertion from the military record of William Henry Woodward—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. BINGHAM: A bill (H. R. 3298) granting a pension to Rebecca Paulding Meade, widow of Rear-Admiral Richard W. Meade, late of the United States Navy—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. BROMWELL: A bill (H. R. 3299) granting a pension to Ellen Day, stepmother of Albert L. Day—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. CONNELL: A bill (H. R. 3300) granting an honorable discharge to T. C. Kennedy, late of Company B, One hundred and forty-third Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. CRUMPACKER: A bill (H. R. 3301) to correct the military record of Croton Kitchell—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3302) to correct the military record of George W. Johnston—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3303) to correct the military record of Samuel Horner—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3304) to correct the military record of John Fagin—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. HENRY of Mississippi: A bill (H. R. 3305) for the relief of William M. Dotson, alias William M. Ilsley—to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. LACEY: A bill (H. R. 3306) granting a pension to Whipple Handy—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3307) to increase the pension of Andrew S. Evans—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. LYBRAND: A bill (H. R. 3308) to revoke the order dismissing Sergt. Eli Metcalf, Company F, Twelfth Ohio Volunteer Cavalry, from the service, and to grant him an honorable discharge—to the committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3309) granting an increase of pension to Samantha M. Slater—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3310) granting an increase of pension to Emma Leiter—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3311) granting an increase of pension to Solomon Love—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3312) to remove the charge of desertion from the military record of Frederick Hugo Steger—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3313) granting an increase of pension to Ann E. Bishop—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3314) to revoke the order dismissing Lieut. Lanson Zane, Tenth Independent Battery Ohio Light Artillery, from the service, and to grant him an honorable discharge—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3315) granting a pension to Silas Brown—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3316) to amend the military record of John A. Maddox—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3317) to correct the military record of Shannon S. Bailey—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. McDOWELL: A bill (H. R. 3318) for the relief of Nathan Finnegan—to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. OLMSTED: A bill (H. R. 3319) for the removal of the charge of desertion standing against the name of John Keys—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SHAFROTH: A bill (H. R. 3320) granting an increase of pension to Mrs. Kate Ezekiel—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. YOUNG of Pennsylvania: A bill (H. R. 3321) for the relief of the heir of General Count Casimer Pulaski—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. ZENOR: A bill (H. R. 3322) to remove the charges of desertion from the records of the War Department against Richard F. Parker—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3323) granting an increase of pension to John Hoffman, late a corporal of Company D, Fifth Regiment United States Artillery—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. BOOZE: A bill (H. R. 3324) for the relief of Mrs. Margaretha Engelhardt—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. LOUD: A bill (H. R. 3325) to refund illegal internal-revenue tax collected of the late Alexander W. Baldwin as United States district judge for the district of Nevada—to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. RUSSELL: A bill (H. R. 3326) granting a pension to Thomas S. Hancox—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. BOTKIN: A bill (H. R. 3327) granting a pension to Constantine Breneman—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. HOWARD of Alabama: A bill (H. R. 3328) for the relief of Stephen Balcomb—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, the following petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

By Mr. ACHESON: Petition of Dr. R. S. Reagan and other citizens of Broadford, Fayette County; also petition of George Cannon and others, of Mount Morris, Greene County; also petition of O. J. Sturgis and others, of Uniontown; also petition of John J. Lutton, of Pittsburg, Pa., praying for the passage of an act restricting immigration—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

Also, petition of Washington Lodge, No. 33, of the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers, against the provision of the Dingley bill allowing drawbacks to importers—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, resolutions of the Allegheny War Veterans' Association, in relation to the civil-service law—to the Committee on Reform in the Civil Service.

By Mr. ADAMS: Resolution of the Trades League of Philadelphia, in favor of maintaining civil service—to the Committee on Reform in the Civil Service.

By Mr. BARTLETT: Petition of the Trades League of Philadelphia, in reference to coastwise canals—to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

Also, petition of the Trades League of Philadelphia, relating to civil service—to the Committee on Reform in the Civil Service.

Also, memorial of railway trainmen, in relation to the arbitration bill—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, petition of Bryn Mawr College, in reference to the tariff on books—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, memorial of the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts of Philadelphia, concerning the tariff on works of art—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. BELDEN: Petition of the Young Men's Christian Association, Methodist Preachers' Meeting, and the First Methodist Church congregation, all of Syracuse, N. Y., for the passage of the anti-prize fight bill, to prohibit kinetoscope representations of pugilistic encounters—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. BINGHAM: Petition of citizens of Philadelphia, Pa., urging the restriction of immigration—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

Also, petition of Rebecca Paulding Meade, widow of the late Rear-Admiral Richard W. Meade, United States Navy, praying for a pension of $100 per month—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, resolutions of the Thirtieth Ward Republican executive committee; also resolutions of the Grays Ferry (Thirty-sixth Ward) Republican Club, Philadelphia, Pa., condemning the civil-service law, and urging its repeal—to the Committee on Reform in the Civil Service.

By Mr. BLAND: Petition of S. D. Bliss and other citizens of Miller County, Mo., for the relief of Dorcas Conner—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. BULL: Petitions of Henry S. Wilbur and 60 others and George W. Chase and 30 others, citizens of Providence, R. I., for a more rigid restriction of immigration—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. BUTLER: Petition of citizens of Phœnixville, Pa., for the passage of a more rigid restriction law relating to immigration—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. COCHRANE of New York: Petition of citizens of Troy, N. Y., asking that the President be authorized to appoint a monetary commission—to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. DALZELL: Sundry petitions of citizens of Pittsburg, Braddock, and Wilkinsburg and vicinity, in Pennsylvania, in favor of the passage of a bill restricting immigration—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

Also, resolutions of the Wholesale Liquor Dealers' Association of St. Louis, in favor of a reduction of tax on beer—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. ERMENTROUT: Petitions of citizens of Reading and Birdsboro, Pa., for a more rigid restriction of immigration—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

Also, protest of the Trades League of Philadelphia, against the repeal of the civil-service law—to the Committee on Reform in the Civil Service.

By Mr. FITZGERALD: Resolution of the Indianapolis Board of Trade, relating to legislation on bankruptcy bills—to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. GARDNER: Petition of Excelsior Council, Junior Order United American Mechanics, of Pleasantville, N. J., for the passage of a bill restricting immigration—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. HARMER: Petitions of citizens of Philadelphia, Pa., asking for the restriction of immigration to protect American citizenship, and for the passage of a bill similar to that passed in the Fifty-fourth Congress and vetoed by President Cleveland—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. HENDERSON: Resolutions of the Trades' League of Philadelphia, Pa., favoring the maintenance of the civil-service law—to the Committee on Reform in the Civil Service.

Also, petition of C. N. Bennett and other citizens of Lamont, Iowa, favoring the passage of a graded pension bill—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. HILBORN: Sundry petitions of John Milton and 328 citizens of Massachusetts; J. H. Swinser and 27 citizens of Kentucky; James W. Reid and 21 citizens of Connecticut; Erwin C. Ganss and 316 citizens of Jersey City, N. J.; William E. Barries and 96 citizens of New Hampshire; W. J. Pollard and 77 citizens of New Orleans, La.; B. C. Smith and 189 citizens of Nebraska; G. W. Bell and 19 citizens of Idaho; Frank Jones and 400 citizens of Texas; Herman Haasch and 412 citizens of Wisconsin; R. N. Ramsey and 1,117 citizens of New York; G. E. Niles and 132 citizens of California; Joseph W. Hall and 107 citizens of Missouri; W. P. Campbell and 34 citizens of Kansas; S. L. Nelson and 120 citizens of Chicago, Ill., favoring the passage of the proposed amendment to the Constitution of the United States prohibiting sectarian appropriations—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, petition of 91 citizens of the State of California; also resolutions adopted by the common council of San Jose; also resolution of the Board of Trade of San Jose; also resolution of the Board of Trade of Santa Cruz, Cal., asking for the abrogation of the reciprocity treaty with Hawaii—to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, memorial of the trustees of the Chamber of Commerce, San Francisco, Cal., reaffirming its adherence to the principle of reciprocity and territorial annexation—to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, petition of borate and borax miners and manufacturers of California and Nevada, asking that a higher duty be imposed on borax and borates—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, petition of sundry citizens of Oakland, Cal., for the passage of an act which will more effectually restrict foreign immigration—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

Also, petition of 8 clergymen of Oakland, Cal., for the relief of book agents of the Methodist Episcopal Church South—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. HOWELL: Petitions of citizens of Milltown, Jamesburg, Marlboro, and Dunellen, State of New Jersey, urging the enactment of legislation restricting immigration—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. LACEY: Affidavit of F. M. Cooper, M. D., to accompany House bill to increase the pension of Andrew S. Evans—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. LEWIS of Georgia: Petitions of citizens of Oglethorpe and Butler, Ga., for the passage of a bill for the relief of book agents of the Methodist Episcopal Church South—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. LINNEY: Petition of the Tobacco Board of Trade of Statesville, N. C., protesting against any increase of the tax on tobacco—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. LOUD: Memorial of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, relative to the appointment by the President of a non-partisan national monetary commission—to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. LYBRAND: Petition of citizens of Urbana, West Liberty, and Mingo, in the State of Ohio, for a more rigid restriction of immigration—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. McEWAN: Petition of J. R. Foden, H. S. Wood, and other citizens of Jersey City, N. J., for greater restriction of immigration—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. MILLER: Petition of H. B. Turner and other citizens of Barboursville, and J. D. Donohoe and other citizens of Roanoke County, W. Va., praying for the passage of an immigration law—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. MOODY: Petition of Albert S. Haynes and 52 other citizens of Haverhill, Mass., favoring the enactment of a law for the more rigid restriction of immigration—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. OLMSTED: Petition of W. H. H. Smith and sundry other citizens of Annville, Pa., praying for the passage of a law to restrict immigration—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

Also, petition of Dr. John C. Bucher and other citizens of Pennsylvania, for a law granting a rebate of the tax upon alcohol used in the arts, and in medicinal and other like compounds—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. ROBBINS: Sundry petitions of citizens of Youngwood, Neal, Irwin, Latrobe, Madison, Sutersville, New Stanton, Jeannette, Cokeville, Cribbs, and Bolivar; also petitions of citizens in various townships in Jefferson and Westmoreland counties, all in the State of Pennsylvania, favoring the restriction of immigration—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana: Petition of E. W. Imhoff, of Butler, Ind., asking for a reduction in the tariff on tobacco—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. CHARLES W. STONE: Petition of 41 citizens of Goodwill Hill, Warren County, Pa., in favor of a more rigid restriction of immigration—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

Also, resolution of the Massachusetts State Board of Trade, in favor of the adoption of the metric system—to the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures.

By Mr. VEHSLAGE: Petition of 70 citizens of Princebay, Richmond County, N. Y., asking for legislation restricting immigration—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. WANGER: Petition of Alexander Loughin, Charles C. Lear, and other residents of Port Kennedy and vicinity; also petition of H. P. Raysor, D. E. F. Geist, and others, of Royersford, Pa., and vicinity, for the more rigid restriction of immigration—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. YOST: Petition of the Board of Trade of Martinsville, Va., protesting against the increase of tax on tobacco—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, petition of Edward Moore and other citizens of Waynesboro and Basic City, Va.; also petition of W. A. Higgs and others, of Staunton and Augusta County, Va., praying for the enactment of a law restricting immigration—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. YOUNG of Pennsylvania: Sundry petitions of citizens of Philadelphia, Pa., favoring a more rigid restriction of immigration—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

Also, petitions of the M. S. Quay Club of the Thirty-fourth Ward, and of the First Blaine Club, of the city of Philadelphia, Pa., condemning the present civil-service law—to the Committee on Reform in the Civil Service.

By Mr. ZENOR: Paper to accompany House bill to correct the military record of Richard F. Parker—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, paper to accompany House bill No. 2957, for the relief of Charles S. Beeler—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, papers to accompany House bill to increase the pension of John Hoffman, alias William Long—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

SENATE.

MONDAY, *May 24, 1897.*

The Chaplain, Rev. W. H. MILBURN, D. D., offered the following prayer:

O Thou in whose hand our breath is and whose are all our ways, as in thought we stand by a new-made grave, to which has been consigned all that was mortal of the late junior Senator from South Carolina, we pray that Thy holy spirit may soften, hallow, and exalt our hearts with the assurance of resurrection and immortal life granted unto us in Thy Son our Saviour.

Let Thy pity and help be vouchsafed to all the mourners left by this bereavement; and upon these his colleagues may the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ descend and abide, so that in their daily life and conversation, in the performance of their public duties, they may keep in mind the thought that our day of departure is not far off. So may we walk before Thee in pureness of living, in holiness and lovingness, and when the hour for us to quit the earth has come may we gather up our feet in peace and depart in the faith and hope which Thou hast granted us through Thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen.

The Secretary proceeded to read the Journal of the proceedings of Thursday last, when, on motion of Mr. QUAY, and by unanimous consent, the further reading was dispensed with.

ENROLLED BILL SIGNED.

The signature of the Vice-President was announced to the joint resolution (S. R. 42) appropriating $50,000 for the relief of suffering American citizens in the Island of Cuba; which had previously been signed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. W. J. BROWNING, its Chief Clerk, announced that the House had disagreed to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate numbered 10 to the bill (H. R. 15) making appropriations for the current and contingent expenses of the Indian Department and for fulfilling treaty stipulations with various Indian tribes for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1898, and for other purposes; receded from its disagreement to amendment numbered 10, and agrees to the same with an amendment; asks a conference with the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and had appointed Mr. SHERMAN, Mr. CURTIS of Kansas, and Mr. ALLEN managers at the conference on the part of the House.

DEATH OF SENATOR EARLE.

Mr. TILLMAN. Mr. President, since the adjournment of this body last Thursday death has entered our midst and taken from among us one of our colleagues. Thursday afternoon, at 6 o'clock, JOSEPH H. EARLE, a Senator from South Carolina, passed from earth.

I offer the resolutions which I send to the desk, and ask for their immediate consideration.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolutions will be read.

The Secretary read the resolutions, as follows:

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow the announcement of the death of the Hon. JOSEPH H. EARLE, late a Senator from the State of South Carolina.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives.

Resolved, That, as a mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, the Senate do now adjourn.

Mr. TILLMAN. I will not say anything on this occasion except to ask that the prayer of the Chaplain be printed in the RECORD.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Such will be the order. The question is on agreeing to the resolutions submitted by the Senator from South Carolina.

The resolutions were unanimously agreed to; and (at 12 o'clock and 7 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Tuesday, May 25, 1897, at 12 o'clock meridian.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

MONDAY, *May 24, 1897.*

The House met at 12 o'clock m. Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. HENRY N. COUDEN.

The Journal of the proceedings of Thursday last was read.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, the Journal will be considered as approved.

Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, I want to correct the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state his correction.

Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas. On page 1496 it appears the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND] filed the petition of S. D. Bliss and other citizens of Miller County, Mo., for the relief of Dorcas Conner, which was referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions. I want to move to strike that out, there being no such committee. I want the RECORD to be a record; and therefore I move to strike that out.

The SPEAKER. To strike it out of the RECORD?

Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas. To strike out the reference to the Committee on Invalid Pensions. There being no Committee on Invalid Pensions, I want to strike that part out.

Mr. DINGLEY. Out of the RECORD, or the Journal?

Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas. Out of the Journal. I suppose the RECORD is a copy of the Journal.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion of the gentleman to strike out.

Mr. HENDERSON. Mr. Speaker, I raise the point of order upon that. The rules temporarily adopted by the House provide for a Committee on Invalid Pensions, and although not appointed, it has been usual to introduce such bills awaiting the action of the Speaker in the appointment of the committee. Therefore I make the point of order against that motion.

The SPEAKER. It is for the House to determine whether that shall be stricken out.

Mr. DALZELL. I make the further point of order that the rules provide a method to correct references.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman moves to strike it out.

The question was taken on the motion of Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas; and the Speaker announced that the noes seemed to have it.

Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas. Division, Mr. Speaker.

The House divided; and there were—ayes 49, noes 84.

So the motion was rejected.

Mr. DINGLEY. Mr. Speaker, I move that the Journal be approved, and on that I ask for the previous question.

The question was taken on ordering the previous question; and the Speaker announced that the ayes seemed to have it.

Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas. Division.

The House proceeded to divide.

Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas. A parliamentary inquiry. Do I understand the division is on ordering the previous question or the approval of the Journal?

The SPEAKER. On ordering the previous question.

The House divided; and there were—ayes 92, noes 18.

So the previous question was ordered.

The question was taken; and the Journal was approved.

DEATH OF HON. JOSEPH H. EARLE.

Mr. ELLIOTT. Mr. Speaker, it becomes my sad duty to announce to the House the death of Hon. JOSEPH H. EARLE, one of the Senators from the State of South Carolina, which occurred at Greenville, in that State, on the 20th instant. The circumstances of Judge EARLE'S death were almost tragic in their nature. Apparently in the enjoyment of perfect health, in the full maturity of his powers, surrounded by a devoted and loving family, just exalted through the direct vote of his people to the highest office in the gift of his State, he was suddenly cut off upon the threshold of a career that must have been most useful and honorable. From every standpoint, public and private, his death is an unmeasured calamity.

Later on, Mr. Speaker, the Representatives from South Carolina will ask this House to set apart a day for the commemoration of the virtues and services of the deceased. For the present, I ask the adoption of the resolutions which I send to the desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That this House has learned with profound sorrow of the death of Hon. JOSEPH H. EARLE, a Senator of the United States from the State of South Carolina.

Resolved, That as a further tribute and mark of respect to the memory of the deceased the House do now adjourn.

The resolutions were agreed to unanimously.

And accordingly (at 12 o'clock and 17 minutes p. m.), the House adjourned until Thursday next.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS.

Under clause 2 of Rule XXIV, the following executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting, with a letter from the Chief of Engineers, report of survey of St. Croix River, between Maine and New Brunswick—to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, and ordered to be printed.

A letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, requesting the withdrawal of certain amendments previously recommended to the bill (S. 1896) to adopt regulations for preventing collisions upon certain harbors, rivers, and inland waters of the United States, and recommending, in lieu thereof, the adoption of amendments indicated in an inclosed copy of the bill—to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, and ordered to be printed.

PUBLIC BILLS, RESOLUTIONS, AND MEMORIALS INTRODUCED.

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, bills, resolutions, and memorials of the following titles were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BARTLETT: A bill (H. R. 3329) to regulate the trial of contempts of courts—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. KING: A bill (H. R. 3330) granting and ceding to the State of Utah the public lands within the State of Utah—to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. McDONALD: A bill (H. R. 3331) to increase the pay of post quartermaster-sergeants of the Army—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. WALKER of Massachusetts: A bill (H. R. 3333) to so change the national-bank act as to secure to the people in all sections of the country an equal opportunity to freely use paper money—to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. McRAE: A resolution (House Res. No. 46) relative to the consideration of Senate joint resolution No. 26, declaring that a condition of public war exists in Cuba—to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. McMILLIN: A resolution (House Res. No. 47) providing for the consideration of resolution No. 26, concerning Cuba—to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. WHEELER of Alabama: A resolution (House Res. No. 48) asking that when the House adjourns on Thursday next (the Senate consenting) it will adjourn to meet on the following Monday at 12 o'clock—to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. SHAFROTH: A memorial of the legislature of the State of Colorado, favoring the erection of a United States Government building at Glenwood Springs, Colo.—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. OTJEN: A memorial of the legislature of the State of Wisconsin, in favor of an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relating to trusts—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BARNEY: A memorial of the legislature of the State of Wisconsin, favoring an amendment to the Constitution relating to trusts—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS INTRODUCED.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions of the following titles were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BARLOW: A bill (H. R. 3332) to grant a pension to Mrs. Alice A. Hines—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. BOTKIN: A bill (H. R. 3334) granting a pension to John N. D. Brown, of Huntsville, Ala.—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. BULL: A bill (H. R. 3335) for the relief of Mrs. Hepza Hobson Werden—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin (by request): A bill (H. R. 3336) to increase pension of Frederick Higgins, late of Company G, Thirty-first Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. KING: A bill (H. R. 3337) granting a pension to Mary E. Haines, of Leamington, Utah, widow of Claiborn L. Haines, deceased, late of Company B, Thirty-ninth Illinois Infantry—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. McDONALD: A bill (H. R. 3338) for the relief of David C. Winebrener—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3339) to refund to corporate authorities of Frederick City, Md., the sum of $200,000, exacted of them by the Confederate army in 1864—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3340) for the relief of the crew of the United States steamship *Wyoming*—to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. MIERS of Indiana: A bill (H. R. 3341) granting pension to John D. Allen—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3342) granting pension to Mary Case—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3343) for the relief of William McCormick—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3344) granting pension to John W. Morgan—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3345) granting increase of pension to Margaret Jane Wright—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. MOODY: A bill (H. R. 3346) granting a pension to Julia C. Jenkins—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. RIXEY (by request): A bill (H. R. 3347) for the relief of Thomas Lee—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also (by request), a bill (H. R. 3348) for the relief of Edgar E. Matthew—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. SHAFROTH: A bill (H. R. 3349) to increase the pension of William H. Brown—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SLAYDEN: A bill (H. R. 3350) for relief of Calvin Johnson, late first lieutenant Company D, Forty-second Missouri Infantry Volunteers—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also (by request), a bill (H. R. 3351) granting a pension to Mrs. Mary G. Williams—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. LITTAUER: A bill (H. R. 3352) increasing the pension of James B. Skinner—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3353) for the relief of Kate A. Hill—to the Committee on Claims.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, the following petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

By Mr. ADAMS: Resolution of the Board of Trade of Philadelphia, relating to the pooling bill—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, petition of Harvey J. Bachart, Alonzo Moser, and other citizens of Quakake, Pa., for a more rigid restriction of immigration—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. BRUMM: Petition of Frank Houser and other citizens of Oneida and Sheppton, Pa., for the restriction of immigration—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. DORR: Petition of Hon. J. M. Hensley and others; also of M. B. Chapman and others, residents of Mason County, W. Va.; also petitions of Ash M. Prince and others, of Bluefield, and T. J. Cowgill and others, of Cowan, W. Va., for a more rigid restriction of immigration—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. ERMENTROUT: Petition of John F. Fair and other citizens of Reading, Pa., for a more rigid restriction of the immigration laws—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. HARMER: Petition of Elmer Steinmetz and other citizens of Philadelphia, Pa., favoring legislation for the restriction of immigration, and for the protection of American citizenship, by the passage of a bill similar to that passed in the Fifty-fourth Congress, vetoed by President Cleveland—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. HULL: Petition of S. F. Schuler and 400 other citizens; also petition of Mrs. M. J. Black and 36 other ladies of Des Moines, Iowa, asking for the passage of the Terry anticigarette bill—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. KLEBERG: Petition of William T. Eichholz and other citizens of Cuero, Tex., favoring the abrogation of the treaty with Hawaii, and asking for a duty on Hawaiian sugar—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. OTJEN: Petition of the Merchant Tailor Exchange of Milwaukee, Wis., in favor of paragraph 666 of House bill No. 379, relating to the free entry of wearing apparel, etc.—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. ROBBINS: Petition of Daniel D. Stewart and other citizens of Quakake, Pa.; also petition of William B. Dewees and others, of Cowansburg, Pa., for a more rigid restriction of immigration—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana: Petition of Federal Labor Union of Fort Wayne, Ind., for the reduction of the proposed tax on tobacco—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. WM. ALDEN SMITH: Petition of Iron Molders' Union No. 213, of Grand Rapids, Mich., protesting against the passage of House bill No. 30, restricting the right to buy and sell railroad tickets—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. YOUNG of Pennsylvania: Petition of the M. S. Quay Club, of Philadelphia, Pa., protesting against the so-called civil-service law and requesting its suspension or repeal—to the Committee on Reform in the Civil Service.

Also, petitions of George Stieber and others and George H. Wilson and others, citizens of Philadelphia, Pa., for a more rigid restriction of immigration—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

SENATE.

TUESDAY, *May 25, 1897.*

Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. W. H. MILBURN, D. D.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

SENATOR FROM FLORIDA.

Mr. PASCO. I present the credentials of Stephen R. Mallory, elected a Senator from the State of Florida by the legislature of that State. I ask that the certificate be read.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read the certificate of election.

The Secretary read the credentials, as follows:

STATE OF FLORIDA, *Executive Department.*

By his excellency William D. Bloxham, governor of Florida:

Be it known that Stephen R. Mallory, of the county of Escambia, in the State aforesaid, qualified according to the Constitution of the United States for a Senator in the Congress thereof, was by the legislature of said State, in conformity with law, on the 14th day of May, A. D. 1897, elected Senator from said State in the Congress of the United States.

In testimony whereof I have hereto set my hand and caused the great seal of the State of Florida to be affixed at Tallahassee, the capital, this the 15th day of May, A. D. 1897, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and twenty-first year.

W. D. BLOXHAM,
Governor of Florida.

By the governor. Attest:
[SEAL.]
JNO. L. CRAWFORD,
Secretary of State.

Mr. CHANDLER. The certificate does not state that the election was made to fill an existing vacancy. It simply states that the person named in the certificate has been elected a Senator of the United States. The customary form would require a statement that the election was to fill an existing vacancy. It would be better if the certificate contained that statement; but I do not think it an omission that is deserving of sufficient notice to delay the swearing in of the Senator-elect. Therefore I make no objection on that account, although there is a slight defect in the certificate as compared with the usual form adopted.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. If there be no objection, the certificate will be placed on the files.

Mr. PASCO. If it is necessary, to perfect the records of the Senate, a new certificate can be filed at a later day. I understand the Senator from New Hampshire makes no objection to the immediate admission of Mr. Mallory. He is in waiting, and I ask that the usual oath be administered to him.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. If there is no objection, the Senator-elect from Florida will take his place at the Vice-President's desk and the oath of office will be administered to him.

Mr. Mallory was escorted to the Vice-President's desk by Mr. PASCO, and the oath prescribed by law having been administered to him, he took his seat in the Senate.

DEFICIENCY APPROPRIATIONS.

The VICE-PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the Secretary of the Treasury, requesting that the sum of $1,803 be included in the general deficiency appropriation bill, $1,303 being necessary to supply post-office lock boxes, etc., for the public building at Pawtucket, R. I., and $500 to meet such exigencies in the service as may arise, requiring expenditures, at the various completed public buildings under the control of that Department; which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations, and ordered to be printed.

DISTRICT PARK LIGHTING CONTRACTS.

The VICE-PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the Secretary of War, transmitting, in response to a resolution of the 19th instant, a report from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, and accompanying report of Col. Theodore A. Bingham, the officer in charge of public buildings and grounds, relative to accepted bids and contracts for park lighting in the District of Columbia; which, on motion of Mr. FAULKNER, was, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia, and ordered to be printed.

PAYMENTS AS DRAWBACKS OR REFUNDS.

The VICE-PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting, in response to a resolution of the 3d instant, certain information relative to the nature and extent of the supervision and control of the materials imported subject to duties and stored in bonded warehouses of individuals or corporations, exercised by the officers of the United States; which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on Finance, and ordered to be printed.

INDIAN APPROPRIATION BILL.

The VICE-PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the action of the House of Representatives disagreeing to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate numbered 10 to the bill (H. R. 15) making appropriations for the current and contingent expenses of the Indian Department and for fulfilling treaty stipulations with various Indian tribes for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1898, and for other purposes, and requesting a conference with the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon.

Mr. PETTIGREW. I move that the Senate further insist upon its amendment, and agree to the conference asked on the part of the House.

The motion was agreed to.

By unanimous consent, the Vice-President was authorized to appoint the conferees on the part of the Senate; and Mr. PETTIGREW, Mr. TELLER, and Mr. COCKRELL were appointed.

VISITOR TO WEST POINT.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. President, you did me the honor a few days since to name me as one of the Visitors to attend the annual examination of the military cadets at West Point. My official engagements are such that it is impossible for me to attend on that auspicious occasion. Therefore, expressing my hearty appreciation of the compliment conferred, I respectfully tender my resignation and ask to be excused.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection to excusing the Senator from California? The Chair hears none, and his resignation is accepted.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

The VICE-PRESIDENT presented a petition of the ninth annual national convention of railroad commissioners, praying for the passage of Senate bill No. 775, directing the Interstate Commerce Commission to prepare and publish a classification of freight articles and rules, regulations, and conditions for freight transportation, to be known as the "National freight classification;" which was read, as follows, and, with the accompanying paper, referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce:

NINTH ANNUAL NATIONAL CONVENTION OF RAILROAD COMMISSIONERS.

At the ninth annual national convention of railroad commissioners, which was held at Planters' Hotel, St. Louis, Mo., on May 11 and 12, 1897, the following resolution reported by the committee on uniform classification of freights was unanimously adopted:

"*Resolved*, That this convention hereby respectfully recommends the passage by Congress of Senate bill No. 775, now pending before the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce, and that properly attested copies of the foregoing report be sent to the presiding officers of the Senate and House of Representatives."

In accordance with said resolution, a copy of the report of the committee on uniform classification is also transmitted.

EDWARD A. MOSCLUF,
Secretary.

To the PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE.

Mr. CAFFERY presented a memorial of the Manufacturers' Association of the United States, remonstrating against the increase of tariff taxation and praying that such discrimination in the imposition of taxes be made as will most fully promote domestic industry and protect American labor; which was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Petition of the Manufacturers' Association of the United States in opposition to the increase of tariff taxation now pending in the Senate, and in support of such discrimination in the imposition of taxes as will most fully promote domestic industry and protect American labor.

"All taxes that the people pay the Government should receive."

To the honorable Senate of the United States:

The undersigned respectfully state that a bill is now pending for a very great increase in tariff taxation on which they desire to be heard. When a part of the Committee on Ways and Means in the House of Representatives was framing this measure, the short time assigned to hearings was almost wholly taken up by the promoters of tariff taxation on specific articles, whose chief motive was to raise prices of their own products, upon the ground that in this way domestic industry would be promoted and better employment given to American labor. To the representatives of domestic industry and the employers of American labor, whose manufactures will be greatly increased in cost and whose ability to employ American labor will be greatly impaired if this pending measure of taxation should become a law, no equal opportunity to be heard was offered or allowed.

This bill was carried through the House of Representatives without any sufficient time for its full consideration and without any adequate debate upon its terms.

The same measure has since been considered by the Finance Committee of the Senate without hearings of any kind. It is now before the Senate.

Being well assured that if this bill should become a law it will not promote but will greatly obstruct and retard domestic manufactures, and that it will not protect American labor but will restrict employment, we now request that a sufficient time be given to ourselves and others to examine the bill which has been reported before the debate begins. This bill is of a very complex character, and not less than six weeks would be required by us to find out how it would affect us and to enable us to give the facts and to prove our case.

We also ask that in this interval before debate begins such members of the Senate as may desire to promote domestic manufactures, to foster domestic industry, to enlarge the markets for American manufactures, and thus to give opportunity for the largest employment of American labor, will devise a way by which they may receive from us such statements of the facts as we wish to present, and also hear our reasons for our protest against unjust, unequal, and unnecessary taxation.

We hold that in justice to the public welfare this pending bill should be kept before the Senate until our statements in opposition to its enactment

have all been submitted and spread before the country in the record of the proceedings.

We respectfully submit that on the authority of the United States census of manufactures of 1890 this branch of domestic industry is divided among 355,415 establishments, under 363 separate titles of specific branches, then giving employment to 4,711,902 persons and now more than 5,000,000.

An analysis of this census of manufacturing industries has been made on our behalf, of which we submit a preliminary statement, subject to such correction as may be found suitable when it is dealt with by those not in full agreement with our conclusions, to whom we are prepared to submit the complete details on which this summary is based.

This analysis has been made upon the following plan:

Class 1. Occupations of a mechanical order of which no product of like kind could be imported from a foreign country, but of which very large quantities of domestic products are exported, including six subclasses:

1a. Occupations which have rather the nature of the individual work of mechanics than of the collective work of the factory.

1b. Occupations mainly consisting in the conversion of the crude products of the farm into their secondary product for domestic consumption or foreign export.

1c. Timber and its conversion into the secondary or final products.

1d. Metal working of certain kinds.

1e. Petroleum.

1f. Miscellaneous arts.

Class 2. Occupations existing of necessity throughout the country of which no product of like kind in any considerable quantity could be imported from a foreign country, but of which large quantities of the product are exported.

Class 3. Occupations of a very similar character to class 2, representing products of which none of the common or more useful kinds could be imported from foreign countries and of which large quantities are exported, but subject to the import of some special qualities or kinds, mainly of a very high class, usually representing hand work.

Class 4. Occupations in arts of which certain products of the same general class may be and are imported from foreign countries, representing a moderate competition in some branches of work.

Class 5. Occupations of which products of like kind can be and are imported in large or considerable measure from foreign countries.

In making this classification Canada is not counted as a foreign country either in respect to agriculture or manufactures, there being no quantitative exchange of products with Canada or any very large amount compared to commerce with other countries; also because our more southern position giving us so great advantage over Canada that our exports of the products of agriculture largely exceed our imports from Canada, while our exports of manufactures to Canada are proportionately very large.

Summary.

	Materials used.	Number employed.	Amount earned.	Average earnings.	Value of product.
Class 1, mechanics, etc	$2,436,176,836	1,606,793	$943,377,287	$506	$4,028,806,879
Class 2, necessary domestic arts	1,619,658,977	1,437,373	665,400,223	463	2,309,433,370
Class 3, almost wholly domestic arts	1,435,881,553	796,730	451,231,209	566	1,835,985,425
Class 4, subject to moderate foreign competition	757,508,944	616,273	249,367,499	405	859,330,903
Class 5, subject to active foreign competition	272,060,659	194,733	73,297,495	377	334,281,004
	6,521,286,974	4,711,902	2,282,673,713	484	9,307,837,581

The average earnings include those of officers and clerks; if they are deducted, average wages become $445.

The result of this analysis was a surprise to us in the very small proportion found in classes 4 and 5, who are now subject in any considerable measure to foreign competition. The judgment of experts should be taken on the separation of these two classes from the three preceding, and also to determine what number, if any, should be moved from class 3 to class 4. We are, however, prepared to prove that unless the progress of manufactures should be obstructed by taxation upon the materials used in these arts not one-fifth of those who are now occupied in them are now subject to foreign competition, and we are also prepared to prove that if many articles now dutiable were put in the free list the progress of manufactures would be further promoted and the number with whom foreign manufacturers could compete in the supply of our home market would be steadily lessened.

We do not make these suggestions for the purpose of securing any special advantage, privileges, or preferences ourselves.

We ask only to be relieved from obstructive taxes and that the same policy shall govern legislation affecting agriculture and commerce.

We also suggest that an analysis should be made of the products of the farm, the forest, and the mine, to the end that the fact may be made plain that not 5 per cent of the persons occupied in these arts can be made subject to foreign competition, while 15 to 20 per cent depend wholly upon a demand for export in the disposal of their products.

We are convinced that in the present stage of nearly every branch of mining, manufacturing, and agriculture the paramount position of this country is assured, and that the futile effort to control or regulate prices and wages by misdirecting the power of taxation should now cease. We may rightly demand, in any event, that we shall not be obstructed in our own work by any perversion of the power of taxation.

The undersigned claim to be representatives of manufacturing industries, as officially classed in the census, who belong chiefly in the first three classes, whose work can not be promoted by tariff taxation on foreign products, but will be greatly obstructed by any measure which tends to raise the price either of the machinery or the crude or partly manufactured materials, whether of domestic or foreign origin, which are necessary in the conduct of their work.

They also protest against such measures of tariff taxation as will put them at a disadvantage in their undertaking to export the excess of our own products in competition with other countries whose manufactures are not subjected to obstructive taxes on similar materials.

Having thus put before you a summary of our reasons for opposing the pending measures of tariff taxation, we again ask you to grant hearings, official or unofficial, at which we may present proofs, orally or in print, of the substantial accuracy of this statement, holding ourselves ready to submit to any examination and to correct any errors which may be shown in our computation.

A. B. FARQUHAR CO., LIM.
A. B. FARQUHAR, *Chairman.*

Mr. TILLMAN presented a petition of sundry citizens of Walterboro, S. C., praying for the adoption of the lumber schedule in the pending tariff bill as passed by the House of Representatives; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented sundry memorials of citizens of Alcolu, S. C., remonstrating against placing lumber on the free list or reducing the duty below $2 per thousand feet on rough lumber or less than 20 per cent ad valorem while the duties on all other products and manufactures are much higher; which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. QUAY presented a petition of the Thirtieth Ward Republican Club, of Philadelphia, Pa., praying for the repeal of the present civil-service law; which was referred to the Committee on Civil Service and Retrenchment.

He also presented a petition of the Trades League of Philadelphia, Pa., praying for a continuance of the present civil-service law; which was referred to the Committee on Civil Service and Retrenchment.

He also presented a petition of the Board of Trade of Philadelphia, Pa., praying for the enactment of a law equally protective of the rights of shippers and of railroads; which was referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

He also presented sundry memorials of citizens of Jamison City, Niles Valley, Hillsgrove, Westfield, and Grover, all in the State of Pennsylvania, remonstrating against the imposition of a duty on hides; which were ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented sundry petitions of citizens of Pitcairn, Huntingdon, Steelton, Philadelphia, Reading, and of Capital City Council, No. 327, Junior Order United American Mechanics, of Harrisburg, all in the State of Pennsylvania, praying for the enactment of legislation for a more rigid restriction of immigration; which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. PLATT of New York presented a petition of sundry citizens of Bay Shore, Long Island, New York, praying for the enactment of legislation for a more rigid restriction of immigration; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a petition of 100 kindling wood factory employees of Carrollton, N. Y., praying for the imposition of a duty upon kindling wood; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a petition of sundry citizens of Salamanca, N. Y., praying that a duty of 30 cents per 100 be placed upon kindling wood; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a petition of members of the First Methodist Episcopal Church, and of the Methodist Preachers' Meeting, of Syracuse, N. Y., praying for the enactment of legislation raising the age of protection of females to 18 years in the District of Columbia and the Territories; which was referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

He also presented petitions of the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor of the Thirteenth Street Presbyterian Church, of New York City; of the First Methodist Episcopal Church and Preachers' Meeting, of Syracuse; of the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor of the Reform Church of Stuyvesant, and of the Lake Keuka Baptist Church, of Crosby, all in the State of New York, praying for the enactment of a Sunday-rest law for the District of Columbia; which were referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

He also presented a petition of the Lake Keuka Baptist Church, of Crosby, N. Y., praying for the enactment of legislation prohibiting interstate gambling by telegraph, telephone, or otherwise; which was referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

He also presented petitions of the First Methodist Episcopal Church and Preachers' Meeting, of Syracuse; of the Young Men's Christian Association of the First Methodist Church and the Methodist Preachers' Meeting, of Syracuse; of the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor of the Thirteenth Street Presbyterian Church, of New York City; of the Lake Keuka Baptist Church, of Crosby, and of the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor of the Reform Dutch Church, of Stuyvesant, all in the State of New York, praying for the enactment of legislation prohibiting the transmission by mail or interstate commerce of pictures or descriptions of prize fights; which were ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented petitions of the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor of the Thirteenth Street Presbyterian Church, of New York City; of the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor of the Reform Dutch Church of Stuyvesant; of the Lake Keuka Baptist Church, of Crosby; of the Methodist Episcopal Church of Shortsville; of the Christian Endeavor Society of the Congregational Church of Northville; of the First Methodist

Episcopal Church and Preachers' Meeting, of Syracuse; of the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor of Poplar Ridge and Sherwood, and of the delegates of the thirteenth semiannual Chemung County convention of Christian Endeavor of Elmira, all in the State of New York, praying for the enactment of legislation prohibiting the sale of intoxicating liquors in the Capitol building and all Government buildings; which were referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Mr. McMILLAN presented the petition of Edgar Petell and sundry other citizens of Saginaw, Mich., praying for the imposition of a two-dollar duty on lumber; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented the memorial of W. B. Mershon and sundry other box-shook manufacturers of Saginaw Valley, Michigan, remonstrating against the rebate clause in the pending tariff bill as applied to lumber; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a memorial of Broadwell & Wolff and sundry other dealers in musical instruments, of Detroit, Mich., remonstrating against an increase of the duty on musical instruments; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a memorial of the Council of Trades and Labor Unions, of Detroit, Mich., remonstrating against an increase of the duty on raw tobacco; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a memorial of Iron Molders' Union No. 213, of Grand Rapids, Mich., remonstrating against the enactment of legislation intended to destroy the present system of ticket brokerage; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented the petition of Hermann H. Schoeneweg and sundry other citizens of Detroit, Mich., praying for the enactment of legislation for a more rigid restriction of immigration; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented the petition of Mrs. Alfred Russell, president, and 37 other members of the United States Daughters of 1812, praying that an appropriation be made for the erection of a bronze statue to the memory of Maj. Gen. Alexander Macomb, formerly Commander in Chief of the United States Army, to be placed in some public square in the city of Detroit, Mich.; which was referred to the Committee on the Library.

He also presented the petition of W. H. S. Wood and 30 other citizens of Livingston County, Mich., praying for the adoption of the resolution requesting the Secretary of the Treasury to procure and furnish to the Senate certain information regarding the correct amount of stock and bonds of the United States or its people held in foreign countries; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented sundry petitions of citizens of Michigan who earn their living by producing lumber and shingles, praying for the imposition of a two-dollar rate upon lumber and a 35-cent rate on shingles; which were ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented petitions of the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor of the Congregational Church of Fremont, of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Ishpeming, of the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor of the Reformed Church of Fremont, and of the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor of the Church of Christ, of Fremont, all in the State of Michigan, praying for the enactment of legislation prohibiting the sale of intoxicating liquors in the Capitol building or on ground owned or controlled by the United States Government; which were referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

He also presented the petition of Rev. W. Bishop Johnson and 8 other clergymen of the city of Washington, praying that the Freedmen's Hospital be accorded all the rights enjoyed by the other hospitals in that city; which was referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

He also presented a petition of the officers and members of the Merchant Tailors' Exchange of Milwaukee, Wis., praying Congress to pass without amendment paragraph 666 of the pending tariff bill, relating to the free entry of wearing apparel, personal effects, etc.; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. PRITCHARD presented a memorial of the Liquor Dealers' Association of Rockingham County, N. C., remonstrating against an increase of the duty on beer; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. GALLINGER. I present the memorial of Hon. L. F. Liscom and 32 other tobacco growers of Hinsdale, Cheshire County, N. H., remonstrating against the adoption of Schedule F in the pending tariff bill, relating to leaf tobacco, as reported by the Senate Committee on Finance, and praying that the rate of $2 per pound provided by the House be restored. I move that the memorial lie on the table, and that it be printed as a document for the use of the Senate.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. SPOONER presented a petition of the legislature of Wisconsin, praying for the adoption of an amendment to the Constitution of the United States giving Congress concurrent jurisdiction with the several States for the suppression of trusts and other combinations to control production, stifle competition, and to regulate for their own benefit the price of products and the wages of labor; which was read, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, as follows:

Memorial to Congress for an amendment to the Constitution of the United States to give to Congress concurrent jurisdiction with the several States for the suppression of trusts and other combinations to control production, stifle competition, and to regulate for their own benefit the price of products and the wages of labor.

The memorial of the legislature of Wisconsin to the Congress of the United States respectfully shows that in the opinion of the legislature the multiplicity and growing power of trusts and other combinations of capital, for the purpose of controlling the markets for various products, including the necessaries of life, is not only a menace to the interests of the people, but is the cause of widespread popular discontent. This evil is almost universally admitted, as is the difficulty of devising methods for its eradication. The Congress is limited in its legislation to subjects confessedly within the Federal jurisdiction. There is, in the nature of things, no uniformity in the legislation of the States upon the subject. Indeed, some of the States, it is believed, are entirely without adequate legislation for the protection of their citizens in this respect.

The act passed by Congress some years ago has been pronounced by the Attorneys-General of the United States to be inadequate. The great trust or combination prosecuted in one State, by legislative investigation or otherwise, seeks and finds refuge in another. It is believed that the only sure remedy for this evil will be found in giving to the Congress of the United States power to legislate upon the subject, to provide for civil suits in the name of the United States and in the courts of the United States, and for such criminal prosecutions as may be found necessary, even if these corporations are State corporations, and even if they adopt devices, as they have in the past, to carry on their large commerce, keeping technically beyond the pale of interstate commerce and the Federal jurisdiction.

It is not the purpose of this memorial to ask that any State be deprived of jurisdiction which it now possesses in this behalf, but it is respectfully prayed that there shall be promptly submitted to the legislatures of the respective States an amendment to the Constitution of the United States which shall give Congress full and complete concurrent jurisdiction to enact legislation for the suppression of this evil, regardless of State lines.

Resolved, That the governor be, and he is hereby, requested to transmit a copy of this memorial to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and to each of the Senators and Representatives from the State of Wisconsin.

EMIL BAENSCH,
President of the Senate.
G. A. BUCKSTAFF,
Speaker of the Assembly.

Mr. MITCHELL presented a petition of the legislature of Wisconsin, praying for the adoption of an amendment to the Constitution of the United States giving Congress concurrent jurisdiction with the several States for the suppression of trusts and other combinations to control production, stifle competition, and to regulate for their own benefit the price of products and the wages of labor; which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also presented a petition of the Merchant Tailors' Exchange of Milwaukee, Wis., praying Congress to pass without amendment section 666 of the pending tariff bill, relating to the free entry of wearing apparel, personal effects, etc.; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. WILSON presented a petition of the Chamber of Commerce of Seattle, Wash., praying for the annexation by the United States of the Islands of Hawaii; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

To the honorable the Senate and House of Representatives in Congress assembled:

The Chamber of Commerce of the city of Seattle presents this petition for the annexation to the United States of the Islands of Hawaii. The relations of our Republic with that country have always been of the most intimate and interesting character, and the feelings of the two peoples have been more near and more friendly than have been those of any other people with our own. In consequence of this good feeling and of these near relations, and of our mutual, reciprocal wants, the commercial intercourse between the peoples of the two countries has increased year by year until it has become enormous in proportions, exceeding in value anything of the kind to be found in any other part of the world, amounting to $150 per annum for every inhabitant of the islands. Were our trade with Canada in like proportion it would exceed $750,000,000 per annum instead of about $80,000,000, as at present.

Did we trade with Mexico, our next-door neighbor, in like ratio, our purchases from and sales to our friends on the south would amount to $1,800,000,000 in a single year, instead of one-sixtieth of that figure, or $30,000,000, as they actually are in value, and would equal the entire foreign commerce of the United States. Were we so intimately connected with Great Britain and Ireland, our relations with the shrewd, clever traders of that Kingdom would amount in dollars to nearly six thousand millions per annum, a figure 1,000 per cent above the real money value of the trade in question. Did the United States deal with all foreign people upon the same basis as the Hawaiians do with us, our exports and imports would exceed the enormous figure of ten thousand million dollars and would be six times greater than they are at present.

But not only is the American Hawaiian trade so great per capita, but it is great also in volume, amounting to $15,000,000 per annum, and its destruction would be a serious and severe blow to even so numerous and strong a people as those of the United States. And not only that, but the great bulk of the trade of these friendly Hawaiians is given to the United States, upward of 90 per cent of the whole. Further, this trade is and always has been chiefly in the hands of American citizens, who in the islands have vast interests, and who either there or at home control the shipping and all other elements that go to constitute this enormous, unequaled, and lucrative trade. There they have been nearer home and nearer to the old flag than they could have been in any other spot outside of our own national limits. They have taken with them their schools, their churches, their fraternal societies, and they have long contemplated the day when the national emblem will wave over them undisputed and alone.

The people of Washington are vastly interested in this island group. On

the 3d of May, 1897, a single ship, bound for Honolulu, took out of the port of Seattle 4,000 tons of American coal, lumber, lime, flour, and other native products. She will return in a few weeks with fruit and other produce of the islands. Hundreds of millions of feet of Puget Sound lumber have in the past gone into that friendly country, and the trade of our people is now larger than ever before. The first legislature that met in this Territory of Washington—that of 1854—asked the Federal Government to take steps necessary to secure the annexation of these islands to the United States. The importance of the matter was recognized then and has been since by succeeding legislatures and lesser bodies of a commercial and public character. We can not do better than reiterate their statements and request, which we now do formally, earnestly, and hopefully. The acquisition of this group of islands, so considerable in extent, so rich in resources, so vast in trade, so promising for the future, so situated opposite our coast, would be, it is believed, a tower of strength to the United States, which our Government should not longer delay in establishing for the protection and benefit of our own country and people.

By EDWARD O. GRAVES, *President.*

Attest:
EMMET SIMMS, *Secretary.*
Adopted May 12, 1897.

Mr. PETTIGREW presented a petition of sundry citizens of Deadwood, S. Dak., praying for the enactment of legislation for a more rigid restriction of immigration; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. NELSON presented a petition of the Board of Trade of Minneapolis, Minn., praying for the passage of a national bankruptcy law; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented the petition of Frank McCleary and sundry other citizens of Duluth, Minn., and the petition of C. M. Simpson and sundry other citizens of Duluth, Minn., praying for the enactment of legislation for a more rigid restriction of immigration; which were ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a petition of the Minneapolis (Minn.) Exchange, praying Congress to pass without amendment section 666 of the pending tariff bill, relating to the free entry of wearing apparel, personal effects, etc.; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a memorial of the Minneapolis Board of Trade, of Minneapolis, Minn., remonstrating against any delay in the work already commenced on Lock and Dam No. 2; which was referred to the Committee on Commerce.

Mr. CULLOM presented a memorial of the Graduate Club of the University of Chicago, Illinois, remonstrating against the proposed duty on books and other publications not published in the United States; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a memorial of the Travelers' Protective Association, of Peoria, Ill., remonstrating against the enactment of legislation intended to destroy the present system of ticket brokerage; which was referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

He also presented a petition of the Wholesale Liquor Dealers' Association of St. Louis, Mo., praying for a reduction of the duty from $1.10 to 70 cents on proof spirits and also to shorten the present bonded period from eight years to one year; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. TURPIE presented a memorial of Federal Labor Union No. 6620, of Fort Wayne, Ind., remonstrating against an increase of the internal-revenue tax on tobacco; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a petition of the Indianapolis Musicians' Protective Association, of Indianapolis, Ind., praying for the retention of the present duty on musical instruments, parts thereof, etc.; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented the memorial of Philip Goetz, treasurer of the Indiana Bicycle Company, of Indianapolis, Ind., relative to the duty on emery ore and corundum; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a memorial of the Madison Brewing Company, of Madison, Ind., remonstrating against an increase of the duty on beer; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a memorial of John R. Hall & Co., of New York City, relative to the duty on linen thread; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a memorial of United Diamond Workers' Union No. 6476, of New York, remonstrating against the adoption of Schedule N, paragraph 425, of the pending tariff bill, relating to the duty on diamonds; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a memorial of John Brower & Co., of New York City, relative to the duty on pot and curl ashes; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a memorial of the M. S. Pacholder Company, of Baltimore, Md., relative to the duty on cigars and tobacco; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a memorial of L. A. Salomon & Bro., of New York City, relative to the duty on fuller's earth; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a memorial of Justice, Bateman & Co., wool commission merchants, of Philadelphia, Pa., relative to the wool schedule in the pending tariff bill; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. BATE presented a petition of sundry citizens of Elizabethton, Tenn., praying for the enactment of legislation for a more rigid restriction of immigration; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. HANSBROUGH presented sundry memorials of citizens of North Dakota, remonstrating against the proposed increase of duty on imported Habana filler and Sumatra wrapper tobacco; which were ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented the memorial of R. E. Fleming and sundry other citizens of North Dakota and a memorial of sundry citizens of Buffalo, N. Dak., remonstrating against the proposed duty of $2 per thousand feet on rough white pine lumber; which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. COCKRELL. I present a resolution adopted at a meeting of the board of directors of the St. Louis Cotton Exchange, favoring the passage by Congress of a bill to establish a new department of the Government, to be entitled the "department of commerce and industry," for the general purpose of fostering a wider and more systematic development of our commerce, domestic and foreign, and the various industrial interests throughout the country, and of concentrating in one department the several matters pertaining to commerce and industry which are now included in separate and inappropriate departments. They are also in favor of including in such department a tariff bureau. I move that the resolution be referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. FRYE. The Committee on Commerce have that subject now under consideration.

Mr. COCKRELL. Then let the resolution be referred to the Committee on Commerce.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. In the absence of objection, it will be so ordered.

Mr. COCKRELL presented a memorial of Cigar Makers' Union No. 44, of St. Louis, Mo., and a memorial of the Central Trades and Labor Union, of St. Louis, Mo., remonstrating against the enactment of legislation intended to destroy the present system of ticket brokerage; which were referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

PREVENTION OF CRUELTY TO ANIMALS.

Mr. COCKRELL. I present a memorial signed by S. C. Busey, M. D., representing the Medical Society of the District of Columbia; George M. Sternberg, M. D., representing the Biological Society; D. E. Salmon, D. V. M., representing the Agricultural Department; Walter Reed, M. D., representing the Medical Department of the United States Army; D. S. Lamb, M. D., representing Howard University; C. W. Stiles, Ph. D., representing the Georgetown Medical School; E. A. De Schweinitz, M. D., representing the Columbian Medical School; H. N. Stokes, Ph. D., representing the Chemical Society of Washington; W. M. Sprigg, M. D., representing the National University, and Frank Baker, M. D., representing the Anthropological Society, remonstrating against the passage of Senate bill No. 1063, for the further prevention of cruelty to animals in the District of Columbia, and in part answering the report of the Senate Committee on the District of Columbia upon that bill, Report No. 116. I move that the memorial lie on the table and that it be printed as a document.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. COCKRELL subsequently said: I move that Senate Document No. 31, Fifty-fourth Congress, second session, in regard to the prevention of cruelty to animals in the District of Columbia, and Senate Document No. 31, part 2, Fifty-fourth Congress, second session, relating to vivisection in the District of Columbia, be printed in connection with the memorial of the representatives of the medical and other scientific societies of the District of Columbia which I presented to the Senate during the morning hour.

The motion was agreed to.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

Mr. VEST, from the Committee on Commerce, to whom was referred the bill (S. 1944) to authorize the construction of a bridge across the Clinch River, Kingston, Tenn., reported it with amendments.

He also, from the same committee, to whom was referred the bill (S. 1978) extending the time for the commencement and completion of the railroad bridge across the Illinois River, near Grafton, Ill., by the St. Louis, Perry and Chicago Railroad, reported it without amendment.

Mr. STEWART, from the Committee on Claims, to whom was referred the bill (S. 546) for the relief of the estate of A. H. Herr, deceased, late of the District of Columbia, reported it without amendment, and submitted a report thereon.

He also, from the same committee, to whom was referred the bill (S. 466) for the relief of the administrators of Isaac P. Tice, deceased, and others, reported it without amendment, and submitted a report thereon.

Mr. HANSBROUGH, from the Committee on the Library, to whom was referred the joint resolution (S. R. 23) amending Senate resolution of May 13, 1886, providing for marble busts of those who have been Vice-Presidents of the United States to be

placed in the vacant niches of the Senate Chamber, reported it with an amendment making the joint resolution a Senate resolution, and submitted a report thereon.

He also, from the Committee on Public Lands, to whom was referred the bill (S. 1123) to provide for the examination and classification of certain lands in the State of California, reported it without amendment.

FUNERAL OF SENATOR EARLE.

Mr. GALLINGER, from the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, reported the following resolution; which was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to:

Resolved, That the expenses incurred by the committee appointed by the Vice-President on the 21st instant to make arrangements for and attend the funeral of the Hon. JOSEPH H. EARLE, late a Senator from the State of South Carolina, at Greenville, S. C., be, and they hereby are, directed to be paid out of the "miscellaneous items" of the contingent fund of the Senate.

CORRESPONDENCE RELATING TO FUR SEALS.

Mr. MORGAN, from the Committee on Foreign Relations, reported the following resolution; which was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to:

Resolved, That the President is requested, if in his opinion it is not incompatible with the public interests, to send to the Senate the correspondence in the Departments of State and of the Treasury, not heretofore printed, relating to the fur seals in the Bering Sea and the North Pacific Ocean.

PAY OF STENOGRAPHER.

Mr. PERKINS, from the Committee on Naval Affairs, reported the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That the stenographer employed to report statements before the Committee on Naval Affairs relative to armor for the Navy be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Mr. GALLINGER introduced a bill (S. 2014) to provide for the sprinkling of the streets of the District of Columbia, and thereby to better promote the health and comfort of the people, and for other purposes; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

He also introduced a bill (S. 2015) granting a pension to Lillian M. Yost; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also introduced a bill (S. 2016) for the relief of David D. Smith; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. ELKINS introduced a bill (S. 2017) granting to the New Mexico and Arizona Railroad Company right of way and lands for station grounds; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

Mr. CULLOM. I introduce a bill proposing to amend the act regulating commerce, which has been forwarded to me from a business organization in Chicago. I do not know the contents of the bill very fully, but as the organization requests that I introduce it and have it printed, I do so, and I also ask that it be referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

The bill (S. 2018) to amend an act entitled "An act to regulate commerce," approved February 4, 1887, was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

Mr. TURPIE introduced the following bills; which were severally read twice by their titles, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Pensions:

A bill (S. 2019) granting a pension to Eliza J. West; and

A bill (S. 2020) restoring to the pension rolls Mrs. Damsell J. Davis.

Mr. DEBOE introduced a bill (S. 2021) for the relief of Joseph W. Pomfrey; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. WARREN introduced a bill (S. 2022) for the relief of Louis Miller; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. HARRIS of Kansas introduced a bill (S. 2023) removing the charge of desertion from the name of Alfred Rebsamen, of Olathe, Kans.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. ROACH introduced a bill (S. 2024) to provide for the erection of a public building in the city of Grand Forks, N. Dak.; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying paper, referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Mr. GORMAN introduced a bill (S. 2025) for the relief of M. Cansin Waring; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. WHITE introduced the following bills; which were severally read twice by their titles, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Pensions:

A bill (S. 2026) granting a pension to Harriett A. Tappan; and

A bill (S. 2027) granting a pension to John Bryan.

AMENDMENTS TO THE TARIFF BILL.

Mr. FAULKNER submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill (H. R. 379) to provide revenue for the Government and to encourage the industries of the United States; which was ordered to lie on the table and be printed.

Mr. PROCTOR submitted two amendments intended to be proposed by him to the bill (H. R. 379) to provide revenue for the Government and to encourage the industries of the United States; which were ordered to lie on the table and be printed.

Mr. BURROWS (by request) submitted two amendments intended to be proposed by him to the bill (H. R. 379) to provide revenue for the Government and to encourage the industries of the United States; which were ordered to lie on the table and be printed.

Mr. PETTIGREW submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill (H. R. 379) to provide revenue for the Government and to encourage the industries of the United States; which was ordered to lie on the table and be printed.

AMENDMENTS TO DEFICIENCY APPROPRIATION BILL.

Mr. CARTER. In accordance with the request of the Secretary of the Interior, embodied in a communication addressed to the President of the Senate on the 19th instant, found in Senate Document No. 95, and by direction of the Committee on Public Lands, I submit an amendment to the deficiency appropriation bill, providing for an extension of the time for the exercise of the preference right of entry to settlers in Greer County, Okla. I move that it be referred to the Committee on Appropriations and printed.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. WARREN submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the general deficiency appropriation bill; which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations, and ordered to be printed.

Mr. TILLMAN submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the general deficiency appropriation bill; which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations, and ordered to be printed.

WITHDRAWAL OF PAPERS.

On motion of Mr. COCKRELL, it was

Ordered, That leave be given to withdraw from the files of the Senate the papers relating to Senate bill 2232 of the first session Fifty-fourth Congress, "to vacate Sugar Loaf Reservoir site in Colorado," there being no adverse report.

TRANSPORTATION OF FOOD CONTRIBUTIONS TO INDIA.

Mr. CHANDLER. In the absence of the senior Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE], the chairman of the Committee on Naval Affairs, I ask that consideration may be given to the joint resolution (S. R. 43) directing the Secretary of the Treasury to give an American register to the foreign-built steamships *Massapequa* and *Menantic*, to enable them to carry grain under the American flag to the sufferers by famine in India. The joint resolution was introduced by him on Thursday last, and I desire to offer a substitute for it.

Mr. MORGAN. Will the Senator from New Hampshire allow morning business to be transacted?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Morning business is not yet completed. The Senator from New Hampshire desires to call up the joint resolution for consideration?

Mr. CHANDLER. I desire to call it up as a part of the morning business.

Mr. QUAY. I trust the Senator will withhold his request for the consideration of the joint resolution until original resolutions have been gone through with.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair understands that the joint resolution is on the Calendar and is not a part of the morning business.

Mr. CHANDLER. The Chair is technically right; but the Chair will remember that immediate consideration was asked for the joint resolution when it was introduced, and it went over under objection. I have no objection to waiting until the routine morning business is disposed of. I shall then ask for the consideration of the joint resolution.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The request for its consideration will be temporarily deferred.

LIQUOR TRAFFIC IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Mr. GALLINGER. On the 13th day of the present month I reported from the Committee on the District of Columbia, under instructions from that committee, the bill (S. 1800) to further amend an act entitled "An act regulating the sale of intoxicating liquors in the District of Columbia," approved the 3d day of March, A. D. 1893. When that report was made the committee were laboring under the impression that the bill is identical in terms with the bill that had been reported in the last Congress. Upon an examination it is found to be different in many particulars, and I move that it be taken from the Calendar and recommitted to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

The motion was agreed to.

WICHITA INDIAN LANDS.

Mr. QUAY. I submit a resolution, to which I invite the attention of the chairman of the Committee on Indian Affairs [Mr. PETTIGREW]. If he has no objection, I should be glad to have it passed this morning. If he objects to the resolution, it can go over under the rule.

The resolution was read, as follows:

Resolved, That the right to compensation on the part of the Wichita and affiliated bands of Indians for their possessory right in and to the lands ceded to the United States by said Indians, under the agreement made and entered into between said Indians and the United States at Anadarko, in the Indian Territory, on the 4th day of June, A. D. 1891, should be considered and adjusted at the same time and by the same tribunal which shall determine the alleged claim of the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations in and to the said lands, and that the President is hereby requested to suspend the allotments to said Indians now in progress until the compensation to be allowed and paid to said Indians for the lands in excess of allotments shall be finally determined.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

Mr. PETTIGREW. Let the resolution go over until to-morrow. I do not know that I have any objection to it, but it is quite an important matter, and I should like to look at it.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution lies over.

EXCLUSION OF AMERICAN CITIZENS FROM RUSSIA.

Mr. PERKINS submitted the following resolution; which was read:

Whereas a refusal by the chargé d'affaires of the Russian legation to visé a passport duly issued by the Department of State by an American citizen has raised the question of invidious distinction by the Russian Government against certain Americans who are among the most useful, intelligent, and patriotic of the people of the United States; and

Whereas Prince Lobanow, imperial minister of foreign affairs, under date of August 12, 1895, informed the minister of the United States at St. Petersburg that "the Imperial Government having already many millions of Jewish subjects, only admits their congeners of foreign allegiance when they seem to present a guaranty that they will not be a charge and a parasite element in the State, but will be able, on the contrary, to be useful to the internal development of the country;" and

Whereas the citizen refused admission to Russia is one of the wealthiest, most progressive, and most public spirited of the residents of California, and in no way liable to become a charge upon the Russian Government, but able, if a resident, to be useful to the internal development of that country; and

Whereas said citizen desired simply to visit Russia for the purpose of seeing relatives and not for the purpose of permanent residence; and

Whereas refusal to visé his passport seems to have been based on the single fact that he professes the Jewish and not the Christian faith, which is contrary to the definition given by the imperial minister of foreign affairs of the class of persons who are prohibited from entering the Russian dominions; and

Whereas the apparent contradiction between the theory and the practice of the Russian Government gives rise to the suspicion that a certain class of our citizens are excluded from the benefits of travel and temporary sojourn in Russia simply because of their religious belief; and

Whereas such distinction would be abhorrent to all people who believe in the right of men to worship according to the dictates of conscience: Therefore,

Resolved, That this Government request the Imperial Government of Russia to specifically declare whether American citizens are excluded from Russia on account of their religious faith, and if so, that said Imperial Government of Russia be requested to remove such prohibition and to permit Americans of whatever religious faith to visit Russia, if they are not liable to become a charge upon the Empire by reason of poverty or an inability to support themselves by honest labor.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to explain in a very few words my object in introducing this resolution, and then I shall ask its reference to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

A few days since Mr. Adolph Kutner, a respectable and influential merchant and banker of California, came to this city en route to Europe for the purpose of visiting his friends in Russian Poland. He has been a resident of California for more than forty years and for thirty years or more a citizen of the United States. He has the respect and confidence of all who know him.

He arrived in this city, visited the State Department, and there obtained his passport, to which he was entitled. He then visited the Russian legation and asked to have his passport viséed. The chargé d'affaires asked him if he was a Christian. His reply was no; that he was a Hebrew. "Then," said the chargé d'affaires, "the laws of my country do not permit me to visé your passport. We have no use for you or your class of people in our country."

As I stated, he was en route to Russian Poland, to Warsaw, the capital city of that country, where there is a population of 450,000, I think, one-third of whom are Jews. He wished to visit his aged sister and relatives, who are unable to come to him. For thirty years or more he had contributed money and sent it to them from month to month and year to year, assisting them in their own country, and his desire again to return was prompted by the filial affection well known to the Hebrew race. He wished to erect a monument to the memory of those who had died and to pay a last tribute of respect and filial affection to those who are living.

It seems to me that in these days, when we are extending our sympathy by resolution to the Armenians, the Greeks, the Cubans, and every other nationality, we ought to pay some consideration to American citizens. It appears to me that in a land where we all worship at the same shrine, that is, American citizenship—the highest honor and the most noble shrine that anyone can bow in admiration to—where as to a man's religion it is a question between his own conscience and his God whether he be Jew or Gentile, Protestant or Catholic, whether he is a follower of Confucius or of Buddha, and we do not ask that question if he is a good American citizen and believes in the dignity and honor of American citizenship, we ought not to pass over such a case in silence.

I was not content when this gentleman returned to my office and reported to me that he had been denied the right to have his passport viséed, but I waited upon the Department. There I was courteously referred to the correspondence that had passed between our Government and Russia under the previous Administration, and which is printed in our publication upon foreign relations. I found that correspondence in a similar case had taken place, and the representative of the Russian Government claimed that the religion of the Jews is a political question. I am unable to find any such interpretation in any of the modern lexicons of the day.

As I said before, it seems to me that we should not permit this matter to rest without further negotiations, so that we may follow an American citizen, whether he be Jew or Gentile, with our arm of protection into whatever country he may wish to go. Therefore, prompted by this patriotic reason alone, and I can conceive of none higher, I think we should ask the committee to investigate this question carefully and make such recommendation to the State Department as will relieve our citizens who desire to visit foreign countries from being obliged to subscribe to some particular religious faith in order to gain admission into another country.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. The motion is to refer it.

Mr. PERKINS. Yes; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. It can only be referred to-day by unanimous consent. Is there objection to its consideration? The Chair hears none. The question is on the motion to refer the resolution to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

The motion was agreed to.

PAY OF STENOGRAPHER.

Mr. PETTIGREW submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That the stenographer employed to report the hearing before the Committee on Indian Affairs May 19, 1897, in relation to the Osage Indians, be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate.

PACIFIC RAILROADS.

Mr. PETTIGREW. I offer the resolution which I send to the desk, and ask for its immediate consideration.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

Resolved, That the President is hereby requested to inform the Senate what action, if any, has been taken, and with what result, under sections 3 and 4 of a joint resolution, approved April 10, 1869, entitled "A joint resolution for the protection of the interests of the United States in the Union Pacific Railroad Company and the Central Pacific Railroad Company, and for other purposes." Also, what action has been taken under section 4, page 509, volume 17, United States Statutes at Large. Have suits been commenced and the other provisions of said section enforced, and with what result? Have mortgages been made or dividends declared by said company in violation of said section, and what has been done in relation thereto? Also, what action has been taken to enforce the provisions of the act of May 7, 1878, known as the Thurman Act? And have the provisions of sections 10 and 11 of said act been enforced, or any steps taken to forfeit the charters of said companies? And has the amount paid to the Pacific Mail been first deducted from the gross earnings before the amount due and paid into the sinking fund was determined? Also, what steps have been taken to protect the interests of the United States, as required by section 4 of the act of March 3, 1887, chapter 345, volume 24, United States Statutes at Large? Also, inform the Senate if said Union Pacific Railroad was, at the time it went into the hands of a receiver, insolvent. And were the earnings of said company sufficient to pay its operating expenses and interest on its indebtedness, which was a prior lien to that of the United States?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

Mr. PETTUS. Mr. President, it seems to me that the resolution involves a vast amount of reporting from the President. I should like to have the resolution explained by the Senator who offers it. I can not understand how so much as that could be needed; in other words, I think we have in our possession a good deal of the information called for.

Mr. PETTIGREW. I could not hear all that the Senator said, but I judge he desires to know why the resolution is introduced. I introduced the resolution for the purpose of securing information with regard to the steps which have been taken to protect the interests of the Government under the various laws in relation to the Pacific railroads. I suppose before this session closes the question of extending the time for the payment of this debt, or the question of the foreclosure of the lien of the Government upon those roads, will be considered by Congress, and the information desired, as expressed in this resolution, is essential, I think, to a proper and clear understanding of the question on the part of the Senate; at least, I desire very much that the information shall be furnished before the question of settling with these railroad companies shall be disposed of by the Congress of the United States.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution? The Chair hears none, and the question is on its adoption.

Mr. GEAR. I would suggest to the Senator from South Dakota that there is no legislation pending with regard to the Union Pacific Railroad. There is a suit for foreclosure on account of the nonpayment of bonds and interest. The matter is in the hands of the Government. Everybody knows that a certain deposit has been put up and placed in the hands of the Government, amounting to three-quarters of a million, to guarantee some bid or bids which it is proposed to make. The matter is entirely in the courts at present.

Mr. CHANDLER. I do not object to the resolution if it can be disposed of without debate; but if there is to be debate upon it, I must object to its consideration.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the adoption of the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to.

PAYMENTS TO CHEROKEE FREEDMEN.

Mr. PETTIGREW submitted the following resolution; which was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Interior is hereby directed to inform the Senate the reason why the payment to the Cherokee freedmen was stopped, and also send to the Senate a copy of all papers in relation to said payment.

MANUFACTURE OF ARMOR PLATE.

Mr. CHANDLER. I now ask that Senate joint resolution No. 43, in relation to the transportation of food contributions to India, may be considered.

Mr. BUTLER. I should like to state before that is done that on Thursday last I offered a resolution calling for information which I desire to have considered. I do not think it will lead to discussion, and it properly comes within the morning business.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will be taken up in regular order.

Mr. BUTLER. The resolution to which I refer is a simple resolution calling for information from the Secretary of the Navy.

Mr. CHANDLER. The joint resolution which I desire to have considered is to provide a ship to take contributions to the destitute poor of India.

Mr. BUTLER. Does the Senator think it will lead to any debate? If it does, I shall have to insist on the consideration of my resolution.

Mr. CHANDLER. If the Senator insists upon his right, I can not object, Mr. President.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate the resolution submitted by the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. BUTLER] on Thursday last, which will be read.

The Secretary read the resolution, as follows:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Navy be, and he is hereby, directed to inform the Senate the amounts of armor plate purchased by the Government at various times from the Bethlehem Iron Company and the Carnegie Steel Company, respectively, and the price paid per ton, and how much financial assistance, if any, the Government has given these companies, either by extra price per ton for armor plate or in any other way, to assist them in building and equipping and conducting their armor-making plants.

Mr. BUTLER. I desire to modify the resolution by adding to it what I send to the desk.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The modification proposed by the Senator from North Carolina to his resolution will be stated.

Mr. BUTLER. I ask to have the entire resolution read as it will stand when modified.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution, as modified by the Senator from North Carolina, will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Navy be, and he is hereby, directed to inform the Senate the number of tons of armor plate bought from the Bethlehem Iron Company and the Carnegie Steel Company, respectively, and the amount per ton paid for each separate lot, and the vessels on which the armor plate was used, and how much financial assistance the Government has given each of these companies by the extra price per ton paid for armor and for gun steel for the Army and Navy, and in any other way. And also all correspondence, memoranda, contracts, or reports bearing on the cost of armor plate under the first agreements, and showing the nature of such agreements between the Government and each of the companies. Also why, after the Government had contracted with one company to make and furnish armor plate, the Navy Department thought it necessary to contract with another company for the same purpose.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the adoption of the resolution as modified.

The resolution as modified was agreed to.

TRANSPORTATION OF FOOD CONTRIBUTIONS TO INDIA.

Mr. CHANDLER. I now ask that Senate joint resolution No. 43, in relation to the transportation of food contributions to India, may be considered.

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the joint resolution (S. R. 43) directing the Secretary of the Treasury to give an American register to the foreign-built steamships *Massapequa* and *Menantic*, to enable them to carry grain under the American flag to the sufferers by famine in India.

Mr. CHANDLER. I now ask that the amendment, which I offer in the nature of a substitute, may be read.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment proposed by the Senator from New Hampshire will be stated.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to strike out all after the resolving clause of the resolution and insert:

That the joint resolution of April 7, 1897, authorizing the Secretary of the Navy to transport contributions for the relief of the famishing poor of India, be, and the same is hereby, amended by striking out the word "American" before the words "steamship or vessel;" and the Secretary is hereby authorized to charter and employ any suitable steamships or vessels, not exceeding two in number, to carry out the object of said resolution.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the adoption of the amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. MORGAN. I should like to hear the effect of that amendment explained by the Senator from New Hampshire. I do not exactly understand it.

Mr. CHANDLER. Mr. President, the original resolution proposed to grant an American register to two English steamships to transport the contributions of grain and other food from New York City to India. Inasmuch as there were no American vessels which could be hired at this time to start promptly with the contributions, the Secretary of the Navy, in his communication of May 18, read in the Senate on last Thursday, seemed to give countenance to that proposition; but I am now informed by the Secretary that he prefers the method which I then suggested upon the floor of the Senate; that is to say, to strike out the limitation of the original resolution, which required that the contributions should be transported in an American ship, and to allow any ship of any nationality to be hired for this purpose. That is now the Secretary's wish, and it is the wish of the benevolent citizens who have furnished the contributions.

I have here a letter written to the Secretary of the Navy by Mr. Louis Klopsch, proprietor of the Christian Herald, from which I will read a few words. He says:

This matter is so intensely urgent that, personally, I would be willing to make almost any sacrifice within my power to bring it to a speedy and successful conclusion. Notwithstanding all reports to the contrary, the famine conditions in India are worse to-day than they were three months ago, and it seems almost criminal, in view of the thousands that are dying daily, to have the shipment of this corn longer delayed. I wish to say here that I am confident that your Department has done everything in its power to afford us the required facilities. Of course you can not furnish what is not to be obtained, and therefore I would not even imply any remissness on the part of the honorable Secretary of the Navy or his Department, but if American ships are not to be had, then the insertion of the word "American" was a mistake which ought to be speedily corrected, and were I to see you to-morrow the burden of my remarks would be: "Inasmuch as there are no American ships to be obtained, and as there is a decided opposition manifested toward the naturalization of two British vessels, why not speedily get Congress to strike out of the resolution to grant us the transportation the word 'American,' and thus, without establishing any precedent or affecting any shipping interests, solve the problem in the twinkling of an eye?"

If that could be accomplished on Monday, we would begin to load Tuesday, and by Thursday, or the very latest, Saturday next, 150,000 bushels of corn would be off on their life-saving mission, and this chapter of one of the greatest international charities would be successfully closed, to the credit of our country.

I think it is clear that this joint resolution ought to pass, and it ought to pass promptly and without objection.

Mr. MORGAN. I wish to ask the Senator what was the date of the passage of the original resolution?

Mr. CHANDLER. The original resolution was passed April 7, and the Navy Department, as stated by the correspondence submitted to the Senate on Thursday last, has been endeavoring to secure an American ship or American ships; but, as is well known, we have not many available cargo-carrying American steamships. Therefore it will be necessary to send these contributions of food, if they are to go promptly, in English ships now lying in the harbor of New York.

Mr. MORGAN. Did that resolution originate in the House of Representatives or in the Senate?

Mr. CHANDLER. I am not able to answer the Senator. I am not certain.

Mr. CARTER. It originated in the Senate, having been introduced by the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE].

Mr. CHANDLER. The original resolution, which was offered on last Thursday by the Senator from Maine, recites:

Whereas there is now stored in New York warehouses about 3,000 tons of grain contributed by the charitable people of the United States for the famishing inhabitants of India; and

Whereas there has been contributed about $100,000 for the purchase of additional food products for the same purpose.

A ship can be loaded, or two ships can be loaded, immediately if this resolution promptly becomes a law, and of course it is preferable to do it in this way rather than to let the original resolution stand and grant an American register to two British ships, which, after they have transported this food to India, will come back to this country and have the privilege of engaging in our coasting trade.

Mr. MORGAN. I believe, Mr. President, we have reached an

era in our history in which it appears to be necessary, before we can count upon any measure being acted upon at all in the direction of its becoming a law, to consult somebody at the other end of the Capitol as to whether it can be allowed to be taken up and passed, and I should like to know of the Senator from New Hampshire, as this is a matter apparently of considerable urgency, whether any arrangements have been made for the passage of this joint resolution through the House of Representatives?

Mr. CHANDLER. The Senator knows that I can give but one answer to that. The Senate is an independent body; it legislates according to its own judgment, and never makes arrangements, so far as I know, for the passage of any measure through the other House before acting upon it in this. I would ask the Senator whether he has made any arrangement for the passage in the other House of the Cuban resolutions which passed the Senate by such a large majority last week?

Mr. MORGAN. None at all. I think the people are arranging for that. The people have got that matter in hand, and they will very soon bring it about one way or the other. Something will have to give way—either the Senator from New Hampshire and myself with the people and the Almighty on one side or the Speaker of the House of Representatives on the other; and I think on that count we are in a majority. The Speaker, I hope, will be prudent and give way. I have not arranged for anything.

Mr. CHANDLER. If the Senator will allow me to say so, I shall be very glad to do anything we may to get that resolution acted upon in the House of Representatives, but I do not believe we had better now indulge in a habit which we are too much inclined to indulge in, of mixing things in the Senate. We disposed of the Cuban resolution, and the responsibility is now upon the House of Representatives. We have here the case of sending a little aid to the starving people of India. Now let us act upon that, and put the responsibility upon the House of Representatives, where I have no doubt it will be promptly met. I think if the Senator will refrain from speaking upon this resolution with his usual eloquence and ability, and let the resolution be passed and go to the House of Representatives, and then help us with the consideration of the tariff bill, he will be doing as great a public service as he did last week in securing the action which the Senate thought proper for the suffering people of Cuba.

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. President, I am not trying to mix these things, but I am trying to get them unmixed and get them back on the old lines. We used to be confronted with theories we thought we understood. Now we are confronted with conditions which we think we do not understand, and I thought it was quite a legitimate inquiry to make of the Senator as to whether this proposed relief, which appears to be very urgent, could be obtained by the action of the House of Representatives. I am very happy to know that anything that originates in the Senate has the possibility of going through the other House, though the Senator does not know any more about it, it appears, than I do.

There is a feature of the resolution we are about to amend here which has great charm for the people of the United States, and particularly for those gentlemen who have been always in favor of having American-built ships and letting them carry an American register—that is, that the ships that are to carry this corn, this sweet benevolence of the people of the United States to the suffering Empire of Great Britain, should be American ships, sailed by American men, under the American flag.

There is a very beautiful sentiment connected with that, in my opinion, and, I think, a very grand line of policy associated with it, that we should have this American benevolence carried to the shores of India, to those poor starving wretches, the subjects of Her Majesty Victoria, in our own national ships and under our national flag, and that this kind of benevolence should be extended in the name of our nation, and with all of the insignia of our national authority and pride around it. It strikes my mind as being something very splendid just at this moment of time. It indicates that the course the Senate has taken on the subject of arbitration was a wise course, because we expect to convince the British people that we intend to live with them upon terms of charity and benevolence and kindness, which need not be constrained by any treaty obligations at all. When left to our own free will and our own convictions of duty to God and to man, the American people, Mr. President, have not been and will not be delinquent in the performance of any duty that is incumbent upon them.

Now we propose to strike out of that resolution the words "American ships," and that suggests a very important inquiry as to why those words should be stricken out. Is it a fact that we have not got American ships at the port of New York or elsewhere in reach of the port of New York, by telegram or by cable, that we can summon to that city for the purpose of taking out this splendid charity to the people in India? Is that true; and if it is true, what has been the cause of it? From what situation, legal or otherwise, has this very unfortunate fact been revealed to us in this moment, when it would be so gratifying to the people of the United States to know that we had ships that could sail under the American flag and carry this beautiful charity to the shores of India?

There must be some fault in our legislation, or in the enterprise of our people, or in the poverty of their resources in respect of capital, to produce that calamitous situation, that humiliating situation, that we can not find an American ship which can wear the American flag to take this American bounty to the shores of India. That is a subject that requires investigation and examination. It is thrust upon us here at a moment of time when it becomes very significant indeed in respect of our standing amongst the nations of the earth as a great maritime or commercial power. We have no American ships, we are informed by the honorable Secretary of the Navy and also by the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. CHANDLER], that can be found to carry these supplies to India.

What is the reason for that national humiliation? What has provoked it or caused it? It must be that there is some bad law upon the statute books, because we are not absolutely stricken with poverty, we are not altogether without enterprise. It must be, therefore, that there must be some bad legislation that has brought us to this direful situation. What is that law?

I think, Mr. President, it is our navigation laws. I think it is the law which prohibits us from naturalizing or domesticating a ship that is built in any foreign country, notwithstanding it is owned by our own people, and officered by Americans. I would respectfully suggest that some substitute ought to be found for this condition of things at the present moment of time by a relaxation of our navigation laws to the extent, at least, of permitting certain American citizens—who do own ships that were built in Great Britain, it is true; but they own them, and they are good ships—of permitting them now to come and take this cargo and give them American registry and the flag, and let them go along and take this corn over to the people of India.

Now I know, Mr. President, that our exclusive and seclusive system has built up in the United States certain monopolies of navigation which appear to be very much in our way occasionally. They appeared to be very much in our way when we wanted to establish a great international steamship line to carry the mails between the United States and Great Britain. We provided then that those ships upon certain conditions should have American registers, and those people have gone on, I believe, to make a very profitable arrangement for the transportation of the mails and also have built up a very fine traffic in the transportation of merchandise and passengers. I am disposed to look upon that line of steamships as being a great national success, and I am glad to observe that every American who crosses the Atlantic Ocean and has the money to pay his fare patronizes those vessels in preference to any other. I think it is a fine start we are making in the direction of getting a commercial marine in the United States.

Encouraged by that example, I am in favor of the proposition which has been submitted to the Senate in behalf of a genfleman by the name of Hogan, who, I understand, makes an offer to the Secretary of the Navy, which is printed in these papers. He proposes to furnish immediately two ships, steamers, properly adapted to the transportation of the grain, well ventilated steamers, that will protect the grain against sweating and rotting on its passage across to the hot climate of India, which can be loaded and ready for the sea by Friday night, and the rate of transportation at which he proposes to take the freight will be about one-half the rate we have already engaged to pay to steamers to carry the contributions that are being sent from the port of San Francisco to Bombay. The guaranty of performance, of course, is absolute in the character of Mr. Hogan. His ships are sufficient guaranty for that, and I do not see why we should refuse to grant him that request.

It is very true that it would introduce his steamers to the American registry, and would give them the right to participate in the coastwise trade along with a number of others that are now operating in the same way, some of them ships that have been built up from foreign wreckages and some of them ships built in America. I think the Senate ought not to agree to the amendment, but ought, on the other hand, to accept the proposition of Mr. Hogan, and to that end I will, at the proper moment, offer an amendment to the joint resolution as it was introduced by the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE].

Now, I will read the statement of facts upon which Mr. Hogan predicates his claim. The ships *Massapequa* and *Menantic* are now ready to receive the grain, and can be ready to sail in forty-eight hours after the joint resolution is passed and they are chartered. There are no other vessels, so far as known, that can take the cargo and sail as speedily as these. Each steamer can carry about 153,000 bushels of wheat or about 164,000 bushels of corn, whether in bulk or in bag. These vessels are fitted with an exceptional number of ventilators, with the object of carrying full cargoes of grain, to insure as far as possible the landing of such in good condition. If the original joint resolution is passed to-day,

all of the grain contributed can be on its way to India not later than Friday evening next, in speedy freight ships, entirely safe, and in every way suitable for the purpose, and carrying our flag, and charging the United States Government less than cost for the freight.

These ships are in the regular trade of carrying cattle to Europe and returning with cargoes to the United States. The ordinary tramp foreign steamships are slow; very few of them can exceed 7 or 8 knots per hour. Hogan's boats can average 10 knots an hour. As the distance is about 9,000 miles, the saving in time would be enormous. Besides, the tramps are not immediately available. Another point to be considered is, namely, that Mr. Hogan offered to carry this grain below cost to the United States, while these British tramp steamers will charge excessive prices. Mr. Hogan's proposition is simply this: He will carry the whole of this grain, about 8,000 tons, more speedily than any other proposition that has been received, at cost price to the United States Government, in first-class ships, owned by United States citizens, officered by United States officers, and carrying the flag of the United States, and the vessels will become a part, and a valuable part, of the auxiliary navy of the United States.

One of the amendments which I propose to offer to the resolution offered by the Senator from Maine is that these vessels may become a part of the auxiliary navy of the United States.

It has been said that the Red Star Line will carry the grain. Upon that subject, here is an extract from the Washington Times, a very accurate and able paper, one upon which I rely confidently for the truth in every case. It is dated May 25, 1897, and headed "Food for starving India:"

> The Navy Department has been informed by an agent in San Francisco that the steamer *City of Everett* will be in that port within six days, prepared to take a load of supplies to India for the starving population there. The steamer is an American, of 2,600 tons capacity, and the owners want $40,000 for making the voyage. The Government will probably charter her.
>
> There are now at San Francisco nearly 700 tons of supplies, and enough to load the vessel can be collected in a short time. So far as can be ascertained, the Navy Department is no nearer to providing a vessel to take the supplies from New York to India than it was a month ago.

Now, this ship of United States register is about to be paid by the Government $15 a ton to carry 2,600 tons of grain to India, making the cost to the Government $39,000. The Hogans propose to take the same amount of grain to India for $6 per ton, or $15,600—less than half. The Hogans propose to take 8,000 tons, at $6 per ton, making the cost to the Government only $48,000, whereas if the same price should have to be paid as is charged by the San Francisco ship it would cost the United States $120,000. The acceptance of the Hogans's proposition would in that case save the United States Treasury $72,000.

Those facts are furnished to me by a gentleman of very high credibility, in whose statements I repose entire confidence. I am obliged to do so from my knowledge of his character. If they are true, then there ought to be some statement made here as to the cost of carrying the grain that will devolve upon the Government of the United States in the event we change the existing law by amendment or repeal so as to strike out the words "American ships." The law providing for this transportation is indefinite as to the amount to be expended. It exposes the Treasury of the United States to an unlimited demand for carrying the grain. No rate per ton is fixed, no amount is prescribed in the law itself, but so much as may be necessary is the requirement of the law which is now upon the statute book.

Now, I am not in favor of paying to British tramps, or to any other tramp, or any competitive line between this country and Europe or elsewhere, any sum of money that they may choose to impose upon the Navy Department for the transportation of the grain, when we have from Americans, who are able to respond to their guaranties and obligations, a definite proposition to carry the grain for about one-half that it already has cost the Government of the United States to make similar shipments from the port of San Francisco to the port of Bombay.

In view of the practical situation, can there be any reason why we, for the sake of getting rid of a question that ought to be settled, at least for the occasion, as to the effect of our navigation laws, should refuse a register to this American citizen for his ship, although it was built abroad? When you charter a ship to take a cargo from an American port to a British port, of course you own the ship for that voyage. It is a limited ownership, a limited title. You therefore, by the joint resolution as you propose to amend it, give the right to a subject of Great Britain, or Germany, or France, or any other foreign country, to come here, draw his drafts upon our Treasury for money taxed out of the people of the United States, in order to carry grain to India to feed the starving poor there.

If our circumstances are really so desperate that we have no American ships to carry this grain abroad, let us get some American ships. Our people buy ships and put them under a British flag, as Hogan's ships are now, and yet we refuse to give them an American register and turn right around and for this voyage charter British ships, without requiring them to take out an American register to carry this food to India. Why does Congress make that sort of discrimination against our own people? We virtually buy the ships to carry the food to India. That is the practical result. And yet, because American citizens have bought British ships which are now under British registry, we refuse to allow them to take out American registry, although the provision we propose to make in their behalf is not a general repeal of the navigation laws, but, like other cases that have occurred, is an exception in favor of these men for the particular emergency.

Why did we authorize British-built ships to come into the passenger and mail line between New York and Southampton? It was because we wanted to make them the nucleus around which should be built up an American line—a very good idea. But those men would not go into it; they would not undertake it at all unless we would allow certain British ships which they then owned or could purchase to come in under American registry. There was an emergency, there was an occasion that required us to depart from this ironclad rule, which I was very glad to see broken up. If it ought to have been departed from in that case and upon that emergency and for that particular reason, why can we not now, with equal justice and propriety, depart from the ironclad rule and allow these two ships to have an American registry? That would arrange the whole business.

The Senator from Maine brought in his joint resolution with the express approbation of the Secretary of the Navy. The Senator from New Hampshire now tells us that the Secretary of the Navy has changed his mind. Why has he changed his mind? I should like to have some communication from the Secretary of the Navy to inform us why he has changed his mind after sending here a report recommending this resolution, which was read the other day in the Senate and is now in the RECORD. The report of the Secretary of the Navy sustains the joint resolution of the Senator from Maine as it was introduced here. His project was to give American register to these ships; but now suddenly everything is changed. Why is it changed? Of course I do not know, but I feel that it is a subject of legitimate inquiry, and that the Secretary of the Navy ought to inform us officially and by a letter sent to us as to the reasons for changing his ground upon the subject.

I do not know anything about it; but, taking all the circumstances together, I have no doubt there are rivalry and competition amongst the different lines which are now conducting the coastwise trade of the United States, and some favorite is to be benefited. For instance, there is the Clyde Line, an established line—I believe established for many years—and various other lines of steamers and other ships engaged in conducting the coastwise trade of the United States. They do not want any more ships to take an American registry, particularly if they were built abroad. They do not want them whether they were built abroad or at home.

No man engaged in business, no matter how legitimate it is, wants that business controlled in any sense by competition. Competition is always averse to him and always repugnant to his interests. But the people of the United States can not get along without competition in all these matters, particularly in the matter of transportation, for whenever we build up by our system of laws what is virtually a monopoly in favor of any class of American citizens in the business of transportation, we tax the whole American people to pay the damages. It comes right out of the people.

There may be, and I have no doubt there is, some feeling about this business because of the very fact that those two ships, when they are admitted to American register, will come in competition with other established lines in our coastwise trade, and will probably cut down the income of some of those lines. If that is the reason—I do not charge it, but I assume that is a legitimate argument upon the facts—it is nothing but selfishness, and no man can claim or ought to be allowed to claim a benefit, of a peculiar and monopolistic character, under the laws of the United States, when his claim is founded upon pure selfishness and is without a just and adequate return to the people of the United States, who granted the privileges.

Certainly our coastwise trade is not overcrowded, because if it were overcrowded, the gentlemen engaged in the trade would at once go to the city of New York to take the valuable opportunity that is afforded here of carrying the grain, in pursuance of the joint resolution as it was originally adopted, on an American ship, under American colors, officered by Americans. It is curious to me, if the coastwise trade is at all embarrassed with an excess of facilities for transportation that they do not at once offer their ships to take the grain to the foreign country.

It would be a high tribute from them to our system of laws and to the honor of our country. But they seem to be unwilling to do it, or else unable, I do not know which. But certain it is that that deplorable fact has been revealed here since the adoption of the joint resolution, now, I believe, nearly two months ago. The

whole of the commercial and shipping circles of the world have been hunted out to ascertain whether American ships under the American flag could be found to carry this American contribution to India.

I would not be willing to endure the humiliation of having the British Government send over here and take the grain to their suffering people, because that would be only a half gift. It would be a gift upon conditions, and our people do not give these benevolences upon conditions. The Government of the United States in responding to that noble generosity of the people has attached no condition except one that belongs to the nature of the case, that, being an American contribution, we want it carried in American ships, and we do not want either to implore Great Britain to send here to get the grain or to hire ships flying the British flag for its carriage.

The British Government is very quiet about the matter. It seems to look upon our efforts to relieve its starving and suffering people with complacency, a proper and dignified treatment of a courtesy that is splendid and excellent. Perhaps Great Britain does not wish to be understood as even accepting this gratuity from our people or as having any official connection with it whatsoever. I should not wonder if they felt some reproach, for the reason that the bubonic plague now in India is very largely the result of poverty, and the poverty in India does not seem to have been a visitation from on high.

It seems to have been a visitation of the lawmakers more than anything else, and the poverty out of which has been bred the bubonic plague and the laws which have created that poverty can be traced directly to the privy council in London and also to the Parliament of Great Britain. So I should not wonder if Great Britain did not want to analyze the subject in a moral way and to ascertain the causes which have led her people into this terrible condition of starvation, which is so horrid that it has emptied the pulpits of the United States of the very greatest clergymen to go out among our benevolent and kind-hearted people to seek contributions to send to the starving and perishing millions of people in India.

Now, while we are doing this, I insist that it is only just to ourselves, just to our own Government, that not being able to find American ships to take the freight, when an American comes here and offers to carry it at a lower rate than the Government can get it done by anybody else, upon the mere condition that you will give his ships the benefit of the flag and an American register, to lay aside our prejudices in respect of our navigation laws at least for this one time and to act in accordance with the suggestions I have been making. I therefore oppose the striking out of the word "American" from the law as it exists, and if it shall not be stricken out I will propose an amendment to the joint resolution of the Senator from Maine, which I will take occasion now to read, in order to indicate what it is. Leaving sections 1 and 2 of the joint resolution to stand just as they are, with the prefixes and whereas, I propose to insert as a new section in the resolution of the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE] the following:

SEC. 3. That the steamships so registered may be taken and used by the United States as cruisers or transports upon payment to the owners of the fair actual value of the same at the time of the taking, and if there shall be a disagreement as to the fair actual value at the time of taking between the United States and the owners, then the same shall be determined by two impartial appraisers, one to be appointed by each of said parties, who, in case of disagreement, shall select a third, the award of any two of the three so chosen to be final and conclusive: *Provided*, That the Secretary of the Navy is hereby authorized, in his discretion, to charter such foreign-built steamers as may be necessary to carry the grain to India, if, in his judgment, the grain can be shipped and delivered without more delay than the chartering of the *Massapequa* and *Menantic*, hereinbefore provided for, and in vessels as suitable for the safe transportation of the grain as the Hogan steamships, and without any excessive or unreasonable freight rates over and above the offer made by the owner of the *Massapequa* and the *Menantic*.

The proviso covers the amendment proposed now by the Senator from New Hampshire, because it leaves it at least discretionary with the Secretary of the Navy, if he can make arrangements that are better than those proposed by Hogan, or as good, to make such arrangements with vessels of any nationality, and it seems to me that we can save ourselves the unnecessary humiliation of changing our ground upon this question and striking out the word "American" from the existing law by the adoption of the amendment which I shall suggest, if upon voting the pending amendment is rejected.

The joint resolution was reported to the Senate as amended.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on concurring in the amendment made as in Committee of the Whole.

Mr. MORGAN. I ask for a yea-and-nay vote in the Senate on concurring in the amendment made as in Committee of the Whole. That amendment, which was offered by the Senator from New Hampshire, proposes to strike the word "American" out of the former joint resolution. I am opposed to it.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is, Shall the amendment made as in Committee of the Whole be concurred in?

It is practically a substitute for the joint resolution.

Mr. COCKRELL. Let it be read.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to strike out all after the resolving clause and insert:

That the joint resolution of April 7, 1897, authorizing the Secretary of the Navy to transport contributions for the relief of the famishing poor of India, be, and the same is hereby, amended by striking out the word "American" before the words "steamship or vessel," and the Secretary is hereby authorized to charter and employ any suitable steamships or vessels, not exceeding two in number, to carry out the object of said resolution.

Mr. MORGAN. I ask for the reading of the joint resolution of the Senator from Maine for which this is a substitute. The amendment is offered by the Senator from New Hampshire as a substitute for the joint resolution offered by the Senator from Maine.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read as requested.

The SECRETARY. Omitting the preamble, the joint resolution reads as follows:

Resolved, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby directed to cause the foreign-built steamships *Massapequa* and *Menantic*, owned by Charles W. Hogan, of the firm of T. Hogan & Sons, of New York City, a citizen of the United States, to be registered as vessels of the United States, upon being notified by the Secretary of the Navy that a contract has been entered into between the Navy Department and said Charles W. Hogan, of the firm of T. Hogan & Sons, for the transportation of about 8,000 tons of wheat in bulk or its equivalent in space for corn to India for the famishing poor.

SEC. 2. The Secretary of the Navy is hereby authorized to accept the proposition of T. Hogan & Sons made to him in their letter dated May 13, 1897, and to enter into a contract with Charles W. Hogan, of said firm, to carry the aforesaid wheat or equivalent of corn in bulk in the steamships *Massapequa* and *Menantic* to India, and a sufficient sum of money is hereby appropriated for said purpose out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated.

Mr. COCKRELL. I understand that is the original joint resolution which was introduced by the Senator from Maine.

Mr. MORGAN. Yes.

Mr. COCKRELL. The Senator from New Hampshire offered the amendment which was first read as a substitute for the joint resolution.

Mr. MORGAN. That is correct.

Mr. COCKRELL. I did not catch exactly the objection which the Senator from Alabama made to the original joint resolution, authorizing the chartering of these two vessels for the purpose of transporting the grain.

Mr. MORGAN. I have no objection to the original joint resolution which is now a law; but the Senator from New Hampshire proposes to amend that law by striking out the word "American," so as to leave to the Government of the United States and the Navy Department——

Mr. COCKRELL. Excuse me one moment. I want to understand it. Why does the Senator say it is a law when it is only a joint resolution introduced or reported from the committee?

Mr. MORGAN. No; it is a law.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. It was passed.

Mr. MORGAN. Early in April we passed a law.

Mr. COCKRELL. Which law?

Mr. MORGAN. I have not a copy of the joint resolution here.

Mr. COCKRELL. I beg pardon. This is Senate joint resolution No. 43, introduced by the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE] on the 20th day of May, 1897, and brought in for the purpose of being enacted into a law. It is not a law.

Mr. MORGAN. I do not pretend that it is a law, but I say there is another law now, which is already on the statute book, that the Senator from New Hampshire is trying to amend, and he is trying to amend it by offering a substitute for the pending joint resolution. He offers as a substitute for the resolution an amendment to the original resolution or law so as to strike out of that law the word "American" and leave the Secretary of the Navy at liberty to hire any ships that he can get in order to transport the grain to India.

Now, I say I am opposed to striking the word "American" out of that statute. Let it stand, and let the resolution of the Senator from Maine be passed, to which I propose an amendment as a third section, which third section is that when these ships receive an American registry they shall be used at the option of the Government of the United States as cruisers or transports, just as the mail steamers are subject to the same conditions that run now between Southampton and New York, and with a further proviso that in the event the Secretary of the Navy can make more advantageous arrangements with ships that do not bear an American registry he may have an opportunity of doing so.

That proviso would leave the Secretary of the Navy precisely in the condition the Senator's amendment would leave him in, by giving to him the option to hire British ships, or American ships, or French or German ships, if he can make more advantageous arrangements. But if he can not do that, then he must accept Mr. Hogan's proposition, which is, "Give me a registry for my ships, and I will carry this freight at certain rates and by a certain time. I am ready to do it. I will take my steamers off the line on which they are now finding first-rate employment. I want to get them under an American registry, and I will put them in this trade and carry this corn and wheat to India, in order to secure

American registry. I will then submit my vessels, when they come back, precisely like the steamers from New York to Southampton, to all the objects and uses of the United States for the purpose of getting them into the Navy when there is need for such things. More than that, I am entirely content; if you can make a better arrangement with any foreign ship, no matter where built, go and do it; but I make this offer to you."

Mr. BACON. Will the Senator from Alabama please state what is the difference between the offer of the gentleman to whom he refers, the owner of these ships, and of the owners of other vessels? What is the difference in money.

Mr. MORGAN. The difference is in favor of Mr. Hogan, it is stated, by about one-half of the freight.

Mr. CHANDLER. Will the Senator from Alabama allow me to interrupt him for a moment?

Mr. MORGAN. Certainly.

Mr. CHANDLER. The object of my amendment is to allow the Hogan ships to be taken. The Secretary is to hire them and use them, notwithstanding their English nationality, if they are the best and the cheapest ships that he can get. Now, the Senator from Alabama ought not to delay this great relief here by a discussion about the wisdom of our navigation laws, which keep our coastwise trade for American ships. He ought not to delay the famishing poor of India from getting relief while he makes a speech in the United States Senate on this great subject upon which there is so much difference of opinion.

We can not use the Hogan ships now, because the word "American" is in the former resolution. We can use the Hogan ships either by striking out the word "American," which is a limitation, or by giving those two ships an American registry; that is to say, after they have made one voyage to India under these charter parties they can come back to the United States and they are admitted, and they are admitted for all time, into our coasting trade.

I do not believe that there is a Senator here who wants to do that. If the navigation laws are to be changed and we are to take away from American ships our coasting trade, Senators want to do it deliberately and not do it while people are starving in India for want of the food which we can send them to-morrow in these ships if you will only remove the limitation. No, they say, do not remove the limitation, but grant them American registry.

I submit that if the Senator from Alabama will think this subject over candidly he will see that the simplest method is the best, to take Mr. Hogan's ships, send this grain in those ships to India, and take up the question of our navigation laws at some other time.

Mr. MORGAN. I have already stated that Mr. Hogan's assertion is that the two ships in which he proposes to carry this grain are cattle ships, arranged for carrying cattle across the ocean, very well ventilated and thoroughly adapted to carrying grain safely across the ocean. Mr. Hogan has a profitable trade in a regularly established cattle line and he does not want to abandon it, but is willing to do so if he can thereby get an American registry for his ships.

Mr. CHANDLER. I want to say that there are other ships in New York City that can go. There do not happen to be at this moment any American ships of sufficient carrying capacity, but there are ships of other nationalities, and we want to take one or two of them and carry the grain at once.

Mr. MORGAN. What the Senator from New Hampshire calls this moment has spread itself in an indefinite number of moments, over about thirty-five days. We have been for that length of time now trying to hunt up American ships to carry the grain, and we have not been able to find them. That is the sad report sent to us by the Secretary of the Navy. Mr. Hogan comes in and says, "I will take off two of my cattle ships here; I will put them in this trade, and I will carry your grain for less than half the money you will pay British ships to carry it on, or other American ships. I will do that for you if you will give me an American register. I can not afford to do it unless you give me an American register; I can not afford to break up my line of trade, but I will do it if you will give me an American register." Then comes in the private and competitive interests and say, "No, Mr. Hogan, we have got a good thing over here in the coasting trade, and we do not propose to allow you to crowd into it at all."

Mr. CHANDLER. I say the Senator from Alabama ought not to insist on a revision of our navigation laws on this one transaction. Common sense is against it.

Mr. MORGAN. I would not for anything in the world stand in the way of this beautiful benevolence of ours to the great Empire of Great Britain. I want to cultivate good relations with them. I want to show them that we are a very friendly and a very kind-hearted people, and that our friendship is not constrained in any way.

Mr. CHANDLER. They have that feeling about the Senator now.

Mr. MORGAN. I have no doubt they have. I have no doubt I enjoy a great amount of it. Certainly I would enjoy even a very small amount of it very greatly.

Now, Mr. President, that disposes of that part of it. That exonerates Mr. Hogan from any culpability in respect to this transaction, because he comes in and says, "Give me the register and I will carry the food; or if you can do better, go and do it, and I will keep on with my cattle trade." That is where Mr. Hogan stands. I am told that he is a very highly respectable gentleman.

Now, about the delay, Mr. President. The resolution which the Senator from New Hampshire is trying to amend was passed forty-odd days ago—forty-five, I think.

Mr. COCKRELL. It was passed on April 7.

Mr. MORGAN. Well, April 7. That is the law he proposes to amend. The delay that has occurred from April 7 down to the present time, I repeat, has been a humiliating delay to us, because it brought out the statement from the Secretary of the Navy, which is in the RECORD of last Thursday, that he has not been able to find American ships to carry this grain. That shows one of two things, either that we have no American ships that are available for this purpose engaged in foreign commerce, or else it shows that there has been some delinquency in trying to find them. I do not believe that there has been any delinquency. It is our poverty in ships that prevents us as a nation from carrying out the splendid boast with which we set out when we passed the joint resolution of relief, that we would carry the American grain with American hands under the American flag in American ships. That was our boast.

Now, in the lapse of the moments that the Senator from New Hampshire speaks of we have come down from that position. We haul down our flag and we say that we can not do it. We have overcalculated our resources. Well, our commercial marine is in a dreadful condition if that is true, and it ought to be relieved from it. I propose to relieve it so far as two ships are concerned, to put two more ships into the American marine, and we find occasion for it in the execution of this public charity.

Now, about the delay. The Senator from Maine introduced this joint resolution on the 20th day of May, and he supported it by a number of statements which were put into the RECORD, showing the necessity for its passage. That joint resolution, introduced by that honorable Senator, who knows so much about the navigation laws and who is such a firm, steadfast friend of the navigation laws as they are, introduced on the 20th day of May, has been before the Senate from that time to this.

Of course we have had a short interim of adjournment. I propose to pass it just as this great and well-understood friend of the navigation laws framed it; and to make it still more easy of application and still more just, I propose that the two ships of Hogan named in the joint resolution now before the Senate shall become a part of the naval force of the United States, either as cruisers or transports, whenever the Government of the United States may find any necessity to have their services as such, and also with a proviso that if we can make as good an arrangement with ships bearing the flags of other countries as Hogan proposes, then we may discard his proposition and accept the offer of ships under any flag.

Now, the Senator from New Hampshire comes in with an amendment which alters a statute that was passed early in April, and yet he complains of me for delay. The Senator ought to be satisfied with this joint resolution from his own part of the country and from the friends of the navigation laws. I can see no reason why he is not satisfied with it. That resolution, accompanied by Mr. Hogan's proposition and the recommendations of the Secretary of the Navy, make a complete case for the passage of the resolution as offered by the Senator from Maine. But the Senator from New Hampshire says, "No; let us change it." How? By striking the word "American" out of the original resolution.

I notify the Senate of the United States that this argument and this proposition, if it is carried, will come back to plague us after a while. We will after a while take up the navigation laws in due season for investigation and examination, and it will be found then that they have received such a stringent construction here by the Senator from Maine as that they would receive only two ships for registry, whereas the Senator from New Hampshire wants to abolish the whole system, it appears.

If it is proper to strike the word "American" out of the pending joint resolution and thereby invade the navigation laws of the United States to that extent, it will be proper, in a general sense, and for the benefit of the whole people of the United States, to dispense with those navigation laws.

If our navigation laws can not be relaxed from their monopolistic rigor so far as to admit two ships to registry as American ships to carry bread to the starving subjects of Great Britain from our generous people, it is time we had abolished them.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The hour of 2 o'clock having arrived, it becomes the duty of the Chair to lay before the Senate the Calendar of General Orders.

Mr. ALDRICH. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the bill (H. R. 379) to provide revenue for the Government and to encourage the industries of the United States.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. CHANDLER. I desire to give notice that immediately after the remarks of the Senator from Rhode Island are concluded I shall move to proceed to the consideration of the joint resolution the consideration of which has just been interrupted.

THE TARIFF BILL.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill (H. R. 379) to provide revenue for the Government and to encourage the industries of the United States, which had been reported from the Committee on Finance with amendments.

Mr. ALDRICH. Mr. President——

Mr. VEST. Will the Senator from Rhode Island permit me? I desire to give a notice before the Senator from Rhode Island commences his remarks.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read the notice.

The Secretary read as follows:

Mr. VEST gives notice that, when reached, he will move that sections 4, 5, 6, and 7, on pages 196, 197, 198, 199, and 200 of the bill, providing for an increase of the internal-revenue taxes upon beer, manufactured tobacco, snuff, cigars, and cigarettes, be stricken out.

Mr. QUAY. Will the Senator from Rhode Island yield to me a moment? I wish to ask a question of the Senator from Missouri.

Mr. ALDRICH. Certainly.

Mr. QUAY. I presume that the Senator from Missouri will have no objection to a division of the question upon his motion to strike out, because on at least one branch of his proposition I propose to vote with him; on the others to vote against him. As I understand his notice, it is a consolidated motion to strike out the entire internal-revenue feature of the bill.

Mr. VEST. I assume that under the rules of the Senate any Senator would have the right to call for a division of the question when it comes up. Under the rules of the Senate I could not move to strike out these sections until they are reached, but would be compelled to move that the whole bill be recommitted and then that the sections be stricken out. Therefore I am forced to content myself with giving this notice. When the sections are reached, as a matter of course, the Senator from Pennsylvania can secure a division.

Mr. ALDRICH. Before the discussion of the bill is proceeded with, I ask unanimous consent that the formal reading of the bill may be waived and that the bill be read, when we shall proceed paragraph by paragraph, for amendment, the committee amendments to be considered first, and then the paragraph to be open to general amendment.

Mr. VEST. There is no objection to that course.

Mr. ALDRICH. That is the usual course, I think.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The Senator from Rhode Island means that the committee amendments to a pending paragraph shall be considered first?

Mr. ALDRICH. Certainly.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. And that then the paragraph shall be open to amendment in the Senate?

Mr. ALDRICH. Exactly.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there any objection to the course proposed? The Chair hears none, and that will be the order.

Mr. ALDRICH. Mr. President, the business of the entire country is in a state of suspension awaiting the action of the Senate upon the bill under consideration. I believe that the anxiety to secure action upon this important measure at the earliest possible day is shared by every member of the Senate. I can say for Senators sitting on this side of the Chamber that no time will be spent in the academic discussion of the principles of protection.

It is my purpose to keep the bill continuously before the Senate, to the exclusion of all other legislative business, until it is finally disposed of, and in this I shall expect the hearty cooperation of Senators on both sides of the Chamber. In the discussion of the bill, the members of the majority of the committee will content themselves with such brief explanations as may be found necessary of the various paragraphs as they are reached.

It seems desirable that at the beginning of this discussion the majority of the Finance Committee should present to the Senate in detail their estimate of the effect which the bill would have upon the revenue, and that they should explain, in a general way, the character of the amendments they have suggested.

The majority of the committee believe that if a thorough revision of our revenue laws, such as is contemplated by the House bill, is necessary, it should be carried out in a conservative spirit, and that such a moderate and reasonable measure should be adopted as will insure a much greater degree of permanence to our tariff legislation. Frequent revisions of the tariff are productive of long periods of uncertainty and arrested development. The radical change in policy in 1894 proved disastrous to the business interests of the country.

It was, I believe, thoroughly understood throughout the country in the last political campaign that if the Republican party should be again intrusted with power no extreme tariff legislation would follow. It was believed that in the changed conditions of the country a return to the duties imposed by the act of 1890 would not be necessary, even from a protective standpoint.

It was with these facts constantly in view that the majority of the Finance Committee prepared the amendments which they have submitted for your consideration. Nothing could be more conducive to the return and maintenance of real prosperity in this country than the well-grounded belief that there were to be no violent changes in our revenue policy for some years to come. The true friends of a protective policy do not insist upon extreme rates, or any that are not necessary to equalize conditions. While it is true that rates above this line are often inoperative, yet it must be admitted that they furnish needless opportunities for destructive attacks.

The committee believe that in the reductions they have suggested from the rates imposed in the House bill they have not gone in any instance below the protective point, and if the bill should become a law in the form presented by them every American industry would be enabled to meet foreign competition on equal terms; that is, so far as this equality can be secured by tariff legislation. The rates suggested by the committee's amendments are considerably below those imposed by the House bill, and in most instances below those contained in the act of 1890.

In suggesting these reductions the members of the majority of the committee reaffirm and emphasize their position as friends of the protective policy. The ultimate purpose of this policy is to secure, as far as this is possible by wise and conservative legislation, the steady growth and development of all interests—agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial. The provisions of a tariff law affect all these interests in numberless ways, and unless there can be stability in tariff policy there can be no assurance of continuous prosperity.

Industrial conditions in this country, with very few exceptions, do not demand a return to the rates imposed by the act of 1890. The bitter contest which is going on among the leading nations of the world for industrial supremacy has brought about improvements in methods and economies in production to an extent which was not thought possible a few years ago. These new conditions must be taken into account in considering the rates to be imposed.

Without relinquishing one particle of our devotion to the cause of protection, we feel that we have a right to ask that the cause shall not be burdened by the imposition of duties which are unnecessary and excessive. In the readjustment of rates suggested the committee have tried in every instance to make them sufficiently protective to domestic interests without being prohibitive.

REVENUE.

The framers of the House bill estimate a total revenue from the bill of $269,105,710 based upon importations of 1896. This would be the largest revenue ever received from customs duties, and an increase of $113,479,793 over the customs revenue of 1896, and of $70,732,254 over that of 1893.

The report of the Ways and Means Committee of the House recognizes the fact that anticipatory importations will largely reduce the expected revenues of the first fiscal year under the new tariff; but after making allowance for these importations, the report estimates an increased income of $76,000,000 for the year 1898, provided the law should be passed by May 1. If its enactment were delayed until July 1, the report added that $15,000,000 additional would easily be lost to the public Treasury.

This estimated increase of $76,000,000 was distributed as follows among the several schedules:

Schedule.	Estimated increase.	Schedule.	Estimated increase.
A	$4,000,000	I	$1,500,000
B	3,000,000	J	5,000,000
C	2,000,000	K	24,000,000
D	1,500,000	L	1,800,000
E	20,000,000	M	882,000
F	3,000,000	N	5,000,000
G	3,000,000		
H	1,500,000	Total	76,182,000

It is not my purpose at this time to enter upon an analysis of the estimated revenue for the years subsequent to 1898. In estimating the revenue likely to accrue from the passage of the bill the committee are compelled to take into consideration the existence of conditions which render it impossible to reach a safe conclusion by applying the proposed rates of duty, item by item, to the imports of the year 1896. It will be apparent from a critical examination of the provisions of the House bill that the estimate of $80,000,000 increase of revenue, if the bill should become a law by the 1st of July, is excessive.

To indicate the grounds upon which this judgment is based, we may take the wool and woolen schedule, from which $24,000,000

out of $76,000,000 increase is expected. The fact is well known that there have been unusual importations of wool in anticipation of the reimposition of a duty—enough, according to the trade reports, to supply all the foreign wool needed by the domestic manufacturers for more than a year. Some experts have estimated the supply as sufficient for our needs for a much longer period.

The total imports of wool into the three principal ports for the first four months of the year 1897 were 203,451,434 pounds, as against total imports of 224,803,620 pounds in the entire fiscal year 1896, when the imports of wool were larger than ever before. Of class 1 wool, the importations for these four months reach an aggregate of 135,163,760 pounds, against 117,533,750 pounds for the entire fiscal year 1896. The imports of wool of class 1 into these three ports for the month of April alone aggregated 70,885,265 pounds, nearly double the largest importation of class 1 wools ever imported into the country in any one year under dutiable wool.

These statistics justify the belief that there can be no revenue from the wool duties during the fiscal year 1898, except possibly a small amount from third-class wools. The estimate of $14,000,000 increase from woolen goods is equally erroneous, not simply for the reason that there have been large importations of woolens, but for the additional reason that during the fiscal year 1898 the domestic manufacturers will use supplies purchased on a free-wool basis, and will have so great a temporary advantage over foreign manufacturers on this account that it is reasonable to expect that the imports of woolens in 1898 will be less in value than in any recent year, and that so far from an increase in revenue from this source, by reason of increased duties, we must look rather for an actual decrease.

The same condition exists, in lesser degree perhaps, with reference to other schedules. Instead of an increased revenue from tobacco, we may more safely count upon a small decrease in the first year; the increase from sugar will be much less than the Ways and Means Committee's estimate, owing to the fact that one-quarter of the year's supplies of raw sugar will probably be imported before any new rates of duty can be applied to them.

The Secretary of the Treasury estimates the expenditures for all purposes for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1898, at $466,946,047.28. The Finance Committee estimate the revenue to be derived in the same fiscal year from customs, if the provisions of the bill reported by them be enacted into law, at $182,744,000. This includes an estimated revenue from the temporary duty on tea of $8,000,000. The estimate of receipts by schedules is as follows:

Schedule.	Senate estimate.	Schedule.	Senate estimate.
A	$6,695,000	K	$23,028,000
B	9,741,000	L	13,623,000
C	12,869,000	M	1,404,000
D	1,494,000	N	13,500,000
E	38,000,000		
F	13,797,000		174,744,000
G	7,860,000	Tea	8,000,000
H	7,935,000		
I	9,330,000		182,744,000
J	15,468,000		

The committee estimate the receipts from internal revenue for the same period at $170,700,000. If we add to this the Treasury estimate for miscellaneous receipts, $20,000,000, and the receipts on account of the Post-Office, $96,227,076, we have a total estimate of receipts for the fiscal year 1898 of $469,671,076, or an estimated excess of receipts over expenditures for that year of $2,725,028.72.

In estimating the receipts from internal revenue for this year, we have added to the usual receipts from this source $23,900,000, which is the estimate of the Internal Revenue Bureau of the additional revenue which will be derived from the increase in taxes on fermented liquors, cigarettes, tobacco, and snuff, provided by the suggested amendments. The additional tax on fermented liquors and the duties on tea are imposed until January 1, 1900, by which date it is believed the business of the country will have adjusted itself to the new tariff, and the customs receipts and internal-revenue taxes will supply ample revenue to meet the expenses of the Government.

If the estimated revenue from the duty on tea and the additional internal-revenue taxes should be omitted from the committee's estimates of receipts, there would be an estimated deficiency of $29,175,000 instead of a surplus of $2,725,028.72. The committee believe it to be the imperative duty of Congress to provide in the measure under consideration for a revenue which will certainly meet the requirements of the Government for the next fiscal year. The adoption of a revenue bill which should fail in this purpose, and which should create an additional deficiency in the immediate future, which would require a further issue of bonds to meet current expenditures, would certainly be fatal to the hopes of future success of any political party responsible for such legislation.

In selecting the sources for additional revenue, the committee decided to increase temporarily the tax on articles of voluntary use, rather than to assess additional duties, which might prove inoperative, upon articles of necessity or upon those which enter into our manufactured products. Assuming that the necessity for additional revenue exists, and of this we believe there can be no question, there is no economic reason, and none that affects the public interests, why beer and tobacco should not bear their share of additional taxation. The committee believe that the duty proposed on tea will not prove a serious burden upon the consumers of that article.

Nothing in the theory of protection interferes with the imposition of further internal-revenue taxes by protectionists whenever such a course is found desirable for revenue purposes. In the future it is almost certain that we shall be obliged to depend more and more upon taxes of this nature for necessary revenue.

In the years to come we must expect a decrease rather than an increase in the customs revenue to be derived under the principal schedules of the tariff. Take the revenue from the metal schedule as an illustration. In 1883 the revenue from manufactures of iron and steel was more than $29,000,000. In the year 1896 this was reduced to $10,000,000, and a large portion of this sum was paid out as drawbacks upon tin plate.

With duties adequately protective upon manufactures of cotton, wool, silk, and flax, we may expect a constantly diminishing revenue from the importations of these products. If the rates imposed by this bill on sugar should be found to lead to the rapid development of the beet-sugar industry in the United States, we may expect large reductions year by year in the contemplated revenue from sugar. Some of the most sanguine advocates of the policy of encouraging beet-sugar production in this country believe that we shall within ten years produce a sufficient quantity to supply the domestic demand.

The legitimate result of a protective policy is to give the American market to American producers. When this becomes an accomplished fact, the revenue growing out of protective duties disappears. It must be evident, therefore, that we must look for other sources of revenue. Whether it should be along the line of an increase of internal-revenue taxes, such as we have suggested, or whether some other sources of revenue should be sought, it is not necessary now to determine.

It is safe to assume that numerous objectors will always be found to any plan for increased taxation. In this particular case the committee are only strenuous that a wise public policy requires that our revenues should at all times be equal to our expenditures, and that the people of the United States will not be satisfied with any revenue measure that does not provide adequate income for this purpose.

If we examine in detail the changes suggested by the committee, we shall find that the rates in the chemical schedule are lower than those in the act of 1890.

In Schedule B, the earthenware schedule, at the earnest solicitation of the manufacturers in this country, we have recommended a compound rate of duty on all manufactures of earthenware, china, porcelain, etc. The destructive reduction in rates on these articles made by the act of 1894 resulted in the complete demoralization of the business, and manufacturers and workmen have alike suffered.

The rates suggested are much lower than the manufacturers believe to be necessary. They are, in a certain sense, experimental. Other countries levy a specific duty upon manufactures of earthenware, china, and porcelain, but none of them assess as high a duty as that suggested by the committee. The rates in the glass schedule are reduced somewhat below the rates of 1890, but they are still higher than those of the act of 1894.

In the metal schedule the rates of the act of 1894 have been largely retained; in a few cases they have been reduced.

Among the reductions is the reduction of the duty upon steel rails from $7.84 per ton to $6.72 per ton. The progressive reduction which has taken place on this important manufacture within the last fifteen years furnishes one of the most striking illustrations of the beneficent character of the protective policy and the rapid development of American industry. Prior to 1883 the rate of duty imposed upon steel rails was $28 per ton. It was reduced by the act of 1883 to $15.68 per ton; it was reduced by the act of 1890 to $13.44 per ton; it was reduced by the act of 1894 to $7.84 per ton, and we now suggest, as a rate of duty amply protective, $6.72 per ton.

What is true of this article is true, perhaps to a lesser extent, of many other articles in these schedules. They show that gradually but surely the American manufacturer is taking the American market; and, as in the case of steel rails, it will not be a long time before these manufacturers will be able to go out into the neutral markets of the world and compete with the great industrial nations of Europe, vindicating, as my friend from Connecticut [Mr. HAWLEY] suggests, completely the doctrine of protection.

In the miscellaneous manufactures of iron and steel, the paragraph relating to pocket cutlery has been reduced to a point somewhat below the act of 1890 and considerably below the House rates. The committee suggests an increase in the duty on lead ore of one-half cent per pound, in deference to the wishes of the lead producers of the intermountain States.

In Schedule D the provisions of the House bill on sawed lumber are retained, with a slight reduction of the duties on planed lumber. The committee found a great difference of opinion existing in different parts of the country in regard to the proper rate to be imposed upon the articles in this schedule. Many hearings were given to Senators interested on one side or the other of the question, with the result I have indicated.

SUGAR.

In the sugar schedule, E, we have suggested a change in rates and in the manner of assessing the duties. As the schedule is a very important one, it seems proper that I should explain definitely the effect of the provisions we recommend.

The annual consumption of sugar in the United States is about 2,000,000 gross tons of 2,240 pounds each, with a value, based on foreign prices, approximating $90,000,000. If the high duties proposed in either the House or Senate bill should be adopted, the annual cost of sugar to consumers would be more than $160,000,000. Of the consumption of 1896, 40,000 tons, or 2 per cent, were beet sugars produced in the United States, and 243,000 tons, or 12 per cent, were domestic cane sugars, and 157,000 tons, or 8 per cent, were sugars admitted from the Hawaiian Islands free of duty under our treaty with the Hawaiian Government. The 2,000,000 tons of sugar consumed in the United States constitute nearly 30 per cent of the total consumption of the world, the total sugar crop of 1896 being approximately 7,000,000 tons, of which 4,300,000, or about 61¼ per cent of the whole, were beet sugars.

The large amount of sugar consumed by every family in the United States makes the question of the proper treatment of sugar in a tariff bill a very important one. The pressing necessity for securing greatly increased revenues seems to render a return to the Republican policy of free sugar adopted in 1890 an impossibility. The demand for revenue purposes, and the belief that every reasonable effort should be made to encourage the production of beet sugar in the United States, led a majority of the Finance Committee to recommend the high rates upon sugar which are contained in the bill now before the Senate.

It is believed by the friends of the beet-sugar industry that we can successfully imitate the example of Germany in the rapid development of beet-sugar production. Germany has within four years increased her product by 50 per cent, and, as the result of her system of bounties, is now successfully invading the sugar markets of the world. She apparently has no natural advantages over the United States in the production of sugar, and it is quite reasonable to suppose that we may be able, by the maintenance of a high duty, or by a judicious system of bounties, within a comparatively short time to supply a considerable portion of the domestic demand.

The bill, as it came to us from the House of Representatives, contains provisions which levy a specific duty, based upon polariscopic test, upon imported sugar, varying from 1 cent per pound at 75 degrees, to 1¼ cents per pound on all sugars above No. 16 Dutch standard in color, and refined sugars. The effect of these rates, as applied to the total importations at the port of New York for the month of January, 1897, is shown by a table, which I submit to the Senate, which has been prepared by the customs officers in New York. The rates suggested show a range of ad valorem equivalents from 78.2 to 144.3 per cent. An examination of the table will show that the scale of rates adopted bears very unequally upon low-grade sugars. The character and extent of this discrimination led your committee to believe that the schedule should be modified. The committee determined, after a careful examination of the whole subject, to recommend rates which would be in their effect as high, at least, as the House bill, but which would be levied in a manner that would make the ad valorem equivalents more uniform.

The sugars of the world are divided into two very important classes, with two others of much less and constantly diminishing importance. As I have already shown, beet sugars, which constitute one class, comprise about 60 per cent of the total production. Of the cane-sugar crop of, say, 2,700,000 tons, more than 2,000,000 tons, or nearly 30 per cent of the total crop of all sugars, are centrifugals, sold on a basis of 96 degrees test. We have, therefore, approximately 90 per cent of the sugars of the world covered by these two great classes. The remainder is made up of Muscovado sugars, testing about 89 degrees, and sun-dried, clayed, and molasses sugars, testing not above 87 degrees.

The appraiser's office in New York estimates that the amount of sugars imported below 80 degrees is but little over 1 per cent, hardly enough to take into consideration, while the sugars imported below 84 degrees, the first real basis of value, is under 4 per cent.

We believe that the imposition of the high specific rates upon low-grade sugars testing 87 degrees or below would have the effect to exclude them from the markets of the United States. The total amount of these low grades produced is, as I have already stated, unimportant as compared with the total sugar crop, but their continued importation into the United States is very important when viewed from the standpoint of our trade and commerce with other countries. The sugars referred to are imported from the Philippine Islands, Java, China, Brazil, the British West Indies, Puerto Rico, Haiti, Santo Domingo, Mauritius, Egypt, and the Argentine Republic. They are largely brought to the United States, especially from countries in the East, as return cargoes of American ships that take from the United States cotton cloth, petroleum, and other American manufactured products, the principal article of export in many cases being cotton goods, and these countries furnish practically the only foreign market for the export of these goods. To exclude from the American market all the low-grade cane sugars from near-by countries, and sugars of all grades from distant countries, would confine American purchasers to beet sugar and to centrifugals from points nearest the United States, and send all other sugars to free markets, like Canada and England. They are not important to refiners. In fact, refiners do not seek them, as they destroy machinery, unless it be specially adapted for the purpose. Upon investigation it will be found that few refiners use them.

This policy would undoubtedly increase the price of sugars from near-by countries and necessarily add to the cost of sugar to consumers in the United States. These are the reasons which led your committee to suggest an ad valorem rate of 75 per cent on all sugars testing not above 87 degrees. But this rate can never apply to but a very small portion of the sugars of the world, as from obvious causes the proportionate amount of such sugars is constantly decreasing.

This is owing to the fact that it is never profitable for any sugar producer to produce low-grade sugars if he has the machinery to make the high grades. In one case the percentage of sugar extracted from the cane is very much less than in the other, and that percentage is absolutely wasted to the producer.

There are no considerations, in our opinion, affecting the revenue or the interests of domestic producers that should lead Congress to adopt a policy of exclusion with reference to these sugars.

Of the cane sugars testing above 87 degrees, very much the larger portion, as I have already stated, are centrifugals, testing about 96 degrees.

Perhaps I ought to say a word about what "centrifugals" are. Centrifugal sugars get their name from the centrifugal machine, which, by a revolving process, excludes the moisture and dries the sugars in the process of their manufacture. These sugars are boiled in a vacuum pan instead of an open kettle.

The committee, in considering the question whether they should adopt the specific scale contained in the House schedule for sugars testing above 87 degrees, were confronted with the fact that these rates would discriminate in favor of the sugars of certain localities and values against those of others. The detailed tables furnished us by the appraisers' office in New York, showing the value of the importations for the month of January, 1897, disclose the fact that sugars of substantially the same polariscopic test vary considerably in value. With high specific duties, approximating 75 per cent in ad valorem equivalents, serious inequalities would result, unfairly discriminating against the sugars of some countries. The extent of the variations of rates I have alluded to would not be important when applied to most articles of imported merchandise. Sugar is, however, probably sold at a smaller margin of profit than any other article in general use.

The large quantity of sugar consumed in the United States renders it all the more important that there should be no discrimination or inequality in the rates levied upon this article which would result in restricted markets and higher prices.

The committee, after full consideration, reached the conclusion that the essential elements of a certainty of revenue and an adjustment of rates that would lessen discriminations could best be secured by the adoption of compound rates. While we, as protectionists, are strongly in favor of the policy of adopting specific rates everywhere where they can be applied, we are not unmindful of the fact that when they are applied to articles varying widely in value inequalities are certain to arise. The use of compound rates is common in every tariff bill. Compound rates are adhered to in this bill. They are applied in many, if not in most, of the important paragraphs of the House bill, and have been retained by the Senate committee. By their adoption in this case rates much more equitable in their application to sugars of varying values with the same test are best secured. The committee therefore adopted the suggestion, which is contained in the bill we have reported to the Senate, of imposing a specific duty, which is equivalent to about 40 per centum ad valorem, with an additional duty of 35 per centum ad valorem on all sugars from

87 to 100 degrees, with thirteen-hundredths of a cent per pound additional on all sugars above No. 16 Dutch standard in color, and on refined sugars.

We are satisfied from the statements submitted to us by the appraising and executive officers in New York that there will be no difficulty in the administration of ad valorem rates on sugar in the limited form which we have recommended, and no danger of undervaluations to any appreciable extent. The prices of all the leading grades of sugar in all the markets of the world are transmitted by telegraph daily to the principal markets of the United States. The difficulties which have been encountered in the administration of a law imposing specific rates based upon polariscopic test have been much greater than in the case of ad valorem rates. In the case of the former the safety of the revenue depends largely, if not solely, upon the skill and honesty of the samplers and the examiners who use the polariscope. During the time the act of 1883 was in force it was found that the tests of sugars imported at the different cities from the same localities were by no means uniform. With compound rates, one method of assessing duties acts as a check upon the other, and we believe there can be no valid objection, from a public standpoint, to the mixed specific and ad valorem rates suggested.

More than 90 per cent of the sugar which is imported into the United States has heretofore been imported in a raw condition, and has been refined here, and it is therefore of importance that we should consider carefully the effect which the schedule proposed by the Senate committee would have upon the refining industry. I assume that it will be admitted in all quarters that this industry is entitled to fair treatment. The fact that the business, as conducted to-day, is in comparatively few hands, and that a large portion of it is carried on by one company, while it furnishes a reason for unusual care in the adjustment of rates in order that no undue or unfair advantage shall be given to sugar refiners, should not be allowed to furnish a pretext in the preparation of a tariff bill constructed upon protective lines for the destruction of a great industry. In other words, it is important from every economic standpoint that we make it possible that the refining of sugar can be successfully carried on here, and that the business be not turned over by legislative discrimination to German refiners.

It is therefore incumbent upon us to show that no protection is given the refining interests by the proposed schedule beyond that which is adequate for the continued existence of the business in the United States. For this purpose I have prepared a series of statements, which I submit for your consideration, showing the actual difference between the rates imposed by the schedule upon raw sugars of different grades and refined.

The first of these tables to which I will call your attention shows the rates imposed upon each grade of sugar testing above 87 degrees by the House bill and the Senate bill. It shows further the actual differential on each grade in both the House and Senate bills.

The actual differential between the rates on raw and refined sugar must be in every case the difference between the sum which the refiner has to pay as duty on a sufficient number of pounds of sugar of the given grade necessary to produce 100 pounds of refined and the sum which his competitor has to pay as duty on 100 pounds of refined. This statement must, it seems to me, meet with universal acquiescence.

These tables are based upon prices of sugar in the month of March, 1897. We have taken the foreign value of centrifugals testing 96 degrees at 2.25 cents per pound. We have taken the scale of variations in value up and down from this point that was used by the Ways and Means Committee of the House in their computation of the effect of the rates suggested by them on the various grades of sugar.

The scale to which I refer was based upon variations in value in bond in New York, but the value at the 96-degree test happens to be the same as the foreign dutiable value of centrifugals for the month of March. The variation in the scale between the price of 96 test centrifugals and 89 test Muscovados is not the actual market variation of to-day. The table, however, shows the actual value in March at 96 degrees, and the variation at 89 degrees would not affect the differentials appreciably.

It should be borne in mind that nearly two-thirds of the cane sugars imported test 96 degrees, and about 25 per cent test 89 degrees. The difference between the value of 96 test and 89 test in January was thirty-six hundredths of a cent per pound. The difference shown in the scale is twenty-four hundredths. If the difference in March had been thirty-six hundredths, the differential shown on 89 test by the table would have been 4.2 cents per 100 pounds greater than that shown in the table, while the differential on centrifugals would have been the same.

As a basis for ascertaining the rate of duty on refined sugars imposed by the Senate proposition, I have taken the average value, f. o. b. Hamburg, of first marks, German granulated, for the month of March. I submit a table of daily quotations for the month. This value is equivalent in our currency to 2.30 cents per pound. These prices are taken as a basis for all tables and calculations.

As a basis for the calculation of the number of pounds of sugar of each polariscopic test required to make 100 pounds of refined sugar, I have taken the statement of the Treasury Department, promulgated June 25, 1896, Department Circular No. 102. I assume there will be no question as to its accuracy. The computations have been confirmed by various statements furnished by the appraiser's office in New York.

For illustration, I will take an analysis of sugar testing 88 degrees, made by the chemist in charge of the sugar laboratory in New York. This sugar contained $\frac{74}{100}$ per cent of ash, 4.13 per cent of invert sugar, and an outturn of 81.85 per cent of crystallizable sugar. Of this sugar it would take 122.17 pounds to make 100 pounds of refined sugar. The Treasury estimate is 122.41 for this test. It will be noticed that this sugar contained 4.13 per cent of invert sugar. This invert sugar becomes sirup in the process of refining, and is worth from one-half to three-fourths of a cent per pound. The result in this case would probably be a fair estimate of the average result of the value of the residuum of invert sugar contained in all cane sugars testing in the neighborhood of 89 degrees. The value of this sirup would not appreciably affect differentials.

The same chemist made at the same time a test of 94 degrees centrifugals, which showed $\frac{44}{100}$ per cent of ash and 2.47 per cent of invert sugar and an outturn of 90.27 per cent of refined sugar. In this case the amount of 94-degree test sugar required to make 100 pounds of refined would be 110.77 as against 111.20, the amount named in the table, with 2¼ pounds of sirup.

It must be evident from these examples that the Treasury statement shows the entire amount of crystallizable sugar that can be obtained in each case from 100 pounds of raws.

The table is as follows:

Degrees.	Price.	Rates.		Rates on number pounds necessary to produce 100 pounds refined.		Differential.	
		House.	Senate.	House.	Senate.	House.	Senate.
88	197	139	79 and 35 % = 147.95	170.15	181.10	17.85	15.40
89	201	142	81 and 35 % = 151.35	171.17	182.44	16.33	14.06
90	205	145	83 and 35 % = 154.75	172.07	183.64	15.43	12.86
91	209	148	85 and 35 % = 158.15	172.88	184.74	14.62	11.76
92	213	151	87 and 35 % = 161.55	173.55	185.69	13.95	10.81
93	216	154	89 and 35 % = 164.60	174.12	186.11	13.38	10.39
94	219	157	91 and 35 % = 167.65	174.58	186.42	12.82	10.08
95	222	160	93 and 35 % = 170.70	174.94	186.64	12.56	9.86
96	225	163	95 and 35 % = 173.75	175.17	186.73	12.33	9.77
97	228	166	97 and 35 % = 176.80	175.30	186.70	12.20	9.80
98	231	169	99 and 35 % = 179.85	175.30	186.56	12.20	9.94

Above No. 16 D. S. in color—House 187.50, Senate 196.50.

This table shows that the differential between raw and refined sugars by the Senate proposition varies from 9.77 to 15.40 cents per 100 pounds, while the differential in the House bill varies from 12.20 to 17.85 cents per 100 pounds. It will be seen from an examination of this table that the differential between granulated sugar and 96-degree centrifugals—this being by far the most important class of raw sugars and in amount two-thirds of the total imports of raw cane—is 9.87 cents per 100 pounds; on 94-degree centrifugals the differential is 10.08 cents; on 89-degree Muscovados the differential is 14.6 cents per 100 pounds. The only possible variation from these differentials in any case would be where there is a difference in the foreign value of sugars of the same polariscopic test. For instance, a variation of one-tenth of a cent per pound in this value, up or down, would produce an increase or reduction, as the case might be, of the differential of 3½ cents per 100 pounds. A difference of two-tenths of a cent per pound in such value—and this is probably the extreme limit of the variation in any case—would result in an increase or reduction of 7 cents per 100 pounds.

In order to show that the committee's proposition does not give undue advantage to beet sugars as compared with cane sugars, the following statement has been prepared by me to show the differential between raw and refined beet sugars, in comparison with the differential of the same sugars, based on the rates imposed by existing law:

Differential rates on raw beet sugar, 88-degree analysis, and on German granulated.

	Refined.	Raw.	Differential.
Present law	104.50	89.53	14.98
Senate bill	196.50	181.703	14.797

I have also taken March figures, shown by table submitted, as a basis for this computation, these being 197 for raw beets, 88 per cent analysis, and 230 for German granulated, the prices in each case being f. o. b. Hamburg. It will be seen that the differential on beet sugars by the Senate proposition is slightly less than that of the existing law.

I have taken first marks German granulated for the comparison, as this is the sugar that competes with our refiners and furnishes the proper basis for comparison. If I had taken fine German granulated, which costs thirteen-hundredths of a cent per pound more, as a basis, the differential would be 15.36 cents per 100 pounds on 96 degrees test, and if I had taken Dutch cane granulated, that costs thirty-hundredths of a cent per pound more, the differential would be 21.3 cents per 100 pounds.

The following statement shows what the differentials would be in case the values of sugars were one-half a cent per pound higher than those in March, 1897, and if the values were one-half a cent lower than these figures:

Basis of $2.75 per 100 lbs. 96-degree test.

Degrees.	Price.	Rate.	Rates on number pounds necessary to produce 100 pounds refined.	Differential.
88	$2.47	165.45	202.52	11.48
92	2.63	179.05	205.80	8.20
96	2.75	191.25	205.53	8.47
Granulated			214.00	

Basis of $1.75 per 100 lbs. 96-degree test.

88	$1.47	130.45	159.68	19.32
92	1.63	144.05	165.58	13.42
96	1.75	156.25	167.92	11.08
Granulated			179.00	

Senate and House differentials based on $2.25, $1.75, and $2.75, respectively, per 100 pounds, 96 degrees.

Degrees.	Price.	Differential.	
		Senate.	House.
88	$1.97	15.40	17.35
	1.47	19.32	17.35
	2.47	11.48	17.35
92	2.13	10.81	13.95
	1.63	13.42	13.95
	2.63	8.20	13.95
96	2.25	9.77	12.33
	1.75	11.08	12.33
	2.75	8.47	12.33

Greater fluctuations up or down would not affect these figures materially.

I have taken the March figures as a basis for all comparisons, as I believe they fairly represent normal conditions. Within the past week, however, strangely enough, the foreign value of German granulated has been less than that of 96 degree test centrifugals.

This fact shows clearly the character of the competition which the American refiner of cane sugars is now obliged to meet. Under existing law German refined receives thirty-eight hundredths of a cent per pound export bounty. The countervailing duty here is but one-tenth of a cent per pound. The German refiner, therefore, receives a net bounty of twenty-eight hundredths of a cent per pound. This enables him to sell his product at a less price than the American refiner has to pay for 96-degree centrifugals. It is this kind of competition which is driving the cane-sugar producers and refiners of the world to the wall.

The anomalous state of prices to which I have called your attention is liable to occur at any time until there is an equalization of existing conditions.

My attention has been called to a statement published over the signature of the Hon. William L. Wilson, late chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means and Postmaster-General under Mr. Cleveland's Administration, in which he estimates the difference in the rates imposed by the Senate committee's proposition on raw sugars of 92 degrees test and those on granulated of 38.8 cents per 100 pounds, not including the difference imposed by bounty provisions, to which I will allude hereafter. Mr. Wilson's statement is as follows:

If we take raw sugar testing 92 degrees as the basis, and Mr. Benjamin Oxnard's testimony before the Dingley committee that sugar at 91 degrees produces 85 pounds of crystallized or granulated sugar to the hundred pounds, we are not far wrong in assuming that 107 pounds of raw sugar at 92 degrees will produce 100 pounds of refined. Now, the specific duty on 107 pounds of raw sugar testing 92 degrees under the Aldrich bill would be 95.2 cents. The specific duty on 100 pounds of "sugars above No. 16 Dutch standard and sugar that has gone through any process of refining"—which is the definition of refined sugars in the bill—is $1.16. This gives 20.8 cents more protection to the 100 pounds refined than was given to the 107 pounds raw of which it was made. Both grades of sugars are further dutiable 35 per cent ad valorem. The average value per pound of all the dutiable raw sugars imported in 1896, as assessed at the custom-house for taxation, was 0.02135; of all refined, 0.0277. The ad valorem duty on 100 pounds of refined sugar at 35 per cent would be 97 cents; on 107 pounds of raw would be 79 cents. This gives 18 cents more protection to the 100 pounds of refined than was given to the 107 pounds of which it was made.

PILING UP THE BENEFITS.

The refiner has 20.8 cents protection on a hundred pounds under the specific duty and 18 cents under the ad valorem—in all, 38.8 cents—after he is compensated for the duties he has paid on his raw sugars.

On account of Mr. Wilson's great reputation and the fact that his statement has been used as a basis for criticisms of the proposed Senate amendment, it seems proper that I should point out its strange inaccuracies. Mr. Wilson, after stating that 100 pounds of sugar testing 91 degrees by the polariscope would produce 85 pounds of crystallized or granulated sugar, assumes that 107 pounds of raw sugar of 92 degrees test will produce 100 pounds of granulated. It must appear at once, upon an examination of this statement, that Mr. Wilson has made a serious mistake in his figures. If, as he states, 100 pounds of 91-degree sugar will produce but 85 pounds of granulated, it must evidently require more than 117 pounds of such raw sugar, instead of 107, to produce 100 pounds of granulated. If we take the Treasury figure of the number of pounds of 92-degree sugars necessary to produce 100 pounds of refined, which is 114.94, we shall reach a widely different result. It should be remembered that the Treasury calculations were adopted by the Administration of which Mr. Wilson was at the time a conspicuous member.

Mr. Wilson takes as a basis for his computation of the ad valorem duty on refined sugars the value of 2.77 cents per pound. Now, it is well known by everyone familiar with the facts that the only refined sugar which comes in serious competition with the American product is German granulated, the price of which, as I have already shown, in the month of March was 2.3 cents per pound. Taking this value, as we are bound to do if we desire to treat the question fairly, we shall have a differential between 92 degree test raw sugars and granulated sugars of 10.81 cents per 100 pounds, instead of 38.80 cents, as suggested by Mr. Wilson.

The claim has been made that the committee's schedule would give the sugar refiners great advantages when compared with the present law or the House proposition. In order to show the absurdity of these claims, we have prepared with great care the tables submitted. If we compare the committee's proposition with the present law, we find that, instead of the 40 per cent ad valorem and one-eighth cent per pound additional therein imposed, the Senate proposal is 35 per cent ad valorem and one-eighth cent additional on refined, and also a specific rate on raws varying from seventy-nine hundredths to 1.08 cents per pound on sugars testing from 88 to 100 degrees. The specific rates in this case would clearly give no advantage whatever to the refiners, but, on the contrary, would impose a great burden on them, as a much larger investment would be required to the purchasers of sugars and the greater risk of loss incident to business.

The ultimate value of any grade of raw sugar must be based upon the crystallizable sugar that can be extracted from it, less the cost of extraction and transportation to a market. It must be evident that a specific duty, arranged on a scale that bears equally upon all these grades of raw sugar, can under no circumstances afford any protection to refiners. The ad valorem rates and differential contained in the committee's suggestion certainly can not therefore be more favorable to refiners than existing law.

It is undoubtedly true that every sugar refiner of the United States would greatly prefer the existing law to either the House or the Senate proposition.

In the tables I have submitted no allusion is made to the bounty provisions contained in both the Senate and House proposals. The adoption of these or similar provisions for countervailing duties seems to be a necessity if we are to develop the beet-sugar industry in the United States. Otherwise it will be possible for any foreign country, by extension of its bounties, to neutralize entirely the effect of our protective duties. These bounty provisions can not, I believe, be of any practical advantage to sugar refiners. Germany pays an export bounty on raw sugars equivalent to 27 cents per 100 pounds, and on refined sugars to 38 cents per 100 pounds. The American refiner would be obliged to pay 30.07 cents additional duty on the amount of raw beet sugar which is necessary to produce 100 pounds of granulated sugar. There would be no possible escape from this payment. Whether it would be possible to successfully collect the 38 cents or 27 cents per 100 pounds on any imported refined is very problematical. It would be extremely difficult to enforce the provisions of the act as against refined sugars from Holland or Great Britain in which bounty-paid German raw sugars had been used in whole or in part. The possibility of securing 7.33 cents per 100 pounds differential between the bounty on raw and refined sugar is so uncertain that, in my judgment, it should not be given any considerable value in the discussion of this proposition.

WHAT THE EFFECT WOULD BE.

In considering the important question whether the differential proposed by either the House or the Senate bill is greater than it should be, we are bound, in fairness, to take into consideration existing conditions and the changes which have taken place since the enactment of the act of 1894. When that act was under discussion in the Senate, the difference in the foreign value of German granulated and raw beets, 88 per cent analysis, was fifty-seven hundredths of a cent per pound. In March the difference was thirty-three hundredths of a cent per pound. The importations of refined sugars into the United States amounted in 1891 to 4,000,000 pounds, and in 1892 to 14,000,000 pounds. The importations in 1896 amounted to 187,000,000 pounds, while the importations in the single month of April, 1897, amounted to nearly 32,000,000 pounds. German refiners have driven the sugar-refining industry of Great Britain almost entirely out of existence. There are only two sugar refineries now in operation in that country. As I have already stated, the Germans are invading every sugar market of the world with their product. Most of the German granulated imported is the result of a continuous process of refining.

For months raw beet sugar and German granulated have sold on an absolute parity of value, taking only into account the percentages of pure sugar contained in each. If we assume the cost of refining sugar in the United States to be approximately one-half a cent per pound, and if German refined can be sold without loss on the same basis with German raws, it must be evident that the differentials suggested in the Senate proposition are not only not excessive, but they are quite likely in the near future to prove inadequate to secure the continuance of the business of sugar refining in the United States. If the importations of German granulated should increase at the same ratio that they have since the act of 1894 was adopted, the Germans will certainly secure at an early day a large part of the American market. The protection afforded by the differentials proposed by the Senate committee is, I believe, not only less by percentage, but less with reference to the actual requirements of the industry, than that afforded by the rates imposed upon any other important industry by the terms of the bill.

HAWAIIAN TREATY.

The committee will also prepare and present an amendment to the House provisions in regard to the Hawaiian treaty. The existing commercial treaty between the United States and the Government of these islands provides for the free admission of raw sugars, the product of the islands, into the United States. If this treaty should remain in force, it would result in giving a bounty to the Hawaiian sugar producers amounting to more than $8,000,000 per annum. It was not contemplated, when the original treaty was made or when it was extended, that any possible advantage of this kind could ever result from its terms to the people of the Sandwich Islands.

The effect of this bounty would undoubtedly be to stimulate enormously the production of sugar in the Hawaiian Islands. While we can not fairly abrogate a treaty of this kind with a friendly country without notice, we believe that negotiations should at once be entered into looking to such a modification of the treaty as will reduce the bounty to be paid Hawaiian sugar producers to a reasonable sum, and the committee will present an amendment looking in this direction at an early day.

There should be no difficulty in securing through the treaty-making power such modifications of the treaty as will be satisfactory to both countries without injury to either. It certainly can not be expected that the United States will continue for any length of time to pay a bonus of seven or eight millions of dollars per annum as an inducement to any foreign country to trade with us. I assume there will be no difficulty in securing proper modifications of the treaty so that it will not be necessary for the Government of the United States to give the one year's notice of the abrogation of the treaty, which is provided for by its terms.

In Schedule F we have suggested a return to the rates imposed by the act of 1894 on leaf tobacco. This action is far from satisfactory to the growers of wrapper tobacco in the United States. There is a very wide difference of opinion among those whose interests are affected as to what rates should be adopted.

In Schedule G the rates imposed on agricultural products are practically those levied by the act of 1890.

In Schedule H, the liquor schedule, but few changes are made from existing law, the only changes being in the nature of slight increases.

In the cotton schedule the rates, which are practically those of 1894, have not been changed from the House schedules, except in the paragraphs relating to hosiery, underwear, and corduroys and velveteens. On these the rates are somewhat lower than the House provisions.

Some changes of importance have been made in Schedule J, flax and hemp, the rates of duty remaining practically the same as in the House bill, and the change being rather in the nature of new classifications.

WOOL.

Important changes have been made in Schedule K, both on the rates on wool and on manufactured woolens.

In dealing with the wool schedule, the committee have suggested more liberal rates to the domestic woolgrower than they recommended for the producer of any manufactured article in the schedule; they have also suggested for him a more effective protection than he has ever received under any tariff law of the United States at the time of its enactment. The woolgrower is given the benefit of a specific duty upon all classes of wool. Under the operation of this fixed specific duty, the amount of protection afforded will increase with each new decline in the foreign value of this raw material.

The statistics of the world's wool markets show that there has been a constant, steady decline in the prices of class 1 and class 2 wools, dating from about the year 1868, and equaling in the interval fully 50 per cent. The greater part of this decline has accrued within a comparatively few years, and since the passage of the tariff act of 1890. It is due to the enormous expansion of the woolgrowing industry in the newly settled countries of the Southern Hemisphere, where the energies of the agriculturists are chiefly devoted to this industry. Whether this decline has reached its limit is a matter of speculation; but no student of the subject believes that the old prices can ever be permanently reestablished, for the production is increasing faster than the consumption.

It is difficult to make an exact statement of the average percentage of protection afforded by the Senate bill because of the wide variations in the values of different grades of merino wools. These values run all the way from 8½ cents for a heavy Cape wool up to 24 cents a pound for the lightest shrinkage and finest fibered Australian fleece, of which the supply is limited. The ad valorem equivalent of the proposed 8-cent duty will vary, therefore, all the way from 33 per cent up to 100 per cent, and the average ad valorem equivalent of the proposed rates, based upon to-day's prices of the leading grades of class 1 and class 2 wools, is 66 per cent.

All the high-priced wools are skirted, and are made subject to 9 cents duty, and upon the skirted wools the average ad valorem equivalent is even higher. The lowest ad valorem equivalent falls upon the class of Australian wools, which do not compete with our domestic clip. The quantity of these very fine merino wools grown in the United States is constantly decreasing and entirely inadequate to meet our manufacturing requirements. Moreover, this grade of Australian wool possesses certain peculiarities not present in our domestic wools, and necessary to produce certain effects in certain goods; and unless our manufacturers can secure a limited quantity of this wool, to use with their domestic supplies, the goods requiring them will be imported, irrespective of the rates of duty they must pay, thus making a competition from foreign wools in the manufactured form more serious for our woolgrowers than any imports of these grades of raw wool can possibly be.

The great bulk of the foreign wools of class 1, the wools which directly compete with our domestic clip, range in value from 6d. to 8d.—from 12 to 16 cents—in the foreign markets. These are the prevailing prices of the wools of the world which are used for the same purposes as our domestic wools, whether merino or crossbred; and upon these wools the proposed duties of 8 and 9 cents are equivalent to from 50 to 80 per cent ad valorem. This protection is found by examination to be higher by percentage than under any previous tariff.

Under the tariff of 1867 the ad valorem equivalents on class 1 wools averaged about 56 per cent and on class 2 wools about 40 per cent. Under the tariff of 1883 the class 1 duties averaged 45 per cent and the class 2 wools averaged 43 per cent. Under the act of 1890 the class 1 duties averaged from 50 per cent to 59 per cent and the class 2 duties from 50 per cent to 56 per cent. The committee have now aimed to give the woolgrowers a rate of duty which will average from 10 per cent to 20 per cent higher than the rates of either of these earlier tariffs. In doing this, they have given a higher protection upon the raw material than upon the manufactured product in every case.

Very careful consideration has been given to the compensatory duty on woolen goods, with the result of reducing the compensatory rates on low-grade goods, into whose manufacture more or less of other materials than wool enter. On the high-grade goods the compensatory duties are fixed on the same basis that has obtained in all previous tariffs. The more closely the question is examined the plainer it becomes that the preservation of this relationship between the wool duties and the goods duties is equally vital to the woolgrower and the wool manufacturer.

In dealing with class 3, or carpet wools, the Senate bill makes a departure from previous tariffs, in deference to the widespread impression among the woolgrowers that a considerable quantity of these coarse native wools is imported for other uses than the carpet manufacture. The House bill rate of 32 per cent on carpet wools costing less than 13 cents a pound has created more agitation and opposition than any other feature of the wool schedule.

It is alleged by the woolgrowers that this low rate of duty on carpet wools destroys the effectiveness of the protection afforded upon the higher grades of wool, by reason of the temptation it offers to import these low wools to be used in cheviots, golf suitings, and other popular fabrics which do not require fine wools.

Without undertaking to affirm the correctness of these allegations regarding the extensive use of these carpet wools for clothing purposes—and they are very emphatically denied by the carpet manufacturers—the committee recognized the fact that there is some such use made of them. To remove all possible ground for complaint on this score they have fixed the duties on class 3 wools at 4 cents a pound under 10 cents in value and at 7 cents a pound over that valuation. Under these duties the ad valorem equivalents will range on the various clips from 35 per cent up to 60 per cent, and in some instances 70 per cent, and they are higher than in any previous law. It is certain that under these duties foreign carpet wools can not be imported to take the place of domestic wools in the cloth manufacture.

Taking this feature of the wool schedule into account, it is a fact definitely demonstrated by the market reports that the protection given the American woolgrower under the Senate bill is greater and more effective than he has ever before received in an American tariff.

Under this schedule woolgrowing should become in time one of the most profitable branches of American agriculture.

In Schedule L the committee recommend the adoption of a new paragraph fixing specific duties on silk piece goods. The remaining portions of the schedule are not materially changed. It is believed that the rates suggested will give better protection to some classes of silk manufacturers than they have heretofore enjoyed.

In Schedule M the paragraphs have been amended and the rates reduced in most instances.

Many changes are made in Schedule N. The one which will attract most attention is the placing of a duty upon hides of cattle. Representatives of the Western States in which cattle are raised have been for many years insisting that a duty on hides should find a place in a tariff bill which was intended to protect all American interests. This contention has been resisted by the tanners of the country, who believed that it would place an unnecessary burden upon their important industry.

I shall not attempt to enter in detail into the reasons which led the committee to suggest the imposition of the duty. Speaking for myself, I believe that the fears which have been so emphatically expressed as to the injurious effects of the duty have been largely overestimated, and that no very serious burden will be placed upon either the tanning, the leather, or the boot and shoe industry if the amendment should be adopted.

Many changes are suggested in the free list. Among the more notable of these is a recommendation to return to the liberal provisions of existing law with regard to the free importation of books, works of art, etc., under certain conditions.

RECIPROCITY.

At the time the bill was reported from the committee I stated in their behalf that an amendment looking to the more rapid development and extension of reciprocal trade with foreign countries would be reported from the committee at a later day. The committee have not yet found the opportunity to prepare such an amendment. It seemed to them that the provisions of the House bill in this respect would not prove effective. It is the purpose of the committee to prepare a provision which will enable the Government of the United States, within certain fixed limits and without further legislative action, to enter upon arrangements or to negotiate reciprocity treaties looking to an extension of our foreign trade.

In suggesting the striking out of the House provision, the committee had no purpose of abandoning the Republican reciprocity policy. They hope to be able to suggest such provisions as will enable our Government to greatly extend that policy and make its adoption permanent.

CUSTOMS ADMINISTRATIVE LAW.

The committee also hope, before the bill passes from the consideration of the Senate, to be able to present certain needed amendments to the administrative customs law. The act of 1890 has, in the main, answered the expectations of the gentlemen who framed it. It brought about a radical change in the methods of assessing duties. Experience has shown some defects in its provisions, some of which it is the purpose of the committee to try to remedy.

The industrial system of the United States is growing more and more complex every year. It is becoming more difficult every year to satisfy, in a tariff revision, conflicting claims of sections, or to so adjust rates as to do no injustice to any of the varied interests of this great country. The revisions of paragraphs and rates recommended by the committee are undoubtedly far from satisfactory in many cases to interested parties. The amendments reported represent the consensus of opinion of a majority of the members of the committee. We have no pride of opinion or authorship in regard to any of the provisions reported. We have given careful consideration to the numerous important questions involved in the various schedules. We present to the Senate the result of our labors, and shall cheerfully accept your judgment as to the wisdom of our conclusions.

APPENDIX.

Extract from Treasury Department Circular No. 102, June 26, 1896, showing the number of pounds of various tests which equal 100 pounds of hard refined.

Degrees.	Number pounds required to make 100 pounds granulated.	Degrees.	Number pounds required to make 100 pounds granulated.
88	122.41	95	109.34
89	120.54	96	107.47
90	118.67	97	105.60
91	116.81	98	103.73
92	114.94	99	101.87
93	113.07	100	100.00
94	111.20		

Quotations of beet sugars, raw and granulated, for the month of March, 1897.

1897.	Beet 88° f. o. b.	First marks German granulated.	Difference.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
March 2	8 9	10 6	1 9
March 3	8 9½	10 6	1 8½
March 4	8 9½	10 6½	1 9
March 5	8 9½	10 6½	1 9
March 6	8 9½	10 6	1 8½
March 8	8 9½	10 6	1 8½
March 9	8 10½	10 6	1 9½
March 10	8 10½	10 6	1 7½
March 11	8 10½	10 6½	1 8½
March 12	8 11½	10 7½	1 8½
March 13	8 11½	10 7½	1 8½
March 15	8 11½	10 7½	1 8½
March 16	9 0	10 8½	1 8½
March 17	9 1½	10 7½	1 6
March 18	9 1½	10 8½	1 6½
March 19	9 1½	10 8½	1 6½
March 20	9 1½	10 9	1 7½
March 22	9 0½	10 8½	1 7½
March 23	9 0½	10 7½	1 6½
March 24	9 0½	10 7½	1 6½
March 25	9 0	10 7½	1 7½
March 26	9 0	10 7½	1 7½
March 27	9 0	10 7½	1 7½
March 29	9 0	10 7½	1 7½
March 30	9 0½	10 7½	1 6½
March 31	9 0½	10 7½	1 6½

Average for month of March, 1s. 7d.

Average dutiable value or price of sugar importations at New York in January, 1897, according to polariscopic test and rates of duty in proposed tariff bill (H. R. 579).

Test degrees.	Average price (cents).	Proposed rates per pound.	Ad valorem equivalents.
	Per pound.		*Per cent.*
100	.0219137	.0175	79.8
99	.02198	.0172	78.2
98	.0213775	.0169	79.8
97	.021134	.0166	78.5
96	.020029	.0163	79.7
95	.02025	.016	79.0
94	.0195	.0157	80.5
93	.01862	.0154	82.7
92	.018272	.0151	82.6
91	.017693	.0148	83.6
90	.017336	.0145	83.6
89	.016955	.0142	83.7
88	.016633	.0139	83.5
87	.016051	.0136	84.7
86	.015484	.0133	85.8
85	.014895	.013	87.2
84	.014187	.0127	89.5
83	.0138651	.0124	92.7
82	.0125	.0121	96.8
81	.0117125	.0118	100.7
80	.010925	.0115	105.2
79	.010075	.0112	111.1
78	.00935	.0109	116.6
77	.0085428	.0106	124.0
76	.007735	.0103	133.1
75	.0069275	.01	144.3

Mr. PETTIGREW. I wish at this time to offer an amendment to the pending bill and ask to have it printed in the RECORD. I will state that at the proper time I shall call it up for the consideration of the Senate.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

That all articles on the dutiable list mentioned in this act shall be admitted free of duty if said articles or articles of a like character of domestic production are manufactured or their sale controlled or the price affected by a trust or combination to increase the cost of said articles to purchasers by preventing competition or otherwise. Every contract, combination in the form of a trust, or association or corporation whose effect is to restrict the quantity of production or increase the price of any article, or any conspiracy in restraint of trade shall be deemed a trust within the provisions of this act.

Any citizen of the United States may file a petition, verified by oath or affirmation, in any district court of the United States where the defendant has an office or place of business or may reside, alleging the existence of a trust as herein defined, and that articles or products subject to duty under this act, or articles or products of like character of domestic production are manufactured, or their sale controlled, or the price affected by said trust; whereupon a summons shall be immediately issued from said court directing the defendant to appear and answer said petition, the case to be governed as to time and manner of service, the pleadings and all proceedings had therein, as is now provided by law in civil causes instituted in the district courts of the United States.

If any citizen of the United States shall file with any district attorney for said district the petition herein set forth, it shall be the duty of said attorney to institute proceedings forthwith in the district court for said district in the name of the United States for the purpose of determining the issues made by said petition, like proceedings to be had in such case as hereinbefore prescribed.

The summons to the defendant or defendants herein required shall be served upon the president or chief officer, if a corporation, or upon all the members, if an association or partnership, and the Secretary of the Treasury shall also be notified of the existence and nature of the suit.

All cases instituted as herein provided shall be advanced upon the docket of the court so as to have precedence of trial over all civil causes thereon, and an appeal may be taken from the decision of the district court to the circuit court of the United States for the district, under the same rules as are prescribed for like appeals in other civil cases, but the judgment of the circuit court shall be final.

If the decision of the court shall be that the allegations of the petition are true, an order directing the customs officers of the United States to thereafter permit the importation of such article or articles free of duty shall at once issue: *Provided*, That where a duty is levied upon raw material or any article that is improved by any process after being imported, the duty on the raw material or unrefined or unimproved article shall be collected and a like amount of duty upon the refined or improved article, as provided by this act; but the differential or additional duty shall not be collected if the improved or refined product is found to be the subject of a trust, as hereinbefore set forth: *Provided*, That at any time after judgment the Secretary of the Treasury, upon written grounds, or any party to the proceedings upon petition, verified by oath or affirmation, may move the court to set aside or suspend the enforcement of such judgment. If upon hearing it shall be adjudged that the trust has ceased to exist, it shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to withdraw or cancel his orders to the customs officers, and such officers shall immediately resume the collection of the duties imposed by this act. The parties to the original proceeding who do not join in the motion shall have reasonable notice thereof, and the motion shall be advanced and have precedence of trial over all civil causes. Appeals may be taken as in the original proceeding to the circuit court, but the judgment of that court upon the motion shall be final.

Mr. ALDRICH. I suppose the Senator from South Dakota merely gives notice that at the proper time he will offer this amendment.

Mr. PETTIGREW. I wish to say now that immediately upon the disposal of the amendments offered by the committee, which I understand are first in order, I shall ask the Senate to take up and dispose of this amendment.

Mr. ALDRICH. When the proper sections are reached, of course it will be in order.

Mr. PETTIGREW. I do not accept the amendment offered by the Senator from Rhode Island as to when I shall offer the amendment. I shall ask to have the Senate consider it immediately after disposing of the committee amendments.

Mr. ALDRICH. Oh, the committee amendments.

Mr. President, for the committee I offer certain amendments or give notice that I shall offer amendments to certain sections and paragraphs. These amendments are largely changes in phraseology, changes in punctuation, or amendments which were left out of the final preparation of the bill to be reported. I ask that they may be printed, and I shall offer them to the respective paragraphs as they are reached. I now ask that the bill be proceeded with, and that the first——

Mr. STEWART. Before the Senator quits, I should like to ask him at what time the amendment of which I gave notice the other day, with regard to the reserve, will be in order. That is a very important amendment, and the action of some Senators with regard to the whole bill might be materially affected by the question whether we are to be denied a large amount of circulating medium or whether we shall have the reserve regulated so that we shall not have a vast amount of money locked up and paying interest.

Mr. ALDRICH. The Senate is now acting under an order to take the bill up by paragraphs subject to amendment. Whenever a paragraph is reached to which that provision would be germane, or certainly whenever the tariff schedules are disposed of, that amendment will be clearly in order.

Mr. STEWART. It is certainly germane to this measure.

Mr. VEST obtained the floor.

Mr. QUAY. Mr. President——

Mr. VEST. I yield to the Senator from Pennsylvania if he desires.

Mr. QUAY. Unless the Senator from Rhode Island intends to proceed with the bill at to-day's session, I wish to make a motion to proceed to the consideration of executive business. If he does, I will defer the motion.

Mr. CHANDLER. I hope the Senator will allow the joint resolution which was under consideration this morning to be disposed of.

Mr. ALDRICH. I am anxious to proceed with the bill to-night, if possible. Of course, I desire to consult the wishes of members of the committee on the other side as to whether they desire to proceed to-night with any remarks or whether we shall take up the schedules.

Mr. VEST. I would prefer to say now what little I have to say on the subject.

Mr. QUAY. I desire merely to say that I wish to have an executive session before we adjourn to-day. It is immaterial whether it comes now or later.

Mr. VEST. I shall not detain the Senate very long. It will not interfere with the Senator's purpose.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Missouri will proceed.

Mr. VEST. Mr. President, there is no disposition upon my part or that of my colleagues to make factious opposition to the passage of the pending measure. We fully appreciate the desperate condition of the country. We know how many ruined homes, how many broken hearts, how many blasted hopes now surround the Congress of the United States, and if prosperity can come from any source, even from our political opponents, we shall welcome it, and not only welcome it, but bless the moment in which it comes.

I do not believe that the imposition of larger taxation, either in the shape of import duties or internal-revenue taxes, will lift the cloud that now rests upon the people of the United States. I do not believe that higher tariff duties will bring back sunshine and illuminate this whole country, as we have been told over and over again by our Republican opponents.

It is frequently said that adversity came with the advent of the Democratic party to power, and that with the return of Republican methods and Republican measures there would be again hope and prosperity and joy in the land.

Sir, adversity did not come to this country with the advent of the Democrats to power. I bring to the stand the best witness that can be produced upon that subject, the President of the United States, Maj. William McKinley. When the bill that bears his name was pending before the House of Representatives, on the 1st day of April, 1890, he declared that the farming interests of this country were then prostrate and ruined, and that higher tariff taxation was necessary in order to bring back prosperity to the farmer. I will ask the Secretary to read what was said by Major McKinley at that time to show when this cloud of adversity came upon the farmers of the United States.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read as follows:

The committee have given months of investigation to the existing conditions of agriculture and matters connected therewith. This great industry is foremost in magnitude and importance in our country.

Its success and prosperity are vital to the nation. No prosperity is possible to other industries if agriculture languish. In so far as the fostering care of Government can be helpful, it must be faithfully and forcefully exerted to build up and strengthen agriculture.

That there is widespread depression in this industry to-day can not be doubted. Every remedy within the scope of practical legislation known to your committee has been recommended in the proposed measure to meet the urgent requirements of the situation.

Mr. VEST. That, I repeat, was on the 1st of April, 1890. The farmers of the country, according to Major McKinley, were then suffering under the same depression that rests upon them to-day. How do you expect by increasing tariff taxation to enable the farmers of this country to purchase manufactured goods? How do you expect to give them the means with which to buy the articles the price of which you propose to increase by your tariff imposition?

The Senator from Rhode Island, an expert in regard to the tariff, has been very careful not to speak of the condition of the Treasury of the United States when he alludes to the want of revenue to pay the expenses of the Government. All admit that there must be sufficient revenue to carry on the Government; that its honor must be maintained; that its obligations must be met; that its flag must be untarnished. But, Mr. President, every dollar taken from circulation among the people, and without necessity hoarded in the Treasury of the United States, is a crime against the people of this country, no matter by whom it may be perpetrated.

If there be to-day enough money to carry on the Government, why the necessity of increasing taxation? Why does the Republican party leave now all its precedents, all its historic traditions in regard to raising revenue necessary for the country by the imposition of tariff taxation, and resort now to the imposition of a

duty upon tea? Why do they now abandon all the arguments, all the eloquent appeals they have hitherto made upon this subject, and come to the position which their political opponents have assumed, that tariff taxation should be upon the basis of revenue, and not for the purpose of putting money into the pockets of favored classes and manufacturers?

Mr. President, what is the condition of the Treasury of the United States? Let us see what the necessity is for increasing tariff taxation.

On May 21, 1897, the cash balance in the Treasury available was $229,350,650.50. Taking from this the gold reserve of $100,000,000, it leaves, as a matter of course, $129,350,650.50 idle money in the Treasury available for any governmental purpose. Yet we are told that in order to avoid repudiation and dishonor we must impose upon the suffering and depressed people of the United States additional taxes.

When the Government of the United States was turned over by President Harrison to President Cleveland, the balance in the Treasury, including $20,000,000 of fractional or subsidiary coin, was $24,128,087. If the subsidiary coin be deducted from that amount, it showed in the Treasury of the United States available for ordinary expenses $4,128,087. There is to-day in the Treasury of the United States $105,222,573.50 available for the expenses of the Government more than there was at the time President Harrison turned over the Government to his successor, President Cleveland.

How do our Republican friends evade this absolute statement of fact? Governor DINGLEY, the author of the bill which we are now considering, admitting the fact that there was this balance in the Treasury, undertook to dispose of it by saying that there was $20,000,000 subsidiary coin unavailable for the general purposes of defraying the expenses, and that $16,000,000 was necessary in order to pay the anticipated deficit up to the 1st day of July next, making $36,000,000; and deducting this from the amount in the Treasury would leave a balance of $93,222,573.50 available for any of the purposes of the Government.

In order to meet the balance of this surplus, or to dispose of it, Governor DINGLEY then says that we ought to increase the gold reserve from $100,000,000 to $150,000,000, without law, without any other excuse except the exigency that confronted him when he framed his bill and introduced it into the House. One hundred million dollars of gold reserve in the Treasury to-day is there by a statutory enactment which simply provides that whenever there should be not $100,000,000 of gold reserve in the Treasury no more gold certificates should be issued.

Mr. COCKRELL. Will my colleague allow me to suggest that the law does not specify that $100,000,000 shall be kept there?

Mr. VEST. I did not say that $100,000,000 should be kept there, but I say that it is there by virtue of that enactment.

Mr. ALLISON. Nor does it say that more than $100,000,000 may not be there.

Mr. VEST. The law simply provides that when there is not $100,000,000 of gold reserve in the Treasury the Secretary of the Treasury shall issue no more gold certificates. That law has been nullified. Although Secretary Carlisle had one hundred and fifty or one hundred and sixty millions of gold in the Treasury, fifty to sixty millions over the gold reserve, he issued no gold certificates and declared that he would not issue them. The Secretary of the Treasury to-day, Mr. Gage, has more than $150,000,000 of gold in the Treasury, yet he does not propose to issue any gold certificates. And yet with this flimsy basis for the $100,000,000 of gold reserve now existing, we are told by the author of this bill that in order to dispose of the surplus in the Treasury $150,000,000 should be retained there as a reserve.

Mr. President, even if there be a deficit of $65,000,000 for the next fiscal year, as calculated by Mr. DINGLEY, giving the largest possible amount that has been named, there is enough money in the Treasury to-day to pay that off and still leave a surplus for the next, if a deficit should occur again.

Why should we hurry to put taxes on the people of this country with idle money in the Treasury? What intelligent man does not know that the curse of the country to-day is the consolidation and hoarding of money in the great financial centers whilst the people of the country at large are suffering for currency to transact the ordinary business of life? Every dollar unnecessarily hoarded is a crime against the people of the country, and especially in the terrible condition in which we now find them.

It is unfortunate for purposes of discussion upon this side of the Chamber that our friends who have charge of the bill, and especially the Senator from Rhode Island, have not seen proper to give us estimates of the amount that will be produced by the bill as they have now reported it to the Senate.

We were told some weeks ago that a comparative statement would be furnished which would be the most perfect that ever had been seen in any tariff debate that has occurred in this Chamber. We have waited patiently for that exhibit, but it has never come. We inquired of Mr. Ford, the statistician who was to prepare the comparative statement, and he told us that he had made out such a statement, that it had passed from his hands into those of the Senator from Rhode Island, and that he was not able to furnish it to us.

Mr. ALDRICH. Will the Senator from Missouri permit me to interrupt him?

Mr. VEST. Certainly.

Mr. ALDRICH. I suppose the Senator from Missouri is quite willing to admit that with the exception of an estimate of revenue the tables furnished by Mr. Ford are the most complete which have ever been presented in regard to a tariff measure. The Senator knows as well as I do that an estimate of revenue is not simply a question of mechanical figuring upon the importations of a certain year, but it must be an estimate based upon the judgment of the particular person who is making it; and such an estimate we presented to the Senate to-day, which was the first occasion we had to submit it.

Mr. VEST. But, Mr. President, that does not answer my statement. We had a right, I take it, in all fairness of debate, to know what the estimates of the framers of the bill were in regard to the amount of revenue it would produce. That has always been done. Yet when the comparative statement is furnished to us it contains no such statement, and for the first time to-day we have heard from the other side of the Chamber what they believe the bill would produce in the way of revenue, both upon import duties and upon internal-revenue taxation. Let me ask the Senator from Rhode Island whether there ever was an estimate made by Mr. Ford in regard to the amount that would be produced by the bill?

Mr. ALDRICH. Mr. Ford made no specific and definite estimate as to the amount that would be produced by the bill. He stated to us that in his opinion neither the House bill nor the Senate bill would provide for the next year sufficient revenue to pay the expenditures of the Government or revenue greatly in excess of that produced under the act of 1894 in the year 1896. He did not furnish us any definite estimate by schedules and paragraphs as to the revenue to be derived from the bill.

Mr. VEST. I do not know, as a matter of course, with what duties Mr. Ford was charged. I do know that the very essence of this debate, the very essential thing that was to be determined, should be the amount of revenue that this proposed enactment would produce. I must be permitted to say, in all fairness, that the framers of the House bill did not evade that responsibility, but did make an estimate repeatedly, and published it to the world, in regard to the amount that the House bill would produce. I could not distinctly understand the Senator from Rhode Island in regard to the amount that he says this Senate bill will now produce in the shape of revenue, but as I heard him, it amounted to something like $50,000,000.

Mr. ALDRICH. One hundred and eighty-two million dollars from customs and $177,000,000——

Mr. VEST. I mean excess over the Wilson bill, as it is called—over the existing law.

Mr. ALDRICH. About $50,000,000.

Mr. VEST. There is a vast difference of opinion between the leaders of the Republican party in the House and the Senate upon this question, and we are entitled to know exactly upon what basis these calculations are made.

I hold in my hand an authorized statement made by Governor DINGLEY widely differing from the estimate of the Senator from Rhode Island. Governor DINGLEY states, allowing for the decrease of importations by reason of delay in the passage of this bill, that for the first year it would produce $75,000,000 in excess of existing law, and after that at least $100,000,000 a year. In order that I may do him no injustice, I will ask the Secretary to read that statement, an authoritative statement published in the press and given to the country at large.

The Secretary read as follows:

Chairman DINGLEY, of the Ways and Means Committee, in response to a request that he furnish a synopsis of the new tariff bill presented by him in the House yesterday, makes the following statement:

"The bill has two purposes, namely, to raise additional revenue and to encourage the industries of the United States.

"On the basis of the importations for the last fiscal year, the bill would increase the revenue about $112,000,000, divided among the several schedules, roughly, as follows:

"A—Chemicals, $3,500,000; B—Crockery and glassware, $4,000,000; C—Metals, $4,000,000; D—Woods, $1,750,000; E—Sugar, $21,750,000; F—Tobacco, $7,000,000; G—Agricultural, $6,300,000; H—Liquors, $1,800,000; I—Cottons, $1,700,000; J—Jute, linen, and hemp, $7,800,000; K—Wool, $17,500,000; manufactures of wool, $27,000,000; L—Silks, $1,500,000; M—Pulp and paper, $58,000; N—Sundries, $6,200,000.

ESTIMATED REVENUE FROM WOOL.

"This estimate is on the supposition that the imports of each class of goods would be same the next fiscal year as in the fiscal year ended last June. But as the imports of wool were three times as great, and those of woolen goods more than twice as great in pounds as in 1893, the committee assume that this excessive importation would be largely reduced by the proposed bill, although the fact that our domestic production of wool has diminished 8,000,000 pounds since 1893 will necessitate the importation of much more wool now than in the latter year. Assuming that the importations of wool will fall off at least one-third from those of 1896, on account of anticipatory imports to avoid

duties, we place the increased revenue from this source at $11,000,000. Anticipating also that the imports of woolens will fall off nearly 50 per cent from the enormous imports of 1896, we estimate the increased revenue from this source under the proposed rates at about $14,000,000. From sugar we estimate $20,000,000 additional revenue. Anticipating a considerable falling off of imports of Habana tobacco, because of the revolution in Cuba, we reduce the estimates of additional revenue to be derived from the tobacco schedule to $4,000,000.

DIMINISHED IMPORTS EXPECTED.

"The remaining schedules would afford a revenue of about thirty-nine and a half millions on the basis of the imports of 1896, but as there would probably be diminished imports at some points, although the gradual restoration of business activity would offset this by increasing the consumption of imported luxuries, we reduce the estimates of these to $31,000,000. These would aggregate an additional revenue of $80,000,000 the first year.

"A further reduction of five or ten millions for contingencies would leave $70,000,000 to $75,000,000 as the probable increased revenue from this bill the first year, which would undoubtedly rise to $100,000,000 the second year.

"These estimates are below rather than above the probable result, unless a considerable delay in the enactment of the bill should greatly enlarge the opportunity for imports of articles on which duties are to be raised—particularly wool and woolens—for speculative purposes. Undoubtedly, any delay beyond the 1st of May in placing the bill on the statute book would result in a large loss of revenue."

Mr. VEST. Mr. President, I had that paper read in justice to the distinguished author of this bill and for the purpose of showing the wide difference of opinion between the framers of the bill in the House of Representatives and the framers of the bill in the Senate.

With great respect to the Senator from Rhode Island, I distrust his estimates in regard to what will be the result of tariff legislation. I remember very well in 1894, when that Senator upon this floor declared that the Wilson bill, as it was termed, then pending in the Senate, would produce $100,000,000 surplus annually, and that every intelligent man must come to that conclusion.

It is true that the Wilson bill at that time contained the provision for an income tax, but no one ever estimated the proceeds of the income tax would be more than from $40,000,000 to $50,000,000 at the outside by the year, and yet the Senator from Rhode Island was confident that the Wilson bill, now so defective, and to meet the deficits of which he now resorts to internal-revenue taxation, would produce $100,000,000 annually as a surplus.

Mr. President, the deficits—recurring again to that subject—as shown by the official statements, are for 1894, $43,805,223; for 1895, $25,263,246; for 1897, estimated at $65,000,000. At this time the deficit is $35,000,000, and in the statement which I have made here I gave to the opponents of the Democratic party the full benefit of the estimate of $65,000,000 for the next fiscal year. I assert as a matter of fact that there will be no such deficit. There will not be a deficit of more than $40,000,000 for this fiscal year. We are now within a little more than a month of the end of the fiscal year, and it is impossible that the deficit should swell now to $65,000,000. Yet with this enormous surplus in the Treasury we are told that, in order to avoid repudiation and dishonor, and to meet the obligations of the Government, we must resort to a tax upon tea, increase the tax upon beer, and increase the tax upon manufactured tobacco and cigarettes, and enormously increase the import duties, as I shall show directly from the different schedules.

Mr. President, it is unfair to assume that this deficit will be increased, as has been done in the estimates heretofore made in other places. One material question that comes before us in this discussion is as to the expenditures of the Government. It is not fair to assume that the expenditures of the last Congress will continue. They were abnormal. They were admitted to have been beyond all sort of reason by fair men in all parties. For the last eighteen years the average expenditure in this country has been $5 per capita, according to the number of our citizens, and we have no right to assume, and it is unfair to the representatives of the people to assume, that there will be the enormous and excessive and profligate expenditure which has obtained in the two preceding Congresses.

I have in my hand an interesting statement in the nature of a review of an article published in the Scientific Monthly by David A. Wells. Whatever we may think about him in regard to his position upon financial and other economic questions, his great ability, his integrity of opinion, can not be questioned by the most bigoted partisan opponent in the land. This is a criticism by Edward Atkinson upon that article, to which I beg the earnest attention of the Senate, because, in my judgment, it discusses an element in this debate of the most serious and important character. I ask that it may be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

The average expenditures from 1879 to 1896, inclusive, have been a fraction under $5 per head, which sum, assessed upon 73,000,000 people, would come to $365,000,000.

The average expenditures under President Cleveland's first Administration were less than $4.50 per head, which sum, assessed on 73,000,000, would come to $328,500,000.

The average expenditures under the Harrison Administration, with the two first years of Cleveland's second, on which excessive contracts lapped over (six years in all), were $5.30 per head, which, assessed on 73,000,000, would come to $386,900,000.

In the last two years of Cleveland's term the expenditures have again been brought below $5 per head. It would therefore appear that on the experience of eighteen years of the Republican and Democratic Administrations of Hayes, Garfield, and Arthur, Cleveland, Harrison, and Cleveland, a rule had been established that $5 per capita is all that is needed. This rate has covered the cost of the new navy, the refund of direct taxes, the sugar bounty, the extinction of titles to Indian lands, and an expenditure for pensions in 1893 greater by 50 cents per head than it now is. Any expenditure above $5 per head must, therefore, be considered useless and wasteful.

The true problem therefore presented is how to raise a revenue of $5 per head from 73,000,000 people, say	$365,000,000
With a fraction under 50 cents per head added, to be applied to the reduction of debt, say	35,000,000
Total	400,000,000

Mr. Wells points out that the British budget is $450,000,000, assessed on less than 40,000,000 people.

During the same period of eighteen years, 1879 to 1896, the normal cost of government—civil, military, naval, Indians, and postal deficiency—has varied but a fraction from $2.50 per head	$2.50
Interest, pensions, sugar bounties, refund of direct taxes, and purchase of Indian lands	2.50
	5.00

The last three items are nonrecurrent; the interest and pensions are now less than $2.40, and are diminishing. We may, therefore, deal with the problem of how to raise a revenue of $400,000,000, or a fraction less than $5.50 per head, for expenditures and reduction of debt. At this rate, we provide $1 a head more than sufficed under Cleveland's first Administration.

SOURCES OF REVENUE.

For eighteen years, 1879–1896, the revenue from liquors and tobacco—domestic and foreign—has been, per head	$2.50
The miscellaneous permanent receipts have been more than	.25
The revenue from sugar for twelve years preceding 1890, when its abatement caused the subsequent deficiency, was per head	.90
Total	3.65

The sugar duties are by common consent now to be restored. With this assured revenue of $3.65 we have but $1.85 left, which sum assessed on 73,000,000 amounts to $135,500,000.

It will be remarked that the present tariff yields that sum substantially even after deducting liquors and tobacco.

That is to say, if the expenditures are limited to the average sum of $5 per head, which has sufficed for eighteen years, the present system of taxation with the proposed increase on sugar only will yield all the revenue needed, and in addition $35,000,000 for reduction of debt.

Mr. VEST. Mr. President, I take it that no one can successfully contradict the statements made in that paper. As a matter of course, if the Congress of the United States proposes to enter into profligate and unnecessary expenditure, then no human intellect can base any argument upon what will be done in the future; but I repeat, that in two Congresses the expenditures have been abnormal and beyond all precedent. I am not here making a personal or a partisan attack; I simply allude to historical truth when I say that the expenditure of a billion dollars in a Congress is abnormal, outrageous, and, with two exceptions, without precedent in the history of this country.

Are we to assume that this profligacy is to continue? Are we to assume that, in the face of the general distress in the country, the representatives of the people in both Houses will come here and indulge in all sorts of unnecessary expenditures of the public money? It would be a confession that our Government is a failure. It would be an announcement to the world that the people were unfit to choose their representatives and the representatives unfit to represent a free people. I take it for granted that if you will bring back the Government, no matter what party is in power, to an honest, fair, and economical expenditure of the public money, it will not exceed the average for the last eighteen years of $5 per capita, assuming we have 73,000,000 people.

If that be true, there is no necessity for increased taxation in the shape of import duties or internal taxes. It is an outrage upon the people of this country to take more money out of circulation to put it into the Treasury for spectacular purposes when the people of the whole country, and especially of the West and South, are pleading for additional money with which to transact the ordinary affairs of life.

What does this bill propose to do in its departure from the historic precedents of the party whose leaders have framed it? It is proposed to impose a tax upon tea of $9,389,140.70—and this is an official statement—upon beer, by the increase of 44 cents upon the barrel, of $14,541,222.63; upon snuff of $250,976.97; upon smoking tobacco of $5,073,342.75; upon cigarettes, under 3 pounds, $2,021,195.82, making an aggregate of the tax upon tea and internal-revenue taxes of $31,587,832; and yet we are told by the Republican party that this bill is framed to obtain revenue to protect the producers and manufacturers of the United States. Where is the protection to any manufacturer in the United States in the imposition of these taxes? What inference can there be, except that this is a naked and bald attempt to abandon the traditions of the Republican party upon the tariff question and resort to a tax upon articles simply for revenue, without regard to any protection at all?

But, Mr. President, I am more interested, I must confess, and naturally, in the effect of such legislation upon the people whom I immediately represent. My State is a large agricultural State; one of the largest in the Union. In my life, now verging upon threescore years and ten, I have never seen in that land of plenty

such depression and ruin as exists to-day. With abundant harvests, with a soil responding gladly to the labor of the husbandman, the people are without money and appealing to Congress for assistance from present conditions caused by they know not what. Have high tariffs brought them prosperity? Did the act of 1890 bring sunshine again to the homes of the farmers of the West and South? Mr. President, who believes that the imposition of these taxes will bring relief to the people whom President McKinley tells us are the great substratum of prosperity in this country?

Let me call your attention to some remarkable statistics which thrust themselves upon us and from which there is no escape. If we have heard anything ad nauseam for years from the advocates of a high protective policy, it is that whenever the manufacturing interests of the country were sufficiently protected prosperity would come to all the people. We have been told that it followed as light comes from the sun; that all the people of the country would be happy and prosperous if the manufacturers were placed upon the proper basis and sufficiently protected. We have heard it stated that under the Democratic policy there was no balance of trade in our favor, but it was always against us. We have been told that whenever the manufacturers of the United States were given the domestic market they could then reach out and take the foreign market, the farmer would have a market for his produce, and there would come, instead of depression and ruin, joy and happiness and prosperity.

I sent to the Treasury Department this morning and obtained an official account of the balance of trade in favor of the United States for the nine months ending March 30, 1897. The balance of trade in our favor for those nine months is $323,381,519.50. In other words, after supplying our own people, we shipped abroad and sold to foreigners this enormous amount of $323,381,519.50 more than we bought from them in the nine months ending March 30. Where is the prosperity that comes from the balance of trade? If to sell more than you buy be national prosperity, why does it not exist in this country? I think the balance of trade in our favor for the last year was $102,000,000, and now it is three times as much, or more than that, and yet the farmers of the country are in the same condition of depression——

Mr. COCKRELL. Worse.

Mr. VEST. And appealing in vain to the legislators of the United States for relief.

I have here a very remarkable statement—I am not intending to make a rhetorical address, for the tariff is essentially a business and economic question—I have here a very remarkable statement showing the condition of our export trade, which I propose to put in the RECORD and ask the attention of the Senate to it.

The Secretary read as follows:

The exports of manufactured goods during March, 1897, were $25,874,469, over $6,500,000 more than during the same month in 1896, and more than twice as much as during March, 1895. It is estimated that the value of the exports of manufactures during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1897, will be $261,000,000. This is some $32,500,000 more than the total for last year. A computation of the gain has been made by Government statisticians, the periods compared being the nine months ending March, 1897, as compared with the nine months ending March, 1896.

The exports of printing presses have gained 50 per cent during the term specified; locomotive engines show an increase of over half a million; stationary engines an increase of $65,000; boilers an increase of $147,000; all other classes of machinery large increases; steel rails show a marvelous upbound to $1,729,299. To sum up the total of manufactures of steel and iron (not including ores), the increase during the term specified is more than $12,000,000. Corresponding increases are noticed in other lines. For instance, bags, twine, cordage, an increase from $1,350,198 to $1,647,030; glassware, $785,143 to $889,626; greases, etc., from $1,084,325 to $1,500,021; scientific instruments and apparatus, $1,892,925 to $2,197,105. The exports of lead and manufactures of lead have about quadrupled. Starch has jumped from $573,978 to $983,841; varnish from $257,615 to $304,477.

The manufactures of wood show an increase of nearly $1,000,000; chemicals, drugs, dyes, medicines, etc., an increase from $6,647,154 to $7,318,474; clocks, watches, etc., from $1,036,927 to $1,291,129; brass and manufactures thereof, from $595,056 to $847,349. American bicycles show an increase during the nine months mentioned from $670,357 to $4,165,680. Cotton cloths have increased 60 per cent; builders' hardware, 21 per cent; paper and its manufactures, 10 per cent; boots and shoes, more than 20 per cent; electrical and scientific apparatus, about 15 per cent. There were other notable gains in the amounts of exports, but these were the most important. And it is to be remembered that the fiscal year 1896 was considered a remarkable year, showing a voluminous gain in the amount of manufactured goods sent out of the country over 1895. In most of the cases, which were not numerous, where a loss instead of a gain is noted this year, exporters find specific local causes leading thereto.

Not only has the bulk of exports increased remarkably, but the scope of manufactured goods for foreign consumption has been widened considerably during the last few years. A printed list of the articles now sold in foreign lands includes more than 2,500 items, and the demand for new lines is constantly on the increase. The number of firms catering to the export trade is largely on the increase. The representative of a prominent New York exporting firm says that the last few years have seen an awakening among merchants and manufacturers in the matter of the possibilities of foreign trade. Three years ago, out of 260,000 manufacturers, only 4,000 of them were making any palpable effort to effect a distribution of their wares in foreign markets. The rest of them seemed unaware that in New York City alone there existed 325 firms the business of which was the purchase of goods for export and the daily practice of which was to pay cash for the goods bought, taking the risk with the foreign client. Since then many thousands of firms have discovered that they not only have a foreign market, but that it is an eminently lucrative one, even when business is done through a middleman exporter.

Mr. VEST. Mr. President, in that connection, I ask permission to insert a table, for the correctness of which I have the highest official authority, showing the enormous increase in the exports of our metallic manufactures from the year 1886 to the year 1896, the increase being conspicuous under this derided Wilson law, of which we hear so many anathemas from so many different quarters. I do not care about it being read, but I shall insert it in the RECORD.

The table is as follows:

Value of exports of finished articles of manufactures of iron and steel, progressed above the crude and half-manufactured state, and of other manufactures of similar character where metals are the component material of chief value, in 1886, 1891, and 1896.

Articles.	Fiscal year.		
	1886.	1891.	1896.
Agricultural implements:			
Mowers and reapers	$1,288,000	$1,587,000	$2,889,000
Plows and cultivators	322,000	597,000	680,000
All other and parts of	757,000	1,035,000	1,075,000
Total	2,367,000	3,219,000	4,644,000
Brass, and manufactures of	150,000	297,000	1,026,000
Carriages, cars, and parts	1,928,000	4,911,000	2,747,000
Clocks and watches	1,366,000	1,580,000	1,659,000
Copper manufactures	109,000	190,000	819,000
Cycles, and parts of	.....	.....	3,796,000
Instruments and apparatus for scientific purposes	480,000	1,576,000	2,717,000
Iron and steel manufactures:			
Cutlery	112,000	146,000	188,000
Firearms	1,779,000	859,000	734,000
Builders' hardware, etc	2,466,000	3,858,000	6,140,000
Machinery, sewing	2,585,000	2,869,000	3,051,000
Other machinery	4,469,000	13,425,000	22,513,000
Nails	294,000	440,000	821,000
Scales and balances	281,000	318,000	377,000
Stoves and ranges	196,000	248,000	304,000
Wire	335,000	860,000	1,788,000
All other	2,284,000	3,987,000	8,193,000
Total	14,801,000	27,010,000	44,109,000
Lamps, chandeliers, etc	546,000	509,000	730,000
Musical instruments	871,000	1,336,000	1,269,000
Total	22,618,000	40,618,000	63,516,000

Mr. VEST. Mr. President, I think I have shown, for I am very certain of it myself, that there is no necessity for the imposition of more taxation in order to meet the demands upon the Treasury of the United States. But even if that necessity existed, experience teaches us that our friends upon the other side have taken the wrong road, at least so far as import duties are concerned, in order to bring about increased revenue.

I have before me the official statement of the estimates that were made in 1890, which I happen to have found among the papers pertaining to that debate, as to the amount that would be put into the Treasury of the United States by the passage of the McKinley bill. The estimate, which was based, of course, upon the importations of 1889, was $201,689,907. In 1891, after the act had taken effect enormously increasing tariff taxation, the amount collected by the Government was $215,790,686, which is a few million dollars over the estimate made by the framers of the bill. But now mark the sequel. In 1892, the next year, the receipts fell off under the enormous taxation of the McKinley Act from $215,790,686 to $173,098,400, and in 1893 to $198,373,452. So increase of taxation does not always produce increase of revenue.

For the purposes of my argument, I care not whether the Senator from Rhode Island be correct in his estimates or the author of the House bill, Governor DINGLEY, in his. I answer both of them that there is no necessity for increased taxation, because there is money enough in the Treasury, and it is a crime to increase the dead capital of the nation.

Mr. CHANDLER. Will the Senator from Missouri allow me to interrupt him at this point?

Mr. VEST. Certainly.

Mr. CHANDLER. He began his remarks by stating that there is an enormous surplus in the Treasury. The Senator did not allude to the reason for the existence of that surplus.

Mr. VEST. I care not.

Mr. CHANDLER. I think it would be a mistake if his speech went to the country with that important omission. The Senator says it is there, and that it is a crime to increase it, and yet he has made no allusion to the way in which it got there. I understood the Senator to be comparing revenue systems one with another. Did the Senator mean that the great surplus in the Treasury is the result of the operation of the revenue system of the Government created under the Wilson Act, or will he state how the surplus got there before he calls it a crime to have it there?

Mr. VEST. It does not matter in the slightest degree how the

money got there, provided it got there lawfully; and if it did not, the Senator from New Hampshire would be the first to detect the illegality and to denounce it. We all know it came there from the sale of bonds. For myself, I am not responsible for that action of the Government.

Mr. CHANDLER. Ought not the Senator to have stated that when he began his arraignment?

Mr. VEST. The money is there. It is just as illogical to refer to the source of that money as it would be in any business calculation to leave out what any man receives from inheritance and without working for it.

Mr. CHANDLER. Will the Senator allow me? He began a comparison of revenue systems. He began to arraign this side of the Chamber for bringing in a revenue bill——

Mr. VEST. I beg the Senator's pardon.

Mr. CHANDLER. And contrasted it with the Wilson Act.

Mr. VEST. I beg the Senator's pardon.

Mr. CHANDLER. And he went on to make a political speech on the revenue question. Was it fair for the Senator, with his known fairness, to fail to allude to the source of the $139,000,000 which he says is in the Treasury, and which he says it is a crime for this side of the Chamber to increase by a revenue law to the extent of a dollar?

Mr. VEST. We are confronted with a status. We have got so much money in the Treasury of the United States, and a legislator who would go back and quibble about the place from which the money came, when considering the question of meeting the obligations of the Government, is unworthy to be called a legislator. The money is there, and because it came there from the sale of bonds we are precluded from discussing what shall be done now to meet the obligations of the Government for the future. There it is; so much money. Do you propose to give it away, to throw it away, or to use it? What right have the representatives of the people to impose more taxes upon them when the people's money is already there to meet the obligations that come upon the Government? If I am correct in my statement as to the amount of money, whether it came from the sale of bonds or from taxes or from any other legitimate source is entirely outside of the proposition I am considering. "It is unfair!" It is entirely legitimate and entirely logical for me to ask, Why do you put more taxes upon the people when this money is there?

But, Mr. President, let me ask a question. If we are exporting more than we are buying to the amount of $321,000,000 in nine months—and I have seen the statement, by estimate, that for the fiscal year our balance of trade, as it is termed, would amount to $325,222,000—and if the manufacturers of this country, who are furnishing more than 26 per cent of the articles that are carried abroad, are filling the demands of the home market and then sending abroad this surplus, where is the necessity for protecting them? Where is the necessity for the increase of tariff taxes? It would seem to me, unversed as I am in the science of protection, that that would be an ideal condition. They have not only filled the demands of the home market, but they are now sending abroad 26 per cent of the exports, the proceeds of their manufactured goods, and competing with foreigners.

Mr. GALLINGER. May I interrupt the Senator from Missouri?

Mr. VEST. Certainly.

Mr. GALLINGER. I know of an instance where a very large invoice of goods went abroad from Manchester, N. H., that was sold for less than cost. The fact is that under the Wilson law our people are too poor to purchase for themselves, and our manufacturers have to sell their goods for just what they can get abroad, which they have been doing.

Mr. VEST. I suppose the remedy would be to increase the price of goods to the American consumer. I see no other remedy from the standpoint of the Senator from New Hampshire.

Mr. GALLINGER. I will say frankly to the Senator that I think a tariff law might occasion a little increase in the price of goods to the American consumer, but, inasmuch as he would get something for his labor and be better able to buy goods, he would be better off than he is now.

Mr. VEST. Let us deal frankly with this question. The only possible argument that explains the enormous balance of trade in favor of the United States in these times of depression is that frankly given by some of the protection papers—I have never heard it yet in Congress—that the abnormally low prices of all articles, not only the products of agriculture, but manufactured goods, have caused and necessitated exportations from this country, because the people here are not able to buy.

The farmers of the United States have nothing with which to buy manufactured goods. They receive nothing, comparatively, for their own products. When they ship abroad, they ship, as a matter of course, at a loss; and it is possible that the manufacturers ship at a loss. This balance of trade, then, is produced by the terrible depression that exists in this country. And what is the cause of that depression? Does any man believe that a high tariff will give relief? Did the McKinley tariff give it? Did the tariff of 1894, which was high enough, in all conscience, to satisfy almost any protectionist, give relief?

How are you to increase your home market by putting up tariff taxes, when the home market is already supplied and this enormous surplus is going abroad? Can any Senator answer that question in the course of this debate?

Mr. GALLINGER. If the Senator from Missouri will permit me, I will state that the six little New England States consume 3,000,000 barrels of flour per annum when they are prosperous, when the mills are running, and it all comes from the West. Almost every bushel of corn that is consumed there comes from the West, and so as to almost every pound of beef. If our mills are silent, or if our operatives are getting wages much less than they have been accustomed to receive, they can not consume the products of the West, and hence the Western farmer suffers in common with the Eastern manufacturer and the Eastern operative.

Mr. VEST. We are obliged to the people of New England for giving us even a limited market for our agricultural products, but it is not in New England that the price of our products is fixed. The price is fixed in Liverpool and in foreign markets, and I will tell you what, in my judgment, is the matter with the farmers of the West and of the South, and why the terrible depression rests like a pall of gloom upon the country to-day. It is because the agricultural exporter and producer, the farmer of the United States, is brought in competition with the gold premium. He is confronted with the products of agriculture where the labor is paid for in silver. The products are paid for at gold prices, and we, being upon the gold standard, are competing now with silver-using countries, always with the gold premium against us.

Mr. GALLINGER. Will it interrupt the Senator if I make a statement?

Mr. VEST. No.

Mr. GALLINGER. We have heard that argument on this floor a great many times during the past year, the Senator from Nevada [Mr. STEWART] being the one who has usually made it. He has compared this country with Japan, saying that Japan was much more prosperous, because she was on the silver standard while we were on the gold standard. But Japan very recently has repudiated the silver standard and has adopted the gold standard.

Mr. STEWART. The Senator from New Hampshire means that Japan has been bought out.

Mr. GALLINGER. Ah, that is all right.

Mr. VEST. I take it the answer will never be made during this debate, here or elsewhere, to the question how you are to increase the prosperity of the farmers of this country by increasing tariff or internal-revenue taxes. What we need is to put money into the hands of the purchasers of the country, the farmers of the country. You can never have prosperity with a falling market. If any Republican friend of mine will relieve us of the falling market, I will follow him and fight under his flag and never ask to what political faith he belongs. You may pass tariff laws from morn till night, until we are exhausted, but until you stop the falling prices you can not have prosperity in the United States.

Men with money will not invest when the market is going down; men without money can not buy, and men can not obtain money unless they can sell for remunerative prices. You are confronted to-day with a condition of things obvious to every man, and yet you are seeking for a remedy which the experience of the past and the logic of the present, it seems to me, absolutely prove is utterly futile.

Mr. President, I do not intend to discuss the financial question, for I have spoken now longer than I intended, and only under a sense of profound duty on account of my position on the Finance Committee. As I say, I do not intend to discuss the financial question, but I am just as sure as I am of anything that can possibly be determined that the proposed tariff law will not relieve the country, and that your imposition of import and internal-revenue taxation will simply increase the trouble and not bring relief to the people.

I do not propose to go into the schedules. There is time enough to discuss them when they are reached. Incidentally I am compelled to notice one or two observations made by the Senator from Rhode Island. In the first place, the salient feature of every tariff bill is the sugar schedule. It has always produced more discussion than any other, not even excepting wool, and it always will. If there is any schedule in any tariff bill almost impossible of comprehension, it is the sugar schedule. Ingenious statements can be framed and are framed every day from different standpoints showing the differential between the raw and the refined sugar.

The Senator from Rhode Island ingeniously has presented to us one showing his conclusion in regard to the differential in the bill as reported by the Finance Committee. The whole tax turns upon one single question, in my judgment, and nobody but an expert inside of a refinery is able to determine it: How many pounds of

a certain grade of raw sugar will make 100 pounds of refined sugar, and what will be the waste, as they call it, or the excess after the 100 pounds are made?

Take the testimony of the experts before the Ways and Means Committee of the House and the numberless publications in newspapers, and what do they prove? One witness testifies that as to sugar at 75 degrees polariscopic test it will take 147 pounds of raw sugar to make 100 pounds of refined, and then that there will be some twenty-odd pounds of soft sugar and 2 or 3 gallons of molasses left in the waste, and then the refiner gets his drawback for the 147 pounds of sugar which he has purchased from the importer. Of some grades of sugar by polariscopic test it requires, according to one expert, 117 pounds, another 100 pounds, another 107, and another 122 pounds. How much the waste is, how much the drawback is, is known only to the initiated and to the experts inside the refinery, and never will be known to us.

One of the officers of the sugar trust testified in the Lexow examination that their profit last year was 21 per cent net. How was it made? You know it could not have been made upon the face of any of the tables presented to us. It is made upon the drawback; it is made upon the waste, as they call it, the molasses and soft sugar, which, after making 100 pounds of refined sugar, then becomes the clear profit of the refiner.

I do not now care to discuss the question of the Hawaiian treaty; whether the sugar from Hawaii should come in free or dutiable. Upon that question I do say to my friends upon the other side, who inserted the provision we find in the bill, that it would have been much better and fairer if they had undertaken to repeal directly the treaty between this country and Hawaii. Congress, as a matter of course, has a right to repeal any treaty stipulation it may please, but we ought not to attempt to do it by indirection. We are told that another provision will be suggested, and I await it before I further express myself upon the subject.

Mr. President, taking the lead schedule, to which the Senator from Rhode Island alluded, how is it possible to defend an increase in the duty upon lead? We export millions upon millions of pounds. The State of Missouri is more largely interested possibly in galena ore than any other State in the Union. I undertake to say we need no protection. When we supply the home market, when the lead trust is making millions and millions of dollars and declaring its enormous dividends of 12 per cent upon its stock, why should we put up the duty half a cent a pound, double the duty upon lead, and nearly double it upon white lead, which goes upon the cottage of every poor man in the land.

It seems to me that the increase is utterly indefensible. At a time of great adversity and great depression, we reach into the hovel and the humble homes of the poor people of the whole country and impose taxes upon them in order to feed the cormorant greed of this trust and monopoly. I stand here to-day representing a State which I say is more largely interested in galena ore than any other State in the Union and disclaim any desire for such taxation.

But take another schedule. I do not propose to go into it, but take the crockery and earthen ware schedule, to which my friend the Senator from Rhode Island alluded. The increases in that schedule, I was about to say, are appalling. They were too high in the Wilson Act, by far too high, and none of us upon this side attempted to defend them. We were then in the condition the Senator from Rhode Island is in now, when he says that in order to obviate certain difficulties upon this floor he had to put in certain duties. The crockery and earthenware schedule, under the Wilson Act, as it is termed, is an enormous one, and I am bound to say never should have been put there. But our friends have increased it. They have made the duties absolutely prohibitory, and I will undertake to prove it mathematically when the schedule is reached.

The duties are put up on common earthenware, white, plain earthenware, that goes into the homes of the poor men and the mechanics of the country, until it is absolutely impossible that any should come in from abroad. Is that revenue? Is that protection to American manufactures, or is it oppression, outrageous oppression, upon the poor and common people of the country?

Now I come to the enormous duty on wool. There, again, our Republican friends are hopelessly divided. Upon one day I read the appeals of Justice, Bateman & Co., who represent the woolen manufacturers. They want the Senate bill.

Mr. ALDRICH. The House bill.

Mr. VEST. No; they want the Senate bill, so far as the taxation upon the third-class wool is concerned, but to put back the taxes upon first and second class wool to where they were under the Dingley bill, so called. They would be satisfied with the McKinley Act, according to their last communication. About the time I have come to the conclusion that I know what the wool manufacturers and the wool people in the United States want, I receive a communication from Mr. Lawrence, the shepherd king, president of the Wool Growers' Association of the United States, and he denounces the McKinley Act, and says it was outrageous on the woolgrower; he denounces the Wilson Act, and then he denounces the Dingley bill and the Senate bill, and says that none of them will give relief to the woolgrowers of this country; that all the duties should be put higher.

About the time I think I understand something about wool, and am considering third-class or carpet wools, I am told by the very highest authority, General GROSVENOR of Ohio, representing a wool State, that there is no such thing as carpet wool raised in this country. Mr. Lawrence says there is. Justice, Bateman & Co. say there is.

Now, I have a statement to make—and I do not propose to go into the intricacies of the wool schedule this afternoon—and on it I challenge contradiction. The only era, the only time, in which there was a stop or a hesitation in the downward fall and grade of wool prices was after the enactment of the derided Wilson bill. From 1867, when the ideal wool tariff was enacted, according to Mr. Lawrence—and I believe Justice, Bateman & Co. say the same thing—the price of wool commenced declining. Of course it went up in 1872 and 1873 under abnormal speculation, but it went down again, and it resumed its downward grade under the highest possible tariff.

When the McKinley Act was enacted the wool manufacturers and the woolgrowers said, "Io triomphe! At last we have reached the haven of rest, and we will now have the highest prices for wool and woolen goods." Wool never stopped an instant in its downward grade. It continued to fall, and the woolgrowers of the United States were still complaining until the derided Wilson bill was passed, and it had then fallen to something like 17½ or 18 cents for XX Ohio wool. The fall stopped when we put wool upon the free list. There was an increase of 2 cents a pound in the price, and I believe to-day, or the last time I looked, it is 21 or 21½ cents for the same grade.

I know we are told that Port Philip wool, which is the same grade of Australian wool, did not keep pace with the XX Ohio wool, that being sold in the English market and here; but it can be shown, and I will show, that whilst there were ordinary fluctuations here and abroad in both grades of wool, the fact remains that, for the first time in the history of the wool market, after the enactment of the Wilson bill, which put wool upon the free list, the fall in the price of American wool was stopped. As a matter of course, there has been no great increase, because there has been no increase in the price of any commodity; but there was an increase between the date of the passage of that act and from day to day since, with the exception of a very few days when there were the ordinary fluctuations in the market, until to-day XX Ohio wool is higher in the market than it was when the Wilson bill was enacted.

Now, my friend the Senator from Rhode Island alluded to the duty upon hides. A good deal could be said in regard to that duty, and some of it of a very highly interesting historical character. I remember in 1890 the hide duty had a history. If any Senator will turn—I believe I have it here—to the report of Mr. McKinley, now President of the United States, upon the McKinley bill, he will find that he reported that a duty had been placed upon hides. When the bill was published, it was found that hides were still on the free list.

It is said—I do not know anything about the secret history of the transaction—that after the Committee on Ways and Means in the House, of which Mr. DINGLEY was also then a member, had agreed to put a duty upon hides, certain distinguished members of the Massachusetts delegation called upon them and informed them very graphically and distinctly that if a duty were put upon hides the hide of the McKinley bill would be found upon the fence. It was concluded to put back hides upon the free list, and it was done; but in the hurry and confusion of the change Mr. McKinley forgot to change his report, and to-day we have the report reading one way and the act of Congress reading the other.

I do not possess the gift of prophecy, nor do I claim it, but I do undertake to say that the duty will not remain upon hides. Our Western friends who are clamoring for a duty may possess their souls in such patience as they can; hides will go back on the free list. I do not pretend to say that I shall resist their going back. I believe that they should be free. But those Republican Senators who think they can coerce New England and the boot and shoe manufacturer of that very thrifty and energetic section of the Union into putting a duty upon hides have not read accurately the history of this country, and especially of political parties.

Mr. President, great changes have come since 1890 upon this tariff question. None of us who were here then can forget the constant refrain, repeated so often in the Halls of Congress, about a free breakfast table. The Democratic party was told the Republican party proposed to give the honest laboring man free coffee, free tea, free sugar. We had the most graphic, pathetic, and eloquent picture of the poor man's family sitting down to an untaxed breakfast table, and, in connection with that, we were told upon the highest authority that there should be never any duty upon

sugar, because that duty was paid strictly by the consumer. In some cases they said it was possible that the importer paid a portion of the tax, but it was never the case in regard to sugar.

I happened, in looking over an old debate and the accompanying reports, to find a declaration of the President of the United States, which I ask to have read.

Mr. COCKRELL. The present President?

Mr. VEST. The present President of the United States, Governor McKinley. It goes very far to settle some disputed points in regard to the tariff question.

The Secretary read as follows:

"So large a proportion of our sugar is imported that the home production of sugar does not affect the price, and the duty is therefore a tax, which is added to the price not only of the imported, but of the domestic product, which is not true of duties imposed on articles produced or made here substantially to the extent of our wants."—*McKinley's report on bill of 1890.*

In the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of September 8, 1890, volume 21, page 9878, Senator ALDRICH said:

"Whatever duty we remove from raw sugars will be for the benefit and the direct benefit of the people of the United States. We are dealing with an article which cost our people $150,000,000 last year. We will by this legislation save to the people who purchase sugar, and it is very nearly a per capita tax, because the poor man uses almost as much as the rich, $50,000,000 that is now levied upon them by direct tax."

Senator HALE said:

"The reciprocity amendment, adopted by a Republican Congress and signed by a Republican President, was based upon the determination of the Republican party to put upon the tables of the American people untaxed sugar and to reduce the surplus revenue of the country to the extent of $60,000,000 per year."

In the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of July 30, 1890, volume 21, page 7888, the Senator from Vermont [Mr. MORRILL] said:

"The question of adding free sugar to the breakfast table presents even a stronger case than tea and coffee presented in 1872 for like treatment. Every dollar of the duty imposed comes out of the poor as well as of the rich. If we can prudently do without the revenue of over $50,000,000, clearly it should be done without hesitation. There is no article so largely and so equally consumed by the people."

Mr. VEST. It would be unjust not to supplement those statements by one made by my distinguished friend from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON], from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 26, part 6, Fifty-third Congress, second session, page 5697, June 4, 1894:

I pause here—

He said—

to call attention to the fact that the sugar schedule, as it is now proposed, is in its essence a capitation tax, a tax upon every man, woman, and child in the United States of $1.

Mr. President, I do not know that it would add much to the debate if the opinions of eminent Republicans in regard to the pending Senate tariff bill should be placed before us. The bill has been denounced for various reasons; but it is enough for me to say that, in my judgment, there is no necessity for increased taxes, and especially is there no necessity at this time, when great depression exists throughout the country.

We do not propose, as I said in the beginning, to make factious opposition to this measure. We intend to discuss it fairly, earnestly, and justly. We do not expect to put unnecessary obstacles in the way of its being enacted. I think that I state the feelings of everyone upon this side of the Chamber when I say that if our friends can bring relief, if they can shed light upon our darkened path, I shall hail that light with joy, no matter in whose hands the lamp may be. I can say honestly and truly, even to the Senator from New Hampshire or the Senator from Rhode Island, that—

> Keep thou my feet;
> I do not ask to see the distant scene;
> One step's enough for me.

Give prosperity to the country, relieve the people, and for myself I shall give the meed of praise where it belongs, and shall gladly accept the result, no matter from what source it comes.

Mr. QUAY. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

Mr. CHANDLER. Will the Senator from Pennsylvania allow me to make one remark?

Mr. CANNON. Will the Senator from Pennsylvania withdraw the motion for an executive session pending the presentation by me of an amendment with a few observations thereon?

Mr. QUAY. I will do so with the understanding that the motion will be renewed at the expiration of the remarks of the Senator from Utah.

Mr. CHANDLER. Will the Senator from Utah allow me to give a notice?

Mr. CANNON. Certainly.

Mr. CHANDLER. During the morning hour to-morrow I shall ask the Senate to take up the joint resolution to provide for sending the contributions to India and seek to obtain a vote upon it. I hope at that time the Senator from Alabama [Mr. MORGAN] will be ready to agree with me as to the time when a vote may be taken.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. President, I send to the desk and ask the Secretary to read a proposed amendment to the pending tariff bill.

The Secretary read as follows:

Amendment intended to be proposed by Mr. CANNON to the bill (H. R. 379) to provide revenue for the Government and to encourage the industries of the United States.

And from and after sixty days from the passage of this act there shall be paid, out of any moneys in the Treasury of the United States not otherwise appropriated, to any exporter of wheat or wheat flour, rye or rye flour, corn, ground or unground, cotton, hops, or tobacco produced wholly in the United States and exported by sea from any port in the United States to any port of any other country, the following export bounty, by way of an equalization to agriculture of the benefits of this act to encourage the industries of the United States, to wit: Ten cents per bushel on wheat; 50 cents per barrel on wheat flour; 10 cents per bushel on rye; 50 cents per barrel on rye flour; 5 cents per bushel on corn; 10 cents per cental on corn, ground; 1 cent per pound on cotton; 2 cents per pound on hops; 2 cents per pound on tobacco. And all payments of bounty under this act shall be made upon negotiable vouchers, issued by the collector of customs at the port of clearance, upon presentation at the Treasury or any subtreasury of the United States; and the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby charged with making and enforcing such regulations as may be necessary for the full protection of the exporters and of the Government according to the true intent and meaning of this law.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. President, I do not rise at this time to antagonize the protective-tariff principle, nor shall I occupy the attention of the Senate at this late hour in the afternoon in any general or detailed criticism of the bill which has been presented here. On the contrary, the proposition of the amendment is directly in the interest of the protective principle and its equitable application to the people of the United States. It was with great surprise, upon an examination of the measure, I found that the great class of our population who have from the beginning not only supported the protective-tariff party by their votes, but have supported the protective-tariff principle by their industry from the beginning of its operation, were in a large degree excluded from any of its benefits. It is, I say, to supply a very patent omission from the measure as it now stands that the amendment is proposed and will be advocated here until a vote shall be had thereon.

The bill as it is offered to-day affords no protection to agricultural staples. There is remaining, I presume, no advocate of the protective-tariff system who will contend that in this bill with these import duties there is afforded any protection or benefit of increased price arising from import duties upon any of those commodities of which we export our surplus. Nor are there remaining at the present time in the school of protection very many men who will contend, and none who will prove, that the indirect protection afforded to the farmer by the tariff on manufactured goods is sufficient compensation to him for the vast cost entailed upon him in carrying the protective-tariff system upon manufactured goods.

The day was, Mr. President, when the American farmer, with free soil to all, with the most advanced agricultural machinery known in the world, could not only pay the cost of his production, but could carry the weight of the great civilization of this country. But a new world condition has arisen. There are vast areas of agricultural land opened in the steppes of Russia, in Argentina; and the Hungarian peasant and the peon of South American countries to-day have machinery only one year behind the most advanced in use in the United States, and the producer of staples in America must sell in competition with these lands. It has become apparent to all thoughtful observers, and certainly it is known to all who have any direct connection with the agricultural industry of the United States, that the farmer can not, and the man who reads him well knows that the farmer will not, much longer bear this burden.

There are three remedies possible, Mr. President. One, and the right remedy, is a restoration of money conditions, by which we will get a world's rise in prices particularly beneficial to the agricultural producer, particularly applicable to the present situation in the United States. But I venture to say that such remedy will not be adopted by this Congress. It will scarcely be proposed here. The second remedy, and one which I, as a believer in protection, would be ready to accept rather than to hold to and vote for an inequitable bill, would be absolute free trade, by which the farmer might buy as cheaply as he is compelled to sell; and that remedy this Congress will not seek to enforce. There remains, then, but the third—the application of an export bounty which shall in a measure give restitution to the farmer for the higher prices which he is compelled to pay in protected markets.

No proposition based upon the declaration of equal protection to all the industries of the United States is complete, nor can there be successfully made a contention that it is just, unless it gives to the exporter of agricultural staples from the United States an equivalent benefit to that given to the manufacturer by the imposition of an import duty.

A duty of 25 cents a bushel upon wheat is a delusion and a snare. The farmer of the United States gets no benefit from it. The imposition of duty upon cotton, if that were attempted, would be of no value to the cotton producer. The imposition of a duty on rye is of no value to the farmer of the United States. Every other protected industry has a direct benefit from this

tariff, because where we do not produce in the United States sufficient for our own consumption and a quantity considerable in extent for export, the import duty serves as a means whereby the local producer can enhance the price to the local consumer.

We have the highest testimonials in behalf of this proposition. Some of the purest and best statesmen the United States has had have been its advocates. Hamilton and Albert Gallatin gave their voice to it. Hamilton went so far as to say that every dollar of duty collected for the protection of manufactures should be given back to agriculture through the medium of an export bounty, because it was inevitably taken from agriculture. Webster and Clay inferentially indorsed the same proposition, and the people of the United States are giving their approval to it now.

I am in receipt of communications from State and Pomona granges, shipping organizations, boards of trade, and clergymen, all advocating that this principle shall be inaugurated at this time in behalf of equitable protection to the people of the United States.

Mr. David Lubin, who in recent years has been the unceasing advocate of this principle among the people, has found within the last eighteen months scarcely any opposition even among the laborers of the United States, who at first imagined that the price of breadstuffs was to be increased to them by this means.

The rates are not excessive. They are scarcely equal to the imposition of tariff upon manufactured goods. The cost to the Treasury of the United States will not be burdensome. If we shall take out from the Treasury and distribute among the farmers of the United States the $48,129,546 per annum which this system will cost, based upon our exports of agricultural staples in the year ending June 30, 1896, we will only have given back to the channels of trade some portion of that surplus which the pending bill will otherwise pile up in the Treasury, according to its advocates.

At the rates proposed, and taking our staples exported during the year ending June 30, 1896, the United States Treasury would pay for wheat and wheat flour sent abroad annually $13,375,440; for rye and rye flour $100,734; for corn, ground and unground, $5,055,018; for cotton $23,352,263; for hops $335,305, and for tobacco $5,910,786.

The immediate benefit to the farmer derived from the Treasury of the United States would not be all. For this comparatively small expenditure to him he would receive for these staples more than $225,000,000 in higher prices than he now receives. It is true that this would increase the price of breadstuffs to the consumers in the cities; but under the declaration made here to-day that with higher prices the people will be more able to buy, we will have a larger consumption of wheat and wheat flour and other agricultural staples in the cities of the country than we have now at the low prices.

The Senator from Missouri inquired to-day if the remedy for the people's inability to purchase was to tax the people and make goods higher, so that they who could not buy to-day might be able to buy at higher prices; and he was answered that if prices were elevated by means of the imposition of a tariff the people would get better wages and thus have the greater power to buy the product of Western farms. It is a noticeable fact that the consumption of staple agricultural products has fallen off in the United States per capita. This remedy, under the argument, will restore that consumption to its normal figure; and if there be any virtue in protective tariffs, this will give to every man bread enough, because a sufficient tariff on woolen goods will give him clothes enough.

Mr. BUTLER. Mr. President, the Senator from Utah said he was in favor of about $13,000,000 export duty on wheat at 10 cents a bushel. If we pay an export bounty of 10 cents a bushel, that will raise the price of every bushel of wheat, whether exported or consumed at home, that much, will it not?

Mr. CANNON. Certainly it will.

Mr. BUTLER. Then, for an investment of $13,000,000, which the Government would pay out in the shape of an export bounty, the wheat farmers of the country would get their protection of sixty or seventy million dollars, would they not?

Mr. CANNON. They would, if there be any truth in the protective principle.

Mr. BUTLER. That would be a very good investment.

Mr. CANNON. It would be a very good investment if it were to be made in behalf of any manufacturing industry or any trust in the United States, but anything in behalf of the farmer is looked upon with scorn and is considered a doubtful investment by the Legislature of the United States.

Mr. SEWELL. Will the Senator allow me to ask him where this $49,000,000 will come from? In what schedule would our friend from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH] put it? Where are you going to raise it?

Mr. CANNON. Mr. President, according to the statements made concerning this bill by its friends, it will raise a sufficient surplus to enable the Treasury of the United States to bear this comparatively small charge. If it shall not, under the ordinary expenditures of the Government, I would recommend that Congress limit the amount of money paid for armor plate to an honest figure, and the amount of money paid out for other expenditures to an economical basis, and thereby the Treasury will have enough means with which to discharge this debt of honor.

In addition, Mr. President, it is a very poor argument, when you have been robbing some man for years and he asks you for justice, to say that you propose to continue to rob him of more, and say that you do not know where you are going to get the money with which to restore that which you have unrighteously taken. It is the very first duty of the Congress of the United States to provide a bill which shall not only be honest in its present application, but which shall pay back some portion of that which has been taken from the pockets of the toilers of this land. I believe we can cut the billion-dollar expenditures of this country down to $900,000,000 for each Congress, and that will provide ample means with which to discharge the obligations raised by this amendment.

I have voted most cheerfully for war ships, for armament, for all kinds of expenditures desired by the Eastern Representatives and Senators in Congress, but, rather than to leave the farmer of the United States much longer without hope, I would be willing that we should skip two or three years in the ordering of war ships. I would rather see both the Carnegie and Bethlehem armor-plate works closed down than to see a million farms sold out in the United States.

I think, Mr. President, that if we shall adopt this amendment, and if the House of Representatives shall agree to it, the wise financiers connected with the Finance Committee of this body and the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives will devise a plan whereby, without taking anything from the necessary appropriations for ships of war and other proper and sacred expenditures of the Government, this little obligation to the farmers may be met.

Mr. QUAY. Mr. President——

Mr. CANNON. One word more, with the permission of the Senator from Pennsylvania.

Mr. QUAY. I beg pardon. I thought the Senator had concluded.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Utah will proceed.

Mr. CANNON. If we do not adopt an amendment of this character, or if we do not give to the farmer of the United States some remedy, he will at the first opportunity overturn this tariff.

The distinguished Senator from Rhode Island made a plea, which I believe every man in this Chamber echoed, as I believe that same plea is echoed from every industrial center of the United States, that we should, so far as possible, establish at this time a tariff which will endure, so that the country may not be agitated by the shock of tariff revision every two or three years. I have talked with the farmers in twenty States of the Union since last fall, and I firmly believe that this tariff will no longer endure than until the farmers of the United States can have a chance to revise it at the polls, if you do not give to them some portion of its benefits.

The farmer is bending beneath a burden which he can not carry longer; he has been the backbone of the integrity of the United States; but there comes in the place of the free and independent farmer of this country a race of tenantry, to reap servilely where he sowed nobly, men who receive their opinions from others instead of giving their own independent voice at the polls and in all their declarations to their fellow-men.

The Senate of the United States can afford to be absolutely just. I believe the amendment should be adopted. On some future occasion, when we reach a schedule which, with the permission of the Senator from New Jersey and some other Senators, may be deemed the appropriate one to which to append this measure, I and perhaps some other Senators may make some remarks at greater length.

Mr. TILLMAN. Put it on the sugar schedule.

Mr. CHANDLER. May I ask the Senator from Utah a question?

Mr. CANNON. Certainly.

Mr. CHANDLER. I heard the Senator speak of robbery a little while ago with reference to the tariff. Does the Senator mean that the farmer has been robbed all these years by the tariff? Is that the Senator's argument?

Mr. CANNON. Yes, sir; decidedly.

Mr. CHANDLER. When did the Senator first think that the American tariff system was a robbery of the farmer?

Mr. CANNON. Just so soon as the Senator gave sufficient attention to the subject to understand the truth of it. I advocated Republican tariffs as earnestly and as faithfully in my humble way as the Senator from New Hampshire, and I believed exactly what I taught. I believe in a protective-tariff system in the United States to-day, because I think that any nation which will not guard its own must perish; and I believe the world is engaged at this time in a fight the result of which will be the survival of the unfittest if America does not protect herself; but I am not disposed any longer to advocate a system by which one portion of

the population is taxed for the benefit of another portion of the population.

I think that it is unfair to cherish only one class, and that the class which has already the most power of self-protection. If the Senator from New Hampshire will go across the plains of Kansas, as I have gone, and across the plains of Nebraska, if he will see the people there who toil "from early morn till dewy eve," seeking to build up those States; if he will witness their struggles, if he will see farms abandoned because men can not pay the mortgages thereon, I believe in him sufficiently to think he will come back and say that this bill is robbery of the American farmer.

Mr. CHANDLER. Mr. President, I sympathize with the class to whom the Senator has referred. I have always believed that a properly adjusted tariff would help them instead of harming them; but I did not know until to-day that the Senator, who has advocated the tariff all this time, thought all the while that it was robbery of his people.

Mr. CANNON. Why, Mr. President, the Senator from New Hampshire is scarcely fair. I have stated that I am in favor of a protective-tariff system. I stated that in the guilelessness of my soul, being a Republican, I went out and advocated the Republican idea of a protective tariff. I never was brought quite so close to responsibility concerning it before as I am to-day. Heretofore I have discussed it on the stump, advocating it in general terms; but as soon as I am confronted with responsibility which obliges me to look more closely into its application to all the people, I am simply discharging my duty when I seek to amend this measure so that it shall be honest to all.

The Senator ought to know if the agricultural classes of the United States do not thrive in good contentment there is no safety to the Republic. There was another nation in its day as mighty as this Republic, the greatest upon which the sun then shone, and its people engaged in agriculture sunk lower and lower, until the freeholder who was obliged to borrow money had to give a mortgage not only upon his land, but upon his crops, and upon himself and his wife and his children, and the unborn child in its mother's womb, in order to satisfy the usurer. When that time came, the Roman eagles were enclouded in the darkness of the Middle Ages, and unless we shall do something to arrest this robbery—I say it deliberately, Mr. President, the robbery of this bill for protective tariff—we, too, will have our bitter lesson.

FOREST POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES.

The VICE-PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the following message from the President of the United States; which was read, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Forest Reservations and the Protection of Game:

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

I transmit herewith for the information of the Congress the report of the committee appointed by the National Academy of Sciences upon the inauguration of a forest policy for the forested lands of the United States.

WILLIAM MCKINLEY.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, *May 25, 1897.*

LYNCHING OF THREE ITALIANS.

The VICE-PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the following message from the President of the United States; which was read, and, on motion of Mr. FRYE, was, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, and ordered to be printed:

To the Senate of the United States:

I transmit herewith, in response to the resolution of the Senate of May 6, 1897, calling for correspondence regarding the lynching in Louisiana of certain Italian subjects, a report from the Secretary of State, with accompanying papers.

WILLIAM MCKINLEY.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
Washington, May 24, 1897.

BOUNDARY LINE BETWEEN VENEZUELA AND BRITISH GUIANA.

The VICE-PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the following message from the President of the United States; which was read, and, on motion of Mr. FRYE, was, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, and ordered to be printed:

To the Senate of the United States:

I transmit herewith, in response to the resolution of the Senate of May 4, 1897, regarding the work of the special commission appointed by the President on January 4, 1896, to examine and report upon the true boundary line between Venezuela and British Guiana, a report from the Secretary of State, with accompanying papers.

WILLIAM MCKINLEY.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
Washington, May 24, 1897.

VISITOR TO WEST POINT.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senate this morning accepted the resignation of the Senator from California [Mr. PERKINS] as one of the visitors to the West Point Military Academy. The Chair announces the appointment of the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. WETMORE] to fill the vacancy.

SUNDRY CIVIL APPROPRIATION BILL—CONFERENCE REPORT.

Mr. ALLISON. I desire to have placed before the Senate the report of the committee of conference on the sundry civil appropriation bill.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate the report of the committee of conference on the bill referred to by the Senator from Iowa, which will be read.

The Secretary proceeded to read the conference report, but before concluding was interrupted by

Mr. ALLISON. Inasmuch as this is a long report and I do not expect to have it acted upon to-night, I suggest that it be printed in the RECORD without being read in full at the Secretary's desk, and I give notice that late to-morrow I shall ask the Senate to consider it.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. If there be no objection, the conference report will be printed as a document and also printed in the RECORD. The Chair hears no objection, and it is so ordered.

The report is as follows:

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on certain amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 16) making appropriations for sundry civil expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1898, and for other purposes, having met, after full and free conference have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the Senate recede from its amendments numbered 7, 21, 22, 25, 26, and 27.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendments of the Senate numbered 4, 5, 8, 9, 19, 35, 36, and 37, and agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 16: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 16, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows:

In lieu of the matter inserted by said amendment insert the following:

"For the survey of the public lands that have been or may hereafter be designated as forest reserves by Executive proclamation, under section 24 of the act of Congress approved March 3, 1891, entitled 'An act to repeal timber-culture laws, and for other purposes,' and including public lands adjacent thereto, which may be designated for survey by the Secretary of the Interior, $150,000, to be immediately available: *Provided*, That to remove any doubt which may exist pertaining to the authority of the President thereunto, the President of the United States is hereby authorized and empowered to revoke, modify, or suspend any and all such Executive orders and proclamations, or any part thereof, from time to time as he shall deem best for the public interests: *Provided*, That the Executive orders and proclamations dated February 22, 1897, setting apart and reserving certain lands in the States of Wyoming, Utah, Montana, Washington, Idaho, and South Dakota as forest reservations, be, and they are hereby, suspended, and the lands embraced therein restored to the public domain the same as though said orders and proclamations had not been issued: *Provided further*, That lands embraced in such reservations not otherwise disposed of before March 1, 1898, shall again become subject to the operations of said orders and proclamations as now existing or hereafter modified by the President.

"The surveys herein provided for shall be made, under the supervision of the Director of the Geological Survey, by such person or persons as may be employed by or under him for that purpose, and shall be executed under instructions issued by the Secretary of the Interior; and if subdivision surveys shall be found to be necessary, they shall be executed under the rectangular system, as now provided by law. The plats and field notes prepared shall be approved and certified to by the Director of the Geological Survey, and two copies of the field notes shall be returned, one for the files in the United States surveyor-general's office of the State in which the reserve is situated, the other in the General Land Office; and twenty photolithographic copies of the plats shall be returned, one copy for the files in the United States surveyor-general's office of the State in which the reserve is situated; the original plat and the other copies shall be filed in the General Land Office, and shall have the facsimile signature of the Director of the Survey attached.

"Such surveys, field notes, and plats thus returned shall have the same legal force and effect as heretofore given the surveys, field notes, and plats returned through the surveyors-general; and such surveys, which include subdivision surveys under the rectangular system, shall be approved by the Commissioner of the General Land Office as in other cases, and properly certified copies thereof shall be filed in the respective land offices of the districts in which such lands are situated, as in other cases. All laws inconsistent with the provisions hereof are hereby declared inoperative as respects such survey: *Provided, however*, That a copy of every topographic map and other maps showing the distribution of the forests, together with such field notes as may be taken relating thereto, shall be certified thereto by the Director of the Survey and filed in the General Land Office.

"All public lands heretofore designated and reserved by the President of the United States under the provisions of the act approved March 3, 1891, the orders for which shall be and remain in full force and effect, unsuspended and unrevoked, and all public lands that may hereafter be set aside and reserved as public forest reserves under said act, shall be as far as practicable controlled and administered in accordance with the following provisions:

"No public forest reservation shall be established, except to improve and protect the forest within the reservation, or for the purpose of securing favorable conditions of water flows, and to furnish a continuous supply of timber for the use and necessities of citizens of the United States; but it is not the purpose or intent of these provisions or of the act providing for such reservations to authorize the inclusion therein of lands more valuable for the mineral therein or for agricultural purposes than for forest purposes.

"The Secretary of the Interior shall make provisions for the protection against destruction by fire and depredations upon the public forests and forest reservations which may have been set aside or which may be hereafter set aside under the said act of March 3, 1891, and which may be continued; and he may make such rules and regulations and establish such service as will insure the objects of such reservations, namely, to regulate their occupancy and use and to preserve the forests thereon from destruction; and any violation of the provisions of this act or such rules and regulations shall be punished as is provided for in the act of June 4, 1888, amending section 5388 of the Revised Statutes of the United States.

"For the purpose of preserving the living and growing timber and promoting the younger growth on forest reservations, the Secretary of the Interior, under such rules and regulations as he shall prescribe, may cause to be designated and appraised so much of the dead, matured, or large growth of trees found upon such forest reservations as may be compatible with the utilization of the forests thereon, and may sell the same for not less than the appraised value in such quantities to each purchaser as he shall prescribe, to be used in the State or Territory in which such timber reservation may be situated, respectively, but not for export therefrom. Before such sale shall take

place, notice thereof shall be given by the Commissioner of the General Land Office for not less than sixty days, by publication in a newspaper of general circulation, published in the county in which the timber is situated, if any is therein published, and if not, then in a newspaper of general circulation published nearest to the reservation, and also in a newspaper of general circulation published at the capital of the State or Territory where such reservation exists; payments for such timber to be made to the receiver of the local land office of the district wherein said timber may be sold, under such rules and regulations as the Secretary of the Interior may prescribe; and the moneys arising therefrom shall be accounted for by the receiver of such land office to the Commissioner of the General Land Office in a separate account, and shall be covered into the Treasury. Such timber, before being sold, shall be marked and designated, and shall be cut and removed under the supervision of some person, appointed for that purpose by the Secretary of the Interior, not interested in the purchase or removal of such timber nor in the employment of the purchaser thereof. Such supervisor shall make report in writing to the Commissioner of the General Land Office and to the receiver in the land office in which such reservation shall be located of his doings in the premises.

"The Secretary of the Interior may permit, under regulations to be prescribed by him, the use of timber and stone found upon such reservations, free of charge, by bona fide settlers, miners, residents, and prospectors for minerals, for firewood, fencing, buildings, mining, prospecting, and other domestic purposes, as may be needed by such persons for such purposes; such timber to be used within the State or Territory, respectively, where such reservations may be located.

"Nothing herein shall be construed as prohibiting the egress or ingress of actual settlers residing within the boundaries of such reservations, or from crossing the same to and from their property or homes; and such wagon roads and other improvements may be constructed thereon as may be necessary to reach their homes and to utilize their property under such rules and regulations as may be prescribed by the Secretary of the Interior. Nor shall anything herein prohibit any person from entering upon such forest reservations for all proper and lawful purposes, including that of prospecting, locating, and developing the mineral resources thereof: *Provided*, That such persons comply with the rules and regulations covering such forest reservations.

"That in cases in which a tract covered by an unperfected bona fide claim or by a patent is included within the limits of a public forest reservation, the settler or owner thereof may, if he desires to do so, relinquish the tract to the Government, and may select in lieu thereof a tract of vacant land open to settlement not exceeding in area the tract covered by his claim or patent; and no charge shall be made in such cases for making the entry of record or issuing the patent to cover the tract selected: *Provided further*, That in cases of unperfected claims the requirements of the laws respecting settlement, residence, improvements, etc., are complied with on the new claims, credit being allowed for the time spent on the relinquished claims.

"The settlers residing within the exterior boundaries of such forest reservations, or in the vicinity thereof, may maintain schools and churches within such reservation, and for that purpose may occupy any part of the said forest reservation, not exceeding 2 acres for each schoolhouse and 1 acre for a church.

"The jurisdiction, both civil and criminal, over persons within such reservations shall not be affected or changed by reason of the existence of such reservations, except so far as the punishment of offenses against the United States therein is concerned, the intent and meaning of this provision being that the State wherein any such reservation is situated shall not, by reason of the establishment thereof, lose its jurisdiction, nor the inhabitants thereof their rights and privileges as citizens, or be absolved from their duties as citizens of the State.

"All waters on such reservations may be used for domestic, mining, milling, or irrigation purposes, under the laws of the State wherein such forest reservations are situated, or under the laws of the United States and the rules and regulations established thereunder.

"Upon the recommendation of the Secretary of the Interior, with the approval of the President, after sixty days' notice thereof, published in two papers of general circulation in the State or Territory wherein any forest reservation is situated, and near the said reservation, any public lands embraced within the limits of any forest reservation which, after due examination by personal inspection of a competent person appointed for that purpose by the Secretary of the Interior, shall be found better adapted for mining or for agricultural purposes than for forest usage may be restored to the public domain. And any mineral lands in any forest reservation which have been or which may be shown to be such, and subject to entry under the existing mining laws of the United States and the rules and regulations applying thereto, shall continue to be subject to such location and entry, notwithstanding any provisions herein contained."

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 24: That the Senate recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the House to the amendment of the Senate numbered 24, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter inserted by said House amendment, insert the following: "$2,933,333; which sum, in the discretion of the Secretary of War, may be immediately available for expenditure under contract or otherwise. And of the sum hereby appropriated $900,000 shall be deducted from the sum of $2,533,333 authorized to be appropriated and expended for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1899, by the 'Act making appropriations for the construction, repair, and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors, and for other purposes,' which became a law on June 3, 1896;" and the House agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 28: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 28, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows:

In lieu of the matter inserted by said amendment insert the following:

"Improvement of Pearl Harbor: For expense of necessary survey of entrance to and of Pearl Harbor, Hawaiian Islands, and to enable the Secretary of the Navy to ascertain and report to Congress the amount of land necessary to be acquired in said harbor and the probable cost thereof for a coaling and repair station, $10,000."

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 29: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 29, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the sum named in said amendment insert "$25,000;" and the Senate agree to the same.

The committee of conference recommend to their respective Houses that Senate amendment numbered 10 be transferred from line 6, page 54 of the bill, and inserted after the word "available" at the end of Senate amendment numbered 12.

W. B. ALLISON,
A. P. GORMAN,
Managers on the part of the Senate.

J. G. CANNON,
WM. A. STONE,
JOSEPH D. SAYERS,
Managers on the part of the House.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. QUAY. I renew my motion that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After ten minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened, and (at 5 o'clock and 30 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Wednesday, May 26, 1897, at 12 o'clock meridian.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate May 25, 1897.

ENVOY EXTRAORDINARY AND MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY.

Edwin H. Conger, of Iowa, to be envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States to Brazil, vice Thomas L. Thompson, resigned.

CONSUL.

John G. Foster, of Vermont, to be consul of the United States at Sherbrooke, Quebec, Canada, vice James R. Jackson, resigned.

INDIAN AGENT.

George B. McLaughlin, of Greatfalls, Mont., to be agent for the Indians of the Blackfeet Agency in Montana, vice George Steell, resigned.

PROMOTION IN THE ARMY.

General officer.

Brig. Gen. John Rutter Brooke, to be major-general, May 22, 1897, vice Bliss, retired from active service.

PROMOTION IN THE NAVY.

Asst. Engineer Doctor E. Dismukes, to be a passed assistant engineer in the Navy, from the 1st day of May, 1897, vice P. A. Engineer Walter S. Burke, retired.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate May 25, 1897.

PROMOTION IN THE ARMY.

Brig. Gen. John Rutter Brooke, to be major-general.

INDIAN AGENT.

George B. McLaughlin, of Greatfalls, Mont., to be an agent for the Indians of the Blackfeet Agency in Montana.

POSTMASTER.

A. M. Ketler, to be postmaster at Bennett, in the county of Allegheny and State of Pennsylvania.

SENATE.

WEDNESDAY, *May 26, 1897.*

Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. W. H. MILBURN, D. D.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

JUDGMENTS IN INDIAN DEPREDATION CASES.

The VICE-PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the Attorney-General, transmitting, in response to a resolution of the 17th instant, a list of the judgments rendered by the Court of Claims in favor of claims in Indian depredation cases not heretofore reported; which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on Appropriations, and ordered to be printed.

LIST OF JUDGMENTS.

The VICE-PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the Attorney-General, transmitting, in response to a resolution of the 17th instant, a list of all judgments rendered against the United States by the circuit and district courts of the United States under section 11 of the act of March 3, 1887, etc.; which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on Appropriations, and ordered to be printed.

IMPROVEMENT OF ANNAPOLIS HARBOR.

The VICE-PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the Secretary of War, transmitting, in response to a resolution of the 17th instant, a letter from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, together with the reports, exhibits, and papers referred to as having been transmitted in 1896 by the mayor, councilor, and city council of Annapolis, Md., to Col. Peter C. Hains, Corps of Engineers, in support of a project for the improvement of the harbor at Annapolis, Md.; which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on Commerce, and ordered to be printed.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

The VICE-PRESIDENT presented a petition of the officers and members of the Kansas City (Mo.) Merchant Tailors' Exchange, praying Congress to pass without amendment section 666 of the

pending tariff bill, relating to the free entry of wearing apparel, personal effects, etc.; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. SEWELL. I present a memorial numerously signed by liquor dealers' associations of New Jersey, representing several thousand retail liquor dealers, and by citizens of different cities and towns in that State, remonstrating against the proposed increase of the tax on beer. I move that the memorial be referred to the Committee on Finance.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. GALLINGER presented the petition of Joseph C. Pettigrew and 45 other citizens of Portsmouth, N. H., and the petition of W. H. White, jr., and 35 other citizens of Portsmouth, N. H., praying for the enactment of legislation for a more rigid restriction of immigration; which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. PERKINS presented a petition of the Chamber of Commerce, of San Francisco, Cal., praying for the passage of the pending tariff bill at the earliest day possible; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a memorial of the Chamber of Commerce of San Francisco, Cal., reaffirming its adherence to the policy of Hawaiian reciprocity and territorial annexation; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also presented a petition of sundry citizens of California, praying for the free delivery of mails in the rural districts; which was referred to the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads.

He also presented a petition of the Chamber of Commerce of San Francisco, Cal., praying for the enactment of legislation authorizing the appointment of a nonpartisan monetary commission; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented petitions of W. T. Wallace, F. W. Slaughter, Jacob Marhoffer, U. Larreba, Olvin Duffy, and 306 other citizens of California, praying for the adoption of the lumber schedule in the pending tariff bill as passed by the House of Representatives; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented sundry petitions of citizens of Alameda and Oakland, in the State of California, praying for the abrogation of the reciprocity treaty with Hawaii; which were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. QUAY presented the petition of M. Connell and sundry other citizens of Downingtown, Pa., praying for the enactment of legislation for a more rigid restriction of immigration; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. LODGE presented a petition of the Massachusetts Tailors' Association, of Springfield, Mass., praying Congress to pass without amendment section 666 of the pending tariff bill, relating to the free entry of wearing apparel, personal effects, etc.; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a petition of the Thirty-first Annual Encampment of the Department of Massachusetts, Grand Army of the Republic, favoring the adoption of military instruction in the public schools of the country; which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also presented a petition of 53 citizens of Haverhill, Mass., and a petition of 50 citizens of Ipswich, Mass., praying for the passage of the so called Lodge bill relating to immigration; which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. SMITH presented a memorial of the Retail Liquor Dealers' League of New Jersey, remonstrating against the proposed increase of the tax on beer; which was ordered to lie on the ta le.

Mr. DAVIS presented a petition of 115 citizens of Duluth, Minn., and a petition of 113 citizens of Duluth, Minn., praying for the enactment of legislation restricting immigration; which were ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a petition of the American Chamber of Commerce of Paris, France, praying the Government of the United States to make provision for a full and adequate representation of the interests of the United States at the Paris Exposition of 1900; which was referred to the Select Committee on International Expositions.

Mr. PLATT of New York presented a petition of sundry citizens of Utica, N. Y., praying for the enactment of legislation for a more rigid restriction of immigration; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. PENROSE presented the petition of P. A. Becker and sundry other citizens of Pennsylvania, praying for the enactment of legislation granting a rebate of the tax upon alcohol used in the arts and in medicinal and other like compounds; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a petition of the Board of Trade of Reading, Pa., praying for the speedy passage of the pending tariff bill; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a memorial of 20 citizens of Pennsylvania, remonstrating against the enactment of legislation intended to destroy the present system of ticket brokerage; which was referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

He also presented petitions of the anticombine executive committee of the Twenty-second Ward of Philadelphia, of the Thirtieth Ward Republican executive committee of Philadelphia, and of the Belmont Republican Association of Philadelphia, all in the State of Pennsylvania, praying for the repeal of the present civil-service law; which were referred to the Committee on Civil Service and Retrenchment.

He also presented petitions of 146 citizens of Upper Turkeyfoot Township, 23 citizens of Wooddale, 50 citizens of Vanderbilt, 26 citizens of Boston, 24 citizens of Stroudsburg, 21 citizens of Wanamie, 52 citizens of Duquesne, 52 citizens of Petersburg, 53 citizens of Easton, 140 citizens of Carbondale, 61 citizens of Port Kennedy, 81 citizens of Philadelphia, 90 citizens of Riverton, 10 citizens of Pennsylvania, 43 citizens of Connellsville, 24 citizens of Wilkesbarre, 82 citizens of Braddock, 219 citizens of Pitcairn, 33 citizens of Versailles, 52 citizens of Steelton, American Council, No. 30, Junior Order United American Mechanics, of Philadelphia; 32 citizens of Philadelphia, 34 citizens of Minersville, 50 citizens of Philadelphia, 26 citizens of Quakake, 59 citizens of Cowansburg, 52 citizens of Reading, 98 citizens of Columbia, 81 citizens of Fayette County, 25 citizens of Steelton, 13 citizens of Philadelphia, 53 citizens of Oneida, 55 citizens of Shamokin, 52 citizens of Columbia, 106 citizens of Birdsboro, 31 citizens of Bedford, 28 citizens of Freedom, 33 citizens of Bunola, 32 citizens of Warminster, 66 citizens of Pitcairn, 177 citizens of McDonald, 93 citizens of Irwin, 93 citizens of Philadelphia, 103 citizens of Birdsboro, 75 citizens of Philadelphia, 15 citizens of Quakake, 46 citizens of Reading, 17 citizens of New Stanton, 227 citizens of Canonsburg, 52 citizens of Pennsylvania, and of 21 citizens of Downingtown, all in the State of Pennsylvania, praying for the enactment of legislation restricting immigration; which were ordered to lie on the table.

DEFICIENCY APPROPRIATIONS.

Mr. ALLISON presented a communication from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting a letter from the Secretary of the Interior submitting an item of appropriation for inclusion in the general deficiency appropriation bill of $1,000 for the purpose of rearranging, indexing, and preserving the records of the recorder's office of the General Land Office; which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on Appropriations, and ordered to be printed.

He also presented a communication from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting a letter from the Auditor for the Navy Department submitting estimates of deficiencies in the appropriations necessary to reimburse "General account of advances" created by the act of June 19, 1878, for pay of the Navy and for pay of the Marine Corps; which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on Appropriations, and ordered to be printed.

He also presented a communication from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting a letter from the Postmaster-General requesting that the appropriation for "fuel, lights, and water for public buildings" under the control of that Department be amended so as to permit of its use for the operation of pneumatic tubes for the transmission of mail matter; which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on Appropriations, and ordered to be printed.

He also presented a communication from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting a letter from the Commissioners of the District of Columbia submitting an estimate of appropriation, for inclusion in the general deficiency appropriation bill, to pay certain judgments against the District of Columbia amounting to $1,115.30, together with costs and interest; which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on Appropriations, and ordered to be printed.

He also presented a communication from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting a letter from the Commissioners of the District of Columbia submitting an estimate of appropriation, for inclusion in the general deficiency appropriation bill, of $5,725.24 for repairs and improvements to the Lovejoy school building; which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on Appropriations, and ordered to be printed.

He also laid before the Senate a communication from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting a letter from the chief of division of public moneys of that Department in relation to the necessity of an additional appropriation of $500 for examinations of subtreasuries and depositories for the fiscal year 1897; which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on Appropriations, and ordered to be printed.

PREVENTION OF CRUELTY TO ANIMALS.

Mr. PROCTOR. I present a communication from the Secretary of Agriculture relative to Senate bill No. 1063, for the further prevention of cruelty to animals in the District of Columbia. I move that the communication lie on the table, and that it be printed as a document.

Mr. GALLINGER. I take it that the Senator from Vermont desires to have the letter printed as a document. Am I correct?

Mr. PROCTOR. Yes, sir.

Mr. GALLINGER. Before that order is made, I feel it incumbent upon me to make a brief observation concerning the matter. During the last Congress a bill was presented for regulating the so-called subject of vivisection in the District of Columbia. "For the better protection of animals" was the title of the bill. That bill was referred to a subcommittee of the Committee on the District of Columbia, of which I was chairman. That subcommittee gave a hearing to the parties interested, occupying many hours. The opponents of the bill had every facility afforded them for presenting their side of the case. Not only that, but a young gentleman connected with the Department of Agriculture was given a reasonable time to present his views, and, in addition to what he presented, thirty-five closely printed pages were given to him by the subcommittee as space in which to further elaborate his views and to present documents bearing on the subject. Others who were heard in opposition to the measure were treated with equal courtesy and generosity, and so far as I know no complaint whatever was made that the hearing was not fair to all parties interested. A report was made. The bill went to the Calendar, and for one reason and another it was not reached for consideration.

Immediately upon that report being made, the opponents of the bill sent protests and memorials to the Senate, and through Senators they were presented and printed as documents. Those protests, for the most part, reviewed the report of the committee, taking exceptions to the findings, and in many instances they were misleading, if not absolutely false.

At the present session a similar bill has been introduced, and by direction of the Committee on the District of Columbia I have reported it to the Senate. Immediately these same gentlemen sent letters and protests and memorials to the Senate, again reviewing that report and taking exceptions to the findings of the committee. Yesterday papers of that kind were presented, and again to-day a paper is presented, I take it, arguing against the findings of your committee.

Mr. President, I am not going to object to the printing of this paper as a document, notwithstanding I ought to do so, but I want to call the attention of the Senate to the fact that there ought to be some limit to this matter. For instance, suppose the advocates of the bill should present a very formidable paper reviewing the views held by these memorialists, and the memorialists who presented their documents yesterday, and again to-day, should think it incumbent upon them to review the opinions of those advocates of the bill, where are we going to stop in printing documents at the expense of the Government regarding a matter that has been fairly considered by a committee, the hearings on which have been printed, and which are available to all?

I shall not, Mr. President, object to the printing of this particular paper, but I want to put on record the fact that in my opinion it is a vicious practice, after a committee of this body has given a fair hearing and printed the views of both sides, that then either side to the controversy should burden our records and take money out of the public Treasury in having printed, at public expense, lengthy documents either for or against the proposed legislation. I say the practice is utterly vicious and indefensible, and it ought to be stopped.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. There being no objection, the communication will lie on the table and be printed as a document.

REPORT OF A COMMITTEE.

Mr. STEWART, from the Committee on Claims, to whom was referred the bill (S. 514) for the relief of Warren Hall, reported it without amendment, and submitted a report thereon.

MARBLE BUSTS OF THE VICE-PRESIDENTS.

Mr. HANSBROUGH. Yesterday I reported from the Committee on the Library the joint resolution (S. R. 23) amending Senate resolution of May 13, 1886, providing for marble busts of those who have been Vice-Presidents of the United States, to be placed in the vacant niches of the Senate Chamber. It was reported as a joint resolution, but to be changed to a Senate resolution. I see that it appears on the Calendar as a joint resolution. I ask that the joint resolution be indefinitely postponed, and that I be permitted to substitute a simple Senate resolution for the same. It should be a Senate resolution instead of a joint resolution.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the indefinite postponement of the joint resolution.

The joint resolution was indefinitely postponed.

Mr. HANSBROUGH. Let the resolution take the place of the joint resolution.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will be taken up when the order of resolutions is reached.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Mr. COCKRELL introduced a bill (S. 2028) granting a pension to Thompson B. Moore; which was read twice by its title.

Mr. COCKRELL. I present in connection with the bill the petition of Thompson B. Moore, with the affidavits of Rolen Gooch, Mark Arnold, G. W. Phillips, and Dr. J. Gooch. I move that the bill and accompanying papers be referred to the Committee on Pensions.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. PASCO introduced a bill (S. 2029) granting a pension to Margaret E. Cobb, of Madison County, Fla.; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. McMILLAN introduced a bill (S. 2030) for the relief of the administrators of William B. Moses, deceased, and of Lebbeus H. Rogers; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. BAKER introduced the following bills; which were severally read twice by their titles, and referred to the Committee on Pensions:

A bill (S. 2031) granting a pension to Lydia M. Cutshall, of Caldwell, Kans.;

A bill (S. 2032) granting an increase of pension to John W. Craig, of Arlington, Kans.; and

A bill (S. 2033) granting a pension to Cora L. Robinson, of Centralia, Kans. (with accompanying papers).

Mr. PETTIGREW (by request) introduced a bill (S. 2034) to enable the Secretary of Agriculture to enter into a contract for the construction of an air navigating machine of a certain description for the exclusive use of the Weather Bureau, and for other purposes; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

Mr. DAVIS introduced a bill (S. 2035) for the remuster of Francisco V. De Coster as captain of Companies A and D, Mississippi Marine Brigade Cavalry Volunteers; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

AMENDMENT TO THE TARIFF BILL.

Mr. MITCHELL submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill (H. R. 379) to provide revenue for the Government and to encourage the industries of the United States; which was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

AMENDMENT TO DEFICIENCY APPROPRIATION BILL.

Mr. DAVIS submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the general deficiency appropriation bill; which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations, and ordered to be printed.

INDIAN APPROPRIATION BILL.

Mr. PETTIGREW submitted the following report:

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate numbered 10 to the bill (H. R. 15) making appropriations for the current and contingent expenses of the Indian Department and for fulfilling treaty stipulations with various Indian tribes for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1898, and for other purposes, having met, after full and free conference have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the Senate recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the House to the amendment of the Senate numbered 10, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter proposed to be inserted by said House amendment insert the following:

"The Secretary of the Interior is hereby directed to allot agricultural lands in severalty to the Uncompahgre Ute Indians now located upon or belonging to the Uncompahgre Indian Reservation in the State of Utah, said allotments to be upon the Uncompahgre and Uintah reservations or elsewhere in said State. And all the lands of said Uncompahgre Reservation not theretofore allotted in severalty to said Uncompahgre Utes shall, on and after the 1st day of April, 1898, be open for location and entry under all the land laws of the United States, excepting, however, therefrom all lands containing gilsonite, asphalt, elaterite, or other like substances. And the title to all of the said lands containing gilsonite, asphaltum, elaterite, or other like substances, is reserved to the United States."

And the House agree to the same.

R. F. PETTIGREW,
F. M. COCKRELL,
Managers on the part of the Senate.

J. S. SHERMAN,
CHARLES CURTIS,
Managers on the part of the House.

Mr. PETTIGREW. I desire that the report shall lie over and not be acted upon at this time. I shall call it up later.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. If there be no objection, the report will lie over.

WICHITA INDIAN LANDS.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate the resolution submitted yesterday by the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. QUAY]. The resolution will be read.

The resolution was read, as follows:

Resolved, That the right to compensation on the part of the Wichita and affiliated bands of Indians for their possessory right in and to the lands ceded to the United States by said Indians, under the agreement made and entered into between said Indians and the United States at Anadarko, in the Indian Territory, on the 4th day of June, A. D. 1891, should be considered and adjusted at the same time and by the same tribunal which shall determine the alleged claim of the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations in and to the said lands, and that the President is hereby requested to suspend the allotments to said Indians now in progress until the compensation to be allowed and paid to said Indians for the lands in excess of allotments shall be finally determined.

Mr. QUAY. I desire to have the resolution passed at this time.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to.

MARBLE BUSTS OF THE VICE-PRESIDENTS.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate the resolution reported by the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. HANSBROUGH] from the Committee on the Library, amending Senate resolution of May 13, 1886, providing for marble busts of those who have been Vice-Presidents of the United States to be placed in the vacant niches of the Senate Chamber.

Mr. HANSBROUGH. I desire the resolution to remain on the Calendar. That is the request I made.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will take its place on the Calendar.

PRESIDENTIAL APPROVAL.

A message from the President of the United States, by Mr. O. L. PRUDEN, one of his secretaries, announced that the President had on the 24th instant approved and signed the joint resolution (S. R. 42) appropriating $50,000 for the relief of destitute citizens of the United States in the Island of Cuba.

PORT OF FERNANDINA, FLA.

Mr. PASCO submitted the following concurrent resolution; which was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the Secretary of War be requested to furnish the Senate with such information as he may have in his possession with reference to the present condition of the harbor of Cumberland Sound, and to inform the Senate whether any immediate action is necessary to protect the entrance from being closed against the commerce usually entering the port of Fernandina.

VICTOR H. MACCORD.

The VICE-PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the following message from the President of the United States; which was read, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, and ordered to be printed:

To the Senate of the United States:

I transmit herewith, in response to the resolution of the Senate of May 20, 1897, relating to the claim of Victor H. MacCord against the Government of Peru, a report from the Secretary of State, with accompanying papers.

WILLIAM MCKINLEY.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
Washington, May 26, 1897.

ILLINOIS RIVER BRIDGE.

Mr. COCKRELL. I ask unanimous consent that the Senate now consider the bill (S. 1978) extending the time for the commencement and completion of the railroad bridge across the Illinois River, near Grafton, Ill., by the St. Louis, Perry and Chicago Railroad. The bill merely extends the time for the commencement and completion, and it is only a few lines long. I hope it will be now considered.

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

WICHITA INDIAN LANDS.

Mr. PETTIGREW. A resolution was agreed to this morning with regard to the Wichita Indians in the Indian Territory. I wish to call the attention of the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. QUAY] to the matter. I desire to have the resolution reconsidered. I therefore move to reconsider the vote by which the resolution was agreed to. My attention was not called to it at the time and it slipped through without my notice.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from South Dakota enters a motion to reconsider the vote by which the resolution submitted by the Senator from Pennsylvania was this morning passed. Is that all the Senator desires at this time?

Mr. PETTIGREW. I desire to have the motion entertained at this time. I simply want to amend the resolution.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution has been sent for and will be at the desk in a moment.

Mr. QUAY. I object to a reconsideration unless some reason is given for it.

Mr. PETTIGREW. I was present in the Chamber, but I did not know that the resolution was under consideration. It went through without my notice. I intended to offer an amendment to it. I now desire that it shall be reconsidered, so that I can offer the amendment. The Senator from Pennsylvania certainly will not under those circumstances object to a reconsideration.

Mr. QUAY. What is the proposed amendment?

Mr. PETTIGREW. A reconsideration will leave the matter exactly where it was when it came up this morning.

Mr. QUAY. In what respect does the Senator propose to amend the resolution?

Mr. PETTIGREW. After it is reconsidered I will present my amendment.

Mr. QUAY. I have no objection to a reconsideration.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from South Dakota moves to reconsider the vote by which the resolution submitted by the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. QUAY] was passed this morning.

The motion to reconsider was agreed to.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution is before the Senate and will be again read.

The resolution submitted yesterday by Mr. QUAY was read, as follows:

Resolved, That the right to compensation on the part of the Wichita and affiliated bands of Indians for their possessory right in and to the lands ceded to the United States by said Indians, under the agreement made and entered into between said Indians and the United States at Anadarko, in the Indian Territory, on the 4th day of June, A. D. 1891, should be considered and adjusted at the same time and by the same tribunal which shall determine the alleged claim of the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations in and to the said lands, and that the President is hereby requested to suspend the allotments to said Indians now in progress until the compensation to be allowed and paid to said Indians for the lands in excess of allotments shall be finally determined.

Mr. PETTIGREW. I desire to amend the resolution by striking out the words:

And that the President is hereby requested to suspend the allotments to said Indians now in progress until the compensation to be allowed and paid to said Indians for the lands in excess of allotments shall be finally determined.

I move to strike out those words from the resolution. They are the last three lines of the resolution as it appears in the RECORD.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from South Dakota.

Mr. QUAY. Mr. President, that is all there is in the resolution. The resolution may as well be voted down if the Senator from South Dakota is going to have that amendment inserted.

Mr. PETTIGREW. I will make a statement in regard to the resolution. In 1891 these Indians, who were residing upon lands in the western part of the Indian Territory, made an agreement with the Government by which they agreed to take 160 acres of land apiece in severalty—in other words, 640 acres for each family of four. The rest of the lands were to be opened up to settlement and occupation.

There is a question as to the ownership of those lands. The lands were in what is called the leased district of the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations. The question as to who owns the land in excess of the allotments was sent to the Court of Claims and is now pending. If the Court of Claims decide that it belongs to the Choctaws and Chickasaws, then the price received for the land will go to those Indians. If the court decide that it does not belong to the Choctaws and Chickasaws, then the compensation for the land not allotted will go to the Wichita Indians and affiliated bands.

Therefore the question of allotment has nothing to do with this question. That has been commenced, and I insist that it shall go on if the Secretary of the Interior deems it wise. He can be as slow or as fast as he chooses about finishing the allotment, but why the allotments shall be delayed is more than I can understand. It is true that those Indians have for years resisted the encroachments of civilization upon their habits, their customs, their lives, and their beliefs, and the resistance will go on among most of the Indians in this country until they are amalgamated into the population of the United States. If we are going to change our policy and cease to allot lands to Indians and cease to try to make citizens of them, then this is a step in that direction.

I am perfectly willing that the compensation which these Indians shall receive shall be determined at the time it is determined whether the Choctaws own the land or not. That is entirely proper, and the resolution goes to that extent; but that we shall take out of the hands of the Secretary the enforcement of a law already enacted by Congress is not proper, it is not right, and it is not in the interest of the Indians themselves.

Furthermore, Mr. President, this is an exceedingly important question. It has not been submitted to the Committee on Indian Affairs. The resolution is brought in here without notice for the purpose of checking the action of the Executive Department in enforcing an act of Congress. It has not come to the Committee on Indian Affairs; it has not been considered by the committee; and until it is considered by that committee and there are reasons shown which are pertinent and important, and which will cause the Senate to act in this important matter, I shall certainly object to this phase of the resolution.

Mr. QUAY. Mr. President, the resolution was not submitted to the Committee on Indian Affairs. Some three weeks ago a bill to the same purport was sent to that committee, and it has not been heard from since; and I feared if this resolution took the course of the bill, the Committee on Indian Affairs might incubate upon the question until the resolution rotted. Therefore it was not submitted to the committee.

I am not so well versed in the history of the legislation affecting this resolution, or the facts connected with it, as is the Senator from South Dakota. The Senator from Connecticut [Mr. PLATT], who is a member of the Indian Committee, I believe understands the question pretty thoroughly, and if I go wrong he will correct me.

The facts in connection with it are about as I shall state them.

Many years ago the Government of the United States bought from the Quapaw Indians then living on the Arkansas River, near its mouth, a large territory, covering the present Indian Territory. The Quapaws were a small band, and it is doubtful whether at the time of the purchase a Quapaw Indian could have set his foot within the limits of the present Indian Territory without losing his scalp. These Wichita Indians were the indigenous Indians; they have lived there ever since the white man first set foot upon the continent, and the land was sold from under their feet without their knowledge and consent. That at least is their allegation. They were found three hundred years ago exactly where they are to-day.

After securing a paper title to the property, while God's title rested in the Wichitas, the United States Government ceded this territory to what are known as the Five Civilized Tribes, and removed them from Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi and settled them there. The question of title is now being tried in the Court of Claims and, I believe, is passing, through legislation heretofore had, from the Court of Claims to the Senate of the United States, and we are to determine what amount is due to the two Southern civilized tribes from the United States on a recent treaty, owing to the occupancy by the United States of their land. The Wichitas are no party to the treaty, and unless they are brought in by some sort of interpleader they will be left, when these lands are allotted and when the proceedings of the Senate are concluded, in the air with nothing but a claim against the United States Government for probably two or three million dollars, which will be ultimately paid, one-half to the Indians and one-half to some attorney or lobbyist.

It is thought by those who profess to understand the facts that in order to leave the whole proceedings just where they are and allow the Wichitas to be treated as the Choctaws and Chickasaws are being treated, who have their share of money allotted for the absolute proprietorship of the land, wherever it may belong, this resolution should be passed, and that the Wichitas should be brought into court here and the allotments should be stopped in the meantime.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. I wish that the resolution may go over, if possible, until to-morrow.

Mr. QUAY. I have no objection to that course, Mr. President. Let it go over.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. I can not recall at the moment all the facts in this complicated question. I think perhaps I would be able to make a more clear and concise statement of it to-morrow than at the present time. My impression about it is, however, that if these allotments took place of all the land which is claimed, whether properly or not, by the Wichita Indians, it will practically absorb all the territory, and therefore if it should be determined hereafter that the Wichitas were entitled, the Government would simply have to pay them over again in money for the land. That is my impression about it. The Senator from Arkansas, perhaps, is more familiar with the subject than I am just at this moment.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I concur in the request of the Senator from Connecticut that this matter shall go over. My recollection of the situation is somewhat confused. I think, however, that the controversy was about this way: The United States agreed to pay the Choctaws and Chickasaws for certain territory that was included in what was called the leased district by an act of Congress some years ago. The territory agreed to be paid for included the country occupied by the Wichita Indians. The Wichitas had before that time made an agreement with what was called the Cherokee Commission to cede their claim to the land. If I am not mistaken, there is now a suit pending between the Chickasaws on the one side and the Wichitas on the other to determine whether the money which the Government agreed to pay for the lands occupied by the Wichitas belongs to the Wichita Indians or to the Chickasaws and Choctaws; and that is now pending in the Court of Claims. I am not sure, however, that that is the fact.

Mr. QUAY. Will the Senator allow me to interrupt him?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Certainly.

Mr. QUAY. Was not the agreement the Commission had with the Indians challenged for fraud and held up in the Interior Department and never ratified?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I do not think there was ever an allegation of fraud as to the execution of the agreement.

Mr. PETTIGREW. I will answer the question if the Senator desires. The agreement was ratified by Congress and the surplus land, after allotment to the Indians of 160 acres to each person, was to be sold at $1.25 an acre and the proceeds to go to the Indians, to whichever tribe owned the country. If it was decided that the Chickasaws and Choctaws owned the country, then the money would go to them. But that did not disturb the allotments to the Wichitas. If it was decided that the Wichitas owned the country, then the money received for the surplus not allotted went to the Wichitas.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. And that question is before the Court of Claims to be determined.

Mr. PETTIGREW. It is before the Court of Claims. It does not interfere at all with the question of allotments. The question of determining what amount of money they shall have is the only question they are interested in.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. My recollection agrees with that of the Senator from South Dakota, with the further fact that the Wichitas were recognized by Congress as being entitled to an allotment in the land upon which they lived; that this was recognized, no matter whether the land was held to have belonged legally to the Choctaws and Chickasaws at the time the Government leased the district or whether it belonged to the Wichitas outright. Whether it belonged to the one or the other, the Wichitas were given their improvements upon the land on which they lived; and the controversy is as to whom the money shall go for the land not used for homes, for the land not allotted, as to whether it will go under the decision of the Court of Claims to the Wichitas or to the Choctaws and Chickasaws.

Mr. PETTIGREW. That is all.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. That question has now been taken away from the Court of Claims.

Mr. QUAY. And is coming into the Senate.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. And is coming into the Senate.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. How?

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Because by the agreement which has been made by the Choctaws and Chickasaws with the Dawes Commission it is agreed that their claim shall be submitted to the Senate for arbitration and decision. But the Wichita claim rests upon their suit in the Court of Claims.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. But, Mr. President——

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. That is as I understand it.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The Senator from Connecticut, I think, is in error in that statement in one respect. I do not understand that the agreement made by the Choctaws and Chickasaws would in any manner upset what has already been determined, that they were entitled to pay for the land that was occupied and owned near Oklahoma Territory, and was allotted to certain Indians, and to the Wichitas, but the lands held by the Kiowas and Comanches was not determined when the other question was determined.

The question whether the Choctaws and Chickasaws were entitled to any part of that land was left open, and that is the question which is to be determined by the Senate, the land occupied by the Kiowas and Comanches and Greer County, claimed both by Texas and by the Indian Territory. As to whether there was any claim on the part of the Choctaws and Chickasaws against the Government for those lands is the question to be determined by the Senate. It has no relation whatever to the lands occupied by the Wichitas, as I understand it. But that is a better reason why the resolution should go over.

Mr. QUAY. Let it go over.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Let the matter go over, and we shall look into it.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will go over.

Mr. PETTUS. Mr. President, it seems to me that in a matter where Senators familiar with the subject can not agree as to the facts, we ought not to be required to vote on this resolution at all until it has gone to a committee. I therefore move that it be referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution has been laid over at the request of the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. QUAY].

Mr. QUAY. The resolution has gone over until to-morrow.

CLINCH RIVER BRIDGE.

Mr. BATE. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of Senate bill 1944. It is a bill for the construction of a bridge across the Clinch River, in Tennessee, and is very short. I am anxious to have it disposed of.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. ALDRICH. Will it give rise to any discussion?

Mr. BATE. None in the world. It is just like the bridge bill which has been passed to-day. If it gives rise to debate, I shall withdraw it.

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill (S. 1944) to authorize the construction of a bridge across the Clinch River, Kingston, Tenn., which had been reported by the Committee on Commerce with an amendment, in section 1, line 5, after the words "across the," to strike out "Tennessee," and insert "Clinch;" so as to make the section read:

That the county of Roane, in the State of Tennessee, in its corporate capacity, is hereby authorized and empowered to construct and maintain a bridge over and across the Clinch River at or near the town of Kingston, so as to connect said town of Kingston with the opposite or north bank of said river.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was reported to the Senate as amended, and the amendment was concurred in.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

DEFICIENCY APPROPRIATIONS FOR PUBLIC PRINTING AND BINDING.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask unanimous consent to present this morning a joint resolution making provision for a deficiency in the office of the Public Printer. Unless the joint resolution shall pass between now and Monday, the Public Printer will be without funds to carry on the great operations of that office. I hope there will be no objection to the joint resolution. Nearly the whole amount of the sum here proposed to be appropriated is in the general deficiency appropriation bill, which has already passed the House of Representatives, but for various reasons, which at some time, I hope, will be satisfactorily explained to the Senate, the bill has been delayed in the Committee on Appropriations. So I propose to take this deficiency out of the general deficiency bill and ask the Senate to pass the joint resolution which I now introduce and send to the Secretary's desk.

The joint resolution (S. R. 44) making an appropriation to supply a deficiency in the appropriations for public printing and binding for the fiscal year 1897 was read the first time by its title, and the second time at length, as follows:

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives, etc., That the following sum be, and the same is hereby, appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to supply a deficiency in the appropriations for public printing and binding for the fiscal year 1897, namely:

Public printing and binding:

For the public printing, for the public binding, and for paper for the public printing, including the cost of printing the debates and proceedings of Congress in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and for lithographing, mapping, and engraving for both Houses of Congress, the Supreme Court of the United States, the supreme court of the District of Columbia, the Court of Claims, the Library of Congress, the Executive Office, and the Departments, including salaries or compensation of all necessary clerks and employees, for labor (by the day, piece, or contract), and for rents and all the necessary materials which may be needed in the prosecution of the work, $225,000.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the joint resolution?

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the joint resolution.

The joint resolution was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

TRANSPORTATION OF FOOD CONTRIBUTIONS TO INDIA.

Mr. CHANDLER. I ask for the present consideration of Senate joint resolution No. 43, for the transportation of contributions to the poor of India; and I will ask the Senator from Alabama [Mr. MORGAN] if he will consent to a vote at this time upon my amendment, or, if not, if he will fix some hour later in the day when he will be willing to have the vote taken upon it?

I have changed the form of the resolution so as to avoid the appearance of striking out the word "American," but have made the resolution in substance just the same, authorizing the Secretary of the Navy to employ the most suitable steamships or vessels of any nationality, not exceeding two in number.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the joint resolution?

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the joint resolution (S. R. 43) directing the Secretary of the Treasury to give an American register to the foreign-built steamships *Massapequa* and *Menantic*, to enable them to carry grain under the American flag to the sufferers by famine in India.

Mr. CHANDLER. I now ask to have the substitute amendment read.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to strike out all after the resolving clause of the resolution and insert:

That the joint resolution of April 7, 1897, authorizing the Secretary of the Navy to transport contributions for the relief of the famishing poor of India be, and the same is hereby, so amended that the Secretary shall be authorized to charter and employ the most suitable steamships or vessels of any nationality, not exceeding two in number, to carry out the object of said resolution.

Mr. CHANDLER. Now, I ask either that there may be a vote upon the amendment at this time or that the Senator from Alabama will agree to some hour to-day when there may be a vote.

Mr. MORGAN. If the substitute offered by the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. CHANDLER] is adopted by the Senate, that, of course, defeats the resolution which was offered here by the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE]. I am advocating the resolution offered by the Senator from Maine as against the substitute proposed by the Senator from New Hampshire; and inasmuch as the vote on his substitute will be a final vote, I propose to have a vote upon it at fifteen minutes to 2 o'clock.

Mr. CHANDLER. Then I ask unanimous consent that the substitute may be voted on at fifteen minutes before 2 o'clock to-day.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from New Hampshire that his amendment be voted upon at fifteen minutes to 2 o'clock this afternoon? The Chair hears none, and that will be the order.

Mr. CHANDLER. Does the Senator from Alabama desire to debate the resolution further?

Mr. MORGAN. I desire to say something further about it, and I have no doubt the Senator from New Hampshire will desire to say something about it.

Mr. CHANDLER. No; I do not. I am trying to pass this resolution persuasively, and not argumentatively.

Mr. MORGAN. I am trying to secure the passage of the resolution offered by the Senator from Maine, and I suppose that I am involving myself in an unfortunate trouble, which always comes when a man undertakes to interfere in domestic affairs between two beloved and thoroughly wedded friends.

The Senator from Maine has offered a proposition here which I approve, and the Senator from New Hampshire has offered a proposition which I do not approve under the circumstances as a substitute for the resolution of the Senator from Maine.

Mr. CHANDLER. Will the Senator permit me a word?

Mr. MORGAN. Certainly.

Mr. CHANDLER. The senior Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE], the chairman of the Committee on Naval Affairs, now absent, introduced the joint resolution in the form in which the Senator favors it, but it was a resolution drawn by Mr. Hogan. The Senator introduced it, and after a short debate the resolution went over; but the Senator from Maine is now in favor of the resolution as I offer it. So there is no antagonism between the Senator from Maine and myself on this subject. I am acting as his representative at this moment.

Mr. MORGAN. Well, if anybody here is authorized to withdraw the resolution of the Senator from Maine, then of course the Senator from New Hampshire will have the right of way perhaps, and an open track.

Mr. CHANDLER. I move to amend the resolution, and the Senator from Maine is in favor of the amendment.

Mr. MORGAN. The Senator from Maine made a very nice speech about the joint resolution. I approve it very highly, and I will read a little part of it to show that he was entirely justified in his advocacy of his own resolution. If he has now withdrawn that support, of course I must take time to consider; at least I must have the liberty of considering whether he has not been overreached in some way or other by the genius and the persuasive powers of the Senator from New Hampshire.

The Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE] said on May 20:

I introduce a joint resolution, which I ask to have read. Then I shall ask unanimous consent for its consideration on a statement which I will make.

The joint resolution (S. R. 43) directing the Secretary of the Treasury to give an American register to the foreign-built steamships *Massapequa* and *Menantic* to enable them to carry grain under the American flag to the sufferers by famine in India was read the first time by its title and the second time at length, as follows:

Then follows the resolution. Leaving off the whereases, it reads:

That the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby directed to cause the foreign-built steamships *Massapequa* and *Menantic*, owned by Charles W. Hogan, of the firm of T. Hogan & Sons, of New York City, a citizen of the United States, to be registered as vessels of the United States, upon being notified by the Secretary of the Navy that a contract has been entered into between the Navy Department and said Charles W. Hogan, of the firm of T. Hogan & Sons, for the transportation of about 8,000 tons of wheat in bulk or its equivalent in space for corn to India for the famishing poor.

SEC. 2. The Secretary of the Navy is hereby authorized to accept the proposition of T. Hogan & Sons made to him in their letter dated May 13, 1897, and to enter into a contract with Charles W. Hogan, of said firm, to carry the aforesaid wheat or equivalent of corn in bulk in the steamships *Massapequa* and *Menantic* to India, and a sufficient sum of money is hereby appropriated for said purpose out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated.

The Senator from New Hampshire says that Mr. Hogan drew that resolution. If he did, Mr. President, he exhibits a considerable amount of skill and, I think, a valuable trait of patriotism in doing so. It is exactly in line with what I think is the proper treatment of such a subject as this. The Senator from Maine said in support of it:

Mr. HALE. Mr. President, there is no opportunity in this emergency for any committee to consider the joint resolution. Senators will remember that by joint resolution approved by the President—

The date of that was April 7—

we provided that the Secretary of the Navy might, either in naval vessels or American vessels that he could charter, transport the gifts of grain, etc., which have been given by American citizens for the suffering people in India. The Secretary has found two things. No naval ships are adapted to such transportation. The statement of that fact will at once carry with it its demonstration. Everyone will see that the ships of the Navy are not built for any such purpose. He has also found that he can not charter any American registered ships. He can not find them. He has searched far and wide, and they are not obtainable.

Under these conditions and under the act of Congress the Secretary is unable to move the large quantities of supplies that have been given by benevolent people and are now in New York. I sent a moment ago for a letter from the Secretary of the Navy on the subject, but I will ask to have read now a letter which I have received from an American citizen in New York.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The letter will be read.

That is a letter from Charles W. Hogan, setting forth the terms of the contract he proposed to make with the Navy Department under the act of April 7, 1897, for the transportation of this grain. That act provided that the Secretary of the Navy might employ American ships, or ships with an American register, for the transportation of this grain. It did not fix the compensation per ton for carrying this grain, nor did it fix the amount that he might expend out of the Treasury of the United States for that purpose. It left that to be determined by the circumstances. The Secretary of the Navy had received a proposition from T. Hogan & Sons for the transportation of this grain, which is set forth here both in the letter of T. Hogan & Sons and in the letter of the Navy Department addressed to the chairman of the Committee on Naval Affairs, and dated May 18, 1897.

Now, to get at this matter directly, without introducing any unnecessary facts or statements, I will read a part of the letter of the Secretary of the Navy. He says:

The utilization of a vessel of the Navy being out of the question for the reasons stated, the Department has made every effort to charter a suitable American vessel, but with little success. Indeed, it appears, unfortunately, to be a fact that at the present time few American vessels of sufficient size are available for the purposes named in the resolution. Propositions have, however, been received from the owners of vessels sailing under a foreign flag, but deemed to be otherwise suitable, offering to transport to Bombay or Calcutta the food supplies referred to, provided such vessels can be admitted to American registry, and thus brought within the terms of the resolution; and it is understood that vessels owned wholly by American citizens, but not admitted to American registry because built abroad, can be chartered upon terms deemed reasonable.

This Department is in receipt of reports indicating that sufficient food supplies have been contributed to load two vessels, whereas the resolution authorizes the chartering of but one.

While it seems impossible to obtain an American vessel of 4,000 tons, it might occur that two such vessels of 2,000 tons each could be procured. Under these circumstances, and in order that the efforts of the contributors to this work of international benevolence may not fail of success for want of the necessary means of transportation, I have the honor to recommend that the authority conferred by the public resolution be so enlarged as to empower this Department to charter two vessels having a capacity of two to four thousand tons each instead of one such vessel; and, inasmuch as even these smaller vessels may not be procurable within a reasonable time, that further special authority be granted by Congress for the admission to American registry of one or two such vessels as may be required, of about 4,000 tons each, for the transportation of supplies from New York to India, in pursuance of public resolution No. 8.

It is suggested that the terms, with respect to inspection, etc., provided in section 3 of the "Act to encourage American shipbuilding," approved May 10, 1892, in pursuance of which the foreign-built steamers *New York* and *Paris* were granted American registry, might with propriety be adopted in the case under consideration.

In this connection attention is invited to the inclosed copy of a communication from Messrs. T. Hogan & Sons, offering to charter to the Government, for the purpose of transporting food supplies to India, the vessels *Massapequa* and *Menantic*, upon terms specified, if these vessels can be "naturalized."

Very respectfully,

JOHN D. LONG, *Secretary.*

The CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE ON NAVAL AFFAIRS,
United States Senate.

Now, that proposition all around is entirely congenial to my opinions and sentiments in regard to the subject of admitting foreign-built ships to American register. I know that there is very strong opposition to that; but I have at all times entertained the opinion, and it has been growing on me by the lapse of time, that this proposition is based entirely upon a disposition to monopolize the coastwise trade in favor of the owners of American-built ships. That is all well enough; but in the pursuit of the policy laid down so many years ago, now a century ago, we have finally gone to that point where we find that when our people raise supplies to be sent to India as a benevolence to the perishing people there American ships can not be found to take those supplies out to India.

In that lamentable situation of our merchant marine it certainly does seem reasonable that we ought to admit these two ships to register here, particularly as the Senator from Maine, who has been always the firm advocate of this old act, and has been very much opposed to any departure from it, brings in this resolution. I thought, of course, the matter was all settled between the different competitors for our coastwise trade and our registered foreign trade when the Senator from Maine came in with this resolution, and I was very much surprised when I found that the Senator from New Hampshire, the next-door neighbor of the Senator from Maine, and as much devoted to the act of 1792 as he, made an objection.

Mr. CHANDLER. The Senator will allow me to say to him that the Senator from Maine, who took the responsibility of introducing the resolution and the accompanying documents, nowhere says he is in favor of it, and he is not in favor of it.

Mr. MORGAN. Well, Mr. President, it rather stuns me that a Senator should get up here and offer a resolution, advocate it in a speech, and bring all the papers and documents, some official and some nonofficial, in support of it, and then it should turn out that he is not in favor of it.

Mr. CHANDLER. The Senator will permit me to say that the Senator from Maine did not advocate it.

Mr. MORGAN. I consider the introduction of such a resolution as an advocacy.

Mr. CHANDLER. It was transmitted to him by Mr. Hogan, and he put it in with Mr. Hogan's letter and the letter of the Secretary of the Navy, but immediately objection was made to the resolution, and when the Senator from Maine, the chairman of the Committee on Naval Affairs, came to consider the subject, he preferred to have the present method adopted.

Mr. MORGAN. The Senator from Maine introduced that resolution on the 20th day of May, and asked unanimous consent of the Senate for its present consideration "on a statement," he says, "which I will make." And he went on to make his statement; and the statement is what pleased me more than his advocacy of the joint resolution. I was trying, however, to avoid any personal trouble in this matter by interfering between friends on so important a question as this, but I am so ardently in favor of the naturalization or domestication of foreign-built ships on fair and proper terms as the policy of the United States Government that this attracted my attention and my support, and I was quite surprised when the Senator from New Hampshire rose and, in reply to this remark, said:

Mr. CHANDLER. I shall ask that the joint resolution which the Senator from Maine has introduced, sent here by the Navy Department, may go over until Monday.

So it appears that the resolution was sent here by the Navy Department—an official act of the present Administration.

I think the Secretary of the Navy has made a mistake in the remedy which he proposes to apply in connection with the difficulty which he encounters. Congress should at once remove the restriction upon the Secretary in hiring a ship to transport the food products to India which requires that it shall be an American ship.

Mr. HALE. If the Senator will allow me, this is the language of the joint resolution passed April 7, 1897:

"Or to charter and employ, under the authority of the United States, a suitable American steamship or vessel."

That is the trouble with the Secretary.

Mr. CHANDLER. Yes; but the Secretary should have recommended to us to strike out the word "American," which we never should have put into the original authority. When we were providing for speedily sending the contributions of the liberal people of the United States to the starving people of India, we should not have limited the means of transportation to American ships. Everyone knew perfectly well, as the Senator from Maine has stated, and as the Secretary of the Navy has stated, that there would be found no suitable naval vessel, because a ship of war is not suited to transport cargo, and the United States possesses no naval transport vessels. So that authorization was a mere form. We should have authorized the Secretary of the Navy to transport the contributions in any steamship which he could procure at short notice for a reasonable price. He has discovered that there is no American steamship promptly available, and he now proposes that we shall give an American register to one or two foreign ships in order that they may carry the contributions.

Mr. HALE. The Secretary does not enforce this remedy. He simply refers to it, and incloses the communication from the New York parties who own the ships. I do not understand that the Secretary urges Congress especially to do this.

Mr. CHANDLER. The Senator will excuse me. I thought the Senator introduced a joint resolution coming from the Secretary for the admission of these ships to an American register.

Mr. HALE. No; the Secretary only refers to the measure. It does not to any further extent than that have his indorsement. He only refers to it as suggesting a remedy.

Mr. CHANDLER. The simplest thing in the world is for the Senator from Maine to introduce a bill striking out the word "American" from that authorization. These ships ought to carry the contributions, if they are ready to go. They ought not to be detained, but there is no need of admitting them to an American register. All we need to do is to authorize the ships, with the nationality that now belongs to them, to transport under an English register, if they are English ships, these American contributions to the suffering people of English India.

And so the debate went on, other Senators then participating in it. The subject then went over until last Monday.

Now, Mr. President, I can not understand why it is that we have to go back and reform our legislation passed on the 7th day of April by striking out of that act of Congress the words "American ships." There seems to have been a sort of patriotic outburst at that moment of time, which justifies Senators in their own estimation—and the country has supported them entirely, I think—in moving to introduce this grain into India through American ships and under the American flag. I see no reason why we should tire of that patriotic effort when Mr. Hogan comes in here and says, "I will carry this grain for cost; it shall not cost the Government of the United States half as much as it would require to go into the market and hire ships or charter ships floating the British flag, the German flag, the French flag, or any other flag. I have a line of cattle ships between this country and Liverpool; my business is prosperous, and I have no reason to abandon that business and that line; but, inasmuch as the Secretary of the Navy for more than a month has made a fruitless effort to find an American ship to carry this grain, I propose to take two of my

ships off of that line and undertake this benevolent expedition at the lowest possible cost, at the actual cost to the Treasury of the United States, provided you will give me the privileges when I am carrying the grain of an American ship; that is, to wear the American flag and to have and enjoy an American register." Now, who had a right to object to that unless it is some man who is in competition with Hogan & Sons in the same line of business, some man who owns a steamship line or some other ship line?

Mr. GRAY. May I ask the Senator from Alabama a question?

Mr. MORGAN. Certainly.

Mr. GRAY. I was not here when the original debate occurred, nor have I been here when the question was up. I should like to ask the Senator whether he understands that the Secretary of the Navy can obtain from Hogan & Sons terms that are satisfactory for the carrying of the grain?

Mr. MORGAN. Entirely.

Mr. GRAY. Has an offer been made which is satisfactory to the Secretary of the Navy?

Mr. MORGAN. An offer has been made.

Mr. GRAY. Is it satisfactory to the Secretary of the Navy?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, sir. He sent it here along with the joint resolution, which, it appears, was drafted in the Navy Department. I will read that now:

T. HOGAN & SONS, 95 BROAD STREET, NEW YORK, *May 12, 1897.*

SIR: In view of the efforts made by our Government to procure American steamers to take the cargoes of grain to the starving people of India, we would state that two of our steamers, in every way suited for the business, are due here with cargoes within the next week, and could be discharged so as to be at the service of the Government within a short time thereafter.

The names of these steamers are *Massapequa* and *Menantic*, each of which will carry 4,100 tons gross weight of cargo in addition to 500 tons bunker coals, and when loaded will steam about 10 knots per hour. They were built in October, 1893, by Messrs. Jos. L. Thompson & Sons, Sunderland, England, and are first class in every respect. They are 1,935 tons net register or 3,027 tons gross register each, 322 feet in length, 42 feet 7 inches breadth, and 28 feet 6 inches molded depth, and are classed 100 A1 at British Lloyds. These steamers belong to the Menantic Steamship Company, Limited, the stock of which is owned by American citizens.

We would be willing to take a full cargo of grain in each, provided the Government would naturalize these two steamers before they leave this side. On this condition we would charge for grain in bulk $6 per ton of 2,240 pounds hence to Bombay, or $7 per ton of 2,240 pounds hence to Calcutta. Should it be requisite to ship the cargoes in bags, our price would be $6.70 per ton to Bombay and $7.70 to Calcutta.

We are satisfied that these two steamers would be a valuable acquisition to the merchant marine of this country and afford the means of giving employment to quite a number of American citizens.

Trusting that this matter will receive your favorable consideration,

We are, sir, yours, respectfully,

T. HOGAN & SONS.

Hon. JOHN D. LONG,
Secretary of Navy, Washington, D. C.

I have no disposition at all to go over the field of debate that was occupied so thoroughly yesterday, but I will state a fact or two in regard to it which were then developed. The cost of carrying the grain to India, proposed by Hogan & Sons in the contract, is just about one-half what it would cost the Government if we strike the word "American" out of the joint resolution. We had better accept the contract, and then we will add two more ships to the meager retinue we have of American commercial marine. We have got down to the point now that when our benevolent people desire to feed the poor, famishing people of India, they can not find American ships in which to transport the goods. Our commercial marine has actually dwindled to such an extent that it is humiliating to think about it.

Now, I can not see any reason at all why we should not add these two excellent steamers, suited to this purpose, and get the benefit of this arrangement; know exactly what we are doing; how much money we are going to spend; and if it does grind upon some gentlemen who have a monopoly of the transportation trade along the coast or elsewhere in steamships, let them bear along with the rest of us the burdens of Government. They have no right to an exclusive privilege of transportation by steam along the coasts of America or across the water, and yet they enjoy it. Whenever anybody comes in and proposes to enter that trade and to become a competitor with them for the trade of the country or of the world, they say, "No, we can not admit you into the sacred circle at all. It is going to cost us some money; it is going to create competition."

Mr. President, as I stated yesterday, I am in favor of competition in respect particularly of transportation, in respect of all matters in which the American people as a body are interested. I am in favor of competition. I do not wish to exclude it, but the whole object, it seems to me, of the change in the situation and in the minds of Senators is to obtain for some company that now has monopolistic advantages a continuance of those privileges at the expense of the Treasury of the United States and at the expense of humanity.

Mr. GRAY. Mr. President, as I said a moment ago, this matter has just been brought to my attention by the remarks of the Senator from Alabama [Mr. MORGAN]. It seems to be confessed on all hands—it is admitted by the substitute offered by the Senator from New Hampshire—that it would be absurd to wait and look for American registered steamships to carry these supplies to the starving people of India, and that if anything is to be done, it can only be done efficiently if it is done quickly.

But I confess that I have something more than a sentiment about it. I think it is right that we should avail ourselves and that the Executive Department should avail itself of the quickest mode of transportation of this substantial testimonial of American benevolence to those people. I have a sentiment that the white-winged messengers who carry the supplies to the starving people should be under the American flag, and I am willing, without discussing the propriety of our navigation laws or the laws which prohibit foreign-built ships from obtaining an American register, to lift the bars now in order that these messengers of peace and good will and benevolence may sail forth under the flag of my country.

I hope on that account that the substitute offered by the Senator from New Hampshire will not be adopted and that the joint resolution of the Senator from Maine in its original form, as I understand from the Senator from Alabama, will be adopted.

Mr. CHANDLER. Will the Senator from Delaware allow me to make a suggestion to him?

Mr. GRAY. Certainly.

Mr. CHANDLER. These white-winged messengers, these ships of English nationality, can sail into Bombay or Calcutta covered all over with American flags if the masters of the ships choose to put them on.

Mr. GRAY. I understand that the steamers which the Secretary of the Navy has proposed to Congress shall be employed for this work are owned by American citizens entirely, but, having been built abroad, are not entitled under the present law to American registers. I do not see why, in sending out this testimonial of our humanity and feeling for the starving poor of India, the vessel that carries it should not sail under and be decorated with the American flag of right, and sail under that flag and under its protection wherever it may go on the long voyage, whatever waters it may traverse between here and India. That is what I think is not an unnatural feeling. It is not merely a sentimental one.

Mr. CHANDLER. May I ask the Senator whether it is not incongruous in hiring these two English ships to take the supplies, if they are hired, to enter into the transaction of virtually selling an American register? Assuming that perhaps in that way we can get the freight a little cheaper, is it not incongruous to couple with the transaction the sale of American registers to these two ships in order that they may make one voyage to India in our service, after which they can come back here and, during the whole life of the ships, enter into the American coasting trade? Is it not an undignified, senseless bargain, in which we ought not to indulge in connection with this transaction?

Mr. GRAY. I think not, so long as it has been found that there are no suitable vessels that now have the right to sail under the American flag obtainable for this mission. I think we should feel that it is incumbent upon us to see that the vessels which carry this bounty of the American people over the wide seas shall sail under the American flag. I think we all have a proper patriotic feeling in that regard, or ought to have. I certainly am not vaunting any superior patriotism to the Senator from New Hampshire, but I believe that the feeling I have and which I have tried to express is shared or will be shared by a great number of the people of the United States. I think now, as I said before, that we should let down the prohibitive bars of the present law and allow these two vessels to sail out under the ensign of the country to which their owners belong and of which they are citizens.

I do not think it would militate against the general law on that subject. If it does, personally I do not care a great deal. But I do not see how it does or how it brings that law in question. I do not think it brings in question the general policy of the law. But here is an occasion when we want to send provisions abroad, and we want to send them under the American flag, and I think the proposition of the Secretary of the Navy is a wise one, a patriotic one, and ought to be acceded to.

Mr. STEWART. Mr. President, I understand that this is a question of charity, and we are discussing what kind of a display we will make in exercising that commendable quality. I have been taught by the really charitable that the advertisement of that kind of a deed is not absolutely necessary to the good quality of the deed. I think a discussion of the question of buying steamers or floating flags is hardly becoming.

It should be remembered that the necessity for the charity comes entirely from English legislation. England confiscated $1,700,000,000 of the property of those poor people with which they had been in the habit of buying bread in times like these. It did that by suspending the coinage. They had their stores of silver. They went to the mint and could not get anything for it.

They had stored it up for the purpose, because they theretofore could go and get rupees and buy bread, and millions of poor people are dying to-day in consequence of the English legislation confiscating the savings of those who have been enslaved by English rule and dominated by English taskmasters for two or three centuries.

The pittance that each gets is so small that the economy they have to exercise is perfectly marvelous. It is natural that the American people should sympathize with their distress, but I do not think any unnecessary advertisement is essential. If we are going to give, let us give, and let it be taken. I do not think we want to advertise to the world that we are especially benevolent because we are willing to contribute to relieve such horrible suffering. I am opposed to all this discussion about ships. Let the supply go as other commerce goes. Let it go as it can go. I think the gift will be quite as much appreciated by those poor people if it comes in one way as in any other. It will have just as much effect upon us. I do not believe the advertisement or the discussion will greatly please the American people.

This being a matter of charity, send the supplies over, and send them quickly and save life. If English steamers are ready to take the supplies, let them do so. The stores ought to be there now. This delay is harmful. All the discussion about how much advertisement, how much credit, we can get by the display of the American flag, when we have no ship to carry it, and the proposition to get ships in order to make the display, it seems to me, is profitless. Let us do the charity quietly and quickly.

Mr. FRYE. Mr. President, the proposition which the Senator from Alabama is advocating is, in my judgment, the most impudent one that ever was made to the United States Senate.

Mr. MORGAN. I must protest against the Senator from Maine making such an assault upon his colleague. I did not introduce the joint resolution. It was the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE] who introduced it.

Mr. FRYE. I will settle that controversy with my colleague later on.

Mr. MORGAN. If it is impudent, it certainly is not my impudence.

Mr. FRYE. The proposition, I repeat, is the most impudent one I have ever known to be made to the United States Senate, on the part of Hogan & Sons. Hogan & Sons are very familiar to me. They have been before the Congress of the United States a great many times.

Mr. MORGAN. Will the Senator pardon me for one second?

Mr. FRYE. Yes.

Mr. MORGAN. The Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE] stated that the joint resolution was drawn and the proposition sent here by the Secretary of the Navy. Does the Senator from Maine propose to include that officer also in his accusation of impudence for making the suggestion?

Mr. FRYE. I have no controversy with the Secretary of the Navy and can not be led into one.

Mr. CHANDLER. Will the Senator from Maine allow me? I read from Hogan & Sons' proposition:

> I take the liberty of inclosing herewith for the consideration of yourself and your committee a joint resolution which I should be pleased to have you and your committee report favorably to the Senate.

What the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE] did was to put it in by way of starting the subject, but he nowhere said that he was in favor of it, and he is not in favor of it.

Mr. MORGAN. Then the impudence comes from the Secretary of the Navy, and not from the Senator from Maine.

Mr. FRYE. My colleague did not have nor did the Secretary of the Navy have any such knowledge of these people and of this proposition as I have. If they had, no such proposition would ever have emanated from either of them.

Now, we have a law upon our statute books by which, if a foreign ship is wrecked in our waters and is purchased by an American citizen and repairs are laid out on her to the extent of three-quarters of her cost, the Secretary of the Treasury may give her an American register. Congress has been accustomed to act upon the spirit of the law, not limiting the wrecked vessel to the 3-mile limit. If it was 6 miles out or 8 miles out, and she was wrecked, and purchased by an American citizen, and then repaired in American shipyards to the extent of three-quarters in value, Congress has been accustomed to give an American register.

Hogan & Sons, of New York, have had their eyes after wrecked ships for some time, and within my certain knowledge they have purchased two old wrecks, had them hauled into New York and repaired there in American shipyards. They are large steamers. I think I remember that one of them is estimated to have cost $47,000 and another one $61,000, and I think they are valued by Hogan & Sons to-day at $125,000 and $150,000; and Hogan & Sons have those two ships now.

Mr. MORGAN. Will the Senator from Maine allow me to make an inquiry?

Mr. FRYE. No; let me finish my sentence. Why do not Hogan & Sons let the Secretary of the Navy contract with the two ships to whom we have given American registry to carry these supplies to India at cost, as they say they will, instead of insisting upon a bargain by which they shall get two more ships (foreign built) under American registry?

Mr. MORGAN. Allow me to answer that question.

Mr. GRAY. How does the Senator from Maine know, may I ask, that the two ships to which he refers are available?

Mr. FRYE. I have no doubt they are. They may be off.

Mr. GRAY. They may be off.

Mr. MORGAN. I will say that the statement of Hogan & Sons, which I read here yesterday, shows that they are engaged in the regular cattle trade between the United States and Liverpool or Southampton—somewhere over there—a profitable trade, and they are not willing to withdraw any of their ships from that trade in order to carry the grain. They want to bring a couple more that have not been wrecked.

Let me ask the Senator from Maine if he objects that so much value has been added to these ships by the labor of American shipbuilders and their employees in the shipyards of the United States. He complains that one of these ships was bought for $47,000 and raised to $125,000.

Mr. FRYE. No; I did not say that.

Mr. MORGAN. I thought the Senator did.

Mr. FRYE. Oh, no. I said that the cost of one, to my recollection, was $47,000. I do not mean the cost of the wrecked vessel, but the cost of the complete vessel was $47,000. The cost of the other complete vessel was $61,000, and by reason of their sharp bargaining for wreckage and all that sort of thing they are enabled to value those ships to-day one at $125,000 and another at $150,000.

Mr. MORGAN. That seems to have been a fair profit, and I wonder that the Senator from Maine should object to any person from his quarter making a good bargain.

Mr. FRYE. If the Senator from Alabama will allow me, I intended to say but two or three words, and I have had a good many more interruptions now than I have said words.

The scheme on the part of Hogan & Sons is in some possible way to get a line of American steamships at half what that line would cost if they were compelled by the existing law of the country to do what Clyde & Co., or Mallory & Co., or the Red Star Line, or other existing lines are compelled to do—have the ships created in American shipyards by American labor.

That is the entire scheme. They have three ships now, I understand, admitted to American registry, old ships that were wrecked somewhere or other, and through the action of the Secretary of the Treasury and of Congress they have succeeded in getting them at half what they would have cost if built in American shipyards.

Mr. MORGAN. But then the Senator from Maine will admit, I have no doubt, that the work which was done on those ships, those wrecks, as he calls them, was done in American shipyards.

Mr. FRYE. Of course, or else they would not have been admitted to American registry, Congress recognizing the spirit of the law in so admitting them.

Mr. MORGAN. That much good, profitable labor, then, was handed out to the American shipbuilder and his employees.

Mr. FRYE. Finding that there is a scarcity of American ships for the ocean trip—there is no scarcity of American vessels in the coastwise trade—Hogan & Sons take that opportunity to say, having already secured, for half their value, an American registry for three British ships, "We now propose to make a sharp bargain with the United States and get in two more British ships." They would thus secure a line of British-built ships with American registry, and then could compete with all the American lines that have been compelled by law to have their ships built in American shipyards, and to have them built from the keel up, so that the entire cost of the ship is incurred here, instead of by a speculation purchasing an old wreck and then putting on the repairs. That is the entire purpose of Hogan & Sons—to take advantage of this opportunity to get a line of five American steamships, and probably if you put the five together they would not cost two-thirds what every other steamship in any American line that is running cost.

Now, the Senator from Alabama says that competition is valuable: that the people get the benefit of it; and that these ships ought to be admitted to compete with the ships built in American shipyards. Mr. President, does not the Senator from Alabama know that for the last three years no American ships have been running at a profit? Does he not know that the freight transportation to-day on rail and in ships is way down to the very lowest point possible? Does he not know that the lines of American ships, even running to Central and South America, have not paid dividends to the amount of 10 per cent in the last five years? Does he not know that there is just as much and just as active

competition between the American lines as there is between the line that Hogan & Sons may establish to compete with another line? Does he not know that every steamship is a competitor with every other steamship; that every American steamship is a competitor with every other American ship? Does he not know that a monopoly is an utter impossibility on the ocean? Does he not know that a trust can not found itself on the ocean, and that therefore the competition is just as active, just as vivid, and results just exactly the same between American ships built in American shipyards and ships built in foreign shipyards and competing with American ships?

Mr. MORGAN. The Senator asks me if I do not know these things. I do not know them at all, but I am willing to take the Senator's word for them, and from his account of it I suppose the reason of the want of profit in American investments in ships is because they cost too much.

Mr. FRYE. Oh, no. It costs too much to sail them. It is not the original cost of the ship. The original cost of the ships is of small account in the race.

Mr. MORGAN. There is one other point about that. Why do not some of the great number of American ships sailing under our flag, entitled to our registry, and built in our own yards, come forward and offer to take this contract; and why is it that the Secretary of the Navy for thirty-five days has not been able to find one willing to do it?

Mr. FRYE. I do not know how they are engaged. I do not know anything about that. I have been absent. I am very much surprised that American ships can not be found. I admit that.

Mr. MORGAN. It is very strange.

Mr. FRYE. But I know that our big ships, our sailing ships at any rate, are nearly all the time plying between New York and Japan or China or Australia or California, and are on the sea on every voyage at least one hundred and thirty days, so that he would not be likely to find any of them.

Charity on the part of Hogan & Sons! They propose to carry this grain to Calcutta, or wherever it may be, at cost. I venture to say that there is not an American ship going to China or Calcutta or Japan to-day that is not carrying at cost; and who knows but that Hogan & Sons have looked out for a return cargo on which they will make a profit?

Mr. GRAY. I hope they have.

Mr. MORGAN. They are entitled to it.

Mr. FRYE. Certainly they are entitled to it. They are pretty sharp men, too. I think very likely they have looked out for a return cargo.

Mr. MORGAN. I hope they have.

Mr. FRYE. Many of the ships that come from Europe bound for San Francisco come in ballast. That is not carrying at cost; that is carrying at immense expense to the ship. I presume every ship that carries oil out of the United States comes here in ballast—every single one of them. I do not believe that in the Netherlands line or in the German line there is an oil ship which does not come to the United States without a single ounce of cargo on board. They are ready not only to come here without any cost, but ready to come here and pay the entire cost, in order to take the American oil back to Europe and make their charges on it. So that the mere statement that these men are willing to carry it at cost does not amount to anything at all.

We have had on our statute books for a hundred years these navigation laws. The Senator from Alabama has tried to repeal them again and again. The Senator from Missouri has made a vigorous attempt over and over and over again to repeal the laws. They never have been repealed. They never will be repealed. The navigation laws of the United States are stronger to-day in the United States Senate and in the Congress of the United States than they ever were. If it had not been for the navigation laws, we would not have had any ships at all now.

Mr. GRAY. We have no ships in the foreign trade as it is.

Mr. FRYE. We have not, because the navigation laws do not apply to ships in the foreign trade; because on the ocean we are absolutely without any protection against anybody; because every British tramp can compete with us, paying their masters $50 or $40, while we pay ours a hundred dollars; because from Vancouver to China to-day Great Britain is simply paying her stokers and her coal men, Chinamen, $7 a month, and we are compelled on the Pacific line to pay ours $35 a month. That is the reason why we have not our ocean-carrying trade to-day.

The VICE-PRESIDENT (at 1 o'clock and 45 minutes p. m.). The Chair calls the attention of the Senate to the fact that the time has arrived when the vote is to be taken on the amendment proposed by the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. CHANDLER].

Mr. MORGAN. In order to test the strength of the amendment of the Senator from New Hampshire, I move to lay it on the table, and on that motion I ask for the yeas and nays.

Mr. LINDSAY. I ask to have the amendment read.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read the amendment of the Senator from New Hampshire.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to strike out all after the resolving clause and insert:

That the joint resolution of April 7, 1897, authorizing the Secretary of the Navy to transport contributions for the relief of the famishing poor of India, be, and the same is hereby, so amended that the Secretary shall be authorized to charter and employ the most suitable steamships or vessels of any nationality, not exceeding two in number, to carry out the object of said resolution.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The yeas and nays are demanded on the motion to lay this amendment on the table.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. FRYE. The motion is to lay on the table the amendment of the Senator from New Hampshire, I understand.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. That is the question.

Mr. FRYE. It should not be laid on the table.

Mr. SEWELL. I do not suppose it is a debatable question, but I should like to have the question stated.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. It has been stated.

Mr. SEWELL. I did not happen to be in the Chamber at the time. I should like to have it read for information.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. CHANDLER] proposes an amendment as a substitute for the joint resolution. The amendment has been read.

Mr. STEWART. Let it be read.

Mr. GRAY. It has just been read.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Alabama moves to lay the amendment on the table, on which the yeas and nays have been ordered. The Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. PLATT of New York (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the junior Senator from Louisiana [Mr. McENERY]. I therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. TILLMAN (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. THURSTON], but as I am told that if he were present he would vote "nay," I will vote. I vote "nay."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas (after having voted in the affirmative). I am paired with the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE]. As he introduced the joint resolution, I presume he would vote "nay" on this question.

Mr. CHANDLER. If the Senator from Maine were here, he would vote "nay."

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. If the Senator from New Hampshire knows that the Senator from Maine would vote "nay," I will announce my pair and withdraw my vote.

Mr. FRYE. I know that my colleague would vote "nay."

Mr. CHANDLER. In view of the remark of the Senator's colleague, I will state that I do know it, because the Senator from Maine so informed me in writing.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I withdraw my vote.

Mr. GEAR. I have a general pair with the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH]. He is not present, and I will not vote.

Mr. LODGE. I will take this occasion to announce the general pair of my colleague [Mr. HOAR] with the Senator from Washington [Mr. TURNER].

Mr. BATE (after having voted in the affirmative). I desire to know if the junior Senator from Kentucky [Mr. DEBOE] has voted?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The junior Senator from Kentucky has not voted.

Mr. BATE. I am paired with that Senator for to-day, and withdraw my vote.

Mr. BUTLER (after having voted in the affirmative). I inquire if the junior Senator from Maryland [Mr. WELLINGTON] has voted?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. He has not voted.

Mr. BUTLER. I withdraw my vote. I am paired with that Senator, and I do not know how he would vote if present.

Mr. TURNER. I vote "yea."

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair will state to the Senator from Washington that a pair was announced between him and the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR].

Mr. TURNER. Very well; I was not aware of the fact that I was paired. I withdraw my vote.

The result was announced—yeas 18, nays 40; as follows:

YEAS—18.

Bacon,	Cockrell,	Mantle,	Turpie,
Berry,	Gray,	Mitchell,	Vest,
Carter,	Kenney,	Morgan,	Walthall.
Chilton,	Lindsay,	Pettus,	
Clay,	Mallory,	Rawlins,	

NAYS—40.

Aldrich,	Caffery,	Clark,	Elkins,
Allison,	Cannon,	Cullom,	Fairbanks,
Burrows,	Chandler,	Davis,	Foraker,

Frye,	Lodge,	Perkins,	Spooner,
Gallinger,	McMillan,	Pettigrew,	Stewart,
Hanna,	Mason,	Platt, Conn.	Tillman,
Hansbrough,	Nelson,	Pritchard,	Warren,
Harris, Kans.	Proctor,	Quay,	Wetmore,
Hawley,	Pasco,	Sewell,	White,
Heitfeld,	Penrose,	Shoup,	Wilson.

NOT VOTING—30.

Allen,	George,	McBride,	Smith,
Baker,	Gorman,	McEnery,	Teller,
Bate,	Hale,	Martin,	Thurston,
Butler,	Harris, Tenn.	Mills,	Turner,
Daniel,	Hoar,	Morrill,	Wellington,
Deboe,	Jones, Ark.	Murphy,	Wolcott.
Faulkner,	Jones, Nev.	Platt, N. Y.	
Gear,	Kyle,	Roach,	

So the Senate refused to lay Mr. CHANDLER'S amendment on the table.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question recurs on the adoption of the amendment proposed by the Senator from New Hampshire.

Mr. SEWELL. Let the amendment be read.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from New Jersey requests that the amendment be read again. The Secretary will read the amendment.

The Secretary again read the amendment proposed by Mr. CHANDLER as a substitute.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

The joint resolution was reported to the Senate as amended, and the amendment was concurred in.

Mr. SEWELL. I wish to ask the Senator from Maine [Mr. FRYE] a question for information. I understood that the joint resolution had some reference to giving the flag to foreign vessels. I do not see anything at all in the amendment that would do it.

Mr. FRYE. There is nothing in the resolution to prevent the Secretary of the Navy from employing any vessel in the world. The difference between this and the other measure was that you were obliged to admit two foreign-built ships to American registry, to make a bargain with them, and have them admitted to American registry in order to get your provisions carried to India.

Mr. SEWELL. That you and I would not do. We would not think of it.

Mr. FRYE. No; and now the Secretary of the Navy reports that he can not find an American ship, and of course we do not want the corn and wheat and all that sort of thing to spoil.

Mr. SEWELL. Do you think that he can not find an American ship?

Mr. FRYE. I think he can if he tries.

Mr. SEWELL. If we pass the joint resolution, it will allow him to charter a British ship immediately. I do not believe that we ought to send the charitable contributions under any other flag than our own, even if we have to pay a good deal more for our own ships because they are not adapted to this use. They are not tramps; they are built for passenger trade. They can not carry as large cargoes as other ships, and therefore it will cost more to send the relief supplies abroad in them, but if you are going to send the supplies as a charitable gift offering from the people of the United States, they should be covered by the American and not by the British flag.

Mr. FRYE. But that will be the case.

Mr. MORGAN. If the Senator will allow me, we are now, by this action of ours, hauling down the American flag. On the 7th of April we hoisted it with great pride and eclat and glory to carry this benevolence to India. I am not participating in the hauling down of that flag.

Mr. CHANDLER. Mr. President——

Mr. FRYE. I object to further discussion.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is, Shall the joint resolution be ordered to be engrossed for a third reading?

The joint resolution was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

The title was amended so as to read: "A joint resolution authorizing the Secretary of the Navy to transport contributions for the relief of the famishing poor of India."

THE TARIFF BILL.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The hour of 2 o'clock having arrived, the Chair lays before the Senate the unfinished business, being the bill (H. R. 379) to provide revenue for the Government and to encourage the industries of the United States.

Mr. PETTIGREW. I ask that the conference report on the Indian appropriation bill may be taken up and disposed of, temporarily laying aside the tariff bill for that purpose.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection?

Mr. CHANDLER. Before the bill is laid aside, I ask leave to offer an amendment to the tariff bill, it being an amendment to the amendment offered by the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. PETTIGREW]. I ask that the amendment be printed, and also that it be printed in the RECORD.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. That will be the order.

Mr. CHANDLER'S amendment is as follows:

Amendment to the tariff bill by Senator CHANDLER.

"Amend the amendment offered May 25 by Senator PETTIGREW by adding thereto the following:

"The act 'to protect trade and commerce against unlawful restraints and monopolies,' approved July 2, 1890, shall apply to all companies, corporations, and persons engaged as common carriers in the business of transporting persons or property; and all the penalties imposed and methods of restraint provided by said act shall take effect and be in force against such companies, corporations, and persons; and any contract between any two or more of them for the fixing of rates of transportation by the order or on the recommendation of representatives designated on behalf of the various parties to such contract, or by the order or on the recommendation of a majority of such representatives, or for the maintenance of the rates of transportation once fixed, or for the enforcement of any such contract by fines or penalties imposed upon any of the parties thereto, shall constitute an offense under said act of July 2, 1890."

INDIAN APPROPRIATION BILL.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair hears no objection to taking up the conference report on the Indian appropriation bill. The report has been read.

Mr. PETTIGREW. The report has been read. I ask the Senate to concur in the conference report.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on concurring in the report.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. President——

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Utah desire to speak on the pending question?

Mr. CANNON. I do, briefly.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Utah will proceed.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. President, it would be an injustice to the courtesy of the Senate if we were to object to the adoption of the conference report. At the same time it would be unfair if a statement were not made at this time of the injustice which is wrought to the people living in the State of Utah and all the people of the country so long as the status shall be maintained which will exist upon the adoption of the conference report.

The most valuable minerals of the Uncompahgre Indian Reservation will be withheld from public use during the whole time of the existence of the law which will be created by the passage of this bill and its signature by the President. It is a wrong to all the people of the United States, because the development of asphaltum and gilsonite and elaterite lands in various States of the Union has resulted in a great reduction in the price of paving in this country and a further development will still further reduce that cost to the cities of the United States.

It is only with a desire to bring to the attention of the Senate the fact that the status to be created by this bill should be remedied by further legislation at the earliest possible time that I rise at the present moment. I shall vote for the adoption of the conference report because the Senate has given to us the utmost consideration, and the conferees of both Houses have dealt with this question in an understanding way, and have made various futile efforts to get the two Houses to agree upon a proposition that should be just to all.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on concurring in the conference report.

The report was concurred in.

THE TARIFF BILL.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 379) to provide revenue for the Government and to encourage the industries of the United States.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read the bill; and under the order of the Senate the amendments of the Committee on Finance will first be acted upon as the reading proceeds.

The Secretary proceeded to read the bill.

The first amendment of the Committee on Finance was, on page 1, line 3, after the word "of," to strike out "May" and insert "July;" so as to read:

That on and after the 1st day of July, 1897, unless otherwise specially provided for in this act, there shall be levied, collected, and paid upon all articles imported from foreign countries, etc.

Mr. ALDRICH. I suggest that this amendment may be passed over for the present.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment will be passed over.

The next amendment was, on page 1, line 6, after the word "countries," to strike out "or withdrawn for consumption;" so as to read:

There shall be levied, collected, and paid upon all articles imported from foreign countries and mentioned in the schedules herein contained the rates of duty which are by the schedules and paragraphs respectively prescribed, namely.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. WHITE. At this point I desire to insert in the RECORD certain tables regarding the pending bill which have been prepared under the direction of the minority of the committee. I think, in view of the information which they contain, it would be well to insert them here.

The first is a table of articles paying from 50 to 75 per cent under the present bill; the second, articles paying 75 to 100 per cent; the third, a statement, by groups, of the articles paying over 100 per cent; and fourth, "Small amounts of duty collected—Statement of the articles and the amount of duty collected thereon during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1896, in amounts of $100, $150, and $200 or less, with the rates of duty under the present law and the Senate amendments to H. R. 379," indicating prohibitive duties.

Also another table containing "Increased rates over act of 1890;" that is, this table will show the instances wherein the present bill discloses rates increased over those of the McKinley bill. That is all we care to have done now.

The tables referred to are as follows:

Articles paying from 50 to 75 per cent.

Paragraph of Senate.	Article.	Per cent.
	Chemicals, oils, and paints:	
2	Alcoholic perfumery	71.23
10	Borax, refined	71.46
16	Collodion and all compounds	70.42
	Collodion rolled in sheets	69.98
17	Coloring for brandy, wine, etc	50
18	Copperas, or sulphate of iron	62.50
35	Oil, linseed or linseed	73.16
39	Oil, peppermint	60.79
41	Opium, crude	53.48
43	Baryta, manufactured	53.51
44	Blanc-fixe, etc	55.55
53	White lead	63.96
54	Whiting and paris white, dry	69.19
57	Lead, acetate of, white	70.56
	Lead, acetate of, brown	56.54
64	Preparations, medicinal, of which alcohol is a component part	70.51
67	Preparations used as applications to, etc	60
68	Santonin, and all salts thereof, etc	67.27
69	Soap, fancy, perfumed	50
	Soda—	
70	Bicarbonate of	57.70
75	Silicate of	54.90
81	Vanillin	50
	Earths, earthenware, and glassware:	
	Glass and glassware—	
91	Bottles and vials, flint and lime, filled—	
	Holding more than 1 pint	54.28
	Holding not more than 1 pint and not less than one-fourth pint	59.55
	Bottles and vials, green and colored, filled—	
	Holding more than 1 pint	59.72
	Holding not more than 1 pint and not less than one-fourth pint	59.79
96	Glassware, all other, plain, green, etc	60
	Articles of glass, cut, engraved, painted, etc	60
	Decanters, or other vessels, etc	60
	Bottles, cut, engraved, painted, etc	60
	Chemical glassware	60
	Porcelain or opal glassware	60
99	Cylinder and crown glass, polished, above 24 by 30 and not above 24 by 60 inches	63.56
100	Plated glass, fluted, rolled, etc., all above 24 by 60 inches	74.17
102	Cylinder and crown glass, polished, silvered, above 24 by 30 and not above 24 by 60 inches	51.95
104	Cylinder and crown glass, polished, unsilvered, when ground, obscured, etc., above 24 by 30 and not above 24 by 60 inches	52.83
	Cylinder and crown glass, polished, silvered, when ground, obscured, etc., above 24 by 30 and not above 24 by 60 inches	54.67
	Plate glass, cast, polished, silvered, when ground, obscured, etc., above 24 by 30 and not above 24 by 60 inches	53.65
	Marble and stone:	
111	Marble—	
	Veined marble, sawed or dressed, etc	67.54
	Manufactures of marble	50
	Manufactures of agate	50
	Manufactures of alabaster	50
	Manufactures of jet	50
115	Freestone, granite, etc., hewn, dressed, etc	50
	Metals, and manufactures of:	
	Iron or steel—	
123	Bullet and other plate iron, iron or steel, valued above 1 cent and not above 2 cents per pound	51.70
125	Ties for baling cotton, cut to lengths, etc	53.40
127	Sheets of iron or steel, common or black, thinner than No. 25 wire gauge	55.07
128	Sheets of iron or steel, galvanized, thinner than No. 20 and not thinner than No. 25 wire gauge	57.87
129	Sheets and plates, pickled or cleaned by acids, etc.:	
	Thinner than No. 20 and not thinner than No. 25 wire gauge	59.16
	Thinner than No. 25 wire gauge	70.41

Articles paying from 50 to 75 per cent—Continued.

Paragraph of Senate.	Article.	Per cent.
	Metals, and manufactures of—Continued.	
	Iron or steel—Continued.	
	Sheets and plates of iron or steel, pickled or cleaned by acid, cold rolled, smoothed, etc.:	
	Thinner than No. 20 and not thinner than No. 25 wire gauge	67.28
	Thinner than No. 25 wire gauge	70.43
130	Tin plates—	
	Lighter than 63 pounds per 100 square feet	60.49
	All other	55.10
133	Wire, round iron or steel—	
	Smaller than No. 16 wire gauge	55.39
149	Cutlery—	
	Penknives or pocketknives, valued at more than 30 cents and not exceeding 50 cents per dozen	66.67
	Scissors and shears, valued at more than 50 cents and not more than $1.75 per dozen	54.63
151	Table and carving knives and forks	55
153	Files, file blanks, rasps, and floats, 4 inches in length and under	57.87
	Firearms—	
154	Shotguns, etc., valued at not more than $10 each	50
	Shotguns, sporting, breechloading, etc	60
	Pistols	60
156	Nails, wire, made of wrought iron or steel	60.22
164	Saws: Mill saws	50.49
166	Umbrella and parasol ribs, stretcher frames, etc	50
	Miscellaneous metals and manufactures of—	
174	Bronze or Dutch metal, in leaf	64.30
	Aluminum, in leaves	61.85
176	Gold leaf, in packages	58.24
180	Lead: Sheets, pipes, shot, etc	63.60
188	Type metal	62.50
190	Zinc, old and worn out, etc	61.34
	Sugar:	
206	Cane, above No. 16 Dutch standard	74.05
209	Sugar candy and confectionery	50
	Agricultural products and provisions:	
221	Barley malt	52.59
226	Macaroni, vermicelli, etc	58.82
229	Rice, uncleaned	51.99
242	Eggs	53.37
245	Honey	52.23
246	Hops	53.76
247	Onions	57.85
	Nuts—	
268	Almonds, shelled	53.85
269	Filberts and walnuts, not shelled	63.57
270	Peanuts or ground beans, shelled	58.82
277	Poultry, dressed	55.56
279	Chicory root, burnt or roasted, etc	62.19
280	Chocolate, valued at exceeding 35 cents per pound	50
282	Dandelion root, etc	52.03
283	Salt	72.20
285	Dextrin, burnt starch, etc	57.49
286½	Tea	71.43
	Spirits, wines, and other beverages:	
	Wines—	
294	Champagne, containing more than 1 pint and not more than 1 quart	51.68
295	Still wines, in casks, containing more than 14 per cent of alcohol	68.30
	Vermuth, in bottles, containing each more than 1 pint and not more than 1 quart	53.21
298	Malt liquors, not in bottles or jugs	67.85
	Cotton manufactures:	
301	Cotton thread—	
	Not colored, etc.—	
	Valued at over 40 cents per pound	55
	Colored—	
	Valued at over 40 cents per pound	50
302	On spools	56.05
	Cotton cloth—	
304	Exceeding 50 and not exceeding 100 threads, etc.—	
	Dyed, colored, etc., exceeding 6 and not exceeding 9 square yards to the pound	55.69
305	Exceeding 100 and not exceeding 150 threads—	
	Bleached, exceeding 4 and not exceeding 6 square yards to the pound	50.64
306	Exceeding 150 and not exceeding 200 threads—	
	Not bleached—	
	Exceeding 3½ and not exceeding 4½ square yards to the pound	54.36
	Exceeding 4½ and not exceeding 6 square yards to the pound	50.75
	Exceeding 6 square yards to the pound	55.87
	Bleached—	
	Exceeding 6 square yards to the pound	50.50
307	Exceeding 200 threads to the square inch—	
	Not bleached—	
	Exceeding 2½ and not exceeding 3½ square yards to the pound	54.15
	Exceeding 3½ and not exceeding 5 square yards to the pound	54.46
	Exceeding 5 square yards to the pound	56.17
	Bleached—	
	Not exceeding 2½ square yards to the pound	51.15
	Exceeding 2½ and not exceeding 5 square yards to the pound	50.68
	Exceeding 5 square yards to the pound	53.65
	Dyed, colored, etc.—	
	Not exceeding 3½ square yards to the pound	51.21
	Exceeding 3½ square yards to the pound	61.42
308½	Sleeve linings or other cloth	67.94

Articles paying from 50 to 75 per cent—Continued.

Paragraph of Senate.	Article.	Per cent.
	Cotton manufactures—Continued.	
311	Corsets	50
	Wearing apparel, clothing, etc	50
312	Plushes, velvets, and velveteens—	
	Not bleached	74.67
	Bleached	74.37
	Dyed, colored, stained, etc	60.88
	Corduroys and other pile fabrics—	
	Not bleached	69.69
	Bleached	53.28
	Dyed, colored, stained, etc	61.29
313	Chenille curtains, table covers, etc	50
315	Stockings, hose, and half hose	70.46
316	Shirts and drawers	65
317	Boot, shoe, and corset lacings	50
	Wicking, lamp or candle, woven, etc	50
	Flax, hemp, and jute, and manufactures of:	
329	Gill netting, nets, webs, etc	60
330	Matting for floors, known as Chinese matting	50
331	Hemp and jute carpets	66.90
335	Wearing apparel—	
	Collars and cuffs, cotton	50
	Collars and cuffs, linen	55.94
	Shirts and all articles of wearing apparel	50
336	Laces, lace window curtains, etc	60
	Laces, edgings, nettings, etc	60
343	Handkerchiefs, hemstitched	55
	Do	50
	Wool, and manufactures of:	
	Wool—	
356	Class 2: Camel's hair	51.40
358	Class 3: Hair of the goat, alpaca, etc	50.43
	Manufactures of:	
365	Blankets—	
	Valued at not more than 30 cents per pound	71.75
	Valued at more than 30 and not more than 40 cents per pound	63.48
	Flannels—	
	Valued at not more than 30 cents per pound	70.72
	Valued at more than 30 and not more than 40 cents per pound	65.76
366	Other clothing, ready-made, and articles of wearing apparel	73.88
	Cloaks, dolmans, jackets, talmas, etc	74.87
	Carpets—	
370	Aubusson, axminster, moquette, etc	64.41
373	Velvet and tapestry velvet	60.67
375	Treble ingrain, 3-ply, etc	73.45
376	Wool, Dutch, and 2-ply ingrain	73.94
377	Felt carpeting	62.57
378	Of wool, etc	50
	Of cotton	50
	Of flax	50
379	Mats, rugs, etc	60
	Silks and silk manufactures—	
383	Plushes	74.48
	Plushes on which specific duty does not amount to 50 per cent	55.83
	Velvets and chenilles on which specific duty does not amount to 50 per cent	51.05
	Velvets and plushes on which specific duty does not amount to 50 per cent	50
384	Dress and piece goods	50
385	Handkerchiefs	60
387	Laces and embroideries, etc	60
	Knit goods	60
	Ready-made clothing	60
	Beaded silk goods	60
388	All other manufactures of silk	50
387	Ribbons	60
388	Buttons	50
393	Pulp, papers, and books: Papers known commercially as copying, etc	51.28
	Sundries:	
401	Hats, bonnets, and hoods, etc	50
404	Buttons—	
	Pearl and shell	78.91
	Not specially provided for	50
407	Dice, draughts, chessmen, chess balls, etc	50
415	Feathers, dressed, colored, etc.—	
	Ostrich	50
	All other	50
	Feathers and flowers, artificial, etc	50
	Quilts and other manufactures of down	50
417	Fans, except palm leaf	50
422	Hats for men's, women's, and children's wear	55
424	Jewelry	60
425	Precious stones, set	60
429 to 435	Gloves—	
	Men's gloves, "glace" finish, schmassen of sheep origin—	
	Unlined	66.58
	Lined	54.92
	Ladies' or children's, "glace" finish, sheep or lamb—	
	Not over 14 inches, unlined	52.85
	Not over 14 inches, lined	53.92
	Over 14 and not over 17 inches, lined	55.28
	Men's gloves, lamb or sheep—	
	Unlined	59.29
	Lined	62
	Women's or children's, "glace" finish, goat, kid, or other leather than sheep origin—	
	Over 14 and not over 17 inches—	
	Unlined	60.60
	Lined	71.53
	Over 17 inches, lined	67.01

Articles paying from 50 to 75 per cent—Continued.

Paragraph of Senate.	Article.	Per cent.
	Sundries—Continued.	
	Gloves—Continued.	
	Men's, "glace" finish, kid, goat, or other leather than of sheep origin—	
	Unlined	55.89
	Lined	56.97
	Women's or children's, of sheep origin, with exterior surface removed, not over 17 inches, unlined	53.74
	Men's, of sheep origin, with exterior surface removed—	
	Unlined	52.20
	Lined	50.83
	Women's and children's, kid, goat, or other leather than of sheep origin, with exterior grain surface removed—	
	Not over 14 inches—	
	Unlined	63.62
	Lined	51.72
	Not over 17 inches—	
	Lined	64.89
	Unlined	51.53
445	Pencils, slate, other	57.50
448	Pipes and smokers' articles—	
	Common tobacco pipes, clay	51.72
	Pipes and pipe bowls of other material	60
450	Umbrellas, parasols, and sunshades—	
	Covered with material composed wholly or in part of silk, etc	50
	Covered with other material	50

Articles paying 75 to 100 per cent.

Paragraph of Senate.	Article.	Per cent.	Duty collected fiscal year 1895.
	Chemicals, oils, and paints:		
31	Castor oil	98.15	$8,010.65
41	Morphia or morphine	82.64	448.25
	Opium prepared for smoking	81.86	741,261.76
48	Orange mineral	75	98,806.98
49	Red lead	88.71	25,627.16
51	Varnish, spirit	95.17	4,541.97
57	Litharge	83.33	1,083.05
78	Strychnine	77.23	2,629.80
	Glass and glassware:		
94	Bottles holding not more than 1 pint	89.38	15,097.00
100	Plate glass, fluted, rolled, etc., above 16 by 24 and not above 24 by 30 inches	81.13	2,575.00
101	Plate glass, cast, polished—		
	Above 24 by 30 and not above 24 by 60 inches	88.30	134,660.53
	All above 24 by 60 inches	88.80	36,943.90
102	Cylinder and crown glass, polished, silvered, all above 24 by 60 inches	79.16	295.36
	Plate glass, cast, polished, unsilvered, when ground, etc., above 24 by 30 and not above 24 by 60 inches	70.46	428.93
	Metals:		
149	Cutlery—		
	Penknives or pocketknives—		
	Valued at more than $1 per dozen and not exceeding $1.50 per dozen	84.56	149,823.31
	Valued at more than $1.50 per dozen and not exceeding $3 per dozen	94.46	150,141.61
	Valued at more than $3 per dozen	92.11	124,404.56
	Razors and razor blades	88.08	132,180.80
179	Lead, contained in silver ore	94.74	322,300.23
	Sugar:		
206	All not above No. 16 D. S. (6)	75	27,570,930.19
	Above No. 16, D. S.—		
	Beet	75.62	771,335.52
	Beet (bounty)	76.65	1,055,115.00
	Cane (bounty)	77.24	59,318.33
210	Tobacco, leaf, not stemmed	93.61	5,555,548.93
220	Barley	78.95	93,667.23
263	Currants, Zante	93.75	29,478.23
	Currants, other	89.74	Free.
284	Starch	84.32	54,816.42
296	Sage	78.72	7,836.00
	Spirits, wines, etc.:		
288	Brandy	93.17	409,375.63
296	Vermuth—		
	Containing 14 per cent or less of alcohol	97.30	3,458.10
	Containing more than 14 per cent of alcohol	90.71	601.50
	Wool, manufactures of:		
300-303	Wastes, bur, slubbing, roving, ring, etc	82.53	Free.
	Yarns—		
	Valued at not more than 40 cents per pound	97.21	44,830.04
	Valued at more than 40 cents per pound	80.81	232,620.90
304	Cloth, valued at more than 50 cents per pound	99.36	8,155,975.40
	All other manufactures of wool, valued at more than 50 cents per pound	93.75	200,366.06
305	Blankets—		
	Valued at more than 40 cents per pound	70.09	4,999.45
	More than 3 yards in length, valued at more than 50 cents per pound	80.43	1,453.38

Articles paying 75 to 100 per cent—Continued.

Paragraph of Senate.	Article.	Per cent.	Duty collected fiscal year 1896.
	Wool, manufactures of—Continued.		
	Flannels, weighing over 4 ounces per square yard, valued at not over 50 cents per pound	86.48	$7,827.33
366-367	Dress goods, etc.—		
	Valued at not over 50 cents per pound	80	506,476.53
	Valued at more than 50 cents per pound	80	9,114,046.02
368	Other clothing, ready-made, etc., valued at less than $1.50 per pound	96.81	82,051.58
	Shawls, valued above 40 cents per pound	95.67	176,356.16
364	Knit wearing apparel	88.80	1,020,366.24
369	Felts—		
	Valued above $1.50 per pound	75.51	11,895.50
	Valued at less than $1.50 per pound	94.22	40,635.87
364	Plushes, valued at over 50 cents per pound	86.23	64,280.00
369	Webbings, goring, suspenders, braces, etc	80	57,051.94
	Carpets—		
371	Saxony, Wilton, and Tournay	80.22	51,222.80
372	Brussels	82.56	57,396.04
374	Tapestry Brussels	79.42	10,417.93
377	Druggets and bockings	82.22	233.51
	Silk:		
363	Velvets and chenilles	79.63	1,140,411.32
	Other	96.19	2,935.23
	Sundries:		
410	Firecrackers of all kinds	75	183,678.95
414	Blasting caps	97.17	13,596.17
	Total		58,860,497.54

Thirty-nine paragraphs, 57 articles.

HIGH AD VALOREM RATES.

Statement, by groups, of the articles paying over 100 per cent of duty by bill H. R. 379, as amended by the Senate bill reported to the Senate May 4, 1897.

Paragraph of Senate.	Article.	Ad valorem rate.	Duty collected fiscal year 1896.
		Per cent.	
1	Acids:		
	Boracic	126.89	$16,673.07
	Tannic	128.15	13.20
2	Compounds, alcoholic, not specially provided for	349.27	1,943.63
20	Ethers:		
	Sulphuric	218.33	76.40
	Fruit ethers, oils, or essences	128.90	2,264.49
98	Cylinder, crown, and common window glass, unpolished:		
	Above 10 by 15 and not above 16 by 24 inches	107.02	192,174.04
	Above 16 by 24 and not above 24 by 30 inches	115.16	215,566.36
	Above 24 by 30 and not above 24 by 36 inches	126.46	77,596.04
	Above 24 by 36 inches	108.82	201,096.63
100	Plate glass, fluted, rolled, etc., above 24 by 30 and not above 24 by 60 inches	109.72	1,096.16
104	Cylinder and crown glass, when ground, etc	118.73	23,395.43
149	Cutlery:		
	Penknives or pocketknives, valued at more than 50 cents per dozen and not exceeding $1 per dozen	111.05	204,765.38
177	Silver leaf	198.38	7,565.70

Statement, by groups, of the articles paying over 100 per cent, etc.—Continued.

Paragraph of Senate.	Article.	Ad valorem rate.	Duty collected fiscal year 1896.
		Per cent.	
199	Lead, in pigs and bars	111.11	$961,316.67
210	Tobacco:		
	Leaf, not stemmed	124.20	6,287,138.41
211	Leaf, stemmed	105.14	522,881.23
212	All other	223.22	23,932.40
	All other manufactures of	238.11	124,368.21
213	Snuff	110.80	9,482.39
214	Cigars and cheroots	112.69	2,279,710.51
	Cigarettes	133.03	57,054.94
217	Animals: Mules	314.20	431.82
229	Rice, cleaned	100.24	628,732.93
233	Salt, in bulk	114.23	1,379.92
238	Spirits, distilled:		
	From grain	216.27	1,522,213.76
	From other materials	346.02	185,956.89
290	Compounds or preparations	1,206.34	50,047.17
291	Cordials, liqueurs, arracks, etc	112.95	285,143.80
293	Bay rum	272.72	28,895.62
326	Wine made of other materials	131.98	10,091.58
	Woolens:		
360	Garnetted and carded wastes	102.86	438.30
	Shoddy	217.30	1,930.95
	Noils, carbonized	109.02	1,706.85
	Noils, n. o. p	102.00	Free.
361	Rags	172.68	Free.
	Roving, roping, and tops	112.81	87,683.40
364	Cloths, valued at not more than 50 cents per pound	128.23	1,490,378.98
	All other manufactures of wool, valued at not over 50 cents per pound	114.45	47,057.90
365	Blankets—		
	More than 3 yards in length, valued at not more than 50 cents per pound	125.96	1,164.00
365	Flannels—		
	Valued at more that 40 cents per pound	119.41	1,470.34
	Weighing over 4 ounces per square yard, valued over 50 cents per pound	102.81	50,758.50
366	Shawls, woolen or worsted, valued at not over 40 cents per pound	171.15	2,055.20
364	Knit fabrics—		
	Valued at not over 40 cents per pound	118.04	111,301.75
	Valued at above 40 cents per pound	117.75	12,940.27
366	Hats of wool—		
	Valued at not more than 30 cents per pound	209.48	121.51
	Valued at more than 30 and not more than 40 cents per pound	155.45	179.10
	Valued at more than 40 cents per pound	117.80	50,151.13
	Felts—		
	Valued at not more than 30 cents per pound	224.51	2,266.00
	Valued at more than 30 and not more than 40 cents per pound	115.10	155.40
	Valued at more than 40 cents per pound	104.88	7,388.50
364	Plushes, valued at not more than 50 cents per pound	127.60	26.00
368	Pulp, paper, and books, cards, playing	200.00	2,043.17
	Total		15,602,764.06

Thirty-two paragraphs, 52 articles.

SMALL AMOUNTS OF DUTY COLLECTED.

Statement of the articles and the amount of duty collected thereon during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1896, in amounts of $100, $150, and $200, or less, with the rates of duty under the present law and the Senate amendments to H. R. 379.

Paragraph of Senate.	Article.	Duty collected fiscal year 1896. Amounts of—			Rates of duty under—	
		$100 or less.	Over $100 and not over $150.	Over $150 and not over $200.	Present law.	Senate rates.
	Chemicals, oils, and paints:					
1	Acids—					
	Chromic	$97.62			4 cents per pound	4 cents per pound.
	Sulphuric	92.00			¼ cent per pound	¼ cent per pound.
	Tartaric	13.20			20 per cent	6 cents per pound.
6	Argols, tartars, and lees crystals	27.00			do	Free.
9	Bone char, suitable for use in decolorizing sugar			$176.60	do	20 per cent.
13	Chloroform	34.48			25 cents per pound	15 cents per pound.
16	Collodion and all compounds of pyroxylin	46.00			50 cents per pound	50 cents per pound.
20	Ether—					
	Sulphuric	76.40			40 cents per pound	40 cents per pound.
	Nitrous				25 cents per pound	25 cents per pound.
41	Opium, aqueous extract of			189.00	20 per cent	40 per cent.
46	Chrome yellow, etc., in pulp	70.05			3 cents per pound	4½ centsper pound.
47	Sienna, ground in oil		$144.19		1½ cents per pound	1½ cents per pound.
	Umber, ground in oil	57.38			do	Do.
54	Whiting, ground in oil	8.11			¼ cent per pound	1 cent per pound.
	Earths, earthenware, and glassware:					
86	Plaster of paris, ground	4.52			$1 per ton	$1.50 per ton.
94	Bottles and vials, flint and lime—					
	Empty—					
	Holding less than one-fourth pint			152.05	40 cents per gross	45 cents per gross.

Statement of the articles and the amount of duty collected thereon during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1896, etc.—Continued.

Paragraph of Senate.	Article.	Duty collected fiscal year 1896. Amounts of—			Rates of duty under—	
		$100 or less.	Over $100 and not over $150.	Over $150 and not over $300.	Present law.	Senate rates.
	Earths, earthenware, and glassware—Continued.					
	Bottles and vials, flint and lime—Continued.					
	Filled—					
	Holding more than 1 pint and not less than one-fourth pint.			$164.25	1½ cents per pound	1½ cents per pound.
	Holding less than one-fourth pint	$32.46			40 cents per gross	45 cents per gross.
	Green or colored:					
	Filled—					
	Holding not more than 1 pint and not less than one-fourth pint.	47.89			1½ cents per pound	1½ cents per pound.
	Holding less than one-fourth pint	64.67			40 cents per gross	45 cents per gross.
	Demijohns—filled—					
	On which specific duty would be less than 40 per cent.		$123.14		¼ cent per pound	¼ cent per pound.
99	Cylinder and crown glass, polished:					
	All above 24 by 60 inches	2.80			20 cents per square foot	20 cents per square foot.
100	Fluted, rolled, or ribbed—					
	Not exceeding 16 by 24 inches	53.17			⅛ cent per square foot	⅛ cent per square foot.
	Above 16 by 24 and not above 24 by 30			164.28	1 cent per square foot	1½ cents per square foot.
101	Plate glass, fluted, etc.—					
	All above 24 by 60 inches			174.30	35 cents per square foot	35 cents per square foot.
102	Plate glass, cast, polished, silvered—					
	Not exceeding 16 by 24 inches			103.73	6 cents per square foot	11 cents per square foot.
	Above 24 by 30 and not above 24 by 60 inches	30.13			23 cents per square foot	25 cents per square foot.
	All above 24 by 60 inches			154.74	38 cents per square foot	38 cents per square foot.
104	Cylinder, crown, etc., when bent, ground, obscured, etc.—					
	Above 24 by 30 and not above 24 by 36 inches	13.94			2 cents per pound and 10 per cent.	2½ cents per pound and 10 per cent.
	Plate glass, cast, polished, silvered, when bent, ground, obscured, etc.—					
	Not exceeding 16 by 24 inches	4.19			6 cents per square foot and 10 per cent.	11 cents per square foot and 10 per cent.
117	Slate, roofing	44.80			20 per cent	20 per cent.
	Metals, and manufactures of:					
	Iron and steel, and manufactures of—					
123	Boiler or other plate iron or steel (except saw plates), not thinner than No. 10 wire gauge, sheared or unsheared, and skelp iron or steel, sheared or rolled in grooves (act of 1894)—					
	Valued at 1 cent per pound or less			168.11	⅛ cent per pound	⅛ cent per pound.
	Valued above 1¼ cents and not above 4 cents per pound.			158.62	30 per cent	1 cent per pound.
124	Forgings of iron or steel, or forged iron and steel combined, not specially provided for.			182.90	1½ cents per pound	35 per cent.
129	Sheets of iron or steel, common or black, including iron or steel known as common or black taggers iron or steel, and skelp iron or steel, valued at 3 cents per pound or less, galvanized, or coated with zinc or spelter, or other metals or alloy thereof (act of 1894)—					
	Thinner than No. 20 and not thinner that No. 25 wire gauge.	.44			1 7/10 cents per pound	1 cent per pound.
	Thinner than No. 25 wire gauge	18.66			1 9/10 cents per pound	1 9/10 cents per pound.
129	Sheets and plates of iron or steel, not otherwise provided for (excepting what are commercially known as tin plates, terneplates, and taggers tin), pickled or cleaned by acid, or by any other material or process, or cold rolled, smoothed, not polished (act of 1894), thinner than No. 10 and not thinner than No. 20 wire gauge.		116.97		⅜ cent per pound	⅜ cent per pound.
131	Sheets and plates and saw plates of steel, not specially provided for—					
	Valued above 13 cents and not above 16 cents per pound.		119.76		2 9/10 cents per pound	2 9/10 cents per pound.
140	Hammers and sledges (blacksmiths'), track tools, wedges, and crowbars, of iron or steel.	13.37			1½ cents per pound	1½ cents per pound.
	Castings—					
143	Cast-iron pipe of every description	5.65			⅛ cent per pound	⅛ cent per pound.
146	Hollow ware, coated, glazed, or tinned	56.04			2 cents per pound	2 cents per pound.
156	Nails and spikes	32.39			22½ per cent	⅛ cent per pound.
159	Spikes of wrought iron or steel	34.69			25 per cent	1 cent per pound.
	Nuts and washers of wrought iron		101.75		do	Do.
	Horse, mule, or ox shoes	25.50			do	Do.
163	Rivets of iron or steel	11.00			do	2 cents per pound.
164	Saws—					
	Circular	33.50			do	25 per cent.
	Mill saws	20.70			10 cents per lin. ft	10 cents per lin. ft.
	Pit and drag saws	.40			8 cents per lin. ft	8 cents per lin. ft.
165	Screws, commonly called wood screws—					
	One-half inch and less in length	1.75			10 cents per pound	12 cents per pound.
	Over one-half inch and not over 1 inch	2.00			7 cents per pound	8½ cents per pound.
	Over 1 inch and not over 2 inches	11.07			5 cents per pound	6 cents per pound.
	More than 2 inches	3.69			3 cents per pound	4 cents per pound.
169	Aluminium—					
	In crude form	74.51			10 cents per pound	5 cents per pound.
	In leaves			153.60	40 per cent	5 cents per package.
175	Sheathing or yellow metal, of which copper is the component material of chief value, and not composed wholly or in part of iron ungalvanized.	77.20			20 per cent	2 cents per pound.
185	Gold pens	3.75			25 per cent	25 per cent.
187	Quicksilver	5.25			7 cents per pound	5 cents per pound.
189	Chronometers, box or ship's, and parts thereof	23.70			10 per cent	40 per cent.
191	Pewter, manufactures of	32.20			35 per cent	45 per cent.
	Platinum, manufactures of	12.25			do	Do.
	Agricultural products and provisions:					
223	Buckwheat	32.37			20 per cent	15 cents per bushel.
225	Corn meal	57.44			do	20 cents per bushel.
229	Rice; paddy		119.22		¼ cent per pound	¼ cent per pound.
230	Rye	58.50			20 per cent	10 cents per bushel.
248	Pease, other than in cartons, paper, etc	32.04			1 cent per pound	1 cent per pound.
255	Fish—					
	In cans or packages, etc—					
	Salmon	62.90			20 per cent	30 per cent.
256	Herring, frozen		101.93		¼ cent per pound	¼ cent per pound.
259	Salmon	22.46			do	1 cent per pound.

Statement of the articles and the amount of duty collected thereon during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1896, etc.—Continued.

Paragraph of Senate.	Article.	Duty collected fiscal year 1896. Amounts of— $100 or less.	Over $100 and not over $150.	Over $150 and not over $200.	Rates of duty under— Present law.	Senate rates.
	Agricultural products and provisions—Continued.					
	Fruit and nuts—					1 cent per pound.
261	Apples, dried, desiccated, etc	$96.30			20 per cent	Do.
265	Lemons, in bulk	1.98			$1.50 per M	Do.
	Limes, in bulk	6.62			do	Do.
270	Peanuts, shelled	.85			20 per cent	Do.
278	Lard	21.16			1 cent per pound	2 cents per pound.
	Cotton manufactures:					
	Cloth—					
300	Not exceeding 50 threads to the square inch, counting the warp and filling—					
	Not bleached, dyed, colored, stained, painted, or printed (act of 1894).	20.66			1 cent per square yard	1 cent per square yard.
304	Exceeding 50 and not exceeding 100 threads to the square inch, counting the warp and filling—					
	Not bleached, dyed, colored, stained, painted, or printed (act of 1894)—					
	Not exceeding 6 square yards to the pound	82.02			1½ cents per square yard	1½ cents per square yard.
	Exceeding 6 and not exceeding 9 square yards to the pound.		$149.31		1½ cents per square yard	1½ cents per square yard.
305	Exceeding 100 and not exceeding 150 threads to the square inch, counting the warp and filling—					
	Not bleached, dyed, colored, stained, painted, or printed—					
	Exceeding 4 and not exceeding 6 square yards to the pound.		119.88		2 cents per square yard	2 cents per square yard.
	Flax, hemp, and jute, and manufactures of:					
326	Cables and cordage—					
	Composed in whole or in part of New Zealand hemp, istle or Tampico fiber, manila, sisal grass, or sunn (act of 1894)—					
	Cables and cordage—					
	Tarred	22.70			10 per cent	2 cents per pound.
	Sundries:					
412	Gunpowder and all explosive substances, used for mining, blasting, artillery, or sporting purposes—					
	Valued at 20 cents or less per pound	32.50			5 cents per pound	4 cents per pound.
418	Gun wads, of all descriptions		145.70		10 per cent	20 per cent.
430	Hair, curled, suitable for beds or mattresses	68.50			do	10 per cent.
	Gloves—					
	Ladies' or children's "glace" finish—					
	Schmaschen, of sheep origin—					
	Not over 14 inches in length, lined	3.67			$2 per dozen	$2.75 per dozen.
	Over 17 inches in length, unlined	97.67			do	Do.
	Goat, kid, or other leather than of sheep origin—					
	Not over 14 inches in length, lined	23.44			$3.75 per dozen	$4 per dozen.
	Over 14 and not over 17 inches in length, lined		121.01		$4 per dozen	$4.75 per dozen.
	Over 17 inches in length, lined	20.42			$5 per dozen	$5.75 per dozen.
	Goat, kid, or other leather than of sheep origin, with exterior grain surface removed—					
	Over 17 inches in length, lined	7.92			do	Do.
	Men's gloves, "glace" finish—					
	Of sheep origin, with exterior surface removed—					
	Lined	50.00			do	$5 per dozen.
	Miscellaneous manufactures—					
	Bladders, manufactures of	19.37			25 per cent	25 per cent.
	Coral, manufactures of			$189.50	do	Do.

This statement exhibits the amount of duty collected—in amounts from 44 cents to $193.73—on the 55 paragraphs and 90 articles enumerated, on which the total duty collected amounted to $5,749.24, or an average of $63.88.

INCREASED RATES OVER ACT OF 1890.

Statement of articles on which the rates of duty have been increased over those of the act of October 1, 1890.

Paragraph of Senate.	Article.	Rates of duty under— Act of October 1, 1890.	House bill (H. R. 379).	Senate amendments.
1	Acids:			
	Lactic	Free	4 cents per pound	25 per cent.
	Gallic	do	10 cents per pound	Do.
	All other, not specially provided for	do	25 per cent	Do.
2	Alcoholic perfumery, including cologne water and other toilet waters	$2 per gallon and 50 per cent.	60 cents per pound and 45 per cent.	60 cents per pound and 45 per cent.
	Compounds, alcoholic, n. s. p. f	$2 per gallon and 25 per cent.	do	Do.
7½	Chloride of lime	Free	Free	½ cent per pound.
11	Camphor, refined	4 cents per pound	4 cents per pound	6 cents per pound.
12	Chalk preparations, all other, n. s. p. f	20 per cent	25 per cent	25 per cent.
23½	Chicle	Free	10 cents per pound	6 cents per pound.
36	Oil, fusel oil or amylic alcohol	10 per cent	¼ cent per pound, equals 23.31 per cent.	¼ cent per pound.
41	Opium:			
	Crude or unmanufactured, etc	Free	$1 per pound	$1 per pound.
	Morphia or morphine, etc	60 cents per ounce	$1 per ounce	$1 per ounce.
51	Spirit varnishes	$1.32 per gallon and 35 per cent.	$1.32 per gallon and 35 per cent.	$1.32 per gallon and 35 per cent.
56	Paints:			
	Crayons	25 per cent	30 per cent	30 per cent.
	Smalts and frostings	do	do	Do.
	Spanish, indian red, etc	do	do	Do.
	Paris green and london purple	do	do	Do.
60	Potash, chlorate of	Free	3 cents per pound	2 cents per pound.
64	Preparations of which alcohol is a component part, etc	60 cents per pound	55 cents per pound	55 cents per pound.
72	Soda, chlorate of	Free	3 cents per pound	2 cents per pound.
74½	Soda ash	½ cent per pound	½ cent per pound	¼ cent per pound.
86	Plaster of paris, ground	$1 per ton	$1 50 per ton	$1.50 per ton.
87	Pumice stone:			
	Wholly or partially manufactured	Free	½ cent per pound	15 per cent.
	Unmanufactured	do	20 per cent	10 per cent.

Statement of articles on which the rates of duty have been increased over those of the act of October 1, 1890—Continued.

Paragraph of Senate.	Article.	Rates of duty under—		
		Act of October 1, 1890.	House bill (H. R. 379).	Senate amendments.
93	Asphaltum and bitumen:			
	Not dried or advanced	Free	$1.50 per ton	$1.50 per ton.
	Dried or advanced	do	$3 per ton	$3 per ton.
96	Chemical glassware for use in laboratory, n. s. p. f	45 per cent	60 per cent	60 per cent.
100	Plate glass, fluted, etc., above 16 by 24 inches and not above 24 by 30 inches.	8 cents per square foot	12 cents per square foot	10 cents per square foot.
101	Plate glass, cast, polished:			
	Not exceeding 16 by 24 inches	5 cents per square foot	8 cents per square foot	8 cents per square foot.
	Above 16 by 24 and not above 24 by 30 inches	8 cents per square foot	12 cents per square foot	10 cents per square foot.
102	Plate glass, cast, polished, silvered:			
	Not exceeding 16 by 24 inches	6 cents per square foot	9 cents per square foot	11 cents per square foot.
	Above 16 by 24 and not above 24 by 30 inches	10 cents per square foot	13 cents per square foot	13 cents per square foot.
	Cylinder and crown glass, polished, silvered:			
	Not exceeding 16 by 24 inches	6 cents per square foot	9 cents per square foot	11 cents per square foot.
	Above 16 by 24 and not above 24 by 30 inches	10 cents per square foot	13 cents per square foot	13 cents per square foot.
104	Cylinder and crown glass, polished, silvered, when ground, obscured, frosted, etc.:			
	Not exceeding 16 by 24 inches	6 cents per square foot and 10 per cent.	9 cents per square foot and 10 per cent.	11 cents per square foot and 10 per cent.
	Above 16 by 24 and not above 24 by 30 inches	10 cents per square foot and 10 per cent.	13 cents per square foot and 10 per cent.	13 cents per square foot and 10 per cent.
	Plate glass, cast, polished, silvered, when ground, obscured, frosted, etc.:			
	Not exceeding 16 by 24 inches	6 cents per square foot and 10 per cent.	9 cents per square foot and 10 per cent.	11 cents per square foot and 10 per cent.
	Above 16 by 24 and not above 24 by 30 inches	10 cents per square foot and 10 per cent.	13 cents per square foot and 10 per cent.	13 cents per square foot and 10 per cent.
	Plate glass, cast, polished, unsilvered, when ground, obscured, frosted, etc.:			
	Not exceeding 16 by 24 inches	5 cents per square foot and 10 per cent.	8 cents per square foot and 10 per cent.	8 cents per square foot and 10 per cent.
	Above 16 by 24 and not above 24 by 30 inches	8 cents per square foot and 10 per cent.	12 cents per square foot and 10 per cent.	10 cents per square foot and 10 per cent.
109	All other manufactures:			
	Paste, manufactures of	25 per cent	45 per cent	45 per cent.
	Glass, broken and old glass, etc	Free	do	Do.
112	Manufactures of:			
	Agate	20 per cent	50 per cent	50 per cent.
	Alabaster	25 per cent	do	Do.
	Jet	do	do	Do.
	Freestone, granite, sandstone, etc.:			
114	Undressed or unmanufactured	11 cents per cubic foot	10 cents per cubic foot	14 cents per cubic foot.
115	Hewn, dressed, or polished	40 per cent	40 per cent	50 per cent.
117	Polishing and burnishing stones	Free	20 per cent	20 per cent.
149	Scissors and shears and blades for the same, finished or unfinished:			
	Valued at not more than 50 cents per dozen	35 per cent	50 cents per dozen and 15 per cent.	15 cents per dozen and 15 per cent.
	Valued at more than 50 cents and not more than $1.75 per dozen	do	50 cents per dozen and 15 per cent.	50 cents per dozen and 15 per cent.
	Valued at more than $1.75 per dozen	do	75 cents per dozen and 20 per cent.	75 cents per dozen and 25 per cent.
178	Tinsel wire, lame or lahn	Free	6 cents per pound and 10 per cent.	5 cents per pound.
182	Mica	25 per cent	2 cents per pound, etc	40 per cent.
189	Chronometers, box or ship's, and parts thereof	10 per cent	40 per cent	Do.
	Watches	25 per cent	do	Do.
	Watch cases, movements, etc	do	do	Do.
	Jewels for use in the manufacture of watches or clocks	Free	15 per cent	10 per cent.
194	Railroad ties	do	20 per cent	20 per cent.
197	Clapboards	$1 per M	$1.50 per M	$1.50 per M.
201	Shingles	20 cents per M	30 cents per M	25 cents per M.
206	Molasses from Hawaiian Islands	Free	Free	4 cents per gallon; 8 cents per gallon.
	Testing above 40° and not above 56°	do	3 cents per gallon	4 cents per gallon.
	Above 56°	do	6 cents per gallon	8 cents per gallon.
	Sugars:			
	All not above No. 16 Dutch standard	do		
	Testing not above 75°		1 cent per pound, and for every additional degree $\frac{1}{10}$ cent per pound.	
	Testing above 87° and not above 88°			$\frac{1}{10}$ cent per pound, and for each degree above $\frac{1}{10}$ cent per pound and 35 per cent ad valorem.
	Testing not more than 87°			75 per cent.
206	Sugar above No. 16 Dutch standard	$\frac{95}{100}$ cent per pound	1.675 cents per pound	$1\frac{95}{100}$ cents per pound and 35 per cent.
	Sugar above No. 16 Dutch standard on which export bounty is paid	$\frac{95}{100}$ cent per pound		
207	Sugar, maple, and sirup	20 per cent	4 cents per pound	4 cents per pound.
	Glucose or grape sugar	$\frac{1}{2}$ cent per pound	1½ cents per pound	1½ cents per pound.
208	Saccharine	25 per cent	$2 per pound and 15 per cent.	$1 per pound and 10 per cent.
249	Orchids, lily of the valley, azaleas, palms, etc	Free	30 per cent	30 per cent.
252	Straw	30 per cent	$1.50 per ton	$1.50 per ton.
262	Fruits preserved in their own juice,	do	35 per cent	35 per cent.
263	Currants	Free	2 cents per pound	2 cents per pound.
	Olives, green or prepared	do	25 cents per gallon	20 cents per gallon.
	Dates	do	½ cent per pound	½ cent per pound.
265	Oranges, lemons, and limes	10 cents per cubic foot	½ cent per pound	1 cent per pound.
266	Orange and lemon peel, not preserved	Free	20 per cent	2 cents per pound.
	Cocoanut meat or copra, etc	20 per cent	2 cents per pound	Do.
267	Pineapples	Free	6 cents per cubic foot	6 cents per cubic foot.
274	Meats, dressed or undressed, etc	10 per cent	25 per cent	25 per cent.
280	Chocolate and cocoa, prepared or manufactured	2 cents per pound	3 cents per pound and 20 per cent.	5 cents per pound and 10 per cent.
282	Dandelion root, etc., prepared	1½ cents per pound	1½ cents per pound	2 cents per pound.
286½	Tea	Free	Free	10 cents per pound.
289	Ginger ale or ginger beer	13 cents per dozen	18 cents per dozen	18 cents per dozen.
300	Mineral waters, natural	Free	Estimated 30 per cent	Estimated 30 per cent.
319	All other manufactures of cotton not specially provided for	40 per cent	40 per cent	45 per cent.
324	Hemp, tow of	$11.20 per ton	Not carded, 1 cent per pound; carded, 1½ cents per pound.	$20 per ton.
331	Hemp and jute carpets	6 cents per square yard	12 cents per square yard and 40 per cent.	10 cents per square yard and 35 per cent.

Statement of articles on which the rates of duty have been increased over those of the act of October 1, 1890—Continued.

Paragraph of Senate.	Article.	Rates of duty under—		
		Act of October 1, 1890.	House bill (H. R. 379).	Senate amendments.
345	All manufactures of other vegetable fiber except flax, hemp, and ramie	40 per cent.	40 per cent.	45 per cent.
	Gunny bags and gunny cloth, old or refuse	Free.	10 per cent.	10 per cent.
375	Carpets, treble ingrain, 3-ply, etc.	19 cents per square yard and 40 per cent.	19 cents per square yard and 40 per cent.	25 cents per square yard and 40 per cent.
376	Carpets, wool Dutch and 2-ply ingrain	14 cents per square yard and 40 per cent.	14 cents per square yard and 40 per cent.	20 cents per square yard and 40 per cent.
398	Cards, playing	50 cents per pack	10 cents per pack and 50 per cent.	20 cents per pack and 20 per cent.
399	Other manufactures of paper	25 per cent.	35 per cent.	35 per cent.
400	Beads of glass, loose, unthreaded	10 per cent.	do	Do.
	Beads, beaded or jet trimmings, etc.	35 per cent.	50 per cent.	60 per cent.
401	Braids, plaits, laces, willow sheets, etc.	Free	15 per cent.	15 per cent.
405	Coal, anthracite	do	Free	75 cents per ton.
406	Corks	15 cents per pound	15 cents per pound; 25 cents per pound.	15 cents per pound; 25 cents per pound.
415	Feathers and downs, crude:			
	Ostrich	10 per cent.	15 per cent.	15 per cent.
	All other	do	do	Do.
	Feathers and downs for beds	Free.	do	Do.
421	Haircloth, known as crinoline cloth	8 cents per square yard.	10 cents per square yard.	10 cents per square yard.
424	Jewelry	50 per cent.	50 per cent.	60 per cent.
425	Precious stones and imitations of, set, not specially provided for	25 per cent.	50 per cent.	60 per cent.
	Pearls, set	do	do	Do.
426½	Hides of cattle, raw or uncured, etc.	Free	Free	1¼ cents per pound.
427	Leather:			
	Band or belting	10 per cent.	10 per cent.	20 per cent.
	All leather, not specially provided for	do	do	Do.
437	Coral, manufactures of	25 per cent.	35 per cent.	50 per cent.
	Spar, manufactures of	do	do	Do.
442	Musical instruments and parts of:			
	Metal chief value	45 per cent.	35 per cent.	45 per cent.
	Wood chief value	35 per cent.		
450	Umbrellas, etc., covered with other material than silk, wool, etc.	45 per cent.	45 per cent*	50 per cent.
	Sticks for umbrellas, parasols, or sunshades	35 per cent.	do	40 per cent.

*Estimated.

The above indicates certain changes. In Schedules I, J, K, L, M, and N, owing to the radical modifications in classification, it is impossible to define the comparisons. It is quite evident there are increased rates in the silk, flax, and paper schedules.

Mr. ALDRICH. Does the Senator from California state the authority for these tables?

Mr. WHITE. They are made by the expert employed by the minority committee. Mr. Evans, who, I believe, prepared the statement used here two years ago, prepared these tables. They are made by the same gentleman who prepared the tables before.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The reading of the bill will be proceeded with.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Before leaving the question of the tables, I should like to call the attention of the Senator from Rhode Island to the fact that the tables which he submitted to the Senate yesterday, and which were not read to the Senate, but which we hoped to find in the RECORD this morning, are not printed. I should like to know from the Senator when those tables are likely to be printed?

Mr. ALDRICH. They will be printed to-morrow morning. They should have been printed this morning, but I was unable last evening to get time to look over the manuscript the second time.

Mr. WHITE. I should like to ask the Senator in charge of the bill whether he has prepared any estimate of the average ad valorem of the entire bill?

Mr. ALDRICH. I have not. That is almost an impossible thing to do.

Mr. WHITE. Can the Senator state the number of amendments which have been proposed by the Senate committee?

Mr. ALDRICH. I can not.

The reading of the bill was continued. The next amendment was, under "Schedule A.—Chemicals, oils, and paints," on page 1, line 11, after the words "acetic or pyroligneous acid," to strike out "and boracic acid, 3 cents per pound" and insert:

Not exceeding the specific gravity of 1.047, three-fourths of 1 cent per pound; exceeding the specific gravity of 1.047, 2 cents per pound.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 2, line 1, after the words "boracic acid," to strike out "wholly or partly dehydrated, four" and insert "five;" so as to read:

Boracic acid, 5 cents per pound.

Mr. VEST. I should like to make a motion in regard to that particular part of the paragraph. I move to strike out "five" and to insert "three" in line 1, page 2.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment of the Senator from Missouri to the amendment of the committee will be stated.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to amend the amendment, in line 1, page 2, by striking out the word "five" and inserting the word "three;" so as to read:

Boracic acid, 3 cents per pound.

Mr. VEST. Mr. President, I wish to call attention to the amendment submitted by the committee, which I consider a very extraordinary one. The House bill puts the duty upon this article at 4 cents per pound. The McKinley Act put a duty of 5 cents per pound upon it, and the existing law makes the duty 3 cents per pound. If attention is directed to a subsequent paragraph in the bill, it will be seen that there is no sort of just proportion between the duty upon boracic acid and upon borax, boracic acid being the base and the principal component of borax. It will be seen by reference to line 23, paragraph 10, page 3, that the words "borax, crude, or borate of soda, or borate of lime, 2 cents per pound; refined borax, 3 cents per pound," are stricken out. That was the House provision, and in lieu of those words the following are inserted by the committee:

10. Borax, 5 cents per pound—

Whether crude or refined—

borates of lime or soda, or other borate material not otherwise provided for, containing more than 36 per cent of anhydrous boracic acid, 4 cents per pound; borates of lime or soda, or other borate material not otherwise provided for, containing not more than 36 per cent of anhydrous boracic acid, 3 cents per pound.

I have in my hand an authoritative statement by the great Pacific Borax Company, which was sent to us in 1894, and it has been repeated since. The statement made in that paper is as follows:

Boracic acid is found in the volcanic regions of Tuscany, Italy, and it is a natural deposit of the hot springs prevailing in that region. The article has been used in America chiefly for the manufacture of refined borax.

Boracic acid being the base or valuable element in the manufacture of borax, 1 pound of boracic acid being equivalent to 3 pounds of refined borax, it will be seen that after allowing for reconversion into refined borax by the addition of soda and water of crystallization, the expense of which is light, the duty as it now stands on boracic acid is not equivalent to the duty on refined borax.

We have in the present bill the anomaly of 5 cents duty on boracic acid and 5 cents duty on refined borax, when 1 pound of boracic acid is equivalent to 3 pounds of refined borax. This is an enormous tax, viewed in any light. This statement, which seems to have been very elaborately and artistically prepared, gives the uses of borax. It enters into almost all the different purposes of life.

Borax—

Says this article—

purifies water.
Borax arrests diphtheria.
Borax relieves hoarseness.
Borax is a cleanser and purifier.
Borax destroys microbes and bacteria.
Borax is a preserver of fresh meat, fish, fowl, or game.
Borax is useful in the arts, manufactures, and mines.
Borax is an antiseptic—the very best known substance to arrest decay in animal food.
Borax is a flux for all metals—iron, gold, silver, etc., enabling them to melt at a lower temperature.
Borax is a glaze used in potteries, glass factories, and by enamelers for making a brilliant polish.
Borax is an emollient—valuable for the toilet; it softens and whitens the face and hands.

Borax is uninflammable and prevents fire; can be employed for rendering muslin fireproof.
Borax is a medicine, and now enters into many pharmaceutical preparations.
Borax is a bleach, and is used in laundries for preventing clothes from turning yellow.
Borax is used to enamel porcelain-coated iron, known as "granite ware."
Borax in solution, mixed with linseed oil, may be used for cheap painting.
Borax is used as a mordant in calico printing and in dyeing, and as a substitute for soap.

I submit, Mr. President, that this is an enormous duty of 5 cents a pound placed upon boracic acid, when 1 pound of boracic acid will make 3 pounds of refined borax. I do not know why our friends upon the other side have come to the conclusion that the tax proposed by the House of Representatives, which is 4 cents a pound and which seems to me to meet all the purposes of protection and revenue, should now be increased to 5 cents.

Mr. ALDRICH. The rates in this paragraph and in paragraph 10 were imposed for the protection of the producers of borax in Nevada and California, where the native deposits are found. The statement made by the representative of these producers to the House committee shows an enormous increase of importation since the reduction of duties was made by the act of 1894, and shows, I think, conclusively that the relations between the rates, to say nothing about the rates themselves, suggested in these two paragraphs are correct. It is a harmonious relation between the different rates imposed.

As to whether the rates are too high or not, I am not able to say, except to repeat the opinion of the gentlemen who represented this industry in the two States to which I have referred. They say that, under the peculiar conditions under which the industry is carried on there, the rates proposed by the Senate committee are absolutely necessary to protect the industry. Nearly one-half the borax consumed in the United States in the year 1896 was imported; and it does seem to me that, with these enormous deposits of native borax in these two States, that state of affairs should not be allowed to continue.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Mr. President, in the hearings before the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives there was a statement submitted by the Manufacturing Chemists' Association in which, speaking of borate of lime, they say:

The rate proposed—

That is, the rate they suggested, which was not adopted by the House. They proposed "borate of lime, 1 cent per pound." They say:

The rate proposed is less than the act of 1894 and that of 1890, the article being a crude or raw material produced by one company in the United States, which is said to have the monopoly of the same.

Mr. ALDRICH. From what page is the Senator reading?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I am reading from page 10 of the hearings on Schedule A.

Mr. ALDRICH. Those are not the borax producers. Those are the people who import borax.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. That was the statement of the Manufacturing Chemists' Association, and that statement was made before the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives. I have no doubt they stated what they thought was correct.

Borate of lime, borate of soda, borax, and boracic acid must all be considered together, as they are kindred products.

I hold in my hands the prospectus of an English company, which states a number of facts which I think ought to be entitled to some consideration at the hands of the Senate. This prospectus was issued on the 19th of June, 1896. It reads:

PROSPECTUS.

The subscription list will be opened this day (Monday), 22d instant, and will be closed on or before Wednesday next, the 24th instant.

The Pacific Borax and Redwood's Chemical Works, Limited.

Incorporating the Pacific Coast Borax Company, of San Francisco, and Redwood & Sons, chemical manufacturers, of Cornwall Works, Kennington Green and Belvedere, Kent, England. (Incorporated under the companies acts, 1862 to 1893.)

Capital £510,000.

Divided into 20,000 6 per cent cumulative preference shares of £10 each (preferred also as to capital)	£200,000
And 31,000 ordinary shares of £10 each	310,000
	510,000

In addition to which will be issued £100,000 first-mortgage 5 per cent debentures in bonds of £100 each, which will be secured by a trust deed vesting all the immovable property of the company in the trustees, and containing a floating charge on the other assets of the company.

Redeemable by annual drawings at 110 (extending over a period of about twenty-three years), by the operation of an accumulative annual sinking fund of 2½ per cent in addition to the premium.

Interest payable half yearly on January 1 and July 1.

The vendors will accept, in part payment of the purchase money, the whole of the ordinary shares and 6,666 (the largest proportion allowed by the rules of the stock exchange) of the preference shares, leaving the whole proceeds of the debenture issue available for improvements and for working capital.

The Indian and General Investment Trust, Limited, through Messrs. Brown, Janson & Co., 32 Abchurch lane, E. C., and Messrs. Charles Hopkinson & Sons, 3 Regent street, S. W., are authorized to receive subscriptions for the balance, viz, 13,334 6 per cent cumulative preference shares of £10 each, and the whole of the debentures, payable as follows:

	Preference shares.	Debentures.
On application	£2	£20
On allotment	4	40
One month after allotment	4	40
	10	100

Or the whole amount may be paid on allotment, ranking for dividend and interest from dates of payment.

Trustees for the debenture holders.—The Indian and General Investment Trust, Limited, 308 Winchester House, E. C.

Solicitors for the trustees.—Messrs. Sanderson, Holland, Adkin & Co., 46 Queen Victoria street, E. C.

Directors.—Sir Alexander Wilson, director of the Indian and General Investment Trust, Limited, chairman; Edward J. Halsey, esq., J. P., director City of Santos Improvements Company, Limited; W. T. Holmes, esq., director (London board) Bank of New Zealand, Limited; F. M. Smith, esq., president Pacific Coast Borax Company, San Francisco, managing director in United States of America; R. C. Baker, esq., of Messrs. Redwood & Sons, Belvedere Mills, Kent, managing director in Europe.

Bankers.—Messrs. Brown, Janson & Co., 32 Abchurch lane, E. C.

Brokers.—Messrs. D. L. Thompson & Co., 7 Drapers' Gardens and Stock Exchange.

Solicitors for the company.—Messrs. Parker, Garrett & Parker, St. Michaels' Rectory, Cornhill, E. C.

Secretary and registered offices (pro tempore).—H. Evan Thomas, Dock House, Billiter street, E. C.

Prospectus.

This company has been formed to take over and carry on as going concerns as from April 1, 1896, the businesses of the Pacific Coast Borax Company, of San Francisco, Cal., and of Messrs. Redwood & Sons, chemical manufacturers, of Cornwall Works, Kennington Green, and Belvedere Mills, Belvedere, Kent, and to acquire the lands and buildings in the United States and at Belvedere, Kent, the deposits of crude borax in California, Nevada, and Oregon, and the good will, stock in trade, engines, plant, machinery, tools, utensils, and trade-marks appertaining to both businesses.

The properties to be acquired consist of:

(1) The well-known deposit of crude borax (colemanite), situate at Daggett, San Bernardino County, Cal.; (2) deposits of crude borax in the southeast part of the State of California; (3) deposits of crude borax situate at Esmeralda County, Nev.; (4) deposits of crude borax (priceite) situate at Curry County, Oreg. The above-named properties comprise a total area of upward of 31,000 acres. (5) The land and factory at Alameda, on San Francisco Bay, with modern plant and machinery for refining purposes. (6) The freehold works recently acquired by Messrs. Redwood & Sons for the extension of their business of chemical manufacturers, and known as Belvedere Mills, Belvedere, Kent.

Mr. Thomas Price, the senior partner of the firm of expert chemists and assayers, Messrs. Thomas Price & Son, of San Francisco, has made a report on the Daggett deposits, which are those at present being worked, and which the report states as covering an area of 326.86 acres. In it he states that "there can be no question but that this deposit of borate is positively unique among deposits of this nature," and that "there certainly seems to exist here an almost inexhaustible deposit of available calcium borate."

A print of the full text of Mr. Price's report (which is too lengthy to be embodied in this prospectus) can be obtained as mentioned below, and intending subscribers are urged to peruse it. It will be found to afford ample evidence, coupled with the accountant's report set out below, of the great value of the property to which it refers.

The business of Redwood & Sons was founded by the late Dr. Redwood, Ph. D., F. I. C., F. C. S., etc., emeritus professor of chemistry to the Pharmaceutical Society of Great Britain, and has shown increasing annual profits from its commencement. It is intended to extend the manufacturing operations at present carried on by this firm to the United States, where it is believed a large and profitable business in addition to that now existing can be done.

Various additional chemical manufactures are being undertaken, the details of which it is not considered politic to disclose, but which should also increase the profits.

The accounts of the American company and of Messrs. Redwood & Sons have been investigated by Messrs. Price, Waterhouse & Co., and the following is a copy of their report:

I ask the Senate to pay especial attention to this in view of the statement made by the Senator from Rhode Island that it was necessary to protect these interests in order that these men may have a profitable industry. This is the official report issued by a London company asking for subscribers and making the statement themselves as to the advantages of this investment:

44 GRESHAM STREET, E. C., *May 20, 1896.*

To the directors of the Indian and General Investment Trust, Limited.

GENTLEMEN: We have examined the books and accounts of the Pacific Coast Borax Company, at San Francisco, for the three years ending August 31, 1895, and Messrs. Redwood & Sons, chemical manufacturers, Cornwall Works, Kennington Green, for the three years ending September 30, 1895, for the purpose of ascertaining the profits earned.

The Pacific Coast Borax Company.—We find that this company has, in preparing their accounts, made no reserve for exhaustion of minerals, nor for depreciation of buildings, plant, or machinery, but we are informed that these have been fully maintained out of revenue. Interest on borrowed money has not been charged.

The sales have been conducted through the agency of Mr. Smith, the president, who, out of a commission on gross sales, pays the agency expenses at New York, Chicago, and San Francisco, and guarantees the sales.

During the period under review the borate used at the Alameda refinery has been nearly all obtained from the Daggett mines, the other properties owned by the company in Nevada not having been worked.

Redwood & Sons.—Full reserve has been made for depreciation of plant and machinery, but no charge has been made for remuneration of managers or interest on loans.

Subject to the above remarks and taking the years as of even date, and in

the case of the American company converting the dollar at an exchange of $4.87 to £1 sterling, the combined profits as thus ascertained are as follows:

	£	s.	d.
Year 1892-93	39,290	7	1
Year 1893-94	81,036	19	1
Year 1894-95	53,431	4	2

The sales of borax made by the Pacific Coast Borax Company have been as follows:

	Pounds.
Year ending August 31, 1893	7,498,542
Year ending August 31, 1894	7,841,932
Year ending August 31, 1895	9,570,849

We are, gentlemen, your obedient servants,
PRICE, WATERHOUSE & CO.

Now, mark this:

The fall in the profits in the year 1894-95 was owing to the reduction in the price of borax by the American Company, United States of America, for the reasons hereinafter mentioned.

That reason, when it comes out, will be that they propose to control the American market and to drive out competitors.

The volume of business, however, it will be noted, shows a substantial increase over previous years.

For the seven months to March 31, 1896, the sales of the American Company have been at the rate of about 11,000,000 pounds per annum, in addition to which a considerable business has been done in boracic acid produced from the crude borax, and in borax compounds.

It must be borne in mind, in estimating the future prospects of the company, that it will have two distinct sources of profit, the one as owners of the deposits of crude material, the other as manufacturers of the refined borax, boracic acid, and compounds, with the possession of the valuable trademarks relating thereto.

To check competition in borax in the United States of America and to popularize the article, the American Company has largely reduced the selling price of borax during the past year or so, submitting to a temporary decreased profit and looking to the largely increasing demand to compensate it in the immediate future. In the United States of America the price has now been reduced so that neither the crude nor refined borax can be imported to compete with the company at a remunerative profit.

The Senator from Rhode Island seems to have found in the figures somewhere something to alarm him at the great rate of importation, but here is an official statement from the men who own this property, and who are asking for subscribers to an English company, stating what the facts are.

Imports into the United States are subject to a duty of 1¼ cents per pound, or £6 per ton (United States of America), on crude borax; 2 cents per pound, or £8 per ton, on refined borax, and 2½ cents per pound, or £10 per ton, on boracic acid.

These duties were fixed under the Wilson tariff in 1894, the previous duties under the McKinley tariff having been higher.

The amounts required to meet the interest and sinking fund on the debentures, and the dividend on the preference shares, are as follows, viz:

Debentures, £100,000, interest and sinking fund	£7,500
Premium on drawn bonds, commencing at £250 per annum and increasing to	600
Preference shares, £200,000	12,000
	20,100
The profits for the year 1894-95, as shown in Messrs. Price, Waterhouse & Co.'s report, were	53,431
Leaving the sum of	33,291

to provide for depreciation, etc., and dividend on the ordinary shares.

With the view to greater economy in working, it is intended to construct a line of railway to connect the Daggett deposit with the existing railway, at an estimated cost of $125,000. The funds for the construction of this railway will be provided out of the proceeds of the debenture issue, the balance of which will be available for improvements and for working capital.

Mr. STEWART. I should like to inquire of the Senator if that company has purchased the deposits referred to, or was that simply a prospectus in order to obtain subscribers?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. If the Senator will wait until I finish the statement, he will have no doubt on that subject.

Mr. STEWART. Very well. I only wanted to know the facts.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I want to make this statement as they make it themselves in regular orderly sequence, and when the end of it comes I think the Senator will be satisfied. The prospectus continues:

Borax is used largely in potteries and in metal works as a flux for enamels and glazes, in the manufacture of glass, for household purposes in the form of soap powders, etc.; also for food preservation. It is a requirement in a large and increasing number of industries, and is now one of the staple products of the world.

The demand for boracic acid (the base of borax) is increasing very largely, this product being used in a number of industries, and in medicine and surgery, being recognized in the latter case as one of the most valuable antiseptics known.

Up to a recent date the crude material has been used by the American Company solely for refining purposes, but lately shipments have been made to England and have been sold at £9 per ton, showing a substantial profit; it is the intention of the board to extend this trade, and as the company is in a position to lay down the crude material in Europe at a low cost, a good and profitable business should be assured to the company from this source.

They are mining this crude borax, shipping it to London, and selling it, according to their own statement, at a profit of £9 sterling per ton—less than 2 cents a pound—and yet they have the audacity to come to the Senate of the United States and ask that we shall impose a tariff of 4 cents a pound to prevent the importation of an article that is being largely exported from this country.

The prospectus then says:

Messrs. Laird & Adamson, brokers, of Liverpool, in their market report for December, 1895, state:

"CALIFORNIAN BORATES.

"The material seems to meet with considerable demand from buyers, and appears likely to come into more general use, especially in the manufacture of English refined boracic acid."

In this connection, for fear I shall forget it, I want to say that it has been stated to me by men whom I understand to be reputable men, business men, men who are engaged in refining borax in the city of New York, that the condition upon which this borax is sold in London at less than 2 cents a pound, a little over 1¼ cents a pound, is that it shall not be sold to American refiners, and when an effort is made to buy from those producers by American refiners, they say they have no right to be in the business, that they propose to furnish refined borax to the United States, that they want a monopoly of it, that they do not want any competition, and when their borax goes abroad they do not intend that it shall be brought back here.

The prospectus then goes on to say:

"SOUTH AMERICAN BORATE OF LIME.

"The increasing shipments from California will, however, to some extent serve as a check and absorb consumers' requirements, and the future of the market may depend considerably upon the competition from this quarter.

"BORAX.

"The consumption is increasing at a rapid rate in all parts of the world."

The title of the American company to the Daggett deposits and to the lands and factory on San Francisco Bay, and the capacity of that company to vest such title in this company, has been investigated by Mr. E. S. Pillsbury, of San Francisco, acting under instructions from and on behalf of the Indian and General Investment Trust, who reports that this company can obtain a perfect title to those properties.

The title to the properties to be taken over from Messrs. Redwood & Sons, situate at Belvedere, in the county of Kent, has been examined and passed by Messrs. Sanderson, Holland, Adkin & Co., the solicitors to the Indian and General Investment Trust.

The American company has undertaken to make out a good title to the remaining properties to be taken over, to the satisfaction of the solicitors to the trustees for the debenture holders.

The price to be paid by the company to the vendors is £510,000, payable as to £133,340 in cash, or preference shares, at the option of the company, as to £66,660 in preference shares, and the balance, £310,000, in ordinary shares, being the whole issue of the latter.

The liabilities as at March 31, 1896, and the preliminary expenses up to allotment will be borne by the vendors.

The following contracts have been entered into:

Between Frank Marion Smith and Richard Charles Baker of the first part, Redwood & Sons of the second part, and the Indian and General Investment Trust, Limited, of the third part, dated June 1, 1896.

Between Messrs. Frank Marion Smith and Richard Charles Baker of the first part, the said Redwood & Sons of the second part, and David Charles Wilson, as trustee for this company, of the third part, dated June 1, 1896.

There are various other contracts in connection with the carrying on of the two businesses above referred to, which it is impossible to set out in this prospectus. Applicants for shares must be deemed to have waived their rights (if any) to particulars of these contracts, whether under section 38 of the Companies Act, 1867, or otherwise.

The above-mentioned contracts, together with the reports of Mr. Thomas Price and Messrs. Price, Waterhouse & Co., and the memorandum and articles of association, can be inspected at the offices of the solicitors to the company, and a copy of the draft trust deed for securing the debentures can be inspected at the office of the solicitors to the trustees.

Application will be made in due course to the Stock Exchange for quotations for the debenture and preference shares.

Prospectuses and forms of application and copy of Mr. Price's report can be obtained at the office of the company and from the bankers and solicitors.

Should no allotment be made, the deposit will be returned in full, and when the number of debentures or shares is less than that applied for, the balance of the deposit will be applied in reduction of the amount payable on allotment.

JUNE 19, 1896.

Here is an extract from the Chemist and Druggist, of London, of October, 1896:

The Pacific Borax and Redwood Chemical Works, Limited.—At the statutory general meeting of this company the chairman, Sir A. Wilson, stated that, after providing for the debenture interest for the whole period covering twelve months from the company's registration and the entire preference dividend for the year, there was a balance of profit for the six months ended September 30 last sufficient to enable the directors to pay 12 per cent on the ordinary capital, amounting to £310,000. An interim dividend of 6 per cent was declared, and sufficient to pay a further 6 per cent carried over. The company was only registered in June last, but took over the business as from April 1.

There was a prospectus; here was the result. In June they were proposing to organize a company, and in October they declared a dividend of 12 per cent. They then had a tax of from 1¼ to 2 cents on this stuff to protect them from its coming into the United States, they having the larger part of this business. Now they propose that the tax they had before shall be increased 100 per cent.

This, Mr. President, seems to me to indicate very plainly that the Senate of the United States is not called upon to increase the amount of protection that this English company has now in this monopoly of the borax of the United States. If we leave them the protection they had before, we shall leave them more than they ought to have. So far from the rate remaining where it was at the beginning, it ought to be reduced by the Senate, and I for one am not willing to increase the profits of an English company, which are shown here to be simply enormous. They have a monopoly now recognized by our people all over this country.

Mr. ALDRICH. Mr. President, I regret that the senior Senator from Nevada [Mr. JONES], who is entirely familiar with all the facts in regard to this case, is not here, but I know that there are a large number of companies, mostly in California and Nevada, outside of the Pacific Coast Borax Company, so called, to which the Senator from Arkansas alluded, which are organized and producing borax. I know, further, that the natural deposits in both California and Nevada are inexhaustible and that they cover so wide a range of territory that it would be simply impossible for any company to have a monopoly of the business. There can be no question about both of those statements. The testimony taken by the House committee shows that there are five borax companies in California and seven borax companies in Nevada, which makes twelve companies outside of the Pacific Coast Borax Company, to which the Senator alluded.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. And at the end, in parentheses, it is stated they are not operating.

Mr. ALDRICH. They say "suspended since the passage of the act of 1894."

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Yes; "suspended."

Mr. ALDRICH. That seems to be the reason given by the borax producers themselves why they are not operating.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. They do not give any reason; they give the date. The reason is that they are all under the management of the Pacific Coast Borax Company, which absolutely controls the whole business, and they prefer to shut up a part of the places and not run the whole of them.

Mr. ALDRICH. The senior Senator from Nevada assured the committee that Mr. Smith, the gentleman who floated this Pacific Coast Borax Company in Great Britain, had no control whatever over these other companies; that they were, in fact, independent companies, acting entirely outside of the organization to which he refers.

Mr. WHITE. If the Senator from Rhode Island will permit me, as I know many of these gentlemen myself and am pretty familiar with the surroundings, I may state some pertinent facts in regard to the matter.

Mr. ALDRICH. I shall be very glad to hear the Senator from California.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President, in the distribution of the alleged benefits to be conferred by this bill, if I can prevent it, I do not intend to be excluded so far as California is concerned.

The statements made by the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. JONES] are to some extent incorrect. He relies, of course, upon the circular he has read. Mr. President, while in other parts of the country, Arkansas and Rhode Island, for instance, when land or property is about to be sold, the parties putting it upon the market always represent the facts just exactly as they are, and present to the would-be purchaser the most disagreeable statement possible. In my part of the United States, I regret to say that the same candor does not always prevail, and very often those who have property to sell represent it at least for all it is worth.

They do not always state less than the facts justify, and I am informed by the gentleman who has already been referred to, Mr. Smith, and also by another gentleman who was formerly a member of Congress, and holds some stock himself, that there is not a word of truth in the statement that these mines are controlled by the British company, and that they failed to make a sale in England to complete the transaction which they were anxious, in view of their glowing circular, to be able to accomplish. They tried very hard to obtain acquiescence from our British cousins, and represented the borax mines, or the boracic-acid mines, as being very valuable, and no doubt they are; but the representations, as I have already stated, were not at all below what the facts justified, and when investigation was made they failed to make the sale, and Mr. Smith himself, who was individually the largest owner in any one of those mines, a citizen of Alameda County, Cal., is now trying to sell his interest. Far from realizing any immediate profit out of it, my information from absolutely reliable stockholders is that the institution has been operated at a loss during the last few years.

Now, of course it is proper to draw out any statement, or to use a statement which was made as this one was, because we are entitled to have all the evidence, but the Senate will readily see that it may not be absolutely accurate.

When this matter was before the Committee on Ways and Means, Mr. Henry Krebs, of San Francisco, was called as a witness, and he entered elaborately into a discussion of the matter, told how borax was manufactured, why boracic acid was a most valuable component and could be used itself for many purposes, and he suggested a duty much higher than that which has been adopted by the committee. He also called attention to a table, which Senators interested will find on page 40 of the hearing on chemicals, Schedule A, in which he speaks of the production of borax in the United States from 1864 to 1896. I will ask that that table be inserted as part of my remarks.

The table referred to is as follows:

Production of borax in the United States from 1864 to 1896, inclusive.

Year.	Production.	Wholesale price in New York City per pound.	Year.	Production.	Wholesale price in New York City per pound.
	Pounds.	*Cents.*		*Pounds.*	*Cents.*
1864	25,000	39	1882	4,236,291	13½
1865	250,000	37½	1883	5,600,000	14½
1866			1884	7,713,303	9½
1867			1885	7,471,404	8½
1868	No production.	33½	1886	9,841,482	6½
1869		35½	1887	10,182,000	6½
1870		30½	1888	7,830,000	8
1871		31½	1889	8,800,000	7½
1872		32	1890	9,500,000	7½
1873	2,000,000	24½	1891	13,380,000	7½
1874	4,000,000	14½	1892	12,538,196	7½
1875	5,433,658	12½	1893	8,699,000	7½
1876	5,180,810	10½	1894	13,000,000	7
1877	4,727,280	9½	1895	13,500,000	5½
1878	2,802,800	8½	1896	15,400,000	5
1879	1,554,986	9			
1880	3,860,748	12½	Total...	a 181,297,393	
1881	4,045,405	13½			

a Equal to 90,648.1363 tons.

Mr. WHITE. That table shows that the price of borax has descended from a maximum of 39 cents in 1864 to 5½ cents in 1895 and 5 cents in 1896.

I venture to say that it is an absurdity for anyone, whether the author of that schedule or not, to assert that this article can be sent to and sold in England at 2 cents a pound at a profit, and it appears nobody was gullible enough to believe that statement.

So far as my personal knowledge of the property is concerned, I have not that technical acquirement which would enable me to state definitely as to the matter of cost; but in the examination which was given to this matter by the House of Representatives a statement was submitted by Mr. Yerington, of Nevada, to be found on page 44, and an additional statement by Mr. Krebs, which can be found on pages 41 and following, from which it appears that upon the theory upon which this bill is constructed this is not by any means an excessive duty.

Of course, I know there are parties in New York City who consume borax, and others all over the country, who are naturally anxious to have the duty reduced; but this must be remembered, that in one of the letters, the most elaborate letter which I have seen upon the subject, protesting against this tax, the protest is made upon the ground that the present company have reduced the price of borax so low that these parties can not compete—a very curious statement, but it is made in the letter which I have here before me.

Mr. President, the Senator from Nevada [Mr. JONES], who is absent, has conversed with me a good deal about this matter. It is an industry affecting my own State and the State of Nevada, I believe, alone, and of course that sympathy which would be found perhaps if located elsewhere is unfortunately absent here. But if we are to maintain the theory of this bill, if we are to impose a duty which will enable these people to operate their mines at a reasonable profit, I do not think that any reduction can be had.

I call the attention of the Senate to the necessity of a change in the phraseology. Mr. Krebs explained the curious situation in that regard. It appears that under the present law there is a large amount of the semirefined matter imported.

Mr. ALDRICH. The statement to which the Senator refers will be found on page 34.

Mr. WHITE. That gentleman says:

> Under the operations of the present tariff the American miners and producers have been deprived of about 30 per cent of their market, and this is not altogether because the duties were lowered, since under the name of crude borate of lime, a calcined, concentrated, and artificially treated material (dehydrated), direct from Asia Minor, has been the bulk of foreign importations. This, in a crude state, is treated at the mines near Panderma, in Asiatic Turkey, by crushing, roasting, separating, and settling in reservoirs, and again roasting, to eliminate all traces of water. Thus processed, this is no longer a raw material, but a highly concentrated product of partial manufacture, so that each pound of this prepared article will make nearly 1½ pounds of refined borax.
>
> The present duty on crude borate of lime being 1½ cents per pound, this material being raised from 35 and 44 per cent to 54 and 60 per cent, pays in reality only about 1 cent per pound in duty, thereby evading payment of revenue due the Government and bringing upon the American producers loss and impending ruin.
>
> To show the increase and disturbing effect of these importations, we may state that the entire quantity of borate of lime imported into the port of New York in forty-eight months under the act of 1890 amounted to 1,167,465 pounds, while for twenty-seven months ending December 1, 1896, under the act of 1894, they amounted to 10,147,354 pounds. Of this latter quantity, about 10,000,000 pounds, owing to its enhanced value by artificial treatment, as set forth above, was equivalent to about 14,000,000 pounds of actual borax, being nearly ten times as much within half the time as was imported under the act of 1890, and paid a duty of only $152,208, whereas at its true value the duty should have been $210,061.20, thus depriving the Government of $30,853.20 of revenue.

Now, even if it were true that an English company were operating in California and developing this property to the exclusion of everybody else, I should feel justified in voting for this tariff, especially when our friends the Turks seem to be the main beneficiaries of the opposite policy. The California and Nevada product comes into competition with the product from Asia Minor.

Mr. President, I have no hesitancy, under prevailing circumstances, in voting for the tariff on borax and upon the articles mentioned in the bill under that heading.

Mr. STEWART. I have very little technical knowledge as to this matter, but in my visit to California and Nevada last fall I saw a large number of persons who have been engaged in this business, and they told me that the reduction in the tariff of 1894 had been very prejudicial to them. A good many of them closed down, particularly in Nevada. I then understood that there had been an attempt to make this sale in Europe in good faith, but I think the whole thing fell through. It was one of the bombastic prospectuses that the English put out. It must be exaggeration. If there had been any such enormous business as is represented, I should have heard something about it, because I have met most of these people.

Mr. WHITE. If the Senator from Nevada will excuse me, I will state that I personally know the gentlemen who are endeavoring and have been endeavoring for a long time to sell their stock at a depreciated price and can not do it.

Mr. STEWART. The Senator refers to the company in California?

Mr. WHITE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STEWART. It is very much like many prospectuses circulated in England in regard to South Africa, whereby over $150,000,000—some put it as high as $200,000,000—of the people's money has been lost. If they had gone into this game, it would have been a South African game.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Mr. President, I, of course, have no personal knowledge of the borax or borate deposits on the Pacific Coast. The Senator from California was mistaken in saying I had read to the Senate from a circular. I read from a prospectus—one of those statements issued by a corporation or proposed corporation setting out the facts of a proposed business.

My recollection is that the laws in England are exceedingly severe against any attempt to commit frauds by the publication of papers of this kind. They are given out to the public, and they carry the protection of the law behind them.

This was an official statement made by the company, and I will read now, as the Senator from Rhode Island regrets the absence of my namesake and friend the Senator from Nevada [Mr. JONES], a letter written to him from one of the borax producers in Nevada about the pending bill, which will give some of the facts, I presume, although my other distinguished friend the Senator from Nevada [Mr. STEWART] says, "I do not know, but I think the whole thing fell through." I think the Senator is not fully informed on the question, and I will read what the Columbus Borax Company, at Columbus, Esmeralda County, Nev., has to say. I regret to say that in preparing the copy which was sent to me a part of it seems to have been left out. However, so far as I have the letter I will read it. It says it is a copy of a letter sent to Senator JOHN P. JONES:

SIR: As miners and producers of borax in Nevada and taxpayers of that State, we respectfully beg to call your attention to the fact that the changes made in the proposed tariff bill in the Senate Chamber on borax, boracic acid, and borate of lime are exceedingly unjust and to the disadvantage of every one of the producers and manufacturers of borax and boracic acid in the United States, with the sole exception of an English company operating under the name of the Pacific Coast Borax and Redwood Chemical Company.

They do not seem to have fallen through, in the opinion of these gentlemen, who are competitors.

Their head office is in London, England, with branches in the United States at San Francisco, Chicago, and New York.

We think that if the proposed tariff on borax was amended to read as follows it would be more to the interests of the manufacturers of borax operating in Nevada, such as ourselves, the Nevada Salt and Borax Company, the Reno Borax Company, and other companies of a like nature, and also more of equity to the manufacturers of borates in the East—

Here is their schedule—

Borax, refined, 5 cents per pound.
Refined boracic acid, 1¼ cents per pound.
Borate of lime, 1 cent per pound.

I presume these gentlemen are manufacturers of borax. They would like to have the raw material out of which it is made at as reasonable rate as they can get it, and then they want protection on their product. So they want 5 cents a pound on borax, and they want boracic acid and borate of lime way below this proposition.

The fact is, that in Nevada there is not a single manufacturer of boracic acid, nor are there any miners of borate of lime, and a duty on these two articles would only result in stopping importations and a consequent loss to the United States Government of the revenue derived from these importations of boracic acid and borate of lime, while at the same time there are absolutely no sellers of borate of lime in the United States, with the single exception of this English company, the Pacific Coast Borax and Redwood Chemical Company.

The enterprise which my friend the Senator from Nevada thinks fell through, though he does not know. These men engaged in the business make this assertion in the letter which was sent to Senator JOHN P. JONES:

The fact is, that in Nevada there is not a single manufacturer of boracic acid, nor are there any miners of borate of lime, and a duty on these two articles would only result in stopping importations and a consequent loss to the United States Government of the revenue derived from these importations of boracic acid and borate of lime, while at the same time there are absolutely no sellers of borate of lime in the United States, with the single exception of this English company, the Pacific Coast Borax and Redwood Chemical Company.

Mr. ALDRICH. Would it interrupt the Senator from Arkansas if I ask him a question?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Not at all.

Mr. ALDRICH. Possibly the Senator may be aware of the fact that the borax deposits of Nevada and California, with a single exception, I think, are found in the form of borates of soda or other borates, rather than borate of lime, and these companies are only interested, therefore, in the other borates, borate of soda, for instance. Therefore they would like to have borate of lime come in free or at a very low rate, while they want a very high rate on refined borax.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I said a while ago that I presumed the men who are refining borax would like to have the raw material as nearly free as possible, but the people mining the borate of soda in Nevada have some interest in what shall be paid on borate of lime as well as borate of soda. They are miners of borate of soda, or at least they pretend to be. I know nothing about that. I presume they are a reputable concern. They call themselves the Columbus Borax Company, works at Columbus, Esmeralda County, Nev. Its office is at 10 Cedar street, New York, from which this letter is written. It is addressed to Senator JOHN P. JONES of Nevada, as I have said:

As we believe you are patriotic and just enough to protect the American home interests, and particularly the industries of your State, we beg to lay before you the facts in this matter, which we believe you are not aware of. We know you are familiar with the history of the borax industry of your State, but, to reiterate the same, beg to say that it is not owing to the importation of the crude materials and competition therefrom that the borax manufacturers of the United States, with the exception of the English company, the Pacific Coast Borax and Redwood Chemical Company, are unfavorably situated at present for the manufacture of borax, but it is due to the fact that the price of refined borax (the manufactured product) has been reduced so materially by the English company above named—

The one that did not fall through, as my friend the Senator from Nevada seemed to think it did—

that the other producers could not compete with them, because we are laboring under greater disadvantages on transportation, and further due to the difference in the materials used and labor employed. It is the avowed policy of this foreign corporation, the Pacific Coast Borax and Redwood Chemical Company, to crush all the other manufacturers by reducing the price of the manufactured article, thereby removing for its own benefit and profit all competition from the other manufacturers of borax and boracic acid. The Pacific Coast Borax and Redwood Chemical Company, the English company, in its prospectus issued one year ago in England, on page 7 thereof, states as follows:

"To check competition in borax in the United States of America, and to popularize the article, the American company has largely reduced the selling price of borax during the past year or so, submitting to a temporary decreased profit. In the United States of America the price has now been reduced, so that neither the crude nor refined borax can be imported to compete with the company at a remunerative profit."

This is quoted by the company domiciled in Nevada, miners of the borate of soda in Nevada, and they give currency to the statement which was denounced a while ago as being a mere trick of English speculators.

Mr. STEWART. What are the names of the parties?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The letter is written from the Columbus Borax Company, works at Columbus, Esmeralda County, Nev., office No. 10 Cedar street, New York. As I stated when I began, a part of the letter seems to have been dropped out.

We believe that if borate of lime and boracic acid are permitted to remain upon the tariff list at the present rates of duty the Government will receive a revenue from such, and that the other borax manufacturers of the United States will be protected against the monoply of the Pacific Coast Borax and Redwood Chemical Company. The amount of borax produced in the United States, nearly 10,000 tons per annum, is practically monopolized by the English company. They have reduced the prices thereon so low that the other manufacturers can not afford to compete. They have at the same time put up the price on the crude material used in the United States so high that the manufacturers of borax which exist in the East have not been able to use the same, though they state in their prospectus (page 8) as follows:

"It is the intention of the board to extend this trade, and as the company is in a position to lay down the crude material in Europe at a low cost, a good and profitable business should be assured to the company from this source."

We submit that were a duty of 1 cent per pound placed upon the crude borate of lime and 1¼ cents per pound on boracic acid, which is not manufactured at all in Nevada, it will be sufficient protection for the borax manufacturers of Nevada, as the Nevada manufacturers and miners have no borate of lime for sale. Our crude material, which we have in greater or lesser abundance, can be profitably worked into borax, provided the duty on the manufactured article is maintained at a fair amount and that the other manufacturers of borax are protected by the duty of 1 cent per pound on borate of lime from extortion on the raw material and virtual strangulation by the Pacific Coast Borax and Redwood Chemical Company.

If the duty be left at 3 to 4 cents a pound upon borate of lime, the Pacific Coast Borax and Redwood Chemical Company will practically be dictators

of the borax market in the United States by controlling the price of borate of lime, and it will compel all other manufacturers to close their works for good, whereas we had hopes of reestablishing such as soon as a new tariff was enacted, giving us a fair amount of duty upon the manufactured article and a low duty on the raw material. As the Pacific Coast Borax and Redwood Chemical Company are the only sellers of borate of lime in the United States, and as they state in their prospectus, which we referred to, that they are selling their crude goods abroad so to monopolize the business abroad and here, we respectfully submit that the duties as stated in the bill reported from the Senate will be a lever in the hands of this English company to the detriment and destruction of the American companies and of the borax industry of Nevada.

I appeal to the Senator from Nevada not to shut his ears against the entreaties of this Nevada company for protection against a rapacious English syndicate.

As the representative of that State, we ask that you use your best effort and influence to have this duty changed to 1 cent per pound on borate of lime and 1¼ cents per pound on boracic acid—

If the Senator from California [Mr. WHITE] will lend me the remainder of his letter, I will read it.

Mr. ALDRICH. There is only one word more.

Mr. WHITE. A few words.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. There are not a great many; but if they are as weighty as those which have been read, I imagine it will be more than the Senator from Rhode Island wants to hear:

and that we may be accorded a hearing on the subject.

Yours, very truly,

E. C. CALM, *Manager.*

Mr. President, it seems to me that enough has been presented to the Senate to show that this business is absolutely in the hands of an English company, that they control it now with the rate of tariff we have on the article, and that it is unreasonable and not American for us to propose to increase the duty in this extravagant degree for the purpose of increasing their profits and, if possible, giving them a more absolute and complete hold on the business. Here we are told by competitors that the adoption of this proposition by the Senate will give the English concern the whole trade, will absolutely destroy all competition; that they are now the only sellers of borate of lime in the United States, and that it will entirely fasten their hold upon the other industries of the country.

This being an article of almost universal consumption, being used in numbers and numbers of industries, it is not right that that which is raw material as to many industries, requiring high skill, shall be increased in price for the purpose of enriching a lot of men on the other side of the water, who declare, as the result of six months' organization, that they have made a dividend of 12 per cent and have laid aside 6 per cent more that can be divided.

Mr. STEWART. Mr. President, I hold in my hand the statement of H. M. Yerington, of Nevada, a gentleman who has been engaged in developing the borax business in Nevada from the beginning. In fact, without him there would have been no borax business there. He is a very public-spirited man, and whatever he says of his own knowledge everybody who knows him will believe to be true.

I should like to have the Secretary read his statement, as then it will be heard better. The other statements come from persons not so well known, and whose reputation is not quite so high. I wish to have the whole of Mr. Yerington's statement read.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read as indicated.

The Secretary read as follows:

STATEMENT SUBMITTED BY MR. H. M. YERINGTON, OF CARSON CITY, NEV.

CARSON CITY, NEV., *December 28, 1896.*

DEAR SIR: In view of the interest now taken in the tariff question, I feel that you will pardon me for calling your attention to some of our Nevada and California productions which require a little more protection, viz, borax and soda, the further details of which please find in the accompanying memorandum, wherein I have attempted to give a few unquestionable facts for your consideration.

Some ten years ago a number of our residents secured, by purchase from the Government, the extensive alkali deposit known as Owens Lake, in Inyo County, Cal., with the intention of extracting from its waters soda ash, bicarbonate of soda, caustic soda, and other by-products with which those waters are so strongly impregnated, without doubt the largest alkali deposit in America. About $250,000 has been invested in the lands and works at the lake, this year's production being over 3,000 tons of excellent carbonate of soda.

So far a dividend has never been declared, although, I believe, the consumption of carbonate of soda and its compounds in the United States is about 250,000 tons per annum, the greater portion coming from England and other foreign countries. The output at Owens Lake could be heavily increased by investment of more capital, but foreign competition is so great under present low tariff that a further investment is not advisable unless we have a higher duty to protect the industry against the raids of foreigners.

The borax interests are especially important, the production large (viz, over 35,000 tons since 1883, which, at present market price of 4½ cents per pound, would be over $3,000,000), with a heavy amount of capital invested, giving employment to a vast number of white people, and also to Indians coming off the Indian reservation, who are well paid, thus materially assisting the Government in taking care of them.

With the hope that they will give every possible aid in this matter, I have taken the liberty of writing Senator STEWART, Senator WHITE, Senator JONES, and other leading members of Congress now at Washington.

The borax marshes of the United States are confined almost entirely to the States of California and Nevada, consisting of many thousands of acres situated at widely different points, but entirely within the arid and desert region, as a rule far distant from railroad facilities; hence the transportation and freight of machinery, supplies, etc., to the various works, and the manufactured product from thence to railroad and market is found to be very expensive, necessitating the employment of an extensive outfit of heavy teams, wagons, etc. The result is that producers now find it extremely difficult to compete with the foreign product under its system of cheap labor and cheap transportation. But even under this adverse state of things our people have been able to increase their output from the small beginning of 600 tons in 1873 to over 5,000 tons per annum in 1895, and reducing the price from 33 cents per pound in 1873, when the country was entirely supplied by foreigners, to 4½ cents, the present rate, which could not have been done under the operation of a free list, for since the tariff of 1883 the prices of borax have ruled lower than ever known before. Therefore it is evident that through the action of our American producers consumers throughout the country have been immensely benefited; and they are found in every town and hamlet in the land. Aside from the great benefit to consumers generally, the manufacture is of great and vital importance to the people of the States of California and Nevada in this, that very large sums of money are invested in these works, namely:

First. By purchase of large tracts of land from the United States Government at $2.50 per acre. As a rule, those lands are absolutely worthless for any other purpose, and hence would lie as arid, unproductive wastes for all time, both to the Government and people.

Second. Large sums of money have been expended in the shape of extensive buildings, plant, and other machinery, which, without a tariff, would have to be abandoned and go to ruin and decay.

Third. The business requires much skilled and scientific labor, for which high remuneration is paid. Ordinary laborers are necessarily employed by the hundred at good rates of wages. On many of the marshes vast numbers of Indians, the nation's protégés, are given work nearly all the year round at never less than $1 per day, thus greatly aiding the Government in taking care of them. At one marsh in Nevada 300 Indians are frequently on its pay roll, engaged in gathering boracic acid, known as "cotton balls."

Fourth. Further, relative to the labor and industrial question as found in connection with the borax and soda productions of California and Nevada. Transportation cuts an important figure in its extensive teaming and freighting, requiring the services of great numbers of skilled teamsters, stable men, etc. The consumption of hay, oats, and barley is necessarily very great, and the supplies of beef, pork, vegetables, and other supplies for the use of the camps, all obtained from the nearest ranches, for which cash is paid and which the producers could not possibly obtain through any other source.

At all the works immense quantities of wood are used as fuel in the manufacture of borax and soda. This wood is cut in the mountains by white men and hauled to the works, thus employing an additional number of men and teams at a heavy outlay of cash, at the same time giving many of our people steady employment. The small country merchants scattered throughout those regions are also benefited by this trade, which helps greatly to keep their heads above water.

Fifth. The large amount of taxes paid the States and counties incident to these industries is important, and their loss would be severely felt by the several counties particularly.

Of late years the consumption of borax and soda enters into the arts, manufactures, and home life of the country very extensively, is wonderfully increasing every year, and, as above stated, English manufacturers, being the great foreign shippers into this country, they by their cheap labor, transportation, etc., under our low tariff, are enabled to cripple our home producers of both borax and soda very seriously, in fact, to-day almost driving them out of our own markets.

Soda stands relatively on the same ground with borax, the great natural deposits being found at Owens Lake, in Inyo County, Cal., Ragtown, and other points in Nevada, in an alkali, arid region, entirely devoid of vegetation. The production on the coast is comparatively small, at continued reduced prices, owing to the larger and improved works and methods of manufacture, and yet notwithstanding the desperate efforts of foreign competitors to hold the trade, it is only a question of time when our manufacturers will be able to supply the wants of at least one-half the country, provided a little higher tariff is granted them.

The sales of carbonate of soda or English ash on the coast are about 7,000 tons per annum, principally from England, less the home production of about 2,500 tons. Under the present tariff our people are subjected to very sharp competition from foreigners, rendered possible owing to their extensive moneyed capital, cheap labor, and extraordinarily cheap transportation to their shipping ports and across the sea, the bulk of their shipments coming over to our ports as ballast.

The annual consumption of soda and its compounds, viz, English ash (carbonate of soda), saleratus (bicarbonate of soda), caustic, bleaching and washing soda, etc., in the United States is about 250,000 tons, the major portion being from Great Britain, shipped to this country principally in foreign bottoms, thus adding greatly to their receipts from the pockets of our people.

Notwithstanding the high wages paid in this country, expense of transportation to market, etc., it is not to be supposed that, should the present tariff be increased somewhat, as desired, our producers can possibly advance prices; but, on the other hand, our works must shut down and foreigners have absolute control of this market, as previous to 1872, force up prices far beyond the present rates, and all American consumers suffer accordingly. In this connection it may be stated that in the manufacture of borax 33 per cent of soda is required to every ton.

Glass blowers, paper workers, soap manufacturers, woolen mills, etc., are consumers of carbonate of soda to an enormous extent, supplied principally from England. Therefore, in advocating a substantial increase of the present tariff, this appeal is not made wholly in the interest of the producers alone, but in that of the manufacturers above stated and that of a vast number of our people in every condition of life, and for the benefit of nearly every household in our broad land.

Under this state of things it is felt by the producers in Nevada and California that they are justified in asking that the following duties be fixed:

		Cents.
Boracic acid	per pound	5
Borax	do	4
Concentrated, calcined, or treated borate of lime, and other borax materials	per pound	3
Borate of lime	do	3
Borate of soda	do	3
Carbonate of soda	do	¼
Bicarbonate of soda	do	1
Sal soda or crystals	do	¼
Caustic soda	do	1
Silicate of soda	do	¼

H. M. YERINGTON.

Mr. STEWART. I have several other communications which corroborate the statement of Mr. Yerington. They come from citizens whom we all know, and who have been engaged in that

business. That the borax business is paralyzed in Nevada, I have not the slightest doubt. Not only one, but a large number of people have come to me and urged that if there was a tariff bill passed the duties on borax and its various products should be raised, and this is the schedule that they have sent to me. It is given in clear language. If we are to have a tariff bill, it seems to me that Nevada should be protected in the very few things that will do her any good. I am satisfied that this tariff proposed on borax would set a great many men to work and that it would be very useful.

Mr. WHITE. I have in my hand a telegram which I received from a gentleman in California with whom I am very well acquainted and for whom I am ready to vouch, wherein he says, in speaking of the mine in which he is himself interested:

Borax mines are owned by individuals and companies, all American.

I asked for the London price of borax, and he says:

Price borax London now about 5 cents pound; usually much higher. London has big advantage over us in freight rates.

Since I was on the floor I have spoken to Mr. Krebs, whose statement I read. He informs me that the company with which he is connected in San Bernardino County, Cal., turn out some thousands of tons of borax per annum, and that it is an American company exclusively and absolutely.

Mr. CAFFERY. Mr. President, it appears from the statement made on this floor that there is an inexhaustible bed of borax in Nevada and California. This statement is made by the Senator from Rhode Island in reply to the charge of monopoly in the business of mining this mineral. He states that a monopoly of this business is impossible by reason of the inexhaustible supply and the competition that a number of persons engaged in the business would have among each other so as to prevent any such result as a monopoly.

My distinguished friend and brother from California who is on this side of the Chamber [Mr. WHITE] seemed to apply the doctrine of General Hancock, that the tariff is a local issue, and that if there is any good in it going his way he wants a part of it.

Mr. STEWART. Why should we not have it?

Mr. CAFFERY. I am not talking about why he should not have it, but as to what he wants. If these favors are to be dispensed with a lavish hand through the medium of this bill, my friend from California does not want California to be left out in the cold.

I am in receipt of a letter, which purports to have been addressed to the Committee on Ways and Means of the House, concerning the tariff on borax and boracic acid. The letter addressed to me, inclosing this letter, is as follows:

NEW YORK, *May 24, 1897.*

DEAR SIR: We ask your attention to inclosed letter; original sent to the Committee on Ways and Means.

The Senate bill proposes to tax the ordinary article of commercial boracic, which runs from 82 to 84 per cent boracic acid, 4 cents per pound, equal to 118 per cent ad valorem.

The above article is the natural product of the Italian lakes, and used principally by potters. To this extent it comes in competition with the refined acid, 99 per cent purity, which is already selling to the potters at 8 cents a pound.

Any business man will agree with us that the only object in placing a duty of 4 cents a pound on boracic acid, wholly or partly dehydrated, is to prevent its importation and decrease revenue, also giving the control to a trust.

The present duty of 3 cents per pound is more than ample protection. If revenue is the object, 2 cents a pound duty is the extreme.

I will now read the letter addressed to the chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, dated New York, December 24, 1896. Both of these letters are from Joseph F. McCoy.

NEW YORK, *December 24, 1896.*

DEAR SIR: As buyers of borax and boracic acid in this market and abroad, we suggest that the just and true principle for really increasing the revenue have full consideration at your hands. A cursory glance at facts that every year are becoming fixed facts should be borne in mind. American borax has been gaining for some time past a controlling influence in Europe as well as in the United States and Canada. Every consumer in this country is paying a tax—to a monopoly, as we understand it—equivalent to 40 per cent of the quantity selling price, the present duty being 2 cents a pound. As little or no refined borax is imported or can be, owing to the present duty, the revenue might be increased by reducing the rate of duty to 1 cent per pound and the crude to one-half cent per pound duty. If our information is correct, the entire product of borax in this country is under the control of a foreign corporation.

You can readily learn if this is so; and if so, see the injustice of taxing every user of borax in this country to benefit outsiders, not only through the tariff giving them a monopoly, but through a combination of foreign capital to that end. In fact, no borax can be imported and sold in competition, hence no revenue.

Boracic acid, refined, is also made by the same combination of interests, their lowest price being 8 cents per pound. The lowest price on foreign boracic acid, refined, is £28 10s. per ton, or say 6.1 cents per pound, present duty 3 cents, making the foreign cost 9.1 cents per pound, independent of freight, insurance, customs charges, consular invoices, etc.; present protection, 48 per cent ad valorem.

By reducing the duty to 2 cents per pound an increased revenue would be the result; a fairer competition and a benefit to every line of manufacture, to every household in the land, every pottery, and many other branches. Crude boracic acid, costing £15 10s. in Europe (without freight, insurance, and other charges), say 3½ cents per pound, pays now a duty of 3 cents per pound, or about 86 per cent ad valorem. This article is used by every pottery in the United States, and only by them. The duty should not be more than 1 cent per pound. The imports would be increased. Every potter would be benefited by getting this material so much nearer the cost of the article as paid by their foreign competitors in England and Germany.

Clays—china clay and china stone—pay at present a duty much greater than the duty on the manufactured ware. If made free, every pottery in the country would not only buy their foreign clays at less price, but the home producers would have to reduce their price.

JOS. F. McCOY CO.

In the hearings before the Committee on Ways and Means, Mr. Krebs makes a statement. He is asked by the chairman as to the natural conditions and the labor in getting this mineral. I quote from page 30, Schedule A, of the hearings:

The CHAIRMAN. Are the natural conditions as favorable for the production of the base—

The base I suppose to be borax; boracic acid is the derivative—

of boracic acid in this country as in any other?

Mr. KREBS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. It is only the question of labor?

Mr. KREBS. That is all. The crude product represents but a small part of the manufactured product; more than three-quarters is in labor. Being a layman, an ordinary business man, I have reduced my thoughts briefly to paper, etc.

It appears that the only drawback, if any, even in the estimation of Mr. Krebs (who, I am told, is interested in this business, and who, for that reason alone, would not be entirely discredited, if discredited at all), in regard to this article is the labor cost, which, I suppose, he wants to have equalized with some pauper labor somewhere in some other country. The natural conditions surrounding this borax are quite as good in this country, from the statement of the Senator from Rhode Island, as in any other place in the world. There is an inexhaustible supply in Nevada and California, the healthiest portions of our Union. I should like to know whether an establishment which has existed for some eight or ten years, which is alleged and charged to be a monopoly (whether the establishment is composed of Englishmen or Americans, it makes no difference in that regard), ought to have a tariff of about 100 per cent to equalize labor conditions of which we are not informed.

Mr. BURROWS. Will the Senator from Louisiana allow me to interrupt him?

Mr. CAFFERY. Certainly.

Mr. BURROWS. The Senator will receive some information upon the question of labor if he will turn to the thirty-ninth page of the tariff hearings and contrast the price of the Turkish labor paid in the manufacture of this competing article with the wages paid in the United States.

Mr. CAFFERY. The per diem of labor I suppose is given in the hearing, and that is all. The per diem of labor is no kind of criterion, particularly in the use of mining machinery, as to the labor cost of an article, for it has been clearly demonstrated on many occasions, and perhaps it will be more clearly demonstrated as investigation goes on, that American labor in a line where American ingenuity can apply machinery is not at all dearer than foreign labor in the like business.

Mr. GRAY. May I interrupt the Senator?

Mr. CAFFERY. Certainly.

Mr. GRAY. I think perhaps the Senator from Michigan must have meant (and I make the suggestion to the Senator from Louisiana) the price of labor in those numerous industries in which boracic acid or borax is an essential raw material.

Mr. CAFFERY. So I suppose. I do not know, from the reference of the Senator from Michigan, whether the statement embraces the industry of boracic acid or borax, or whether it embraces all the industries in which it is employed.

Mr. BURROWS. The table to which I made reference is prefaced with this statement:

The following table shows the wages per day paid employees in the borax industry in the United States and in Asia Minor.

Then follows the table showing the wages paid in the borax industry in the two countries.

Mr. CAFFERY. It is to the mining business itself, in getting out the borax from the mines, that I understand the labor statistics to apply.

Mr. BURROWS. I ask that the table be printed in the RECORD.

The table referred to is as follows:

LABOR AND WAGES.

The following table shows the wages per day paid employees in the borax industry in the United States and in Asia Minor:

[Extract from report of Consul Maddan, August 26, 1896.]

	United States.	Turkey in Asia.	Difference in favor of labor in the United States.
Laborers	$2 per day	44 cents per day	$1.56 per day.
Carpenters	$3 per day	66 cents per day	$2.34 per day.
Blacksmiths	$3.50 per day	88 cents per day	$2.62 per day.
Tinsmiths	$3 per day	66 cents per day	$2.34 per day.
Engineers	$120 per month	$52.80 per month	$67.20 per month.
Firemen	$75 per month	$15.40 per month	$59.60 per month.
Bookkeepers	$125 per month	$35.20 per month	$89.80 per month.
Foremen	$240 per month	$44 per month	$196 per month.

Mr. CAFFERY. Mr. President, I take it that whenever the charge is made that the labor cost of a certain commodity of which labor is an element is greater in America than in any other country by reason of the increased price per diem paid to the American laborer over a foreign laborer, it is not sustained by the fact of the foreign laborer being a cheaper man per diem. You have to take all the elements of cost. You have to take the output of the labor, and you have to take all the elements before you can come to the conclusion that the simple labor cost in one country exceeding the per diem of another is the criterion. You can not do it. It is not true in behalf of borax or any other industry that you can merely cite the difference between American labor and foreign labor in the particular instance.

Mr. PERKINS. If my friend from Louisiana will permit me, I simply desire to say that when the borax fields were discovered in eastern California and southern Nevada the price of borax was 40 cents a pound. It was finally reduced to 25 cents a pound; and notwithstanding the difference in the wages that we are paying and the increased wages paid to American citizens who are spending their money in our own community, the price of borax has continually fallen until to-day the wholesale price is from 6 to 7 cents a pound. To whom do we owe it? We owe it to the enterprise of the American people.

Mr. CAFFERY. That question has been asked and answered the same way about ten thousand times, I suppose, by the advocates of protection.

Mr. GALLINGER. And it has always been answered right.

Mr. CAFFERY. It is nothing on earth but the old exploded argument of post hoc, ergo propter hoc. It has no sort of weight with me in the discussion of the tariff question, and it ought not to have weight with anybody. Everything has declined in——

Mr. PERKINS. If you close up our mines, the trust in England controlling the Turkish borax mines will put back the price of borax to 30 cents a pound.

Mr. CAFFERY. There is a trust or an alleged trust in Nevada or California on this same borax. Whether that be true or not I do not say, but it is said an English company forms a monopolistic trust.

Mr. PERKINS. I will say to my friend from Louisiana (and I speak advisedly, because I have been over those fields) there are thousands and thousands of acres where borax is in large deposits, which he or any other person can go and locate and work. There can be no trust and no monopoly of the borax fields of Nevada and California.

Mr. GRAY. With the leave of the Senator from Louisiana, I should like to ask my friend from California a single question in relation to the interesting statement he has just made. I ask him if this industry has been created by a protective tariff, as I understood him to say in effect? Is that true?

Mr. PERKINS. I so understand it.

Mr. GRAY. When was a tariff first placed on it?

Mr. PERKINS. That I am not advised upon.

Mr. GRAY. In 1890?

Mr. STEWART. In 1883.

Mr. GRAY. The Senator from Nevada says in 1883. I do not know whether that is correct; but——

Mr. PERKINS. On borax?

Mr. GRAY. On borax. What was the rate of duty?

Mr. ALDRICH. In 1890, 3 cents a pound.

Mr. GRAY. The Senator from Rhode Island says 3 cents a pound. Then I understand that this industry has been built up upon a tariff rate of 3 cents a pound, and the motion of the Senator from Missouri is to continue that rate and put it in this bill. I should like to ask the Senator from California, if this industry has been built up and these people have been able to make a profit on a duty of 3 cents a pound, why it is that, as time goes on and the infant industry is established, it still wants more than 3 cents a pound of increased nourishment?

Mr. PERKINS. It is simply the old story of crushing an industry which has been established. The mines are opened, the water is pumped out of them, roads have been built to the mines, and if they are abandoned, then the trusts again come in and advance the price.

Mr. CHILTON. Will the Senator from Louisiana permit me to ask the Senator from California a question?

Mr. CAFFERY. Certainly.

Mr. CHILTON. I should like to ask the Senator from California a question.

Mr. PERKINS. Certainly.

Mr. CHILTON. Do I not understand from the reading of the statement which the Senator from Nevada sent forward to the desk a few moments ago that the borax people themselves ask for a duty of only 4 cents a pound on borax; that the House of Representatives put a duty of 3 cents a pound on it, and that the Senate Finance Committee have raised the duty to 5 cents a pound, or 2 cents a pound more than the House of Representatives fixed it at, and 1 cent per pound more than the borax people themselves asked for?

Mr. ALDRICH. No.

Mr. CHILTON. As I understood the reading of the document, the borax people asked for a duty of 4 cents a pound.

Mr. ALDRICH. Five.

Mr. STEWART. What they asked for was that boracic acid shall be at 5 cents a pound, and borax at 4 cents a pound.

Mr. CHILTON. That is the point.

Mr. STEWART. And they asked for a duty of 3 cents a pound on concentrated, calcined, or treated borate of lime and other borax materials.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. What page does the Senator read from?

Mr. STEWART. I read from page 46 of the tariff hearings.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Louisiana is entitled to the floor, and will proceed.

Mr. CAFFERY. Mr. President, it would appear that there is nothing in natural conditions. It would appear that there is nothing in the ability of the Americans to mine this mineral as cheaply as a foreigner can mine it. It would only appear that an industry which has flourished and grown to these large proportions under a high tariff should now, when it is so well established as to form a monopoly, demand of the Congress of the United States an additional tariff on an article necessary in many important industries. Borax or boracic acid, according to the statement read by the Senator from Missouri, enters into the manufacture of many finished products. It is not only a material necessary in manufacturing, but it is a material necessary in medicine and in the matter of saving meats.

This article goes into every household in the United States, and the duty is without any reason whatever, so far as I can see. We should not now be asked to put it upon the tariff list with the most exaggerated and untenable tariff rate, a specific rate nearly 100 per cent ad valorem of the selling price of this article. The Senator from California stated to me that this article was selling at 5 cents a pound, or had been selling at that rate.

I submit, Mr. President, that this is cutting a little too deep with the tariff knife, even upon a bill which is framed on the scientific lines of the highest protective ideas of the Senator from Rhode Island. One hundred per cent upon such a necessary of life as this, which will enhance the cost of every material into which this mineral enters as a raw material, is excessive, and it is clearly shown by the letter which I have read from this firm in New York that this tariff will produce no revenue whatever, but will cut off importations.

I submit to the Senator whether or not these gentlemen interested in this matter, located as these mines are, do not command the world as to their locality; and would they deprive the people living on the seaboard of the advantages of the sea? Would they by this tariff run up the price of this article to the importing point, and thereby increase the price of an important necessary of life? I can see no reason for it, and protest against it.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the amendment to the amendment of the committee striking out "five" and inserting "three," so as to make the rate of duty on boracic acid 3 cents per pound.

Mr. VEST. I ask for the yeas and nays on the amendment to the amendment.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. HANSBROUGH (when his name was called). I am paired with the senior Senator from Virginia [Mr. DANIEL], but I transfer that pair to the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. PRITCHARD], and vote "nay."

Mr. LODGE (when Mr. HOAR's name was called). My colleague [Mr. HOAR] is paired with the Senator from Washington [Mr. TURNER]. If he were present, my colleague would vote "nay."

Mr. PETTUS (when his name was called). For this day I am paired with the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MCBRIDE] on the amendments to this bill.

Mr. PROCTOR (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Florida [Mr. MALLORY].

Mr. SEWELL (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. MITCHELL]. If he were present, I should vote "nay."

Mr. TILLMAN (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. THURSTON]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. CLARK. I have a general pair with the Senator from Kansas [Mr. HARRIS]. If he were present, I should vote "nay."

Mr. BATE. I am paired with the junior Senator from Kentucky [Mr. DEBOE]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

I wish to say while I am up that my colleague [Mr. HARRIS of

Tennessee] is paired with the Senator from Vermont [Mr. MORRILL]. Both of these Senators are absent from the Chamber.

Mr. WALTHALL. My colleague [Mr. GEORGE] is absent on account of sickness, by leave of the Senate. The junior Senator from Colorado [Mr. WOLCOTT] is absent on public business. Those two Senators are paired.

I ask that this announcement may apply to all the yea-and-nay votes taken upon this bill and amendments until further notice.

Mr. WETMORE (after having voted in the negative). I inquire if the senior Senator from Georgia [Mr. BACON] has voted?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The senior Senator from Georgia has not voted.

Mr. WETMORE. I have a general pair with that Senator, and therefore withdraw my vote.

Mr. BUTLER (after having voted in the affirmative). I have a general pair with the junior Senator from Maryland [Mr. WELLINGTON]. I do not see him in his seat, and I inquire whether he has voted?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The junior Senator from Maryland has not voted.

Mr. BUTLER. Then I withdraw my vote.

Mr. GALLINGER. I inquire whether the senior Senator from Texas [Mr. MILLS] has voted?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. He has not voted.

Mr. GALLINGER. I have a general pair with that Senator, but I will transfer that pair to the junior Senator from Illinois [Mr. MASON], and let my vote in the negative stand.

The result was announced—yeas 20, nays 34; as follows:

YEAS—20.

Berry,	Gorman,	Lindsay,	Roach,
Caffery,	Gray,	Morgan,	Smith,
Chilton,	Heitfeld,	Murphy,	Turpie,
Clay,	Jones, Ark.	Pasco,	Vest.
Cockrell,	Kenney,	Rawlins,	Walthall.

NAYS—34.

Aldrich,	Elkins,	Jones, Nev.	Quay,
Allison,	Fairbanks,	Lodge,	Shoup,
Baker,	Foraker,	McEnery,	Spooner,
Burrows,	Frye,	McMillan,	Stewart,
Cannon,	Gallinger,	Nelson,	Warren,
Carter,	Gear,	Penrose,	White,
Chandler,	Hanna,	Perkins,	Wilson.
Cullom,	Hansbrough,	Platt, Conn.	
Davis,	Hawley,	Platt, N. Y.	

NOT VOTING—34.

Allen,	Hale,	Mason,	Teller,
Bacon,	Harris, Kans.	Mills,	Thurston,
Bate,	Harris, Tenn.	Mitchell,	Tillman,
Butler,	Hoar,	Morrill,	Turner,
Clark,	Kyle,	Pettigrew,	Wellington,
Daniel,	McBride,	Pettus,	Wetmore,
Deboe,	Mallory,	Pritchard,	Wolcott.
Faulkner,	Mantle,	Proctor,	
George,	Martin,	Sewell,	

So Mr. VEST's amendment to the amendment of the committee was rejected.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question recurs on the amendment reported by the Committee on Finance.

The amendment was agreed to.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in line 2, on page 2, after the words "chromic acid," to strike out "and lactic acid;" so as to read:

Chromic acid, 4 cents per pound.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in line 3, after the words "citric acid," to strike out "eight" and insert "seven;" so as to read:

Citric acid, 7 cents per pound.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in line 3, after the word "pound," to strike out "salicylic acid, 10 cents per pound."

Mr. SEWELL. I ask the Senator from Rhode Island to postpone the consideration of that amendment for the present.

Mr. ALDRICH. I have no objection to the amendment being passed over.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment will be passed over.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, on page 2, line 6, after the word "pound," to strike out "gallic acid, 10 cents per pound."

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in line 7, after the words "tartaric acid," to strike out "seven" and insert "six;" so as to read:

Tartaric acid, 6 cents per pound.

The amendment was agreed to.

The reading of the bill was resumed, beginning on line 8, page 2, as follows:

All other acids not specially provided for in this act, 25 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. VEST. I should like to ask the Senators in charge of this bill whether they propose now to do away with the provision in the McKinley Act and in the Wilson Act that put all these other acids upon the free list, and to put 25 per cent upon them in this basket clause? I take it that is their purpose.

Mr. ALDRICH. That is the purpose of the committee, to put all acids except those that are named specifically in the free list upon the dutiable list at 25 per cent.

Mr. VEST. That is an entire change in the policy of the McKinley law and of the Wilson law. Under both those acts in this basket clause all the acids not specified and enumerated were put upon the free list. I recollect one acid particularly as to which the operation of this provision would be most unjust. Take liquefied carbolic acid. That was upon the free list in the McKinley Act and the Wilson Act.

Mr. ALDRICH. It is also in the free list according to the report of the committee.

Mr. VEST. I beg your pardon. It was struck out of the free list, if I am not mistaken, and if I am I should like to be corrected and should be glad to know it. The committee put it into the basket clause at 25 per cent.

Mr. ALDRICH. If the Senator will look on page 161, line 18, he will find that carbolic acid is on the free list by name.

Mr. VEST. Liquefied carbolic acid, or carbolium?

Mr. ALDRICH. Carbolic acid of all kinds is upon the free list.

Mr. VEST. Is that the intention?

Mr. ALDRICH. Certainly.

Mr. VEST. I took it for granted that carbolium was not included.

Mr. ALDRICH. It is intended to be included, and we intended to include all kinds of carbolic acid.

Mr. VEST. I am glad then to know that the intention of the committee is to include this article of carbolium; but I have still to say that this is a large departure from the policy in tariff acts heretofore. It reverses the policy of the Government entirely. Heretofore when acids were not specifically enumerated, they went upon the free list, and now they go under a duty of 25 per cent ad valorem.

I give notice now that when we come to the free list, I shall move to specify carbolium, which is a specific chemical product and different from pure carbolic acid, and I now move to strike out this portion of this paragraph, beginning in line 8 to the end of it, which reads:

All other acids not specially provided for in this act, 25 per cent ad valorem.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Missouri will be stated.

The SECRETARY. On page 2, beginning in line 8, it is proposed to strike out:

All other acids not specially provided for in this act, 25 per cent ad valorem.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the amendment of the Senator from Missouri.

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. GRAY. I should like, if I am in order—I do not know whether I am or not at this time—to ask the Senator in charge of the bill what is the policy of the committee in regard to sulphuric acid, which has been upon the free list, which was on the free list in the McKinley law, and is now on the free list? This article is very largely used in the manufacture of fertilizers, and it is specially interesting to me, as many of these manufactories are in my State.

Mr. ALDRICH. Sulphuric acid is now upon the free list, and will remain upon the free list unless it comes from countries which impose a duty upon it under the provisions of treaties.

Mr. GRAY. That qualification is a new one.

Mr. ALDRICH. Oh, no; it was in the act of 1890.

Mr. GRAY. But not in the present act?

Mr. ALDRICH. No; not in the present act.

Mr. VEST. I understand the Senator from Rhode Island to state that sulphuric acid is now upon the free list in the bill as reported by the Senate committee?

Mr. ALDRICH. Yes, sir; unless it comes from a country which imposes a duty upon sulphuric acid.

Mr. VEST. Then there is a most unfortunate provision in this bill, and it ought to be corrected if that is the meaning of the Senator. This provision is:

Sulphuric acid or oil of vitriol not specially provided for in this act, one-fourth of 1 cent per pound.

That is an absolute provision of itself without qualification—"not specially provided for in this act." If the Senator means not specially provided for in this act, and the free list would make it specially provided for, it is an unfortunate expression, to say the least, and will give rise to trouble.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. The same expression is in the McKinley law.

Mr. VEST. I think not.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. I think it is.

Mr. VEST. I do not think it is the same provision.

Mr. GRAY. I should like to ask the Senator from Rhode Island where sulphuric acid is specially provided for?

Mr. ALDRICH. On page 185, paragraph 647.

Mr. GRAY. Why do we find in the very first paragraph—

Sulphuric acid or oil of vitriol not specially provided for in this act, one-fourth of 1 cent per pound?

I am asking for information now, because I want to understand it.

Mr. ALDRICH. Paragraph 647 provides that sulphuric acid shall be free for all these different purposes, and this provision is that sulphuric acid not specially provided for shall be dutiable.

Mr. GRAY. As to sulphuric acid imported from countries that impose a duty upon sulphuric acid imported into such countries, will that have to pay this duty of a quarter of a cent, even though it be imported for artificial manure, for agricultural purposes?

Mr. ALDRICH. I should think not.

Mr. ALLISON. Oh, yes.

Mr. GRAY. The Senator from Iowa says, "Yes."

Mr. ALDRICH. I was mistaken as to that.

Mr. GRAY. Why should we just now, in the depressed state in which we find our farmers, impose this duty upon so important a raw material of artificial manures, which are absolutely essential in the Eastern States? I suppose in the Western States phosphates are not used as they are in the East.

Mr. ALDRICH. I imagine the Senator is familiar with this industry. The only sulphuric acid that can possibly be imported into the United States is from Canada, along the border lines of the United States. It would not be possible, owing to the character of the article itself, the manner in which it must be transported, and the price at which it is sold, to send any sulphuric acid from Canada to Wilmington under any circumstances, as it is made so cheaply in this country and sold so cheaply.

Mr. GRAY. Does not a great deal of it come from Italy?

Mr. ALDRICH. None whatever.

Mr. GRAY. As sulphur?

Mr. ALDRICH. None whatever. It can not be brought across the ocean and never has been, for owing to the danger in transportation you can not get a ship to carry it.

Mr. GRAY. Why should we put this qualified tax on such an article?

Mr. ALDRICH. Simply because the Dominion of Canada imposed a duty at one time on sulphuric acid and kept the sulphuric acid of New York and some of the border States out of the Dominion of Canada. This is simply retaliatory legislation to protect the manufacturers of sulphuric acid along the border in our own country.

Mr. GRAY. And the users suffer from the retaliation. They must bear the brunt of it.

Mr. ALDRICH. The users do not suffer at all from the retaliation, because I think it is not necessary to say that there is no manufacturer of fertilizers anywhere within that limit who uses any foreign sulphuric acid or ever did.

Mr. GRAY. Let me read to the Senator—I do not want to consume time by any means, but I want to understand this matter, as it is important to many of my immediate constituents—paragraph 647, which is a portion of the free list:

647. Sulphuric acid which at the temperature of 60° F. does not exceed the specific gravity of 1.380, for use in manufacturing superphosphate of lime or artificial manures of any kind, or for any agricultural purposes—

That means that is free. Then the paragraph continues:

Provided, That upon all sulphuric acid imported from any country, whether independent or a dependency, which imposes a duty upon sulphuric acid imported into such country from the United States, there shall be levied and collected a duty of one-fourth of 1 cent per pound.

Now, that retaliatory feature of the paragraph of the free list must fall, if it falls upon anybody, upon those who use artificial manures to some extent. A Senator suggests to me that it does not fall on anybody. What is the use, then, of putting it there if it does not retaliate?

Mr. ALDRICH. It was simply to keep out the Canadian product.

Mr. GRAY. If you keep that out, do you not by that much enhance the price of the domestic product?

Mr. ALDRICH. Not at all.

Mr. GRAY. Then why do you put it there?

Mr. ALDRICH. Simply for the purposes which I have stated, that the manufacturers along the line in the border States should have some protection against the Canadian product in case it should be imported here; in order to give them the same protection the Canadian Government gives to its producers.

Mr. GRAY. How about the farmers?

Mr. ALDRICH. The Senator knows very well that the farmers do not use sulphuric acid.

Mr. GRAY. They use the commercial fertilizers, of which sulphuric acid is a component part.

Mr. ALDRICH. But they are made on the Atlantic seaboard, south of Wilmington, very largely.

Mr. GRAY. They are not all made south of Wilmington. I do not know how far north the manufacture extends.

Mr. ALDRICH. Sulphuric acid is used in dissolving phosphates. It is not used in the ordinary manures.

Mr. GRAY. That is a most important article of manure. There is not a farmer in New York, Pennsylvania, Delaware, or Maryland who does not use phosphates to make his corn crop.

Mr. ALDRICH. I assert that there is no farmer in any one of those States who ever uses, or ever did use, a pound of phosphate in which the imported sulphuric acid was used.

Mr. GRAY. But he uses sulphuric acid, and that is affected in some way by this tariff legislation or it would not be here.

Mr. ALDRICH. It can not be affected by tariff legislation, because it is so cheap that it is simply the question of transportation that affects the cost. It could not be carried successfully from my own State, for instance, where it is made very largely, to the Senator's State. It is a very expensive article to transport. It has to be transported in carboys, with very great care. The transportation companies will not take it at all under ordinary circumstances. It is so destructive in character that it is liable to destroy any ship or car in which it is transported.

Mr. GRAY. Then, as this is retaliation that does not retaliate, I can not see for what possible purpose the provision is inserted in the bill, and, as there may be some lurking hardship in it to the agricultural classes in this country, I move to strike out the words, in line 8, on page 2, "not specially provided for in this act;" and when we come to the free list I shall move to strike out the proviso which I have read. Whenever the proper time arrives, if it is not altogether proper now, I shall submit that motion.

Mr. ALDRICH. I suggest that when we reach paragraph 647 on the free list that will be the proper time for the Senator to move to strike out the proviso.

Mr. GRAY. You would have to strike out "sulphuric acid not specially provided for in this act, one-fourth of 1 cent per pound."

Mr. ALDRICH. By simply striking out the proviso in paragraph 647 the purpose the Senator has in view will be accomplished.

Mr. GRAY. To what does this tax of one-fourth of a cent apply?

Mr. ALDRICH. To sulphuric acid not within the limit of specific gravity and not coming from any country which is independent or a dependency, and which imposes a duty upon sulphuric acid.

Mr. GRAY. And not used for agricultural purposes?

Mr. ALDRICH. And not to be used for agricultural purposes.

Mr. GRAY. I give notice that I shall at the proper time move to strike that out.

The reading of the bill was resumed at line 10, on page 2, as follows:

2. All alcoholic perfumery, including cologne water and other toilet waters and toilet preparations of all kinds, containing alcohol or in the preparation of which alcohol is used, and alcoholic compounds not specially provided for in this act, 60 cents per pound and 45 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. VEST. I move to restore the old duty. The duty in the McKinley Act and in the Wilson Act was $2 a gallon and 50 per cent ad valorem. I am perfectly aware that all these articles of alcoholic perfumery are classed as luxuries; but it seems to me that this is protection run mad. There is neither protection nor revenue in any such taxation as this. Two dollars per gallon and 50 per cent ad valorem was an enormous tax, and I resisted the tax in the Wilson Act, which was $2 per gallon and 50 per cent ad valorem, because it was too high.

I call the attention of the Senate to the fact that it makes no difference if there is but one drop of alcohol in any of these perfumeries; it then becomes subject to this tax by the gallon. Under the McKinley Act and under the Wilson Act it was taxed by the gallon, and under this bill it is to be by the pound. What is the result of this change from gallons to pounds? It seems entirely innocent upon the face of it, but it is deadly and makes the tax absolutely prohibitive when it goes into actual operation. There are in alcohol 7 pounds to the gallon, while there are 8 pounds to every gallon of water. That is the statement of the official authorities. There are 7 pounds weight in each gallon of these perfumeries, and, at 60 cents a pound, there would be $4.20 of specific tax, together with 45 per cent ad valorem added, making a fraction over $5 to the gallon upon these perfumeries. The value, according to the comparative statement, of these perfumeries is $1.40 per gallon. We therefore put a tax at a little over $5 upon an article that is worth $1.40.

Mr. President, I take it that this sort of thing can not be defended either upon the ground of protection or revenue. Nobody can say that these articles are noxious or that they come under the ban as being immoral. It is true that men and women can live without them, but if we live in a state of civilization, there are a great many things not absolutely necessary to human life that are still necessary to social life and to comfort, and it is unjust to say that cologne, which becomes absolutely necessary in cases of sickness sometimes, shall be taxed this enormous amount—a gallon worth $1.40 taxed over $5. I move to put back the old duty

under the McKinley Act, which was $2 per gallon and 50 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. ALDRICH. The act of 1890 provided two different rates upon alcoholic perfumery and the other articles included in this paragraph. It provided for a duty on alcoholic perfumery, including cologne waters and other toilet waters, of $2 a gallon and 50 per cent ad valorem, and another duty on alcoholic compounds not specially provided for of $2 a gallon and 25 per cent ad valorem—quite different.

Mr. VEST. That is correct.

Mr. ALDRICH. Under the first portion of this paragraph, the importations were very large, amounting to $296,000 in 1893 and $337,000 in 1896. Under the last part of the paragraph, the importations have always been infinitesimal and entirely unimportant. They were in 1893 $6,200 and in 1896 exactly $1,000.

The unit of value to which the Senator alluded is on the $1,000, of $1.38 a gallon, while the unit of value on the first part of the paragraph was $16.02 a gallon in 1896, and $16.99 a gallon in 1893. So the rate which the Senator is now proposing to change, while it is a high rate upon the last part of the paragraph, which is entirely unimportant as to its importation, is only 70 per cent ad valorem on the first and most important part of the paragraph.

When we impose a tax of 1,100 per cent upon alcohol, a tax upon alcoholic perfumery—which certainly is a luxury, if there is any luxury in the world—of 70 or 71 per cent is not a high tax. These two paragraphs were consolidated in the act of 1894 by the Senator from Missouri, and he fixed the same rate of duty. The rate of duty which he then suggested was equivalent, as I remember, to 194 per cent. This is not very much higher than that. It is merely for the purpose of simplicity and of consolidation of these articles, which are analogous in their character, that we include the unimportant one, which does raise the duty, with the important one, which remains substantially as it has been heretofore.

The Senator from Connecticut suggests to me that when the act of 1894 was passed we increased the duty upon alcohol and did not increase the duty on alcoholic products that are provided for in this paragraph.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. After the word "act," in line 14, it is proposed to strike out "60 cents per pound and 45" and insert in lieu thereof the words "$2 per gallon and 50;" so as to read "$2 per gallon and 50 per cent ad valorem."

Mr. VEST. That is the McKinley rate.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Missouri.

The amendment was rejected.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The reading of the bill will be proceeded with.

The Secretary read as follows:

3. Alkalies, alkaloids, distilled oils, essential oils, expressed oils, rendered oils, and all combinations of the foregoing, and all chemical compounds and salts not specially provided for in this act, 25 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I should like to ask the Senator in charge of the bill if the paragraph just read includes paris green?

Mr. ALDRICH. I should say it did.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I do not believe that a tax of 25 per cent ought to be imposed on an article so absolutely necessary as is paris green. I move to amend the paragraph so that it shall not include paris green, and hope it may be allowed to go on the free list.

It is perfectly well known to many members of the Senate what has been the practice of the men who have charge of this article in commerce. It has been handled something like cotton bagging has been. It has been bandied about by the few men who control the trade. Just before it is needed, the price has been put up. Immediately after it is needed, they dissolve the mutual understanding which they have, and the price goes down again and stays until such time as the article is needed for sprinkling potatoes and cotton to kill potato bugs and caterpillars. The rate now is 12½ per cent.

I remember that when the Wilson bill was under consideration we had some considerable discussion about this item. I think that instead of the tax on the article being increased, under which the agricultural classes of the country have been unfairly treated, it should go on the free list, and I will move to add the words "except paris green," at the end of the paragraph, with the idea that it shall go on the free list.

In this connection, I will read a statement made about the method of handling the article in the New York market:

It is impossible that any antitrust law will ever catch this will-o'-the-wisp trust. It is one of the most erratic of stars or comets in the trust firmament. It appears suddenly, shines brightly for a few months, and then is seen no more for one, two, or three years. The only certainty connected with it is that the eight or nine manufacturers (all in New York City) make a little fortune at every appearance, and that the farmers, who use immense quantities of paris green for killing potato bugs, see prices advance 50 to 100 per cent a few days or weeks before they are ready to make purchases.

It is also largely used to kill caterpillars in cotton.

It is also not certain that free trade in paris green would prevent all depredations by the desperadoes who pounce upon the market late in the spring, advance prices rapidly during the potato bug season, and get away with their booty before importers can obtain considerable quantities from abroad and find means of distributing it. For it should be noted that preparatory to a raid orders have been obtained from practically all the jobbers in the country, at prices to be fixed later, with the agreement that all jobbers who make no purchases elsewhere shall receive rebates of so much per pound at the close of the season. In most cases the certain loss of rebates would more than cover the probable profits from attempting, in the middle of the season, to sell imported paris green, no matter how great the difference in price.

Consumers are at the mercy of the manufacturers. It is costly and risky to import large quantities of paris green at the beginning of a season, for the protected manufacturers are then more than likely to "compete," as they did in 1893, and keep prices so low that the importer must sell at a considerable loss. If, however, all duty were removed, all prospective loss would be small and many importers might take the risk. Free trade would probably prevent the formation of this intermittent trust. Certainly it would greatly decrease the risk of attempting to compete, and thereby prolong the periods of intermission or keep down prices and profits.

It was an off year for the manufacturers in 1893, and paris green sold for 10 to 10½ cents per pound. About January 1, 1894, the eight or nine manufacturers (all in New York) signed and sent out a circular saying to jobbers that jobbing prices would be fixed later, and that all who would agree not to purchase elsewhere, and who would then order, would be given the following rebates: 600 to 1,000 pounds, 1 cent; 1,000 pounds to 2,000 pounds, 1½ cents; 2,000 to 4,000 pounds, 2 cents; 4,000 to 10,000 pounds, 2½ cents, and 10,000 pounds or over, 3 cents. Terms, 60 days, with 6 per cent discount for unexpired time. The wise jobber ordered early. As prices had not in five years exceeded 14 cents, 15 cents was considered the maximum price that the manufacturers would dare fix. To the surprise of all, prices were fixed about the middle of April at 20 cents, with the warning, "subject to change at any time without notification."

About the middle of May another circular raised prices 3 cents higher and continued the same warning clause. "It is not improbable," said the Oil, Paint and Drug Reporter of May 21, "that as the season advances and the demand from the Southern and Western sections becomes more pronounced further advantage will be taken of it." This last increase is to reward jobbers who bought large supplies from the trust and to punish those who did not do so. Jobbers are thus bribed to purchase from the trust and prevented from importing. It was too late in the season for other chemical manufacturers to adapt their plants to make paris green, and besides, for reasons above stated, it would be difficult to place the article upon the market.

Thus, in 1894, paris green could be bought from the manufacturers only through their agent, at No. 239 Broadway. Enormous profits were made by this raid upon the market. Next year the trust expects to retire and to keep prices down to prevent new competitors from entering the field. Unfortunately for the trust, a new tariff bill was under consideration during May and June, 1894. The Western farmers became so indignant that they petitioned their representatives in both the House and Senate to stop protecting this baleful trust. Although the rate of duty had been left at 25 per cent in both the House and Senate bills, a partial compliance was made by removing one-half of the duty.

Mr. President, these facts have been stated again and again, and I presume it is well known that the prices are put up in this way. I do not know of any articles other than cotton bagging and paris green on which this method is practiced; but again and again, just before the time of consumption begins, when it is too late to import the article from abroad, the price is suddenly put up, and it is kept up until the season is over, and then it comes down. In that way a large amount of money is made. I remember that one year the advance in cotton bagging consumed by one crop was easily and plainly estimated at $3,000,000, and smaller amounts are made on paris green. Under the circumstances, it seems to me that paris green ought to go on the free list, and I move to amend the paragraph by inserting the words "except paris green" at the end of the paragraph.

Mr. ALDRICH. I suggest to my colleague on the committee that the amendment will not be necessary, as the paragraph itself provides that chemical compounds not specially provided for shall be dutiable at 25 per cent. If paris green were specially provided for elsewhere, the amendment which he suggests would not be necessary at all. All that it is necessary for him to do is, when the free list is reached, to move to put it on the free list.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Then, I give notice that when the free list is reached, I will move to add "paris green."

Mr. RAWLINS. I should like to ask the Senator from Rhode Island if under this paragraph cyanide of potassium would be taxed 25 per cent?

Mr. ALDRICH. It would be in accordance with the amendment suggested by the Finance Committee. It came from the House, I think, at 6 or 8 cents a pound.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Six cents.

Mr. ALDRICH. Six cents, I am informed.

Mr. RAWLINS. This chemical is of vast importance to the mining industry, especially gold mining, and I now give notice that I shall move to put cyanide of potassium upon the free list when we reach that portion of the bill.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The reading of the bill will be proceeded with.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 4, line 20, page 2, after the word "alumina," to insert "hydrate of;" so as to make the paragraph read:

4. Alumina, hydrate of, or refined bauxite, six-tenths of 1 cent per pound; alum, alum cake, patent alum, sulphate of alumina, and aluminous cake, and alum in crystals or ground, one-half of 1 cent per pound.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. CANNON. I move to amend paragraph 4 by inserting in line 23, after the word "ground," the words "and alum clay;" so that it will read:

Alum in crystals or ground, and alum clay, one-half of 1 cent per pound.

Mr. ALDRICH. Can the Senator from Utah tell us what is the price of alum clay?

Mr. CANNON. The price is governed entirely by the cost of transportation. Most of the alum clay comes in ballast, and is used here in the sizing of paper. There are vast deposits of alum clay in the States of Texas, Utah, and through the Rocky Mountain region, and if there were a tariff of one-half cent per pound the transportation charges would enable the domestic producers to send their alum clay into the market. There is none of domestic production now in use in the United States. I can not answer the direct question of the Senator from Rhode Island as to the cost at the present moment.

Mr. GRAY. I should like to know something about the cost, because alum clay is used very largely in sizing paper, as the Senator from Utah stated. Paper manufacturers situated in my own State have written to me in regard to this very matter, and they say it is a very important material in their industry. I should like to know why they should be taxed upon that article for an industry which has not yet even come out of the womb of the present.

Mr. CANNON. This is one of those prospective infant industries which should have our special care.

Mr. GRAY. An unborn infant.

Mr. CANNON. It has not been born yet. It wants attention. It will be born if it receives proper encouragement from the Congress of the United States in the pending bill. I have sent for information concerning the price of the commodity, but I regret to say that I have not yet received any satisfactory information concerning it.

Mr. ALDRICH. I suggest to the Senator that he offer his amendment later on, when he gets information, so that the Senate may act upon it advisedly.

Mr. CANNON. We are acting here on other amendments without that detailed knowledge. The bill aims to provide protection for all possible industries in the United States. While I am perfectly willing that the matter shall go over, if the question of the selling price of the article be a fatal objection to its present consideration, I feel that this can stand as well as plenty of other propositions on which we are called upon to vote without that knowledge.

Mr. GRAY. This is rather a serious matter, that we should not only put this tax upon an industry, but that we should do it blindly and without information. I have no objection in the world to the birth of new industries in the State of the Senator from Utah or any other State, but I do not want to be called upon to father them unless I know there is something of gain or profit or advantage in some way to the country at large, and especially to those whom I more particularly represent.

Mr. GALLINGER. Will the Senator from Delaware permit me?

Mr. GRAY. Certainly.

Mr. GALLINGER. Did I understand the Senator from Delaware to say that alum clay is used largely in the sizing of paper?

Mr. GRAY. So the Senator from Utah said.

Mr. GALLINGER. Can the Senator state what kinds or qualities of paper?

Mr. GRAY. I can not. I have some data in my desk at home which I shall be glad to produce here.

Mr. GALLINGER. I ask the question because we have in our country large paper manufacturing establishments, and they have been having a very hard time of late years—an exceedingly hard time. I should not want any additional burden placed upon them unless it were absolutely necessary.

Mr. GRAY. Certainly not.

Mr. GALLINGER. Perhaps the Senator from Utah can give us the information.

Mr. CANNON. We have to buy the paper from the State of the Senator from New Hampshire, and if we can get a proper tariff on alum clay we will have something with which to make the purchase and to pay the bills.

If it would be more satisfactory to the Senators who are interested for or against this proposition, I shall withdraw the amendment at the present time, or will ask that it may go over until such time as we can produce the desired information.

Mr. GALLINGER. I think that ought to be done.

Mr. CANNON. I will do that.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. There must now be a duty of $2 a ton upon this clay under the clause of "Clays, unwrought or unmanufactured." I do not know what the paragraph is.

Mr. ALDRICH. Paragraph 88.

Mr. CANNON. It is $1 a ton.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. One dollar per ton.

Mr. CANNON. It is $1 per ton, under "Clays, unwrought or unmanufactured."

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. This would be $11.20 a ton—a half cent a pound.

Mr. CANNON. Yes, sir.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. That is a pretty large increase.

Mr. CANNON. The present duty is one-twentieth of 1 cent per pound.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Utah withdraws the amendment.

Mr. CANNON. I do not withdraw it. I ask that it may go over.

Mr. ALDRICH. There is no objection to the Senator having the right to offer the amendment at any time he sees fit. It is not necessary to pass over the paragraph. We will have it understood that the Senator has a right to renew his amendment.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. That will be the order.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I wish to make a suggestion as to the first line of paragraph 4. I do not know anything about it personally, but I understand that there are practically no importations of hydrate of alumina, but that there are large importations of anhydrous alumina, and the adding of these words to the bill will have the effect of taking that article, which is largely imported, out of the operation of the law. I suggest that it be passed over until it can be investigated, unless the Senator from Rhode Island is satisfied.

Mr. ALDRICH. I am satisfied that it is right, and to put in anhydrous alumina would not be right. But I am willing to pass over the paragraph if the Senator desires.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I merely wished to make the suggestion. My information was that it was probably a mistake.

Mr. ALDRICH. No; this is the way the committee prefer to have it, and it suits their wishes; but of course, if the Senator has some other proposition, we will pass over the paragraph, if he desires.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I know nothing about the matter.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 5, line 1, page 3, before the words "of 1 cent," to strike out "one-half" and insert "three-tenths;" so as to make the paragraph read:

5. Ammonia, carbonate of, 1½ cents per pound; muriate of, or sal ammoniac, three-fourths of 1 cent per pound; sulphate of, three-tenths of 1 cent per pound.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 3, to strike out paragraph 6, as follows:

6. Argols or crude tartar or wine lees, crude, containing not more than 40 per cent of bitartrate of potash, 1 cent per pound; containing more than 40 per cent of bitartrate of potash, 1½ cents per pound; tartars and lees crystals, or partly refined argols, containing not more than 90 per cent of bitartrate of potash, and tartrate of soda or potassa or rochelle salts, 4 cents per pound; containing more than 90 per cent of bitartrate of potash, 5 cents per pound; cream of tartar and patent tartar, 6 cents per pound.

And insert in lieu thereof:

6. Tartrate of soda and potash, or Rochelle salts, 3 cents per pound; cream of tartar, 5 cents per pound.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 3, after line 16, to insert as a new paragraph the following:

7½. Bleaching powder, or chloride of lime, one-fourth of 1 cent per pound.

Mr. GRAY. Mr. President, I wish to pause on paragraph 7½. As the enumerations of the paragraphs would indicate, this is an afterthought, and has been put into the bill at the very last moment as a duty upon an article which has heretofore been free.

Bleaching powder, or chloride of lime, is a material very extensively used. It is one of the most important and essential materials in the manufacture of paper and paper pulp. The pulp makers of the United States who make the raw material, so to speak, for the paper manufacturers, depend entirely upon chloride of lime as a bleaching powder. It was free under the McKinley Act, and it is free under the present law.

It is pretty well known—I think I know it pretty well from personal observation—that the paper manufacturers of this country, through the tremendous development of their industry and the competition which it has created, and for other reasons, are now in a very depressed state. They are making, I am told by those in my own State engaged in the business, and who ought to know, no profit at all, but are getting along by the momentum of their great concerns, in order to keep their labor together and not have it scattered, hoping for better times. This would be a very cruel blow to the industry. It would be a burden that they ought not to be called upon to bear, and I do not believe that there is any sufficient reason or any ground whatever, whether a man believe in protection or free trade, why an industry employing thousands of laborers and so essential to the civilization of the country and the world as is that of paper making should be burdened in this way.

I should like to hear why, at the very last moment, after the article had been left free under the McKinley Act, free under the present law, free in the bill as it came from the House, it should

come from the Senate committee with a tax interpolated, as it seems to be, it being paragraph 7¼. In the first copy of the bill which I saw not only was it not dutiable, but it was on the free list; and I do not know but that now it is on the free list in the print I hold in my hand.

Mr. GALLINGER. I will say that since the bill was reported the Senator from Rhode Island has offered a printed amendment to take it from the free list.

Mr. GRAY. At all events, it was on the free list, and seeing it on the free list in the bill as it came here, I informed the persons in my own State who are very much interested about the imposition of the tax that the article was still on the free list, and much to their joy, no doubt, they received that information.

I afterwards found—it was pointed out to me by the Senator from Iowa—that it had been placed, as we have it here, interpolated, as a taxed commodity. I hope that the Senate will not feel that it is necessary to put this isolated article upon the dutiable list, entering as it does into so important an industry and an industry which is so widely diffused over the country. There is hardly a State in the country that has not a pulp mill. I know that in my own State it is a very important industry. I know that in the State of Pennsylvania, in all portions where poplar forests are found, it is a very widespread enterprise and is pursued with a great deal of assiduity, and heretofore has been a profitable and flourishing industry. But at the present time it is not in a situation to bear the additional burden, and I beg that the burden may not be placed upon it. It seems like a wanton exercise of our power for purposes of taxation or protection or whatnot so to burden this very important and worthy class of our community.

I am informed that it is very hard to manufacture chloride of lime in this country; that there are climatic reasons which make it not a profitable industry in this country, and it can not be made so without this support from the Government. I think our paper makers ought to have access to the natural sources of supply and not be compelled to build up an industry that does not naturally belong to our soil and that is driven from it naturally by the dryness of our climate and other reasons that make it not a profitable industry here. I do not think the people ought to be called upon to make it profitable, and make it a tax and a burden for that purpose on the paper manufacturers and through them indirectly on the whole people.

Mr. ALDRICH. I do not quite understand what the Senator means by stating that the committee inserted this paragraph at the last moment. It was inserted in the bill as it came from the committee and was put in in its regular order when it was reached in consideration.

Mr. GRAY. It has an earmark, I will say to the Senator from Rhode Island, for one thing, that confirmed my suspicion. I may be wrong, of course. It is numbered 7¼.

Mr. ALDRICH. We numbered the intermediate paragraphs as new paragraphs in that way.

Mr. GRAY. There is paragraph 6, which is a new paragraph.

Mr. ALDRICH. Paragraph 6 takes the place of paragraph 6 stricken out. That is not a new paragraph inserted.

Mr. GRAY. The Senator from Rhode Island is right about it.

Mr. ALDRICH. The United States consumes about $2,000,000 worth per annum of bleaching powder. It is practically supplied by one concern, the United Alkali Company of Great Britain. Although a manufactured product, it is upon the free list. The fact that it is upon the free list has allowed the United Alkali Company to monopolize the American markets. The elements that enter into this product are salt and lime, which are found in the United States in a great many places and in a great many places in juxtaposition.

There is no climatic or other reason why bleaching powder should not be made in the United States; and it is successfully made in the United States to-day by a newly discovered process, by which electric power is used in the treatment of the salt instead of the old process, which was entirely different. By this process, which is a very simple one, the brine is run over mercury, and electricity is run through the brine, producing the chlorine gas which is taken up in the lime deposits in another part of the apparatus; and the resultant product runs off as soda ash almost entirely pure, it being a process which produces bleaching powder much more successfully and more cheaply than it has ever been produced before by any other process.

Mr. GRAY. Then I ask the Senator, if he will allow me——

Mr. ALDRICH. Certainly.

Mr. GRAY. Why does it need protection if it can be produced more cheaply than it was ever produced before?

Mr. ALDRICH. It can be produced just as cheaply in Great Britain or Germany as here by the same process.

Mr. GRAY. But is not the process that you speak of protected by patents there as well as here?

Mr. ALDRICH. Yes, sir; undoubtedly.

Mr. GRAY. They have the protection of a patent that would prevent competition in the United States. Anybody who chooses can not participate in that patent, and that creates a monopoly such as patents create. I am not finding fault with that in proper cases, but it does create a monopoly for those who own the patents.

Mr. ALDRICH. But the trouble with the Senator's argument is that the patents are not owned by the same people. The patents are not owned by the same people in Great Britain, Germany, Belgium, and the United States. The American company which undertakes to make that process and use it here is obliged to compete to-day with the United Alkali Company, which controls the patents of Great Britain, and makes bleaching powder not alone by this process, but by other processes, and they have cheaper labor and cheaper materials, cheaper salt and cheaper limestone, on account of the difference in labor between the two countries.

So far as the paper makers, the pulp makers, who do use this material very largely, are concerned, they are all, or substantially all, so far as I am aware, agreed that it would be a good thing to place this article on the dutiable list. They believe that with the result which has been attained in the manufacture of soda ash, which is a substance somewhat analogous, being made also from salt, the price of the product and the article in the United States will be reduced by American competition. I think it is absolutely safe to assume that within five years we shall be making the entire amount of bleaching powder that is used in the United States, and it will be sold at a very much less price than when it is all imported by one concern—the United Alkali Company—from Great Britain.

Mr. GRAY and Mr. QUAY addressed the Chair.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Delaware.

Mr. GRAY. I will yield to the Senator from Pennsylvania.

Mr. QUAY. I was about to state that my attention was called to this clause of the bill for the first time this morning by a paper manufacturer from Pennsylvania. I have not had time to look into it, and I should be obliged to the Senator from Rhode Island if he would allow it to be passed over for the present.

Mr. ALDRICH. I have no objection to that course.

Mr. GALLINGER. Before that is done, I should like to put in the RECORD a statement on this point. I may not be present when it comes up again.

I sympathize very profoundly with anything that concerns either the industry of wood pulp or paper manufacture, because my immediate constituency is very largely interested in both those processes. Yet I am in possession of some information that it seems to me overcomes any objection that I might have on general principles to the imposition of an added burden, if this shall prove a burden, upon the manufacturers of paper in my State or community. I have here two letters from a gentleman connected with the chemical department of the New Hampshire College, at Durham, N. H., which is an agricultural college largely. His letters are brief, and I want to read what he says on this subject, and I should like to have the attention of the distinguished Senator from Delaware while I read them. These letters are from Charles L. Parsons, who is a professor in the chemical department of the New Hampshire College of Agriculture, at Durham, and in my State. He says:

> Some four years ago an American company, the Electro-Chemical Company, of Rumford Falls, Me., was formed with a preferred capital of $300,000 to manufacture caustic soda and bleaching powder under American patents. Fair profits seemed certain. Prices, however, greatly declined, and we have lost money almost continuously. A prohibitive duty has now been incorporated in the Dingley bill against our sole raw material, salt, so that we must purchase from New York at an advanced price of almost 25 per cent. Accordingly, it would seem that this industry, which promises almost as much as the tin-plate industry to American capital and labor, must succumb unless we are protected from the United Alkali Company of Great Britain by a fair duty on caustic soda and bleaching powder. We now have an output of over 300,000 pounds a month, and this could be very largely increased if there was any profit to the company, which at present there is not. On the contrary, we are simply holding together in the hopes of higher prices soon. I am personally a heavy stockholder in the company, and in the four years have never drawn a cent on the money invested, and am accordingly deeply interested.

In a subsequent letter, written only a few days ago, the same gentleman says:

> We started under a duty of 1 per cent on caustic soda, and this has been cut in half by the Wilson bill. Bleaching powder is now on the free list, and as we can soon produce, with anything like a fair market, a large part of that imported, we feel that we ought to have at least one-half per cent on bleaching powder. We are the only producers in the country, but another prospective company is asking for a higher rate.

I understand that this company are not the only producers in the country. The Senator from Connecticut [Mr. PLATT] calls my attention to the fact that there is a company, I think, incorporated in his own State.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. No; in Rhode Island.

Mr. GALLINGER. In Rhode Island, and operating at Niagara Falls——

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. And in Virginia.

Mr. GALLINGER. And in Virginia, and is producing a very large amount of bleaching powder at the present time.

We feel that we are working under patents which, when we get a fair start, will enable us to compete with any process in the world when we are on an equal basis. Once well under way a great industry will have been established in America, the product of which is now wholly imported from England with the exception of the 300,000 pounds which we are making monthly.

There came into my possession, in one of these letters, I think, a copy of a letter addressed to the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] from the president of this Electro-Chemical Company, located in the State of Maine, and I want to read, with the Senator's permission, some extracts from that letter:

As the question of a duty on chloride of lime, or, as it is commercially designated, bleaching powder, is now before the Senate, as a representative of the only concern at present actually making the article in this country, I take the liberty of writing you a few particulars. The Electro Chemical Company, of Rumford Falls, Me., has been making the article for some years and struggling against the difficulties of an entirely new process, handicapped by cheaper labor and raw materials in England and on the Continent.

Our principal raw material is salt, and our product is bleaching powder and caustic soda. To add to our difficulties, the duty on caustic soda was reduced from 1 cent per pound to one-half cent per pound.

Salt.—We are using American salt at $1.35 per ton of 2,000 pounds at the mine, which, with freight at $4 a ton from Livonia, N. Y., to our works, made the cost $5.35 per ton of 2,000 pounds delivered at our works at Rumford Falls, Me. With English salt as it is under Wilson bill free, costing us $2.44 per ton of 2,240 pounds at Portland, Me., and freight $1.25 per ton, or $3.70 delivered at the works, we have been rapidly increasing our output and getting ahead very slowly.

The Dingley bill proposes a duty of 8 cents per 100 pounds on salt, and to offset this we certainly should have a duty on bleach.

This is an infant industry, and with reasonable protection a few years would see all of the article consumed in the country made here. The trade is an important one, and will not be given up by the foreign makers without a struggle, and the duty would not serve so much to increase the price as to protect a severe decline, as increased production here would mean a competition for the trade, which would result in lower prices.

In spite of improved processes, the cost of manufacture must always be greater in this country, as we have to contend against cheaper labor, cheaper raw materials, and a concentration of these, saving all freight charges and other expenses incidental on bringing the raw materials to the power, or the power to the raw materials. The power of course must be either water power or coal.

With protection given to all the other industries, we are certainly entitled to consideration.

We ought to have a duty of one-half cent per pound on bleach, etc.

Mr. President, I have been impressed with these statements, coming from reliable persons, and if this industry is making the progress that it seems to be making, and that under circumstances which preclude them from any present profit on their product (as these gentlemen state that to be a fact, and I am bound to believe it), it appears to me that notwithstanding this imposition of a duty may possibly work to the slight detriment of the paper interests of the country, we ought to protect this new industry and give it a helping hand, with a view, as the president of this company says, to producing in the near future all of this product that will be consumed in the country.

Mr. GRAY. How long has that company been in existence?

Mr. GALLINGER. I confess I do not know. I think the date is not stated here. Some four years ago, Mr. Parsons writes, it was formed.

Mr. GRAY. Four years ago?

Mr. GALLINGER. Four years ago, he states, the Electro-Chemical Company, of Rumford Falls, Me., was formed. He does not state when it commenced operations. Quite likely a little time after that.

Mr. GRAY. They seem to have succeeded in getting along pretty well up to this time, and I do not see why they should seek an additional subsidy, especially at the expense of an industry quite as worthy as their own, and that being an industry which concerns a raw material so widely used and entering into a product that requires the labor of so many thousands of men, scattered all over the United States, I do not see why we should consider that as being a parasite on this other industry. I do not use that term in any disrespectful sense, of course.

Mr. GALLINGER. Of course there may be a difference of opinion as to what is meant by getting along pretty well. This gentleman in my own State, who states that he has large investments in this company, says they—

Are simply holding together in the hopes of higher prices soon. I am personally a heavy stockholder in the company, and in the four years have never drawn a cent on the money invested, and am accordingly deeply interested.

Professor Parsons states the fact, as I know, knowing the gentleman as well as I do, and I would say if the Senator from Delaware or any other Senator had made an investment in a concern of this kind or any similar enterprise and had not drawn any dividends for four years, and had not made any profits, he would not think he was getting along very well.

Mr. GRAY. No; I would not, and it is quite likely the Senator's friend, Professor Parsons, is a very worthy gentleman, and has embarked his capital in an enterprise that is not paying him. But why should he seek to recoup his losses out of other industries that are already staggering along under the depression which everywhere prevails in the paper-making industry or the pulp-making industry?

Mr. GALLINGER. I scarcely think that is Professor Parsons's idea at all.

Mr. GRAY. I do not believe that he has that unworthy idea at all. Do not understand me as imputing that to him.

Mr. GALLINGER. Certainly not.

Mr. GRAY. But it is the selfishness of human nature operating within its own sphere that governs the transaction.

Mr. GALLINGER. They have $300,000 invested; and I understand that the company which has an investment at Niagara Falls has something like $1,250,000 or $1,500,000 invested. If these men have that large amount of money invested, and are not making any money, and are in competition with a great concern in England that has cheaper labor and cheaper raw materials than they can procure, it is very natural, and I think very proper, that they should ask us in a tariff bill to pay some little attention to their interests.

Now, Mr. President, a single word more and I am done. So far as the paper interests of my State are concerned, I have had only one suggestion from them regarding this matter. No manufacturer of pulp has written to me about it at all, but one paper manufacturer did, in a private letter a little time ago, say incidentally that he thought there ought not to be a duty imposed on bleach. In behalf of the paper interests of the country, it must be gratifying to the Senator from Delaware, as it is to me, to believe that under the proposed law they will be somewhat better taken care of than they are under the existing tariff law, and that if we pass this bill, even though we do them a little harm, possibly, in imposing this duty, we are legislating for them in such a way, so far as their own product is concerned, as very likely to more than compensate them for any little loss they might sustain.

Mr. ALDRICH. Mr. President——

Mr. QUAY. I understand that the clause has gone over.

Mr. ALDRICH. Yes; but I want to say just a word to the Senator from Delaware. I should like to have the Senator state one single reason why there should be a duty upon paper or any of its products that does not apply with equal force to the article which we have under consideration.

Mr. GRAY. I have this to say: I am not in favor of high duties on anything, or protective duties so called, as the Senator knows; but here are industries like the paper and pulp industries that have existed in the United States for a great many years. They have grown up largely upon the faith of a protective tariff, I suppose—some protection—but at all events, however supported or whatever depending upon them, have become institutions of the country, and they have entered into the daily industrial life in this country, and in a very large way, too; they have employed a great many thousands of hands, and their product amounts to a great many millions of dollars.

I have stated that that industry is now, like many others, in a depressed condition; that factories I know (I am told by those connected with them who are entirely credible gentlemen) are barely able to meet expenses, and if it were not that their labor would be scattered if they were to close down, they would close down, for they are making substantially no profit. It is a pretty serious thing to close down a concern employing several thousand hands and expensive machinery and intricate processes, and they have got to keep together as long as they can in order not to suffer a greater loss by the mere act of closing.

That is the condition of the paper manufacturers of the United States, and on the principle of the Senator from Rhode Island, upon his theory of what a protection bill ought to be (I am not controverting now the general principle, one on which he and I differ), it seems to me that it would be unwise to burden that widespread industry with a new tax on the essential raw material of their manufacture.

Mr. GEAR. The Senator from Delaware very properly admits that the great industries like paper and pulp manufacture have grown up and been developed under the protective system. That I believe to be true. It is the object of this bill, I understand, and of this clause to build up just such a development of the manufacture of that article as has been developed in the pulp and paper industry.

Mr. ALDRICH. Mr. President, a single word more, and then I shall not take the time of the Senate further.

This duty is not a large duty. It is 16 per cent ad valorem practically, a very small duty, much less than the average duties on paper. I do not believe myself that it will be a burden upon the paper industry. If I did, perhaps I might not be willing to support it. I am certain that in time the paper makers will buy their bleaching powder at a less price than they pay for it now.

Mr. GRAY. Has it always been free?

Mr. ALDRICH. It has been free for some time.

Mr. GRAY. I should like to know. I ask for information.

Mr. ALDRICH. It has been free under the last two or three tariffs.

Mr. BURROWS. Mr. President——

Mr. GRAY. I am not going to interrupt the Senator except to

state that I have something more to say, but I understand at the request of the Senator from Pennsylvania, in which the Senator from Rhode Island acquiesces, this matter will go over for the present.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. That is the agreement. The Senator from Michigan.

Mr. BURROWS. Before the item goes over, I ask to have printed in the RECORD a statement so comprehensive and so intelligent that I am sure it will throw light upon this subject. I have several letters from my own State in relation to this matter, in one of which it is said:

Some time since I wrote you relative to a tariff on chloride of lime or bleaching powder. I called your attention at that time to the fact that almost all our bleaching powder is furnished by an English syndicate with a capital of $35,000,000 back of them.

Mr. Herbert Dow, who by his genius has revolutionized bromine making in America, has invented a new process for manufacturing chloride of lime and bleaching powder, so that he can make the commodity at considerably less expense than by present methods.

I also have letters from parties in Cleveland, from an institution called "The Dow Process Company," in which they say:

We beg to call your attention to the inclosed petition, signed by some of the citizens of Cleveland.

During the past year and a half we have been perfecting a process for the manufacture of bleaching powder, and now that we have accomplished our object, we are ready to start a five hundred-thousand-dollar plant for manufacturing on a large scale.

In order to secure some protection from the United Alkali Company of Great Britain, who, having a capital of $35,000,000, now control the market and supply nearly all that is used in this country, we ask for a tariff of one-half cent a pound.

I desire to have another article read and printed. I desire to call attention to the following statement in it:

In the almost exactly parallel case of soda-ash manufacture there was no headway made in manufacturing it in this country until a protective tariff was placed upon it, and now American competition has lowered the price in England. On November 6, 1896, the chairman of the Society of Chemical Industry of Great Britain, in his annual address, said: "What I do fear is the coming competition with that remarkable race of English-speaking people, the Americans. America has made wonderful progress during the last quarter of a century in mechanical devices mainly, but she is now turning her hand to chemicals, and a sad mess she has already made with English prices."

The article is brief, and I ask that it be read. I think it throws light on the question.

Mr. GRAY. If that be so, I should like to ask the Senator from Michigan, why seek governmental aid? If they have already made this sad mess with English prices in bleaching powder, why do they ask for protection?

Mr. BURROWS. Let the article be read.

Mr. GRAY. Let it be printed. We will read it to-morrow.

Mr. COCKRELL. Let it be read.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The reading of the paper is called for, and it will be read.

The Secretary proceeded to read the paper.

Mr. BURROWS. To save time, I ask that the paper be printed in the RECORD without reading.

Mr. ALLISON. That is satisfactory.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. It will be so ordered.

The paper is as follows:

The United States consumes yearly about $2,000,000 worth of chloride of lime or bleaching powder. It is practically all imported from the United Alkali Company of Great Britain, although small amounts have been received from the continent of Europe. None is made in the United States on a commercial scale, so far as we are aware, although one company at Erie, Pa., placed considerable amounts on the markets, but failed after a short existence. There are a number of firms, however, who are operating experimental works.

This manufacture is of such nature that it can not be profitably conducted upon a small scale. Capital is unwilling to invest large amounts on even terms with the United Alkali Company of Great Britain, with its $35,000,000 of capital, as they fear that a new company would be crushed before it became established, by the sheer force of immense capital, long experience, and a control of the present market, as was the tin industry crushed by Welsh combinations on three different occasions, according to Senator BURROWS, until sufficient tariff had been placed upon tin so that American manufacturers could pay American wages to American workmen and receive a fair profit under the beneficent working of the McKinley law.

In the almost exactly parallel case of soda-ash manufacture there was no headway made in manufacturing it in this country until a protective tariff was placed upon it, and now American competition has lowered the price in England. On November 6, 1896, the chairman of the Society of Chemical Industry of Great Britain, in his annual address, said: "What I do fear is the coming competition with that remarkable race of English-speaking people, the Americans. America has made wonderful progress during the last quarter of a century in mechanical devices, mainly, but she is now turning her hand to chemicals, and a sad mess she has already made with English prices."

We have an improved method of manufacture, and propose to invest $500,000 immediately, and enough more later to supply the entire United States demand, if we can be protected for a few years until we are well established. A duty of 1 cent per pound for five years, and one-half cent for the following five years, would be necessary, in our opinion, to place this industry where there would be no danger of foreign competition in an open market.

We wish to particularly call attention to the fact that soda ash has with protection continually fallen in price while bleach has been on the free list, and the price to-day, while lower than one or two years ago, is not as low as it was six years ago, and the general tendency during the past ten years has not been to make any marked reduction in price. With the protection asked we would be able ultimately to save to the country about $2,000,000 now spent abroad for bleach. If granted this protection we will immediately invest $500,000 of American capital now lying idle. We will necessarily employ a large number of American workmen at remunerative wages who are now out of work, or at least receiving very small wages during the present depressed condition of trade.

We will consume annually in this initial plant alone, after completion, 21,000 tons of coal, 3,700 tons of lime, 75,000 barrels, as well as quantities of other supplies. All the labor employed on the production of these supplies will be in addition to that now employed and will in no case be supplanting one American laborer by another.

To-day every enterprise in America using bleach is dependent upon a foreign trust. With a tariff you will make it dependent upon American capital and labor instead. Even the paper from which you read and upon which you write to-day depends upon an English industry to whiten its pages. So well has that English syndicate mastered the situation, that unless a tariff protective in its features is placed upon the product it is questionable if even American enterprise can hope to cope with them. We earnestly hope that the committee will find it compatible with the best interests of the country to grant our prayer.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask the Senate at this time to take up the conference report on the sundry civil appropriation bill, and I ask for a vote on concurring in the report.

Mr. ALDRICH. I will state, for the convenience of Senators, that it is not my purpose to proceed any further with the consideration of the tariff bill to-night. I shall be ready to have an adjournment after the Senator from Iowa shall have disposed of the appropriation bill in his charge.

SUNDRY CIVIL APPROPRIATION BILL.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. If there be no objection, the Senate will consider the conference report on the sundry civil appropriation bill.

Mr. WHITE. I inquire of the Senator from Iowa whether it will be necessary to consider that matter to-night? I am afraid it will lead to considerable discussion.

Mr. ALLISON. I will say to the Senator from California that for the convenience of the disposition of this bill at an early day it is important that it should be passed to-night. I have refrained from calling it up from time to time on account of the progress being made with the tariff bill, intending to do so somewhat earlier than now but for the fact that the question which has been under consideration seemed to be a pressing one and occupied much attention.

Mr. WHITE. I will say to the Senator from Iowa that some of us who have been paying very close attention to the tariff bill are interested in this matter, and I am certain that it will lead to discussion when taken up. I do not think it ought to be pressed to-night. Why can we not take it up to-morrow in the morning hour?

Mr. ALLISON. I can not think that the conference report will lead to any extended debate. The whole question is thoroughly understood by every Senator here, and if the report is not to be adopted I should be glad to know it to-night.

Mr. PETTIGREW. I hope the Senator from Iowa will let the conference report go over and ask to have it taken up in the morning hour to-morrow. There are two Senators absent this evening who did not know the report was to come up. I hoped they would come in. They wish to be present when this question is considered. I want to say that the report will lead to considerable discussion. So far as I am concerned, I should be willing to take it up to-night, but the absent Senators ought to be allowed an opportunity to be present.

Mr. ALLISON. I gave notice to every Senator who expressed an interest in the conference report that I should call it up this evening; and while I should be glad to accommodate Senators, I think we ought now to dispose of it.

Mr. WHITE. I do not wish to delay this matter unduly at all, but it appears to me that this is the usual hour to adjourn, and as there has been no serious effort, as the Senator from Iowa says, to bring this matter up before, it will not be amiss to let it go over. I am certain that there are some Senators who desire to be heard who are not here now, and who will feel that they are not being fairly dealt with if the consideration of the report is now proceeded with.

The Senator says he gave notice that the report would be taken up. I omitted to observe that fact or to hear the Senator, and only learned incidentally that it was coming up this evening. I am certain other Senators are in the same attitude.

Mr. CHANDLER. May I ask the Senator from Iowa if the report has been read?

Mr. ALLISON. The report has been read substantially.

Mr. CHANDLER. Then there is no necessity for reading it again.

Mr. ALLISON. No. If we are to progress with the business that we ought to progress with, we must not adjourn here every day at 5 o'clock in the afternoon, but we must attend to the necessary business and sit here long enough each day to do it. I should have no objection to putting this matter over until to-morrow but for the fact that it will consume that much time to-morrow which should be devoted to the tariff bill.

If we can not go on with the report to-night, I trust the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH], who has charge of the tariff bill, will go on with that. I think, however, we can dispose of

the conference report to-night as well as we can to-morrow. It is in the nature of a privileged report, and the bill to which it relates is a very important one. It is necessary that it should pass at the earliest possible moment. Even if we consider it to-night, it may not become a law before the early part of next week, and I trust that Senators will not ask that it go over. It is thoroughly understood. The only question that is involved here is the question of forest reservations, and every Senator knows how he will vote upon that question, as it has been debated here over and over again. So I must insist on my motion. Of course if the Senate do not want to take up the conference report, that is another question, and they can vote down the motion.

Mr. PETTIGREW. One of the Senators from Washington and one of the Senators from Idaho expressed a desire to be present when this matter was disposed of and to be enabled to be placed on record on the question. Therefore it seems to me to be entirely proper that it should go over, and that the Senator from Iowa should not insist on its consideration at this time. I think it will be impossible to dispose of the report to-night if its consideration is insisted upon, and I think those Senators who are absent have a right to be present and participate.

Mr. ALLISON. I am told that one of the Senators from Washington will not be here for many days; the other is here at this moment; and whilst I should be very glad to accommodate any Senator, I must insist upon my motion.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Iowa moves to take up the conference report on the sundry civil appropriation bill.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to consider the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 16) making appropriations for sundry civil expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1898, and for other purposes.

Mr. WHITE. I move that the Senate adjourn.

Mr. ALLISON. Upon that I call for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. GALLINGER (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the senior Senator from Texas [Mr. MILLS]. I transfer that pair to the junior Senator from Illinois [Mr. MASON] and vote "nay."

Mr. LODGE (when Mr. HOAR'S name was called). I desire to announce again that my colleague [Mr. HOAR] is paired with the Senator from Washington [Mr. TURNER], and I will let this announcement stand until my colleague's return.

Mr. SMITH (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Iowa [Mr. GEAR], who is absent from the Chamber.

Mr. TILLMAN (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. THURSTON]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. BATE (after having voted in the affirmative). I inquire if the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. DEBOE] has voted?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Kentucky has not voted.

Mr. BATE. Then I withdraw my vote. I am paired with that Senator for to-day.

The result was announced—yeas 14, nays 42; as follows:

YEAS—14.

Bacon,	Gray,	Murphy,	Walthall,
Caffery	Jones, Ark.	Pasco,	White.
Chilton,	Kenney,	Pettigrew,	
Cockrell,	Mantle,	Rawlins,	

NAYS—42.

Aldrich,	Elkins,	Lodge,	Quay,
Allison,	Fairbanks,	McEnery,	Sewell,
Berry,	Foraker,	McMillan,	Shoup,
Burrows,	Frye,	Mallory,	Spooner,
Butler,	Gallinger,	Morgan,	Stewart,
Cannon,	Hanna,	Penrose,	Turpie,
Carter,	Hansbrough,	Perkins,	Warren,
Chandler,	Harris, Kans.	Pettus,	Wetmore,
Clay,	Hawley,	Platt, Conn.	Wilson.
Cullom,	Jones, Nev.	Platt, N. Y.	
Davis,	Lindsay,	Proctor,	

NOT VOTING—32.

Allen,	George,	Martin,	Smith,
Baker,	Gorman,	Mason,	Teller,
Bate,	Hale,	Mills,	Thurston,
Clark,	Harris, Tenn.	Mitchell,	Tillman,
Daniel,	Heitfeld,	Morrill,	Turner,
Deboe,	Hoar,	Nelson,	Vest,
Faulkner,	Kyle,	Pritchard,	Wellington,
Gear,	McBride,	Roach,	Wolcott.

So the Senate refused to adjourn.

Mr. MANTLE. Mr. President, I voted in favor of adjournment at this time because I felt, on account of the importance of this question, every member of this body who has heretofore voted in favor of the proposition to revoke the orders of President Cleveland in regard to these forest reservations ought to be present and ought to have an opportunity to vote upon the report of the committee of conference at this time. I did not happen to be present when this subject was discussed, being absent on account of illness, but there is nothing that I can say to add to the force or clearness or emphasis of what was said upon that occasion in favor of the total revocation of those orders.

So far as that portion of the conference committee's report is concerned which provides that these revocations shall only extend until March 1, 1898, is concerned, I sincerely hope that the Senate will not concur in it. I say this in all deference to the committee of conference, but from a most earnest belief that to adopt that amendment will simply be perpetuating the great injustice and wrong which was done in the original orders. If those orders are wrong now, if they contain an injustice to the people of those States, as they undoubtedly do, they will be wrong on the 1st of March next, when it is proposed that they shall again come into force. I believe it would be much better and much wiser, as the Senate has twice by an overwhelming majority adopted an amendment absolutely revoking these orders, that it should now insist upon that proposition.

I need not reiterate the great harm that will result to the material interests of the people of those States if these orders are permitted to stand at this time, or if they are permitted to go into force at any future time. That has been sufficiently dwelt upon by Senators heretofore. I can not find language strong enough with which to express my indignation against the wrong contained in those orders of President Cleveland. Should they be carried into effect, there is no question in my mind but that they would result in the stoppage of a great portion of the industries of the State which I have the honor in part to represent.

As has already been said, the great industry of that State is the mining industry. That industry is dependent wholly upon its supply of timber for its maintenance and existence. To attempt in any manner to curtail that supply, as is contemplated and as would result in the execution and the carrying out of those orders, would mean the paralysis of that great industry in that State and the throwing out of employment of thousands of laboring people. It will be answered that the amendment as proposed by the conference committee does away with any possibility of this character for the reason that it revokes the orders until March 1, 1898. That is true; but there is another phase to this question.

The orders in and of themselves are wrong; they are inherently wrong; they are unjust; they were made in ignorance, without any examination or investigation of the territory set apart as forest reservations. It was, I was going to say, an insult to the people of those localities. I do not know but that I ought to use that word. It certainly was a gross violation of their rights. It interferes with every interest in which they are directly concerned. There was no excuse for it in the first place; there was no demand for it. Not a single individual in any of the States concerned, so far as I know, was ever consulted before the orders were made, nor was any single representative of any of those States in this body conferred with or questioned in regard to what the effect of those orders would be.

Mr. President, I assert that the orders were made without knowledge of what their effect would be, absolutely without knowledge of what area they would cover, or with what interests they would conflict, or in what manner they would interfere with the vested rights and other rights of the people of those localities. Being unjust in the extreme, being wrong all through, having been conceived in ignorance, and having been made without examination or investigation by gentlemen who have never set foot upon any of the territory set apart, who have never pretended to make any examination of the localities which they set apart, who have made their examination and investigation riding upon a Pullman car and looking out of the car windows—in consideration of those facts, I assert that the orders were wrong in conception and in execution, wrong in every particular; and that, therefore, they ought not to be perpetuated even by inference, as is proposed by the amendment of the conference committee.

I do not think that a revocation of these orders could be construed into any discourtesy to the Administration as it now stands.

Mr. ALLISON. May I interrupt the Senator?

Mr. MANTLE. Certainly.

Mr. ALLISON. It is my desire, and my only desire, to get early action upon this report. I do not wish to press the Senator or other Senators unduly this evening, and if we can have an understanding that this matter shall be taken up early in the morning——

Mr. COCKRELL. Immediately after the morning business.

Mr. FRYE. After the reading of the Journal.

Mr. ALLISON. I will say after the Journal shall have been read, and that we have a vote upon it, say, at half past 1 o'clock, which, I trust, will give ample time for Senators to be heard who desire to oppose the report, I shall be perfectly willing that the

Senator may then continue the discussion, and that he be not required to go on this evening.

Mr. COCKRELL. For one morning, as there is no very important business, but only routine morning business, such as the introduction of bills, etc., we might take up the report after the reading of the Journal, and get through it, in all probability, by 2 o'clock.

Mr. MANTLE. I think we hardly ought to agree that the vote shall be taken at that hour. I am not desirous of consuming any amount of time myself. I want only to enter my earnest and most emphatic protest against the continuing in any form of those orders, because of the gross injustice thereby done to my people.

Mr. ALLISON. Will the Senator consent to a vote at 2 o'clock?

Mr. MANTLE. I am perfectly willing, but I want all those who are opposed to the acceptance of the conference report in this particular to have an opportunity to express themselves. It is a matter of great consequence, of vast importance to the people of our State. We feel deeply concerned, and we do not want to be forced into a vote until we have had at least our say, and had an opportunity to appeal to the members of this body to support us in the position we take.

Mr. ALLISON. I will ask the Senator if he will be willing to take the vote at 2 o'clock?

Mr. BERRY. Will the Senator from Montana permit me to say a word?

Mr. MANTLE. Certainly.

Mr. BERRY. I hope the Senator from Montana will agree to take the vote at the earliest moment possible. I am especially interested that the sundry civil bill shall be passed and become a law as early as possible. It contains an appropriation, which is made immediately available, for the purpose of closing the crevasses of the Mississippi River, which may be opened again by the June rise; and it is all important to a large number of the people there that the bill shall become a law, as I say, at as early a date as possible. I appeal to the Senator from Montana that he consent that the vote on the conference report shall be taken as early as we can take it.

Mr. MANTLE. I agree with what the Senator from Arkansas has said, but I desire that he should understand that this is a matter of great moment to the people whom I represent. I do not want to repeat what I said, but I say that the people of those States are deeply concerned over this matter, and they want to be heard. They want action, but they want that action to be just.

I have no desire to say anything further than to appeal to Senators here to stand by the action which they have already taken, which was just and proper; and I hope that in this particular they will not recede from the position which they have twice taken upon this amendment.

Mr. WHITE. I have no desire to delay this bill, as I said before. I never read the amendment until to-day. Perhaps it was my fault that I did not do so, but I was unaware of the presentation of the conference report. It was printed on May 25. I merely desire to call attention to a couple of matters in the bill, which would take no great length of time if I had the opportunity to get a few papers that I need for that purpose. Therefore I made the suggestion, not only in my own interests, but in the interests of other Senators who are not here, not for delay, but simply for reasonable time. I do not intend to enter into any elaborate discussion, and if I can have an opportunity to get the papers I desire to look at, there will be no difficulty, so far as I am concerned, in reaching a vote; but if we are to go on to-night, it will take me some little time.

Mr. CHANDLER. Are we to understand that the less time the Senator has, the longer the speeches he will make?

Mr. WHITE. My friend from New Hampshire is again upon the floor and obstructing the passage of the saving tariff bill. [Laughter.]

Mr. PETTIGREW. I think we can come to an understanding to take this matter up immediately after the reading of the Journal in the morning, and have a vote by 2 o'clock.

Mr. CULLOM. That is right.

Mr. ALLISON. Very well.

Mr. PETTIGREW. So far as I am concerned, I am willing to do that.

Mr. ALLISON. I think two hours will enable every Senator who desires to speak to do so. Let that be the understanding.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the request made by the Senator from Iowa, that the conference report be taken up to-morrow immediately after the reading of the Journal and that the vote be taken at 2 o'clock? If there be no objection, that will be the order. The Chair hears no objection.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. QUAY. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After ten minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened, and (at 5 o'clock and 40 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Thursday, May 27, 1897, at 12 o'clock meridian.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate May 26, 1897.

ENVOY EXTRAORDINARY AND MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY.

Charles Burdett Hart, of West Virginia, to be envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States to Colombia, vice Luther F. McKinney, resigned.

SECRETARY OF LEGATION.

François S. Jones, of Louisiana, to be secretary of the legation of the United States at Buenos Aires, Argentine Republic, vice George W. Fishback, resigned.

ASSISTANT ATTORNEYS-GENERAL.

James Edmund Boyd, of North Carolina, to be Assistant Attorney-General, vice J. M. Dickinson, resigned.

John G. Thompson, of Illinois, to be Assistant Attorney-General, vice Charles B. Howry, resigned.

COLLECTOR OF CUSTOMS.

Kenneth R. Pendleton, of North Carolina, to be collector of customs from the district of Albemarle, in the State of North Carolina, reappointment, his present commission having expired by limitation January 10, 1897.

COLLECTOR OF INTERNAL REVENUE.

James S. Fruit, of Pennsylvania, to be collector of internal revenue for the Twenty-third district of Pennsylvania, in place of Edmund A. Bigler, removed.

INDIAN AGENT.

Lucius A. Wright, of San Jacinto, Cal., to be agent for the Indians of the Mission Tule River Agency, in California, vice Francisco Estudillo, term expired.

REGISTER OF LAND OFFICE.

Thornton S. Howard, of Des Moines, Iowa, to be register of the land office at Des Moines, Iowa, vice Edward B. Evans, resigned.

RECEIVER OF PUBLIC MONEYS.

John W. Miller, of Woodward, Okla., to be receiver of public moneys at Woodward, Okla., vice David H. Patton, resigned.

POSTMASTERS.

John I. Fullwood, to be postmaster at Cedartown, in the county of Polk and State of Georgia, in the place of Augustus J. Tomlinson, removed.

Kate E. Moore, to be postmaster at Geneseo, in the county of Henry and State of Illinois, in the place of Joseph L. Moore, deceased.

William H. Conger, to be postmaster at Plymouth, in the county of Marshall and State of Indiana, in the place of John C. Jilson, removed.

E. E. Buell, to be postmaster at Elma, in the county of Howard and State of Iowa, the appointment of a postmaster for the said office having, by law, become vested in the President on and after April 1, 1897.

P. D. McMahon, to be postmaster at Charter Oak, in the county of Crawford and State of Iowa, in the place of J. J. McWilliams, whose commission expired January 14, 1897. John H. Kuehl nominated to the Senate and confirmed March 1, 1897, but not commissioned.

Arthur D. Patterson, to be postmaster at Cresco, in the county of Howard and State of Iowa, in the place of Francis A. Glass, whose commission expired April 5, 1897.

Marcellus L. Hussey, to be postmaster at Guilford, in the county of Piscataquis and State of Maine, in the place of James Hudson, removed.

F. J. Heinemann, to be postmaster at Kirkwood, in the county of St. Louis and State of Missouri, in the place of Henry W. Hough, whose commission expired April 5, 1897.

Lewis F. Babcock, to be postmaster at Billings, in the county of Yellowstone and State of Montana, in the place of Edward W. Dunne, removed.

William H. Illian, to be postmaster at Humphrey, in the county of Platte and State of Nebraska, the appointment of a postmaster for the said office having, by law, become vested in the President on and after April 1, 1897.

Fred P. Dearth, to be postmaster at Woodsville, in the county of Grafton and State of New Hampshire, in the place of Solon S. Evans, whose commission expired January 7, 1897.

W. I. Norton, to be postmaster at Hightstown, in the county of Mercer and State of New Jersey, in the place of J. M. Smith, whose commission expired April 5, 1897.

Henry D. Bonnet, to be postmaster at Del Rio, in the county of Valverde and State of Texas, the appointment of a postmaster for

the said office having, by law, become vested in the President on and after July 1, 1893; Nora Boothe, having been appointed by the President, and by him nominated to the Senate, not having been confirmed.

Fred B. Kinsley, to be postmaster at Barron, in the county of Barron and State of Wisconsin, in the place of Henry G. Ellsworth, removed.

William F. Brittain, to be postmaster at Sheridan, in the county of Sheridan and State of Wyoming, in the place of Oliver P. Hanna, removed.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate May 26, 1897.

ASSISTANT COMMISSIONER OF PATENTS.

Arthur P. Greeley, of Concord, N. H., to be Assistant Commissioner of Patents.

EXAMINER IN CHIEF, PATENT OFFICE.

Thomas G. Steward, of Plano, Ill., to be an examiner in chief in the Patent Office.

RECEIVER OF PUBLIC MONEYS.

Ephraim H. Smock, of Buffalo, Wyo., to be receiver of public moneys at Buffalo, Wyo.

REGISTERS OF THE LAND OFFICE.

Frank D. Healy, of Beaver, Okla., to be register of the land office at Woodward, Okla.

Frederick A. Tritle, jr., of Prescott, Ariz., to be register of the land office at Prescott, Ariz.

Hiram Yerkes, to be postmaster at Fairmount, in the county of Vermilion and State of Illinois.

Samuel H. Watson, to be postmaster at Mount Vernon, in the county of Jefferson and State of Illinois.

Charles F. Douglass, to be postmaster at Ashland, in the county of Cass and State of Illinois.

Jasper H. Thornburg, to be postmaster at Boonville, in the county of Warrick and State of Indiana.

Daniel E. Sherman, to be postmaster at Montrose, in the county of Montrose and State of Colorado.

Ramsey Arthur, to be postmaster at Schoolcraft, in the county of Kalamazoo and State of Michigan.

William V. Molloy, to be postmaster at New Rochelle, in the county of Westchester and State of New York.

William A. Smyth, to be postmaster at Owego, in the county of Tioga and State of New York.

Ellsworth Sweet, to be postmaster at Waterloo, in the county of Seneca and State of New York.

Emmett B. Hawkins, to be postmaster at Huntington, in the county of Suffolk and State of New York.

SENATE.

THURSDAY, *May 27, 1897.*

Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. W. H. MILBURN, D. D.

On motion of Mr. QUAY, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of yesterday's proceedings was dispensed with.

WICHITA INDIAN LANDS.

Mr. QUAY. I understand that there is a special order for this morning upon the report of the committee of conference on the sundry civil appropriation bill. The Senator in charge of that bill is not in his seat, and before he comes in I should be glad to have placed before the Senate, by unanimous consent, the resolution in relation to the Wichita Indians, which was before the Senate yesterday. I do not propose to proceed to its discussion, but I wish merely to have a paper bearing upon it read and then allow the resolution to go over until to-morrow morning. It will occupy but a moment.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Pennsylvania? The Chair hears none, and the paper referred to will be read by the Secretary.

Mr. QUAY. It is a statement of fact, I think, prepared by the attorney of the Wichita Indians, and I ask to have it read and go into the RECORD. I do not know, I may say, that it will be necessary to press the resolution, as I am inclined to think that the Interior Department will take action which may obviate its necessity.

The Secretary read as follows:

Memorandum In re Wichita Indians.

The allotments now being made upon the Wichita Reservation are made under the authority of an agreement entered into between the Wichita and affiliated bands of Indians and the United States, dated June 4, 1891 (see page 64 of accompanying brief); by this agreement, after ceding their entire reservation to the United States and consenting to accept allotments of 160 acres of land each, by the fifth article of said agreement the Indians consented to submit to Congress the question as to what sum of money, if any, should be allowed to them for their possessory right in and to their lands in excess of their allotments.

The United States had, by its commissioners, offered these Indians $280,000, being about 50 cents per acre, for their surplus lands (see pages 60 and 61 of appended brief), but the Indians thought they were entitled to $1.25 per acre (see pages 62 to 64 of brief).

The Wichita Indians did not understand the nature of the claim of the Choctaws and Chickasaws which had been set up to this and other lands in the leased district for the first time by a memorial to Congress in March, 1890, and they proceeded in their negotiations to the final agreement of 1891 in ignorance of the named claim of the Choctaws and Chickasaws. The agreement of 1891 was ratified by act of Congress approved March 2, 1895, being the Indian appropriation act.

Between the date of the agreement of 1891 and the date of its ratification Congress had awarded to the Choctaws and Chickasaws $2,991,450 for the alleged right of those Indians (Choctaws and Chickasaws) in the Cheyenne and Arapahoe Reservation, the lands in that and the Wichita Reservation being in like case respecting the claim of the Choctaws and Chickasaws.

By the act of 1895, cited supra, ratifying the agreement of 1891, the claim of the Choctaws and Chickasaws in and to the lands of the Wichitas was sent to the Court of Claims, with the right of the Wichitas to be heard, the act further providing, however, that at any time during the pendency of the suit which the act authorized the Choctaws and Chickasaws might negotiate with the Five Civilized Tribes Commission respecting the subject-matter of the suit, and by consent of the Secretary of the Interior and Attorney General the suit should be suspended until such negotiation should be accepted or rejected by Congress.

On the 23d of April, 1897, an agreement was entered into between the Choctaws and Chickasaws and the Five Civilized Tribes Commission under which all claims of the Choctaws and Chickasaws are referred to the United States Senate as an arbitrator.

The negotiation by the Choctaws and Chickasaws of April 23, 1897, places them in a position, under the terms of the act of 1895, to suspend the action in the Court of Claims, the effect whereof will essentially be to leave the Wichitas without a forum to prosecute their demand for payment for their lands in excess of allotments. The pending action must die. By the terms of the act of 1895, the Wichita Reservation shall be opened to settlement within one year after the allotments are made to the Indians.

Wherefore, if the allotments are allowed to be made now, the Wichita Indians will, under existing laws, at the end of a year be stripped of the possession of their surplus lands, and, being forumless, they will be left with nothing but a naked and inchoate claim against the United States.

The allotting of their lands at this time can not be regarded as in their interests, because by it, under the law, they will be ousted of possession of the surplus lands without compensation or any definite arrangement looking to compensation respecting the same.

This course is particularly unjust because these Indians have been the possessors of the soil on which their present reservation is located from a time beyond their tribal traditions and coextensive with the earliest incursion of white explorers. (See brief, page 7 et seq.)

No treaty has ever been made between the United States and these Indians canceling their original right of occupancy.

There was an agreement made between Francis Walker, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and these Indians, dated October 19, 1872, defining the boundaries of their present reservation, whereby, in consideration of the existing reservation being given to them, they ceded to the United States the claim to all lands in Louisiana, Texas, and Indian Territory, but that agreement was never ratified.

By treaty of 1818 with the Quapaws the United States nominally canceled the Indian title to the lands in question (see brief, page 10); also, by treaty with the Osages of 1825 the Osages' right was extinguished (see brief, page 187); but neither of these tribes ever actually occupied lands in the so-called "leased lands" or west of the ninety-seventh meridian, nor had the Quapaws any possessory right in and to lands west of the present western line of the State of Arkansas. On the other hand, the Wichitas and some of the affiliates have always lived within the so-called "leased district" and in the neighborhood of their present reservation.

The "leased district" is so called from the treaty of June 22, 1855, between the United States and the Choctaws, whereby, for $600,000, the Choctaws quitclaimed to the United States all of their pretended rights west of the one hundredth meridian, and perpetually leased the territory west of the ninety-eighth meridian for Indian occupancy. The "leased district" was, without qualification, ceded to the United States by the Choctaws and Chickasaws by the third article of the treaty of April 23, 1866.

The same tribunal which tries the alleged rights of the Choctaws and Chickasaws should also at the same time consider and determine the rights of the Wichitas and affiliated bands, because it is as impossible to fairly consider the claims of the one tribe or nation, without at the same time considering the other as it would be to consider the rights of one claimant upon a bill of interpleader to distribute a specific fund without at the same time considering those of all claimants to the fund or to hear the case of a plaintiff in a suit at la without hearing that of the defendant, and unless the Government proposes to pay twice for the land in question, the rights of the claimants must be disposed of together.

MAY 26, 1897.

NOTE.—The vital point, not brought out in the discussion yesterday, is: The Wichita Reservation will be opened to settlement by operation of law (act of 1895) within one year from the date of the allotments. Thereby the Indians will be ousted from possession. Under the agreement of April 18, 1897, between the Choctaws and Chickasaws and the Five Civilized Tribes' commission the court is subject to be ousted of its jurisdiction in the pending action. Thus the Indians will be deprived of possession and left without a forum to try their right to compensation. They should be left in possession until the question of compensation shall be determined.

Mr. QUAY. Now the resolution may go over, unless there is objection, until to-morrow.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. There being no objection, the resolution will lie over.

CHINESE EXCLUSION.

The VICE-PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the Attorney-General, transmitting, in response to a resolution of the 17th instant, certain information relative to the alleged illegal entry into the United States of Chinese persons; which, with the accompanying papers, was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

SPECIAL EDITION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY.

Mr. GORMAN. I ask unanimous consent to have a resolution adopted, as I shall be compelled to leave the Chamber for a while.

The resolution was read, considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on Printing be, and it is hereby, directed to prepare and have issued a special edition of the Congressional Directory for the use of the special session, and that the same compensation be allowed for the compiling and editing of said edition as is authorized by law for the regular edition, the same to be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate.

SUNDRY CIVIL APPROPRIATION BILL.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Under the unanimous-consent agreement yesterday, the Chair lays before the Senate the report of the committee of conference on the bill (H. R. 16) making appropriations for sundry civil expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1898, and for other purposes. The report has been read, and the question is on concurring therein.

Mr. WHITE. I understand that the conference report is now before the Senate?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The conference report is before the Senate.

Mr. WHITE. I wish to call attention to a matter in connection with the report upon page 3. I am disposed to ask for a call of the Senate. I think we ought to have a full attendance for the consideration of this matter. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The absence of a quorum is suggested by the Senator from California, and the Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Allison,	Foraker,	Mantle,	Rawlins,
Bacon,	Frye,	Mitchell,	Roach,
Bate,	Gallinger,	Morgan,	Sewell,
Berry,	Gear,	Murphy,	Shoup,
Butler,	Gray,	Nelson,	Spooner,
Cannon,	Harris, Kans.	Pasco,	Stewart,
Carter,	Hawley,	Perkins,	Turpie,
Clay,	Heitfeld,	Pettigrew,	Vest,
Cockrell,	Jones, Ark.	Pettus,	Walthall,
Davis,	Kenney,	Platt, Conn.	Warren,
Deboe,	Kyle,	Platt, N. Y.	Wellington,
Fairbanks,	McMillan,	Pritchard,	White,
Faulkner,	Mallory,	Quay,	Wilson.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Fifty-two Senators have answered to their names. The Senator from California will proceed.

Mr. WHITE. I desire to call the attention of the committee having charge of the matter in the Senate to the portion of the conference report to which my criticism will be mainly directed.

To begin with, the subject of forest reservations has been gone into so fully heretofore that I do not intend to run over the general topic at all. My object in addressing the Senate is to point out the legislation which affects persons located as follows: A person duly qualified as a preemption settler or homesteader, under the laws of the United States, has acquired absolute title to a particular tract of land. He sells that land to another party, as he has a right to do, being vested with the fee. Then the Government places a reservation around him and includes the tract within the limits of the reservation, and the grantee is excluded from the use of that land. Now, how is his case dealt with in this bill or in this amendment? I am now considering amendment numbered 16, on page 3 of the printed report. We find the following:

Nothing herein shall be construed as prohibiting the egress or ingress of actual settlers residing within the boundaries of such reservations—

Now, recollect, this amendment refers to the actual settlers within the boundaries of such reservations—

or from crossing the same to and from their property or homes.

In other words, the amendment properly reserves and gives to actual settlers the power of egress and ingress, but it does not deal in the same way with one who has bought from a person who has acquired title from the Government of the United States. His case is dealt with in another place as follows. I read on the same page, beginning with the next paragraph:

That in cases in which a tract covered by an unperfected bona fide claim or by a patent is included within the limits of a public forest reservation, the settler or owner thereof may, if he desires to do so, relinquish the tract to the Government, and may select in lieu thereof a tract of vacant land open to settlement not exceeding in area the tract covered by his claim or patent; and no charge shall be made in such cases for making the entry of record or issuing the patent to cover the tract selected: *Provided further*, That in cases of unperfected claims the requirements of the laws respecting settlement, residence, improvements, etc., are complied with on the new claims, credit being allowed for the time spent on the relinquished claims.

Now, I will state my objection to the provision. A man who has bought land from a person who has acquired title in fee from the Government is not protected by the bill. He is inclosed within a reservation and is compelled to stay there, and the only relief which the bill gives him is the right to go and select land elsewhere. By what right, by what authority, by what principle of justice is the man who has acquired absolute title in fee compelled by the Government of the United States to exchange his property for something else? Why this duress? Is there anything immoral or wrong in the attitude of a man who has bought land from the owner, and from an owner who has in his hand muniments of title derived from the Government of the United States? Why should a man who is a settler and who has an inchoate claim be given a greater right than the grantee of the owner in fee who has acquired a patent?

I know four persons who are included within one of the California reservations in this way—that is, they have bought land from the patentee, acquired title to it, to some extent improved it, living some distance away from the reservation in the pursuit of their business, and their lands were taken into this reservation. They were not settlers within the technical interpretation of that phraseology, but they bought their land from the patentee of the Government of the United States; and now we say to them, "You can not enjoy your property; you are shut out from it; but we accord you the privilege of exchanging it for something elsewhere." The individual would not be permitted to do that, and can the Government of the United States, pretending to take an honest attitude in this matter, justify legislation discriminating against the man who has bought upon the faith of its own patent?

Mr. ALLISON. Will the Senator from California allow me to call attention to the matter he is now discussing?

Mr. WHITE. Certainly.

Mr. ALLISON. The first quotation made by the Senator from California is the exact phraseology of the amendment which was inserted by the Senate itself. The conference committee did not change that phraseology. We supposed in dealing with this question on behalf of the Senate that those friendly to these general provisions had made adequate provision as respects these actual settlers. So there is no change in this conference report so far as the first paragraph read by the Senator from California is concerned.

As to the second paragraph, the one which the Senator is now commenting upon, there is no change in substance. The phraseology inserted in lieu of the phraseology in the original Senate amendment was believed to be better by all those interested in this matter, and the phraseology was shown to a great many Senators. The Senator from California, perhaps, was not consulted in regard to that question.

Mr. WHITE. No, sir.

Mr. ALLISON. But it was believed by those who were interested in this matter that the phraseology here is better phraseology for the protection of persons having patents than the phraseology in the original amendment. Now, let me call the attention of the Senator to the original amendment, for which this is a substitute.

Mr. WHITE. I will be happy to hear it, of course, but it does not affect my argument in the slightest.

Mr. ALLISON. I understood the Senator to criticise the report of the conference committee, when, in respect to the matters which he criticises, there is no substantial change from the original amendment which was adopted by the Senate, and which was supposed to be satisfactory to those interested in this matter.

Mr. WHITE. Of course I am criticising the report; but there is nothing personal about it at all.

Mr. ALLISON. Certainly not.

Mr. WHITE. This is an omission. Whether the original Senate phraseology ought to have been more definite or not is entirely outside of the necessities of the present case. There has been a change, and I say now, when attention is called to this manifest injustice, it ought to be rectified; and I assume that no member of the conference committee on the part of either House would object for a minute to inserting three or four words which can be readily suggested, and which will cure this entire discrepancy.

But I will call the attention of the Senator, if I am not interrupting him too much——

Mr. ALLISON. No; you are not interrupting me at all.

Mr. WHITE. I call his attention to the second section, which seeks to deal with this subject. In redrafting that provision it would be very easy to protect the right of any owner of land included within a reservation, giving to such owner the right of egress and ingress. That is all I complain about. I think that that could be readily done, and I can not see that anyone would have any objection to it. If it has been heretofore omitted, either by failure on the part of myself or any other Senator to observe it, to know that fact would certainly be of no assistance to the settler or to the patentee of the land or the purchaser. What we want to do is to get it right.

Mr. ALLISON. I do not think there is the slightest trouble in respect to the matter now suggested by the Senator in the general phraseology as it stands. I am quite sure that persons owning lands within a reservation are not to be deprived of the right to enter upon those lands.

Mr. WHITE. Will the Senator show me any provision here giving such right? I know it has been denied by the officers of the Government, and they have been excluded by soldiers.

Mr. BERRY. Will the Senator from California state from what part of the report he is reading?

Mr. WHITE. I am reading from page 3, commencing "Nothing

herein shall be construed," and also the other subdivision, "That in cases in which a tract," etc.

Mr. BERRY. What is the point of which the Senator is complaining?

Mr. WHITE. My complaint is that the purchaser from a patentee of land under the Government of the United States, the patent issued under the Government of the United States, and the title perfected, can not enjoy the right of egress and ingress; that he is shut out, excluded.

Mr. CANNON. Before the Senator from California takes his seat, I should like to ask him for his construction of the language here.

Mr. WHITE. I yielded to the Senator from Iowa, and then I interrupted him more than I should have done.

Mr. CANNON. Very well.

Mr. ALLISON. All I desire to say in regard to this particular paragraph is that it was inserted for the benefit of those who, having land in a reservation, might, because of the reservation, desire to take land somewhere else, and if they so desire that the time they had resided on the land or whatever rights they had acquired in the land on the reservation should lap over, and they should have credit for it upon any new land that they might occupy.

Mr. WHITE. I appreciate the beneficent purpose involved. I am only calling attention to the phraseology, which is of such a character that it precludes from the beneficial operation of this section any owner of land who does not come within the technical meaning of a settler and discriminates in favor of the possessor of an inchoate title against one who possesses a title in fee.

Mr. ALLISON. Now, just one word, if the Senator from Utah will allow me.

The general scope and object we had in view was to give time to correct any error or imperfections in the provision, and it was chiefly for that purpose that we urged upon the conferees on the part of the House that it was necessary temporarily to open up the reservations absolutely for a period of time in order that new legislation, if any might be required, could be had in the two Houses before that time expired. It may be that there will be other imperfections. That this is one I do not know, but, if so, it can be easily corrected hereafter.

Mr. WHITE. I want to attract the attention of the Senate to a fact. It is not easy to correct these things hereafter. They can be corrected more easily now. But there is phraseology in the last paragraph I cited which would tend to negative the theory of the Senator as to the intention. Of course the intention can not govern when the phraseology is otherwise. That section gives a right to one who holds under a patent to exchange the patented land. It thus seems to dispose of his case. If there is any other place in the amendment where the holder of a title under a patent is allowed the right to go in and out of the reservation it has not been pointed out, and by judicial construction it can not be inserted in the absence of legislation. That matter is so important, involving the actual property and almost the whole possession of a number of people, that it seems to me it ought to be corrected when I presume no one will deny that such a provision would be eminently wise and absolutely just.

Mr. CANNON. I should like to get the Senator's construction upon another point. In the first paragraph read by the Senator from California occur these words:

> Nothing herein shall be construed as prohibiting the egress or ingress of actual settlers residing within the boundaries of such reservations.

Now, take the case, not an uncommon one, of a man who resides in a town located almost at the line, but outside of the reservation, and with the exception of his mere residence property he has all his land and possessions within the reservation, but does not reside there. Is there any protection accorded to him under this paragraph?

Mr. WHITE. My response to that interrogatory would be that it must be construed to have been the intention of Congress, in adopting this amendment, to confer its benefits upon actual settlers, as that phraseology is used in the land laws of the United States, and the word "residing" would be construed with reference to those laws. I presume that if he had a residence adequate to make him an actual settler under the land laws of the United States, he would come within the beneficial operations of that section. But the question of the Senator from Utah brings us back and suggests again the fact that while this provision protects the person whose title is inchoate, the person who has a title in fee and whose title has ripened into a perfect one is excluded from the enjoyment of his property.

Mr. CANNON. Do not the words "residing upon" raise a dangerous question, that no persons shall own lands in a reservation who do not reside there?

Mr. WHITE. It should be "bona fide settlers upon or owners within a reservation."

Mr. SHOUP. I desire to inquire of the conferees their construction of the proviso following the portion of the paragraph which has just been under discussion.

> *Provided further*, That in cases of unperfected claims the requirements of the laws respecting settlement, residence, improvements, etc., are complied with on the new claims, credit being allowed for the time spent on the relinquished claims.

I will state, for the information of the conferees on the part of the Senate, that on one of the reservations in my State (and there are over 4,000,000 acres taken bodily from the State of Idaho on the two forest reserves that have just been set aside) there is not a single acre of unsurveyed agricultural land. There are farms under a high state of cultivation on that reservation, with good dwelling houses, barns, and other outbuildings and well inclosed with fences. I ask the chairman in charge of this report if those farmers would be compelled under this provision to abandon their homes and all they could get credit for would be the time spent while on that reserve, and that to apply to some piece of land upon which they might locate in any other locality? Is that the construction?

Mr. ALLISON. Absolutely not. If they have any claim there, that claim can be perfected under the general provisions of the amendment, as I understand it. They are not obliged to abandon anything under this provision. It is only in case they desire to do so that the Government is directed here to protect them elsewhere, and give them the benefit of the time they have been upon the land within the reservation. So there is no trouble, I will say to the Senator from Idaho, on that point, as I understand it.

Mr. SHOUP. I will call the Senator's attention to another portion of the report with which I am not in accord. It is on the first page, the last subdivision of the first paragraph. The time fixed is the 1st of March next. In my judgment that does not give sufficient time, and if a time must be fixed it should be a later date. I would much prefer to have that clause stricken out altogether, leaving it entirely to the discretion of the President as to when the law shall go into effect. It will be after the 1st of July in the event this provision becomes a law before surveyors can be placed on the reservations to commence their active work. As to the Bitter Root Reservation, a portion of it lies very high, the altitude is great, and it will be impossible after the 1st of September to do much, if any, work in surveying that reservation. The same condition of affairs exists on some of the other reservations. Hence, in my judgment, if a time must be fixed, it ought to be extended far beyond the 1st day of March next, giving the Secretary of the Interior, the surveyors, and all who have any control whatever of the final settlement and location of these claims a longer period of time within which to do the work.

Mr. BERRY. Mr. President, I wish to state that when this amendment was originally presented to the Senate I voted for it, I supported it, and was in full sympathy with those in the West who are so much opposed to the President's order. I also voted that it was in order to place the amendment upon an appropriation bill. I have thoroughly and earnestly supported the view and contention taken by those residing in the States affected by the order of President Cleveland. I believed then and I believe now that the order was so extensive in its application, so illy considered, that it worked great injustice to those people, and I aided and supported them in every way possible.

But now, when the Senate conferees have obtained all that it is possible for them to obtain, when it has become evident that the sundry civil appropriation bill must fail unless some concessions are made by the Senate, the question arises whether we would be justified in standing by the amendment as originally agreed upon and make no concession and thereby defeat this general appropriation bill. I think that such action could not be defended. We can not have all things as we want them. I think when the Senate conferees secured the abolishment of the order until the 1st day of March, 1898, they secured all that it will ever be possible to induce the House of Representatives to agree to. It seems to me that if the lands are left open until the 1st of March Congress will have ample time, from the 1st of December, a period of three months, to correct any wrong or defect.

In addition to that, the amendment also provides that the President of the United States can absolutely revoke the Executive orders or any part thereof for all time. It appears to me that the friends of the measure secure practically all that they would have secured by the original amendment. Can any Senator from that section show me wherein they are injured, except in their desire, in which I sympathize with them, to wipe out an unjust order entirely, with which I say I fully agree? I am unable to see what they have failed to secure under the conference report, except the satisfaction of having the Executive orders revoked absolutely.

Now, I wish to say a word in regard to the contention of the Senator from California [Mr. WHITE]. The Senator from California contends that this language would be construed to prohibit anyone who owns land, unless he was an actual settler within the limits, from going to and from that land. I do not think it possible that any court or any Department would ever give such a construction to the section. I wish to call the attention of the

Senator from California to two or three words that he did not read, or at least that he did not emphasize. The section reads:

Nothing herein shall be construed as prohibiting the egress or ingress of actual settlers residing within the boundaries of such reservations, or from crossing the same to and from their property or homes; and such wagon roads and other improvements may be constructed thereon as may be necessary to reach their homes and to utilize their property under such rules and regulations as may be prescribed by the Secretary of the Interior.

In addition to that here follows this language:

Nor shall anything herein prohibit any person from entering upon such forest reservations for all proper and lawful purposes, including that of prospecting, locating, and developing the mineral resources thereof: *Provided*, That such persons comply with the rules and regulations covering such forest reservations.

Now, then, there is an express provision that any person can enter for all lawful and proper purposes under such rules and regulations as shall be made by the Secretary of the Interior. Does anyone suppose that a man fit to be Secretary of the Interior of the United States would under that provision make a rule and regulation that because a man happened to reside in a town beyond the limits of the reservation he could not be permitted to have egress or ingress from his home to his possessions therein? I think such a construction would be exceedingly technical and exceedingly narrow.

One word more, and then I will have concluded. I want to say that there are other great interests in this bill as well as that of the forest reservations. While, as I said, I fully sympathize with the gentlemen from the West, I believe they secure by this report all that it is possible to secure on an appropriation bill. There are vast appropriations in the bill for many purposes in which a great many people are interested. In regard to my own section of the country, there is an appropriation here of $2,900,000 for the purpose of repairing the levees and to improve the navigation of the Mississippi River, which is made immediately available. That is placed in this bill so that the appropriation can be used as soon as the bill is passed. By reason of the recent floods a great many crevasses were formed which permitted the water to sweep over a large section of the country. It has receded and they are now planting their cotton crops. There is a probability that there will be a rise toward the latter part of June, and unless those crevasses can be closed before that comes, misfortune will again visit those people, and the crops now being planted will be destroyed.

For this reason and many others, in which other parties are interested in the bill, I do not think we would be justified in rejecting the conference report and longer delaying the passage of the sundry civil appropriation bill.

Mr. KYLE. Mr. President, I want to say a word while this subject is under consideration. I had something to do with the formation of the amendment which has been referred to by the Senator from California [Mr. WHITE]. In fact, the whole amendment is practically the bill which was considered by the Committee on Forest Reservations one or two years ago. That bill was the outgrowth of a report made by a committee appointed by this body to investigate damages to residents on the Sequoia National Park, in California. I was a member of that committee, and visited the Sequoia National Park. We took the testimony of a large number of bona fide settlers. It seems that a colony had gone there a number of years ago, and had settled upon the lands before they had been declared to be a national park. Those parties were ejected therefrom, and were forbidden ingress to or egress from the park. There was a great deal of trouble upon the part of settlers. Owing to this the committee were sent out there.

I wish that these matters might be remedied in a better way than that indicated in the bill now before us. The committee reported that a commission should be sent out by the Secretary of the Interior for the purpose of ascertaining the damages done to settlers, make a report to Congress of their appraisement, and that the settlers should be recompensed by actual cash. I thought that was the proper policy; and I think so yet.

The amendment as it now appears in the sundry civil bill is to the effect that the parties who own lands in these reservations can choose lands elsewhere of the same amount, and can have the time credited to them which they have spent upon the land in the reservations. That may be in a sense a compensation, but a number of these parties have been forced from their claims and have gone elsewhere, and now are not in shape to take advantage of the Government's offer. A second homestead offer is a poor compensation.

In other words, Mr. President, I do not believe that a man or a family who settled upon these reservations in years gone by and established improvements—trees, buildings, fences, etc., as was indicated upon the floor a short time since in the case of a settler who had gone upon the Sierra Park reservation—can be compensated by being privileged to go upon Government lands elsewhere. The years of toil spent in making improvements would indicate that they should have something more.

I believe we should not agree to the conference report, but ask further conference, with the hope that a better solution be arrived at by the appointment of a commission to investigate the amount of damages done to these settlers.

Besides, as has been stated by the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. BERRY], the parties who live in towns adjoining the reservations are to be permitted, according to this report, to enter upon the reservations for all "lawful" and all "proper" purposes. I believe that refers merely to the privilege, for instance, of getting stock to and from the reservations, and does not refer, as indicated by the Senator from Utah [Mr. CANNON] and the Senator from California [Mr. WHITE], to the privilege of occupying the lands for stock or farming purposes.

A better provision, Mr. President, can be framed than that found in the pending bill, one that will be just not only to those who live adjacent to the reservations, but just to the parties who have been compelled to leave the reservations and who should be compensated by an actual cash settlement.

Mr. STEWART. I do not propose to enter into any discussion of the details of this amendment. I simply want to call the attention of the Senate to the great blunder which has been made in inaugurating a system which has led to such lamentable results.

It is very well for the Government of the United States to select particular localities which present novelties, curiosities, and strange developments of nature as places of resort, such as the Yosemite and the other great reservations, but to inaugurate a system of reservations in a country that is to be occupied by settlers is a most absurd proposition on its face. In the first place, it can in no view of the question accomplish any good. If large tracts of land are reserved and the people kept off of them, they will soon become barren of timber, for nobody will be interested in protecting the timber. As a rebuke to such a policy, it would be the desire of everybody that the standing timber should be destroyed by letting the Indians and others burn it as much as they please.

So far as the question is concerned of protecting the streams for irrigating purposes, the settlers themselves are the best guardians. They will fight against fires; and where they have cut off timber in all that mountain region, it takes but a few years for lands which can not be cultivated, which lie open, to have a new growth of timber, which is a better protection than the original forests, for it is thicker, more luxuriant, and better covers the ground.

Take California. There was a great waste of timber there in the early times in cutting down those magnificent forests; and we have heard much of the great evil that that would be to the sources of water supply; but when we go there now, we find those slopes which are not cultivated thickly studded with a new growth, which protects the water and shades the land better than the original forest. So you will find it throughout the Rocky Mountain region.

Besides, these reservations create great inconvenience. Here is one reservation which covers 21,000,000 acres of land. It is that peculiar character of land which it has been the policy of the Government to keep open for exploration and development for mining purposes; it is land in which the mines of gold—if you will not use silver—and of copper and of lead will be found, the very lands in which people are hunting for all kinds of metals, upon the mining of which they rely, and in which there is great wealth.

This reservation of 21,000,000 acres of land contains just the kind of land that is being explored by the pioneers of the Western country. Why should there be needed an edict issued from Washington that the people of the West should be excluded from the use of the country in which they live, and that it should be dedicated to folly—for it is nothing else, and it will accomplish no good purpose? Any person familiar with the situation, and who has been over that country and observed it with his eyes open, knows that the regions where people have not been able to settle at all are depleted by forest fires of all vegetation; but where inhabitants are scattered around, they will do everything they can to prevent those depredations. They will aid the Government all the while.

If you are to protect your streams, you must have it done by the people. Those people are not bad; they are as much interested as you are, and much more so, for their own prosperity depends upon the protection of the timber.

The idea, Mr. President, of allowing the organization of a bureau of theorists here, who have studied botany and some other things, perhaps, in the Old World, to manage these forest reservations, people who have never seen the country, is an outrage upon the West. The proof of their ignorance, if not of their vicious disposition, is that, without seeing or knowing the country, without examination, ignoring the provisions laid down in the law, without consulting the people there, and without exercising great precaution, they should in a mass select 21,000,000 acres of land and dedicate it to folly and barbarism, and it shows that they are utterly incompetent if they are honest. Such a bureau ought to be abolished and it ought not longer to be allowed a place in this country.

That order was a disgrace to American civilization. It took in towns which were post-offices; miners were excluded from their property without any investigation. What would you think if there should be reservations in West Virginia or Pennsylvania taking five or ten million acres of land, taking in your inhabitants, and excluding the people from using the land while it was being worked for coal? You would think it would be a pretty rough transaction. This is the same. Suppose you had a reservation covering those localities which stopped the whole business and excluded the people from the use of that country and its development.

The idea that a band of theorists should be organized in Washington and that such a bureau should find an Executive sufficiently ignorant of the situation to comply with their request is a marvel. It is true the last Executive went West in his early life to Buffalo, but those localities are away beyond Buffalo. The present Executive, I think, knows something more about them; and I believe if you who are in touch with the present Administration will represent to the Executive the hardships, the folly, the extravagance, and the wickedness of this order, he will set it aside in toto and resort to the great powers he has of regulating these reservations.

When a reservation is made by the Government of the United States, it should be made for some public purpose; it should be made with some intelligence. It is not the way to carry on the settlement of the country to make such orders as these. I tell you that that country can be left to the people in it with as much confidence as any section of any country on earth. They are as good as any other people; they are as much interested in their country, and they will do as much to preserve its timber and its water. They are public-spirited; they are enterprising men from all sections of the country who have gone to the West. They are wide-awake; they will do everything they can to prevent injury to their country. The idea of setting aside 21,000,000 acres of land, a large portion of which is occupied, and all of which is necessary for the general welfare of the country, is the most barbarous outrage that has been perpetrated in the last half century.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. President, we who desire to have the forestry reservation order revoked have our standing before the Senate simply by the courtesy and good will of the members of the Appropriations Committee and other Senators. With no desire to abuse the kindness they have shown, we appeal to the Senate that the conference report may be rejected, a further conference ordered, and a complete revocation of these orders had.

A more inhumane order was never issued by Executive authority than this; and with no desire to reflect upon the Executive who issued it, or upon the Eastern people, I say that if any man had desired to prevent the development of the so-called "undesirable" States in the West, he could not have proceeded upon more unjust and cruel lines to prevent that development than by the issuance of such an order.

The withdrawal of areas of land that are the best in several of the States where the orders were made equals in extent two-thirds of the entire area of the State of Illinois or the State of Iowa, and is not a very good encouragement to people to settle and build up, and certainly is in itself so rank an injustice to the people who inhabit those States that we think the Senate might well stand upon the plain principle of justice. I appeal to the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, who has charge of this conference report, to further insist with the House of Representatives upon the original amendment.

Mr. President, in the State of Utah we are having withdrawn by Executive order all the desirable portions of the State not already settled. There is no opportunity there for further enlargement of civilization by the establishment of agriculture or mining. If this policy should be pursued, nearly a million acres of land, upon which 7,000 people depend for their maintenance, would be withdrawn, without their consent and against their interest, from the public domain, and there is nothing in the proposal of the conference committee which in any sense protects those people, because, as said by the Senator from Idaho [Mr. SHOUP], these lands are not surveyed. Seven thousand people, by their chosen representatives, petition this Senate, in a paper submitted on the 6th day of May, now lying upon the table, to have this order revoked, stating that if the order were enforced strictly according to its letter, they would either perish or have to abandon the possessions which they had toiled for years to gain.

It seems to me, with all respect to the view which has been presented by the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. BERRY], that this body could not do better at this time than to insist upon the original view of the Senate, which was for an absolute revocation of this order. I would not have the sundry civil appropriation bill utilized to carry anything extraneous or not of the most emergent character; but it is just as important to the people who inhabit those States as the appropriation for the Mississippi River is to the people who live in that section. It is very much more important to all of this country than the appropriations for rivers and harbors and other things which have crept into the sundry civil bill.

In behalf of the needs of the people, I feel grateful for the consideration the Senate has shown in allowing the amendment to go on the sundry civil bill when it was not technically entitled to be there, and having taken this step, I appeal to the Senate to stand by it.

It is a cruelty, an inhumanity, and a barbarity that such an order should be allowed to remain one day longer than the time necessary for Congress to revoke and correct the evils thereby created.

I do not have the same confidence that Senators have expressed in our ability to get a correction of this evil by other means. The very phraseology of this conference report shows that it is intended to cover these reservations for all time to come. Under it the Secretary of the Interior has the power to make rules and regulations by which those vast areas of the public domain can be utilized. It is distinctly wrong that the people of those Western States, who are doing so much to upbuild their States and to benefit the country, should be obliged to send down to Washington and ask the Secretary of the Interior, often receiving a refusal, for permission to do something absolutely necessary to the development of their land.

I have here a letter received this morning concerning the cutting of timber, which it may be worth while to consider. Mr. Beauregard Kenner, of Manti, Utah, who writes me on this subject, states:

> If this Administration would go to the trouble to send a few men (with a little common sense) out here to investigate the timber, they would see at once that the lumber industry is not destroying the timber on the watersheds, for the reason that only about 25 per cent of the timber growing on our mountains is taken for lumber, the remainder being too small for use. We never cut timber smaller than 12 inches diameter, nothing is made in handling small timber, and it is not durable. And they would see what an expense the people have gone to in building roads and bridges that they might get the timber they use in constructing their homes and upbuilding the State.

Under the circumstances, it seems to me that the Senate can not do better than to insist on the original proposition, which was an absolute revocation of the order. I am satisfied, if this order or anything similar had been made concerning any of the Eastern or Middle Western States, there would have been a cry through the newspapers of this country which Congress would have heeded. The mere fact that this order was made concerning Western States, of which so little is known, is all that prevents us from having the entire sympathy of the country.

Mr. RAWLINS. Mr. President, in order that this question may be brought to a vote by the Senate, I wish to amend the pending motion, which I understand is to concur in the conference report, by moving to add to the report the following:

> And that the Senate ask a further conference with the House in respect to the amendment proposed.

I move to amend by striking out the last proviso on page 1 of the report in the following language:

> *Provided further*, That lands embraced in such reservations not otherwise disposed of before March 1, 1898, shall again become subject to the operations of said orders and proclamations as now existing or hereafter modified by the President.

Second, to amend by striking out the language alluded to by the Senator from California [Mr. WHITE] and inserting in lieu thereof the following:

> Nothing herein shall prevent any person or persons from ingress and egress upon such reservation connected with the use, possession, or ownership of lands or other property within its boundaries.

Mr. President, the effect of these amendments, as I understand, is to construe the report which has been made by the conference committee, so as to at once revoke absolutely the reservations made pursuant to the order of the President on the 22d of February last. They permit a full use of all properties and rightful possessions within the boundaries of those reservations. I think that the Senate ought to adopt these amendments and not agree to this conference report except as amended as thus provided.

Mr. GALLINGER. I would suggest to the Senator from Utah that a conference report is not amendable; that under our rules we must vote directly upon it, and either accept or reject the report.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from New Hampshire is correct.

Mr. RAWLINS. I was not aware that was the parliamentary rule of the Senate. It is otherwise, I understand, in the House, where I find the provision in relation to this matter to be that a conference report in the House may be concurred in with an amendment.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair understands the rule of the Senate to be that the vote must be taken upon concurring in the report of the committee of conference. If the Senate does not concur, the report may be amended by a further conference committee.

Mr. GALLINGER. I ought perhaps to have added that undoubtedly a motion to recommit the report, whether with or without instructions, would be in order.

Mr. RAWLINS. Then I will change the motion and propose to recommit with instructions by the Senate that the report be amended as I have indicated.

Mr. WHITE. It appears to me, if the Senator from Utah will permit a suggestion, that the better way to do that would be to recommit the entire subject, and then the committee could deal with it in view of the discussion in the Senate, and not attempt to confine the committee to any set phraseology. I think the committee is more competent to deal with it than any other body of Senators so far as selecting a form of phraseology is concerned.

Mr. ALLISON. It seems to me that the only thing to do is to either adopt or reject the conference report.

Mr. WHITE. Undoubtedly that is the situation, and I simply wish to detain the Senate for a moment, in view of the remarks made by the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. BERRY] in reference to the criticism which I made a moment ago.

I am confirmed in my view by a more careful reading of the provision to which I have already called attention. The language is this:

> Nothing herein shall be construed as prohibiting the egress or ingress of actual settlers residing within the boundaries of such reservations, or from crossing the same to and from their property or homes; and such wagon roads and other improvements may be constructed thereon as may be necessary to reach their homes and to utilize their property under such rules and regulations as may be prescribed by the Secretary of the Interior.

Then follows the provision to which the Senator from Arkansas referred, as follows:

> Nor shall anything herein prohibit any person from entering upon such forest reservations for all proper and lawful purposes, including that of prospecting, locating, and developing the mineral resources thereof: *Provided*, That such persons comply with the rules and regulations covering such forest reservations.

If the last clause stood independently, it would still be exceedingly doubtful whether it would authorize the crossing of the reservation to other properties; but there is no necessity of attempting to construe it standing alone, because the lawmaking authority has, by the explicit excinding of patentees from the provision permitting this egress and ingress, limited it to the owners thereon specially designated. If the committee had said, "Nothing herein shall be construed as prohibiting the egress or ingress of actual settlers residing," and had added the four words, "or owners of land," then there would have been no difficulty.

Mr. ALLISON. Mr. President, the clause the Senator from California is reading is a clause in the original Senate amendment, and was not touched by the conference committee. It is your own clause, it is your own provision, which was inserted there, and by no possible construction has it been changed by subsequent or other clauses in the conference report. So that if we are now at this late day to enter upon a reconstruction of this great amendment, to occupy us in this body three or four days or a week, then of course we are to enter upon a new scheme of legislation with reference to these forest reservations, and I appeal to the Senator, in the interests which he and those associated with him have, not to undertake to require a conference committee to redraft this whole section.

Mr. WHITE. I am not making any such attempt. I believe that the Senator from Iowa and every other Senator admits that I am right as to my contention that this privilege should be accorded to the owners of land on the reservations.

Mr. ALLISON. Let me ask the Senator a question. Suppose I had a title from the Government, a patent to a tract of land, and afterwards the Government, for purposes of its own, created a reservation which embraced that tract of land, does he believe that any legislation we can make would deprive me of the power to go upon that land and exercise whatever right I desire to exercise as to the ownership and authority upon the land? Would a court sustain any statute which even in explicit and express terms would make such a prohibition? Certainly not.

Mr. WHITE. I attempted to state to the Senate and to the Senator from Iowa and I will now restate the fact, which perhaps is more valuable than theorizing about what a decision may be. I am personally aware of tracts of land in the State of California around which a reservation has been declared, whereon the owners of land, purchasers from patentees, have not been permitted to enter and have been excluded by the armed forces of the United States under the direction of the Department of the Interior; and this legislation will give color to the exercise of that authority, because it omits from the grant the privilege of ingress and egress to those who are owners of the land; and, as I said before, it is a discrimination in favor of the possessor of the inchoate title.

Now, in addition to what I said, I call the attention of the Senate to the last two lines on page 3:

> The settlers residing within the exterior boundaries of such forest reservations, or in the vicinity thereof, may maintain schools and churches within such reservation, and for that purpose may occupy any part of the said forest reservation, not exceeding 2 acres for each schoolhouse and 1 acre for a church.

It is the obvious intention here to exclude from participancy in these statutory permissions the owners of the fee within the reservation. As far as the land owned is concerned, of course the owners can do with it what they like; but the use of the land is a part of its enjoyment, and whether it be usurpation or no, the fact is that the Government assumes to exercise the authority which I have stated, does exercise it, and does exclude from the participancy and full exercise of the right of an owner in fee men circumstanced as those to whom I have directed attention.

If there is anything sacred in reference to the first clause which I have criticised, the amendment I have referred to can be incorporated in the second clause, which the Senator admits has been subject to the scrutiny of the committee and altered there. There is no difficulty in inserting in that clause a half dozen words giving the owners of land in the reservation the same rights of ingress and egress heretofore accorded to settlers therein. The only way, of course, to meet this is to send the report back.

I can not conceive of any argument, I can not conceive of any suggestion, which would induce me to think that any rational man, anxious to do right, would father a piece of legislation, when his attention was called to it, as our attention is now called to it, which would exclude the owner of the land from enjoying that land and give a superior right to one whose title is less than fee. Of course, if it is to meet with opposition elsewhere, if it can not be incorporated in here, that is the end of it. We might take the matter as it is, but we should not refrain from an attempt to correct it because of the difficulty of going back, whether it be owing to the inattention of myself or anybody else. I am not charging any inattention upon the committee. The Committee on Appropriations does a very vast amount of work in the discharge of its duty to this body and to the country with signal ability, and it is and always has been a matter of wonder to me how that great committee is able so thoroughly to discharge its many duties.

But still as we move on and examine this legislation there is perhaps none of us who may not discover some criticism that might be made. Our work, when it passes from this Chamber and from the Capitol, is frequently criticised, and frequently under the lamp of judicial scrutiny defects are discovered which would have been avoided if they had been called to our attention. When legislation is nascent is the time to point out defects. Whether those defects result from inattention on my part or inattention on the part of any other Senator or inattention on the part of anybody else cuts no figure with me. I will point it out, whether or not I have committed it, and will not consider that I am being unduly criticised if it is shown that I do not know everything.

Mr. WILSON. Before the Senator from California takes his seat, I should like at this point and along the line of his argument to ask a question as to which I also desire the attention of the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations. This is quite a long amendment, and I should like to know if any provision has been made, not for the actual settler, for whom the Senator is appealing so eloquently, which is right and proper and just; but in this hop, skip, and jump through the State which I in part represent, the forestry commission have withdrawn a large area of land, in round numbers, 8,000,000 acres. In those withdrawals we have selected, upon the part of the State, about 155,000 acres of land granted to us by Congress through the enabling act. There are also school lands. I should like to know what provision is made, if the forestry reservations are continued, to indemnify the State for selections already made, and for the schools, for their portion of this withdrawal of the public domain.

Mr. ALLISON. My first answer to the Senator from Washington is that the amendment has been changed in conference in only one particular from the amendment which received the approval of all the friends who are now opposing the conference report, and that particular is that instead of a revocation of the orders of the 22d of February for all time, the revocation only continues until March 1, 1898. From now until March 1, 1898, the orders of President Cleveland are not only suspended, but revoked, so that if I choose or if anyone else chooses to go upon any portion of any of the reservations, he or I can secure the same title to the land that he or I could have secured if the reservations had never been made.

So whatever criticisms are made here as respects the amendment and against it are criticisms that can not lie against the conference report, and are merely criticisms which show that the proper committees of the Senate and of the House, within the eight or nine months intervening, will have an opportunity to provide such remedial legislation as may be necessary. It is within the power of these two Houses, from now until the 1st of March next—if the Senator from Washington will allow me one moment more—absolutely to revoke by legislative enactment the entire orders of President Cleveland of February 22.

We revoke it only temporarily, up to the 1st of March. We have in the revocation taken the phraseology of the amendment introduced here by the friends—and I am one of them—of this legislation, which provided that the revocation should expire on the 1st

day of March. I may say that the House committee were wholly unwilling to revoke the orders; and whilst I do not undertake to say what will be done in the future, I have no doubt that the conferees on the part of the Senate have secured the best possible arrangement as to this particular matter. It is a legislative provision which has no place upon the pending bill at all. It was placed upon it because of the emergency of the situation. We went very far in the direction of putting new and important legislation upon an appropriation bill.

It was necessarily imperfect, and the Senator from California himself now criticises his own legislation and shows its imperfection. However, fortunately for us, seven or eight months will intervene in which Congress can act either by joint resolution or by new legislation, and cure the evils, if there are evils, in the legislation. Yet Senators now undertake to say that because they can not have everything in the amendment which ought to be there for future years, both for the protection of the settlers and for the protection of the public, they will reject a conference report involving millions upon millions of dollars.

In answer to the specific inquiry of my friend the Senator from Washington, I will say that by no possibility can any right of the State of Washington or any right of any citizen of that State be imperiled by the amendment. Whatever rights they have acquired as respects the public lands under the public-land laws are reserved and preserved, and the order of President Cleveland is absolutely revoked, so that a citizen of the United States can go upon any one of the reservations and do what he could have done before the order was issued.

Mr. TILLMAN. Will the Senator from Iowa answer me one question?

Mr. ALLISON. Certainly.

Mr. TILLMAN. If the order is revoked wholly, as the gentlemen of the West contend for, why can not President McKinley, after an examination and the report of such men as he can trust, issue another order setting apart forest reservations which will not conflict with the interests of those people?

Mr. ALLISON. Undoubtedly he can.

Mr. TILLMAN. Then why not let us get rid of this trouble which one President has brought upon those people by peremptorily and forever revoking the order and keeping it out, leaving these gentlemen and their constituents to manage their own affairs in their own way and for their own best interest until the President interferes?

Mr. ALLISON. One difficulty, I will say to my friend the Senator from South Carolina, is that legislation is passed by two Houses, and from all we know the other House do not quite accord with the views of the Senator from South Carolina.

Mr. TILLMAN. I hold a great many other opinions in which the other House do not concur. They have no House over there, anyway. They have one man running it.

Mr. MANTLE. Mr. President, it must be obvious from what has been said, especially by the Senator from California [Mr. WHITE], that there is at least one other serious defect in the proposed amendment. I do not care to prolong the debate or to take up the time of the Senate, but I wish to ask the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Appropriations if, in view of what has been stated here in the debate, he does not think it will be at least worthy of effort to make one more attempt to secure an extension of the period of revocation of the orders, say for one year?

I make the suggestion because, under the provisions of the amendment, by that time it is certain, or almost certain, that all the necessary information which can be obtained from an examination and survey of the land under the direction of the Geological Survey will be at the command of the President of the United States, so that he may then discriminatingly and intelligently and without injustice to any of the people of those States make an order setting apart forest reservations which will be absolutely just.

This is not asking very much in behalf of those people, and I do believe, in view of what has been said, that the conference report can be perfected in one or two other directions by re-referring it or sending it back for a brief period. The whole matter need not take more than a day, and I think after what has been said here that our friends at the other end of the Capitol will see that this request at least is a modest one, that it is reasonable, and that it is necessary, in view of the condition which exists.

I wish to ask the chairman of the committee if he does not think that this is a reasonable proposition, and that it may be brought about by another effort?

Mr. ALLISON. I can only say, in response to the Senator from Montana, that I believe the Senate conferees have secured the best possible adjustment of this matter, and that if we do not agree to it, the effect will certainly be a prolongation of the differences between the two Houses upon the amendment.

Of course it is a matter in which I have no interest other than the public interest. If Senators desire or believe that it is a wise thing for us to reject the report and enter into a controversy of that character, I think I can bear it as well as any other Senator. I believe that under these provisions and under the appropriation the President of the United States will act promptly and wisely for the interest of the people who are chiefly affected by the legislation. There is ample time between now and the 1st day of March to deal with the question by and large through these two bodies or through the President of the United States, and I believe it would be absolute unwisdom to hold this great appropriation bill any longer in the Senate.

Mr. MANTLE. It must be borne in mind that the President of the United States can, at any moment when he sees fit, under the provision of the pending amendment and under provisions of law, make other orders of a like character. There is absolutely nothing, if these orders are revoked, to prevent him from making another order on the following day.

I wish to state that we are not at all afraid or alarmed as to the character of an order which would be issued by the now President of the United States. We are willing to take chances upon any order which he may issue, but we do not want to be left in the position where, if nothing else shall be done in the meantime, the obnoxious and unjust orders now prevailing shall again be brought into life by the expiration of this legislation, which they will be unless action is taken in the meantime.

I do not believe that the necessary information from the Geological Survey can be had upon which wise, discriminating, and intelligent action can be had by the 1st of March, 1898, and it is for that reason that we ask that the order shall be revoked in toto or else that the time be so extended that we may be certain that the necessary information will be at the command of the Department and of the President.

Mr. PETTIGREW obtained the floor.

Mr. KYLE. Mr. President——

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The senior Senator from South Dakota is entitled to the floor.

Mr. PETTIGREW. I yield to my colleague.

Mr. KYLE. I wish to say just one more word in support of the proposition I made a while ago.

My objection to the amendment is that it works an injustice to the persons who are settlers upon the forest reservations, and if the matter be settled in this way it will be settled for all time to come, and the question of future compensation to those men will be out of the question. They might as well know that point first as last.

The case is this: Settlers have gone into the Western country, some of them twenty-five years ago, and have settled on lands, have established homes, planted trees, erected buildings, houses, barns, etc., and have made improvements, sometimes to the amount of three, four, or five thousand dollars. Then comes along a President, and, under authority of Congress, sets apart a certain section of country as a forest reservation. There may not be a settler for a distance of 10 or 15 miles; there may be no churches, no schools, no privileges of society.

Now, under the amendment which we have before us, the Government says, "You can get up and go and leave your improvements; leave your homes, if you do not like the situation; select 160 acres in another portion of the United States, and have the time you have spent upon your land accredited to you under the homestead laws, and that is all the compensation you will get." It is very small compensation for the years of labor and toil that a man has placed upon his homestead in the Western country.

My proposition is that the Government should send a commission there to appraise the lands and the improvements and pay the man $5,000, if $5,000 be due him. Pass this, if you will, and it will allow a man to select 160 acres in lieu of his homestead which he relinquishes, and that is all he will ever get.

Mr. PETTIGREW. Mr. President, the portion of the conference report to which I object is that which is found on page 1 of the printed report, as follows:

Provided further, That lands embraced in such reservations not otherwise disposed of before March 1, 1898, shall again become subject to the operations of said orders and proclamations as now existing or hereafter modified by the President.

If that language were changed so as to provide that the reservation should be subject to such order as the President might make, after examining the area, so that positive action would have to be had upon the part of the President, I should not object. But if, without action, without examination, we, as legislative bodies, are to continue the reservations, I am afraid the executive department will neglect to act. If the executive department is obliged to act before this region can be embraced within a reservation, then I am satisfied to give it the power, because then I believe it will be wisely exercised.

If the words which I have read were stricken out and the words I will suggest were inserted in their place, I think the amendment, taken as a whole, would be an excellent thing. I believe in saving and preserving the forests. I believe that fires should be prevented, that the ripe trees should be cut and sold, and that

where trees are cut young trees should be planted in their places, so that the forests will be preserved perpetually. But I do not believe that a region where there are no forests, but where there are cities and towns and railroads and mills and mines and farms, should be embraced within a forest reservation and the entire population occupying the same made criminals, as they have been, through the ignorant order of Grover Cleveland.

If we were to provide that the lands embraced within such reservations, not otherwise disposed of, shall, when the surveys of said reservation are completed, or after such examination of the areas embraced in said reservations as the President shall direct, be subject to such orders as the President may make in reference to the same, so as not to disturb the right of any actual settlers or claimants now residing upon any of the lands embraced in said reservations, it would be entirely satisfactory. Then when the President had examined the areas and had done what Cleveland ought to have done before he issued his order, and had decided that a portion of the area should be embraced within a forest reservation, so as not to do injustice to the people of that country, he could issue his order and I should be entirely content.

Mr. President, it seems that in 1863, by an act of Congress, the National Academy of Sciences was created, for the purpose of furnishing information to the Executive Departments of the Government. A year or so ago one of the members of the academy called upon the Interior Department and asked them to designate the academy, or a commission from the academy, to look into the forest reservations. The Secretary of the Interior addressed a member of the academy a letter calling on him for information, and he replied saying an appropriation was necessary. Congress appropriated $25,000 for them to make an examination, so that the forest reservations could be intelligently designated. What was then done? Five men were picked out. They took a palace car and started for the Yellowstone Park, and on the 8th of July last were importuning the Department for facilities with regard to their mail, and so on, etc. On the way they designated a reservation in the State of South Dakota, passed by it on the train, never entered the area embraced therein, and did not even see the country which they embraced within the reservation.

Mr. KYLE. Will my colleague allow me for a moment?

Mr. PETTIGREW. Certainly.

Mr. KYLE. Was it not done in the hotel room? Was not that as near as they got to the reservation?

Mr. PETTIGREW. Yes, sir. They went by in a car, and they designated as a forest reservation an area containing 17 post-offices, 15,000 people, and 50 miles of railroad. They come back and report that a great deal of timber has been cut in that region. So there has been. The land is unsurveyed. One hundred million dollars of gold has been produced in that region within the last twenty-two years. The people have used timber from the public domain, and have used it lawfully. Not a single suit has been tried, not a single conviction had; and yet the forest commission in their report spend a good deal of time describing the stealing of timber in that locality.

About two years ago timber was shipped in violation of law from the reservation down into Nebraska. The parties were indicted in the United States court, and in every case where they did not plead guilty they were found guilty by the jury. Law can be enforced by juries in that country. If there is any improvident or dishonest use of timber whatever, if there has been stealing of the timber, which is made an excuse for the dishonest and ignorant orders, why were not prosecutions had? Simply because they have lawfully used the timber. Every miner, every settler under existing law, obeying such rules and regulations as are laid down by the Secretary of the Interior, can cut timber on the public domain. We propose by the amendment to provide for the care of the forests, so that improvident cutting can not be had, but at the same time we insist that these improvident and dishonest orders shall be revoked.

What is more, Mr. President, this junketing commission went to Wyoming. I will read what the governor of the State of Wyoming says about their operations there. Let us see how they set apart a forest reservation in Wyoming:

> The commission made no examination whatever. They passed through Wyoming on the fast train of the Burlington Railroad, which at no place is within 15 miles of these mountains. When this train stopped at Sheridan, the people of that town, having become accidentally advised of the presence of the commissioners, solicited them to stop at least for a day and make an examination of the reservoirs and irrigation works already built within the limits of the forest areas on these mountains. Provision for their transportation—all the expenses of their maintenance—was to be made, not by interested parties, but by a member of the State board of water control and one of the officials of the State most interested in forest preservation. Instead of doing this they preferred to pass on without stopping, and to consider these matters in the attractive and salubrious surroundings of Yellowstone Park, 100 miles from the area with which they were dealing.

Then they went into Washington and did the same thing, and into Montana in the same manner. In their report there is not a word showing that they investigated a single area which they recommended to be set apart. I say they ought to be rebuked. I say the Senate ought to insist upon its amendment and the other House ought to yield.

Mr. President, all Senators and all Representatives in the other House from that part of the country are united on this question. There is no division among them, and it is a local question. Yet their will and wish are to be overridden by a junketing trip of five scientific gentlemen from a part of the country 2,000 miles away. If we should send a delegation from the far West into New England and insist upon a policy with regard to that section which would be destructive to their prosperity, protests would arise that would overshadow the threats of rebellion that came from the Hartford convention of years ago, and again they would talk of a dissolution of the Union.

It is a local question, Mr. President. The cutting of timber in those forests does not affect any other area in this country, for the reason that the Rocky Mountain pine when once cleared off grows up again. To-day, in spite of the fact that millions of dollars' worth of timber has been cut in the Black Hills of South Dakota, there are more trees there than ever before. The town of Deadwood is called Deadwood because when they first located there all the timber had been killed by fire and there was no timber fit to cut. To-day that country is covered with a dense forest of young pine thicker than ever; and so it is all over the Rocky Mountain region wherever we cut down trees fit for use. The young timber is better to preserve the water supply than the old timber and the large timber. You can cut every tree fit to use for lumber in the Rocky Mountain region and in thirty years, yea, in ten years, have a better forest for the preservation of water and the prevention of floods than you have now.

I say it is a local question. In Dakota we are interested in not having this timber shipped out of the State. We are interested in having these forests preserved, so that our people can use them. The great mine of which so much has been said has to-day in sight $100,000,000 of gold yet to be mined. It will take thirty years to exhaust it. They are interested, then, in the preservation of this timber. They are willing to pay a fair price for every tree they use, but they are not willing that an order shall be perpetuated which makes every man who takes a tree a criminal. Forty thousand people are supported by this means, independent of the 15,000 who reside within the area of the forest reservation. There is no other source for timber. Since the 22d day of last February every tree they have cut, everything they have done, has been in violation of the criminal laws of the United States. No wonder they are impatient! I would feel that I failed in my duty to those people if I did not insist, even to the defeat of the sundry civil appropriation bill, upon the absolute revocation of this order.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on concurring in the report of the conference committee.

Mr. PETTIGREW. On that I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. HANSBROUGH (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the Senator from Virginia [Mr. DANIEL].

Mr. PETTIGREW. The Senator from Minnesota [Mr. NELSON] asked me to secure a pair for him in favor of the Senate amendment. I suggest to the Senator from North Dakota that he transfer his pair.

Mr. BATE (when the name of Mr. HARRIS of Tennessee was called). I desire to state that my colleague [Mr. HARRIS] is absent, sick. He is paired with the Senator from Vermont [Mr. MORRILL].

Mr. MANTLE (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the Senator from Virginia [Mr. MARTIN].

Mr. MITCHELL (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SEWELL].

Mr. TILLMAN (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. THURSTON]. When this question was up before, he voted in favor of the revocation of the Executive order, and as I would vote that way, I do not think my vote would conflict with the pair. I therefore vote "nay."

Mr. TURNER (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR]. If he were here, I should vote "nay."

Mr. VEST (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. NELSON]. I do not know how he would vote. If he were here, I should vote "yea."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. GALLINGER. I have a general pair with the senior Senator from Texas [Mr. MILLS].

Mr. BERRY (after having voted in the affirmative). I have a general pair with the Senator from Colorado [Mr. TELLER], with an understanding, however, between him and myself that I can vote when I desire. On this question I think it is probable that he would vote "nay." Therefore I ask leave to withdraw my vote and announce the pair.

Mr. MANTLE. The Senator from Georgia [Mr. CLAY] has a general pair with the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE].

I have a general pair with the Senator from Virginia [Mr. MARTIN]. We desire to transfer those pairs so that the Senator from Georgia may vote and that I may vote as well. I vote "nay."

Mr. CLAY. I vote "nay."

Mr. HANSBROUGH. I transfer my pair with the Senator from Virginia [Mr. DANIEL] to the junior Senator from Minnesota [Mr. NELSON]. I vote "yea."

Mr. VEST. That transfer having been made, I can vote. I vote "yea."

The result was announced—yeas 32, nays 25; as follows:

YEAS—32.

Aldrich,	Faulkner,	McEnery,	Proctor,
Allison,	Gear,	Morgan,	Quay,
Bate,	Gray,	Pasco,	Spooner,
Caffery,	Hanna,	Perkins,	Turpie,
Chandler,	Hansbrough,	Pettus,	Vest,
Cullom,	Hawley,	Platt, Conn.	Walthall,
Deboe,	Kenney,	Platt, N. Y.	Wellington,
Fairbanks,	Lindsay,	Pritchard,	Wetmore.

NAYS—25.

Bacon,	Foraker,	McMillan,	Stewart,
Butler,	Frye,	Mallory,	Tillman,
Cannon,	Harris, Kans.	Mantle,	White,
Carter,	Heitfeld,	Pettigrew,	Wilson.
Clark,	Jones, Ark.	Rawlins,	
Clay,	Jones, Nev.	Roach,	
Davis,	Kyle,	Shoup,	

NOT VOTING—31.

Allen,	Gallinger,	Martin,	Sewell,
Baker,	George,	Mason,	Smith,
Berry,	Gorman,	Mills,	Teller,
Burrows,	Hale,	Mitchell,	Thurston,
Chilton,	Harris, Tenn.	Morrill,	Turner,
Cockrell,	Hoar,	Murphy,	Warren,
Daniel,	Lodge,	Nelson,	Wolcott.
Elkins,	McBride,	Penrose,	

So the report was concurred in.

LIST OF CLAIMS ALLOWED.

The VICE-PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting, in response to a resolution of the 17th instant, a list of all claims allowed up to and including the 25th instant by the several accounting officers of the Treasury Department under appropriations the balances of which have been exhausted or carried to the surplus fund under the provisions of section 5 of the act of June 20, 1874, etc.; which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on Appropriations, and ordered to be printed.

LIST OF JUDGMENTS.

The VICE-PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting, in response to the resolutions of April 6 and May 17, 1897, a list of judgments rendered by the Court of Claims, amounting to $159,901.35, which have been presented to that Department and require an appropriation for their payment; which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on Appropriations, and ordered to be printed.

THE TARIFF BILL.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The hour of 2 o'clock having arrived, it becomes the duty of the Chair to lay before the Senate the unfinished business, being the bill (H. R. 379) to provide revenue for the Government and to encourage the industries of the United States.

Mr. CARTER. I submit, by request, an amendment intended to be proposed to the pending bill, which I ask may lie on the table and be printed.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. It will be so ordered.

Mr. FAULKNER. I submit an amendment intended to be proposed by me to the pending tariff bill, which I ask may lie on the table and be printed.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. That will be the order.

Mr. HAWLEY. I wish to present sundry memorials.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Connecticut.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. HAWLEY. I present a memorial of the Lexington Print Works and 180 other textile manufacturing companies in the United States, remonstrating against placing coal-tar dyes on the free list. I move that the memorial be printed as a document, and referred to the Committee on Finance.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. HAWLEY presented a memorial of the Stamford (Conn.) Manufacturing Company and 10 other firms engaged in manufacturing dyewood extracts, and a memorial of Huber & Co. and 26 other firms, manufacturers and exporters of American goods, remonstrating against placing coal-tar black dyes on the free list; which were ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a memorial of F. H. Messenger & Co., of New York, and 48 other firms engaged in importing logwood dyes, remonstrating against placing aniline dyes on the free list; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a memorial of William P. Clyde & Co., of New York, and 71 other owners and agents of steamers and sailing vessels, remonstrating against placing aniline colors or blacks on the free list; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. GALLINGER presented the memorial of Jason J. Burley, of New Hampshire, remonstrating against an increase of the duty on beer; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. SPOONER presented a memorial of Cigar Makers' Union of Ashland, Wis., remonstrating against the proposed rate of duty to be placed upon Habana fillers and Habana and Sumatra wrappers; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a petition of the Merchant Tailors' Exchange of Milwaukee, Wis., praying for the passage without amendment of section 666 of the pending tariff bill, relating to the free entry of wearing apparel, personal effects, etc.; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. KYLE presented a petition of sundry citizens of Deadwood, S. Dak., praying for the enactment of legislation for a more rigid restriction of immigration; which was ordered to lie on the table.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

Mr. BUTLER, from the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads, to whom the subject was referred, reported an amendment intended to be proposed to the general deficiency appropriation bill, the amendment providing for the relief of George Z. French, late postmaster at Wilmington, N. C., and moved that it be printed, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Appropriations; which was agreed to.

Mr. GALLINGER, from the Committee on Pensions, to whom was referred the bill (S. 1514) granting arrears of pension to H. Morris Husband, asked to be discharged from its further consideration, and that it be referred to the Committee on Claims; which was agreed to.

Mr. CARTER, from the Committee on Territories, to whom was referred the bill (S. 1040) to provide compensation for a bridge and for buildings and other improvements constructed by certain persons upon public lands afterwards set apart and reserved as the Yellowstone National Park, reported it without amendment, and submitted a report thereon.

He also, from the same committee, to whom was referred the bill (S. 643) for the relief of C. J. Baronett, of Gardiner, Mont., reported adversely thereon; and the bill was postponed indefinitely.

Mr. SHOUP, from the Committee on Territories, to whom was referred the bill (S. 2010) to establish a new land district, to be known as the Yukon land district, in the Territory of Alaska, asked to be discharged from its further consideration, and that it be referred to the Committee on Public Lands; which was agreed to.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Mr. CARTER (by request) introduced a bill (S. 2036) to increase the pension of Mary C. Cook; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying paper, referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. SPOONER introduced a bill (S. 2037) granting a pension to Ellie Kee; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

ADDITIONAL TELEGRAPH OPERATOR.

Mr. DAVIS submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That the President of the Senate be authorized and directed to appoint an additional telegraph operator for service at the Senate Annex, at a salary of $1,200 per annum, to be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate until otherwise provided.

ALICE JOYCE.

Mr. DAVIS submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Senate be, and he hereby is, authorized and directed to pay to Alice Joyce the sum of $10 for typewriting in connection with the hearing had before the subcommittee of the Committee on Foreign Relations of Harry Earle in regard to conditions in Cuba, the same to be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate.

THE TARIFF BILL.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 379) to provide revenue for the Government and to encourage the industries of the United States.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will state the pending amendment.

The SECRETARY. On page 3 the Committee on Finance propose to insert the following as an additional paragraph:

7½. Bleaching powder, or chloride of lime, one-fourth of 1 cent per pound.

Mr. ALDRICH. That item was passed over yesterday by general consent.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The reading of the bill will be proceeded with.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, on page 3, in line 19, after the word "copper," to insert "one-half of;" so as to make the paragraph read:

8. Blue vitriol, or sulphate of copper, one-half of 1 cent per pound.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 3 to strike out lines 23 and 24, as follows:

10. Borax, crude, or borate of soda, or borate of lime, 2 cents per pound; refined borax, 3 cents per pound.

And to insert a new paragraph, as follows:

10. Borax, 5 cents per pound; borates of lime or soda, or other borate material not otherwise provided for, containing more than 36 per cent of anhydrous boracic acid, 4 cents per pound; borates of lime or soda, or other borate material not otherwise provided for, containing not more than 36 per cent of anhydrous boracic acid, 3 cents per pound.

Mr. VEST. I offer the following as a substitute for the committee amendment:

Borax, crude, or borate of soda, or borate of lime, 1¼ cents per pound; refined borax, 2 cents per pound.

Under the existing law the duty upon borax, crude; borate of soda, and borate of lime is 1¼ cents a pound, and on refined borax it is 2 cents a pound. Under the McKinley law the duty was 3 cents a pound upon borax, crude; borate of lime, and borate of soda, and 5 cents a pound upon the refined borax.

I call attention simply to the proposed duties, which it seems to me are enormous. I do not propose now to go back and discuss the duty upon borax, but I call attention to the fact that the value of borate of lime is 2.4 cents, according to the comparative statement, and upon it the proposed amendment puts a duty of 4 cents a pound. This is an enormous taxation, and there is nothing to justify it, as was said yesterday, and I do not care to repeat it at any length, upon an article which enters into almost all the ordinary uses of life. For that reason I propose to go back, if possible, to the existing duty as now provided by statute.

Mr. ALDRICH. I do not intend to prolong the discussion upon this article. I think the question was fairly settled yesterday in the vote of the Senate. But I do desire to call the attention of the Senator from Missouri to a fact which may have escaped his attention. In previous tariff acts the duties upon refined borax were very much higher than are suggested by the amendment of the committee. In 1862 the rate was fixed at 10 cents a pound, and it remained at 10 cents a pound until the act of 1883—nearly double, or quite double, the rate suggested by the committee.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I have mislaid for the moment a paper that I desired to present to the Senate. It was received by me subsequent to what I submitted to the Senate yesterday, and shows, among other things, the price of borate of lime in London now. I stated yesterday that borate of lime was sold in London at £9 sterling per ton. I yesterday received a communication, after making that statement to the Senate, showing quotations in the London market at £8 and 15s per ton—less than a cent and a half a pound as the London price of an American article shipped to the London market, and on which this bill proposes to give a protective tariff of 4 cents a pound. I am unable to find at this moment the paper which I wished to present to the Senate, but I will ask leave to insert it in the RECORD if I should be fortunate enough to find it.

I wish to call attention in this connection, for one moment, to a statement made by Mr. Krebs before the Ways and Means Committee of the House, which shows the animus of this proposition as distinctly as anything else can. In speaking of the proposition to put this tax on the borate of lime he used this language, on page 38:

As an evidence of good faith, the American miners have offered and stand ready to supply this raw material to contracting parties at the foreign price, plus the ruling rate of duty.

This is all we accuse them of, proposing to mine borate of lime in this country, send it abroad, and sell it at a cent and a half a pound, and they are willing to sell it to American consumers for the foreign price, which is about 1¼ cents a pound plus the ruling rate of duty, now about 2 cents a pound, I believe, and if the bill goes into effect it will be 4 cents.

I agree with the Senator from Rhode Island that this question was about settled yesterday. It is useless to attempt to argue the question further, and I am willing to submit the matter to the good sense of the Senate. I will insert in the RECORD, however, the paper which I spoke of just now, which comes from a borax manufacturer and refiner of borax who has been in the business for thirty years, and who states the facts in connection with his trade, which I commend to the attention of the Senate.

The paper referred to is as follows:

The Calico borate mine, near Daggett, San Bernardino County, Cal. (owned by an English corporation styled the Pacific Coast Borax Company, and Redwood & Sons, Chemical Works, Limited), is the only mine of borate of lime operated in the United States at the present time, and all their output is either refined by themselves and sold in this country or is exported in its crude form to Liverpool and sold there. The report of Thomas Price & Sons, San Francisco, is that there "certainly seems to exist here an almost inexhaustible deposit of available calcium borate." (See page 4, prospectus of this company.)

I wish to state—

First. That the Pacific Coast Borax Company is a foreign corporation, organized under English laws, and an absolute monopoly.

Second. It has driven out of existence every American borax mine by reason of superior conditions and business methods.

Third. It ships the crude article to England in large quantities (constantly increasing), and sells it there in competition with the Turkish borate.

Fourth. The reduction in price of borax refined is due alone to the fact that with a duty of 1¼ cents per pound on borate of lime under the present law and 2 cents per pound for borax refined there is a slight but uncertain chance for Eastern refiners to compete with the Pacific Coast monopoly.

Fifth. With the present rates of duty the Pacific Coast people are able to reduce prices and now control 80 per cent of the domestic market, and under existing rates (the Wilson bill), sooner or later, they will destroy the Eastern refining interests.

Sixth. Since the passage of the present law the Pacific Coast Borax Company have steadily reduced the price of refined borax until it is now 5¼ cents per pound in carload lots in New York. The domestic annual production, all by this one company now, has increased from 8,000,000 pounds in 1893, with a duty then under the McKinley law of 3 cents per pound on crude and 5 cents per pound on refined, to 16,000,000 pounds at the present time under the present law of 1¼ cents per pound on crude and 2 cents per pound on refined.

Seventh. This company admits that it can lay the borate down in San Francisco at 60 cent per 100 pounds; the freight to New York from there, 30 cents per 100 pounds, making 90 cents laid down in New York. This company sells the crude article in the London market at $1.95 per 100 pounds, as against the Turkish at $2 per 100 pounds. The foreign can not be landed in New York for less than 3¼ cents per pound, including duty. This leaves a margin between the cost of Pacific Coast borate laid down in New York and the foreign article laid down there of 2.6 cents per pound, or a protection to the domestic crude article in the New York market of 166 per cent, under the existing law of 1¼ cents per pound; the amendment proposed by the Finance Committee of 4 cents per pound on borate is equivalent to a protection of 425 per cent, based on a strength of 40 per cent.

To protect such a monopoly to this extent seems monstrous. The American system, of which we should all feel proud, was intended only to protect domestic products in which there is possibility of competition. There are two conditions only which forbid protective duties—first, a monopoly in the United States; second, the impossibility of production at home. For this first reason, the rate of duty on borate of lime should in no event exceed 1 cent per pound, which would be over 100 per cent on the present domestic value laid down in New York of the Pacific Coast article.

In their English prospectus for 1896, a printed document, they say:

"To check competition in borax in the United States the American Company (now the English corporation) has largely reduced the selling price of borax during the past year or so, submitting to a temporary decreased profit and looking for the largely increased demand to compensate it in the immediate future. In the United States of America the price has now been reduced so that neither the crude nor the refined borax can be imported to compete with the company at a remunerative profit."

The price paid by the English company for this monopoly was $2,500,000.

In October, 1896, this English company, called the Pacific Coast Borax Company and Redwood & Sons Chemical Works, Limited, after paying debenture interest and paying the entire preference dividend, reported a balance of profit for the six months ending September 30, 1896, sufficient to pay 12 per cent dividend.

This was in reality for the period from April to September, or only five months.

It is very important that you bear in mind these facts.

The domestic production of the crude article has increased from 8,000,000 pounds in 1894 to 16,000,000 in 1896, all by this English corporation.

The domestic consumption reached 20,000,000 pounds for 1896, so that this company possesses 80 per cent of the market.

The export of the crude article to Liverpool, all by this one company, has increased from 597,000 in 1893 to over 5,000,000 pounds in 1896.

The price of the refined borax in the United States is absolutely dictated by this one company.

All the domestic miners of crude borax in any form have been driven to the wall.

There is but one domestic manufacturer using foreign borate remaining in business. This English company asserts in its prospectus that his business has already been made unprofitable under the present rates. What, then, would be his condition if the rate of duty is advanced to 4 cents from 1¼ cents, and what would be the effect upon the many and diversified industries which are compelled to use borax, as follows:

Bleachers, calico manufacturers, cement makers, chemists, china manufacturers, color makers, coppersmiths, cosmetic makers, dentists, druggists, dyers, earthenware makers, enameled ware manufacturers, fish curers, fruit preservers, glass makers, harness makers, hat manufacturers, imitation-gem makers, imitation-marble manufacturers, ink makers, iron workers, jewelers, lace manufacturers, leather workers, linen manufacturers, machinists, meat packers, metallurgists, milk preservers, mucilage makers, opticians, painters, paper makers, photographers, pipe manufacturers, plasterers, polishers, porcelain makers, potters, printers, safe makers, silk manufacturers, soap makers, starch manufacturers, tanners, timber preservers, tile manufacturers, varnish makers, and wick manufacturers. And each year new uses are being discovered.

This company will not sell under usual business conditions their crude article in this country, claiming that they should have the exclusive control of refining.

CHAS. PFIZER & CO.

(Manufacturers of borax for the past thirty years.)

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The following is a copy of a letter which has just come to my hands:

Below we submit copy of letter from a firm of brokers in Liverpool, England, showing exports of California borate or "colemanite:"

"California borate or colemanite.—Recent arrivals were for sale at about £8 15s. per ton, delivered ex. quay in bags, less 2½ per cent discount, on the basis of 40 per cent of anhydrous boracic acid.

"Imports into Liverpool, from January 1 to date have been, 1896, 755 tons and 30,011 bags; 1895, 13,745 bags; 1894, 9,252 bags; 1893, 5,427 bags. (Bags 112 pounds each.)

"DECEMBER 29, 1896."

The following is a copy of a letter showing the price of borax:

165 WATER STREET, NEW YORK, *May 22, 1897.*

DEAR SIRS: We beg to announce the following prices on borax, carload lots, f. o. b. your city, terms ten days, net. These prices are effective May 24:

	Cents.
Refined, powdered and crystal, in barrels	5½
Refined, crystal, in sacks	5
Concentrated in sacks (when in stock)	4½

Please note that orders for concentrated borax can only be accepted subject to our having the goods in stock at the time.

The above prices cancel all previous quotations.

Yours, truly,

PACIFIC COAST BORAX COMPANY.

This company advanced the price of borax one-eighth of a cent per pound, as shown, on May 22. A few weeks ago they reduced the price one-eighth of a cent per pound.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. GALLINGER in the chair). The question is on the substitute proposed by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST] to the amendment of the committee.

The amendment to the amendment was rejected.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in line 7, page 4, after the word "refined," to strike out "4" and insert "6;" so as to read:

Camphor, refined, 6 cents per pound.

Mr. VEST. I should like to ask why this duty is put 2 cents above the McKinley rate upon an article of general use in the country? I ask the Senator from Rhode Island why they go above the McKinley rate? What sort of reason can there be for an increase of 2 cents a pound?

Mr. ALDRICH. A considerable advance in the price of camphor, both crude and refined, rendered the duty of the McKinley bill inadequate at the present time. When a duty of 4 cents a pound was levied, it was equal to 15 per cent ad valorem. The 6-cent duty which we now propose is also equivalent to 15 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. VEST. It is more than 15 per cent.

Mr. ALDRICH. I think not.

Mr. VEST. I know it is; but I have not the comparative statement here.

Mr. ALDRICH. The figures of the committee show that this rate is not over 15 per cent. It is certainly not a very high rate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the committee.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, on page 4, to strike out line 8 to line 13, inclusive, in the following words:

12. Chalk, ground, precipitated or prepared only, in the form of cubes, blocks, sticks, or disks, as tailors', billiard, red or French chalk, 1 cent per pound; all other chalk preparations, except medicinal or toilet preparations, and manufactures of chalk not specially provided for in this act, 25 per cent ad valorem.

And insert:

12. Chalk (not medicinal nor prepared for toilet purposes), when ground, precipitated naturally or artificially, or otherwise prepared, whether in the form of cubes, blocks, sticks, or disks, or otherwise, including tailors', billiard, red, or French chalk, 1 cent per pound. Manufactures of chalk not specially provided for in this act, 25 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. VEST. I simply want to call attention to the fact that, notwithstanding the statement made by the Senator from Rhode Island that in very few paragraphs were the duties made higher than under the McKinley Act, here again, on prepared chalk, is another increase over the McKinley rate. If there is any reason for it, I have been unable to discover it.

Mr. ALDRICH. It is the same rate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the committee.

The amendment was agreed to.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, on page 4, line 21, after the word "chloroform," to strike out "twenty" and insert "fifteen;" so as to read:

13. Chloroform, 15 cents per pound.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the amendment will be considered as agreed to.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The amendment in relation to chloroform ought not to be adopted in the form that it stands. For the present, however, I shall not detain the Senate on any motion in connection with it, but may subsequently submit a motion in relation to that in another paragraph.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment has been agreed to.

The Secretary read paragraph 14 as follows:

14. Coal-tar dyes or colors, 35 per cent ad valorem; all other products or preparations of coal tar, by whatever name known, not specially provided for in this act, 25 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. ALDRICH. I ask that that paragraph may be passed over for the present.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The paragraph will be passed over.

Mr. QUAY. In connection with the clause which has been passed over, I send to the desk certain protests against placing coal-tar blacks on the free list. I do not ask to have them read, but I ask to have them printed in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, that order will be made.

The protests referred to are as follows:

To the honorable the Senate of the United States:

We, the undersigned, textile manufacturers of the United States, having learned that in the tariff bill now being considered by you blacks enumerated as fast-black coal-tar dyes have been placed on the free list, and believe that the competition now existing between the aniline blacks and the logwood blacks, which we desire to have continued, tends to keep at a low price both classes of dyes, and that any legislation which will destroy, cripple, or restrict the continued production of American extract of logwood will be hurtful to our interests.

All of which we respectfully submit.

MAY, 1897.

John & James Dobson, Philadelphia, Pa.; John Bromley & Sons, Philadelphia, Pa.; Southwark Mills Company (per James Brown, president), Philadelphia, Pa.; W. H. Lorimer's Sons Company, Philadelphia, Pa.; D. Trainer & Sons Manufacturing Company (per W. E. Trainer, president), Thurlow, Pa.; George C. Hetzel & Co., Chester, Pa.; Samuel A. Crozer & Son, Upland, Pa.; Patterson Mills Company, Chester, Pa.; James Irving & Son, Limited, Chester, Pa.; Shaw, Esrey & Co., Limited, Chester, Pa.; The Lilley & Sons Manufacturing Company, Chester, Pa.; Byram Manufacturing Company, Chester, Pa.; Wolfenden, Shore & Co. (per John T. Wolfenden, president), Philadelphia, Pa.; Robert Callaghan, Philadelphia, Pa.; Louisville Woolen Mills (Arch. M. Robinson, assistant treasurer), Louisville, Ky.; Knipscher & Maass Silk Dyeing Company (per Geo. W. Cole, secretary), Paterson, N. J.; E. Geering, Paterson, N. J.; The R. J. Berdan Company (per R. J. Berdan), Paterson, N. J.; Kearns Bros., Paterson, N. J.; Dordoni Silk Dyeing Company (Constant Dodroni), Paterson, N. J.; Lawrence Webster & Co., Malone, N. Y.; J. O. Ballard & Co., Malone, N. Y.; S. C. Paddock, Malone, N. Y.; Mohawk Valley Cap Factory, Utica, N. Y.; Little Falls Wool Extract Company, Little Falls, N. Y.; J. S. Barnett & Co., Little Falls, N. Y.; The New York Mills Company, New York Mills, N. Y.; Belding Bros. & Co., Northampton, Mass. (also Michigan); Springfield Blanket Company, Holyoke, Mass.; Beebe, Webber & Co., Holyoke, Mass.; Wharton & Co.; Worcester Bleach and Dye Works, Worcester, Mass.; Worthern Aldrich & Co., Passaic, N. J.; W. S. Taylor & Bloodgood, jr., Rahway, N. J.; Dexter Woolen Company, Abbott, Me.; Indian Spring Woolen Company, Madison, Me.; Linn Woolen Company, Hartland, Me.; Madison Woolen Company, Madison, Me.; Newport Woolen Company, W. E. Whittle Dye Works, Jas. D. Minto & Co. Dye Works, Woonsocket Worsted Mills, Woonsocket, R. I.; Contrexeville Manufacturing Company, Manville, R. I.; River Spinning Company, Woonsocket, R. I.; Thomas L. Leedom & Co., Bristol, Pa.; H. S. Henry, Philadelphia, Pa.; Julius Kayser & Co., Brooklyn, N. Y.; William Carson, S. B. Rhodes, William Burnley, John E. Burnley, John S. Butterworth, O. N. Long, John Williams Manufacturing Company, Philadelphia, Pa.; Charles King, Johnstown, N. Y.; John Burke & Sons, Johnstown, N. Y.; George A. Stewart & Co., Johnstown, N. Y.; Northrup Clove Company, Johnstown, N. Y.; Bellis & Ball, Johnstown, N. Y.; Geo. F. Troutwine & Co., Gloversville, N. Y.; Booth & Co., Gloversville, N. Y.; Joseph E. Wood, Gloversville, N. Y.; James Cuningham & Sons, Oriskany Falls, N. Y.; Seneca Woolen Mills (per John P. Chamberlain, proprietor), Stamford, N. Y.; Ayershire Woolen Mills (Gavin Morton, proprietor), Skaneateles Falls, N. Y.; Fulton Worsted Mills, Oswego Falls, N. Y.; The Hawthorne Mills Company (J. H. Hunt, treasurer), Glenville, Conn.; The Salts Textile Manufacturing Company (C. Fred Stead, treasurer), Bridgeport, Conn.; Foxcroft Woolen Company, Foxcroft, Me.; St. Ronans Woolen Mills, Sangerville, Me.; Carlton Mills Company, Sangerville, Me.; Sangerville Woolen Company, Sangerville, Me.; Piscataquis Woolen Company, Guilford, Me.; Pioneer Woolen Company, Pittsfield, Me.; Waverly Woolen Company, Pittsfield, Me.; Lewis Anderson & Co., Skowhegan, Me.; Talbot Mills (Fredrick S. Clark, treasurer), North Billerica, Mass.; Sterling Mills (Benj. Phipps, treasurer), Lowell, Mass.; Cocheco Woolen Mills (Benj. Phipps, treasurer), East Rochester, N. H.; Gonic Manufacturing Company (Benj. Phipps, treasurer), Gonic, N. H.; Devonshire Mills, Goffs Falls, N. H.; Belvidere Woolen Manufacturing Company (Chas. A. Stott, treasurer), Lowell, Mass.; Georges River Mills, Warren, Me.; Hamilton Woolen Company, Southbridge, Mass.; L. Sjostrom, Son & Co., Lawrence, Mass.; Hillsboro Woolen Mill Company (R. F. Greeley, treasurer), Hillsboro Bridge, N. H.; Crown Mills, Marcellus, N. Y.; Auburn Woolen Company, Auburn, N. Y.; George Yarnall, Philadelphia, Pa.; Germania Dye Works, Philadelphia, Pa.; Harrowgate Dye Works, Philadelphia, Pa.; Charles H. Fleming, Philadelphia, Pa.; Samuel B. Bunting, Philadelphia, Pa.; A. L. Oat, Philadelphia, Pa.; Seamless Hosiery Company, Rochester, N. Y.; York Manufacturing Company (F. C. McDuffie, treasurer), Saco, Me.; Everitt Mills (F. C. McDuffie, treasurer), Lawrence, Mass.; Sanford Mills, Sanford, Me.; Goodall Worsted Company, Sanford, Me.; Cowan Manufacturing Company, Lewiston, Me.; Cumberland Mills, Lewiston, Me.; Webster Woolen Company, Sabbatus, Me.; Lexington Print Works, Canton, Mass.; Silver Spring Bleach and Dye Works, Providence, R. I.; North Berwick Company, North Berwick, Me.; Great Falls Woolen Company, Great Falls, N. H.; Sawyer Woolen Mills, Dover, N. H.; Chester Manufacturing Company (D. Howarth, president), Chester, Pa.; Rockville Warp Mills Company (Frank M. Adams, secretary), Rockville, Conn.; Crompton Company (Howard Richmond, secretary), Providence, R. I.; Fletcher Manufacturing Company (John Ames, treasurer), Providence, R. I.; Interlaken Mills (A. L. Ordway, president), Providence, R. I.; Union Wadding Company (Lyman W. Goff, president), Pawtucket, R. I.; The American Hair Cloth Company (Chas. E. Pervear, agent), Pawtucket, R. I.; Farwell Worsted Mills, Central Falls, R. I.; Harrison Y. and D. Company, Pawtucket, R. I.; D. Goff & Sons (D. L. Goff, treasurer), Pawtucket, R. I.; Royal Weaving Company (D. L. Goff, president), Central Falls, R. I.; Orr Bros., Pawtucket, R. I.; American Curled Hair Co. (J. C. McCarthy); Glenlyon Dye Works, Saylesville, R. I.; Green & Daniels Mfg. Co., Pawtucket, R. I.; Z. L. Howell & Co. (Jas. T. Stewart, supt.); William Hall & Co., Philadelphia, Pa.; Arasapha Mfg. Co., (John N. Wilson, pres.) Chester, Pa.; Aikens Hosiery Mills, Tilton, N. H.; G. H. Tilton, Tilton, N. H.; Elm Mills Woolen Co., Tilton, N. H.; Worcester Carpet Co.;

Millville Mfg. Co., (Geo. Wood, Pres.) Millville and Philadelphia; Silver Springs B. and D. Works, (Chas. Warren Lippet, pres.), Providence, R. I.; Ashland Knitting Co., Ashland, N. H.; Squam Lake Mills, Ashland, N. H.; Hodgson & Holt Mfg. Co., Laconia, N. H.; Pitman Mfg. Co., Laconia, N. H.; Estey Hosiery Co., Laconia, N. H.; J. W. Busiel & Co., Laconia, N. H.; John Chase & Son, Webster, Mass.; Weber Leather Co., Webster, Mass.; H. E. Gordon & Sons, Salem, Mass.; Treadwell Bros. & Clark, Salem, Mass.; C. B. Brainard & Co., Salem, Mass.; P. D. Egan, Salem, Mass.; John J. Cunney, Salem, Mass.; John O'Callahan, Salem, Mass.; Patrick Creedon, Salem, Mass.; N. Kelley, Salem, Mass.; A. Mouthuy, Salem, Mass.; Peter Simm & Son, Salem, Mass.; T. H. O'Shea, Peabody, Mass.; Edward Eagan & Sons, Peabody, Mass.; L. W. Foran, Peabody, Mass.; Calvin J. Larrabee, Peabody, Mass.; Donohue Bros., Lynn, Mass.; Perear & Co., Boston, Mass.; Moss Blacking Co., Boston, Mass.; L. R. Hersom & Sons, Somersworth, N. H.; Queen Dyeing Co., Rhode Island; Lymansville Co., Rhode Island; Manton Mills, Rhode Island; Peter Wood Dyeing Co., Rhode Island; Kennedy & Brett, Philadelphia, Pa.; Jas. & Geo. D. Bromley, Philadelphia, Pa.; Bromley Bros. Carpet Co., Philadelphia, Pa.; R. Johnson, Philadelphia, Pa.; Philadelphia Dye Works, Philadelphia, Pa.; Ontario Mills (W. Rogers & Co.), Philadelphia, Pa.; J. William Lewis & Co., Chester, Pa.; J. & S. Tees, Conshohocken, Pa.; Dickey & MacMaster, Philadelphia, Pa.; Edward T. Ziock, Philadelphia, Pa.; Geo. Branson & Co., Philadelphia, Pa.; H. C. Tones & Co., Philadelphia, Pa.; F. W. Smith, Philadelphia, Pa.; William Watt & Son, Philadelphia, Pa.; Geo. MacFarland & Co., Philadelphia, Pa.; N. F. Scatchard, Philadelphia, Pa.

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At a meeting of the dyewood-extract manufacturers of the United States, held in the city of New York on May 5, 1897, it was deemed best to submit to the individual Senators of the United States a brief statement of the position of their industry as it would be affected by the enactment of the tariff bill as reported by the Senate Finance Committee; and to submit therewith statements from the various industries other than the manufacturers of the product, which indicate the result to each of legislation which would cripple or destroy the manufacture of dyewood extracts.

The dyewood-extract industry has been established in the United States for nearly one hundred years. It represents at the present time an investment of many millions of dollars, and is distributed through the States of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia.

It gives direct employment to thousands of operatives who are directly engaged in the manufacture of its products, as well as others who are employed in the freighting and handling of the raw material, which amounts approximately to 100,000 tons per annum.

All this raw material is brought into the United States from the West Indies, Central America, and Mexico, and for the most part in ships of American register. It serves as the chief article of freight from the countries named, and should the extract-manufacturing industry be crippled or destroyed, great damage and loss to the shipping interests would result, as will be seen from the petition of the shipowners and agents hereto annexed as signed.

In exchange for the raw material brought into the United States annually, many millions of dollars of manufactured goods and provisions of all classes are exported to the West Indies, Central America, and Mexico. The damage to these various exporting interests resulting from any reduction or cessation of imports of dyewoods is shown by the exporters' petition hereto annexed.

In the tariff bill as reported by the Finance Committee of the Senate to that body, coal-tar black dyes are placed upon the free list. These are the chief and sole products which compete with the logwood black dyes made by the American dyewood-extract manufacturers. Should they be retained in the free list, they will cripple, if not entirely destroy, the dyewood-extract business, prevent the importation of dyewoods from the countries now shipping them to the United States, and cut off a corresponding amount from the export trade of the country.

That the placing of the coal-tar blacks on the free list is not considered of advantage by the textile interests, who are the sole consumers, is fully shown in the petition from this interest hereto annexed, to which your attention is particularly called.

These colors are made and patented in Germany. They are also fully protected by United States letters patent, and can not be manufactured by Americans on that account. The result of placing them upon the free list will be the destruction of a long-established and progressive American industry, the throwing out of employment of thousands of men for no purpose and to no end but the benefit of the German manufacturer and his American representative, who have no capital invested in the United States, and who, owing to the protection given them by the Government in their patents, are in possession of an absolute monopoly.

For these reasons, and in order that this long-established American industry may have a fair and equal chance for existence, you are urged to use your influence to have coal-tar blacks restored to the dutiable list in which they have always been classed heretofore.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

The Stamford Manufacturing Company, of Connecticut and New York; The New York and Boston Dyewood Company, of New York and Boston; The Sharpless Dyewood Extract Company, of Philadelphia; Innis & Co., of New York; The Oakes Manufacturing Company, of New York; The Harway Dyewood and Extract Manufacturing Company, of New York; J. S. Young & Co., of Baltimore; John D. Lewis, of Providence; Browning & Bros., of Philadelphia and New Jersey; The W. G. Johnson Company, of Norwich, Conn.

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To the honorable the Senate of the United States:

We, the manufacturers, sellers, and shippers of American goods for export to the West Indies, Central American and Mexican ports, having heard that coal-tar or aniline blacks have been placed on the free list, most earnestly protest against any such action.

The manufacture of dyewood extracts in this country has become a very important and large factor in the business that is done between the United States and the other countries. Some three millions of dollars' worth of dyewoods are brought into this country annually, and in return we sell American produce, clothing, and other articles to the shippers, agents, and importers of those dyewoods.

It is not alone the injury that would be done to the manufacture of dyewood extracts that we protest against, but because of the injury inflicted on the many interests now selling American goods for export to these countries, which have been steadily growing for many years.

Aniline or coal-tar colors, we believe, are almost entirely of foreign make and protected by United States letters patent; therefore the placing of them on the free list would be of no benefit to anyone in the United States.

Believing that the amount of trade created with these foreign countries by this dyewood business has not been fully understood, we offer you this petition and ask that you do not injure the large export business that has been brought about with these foreign countries owing to the dyewood extract manufacturers, and which would be the result were they injured by any adverse legislation.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

MAY, 1897.

J. O'Connor, 35 Water street, general merchandise; Grindal & Andresen, 11 Water street, general merchandise; Huber & Co., 13 Water street, flour, etc.; Kurzman Bros., 38 Pearl street, general merchandise; Bartram Bros., 62 Pearl street, general merchandise; Henry D. McCord & Sons, 94 Broad street, grain, hay, etc.; C. F. Coffin, 47 Pearl street, general merchandise; V. Lopez & Co., 42 Pearl street, general merchandise; Boyce & Hartshorne, 75 Broad street, general merchandise; D. D. Mangam & Co., 77 Broad street, grain, hay, etc.; Holt & Co., 95 Broad street, flour, etc.; The N. K. Fairbank Company, Produce Exchange, general merchandise; The Hecker, Jones, Jewell Milling Company, Produce Exchange, flour, etc.; The W. J. Wilcox Lard and Refining Company, Produce Exchange, general merchandise; Shepard & Morse Lumber Company, 18 Broadway, lumber, etc.; W. H. Deghuee, Produce Exchange annex, lumber, etc.; Benjamin Low Company, 2 and 4 Stone street, general merchandise; E. E. Hubbard, 49 Water street, general merchandise; C. H. Pearson, Produce Exchange, flour, etc.; The Isaac Harter Company, Produce Exchange, flour, etc.; Central Lard Company, Produce Exchange, general merchandise; W. A. Freeman, 29 Broadway, general merchandise; E. H. Dougherty & Co., Produce Exchange, general merchandise; Geo. A. Zabriskie, Produce Exchange, flour, etc.; Pillsbury-Washburn Flour Company, Produce Exchange, flour, etc.; McIntyre & Wardwell, Produce Exchange, flour, etc.; Rohe & Bros., Produce Exchange, pork, provisions, etc.; S. B. Low, Produce Exchange, pork, etc.; C. E. McDowell, Produce Exchange, pork, etc.; Chas. E. Armstrong, 1 William street, general merchandise; Thomas Regney & Co., 121 Pearl street, general merchandise; Longman & Martinez, 207 Pearl street, paints, oils, and varnishes; De Grauw & Aymar & Co., 34 South street, cordage, jute, and oakum.

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To the honorable the Senate of the United States:

Your petitioners comprise owners in and agents of steamers and sailing vessels under the American flag engaged in carrying goods from the port of New York to the countries of Haiti, Mexico, Jamaica, etc., and transporting back from these countries cargoes of logwood, fustic, and other dyewoods to the ports of New York, Boston, and Philadelphia to the extent of about 100,000 tons annually. This carrying trade has been of many years' continuance, and gives engagements to many sailing vessels and steamers under the American flag.

We earnestly protest against the reduction of duties on aniline colors or blacks, at present paying a 35 per cent duty. We earnestly protest against the placing of naphtharzine black or any other coal-tar black on the free list, as any such action would greatly diminish the use of logwood and other dyewoods in the United States. In consequence, the carrying trade which our vessels are engaged in in transporting these dyewoods from Haiti, Jamaica, and Mexico to the United States would be almost entirely lost; and, further, the loss of the logwood and dyewood trade with the United States would greatly reduce the abilities of the countries of Haiti, Jamaica, and Mexico to handle American goods, and so greatly affect our business of carrying cargoes from the United States to the above countries.

We further desire to call your attention to the fact that aniline colors, including blacks, are manufactured solely in Germany, owing to their being patented in that country, so that no manufacturer could produce them in the United States. We therefore regard any reduction of duties from the law on aniline dyes or blacks as favoring the commerce of Germany to the destruction of American commerce.

MAY, 1897.

Wm. P. Clyde & Co., 5 Bowling Green; James E. Ward & Co., 113 Wall street; Fred. B. Dalzell, 70 South street; Chadwick & Potter, 36 South street; J. H. Winchester & Co., 62 New street; A. D. Snow, 103 Hanover square; F. A. Dayton, 23 South street; W. W. Battle & Co., Produce Exchange; Foulke & Co., 25 Beaver street; M. E. Berry, Produce Exchange; Louis Martin, 32 South street; Baker, Carver & Morrell, 75 Front street; Smith & Gregory, 41 South street; W. R. Hutchings, 31 South street; Arch. H. Belle, 122 Pearl street; McCaldin Bros. Company, 81 Broad street; B. F. Metcalf & Co., 81 New street; Geo. A. Tooker, 16 Beaver street; Miller & Houghton, 16 Beaver street; R. B. Constantine, 220 Lewis street; J. F. Whitney & Co., 81 New street; J. R. Hall, 80 Wall street; R. F. Cadiz, Produce Exchange; McIntosh, Terrio & Co., 37 Old slip; Bowring & Archibald, Produce Exchange; Michael Rupp & Co., 39 South street; West & Hughes, 34 Old slip; Wm. N. Reardon, Produce Exchange; R. P. Buck & Co., 78–80 Broad street; Bartram Bros., 62 Pearl street; H. P. Brown & Co., 23 Coenties slip; Jas. A. Simpson, 25 Coenties slip; E. George & Co., 38 South street; C. W. Crane & Co., 38 South street; H. B. Rawson & Co., 45 South street; F. V. L. Jones, 54 South street; Ray & Fickett, 62 South street; Swan & Son, 66 South street; S. L'Hommedieu, 78 South street; Ebel & Co. (New York and Haiti Packet Line), Produce Exchange.

From the port of Philadelphia, Pa.: L. Westergaard & Co., 138 South Second street, Philadelphia, Pa.; Eissing & Haldt, 216 Walnut street, Philadelphia, Pa.; James N. Stetson & Co., 208 Walnut street, Philadelphia, Pa.; George Harris, Jr., & Co., 127 Walnut street, Philadelphia, Pa.; Chas. F. Megee & Co., 113 Walnut street, Philadelphia, Pa.; Joseph F. Cummings, 236 South Twentieth street, Philadelphia, Pa.; Henry D. May & Co., 113 Walnut street, Philadelphia, Pa.; Stetson & Finismore, 109 Walnut street, Philadelphia, Pa.; Chas. A. Pettet & Co., 121 Walnut street, Philadelphia, Pa.; J. Alton Mitchell, 210 Walnut street, Philadelphia, Pa.; Manuel McShain & Co., 214 Walnut street, Philadelphia, Pa.; Jno. L. Nicholson, Merchants' Exchange, Philadelphia, Pa.; Jonathan May's Sons, 500 South Delaware avenue, Philadelphia, Pa.; John B. Hamel, Jr., & Co., 212 South Third street, Philadelphia, Pa.; Thomas Winsmore, 123 Walnut street, Philadelphia, Pa.; Darrah & Elwell, 512 South Delaware avenue, Philadelphia, Pa.; John Baizley, 510 South Delaware avenue, Philadelphia, Pa.; George Taulane,

330 South Delaware avenue, Philadelphia, Pa.; W. F. Hagar & Co., 421 Chestnut street, Philadelphia, Pa.; Shubert & Cottingham, 118 South Delaware avenue, Philadelphia, Pa.; John Mair & Son, 136 South Delaware avenue, Philadelphia, Pa.; John Middleton, 219 Walnut street, Philadelphia, Pa.; Curtis Tilton, 419 Walnut street, Philadelphia, Pa.; Vessels Owners and Captains Association (Jno. L. Nicholson, president), Philadelphia, Pa.; Wilson & Crawford, 330 South Delaware avenue, Philadelphia, Pa.

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To the honorable the United States Senate:

Realizing from the information that we have gathered that the dyewood-extract business of this country is in jeopardy by the placing of aniline blacks upon the free list, we, the importers, agents, shippers, and handlers of logwood and other raw material coming from the West Indies, Central America, and Mexican ports, do most earnestly protest against any action that would seriously affect this branch of trade.

The amount of business done with these manufacturers in this country will amount to about 100,000 tons, in value from two and one-half to three million dollars, which is largely brought here by American steam and sailing vessels, and in return for the same we ship large quantities of American provisions and clothing to those countries, amounting to a greater amount in value than the imports.

This is one of the principal sources of business between those countries and the United States, and any action taken that will affect the manufacturers of the extract would affect also every other line in connection with it.

The extract of dyewood business is purely an American industry, but as far as we understand it the aniline business is almost entirely European, and the bringing of these dyes into this country free would not in any way assist the American shipping interests, either in the importing or exporting of goods.

We therefore ask, under these circumstances, that you do not injure an industry that will in turn injure and destroy others.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

NEW YORK, *May, 1897.*

T. H. Messenger & Co., 161 Maiden lane, merchants; A. S. Lascelles & Co., Coffee Exchange, merchants; H. Marquardt & Co., 21 South William street, merchants; Hugo Vainer & Co., 17 South William street, merchants; H. Becker & Co., 35 South William street, merchants; Park, Sons & Co., 88 Wall street, merchants; Williams & Co., 113 Wall street, merchants; Snyder & Wheeler, 138 Pearl street, merchants; Frame, Alston & Co., 29 Broadway, merchants; A. Behrens & Co., 95 Broad street, merchants; Ward & Huntington, 14 Stone street, merchants; Ebel & Co., Produce Exchange, merchants and steamships; Bowring & Archibald, Produce Exchange, merchants and steamships; W. P. Clyde & Co., 5 Bowling Green, merchants and steamships; Lyons & Co., 4 Bowling Green, merchants; Kunhardt & Co., 32 Beaver street, merchants and steamships; Mecke & Co., 136 Front street, merchants; F. T. Montell & Sons, 63 Pine street, merchants and steamships; J. B. Vicini & Co., 91 Wall street, merchants; Leaycraft & Co., 142 Pearl street, merchants; C. Wessels & Bro., 130 Pearl street, merchants; W. & A. Leaman, 17 William street, merchants; Leo Alexander & Co., 66 Beaver street, merchants; The Johannes Haustedt Company, 101 Pearl street, merchants; E. Nelson Tibbals, 87 Pearl street, merchant; Graham Hinkley & Co., 9 South William street, merchants; H. Wiebke & Co., 5 Stone street, merchants; Eggers & Heinlein, 27 William street, merchants; Mosle Bros., 16 Exchange place, merchants; John E. Kerr & Co., 41 Beaver street, merchants and steamships; Flint, Eddy & Co., 68 Broad street, merchants; Middleton & Co., 68 Broad street, merchants; J. Agostini, 62 Broad street, merchant; J. F. Witney & Co., 81 New street, merchants and steamships; Henry W. Peabody Company, 58 New street, merchants and steamships; D. A. de Lima Company, 67 New street, merchants; Gillespie Bros. & Co., 4 Stone street, merchants; Busk & Jevons, Produce Exchange, merchants and steamships; Valentine Bros., Produce Exchange, merchants; P. F. Harper & Co., 18 Broadway, merchants; Pomares & Cushman, 38 Broadway, merchants; C. C. Abel & Co., 15 Whitehall street, merchants; J. W. Wilson & Co., 52 Front street, merchants; Smith & Gregory, 41 South street, merchants and steamships; Joseph Ware, 47 South street, merchants; A. C. Klindtworth & Co., 41 South street, merchants; Louis N. Chemidlin & Co., 16 Exchange place, merchants.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, on page 5, to strike out the paragraph from line 2 to line 7, inclusive, as follows:

16. Collodion, and all compounds of pyroxylin, by whatever name known, and whether rolled or in sheets, but not made up into articles, 50 cents per pound; if in finished or partly finished articles, including such as are commonly called celluloid articles, 75 cents per pound and 30 per cent ad valorem.

And in lieu thereof to insert:

16. Collodion, and all compounds of pyroxylin, whether known as celluloid or by any other name, rolled or in sheets or otherwise, but not made up into articles, 50 cents per pound; if in finished or partly finished articles, 60 cents per pound and 25 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. SEWELL. I ask the Senator from Rhode Island to allow that amendment to go over for the present.

Mr. ALDRICH. I am willing that paragraph 16 and the amendment reported to it by the committee shall go over.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. That order will be made, and paragraph 16, together with the proposed amendment of the committee, will go over for the present.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, on page 5, line 18, after the word "roots," to strike out "nutgalls and other;" in line 20, after the word "nuts," to insert "nutgalls;" in the same line after the word "roots," to strike out the word "and;" and in line 23, before the words "not edible," to insert "drugs and;" so as to make the paragraph read:

19. Drugs, such as barks, beans, berries, balsams, ouds, bulbs bulbous roots, excrescences, fruits, flowers, dried fibers, dried insects grains, gums and gum resin, herbs, leaves, lichens, mosses, nuts, nutgalls, roots, stems, spices, vegetables, seeds (aromatic, not garden seeds), seeds of morbid growth, weeds, and woods used expressly for dyeing; any of the foregoing which are drugs and not edible, but which are advanced in value or condition by refining, grinding, or other process, and not specially provided for in this act, 10 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. ALDRICH. I move to further amend, in line 26, by inserting after the word "act" the words "one-fourth of 1 cent per pound, and in addition thereto."

Mr. VEST. You propose to add that to the ad valorem?

Mr. ALDRICH. Yes; one-fourth of 1 cent per pound.

Mr. VEST. I should like to know the reason for that.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH] will first be stated from the desk.

The SECRETARY. In paragraph 19, on page 5, line 26, after the word "act," it is proposed to insert "one-fourth of 1 cent per pound, and in addition thereto."

Mr. ALDRICH. I will say that the reason for that is that the existing rate has proved inadequate so far as concerns a large number of the cheaper drugs.

Mr. VEST. How proved inadequate?

Mr. ALDRICH. It has given the business to the foreign grinders of drugs.

Mr. VEST. Ten per cent ad valorem has been the established duty in this country. Under the McKinley Act and under the act of 1894 the rate was 10 per cent ad valorem. The exports from this country of ginseng alone in 1896 were $770,673 worth, and of other herbs $152,896; and yet we are told now that it is necessary to put on an additional specific duty of one-fourth of 1 cent a pound, which upon a great many of these articles will be absolutely prohibitory. I protest against that sort of tax, although the majority of this Chamber may overrule me.

Mr. GRAY. I should like to ask the Senator from Rhode Island if I understood him correctly in saying that the reason for putting the specific duty in addition to the 10 per cent ad valorem was that the importers of these foreign articles control the market as against the domestic manufacturers of these drugs?

Mr. ALDRICH. Precisely; especially on some of the cheaper drugs.

Mr. GRAY. Then this is distinctly not a revenue item. This is a specific duty and is entirely for protection and not for revenue.

Mr. ALDRICH. It is for protection.

Mr. GRAY. It would decrease the revenue.

Mr. ALDRICH. It would on some of the cheaper drugs unquestionably.

Mr. GRAY. Very well. I just want to be able to know as we go through where the line is drawn between a revenue tariff and a merely protective one. This will reduce the revenue and will not increase it.

Mr. WHITE. I should like to ask the Senator from Rhode Island if he has any information as to the extent of the consumption of these products in the United States. I observe from looking at the official record that the importations since 1884, when the duty was imposed at 10 per cent, down to 1890 have in no case exceeded $100,000 worth, and the average has been, I think, about $70,000.

Mr. VEST. In 1896 we exported of those herbs, lichens, berries, etc., over $900,000 worth, and we imported some $79,000 worth. How is it possible that the market has been taken away under existing legislation? I repeat, and I want it answered, that we exported last year in all, according to the comparative statement, $900,000 worth of these herbs, etc., and we brought in a little over $79,000 worth. Now you want to put on these articles a quarter of a cent a pound more specific duty. I want the yeas and nays upon that sort of legislation, though I do not want to take up time.

Mr. GRAY. I want to call the attention of the Senator from Missouri as well as the Senator from Rhode Island to the fact that this is a very miscellaneous item. I supppose there are twenty different articles varying very much in price and value, and yet the specific duty is the same as to all. It may well fall out that this specific duty will be a duty of 100 or 200 per cent on certain articles and not so much on others, and will be a discrimination between these different articles, made at random, where it may do a very great injustice without our being able to point it out now. Putting a quarter of a cent per pound duty on 20 or 30 different articles will amount to an ad valorem varying on every article—nutgalls, vegetables, weeds, lichens, and all that sort of thing. On some of them the duty will be 100 or 200 per cent, and on some of them likely a very small per cent, but we do not know as to what we are prohibiting the importation of entirely and as to what articles we are merely increasing the price to the consumer.

Mr. ALDRICH. It is very certain that the cost of grinding these drugs is more than the duty of a quarter of a cent and 10 per cent ad valorem upon all the articles. There can be no question whatever upon that. There is no danger of imposing, if we adopt this amendment, a very high rate upon any of these articles. Of

course upon the higher-priced drugs a quarter of a cent is entirely inconsequential, and amounts to nothing; but it is upon the cheaper class of drugs where the foreigners have the market and where the importations have increased from $69,000 in 1893 to $79,000 in 1896, which this additional duty was intended to cover.

Mr. VEST. How about the exports?

Mr. ALDRICH. The exports would not be affected by this provision.

Mr. VEST. No; but we export $900,000 worth, showing that we absolutely control this market.

Mr. ALDRICH. We have control of this market as to a large portion of these drugs, but there are some of the cheaper ones, as I have stated, in which we can not compete with the foreign grinders; and it is to provide for them that this additional rate is proposed to be imposed.

Mr. GRAY. May I ask the Senator from Missouri or the Senator from Rhode Island whether these numerous articles do not include entirely raw material? Though they may not be regarded as raw material after they are ground, they are raw materials that come to this country to be ground. I read the following:

Berries, balsams, etc., which are drugs and not edible, but which are advanced in value or condition by refining, grinding, or other process.

So that the clause under consideration prohibits the importation of the raw material used by the grinders and refiners in this country.

Mr. ALDRICH. I beg the Senator's pardon. Those are on the free list in this bill, and we do not propose to disturb them. This is simply a duty upon drugs which are advanced in condition by grinding or refining, and not the crude product at all.

Mr. GRAY. Before they come over?

Mr. ALDRICH. Certainly; before they come over. Crude drugs are free, and always have been, and we do not propose to disturb them.

Mr. CAFFERY. Will the Senator explain what is the specific tax which he proposes as an amendment to the pending paragraph?

Mr. ALDRICH. One-fourth of a cent a pound.

Mr. CAFFERY. In addition to an ad valorem of 10 per cent?

Mr. ALDRICH. Yes.

Mr. CAFFERY. Mr. President, these drugs mentioned in the pending paragraph, "drugs, such as barks, beans, berries, balsams, buds, bulbs, bulbous roots, excrescences, fruits," etc., we have in as great abundance as any people on the earth. The mere process of drying and grinding these things is a very crude process in manufacture. There is no adequate reason given for this increase, and the exports are largely in excess of the imports. So we hold the American market; and this additional tariff is not for any protection whatever, but merely for prohibition. We not only hold the American market, but we export a very large quantity of these drugs.

I should like to inquire what reason there is that lurks behind this quarter of a cent per pound additional duty to the 10 per cent ad valorem? Under the McKinley law, 10 per cent was considered sufficient, and under the law of 1894 that rate was maintained. The importations under the Wilson law have only increased about $10,000—from $69,000 to $79,000. That can be accounted for, of course, by the increased consumption of those articles; it is not by reason of any insufficient duty whatever. I shall demand the yeas and nays on the amendment.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the amendment submitted by the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH].

The Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (when the name of Mr. GALLINGER was called). The present occupant of the chair is paired with the senior Senator from Texas [Mr. MILLS].

Mr. TILLMAN (when his name was called). I have a pair with the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. THURSTON], and therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. WETMORE (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the senior Senator from Georgia [Mr. BACON], and therefore withhold my vote.

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. BERRY. I desire to make a statement with reference to my pair with the Senator from Colorado [Mr. TELLER] which will apply to the various items of this bill. I have had a general pair with the Senator from Colorado for ten years. He has written me a letter, in which he states that I am at liberty to vote on any item in this bill as I see proper, except on certain items which he has specified, and stating that he expects to be present before the final vote is taken on the bill. I therefore am at liberty to vote, and vote "nay."

Mr. HARRIS of Kansas. I have a pair with the junior Senator from Wyoming [Mr. CLARK]. If he were present, I should vote "nay."

Mr. FRYE. My colleague [Mr. HALE] is detained from the Senate, being absent from the city. He is paired with the senior Senator from Arkansas [Mr. JONES] on all amendments to the tariff bill. I make this announcement, and shall not renew it.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas (after having voted in the negative). I am paired with the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE], and withdraw my vote. I voted inadvertently.

The result was announced—yeas 35, nays 21; as follows:

YEAS—35.

Aldrich,	Fairbanks,	McMillan,	Quay,
Allison,	Foraker,	Mason,	Sewell,
Baker,	Frye,	Penrose,	Shoup,
Burrows,	Gear,	Perkins,	Spooner,
Carter,	Hanna,	Pettigrew,	Stewart,
Chandler,	Hansbrough,	Platt, Conn.	Warren,
Cullom,	Hawley,	Platt, N. Y.	Wellington,
Davis,	Jones, Nev.	Pritchard,	Wilson.
Deboe,	McBride,	Proctor,	

NAYS—21.

Bate,	Kenney,	Murphy,	Turpie,
Berry,	Lindsay,	Pasco,	Vest,
Caffery,	McEnery,	Pettus,	Walthall.
Cockrell,	Mallory,	Rawlins,	
Faulkner,	Mitchell,	Roach,	
Gray,	Morgan,	Smith,	

NOT VOTING—32.

Allen,	Elkins,	Hoar,	Nelson,
Bacon,	Gallinger,	Jones, Ark.	Teller,
Butler,	George,	Kyle,	Thurston,
Cannon,	Gorman,	Lodge,	Tillman,
Chilton,	Hale,	Mantle,	Turner,
Clark,	Harris, Kans.	Martin,	Wetmore,
Clay,	Harris, Tenn.	Mills,	White,
Daniel,	Heitfeld,	Morrill,	Wolcott.

So the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. CAFFERY. I inquire of the Chair whether paragraph 18, in relation to copperas, has been adopted?

Mr. ALDRICH. It has been adopted.

Mr. CAFFERY. I want to give notice that I shall offer an amendment to put copperas, or sulphate of iron, on the free list.

Mr. ALDRICH. That motion can be made in the Senate or later on as the bill progresses.

Mr. CAFFERY. I shall reserve the right to move an amendment when we reach the free list.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator's rights in that respect will be reserved.

The reading of the bill was resumed at line 1, on page 6, as follows:

20. Ethers: Sulphuric, 40 cents per pound; spirits of nitrous ether, 25 cents per pound; fruit ethers, oils, or essences, $2 per pound; ethers of all kinds not specially provided for in this act, $1 per pound: *Provided*, That no article of this paragraph shall pay a less rate of duty than 25 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. It seems to me that all these ethers, instead of being allowed to remain in the bill as they are and have been under two or three tariffs, ought to go on the free list from the fact that there is practically none of them imported. Of sulphuric ether there was imported in 1893 but 20 pounds and in 1896 191 pounds, according to the comparative statement prepared by the majority of the committee. The other ethers were somewhat more largely imported, but the largest importations only amounted to 1,400 pounds. I think when we reach the free list that these ethers ought all to go on that list. There is no revenue derived from them now.

Mr. ALDRICH. It will be a very anomalous state of affairs if we put on the free list certain articles that are made from alcohol while we retain a duty of about 1,600 per cent upon alcohol itself.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The duty under this bill is 40 cents per pound on sulphuric ether and 25 cents per pound on spirits of nitrous ether, which, in some instances, only amounts to 20 per cent.

Mr. ALDRICH. I understand that is on account of the value of the alcohol. Forty cents a pound would be $3 a gallon, when the duty on alcohol is only $2.70.

Mr. WHITE. The Senator from Rhode Island can probably inform the Senate whether these nitrous ethers are manufactured in the United States to any extent.

Mr. ALDRICH. They are all manufactured here, I think.

Mr. WHITE. I had been informed that such was not the case. I merely ask for information. I know nothing at all about it myself.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, on page 6, line 8, after the word "dyewoods," to strike out "extract of sumac;" in the same line, after the word "barks," to strike out "or woods;" after the word "pound," at the end of line 10, to strike out "all the above in a solid or dry form, 1½ cents per pound;" in line 12, before the word "hemlock," to insert "quebracho and of;" and in line 13, after the word "pound," to insert "extracts of sumac, and of woods other than dyewoods, not specially provided for in this act, five-eighths of 1 cent per pound;" so as to make the paragraph read:

21. Extracts and decoctions of logwood and other dyewoods, and extracts of barks, such as are commonly used for dyeing or tanning, not specially provided for in this act, seven-eighths of 1 cent per pound; extracts of quebracho

and of hemlock bark, one-half of 1 cent per pound; extracts of sumac, and of woods other than dyewoods, not specially provided for in this act, five-eighths of 1 cent per pound.

The amendment was agreed to.

The reading of the bill was resumed at line 16, on page 6, as follows:

22. Gelatin, glue, isinglass or fish glue, and prepared fish bladders or fish sounds, valued at not above 10 cents per pound, 2½ cents per pound; valued at above 10 cents per pound and not above 25 cents per pound, 3 cents per pound and 15 per cent ad valorem; valued above 25 cents and not above 40 cents per pound, 5 cents per pound and 15 per cent ad valorem; valued above 40 cents per pound, 20 cents per pound and 15 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. BURROWS. I ask that that paragraph may be passed over for the present.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, paragraph 22 will be passed over.

The reading of the bill was resumed at line 1, on page 7, as follows:

23. Glycerin, crude, not purified, 1 cent per pound; refined, 3 cents per pound.

Mr. GRAY. I should like to ask the Senator from Rhode Island how that compares with the existing law? I have not had an opportunity myself to look at it.

Mr. ALDRICH. It is the same as the existing law.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment was, on page 7, line 4, after the word "carmined," to strike out "or indigotine;" so as to make the paragraph read:

24. Indigo, extracts, or pastes of, three-fourths of 1 cent per pound; carmined, 10 cents per pound.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 7, line 5, after the word "powders," to strike out "printers' ink, and all other ink not specially provided for in this act;" so as to make the paragraph read:

25. Ink and ink powders, 25 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 7, line 11, before the word "cents," to strike out "five" and insert "four and one-half;" and in the same line, after the word "pound," to strike out "chicle, 10 cents per pound;" so as to make the paragraph read:

28. Licorice, extracts of, in paste, rolls, or other forms, 4½ cents per pound.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, after line 12, on page 7, to insert as a new paragraph the following:

28½. Chicle, 6 cents per pound.

Mr. GRAY. I want to understand something about the bill, and I am in doubt about a great deal of this mysterious chemical schedule. Therefore I ask the Senator from Rhode Island what this article is?

Mr. ALDRICH. It is an article used in the manufacture of chewing gum, a native Mexican gum.

Mr. GRAY. Is this a change from the rate in the present law?

Mr. ALDRICH. This article is at present on the free list.

Mr. GRAY. Then why is it to be put on the dutiable list?

Mr. ALDRICH. For revenue.

Mr. GRAY. Where is the revenue about that?

Mr. ALDRICH. It is estimated by the Bureau of Statistics that, at the rate suggested by the committee, the revenue will be $317,000.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the amendment of the committee inserting paragraph 28½, which has been read.

The amendment was agreed to.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, on page 7, line 15, after the word "calcined," to insert "medicinal;" so as to make the paragraph read:

29. Magnesia, carbonate of, medicinal, 3 cents per pound; calcined, medicinal, 7 cents per pound; sulphate of, or Epsom salts, one-fifth of 1 cent per pound.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 7, line 22, before the word "cents," to strike out "forty" and insert "thirty;" and in line 24, before the word "cents," to strike out "twenty" and insert "fifteen;" so as to make the paragraph read:

Oils:

30. Alizarin assistant, sulpho-ricinoleic acid, ricinoleic acid, by whatever name known, whether liquid, solid, or in paste, in the manufacture of which 50 per cent or more of castor oil is used, 30 cents per gallon; in the manufacture of which less than 50 per cent of castor oil is used, 15 cents per gallon; all other alizarin assistant, not specially provided for in this act, 30 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. VEST. In regard to that last amendment, I want to make an inquiry. Under the first classification there were no imports, and at the rate of 50 per cent on castor oil there were no imports. In the last classification the unit of value, as I understand it, was thirty one-hundredths, which would be 50 per cent ad valorem, or 20 per cent over the existing law. Is that correct?

Mr. ALDRICH. The importations for 1896 were all under one class.

Mr. VEST. That is what I say.

Mr. ALDRICH. It is impossible——

Mr. VEST. The average value was 30 cents a gallon.

Mr. ALDRICH. This is undoubtedly a higher rate of duty than that imposed by the Wilson Act, but it is also lower than the McKinley Act.

Mr. VEST. I understand that, but it is 20 per cent over the Wilson Act.

Mr. ALDRICH. We have reduced it from 40 to 30 cents and from 20 to 15, as the bill came from the other House. It is a great reduction from the McKinley rate.

Mr. VEST. I understand that—from the McKinley Act. I was making a comparative statement between the Wilson Act, the existing law, and the proposed enactment, and it is 20 per cent over the existing law.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 33, line 5, page 8, to strike out "seven" and insert "four;" so as to make the paragraph read:

33. Cotton-seed oil, 4 cents per gallon of 7½ pounds weight.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in paragraph 35, line 8, page 8, after the word "Flaxseed," to strike out "or;" in the same line, after the word "linseed," to insert "and poppy-seed oil;" in line 9, before the word "cents," to strike out "thirty-two" and insert "twenty;" and in line 10, after the word "weight," to strike out "poppy-seed oil, raw, boiled, or oxidized, 10 cents per gallon of 7½ pounds weight;" so as to make the paragraph read:

35. Flaxseed, linseed, and poppy-seed oil, raw, boiled, or oxidized, 20 cents per gallon of 7½ pounds weight.

Mr. VEST. I simply wish to call attention to the fact as to the linseed oil provision that we exported in 1895 $33,260 worth and imported $4,553 worth, and yet it is necessary, I suppose, to increase the taxation in order to protect the American market.

Mr. GEAR. I call the Senator's attention to the fact that under the law of 1890 we put a duty of 32 cents on flaxseed oil, and the price went down at that time to 31 cents, 1 cent below the duty. It has not advanced very much since. We exported some last year because of the short crop in India. This is proposed to be done on the general principle that we wish to protect all American industries.

Mr. CHILTON. Did the importations of linseed increase when the duty was decreased? Is it not a fact that they did not increase?

Mr. GEAR. During the interim when the McKinley law was in effect flaxseed was lower than ever before. Prior to that time there were large importations from India, and they were brought by water at lower freight than flaxseed can be laid down in my own State from New York. After the passage of the Wilson Act, so called, the importations of flaxseed rose to 4,500,000 bushels. It has gone down simply because last year there were no products of any kind in India, and there was no flaxseed, of course. Whenever the normal conditions arise, we will have importations.

Mr. CAFFERY. Do I understand the Senator from Iowa to say that after the passage of the act of 1894 the importations increased enormously?

Mr. GEAR. I do, of seed, not of oil.

Mr. VEST. We are talking about oil.

Mr. CAFFERY. Under the operation of the McKinley law, in 1893 the value of the importations of flaxseed was $2,491, and under the Wilson Act the importations amounted to $4,553.30. So a decline of 10 cents a gallon under the Wilson Act increased but slightly the importations.

Mr. GEAR. As to oil, that is true. I am speaking of the operation of the Wilson bill and the importations for 1896.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. These are the Wilson Act rates.

Mr. GEAR. There were no importations because of the absolute failure of the crop in India.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment reported by the Committee on Finance.

The amendment was agreed to.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 36, page 8, line 13, after the word "alcohol," to strike out "one-half" and insert "one-fourth;" so as to make the paragraph read:

36. Fusel oil, or amylic alcohol, one-fourth of 1 cent per pound.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in paragraph 38, page 8, line 17, before the word "cents," to strike out "fifty" and insert "thirty-five;" so as to make the paragraph read:

38. Olive oil, not specially provided for in this act, 35 cents per gallon.

Mr. PERKINS. I ask to have paragraph 38 passed over for the present.

Mr. ALDRICH. That can be done.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. It will be passed over.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 39, page 8, line 18, before the word "cents," to strike out "sixty-five" and insert "fifty;" so as to make the paragraph read:

39. Peppermint oil, 50 cents per pound.

Mr. VEST. Under existing law the duty upon peppermint oil is 25 per cent. It is increased here to 50 cents per pound. The comparative statement shows that we exported in 1896 $1,741,810 worth, and we imported $4,000 worth. Now, this is an absolute mathematical demonstration of the fact that we control the American market and export an enormous amount, considering the value of the article, and yet here is an increase from 25 per cent ad valorem to 50 cents a pound.

Mr. ALDRICH. It is not very much of an increase; merely from 25 to 35 per cent.

Mr. VEST. Of course it depends upon the unit of value, but it is an increase over existing law, and it is an unnecessary increase, because we absolutely control the domestic market and export largely to other countries.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment reported by the Committee on Finance.

The amendment was agreed to.

The Secretary read as follows:

40. Seal, herring, whale, and other fish oil, not specially provided for in this act, 8 cents per gallon.

Mr. VEST. As to paragraph 40, "Seal, herring, whale, and other fish oil, not specially provided for in this act," I wish to call attention to the fact that in 1896 we had no imports at all of lard oil, no imports of whale oil, and no imports of fish oil.

Paragraph 3 is the basket clause to the present paragraph, and it includes all other animal oil. While there were no imports, our exports of lard oil for 1896 were $426,401; of whale oil, $32,876; of fish oil, $163,829; of other animal oils, $50,839; showing that there was no competition from foreign countries, that we supplied the American market, and then made these exports besides.

Mr. CAFFERY. Does the Senator from Missouri say there was no importation of whale oil at all?

Mr. VEST. That is the way I have it marked. I believe we imported sixty-odd dollars' worth.

Mr. CAFFERY. I suggest to the Senator that the idea of putting a tariff upon the article is to stimulate the foreigner to make it, so that he can import it and pay American taxes.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 41, page 9, line 4, before the word "dollars," to strike out "eight" and insert "six;" so as to make the paragraph read:

41. Opium, crude or unmanufactured, and not adulterated, containing 9 per cent and over of morphia, $1 per pound; morphia or morphine, sulphate of, and all alkaloids or salts of opium, $1 per ounce; aqueous extract of opium, for medicinal uses, and tincture of, as laudanum, and other liquid preparations of opium, not specially provided for in this act, 40 per cent ad valorem; opium containing less than 9 per cent of morphia, and opium prepared for smoking, $6 per pound; but opium prepared for smoking and other preparations of opium deposited in bonded warehouses shall not be removed therefrom without payment of duties, and such duties shall not be refunded.

Mr. ALDRICH. For the committee I withdraw the amendment and allow the rate to stand as it is.

Mr. VEST. I do not understand the Senator from Rhode Island.

Mr. ALDRICH. I withdraw the suggested amendment of $8 and allow it to stand at $6.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment is withdrawn.

Mr. VEST. I was about to call the attention of the Senate to the increase, and I desire to put in the RECORD, because it is a very interesting paper—I shall not detain the Senate by having it read—a communication made in 1894 to the Senator from Texas [Mr. MILLS] from the collector at the port of San Francisco, treating of the whole opium question, in which he says that a higher rate of duty than $6 per pound is simply an incentive to smuggling and brings no more revenue to the Government. I ask that the paper may be printed in the RECORD as a part of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the paper will be printed.

The paper referred to is as follows:

OFFICE OF THE COLLECTOR OF CUSTOMS,
Port of San Francisco, February 20, 1894.

Senator ROGER Q. MILLS, *Washington, D. C.*

MY DEAR SENATOR: I inclose copy of my telegram to you of yesterday. This was done, and I am writing now, on account of a suggestion made to me that I furnish you with my views on, first:

Duty on prepared opium.—The duty on prepared opium was, for many years prior to 1870, collected at an ad valorem rate. In 1870 they fixed on a specific rate of $6 per pound, which was collected up to 1883. In 1883 they raised it to $10, and in 1890 to $12 per pound. To endeavor to prevent smuggling at these high rates of duty, sections 38 and 39 of the McKinley bill were enacted. These were very excellent, and I consider that it is absolutely necessary that they should be continued, as I stated in my telegram.

The result of these increases in duty was to create an enormous amount of smuggling, so that there were legitimately imported into the United States and placed in bonded warehouses last year only 52,000 pounds of prepared opium, which, in my opinion, was less than one-fourth of the opium imported and consumed in the United States, the difference having been illegitimately introduced.

I know of no way in the world, as human nature is at present constituted, to prevent the smuggling operations at these high rates. The profit is so enormous and the bulk so small that a small quantity, easily concealed, will last a man a long time, and if the smoker is unable to get the mild, imported article, he can go to any drug store in the United States and buy medicinal opium (Persian or Turkish), which can be prepared for smoking, being adulterated with gum arabic, while his meal is being cooked. Upward of 600,000 pounds of this crude medicinal opium, supposed to have been used for medicinal purposes, were imported during the last fiscal year. It was used, however, largely by morphine fiends, patent-medicine manufacturers, and the Chinese, who converted considerable into opium prepared for smoking. The legitimately sick got very little.

All the foregoing is preliminary to my views on the advisability of collecting duty on

Opium at an ad valorem rate.—As I telegraphed you, an ad valorem rate based on the comparison between the McKinley and Wilson bills compiled by the clerk of the Ways and Means Committee for the last fiscal year would be 85 per cent to equal the specific rate of $6 per pound. Since the last fiscal year, or since last July, exchange on China has fallen considerably, and a rate of duty based on the present rate of exchange would yield about $5 per pound, instead of the $6 rate I have urged. If exchange should go lower, the amount of duty collected would be less yet. During all this time the Chinese have not made any change in their price of opium in silver in China. It is selling to-day at practically the same price in silver that it has always sold at. The reduction mentioned above is only caused by the falling in our rate for exchanging silver into gold, which is prescribed quarterly by the Director of the Mint.

But it is my idea, however, that the Chinese will wake up before long to the fact that silver is not what it used to be, particularly in regard to opium, where they come so much in contact with the western world. I do not mean by this that they will ever give up their silver currency, for I do not think they will, but they will find that it is necessary to almost double the price in silver of their opium. The price per box of their opium now is 425 silver dollars, which is lower than it has been sold for, and this in spite of the fact that these silver dollars have only half their purchasing power. I therefore believe, instead of a dollar being able to buy as much opium in Hongkong or Macao as it ever has, that it will not be long before it will only buy half as much. When that time comes, one box of opium will cost 850 silver dollars. This, changed into gold and duty collected on it at the rate of 85 per cent, would put the duty back to somewhere about $10 per pound again, and the revenue back into the hands of the smugglers—the position we are in to-day.

On the other hand, I have urged the duty on prepared opium at $6 per pound specific, in accordance with the following figures:

A pound of opium costs in Victoria	$7.50
Manufacturer, who provides capital, pays licenses, etc	1.00
The smuggler who gets it to the seller in the United States is entitled to	2.00
The seller, who sells it in small lots without stamps and subject to imprisonment, is entitled to and would want at least	2.00
Total	12.50
While the imported article costs, as per comparative table of the Ways and Means Committee	7.07
Duty	6.00
Total	13.07

From these figures I have concluded that this amount is the highest duty that can be collected on opium, and, according to the reports of the special agents of the Treasury Department for several years, it is a little too high, as they recommend $4 or $5 per pound. But I have figured, even if it is a little too high, that the established brand, reputation, and more careful preparation of the opium that comes from China will more than offset the difference. Feeling as I do that the utmost revenue should be got out of opium that is possible, and feeling that $6 per pound will accomplish the result, I would urge very strongly that it be retained, rather than be started on any course of uncertainty which would certainly arise trying to collect so high an ad valorem rate on such high-priced goods. Of the difficulties of collecting high ad valorem rates you, of course, know all about, and that phase of it I will pass over. The second proposition is:

Duty on crude opium.—Both ad valorem and specific rates were collected on this article up to 1890, but from 1861 to 1890 they relied entirely on specific rates, which were $1, $2, and from 1864 to 1869 $2.50 per pound. In 1870 it was reduced to $1, and was taken off entirely by the McKinley bill.

If crude opium were the same as quinine, an article used entirely for medicine, I should be very strongly in favor of its retention on the free list, but the annual importations of crude opium are over 600,000 pounds, and it is used by four kinds of consumers:

First. Morphine manufacturers, who are the greatest users of crude opium, no doubt, although there are no figures extant on the subject that I know of. Most of their products are used by those commonly known as "morphine fiends."

Second. The patent-medicine manufacturers, who use large quantities; but again I have no figures.

Third. The Chinese, who use crude opium by reducing its strength and adulterating it with gum arabic for preparation into smoking opium. They use considerable quantities, but I have no figures.

It costs them less than one-third of what the prepared opium costs after paying $12 per pound. If a duty of $1 per pound were put on crude opium it would still cost them (paying a duty of $6 per pound) about one-half of what the prepared costs. But even with this difference I do not think its use will increase among them much, as the prepared, as before stated, is so much milder and finer in quality.

Lastly, the legitimately sick, who use opium in the shape of morphine almost entirely. At the rate of duty placed on it in the Wilson bill ($1 per pound) the amount of duty paid by the legitimately sick can be figured up as follows: 1 pound opium, containing 10 per cent of morphine, duty $1, yields over 480 grains—dose one-eighth of a grain (morphine), 3,840 doses; often dose is doubled to one-fourth of a grain (morphine), 1,920 doses.

At $1 per pound, therefore, the legitimately sick would get 3,840 average doses for 10 cents duty, or 1,920 double doses for 20 cents duty; and to my mind these are the only people in the United States entitled to consideration as far as opium is concerned. While there is so much illegitimate use of opium and morphine, I am strongly in favor of getting as much duty as possible.

I inclose a copy of a letter I wrote to Senator S. M. WHITE a few days ago, in which I advocated $1 per pound duty. I would now suggest, however, that $1.50 or $2 be placed on it. At $2, as above stated, the legitimately sick would only pay 20 cents for 1,920 doses, and it is rare for anyone to be given morphine for any length of time in ordinary sicknesses, and all others should be taxed as much as possible.

My idea of the whole thing and its effect on the revenue is:

Opium imported during the last calendar year would yield, 52,000 pounds, at $12 per pound, say	$600,000
Crude opium, free	Nothing.
Total revenue	600,000
Prepared opium illicitly introduced into the United States, including the legitimate importations, would be only 200,000 pounds, at $6	1,200,000
Crude opium, 600,000 pounds, at $2	1,200,000
Total	2,400,000
Or, with crude opium at 600,000 pounds at $1 the total would be	1,800,000

In the first case an increase of $1,200,000 and in the latter an increase of $1,800,000.

With the prospects of such a splendid increase in the revenue, and the practical certainty of the prevention of smuggling, I would strongly recommend the specific rates which we know rather than embark on the uncertainties that may arise from the introduction of the ad valorem rate on an article that has already caused us so much trouble.

Yours, truly, JOHN H. WISE, *Collector.*

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Before we leave paragraph 41, I wish to protest against the increased tax on this medicine of almost universal use. Crude opium is now on the free list. The House bill as well as the Senate amendment proposes to impose a tax of $1 a pound. Morphine now pays a tax of 50 cents an ounce. The bill proposes to increase it to $1 an ounce. The other increases run through the paragraph in the same way.

It is a drug absolutely essential to the good of humanity. There can be no conceivable reason why the additional tax should be imposed upon this article of absolute necessity, and I for one am unwilling to allow this paragraph to pass without a word of protest. I do not propose to occupy the time of the Senate in discussion of the question, but I do wish the Senate to bear in mind that this proposition seems to me at least to be unreasonable.

I am tempted in this connection to read a letter which I have here, written by a manufacturing chemist in New York, which perhaps turns a light on the reasons why some persons want this change made. It is a letter written to another gentleman, and the writer says:

Your letter of the 11th received, and we note with interest the efforts of our friends Mr. Jones and Powers & Weightman to ruin their neighbors.

As you say, the conduct of these men is flagrant when their attitude toward the tariff on their own goods is considered. Now look at morphine; here are the figures: A pound of opium, commercial, contains from 10 per cent of morphine alkaloid upward, and, of course, yields in manufacture at least 1.6 to 2 ounces morphine. Tariff on this grade of opium, $1 per pound. Tariff on morphine, 1.6 to 2 ounces, at $1 per ounce, equals $1.60 to $2. This pound of opium also yields considerable quantities of codeine, which, under the old tariff, came in at 25 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. Jones has induced the Senate to make the tariff on this alkaloid $1 per ounce. No one has said a word, but it is more than 100 per cent protection and an enormous increase of duty on what is now an important chemical. The other important salt of morphine sulphate is obtained at the rate of 2 1/10 to 2¼ ounces to the pound of opium. This was taxed at 50 cents per ounce and opium free by Wilson bill; now sulphate is dutiable at $1 per ounce.

A little examination will show that on morphine and codeine and the morphine salts Powers & Weightman enjoy not less than 100 per cent protection. Now, this is a most valuable monopoly, and one from which they have reaped several fortunes, old Dr. Weightman being reputed one of the wealthiest men alive. Does it not seem to you that such people could struggle along with a duty of 50 per cent on morphine ad valorem, or its equivalent in a specific duty, say, 60 cents to 70 cents per ounce on morphine and its salts, and would it not be well to put codeine back among chemicals not otherwise enumerated at, say, 25 per cent?

There is really no more reason why morphine should shoulder 100 per cent tariff than any other generally useful chemical. The argument that the industry needs 100 per cent to keep it alive is absurd on its face, and the proposal to tax the people of the entire country to support the infant industry of Dr. Weightman, who has made millions out of this healthy infant already, would not stand much examination. We think any Senator would be justified in offering an amendment to the tariff on the lines proposed—say 50 per cent ad valorem on morphine and its salts, 25 per cent on codeine, or, say, 60 cents to 70 cents specific on morphine.

Mr. ALDRICH. Will the Senator from Arkansas give the name of his correspondent?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. He is not my correspondent. The letter was written by a manufacturing chemist of New York to another gentleman. The name signed to it is the Albany Chemical Company, of Albany, N. Y., and the letter is addressed to Mr. W. S. Manning, who is himself, I believe, a manufacturing chemist. Does the Senator from Rhode Island question the correctness of any statement in the letter?

Mr. ALDRICH. I question the correctness of most of them, so far as they apply to the action of the Senate committee. We have not disturbed the paragraph at all. We left it exactly as it came from the House, and whatever may have been done by anybody was certainly done before it reached the Senate committee.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The Senate committee has reported the paragraph back practically without amendment.

Mr. ALDRICH. Certainly.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. But the Senate committee has reported it back with a tax on opium, which has heretofore been free, a drug absolutely essential to the good of every family in the United States, and has reported the bill back with a tax on morphine that is twice as high as under the present law.

Mr. ALDRICH. I am surprised that the Senator from Arkansas should make that statement, because under the Wilson law, with which he had more or less to do, the duty on morphine was 50 cents an ounce.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Fifty cents, and you place it at $1. I said you doubled it.

Mr. ALDRICH. We have doubled it.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. You are astonished at the statement.

Mr. ALDRICH. Under the Wilson Act opium was free, and we propose to put a tax of $1 a pound on crude opium, making the increase in this rate a necessity.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Increasing the rate on crude opium is no necessity for an increase of 100 per cent on morphine, because the other alkaloids, as pointed out by the chemical company, more than equal the amount of the tax paid on morphine. There can be no justification on earth, when 1 pound of opium will yield 2 ounces of morphine, to put such a tax on morphine. Then on codeine and other things you have put a tax of $1 an ounce.

Mr. ALDRICH. Will the Senator tell us on what we have put a tax of $1 an ounce—oh! on the alkaloids?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Yes, sir. I will move, at the proper time, to restore opium, crude and unmanufactured, to the free list. I now move to amend by striking out the words "one dollar," in line 24, page 8, and inserting "50 cents."

Mr. ALDRICH. In order to show that the relation between opium and morphia is correct in the pending bill, without attempting to elaborate the argument, I will say that it is the relation which has always existed in every tariff bill for the last half century. Whenever there has been a duty upon opium per pound, there has been a duty upon morphia at the same rate per ounce, the theory being that it took substantially 16 pounds of opium to make a pound of morphine, in connection with the cost of manufacturing, which is a very expensive one. This relative rate has always been maintained in all our tariffs, and I have never heard the accuracy of it questioned by anybody until this moment.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The Senator certainly will not deny the fact that opium containing less than 9 per cent of morphine comes in taxable at $6 a pound.

Mr. ALDRICH. Opium prepared for smoking.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Containing less than 9 per cent of morphine and prepared for smoking. Of course persons importing opium will import it containing the largest possible quantity of morphine, and the rate runs from 12 to 25 per cent of morphine in opium. They get a much higher rate in many instances than what is stated as the average by the chemical company, who state that the average of morphine obtained from opium is 1.6 to 2 ounces to the pound of opium. If the tariff bills have been framed on the hypothesis that it requires 16 pounds of opium to make 1 pound of morphine, that shows of itself that it has been clearly wrong; but in addition to that——

Mr. ALDRICH. In connection with the cost of manufacturing, in which alcohol and other important materials are used, which makes the difference.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Is alcohol now used in the preparation of morphine?

Mr. ALDRICH. I think it is.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Except in an exceedingly limited way, I think not. Other solvents are used. Alcohol has in great measure gone out of use. I do not say it positively, but that is my impression.

In addition to the morphine which you get out of the opium (which, instead of being 1 ounce to the pound of opium, as suggested by the Senator from Rhode Island, these manufacturing chemists state is 1.6 to 2 ounces per pound), there are other things.

Morphine sulphate is obtained at the rate of 2.1 to 2¼ ounces to the pound of opium. This was practically 50 cents per ounce, and opium free by the Wilson bill; now sulphate is dutiable at $1 per ounce. A little examination will show—

They say—

that on morphine and codeine and the morphine salts Powers & Weightman enjoy not less than 100 per cent protection.

Now, all these items, I understand, are got out of a pound of opium in addition to the morphine that is taken out, and altogether the tax is monstrously high, twice as high as it ought to be.

Mr. ALDRICH. I am a little surprised that the Albany Chemical Company does not go into the business of making morphine, if their statement is correct. I have in my hand a statement made by the president of the Chemical Manufacturers' Association of the United States upon this question, in which he says:

I have this morning received a number of letters upon the subject to which you refer, and without exception they all agree that $1 per ounce, with the duty on opium of $1 per pound, is none too much: in fact, two of them asked more, one for $1.25 and the other for $1.50 per ounce.

Another letter, from St. John Bros., of New York, says:

Please amend to read, "Morphia or morphine, sulphate of, and all alkaloids or salts of opium, $1.80 per ounce."

This would be, in their opinion, the proper rate, showing that the chemists of the United States, with the exception of the party to whom the Senator from Arkansas has referred, are all agreed that a duty on morphia at $1 an ounce is too low rather than too high.

Mr. GRAY. I do not suppose it is hard to get an agreement of that kind, that the duty is too low. I merely rise, however, to ask the Senator from Rhode Island whether this duty, as I asked about another duty, is a revenue duty or is purely a protective duty?

Mr. ALDRICH. Which one?

Mr. GRAY. The dollar an ounce on morphia.

Mr. ALDRICH. A protective duty; and the dollar a pound is a revenue duty.

Mr. GRAY. I observe that at 50 cents an ounce there was a revenue of $11,790 collected, while the estimated duty at $1 an ounce is $896.50. So we are giving up more than $10,000 of revenue to the Treasury, but not so far as the pockets of the people are concerned as to this small amount. That is still to be collected. It will go into the pockets of the stockholders of the chemical company.

Mr. ALDRICH. How much does the Senator say we are giving up?

Mr. GRAY. I am reading from the book I have before me—the comparative statement. I say that in 1890, at 50 cents per ounce, the duties collected were $11,790. Is that not right?

Mr. ALDRICH. Yes, in 1890; but in 1896——

Mr. GRAY. The estimated duty at $1 per ounce is $896.50.

Mr. ALDRICH. The Senator will notice that in 1896, which is the most recent testimony we have on the subject, the duty collected was only $448, upon the rate imposed by the Wilson Act.

Mr. GRAY. I notice that.

Mr. ALDRICH. So that we are not losing $10,000, but $448.

Mr. GRAY. The rate in the Wilson Act is the same as that of the McKinley Act.

Mr. ALDRICH. Yes, sir; with free opium. That shows that the relation which I have suggested is the proper one; was recognized by the Senator from Arkansas and his associates in the preparation of the act of 1894.

I suppose that the Senator from Delaware will agree with me that, having paid a revenue duty of $1 a pound upon opium, it is entirely proper that we should put relatively the proper duty upon morphia, a product of opium.

Mr. GRAY. I have no doubt when the vicious circle is commenced it ought to be completed. I wish to call attention to the fact that this is purely a protective duty and not a revenue duty, and what was collected from the people went into the pockets of the protected manufacturers and not into the Treasury.

Mr. WHITE. There is a peculiar feature not adverted to about the manufacture of smokers' opium, which has been referred to. We have an internal-revenue tax upon that article of $10, and as a result the imposition of that duty interferes with the importation of the crude product here.

Smokers' opium is now largely manufactured in British Columbia, and, singularly enough, there is nothing to indicate that the business is transacted in the United States in any other way than by bringing the manufactured opium here without any corresponding benefit to the Treasury from the imposition of $10 a pound, upon which we collect absolutely nothing. That provision, however, was inserted in the act of 1890, I think sections 35 to 37, and it stands there practically without any alteration except in the way I have stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Arkansas.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. On that I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (when Mr. GALLINGER'S name was called). The present occupant of the chair is paired with the Senator from Texas [Mr. MILLS].

Mr. TILLMAN (when his name was called). I again announce my pair with the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. THURSTON]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. VEST (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. NELSON]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. WELLINGTON (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the junior Senator from North Carolina [Mr. BUTLER]. He is absent, and I therefore withhold my vote. If he were present, I should vote "nay."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas (after having voted in the affirmative). I voted inadvertently. I am paired with the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE], and withdraw my vote.

Mr. CLAY. I am paired with the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

The result was announced—yeas 24, nays 39; as follows:

YEAS—24.

Bacon,	Faulkner,	Mallory,	Rawlins,
Bate,	Gray,	Mitchell,	Roach,
Berry,	Harris, Kans.	Morgan,	Smith,
Caffery,	Heitfeld,	Murphy,	Turpie,
Chilton,	Kenney,	Pasco,	Walthall,
Daniel,	Lindsay,	Pettus,	White.

NAYS—39.

Aldrich,	Elkins,	McBride,	Proctor,
Allison,	Fairbanks,	McEnery,	Quay,
Baker,	Foraker,	McMillan,	Sewell,
Burrows,	Frye,	Mason,	Shoup,
Cannon,	Gear,	Penrose,	Spooner,
Carter,	Hanna,	Perkins,	Stewart,
Chandler,	Hansbrough,	Pettigrew,	Warren,
Clark,	Hawley,	Platt, Conn.	Wetmore,
Cullom,	Jones, Nev.	Platt, N. Y.	Wilson.
Deboe,	Kyle,	Pritchard,	

NOT VOTING—25.

Allen,	Gorman,	Martin,	Turner,
Butler,	Hale,	Mills,	Vest,
Clay,	Harris, Tenn.	Morrill,	Wellington,
Cockrell,	Hoar,	Nelson,	Wolcott.
Davis,	Jones, Ark.	Teller,	
Gallinger,	Lodge,	Thurston,	
George,	Mantle,	Tillman,	

So the amendment was rejected.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. In line 2, page 9, I move to strike out "forty" and insert "twenty," which is the same rate that is now in the law as the tax on that article.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment will be read.

The SECRETARY. In line 2, page 9, after the word "act," it is proposed to strike out "forty" and insert "twenty;" so as to read:

Aqueous extract of opium for medicinal uses, and tincture of, as laudanum, and other liquid preparations of opium, not specially provided for in this act, 20 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment was rejected.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 43, line 14, page 9, after the word "iron," to insert "in pulp;" in line 15, after the word "oil," to insert "or water;" in the same line, after the word "water," to strike out "eight" and insert "six;" and in line 16, after the word "pound," to strike out "and in pulp or mixed with water, 8 cents per pound on the material contained therein when dry;" so as to read:

43. Blues, such as Berlin, Prussian, Chinese, and all others, containing ferrocyanide of iron, in pulp, dry ground in or mixed with oil or water, 6 cents per pound.

Mr. SEWELL. I ask the Senator from Rhode Island to let the paragraph go over.

Mr. ALDRICH. I have no objection. It can go over.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The paragraph will be passed over.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 45, page 9, line 22, after the word "vegetable," to strike out "under" and insert "by;" so as to make the paragraph read:

45. Black, made from bone, ivory, or vegetable, by whatever name known, including bone black and lampblack, dry or ground in oil or water, 25 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment was agreed to.

The Secretary read the next paragraph, as follows:

46. Chrome yellow, chrome green, and all other chromium colors in the manufacture of which lead and bichromate of potash or soda are used, dry or ground in or mixed with oil, 4½ cents per pound; in pulp or mixed with water, 4½ cents per pound on the material contained therein when dry.

Mr. ALDRICH. In accordance with the notice heretofore given, I offer an amendment as a substitute for paragraph 46.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment will be read.

The SECRETARY. Strike out paragraph 46, on page 10, and insert:

46. Chrome yellow, chrome green, and all other chromium colors in the manufacture of which lead and bichromate of potash or soda are used, in pulp, dry, or ground in or mixed with oil or water, 4½ cents per pound.

Mr. VEST. I wish simply to call attention to the fact that in 1893, under the McKinley Act, where the duty was 4½ cents, as it is now proposed to make it, we imported 172,409 pounds of this article, and in 1896, with a reduction of duty to 3 cents under the Wilson Act, we imported only 149,550 pounds, showing that the increase of duty does not always result in keeping out imports, for here under a lower duty there was a smaller import.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed as a substitute by the Senator from Rhode Island.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 47, page 10, line 10, after the word "act," to strike out "crude" and insert "dry;" and in line 11, after the word "pound," to strike out "dried or powdered, one-half of 1 cent per pound;" so as to read:

47. Ocher and ochery earths, sienna and sienna earths, umber and umber earths, not specially provided for in this act, dry, one-fourth of 1 cent per pound; ground in oil or water, 1½ cents per pound.

Mr. ALDRICH. The committee have an amendment to suggest to this paragraph later on, and I ask that it may be passed over on that account.

Mr. VEST. I can not hear the Senator.

Mr. ALDRICH. The committee have an amendment to suggest to the phraseology which they will submit later. I ask that the paragraph be passed over.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. It will be passed over.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 48, page 10, line 14, after the word "three," to strike out "and one-half;" so as to make the paragraph read:

48. Orange mineral, 3 cents per pound.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in paragraph 49, page 10, line 15, after the words "red lead," to strike out "three" and insert "two and three-fourths;" so as to make the paragraph read:

49. Red lead, 2¾ cents per pound.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in paragraph 50, page 10, line 17, after the words "ultramarine blue," to strike out "and other ultramarine colors;" and in line 19, after the word "ultramarine," to strike out "four" and insert "three;" so as to make the paragraph read:

50. Ultramarine blue, whether dry, in pulp, or mixed with water, and wash blue containing ultramarine, 3 cents per pound.

Mr. SEWELL. I should like to have that paragraph go over.

Mr. ALDRICH. I have no objection.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The paragraph will be passed over at the request of the Senator from New Jersey.

The next amendment was, in paragraph 51, page 10, line 22, after the words "ad valorem," to strike out "and on;" in line 23, after the word "varnishes," to strike out "for the alcohol contained therein;" in line 24, after the word "and," to strike out "thirty-two" and insert "fifty-two;" and in the same line, after the word "gallon," to strike out "additional" and insert "and 35 per cent ad valorem;" so as to make the paragraph read:

51. Varnishes, including so-called gold size or japan, 35 per cent ad valorem; spirit varnishes, $1.52 per gallon and 35 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. VEST. In connection with this increase of duty, which is a very distinct one, from $1.32 under the McKinley Act to $1.52 under the proposed act, and an increase from 25 per cent under existing law to 35 per cent ad valorem, I want to call attention to the fact that in 1896 we exported of all varnishes $362,975; we imported of spirit varnishes $5,879, and of all other varnishes $100,935, the difference in favor of this country being that between one hundred and five thousand and some hundred dollars and $362,975. Why there can be any necessity for an increase of duty when we unquestionably command the domestic market and export largely abroad, I am unable to understand, either for protective purposes or for revenue. The great increase made here is upon the spirit varnishes, and yet we imported of them last year only $5,879. There is no use taking a vote upon it; I simply want to call attention to the fact.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in paragraph 52, page 11, line 2, before the word "cents," to strike out "twelve" and insert "ten;" and in line 4, before the word "cents," to strike out "six" and insert "five;" so as to make the paragraph read:

52. Vermilion red, and other colors containing quicksilver, dry or ground in oil or water, 10 cents per pound; when not containing quicksilver but made of lead or containing lead, 5 cents per pound.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in paragraph 53, page 11, line 6, before the word "pigment," to strike out "white;" so as to read:

53. White lead, white paint, and pigment containing lead, dry or in pulp, etc.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in paragraph 53, page 11, line 8, after the word "oil," to strike out "three" and insert "two and three-fourths;" so as to read:

53. White lead, white paint, and pigment containing lead, dry or in pulp, or ground or mixed with oil, 2¾ cents per pound.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. If there be no objection, the amendment will be agreed to.

Mr. VEST. I beg pardon; I hope that last amendment will not be agreed to until we have considered it for a short time, anyhow. This is an increase over existing law upon white lead, an article which goes into consumption generally throughout the country, from 1½ cents a pound to 2¾ cents a pound, being only one-quarter of a cent below the McKinley rate. It is impossible to consider this paragraph without alluding to the duty upon lead. The duty upon lead has been doubled, as I had occasion to say in the opening of the discussion upon this bill, without the slightest excuse, in my judgment, for any such increase. We supply the domestic market with lead and then export largely—millions upon millions of pounds.

White lead is the product of the lead trust, and, as I said, goes into general consumption; the poor man uses it as well as the rich man. No house can be built without the use of it, externally if a frame house, and internally whether made of brick or frame. Why this increase? In whose interest is it made? Who has called for it? It is an increase from 1½ cents a pound to 2¾ cents, and for no other purpose except to increase the profits of the monopoly that controls the American market.

I stated the other day that this trust was paying a 12 per cent dividend upon its stock. I was mistaken. I have no intimate acquaintance with the people, but it is 7 per cent upon their preferred stock, as a friend informed me this morning. Seven per cent is above the normal interest. It is as well known that the white-lead trust controls the manufacture of this specific article as that the sugar-refining trust controls the production and sale of 70 per cent of the sugar in the United States.

I ask, without any disposition to delay action upon the bill, for the yeas and nays upon this abnormal and unnecessary increase of duty.

Mr. ALLISON. We reduced it from the House bill.

Mr. VEST. The House bill was outrageous, and this is only a quarter of a cent below the McKinley rate.

Mr. ALLISON. If the amendment is voted down, I suggest to the Senator that the House rate will prevail.

Mr. VEST. I move to strike out "two and three-fourths" and insert "one and one-half." That will bring up the question.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the amendment of the Senator from Missouri to the amendment of the committee. Does the Senator ask for the yeas and nays on the amendment to the amendment?

Mr. VEST. I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment to the amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to amend the committee amendment by striking out "two and three-fourths" and inserting "one and one-half."

Mr. ALDRICH. The duty fixed in the bill on pig lead is 2 cents a pound. The Senator from Missouri now proposes to make the duty upon white lead, one of the products of pig lead, 1½ cents a pound. He says we propose to increase the duty on white lead. Why do we do it? Simply because we have increased the duty on pig lead, from which white lead is made.

Mr. VEST. The Senator will permit me. He did not understand me to agree to that increase of duty? When we reach the duty on pig lead, I shall move to strike out the proposed increase.

Mr. ALDRICH. You propose to reduce the duty on pig lead to a cent a pound?

Mr. VEST. Yes; as a matter of course. I have said so all the time.

Mr. PETTIGREW. I should like to ask the Senator from Rhode Island a question.

Mr. ALDRICH. Certainly.

Mr. PETTIGREW. Is it not a fact that we export white lead largely to other countries?

Mr. ALDRICH. I think not. I know of no export of white lead. We export pig lead very largely to other countries. The difference between pig lead and white lead, by the act of 1890, was a cent a pound. The makers of white lead (and there are a great many others besides the National Lead Company in the United States) claim that they ought to have a difference of at least a cent a pound between pig lead and white lead in order to live. This is partly shown by the fact that the imports of white lead have increased from 815,526 pounds in 1893 to 1,628,087 pounds in 1896. The imports were nearly doubled in those three years.

There is no use, I submit to the Senator from Missouri, to put a high rate of duty upon lead ores and upon pig lead if you intend to admit lead products at a lower rate than you put upon the raw material. You will simply import your lead into this country in the form of white lead and the other lead products and destroy the lead producers of the United States.

Mr. BATE. I do not want to discuss this question, but to call the attention of the Senate to the fact that the rate under the law of 1890 was 3 cents a pound, and it produced $24,465.79; and the rate under the law of 1894 is 1½ cents, and it produced almost the same amount to a fraction, namely, $24,421.34.

Mr. GEAR. We allowed the white lead to come in and take the place of the domestic, which should have been made in this country, and got $100 less revenue.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The roll will be called on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Missouri to the amendment of the committee.

The Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CLAY (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. GALLINGER (when his name was called). I again announce my pair with the senior Senator from Texas [Mr. MILLS].

Mr. HARRIS of Kansas (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the junior Senator from Wyoming [Mr. CLARK]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. TILLMAN (when his name was called). I again announce my pair with the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. THURSTON].

The roll call having been concluded, the result was announced—yeas 27, nays 35; as follows:

YEAS—27.

Bacon,	Faulkner,	Mallory,	Rawlins,
Bate,	Gray,	Mitchell,	Roach,
Berry,	Jones, Ark.	Morgan,	Turpie,
Caffery,	Kenney,	Murphy,	Vest,
Chilton,	Kyle,	Pasco,	Walthall,
Cockrell,	Lindsay,	Pettigrew,	White.
Daniel,	McEnery,	Pettus,	

NAYS—35.

Aldrich,	Foraker,	McMillan,	Quay,
Allison,	Frye,	Mason,	Sewell,
Burrows,	Gear,	Nelson,	Shoup,
Cannon,	Hanna,	Penrose,	Spooner,
Carter,	Hansbrough,	Perkins,	Stewart,
Chandler,	Hawley,	Platt, Conn.	Warren,
Deboe,	Heitfeld,	Platt, N. Y.	Wetmore,
Elkins,	Jones, Nev.	Pritchard,	Wilson.
Fairbanks,	McBride,	Proctor,	

NOT VOTING—26.

Allen,	Gallinger,	Lodge,	Thurston,
Baker,	George,	Mantle,	Tillman,
Butler,	Gorman,	Martin,	Turner,
Clark,	Hale,	Mills,	Wellington,
Clay,	Harris, Kans.	Morrill,	Wolcott.
Cullom,	Harris, Tenn.	Smith,	
Davis,	Hoar,	Teller,	

So the amendment to the amendment was rejected.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question recurs on the amendment reported by the committee.

The amendment was agreed to.

The reading of the bill was resumed at line 10, on page 11, as follows:

54. Whiting and paris white, dry, one-fourth of 1 cent per pound; ground in oil, or putty, 1 cent per pound.

Mr. CAFFERY. I should like to inquire of the Senator from Rhode Island why, in this paragraph in relation to whiting, ground in oil, there is any necessity for a return to the McKinley rate of 1 cent per pound? Under the operation of the law of 1894, imposing a duty of half a cent a pound, the importations fell off from 57,608 pounds in 1893 to 1,620 pounds in 1896. If the tariff or tax of half a cent a pound upon whiting, ground in oil, has been shown to be prohibitory, why reinstate the old rate in this bill?

Mr. ALDRICH. The unit of value was, if the Senator will notice, almost the same in 1896 that it was in 1893, and the ad valorem rate here is only 4 per cent, according to this calculation, which is certainly not a very high rate, whether there are importations or not.

Mr. CAFFERY. The unit of value in 1896 was twenty-three one-hundredths.

Mr. ALDRICH. One cent a pound would be only 4 per cent.

Mr. CAFFERY. And the unit of value was five one-thousandths in 1893.

Mr. ALDRICH. That shows that for some reason or other the price of putty went up between 1893 and 1896.

Mr. CAFFERY. But that does not show the necessity for an increase in the duty at all. The price of the article has risen under the lower tariff, and there is a decline in the importations.

Mr. ALDRICH. It will not make much difference whether the rate is half a cent a pound or 1 cent a pound. That is a pretty low rate to put upon anything.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, on page 11, line 13, before the word "pigment," to strike out "white;" in line 16, after the word "pound," to strike out "sulfid of zinc white, or;" and in line 18, after the word "pound," to strike out "chloride of zinc and sulphate of zinc, 1 cent per pound;" so as to make the paragraph read:

55. Zinc, oxide of, and white paint or pigment containing zinc, but not containing lead, dry, 1 cent per pound; ground in oil, 1¼ cents per pound; white sulphide of zinc, 1¼ cents per pound.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 11, line 20, after the word "colors," to strike out "and;" in the same line, after the word "pigments," to strike out "whether dry or mixed, or ground in water or oil, or solutions other than oil, or;" in line 22, after the word "smalts," to strike out "and;" in the same line, after the word "frostings," to strike out "not specially provided for in this act;" in line 23, after the word "and," to strike out "all;" in line 24, after the word "pigments," to insert "commonly known as artists' paints or colors; all the foregoing, not specially provided for in this act;" in line 2, on page 12, before the word "solutions," to insert "with;" in line 3, after the word "oil," to insert "and whether;" and in line 4, after the word "other," to strike out "forms commonly known as artists' paints or colors" and insert "form;" so as to make the paragraph read:

56. All paints, colors, pigments, lakes, crayons, smalts, frostings, and paints, colors, and pigments commonly known as artists' paints or colors; all the foregoing, not specially provided for in this act, whether dry or mixed, or ground with water or oil, or with solutions other than oil, and whether in tubes, pans, cakes, or other form, 30 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. ALDRICH. I have one other amendment to the phraseology. After the word "whether," in line 3, on page 12, I move to insert the words "in bulk or," so as to read "whether in bulk or in tubes, pans, cakes," etc.

Mr. CHILTON. I wish to inquire of the Senator from Rhode Island if all those paints and colors, except artists' colors, were not dutiable at 25 per cent even under the McKinley law?

Mr. ALDRICH. They were.

Mr. CHILTON. What reason exists for increasing the duty on these articles above even the McKinley rate or the Wilson rate? I think it fair that we should have some information on the subject.

Mr. ALDRICH. Owing to the large importations and the desire to make the rates uniform and harmonious with the rates upon other colors that are imported in other forms. For instance, under this bill and under all previous laws what are called coal-tar colors, which are substantially lakes, which are contained in this paragraph, have been put in the higher rates, and it is for the purpose of making these paragraphs consistent and giving a little larger protection to the American paint manufacturers.

Mr. GRAY. This is another case of diminishing the revenue by increasing protection.

Mr. ALDRICH. I do not think it will diminish the revenue.

Mr. GRAY. You want to diminish the importations. That is what I understand.

Mr. ALDRICH. We should be very glad to do that.

Mr. GRAY. That is what I understood the Senator to say.

Mr. VEST. This is an increase of 5 per cent over the McKinley Act as to "all paints, colors, pigments, lakes, crayons, smalts," etc., and now the Senator from Rhode Island tells us that this is put in to give additional protection to the American manufacturers of paint.

The comparative statement shows that we exported in 1896, after supplying the domestic market, $880,841 worth of these paints. That is a mathematical answer to the Senator's statement.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the amendment which has been submitted by the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH] to insert, after the word "whether," in line 3, on page 12, the words "in bulk or."

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I should like to ask the Senator from Rhode Island a question for information. I see in the comparative statement that as to one of the subdivisions under paragraph 56 we imported paris green and london purple. Are they included in this paragraph?

Mr. ALDRICH. They would be included as paints not otherwise provided for. They would be included there or in this chemical-compound paragraph—I am not sure which—but if the Senator succeeds in having them put upon the free list it would not be necessary in either case to make any amendment here, because it is said here, "not specially provided for in this act."

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I did not understand why it was put in here.

Mr. ALDRICH. I suppose it was concluded that paris green was a color, although I never knew it to be used in that way.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I did not know it was used in that way.

Mr. ALDRICH. I always thought it was a chemical compound.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, on page 12, line 6, after the word "white," to strike out "four," and insert "two and three-fourths;" so as to read:

Lead: Acetate of, white, 2¼ cents per pound.

Mr. VEST. I made no proposition to amend the preceding paragraph, because the Senate committee had reported the same rates as the existing law on acetate of lead, but on litharge, which is a lead compound, the McKinley Act imposed a duty of 3 cents, and the committee has reported a duty of 2¼ cents per pound. Under the existing law it is 1½ cents. I move to strike out "two and one-half" and insert "one and one-half."

The VICE-PRESIDENT. If there be no objection, the amendment reported by the committee, which has been stated, will be first considered, unless the Senator from Missouri desires a vote taken on his amendment now. If not, the question will be on the amendment reported by the committee.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, on page 12, line 7, after the word "pound," to strike out "in colors 3" and insert "brown gray, or yellow, one and three-fourths;" and in

line 9, after the words "nitrate of," to strike out "two" and insert "one;" so as to read:

87. Lead: Acetate of, white, 2½ cents per pound; brown, gray, or yellow, 1½ cents per pound; nitrate of, 1½ cents per pound, etc.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in the same paragraph, on page 12, line 10, before the word "cents," to strike out "three-fourths" and insert "one-half;" so as to read:

Litharge, 2½ cents per pound.

Mr. VEST. Now I move to strike out "2" and insert "1."

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment of the Senator from Missouri will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In line 10, after the word "litharge," it is proposed to strike out "two" and insert "one;" so as to read:

Litharge, 1½ cents per pound.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the amendment of the Senator from Missouri to the amendment of the committee.

The amendment to the amendment was rejected.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question recurs on the adoption of the amendment of the committee.

The amendment was agreed to.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, on page 12, after the word "phosphorus," to strike out "twenty" and insert "ten;" so as to read:

Phosphorus, 10 cents per pound.

Mr. ALDRICH. I ask that that may be passed over for the present.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The paragraph will be passed over.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, under the head of "Potash," on page 12, line 15, to insert "refined, in sticks or rolls;" so as to read:

60. Caustic or hydrate of, refined, in sticks or rolls, 1 cent per pound.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in the same paragraph, on page 12, line 16, after the words "chlorate of," to strike out "three" and insert "two;" so as to read:

60. Caustic or hydrate of, refined, in sticks or rolls, 1 cent per pound; chlorate of, 2 cents per pound.

Mr. ALDRICH. In behalf of the committee, I modify that amendment so as to read "two and one-half cents per pound," instead of "2 cents per pound."

Mr. VEST. Under the McKinley Act and under existing law, that article was free, and now the Senator, not satisfied with putting 2 cents upon it, proposes to increase it half a cent more, as I understand him.

Mr. ALDRICH. Yes, sir.

Mr. VEST. Well, we shall simply content ourselves with the right of inquiry. I should like to know the reason for the additional duty. I suppose there is no use to take a vote upon it.

Mr. ALDRICH. Chlorate of potash is a very important article, not only in medicine, but in commerce, and it is very largely consumed in the United States. It has never been made here until within a very short time, owing to the fact that it was on the free list. It is a manufactured product, and a large number of materials and machines which are dutiable are used in its production. It is believed by the people now engaged in the industry that it can be largely developed, and that in a very short time American manufacturers can produce the entire product consumed in this country.

Mr. GRAY. Then they will not want any tax.

Mr. ALDRICH. The duty is 2½ cents a pound, which is only about 25 per cent ad valorem—not a high one at all. I think it is an experiment which we ought to try.

Mr. VEST. This article is a most important one in dyeing goods, and especially cotton goods. I have always understood—I do not wish to make any extended argument in regard to it—the policy of all conservative men in the United States was to make the raw material used in manufactures as cheap as possible, in the interests of the general consumers of the country, because it goes without saying that whenever you put a duty upon material used by the manufacturer, he recoups it in the price of the manufactured product from the purchaser.

The French people are to-day the most prosperous in Europe in proportion to territory and population, and they recovered from the most disastrous war in modern or almost in ancient history in an unparalleled short time, because they did two things: They expanded their currency and they admitted raw materials free. The result is that to-day France exports more largely than any other people, except possibly those of Great Britain, to all parts of the world, and would export as largely as Great Britain but for the fact that she has not a merchant marine with which to carry her products abroad. We are pursuing an entirely different policy. I have not said anything, because I take it it is useless, when the duties were increased upon all the list of chemicals over which we have passed—chemicals that go into manufactures that ought to be made as cheap as possible to the manufacturer.

Now, here we come to an article upon which the House of Representatives placed a duty of 3 cents; the Senate committee struck it out and made it 2 cents, and now they come back and propose to make it 2½ cents. The article was free under the McKinley Act and it is free under existing law, and yet we are told by the Senator from Rhode Island, deliberately and coolly and frankly, that it is done for the purpose of enabling certain manufacturers to build up their interests in the future. At whose expense? That is the question. If we put on this additional duty, and it costs the manufacturers more to purchase this raw material, who pays for it? My constituents, who do not manufacture it, and the constituents of every other Senator who has not a manufacturing industry of that sort in his State. I enter my protest, for one, against the general doctrine and this specific illustration of it.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Some gentlemen, believing that at the price at which this article was sold in the United States they could manufacture it by using the electrical power at Niagara Falls, invested a large amount of money in a plant for that purpose and commenced the manufacture of it. The United Alkali Company of England, with a capital of $30,000,000, which controls all this product for the world, thereupon put down the price in the United States below the price in England and below the price at which it can be profitably manufactured here. When it is once known that the manufacture here is destroyed, the price will go back again to the old figures.

I thought that the duty ought to be left as it was fixed by the House of Representatives, but my associates upon the committee felt that it might be reduced somewhat. I believe that with this duty the result will be that in a very short time we shall produce this article in the United States, instead of being dependent upon the United Alkali Trust of England for it, with the usual result in such cases, that the price will be reduced to the consumer.

Mr. CAFFERY. I ask the Senator from Connecticut how long this depression of the English monopoly or trust, or whatever it may be, has crowded out the manufacture of this article in New York? How long has it been since they have exercised that depressing influence over that industry?

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. This enterprise was started within less than a year; I think about eight months ago.

Mr. GALLINGER. Only six months ago.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Only six months ago, I am told.

Mr. GALLINGER. About nine or ten months ago, I should have stated.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. The price at which the article was selling before this establishment was started would enable a little profit to be made upon it, but the price at which the English product is now put for the purpose of crushing out and stopping this industry in the United States will not allow it to be manufactured at a profit.

Mr. CAFFERY. Mr. President, it is a routine statement made that we have to protect infant industries from the greed of some foreigner who is selling an article in the United States below the cost of production for the purpose of crushing out the American industry. Such statements are made very largely, and I have never seen any authoritative or authentic proof of their entire correctness. I for one have not much objection to the Englishman or the Frenchman or anybody else selling things to America below the cost of production, because we enjoy the benefit of their product.

My friend from Missouri [Mr. VEST] seems to regret to have Senators on the other side of the Chamber descend from the elevated plane of the home market when it suits their purpose and come down to the old infant-industry idea that when we have the market we must hold it by high taxes, and when we have it not we must get it by high taxes. That appears to formulate their proposition in its exact character.

But if comparison be made between this country and France, showing how France has increased her export of manufactures by a low tariff or by having no tariff upon the raw materials, I think the Senator has made rather an invidious comparison somewhat upon the monetary lines of another country of Europe. That country is Great Britain. That country does not happen to have what the Senator from Missouri calls "an expanded currency," and yet, notwithstanding that fact, having nothing but the gold standard—which seems to meet with opposition sometimes on this side of the Chamber—that country has transcended France and all other countries in the world in the extent of its export trade.

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President, it seems to me that this is a very simple proposition, and I am going to say only a word about it.

In what I said to the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. PLATT] as to the length of time which we had been manufacturing this article in this country I somewhat misled him. The statement from which I got the fact is dated December 28, 1896, in which it is said

that the manufacture commenced six months before that time; so that it was about ten months ago.

Now, Mr. President, I want to read a very brief letter from the president of the only manufacturing establishment in this country that is making this article—the Chemical Construction Company of New York, which is operating at Niagara Falls:

The Chemical Construction Company herewith submits to your committee the reasons why it asks for a duty of 5 cents a pound on chlorate of potassium—

Mr. WHITE. From what page does the Senator read?

Mr. GALLINGER. From page 118 of the Tariff Hearings before the Committee on Ways and Means of the House of Representatives on Schedule A. That company asked for a duty of twice the amount that the Senate committee seemed willing to give. The statement from which I have been reading continues:

No chlorate of potassium was made in this country until 1896. The import in 1893 was 4,064,176 pounds; in 1894, 4,131,055 pounds; in 1895, 4,549,899 pounds; in 1896, 5,526,913 pounds. This company invested a large amount of capital in its plant, which was designed to turn out about 400,000 pounds, or less than one-sixteenth of the amount consumed in this country. A duty of 5 cents a pound on the balance, which would still have to be imported, would yield a revenue to the Government of over $250,000 per annum.

Previous to 1896 the price of chlorate of potassium had varied from 14 to 18 cents a pound. In that year—

Which was the year the manufacture was commenced in this country—

the foreign manufacturers, with the intention of stopping production here, forced their surplus on this market, and the price fell to 7½ cents a pound. This was so much below what they were selling for in Europe that reshipments were made at a profit. The company has now closed its works—

The only company in this country that has been operating in the manufacture of this article has closed its works—

being unable to operate under these conditions. It is very evident that when this industry has been destroyed the foreign manufacturers will raise chlorate of potassium to its normal selling price. The Government will lose this revenue without any benefit to the consumer.

CHEMICAL CONSTRUCTION COMPANY,
WALTON FERGUSON, *President.*

Mr. President, there it is in a nutshell. We have been importing nearly 6,000,000 pounds of this product into this country, and we have started to manufacture it, when the foreign manufacturer, with $30,000,000 or more of capital behind him, puts the price down so low that he destroys the American industry; and when the American industry is destroyed—and we have had a great many examples of that in the history of this Government—the price of the product is again raised to the American consumer, and we are dependent upon the foreign market for this article.

I think this is one of the industries that ought by all means to be protected. My only regret is that the duty is not a little higher than 2½ cents a pound.

Mr. BACON. I desire to ask the Senator from Connecticut or the Senator from Rhode Island if I correctly understand them to say that there is an American trust which has put the cost of this product below what it is in England?

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. No; it is an English trust—the United Alkali Company.

Mr. BACON. Then I misunderstood the Senator.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. There is probably no trust in the world that corresponds to it in the control of the market in this product.

Mr. BACON. I misunderstood the Senator. I thought he said it was an American trust.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Not at all.

Mr. GALLINGER. The article is controlled by an English trust, not by an American trust.

Mr. WHITE. I notice, upon consultation of the record, that from 1884, which is as far back as I have traced it, there was a duty of 3 cents a pound on this article down to 1890. Then the McKinley law dropped the duty, and the article has been free ever since. At that time it was deemed proper to put it on the free list. I understood the Senator from New Hampshire to state that the company he has referred to was the only manufactory in the country engaged in the production of this article.

Mr. GALLINGER. The only one I have any knowledge of, and the only one I find mentioned in the record here.

Mr. WHITE. I observe in the letter of the gentleman to which the Senator has adverted that he makes this statement:

This company invested a large amount of capital in its plant, which was designed to turn out about 400,000 pounds, or less than one-sixteenth of the amount consumed in this country.

Mr. GALLINGER. That is correct; but if by protection we enable this factory to go along and manufacture this product, there will soon be a great many others of a similar kind.

Mr. VEST. The whole argument upon the other side amounts to this: We are now to build up a factory which has utilized the water power at Niagara Falls and out of that has created electric power by which it can produce one-sixteenth of the amount that is necessary for the people of the United States. I am too much of an American to think that Niagara Falls requires the assistance of a protective tariff to compete with anything made in England. If we can not compete with English manufacturers, with the enormous natural resources which we admittedly have, it is perfectly useless to try to do it by artificial means.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I should like to ask the Senator from Connecticut a question for information. How extensive is the manufacture of permanganate of potash? Is not caustic potash essential for the manufacture of that article, and is not cyanide of potash an article used largely by miners?

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Not at all. It is not used in the manufacture of cyanide, as I understand it. Yellow prussiate is used in its manufacture.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I am told it is used in the manufacture of permanganate of potash.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. I think not. Cyanide of potassium is made from the yellow prussiate of potash.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I was this morning told by a man who said he is interested largely in the manufacture of permanganate of potash that the increase on caustic potash would destroy that industry, which is a large one, unless a large corresponding increase was given on it.

Mr. ALDRICH. Caustic potash in this bill is on the free list. I do not see how there can be——

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. In this bill?

Mr. ALDRICH. Yes.

Mr. VEST. Not refined, in sticks, etc.

Mr. ALDRICH. Not in sticks and rolls. In any other form it is on the free list.

Mr. VEST. In this very paragraph you have sticks and rolls, and you have caustic potash free. I do not know why you have done it, but it is done.

Mr. CHILTON. I understood the Senator from New Hampshire to inform the Senate that the factory started at Niagara Falls had brought the price of chlorate of potash down to its present low level—about 7 cents a pound.

Mr. GALLINGER. No; the Senator did not quite understand me correctly. The factory which manufactured this product, and which ran for four months at Niagara Falls, did not sell the article as low as 7½ cents a pound; but as it began to supply the American market, even to the extent of one-sixteenth of the entire product, the United Alkali Company of Great Britain, which is an enormous concern, a trust, put the price so low that the American manufacturer could not continue in business, and he has gone out of business as the result.

Mr. CHILTON. My information differs altogether from that of the Senator from New Hampshire. I think the price of chlorate of potash has steadily fallen for the last four or five years, and that almost all the reduction occurred before the Niagara Falls company began operations.

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. Ferguson, who I think probably knows what he is talking about, and who is president of the Chemical Construction Company, says that "previous to 1896 the price of chlorate of potassium had varied from 14 to 18 cents a pound." Of course there were some variations. Then it dropped to 7½ cents, showing the enormous profit that this great trust is receiving at the expense of the people of the United States.

Mr. GRAY. At the expense of what people?

Mr. GALLINGER. The people who are purchasing the article.

Mr. GRAY. It was not much at their expense if they were buying at the low prices.

Mr. GALLINGER. They were paying from 14 to 18 cents a pound, and they will do so again.

Mr. CHILTON. The truth probably is that the factory at Niagara Falls had nothing to do with the decline in price of chlorate of potash. It has been going down for several years. In 1894 it was 18 cents a pound, and before the factory started it had ranged as low as 11 cents a pound. The product of that factory constituted only about one-sixteenth of the total current consumption in this country. Fifty-five hundred thousand pounds were imported into the United States in 1896.

Mr. GALLINGER. Can the Senator from Texas give any good reason why in 1894 this product should have been at 14 and from that up to 18 in 1896, and then drop to 7½? Can it be possible that it is being produced for less than half what it cost in 1896?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The comparative statement which by authority is placed on the desks of all Senators shows that in 1893 the average unit of value of the article was 11 cents, instead of 14 to 18 cents.

Mr. GALLINGER. Can the Senator give any good reason why it went up to 18 cents in 1896?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I do not know that it did, according to these papers.

Mr. CHILTON. I do not believe the price was 18 cents in 1896. The plain fact is that this one American company produced merely a small fraction of the amount needed for American consumption. This small concern now calls upon Congress to impose a tax on the whole people of the United States, who imported and consumed last year 5,500,000 pounds of chlorate of potash, in order to

sustain it in the manufacture of 333,000 pounds, and the employment of about 50 men!

Of course I understand that the majority here have made up their mind to vote these items through, but it does seem to me appropriate that attention should be directed to this perversion of the theory of protection.

Mr. GRAY. Before this subject is dismissed from our attention, I wish to ask the Senator from New Hampshire if he quite understands the witness, Mr. Overbury, before the Ways and Means Committee, who was advocating a high protective duty on this article, in regard to the price of chlorate of potash. He tells us that the commercial uses of chlorate of potash are very wide; that it is used in calico dyeing; it is used in matches and in blasting powder, two very important industries in this country.

I happen to know something about the manufacture of matches and blasting powder, both of which are important industries in my own State. Therefore I may be excused for scrutinizing as well as I may the proposal here to tax those industries in behalf of the Niagara Falls industry, which is using the power that nature gives to make a small quantity of this material, and to let the Senate and the country see what the morals of this proposition are; that it is a proposition to tax all these great industries, just as worthy of consideration as this particular little industry, for the purpose of building it up. Mr. Overbury says that in 1894 the price was 13 to 14 cents.

Mr. WHITE. From what page does the Senator read?

Mr. GRAY. Page 116 of the blue book. In 1895-96 it was 7 to 7¼ cents. That was the price as stated by this manufacturer.

Mr. CHILTON. As I understand, it had reached the price of 7¼ cents a pound before the factory was started at Niagara Falls at all.

Mr. GRAY. That is true.

There is imported every year, or at least there has been this year, 5,500,000 pounds—

As the Senator from Texas said—

Our company will make a very small proportion of such a quantity. A duty of 5 cents a pound—

Says this modest gentleman—

will bring it back to about 12 cents a pound—

Nearly 100 per cent increase—

where it has been for a number of years.

And that nearly 100 per cent increase has to be borne by the manufacturers of medicinal preparations, by the manufacturers of blasting powder, which goes into more industries, perhaps, and is more diffusely used than almost any other article, and into the manufacture of matches.

Now, I ask why should those industries, and why should the people who are affected so widely by this tax, be called upon to chip in in order to support the Niagara Falls industry which Mr. Overbury advocated before the Committee on Ways and Means?

Mr. GALLINGER. The Senator from Delaware is laboring under a slight misapprehension, as is the Senator from Texas, when the Senator from Texas says that the decline occurred before the company started—in 1895. This company was started in June, 1895. When the Senator from Delaware makes his estimate upon the statement of Mr. Overbury as to the cost of this product, he should remember that the statement was made upon the basis of 5 cents a pound. There is a slight difference in that respect of 2½ cents a pound.

I do not care to prolong the debate, but I think the Senator from Delaware must be aware of the fact that there are a great many instances in our history where precisely this thing has happened in our country, that we have started a manufacturing concern and foreign manufacturers have put down the prices so low that they drove the American manufacturer out of business, and immediately when he went out of business, the foreigners put up the price, and our people had to pay the high price as they had paid it before we began to manufacture for ourselves. I can not state any particular instance, but I know there are a great many such instances in our history, and some very striking instances, which perhaps, before the debate is through, I will cite to the Senate in connection with some of the schedules.

I have no doubt that the price of this article was lowered by the great English trust for the simple purpose of driving out of business the American concern which was in competition with them, because if the establishment at Niagara Falls becomes a certainty, and under the protective policy of the Republican party they are enabled to manufacture this article at a living profit, it will not be the only manufacturing concern in this country that will be making the product, but there will be many others scattered all over the country, and in a little while we will be doing with it precisely as with tin plate. I remember the dire prophecies of the Senator from Delaware and other Senators in regard to tin plate, that we could not make it in this country, and that it was absurd to talk about it, and yet to-day we are manufacturing almost every pound used in the United States. So in regard to this article,

Mr. GRAY. You can make almost anything if you can get a subsidy from the Government to support it.

Mr. GALLINGER. We are manufacturing tin plate at a less price than the American consumer paid for it before.

Mr. GRAY. You can raise oranges under glass in New Hampshire if you get enough subsidy.

Mr. GALLINGER. That is no argument. We are selling tin plate at less price than the American consumer was paying for it when the dire prophecies were made by our Democratic friends that we could not manufacture it at all, that it was an outrage upon the American people and upon the dinner pail of the workman. Yet we imposed that duty. We put that burden upon the poor workingmen of the United States, and under that policy the American people have gone on and developed this great industry and are producing tin plate in almost if not entire quantities to meet the requirements of the people of this great country.

Mr. GEAR. To fortify that argument, I will state that tin cups were peddled in my State, or proposed to be peddled, at two or three hundred per cent increase to show how iniquitous the McKinley law was which placed a duty upon tin plate.

Mr. GALLINGER. In my judgment this is an instance where we are starting by the protective policy, in which the Republican party believes, a new industry in the United States; and while it may be for a little time something of a burden upon the consumer—it may be, I am not sure it will be—in my opinion it will be but a little while before we will be manufacturing all we require in this country, and then the price will be lowered by American competition, as prices are always lowered when competition in this country has a fair opportunity to operate. That is my judgment. I may be wrong about it, of course.

Mr. GRAY. If the Senator will allow me, I do not want to take away the foundation upon which he stands—I do not know that I shall do it, certainly not in the Senator's opinion—but the illustration he uses is an unfortunate one—tin plate. He said we will have as to this industry what has occurred in respect to many others, and conspicuously tin plate, an industry built up by a high protective tariff. Yet up to 1894 the duty on tin plate had been 2 cents a pound, when the Wilson Act reduced it to 1⅛ cents, and if the tin-plate industry in this country has flourished at all, it has flourished under the lower duty and not under the higher.

Mr. GALLINGER. Yes; but it was established under the higher, and I have no doubt that after a time we can make tin plate practically without any duty.

Mr. GRAY. But in the year 1894 many Senators stated—I do not know whether the Senator from New Hampshire did—that if we reduced the duty from 2 cents to 1⅛ cents tin-plate establishments would die, they could not exist, and could not be prosperous with the lower rate of duty at all.

Mr. GALLINGER. Very likely. There were false prophecies made by Republicans as well as by Democrats. We are all human. But I do not care to prolong this controversy. Of course, if I should suggest that we used to pay a duty of $16 or $18 or $22 a ton on steel rails and in this bill the duty is $6.72, the Senator would say that the fact that we are manufacturing our steel rails in this country has nothing to do with it; that if we let England sell us steel rails as she used to do, at $160 a ton or thereabouts, England would continue to sell them as cheap as they are being produced and sold to the American people by American manufacturers. I do not believe that that is true. Of course I do not argue the matter. I shall not attempt to convert the Senator from Delaware to my way of thinking, because I know I can not do it, but nevertheless that is my conviction, and my conviction rests in regard to this little industry about which we are talking now upon the same belief—that we will build up here an American industry and will employ American labor and will furnish this product to the American people at a price not larger, certainly, than it is being sold for at the present time.

Mr. GEAR. May I suggest to the Senator from Delaware, as to tin plate, that, as almost everybody knows, in the manufacture of tin plate it is necessary to secure cheap billets, and the method of manufacturing billets is far cheaper now than even six years ago. Therefore tin plate can be made cheaper.

Mr. GRAY. Then it is not the tariff.

Mr. GEAR. The tariff helped.

Mr. GRAY. That is what I have contended for all along—that the tariff has nothing to do with the tin-plate industry in this country; and there is no man who is not so possessed of the protective idea as to have lost that common sense which in other respects might distinguish him who would not recognize the fact that the tin-plate industry at least owes none of its prosperity to the protective hand of the Government. I was wrong a moment ago, for it was even a greater reduction than I supposed. The duty on tin plate was reduced from 2.20 cents a pound to 1⅛ and not 1⅛ cents, as I said.

Mr. GALLINGER. That is right.

Mr. GEAR. My friend omits one thing. Of course, as a Republican, I believe these great industries were built up by the

protective system. The Senator from Delaware himself admitted that the pulp and paper industry had been built up by the protective system, and now he says that as to tin plate the tariff had nothing to do with it or anything else.

Mr. GRAY. I do say so, and I say the facts which are patent to everyone, that the tin-plate industry, which did not exist and did not flourish under a duty of 2.20 cents a pound, has flourished since it was reduced to 1⅛ cents a pound, demonstrate that there were other causes for that prosperity than the tariff.

Mr. CHILTON. While it is a sort of perfunctory performance to raise objections, it does not seem right that the claims made should go unchallenged on the floor of the Senate. My statement about the fall in the price of chlorate of potash was made largely from memory. My statement, however, concerning the date of the opening of the manufacturing establishment at Niagara Falls was derived from the testimony contained in the hearings, which have been published. I do not think I can be mistaken in the impression that the price of chlorate of potash went as low as 7 or 8 cents a pound in 1895.

Again, looking at the hearings, I call the attention of the Senator from New Hampshire to the testimony of Mr. Overbury, on page 116. The testimony was taken December 28, 1896. He was asked this question in regard to chlorate of potash:

How much do you manufacture?
Mr. OVERBURY. Our one company manufactures not far from one-third of a million.
Mr. PAYNE. How long have you been manufacturing it?
Mr. OVERBURY. About six months.
Mr. PAYNE. Six months since you commenced it?
Mr. OVERBURY. Yes, sir.

If that testimony is true, the factory at Niagara Falls was started in 1896, and not in 1895. The great fall in the price of chlorate of potash, which seems to have been an accomplished fact in 1895, must have occurred, therefore, anterior to the establishment of the industry in New York.

Mr. CAFFERY. Mr. President, I think the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. GALLINGER] has been very unfortunate in the witness he summoned to prove his case. It is only one evidence of the exaggerated statements that interested parties will make when they want the helping hand of the Government to assist them in their business.

The authentic figures of the prices of chlorate of potash put down on the comparative statements show that in 1893 the article was selling at 11 cents a pound. In 1896 it was 8 cents a pound. Now, the witness whom the Senator from New Hampshire has summoned to prove his case makes this statement:

The import in 1893 was 4,064,176 pounds; in 1894, 4,131,055 pounds; in 1895, 4,549,899 pounds; in 1896, 5,526,913 pounds. This company invested a large amount of capital in its plant, which was designed to turn out about 400,000 pounds, or less than one-sixteenth of the amount consumed in this country. A duty of 5 cents a pound on the balance, which would still have to be imported, would yield a revenue to the Government of over $250,000 per annum. Previous to 1896 the price of chlorate of potassium had varied from 14 to 18 cents a pound.

"Previous to 1896 the price of chlorate of potassium had varied from 14 to 18 cents a pound."

Now, I submit to the Senate whether the statements of this witness are to be taken or the authentic finding of the fact by the Chief of the Bureau of Statistics? With what kind of grace can an industry of this sort come before the Senate of the United States or the Congress of the United States and ask the Government to support it when it supplies only one-sixteenth of the consumption of the United States?

Mr. GALLINGER. Upon precisely the same ground that we protect sugar produced in Louisiana, which is an infinitesimal proportion of what we consume.

Mr. CAFFERY. The keystone of the arch of Republican tariff taxation is free sugar. It was so declared in 1890. There is not a Republican of any prominence who was then in the Senate of the United States or the Congress of the United States who did not at that period declare that the tariff upon sugar was not within the circle of the protective idea, that it was not within the grasp of that principle.

Mr. GEAR. Mr. President——

Mr. GALLINGER. We protected it by a bounty.

Mr. GEAR. That is the statement I was about to make.

Mr. CAFFERY. And unanimously almost, if not entirely, the Congress of 1890 voted for free sugar, and in 1894 it substituted the debauching and the demoralizing principle of bounty in lieu of the Democratic principle of tariff for revenue on sugar.

Mr. GEAR. May I interrupt the Senator from Louisiana?

Mr. CAFFERY. Certainly.

Mr. GEAR. That is true. The Republican party in the House and the Senate of the United States voted for free sugar. We did place a bounty on it, under an arrangement of law, to last fifteen years, and the Democratic party, with a moral obliquity that always astonished me, refusing to carry out that which was an unwritten contract, the law of the land, took away the bounty. They refused to pay the bounty which was due, and there had to be a decision of the court to make them pay it.

Mr. CAFFERY. I am not one of those individuals who can see any moral obliquity in a party who proposes and makes a gift and then revokes it at any period he chooses. There was no party to make a contract with. It was not a contract in any sense.

Mr. GEAR. The Senator from Louisiana is a lawyer. He knows that a contract was made with every man in this land, from ocean to ocean, who would embark in the growth and production of sugar. Therefore it was a moral contract, a legal contract, in my judgment, of the Congress of the United States with those people.

Mr. CAFFERY. When we go into a metaphysical disquisition of moral contracts, I would propose to my Republican friends to have some tender regard for the bowed-back labor of this country. A moral contract implies a moral obligation, and you have behind you a moral obligation of the strongest kind in these depressed times not to be piling up the taxes on the backs of the people of the United States.

To call the bounty of 1890 a legal contract is a misnomer. It was never a contract. It can not be a contract. How can a government contract with itself? Who was the other party to the contract? It was nothing on earth but a gift, a pernicious gift, a demoralizing gift, a debauching gift, the bad consequences of which the Senator from Iowa heard the other day in the demand of an export gift upon cereals exported from this country.

Mr. GEAR. I imagine the Senator from Louisiana himself in person and his colleagues from that part of the country were beneficiaries under that gift and partook of its benefits.

Mr. CAFFERY. There is an old Spanish proverb which says, "Never look a gift horse in the mouth." The gift was forced upon us ex invito. We did not want it. I for one stand on Democratic lines when I ask for a tariff on sugar. It is the keystone of the arch of the Democratic idea of revenue. It produces revenue, and more revenue than any other article upon the dutiable list. It has less evil effect in building up any class of citizens at the expense of others than almost any other article upon the dutiable list, unless you find one that is not produced at all in the United States. It is produced to such a small extent that the tariff upon it yields money that goes into the coffers of the Government and not into the pockets of monopolists or classes, not into the pockets of such a gentleman as you now propose to pay by this tariff upon the prussiate of potash. Bring better witnesses than this gentleman. He is overthrown and controverted by the facts from the Bureau of Statistics. In being falsus in uno, he is falsus in omnibus. The statement that the English manufacturers have depressed the price of this article purposely to destroy the American industry, in my opinion, has no weight.

It is correctly stated by the Senator from Delaware that the natural surroundings, the natural resources, the natural ability of the American people have created the industry of tin plate, and the tariff on tin plate is not the cause of the growth of the industry. Sir, we have a new industrial force, we have a kind of moral machinery which surpasses the ingenuity of the mechanics and overslaughs all of nature's resources and advantages. It is the artificial product of Republican minds, that extraordinary production called a tariff bill. When you have tariff, you have everything you want. If you do not have tariff, the American industries languish and suffer and die. There is not a single American industry to-day that stands on its own legs and can compete with a foreign market that has not built itself up in spite of tariff, and that can not retain its hold in spite of tariff.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the amendment of the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH] to the amendment of the committee to strike out "three" and insert "two and a half" in line 16, page 12.

Mr. VEST. That is an increase of one-half a cent over the amendment of the committee?

Mr. FRYE. That is right.

Mr. ALDRICH. And a decrease of one-half a cent from the House bill.

Mr. VEST. But an increase of one-half a cent over the amendment before the Senate.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment to the amendment is to strike out "three" and insert "two and half."

Mr. VEST. Very good. Let me state the proposition as I understand it. The House bill proposes a duty of 3 cents. The Senate committee reported in lieu of that a duty of 2 cents. The Senator from Rhode Island, on behalf of the majority of the Committee on Finance, proposes now an increase from "two" to "two and one-half cents."

Mr. WHITE. He proposes to amend the committee amendment.

Mr. VEST. He proposes to amend the committee amendment by making it 2½ cents.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair so understands.

Mr. VEST. On that I call for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CLAY (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE]. If he were present, I should vote "nay."

Mr. GALLINGER (when his name was called). I am paired with the senior Senator from Texas [Mr. MILLS]. I will transfer that pair to the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. PLATT], and vote. I vote "yea."

The roll call having been concluded, the result was announced—yeas 33, nays 27; as follows:

YEAS—33.

Aldrich,	Elkins,	McBride,	Sewell,
Allison,	Fairbanks,	McMillan,	Shoup,
Burrows,	Foraker,	Mason,	Spooner,
Cannon,	Frye,	Penrose,	Stewart,
Chandler,	Gallinger,	Perkins,	Warren,
Clark,	Gear,	Platt, N. Y.	Wetmore.
Cullom,	Hanna,	Pritchard,	
Davis,	Hawley,	Proctor,	
Deboe,	Jones, Nev.	Quay,	

NAYS—27.

Bacon,	Faulkner,	McEnery,	Rawlins,
Bate,	Gray,	Mallory,	Roach,
Berry,	Harris, Kans.	Mitchell,	Turpie,
Caffery,	Heitfeld,	Morgan,	Vest,
Chilton,	Kenney,	Murphy,	Walthall,
Cockrell,	Kyle,	Pasco,	White.
Daniel,	Lindsay,	Pettus,	

NOT VOTING—28.

Allen.	Hale,	Martin,	Teller,
Baker,	Hansbrough,	Mills,	Thurston,
Butler,	Harris, Tenn.	Morrill,	Tillman,
Carter,	Hoar,	Nelson,	Turner,
Clay,	Jones, Ark.	Pettigrew,	Wellington,
George,	Lodge,	Platt, Conn.	Wilson,
Gorman,	Mantle,	Smith,	Wolcott.

So Mr. ALDRICH's amendment to the amendment of the committee was agreed to.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I wish to make a parliamentary inquiry. The vote just taken, as I understood the Chair to announce it a while ago, was on the adoption of the amendment proposed by the Senator from Rhode Island to the amendment of the committee.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Yes, sir; adding the words "and one-half." The question now is upon striking out "three" and inserting "two"——

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. "Two and one-half."

Mr. FRYE. The question is on the amendment of the committee as amended.

Mr. ALDRICH. I suggest that while it may be in order in the Senate, it is not now in order to strike out a proposition which the Senate has just placed in the bill by an affirmative vote.

Mr. BERRY. It has not been put into the bill. The Chair announced that the question was on the amendment proposed by the Senator from Rhode Island to the amendment of the committee, an amendment to an amendment, and the vote was taken on that. Now the question would recur on the committee amendment as amended.

Mr. ALDRICH. I beg the Senator's pardon, Mr. President.

Mr. FRYE. As amended, of course.

Mr. BERRY. That is the situation.

Mr. WHITE. I notice in the testimony of a gentleman who has already been referred to, Mr. Overbury, he states that 3 cents would not protect him, and therefore we are in the unfortunate and unsatisfactory position of voting for this increased taxation without building up any industry.

Mr. TILLMAN. It seems to me that is good Democratic doctrine. We are getting revenue out of it, and it is purely a revenue matter, as it does not protect anybody.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. As a parliamentary question, the motion I believe pending now is a motion to strike out "three" and insert "two and one-half." Is a motion to strike out and insert divisible? If so, I should like to have a vote on the first proposition to strike out "three," for the purpose of leaving this article on the free list, where it is now.

Mr. ALDRICH. A motion to strike out and insert is not divisible under the Senate rules, as I understand.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair so understands.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Then I can not make the motion I should like to make.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the amendment of the committee as amended, to strike out "three" and insert "two and one-half," in line 16, page 12; so as to make the paragraph read:

60. Caustic or hydrate of, refined, in sticks or rolls, 1 cent per pound; chlorate of, 2½ cents per pound.

The amendment as amended was agreed to.

The Secretary resumed the reading of the bill. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 63, page 12, line 23, after the word "pound," to strike out "cyanide of, 6 cents per pound;" so as to make the paragraph, under the subhead "Potash," read:

63. Prussiate of, red, 3 cents per pound; yellow, 4 cents per pound.

Mr. STEWART. In regard to the amendment of the committee, I am in favor of it, but if it were adopted without further action it would increase the duty. The duty now under the bill is 25 per cent ad valorem. They are selling in this country cyanide of potassium as high as 35 cents. I understand it is lower than that, and that it is now to be sold for 26 cents. That would be 6½ cents specific.

Mr. ALDRICH. On the foreign price?

Mr. STEWART. No; on the price here. They say they are willing to sell it here at that. They have not sold any.

Mr. ALDRICH. The foreign cost would be less than that, and the action suggested by the committee would be a reduction of the rate rather than an increase.

Mr. STEWART. It is on the free list. Twenty-five per cent ad valorem is absolutely a prohibitory duty. This same article is sold in South Africa at about 22 cents a pound. This is the most important item in the whole chemical schedule so far as our country is concerned. Within the last few years a process of working gold ores has been discovered which has been applied to ores that otherwise could not have been worked at all. It is used in the Western mining States, in South Africa, and elsewhere. It is the most important discovery that has been made in many ways in regard to the working of gold ores. There are vast beds of low-grade gold ores in Nevada, Idaho, Montana, Utah, and in all the mining States. These ores have not been worked because what they get out of them would not pay expenses. A vast amount of them are not worked to-day on account of the cost of cyanide. Cyanide of potash costs so much that it interferes with the working.

It must be taken into consideration that they advance in the working of these gold mines just as fast as possible. They work mines at a loss until they get broke on them, with the hope of striking something better. It is a very fascinating business. The slightest tax strikes them very heavily. This is the most important element in the mining industry. The expense of it in this country has been a great drawback, and it is prohibitive to the working of many mines that otherwise would be worked. If it is important to increase the gold product, particular attention must be paid to this article, cyanide of potassium. I desire to have it perfectly understood. It was not understood in the House, because the facts were not brought out so far as the report is concerned. The House committee did not have the facts before it when they considered it, and it has not been fully considered.

Mr. GRAY. The committee has stricken out the duty proposed by the House, has it not?

Mr. STEWART. The committee has stricken out the rate of 6 cents per pound, but it has left a duty of 25 per cent ad valorem, which at a price anywhere above 24 cents would be an increase. It never has been sold in this country as low as 24 cents. It was sold in South Africa at an average price last year, I am told, of 22 cents. At 26 cents the rate would be 6½ cents instead of 6 cents. So it is doubtful whether the amendment would enlarge or decrease the duty. When we get to the free list, I propose to move to put it on the free list, and I shall then show the facts. There may be other changes in this same paragraph 63. Yellow prussiate may have to be reduced, because that is the base in making the other article, and they can be considered together. I hope that the amendment of the committee will be adopted, and that the question will then be left open until we come to the free list, so as to adjust this matter.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment reported by the committee.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. RAWLINS. Mr. President, I move to strike out from the same paragraph the words "yellow, 4 cents per pound;" and I will state the effect of the amendment, if made. The alkali which it is proposed to tax in that way at 4 cents a pound would stand upon the free list. I gave notice yesterday, as the Senator from Nevada [Mr. STEWART] has given notice now, that when the free list is reached a motion will be made to put cyanide of potassium upon the free list. The yellow prussiate of potash is essential to the manufacture of cyanide of potassium.

The only manufacturers of cyanide of potassium in this country state that if they could have the yellow prussiate free of duty, and caustic potash, which is already free of duty, they can then compete with all the world in the manufacture of this article. I will read a brief statement to that effect from the Roessler & Hasslacher Chemical Company, manufacturing and importing chemists, in which they use the following language:

Give us free prussiate of potash and free caustic soda and we are willing to let cyanide of potash stand on the free list and to waive the claim to be compensated by the duty for the higher wages we have to pay in the manufacture of cyanide. We have, however, to take the circumstances as they are, or rather as they will be in the new tariff, and only these circumstances we want to have considered for cyanide in the new tariff.

This yellow prussiate of potash used in the manufacture of cyanide of potassium formerly was manufactured out of animal

refuse, but a new and improved method of manufacture has been discovered. It is now obtained as a by-product from the manufacture of gas. They are now manufacturing it extensively in Philadelphia in that way. They are enabled by this method of manufacture to compete with all the world. There is now a duty of 25 per cent upon the yellow prussiate of potash, but the American manufacturers have put down the price substantially so that the foreigners are unable to compete. As has already been pointed out, cyanide of potassium is of the utmost importance to the mining industry of the United States.

These propositions ought to receive the unanimous support of the members of all the parties in the Senate. The Republicans last fall in their campaign made their claim to the American people in favor of sound money and a protective tariff. The gold standard is essential to sound money, in their estimation. The production of gold is therefore a part of their cardinal creed. In voting upon this amendment they will have to determine whether they prefer protection to sound money. The Democrats are always favorable to any proposition which looks to the reduction of taxation and to the increase of industrial freedom. They are also in favor of an enlargement of the circulation, so that the people in carrying on trade and business may not be hampered and obstructed. As to the members of the Populist party, they, too, agree that we ought to have an enlarged circulating medium.

Cyanide of potassium is the means by which common earth almost is transformed into gold, which is now the most highly prized article of our advancing civilization and the very essence of sound money. We have in Utah large beds of earth. Nothing can be discovered in it. It looks like common clay. They dig it out of the hills, put it into vats, and put some cyanide of potassium in water and let the water run through the earth, and after it has percolated through the soil, it is converted into pure gold and carried to our mints and made into money. This stuff is taken out of the hills by the thousands of tons. We have mountains of it. It carries $2, $3, $5, $6, and sometimes as high as $7 a ton. Upon a slight increase in the cost of cyanide of potassium depends whether we shall have the output of millions or perhaps an output of nothing in the way of gold.

I appeal to the Republicans to investigate this question before we reach the free list. I appeal to all members of the Senate, because this is a new industry and it depends upon the placing upon the free list of cyanide of potassium.

Now, one word as to the manufacture of cyanide of potassium. It is unnecessary to protect it. It is true it has heretofore been manufactured by using prussiate of potash, but they have recently discovered a new method, by which the cyanide is extracted from the air. We can not put any tariff upon air to exclude it. They are now manufacturing it by what is known as the Roessler process in Germany out of air. The establishment in this country is located at Niagara Falls.

It can not be for the protection of national labor or to increase the wages of workingmen, because the power and force which is used to bring about the necessary mechanical combinations to produce this result by which gold is obtained is that which is given by nature itself at Niagara Falls. These manufacturers state that the labor cost is infinitesimal. Therefore there can be no reason whatever why any tax should be put upon cyanide of potassium, as it comes as a result of the manufacture of gas; the prussiate ought not to be protected, and these upon the free list reduce the cost of this article which is a prime necessity for the struggling production of gold in such quantities as to enable us to remain upon a gold basis and have sound currency in the estimation of our friends upon the other side.

Mr. WHITE. I simply wish to call attention to the phraseology in the paragraph referred to by the Senator from Utah [Mr. RAWLINS]. "Cyanide of potash" should be "cyanide of potassium." I believe the matter will be considered hereafter, but I mention that fact now in order that the correction may be made.

Mr. ALDRICH. The proposition of the Senator from Utah should not be adopted, because yellow prussiate of potash is not only used in the manufacture of cyanide, but it is used for many other purposes. It is a very important product of potash, and it should be allowed to remain as it is now in the bill.

Mr. RAWLINS. Mr. President, I did not make the motion to strike that out with a desire to have it voted upon at present, unless the Senator should insist upon it. I am willing that it may go over, to be voted upon when we come to the free list, and consider the whole question together. At that time I shall have other facts to present, which I think will make it plain that this motion of mine ought to be sustained.

Mr. ALLISON. As to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Utah, at any time before the bill is reported to the Senate the motion will be in order which he desires to make.

Mr. RAWLINS. I give notice, then, that I shall make it when we reach the free list, so that these questions can be considered together.

Mr. ALDRICH. I understand the Senator from Utah to withdraw his amendment.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. There is no amendment pending.

Mr. ALDRICH. In view of the fact that we have made considerable progress to-day upon the bill, and in view of the further fact that I know Senators who are engaged in the examination of the bill are greatly fatigued with their work for the past week, I move that the Senate adjourn.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Will the Senator withdraw that motion for one moment?

Mr. ALDRICH. Certainly.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I have an analysis of the explanation of the sugar schedule presented by the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH], made by a gentleman connected with the sugar trade in New York. He advocates propositions in which I do not believe; but as I think Senators ought to be fully advised as to the views of all gentlemen who are informed on this question, I ask leave to have this statement inserted in the RECORD, so that Senators may see it.

I also have two letters of Willett & Gray, of New York, together with certain statements of theirs as to the value of sugars, which, I think, will be interesting to all Senators. I ask leave to have these letters, together with the statement to which I have referred, inserted in the RECORD.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and that will be the order.

The statement and letters referred to are as follows:

STATEMENT OF PIERRE J. SMITH, OF NEW YORK.

Senator ALDRICH's defense of the Finance Committee's sugar schedule, as reported in the Evening Post, probably appears quite reasonable to anyone not posted about sugar, but to anyone in the trade the reasons given for adopting compound instead of specific rates are utterly unsound and infinitesimal compared with the objections to an ad valorem duty in any form.

First. He states that the Dingley rates applied to all importations of sugar at New York during January last show a range of 73.2 to 144.3 per cent ad valorem, and are very unequal on low grades. I do not know why the importations during January were selected and how the percentages were arrived at, but from knowledge of the business I believe such a statement does not fairly represent the facts, and if the comparisons were carefully figured out on the basis of the in-bond values ex ship for landed tests (which is the only fair basis), the results would probably be quite different, and might furnish better arguments for a specific duty.

Our raw-sugar-trade committee represents receivers of raw sugars from all parts of the world, and we have shown the Finance Committee and the Ways and Means Committee that the Dingley rates figure out only about 72 per cent ad valorem on to-day's extremely low values, and only about 50 per cent on low average values, such as prevailed when the Wilson bill was passed. Fully 97 per cent of all the sugars imported test between 84° and 97°, and under the Dingley schedule the variation in duty on these sugars is not exceeding 1 per cent.

Second. Senator ALDRICH states that the high specific rates on low grades testing under 87° would exclude these sugars from the United States.

In reply to this I can only say that such would not be the case, as the rates in the Dingley schedule are so graduated as to impose fair rates of duty on all sugars testing from 75° to 100°:

Can Senator ALDRICH tell why more low grades were imported under previous less carefully drawn specific schedules than under the present ad valorem Wilson bill?

Can he say why the entire raw-sugar trade of New York appointed our committee to protest against an ad valorem duty in any form if it had proved fair, reliable, or practicable?

Does he think the receivers of all grades of raw sugar, both high and low, would recommend the Dingley schedule if it would exclude any sugars?

Third. He states the total amount of sugars used testing under 87° is very small, and for obvious reasons the quantity is rapidly decreasing, but intimates the importation of same is very important, viewed from the standpoint of our trade and commerce.

This statement is rather remarkable, as it is difficult to see how the importation of a very small quantity of sugar (and even that small quantity rapidly decreasing) is such an important matter, viewed from the standpoint of trade and commerce, especially as the present bill is expected to enable our domestic producers to soon supply a good share of our consumption, and what will then become of this "little but so important trade in low grades," which Senator ALDRICH's committee has found it so necessary to protect?

Can Senator ALDRICH say why an allowance from the Dingley rates on such sugars would not have easily adjusted any discrimination against them, if there was any? And would this not have been a much better plan than adopting the ad valorem rates, which were strongly opposed by the domestic sugar producers and the raw-sugar trade, and were only wanted by the refiners?

His remarks about driving near-by low grades and all distant sugars from the United States and to free markets like Canada and England are without foundation, and are not borne out by the working of previous graduated specific duties. At present Canada has a specific duty of one-half cent on all grades of raw sugar below 16 Dutch standard, so that under the fairly graded rates of the Dingley schedule the shippers will be only too glad to send their sugars to the United States instead of Canada.

Under Senator ALDRICH's schedule, all sugars under 38° will be shut out if the market advances, as they will have to pay 75 per cent on the advance, while sugars over 88° will only pay 35 per cent on such advance. What will then become of this important "little trade in low grades?"

Fourth. Senator ALDRICH states that the compound rates were adopted on sugars over 87° because the specific rates would discriminate against sugars from some localities as compared with others.

The facts in the case do not bear out this statement, as the variation in the values of cane sugars of same test is very slight, if any, and a written statement, made by Professor Wiley, of the Agricultural Department, and which was filed with the Finance Committee, states that, as beet sugars are made to-day, there is no necessity to discriminate in their favor, as against cane sugars, in making up a schedule for duty.

Our committee showed tests of beet sugars recently arrived which contained less ash and impurities than many cane sugars.

There is, therefore, no good reason for adopting an ad valorem duty on sugars testing either above or below 87°, while there were shown conclusive

arguments why the ad valorem duty in any form is utterly unfair and resulted in great discriminations against sugars of same values coming from different countries, and even from different places in same countries.

It is also shown that it was unreliable for revenue purposes, and in many cases utterly impracticable, and resulting in continual reappraisements, disputes, etc.

Fifth. We heartily agree with Senator ALDRICH in giving our refiners adequate protection, but it is not necessary to have ad valorem rates to do this, as it can just as well be given openly under a specific schedule by adding sufficient extra duty on all sugars over 16 Dutch standard in color.

It is estimated by experts that the Wilson bill gives refiners about one-fourth to five-sixteenths cent protection, and the Senate schedule three-sixths to seven-sixteenths cent, as long as the bounty on beet sugars remains as at present.

It has been proved quite conclusively that our refiners have made plenty of money under the Wilson bill, and the leading one has made about 10 per cent dividends on $75,000,000 capital, and a large surplus besides, although it is estimated refineries could be built to turn out on the average as much sugar as they have for about $10,000,000, and could be built and run with a capital of about $15,000,000.

Under the circumstances it is not likely the refining industry would suffer under the Dingley specific schedule, especially if the extra duty on sugars over 16 Dutch standard should be made one-fourth cent.

The increased importations of foreign refined during the last few years have been owing mostly to the high prices prevailing here for refined, last August-October the difference between 96° centrifugals and granulated being 1¼ cents, and showed a profit to the refiners here of 1 cent, or over $5 per barrel, and at present the difference is 1 cent and the profit about one-half cent, or over $1.50 per barrel.

The large importations during April were owing to the probable increase in duty, and the longer the tariff bill is delayed the larger will be the importations of both refined and raw of all grades and descriptions.

Foreign refined is of poorer quality and hard to sell, even at one-eighth cent to one-fourth cent below prices for American refined, and last year our refiners were able to buy from the importers a large quantity of this foreign refined and remelt it, as the importers had hard work to sell it to the trade.

I give you these facts merely to show there is no necessity of an ad valorem duty to protect our refiners.

Messrs. Arbuckle and Doscher are both building new refineries to compete with the trust, and I believe any protection over one-fourth cent openly given our refiners will result in still further refineries, which will before long result in plenty of competition here and greatly reduced profits.

It seems to me Senator ALDRICH is making a mountain out of a molehill, while utterly ignoring more serious difficulties which an ad valorem duty in any form will surely bring about.

No. 91 WALL STREET, NEW YORK, *May 22, 1897.*

DEAR SIR: Your favor of 21st instant is received and noted.

The market value of a degree of sugar is mostly one-sixteenth cent to three thirty-seconds cent, after having given the fixed standard to start from, say 96° for centrifugals, 89° for muscovados and molasses sugar, 64° for lowest grade muscovados.

In detail, the duty-paid value to-day of each grade as per tests is as follows:

Centrifugals:		Muscovados:	
96°	3.43¾	94°	2.90¾
96°	3.375	93°	2.87¼
97°	3.3125	92°	2.84¼
98°	3.25	91°	2.81¼
95°	3.1875	90°	2.78¾
94°	3.125	89°	2.75
93°	3.061¼	88°	2.6875
92°	2.9375	87°	2.625
91°	2.84¾	86°	2.56¼
90°	2.75	85°	2.50
Molasses sugar:		**Lowest grades muscovados:**	
90°	2.50¼	84°	2.43¾
89°	2.50	83°	2.34¼
88°	2.43¾	82°	2.25
87°	2.375	81°	2.15¼
86°	2.3125	80°	2.06¼
85°	2.25	79°	1.96¼
84°	2.1875	78°	1.87¼
83°	2.09¾	77°	1.78¾
82°	2.00	76°	1.68¾
81°	1.90¾		
80°	1.81¼		

The custom-house fixes the ad valorem duties on cost of sugars f. o. b. in port of shipment, less certain port charges, etc., varying from different countries, and in some instances, where the foreign port has no general market for sugar, they arrive at the dutiable value by taking the cost and freight valuation and figuring backward.

If you will make up a pro forma of what you are trying to show, we will fill it out for you.

Yours, truly,

WILLETT & GRAY.

J. SCHOENHOF, Esq.
Care of Senator James K. Jones, Washington, D. C.

NEW YORK, *May 25, 1897.*

DEAR SIR: Your favor of the 24th instant is received and noted.

You can not do it that way. The duty-paid prices of sugar give no indication of dutiable value whatever, as they include freight, landing charges, duties, and profits and losses to importers.

It is absolutely impossible to draw an argument or make such an application from duty-paid prices. The appraisers sometimes use the cost and freight values here and figure back to the dutiable value for such ports as have no regular markets. What you require is the dutiable values as computed at the custom-house, and that would be an endless job, and would require to be taken at some one special time or month when values were about stationary, as under ad valorem duties the values constantly change.

We inclose a few samples taken from our custom-house for sugars of same test coming from different countries.

There are no net dutiable values adopted by the custom-house for various sugars. Every importation stands on its own merits and is assessed duty by its actual value at port of shipment on day of export less certain port charges, etc., allowed by appraisers, except as above stated.

The demand for specific duties has tried to be met by assuming that the dutiable value per degree of three one-hundredths of a cent per pound is as near correct as is practicable, and probably it is, except as to the lower grades of sugars for which the same test has one-fourth cent per pound difference in market value, and no kind of a specific duty can be devised that will not discriminate against such low grades, unless a special schedule is arranged for them by name.

In the haste of making up the values, we find on examination that several degrees were wrongly valued, and we send correction of same herewith. In explanation, muscovados are sold on 89° basis, with one thirty-second of a cent per degree up and one-sixteenth of a cent per degree down, and in other cases there is three thirty-seconds of a cent per pound difference per degree in selling values. You will note the difference in dutiable values of 96° sugars from Java, Trinidad, Santo Domingo, Barbados, and Cuba, caused by difference in f. o. b. values and rates of freight, etc., while all have the same value on arrival if sold on the same day.

From all this you will see there is no absolutely certain way of confirming or rejecting values per degree for specific schedule for duties, and the only way to make it a specific tariff is by two one-hundredths, three one-hundredths, or four one-hundredths of a cent per degree difference in duty. Some grades should have two one-hundredths, some three one-hundredths, and some four one-hundredths of a cent, but the objection is to introducing so many dividing lines into a specific duty, and so some grades must suffer from a regular three one-hundredths of a cent or a regular two one-hundredths of a cent difference, and the smaller the specific duty and the larger the ad valorem part of the duty the less they suffer.

Yours, truly,

WILLETT & GRAY.

J. SCHOENHOF, Esq.,
Care of Senator James K. Jones, Washington, D. C.

87° test.

Date shipment	October 14, 1893	October 14, 1896.
Country	St. Croix	Antigua.
Vessel	T. Towner	Ora.
Description	17 hhds. muscovado	40 hhds. muscovado.
Test	86.20°	87.70°.
Dutiable value	1.485 cents	1.619 cents.
United States currency	1.485 cents	1.619 cents.
Equal dutiable value, 87°	1.535 cents	1.575 cents.
Wilson duty 40 per cent	.624 cent	.630 cent.
Dingley bill	1.36 cents	1.36 cents.
Difference (increase)	.736 cent	.730 cent.
Senate bill (75 per cent)	1.15 cents	(79+35 per cent) 1.34 cts.
Date shipment	October 4, 1896	October 20, 1896.
Country	Demerara	Barbadoes.
Vessel	Fontabelle	Grace Lynwood.
Description	1,020 bags muscovado	490 hhds. muscovado.
Test	89.56°	89.55°.
Dutiable value	1.738 cents	1.724 cents.
United States currency	1.738 cents	1.724 cents.
Equal dutiable value, 87°	1.578 cents	1.575 cents.
Wilson duty 40 per cent	.631 cent	.630 cent.
Dingley bill	1.36 (1.44) cents.	1.36 (1.44) cents.
Difference	.729 cent	.733 cent.
Senate	1.48 cents	1.48 cents.

Specific duty of 1.36 cents per pound on 87°-test sugars raises the duty on muscovados 70¼ cents to 73⅞ cents per 100 pounds, imported from different parts of the world, while it raises the duty on molasses sugars of the same test 77⅞ cents to 84⅛ cents per 100 pounds. In other words, the specific duty of 1.36 cents for 87°-test sugars of all descriptions raises the duty from the 40 per cent ad valorem basis fully one-eighth cent per pound more on molasses sugar than on muscovados, while the molasses sugar has an inferior market valuation of one-fourth cent per pound. The specific-duty basis thus gives a discrimination against the use by refiners of the lower grades of 87°-test sugar.

87° test.

Date shipment	October 19, 1896	October 10, 1896.
Country	Manila	Cuba.
Vessel	G. R. Skolfield	H. Stewart.
Description	41,191 mats clayed sugar.	2,484 bags molasses.
Test	85.75°	87.01°.
Dutiable value	$3.80 per picul; 47 12s. per ton.	1.45 cents.
United States currency	1.56 cents	1.45 cents.
Equal dutiable value, 87°	1.458 cents	1.45 cents.
Wilson duty (40 per cent)	.655 cent	.580 cent.
Dingley bill	1.36 cents	1.36 cents.
Difference (increase)	.705 cent	.78 cent.
Senate (75 per cent)	1.23 cents	1.30 cents.
Date shipment	October 10, 1896	October 27, 1896.
Country	Cuba	Cuba.
Vessel	Yumuri	Saginaw.
Description	1,000 bags molasses	240 bags molasses.
Test	87°	87°
Dutiable value	1.458 cents	1.278 cents.
United States currency	1.458 cents	1.278 cents.
Equal dutiable value, 87°	1.458 cents	1.278 cents.
Wilson duty (40 per cent)	.583 cent	.511 cent.
Dingley bill	1.36 cents	1.36 cents.
Difference (increase)	.777 cent	.849 cent.
Senate bill (75 per cent)	1.09 cents	.96 cent.
Date shipment	October 14, 1896	October 7, 1896.
Country	St. Croix	Cuba.
Vessel	T. Towner	Santiago.
Description	502 bags molasses	384 bags molasses.
Test	87.45°	86.65°
Dutiable value	1.38 cents	1.427 cents.
United States currency	1.38 cents	1.427 cents.
Equal dutiable value, 87°	1.349 cents	1.438 cents.
Wilson duty (40 per cent)	.539 cent	.573 cent.
Dingley bill	1.36 cents	1.36 cents.
Difference (increase)	.821 cent	.787 cent.
Senate bill (75 per cent)	1.28 cents	1.08 cents.

80° test.

Date shipment	January 1, 1897	January 25, 1897.
Country	St. Kitts	Jamaica.
Vessel	Fontabelle	Jason.
Description	87 bags muscovado	100 bags muscovado.
Test	81.9°	77.4°.
Dutiable value	1.291 cents	£4 3s. 9d. per ton.
United States currency	1.291 cents	1.04 cents.
Equal dutiable value, 80°	1.167 cents	1.302 cents.
Wilson duty, 40 per cent	.467 cent	.481 cent.
Dingley bill	1.15 cents	1.15 cents.
Difference	.683 cent	.669 cent.
Senate	.875 cent	.90 cent.

Date shipment	January 14, 1897	October 27, 1896.
Country	Cuba	Antigua.
Vessel	City of Washington	Hattie May.
Description	352 bags molasses	22 hhds. muscovado.
Test	79.5°	81.45°.
Dutiable value	1.145 cents	1.25 cents.
United States currency	1.145 cents	1.25 cents.
Equal dutiable value, 80°	1.177 cents	1.159 cents.
Wilson duty, 40 per cent	.471 cent	.463 cent.
Dingley bill	1.15 cents	1.15 cents.
Difference	.679 cent	.687 cent.
Senate	.883 cent	.87 cent.

Date shipment	October 8, 1896	October 27, 1896.
Country	Antigua	Antigua.
Vessel	Ora	Hattie May.
Description	23 hhds. muscovado	114 bags muscovado.
Test	79.25°	77.3°
Dutiable value	.94 cent	.86 cent.
United States currency	.94 cent	.86 cent.
Equal dutiable value, 80°	.987 cent	1.03 cents.
Wilson duty, 40 per cent	.396 cent	.412 cent.
Dingley bill	1.15 cents	1.15 cents.
Difference	.754 cent	.738 cent.
Senate	.74 cent	.77 cent.

96° test.

Date shipment	July 28, 1896	July 23, 1896.
Country	Java	Trinidad.
Vessel	Lismore	Grenada.
Description	11,900 baskets centrifugals.	690 bags centrifugals.
Test	96.92°	97°.
Dutiable value	Flour, 7.250 per 196 pounds.	2.282 cents.
United States currency	2.21 cents	2.282 cents.
Equal dutiable value, 96°	2.16 cents	2.219 cents.
Wilson duty, 40 per cent	.884 cent	.887 cent.
Dingley bill	1.63 cents	1.63 cents.
Difference	.766 cent	.743 cent.
Senate bill	1.726 cents	1.746 cents.

Date shipment	July 23, 1896	July 31, 1896.
Country	Santo Domingo	Barbadoes.
Vessel	Saginaw	Naparima.
Description	2,500 bags centrifugals	7,855 bags centrifugals.
Test	96°	97½°.
Dutiable value	1.94½ cents	9s. 6d. per 112 pounds.
United States currency	1.94½ cents	2.064 cents.
Equal dutiable value, 96°	2.010 cents	1.986 cents.
Wilson duty, 40 per cent	.804 cent	.794 cent.
Dingley bill	1.63 cents	1.63 cents.
Difference	.826 cent	.836 cent.
Senate bill	1.633 cents	1.60 cents.

Date shipment	August 6, 1896	August 8, 1896.
Country	Cuba	Trinidad.
Vessel	I. Balcom	Prince William III.
Description	2,427 bags centrifugals	137 bags centrifugals.
Test	95.5°	97.7°.
Dutiable value	2.552 cents	2.428 cents.
United States currency	2.552 cents	2.428 cents.
Equal dutiable value, 96°	2.595 cents	2.322 cents.
Wilson duty, 40 per cent	1.03 cents	.928 cent.
Dingley bill	1.63 cents	1.63 cents.
Difference	.60 cent	.702 cent.
Senate bill	1.86 cents	1.80 cents.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. ALDRICH. I renew my motion that the Senate adjourn.

Mr. FRYE. I hope the motion will be withdrawn, and that we may have an executive session.

Mr. ALDRICH. Very well; I withdraw the motion.

Mr. ELKINS. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After eleven minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened, and (at 5 o'clock and 22 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Friday, May 28, 1897, at 12 o'clock meridian.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate May 27, 1897.

PROMOTION IN THE NAVY.

Asst. Engineer Doctor E. Dismukes, to be a passed assistant engineer.

ENVOYS EXTRAORDINARY AND MINISTERS PLENIPOTENTIARY.

Edwin H. Conger, of Iowa, to be envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States to Brazil.

Charles Burdett Hart, of West Virginia, to be envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States to Colombia.

POSTMASTERS.

J. H. Porter, to be postmaster at New Wilmington, in the county of Lawrence and State of Pennsylvania.

C. N. Marvin, to be postmaster at Shenandoah, in the county of Page and State of Iowa.

James L. Berry, to be postmaster at Humeston, in the county of Wayne and State of Iowa.

L. V. Buskirk to be postmaster at Bloomington, in the county of Monroe and State of Indiana.

William E. Hogueland, to be postmaster at Yates Center, in the county of Woodson and State of Kansas.

Joe Carey, to be postmaster at Garnett, in the county of Anderson and State of Kansas.

James A. Wilson, to be postmaster at Williamsburg, in the county of Iowa and State of Iowa.

John T. Lovett, to be postmaster at Little Silver, in the county of Monmouth and State of New Jersey.

Levi F. Burkett, to be postmaster at Bainbridge, in the county of Decatur and State of Georgia.

U. G. Holley to be postmaster at Sikeston, in the county of Scott and State of Missouri.

William L. Hunter, to be postmaster at Turtle Creek, in the county of Allegheny and State of Pennsylvania.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

THURSDAY, *May 27, 1897.*

The House met at 12 o'clock m. Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. HENRY N. COUDEN.

The Journal of the proceedings of Monday, May 24, was read and approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT.

A message in writing from the President of the United States was communicated to the House by Mr. PRUDEN, one of his secretaries.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Mr. TERRY. Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER. The House will receive a message from the Senate.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. PLATT, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had disagreed to the amendment of the House of Representatives to the amendment of the Senate numbered 10 to the bill (H. R. 15) making appropriations for the current and contingent expenses of the Indian Department and for fulfilling treaty stipulations with various Indian tribes for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1898, and for other purposes, had agreed to the conference asked by the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and had appointed Mr. PETTIGREW, Mr. TELLER, and Mr. COCKRELL as the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The message also announced that the Senate had agreed to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the House to the amendment of the Senate numbered 10 to the bill (H. R. 15) making appropriations for the current and contingent expenses of the Indian Department and for fulfilling treaty stipulations with various Indians tribes for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1898, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed bills and joint resolutions of the following titles; in which the concurrence of the House was requested:

A bill (S. 1978) extending the time for the commencement and completion of the railroad bridge across the Illinois River, near Grafton, Ill., by the St. Louis, Perry and Chicago Railroad.

A bill (S. 1944) to authorize the construction of a bridge across the Clinch River, Kingston, Tenn.;

A bill (S. 1337) to authorize the President to commission First Lieut. Benjamin W. Loring a captain;

Joint resolution (S. R. 26) declaring that a condition of public war exists in Cuba, and that strict neutrality shall be maintained;

Joint resolution (S. R. 44) making an appropriation to supply a deficiency in the appropriations for public printing and binding for the fiscal year 1897; and

Joint resolution (S. R. 43) in amendment of the joint resolution of April 7, 1897, authorizing the Secretary of the Navy to transport contributions for the relief of the famishing poor of India.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed the following resolutions; in which the concurrence of the House was requested:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the Secretary of War be requested to furnish the Senate with such information as he may have in his possession with reference to the present condition of the harbor of Cumberland Sound, and to inform the Senate whether any immediate action is necessary to protect the entrance from being closed against the commerce usually entering the port of Fernandina.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow the announcement of the death of the Hon. JOSEPH H. EARLE, late a Senator from the State of South Carolina.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives.

Resolved, That, as a mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, the Senate do now adjourn.

Resolved, That the Secretary be directed to request the House of Representatives to return to the Senate the bill (S. 426) to authorize the construction of bridges across the Missouri River, between its mouth and the mouth of the Dakota or James River; and across the Mississippi River, between the mouth of the Minnesota River, in the State of Minnesota, and Donaldsonville, in the State of Louisiana; and across the Illinois and Des Plaines rivers, between the mouth of the Illinois and the city of Joliet, in the State of Illinois; and to prescribe the character, location, and dimensions of the same.

Mr. TERRY. Mr. Speaker——

QUESTION OF PRIVILEGE.

Mr. LEWIS of Washington. Mr. Speaker, I rise to a matter of privilege.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state his matter of privilege.

Mr. LEWIS of Washington. Mr. Speaker, I send to the Clerk's desk a resolution which, I respectfully urge, raises a question of a privilege of the House, and one of the highest order, and I respectfully request that the resolution be now read, in order that the question may be ascertained and——

Mr. DINGLEY (interposing). Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that the gentleman should state his question of privilege.

Mr. LEWIS of Washington. I will accept the suggestion of the esteemed gentleman from Maine. The resolution suggests that as there has been passed in the Senate and reported to this House a resolution recognizing the belligerency——

Mr. DINGLEY. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that the gentleman is not raising any question of personal privilege.

Mr. LEWIS of Washington. If the gentleman will but be patient, he will soon see that I do raise a question of privilege. My resolution calls for action by this House upon a question of foreign policy——

Mr. DINGLEY. Mr. Speaker, that raises no question of personal privilege.

Mr. LEWIS of Washington. Mr. Speaker, I ask the opportunity of asserting and establishing that this is a question of privilege, and has been so decided by the parliaments of the present English-speaking world, and particularly in recent years upon a motion made by the honorable gentleman from Maine himself.

I respectfully assert that a resolution proposing that this House shall express its sense of a foreign policy is always a question of privilege, superseding and subordinating any other question, that it does not require unanimous consent for its consideration, and that no point of order can be addressed constitutionally to it. Mr. Speaker, I will not violate the courtesy of this occasion by entering into an argument as to the merits of the resolution itself.

I shall be so grateful to the gentleman for allowing me this opportunity that I shall but state my position on this subject from a legal standpoint, seeking to establish that this question, as one of the sovereignty of the House, is of the highest privilege and entitled to consideration prior to any other. As early as 1782, when this country presented to England her peace-conference report, Mr. Grattan, of Ireland, having then up for consideration his bill in relation to Irish rights, raised the point that it was not in order, according to the rule prescribing that day's business. Mr. Fox contended that a proposition of a foreign policy, or of the recognition of a foreign country, for any purpose, was at all times a question of precedence which subordinated all other questions, and that point was sustained.

Subsequently to that time the question has been considered at different periods. In this country the question arose upon a resolution of Mr. Clay, of Kentucky, made upon the floor of the House of Representatives as early as 1822, resolving that the United States recognize the Spanish republics and that the House prescribe a policy concerning the same. The point was made against it that it was not in order, when the gentleman from Kentucky contended that a proposition which went to the foreign policy of this country as against another country, and especially an intercontinental and not merely an international country, was a matter of privilege of the highest order. He was sustained on an appeal, though Speaker Barbour had held to the contrary.

In 1837, Mr. Webster, of Massachusetts, addressing himself to the question of the attitudes, respectively, of Greece and Turkey, contended that his resolution authorizing the President to name an ambassador and the House to propose, on behalf of Congress, a foreign policy, had precedence, and was entitled to consideration against any point of order that could be made, and his contention was sustained.

Later, in 1837, upon Senator Clay's motion in respect to Mexico, in the second session of that Congress, the point of order was made that the resolution could not be considered because the order of the day had been prescribed by a previous resolution. It was insisted by Mr. Foote, of Mississippi, that such a question always took precedence, as it went to the sovereignty of Congress, and that contention was sustained.

On other occasions subsequently the question has arisen in this House. In the second session of the Fifty-third Congress a resolution was introduced by the honorable gentleman from Maine, Mr. BOUTELLE, looking to the establishment of a foreign policy in respect to Hawaii. On that occasion the point of order was made by Mr. McCreary, of Kentucky, a member of the Foreign Relations Committee, that the proposition was not in order and did not present a question of privilege, and the honorable gentleman now occupying the chair is reported to have said that it had long been settled that questions relating to the foreign policy of the country as connected with other countries were always matters of privilege.

The Chair ruled the contrary. An appeal was taken; and the House decided that the question of a foreign policy was a question of privilege. I refer you, Mr. Speaker, to the Journal of the Fifty-third Congress, second session, page 44. The rules adopted at the present session on that subject embody that decision. Therefore, under that decision and under the rules of this House, my resolution becomes at once a privileged question of the first order; and it takes precedence for consideration, notwithstanding the point of the estimable gentleman from Maine. I read from the Manual of the present session, pages 496, 497:

Resolution expressing sense of the House relative to the foreign policy of the United States is privileged.

In page 495 of the Manual begins a recital of those questions which are privileged; and after giving them in collated form the Manual concludes on page 496 the recital with the announcement of the position I urge here. Therefore, that decision having become a part of the rules of this House, being there embodied from the ruling previously made upon a suggestion by the estimable gentleman now occupying the Chair as well as from one of the other gentlemen from Maine, I can not understand how it can now be held that the question is not both privileged and entitled to precedence. I respectfully insist that my resolution is privileged, and should be submitted to the House and acted upon as a privileged question. [Applause.] I ask that my resolution be read.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the resolution.

The Clerk read as follows:

By Mr. LEWIS of Washington.

Resolution of the House of Representatives upon the right of the House to declare a foreign policy upon the subject of belligerency and neutrality and recognition both by treaty and commercial relations with the Republic of Cuba or any other country.

Whereas the United States Senate assembled has duly by a proper form of resolution declared for a state of neutrality and the according to the Island of Cuba all rights as a belligerent as against Spain; and

Whereas it is asserted that such right of recognition exists only with the Executive of the United States: Therefore,

Be it resolved by the House of Representatives of Congress, That as a foreign policy of the United States it is the right and authority of the Senate and House of Representatives in adopting a foreign policy of the United States to recognize as Congress the belligerency of and declare the attitude of neutrality of the United States to the Island of Cuba or any other government or country when in the sense of the House such course is demanded by existing conditions.

Mr. LEWIS of Washington. I move the adoption of the resolution just read.

Mr. DINGLEY. I make the point of order that the resolution does not raise a privileged question.

Mr. LEWIS of Washington. I have already answered the point of order as fully as demanded, and offered what I think sufficient precedent to prove my position that this is both a privileged question and entitled to precedence for consideration. I now call for a ruling on the question.

The SPEAKER. The Chair thinks this is not a question of privilege. Under the rules of the House such a resolution can be presented in the regular course and should have the report of a committee upon the subject.

Mr. LEWIS of Washington. A parliamentary inquiry, Mr. Speaker. Would the Chair suggest what would be "the regular course" at this time?

The SPEAKER. The regular course would be to file the resolution under the rules.

Mr. LEWIS of Washington. Does the honorable Speaker mean to suggest that the resolution shall be filed to await the appointment of a Committee on Foreign Affairs to consider it?

The SPEAKER. Certainly.

Mr. LEWIS of Washington. I did not understand the remark of the Chair.

The SPEAKER. Certainly, it should be filed under the rules of the House.

Mr. LEWIS of Washington. Then the Chair holds that my resolution is not privileged, and sustains the gentleman from Maine upon that point of order?

The SPEAKER. The Chair does.

Mr. LEWIS of Washington. I take an appeal from the decision of the Chair.

Mr. DINGLEY. I move that the appeal lie on the table.

The SPEAKER (having put the question). The ayes seem to have it.

Mr. LEWIS of Washington. I call for a division.

The question being again taken, there were—ayes 91, noes 57.

Mr. LEWIS of Washington. Yeas and nays, Mr. Speaker.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 89, nays 53, answered "present" 17, not voting 194; as follows:

YEAS—89.

Babcock,	Davenport,	Ketcham,	Shattuc,
Baker, Md.	Davison, Ky.	Kirkpatrick,	Showalter,
Barney,	Dingley,	Knox,	Southard,
Barrows,	Dolliver,	Linney,	Southwick,
Bartholdt,	Dorr,	Littauer,	Spalding,
Belford,	Dovener,	Loud,	Sperry,
Bennett,	Eddy,	Loudenslager,	Sprague,
Booze,	Evans,	Low,	Steele,
Broderick,	Faris,	McDonald,	Stewart, Wis.
Bromwell,	Gardner,	Marsh,	Stone, C. W.
Brown,	Gibson,	Mercer,	Stone, W. A.
Burton,	Grosvenor,	Minor,	Strode, Nebr.
Butler,	Harmer,	Moody,	Sturtevant,
Cannon,	Hemenway,	Morris,	Tawney,
Clark, Iowa	Henderson,	Mudd,	Updegraff,
Codding,	Henry, Conn.	Olmsted,	Van Voorhis,
Connell,	Henry, Ind.	Otjen,	Walker, Va.
Cooke,	Hepburn,	Packer, Pa.	Williams, Pa.
Cousins,	Hill,	Parker, N. J.	Wilson, N. Y.
Crumpacker,	Hitt,	Pearson,	Yost.
Curtis, Iowa	Howe,	Pugh,	
Dalzell,	Howell,	Quigg,	
Danford,	Johnson, N. Dak.	Russell,	

NAYS—53.

Baird,	De Vries,	Lanham,	Simpson,
Baker, Ill.	Epes,	Lewis, Ga.	Sims,
Bell,	Fitzpatrick,	Lewis, Wash.	Slayden,
Bodine,	Griggs,	Livingston,	Smith, Ky.
Brantley,	Gunn,	Maxwell,	Stark,
Broussard,	Hartman,	Miers, Ind.	Stephens, Tex.
Brundidge,	Hay,	Ogden,	Tate,
Burke,	Henry, Miss.	Pierce, Tenn.	Terry,
Castle,	Henry, Tex.	Plowman,	Vincent,
Clayton,	Howard, Ala.	Rhea,	Wheeler, Ky.
Cochran, Mo.	Jett,	Sayers,	Williams, Miss.
Cowherd,	Kleberg,	Settle,	
Cummings,	Knowles,	Shafroth,	
De Graffenreid,	Lamb,	Shuford,	

ANSWERED "PRESENT"—17.

Ball,	Cooper, Wis.	Mahon,	White, N. C.
Bartlett,	Heatwole,	Richardson,	Wright.
Benner, Pa.	Jenkins,	Sauerhering,	
Brenner, Ohio	McIntire,	Vandiver,	
Cooper, Tex.	Maddox,	Wheeler, Ala.	

NOT VOTING—194.

Acheson,	Davis,	Landis,	Rixey,
Adams,	Dayton,	Latimer,	Robb,
Adamson,	De Armond,	Lentz,	Robbins,
Alexander,	Dinsmore,	Lester,	Robertson, La.
Allen,	Dockery,	Little,	Robinson, Ind.
Arnold,	Elliott,	Lorimer,	Royse,
Bailey,	Ellis,	Love,	Shannon,
Bankhead,	Ermentrout,	Lovering,	Shelden,
Barber,	Fenton,	Lybrand,	Sherman,
Barham,	Fischer,	McAleer,	Simpkins,
Barlow,	Fitzgerald,	McCall,	Skinner,
Barrett,	Fleming,	McCleary,	Smith, Ill.
Beach,	Fletcher,	McClellan,	Smith, S. W.
Belden,	Foote,	McCormick,	Smith, Wm. Alden
Belknap,	Foss,	McCulloch,	Snover,
Benton,	Fowler, N. C.	McDowell,	Sparkman,
Berry,	Fowler, N. J.	McEwan,	Stallings,
Bingham,	Fox,	McLaurin,	Stevens, Minn.
Bishop,	Gaines,	McMillin,	Stewart, N. J.
Bland,	Gillet, N. Y.	McRae,	Stokes,
Botkin,	Gillett, Mass.	Maguire,	Strait,
Boutelle,	Graff,	Mahany,	Strowd, N. C.
Bradley,	Greene,	Mann,	Sullivan,
Brewer,	Griffin,	Marshall,	Sulloway,
Brewster,	Grout,	Martin,	Sulzer,
Brosius,	Grow,	Meekison,	Sutherland,
Brownlow,	Hager,	Mesick,	Swanson,
Brucker,	Hamilton,	Meyer, La.	Talbert,
Brumm,	Handy,	Miller,	Tayler, Ohio
Bull,	Hawley,	Mills,	Taylor, Ala.
Campbell,	Hicks,	Mitchell,	Todd,
Capron,	Hilborn,	Moon,	Tongue,
Carmack,	Hinrichsen,	Newlands,	Underwood,
Catchings,	Hooker,	Northway,	Vehslage,
Chickering,	Hopkins,	Norton,	Wadsworth,
Clardy,	Howard, Ga.	Odell,	Walker, Mass.
Clark, Mo.	Hull,	Osborne,	Wanger,
Clarke, N. H.	Hunter,	Otey,	Ward,
Cochrane, N. Y.	Hurley,	Overstreet,	Warner,
Colson,	Johnson, Ind.	Payne,	Weaver,
Connolly,	Jones, Va.	Pearce, Mo.	Weymouth,
Cooney,	Jones, Wash.	Perkins,	White, Ill.
Corliss,	Joy,	Peters,	Wilber,
Cox,	Kelley,	Pitney,	Wilson, S. C.
Cranford,	Kerr,	Powers,	Young, Pa.
Crump,	King,	Prince,	Young, Va.
Curtis, Kans.	Kitchin,	Ray,	Zenor.
Davey,	Kulp,	Reeves,	
Davidson, Wis.	Lacey,	Ridgely,	

The following pairs were announced:

Until further notice:

Mr. LOVERING with Mr. WHEELER of Alabama.

Mr. STEWART of New Jersey with Mr. TAYLOR of Alabama.

Mr. POWERS with Mr. GAINES.

Mr. REEVES with Mr. BALL.

Mr. MILLS with Mr. SULLIVAN.

Mr. SULLOWAY with Mr. TALBERT.

Mr. SAUERHERING with Mr. STRAIT.

Mr. DOVENER with Mr. DAVIS.

Mr. BARNEY with Mr. BANKHEAD.

Mr. ACHESON with Mr. WILSON of South Carolina.

Mr. HOOKER with Mr. CATCHINGS.

Mr. PEARCE of Missouri with Mr. VANDIVER.

Mr. DAVIDSON of Wisconsin with Mr. CLARK of Missouri.

Mr. OVERSTREET with Mr. ZENOR.

Mr. TONGUE with Mr. DE ARMOND.

Mr. MCINTIRE with Mr. HOWARD of Georgia.

Mr. QUIGG with Mr. BLAND.

Mr. HULL with Mr. BAILEY.

Mr. WARD with Mr. BARLOW.

Mr. MCCLEARY with Mr. JONES of Virginia.

Mr. WANGER with Mr. MEEKISON.

Mr. BISHOP with Mr. NORTON.

Mr. MAHON with Mr. BENNER of Pennsylvania.

Mr. LANDIS with Mr. CRANFORD.

Mr. GILLETT of Massachusetts with Mr. MCDOWELL.

Mr. MITCHELL with Mr. LOVE.

Mr. KULP with Mr. STALLINGS.

Mr. ODELL with Mr. BARTLETT.

Mr. CORLISS with Mr. LATIMER.

Mr. HICKS with Mr. OTEY.

Mr. HEATWOLE with Mr. DINSMORE.

Mr. SMITH of Illinois with Mr. MCCULLOCH.

Mr. ALEXANDER with Mr. COONEY.

Mr. ROYSE with Mr. MADDOX.

Mr. SHELDON with Mr. RIXEY.

Mr. JOHNSON of Indiana with Mr. MOON.

Mr. BROSIUS with Mr. ERMENTROUT.

Mr. LACEY with Mr. MCRAE.

Mr. WRIGHT with Mr. ADAMSON.

Mr. MCCALL with Mr. MCLAURIN.

Mr. JENKINS with Mr. STOKES.

Mr. PITNEY with Mr. CARMACK.

Mr. BRUMM with Mr. COX.

Mr. ADAMS with Mr. ELLIOTT.

Mr. BINGHAM with Mr. DOCKERY.

Mr. KERR with Mr. ROBB.

Mr. MESICK with Mr. PETERS.

Mr. LORIMER with Mr. BERRY.

Mr. MILLER with Mr. CLARDY.

Mr. STEVENS of Minnesota with Mr. JONES of Washington.

Mr. DORR with Mr. MADDOX.

Mr. LYBRAND with Mr. LENTZ.

Mr. HOPKINS with Mr. MCALEER.

Mr. BELKNAP with Mr. MAGUIRE.

Mr. HAGER with Mr. ALLEN.

Mr. YOUNG of Pennsylvania with Mr. BENTON.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Pennsylvania with Mr. ROBERTSON of Louisiana.

Mr. JOY with Mr. MARSHALL.

Mr. HAMILTON with Mr. TODD.

Mr WM. ALDEN SMITH with Mr. BRUCKER.

Mr. CHICKERING with Mr. BRADLEY.

Mr. DAYTON with Mr. PIERCE of Tennessee.

Mr. FOSS with Mr. DAVEY.

Mr. MCEWAN with Mr. VEHSLAGE.

Mr. BELDEN with Mr. SULZER.

Mr. SIMPKINS of Massachusetts with Mr. LESTER.

Mr. PUGH with Mr. SUTHERLAND.

Mr. BARHAM with Mr. LITTLE.

For this day:

Mr. PAYNE with Mr. RICHARDSON.

Mr. WHITE of Illinois with Mr. HUNTER.

Mr. HURLEY with Mr. DAVIS.

Mr. CRUMP with Mr. HANDY.

Mr. WILBER with Mr. FOX.

Mr. MADDOX. Mr. Speaker, I am paired with the gentleman from Indiana, Mr. ROYSE, on all political questions, and as this seems to be considered by some to be a political question, I withdraw my vote.

Mr. VANDIVER. I voted "no," but being paired with the gentleman from Missouri, Mr. PEARCE, on political questions, I withdraw the vote.

Mr. TERRY. Mr. Speaker, I rise to a parliamentary inquiry, and to a question affecting the rights and privileges of this House.

Mr. WHEELER of Alabama. Will the gentleman withhold his statement one moment, until I make an announcement with reference to my vote. I find that I am paired with the gentleman from Massachusetts, Mr. LOVERING; and therefore I wish to change my vote to "present."

Mr. TERRY. Mr. Speaker——

Mr. LEWIS of Washington. Mr. Speaker, I merely wish to

make the point of order to my friend from Arkansas [Mr. TERRY] that until the vote is announced I do not yield the floor.

Mr. COOPER of Texas. I desire to be recorded as present. I am paired with the gentleman from Iowa, Mr. PERKINS. If he were present, I would vote "no."

Mr. TERRY. Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman rise?

Mr. TERRY. I stated to the Chair that I rose to a question relating to the rights and privileges of the House, and to a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. Will the gentleman state his parliamentary inquiry?

Mr. TERRY. I will state, Mr. Speaker, preliminary to it——

The SPEAKER. Does it relate to the present vote that is being taken?

Mr. TERRY. It does not relate to the present vote, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. The only thing in order is the announcement of the vote. On this question the yeas are 89, the nays 51, present 17—not a quorum.

Mr. DINGLEY. Mr. Speaker, inasmuch as it seems there is no quorum present for the transaction of business, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The question was taken.

Mr. JETT. Mr. Speaker, before the——

Mr. LEWIS of Washington demanded a division on the motion to adjourn, and then withdrew the demand.

Mr. RICHARDSON. I rise to a parliamentary inquiry. Would it not be in order to move a call of the House? We might get a quorum here for the transaction of business.

The SPEAKER. On that question——

Mr. TERRY. I demand a division.

The House divided; and there were—ayes 92, noes 35.

Accordingly, the motion of Mr. DINGLEY was agreed to; and (at 12 o'clock and 53 minutes p. m.) the House, under the order heretofore adopted, adjourned until Monday, May 31, 1897, at 12 o'clock noon.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS.

Under clause 2 of Rule XXIV, the following executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

A letter from the Attorney-General, transmitting a copy of a letter to the chairman of the Senate Committee on Appropriations, relating to an appropriation for witness fees, etc.—to the Committee on Appropriations, and ordered to be printed.

A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting, with a letter from the Chief of Engineers, report of examination and survey of Mount Hope Bay and Fall River Harbor, Massachusetts—to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, and ordered to be printed.

PUBLIC BILLS, RESOLUTIONS, AND MEMORIALS INTRODUCED.

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, bills, resolutions, and memorials of the following titles were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. WHEELER of Kentucky: A bill (H. R. 3354) to raise additional revenue and providing for a tax upon certain occupations—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. MADDOX: A bill (H. R. 3355) to exclude from the mails all matter emanating from any commercial agency which gives ratings and carries on collections connected therewith—to the Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3356) to provide for the revision and consolidation of the statute laws of the United States—to the Committee on Revision of the Laws.

By Mr. BELL (by request): A bill (H. R. 3357) for the relief of settlers in Greer County, Okla.—to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. BABCOCK: A memorial of the legislature of the State of Wisconsin, for an amendment to the Constitution relating to trusts—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS INTRODUCED.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions of the following titles were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. DANFORD: A bill (H. R. 3358) to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to place John W. Beardmore on the pension roll—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. DOLLIVER: A bill (H. R. 3359) for the relief of Mrs. Mary E. Cross—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3360) for the relief of the legal representatives of Edwin De Leon, deceased, for $8,000 due him for judicial services—to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3361) for the relief of the legal representatives of Edwin De Leon, deceased, late consul-general of the United States in Egypt—to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. KLEBERG: A bill (H. R. 3362) for the relief of Bolivar J. Pridgen, an invalid Mexican war veteran—to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. LENTZ: A bill (H. R. 3363) granting an increase of pension to George F. Davenport—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3364) to correct the military record of Charles Dagenfield—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. MARSH: A bill (H. R. 3365) for the relief of Eveline Pave—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3366) for the relief of Charlotte A. Heavilin—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3367) to grant a pension to Edgar Hill—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3368) for the relief of Mrs. Elizabeth D. Pittman—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. OLMSTED: A bill (H. R. 3369) granting a pension to Martin P. Schaffner, of Loyalton, Pa.—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3370) to remove the charge of desertion from the military record of Francis Tomlinson—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. WHEELER of Kentucky: A bill (H. R. 3371) for the relief of C. J. McConnell—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3372) for the benefit of the estate of John T. Porter, deceased—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3373) for the relief of J. R. Elkins, of Calloway County, Ky.—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3374) for the relief of P. F. Warterfield—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3375) for the relief of the estate of William M. Starks—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3376) for the relief of the estate of S. M. Grace, deceased—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. YOST: A bill (H. R. 3377) to remove the charge of desertion against John Dean—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, the following petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

By Mr. BELFORD: Petition of residents of Suffolk County, N. Y., asking for a more rigid restriction of immigration—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. BELDEN: Petition of the First Methodist Episcopal Church and Preachers' Meeting of Syracuse, N. Y., relating to pictures of prize fights by mail; also petition of same for the prohibition of lottery messages and other gambling matter by telegraph—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, petition of the Methodist Episcopal Church and Preachers' Meeting of Syracuse, N. Y., asking that the age of protection for girls be raised to 18 years in the District of Columbia and the Territories; also petition of same, favoring the enactment of a Sabbath law for the national capital—to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

Also, petition of the Methodist Episcopal Church and Preachers' Meeting of Syracuse, N. Y., urging that the sale of intoxicating liquors be prohibited in Government buildings—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, petition of John H. Cunningham and 24 other citizens of Syracuse, N. Y., favoring the enactment of an immigration law similar to that vetoed by President Cleveland during the Fifty-fourth Congress—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. BRUMM: Petition of W. L. Loeser and other citizens of Minersville; also of H. W. Bachert and others, of Quakake, Pa., requesting the passage of a bill restricting immigration—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. CONNELL: Paper to accompany House bill No. 3300, to correct the military record of T. C. Kennedy—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. CURTIS of Iowa: Petition of Thomas J. Houston and 8 other Union soldiers of Jackson County, Iowa, favorable to the passage of a service-pension bill—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. DALZELL: Petition of sundry citizens of Quakake, Pa., in favor of the passage of a law to restrict immigration—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

Also, resolutions of the Trades' League of Philadelphia, Pa., in favor of civil-service reform—to the Committee on Reform in the Civil Service.

Also, resolutions of the Pennsylvania Civil Service Reform Association, of Philadelphia, against attacks on the civil-service law—to the Committee on Reform in the Civil Service.

By Mr. DAYTON: Sundry petitions of J. E. Ensminger and 14 other citizens of Logansport; L. J. Thrasher and 49 others, of Gormania; Solomon Clark and 49 others, and Stingley Clark and

49 others, of Bayard; M. B. West and 39 others, of Howesville; Amos Robinson and 43 others, of Elkins; J. F. Kerrs and 46 others, of Pawpaw; T. H. Devalt and 52 others, and S. W. Satterfield and others, of Rivesville; A. L. Ammons and 45 others, of Rymer; E. T. Glover and 44 others, and F. E. Robinson and 25 others, of Wise; William W. Rogers and 48 others, and Thomas D. Bennett and 48 others, of Wheeling; J. E. Kidwell and 14 others, of Grant County; Kirk Dysche and 49 others, and W. T. Baker and 47 others, of Morgan County; S. S. Wilson and 45 others, J. R. Gray and 76 others, W. C. Hawkins and 150 others, and H. S. Leeper and 41 others, of Marion County; B. W. McBee and 80 others, and H. P. Graves and 60 others, all citizens of the State of West Virginia, praying for the passage of an act restricting immigration—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. DOLLIVER: Paper to accompany House bill for the relief of representatives of Edwin De Leon, deceased—to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. HENRY of Indiana: Petition of the Christian Endeavor Society of the Christian Church of Salamonia, Jay County, Ind., asking for the passage of a bill prohibiting the sale of intoxicants in Government buildings—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, resolution of the Christian Endeavor Society of the Christian Church of Salamonia, Ind., in relation to sundry bills for the improvement of public morals—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HILL: Petition of H. N. French and other citizens of Northfield, Conn., asking for rural free delivery—to the Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads.

By Mr. LENTZ: Petition of S. O. Giffin and other citizens of Columbus, Ohio, asking for the restriction of immigration—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. LIVINGSTON: Petition of citizens of Atlanta, Ga., for the appointment of a monetary commission and a reform in banking and currency legislation—to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. LOUDENSLAGER: Petitions of Harry L. Conver and other citizens of Ocean City; Alexander B. Johnson and others, of Camden; Fred. A. Garrison, Joseph E. Locke, and others, of Dividing Creek, and Warren W. Vanneman and others, of Bridgeport, in the State of New Jersey, relative to immigration laws—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. MARSH: Petition of sundry citizens of Macomb, Ill., praying for the passage of an immigration bill similar to the one passed at last session of Congress, vetoed by President Cleveland—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. McDONALD: Paper to accompany House bill No. 3338, for the relief of David C. Winebrener—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, paper to accompany House bill No. 3340, for the relief of the crew of the U. S. S. *Wyoming*—to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. MILLER: Petition of Guy Peck and other residents of Cabell County, W. Va., praying for the passage of an immigration law—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. MOODY: Petition of J. Albert Smith and 32 other citizens of Ipswich, Mass., favoring a more rigid restriction of immigration—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. OLMSTED: Petition of Capital City Council, No. 237, Junior Order United American Mechanics, of Harrisburg, Pa., praying for the passage of a law to restrict immigration—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. PITNEY: Sundry petitions of 28 citizens of Boonton, 38 citizens of Butler, 33 citizens of Chatham, 28 citizens of Finesville, 42 citizens of Frenchtown, 11 citizens of Hanover, 43 citizens of Hunterdon County, 82 citizens of Oxford, 24 citizens of Ringoes, and 27 citizens of Sergeantsville, in the State of New Jersey, in favor of the passage of an immigration bill—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. SHOWALTER: Petition of J. S. Dean and other citizens of New Lebanon, Pa., asking for a more rigid restriction of immigration—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. WILLIAM A. STONE: Petition of Charles Miller and other citizens of Allegheny, Pa., favoring a more rigid restriction of immigration—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. YOST: Petition of Virginia people residing in Oklahoma Territory, praying for the reenactment of the old homestead law for that Territory—to the Committee on the Territories.

By Mr. YOUNG of Pennsylvania: Petition of Charles W. Toepfer and others and William W. Mayberry and others, citizens of Philadelphia, Pa., for the restriction of immigration—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

Also, resolutions of the Thirtieth Ward Republican executive committee of Philadelphia, asking for the repeal of the civil-service laws—to the Committee on Reform in the Civil Service.

SENATE.

FRIDAY, *May 28, 1897.*

Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. W. H. MILBURN, D. D.

The Vice-President being absent, the President pro tempore took the chair.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

POSTAL TELEGRAPHS AND POSTAL SAVINGS BANKS.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate a communication from the Postmaster-General, in response to a resolution of the 17th instant, calling for the reports received by the Department of State in obedience to a circular sent out by Secretary Blaine on May 20, 1881, to the consular agents of the United States, directing them to obtain from the several foreign governments certain information as to the practical workings of postal-telegraph systems and postal savings banks, stating that a most careful investigation has been made through the archives of the Post-Office Department, and he finds that the original responses of the consuls to this circular letter of the Secretary of State were not sent there, but were retained in the Department of State as part of the files of that Department, etc.; which, on motion of Mr. COCKRELL, was referred to the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads, and ordered to be printed.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore presented a petition signed by 15,000 citizens of Philadelphia County, Pa., praying Congress to recognize the right of the Cubans to wage war in defense of their liberties; which was read, and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, as follows:

To the representatives of the people of the United States in Congress assembled, greeting:

Whereas Spain has by a long course of cruelty and oppression toward Cuba demonstrated her unfitness to govern, and firmly believing that Cubans have the same right to wage war in defense of their liberties that our fathers had:

We, the people, citizens of the United States, county of Philadelphia, State of Pennsylvania, respectfully petition for the immediate recognition by our Government of that right.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore presented a petition of sundry citizens of Vinal Haven, Me., praying for the enactment of legislation for a more rigid restriction of immigration; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a petition of the Board of Trade of Columbus, Ohio, praying for the speedy passage of the pending tariff bill; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. MILLS presented sundry petitions of citizens of Greenville, Tex., praying for the enactment of legislation for a more rigid restriction of immigration; which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. BURROWS presented memorials of Ezra Walling and 9 other citizens of Coopersville, of A. L. Cooper and 8 other citizens of Woodland, A. S. Newton and 12 other citizens of Maple Rapids, and of H. Sayers & Son and 9 other citizens, all in the State of Michigan, remonstrating against the imposition of a two-dollar rate on rough lumber; which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. DAVIS presented a petition of 47 citizens of Duluth, Minn., and a petition of 50 citizens of Duluth, Minn., praying for the enactment of legislation for a more rigid restriction of immigration; which were ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a petition of the Merchant Tailors' Exchange of St. Paul, Minn., praying for the passage without amendment of section 666 of the pending tariff bill relating to the free entry of wearing apparel, personal effects, etc.; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. MANTLE presented a petition of sundry citizens of Meagher County, Mont., praying for the abrogation of the Hawaiian reciprocity treaty; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. FAIRBANKS presented a petition of sundry citizens of Indianapolis, Ind., praying for the repeal of the present civil-service law; which was referred to the Committee on Civil Service and Retrenchment.

He also presented a petition of the Christian Endeavor Society of the Salamonia Christian Church, of Jay County, Ind., praying for the enactment of legislation prohibiting the interstate transmission of any picture or description of prize fights, and also to protect the first day of the week as a day of rest in the District of Columbia; which was referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

Mr. QUAY presented a report and resolutions adopted by the committee on transportation and railroads of the Chamber of Commerce of Pittsburg, Pa., favoring the passage of Senate bill No. 775, directing the Interstate Commerce Commission to prepare and publish a classification of freight articles and rules, regulations, and conditions of freight transportation, to be known as the

"National freight classification;" which were read, and referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce, as follows:

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF PITTSBURG.

Report of committee on transportation and railroads. Approved May 6, 1897.

Whereas there are now several classifications used in the transportation of freight between points in the United States, of which three of the principal ones are as follows: The official classification, covering the territory west from the Atlantic coast to the Mississippi River and north of the Ohio River; the Southern railway and steamship classification, covering the territory south of the Ohio River and west to the Mississippi River; the Western classification, covering all points west of the Mississippi River; and

Whereas we believe it to be to the interest and welfare of both shippers and railway companies that a uniform classification be adopted; and

Whereas there is now before the Committee on Interstate Commerce of the present (Fifty-fifth) Congress a bill (S. 775) directing the Interstate Commerce Commission to prepare and publish a classification of freight articles and rules, regulations, and conditions of freight transportation, to be known as the "National freight classification:" Therefore,

Be it resolved, That this body respectfully urge the favorable consideration of the aforesaid bill at the hands of said committee; and,

Be it further resolved, That our Senators and Representatives be requested to use their best efforts to the end that said bill become a law at the earliest possible date.

Attest:

GEO. H. ANDERSON, *Secretary*.

Mr. DANIEL. I present the memorial and accompanying papers of James Seldon Cowdon, of Virginia, in relation to the Lake Borgne Outlet. I move that the memorial and accompanying papers be printed as a document and referred to the Committee on Commerce.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. DANIEL presented the petition of John L. Ziskle and sundry other citizens of Virginia, praying for the enactment of legislation for a more rigid restriction of immigration; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented the petition of Charles A. Sykes, of New York City, praying for the adoption of an amendment to the pending tariff bill placing certain duties on artificial teeth; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. BAKER presented the affidavit of Dr. E. W. Bliss, to accompany the bill (S. 1951) granting an increase of pension to E. Bierer; which was referred to the Committee on Pensions.

TRADE RELATIONS WITH HAWAII.

Mr. NELSON. I present a communication from Worthington C. Ford, Chief of the Bureau of Statistics, Treasury Department, with a statement of our commerce with the Hawaiian Islands under the reciprocity treaty of 1876 and its extension. I move that the communication and statement lie on the table and be printed as a document.

The motion was agreed to.

DEFICIENCY APPROPRIATIONS.

Mr. ALLISON presented a communication from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting a letter from the Attorney-General, submitting an estimate of deficiency in the appropriation for fees of witnesses, United States courts, for the fiscal year 1897, $50,000; which, with the accompanying paper, was referred to the Committee on Appropriations, and ordered to be printed.

He also presented a communication from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting a letter from the Secretary of the Interior, requesting that an item of appropriation in the sum of $1,800 be included in the general deficiency appropriation bill for the support of the Indian school at Carlisle, Pa., for the fiscal year 1897; which, with the accompanying paper, was referred to the Committee on Appropriations, and ordered to be printed.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

Mr. VEST, from the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, to whom was referred the bill (S. 710) to provide for the purchase of additional land in the square now occupied by the custom-house in the city of Baltimore, Md., and for the erection of a new public building thereon for the accommodation of the Government service in said city, reported it with amendments.

Mr. FAIRBANKS, from the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, to whom was referred the bill (S. 1749) to provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Durham, in the State of North Carolina, reported it without amendment, and submitted a report thereon.

Mr. QUAY, from the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, to whom were referred the following bills, reported them severally without amendment:

A bill (S. 1270) to provide for the erection of a public building at Washington, Pa.;

A bill (S. 1271) for a public building at the city of Wilkesbarre, Pa., and appropriating money therefor;

A bill (S. 1272) to provide for the erection of a public building at McKeesport, Pa. (with accompanying report); and

A bill (S. 479) to provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Nashua in the State of New Hampshire (with accompanying report).

Mr. MANTLE, from the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, to whom was referred the bill (S. 164) to provide for the construction of a public building at Butte City, Mont., reported it without amendment, and submitted a report thereon.

Mr. DANIEL, from the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, to whom was referred the bill (S. 1964) for the erection of a public building for the use of the custom-house and post-office at Newport News, in the district of Newport News, Va., reported it without amendment.

Mr. WARREN, from the Committee on Claims, to whom were referred the following bills, reported them severally without amendment, and submitted reports thereon:

A bill (S. 967) for the relief of M. S. Hellman; and

A bill (S. 1029) for the relief of the Portland Company, of Portland, Me.

Mr. STEWART, from the Committee on Claims, to whom was referred the bill (S. 1711) for the relief of the legal representative of George McDougall, deceased, reported it without amendment, and submitted a report thereon.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Mr. FORAKER introduced the following bills; which were severally read twice by their titles, and referred to the Committee on Pensions:

A bill (S. 2038) increasing the pension of W. D. Sigler; and

A bill (S. 2039) restoring the pension of Daniel Oberly.

Mr. WHITE introduced a bill (S. 2040) granting a pension to Mrs. A. McFarland; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. COCKRELL introduced a bill (S. 2041) to amend section 4386 of the Revised Statutes of the United States striking out "twenty-eight consecutive hours" and "twenty-eight hours" and inserting "forty consecutive hours" and "forty hours;" which was read twice by its title.

Mr. COCKRELL. I move that the bill be referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce, and I desire to have a special order made for its printing, so that it will be here to-morrow morning. It may be necessary to consider it in the committee.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. PETTIGREW introduced a bill (S. 2042) for the purchase of land and the construction thereon of an asylum for insane Indians within the jurisdiction of the United States; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

TAX ON DISTILLED SPIRITS.

Mr. CULLOM submitted two amendments intended to be proposed by him to the bill (H. R. 379) to provide revenue for the Government and to encourage the industries of the United States; which were read, referred to the Committee on Finance, and ordered to be printed, as follows:

An amendment to be proposed by Mr. CULLOM to the bill (H. R. 379) to provide revenue for the Government and to encourage the industries of the United States.

That on and after the passage of this act distilled spirits, spirits, alcohol, and alcoholic spirits within the true intent and meaning of the provisions of section 3248 of the Statutes shall be held to include, and shall include, all substances known as wood naphtha or methylic alcohol or alcoholic spirits, whether ethyl or methyl, produced by fermentation or otherwise from any substance whatever, shall be subject to the payment of the same tax and to all the provisions of law regulating the manufacture and sale of distilled spirits as provided by law: *Provided, however*, That such provisions as to methyl spirits may be modified and changed in such manner and to such extent as may be prescribed by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, to be approved by the Secretary of the Treasury.

An amendment to be proposed by Mr. CULLOM to the bill (H. R. 379) to provide revenue for the Government and to encourage the industries of the United States.

Strike out the item increasing the tax on beer and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"That section 3251a, section 48, of the act of August 28, 1894, be amended so as to read as follows:

"'That on and after the passage of this act there shall be levied and collected on all distilled spirits in bond at that time, or that have or that may be then or thereafter produced in the United States, on which the tax is not paid before that day, a tax of 70 cents on each proof gallon, or wine gallon, when below proof, and a proportionate tax at a like rate on all fractional parts of such proof or wine gallon: *Provided*, That in computing the tax on any package of spirits or fractional parts of a gallon less than one-tenth shall be excluded.

"'That all laws or parts of laws inconsistent herewith are hereby repealed.'"

AMENDMENT TO THE TARIFF BILL.

Mr. WARREN submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill (H. R. 379) to provide revenue for the Government and to encourage the industries of the United States; which was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

WICHITA INDIAN LANDS.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair lays before the Senate a resolution coming over from a former day, which will be read.

The Secretary read the resolution submitted by Mr. QUAY on the 25th instant, as follows:

Resolved, That the right to compensation on the part of the Wichita and affiliated bands of Indians for their possessory right in and to the lands ceded to the United States by said Indians, under the agreement made and entered into between said Indians and the United States at Anadarko, in the Indian

Territory, on the 4th day of June, A. D. 1891, should be considered and adjusted at the same time and by the same tribunal which shall determine the alleged claim of the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations in and to the said lands, and that the President is hereby requested to suspend the allotments to said Indians now in progress until the compensation to be allowed and paid to said Indians for the lands in excess of allotments shall be finally determined.

Mr. QUAY. The resolution may go over until to-morrow.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Retaining its place, does the Senator ask?

Mr. QUAY. Yes.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. If there be no objection, the resolution will go over until to-morrow, retaining its place.

PROPOSED SENATORIAL INVESTIGATION.

Mr. TILLMAN. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Aldrich,	Davis,	McMillan,	Shoup,
Allison,	Deboe,	Mallory,	Spooner,
Bacon,	Fairbanks,	Mason,	Stewart,
Baker,	Faulkner,	Mills,	Tillman,
Bate,	Foraker,	Mitchell,	Turpie,
Berry,	Frye,	Morgan,	Vest,
Burrows,	Gallinger,	Murphy,	Walthall,
Carter,	Gear,	Nelson,	Warren,
Chandler,	Harris, Kans.	Pasco,	Wetmore,
Clark,	Heitfeld,	Perkins,	White,
Clay,	Jones, Ark.	Pettigrew,	Wilson.
Cockrell,	Kenney,	Pettus,	
Cullom,	Kyle,	Rawlins,	
Daniel,	Lindsay,	Sewell,	

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Fifty-three Senators have responded to their names. A quorum is present.

Mr. TILLMAN. Mr. President, I rise to a question of privilege, and I send to the desk a resolution for which I ask immediate consideration.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from South Carolina rises to a question of privilege and asks for the reading of the following resolution.

The Secretary read as follows:

Whereas on the 17th of May, 1894, the following preamble and resolution was passed by the Senate:

"Whereas it has been stated in the Sun, a newspaper published in New York, that bribes have been offered to certain Senators to induce them to vote against the pending tariff bill; and

"Whereas it has also been stated in a signed article in the Press, a newspaper published in Philadelphia, that the sugar schedule has been made up as it now stands in the proposed amendment in consideration of large sums of money paid for campaign purposes of the Democratic party: Therefore,

"*Resolved*, That a committee of five Senators be appointed to investigate these charges and to inquire further whether any contributions have been made by the sugar trust, or any person connected therewith, to any political party for campaign or election purposes or to secure or defeat legislation, and whether any Senator has been or is speculating in what are known as sugar stocks during the consideration of the tariff bill now before the Senate, and with power to send for persons and papers and to administer oaths.

"*Resolved further*, That said committee be authorized to investigate and report upon any charge or charges which may be filed before it alleging that the action of any Senator has been corruptly or improperly influenced in the consideration of said bill, or that any attempt has been made to so influence legislation."

Whereas the committee therein designated, and in the pursuance of its duties, examined several witnesses; and

Whereas several of these witnesses refused point-blank to answer the questions put to them; and

Whereas one of these witnesses, after three years of legal contest, is now in prison under sentence of the court for contempt, said court having declared the questions put to him pertinent; and

Whereas another of these witnesses was yesterday acquitted on a technicality, which can not shield him from the consequences of refusing to answer the questions put to him, if the Senate will renew the inquiry; and

Whereas within the last thirty days sundry newspaper correspondents have openly charged Senators with speculating in sugar stocks while the sugar schedule is under discussion, and also charged that brokers in New York knew in advance as to what the Senate Finance Committee would report as to the sugar schedule, all of which involves a question of the highest privilege, to wit, the right of the Senate to protect its members from slander and to protect the body as a whole from these open charges of corruption: Therefore,

Be it resolved, That a committee of five be appointed with power to send for persons and papers, to employ a stenographer, and to administer oaths, to inquire into the truth or falsehood of the charges made in May, 1894, and into the charges recently made, and the scope of the investigation shall cover everything embraced in the resolution of May 17, 1894, as well as the methods pursued by the American Sugar Refining Company, better known as the sugar trust, in controlling legislation in its favor at the present time; and especially whether it has in any wise contributed to, or controlled the election of, a Senator in this body at any time.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The resolution will be referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, under the law.

Mr. TILLMAN. Before the resolution is referred, I supposed I might have an opportunity to present the reasons which influence me to present the resolution.

Mr. GRAY. I ask the Senator from South Carolina if he has just presented the resolution or whether it was submitted yesterday?

Mr. TILLMAN. I presented the resolution this morning.

Mr. GRAY. Would it not go over under the rule?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. No; because under the law the resolution goes to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate.

Mr. BATE. Under the rule the resolution must go to the committee; but when a Senator rises to a question of personal privilege I think he has a right to speak.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair does not think that the privilege extends to a discussion of a resolution which is already referred to a committee, but the Senator of course, without objection, can proceed. Is there objection to the Senator from South Carolina proceeding with his remarks on the resolution? The Chair hears none. The Senator from South Carolina will proceed.

Mr. TILLMAN. Mr. President, as I have been a member of this body only a little over two years, I have hesitated about pressing this matter upon the attention of the Senate and the country. It is, perhaps, by reason of my short connection with the Senate that I do not lie under these accusations affecting the honor and honesty and the integrity of individual Senators and the body as a whole with the same calmness and equanimity which some of the older members seem to possess for their consolation.

When the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. ALLEN] introduced a resolution some two weeks back in regard to Chapman, it was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary with instructions to report back what was necessary. It came back the next morning with a report that it really effected no purpose; that there was no petition for Chapman's pardon pending, and therefore it was not worthy the attention of the Senate.

At that time I called attention to the recent charges of corruption which have been published broadcast over the country in all the metropolitan papers and sent forth by correspondents in the gallery under their own name; and it does seem to me that we have arrived at a time in the history of the Senate when we can no longer afford to lie under such damning accusations. If we have corrupt and debauched men in here owned by trusts and corporations, we ought to find out who they are and purge the Senate. If the newspapers are lying on Senators and the Senate, then the gallery ought to be cleared of all dishonest and dishonorable correspondents and the men who have slandered the Senate be punished.

We can not afford to lie back on our dignity and say it is beneath us to investigate charges of this character. While the committee which was appointed in 1894 came to no good, while no purpose was accomplished except to disclose some of the secrets by which one of the rich corporations known as the sugar trust is robbing the American people of millions yearly under the tariff schedule, sir, we are to-day face to face with the fact that both parties, Democratic and Republican, are on trial before the people, and as to whether their Finance Committees are honest or whether they are bought and sold like cattle.

The investigation of 1894 involved the President, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Finance Committee, and the Democratic party in general. Now we have a change of scene. The Republicans are in power. The same differential, the same benefit, the same ad valorem duties, which were acknowledged to be for the benefit of the trust, are presented here by another Finance Committee of the Senate, but this time it is Republican. Therefore both parties are involved in this smirching of the body and its honor and integrity, and both parties should emulate each other in endeavoring to clarify the atmosphere and restore the Senate to the respect in which the American people once held it. I confess, sir, that we have lost it in a large degree, and it is by reason either of corruption in the body or cowardice among its members in protecting their own honor and their own good name.

You will recall the fact that in the other investigation accusations were made that the President of the United States had met certain magnates of the sugar trust, brokers and others, on a yacht somewhere, in which a bargain was made, a corrupt bargain, by which the interests of the sugar trust were to be guarded in the tariff schedules to be formulated by the Democratic party. There was no testimony brought out which fastened that damning accusation upon him, but within a week or a month the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. JONES], a member of the Finance Committee, has brought forward corroborative testimony by a statement that during the pendency of the schedules being reported by the Finance Committee of the Senate Mr. Cleveland told him he thought that the sugar trust ought to have protection to the extent, I believe, of a quarter of a cent a pound.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Mr. President——

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from South Carolina yield to the Senator from Arkansas?

Mr. TILLMAN. Certainly. I just want to get the matter straight. That is my only object.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I do not know that the expression of

the Senator from South Carolina is exactly correct. My statement was that pending the discussion of the tariff bill between the two Houses Mr. Cleveland said to me that he believed or was satisfied that the difference of one-quarter of a cent between raw and refined sugar was necessary to enable the refiners to maintain their business in the United States, and that if the difference of only one-eighth of 1 cent was made in the bill between raw and refined sugar it was his impression or he believed that the refiners would be driven out of this country and would be unable to carry on their business. I think that was about the substance of what I said.

Mr. TILLMAN. It was simply Mr. Cleveland's opinion and desire, I presume, that the Finance Committee should recognize the interests of the sugar trust, and if he had made a bargain, carry it out in good faith. We do not know whether he made it or not. I do not say he did. I hope to God he did not; but the question is, Did he, and have we an opportunity to find that out?

Mr. GRAY. Mr. President——

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from South Carolina yield to the Senator from Delaware?

Mr. TILLMAN. Certainly.

Mr. GRAY. I should like to make a statement, as the Senator from South Carolina has just spoken in regard to the investigation of a charge that was made in the newspapers, to the effect that the sugar schedule was made up in pursuance of an understanding that was had between Mr. Cleveland and certain sugar magnates, Mr. Havemeyer and Mr. Searles, on Mr. Benedict's yacht, I presume, during the winter of 1893.

As I was chairman of that committee, it may not be inappropriate for me and I may be permitted to say that it is not only true, as the Senator from South Carolina says, that that charge was not proven, but it was absolutely and clearly proven that it was untrue. Every source of information was explored by the committee in order to ascertain the real truth in regard to that charge, and every person who was mentioned was examined before the committee. Mr. Havemeyer, the president of the sugar trust, who was charged substantially with being present, and Mr. Searles both testified not only that no such meeting occurred, but that they had never met Mr. Cleveland, then or on any other occasion, and did not know him personally except by his resemblance to his picture. I just put that in because I think justice requires that it should be stated.

Mr. TILLMAN. I want everything to go in that will clarify the situation and bring out the truth. I am not attacking any man directly or indirectly. I am defending the good name of Senators and the Senate, and I am trying to get it to defend itself along with me.

Mr. GRAY. I did not misunderstand the purpose of the Senator from South Carolina, I think. I merely wanted to supplement what he has said by the statement I have just made.

Mr. TILLMAN. And I want to supplement what you have said by saying that one-half of the American people or more do not believe but what there was rottenness and corruption, and a corrupt deal between some of the leaders of the Democratic party in 1892 in regard to the election, and one-half of us do not believe but that there is something rotten in Denmark now.

As I said, both parties are involved, and one is just as deep in the mud as the other was in the mire. You all know the cloud that rests upon the names of certain men, Democrats, on the Finance Committee in regard to the action they took and the votes they cast on the sugar schedule in 1894, when the tariff bill was here. It rests there, and they can not wipe it out until an investigation is had which will either prove the charges or exonerate them.

Now, I want to show directly that a more damning charge or a charge equally damning exists against the Republican members of the present Finance Committee. As far as the question of speculating in sugar stocks is concerned, it was under investigation and with it Mr. Chapman had more particularly to do. The very fact that Mr. Chapman has gone to jail rather than to testify to the innocence of Senators convicts every man in this body more or less, directly or indirectly, then a member of having done that dishonorable act. Now he is up here, a little king in your District jail, a new club created here or existing here for rich prisoners. You have read of his mode of life and the farcical travesty on punishment. Is that in fact any punishment? Then yesterday the other great "I am" of the sugar trust is turned loose on a technicality, mainly, I believe, by reason of the minority report of the two Democratic members of the investigating committee, wherein they declared their belief that they had no right to investigate the question as to how much money had been contributed by the sugar trust for campaign purposes.

Mr. PETTUS. Mr. President——

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from South Carolina yield to the Senator from Alabama?

Mr. TILLMAN. I always yield to any man who wants to throw any light on this subject.

Mr. PETTUS. I will ask the Senator from South Carolina not to deal in generalties. If he desires to put a mark on a Senator upon this floor, I demand that he shall mark his man and not indicate the Senate generally.

Mr. TILLMAN. I want to mark the man by having the witnesses who have the proof against the man or the men to tell what they know and not sneak out under a technicality discovered by the court, and have a millionaire turned loose, whereas if he had been a poor man he would be in prison to-day. That is what I want. I know of nobody here having been bought or sold, but the charges are rife; they are sent broadcast over the country that we have been bought and sold, and that corruption exists here; and are we to sit quietly under it? That is what I am talking about. The Senator from Alabama has just come into the Senate. He, of course, is not to be considered as particeps criminis in any accusation brought against the Chamber.

Mr. PETTUS. And it is because of that very reason that I took the liberty of speaking in behalf of men who are, so far as I know, all of them honorable men, true men. They should not by general insinuation have a slur cast upon them in a general way; but if the Senator has any information, let him give it to us now.

Mr. TILLMAN. Why do you not wait until the Senator from South Carolina has time to make his speech?

Mr. PETTUS. The Senator from South Carolina is merely dealing in generalities. That is the point I object to.

Mr. TILLMAN. I have got specifications here, if you will just possess your soul in patience.

Mr. PETTUS. If you name a man, I will be satisfied.

Mr. TILLMAN. Mr. President, one of the peculiar things about the action of the Finance Committee four years ago and the action of the Finance Committee this year is the fact that, notwithstanding they have a most luxurious apartment here in the Capitol as a Senate committee room in which to transact their business, they saw proper to go to the Arlington Hotel to get away from the prying and spying correspondents, to get out of the way of any sources of information reaching the people.

Mr. VEST. Mr. President, will the Senator permit me?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from South Carolina yield to the Senator from Missouri?

Mr. TILLMAN. Certainly.

Mr. VEST. The Senator is grossly mistaken in his statement that four years ago the Democratic members of the Finance Committee who had charge of the tariff bill went to the Arlington Hotel or any other hotel. Our sessions were held in this Capitol, in the room of the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, of which I was the chairman, and nowhere else. If there was any meeting at any hotel, it was without my knowledge. I do not think any member of the committee will state otherwise.

Mr. WHITE. The Senator from Missouri, if I may be permitted to say so, should also state that, so far as the consideration of the present tariff bill is concerned, the minority meetings, when the minority has met at all, have been in this Capitol.

Mr. VEST. I take it for granted that every member of the Senate and every intelligent man in the country knows that the majority of the Committee on Finance in both instances controlled the making of the tariff bill. In 1894 the majority were Democrats, and the minority of the committee, the Republicans, were not in consultation with us until the bill was reported. Now the same thing obtains, the Democrats not having been consulted in regard to the pending measure until it was reported.

Mr. TILLMAN. I am glad to have my statement corrected. I certainly do not want to smirch my own party. I certainly do not want to attack any member of the committee who does not deserve to be attacked, and I am not attacking any individual; I am merely dealing with this question as an American citizen, and not as a Democrat, a Republican, a Populist, or anything else; but I am dealing with it as a free man who loves his good name. If any Democratic Senators have been corrupt, the party will be the stronger if it drives them out of this body and reduces its already weakened numbers, and avoids the very dangers which happened in 1893, 1894, and 1895; but nobody denies that there have been rooms occupied for two months by the Republicans on the Senate Finance Committee at the Arlington Hotel, in easy touch with telephones to New York and elsewhere, and in easy reach of the agents of the sugar trust.

Another strange thing—passing strange—is the fact that, whereas the Republican members of that former investigating committee have put themselves on record as testifying that an ad valorem duty is in the interest of the sugar trust, we have more ad valorems in the present sugar schedule than were ever known in any one before. That is the hocus-pocus by which the dear people are sought to be blinded, I suppose, to the robbery that they are to suffer during the time this tariff bill shall be a law.

In that connection, I desire to have inserted the concluding statement of Senators H. C. LODGE and C. K. DAVIS as a minority of the former investigating committee. The Secretary will please read the paragraphs that are marked.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Secretary will read as directed.

The Secretary read as follows:

All the witnesses stated that in all these conferences and discussions nothing was presented except the ordinary arguments offered by any industry in regard to its interests in a tariff bill; but the undersigned feel that the American Sugar Refining Company occupies a very different position, not only in the public estimation, but as a matter of fact, from that of any other industry in the country. It is a very rich corporation, with an enormous interest in tariff legislation. It is a matter of complete indifference to the trust what duties are levied upon sugar so long as the form is ad valorem and a sufficient differential is given in favor of refined sugar.

The sugar trust, by the evidence of its president and treasurer, has contributed freely to the State and city campaign funds of both parties, and these contributions were made in years in which national elections were also held. This is a thoroughly corrupt form of campaign contributions, for such contributions, being given to two opposing parties, are not for the purpose of promoting certain political principles, but to establish an obligation to the giver on the part of whichever party comes into power. The trust does not give to political parties for the promotion of political principles in which it believes, but for the protection of its own interests, as appears by the same testimony. The fact that it gives to both political parties is sufficient proof of the purposes of its contributions and of their dangerous nature.

For these reasons the undersigned have felt it important to lay before the Senate and the country the fact that the sugar schedule, as it now stands, is, according to the testimony, in the form desired by the sugar trust, and to point out also the methods by which the sugar trust reached what it desired and obtained a substantial victory.

H. C. LODGE.
C. K. DAVIS.

Mr. TILLMAN. Now, Mr. President, since what has been brought out in the language just read, it is incumbent upon somebody to say why the sugar trust can always command such a tariff schedule as will give it an ad valorem duty instead of a specific duty in the face of the testimony recorded in this volume (the committee report), in which it is shown that with $50,000,000 of capital, or rather stock, which was worth only $25,000,000 and which sold for but 50 cents on the dollar, as soon as that trust organized as the American Sugar Refining Company in 1890 and the McKinley bill was passed, giving it the differentials, they acknowledged that they had cleared upward of $25,000,000 on that capital in three years.

They cleared it, how? By adding to the cost of the sugar of every man in America who drinks coffee or tea, or who uses sugar, and that means every man in the United States. Who did it? The Republican party. Then who came along and changed the bill in 1894, and still recognized this octopus, and still could not get from under its influence and control? The Democratic party. Now, three years later, when the pendulum has swung to the other side, to the disgrace and demoralization and defeat of the Democratic party, the Republicans come to the front, and we have a repetition in most damaging form of the power of this trust to control the Senate; and when we endeavor to investigate as to how they do it, what are their methods, and how much money they have contributed, the judge turns the man loose on the ground that the question was really not pertinent!

Why, sir, is it possible to hold any election in this country for a legislature which will not affect in some way the election of a United States Senator? Is it possible to conduct a State election during a Presidential year which does not involve the triumph or defeat of Presidential electors? The absurdity, the puerility of such an excuse for saying that the question was not pertinent, and that this man must not be made to answer, and that though he did not answer, he must not be punished! Are we to stop there? Are we to say we have exhausted our remedies and that we can go no further—that the people are jealous of their individual liberties and will not allow the Senate to preserve its own good name and dignity and honor?

The record shows that in past times when men have smirched and accused the Senate of dishonorable action or insulted it, they have been brought to the bar, and when they did not purge themselves, they were imprisoned. Have we lost that power? The Senate will determine, I suppose, by its vote whether it means to probe this festering wound to the bottom and cauterize it, or whether it will lie under the charge of the rottenness which now smells to heaven and can not be gotten rid of.

But I promised the Senator from Alabama [Mr. PETTUS] some specifications as to recent accusations. I send to the Secretary's desk a copy of the New York Journal of May 12, and ask the Secretary to read the headlines and the text of the paper down as far as I have marked.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. If there be no objection, the Secretary will read the paper.

The Secretary read as follows:

SENATOR SMITH AHEAD ON SUGAR—HIS LITTLE SPECULATION HAS NETTED HIM $3,000 FOR ONE DAY—SOLD THE STOCK SHORT—THERE WERE 6,000 SHARES AND A FURTHER DECLINE MEANS GROWING PROFIT.

[By James Creelman.]

WASHINGTON, *May 11.*

Senator SMITH of New Jersey to-day sold 6,000 shares of sugar stock short at 116. Sugar stock closed at 115¾. His profit for the day, with the broker's commission deducted, was $3,000. If sugar stock continues to fall in price, he will make a good many thousands of dollars more on this transaction.

Mr. TILLMAN. I now ask the Secretary to read from the New York Herald of May 11 the marked paragraph, including the headlines.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. If there be no objection, the Secretary will read.

The Secretary read as follows:

IN THE GRASP OF THE TRUST—EFFECTIVE WORK OF THE SUGAR LOBBY SHOWN IN THE SCHEDULE REPORTED BY THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON FINANCE—DIFFICULT TASK STILL BEFORE IT—GREAT FIGHT WILL BE MADE TO HAVE THE SCHEDULE RATIFIED BY SENATE AND HOUSE—NIGHT CONFERENCES HELD—UGLY BUT UNVERIFIED RUMORS AFLOAT AS TO SENATORIAL SPECULATIONS IN THE STOCK MARKET—TRYING TO SHUT OFF DEBATE—COTERIE OF REPUBLICANS PLANNING A MOVEMENT TO PREVENT EXTENDED DISCUSSION OF THE SUGAR DUTIES.

[By telegraph to the Herald.]

HERALD BUREAU, CORNER FIFTEENTH AND G STREETS NW.
Washington, May 10, 1897.

The mighty hand of the sugar trust is again grappling the throat of the United States Senate.

Ever since the reconstruction of the Dingley bill was commenced in the Arlington Hotel the sugar lobby has been in the city. Its work has been conducted with the usual secrecy, but up to this time it has been none the less effective. Its hand is so plainly stamped on the sugar schedule as reported by the Republican members of the Finance Committee that it can be seen without the aid of glasses by even those Senators who profess entire ignorance of the intricate questions involved that this schedule was written altogether in the interests of the trust.

Having been able to induce the Republican subcommittee to do its bidding, the lobby is now confronted with the more difficult task of having the work of the committee ratified by the Senate, concurred in by the House of Representatives, and approved by the President. It will be a great fight, and one which may leave the reputations of the Senatorial champions of the trust smirched with scandal. Senators who have the integrity of the Senate at heart fully realize what is before them, and it is with some misgivings that they look forward to the contest.

SUGAR INTERESTS GUARDED.

Exact details of the midnight conferences which resulted in giving the sugar trust all it asked for will probably never be known. Some interesting facts are coming to light, however. While Messrs. Havemeyer, Searles, and other officials of the sugar trust kept in the background, the interests of that organization were well looked after in the Arlington Hotel conferences. Among the men interested in sugar who have been in Washington and in repeated conferences with the committee are Henry Reed, of Boston; Herbert L. Terrell, of New York; former Senator Fenton, of California; Henry T. Oxnard, of Nebraska, and members of the Spreckels family, of California.

There seems to be no doubt that a favored few persons knew some days in advance exactly what the sugar schedule to be reported by the subcommittee was to be. I have already related the story of the sugar expert here who was approached by a broker a couple of days before the bill was made public with what he said would be the sugar schedule and with a request that the protection afforded the trust under it be calculated for him.

A direct statement has been published since then to the effect that a broker in Washington filled an order for 900 shares of sugar stock for three United States Senators before the bill was reported, and after it had been made public closed out the deal at a profit of $30,000 for his Senatorial customers.

Mr. TILLMAN. Now I ask the Secretary to read another article from the New York Herald of May 8. Do not omit the headlines. They are the only things the average busy man ever reads, and he immediately turns around and convicts the Senate of being rotten on the strength of them.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. If there be no objection, the Secretary will read what the Senator from South Carolina asks to have read.

The Secretary read as follows:

SUGAR TRUST OWNS THE BILL—NEW TARIFF MEASURE GIVES THE MAMMOTH MONOPOLY PROTECTION OF HALF A CENT A POUND—UGLY RUMORS CIRCULATED—SCHEDULE AS INCORPORATED IN THE BILL IN THE HANDS OF A BROKER BEFORE IT WAS REPORTED—BASIS FOR SPECULATION—HEAVY DUTIES SUPPLEMENTED BY A CHARGE AGAINST BOUNTY SUGAR GIVING THE TRUST ABSOLUTE CONTROL.

[By telegraph to the Herald.]

HERALD BUREAU, CORNER FIFTEENTH AND G STREETS NW.,
Washington, May 7, 1897.

"The least possible protection to the sugar trust in the schedule adopted by the Senate Finance Committee is nearly half a cent a pound." This is the conclusion expressed to me to-day by Representative SWANSON of Virginia after a careful analysis of the schedule.

Mr. SWANSON is one of the Democratic members of the House Committee on Ways and Means, and ever since the preparation of the tariff bill was commenced he has devoted himself particularly to a study of the sugar question. He based his calculations on the prices of sugar on December 10 last as submitted to the Committee on Ways and Means by Mr. F. A. Oxnard.

This gave the price of granulated sugar at 4.10 cents per pound, on which the compound duty under the schedule would be 2.595 cents. Mr. SWANSON explains that the very highest grade unrefined sugars imported tested 96° by the polariscope and were valued at 3.25 cents a pound. On these the duty would be 2.1075, showing a differential or protection to the sugar trust of 0.4875 cent a pound. The average protection to the trust, according to Mr. SWANSON, would be much greater than this, however.

TRUST IN CONTROL.

The schedule is particularly favorable to the importation of sugars testing below 87° by the polariscope, which are subject only to a duty of 75 per cent ad valorem, and it will tend to greatly encourage the importation of these sugars. The invoice prices of some of these sugars are as low as 1.25 cents a pound for Java black stroops and 1.60 cents for muscovados, on which the duties would be respectively .9375 and 1.20 cents per pound, making the differential between these duties and the duty on refined sugars respectively 1.6575 cents and 1.395 cents. There is, however, much more waste in refining these low-grade sugars than in the higher grades.

"One of the most important provisions to the trust," said Mr. SWANSON, "insuring to them absolute control of the market in this country, is that which imposes on sugars from countries which pay an export bounty an additional duty equal to the bounty paid. At the present time the only sugars which come in competition with trust sugars to any extent are German

sugars, and last year there was but 1 pound of refined sugar imported into the country for every 30 pounds of sugar used.

"The importation of even this small amount was only possible on account of the German bounty of about thirty-eight one-hundredths of a cent a pound on refined sugar, while under the present law the countervailing duty is but one-tenth of a cent, giving German exporters a clear bounty of about twenty-eight one-hundredths of a cent. As the Senate bill proposes to make the countervailing duty equal to the export bounty paid abroad, it will be impossible for Germany to ship a pound of refined sugar to this country, and every consumer of sugar in the United States will have to pay for it whatever price the trust sees fit to impose."

UGLY RUMORS AFLOAT.

Some singular facts are coming to light regarding the preparation of the schedule by the Senate committee. I was told to-day by a sugar expert that, some days before the bill was made public by the committee, he was approached by a broker, who gave him a sugar schedule, asking him to figure out what would be the differential in favor of the trust in it, and assuring him that it was the schedule to be adopted in the bill. When the bill came out, it contained the identical schedule which was submitted by the broker, who had probably taken advantage of the rise in sugar stock which his advance information had made him certain would occur.

While the bill was being prepared, the subcommittee was able to consult with the general appraisers in New York or any other person outside of Washington from whom they might want special information regarding any article in the bill by long-distance telephone in an inner room used by the committee at the Arlington Hotel. It was also possible to talk with the officials of the sugar trust if they wished any special information as to what was wanted in the bill.

Mr. TILLMAN. Mr. President, before I send forward the next clipping, I want to say that, so far as I am concerned and feel, when a Senator whose vote will influence and perhaps govern in fixing the tariff on sugar takes advantage of inside knowledge, of the possession of the secrets of the committee, and speculates, knowing that when the report will come the price will go up—I say he commits an act unworthy of an honorable man and akin to that of the blackleg gambler who, in competition with another gambler, has cards up his sleeve; and, in addition to that, he commits a piece of official rascality that should make him hang his head in shame, if his colleagues here allow him to remain among them.

The mere speculating in sugar, as in cotton or anything else, when a man knows nothing about what is going to be done about sugar in the Senate, is not reprehensible any more than any other gambling. It is only when a man can influence the action of this body by his vote or use secret information that it becomes dishonorable and disreputable.

I ask to have read the clipping which I send to the desk from the Chicago Times-Herald. Do not omit the name of the author of the article. It is signed at the bottom of the second column.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the paper will be read.

The Secretary read from the Chicago Times-Herald of Thursday, May 6, 1897, as follows:

FORTUNE FOR SENATORS—LARGE SUMS MADE BY SPECULATING IN SUGAR TRUST STOCK—PROFIT IN TIPS ON TARIFF—LITTLE LIKELIHOOD THAT THE MATTER WILL BE INVESTIGATED.

WASHINGTON, *May 5.*

Monday last a certain stock broker in this city filled an order for 9,000 shares of sugar stock in Wall street. His customers were three United States Senators.

In filling this order the broker began buying at 113¼ and bought up to 115. Yesterday this deal was closed out at from 117¼ to 118. The profit on the transaction was about $30,000.

This is what one broker did. How much stock was handled by other brokers here and in New York for Senatorial account no one knows.

It is pretty well understood that Senators who were able to get inside information concerning the sugar schedule in the Finance Committee revision have been buying in Wall street for a week or more. They were speculating on a sure thing, for the manner in which the sugar schedule favors the trust could not fail to put its shares up in the market when the facts should become public property.

There is a great deal of gossip about these Senatorial investments in sugar, but it is not considered probable the Senate will order an investigation. The Senate does not care for any more sugar-speculation investigations.

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WALTER WELLMAN.

Mr. TILLMAN. Here is something else which I desire to have read—an extract from the same writer.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection to the reading? The Chair hears none, and the Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read from the Chicago Times-Herald of May 8, 1897, as follows:

TO BATTLE OVER SUGAR—SENATE'S TARIFF SCHEDULE AROUSES A STORM OF INDIGNATION—ALL THE TRUST ASKED FOR—STRONG EFFORT TO BE MADE TO RETAIN THE DINGLEY RATES—HOUSE EXPECTED TO STAND FIRM—CAPITAL SHOCKED AT THE METHODS OF THE UPPER HOUSE COMMITTEE AND THE DEALS IN WALL STREET.

* * * * * * *

It is significant that the Senators who bought sugar shares in Wall street before the Finance Committee's revision was made public are now reported to be selling the stock. Have they inside information as to the final disposition of the schedule, or are they merely bearing the market in anticipation of the opposition in Senate and House, and will they find opportunity on inside information to buy again at the right moment? Unfortunately, we have not heard the last of the sugar scandal.

WALTER WELLMAN.

Mr. TILLMAN. Here is something from the New York World, which I ask to have read.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it will be read by the Secretary.

The Secretary read from the New York World of May 12, 1897, as follows:

WERE SENATORS IN SUGAR SECRETS?—NEW GROUND FOR SUSPICION THAT A FEW SPECULATED ON INSIDE INFORMATION—BROKER WHITE'S EXPLOIT—OPENED AN OFFICE IN WASHINGTON JUST AFTER THE HOUSE PASSED THE BILL—SENATORS HIS CUSTOMERS—HAD ACCESS TO THE ROOMS WHEN SUBCOMMITTEE'S SECRET MEETINGS WERE HELD—SAID TO HAVE CLEARED $70,000.

[Special from a World staff correspondent.]

WASHINGTON, *May 11.*

The stories of speculation by Senators in sugar stock on the strength of advance information as to the Finance Committee's sugar schedule continue the topic of conversation here. There is no doubt that the exact schedule was known to several persons outside of the committee at least two days before May 4, when the bill was made public, and it is generally believed that the knowledge was used to advantage in the market.

One of the brokers who could probably throw considerable light on the dealings of Senators in Wall street and who personally profited by advance information on the sugar schedule is Abraham White. Mr. White has offices at No. 16 Broad street and No. 31 Broadway, New York. He is the broker who successfully negotiated, with the aid of Russell Sage, the purchase of $1,000,000 worth of Government bonds during the last popular bond sale on a total investment of 48 cents for postage. He cleared about $300,000 by that deal.

When the Dingley tariff bill went into the hands of the Senate subcommittee, Mr. White came to Washington and opened an office at 1343 F street. He fitted it up in fine style and had a private wire to New York.

On April 8 his first advertisement appeared in the local papers. He did not stint himself on space. He made reference in his advertisement to his success in the bond deal, and in large letters announced that Russell Sage had helped him to complete that transaction.

It was noted that the persons who frequented his office and traded through him were mostly Senators and Representatives. He lived at the Arlington Hotel, where, it will be remembered, the Senate subcommittee held its secret meetings. He was frequently seen coming out of the room where these secret conferences were being held, although it was impossible for any but a few favored Senators and Representatives to enter this private chamber.

Mr. White spent all his time while in Washington either in his office, at the Capitol, or at the Arlington. People who were intimate with him say that he always appeared well posted on the movements and decisions of the Senators who were framing the tariff bill. On May 3 and 4, it is stated by those in a position to know, he bought sugar heavily. At noon on May 4 the bill was reported from the subcommittee to the Senate and made public. On May 8 Mr. White closed his office here and went back to New York. Before going he offered to sell his furniture for almost any sum to get rid of it. One of the gentlemen to whom he offered it said to the World correspondent to-day: "Mr. White could very well afford to give away this furniture or to let the landlord take it for kindling wood. His profits on sugar were probably not less than $70,000."

Mr. GRAY. Is that a signed article?

Mr. TILLMAN. No, sir; but I know the correspondent. Here is an article of news in the New York Evening Post of May 26, which I ask the Secretary to read.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. If there be no objection, the Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read as follows:

Washington houses bought sugar certificates on the prospects of adoption of the Senate sugar schedule. Purchasers for Washington account yesterday and to-day were estimated at 40,000 shares.

Mr. TILLMAN. It seems that a good many of us have a finger in the pie, or else there are some very big fish in the pool. I have now presented the basis for the new investigation which I propose, as well as having pointed out that the old investigation did not go far enough, for the reason that the witnesses refused to testify just when the committee got them to a place that was interesting and where developments were likely. I think it would be unfair not to include the old with the new, corral the Democratic sheep and the Republican goats, or vice versa, and let us have a fumigation.

The question presents itself, sir, to us as Americans and as men who love our Government whether we shall continue to sit here as representatives of the States and of the people in them and have the respect of the people for this great body lost entirely by our cowardice or our corruption.

If the Democratic party owed any political debts in 1893 which it felt bound to pay to the sugar trust, let it be known. If the Republican party, which, by the way, in the last campaign received, I think, all of the contributions from the octopus, while the Democrats got not one dollar, are under party obligations and owe this gang debts, let it be brought out before the American people.

In connection with that, I wish to have Mr. Havemeyer's testimony as to this baby industry—this little infant—spread on the minutes. It is his testimony before the investigating committee of 1894, of which the Senator from Delaware [Mr. GRAY] was chairman.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. If there be no objection, the Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read as follows:

Senator ALLEN. Mr. Havemeyer, is it not true that you control, that is, the American Sugar Refining Company controls, the prices of sugar to all the Louisiana refineries?

Mr. HAVEMEYER. Directly we do not; indirectly we do.

Senator ALLEN. Through your organization you do. If you fix the price at 4 cents for granulated throughout the United States the others obtain it, don't they? And in that way the price is controlled.

Mr. HAVEMEYER. We undertake to control the price of refined sugar in the United States. That must be distinctly understood.

Senator ALLEN. And the price of refined sugar in the United States is higher to the American people in consequence of the existence of the American Sugar Refining Company than it would be if the different companies in your organization were distinct and independent companies?

Mr. HAVEMEYER. For a short time it is.

Senator ALLEN. And what difference does it make for the consumers in this country in a year, in your judgment?

Mr. HAVEMEYER. It has been in three years past three-eighths of a cent more on every pound they ate, as against doing business at a loss.

Senator ALLEN. And that would be about how much in round numbers?

Mr. HAVEMEYER. It is a large sum in the aggregate.

Senator ALLEN. How many millions?

Mr. HAVEMEYER. I should say it was close to $25,000,000 in three years.

Senator ALLEN. And you intend to keep your hold upon the American people as long as you can?

Mr. HAVEMEYER. As long as the McKinley bill is there we will exact that profit.

Mr. TILLMAN. Now they are trying to put the duty above the McKinley Act, according to the best experts. Is not that a lovely infant to be here pleading for protection? Twenty-five million dollars profit in three years off the hard-working, starving American farmers and artisans, with a capital of not more than $50,000,000.

There is no doubt, however, that the same influences which carried through the last tariff bill by a narrow majority will pull this one through, in spite of the fact that two Republican Senators are on record, as I have put them, as saying that they are opposed to and believe that ad valorem duties are in the interest of the trust, and that they ought not to be had. I suppose the Republican caucus will agree as to these things, as to how much this gang of thieves and robbers shall have, and the balance of us will have to content ourselves with voting "nay." Let it go through; let the political debt be paid; let the American laboring man, when he sits down to his breakfast table and puts his spoonful of sugar into his coffee, realize what a glorious Senate represents him in Washington. We will see when the vote comes.

In conclusion, the question presents itself—coming back to the gist of the matter—have the correspondents lied on the Senate or is the Senate rotten? If they have lied, let us prove it on them and punish them. If they prove Senators corrupt, let us turn them out of here, for at last it is simply this question, and you are obliged to take one or the other prong of the dilemma: You have to punish those men if they have lied, or you have to purge this body of the corruption they charge upon it.

Mr. ALDRICH. Mr. President, the task of the Senator who is charged with the duty of preparing tariff schedules is at best a most difficult and ungracious one. He must enter upon that duty with the full knowledge that certain portions of the press throughout the United States are bound, judging by the precedents of the last ten or fifteen years, to charge unworthy motives upon him whatever he may do in connection with very many of the schedules.

In view of what the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. TILLMAN] has said and the extracts which he has caused to be read, perhaps I ought to make a statement in regard to the question of the duties upon sugar in the pending bill and how they came to be imposed. It is insinuated rather than charged in these various reports, or some of them, that the schedule as presented by the committee was in some manner suggested or influenced or demanded by the American Sugar Refining Company, commonly called the sugar trust.

Now, I desire to say to the Senator from South Carolina and to every other member of this body, and to every person in the United States, that no person connected, directly or indirectly, with the American Sugar Refining Company or any other refining company, or any other person, at any time or in any manner, suggested or dictated any schedule or any rates upon sugar to the Republican members of the Finance Committee; and I wish to make this statement as broad as it is possible for the English language to make it.

I desire to say, further, that the Republican members of that committee, and no one else, are solely responsible for this schedule, and that no person living knew what the schedule was to be, or what the rates imposed upon sugar were, until less than two days before the bill was reported to the Senate. It was submitted to the Senator from Nevada [Mr. JONES] for his approval or suggestion. I think this was about thirty-six hours before it was finally reported to the Senate. No one else ever knew or had any intimation as to what that schedule was to be—not a living person—and any person who says or insinuates anything of the sort deserves to be denounced in words which it would not be parliamentary for me to use here.

Mr. TILLMAN. Will the Senator from Rhode Island allow me?

Mr. ALDRICH. Certainly.

Mr. TILLMAN. Does the Senator from Rhode Island understand that I am fathering these charges?

Mr. ALDRICH. Not at all. I am now discussing the insinuations.

Mr. TILLMAN. Let me call the Senator's attention to the fact that I have given the basis of the request for the investigation.

Mr. ALDRICH. I understand.

Mr. TILLMAN. Furthermore, every paper I quoted supported the Senator's party.

Mr. ALDRICH. Oh, no.

Mr. TILLMAN. They did, except the Journal.

Mr. ALDRICH. That is not a matter of any consequence.

Mr. TILLMAN. They certainly have a right to accuse you, if they can prove it.

Mr. ALDRICH. Undoubtedly.

Mr. TILLMAN. And the question is, Will you allow any opportunity or will you sit here idly?

Mr. ALDRICH. I will say that, so far as I am concerned, and I am satisfied I speak for every other member of the subcommittee, we not only wish, but we court the most searching investigation into every single act of ours in connection with this schedule or any other then or at any other time.

Mr. CHANDLER. May I ask the Senator from Rhode Island a question?

Mr. ALDRICH. I would prefer the Senator not to interrupt me for just a second. One of the newspapers brings in a gentleman by the name of Mr. White.

Mr. CHANDLER. I was about to ask the Senator about Mr. White, whether by any possibility he could have known what it is said he did know.

Mr. ALDRICH. I never knew Mr. White and never heard of him. If there is any such man in existence, I do not know him. Certainly no such man came into the committee room, and no information was ever sent out of the committee room over a telephone or in any other way to any broker or anybody else.

Now, I make all these statements just as broad as it is possible to make them, and I know that I am speaking for the other members of the subcommittee as well as for myself. I never in my life bought or sold a share of sugar stock, directly or indirectly, or any other stock, I can say, on speculation. Of course it is very easy for correspondents to write a story in regard to any of these matters and to insinuate as to what Senators have done or have not done. I have made this statement to the Senate, not for any purpose of avoiding investigation, but that the Senate may know, so far as the subcommittee is concerned, what the facts are and how absolutely and utterly false are the suggestions which have been made in regard to their action. [Manifestations of applause in the galleries.]

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. GALLINGER in the chair). The resolution will be referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate. The Calendar under Rule VIII is in order.

THE TARIFF BILL.

Mr. ALDRICH. I ask the Senate to proceed to the consideration of House bill 379, being the tariff bill.

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 379) to provide revenue for the Government and to encourage the industries of the United States.

The reading of the bill was resumed, beginning on page 12, line 24, as follows:

Preparations:

64. Medical preparations containing alcohol or in the preparation of which alcohol is used, not specially provided for in this act, 55 cents per pound, but in no case shall the same pay less than 25 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. VEST. I simply desire to call attention to the fact that this is an increase of duty over the McKinley Act. Under the McKinley Act the duty was 50 cents a pound, and under the act of 1894 it was the same. This is an increase to 55 cents a pound. If all these preparations were pure alcohol, there would be 6¼ pounds of alcohol to the gallon, and that would make the duty under the McKinley Act and the act of 1894 $3.25 a gallon. At 55 cents, the increased duty now proposed, the duty per gallon upon all these preparations would be $3.60.

I have always considered this provision a very harsh one. It was harsh in the act of 1890 and the act of 1894, and under the pending bill it retains the same features. If Senators will give attention to this paragraph, they will see that if there is but one drop of alcohol in a gallon of any of these medicines, it then bears the duty of $3.60 per gallon, the tax upon alcohol being $2.20 a gallon.

Mr. MILLS. There is a great increase in the equivalent ad valorem.

Mr. VEST. The ad valorem, of course, is increased in proportion to the specific. We exported last year $2,479,510 worth of patent medicines, medicinal preparations, and we propose now to put this enormous duty upon a gallon of any medicinal preparation that comes into the country and has a single drop of alcohol in it. It is harsh tariff legislation of the most extreme kind.

Mr. MILLS. Let me also call attention to the fact that when the duty was 50 cents a pound, as the Senator from Missouri says, in 1893, the unit of value was $3.22. It is now 78 cents, and when the goods are 78 cents by the pound, the duty is increased. The

equivalent ad valorem in 1893 was 15.51. It has now gone to 70.51, being increased three or four times.

Mr. ALDRICH. One would suppose by the remarks of the Senator from Missouri that there was some radical change in this paragraph.

Mr. VEST. There is an increase.

Mr. ALDRICH. There is an increase of 5 cents a pound. Since the act of 1894 was enacted there has been an increase in the tax on alcohol to the American producer or consumer of 40 cents a gallon, 20 cents on distilled spirits. The increase provided for in the proposed act is not so great an increase as that on alcohol.

Mr. MILLS. It is much greater. There is 6.85 pounds in a gallon.

Mr. ALDRICH. Seven pounds to the gallon.

Mr. MILLS. You have increased it from 15.51 per cent to 70.51 per cent.

Mr. ALDRICH. I beg the Senator's pardon. We have simply changed the rate 5 cents a pound.

Mr. MILLS. I know, but the value of the article has gone down.

Mr. ALDRICH. The value of the article has nothing to do with it. There certainly has been no such increase in the price of those articles from 15 to 70.

Mr. MILLS. Certainly the Senator from Rhode Island does not say that the value of the article has nothing to do with the ad valorem tax.

Mr. ALDRICH. I do not say that at all.

Mr. MILLS. I thought the Senator said it.

Mr. ALDRICH. Oh, no; I say that the price which happened to be put down here does not show anything. According to that it would be an increase of from 15 to 70—more than four times—while the actual increase is only 5 cents a pound.

Mr. MILLS. I know it is 5 cents a pound, but I am stating what the amount of the tax is in proportion to the value of the article. It is 70 per cent instead of 15 per cent—400 per cent increase.

Mr. ALDRICH. If the Senator will pardon me, the increase in the tax upon alcohol is about 40 cents a gallon; at 7 pounds to a gallon it is only 6 cents a pound, while the increase is 5 cents a pound, or less than the actual increase in the tax on alcohol itself.

Mr. MILLS. All that evades the question of the value of the article taxed. We come back to the proposition that you have increased the tax from 15 to 70 per cent.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. And the comparative statement which the Senator from Rhode Island brings into the Senate shows that fact.

Mr. MILLS. It shows that fact.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The reading of the bill will be proceeded with.

The Secretary read as follows:

65. Medicinal preparations not containing alcohol or in the preparation of which alcohol is not used, not specially provided for in this act, 25 per cent ad valorem; calomel and other mercurial medicinal preparations, 35 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. VEST. I call attention to the fact that there is an increase upon calomel of from 25 to 35 per cent. The comparative statement shows that under the reduced duty in the act of 1894 from the McKinley rate calomel fell in price from 59 to 51 cents a pound in the United States; and yet with these facts staring us in the face we are to increase the duty from 25 to 35 per cent ad valorem upon this medicine of absolute necessity, especially amongst the poorer class of people who live in miasmatic regions. I should like to know from the Senator from Rhode Island, though it is a small matter, why that increase is put upon calomel.

Mr. ALDRICH. The proposition is to restore the McKinley rate. The importations, as the Senator knows, were only $7,000 per annum. It certainly will not be a great burden, I take it, upon anybody if mercurial preparations are advanced to this rate. It will then be less than the average for preparations of this kind.

Mr. VEST. That is no answer.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The reading of the bill will be proceeded with.

The Secretary read as follows:

66. Plasters, healing or curative, of all kinds, and court-plaster, 35 per cent ad valorem.

67. Preparations used as applications to the hair, mouth, teeth, or skin, such as cosmetics, dentifrices, pastes, pomades, powders, and other toilet articles, and articles of perfumery, whether in sachets or otherwise, not containing alcohol or in the manufacture of which alcohol is not used, and not specially provided for in this act, 50 per cent ad valorem.

68. Santonin, and all salts thereof containing 80 per cent or over of santonin, $1 per pound.

Soap:

69. Castile soap, 1½ cents per pound; fancy, perfumed, and all descriptions of toilet soap, including so-called medicinal or medicated soaps, 15 cents per pound; all other soaps not specially provided for in this act, 20 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. VEST. I call attention to the fact that in paragraph 69 there is an increase of duty upon an article of prime necessity, the duty being doubled from the Wilson Act. It was 10 per cent in the Wilson Act. Now it is proposed to make it 20 per cent.

The comparative statement shows that in 1896 we exported of toilet soap $163,382 worth, and of all other soaps $1,115,353 worth. We imported of all kinds about $800,000 worth, there being a large balance in the matter of trade in favor of the United States. The exports exceeded the imports. I can not see why it is necessary to increase the duty, in view of the facts which are plainly before us.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 72, page 14, line 14, before the words "of 1 cent," to strike out "one-half" and insert "three-tenths;" and in line 15, before the word "cents," to strike out "three" and insert "two;" so as to make the paragraph read:

72. Crystal carbonate of soda, or concentrated soda crystals, or monohydrate, or sesquicarbonate of soda, three-tenths of 1 cent per pound; chlorate of soda, 2 cents per pound.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in paragraph 73, page 14, line 16, after the word "soda," to strike out "one-half" and insert "three-fourths;" so as to read:

Hydrate of, or caustic soda, three-fourths of 1 cent per pound; nitrite of soda, 2½ cents per pound.

Mr. VEST. I should like to make an inquiry of the Senator in charge of the bill. I should like to know how it happens that this article, nitrite of soda, about which I know nothing, happens to be interpolated into the present paragraph. It is not in the preceding law. This is the first time I have ever noticed it.

Mr. ALDRICH. It is a new product.

Mr. VEST. I should like to ask if there is any factory in the United States; and if so, where is it located?

Mr. ALDRICH. In the city of Philadelphia.

Mr. VEST. Is there one in existence, or is one expected to be born?

Mr. ALDRICH. There is one already in existence.

Mr. VEST. Only one in this country?

Mr. ALDRICH. I think that is all.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Is there any such reason pertaining to chlorate of soda, which is taken off the free list and is taxed 2 cents a pound?

Mr. ALDRICH. Chlorate of soda, as the Senator from Arkansas knows, is analogous to chlorate of potash, and it is treated in the same way that chlorate of potash is treated.

Mr. WALTHALL. I should like to ask the Senator in charge of the bill why it is proposed to raise the duty on caustic soda? We are exporting a good deal of it, I believe.

Mr. ALDRICH. No; not of caustic soda. We are importing large quantities, and are exporting none.

Mr. WALTHALL. Do we not export it to South America?

Mr. ALDRICH. No. I think the Senator is referring to caustic of potash.

Mr. WALTHALL. No. My information differs from that of the Senator from Rhode Island.

Mr. ALDRICH. I am sure there is none exported, while the amount of the importation is very large.

Mr. WALTHALL. What is the reason for advancing the rate?

Mr. ALDRICH. The rate under the act of 1890 was 1 cent a pound. It was reduced in the act of 1894 to a half cent.

Mr. WALTHALL. It was a half cent in the Dingley bill as it came to us.

Mr. ALDRICH. It was a half cent a pound as it came to us from the other House. The importations in 1893 were 55,000,000 pounds, but they increased in 1896 to 60,000,000 pounds. The American producers now have about a third of the American market. They have not been able at half a cent a pound to compete successfully with their foreign competitor, the United Alkali Company.

Mr. WALTHALL. Is the Senator sure we are not exporting?

Mr. ALDRICH. I am absolutely certain that none is exported.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment reported by the Committee on Finance.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 73, page 14, line 18, after the word "pound," to strike out the semicolon and the words "hypo-sulphite and sulphide of soda, one-half of 1 cent per pound."

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in paragraph 74, page 14, line 20, after the word "concentrated," to insert "two-tenths of 1 cent per pound;" and in line 21, after the word "pound," to strike out "and soda ash, one-fourth of 1 cent per pound;" so as to read:

74. Sal soda, or soda crystals, not concentrated, two-tenths of 1 cent per pound.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 14, after line 22, to insert the following additional paragraph:

74½. Soda ash, three-eighths of 1 cent per pound.

Mr. VEST. This increase in soda ash, it seems to me, is utterly unnecessary, and it is very prejudicial to quite a large interest in the United States, namely, the people engaged in the manufacture of soap.

Mr. STEWART. I have received a good many letters in regard to this matter.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Missouri has the floor.

Mr. VEST. I yield to the Senator from Nevada.

Mr. STEWART. They want to have the duty raised above one-half cent a pound. They say that at the present rate they are unable to compete. It is produced largely from the mines of Nevada and California, and they take a very great interest in it. There is a very large amount imported, and this rise is very small, only one-eighth of a cent. I hope it will not be resisted.

Mr. VEST. I have in my hand a remonstrance from the soap makers of the United States. I think every city of any importance in the United States is represented in this remonstrance.

Mr. ALLISON. That is caustic soda.

Mr. VEST. Caustic soda and soda ash. In the statistics furnished by these gentlemen they say that soda ash at one-fourth of a cent per pound, which is proposed here to be increased to three-eighths, makes an ad valorem of 50 per cent, while upon caustic soda, even under the increased duty, it would only be 35 per cent, and upon sal soda, another ingredient used in soap, it would be only 20 per cent.

With great respect to the Senator from Nevada, it is the poorest argument in the world to say that this is a very small increase. When you put even a small increase upon an article that is used by 73,000,000 people it amounts in the aggregate to a very large amount. And besides, even as to the smallest duty, although it becomes insectivorous, the first question we ought to ask, as in regard to every other duty, is whether it is right and just.

It is very well understood how this increase happened to be made here. It is made in the interest of a few persons who have large amounts or small amounts, I care not which, invested in the desert factories, as I will call them, out in Nevada; and when the Senator from Nevada a member of the Finance Committee put in a demand for an increase upon borax and soda ash, as a matter of course the committee—those in charge of the bill—were compelled to accede to his demand. The deliberate judgment of the House and the deliberate judgment of the Senate was in favor of a smaller duty, but this increase was put here to meet the demand of the Senator from Nevada, and with the hope that the Senate, on account of the small increase, would permit it to go upon the bill.

Mr. CAFFERY. I do not know that the Senator from Missouri drew attention to the falling off of imports under the operation of the Wilson bill as compared with the McKinley rates. The rates were the same, a quarter of a cent per pound on soda ash, and the importations in value in 1893 were $4,860,787.77. In 1896, under the Wilson law, the importations in value were $1,970,975.31. This shows that there is no use for any increase of an eighth—a rise from a quarter to three-eighths—for purposes of protection, if that be the design. I think our friends from Nevada ought to be satisfied with the increased rate on borax, and not seek to put this eighth increase upon soda ash, to the detriment of the soap makers.

Now, before the Committee on Ways and Means appeared a number of gentlemen interested in the soap manufacture, all of them protesting against any increase of the duties on soda and soda ash or caustic soda, which is one of the main ingredients of soap making.

Mr. ALDRICH. Which is one of the main ingredients?

Mr. CAFFERY. Caustic soda and soda ash.

Mr. ALDRICH. Soda ash is.

Mr. CAFFERY. I will read one from New Orleans:

NEW ORLEANS, *December 23, 1896.*

Committee on Ways and Means:

We have been advised that your committee will take up the duty on caustic soda. We see no good reason to change the duty. It has not been long since it was reduced from 1 cent to one-half cent, which we think is a satisfactory duty, considering the value of the caustic.

Yours, truly,

J. H. KELLER SOAP WORKS.

He omitted to state that it was reduced to a quarter of a cent. He must have based his statement upon the prevailing rates.

From Chicago, the same date, here is another communication signed by James S. Kirk & Co. They say:

We do not favor an increase either on caustic soda or soda ash. Any advance of duty on these two commodities will simply go into the pockets of the few manufacturers of this country and not to the consumers. We will not say that there exists to-day in the United States a strong combination among the soda makers of this country, assisted by foreign makers, but what we can say and do know is that we can not contract as usual for any future delivery. The amount of revenue received by the Government from these two items is exceedingly small, and if removed entirely would not be felt very seriously. Yet, if the present duty on caustic soda and soda ash remain as now, we rather think it will be satisfactory to all concerned.

I will ask that the communications on this subject found in the Tariff Hearings before the Committee on Ways and Means, commencing at page 123, down to and including page 129, be printed in the RECORD.

Mr. STEWART. Those are from soap makers?

Mr. CAFFERY. They are from soap makers.

Mr. STEWART. Does the soap maker object to a duty on soap?

Mr. CAFFERY. He objects to the duty on caustic soda.

Mr. STEWART. Soap has got a heavy duty. The soap maker of course wants everything to come to him free. We get that kind of letters all the time. They all want the ingredients they use in the manufacture to come in free and a high duty placed on what they produce.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the papers will be printed in the RECORD.

The papers referred to are as follows:

CHICAGO, *December 26, 1896.*

Committee on Ways and Means:

We avail ourselves of the opportunity offered under your general invitation to put before the Ways and Means Committee, so far as our own industry is concerned, such changes in the tariff as would be beneficial both to the Government and ourselves. As the heading of our letter indicates, we are engaged in the manufacturing of soaps and glycerin, and consequently large users of chemicals, caustic soda, and soda ash. We do not favor an increase either on caustic soda or soda ash. Any advance of duty on these two commodities will simply go into the pockets of the few manufacturers of this country and not to the consumers. We will not say that there exists to-day in the United States a strong combination among the soda makers of this country, assisted by foreign makers, but what we can say and do know is that we can not contract as usual for any future delivery. The amount of revenue received by the Government from these two items is exceedingly small, and if removed entirely would not be felt very seriously. Yet, if the present duty on caustic soda and soda ash remain as now, we rather think it will be satisfactory to all concerned.

The duty on crude glycerin is now 1 cent per pound; on refined, 3 cents per pound. We would suggest that the duty on refined remain as it is now, and an increase on crude from 1 cent per pound to 2½ or 3 cents per pound, for this reason: The percentage of pure glycerin in the crude state is from 75 to 80 per cent; after it is put through the process of refining it shows 90 to 95 per cent. In order to bring about the article known as refined glycerin three to four distillations are required, which adds very much to its cost. What is now and has been imported for the past year or so comes as crude glycerin in an almost refined state, only one distillation being required to put it into refined or chemically pure glycerin. This is a shrewd trick, and no doubt will receive the attention it deserves from your committee.

We hope the committee will not add duty on tallow. If any advance in duty is put upon this article, it will simply go into the pockets of the "big four."

We have given you our views. They may be selfish, but as our business is a very large one, we are of the opinion that should any of the suggestions be adopted, they will be well received by those engaged in similar business to our own.

Very sincerely, yours,

JAS. S. KIRK & CO.

P. S.—During the enactment of the Wilson bill duty on soap was reduced from 20 to 10 per cent. We think this sufficient for our protection.

—

CINCINNATI, OHIO, *December 26, 1896.*

Committee on Ways and Means:

We are advised that hearings are now being given by the Ways and Means Committee to those interested in articles coming under Schedule A.

As large manufacturers of soap and correspondingly large consumers of oils, tallows, and heavy chemicals, we earnestly ask that as slight modification as possible be made in present tariff. The protection afforded to soap manufacturers under the present tariff law is, in our estimation, ample. The only modification that we would suggest would be to change the duty from an ad valorem to a specific basis. One-half cent per pound would probably be a fair equivalent for a specific duty of 10 per cent upon "all soaps other than castile and fancy perfumed, medicated, and all descriptions of toilet soaps." Our personal interests, of course, are that the rates of duty should be increased. It might possibly enable us to make a little larger profit, but as Republicans we feel very strongly the necessity of great moderation being exercised in the revision of the present tariff, which revision we believe is absolutely necessary.

As regards the heavy chemicals mentioned as entering into the manufacture of our product, would say that they consist mainly of common salt, soda ash, and caustic soda. The rate of duty upon soda ash and caustic is, we believe, high enough. We know that in private conversation with the writer the Solvay Alkali Works have stated that the present duty gives them all the protection they need. We also know that under the protection afforded by the present tariff they have largely increased their plant, and that additional plants are also now being erected by other parties.

Tallow is the principal article of raw material entering into the manufacture of soap. This country normally produces more tallow than she can consume, and has a corresponding surplus for export. It is only under very unusual circumstances, such as a succession of failures of the corn crop or a cornering of the supplies by speculative interests, that this country can afford to import tallow even when duty free. We believe that this condition should continue.

Yours, very respectfully,

THE PROCTER & GAMBLE COMPANY,
WM. COOPER PROCTER, *General Manager.*

—

NEW ORLEANS, *December 23, 1896.*

Committee on Ways and Means:

We have been advised that your committee will take up the duty on caustic soda. We see no good reason to change the duty. It has not been long since it was reduced from 1 cent to one-half cent, which we think is a satisfactory duty, considering the value of the caustic.

Yours, truly,

J. H. KELLER SOAP WORKS.

KANSAS CITY, *December 23, 1896.*

Committee on Ways and Means:

Learning that your committee is about to consider a revision of the tariff on chemicals, and believing the American manufacturers are now on a footing to compete successfully with foreign manufacturers, we would respectfully protest against any increase of tariff on such chemicals as are used in the manufacture of soap, and would earnestly solicit your aid in defeating any action tending to increase the present duty on such commodities.

PEET BROS. MFG. CO.

—

ZANESVILLE, OHIO, *December 29, 1896.*

Committee on Ways and Means:

As prominent manufacturers of soap, we desire to enter our protest against the proposed advance in duties on chemicals which enter largely into the making of soaps. The present tariff seems enough for ample protection to American makers, and also has merit as a revenue schedule on these articles.

SCHULTZ & CO.

—

BALTIMORE, MD., *December 29, 1896.*

Committee on Ways and Means:

As soap makers we respectfully protest against any increase in duties on chemicals used in our industry.

CHRIS. LIPPS CO.

—

ST. PAUL, MINN., *December 28, 1896.*

Committee on Ways and Means:

The soap makers of the United States can not stand any more tax on chemicals, such as soda ash, caustic soda, and caustic potash.

THE MINN. SOAP CO.

—

BOSTON, MASS., *December 26, 1896.*

Committee on Ways and Means:

We are informed that the question is up of increasing duties on chemicals used by soap manufacturers. We beg to add our protest and say that we feel that it is unnecessary for the interests of the chemical manufacturers at home, and would add that we are getting very severe competition in the East to-day from the largest soap manufacturers in the world, namely, Lever Bros., Limited, of London, manufacturers of the Sunlight soap, who are in our markets pushing Sunlight soap for all it is worth, because they can manufacture so much cheaper abroad. We do not think it is the intent of Congress to protect the foreign manufacturer. Trusting that this matter will have serious attention, and that our protest with others will prevail, we remain,

Yours, sincerely,

CURTIS DAVIS & CO.

P. S.—We are the largest and oldest soap manufacturers in New England.

—

NEW YORK, *December 26, 1896.*

Committee on Ways and Means:

Having been informed that a hearing is to be given by your committee on Monday next, 28th instant, in relation to proposed changes in the tariff as affecting articles in Schedule A, we take the liberty of addressing you to say that, as soap manufacturers, we have no desire to see any changes made in the matter of duties on any of the items relating to our business. We understand that efforts are to be made to secure an advance in the rates of duty on chemicals used by soap manufacturers, especially the items of caustic soda and soda ash. Any changes in this direction we would consider to be very injurious to the interests of our industry, as likely to materially increase the cost of soap to the people, and as seriously handicapping us in the effort to hold and increase our considerable export trade in soap.

Hoping that your committee may decide to let well enough alone as regards the articles mentioned, we remain,

Yours, very truly,

COLGATE & CO.

—

BOSTON, *December 26, 1896.*

Committee on Ways and Means:

Our attention has been called to the fact that your committee are considering the advisability of increasing the duties on chemicals used by soap manufacturers. At the present time our business is in its worst possible condition, caused by the very large overproduction and competition by the manufacturers of this country, and any increase of duty on alkalies would seriously add to our present great burdens. There are two concerns in this country manufacturing alkalies at the present time successfully in competition with foreign makes with the present protection, and any increase in duties will simply be for the benefit of these two manufacturers, whose interests, compared to the great population of this country—particularly the laboring part, who are the large consumers of soap—are hardly worth considering.

Yours, very truly,

JOHN REARDON & SONS.

—

LANCASTER, PA., *December 26, 1896.*

Committee on Ways and Means:

Pardon my addressing you upon a question that is to come before your honorable body—the question of increasing the duty on chemicals used in the manufacture of soap. This, allow me to say, would be most disastrous to the soap interests of this country. Besides, it would totally stop us from making any soap for foreign countries, and I must ask you to have the kindness to do all in your power to prevent such change in duty, and thereby protect our home interests.

CHARLES F. MILLER.

—

BUFFALO, N. Y., *December 26, 1896.*

Committee on Ways and Means:

We desire to enter our earnest protest against increasing the duties on chemicals used by soap manufacturers in their business. The present duties are ample to protect the American manufacturer, and any increase of duties on such chemicals would be a serious burden on an important industry.

Respectfully, yours,

GOWANS & SONS.

—

ST. LOUIS, *December 26, 1896.*

Committee on Ways and Means:

We earnestly protest against an increase of duties on soda ash and chemicals used by soap manufacturers. Soap is an article of first necessity in every household, and its cost to consumers should not be increased by legislation to protect the few manufacturers of ash and chemicals in this country.

Very respectfully,

SCHAEFFER BROS. & POWELL MFG. CO.,
Per WILLIS J. POWELL, *Treasurer.*

—

PHILADELPHIA, *December 26, 1896.*

Committee on Ways and Means:

In considering the tariff question we would like to ask the attention of your honorable committee to the duty on soap and chemicals used by soap manufacturers. As we understand it, the question of duty on chemicals is now under consideration. If you will kindly look over the matter, you will find that the duty on soap was reduced and changed considerably since the McKinley tariff bill was enforced, and under the present condition of things there is a great quantity of laundry soaps being shipped into this country from England. Of course a large quantity of toilet soap is also sent here, and manufacturers are paying a high duty on chemicals, considering the price at which the goods are being sold, owing to the very close competition.

In considering the question we trust that your committee is carefully considering the protection of our home industries, which are very necessary to the welfare of our own country. In looking over the matter carefully it would seem to us that greater protection should be arranged for the home manufacturers, and we therefore hope that you may see your way to allow the duty on chemicals to remain as it is at the present time, and we would respectfully urge upon you the necessity of placing the duty on soap to what it was under the McKinley tariff. It would certainly put the conditions regulating the soap manufacturing business in a position that will be more healthy and beneficial to the home industries. If you will kindly examine the matter carefully, you will see that the protection will not then be greater than it should be.

Your favorable consideration to the above is respectfully requested by

J. EAVENSON & SONS.

—

NEW YORK, *December 26, 1896.*

Committee on Ways and Means:

We understand your honorable committee are to have a meeting to hear arguments preparatory to increasing the duty on certain kinds of chemicals. Caustic soda and soda ash are largely used by soap makers, and to enhance the cost of their product by an increased duty would entail a severe hardship, as we believe it would be impossible to increase the price of soap sufficiently to cover the tax.

It is true some soap makers are making good profits because of their superior ability as advertisers, but the competitive manufacturer has a hard row to hoe, and makes little more than a living, and he is entitled to your consideration. An increased tax on soap imported would not serve to protect us from the loss entailed by an increased duty on caustic, etc., while the latter would serve to enrich the few manufacturers of American caustic to the detriment of the larger number in soap making.

Your earnest consideration of these facts, and asking that the present duty on caustic soda and soda ash may stand as at present specified, in the interest of the soap makers, your petitioners will ever pray.

DAVID S. BROWN & CO.

—

BROOKLYN, N. Y., *December 26, 1896.*

Committee on Ways and Means:

We hereby petition your committee to retain the duties of the present tariff on soap and soap makers' materials as per Schedule A, paragraphs 63, 65, and 67. We believe their retention will be a benefit to the soap manufacturing industry of the United States.

KIRKMAN & SON.

Mr. CAFFERY. The Senator from Nevada says that the duty on soap is very considerable and the soap makers have all they want and do not want anybody else to get more or to get anything. That may be very true as regards the selfishness of the soap makers, but there are others to be considered in this matter, and they are the consumers. If there is a burden on them already, why put on them another burden? Have they not got as much as they can stand? We ought to equalize the burdens, and they should not all fall upon the consumers of soap.

I understand that cotton-seed oil, or some of the output of the cotton-seed mill, makes excellent soap. They have their raw material here; they do not have to import it. They may be protected by a tariff on soap and they may not be. I have not looked into that question to any great extent, but that has nothing to do with this additional tariff. The tariff of a quarter of a cent has been found to be sufficient. It nas not been found that under that tariff the imports increased; on the contrary, they decreased. I should like to hear some sufficient reason why at this late day, when this duty has stood under the McKinley law from 1890 down to this date without any complaint, without any demands for this increase, this additional burden of an eighth of a cent a pound should be put upon the consumers in the United States of this necessary article.

I suppose the Senator from Nevada does not want our poor people in the South to wash themselves. Why make soap higher? We can not afford to keep dirty for the purpose of building up an additional amount of income to the soda-ash and caustic-soda factories of Nevada. I do not say that they are dirty by any means. They manage to keep clean, and will do so no matter how high a duty is imposed upon the ingredients of soap. I should like to have the Senator in charge of the bill give us some reason why upon this very essential article to the poor as well as the rich this increase of an eighth of a cent per pound should be placed.

Mr. STEWART. Does not the Senator from Louisiana wish to have the reason stated by anyone else? I will say that I have no faith in a letter from a manufacturer who has got everything he produces thoroughly protected and is pleading for raw material to come to him cheaply. That is the substance of every one of these letters. They come from some person who demands high tariff for himself and free trade for everything that comes to him.

As far as this particular duty is concerned, there is a very large amount imported. There were imported in 1893, 288,841,970 pounds, and in 1896, 254,063,927 pounds. The duty all the time has been one-fourth of 1 cent. Probably the reason why there was not more imported last year was owing to the fact that times were so hard that nobody could import, that nobody was doing anything, and there was a falling off generally. But the amount imported when we have an abundance of it in this country is altogether too large, and the slight increase of one-eighth of a cent is asking very little. The soap men are the last men on earth to develop a great business, and they are the last men to complain, because if you look back in this same Schedule A, you will find the soap men well protected. I see no reason why we might not develop that industry in this country by this slight rise of one-eighth of 1 cent. I hope there will be no further objection to it.

Mr. WALTHALL. In this connection, I should like to read an extract from a letter which I hold in my hand.

Mr. STEWART. From a manufacturer?

Mr. WALTHALL. From a manufacturer, though the Senator from Nevada seems not to have any special respect for the manufacturer.

Mr. STEWART. Not when he speaks of the other article, which is an ingredient of his manufacture.

Mr. WALTHALL. This letter is from Mr. John A. Lewis, vice-president of the Mississippi Cotton Oil Company, a gentleman of very high standing, and I wish to read it specially to show why I addressed the inquiry to the Senator from Rhode Island which I did as to the exportation of caustic soda.

Mr. ALDRICH. We are now dealing with soda ash, and the Senator asked me about caustic soda.

Mr. WALTHALL. Mr. Lewis deals with the two together. He says:

> The cotton seed oil industry of the South is also indirectly affected by the tariff upon caustic soda and soda ash. These articles are used very largely in the refined oil and soap departments, and, if kept where they were under the Wilson bill, will be of great benefit. We feel safe in asserting that the American manufacturers of caustic soda and soda ash do not need any more protection than they are getting at present. Statistics show that they have actually exported caustic soda to England, the home of the heavy chemical industry, and they are shipping regularly to South America in competition with foreign manufacturers. Statistics further show that since the duty was placed at half cent per pound on caustic soda, which is present rate in effect, the imports are actually less than when the duty was higher. This conclusively shows that the American manufacturers are steadily increasing their plants under the present rate of duty.
>
> Soap makers are already suffering greatly on account of keen competition, and any increase in the price of raw material caused by additional duty will work a great hardship.

Mr. BACON. I desire to call the attention of the Senator from Nevada to the fact that, as appears by the relative prices and imports given in the comparative statement, the price of soda ash has very materially decreased. Am I correct in that?

Mr. STEWART. The price of everything has decreased.

Mr. BACON. I am speaking of this particular article.

Mr. STEWART. I am speaking of prices generally.

Mr. BACON. Is it not a fact that the price of soda ash has very materially decreased?

Mr. STEWART. Yes, sir.

Mr. BACON. Therefore the duty per pound is necessarily increased, even though the rate of duty is not increased. The rate of duty is proposed to be increased in this bill to the amount of 50 per cent. Am I correct in that statement?

Mr. VEST. Yes; the total duty is 50 per cent.

Mr. WHITE. The total duty now is 50 per cent.

Mr. BACON. But I say the increase is 50 per cent over the former rate.

Mr. WHITE. No; the Senator is mistaken. The rate is now given in the comparative statement at .48 per cent and a fraction, which is the total rate. That does not mean an increase of that amount over the total rate.

Mr. CHILTON. What was the former rate?

Mr. BACON. The former rate was two-eighths; that is, one-fourth, and this is three-eighths. That is certainly an increase of 50 per cent.

Mr. WHITE. I am speaking of ad valorem.

Mr. BACON. I am not speaking of ad valorem.

Mr. WHITE. I did not understand the Senator from Georgia.

Mr. BACON. It would amount to the same thing, though, if it was per pound. If the price remained at the same figure, it would be 50 per cent. If the price is decreasing, it is more than 50 per cent.

Now, I will state the point to which I wish to call the attention of the Senator from Nevada. I quite agree with the principle that if we must have an impost upon articles there should be a proper proportion between duties upon raw material and the manufactured article, but I do not think that for that reason there should be an excessive duty upon raw material. It strikes me that where the price is decreasing and the rate of duty is per pound and not ad valorem, that decrease would give sufficient advance in the ad valorem without increasing the rate per pound.

Mr. STEWART. Mr. President——

Mr. ALDRICH. I should like to make a very brief statement, and then I will be very glad to yield to the Senator from Nevada.

Mr. STEWART. Certainly.

Mr. ALDRICH. The question involved in this amendment is a very interesting one and affects a very important industry. The manufacture of soda ash in the United States was not commenced until 1884, and it has developed to a very considerable extent with two effects—one to reduce importations and the other to largely reduce the price of the article. I will have published in the RECORD a statement of the prices for the years 1887 to 1897, showing a decline from the maximum price of $33 down to a price in 1897 of from $14.50 to $15.71 per ton.

The statement referred to is as follows:

N. B.—In explanation of the figures here given as the range for the past ten years, I beg to say that the price per ton of 58 per cent soda ash would be as follows:

1887	$25.98 to $26.58	1893	$24.17 to $29.00
1888	25.98 to 26.58	1894	20.54 to 22.36
1889	25.98 to 26.58	1895	20.54 to 22.36
1890	32.63 to 33.83	1896	18.13 to 19.53
1891	32.63 to 35.04	1897	14.50 to 15.71
1892	31.04 to 33.83		

Mr. ALDRICH. In this connection, I desire also to make the statement that the price of soda ash which the United Alkali Company charge their own customers in Great Britain is nearly double what they charge to the people of the United States, the purpose of the great reduction for exportation being, of course, to try to destroy the American manufacture.

Mr. WHITE. There is no export, is there?

Mr. ALDRICH. There is no export. This company say:

> The English market at the present time and for some time past being relatively in the same position of about £4 to £4 10s., while for shipment to this country it has been sold as low as £1 15s., and in instances considerably under that figure, allowing the English maker to reap a profit at home while he was endeavoring to financially embarrass the independent undertakings in this country, ash being sold in the United States at the same time at about $12 per ton, forcing the American manufacturers to sell at prices irrespective of cost or close down their works.

I have not the slightest doubt but that if this duty is imposed, within five years the American producers will supply the entire home market. The number of American producers is increasing every year. It is not confined to any one company, nor are they confined to any one section of the country. A very important establishment has been lately built at Saltville, in Virginia, another one is being built at Niagara Falls, another one at Cleveland, another one at Detroit, and all over the country there are springing up establishments for the manufacture of soda ash. I believe that we can do nothing that is better to develop a great American industry than to make an increase in the rate in the way proposed.

Mr. CAFFERY. I inquire of the Senator from Rhode Island his authority for the figures he has given from the English manufacturer?

Mr. ALDRICH. The prices?

Mr. CAFFERY. Yes.

Mr. ALDRICH. They come from the Mathieson Alkali Works, the people who own the establishment in Virginia to which I have just alluded, and about whose accuracy and authority there can be no question.

Mr. CAFFERY. It does not occur to me that the Senator from Rhode Island has fully covered the question asked him as to why it is that the American product is supplanting the foreign product. The importations of this article under the present tariff rate of a quarter of a cent a pound under the valuation of 1893 would be about 20 per cent, and under the valuation of to-day, with the increased specific and with a lower price, it comes to some 48.80 per cent. There is an increase of double the ad valorem rate; and although the Senator from Rhode Island states that the product of this article is growing in this country, he has not shown deleterious competition on behalf of the foreign importer, and therefore he has shown no necessity of an increase in the amount of tariff.

Mr. ALDRICH. The statistics show an importation of $2,000,000 worth of soda ash per annum, even under present conditions. Does the Senator from Louisiana believe that it would be for the interests of the American people to have that soda ash produced here, provided it did not bring about an increase in the rate of duty?

Mr. CAFFERY. What is the question?

Mr. ALDRICH. Does the Senator from Louisiana think it would be desirable to have $2,000,000 worth of soda ash made in the United States instead of Great Britain, provided it can be done without the bringing about of any increase in the price?

Mr. CAFFERY. It is already made here. The Senator is asking me if something ought not to be done when we are doing it already.

Mr. ALDRICH. We imported last year $2,000,000 worth. I

am talking about the $2,000,000 worth we imported, not about what has been made here.

Mr. CAFFERY. It is nearly the amount stated by the Senator; it is $1,970,000, but on the ratio of decrease of importation under the present tariff we will soon make it all and not import any. The importations have fallen off from $4,800,000 to $1,970,000, and why, under that state of facts, are we called upon to increase the duty?

Mr. CHILTON. The question of the increase of duty on soda ash involves also the rearrangement of the duties on soap, glass, paper, and various other manufactures into which it enters. As I understand it, no effort was made in the House to increase this duty from one-fourth to three-eighths of a cent a pound, on the theory that it would involve the rearrangement of all the other schedules. I desire to ask the Senator from Rhode Island if any such rearrangement has been made by the Senate committee of the tariff on soap, glass, paper, and other things into which soda ash enters as an element of manufacture?

The Senator from Louisiana [Mr. CAFFERY] has pointed out, which of course is known to all who have examined the subject, that the importations of soda ash were less in 1896 than they were in 1893. They have been less under the Wilson Act than they were under the McKinley Act. I can not see, to save my life, how that is reconcilable with the statement which is referred to by the Senator from Rhode Island, that English manufacturers have rushed soda ash into this country for the purpose of cheapening the price and driving out of business the American manufacturers when we see a diminution in the importations of this article.

It does seem to me that one-fourth of a cent a pound on soda ash is an ample duty. That was the duty, I understand, under the McKinley Act, it was the duty under the Wilson Act, and now we are called upon actually to increase the duty of the McKinley Act and the duty of the Wilson Act over 50 per cent, although in the progress of these years the importations of this article have steadily declined.

Mr. ALDRICH. Mr. President, just a word in reply to the question of the Senator from Texas [Mr. CHILTON]. No readjustment of rates upon any of the articles named will be necessary if this rate is imposed. The additional rate is $2.80 a ton, or something like that, while the decline in price from 1896 to 1897 was over $4 a ton. If the whole duty should be added to the present price, we then would not go back to the conditions of a year ago.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment reported by the Committee on Finance.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 75, page 14, line 24, after the word "silicate," to strike out "three-eighths of 1 cent" and insert "one-half of 1 cent;" so as to make the paragraph read:

75. Silicate of soda, or other alkaline silicate, one-half of 1 cent per pound.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next paragraph was read as, follows:

76. Sulphate of soda, or salt cake, or niter cake, $1.25 per ton.

Mr. VEST. I want to call attention to the fact that under the McKinley Act, where the duty was $1.25 per ton, the imports were $221,846, while under the Wilson Act, where the duty was entirely taken off, the imports were only $71,801. The price also fell from $11.25 to $6.25 a ton. Now, instead of putting it upon the free list, in order to make it cheaper to the people of the United States, and in order to protect the manufacturers of the United States, because under the free list the imports fell off, we go back to a duty of 25 per cent ad valorem.

The next amendment was, on page 15, after line 2, to insert as an additional paragraph:

76½. Sea moss, 10 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in paragraph 77, page 15, line 4, after the word "sponges," to strike out "crude or in their natural state;" so as to read:

77. Sponges, 20 per cent ad valorem; manufactures of sponges, or of which sponge is the component material of chief value, not specially provided for in this act, 40 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment was agreed to.

The reading of the bill was resumed, as follows:

78. Strychnia, or strychnine, and all salts thereof, 30 cents per ounce.
79. Sulphur, refined or sublimed, or flowers of, $8 per ton.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I will not make any motion in connection with the last paragraph read, but I desire to call the attention of the Senate to the fact that the imposition of $8 a ton on refined sulphur instead of the 20 per cent that exists now is an increase of more than 100 per cent in the rate of taxation on that article, and the same is true in regard to flowers of sulphur. It is an increase of more than 100 per cent in the rate of taxation.

Mr. ALDRICH. It is less than the McKinley rate, however.

Mr. BACON. I want to call attention to the fact that that article of sulphur enters very largely into the manufacture of commercial fertilizers.

Mr. ALDRICH. Not this kind of sulphur.

Mr. BACON. Possibly not. I do not know all the different varieties.

Mr. ALDRICH. The sulphur that enters into the manufacture of sulphuric acid is on the free list.

Mr. BACON. In what paragraph is that?

Mr. ALDRICH. Paragraph 646, on the free list.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The amendment of the committee will be considered as agreed to, if there be no objection.

Mr. WHITE. It seems to me that where an amendment is criticised by any Senator on this side of the Chamber it should not be entered as agreed to without objection.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The paragraph will be held open if there is criticism of it.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. There is a decided objection to all of these increases on this side of the Chamber. They are agreed to because the majority is on the other side, but they are not agreed to without objection.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The next amendment of the committee will be stated.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, on page 15, line 12, after the word "ground," to strike out "four-tenths" and insert "three-tenths;" so as to read:

80. Sumac, ground, three-tenths of 1 cent per pound.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 15, line 14, after the word "vanillin," to strike out "70 cents per ounce" and insert "50 per cent ad valorem;" so as to read:

81. Vanillin, 50 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. QUAY. My colleague [Mr. PENROSE] has, within a few minutes, been called from the Chamber, and may not return for an hour or two. I understood him to desire the committee to have this item go over. I know nothing about it, but shall be glad to have it passed over until my colleague returns to the Chamber.

Mr. ALDRICH. I have no objection to that course.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The item will be passed over.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Before that is passed over, I desire to present an article clipped from the New York Times some time ago. I know nothing myself as to the correctness of the statement, but I present it to the Senate. It says, among other things:

Francis C. Dodge, of Dodge & Olcott, said yesterday that the spirit in which the bill is conceived may be shown by a single illustration. "There are," said he, "a number of ingredients, oils, essences, etc., that we must import. They are not made in this country, and a high tariff can not possibly give any encouragement or aid to anybody. It can only injure those of us who are manufacturing certain products for the American market. Take vanillin, for instance.

"Vanillin is a synthetic product, largely used as a substitute for vanilla in confections and extracts. I believe that only one man in this country manufactures it, and he produces only an infinitesimal part of what is used; and yet the duty has been put at 100 per cent, I believe, thus doubling the cost to us of an article that is necessary and which can not be obtained in the United States.

"Similar duties on other necessary ingredients make the Dingley bill very offensive to us. It seems to me to reveal a settled hostility to this section of the country. I believe that the effect of its high duties on drugs and chemicals will be to drive the manufacture of a large number of articles from America to France and other countries of Europe.

"There can be no claim after this injury is done that the members of Congress were not aware of the danger with which the bill threatened our own trade interests. I know that the Senators have been fully advised of the injury to our business. The bill will fail, I believe, as a revenue measure, and it can only bring injury and disaster to the drug and chemical trade."

I know nothing of the merits of the case.

Mr. ALDRICH. We must have suggested, then, a reduction of 50 per cent in our rates if that statement is correct.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The writer says you have increased the rate 100 per cent.

Mr. ALDRICH. Oh, no. The writer means the House rate. We have reduced it to 50 per cent. It certainly can not be more than that.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. There are no data in the comparative statement furnished by the majority of the committee so that we can know what the present cost of the article is, and I have no idea what the rate of taxation is except it is stated at 50 per cent ad valorem in the Senate bill, whereas it was 70 cents an ounce in the House bill. I have no means of comparing the rates. I do not know whether one is an increase over the other or not.

Mr. SEWELL. The only factory in this country engaged in the manufacture of vanillin is located in my city. The price was $5 an ounce some time ago, but the German chemists, in order to crowd out this factory, have been diminishing the price until they have brought it down to $1.50, so that the works are closed. A mere ad valorem would not answer any good purpose at all. Therefore I should like the item to go over for a further consideration.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The item will be passed over, in the absence of objection.

Mr. ALDRICH. Before we pass over the chemical schedule, I have an amendment to the phraseology on page 8, lines 13 and 14,

which I desire to offer for the committee. I move to strike out the paragraph as it stands and insert in lieu of it what I send to the desk.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to strike out paragraph 6 and insert in lieu thereof:

6. Tartarate of soda and potash, or Rochelle salts, and partly refined argols, tartars, and less crystals, 3 cents per pound; cream of tartar, 5 cents per pound.

Mr. ALDRICH. That makes no change in the rates, but simply a change of description.

The amendment was agreed to.

The reading of the bill was resumed at Schedule B—Earths, earthenware, and glassware. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, on page 15, line 22, after the word "decorated," to strike out "thirty" and insert "forty-five;" and on page 16, line 2, after the word "manner," to strike out "thirty" and insert "forty-five;" so as to make the paragraph read:

82. Fire brick, not glazed, enameled, ornamented, or decorated in any manner, $1.25 per ton; glazed, enameled, ornamented, or decorated, 45 per cent ad valorem; brick, other than fire brick, not glazed, enameled, painted, vitrified, ornamented, or decorated in any manner, 25 per cent ad valorem; if glazed, enameled, painted, vitrified, ornamented, or decorated in any manner, 45 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. ALDRICH. Before we leave paragraph 82, I have an amendment to suggest for the committee, after the words "fire brick," in line 19, to insert "weighing not more than 10 pounds each."

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Where does that amendment come in?

Mr. ALDRICH. After the words "fire brick," in line 19, on page 15. It limits the weight of the fire brick provided for at $1.25 per ton to 10 pounds each.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Rhode Island will be stated.

The SECRETARY. On page 15, line 19, after the words "fire brick," it is proposed to insert "weighing not more than 10 pounds each."

Mr. BACON. Will the Senator please state the object of that amendment?

Mr. ALDRICH. It is to make the description of fire brick apply to what are commercially known as fire brick entirely, and not to apply to other products of fire clay, such as tank blocks and blocks of various kinds, made in various shapes, which have become dutiable under an ad valorem rate instead of a specific.

Mr. WHITE. I should like to ask the Senator whether it is not a fact that under the Wilson law rates, which are proposed to be increased here, the importation of these bricks is very slight? The record which we have before us seems to show that there are comparatively no importations. I notice on page 28 of the comparative statement that the importations of bricks amounted to practically nothing, and I should like to inquire the reasons for this general increase?

Mr. ALDRICH. If the Senator will look under the last item, he will find there were importations of 2,521.68 tons, valued at $28,510.14.

Mr. WHITE. We find that "not glazed, enameled, ornamented, or decorated in any manner," in value the importations amount to $74,443.22; "glazed, enameled, ornamented, or decorated," to $10,379.59; "brick, other than fire," $14,929.96; "ornamented, glazed, painted, enameled, vitrified, or decorated," $48,662; "brick (act of 1894) not glazed, enameled, ornamented, or decorated in any manner," $89,605.06; "glazed, enameled, ornamented, or decorated," $12,054.32; "magnesic fire brick," $28,510.14.

Those importations seem to me to constitute but a very small part of the consumption. That is the fact, I suppose. They appear to be quite insignificant; but it strikes me as rather remarkable that it should be found necessary to raise not only the rate in the Senate bill, but also the rate fixed by the House of Representatives.

Mr. ALDRICH. Fire brick remains the same.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on the amendment submitted by the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH].

The amendment was agreed to.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, on page 16, beginning in line 4, to strike out paragraph 83, as follows:

83. Tiles, glazed or unglazed, encaustic, ceramic mosaic, vitrified, flint, spar, embossed, enameled, ornamental, hand painted, gold decorated, and all other earthenware tiles for floors and walls, valued at not exceeding 40 cents per square foot, 8 cents per square foot; exceeding 40 cents per square foot, 10 cents per square foot and 25 per cent ad valorem.

And in lieu thereof to insert:

83. Tiles, not enameled, embossed, glazed, painted, vitrified, ornamented, or decorated in any manner, 25 per cent ad valorem; if enameled, embossed, glazed, painted, vitrified, ornamented, or decorated in any manner, including flint, spar, and encaustic tiles, 45 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. ALDRICH. I suggest that that paragraph may go over. The committee are investigating as to some changes proposed to be made to it.

Mr. TURPIE. Will the Senator from Rhode Island say when it will be considered?

Mr. ALDRICH. It is being considered now by the committee. We are considering some changes of the House rates.

Mr. TURPIE. When shall we return here to its consideration?

Mr. ALDRICH. Probably to-morrow.

The reading of the bill was resumed at line 19, on page 16, as follows:

Cement, lime, and plaster:

84. Roman, Portland, and other hydraulic cement, in barrels, sacks, or other packages, 8 cents per 100 pounds, including weight of barrel or package; in bulk, 7 cents per 100 pounds; other cement, 20 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. ALDRICH. On behalf of the committee, I move to strike out in line 21 the word "eight," before "cents," and insert "eleven," and in line 23, before the word "cents," to strike out "seven" and insert "ten."

Mr. VEST. Mr. President, that is an increase of 3 cents over the McKinley Act and 3 cents over the act of 1894. Under what sort of argument can such an increase as that be made? I should like to hear from the Senator. There are some special interests now considered in this matter, I suppose.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH] will be stated from the desk.

The SECRETARY. In line 21, on page 16, after the word "packages," it is proposed to strike out "eight" and insert "eleven;" and in line 23, after the word "bulk," to strike out "seven" and insert "ten;" so as to make the clause read:

84. Roman, Portland, and other hydraulic cement, in barrels, sacks, or other packages, 11 cents per 100 pounds, including weight of barrel or package; in bulk, 10 cents per 100 pounds; other cement, 20 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. WHITE. This article is used, of course, all over the United States, and although we have what is called Portland cement manufactured in the United States, it is the experience of those who have been engaged in the portion of the country from which I come in the manufacturing or making of dams designed to resist great pressure that the quality of the American cement is not equal to that of the real, true Portland cement, which is imported, and hence as to many of these works it is absolutely impossible to substitute the American article. While there is now a cement being made in this country which is very good, yet I believe for a large class of work it can not be used with equal success as can the Portland cement.

I observe that the law of 1890 fixed the rate at 8 cents per 100 pounds, the law of 1894 the same, the House bill the same, and the bill as reported to the Senate by the committee fixed it also at the same sum. It must certainly be an impediment in the construction of public buildings, and so on, to add this increased duty. The American manufacturers of the article are not now in a position to meet the demand, and the rates, especially in those portions of the United States remote from the Eastern seaboard, will be greatly affected by this amendment. Of course, on the Western coast, whose supply will necessarily come from England by water anyhow, the result of this tariff imposition will be to add that specific amount to all of the article there consumed.

But it seems to me, as the rate has stood so long, as it has been satisfactory to all parties heretofore, and as the article is used so generally and so necessarily in construction of all kinds, there ought to be some adequate reason, some very strong reason, susceptible of being urged for this great rise. A change from 8 cents to 11 cents is decidedly marked, and I have not seen anything in the hearings before the House committee or elsewhere to justify it.

Mr. PETTIGREW. Mr. President, we manufacture in this country two kinds of cement. We manufacture 7,000,000 barrels per year of common cement, made from rock roasted and ground. We also manufactured 1,000,000 barrels last year of Portland cement, equal in quality to the best imported foreign cement. Portland cement is made from a mixture of chalk and clay. The proportions have to be exactly right. It is pulverized, and then mixed with water so that it will flow; it is then dried, broken up into chunks, dried in the sun, or dried artificially, and placed in kilns with coke and burned to a cinder—burned very hard; it is then again broken under rock pressure; then ground with burr stones as fine as flour. That is the process of making Portland cement. An immense amount of labor is employed in the manufacture of this cement. The difference between the labor cost of a barrel of cement in the United States and in Germany is 71 cents.

The industry started in this country in 1882. We then manufactured 85,000 barrels. Last year we manufactured 1,000,000 barrels. We imported last year 3,000,000 barrels. The average freight on a barrel of cement from Stettin, Germany, where most of our cement comes from, to Chicago is just the same as the freight on a barrel of cement from South Dakota to Chicago. We manufacture in South Dakota—the tariff, I think, is a local issue

largely—the best Portland cement in the world, we having immense deposits of chalk and black clay, having a large per cent of aluminum in it. We have raw material enough to supply the universe for all time to come.

We made the year before last 48,000 barrels. If the Government owned the railroads and established honest and decent freight rates, and we had duty enough so as to make up the difference in wages between this country and foreign countries, we should have made a million barrels in South Dakota, and supplied the entire country west of Cleveland. As it is, we supply but a little area about the mills, because the cement comes from Germany in ballast during certain seasons of the year, and then they meet us with a freight rate from Stettin to Chicago as cheap as that from South Dakota to Chicago, besides having the advantage of cheaper labor in those countries. Therefore I intended to move to increase the duty from 8 cents a hundred pounds to 12½ cents, which is the Canadian rate; but I am willing to accept the amendment offered by the committee of 11 cents a hundred pounds. That I believe will enable us to reach Chicago, because our cement is superior to the imported cement.

This cement is used in building great buildings and building bridges and works beneath the surface and works constructed in the water. A large proportion of the cement used in this country is consumed in New York and the other large cities in the erection of their great fifteen, twenty, and twenty-five story buildings. It is a revenue duty almost entirely, and so far as they are concerned, I am willing that they should pay it. I think it ought to be higher than it is. I am willing that the millionaires who are erecting those great buildings shall pay this additional duty on the cement they use, which is all brought into New York and Philadelphia and into the great coast and interior cities.

This increase of duty will give the American manufacturers the trade of the interior cities of this country, and they may be able to sell some cement on the seaboard. About 500,000 barrels are manufactured in Pennsylvania and New York. There are twenty-two factories making this cement in the United States. I therefore believe that this amendment ought to be adopted.

In this connection, I ask to have the paper which I send to the desk printed in the RECORD and printed also as a document for the use of the Senate.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it will be so ordered.

The paper referred to is as follows:

THE PORTLAND CEMENT INDUSTRY.

Statement of the Portland cement industry in the United States as an argument in behalf of a protective rate of duty on the imported product.

The seventeenth annual report of the United States Geological Survey—subject, "Mineral resources of the United States, 1895"—contains these statements:

"The production of Portland cement in the United States during the year 1895 reached a total of 990,324 barrels, as compared with 798,757 barrels in 1894, an increase of 191,567 barrels, or 24 per cent. The increase is to be found almost wholly in the output of the larger factories in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, several of which showed nearly double the production reported for 1894. * * * The only new factory started in 1895 was one at Phillipsburg, N. J. There were therefore 22 factories producing Portland cement in 1895, as compared with 24 in the previous year. * * * The imports of cement for the year 1895 were 2,907,395 barrels, a decided increase over 1894. From this it appears that the increased production of the American factories has by no means kept pace with the growing demand for Portland cement in this country."

In the same report are tabulated statements (page 882) showing that in five years the increase in the domestic production of Portland cement was 191,567 barrels and the increase in importation was 359,288 barrels. The report continues:

"From this it appears that the increased production of the American factories has fallen far short of supplying the increased demand. New uses for Portland cement are being found every day, and the rapid adoption of concrete construction causes a steadily increasing demand. Portland cement is also coming rapidly into use for building purposes in place of cheaper natural rock cements, the production of which in 1895 shows only a very slight increase over the previous year. To meet the increased importation of Portland cement, if the increase in demand should be maintained, as appears decidedly probable, it would be necessary to establish a factory every year capable of producing 1,000 barrels per day.

"With the general extension of knowledge of correct methods of testing, American Portland cements are rapidly gaining recognition as fully equal to imported, and the prejudice which once existed against the domestic product has almost entirely disappeared. The writer believes that careful study of the tests of American and foreign cements, as shown by the records of city and Government engineers in various parts of the country, will show that there is no cement made in any foreign country which will show as high tests, at long or short periods, as the product of any one of the three or four leading American factories. During the year 1895 the capacity of all the American works was taxed to the utmost, and it is safe to say that had the supply of the domestic product been equal to the demand, the increased importation would not have taken place."

The quality of American Portland cement is thus officially vouched for in the report of the Geological Survey. Unofficial testimony coincides with that given by the Government experts, and shows, further, that in some localities within the United States a Portland cement is produced which tests even higher in grade than the best imported article. Results of this satisfactory character have been obtained in South Dakota, where one factory is in operation at Yankton, and has been producing cement for a number of years from the chalk rock and clay of the Missouri River bluffs. There is enough of the raw material in the State of South Dakota to supply the United States with Portland cement of the very best quality, the deposits of chalk rock and clay along the Missouri River being practically inexhaustible.

The cement manufacturers of South Dakota find themselves limited to a small area of sale territory for the reason that even in that far West region foreign competition restricts their operations to a narrow field. Portland cement from Germany, Denmark, and other European countries can be laid down in Chicago as cheaply as from South Dakota, and the product of South Dakota is unable to meet foreign competition farther east than the Mississippi River.

The same restrictive conditions apply to the Portland cement manufactured in the States of Pennsylvania, Ohio, New Jersey, California, New York, Colorado, Indiana, Illinois, Texas, and Utah. Everywhere the native product meets the results of European cheap labor and cheap ocean freights, and is unable to thrive in competition without a reduction of wages to the starvation level. This occurs with an abundance of raw material awaiting the creative skill of the American workman.

In South Dakota, with the opening of the 1897 cement-manufacturing season, the wages of quarrymen were reduced from $1.25 to $1.10 per day, the men being told that competition rendered this cut necessary.

The total number of barrels of Portland cement produced for the years 1894 and 1895 in the eleven cement States was:

State.	1894.	1895.
California	19,300	16,283
Colorado	15,000	.....
Illinois	300	750
Indiana	4,000	.....
New York	117,000	159,320
New Jersey	72,223	155,000
Ohio	80,653	136,698
Pennsylvania	437,106	504,276
South Dakota	43,500	6,497
Texas	8,000	10,000
Utah	1,400	1,500

The United States produced in these two years 1,789,081 barrels of Portland cement, and imported for the same period 5,635,502 barrels, giving a total domestic consumption of 7,424,583 barrels. The bulk value of Portland cement in 1894 was $1.73 per barrel, and in 1895, $1.60 per barrel. The importation for the two years aggregated in value $9,359,757. The barrel value of this imported cement for the period considered is not available for this statement, but it was considerably more than the bulk value. The importations for the two years approximated $10,000,000, all of which would have been saved to the United States under an adequate protective clause in the tariff law.

To place the American manufacturers of Portland cement in a position to utilize the vast supply of raw material at hand, there should be placed upon the commodity a duty of 13 cents per 100 pounds in barrels, and 12 cents per 100 pounds in bulk.

The present duty on Portland cement does not equal the difference between the cost of labor in manufacturing in Germany and in this country.

By the report of the directors of the various German Portland cement companies, volume 16, Nos. 24, 29, etc., of the Thon Industrie Zeitung, of Berlin, Germany, it appears that it takes about one day's labor to make 1¼ barrels of Portland cement (the best equipped plants there only averaging 1.5 to 1.6 barrels to the day's labor).

The greater portion of the best Portland cement brought to this country comes from north Germany.

Half or three-fourths of the laborers in a Stettin or North German factory get three-fourths of a mark to a mark per day, or 18 to 24 cents per day, while the common laborers in the Portland cement factories in the United States get not less than $1.10 per day. The difference is 89 cents per day, or 71 cents per barrel.

Over three-fourths of all the Portland cement used in this country is and has always been imported, and the quantity imported has increased year by year.

An increased duty on Portland cement would increase the income of this Government on that article for a number of years; but after a few years a sufficient number of new factories would be built in this country to supply the home demand, and it would not be long, under adequate protection, before the stimulus of competition would, by inventing improved methods and machinery, enable the American Portland cement factories to defy any competition.

As the tariff has not protected the home plants, European competition has ruined many American Portland cement manufacturers and resulted in the loss of over a million dollars.

Some of these plants were located at Kalamazoo, Mich.; New Brunswick, N. J.; East Kingston, Wallkill, Rondout, and Cassadaga, N. Y.; South Bend, Ind.; Austin, Tex.; Newport, Ky.; Chicago, Ill.; Los Angeles and San Diego, Cal., and Portland, Oreg.

The 300 plants in Europe have used this country as a dumping ground for their surplus and dregs, and often sell here at less than cost.

It would be only long-delayed justice if the Portland cement industry in this country were recognized by Congress and were accorded adequate protection.

Russia, to start the production of Portland cement, levied a duty of 72 cents per barrel, and Austria of 46 cents per barrel; although labor is lower in those countries than in Germany and England, who were formerly supplying the cement.

Germany levies protective duties regardless of the difference in the wages, which difference is usually in her favor.

Canada imposes a duty of 12½ cents per hundredweight on Portland cement.

There is probably no industry in this country that deserves encouragement and protection more than the manufacture of Portland cement.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on the amendment submitted by the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH].

Mr. VEST. I ask for the yeas and nays on that amendment.

Mr. BACON. Before the vote is taken, I desire to say that the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. PETTIGREW] is very much mistaken when he suggests that the use of cement is limited to cities where millionaires are building twenty-story houses. There is scarcely a community in the whole United States that does not use a very considerable amount of cement, and while 3 cents per 100 pounds looks like a very small addition, it is in fact an increase of nearly 40 per cent over the present rate.

Mr. PETTIGREW. I should like to say this is Portland cement.

Mr. BACON. I understand.

Mr. PETTIGREW. We manufacture 7,000,000 barrels of common cement, which the duty does not affect, and supply the market for all the country places and for all works above ground.

Mr. BACON. It is a mistake to say that cement of that class supplies all of the country places. I know from personal knowledge that the imported Portland cement is very largely used all through the portion of the country in which I live, where it is considered absolutely essential for all high-class work.

Mr. President, I do not understand from the statement of the Senator from South Dakota that the industry which he speaks of in his State is one which is not profitable at the present rate; and to put this additional duty of nearly 40 per cent over the present rate is to impose a very serious burden upon a great many people other than the class of which the Senator speaks.

Mr. PETTIGREW. I wish to say, in reply to the Senator, that two years ago we produced 48,000 barrels; but we can not reach Chicago or even Dubuque because of the imported cement. All that we produced, 48,000 barrels, was used west of the Mississippi River, west of Dubuque. We supply that whole country, and it took but 48,000 barrels to do it.

Mr. BACON. Are not these enterprises profitable at the present rates?

Mr. PETTIGREW. On the contrary, last year we produced but 6,000 barrels. The production fell off from 48,000 to 6,000 barrels, because we could not reach the cities in the country, and the people are impoverished, and they are unable to buy or build or use any cement at all. The cement being used in this country is for building the great structures in the centers of business, where the men live who are filching from the producers, who live in the country, the little they produce.

Mr. BACON. The Senator is very much mistaken when he limits it to that class of people.

Mr. CAFFERY. I do not perceive any demand for any increased tariff on Portland cement or Roman cement from those who have appeared before the Committee on Ways and Means of the House of Representatives. Those persons appeared to represent all the companies engaged in the business of the cement industry, and some of them say—I have not read the statements very particularly—that there ought to be a reduction of duty. One very large firm state that the duty ought to be reduced to 5 cents per 100 pounds from 8, but none of them asked for an increase. They all say that the industry will flourish under the present rate of 8 cents per 100 pounds, and here we are asked, without any opportunity of looking into the matter any further than is disclosed by these tariff hearings, to increase this duty very largely.

I think, Mr. President, that this is running protection a little mad. The imports have not increased under these rates. There is no danger of foreign competition running this industry out, but there is danger that this additional 3 cents per 100 pounds will lay a very heavy burden upon the American people. Portland cement is used in every structure of stone and iron, and in jetties and works of that description.

Mr. BACON. And in all works under ground.

Mr. CAFFERY. Yes; and this is an unnecessary raise, uncalled for either by protection or revenue. If the purpose is to decrease revenue, to make a perfect prohibition against the introduction of any foreign cement, then I can perceive why the additional tariff is asked.

Here, according to the tariff hearings, there are some eighty-two establishments engaged in the work of making cement, scattered all over the United States, and from what the Senator from South Dakota says I understand he wants this tariff rate raised to equalize transportation. Some of the gifts of nature and natural advantages ought to be left alone. Those on the seaboard ought to enjoy the benefit of living there. When there is a tariff that is universally accepted, that nobody complains of, to have the gifts of nature thrown aside for the individual or local interest of some locality remote from the seaboard, I think is a little too hard for us to bear.

Mr. BACON. I call the attention of the Senator from Louisiana to the fact that the Senator from South Dakota states an additional motive. He states that one trouble they are under is that the people of the country are too poor to buy that which the manufacturers now produce, and he proposes by this increased tariff to give them additional means for that purpose.

Mr. PETTIGREW. I propose to give them an additional market, so as to let them reach cities where they can buy, such as Dubuque and Chicago. That is the point I make, and I trust the Senator does not intend to misrepresent me.

Mr. CAFFERY. To make them rich by making them poor. That is the process of the tariff all the way along the line.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on the amendment submitted by the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH], on which the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST] has called for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. COCKRELL. Let the amendment be again stated.

The SECRETARY. On page 16, line 21, after the word "packages," it is proposed to strike out "eight" and insert "eleven;" and in line 23, after the word "bulk," to strike out "seven" and insert "ten;" so as to make the paragraph read:

84. Roman, Portland, and other hydraulic cement, in barrels, sacks, or other packages, 11 cents per 100 pounds, including weight of barrel or package; in bulk, 10 cents per 100 pounds; other cement, 20 per cent ad valorem.

The Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BATE (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Kentucky [Mr. DEBOE]. If he were here, I should vote "nay."

Mr. CLAY (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE]. If he were here, I should vote "nay."

Mr. DANIEL (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. HAWLEY]. If he were here, I should vote "nay."

Mr. PASCO (when his name was called). I am paired on this vote with the Senator from Utah [Mr. CANNON]. In his absence I withhold my vote.

Mr. WALTHALL (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. SPOONER]. If he were present, I should vote "nay."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. KENNEY. I announce that I have a general pair with the junior Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. PENROSE]. He not being present, I withhold my vote.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas (after having voted in the negative). I withdraw my vote. I am paired with the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE].

Mr. WILSON. I desire to announce that my colleague [Mr. TURNER] is paired with the senior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR].

Mr. BATE. I desire to announce that my colleague [Mr. HARRIS of Tennessee] is detained from the Senate by sickness. He is paired with the Senator from Vermont [Mr. MORRILL]. I make that announcement for the day.

Mr. GRAY (after having voted in the negative). I ask if the senior Senator from Illinois [Mr. CULLOM] has voted?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair is informed that he has not voted.

Mr. GRAY. I have a general pair with that Senator, and withdraw my vote.

The result was announced—yeas 30, nays 18; as follows:

YEAS—30.

Aldrich,	Fairbanks,	Kyle,	Quay,
Allison,	Foraker,	McMillan,	Shoup,
Baker,	Frye,	Perkins,	Stewart,
Burrows,	Gallinger,	Pettigrew,	Warren,
Carter,	Gear,	Platt, Conn.	Wetmore,
Chandler,	Hanna,	Platt, N. Y.	Wilson.
Clark,	Hansbrough,	Pritchard,	
Elkins,	Jones, Nev.	Proctor,	

NAYS—18.

Bacon,	Faulkner,	Mills,	Turpie,
Berry,	Heitfeld,	Morgan,	Vest,
Caffery,	Lindsay,	Murphy,	White.
Chilton,	McEnery,	Pettus,	
Cockrell,	Mallory,	Rawlins,	

NOT VOTING—40.

Allen,	Gorman,	McBride,	Sewell,
Bate,	Gray,	Mantle,	Smith,
Butler,	Hale,	Martin,	Spooner,
Cannon,	Harris, Kans.	Mason,	Teller,
Clay,	Harris, Tenn.	Mitchell,	Thurston,
Cullom,	Hawley,	Morrill,	Tillman,
Daniel,	Hoar,	Nelson,	Turner,
Davis,	Jones, Ark.	Pasco,	Walthall,
Deboe,	Kenney,	Penrose,	Wellington,
George,	Lodge,	Roach,	Wolcott.

So the amendment was agreed to.

The reading of the bill was resumed and continued to the end of paragraph 86, on page 17.

Mr. BAKER. I desire to have paragraph 86 passed over for the present, if there is no objection.

Mr. ALLISON. There is no objection.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the paragraph will be passed over.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 87, page 17, line 8, after the word "manufactured," to strike out "one-half of 1 cent per pound" and insert "15 per cent ad valorem;" and in line 10, before the words "per centum," to strike out "twenty" and insert "ten;" so as to make the paragraph read:

87. Pumice stone, wholly or partially manufactured, 15 per cent ad valorem; unmanufactured, 10 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in paragraph 88, line 21, after the word "ton," to strike out "bauxite, or beauxite, crude, not refined

or otherwise advanced in condition from its natural state, $1 per ton;" so as to make the paragraph read:

Clays or earths:

88. Clays or earths, unwrought or unmanufactured, not specially provided for in this act, $1 per ton; wrought or manufactured, not specially provided for in this act, $2 per ton; china clay or kaolin, $2 per ton; asphaltum and bitumen, crude, if not dried, or otherwise advanced in any manner, $1.50 per ton; if dried or otherwise advanced in any manner, $3 per ton.

Mr. PRITCHARD. I desire to have the amendment passed over informally.

Mr. VEST. The paragraph or the amendment?

Mr. PRITCHARD. The paragraph.

Mr. ALLISON. There is no objection to passing the amendment over.

Mr. PRITCHARD. Let the whole paragraph be passed over.

Mr. QUAY. I rise to ask that paragraph 88 in full be passed over for the present.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. It will be passed over.

Mr. ALLISON. Before the paragraph is passed over, the committee desire to submit an amendment. In line 17, before the word "asphaltum," we propose to insert "limestone-rock asphalt containing not more than 15 per cent of bitumen, 50 cents per ton;" and after the word "bitumen," in line 18, insert "not specially provided for in this act." Does the Senator from Pennsylvania desire the amendment to be passed over, or can it be agreed to?

Mr. QUAY. I think it had better go over for the present. I do not know that I shall object to it.

Mr. ALLISON. Let it be passed over.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The amendment will be passed over.

Mr. GRAY. I should like the attention of the Senator from Iowa for one moment while I make a short statement in regard to paragraph 74½, on page 14, "soda ash, three-eighths of 1 cent per pound." That is another ingredient which is objected to by me on behalf of paper manufacturers and wood-pulp manufacturers in my State, and I should like to have it go over, as the chlorate of lime item went over, until next week.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. It has been voted upon.

Mr. GRAY. I was called out of the Senate temporarily when the matter was under consideration, and I ask unanimous consent that it may be passed over.

Mr. STEWART. We had a yea-and-nay vote on it, and I shall object to its going over.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. We had a yea-and-nay vote on it.

Mr. GRAY. I should be very much obliged if the Senate would give unanimous consent to its going into the same category. It is a matter about which I have something to say, and I was called away from the Senate.

Mr. ALLISON. I hope the Senator from Nevada will allow this item to be passed over.

Mr. STEWART. When will it be called up?

Mr. GRAY. Say on Tuesday. Monday is Decoration Day. I will agree that it shall be called up on Tuesday.

Mr. STEWART. I have no objection if it will be called up soon.

Mr. GRAY. Oh, yes; I was away from the Senate when it was under consideration.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection to passing over the paragraph?

Mr. STEWART. Until next Tuesday.

Mr. BATE. Which paragraph?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Paragraph 74½, on page 14.

Mr. ALLISON. The vote by which the amendment was agreed to ought to be reconsidered by unanimous consent before the paragraph is passed over.

Mr. GRAY. It ought to be reconsidered by unanimous consent.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection to reconsidering the vote by which the amendment was adopted? The Chair hears none. The vote is reconsidered; and the paragraph, without objection, will stand over until Tuesday.

Mr. CLAY. Has paragraph 88 been passed over?

Mr. WHITE. It has been passed over.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. It has been passed over.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 89, on page 17, line 25, after the word "yellow," to strike out the comma and the word "and;" in the same line, after the word "brown," to strike out the comma and insert the words "and gray;" on page 18, line 1, after the word "plain," to strike out the comma and the word "or;" in the same line, after the word "embossed," to insert "or salt-glazed;" in line 2, after the word "crucibles," to insert "all the foregoing;" and in line 4, after the words "ad valorem," to strike out "Rockingham earthenware, 40 per cent ad valorem;" so as to make the paragraph read:

89. Common yellow brown and gray earthenware, plain embossed, or salt-glazed common stoneware, and crucibles, all the foregoing not decorated in any manner, 25 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. This being the lowest grade of earthenware and the cheap grade, it certainly ought to bear as low a rate as is consistent with the idea of getting revenue. The tax on it now is 20 per cent. I believe the bill proposes to make it 25 per cent. The revenue was only $66,000 under the 25 per cent rate, and $55,000 under the 20 per cent rate. There is a smaller revenue under the decreased rate of taxation by the extent of about ten or eleven thousand dollars, but the total amount of revenue from it shows there is a very small amount of importation. It seems to me that it is not proper to increase the rate by the small rise of 5 per cent. However, as the committee proposes in this respect no change in the bill as it came from the other House, I will make no motion in connection with it.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the amendment reported by the Committee on Finance.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask to have paragraphs 90, 91, 92, and 93 passed over for the present, perhaps until to-morrow. The committee intend to propose some modifications of all the amendments reported to those paragraphs.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Will the Senator be ready to take up those paragraphs to-morrow?

Mr. ALLISON. I hope so and think so.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Iowa? The Chair hears none.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, on page 21, after line 15, to strike out paragraph 94, as follows:

94. Plain green or colored, molded or pressed, and flint and lime glass bottles, holding more than 1 quart, and demijohns and carboys, covered or uncovered, and other plain green or colored, molded or pressed bottle glassware, not specially provided for in this act, 1 cent per pound; plain green or colored, molded or pressed, flint or lime glass bottles and vials, holding not more than 1 quart and not less than 1½ pints, 1½ cents per pound; holding not more than 1½ pints and not less than one-fourth of 1 pint, 1½ cents per pound; if holding less than one-fourth of a pint, 50 cents per gross: *Provided*, That none of the above articles shall pay a less rate of duty than 40 per cent ad valorem: *And provided further*, That any of the above articles, if filled and not otherwise specially provided for in this act, and the contents are subject to an ad valorem rate of duty, or to a rate of duty regulated in any manner by the value thereof, the value of such bottles, vials, or other vessels shall be added to the value of the contents for the ascertainment of the dutiable value of the latter, but if filled and not otherwise provided for in this act, and the contents are not subject to an ad valorem rate of duty or to a rate of duty regulated in any manner by the value thereof, or if free of duty, such bottles, vials, or other vessels shall pay, in addition to the duty, if any, on their contents, the rates prescribed in this paragraph.

And insert:

94. Plain green or colored, molded or pressed, and flint, lime, or lead glass bottles, vials, jars, and covered or uncovered demijohns and carboys, any of the foregoing, filled or unfilled, and whether their contents be dutiable or free, except such as contain merchandise subject to an ad valorem rate of duty, or to a rate of duty based in whole or in part upon the value thereof, shall pay duty as follows: If holding more than 1 pint, seven-eighths of 1 cent per pound; if holding not more than 1 pint and not less than one-fourth of a pint, 1½ cents per pound; if holding less than one-fourth of a pint, 45 cents per gross: *Provided*, That none of the above articles shall pay a less rate of duty than 40 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. SEWELL. I ask to have the paragraph go over. I do not object to the rate particularly so much as to the classification, which is different from that agreed to by the House.

Mr. ALDRICH. There is no change of classification from the present law or the act of 1890, I will say to the Senator from New Jersey.

Mr. SEWELL. I am aware of that fact; but there is from the bill as it comes from the other House. One part of the classification is left out, and a very important one.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from New Jersey?

Mr. ALDRICH. I am not going to object to the Senator's request, but we have already passed over quite a number of paragraphs at his request, and it will be necessary to take some of them up in the immediate future.

Mr. SEWELL. The Senator has passed over quite a number, and I am very much obliged to the committee for doing so; but I represent a State which has great manufacturing interests, and this is an essential one and one of our largest. The committee have left out a part of the classification under which the quart bottle is taxed less than the pint; or less protection is given it. I think they ought to give it further consideration before passing upon the paragraph.

Mr. ALDRICH. I will say that we have left out no part of the classification, but if the Senator wants to have the paragraph go over I shall not object.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The paragraph will be passed over. The next amendment reported by the Committee on Finance will be stated.

The SECRETARY. On page 23, after line 13, it is proposed to strike out paragraph 95, as follows:

95. Articles of flint, lime, or other glass, molded, pressed, or blown, not specially provided for in this act and not cut, engraved, painted, etched, printed, decorated, stained, silvered, gilded, or otherwise ornamented, 60 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 23, after line 19, to strike out paragraph 96, as follows:

96. Articles of glass, cut, engraved, painted, colored, stained, decorated, silvered, gilded, etched, frosted, printed in any manner, or otherwise ornamented, not specially provided for in this act, and porcelain or opal glassware, 60 per cent ad valorem.

And insert:

96. Glass bottles, decanters, or other vessels or articles of glass, cut, engraved, painted, colored, stained, silvered, gilded, etched, frosted, printed in any manner or otherwise ornamented, decorated, or ground (except such grinding as is necessary for fitting stoppers), and porcelain and opal glassware; all the foregoing, filled or unfilled, and whether their contents be dutiable or free, 60 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. VEST. I wish to call attention to the fact that this is a return to the McKinley rate. The duties in the existing law are 40 and 45 per cent upon the two classifications. We go back to the highest duties that ever have been imposed upon these goods, which were placed upon these articles in 1890.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the amendment reported by the Committee on Finance.

The amendment was agreed to.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was to strike out paragraph 97, as follows:

97. Glass bottles, decanters, or other vessels or articles of glass, when engraved, painted, colored, printed, stained, etched, or otherwise ornamented or decorated, or when cut, frosted, or ground, except only such grinding as is necessary for fitting stoppers, shall, if filled, pay duty in addition to any duty on their contents as if not filled, unless otherwise specially provided for in this act.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 98, page 24, line 20, before the word "cents," to strike out "three-eighths" and insert "one-fourth;" so as to read:

98. Unpolished, cylinder, crown, and common window glass, not exceeding 10 by 15 inches square, 1¼ cents per pound.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. If there be no objection, the amendment will be considered as agreed to.

Mr. WHITE. I do not think these amendments should be entered as agreed to, for personally I wish to be considered as objecting to all of them.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The rate on this unpolished, cylinder, crown, and common window glass under the law as it stands now is 1 cent per pound. The bill as it passed the other House provides for a tax of 1⅛ cents, an increase over the present law of three-eighths of a cent per pound. The Senate committee moves to strike out three-eighths and insert one-fourth. I hope that the Senate will strike out "three-eighths" and will not insert "one-fourth."

I believe that the tax ought to remain as it is now in the Wilson Act, at 1 cent a pound. That gives an ad valorem tax of 39.57 per cent. The bill as it comes from the House proposes to increase it from 39 per cent to 55 per cent, and the Senate proposes to reduce it from 55 per cent to 49 per cent; but it is an increase over 39 per cent.

Mr. MILLS. That is the first part.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. In the first bracket.

This is an article which enters into universal consumption, as we all know. It is useless to discuss it. There is not a family or a home in the United States which this provision does not propose to tax, and to tax most unreasonably. The glass tax existing at this time is unfair. It is outrageously high. The glass business of the United States is under the control of trusts. There is practically no competition. The men who have combined the glass interests control the trade. They dictate the market. They regulate the output and the handling of the entire product, and there is no occasion, there is no reason, there is no apology for attempting further to strengthen the hands of those men. The profits paid these people are said to be enormous already, and whether they are or not, two window-glass associations control the entire output or almost the whole output of the United States.

Mr. LINDSAY. I will ask the Senator from Arkansas if there has been any increase in importation under the 1-cent tax?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. There seems to have been a slight increase. There were 12,778,588 pounds imported in 1893, under the particular paragraph we are discussing, and there were 13,154,689 pounds imported in 1896, a very small increase.

Mr. LINDSAY. There has been a decrease in value.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. There has been a decline in price in that way.

Mr. CHILTON. There has been a decrease in the other bracket.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. There was a decrease in the more expensive glass, above 16 by 24 inches and not exceeding 24 by 30 inches. There was a decrease of nearly 3,000,000 pounds in the importations.

There was also a large decrease in glass exceeding 24 by 36 inches, and another large decrease by 3,000,000 pounds in the bracket above that, a still larger size. It was only as to the smaller sizes that this prevailed.

Mr. President, in the hearing before the House committee a statement was submitted by the Boston Plate and Window Glass Company. They make statements of fact which the Senate can not afford to ignore, and which the American people will not overlook. I propose to call the attention of the Senate to those statements as well as some others which I have in my possession. Amongst all the iniquities that are involved in the pending bill—and their name is legion—the tax imposed in the window-glass schedule, for the size of it, is perhaps the most monstrous of the whole measure. The crockery schedule is bad enough, but the tax on window glass is absolutely unpardonable. This statement is:

As importers and jobbers of cylinder common window glass, we beg to request that there be no advance in the rates of duties over those now imposed on this article by Schedule B of the present law of August 28, 1894, and that if any change be made in the same there be a reduction of said rates, and for the following reasons——

Mr. SEWELL. What is the Senator reading from?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I am reading from a statement made by the president of the Boston Plate and Window Glass Company to the House Committee on Ways and Means in the hearing before the tariff bill was brought in by the committee.

Mr. SEWELL. They are importers?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. It is signed by Mr. Hills, president.

Mr. CHILTON. What is the page?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Page 259.

Mr. GEAR. They are importers?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. They are importers. They make the statement that they are importers. They say:

As importers and jobbers of cylinder common window glass, etc.

So there is no effort on their part to conceal the fact that they are importers of glass, but they propose to give the reasons. They claim to state the facts. If what they state is true, their contention is certainly correct:

The total yearly consumption of such glass in the United States is at present about 3,000,000 to 3,500,000 boxes of 50 square feet each. Of this total there is imported about 600,000 to 800,000 boxes of 50 square feet. At the present rate of duty there is a protection to the American manufacturers which enables them to supply about three-fourths, at least, of the total consumption.

The present duty is a specific one, but as our own importations of this article are at least as large in quantity as those of any other importer in the United States, they may safely be taken as a guide to show what percentage the rate of duty now paid on the total importations of this article into this country bears to the foreign cost to the importer of the same.

The total duties paid by us on our total importations of common cylinder window glass during the year 1896 amounts to 91.7 per cent of the total cost abroad to us of these importations. This "total cost abroad" includes the cost there to us, on board steamer, of all such glass, and the cost of the boxes and envelopes in which it is packed. In addition to the above, there is the freight from Europe to this country and other charges.

The present tariff, therefore, gives the American manufacturers of this article the enormous protection of nearly 100 per cent over the average cost abroad to the importer. We beg also to strongly oppose the adoption of any additional brackets or divisions to the present tariff. It is now so adjusted that the rate on small-sized glass is lower than that assessed on larger sizes. The small sizes are used principally by the poorer classes of the community and for factories. Any increase of duties on such sizes will bear heavily on these classes. Few, if any, articles of such large use, and the cost of which affects the whole community to the extent that does the cost of window glass, are protected so enormously as is this article.

We have thought it best to state simply the above facts and not trouble your committee with further figures and details, trusting that the above plain statement will be enough to convince your honorable committee that an increase of duties over the present tariff is unwarranted, and that a decrease of 25 per cent on all the schedules of the present tariff would be lessening a tax which bears heavily on the living and business expenses of the whole people and would increase the revenues of the Government by enabling us and other importers to increase importations.

We would add that the business is conducted by us without any combination or agreement on selling prices with any of our competitors or with any manufacturers, and that the manufacturers abroad, from whom we and other importers obtain our supplies, sell in competition with each other and without any combination on selling prices between themselves.

BOSTON PLATE AND WINDOW GLASS COMPANY,
By E. A. HILLS, *President.*

A subsequent statement was submitted by him to the same committee. He says:

We beg to protest against any increase in the present tariff on polished plate glass.

That is plate glass. I will not read the statement at this time, although the arguments applicable to one are to a great extent applicable to the other.

I ask Senators who have not taken the trouble to read these statements over to listen to me while I read a statement made by Messrs. Holbrook Bros., of New York, to the same committee on January 9. It is not long, but it is clear and distinct:

NEW YORK, *January 9, 1897.*

Committee on Ways and Means:

We beg to take the liberty of entering our protest against any increase in the duty on window glass, for the reason that we claim the duty already excessive, being very nearly 100 per cent. Taking as an average for the whole country our own importations for the past year, you will see by the inclosed schedule, which can be readily verified at the customs department, that our average ad valorem duty is 98.58 per cent. As an offset to Mr. BODINE'S argument that the increase in importations since the Wilson bill is over 70 per cent, we beg to give you a list of the importations at this port of entry since 1890:

	Boxes.		Boxes.
1890	594,784	1894	393,335
1891	481,350	1895	226,411
1892	522,014	1896	337,274
1893	430,207		

Showing steady decrease constantly, except between the years 1895 and 1896, and the increase in importations in 1896, as every man who has paid any attention to the subject knows, came from the strikes in the glass works in the United States, their inability to meet the demand, and the increased price—

We account for the increase of 1896 over 1895 as being due to the lockout by the manufacturers.

The total consumption of this country is about 4,000,000 boxes per year, and you can readily see that the importations amount to only about one-seventh.

Four million boxes consumed, 337,000 boxes imported—

It is needless for me to say that a large part of this glass is consumed in building the poorer class of houses, and it would therefore inflict a serious injury to them as well as the florists and gardeners, who are large consumers.

HOLBROOK BROS.

In connection with this letter they set out a table of the importations of unpolished cylinder window glass by Holbrook Bros. from Antwerp for 1896. They give the number of boxes. I will not take the time of the Senate to read the table. I will insert it in the RECORD, so that Senators may see what the actual shipments of this glass paid. It shows the rate per cent by the months that were paid by these people on all of their shipments, which ranged from 1,800 to 4,800 boxes for each month.

The table referred to is as follows:

Importations of unpolished cylinder window glass by Holbrook Bros. from Antwerp for 1896.

Date.	Steamer.	Boxes.	Value.	Duty.	Per cent.
January 3	Rialto	2,521	$3,105.00	$3,158.87	101
January 10	St. Cuthbert	1,255	1,213.00	1,095.54	101
February 4	British King	1,332	1,095.00	1,332.23	101
March 7	St. Enoch	2,245	2,408.00	2,312.23	96
March 26	British King	2,220	2,795.00	2,393.42	85½
April 8	St. Cuthbert	1,885	1,775.00	1,872.49	105
April 29	St. Enoch	2,896	2,698.00	2,979.32	110
May 7	British Queen	2,835	2,771.00	2,708.53	100
May 22	St. Cuthbert	999	1,304.00	1,511.20	116
June 4	British King	2,931	2,749.00	2,507.90	91½
June 22	British Queen	3,678	3,347.00	3,670.40	109½
July 6	St. Cuthbert	4,800	5,540.00	5,352.61	96½
July 20	Britsh King	1,839	1,781.00	1,687.71	90½
August 3	British Queen	1,600	2,190.00	1,801.20	82
August 15	St. Cuthbert	1,794	2,330.00	2,397.10	102½
August 31	British King	1,825	2,458.00	2,585.47	105
September 12	British Queen	104	193.00	171.10	89
September 28	St. Cuthbert	3,032	3,715.00	3,647.38	98
October 12	British King	1,484	1,736.00	1,618.03	95
October 24	British Queen	1,716	1,701.00	1,701.79	100
November 6	St. Cuthbert	2,190	2,924.00	2,763.94	94
November 24	British King	3,091	4,231.00	3,817.62	90
December 8	British Queen	2,507	2,465.00	2,432.38	100
December 19	St. Cuthbert	3,488	4,469.00	4,485.49	100
Total		54,287	60,991.00	60,124.00	.....

Average duty, about 98.58.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. As I said a few moments ago, it is well known to all gentlemen who have paid any attention to the question that the window-glass production in the United States is in the hands of two companies. They have divided the territory. They do not trespass on each other's territory. One is called the Western Window Glass Association and the other, I believe, is called the Pittsburg Window Glass Association. They have equally divided the country between themselves, and they absolutely control the markets of window glass in their own territory. They sell the glass for whatever price they please, and it is a practical impossibility to bring glass from abroad. With the breakage, the high tariff, the loss in shipment, time, freight, insurance, and its transportation across the country it is practically impossible for the foreign article to enter into consumption at all, and the small percentage of 337,000 boxes, coming into a total consumption of 4,000,000 boxes, is consumed along the Atlantic Seaboard, where they have access by cheap ocean freight to the markets abroad with somewhat less difficulty than the people who live in the central parts of the country and in the West.

It does seem to me, as I said in the beginning, that in the midst of all the iniquities that swarm through this bill from beginning to end none is more absolutely indefensible, none is so outrageous as this proposition to levy a tax on the poor all over this country in this unreasonable and outrageous way, and not for the purpose of building up an infant industry, but for the purpose of upholding the hand of an organized trust that absolutely controls a well-established industry which is old enough to take care of itself. The argument about taking care of infants can not certainly apply now to the conditions existing in this case. They have gone far enough, even under the rates existing under the Wilson Act. This trust has continued to exist and still exists now.

I am one of those who believe that whenever a trust is organized under a tariff existing in this country all the benefit they get by the tariff ought to be taken away from that trust, and we should bring them face to face with any competition that can come to them from any part of the world.

Mr. SEWELL. I do not wish to allow that statement to go unchallenged. I am intimately acquainted and connected with the glass manufacture which is struggling along. A few glass manufacturers in my section have closed down at the present time by reason of the fact that they can not compete with the undervaluation on the other side.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I did not understand the Senator's first statement. I thought he said he did not intend to allow the statement that this was controlled by a trust to go unchallenged.

Mr. SEWELL. That is it exactly.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Before we get through I think I will establish it.

Mr. SEWELL. I say the glass blowers and manufacturers in my section are struggling along without any trust.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. There may be individual glass manufacturers in the United States who do not belong to the trust, but I think I will establish the fact, before I get through with this discussion, that nine-tenths of the production of window glass in this country is controlled absolutely by the two associations I have mentioned.

Mr. SEWELL. I do not think the Senator can do that, from the very fact I have stated.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. If I can not, it is all right.

Mr. SEWELL. New Jersey is one of the largest manufacturers of window glass, and there is no trust there. Not one establishment there belongs to a trust.

Mr. MILLS. The paragraphs in the bill which we are now considering have duties ranging from 107 to 168 per cent.

Mr. ALDRICH. I hope the Senator from Texas will qualify that statement as to the rates suggested by the Senate committee.

Mr. MILLS. I am speaking from the book before me.

Mr. ALDRICH. There is no such rate in the Senate committee's suggestions as 168 per cent.

Mr. MILLS. I find here, above 10 by 15 inches, not exceeding 16 by 24 inches square, 1¾ cents per pound, and it runs out 107.2 per cent. I find above 16 by 24 inches and not exceeding 24 by 30 inches, 2 cents per pound, as fixed by the Senate committee, and it runs out 115.16 per cent. I find in the next paragraph the Senate rate at 2¾ cents per pound, making 126.46 per cent. I find on all above 24 by 36 the Senate rate is 2¾ cents per pound, running out 168.82 per cent.

Mr. ALDRICH. That is evidently a mistake in the computation. I myself noticed that the other day. If the Senator will look at the price per pound, it is 2.2 cents, and at the rate of 2¾ cents the average ad valorem would not be as great as that sum.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Where does the Senator find 2.2 cents a pound as the price?

Mr. ALDRICH. In the computations on the bill.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I do not find it.

Mr. GRAY. On page 88.

Mr. WHITE. I think the Senator will find that those computations are correct.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Two and two-hundredths is given as the price per pound of that glass.

Mr. ALDRICH. No; 2.2.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I believe the Senator is right.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. President, there may be some slight error in these figures, but they are approximately correct. We can assume that. I want to know on what principle a tax of 115, or 120, or 130, or 140, or 150, or 168 per cent can be levied on any article. In the early days of our Government, when we were without manufactures, we felt the necessity of having them, and especially the manufacture of articles necessary to carry on a war for the defense of our Government. In those days there were high taxes, but they did not approach within a thousand miles the rate we have to-day. High rates were imposed to build up infant industries to make this country independent and enable us to stand against all the powers of the world. So our factories were built up to a certain extent; and now, sir, they go beyond those of any other nation in the world. We manufacture more than Great Britain and France together, and striking Great Britain out of the list, we manufacture more than the whole Continent of Europe, or somewhere approximately near that point.

It has been stated in the last fifteen or twenty years that our tariff system is alone to be justified by the necessity of making up the difference in the wage cost paid in this country and in foreign countries. A few years ago, when a tariff discussion was precipitated upon the country, and Mr. Blaine returned from Paris and came home, he said that tariff rates were not being imposed for the benefit of the manufacturer. He said the capitalists can take care of themselves; they do not need protection; it is the labor that needs the protection; and he said it was a question of labor from skin to core, and from core back to skin again. I quote his exact words. He said it was a question purely of labor.

Now, then, what is the labor cost on $100 worth of glass as shown by our census returns? Fifty-four dollars. The foreign cost is $44. I give the statement of a manufacturer before the Ways and Means Committee. Ten dollars is the difference in cost of $100

worth of glass. But here we give them the whole labor cost, all the cost of the material, all the cost paid out for interest on their capital, and all the cost expended for the repairs of machinery and keeping up their plants. In addition to that we give them from 107 to 168 per cent as a clear bonus, besides giving them everything that they expend for their labor and for their material and for all other purposes.

Now, they must produce this glass at some profit, after paying for labor and material. In $100 worth of glass they ought to make a profit of ten, fifteen, or twenty dollars; but if they make only $5, they must make something. Why, then, is it that we should give them this enormous duty of $68 on $100 worth of glass or $25 or $50 on $100 worth of glass?

Mr. President, there are two things to consider in these rates. We are imposing upon imported goods two most serious things to our country. One is the enormous burden of taxation that we are imposing upon the great body of our people. We talk about taxing 100 per cent as though it were a trifle. Lay a tax of 3, 4, or 5 per cent upon the capital of this country; go into your cities or into your towns, and you would raise a revolution if you should impose a tax of 5 per cent on the wealth of this country. Yet we stand here with perfect indifference and pile up a taxation of 100, 200, and 300 per cent. We pass over an article here carrying a duty of over 300 per cent, if these figures are correct, and it seems not to attract any attention. The people are exhausted with taxation—indirect taxation. They do not see it, but so much the worse for them. Such a direct tax would produce a revolution in the country. A 5 per cent tax on the wealth of the country would produce a revolution all over the country if it were direct and the people saw it.

That is one serious consideration; and the other pernicious effect from these excessive duties is the restriction of importation. But we do not stop to think how that affects our country, especially the poorer parts of the country, the almost destroyed South, that lives by the production of cotton. I represent in part the largest cotton State in the whole Union. Two-thirds of that product has got to seek a foreign market. Only one-third is consumed in this country. Every time we prohibit $100 worth of goods from coming into this country we prohibit the export of an equivalent amount from the country. Cotton is one of the chief exports. Cotton, breadstuffs, and provisions are the chief exports, and what cuts down the price of exports impoverishes the people. At the same time you are piling excessive taxes upon them to support not the Government—there is no pretense that it is to support the Government—but it is to keep imports from coming to the country, to pile up wealth in the pockets of the trusts, corporations, and combinations to control the politics and government of the country.

Here common window glass is taxed $168 on $100 worth. Is it a crime to look through a window pane? Why are the poor people singled out, who have their little windows to let the light of heaven into their humble habitations; and are they to be told that it is a crime in the eyes of the National Government for them to have window panes?

But what good does all this do? These high rates will be put on, and worse rates will be put on. Your exports will be cut off or reduced in value; your people will be further and further oppressed, and money will be made scarcer, without which it will be impossible to pay debts or to pay the dues to the National, State, and local governments.

Mr. President, there ought to be some reason assigned why these duties are put in here. It is not to protect infant industries. It is not to cover the difference in labor between the cheaper labor of foreign countries and ours. It is to give a bounty to wealth, a bounty to powerful corporations and trusts. The whole country seems to be absolutely in the hands of these powerful creatures, against whom we are powerless to contend.

Mr. GRAY. Mr. President, it would seem as if the tax that is now being discussed before the Senate is one that ought to be made and laid upon the shoulders of the people with great caution and with great consideration. This is practically and really a window tax, the most odious form of taxation that is known to the history of the English-speaking people. It has more than once, in the history of the country from which we derived our laws and most of our early colonists, been the cause of revolution. It has always been the cause of protest whenever it was laid.

It is taxing one of those articles that enter into the use of the masses of the people. It concerns the shelter of the masses of the people. It concerns the building of homes, and is a tax on every humble home in the United States. No rooftree can be erected without paying a tax as proposed by this section, and for what purpose is it paid? Not for revenue into the Treasury of the United States, but paid into the coffers of a protected class. What right have they to levy toll upon this common necessity of life, upon this article absolutely essential to the comfort and decency of the living of the masses of the people? If it is a necessary revenue tax, let us put it at a revenue basis, and all the people of the country, while they may feel the burden, will say, "We are honest and patriotic people, and we are willing to bear our share of the burden of necessary taxation." But why should they be called upon to pay this unnecessary and this burdensome tax, not to the Government, but to the beneficiaries of this legislation?

Mr. President, I only rose to add my voice to the protest on behalf of my people and the people of the whole country against such a tax as this. It seems to me it violates those fundamental principles which ought to govern in the taxation of a free people, and that we can not be a free people in the proper sense of that term if we submit to the imposition of a tax like this.

How is it that when this tax bill is brought in here to fill the depleted coffers of the United States Treasury we are told that they are not to be refilled unless a toll is levied by the protected classes out of every dollar that goes into the Treasury? There is a deficit, they tell us, in the Treasury of the United States, a gap between expenditure and income, and these people tell us, "You shall not fill up that deficit unless you pay toll to us, and dollars and dollars must go into our pockets before one dollar can go into the Treasury of the United States." This tax on glass is one of those odious taxes which will be felt in every remote hamlet in the United States, and they well may inquire why it is that this burden has been added to the back of American labor.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President, the section now under consideration and those following it are of course very closely related. There are several documents which have been transmitted to me, and, I presume, to all other Senators, that bear more or less upon this subject, and in so far as their accuracy is demonstrated by reference to the statistics of the Government there should be no question as to the applicability of the argument.

I have here a statement of New York dealers in window glass. They, of course, are importers and interested adversely to the manufacturers of glass. The statement made by one is unfair unless accompanied by that presented by the other:

The New York dealers in window glass respectfully submit this analysis of the Dingley tariff bill, with the simple statement that the figures contained herein are in no instance estimated, but are actual and susceptible of proof by comparison with invoices in the possession of the Treasury Department.

The next statement refers to paragraph 99. I will ask to have the whole of the analysis contained in this document printed as a part of my remarks.

The Senate committee reduced the amount suggested in the House bill, and I understand the Senator from Arkansas has either suggested or moved that the amendment proposed by the Senate committee be amended by reducing the amount to the sum specified in the Wilson bill. Am I correct in that?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Yes, sir; my motion was, as a substitute for the Senate amendment, to strike out 1¼ cents and insert 1 cent, which is the Wilson rate.

Mr. WHITE. It is in support of that amendment to paragraph 98 that I am now addressing my remarks. Of course, if the reduction asked for by those of us who believe the amount should be reduced is voted down, naturally we will prefer the Senate amendment to permitting the bill to rest as it came from the House.

The schedules contained in the document to which I have already adverted, and which I will incorporate as a part of my remarks, are very suggestive, and there are a few matters contained therein upon which I will comment. In a note to the first page I find the following:

NOTE.—The brackets, 36 by 40 and 40 by 60, did not exist in either the McKinley or Wilson bills, and the introduction of them in the Dingley bill makes an increase in the last three rates, respectively, of 8 per cent, 24 per cent, and 106 per cent over the McKinley bill.

The writer refers to the classification under paragraph 99 in the following words:

[Extract from Dingley tariff bill—Schedule B, paragraph 99.]

Unpolished cylinder, crown, and common window glass:

	Cents.
Not exceeding 10 by 15 inches square.....per pound..	1¼
Above that and not exceeding 16 by 24 inches square.....do....	1¾
Above that and not exceeding 24 by 30 inches square.....do....	2¼
Above that and not exceeding 24 by 36 inches square.....do....	2½
Above that and not exceeding *30 by 40 inches square.....per pound..	3¼
Above that and not exceeding *40 by 60 inches square.....do....	3½
Above that.....do....	4¼

Provided, That unpolished cylinder, crown, and common window glass imported in boxes shall contain 50 square feet, as nearly as sizes will permit, and the duty shall be computed thereon according to the actual weight of the glass.

* NOTE—The brackets, 30 by 40 and 40 by 60, did not exist in either the McKinley or Wilson bills, and the introduction of them in the Dingley bill makes an increase in the last three rates respectively, of 8 per cent, 24 per cent, and 106 per cent over the McKinley bill.

So here is a new classification, and in amount largely in excess of the McKinley Act.

The document then proceeds as follows:

Basis for calculating duty.

Boxes containing 50 square feet of glass.

Weight, computed by the custom-house, per box of 50 square feet: Single thickness, 52 pounds per box; double thickness, 80 pounds per box.

On sizes above 40 by 60 inches:

	Pounds.
40 by 65 inches (double thickness only)	90
40 by 70 inches (double thickness only)	98
40 by 75 inches (double thickness only)	106
40 by 80 inches (double thickness only)	114

Single thickness, 52 pounds, at rate per pound, and double thickness, 80 pounds, at rate per pound, produce duty per box of 50 square feet of glass.

Comparison of the duties levied under the McKinley, Wilson, and Dingley tariff bills.

[Per box of 50 square feet of contents.]

Sizes.	Single thickness.			Double thickness.			
	McKinley duty.	Wilson duty.	Dingley duty.	McKinley duty.	Wilson duty.	Dingley duty.	Pounds per box.
10 by 15	$0.72	$0.52	$0.72	$1.10	$0.80	$1.10	
16 by 24	.98	.65	.98	1.50	1.00	1.50	
24 by 30	1.24	.91	1.24	1.90	1.40	1.90	
24 by 36	1.50	1.04	1.50	2.30	1.60	2.30	
30 by 40	1.63	1.11	1.76	2.50	1.70	2.70	
40 by 60	1.63	1.11	2.62	2.60	1.70	3.10	
40 by 62 to 40 by 65*				2.81	1.91	3.95	90
40 by 66 to 40 by 70*				3.06	2.08	4.29	98
40 by 72 to 40 by 75*				3.31	2.25	4.64	106
40 by 76 to 40 by 80*				3.56	2.42	5.00	114

*No single imported.

Percentage of advance of specific rates in Dingley bill over the specific rates in the Wilson bill.

	Per cent.
Not exceeding 10 by 15 inches square	37½
Not exceeding 16 by 24 inches square	50
Not exceeding 24 by 30 inches square	35-7/9
Not exceeding 24 by 36 inches square	43¾
Not exceeding 30 by 40 inches square	58-3/11
Not exceeding 40 by 60 inches square	82-4/9
Above 40 by 60 inches square	100

Ad valorem rates on first cost of common window glass, according to the experience of the largest importers in New York City during the year 1896, under the present law, and the ad valorem on the same importations at the rates proposed in the Dingley bill.

Under the Wilson bill ad valorem equivalent of 94½ per cent.

Under the Dingley bill the duty on same importations would be an ad valorem equivalent of 140½ per cent.

It is true that the Senate committee proposes a reduction, but that reduction, while it reduces the evil suggested by the original bill, does not reach a point even approximately similar to that of the Wilson bill.

The document continues:

Comparison of cost of foreign window glass, f. o. b. Antwerp, with cost of American window glass, f. o. b. Pittsburg.

[Ocean freight, marine insurance, interest, and custom-house charges amount to 15 per cent of cost, which must be added to the protection afforded by the tariff rates.]

SINGLE THICKNESS.

Sizes.	First quality.		Second quality.		Third quality.	
	Antwerp.	Pittsburg.	Antwerp.	Pittsburg.	Antwerp.	Pittsburg.
10 by 15	$0.87	$1.58	$0.78	$1.47	$0.72	$1.41
16 by 24	.96	2.00	.87	1.63	.78	1.58
24 by 30	1.58	2.60	1.36	2.25	1.19	2.08
24 by 36	1.58	2.70	1.36	2.37	1.19	2.15
30 by 40	1.72	2.88	1.53	2.65	1.16	2.81
40 by 60	2.94	4.28	2.62	3.78	2.38	3.55

DOUBLE THICKNESS.

10 by 15	$1.09	$2.15	$0.96	$1.93	$0.90	$1.86
16 by 24	1.22	2.43	1.09	2.20	.96	2.15
24 by 30	1.95	3.45	1.69	3.10	1.33	2.76
24 by 36	1.95	3.60	1.69	3.27	1.33	2.98
30 by 40	2.18	3.88	1.92	3.50	1.42	3.15
40 by 60	3.75	5.75	3.32	5.18	3.01	4.95

Prices net per 50-foot box.

French at 82 per cent on single, 84 per cent on double, foreign list.

American at 75 and 10 per cent, American list.

This is the present foreign discount, and also the highest price for five years past.

Illustration of the two new dimensions inserted in the Dingley bill not in any former bill.

Sizes "not exceeding 30 by 40 inches square" and "above that and not exceeding 40 by 60 inches square" are introduced in the Dingley bill classification, and never existed in any former bill. One effect is to make the rate of the final bracket in the bill (above 40 by 60) 4½ cents per pound against 2½ cents per pound on same in the Wilson bill.

An enormous rate—over 100 per cent.

These new rates increase enormously the cost of sizes used to a large extent in the construction of houses of moderate cost by people of limited means—sizes known as "square glazing sizes." They are used principally in third quality of double thickness, and the following comparisons of cost and duty will indicate the weight of the burden laid upon men of moderate means:

Inches square.	Cost, f. o. b. Antwerp.	Wilson duty.	Dingley duty.	Dingley ad valorem.
				Per cent.
26 by 28 to 24 by 36	$1.33	$1.60	$2.30	175
26 by 34 to 26 by 44	1.42	1.70	2.70	190
26 by 46 to 30 by 50	1.54	1.70	3.10	200
30 by 52 to 30 by 54	1.67	1.70	3.10	190

These tables may be studied more effectually when they are incorporated in full in the RECORD.

The Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SEWELL] spoke of certain manufacturers in his State which were not in the combination. Of course, if the Senator makes the assertion, I know it must be correct, but I wish to call the attention of the Senate to the statement contained in this document, not inconsistent with the assertion of that Senator at all, but still showing the practical control, though not exclusive and universal, but the practical control of the trust in the premises. I read again from the same document:

WINDOW-GLASS MANUFACTURERS' COMBINATION.

The total consumption of the country is from 3,500,000 to 4,000,000 boxes of 50 square feet per annum, of which about one-sixth is imported, the remaining five-sixths being supplied by the American manufacturers.

The domestic industry is controlled by two consolidated organizations—the Pittsburg Window Glass Company and the Western Window Glass Company—and four or five cooperating factories. Seven-eighths of the productive capacity of the country is controlled by these organizations, and they also regulate price of labor, duration of operations, and make fixed prices for jobbers, dealers, and consumers.

The ramifications of this combination will readily be understood by reference to the official schedules issued by the "national executive committee" of the consolidated organizations.

The last page of this document is interesting reading in connection with the particular subject now before us and the whole schedule. I read:

FORECAST OF THE LEADING GLASS MANUFACTURER IN THE UNITED STATES.

[Published in the National Glass Budget, March 27, 1897.]

The window-glass situation.

Under recent date the Chambers Glass Company, New Kensington, Pa., has issued the following circular to the trade:

"The Ways and Means Committee of the present Congress have reported the Dingley tariff bill, which restores the McKinley duties on window glass, besides adding two more brackets, 30 by 40 and 40 by 60, which increases the duties over the McKinley bill on those and on all larger sizes.

The writer has been in Washington several days, returning from there the first of the week, and from the very best information obtainable has no doubt the tariff bill will pass the Senate and become a law not later than July 1, and in all probability by June 1, or earlier. This means increased cost, as both wages and material will be very much higher. This, taken in connection with the further fact that stocks are small and factories have not an average of over three months' additional time to run this fire—a part of this time being the hot months, when production is reduced very materially—makes it almost certain that there will not be glass enough to supply even a moderate consumption up to the middle of next September, which is the earliest time new glass from next fire could possibly come onto the market.

With these conditions, we feel that we are justified in predicting a stiff market and a full demand for all the glass which will be made, with probabilities altogether in favor of higher prices. We therefore do not hesitate to advise our friends to buy at present prices all the glass they believe they will require up to the 1st of October next.

CHAMBERS GLASS COMPANY,
J. A. CHAMBERS, *President.*

I take it that this assertion is well founded, or it would not have been made in this public manner.

I have before me a letter accompanying a document illustrating this situation, which comes from the city of New York, and is signed by Theodore W. Morris & Co., which is as follows:

NEW YORK, *April 12, 1897.*

DEAR SIR: We hand you herewith an analysis of the Dingley tariff bill which has been prepared from actual experience in the importation of common window glass—

They refer to the statement already read—

The figures contained in the document are in no instance estimated, but are susceptible of proof by comparison with documents in the possession of the Government. The enactment of the Dingley bill will practically prohibit the importation of window glass and reduce the revenue to that extent. The ad valorem equivalent of the duty levied under the existing law is 94 per cent, and it is based not upon any exceptionally low cost, but upon the highest prices ruling in Europe for the past five or more years. Upon the same valuation the duties levied upon the same goods under the Dingley bill would amount to 140 per cent ad valorem. We feel confident that the documents submitted herewith will influence the action of your honorable committee.

We have the honor to remain,

Yours, very truly,

THE. W. MORRIS & CO.

Hon. STEPHEN M. WHITE,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

If we look at the comparative table under which we are acting, we fail to find any reason for the additional duty designed to be imposed consistent with the theory announced as the theory governing the framing of this bill. It is not true that there is any foreign competition resulting from any anterior legislation. It is not true that the foreign competition is of such a character as to prevent the profitable carrying on of this industry under the high rate of 94 per cent. And this I reason from the fact that but a very small portion of the actual consumption of the United States is

supplied by the imported goods. Of this there seems to be no doubt; and, looking at the comparative table on page 36, we find that in 1893 "cylinder, crown, and common window glass, unpolished, not exceeding 10 by 15 inches square," showed an importation of 12,778,538 pounds, as compared with 13,154,689 pounds in 1896—a very trifling increase, exceedingly so.

Taking the size "above 10 by 15 inches and not exceeding 16 by 24 inches," the importations in 1893 were 15,298,276 pounds, and in 1896, 15,373,922 pounds, or almost the same; the figures compare quite closely. "Above 16 by 24 inches and not exceeding 24 by 30 inches," we had in 1893 an importation of 17,471,344 pounds, and in 1896, 12,318,075, or more than 5,000,000 less in 1896 than in 1893.

Mr. GRAY. Under the Wilson law and under the McKinley law?

Mr. WHITE. Yes. So, as I have already said, if it be an excuse that there have been excessive importations supplied from foreign parts, that excuse has no applicability here, because the supply, instead of increasing in this grade, has actually diminished, and the duty already written in the Wilson law as to that particular item was 1¼ cents per pound, making an ad valorem of 100 per cent and a little over. The committee proposition is 115.16; the House proposition 139.70.

It is interesting to note the extent of the reductions proposed by the Senate committee upon this particular item. Thus, in the size of "not exceeding 10 by 15" the House bill is 55, the Senate bill 49.46, and the old rate was 43.15; in the size "above 10 by 15" the House bill is 125 and the Senate bill 107.02; in the size "above 16 by 24" the House bill is 139.70 and the Senate bill 115.16; in the "cylinder, crown, and common window glass, unpolished, not exceeding 24 by 36 inches" the House rate is 151.31, the Senate bill 126.46, and the rate in the Wilson law is 103.24.

Mr. President, this schedule has attracted much attention all over the country. I have a communication here from a very prominent wholesale dealer in the city in which I live. He refers not only to this schedule, but also to the earthenware schedule. I intended to present his remarks in connection with another schedule, and will do so, perhaps, later on as to the paragraphs that were passed over to-day. I will, however, ask the Secretary to read the letter, as it applies not only to earthenware, but also to crockery increases in general. The firm forwarding this communication is a reputable and well-established institution and deals not in foreign goods alone, but deals in domestic articles as well, having a general assortment and meeting the demands of the trade in both particulars.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read as follows:

LOS ANGELES, CAL., *April 13, 1897.*

DEAR SIR: We call to your attention the crockery and glassware changes in the new tariff bill, which we think is entirely wrong, and give you reasons for so thinking, and, if there is any possible way to do so, we would like to have you bring this matter before the Senate committee who has charge of the tariff. If the changes are made the way the House has passed the bill, it will produce great dissatisfaction among all people.

Our reasons are as follows:

1. English ware, under the present Wilson tariff, costs at port of entry about 15 per cent more than the same grade of American ware is selling for.

2. This difference of about 15 per cent shows that either the American manufacturer did not get the protection afforded him or could not take advantage of it on account of the difference in quality between the foreign and domestic productions.

3. As the present nominal duty of 30 per cent is applied to the package and package charges, as well as to the ware itself, and added to this is the foreign freight, ocean freight, and marine insurance, the American manufacturer, under the Wilson bill, is actually afforded a protection of about 69 per cent on white earthenware and over 100 per cent on glassware.

4. Since the change from the McKinley tariff to the Wilson, there have been but few failures for the last three years, which shows plainly that they are in good condition at the rate at which they are selling goods.

5. The proposed rate of duty of 55 per cent in white earthenware increases the protection to the American manufacturer from 69 per cent, as noted in paragraph 3, to about 92 per cent.

6. The object of the Ways and Means Committee, as given out, is to increase the revenue as well as to afford additional protection.

7. Obviously, if the American manufacturer takes the full advantage of the protection afforded, 92 per cent, it forces the consumer to pay an abnormal profit or tribute. If the American manufacturers do not take the full advantage afforded them, but use it to undersell foreign wares, will not reaction fall on the Government by reducing the importations?

8. Past experience in the china and earthenware industries has proven that an increase of protection does not always bring an increase of wages to the workingmen. Should, however, the American potters restore the reduction of 12½ per cent in wages, there would still remain a margin of over 20 per cent additional profits to the American potter under this proposed rate of duty. To be more explicit, the American manufacturers, under the Wilson bill, have a protection of 69 per cent, and it is presumed have made a profit, as they have continued and some have increased their business and new companies have started. Consequently, if they are given an additional protection of the difference between 69 and 92 per cent, or 23 per cent, the last amount added to the 15 per cent they are now underselling English ware, it would make a total of 38 per cent, and deducting a possible restoration of 12½ per cent in wages, it would leave a net approximate margin of 25½ per cent.

9. As to glassware, it is a noteworthy fact, to which we call your attention, that to-day, under the Wilson tariff, American glass manufacturers pay the highest scale of wages.

10. No business should be subject, by legislation, to such extreme changes as shown, between a duty of 30 and 55 per cent and 35 and 60 per cent.

11. Few, if any other, schedules on the new tariff bill have been advanced in such a relatively large degree.

12. We are dealers in both the American and foreign wares to meet the demands of trade, having no interest in any foreign factories, our functions, as merchants, being to find the best value for the consumer; and we add that, as crockery and glassware are used in every household in the land, there is no family necessity on which the new tariff protection will be so severely felt, for the reason that an increase from 30 to 55 and from 35 to 60 per cent will add fully 25 per cent to the retail prices which every family will feel.

In case you should wish any other information regarding this tariff, you may write to Charles S. Dennis, secretary of the Wholesale Crockery and Glassware Association, room 60, Borden Block, Chicago.

Yours, respectfully,

MEYBERG BROS.

Hon. STEPHEN M. WHITE,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President, the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. JONES] read a communication which has been transmitted to the honorable chairman of the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives by the Boston Plate and Window Glass Company. That institution inclosed a copy of the same letter to me. I shall not read the inclosure, however, as it is now in the RECORD in the remarks of the Senator from Arkansas, but I will read the note which was transmitted to me at the time the inclosure was sent. The letter is as follows:

BOSTON, *March 31, 1897.*

DEAR SIR: We beg to inclose copy of a letter we sent on January 5 last to the Hon. NELSON DINGLEY, Jr., Chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, and we beg to make an additional protest against any increase whatsoever in the present rates of duties on unpolished cylinder window glass (Schedule B).

The rates of duties on this article by the present or Wilson tariff give the American manufacturers a protection of nearly 100 per cent over the cost of the glass packed and delivered on board steamers abroad.

That is a very remarkable statement, but it seems to be entirely verified and vindicated by the figures already presented—

This was the average percentage of protection during the whole year 1896, and is the case to-day.

This is made by taking our total importations for the year 1896, and shows the average duty on the average sizes and qualities used in a year.

The rates by the present tariff come so near to being prohibitory that three-quarters or more of the yearly consumption of about 3,500,000 boxes of glass in this country is furnished by the American makers.

Any increase whatsoever over present rates of duties will tend to lessen the now small proportion imported, or prohibit any importation of this article, will therefore work injury to the importers and their many employees and will lessen the Government's revenue.

We beg to suggest that if revenue and not prohibition is the desired object of the present tariff revision, a reduction of 50 per cent of the rates of the present tariff on unpolished cylinder window glass will increase the revenue and will still afford the American makers a protection of about 50 per cent on an article that is a necessity and that affects the cost of living of many millions of our people, while any benefit to be derived from an increase in the present tariff rates on this article will accrue solely to only a few manufacturers and their workmen.

We beg also to point out that on some of the larger sizes of this article the duty as proposed by the bill now under discussion amounts to 160 per cent of the present cost (including boxing) abroad.

Any additional information regarding this subject which you may desire we will be happy to furnish you, if possible.

Respectfully, yours,

BOSTON PLATE AND WINDOW GLASS CO.,
By E. A. HILLS, *President.*

Hon. S. M. WHITE,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

Mr. President, it must be obvious that the criticism which is now being directed against this schedule is not in any sense an attack upon the theory that the American manufacturer must be protected, because, so far as I am concerned, I am assuming that the policy indicated by the majority here must prevail, and I do not care, except for the purpose of illustration, to argue the matter upon any other basis; but there is nothing yet before the Senate indicating that the present tariff is not adequate; there is nothing before the Senate indicating that it is not extremely protective. The American manufacturer is gradually obtaining possession of the American market, and is obtaining this possession not by any slow movement, but obtaining it thoroughly and rapidly. As that is the case, it seems to me we have reached the point where we can afford to rest.

There is no motion before the Senate to reduce this high rate, which is 100 per cent now upon some grades, and much higher upon others; but there is very properly, as is suggested by the Senate committee, a reduction of the rates in the House bill, but no attempt to go back to the rates in the Wilson bill; which, upon any theory of protection, are adequate and complete. It is adequate, because under it there has been no substantial increase of importations; it is adequate, because under it the American manufacturer practically has the market; and I do not understand that absolute prohibition is attempted here.

We have the statement of the chairman of the committee, very correctly made, that it is not easy to procure adequate revenue under present conditions. There is a remarkable matter to which I might direct the attention of the Senate in connection with this subject of revenue, showing, as the Senator from Rhode Island has stated, the difficulty of obtaining sufficient money in the ordinary way to meet the expenses of the Government, and which discloses very clearly that the Wilson Act, so-called, is a much better revenue producer than was the McKinley Act. I shall not

delay the Senate at this time to find the figures, but I will state the result, and afterwards can refer to the matter again.

The last fiscal year of the McKinley Act, during which it was enforced throughout the whole of the year, terminated June 30, 1894. The Wilson Act did not go into effect until January, 1895, but the last year of the McKinley Act terminated, when we refer to the fiscal year, on June 30, 1894. If we take the first fiscal year during which the Wilson law was in full force, to wit, the fiscal year terminating on the 30th day of June, 1896, we find that the Wilson law produced more revenue by many million dollars than did the McKinley Act during its last fiscal year, showing that during hard times—for the times were hard in both instances; the markets were in bad condition; they are in a bad condition now, and it might be difficult, perhaps, to determine whether they were in a worse condition during the former period than the latter—but, at all events, depression was the rule, and yet the Wilson Act yielded more revenue than the McKinley Act, thus demonstrating, whatever may be its imperfections—and no doubt they are many—that as a revenue producer, as a means of obtaining money wherewith to supply the expenses of the Government, it was an enactment superior to the McKinley law.

Why was that? Obviously, among other reasons, because of the high duties on certain lines. True, another reason can be found, and a valid one, in this, that the people had no means wherewith to purchase; but that unfortunate condition yet prevails, and I have not yet heard anyone who undertakes to assert when a change will take place; that is, to assert that he has absolute knowledge on that point.

Can it be the policy of the Senate, or of either of the parties in the Senate, to pass a bill containing provisions of a character so excessive with relation to the Wilson Act as to prohibit all importations? If we simply desire to equalize the labor cost and to put the American producer in that respect upon a level with the foreigner, to give him an advantage and to afford him an opportunity to take possession of the American market, we have done all that any advocate of protection could legitimately ask us to do.

But, apart from this theory, and entirely independent of the notions of extreme protection or halfway protection, we have staring in our faces the truth that the McKinley rates were so extensively prohibitive that a revenue was not afforded sufficient to maintain the Government, and the view of the present enactment is to increase the revenue. The chairman of the committee informs us that the conditions are such, and the financial results of the bill so problematical, that he is compelled to resort unwillingly to sources which he would far rather be permitted to call on at some later and more exigent time.

Now, I submit that when we have reached the point where the American manufacturer has possession of the market, and where the statistics showing importations under the Wilson law indicate that that possession is not to be disturbed, we can afford to rest our theories, whether free trade, or protection, or anything else, and say, "We have gone far enough."

There is a great deal of literature on the glass subject, applying generally to the various subdivisions of the bill, some of which possibly I may place before the Senate later on. My knowledge of the rates and of the effect of the proposed tariff is derived, of course, from what I read about it. I have before me a paper called the National Glass Budget and two or three other papers issued by those interested on one side or the other in the business—I mean on the part of manufacturers or importers—and looking over the whole subject I can not find any disagreement as to the facts I have stated here; the hearings before the House committee disclose no error in the figures which have been given to the Senate, and the computations made by the Senate Finance Committee and submitted to us for our guidance are directly confirmatory of the criticisms which we have made here to-day. If there is any reason to suppose that the conclusions reached are not right, I would cheerfully support the tariff suggested by the committee, but as the matter now stands I will certainly support the amendment offered by the Senator from Arkansas.

Mr. CAFFERY. The Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH], in his speech setting forth the merits of the pending bill, said it is a moderate measure. If his mind adverted to the tariff on ordinary window glass, he certainly must have smiled inwardly to himself, for the bill, instead of being moderate, is excessive in its rates. Notwithstanding the fact of a decline in the value of glass along the lines of nearly every one of these schedules or parts of paragraphs, higher specific rates of duty have been levied, so that, as stated by the Senator from Texas [Mr. MILLS], the rates have run up to the excessive point of 168 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. President, if there is a period when the greed for protection will cease, it has never yet been discovered. It would seem that the rates imposed upon glassware by the Wilson Act itself were high enough for any purposes of protection, or even of prohibition. Those rates are very high. Glass worth 2 cents a pound sometimes is rated at a cent a pound, about 50 per cent ad valorem. Under 2 cents a pound, on cylinder, crown, and common window glass, unpolished, not exceeding 10 by 15 inches, under the Wilson Act the duty is 1 cent a pound, the equivalent ad valorem being 47 per cent. Those rates were high enough to satisfy the excessive greed for protection, and why raise the specific rates on a declining value, unless it be to wall up the United States, completely shut out all foreign importations, and allow the home producers to charge whatever price they choose for the article?

Is that the purpose of the pending bill? Is it not confessed here in the excessive rates upon glass—the common glass of the people—that the people are to have no protection whatever against any rates that the home manufacturers choose to impose upon them? No relief can come from foreign importations. The rates are excessive, and the people are to be turned over to the tender mercies of the trusts in glassware.

It is stated by the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SEWELL] that there is no trust, but the trust naturally forms itself. There is no need of any trust when you have a barrier that keeps out all competitors in the same line of goods. That period will never come, dreamed of by philosophic and humane protectionists, when the home competition will cut down the prices. It has never come. It will never come. There has to be an outside influence to hold in check the rapacity of the home producer. He naturally unites, and, with or without a trust, the whole range of tariff history shows that the domestic price is held up to the price of the imported article all the time.

I only rose to express my indignation at the excessive rate of duties in paragraph 98, which we are now discussing. The Senator from Rhode Island has been predicting estimates; I will predict results. I predict that these excessive rates will destroy the very principle which they seek to uphold—the tariff principle of the protectionists. You have made your wall too high. You have allowed rates to be excessive. Under the guise of those rates the American consumers can be absolutely fleeced. There is no relief for the consumer. Every time an importer of any article comes before the Senate there is an exclamation of derision from the other side of the Chamber. "He is an importer, and therefore his testimony or his statements should be utterly despised and rejected and scorned before the Senate."

From the nature of his position he more or less represents the consumer. The consumers can never be heard except through this indirect channel. They can not come here to represent themselves. The body is too vast, the consumers are too poor, while the manufacturers have paid representatives to advance their interests before committees having in charge the formation of bills of this sort.

It should be made very clear to the Senate that under the rates of the Wilson Act, as high as they were and as un-Democratic as they were in this particular instance, no importations have come in to threaten the home manufacturer. The importations have decreased. Wherefore is it, we ask, that you want now to impose higher and higher rates, if not to turn over the consumer to the tender mercies of the home seller?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the amendment reported by the Committee on Finance.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Before the vote is taken, in view of the statement made by the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SEWELL], though I do not want to be understood as saying at all that there was any mistake about his statement that the glass manufacturers in his locality are not connected with the trust, I wish to present to the Senate a communication which I received from James A. Pugh, manager of a glasshouse in Chicago, in which he says:

> The manufacturers of unpolished cylinder or common window glass are located in Indiana and Pennsylvania, in the natural-gas belts, fuel being a large item in the expense of manufacturing this glass. The window-glass manufacturers have formed themselves into two associations, one known as the Pittsburg Window Glass Association, which controls the distribution of the product for the Eastern market, and the other as the Western Window Glass Association, controlling the distribution of the production for the Western market, these two associations controlling about 95 per cent of the production in this country. These associations fix a price at which window glass shall be sold, and all orders are divided pro rata among the factories.
>
> The importations of window glass are comparatively small, compared with the production in this country, and what glass there is imported is for the Eastern market, the freight being too much to send it out West.
>
> The manufacturers, through these associations, at the beginning of each season, sign a scale of prices to be paid their workmen, the blowers, the flatteners, the cutters, etc., which scale determines the wages for the year. Last November, after a long struggle, the manufacturers signed a scale which was the same as the year before, but provided, in the event of a higher duty being placed on sheet glass, the men were to receive a certain advance out of whatever advance was made in the duty. The duty on unpolished cylinder or crown window glass is covered by paragraph 98, and when ornamented, by paragraph 104.

As bearing on this question, I will read a short extract from the National Glass Budget, which I imagine is good authority among glass men. Under the head "Window glass," of date May 8, 1897, the following occurs:

> WINDOW GLASS.
>
> There is very little new to note in window glass, except that there is no material change. Jobbers are buying a little freer, but glass is still being

stocked up in large quantities. The changes in the tariff rates made by the Senate reduces those originally fixed by the Ways and Means Committee, but still leaves a very fair advance. At any rate, American window glass does not at present require any tariff prop, and it is a question whether a good, stiff reduction would not be the best thing that could happen for the industry. The combines now have the matter of production, distribution, and prices down so fine that they can fairly dictate conditions to jobbers and consumers. The workers this year are divided into four factions, each bent on securing separate craft advantages.

The settlement of wages will be slow and difficult next fall, and even if no tariff advances were likely, a late start in the factories may be looked for, as manufacturers are not going to make higher-priced glass with their stock sheds full of cheaper glass out of which it is in their power to squeeze all the trade will bear. It is stated by the officials of the combine that present stocks are considerably lighter than they were last year at this time, and that being the case, with more pots in operation than last year, and more constant production, it follows that consumption has been slowly increasing, and that jobbers are holding more glass than a year ago. Everything points to the wisdom of buying glass at present prices. No one at all informed on the conditions of the market believes that glass will be lower. It is dead certain that wages, and perhaps raw materials, will be higher next blast, and as soon as the tariff bill is passed, manufacturers are certain to advance prices on stock then held.

This seems to show, from the standpoint of the glass people, what the object and intention of this increase in the tariff taxation are, that the American people are to be required to pay higher rates for this absolute necessary of life than they have heretofore been paying. I ask for the yeas and nays on the question of agreeing to the amendment.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. The Committee on Finance report an amendment, in paragraph 98, line 20, to strike out "three-eighths" and insert "one-fourth;" so as to read:

Unpolished, cylinder, crown, and common window glass, not exceeding 10 by 15 inches square, 1¼ cents per pound.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. My motion was, as a substitute for the committee amendment, to strike out "one and three-eighths" and insert "1 cent."

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. In the opinion of the Chair under the agreement made that the committee amendments shall be first voted upon, it is entirely competent, if the amendment be adopted, for the Senator to offer an amendment striking out "and one-fourth."

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. If no question is raised about the right of the Senate to strike out what it has just voted in, I will agree to that course.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair will now that the Senator from Arkansas can do so.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I have no doubt the Chair will carry it through. I do not care for the yeas and nays on the question, then. I withdraw the demand.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Then, I suppose, if the amendment of the committee is agreed to, the Senator from Arkansas will propose his amendment.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection to the committee amendment?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. There is objection, but the other side have the vote necessary to have it agreed to.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The amendment will be considered as agreed to. The Senator from Arkansas moves to strike out "1¼ cents" and insert "1 cent," which is entirely in order.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. On that I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BUTLER (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Maryland [Mr. WELLINGTON], and therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. CLAY (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE]. Were he present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. DANIEL (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. HAWLEY].

Mr. ELKINS (when his name was called). I am paired with my colleague [Mr. FAULKNER].

The PRESIDENT pro tempore (when Mr. FRYE's name was called). As this seems to be a test vote on an important schedule, the Senator from Maine will announce his pair with the senior Senator from Maryland [Mr. GORMAN].

Mr. HANNA (when his name was called). I have a permanent pair on the pending bill with the junior Senator from Utah [Mr. RAWLINS], and therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut (when Mr. HAWLEY'S name was called). I desire to announce that my colleague [Mr. HAWLEY] has been called from the city, and, I understand, is paired with the Senator from Virginia [Mr. DANIEL]. If my colleague were present, he would vote "nay."

Mr. JONES of Arkansas (when his name was called). I have a pair with the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. MITCHELL (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SEWELL].

Mr. PASCO (when his name was called). On this vote I am paired with the Senator from Utah [Mr. CANNON]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. PENROSE (when his name was called). I have a permanent pair with the Senator from Delaware [Mr. KENNEY], which includes the pending bill. I therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. WALTHALL (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. SPOONER]. Otherwise I should vote "yea."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. BATE (after having voted in the affirmative). I desire to inquire if the junior Senator from Kentucky [Mr. DEBOE] has voted?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. He has not voted, the Chair is informed.

Mr. BATE. I withdraw my vote, being paired with that Senator for to-day.

The result was announced—yeas 18, nays 28; as follows:

YEAS—18.

Bacon,	Gray,	Morgan,	Turpie,
Berry,	Heitfeld,	Murphy,	Vest,
Caffery,	Lindsay,	Pettigrew,	White.
Chilton,	Mallory,	Pettus,	
Cockrell,	Mills,	Roach,	

NAYS—28.

Aldrich,	Fairbanks,	McEnery,	Proctor,
Allison,	Foraker,	McMillan,	Quay,
Burrows,	Gallinger,	Mason,	Shoup,
Carter,	Gear,	Nelson,	Stewart,
Chandler,	Hansbrough,	Perkins,	Warren,
Cullom,	Jones, Nev.	Platt, Conn.	Wetmore,
Davis,	McBride,	Pritchard,	Wilson.

NOT VOTING—42.

Allen,	Frye,	Kyle,	Smith,
Baker,	George,	Lodge,	Spooner,
Bate,	Gorman,	Mantle,	Teller,
Butler,	Hale,	Martin,	Thurston,
Cannon,	Hanna,	Mitchell,	Tillman,
Clark,	Harris, Kans.	Morrill,	Turner,
Clay,	Harris, Tenn.	Pasco,	Walthall,
Daniel,	Hawley,	Penrose,	Wellington,
Deboe,	Hoar,	Platt, N. Y.	Wolcott.
Elkins,	Jones, Ark.	Rawlins,	
Faulkner,	Kenney,	Sewell,	

So the amendment was rejected.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 98, page 24, line 23, before the word "cents," to strike out "seven-eighths" and insert "five-eighths;" so as to read:

Unpolished, cylinder, crown, and common window glass, not exceeding 10 by 15 inches square, 1½ cents per pound; above that, and not exceeding 16 by 24 inches square, 1¾ cents per pound.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I propose to move an amendment. The committee reported to strike out "seven-eighths" and insert "five-eighths," which has been agreed to. I move to strike out "five-eighths" and insert "one-fourth."

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In paragraph 98, line 22, it is proposed to strike out "five-eighths" and insert "one-fourth;" so as to read:

One and one-fourth cents per pound.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The last yea-and-nay vote would seem to indicate that there is not much hope of undertaking to get our friends on the other side to relent at all in the exorbitant tax on this necessary of life, but as I have heard "while the lamp holds out to burn," etc., I propose to have one more vote on the subject to see if we can not get some additional help.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Arkansas.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. On that I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BATE (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. DEBOE]. If he were here, I should vote "yea."

Mr. BUTLER (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Maryland [Mr. WELLINGTON].

Mr. CLAY (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE]. Were he present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. DANIEL (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. HAWLEY]. If he were here, I should vote "yea."

Mr. ELKINS (when his name was called). I am paired with my colleague [Mr. FAULKNER].

Mr. HANNA (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Utah [Mr. RAWLINS].

Mr. JONES of Arkansas (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE]. I should vote "yea," if he were present.

Mr. PASCO (when his name was called). I again announce my

pair with the Senator from Utah [Mr. CANNON]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. WALTHALL (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. SPOONER]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. CLARK. I am paired with the Senator from Kansas [Mr. HARRIS].

Mr. WILSON. I again announce the pair of my colleague [Mr. TURNER] with the senior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR].

Mr. MITCHELL. I am paired with the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SEWELL].

The result was announced—yeas 18, nays 27; as follows:

YEAS—18.

Bacon,	Gray,	Morgan,	Turpie,
Berry,	Heitfeld,	Murphy,	Vest,
Caffery,	Lindsay,	Pettigrew,	White.
Chilton,	Mallory,	Pettus,	
Cockrell,	Mills,	Roach,	

NAYS—27.

Aldrich,	Fairbanks,	McEnery,	Quay,
Allison,	Foraker,	McMillan,	Shoup,
Burrows,	Gallinger,	Mason,	Stewart,
Carter,	Gear,	Perkins,	Warren,
Chandler,	Hansbrough,	Platt, Conn.	Wetmore,
Cullom,	Jones, Nev.	Pritchard,	Wilson.
Davis,	McBride,	Proctor,	

NOT VOTING—43.

Allen,	Frye,	Kyle,	Sewell,
Baker,	George,	Lodge,	Smith,
Bate,	Gorman,	Mantle,	Spooner,
Butler,	Hale,	Martin,	Teller,
Cannon,	Hanna,	Mitchell,	Thurston,
Clark,	Harris, Kans.	Morrill,	Tillman,
Clay,	Harris, Tenn.	Nelson,	Turner,
Daniel,	Hawley,	Pasco,	Walthall,
Deboe,	Hoar,	Penrose,	Wellington,
Elkins,	Jones, Ark.	Platt, N. Y.	Wolcott.
Faulkner,	Kenney,	Rawlins,	

So the amendment was rejected.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. GALLINGER in the chair). The next amendment of the Committee on Finance will be stated.

The next amendment was, in paragraph 98, page 24, line 25, to strike out "and three-eighths;" so as to read:

Above that, and not exceeding 24 by 30 inches square, 2 cents per pound.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I move to strike out "two" and insert "one and three-fourths;" so as to read:

Above that, and not exceeding 24 by 30 inches square, 1¾ cents per pound.

That is the present rate. The Senate having voted on two amendments in the same line in this paragraph and having voted them down, I will not occupy the time of the Senate by asking for the yeas and nays. Although it is quite an important paragraph and I should be glad to have a record made, I will not take up the time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Arkansas.

The amendment was rejected.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 98, page 25, line 2, after the word "and," to strike out "seven-eighths" and insert "three-eighths;" so as to read:

Above that, and not exceeding 24 by 36 inches square, 2¼ cents per pound.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I move to strike out "two and three-eighths" and insert the word "two," which is the present rate; so as to read:

Above that, and not exceeding 24 by 36 inches square, 2 cents per pound.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Arkansas.

The amendment was rejected.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 98, page 25, line 3, after the word "pound," to insert "all;" and in the same line, after the word "that," to strike out "and not exceeding 30 by 40 inches square, three and three-eighths" and insert "two and three-fourths;" so as to read:

All above that, 2¼ cents per pound.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I move to strike out the words "two and three-fourths" and insert "two and one-eighth;" so as to read:

All above that, 2⅛ cents per pound.

The amendment was rejected.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 98, page 25, line 6, after the word "pound" to strike out:

Above that, and not exceeding 40 by 60 inches square, 3¼ cents per pound; above that, 4¼ cents per pound.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. TURPIE. Mr. President, I wish to call attention to the proviso of paragraph 98, and I offer the following amendment to it: In line 9 I move to insert the word "upon" before the word "unpolished;" in line 11 to strike out the words "shall contain" and insert the word "containing," and in the same line insert the words "more or less" after "feet" and strike out "and" in the twelfth line. The proviso now reads:

Provided, That unpolished cylinder, crown, and common window glass, imported in boxes, shall contain 50 square feet, as nearly as sizes will permit, and the duty shall be computed thereon according to the actual weight of glass.

I always entertain a very honest suspicion about a proviso in any statute. It is the natural site of an ambush; and whether it was so intended here or not, I wish to make it very plain that we are not to be led into it without knowing that there is one. I think that under the text of the proviso as reported it is possible to prohibit entirely the importation of unpolished cylinder, crown, and common window glass imported in boxes, because, in the first place, it may be said that it contains "50 square feet as nearly as sizes will permit."

Now, what will the custom-house officer do in reference to the boxes of glass? It would depend entirely upon his discretion whether he would admit it or not. He might say that it contained less than 50 square feet, and that would prevent the importation. He might say that it contained more than 50 square feet, and it would have the same result. He might say that it was a box not as nearly as sizes would permit containing 50 square feet, and defeat the importation. So there are three methods, and very plain ones, in the proviso for the absolute prohibition of the importation of glass of the character mentioned in it. It would be a great deal better, a great deal plainer, and, according to my view, more candid to make the prohibition absolute at once than to do it by indirection, as is sought to be done in the text of the proviso.

I move to amend the proviso so that it will read:

Provided, That upon unpolished cylinder, crown, and common window glass, imported in boxes containing 50 square feet, more or less as nearly as sizes will permit, the duty shall be computed thereon according to the actual weight of glass.

This amendment does not come in conflict with the notion of computing the duty upon the weight of the glass. After the Senate has voted the very excessive increase upon common window glass and unpolished cylinder, and crown glass, the estimate of it by weight is perhaps as just and fair as any other. The amendment does not disturb that method, but the amendment does prevent the arbitrary discretion of the custom-house officer from prohibiting the importation entirely.

I believe, sir, that the duties upon all glass certainly are high enough under existing law; that no increase of duty is needed for purposes of revenue and none is needed for purposes of encouragement, for there are two things in the title of the bill. I will say to the authors of it, whoever they are, that this title is the most modest which has ever been suggested for a bill of this kind, from the political parties downward upon the other side of the aisle or the other end of the Capitol. I recollect the last one was a bill to reduce taxation and to protect American industries and manufactures. This title has only two features—to provide revenue for the Government and to encourage the industries of the United States. Revenue and encouragement! It is not needful, either for encouragement or revenue, for either of these purposes, that there should be any increase upon the rates on glass. It is entirely a mistake to think that a high rate of duty—not prohibitory—necessarily increases or encourages importations. It does not do so.

The home manufacturer can prevent importation at any time by selling his ware under the duty line, and he can always command the market. The opportunity to import affects prices in the same way as importation itself. The ability and the opportunity to import affects prices in the same manner as actual importation. That is the reason why we voted, not only with respect to this section, but with respect to others, against the increase in tariff rates.

I do not know whether it was the intention by this proviso to make an absolute prohibition of the importation of the commoner and cheaper grades of window glass and other glass goods, but I am certain, under any construction of the proviso, that result will follow, and I would a great deal sooner make the correction now than to trust the discretion of the custom-house officer or the rules and regulations of the Secretary of the Treasury upon the text of such a statute.

Mr. ALDRICH. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Indiana yield to the Senator from Rhode Island?

Mr. TURPIE. With inexpressible pleasure.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Rhode Island will suspend a moment. The amendment of the Senator from Indiana will be read.

The SECRETARY. On page 25, paragraph 98, in line 9, before the word "unpolished," insert the word "upon;" in line 11, strike out the words "shall contain" and insert the word "containing;"

after the word "feet," in the same line, insert the words "more or less;" and after the word "permit," in line 12, strike out the word "and;" so that if amended the proviso will read:

Provided, That upon unpolished cylinder, crown, and common window glass, imported in boxes containing 50 square feet more or less, as nearly as sizes will permit, the duty shall be computed thereon according to the actual weight of glass.

Mr. ALDRICH. The suggestion I was about to make to the Senator from Indiana when he took his seat is that the language found in the proviso is precisely the language used in the existing law, the act of 1894, in a proviso, and it is precisely the language used in the act of 1890. As far as my recollection goes (I have not the bill here, but I think I am right about it), it is precisely the language used in the act of 1883. So I do not think it possible to be open to the construction the Senator gives it.

Mr. CHANDLER. What is the object of the proviso? Will the Senator state?

Mr. ALDRICH. The object is to have the importations made in a regular form as near as can be done.

Mr. TURPIE. Oh, no; pardon me; the object of the proviso is to calculate the rate of duties upon weight. That is the object of the proviso. I do not interfere with that.

Mr. ALDRICH. I do not see any objection to the language which the Senator from Indiana suggests.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. There can be none.

Mr. ALDRICH. I do not see any objection to it, and I think I will accept the amendment.

Mr. ALLISON. I suggest to the Senator from Rhode Island that if the proviso is to read as the Senator from Indiana suggests, it is wholly unnecessary, because, of course, if they are imported in boxes containing 50 square feet as nearly as sizes will permit, they will pay a duty according to the weight just as they would if imported in boxes of 100 feet.

Mr. TURPIE. Nothing would improve my sentiment in respect to the whole paragraph better than to strike out the proviso. I accept the suggestion of the Senator from Iowa.

Mr. WHITE. The act of 1883 is somewhat different. I have it here.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask that the proviso may be again read.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The proviso will be again read.

The SECRETARY. If amended the proviso would read:

Provided, That upon unpolished cylinder, crown, and common window glass, imported in boxes containing 50 square feet more or less, as nearly as sizes will permit, the duty shall be computed thereon according to the actual weight of glass.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I can see no objection to the adoption of the suggestion of the Senator from Indiana. If it is the intention that this paragraph shall be construed as we all think it ought to be, the words proposed by the Senator from Indiana will only make it more certain and can not bring in any complication.

Mr. ALDRICH. Let it go in; and if we see any objection to it hereafter, we will call the attention of the Senator from Indiana to it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the amendment will be considered as agreed to. It is agreed to. The next amendment of the committee will be stated.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 99, page 25, line 20, after the word "square," to strike out "twenty" and insert "fifteen;" and in line 21, after the word "that," to strike out "forty" and insert "twenty;" so as to make the paragraph read:

99. Cylinder and crown glass, polished, not exceeding 16 by 24 inches square, 4 cents per square foot; above that, and not exceeding 24 by 30 inches square, 6 cents per square foot; above that, and not exceeding 24 by 60 inches square, 15 cents per square foot; above that, 20 cents per square foot.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. In line 16 of the paragraph just read I move to strike out "four" and insert "two and one-half;" so as to read:

Cylinder and crown glass, polished, not exceeding 16 by 24 inches square, 2½ cents per square foot.

The PRESIDING OFFICER put the question; and declared that the noes appeared to prevail.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. If there is a doubt about it, I should like to have the yeas and nays. It is an important vote anyhow.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BATE (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. DEBOE]. If he were present, I would vote "yea."

Mr. BUTLER (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Maryland [Mr. WELLINGTON].

Mr. CLAY (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE]. I should vote "yea," if he were present.

Mr. DANIEL (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. HAWLEY].

Mr. MITCHELL (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SEWELL]. If he were present, I should vote "yea" and he would vote "nay."

Mr. PENROSE (when his name was called). The Senator from Delaware [Mr. KENNEY] will stand paired with the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE], and therefore I will vote. I vote "nay."

Mr. CLAY. Upon that announcement I will have my vote recorded. I vote "yea."

Mr. WALTHALL (when his name was called). I would vote "yea" but for my pair with the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. SPOONER].

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas (after having voted in the affirmative). I voted inadvertently. I am paired with the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE], and I withdraw my vote.

Mr. FRYE. If necessary to make a quorum, I will vote. I vote "nay."

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. For the purpose of making a quorum, I will vote. I vote "yea."

The result was announced—yeas 20, nays 27; as follows:

YEAS—20.

Bacon,	Cockrell,	Mallory,	Pettus,
Berry,	Gray,	Mills,	Roach,
Caffery,	Heitfeld,	Morgan,	Turpie,
Chilton,	Jones, Ark.	Murphy,	Vest,
Clay,	Lindsay,	Pettigrew,	White.

NAYS—27.

Aldrich,	Foraker,	McMillan,	Proctor,
Allison,	Frye,	Mason,	Quay,
Burrows,	Gallinger,	Nelson,	Shoup,
Chandler,	Gear,	Penrose,	Stewart,
Cullom,	Hansbrough,	Perkins,	Warren,
Davis,	McBride,	Platt, Conn.	Wetmore.
Fairbanks,	McEnery,	Pritchard,	

NOT VOTING—41.

Allen,	George,	Lodge,	Teller,
Baker,	Gorman,	Mantle,	Thurston,
Bate,	Hale,	Martin,	Tillman,
Butler,	Hanna,	Mitchell,	Turner,
Cannon,	Harris, Kans.	Morrill,	Walthall,
Carter,	Harris, Tenn.	Pasco,	Wellington,
Clark,	Hawley,	Platt, N. Y.	Wilson,
Daniel,	Hoar,	Rawlins,	Wolcott.
Deboe,	Jones, Nev.	Sewell,	
Elkins,	Kenney,	Smith,	
Faulkner,	Kyle,	Spooner,	

So the amendment was rejected.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. In line 18 I move to strike out, after the word "square," the word "six" and insert the word "four," which will make it the present rate. It would then read:

99. Cylinder and crown glass, polished, not exceeding 16 by 24 inches square, 4 cents per square foot; above that, and not exceeding 24 by 30 inches square, 4 cents per square foot.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Arkansas.

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. VEST. I wish to call attention to the generosity of the Senators who framed this bill as to the last two classifications of this paragraph. They have put in the Wilson rate, while they increased upon the first two classifications 1¼ cents on one and 2 cents upon the other. If Senators will turn to the comparative statement, they will understand at once why this generosity was exhibited. There was under that last classification but one pane of glass that came into the United States in 1896.

Mr. ALLISON. That simply shows that the duty was protective under the Wilson rate.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. It is now past 5 o'clock, and I suggest to the Senator from Rhode Island that he allow us to adjourn.

Mr. ALDRICH. I hope to go on until half past 5, so as to complete this schedule. I think there is nothing else in it that will lead to debate.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. There are some important matters in this schedule that must be considered, and, as far as I am concerned, I have been here to-day as long as I feel like staying. I am tired and I want to have the Senate adjourn.

Mr. ALDRICH. I think we ought not to adjourn before half past 5.

Mr. WHITE. I was going to suggest to the Senator from Rhode Island that we have been compelled to pass over a number of provisions that were not yet ready for final action. I think we have been getting along quite rapidly. I do not see any necessity for keeping us here later at this time. In case of any pressure hereafter, any delay by making speeches or anything of that kind, it may be necessary to stay in session longer. In the early consideration of the bill, I think we ought to adjourn at 5 o'clock unless some difficulty is experienced in getting ahead, and I feel like insisting on it as far as I am concerned.

Mr. VEST. I wish to call the attention of the Senator from Rhode Island to the historic fact that we have made more progress in three days' time than we made in three weeks on the Wilson bill.

Mr. ALDRICH. We have not made much progress upon the bill to-day.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. It has not been our fault.

Mr. ALDRICH. I do not know whose fault it is, but the fact remains that we have not.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I think we have done very well.

Mr. ALDRICH. I suggest that there can be no possible objection to most of the paragraphs which now remain in the pending schedule.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. For myself, I want to examine these paragraphs before they are taken up in the Senate, and it will take less time for me to examine them quietly in my own room than in the Senate Chamber; but if we are compelled to make the examination here, I shall have to read a great many papers to the Senate that I should prefer to first read over myself, so as to determine which of them ought to be presented for the consideration of the Senate.

I have not attempted to delay the consideration of the bill one minute. I have done all that I could in the interests of a fair discussion, such as we set out in the beginning to have, and nothing more. I have not intended to delay the progress of the bill in any way. We have done the best we could to facilitate its consideration, and we have given only such consideration to each paragraph as we believed was fair and right.

I am not prepared to go on with the further discussion of the bill this evening, so far as I am concerned, and I insist that the Senate ought to adjourn.

Mr. ALDRICH. In view of the wish of a large number of Senators about me that we should have an executive session, I yield the floor for the purpose of allowing a motion of that kind to be made.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. McMILLAN. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After eight minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened, and (at 5 o'clock and 15 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Saturday, May 29, 1897, at 12 o'clock meridian.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate May 27, 1897.

UNITED STATES ATTORNEY.

William Vaughan, of Alabama, to be attorney of the United States for the northern district of Alabama, vice Emmet O'Neal, removed.

UNITED STATES MARSHAL.

Solomon F. Stahl, of Arkansas, to be marshal of the United States for the western district of Arkansas, vice George J. Crump, whose term will expire May 28, 1897.

COLLECTOR OF CUSTOMS.

Alexander R. Avery, of Michigan, to be collector of customs for the district of Huron, in the State of Michigan, to succeed Thomas M. Crocker, whose term of office has expired by limitation.

DEPUTY AUDITOR FOR NAVY DEPARTMENT.

John M. Ewing, of Wisconsin, to be deputy auditor for the Navy Department, to succeed E. N. Bowman, resigned.

PROMOTIONS IN THE ARMY.

General officers.

Col. James Franklin Wade, Fifth Cavalry, to be brigadier-general, May 26, 1897, vice Forsyth, who vacated on accepting commission as major-general.

Col. John Kemp Mizner, Tenth Cavalry, to be brigadier-general, May 26, 1897, vice Bliss, who vacated on accepting commission as major-general.

Col. William Montrose Graham, Fifth Artillery, to be brigadier-general, May 26, 1897, vice Brooke, who vacated on accepting commission as major-general.

CHIEF BUREAU OF ORDNANCE, NAVY DEPARTMENT.

Commander Charles O'Neil, United States Navy, to be Chief of the Bureau of Ordnance, in the Department of the Navy, with the relative rank of commodore, for the term of four years from the 1st day of June, 1897, vice Capt. William T. Sampson, resigned.

CHAPLAIN IN THE NAVY.

Thaddius S. K. Freeman, a citizen of Indiana, to be a chaplain in the Navy (subject to the examination required by law), to fill a vacancy existing in that grade.

POSTMASTERS.

W. L. Paine, to be postmaster at Argenta, in the county of Pulaski and State of Arkansas, in the place of Thomas W. Baldwin, removed.

C. H. Cornell, to be postmaster at Corona (late South Riverside), in the county of Riverside and State of California, in the place of Virgil O. Harter, superseded.

C. G. Brown, to be postmaster at Eastman, in the county of Dodge and State of Georgia, the appointment of a postmaster for the said office having, by law, become vested in the President on and after April 1, 1897.

Peter B. Smith, to be postmaster at Adams, in the county of Berkshire and State of Massachusetts, in the place of Fred W. Smith, resigned.

Percy R. Trubshaw, to be postmaster at Cooperstown, in the county of Griggs and State of North Dakota, the appointment of a postmaster for the said office having, by law, become vested in the President on and after October 1, 1896, William C. Jimeson, appointed by the President, and by him nominated to the Senate, not having been confirmed.

Ezra W. Woodward, to be postmaster at Newberg, in the county of Yamhill and State of Oregon, the appointment of a postmaster for the said office having, by law, become vested in the President on and after July 1, 1896, Joseph C. Sawyer, appointed by the President, and by him nominated to the Senate, not having been confirmed.

Almon K. Goodwin, to be postmaster at Pawtucket, in the county of Providence and State of Rhode Island, in the place of Almon K. Goodwin, whose commission expired December 14, 1896. (Reappointed.)

Executive nominations received by the Senate May 28, 1897.

CONSULS.

Max Bouchsein, of Illinois, to be consul of the United States at Barmen, Germany, vice Henry F. Merritt, resigned.

Ferdinand W. Neumann, of Illinois, to be consul of the United States at Cologne, Germany, vice William D. Wamer, deceased.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate May 28, 1897.

ASSISTANT ATTORNEY-GENERAL.

James Edmund Boyd, of North Carolina, to be Assistant Attorney-General.

PROMOTION IN THE NAVY.

Commander Charles O'Neil, United States Navy, to be Chief of the Bureau of Ordnance, in the Department of the Navy, with the relative rank of commodore.

SECRETARY OF LEGATION.

François S. Jones, of Louisiana, to be secretary of the legation of the United States at Buenos Ayres, Argentine Republic.

COLLECTOR OF CUSTOMS.

Kenneth R. Pendleton, of North Carolina, to be collector of customs for the district of Albemarle, in the State of North Carolina.

POSTMASTERS.

John B. Hinds, to be postmaster at Decatur, in the county of Morgan and State of Alabama.

J. D. Wilson, to be postmaster at Cloverport, in the county of Breckinridge and State of Kentucky.

SENATE.

SATURDAY, *May 29, 1897.*

Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. W. H. MILBURN, D. D.

The VICE-PRESIDENT resumed the chair.

The Secretary proceeded to read the Journal of yesterday's proceedings, when, on motion of Mr. QUAY, and by unanimous consent, the further reading was dispensed with.

VISITOR TO WEST POINT.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair appoints the Senator from Ohio, Mr. FORAKER, as one of the Visitors to attend the annual examination of cadets at the Military Academy at West Point, in the place of the Senator from Rhode Island, Mr. WETMORE, excused.

LABOR ON RIVER AND HARBOR IMPROVEMENTS.

The VICE-PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the Secretary of War, transmitting, in further response to a resolution of the 16th ultimo, a supplemental report from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, relating to all orders, circulars, and instructions issued to and all correspondence with engineer officers in charge of public works relative to the application of civil-service rules to the operations in charge of the Engineer Department; which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on Civil Service and Retrenchment, and ordered to be printed.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. FAIRBANKS presented a petition of sundry citizens of Muncie, Ind., praying for the enactment of legislation for a more rigid restriction of immigration; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. PERKINS presented sundry petitions of citizens of California, transmitted through the various boards of supervisors of Chico, Colusa, San Bernardino, Monterey, Los Gatos, Willow, and Campbell, Santa Cruz, Alameda, San Francisco, Los Angeles, San Benito, Napa County, and of San Jose and Santa Clara, all in the State of California, praying for the abrogation of the Hawaiian reciprocity treaty; which were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also presented a memorial of sundry merchants of San Francisco, Cal., remonstrating against the abrogation of the Hawaiian reciprocity treaty; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. GALLINGER presented the petition of K. D. Webster and 51 other citizens of Gilsum, N. H., praying for the enactment of legislation for a more rigid restriction of immigration; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. PRITCHARD presented a memorial of the North Carolina Liquor Dealers, Distillers', and Grape Growing Association, of Rowan County, N. C., remonstrating against an increase of the duty on beer; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a memorial of sundry lumbermen of Wilmington, N. C., remonstrating against the imposition of a duty on aniline dyes; which was ordered to lie on the table.

AMENDMENT OF PUBLIC-LAND LAWS.

Mr. WARREN. I have certain papers which I desire to have printed as a miscellaneous document. I will explain briefly that they are papers which refer to a subject or to a group of subjects that are perhaps the most important before the American people in an economic way next to the bill under consideration. Indeed, they are so important that while this session was called admittedly to consider the one matter of revenue, and notwithstanding very grave foreign relations have entered in here, this subject has cropped out in various ways and has been discussed to a considerable extent. For instance, the matter of forestry has come before us very sharply for consideration; the matter of fortifying the country in the Lower Mississippi against the floods that occasionally devastate that country has become a subject of grave concern; the matter of reservoirs to contain the head waters has received some attention; and the matter of the cession of the public lands to the States in which they lie has also been presented, and very ably so, by several Senators, especially by the distinguished Senator from Alabama [Mr. MORGAN.]

These papers contain resolutions passed by the Society of American Irrigation Engineers at their late meeting in Denver, and also letters and papers from various engineers in the United States and Canada bearing upon these questions. It seems to be the consensus of opinion of those educated and experienced men that the public-land laws of the present are inapplicable to very much of the public domain now left, and that there is need of legislation as to our lands and our water supply and in relation to forestry.

I ask unanimous consent that the papers may be printed as a miscellaneous document.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there any objection to the request of the Senator from Wyoming? The Chair hears none, and that is the order.

DUTY ON PINEAPPLES.

Mr. PASCO. I present a statement by the Indian River and Lake Worth Pineapple Growers' Association of the East Coast of Florida, together with comparisons, giving the reasons why pineapples grown in the United States are justly entitled to the protection of a higher duty than that now proposed by the so-called Dingley tariff bill. I move that the statement and accompanying comparison be printed as a document.

The motion was agreed to.

REPORT OF A COMMITTEE.

Mr. QUAY, from the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, to whom was referred the bill (S. 925) to provide for the erection of a public building at San Angelo, Tex., reported it without amendment, and submitted a report thereon.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Mr. PASCO introduced a bill (S. 2043) to establish a term of the district and circuit courts of the United States at Ocala, in the southern judicial district of Florida; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also introduced a bill (S. 2044) to confirm the Andrew Drouillard grant in the State of Florida; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Private Land Claims.

Mr. FAIRBANKS introduced a bill (S. 2045) to remove the charge of desertion from the record of Jacob Clark, of Laughery, Ohio County, Ind.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 2046) granting a pension to Robert H. Brown; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. McENERY introduced a bill (S. 2047) granting a pension to Peter Browman; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. NELSON introduced a bill (S. 2048) for the erection of a public building at Fergus Falls, Minn.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

He also introduced a bill (S. 2049) granting a pension to Julia M. Johnson; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. TILLMAN introduced a bill (S. 2050) to establish a sanitarium at Castle Pinckney, in Charleston Harbor, South Carolina, for the use of disabled officers and enlisted men of the Regular and Volunteer Army and Navy of the United States; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. COCKRELL introduced a bill (S. 2051) to carry out the finding of the Court of Claims in the case of Mangram E. Langston; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 2052) granting a pension to Frank Schnider; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. STEWART introduced a joint resolution (S. R. 46) declaratory of the intent and meaning of a certain act of Congress therein named; which was read twice by its title.

Mr. STEWART. I present a letter to accompany the joint resolution, which I move be printed and referred with the joint resolution to the Committee on Claims.

The motion was agreed to.

RELIEF OF SUFFERERS BY OVERFLOW OF THE RIO GRANDE.

Mr. MILLS. I introduce a joint resolution and ask unanimous consent for its present consideration. I will make a statement after it is read.

The joint resolution (S. R. 45) authorizing the Secretary of War to use rations for the relief of destitute persons in the district overflowed by the Rio Grande River at and near El Paso, Tex., was read the first time by its title, and the second time at length, as follows:

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the sum of $10,000 is hereby appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to be expended by and under the direction of the Secretary of War in the purchase and distribution of subsistence stores to such destitute persons as may require assistance in the district overflowed by the Rio Grande River at and near El Paso, Tex.

Mr. MILLS. There has been a most extraordinary overflow of the Rio Grande at and near the city of El Paso, Tex. I have received a telegram, signed by the mayor of the city, Hon. Joseph Magoffin; W. V. Niles, president of the board of health, and Charles S. Davis, collector of customs, which says:

EL PASO, TEX., *May 28, 1897.*

To R. Q. MILLS:

The Rio Grande has overflowed lower part of city, inhabited by poorer classes. Five hundred houses destroyed. Three thousand people homeless and destitute. Suffering too great and widespread for local charity. Many will suffer hunger, perhaps starvation, if not relieved immediately. Ask Congress to appropriate $10,000, to be expended under War Department, to feed them.

JOSEPH MAGOFFIN, *Mayor.*
W. V. NILES,
President Board of Health.
CHARLES S. DAVIS,
Collector of Customs.

This is the condition which confronts us, and I ask that the Senate pass the joint resolution at once, so that the Secretary of War can make provision to feed those people. By passing it to-day the House may take it up and consider it when it meets on Monday. Our people at El Paso are doing everything that they can, but the suffering is too great for them to relieve, and I hope the joint resolution will be passed.

By unanimous consent, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the joint resolution.

The joint resolution was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

AMENDMENTS TO THE TARIFF BILL.

Mr. DAVIS submitted four amendments intended to be proposed by him to the bill (H. R. 379) to provide revenue for the Government and to encourage the industries of the United States; which were ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

WICHITA INDIAN LANDS.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate the resolution submitted on a former day by the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. QUAY] relative to the Wichita Indian lands.

Mr. QUAY. The resolution may go over, retaining its place.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will go over. There being no further morning business, the Calendar under Rule VIII is in order.

DISPOSAL OF REFUSE IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

The bill (S. 1238) to regulate, in the District of Columbia, the disposal of certain refuse, and for other purposes, was announced as first in order on the Calendar; and the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to its consideration.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

SALE OF POISONS IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

The bill (S. 470) to regulate the sale of poisons in the District of Columbia was announced as next in order.

Mr. GALLINGER. While I reported that bill, and am personally in favor of it, I know that if the Senator from Utah [Mr. CANNON] were here he would object to its present consideration. So I think it had better go over, retaining its place.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The bill will lie over.

ADULTERATION OF FOODS AND DRUGS IN DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

The bill (S. 471) relating to adulteration of foods and drugs in the District of Columbia was considered as in Committee of the Whole.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

THE TARIFF BILL.

Mr. ALDRICH. I ask unanimous consent that the Senate now proceed to the consideration of House bill 379.

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 379) to provide revenue for the Government and to encourage the industries of the United States.

Mr. ALDRICH. I ask that we return to the consideration of paragraphs 90 and 91, on the eighteenth and nineteenth pages, relating to earthenware and china. I will state that I propose, for the committee, to withdraw all amendments to the House provision in those paragraphs, allowing the paragraphs to stand as they came from the House. The committee suggested in their revision of the bill compound rates applicable to these two paragraphs. They stated that those rates were more or less experimental in their character and that they intended perhaps to suggest certain amendments to the rates. They have not been able to agree upon any amendment that was satisfactory to them as to the provisions if compound rates were to be retained. The importers and dealers in crockery objected very strenuously to the compound rates on the ground that they could not be applied equitably to the various articles contained in these two important paragraphs.

As the result of our examination and deliberations in regard to this matter, we have concluded that it is safer and wiser to fall back upon the provisions as they came from the House, and the committee therefore withdraw all their amendments to those two paragraphs.

Mr. CHILTON. As I understand the Senator from Rhode Island, the rates will be the same that they were under the McKinley Act.

Mr. ALDRICH. Yes, sir; precisely.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. What is the proposition of the Senator from Rhode Island?

Mr. ALDRICH. To withdraw the amendments that we have suggested to both paragraphs 90 and 91.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. What do you propose to do with paragraphs 92 and 93?

Mr. ALDRICH. We propose to allow those to be passed by for the present until we can——

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Why not let all of those paragraphs go over together?

Mr. ALDRICH. We would like to get rid of this question. We will go on with paragraphs 92 and 93 if Senators prefer that course.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. It seems to me that the minority ought to have some notice of changes proposed by the majority in the management of the bill. Yesterday morning we came here expecting to take up this schedule. I had been told on the street the day before that it would be passed over yesterday, but I had no intimation of anything of the sort from the majority of the committee. We came here and the committee had it passed over and took up another schedule. This morning we supposed we would go on with the schedule we had under discussion last night. Now we come here and we are met with a proposition to go back and take up still another schedule. I respectfully submit that the minority ought to have some notice of the intention on the part of the majority to move from place to place in the bill, as we are not to take up the schedules, as we would naturally suppose they would come up, in the order in which they succeed each other.

I do not want to find any fault with proceeding with the bill as the committee wants to proceed with it; but I do think we ought to know what the committee expects to do as to taking up these different paragraphs. I can not tell at a glance just what the effect of the Senator's proposition is. I must have a minute or two to look at it, so that I can make up my mind about it. Then, so far as I am concerned, I shall be willing to go ahead with it.

Mr. ALDRICH. It is certainly our disposition to consult the wishes and convenience of Senators on the other side of the aisle in all these questions. We did not yesterday morning decide that we would pass over these paragraphs until we arrived in the Senate Chamber. So any intimation the Senator had on that subject must have been premature, to say the least.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I had it, and the events proved that it was correct. I confess I was a little surprised to get it on the street instead of from the majority of the committee, if such was the intention. I did not believe it when I heard it, but I found the event as the prediction stated.

Mr. ALLISON. I hope the Senator will not rely on street information. It was the intention of the committee to go on with that schedule until yesterday morning, just before the session began, when we found we had made a mistake as respects some of the provisions and they needed revision, and at the last moment, within five minutes of the sitting, it was agreed that those paragraphs should be passed over in order that we might revise the schedule. That the street could know what no one else knew seems to me impossible.

Mr. WHITE. It seems to me that that is readily explained. The Senator from Iowa and the other members of the committee undoubtedly came in contact with a mind reader.

Mr. ALLISON. I will say that the Senator from Arkansas must have found the mind reader.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. It was not the street that gave me my information; it was a gentleman, and I can give his name when wanted.

Mr. ALLISON. It is not necessary; it is not an important matter. I asked that these paragraphs might be passed over, because I saw that our arrangement was not a wise one, and I think I gave notice that the schedule would be taken up to-day, although I am not certain about that. It is a matter of no moment whatever. Of course the Senators are entitled to notice of any important changes; I agree to that.

Mr. ALDRICH. The Senator asked me to tell him what the effect of the changes now suggested by the committee would be.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The Senator from Texas [Mr. CHILTON] asked the Senator from Rhode Island if the withdrawal of the proposed amendments would restore the Wilson rate.

Mr. ALDRICH. No; the McKinley rate, I understood him.

Mr. WHITE. The McKinley rate.

Mr. CHILTON. The McKinley rate was 60 per cent and the Wilson rate 35 per cent.

Mr. ALDRICH. The effect of the withdrawal of our amendments would be to leave the bill exactly as it came from the House, which would lead to a reenactment of the McKinley rate.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. If a part of the china schedule is to be taken up, I should think it had all better go over and be taken up hereafter.

Mr. ALDRICH. I have no objection to that course, if Senators on the other side think it preferable.

Mr. WHITE. I suggest that if when sections are passed over the Senators upon the other side of the Chamber would notify us when they are to be brought up we should be better able to proceed.

Mr. ALDRICH. I suggest that at the next sitting of the Senate after to-day, whenever it will be, we shall ask the Senate to take up the remaining parts of this schedule.

Mr. VEST. I should like to ask the Senator from Rhode Island a question before this matter is passed over. I wish to ask him what, in his judgment, is the increase in the proposed Senate amendments over the House bill in paragraphs 90 and 91?

Mr. ALDRICH. The experts who have examined the subject say that they think the average ad valorem rate would be a little less than the House bill. Of course it would apply unequally to any specific duty. Covering so large a range, it necessarily would apply unequally to some parts or articles. The importers and dealers claim that it would largely increase the rates of the House bill on many articles. Whether that is true I am not able at this time to say.

Mr. VEST. In my calculation I make it a very considerable increase; that is, in some of the classifications of the Senate amendment.

Mr. ALDRICH. You make it an increase?

Mr. VEST. I make it an increase in the Senate amendments.

Mr. ALDRICH. Then I suppose the Senator will be gratified to know that we have withdrawn these amendments.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Gratified to that extent.

Mr. VEST. I do not know that I shall make any strenuous objection to it, if I understand it correctly.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I understand the Senator from Rhode Island gave notice that at the next sitting of the Senate he would take up all the paragraphs in the schednle that have been passed over.

Mr. ALDRICH. Yes, sir; that have been passed over.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The paragraphs in the previous schedule which have been passed over will not be taken up yet?

Mr. ALDRICH. Not yet, if it suits the convenience of Senators on the other side.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. That suits me. All we want is to have notice of what we are likely to have considered.

Mr. QUAY. I wish to be informed exactly what paragraphs are to be passed over under the arrangement between the Senator from Rhode Island and the Senator from Arkansas. I understand that the arrangement applies at least to paragraphs 90 and 91.

Mr. ALLISON. And 93 and 94.

Mr. ALDRICH. And 92 as well.

Mr. QUAY. Paragraphs 90, 91, 92, and 93?

Mr. ALDRICH. Yes, sir.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The bill will be proceeded with.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 100, page 25, line 23, after the word "rolled," to insert "ribbed;" so as to read:

100. Fluted, rolled, ribbed, or rough plate glass, or the same containing a wire netting within itself, not including crown, cylinder, or common window glass.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in paragraph 100, page 26, line 1, after the words "common window glass," to strike out the words "not exceeding 10 by 15 inches square, three-fourths of 1 cent per square foot; above that, and."

Mr. VEST. As I understand the effect of the action of the Senate committee, it is to increase the rate one-fourth of 1 cent on two of these classifications and let the others remain as they are by existing law.

Mr. ALDRICH. Oh, no; it is a reduction on all. It is a reduction in one case, I think, below the Wilson rate.

Mr. VEST. I beg the Senator's pardon; on two classifications it is an increase of one-fourth of 1 cent over the Wilson Act.

Mr. ALDRICH. That is not my recollection.

Mr. VEST. Over the Wilson Act.

Mr. ALDRICH. I think not.

Mr. WHITE. On the goods over 24 by 30 it is an increase.

Mr. VEST. Yes; on two classifications there is an increase of one-fourth of 1 cent.

Mr. WHITE. The rate of duty provided in the Senate bill on the goods over 24 by 30 has an ad valorem equivalent of from 116 to 122 per cent. The Wilson bill rate is 1½ cents.

Mr. ALDRICH. I beg the Senator's pardon; there is a quarter of a cent increase on one bracket or two.

Mr. VEST. On two classifications.

Mr. ALDRICH. But it is a reduction from the House rate on all.

Mr. VEST. I am talking about the rate as compared with the Wilson bill.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the committee.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 100, page 26, line 5, after the word "square," to insert "three-fourths of;" so as to read:

Not exceeding 16 by 24 inches square, three-fourths of 1 cent per square foot.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in the same paragraph, page 26, line 7, after the word "and," to strike out "one-half" and insert "one-fourth;" so as to read:

Above that, and not exceeding 24 by 30 inches square, 1¼ cents per square foot.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in the same paragraph, page 26, line 8, after the word "that," to strike out "two" and insert "one and three-fourths;" so as to read:

All above that, 1¾ cents per square foot.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in the same paragraph, page 26, line 10, after the word "rolled," to insert "ribbed;" so as to read:

And all fluted, rolled, ribbed, or rough plate glass, weighing over 100 pounds per 100 square feet, shall pay an additional duty on the excess at the same rates herein imposed.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in the same paragraph, page 26, line 16, after the word "as," to insert the word "finished;" so as to make the proviso read:

Provided, That all of the above plate glass, when ground, smoothed, or otherwise obscured, shall be subject to the same rate of duty as finished cast polished plate glass unsilvered.

Mr. WHITE. In relation to this particular portion of the paragraph, the following statement has been made to me, to which I attract the attention of the Senator in charge of the bill. It is said that—

Fluted, rolled, and ribbed glass of large sizes is valued at 4 cents per square foot, and under the provisions of the proviso, when obscured, is subject to a duty equal to 50 cents per square foot, or 1,250 per cent ad valorem. This proviso was inadvertently added to the paragraph in the Wilson bill and is prohibitive, there having been but one importation made, in which the importer was compelled to pay an additional duty on a decision of the court of several thousand dollars on a few dollars' worth of material. This error should be remedied by striking out the proviso, as above suggested.

I do not know that the attention of the Senator from Rhode Island has been called to this matter, but it seems to me a subject worthy of examination. I obtained this information from a member of the Board of General Appraisers, who stated it to be a fact.

Mr. ALDRICH. As the Senator from California says, this provision was in the act of 1894 precisely as it appears here. It appears by the report of the Bureau of Statistics that the informant of the Senator from California must be incorrect in his statement, because there were importations under each one of these paragraphs at the rate of 81 per cent; 22 per cent on the first.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. Sharretts informed me, and he is very likely to know about it.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. There certainly could have been no importations under the proviso, because the rate of taxation given on this glass, if the Senator will notice the comparative statement, is from 1 cent a foot to 4½ cents a foot. The highest value of this glass is 4½ cents a foot. How could it be possible to have the glass imported at 5 cents a foot as the very lowest, and from that running up to 22½ cents? It seems to be simply impossible that there should have been any glass imported under this proviso. The statement made by the General Appraiser spoken of by the Senator from California is that there was but a single importation under this paragraph, and that a very heavy penalty, amounting to a great sum of money, was visited on men who had innocently supposed that they were not violating the law or not bringing in glass under this particular proviso. I suggest that it be passed over, and that the Senator from Rhode Island examine this question. I am strongly inclined to think that he, on examination, will agree to strike out the proviso.

Mr. ALDRICH. I have great confidence in the judgment of Mr. Sharretts, and I am quite willing that the paragraph should go over, but I suggest that the price on obscured glass, according to the Bureau of Statistics, is 24 to 36 cents.

Mr. WHITE. Not of this particular glass.

Mr. ALDRICH. Yes, of this particular glass—"Plate glass, fluted, rolled or rough, ground or smoothed, or otherwise obscured," as will be seen by referring to the bottom of the thirty-eighth page of the comparative statement. I am quite willing that the proviso shall go over, and I will consult Mr. Sharretts in regard to it.

Mr. WHITE. This seems to be the character of proviso alluded to by the Senator from Indiana [Mr. TURPIE] yesterday, though it was not born in this bill.

Mr. ALDRICH. I am willing to have the proviso stricken out now with an understanding that subsequently, if the information suggested by the Senator is not correct, we may reinsert it. For the present I am willing that the proviso shall be stricken out in accordance with the suggestion of the Senator from Arkansas.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to strike out the proviso of paragraph 100, in the following words:

Provided, That all of the above plate glass, when ground, smoothed, or otherwise obscured, shall be subject to the same rate of duty as cast polished plate glass unsilvered.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Without objection, the amendment will be agreed to.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 101, page 26, line 22, after the word "square," to strike out "twelve" and insert "ten;" so as to make the paragraph read:

101. Cast polished plate glass, finished or unfinished and unsilvered, not exceeding 16 by 24 inches square, 8 cents per square foot; above that, and not exceeding 24 by 30 inches square, 10 cents per square foot; above that, and not exceeding 24 by 60 inches square, 22½ cents per square foot; all above that, 35 cents per square foot.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I call the attention of the Senator from Rhode Island to the comparative statement on page 40. I move, in line 20, before "cents," to strike out "eight" and insert "five;" so as to read:

Not exceeding 16 by 24 inches square, 5 cents per square foot.

This proposition would restore the Wilson rate of tariff on plate glass. The propositions of the majority of the committee in this connection are very striking. In the first division, on plate glass 16 by 24 inches, the McKinley rate was 5 cents a foot. The Senate committee proposes to make it 8 cents per foot. The House had fixed that same rate. This is an increase over the McKinley rate of 60 per cent. In the very next clause the Senate committee proposes to increase the McKinley rate of 8 cents to 10 cents. The rate in the McKinley Act was 8 cents per square foot on that particular kind of glass. The Senate committee proposes to make it 10. The House had it 12 cents. If the House proposition had

prevailed, there would have been an increase over the McKinley rate on this plate glass of 50 per cent, and the Senate committee proposition is to increase the McKinley rate 25 per cent.

Now turn to the next paragraph, paragraph 102. I will call attention to the increases proposed by the Senate committee all along through this plate-glass schedule. They are simply astounding. I hope Senators will pay attention to what is proposed. In paragraph 102, which will be the next one to be taken up, the Senate committee proposes to increase the tax on the smaller size above the McKinley Act in the proportion of 6 to 11 cents. The McKinley Act imposed a tax on this class of glass of 6 cents per square foot, and the Senate committee solemnly asks us to change that 6 to 11 cents, increasing the rate above the McKinley bill 83⅓ per cent—a bill which was repudiated by the American people, a bill which up to that time had been the most monstrous proposition of tariff taxation that had ever been conceived or proposed to Congress. Yet, when that bill has been swept aside, this committee comes to the Senate and proposes to increase the rate on this plate glass 83 per cent above the McKinley taxation.

Mr. ALDRICH. Eighty-three per cent?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Yes, sir; 83 per cent.

Mr. ALDRICH. On what quality?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. In paragraph 102, the next paragraph you are coming to. I am calling attention to these iniquities in this matter.

Mr. ALDRICH. You are getting ahead.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I am considering all of them at once. I am showing the policy that is pursued here.

Mr. ALLISON. The rate fixed by the House was 12 cents, and the committee make it 10.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. It was 6 cents under the McKinley law. The House made it 9 cents and you make it 11. You are looking at paragraph 101, I presume, and I was talking about paragraph 102.

Mr. ALLISON. I beg pardon.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. In the subdivision of the same paragraph, 102, you propose to raise the McKinley rates from 10 to 13 cents, an addition of 30 per cent.

There is another peculiar thing about these increases to which I should like to call the attention of the Senate. In the smaller sizes, in the lower-priced brackets, in the smaller grades of this glass, enormous increases are proposed in this bill. In the higher-priced glass, in the large-sized glass, in the glass that costs a great deal of money, the rates are very materially and nicely adjusted so as to have a reduction of taxation. Why is it that the cost of the cheaper glass that finds its way into the cheaper work is to be increased by 83 per cent over the McKinley rate, and in the high-priced glass, every Senator will notice if he will take the trouble to look into the comparative statement, that there are in many cases no increases at all; but the Senate committee proposes liberally to let us have these plates of glass at something under the McKinley rates? As a specimen of that, take the next subdivision, "above 24 by 30 inches and not exceeding 24 by 60 inches." Under the McKinley law the rate was 35 cents per square foot, and the Senate committee was liberal enough to propose to reduce that to 25 cents per square foot. In the next clause, 60 cents per square foot was the rate of the McKinley law, but in this large-sized glass the Senate committee is liberal enough to propose, on American plate, that large-sized plate glass shall be at 38 cents instead of at 60 cents, as in the McKinley law.

While we are making these comparisons I think we may as well run down the whole schedule. As to "cylinder and crown glass, polished, silvered, and looking-glass plates not exceeding 16 by 24 inches," the Senate committee proposes to raise the tax from what it was in the McKinley law, 6 cents per square foot, to 11 cents per square foot.

I am satisfied that many Senators do not understand the full significance of these important increases. We shall discuss them more fully when we come to them. I see by the smile on the face of the Senator from Rhode Island that he fully understands the matter. He knows where it cuts. This is a proposition to increase the tax on looking-glasses and mirrors that go into the cheap furniture sets that the poor men are compelled to have by an enormous rate of taxation, and the fine French plate mirrors can not be bought to go on the furniture of the poor people.

The mirrors of the cheaper furniture sets are made of what are called French plates. They are made nowhere except in Bohemia. I have some samples in my room that I intend to have here to exhibit to the Senate at the proper time. They are of thin glass. The heavy, highly polished, fine French mirrors that are used by the wealthy are a very different thing from the cylinder-glass plates which come in as German plates, and which are used for the purpose of making furniture for the poor. There are thousands of factories in Michigan and other States of the West devoted to this business alone, who do nothing but make this class of cheap furniture for the poor. These people are compelled to use this German plate glass; it can not be used in any other way, and now it is the purpose of the committee to raise the rates on that kind of glass to such an extent as to make it impossible for this class of people to afford this glass, and they must either take the French plate glass or nothing.

Mr. President, in the class of "cylinder and crown glass, polished, silvered, and looking-glass plates not exceeding 16 by 24 inches," the McKinley law charged a rate of 16 cents per square foot. The House of Representatives raised it 50 per cent. They proposed to make it 9 cents per square foot; but the Senate committee, not satisfied with an increase of 50 per cent, have levied upon the poverty of the poor and increased the rate to 11 cents per square foot, making it 83⅓ per cent higher than was the McKinley rate.

In the next subdivision there is a little higher class and a little more expensive kind of glass provided for, "above 16 by 24 and not exceeding 24 by 30." The committee propose, instead of the McKinley rate of 10 cents per square foot, to impose a tariff of 13 cents per square foot. That is an increase of 30 per cent. But when you get down to a still higher class, to a still more expensive class, "above 24 by 30 inches and not exceeding 24 by 60 inches," a large-sized plate, then, whereas the McKinley law imposed a tariff of 35 cents per square foot, the Senate committee, in its liberality, proposes that this class of people may have their glass imported at a tax of 25 cents per square foot. That is a peculiarity running through this entire bill. There is not an exception to it from the beginning to the end of the glass schedule.

On the very largest sizes of this glass, "all above 24 by 60 inches square," the tax was 60 cents per square foot under the McKinley law, and the Senate committee proposes that that shall be allowed to come in now at 38 cents per square foot; when on the glass of small sizes, the kind of glass that must be used for the very cheapest and poorest class of furniture, the rate of taxation is increased over 83 per cent. When we come to the higher classes, the higher styles, then the increase is nearly 50 per cent. It seems that the Senator from Rhode Island and his colleagues have read the old injunction from the Bible that "whosoever hath, to him shall be given: and whosoever hath not, from him shall be taken away even that which he seemeth to have." In other words, from the poor, miserable devil shall be taken that which he has.

Mr. President, there are other paragraphs in this glass schedule in which the same rates of increase over the McKinley law will be found to exist. In all of the cheaper and lower grades there are increases running from 83 per cent to 50 per cent, and then down to 30 per cent, until you get to the higher-priced and more expensive grades, and then the rates of taxation go down with a uniform step until you get to the very highest and most expensive class.

When the present schedule was under consideration in the House of Representatives, and the examinations were made, a representative of the plate-glass interest appeared before that committee and made some interesting statements. I read from the statement of Mr. John Pitcairn as follows:

> Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, from a very small industry fifteen years ago the plate-glass business of this country has developed into a large business, which now gives employment, directly and indirectly, to at least 10,000 persons, and is a striking example of what can be accomplished under a protective policy, for, without any material change in the duty prior to that fixed by the Wilson bill, protection has established this very large industry, and competition has reduced the cost to the consumer from $2.50 per foot at the inception of the business in this country to an average price of less than 50 cents per foot. So that while plate glass was originally considered a luxury, it has now become a necessity within the reach of all.
>
> We come to you as business men, appreciating that the best interests of the country demand that the new tariff bill shall be a conservative one.

Senators ought not to lose sight of the opinion of this great glass manufacturer, that this tariff ought to be a conservative one. He says in the course of his argument:

> It is interesting to note that these imports have averaged about 3,000,000 square feet per year, and also that there has been less and less of the large glass imported in recent years, and about a corresponding increase in the imports of the small sizes.

Further on he says:

> In view of the foregoing, all of which you can easily verify, we, the undersigned, representing all the plate-glass works in this country, feel that we are fully justified in respectfully suggesting the following as a new schedule for duties on plate glass.

This gentleman certainly could not consider this rate of 83 per cent increase over the McKinley law as conservative. The Senator from Rhode Island, in the very inception of this debate, stated as follows:

> In the readjustment of rates suggested, the committee have tried in every instance to make them sufficiently protective to domestic interests without being prohibitive.

"Sufficiently protective to American interests without being prohibitive." The McKinley law was a prohibitive law, and yet this committee comes and solemnly asks the Senate to agree to an increase of 83 per cent above the McKinley law in this article, which is manufactured by an organization which operates the largest plate-glass manufactory in the world, which is an establishment having millions of dollars of capital, and which pays enormous dividends, on the ground that we are taking care of an infant industry!

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. What company is it that pays enormous dividends?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The trust; the whole business; all of it together.

Mr. ALDRICH. Does the Senator state that this business is controlled entirely by one company?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Perhaps not all the product, but pretty nearly all of it; at least 85 per cent of the product is in the hands of one concern. I think no Senator will deny that.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. It has not paid any dividends for the last three years.

Mr. VEST. I want to call the attention of the Senator from Arkansas, when he is discussing the question of whether these duties are prohibitive or not, to the importations. Under the first classification of paragraph 102, where the committee propose to make this enormous increase over the McKinley Act, the importation of plate glass in 1895 was $768 only, showing that the American manufacturers have the absolute control of the domestic market. Under the second classification, where the committee made another increase, the whole importation for 1896 was $13,722.

It is a notorious fact that this association, which controls the plate-glass manufacture in the United States, meets every year at Pittsburg. There is a concern in my State, called the Crystal City Manufacturing Company, that is a member of that association, and I believe its president is the vice-president of the national association. The plate-glass product of this country, as the Senator from Rhode Island knows, is controlled virtually by that association. There are some plate-glass manufacturers outside of it, but the bulk of the product comes from them; and these statements as to exports and imports all show that they have absolute control of the market in the United States.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Mr. President, I have a letter signed by a number of glass dealers, dated May 28, 1897. I should like Senators to listen to these statements, for I believe they involve matters of serious concern, and matters that ought to touch the consciences of the members of this Senate. The letter is as follows:

NEW YORK, *May 28, 1897.*

DEAR SIR: We beg to protest against the proposed increase in duty on looking-glass plates (Schedule B, paragraphs 102 and 104).

The present and proposed rates are as follows:

Rate of duty per square foot.

Size.	Present rate.	Proposed rate.
	Cents.	*Cents.*
Over 1 square foot and up to 16 by 24	6	11
Over 16 by 24 and up to 24 by 30	10	13

Here is a contemplated advance ranging from 30 to 82 per cent. In addition, an ad valorem rate on such plates, when beveled, of 10 per cent is proposed by the Senate bill, making the total percentage of advance over existing rates from 60 to 120 per cent.

These goods go into cheap furniture used by the laboring classes and are not made in this country. An increase of duty can inure only to the benefit of the Pittsburg Plate Glass Company, a consolidation effected two years ago of the principal plate-glass factories of the country.

An advance in duty as contemplated will so enhance the cost of importation as practically to hand this business over to the Pittsburg Plate Glass Company, who could then compel the trade to buy glass of them to be made into mirrors at a greatly advanced cost to the masses and a profit only to the plate-glass trust. We request that present rates of duty remain unchanged.

Yours, truly,

SHRENK & CO.
BENDIT, DREY & CO.,
186 and 188 Franklin Street.
THE. W. MORRIS & CO.
VANHORNE, GRIFFIN & CO.
SEMON BACHE & CO.

Hon. JAMES K. JONES,
United States Senate.

The gentlemen who signed this letter deal in this article.

Now, as to the question whether there has been any profit paid by these plate-glass people, I propose to present a few figures to the Senate. I hold in my hand the advertisement of the Pittsburg Plate Glass Company, which appears regularly in the Paint, Oil, and Drug Review.

Mr. ALDRICH. Importers.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The advertisement is as follows:

PITTSBURG PLATE GLASS COMPANY.

Largest producers of plate glass in the world, operating nine plants.

No. 1, Creighton, Pa. No. 4, Ford City, Pa. No. 7, Elwood, Ind.
No. 2, Tarentum, Pa. No. 5, Duquesne, Pa. No. 8, Kokomo, Ind.
No. 3, Ford City, Pa. No. 6, Charlerol, Pa. No. 9, Crystal City, Mo.

Manufacturers of

POLISHED PLATE AND SILVERING PLATE
of all thicknesses.

Skylight and floor glass. Glass bending a specialty.

General office, Carnegie Building, Pittsburg, Pa.

With warehouses in the cities named below, where we shall keep large stocks of plate glass constantly on hand, and where purchasers can always obtain their supplies without delay:

New York, 49-53 Lafayette Place; Boston, 30 Sudbury street; Detroit, 124-128 W. Larned street; Chicago, 442-452 Wabash avenue; St. Louis, corner Twelfth and St. Charles streets; Cincinnati, 115-117 W. Front street; Minneapolis, 124-128 N. Third street.

I have in my hand a report made upon this great Pittsburg concern, which the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. PLATT] tells us has not paid any dividends in such a long time. The report is made by R. G. Dun & Co. I will read it:

PITTSBURG PLATE GLASS COMPANY.

PITTSBURG, PA., *February 5, 1897.*

Would make no statement until after the annual meeting for the purpose of appointing their directors for the current year and deciding upon important matters concerning the management of the company. Some friction on account of lack of unanimity among the directors was noticeable for some time and led to depression in the value of stock, as indicated by the selling price of the same on local exchange. It fell in a few months from 65 to less than 50, but there may not have been a special cause for this, so far as the intrinsic value of the stock is concerned, beyond the fact that some of the stockholders would eventually sell out rather than adopt the plan insisted upon by some of the others. One faction proposed to issue $500,000 five-year 6 per cent debenture bonds, to be sold and the proceeds applied to the payment of bonds falling due, this operation to continue year after year until the entire indebtedness is liquidated. The second plan, proposed by President Edward Ford, was to issue at once $2,500,000 fifteen-year 6 per cent mortgage bonds, with a redemption clause by which at any time after three years all or any part of the bonds could be redeemed. When it came to a vote on their propositions it was found that the notice advertising the proposed increase was illegal and that no action could be taken. It was somewhat of a surprise when Judge Coler offered a resolution that the policy of the incoming board be one of the strictest economy consistent with good business, and that the proposed economy commence with the reduction of all the high salaried officers and a vacation or doubling up of light duties. The resolution was seconded by President Ford and passed. Their assets and liabilities are said to be as follows:

ASSETS.

Plant accounts	$11,936,163.73
Material on hand	302,239.49
Stock in warehouses	685,431.22
Stock in factories	236,000.88
Accounts receivable	483,404.63
Bills receivable	43,434.90
Cash on hand	91,609.50
	13,838,286.40

LIABILITIES.

Preferred stock	150,000.00
Common stock	9,850,000.00
Bonds, Ford City mortgage	313,000.00
Bonds, Creighton mortgage	60,000.00
Bonds, Howard plant	140,000.00
Debenture bonds (out)	1,574,000.00
Bills payable	414,458.66
Interest on bonds not called for	19,734.22
Due on salaries of officers	13,829.22
Due on salaries of superintendents	2,674.97
Accounts payable	194,643.73
Profits carried over for 1895	380,473.71

The profits carried over for 1895 by this company, which the Senator from Connecticut assures us has not been making any money, were $380,473.71.

Profits carried over for 1896	$725,471.89
Total	13,838,286.40

Here is a company that we are told pays no dividends, a company that is making no money, with an alleged capital stock of $10,000,000, embracing nine of the great glass manufactories of the United States, and yet we are asked to increase the rate of taxation 83 per cent above that of the McKinley law to enable these people, struggling infants, to keep their body and soul together!

Mr. BATE. How many trusts are there?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. There is one, and that is enough.

Mr. BATE. Where is it located?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. At Pittsburg, Pa.

The report from which I am reading continues:

A member of the board is said to have remarked as follows: "In report of 1896 the plant account of the company was $12,082,419.36, while the report for last year gave the value of the properties as only $11,936,163.73, a decrease of $96,253.54, yet during the year repairs representing much more than $100,000 have been made on the different plants."

Now, mark this:

Notwithstanding the fact that princely salaries have been paid to those in high official positions, the following statement for the twenty-two months of the company's existence will show its earnings: Debenture bonds paid off, $413,000; gross amount expended in improvement, $700,000; interest paid on bonds (estimated), $210,000; profits for twenty-two months, as per company's statements, $1,105,945.60; total earnings, $2,428,945.60, or an average monthly earning of $110,472.30.

Here we have, as the total earnings in twenty-two months in the existence of this trust, $2,428,945.60.

Mr. ALDRICH. Net?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Total earnings, or an average monthly earning of $110,472.30.

In the methods of bookkeeping used by the company the item of $700,000 must make its appearance under the head of expenses, as it appears no place else. The business of the company is believed to have been quite large and profitable during the past year, but their expenses may have been much more than some would deem necessary. Edward and Emory Ford have withdrawn from the board of directors, and in their place are elected George W. Crouse and Charles B. McLean, the latter cashier of the Lincoln National Bank here. The other directors are John Pitcairn (president), of Philadelphia—

The gentlemen who made these kindly explanations to the Ways and Means Committee why these rates ought to be increased—

A. L. Conger, A. U. Howard, E. A. Hitchcock, Artemas Pitcairn, comptroller, and A. N. Howard, secretary. The probabilities are that the proposition to issue $2,500,000 fifteen-year mortgage bonds to cover the existing indebtedness

will be the plan adopted. This will enable the company to pay dividends, it is said. The liabilities to the public——

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. The sum and substance of that is that somebody who wanted to put out a prospectus and to issue bonds claimed that in twenty-two months the company had earned about 10 per cent on their capital.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Not by any manner of means; but the substance of it is that R. G. Dun & Co., who are the reporters of the financial standing of all concerns in the United States, report these as being the facts connected with the Pittsburg Plate Glass Company. It is no prospectus for the purpose of getting gullible men to subscribe to bonds.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Does the Senator think that 10 per cent in twenty-two months is an enormous profit?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Two and one-half million dollars on an alleged capital of $10,000,000 in twenty-two months.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. No.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. That does not by any means sustain the statement of the Senator from Connecticut that this poor infant has been getting nothing all of this time.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. I did not say any such thing.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The Senator said they paid no dividends.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. I made that statement on the strength of a communication to me from a friend of mine, who happened to own $5,000 of stock of the company, that he had not been able to get any dividends since he took stock in the company.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Perhaps that is true, but the company has been going along, and if it has not seen fit to pay dividends, nobody can deny the statement which I have presented here.

Mr. ALDRICH. I did not understand the Senator from Arkansas to make any statement as to the net profits of this concern. I asked him whether the earnings to which he referred were net or gross, and he did not seem to know. If he now has any statement which shows the actual profits in twenty-two months, I should like to have him produce it to the Senate.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I read the statement as given by R. G. Dun & Co.

Mr. QUAY. If the Senator from Arkansas will permit me to interrupt him, I will mention what the Pittsburg Plate Glass Company have to say in relation to this question.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Will the Senator permit me a moment?

Mr. QUAY. Yes; and as soon as the Senator has finished his remarks, I desire to state the company's side of the case.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. I thought I caught the statement that the profits of this company for twenty-two months were $1,105,000. That is about 10 or 11 per cent on the capital for twenty-two months, or about 5 per cent a year. I thought I caught it correctly.

Mr. QUAY. Mr. President——

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Arkansas yield to the Senator from Pennsylvania?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. With pleasure.

Mr. QUAY. In the correspondence to which I have referred it is stated that any intimation, statement, or charge that the Pittsburg Plate Glass Company is a trust, or that it has been or is directly or indirectly in combination or conspiracy in restraint of trade, or for the purpose of regulating the output or prices with any other company or companies, in violation of either any Federal or State antitrust law, is wholly unwarranted and absolutely untrue.

The Pittsburg Plate Glass Company was organized many years ago for the manufacture of plate glass in this country, and in the spring of 1895 increased its capital in order by actual purchase to acquire the property, real and personal, of several other companies engaged in like manufacture, namely, two properties in Pennsylvania, two in Indiana, and one in Missouri, the object of the purchase being to enable it by economic administration and production to make and offer to the consumers of this country a better article at a lower cost.

In furtherance of this policy the Pittsburg Plate Glass Company has established its own warehouses in the cities of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, St. Louis, Cincinnati, Detroit, and Minneapolis for the sale and distribution of its product direct to consumers and at prices showing reductions about equal to the profits realized by those who had previously monopolized the business, namely, the importers and jobbers, who had unitedly been acting under a national association, which was distinctly a trust, the breaking up of which must accordingly be directly credited to the Pittsburg Plate Glass Company.

It is easily understood, therefore, why these importers and jobbers have personally and by correspondence made the charge to members of the committee, and would have the public believe, that the Pittsburg Plate Glass Company is a trust.

This company is to-day in active and legitimate competition with three other independent companies of like character, two in Pennsylvania and one in Indiana, all of whom unite with it in asking such protection as will enable them to compete with foreign combinations and their representatives in this country, who use this market as the dumping ground for their surplus product manufactured on a basis of wages with which our manufacturers can not compete without the protection for which they ask.

The plate-glass business of the country is on anything but a profitable basis at this time. The Pittsburg Plate Glass Company is not even a close corporation. Its stock is owned and held by over 600 shareholders residing in Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Missouri, Kentucky, California, and elsewhere.

They say further that the plates of foreign manufacture to which the Senator from Arkansas refers are made almost exclusively in Bavaria, under the control of a verein or trust, with headquarters at Fürth, of which trust several of the New York importers who urge a reduction of duty on such glass are members. Continuing, they say:

> Over 3,000,000 square feet of such glass were imported for the year ending June 30, 1896; and if the American factories can increase their output by that amount, they can and will give employment to many idle workmen.

So that even if this were a trust, contrary to this absolute denial, it is a question between a German or a foreign trust and an American trust, and so far as I am concerned, I am in favor of the American trust.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Mr. President, I have read the standing advertisement of the Pittsburg Plate Glass Company. Whether you call it a trust or not, here, according to their own statement, is an organization of nine large plate-glass manufacturers. They claim to be the largest plate-glass manufacturers in the world. There are three other small plate-glass manufacturers, I understand—two in Pennsylvania and one in Indiana or Missouri—and but three, and they produce but an infinitesimal part of the plate glass produced in this country. The overwhelming part of the production is by the Pittsburg Plate Glass Company from its nine manufactories, all of which are controlled by a central authority, and all of which make the terms of the sales to suit themselves.

Mr. President, that these people absolutely control the sales, make them on such terms and in such ways as they see fit, without regard to the convenience or the wishes of their customers, I imagine no man informed about the facts will deny. When a man engaged in the business wants small sizes of plate glass, he is told that he can not have them unless he buys a certain larger proportion of larger sizes. The large plates are those on which they make their money. They refuse to make or sell small plates unless a larger number of the larger size are taken with them.

I have somewhere among my papers quite an interesting correspondence on this question, which I propose to present to the Senate. I am unable to lay my hand on it at this moment, but I hope to do so before I conclude.

I have an order sent by one of the concerns signing the letter which I presented to the Senate a short time ago, asking for certain sizes of plate glass, and I ask the attention of the Senate to the answer made by the Pittsburg Plate Glass Company, which the Senator from Pennsylvania considers in no sense a trust. They say:

> We beg to acknowledge receipt of your order of 30,000 feet silvering quality, but as we find that the allotment of 18 by 40 and 24 by 30 amounts to 15,000 feet of the order, we regret that we can not forward the same to the factory under such conditions. Under no circumstance will they accept orders for these two sizes at a greater proportion than 20 per cent of the entire quantity under 5 square feet.

They are told that they can not have it; that under no circumstances will they sell more than 20 per cent of the order in sizes less than 5 square feet. In other words, if a man wants to buy one part of a suit of clothes, he has to take the balance of the suit, boots, overcoat, and everything else, whether he wants it or not. He is bound to do it.

> Your memorandum shows 8,445 feet from 5 to 10 feet, and 6,647 under 5 square feet, without either of the two sizes. Under the conditions that our factory makes you would be entitled to 133 lights of each size or 1,330 square feet in 18 by 40 and 24 by 30, instead of 1,500 lights of each. We would thank you if you will kindly amend the order.
>
> We note your request as to impressing upon the factory the necessity of using every care in selecting the glass.

Here is a copy of the reply of the party making the order:

> We are in receipt of your favor of the 30th, and note the conditions that you impose. Inasmuch as we can not, in turn, do the same with our trade, we see that we have to look abroad for our supply in assortments such as our business requires.

But if these gentlemen can succeed in having this rate of taxation put upon glass, then the people who want to buy glass need not attempt to look abroad to get any of their supply. They will see to it that it is impossible that any American dealer shall have the audacity to go anywhere else upon the face of the earth except to the Pittsburg Plate Glass Company to get his supply on hand.

I have a letter from the same concern, written only a few weeks ago, in which they take the same position—that they will not sell unless 20 per cent of the amount ordered be for glass less than

5-foot pieces; that they will not furnish any more. The writer says:

Replying to your favor of the 13th instant, would say that the order for small glass placed through our New York house does not entitle you to any 18-40's or 24-30's, as the 20 per cent allotment applies to orders for silvering quality glass.

This company not only monopolizes the American market, not only controls the sale of plate glass everywhere through its agents, not only controls the production, but the distribution of the glass, and, in addition, they absolutely insist that they shall dictate to a man who wants to use glass the sizes he shall use. He can not be allowed to use the glass he wants, and yet we are told by the Senator from Pennsylvania that it is not a trust. Whatever you call it makes no difference; it is un-American, it is outrageous, and the American Senate ought not by any legislation to allow the continuance of such tyranny on the part of a commercial organization created in this country.

I have a letter from the Boston Plate and Window Glass Company, of Boston, Mass., dated April 4:

We beg to protest against any increase in the present rate of duties on polished plate glass (Schedule B), and to pray for a large reduction of the present rates, for the following reasons:

The yearly consumption of this article in this country is about twelve to fifteen million square feet.

It is an article of necessity.

The present duty is practically a prohibitory one, and, with its different schedules, amounts to an average of more than 125 per cent, taking the yearly consumption of glass in each schedule.

The present rates of duties, with the percentages of same, compared with the selling prices of foreign makers f. o. b. steamers in Europe, are as follows, viz:

Sizes.	Present duty per square foot.	Percentage of duty upon foreign cost.	Per cent used of total consumption (about).
	Cents.		
16 by 24	5	35	6
24 by 30	8	50	9
24 by 60	22½	156	24
Larger sizes	35	(*)	61
			100

* From 132 per cent to 156 per cent, depending on sizes.

The above figures of percentages of present duty on foreign cost are somewhat smaller than what they will actually amount to.

About two years ago the principal plate-glass factories consolidated, forming the Pittsburg Plate Glass Company, capital $10,000,000. There are only three other, and small, factories in the country.

We earnestly pray for a reduction of two-thirds of the present rates.

And that prayer is responded to by an increase of 83 per cent, not only above the present rate, but above the McKinley Act.

With the duties fixed at one-third only of present rates the four American factories will still have a protection of more than 40 per cent, and this is the only way by which the Government can obtain any revenue on this article.

Mr. President, the only pretense, the only justification we can have for levying this tax upon that article at all is to raise revenue for the Government. There is practically, to which point the attention of the Senate was called by the Senator from Missouri a short while ago, no revenue from the present rate of taxation, and yet the Senate is asked to increase that rate enormously. It would not have any effect on the importation. A little is coming in now, but what little comes in will be stopped by this proposition, and the price of American glass can go on and on, higher and higher, especially on the grades of glass consumed by poor people.

I have run somewhat hastily over these different propositions. There are a number of other important things connected with it, which I am sure other Senators will bring out. I hope they will be fully and thoroughly presented to the Senate. An important matter of this kind, it seems to me, ought to be fairly understood and fully discussed. If it is the purpose of the majority, without regard to the fact that the production of glass in this country is practically in the hands of one concern, and that a concern with a capital of $10,000,000, one which, according to the Senator from Rhode Island and the Senator from Connecticut, has made a profit of more than a million dollars in twenty-two months, during which it has been an organization, while other industries just as meritorious have been profitless, or losing money—if it is their purpose, notwithstanding these facts, to increase the taxes levied on the American people to swell the price of plate glass for the purpose of increasing the fortunes of this organization, then let them take the full responsibility for doing so, but those who have some regard for the wishes of their constituents, those who have some regard for the interest of the poor consumers throughout the country, those who are unwilling to increase the cost of the plate glasses that ornament the homes of the poor and add some sort of comfort to the masses of the people of the United States, I hope will be found recording their votes in antagonism to every single one of these propositions.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President, I have here two or three statements, some of which, I presume, were submitted to the committee when this particular schedule was under consideration. The communication which I hold in my hand is from Van Horn, Griffin & Co., plate and sheet glass, Laight street, New York. This document purports to be a copy of a letter addressed to the chairman of the subcommittee of the Committee on Finance, the Senator from Rhode Island, and is as follows:

We respectfully protest against the proposed increase in the rate of duty on polished plate glass, and at the same time request a reduction.

The present rate of duty on all plates containing over 5 square feet is now equivalent to from 117 to 175 per cent ad valorem, as shown in the accompanying table.

On small sizes of 5 square feet or less the present rate varies from 50 to 66 per cent, but the consumption of these sizes is only about 5 per cent of the whole. It is now proposed to raise the duties on these small sizes to make it equivalent to from 80 to 100 per cent ad valorem.

And this notwithstanding the fact, I might add, that it appears that the consumption of those glasses amounts to but 5 per cent of the whole. The letter continues:

The annual consumption of plate glass for glazing purposes is about 15,000,000 feet. The importation is nothing. The only plate glass now imported is the finest quality for mirror purposes. About two years ago the principal plate-glass companies of the country consolidated, forming the Pittsburg Plate Glass Company, with a capital of $10,000,000. They practically control the situation. There are only three other small factories in the country.

Then follows a table which I will insert without reading:

Size.	Polished plate glass f. o. b. Europe.			Dingley bill.	
	Cost per square foot.	Present duty per square foot.	Percentage of duty to cost in Europe.	Duty per square foot.	Percentage of duty to cost in Europe.
Containing up to—	*Cents.*	*Cents.*		*Cents.*	
2½ square feet	10	5	50	8	80
5 square feet	12	8	66⅔	12	100
10 square feet	16	22½	140	22½	140
25 square feet	20	35	175	35	175
40 square feet	23	35	152	35	152
50 square feet	24	35	146	35	146
75 square feet	26	35	135	35	135
100 square feet	30	35	117	35	117

The firm continues as follows:

We would request that no increase of duty be made on small sizes, as proposed by the Dingley bill, and that the duty on sizes containing over 5 square feet be reduced one-half, which would still leave a duty equivalent to from 60 to 90 per cent ad valorem as a protection to the American manufacturer, and also permit of some plate glass being imported, thus adding to the revenue of our Government.

I notice that the committee has not reported any changes as to certain items in this schedule, and by referring to the importations it appears it was manifestly because there were no importations under those particular paragraphs. Where it is disclosed that the Wilson Act or any anterior measure has fixed a rate which is absolutely prohibitive, and where it is conceded that we need revenue, it appears in those cases, as in the case of steel rails, triumphantly referred to by the Senator from Rhode Island, that there ought to have been some reduction even for the sake of looks, although in that case it would not amount to anything as a matter of fact.

I have also another communication from the same firm, of a later date, with certain additional facts set forth, as follows:

Supplementing our letter to you of April 6, regarding proposed duty on plate glass as per the Dingley bill, we beg to summarize the conditions that will exist with the enactment of the Senate bill:

Size.	Polished plate glass f. o. b. Europe.			Senate bill.	
	Cost per square foot.	Present duty per square foot.	Percentage of duty to cost in Europe.	Duty per square foot.	Percentage of duty to cost in Europe.
Containing up to—	*Cents.*	*Cents.*		*Cents.*	
2½ square feet	10	5	50	8	80
5 square feet	12	8	66⅔	10	83
10 square feet	16	22½	140	22½	140
25 square feet	20	35	175	35	175
40 square feet	23	35	152	35	152
50 square feet	24	35	146	35	146
75 square feet	26	35	135	35	135
100 square feet	30	35	117	35	117

We would again state that the annual consumption of plate glass for glazing purposes is about 15,000,000 square feet, and that the importation, owing to the enormous duty, is nothing. The only plate glass now imported is the finest quality for mirror purposes. The business in plate glass in this country is practically controlled by the Pittsburg Plate Glass Company, which was formed about two years ago by the consolidation of the principal factories in the country.

We again request that no increase of duty be made on small sizes (up to 5 square feet), as proposed by the Senate bill, and that the duty on sizes containing over 5 square feet may be reduced at least one-half, which would still leave a duty equivalent to from 60 to 90 per cent ad valorem as a protection to the American manufacturer, and also permit of some plate glass again being imported, thus adding to the revenue of our Government.

I have also a letter from a firm of importers in New York, Sutphen & Myer, as follows:

We beg to call your attention regarding proposed duty on plate glass according to the duties of the Senate bill.

Then follows a computation, in which they figure the matter out similarly to the correspondent already referred to, and continuing, they say:

The annual consumption of plate glass for glazing purposes is over 14,000,000 square feet, and the revenue accruing to our Government is absolutely nothing by reason of the excessive duty. The Pittsburg Plate Glass Company, which consists of a consolidation of the principal plate glass companies, practically control the situation. There are but three small plate glass factories in the country outside of the Pittsburg Plate Glass Company.

We would request that no further increase of duty be made on sizes up to 5 square feet, and that the duty on sizes containing over 5 square feet be reduced one-half. This reduction would still leave as a protection to the American manufacturer a duty equal to from 60 to 90 per cent ad valorem, and by reason of the importation of plate glass being resumed, a most material addition would be made to the revenue of our Government.

The Senator from Arkansas has run over many of these items, and at present I do not wish to add anything further until one of the paragraphs not yet read has been reached. I ask that these communications may be inserted in the RECORD as read.

Mr. BACON. I should like to ask the Senator from Rhode Island whether, since the date of the McKinley Act, the market price of these various kinds of glass has or has not fallen; and if so, to what extent?

Mr. ALDRICH. Some have increased and some have decreased. There is no general answer that would apply to the question of the Senator from Georgia.

Mr. BACON. Is it not a fact that there has been a very material decrease in the market price of most of these grades of glass?

Mr. ALDRICH. I think not, of most of them. If the Senator will ask me as to any particular one, I will give him an answer.

Mr. BACON. I will ask as to common glass, glass commonly used for window glass and looking-glass.

Mr. ALDRICH. Window glass is not now under consideration.

Mr. BACON. I understand that.

Mr. ALDRICH. There is no common glass included in this particular paragraph. We are not now providing for common window glass.

Mr. BACON. So I understand, but the inquiry was made generally.

Mr. ALDRICH. On paragraph 101 the unit of value in 1893, under the act of 1890, was 23 cents a square foot, and in 1896, 20 cents.

Mr. BACON. Very well. That shows a decrease from 23 to 20 cents. Therefore, if the specific duty is increased, it is a much larger increase than it would appear to be on its face. With a decrease in price and an increase in the specific duty, the duty is much larger than it appears. That is the point. I wish to ask the Senator if that is not a fact?

Mr. ALDRICH. Persons sitting in the galleries and listening to the discussion, if they were neither familiar with the facts in the case nor the methods which are adopted at times in regard to tariff discussions in the Senate, would think that some outrageous duty was being imposed by the provisions of these paragraphs upon an article of necessity for the common people of the United States.

The fact is that neither of those things is true. These paragraphs refer to plate glass, and nothing else, and plate glass is not used by the common people of the United States for any purpose or at any time. The changes in rates suggested by the Senate committee, retaining largely the provisions of the bill as it came from the House in that regard, are simply a readjustment of rates provided in the act of 1890, and to some extent in the act of 1894, upon the various descriptions of plate glass. It is true that we have suggested an increase of rate upon some of the brackets, but a very much larger decrease upon most of them below the rates of 1890.

The Senator from Arkansas has taken one of those items out of twenty or thirty upon which an increase of rate is suggested, and he rings the changes upon that one item as though it applied to the whole paragraph.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. In every paragraph in this schedule, the smaller brackets, the cheaper glass, the duty is increased from 30 to 80 per cent. The decreases are on the high glass, the high-priced glass, as I pointed out in the beginning.

Mr. ALDRICH. The quality of the glass is the same. It is true that a large plate costs more per square foot than a small one, for obvious reasons, but there is no difference in their uses or the classes of people who do use them.

Mr. TILLMAN. Will the Senator from Rhode Island allow me to ask him whether, in traveling over the country, he has ever seen any of these large plate glasses in windows?

Mr. ALDRICH. In the houses of the people?

Mr. TILLMAN. Yes.

Mr. ALDRICH. No, sir; I never see them.

Mr. TILLMAN. The country people, the farmers, can not buy them; and yet they do buy the small glass.

Mr. ALDRICH. They do not buy any of the glass referred to in this paragraph, I will say to the Senator from South Carolina, either in South Carolina or in any other part of the country. He can rest assured of that.

Mr. TILLMAN. Where do they buy them?

Mr. ALDRICH. They buy them for looking-glass plates and for more expensive houses in cities. I am willing to venture the statement that there is not a house in South Carolina, outside of the city of Charleston, which has a plate-glass window in it. I do not believe there is one. But that is not a matter of consequence.

Mr. TILLMAN. We are very poor, but I think the Senator is a little mistaken.

Mr. ALDRICH. I do not know. The Senator from South Carolina of course knows more about it than I do. I am only stating my belief about it.

As to the reasons which led to the change and to the readjustment, the Senator from Arkansas, in a long address to the Senate, has stated as the principal reason against the increase of these duties that the production of plate glass in the United States is largely controlled by one single company, who advertise themselves as the largest plate-glass manufacturers in the world. I should like to ask the Senator from Arkansas, in all candor, whether he thinks that is any reason why these duties ought to be changed up or down? Does it affect the merits of this case at all whether the gentlemen control 40 per cent or 50 per cent or 60 per cent of the production of plate glass in the United States? Certainly it is no crime, according to my notion, for an American establishment to be the largest manufacturer of plate glass in the world. It is an evidence, to my mind, of the energy and the enterprise of those people, and it certainly is no reason why they should be denounced upon the floor of the Senate or elsewhere, in my judgment.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. But is it not a reason why they ought not to be allowed to plead the baby act and to ask to be taken care of by high protection?

Mr. ALDRICH. I do not understand that they plead the baby act at all, or that they are asking at the hands of the American Congress anything but equal and exact justice.

Mr. LINDSAY. I will ask the Senator from Rhode Island, if he will permit me, whether, if this combination controls the majority of the production of this kind of glass and fixes the price——

Mr. ALDRICH. It does not fix the price.

Mr. LINDSAY. And dictates the terms upon which it will sell certain kinds of glass, that is not a good reason why we should refuse to give it additional protection?

Mr. ALDRICH. They deny most emphatically (and there has been no evidence submitted to the committee to the contrary, and I think there is no such evidence in existence) that there is any combination on their part with other manufacturers to control the prices or to limit production or to do anything else that is generally understood to be a restraint upon trade. There is no evidence of that kind before the committee at all.

Now, the Senator from Arkansas says that these men have a monopoly of the American market; that there is practically no importation. The comparative statement which was before him and is now before me shows conclusively that that statement is far from being an accurate statement of the facts in the case. The importations of plate glass in 1896 amounted to more than $2,000,000, and it extended over almost every single one of these paragraphs.

Mr. WHITE. If the Senator will permit me, was there not about $1,000,000 worth of glass exported during the last year?

Mr. ALDRICH. I think very likely there was. I should think very likely there might be a considerable amount of plate glass exported. But the fact is that upon the sizes on which the increase is suggested by the committee and by the House bill the importations have been constantly increasing, as I shall show very briefly.

For instance, upon this first bracket, which was made the first subject of discussion and criticism by the Senator from Arkansas, the importations in 1893, when the duty was 5 cents a square foot, amounted to $84,000. In 1896, with the same duty, they amounted to $126,000, or an increase of nearly 50 per cent. As to the rates of duty which are suggested by the committee, if the Senate committee rate had been applied to the importations of 1896, the average ad valorem would have been 39.42 per cent. So the ultimate rates that will result from this increase is less than 40 per cent.

One would have supposed to have listened to the Senator from Arkansas and the Senator from California that we have reached an enormously high rate by the suggestions which we have made. We have simply sought to equalize the rates between the different paragraphs in the bill. For the information of the Senate, I will read the resulting ad valorem in this whole column, so that there will be no question about it.

In the first one it is 39.42; in the next, 44.34; in the next, 88.39; in the next, 46.23; in the next, 34.31; in the next, 34.11; in the next, 22.79; in the next, 43.25; in the next, 42.52, and so on throughout the whole list of the changes which have been made by the Senate committee. In some cases the rate is as low as 16 and 17

per cent and 29 per cent. In only one case is the rate of 88 per cent suggested, and that rate is exactly the same rate imposed by the Wilson Act, prepared by the Senator from Arkansas and his associates. So in all these other changes the rates are very much less than the average which was imposed upon the glass schedule, and almost half less than what was proposed by the Senators themselves upon some of the articles covered by this very paragraph.

Mr. WHITE. If the Senator from Rhode Island will permit me, I wish to call attention to the matter he is now considering, on page 43 of the comparative statement. In all above 24 by 36 inches we find that under the law of 1890 the rate was 3½ cents. It is now 3½ cents, and the ad valorem equivalent is given in the document before us as 118.73. That is a case where the Senate committee has evidently increased the rate as compared with the law of 1890.

Mr. ALDRICH. As my colleague from Connecticut [Mr. PLATT] suggests to me, that certainly does not prove that the suggestion made by the Senator from Arkansas that we have increased the duties upon the smaller size glass is correct, because that is the largest size of any, and a very unimportant one, in the whole schedule.

Mr. WHITE. I think the statement of the Senator from Arkansas had reference to the value. I notice that the unit of value is very low in this particular instance.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. If the Senator will allow me on that point, I believe we are on paragraph 101——

Mr. ALDRICH. I am discussing paragraph 101, but the Senator from California calls attention to an article in 104.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The Senator from Rhode Island said my statement was not sustained that the Senate committee were increasing the rate much more greatly on the smaller size glass than the larger size. I propose to refer the Senator to the comparative statement. Take paragraph 101, page 41 of the comparative statement. In the very first bracket you increase the rate from 5 cents in the McKinley Act to 8 cents here.

Mr. ALDRICH. I understand that.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Scarcely anyone will deny that that is an increase.

Mr. ALDRICH. And I am pointing out what the effect of that is, if the Senator will allow me.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. But the Senator was saying that my statement that you were increasing the rates on the smaller size glass and not increasing the rates in the same proportion on the larger size glass is not sustained by the facts.

Mr. ALDRICH. I understood the Senator from Arkansas to make the statement that we propose to increase the rates of duty on the smaller size glass until the equivalent ad valorem is much higher than on the larger size.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I instituted no comparison between the equivalent ad valorem on the two classes.

Mr. ALDRICH. Then I——

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. What I said was that as a matter of fact you are increasing, and increasing enormously, the rates of tax on small-size glass and that you are not increasing the tax in the same proportion on the larger size.

Mr. ALDRICH. For obvious reasons, if the Senator from Arkansas will permit me, we have increased the rate, as I say, on the smaller size glass, for purposes of readjustment; but the effect of that increase is at the end only to impose one-half the rate of duty which the Senator himself imposed by the act of 1894 upon most of the articles of plate glass included in this schedule. Now, that is the fact about it.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Will the Senator point out where he has increased it?

Mr. ALDRICH. I am just pointing out that the result of the 8 cents out of this computation is to impose in the end only 39.42 per cent ad valorem, while his own rate, suggested by his own committee, on sizes from 24 to 60 was, under his own bill, 88.89 per cent ad valorem, more than double the duties which we now suggest upon this item. The reason for that readjustment, as I have already shown, is the largely increased importations on the smaller sizes, and the necessity, if we intend to do justice by these various articles, to reduce the rates and make them equal upon all concerned.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Will the Senator have the goodness to show one bracket, one single paragraph, one single lot of glass on which he has proposed a lower rate than was proposed in the Wilson bill?

Mr. ALDRICH. I am not saying that we do? We simply retain the rates which the Senator himself retained upon the larger sizes, which in many cases amounted to 100 per cent ad valorem, double the rate which we now suggest upon the small sizes. The readjustment made in 1890 was not a correct one, and it is to correct the inequality made by the act of 1890 in regard to the different sizes of glass that these changes are made. They are not excessive, they are not unnecessary, they are reasonable, and proper, and just.

Mr. CHILTON. Mr. President, a few days ago we had from the distinguished Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH] a very able speech, to which we listened with attention. Near the beginning of that speech I find the following paragraph:

> It was, I believe, thoroughly understood throughout the country in the last political campaign that if the Republican party should be again intrusted with power no extreme tariff legislation would follow. It was believed that in the changed conditions of the country a return to the duties imposed by the act of 1890 would not be necessary, even from a protective standpoint.

When we take up this glass schedule and examine it in the light of this declaration, it seems to me that the Senator from Rhode Island owes it to the country not to insist upon such great increases over the McKinley rates. According to his conception of the obligation due by the Republican party, it would not be necessary. But stronger than this, it is a special imposition upon that class of the people who are best entitled to Government favor to raise the duty upon the particular items of glass now under consideration.

The Senator from Rhode Island a few minutes ago asserted, I believe, that the glass mentioned in paragraphs 101 and 102 was not in use among the mass of people. I think he can not be correct in that. The glass mentioned in paragraph 102 is the silvered glass of the kind which is used for mirrors. Many mirrors are framed in this country, and these are the mirrors which are generally used by the working people. They are used in folding beds, in bureaus, in washstands, and in many other articles of furniture.

Now, sir, if you analyze paragraphs 101 and 102, you find that the increases are at the point where they bear most heavily upon the common people. Take the first bracket in 101, plate glass 16 by 24 inches square. In the McKinley Act this was 5 cents a square foot. The Wilson rate was 5 cents, like the McKinley rate. Both have been increased to 8 cents a square foot.

Now, take the second bracket, plate glass not exceeding 24 by 30. The Wilson rate was 8 cents, the McKinley rate was 8 cents, and it has been raised by the Senate committee to 10 cents a square foot.

Now, take the third bracket, and you find that the Wilson rate, 22½ cents a square foot, is continued.

In the fourth bracket you find also that the Wilson rate is preserved without change.

Now, sir, the point to which I wish to attract attention is that the glass mentioned in the third and fourth brackets is largely unaffected by the tariff rates, because the American factories have complete control of the home market on these sizes. About 75 per cent of the production of this country is glass such as is described in the fourth bracket. Fifteen per cent of the American product is such as that mentioned in the third bracket.

Ninety per cent of all the glass produced in this country would be included in these two brackets of large-sized glass, and it is no concession to consumers to leave the duty at the Wilson rate. But on the first two brackets—the small-sized plate glass and mirrors—the result will be oppressive if the duty is increased. While this glass constitutes only 10 per cent of the total domestic output, and in relative value is small, it is the only plate glass which is sold to the great body of the people.

The Senator from Rhode Island ought not to close his ears to these appeals. He ought not to steadily resist every demonstration of the inequalities of these paragraphs. He ought to leave the McKinley rate stand.

Now, taking up 102, the silvered-glass paragraph. I believe the Senate Finance Committee have designated a more accurate proportion between the rates on silvered and unsilvered glass than that stated in the Dingley bill. I believe that the House bill was an inartistic measure in that respect. But, sir, while your proportions between plain and silvered glass are right, I contend that you have put the small sizes of glass far too high in both paragraphs.

The rates in the first two brackets of both paragraphs should be here reduced to the McKinley rates. That is certainly a reasonable concession to ask at the hands of the Finance Committee.

The increases are even greater in paragraph 102 than they are in the unsilvered paragraph. On silvered glass not exceeding 16 by 24 inches square the McKinley rate was 6 cents a square foot, and yet it has been raised to 11 cents a square foot, or nearly double the McKinley rate.

In the size not exceeding 24 by 30 inches square the Wilson rate was 10 cents a square foot, the McKinley rate 10 cents a square foot, and it has been raised to 13 cents a square foot.

Now, sir, I appeal to the Senator from Rhode Island to put both those small sizes, which are those used by the common people, back to the McKinley rate.

Mr. VEST. Mr. President, it is a remarkable fact that whenever the Senator from Rhode Island makes a readjustment he always raises the lower duties, but never thinks of cutting down the higher ones. I have heard him preach that doctrine of readjustment before, and it invariably comes out the same way. He readjusts always by keeping the enormous duties, and then by raising the lower duties, so as to reach something like a level with the higher. Here is a conspicuous example of what has been noticed here again and again.

Take the sizes up to 2¾. The present duty is 5 cents; the European cost is 10 cents; the ad valorem under existing law is 50 per cent.

Mr. ALDRICH. Which paragraph does the Senator from Missouri refer to?

Mr. VEST. I refer to that upon the two smaller sizes up to 2¾ square feet and then up to 5 square feet. The next is up to 10 square feet, and then to 25 square feet, to 40, 50, 75, and to 100 square feet. As a matter of course, the common people of the country are only interested in the lower grade, the smaller sizes.

As I was proceeding to say, the duty under existing law is 5 cents upon the glass up to 2¾ square feet in size, which makes 50 per cent ad valorem on the European cost of 10 cents. That is increased by the Senate committee's bill to 8 cents from 5 cents, making an increase of 30 per cent ad valorem, the Senate amendment making 180 per cent, and so on the next grade up to 5 square feet. The ordinary common people, as Lincoln called them, are interested only in these two grades. The European cost is 12 cents to the square foot, and under the existing law the duty is 8 cents, or 66⅔ per cent ad valorem. The Senate committee has raised it from 8 cents to 10 cents, making it 83 per cent instead of 66⅔ per cent. But when it comes to the larger sizes, which are articles of luxury, used only by people of large means and by storekeepers who are able to buy such articles, and by rich people in their houses, and in mirror and pier glasses, the duties remain, both in the Senate bill and in the existing law, 140, 175, 153, 146, 135, and 117 per cent.

Mr. ALDRICH. What is the Senator reading from?

Mr. VEST. I am reading from a calculation made by Sutphen & Mayer, of New York, which, when compared with the comparative statement, you will find to be correct.

Mr. ALDRICH. I have just compared it and I find it to be strangely incorrect. If the Senator will look at the table furnished by the Bureau of Statistics, he will find that the average value of looking-glass plates, 16 by 24, of all that were imported, was 31 cents in 1893 and 25 cents in 1896. That was the average value of all, and the Senator is basing his figures, upon the computation of somebody, at 10 cents a square foot.

Mr. VEST. I am basing it upon a computation of 35 cents, and if I take the Senator's reduction it still leaves an enormous duty upon that grade.

Mr. ALDRICH. The average duty is 43.25 per cent of the total importation for 1896 on the highest grade which we propose.

Mr. VEST. That may be very true, but still upon these higher grades that is the ad valorem duty.

Mr. ALDRICH. The Senator was trying to make it appear, as I understood him, that upon the importations of 16 by 24 and smaller looking-glass plates we are imposing some excessive duty. I say upon the average value as shown by the Bureau of Statistics we are only proposing to impose a rate of 43.25 per cent.

Mr. VEST. Take the grade up to size 25; I will ask the Senator what is the rate of duty imposed by the Senate committee's bill?

Mr. ALDRICH. On looking-glass plates not exceeding 16 by 24 inches square the rate we propose is 11 cents. That is the highest increase in the whole schedule, and even at that rate the increase to 11 cents amounts only to 43.25 per cent.

Mr. CHILTON. The business grew up in this country under the old rate.

Mr. ALDRICH. It did not grow up very much. There was a million dollars' worth imported last year. It shows that it has not grown to the stature of manhood yet.

Mr. CHILTON. The whole plate-glass industry has been built up in the last fifteen years in this country under that rate.

Mr. ALDRICH. I know it has, from the very fact that we have been imposing protective duties; and we want to continue that policy until we have secured the $2,000,000 worth now imported, made by foreign manufacturers.

Mr. VEST. It is remarkable that the Senator from Rhode Island never has thought of reducing the higher duties, but has persistently engaged himself and his committee in increasing the lower duties. That is the point I make. Why has it never suggested itself to him?

Mr. ALDRICH. The Senator can not point to half a dozen instances in this bill where rates have been increased over those imposed by the act of 1890.

Mr. VEST. Does the Senator mean to say that he has not increased the two sizes here?

Mr. ALDRICH. I say we have.

Mr. VEST. Exactly.

Mr. ALDRICH. But the Senator can not point to a half dozen instances outside of this particular paragraph in which the increase is above the act of 1890.

Mr. VEST. Half a dozen! I have already called attention to more than twenty——

Mr. ALDRICH. I have not noticed them.

Mr. VEST. In the schedules through which we have gone.

Mr. ALDRICH. I have not noticed them.

Mr. VEST. I did not enumerate them; but there has not been half an hour since the debate commenced that I have not called attention to an increase over the McKinley Act, and I will undertake to do so all through the whole bill from beginning to the end. But the Senator can not evade the salient point in the discussion. The two grades in which the common people of the country are interested are the two smaller grades, and he admits himself that he has increased the rate on those. In one instance he has increased it from 50 to 80 per cent and in the other from 66⅔ to 83 per cent.

Mr. ALDRICH. I deny the accuracy of the Senator's figures. I take the average value of importations as the best possible test we can get, and I do not take——

Mr. VEST. I will settle the question by asking the Senator just this single question: Has he not made an increase in those two grades?

Mr. ALDRICH. Unquestionably, and I have so stated, time after time.

Mr. VEST. Very good. That is enough for my purpose. It has never suggested itself to the Senator to reduce the higher grades in which the common people are not interested, but he persists in keeping up the duties on the two lower grades, and calls that a readjustment. His readjustments always are in one direction—in the shape of higher duties. I have never known the Senator to bring down duties in order to readjust a schedule—never.

Mr. ALDRICH. But the Senator will agree that we propose a very large reduction below the act of 1890 on these higher schedules? That is what I call a readjustment.

Mr. VEST. If we take into consideration the prices and the condition of the trade of the country, it is not a reduction.

Mr. ALDRICH. On the two higher brackets in paragraph 102, to which the Senator has alluded, we have reduced, first, from 35 cents a square foot to 25 cents, and in the next one from 66 cents a square foot to 38 cents. Is not that a readjustment?

Mr. VEST. Of course, and the Senator has always readjusted rates in order to decrease the importations. Whenever there is a large importation, it invariably follows as the night follows the day that there is an increase of duty in this whole bill.

Mr. ALDRICH. But does not the Senator from Missouri agree with me that a very large increase in importations would be very good evidence that the duties were not protective?

Mr. VEST. No; not always.

Mr. ALDRICH. From my standpoint; not from the Senator's.

Mr. VEST. It depends upon the amount consumed in this country.

Mr. ALDRICH. Other things being equal.

Mr. VEST. Certainly. We consume in the United States, for instance, from twelve to fourteen million square feet of this glass. And because a million feet came in, is that any reason for putting up the duties? Suppose only 2 or 3 per cent of a certain article comes into the United States out of an enormous consumption of millions upon millions, is that any reason for putting up duties upon the whole aggregate mass?

Now, take the importations of plate glass; what proportion do they bear to the consumption in the United States? That is the question. Whenever the Senator from Rhode Island (and I undertake to say it is the unvarying rule) finds large importations anywhere upon any article in this bill, he immediately puts up the duty. He might just as well put up an advertisement, that "there shall be no competing imports; we propose to shut out competition; we propose to have the sort of tariff that Henry Carey, the great father of protection, announced when he said he wished to God the Atlantic Ocean was an ocean of fire, across which no ship could ever pass."

Mr. ALDRICH. The Senator does not want to misquote me, I am sure.

Mr. VEST. Oh, no.

Mr. ALDRICH. What I said was that where I found there was a large and abnormal increase in importations, especially in articles in which we have equal natural advantages with those of other countries, other things being equal, I would take that as an indication that the duties had ceased to be, for some reason, protective, and that there ought to be some readjustment.

Mr. VEST. I would not take that as a rule in all cases. It is not an inflexible rule by any means. There is an increase of population in this country; there are thousands of things that go to affect the condition of trade between us and foreign countries; and it by no means follows that whenever you find even the equal natural resources and an increase in importations, therefore you ought to increase the duties.

I may be mistaken, I am not an expert in the business, but I understand that the rule adopted by the leaders of the Republican party is that there should be a tariff for revenue connected with the tariff that will protect American productions, equalizing the cost of labor between foreign countries and the United States. That I understand to be the conservative and just rule as

announced from the hustings and in the public press of the Republican party. Are we, then, to be governed by the amount of importations simply and alone? If that be so, you throw away the other conditions and the other qualifications, and as soon as the imports increase upon any article, no matter on what account, you increase the duties, although we know that imports and exports vary from causes beyond our control—climatic, productive, war, famine; all these things go to make up imports and to make up exports between the nations of the earth, and there can be no Procrustean rule, and there ought to be none.

Mr. President, the Senator from Rhode Island and the Senator from Pennsylvania, as I understood, declared that there was no trust in regard to this article. I happen to know that they are mistaken. I do not care how much the Plate Glass Company of Pittsburg advertise that it is not a trust, there is no court in the land that would not declare it to be a trust by any of the rules that govern such discussions in courts of justice. I happen to know that in my State there is a large plate-glass factory, called the Crystal City Plate Glass Company. I have great respect personally for the gentlemen who own that establishment, although they have been my determined political enemies, never, I am glad to say, my personal enemies; but I never had a canvass in which I did not meet the influence of that institution. Until a few years ago it has been continued, and, I have always understood, with great ability. It had large capital; it was in a flourishing condition. Four or five years ago, possibly less than that, some two or three years ago, the establishment closed, and it has been closing from time to time, putting its men out of employment and taking them back again into employment in a spasmodic, peripatetic, and nomadic way that nobody in Missouri could understand except the few men interested in it.

I remember in the recent canvass I spoke at Crystal City, and I was antagonized, as usual, by the political influence of the owners of this great corporation. I found by conversation with some of the men that they were out of employment, and I said to them, "Do you propose to support the Republican ticket, when you are here hunting for work? Do you think now that the Crystal City Company, with its high protection upon plate glass, is not able to give you employment on account of the want of tariff duties?" They answered me that the proprietors had told them it was only a temporary suspension and that they would in a few days commence and give them their wages again.

In the city of St. Louis there is a very respectable firm, the largest dealers in plate glass and mirrors in the city, Messrs. Drey & Kahn, and I will ask the Secretary to read a communication from them which explains the condition of this trust and the position of the Crystal City Plate Glass Company in connection with it.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read as follows:

ST. LOUIS, MO., *May 25, 1897.*

DEAR SIR: We respectfully call your attention to the proposed schedule on cast polished plate glass, which specifies an enormous increase in the rates on glass containing less than 5 square feet. The existing rate affords more than an ample protection to our manufacturers, and a further increase in the tariff would be prohibitive; and while the Government would suffer from the decreased revenue, a large profit would flow in the pockets of the millionaire clan doing business under the corporate name of Pittsburg Plate Glass Company, better known as the plate-glass trust.

This trust operates 9 factories, of which 6 are located in Pennsylvania, 2 in Indiana, and 1 in Missouri. The latter was known, until the formation of the trust, as the Crystal Plate Glass Company, and was in a flourishing condition until the withering hand of the trust has touched it, but since then has often been shut down or only partially operated. Wages in all these factories have been reduced enormously, not on account of adverse trade conditions, but to supply the sinews of war, which this trust is waging since its formation to crush out all honorable competition, whether they be manufacturers or jobbers in plate glass.

The increased duties are asked on the smaller sizes of glass only, which in effect are a raw product only, as they have to undergo the process of beveling and silvering before they enter into use as mirrors for furniture and household goods. The present rates on plate glass of larger dimensions are so outrageously high and entirely prohibitive that even the greed of our manufacturer patriots is satiated, but on the little by-product of smaller sizes, comprising less than 10 per cent of a factory's output, a chance is left for the importer to bring in a very limited share of the amount consumed.

This, of course, must be stopped and every household in the land be taxed for the sole benefit of the glass trust.

We respectfully beg to enter with you our earnest protest to the proposed action, and pray you to give voice to our entreaties and make the Senate Chamber ring in your denouncement of the plate-glass trust.

Yours, most respectfully,

DREY & KAHN.

HON. GEORGE G. VEST,
United States Senator from the State of Missouri, Washington, D. C.

Mr. VEST. I shall not attempt to make the Senate Chamber ring, because I know that would be utterly ineffectual, and even if I were able to produce that sort of harmony, the Senator from Rhode Island and his colleagues are beyond any such process as that. They intend to put up these duties. I think they make a mistake in doing so. I think in a case like this, where, with great respect to them, there can be no reasonable excuse given for these enormous increases, they make a mistake and they injure the system they are defending when they insist upon these indefensible elevations of duty.

I do not care to say anything more upon the subject, because it seems to me that in all this debate there has been no answer to the proposition that these duties are too high, and especially upon those grades of this article which are used by the ordinary plain people of the country.

Mr. CAFFERY. I want to inquire of the Senator in charge of the bill what are the particular brackets under these different paragraphs, where the Senator says importations are so large that the tariff has to be raised in order to make a readjustment of it, etc.?

Mr. ALDRICH. In the brackets in which the increases have been made?

Mr. CAFFERY. Where you raise, for instance, from 5 to 8 cents on page 40, paragraph 101, "plate glass, cast, polished, finished or unfinished, and unsilvered, not exceeding 16 by 24 inches square." There is the first rise, I perceive, from 5 to 8 cents per square foot. I understand that these different increases are made to meet excessive importations under this paragraph.

Mr. ALDRICH. I said they were to equalize the rates as between the different paragraphs.

Mr. CAFFERY. Now, I call the attention of the Senate to the fact that under paragraph 101, as to all "above 16 by 24 inches, and not exceeding 24 by 30 inches," the importations for 1893 were 1,638,407.92 square feet. The rate on that class under the law of 1890 and under the law of 1894 was 8 cents per square foot; in the bill as it came from the other House it was 12 cents, and in the committee's proposition it is 10 cents per square foot, and the importations in 1896 were 1,968,657.62 square feet. Is it for this trifling increase that the tariff is to be raised from 8 to 12 cents a square foot?

Mr. ALDRICH. Ten cents per square foot is the suggestion of the Senate committee.

Mr. CAFFERY. Ten cents, I beg pardon. Again, in the class above that, the increase is from 5 to 8 cents per square foot, and the importations in 1893 were 375,507.89 square feet, and in 1896, 620,900.83 square feet. There is a very considerable rise. Then, again, discussing all these paragraphs, as the Senator from Arkansas, I believe, embraced the paragraphs beyond paragraph 101 in his discussion, I will refer to paragraph 102, where the rise is from 6 to 11 cents per square foot, and the importations for 1893 were 52,785.15 square feet, and in 1896, 3,228 square feet. So that we see there can not be any sufficient reason alleged why these increases of the tariff are necessary to meet increased importations.

I should like to inquire whether or not the object of this bill is, not only in these paragraphs which we are now discussing, but throughout the bill, absolutely to cut off importations? The distinguished Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH], in his opening speech upon this bill, stated that, in his opinion, the time was not far distant when the revenues from importations must be laid aside and the Congress of the United States would have to resort more and more to internal taxation. Is this the ultimate outcome of the duties of a tariff for protection? I understand the object of the other side to have been not entirely to cut off importations, as the object now seems to be, but to let the foreigner come in and enjoy the blessings of paying our tariff for us, for it is gravely urged upon the other side of the Chamber that the foreigner pays the tariff—pays the taxes upon imported articles. Is it possible that the Senator from Rhode Island now formulates a bill upon lines that would exclude the foreigner from enjoying that blessed privilege? It would appear so.

There is no necessity whatever for these increases. Take the increases, again, in cylinder and crown glass under paragraph 102, where there is an increase from 6 cents a square foot to 11 cents a square foot, and the importations under that paragraph in 1893 were 1,030,091.91 square feet and in 1896, 585,487.50 square feet, a decline of nearly 50 per cent in importations.

The whole sum and substance of the object of raising the tariff upon decreased importations is simply to raise the wall so high as absolutely to prevent any importations whatever. Then that brings us down to the theory announced by the Senator from Rhode Island in his opening speech, that the end-all, that the terminal, of high protection was internal-revenue taxation. I want to know whether the American people are ready for that. I want to know whether the exportations of our merchandise will not by a policy of that sort be utterly destroyed, for we see that these revenue duties are more largely laid, or as largely laid, upon the absolutely necessary raw materials for the complete, finished product of our manufactures as upon the finished products themselves. If, therefore, this policy is to be continued, the ultimate result of it will be to pen us up, to corral us, to turn us over to the tender mercy of the home manufacturer, to exclude our flourishing manufacturers from any export trade, and to make the United States a perfect likeness of the ancient Kingdom of China, where nothing can come in and nothing will go out. That is the evident purpose of this bill; that is the end and purpose of this taxation.

Such a policy can not be defended upon any line of protection. As I understand that theory, it is not to cramp our industries.

The original theory of protection was to protect the infant industry until it could stand on its legs, and then turn it loose and let it battle for itself. The theory now is to pile up taxes higher and higher just in proportion to the age of this infant, and instead of the squealing, puling cry of the tender infant clamoring for protection, we have now the lusty voice of the ancient Methuselah, louder and louder, clearer and clearer, fiercer and fiercer, as his desire increases to fleece the home consumer.

There is not a line of mercy in this bill for the consumer; there is not a line of consideration for him. It is the very acme, the very summit of protection, and protection in its insanest mood.

The reason urged by the Senator from Rhode Island in answer to the criticism of the Senator from Missouri is about as clear and as distinct as his exposition of the sugar schedule. It is one of those clear expositions that the longer you look at it the muddier it seems. Here is a distinct charge made by the Senator from Missouri that wherever the taxes were low they have been raised in order to meet the unnecessarily high taxation in some other direction, and the answer is that that is necessary for readjustment. Readjustment how, where, and for what purpose? Where high taxes exist, you do not import anything. Is it not absolutely unnecessary, therefore, to put any higher duties there? The only purpose, then, of these high taxes upon the low-priced article is to pile up additional burdens upon the toiling consumers of the United States. That is the only pretext, the only motive, that underlies this inverse order of raising tariff—the highest upon the lowest and the lowest upon the highest.

I do hope my colleagues on this side of the Chamber who are more familiar with the details of these schedules than I am and more able to handle the facts at their command will so expose the enormities of these schedules that the American people will finally see that they are being fleeced; that the hand of extortion is being laid upon them for the pretended interests of manufacturing industries whose business does not require this additional blood to be let from the veins of the American people.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. GALLINGER in the chair). The question is on the amendment proposed by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST].

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. On that I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Let the amendment be stated at the desk.

The SECRETARY. In paragraph 101, page 26, line 20, before the word "cents," it is proposed to strike out "eight" and insert "five;" so as to read:

101. Cast polished plate glass, finished or unfinished and unsilvered, not exceeding 16 by 24 inches square, 5 cents per square foot, etc.

The Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BUTLER (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Maryland [Mr. WELLINGTON]. If he were present, I would vote "yea."

Mr. CLARK (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the junior Senator from Kansas [Mr. HARRIS], but I will transfer that pair to my colleague [Mr. WARREN], and vote "nay."

Mr. CLAY (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE], but I transfer that pair to the junior Senator from Delaware [Mr. KENNEY], so that the junior Senator from Delaware will stand paired with the junior Senator from Massachusetts, and that will permit the junior Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. PENROSE] and myself to vote. I vote "yea."

Mr. DANIEL (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. HAWLEY], otherwise I should vote "yea."

Mr. MITCHELL (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SEWELL]. If he were present, I should vote "yea" and he would vote "nay."

Mr. PASCO (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Utah [Mr. CANNON]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. PENROSE (when his name was called). In accordance with the explanation made by the Senator from Georgia [Mr. CLAY], I am at liberty to vote. I vote "nay."

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. My colleague [Mr. HAWLEY] is necessarily absent from the Senate. He is paired, as has already been announced, with the Senator from Virginia [Mr. DANIEL]. My colleague would vote "nay," if present.

Mr. PROCTOR (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Florida [Mr. MALLORY].

Mr. TILLMAN (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. THURSTON]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. FRYE. I am paired with the senior Senator from Maryland [Mr. GORMAN].

The result was announced—yeas 21, nays 29; as follows:

YEAS—21.

Bacon,	Cockrell,	Mills,	Vest,
Bate,	Gray,	Morgan,	Walthall,
Berry,	Heitfeld,	Murphy,	White.
Caffery,	Jones, Ark.	Pettigrew,	
Chilton,	Kyle,	Pettus,	
Clay,	Lindsay,	Turpie,	

NAYS—29.

Aldrich,	Fairbanks,	McBride,	Quay,
Allison,	Foraker,	McMillan,	Shoup,
Burrows,	Gallinger,	Mason,	Spooner,
Carter,	Gear,	Nelson,	Wetmore,
Chandler,	Hale,	Penrose,	Wilson.
Clark,	Hanna,	Perkins,	
Davis,	Hansbrough,	Platt, Conn.	
Deboe,	Jones, Nev.	Pritchard,	

NOT VOTING—38.

Allen,	Gorman,	Martin,	Stewart,
Baker,	Harris, Kans.	Mitchell,	Teller,
Butler,	Harris, Tenn.	Morrill,	Thurston,
Cannon,	Hawley,	Pasco,	Tillman,
Cullom,	Hoar,	Platt, N. Y.	Turner,
Daniel,	Kenney,	Proctor,	Warren,
Elkins,	Lodge,	Rawlins,	Wellington,
Faulkner,	McEnery,	Roach,	Wolcott.
Frye,	Mallory,	Sewell,	
George,	Mantle,	Smith,	

So the amendment was rejected.

Mr. QUAY. Before the Senate thins out this afternoon, it seems to me there ought to be some understanding as to whether or not we shall sit on Decoration Day, on Monday next. I shall be glad to know from the Finance Committee what is their desire.

Mr. ALDRICH. Personally, I should be very glad if the Senate would continue in session every day. It is the proper course to remain in session until this bill is disposed of. I should be very glad to have a session of the Senate on Monday, unless Senators should see fit to vote otherwise.

Mr. COCKRELL. And you expect them to vote otherwise?

Mr. ALDRICH. No; I do not. I expect them to vote to remain in session.

Mr. QUAY. Mr. President, there are some of us connected with military organizations made up of ex-soldiers of the Union Army, which ought to demand the sympathy and respect of Senators upon the other side of the Chamber who served in the Confederate army, who can not well attend here on Monday. We are all interested in this bill, and as to the expedition of the bill, if the Finance Committee will, in their wisdom, suggest that the Senate shall meet at 11 o'clock on Tuesday, and sit during the week from 11 o'clock until the ordinary hour of adjournment, all the time lost by passing over Monday can be made up. I appeal to the Finance Committee and the Senate that the Senate, when it adjourns to-day, shall adjourn over until 11 o'clock on Tuesday next.

Mr. BATE. Oh, no; say 12 o'clock on Tuesday.

Mr. VEST. Do I understand the Senator from Pennsylvania to make the suggestion or the proposition that we meet on Tuesday and from that time on at 11 o'clock?

Mr. QUAY. That was my suggestion.

Mr. VEST. For one, I should not make any such agreement, and shall defeat it if possible. We have now had this bill under discussion about a week. We have made, as I said the other day, more progress in a week on the pending bill than we made in the first five weeks in the consideration of the act of 1894. It is a little too soon to commence 11 o'clock sessions, when our friends upon the other side have had this bill in the other House and in the Senate for nearly three months and a half, and those of them who have had charge of it must be necessarily familiar with every detail of the bill. It has been furnished to us a very short time, and the comparative statement only came to us a little over a week ago, and then in a very defective form, and we have been compelled to wait until the Senator from Rhode Island made his opening speech to find absolutely what were his calculations as to the estimated revenue under this bill. Until we heard that speech we had no idea what were the expectations of the framers of the bill in regard to the revenue to be produced. I had occasion to say the other day that we do not propose—and I think I can speak for my colleagues as I do for myself—that we do not propose any factious opposition, but we shall oppose the unusual proceeding of 11 o'clock sessions commencing upon next Tuesday.

As to the adjournment over, that is a matter to be decided by the other side of the Chamber, although of course we shall vote for the proposition when it is brought up.

Mr. CHANDLER. Mr. President——

Mr. QUAY. I desire merely to say, in response to the suggestion of the Senator from Missouri, that I for one, and I have no doubt all the Senators on this side of the Chamber, appreciate the generosity and fairness of Senators upon the other side in their conduct of this bill; and if it is not their desire to meet at an earlier hour than 12 o'clock next Tuesday, I do not desire to press that upon them, and will change the motion to one that when the Senate adjourn, it be to meet at 12 o'clock on Tuesday next.

Mr. VEST. I have no objection to that.

Mr. CHANDLER. I was about to suggest to the Senator from Pennsylvania to make that modification of his request. I for one am not disposed to urge any method of procedure at this time upon Senators upon the other side of the Chamber that is not agreeable to them. Sometimes I have noticed that there seemed to be an impression on that side of the Chamber to the effect that we were complaining of them. I do not think there has been any complaint, and certainly there has been no just ground of complaint. I am perfectly satisfied myself with the disposition which Senators upon the other side are manifesting, and perfectly satisfied with the way they are treating this bill. I believe they mean to discuss it no more than is necessary to a fair elucidation of its details, and that they expect to render all reasonable assistance toward a speedy and final vote upon the bill. Therefore I should be glad if the Senator from Pennsylvania would withdraw the suggestion that we should begin to meet at 11 o'clock next Tuesday. A little later on in the discussion, perhaps, that hour may be agreed to by the other side; but, under the circumstances, there having been no disposition manifested to unduly delay the bill, I hope we shall not sit on Monday next.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Did the Chair understand the Senator from Pennsylvania to make a motion?

Mr. ALDRICH. Mr. President, being charged with a certain measure of responsibility in regard to the progress of this bill, I will say that I feel bound to press it upon the consideration of the Senate at every available hour during every session and upon every day.

The Senator from Missouri says that we have made more progress now than we did in the discussion of the act of 1894. We have, it is true, on some of the days made some progress; but this whole day has been taken up in the discussion of one paragraph of this bill and in the reading of papers in connection with it. It looks to me as if the progress we have made in the past two or three days is all to be neutralized by a prolongation of the discussion upon the paragraphs which are to come.

Mr. VEST. Will the Senator from Rhode Island permit me? What I am about to say is not by way of apology, but simply an explanation. I have no apology to make.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Missouri will pardon the Chair. The Chair will state to Senators that the debate is proceeding by unanimous consent.

Mr. VEST. Of course. I merely wish to state, in explanation of what has happened here to-day, that no one knows possibly as well, certainly no one knows better, than the Senator from Rhode Island that in every tariff bill there are certain salient features, certain points of debate, which stand out from the remainder of the bill and which must be disposed of not rapidly, but with great deliberation. Senators are called upon by their constituents to oppose certain features in the bill, and they feel themselves compelled and justly compelled to do so.

Now, here is a duty which we consider monstrous, if the term is not offensive. I think it is utterly beyond any sort of question one of the worst features of the whole bill. It has two most objectionable features, and we felt it to be our duty to bring them out as strongly and plainly as possible before the whole country. The first is an increase of duty upon articles used by the common, plain people of the country; an increase, as we conceive, directly against that class of people, and without any sort of justification, in our opinion. In the second place, it is a duty in the interest of a trust, admitted to be a trust, which controls the whole trade virtually and absolutely.

I do not think I am claiming too much when I say there never has been a tariff bill in the Senate which has been treated more fairly by the opposition than the present one. We have passed over here increase after increase over the Wilson Act without a word, and it is only when our friends upon the other side have gone beyond the McKinley Act, which was the ideal protective measure of the Republican party, that we have ventured to make opposition. And yet, because upon the plate-glass schedule, which I think every fair man will concede to be one of the most objectionable in the whole bill, we have taken up some two hours and a half or three hours, the Senator from Rhode Island says the day has been wasted.

Mr. ALDRICH. Oh, I beg the Senator's pardon.

Mr. VEST. I probably used another word than the one the Senator did, but he objected to the delay.

Mr. President, it depends entirely upon the point from which the observation is made whether you use the word "wasted" or not. We thought it was our duty to act in the way we have done, and it was not done in any factious spirit.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President, I simply wish to say that my recollection of the consideration of the Wilson bill leads me to remark that the celerity advised by the Senator from Rhode Island is a late creation of his somewhat vivid fancy. At that time he did not seem to adopt any such procedure. Indeed, day after day we stood here and sat here, sometimes seeking the cloakrooms, not only for purposes of relaxation, but for an opportunity to give vent to the feelings which we were compelled to smother here; and still upon the other side of this Chamber, as no doubt you, Mr. President [Mr. GALLINGER in the chair], will well recollect, reading, reading, reading progressed day by day, while one-half of the American people were yawning and the other portion were perhaps swearing.

Under the circumstances now prevailing, because we see fit to refer to the glass schedule, which we think deserves criticism—we may be wrong about it, perhaps; we will not be able to agree in this Chamber upon that point—we are mildly censured. We feel that we are giving to the bill only such consideration as duty requires us to give it. If we were maliciously disposed toward the American people, we would wish for its immediate enactment.

Mr. FRYE. I suppose the Senator from California does not marvel at the magnanimity of the Senator from New Hampshire, as expressed a few minutes ago, and his compliment to the Democratic side for allowing the bill to progress reasonably.

Mr. President, I believe that the highest exhibition of patriotism on our part is to sit here on Monday and continue the discussion of the pending bill, and I do not believe there is a Union soldier to be found in the United States who would not say that we were doing more honor by undertaking to save a day from the time to be consumed in perfecting and passing this bill than by giving it to him apparently in honor on next Monday.

Mr. PETTUS. Mr. President, I rise simply to protest against the idea of the Senate of the United States being in session next Monday. If the people of the United States, especially in this part of the land, owe any debt of gratitude, they owe it to the Army of the United States, or at least to that part of the Army intended to be honored on Monday. The devotion of those men to the Union, as it was then claimed and as to which I am not now disputing, was such that there is no business on earth more important than doing honor to the dead of that Army.

Mr. PROCTOR. Mr. President, I should be as loath as anyone to transact any improper business on the day that is set apart in honor of the soldiers, but I do not understand that Monday is the day generally set apart. I know that in my own State to-day is being observed entirely, and I have been informed by several other Senators that it is true as to their States. That is the opinion of the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE], I believe. I know that in our State they have followed strictly the orders of the commander of the Grand Army, and that to-day is the day which is being observed.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas obtained the floor.

Mr. QUAY. Will the Senator from Arkansas yield to me for a moment?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Certainly.

Mr. QUAY. Decoration Day properly falls upon Sunday this year. In this city and in the District of Columbia, in this department, Monday is to be observed in lieu of Sunday. On Monday next all the Departments are to be closed. The Government here is going to respect the day, and I do not think that the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE], or the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROCTOR] either, would think it is proper for this body to travel outside of the line of respect shown by the other Departments of the Government and to proceed to argue here about the difference in the rate of a quarter of a cent on plate glass or window glass while the streets of the city of Washington are resounding to the beat of the dead march and all the soldiers in this city are marching to the decoration of the graves of their comrades.

Mr. HALE. Let me ask the Senator from Pennsylvania a question before he sits down. Where is he going to make any progress in getting any more time? The Senator himself is in favor of adjourning over Monday on account of its being Decoration Day; but when, in order to relieve that situation, he proposes that the Senate shall meet at 11 o'clock, thereby getting an additional hour each day, he is met with the determined opposition on the other side against that proposition.

Mr. President, with this bill pending and the general desire of the country for speed, not undue, but all that is possible, where are we going to get any more time? We lose one day and another day. We can not get meetings at 11 o'clock. If the Senator from Rhode Island should propose evening sessions, I have no doubt it would be met upon the other side with the same objection which the Senator from Missouri has raised to meeting at 11 o'clock. In the meantime the country is earnestly and painfully intent upon the proceedings here, and desires the dispatch of business.

I have been called away for the last few days imperatively and have been in my own State, and I have heard but one expression, and that was the desire that the tariff bill should be pushed early and late. I do not see from the thread of the discussion here to-day where we are likely to gain one single additional hour for the discussion of the pending bill, and sooner or later it must, it seems to me, come to a test, and those who are against putting in more time may have the opportunity of deciding that no more time shall be put in.

There are no committees at work, or few that need to consume time. There is nothing in the evening at this time of the year. When the weather is good, I appeal to the experience of Senators how much better it is for us to use the present time in long sessions, even in evening sessions, than in the heat of late June and July. But if it is the will of the majority here, of the Senators who make a majority, that we only continue along as we do about other business—meet at 12 o'clock and go through the morning hour, and then take what time we can and adjourn at 5 or 6 o'clock—of course we are helpless; but I do think the attempt should be made, seriously, to get all the time that is possible for the consideration of the pending bill.

Mr. MORGAN. I understand that according to law Decoration Day is a holiday in the District of Columbia. Am I mistaken about that?

Mr. WHITE. That is correct.

Mr. HALE. It is everywhere.

Mr. MORGAN. Occurring on Sunday, it is of course changed to Monday, in deference to the superior claims of the Sabbath. The President of the United States and all the executive officers of the Government, I believe, on that day suspend business and go out for the purpose of making a patriotic and grateful demonstration in favor of the soldiers of the Union who were killed in the civil war.

I am in favor, as is my colleague, of paying due respect and deference to that event. The United States has not passed through all the wars that it has to fight by a good many, I am afraid, and whenever we get to that period in our history that it is perfectly understood that we are never going to have another war, from that moment of time this Republic is going to degenerate, and her sons are going to forget the lessons and duties of patriotism. We are to have many wars, very likely, in the future, and there can be no encouragement to that high and sacrificial sense of gratitude which could be greater or more pertinent than the respect and deference which are paid annually by all the Departments of the Government of the United States in Washington City around the graves of the men who lie buried on the other side of the Potomac River and in the Government reserve near Rock Creek.

So for one, Mr. President, if I had ever so great a desire and purpose to pass any measure before Congress, I should yield it unhesitatingly to that national demand, now expressed in the law, that we shall observe this as a sacred holiday. The only regret I have is that the House of Representatives is compelled to meet on Monday. There is a great Republican majority there—gentlemen who are supposed to be more devoted to the reminiscences and memories of the patriotic days in which men died for their country than Democrats are supposed to be. The House of Representatives, with that majority, is compelled, by a rule which it seems to be impossible to evade or avoid, to meet on Monday, and in that act there is a sort of public desecration that I lament very much.

I wish, Mr. President, that the House had been in session to-day, so that it might have changed its purpose of meeting on Monday, and so that it would not have been compelled to have obeyed that automatic resolution which convenes it and disperses it like you open or shut a door, with no requirement of any other guardian or any other care taker than somebody to pull the string—some doorkeeper, who is now represented in the person of the Speaker of that great House, who pulls the door open and slams it for the purpose of admitting the Representatives of the people to their seats or excluding them at his will and pleasure. The House is in an unfortunate predicament in this matter.

Mr. FRYE. Will the Senator from Alabama allow me?

Mr. MORGAN. Certainly.

Mr. FRYE. I noticed that one time, when severe restrictions were being made in the House of Representatives on a coordinate branch of the Government, the United States Senate, the Speaker of the House very promptly called the speaker to order; and it seems to me, with all due deference to the Senator from Alabama, that he is exceeding, in a slight degree, the proprieties as between the two Houses.

Mr. MORGAN. If I am exceeding only in a slight degree the proprieties between the two Houses, I think I ought to felicitate myself that the degree is so slight, for it deserves much severer treatment than I had proposed to give it.

I find on looking up the business in the two Houses accomplished at this session that the Senate of the United States has passed 111 bills and 16 joint resolutions. Every one of those measures has met the sanction of this august body after debate and after consideration by its committees. I suppose that our action here has not been mere child's play, something perfunctory that we might or might not do, performed in the presence of the nation and of the House. Out of those 111 bills I find a number which pertained to general topics. Among them were bills providing for a settlement between the United States and the State of Arkansas; for the erection of public buildings at Aberdeen, S. Dak.; Evanston, Wyo.; Indianapolis, Ind.; Deadwood, S. Dak.; in Yellowstone Park; at Oakland, Cal.; Abilene, Tex.; Altoona, Pa.; Salt Lake City; amending the timber-culture laws; to provide free homes on public domains, etc.; to settle accounts between Florida and the United States; to grant to the State of Montana 50,000 acres for a blind asylum; regulating the pay of noncommissioned officers; pertaining to selection of lands in North Dakota by the State of North Dakota; to amend section 714, Revised Statutes, in relation to the salary of judges; providing regulations to prevent collisions on rivers, harbors, etc., in the United States.

Among the joint resolutions were those providing for the distribution of public documents; to ascertain the estimated cost of improvements in Bridgeport Harbor, Connecticut; to supply tents for the Mississippi River overflow sufferers; for improving the Mississippi River from the Head of the Passes to mouth of Ohio River, $250,000; to transport contributions to sufferers in India; granting Cuban belligerency; for the relief of flood sufferers in the Mississippi Valley; to provide for the expense of the Universal Postal Union; appropriating $50,000 in aid of destitute Americans in Cuba; to provide for a deficiency in the Public Printer's Office, and a very important general bankruptcy law.

Those are the measures that have been passed by the Senate. The Senate has also passed three bills that have come over from the other House for appropriations, one of which I believe is still in conference.

Under any ordinary circumstances and in any contemplation that the founders of our Government had when they ordained the Constitution of the United States, the House of Representatives ought to be in session to consider these and many other very important matters that are included in bills, thousands of which have been offered and placed, not in the hands of committees, but in a box in the House. There are no committees in the House of Representatives except a Committee on Ways and Means, I believe, and a Committee on Rules. That is not the constitutional organization of the House of Representatives. That is not the organization according to the Constitution of the United States or the rules of that House.

We are here engaged in passing a certain bill that the House of Representatives have sent to us, and which is taken up by the Republicans in this Chamber and by some Democrats and put forward as the solution of all the unhappiness and all the difficulties that environ the people of this country. On our side we regard it as a bill that will have for its necessary effect the destruction of the industries and the business and happiness of a large number, a great number, of the industrial people of the United States. That is our view of it.

In order to compel us to pass the bill, the House of Representatives is held in this unorganized condition. The Constitution of the United States is palpably violated. This idea of having a House to meet on a resolution and having it to adjourn on a resolution passed several weeks before the resolution operates or is to take effect as a rule of the House can not be a compliance with that requirement of the Constitution which forbids either House to adjourn for more than three days at a time without the consent of the other House. The Senate has, therefore, under the Constitution, a rightful, lawful, and perfect interest in the sessions of the House. The House can not adjourn for six days at a time. Why? Because the Constitution requires it to remain in session, and does not permit an adjournment for more than three days at a time whenever Congress is in session. But the resolution under which the House meets and will meet on Monday, in violation of the traditions both of the Republican party and of the whole people of the United States on the subject of decorating the graves of deceased soldiers, is a resolution that is self-operating. On Monday it will open the door, it will seat such members as may come there, and even without a vote it will adjourn them until Thursday.

Mr. President, that is not a compliance with the requirements of the Constitution of the United States, and it is a matter of most serious doubt—and I suggest it here for the reflection of men who still have left some regard for the structure of our constitutional system—whether or not to-day Congress is actually in session; whether or not one of the Houses has not abandoned its constitutional post and duty, and has not withdrawn itself from the session of Congress, and thereby worked a dissolution or some disabling effect upon the whole Congress, contrary to the Constitution of our country. There may be a time when, as to events and purposes that reach a little closer to the human heart than those which are now prominent in the public mind, than this tariff question with which we are now confronted, that may prove to be of the most serious and dangerous character that the human mind can conceive of.

I will suppose that we are in a controversy with some great foreign power; that the question of prolonging a war is on hand, or a question of the declaration of peace, and the Senate of the United States wants to vote for peace, and thinks the war has proceeded long enough, and the House of Representatives, in order to refuse to act upon our proposition, meets under a resolution and adjourns

on Monday to Thursday and on Thursday until Monday, and again on Monday until Thursday, and keeps the country in a state of suspended animation and Congress in a state of dislocation and disorganization, to prevent its carrying out a purpose of that kind.

Now, whatever the purpose might be, the danger of that departure from constitutional obligation can not be overrated. We can not look too cautiously or too guardedly upon the attitude that the Constitution of the United States assigns to us in respect to this serious matter. As a matter of public convenience, as a matter of duty to the country, can any man state a reason why the Senate of the United States, having passed the 111 bills and 16 joint resolutions, should not be permitted to call upon the House of Representatives to consider those measures? Have we descended so low in the dignity of our office and its importance in a constitutional as well as in a practical sense that the House of Representatives can close its doors upon us permanently and refuse to consider these important matters, which we think legitimately attract and demand the attention of the Congress of the United States?

Mr. President, it is a shocking outrage upon the Government and people of the United States. It is a letting down, in the estimation of the people and of Congress itself, of the sense of duty that ought to inspire both these Houses, and it brings the Congress of the United States into deserved and sovereign contempt. Here are hundreds of Representatives assembled in the city of Washington, chewing the cud of reflection or in idle distress, standing about and waiting for a word from the lips of a single man to determine whether they shall have a voice and exercise it in the government of the United States, and whether in fact they shall have any of the powers of Representatives of their States or their districts.

The patience and patriotism of the American people as exhibited under these very peculiar and trying circumstances is of itself an example that our children may have to point to some of these times in order to justify a humiliating escape from greater evils than any that are now in contemplation. But we are pushing the idea of patriotic submission to the technicalities of an arbitrary rule and the arbitrary disposal of a single mind as to whether he will recognize a man upon the floor to make a motion to such an extremity that the people of the United States now begin to see and to feel that the Congress of the United States is dishonoring itself by submission to a flagrant wrong. They begin to feel it.

There has been something said about the pressure to have this bill put through the Senate. "Pushed through the Senate," "jammed through the Senate," are the ordinary expressions. My correspondents on this subject, who chiefly reside in the North and the West, for the South feels that its hands are tied upon this question, inform me of objections against the bill, and if I were to consider them in the spirit in which they state them, I would be found here doing my best to prevent the passage of the bill until the meeting of the next Congress. I do not intend to follow their indications or their demands.

I intend, so far as I am concerned, to let the bill have free passage through this House. It is no more now than a mere stiff laid upon a dissecting table. We are examining it with our scalpels to find what is in it and what is its anatomy. We can not infuse into this bill any amendment whatever, it makes no difference how important it may be, how just, how true, or how well established in common sense and public decency. We know that we have no power to amend this bill. We know what is its destiny, a cast-iron destiny, fixed up by the majority of a committee who never invited their confrères on the committee into a consultation upon its merits or its terms, or any item of it, until it was agreed upon, printed, and submitted to them, and that one day was given, and only one day, before the bill was reported to the Senate of the United States as a conclusion of this Committee on Finance. Now, there is no liberty in such legislation as that.

The committee is only the representative of the Senate, and as such representative you might just as well close debate now and say to this side of the Chamber, "You shall not open your mouths, and you shall not even hear the bill read that you are acting upon," as for that committee, the representative of the Senate, to say to their colleagues, "We have agreed upon this bill; one day will be given to you to look at this enormous mass of printing here, all our amendments, which makes it impossible for you to consider them—one day—and at the end of one day you are to come in and upon your oaths you are to vote for your people and for your State upon the merits of this proposition."

That is not legislation in a deliberative and parliamentary sense, and if it has got to be legislation in the American sense, then the members of the House and of the Senate are excusable for being driven back and forth by the lash of a single man who says, "Pass this bill, and do it quick. Stand and deliver!" Ah, sir, I remember other days in which the demand was made in this Chamber to stand and deliver, and we had to stand and deliver frequently, but after a while the people marshaled to our support, and since that time our voice has been heard everywhere else except in the House of Representatives. Everywhere else. It is not heard there now. We are as dead in the House of Representatives as if we were in the Capulets. We have neither the voice nor the sign of life about us—a poor, wrecked, miserable relic of Representatives of the great body of the people of the United States.

Mr. HALE. Mr. President, I rise to a question of order.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Maine rises to a question of order. The Senator will state his question of order.

Mr. HALE. It is that the Senator from Alabama, whether intentionally or not, is violating the fundamental rule of parliamentary law in arraigning a coordinate branch of the Legislature of the Government.

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. President——

Mr. HALE. I ask that the Chair enforce the rule.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Alabama will be seated until the Chair rules upon the question of order raised by the Senator from Maine.

Mr. MORGAN. Oh, yes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair will first state that there is no provision in the rules of the Senate touching this matter.

Mr. MORGAN. Not any.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. But in Jefferson's Manual is found the following, which the Secretary will read.

Mr. HALE. It is on page 94.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Secretary will read from page 94 of Jefferson's Manual.

The Secretary read as follows:

It is a breach of order in debate to notice what has been said on the same subject in the other House, or the particular votes or majorities on it there, because the opinion of each House should be left to its own independency, not to be influenced by the proceedings of the other, and the quoting them might beget reflections leading to a misunderstanding between the two Houses. (8 Grey, 22.)

Neither House can exercise any authority over a member or officer of the other, but should complain to the House of which he is, and leave the punishment to them. Where the complaint is of words disrespectfully spoken by a member of another House, it is difficult to obtain punishment, because of the rules supposed necessary to be observed (as to the immediate noting down of words) for the security of members. Therefore it is the duty of the House, and more particularly of the Speaker, to interfere immediately, and not to permit expressions to go unnoticed which may give a ground of complaint to the other House, and introduce proceedings and mutual accusations between the two Houses, which can hardly be terminated without difficulty and disorder. (3 Hats., 51.)

Mr. QUAY. Mr. President, my friend the distinguished Senator from Alabama, I have no doubt, will acquit me of any intentional disrespect or of any design to muzzle him when I say that when I made this motion I had no idea that the debate would cover so wide a scope as that over which it has since ranged. I did not desire to check the progress of the discussion on the tariff bill, and I supposed that the question which I raised would be disposed of within five minutes after its introduction. I now, therefore, feel it to be my duty, in order that we may return to the legitimate subject of this afternoon's deliberations, to make the point of order that all discussion upon my motion is out of order, and to object to its continuance.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair will state that the debate has proceeded by consent. The Chair took occasion to call the attention of the Senate to that fact. The Chair did not feel it to be his duty under the generous interpretation of our rules here as regards debate to interpose a personal objection to the debate, but notified the Senate of the parliamentary status, so that any Senator might have terminated the debate at any moment. The debate has proceeded by consent.

The Senator from Maine has now called to order the Senator from Alabama on the ground that he has violated the rules of the Senate as they are found in Jefferson's Manual, which the present occupant of the chair understands to have been adopted by the Senate for its guidance. The present occupant of the chair is very loath to impose any views of his own upon the Senate in a matter of this kind, and yet, in view of the language which has been read by the Secretary, the Chair is compelled to rule that the point of order made by the Senator from Maine is well taken, and that the Senator from Alabama can only proceed in order.

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. President——

Mr. QUAY. Now, I desire a ruling upon the point of order which I raised.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The point of order being made that this debate is out of order, the Chair must rule that the point is well taken, and that debate can only proceed by unanimous consent.

Mr. MORGAN. Before that is done I have a right to appeal.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Alabama takes an appeal from the decision of the Chair on the point of order raised by the Senator from Pennsylvania.

Mr. MORGAN. The Senator from Maine.

Mr. HALE. That has to be decided without debate. As the question is not debatable, the appeal is not debatable.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. That is correct.

Mr. QUAY. From which decision has the Senator from Alabama appealed?

Mr. MORGAN. I have appealed from the decision of the Chair made after the Senator from Pennsylvania had interposed his objection that further debate of any kind was not in order, the decision being made at that time that I was out of order in the references I made to the House of Representatives—not to its action, but to its nonaction. Now, Mr. President——

Mr. HALE. I rise to a point of order. I make the point that no discussion can be had.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The appeal from the decision of the Chair upon the point of order, the Chair would hold, is not debatable.

Mr. MORGAN. I was going to ask the unanimous consent of the Senate that I might state what my point is, in reply to the Senator from Maine.

Mr. HALE. The Chair has ruled and the Senator has appealed; and upon that the Chair has ruled that the appeal is not debatable.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President, I rise to a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair will first ask a question of the Senator from Alabama, that we may have a perfect understanding of this matter. The Chair would inquire of the Senator from Alabama from which decision he took an appeal?

Mr. MORGAN. I took an appeal from the decision of the Chair that I was out of order.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Upon the point made by the Senator from Pennsylvania?

Mr. MORGAN. Upon the point made by the Senator from Maine.

Mr. WHITE. I rise to a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from California will state his parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. WHITE. I did not happen to be in the Chamber when this proceeding began. What is the question before the Senate upon which the Chair rules?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Maine made a point of order that the Senator from Alabama was out of order in indulging in certain strictures upon the other House. The rule was read from the desk, and the Chair sustained the point of order made by the Senator from Maine.

Mr. HALE. In view of the point made by the Senator from Pennsylvania, I withdraw my point of order. The ruling can be made upon the other point.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The point of order made by the Senator from Maine having been withdrawn, and the Senator from Pennsylvania having made a point of order that the debate is out of order, the Chair rules that the point of order is well taken and that no further debate can proceed.

Mr. MORGAN. What is the question before the Senate?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The only question before the Senate is the motion made by the Senator from Pennsylvania, that when the Senate adjourn to-day it adjourn until Tuesday next at 12 o'clock.

Mr. HALE. Let us have the yeas and nays upon that question.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The Secretary proceeded to call the roll, and called the name of Mr. ALDRICH.

Mr. HALE. Before the vote is taken, let the motion be again stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The motion is that when the Senate adjourn to-day it adjourn until Tuesday next at 12 o'clock.

Mr. HALE. I move to amend the motion by inserting 11 o'clock.

Mr. MORGAN. I object to any amendment. Let the roll call proceed.

Mr. HALE. I will withdraw the amendment.

The Secretary resumed the call of the roll.

Mr. BACON (when his name was called). I understood the Senator from Maine to have withdrawn his amendment. Am I correct?

Mr. HALE. That is withdrawn. The vote is being taken on the original motion.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. That is, the motion of the Senator from Pennsylvania, that when the Senate adjourn to-day it adjourn to meet on Tuesday next.

Mr. BACON. I vote "yea."

The Secretary resumed the call of the roll.

Mr. CLARK (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Kansas [Mr. HARRIS]. I will transfer that pair to my colleague [Mr. WARREN] and vote. I vote "nay."

Mr. DANIEL (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. HAWLEY]. If I am at liberty to do so, I will vote "yea."

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. I can not state how my colleague would vote. I think if he were here, however, under the circumstances he would vote "nay."

Mr. DANIEL. Then I will withhold my vote.

Mr. GRAY (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the senior Senator from Illinois [Mr. CULLOM], and therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. MITCHELL (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SEWELL].

Mr. PASCO (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Utah [Mr. CANNON]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. PENROSE (when his name was called). In accordance with the transfer of my pair which has been made, I will vote. I vote "yea."

Mr. PERKINS (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the junior Senator from North Dakota [Mr. ROACH]. As he is absent from the Chamber, I will withhold my vote.

Mr. TILLMAN (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. THURSTON] on all party questions. As this is not a party question, and as I think the Senate ought to adjourn, I will vote "yea."

Mr. WILSON (when his name was called). On this question I am paired with the junior Senator from Arkansas [Mr. BERRY]. If he were present, he would vote "yea" and I should vote "nay."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. CLAY. I am paired with the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE]. I transfer that pair to the junior Senator from Delaware [Mr. KENNEY]. The junior Senator from Delaware will stand paired with the junior Senator from Massachusetts, and I will vote. I vote "yea."

Mr. BUTLER (after having voted in the negative). I see that the junior Senator from Maryland [Mr. WELLINGTON] has not voted, and I withdraw my vote.

The result was announced—yeas 34, nays 17; as follows:

YEAS—34.

Bacon,	Deboe,	Mason,	Spooner,
Bate,	Foraker,	Morgan,	Stewart,
Caffery,	Hanna,	Murphy,	Tillman,
Carter,	Heitfeld,	Penrose,	Turpie,
Chandler,	Jones, Ark.	Pettigrew,	Vest,
Chilton,	Kyle,	Pettus,	Walthall,
Clay,	Lindsay,	Pritchard,	White.
Cockrell,	McBride,	Quay,	
Davis,	Mallory,	Rawlins,	

NAYS—17.

Aldrich,	Frye,	McMillan,	Shoup,
Allison,	Gallinger,	Mills,	Wetmore.
Burrows,	Gear,	Nelson,	
Clark,	Hale,	Platt, Conn.	
Fairbanks,	Hansbrough,	Proctor,	

NOT VOTING—37.

Allen,	Gorman,	Mantle,	Teller,
Baker,	Gray,	Martin,	Thurston,
Berry,	Harris, Kans.	Mitchell,	Turner,
Butler,	Harris, Tenn.	Morrill,	Warren,
Cannon,	Hawley,	Pasco,	Wellington,
Cullom,	Hoar,	Perkins,	Wilson,
Daniel,	Jones, Nev.	Platt, N. Y.	Wolcott.
Elkins,	Kenney,	Roach,	
Faulkner,	Lodge,	Sewell,	
George,	McEnery,	Smith,	

So the motion was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance will be read.

The SECRETARY. In paragraph 101, page 26, line 22, before the word "cents," strike out "twelve" and insert "ten;" so as to make the paragraph read:

101. Cast polished plate glass, finished or unfinished and unsilvered, not exceeding 16 by 24 inches square, 8 cents per square foot; above that, and not exceeding 24 by 30 inches square, 10 cents per square foot; above that, and not exceeding 24 by 60 inches square, 22½ cents per square foot; all above that, 35 cents per square foot.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I move to amend the committee amendment by striking out "ten" and inserting "eight," which is the rate at present in the Wilson Act.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Arkansas to the amendment of the committee.

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. President, in the discussion of this amendment I propose to institute an inquiry whether the Congress of the United States is now in session, and whether we have a right to proceed in the consideration of this bill. In the debate of that proposition I desire to raise a parliamentary inquiry and address it to the Chair. Would I have, in debating that proposition, the right, or would I be in order if I should speak about something that the House was not doing or had not done, or if I should speak about a vote or a majority that had not been given or that had not existed and does not exist?

I read now a rule, upon which I ask the ruling of the Chair, for I propose to say something about what the House has not done, and about a vote that has not been given, and about a majority that has not existed and does not exist, but nothing at all that the House has done, except to speak from the record here about a rule or a vote of the House, which I suppose I still have a right to refer to, inasmuch as it concerns the question whether the Senate is

now in proper deliberation constitutionally upon the amendment which was submitted by the Senator from Arkansas. It reads in this wise—I read from Jefferson's Manual, which the Chair stated a few moments ago, and correctly stated, has been adopted by the Senate as a part of the law of this tribunal:

It is a breach of order in debate to notice what has been said on the same subject in the other House—

As nothing has been said in the other House, I propose to discuss the fact that nothing has been said and not something that has been said—

or the particular votes or majorities on it there—

As no votes have been given and no majorities have been ascertained, I wish to comment on the fact that no votes have been given and no majorities ascertained, which can not influence the action of the House. That is something that is in the past, I suppose, and I am referring to these matters historically and not with a view of influencing any legislation by the House. I hear that the House is not engaged in any sort of legislative effort, and they are in no danger that what I may say here can influence their legislation.

Now, the reason stated by Mr. Jefferson for that declaration is—

because the opinion of each House should be left to its own independency, not to be influenced by the proceedings of the other, and the quoting them might beget reflections leading to a misunderstanding between the two Houses.

I am compelled to leave the House to its own independency, because it seems not to be in a state of legislative action, or even of organized existence. So the House is in no danger of bias because of anything I could do or say. The House is, fortunately, safe.

I wish to know if, in speaking on this subject on this point, I will be in order if I should refer to the fact that the House has not been in session for many weeks, or in fact at all in any regular and constitutional way, and therefore that the Senate can not be regularly and constitutionally at work, not having its constitutional coordinate and partner in business in session at the same time that the Senate is in session. This seems to be a curious and dangerous situation.

I wish to refer to that. I wish to refer to the fact that none of the 111 bills and 16 joint resolutions that I suppose I am at liberty to speak about as having been passed by the Senate have been acted upon by the House, and they are not likely to be so far as I can see.

Then I wish also to say something about the pressure or the necessity for putting sudden and emergent and very heavy taxes on the people while the House of Representatives is debarred from relieving them in any other direction. I would have supposed that a people who were about to be very heavily and enormously taxed ought to have the benefit, whatever it is, of representation in the House of Representatives, to see if their immediate Representatives in that body could not devise some financial system or means by which they could relieve against this awful burden of taxation that we are about to put upon them.

I dislike very much indeed to see either party in this House, particularly the party that has now control of the Administration of the Government, lay the heavy hand of taxation upon the people who so recently elected them, not to raise revenue—we know that is not it, for the Senator who reported this bill said it would raise very little revenue, not enough—but to raise bounty for the purpose of paying certain classes of men who are engaged in certain descriptions of business in the United States, engaged in levying that bounty upon the great industrial body of the people of the United States, without giving them any means to pay it. That is this bill; and, Mr. President, we may whitewash and sugarcoat it here for a year and we can not make anything else out of it. It is a bill to tax the people into deeper poverty and distress.

Whenever the people at the polls get hold of the bill that we are preparing here, they will strip the disguises off of it, and they will kick it out of existence, because they can not stand it. If it were an appeal to their patriotism for the benefit of the country, if we were to ask them now, "Put up your money here to keep this Government in order and to keep it going, even upon an extravagant scale of expenditure," these good people of the United States would take upon themselves additional labor; they would strip themselves and their families of absolute necessities; they would keep their children away from day school and from Sunday school, because they could not dress them well enough to go there; they would cut down their rations at the breakfast table; they would allow their children to go barefooted; they would make any sacrifice that they were called upon to make for their country, if we could only satisfy them that it was necessary to be made for the good of their Government, for they love their Government.

But, Mr. President, when we are told—and we know, and the other side of the Chamber can not deny it—that very much the larger part of this bill, and the most oppressive part of it, is for the purpose of levying money out of the great industrial body of the country in order to pay bounties—bounties, sir, not protection—to further enrich certain favored and specified classes of men, who already have grown rich and powerful in this land, then, I repeat, when people come to discern the true merits of this bill, they will kick it into thin air the next time they get to the ballot box.

I am trying to possess my soul in patience, finding myself and my colleagues on this side of the Chamber in the minority, trying to be patient and quiet until the people can get a chance at this bill. They see here that on the average we are 7 in the minority in one way and another; they see that in the division of these spoils across the bargain counter we have not any chance to take care of them. The people see that, and they are going to be forbearing to us until they get a chance at it; and when they do, Mr. President, then your tariff and this protection, as you call it, this bounty and this bribery, will go into ruin in a hurry. There will not be anything left of it.

Now, sir, I desire to speak to that question, and I respectfully ask the Chair to rule whether I am now in order in referring to the fact that the House of Representatives is not in session and has not been in session for many weeks; and that I understand, and believe, and know, in fact, that it is the fixed policy of the House of Representatives and the Speaker thereof—more especially the Speaker and the Republican party—that that House shall not consider at this session anything except this tariff bill. Am I in order, Mr. President?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Alabama propound that question to the present occupant of the chair?

Mr. MORGAN. I do, and I ask for a ruling upon it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The present occupant of the chair must decline to answer a hypothetical question on a point of order. When the point of order is raised, if it shall be raised, the occupant of the chair will endeavor to rule upon it correctly.

Mr. MORGAN. Well, Mr. President, Jefferson's Manual says it is the duty of the Chair to raise the question if any Senator is out of order.

Mr. LINDSAY. It is the duty of the Chair.

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, it is the duty of the Chair; and I want to know whether I am in order or not.

Mr. CHILTON. Mr. President, I rise to a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Texas will state his parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. CHILTON. It seems to me, Mr. President, that there is a very wide distinction between an ordinary debate upon the action of the other House and the constitutional question which the Senator from Alabama raises. He claims, as I understand, that the Congress of the United States is not in session at this time because of the fact that the other House has adjourned for more than three days.

Mr. MORGAN. That is my point, and that is the point I was discussing when I was called to order and told to take my seat.

Mr. CHILTON. It seems to me that it would be a very serious interference with the privileges of a member of the Senate to say that he can not discuss a question of that kind. How else could he raise an issue on the legal point involved? Suppose, for example, the House of Representatives did not even nominally meet on Monday and Thursday, is the Senate powerless to call attention to the subject?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Texas will permit the Chair, in vindication of himself, to say that, as he understood the discussion as it proceeded, it did not involve alone that question. The Chair decided that the Senator from Alabama was not in order, and ruled that he should proceed in order. The Senator from Alabama can now proceed, and unless the question of order is again raised he can discuss the question as he sees proper.

Mr. MORGAN. I suppose the Chair might have had in his mind at the time something that I had in my mind and resolved not to say. [Laughter.] I had in mind some reference to the Cuban question, which, I think, brought the Senator from Maine to his feet. [Laughter.] He was afraid that I would say something about Cuba if I went along, and hence he imagined that I was out of order. I have been twenty years in this Senate, and I was never ordered to take my seat before, and I congratulate myself that on this occasion it has occurred when I am trying to defend the constitutional rights of the Senate. I do not feel any humiliation at all at the idea of being seated by a Republican in this Chamber because I am defending the constitutional rights of the Senate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will permit the Chair to further say that in asking him to take his seat he was simply executing the rule of the Senate.

Mr. MORGAN. That is right, and I am not complaining of it at all.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. And the Chair will add that it was with the profoundest reluctance, having the highest regard for the Senator from Alabama, that he made the ruling that he did.

Mr. MORGAN. I am not complaining about the ruling, and

not complaining about having to take my seat, because I am felicitating myself that I had to do it in defense of the Constitution of my country.

Now, being strictly in order, I will recur again to the proposition that this House has the constitutional right, on every day that it is in session, either to send a bill that it passes directly into the other House, or to be met at the threshold of that House with a resolution of that body passed within three days prior—mark you the words, now—passed within three days prior to that time, that the House was not in session. The resolution under which I understand the House to be adjourned to-day until Monday was passed more than twelve days ago, and has not been renewed. It is an automatic trapdoor resolution, by which the House is admitted to session and excluded from session by the act of a single man, and without a vote of a quorum.

That, sir, is no resolution of the House within the meaning of the Constitution. If a House, for any public reason or for a capricious reason, chooses to adjourn for three days, it has the constitutional right to do so; and when we send a bill over there, it makes no difference what the emergency might be, although it might be to meet a declaration of war by one of the greatest powers in the world, suddenly jumped upon us, and we find that that House is not in session, there must be, in order to comply with the Constitution of the United States, a recorded vote upon a resolution, not more than three days old, that that House took an adjournment until a certain day. In that case it is a misfortune. Otherwise, Mr. President, the Congress is delinquent. It is just as much disorganized as if it had never been called by the President.

The Constitution contemplates that when a three days' adjournment takes place it shall be from one of the periods or days to the other, and each time the adjournment must be had by a separate vote of the House. They might as well—and that would be the effect of it—say that they would meet no more except upon Mondays and Thursdays until the meeting of the next session of Congress as to resolve that they will only meet on Thursdays and Mondays. They can leave us absolutely without the power to take a final adjournment on a concurrent resolution by simply putting that self-operating resolution upon their books and walking off and leaving one man to attend the door and take care of the affairs of the House of Representatives. No, sir; that is a violation of the Constitution of the United States, plain, manifest, and outrageous, tyrannical and usurpatory to the last degree.

Mr. HALE. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Alabama yield to the Senator from Maine?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes.

Mr. HALE. I can not, with my view of parliamentary courtesy, discuss with the Senator the proceedings of the House of Representatives, even when I think the Senator is making a statement which the facts will not bear out; but I can ask him whether the Senate does not repeatedly, especially in the first part of the long session, adjourn from Monday until Thursday, and still oftener from Thursday until Monday, without regard to the House? The Senator will remember that we generally do that in this body.

I can only say, applying the remark to the other body, that I do not understand that anywhere else any body has attempted by a continuing resolution to do anything more than that. I do not understand that anywhere any other course is taken, except upon Monday to adjourn until Thursday, and upon Thursday to adjourn until Monday; and I ask the Senator whether, in his experience, which is longer here than mine, he has not seen that repeatedly done by the Senate? Of course, I do not go into the constitutional right. The Senator does not dispute the right of either body to adjourn for three days; and I only ask him if the Senate has not done that repeatedly?

Mr. MORGAN. I have great sympathy, Mr. President, for the timidity of the Senator from Maine, who wants to argue this question, but is afraid to do it, lest he might trample on the feelings of the House of Representatives or on some parliamentary rule. Still, I will answer his question.

Mr. HALE. I wish the Senator would.

Mr. MORGAN. Since I have been here there has never been an adjournment under a standing resolution of the Senate.

Mr. HALE. I do not understand that there is anything of that kind anywhere else.

Mr. MORGAN. I understand there is, and there is the difference.

Mr. HALE. I understand that nowhere else is there any adjournment from Monday until Thursday and from Thursday till Monday except by a motion put on the day of the adjournment.

Mr. MORGAN. It is the standing rule of the House now, as I understand it—if I may be allowed to say so in the shadow of the frown of the Senator from Maine—it is the standing rule of the House that the House shall meet only on Monday and on Thursday, and shall stand adjourned without further order, although no quorum is present. Am I correct?

Mr. LINDSAY. I will ask the Senator from Maine whether there can be any standing rule that will authorize an adjournment from Thursday to Monday in the absence of a quorum of the House at the time?

Mr. HALE. I understand—I am not very familiar with parliamentary law—that no standing rule could in any way take away from the power of either body or the right of either body, when the day came, to adjourn as it pleased from that day. I understand that all such proceedings are in that way. I do not think that any continuing rule, if there is one anywhere else, could in any way change the right. If we had a continuing rule here, I do not understand that it would prevent us on Monday night, if we chose, from adjourning to any day, and, as I have read the proceedings, the course taken in any other body is that way.

I will say to the Senator that I am not timid about encroaching upon the privileges of the other House, for that body, and everything about it, is thoroughly well capable of taking care of itself. There is no doubt about that. But, generally speaking, it is not well that either body should permit any member of it to comment harshly in the way of arraignment of the proceedings of the other body. I am more interested in that than I am especially about the other House. I should not like the House to interfere and arraign us.

Mr. PETTUS. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Alabama yield to his colleague?

Mr. MORGAN. Certainly.

Mr. PETTUS. I desire to ask the Senator from Maine if he asserts as a proposition that this body or the other body can adjourn for three days without a quorum to act on that motion to adjourn?

Mr. HALE. I do not know what the rule of the other House is upon that subject. I know that constantly we here, where no point is taken, adjourn from Thursday until Monday when there are not a dozen Senators in the Chamber, and it is good law under which we do it, and it is a parliamentary proceeding. Nobody raises the question whether we can do it. That I have not looked into. We could adjourn without a quorum, no doubt.

Mr. LINDSAY. For three days?

Mr. HALE. I say we could adjourn.

Mr. LINDSAY. From day to day.

Mr. HALE. The question of whether we could adjourn for three days without a quorum is a question I have not looked into. I know we do it constantly, and no harm comes from it, and no point is raised.

Mr. MORGAN. I take issue with the Senator from Maine. He is mistaken about that.

Mr. HALE. That we do adjourn over without a quorum?

Mr. MORGAN. We can not do anything of the kind without a quorum.

Mr. HALE. I say we constantly do it when not more than a dozen Senators are here.

Mr. MORGAN. Then it never appears that no quorum was present.

Mr. HALE. No; no question is raised.

Mr. MORGAN. When no quorum is present, we can only adjourn from day to day. That is the express language of the Constitution. When no quorum is present, an adjournment may be had from day to day. Then in subdivision 4 of section 5 of Article I of the Constitution is the following provision:

> Neither House, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

"Neither House." What is a House? Not a half dozen Senators nor a half dozen Representatives. It is a quorum. Without a quorum present, the House is not present, except merely for the purpose of adjourning from day to day and sending for absentees. It can do no business.

Mr. VEST. In order to make a House.

Mr. MORGAN. In order to make a House, there must be a quorum; therefore the action, when it is taken, must be taken by a House; and the question put by my colleague [Mr. PETTUS] is not only perfectly relevant, but it is crushing. A resolution can not be adopted as a standing rule that the House shall meet on Monday and on Thursday and on no other days, and shall be adjourned without a vote, or without a quorum. The House of Representatives, if it has met and adjourned without a quorum for three days, has, so far as it is concerned, and for the time being, dissolved this Congress.

This is not a flimsy or a fine point. It is a broad, constitutional question that we have got to take our part and our share in considering and acting upon. Otherwise some of these times we shall find ourselves in a category or an emergency here from which there is no possible escape except in the destruction of the peace of our country.

Sir, if an insurrection were to break out in five of the great States of this Union—I will say in New England, if you please—and it was telegraphed to the President of the United States, and he should immediately demand a vote of supplies, or demand a

law to call the militia into active service to put such insurrection down, and if we had passed such bill to-day in that most emergent condition of the country, and we should send it to the House of Representatives, we would not find them there, but we would find that on last Thursday they had met, and had then gone to their retreats—their places of amusement—and were not to be found, nobody at his post, not even the Speaker, ready to take the chair if they should suddenly assemble.

What would be the condition of this country in such an emergency as that? Why, Mr. President, deplorable to the last degree, and there would not be a man in either House of Congress who would not bow his head in shame when he looked the people in the face and heard their accusations of how basely we had deserted our duty under the Constitution. Here we are now liable to that very condition; and it is only through the mercy of God that we are not thrust to-day upon some condition of affairs that would prove to the people of the world that this Republic, through the indulgence, and lassitude, and carelessness of its Representatives, had been allowed to go to wreck and ruin for the purpose of forcing the passage through the Senate of this tariff bill.

Mr. RAWLINS. Will the Senator allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. MORGAN. Certainly.

Mr. RAWLINS. If I understand the position of the Senator correctly, it is that an attempt on the part of the House, without the consent of the Senate, to adjourn for more than three days would operate as a dissolution of that body?

Mr. MORGAN. I would not say a "dissolution." I do not know how to portray the consequences of such a fatal act as that.

Mr. RAWLINS. What I want to ask the Senator is this: Is it not the purpose of that provision of the Constitution to prevent a dissolution of Congress without the concurrence of both bodies?

Mr. MORGAN. Unquestionably so.

Mr. RAWLINS. And would not a vote by a minority of either body to adjourn for three days, and in violation of the provision that the minority can only adjourn from day to day, be a nullity, and in legal effect the body remain in session—that is, constructively in session, if not absolutely?

Mr. MORGAN. I do not think there is such a thing here as a constructive session of Congress or a constructive House of Representatives. I think it must be actual. That is what the Constitution requires. These representatives in both Houses are required to swear to do their duty and to obey the Constitution. They can not go off and throw down this duty, like a discarded garment, and say, "At my convenience I will come back and pick you up and wear you." They can not do that. It is unnecessary to characterize such a dereliction of duty. The President of the United States could remedy it by calling Congress into session again. There is no doubt of that, whether it is a dissolution of Congress or only a temporary disorganization.

Mr. President, I do not care about elaborating this matter. I have said as much about it as I choose to say just now. The people of this country had got hold of this question before I took it up. Not only are they murmuring about it, but they are in an almost belligerent state of mind about it. I get letters from time to time asking me what has become of bills that were passed through the Senate in which the people are largely concerned. I can only answer that the House of Representatives has not taken action. Perhaps in an unparliamentary way, in my private correspondence, I go even further than that, and say that they do not intend to take any action; perhaps I may say that the purpose of not taking any action is to coerce the Senate into the passage of a certain bill.

Sir, we see the newspapers are full of the shameful and humiliating statement that this Congress was called together by the President of the United States to pass upon a certain bill, and that the Congress of the United States have no business touching anything else. When did the Constitution empower the President to call Congress together in a limited way, as some of the governors of the States may do the legislatures, to pass certain measures, and none other? When a Congress comes here, Mr. President, it comes with all the majesty and power that belongs to it under the Constitution of the United States, with no limitation upon its powers. The President of the United States, when he assembles this august legislative body of two Houses, must stand by and take their will and pleasure as to what they will do in the way of legislation.

Congress, Mr. President, is the foremost political body in the United States. The destiny of this country is in our hands, not in the hands of the President or of the judiciary—it is in the hands of Congress; and it was a wise thing that our fathers did when they left our hands unfettered, and when they placed it out of the power of the Executive to assemble this tribunal here to perform the Executive will by acting upon certain measures and leaving others without consideration. That was not the miserable plight in which the Congress of the United States was left by the framers of the Constitution. We were not called here to pass a tariff bill, and if the President of the United States had said in his message, "You are called to pass a tariff bill and are not expected to do anything else," I think there would have been enough of self-respect in these Houses the day after they got here and organized to have adjourned sine die and gone home, just because the Executive had attempted to put that limitation upon us. The Executive has not attempted it, but a political party has attempted it, and is doing it.

The outcome of a certain convention in this country has been the issuance of a ukase that nobody in the House of Representatives shall be recognized to speak to any public business except to the business of the tariff when that is before the House, or such business as a committee of three in that body may permit to come before it. When you offer a resolution or a bill there you stick it in a box. If you want to call up such a resolution or bill, you are not recognized, or, if you are recognized, you are told you are out of order.

Now, Mr. President, for the purpose of this party scheme of robbing the industries of this country and taking from the pockets of the laborers of the land hard-earned money to fatten the chiefs who stand at the "pie counter" and receive their reward for political power and preferment—for these reasons, we are required to submit to all of this humiliation and this wrong; and yet we are urged here by the other side of the Chamber to hasten in inflicting this wrong upon the country. They think, I suppose—they say they do—that it is going to bring about a certain sort of relief to the people. That depends, Mr. President, upon who "the people" are.

The men who get the bounties and benefits of this bill undoubtedly will be greatly relieved, and very speedily; but when you come to the consumers, when you come to the men who have to earn money to pay these taxes and these largesses and these tributes and bounties, instead of their being relieved, Mr. President, we are destroying them. We are dooming them to a lower condition of penury and more humiliating sacrifice, not for their flag and their country, but a sacrifice to the moloch of money, for what we extract from them by this increased taxation, they being so poor now that they are unable to perform the ordinary functions of parents to their children, and hand over to these lordly masters of the spindle and the loom, and the manufactories, and the railroad companies, and the trusts and combines, is blood money extorted from the poor to fatten and benefit the rich. Therefore I am not going to be in a hurry to do it. I am going to move slowly.

This is the order of the House upon which I have been commenting:

That from and after this day, the House shall meet only on Monday and Thursday of each week, until the further order of the House.

There is a positive prohibition to the meeting of the House, and if we were to send a bill there of the character I mentioned a while ago, or any other, a bill of the highest possible emergency, we should be met there at the door of the House with the order which forbids the House to meet except on Monday and Thursday; and in order to get three days between Thursday and Monday again they have to hold that Sunday is dies non juridicus. They have jumped a day; yet we have been here many a Sunday doing good work. It has not been more than three months ago when we were in session here nearly all Sunday on an appropriation bill.

We have got into a condition by this stress of political command that we should reverse these wheels and obey the Constitution of our country. It is necessary to do it, not from self-respect merely, but to preserve the integrity of our action under the Constitution of the United States.

Mr. LINDSAY. The RECORD shows that there was no quorum present.

Mr. MORGAN. There was no quorum present at the last adjournment, and the Speaker so announced, and they had to adjourn under the rule.

Here, then, is a House without a quorum, a meeting which had no power in the world, no quorum being present, except to adjourn from day to day or to send for absent members. It could not transact any business. It quietly dissolved under the rule which I have just read, and the members went off.

Mr. LINDSAY. The RECORD shows that fact.

Mr. MORGAN. I know it does.

I thought I would bring this to the attention of the Senators on the other side who are in such great haste to press the consideration of the pending measure. Senators had better relax a little. They are putting a weapon in our hands much stronger than the antagonism due to the wrongs of this tariff bill.

For political reasons simply, they had better reconsider their ground. Nothing would be so grateful to me as to see the House of Representatives in session regularly under the Constitution, although they have a great majority against my views on political questions, for there are many questions that we send to them in the course of our legislation which are not political at all, for the purpose of providing for our people. So I should rejoice to see the House back in its place, for to see it scattered about, to see great and brave and strong and powerful men subdued with the lash of

party, and that lash in the hands of a political enemy, and taking it like truant boys at a country school, is something that does not suit my views in respect of American honor or legislation.

Mr. President, the question upon the amendment to the tariff bill is an important one, and I will hear from the Senator from Arkansas upon that point, if he has any remarks to make.

I ask unanimous consent to publish in my remarks the RECORD containing the proceedings of the House of Representatives—page 1622 of the RECORD, Thursday, May 27. It is not long, and I desire to put the entire action of the House on that day in the RECORD, in order, as I think, to prove the point I have contended for, that less than a quorum of the House voted an adjournment of that body from Thursday until next Monday, and in doing so has violated the Constitution of the United States.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Unless there is objection, that will be the order.

The extract from the RECORD is as follows:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

THURSDAY, *May 27, 1897.*

The House met at 12 o'clock m. Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. HENRY N. COUDEN.

The Journal of the proceedings of Monday, May 24, was read and approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT.

A message in writing from the President of the United States was communicated to the House by Mr. PRUDEN, one of his secretaries.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Mr. TERRY. Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER. The House will receive a message from the Senate.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. PLATT, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had disagreed to the amendment of the House of Representatives to the amendment of the Senate numbered 10 to the bill (H. R. 15) making appropriations for the current and contingent expenses of the Indian Department and for fulfilling treaty stipulations with various Indian tribes for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1898, and for other purposes, had agreed to the conference asked by the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and had appointed Mr. PETTIGREW, Mr. TELLER, and Mr. COCKRELL as the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The message also announced that the Senate had agreed to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the House to the amendment of the Senate numbered 10 to the bill (H. R. 15) making appropriations for the current and contingent expenses of the Indian Department and for fulfilling treaty stipulations with various Indian tribes for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1898, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed bills and joint resolutions of the following titles; in which the concurrence of the House was requested:

A bill (S. 1978) extending the time for the commencement and completion of the railroad bridge across the Illinois River, near Grafton, Ill., by the St. Louis, Perry and Chicago Railroad;

A bill (S. 1944) to authorize the construction of a bridge across the Clinch River, Kingston, Tenn.;

A bill (S. 1337) to authorize the President to commission First Lieut. Benjamin W. Loring a captain;

Joint resolution (S. R. 26) declaring that a condition of public war exists in Cuba, and that strict neutrality shall be maintained;

Joint resolution (S. R. 44) making an appropriation to supply a deficiency in the appropriations for public printing and binding for the fiscal year 1897; and

Joint resolution (S. R. 43) in amendment of the joint resolution of April 7, 1897, authorizing the Secretary of the Navy to transport contributions for the relief of the famishing poor of India.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed the following resolutions; in which the concurrence of the House was requested:

"*Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring)*, That the Secretary of War be requested to furnish the Senate with such information as he may have in his possession with reference to the present condition of the harbor of Cumberland Sound, and to inform the Senate whether any immediate action is necessary to protect the entrance from being closed against the commerce usually entering the port of Fernandina."

The message also announced that the Senate had passed the following resolutions:

"*Resolved*, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow the announcement of the death of the Hon. JOSEPH H. EARLE, late a Senator from the State of South Carolina.

"*Resolved*, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives.

"*Resolved*, That, as a mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, the Senate do now adjourn."

"*Resolved*, That the Secretary be directed to request the House of Representatives to return to the Senate the bill (S. 426) to authorize the construction of bridges across the Missouri River, between its mouth and the mouth of the Dakota or James River; and across the Mississippi River, between the mouth of the Minnesota River, in the State of Minnesota, and Donaldsonville, in the State of Louisiana; and across the Illinois and Des Plaines rivers, between the mouth of the Illinois and the city of Joliet, in the State of Illinois; and to prescribe the character, location, and dimensions of the same."

Mr. TERRY. Mr. Speaker——

QUESTION OF PRIVILEGE.

Mr. LEWIS of Washington. Mr. Speaker, I rise to a matter of privilege.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state his matter of privilege.

Mr. LEWIS of Washington. Mr. Speaker, I send to the Clerk's desk a resolution which, I respectfully urge, raises a question of a privilege of the House, and one of the highest order, and I respectfully request that the resolution be now read, in order that the question may be ascertained and——

Mr. DINGLEY (interposing). Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that the gentleman should state his question of privilege.

Mr. LEWIS of Washington. I will accept the suggestion of the esteemed gentleman from Maine. The resolution suggests that as there has been passed in the Senate and reported to this House a resolution recognizing the belligerency——

Mr. DINGLEY. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that the gentleman is not raising any question of personal privilege.

Mr. LEWIS of Washington. If the gentleman will but be patient, he will soon see that I do raise a question of privilege. My resolution calls for action by this House upon a question of foreign policy——

Mr. DINGLEY. Mr. Speaker, that raises no question of personal privilege.

Mr. LEWIS of Washington. Mr. Speaker, I ask the opportunity of asserting and establishing that this is a question of privilege, and has been so decided by the parliaments of the present English-speaking world, and particularly in recent years upon a motion made by the honorable gentleman from Maine himself.

I respectfully assert that a resolution proposing that this House shall express its sense of a foreign policy is always a question of privilege, superseding and subordinating any other question, that it does not require unanimous consent for its consideration, and that no point of order can be addressed constitutionally to it. Mr. Speaker, I will not violate the courtesy of this occasion by entering into an argument as to the merits of the resolution itself.

I shall be so grateful to the gentleman for allowing me this opportunity that I shall but state my position on this subject from a legal standpoint, seeking to establish that this question, as one of the sovereignty of the House, is of the highest privilege and entitled to consideration prior to any other. As early as 1782, when this country presented to England her peace-conference report, Mr. Grattan, of Ireland, having then up for consideration his bill in relation to Irish rights, raised the point that it was not in order, according to the rule prescribing that day's business. Mr. Fox contended that a proposition of a foreign policy, or of the recognition of a foreign country, for any purpose, was at all times a question of precedence which subordinated all other questions, and that point was sustained.

Subsequently to that time the question has been considered at different periods. In this country the question arose upon a resolution of Mr. Clay, of Kentucky, made upon the floor of the House of Representatives as early as 1822, resolving that the United States recognize the Spanish republics and that the House prescribe a policy concerning the same. The point was made against it that it was not in order, when the gentleman from Kentucky contended that a proposition which went to the foreign policy of this country as against another country, and especially an intercontinental and not merely an international country, was a matter of privilege of the highest order. He was sustained on an appeal, though Speaker Barbour had held to the contrary.

In 1827, Mr. Webster, of Massachusetts, addressing himself to the question of the attitudes, respectively, of Greece and Turkey, contended that his resolution authorizing the President to name an ambassador and the House to propose, on behalf of Congress, a foreign policy, had precedence, and was entitled to consideration against any point of order that could be made, and his contention was sustained.

Later, in 1837, upon Senator Clay's motion in respect to Mexico, in the second session of that Congress, the point of order was made that the resolution could not be considered because the order of the day had been prescribed by a previous resolution. It was insisted by Mr. Foote, of Mississippi, that such a question always took precedence, as it went to the sovereignty of Congress, and that contention was sustained.

On other occasions subsequently the question has arisen in this House. In the second session of the Fifty-third Congress a resolution was introduced by the honorable gentleman from Maine, Mr. BOUTELLE, looking to the establishment of a foreign policy in respect to Hawaii. On that occasion the point of order was made by Mr. McCreary, of Kentucky, a member of the Foreign Relations Committee, that the proposition was not in order and did not present a question of privilege, and the honorable gentleman now occupying the chair is reported to have said that it had long been settled that questions relating to the foreign policy of the country as connected with other countries were always matters of privilege.

The Chair ruled the contrary. An appeal was taken; and the House decided that the question of a foreign policy was a question of privilege. I refer you, Mr. Speaker, to the Journal of the Fifty-third Congress, second session, page 44. The rules adopted at the present session on that subject embody that decision. Therefore, under that decision and under the rules of this House, my resolution becomes at once a privileged question of the first order; and it takes precedence for consideration, notwithstanding the point of the estimable gentleman from Maine. I read from the Manual of the present session, pages 490, 497:

"Resolution expressing sense of the House relative to the foreign policy of the United States is privileged."

In page 495 of the Manual begins a recital of those questions which are privileged; and after giving them in collated form the Manual concludes on page 496 the recital with the announcement of the position I urge here. Therefore, that decision having become a part of the rules of this House, being there embodied from the ruling previously made upon a suggestion by the estimable gentleman now occupying the chair as well as from one of the other gentlemen from Maine, I can not understand how it can now be held that the question is not both privileged and entitled to precedence. I respectfully insist that my resolution is privileged, and should be submitted to the House and acted upon as a privileged question. [Applause.] I ask that my resolution be read.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the resolution.

The Clerk read as follows:

"By Mr. LEWIS of Washington.

"Resolution of the House of Representatives upon the right of the House to declare a foreign policy upon the subject of belligerency and neutrality and recognition both by treaty and commercial relations with the Republic of Cuba or any other country.

"Whereas the United States Senate assembled has duly by a proper form of resolution declared for a state of neutrality and the according to the Island of Cuba all rights as a belligerent as against Spain; and

"Whereas it is asserted that such right of recognition exists only with the Executive of the United States: Therefore,

"*Be it resolved by the House of Representatives of Congress*, That as a foreign policy of the United States it is the right and authority of the Senate and House of Representatives in adopting a foreign policy of the United States to recognize as Congress the belligerency of and declare the attitude of neutrality of the United States to the Island of Cuba or any other government or country when in the sense of the House such course is demanded by existing conditions."

Mr. LEWIS of Washington. I move the adoption of the resolution just read.

Mr. DINGLEY. I make the point of order that the resolution does not raise a privileged question.

Mr. LEWIS of Washington. I have already answered the point of order as fully as demanded, and offered what I think sufficient precedent to prove my position that this is both a privileged question and entitled to precedence for consideration. I now call for a ruling on the question.

The SPEAKER. The Chair think this is not a question of privilege. Under the rules of the House such a resolution can be presented in the regular course and should have the report of a committee upon the subject.

Mr. LEWIS of Washington. A parliamentary inquiry, Mr. Speaker. Would the Chair suggest what would be "the regular course" at this time?

The SPEAKER. The regular course would be to file the resolution under the rules.

Mr. LEWIS of Washington. Does the honorable Speaker mean to suggest

that the resolution shall be filed to await the appointment of a Committee on Foreign Affairs to consider it?

The SPEAKER. Certainly.

Mr. LEWIS of Washington. I did not understand the remark of the Chair.

The SPEAKER. Certainly, it should be filed under the rules of the House.

Mr. LEWIS of Washington. Then the Chair holds that my resolution is not privileged, and sustains the gentleman from Maine upon that point of order?

The SPEAKER. The Chair does.

Mr. LEWIS of Washington. I take an appeal from the decision of the Chair.

Mr. DINGLEY. I move that the appeal lie on the table.

The SPEAKER (having put the question). The ayes seem to have it.

Mr. LEWIS of Washington. I call for a division.

The question being again taken, there were—ayes 91, noes 57.

Mr. LEWIS of Washington. Yeas and nays, Mr. Speaker.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 89, nays 51, answered "present" 17, not voting 196; as follows:

YEAS—89.

Babcock,	Davenport,	Ketcham,	Shattuc,
Baker, Md.	Davison, Ky.	Kirkpatrick,	Showalter,
Barney,	Dingley,	Knox,	Southard,
Barrows,	Dolliver,	Linney,	Southwick,
Bartholdt,	Dorr,	Littauer,	Spalding,
Belford,	Dovener,	Loud,	Sperry,
Bennett,	Eddy,	Loudenslager,	Sprague,
Boese,	Evans,	Low,	Steele,
Broderick,	Faris,	McDonald,	Stewart, Wis.
Bromwell,	Gardner,	Marsh,	Stone, C. W.
Brown,	Gibson,	Mercer,	Stone, W. A.
Burton,	Grosvenor,	Minor,	Strode, Nebr.
Butler,	Harmer,	Moody,	Sturtevant,
Cannon,	Hemenway,	Morris,	Tawney,
Clark, Iowa	Henderson,	Mudd,	Updegraff,
Codding,	Henry, Conn.	Olmsted,	Van Voorhis,
Connell,	Henry, Ind.	Otjen,	Walker, Va.
Cooke,	Hepburn,	Packer, Pa.	Williams, Pa.
Cousins,	Hill,	Parker, N. J.	Wilson, N. Y.
Crumpacker,	Hitt,	Pearson,	Yost.
Curtis, Iowa	Howe,	Pugh,	
Dalzell,	Howell,	Quigg,	
Danford,	Johnson, N. Dak.	Russell,	

NAYS—53.

Baird,	De Vries,	Lanham,	Simpson,
Baker, Ill.	Epes,	Lewis, Ga.	Sims,
Bell,	Fitzpatrick,	Lewis, Wash.	Slayden,
Bodine,	Griggs,	Livingston,	Smith, Ky.
Brantley,	Gunn,	Maxwell,	Stark,
Broussard,	Hartman,	Miers, Ind.	Stephens, Tex.
Brundidge,	Hay,	Ogden,	Tate,
Burke,	Henry, Miss.	Pierce, Tenn.	Terry,
Castle,	Henry, Tex.	Plowman,	Vincent,
Clayton,	Howard, Ala.	Rhea,	Wheeler, Ky.
Cochran, Mo.	Jett,	Sayers,	Williams, Miss.
Cowherd,	Kleberg,	Settle,	
Cummings,	Knowles,	Shafroth,	
De Graffenreid,	Lamb,	Shuford,	

ANSWERED "PRESENT"—17.

Ball,	Cooper, Wis.	Mahon,	White, N. C.
Bartlett,	Heatwole,	Richardson,	Wright.
Benner, Pa.	Jenkins,	Sauerhering,	
Brenner, Ohio	McIntire,	Vandiver,	
Cooper, Tex.	Maddox,	Wheeler, Ala.	

NOT VOTING—194.

Acheson,	Davis,	Landis,	Rixey,
Adams,	Dayton,	Latimer,	Robb,
Adamson,	De Armond,	Lentz,	Robbins,
Alexander,	Dinsmore,	Lester,	Robertson, La.
Allen,	Dockery,	Little,	Robinson, Ind.
Arnold,	Elliott,	Lorimer,	Royse,
Bailey,	Ellis,	Love,	Shannon,
Bankhead,	Ermentrout,	Lovering,	Shelden,
Barber,	Fenton,	Lybrand,	Sherman,
Barham,	Fischer,	McAleer,	Simpkins,
Barlow,	Fitzgerald,	McCall,	Skinner,
Barrett,	Fleming,	McCleary,	Smith, Ill.
Beach,	Fletcher,	McClellan,	Smith, S. W.
Belden,	Foote,	McCormick,	Smith, Wm. Alden
Belknap,	Foss,	McCulloch,	Snover,
Benton,	Fowler, N. C.	McDowell,	Sparkman,
Berry,	Fowler, N. J.	McEwan,	Stallings,
Bingham,	Fox,	McLaurin,	Stevens, Minn.
Bishop,	Gaines,	McMillin,	Stewart, N. J.
Bland,	Gillet, N. Y.	McRae,	Stokes,
Botkin,	Gillett, Mass.	Maguire,	Strait,
Boutelle,	Graff,	Mahany,	Strowd, N. C.
Bradley,	Greene,	Mann,	Sullivan,
Brewer,	Griffin,	Marshall,	Sulloway,
Brewster,	Grout,	Martin,	Sulzer,
Brosius,	Grow,	Meekison,	Sutherland,
Brownlow,	Hager,	Mesick,	Swanson,
Brucker,	Hamilton,	Meyer, La.	Talbert,
Brumm,	Handy,	Miller,	Tayler, Ohio
Bull,	Hawley,	Mills,	Taylor, Ala.
Campbell,	Hicks,	Mitchell,	Todd,
Capron,	Hilborn,	Moon,	Tongue,
Carmack,	Hinrichsen,	Newlands,	Underwood,
Catchings,	Hooker,	Northway,	Vehslage,
Chickering,	Hopkins,	Norton,	Wadsworth,
Clardy,	Howard, Ga.	Odell,	Walker, Mass.
Clark, Mo.	Hull,	Osborne,	Wanger,
Clarke, N. H.	Hunter,	Otey,	Ward,
Cochrane, N. Y.	Hurley,	Overstreet,	Warner,
Colson,	Johnson, Ind.	Payne,	Weaver,
Connolly,	Jones, Va.	Pearce, Mo.	Weymouth,
Cooney,	Jones, Wash.	Perkins,	White, Ill.
Corliss,	Joy,	Peters,	Wilber,
Cox,	Kelley,	Pitney,	Wilson, S. C.
Cranford,	Kerr,	Powers,	Young, Pa.
Crump,	King,	Prince,	Young, Va.
Curtis, Kans.	Kitchin,	Ray,	Zenor.
Davey,	Kulp,	Reeves,	
Davidson, Wis.	Lacey,	Ridgely,	

The following pairs were announced:

Until further notice:

Mr. LOVERING with Mr. WHEELER of Alabama.

Mr. STEWART of New Jersey with Mr. TAYLOR of Alabama.

Mr. POWERS with Mr. GAINES.

Mr. REEVES with Mr. BALL.

Mr. MILLS with Mr. SULLIVAN.

Mr. SULLOWAY with Mr. TALBERT.

Mr. SAUERHERING with Mr. STRAIT.

Mr. DOVENER with Mr. DAVIS.

Mr. BARNEY with Mr. BANKHEAD.

Mr. ACHESON with Mr. WILSON of South Carolina.

Mr. HOOKER with Mr. CATCHINGS.

Mr. PEARCE of Missouri with Mr. VANDIVER.

Mr. DAVIDSON of Wisconsin with Mr. CLARK of Missouri.

Mr. OVERSTREET with Mr. ZENOR.

Mr. TONGUE with Mr. DE ARMOND.

Mr. MCINTIRE with Mr. HOWARD of Georgia.

Mr. QUIGG with Mr. BLAND.

Mr. HULL with Mr. BAILEY.

Mr. WARD with Mr. BARLOW.

Mr. MCCLEARY with Mr. JONES of Virginia.

Mr. WANGER with Mr. MEEKISON.

Mr. BISHOP with Mr. NORTON.

Mr. MAHON with Mr. BENNER of Pennsylvania.

Mr. LANDIS with Mr. CRANFORD.

Mr. GILLETT of Massachusetts with Mr. MCDOWELL.

Mr. MITCHELL with Mr. LOVE.

Mr. KULP with Mr. STALLINGS.

Mr. ODELL with Mr. BARTLETT.

Mr. CORLISS with Mr. LATIMER.

Mr. HICKS with Mr. OTEY.

Mr. HEATWOLE with Mr. DINSMORE.

Mr. SMITH of Illinois with Mr. MCCULLOCH.

Mr. ALEXANDER with Mr. COONEY.

Mr. ROYSE with Mr. MADDOX.

Mr. SHELDEN with Mr. BIXEY.

Mr. JOHNSON of Indiana with Mr. MOON.

Mr. BROSIUS with Mr. ERMENTROUT.

Mr. LACEY with Mr. MCRAE.

Mr. WRIGHT with Mr. ADAMSON.

Mr. MCCALL with Mr. MCLAURIN.

Mr. JENKINS with Mr. STOKES.

Mr. PITNEY with Mr. CARMACK.

Mr. BRUMM with Mr. COX.

Mr. ADAMS with Mr. ELLIOTT.

Mr. BINGHAM with Mr. DOCKERY.

Mr. KERR with Mr. ROBB.

Mr. MESICK with Mr. PETERS.

Mr. LORIMER with Mr. BERRY.

Mr. MILLER with Mr. CLARDY.

Mr. STEVENS of Minnesota with Mr. JONES of Washington.

Mr. DORR with Mr. MADDOX.

Mr. LYBRAND with Mr. LENTZ.

Mr. HOPKINS with Mr. MCALEER.

Mr. BELKNAP with Mr. MAGUIRE.

Mr. HAGER with Mr. ALLEN.

Mr. YOUNG of Pennsylvania with Mr. BENTON.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Pennsylvania with Mr. ROBERTSON of Louisiana.

Mr. JOY with Mr. MARSHALL.

Mr. HAMILTON with Mr. TODD.

Mr. WM. ALDEN SMITH with Mr. BRUCKER.

Mr. CHICKERING with Mr. BRADLEY.

Mr. DAYTON with Mr. PIERCE of Tennessee.

Mr. FOSS with Mr. DAVEY.

Mr. MCEWAN with Mr. VEHSLAGE.

Mr. BELDEN with Mr. SULZER.

Mr. SIMPKINS of Massachusetts with Mr. LESTER.

Mr. PUGH with Mr. SUTHERLAND.

Mr. BARHAM with Mr. LITTLE.

For this day:

Mr. PAYNE with Mr. RICHARDSON.

Mr. WHITE of Illinois with Mr. HUNTER.

Mr. HURLEY with Mr. DAVIS.

Mr. CRUMP with Mr. HANDY.

Mr. WILBER with Mr. FOX.

Mr. MADDOX. Mr. Speaker, I am paired with the gentleman from Indiana, Mr. ROYSE, on all political questions, and as this seems to be considered by some to be a political question, I withdraw my vote.

Mr. VANDIVER. I voted "no," but being paired with the gentleman from Missouri, Mr. PEARCE, on political questions, I withdraw the vote.

Mr. TERRY. Mr. Speaker, I rise to a parliamentary inquiry, and to a question affecting the rights and privileges of this House.

Mr. WHEELER of Alabama. Will the gentleman withhold his statement one moment, until I make an announcement with reference to my vote? I find that I am paired with the gentleman from Massachusetts, Mr. LOVERING, and therefore I wish to change my vote to "present."

Mr. TERRY. Mr. Speaker——

Mr. LEWIS of Washington. Mr. Speaker, I merely wish to make the point of order to my friend from Arkansas [Mr. TERRY] that until the vote is announced I do not yield the floor.

Mr. COOPER of Texas. I desire to be recorded as present. I am paired with the gentleman from Iowa, Mr. PERKINS. If he were present, I would vote "no."

Mr. TERRY. Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman rise?

Mr. TERRY. I stated to the Chair that I rose to a question relating to the rights and privileges of the House, and to a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. Will the gentleman state his parliamentary inquiry?

Mr. TERRY. I will state, Mr. Speaker, preliminary to it——

The SPEAKER. Does it relate to the present vote that is being taken?

Mr. TERRY. It does not relate to the present vote, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. The only thing in order is the announcement of the vote. On this question the yeas are 89, the nays 51, present 17—not a quorum.

Mr. DINGLEY. Mr. Speaker, inasmuch as it seems there is no quorum present for the transaction of business, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The question was taken.

Mr. JETT. Mr. Speaker, before the——

Mr. LEWIS of Washington demanded a division on the motion to adjourn, and then withdrew the demand.

Mr. RICHARDSON. I rise to a parliamentary inquiry. Would it not be in order to move a call of the House? We might get a quorum here for the transaction of business.

The SPEAKER. On that question——
Mr. TERRY. I demand a division.
The House divided; and there were—ayes 92, noes 35.
Accordingly, the motion of Mr. DINGLEY was agreed to; and (at 12 o'clock and 53 minutes p. m.) the House, under the order heretofore adopted, adjourned until Monday, May 31, 1897, at 12 o'clock noon.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment to the amendment, which will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In line 22, page 26, paragraph 101, it is proposed to strike out the word "ten" in the committee amendment and insert the word "eight;" so as to read:

Cast polished plate glass, finished or unfinished and unsilvered, not exceeding 16 by 24 inches square, 8 cents per square foot; above that, and not exceeding 24 by 30 inches square, 8 cents per square foot.

Mr. VEST. On that I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BUTLER (when his name was called). I again announce my pair with the junior Senator from Maryland [Mr. WELLINGTON].

Mr. DANIEL (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. HAWLEY]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. FRYE (when his name was called). I am paired with the senior Senator from Maryland [Mr. GORMAN].

Mr. MITCHELL (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SEWELL]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. PERKINS (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the junior Senator from North Dakota [Mr. ROACH]. In his absence I withhold my vote.

Mr. TILLMAN (when his name was called). I again announce my pair with the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. THURSTON].

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. PASCO. I again announce my pair with the Senator from Utah [Mr. CANNON]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. CLARK. I am paired with the junior Senator from Kansas [Mr. HARRIS]. I transfer my pair to my colleague [Mr. WARREN] and will vote. I vote "nay."

Mr. CLAY. I have a pair with the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE], which I will transfer to the Senator from Delaware [Mr. KENNEY] and vote. I vote "yea."

The result was announced—yeas 18, nays 28; as follows:

YEAS—18.

Bacon,	Cockrell,	Morgan,	Vest,
Bate,	Jones, Ark.	Murphy,	Walthall,
Berry,	Lindsay,	Pettus,	White.
Caffery,	Mallory,	Rawlins,	
Clay,	Mills,	Turpie,	

NAYS—28.

Aldrich,	Fairbanks,	Jones, Nev.	Pritchard,
Allison,	Foraker,	McBride,	Proctor,
Burrows,	Gallinger,	McMillan,	Quay,
Chandler,	Gear,	Mason,	Shoup,
Clark,	Hale,	Nelson,	Spooner,
Davis,	Hanna,	Penrose,	Wetmore,
Deboe,	Hansbrough,	Platt, Conn.	Wilson.

NOT VOTING—42.

Allen,	George,	McEnery,	Smith,
Baker,	Gorman,	Mantle,	Stewart,
Butler,	Gray,	Martin,	Teller,
Cannon,	Harris, Kans.	Mitchell,	Thurston,
Carter,	Harris, Tenn.	Morrill,	Tillman,
Chilton,	Hawley,	Pasco,	Turner,
Cullom,	Heitfeld,	Perkins,	Warren,
Daniel,	Hoar,	Pettigrew,	Wellington,
Elkins,	Kenney,	Platt, N. Y.	Wolcott.
Faulkner,	Kyle,	Roach,	
Frye,	Lodge,	Sewell,	

So the amendment to the amendment was rejected.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question recurs on agreeing to the amendment of the Committee on Finance to strike out "twelve" and insert "ten."

The amendment was agreed to.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, after the word "plates," in line 5, paragraph 102, page 27, to insert "exceeding in size 144 square inches and;" and in line 7, to strike out "nine" and insert "eleven;" so as to read:

Cast polished plate glass, silvered, cylinder and crown glass, silvered, and looking-glass plates, exceeding in size 144 square inches and not exceeding 16 by 24 inches square, 11 cents per square foot.

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. President, before the amendment is voted on, I wish to call the attention of the Senate to the comparison of the duties levied upon this article under the act of 1890 and the proposed act. I read:

Plate glass, cast, polished, silvered, exceeding in size 144 inches; not exceeding 16 by 24 inches.

In 1893 the importations were 52,785 square feet. Under the act of 1894 there were 3,228 square feet imported, a decline of nearly 50,000 feet. In 1896 only $768 worth of this glass was imported. Yet the pending bill proposes to increase the duty from 6 cents per square foot to 11 cents per square foot.

I understood the Senator from Rhode Island to say a while ago, where two or three million feet had been imported under the existing duty, that that was a good reason why the duty should be increased. Here the importation has fallen off until the importations have almost entirely ceased, and I will ask him if that reason applies as well to this instance as it did a while ago.

The Senator from Rhode Island said in his opening address the other day:

In the readjustment of rates suggested the committee have tried in every instance to make them sufficiently protective to domestic interests without being prohibitive.

If at 6 cents per square foot we import only 3,228 square feet now, and the tax is practically doubled, is not this an instance in which the duty has been made absolutely prohibitive? The bill is denominated "A bill to provide revenue for the Government and to encourage the industries of the United States." Certainly this provision is not intended to provide revenue for the Government, when it absolutely prevents any of the article from being imported at all.

The next is, "above 16 by 24 inches and not exceeding 24 by 30 inches." In 1893 the importations were 204,158 square feet, and in 1896, 36,211 square feet, or about one-sixth the quantity imported three years ago, and yet the tax is raised from 10 cents a square foot to 13 cents a square foot.

The next is "cylinder and crown glass, polished, silvered, and looking-glass plates, not exceeding 16 by 24 inches." In 1893 the importations were 1,030,000 square feet; in 1896, 585,000 square feet, and yet the tax there is increased from 6 cents a square foot to 11 cents a square foot.

Again, "above 16 by 24 inches and not exceeding 24 by 30 inches." The importations there fell away 600,000 square feet, or about 15 per cent, and the tax is raised from 10 cents to 13 cents a square foot. There certainly can be no reason for these increases, unless it is to prevent importation, and if it be to prohibit absolutely importations, then these provisions are intended to defeat the operation of the bill to the extent that it is intended to provide revenue for the Government.

The Senator from Rhode Island said a while ago that a half dozen instances could not be found in which the rates in the McKinley Act have been increased, and yet here are four material increases, nearly from 50 to 75 per cent, in paragraph 101? In this equalization of or readjustment of rates I do find a few instances in which the McKinley duties have been diminished, but none of them relate to anything that is alleged to be controlled by combinations which are in general estimation regarded as trusts. Wherever you find a diminution of the McKinley duty, it relates to something that the trusts do not control and that nobody suspects any trust of controlling.

It is a little peculiar that when we strike the glass trust or the lead trust or the borax trust or the sugar trust, the articles manufactured and controlled by those combinations always receive gracious and liberal treatment at the hands of the gentlemen on the other side who prepared the bill. But the glass combination stands out in bolder relief than any other, and these four items are striking illustrations of the increase of taxation where there is no necessity to increase it for the purposes of protection and where the increases are manifestly intended to defeat the collection of revenue from those articles.

Mr. ALDRICH. In response to the suggestions made by the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. LINDSAY], I will say that there are more decreases than increases as compared with the act of 1890 in the paragraphs we have had under consideration. This increase, I will repeat, is simply to make the schedule symmetrical. The differences in rates between silvered and unsilvered glass are made to make one correspond with the other, considering the question of cost of silvering.

Mr. LINDSAY. I will ask the Senator——

Mr. ALDRICH. No; hold on a minute, if you please. When they are increased, the only result is to increase the rate to 32½ per cent in one case and 16.48 per cent in the other, among the lowest rates in the bill, and less than half the rates which the Senator himself and his political colleagues imposed upon three-quarters of the articles contained in this schedule.

Mr. LINDSAY. I will ask the Senator whether the symmetry of the bill requires that many of the items shall be taxed so that they shall be absolutely excluded from importation to this country?

Mr. ALDRICH. Certainly not, and there is no such item in the bill of any nature or description.

Mr. LINDSAY. Under the present tariff law, during the year 1896, only 3,228 feet of one character of this glass were imported, and you have increased the duty on that particular class of glass from 6 cents a square foot to 11 cents a square foot, and yet you claim that this is not prohibitive in its operation, and you claim that it is only such reasonable increase as is necessary to make your bill symmetrical.

Now, I insist that you do very little in the way of adding symmetry to a revenue bill, even if it does contain protective features,

when you levy duties which absolutely exclude the possibility of importation along some of the lines of the bill.

Mr. CHILTON. Mr. President, I wish to call attention to just one point further in connection with this matter. The Senator from Rhode Island referred to the fact that the Senate committee has not increased the rates of duty on brackets Nos. 3 and 4 of these two paragraphs, but the fact is that the Pittsburg Glass Company did not ask for any increase of the duty on bracket 4. Bracket 4 embraces 75 per cent of the plate-glass manufacture of this country. On that bracket the rate of tariff which the glass men themselves ask for is contained in the bill. I repeat, and I wish to make it as emphatic as possible, that the increases in the bill are on the small sizes of glass, silvered and unsilvered, which go into the homes of the poor people of the country, and which constitute only 10 per cent of the American product of glass.

Furthermore, the same companies in this country make both the small sizes and the large sizes. As they are now protected to the point of extortion in the large sizes, they ask for no further increase there. But the Finance Committee of the Senate now proposes to give them also what is practically a prohibitive duty upon the small sizes.

The McKinley duty was not a reduction from the duty that theretofore existed. The duties on these small sizes of plate glass had never been higher than they were under the McKinley Act, and yet under that rate of duty the plate-glass industry of this country has developed until it has become the wonder of the world. Only fifteen years ago it was comparatively unknown as a business in America, but under this very rate of duty which they now propose to increase it has developed until, as I say, it is now one of the largest industries in the United States.

Another thing, sir. I am informed—I can not speak advisedly about it—that taking the glass business as a whole, it is among the most flourishing industries now conducted in the United States. I am informed that there has been an increase in the wages of laborers in that business, not in every branch, perhaps, but in many lines, since the Wilson Act went into operation. Especially is that so, according to my information, in that part of the glass business embracing the manufacture of vases, lamp chimneys, bottles, etc.

The glass industry is not in a decaying condition; it is not in a depressed condition. There are more manufactures of glass exported from this country than there are imported into it, and yet we are told that this particular business should receive signal favor at the hands of the Congress of the United States.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. In paragraph 102, line 7, I move to strike out of the committee amendment "eleven" and insert "six," so as to read "6 cents," for the reasons already stated by the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. LINDSAY] and the Senator from Texas [Mr. CHILTON]. I call attention in this connection to the third bracket under this paragraph, where the importations last year were only 131 feet, I presume perhaps a single pane of glass, and yet there is an increase, a small one, it is true, but an increase over the present rate of taxation from 23 cents to 25 cents. Yet the Senator from Rhode Island defied the Senator from Kentucky to point out a single instance where there has been an increased rate of tax where there was practically no importation under the ruling rate. In the next bracket there were but 407 feet of glass imported. True, there is no increase in the rate of taxation, but it is left at 38 cents.

When the Senator from Rhode Island assures the Senate and the country that the intention is to provide proper protection, but not to exclude importations, it seems to me he has been singularly blind, when, looking at the statement of importations under these different schedules, he has not reduced the taxes at all.

In this connection, I wish to call the attention of the Senate for a few moments only to two or three points. The Boston Plate and Window Glass Company, on the question of plate glass, submitted this statement to the Ways and Means Committee in the House of Representatives:

BOSTON, *January 6, 1897.*

Committee on Ways and Means:

We beg to protest against any increase in the present tariff on polished plate glass and to pray for a decrease on same of 50 per cent. The annual consumption of this article in this country is about 12,000,000 square feet. This manufacture in this country is almost wholly in the hands of one company, which is a monopoly, and substantially control the business of the country, and by selling just under the cost of importation is now succeeding in excluding the imported article.

The present duty on this article averages more than 100 per cent on the present cost abroad. If the duty was made at one-half of present rates there would be larger importations, larger additional revenues to the Government, and a large reduction to consumers on present selling price of this article.

BOSTON PLATE AND WINDOW GLASS CO.,
E. A. HILLS, *President.*

All their statements seem to me to carry conviction by the mere statement. It is not necessary to argue them at all.

In this same connection, I have two letters from Vanhorne, Griffen & Co. One of them is printed. It was inclosed to me, addressed to the gentlemen in charge of the bill. I believe the Senator from California put this letter in the RECORD.

Mr. WHITE. Yes.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Both of these letters have, however, been presented to the Senate, and I will not present them further.

As a curious instance of the way this plate-glass company has increased in power and strength, I wish to present the statement of Dun & Co. of this same plate-glass company in January, 1896, a year ago, eight or nine months after this organization had first been made and this business had practically gone into the hands of these people.

PITTSBURG PLATE GLASS COMPANY.

PITTSBURG, ALLEGHENY COUNTY, PA., *January 10, 1896.*

An old and well-established corporation, the capital stock of which has been increased from $2,750,000 to $10,000,000 by the consolidation of the following concerns: Howard Plate Glass Company, Duquesne, Pa.; Charleroi Plate Glass Company, Charleroi, Pa.; Diamond Plate Glass Company, located at Ellwood and Kokomo, Ind., and the Crystal Plate Glass Company, located at Crystal City, Mo.

The nine companies which I read this morning.

The officers of this consolidated company are: John Pitcairn, chairman; Edward Ford, president; A. L. Conger, of Akron, Ohio, vice-president; A. E. Howard, secretary; E. L. Ford, treasurer, and A. Pitcairn, comptroller. The consolidation was formed on April 1, 1895, the stockholders of the new company are practically the same as formerly in their respective concerns, and it is a strong organization. Their works are at the following places: Creighton, Pa.; Tarentum, Pa.; Ford City, Pa.; Duquesne, Pa.; Charleroi, Pa.; Ellwood, Ind.; Kokomo, Ind., and Crystal City, Mo.

Those are the names and places which I read this morning.

A. E. Howard, the secretary of the company, states that they have no occasion to make a detailed showing, as they pay cash for all supplies, give no paper, do not owe anything to any bank, and have no liabilities outside their bonds and current monthly or quarterly bills, which are always paid as soon as due and are generally less than their cash balances. He declines to give the total of their assets, but it is believed to be upward of $5,000,000 since the recent consolidation of the above-named companies, the highest quotation for the stock so far being 70 per cent. The bonded indebtedness is $2,500,000, of which one-fifth is being paid every year. They have a practical monopoly of the trade, and are believed to be making money at present, as they are operating under more favorable conditions than heretofore. Their plants are not employed to their fullest capacity, but are run to the best advantage, as they do not wish to furnish any occasion to reduce price by overproduction. The company as now constituted is virtually a trust; and although probably capitalized above the intrinsic value of its available assets, its earning capacity is considerable, and its credit for business needs is first-class. The officers who are identified with the corporation are regarded as successful business men of large experience and good business ability. M. B. Rate (AAA1.) 10.

Mr. President, the statement has been made in a private way that the laborers are very much interested in this glass industry, that they are very much interested in these increased prices, because, by a recent scale made between the employers and the laborers, it has been agreed to give the laborers 10 per cent of whatever advance is made in these rates by reason of the tariff, and that, if there is an average of 15 per cent—as the understanding is that these increases will make—it would seem on the face of the proposition that the laborers get two-thirds of the whole of it. Now, analyzed and brought down to a common-sense analysis, I will state what the situation is. I asked the president of that laborers' association what classes of men under this new schedule get this increased price, and he said the blowers and one other class. I do not remember what they were. I asked him the prices paid to these men, and he said $100 a month was paid to the blower. I asked him what they made, and he said 196 boxes of 120 pounds to the box, or 19,000 pounds of glass per month. That five-eighths increase in the tariff amounts to $178.75 a month upon the product of a single laborer.

This statement says that they are managing so as to get the full benefit of this increase. Now, this is 15 per cent only, but it amounts to $178.75 on a box. The laborer gets an advance of 10 per cent on his wages. He gets $10. His hundred dollars will be increased to $110, and in the innocence of his soul, while he is getting $10 out of $178.75, he imagines that he is getting two-thirds of what the company gets. This is the kind of stuff with which laborers of this sort are misled, and these men, shrewd, sharp, and unscrupulous, as many of them are, succeed in having the Congress of the United States levy heavy taxes upon the masses of the people to enable them to pay this increased rate of wages, as they pretend.

Mr. President, I will not detain the Senate by a discussion of this question further, but will ask for a yea-and-nay vote on my amendment.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the amendment of the Senator from Arkansas to the amendment of the committee, to insert the word "six" in place of "eleven" on the seventh line of page 27, paragraph 102, so as to read "not exceeding 16 by 24 inches square, 6 cents per square foot." On that question the yeas and nays are demanded.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CLARK (when his name was called). I again announce my pair with the junior Senator from Kansas [Mr. HARRIS], but transfer that pair to my colleague [Mr. WARREN] and vote. I vote "nay."

Mr. CLAY (when his name was called). I am paired with the

Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE]. I transfer that pair to the Senator from Delaware [Mr. KENNEY] and vote. I vote "yea."

Mr. PASCO (when his name was called). I again announce my pair with the Senator from Utah [Mr. CANNON]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. PENROSE (when his name was called). In accordance with the explanation already given of my pair, I will vote. I vote "nay."

Mr. PERKINS (when his name was called). I again announce my pair with the junior Senator from North Dakota [Mr. ROACH]. He is absent, and I withhold my vote.

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. WILSON. I desire to announce the pair of my colleague [Mr. TURNER] with the senior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR].

Mr. CAFFERY. I desire to announce my pair with the Senator from Michigan [Mr. BURROWS]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. DANIEL. I beg leave to state that I am paired with the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. HAWLEY]. If he were here, I should vote "yea."

Mr. WETMORE (after having voted in the negative). Has the senior Senator from Georgia [Mr. BACON] voted?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The senior Senator from Georgia has not voted.

Mr. WETMORE. I withdraw my vote. I am paired with that Senator.

Mr. FRYE. I am paired with the senior Senator from Maryland [Mr. GORMAN]. I will transfer that pair to the Senator from Utah [Mr. CANNON], and that will allow both the Senator from Florida [Mr. PASCO] and myself to vote. I vote "nay."

Mr. PASCO. I vote "yea."

The result was announced—yeas 19, nays 26; as follows:

YEAS—19.

Bate,	Jones, Ark.	Murphy,	Turpie,
Berry,	Lindsay,	Pasco,	Vest,
Chilton,	Mallory,	Pettigrew,	Walthall,
Clay,	Mills,	Pettus,	White.
Cockrell,	Morgan,	Rawlins,	

NAYS—26.

Aldrich,	Foraker,	McBride,	Proctor,
Allison,	Frye,	McMillan,	Quay,
Baker,	Gallinger,	Mason,	Shoup,
Chandler,	Gear,	Nelson,	Spooner,
Clark,	Hale,	Penrose,	Wilson.
Deboe,	Hanna,	Platt, Conn.	
Fairbanks,	Jones, Nev.	Pritchard,	

NOT VOTING—43.

Allen,	Faulkner,	Kyle,	Smith,
Bacon,	George,	Lodge,	Stewart,
Burrows,	Gorman,	McEnery,	Teller,
Butler,	Gray,	Mantle,	Thurston,
Caffery,	Hansbrough,	Martin,	Tillman,
Cannon,	Harris, Kans.	Mitchell,	Turner,
Carter,	Harris, Tenn.	Morrill,	Warren,
Cullom,	Hawley,	Perkins,	Wellington,
Daniel,	Heitfeld,	Platt, N. Y.	Wetmore,
Davis,	Hoar,	Roach,	Wolcott.
Elkins,	Kenney,	Sewell,	

So the amendment to the amendment was rejected.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question recurs on the amendment of the Committee on Finance, which will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In paragraph 102, after the word "plates," in line 4, page 27, insert, the words "exceeding in size 144 square inches;" and in line 7, after the word "square," strike out "nine" and insert "eleven;" so as to read:

102. Cast polished plate glass, silvered, cylinder and crown glass, silvered, and looking-glass plates, exceeding in size 144 square inches and not exceeding 16 by 24 inches square, 11 cents per square foot.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I desire to move, in paragraph 102, page 27, line 9, to strike out "thirteen" and insert "ten," after the word "square;" so as to read:

Above that, and not exceeding 24 by 30 inches square, 10 cents per square foot.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the amendment of the Senator from Arkansas.

The amendment was rejected.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 102, page 27, line 13, before the word "cents," to strike out "forty" and insert "thirty-eight;" so as to read:

Above that, and not exceeding 24 by 60 inches square, 25 cents per square foot; all above that, 38 cents per square foot.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Now, I move to amend paragraph 102 by striking out, in lines 3 and 4, on page 27, the words "cylinder and crown glass, silvered, and looking-glass plates."

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the amendment of the Senator from Arkansas.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I earnestly hope that the committee will not object to this amendment. I understand, of course, that it is absolutely useless, no matter how meritorious an amendment may be, for us to offer an amendment here. But the Senator from Rhode Island a short time ago said that a number of people sitting in the galleries might imagine that some poor man in the country was interested in this plate-glass business, that no plate glass entered into the homes of the poor; and he assured the Senator from South Carolina that there was not a plate-glass window in his State outside of Charleston, and so on. I will not discuss that feature of it; but the proposition I now make to amend the bill the Senator will not say does not concern the poorer class of people all over the United States. It is unreasonable, it is not right, that German plate glass, which is used for mirrors in the cheapest class of furniture and used for mirrors in the cheapest homes in the country, should be taxed on exactly the same basis and at the same rate that high-grade French plate mirrors are taxed.

Mr. President, I have at my desk samples of this glass. An object lesson is worth a great deal to Senators, and I wish Senators taking an interest in this question would examine these samples. That is a specimen [exhibiting] of German plate glass, thin and light, easily broken, and of course not valuable. But it is the glass made only in Bohemia, and the cheaper furniture is supplied only with mirrors of this character. Plate glass can not be used in the cheap chamber sets that are made for the houses of the poor. It is not right—it is, it seems to me, a monstrous outrage and iniquity—that the same rate of taxation should be levied upon this glass that is levied upon this superior and higher character of glass. [Exhibiting.] Now, this heavy, costly, and expensive glass is included in this paragraph with the light-weight glass, cast polished plate glass, which is of this high character, and silvered, cylinder, and ground glass, which is this light-blown glass [exhibiting], not rolled at all. Silvered and looking-glass plates are included in the same rate of taxation.

I am glad to see the Senator from Michigan [Mr. BURROWS] giving me his attention. All over his State there are large manufactories of this cheap grade of furniture, every one of which use for every single mirror that goes upon their furniture this grade of glass, and when he votes, if he does, with the majority of the committee to retain this rate of taxation, which will absolutely keep this grade of glass intended for the use of the poor out of the United States and away from consumption, he practically votes for closing up the establishments in his State. It is utterly impossible for those men to use this high-grade French plate glass to carry on their industries. It is a gross wrong; it can not be defended on any principle of right or fairness. This glass ought to be taken care of in paragraph 99; it ought not to be in paragraph 102; and I move to strike it out of paragraph 102 for that reason.

Mr. ALDRICH. Mr. President, you would judge from the vehement eloquence of my friend from Arkansas that this is entirely a new departure in including looking-glass plates in this paragraph. In reference to polished plate glass, silvered, etc., I will read to him for his information the provision in the corresponding paragraph in the act of 1894, which he prepared himself and secured the adoption of by the Senate:

Cast polished plate glass, silvered, and looking-glass plates.

The same language exactly; and you would think from his eloquent denunciation of this bill that this was entirely the first time in the history of the country that it had been done.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Mr. President, if this grade of glass was put in the wrong paragraph in 1894, that is no justification for the Senator from Rhode Island to put it there now. If the Senator would follow the bill of 1894, we might be able to rectify the mistakes. There were mistakes made through that bill. We were compelled to put grades of glass in that bill that we did not want to put in the bill. We did not do it voluntarily. If the Senator will take that glass schedule all the way through, it will be less objectionable than it is now. But the fact that we did not put this in the proper paragraph at that time is no justification for his putting it in the wrong paragraph now; and I want the Senate to note that he does not deny the truth of one single statement made by me.

Mr. ALDRICH. I do.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. And he can not deny it.

Mr. ALDRICH. I deny it most emphatically.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Then state what the facts are.

Mr. ALDRICH. I had not got to that part.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. You had taken your seat after you made a speech.

Mr. ALDRICH. I was simply calling the attention of the Senate to the fact that this was not a new departure at all; that looking-glass plates had always been included in this paragraph. They were included in this paragraph in 1890; they were included in this paragraph in 1894, and they were included in this bill, and

properly included, because I can see no reason under heaven why one class of glass silvered should pay a different rate of duty from any other glass silvered. Take polished, crown, or common window glass silvered and it is quite as valuable at times and sometimes more valuable than plate glass silvered.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The Senator certainly is not serious when he states that the process of silvering adds enormously to the cost of glass plate?

Mr. ALDRICH. It does.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. It is a comparatively cheap process. It amounts to but little in addition to the other cost. The process of silvering can be easily taken care of in another part of the bill, and it ought to be.

Mr. WHITE. I should like to ask the Senator from Rhode Island, who is familiar with this subject, whether the German glass shown by the Senator from Arkansas is not less valuable than the French plate shown by him.

Mr. ALDRICH. There is no doubt about that.

Mr. WHITE. Then, if that be true, when the silvering occurs, does that raise the value of the German plate to a level with the other grade?

Mr. ALDRICH. Not at all; the silvering costs about as much on one plate as the other.

Mr. WHITE. Certainly; that is what I supposed. Therefore the criticism appears to me to be just, because the inferior glass is taxed just the same as the superior. If you were taxing it by an ad valorem rate, it would be different, but you put a specific rate upon it, which excludes the one practically or places a great burden upon it, when, as I understand it, it is not manufactured in this country; but if it were manufactured here, there seems to me to be no reason for the imposition of the same duty upon the two classes of plate which vary materially as to their intrinsic worth. That seems to be the point of the criticism, not whether a mistake was made in the other bill, or in this, or in any other measure.

Mr. ALDRICH. The Senator from California must be aware that Congress can not put one rate of duty upon German plate glass and another rate of duty upon French plate glass. I do not know of any possible description that can be given.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The Senator knows that this is not plate glass at all.

Mr. ALDRICH. That is not plate glass perhaps.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. And the German glass is not plate glass at all.

Mr. ALDRICH. There is a difference of opinion whether it is or not.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. There is not a man in the world who would say so.

Mr. WHITE. Is it not what is called cylinder glass?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. It is cylinder glass.

Mr. ALDRICH. It is cylinder glass and polished, and sometimes it is even more valuable.

Mr. WHITE. It seems to me the Senator utterly gives away the case when he supposes these two pieces of glass are entirely different and one is worth much more than the other. I am certain the ingenuity of the Senator from Rhode Island, who has prepared the numerous compounds, differentiating and scientific scales found in this and other bills, can be adequate to the task of preparing something that will make a discrimination between these two utterly different pieces of glass. We can all see the difference, and possibly might be able to describe them without any very great effort.

Mr. ALDRICH. The fact is that there is no special discrimination shown by paragraphs in regard to these articles in all the laws that have been passed since 1883.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The process of silvering is very much cheaper now than it was.

Mr. ALDRICH. I understand that, but relatively to all articles. That does not apply to German plates more than to French plates or any other plates, and the fact that the articles always have been included together is the very best evidence, I assume, that no great injustice has been done to either.

Mr. WHITE. The following criticism has been made to me with reference to this matter:

> The character of the glass is different, and it should not be provided for in connection with plate glass. Cylinder glass is manufactured entirely in Bohemia and on the borders of Bavaria. It is made in no other place, and has to be imported. It is silvered extensively in this country, and all that is necessary is to give a proper differential between the silvered and the unsilvered, as in paragraph 99. The changes suggested have met with the approval of the people who silver cylinder glass, and the furniture people who have to use it and who can not use plate glass. Pittsburg people may possibly object, but it can only be on the ground that the silvered cylinder glass may take the place of their plate glass, which, I am informed, can not be the case, as the furniture costing from six to fifteen dollars per set is usually made of thin wood, which will not hold plate glass, and they can not afford to pay the price which would be charged for plate glass. I think the change, if made, would be eminently satisfactory to those who are most deeply interested in the material.

The suggestion seems to be a very appropriate one.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the amendment proposed by the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. JONES].

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I call for the yeas and nays on the amendment.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. TURPIE. Mr. President, I have had a good deal of serious reflection as to what may be the cause of these largely increased rates and this largely increased taxation against the consumers of window glass and the classes of glass mentioned in the paragraph now under consideration. It would appear upon the surface that this action is a very deliberate raid against all sorts of building and improvement, and that it is a crusade against the establishment of homes in the United States. It does not only affect the exterior of dwellings and other places of resort, but the interior, as was said by the honorable Senator from Arkansas [Mr. JONES], and the furniture which a family may use, a family in moderate circumstances, hardly able to pay the taxes now levied.

Sir, in traveling through this country, especially in the towns and smaller cities, and very frequently in the larger cities, you will see at present a very significant and brief legend, "To let;" "To let;" "To let," repeated in endless repetition. Sometimes the legend is upon dwellings, but not so often. It is more frequently to be found upon shops, storerooms, storehouses, and warehouses. Sir, it has become epidemic. I am told that on a very large and well-known apartment at the other end of the Capitol the legend is put up there over the door, "To let," and that the former inmates of that apartment have been placed within the limitation of the decree of the Captain-General of Cuba, in a state of incommunicado, and that all the former inhabitants are suffering under the condition of a pacific blockade, subject to all the hardships and privations of a beleaguered city.

It follows, then, that there ought to be some method of ridding this country of this great plague "To let," almost as dangerous as the bubonic plague of the Indies; and I have concluded, after great deliberation, that the majority of the Finance Committee have thought that it was the best way to repeople these vacant habitations by preventing the building of new ones, and therefore they have increased the taxation on all sorts of building material, without reference to the question either of revenue or encouragement, two principal features of this bill, for if you consider for a moment, this is not only a tax on a man who is about to build a new house, a new storeroom, or a new apartment for any purpose, but it is a direct tax upon all sorts of mechanics engaged in such work, and it is a direct tax upon all sorts of material men who are interested in the progress of building and improvement in this country. It is an imposition which proposes to place additional prices upon everything requisite and necessary for new and valuable improvements, especially when they are undertaken by persons of moderate means and fortune.

No doubt, to use the title of this bill, sir, our action in adopting these enormous rates will "provide revenue," but the revenue will go to the great trusts, the plate-glass trust and others, and it will not go into the Treasury of the United States.

The action of the majority here is of such a nature as to make the Government itself a compulsory coparcener in the plate-glass trust—not a silent partner, because a silent partner may share in the profits; not a dormant partner, because a dormant partner has a right also to file a bill for an accounting and to share in the profits, but a compulsory, honorary partner, who contributes his means, his hoard, his influence, his good will to the firm and yet can not touch a penny of the profits or returns.

Sir, I am opposed to this sort of coparcenership. I believe that the Treasury of the United States is itself in more need of being replenished than the treasury of the great plate-glass trust, and I shall therefore vote against this and every other prurient prostitution of the taxing power.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will call the roll on the adoption of the amendment proposed by the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. JONES].

Mr. BUTLER (when his name was called). I again announce my pair with the Senator from Maryland [Mr. WELLINGTON].

Mr. CLAY (when his name was called). I rise again to announce that I am paired with the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE], and that that pair has been transferred to the junior Senator from Delaware [Mr. KENNEY]. I vote "yea."

Mr. DANIEL (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. HAWLEY]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. PASCO (when his name was called). The Senator from Maine [Mr. FRYE] and I have again transferred our pairs; and I vote "yea."

Mr. PERKINS (when his name was called). I again announce my pair with the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. ROACH].

Mr. WETMORE (when his name was called). I announce my pair with the Senator from Georgia [Mr. BACON].

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. BATE. I desire to state that my colleague [Mr. HARRIS of Tennessee] is absent on account of sickness, and that he is paired with the Senator from Vermont [Mr. MORRILL].

Mr. PERKINS. The senior Senator from Virginia [Mr. DANIEL] is paired with the Senator for Connecticut [Mr. HAWLEY]. With his permission, I will transfer my pair with the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. ROACH] to the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. HAWLEY], and that will permit the Senator from Virginia and myself to vote.

Mr. DANIEL. That is satisfactory to me.

Mr. PERKINS. I vote "nay."

Mr. DANIEL. I vote "yea."

The result was announced—yeas 21, nays 25; as follows:

YEAS—21.

Bate,	Daniel,	Murphy,	Vest,
Berry,	Jones, Ark.	Pasco,	Walthall,
Caffery,	Lindsay,	Pettigrew,	White.
Chilton,	Mallory,	Pettus,	
Clay,	Mills,	Rawlins,	
Cockrell,	Morgan,	Turpie,	

NAYS—25.

Aldrich,	Fairbanks,	Mason,	Shoup,
Allison,	Foraker,	Penrose,	Spooner,
Burrows,	Frye,	Perkins,	Warren,
Carter,	Gear,	Platt, Conn.	Wilson.
Chandler,	Hanna,	Pritchard,	
Davis,	McBride,	Proctor,	
Deboe,	McMillan,	Quay,	

NOT VOTING—42.

Allen,	Gorman,	Kyle,	Smith,
Bacon,	Gray,	Lodge,	Stewart,
Baker,	Hale,	McEnery,	Teller,
Butler,	Hansbrough,	Mantle,	Thurston,
Cannon,	Harris, Kans.	Martin,	Tillman,
Clark,	Harris, Tenn.	Mitchell,	Turner,
Cullom,	Hawley,	Morrill,	Wellington,
Elkins,	Heitfeld,	Nelson,	Wetmore,
Faulkner,	Hoar,	Platt, N. Y.	Wolcott.
Gallinger,	Jones, Nev.	Roach,	
George,	Kenney,	Sewell,	

So the amendment was rejected.

The reading of the bill was resumed at paragraph 103, on page 27. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 104, after the word "unsilvered," at the end of line 20, on page 27, to strike out "looking-glass plates;" so as to read:

103. Cast polished plate glass, silvered or unsilvered, and cylinder, crown, or common window glass, silvered or unsilvered, when bent, ground, obscured, frosted, sanded, enameled, beveled, etched, embossed, engraved, flashed, stained, colored, painted, or otherwise ornamented or decorated, shall be subject to a duty of 10 per cent ad valorem in addition to the rates otherwise chargeable thereon.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. ALDRICH. I move to insert before the word "cylinder," in line 21 of that paragraph, the word "polished."

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Where is that to come in?

Mr. ALDRICH. Before the word "cylinder," in line 21. I will give the Senator the whole amendment, so that he may understand it.

After the word "crown," in the same line, I move to insert "glass, silvered;" so as to read:

And polished cylinder crown glass, silvered, or common window glass, etc.

The purpose of that is that unsilvered crown glass shall not pay the additional 10 per cent.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I was going to offer an amendment, after the word "unsilvered," to cover that; but it may be that the amendment offered by the Senator from Rhode Island will cover it.

Mr. ALDRICH. I think the amendment I proposed covers it.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I was going to offer an amendment at that point.

Mr. ALDRICH. I think the amendment I propose will cover what the Senator desires. This only applies to polished silvered glass.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Let the amendment be stated from the desk.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH] will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In paragraph 104, line 21, page 27, before the word "cylinder," it is proposed to insert "polished;" and after the word "crown," in the same line, to insert "glass, silvered;" so as to read:

104. Cast polished plate glass, silvered or unsilvered, and polished cylinder crown glass, silvered, or common window glass, etc.

Mr. ALDRICH. I think that covers the ground.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I think that covers it.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on the amendment submitted by the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH].

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. ALDRICH. I do not propose to go on further with the bill to-night, as I understand Senators desire an executive session.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. McMILLAN. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After eight minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened, and (at 5 o'clock and 30 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until Tuesday, June 1, 1897, at 12 o'clock meridian.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate May 29, 1897.

POSTMASTERS.

A. L. Thompson, to be postmaster at Springdale, in the county of Washington and State of Arkansas, in the place of Thomas J. Davis, resigned.

Samuel M. Griffin, to be postmaster at Quitman, in the county of Brooks and State of Georgia, in the place of Lewis L. Joiner, removed.

Robert N. Foster, to be postmaster at Gilman, in the county of Iroquois and State of Illinois, in the place of C. M. Wright, removed.

W. Morton Mills, to be postmaster at Ladoga, in the county of Montgomery and State of Indiana, in the place of John E. Talbott, resigned.

William W. Woods, to be postmaster at Wabash, in the county of Wabash and State of Indiana, in the place of John I. Hoover, removed.

Joseph A. McIntire, to be postmaster at Sidney, in the county of Fremont and State of Iowa, in the place of James A. McIntire, to correct error in name.

L. I. Sturgis, to be postmaster at Oelwein, in the county of Fayette and State of Iowa, in the place of Henry R. Martin, resigned.

Thomas H. Baker, to be postmaster at Louisville, in the county of Jefferson and State of Kentucky, in the place of Charles P. Weaver, resigned.

Elwyn J. Barrow, to be postmaster at St. Francisville, in the parish of West Feliciana and State of Louisiana, in the place of Francis M. Mumford, removed.

Winslow Gray, to be postmaster at Campello, in the county of Plymouth and State of Massachusetts, in the place of Walter L. Keith, deceased.

A. M. Chisholm, to be postmaster at Hibbing, in the county of St. Louis and State of Minnesota, the appointment of a postmaster for the said office having, by law, become vested in the President on and after January 1, 1897.

William D. Ellsworth, to be postmaster at Eveleth, in the county of St. Louis and State of Minnesota, the appointment of a postmaster for the said office having, by law, become vested in the President on and after April 1, 1897.

Peter C. Van Matre, to be postmaster at Warrensburg, in the county of Johnson and State of Missouri, in the place of James W. Williams, removed.

Ada M. Bennett, to be postmaster at Miles City, in the county of Custer and State of Montana, in the place of Emerson S. Beeman, removed.

Charles Burg, to be postmaster at Livingston, in the county of Park and State of Montana, in the place of Joseph E. Swindlehurst, whose commission expired March 23, 1897.

Fred W. Kiefer, to be postmaster at Antigo, in the county of Langlade and State of Wisconsin, in the place of Paul J. Millard, whose commission expired March 23, 1897.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate May 29, 1897.

CONSULS.

Max Bouchsein, of Illinois, to be consul of the United States at Barmen, Germany.

Ferdinand W. Neumann, of Illinois, to be consul of the United States at Cologne, Germany.

APPOINTMENT IN THE NAVY.

Thaddius S. K. Freeman, a citizen of Indiana, to be a chaplain.

PROMOTIONS IN THE ARMY.

General officers.

Col. James Franklin Wade, Fifth Cavalry, to be brigadier-general.

Col. John Kemp Mizner, Tenth Cavalry, to be brigadier-general.

Col. William Montrose Graham, Fifth Artillery, to be brigadier-general.

INDIAN AGENT.

Lucius A. Wright, of San Jacinto, Cal., to be agent for the Indians of the Mission Tule River Agency, in California.

COLLECTOR OF CUSTOMS.

Alexander R. Avery, of Michigan, to be collector of customs for the district of Huron, in the State of Michigan.

POSTMASTERS.

Albert L. Jurden, to be postmaster at Marshall, in the county of Saline and State of Missouri.

Arthur D. Patterson, to be postmaster at Cresco, in the county of Howard and State of Iowa.

P. D. McMahon, to be postmaster at Charter Oak, in the county of Crawford and State of Iowa.

E. E. Buell, to be postmaster at Elma, in the county of Howard and State of Iowa.

Edward U. Fordyce, to be postmaster at Bowling Green, in the county of Warren and State of Kentucky.

Henry D. Bonnet, to be postmaster at Del Rio, in the county of Valverde and State of Texas.

Marcellus L. Hussey, to be postmaster at Guilford, in the county of Piscataquis and State of Maine.

Kate E. Moore, to be postmaster at Geneseo, in the county of Henry and State of Illinois.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

MONDAY, *May 31, 1897.*

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. HENRY N. COUDEN, offered the following prayer:

O Thou who hast compassed all the path of our lives, we thank Thee for that Providence which abides through every change, and through which we are indebted for our homes and all that makes them dear; for our nation and all its sacred institutions. May this day, sacred to the memory of those who gave their lives for the land they loved, serve to deepen our patriotism, strengthen our loyalty, and make firmer our union, that it may abide through all time and be a blessing to untold generations.

Let Thy blessing, O God our Father, come upon the Representatives of this House, to strengthen them and give them wisdom, that they may adjust every question in accordance with Thy will.

Be especially with the member who is ill. Strengthen and comfort him. Grant that his life may be spared, and that he may soon be in his accustomed place.

Hear us in these, our petitions, in the name of Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of Thursday last was read.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, the Journal will be considered as approved.

Mr. LEWIS of Washington. Mr. Speaker, I rise with reference to the Journal.

Mr. SMITH of Kentucky. I notice that the Clerk has registered me as not voting on the motion to table the appeal taken by the gentleman from Washington [Mr. LEWIS]. On the second call I voted "no" on that proposition, and I desire to have my vote so registered.

Mr. HENRY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I am recorded as not voting on the same proposition. I voted "no," and desire to have the Journal so corrected.

The SPEAKER. The corrections will be made.

Mr. LEWIS of Washington. Mr. Speaker, respecting the Journal, I desire at this time, previous to its approval, to make my protest against any assumption on the part of this House to approve the Journal, on the ground that there is no constitutional House that can legally approve the Journal, and if there were, it could not legally approve it at this time, in view of the nature, kind, and form of the adjournment which was taken on Thursday last. In view of the day and of the engagements of members, I do not intend to nor shall I elaborate my objection, but merely make it that I may reserve it for such future instances as may arise when it shall be appropriate.

The SPEAKER. The Journal will be considered as approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. PLATT, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed bills and joint resolution of the following titles; in which the concurrence of the House was requested:

A bill (S. 1258) to regulate, in the District of Columbia, the disposal of certain refuse, and for other purposes;

A bill (S. 471) relating to the adulteration of foods and drugs in the District of Columbia; and

Joint resolution (S. R. 45) authorizing the Secretary of War to use rations for the relief of destitute persons in the district overflowed by the Rio Grande River at and near El Paso, Tex.

The message also announced that the Senate had agreed to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 16) making appropriations for sundry civil expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1898, and for other purposes.

THE PUBLIC PRINTING.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table Senate joint resolution 44, which makes an appropriation to supply a deficiency for work in the Printing Office. I will state that I shall be glad to have it disposed of to-day, as with the expiration of this day the appropriations for work in that office are exhausted.

Mr. RICHARDSON. I should like to ask the gentleman if this amount is provided for in the general deficiency bill?

Mr. CANNON. In the general deficiency bill, passed by the House about the 20th of March, this exact appropriation is made.

Mr. RICHARDSON. I ask the gentleman from Illinois if he thinks this is a proper mode of legislation? We have already taken one item out of the deficiency bill and passed that, and now we are called upon for unanimous consent to pass another piecemeal item that is in the general deficiency bill.

Mr. CANNON. I would say to the gentleman that this House performed its full duty about the 20th of March in passing a general deficiency appropriation bill that contained items of some $8,000,000 or $9,000,000 for the public service. That went to the Senate——

Mr. TERRY. I would like to ask the gentleman a question.

Mr. CANNON. Wait until I make this statement. That went to the Senate about the 20th of March. That bill has not been acted upon by the Senate. Now, then, in presence of the fact that the appropriation for the Printing Office, with its great block of employees, is exhausted, owing to the special session of Congress, in publishing the RECORD and doing other public printing, the Senate has seen proper to pass this resolution, that takes one item out of the general deficiency bill and passes it and sends it to the House.

Now, so far as I am individually concerned, I will not raise the question of the right of the Senate to originate an appropriation bill, as they send us this single item, but consider it substantially, if you choose, in the nature of an amendment to the deficiency bill, as it takes but one item; and in presence of the fact that the work can not go on unless this appropriation is made——

Mr. RICHARDSON. I should like to ask the gentleman one question.

Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, I think I can save time. I suggest to the gentleman from Illinois that I shall have to object to the passage of this resolution. I understand there is going to be a motion to take a recess until to-morrow out of respect to the dead, being Memorial Day, and therefore I think that it should not be considered until then.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman objects.

FOREST LANDS.

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following message of the President of the United States; which was read, referred to the Committee on the Public Lands, when appointed, and ordered to be printed:

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

I transmit herewith, for the information of the Congress, the report of the committee appointed by the National Academy of Sciences upon the inauguration of a forest policy for the forested lands of the United States.

WILLIAM MCKINLEY.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, *May 25, 1897.*

RECESS.

Mr. DINGLEY. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House take a recess until 12 o'clock Tuesday.

Mr. STEPHENS of Texas. Will the gentleman permit me——

Mr. DINGLEY. Objection has been made to unanimous consent, and I hardly think it is worth while to bring up that matter.

Mr. LANHAM. Will the gentleman yield to my colleague?

The question was taken on the motion of Mr. DINGLEY.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

Pending the announcement, by unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted as follows:

To Mr. STRODE of Nebraska, indefinitely, on account of important business.

To Mr. HINRICHSEN, for two weeks, on account of important business.

To Mr. FITZPATRICK, indefinitely, on account of pressing business.

To Mr. CONNELL, for ten days, on account of important business.

To Mr. BLAND, indefinitely, on account of important business.

To Mr. COONEY, indefinitely, on account of important business.

To Mr. MIERS of Indiana, indefinitely, on account of important business.

To Mr. BURTON, indefinitely, on account of important business.
To Mr. STEWART of Wisconsin, indefinitely, on account of sickness.
To Mr. MARSH, indefinitely, on account of important business.
To Mr. ELLIOTT, indefinitely, on account of important business.

RESIGNATION OF HON. JOHN L. M'LAURIN.

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following letter:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *May 31, 1897.*

DEAR SIR: Having been appointed to the United States Senate, I have notified the governor of South Carolina of my resignation as a member of the House of Representatives, said resignation to take effect June 1, at 12 o'clock m.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully,

JOHN L. McLAURIN,
Representative Sixth Congressional District of South Carolina.

Hon. THOMAS B. REED,
Speaker of the House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

[Applause.]

The motion to take a recess was then agreed to; and accordingly (at 12 o'clock and 15 minutes p. m.), the House was declared in recess until to-morrow at 12 o'clock m.

SENATE.

TUESDAY, *June 1, 1897.*

Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. W. H. MILBURN, D. D.

The Journal of the proceedings of Saturday last was read and approved.

SENATOR FROM SOUTH CAROLINA.

Mr. TILLMAN. I present the credentials of John Lowndes McLaurin, appointed by the governor of South Carolina a Senator from that State to fill, until the next meeting of the legislature, the vacancy caused by the death of Hon. Joseph H. Earle in the term commencing March 4, 1897.

The credentials were read and ordered to be filed.

Mr. TILLMAN. Mr. McLaurin is present and ready to take the oath of office.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. If there be no objection, the Senator appointed will be escorted to the desk of the Vice-President and take the oath of office.

Mr. McLaurin was escorted to the Vice-President's desk by Mr. TILLMAN, and the oath prescribed by law having been administered to him, he took his seat in the Senate.

LAWS OF NEW MEXICO.

The VICE-PRESIDENT laid before the Senate copies of the laws of the Territory of New Mexico, in accordance with section 1844 of the Revised Statutes of the United States; which were referred to the Committee on Territories.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. SEWELL. I present a petition, numerously signed by window-glass workers of the city of Bridgeton, N. J., praying that the McKinley duty on common window glass be restored. As the matter is before the Senate for consideration, I desire to read the reasons given by the petitioners for their petition. It is very short:

We, the window-glass workers of America, do hereby earnestly petition your honorable body to restore the McKinley duty on common window glass. Under the McKinley tariff our members had employment with good wages. Immediately after the passage of the Wilson tariff bill we were compelled to accept wage reductions ranging from 22½ to 38 per cent. If the tariff is advanced, our wages go up in proportion. If the McKinley rates are restored, our wages will go up as high as they were under that tariff.

A reduction of duty does not lessen the cost to the consumer; the improved method of manufacturing window glass in this country has done more to lessen the cost to the consumer than anything else. The only people benefited by a reduction of the duty on window glass are the jobbers and importers in this country and the foreign manufacturers and foreign workmen.

We herewith insert a part of our wage agreement that is signed by the manufacturers and workmen:

"If a tariff bill passes which gives an increase in existing tariff schedule on window glass of 15 per cent, then the manufacturers shall pay the single-strength blowers and gatherers an advance of 10 per cent and the double-strength blowers and gatherers an advance of 5 per cent on the amount of money they earn, said advance of wages to commence sixty days after the law goes into effect, the wages of flatteners and cutters to remain unchanged. If any tariff law passes providing for a smaller increase than 15 per cent, the wages of single and double strength blowers and gatherers shall be advanced proportionately to the increase above provided. If any other bill passes during the term of this agreement increasing the tariff on window glass over 15 per cent, then the manufacturers shall pay a corresponding advance."

I move that the petition lie on the table.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. SEWELL. I also present a petition of the Sterling Silk Company and 8 other prominent silk manufacturers of Paterson, N. J., praying that adequate protection be given to the Jacquard designers in silk. As this matter is still under consideration by the Committee on Finance, I move that the petition be referred to that committee.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. SEWELL presented petitions of Asa R. Merrell and 16 other citizens of Dunellen, of W. H. Kuhlthan and 32 other citizens of Milltown, of James T. Phillips and 127 other citizens of Elizabeth, Henry W. Stanley and 34 other citizens of Pennsville, C. Allen Eli and 15 other citizens of Millstone Township, James F. Mapes and 48 other citizens of Glassboro, W. H. Letts and 57 other citizens of Waretown, Ada Eiseman and 69 other citizens of Waretown, J. M. Ayres and 130 other citizens of Millburn, William P. Teed and 19 other citizens of Livingston, W. J. Newman and 77 other citizens of Neptune Township, Andrew G. Apgar and 50 other citizens of Elizabeth, George H. Kupfrian and 61 other citizens of Jersey City, and of William A. Jones and 49 other citizens of Barnegat, all in the State of New Jersey, praying for the enactment of legislation for a more rigid restriction of immigration; which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. TURPIE presented a memorial of the Dan Talmage's Sons Company, of New York City, relative to the duty on rice; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented the memorial of Charles A. Sykes, of New York City, relative to the duty on artificial teeth; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented a memorial of the Chicago (Ill.) Drapers and Tailors' Exchange, relative to the duty on wearing apparel; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented a memorial of the Artificial Flower Manufacturers' Association of the United States, relative to the duty to be placed on artificial flowers; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. MITCHELL presented a petition of sundry wholesale liquor dealers of Milwaukee, Wis., praying for a reduction of the internal-revenue tax on distilled spirits, and also for a shorter bonded period; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a memorial of the James E. Patton Company, of Milwaukee, Wis., remonstrating against an increase of the duty on plate glass; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. WHITE presented a petition of sundry citizens of Lompoc, Cal., praying for the imposition of a duty on mustard seed; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented the memorial of Rev. Owen Jones, of Oakland, Cal., remonstrating against the passage of the so-called Dingley tariff bill; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a memorial of sundry citizens of California, remonstrating against the enactment of legislation intended to destroy the present system of ticket brokerage; which was referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

Mr. VEST presented a memorial of the Liquor Dealers' Benevolent Association of Missouri, remonstrating against the imposition of an additional tax on beer; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. GALLINGER presented the petition of A. D. Dennison and 13 other citizens of New Boston, N. H., praying for the enactment of legislation for a more rigid restriction of immigration; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. McMILLAN presented a petition of the Michigan Woman's Christian Temperance Union, praying for the passage of the so-called kinetoscope bill; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented sundry memorials of business men of Michigan, remonstrating against the enactment of a tariff bill levying a duty of $2 per thousand feet on lumber; which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. MASON. I present a petition from the executive committee of the National Business League, praying for the speedy passage of the pending tariff bill. I ask that the petition may be read for the information of the Senate.

The petition was read, and referred to the Committee on Finance, as follows:

To the Senate of the United States:

We respectfully represent that, after a careful canvass of business men in different parts of the country, we are satisfied that the business of the country is especially suffering on account of the uncertainty as to the termination and final results of pending tariff legislation; and that every week of delay in the settlement of tariff duties not only intensifies the present situation and inflicts enormous loss on general business interests, but is greatly retarding the date of recovery, as indicated in some measure by current custom-house records.

While we assume that you are proceeding in such manner as you deem will best subserve the public good, we believe you will not consider it improper or discourteous for us to indicate to you what we have ascertained, through the channels of information at the command of our organization, to be the opinion of business men generally, and to express to you their urgent desire that there be immediate and effective action in this matter.

Respectfully submitted.

FERDINAND W. PECK,
ELBRIDGE G. KEITH,
JOHN W. ELA,
MOSES P. HANDY,
BENJAMIN J. ROSENTHAL,
ALEXANDER H. REVELL,
WILLIAM A. GILES,
Executive Committee of National Business League.

Mr. FAULKNER presented the petition of D. E. Stewart and 20 other citizens of Guyandot, W. Va., and the petition of James A. Nixon and 45 other citizens of Boothsville, W. Va., praying for the enactment of legislation for a more rigid restriction of immigration; which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. HALE presented the memorial of Alger V. Currier and sundry other artists of Maine, remonstrating against the imposition of a duty on foreign works of art; which was ordered to lie on the table.

DEFICIENCY APPROPRIATIONS.

Mr. HALE presented a communication from the Secretary of the Treasury, recommending that provision be made in the general deficiency appropriation bill for payment of amounts found due by the accounting officers of the Treasury on account of items not heretofore reported to Congress, aggregating $61,699.72; which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations, and ordered to be printed.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

Mr. WALTHALL, from the Committee on Revolutionary Claims, to whom was referred the joint resolution (S. R. 36) to carry into effect two resolutions of the Continental Congress directing monuments to be erected to the memory of Gens. Francis Nash and William Lee Davidson, of North Carolina, reported it without amendment, and submitted a report thereon.

REPORT OF LIBRARIAN OF CONGRESS.

Mr. WETMORE submitted the annual report of the Librarian of Congress, exhibiting the progress of the Library during the calendar year 1896; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also, from the Committee on the Library, reported the following resolution; which was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to:

Resolved, That the annual report of the Librarian of Congress be printed, and that 500 copies, with covers, be printed for distribution by the Librarian.

BILLS POSTPONED INDEFINITELY.

Mr. COCKRELL. I ask that the Committee on Pensions shall be discharged from the further consideration of the bill (S. 314 granting a pension to Henry Farmer, because Senate bill 304 was previously introduced and is to the same effect. I also ask that the Committee on Pensions shall be discharged from the further consideration of the bill (S. 316) granting a pension to James M. Ray, because a former bill, Senate 286, for the same purpose is pending.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair hears no objection, and the committee will be discharged from the further consideration of the bills indicated.

Mr. COCKRELL. I move that these two bills, Senate bill 314 and Senate bill 316, be indefinitely postponed.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. COCKRELL. I also move that the bill (S. 341) for the relief of Simon Wolfe, of Shelbina, Shelby County, Mo., be indefinitely postponed, as Senate bill 251, for the same purpose, has already passed the Senate and is pending in the House.

The motion was agreed to.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Mr. FAIRBANKS introduced a bill (S. 2053) to remove the charge of desertion from the record of F. W. Zickendrath, of Greensburg, Ind.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. PETTIGREW introduced a bill (S. 2054) to reward certain Sioux Indians for the rescue of white captives and their compensatory payment of ponies; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 2055) to provide for the submission of certain questions to the legal voters of the United States of America and to provide for an election thereon; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. BERRY introduced a bill (S. 2056) for the relief of Samuel Evans; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 2057) for the relief of Martha A. Lanford; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. McBRIDE introduced a bill (S. 2058) removing the charge of desertion from the name of Frederick Mueller, who served as a private in Company I, Twentieth New York Volunteer Infantry; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. PERKINS introduced a bill (S. 2059) to authorize a retired list for enlisted men and appointed petty officers of the United States Navy; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Mr. SPOONER introduced a bill (S. 2060) granting a pension to Olive W. Lay; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. MASON introduced a bill (S. 2061) providing for the appointment of an additional circuit judge in the seventh judicial circuit, and of an additional district judge in the northern district of Illinois; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

AMENDMENTS TO DEFICIENCY APPROPRIATION BILL.

Mr. WHITE submitted two amendments intended to be proposed by him to the deficiency appropriation bill; which were referred to the Committee on Appropriations, and ordered to be printed.

Mr. FAULKNER submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the deficiency appropriation bill; which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations, and ordered to be printed.

Mr. STEWART submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the deficiency appropriation bill; which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations, and ordered to be printed.

AMENDMENTS TO THE TARIFF BILL.

Mr. DAVIS submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill (H. R. 379) to provide revenue for the Government and to encourage the industries of the United States; which was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

Mr. PRITCHARD submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill (H. R. 379) to provide revenue for the Government and to encourage the industries of the United States; which was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. W. J. BROWNING, its Chief Clerk, announced that the House had passed the following joint resolutions:

A joint resolution (S. R. 43) in amendment of the joint resolution of April 7, 1897, authorizing the Secretary of the Navy to transport contributions for the relief of the famishing poor of India; and

A joint resolution (S. R. 44) making an appropriation to supply a deficiency in the appropriations for public printing and binding for the fiscal year 1897.

SALE OF POISONS IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The morning business appears to be closed. The Calendar under Rule VIII is in order. The Secretary will report the first bill on the Calendar.

The SECRETARY. A bill (S. 470) to regulate the sale of poisons in the District of Columbia.

Mr. ALDRICH. I object to the consideration of that bill, and ask that the Senate proceed to the consideration of House bill No. 379.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The bill will lie over, under objection. The Senator from Rhode Island asks that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the tariff bill.

THE TARIFF BILL.

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 379) to provide revenue for the Government and to encourage the industries of the United States.

Mr. ALDRICH. In accordance with the notice I gave on Saturday, I ask that we now take up paragraphs 90 and 91 for consideration.

The SECRETARY. The Committee on Finance reported to strike out paragraph 90 and insert a substitute.

Mr. ALDRICH. The committee withdraw their amendment to that paragraph.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The paragraph will be read as it stands in the bill.

The Secretary read the paragraph, as follows:

90. China, porcelain, parian, bisque, earthen, stone, and crockery ware, including clock cases with or without movements, plaques, ornaments, toys, toy tea sets, charms, vases, and statuettes, painted, tinted, stained, enameled, printed, gilded, or otherwise decorated or ornamented in any manner, 60 per cent ad valorem; if plain white and without superadded ornamentation of any kind, 55 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. ALDRICH. I suggest striking out in the paragraph, in the seventh and eighth lines, on page 18, the words "including clock cases with or without movements." These words, if allowed to remain here, will fix a higher rate than is proposed elsewhere in the bill for clock cases.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment now moved by the Senator from Rhode Island will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In lines 7 and 8, on page 18, paragraph 90, after the word "ware," strike out the words "including clock cases with or without movements."

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Where is that clause?

Mr. ALDRICH. In paragraph 90, as it came from the House, on page 18. The committee withdraw their amendment, or ask that it be disagreed to.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. In what line?

Mr. ALDRICH. In lines 7 and 8. The purpose is to allow clocks and clock cases to be dutiable at 40 per cent.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. There is some mistake about the location of the amendment.

The SECRETARY. In lines 7 and 8, page 18, paragraph 90, after the word "ware," strike out the words "including clock cases, with or without movements."

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. It is all right.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there any objection to this amendment? The Chair hears none, and the amendment is agreed to.

Mr. ALDRICH. It is understood that the amendment suggested by the committee to paragraph 90 will be disagreed to.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Rhode Island asks that the item may stand as the bill came from the House, with the exception of the clause just stricken out.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The committee withdraw their amendment?

Mr. ALDRICH. The committee withdraw their amendment.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and the amendment of the committee proposing a substitute for the paragraph is withdrawn.

Mr. ALDRICH. We take the same course with paragraph 91.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I wish to offer an amendment or two to paragraph 90 before we leave it.

Mr. ALDRICH. All right.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. In paragraph 90, page 18, line 12, I move to strike out "sixty" and insert "thirty-five." I suppose I may as well move another amendment to the paragraph at the same time. In line 14, I move to strike out "fifty-five" and insert "thirty." We may as well have the vote taken on both amendments.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the two amendments of the Senator from Arkansas, which will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In paragraph 90, page 18, line 12, before the words "per centum," strike out "sixty" and insert "thirty-five," and in line 14, before the words "per centum," strike out "fifty-five" and insert "thirty;" so as to make the paragraph read:

90. China, porcelain, parian, bisque, earthen, stone, and crockery ware, plaques, ornaments, toys, toy tea sets, charms, vases and statuettes, painted, tinted, stained, enameled, printed, gilded, or otherwise decorated or ornamented in any manner, 35 per cent ad valorem; if plain white and without superadded ornamentation of any kind, 30 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I ask for the yeas and nays on this proposition.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. QUAY (when his name was called). Has the Senator from Alabama [Mr. MORGAN] voted?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. He has not voted.

Mr. QUAY. Then I will withhold my vote. If the Senator from Alabama were present, he would vote "yea" and I should vote "nay."

Mr. WILSON (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the senior Senator from Florida [Mr. PASCO]. If he were present, he would vote "yea" and I should vote "nay."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. FAULKNER (after having voted in the affirmative). I inadvertently voted. I am paired with the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. ELKINS], and I understand he has not voted. I therefore feel that on this question I should withdraw my vote.

Mr. BURROWS (after having voted in the negative). I inquire if the senior Senator from Louisiana [Mr. CAFFERY] has voted?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The senior Senator from Louisiana has not voted.

Mr. BURROWS. I withdraw my vote.

Mr. BATE. I wish to announce the absence of my colleague [Mr. HARRIS of Tennessee]. He is paired, however, with the Senator from Vermont [Mr. MORRILL]. I make the announcement for the day.

The result was announced—yeas 23, nays 34; as follows:

YEAS—23.

Bacon,	Harris, Kans.	Mills,	Tillman,
Bate,	Heitfeld,	Mitchell,	Turpie,
Berry,	Jones, Ark.	Murphy,	Vest,
Chilton,	Lindsay,	Pettus,	Walthall,
Clay,	McLaurin,	Rawlins,	White.
Cockrell,	Mallory,	Roach,	

NAYS—34.

Aldrich,	Fairbanks,	McBride,	Proctor,
Allison,	Foraker,	McEnery,	Sewell,
Baker,	Frye,	McMillan,	Shoup,
Cannon,	Gallinger,	Mason,	Spooner,
Carter,	Gear,	Nelson,	Thurston,
Chandler,	Hale,	Perkins,	Warren,
Clark,	Hanna,	Platt, Conn.	Wetmore.
Davis,	Hawley,	Platt, N. Y.	
Deboe,	Lodge,	Pritchard,	

NOT VOTING—33.

Allen,	George,	Kyle,	Quay,
Burrows,	Gorman,	Mantle,	Smith,
Butler,	Gray,	Martin,	Stewart,
Caffery,	Hansbrough,	Morgan,	Teller,
Cullom,	Harris, Tenn.	Morrill,	Turner,
Daniel,	Hoar,	Pasco,	Wellington,
Elkins,	Jones, Nev.	Penrose,	Wilson,
Faulkner,	Kenney,	Pettigrew,	Wolcott.

So the amendments were rejected.

Mr. VEST. Does the Senator from Rhode Island propose any other amendment of this paragraph?

Mr. ALDRICH. No, sir; not to paragraph 90.

Mr. VEST. Before we pass from the paragraph, I wish to call attention to the effect of these changes and to the effect of the other amendments proposed by the majority of the Finance Committee.

On the first classification the comparative statement estimates the duties to be from 27 to 57 per cent instead of 30 per cent, as in the Wilson bill. Under the amendment which has been adopted there is an increase, of course, over the provision as originally proposed by the Finance Committee.

Upon the next classification, where the McKinley Act imposed 60 per cent and the House bill and the Senate committee originally proposed 1 cent a pound and 20 per cent ad valorem, the duties were from 33 per cent to 56 per cent, and under the amendment just adopted, proposed by the Senator from Rhode Island, the duty becomes 60 per cent.

On the next classification the duties are from 29 to 69 per cent; that is, upon printed, gilded, and other ware of that description. Under the McKinley Act the rate was 60 per cent, and under the Wilson Act 35 per cent.

On the next classification, found in line 9, upon all other wares of this kind not specially provided for, there is an increase over the Wilson Act of 15 per cent.

I suppose it is entirely useless to read the statements of merchants in the United States engaged in importing these wares and in selling them by retail. I have a large number of such communications, and they all are to one effect—that the duties under the Dingley bill and under the Senate amendments are absolutely prohibitory upon an article of prime necessity, upon undecorated, untinted, unpainted ware, which goes into the homes of the humblest citizen in the land. It will be absolutely impossible to import any of it from abroad, and it gives the market entirely to the American manufacturers.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Paragraph 91 will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

91. All other china, porcelain, parian, bisque, earthen, stone, and crockery ware, and manufactures thereof, or of which the same is the component material of chief value, by whatever name known, not specially provided for in this act, if painted, tinted, stained, enameled, printed, gilded, or otherwise decorated or ornamented in any manner, 60 per cent ad valorem; if not ornamented or decorated, 55 per cent ad valorem.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment of the Committee on Finance, proposing a substitute for this paragraph, has been withdrawn.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. On page 19, line 24, in the paragraph just read, I move to strike out "sixty" and insert "thirty-five;" and to strike out "fifty-five," in line 25 of the same paragraph, and insert "thirty;" so as to read:

91. All other china, porcelain, parian, bisque, earthen, stone, and crockery ware, and manufactures thereof, or of which the same is the component material of chief value, by whatever name known, not specially provided for in this act, if painted, tinted, stained, enameled, printed, gilded, or otherwise decorated or ornamented in any manner, 35 per cent ad valorem; if not ornamented or decorated, 30 per cent ad valorem.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Arkansas.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. This motion to amend is to maintain the present rates on crockery and china ware just as the amendment moved by me proposed to do the same in paragraph 90. Of course I recognize the fact that no amount of argument will change the will of the majority in their determination to impose increased rates on this article of common necessity—an article that enters into the homes of all the people of the country. At the same time I think it is due to the Senate and due the cause that the facts shall be clearly and distinctly stated, so that we may all understand just what it is we are doing.

I hold in my hand a letter from a large importer in New York. While I will not read the whole of it, I will read enough to present some of the most striking facts in this connection:

I inclose two authorized reports in the Crockery and Glass Journal, one relating to the Warwick China Company and the other to Knowles, Taylor & Knowles Company. The firms mentioned are among the largest in the United States.

I also beg to hand you inclosed price list, marked Exhibit 4, showing you the exact relation of prices between American and English manufacturers. From this you will readily see that American goods are sold from 10 per cent upward below the corresponding imported ware, a fact which you will find corroborated by every wholesaler and retailer in the United States.

In the inclosed brief I referred to the protection given to the American manufacturers by natural conditions, such as inland freight, shipping

charges, ocean freight, marine insurance, and the value of cases, crates, or barrels, for which the importer has to pay full price, but which become useless after entering this country, while the barrels used by American manufacturers can always be used for the full value.

These necessary expenses, as enumerated above, including the present rate of duty of 30 per cent on white china and earthenware and 35 per cent on colored china and earthenware, give the American potters the following protection against imported goods:

	Per cent.
1. On enameled and gilt earthenware	56
2. Enameled and gilt-handled earthenware	56.7
3. Printed earthenware	62.5
4. White granite ware	60
5. Printed cheap dinner sets	75
6. Cups and saucers	67
7. Children's drinking mugs	75
8. Fruit plates	69
9. Toy tea sets	92
10. Bohemian dinner sets	60
11. Cuspidores	96

I repeat, these figures represent the protection the American manufacturers enjoy under the prevailing tariff rates, and in order to demonstrate how I derive these figures I beg to hand inclosed a number of calculations, showing the actual cost of each and every item. And now it is proposed to raise the protection by tariff from 30 and 35 per cent to from 50 to 121 per cent additional.

In the brief referred to by this correspondent he says:

As dealers in foreign and domestic wares we desire to state that the largest volume of imported earthenware and glassware consists of cheap staple goods, consumed by the masses and representing necessities of life, not luxuries. In earthenware the largest percentage consists in cheap English dinner sets of plain and printed earthenware. These goods are sold at prices which put them at the reach of every wage earner. The next in prices are German and Bohemian cups, saucers, and plates, which are sold at prices which exclude any possibility of their being luxuries. They are found in every home in the land; in some places plain, in others with gold bands, and in others with cheap decoration. These two classes constitute, at a low estimate, fully 70 per cent of the total importation of earthenware and china. There is a certain amount of high-priced decorated china imported which could be classified as a luxury, but the volume is very small in comparison with the transactions in staple goods, and it would be a serious tax upon the wage earner if he should be forced to pay an excessive price on his necessities in order to make the few luxuries pay a maximum duty. In glassware the bulk of goods imported (we are not considering plate glass, bottles, or mirrors) consists of cheap water sets, blanks for American glass cutters, etc.

As we have passed from the consideration of the glass schedule, I will not read the remainder of that statement. Here is an authorized statement made by these manufacturing establishments, showing what they are doing under the present tax, and how they are succeeding under the present rates of 30 and 35 per cent. This is from the Warwick China Company, and was published in the Crockery and Glass Journal of January 7, 1897:

The Warwick China Company have a fine trade in hand, and the business so far is away ahead of that of last year. Their lines of dinner and toilet ware are in good request, while the novelties and specialties, all useful as well as ornamental, are in such great demand as to keep them busy and the decorating department going all the while. The Warwick struck a rich lead in some of the novelties they make, and the jardiniéres in flow blue, with gold touches, have been in better demand than they really looked for. With such encouraging trade now, they are going right along preparing new designs and shapes for the fall, and will add to the already large variety some new features that are certain to be great winners.

This is an authorized statement in a trade journal by one of the members of the concern, showing that they are prosperous under the present tariff act, and yet the Senate committee gives them a tax of 60 per cent additional protection, and this, too, when the importations of the ware amount to practically nothing, and when the present tax of 30 per cent is so much of a tax for protection as to prevent almost any competition with foreign wares, none but the higher grades coming in, for which excessive prices are paid.

What can be the purpose of giving this additional 30 per cent on this ware, except to enable the manufacturers to increase their prices 50 per cent, if they choose to do so, to render it impossible that such goods should be imported from abroad, and to carry the prices still higher, if it is their wish and desire?

The Wheeling Pottery Company is another company referred to, and it is said of that company:

The Wheeling Pottery Company have made a reputation that brings to them the greatest trade they ever handled. This year has so far been one of the most encouraging for this pottery in its history. The flow blue patterns in dinner ware are popular everywhere, while the jardiniéres and other specialties have brought to them the most flattering compliments and the best trade they ever had. The shipments from this pottery this season are immense, and they are adding features all the time that have the earmarks of progress upon them, while discarding some of the unprofitable business that has been carried on in the past. And all their goods are "made in America."

The Knowles, Taylor & Knowles Company have had a great month's business in April. Vitreous hotel china has been on the move at a lively rate. Several carloads are now being packed to fit out several large hotels in both the East and West. The goods are sold by jobbing houses, who take the orders direct from the hotel managers. Porcelain sales are good also. Last Saturday was "big pay" in East Liverpool, and the amount of money paid out by the Knowles, Taylor & Knowles Company was an enormous sum. It is reported that it was the heaviest pay roll since 1892, or within the last five years.

These are authorized statements which have been printed. I have a clipping from the journal to which I have referred, showing that there is absolutely no necessity for this wanton increase in a tax on the absolute necessaries of life. While all other classes of business are complaining of depression, and while the people everywhere are holding up their hands to Congress and asking that there shall be some legislation that will relieve the condition of present business depression, we propose to relieve the present distress, we propose to relieve the pressure on the homes of the poor, by increasing the rate on this article of prime necessity, this already prohibitory tax, to double what it is now.

Mr. Charles W. Franzheim, who was, I believe, a member of one of these concerns, made a statement which appears in the Wheeling Intelligencer. It is as follows:

The Wheeling Intelligencer on New Year's Day printed contributions from a number of distinguished people on various subjects, mainly industrial, and Mr. Charles W. Franzheim, president of the Wheeling Pottery Company, was asked to note the progress of Wheeling's potteries during the past year, and did so as follows:

"The year just ended has been a very remarkable one in the history of the Wheeling potteries. While many other industries have languished or been partially inoperative during the past few months, incident to the uncertainty of the political struggle so happily ended, the local manufacturers of pottery have had a very remarkable run.

"Although prices have been low and profits necessarily scant, owing to the reduction of almost 50 per cent in the tariff rates governing pottery, and while foreign manufacturers of pottery who cater to the American market have been partially employed, the potteries of Wheeling have manufactured and shipped more goods during the past twelve months than ever in their history during the same period of time.

"This fortunate condition of affairs did not exist, however, in all the ceramic centers of the United States, but was due locally to the fact that Wheeling is rapidly acquiring a reputation for its pottery products second to none in this or in any foreign country. It is with pardonable pride that we can say to-day that the stability of our wares, the beauty of our designs, and the highly artistic effects of our decorations have given Wheeling wares a prestige during the last few years that has created for her the splendid demand that has kept her potteries busy during the year just past.

"That the reader may form a comprehensive and general idea of the volume of business done in this line in this city during the past year, I have but to say that over 6,000 tons of crude materials have been worked over by 800 employees into not less than 8,000,000 pieces of ware.

"The year just ushered in will doubtless prove an equally busy one, especially as we anticipate some recognition from the next Congress in the shape of a moderate increase in tariff that will justify at least the continuance of present wages, and perhaps leave some margin of profit to those who have contributed to the operation of an industry of which the city of Wheeling can well feel proud."

That moderate increase that this gentleman anticipated while he was doing a prosperous business amounts to 100 per cent increase of tax upon an article of prime necessity. That is the way the Republican party responds to the request of the manufacturers of the country for a moderate increase in their rates of tariff, while they say themselves in their own published reports that they are prosperous and are doing a larger business than ever before under the law as it stands to-day. This is sufficient, it seems to me, Mr. President, to show the purpose of all these increases.

I have in my hand a number of calculations showing the necessary waste, loss, breakage, and expense of transportation in bringing these wares across the ocean, which shows that these people have now under the tariff rate of 30 per cent a real protection of from 60 to 80 per cent by reason of the conditions that surround the business; and yet we propose to increase the direct tax to 60 per cent besides these additional expenses, which will increase the tax to 100 per cent or possibly more.

The statement is as follows:

GERMAN CHINA.

Gold-band teacups and saucers:	
Case containing 40 dozen, value at factory	$16.28
Case and packing material (hay, etc.)	1.43
Duty under present law, 35 per cent on $17.71	6.20
Freight from factory to port and shipping charges	1.49
Sea freight	1.54
Cartage in New York and marine insurance	.29
Total cost of goods laid down in New York	27.23
Cost at foreign factory, $16.28.	
35 per cent duty and expenses, $10.95, or 67 per cent protection.	
60 per cent duty and expenses would be $15.38, or 95 per cent protection.	
Children's drinking mugs:	
Case containing 56 dozen, value at factory	$14.99
Case and packing	1.43
35 per cent duty on $16.42	5.75
Freight from factory to port and shipping charges	2.12
Sea freight	1.74
Cartage in New York	.25
Marine insurance	.04
Total cost, New York warehouse	26.32
Foreign factory value, $14.99.	
35 per cent duty and expenses, $11.35, or 75 per cent protection.	
60 per cent duty and expenses would be $15.43, or 103 per cent protection.	
Fruit plates, 18 centimeters:	
48 dozen in case, value at factory	$18.23
Case and packing	2.62
35 per cent on $20.90	7.32
Freight from factory to port and shipping charges	1.35
Sea freight	1.07
Cartage and marine insurance	.90
Total cost of goods laid down in New York	30.94
Value at factory, $18.23.	
35 per cent duty and expenses, $12.66, or 69 per cent protection.	
60 per cent duty and expenses would be $17.88, or 98 per cent protection.	

Children's toy tea sets:	
Case containing 6 dozen, value at factory	$18.14
Case and packing	2.80
35 per cent duty on $21	7.35
Freight from factory to port and shipping charges	2.42
Sea freight	3.85
Cartage in New York and marine insurance	.30
Total cost of goods laid down in New York	34.92

Foreign factory value, $18.14.
35 per cent duty and expenses, $10.78, or 92 per cent protection.
60 per cent duty and expenses would be $22.08, or 121 per cent protection.

BOHEMIAN GLASS.

Glass vases, opaque, decorated, 9 inches:	
Case contains 27 dozen, value at factory	$9.21
Case and packing	2.44
Duty, 40 per cent on $11.65	4.66
Freight from factory to port and shipping charges	2.59
Sea freight	4.28
Cartage and marine insurance	.28
Total cost of goods laid down at New York	23.46

Cost at foreign factory, $9.21.
40 per cent duty and expenses, $14.25, or 154 per cent protection.
60 per cent duty and expenses would be $16.58, or 180 per cent protection.

Glass water sets consisting of one pitcher and six tumblers, decorated crystal:	
Case contains 7 dozen, value at factory	$15.14
Case and packing	2.23
Duty, 40 per cent on $17.47	6.99
Freight from factory to port and shipping charges	1.54
Sea freight	2.90
Cartage and marine insurance	.30
Total cost of goods laid down at New York	29.20

Cost at foreign factory, $15.24.
40 per cent duty and expenses, $13.96, or 91 per cent protection.
60 per cent duty and expenses would be $17.45, or 114½ per cent protection.

BOHEMIAN CHINA.

86-piece tea set, Carlsbad ware:	
Cask contains 15 sets, value at factory	$28.62
Cask and packing	3.45
35 per cent duty on $32.07	11.22
Freight from factory to port and shipping charges	2.16
Sea freight	2.66
Cartage and marine insurance	.33
Total cost of goods laid down at New York	48.44

Value at factory, $28.62.
35 per cent duty and expenses, $19.82, or 69 per cent protection.
60 per cent duty and expenses would be $27.84, or 97 per cent protection.

I shall ask for the yeas and nays on the amendment.

Mr. SEWELL. Mr. President, I want to correct the impression that some of the Senators may have received from the statement made by the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. JONES].

The paragraphs to be voted upon are not satisfactory to the pottery interests in this country by any means. It has become apparent of late years that undervaluations are made to such an extent in the New York custom-house that, while nominally the duty may be 40, 60, or 70 per cent, it is cut down by undervaluation to 30 and 20 per cent, so as to be practically no protection at all. Under these circumstances, the manufacturers of pottery have endeavored to get the committee to report compound rates of specific and ad valorem, and the committee did so report on the advice of the experts of the Treasury Department, but, by reason of the attack made on this report and the statement that it covered up a very large duty, the committee have withdrawn their proposition and have come right down squarely to a duty of 50 and 60 per cent.

I have here a statement in relation to this business, a portion of which I shall read:

Previous to the enactment of the Wilson bill the industry was in a flourishing condition, distributing annually from $6,000,000 to $8,000,000 in wages, consuming materials mined and produced in almost every State east of the Mississippi, and also Missouri, Texas, and California.

The Wilson-Gorman bill reduced the rate on pottery from 55 per cent on white and 60 per cent on decorated ware, to 30 per cent on white ware and 35 per cent on decorated ware, the result being a greatly depressed condition of the industry, more so than of any other industry which that nefarious bill did not exterminate entirely.

Working but one-third of the time, our employees have become destitute and we are powerless to give them work. Many of the potteries have become insolvent, while during the past two years imports in our line have increased over $3,000,000, while the Government has lost in revenue over $3,000,000.

We believe and know that you are interested in the welfare of this, as well as all American manufacturing industries.

The Dingley bill as passed by the House indicates a willingness to give us the old McKinley rates. We appreciate what has been done, but the McKinley rates will not give us the McKinley conditions. Fifty-five and 60 per cent was satisfactory and adequate in 1890, but the business of importing earthenware and china has greatly changed during these seven years. In 1890 the Germans were making only fancy articles, cups, saucers, bonbon dishes, and the like, but were just commencing the manufacture of dinner and tea ware. They have made great strides in this direction, the German factories being owned and controlled largely by American importing houses, consigned only to themselves, and invoicing at whatever price they see fit to put upon the invoice, regardless of their actual value. So you see any ad valorem rate will not protect.

I shall not delay the Senate in going over the entire paper, but will give practical results. On a full investigation in relation to the ad valorem and the compound rates, it was some time before the parties interested and the Treasury experts could arrive at a compound rate which would be equal to the ad valorem and not above it. They had the privilege of the New York custom-house for several days and weighed a large number of packages. The result of their investigations is to be found in the paper I hold in my hand. For instance, on white earthenware, they weighed fifteen packages, which weighed 13,097 pounds, the value of which was $524.22, and on which the duty was $203.06, showing an ad valorem of 38¾ per cent under that proposed compound tax.

Next they took 25 packages, which weighed 23,606 pounds, the foreign value of which was $1,085.15 and the duty $453.11, showing an ad valorem of 41¾ per cent. Then they took 240 packages, the weight of which was 92,932 pounds, the foreign value of which was $12,569.49 and the duty $6,094.15, or an average ad valorem of 48½ per cent. So that none of the duties, except in the case of the 45 packages, was equivalent to an ad valorem duty of 56 per cent, and none of them came up to the duty that is now before the Senate.

I ask, Mr. President, that this statement may be printed as a part of my remarks.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. It will be so ordered, in the absence of objection.

The paper referred to is as follows:

TRENTON, N. J., *May 19, 1897.*

DEAR SIR: Knowing that with the multiplicity of your duties and responsibilities you have little time to look into the details of the pottery industry, we will state as briefly as possible our condition as manufacturing potters, our needs, and our desires. Previous to the enactment of the Wilson bill, the industry was in a flourishing condition, distributing annually from $6,000,000 to $8,000,000 in wages, consuming materials mined and produced in almost every State east of the Mississippi, and also Missouri, Texas, and California.

The Wilson-Gorman bill reduced the rate on pottery from 55 per cent on white and 60 per cent on decorated ware to 30 per cent on white ware and 35 per cent on decorated ware, the result being a greatly depressed condition of the industry, more so than of any other industry which that nefarious bill did not exterminate entirely.

Working but one-third of the time, our employees have become destitute, and we are powerless to give them work. Many of the potteries have become insolvent, while during the past two years imports in our line have increased over $3,000,000 while the Government has lost in revenue over $3,000,000.

We believe and know that you are interested in the welfare of this as well as all American manufacturing industries.

The Dingley bill as passed by the House indicates a willingness to give us the old McKinley rates. We appreciate what has been done, but the McKinley rates will not give us the McKinley conditions. Fifty-five and 60 per cent was satisfactory and adequate in 1890, but the business of importing earthenware and china has greatly changed during these seven years. In 1890 the Germans were making only fancy articles, cups, saucers, bonbon dishes, and the like, but were just commencing the manufacture of dinner and tea ware. They have made great strides in this direction, the German factories being owned and cohtrolled largely by American importing houses, consigned only to themselves, and invoicing at whatever price they see fit to put upon the invoice, regardless of their actual value, so you see any ad valorem rate will not protect.

The French are practically doing the same thing, having their agents in this country. The manufacturers ignore the law requiring the goods to be invoiced at the foreign market value at which the goods are freely offered for sale in said market, and are invoicing and paying duty at the factory cost price, being the undervaluation equivalent of from 25 to 30 per cent. From 1890 to 1893 the goods from England were invoiced correctly as to quality. They have since been able to undervalue, and are now bringing their goods in at grossly undervalued values as seconds and thirds.

We believe, and we have some of the best Government experts to fully agree with us, that the only way of having a duty honestly collected is by a change in the system, which change has been introduced in the Senate bill as reported by the committee, but the rates have been so reduced as to give us a very low ad valorem equivalent protection.

The following is an application of the rates as proposed by the Senate committee to actual importations of goods imported into this country and procured from custom-house records on a general assortment of earthenware and china, including dinner, tea, and toilet ware in sets and separate packages of single articles, such as plates, cups, saucers, vegetable dishes, etc.:

You will notice that the equivalent ad valorem is in all cases below the minimum named in the bill, with the exception of decorated German china. You will also remember that these figures are based on their undervalued invoices, and show a larger ad valorem equivalent than they would do if honestly invoiced at the foreign-market values:

White earthenware—Rate, three-fourths of a cent per pound and 20 per cent ad valorem:

Packages	15	Duty	$203.06
Weight	13,097	Equivalent ad valorem duty,	
Foreign value	$524.22	per cent	38¾

Printed earthenware—Rate, 1 cent per pound and 20 per cent ad valorem:

Packages	25	Duty	$453.11
Weight	23,606	Equivalent ad valorem duty,	
Foreign value	$1,085.15	per cent	41¾

Decorated earthenware—Rate, 1¼ cents per pound and 25 per cent ad valorem:

Packages	13	Duty	$365.73
Weight	8,908	Equivalent ad valorem duty,	
Foreign value	$839.71	per cent	43¾

White French china—Rate, 1½ cents per pound and 25 per cent ad valorem:

Packages	13	Duty	$204.77
Weight	5,231	Equivalent ad valorem duty,	
Foreign value	$505.25	per cent	40½

Decorated French china—Rate, 2½ cents per pound and 30 per cent ad valorem:

Packages	240	Duty	$6,094.15
Weight	92,932	Equivalent ad valorem duty,	
Foreign value	$12,569.49	per cent	48½

White German china—Rate, 1½ cents per pound and 25 per cent ad valorem:

Packages	16	Duty	$341.85
Weight	9,653	Equivalent ad valorem duty,	
Foreign value	$788.24	per cent	43½

Decorated German china—Rate, 2½ cents per pound and 30 per cent ad valorem:

Packages	45	Duty	$1,107.62
Weight	21,700	Equivalent ad valorem duty, per cent	56
Foreign value	$2,093.75		

We desire a restoration of the rates proposed by Colonel Tichenor (the customs expert for both the House and Senate committees), viz:

"Schedule B, 89. Common yellow, brown, and gray earthenware, plain, embossed, or salt-glazed common stoneware, chemical stoneware and crucibles, all the foregoing not decorated in any manner, 25 per cent ad valorem; Rockingham earthenware, 40 per cent ad valorem.

"90. Earthen, stone, and crockery ware, and manufactures of which these substances or either of them is the component material of chief value, not specially provided for in this act, including plaques, ornaments, toy tea sets and other toys, clock cases, charms, vases, statuettes, and other articles not ornamented or decorated in any manner, 1 cent per pound and 25 per cent ad valorem; if painted in one color only and not gilded, 1½ cents per pound and 25 per cent ad valorem; if tinted, stained, enameled, gilded, printed and gilded, printed and filled, or transferred or decorated by any mechanical process, 2 cents per pound and 30 per cent ad valorem; if hand painted, printed in gold, or otherwise ornamented or decorated in any manner and not herein specially provided for, 60 per cent ad valorem: *Provided*, That none of the articles enumerated in this paragraph shall pay a less rate of duty than 50 per cent ad valorem: *And provided further*, That the dutiable weight of the articles provided for in this paragraph shall be their gross weight in packed condition as imported, including the weight of crates, casks, boxes, or other coverings and packing material.

"91. China, porcelain, parian, and bisque ware, and manufactures of which these substances or either of them is the component material of chief value, not specially provided for in this act, including plaques, toy tea sets and other toys, clock cases, charms, vases, statuettes, and other articles not ornamented or decorated in any manner, 2½ cents per pound and 25 per cent ad valorem; if printed in one color only, and not gilded, 3½ cents per pound and 25 per cent ad valorem; if tinted, stained, enameled, gilded, printed and gilded, printed and filled, or transferred or decorated by any mechanical process, 4 cents per pound and 30 per cent ad valorem; if hand painted, printed in gold, raised gold or otherwise, or decorated in any manner not herein otherwise specially provided for, 60 per cent ad valorem: *Provided*, That none of the articles enumerated in this paragraph shall pay a less rate of duty than 55 per cent ad valorem: *And provided further*, That the dutiable weight of the articles provided for in this paragraph shall be their gross weight in packed condition as imported, including the weight of the crates, casks, boxes, or other coverings and packing material.

"92. Articles and wares composed wholly or in chief value of earthy or mineral substances, or carbon, not specially provided for in this act, if not decorated in any manner, 35 per cent ad valorem; if decorated, 45 per cent ad valorem."

We inclose herewith a condensed table, showing the rates on the various classes of goods as reported in the Senate bill, also a table of rates as recommended by Colonel Tichenor and desired by us as a necessity for the continuance of our business. Also another table showing the comparative duties on the imports above named under the Wilson, Dingley, Senate, and proposed rate. We add in brackets the equivalent and ad valorem percentage.

We most earnestly desire your valuable assistance in this matter, and we feel that the very existence of our industry depends upon a tariff compound in character and adequate in rate.

Condensed table of compound rates on china and earthenware.

As reported by the Senate Finance Committee, which are not sufficient.			As recommended by Colonel Tichenor, which we desire and are necessary for our business.		
Article.	Rate per pound.	Ad valorem.	Article.	Rate per pound.	Ad valorem.
EARTHENWARE.*	Cents.	Per cent.	EARTHENWARE.‡	Cents.	Per cent.
No. 1	½	20	No. 1	1	25
No. 2	1	20	No. 2	1½	25
No. 3	1½	25	No. 3	2	30
No. 4		50	No. 4		55
CHINA.†			CHINA.§		
No. 5	1½	25	No. 5	2½	25
No. 6	2½	25	No. 6	3½	25
No. 7	3½	30	No. 7	4	30
No. 8		55	No. 8		60

* Minimum rate, 45 per cent.
† Minimum rate, 50 per cent.
‡ Minimum rate, 50 per cent.
§ Minimum rate, 55 per cent.

Table showing the comparative amount of duties on goods actually imported.

Article.	Wilson.	Dingley.	Senate.	Proposed rate.
15 packages white earthenware:				
Rate.....per cent..	30	55	¼ cent and 20 per cent (38 per ct.).	1 cent and 25 per cent (50 per ct.).
Duty	$157	$288	$203	$262.
25 packages P. P. earthenware:				
Rate.....per cent..	35	60	1 cent and 20 per cent (41 per ct.).	1½ cents and 25 per cent (57 per cent).
Duty	$379	$651	$453	$635.
12 packages decorated earthenware:				
Rate.....per cent..	35	60	1½ cents and 25 per cent (43 per cent).	2 cents and 30 per cent (51 per cent).
Duty	$294	$504	$366	$439.
15 packages French white china:				
Rate.....per cent..	30	55	1½ cents and 25 per cent (40 per cent).	2½ cents and 25 per cent (50 per cent).
Duty	$151	$278	$205	$257.

Table showing the comparative amount of duties on goods actually imported—Continued.

Article.	Wilson.	Dingley.	Senate.	Proposed rate.
240 packages French decorated china:				
Rate.....per cent..	35	60	2½ cents and 30 per cent (42 per cent).	4 cents and 30 per cent (59 per cent).
Duty	$4,309	$7,542	$6,004	$7,488.
16 packages German white china:				
Rate.....per cent..	30	55	1½ cents and 25 per cent (43 per cent).	2½ cents and 25 per cent (55 per cent).
Duty	$239	$434	$342	$436.
45 packages German decorated china:				
Rate.....per cent..	35	60	2½ cents and 30 per cent (56 per cent).	4 cents and 30 per cent (71 per cent).
Duty	$729	$1,250	$1,108	$1,493.

Mr. SEWELL. I also furnish a list of the number of potteries in the city of Trenton which have failed in the last few years, notwithstanding a fairly protective tariff until the time of the Wilson law. Most of the failures occurred under the present law, amounting in the aggregate to $3,670,000. I ask that this statement may be printed in the RECORD.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. It will be so ordered, in the absence of objection.

The statement referred to is as follows:

FAILURES IN TRENTON FROM 1870 TO 1895.

	Capital stock.
American Crockery Company (under Pliny Fiske, twice)	$300,000
Broome & Burchell	10,000
Brewer & Forman (now East Trenton Pottery Company)	160,000
Clark (Clinton St., afterwards Willet Hicks)	10,000
City Pottery Company (now part of Maddocks)	150,000
Corey, I. W	50,000
Davis, Isaac (afterwards Fell & Throp Company)	150,000
Dickinson Pottery	20,000
Dowd Bros. (now F. A. Duggan)	75,000
East Trenton Porcelain Works (now Israel Lacy)	300,000
Fell & Throp Company	150,000
Martin, Tams & Potts (now idle)	50,000
Mercer Pottery Company (under John F. Thompson's management; revived and made successful by James Moses)	150,000
Millington, Richard (now Eagle Pottery Company, Burroughs & Mountford)	150,000
Moore, Joseph H. (now Lacy's Pottery)	150,000
National Pottery Company (torn down; burned)	100,000
Ott & Brewer Company	150,000
Burroughs & Mountford	150,000
Potts, Henry (Star Pottery)	50,000
Speeler's Sons, Henry (now International Pottery)	150,000
Shreve, W. I. (before John Moses took charge)	75,000
Star Pottery Company (now Crown Pottery)	50,000
Union Pottery Company (now idle)	150,000
Whitehead Pottery (now idle)	30,000
East Trenton Pottery Company (now idle)	150,000
New Jersey Pottery Company	150,000
Clark Pottery Company (closed up)	150,000
Dale & Davis	150,000
Trenton China Company	300,000
Willets Manufacturing Company (settled, 50 per cent on a dollar)	150,000
	3,670,000

Above list of failures in Trenton alone, in the aggregate showing a loss of over three millions of dollars, will indicate that the pottery business since its commencement in 1860 has been subject to the same vicissitudes as any other business, and is not, as many people have been led to believe, always remunerative. It may be well to say just here that while the pottery manufacturers of England, supplying goods to the American market, have grown immensely wealthy, the manufacturers of the United States are all men of small or moderate means.

Mr. CLAY. Mr. President, I rise for the purpose of making an inquiry. Is it true that the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH] who has charge of the pending bill has withdrawn all the Senate committee amendments to paragraphs 90 and 91, and that they stand just as they were when the bill came from the House of Representatives?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. That is the suggestion of the Senator from Rhode Island.

Mr. CLAY. I so understand.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the amendment proposed by the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. JONES], which has been stated, and on which the yeas and nays have been ordered.

The Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. FAULKNER (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. ELKINS]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. HARRIS of Kansas (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the junior Senator from Wyoming [Mr. CLARK]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. QUAY. I have a general pair with the Senator from Alabama [Mr. MORGAN], who, I believe, is not present and has not

voted. I therefore withhold my vote. If the Senator from Alabama were present, he would vote "yea" and I should vote "nay."

Mr. WELLINGTON. I have a general pair with the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. BUTLER]. I inquire if he has voted?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from North Carolina has not voted.

Mr. WELLINGTON. Then I withhold my vote.

Mr. HANSBROUGH. I have a general pair with the senior Senator from Virginia [Mr. DANIEL], and therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. THURSTON. Has the senior Senator from South Carolina [Mr. TILLMAN] voted?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. He has not voted.

Mr. THURSTON. I have a general pair with that Senator, and therefore withhold my vote. If he were present, I should vote "nay."

The result was announced—yeas 21, nays 32; as follows:

YEAS—21.

Bacon,	Cockrell,	Mitchell,	Vest,
Bate,	Heitfeld,	Murphy,	Walthall,
Berry,	Jones, Ark.	Pettus,	White.
Caffery,	Lindsay,	Rawlins,	
Chilton,	Mallory,	Roach,	
Clay,	Mills,	Turpie,	

NAYS—32.

Aldrich,	Foraker,	Lodge,	Platt, N. Y.
Allison,	Frye,	McBride,	Pritchard,
Burrows,	Gallinger,	McEnery,	Proctor,
Cannon,	Gear,	McMillan,	Sewell,
Carter,	Hale,	Mason,	Shoup,
Chandler,	Hanna,	Nelson,	Spooner,
Deboe,	Hawley,	Perkins,	Stewart,
Fairbanks,	Jones, Nev.	Platt, Conn.	Wetmore.

NOT VOTING—36.

Allen,	George,	McLaurin,	Smith,
Baker,	Gorman,	Mantle,	Teller,
Butler,	Gray,	Martin,	Thurston,
Clark,	Hansbrough,	Morgan,	Tillman,
Cullom,	Harris, Kans.	Morrill,	Turner,
Daniel,	Harris, Tenn.	Pasco,	Warren,
Davis,	Hoar,	Penrose,	Wellington,
Elkins,	Kenney,	Pettigrew,	Wilson,
Faulkner,	Kyle,	Quay,	Wolcott.

So the amendment was rejected.

Mr. ALDRICH. I ask now to go back to paragraph 88, which was passed over.

Mr. BATE. What has become of paragraph 92?

Mr. ALDRICH. We have not yet reached paragraph 92. I think we had better first dispose of the remaining paragraphs in this schedule.

The SECRETARY. The Committee on Finance report an amendment, to strike out paragraph 83, on page 16, beginning at line 4, as follows:

83. Tiles, glazed or unglazed, encaustic, ceramic-mosaic, vitrified, flint, spar, embossed, enameled, ornamental, hand painted, gold decorated, and all other earthenware tiles for floors and walls, valued at not exceeding 40 cents per square foot, 8 cents per square foot; exceeding 40 cents per square foot, 10 cents per square foot and 25 per cent ad valorem.

And in lieu thereof to insert:

83. Tiles, not enameled, embossed, glazed, painted, vitrified, ornamented, or decorated in any manner, 25 per cent ad valorem; if enameled, embossed, glazed, painted, vitrified, ornamented, or decorated in any manner, including flint, spar, and encaustic tiles, 45 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. ALDRICH. I offer the amendment which I send to the desk, in the nature of a substitute for paragraph 83.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to insert in the place of the committee amendment the following:

83. Tiles, plain, unglazed, floor, one color, exceeding 2 square inches in size, 4 cents per square foot; glazed, encaustic, ceramic, mosaic, vitrified, semi-vitrified, flint, spar, embossed, enameled, ornamented, hand painted, gold decorated, and all other earthenware tiles for floors and walls, valued at not exceeding 40 cents per square foot, 8 cents per square foot; exceeding 40 cents per square foot, 10 cents per square foot and 25 per cent ad valorem.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the amendment submitted by the Senator from Rhode Island as a substitute for the amendment proposed by the committee.

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

The amendment as amended was agreed to.

Mr. ALDRICH. I think paragraph 88 was passed over.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. It was.

Mr. ALDRICH. The committee suggest a change in that paragraph. I think that some of the committee amendments were agreed to in that paragraph.

Mr. SEWELL. I will say to the Senator from Rhode Island that that paragraph was laid over at my request, in order that we might restore bauxite, which was stricken from the paragraph.

Mr. ALDRICH. I think the Senator from New Jersey had better allow this to stand for the present as the committee has recommended it, and we will examine into that question later.

Mr. SEWELL. Very well.

Mr. BACON. I am unable to hear the Senator from Rhode Island.

Mr. ALDRICH. I suggest that the committee amendments to this paragraph be adopted.

Mr. BACON. Paragraph 88?

Mr. ALDRICH. Yes, sir.

Mr. CLAY. I hope the Senator from Rhode Island will allow paragraph 88 to go over. I have a prepared statement at my room that I desire to use in opposing the amendments of the Senate committee, and I had not expected the question to come up this morning. I should be glad if the Senator would allow this paragraph to go over until to-morrow at least.

Mr. ALDRICH. Very well. I ask that we proceed to consider paragraph 92, and that the amendments suggested by the committee be acted upon.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Paragraph 92 will be read.

The Secretary read paragraph 92, which the Committee on Finance propose to amend, in line 3, page 21, after the word "articles," by inserting "and wares;" in the same line, after the word "composed," by inserting "wholly or in chief value;" in line 4, before the words "or mineral," by striking out "earthen" and inserting "earthy;" and after the word "substances," at the end of line 4, by inserting "or carbon;" so as to make the paragraph read:

92. Articles and wares composed wholly or in chief value of earthy or mineral substances, or carbon, not specially provided for in this act, if not decorated in any manner, 35 per cent ad valorem; if decorated, 45 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. WHITE. I notice in paragraphs 92 and 93 that quite a wide departure has been made from the phraseology of the Wilson law, so called. The paragraphs there were 86 and 87, I believe. There seems to be a new classification, including, among other things, carbon for electric lighting. I believe that was not included in the former law at all. Am I not right in that respect?

Mr. ALDRICH. The Senator is right.

Mr. WHITE. I should like to know if there is any reason for including carbon?

Mr. ALDRICH. We have provided for a classification of the articles manufactured from carbon. The number of carbon articles, for various purposes, is increasing every year, and the committee thought it desirable and proper that there should be some rate established in regard to all articles of carbon.

Mr. WHITE. I notice in the statistical statement on page 32 that carbon for electric lighting is put down as disclosing an importation for 1893 of $35,734, and in 1896 of $18,941, which would indicate a reduction in the importation by some 50 per cent.

The per cent duty, according to the same statement, in the act of 1890 was 20; in the law of 1894, 30; and in the House bill, 50. I do not know what it is in the Senate bill, as the abstract before us does not give any indication. I am talking now of carbon for electric lighting. I see the importation seems to be about 50 per cent in 1896 as contrasted with 1893; and I inquire of the Senator from Rhode Island if he can state the rate of duty? I notice the percentage is not given in the bill of the Senate committee, and in the House bill it is given at 50 per cent.

Mr. ALDRICH. It is 35 per cent. We reduce the rate from 50 per cent to 35 per cent.

Mr. WHITE. That would be somewhat higher—not very much, but something higher—than the rate in the law of 1894, and the importation seems to be steadily on the decrease.

Mr. ALDRICH. The act of 1894, I think, provided a rate of 30 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. WHITE. Yes; that is the rate, as I understand it, and the importations, as I say, have been going down.

On the article of gas retorts, under the law of 1894, there was a duty of 20 per cent ad valorem, and there were but 84 imported. I understand that $3 each would be very little more that 20 per cent ad valorem; I think pretty nearly the same.

Mr. ALDRICH. It is intended to be about equal.

Mr. WHITE. According to my calculation, the difference is very small; but I observe that in 1896 there were no importations at all; which would seem to show that the duty is merely prohibitive as it now stands.

Mr. ALDRICH. Naturally those retorts will be made in this country, for they have to be made usually of a size to fit the particular places for which they are intended, and it is extremely doubtful whether any will be imported.

Mr. WHITE. I presume the manufacture will be in this country, and there will be no importations.

Mr. ALDRICH. The Senator from California is undoubtedly right about that.

Mr. WHITE. In the reclassification on page 34 of the statistical statement I find as to lava tips for burners the importations in 1893 amounted to $18,064 in value and in 1896 there were none. Under the Senate committee's bill the duty is fixed at 8 cents per gross and 15 per cent ad valorem, but in this statement, as in many other instances, the total per cent is not carried out, so that, without making a computation, it is difficult to tell what it is, and, moreover, the unit of value is not given here.

I see that the House bill provided a duty of 10 cents per gross and 15 per cent ad valorem, but there is no percentage carried out; and it is very difficult from the information given here to tell whether the Senate rate is an increase over that in the law of 1894, or even over the law of 1890, which was 35 per cent. Will the Senator explain this difficulty?

Mr. ALDRICH. The purpose of the committee was to make the duty on lava tips for burners equivalent to 30 per cent ad valorem. The House bill was about 40 per cent ad valorem; and the committee propose to reduce the House rates to 8 cents and 15 per cent ad valorem for the purpose of making the rate as nearly as possible equal to the rate of 30 per cent ad valorem, which was imposed by the act of 1894.

Mr. WHITE. The Senator from Rhode Island can not but observe, as we go along with the bill, the frequency of the omission to carry out these new and especially these compound rates, which are impossible of computation from the statement.

Mr. ALDRICH. That is owing to the fact that the Treasury Department has no data whatever in regard to the articles included in these general paragraphs. As to paragraph 92, for instance, articles of earthy substance that were not specially provided for by name have no distinct place in the report of the Bureau of Statistics, and therefore it is quite impossible to furnish the data as to what the value has been or what the equivalent ad valorem would be.

Mr. WHITE. However, the Department did furnish the value of the importations.

Mr. ALDRICH. They did, but they had no information as to the quantity. The value alone would not furnish any data from which the estimates could be made.

Mr. WHITE. I will say to the Senator from Rhode Island, as we are discussing paragraph 93 in connection with paragraph 92, that I observe that the Senate committee have eliminated from paragraph 93 filter tubes, and in the statistical statement, pages 34 and 35, it is stated that the House rate is 50 per cent, but there is no Senate rate. I presume the tubes must be included in some other paragraph.

Mr. ALDRICH. They come in under paragraph 92 unquestionably, at 35 per cent.

Mr. WHITE. Under paragraph 92?

Mr. ALDRICH. Unquestionably.

Mr. WHITE. Then it is the understanding of the Senator that there will be a duty of 35 per cent on filter tubes?

Mr. ALDRICH. Undoubtedly. There is a reduction from 50 to 35 per cent on these two items.

Mr. CAFFERY. I wish to inquire of the Senator from Rhode Island why it is proposed to increase the rate upon carbon for electric lighting. The rate of 1890 was 20 per cent. Do I understand that the equivalent ad valorem, although it is not expressed here very distinctly——

Mr. ALDRICH. To what item does the Senator from Louisiana refer?

Mr. CAFFERY. Carbon for electric lighting. That is the paragraph we are now on.

Mr. ALDRICH. Carbon for electric lighting is rated in the House bill at 50 per cent, and is reduced to 35 per cent by the provision of paragraph 92. There is no question about that.

Mr. CAFFERY. Thirty-five per cent?

Mr. ALDRICH. We have reduced it from the House rate, 50 per cent, to 35 per cent in the Senate proposition.

Mr. WHITE. An increase of about 5 per cent over the Wilson Act, I think.

Mr. CAFFERY. Why is there any necessity for that increase over the rate of 1890?

Mr. ALDRICH. In 1890 there was hardly any carbon manufactured here. It was an infant industry, absolutely.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Does the protection get higher as the industry gets older?

Mr. ALDRICH. And since that time the development of articles manufactured from carbon has been very rapid, until now these various articles are manufactured in a great many parts of the country. I suppose the low rate of 20 per cent was put on in 1890 upon the theory that they could not be made in this country. They are now made here, and we suggest putting that uniform rate of duty upon all articles manufactured of carbon.

Mr. CAFFERY. I understood the Senator from Rhode Island to say in his very able speech opening the debate—able from his standpoint—that it was the purpose of the bill not to increase in any particular the rates of 1890. Here is an increase of 15 per cent over the act of 1890.

This infant is found to be a very healthy, robust infant. It hardly needs the soothing sirup of protection, and yet, in spite of that fact, there is a very large increase over the rate of 1890 on a prime article of necessity. Electric lighting is now the main lighting for the large establishments in the United States, and it is getting to be the light for private establishments. The Senator gives no reason for the increase, nor does he give any reason on the ground of protection. In paragraph 93, "carbon for electric lighting," I move to reinstate the rate of 1890—20 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. BATE. Mr. President, paragraph 92 seems to be an omnium gatherum. It relates, I understand, to earthenware, in use by our people every day, of a cheap character. It seems to try to gather in all that is not specified in the preceding paragraph, No. 91. I have listened to the arguments which have been made, and have tried to hear some reason from the Senator from Rhode Island who has the matter in charge which would satisfy my mind that the increase is proper. I have failed, however, to hear from him a sufficient reason, in my judgment.

This is something that is in common use, and certainly it ought to be purchased at as cheap a rate as is possible by the people to whom it is an article of prime necessity. I find by looking at the comparative statement, in hunting for a reason why the rate should be increased, that no income is received from this source, only $177 at 40 per cent, under the law of 1894, and I see no reason for the increase unless it is simply and absolutely to prohibit any such wares from coming into this country, hence affecting the consumer.

I heartily approve of the motion made by the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. CAFFERY] to reduce it to 20 per cent. It is one of those prime necessaries, entering into everyday life, which, it seems to me, ought to come in free, but then, as we are struggling to get the best we can, I heartily approve the motion of the Senator from Louisiana to reduce it to 20 per cent. I am at a loss to know why the articles should be at the proposed rate, unless it is simply to prohibit their importation. It does not give protection, it seems, only in that way; it gives no revenue to the Treasury, only $177, and that, to my mind, is not a sufficient reason for maintaining the rate at 35 per cent. So, as I say, I approve the motion made by the Senator from Louisiana for its reduction to 20 per cent.

Mr. CAFFERY. By the act of 1890 it appears that there was a tariff of 20 per cent on carbon for electric lighting. So there must be a mistake in the comparative statement. So I will modify the motion I made in this way: I move to strike out "35 per cent," as imposed by the pending bill in paragraph 92, "carbon for electric lighting," and insert "20 per cent."

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair desires to state that paragraph 92 is now under consideration.

Mr. BATE. Do I understand that the Senator from Louisiana moves to insert "20 per cent" instead of "35 per cent" in paragraph 92 or paragraph 93?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Paragraph 92 is now open to amendment.

Mr. BATE. If the Senator from Louisiana has not made that motion as to paragraph 92, I desire to make it.

Mr. ALDRICH. Mr. President, what is the motion?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Two Senators desire to make motions to amend paragraph 92.

Mr. BATE. No, sir; I yield to the Senator from Louisiana if he intends his motion to apply to paragraph 92. That is what I asked.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. That was the motion of the Senator from Louisiana, to amend line 6, paragraph 92, by striking out "thirty-five" and inserting "twenty."

Mr. BATE. That is what I want.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In paragraph 92, line 6, it is proposed to strike out "thirty-five" and insert "twenty;" so as to read:

> Articles and wares composed wholly or in chief value of earthy or mineral substances, or carbon, not specially provided for in this act, if not decorated in any manner, 20 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. CAFFERY. On that I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. HANSBROUGH (when his name was called). I am paired with the senior Senator from Virginia [Mr. DANIEL].

Mr. MITCHELL (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SEWELL]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. QUAY (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Alabama [Mr. MORGAN].

Mr. THURSTON (when his name was called). I am paired with the senior Senator from South Carolina [Mr. TILLMAN]. If he were present, I should vote "nay."

Mr. WALTHALL (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. SPOONER].

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. WILSON. I am paired with the Senator from Florida [Mr. PASCO]. If he were present, he would vote "yea" and I should vote "nay."

Mr. QUAY. In order to make a quorum I will take the liberty of voting. I vote "nay."

The result was announced—yeas 19, nays 26; as follows:

YEAS—19.

Bacon,	Cockrell,	Mallory,	Roach,
Bate,	Faulkner,	Mills,	Turpie,
Caffery,	Heitfeld,	Murphy,	Vest,
Chilton,	Jones, Ark.	Pettus,	White.
Clay,	Lindsay,	Rawlins,	

NAYS—26.

Aldrich,	Deboe,	Lodge,	Proctor,
Allison,	Frye,	McBride,	Quay,
Baker,	Gallinger,	McMillan,	Shoup,
Burrows,	Hale,	Mason,	Warren,
Carter,	Hanna,	Perkins,	Wetmore.
Chandler,	Hawley,	Platt, Conn.	
Davis,	Jones, Nev.	Pritchard,	

NOT VOTING—44.

Allen,	George,	Mantle,	Smith,
Berry,	Gorman,	Martin,	Spooner,
Butler,	Gray,	Mitchell,	Stewart,
Cannon,	Hansbrough,	Morgan,	Teller,
Clark,	Harris, Kans.	Morrill,	Thurston,
Cullom,	Harris, Tenn.	Nelson,	Tillman,
Daniel,	Hoar,	Pasco,	Turner,
Elkins,	Kenney,	Penrose,	Walthall,
Fairbanks,	Kyle,	Pettigrew,	Wellington,
Foraker,	McEnery,	Platt, N. Y.	Wilson,
Gear,	McLaurin,	Sewell,	Wolcott.

So the amendment was rejected.

Mr. ALDRICH. I ask that paragraph 86 may now be acted upon.

Mr. BURROWS. The Senator from Kansas [Mr. BAKER] desires to investigate paragraph 86, and I ask that it may be passed over. I hope the Senator from Rhode Island will allow that to be done.

Mr. ALDRICH. Very well.

The next reserved amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 93, line 10, before the word "cents," to strike out "ten" and insert "eight;" and in line 11, after the word "ad valorem," to strike out:

Carbons for electric lighting and filter tubes, 50 per cent ad valorem; porous carbon pots for electric batteries, without metallic connections, 20 per cent ad valorem.

So as to make the paragraph read:

93. Gas retorts, $3 each; lava tips for burners, 8 cents per gross and 15 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next reserved amendment of the Committee on Finance was, under the head of "Glass and glassware," to strike out paragraph 94, as follows:

94. Plain green or colored, molded or pressed, and flint and lime glass bottles, holding more than 1 quart, and demijohns and carboys, covered or uncovered, and other plain green or colored, molded or pressed bottle glassware, not specially provided for in this act, 1 cent per pound; plain green or colored, molded or pressed, flint or lime glass bottles and vials holding not more than 1 quart and not less than 1½ pints, 1½ cents per pound; holding not more than 1½ pints and not less than one-fourth of 1 pint, 1½ cents per pound; if holding less than one-fourth of a pint, 50 cents per gross: *Provided*, That none of the above articles shall pay a less rate of duty than 40 per cent ad valorem: *And provided further*, That any of the above articles, if filled and not otherwise specially provided for in this act, and the contents are subject to an ad valorem rate of duty, or to a rate of duty regulated in any manner by the value thereof, the value of such bottles, vials, or other vessels shall be added to the value of the contents for the ascertainment of the dutiable value of the latter, but if filled and not otherwise provided for in this act, and the contents are not subject to an ad valorem rate of duty or to a rate of duty regulated in any manner by the value thereof, or if free of duty, such bottles, vials, or other vessels shall pay, in addition to the duty, if any, on their contents, the rates prescribed in this paragraph.

And insert in lieu thereof:

94. Plain green or colored, molded or pressed, and flint, lime, or lead glass bottles, vials, jars, and covered or uncovered demijohns and carboys, any of the foregoing, filled or unfilled, and whether their contents be dutiable or free, except such as contain merchandise subject to an ad valorem rate of duty, or to a rate of duty based in whole or in part upon the value thereof, shall pay duty as follows: If holding more than 1 pint, seven-eighths of 1 cent per pound; if holding not more than 1 pint and not less than one-fourth of a pint, 1½ cents per pound; if holding less than one-fourth of a pint, 45 cents per gross: *Provided*, That none of the above articles shall pay a less rate of duty than 40 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. VEST. In line 6, page 28, paragraph 94, I move to strike out "seven-eighths" and insert "three-quarters."

I wish to make a few observations upon the paragraph. The rates proposed by the majority of the Finance Committee are below the McKinley and Dingley rates, but above the Wilson rates, there being an increase in every one of the provisions above the existing law.

I undertake to say, and the Senator from Rhode Island knows it as well as any man living, that there is no necessity for any duty at all, and especially for an increased duty, upon these flint or lime bottles. We command the markets of this country absolutely and can command the markets of the world. I was opposed to the duty in the Wilson bill of 1894, and made a protest against it; but I was in the condition that the Senator from Rhode Island said he was the other day—I was conciliating certain influences upon this floor—and I had to concede the duty upon lime bottles.

In 1893 there was an association or combination or syndicate of flint glass bottle manufacturers in West Virginia and Ohio, and they controlled virtually the output in the United States. They concluded, for purposes of their own, to close their establishments in 1893, and the result was a newspaper controversy amongst themselves, which I had occasion to read in 1894, I believe. If not, I will read it now. In reply to one of their associates, who said they had closed on account of the prospective change of the McKinley tariff—in other words, the passage of what is called the Wilson bill—Mr. Park, the president of the North Wheeling Bottle Works, and Mr. Yost, of the Bellaire Bottle Works, of Bellaire, Ohio, published a card in which they denied that it was the change in the tariff that caused them to close, stating that it was overproduction. Here is what they said, and I will ask my friend the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. JONES] to read it, as it is fine print, and he is younger than I.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas read as follows:

As to the tariff on flint bottles, we would not find fault with its entire removal. We are in nowise affected by it one way or another. We make bottles for less than they can be freighted to this country from abroad, leaving out the cost of foreign production. If we had free raw material, we could send bottles across the water and take the markets of the world.

Mr. VEST. That is the testimony of the presidents of the two principal establishments, one in West Virginia and the other in Ohio, that they do not need any tariff at all, and it is a notorious fact that we absolutely control this manufacture in the United States and are exporting. There is no pretense of anything else, and yet the majority of the Finance Committee come in with an increase upon every one of the items over the existing law, when there ought not to have been the duty even in the Wilson Act which was put there in 1894. Of course this is simply a protest; it amounts to nothing else, but I shall call for the yeas and nays on agreeing to the amendment to the amendment, in order to accentuate the position of Senators in regard to this article of prime necessity.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President, in connection with the remarks of the Senator from Missouri, I call attention to the statement in the comparative document, page 34, from which it appears that the law of 1894 placed the duty at three-quarters of a cent a pound, the House bill at 1½ cents per pound, and the present proposition seven-eighths of a cent a pound, a raise over the Wilson Act. In order to see whether there is any ground for this suggestion, we have to refer to the statistics which are given us. Of "bottles and vials, flint and lime, empty, holding more than 1 pint," in 1893 there were imported 2,243,470 pounds, of the value of $36,613.70. In 1896 the importations had fallen to 1,154,511.56 pounds, of the value of $24,642.73.

There can therefore be no excuse whatever for the imposition of this additional rate, because the American manufacturer has the market, as shown by these figures, and, upon the protective theory, that is all he can reasonably ask. If it be true that he can, in addition to taking the market, raise rates irrespective of the ability of foreigners to compete with him, he certainly does not come within the rule heretofore given for the justification of a protective tariff. It is evident that the importations are decreasing, and have gone down in three years some 50 per cent as to this particular item—bottles holding more than 1 pint.

We come to the next bracket, holding "not more than 1 pint and not less than one-quarter pint;" the importations in 1893 were, in value, $23,991, and in 1896 only $2,806.19. There seems, therefore, to be no reason for the increase. There the tariff of 1894 fixed the amount at 1½ cents a pound, and the present bill proposes to put it at 1½ cents a pound, while the House proposition was 1½ cents. Certainly no reason can be given to justify that increase. If we take the next paragraph, "holding less than one-quarter pint," in 1893 the importations amounted to but $203, and in 1896 somewhat more, but a trifle, $858.60, and yet we find that the prohibitory tariff law of 1894 thus prevents the importation of these goods; it is yet proposed to raise it to 45 cents per gross instead of 40 cents per gross, as contained in the law of 1894.

In the next bracket there is a slight increase, "filled, holding more than 1 pint;" in 1893 there were $24,690.57 worth imported; in 1896, $35,175.16, and there is an increase from three-quarters in the act of 1894 to seven-eighths of a cent here. Of course the House rate is reduced, but still the net result is an increase.

Now we come to the next, "holding not more than 1 pint and not less than one-quarter pint;" the total importations in 1893 amounted in value to a little over $13,000, and in 1896 the importations had decreased to $340.82. Now, there can be no reason given for the increase there. The Wilson rate was 1½ cents, and it is 1¾.

Taking the next, "holding less than one-quarter of a pint," the importations in 1893 were $15 worth. This enormous competition was somewhat extended in 1896, when the amount was raised to $89 worth. And yet we have even there an increase of 5 cents per gross in this bill over the Wilson bill. I will not run through this whole matter. It is but a repetition from one end of it to the other. The same proposition is apparent. There are a few cases where the importation in the three years has slightly increased, but taking the whole it amounts to nothing. It seems large when

we look at figures running up to millions, but when we come down to the value and consider the total consumption and look at the exports we find we are in the entire possession of the American manufacture and that the manufacturer referred to by the Senator from Missouri is undoubtedly correct when he says there is no possibility of any competition in this line.

Mr. BACON. In addition to what has been stated by the Senator from Missouri in reference to the glass industry at Bellaire, I desire to state that I was there last summer, and that my information was that the decay in glass manufacturing at Bellaire was not due to any want of prosperity under ordinary conditions, but that it was due to the fact that the development of the supply of natural gas in other neighboring localities had made it more profitable for the manufacturers to manufacture in those localities than in Bellaire. I will state that the character of my information was such that I could not doubt its correctness.

Mr. CAFFERY. Mr. President, in looking over many of these schedules, and in looking over the glass paragraphs, there appears to be a decided increase in the lower grades over the rates of 1890. I submit to the Senator from Rhode Island whether, after the price of an article falls and we have possession of the home market, it is any real reduction to reduce from a cent to seven-eighths of a cent when seven-eighths of a cent is quite as potent to keep out importations and to levy extra prices upon the consumers as the rate of 1 cent itself. This is merely delusive. It is playing false to the American people. It is not even coming up to the implied promise of the Senator from Rhode Island in his opening speech, that it would not do to return to the rates of 1890. When the price of an article has fallen, as has been the case in most instances—not especially in this instance—is it not perfectly delusive to say that we keep the same rates by keeping the specific rate on the lower article which has existed on the higher?

It is a pure question of mathematics. In the other House during the debate on this bill it was said, in answer to the charge that when the same specific rate was kept on the lower prices as were maintained on the higher, the ad valorem on the lower specific was quite equal to the ad valorem upon the higher specific, that it was a juggiery of figures. There is no juggiery about it, but all through this bill, in nearly every paragraph of every schedule that we have passed, this same performance is going on, holding out to the American people the mere promise of maintaining the old rates of the McKinley Act by lowering the specifics. There is absolutely nothing in it. It is delusive all the way through.

Now, when you hold the home market, when protection—giving it all the due credit it may be entitled to—has built up an infant industry and there is an absolute monopoly, and our importations fall off, where is the use, what is the benefit to the consuming millions, to maintain the old rates? Is it not for the simple purpose of enabling the manufacturer of these articles to add to the selling price the cost upon the imported article? If it is not for that purpose, what is the purpose? You build up your industry, you hold your market, and yet you keep prohibitive rates.

The only corrective possible for higher rates than the consumer ought to pay is in the competition afforded upon fair and just and legitimate lines of trade by the importation of the foreign article. All along in this bill, in every paragraph and in every schedule, the principle crops out of absolute prohibition—not protection, but prohibition. Under paragraph 94 here is a decline of seven-eighths of a cent a pound. The importations in 1893 were 2,243,470 pounds, and in 1896, 1,154,000 pounds. Here is a decline in the importations of about 50 per cent, and a delusive, insignificant decline in the rates of the McKinley Act.

I admonish the Senator from Rhode Island that the people of the United States are not going to have the wool drawn over their eyes by such a specious pretext as this, pretending to lower the rates and yet keeping them prohibitive.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. PERKINS in the chair). The question is on the amendment of the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST] to the amendment of the committee, on which the yeas and nays have been demanded.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. TILLMAN (when his name was called). Has the junior Senator from Nebraska [Mr. THURSTON] voted?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair is informed that the junior Senator from Nebraska has not voted.

Mr. TILLMAN. I have a pair with the junior Senator from Nebraska. He is not present, and I will withhold my vote.

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. HANNA. Has the junior Senator from Utah [Mr. RAWLINS] voted?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair is informed that the junior Senator from Utah has not voted.

Mr. HANNA. Then I will withhold my vote.

Mr. CLARK. I am paired with the Senator from Kansas [Mr. HARRIS].

Mr. WELLINGTON. Has the junior Senator from North Carolina [Mr. BUTLER] voted?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair is informed that the junior Senator from North Carolina has not voted.

Mr. WELLINGTON. I am paired with that Senator.

Mr. CANNON. I inquire if the junior Senator from Arkansas [Mr. BERRY] has voted?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair is informed that the junior Senator from Arkansas has not voted.

Mr. CANNON. I am paired with that Senator for to-day. If he were present, I should vote "nay."

The result was announced—yeas 21, nays 29; as follows:

YEAS—21.

Bacon,	Faulkner,	Mills,	Vest,
Bate,	Gray,	Mitchell,	Walthall,
Caffery,	Heitfeld,	Morgan,	White.
Chilton,	Jones, Ark.	Pettus,	
Clay,	Lindsay,	Roach,	
Cockrell,	Mallory,	Turpie,	

NAYS—29.

Aldrich,	Frye,	McMillan,	Quay,
Allison,	Gallinger,	Mason,	Sewell,
Burrows,	Gear,	Nelson,	Spooner,
Carter,	Hale,	Perkins,	Warren,
Chandler,	Hawley,	Platt, Conn.	Wetmore.
Deboe,	Jones, Nev.	Platt, N. Y.	
Fairbanks,	Lodge,	Pritchard,	
Foraker,	McBride,	Proctor,	

NOT VOTING—39.

Allen,	George,	McLaurin,	Smith,
Baker,	Gorman,	Mantle,	Stewart,
Berry,	Hanna,	Martin,	Teller,
Butler,	Hansbrough,	Morrill,	Thurston,
Cannon,	Harris, Kans.	Murphy,	Tillman,
Clark,	Harris, Tenn.	Pasco,	Turner,
Cullom,	Hoar,	Penrose,	Wellington,
Daniel,	Kenney,	Pettigrew,	Wilson,
Davis,	Kyle,	Rawlins,	Wolcott.
Elkins,	McEnery,	Shoup,	

So the amendment to the amendment was rejected.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question recurs upon agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Committee on Finance.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. ALDRICH. I think paragraph 105 is the next in order.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 105, page 28, line 5, after the word "same," to insert "or parts thereof, finished or unfinished;" so as to read:

105. Spectacles, eyeglasses, and goggles, and frames for the same, or parts thereof, finished or unfinished, valued at, etc.

Mr. VEST. I intend, if that amendment is adopted, to move to place a rate of 40 per cent ad valorem upon "parts thereof, finished or unfinished."

The effect of the amendment inserting the words "or parts thereof, finished or unfinished" is to put the same duty upon any portion of these articles that is valued below 40 cents that is put upon the finished product. This is manifestly unjust. In the first place, a dozen of the rims of these glasses may not be worth more than 1 or 2 cents, and you put upon them the same duty that you would put upon the finished product, if under 40 cents. Take the frames of the glasses and they will bear the same duty. This is unjust; but, in addition to that, what I take to be one of the principal objects of our friends upon the other side and of ourselves is the encouragement of American industry, and it discourages American industry. If this provision is put into this schedule, these parts of spectacles, glasses, etc., will not be imported, because the duty will be just the same as on the finished product. Instead of letting the parts of glasses and of spectacles come into the country and then be finished by American workmen you exclude them from the country and cause the work to be done abroad.

I shall not resist the adoption of the amendment, because I propose afterwards to move to put 40 per cent ad valorem upon the parts of these articles, finished or unfinished.

Now, another word, Mr. President, in regard to this duty. The duty is upon the first classification not less than 65 per cent. Sixty-five per cent is the lowest, and it runs up to 180 per cent. One hundred and eighty per cent upon an article of absolute necessity! The least rate upon the next classification——

Mr. ALDRICH. Will it trouble the Senator to state the price of those spectacles?

Mr. VEST. I have not the comparative statement here. The rate is 180 per cent.

Mr. ALDRICH. What is the unit of value?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. This statement was made by the New York custom-house, and it is that under this Senate rate the price at 20 cents per dozen and 15 per cent ad valorem would be, at the highest rate, 180 per cent, and at the lowest, 65 per cent. On the next bracket the highest rate would be 120 per cent and on the lowest 32 per cent. He did not give the unit of value on which he made the calculation.

Mr. ALDRICH. It must be in the neighborhood of 10 cents a dozen.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. He made the statement on the value of the goods.

Mr. ALDRICH. If the rate is 180 per cent, it must be in the neighborhood of 10 cents a dozen for spectacles.

Mr. VEST. It does not make the slightest difference in the way of argument whether it is 10 cents or a hundred cents or a thousand cents. The question is upon how much the consumer is made to pay. The cheaper the article, it makes the increased duty much greater. I make the rates upon the second division from 45 per cent, the lowest, up to 120 per cent. Under the McKinley Act the duty was 60 per cent upon both classifications. As a matter of course, this is an enormous increase, and it is especially objectionable, because, as the Senator from Rhode Island says, it is a cheap article that goes into use amongst the poorer classes of people.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Spectacles are imported into this country, according to the custom-house statistics, at the price of 18 cents a dozen—a cent and a half a pair. It is a fraud. It is a fraud on everybody who purchases them. For my part, I wish the ad valorem equivalent on that class of goods was 300 per cent or 500 per cent. I should like to stop it.

Mr. ALDRICH. The price given by the Senator from Missouri shows that these spectacles, in order to pay 180 per cent, must be sold for 10 cents a dozen; that is, ten-twelfths of a cent per pair of spectacles—less than a cent a pair. I think that statement of itself is sufficient to show that it is no great hardship to the people of the United States or to the importers if they are obliged to pay a cent or even a cent and a half on a pair of spectacles.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Spectacles that are perhaps no better than the others.

Mr. ALDRICH. They certainly can not be very valuable for use to anyone.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. There is no guaranty in this that the quality of the American goods is going to be a bit superior to the quality of the goods brought from abroad, which latter excites the indignation of the Senator from Connecticut.

Mr. ALDRICH. I think it is safe to say that no spectacles are made in this country, and there could be none sold in this country, at any such price as that.

Mr. WHITE. I can understand the remark of my friend the Senator from Connecticut that he desires that the spectacles duty should be put up to 500 per cent, so that no one could use the same, because, by such provision, it might be possible that the general reading of this bill, if we pass it, would be prevented. But that we should be inhibited from perusing the daily accounts of our proceedings and others, perhaps less interesting, is somewhat remarkable to me. We ought to have our factories started before we shut out the importations. This provision does not interfere with me personally, but it would interfere with others.

I have a number of communications from dealers, small dealers, it is true, but they represent the trade in that line of retail trade in different parts of the country. They have requested me not to use their communications because they did not desire the two or three large establishments in this country manufacturing some of the goods which they utilize in their business to know that they were protesting against this duty. One of them very wisely remarked that it was the imposition of these high duties upon matters of everyday consumption, small matters, the increase of which perhaps might not seem very great to persons who were dealing in figures running up to the millions, that made the tariff bill in the end unpopular and difficult of enforcement or maintenance. While 180 per cent, if we figure the amount of cents that is thereby meant to be added to the cost of a certain number of spectacles, may not be so great, yet it is that amount of increase at all events, and it is those things which appeal so largely to the average consumer when he finds that while those who buy more expensive goods, articles of luxury, are paying 30, 40, and 50 per cent, and he is paying 180 and 200 per cent, he believes that he is discriminated against, even though the amount of money involved may be a great deal less.

The principle which seems to permeate this bill is the imposition of high duties upon low-priced goods (and upon many the same number of dollars and cents are not involved) and the imposition of light duties upon high-grade articles. We find that not only here, but when we get along a little farther unto the metal schedule we will find that the changes there have been made upon that basis.

It appears to me that this is an imposition upon the consumer, and, however small the amount may be, it is an imposition, in proportion to the amount of his investment, far greater than should be imposed upon an article of absolute necessity.

I have heard that some people buy glasses for ornamental purposes, but that class of individuals is not very numerous and perhaps not worthy of excessive consideration. But those who utilize spectacles generally require them. Unfortunately, weak eyes or imperfect vision is not confined to wealth, but is the heritage of that large class of humanity which come under the general ills which flesh is heir to. I believe this is one of the most unpopular of the many unpopular amendments in the bill, and therefore if I were seeking mere partisan advantage I should take pleasure in voting for it.

Mr. ALDRICH. Mr. President, all spectacles valued at over $1.50 per dozen, that is, 12½ cents apiece (and all spectacles that are useful and serviceable for anybody to buy or to wear are worth more than 12½ cents a pair), pay under this proposed amendment of the committee 50 per cent ad valorem. That is 10 per cent less than the rate imposed by the act of 1890.

Mr. VEST. But more than the Wilson Act.

Mr. ALDRICH. More than the Wilson Act and 10 per cent less than the act of 1890. The spectacles imported into this country at the low prices which the Senator from Missouri and the Senator from California are talking about are practically valueless. They ought not to be used by anybody, and it would be a kindness to the people of this country to have them prohibited absolutely from being imported and used. The rate of duty upon those is on an average in the neighborhood of 60 or 70 per cent ad valorem. It varies from 50 per cent to 100 per cent. I believe that in view of all the circumstances and the very great undervaluation of these articles, the rates imposed are reasonable and proper.

Mr. CAFFERY. Mr. President, I simply desire to say that protection teaches a great many things, and now it is proposed to teach people what sort of business they ought to go into. The Senator from Rhode Island tells the people of the United States that they ought not to pursue certain lines of business, which he indicates to them by placing a high tariff in their favor. Perhaps that might be done, but when the Senator from Rhode Island goes out of the tariff business and wants to tell the people of the United States how they can better see——

Mr. ALDRICH. Would it interrupt the Senator from Louisiana if I should ask him a question?

Mr. CAFFERY. Not at all.

Mr. ALDRICH. The Senator is unfortunate like myself, and occasionally has to wear glasses. I should like to have him tell the Senate, as an object lesson, what is the lowest price he ever paid for a pair of spectacles.

Mr. CAFFERY. I do not exactly remember. I have paid anywhere from $1.50 to two or three dollars a pair.

Mr. ALDRICH. And we are discussing spectacles here that are worth ten-twelfths of 1 cent a pair.

Mr. CAFFERY. Exactly. But the general proposition has been advanced by the Senator from Rhode Island that these cheap spectacles ought not to be admitted anyhow; that the people can not use them, and if they try to use them they can not see through them. So, then, he is a great benefactor to the eyes of the people of this country from his wonderful knowledge about spectacles.

I think spectacles are something like razors. I used to buy razors sometimes for $5 and sometimes for 25 cents apiece, but a 25-cent razor is frequently as good as a five-dollar razor; and it may be that a cheap pair of spectacles to a poor man is quite as good as a high-priced pair of spectacles to a rich man.

I submit to the Senator from Rhode Island that if these cheap spectacles are not good the people are not going to use them. That is a matter for them to find out. They are made at this price. If they are valueless, they would not be made—nobody would buy them. You can not fool a man when he looks through a pair of glasses as to whether they magnify or not. If he can read with them, that answers the end of the glasses. It is the purpose of the glasses to see; and I submit that the Senator from Rhode Island can not see for the people of the United States through his or anybody else's glasses, through the borrowed spectacles of those manufacturers who do not want anybody to look through any glasses other than the spectacles they have made. You may indicate the line of policy you will pursue by an arbitrary rule of taxation, but you certainly can not invade the vision—the eye—and say what sort of spectacles the people shall use.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President, I have heard a great deal about the doctrine of protection, and it is being amplified every day, but I did not know before that there was a sanitary feature about it. I am glad to learn from my distinguished optical friend from Rhode Island that now we are protecting not only the pockets of our citizens and preserving the home market, but we are likewise attending to their wants with reference to optical matters, and that hereafter, when one sees well through spectacles or through any glasses he may desire to purchase, opera or other, it will be attributed to the beneficent doctrine of protection. The qualifications of the Senator from Rhode Island are certainly numerous, his great familiarity with tariff bills is conceded, but I did not know that he possessed the ability to inform us accurately with reference to this somewhat occult subject now referred to—the organ of vision. It seems to me if it is possible for a spectacle to be made of this bill it will be accomplished by the adoption of the committee's amendment.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Mr. President, I shall not detain the Senate by a long discussion of this matter. There were actually imported in 1896, according to the statistical tables presented by the Senator from Rhode Island to the Senate, $296,624.32 worth of spectacles. Those glasses are coming into the United States.

I have the official report, signed by J. B. Dusenberry, written to Hon. Walter H. Bunn, United States appraiser, in which, in making the ad valorem estimate of what under the Senate bill as proposed here will be paid upon the spectacles imported into New York, he shows that the rates on those net over 40 per cent per dozen, which will be 100 per cent on the highest and 65 per cent on the lowest, and, as stated by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST], on the next grade above that the rate will be 120 per cent on the highest grade and 32 per cent on the lowest. This is a matter of fact. As appears from the official report of the custom-house, where these articles are valued and where these arrangements are understood, these are the rates imposed by this bill, and they need no comment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the amendment of the committee. If there be no objection, the amendment will be considered as agreed to.

Mr. VEST. We object, but we can not help ourselves.

Mr. WHITE. I trust that the RECORD will not show there are any common-consent votes here; otherwise we may have as much trouble as we have had with reference to the demonetization of silver. [Laughter.]

The amendment was agreed to.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 105, page 28, line 6, before the word "cents," to strike out "seventy-five" and insert "forty;" in line 7, before the word "cents," to strike out "twenty-five" and insert "twenty;" in line 8, before the words "per cent," to strike out "twenty" and insert "fifteen;" in line 9, before the word "cents," to strike out "seventy-five" and insert "forty;" in line 10, after the word "dozen," to strike out "forty-five" and insert "forty;" and in line 13, after the word "dozen," to strike out "and on parts of spectacle, eyeglass, or goggle frames, and mountings or parts thereof for the same;" so as to make the paragraph read:

105. Spectacles, eyeglasses, and goggles, and frames for the same, or parts thereof, finished or unfinished, valued at not over 40 cents per dozen, 20 cents per dozen and 15 per cent ad valorem; valued at over 40 cents per dozen and not over $1.50 per dozen, 40 cents per dozen and 20 per cent ad valorem; valued at over $1.50 per dozen, 50 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. WHITE. I move to strike out the paragraph as amended and substitute in lieu thereof the following:

Spectacles, eyeglasses, goggles, opera glasses, and other optical instruments, and frames for the same, 40 per cent ad valorem.

That is the present law. I ask for the yeas and nays on the amendment.

Mr. VEST. I hope the Senator from California will amend his proposed amendment by inserting "or parts thereof, finished or unfinished;" so as to put 40 per cent upon them all.

Mr. WHITE. I will let that amendment be considered as incorporated within the amendment which I have proposed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment as modified will be stated.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to strike out paragraph 105 as amended and in lieu thereof to insert:

105. Spectacles, eyeglasses, goggles, opera glasses, and other optical instruments, and frames for the same, finished or unfinished, or parts thereof, 40 per cent ad valorem.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the amendment of the Senator from California as modified.

Mr. WHITE. I call for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. PENROSE (when his name was called). Owing to the absence of the Senator from Delaware [Mr. KENNEY], with whom I am paired, I withhold my vote.

Mr. QUAY (when his name was called). Has the Senator from Alabama [Mr. MORGAN] voted?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair is informed that the Senator from Alabama has not voted.

Mr. QUAY. Then I withhold my vote. If that Senator were present, I should vote "nay."

Mr. VEST (when his name was called). I am paired generally with the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. NELSON]. I do not see him in the Chamber, and therefore I withhold my vote. I should vote "yea" if he were here.

Mr. WILSON (when his name was called). I again announce my pair with the Senator from Florida [Mr. PASCO]. If he were present, he would vote "yea," and I should vote "nay."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. CLARK (after having voted in the negative). I ask if the junior Senator from Kansas [Mr. HARRIS] has voted?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair is informed that the junior Senator from Kansas has not voted.

Mr. CLARK. Then I withdraw my vote, as I am paired with that Senator.

Mr. CANNON. I am paired with the junior Senator from Arkansas [Mr. BERRY]. If he were present, I should vote "nay."

Mr. HANNA (after having voted in the negative). I inquire if the junior Senator from Utah [Mr. RAWLINS] has voted?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator has not voted.

Mr. HANNA. Then I withdraw my vote.

Mr. BATE (after having voted in the affirmative). I ask if the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. DEBOE] has voted?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair is informed that the Senator from Kentucky has not voted.

Mr. BATE. Then I withdraw my vote. I am paired for the day with that Senator.

The result was announced—yeas 19, nays 29; as follows:

YEAS—19.

Bacon,	Gray,	Mills,	Tillman,
Caffery,	Jones, Ark.	Mitchell,	Turpie,
Chilton,	Lindsay,	Murphy,	Walthall,
Clay,	McLaurin,	Pettus,	White.
Faulkner,	Mallory,	Roach,	

NAYS—29.

Aldrich,	Frye,	Mason,	Spooner,
Allison,	Gallinger,	Perkins,	Stewart,
Burrows,	Hale,	Platt, Conn.	Thurston,
Carter,	Hawley,	Platt, N. Y.	Warren,
Chandler,	Jones, Nev.	Pritchard,	Wetmore.
Davis,	Lodge,	Proctor,	
Fairbanks,	McBride,	Sewell,	
Foraker,	McMillan,	Shoup,	

NOT VOTING—41.

Allen,	Elkins,	Kyle,	Rawlins,
Baker,	Gear,	McEnery,	Smith,
Bate,	George,	Mantle,	Teller,
Berry,	Gorman,	Martin,	Turner,
Butler,	Hanna,	Morgan,	Vest,
Cannon,	Hansbrough,	Morrill,	Wellington,
Clark,	Harris, Kans.	Nelson,	Wilson,
Cockrell,	Harris, Tenn.	Pasco,	Wolcott.
Cullom,	Heitfeld,	Penrose,	
Daniel,	Hoar,	Pettigrew,	
Deboe,	Kenney,	Quay,	

So the amendment was rejected.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. President, I rise to a question of personal privilege.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Jersey is recognized.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. President, during my absence from the Senate the other day I ascertained from the RECORD that in a very remarkable deliverance by the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. TILLMAN] he became sponsor for a newspaper clipping in which my name was mentioned in connection with the sugar schedule in the pending tariff bill.

It is only necessary for me to say that the statement in the newspaper clipping in question is absolutely and unqualifiedly untrue.

I have not during this session of Congress bought or sold, directly or indirectly, a single share of sugar stock, nor at any time prior to this when any legislation affecting the value of sugar or sugar stock was pending.

The reading of the bill was resumed at paragraph 103.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I move, in line 20, before the words "per centum," to strike out "forty-five" and insert "thirty-five."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In paragraph 106, page 28, line 20, before the words "per centum," it is proposed to strike out "forty-five" and insert "thirty-five;" so as to make the paragraph read:

106. Lenses of glass or pebble, ground and polished to a spherical, cylindrical, or prismatic form, and ground and polished plano or coquill glasses, wholly or partly manufactured, with the edges unground, 35 per cent ad valorem; if with their edges ground or beveled, 10 cents per dozen pairs and 45 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. WHITE. I desire to inquire whether this paragraph is not new, and whether this is not a new classification?

Mr. ALLISON. I believe it is.

Mr. WHITE. I find the following information, which has been handed to me by one of the experts:

Magic-lantern slides, if toys, should be subject to no other duty than as toys, as they are not made in this country. The duty on other magic-lantern slides, as manufactures of glass, would seem to be amply sufficient.

I presume from this that it is designed to put a tariff upon slides which might otherwise be classified as toys. I should like to ask the Senator from Iowa if I am correct in that regard?

Mr. ALLISON. What is the question?

Mr. WHITE. The question is as to whether the classification attempted here, so far as slides are concerned, has application to toys which are now admitted under the general designation of toys. It is stated that this class of goods is not manufactured in this country. I am so informed by one of the Government officers. I presume this is possibly intended to encourage some one to go into the manufacturing business.

Mr. ALLISON. Very likely.

Mr. WHITE. I hope he may be discovered and commence work.

Mr. VEST. The Senator from California [Mr. WHITE], when he speaks of this as a new classification, is, of course, not under the impression that these provisions are entirely new.

Mr. ALLISON. It is a new classification.

Mr. VEST. It is simply a new classification.

Mr. WHITE. I referred to it as a new classification. Thus, the class immediately preceding, which is paragraph 106 here, is paragraph 100 in the law now in force. The paragraph of the law now in force speaks of painted, tinted, stained, enameled, etc.; but it is differently classified.

Mr. VEST. The duty on these strips of glass not more than 3 inches wide, ground or polished on one or both sides to a cylindrical or prismatic form, under the McKinley Act was 60 per cent, and under the Wilson Act they were free; and in the pending bill "glass slides for magic lanterns" are placed at 45 per cent ad valorem. They are 25 per cent under existing law, and here the rate is increased 20 per cent.

So, in the last line of this paragraph, under the McKinley Act, in the basket clause, "not specially provided for," the rate was 45 per cent, and under existing law 30 per cent; and here it goes back to the McKinley rates. So that there is an increase upon the existing duties all the way through simply by making a new classification. I will move, in line 2, to strike out "forty-five" and insert "twenty-five."

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In paragraph 107, page 29, line 2, before the words "per centum," it is proposed to strike out "forty-five" and insert "twenty-five;" so as to read:

107. Strips of glass, not more than 3 inches wide, ground or polished on one or both sides to a cylindrical or prismatic form, and glass slides for magic lanterns, 25 per cent ad valorem.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the amendment proposed by the Senator from Missouri.

The amendment was rejected.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 108, page 29, line 4, after the words "lenses and," to strike out "other;" and in line 6, after the word "same," to insert "all the foregoing;" so as to make the paragraph read:

108. Opera and field glasses, telescopes, microscopes, photographic and projecting lenses and optical instruments, and frames or mountings for the same, all the foregoing not specially provided for in this act, 45 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. WHITE. I desire to inquire of the Senator from Iowa whether opera glasses that are affected by this act are manufactured at all in this country at the present time? If so, it must be to a very limited extent. I doubt whether they are made here at all.

Mr. ALLISON. They are to a very limited extent, I think, but I hope they will be largely manufactured here.

Mr. WHITE. I do not think there are any. This is another case where some one is invited to commence business, but has not yet started.

Mr. ALLISON. I will say to the Senator from California that this provision only increases the rate 5 per cent over the Wilson law, so called.

Mr. WHITE. It is not a very large increase; but I thought perhaps some one had stated that he probably might in the future attempt to start an opera-glass manufactory in this country, but there is no such proposition now.

Mr. ALLISON. It has been found that the protection afforded by the Wilson law was not quite enough, and so we have increased it 5 per cent.

Mr. GALLINGER. So as to get a little more revenue.

Mr. ALLISON. Yes; to get a little more revenue and afford a little more protection.

The reading of the bill was resumed at paragraph 109, on page 29.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask that that paragraph may be passed over for the present.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Without objection, that will be the order.

The reading of the bill was resumed at paragraph 110, on page 29. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, on page 29, beginning in line 19, to strike out paragraph 111, as follows:

111. Marble or onyx, in block, rough or squared only, and not dressed or made into articles, 65 cents per cubic foot; marble of all kinds and onyx, sawed or dressed, including marble or onyx slabs, paving tiles, or mosaic cubes, containing less than 4 cubic inches each, $1.10 per cubic foot; but in measurement no slab, tile, or cube shall be computed at less than 1 inch in thickness.

And in lieu thereof to insert:

111. Marble or onyx, in block, rough or squared only, 65 cents per cubic foot; marble or onyx, sawed or dressed, over 2 inches in thickness, $1.10 per cubic foot; slabs or paving tiles of marble or onyx, containing not less than 4 superficial inches, if not more than 1 inch in thickness, 12 cents per superficial foot; if more than 1 inch and not more than 1½ inches in thickness, 15 cents per superficial foot; if more than 1½ inches and not more than 2 inches in thickness, 18 cents per superficial foot; if rubbed in whole or in part, 3 cents per superficial foot in addition; mosaic cubes of marble, onyx, or stone, not exceeding 2 cubic inches in size, if loose, 1 cent per pound and 20 per cent ad valorem; if attached to paper or other material, 20 cents per superficial foot and 35 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. WHITE. If there is no objection, I should like that paragraph to go over. There are some discrepancies pointed out to me which I should like an opportunity to examine, if the Senator from Iowa has no objection.

Mr. PERKINS. I will say to my colleague that I think the committee have agreed upon an amendment that will obviate the objection he has.

Mr. WHITE. I should like to hear the amendment. I will withdraw my request to pass over the paragraph for the present.

Mr. ALLISON. I will state that the committee have agreed upon an amendment increasing the duty upon onyx. I suppose that is the object of the Senator from California.

Mr. WHITE. I think it ought to be more than the rate on marble, whatever rate you fix that at.

Mr. ALLISON. It should be more. I think the amendment which the committee intend to propose is not completed, as it should be, so as to cover the whole paragraph. Therefore I concur with the suggestion of the Senator from California that it be passed over until we finish the schedule, and it may be called up later.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. If there be no objection, the suggestion of the Senator from California will be complied with and the paragraph passed over.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 112, page 30, line 23, after the word "chrysolite," to insert "coral;" and in line 24, after the word "crystal," to strike out "including clock cases with or without movements" and insert "and spar;" so as to make the paragraph read:

112. Manufactures of agate, alabaster, chalcedony, chrysolite, coral, cornelian, garnet, jasper, jet, malachite, marble, onyx, or rock crystal, and spar not specially provided for in this act, 50 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. VEST. When the existing law was enacted in 1894, I thought the duties were too high, but I was unable to secure any reduction. The consequence was we made an increase in 1894 over the McKinley Act. For instance, upon agate the McKinley Act had a rate of 20 per cent duty, and the Wilson Act made it 30 per cent. On alabaster the McKinley Act had 25 per cent, and we made it 45 per cent. On jet the McKinley Act made it 25 per cent and the Wilson Act 25 per cent, and now it is proposed to make the duty 50 per cent on these articles over the McKinley Act and over the Wilson Act, and higher than the duties have ever been on any of these articles.

I do not know that it is of any use to make any motion, but I will move to put the duties back to the rates of the McKinley Act upon agate, 20 per cent, and upon that I will call for the yeas and nays to see whether, in the opinion of the Senate, the McKinley Act was good legislation or not.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. In this connection, it perhaps may be as well to read a letter which I received, and which I regard as one of the most remarkable claims under this pernicious system of protection that I ever saw. I call the attention of Senators to it on account of its novelty and originality. I do not think it is like anything else I have ever seen, and I doubt if there have been many such letters written. This seems to have been printed, although my name is written at the top of it. The letter is as follows:

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., *March 20, 1897.*

Hon. JAMES K. JONES,
United States Senator.

SIR: We beg most respectfully to call your attention to the fact that the increase proposed in the House tariff bill, now under consideration, on "marble or onyx, in the block, rough or squared only, and not dressed or made into articles," of from 50 cents to 65 cents per cubic foot, while affording a substantial protection in the case of marble, is entirely inadequate to promote or protect the products of our American onyx mines.

This, of course, relates more particularly to the paragraph we have just passed; but it may as well come in now.

Marble and onyx, while derived from the same elements, are entirely dissimilar in their formation and character. Marble is an aggregation of small crystals, entirely opaque, while onyx is a crystalline mass throughout, of rare translucency, and possessing the beautiful play of reflection from the interior, which, with its varied colors, constitutes its great beauty.

Marble is generally found in immense natural beds, easily accessible to railroads and other conveyances, and can be taken out in blocks of any convenient size at small expense, while onyx is almost invariably found at great elevations and in inaccessible locations; the formation is generally in small sizes, and it must be handled with great care on account of its brittleness, and transported at heavy expense.

Marble is tractable, easy sawed, worked, and polished; onyx is rebellious in its nature, of much greater density and weight, and takes from four to five times as much labor to shape, work, and polish it, particularly in the case of the higher qualities. Commercially marble is extensively used in large blocks and onyx is used very largely in slabs of an inch thick and under, the onyx having an intrinsic value many times that of the marble.

There are extensive deposits of onyx in Arizona; California contains immense deposits in San Luis Obispo County, San Bernardino County, Solano County, and Siskiyou County; and there are also deposits in Arkansas, Missouri, Montana, and Virginia (see the report of Prof. George P. Merrill, curator of the National Museum), but owing to the large importations of the products of the cheap labor of Mexico, Algiers, and Egypt, all of the above-mentioned mines have been, up to the present time, lying idle, except the one in San Luis Obispo County, Cal., owned by our firm, and that we have operated at a loss for several years past.

We respectfully submit that—

This is the remarkable part of the letter—

in view of the foregoing facts—the heavy expense of mining, shaping, working, and polishing onyx, to which must be added the additional cost of transportation and loss from breakage—the proposed increase of 15 cents per cubic foot will be of no practical utility whatever.

In order to enable the owners of those various mines to open up their works, to put their products on the market, and thereby to give employment to thousands of people, we confidently ask that onyx in the rough block be rated under a different heading from marble, and that the tariff be fixed at from two to three dollars per cubic foot—

Sixty-five cents does not reach it at all; it does not come anywhere in the neighborhood of it—

with proportionate rates on manufactured articles; which will be only in proportion to the extra labor expended upon this article as compared with marble.

With great respect, we remain, your obedient servants,

KESSELER BROS.

They inclose what they call an "important question:"

Is there enough of domestic onyx to supply the demand?

This is the important question.

Louis Falkenau, M. E., State assay office, San Francisco, Cal., upon visiting the quarries in 1890, before much work had been done, wrote as follows: "Should the onyx extend all through the hill, as appears highly probable, and the thickness be only 10 feet (a very modest estimate), there are 32,400,000 cubic feet, or 3,240,000 tons of available onyx."

In 1892, after more extensive development of the quarries, Mr. Falkenau wrote as follows: "The area now developed I estimate as about equal to a square the sides of which measure 3,000 feet each, and the vertical height and the horizontal extent of the layers of onyx greatly exceed the average taken by me as a basis for computation in my first report. I consequently feel perfectly justified in stating that by at least doubling the amounts previously quoted by me I will still remain within the bounds of the most conservative estimate possible to the impartial and conscientious investigator." This would make Mr. Falkenau's estimate of 1892 64,800,000 cubic feet. (Full reports amended.)

In August, 1893, Mr. J. J. Fisher, civil engineer and United States deputy mineral surveyor of Arizona, wrote: "On all of the eleven claims onyx has been developed. I consider a very conservative estimate would be 205,004,250 cubic feet (that is, 20,500,425 tons). I estimate by actual measurement that there are 220,671 cubic feet (22,057 tons) of onyx quarried on the dumps." (Full reports amended.)

Mr. J. F. Blandy, M. E., Territorial geologist of Arizona, writes: "Sufficient is known to enable us to say that there is enough to maintain the supply for generations. Average importations of marble and onyx are 450,000 cubic feet a year."

With regard to the San Louis Obispo onyx mines in California it may be safely stated that the same contain about 16,000,000 cubic feet of onyx, according to present indications. We are not in possession of the statistics of the different other mines in this country.

So, in the opinion of these gentlemen, whenever it can be shown that the Almighty has provided us with 205,000,000 cubic feet of onyx the old rate as it stood at 50 cents per cubic foot is not sufficient, and the addition of 15 cents will not reach the necessity, but the tariff must be raised from two to three dollars a foot because we are provided with these hundreds of millions of cubic feet of it in our hills.

I have never seen a better illustration of what has seemed to me to be the absurd claims of protection than is afforded by this letter, and for that reason I present it to the Senate. When the time comes to raise the tax from 50 cents to two or three dollars per cubic foot, I hope the arguments of this letter will receive some consideration at the hands of the Senate.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Missouri, which will be stated.

The SECRETARY. After the word "agate," in line 22, paragraph 112, it is proposed to insert "20 per cent ad valorem."

Mr. VEST. On that I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. HANSBROUGH (when his name was called). I am paired with the senior Senator from Virginia [Mr. DANIEL].

Mr. QUAY (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Alabama [Mr. MORGAN], who, I believe, is not present or voting. If he were present, I should vote "nay."

Mr. WELLINGTON (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the junior Senator from North Carolina [Mr. BUTLER]. In his absence, I withhold my vote.

Mr. WETMORE (when his name was called). I have a pair with the senior Senator from Georgia [Mr. BACON].

Mr. WILSON (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the Senator from Florida [Mr. PASCO].

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. TILLMAN. Has the Senator from Nebraska voted?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. He has not voted.

Mr. TILLMAN. Then I withhold my vote, as I have a pair with that Senator.

Mr. BATE (after having voted in the affirmative). I desire to inquire if the junior Senator from Kentucky [Mr. DEBOE] has voted?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. He has not voted.

Mr. BATE. I withdraw my vote, as I am paired with that Senator.

The result was announced—yeas 17, nays 29; as follows:

YEAS—17.

Caffery,	Lindsay,	Murphy,	Vest,
Chilton,	McLaurin,	Pettus,	Walthall.
Cockrell,	Mallory,	Rawlins,	
Faulkner,	Mills,	Roach,	
Jones, Ark.	Mitchell,	Turpie,	

NAYS—29.

Aldrich,	Fairbanks,	Lodge,	Pritchard,
Allison,	Foraker,	McBride,	Proctor,
Baker,	Frye,	McMillan,	Sewell,
Burrows,	Gallinger,	Mason,	Spooner,
Cannon,	Hale,	Nelson,	Stewart.
Carter,	Hanna,	Perkins,	
Chandler,	Hawley,	Platt, Conn.	
Davis,	Jones, Nev.	Platt, N. Y.	

NOT VOTING—43.

Allen,	Gear,	McEnery,	Teller,
Bacon,	George,	Mantle,	Thurston,
Bate,	Gorman,	Martin,	Tillman,
Berry,	Gray,	Morgan,	Turner,
Butler,	Hansbrough,	Morrill,	Warren,
Clark,	Harris, Kans.	Pasco,	Wellington,
Clay,	Harris, Tenn.	Penrose,	Wetmore,
Cullom,	Heitfeld,	Pettigrew,	White,
Daniel,	Hoar,	Quay,	Wilson,
Deboe,	Kenney,	Shoup,	Wolcott.
Elkins,	Kyle,	Smith,	

So the amendment was rejected.

Mr. CANNON subsequently said: On the last roll call I voted inadvertently. I was paired with the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. BERRY]. I ask unanimous consent that my vote on that roll call may be withdrawn.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. I think there is a rule which prevents that from being done.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. FAULKNER in the chair). The Chair is of the opinion that the rule does not prevent a change or a correction. The Secretary will read the rule.

The Secretary read as follows:

RULE XII.

VOTING, ETC.

1. When the yeas and nays are ordered, the names of Senators shall be called alphabetically; and each Senator shall, without debate, declare his assent or dissent to the question, unless excused by the Senate; and no Senator shall be permitted to vote after the decision shall have been announced by the Presiding Officer, but may for sufficient reasons, with unanimous consent, change or withdraw his vote. No motion to suspend this rule shall be in order, nor shall the Presiding Officer entertain any request to suspend it by unanimous consent.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Utah that his vote be withdrawn and his pair announced as stated? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. ALDRICH. I ask that we may now return to paragraph 111, and I move to modify the committee amendment as indicated on the paper which I send to the desk.

The SECRETARY. After the word "marble," in line 3, page 30, paragraph 111, it is proposed to strike out the words "or onyx;" after the word "foot," in line 4, it is proposed to insert the words "onyx in block, rough or squared, $1.50 per cubic foot."

Mr. VEST. That is about 300 per cent increase over the existing law, is it not?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Just 300 per cent.

Mr. ALDRICH. I do not think it is quite so much.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. It is just 300 per cent.

Mr. VEST (to Mr. JONES of Arkansas). Is that the article you were reading about?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Yes; of which we have 205,000,000 square feet.

Mr. VEST. I suppose this is because none of it is found in the United States and we are dependent upon the importations from abroad, or is it because there is too much in this country? It must be one or the other. According to the information which the Senator from Arkansas read, the supply here is inexhaustible, and yet it is proposed to increase the duty 300 per cent over existing law.

Mr. ALDRICH. I think 300 per cent would be nearer than 300 per cent.

Mr. VEST. It is nearer 300 per cent than 200 per cent.

Mr. ALDRICH. It pays duty now as marble.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. At 50 cents.

Mr. ALDRICH. At 60 cents.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Then it is 250 per cent.

Mr. GALLINGER. Sixty-five cents.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Sixty-five cents.

Mr. CAFFERY. Fifty cents a cubic foot, and it is proposed to increase it to $1.50 per cubic foot.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I thought it was 50 cents.

Mr. ALDRICH. Marble comes in at 50 cents a foot. The increase, therefore, is 300 per cent—three times the present rate.

Mr. CAFFERY. Mr. President, it appears to me, after the Senator from Arkansas has read the statement by some gentleman in California, that our brethren on the other side of the Chamber ought to pause before they put a duty of $1.50 a cubic foot on onyx. There has been no statement made as to any necessity for the increase of tariff. There is not a single fact adduced to warrant the increase of duty from 50 cents a cubic foot to $1.50. Onyx is not a pauper. It is a natural formation. It is one of the benefactions of Providence. Surely it can not be held that any protective tax or tariff is necessary to make onyx any better.

Are there any facts produced, even of a superficial character, as to the comparative cost of labor in countries producing this onyx and in the United States? Not one single fact of any character whatever has been adduced in order to sustain before the American people this extraordinary increase. Under the McKinley Act we are told the tariff was 50 cents a cubic foot. According to the programme announced by the Senator from Rhode Island, it is not the purpose of the pending bill to raise the rates of the McKinley Act. He pointed out that that act had failed of its purpose in a great many particulars. He pointed out that protection had ceased to be a revenue-producing article, and he had to turn to the Democratic principle of a tariff for revenue to eke out the deficiency which he says would be brought about by the operation of a too drastic protective tariff. He has gone to internal-revenue taxes again, and duties upon tea and sugar, and now he has gone back to his ancient love with much more ardor, and embraces the goddess of protection with all the fervor of a new love.

Mr. President, it occurs to me that the Senator from Rhode Island sounded a note of alarm as to the maintenance of the protective theory, and I submit to him whether or not the uncalled for and unjustified increase in the tariff will not in the end dig the grave of protection itself. I do not know to what use onyx is applied, but I would suppose that it is an article of universal consumption. It is needed by the poor and rich alike, and I can therefore see no reason, and I ask the Senator from Rhode Island to please explain the reason, why the tariff rate is to be increased from 50 cents per cubic foot to $1.50.

Mr. ALDRICH. It is raised in order to develop the deposit of onyx in Arizona and other parts of the United States in competition with the Mexican product. So far as I understand it, the price here of Mexican onyx of the better quality is about $12 per cubic foot. Of course $1.50 a foot on that would be 12½ per cent, and I think the price varies from $6 to $12 a cubic foot. The Senator from California [Mr. WHITE] is well informed in regard to the matter, and I am very glad to give him an opportunity to explain it.

Mr. VEST. I will ask the Senator from Rhode Island if it is not a fact that the imports have decreased under the present duty?

Mr. ALDRICH. I think not. I think very much larger importations have come in within the last few years. It has gone into more general use everywhere throughout the country, and it does not seem to me that the rate suggested is an extremely high one, in view of the character of the product.

Mr. VEST. The Senator from Rhode Island says he thinks the imports have not decreased. In 1893, by the comparative statement, the imports were $76,603, while in 1896 they were $65,816.81. It shows a decrease.

Mr. WHITE. I desire to call the attention of the Senator from Missouri to the fact that that includes a great many other things besides onyx.

Mr. ALDRICH. What the Senator from Missouri was reading was miscellaneous manufactures of marble.

Mr. VEST. That includes this.

Mr. ALDRICH. It does not include onyx in block. There is no question whatever but that the importations of onyx in block have increased very largely in the last few years.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The first paragraph is "Onyx or marble, in block."

Mr. VEST. That is the way it reads.

Mr. ALDRICH. That is not the page from which the Senator from Missouri was reading. It is the page preceding.

Mr. VEST. I was reading from the comparative statement.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. It was from that very page. On page 48, the comparative statement, I find:

Marble or onyx, in block, rough or squared only.

Then the importations are given at $76,000 in 1893 as against $65,000 in 1896.

Mr. WHITE. I stated some time ago that I thought this classification ought to be changed, and the committee, I understand, have introduced an amendment changing the classification by raising the tariff upon onyx.

My friend the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. CAFFERY] has spoken of onyx as an article of general consumption. It is in the nature of a luxury. It is not in any sense on the same plane as marble, and the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROCTOR], who is very familiar with the manufacture of marble, I think will coincide with me when I say that the article itself is a very different one; that it is of a much higher grade, more difficult to procure, and more difficult to manufacture.

It is consumed in a far less general mode. Thus in places in which the decoration is quite expensive, where it is desired to have something in the nature of a marble (but where it is not necessary to have something which will bear the wear and tear of marble), and will present a more pleasing surface to the eye, onyx is used. It is used also for small pieces of furniture, for the tops of small tables, but not in large quantities.

It is not an article of general consumption, as is marble, nor is it adapted to many of the uses to which marble is put. It is brittle, and while, as I have said, much more pleasing to the eye, it can not be utilized to stand the strain that marble will. It is essentially a luxury. The figures in the comparative statement alluded to by the Senator from Missouri refer to marble or onyx in block, etc., and it is utterly impossible to segregate them. I do not know what the importations have been. So far as my own experience in the matter is concerned, it is confined to one large deposit, which was worked for a while at very small profit, and has been worked, I think, with very poor success during the last year and by very few men.

If we are to put a tax upon those things which are used for luxurious purposes, and I believe most of us are agreed upon that, there ought to be a discrimination between marble and onyx in favor of the onyx product, just as there ought to be in favor of diamonds as against some other kinds of stone of inferior value. When these articles were put in the same schedule, a mistake was made, and if we are to pursue the policy indicated by this bill at all, or, indeed, any such policy, we ought to make the discrimination to which I have referred. Relatively, as far as the value is concerned, I suppose the duty upon onyx will be below the average percentage in the pending bill, and if we are to have marble on the dutiable list at all, and that seems to have been the policy always pursued, there ought to be a discrimination in favor of onyx. It will not fall upon the poor. It is not imposed upon an article of general consumption, nor is it imposed upon anything that is used as a general rule by the poor classes of the country.

Of course marble has a general use, and it is found all over the United States. The fame of my friend from Vermont [Mr. PROCTOR] has extended from one shore to the other, not only because of his great personal prominence and ability, but likewise because of his familiarity with the subject; and I wish to ask him whether it is not true that onyx is of greater value than marble, and whether he does not think, from his personal knowledge of the matter, although he is not interested in this product, that there ought to be a duty discriminating in favor of onyx?

Mr. PROCTOR. Onyx is more rarely found and is more expensive in production and manufacture. It is found largely in the form of bowlders instead of ledges. I certainly think it is proper that it should have a higher duty than marble. It is a more valuable product and brings a greater price.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. President, I desire to say only a word. I hoped that we would have the support of our friend the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. JONES] in favor of this duty, and therefore I was surprised that he should read a letter and prospectus from some Munchausen company, who think they have discovered a vast onyx mine and propose to distribute the results among the favored ones. Professor Merrill, curator at the National Museum, states that there is onyx in large quantities in the State of Arkansas. Who needs the tariff more than the State of Arkansas to develop this great hidden wealth and bring it out and put it into circulation among our people? In the State which I have the honor in part to represent we have made a beginning. A few years ago we discovered in one of our counties, San Luis Obispo, a deposit of onyx. It lies in strata; as my friend the Senator from Vermont says, in the form of bowlders. It is very brittle. The deposit is a long way from navigation or from railroad trains, is usually in high altitudes, and is far more difficult to mine, not being in strata, like marble and granite. I read from a document before me:

Marble and onyx, while derived from the same elements, are entirely dissimilar in their formation and character.

That is well known to all of us who have observed it.

Marble is an aggregation of small crystals, entirely opaque, while onyx is a crystallin mass throughout, of rare translucency, and possessing the beautiful play of reflection from the interior, which, with its varied colors, constitutes its great beauty.

Marble is generally found in immense natural beds, easily accessible to railroads and other conveyances, and can be taken out in blocks of any convenient size at small expense, while onyx is almost invariably found at great elevations and in inaccessible locations. The formation is generally in small sizes, and it must be handled with great care on account of its brittleness, and transported at heavy expense.

Marble is tractable, easy sawed, worked, and polished. Onyx is rebellious in its nature, of much greater density and weight, and takes from four to five

times as much labor to shape, work, and polish it, particularly in the case of the higher qualities. Commercially, marble is extensively used in large blocks, and onyx is used very largely in slabs of an inch thick and under, the onyx having an intrinsic value many times that of marble.

I have been impressed with the fact of its beauty in visiting some of the places west of the Rocky Mountains where temperance beverages are distilled. The onyx is sought to be used for counters and for panel work. Millionaires indulge in the luxury. We wish to give employment to our laboring men, to take the onyx from the mines, saw it, and polish it, and thus get some of the wealth that the great trusts of the country have and distribute it among the workingmen.

As my colleague has stated, onyx has not been discovered in very large quantities nor in very large deposits. The late deposit in Arizona of which my friend the Senator from Arkansas read is all in the future, and I think the truth has been painted in Titian colors in the prospectus. It usually is in such publications.

I think the amendment should go one step further and that there should be a duty upon the superficial or square feet of onyx slab that has been sawn and brought into this country. I believe the greatest producer of onyx in its rarest quality and in the gem of sparkling light is Mexico. I remember that some years since, when in the city of Pueblo, visiting the cathedral. There were magnificent altars and pilasters and beautiful Corinthian columns carved out of onyx. They represented many days and months and years of labor, and it is Mexican labor that we have to fear in competition with foreign onyx. We on this side do not want to take time in debate, but are willing to let our friends on the other side, who can talk so much better than the rest of us, debate these questions. So I do not want to take up the time; but if my friend the Senator from Arkansas will consider the question in the future he will say this is one of the measures that his constituents will thank him or the Republican party for having placed upon our statute books.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Mr. President, by the comparative statement submitted to the Senate it appears that marble or onyx in block, rough or squared, of all kinds, was imported in 1893 to the extent of 457,600.33 feet, and there were imported in 1896 338,207.02 feet, nearly 100,000 feet less than were imported in 1893. The revenue derived from that was $758,749.60 in 1893, and $627,736 in 1896. So, while there was a considerable decrease in the amount of importations, there was a comparatively small decrease in the revenue derived from it under the reduced rate of taxation from 65 cents to 50 cents a cubic foot.

Now, I understand that we pretend, in undertaking to pass this bill, that we want to raise more revenue. If this tax is raised from 50 cents to $1.50, there is not a man in the Senate who believes there will be one single cent derived from revenue under this article.

Mr. ALDRICH. Here is one man who believes that exactly. Take the better grades of Mexican onyx, and the rate which we suggest here will not keep out one single cubic foot.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I am very much more astonished at the attitude of the Senator from Rhode Island than the Senator from California [Mr. WHITE] was to find me not in favor of the tax on this article. At the rate of taxation now, the importations seem to me clearly to show that we reach about the limit to which it can reasonably be expected to go; and yet there is a proposition here to increase this tax 300 per cent, and under a bill in which we say we are undertaking to raise revenue.

Mr. ALDRICH. I suppose that the Senator from Arkansas will agree with me that the importation of onyx has never been of sufficient importance in any previous tariff bill to have it specifically named. The preparation and use of onyx in this country is practically a new industry, and heretofore in no tariff act, unless in the act of 1894, which the Senator had a great deal to do with, was it thought necessary to make a particular and specific designation of the article of onyx.

Now for the first time it has become of sufficient importance to have a rate fixed, and I am inclined to think that the rate suggested by the committee will prove exactly what the Senator from Arkansas thinks it ought to be, a revenue duty. As I said, the expensive onyx which comes from Mexico will come here and will be used in public buildings, hotels, and elsewhere, and, in my judgment, the question of a difference of a dollar and a half a cubic foot in price will not affect the use at all.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Of course it is a matter of conjecture as to what effect this rate will have on the market; nobody can tell; it must be a matter of opinion. The unit of value as given in this paragraph is $1.66 for 1893 and $1.70 for 1890. A tax of $1.50 a cubic foot would be something like 100 per cent on this product.

Mr. ALDRICH. That is marble.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Marble and onyx.

Mr. WHITE. The onyx is merely microscopic in quantity and of no particular importance.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The two are included in it. We have no information upon that point. That is all we know; and we must take the comparative statement as made up by the statistician of the Treasury Department and sent to the Senate.

Mr. HALE. That is the basis.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. But the importations clearly come under this classification.

Mr. HALE. The basis was the marble. The onyx was not reckoned, although it had been put in with it as a part of the same clause. The $1.60 does not in any way apply to onyx.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Will the Senator explain under what head onyx came in?

Mr. HALE. It did not come in at all except at the general rate. No special rate was fixed upon it.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. It was certainly imported through the custom-house somehow.

Mr. ALDRICH. As marble.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Precisely; as the Senator says, it is included in marble. I can not tell how much was marble, but it was included in the paragraph as onyx, because that is the statement which comes from the Treasury.

Mr. ALDRICH. What the Senator from Maine means is that it did not furnish any correct information in regard to the import price of onyx.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Of course every Senator understands that it does not mean that there was this amount of onyx imported and at this price. It was marble and onyx, onyx coming in as marble and classified as marble under the old law. We all understand that. What proportion was marble and what proportion was onyx, I do not know, and I do not suppose anybody else does. But I do know if it had an exceedingly low rate the importations of it would thereby, as one would suppose, be very much facilitated, and we would have larger importations of onyx under this classification than we would have under the new, especially if we make a new classification of it. If instead of a tax of 50 cents a cubic foot we make it a dollar and a half, there certainly will be less importations under the new classification.

The junior Senator from California [Mr. WHITE] says this is an article of luxury. I believe in taxing articles of luxury, but not in imposing such a rate of taxation on articles of luxury as will absolutely defeat taxation altogether. I do not believe in putting a tax even on an article of luxury so high that none of it would come into the country and the revenue be absolutely destroyed from it.

In reply to the suggestion of the senior Senator from California [Mr. PERKINS] that he is surprised to find I am not in favor of a tax on onyx because it is found in my State, I have to say that I am one of those who conscientiously believe that there is no right in the Government of the United States to levy taxes upon the people of the United States except for revenue purposes, and that even though the people of Arkansas might be benefited by the levying of a tax which brings no revenue into the Treasury, but simply enables one class of American citizens to sell their products at higher prices to the balance of the country, while they might get a benefit from that sort of tax, I for one, while I breathe the breath of life, would never be caught favoring a tax of that sort.

I look upon that sort of taxation as robbery clear and simple; and no matter if it is done under forms of law, it does not make it any the less reprehensible; it does not make it any the less objectionable. I believe that there is no right to do it, and I believe that protectionists generally will not willingly and readily admit that they are in favor of levying a tax the sole purpose of which is to take money out of the pockets of the masses of the people, the consumers of any article, to increase the prices that are paid to other people.

There is always a pretense or a claim that there is some revenue to be derived from a tax of this kind. Levying taxes simply for the purpose of taking money from one class of people and giving it to another will not be openly advocated. I do not believe in a tax such as is asked by this Munchausen, spoken of by the Senator from California. And, by the way, this Munchausen is one of the Senator's constituents. I believe he is the only worker of an onyx mine there is in California. I was sorry to hear the Senator apply language of that sort to a manufacturer of this article in the great State of California. I supposed that he was a man entitled to some sort of consideration, and I am sorry the Senator considers him of no higher dignity and importance than the typical liar of all the ages, Munchausen.

I believe, Mr. President, that the imposition of a tax such as this California man wants on onyx will absolutely prevent it from being imported into this country. The committee did not go to the extent this correspondent asked them to go. He wanted from two to three dollars a square foot on the 205,000,000 square feet that are to be found, as he assured us, in the different deposits in the United States. He wanted the owners of it to be able to raise the price above what it is now two or three dollars a square foot. The Senate committee stopped halfway in his request, and if they should succeed in increasing the price of onyx and get it all into

market, it will be a pretty lively tax on the American people as a whole. A dollar and a half a square foot on 205,000,000 square feet of onyx, which is found in unlimited quantities in all parts of the country, would amount to a considerable sum at last.

Mr. RAWLINS. Mr. President, the objection to the proposed amendment is, I understand, that it raises the duty as provided in the present law some 300 per cent. The question which we ought to consider is what relation the proposed duty will have to other duties provided in the bill. I think if the Senator from Arkansas will make inquiry as to the price at which onyx is disposed of in the markets and then compare the duty now proposed by the amendment, he will find that it will in no degree exceed the average duties in the bill.

It is probable, in my judgment, that we are manufacturing and producing onyx in the State which I have the honor in part to represent at not to exceed 30 per cent ad valorem. It is an article which it is exceedingly difficult to produce and to put into form for the market. It has to be handled with the utmost care when manufactured. It is utilized for purposes of ornamentation. There is nothing more beautiful, but it is distinctly a luxury. No one except those who have money to expend lavishly will ever indulge in this sort of luxury.

I am therefore in favor of this increase, while generally in accord with the opinion of the Senator from Arkansas on the question of tariff revision. In order that the duties in the bill may be so adjusted that the burden may be as equally distributed as may be, I shall vote for the amendment.

Mr. CAFFERY. Mr. President, both my friend from California [Mr. WHITE] and my friend from Arkansas [Mr. JONES] made the statement that we produce onyx only for the rich. They based their statement upon the fact that it is a rock or stone of a lustrous, beautiful appearance, and from that they gather that it will be used only as ornaments by the wealthy.

The senior Senator from California [Mr. PERKINS] discusses the question from the standpoint of labor cost. So does the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH]. It appears that there is a great deal of this rock deposit in Mexico, and it is as against the cheap peon labor of Mexico that he demands this high tariff of 300 per cent over the rates prevailing in the McKinley Act.

It appears that there are 205,000,000 cubic feet of this rock in one State—the State of California—but the testimony of that witness is sharply assailed by the senior Senator from California. He calls him Munchausen. Is it possible that a patriotic gentleman engaged in the delightful service of this California prospector can be a Munchausen? He is asking for the glories of protection. Does protection have the effect of making the promoters of that delightful scheme of government tell Munchausen stories? Why did not the Senator from California compare him to Ananias, the original liar? I do not know that Ananias wanted to be protected, but this prospector from California certainly did when he demanded for this infant rock, placed there by the hands of the Almighty in the formation of the universe, a protection of 300 per cent.

Mr. President, I am not one of those who can see into the statement made by the Senator from California on my right and the Senator from Kansas, that because a particular rock is lustrous and beautiful, because it is fitted for purposes of ornamentation, therefore the poor man ought not to use it. The poor have as much right to use and take as much pleasure in using the beautiful gifts of Providence as the rich. And behind all this must stand some syndicate or some promoter who wants to levy upon the consumers in the United States an additional tax—a burden, rather—of a dollar and a half a cubic foot on the 205,000,000 cubic feet, giving them the nice little sum of about $350,000,000 for one of the beneficences of Providence. I do not care how lustrous it is, how beautiful it is, they have not shown that it costs a dime more to get it out of the quarry than marble, with which it has always been allied in the tariff bills. The tariff upon marble of 50 cents a cubic foot is supposed to equalize the labor of pauper Europe with the high-priced labor of America.

I know something about the peons. I have seen the peons; I have been among the peons. I would not have them if you would give me their labor. They are dear labor if they are given to you. This everlasting comparison of inefficient labor with the most efficient labor in the world, in America, is becoming a little nauseating and fails of its purpose. You have not proved your case. When you have proved that the peon laborer of Mexico gets 12½ cents a day and a free laborer in America gets a dollar and a dollar and a half a day engaged in these occupations of manual labor, you have got to prove something else. You must prove that there is the need for protection other than the comparative rates between such labor as the Mexican peon labor and the highly efficient labor of America.

There is no apology or excuse for this tariff. Perhaps local interests may somewhat confuse a man's mind and becloud his judgment; he wants a tariff upon what will protect his immediate constituents; but I submit, sir, that in legislating for the whole United States, our vision can not be circumscribed to the immediate locality, but its sweep must take in the whole United States, embrace every man, woman, and child in it, and then see how the tariff works.

Mr. WHITE. My distinguished friend from Louisiana slightly exaggerates my position—just slightly—when he says that I am in favor of a higher tax upon onyx than upon marble because onyx appears to be beautiful. So far as I am personally concerned, I suppose I agree with the Senator from Louisiana, who would not tax anything beautiful simply for that reason. I should like to inquire of the Senator from Louisiana whether he ever saw a piece of onyx?

Mr. CAFFERY. I do not know that I have.

Mr. WHITE. I thought not.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Did you ever see anybody that has not seen it?

Mr. WHITE. The Senator from Arkansas asks me whether I have ever seen any man who has seen onyx, from which I infer that the Senator from Arkansas never saw it.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I did not ask you that question.

Mr. WHITE. Then I misunderstood you. What was the Senator's question?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I asked you if you had ever seen anybody who had not seen it.

Mr. WHITE. If I had not seen anyone prior to to-day, I have discovered an individual of that kind at this moment in the person of the Senator from Louisiana, who has responded as the Senator from Arkansas has heard.

Mr. CAFFERY. I stated to the Senator from California that I did not know that I had ever seen it.

Mr. WHITE. Precisely.

Mr. CAFFERY. I have seen what they call onyx, but I did not know whether it was onyx or not; and I did not know whether the people who told me that it was onyx knew anything about it.

Mr. WHITE. That is a condition of negation which fully justifies me in assuming that the basis of the Senator's argument is entirely wanting.

Mr. President, the duty proposed by this amendment is a less ad valorem tax than the tax upon sugar, for which myself and the Senator from Louisiana will vote when we get a schedule that suits us—not the present schedule, which I understand will never be voted upon by the Senate.

In the classification contained in this bill onyx is included with marble, and because there have been, generally, importations including both we are proceeding, it seems, to discuss onyx as if all the arguments applicable to the case of marble applied to onyx. I have said that onyx is a luxury, and my friend the Senator from Arkansas says that he is in favor of taxing luxuries, but not of putting a prohibitive tax upon them. I agree with him; we stand upon exactly the same platform; and I affirm the statement of the Senator from Rhode Island to be correct when he says that this will add to and not diminish revenue. Onyx, which has not been seen, it seems, by a few of those who have spoken upon this matter (at least they are not willing to testify to its identification), is an article of luxury, and it is used by so few that even my distinguished friend from Louisiana is unwilling to stake his reputation upon the proposition that he has ever seen the bona fide article.

As to the proposition that there is a great deal of onyx in the ground, because some one says that there are millions of tons of onyx deposited in the womb of nature, my friend from Louisiana declares that we are going to tax the American people. Why, it is said that there is more gold to be found in the Western mountains than has ever been taken from them; and I suppose that is true. But yet we have not been able to obtain possession of that precious metal, and we probably shall not be able to obtain possession of it all until the present Administration and the present Senate have passed into history.

I repeat, that the tax proposed by the committee on this article is between 30 and 40 per cent ad valorem; that it is a low tax, and that the circumstances would justify the imposition of a much higher tax. The article being used as an article of luxury, it will never be generally utilized. It is true, if we could produce it in vast quantities and with cheap labor, it might be found in the homes of those who are poor; but we know that it is almost impossible now to produce it at a profit in this country; that enterprises have failed in endeavoring to do so, or have at least gone on with very slight profit. While we ought not at the expense of public taxation build up individual fortunes, yet when we must raise revenue, and when it is very doubtful whether the bill will raise enough revenue, there is no wrong, no crime, no inconsistency in imposing this small tax upon an article of luxury at least.

Mr. CAFFERY. I must confess to a want of knowledge of the rocks of the earth and the various different varieties of rocks. I have been shown in my life various stones and rocks stated to be of this, that, and the other character; but when we come to anything of the kind, in the absence of information, I can only answer such questions as the Senator from California put to me by

general negations. I could not tell onyx or marble, being perhaps similar to some other rock, if specimens of the different materials were presented to me.

My friend from California appears to be a very considerable geologist and mineralogist, and to be quite familiar with all these different grades of rock, but I must submit again to the Senator that, whilst I have unbounded confidence in his statements generally, I have not perceived from his statements any evidence whatever of two facts: First, that onyx is a luxury, and, second, that the price of it is so high that this raise of 300 per cent will only amount to 30 per cent ad valorem tariff upon it. The comparative statements of the Bureau of Statistics or any other official source that I know of give no sort of information in this regard, and we must have, I submit to my brother and friend, a little better testimony than he has produced of the market price of this article, of which he does not even declare himself to be entirely competent to speak.

My friend has branched off from this hard and rough subject of marble and onyx to the soft and luscious subject of sugar. He said when the sugar schedule came up, if it suited us, we would vote for it. He in his State is making beet sugar, and I in my State and my constituents are making cane sugar. Now, from the province of absolute scholastic and scientific attainment, my friend has branched off into the province of prophecy. Neither the present schedule on sugar nor the proposed one in the Dingley bill will meet with my approval. I shall vote for neither.

Mr. WHITE. The Senator from Louisiana did not understand me as saying that he approved either, I trust.

Mr. CAFFERY. I did not understand the Senator to say so.

The present tariff on sugar suits me. It is an ad valorem tariff upon an article of revenue. You want a tariff upon an article that is not shown to be able to produce one dime of revenue. I only want a tariff on articles that will produce revenue; and I say here distinctly that if, in my opinion, sugar were not an article to produce revenue, I would not vote for a duty on it.

Mr. WHITE. The Senator will permit me to say that if the duty upon onyx were not a strictly revenue duty, I should not vote for that.

Mr. CAFFERY. Mr. President, it would require but infinitesimal space to hold the vast amount of revenue which would come from onyx, when not a single dime has ever been reported as having been derived from it; yet it is a little invidious for Democrats to be drawing a distinction between a revenue article and one that the Senator from California knows to be not a revenue article. The tariff on this article will be absolutely prohibitive. How can this heavy article be transported from Mexico to compete with the beds of it lying in the United States? The transportation feature is a protection, as it is in nearly all articles of great bulk. That is protection sufficient. Do you want, in order to develop the onyx beds in California, that a tariff should be placed upon an article to be cultivated into great growth that is now a mere infant? Is that the purpose? Then it is a protective purpose, and not a Democratic purpose.

I believe that the ability, the capacity, the ingenuity, the skill of Americans can develop from mother earth everything lying anywhere in her soil as cheaply as anybody in the world, and I do not believe they want any protection. You can not put this protective mantle around the blessings of Providence. We have them; we have this onyx lying in the earth in California, and all the purpose of a protective tariff upon it is simply to allow the owners of these beds, or the exploiters of this mineral, to charge more for it to the American people than they could otherwise get.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Mr. President, it seems to me that we ought not to get away from the point involved in this discussion. The only theory on which this tariff is proposed to be imposed, I presume, is to equalize the labor cost between this country and other countries. Now, the question is the amount of labor that is necessary to get out a cubic foot of marble as against a cubic foot of onyx. Onyx is a softer material than marble; its location is known in millions and millions of cubic feet. There is no difficulty about its location.

It is the mere question of the labor involved in getting out a cubic foot of this material. With the greater labor necessary in the United States to produce a cubic foot of marble than of onyx, we have had heretofore a tax of 50 cents to protect American labor in getting out a foot of marble, and we propose to raise it now to 65 cents, and to the smaller amount of labor necessary to get out a cubic foot of onyx we propose to give a protection of $1.50.

There can be no justification for this rate on any theory, even of protection. It can not be defended except by frankly admitting that the purpose of the Senate is to give to those who happen to own hills where onyx is located a higher price than they could otherwise get for what the Almighty has put within their reach without charge.

Mr. PERKINS. I will say to my friend from Arkansas that it costs fully three to four times as much, to my knowledge, to mine onyx as it does to mine marble.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Why is that? Onyx is softer and easier to work.

Mr. PERKINS. My friend evidently does not understand how onyx is located in the earth as compared with marble. It has never yet been found and worked in any mine in the United States except in the bowlder formation in detached bunches; and the largest piece that has been found in California of which I have any knowledge was some 10 or 15 feet long. It is mined by labor that costs $2.50 per day, while the same class of work is performed in Mexico by labor that costs 50 cents per day.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. What is the cost of quarrying marble at the same time?

Mr. PERKINS. We have a marble quarry in Inyo County, where the wages are about the same per day; but one miner will mine 5 tons, 40 cubic feet to the ton, of marble while getting 1 ton of onyx.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The gentleman whose letter I read a short time ago to the Senate gave the statements of two scientific men who gave the contents of one location at 3,000 feet to the side and 10 feet thick. That was located in the Senator's own State, and located by a man who claimed to be the only miner and producer of this article in that great Golden State of the West.

Mr. PERKINS. I will correct my friend again. That was in Arizona, and was in the imagination of the writer. I think he originally came from Arkansas, and now lives in New York, and is located in Wall street. His prospectus was drawn in New York at all events. It referred simply to the surface formation. It might have been all onyx, or but 20 per cent of it might have been onyx. It has not yet been developed; it is yet in its primitive state, so far as we have any knowledge.

Of course it is very easy to write a prospectus in Titian colors, in order that people may be invited to see the beautiful polished marble in some temperance saloon in the city; but, nevertheless, I speak advisedly when I speak of those mines in California, in San Luis Obispo County, where they have never developed any defined quarry of onyx.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The letter I read was postmarked "San Francisco," and if I am not mistaken that is in California.

Mr. PERKINS. Certainly.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. And the writer of it claimed to be a citizen of California. Whether he was or not, I do not know. He may have been a Munchausen. I hope, if he is, he is the only one in California. I have no doubt the writer was in California, and lived in California, and he pretended in his letter to be mining onyx in California. He said there was onyx in Arizona, New Mexico, Arkansas, and a number of other States, and he was doubtless right in that respect; but that that letter came from a citizen of California who claimed to be working California onyx, I imagine the Senator will not be able to deny after he has looked at the letter. I am sorry it has gone from me to the Reporter, but it will be in the RECORD to-morrow morning as it was written by the individual, and then the Senator can see it.

Mr. PERKINS. I will ask the Senator if it was a typewritten letter?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The letter was not written, but was printed, with my name written at the top. I presume the letter was sent to other Senators as well as to me, and I presume every Senator had a copy of it. If the Senator from California knew that this was an Arkansas man masquerading in Wall street under false pretenses, and pretending to be a Californian for the purpose of respectability, the Senator ought to have exposed him before now.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President, I dislike to prolong this discussion, but looking at it coldly as it appears before us, the case seems to be about this, that those who claim to know something about this, who at least affirm that they do, and who reside in California and have seen onyx and are willing to testify accordingly, make a declaration regarding it, and then witnesses go upon the stand who declare that because they do not know as much as those who do know, therefore there is nothing in the proposition. I am willing to submit the case upon that kind of testimony.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. It is a most astonishing thing to me that my friend from California should undertake to create the impression that there is anything remarkable about onyx. I doubt if there is a house in the city of Washington or in the State of Maryland that has not a piece of onyx in it. Everybody knows what it is, everybody has seen it, and everybody understands that it is a form of marble. It is an article that is used for making clocks, for making tables, and for making all sorts of ornaments that are used in houses everywhere; and it is astonishing to me that my friend from California should undertake at least to speak as if he supposed that a great many people had no conception of what onyx was. Everybody understands perfectly well what it is, and the effort to increase this tax 300 per cent above what it is now is indefensible and can not be laughed into respectability.

Mr. WHITE. I simply took the admission of parties as evidence. I concede that confession alone does not establish the corpus delicti, and I am willing again to rest the case.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the amendment to the amendment reported by the committee.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I call for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CAFFERY (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Michigan [Mr. BURROWS].

Mr. CANNON (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Arkansas [Mr. BERRY]. If he were present, he would vote "nay" and I should vote "yea."

The PRESIDING OFFICER (when Mr. FAULKNER'S name was called). The present occupant of the chair is paired with the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. ELKINS]; otherwise he would vote "nay."

Mr. PENROSE (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Delaware [Mr. KENNEY]. Were he present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. PLATT of New York (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Louisiana [Mr. MCENERY], and therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. WETMORE (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Georgia [Mr. BACON], and therefore withhold my vote.

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. MCMILLAN. I am paired with the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. LINDSAY], who has not voted, and I therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. TILLMAN. I am paired with the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. THURSTON], and therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. BATE (after having voted in the negative). I desire to inquire if the junior Senator from Kentucky [Mr. DEBOE] has voted?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair is informed that the Senator from Kentucky has not voted.

Mr. BATE. Then I withdraw my vote, as I am paired with that Senator.

The result was announced—yeas 31, nays 17; as follows:

YEAS—31.

Aldrich,	Frye,	McBride,	Sewell,
Allison,	Gallinger,	Nelson,	Shoup,
Carter,	Gear,	Perkins,	Spooner,
Chandler,	Hale,	Platt, Conn.	Stewart,
Clark,	Hanna,	Pritchard,	Warren,
Davis,	Hawley,	Proctor,	Wellington,
Fairbanks,	Jones, Nev.	Quay,	White.
Foraker,	Lodge,	Rawlins,	

NAYS—17.

Chilton,	McLaurin,	Murphy,	Vest,
Clay,	Mallory,	Pettus,	Walthall.
Cockrell,	Mills,	Roach,	
Harris, Kans.	Mitchell,	Smith,	
Jones, Ark.	Morgan,	Turpie,	

NOT VOTING—41.

Allen,	Deboe,	Kyle,	Platt, N. Y.
Bacon,	Elkins,	Lindsay,	Teller,
Baker,	Faulkner,	McEnery,	Thurston,
Bate,	George,	McMillan,	Tillman,
Berry,	Gorman,	Mantle,	Turner,
Burrows,	Gray,	Martin,	Wetmore,
Butler,	Hansbrough,	Mason,	Wilson,
Caffery,	Harris, Tenn.	Morrill,	Wolcott.
Cannon,	Heitfeld,	Pasco,	
Cullom,	Hoar,	Penrose,	
Daniel,	Kenney,	Pettigrew,	

So the amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question recurs on the amendment of the committee as amended.

The amendment as amended was agreed to.

The reading of the bill was resumed at paragraph 113, on page 31.

Mr. VEST. I move to strike out the word "fifteen," before the words "per cent," and put these articles upon the free list. I ask for the yeas and nays upon the amendment.

Burr stones are free under the Wilson Act, and now it is proposed to put a duty of 15 per cent ad valorem on them. If there is any excuse for that sort of legislation, I do not know what it is. Burr stones are articles of absolute necessity.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair understands the motion of the Senator from Missouri to be to strike out paragraph 113.

Mr. VEST. Yes; for the purpose of putting burr stones on the free list.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment of the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST] will be stated.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to strike out paragraph 113, on page 31, as follows:

113. Burr stones, manufactured or bound up into millstones, 15 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment was rejected.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 114, line 9, before the word "cents," to strike out "ten" and insert "fourteen;" so as to make the paragraph read:

114. Freestone, granite, sandstone, limestone, and other building or monumental stone, except marble and onyx, unmanufactured or undressed, not specially provided for in this act, 14 cents per cubic foot.

Mr. VEST. I move to strike out "fourteen" and insert "seven;" and on that I intend to call for the yeas and nays.

I should like to be heard just a minute upon this paragraph. Here is a rise of 3 cents over the McKinley Act—from 11 to 14 cents. The rate in the Wilson Act was 7 cents, and the comparative statement shows that of manufactures of stone we imported into this country in 1896, $625,213 worth; that we imported of rough stone $21,333, and of dressed stone $320,432.99 worth, making a balance of trade in favor of the United States of some $175,000 or $180,000. Notwithstanding the fact that we supply the domestic market and export this large amount I have mentioned, the exports were $635,215.

Mr. President, the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH] was kind enough to inform us, I believe on Saturday last, that there were but five or six places in this bill where the committee had increased the rates over those in the McKinley Act. Here is a plain rise of 3 cents. If there is any sort of excuse for it, I do not know it. Of course that is chargeable to my ignorance. Here is a manifest and palpable departure from the McKinley Act, which was the very highest taxation we ever had in this country, and an increase of 3 cents specific.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST] will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In paragraph 114, on page 31, line 9, before the word "cents," it is proposed to amend the committee amendment by striking out "fourteen" and inserting "seven."

Mr. CAFFERY. Looking at paragraph 114, I see that in 1893 there were 147,416.11 cubic feet of this stone imported, and in 1896 there were 65,182.33 cubic feet imported. This, therefore, was a diminishing import under a diminished tariff, which the McKinley law made 11 cents and the present law makes 7 cents. Now, I hope that a witness whom I will cite in this particular will not be called a Munchausen or of any kindred or relationship whatever to Ananias. This witness is Mr. John J. Allen, of Brooklyn, who states in a long communication to the Committee on Ways and Means of the House of Representatives:

The brownstone or freestone industry is therefore essentially an industry to be fostered. Sandstone has so largely entered into use as a building material that it may properly be regarded as a necessity and not a luxury. It has become a standard article of architectural use as well as of ordinary masonry construction.

Now, we have not here an article of luxury upon which the argument can be based that the rich ought to be taxed irrespective of income or revenue, but we have an article of everyday use, of absolute necessity, one that every man of ordinary means may avail himself of in making his house or any other structure that he desires; and in the face of the fact that we export more of this stone than we import, and that under the lower rates of the Wilson law a less amount was imported than under the higher rates of the McKinley law, we are asked to raise the rate of duty 3 cents, from 11 to 14 cents—3 cents higher than the McKinley rate.

This is certainly not in line with the declaration of the Senator from Rhode Island, who said he wanted a moderate tariff, in order that there might be some permanency insured through this tariff legislation. I submit to the Senate whether this rise can be justified on any ground, either of protection or of revenue.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on the amendment of the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST] to the amendment proposed by the committee.

Mr. VEST. I call for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BATE (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. DEBOE].

Mr. CAFFERY (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Michigan [Mr. BURROWS].

Mr. CANNON (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Arkansas [Mr. BERRY]. If he were here, he would vote "yea" and I should vote "nay."

Mr. MCMILLAN (when his name was called). I announce my pair with the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. LINDSAY].

Mr. MALLORY (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROCTOR]. If he were present, he would vote "nay" and I should vote "yea."

Mr. PLATT of New York (when his name was called). I announce my pair with the junior Senator from Louisiana [Mr. MCENERY].

Mr. TILLMAN (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. THURSTON].

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. HOAR. I transfer my pair with the Senator from Washington [Mr. TURNER] to the Senator from Illinois [Mr. MASON], and I will vote. I vote "nay."

Mr. HARRIS of Kansas. I announce my pair with the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. CLARK].

Mr. MCMILLAN. In order to make a quorum I will vote. I vote "nay."

Mr. PLATT of New York. I will vote in order to make a quorum. I vote "nay."

The result was announced—yeas 18, nays 27; as follows:

YEAS—18.

Bacon,	Jones, Ark.	Murphy,	Turpie,
Chilton,	McLaurin,	Pettus,	Vest,
Clay,	Mills,	Rawlins,	Walthall.
Cockrell,	Mitchell,	Roach,	
Faulkner,	Morgan,	Smith,	

NAYS—27.

Aldrich,	Frye,	Jones, Nev.	Pritchard,
Allison,	Gallinger,	Lodge,	Quay,
Burrows,	Gear,	McBride,	Sewell,
Carter,	Hale,	McMillan,	Shoup,
Chandler,	Hanna,	Perkins,	Spooner,
Fairbanks,	Hawley,	Platt, Conn.	Wetmore.
Foraker,	Hoar,	Platt, N. Y.	

NOT VOTING—44.

Allen,	Deboe,	Lindsay,	Proctor,
Baker,	Elkins,	McEnery,	Stewart,
Bate,	George,	Mallory,	Teller,
Berry,	Gorman,	Mantle,	Thurston,
Butler,	Gray,	Martin,	Tillman,
Caffery,	Hansbrough,	Mason,	Turner,
Cannon,	Harris, Kans.	Morrill,	Warren,
Clarke,	Harris, Tenn.	Nelson,	Wellington,
Cullom,	Heitfeld,	Pasco,	White,
Daniel,	Kenney,	Penrose,	Wilson,
Davis,	Kyle,	Pettigrew,	Wolcott.

So the amendment to the amendment was rejected.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. FAULKNER in the chair). The question recurs on agreeing to the amendment reported by the Committee on Finance.

The amendment was agreed to.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 115, page 31, line 14, before the words "per centum," to strike out "forty" and insert "fifty;" so as to make the paragraph read:

115. Freestone, granite, sandstone, limestone, and other building or monumental stone, except marble and onyx, not specially provided for in this act, hewn, dressed, or polished, 50 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. VEST. I move to strike out "fifty" and insert "thirty."

Mr. President, it becomes my melancholy duty to call the attention of the Senator from Rhode Island to another rate in excess of that in the McKinley Act. He informed us that there were only five or six. I think we have already gone over some thirty or forty—I have not enumerated them—and here is another duty exceeding that in the McKinley Act. The further we go with this bill, I am sorry to say, the more evident it is that our friends on the other side have lost all respect and veneration for their great ideal tariff act, named after the President of the United States. I ask for the yeas and nays on the question of agreeing to the amendment to the amendment.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, I do not desire to take up any time on this schedule or on this particular duty, but I do wish to say that it is far from being a high duty. It strikes me and always has struck me that it is one of the lowest, in view of the comparative labor cost. The labor cost here is just double what it is in Scotland, and it is a very heavy competition for us to meet. I myself think the duty ought to be a great deal higher. The cost of the product is almost entirely labor, and having to pay here just double wages, renders it absolutely necessary, unless we want to drive the granite industry out of this country, to give it adequate protection. I consider this very far from what it ought to be. It is less than what is given to marble.

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President, I shall not occupy much time, as I am very anxious to vote on the amendment, but I wish to put in the RECORD some facts concerning the matter under discussion.

First, without reading, I ask permission to insert in the RECORD an extract from a letter received by me from J. G. Batterson, jr., who is very largely interested in the manufacture of granite in my own city as well as in other cities of the country, and whose firm furnished the beautiful granite that was used in the construction of the Congressional Library. I ask permission to have the letter inserted in the RECORD without reading.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and that will be the order.

The letter is as follows:

NEW YORK, *May 28, 1897.*

MY DEAR SENATOR: You will be conferring a great favor and earning the everlasting gratitude of the stone cutters and manufacturers of New England if you succeed in increasing the tariff on finished work to a point where American labor can compete with the foreign product. There are only a few concerns in the United States who make it a business of importing, and the majority of those have little or no financial standing; and any statements made by them as to hardships imposed upon them by increase of tariff are of no importance as compared with the other side of the question.

There are about 15,000 stonecutters in the United States, and 10,000 of these men are employed in New England. The granite centers, such as Quincy, Barre, Concord, and Westerly, have suffered severely during the past few years of hard times; and the small work, such as headstones and small monuments costing from $100 to $500, on which the small manufacturers have been depending for their work, has been, through competition with foreign granites, so cut to pieces that there is nothing left in it for any except those handling foreign work on commission.

Yours, truly,

J. G. BATTERSON, Jr.

Hon. JACOB H. GALLINGER,
United States Senate Chamber, Washington, D. C.

Mr. GALLINGER. I also ask permission to insert in the RECORD a resolution adopted by the Commercial Club of Concord, N. H., touching this question.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If there be no objection, the resolution will be printed in the RECORD. The Chair hears none.

The resolution is as follows:

CONCORD, N. H., *May 29, 1897.*

DEAR SIR: At a meeting of the Concord Commercial Club, held this date, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

"*Resolved*, That the Concord Commercial Club heartily indorses the action of the Concord Granite Manufacturers' Association looking to the securing of a sufficient tariff on imported granite to equalize the labor cost of the product between this and foreign countries."

Respectfully, yours,

H. H. CHASE, *Secretary.*

Hon. J. H. GALLINGER,
United States Senator, Washington, D. C.

Mr. GALLINGER. I will read a letter received a short time ago from T. P. Sullivan, of Concord, N. H., who has had very large experience in the matter of manufacturing granite, but who is not now in that business. He writes me as follows:

CONCORD, N. H., *May 10, 1897.*

MY DEAR SENATOR: Your favor of the 6th is at hand; also a copy of the Dingley amended tariff bill. I would say that of course I am interested in the granite end of it, although I am entirely out of the business; but nevertheless I am interested in every item in the bill that keeps United States dollars to be spent in the United States instead of having them spent in any other country. As to the granite part of it, the item on the rough material is probably all right, because I think from the nature of the European quarries we can not get hurt from that source; but there are some in Canada and the Provinces that we should have no special cause for allowing to be opened up at our expenses; but I think 14 cents sufficient.

As to the duty on dressed granite, it should be more than 50 per cent ad valorem. While 50 per cent may look large, the real fact is that 50 per cent of the duty on the actual cost is as much as we ever get on account of no real supervision or intelligent inspection at the port of shipment. To-day the entire granite importation is in the hands of combinations that control the price and control who the buyers are to be on this side, and in many cases it is the same firm in Scotland that ships and invoices to itself in the United States, and you can imagine what sort of an invoice you might expect for ad valorem purposes. The price they sell for here is not controlled by any honest margin of profit on the selling price in Scotland, but is simply placed low enough to just beat the salesman of American granites.

One well-paid, competent granite expert in Scotland could have saved, at least in some years in the past, over $100,000 a year in the establishment of proper costs on manufactured granite when offered for importation into this country, and I presume the same defect will be found in connection with every other article that is imported on an ad valorem duty. The granite cutters in this country get from $2.60 per diem to, say, $3 at an average. The grades run in about that line. The same grades in Scotland would run at from 90 cents to $1.25 per day, and 50 per cent of duty will not protect us by any means.

To-day granite is not a product of any particular section of our country. Wisconsin, Minnesota, Colorado, Missouri, Georgia, the Carolinas are in fact greater granite States than either of our New England States, and in either can be found as fine a granite as can be found anywhere. And with such a vast field to compete from, I don't understand why we should have a single foreign granite monument in our country. If the same conditions existed in any country of Europe as to other products, the United States could not sell a single dollar's worth there. There are granite dealers in every section of our country trying to establish business, and these people should be given all the aid possible.

The Brady Monument in Atlanta shows as fine a class of granite as can be found in the world. Virginia, from Petersburg to Fredericksburg, can show as fine and as varied granites as can be found, and in all those places men are struggling to establish a business, and I can not see why the farmer or the millionaire who enjoys the privilege of making money and selling his goods in the best market of the world should not be compelled to buy his goods in that same market.

In view of the combinations in Scotland and the United States, and in view of the easy way goods can be sent at a reduced value, they can beat our market if the price was placed at 80 per cent ad valorem, and it should not be put at any less. You will find nobody to oppose it, excepting the middlemen, who manipulate invoices and prices in this country, and the paid attorneys or lobbyists from the millionaire Scotch granite dealers.

I remain, yours,

T. P. SULLIVAN.

Hon. JACOB H. GALLINGER,
United States Senator, Washington, D. C.

That, Mr. President, is expert testimony from a man of thorough American instincts, and whose sole interest is for the welfare of American producers and laboring men. His words carry infinitely more weight than that of importers who desire to break down the American market so that they can sell imported monuments.

From the accompanying comparative tables which I desire to submit, it will be seen that the manufacturers of granite work and their workmen, to be fairly protected against the low wages paid abroad, are entitled to a duty of 100 per cent ad valorem placed on finished granite to equalize the cost of labor. If the proposed duty remains, it would be but fair to make a compound duty, adding, say, 15 or 20 cents per cubit foot to the ad valorem duty. Even that would only partially protect the American manufacturer, but it would be a great help, and I shall hope that the committee of conference may revise the rates as I suggest.

I wish to have printed in connection with my remarks the comparative tables to which I have alluded, and which have been furnished by the Granite Manufacturers' Association of Quincy, Mass., showing the relative cost of granite monuments in Scotland and in this country, and the rate of duty required to equalize the cost, from which it will be seen that in almost every instance it would require 100 per cent upon finished granite to equalize the labor cost between this country and Scotland, from which latter country so many of our granite monuments are brought.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The document will be printed in the RECORD, if there be no objection. The Chair hears none.

The statement referred to is as follows:

Monument No. 1, manufactured at Quincy, Mass., or Concord, N. H., weighing 2,800 pounds and containing 16 cubic feet, costs $165.

Monument the size of the above monument No. 1, manufactured in Scotland—

Cost	$76.96	Cost	$76.96
Add 50 per cent duty	38.48	Add 60 per cent duty	46.17
Add 15 cents per cubic foot (16 feet)	2.40	Add 20 cents per cubic foot (16 feet)	3.20
Freight	6.63	Freight	6.63
	124.47		132.96

The above compound duty, 50 per cent ad valorem and 15 cents per cubic foot, is equal to 55 per cent ad valorem.

$76.96
55 per cent.

23068
38480

$40.78
Freight 6.63

124.37

Monument No. 1 weighs 2,800 pounds. Specific duty required to equalize labor cost, 8 cents per pound.

Duty (8 cents per pound)	$84.00
Cost of monument in Scotland	76.96
Freight	6.63
	167.59

Table showing relative cost of Quincy and Scotch monuments.

[Prices marked "Quincy" are f. o. b. Quincy, and Scotch are delivered at Boston.]

Cost in Quincy, Mass.	Cost in Scotland, with cost of freight added.		Duty required to equalize labor cost, 100 per cent.	
Monument No. 1—				
16 cubic feet.. $165.00	16.0 equal	$76.96	16.0 equal	$76.96
	Proposed duty, 50 per cent.	38.48	Duty	76.96
	Freight	6.63	Freight	6.63
		122.07		160.55
Monument No. 2—				
5 cubic feet.... 53.50	5.5 equal	25.52	5.5 equal	25.52
	Proposed duty, 50 per cent.	12.26	Duty	25.52
	Freight	1.25	Freight	1.25
		39.53		52.29
Monument No. 3—				
7 cubic feet.... 81.31	6.10 equal	31.59	6.10 equal	31.59
	Proposed duty, 50 per cent.	15.79	Duty	31.59
	Freight	3.12	Freight	3.12
		50.41		66.30
Monument No. 4—				
40 cubic feet.... 374.18	40.0 equal	194.40	40.0 equal	194.40
	Proposed duty, 50 per cent.	97.20	Duty	194.40
	Freight	15.60	Freight	15.60
		307.20		404.40
Monument No. 5—				
14 cubic feet... 136.00	11.10 equal	55.89	11.10 equal	55.89
	Proposed duty, 50 per cent.	27.94	Duty	55.89
	Freight	5.85	Freight	5.85
		89.59		117.63
Monument No. 6—				
12 cubic feet.. 126.64	12.10 equal	60.75	12.10 equal	60.75
	Proposed duty, 50 per cent.	30.37	Duty	60.75
	Freight	4.68	Freight	4.68
		95.80		126.18

Mr. GALLINGER. A little time ago a resident of my own city, who was born in Sweden and from which country he recently came after a visit of several weeks, stated as an absolute fact, which he determined from inquiry and observation while in his native land, that quarrymen in Sweden, from which some granite is coming to this country, are working fourteen hours a day for 39 cents, and that the stonecutters are working twelve hours a day for 87 cents. He made a comparison of those wages with the wages paid in Concord, N. H., Barre, Vt., Quincy, Mass., and other large granite centers, and it appears that in Concord and the other places they are paying for nine hours' labor $1.80 a day as against 39 cents a day in Sweden for fourteen hours.

Mr. CHANDLER. For quarrymen?

Mr. GALLINGER. Yes, for quarrymen, and we are paying our granite cutters a minimum rate of $2.65 for nine hours' work, while in Sweden they are working twelve hours for 87 cents. That is upon the authority of a native of Sweden, who has recently visited that country and who brings back absolutely correct information.

Mr. President, I do not intend to delay the Senate, although much other valuable information could be furnished on this subject. My own judgment is that the proposed duty of 50 per cent, which the Committee on Finance have suggested, while larger than the House rate, is entirely inadequate; and if I were not extremely anxious to have the bill passed, believing that it will tend to relieve the business distress that has overtaken almost every American industry, I should be inclined to make a contest for a larger rate. For this reason I will forbear offering an amendment, but will repeat the hope that when the bill gets into conference, the granite interests of this country may be better protected than they are even by the Senate amendment, to the end that the men who are engaged in this great industry in the United States may be fully and adequately protected from the cheaper labor of foreign countries. That is all the American granite manufacturers ask, and their demand is both reasonable and just.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. President, I understood my friend the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] to say a while ago that the labor cost in this work is twice as great in the United States as in foreign countries. Therefore, he justified the high rate imposed by the pending bill for the equalization of the difference in labor cost of the foreign and the domestic product. I find by our census returns, as to marble and stone work, in the United States, that the labor cost in 1890 was $41.58 in every $100 worth of product, and as to limestone, $46.61.

Now, if these two sums are double the labor cost in foreign countries, $25 in the $100, or 25 per cent, would cover the difference; but the amount given, at $46.61 and $41.58, would cover the entire labor cost. So 40 per cent in the bill would cover the entire labor cost. It would cover not only the difference, but it would make a present to the manufacturers of marble and stone and limestone—they are all in the schedule. The Government would give to those parties a sum amply sufficient to cover all their labor—not the difference, but the whole of it.

My friend the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. GALLINGER] said we ought to have 100 per cent, if I understood him correctly. A hundred per cent would cover all cost—the cost of material, the cost of labor, the cost of everything. When we put 100 per cent on articles which we purchase in a foreign country, free on board, which covers a margin of profit to the man who is conducting the business, it covers the entire thing, and not the cost of labor only. The quotation of prices of labor by the day amounts to nothing. We know that machinery makes the great reduction in the cost of labor in this country. The report from which I have read shows that the labor cost here is so far beneath 100 per cent; that 40 per cent in the pending bill would amply cover the whole labor cost, and not merely the difference.

Mr. LODGE. The amount of machinery used in granite cutting is very, very small. It is almost exclusively hand labor.

Mr. MILLS. I understand it is very considerable.

Mr. LODGE. I am not speaking of getting the stone out, but of working it afterwards. I have here the figures of cost. The cost in Scotland, freight added, of monument No. 1—these are samples of monuments—is $76.98; the same monument would cost in Quincy, Mass., $165. That is absolute cost, and it is almost entirely labor cost.

I will not take the time of the Senate to go through a series of these monuments. It is the same throughout. The labor cost here is just about twice as much as it is in Scotland. I referred to the difference between this country and Scotland. Comparing with Sweden, as the Senator from New Hampshire did, it would be rather greater. I think the Senator from Texas will find that the labor is largely hand labor and that the cost is largely labor cost.

Mr. CAFFERY. Looking over the tariff hearings, I find the following:

MONTPELIER, VT., *January 6, 1897.*

Committee on Ways and Means:

The tariff on granite is now 30 per cent, under the McKinley bill it was 40 per cent, and before that time it was 20 per cent; but 30 per cent is sufficiently high for the protection of American labor.

Ninety-nine per cent of the granite imported into this country is red granite. The red granite of the United States is very limited. There is some found at Red Beach, in Maine, but it is of a quality that will not hold its color and is not very desirable, and if the people of the United States want a red granite, they can not obtain a good article in this country. The result is that excessive duty on this granite will take it from the consumer and will not be any advantage to the American workmen.

If you will look at the schedule of granite imported into the United States within the past year, you will find under the 30 per cent tariff a large decrease, and we hope the duty will be left as it now stands and not increased.

We are large handlers of Barre granite, and know that it does not affect the trade in our native stone and would not in any other granite centers in the United States.

R. C. BOWERS GRANITE COMPANY,
R. C. BOWERS, *President.*

There is another communication:

BOSTON, *January 5, 1897.*

Committee on Ways and Means:

I wish to enter my protest against any change in the present rate of duty on imported granite, as I know, from present cost of the same style work in both Scotch and American granite, that the present rate of duty is more than ample to protect the American product. The principal reason for sales being made in the imported granites is that purchasers have a larger variety of colors from which to make their selections, in Scotch and Swedish, which colors the American granite quarries do not produce..

From this you will see that it is not the prices named to purchasers that effect the sales and bring in the imported granite work. You will find, by careful reference, that the importations of gray granites are very slight. This is owing to the fact that our American quarries produce principally gray granites, and we can, as far as price is concerned, sell American granite at a much lower price than the same article in imported granite can be sold for.

I am largely interested in granite quarry property at West Quincy, Mass., as well as handling all other American products, and do not consider that my interests in the American granite industry require any further protection than the present tariff provides.

CHARLES CLEMENTS.

Again:

BOSTON, *January 5, 1897.*

Committee on Ways and Means:

We wish to protest against any proposed advance in tariff on imported granites. The price is now much in excess of our American granites, both red and gray, and a higher duty means a heavy loss to the Government in revenue, and will benefit none. We trust that the present duty, on investigation, may be found, in the opinion of your committee, sufficiently high, and that there will be no change for the present.

E. C. WILLISON.

Again:

BOSTON, *January 5, 1897.*

Committee on Ways and Means:

We are large owners of quarries and manufactories of granite at Barre, Vt., and Hingham, Mass., and from practical experience we are satisfied that an increase in tariff is unnecessary for protection purposes. On the contrary, it unsettles prices and disturbs the monumental business generally. The American manufacturers have facilities far superior to those in Scotland, and with the natural advantages in the formation and lay of our granites we can quarry granite at a much less cost, notwithstanding the difference in labor.

With the present tariff we can successfully compete with the manufacturers of Scotland in manufacture; besides, the only granite that is imported at the present time is red granite, of which we have very few quarries suitable for monumental purposes, and we believe it is for the interest of the monumental business that we should be able to supply a variety of colors, both from an artistic and business standpoint.

We therefore most earnestly protest against any increase in the present tariff.

JONES BROS.

Again:

NEW YORK, *January 6, 1897.*

Committee on Ways and Means:

Your committee will no doubt consider the rate of duty on foreign granite in the near future. The old rate was 20 per cent. This rate was advanced to 40 per cent, and then placed at 30 per cent, the present rate. In considering such matters the intention of your committee is, of course, to do justice to all interests concerned, and my belief that such is the case is my only excuse for trespassing upon your valuable time. An examination of the imports will show that 85 per cent of same is red granite, for which we have no equivalent in the United States. The gray granites quarried in this country are superior to anything possible to secure abroad. Red granites, such as Hill O'Fare, red Peterhead, and the red Swede granites, are not to be found on this side, and when our citizens require such material it is necessary to import it.

A reduction of the rate to the old basis of 20 per cent would advance the interests of everyone concerned, as there is no conflict of interests, as the gray granites quarried here are so much superior to anything it is possible to secure abroad that the market is practically closed to importations of that class.

For red granites, however, it is necessary to go outside, and a rate of duty of over 20 per cent places a burden upon people who wish to purchase material that, on account of the difference in color, beautifies the different cemeteries by value of contrast. If any industry in this country would be advanced or protected by leaving the duty at its present rate of 30 per cent, I should be the last to enter a protest. At least 70 per cent of my business is in home material.

D. W. FRANCIS.

It is so seldom that any protest against high tariff or any demand for low tariff is made before a Republican committee in the consideration of a tariff bill that it is quite refreshing to find such communications as I have read. It may be that Senators on the other side will attempt to discredit what is stated in these communications by deriding the testimony as coming from manufacturers. They are not only manufacturers, but some of them are importers; and they are quarrymen who own the quarries.

They state distinctly that at least 90 per cent of the granite that comes into the United States is red granite; that that character of granite does not at all compete with gray granite, the ordinary monumental granite, as it is termed, and therefore any additional tariff upon the granites is no good whatever to any interests in the United States, nor will it promote the purposes of revenue, because the additional tariff will be prohibitive. I submit these considerations to Senators on the other side, and claim that they ought to be entitled to considerable weight.

The gentlemen who write these communications certainly can not be accused of any leaning toward the horrid idea of free trade, for the last communication wound up with a statement that the writer was in accord with the Republican idea of protection, but, looking at the matter from a business standpoint, he could see no reason whatever why the rate should be raised. He rather thought that it ought to be reduced; that notwithstanding the labor cost in America was higher per diem than in Scotland or Sweden or any other place from which granite is imported, yet the output of the labor, the result of the labor, is such that the American could more than compete with his brother laborer in other countries. This ought to be, I think, in the interest of the whole country, duly considered, and the rate, if not lowered, ought certainly to be maintained at the Wilson rate.

Mr. GALLINGER. All the gentlemen from whom the Senator from Louisiana has read are importers of granite. Most of them are known to those of us who live in New England. I rise simply to say that the contention that Mr. Bowers makes, which the Senator from Louisiana has read, that there is no red granite suitable for monumental purposes in this country, is so clearly refuted by some literature which I hold in my hand that I desire to put it in the RECORD. It shows that we have in Wisconsin, Minnesota, Missouri, and Texas large quantities of the very best colored granite the world produces that can be used for monumental purposes.

Mr. WARREN. I desire to state at this point that very large quantities of the granite in question are found in the State of Wyoming. We use it for monumental and building purposes, and it has proved to be valuable in every way.

Mr. GALLINGER. I meant to add the State of Maine likewise. I ask unanimous consent to have placed in the RECORD, without reading, the clippings that I send to the desk, which absolutely and completely refute the contention that we have not in this country an abundance of colored granite for monumental purposes. That is all I care to say.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from New Hampshire? If there be no objection, such will be the order of the Senate.

The matter referred to is as follows:

AMERICAN RED GRANITE.

R. C. Bowers, of Montpelier, Vt., having made the statement to the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives that "granite of the United States is very limited," and that "if the people of the United States want a red granite, they can not obtain a good article in this country," the following, from a practical stonecutter who knows whereof he writes, completely refutes such a statement, and proves that the color does not fade, as claimed by R. C. Bowers that the Red Beach did:

BERLIN, WIS., *March 21, 1897.*

At your request I will try and describe a few of the red-granite quarries in the States of Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Missouri that I have personally seen.

The Montello red-granite quarry, of Wisconsin lies about 100 miles from Milwaukee, directly northwest, on a branch line of the Wisconsin Central Railroad. It was first opened for working about fifteen years ago. At the present time of writing it is one of the best red-granite quarries in the United States. It is a hard and plucky stone to work, somewhat of the same nature as the granite in the Troy (N. Y.) post-office, which is, if I am not mistaken, Brattleboro (Vt.) stone and takes a very red polish. Lettering and carving show a great contrast on polished work.

As to the quantity, it is unlimited, and blocks of pure granite 20 feet square may be easily quarried. The greater depth the stone is taken from the quarry the darker and purer the granite becomes. There are some small red granite quarries near Wausaw, Wis., at a place called Granite Heights, though they are not worked to much advantage on account of railroad facilities. The granite is considered of excellent quality. The red granite quarries of Minnesota are mostly at or around St. Cloud, situated 67 miles from Minneapolis and St. Paul, northwest on the Great Northern and Union Pacific railroads. The granite has been used mostly for building purposes for nearly nine years. In the last three years it has come into prominence as an ornamental granite. It is an elegant working stone, safe and durable, although it will not stand as much pressure as Montello or Berlin granite. Its color is somewhat lighter than Montello, but takes a fine polish, and will not fade through exposure or time. There are inexhaustible quantities of it. It seems strange, but there is granite of all grades and color about St. Cloud.

Ortonville, Minn., also has great red granite quarries. The court-house of Minneapolis was built from this stone, though it is not used much for monuments as yet. Amberg granite is of rather grayish tint, and the new quarries are a fine gray granite, and unlimited quantities of it. The red granite of Graniteville, Mo., needs no description from me, as it ranks next to Montello, and for polished columns it is excelled by no red granite in this country. Texas has what might be called mountains of red granite; I know nothing authentic about this State, though, only from reports; but I think Texas has more granite than any State in the Union.

J. R.

—

CALAIS, ME., *March 24, 1897.*

EDITOR OF THE STONE TRADE NEWS:

We notice your article on red granite, and statement of R. C. Bowers, of Montpelier, Vt., in your issue of March 15.

Your article is quite right, and his statement should be taken up by everyone interested in granite and resented by the trade, as it is a gross misstatement of the facts. There is plenty of first-class red granite in the United States, as anyone who knows anything about granite can inform Mr. Bowers; the fact of the United States Government using such large quantities of Jonesboro red granite and with every satisfaction as to quality is evidence of it. As for monumental work, red beach granite has been used for years and with good satisfaction to those who have used it. We have done quite a lot of work ourselves in red beach granite and have never had a question asked as to its quality.

We ourselves have a red granite that we will test with the best Scotch granite for color and quality; in fact, it is used by a number of dealers to take the place of Scotch granite, and parties using it can not tell the difference. It will hold its color and is not so imperfect as Scotch granite, as we can easily show.

As to the advantage to American workmen, we can easily show that if Scotch red granite were prohibited from coming into this country finished, we could supply the demand for it here and could employ 500 to 1,000 men, doing it at American wages, and the consumer would simply have to pay the difference between American wages and Scotch wages, which he should do.

Thanking you for taking up this matter as you did, and trusting other manufacturers will also take it up,

We remain, yours, truly,

NEW BRUNSWICK RED GRANITE CO., OF MAINE,
Per C. W. YOUNG, *President.*

LLANO, TEX.

LLANO COUNTY, TEX., *April 5, 1897.*

I notice with interest in the Stone Trade News an article by a Mr. R. C. Bowers on red granite. If Mr. Bowers thinks there is no red granite in the United States good enough for monumental or any other purpose, he should take a trip to Texas, or even to Llano County, and one day's travel among the quarries here that are in operation, and the mountains of stone which have not been touched, and which are as good as the world can produce, would convince him, I think, that he was mistaken in his estimate. In Burnet County is the Granite Mountain, a good red stone of unlimited quantity, and a good building stone.

In Llano County, Frank Teich's red-granite quarry is as good a red stone as Scotland or any other country can produce. It is a darker red than Peterhead, suitable for monumental or building purposes. It is dark red, even in texture, and free from discoloring seams or blemish of any kind. Also blue and gray granite quarries are found here. From these quarries stone of any size can be got out entirely free from discoloring matter or seams.

In Gillespie County there is a red granite which is noted for its hardness and deep red color when polished, taken from a quarry known as Bear Mountain quarry; it is darker than the Hill-o-Fare, Scotland.

In Llano County is also the enchanted rock, of red granite, covering an area of 640 acres, and rising to a height of 740 feet. If Mr. Bowers could only see this mountain of stone, he would decide there was at least one good bowlder of red granite in the United States, good enough for any purpose. If it was in Scotland it would take quite a while to ship it over as ballast, although I believe their business would increase with this grade of stone.

In Mason County there are large sheets of red, pink, and white granite.

I could mention dozens of other places where there could be large quarries opened of both red and gray stone. When I say quarries I mean just what I say; no mass of bowlders and dry seams. There is stone here of all colors and kinds. Marble has as yet not been worked to any extent, but I believe there is good marble here. Soapstone, serpentine, and grease rock, all of which are fireproof, are found here. Stone of nearly every class and character is found in this State.

Mr. VEST. Reference has been made to the granite deposits in the State of Missouri. There are large deposits there of colored granite, and while I do not know, I suppose it is equal to any granite that is brought in from abroad or produced anywhere else. But I am here to say that there is no necessity for increasing this duty, and the comparative statement shows it. In 1893, under the McKinley Act, there was brought into this country $439,147 worth of granite. In 1896 the imports fell to $320,432.90 worth.

Mr. GALLINGER. It was owing to hard times.

Mr. VEST. The Senator from New Hampshire says it was owing to hard times, but look at the difference in the rate of duty. Why should you now put back this duty when hard times are continuing? Why should you increase it to 50 per cent over and above the McKinley Act, when the depression still rests upon the country of which the Senator speaks?

Mr. President, if we could compromise on this proposed tariff act by putting on tariff duties equivalent to the difference in labor between this country and abroad we would be here a very short time. I undertake to say that I can prove from the reports, not only of the census, from which the Senator from Texas has read, but of the labor commissioners in the New England States, conspicuously in Connecticut, that the duties in the McKinley Act and this proposed act cover the entire cost in a great many instances, and no attention is paid to the difference in labor.

We had a conspicuous example of that in paragraph 111, which was adopted here against our protest. The tax on superficial feet in two classifications was $1.75, and then the bill goes on to provide that when any portion of onyx or granite is smoothed the duty is $3.60 a cubic foot. If it is a place only an inch in size, the infinitesimal smoothing of any portion of it, immediately, in the name of labor, the duty is increased to $3.60 a cubic foot.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. To what paragraph is the Senator from Missouri referring?

Mr. VEST. I am talking about paragraph 111, which we have adopted. If the Senator will turn to it, he will see that what I state is absolutely true.

Mr. ALLISON. That is the duty on marble.

Mr. VEST. Marble and onyx. The duty is $1.75 a superficial foot, and if you smooth a place as big as an inch, or less than an inch, or a hundredth part of an inch, immediately the tariff tax of $3.60 to the cubic foot attaches. Labor is a sacred thing. Like liberty, a great many outrages are perpetrated in its name.

Mr. ALDRICH. The Senator is a little off——

Mr. VEST. I beg pardon. What does the Senator say?

Mr. ALDRICH. The Senator has his figures a little high, if he will examine.

Mr. VEST. I think not.

Mr. ALDRICH. On line 14 in that paragraph the rate is 18 cents a superficial foot and the rubbed provision is 3 cents additional, which makes 21 cents a superficial foot instead of $3.60.

Mr. VEST. I have been very careful to go over it with an expert and to make the calculation. I do not think I am mistaken. On the next to the last classification, where any is smoothed, the duty is $3.60 to the cubic foot. The other taxation is upon the superficial foot. But, be that as it may—and I do not think I am mistaken—here is an increase over the McKinley tariff in the name of labor, and by the census reports, which the Senator from Texas read, the increase is out of all proportion to the difference in the labor of foreign countries and in this. I ask for the yeas and nays upon my amendment.

Mr. BATE. Before the vote is taken, I do not rise to add anything to what has been said on the question, but the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. GALLINGER] proposed to put in the RECORD some article from a newspaper—some literature, as he called it—upon the point we now have under discussion. I think that is a wrong practice, sir. I do not think that any article ought to go into the RECORD unless it is read to the Senate, that we may see what the language is and know what the article is. I call for the reading of the article, or else I shall object to its going into the RECORD without being read.

Mr. GALLINGER. I will say to the Senator that they are all articles published in a trade journal.

Mr. BATE. It does not make any difference whether they were published in a trade journal or a daily paper; but I think whatever goes into the RECORD ought to be heard by the Senate; and as the articles relate to the question now under consideration, I call for their reading.

Mr. GALLINGER. I shall be pleased to read them, and I shall reciprocate at some time when the Senator from Tennessee wants to insert something in the RECORD.

Mr. BATE. You can reciprocate whenever you desire. I know it is a wrong practice to have anything put in the RECORD without being read.

Mr. GALLINGER. I make the point of order that unanimous consent was given to have the matter printed in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair will state that the Chair distinctly asked the question whether there was objection to the insertion of the articles in the RECORD without reading. Hearing no objection, the Chair ordered that the same be inserted without reading, assuming that unanimous consent was given. So far, therefore, as the insertion of the articles in the RECORD is concerned, the Chair sustains the point of order.

Mr. BATE. I have nothing to say against any particular Senator doing it, but I give notice now that I shall hereafter object. The Chair has decided that my objection is too late, but the next time I shall see that it is made in time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The pending question is on the amendment of the Senator frem Missouri [Mr. VEST] to the amendment of the committee, which will be read.

The SECRETARY. In paragraph 115, page 31, line 14, strike out "forty," before the words "per centum," and insert "thirty" in lieu of "fifty," as proposed by the committee; so as to read:

115. Freestone, granite, sandstone, limestone, and other building or monumental stone, except marble and onyx, not specially provided for in this act, hewn, dressed, or polished, 30 per cent ad valorem.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Upon the amendment to the amendment the Senator from Missouri demands the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BATE (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. DEBOE]. I do not see him present, and I withhold my vote.

Mr. HANSBROUGH (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator frem Virginia [Mr. DANIEL].

Mr. McMILLAN (when his name was called). I announce my pair with the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. LINDSAY].

Mr. MALLORY (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROCTOR]. If he were present, he would vote "nay" and I should vote "yea."

Mr. QUAY (when his name was called). Has the Senator from Alabama [Mr. MORGAN] voted?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Alabama has not voted.

Mr. QUAY. Then I will withhold my vote. If he were present, I should vote "nay."

The roll call having been concluded, the result was announced—yeas 19, nays 28; as follows:

YEAS—19.

Bacon,	Cockrell,	Mitchell,	Turpie,
Berry,	Faulkner,	Murphy,	Vest,
Caffery,	Jones, Ark.	Pettus,	Walthall,
Chilton,	McLaurin,	Rawlins,	White.
Clay,	Mills,	Roach,	

NAYS—28.

Aldrich,	Fairbanks,	Hawley,	Platt, Conn.
Allison,	Foraker,	Hoar,	Pritchard,
Burrows,	Frye,	Jones, Nev.	Sewell,
Cannon,	Gallinger,	Lodge,	Shoup,
Carter,	Gear,	McBride,	Spooner,
Chandler,	Hale,	Nelson,	Warren,
Davis,	Hanna,	Perkins,	Wetmore.

NOT VOTING—42.

Allen,	Gray,	Mantle,	Smith,
Baker,	Hansbrough,	Martin,	Stewart,
Bate,	Harris, Kans.	Mason,	Teller,
Butler,	Harris, Tenn.	Morgan,	Thurston,
Clark,	Heitfeld,	Morrill,	Tillman,
Cullom,	Kenney,	Pasco,	Turner,
Daniel,	Kyle,	Penrose,	Wellington,
Deboe,	Lindsay,	Pettigrew,	Wilson,
Elkins,	McEnery,	Platt, N. Y.	Wolcott.
George,	McMillan,	Proctor,	
Gorman,	Mallory,	Quay,	

So the amendment to the amendment was rejected.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question recurs on the adoption of the amendment of the Committee on Finance to make the rate 50 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment was agreed to.

The Secretary read paragraphs 116 and 117, as follows:

116. Grindstones, finished or unfinished, $1.75 per ton.

Slate:

117. Slates, slate chimney-pieces, mantels, slabs for tables, roofing slates, and all other manufactures of slate, not specially provided for in this act, 20 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. VEST. Mr. President——

Mr. ALDRICH. I should like to go back to paragraph——

Mr. VEST. I want to say a word upon the paragraph just read. I do not intend to make any motion.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Missouri.

Mr. VEST. The majority of the Finance Committee have adopted the Wilson duty of 20 per cent, but it ought to be reduced, I will say to the Senator from Rhode Island. I call his attention to the rate upon roofing slate. The comparative statement shows that we exported in 1896, $266,385 worth and we imported $224 worth.

Mr. ALDRICH. I assume that if the rates were reduced, there would be no large importations. The slate manufacturers have the entire American market.

Mr. VEST. As a matter of course they have.

Mr. ALDRICH. And they are sure to keep it, I imagine, whatever the rates are.

Mr. VEST. It is a caricature upon tariff taxation to put on a duty of 20 per cent when we have the market.

Mr. ALDRICH. But the rate is the very lowest that is imposed by the bill upon any manufactured article. I see no reason for reducing it.

Mr. VEST. It is out of all symmetry, if there is any, with the balance of the schedule.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. What is the request of the Senator from Rhode Island?

Mr. ALDRICH. That we dispose of paragraph 88.

Mr. VEST. I ask the Senator now to consent to an adjournment.

Mr. ALDRICH. I suggest to the Senator from Missouri to allow one or two paragraphs that have been passed over in this schedule to be disposed of. I think there will be no particular discussion upon them.

Mr. HALE. Let me ask the Senator if everything with that exception in this schedule has been acted upon?

Mr. ALDRICH. Everything in Schedule B has been acted upon except the paragraphs that have been passed over.

Mr. HALE. So that we now have reached Schedule C, which is the metal schedule.

Mr. ALDRICH. Yes, sir.

Mr. HALE. All the rest has been disposed of.

Mr. VEST. We passed over, I think, three paragraphs at the instance of the Senator from Iowa.

Mr. ALDRICH. Those have all been disposed of, I think, with one or two exceptions.

Mr. VEST. I think not.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Paragraphs 86 and 88, the Chair understands, have been passed over.

Mr. VEST. More than those were passed over.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair is speaking of this particular schedule—Schedule B.

Mr. ALDRICH. Paragraph 88, I think, can be readily acted upon.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Let that go over.

Mr. ALDRICH. Paragraph 88?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Yes; on page 17.

Mr. VEST. I ask the Senator from Rhode Island to let them go over.

Mr. ALDRICH. Paragraph 116 has not been acted on.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Paragraph 109 has also been passed over.

Mr. ALDRICH. Paragraph 109 has been passed over. Is there any objection to considering paragraph 109 now?

Mr. VEST. I would rather let that go over until morning. We shall make time if you will just pass them over entirely.

Mr. MILLS. Let us have an executive session.

Mr. COCKRELL. Pending the lull in the business——

Mr. ALDRICH. I understand that the Senator from Missouri desires that both paragraphs 88 and 109 shall be passed over.

Mr. VEST. I beg the Senator to let them go over until tomorrow.

Mr. WHITE. I should like to state to the Senator——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair has recognized the Senator from Missouri [Mr. COCKRELL].

Mr. COCKRELL. Let them go on and finish up this business.

Mr. WHITE. I have seen the statement made (of course I do not know whether it is by authority) that there is to be a new sugar schedule interjected into the bill later on. I make the suggestion simply that as we are now near the metal schedule, practically at it, as the wood schedule follows, and we will next be on the sugar schedule, unless it is far less complicated than most modern schedules, if there is any new schedule to be introduced here, I hope that we may see it at as early a day as practicable.

Several Senators, I believe, are preparing computations upon the present schedule, and they may have an opportunity to exercise their intellect upon a new one. So if there is anything of that kind, even embryotic, I trust it will fructify into some product that may enable us to grasp it before the schedule is reached, at least a day or two before.

Mr. ALDRICH. I think the Senator from California will have ample notice. At least we shall try to accommodate him.

Mr. WHITE. I trust so.

Mr. COCKRELL. Will the Senator from Rhode Island now yield to me for a moment?

Mr. ALDRICH. Certainly.

S. S. ROBINSON.

Mr. COCKRELL. I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Military Affairs shall be discharged from the further consideration of the bill (S. 236) to restore S. S. Robinson, late of the Sixteenth United States Infantry, to the Army, and place him on the retired list, and that the bill shall be indefinitely postponed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Missouri that the Committee on Military Affairs be discharged from the further consideration of the bill? The Chair hears none; and the committee is discharged. The bill will be indefinitely postponed, in the absence of objection.

Mr. COCKRELL. Now I introduce another bill for the same purpose, and ask that it be referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

The bill (S. 2063) for the relief of S. S. Robinson was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED.

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. W. J. BROWNING, its Chief Clerk, announced that the Speaker of the House had signed the following enrolled bill and joint resolutions; and they were thereupon signed by the President pro tempore.

A bill (H. R. 16) making appropriations for sundry civil expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1898, and for other purposes;

A joint resolution (S. R. 43) in amendment of the joint resolution of April 7, 1897, authorizing the Secretary of the Navy to transport contributions for the relief of the famishing poor of India; and

A joint resolution (S. R. 44) making an appropriation to supply a deficiency in the appropriations for public printing and binding for the fiscal year 1897.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. QUAY. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After fifteen minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened.

PORTRAIT OF SITTING BULL.

Mr. KYLE submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on the Library:

Resolved, That the Committee on the Library is instructed to purchase from Dr. T. A. Bland, for the room of the Committee on Indian Affairs or for the new Library building, an oil painting, life size, of Sitting Bull, the Indian chief, and that the purchase price shall not exceed $150. The price agreed upon shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate.

WICHITA INDIAN LANDS.

Mr. QUAY. I ask that the resolution in relation to the Wichita Indian lands heretofore submitted by me may now be laid before the Senate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. FAULKNER in the chair). If there be no objection, the Chair lays before the Senate the resolution referred to by the Senator from Pennsylvania, which will be read.

The Secretary read the resolution submitted by Mr. QUAY May 25, 1897, as follows:

Resolved, That the right to compensation on the part of the Wichita and affiliated bands of Indians for their possessory right in and to the lands ceded to the United States by said Indians, under the agreement made and entered into between said Indians and the United States at Anadarko, in the Indian Territory, on the 4th day of June, A. D. 1891, should be considered and adjusted at the same time and by the same tribunal which shall determine the alleged claim of the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations in and to the said lands, and that the President is hereby requested to suspend the allotments to said Indians now in progress until the compensation to be allowed and paid to said Indians for the lands in excess of allotments shall be finally determined.

By unanimous consent, the Senate proceeded to consider the resolution.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the amendment submitted by the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. PETTIGREW], to strike out of the resolution all after the word "lands," in line 10.

Mr. PETTIGREW. I withdraw the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question recurs on the adoption of the resolution.

Mr. COCKRELL. I wish to ask one question. In what manner is this tribunal to adjudicate the questions presented—by a law or by a resolution of the Senate?

Mr. QUAY. The Senate of the United States, I understand, under a provision of the convention made by these Indians with the Dawes Commission, is made the absolute arbitrator finally of the amount due to these Indians.

Mr. PETTIGREW. In the first place, in 1895 we passed an act of Congress which referred the question of the title to these lands to the Court of Claims, where the case is now pending. I have the briefs of the case here.

Mr. BATE. Where is the case pending?

Mr. PETTIGREW. It is pending in the Court of Claims between the Wichitas and Choctaws and Chickasaws as to who owns this particular section of country. The Chickasaws and Choctaws have lately made an agreement to refer their claim to the Senate of the United States. That agreement has not yet been ratified. I shall insist, so far as I am concerned, on having the Court of Claims dispose of the matter and decide the question now pending in the court. This simply delays action until the court has passed upon it, or until the Senate has passed upon it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to.

Mr. QUAY. I move that the Senate adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 5 o'clock and 22 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Wednesday, June 2, 1897, at 12 o'clock meridian.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate June 1, 1897.

SECRETARY OF LEGATION AND CONSUL-GENERAL.

William Haywood, of the District of Columbia, to be secretary of the legation and consul-general of the United States at Honolulu, Hawaii, vice Ellis Mills, resigned.

UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGE.

John J. De Haven, of California, to be United States district judge for the northern district of California, vice William W. Morrow, resigned.

UNITED STATES MARSHAL.

John K. Thompson, of West Virginia, to be marshal of the United States for the district of West Virginia, vice Charles E. Wells, removed.

SOLICITOR FOR DEPARTMENT OF STATE.

William L. Penfield, of Indiana, to be Solicitor for the Department of State, vice Walter E. Faison, resigned.

ASSISTANT SURGEON IN NAVY.

Washington Berry Grove, a citizen of Virginia, to be an assistant surgeon in the Navy, to fill a vacancy existing in that grade.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate June 1, 1897.

SECRETARY OF LEGATION AND CONSUL-GENERAL.

William Haywood, of the District of Columbia, to be secretary of the legation and consul-general of the United States at Honolulu, Hawaii.

COLLECTOR OF INTERNAL REVENUE.

James S. Fruit, of Pennsylvania, to be collector of internal revenue for the twenty-third district of Pennsylvania.

UNITED STATES ATTORNEY.

William Vaughan, of Alabama, to be attorney of the United States for the northern district of Alabama.

MARSHAL.

Solomon F. Stahl, of Arkansas, to be marshal of the United States for the western district of Arkansas.

POSTMASTERS.

Joseph A. McIntire, to be postmaster at Sidney, in the county of Fremont and State of Iowa.

W. I. Norton, to be postmaster at Hightstown, in the county of Mercer and State of New Jersey.

William F. Brittain, to be postmaster at Sheridan, in the county of Sheridan and State of Wyoming.

Almon K. Goodwin, to be postmaster at Pawtucket, in the county of Providence and State of Rhode Island.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

[Continuation of the proceedings of the legislative day of Monday, May 31, 1897.]

The recess having expired, the House, at 12 o'clock m., Tuesday, June 1, resumed its session.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

The SPEAKER. The question before the House is the motion to lay on the table the appeal of the gentleman from Washington [Mr. LEWIS] from the decision of the Chair, on which the yeas and nays were ordered, and a quorum did not appear. The Clerk will again call the roll.

Mr. TERRY. Mr. Speaker——

Mr. LEWIS of Washington. Mr. Speaker——

Mr. TERRY. Mr. Speaker, I rise to a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. TERRY. Does that matter necessarily come up before any other question can be presented to the House?

The SPEAKER. The Chair simply decides that this question is now before the House, and the Clerk has been ordered to call the roll. The Clerk will call the roll.

The Clerk began the roll call.

Mr. LEWIS of Washington. Mr. Speaker, I rise to a parliamentary inquiry and also to present a question of privilege in relation to myself.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state his parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. LEWIS of Washington. Mr. Speaker, I rise to make a parliamentary inquiry and with it a reference——

The SPEAKER. Will the gentleman make his parliamentary inquiry?

Mr. LEWIS of Washington. Yes, sir. I would ask the Speaker if I can not withdraw temporarily my demand for the yeas and nays, and then, upon the withdrawal, read the exact language in the RECORD of the Fifty-third Congress of the proceedings which I claim occurred in that Congress, so that I may inform the House literally of what transpired on that occasion, and particularly with reference to the question of personal privilege which I have submitted to the Chair.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman can not. The Clerk will call the roll.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 88, nays 57, answered "present" 35, not voting 172; as follows:

YEAS—88.

Adams,	Dalzell,	Hemenway,	Payne,
Babcock,	Danford,	Henderson,	Pearson,
Barrows,	Davenport,	Henry, Conn.	Prince,
Bartholdt,	Davison, Ky.	Hepburn,	Pugh,
Beach,	Dingley,	Hilborn,	Robinson, Ind.
Bennett,	Dolliver,	Hill,	Royse,
Bishop,	Dovener,	Hitt,	Shattuc,
Booze,	Ellis,	Johnson, N. Dak.	Simpkins,
Boutelle,	Faris,	Ketcham,	Spalding,
Brewer,	Fenton,	Kirkpatrick,	Sperry,
Brewster,	Fleming,	Knox,	Sprague,
Broderick,	Fletcher,	Linney,	Steele,
Brownlow,	Fowler, N. J.	Loud,	Sturtevant,
Butler,	Gibson,	Low,	Sulloway,
Cannon,	Graff,	McCleary,	Tawney,
Clark, Iowa	Griffin,	McDonald,	Tayler, Ohio
Clarke, N. H.	Grosvenor,	McIntire,	Updegraff,
Codding,	Hager,	Mercer,	Walker, Va.
Cooke,	Hamilton,	Minor,	Warner,
Cousins,	Harmer,	Moody,	Weaver,
Crumpacker,	Hawley,	Morris,	White, N. C.
Curtis, Kans.	Heatwole,	Mudd,	Wilber.

NAYS—57.

Baker, Ill.	Griggs,	Lewis, Wash.	Skinner,
Bell,	Gunn,	Livingston,	Slayden,
Bodine,	Handy,	Love,	Smith, Ky.
Brantley,	Hartman,	McCormick,	Stark,
Brundidge,	Hay,	Marshall,	Stephens, Tex.
Burke,	Henry, Miss.	Maxwell,	Strowd, N. C.
Castle,	Henry, Tex.	Osborne,	Tate,
Clayton,	Hunter,	Pierce, Tenn.	Terry,
Cochran, Mo.	Jett,	Rhea,	Underwood,
Cowherd,	King,	Rixey,	Vincent,
De Graffenreid,	Kitchin,	Sayers,	Wheeler, Ky.
De Vries,	Kleberg,	Settle,	Williams, Miss.
Dinsmore,	Knowles,	Shafroth,	
Epes,	Lanham,	Shuford,	
Fox,	Latimer,	Simpson,	

ANSWERED "PRESENT"—35.

Adamson,	Brucker,	Jones, Va.	Stone, W. A.
Baird,	Colson,	Jones, Wash.	Sulzer,
Ball,	Cooper, Tex.	Lewis, Ga.	Todd,
Barber,	Cooper, Wis.	Maddox,	Tongue,
Barney,	Curtis, Iowa	Meyer, La.	Vandiver,
Ba tlett,	Davis,	Peters,	Wheeler, Ala.
Bingham,	Evans,	Powers,	Wright,
Brenner, Ohio	Henry, Ind.	Richardson,	Yost.
Brosius,	Jenkins,	Sims,	

NOT VOTING—172.

Acheson,	Dayton,	Loudenslager,	Robb,
Alexander,	De Armond,	Lovering,	Robbins,
Allen,	Dockery,	Lybrand,	Robertson, La.
Arnold,	Dorr,	McAleer,	Russell,
Bailey,	Eddy,	McCall,	Sauerhering,
Baker, Md.	Elliott,	McClellan,	Shannon,
Bankhead,	Ermentrout,	McCulloch,	Shelden,
Barham,	Fischer,	McDowell,	Sherman,
Barlow,	Fitzgerald,	McEwan,	Showalter,
Barrett,	Fitzpatrick,	McMillin,	Smith, Ill.
Belden,	Foote,	McRae,	Smith, S. W.
Belford,	Foss,	Maguire,	Smith, Wm. Alden
Belknap,	Fowler, N. C.	Mahany,	Snover,
Benner, Pa.	Gaines,	Mahon,	Southard,
Benton,	Gardner,	Mann,	Southwick,
Berry,	Gillet, N. Y.	Marsh,	Sparkman,
Bland,	Gillett, Mass.	Martin,	Stallings,
Botkin,	Greene,	Meekison,	Stevens, Minn.
Bradley,	Grout,	Mesick,	Stewart, N. J.
Bromwell,	Grow,	Miers, Ind.	Stewart, Wis.
Broussard,	Hicks,	Miller,	Stokes,
Brown,	Hinrichsen,	Mills,	Stone, C. W.
Brumm,	Hooker,	Mitchell,	Strait,
Bull,	Hopkins,	Moon,	Strode, Nebr.
Burton,	Howard, Ala.	Newlands,	Sullivan,
Campbell,	Howard, Ga.	Northway,	Sutherland,
Capron,	Howe,	Norton,	Swanson,
Carmack,	Howell,	Odell,	Talbert,
Catchings,	Hull,	Ogden,	Taylor, Ala.
Chickering,	Hurley,	Olmsted,	Van Voorhis,
Clardy,	Johnson, Ind.	Otey,	Vehslage,
Clark, Mo.	Joy,	Otjen,	Wadsworth,
Cochrane, N. Y.	Kelley,	Overstreet,	Walker, Mass.
Connell,	Kerr,	Packer, Pa.	Wanger,
Connolly,	Kulp,	Parker, N. J.	Ward,
Cooney,	Lacey,	Pearce, Mo.	Weymouth,
Corliss,	Lamb,	Perkins,	White, Ill.
Cox,	Landis,	Pitney,	Williams, Pa.
Cranford,	Lentz,	Plowman,	Wilson, N. Y.
Crump,	Lester,	Quigg,	Wilson, S. C.
Cummings,	Littauer,	Ray,	Young, Pa.
Davey,	Little,	Reeves,	Young, Va.
Davidson, Wis.	Lorimer,	Ridgely,	Zenor.

Mr. SULZER. Mr. Speaker, I am paired with the gentleman from New York, Mr. BELDEN, and I withdraw my vote.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman's vote will be withdrawn, and the Clerk will announce the pairs.

The following pairs were announced:

Until further notice:

Mr. WILLIAM A. STONE with Mr. MCCLELLAN.

Mr. MCCALL with Mr. HOWARD of Georgia.

Mr. WHITE of Illinois with Mr. CUMMINGS.

Mr. LORIMER with Mr. BERRY.

Mr. MILLER with Mr. CLARDY.

Mr. STEVENS of Minnesota with Mr. JONES of Washington.

Mr. DORR with Mr. MADDOX.

Mr. LYBRAND with Mr. LENTZ.

Mr. HOPKINS with Mr. MCALEER.

Mr. BELKNAP with Mr. MAGUIRE.

Mr. YOUNG of Pennsylvania with Mr. BENTON.

Mr. WRIGHT with Mr. ADAMSON.

Mr. MESICK with Mr. PETERS.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Pennsylvania with Mr. ROBERTSON of Louisiana.

Mr. JOY with Mr. MARSHALL.

Mr. YOST with Mr. LAMB.

Mr. BINGHAM with Mr. DOCKERY.

Mr. HULL with Mr. BAILEY.

Mr. MCCLEARY with Mr. JONES of Virginia.

Mr. STRODE with Mr. ALLEN.

Mr. SIMPKINS with Mr. LESTER.

Mr. MCEWAN with Mr. VEHSLAGE.

Mr. FOSS with Mr. DAVEY.

Mr. DAYTON with Mr. PIERCE of Tennessee.

Mr. LOVERING with Mr. WHITE of Alabama.

Mr. BELDEN with Mr. SULZER.

Mr. STEWART of New Jersey with Mr. TAYLOR of Alabama.

Mr. POWERS with Mr. GAINES.

Mr. REEVES with Mr. BALL.

Mr. MILLS with Mr. SULLIVAN.

Mr. STEWART of Wisconsin with Mr. LITTLE.

Mr. EVANS with Mr. FITZPATRICK.

Mr. BARHAM with Mr. FITZGERALD.

Mr. BURTON with Mr. SUTHERLAND.

Mr. SULLOWAY with Mr. TALBERT.

Mr. SAUERHERING with Mr. STRAIT.

Mr. CHICKERING with Mr. BRADLEY.

Mr. WM. ALDEN SMITH with Mr. BRUCKER.

Mr. MITCHELL with Mr. ELLIOTT.

Mr. BARNEY with Mr. BANKHEAD.

Mr. ACHESON with Mr. WILSON of South Carolina.

Mr. HOOKER with Mr. CATCHINGS.

Mr. PEARCE of Missouri with Mr. VANDIVER.

Mr. TONGUE with Mr. DE ARMOND.

Mr. OVERSTREET with Mr. ZENOR.

Mr. HENRY of Indiana with Mr. MIERS of Indiana.

Mr. DAVIDSON of Wisconsin with Mr. CLARK of Missouri.

Mr. QUIGG with Mr. BLAND.

Mr. WARD with Mr. BARLOW.

Mr. BISHOP with Mr. NORTON.

Mr. WANGER with Mr. MEEKISON.

Mr. MAHON with Mr. BENNER of Pennsylvania.

Mr. LANDIS with Mr. CRANFORD.

Mr. GILLETT of Massachusetts with Mr. MCDOWELL.

Mr. KULP with Mr. STALLINGS.

Mr. ODELL with Mr. BARTLETT.

Mr. HICKS with Mr. OTEY.

Mr. ALEXANDER with Mr. COONEY.

Mr. SMITH of Illinois with Mr. MCCULLOCH.

Mr. JOHNSON of Indiana with Mr. MOON.

Mr. BROSIUS with Mr. ERMENTROUT.

Mr. LACEY with Mr. MCRAE.

Mr. JENKINS with Mr. STOKES.

Mr. PITNEY with Mr. CARMACK.

Mr. BRUMM with Mr. COX.

Mr. KERR with Mr. ROBB.

For this day:

Mr. WILSON of New York with Mr. MCMILLIN.

Mr. COLSON. I desire to withdraw my vote and be marked "present."

Mr. BROSIUS. As I am paired with my colleague, Mr. ERMENTROUT, I desire to be recorded "present."

Mr. BARNEY. I am paired with the gentleman from Alabama, Mr. BANKHEAD. I desire to withdraw my vote and answer "present."

Mr. TONGUE. Mr. Speaker, I will ask whether the gentleman from Missouri, Mr. DE ARMOND, has voted?

The SPEAKER. He has not.

Mr. TONGUE. I am paired with him, and therefore desire to withdraw my vote and answer "present." I voted "aye."

Mr. HENRY of Indiana. I wish to withdraw my vote and be marked "present." I am paired with my colleague, Mr. MIERS.

Mr. TODD. I withdraw my vote and ask that I be marked "present."

Mr. WILLIAM A. STONE. I wish to ask whether the gentleman from New York, Mr. MCCLELLAN, voted on this motion?

The SPEAKER. He is not recorded.

Mr. WILLIAM A. STONE. Then I wish to withdraw my vote, as I am paired with him, and will ask that I be marked "present."

The SPEAKER. On this question the yeas are 88, the nays 57; 35 members have answered "present," and Messrs. PLOWMAN and SLAYDEN have been noted by the Clerk and reported to the Chair as being present. The ayes have it; and the appeal is laid on the table.

RELIEF OF FAMINE IN INDIA.

Mr. HENDERSON. I rise to make a privileged report from the Committee on Rules. I ask that the report be read.

The Clerk read as follows:

The Committee on Rules, having had under consideration House resolution No. 50, ask leave to report the same with the recommendation that it be adopted.

Resolved, That immediately upon the adoption of this order it shall be in order to consider in the House Senate joint resolution No. 49, "in amendment of the joint resolution of April 7, 1897, authorizing the Secretary of the Navy to transport contributions for the relief of the famishing poor of India."

Mr. HENDERSON. Mr. Speaker, I presume that the House is quite familiar with the subject-matter of this resolution.

Mr. RICHARDSON. I rise to ask the gentleman from Iowa whether he intends to debate this resolution before the previous question is ordered?

Mr. HENDERSON. I simply want to state briefly the nature of the resolution, and then I will yield to the gentleman from Tennessee, if he wants some time, after which I will ask the previous question.

Mr. RICHARDSON. The only point I make is this: If the gentleman debates this matter in advance of the previous question, we shall thereby be precluded from the forty minutes' debate after the ordering of the previous question, to which, I think, we are legitimately entitled. Hence, I hope the gentleman will not cut off that debate by discussing this resolution in advance.

Mr. TERRY. I rise to a question of privilege.

Mr. RICHARDSON. I think we ought to have the ordinary amount of debate allowed under the operation of the previous question.

Mr. HENDERSON. If the gentleman from Tennessee wants to occupy some time, I will yield to him after the resolution is before the House for consideration. This resolution does not fix a limit to the debate after the adoption of the proposed rule.

Mr. RICHARDSON. That is true; and if the gentleman will allow us as much time as we would have ordinarily under the order for the previous question, his position will be fair; but if he should cut us off with five or ten minutes and then move the previous question, it would not be fair, in my opinion.

Mr. HENDERSON. There is not much debate needed on the

adoption of this rule, especially as, after the rule is adopted, the main proposition will be before the House for consideration, the rule fixing no limit upon the debate.

Mr. RICHARDSON. The only point is this——

Mr. HENDERSON. I think, if my friend from Tennessee wants any debate, he wants it upon the main question, not upon the mere adoption of this rule.

Mr. RICHARDSON. No; the gentleman is mistaken on that point. We would prefer to debate the method of bringing this matter up rather than discuss the merits of the main proposition. I am perfectly frank with the gentleman.

Mr. HENDERSON. I will yield to the gentleman a reasonable time out of my own time.

Mr. TERRY. I rise to a question of privilege.

The SPEAKER. The question now before the House is one of the highest privilege—a report from the Committee on Rules.

Mr. TERRY. It has not been adopted yet.

The SPEAKER. But it is before the House for adoption or rejection.

Mr. HENDERSON. Now, Mr. Speaker——

Mr. RICHARDSON. I appeal to the gentleman from Iowa not to force us to undertake to procure delay by calling for a division on this question, but to give us legitimate debate on this resolution.

Mr. HENDERSON. If the previous question should be asked and ordered, there would only be forty minutes' debate——

Mr. RICHARDSON. That is all we ask.

Mr. HENDERSON. On the other hand, I shall control, if necessary, under the proceeding I am pursuing, an hour; and I am willing to yield my friend a reasonable time.

Mr. RICHARDSON. Give us twenty minutes—that is all we ask—in opposition to the resolution.

Mr. HENDERSON. The gentleman knows that I have never taken snap judgment upon this or the other side of the House.

Mr. RICHARDSON. Never; but by the adoption of this resolution the House might take snap judgment.

Mr. HENDERSON. I will yield to the gentleman as much time as I myself occupy or as our side may occupy. I want fair play.

Mr. RICHARDSON. The gentleman says he will yield as much time as he occupies himself. He might only occupy one minute and then give us one minute.

Mr. HENDERSON. I have already occupied more than that time by reason of the persistency of the gentleman from Tennessee. How much time does the gentleman want?

Mr. RICHARDSON. We want the twenty minutes to which we would be entitled under the operation of the previous question.

Mr. HENDERSON. I will yield the gentleman twenty minutes, if that will be satisfactory.

Mr. RICHARDSON. That will be satisfactory.

Mr. HENDERSON. Now I will say for the information of the House that on the 7th of April, 1897, the President approved a public resolution providing for sending food to the sufferers in India. The joint resolution which is now proposed to be considered is one amendatory of the resolution passed April 7. That resolution provided that the ship or vessel to be used in the transportation of provisions should be an American ship or vessel. There seems to have been some trouble about getting such a vessel; and therefore the Senate has sent us an amendatory joint resolution providing that the Secretary of the Navy, in his discretion, may employ for the purpose contemplated any ship or vessel. For the consideration of that resolution this bill is now reported.

I now yield twenty minutes to the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. RICHARDSON], who, in the absence of the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. MCMILLIN] and the gentleman from Texas [Mr. BAILEY], met with the Committee on Rules this morning.

Mr. RICHARDSON. Mr. Speaker, I only wish a few moments myself in which to debate this matter. I assume that when the question is taken upon the main proposition there will be no objection to it upon this side of the House, and I suppose none upon the opposite side. The objection which we make is to the method of procedure adopted to-day for the consideration of this and other measures. We stand here, Mr. Speaker, with our hands absolutely tied. We have no committees. We have none of the ordinary conveniences and necessities of legislation. No measure can be considered except such as the Committee on Rules may prescribe. Gentlemen on the other side of the House have voluntarily placed themselves in this position. There is nothing like it in parliamentary experience in this or any other country. There never was a time, Mr. Speaker—and I assert it because I have the record here—there never was a time when the House of Representatives of the American Congress was in the dilapidated, demoralized, and disorganized condition for the length of time that this House now finds itself in. I have the record here.

Mr. DALZELL. Will the gentleman allow me a question?

Mr. RICHARDSON. Yes, sir.

Mr. DALZELL. Will the gentleman state how many days elapsed after the organization of the Forty-second Congress before the committees were appointed?

Mr. RICHARDSON. Yes, sir.

Mr. DALZELL. How many?

Mr. RICHARDSON. The Forty-second Congress met on the 4th day of March, 1871, and committees were appointed December 4, 1871.

Mr. DALZELL. Well?

Mr. RICHARDSON. But Congress was in session only about four days before the committees were appointed.

Mr. DALZELL. How many days elapsed before the appointment of committees?

Mr. RICHARDSON. Listen a moment, and I will answer the question.

Congress was in session only three or four days during that time. Therefore only that many days elapsed.

Mr. DALZELL. That is the fact I wanted to bring out.

Mr. RICHARDSON. If there is any comfort to the gentleman in the fact, he can take it. [Laughter.] That—the Forty-second Congress—was a Republican Congress that met under a law which had been passed for the purpose of tying the hands of a former President of the United States. The Republican party was afraid that that President would do something which they would not approve; and therefore, that they might keep watch upon him, they provided by law that immediately upon the adjournment of one Congress another should assemble.

At the time I am speaking of, March 4, 1871, President Johnson had retired. The act had been found convenient, I believe, prior to that time, while he was President; but President Johnson had retired, and the Republicans did not deem it necessary to keep such a watch upon President Grant, his successor, as they had done upon President Johnson. Therefore, while the law required them to meet immediately upon the adjournment of the Forty-first Congress, on the 4th of March, 1871, and while they did in fact meet, they said, "There is no necessity for us to sit here now to watch the President." And therefore they adjourned until the first Monday in December; and when they met, on the first day of that session, Mr. Blaine, the then Speaker, announced the committees.

Now, if there is any comfort in that, I say the gentleman is welcome to it. How was it in the Forty-third Congress? Congress met on the 1st day of December. On the 5th day of December Mr. Blaine appointed the committees. How was it in the Forty-fourth Congress? Congress met on the 6th day of December, 1875, and Mr. Speaker Kerr, on December 20, appointed the committees. The Forty-fifth Congress met on the 15th day of October, 1877, and Mr. Speaker Randall, on October 29, fourteen days later appointed the committees. In the Forty-sixth Congress, which met March 18, 1879, on April 11, twenty-four days later Mr. Randall appointed the committees. The Forty-seventh Congress met December 5, 1881, and on December 21 Mr. Speaker Keifer, sixteen days later, appointed the committees.

In 1883 Congress met December 3, and the committees were appointed December 24 by Mr. Speaker Carlisle. In 1884 Congress met on December 7, and on January 7, thirty-one days later, the same Speaker appointed the committees. The Fiftieth Congress met December 5, and the committees were appointed January 5, thirty-one days later, by Mr. Speaker Carlisle. In the Fifty-first Congress, presided over by the gentleman now occupying the chair, Congress met on December 2, and on the 21st day of that month, nineteen days later, he appointed the committees. The Fifty-second Congress met December 7, and the committees were appointed December 23 by Mr. Speaker Crisp. Again, the Fifty-third Congress met August 7, and the committees were appointed August 21, or fourteen days later. In the Fifty-fourth Congress, presided over by the present Speaker, Congress met December 2, and on December 21, or nineteen days later, the committees were appointed.

Thus we see, Mr. Speaker, that thirty-one days was the longest period that any Speaker has ever taken for the appointment of committees. In the case cited by the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. DALZELL], Speaker Blaine actually appointed the committees in about four or five days, because Congress was not in session over four or five days before they were appointed. The present Congress met on the 15th day of March, 1897. Here it is the 1st day of June. Sixteen days in March, thirty days in April, and thirty-one days in May have elapsed, or seventy-seven days in which this House has been in session, and yet we are in an unorganized condition. We can not consider a measure except by this unusual method of having the Committee on Rules bring us in a relief measure, an enabling resolution, so to speak, by which you gentlemen who have tied your own hands and ours can legislate.

I now yield to the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. CLAYTON], who desires to state that he wishes to offer an amendment. I yield him five minutes.

Mr. CLAYTON. Mr. Speaker, it seems to me that the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. RICHARDSON], who has kindly yielded

to me a small part of his very limited time, might well have said that we are not proceeding in very much order here in the consideration of this or any other measure.

The gentleman from Iowa [Mr. HENDERSON] has attempted to give the history of this Senate resolution No. 43, which is amendatory of the joint resolution approved April 7, providing for the transportation in American vessels of the grain contributed to the famishing poor in India. The original resolution of April 7 provided that the Secretary of the Navy might employ American ships to transport this grain to India, while the Senate resolution now reported by the House Committee on Rules strikes from the original resolution the word "American;" so that if the report of the committee is adopted, and the Senate joint resolution passes this House without amendment and is approved by the President, the Secretary of the Navy may employ any vessel, belonging to any person, firm, or corporation, and that may float any flag of any country, to carry this grain—this great evidence of the kind feeling and the charity of the American people—to the suffering poor in famine-stricken India.

Being aware how little power the minority in this House has to influence legislation, I nevertheless desire, Mr. Speaker, to offer, at the proper time, an amendment to the Senate joint resolution No. 43, which amendment I will ask the Clerk to read, and I hope the House will consider and adopt it.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. PAYNE). The amendment can be read for the information of the House.

The Clerk read as follows:

Provided, That if any citizen of the United States, owning a steamship or steamships of foreign build, suitable for carrying the grain to India and being immediately available and having satisfactory speed, shall offer to the Secretary of the Navy said steamship or steamships for such purpose, free of cost to the United States, on condition that such steamship or steamships shall be registered as United States vessels, the Secretary of the Navy is hereby directed to accept such offer, and the Commissioner of Navigation is hereby directed to cause them or either of them to be registered as vessels of the United States.

Provided further, That any steamships so registered may be taken and used by the United States as cruisers or transports upon payment to the owners of the fair actual value of the same at the time of the taking; and if there shall be a disagreement as to the fair actual value at the time of taking between the United States and the owners, then the same shall be determined by two impartial appraisers, one to be appointed by each of said parties, who, in case of disagreement, shall select a third, the award of any two of the three so chosen to be final and conclusive.

Mr. CLAYTON. At the proper time, Mr. Speaker, as I have stated, I shall ask unanimous consent for the consideration of the amendment which has just been read by the Clerk. Under the rules under which we are now proceeding I shall doubtless not have the opportunity to explain my proposed amendment at the time at which I shall be at liberty to offer it. I therefore desire to supplement what the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. HENDERSON] has said in regard to the history of this resolution.

After the approval of the resolution of April 7, the Secretary of the Navy informed the chairman of the Committee on Naval Affairs of the Senate by letter, a copy of which I hold in my hand, that American vessels suitable for transporting this grain could not be obtained, and suggested in that connection that Messrs. T. Hogan & Sons would charter to the Government, for the purpose of transporting food supplies to India, the vessels *Massapegua* and *Menantic* upon terms specified, if these vessels can be "naturalized."

These terms were that they would be willing to take a full cargo of grain in each, provided the Government would "naturalize" these two steamers before they leave this country, and that they would charge for the grain in bulk $6 per ton of 2,240 pounds hence to Bombay, or $7 per ton of 2,240 pounds hence to Calcutta, or should it be requisite to ship the cargo in bags, the price would be $6.60 per ton to Bombay and $7.70 per ton to Calcutta, and they also offered to make these ships a part of the naval auxiliary of the United States.

Now, Mr. Speaker, the proposition contained in the amendment which I shall offer has these several features: It looks to the transportation of the grain to India free of cost to the Government of the United States; it looks to the transportation of this grain under the American flag, and it looks to the use of any vessels that may be chartered under the provision of the amendment which I propose being made a part of our naval auxiliary.

All that this Government is required to do for this privilege of transporting the grain is to see that the vessels carrying it shall be admitted to American registry, or, to use the language adopted by the Secretary of the Navy, to "naturalize" foreign-built ships that may carry this grain. This is the only condition imposed for the free transportation of this grain, that the vessels so carrying it shall be entitled to American registry and entitled to fly the American flag.

The amendment which I shall propose will enable the Secretary of the Navy to accept any offer that may be made to him by citizens of the United States owning steamships suitable for the purpose, of foreign build, to carry this grain, about 8,000 tons, free of cost to the United States, on condition, as I have said, that the ships be granted American registers.

I am reliably informed that if the amendment which I shall propose is enacted into law to-day, within forty-eight hours the whole of the 8,000 tons can be shipped to India on steamships owned by citizens of the United States, free of all cost to the taxpayers of the United States, and carrying the flag of our country unfolded above this beneficence, to that far-off country, where famine and destitution appeal to the charity of the world.

The Secretary of the Navy has recently contracted to pay the owner of the steamship *Everett*, at San Francisco, $15 per ton to carry the wheat to India contributed on the Pacific Coast for this purpose, carrying it under an American registry and the flag of the United States.

Assuming that the freight would be at least as high from New York to India on vessels under our laws as from San Francisco to India, the Secretary would have to pay, at the same rate paid the *Everett*, $15 per ton on 8,000 tons, $120,000. By the adoption of the amendment which I shall propose $120,000 will therefore be saved to the taxpayers of the country.

The amendment is following out the custom established by former Congresses in other cases. Registry was granted to the British steamship *Dessong* that brought the Egyptian obelisk to New York. The *Jeannette*, of British build, was admitted by act of Congress to be registered. The *City of Paris* and the *City of New York* were "naturalized," or permitted to register, under the act of Congress passed in 1892.

They were permitted to register upon condition that the persons or company owning them should build in this country the like number of ships of equal tonnage and capacity, and that the two ships made should be a part of our naval auxiliary. I am asking this House to follow the precedents made in similar cases, where some scientific, charitable, or home interests were to be subserved.

The second proviso of the amendment which I have had read, if adopted, will put into the auxiliary navy of the United States two steamships first class in every respect, available at any time for service. They easily carry 1,000 soldiers and 600 horses each, and, in case of war, would prove valuable transport or troop ships.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. CLAYTON. I ask unanimous consent to proceed five minutes more.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman has already had two and one-half minutes more than his time.

Mr. CLAYTON. Will the Chair, then, permit me to add one more sentence?

Mr. RICHARDSON. I yield one more minute to the gentleman.

Mr. CLAYTON. I repeat, Mr. Speaker, that I am reliably informed that, should the proposed amendment be incorporated into this joint resolution—Senate resolution No. 43—and the resolution should become a law, within forty-eight hours thereafter two steamships, suitable by capacity, speed, and other essentials to transport this grain, ships owned by a citizen (Charles W. Hogan) of the United States, will be registered and loaded with this grain and on the way to India, carrying its cargo to relieve the suffering poor, and carrying it free of cost to the American people and under the flag of our own country.

Mr. RICHARDSON. I now yield five minutes to the gentleman from Kansas.

Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, this is a strange condition of affairs that this House is brought to—that we can have no legislation except by the pleasure and will of the Committee on Rules. Under the present management and the course of the Speaker, who has seen fit to refuse to obey the rules and appoint the committees, we are reduced to the condition that we must go supplicating to the Committee on Rules before we can get any legislation.

Here we have introduced into this House 3,228 bills. Eleven hundred and sixty-six of those bills have been introduced for the relief of soldiers of the late war mostly, and 696 to correct military records. Here are 2,000 bills for the relief of the old soldiers that fought to defend the Union. The Republican party presume to be the special guardians of the old soldiers, and here we are going on month after month refusing to take action upon these bills. That is not all. One hundred and eleven bills and resolutions have passed the Senate and come to this body for action. Sixteen of those are joint resolutions. Among those bills and resolutions are many very important measures that ought to be acted upon at once, notably the bankruptcy bill. There is a general demand for this legislation throughout the United States. It is estimated that there are 750,000 bankrupts in this country who are seeking relief.

Mr. WILLIAM A. STONE. Will the gentleman permit me to ask him a question?

Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas. Certainly.

Mr. WILLIAM A. STONE. Is there any more demand for a

bankruptcy law now than there was in the Fifty-second, Fifty-third, and Fifty-fourth Congresses?

Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas. Yes; there is a greater demand.

Mr. WILLIAM A. STONE. Why?

Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas. Because the prosperity promised by the Republican party has failed to materialize [laughter and applause on the Democratic side], and these people are now coming to the conclusion that you people are not going to bring them relief through the tariff bill, and so they are seeking relief through the bankruptcy court.

Mr. WILLIAM A. STONE. You want to bring prosperity by a bankruptcy law?

Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas. I have the floor.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman declines to yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas. Now, who is this Committee on Rules—that is the question—that we must go and supplicate from day to day under this new policy?

Mr. WILLIAM A. STONE. The majority of this House.

Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas. My constituency, your constituency, and the constituency of every member here is afforded no opportunity to get a measure through concerning their interest or welfare. Who is the committee?

Mr. WILLIAM A. STONE. The committee is the majority of this House.

Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas. There he sits in the chair. [Laughter on the Democratic side.] He is the committee. In a general way the committee consists of five persons, members of this House. Two of them being Democrats, of course they do not count. [Laughter.] Three of them are Republicans. How do they get on that committee, gentlemen? They are appointed by the Speaker of this House, and the Speaker appointed his own creatures that will march to his music and do his bidding, as they have done in every instance since this session commenced.

So the Committee on Rules resolves itself into a one-man power. He says what bills shall pass and what shall not pass; he is the Congress to-day, and we stand around here awaiting his sweet will in order to get legislation for the country. This is supposed to be the popular branch of the Congress of the United States——

The SPEAKER. The gentleman's time has expired. [Laughter.]

Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas. I would like to have about five minutes more.

Mr. RICHARDSON. Mr. Speaker, how much time have I remaining?

The SPEAKER. The gentleman has three minutes.

Mr. RICHARDSON. I yield that to the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. TERRY].

Mr. TERRY. Mr. Speaker, a great deal of complaint and stir has recently been made in regard to the order of the House providing for but two sessions a week—one on Monday and one on Thursday; and whilst I regard that as a rule of very doubtful constitutionality, yet it is a small matter compared with the non-appointment of the committees of the House, for what is the use of meeting here every day unless we can transact business, and how can we transact business unless the committees are appointed? Therefore, sir, the real grievance is the nonappointment of the committees. It is the right and privilege of this House to be fully organized. It is not only the right and the privilege of the House, but it is the right and the privilege of the American people to have their House of Representatives fully organized.

There are great questions stirring in the minds and the hearts of the American people upon which they can have no expression, because their House of Representatives, though assembled here, is bucked and gagged, with no opportunity to express itself. It is very true, Mr. Speaker, that under your "mild and gentle rule" you submitted to the House the question as to whether it would lie down and be bucked and gagged, and in a cowardly and truculent manner it did lie down. I do not know whether it is still satisfied with its position or not. I am inclined to think that some of the members who submitted to that operation would now like to have the gag taken out of their mouths, and I think they would like to have the question submitted to them again. [Laughter.]

The committees of the House are like the scouts of the Army. They are the eyes of the House, and without its committees the House is in no condition to obtain the necessary information on which to act. One of the great questions stirring in the minds and the hearts of the American people at this time is the question of the recognition of Cuba, and yet on that great question the House of Representatives has no opportunity to express itself.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman's time has expired.

Mr. TERRY. I ask unanimous consent that I may have two minutes more, as that seems to be the constitutional limit.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Arkansas asks the consent of the House that his time be extended two minutes. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. TERRY. I thank the House. Now, Mr. Speaker, with the appointment of the committees we could go on with a good deal of business that is necessary to be transacted, but as it is, the House is paralyzed, and we present to the people and to our constituencies a very humiliating attitude. I submit to both sides of this House that this condition ought not to continue. It is an outrage upon the dignity of the American House of Representatives. It is an outrage upon the rights of American constituencies, and it is a shame and a disgrace that it has been quietly submitted to so long.

Why are you afraid to transact business? Are you gentlemen on the other side afraid to allow discussion upon this floor? Is it a fact that a guilty conscience makes cowards of you all, so that you are not willing to have public matters discussed lest the attention of the country be called to your shortcomings? If not, why do you not organize this House as the House of Representatives has been organized from the very foundation of this Government to the present time and let us proceed to do the business of the country?

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. HENDERSON. Mr. Speaker——

Mr. LINNEY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman allow me to offer an amendment?

Mr. HENDERSON. Not just now.

Mr. LINNEY. Mr. Speaker, am I not entitled as a matter of right to offer an amendment?

Mr. HENDERSON. I resume the floor, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Iowa has the floor.

Mr. LINNEY. Will the gentleman not yield to me to offer an amendment to this rule?

Mr. HENDERSON. When the bill is up for consideration the gentleman can offer his amendment.

Mr. LINNEY. My intention is simply to introduce another bill for consideration in addition to the one contemplated by the rule. [Laughter.]

Mr. HENDERSON. I can not yield now. Mr. Speaker, it has not been my good fortune to be here as much as some other gentlemen have been during this extraordinary session, but I was present with my colleagues in this House during the time the work was done which we were called here by the President to do. I stayed until our part of it was done, and I shall be ready to finish that work when it comes back from the other end of the Capitol.

Gentlemen seem to forget that at 12 o'clock on the 4th day of March last a new Congress was born, and that, under the laws and the Constitution of our country, we were not expected to assemble until the first Monday in next December, unless, under the Constitution, the Chief Executive should call us together for some specific purpose. A great, patriotic President, looking into the Treasury, found that it was nearly empty, and that, under Democratic laws and Democratic administration, our receipts were running nearly fifty millions annually behind our expenditures.

He called Congress together in extraordinary session to meet that condition. If gentlemen will refer to the message assembling us, they will find that we were called here for the sole purpose of providing the necessary revenues to run this Government.

Mr. RICHARDSON. Will the gentleman allow me——

Mr. HENDERSON. No; I will not yield for anything at present. I want to pursue my line of thought. You gentlemen have been infernally industrious when you had nothing to do. [Laughter.] Now I want to have a little opportunity myself.

We met in pursuance of the call of the Chief Executive, and in nine days we passed a tariff bill upon which months of labor had been previously expended, and we sent it to the Senate—a measure which will give abundant revenue to run this Government and leave annually a balance to the credit of "Uncle Sam." That is what we were brought here to do. But for that call no Congress could have been in session under the Constitution; no bills would have been introduced; no committees would have been thought of. The President saw an exigency, and called us to meet it. We assembled and attended to the matter. And that is one of the chief matters, I apprehend, that troubles some statesmen here.

Now, in regard to this rule, my friend from Tennessee admits there will be no opposition to the main proposition; that we shall all be in favor of it; but he does not like the form of getting at it.

> For modes of faith let graceless zealots fight;
> His can't be wrong whose life is in the right.

[Applause.]

If we are in the right—and the gentleman admits it—why this "hell in a teapot," boiling over finally from the realms of Kansas? [Laughter.] Why, sir, this proposition now brought in from the Committee on Rules, were there the usual Democratic side with any ordinary Democratic leadership—not a Democratic side under a leadership that has neither gender nor politics—would be considered by unanimous consent, without an objection from the Democratic side; and it would have passed long ago with the sanction of this House. These are extraordinary things that

have come up here; and with statesmen and patriots seeking to do the business of the country, these little matters coming up would be attended to promptly.

Ah, but the gentleman from Kansas and the gentleman from Arkansas are "bucked and gagged." I do not believe that the gentleman from Kansas claims that. I have seen, I regret to say, some bucking and gagging done years ago. It is an infernally unpleasant thing to contemplate. I have seen since the war occasions for it that I did not see during the war. [Laughter and applause.] Yet I do not believe in the "bucking and gagging" principle. But to a certain extent it is at times needed.

Now, what is the accusation here this morning of the gentleman from Kansas? It is that four of us on the Committee on Rules are creatures of the Speaker. I suppose that is equally true of every committee that has ever been appointed by any Speaker of this House. All the committees of this House are, in a sense, his creatures; he appoints them; that is true. The gentleman from Kansas, I suppose, does not know that at least since I have been a member of the Committee on Rules—and I have reported many a rule in the last Congress—each and every one of them was passed by the sanction of a majority of the House. Then, if you were "bucked and gagged" by the creatures of the Speaker or by the Speaker himself, you did it yourselves. It is very nice for men to stand here in their places and howl abuse at the Speaker and those who may be associated with him; but gentlemen—honorable, brave men—would not take such a course. [Applause on the Republican side.] Only men who are wandering in the realms without the high dignity of thought would pursue such a course.

We are here in pursuance of the laws of our country and, under the rules of this body, doing our duty. If we report rules, they are for you to approve or condemn. Thus far you have approved them. The work for which we were called together has been done so far as we could do it, and if we had been permitted—I will not attempt to state why it has not been completed—we would have finished it and set the wheels of industry going in this country. We are here now, and every Republican will be in his seat when that bill comes from the Senate to perfect a law that will give confidence and activity to the business of the country. We shall all be here when there is work to be done.

You are in a terrible hurry to have committees appointed—a dreadful hurry! Gentlemen, it takes time to make up committees, even if we need them. If you undertake to go to work and ascertain the personal preferences, the adaptability, the capacity of a large body of men like this, you will find that it takes time to ascertain who is best fitted for particular work. And when this work is to be done, you want to give the power that is to make the appointments plenty of time to do it. Take, for instance, my friend from Kansas. Imagine a Speaker trying to pick out the committee where he would be useful to his country! [Laughter.] Every time that he opens his mouth he makes the problem more difficult for the Speaker. [Renewed laughter.]

This House has done the work that we were called here to do; and we are ready and waiting to do whatever may be needed to finish that great work. In the meantime, if there are any special matters coming up needing special attention, we are here to cooperate with the Republicans, the Democrats, and even the Kansas leader for the benefit of our country.

I have read of a good many things going on showing the tireless activity of some people when there was not anything special for them to do. I have had no opportunity until now to say a word. I have taken occasion thus to express myself because these remarks are germane to what has gone before in the debate this morning. I now yield five minutes to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON.]

Mr. CANNON. I have listened to the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. HENDERSON], and it seems to me that I do not care or need to say anything.

Mr. HENDERSON. Then I yield ten minutes to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. GROSVENOR]. [Loud applause.]

Mr. GROSVENOR. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. HENDERSON] has stated what I wanted to be able to state; and I do not know that I can add anything to the debate. The first important consideration here is, Who is charged with the duty of carrying on the legislation of this Congress? Is it the gentleman from Washington [Mr. LEWIS] in his individual capacity or in his capacity as leader of the opposition to the Republicans? [Laughter.]

I want to be and will be, under all circumstances, absolutely respectful to gentlemen on the other side, but I must say that they are treating us with great unfairness. They spring upon us something new every once in a while in the form of a leader. [Laughter.] Now, while the ambitious and eloquent and very talented gentleman from Texas [Mr. BAILEY], who had in a certain way inherited a leadership that he had never earned very successfully [laughter], was running the machine over there, we knew how to get along with him. A few words of common-sense argument, a few kind words, and an appeal to his good judgment, and he was ready to do anything that was fair and which looked to the going ahead with the business of the House. [Laughter and applause.]

The only trouble was that the disappointed leader from Tennessee occasionally grumbled a little; but we got used to that. [Laughter.] But when the gentleman from Kansas sprang in and succeeded in bringing that splendid minority of this House into accord, and came forward with a phalanx absolutely united and enthusiastic, we on this side began to tremble, and I began to wonder whether God Almighty for some inscrutable purpose had not concluded to wreck the Democratic party on the leadership question. [Applause.] But somehow or other that gentleman dropped out. I never knew whether it was because his time was up; I did not know whether he had gone into the leadership under a limitation of time, or what other reason might have existed. But, like the great Greek leaders of recent date, he started for home suddenly; but it is not said of him that he tried or proposed or undertook to commit suicide on the way.

Then came the gentleman from Washington. [Laughter.] I have not examined his credentials. Whom he represents in this Congress I do not know, and whether he could get a solid vote of the other side to stand by him I do not know, for he has never progressed in leadership far enough to get a vote on any question. [Laughter.]

The serious question is, Is the Republican majority on this side of the House responsible for the legislation of Congress? And I speak with absolute contempt of any man who will abuse the Speaker of this House over the head of the majority. Gentlemen on the other side, here are the men who are responsible for what is going on right here. Do not hurl your anathemas at a man who by the dignity of his office and by the usages of the House must sit silent and take it. Fire your little paper wads at somebody over here who can answer back. That is the brave way to do it. [Applause.]

The gentleman from Arkansas has discovered that somebody on this side of the House is getting restive with being "bucked and gagged." I think the gentleman is looking through the spectacles of his wishes, that his hopes and desires are father to the thought of something that he sees. We have done exactly what we came here to do. We did not come [addressing the Democratic side of the House] by your suggestion. We are not going by your suggestion, and we will not shape our action while here at your suggestion. [Applause on the Republican side.] You want to legislate! Why, if any of these bills you are talking about should come up, four out of five of you would vote against any one of them.

The gentleman from Kansas eloquently pleads for the soldier. We are paying out to-day at the ratio of $150,000,000 per annum to the soldiers of the United States of America; and I have not heard a great many of them making complaint that the amount was not great enough. We have about $400,000,000 of revenue of every description coming into the Treasury, and we are paying out three-eighths of it to support the soldiers of the country. And you on the other side do not like it!

But if there was a bill here to add $10 to it, nine out of ten of you would vote against that bill. [Applause on the Republican side.] So the proposition is a very easy one, and the wild and senseless and imbecile talk that has been going out to the country should be rebuked. Some very distinguished men say, "Why, you have adjourned for more than three days, and there is not any Congress."

Just look at that, now! Just think of that, men of the House of Representatives! Think of that, the commonest man of half sense in the United States of America! We have a Constitution, have we not? That is to say, if a majority of this House gets together—that is, 1 more than one-half of the 356 members—and then a majority of 1 does an illegal act and adjourns for more than three days, great lawyers, whose voices sound so musical to them that they fill the air with them by the month in this section of the country, say that Congress has come to an end. Just think of that! Those are the propositions that three days' study produces constantly, and they go out to the country, that Congress has come to an end; that we have here a body, we have here a Congressional organization under the Constitution, but that it is in the power of one man more than one-half of this body to always and under all circumstances paralyze Congress and put an end to it. How utterly ridiculous and absurd the whole of it is.

Gentlemen, this tariff bill is moving at a ratio equal to the most rapid movement of legislation of this magnitude. It passed this House with a rapidity that surprised the country. It will pass the Senate. [Derisive laughter on the Democratic side.] Yes; and in that connection I may say that to-day the people of the country stand in an overwhelming majority in favor of the House bill. [Applause on the Republican side.] And I can tell you something more that that, gentlemen. When the Senate bill comes back here and the action of the joint conference shall be had, the people of the country will be satisfied with the result. The Republicans will have executed their duty. They will have responded to the call of the President, and you may call on the

rocks and mountains to hide you from the wrath of the people in the future. [Applause on the Republican side.]

The SPEAKER. The question is on ordering the previous question.

The previous question was ordered.

The resolution was agreed to.

RELIEF OF FAMINE SUFFERERS IN INDIA.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON] is recognized in charge of the resolution.

Mr. CANNON. I ask for the reading of the joint resolution.

The joint resolution was read, as follows:

Joint resolution (S. R. 43) in amendment of the joint resolution of April 7, 1897, authorizing the Secretary of the Navy to transport contributions for the relief of the famishing poor of India.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the joint resolution of April 7, 1897, authorizing the Secretary of the Navy to transport contributions for the relief of the famishing poor of India, be, and the same is hereby, so amended that the Secretary shall be authorized to charter and employ the most suitable steamships or vessels of any nationality, not exceeding two in number, to carry out the object of said resolution.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, I think the House is quite fully informed touching the merits of this joint resolution and the necessity therefor, and I would be very glad to have a vote, unless somebody wants to talk for a moment as to the merits of the resolution.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the third reading of the Senate resolution.

Mr. RICHARDSON. Mr. Speaker, before the matter is put, I am requested by the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. CLAYTON] to ask that he be allowed to offer his amendment.

Mr. CANNON. I can not do that.

Mr. RICHARDSON. Or to ask unanimous consent to do so. The gentleman can make his request.

Mr. CANNON. In the first place, the amendment is not germane; and in the second place, I want this food, which has been contributed by the charitable people of the country, to go, without further vexation, to the starving poor of India.

Mr. CLAYTON. May I interrupt the gentleman from Illinois?

Mr. CANNON. Certainly.

Mr. CLAYTON. I do not desire to detain the House with any remarks, but I merely ask the privilege of offering this amendment, which was read as a part of my remarks, and ask for a vote on that proposition.

Mr. CANNON. The amendment is not germane, and I can not yield for that purpose.

Mr. CLAYTON. You object, then, as I understand? I understand the gentleman to object to the amendment that I propose.

Mr. CANNON. Oh, yes. I ask for a vote.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the third reading of the joint resolution.

The joint resolution was ordered to a third reading; and it was accordingly read the third time, and passed.

On motion of Mr. CANNON, a motion to reconsider the last vote was laid on the table.

THE PUBLIC PRINTING.

Mr. HENDERSON. Mr. Speaker, I offer the following privileged report.

Mr. CANNON. Before the gentleman does that, if he will allow me, I should be glad to ask unanimous consent, for the purpose of saving time, as there are several conference reports to make. I ask unanimous consent to consider Senate resolution 44, providing for deficiencies in the Printing Office.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, I object.

Mr. HENDERSON. Then let the resolution be reported, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the following resolution from the Committee on Rules.

The Clerk read as follows:

The Committee on Rules, having had under consideration House resolution No. 49, ask leave to report the same with the recommendation that it be adopted:

Resolved, That immediately upon the adoption of this order it shall be in order to consider in the House Senate joint resolution No. 44, making an appropriation to supply a deficiency in the appropriations for public printing and binding for the fiscal year 1897.

Mr. HENDERSON. Mr. Speaker, the purpose of this is to bring up and dispose of the very matter referred to by the gentleman from Illinois—to provide for an appropriation for the Government Printing Office.

Mr. RICHARDSON. I would like to ask the gentleman if I understand he is making a speech to cut off debate?

Mr. HENDERSON. I am saying all I hope to say, I will state to the gentleman from Tennessee.

Mr. RICHARDSON. I understand the gentleman from Texas desires to speak on this subject.

Mr. HENDERSON. That is after the resolution is adopted.

Mr. SAYERS. I would just as soon have the time then as now.

Mr. HENDERSON. That is the time. Those are all the observations I wish to make. I ask for the previous question.

The previous question was ordered; and under the operation thereof the resolution was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the bill.

Mr. HENDERSON. The gentleman from Illinois will take charge of the bill.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois presents the following bill.

The Clerk read as follows:

Joint resolution (S. R. 44) making an appropriation to supply a deficiency in the appropriations for public printing and binding for the fiscal year 1897.

Resolved, etc., That the following sum be, and the same is hereby, appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to supply a deficiency in the appropriations for public printing and binding for the fiscal year 1897, namely:

PUBLIC PRINTING AND BINDING.

For the public printing, for the public binding, and for paper for the public printing, including the cost of printing the debates and proceedings of Congress in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and for lithographing, mapping, and engraving for both Houses of Congress, the Supreme Court of the United States, the supreme court of the District of Columbia, the Court of Claims, the Library of Congress, the Executive Office, and the Departments, including salaries or compensation of all necessary clerks and employees, for labor (by the day, piece, or contract), and for rents and all the necessary materials which may be needed in the prosecution of the work, $225 000.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, a sentence or two in explanation; and then, unless somebody wants to be heard, I will ask for a vote.

Mr. SAYERS. I will state, Mr. Speaker, that we should like to have twenty minutes on this side.

Mr. CANNON. This exact item, as I explained yesterday, was contained in the general deficiency bill and passed by this House with other items in March. That bill has not been returned to the House, but the 1st of June having arrived, there is no longer money available to carry on the Public Printing Office. The Senate, ascertaining this condition, I presume, instead of sending us back the general deficiency bill, to provide for the necessary public service here and elsewhere, pick out this one item, embody it in a joint resolution, pass it, and send it to us.

Ordinarily, on such action on the part of the Senate, I should favor, as one member, no action upon the part of the House, because the House ordinarily originates appropriation bills; but, as I explained yesterday, this item having passed the House, in substance, it may, if we so desire, be treated as a matter that originated in the House. And besides that, the work ceases in this great office, greatly to the inconvenience of the House, the Senate, and the country, if this appropriation is not made. Therefore I ask that the joint resolution be passed. Now the gentleman from Texas desires some time.

Mr. SAYERS. About twenty-five minutes. Gentlemen on this side want some time.

Mr. CANNON. I yield the gentleman from Texas twenty-five minutes, or such part thereof as he may desire.

Mr. SAYERS. Mr. Speaker, it is my opinion that in the circumstances this resolution ought to pass, but I do not believe that it should without the attention of the House being called to the fact that on the 19th day of March the general deficiency bill passed this House embracing this very item. That bill has been in the Senate, or rather in the custody of a committee of the Senate, ever since the 19th day of March. On the 29th day of March a Senate resolution came to this body, and items that were borne by the general deficiency bill were put upon that resolution. On the 3d day of May another resolution came to this House containing another item that was in the general deficiency bill, and it, too, was passed; and now we are confronted with a third resolution which contains another item which was in the general deficiency bill.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to know from the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON], who is charged with leadership in the matter of appropriations, if it be his purpose to allow a coordinate branch of Congress to extract from the general deficiency bill, which has already passed the House, items here and there, send them over to the House, and have the House to concur in them? In the meantime the general deficiency bill, which contains appropriations for every branch of the public service and for every department of the Government, is lying upon the table of a Senate committee, and has not been considered by that committee and reported to the Senate. I repeat the question to the gentleman, Is this to be the policy and is it to have his sanction? I wish to say, Mr. Speaker, if the responsibility rested upon me, if I were charged with the conduct of appropriation bills through this House, I should ask the Senate, in justice to the body of which I am a member, with its constitutional rights in the matter of appropriations and revenue, to pass the general deficiency bill rather than to send here separate and independent resolutions covering items that are in that bill.

Mr. CANNON. Will my friend yield to me to answer his question just at this point, and I will yield him such time as I shall occupy?

Mr. SAYERS. Certainly.

Mr. CANNON. It is a very fair question, and a pertinent one, that the gentleman asks, and I answer it in the light of the facts that have existed. He and I both know that this is a government through parties. The Republican party has power in the White House and power in the House of Representatives. In the coordinate branch of Congress, the Senate of the United States, the Republican party has not power.

The Democratic party, if I understand what it is, has not power there. The Populist party, I understand, has not power. The result is that, in the absence of a party majority in the Senate of the United States, that body, as I understand, does not respond to the demands of the country, and when I say this I mean to keep well within the parliamentary rule. Therefore the Senate of the United States, being in that situation, and this appropriation and the other appropriation referred to by the gentleman from Texas being necessary to carry on the Government, whenever an opportunity is offered to enact such appropriations into law, I, as a member of this House, intend to move to concur.

Mr. SAYERS. Mr. Speaker, I did not intend in my remarks to invoke a partisan discussion. My motive in calling the attention of the House to the condition of deficiency appropriations at this time was not to criticise the pending appropriation, because, in my judgment, it is one that ought to be made, nor to find fault with the majority in this House because of their proceeding to the consideration of this appropriation. My purpose was only to call the attention of members to the policy which seems to have been adopted in reference to the deficiency estimates—a policy which has not obtained in any previous Congress during the period of my service upon the Committee on Appropriations. My complaint is that the Senate is permitted to take certain special items from the general deficiency bill and send them here in separate resolutions and at different times for the consideration of the House, neglecting other items in the bill equally as important to the country.

Now, the answer of the gentleman from Illinois is not sufficient. He says that the Senate is not under the control of either one of the three parties. That is true; but notwithstanding that fact, has not the Senate passed the sundry civil appropriation bill? Has it not passed the agricultural appropriation bill? Has it not passed the Indian appropriation bill? Why, then, Mr. Speaker, of the four general appropriation bills is the deficiency bill alone permitted to lie on the table of a Senate committee for so long a time without being considered or reported to that body? Besides, I must remind the gentleman from Illinois that a majority of the Senate Committee on Appropriations is composed of Senators of the same political faith with himself.

I would not advise the House upon this occasion to reject this resolution, but hereafter I would have the House, in justice to itself, refuse to act upon such special resolutions until it shall become evident by actual demonstration that the Senate is unable to consider and pass the general deficiency bill. As I have already said, there are many provisions in that bill of importance and necessity to the country, together with judgments long since rendered, to the payment of which no valid objection can be made. I now yield five minutes to the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. COCHRAN].

Mr. COCHRAN of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, consideration of this resolution was not anticipated by any considerable number of the members of this House, and therefore they have not had time for proper preparation for its discussion. Is it true, sir, that heretofore deficiency bills have frequently been made vehicles by which doubtful appropriations have been hurried through both branches of Congress in the closing hours of the session? Why is it that invariably one or more of the general appropriation bills are held back until the very last days of the session and then brought forward with numerous amendments, carrying millions? No matter how lengthy the session, the programme is the same.

Congress usually assembles early in December, but the appropriation bills drag their weary length along until the very last hours of the session and are then hustled through under whip and spur. Members are told that they must vote for this or that general appropriation bill, regardless of its monstrous contents, or else the wheels of Government will be stopped.

Mr. Speaker, there are indications that this extra session is to be no exception to this general rule. It seems probable that after the passage of that great panacea, the pending tariff bill, the Senate will take up this appropriation bill tack onto it a few millions here and there, and then send it over here in the closing hours of the session loaded down with appropriations which otherwise could not possibly pass this body. It is said that unless we pass this resolution no funds for defrayment of the expense of the Printing Office will be available. As to the entire bill, when finally it reappears in the House, no matter what changes may be made at the other end of the Capitol, the same plea will be made.

I shall vote against this resolution. I believe that the general appropriation bills should be passed only after due consideration by both Houses, and not merely upon consideration by one branch of Congress, the bills being thrust upon the other House in the closing hours of the session, to be passed willy nilly, with no proper opportunity to consider them upon their merits.

If the Senate proposes to amend the general deficiency bill, why not do so now and send it over here while time remains for full investigation and discussion of its amendments? Mr. Speaker, I believe that when next we inspect the bill it will be loaded with amendments largely increasing the appropriations. I believe it is being held in the Senate committee room now for the purpose of thus loading it, and predict that when in the closing hours of this extra session it comes before this body for consideration we shall be told that the day of adjournment has been set, and that we can have only a brief time for debate, and with little or no time for investigation members of this House will be required to vote upon the measure. Furthermore, the passage of the bill will be urged lest we do to all branches of the Government the injury which the gentleman from Illinois says refusal to pass this resolution will do to the Public Printing Office.

I am opposed to this kind of legislation. This House has a right to expect the Senate to send that bill back to us in time to be properly considered here, and then, instead of adjourning from day to day, we ought to take it up and consider it with due deliberation.

Another thing. We have heard from the early days of the Administration of Grover down to this time in the reign of McKinley that the public revenues are vastly less than the public expenditures, and that that is the chief cause of existing hard times. If it be true that the Government's expenses exceed its receipts, I venture to recommend a remedy which deserves at least a trial—a remedy that you have never sought to apply, a remedy that has hardly been broached in this House.

How would it do to try retrenchment of public expenditures? Why not lop off appropriations until the outlay becomes less than receipts? That is what a prudent individual would do under similar circumstances in the management of his own affairs, and it is what this Government ought to do in the management of the affairs of the people.

Just such methods as are being pursued in holding up the general deficiency bill have resulted in vastly increasing public expenditures in former years, and have facilitated at least systematic profligacy, and probably sometimes something worse than profligacy, in public expenditures. The House should not consider the deficiency bill piecemeal, as is proposed in this resolution, but should await its passage by the Senate, leaving responsibility for the results of delay to rest where it belongs.

Mr. SAYERS. I yield two minutes to the gentleman from Washington [Mr. LEWIS].

Mr. LEWIS of Washington. I avail myself of the kindness of the gentleman from Texas to offer an amendment which I request may be read.

Mr. CANNON. I do not yield for an amendment. I suppose the gentleman can have his proposition read in his own time as a matter of debate.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON] does not yield for an amendment. Does the gentleman from Washington desire to have the proposition read as a part of his remarks?

Mr. LEWIS of Washington. I should like to have it read for information at this time as a part of my remarks.

The Clerk proceeded to read the following:

That the Secretary of War be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to expend from existing appropriations "for dredging Salmon Bay and improvement of the waterway connecting the waters of Puget Sound, at Salmon Bay, with Lakes Union and Washington, by enlarging the said waterway into a ship canal, with the necessary locks and appliances in connection therewith," made by the "act making appropriations for the construction, repair, and preservation of certain works on rivers and harbors, and for other purposes," received by the President August 7, 1894, the sum of $10,000 in making a definite survey and location and plans and specifications of said improvement from the head of Salmon Bay to termination on Smith's Cove and connect with former survey from Lake Washington to head of Salmon Bay, and in preparing a cadastral map, showing each piece of property required to be deeded to the United States or from which a release is required, with its metes and bounds.

The SPEAKER (before the reading was concluded). This would not be in order as an amendment to the pending proposition, unless the gentleman from Washington has some new precedent. [Laughter.]

Mr. SAYERS. I do not think the gentleman from Washington is serious in pressing this matter, anyhow.

Mr. LEWIS of Washington. I must differ from my exceedingly amiable friend from Texas. I am very serious about this matter. I brought it up before in Committee of the Whole. The honorable gentleman from Illinois on my right says that this is a matter of heart with me. He is right, because this House is likely to be deprived of the hospitable association of my companionship in the future unless this measure shall be given some serious consideration at some time. [Laughter.] But I insist, in the moment I have left, that this is a germane amendment, and I would ask to have it now considered, as it is important that we have the $10,000

out of the money already appropriated, in order to complete a work most important to this country. I respectfully suggest that the amendment be considered, notwithstanding the objection of the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. SAYERS. I yield ten minutes to the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. SIMPSON].

Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, I shall not object to the passage of this very urgent appropriation bill. My purpose in rising is to speak about another matter on which heretofore I have had scarcely the opportunity to speak that I desired. I shall address myself somewhat to some remarks directed partly to me and partly to the House in general by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. GROSVENOR] and the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. HENDERSON] during the discussion on the adoption of the report of the Committee on Rules.

The gentleman from Iowa called the attention of the House to the fact that this "extraordinary session," as he was pleased to call it, had been convened by the President for a specific purpose; that the President of the United States had called us here to legislate on the tariff alone, and therefore of course it followed that we could not legislate on any other matter. Mr. Speaker, when was the President given power to determine what this popular branch of the legislative body of the United States should legislate upon? When Congress assembles, it is, I take it, its right or privilege—it had that privilege prior to the time when the present occupant of the chair refused to appoint the committees—to legislate upon any matter within its constitutional jurisdiction. And I do not believe that we ought now to be restricted to the passage of a bill the sole purpose of which is to increase taxation upon the people.

We had a Republican "landslide," they say; and you have a Republican majority here in this House, and a Republican President in the White House, because of your lavish promises to the people to bring prosperity back to them. The President, in his inaugural address, outlined the policy, so to speak, of his party. He did not in that address limit this House in legislation to the tariff alone. He said very clearly and plainly that there were other matters which should receive consideration by this body. Therefore, according to the President's suggestions, we ought to proceed at once to consider those matters.

Now, what I objected to, and what I am objecting to to-day, is that this House does not proceed in an orderly manner to appoint the committees and go on with the work of legislation. The gentleman from Iowa said or intimated that one of the most potent reasons why the committees had not been appointed was because the Speaker had not had ample time to familiarize himself with the capacity of the different members of the House. Usually when Congress convenes on the first Monday of December the Speaker proceeds at once to make up his committees; and we usually adjourn from day to day until he has done so. I take it there is no purpose on the part of the Speaker to appoint committees. We have already been in session more than two months; and there is no intimation that the Speaker proposes to appoint any committees. The Speaker, when we first assembled here, gave as one of his reasons for failing to appoint the committees that he had not had time to familiarize himself with the members of the House. He certainly has had time enough now, and he ought to proceed at once to appoint the committees.

The gentleman from Iowa singled me out and said, "For instance, what a dilemma the Speaker would be in if he had to select the committee on which the gentleman from Kansas could be of use to the House!" I think he was entirely right in that remark, if he had in view such legislation as the Republicans would give us, because I would not be of any good on a committee if it was expected that I should cast my vote with the Republicans. I could not do that; I do not agree with the kind of legislation that they give the country or have been giving the country—such legislation as has brought the country to its present condition.

But under the customs which have grown up through the experience of legislative bodies in this and every other country where such bodies exist, it has come to be considered that the only safe method of proceeding in such bodies is to filter legislation through committees, and that for this purpose each party shall have representation on those committees. Therefore, while I might not have the wisdom of the gentleman from Iowa, I might in committee service represent the people of my district who have selected me for this purpose. That is what I am demanding—the right to represent my constituents who sent me here, and who are as good as the constituents of the gentleman from Iowa or those of the gentleman from Illinois or the gentleman from Ohio.

When I heard the voice of the gentleman from Iowa to-day I was somewhat surprised. I had read in the daily papers that there had been a little rebellion in British Columbia, where some of the Indians had got off the reservation, and that the leader of that band, named Almighty Voice, had been killed. When I heard the echoes of the voice of the gentleman from Iowa here to-day I made up my mind that the papers of this morning were at fault in saying that Almighty Voice had been killed. He is on deck. [Laughter.]

The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. GROSVENOR] is very much concerned about the leadership on this side of the House. He need not be. There are no leaders over here. We are all leaders. [Laughter and applause.] We do not need anybody to lead us like a lot of sheep, as the Republicans do. We have an independent membership over here; each man leads himself. We do not need a leader, as you people do. You could not get along without a leader. You do not know enough to express an opinion in the morning until you read the newspaper and find out what your leader has told you to express. That is the trouble with you people. There are intelligent men on this side of the House. They understand the questions before the country. They read and think for themselves. They do not have to jump over the fence behind the leading billy goat.

Mr. BARTHOLDT. When the gentleman employs the term "we"—pluralis majestatis—does he mean that it shall be applied to the Populists, to the Democrats, or to the combined forces on that side?

Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas. I mean it to be applied to every man who opposes the Republican party in this or in any other place, because we consider that party the enemy of mankind. [Laughter and applause on the Democratic side.] I will ask whether the language which the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BARTHOLDT] addressed me is Hebrew or "United States?"

Mr. BARTHOLDT. I am aware that the gentleman has not had a classical education.

Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas. The gentleman from Missouri has the advantage of me, because he knows enough to call things by two different names. I only know enough to call them by one name; but I generally get there.

Mr. BARTHOLDT. Does the gentleman refer to the term "Popocratic" or "Demopopulist."

Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas. I mean all the opposition.

Now, Mr. Speaker, there has been a very grave attack made on this House by a member of the Senate. Some very serious charges have been made.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman must be in order.

Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas. I am reminded by my friend from Washington [Mr. LEWIS] that the Latin of the gentleman from Missouri is very bad Latin. Of course, I am not familiar with the matter myself.

I was about to remark, however, that there has been a very serious attack made on this House by a member of the Senate. I read in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of May 29 a speech by Senator MORGAN. He says:

The Speaker of the House——

The SPEAKER. It is not in order to read that.

Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas. Not in order to read the RECORD?

The SPEAKER. Not in order to read the debate in the Senate.

Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas. Does the Speaker rule that it is not in order to read the RECORD?

The SPEAKER. The Chair rules that it is not in order in one branch of a legislative body to refer to or comment upon a debate in the other branch, because such references necessarily lead to disputes, and would interfere with the harmony which ought always to exist between the two branches. The Chair hopes the gentleman will not pursue that line of discussion.

Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas. Does the Speaker rule it out of order to read anything in the RECORD?

The SPEAKER. The Chair rules it is out of order to read that.

Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas. How does the Speaker know what I was going to read?

The SPEAKER. The Speaker knows by what the gentleman had begun to read.

Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas. I was merely proposing to read what had been said in the Senate and is now a part of the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Precisely.

Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas. Is it unlawful to read that?

The SPEAKER. The Chair thinks it is, under the rules of parliamentary law.

Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, that is new parliamentary law to me.

The SPEAKER. That is very possible. [Laughter.]

Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas. I do not see why there should be anything published in the RECORD that can not be read here.

The SPEAKER. It can be read, but not in the House of Representatives.

Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas. Not in the House—can be read anywhere except in the House?

The SPEAKER. That the Chair does not undertake to decide. Some of it, he thinks, could not. [Laughter.]

Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas. Then the Chair decides that this can be read anywhere except in the House?

The SPEAKER. The Chair does not.

Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas. But the Chair decides that it can not be read in the House.

The SPEAKER. The Chair has passed on the question.

Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas. Well, as I suggested, the Chair could hardly know what I was going to read.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman does not know what the Chair can know.

Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas. No; and I think nobody else, if that is his ruling.

The SPEAKER. That may be. The gentleman certainly can not. [Laughter.]

Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas. Well, I very much regret it, Mr. Speaker, because this is information that might have escaped some of the members of this House, and, as suggested by some of my colleagues here, I shall have to commit it to memory and give it to the House in that way.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman's time has expired.

Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas. Which I presume the Speaker is very glad of.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the third reading of the joint resolution.

The joint resolution was ordered to a third reading; and it was accordingly read the third time, and passed.

On motion of Mr. CANNON, a motion to reconsider the last vote was laid on the table.

SENATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS REFERRED.

Under clause 2 of Rule XXIV, the following Senate bills and resolutions wer taken from the Speaker's table and referred to their appropriate committees, as indicated below:

A bill (S. 1238) to regulate, in the District of Columbia, the disposal of certain refuse, and for other purposes—to the Committee on the District of Columbia, when appointed.

A bill (S. 1337) to authorize the President to commission First Lieut. Benjamin W. Loring a captain—to the Committee on Military Affairs, when appointed.

A bill (S. 1978) extending the time for the commencement and completion of the railroad bridge across the Illinois River, near Grafton, Ill., by the St. Louis, Perry and Chicago Railroad—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, when appointed.

A bill (S. 471) relating to the adulteration of foods and drugs in the District of Columbia—to the Committee on the District of Columbia, when appointed.

Joint resolution (S. R. 36) declaring that a condition of public war exists in Cuba, and that strict neutrality shall be maintained—to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, when appointed.

Concurrent resolution—

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the Secretary of War be requested to furnish the Senate with such information as he may have in his possession with reference to the present condition of the harbor of Cumberland Sound, and to inform the Senate whether any immediate action is necessary to protect the entrance from being closed against the commerce usually entering the port of Fernandina—

To the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, when appointed.

PREVENTING COLLISIONS UPON INLAND WATERS OF THE UNITED STATES.

Mr. DALZELL. Mr. Speaker, I submit a report from the Committee on Rules.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the resolution.

The Clerk read as follows:

The Committee on Rules, to whom was referred House resolution No. 43, have had the same under consideration, and ask leave to report the same, with the recommendation that it be adopted.

Resolved, That upon the adoption of this resolution the House proceed to consider Senate bill 1899, to adopt regulations for preventing collisions upon certain harbors, rivers, and inland waters of the United States, until the same is disposed of.

Mr. DALZELL. Mr. Speaker, the last Congress passed an act which changed the rule of the road so far as ocean travel is concerned. It has been deemed necessary——

Mr. RICHARDSON. I rise again to ask the gentleman if he will allow us reasonable time for debate upon this resolution, or upon the measure, if the resolution is adopted?

Mr. DALZELL. Mr. Speaker, I can not see any necessity for occupying forty minutes in the discussion of a rule such as this, a simple matter like this. The gentleman will have unlimited time to debate the main proposition.

Mr. RICHARDSON. If the gentleman will say we shall have time on the main proposition, that will be satisfactory.

Mr. DALZELL. On the main proposition, yes.

Mr. RICHARDSON. That is what I asked the gentleman.

Mr. DALZELL. I was going on to say that it had been deemed necessary to pass an act of Congress that would make the internal-navigation regulations correspond with those adopted by the last Congress with respect to ocean travel. This resolution is for the purpose of getting that bill before the House.

I now ask for the previous question.

The previous question was ordered.

The resolution was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York [Mr. PAYNE] is recognized.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, I should be glad, before the gentleman calls up the bill, to ask him how long it will take.

Mr. PAYNE. It ought not to take a great while. The bill itself occupies some sixteen or eighteen pages, and that will have to be read. It ought not to take a great while to dispose of the bill.

Mr. CANNON. I wish the gentleman would allow us to present a conference report. I do not care to raise the question of consideration. I suppose a conference report is always in order. I have a conference report on the sundry civil bill, which I think will take but a very short time. I should like exceedingly to have it adopted to-day.

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. Speaker, I think there is no reason why we can not get through with both the bills this afternoon. This bill has been waiting for some time, and was ready to be acted upon by the House on the 10th of last month, and would have been but for objection that was raised, not against the bill, but because some one wanted to get into the RECORD.

Mr. CANNON. Very well. I will give notice that at some time during the afternoon I will ask the gentleman to yield, if this promises to take any great length of time, in order that I may make a conference report on the sundry civil bill.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will read.

The bill was read at length.

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. Speaker, there are some amendments to be offered to the bill, and some gentlemen have requested me to make a brief explanation of it.

In 1888 Congress authorized the appointment of delegates to this international marine conference which met in October, 1889, in Washington, and they adopted what were known as rules to prevent collisions at sea. These rules, of course, had to be referred to the different maritime countries that were represented, and they were finally approved by all of those countries. Every maritime country was represented in this conference. There was so much delay about this that the rules do not go into effect finally until the 1st day of July next, although they go into effect so far as they relate to all the high seas.

Congress passed an act in 1895 which allowed the Secretary of the Treasury to designate what should be known as the inland waters of the United States. The Secretary has made designations from time to time; and these inland waters include such great bodies as the Chesapeake Bay, Long Island Sound, and other like bodies of water. The rules for the inland waters are now prescribed by the Supervising Inspector of Steam Boilers and the Commissioner of Navigation. Of course these rules were made to fit the old rules of the high seas, and in certain respects they would conflict with the new rules and would result in confusion with the vessels navigating the inland waters. This bill has for its object, in the first place, to gather together all the rules and regulations that have been prescribed by this board, and put them into a statute, where they would be in convenient form; and, in the second place, to make them conform with the rules on the high seas as adopted by this international conference.

The bill does not cover the rivers or the Great Lakes, or interfere in any manner with the navigation of the Great Lakes or the rivers of the West. It simply relates to the inland waters bordering on the high seas. The bill was prepared in the conference of the members of the international conference, the American members of that conference, and also by the Supervising Inspector-General of Steam Vessels and by the Commissioner of Navigation. It was introduced in the Senate, and after being considered by the Committee on Commerce was reported to the Senate without substantial amendment, and passed that body somewhere about the 10th of May. Since the bill passed the Senate, these gentlemen have met and have been considering some of the rules, in view of some objections that were raised to them by persons engaged in navigation.

For instance, people engaged in navigating the Great Lakes were in doubt as to whether the language was sufficiently explicit in respect to the navigation of the Great Lakes. I have an amendment, which has been drafted, which places this beyond all doubt. There are other amendments which I shall offer as the bill progresses, some simply being verbal amendments, but every one of them approved of by the Secretary of the Treasury, by the Supervising Inspector-General of Steam Vessels, by the Commissioner of Navigation, and by the American members of this international conference. So that it seems to me this bill, which refers merely to technical matters, about which no member of the House can be informed, in reference to the rules of navigation, which comes to us recommended in this manner by these gentlemen of experience, with the amendments which they suggest, ought to be adopted by the House; and unless there is some

question to be asked or some gentleman wishes to indulge in debate——

Mr. MINOR. I desire to ask the gentleman a question.

Mr. PAYNE. The gentleman from Wisconsin desires to ask me a question.

Mr. MINOR. My attention has been attracted to section 3, on page 18 of the printed bill. I desire to read the section, and then get some explanation in reference to the application of that particular section:

SEC. 3. That every pilot, engineer, mate, or master of any steam vessel, and every master or mate of any barge or canal boat, who neglects or refuses to observe the provisions of this act, or the regulations established in pursuance of the preceding section, shall be liable to a penalty of $50, and for all damages sustained by any passenger in his person or baggage by such neglect or refusal.

The question, Mr. Speaker, is whether this does not relieve the vessel from damages that she may inflict, and put the responsibility upon a perhaps very irresponsible person, who may be an officer of the vessel. The gentleman is a good lawyer, and I should like to have him put a construction upon that section.

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. Speaker, my attention——

Mr. TERRY. I should like to ask the gentleman from New York a question.

Mr. PAYNE. Will you allow me to answer the question of the gentleman from Wisconsin?

Mr. TERRY. Certainly.

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. Speaker, that section certainly does not relieve anybody from liability; it simply extends it to the mate of the vessel, and does not relieve the owner of the vessel in any way.

Mr. MINOR. All damages sustained by any passenger be upon the master, mate, or engineer who neglects or refuses to comply with this law.

Mr. PAYNE. That does not say that.

Mr. MINOR. That is exactly what it says.

Mr. PAYNE. Now, if the gentleman from Arkansas will propound his question, I will try to answer it.

Mr. TERRY. I would like to ask the gentleman from New York whether we are not here to consider the tariff question alone, and whether we ought to consider anything else, according to the view of gentlemen on his side?

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. Speaker, the House of Representatives have decided to enter upon the consideration of this particular bill, and I suppose they will decide from time to time to take up such other particular legislation as in their good judgment shall seem desirable.

Mr. TERRY. But my question was whether the gentleman thought the House ought to consider these other matters, having been called here for a particular purpose?

Mr. PAYNE. Well, Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Arkansas expressed his view on that question when he voted on the adoption of this rule, and I expressed mine. I thought we ought to take up this measure, and the majority of the House appeared to think the same way.

Mr. RICHARDSON. Now, Mr. Speaker, I ask the gentleman from New York to yield to me for a few minutes.

Mr. PAYNE. I yield to the gentleman from Tennessee such time as he desires.

Mr. RICHARDSON. Mr. Speaker, I did not hear the reply of the gentleman from New York to what I thought the very appropriate inquiry of the gentleman from Wisconsin, but it seems to me that we are not in a condition with respect to this bill to get a proper answer to that or to other similar inquiries that might be made in relation to the effect of this measure.

Mr. PAYNE. As I have already stated, I have a number of amendments that I want to offer to this bill, and when that particular section is reached, if any member desires to offer an amendment to it, an opportunity to do so will be given him, so far as I am concerned.

Mr. RICHARDSON. But are those committee amendments or are they individual amendments to be proposed by the gentleman from New York himself? Mr. Speaker, this case illustrates the position which some of us on this side have assumed, that the House is not at this time in a proper position to legislate on these general matters. Here is an important bill, covering twenty pages, which affects the life and the property of every man who goes upon the vessels to which the bill applies, or who ships his freight upon them, and yet we are asked to vote upon it without proper information.

It has become the custom on the other side of the House to impute ignorance to members on this side whenever they ask questions which gentlemen on that side can not answer, but I do not intend to imitate that example. I do not impute ignorance to gentlemen on the other side of the House, but I do venture the assertion that not one of them in every five understands clearly the provisions of this bill. Do you understand it, gentlemen?

Mr. Speaker, every member who has had experience here will bear me out when I say that in this great Government of ours, with the numerous and important and sometimes stupendous questions that are presented to this House and to the Senate, it is not possible for any one man to understand all the provisions of all the bills that come before us.

It is not possible for all the members to do so, and it is not possible for any one man. The consequence is that we are compelled to legislate on many questions very largely upon faith. But on what do we ground our faith ordinarily? In the regular course of proceeding here, when any particular measure comes up for consideration, the faith of members generally is grounded upon the fact that a committee composed of twelve or fifteen gentlemen, members of both parties or of all the political parties represented here, have examined the measure and have made a report upon it.

Now, it might seem idle and silly, and we might be accused of wasting time and of filibustering, if we should oppose the passage of this bill, unless we were able to give some fair reason for taking that course, yet the fact is we are called upon to act in this matter upon faith, without having any adequate foundation for the faith we are called upon to exercise.

Upon what are we expected to ground our faith in this case? Not upon the report of a committee composed of twelve or fifteen members of this House who, in the quiet of their committee room, have examined and investigated the question and made a recommendation in the form of a written report, as they are required to do under the rules. We have no such report in this case. We really do not know what we are doing when we legislate as we are doing here.

A moment ago I challenged gentlemen on the other side to say whether they understood all the provisions of this bill. That challenge met with no response. Yet we are going ahead to vote upon this bill. As I have already said, we are often compelled to legislate upon faith, and generally we are willing to do so under the safeguards I have described.

When a measure comes before this body accompanied by the unanimous report or by the majority report of a properly constituted committee, we have some ground upon which to act; we have some justification for saying that, while we may not all individually understand the provisions of the measure, yet we are willing that it shall pass upon the report of the committee. In this case we have no such foundation for our faith.

The gentleman from New York [Mr. PAYNE] tells us that the Senate has passed this bill. Is that a sufficient basis for this House to act upon? Let us reverse the proposition for a moment. This House, after it had been about fifteen days in session, passed a bill——

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, may I ask the gentleman from Tennessee how much time he intends to occupy?

Mr. RICHARDSON. Only five or ten minutes. I shall get through in time for the other bill which the gentleman wishes to call up. But, Mr. Speaker, before I sit down I must emphasize the fact to which I was about to call attention. After this Congress had been in session about fifteen days, it passed a bill, a measure which had not been made up hurriedly, or without consideration, a bill which had been pondered upon for months, not exactly by a committee of this House, but by members of this body who afterwards became members of the committee.

Those gentlemen had considered that measure for three or four long months, and then it was considered here, and was passed by this House, so that it may be said to have represented the wisdom of the majority of this House. Now, let us see how the rule of the gentleman from New York applies in that case. That bill was sent to the other branch of Congress, and what was the result? Did they accept it and say: "We must pass this bill because the House has passed it?" Not at all.

I do not know, Mr. Speaker, that I am accurate about it; but my understanding is that, instead of accepting that bill because the House had passed it, the Senate changed it in over twelve hundred particulars. The gentleman from New York tells us that because the Senate has passed the bill now under consideration in this form, we ought to pass it; but the rule does not seem to work both ways.

For my own part, I plead ignorance as to this measure. I confess that I have not proper information upon which to vote in favor of this bill. I can not vote for it, because I have not the evidence upon which to base the faith that I would ordinarily give to the report of a committee of this House, composed of members taken from both sides of the Chamber.

So we are left here, Mr. Speaker, to take this bill upon the mere statement of the gentleman from New York without ourselves having had any opportunity to examine it. I have risen to emphasize the fact that we ought not to consider this bill in this manner. We ought not to consider any important bill in this manner. We ought either to do as suggested by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. GROSVENOR]—and his side of the House applauded the suggestion—we ought to do nothing but pass the tariff bill, or we ought to provide for committees and consider in regular form these measures that are presented to us. The gentleman from Ohio did not undertake to reply to the arguments which we had

attempted to advance; he contented himself with saying, "We are responsible for legislation."

Mr. Speaker, I showed, when I occupied the floor a few moments ago, that we have spent over seventy-seven days of this session of Congress without the committees having been appointed. I showed that this is unparalleled in the history of the Congress of the United States. There has been no reply made to my remarks on that subject. Gentlemen on the other side concede that they are true. Now we are called upon to pass this bill. We were called upon to pass one a few moments ago—a bill embracing items snatched from the deficiency bill now pending in the Senate.

A few days ago we had a similar request made by the gentleman from Illinois in respect to another measure. We are told that the justification for the course we are pursuing consists in the fact that the President called us to pass one single bill—the tariff bill. The gentleman from Ohio said, "The President has told us what to do and we have done it—our part of it, at least; and there is nothing more for us to do." The gentleman from Iowa [Mr. HENDERSON] made substantially the same statement. I desired permission to interrupt him to call his attention to the fact that we had not done what the President of the United States told us to do, but he declined to yield.

I have here, Mr. Speaker, a message from the President of the United States sent to Congress on the 17th day of April—nearly two months ago—a message just as formal, just as solemn, just as serious as the message which he sent to us when he convened us in extra session and suggested or advised the passage of a revenue measure. In this message sent to Congress on the 17th of April, being dated April 14, the President urges this Congress to immediate legislation upon an important proposition.

The gentleman from Ohio and the gentleman from Iowa said, "We have done all the President told us to do." Well, sir; this message—I will not take time to read it—closes with this language:

> It is proper that I should emphasize the need of early action; for if the present session pass without suitable provision being made, the postponement of the matter for nearly a year longer could not but operate greatly to the disadvantage of the United States, etc.

Notwithstanding the measure which, in the President's opinion, is of sufficient importance to justify that language, you pay no attention to the message; but you stand here and tell us and tell the country that you have done all the President advised you to do.

I have here another message from the President of the United States, dated April 26, 1897, in which he urges important legislation with respect to the boundary between this country and a sister Republic, Mexico. He says:

> I urge that provision be made for the immediate disposition properly of this question.

Yet you pay no attention to that; you say you have done all that you were required to do and therefore you decline to appoint the committees. You are inconsistent, however, because you are here asking for the passage of the pending bill. If we can consider and pass this bill, why not consider and pass others of equal, nay, of more, importance? The President has not told you to pass this bill. Why not consider the measures he has asked you to consider? You endeavor to hide yourself behind what you say the "President called us together to do;" yet you do what he did not ask you to do, and leave undone what he has asked to have done.

I will not occupy further time. I wanted to say some other things, but I see that my friend from Illinois [Mr. CANNON] is restless, and properly so, as he wants to get another measure considered. But, Mr. Speaker, there is but one intelligent way for the Congress of the United States to legislate. Notwithstanding the assumption made by gentlemen in debate here—notwithstanding the statements which have been made and applauded—I do not think that there is an intelligent man on either side of this Chamber who believes that Congress can or ought to legislate without having the matters presented first considered by appropriate committees of the House.

Mr. PAYNE. I offer the amendment which I send to the desk.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Mr. CANNON. I rise to a question of the highest privilege. It is perfectly evident that the bill of the gentleman from New York will take some time——

Mr. PAYNE. I ask the gentleman to withhold his matter for a little while.

Mr. CANNON. This bill can be completed when we get rid of the conference report which I now desire to present and the consideration of which will occupy but a short time.

Mr. PAYNE. It will take only a few minutes to dispose of my amendment.

Mr. CANNON. I must insist on making this conference report.

Mr. PAYNE. I do not see how the gentleman can get his conference report in now in my time.

Mr. CANNON. I am not occupying the gentleman's time. I have risen to a question of the highest privilege—the presentation of a conference report.

Mr. PAYNE. We have already before us a question of the highest privilege. We are operating under a special rule of the House providing for the immediate consideration of this bill. There is no exception in the special rule in favor of conference reports.

Mr. CANNON. Well, I will submit the matter to the decision of the Chair.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. GROSVENOR). The Chair has an opinion upon this question, but hesitates to rule upon it, preferring to wait until the Speaker is present.

The SPEAKER resumed the chair.

Mr. CANNON. I rise to a question of the highest privilege—to present a conference report.

Mr. PAYNE. I make the point that the House already has before it a privileged matter; it is operating under a rule for the consideration of the present bill; and no exception was made in that rule even in favor of a conference report.

Mr. CANNON. I submit, in reply to the gentleman from New York, that under the rule adopted this bill is in precisely the same position as it would be if it were taken up under the general rules of the House and were being considered. I waited until the amendable stage of this bill had been reached, and then, from conversation with gentlemen about me, I became thoroughly satisfied that the day is to be consumed in the consideration of the bill. Therefore, as I want to dispose of this conference report, I did not feel justified in waiting longer.

Mr. PAYNE. I disagree with the gentleman from Illinois. If he had held his matter back for a few minutes, the bill would have been passed.

Mr. CANNON. It will take but a few minutes to dispose of the conference report.

Mr. PAYNE. It will not take long to dispose of this bill.

Mr. CANNON. Very well, let the Chair rule.

The SPEAKER. What does the gentleman from Illinois say to the clause in the special rule, "until the same is disposed of?"

Mr. CANNON. Let the special rule be read.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will read the rule under which the House is now acting.

The Clerk read as follows:

> *Resolved*, That upon the adoption of this resolution the House proceed to consider Senate bill 1886, "A bill to adopt regulations for preventing collisions upon certain harbors, rivers, and inland waters of the United States," until the same is disposed of.

Mr. CANNON. The effect of that special order was simply to make it in order to take up this bill. And at the time of the adoption of that order, or immediately after its adoption, it was perfectly competent for anyone having charge of a conference report to present that as a question of higher privilege. This is a question of the highest privilege, and if it could have interrupted the consideration of the pending matter before, it certainly can interrupt it now. The special order must be considered in connection with the general rules of the House. I hold in my hand the Manual, and call the attention of the Chair to the following language on page 357:

> Under the practice reports of conference committees may be received at any time (except when the rules are suspended), even during the pendency of a motion to adjourn, and may interrupt a member who is on the floor speaking.

It is also the settled practice that a roll call may be interrupted for the purpose of making a conference report.

The SPEAKER. The Chair thinks that a conference report has given to it a very high position of privilege, not merely by the rules of the House, but upon the principles of parliamentary law. Bills upon which the two Houses, through conference committees, have reached an agreement, are, of course, much further advanced than any bill which is simply being considered by either House. In the opinion of the Chair, the rule of the House but registers the general principle of parliamentary law upon this subject; and while very high privilege is accorded to a report of the Committee on Rules, and to what may take place under a rule reported by that committee and adopted by the House, yet such a rule must be construed with reference to the standing rules of the House and the general principles of parliamentary law, unless the express language of the special rule requires another construction.

It has been held in the House that when, upon a report of the Committee on Rules, a bill is being considered by the House, it does not give way to even a question of privilege; but it has always seemed to the Chair that that was not a wise view; that, on the contrary, there might arise questions of privilege, properly so called, concerning the condition of the House and its capacity for action, which would be superior to the consideration even of a question ordered to be considered by the House itself. Notwithstanding the strong language used in the present order, the Chair thinks it must be construed with reference to the general system of doing business between two legislative bodies. Hence, in the opinion of the Chair, a conference report being now presented, it is his duty to receive it.

SUNDRY CIVIL APPROPRIATION BILL.

Mr. CANNON. I call for the reading of the report.

Mr. PAYNE. I wish the gentleman would withhold the report a little while, for this reason——

Mr. CANNON. It will take but a little while to dispose of it.

Mr. PAYNE. It is not necessary to pass the gentleman's bill before the 1st of July. The present bill has been waiting here for some time, and there are a great many interests in jeopardy because of its nonpassage. I wish the gentleman would give way.

Mr. CANNON. I can not give way.

Mr. PAYNE. The gentleman can call up his report at any time.

Mr. CANNON. There are important items in this bill which it is absolutely necessary should be passed promptly—among others, the provision for jurors in the United States courts.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will read the report.

The Clerk proceeded to read the following report:

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on certain amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 16) making appropriations for sundry civil expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1898, and for other purposes, having met, after full and free conference have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the Senate recede from its amendments numbered 7, 21, 22, 25, 26, and 27.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendments of the Senate numbered 4, 5, 8, 9, 19, 35, 36, and 37, and agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 16: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 16, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows:

In lieu of the matter inserted by said amendment insert the following:

"For the survey of the public lands that have been or may hereafter be designated as forest reserves by Executive proclamation, under section 24 of the act of Congress approved March 3, 1891, entitled 'An act to repeal timber-culture laws, and for other purposes,' and including public lands adjacent thereto, which may be designated for survey by the Secretary of the Interior, $150,000, to be immediately available: *Provided*, That to remove any doubt which may exist pertaining to the authority of the President thereunto, the President of the United States is hereby authorized and empowered to revoke, modify, or suspend any and all such Executive orders and proclamations, or any part thereof, from time to time as he shall deem best for the public interests: *Provided*, That the Executive orders and proclamations dated February 22, 1897, setting apart and reserving certain lands in the States of Wyoming, Utah, Montana, Washington, Idaho, and South Dakota as forest reservations, be, and they are hereby, suspended, and the lands embraced therein restored to the public domain the same as though said orders and proclamations had not been issued: *Provided further*, That lands embraced in such reservations not otherwise disposed of before March 1, 1898, shall again become subject to the operations of said orders and proclamations as now existing or hereafter modified by the President.

The surveys herein provided for shall be made, under the supervision of the Director of the Geological Survey, by such person or persons as may be employed by or under him for that purpose, and shall be executed under instructions issued by the Secretary of the Interior; and if subdivision surveys shall be found to be necessary, they shall be executed under the rectangular system, as now provided by law. The plats and field notes prepared shall be approved and certified to by the Director of the Geological Survey, and two copies of the field notes shall be returned, one for the files in the United States surveyor-general's office of the State in which the reserve is situated, the other in the General Land Office; and twenty photolithographic copies of the plats shall be returned, one copy for the files in the United States surveyor-general's office of the State in which the reserve is situated; the original plat and the other copies shall be filed in the General Land Office, and shall have the facsimile signature of the Director of the Survey attached.

Such surveys, field notes, and plats thus returned shall have the same legal force and effect as heretofore given the surveys, field notes, and plats returned through the surveyors-general; and such surveys, which include subdivision surveys under the rectangular system, shall be approved by the Commissioner of the General Land Office as in other cases, and properly certified copies thereof shall be filed in the respective land offices of the districts in which such lands are situated, as in other cases. All laws inconsistent with the provisions hereof are hereby declared inoperative as respects such survey: *Provided, however*, That a copy of every topographic map and other maps showing the distribution of the forests, together with such field notes as may be taken relating thereto, shall be certified thereto by the Director of the Survey and filed in the General Land Office.

All public lands heretofore designated and reserved by the President of the United States under the provisions of the act approved March 3, 1891, the orders for which shall be and remain in full force and effect, unsuspended and unrevoked, and all public lands that may hereafter be set aside and reserved as public forest reserves under said act, shall be as far as practicable controlled and administered in accordance with the following provisions:

No public forest reservation shall be established, except to improve and protect the forest within the reservation, or for the purpose of securing favorable conditions of water flows, and to furnish a continuous supply of timber for the use and necessities of citizens of the United States; but it is not the purpose or intent of these provisions or of the act providing for such reservations to authorize the inclusion therein of lands more valuable for the mineral therein or for agricultural purposes than for forest purposes.

The Secretary of the Interior shall make provisions for the protection against destruction by fire and depredations upon the public forests and forest reservations which may have been set aside or which may be hereafter set aside under the said act of March 3, 1891, and which may be continued; and he may make such rules and regulations and establish such service as will insure the objects of such reservations, namely, to regulate their occupancy and use and to preserve the forests thereon from destruction; and any violation of the provisions of this act or such rules and regulations shall be punished as is provided for in the act of June 4, 1888, amending section 5388 of the Revised Statutes of the United States.

For the purpose of preserving the living and growing timber and promoting the younger growth on forest reservations, the Secretary of the Interior, under such rules and regulations as he shall prescribe, may cause to be designated and appraised so much of the dead, matured, or large growth of trees found upon such forest reservations as may be compatible with the utilization of the forests thereon, and may sell the same for not less than the appraised value in such quantities to each purchaser as he shall prescribe, to be used in the State or Territory in which such timber reservation may be situated, respectively, but not for export therefrom. Before such sale shall take place, notice thereof shall be given by the Commissioner of the General Land Office for not less than sixty days, by publication in a newspaper of general circulation, published in the county in which the timber is situated, if any is therein published, and if not, then in a newspaper of general circulation published nearest to the reservation, and also in a newspaper of general circulation published at the capital of the State or Territory where such reservation exists; payments for such timber to be made to the receiver of the local land office of the district wherein said timber may be sold, under such rules and regulations as the Secretary of the Interior may prescribe; and the moneys arising therefrom shall be accounted for by the receiver of such land office to the Commissioner of the General Land Office in a separate account, and shall be covered into the Treasury. Such timber, before being sold, shall be marked and designated, and shall be cut and removed under the supervision of some person appointed for that purpose by the Secretary of the Interior, not interested in the purchase or removal of such timber nor in the employment of the purchaser thereof. Such supervisor shall make report in writing to the Commissioner of the General Land Office and to the receiver in the land office in which such reservation shall be located of his doings in the premises.

The Secretary of the Interior may permit, under regulations to be prescribed by him, the use of timber and stone found upon such reservations, free of charge, by bona fide settlers, miners, residents, and prospectors for minerals, for firewood, fencing, buildings, mining, prospecting, and other domestic purposes, as may be needed by such persons for such purposes, such timber to be used within the State or Territory, respectively, where such reservations may be located.

Nothing herein shall be construed as prohibiting the egress or ingress of actual settlers residing within the boundaries of such reservations, or from crossing the same to and from their property or homes; and such wagon roads and other improvements may be constructed thereon as may be necessary to reach their homes and to utilize their property under such rules and regulations as may be prescribed by the Secretary of the Interior. Nor shall anything herein prohibit any person from entering upon such forest reservations for all proper and lawful purposes, including that of prospecting, locating, and developing the mineral resources thereof: *Provided*, That such persons comply with the rules and regulations covering such forest reservations.

That in cases in which a tract covered by an unperfected bona fide claim or by a patent is included within the limits of a public forest reservation the settler or owner thereof may, if he desires to do so, relinquish the tract to the Government, and may select in lieu thereof a tract of vacant land open to settlement not exceeding in area the tract covered by his claim or patent; and no charge shall be made in such cases for making the entry of record or issuing the patent to cover the tract selected: *Provided further*, That in cases of unperfected claims the requirements of the laws respecting settlement, residence, improvements, etc., are complied with on the new claims, credit being allowed for the time spent on the relinquished claims.

The settlers residing within the exterior boundaries of such forest reservations, or in the vicinity thereof, may maintain schools and churches within such reservation, and for that purpose may occupy any part of the said forest reservation, not exceeding 2 acres for each schoolhouse and 1 acre for a church.

The jurisdiction, both civil and criminal, over persons within such reservations shall not be affected or changed by reason of the existence of such reservations, except so far as the punishment of offenses against the United States therein is concerned, the intent and meaning of this provision being that the State wherein any such reservation is situated shall not, by reason of the establishment thereof, lose its jurisdiction, nor the inhabitants thereof their rights and privileges as citizens, or be absolved from their duties as citizens of the State.

All waters on such reservations may be used for domestic, mining, milling, or irrigation purposes, under the laws of the State wherein such forest reservations are situated, or under the laws of the United States and the rules and regulations established thereunder.

"Upon the recommendation of the Secretary of the Interior, with the approval of the President, after sixty days' notice thereof, published in two papers of general circulation in the State or Territory wherein any forest reservation is situated, and near the said reservation, any public lands embraced within the limits of any forest reservation which, after due examination by personal inspection of a competent person appointed for that purpose by the Secretary of the Interior, shall be found better adapted for mining or for agricultural purposes than for forest usage may be restored to the public domain. And any mineral lands in any forest reservation which have been or which may be shown to be such, and subject to entry under the existing mining laws of the United States and the rules and regulations applying thereto, shall continue to be subject to such location and entry, notwithstanding any provisions herein contained."

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 24: That the Senate recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the House to the amendment of the Senate numbered 24, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter inserted by said House amendment insert the following: "$2,933,333; which sum, in the discretion of the Secretary of War, may be immediately available for expenditure under contract or otherwise. And of the sum hereby appropriated $000,000 shall be deducted from the sum of $2,533,333 authorized to be appropriated and expended for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1899, by the 'Act making appropriations for the construction, repair, and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors, and for other purposes,' which became a law on June 3, 1896;" and the House agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 28: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 28, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter inserted by said amendment insert the following: "Improvement of Pearl Harbor: For expense of necessary survey of entrance to and of Pearl Harbor, Hawaiian Islands, and to enable the Secretary of the Navy to ascertain and report to Congress the amount of land necessary to be acquired in said harbor and the probable cost thereof for a coaling and repair station, $10,000."

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 29: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 29, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the sum named in said amendment insert "$25,000;" and the Senate agree to the same.

The committee of conference recommend to their respective Houses that Senate amendment numbered 10 be transferred from line 6, page 54 of the bill, and inserted after the word "available," at the end of Senate amendment numbered 12.

W. B. ALLISON,
A. P. GORMAN,
Managers on the part of the Senate.

J. G. CANNON,
WM. A. STONE,
JOSEPH D. SAYERS,
Managers on the part of the House.

Mr. CANNON (before the reading was concluded). Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to dispense with the further reading of this report. The residue can be printed in the RECORD.

Mr. RICHARDSON. Is there a statement of the House conferees?

Mr. CANNON. There is.

The SPEAKER. If there be no objection, the statement of the House conferees will be read in lieu of the conference report.

Mr. SAYERS. It is understood that the remainder of the report will appear in the RECORD?

The SPEAKER. The remainder of the report will be printed in the RECORD, if there be no objection, and the statement of the House conferees will be read in lieu of the report.

There was no objection.

The following statement was read:

The managers on the part of the House of the conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on certain amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 16) making appropriations for sundry civil expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1898, submit the following written statement in explanation of the effect of the action agreed upon and recommended by the conference committee on each of the amendments, namely:

On amendments numbered 4 and 5: Appropriates $5,000, as proposed by the Senate, instead of $4,000, as proposed by the House, for the purchase of ten cophones, at $500 each, for the use of the Revenue-Cutter Service.

On amendments numbered 7 and 8: Appropriates $200,000, as proposed by the House, instead of $275,000, as proposed by the Senate, for the Omaha Exposition, and makes the same immediately avnilable.

On amendment numbered 9: Authorizes the employment of an assayer, at $2,000, and a clerk, at $1,200, in the assay office at Deadwood, S. Dak., as proposed by the Senate.

On amendment numbered 16: In lieu of the legislation proposed by the Senate relative to the forest reserves, inserts the provision which is set out at length in the accompanying conference report.

On amendment numbered 19: Inserts the appropriation of $5,000, proposed by the Senate, to continue inquiry into the production of domestic sugar.

On amendment numbered 21: Strikes out the provision proposed by the Senate authorizing the use of the appropriation for the harbor of refuge at Point Judith, R. I., for the preparation of plans and estimates therefor.

On amendment numbered 22: Strikes out the provision proposed by the Senate requiring the Secretary of War to appoint a superintendent of the commerce and traffic through the locks upon the dams of the United States upon the Monongahela River.

On amendments numbered 24, 25, and 26: Appropriates $2,933,333, instead of $2,333,333 proposed by the Senate, and $2,833,333 proposed by the House, for improving the Lower Mississippi River; makes said sum immediately available for expenditure under contract or otherwise; requires that $900,000 thereof shall be deducted from the amount authorized to be expended during the fiscal year 1899, and strikes out the provision proposed by the Senate authorizing the Secretary of War to contract for the expenditure in advance of appropriations by Congress of the remainder of the sum authorized by the last river and harbor act for work on the Lower Mississippi River.

On amendment numbered 27: Strikes out the authority proposed by the Senate to use $10,000 of the appropriation for dredging Salmon Bay, in Washington, in making a cadastral survey and location, and for plans and specifications of said improvement from the head of Salmon Bay to the termination in Smiths Cove.

On amendment numbered 28: In lieu of the appropriation of $50,000 proposed by the Senate for the improvement of the entrance to Pearl Harbor, appropriates $10,000 for expense of necessary survey of entrance to and of Pearl Harbor, and to enable the Secretary of the Navy to ascertain and report to Congress the amount of land necessary to be acquired in said harbor, and the probable cost thereof, for a coaling and repair station.

On amendment numbered 29: Appropriates $25,000, instead of $40,000, as proposed by the Senate, for maintaining and keeping open the channel in Mobile Bay.

On amendments numbered 35, 36, and 37: Provides for the appointment of the Nicaragua Canal Commission, as proposed by the Senate, namely, that the Commission shall consist of one engineer from the Corps of Engineers of the United States Army, one officer of the Navy, who may be taken from the active or from the retired list, and one engineer from civil life; the appointments to be made by and with the advice and consent of the Senate.

The bill as finally agreed upon appropriates $53,622,651.58.

J. G. CANNON,
WM. A. STONE,
JOSEPH D. SAYERS,
Managers on the part of the House.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, one word, and then I will move the adoption of the report, unless the gentleman from Texas [Mr. SAYERS] desires to be heard.

I think the House understands, without further explanation, what this report recommends touching the forestry matter. The provision on this subject was submitted to the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. MCRAE] and the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. LACEY], and was satisfactory to them. It is substantially what the House indicated as its view of this question in the two days' discussion upon the matter. The Senate on this question yielded its view.

Does the gentleman from Texas [Mr. SAYERS] desire to occupy some time?

Mr. SAYERS. Only a couple of minutes.

Mr. CANNON. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. SAYERS. Mr. Speaker, I have agreed to the report as read at the Clerk's desk, but with the understanding that I should make a statement to the House in reference to two items. I do not concur with the committee as to the item making appropriation for the survey of Pearl Harbor. It is unnecessary for me at this time to again state the reasons why I disagree to that item. I do not believe that the appropriation ought to be made.

There is another item in the bill which provides that the survey of the forest reservations shall be made under the supervision of the Director of the Geological Survey. My judgment is that it is unwise to devolve this duty upon that service. Those of us who were here in the Fifty-second Congress will remember—I believe it was in the Fifty-second Congress—that the annual appropriation for the support of that Survey was very largely reduced, the policy of Congress at the time being to strictly confine its operations to geological purposes.

Within the last two years, however, that rule has been relaxed, and we are adopting the very same policy that existed for several years prior to the Fifty-second Congress, and which was abandoned in that Congress. My opinion is that the operations of the Geological Survey ought to be confined strictly to the performance of those duties with which it was originally charged, and that its sphere ought not to be enlarged in the direction indicated in the report. The Geological Survey is now engaged in surveying and mapping the Indian Territory.

Under the provisions of the clause in the bill under consideration it will be required to survey these immense forest reservations, and very soon I fear that the work of the Geological Survey, instead of being confined to the functions for which it was originally constituted, will continue to be further enlarged until it shall have entirely absorbed the jurisdiction and functions of the General Land Office in the matter of surveying the public lands; so that, instead of the Geological Survey becoming more efficient in the performance of the duties originally assigned to it, it will engage in other matters, losing sight of the very important purpose for which it was originally organized. The Fifty-second Congress cut short its appropriations by about $150,000 and undertook to restrain the Survey within the sphere of its legitimate functions. This, in my judgment, was a wise policy and ought not to be departed from.

Mr. TERRY. I should like to ask the gentleman from Texas [Mr. SAYERS] a question.

Mr. SAYERS. Yes.

Mr. TERRY. The gentleman states, as I understand, that he objects to that appropriation in regard to Pearl Harbor.

Mr. SAYERS. Yes.

Mr. TERRY. I will ask the gentleman if it is not a fact that there is no way of having a separate vote on this thing, but that we have got to vote the report up or down as a whole?

Mr. SAYERS. There is no way that I know of—none at all.

Mr. TERRY. Then we shall either have to vote for Pearl Harbor or reject the conference report.

Mr. SAYERS. Certainly. I have thought it proper, Mr. Chairman, as usual, when members sign a conference report and do not approve of some of the items involved, to make this statement.

With the exception of these two items in the bill, I see no reason why the House should not approve of what has been done by the conference committee.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, I yield ten minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. LOUD].

Mr. LOUD. Mr. Speaker, I think that will be sufficient. I shall not take up any more time than is absolutely necessary.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from California.

Mr. LOUD. Mr. Speaker, I was not present during the consideration of this matter in the House. I admit that it is nobody's fault but my own.

I desire to call the attention of this House, however, even at this late hour, to this matter of forest reservations. The chairman of the Committee on Appropriations in the last House well knows the position taken by myself in the last Congress in relation to these forest reservations, when it was sought to invade the forest reservations in my own State.

In the closing hours of the last Congress I did not feel disposed to cause serious disturbance here when a matter was under consideration relating to forest reservations in the States of Idaho, the Dakotas, and some other Northwestern States; but when you have invaded the State of California in the manner in which it is invaded in this bill I feel that one of the most serious matters concerning my State is before it now that can possibly come before this Congress, and I feel called upon, in the interests of my State, and I believe in the interests of the whole country, to resist with all the power I have the adoption of this conference report.

In the first place, let me call the attention of this House to the danger of legislation on an appropriation bill which has no place therein. The late President set aside a large amount of land for forest reserves in various States of this country. If that is against the wish and will of this House, then let this House legislate upon that question alone. But in endeavoring to legislate on that question they have sought to amend the act of 1890, and have ingrafted in this report measures which will destroy the forest reserves which have been set aside in my own State, and destroy the fairest portion of the State.

The Senate, with all due respect to that body, must, in accordance with a long-established principle, recede upon this item, because it is legislation, and the House should here to-day defeat this conference report; send your conferees back and demand of the Senate that the rights of the House be maintained, and that if

they desire legislation on matters of this importance, they shall introduce measures and have them considered in the usual manner. Oh, I know it has been said many times, in the closing hours of the session, that you must accept propositions of legislation from the Senate or this or that bill must fail.

If this bill must fail, Mr. Speaker, then let the responsibility lie where it properly belongs. So far as I am concerned, and the people of my State, I believe the sober judgment of the people of this country would prefer that no sundry civil bill should ever become a law than that such iniquitous provisions should be contained in it as are contained in this.

Mr. CANNON. May I ask my friend a question?

Mr. LOUD. In a moment I will yield.

Let me say that our friends in the Dakotas and in Idaho who want this late order of President Cleveland set aside are not satisfied with this bill. Neither are the men who are in favor of retaining the forest reserves. There are not twenty men on the floor of this House who favor the provision contained herein.

Then why should we bow and surrender our sovereign right and power?

Now, if the gentleman desires to ask me a question.

Mr. CANNON. If I understand the gentleman, he objects to the provision touching the forest reservation in this bill, because it gives the President power to annul or modify the reservations having once been made.

Mr. LOUD. The gentleman is mistaken about that. The gentleman does not seem to comprehend my statement. I evidently have not made myself clear.

Mr. CANNON. Well, now, does the gentleman object to that provision which suspends the order of February——

Mr. LOUD. No; I do not care anything about that.

Mr. CANNON (continuing). Until the 1st of March next?

Mr. LOUD. I do not care about that. It does not touch my State.

Mr. CANNON. What does the gentleman object to?

Mr. LOUD. I will call the attention of the House to the very provision, and I know of no way of getting this provision out of this measure except to defeat the conference report. I said in this House that I would not, and I believed it was in the power or almost in the power of anybody to defeat the sundry civil bill, but I would not avail myself of that power then, because I was assured that the bill would not be passed in such a shape as to affect the interests of my State; but now the measure is in such shape that it does seriously affect my State.

Mr. CANNON. If I made the gentleman any promise in the last session of Congress, I kept it.

Mr. LOUD. Yes, sir; there is no doubt about that.

Mr. RICHARDSON. I understand the gentleman to say that the gentleman from Illinois promised the bill would not become a law——

Mr. LOUD. Oh, no.

Mr. RICHARDSON. I may have misunderstood him.

Mr. LOUD. The gentleman misunderstood him. I say I was assured that the bill would not become law if it affected my own State, and it did not affect my State. If the House will listen to me one moment, I will call attention to the particular part of this measure I object to.

Let me say again, there are not twenty men in this House who favor this proposition as put in here. It is simply a compromise measure. And if we need legislation in this direction, let it be put in a bill by itself. I again call the attention of the House to the danger of legislating on an appropriation bill. I can say to our friends from the Dakotas and Idaho that if these forest reservations continue for a year more, no great harm can be done. If this matter is not legislated upon for one, two, or three years, the land will still remain there; and if you have power or right you will ultimately attain it. But, not content with setting aside the President's order, you have invaded an act passed by Congress seven years ago, and have sought to amend an act setting aside forest reservations.

Now, here is the particular provision to which I desire to call attention:

For the purpose of preserving the living and growing timber.

What a title to this iniquitous measure, Mr. Speaker!

"For the purpose of preserving the living and growing timber," when you propose by this act to invade and destroy; and that is the title that should be given.

For the purpose of preserving the living and growing timber and promoting the younger growth of forest reservations, the Secretary of the Interior, under such rules and regulations as he shall prescribe, may cause to be designated and appraised so much of the dead, matured, or large growth of trees found upon such forest reservations as may be compatible, etc.

Why, the very minute that you open a forest reservation on the Sierra Nevada Mountains, in my State, which were set aside, Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of this House, to retain the snows upon those mountains, you have destroyed the very object in setting aside that reservation.

Mr. SAYERS. Will the gentleman allow me a question?

Mr. LOUD. Yes, sir.

Mr. SAYERS. I ask for information, because I am not familiar with the land laws of the United States. Can not the Secretary of the Interior, under the present laws, permit parties to go upon these reservations or upon the public lands of the United States and take this character of timber about which the gentleman speaks? Has he not done so?

Mr. LOUD. I understand not. If they have that power, I can not understand why they should endeavor to put it in here.

Mr. SAYERS. I am not able from any knowledge I have to controvert the statement of the gentleman, but I have the impression, derived from information given me by gentlemen of the House, that the Secretary of the Interior has that power. I may be mistaken, however, and have interrupted the gentleman only for the purpose of being accurately informed.

Mr. LOUD. I have not read every line of the law on this subject, but let me say to the gentleman that repeated effort has been made in this House to pass the very measure that is contained in this bill.

Mr. KING. Does not the gentleman think it is a wise provision to permit the withdrawal from these forestry reservations of decaying and dead timber, which encumbers the growth of the smaller timber which under better conditions would have an opportunity to mature?

Mr. LOUD. The trouble is, Mr. Speaker, that some gentlemen misunderstand the object of setting aside a forest reserve. There is a class of technical gentlemen in this country who favor timber culture, and they confound timber culture with forest reservation. What the object of the forest reservations in the gentleman's own State may be I do not know or care. Let such legislation be passed for his State as he thinks proper to advocate. I do, however, know what the reserves were set aside for in the State of California and what their object is.

[Here the hammer fell.]

Mr. LOUD. I ask for a little more time. My time has been occupied somewhat by interruptions, and this is a matter of very great importance to my State.

Mr. CANNON. I am anxious to get a vote, but I will yield the gentleman five minutes more, if that is sufficient.

Mr. LOUD. If I am not interrupted, I can get through in five minutes. If I am interrupted, I shall have to ask for more time.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from California is recognized for five minutes.

Mr. LOUD. In answer to the inquiry of the gentleman from Utah, I want to say further that the only object of the forest reserves in the State of California is to retain the snows upon the mountains, so that the snows and rains of the spring shall not bring down all at once the full flood upon our valleys, where irrigation is carried on to a great extent and where it is a necessity, as it is for the production of the crops of the great San Joaquin Valley.

That is the main object of the forest reserves in the State of California, and not to encourage the growth of straight trees and clean forests; and the more fully you keep the forest in its natural condition, with a large amount of undergrowth and decayed timber, the more effectually do you attain the object of keeping the snows upon the mountains. I know that to gentlemen who confound timber culture with forest reservation the provision in this bill appears perfectly harmless; but I believe, and it is the general consensus of men who have investigated this question, that the moment you open the forest reservations to the cutting of timber you begin to destroy the forest reservations themselves.

In the State of California a territory more than 400 miles in length and varying from 30 to 60 miles in width is wholly dependent for its successful cultivation upon the retention of the snows on the Sierra Nevada Mountains.

If you pass this bill, you will substantially destroy the productiveness of more than one-half of my State. Now, why should any person in the world seek to amend the laws which were passed many years ago merely for the purpose of suspending an order of the President made during the late winter? Mr. Speaker, there are many other provisions in this bill that should not be passed.

Mr. LEWIS of Washington. May I ask the gentleman a question?

Mr. LOUD. In a moment. There is a provision permitting the cutting of timber for mining purposes, which, if carried into effect, will destroy, as I have said, the forest reservations on the western side of the Sierra Nevada Mountains, as it has destroyed and denuded the forests on the eastern side.

Mr. LEWIS of Washington. Do I understand that the gentleman from California is in favor of the order made by the late President of the United States, and against the proposed modification of it?

Mr. LOUD. I do not know anything about that, neither do I care. You are not satisfied with this bill. You come from a country where there is more timber than you know what to do

with. What I do object to is that, under the guise of setting aside an order of the late President of the United States, you should invade the State of California and destroy the forest reserves in that State. I regret it very much, but I shall be compelled to ask the House to reject the conference report and to use every means in my power to defeat it.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, in reply to the gentleman from California, I want to say that the provisions in this conference report are in substance the provisions which were matured and approved by this House after almost two days' consideration, under the lead of the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. LACEY] and the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. MCRAE], both of them formerly members of the Committee on Public Lands, and, so far as I am competent to judge, perhaps better informed touching the public lands of the United States than any other two Representatives in the House. I say frankly now, as I said then, that I do not claim to be well informed upon that subject.

I made my protest then, as I had made it on other occasions, against legislation upon appropriation bills. But let us see what the condition here is. Under law, 20,000,000 acres of land were put in a forest reservation last February, and they are now in reservation. The better opinion is that the President of the United States has no power to take any one acre out of that reservation. It is alleged by the people in Dakota, in Washington, in Montana, and elsewhere throughout that portion of the country that the President's order works great hardship.

Now, what does this proposition in the conference report do? It enables the President of the United States at any time to revoke, in whole or in part, the order making this reservation. It makes that much change in existing law. What else does it do? It takes absolutely every acre of these 20,000,000 acres out of reservation, and keeps them out until the 1st day of next March. That is all.

Mr. KING. Was it not possible to have secured in conference a provision by which these 20,000,000 acres should still be withdrawn from the operation of that order until a survey could be made?

Mr. CANNON. It was not possible with the conferees that the House sent, because the House conferees refused to go beyond what they regarded as practically the instruction of the House, given after two days' consideration of the subject here.

After we had agreed upon these provisions, the conferees on the part of the House, in excessive caution, consulted the gentleman from Arkansas and the gentleman from Iowa for the purpose of ascertaining whether the committee had framed the provision substantially as they understood the indication of the sense of the House on this subject.

Now, this provision takes every acre out of reservation that is now in reservation under the Presidential order, and keeps it out until the 1st day of next March, as though that order had never been issued. What next? It appropriates $150,000 for a survey, topographical and otherwise, to be made under the direction of the Interior Department by the Geological Bureau, which is already organized for service of this kind. After examination and survey, when the 1st day of next March comes, this provision enables the President to take all or any portion of this land out of reservation that ought to be taken out.

Mr. LOUD. But subject to these new amendments to the old forest-reservation law.

Mr. CANNON. I will speak of that matter in a moment. One thing at a time.

In other words, this provision gives the money for the purpose of making the examination and survey. It gives the President power to annul after the 1st of March next the whole of this reservation, or to change it in any shape or form, upon information which may then have been obtained. In the meantime every acre is taken out of reservation. Now, suppose this conference report should be voted down—not adopted. Then every acre of those 20,000,000 acres is kept in reservation absolutely. So much for that.

There were gentlemen in another body who claimed that this land should be taken out of reservation for all time. The conferees on the part of the House, considering the merits of the question, did not believe that this ought to be done. It will be seen that the conference agreement conforms almost literally to what the House indicated as its view after two days' debate.

Now, a word in reply to the gentleman from California. He objects, I understand, to this provision:

> For the purpose of preserving the living and growing timber and promoting the younger growth on forest reservations, the Secretary of the Interior, under such rules and regulations as he shall prescribe, may cause to be designated and appraised so much of the dead, matured, or large growth of trees found upon such forest reservations as may be compatible with the utilization of the forests thereon, and may sell the same for not less than the appraised value in such quantities to each purchaser as he shall prescribe, to be used in the State or Territory in which such timber reservation may be situated, respectively, but not for export therefrom,
>
> It is further provided how the timber shall be sold, how it shall be marked, etc.

Mr. LOUD. Will the gentleman allow me one suggestion? My great objection was to putting upon an appropriation bill amendatory legislation setting aside forest reservations that had been made seven years ago.

Mr. CANNON. The provision here is that "the Secretary of the Interior, under such rules and regulations as he shall prescribe, may"—not shall—sell this timber; that is, the dead timber. Provision is made how it shall be marked, how advertised, how policed while being taken off, etc. I do not know whether these provisions are wise or not, but I apprehend they are, if honestly administered; and if not honestly administered, of course there is a remedy. It is sufficient for me that upon that branch of this proposed legislation we have the approving opinion of the gentleman from Iowa and the gentleman from Arkansas, and also the indication of the sentiment of this House after two days' debate. Under such circumstances, I believe I am justified in regarding this as apt and proper legislation.

Mr. LOUD. My friend from Illinois refers to the gentleman from Iowa and the gentleman from Arkansas, I suppose, as practical experts on forest reservations, because there are so many reservations in their States!

Mr. CANNON. Oh, well, I refer to the practical action of this House, to its two days' consideration of this question, and the indications of sentiment which it gave, and which have been written in this report, and which, if the report be adopted, will be written in the law.

Mr. HARTMAN. What will be the effect if the Geological Survey fails to make the necessary examination between now and the 1st day of March, so as to furnish sufficient information to determine whether these lands ought to remain in reservation or not?

Mr. CANNON. On the 1st day of next March every acre of these 20,000,000 acres will go back into reservation, except so far as the President may determine to keep any portion out of reservation.

Mr. HARTMAN. Then, if the Geological Survey should not find time to make the examination of those 20,000,000 acres in the short time which will elapse between now and the 1st day of March, those reservations will remain as carved out by President Cleveland, unless the present President should issue some order to the contrary.

Mr. CANNON. Unless the President determines to the contrary; and this act gives the President that exact power.

Mr. HARTMAN. But the President will not make any suspension until there is an examination and survey, will he?

Mr. CANNON. I do not know.

Mr. HARTMAN. If he should, will he make such suspension upon knowledge, or upon guesswork?

Mr. CANNON. I will ask the gentleman this question: If this or some other legislation should not be enacted, will not every acre remain in reservation?

Mr. HARTMAN. That is perfectly true.

Mr. CANNON. And will it not remain in reservation from now until the 1st of March?

Mr. HARTMAN. That is perfectly true. But let me ask the gentleman whether it would not be satisfactory to him and the other conferees to permit this report to be defeated and to accept in lieu of the provision in the report a declaration that no legislation of any kind shall be placed upon the bill with reference to these forest reservations, except a provision for the vacation of the order establishing them? Then let us take up the subject in regular order before a proper committee.

Mr. CANNON. The gentleman asks whether it would not meet my approval to repeal in toto the order of President Cleveland and adopt no other legislation—in other words, whether it is not better to have legislation to suit the gentleman's peculiar notions, and at the same time set aside the views of 359 members of the House.

Mr. HARTMAN. Oh, no; not at all.

Mr. CANNON. This whole matter was discussed in this House. I beg to call attention again to the fact that we had two days for the consideration of this question, and this conference report embodies the consensus of opinion as manifested by the members of the House at that time.

Mr. LOUD. What was the vote in the House on that question? Does the gentleman remember?

Mr. CANNON. I do not recollect.

Mr. HARTMAN. My object in the suggestion was to meet the views of gentlemen who are opposed to placing legislation relating to this subject upon an appropriation bill.

Mr. CANNON. But the gentleman proposes to place the broadest possible legislation on the bill.

Mr. HARTMAN. Oh, no.

Mr. CANNON. That is to say, he proposes to repeal the order of President Cleveland putting 20,000,000 acres in reservation and to stop there and call that "no legislation."

Mr. HARTMAN. Because we all agree that that order ought never to have been issued.

Mr. CANNON. Oh, no; there are a great many people who believe that it was right to issue it and that it ought not to be touched.

Practically there can be, in my judgment, no possible agreement between the House and the Senate that will meet the full approval perhaps of any Senator or any Representative. In matters of this kind it takes a majority to legislate. There is necessarily "give and take." This thing has been worked out laboriously and at great length by the House on the one hand and by the Senate on the other. The only practical solution of it is given in this conference report. The Senate adopted the report after full discussion; and I think the time has now come for us to close up, adopt the report, and pass the bill.

Mr. TODD. I should like to inquire why this report does not embrace some provision that the timber be sold to the highest bidder? Will not the provision in the report operate in the interest of some of the great lumber trusts by enabling them to come in and purchase the timber at merely the appraised price?

Mr. CANNON. I think there is in the report such a provision as the gentleman intimates should be adopted.

Mr. TODD. I think not. It is provided that the timber shall be sold at not less than the appraised value; but the appraised value may be only 50 per cent of the real valuation; and if there are persons willing to pay the real value of the timber, why should not the Government get the benefit of such an arrangement, instead of allowing some lumber combine to get the timber at half its value?

Mr. CANNON. I think this provision, when you come to examine it, will be found correct:

> For the purpose of preserving the living and growing timber and promoting the younger growth on forest reservations, the Secretary of the Interior, under such rules and regulations as he shall prescribe, may cause to be designated and appraised so much of the dead, matured, or large growth of trees found upon such forest reservations as may be compatible with the utilization of the forests thereon, and may sell the same for not less than the appraised value in such quantities to each purchaser as he shall prescribe, to be used in the State or Territory in which such timber reservation may be situated, respectively, but not for export therefrom.

Then provision is made for the giving of notice, etc. Plenary power is given to the Secretary of the Interior to make regulations for the sale of the timber at not less than the appraised value, the object being to utilize the dead timber.

Mr. TODD. But under the provision to which the gentleman refers all the valuable timber may be disposed of.

Mr. CANNON. It is the dead timber that is to be sold, and when sold it is only to be used in the State or Territory in which the reservation is situated.

Mr. TODD. I would withdraw my objection if the language of the provision were so modified that all the valuable timber might not be disposed of in this way.

Mr. CANNON. The gentleman, as I understand, objects because provision is not made for selling the timber to the highest bidder.

Mr. TODD. My suggestion is that if the timber is to be sold, the Government should get the real value of it.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. Allow me to say that without such a provision as that embraced in the report people in remote wooded districts, desiring to obtain timber, might be prevented from doing so by the sawmill men who would come in and bid perhaps twice as much as individual consumers would be able to bid.

Mr. CANNON. Well, possibly something of that kind; and again I can conceive a position where one man ought not to be permitted to buy all the timber. He might be an improper character. He might not, all things considered, be the best bidder.

Mr. TODD. But you already have a saving clause providing against that. All I want is that the Government shall be entitled to receive all it can legitimately receive when that timber is sold.

Mr. CANNON. Oh, well, in my judgment, this so provides; but the gentleman's criticism comes now for the first time. I never even noticed the want of the provision which he refers to. In the two days' discussion we had of this matter, when the House was under the lead of the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. LACEY] and the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. MCRAE], our friend did not even make his objection.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I think I am justified in asking the previous question on the adoption of this conference report.

The previous question was ordered.

The question being taken on agreeing to the conference report, on a division (demanded by Mr. LOUD) there were—ayes 89, noes 6.

Accordingly, the conference report was agreed to.

On motion of Mr. CANNON, a motion to reconsider the last vote was laid on the table.

ENROLLED JOINT RESOLUTIONS AND BILL SIGNED.

The SPEAKER announced his signature to enrolled joint resolutions and bill of the following titles:

A joint resolution (S. R. 43) in amendment of the joint resolution of April 7, 1897, authorizing the Secretary of the Navy to transport contributions for the relief of the famishing poor of India;

Joint resolution (S. R. 44) making an appropriation to supply a deficiency in the appropriations for public printing and binding for the fiscal year 1897; and

A bill (H. R. 16) making appropriations for sundry civil expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1898, and for other purposes.

PREVENTING COLLISIONS ON THE INLAND WATERS OF THE UNITED STATES.

The SPEAKER. The House will resume consideration of Senate bill 1886.

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. Speaker, I offer the amendment which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York [Mr. PAYNE] offers an amendment.

The amendment was read, as follows:

> On page 2, line 5, strike out all after "or" and insert "the after range light mentioned in article 2 (f)."

Mr. PAYNE. I ask for a vote, Mr. Speaker. This is one of the amendments suggested by the board of experts.

Mr. FLEMING. Mr. Speaker, it was perfectly competent, of course, for the majority of the House to lay down their policy, as they did early in the session, that they did not desire committees appointed. But, as a corollary of that proposition, we are informed that the House did not intend to enact general legislation. I think, Mr. Speaker, that as long as the House kept those two propositions together the position of the majority was defensible. But now it seems that the House is asked by the gentleman from New York [Mr. PAYNE] to engage in general legislation, and to pass a bill of the most complicated character, without this House having the benefit of having these questions examined by a properly appointed committee.

Mr. Speaker, as far as I am concerned, I have no complaint to make of the policy laid down by the majority, that they do not desire to have committees appointed, if they will couple with that the further statement that they do not intend to enact general legislation. That was the justification, and the only justification, made for that course by the party in power before the country at large. It is the ground on which you have been in some measure held in justification by the people and by the press of the country. The question was, Why appoint committees when you did not intend to enact general legislation?

As I say, that position was defensible. But now what do we find? Here, for the first time, we are asked to enact a bill of the most complicated character. There is not a subject upon which we shall be called to legislate at any time which is perhaps more involved than are the provisions of this bill. Now, by what authority can any member be expected to vote for such a bill? I know of but one. We are told we can assume that the other branch of the legislative department, the Senate, has properly investigated this question, and that they have sent us a perfected bill. In fact, I have been told that this bill has been most carefully considered by the Navy Department.

But, Mr. Speaker, that will not do. That position can not be defended on the floor of the House. Why? The gentleman from New York [Mr. PAYNE] has informed us that he has numerous amendments that he intends to place upon this bill. I should like to ask the gentleman from New York [Mr. PAYNE] at this stage how many amendments he has prepared to go upon the bill?

Mr. PAYNE. I will say to the gentleman that I have not counted the number, but I should think that there were fully a dozen, and perhaps more. I want to say to the gentleman that every one of these amendments has been suggested by this board of experts, consisting of the American representatives at this international conference, and also the Supervising Inspector-General of Steam Vessels and the Commissioner of Navigation. They have carefully considered this bill, and they propose these amendments. I want to say to the gentleman, further, that this bill reenacts in large part the existing rules and regulations that now apply to the navigation of these inland waters, and that the only changes made are in order to make them comply with what Congress and the international conference and treaties have made the rules of the high seas.

It is not such an intricate matter to these gentlemen, but it will be an intricate matter to the gentleman from Georgia and myself or any other members of the House not familiar with questions relating to navigation; and if you were on the committee and considered them, we would still have to rely upon the testimony and judgment of these expert and experienced men who do know about these matters.

Mr. FLEMING. To be sure, Mr. Speaker, the committee, in the first place, would have an opportunity to investigate this question in the light of the experience of these experts. Now the bill

comes here, and we are asked to pass upon it on our faith in the Senate. Did it not go through a committee in the Senate? Now, if the gentleman had told us the bill was already in a perfected condition and asked us to vote for it, he might have expected us to do so. But, Mr. Speaker, after the bill has gone through the Senate, and the gentleman has stated he shall offer a dozen amendments, can such a bill be perfect? If the gentleman has discovered and has been put in possession of a dozen amendments from whatever source, how many other imperfections may there not be found in this bill if properly considered by a committee of this House?

Now, Mr. Speaker, I submit that if the House does not intend to appoint committees—and I am not making any complaint about that—if it does not intend to appoint committees, let it continue to justify its course by not engaging in general legislation. But when they ask this House to engage in general legislation, as they do in asking us to pass this bill, then, as a member of this House, I will insist that this complicated, involved question shall first be considered by a competent committee; and I simply put the gentleman on notice now that if this bill or one of its importance is proposed to be passed, so far as I am concerned, he will have to have a quorum to do it, because I will raise the question of no quorum.

If this bill came before the House from a properly constituted committee I would be willing to accept the work of that committee. In some kind of way we would be obliged to do it. A man can not examine all these subjects himself and can not investigate them. But if we are to vote on faith, I want to have a committee on whose action I can properly rely; and I submit, if the gentleman himself, as an individual member of this House, can discover twelve or fifteen needed amendments to this bill, the probability is that a committee might have discovered a dozen more.

Mr. PAYNE. Will the gentleman from Georgia allow me to ask him one question, and that is, if he understands that rules and regulations for navigation on the high seas, to prevent the collision of ships, and a code of rules of the road, have been established between all maritime nations of the earth, to take effect on the 1st day of next month, and that some of those rules interfere in some degree with our own rules for the navigation of the inland waters bordering on the high seas, and that to leave them in their present condition and make no changes as proposed by this bill would endanger human life; and that in order to carry out his theory, whatever it may be, or to emphasize the matter before the country that the House has no committees—and it seems that the country must understand by this time that the House has no committees; that it is the policy of the majority of the House not to appoint committees—and it seems that the country understands that fact—that in order, uselessly, it seems to me, to emphasize that, he proposes to stand here in the way of the passage of this bill and take the risk of some collision at sea, take the risk of loss of human life; and if this is done——

Mr. LEWIS of Washington. I make the point of order that the gentleman from Georgia has the floor——

Mr. PAYNE. If the leader from Washington will possess his soul in patience——

Mr. LEWIS of Washington. I make the point of order that the gentleman from Georgia has the floor, and can not be taken from the floor by the gentleman from New York in this way.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Washington rises to a point of order.

Mr. LEWIS of Washington. I am not at all embarrassed by the compliment of the emphatic form in which the Chair referred to my having the floor, but I——

The SPEAKER. That was by inadvertence.

Mr. LEWIS of Washington. The Chair need not explain that. I would not make any inference from that upon the Chair. I make this point of order: That the gentleman from Georgia has the floor, and that the gentleman from New York, upon the authority of the privilege of asking him a question, can not take his time and address him while the gentleman from Georgia has the floor.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will protect the gentleman from Georgia if he calls upon the Chair for protection. The Chair supposed that the gentleman from Georgia was consenting willingly. If he is in any way coerced, the Chair will protect him. [Laughter.]

Mr. PAYNE. I will ask my friend from Georgia if he needs the assistance of the leader from Washington to protect him in this matter? If he does, I hope he will call upon him.

Now, I simply asked a question, and I supposed I had the leave of the gentleman. I was appealing to him, by way of a question, to reconsider his idea of trying to obstruct this legislation and force the House to meet on another occasion, when there should be a quorum here, in order to pass this bill, the bill itself being in the interest of the preservation of human life, and therefore the sooner it is passed the better.

Mr. FLEMING. Mr. Speaker, it would be very hard to examine the gentleman's statement and find exactly where the question is. But I am always entertained in listening to the gentleman from New York, and I felt perfectly safe in allowing him to speak as long as he desired, because I know I have an hour, if I choose to take that much time. I do not want to consume that time. My purpose in taking the position I do take was in no way whatever to advertise to the country any further the fact that this House is without any regular committees, nor was it my desire to advertise to the country the policy of the majority party, that they did not intend to engage in general legislation.

My purpose was bona fide to prevent the passage of a bill which has not been properly considered by a committee of the House. Now, I will show my good faith in that respect by stating that I am perfectly willing to join with the gentleman from New York in requesting the Chair to appoint a special committee to investigate this particular bill. If gentlemen on the other side do not desire to have all the committees appointed, I do not ask that.

All I ask is a special committee to investigate this question. Here is a measure dealing with a very important and very involved subject, and my information is that there are provisions in this bill which ought not to be there. Why not have the subject properly investigated? Why not request the Chair, or why will not the gentleman from New York himself move, to refer this bill to a special committee to be appointed by the Chair? If he will make a motion to refer it to either a regular or a special committee, I will vote with him.

Mr. PAYNE. If the gentleman from Georgia knows of any provision in this bill that ought not to be there, why does he keep that information to himself? Why does he not give it to the House?

Mr. FLEMING. Mr. Speaker, when the gentleman from New York himself has discovered twelve imperfections in this bill, I think it is time that he should allow some other members of the House to investigate it and try to ascertain whether the number of imperfections may not be much greater. He has discovered twelve, but I fear that he has not discovered all of the imperfections, and for that reason I desire that the bill shall be referred to a committee for investigation.

If he prefers a special committee instead of a regular committee, I make no point on that. I simply say that as a member of this House I will not vote for a bill of this character unless I have the report of some committee to guide me, and I will do what I can to prevent the passage of the bill unless the course I have suggested or some similar course is pursued.

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. Speaker, I call for a vote on the pending amendment.

Mr. RICHARDSON. I desire, before the vote is taken on that amendment, to ask the gentleman from New York a question for information in reference to the matter included on page 15 under the heading "Note." I have never seen anything like this before in any bill that has passed the House. I refer to the matter which is in fine print in contradistinction to the text of the bill. I want to ask the gentleman what it means. It does not seem to be any part of article 21 or of article 22, but it is here in the bill in print between those two articles. It does not seem to be a part of any article in the bill, but it was read by the Clerk as a part of the text. It is certainly something unusual to insert a "note" of this character in the body of a bill, and I want to know from the gentleman from New York whether this is to be taken as a part of the law if this bill shall become law?

The question being taken on the pending amendment, it was agreed to.

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. Speaker, in line 23, page 27, I move to strike out the word "to," simply to improve the language.

The amendment was adopted.

Mr. RICHARDSON. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike out the matter to which I have already called attention, which is headed "Note," and which occurs between lines 7 and 8 on page 15 of the bill.

Mr. PAYNE. Will the gentleman from Tennessee wait until I offer another amendment?

Mr. RICHARDSON. Mr. Speaker, by what authority does the gentleman from New York claim priority over other members of the House in offering amendments to this bill?

The SPEAKER. The Chair supposed that there had been some arrangement made by which the gentleman from New York was to be permitted to offer certain amendments.

Mr. RICHARDSON. None whatever.

The SPEAKER. Then the gentleman from Tennessee will present his amendment.

Mr. RICHARDSON. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike out the matter on page 15, between lines 7 and 8 of the bill, under the heading "Note."

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. Speaker, I supposed I had the floor for an amendment.

The SPEAKER. The Chair has recognized the gentleman from Tennessee.

Mr. RICHARDSON. I respectfully asked an explanation of the

gentleman from New York, and I got no answer. That is why I now move to strike out this language, and I now ask that the Clerk report this "note."

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the words proposed to be stricken out.

The Clerk read as follows:

On page 15, between lines 7 and 8, strike out the following:
"NOTE.—When, in consequence of thick weather or other causes, such vessel finds herself so close that collision can not be avoided by the action of the giving-way vessel alone, she also shall take such action as will best aid to avert collision. (See articles 27 and 29.)"

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. Speaker, I wish to explain to the gentleman from Tennessee and to the House that this act is a codification of the rules relating to the navigation of our inland waters. One object in putting them together in the law is to get them in convenient form where they can be printed and posted in every vessel, and this note appears here in the body of the act for the purpose of giving notice at that particular point by reference to articles 27 and 29. It is simply for the convenience of posting the law, and of course, in that respect, it is a part of the statute.

Mr. RICHARDSON. But the question I propounded to the gentleman from New York was whether he had ever seen a "note" like this in the body of any law that has passed this House.

Mr. PAYNE. I do not think I have ever seen anything exactly like it; still I have seen something quite similar in the general laws relating to navigation, requiring the posting in each vessel of the bill of fare that is prescribed by law for sailors. That is inserted in the body of the law in a way almost exactly similar to this, and the object is that it may be posted in the cabin or the forecastle of the vessel.

Mr. GROSVENOR. Mr. Speaker, I think the amendment of the gentleman from Tennessee is a proper one. I have never seen anything like this "note" in the body of a measure presented to Congress. The matter is very simple, however. Article 21 provides an absolute and imperative rule when unaccompanied by two other articles. Those other articles are Nos. 27 and 29, and they specify the cases in which there may be a variance from the accurate and strict rule. Now, in posting this law for the benefit of seamen, it will be only necessary for the Treasury Department to print this note at the foot, as has been the custom in other cases, as a part of the law.

Mr. RICHARDSON. I am very glad to hear the statement of the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. GROSVENOR]. I think he is exactly correct. I am glad we agree on this question. I have never seen any effort on the part of the friends of any bill to insert an explanatory provision of this kind. That is why I have moved to strike it out.

The question being taken, the amendment of Mr. RICHARDSON was agreed to.

Mr. PAYNE. Now, Mr. Speaker, I offer the amendment which I have already sent up to the desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

After line 24, page 7, add:
"(d) Rafts, or other water craft not herein provided for, navigating by hand power, horsepower, or by the current of the river, shall carry one or more good white lights, which shall be placed in such manner as shall be prescribed by the Board of Supervising Inspectors of Steam Vessels."

Mr. RICHARDSON. I should like to know whence this amendment comes and why it is suggested. The amendment appears to be a most important one. It is almost impossible for us to legislate intelligently upon a measure of this kind in this haphazard way. I submit that the gentleman from New York ought not to press the consideration of this bill any further this evening. In view of the lateness of the hour and the fewness of the members in attendance, I suggest that the gentleman allow the bill to go over until some other day.

Mr. PAYNE. Will the gentleman consent to take a recess until to-morrow at 12 o'clock?

Mr. RICHARDSON. What is the use of that?

Mr. PAYNE. For the purpose of going on with this bill.

Mr. RICHARDSON. Will there not be plenty of time to consider it when we meet on the next regular day? It is hardly likely there will be any more members in attendance to-morrow than to-day; and I assure the gentleman from New York, from declarations of gentlemen all around me, that he can not pass this bill this evening unless he can obtain a quorum.

Mr. PAYNE. I suggest, then, that we take a recess until to-morrow, and then go on with the bill. We had a quorum here this morning.

Mr. RICHARDSON. Under the standing rule we would adjourn until next Thursday. Why not take up this bill at the next regular session of the House?

Mr. PAYNE. I ask for a vote on my amendment.

The SPEAKER (having put the question) declared that the ayes seemed to have it.

Mr. FLEMING and others called for a division.

Mr. PAYNE. I move that the House do now adjourn.

Mr. SAYERS. I ask the gentleman from New York to withdraw that motion until my colleague can call up a bill which will not take three minutes.

Mr. PAYNE. I am afraid it is an important bill, and will require a quorum. I can not withdraw my motion.

Mr. SAYERS. All right; then you will have to bring a quorum here to pass this bill.

Mr. PAYNE. If we can not go on with this bill without a quorum, we can not go on with any other. I do not withdraw my motion.

The question being taken, the motion of Mr. PAYNE, that the House adjourn, was agreed to; and accordingly (at 4 o'clock and 30 minutes p. m.), the House, pursuant to its standing order, adjourned until Thursday next at 12 o'clock noon.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS.

Under clause 2 of Rule XXIV, the following executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

A letter from the Secretary of the Navy, transmitting copy of a letter from the Chief of Bureau of Yards and Docks, with report of the board of civil engineers appointed to examine the cause of the leak in the dry dock in the Brooklyn Navy-Yard, and recommending appropriation for the same—to the Committee on Naval Affairs, and ordered to be printed.

PUBLIC BILLS, RESOLUTIONS, AND MEMORIALS INTRODUCED.

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, bills, resolutions, and memorials of the following titles were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. MAXWELL: A bill (H. R. 3382) to prohibit the granting of a patent where the thing sought to be patented is a mere rearrangement or variance in constructive devices and details of inventions already known; second, to require the party claiming an infringement to recover judgment against the party charged with such infringement before he can maintain an action against a bona fide purchaser of the article alleged to be an infringement, and to restrict damages to the actual injury; third, to reduce the time to sixty days in which to file an application for a patent—to the Committee on Patents.

By Mr. BELL (by request): A bill (H. R. 3383) to restore medical freedom to the people of the District of Columbia—to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. LEWIS of Washington: A bill (H. R. 3393) for the relief of settlers—to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3394) for an assay office at Seattle, in the State of Washington—to the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures.

By Mr. SMITH of Kentucky: A joint resolution (H. Res. 60) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BOUTELLE: A joint resolution (H. Res. 61) to provide for the immediate repair of Dry Dock No. 3, at the New York Navy-Yard—to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. HENDERSON: A resolution (House Res. No. 49) relative to the consideration of Senate joint resolution No. 44, making an appropriation to supply a deficiency in the appropriations for public printing and binding for the fiscal year 1897—to the Committee on Rules.

Also, a resolution (House Res. No. 50) relative to the consideration of Senate joint resolution No. 43, in amendment of the joint resolution of April 7, 1897, authorizing the Secretary of the Navy to transport contributions for the relief of the famishing poor of India—to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. BOUTELLE: A resolution (House Res. No. 51) to provide for the consideration of a resolution for repairs to Dry Dock No. 3 at the navy-yard, New York—to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. LEWIS of Washington: A resolution (House Res. No. 52) moving the appointment of a Committee on Foreign Affairs, to consider the foreign policy toward Cuba—to the Committee on Rules.

Also, a resolution (House Res. No. 53) requesting full correspondence concerning the situation in Cuba or any reports of the same now in possession or control of the Secretary of State or Executive, to be at once submitted to the House of Representatives—to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. KING: A resolution (House Res. No. 54) directing the Speaker to appoint the Committee on Foreign Affairs—to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. COOKE: A concurrent resolution (House Con. Res. No. 5) relating to affairs in Cuba—to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. JENKINS: A memorial of the legislature of the State of Wisconsin, for an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relating to trusts—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. STEWART of Wisconsin: A memorial of the legislature of the State of Wisconsin, in favor of an amendment to the Constitution relating to trusts—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS INTRODUCED.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions of the following titles were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. RIXEY (by request): A bill (H. R. 3378) for the relief of James Willard, of Loudoun County, Va.—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3379) for the relief of the Culpeper Baptist Church, at Culpeper, Va.—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also (by request), a bill (H. R. 3380) for the relief of James T. Smith—to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. SIMS: A bill (H. R. 3381) for the relief of M. Robison, administrator of T. E. Robison, deceased, late of Henderson County, Tenn.—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. BINGHAM: A bill (H. R. 3384) granting a pension to Mrs. Rebecca S. Holman—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. BROWNLOW: A bill (H. R. 3385) to provide for the readjustment and payment of dues to army officers in certain cases—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. BRUNDIDGE: A bill (H. R. 3386) for the relief of James Erwin, of McBee Landing, Marion County, Ark.—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. HENRY of Mississippi: A bill (H. R. 3387) for the relief of the heirs of Mrs. Nancy Mitchell, of Lincoln County, Miss.—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. KITCHIN: A bill (H. R. 3388) for the relief of Thomas H. Street, of Person County, N. C.—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. LOW: A bill (H. R. 3389) to reappoint Warren C. Beach a captain in the Army, and to place him on the retired list in addition to the number now authorized—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. McCLEARY: A bill (H. R. 3390) granting a pension to Charlotte M. Bryson, widow of Andrew Bryson, late rear-admiral in the United States Navy—to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. UNDERWOOD: A bill (H. R. 3391) for the relief of W. H. Barnard and Robert Thomas—to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3392) for the relief of Mrs. Minnie Andrews—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. LEWIS of Washington: A bill (H. R. 3395) to place the name of William Gross on the pension roll—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3396) granting a pension to Lieut. Col. Ogden Street—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3397) for the relief of Twyman O. Abbott—to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3398) for the relief of M. S. Hellman—to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3399) for the relief of A. D. Glover—to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3400) for the relief of Thomas M. Fisher—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3401) for the relief of John Morrow, alias James Henry—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, the following petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

By Mr. ADAMS: Petition of the Philadelphia Board of Trade, for an appropriation for the proposed international exhibition in France in response to the recommendations of the President—to the Committee on Appropriations.

Also, resolutions of the Original M. S. Quay Club, of Philadelphia, Pa., protesting against the civil-service law and asking for its suspension or repeal—to the Committee on Reform in the Civil Service.

Also, petition of John W. Schmidt and other citizens of Philadelphia, Pa., for a more rigid restriction of immigration—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

Also, resolutions of the Thirteenth Ward Republican executive committee, of Philadelphia, Pa., protesting against the civil-service law, and asking for its repeal—to the Committee on Reform in the Civil Service.

Also, resolutions of the Civil Service Reform Association of Philadelphia, Pa., in support of the civil-service law—to the Committee on Reform in the Civil Service.

Also, petition of the Philadelphia Credit Men's Association, favoring the passage of the Torrey bankruptcy bill—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BINGHAM: Resolutions of the Philadelphia Drug Exchange, urging the enactment of the Torrey bankruptcy bill—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, resolutions of the Trades League of Philadelphia, Pa., protesting against the repeal of the civil-service act—to the Committee on Reform in the Civil Service.

By Mr. BUTLER: Petitions of William Wardell and other citizens of Phœnixville, Pa., and H. K. Dunlop and others, of Oxford, Pa., for the passage of an immigration bill—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. DALZELL: Resolutions of the Chamber of Commerce of Pittsburg, Pa., in favor of a bill for national freight classification—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, resolutions of the Philadelphia (Pa.) Drug Exchange, indorsing the Torrey bankruptcy bill—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. DINGLEY: Petition of Mrs. E. S. Mills and 173 others, of Vinalhaven, Me., praying for the further restriction of immigration—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. FARIS: Petition of F. C. Starns and 85 other citizens of Parke County, Ind., recommending the repeal of the civil-service law—to the Committee on Reform in the Civil Service.

By Mr. FLETCHER: Petition of the Board of Trade of Minneapolis, Minn., favoring the passage of a bankruptcy bill—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HENRY of Indiana: Resolutions adopted at a meeting of wholesale liquor dealers in Indianapolis, Ind., regarding a tax on spirits and the regulation of the bonded period—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. HILL: Petition of Annie S. Blythe and other citizens of Bridgeport, Conn., concerning immigration—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. JOHNSON of Indiana: Petition of 130 citizens of Richmond, Ind., and 52 citizens of Connersville, Ind., for the passage of a law at the present session of Congress for a commission to revise the banking and currency system—to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. JONES of Washington: Memorial of the Chamber of Commerce of Seattle, Wash., favoring the annexation to the United States of the Islands of Hawaii—to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. LOUD: Memorial of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, praying for the early enactment of the tariff bill—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. McCLEARY: Memorial of the Merchant Tailors' Exchange of Boston, Mass., protesting against the omission of the one-hundred-dollar limit of value to free importations of personal clothing—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, protest of the Excelsior Brewing Company, of St. Paul, Minn.; also of Gluek's Brewing Company, of Minneapolis, Minn., against the proposed increase of tax on beer—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. MITCHELL (by request): Petition of the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor of the Thirteenth Street Presbyterian Church of New York City, N. Y., favoring the passage of a bill to forbid the interstate transmission of any picture or description of any encounter of pugilists—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also (by request), petition of the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor of the Thirteenth Street Presbyterian Church of New York City, urging the passage of a bill to protect the first day of the week in the District of Columbia—to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

Also (by request), petition of the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor of the Thirteenth Street Presbyterian Church of New York City, asking for the passage of a bill to forbid the sale of intoxicants in Government buildings—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. MOODY: Petition of Mrs. Minnie C. Harris and 18 others, of Marblehead, Mass., praying for the further restriction of immigration—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. PITNEY: Petition of 48 citizens of Rockaway, N. J., in favor of a more rigid immigration law—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. ROYSE: Petitions of F. M. Mulhollan, John T. Kelley, and other citizens of South Bend, Ind., for the restriction of immigration—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. SULLOWAY: Petition of Johen E. Milton and 90 other citizens of Portsmouth, N. H., asking for a more rigid restriction of immigration—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

Also, petition of Florence F. Atwood and 14 other citizens of New Boston, N. H., asking for a more rigid restriction of immigration—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. WRIGHT: Petition of George T. Porter and 27 other citizens of Westfield, Mass., favoring a more rigid restriction of immigration—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

SENATE.

WEDNESDAY, *June 2, 1897.*

Prayer by Rev. HUGH JOHNSTON, D. D., of the city of Washington.

The Vice-President being absent, the President pro tempore took the chair.

The Secretary proceeded to read the Journal of yesterday's proceedings, when, on motion of Mr. TURPIE, and by unanimous consent, the further reading was dispensed with.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Journal, without objection, will stand approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. W. J. BROWNING, its Chief Clerk, announced that the House had agreed to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 16) making appropriations for sundry civil expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1898, and for other purposes.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore presented a petition of the Baltimore (Md.) Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, praying for the enactment of legislation prohibiting the sale of intoxicating liquors in all Government buildings; which was referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

He also presented a petition of the Baltimore (Md.) Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, praying for the enactment of legislation to restore to the District of Columbia its Sabbath law; which was referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

He also presented a petition of the Baltimore (Md.) Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, praying for the enactment of legislation to raise the age of consent to 18 years in the District of Columbia and the Territories; which was referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

He also presented a petition of the Baltimore (Md.) Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, praying for the enactment of legislation prohibiting the transmission of pictures and descriptions of prize fights through the mails or by interstate commerce; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a petition of the Baltimore (Md.) Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, praying for the enactment of legislation prohibiting interstate gambling by telegraph, telephone, or otherwise; which was referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

Mr. TURPIE presented a petition of sundry wholesale liquor dealers of Indianapolis, Ind., praying that the tax on distilled spirits be reduced from $1.10 per proof gallon to 90 cents per proof gallon, provided that the present eight-year bonded period be reduced to three years; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented sundry papers to accompany the bill (S. 147) for the relief of William H. Wilson; which were referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. HOAR presented a petition of sundry citizens of Massachusetts, praying for the enactment of legislation for a more rigid restriction of immigration; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented the petition of Joseph E. Selfe, president, and three other officers of the Merchant Tailors' Exchange of Boston, Mass., praying for the passage without amendment of paragraph 666 of the pending tariff bill, relating to the free entry of wearing apparel, personal effects, etc.; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. LODGE presented a petition of 152 business firms of the United States, and a petition of 11 business firms of the United States, praying for a continuance of the reciprocity treaty with Hawaii; which were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also presented a memorial of 13 business firms of Boston, Mass., remonstrating against an increase of the duty on tanned skin for morocco; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a petition of the U. S. Grant Council, No. 352, Junior Order United American Mechanics, of Pottstown, Pa., praying for the passage of the so-called Lodge bill restricting immigration; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. QUAY presented the memorial of P. J. Huth, secretary of the Point Bottle Works, of Rochester, Pa., relative to the duty on glass bottles; which was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ROCHESTER, PA., *June 1, 1897.*

To Hon. M. S. QUAY:

GREEN, FLINT, AND LIME GLASS BOTTLES.

The act of 1894 reduced the duty on bottles 25 per cent. About 85 per cent of our cost is labor, which is at least 200 per cent higher than is paid in Germany, our chief competitor. We have been unable to secure a reduction in wages to meet said reduction in duty. The business since the passage of said act has been in a deplorable condition.

The duty on soda ash, which is a raw material to us, it is proposed to advance largely over the McKinley rates, which means a double cut to the bottle makers. Owing to the classification, bottles holding more than 1 pint and not more than 1½ pints come in at a less rate of duty than pints (as the extra weight in said sizes does not compensate for the lower rate per pound), and on these sizes the importations are very heavy and are increasing, notwithstanding the prices of American manufacture are lower than have been known for twenty-five years.

The importation of mineral waters and ginger ales (amounting to about 2,500,000 pint bottles in 1896) in unlettered bottles, which are being collected and resold, is a very serious menace to our business.

In view of the above facts, I beg to request, first, that the House rates be restored and the additional clause therein be retained by the Senate committee; second, that all filled bottles shall have the name of its contents (and the country from which it came) blown in the glass.

Respectfully,

P. J. HUTH,
Secretary Point Bottle Works, Rochester, Pa.

REPORT OF A COMMITTEE.

Mr. STEWART, from the Committee on Claims, to whom was referred the bill (S. 707) for the relief of Ames & Detrick, of San Francisco, in the State of California, reported it without amendment, and submitted a report thereon.

AMENDMENT TO THE TARIFF BILL.

Mr. BURROWS (by request) submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to the bill (H. R. 379) to provide revenue for the Government and to encourage the industries of the United States; which was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

PUBLIC BUILDING AT NASHUA, N. H.

Mr. GALLINGER. If the morning business is closed, I ask unanimous consent for the consideration of the bill (S. 479) to provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Nashua, in the State of New Hampshire.

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill. It directs the Secretary of the Treasury to acquire, by purchase, condemnation, or otherwise, a site and cause to be erected thereon a suitable building, including fireproof vaults, heating and ventilating apparatus, elevators, and approaches, for the use and accommodation of the United States post-office and other Government offices, in the city of Nashua, N. H., the cost of site and building, including vaults, heating and ventilating apparatus, elevators, and approaches, complete, not to exceed $100,000.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

Several Senators addressed the Chair.

Mr. QUAY. I desire, unless there is objection, to ask the Senate to proceed to the consideration of the bill (S. 1271) for a public building at the city of Wilkesbarre, Pa., and appropriating money therefor.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Will the Senator from Pennsylvania allow morning business to be transacted?

Mr. QUAY. I have no objection.

SALE OF ALCOHOLIC LIQUORS IN SOUTH CAROLINA.

Mr. TILLMAN. I beg to have immediate consideration of the resolution I send to the desk.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The resolution will be read for information.

The Secretary read the resolution, as follows:

Whereas the Supreme Court of the United States declared, in the case of Leisy *vs.* Hardin, 135 U. S., from Iowa, that no State had the right to prohibit the sale of liquor within its own borders in original packages upon the ground that it was an interference with interstate commerce; and

Whereas, in order to give relief to the people of Iowa, Congress passed what is known as the Wilson law, in these words:

"An act to limit the effect of the regulations of commerce between the several States and with foreign countries in certain cases.

"*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled*, That all fermented, distilled, or other intoxicating liquors or liquids transported into any State or Territory or remaining therein for use, consumption, sale, or storage therein, shall upon arrival in such State or Territory be subject to the operation and effect of the laws of such State or Territory enacted in the exercise of its police powers, to the same extent and in the same manner as though such liquids or liquors had been produced in such State or Territory, and shall not be exempt therefrom by reason of being introduced therein in original packages or otherwise.

"Approved August 8, 1890."

And whereas under the authority therein granted the State of South Carolina, in December, 1892, passed the dispensary law, under which provision is made for the sale of liquor by State officers under strict restrictions and rules; and

Whereas under this system experience has shown that the cause of temperance has been advanced and the good order and quiet of the State has been promoted; there being now less than 100 dispensaries in place of upward of 800 barrooms in 1892; and

Whereas a circuit judge of the United States court by judicial legislation, in a recent decision, has repealed the act of Congress above recited as far as South Carolina is concerned, thus requiring that State to reopen the barrooms or allow the free and unlimited sale of liquor in original packages: Therefore,

Be it resolved, That the Judiciary Committee of the Senate be instructed to consider what legislation is necessary, if any, to restore to South Carolina the right granted by the act of Congress of August 8, 1890, to control the sale of alcoholic liquors within its own borders in its own way, in common with other States of this Union.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution? The Chair hears none. Will the Senate agree to the resolution?

Mr. TILLMAN. Mr. President, I will give a brief explanation of the condition in our State which has caused me to introduce this resolution.

Within a week the circuit judge there has declared that the dispensary law is unconstitutional, because it conflicts with the interstate-commerce law. The dispensary law provides that liquor shall not be sold in the State by other than a State officer, who is under bond and limited as to the hours of sale. He can not sell it in the nighttime, and he can not sell it except in unbroken packages—sealed packages—and those packages are not to be broken on the premises.

Now, the circuit judge comes along and declares that, as the State recognizes the sale of liquor as legitimate, it is not an exercise of the police power to restrict it in the way we have done, and that therefore a citizen of any other State has a right to ship into the State in original packages and to sell it within the limitations that the State law imposes on its State officers.

The State has at this time something like $300,000 invested in liquor distributed at the different dispensaries. The legislature will not meet until January. There is no power in the State government to suspend the operation of the vast machinery for the handling of this product, and yet under the conditions imposed by this decision any outsider can come in and open a liquor shop alongside of the State dispensary or anywhere else and sell at any price he pleases, therefore resulting in great injury to the morals of the State and to the welfare of the community, as well as loss in the expenses which will attach by running the dispensaries under such circumstances.

There is an erroneous impression abroad that the State entered upon this business for the profit in it. That is not true, and it is a mere secondary feature of the law, which is itself as remote in purpose from thus handling of the liquor as anywhere in any State in this Union. To those who claim that it is an illegitimate business, that no decent person will go into it, and that the State ought not to go into it, I merely point to the fact that the United States Government has always derived a revenue from liquor. Nearly every State in the Union to-day licenses its sale, and is in league with the licensees, and creates a monopoly from which private persons who obtain the business are allowed to sell for profit, to be shared by it.

The opinion of this circuit judge that the State has not the right to limit the sale in this way, but must license some private individual to do it, is, we think, contrary to the act of Congress which I have recited in the resolution.

Therefore, for the relief of South Carolina and to put her back on a plane with the other States, so that her citizens in the exercise of their local government may control this pernicious traffic in their own way, I ask that the Senate of the United States and Congress shall take action.

Mr. FAULKNER. Will the Senator from South Carolina permit me to make a suggestion?

Mr. TILLMAN. Certainly.

Mr. FAULKNER. Personally, I concur in the views of the Senator, and I am very anxious to assist him in getting the relief he seeks. I think the local self-government of the people there requires that they should control this whole subject. I very earnestly supported the Wilson bill for the same reason. But I hope the Senator from South Carolina will not embarrass the resolution he has offered by the preamble which is attached to it. I do not feel justified in voting without consideration for the declaration in the preamble that this decision of the judge of the Federal court is judicial legislation. I think the facts are sufficiently known as a matter of public history for the resolution to stand on its own merits without committing any of us, without an examination into the question, to the declaration contained in the preamble. I sincerely hope the Senator from South Carolina will be willing to submit the resolution on its merits without the preamble.

Mr. TILLMAN. I am perfectly willing to strike out the words "judicial legislation."

Mr. BACON. I ask that the resolution be again read.

The Secretary again read the resolution.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Chair understand the Senator from South Carolina to withdraw the preamble of the resolution?

Mr. TILLMAN. I will substitute in place of the words "judicial legislation" the words "judicial interpretation," and let it stand on its merits.

Mr. BACON. I suggest to the Senator from South Carolina that there ought to be an amendment to that part of the resolution which limits the investigation of the Judiciary Committee to the particular case of South Carolina. There ought to be a general law, and the investigation ought to be one which can give relief not only to South Carolina, but to any other State similarly situated. I have no doubt that the report of the Committee on the Judiciary will go to that extent, but I simply suggest, in the interest of the general character of all legislation which ought to be had at this time, that the legislation ought to be so framed as not to appear to be specifically limited to one State.

Mr. TILLMAN. I will reply to that by saying that when the original-package decision of the United States Supreme Court was rendered, the appeal to this body and to Congress for relief came from the then Senator from Iowa, Mr. Wilson; that it was recited in the report that that was the specific case which they desired to remedy; that the act of August 8, 1890, known as the Wilson Act, was passed in pursuance thereof, and that everybody except the judges who interpreted the law has considered that act as covering the principle that local self-government shall obtain absolutely in managing liquor within the borders of a State.

Mr. BACON. The Senator does not understand me as antagonizing his resolution, I hope.

Mr. TILLMAN. I drew the resolution hurriedly. I understand that it will go to the Judiciary Committee, whether the Senate passes it or not, and it is a matter of small moment to me whether you shall by your votes indorse the preamble and the general proposition or whether you shall simply let the resolution go in that way. I do not want to excite any antagonism to the resolution, and I am perfectly willing to accept the amendment you propose if you will phrase it so as to cover the entire subject as to how Congress shall act and what it is willing to do in limiting the interstate feature of the Constitution in regard to the traffic in liquor.

Mr. HOAR. I move to amend the resolution by inserting the following substitute:

Resolved, That the Committee on the Judiciary be directed to consider and report, by bill or otherwise, what legislation, if any, is necessary to give full effect to the purpose of the statute—

Recited in the resolution of the Senator from South Carolina. That will cover the entire subject.

Mr. TILLMAN. I accept that amendment.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from South Carolina accepts the amendment offered by the Senator from Massachusetts. The Secretary will report the resolution as amended.

Mr. CHANDLER. I understand that the Senator from South Carolina consents to the omission of the preamble.

Mr. TILLMAN. I accept the substitute submitted by the Senator from Massachusetts for the entire thing.

Mr. CHANDLER. Leaving out the preamble?

Mr. TILLMAN. Leaving out the preamble. I accept the amended resolution.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The resolution as amended will be read.

The Secretary read the amended resolution, as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on the Judiciary be directed to consider and report, by bill or otherwise, what legislation, if any, is necessary to give full effect to the purpose of the act approved August 8, 1890, entitled "An act to limit the effect of the regulations of commerce between the several States and with foreign countries in certain cases."

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the resolution is agreed to. It is agreed to.

Mr. TILLMAN. I submit a copy of the South Carolina dispensary law, which I ask to have printed in the RECORD, so that Congress and all other persons interested may know just how much of a police regulation it is.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from South Carolina asks that there be printed in the RECORD the law to which he refers. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

The law referred to is as follows:

DISPENSARY LAW—AN ACT TO PROVIDE FOR THE ELECTION OF A STATE BOARD OF CONTROL, AND TO FURTHER REGULATE THE SALE, USE, CONSUMPTION, TRANSPORTATION, AND DISPOSITION OF INTOXICATING AND ALCOHOLIC LIQUORS OR LIQUIDS IN THE STATE, AND PRESCRIBE FURTHER PENALTIES FOR VIOLATION OF THE DISPENSARY LAWS, AND TO POLICE THE SAME.

SECTION 1. *Be it enacted by the general assembly of the State of South Carolina*, That the manufacture, sale, barter, or exchange, receipt or acceptance for unlawful use, delivery, use, or sale of storing, and keeping in possession within this State of any alcoholic or spirituous, malt, vinous, fermented, brewed (whether lager brewed liquors, or rice beer), or other liquors, any compound or mixture or compounds, thereof by whatever name called or known, which contains prohibited. alcohol and is used as a beverage, except as is hereafter provided, is hereby prohibited, under a penalty of not less than Penalty. three nor more than twelve months at hard labor in the State penitentiary, or pay a fine of not less than $100 nor more than $500, or both and imprisonment, in the discretion of the court, for each offense. All alcoholic liquors in this All liquors State, whether manufactured within this State or elsewhere, not analyzed not having been tested by the chemist of the South Carolina and pure de- College and found to be pure and free from poisonous, hurtful, cleared against and deleterious matters, are hereby declared to be of a detri- good health and mental character, and their use and consumption are against morals. the morals, good health, and safety of the State, and all such

The keeping,

liquors may be seized whenever found, without a warrant, and disposed of as hereinafter provided. Any person resident in this State intending to import for personal use and consumption any spirituous, malt, vinous, fermented, brewed, or other liquor containing alcohol from any other State or foreign country, shall first certify to the chemist of the South Carolina College the quantity and kind of liquor proposed to be imported, together with the name and place of business of the person, firm, or corporation from whom it is desired to purchase, accompanying such certificate with a statement that the proposed consignor has been requested to forward a sample of such liquor to the said chemist at Columbia, South Carolina. Upon receipt of said sample the said chemist shall immediately proceed to test the same, and if found to be pure and free from any poisonous, hurtful, or deleterious matters, he shall issue a certificate to that effect, stating therein the names of the proposed consignor and consignee, and the quantity and kind of liquor proposed to be imported thereunder, which certificate shall be dated and forwarded by said chemist, post paid, to the proposed consignor at his place of business. The said consignor shall cause such certificate to be attached to the package containing the liquor when it is shipped in this State, and no package bearing such certificate shall be liable to seizure and confiscation; but any package of spirituous, malt, vinous, fermented, brewed, or other liquor or liquid containing alcohol imported into this State without such certificate, or any package containing liquor other than described in the certificate thereto attached, or any package shipped by or to any person or persons not named in such certificate, shall be seized and confiscated as provided in this act. Any certificate obtained from the chemist as herein provided shall be used within sixty days after the date of its issue, and shall be invalid thereafter. It shall be unlawful to use said certificate for more than one importation, and any person attempting to counterfeit said certificate, or to make any improper use thereof, or who shall make any false statement in obtaining or attempting to obtain the same, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and, upon conviction, shall be punished by imprisonment for not less than thirty days nor more than twelve months, or to pay a fine of not less than one hundred nor more than one thousand dollars. Any person or persons convicted of selling or otherwise unlawfully disposing of any liquor imported under the provision of this section shall suffer double the punishment provided for a sale in violation of other provisions of this act. All expenses incurred in enforcing the provisions of this section, including compensation for such assistant chemists as may be necessary to make prompt analysis, and the express charges on samples shall be paid by the State board of control hereinafter provided for as an expense of the State dispensary established by this act. If the chemist of the South Carolina College shall willfully fail or refuse to make or have made an analysis of any sample sent to him in accordance with this section, he shall, upon conviction thereof before a court of competent jurisdiction, be fined one hundred dollars for each offense.

Analysis of liquors.

Certificates of analysis to be attached.

Certificate to be used in sixty days.

Penalty for false certificate, etc.

Expense of analysis to be paid by State.

Penalty for chemist failing to make analysis.

SEC. 2. A board, consisting of five members, to be known as the State board of control, shall be elected by the general assembly at this session to carry out the provisions of this act. The terms of office of the board so elected shall be for one, two, three, four, and five years, respectively, and those elected shall determine by lot which shall take the respective terms. At the expiration of the term of office of each member his successor shall be elected for a term of five years. They shall receive for their services the same per diem and mileage as members of the general assembly. The State board of control shall devise and inaugurate such a system of bookkeeping and accounting as they may deem advisable, and shall elect a clerk or bookkeeper, who shall hold his office during the pleasure of the board, and shall receive as compensation for his services a salary of $1,500 per annum. The State board of control, under such rules and regulations as may be adopted by said board, shall purchase all liquors for lawful sale in this State, and shall have the same tested and declared to be pure, as hereinbefore and hereinafter provided.

State board of control.

How elected.

Bookkeeper.

Salary.

Make rules and regulations.

SEC. 3. That the State board of control shall, at the expiration of the term of the present commissioner, and at the expiration of every two years thereafter, appoint a commissioner, which appointment shall be submitted to the senate at its next session for its approval; said commissioner shall be believed by the State board of control to be an abstainer from intoxicants, and shall, under such rules and regulations as may be made by the State board of control, furnish all intoxicating liquors for lawful sale in this State to such persons as may be designated as dispensers thereof, to be sold as hereafter prescribed in this act. Said commissioner shall reside and have his place of business in the city of Columbia, in this State, and hold his office two years from his appointment, and until another be appointed in his stead. He shall be subject to removal for cause by the State board of control. He shall qualify and be commissioned the same as other State officers, and shall receive an annual salary of $1,900, payable from the dispensary fund upon the warrant of the State board of control. He shall be allowed a bookkeeper, who shall be paid in the same manner a salary of $1,200, and such other assistants as in the opinion of the board of control may be deemed necessary. He shall not furnish to the county dispensers any intoxicating or fermented liquors, except such as have been tested by the chemist of the South Carolina College and declared to be pure and free from poisonous, hurtful, and deleterious matter: *Provided*, That said board of control shall have authority to appoint such assistants as they may find necessary to assist the chemist of the South Carolina College in making the analyses required by this act; and the said board of control may fix such reasonable compensation, if any, as they may deem proper for the services rendered by such chemist or such assistants. Each county dispenser shall remit to the State treasurer all moneys accruing to the State from the sale of liquors under such rules as may be prescribed by the State board of control, and the State treasurer shall keep a separate account with said fund, from which the State board of control shall draw from time to time upon warrants, or in such manner as they may provide, the amount necessary to pay the expenses incurred in conducting the business. All rules and regulations governing the said commissioner or county dispensers in the performance of any of the duties of his office, where the same are not provided for by law, shall be prescribed by the State board of control. The State commissioner shall, before entering upon the duties of his office, execute a bond to the State treasurer, with sufficient sureties, to be approved in the same manner as the bonds of other State officers, in the penal sum of $10,000, for the faithful performance of the duties of his office. In all purchases or sales of intoxicating liquors made as contemplated in this act, the State board of control shall cause a certificate to be attached to each and every package containing said liquors when the same is shipped to the State commissioner from the place of purchase, or by State commissioner to the county dispensaries, certified by their official signatures and seal, which certificate shall state that liquors contained in said packages have been purchased by the State board of control for sale and use within the State of South Carolina, under the laws of said State, and shall also cause to be attached to all such liquors the certificate of the chemist of the South Carolina College that samples of the same have been tested as required by this act; and without such certificates any package containing liquors which shall be shipped from place to place within the State, or delivered to the consignee by any railroad, express company, or other common carriers, or be found in the possession of any common carrier, shall be regarded as contraband, and may be seized without warrant for confiscation, and such common carrier shall be liable to a penalty of $500 for each offense, to be recovered against said common carrier in any court of competent jurisdiction by summons and complaint, proceedings to be instituted by the solicitor of any circuit with whom evidence may be lodged by any officer or citizen having knowledge or information of the violation; and any person attaching or using such certificate without the authority of the State board of control, or any counterfeit certificate, for the purpose of securing the transportation of any intoxicating liquors within this State in violation of law, shall, upon conviction thereof, be punished by a fine of not less than $500 and imprisonment in the penitentiary for not less than one year for each offense.

Bond of commissioner.

Packages to have on them certificates.

Liquors without certificates to be seized.

SEC. 4. The State commissioner shall, before shipping any liquors to dispensers, except lager beer, cause the same to be put into packages of not less than one-half pint nor more than five gallons, and securely seal the same; and it shall be unlawful for the dispenser to break any of such packages or open the same for any reason whatsoever. He shall sell the package only, and no person shall open the same on the premises: *Provided*, This section shall not apply to malt liquors shipped in cases or kegs, or bottles thereof shipped in barrels; and such malt liquors may be sold by the county dispenser in such quantities, of not less than 1 pint, as he may see proper: *Provided*, The same shall not be drunk on the premises. Dispensers shall open their places of business and sell only in the daytime, under such rules as may be made by the State board of control, or by the county board of control, with approval of the State board of control.

How liquors must be shipped and sold.

SEC. 5. It shall be the duty of the State board of control to appoint a county board of control, composed of three persons, believed by the said board not to be addicted to the use of intoxicating liquors. The persons so appointed shall hold their office for the term of two years, and until their successors are appointed, and shall be subject to removal for cause by the State board of control. Said county board of control shall make such rules as will be conducive to the best management of the sale of intoxicating liquors in their respective counties: *Provided*, All such rules shall be submitted to the State board and approved by them before adoption. The members of the county board of control shall qualify and be commissioned as are other county officers without fees therefor.

County board of control.

SEC. 6. Applications for positions of county dispenser shall be by petition, signed and sworn to by the applicant, and filed with the county board of control at least twenty days before the meeting at which the application is to be considered, which petition shall state the applicant's name, place of residence, in what business engaged, and in what business he has been engaged two years previous to filing petition; that he is a qualified elector of this State and a resident of the county; that he has never been adjudged guilty of violating the law in relation to intoxicating liquors, and is not a keeper of a restaurant or place of public amusement, and that he is not addicted to the use of intoxicating liquors as a beverage. The appointment shall be made only on condition that the applicant shall execute to the county treasurer a bond in the penal sum of $5,000, with good and sufficient sureties, conditioned that he will well and truly obey the laws of the State of South Carolina, now or hereafter in force, in relation to the sale of intoxicating liquors; that he will pay all fines, penalties, damages, and costs that may be assessed or recorded against him for violations of such laws during the term for which said appointment is made, and will not sell intoxicating liquors at a price other than that fixed by the State board of control. Said bond shall be for the use of the State and county or any person or persons who may be damaged or injured by reason of any violation on the part of the obligor of the law relating to intoxicating liquors purchased or sold during the term for which said appointment is made. The said bond shall be deposited with the county treasurer, and suit thereon shall be brought at any time by the solicitor or any person for whose benefit the same is given; and in case the conditions thereof, or any of them, shall be violated, the principal and sureties thereon shall also be jointly and severally liable for all civil damages, costs, and judgments that may be obtained against the principal in any civil action brought by wife, child, parent, guardian, employer, or other person under the provision of the law. All other moneys collected for breaches of such bond shall be distributed as other funds arising from the dispensary. Said bond shall be approved as other official bonds for the county.

County dispensers; how appointed.

Bond.

Suit may be brought on bond, by whom.

SEC. 7. There may be one or more county dispensers appointed for each county, the place of business of each of whom shall be designated by the county board, but the State board of control must give consent before more than one dispenser can be appointed in any county; and when the county board designates a locality for a dispensary, twenty days' public notice of which shall be given, it shall be competent for a majority of the voters of the township in which such dispensary is to be located to prevent its location in such township by signing a petition or petitions, addressed to the county board, requesting that no dispensary be established in that township. The county board may in its discretion locate a dispensary elsewhere than in an incorporated town in the counties of Beaufort and Horry, and no others, except such as are authorized by special act of the general assembly: *Provided, however*, That any county, town, or city wherein the sale of alcoholic liquors was prohibited by law prior to July 1, 1893, may secure the establishment of a dispensary within its borders in the following manner: Upon petition signed by one-fourth of the qualified voters of such county, town, or city, wishing a dispensary therein, being filed with the county supervisor or town or city council, respectively, they shall order an election, submitting the question of dispensary or no dispensary to the qualified voters of such county, town, or city, which election shall be conducted as other special elections; and if a majority of the ballots cast be found and declared to be for a dispensary, then a dispensary may be established in said county, town, or city: *Provided*, That dispensaries may be established in the counties of Williamsburg, Pickens, and Marion, and at Seneca and other towns now incorporated in Oconee County, without such election or compliance with the other requirements of this act: *Provided*, That nothing in this act contained shall be so construed as to prohibit persons resident in counties which shall elect to have no dispensary from procuring liquors from dispensaries in other counties, or county dispensers from shipping same to their places of residence under proper labels or certificates: *Provided further*, That nothing in this act shall be construed to repeal an act entitled "An act to allow the opening of dispensaries in Pickens and Oconee counties," approved December 18, 1894.

County dispensaries; how located.

How cities and towns may secure dispensaries.

SEC. 8. If the application for the position of dispenser be granted, the appointment shall not be made until the applicant shall make and subscribe an oath, before some officer authorized by law to administer oaths, which shall be indorsed upon the bond, to the effect and tenor following: "I, ——, do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will well and truly perform all and singular the conditions of the within bond, and keep and perform the trusts confided in me to purchase, keep, and sell intoxicating liquors. I will not sell, give, or furnish to any person any intoxicating liquors otherwise than is provided by law, and especially I will not sell or furnish intoxicating liquors to any minor, intoxicated person, or persons who are in the habit of becoming intoxicated; and I will make true, full, and accurate returns to the county board of control, on the first Monday of each month, of all certificates and requests made to or received by me, as required by the law, during the preceding month; and such returns show every sale and delivery of such liquors made by me, or for me, during the month embraced therein, and the true signature to every request received and granted; and such returns shall show all the liquors sold or delivered to any and every person as returned." Upon taking said oath and the oath required by the constitution, and filing bond as hereinbefore provided, the county board of control shall authorize him to keep and sell intoxicating liquors as in this act provided; and every appointment so made shall specify the building, giving the street and number or location, in which intoxicating liquors may be sold by virtue of the same, and the length of time in which the same shall be in force, which in no case shall exceed twelve months. Appointments made under this act shall be deemed trusts reposed in the recipients thereof, not as a matter of right, but of confidence, and may be revoked upon sufficient showing, by order of the county board of control; and upon the removal of any county dispenser, or upon the demand of the county board of control, he shall immediately turn over to the county board of control all liquors and other property in his possession belonging to the State or county. Said county board of control shall be charged with the duty of prosecuting the county dispenser or any of the employees who may violate any of the provisions of this act. On the death, resignation, or removal of a county dispenser, or expiration of his term of office, the county board shall appoint his successor.

Oath of dispensers.

Bond of dispensers.

County board to prosecute dispensers.

SEC. 9. The county board of control shall use as their office the office of the county supervisor of their county, and shall elect one of their number as chairman and a clerk of the said county board of control. The county board shall preserve as a part of the records and files of their office all petitions, bonds, and other papers pertaining to the appointment of dispensers and keep suitable books in which bonds shall be recorded. The books shall be furnished by the county like other public records. The county board of control shall designate or provide a suitable place in which to sell the liquors. The members of the county board of control shall meet once a month, or oftener, on the call of the chairman, and each member of the board shall receive a per diem of two dollars, and five cents mileage each way; but they shall not receive compensation for more than thirty days in any one year, except in the county of Charleston, where they shall not receive compensation for more than sixty days in any one year, and in Barnwell County not more than fifty days in any one year. They shall, upon the approval of the State board of control, employ such assistants for the county dispenser as may be necessary. The dispenser and his assistants shall receive such compensation as the State board of control may determine. All profits, after paying all expenses of the county dispensary, shall be paid, one-half to the county treasurer and one-half to municipal corporation in which it may be located, such settlements to be made quarterly: *Provided*, That if the authorities of any town or city, in the judgment of the State board of control, do not enforce this law, the State board may withhold the part going to the said town or city, and use it to pay State constables or else turn it into the county treasury. All moneys received by the county dispenser belonging to the State shall be forwarded on Monday of each week to the State treasurer, and at the same time the county dispenser shall forward to the State board of control a duplicate statement of the remittance so made to the State treasurer. On the same day of each week the county dispenser shall deposit with the county treasurer the portion of all the moneys received by him belonging to the county and to the municipal authorities in which the dispensary is located. The county treasurer shall give his receipt therefor and hold the same until the quarterly settlements heretofore provided for is had. The quarterly settlements herein provided for shall be made on the fourth Monday in the months of March, June, September, and December in each year. Such settlements shall be made in the presence of the county auditor, who shall make a memorandum of the items thereof and forward the same to the State board of control. The mayor or intendant of the city or town in which the dispensary is located may also extend such settlement: *Provided*, That in counties where dispensaries are established in other than incorporated cities or towns, the county shall get all profits that would otherwise go to such cities and towns: *Provided*, That in the county of Barnwell the clerk of the board of county commissioners shall be the clerk of the board of control.

Office of county board and clerk.

Records.

Meeting of county boards.

Compensation of dispensers.

Location of dispensaries in towns and cities.

Quarterly settlements.

SEC. 10. Before selling or delivering any intoxicating liquors to any person, a request must be presented to the county dispenser, printed or written in ink, dated of the true date, stating that he or she is of age, and the residence of the signer, for whom or whose use it is required, the quantity and kind required, and his or her true name; and the request shall be signed by the applicant in his own true name and signature, attested by the county dispenser or his clerk, who receives and files the requests. But the requests shall be refused, if the county dispenser filling it personally knows the person applying is a minor, that he is intoxicated, or that he is in the habit of using intoxicating liquors to an excess; or if the applicant is not so personally known to said county dispenser, before filling said order or delivering said liquor, he shall require the statement of a reliable and trustworthy person of good character and habits, known personally to him, that the applicant is not a minor and is not in the habit of using intoxicating liquors to excess.

Requests for liquor; how made and to whom refused.

SEC. 11. Request for purchase of liquor shall be made upon blanks furnished by the county auditor, in packages of one hundred each, to the county dispensers from time to time as the same shall be needed, and shall be numbered consecutively by the auditor. The blanks aforesaid shall be furnished to the county auditor by the State board of control, in uniform books like bank checks, and the date of delivery shall be indorsed by the county auditor on each book, and receipt taken therefor and preserved in his office. The dispenser shall preserve the application in the original form consecutively by the auditor. When return therefor is made, the county auditor shall indorse thereon the date of return, and file and preserve the same, to be used in the quarterly settlements between such dispenser and the county treasurer. All unused or mutilated blanks shall be returned or accounted for before other blanks are issued to such county dispenser.

Form of requests.

SEC. 12. On or before the 10th day of each month, each dispenser shall make full returns to the county auditors of all requests filled by him and his clerks during preceding month, upon blanks to be furnished by the State board of control for that purpose, and accompany the same with an oath, duly taken and subscribed before the county auditor or a notary public, which shall be in the following form, to wit: "I, ——, being duly sworn, state on oath that the requests for liquors herewith returned are all that were received and filled at my place of business under my permit, during the month of ——, 189—; that I have carefully preserved the same, and that they were filled up, signed, and attested at the date shown thereon, as provided by law; that said request was filled by delivering the quantity and kind of liquors required, and that no liquors have been sold or dispensed under my permit during said month, except as shown by the request herewith returned; and that I have faithfully observed and complied with the provisions of my bond and oath taken by me, thereon indorsed, and with all the laws relating to my duties in the premises."

Returns by dispensers.

SEC. 13. Upon failure of any dispenser to make returns to the auditor as herein required, it shall be the duty of said auditor to report such failure to the State board of control, and the said State board of control shall immediately order the county board to summon said delinquent dispenser to appear before them and show cause why his appointment should not be revoked. And if cause shall not be shown to the satisfaction of the county board of control, they shall immediately annul said appointment and give public notice thereof; and the circuit solicitor shall proceed to enforce the penalties prescribed in this act for such violation against said county dispensers at the next succeeding term of court in the county in which such appointment is held. And any dispenser who shall sell or dispose of any intoxicating liquors after his appointment shall have been revoked shall, upon conviction thereof, be fined not less than five hundred ($500) dollars and be imprisoned for six months. If any dispenser or his clerk shall procure any intoxicating liquors from any other person except the State commissioner, or if he or they, or any person or persons in his or their employ, or by his or their direction, shall sell, or offer for sale, any liquors other than such as have been furnished by the State commissioner, or shall adulterate, or cause to be adulterated, any intoxicating spirituous or malt liquors which he or they may keep for sale under this act, by mixing with some coloring matter, or any drug or ingredient whatever, or shall mix the same with other liquors of different kind or quality, or with water, or shall sell, or expose for sale, such liquors so adulterated, knowing it to be such, or shall change the label upon any box, bottle, or package, he or they shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and be fined in a sum of not less than $200, or imprisonment for not less than six months. If any

Enforcement of returns in case of failure.

Dispensers to sell no liquors except that furnished by State commissioner.

Penalty.

county dispenser shall misappropriate, misuse, or otherwise wrongfully dispose of any moneys or other property belonging to the State, county, or municipality, he shall, upon conviction, be punished as in case of breach of trust with fraudulent intent. Breach of trust to misappropriate money.

SEC. 14. That any county dispenser, who, in violation of his oath of office, sells or furnishes intoxicating liquors to any minor, intoxicated person, or person who is in the habit of becoming intoxicated, or fails to make full and accurate returns as required by law, showing the true signature to every request for liquor by him received and granted, or sells liquor to any person without first requiring the written requests therefor to be filled out and signed, as provided by law or the regulations of the State board of control, that on such information given by any person with sufficient evidence, it shall be the duty of the solicitor to bring suit in the name of the county for $200 damages on the bond of the said county dispenser against the principal and sureties of said bond for each of such violations, for which said principal and sureties shall be liable jointly and severally, together with all costs and judgments pertaining to the suit. And on judgment given against him, the said county dispenser shall be immediately deprived of his office as dispenser, and his principal and sureties aforesaid shall remain further liable, jointly and severally, to the extent of their bond, to all civil damages, costs, and judgments which may be obtained against the principal in any civil action brought by wife, child, parent, guardian, employee, or other person, under the provisions of the law: *Provided*, That if the said county dispenser can show to the satisfaction of a jury by way of defense that the said intoxicating liquor was obtained from him by the infant, intoxicated person, or persons in the habit of becoming intoxicated, by fraudulent and deceitful representations, the person making such fraudulent and deceitful representations shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and be fined in a sum of not less than $200, or imprisonment for not less than six months. Dispensers law liable to damages. Duty of solicitor to bring action. Penalty for making fraudulent representations to obtain liquor.

SEC. 15. No person, firm, association, or corporation shall manufacture for sale, or keep for sale, exchange, barter, or dispense any liquors containing alcohol for any purpose whatsoever, otherwise than is provided in this act. Any person, firm, association, or corporation desiring or intending to manufacture or distill any liquors containing alcohol within this State shall first obtain from the State board of control a permit or license so to do. In the case of distillers, such permit or license shall not be granted or renewed except on petition signed in person by a majority of the resident freeholders in the city, town, or township in which it is proposed to locate distillery. And it shall be unlawful for any such person, firm, association, or corporation to manufacture or distill any liquors containing alcohol within this State without having such permit or license. Any violation of the terms of the permit or license shall authorize and warrant the seizure of the product on hand at any distillery or place where liquors containing alcohol are manufactured: *Provided*, The United States has no lien or claim upon the same. And in the application for a permit or license to manufacture liquors containing alcohol, the applicant shall give the State full power, upon any violation of this act, to seize and take possession of any product on hand at the distillery or place where such applicant shall manufacture such liquors, and shall authorize the State to pay the United States Government the tax upon the same if unpaid, and to dispose thereof as provided herein for contraband goods. Every package, barrel, or bottle of such liquor shipped beyond the limits of this State shall have thereon the certificate of the State board of control allowing same, otherwise it shall be liable to confiscation, and the railroad carrying it shall be punished as in section 3: *And provided*, That any person shall have the right to make wine for his or her own use from grapes or other fruits. The inspector appointed by the State board of control, as herein provided, shall have the right to enter and examine, at any and all times not forbidden by the United States laws, any distillery, brewery, or place where liquors containing alcohol is manufactured within this State. Any manufacturer, distiller, or brewer who may refuse to allow the inspector or constable to enter and examine his place of business and its appurtenances at such times as the inspector or constable may deem proper shall forfeit his permit or license. Dispensers alone may sell. Permit to distillers. Liquor shipped out of State to have certificate attached. Right to make wine for use. Inspector.

SEC. 16. Every dispenser shall keep a strict account of all liquors received by him from the State commissioner, in a book kept for that purpose, which shall be subject at all times to the inspection of the circuit solicitor, any peace officer or grand juror of the county, or of any other citizen, and such book shall show the amount and kind of liquors procured, the date of receipt and amount sold, and the amount on hand of each kind for each month. Such book shall be produced by the party keeping the same, to be used as evidence on trial of any prosecution against him, on notice duly served that the same will be required as evidence. Account book of dispenser.

SEC. 17. The payment of the United States special tax as a liquor seller, or notice of any kind in any place of resort, or in any store or shop, indicating that alcoholic liquors are there sold, kept, or given away, shall be held to be prima facie evidence that the person or persons paying said tax and the parties displaying such notices are acting in violation of this act; and unless said person or parties are selling under appointment as prescribed by this act, they shall be punished by a fine of not less than $100 nor more than $500, or by imprisonment for a term of not less than three months nor more than twelve months. Conviction in the United States courts of illicit sales of liquors shall be taken as prima facie evidence of violation of the provisions of this act, and any distiller or manufacturer of liquors containing alcohol so convicted in the United States courts shall, by reason of conviction, forfeit the permit or license granted him by the State board of control, in addition to the other penalties herein provided. United States special tax prima facie evidence of illegal sales.

SEC. 18. Licensed druggists conducting drug stores and manufacturers of proprietary medicines are hereby authorized to purchase of dispensers of the counties of their residence intoxicating liquors (not including malt) for the purpose of compounding medicines, tinctures, and extracts that can not be used as a beverage. The dispenser shall not charge such licensed druggist more than ten per cent net profits for liquors so sold. Such purchaser shall keep a record of the uses to which the same are devoted, giving the kind and quantity so used, and quarterly they shall make and file with the county auditor and with the county board of control sworn reports, giving a full and true statement of the quantity and kinds of such liquors purchased and used, the uses to which the same have been devoted, and giving the name of the dispenser from whom the same was purchased, and the dates and quantities so purchased, together with an invoice of each kind still in stock and kept for such compoundings. If said licensed druggist shall sell, barter, give away, or exchange, or in any manner dispose of said liquors for any purpose other than authorized by this section, he shall, upon conviction, forfeit his license, and be liable to all penalties, prosecutions, and proceedings at law and in equity provided against persons selling without authority, and upon such conviction the clerk of the court shall, within ten days after such judgment or order, transmit to the board of pharmaceutical examiners the certified record thereof, upon receipt of which the said board shall strike the name of the said druggist from the list of pharmacists and revoke his certificate: *Provided*, That nothing herein contained shall be construed to authorize the manufacture or sale of any preparation or compound under any name, form, or device which may be used as a beverage which is intoxicating in its character: *And provided further*, That the State commissioner shall be authorized to sell to manufacturing chemists and wholesale druggists alcohol by the barrel at not exceeding ten per cent above the net cost. Ten per cent net profit charged. Penalty for selling, etc., by druggist. Sell alcohol by barrel.

SEC. 19. If any person shall make any false or fictitious signature, or sign any name other than his or her own to any paper required to be signed by this act, without being authorized to do so, or make any false statement in any paper, request, or application signed to procure liquor under this act, the person so offending shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shall be punished by a fine of not more than $25 or be imprisoned not more than thirty days. False signatures, statements, etc. Penalty.

SEC. 20. If any dispenser or his clerk shall make false oath touching any matter required to be sworn to under the provisions of this act, the person so offending shall, upon conviction, be punished as provided by law for perjury. If any county dispenser shall procure any intoxicating liquors from any other person than the State commissioner, or make any false return to the county auditor, or use any request for liquors for more than one sale, in any such case he shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction be punished by a fine of $500 or six months' imprisonment. False oaths and illegal acts of dispensers.

SEC. 21. Every person who shall, directly or indirectly, keep or maintain by himself, or by associating or combining with others, or who shall in any manner aid, assist, or abet in keeping or maintaining any clubroom or other place in which any intoxicating liquors are received or kept for use, barter, or sale as a beverage, or for distribution or division among the members of any club or association by any means whatever, and every person who shall receive, barter, sell, assist, or abet another in receiving, bartering, or selling any alcoholic liquors so received or kept, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof, shall be punished by a fine of not less than $100 nor more than $500, or by imprisonment for a term not less than three months nor more than twelve months: *Provided*, That the State board of control shall have the power, upon a proper showing, and under such rules as they may adopt, to exempt hotels where tourists or health seekers resort from being considered nuisances or as violating this act by reason of any manager of such hotels to dispensing liquors bought from the dispensary, by the bottle, either night or day; but before any such exemption shall be granted the State board of control shall require the manager of such hotel to give a good and sufficient bond in the penal sum of $3,000, conditioned for the observance of all the rules, regulations, and restrictions prescribed and imposed by the said board, and with all the requirements of this act, and it shall be lawful for any constable or officer thus employed under this act to enter such hotel and search it for contraband liquors at any time, day or night, without a warrant. Liquor at clubs prohibited. Provisions as to hotels. May search hotels.

SEC. 22. All places where alcoholic liquors are manufactured, sold, bartered, or given away in violation of this act, or where persons are permitted to resort for the purpose of drinking alcoholic liquors as a beverage, or where alcoholic liquors are kept for sale, barter, or delivery in violation of this act, are hereby declared to be common nuisances, and any person may go before any magistrate in the county and swear out an arrest warrant on personal knowledge or on information and belief, charging said nuisance, giving the names of witnesses against the keeper or manager of such place and his aids and assistants, if any, and such magistrate shall direct such arrest warrant either to the sheriff of the county or to any special constable, commanding said defendant to be arrested and brought before him to be dealt with according to law, and shall issue a search warrant in which the premises in question shall be particularly described, commanding such sheriff or constable to thoroughly search the premises in question and to seize all alcoholic liquors found thereon and dispose of them as provided in section 31, and to seize all vessels, bar fixtures, screens, bottles, glasses, and appurtenances apparently used, or suitable for use, in retailing liquors, to make a complete inventory thereof, and deposit the same with the sheriff. That under the arrest warrant the defendant shall be arrested and brought before such magistrate, and the case shall be disposed of as in case of other crimes beyond his jurisdiction, except that when he commits or binds over the parties for trial to the next term of court of general sessions for the county, he shall make out every paper in the case in duplicate and file one with the clerk of the court for the county, and immediately transmit the other to the solicitor of the circuit, whereupon said solicitor shall at once apply to any circuit judge at chambers within that circuit, or to the nearest circuit judge, if there be none in that circuit, for an order restraining the defendants, their servants or agents, from Liquor returned, sorts declared to be nuisances. Restraining order.

keeping, receiving, bartering, selling, or giving away any alcoholic liquors until the further order of the court. Such circuit judge is hereby authorized, empowered, and required to grant the said restraining order without requiring a bond or undertaking, upon the hearing or receipt by him of said papers from the court of the said magistrate by the hands of the solicitor; and any violation of said restraining order before the trial of the case shall be deemed a contempt of court, and punished as such by said judge or court, or any other circuit judge, as for the violation of an order of an injunction. Upon conviction of said defendants of maintaining said nuisance at the trial, they, or any of them, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, punishable by imprisonment in the county jail for a term of not less than three months, or a fine of not less than $200, or both, in the discretion of the court, and the restraining order shall be made perpetual. The articles covered by the inventory, which were retained by the sheriff, shall be forfeited to the State and sold, and the net proceeds sent to the State treasurer, and the sheriff shall forthwith proceed to dispose of the alcoholic liquors covered by said inventory, as provided for in this act, as when other liquors are seized.

Violation of order a contempt.

Penalty.

Liquors seized as hereinbefore provided, and the vessels containing them, shall not be taken from the custody of the officers in possession of the same by any writ of replevin or other process while the proceedings herein provided are pending.

No suit shall lie for damages alleged to arise by seizure and detention of liquors under this act. Any person violating the terms of any restraining order granted in such proceedings shall be punished for contempt by a fine of not less than $200 nor more than $1,000, and by imprisonment not less than ninety days nor more than one year.

In contempt proceedings arising out of the violation of any injunction granted under the provisions of this act the court, or, in vacation, any judge thereof, shall have power to try summarily and punish the party or parties guilty, as required by law. The affidavits upon which the attachment for contempt issues shall make a prima facie case for the State. At the hearing upon the charge of contempt evidence may be oral or in the form of affidavits, or both.

The defendant shall not necessarily be discharged upon his denial of the fact stated in the moving papers.

The clerk of court shall, upon the application of either party, issue subpœnas for witnesses, and, except as above set forth, the practice in such contempt proceedings shall conform as nearly as may to the practice in the court of common pleas.

That when any solicitor neglects or refuses to perform any duty, or to take any steps required of him by any of the provisions of the preceding section, or by any of the provisions of this act, the attorney-general, on his own motion or by request of the governor, shall in person or by his assistant, proceed to the locality and perform such neglected duty, and take such steps as are necessary in the place of such solicitor, and at his discretion to cause a prosecution to be instituted, not only in the matter so neglected, but also a prosecution against the solicitor for malfeasance or misfeasance in office, or for official misconduct, or for other charges justified by facts, and to pursue the prosecution to the extent of a conviction and dismissal from office of any such solicitor.

Duty of attorney-general when solicitor neglects his duty.

And in such event the attorney-general shall be, and is hereby, authorized and empowered to appoint one or more additional assistants, who shall each have while actually employed the same compensation, to be paid from the litigation fund of the attorney-general. Any duty herein imposed upon a solicitor may be performed with equal force and effect by the attorney-general, or other person authorized by him to perform such duty.

SEC. 23. The manager of every registered distillery of liquor in this State shall report quarterly to the State board of control, showing the number of gallons of each kind of liquor on hand, manufactured, or disposed of during the quarter; and if the said report fail to correspond with the return of said distiller to the United States revenue collector of this State, or it is shown that said manager has disposed of liquor contrary to this act, said distillery shall be deemed to be a common nuisance, and the said manager and his aiders and assistants and the premises shall be proceeded against as in this act provided as to places where liquors are sold contrary to this act.

Distillers to report quarterly to State board.

SEC. 24. In all places where liquors are unlawfully kept or stored, the same not being kept in an open house or exposed to view, and a search being necessary, upon affidavit to that effect, or on information and belief that contraband liquor is in such a place, a search warrant may be issued by a justice, judge, or magistrate, or mayor or intendant of a city or town, to whom application is made, empowering a constable, or any person who may be deputized, to enter the said place by daytime or in the nighttime, and to search and examine the said premises for the purpose of seizing the said contraband liquors therein concealed, kept, or stored, which said liquor when so seized shall be disposed of as hereinafter provided.

Search warrant; by whom issued; disposition of liquor seized.

SEC. 25. That any of the liquors set forth in section 1 of this act which are contraband may be seized and taken without warrant by any constable, sheriff, or policeman, while in transit or after arrival, whether in possession of a common carrier, depot agent, express agent, private person, firm, corporation, or association, and reported to the State commissioner at once, who shall dispose of the same as hereinafter provided: *Provided*, That liquors purchased outside the State, owned and conveyed as personal baggage, shall be exempt from seizure when the quantity does not exceed one gallon.

When seizures may be made without warrant.

SEC. 26. That the possession of said illicit liquors is hereby prohibited and declared unlawful, and any obligation, note of indebtedness, contracted in their sale or transportation is declared to be absolutely null and void, nor shall any action or suit for the recovery of the same be entertained in any court in this State.

Possession of illicit liquors prohibited.

SEC. 27. That the proceedings against liquor so illegally kept, stored, sold, delivered, elsewhere than at his or her residence, transported or being transported, shall be considered a proceeding in rem, unless otherwise herein provided.

Proceedings in rem.

SEC. 28. That the carriage, transportation, possession, removal, sale, delivery, or acceptance of any of the said liquors or liquids in any package, cask, jug, box, or other package, under any other than the proper name or brand known to the trade as designating the kind and quality of the contents of the casks, packages, or boxes containing the same, or the causing of such carriage, transportation, possession, removal, sale, delivery, or acceptance, shall work the forfeiture of said liquors or liquids, and casks or packages, and the person or persons so offending, knowingly, be subject to pay a fine of not less than $100, nor more than $500, or imprisonment for the term of not less than six months, nor more than one year, and the wrongful name, address, mark, stamp, or style on such liquor when seized shall be considered evidence prima facie of guilt. The books and way bills of the common carrier may be examined to trace said liquors to the shipper, who shall be liable, upon conviction, in a like penalty.

Transportation or possession of falsely branded packages.

SEC. 29. That all constables, deputy constables, sheriffs, magistrates, or municipal policemen shall have the right, power, and authority, and it shall be their duty, whenever they are informed or suspect that any such suspicious package in possession of a common carrier contains alcoholic liquors or liquids, to detain the same for examination for the term of twenty-four hours, without any warrant or process whatever. Any constable, deputy constable, sheriff, or magistrate who shall neglect or refuse to perform the duties required by this act shall be subject to suspension by the governor. Any sheriff or magistrate seizing any alcoholic liquors or liquids, as required by this section, shall be paid one-half the value of said liquors or liquids so soon as the same shall have been received at the State dispensary, approved, and disposed of according to law.

Powers of constables to detain suspicious packages.

SEC. 30. That any interference by any person with, obstruction or resistance of, or abusive language to, any officer or person in the discharge of the duties herein enjoined, or the use of abusive language by any such officer or person to any other person or persons, shall be deemed a misdemeanor, and the person or persons so offending shall, upon conviction, be punished by a fine of not less that $100 nor more than $500, or imprisoned for a term of not less than three months nor more than twelve months.

Interference with officers forbidden.

SEC. 31. In all cases of seizure of any goods, wares, merchandise, or any other property, hereafter or heretofore made as being subject to forfeiture under any provisions of this act or any former act, which, in the opinion of the officer or person making the seizure, are of the appraised value of fifty dollars or more, the said officer or person shall proceed as follows: First. He shall cause a list containing a particular description of the goods, wares, or merchandise seized to be prepared in duplicate, and an appraisement thereof to be made by three sworn appraisers to be selected by him, who shall be respectable and disinterested citizens of the State of South Carolina, residing within the county wherein the seizure was made. Said list and appraisement shall be properly attested by the said officer or person and the said appraisers, for which service each of the said appraisers shall be allowed the sum of one dollar per day, not exceeding five days, to be paid by the State board of control. Second. If the said goods are believed by the officer making the seizure to be of less value than fifty dollars, no appraisement shall be made. The said officer or person shall proceed to publish a notice for three weeks, in writing, at three places in the county where the seizure was made, describing the articles and stating the time and place and cause of their seizure, and requiring any person claiming them to appear and make such claim within thirty days from the date of the first publication of such notice. Third. Any person claiming the liquors or other property so seized as contraband within the time specified in the notice may file with the State board of control a claim stating his interest in the articles seized, and may execute a bond to the State board of control, in the penal sum of $500, with sureties, to be approved by the said State board of control, conditioned that in the case of condemnation of the articles so seized the obligors shall pay all the costs and expenses of the proceedings to obtain such condemnation; and upon the delivery of such bonds to the State board of control, he shall transmit the same with the duplicate list or description of the goods seized to the solicitor of the circuit in which such seizure was made, and the said solicitor shall prosecute the case to secure the forfeiture of said contraband liquors or liquids in the court having jurisdiction. Fourth. If no claim is interposed and no bond given within the time above specified, such liquors shall be forfeited without further proceedings, and the State commissioner shall have the said liquors tested by the State chemist, and, if pure, shall furnish the same through the State dispensary. If not pure, the same shall be destroyed by the chemist of the South Carolina College, who shall make a report to the State board of control of the amount and kinds of liquors so destroyed: *Provided*, That in seizures in quantities less in value than fifty dollars of such illicit liquors or liquids, the same may be advertised with other quantities at Columbia by the State board of control, and disposed of as hereinbefore provided: *Provided further*, That the claimants of such liquors may give bond in $100 as when the value is fifty dollars or over, and shall bear the burden of showing before a magistrate that they have complied with the law, and that the liquor is not liable to seizure.

Proceedings when goods or personal property is seized.

Bond to be given by claimant.

Liquors forfeited.

When value $50 or under.

SEC. 32. That all fermented, distilled, or other liquors or liquids containing alcohol, transported into this State, or remaining herein for use, sale, consumption, storage, or other disposition, shall, upon introduction and arrival in this State, be subject to the operation and effect of this law to the same extent and in the same manner as though such liquors or liquids had been produced in this State.

Liquors on arrival in the State to be subject to its laws.

SEC. 33. That no person, except as provided in this act, shall bring into this State, or transport from place to place within this State, by wagon, cart, or other vehicle, or by any other means or mode of carriage, any liquor or liquids containing alcohol, under a penalty of $100, or imprisonment for thirty days, for each offense, upon conviction thereof, as for a misdemeanor. Any servant, agent, or employee of any

Penalty for transporting liquors in vehicles, except as herein provided.

persons, corporations, or associations doing business in this State as a common carrier, or any person whatever (except an officer seizing or examining the same), who shall remove any intoxicating liquors from any railroad car, vessel, or other vehicle of transportation, at any place other than the usual and established stations, wharves, depots, or places of business of such common carriers within some incorporated city or town where there is a dispensary, or who shall aid in or consent to such removal, or attempt to remove, shall, upon conviction, be sentenced to pay a fine of not less than $100 nor more than $500, or imprisonment for a term of not less than three months nor more than twelve months: *Provided*, That said penalty shall not apply to any liquor in transit when changed from car to car to facilitate transportation across the State: *Provided*, That this section does not apply to liquors purchased from a dispensary, and bearing the proper label or certificate. All liquors in this State, except dispensary liquors and those passing through this State, consigned to points beyond this State, shall be deemed contraband, and may be seized in transit without warrant. And any steamboat, sailing vessel, railroad, express company, or other common carrier transporting or bringing into this State, for sale or use therein, except by the dispensary, shall suffer a penalty of $500 and costs for each offense, to be recovered by the solicitor of the circuit or the attorney-general by an action brought therefor in any court of competent jurisdiction. The State constable, sheriff, municipal police, or any lawful constable may enter any railroad car, or express car, or depot, or steamboat, or other vessel, without warrant, and make search for such contraband liquors, and may examine the waybills and freight books of said common carriers, and anyone interfering with or resisting such officer shall be punished by a fine of not less than $100 nor more than $500, or imprisonment for a term of not less than three months nor more than twelve months.

Liquors in transit.

Officer may enter and search cars.

SEC. 34. That any person detected openly or in the act of violating any of the provisions of this act shall be liable to arrest without warrant: *Provided*, A warrant shall be procured within a reasonable time thereafter.

Arrest of open violators.

SEC. 35. That in case of conviction of violations of any of the sections of this act where punishment is not especially provided for, the person or persons or corporations so convicted shall be punished in the discretion of the court trying the same. All alcoholic liquors, other than domestic wines, which do not have on the packages in which they are contained the label and certificates going to show that they have been tested by the chemist and purchased from a State officer authorized to sell them are hereby declared contraband, and on seizure will be forfeited to the State, as provided in section 31: *Provided*, That this section shall not apply to liquor held by the owners of registered stills in bonded warehouses. Persons having liquor which they wish to keep for their own use may throw the protection of the law around the same by furnishing an inventory of the quantity and kinds to the State commissioner and applying for certificates to affix thereto.

Punishment for violation of forbidden acts.

Protection may be had for liquor stored.

Any person affixing, or causing to be affixed, to any package containing alcoholic liquor, any imitation stamp or other printed or engraved label or device than those furnished by the State board of control, shall, for each offense, be liable to a penalty of ten days' imprisonment or $25 fine.

Imitation stamps prohibited.

SEC. 36. Every person who dispossesses or rescues from a constable or other officer, or attempts so to do, any alcoholic liquor taken or detained by such officer charged with the enforcement of this law, shall, upon conviction, be imprisoned not less than three months nor more than twelve months, or pay a fine of not less than $100 nor more than $500.

Rescue from officer.

SEC. 37. Any person handling contraband liquor in the nighttime, or delivering the same, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and on conviction shall be punished by imprisonment for not less than three months nor more than twelve months, or by a fine of not less than $100 nor more than $500.

Handling contraband liquor at night.

SEC. 38. Any wagon, cart, boat, or any other conveyance, together with horses, mules, or other animal or animals, and harness accompanying the same, transporting liquors at night, other than regular passenger or freight steamers and railway cars, shall be liable to seizure and confiscation, and to that end the officer shall cause the same to be duly advertised and sold, and the proceeds sent to the State treasurer.

Transportation by vehicle at night the same.

SEC. 39. Every dispenser, when he sells a package containing liquor, shall put a cross mark in ink on the label or certificate thereon, extending from the top to the bottom and from side to side. When any liquor is seized because it has not the necessary certificates and labels required by this act, the burden of proof shall be upon the claimant of said spirits to show that no fraud has been committed and that the whisky is not contraband.

Labels to be canceled by dispenser.

SEC. 40. That any railroad, steamboat, express company, or other common carrier shall incur a penalty of treble the invoice price of any alcoholic liquors lost or stolen in transit to or from the dispensary, whether shipped as released or not, such penalty to be recovered by action in any court of competent jurisdiction.

Common carrier liable to treble value of goods lost.

SEC. 41. It shall be the duty of sheriffs, deputy sheriffs, and constables, having notice of the violation of any of the provisions of this act, to notify the circuit solicitor of the fact of such violation, and to furnish him the name of any witness within their knowledge by whom such violation can be proven. If any such officer or solicitor shall wilfully fail to comply with the provisions of this section, he shall, upon conviction, be fined in a sum not less than $100 nor more than $500, and such conviction shall work a forfeiture of the office held by such person; and the court before whom such conviction is had shall, in addition to the imposition of the fine aforesaid, order and adjudge the forfeiture of his said office.

Officers to notify solicitors.

SEC. 42. That in any indictment for the sale of intoxicating liquors it shall be competent to charge a series of sales on the same or on divers days up to the finding of the true bill to one person, or to different persons, naming one and stating the others to be unknown, in the same court, as was formerly the practice in indictments for retailing liquor without license in this State, and the prosecuting officer shall not be required to elect which particular sale he will rely on, but may offer proof of all, and proof of any one or of all the sales will sustain a verdict: *Provided*, Upon a trial and conviction or acquittal, no other bill of indictment will lie for any sale occurring prior to bill found on the case tried, and the punishment shall be in such case as for one sale: *Provided further*, That this section shall not be so construed as to prevent the prosecuting officer from giving out several bills of indictment for several sales in the first instance, if he thinks best to do so.

Competent to charge divers or different days.

SEC. 43. That whenever in this act it is provided that process shall issue upon an affidavit based on information and belief, the affidavit shall contain a statement setting forth the sources of information, the facts, and grounds of belief upon which the affiant bases his belief: *Provided*, That it shall not be necessary to set forth the sources of information, the facts and grounds of belief, in the affidavit upon which a warrant of arrest shall issue, but it shall only be necessary in cases of search warrants.

Affidavits may be on information and belief.

SEC. 44. That Chapter I, Title VII, of the Code of Civil Procedure of this State, entitled "Of provisional remedies in civil actions," shall not apply to any officer or person having duties to perform under this act, and in no case shall an action lie against any such officer or person for damages to person or property as provided in said chapter.

Actions against officers acting under this law.

SEC. 45. The governor shall have authority to appoint one or more State constables at a salary of not more than $2 per day and such expenses as the governor may deem proper when on duty, and two chief constables at not more than $3 each per day and such expenses as the governor may deem proper, and also one or more detectives at reasonable compensation, to see that this act is enforced, the same to be paid from the dispensary fund in the same manner as the salary of the State commissioner.

Governor may appoint State constables; pay of.

SEC. 46. That this act shall be a public act, and shall go into effect immediately upon its approval by the governor, and that all acts or parts of acts inconsistent with this act be, and are hereby, repealed.

A public act.

SEC. 47. The State board of control elected under this act shall not take charge until April 1, 1896.

State board of control goes into office.

Approved March 5, 1897.

Mr. DAVIS and others addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair feels obliged to recognise the Senator from Pennsylvania.

Mr. QUAY. I intended to ask unanimous consent to proceed to the consideration of a public-building bill, but as I understand the Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON] desires to proceed with the tariff bill, I will not make the request.

STENOGRAPHER FOR COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS.

Mr. DAVIS submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That the Committee on Foreign Relations be authorized to employ a stenographer, who shall be paid at the rate of $100 a month.

DUTIES ON WOOL.

Mr. ALLISON. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of House bill 379.

Mr. MANTLE. If the Senator from Iowa will yield to me just a moment to make an announcement, I desire to state that I should like to address the Senate some morning this week, say on Friday morning, at the conclusion of the routine business, upon the woolen schedule of the proposed tariff law. I do not understand that it is essential or necessary that I should wait in this matter until that schedule of the bill is reached. I desire to submit some statistics in reference to the whole question, and perhaps it would be better that I should submit my remarks in advance, before that schedule is reached for consideration.

THE TARIFF BILL.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Iowa moves that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the bill known as the tariff bill.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 379) to provide revenue for the Government and to encourage the industries of the United States.

Mr. STEWART. Before we proceed further with the bill, I should like to give notice of an amendment which I shall propose. I ask that it be read at the desk, because I want to get it before the Senate for consideration. It is quite an important matter.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Nevada asks unanimous consent that the amendment which he proposes at some stage of the proceedings to offer to the bill may be read. Is there objection? The Chair hears none. The Secretary will read the amendment.

The Secretary read as follows:

First. It shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to maintain an available reserve in the Treasury of as nearly as practicable one hundred and twenty-five millions, all forms of available money in the Treasury receivable for any public dues to be considered as belonging to such reserve.

Second. Whenever there shall be in the Treasury a surplus of five millions over the amount of one hundred and twenty-five millions fixed as the normal Treasury balance, it shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to purchase and retire bonds of the United States to the amount which can be purchased with the surplus in the Treasury above one hundred and twenty-five millions, such purchases to be made under regulations similar to those heretofore adopted and employed for the purchase of United States bonds from surplus revenue.

Third. Whenever there shall be a deficiency in the reserve of one hundred and twenty-five millions, the Secretary of the Treasury shall have authority, in his discretion, to issue and cover into the Treasury a sufficient amount of United States notes to make good the deficiency, which notes shall be in the same form and have the same legal-tender qualities in all respects as the United States notes now outstanding, and whenever there shall be a surplus in the Treasury over the one hundred and twenty-five millions reserve, such surplus shall be applied to the redemption, retirement, and cancellation of an amount of United States notes equal to the amount theretofore issued under the provisions of this act, but such redemption of United States notes shall not in any way interfere with the purchase of outstanding United States bonds when there is a surplus of five millions in the Treasury above the one hundred and twenty-five millions of reserve, as hereinbefore required.

Mr. STEWART. Mr. President, personally I would prefer the amendment of which I gave notice some days ago; but inasmuch as that amendment involves some questions in connection with the currency, and perhaps might involve collaterally the silver question, I have thought best to strip it of everything but the main question, which is a regulation of the reserve in the Treasury.

The amendment provides that there shall be kept, as nearly as practicable, $125,000,000 reserve, which shall consist of all kinds of money, in the Treasury receivable for any public dues. It will not be questioned but that that is an ample reserve, probably very much too large; but inasmuch as there might be some question in regard to the reserve already in existence, it may be well to fix that amount.

The amount now in the Treasury is about $230,000,000. That is too much idle money in the Treasury. It is injurious in many ways to pile up a surplus of this kind. It leads to extravagance in appropriations, and it takes the money from circulation and deprives the Government of the interest on that money. So no one can contend for a large idle reserve. This provides against that. It also puts it in the power of the Secretary of the Treasury, if there should be a deficiency in the reserve, or when the reserve should fall below $125,000,000, in his discretion, to issue Treasury notes to make up the deficiency, or so much of it as he shall deem necessary.

But the Secretary is required, whenever there is a surplus in the Treasury, to retire an amount of Treasury notes equal to the notes theretofore issued under this act, so that there shall be no permanent increase of our paper circulation. It is only to be temporary to bridge over an emergency, and it is left to his discretion whether to issue any notes or not. But when the surplus over $125,000,000 amounts to $5,000,000, it is his duty in all cases to invest the same in United States bonds and retire them and save interest.

I introduce the amendment and call attention to it at this time because the country has been largely excited over the question which was raised by an interview with Mr. DINGLEY, the chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means in the other House. It was attributed to him that he stated the object of the bill was to accumulate revenue and keep it in the Treasury and thereby retire the greenbacks. I understand that he claims he did not make any such statement. He has qualified it, at all events, and it has been qualified by a great many. Such a scheme has been opposed almost universally.

Still there is an anxiety with regard to it, and as there is a possibility that a large revenue will come into the Treasury under this bill, Senators in voting for the bill or in voting upon amendments and in considering the bill will feel embarrassed lest there might a large surplus come into the Treasury and be retained there, as $100,000,000 or more is unnecessarily retained there now. That would be a calamity; and to avoid it and make action on this bill perfectly free, I shall ask for the adoption of an amendment of this kind, which will secure a reserve as large as any man's conscience ought to allow him to ask, and at the same time will place it in the power of the Secretary, if there should be a temporary deficiency, to supply that deficiency by a temporary issue of Treasury notes. A temporary loan of that kind, to be retired as soon as the revenues of the Government come in to retire it, has been the practice of the Government since its foundation, it being his duty to retire a like amount as soon as there is a surplus revenue. In that way we never will be caught without funds. It will be always in the power of the Secretary of the Treasury to provide funds until Congress shall levy more taxes.

It seems to me that we should have a definite understanding about this matter before the tariff bill is passed and before the important amendments which involve large revenues are acted upon, so that Senators will not be embarrassed with regard to voting upon questions, fearing that there may be a large reserve which would lie in the Treasury, where a large amount is now lying, to the detriment of the community.

I hope the amendment will be considered on its merits. If any Senator can suggest that it interferes with any theory that he has on the money question, I should like to hear the suggestion. I have tried to avoid all interference with the gold and the silver question and come right down to the question of reserve, whether we should retire our present circulation by allowing it to lie idle in the Treasury. It is to meet that issue that I have offered the amendment.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The reading of the bill will be proceeded with.

The Secretary resumed the reading of the bill at "Schedule C.—Metals and manufactures of," on page 31.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 118, page 31, line 24, after the word "ore," to strike out "and" and insert "also;" so as to make the paragraph read:

SCHEDULE C.—METALS AND MANUFACTURES OF.

118. Iron ore, including manganiferous iron ore, also the dross or residuum from burnt pyrites, 40 cents per ton: *Provided*, That in levying and collecting the duty on iron ore no deduction shall be made from the weight of the ore on account of moisture which may be chemically or physically combined therewith.

Mr. QUAY. I will be glad if the committee will allow that paragraph to go over.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection to the paragraph being passed over for the present? The Chair hears no objection, and the paragraph will be passed over.

The Secretary read the next paragraph, as follows:

119. Iron in pigs, iron kentledge, spiegeleisen, ferro-manganese, ferro-silicon, wrought and cast scrap iron, and scrap steel, $4 per ton; but nothing shall be deemed scrap iron or scrap steel except waste or refuse iron or steel fit only to be remanufactured.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 120, page 32, line 10, after the word "iron," to insert "square iron;" and in line 13, after the word "diameter," to strike out "and square iron not specially provided for in this act;" so as to make the paragraph read:

120. Bar iron, square iron, rolled or hammered, comprising flats, not less than 1 inch wide nor less than three-eighths of 1 inch thick, round iron not less than seven-sixteenths of 1 inch in diameter, six-tenths of 1 cent per pound.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The rates proposed by the House bill and concurred in by the Senate committee are the same as the rates in the Wilson bill. There is no proposed amendment that I see except formal amendments that go along through these items. At the same time it seems to me proper that the Senate should not lose sight of the facts connected with this matter.

It appears to me that there can be no occasion for making a pretense of putting a protective tariff on these paragraphs which is absolutely inoperative, which accomplishes nothing. The trade is in the hands of the American people. We to-day are the largest producers of pig iron in the world. We are exporting pig iron, steel billets, and iron rails in open competition with the balance of the world.

The statement was made, I remember, some years ago that pig iron could be produced at Birmingham, Ala., at somewhere between five and six dollars a ton; that they were selling iron at $8.50 a ton; and that iron of the same character was sold on the other side at a considerably larger sum.

I have collected together some statistics and facts bearing on this matter that I propose to present to the Senate without taking the time to make an argument. It is important that these facts should be known to illustrate the absurdity of proposing to keep up taxes which amount absolutely to nothing.

I hold in my hand a statement as to the number of tons of crude manufactures of iron and steel that have been exported from the United States within the last few months. It is a very striking statement. There was of pig iron exported from the United States last July 3,023 tons; in August, 2,001 tons; in September, 6,804 tons; in October, 8,063 tons; in November, 8,755 tons; in December, 17,335 tons; in January of this year, 10,191 tons; in February of this year, 15,971 tons; in March of this year, 21,280 tons, making a total from last July until the end of March of 94,423 tons of pig iron exported from the United States, at an average price of $14.37 a ton.

There were imported into the United States in the same time 19,039 tons, while we exported 94,423 tons. As I have said, the average price of the pig iron exported was $14.37 a ton, and the average price of that which we imported was $22.84 a ton, showing that it was only a small quantity of high-priced and high-class iron that was imported into this country for special purposes because it could not be bought here.

What, then, is the use, Mr. President, of us being guilty of this piece of mummery of putting a tax on pig iron to prevent the competition of outside pig-iron producers?

Of bar iron we exported in last July 200¼ tons; in August, 126¼ tons; in September, 199¼ tons. I will not read the statement by the month, but the total export from July of last year until the end of March was 2,078 tons, at an average cost of $39.56 per ton, and we imported 11,775 tons, at a cost of $43.75 a ton, showing again what I called the attention of the Senate to in the first instance, that it was a higher rate of goods and a more expensive

character of goods that were imported; and yet the characteristic running all through this tariff bill, from one end of it to the other, is to have the highest possible rates of taxation on the lowest and cheapest class of goods and the lowest rates on the highest class of goods.

Of band, scroll, and hoop ingots, bars, etc., of steel—without reading the monthly shipments all through—there were 26,995 tons exported, worth on an average $27.90 per ton, while we imported 12,621 tons, at an average cost of $38.38 per ton, against $27.10 per ton for what we exported. Of nails we shipped abroad during the nine months I have named 11,126 tons and imported none—not a single dollar's worth.

Of iron plates we shipped 1,347 tons, and of steel plates 2,010 tons, and imported 3,721 tons of both.

Of wire we exported 34,852 tons, at an average cost of $44.25, and we imported 2,329 tons, at an average cost of $131.50.

Of steel rails we exported in July last 4,962 tons; in August, 11,750 tons; in September, 17,034 tons; in October, 4,692 tons; in November, 6,045 tons; in December, 10,925 tons; in January, 1897, 7,761 tons; in February, 7,214 tons; in March, 9,477 tons, making a total for the nine months of 79,860 tons of steel rails, at an average cost of $23.28, while we imported 7,758 tons, at an average cost of $26.77. I will insert the entire table in my remarks.

The table referred to is as follows:

Number of tons of the following crude manufactures of iron and steel exported by the United States in each of the nine months ending with March 31, 1897.

[Tons of 2,240 pounds.]

Name of article.	1896.						1897.			Total for the nine months.	Value per ton or per pound.	Imports for the nine months.	Value per ton or per pound.
	July.	August.	September.	October.	November.	December.	January.	February.	March.				
	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.		Tons.	
Pig iron	3,023	2,001	6,804	8,063	8,755	17,335	10,191	15,971	21,280	94,423	$14.37	19,039	$22.84
Bar iron	200½	126½	109½	139	207	229	243	230	487	2,078	30.56	11,775	43.75
Band, scroll, and hoop				90	15	2½	44			2½			
Ingots, bars, etc., of steel	381	755½	2,980	1,976	678	1,403	7,321	2,852	9,402	26,995	27.90	12,621	38.38
Nails	1,147½	1,185	1,244	1,580	991	1,580	2,070	920	830	11,126	53.85		None.
Iron plates	54½	32	72	54	98	150	132	440	320	1,347	48.08	3,721	50.07
Steel plates	52½	34	163	81½	120	1,033	213	43	269	2,010	47.30		
Wire	2,958½	3,457	3,649	3,945	3,229	5,159	3,786	4,216	4,756	34,852	44.25	2,329	131.50
Steel rails	4,962	11,750	17,034	4,692	6,045	10,925	7,761	7,214	9,477	79,860	23.28	7,758	26.77

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Mr. President, these exportations occurred in this country while the steel-rail trust was maintaining during the whole of that year the price of $28 a ton to domestic buyers of steel rails. It is perfectly well known to the Senate what the effect of breaking up the steel-rail trust was. In December and January last the price, which had been held by the trust uniformly from the beginning of the year to the end of it, was $28 a ton without fluctuation in any month of the year. The price suddenly went down to practically $14 a ton, and steel rails were sold for $17 a ton in a number of markets, and I understand were offered to consumers at a point which would make the sale actually about $14 a ton as a result of the dissolution of the pool, as a result of the breaking up of the steel-rail trust, which has been maintained under the laws which have been in existence on the statute books.

I have here in my hand a copy of the Bulletin, a high authority in iron matters, dated January 1, 1897. This is Mr. Swank's paper, a man whose authority will not be questioned by any iron man. Here are the average monthly prices of iron and steel in the United States in 1896 given on a number of different articles. Steel rails at the mills are quoted in January, February, March, and every month down to December at $28 a ton. The statement from the Bulletin is as follows:

AVERAGE MONTHLY PRICES OF IRON AND STEEL IN THE UNITED STATES IN 1896.

In the following table we give the average monthly prices of leading articles of iron and steel in Pennsylvania markets in 1896 per gross ton of 2,240 pounds, except for bar iron, which is quoted by the pound. The monthly averages are obtained from weekly quotations:

Months.	Old iron T rails, at Philadelphia.	No. 1 foundry pig iron, at Philadelphia.	Gray forge pig iron, at Philadelphia.	Gray forge pig iron, lake ore, at Pittsburg.	Bessemer pig iron, at Pittsburg.	Steel rails, at mills, in Pennsylvania.	Steel billets, at mills, at Pittsburg.	Best refined bar iron from store, at Philadelphia.	Best refined bar iron, at Pittsburg.
								Cents.	Cents.
January	$14.25	$13.56	$11.55	$10.90	$11.81	$28.00	$16.60	1.45	1.25
February	14.75	13.50	11.50	11.00	12.95	28.00	17.69	1.40	1.25
March	15.00	13.45	11.30	10.92	12.25	28.00	17.19	1.35	1.21
April	14.87	13.25	11.19	10.85	13.32	28.00	19.80	1.40	1.20
May	14.43	12.85	11.00	10.79	12.83	28.00	19.55	1.40	1.20
June	14.00	12.75	11.00	10.62	12.47	28.00	19.42	1.40	1.21
July	14.00	12.75	10.90	10.37	12.12	28.00	19.50	1.40	1.20
August	14.00	12.75	10.75	9.63	10.91	28.00	19.22	1.40	1.20
September	13.50	12.50	10.75	9.50	11.31	28.00	19.41	1.40	1.20
October	12.75	12.50	10.81	9.87	11.71	28.00	19.73	1.40	1.20
November	13.94	12.81	11.12	10.34	12.46	28.00	19.80	1.40	1.22
December	14.50	12.75	11.25	9.94	11.54	28.00	18.00	1.40	1.25

At the close of the year Bessemer pig iron at Pittsburg was quoted at $11.15 to $11.25, and Bessemer steel billets at Pittsburg were sold at $16. During December the price of steel rails for 1897 was reduced from $28 to $25 at Pennsylvania mills. Prices of other articles named in the table also fell during December. We begin the new year 1897 with iron and steel prices in all lines almost as low as they have been at any time during the present depression, which we date from May, 1893.

I have a clipping from a newspaper giving the report of R. G. Dun & Co. of the date of February 12, dealing with the question of the price of steel rails. It is as follows:

NEW YORK, *February 12.*

R. G. Dun & Co.'s weekly review of trade to-morrow will say:

"No other event of the week approaches in importance the disruption of the steel-rail pool. In two days after it, a greater tonnage of rails was probably purchased than the entire production last year, reported as 800,000 tons, and instead of $23 in December and $25 in January, $17 is now the price at which works East and West are seeking orders, the Carnegie Company even selling at $17, Chicago delivery. These sales will employ many thousand hands, with an important decrease in the cost of track laying or renewals to railroads.

"Even more important is the result that reconstruction of the billet pool will be impossible as long as the contest over rails continues, and the manufacturer of structural forms, bars, rods, wire, nails, tin plates, and many other products has a chance to secure cheap material. In the near future also is the struggle between the two great companies producing Mesaba iron ore, one allied with the Illinois Steel and the other with the Carnegie Company, which is expected to bring about lower prices for ore and to push many mines to their utmost capacity. But in the war of rival interests, wages are already reduced by some large concerns."

Thus, Mr. President, we see a statement made by R. G. Dun & Co. that the result of the dissolution of this steel-rail combination was to bring the price of steel rails down at once about 50 per cent. If they are seeking orders for steel rails at $17 a ton, I ask where is there any justification for any law now to be put on the statute books under which the people of the United States shall be compelled to pay them $28 a ton because they have made a combination?

There are a number of other facts bearing upon this matter that I wish to present to the Senate, and it may as well be done now as at any other time. I read from the Bulletin of February 20, Mr. Swank's journal, which is an authority amongst iron men everywhere:

DISSOLUTION OF THE RAIL MAKERS' ASSOCIATION.

The Rail Makers' Association, which was organized at Long Branch, N. J., on August 13, 1885, and which, with slight interruptions, has been in active existence ever since, was dissolved early last week, owing to internal dissensions. The original purpose of the association was to equitably distribute among the mills represented all orders for steel rails, so as to avoid ruinous competition. This object was afterwards extended to include the regulation of prices. The dissolution of the association was preceded by a heavy cut in the prices of steel rails, and was at once followed by other cuts, some sales having been made as low as $17 at Pittsburg and Chicago. The price at eastern Pennsylvania mills has been firmly held at about $20. At the present writing the market has steadied considerably. A conservative estimate places the sales of rails during the last two weeks at not more than 600,000 tons. We give below the comments of several of our cotemporaries on the break in the association and the causes which have led to it.

The Iron Age, in its issue for February 11, says:

"The steel-rail pool is broken. It has been the greatest combination in the iron trade and has enjoyed the longest life. It had a checkered career in its earlier days. The ties which bound the works together were very loose, and from time to time new competitors arose. The pool was reorganized in the fall of 1893, after a very sharp fight, in which prices dropped close to $19 at Eastern mill.

"In November, 1894, a meeting of the rail manufacturers was held at Chicago, during which an agreement was reached after negotiations had been broken off again and again. As usual, the allotment was figured on the monthly shipments, an excess over allotment involving a tonnage payment, distributed among the mills which had not shipped their quota. The penalty was increased from $2 to $2.50 per ton, and the agreement covered all rails 45 pounds or over, T or girder rails, except for export. An extra of $1 was to be charged for all rails over 35 feet and less than 45 feet in length, and $2 per

ton on all rails over 45 feet in length. All girder rails were quoted at $2 per ton extra.

"This agreement was subsequently modified, however, through the negotiations which grew out of the completion of the new mill at Lorain. In April an agreement was entered into with the Johnson Company by which the association divided with that company equally the whole tonnage of T and girder rails for electric railroads. In turn the company undertook not to make any T rails for steam roads for the year 1895.

"Early in September, 1895, negotiations were initiated for the year 1896. Other meetings took place in October and November, and it was finally agreed to continue the association on the lines laid out for 1895."

There are a number of other comments taken from leading iron journals, which I will not take the time of the Senate to read. There is, however, one paragragh that I desire to read, taken from the Philadelphia Ledger, which says:

During all of the years of the pool the Illinois and Carnegie companies worked together and were on the closest of terms. The Illinois Company was not known as a member of the pool, but was represented in the association by the Carnegie Company. So far as rails are concerned, the two companies worked together as one, dividing the apportionment as best suited their convenience—

Mark this—

making an arbitrary cost price and dividing the profits.

This comes from the friends of these people, showing that they were making arbitrary prices and dividing profits, and yet by a rate of taxation put into tariff bills and kept up these people have been enabled to continue this system of practical robbery of the people of this country, because the foreign rails were simply barred out from American commerce.

As a part of this whole case, I may as well present, while we are on the subject, some facts bearing on the foreign trade. I have the American Manufacturer of February 12, 1897, in my hand, in which I find this report:

THE BREAK IN STEEL RAILS.

The monotony of the iron and steel trade was broken rather suddenly this week by the excitement which followed a remarkable drop in the price of steel rails. To the general public it seemed that within a few hours steel rails dropped from $25 to $17 per ton, and in some cases lower figures are reported. This is the lowest price ever reached in the American steel-rail market, and a glance over the course of prices is particularly interesting at this time.

In 1867 steel rails were first made in commercial quantities in the United States. That year they were quoted at $166 per ton. It was not until 1874 that the growing home production brought the price below $100 per ton, as that year the average figure was $94.25. In three years this figure was cut over one-half, as we find that in 1877 the rate was $45.50; but this was owing to the business depression, for in 1881 the price of steel rails advanced to $67.50. From that time, however, the decline was almost constant until 1895, when the figures were cut down to $22. In June of that year an advance to $23 was made, and before the close of the year the price had been put up to $28. This rate stood until November last, when a reduction to $25 was made, the latter price holding until a few days ago.

To follow the immense growth of the industry which has made such a reduction in cost would be quite interesting, but at this time we can speak only of the causes which led to the last big cut. It has been an open secret for some time past that there was considerable trouble in the Steel Rail Association. Of all the trade agreements made in the American market, this one has been most successful in regulating prices. At the close of last year, however, the friction had become so great that an immediate breaking up of the pool was feared, but for a time it was staved off. A few days since some of the Eastern concerns led off with a cut, which was promptly met by the West, and in a day something like $8 per ton was knocked off the price of rails. Of course such a movement could not fail to give rise to various rumors of a coming conflict between the great steel-rail producers of the country. However this may be in the future, it is plain that the first cause of the drop was the great difference between the actual price of billets and the price of rails as fixed by the pool. Since the Bessemer billet agreement collapsed, billets have been sold very low. With billets quoted below $16, it could not be reasonably expected that steel rails would hold long at $25. The sum of $9 per ton was too much between the billet and the rail, a fact which rail purchasers well understood. Hence they held back orders, confident that lower rates were inevitable. Our report of the British iron market this week shows that the highest quotation for steel rails is £4 15s., and billets are quoted at 80s. This is a difference of only 15s.—about $3.60—per ton between prices of rails and billets. In this country this difference has been as high as $9 per ton.

As to the probable effects of the break, it is more than probable that one result will be an increased movement in the market. For some time past the situation in the steel-rail trade has tended to increase the general depression. Now there will be some big buying done, and a marked activity in one branch of the trade must have a beneficial effect upon others. The sales of steel rails last year aggregated only 800,000 tons, whereas it would have taken about 2,000,000 tons to fill normal requirements. The roads badly need rails for repairs, and considering the small amount they purchased last year, with the requirements for 1897, it is evident that there will be quite a time in the rail market. It should not be thought, however, that the price will remain at anything like $15 per ton, which figure has been reported this week. Rails in the British market to-day are selling at about $22 per ton, and it is evident that the very low prices reported on this side during the past week were merely the result of a flurry. The future will be more clearly shown when the market shall have settled down and all danger of a cutthroat policy removed.

I now wish to present to the Senate some statements as to the condition of the market in England for these articles. This is the same iron paper, the American Manufacturer, under date of February 12, 1897. I read under the head of "Our English letter." There are some facts in this letter, Mr. President, that seem to me will be of unusual interest to American Senators:

OUR ENGLISH LETTER.

[From our own correspondent.]

MID-ENGLAND, *January 27, 1897.*

AMERICAN STEEL FOR THE BRITISH MARKETS.

Not until this week, for some reason or other, has the full extent of the American steel invasion of Europe, Great Britain included, seemed to flash out upon English steel masters, and the realization of some of the facts connected with it has since my last caused something like a sensation in British steel circles. The scare was first met only by the appearance of a cable in one of the London papers, from its New York correspondent, announcing that 1,800 tons of steel billets were on their way from Philadelphia to this country for delivery in Birmingham, and this was followed by another cable from Philadelphia in another journal that "negotiations were in progress with European buyers for 20,000 tons of billets at secret prices," but that "it was believed that the material could be delivered in England at £3 15s. and leave a fair margin of profit to the sellers." Now, this week we have yet a more definite statement that the steamship *Harrison* has sailed from Philadelphia for Manchester with a cargo of 2,000 tons of billets, "which are said to not about $17.50 f. o. b. steamer."

SENSATION IN ENGLISH STEEL CIRCLES.

With reiterated intelligence like this before them it has been no longer possible for English steel circles to ignore what some of your journals have rightfully termed the American steel invasion of Europe. Nevertheless the actual presence of the steel in this country has come as a great surprise to many who were not acquainted with what was going on and who had not been closely watching the efforts of your steel makers to secure orders from out of the British market. There was, of course, nothing new for them to learn on the importation of American pig iron, which, as regards hematite or foundry qualities, it is now freely admitted can be produced at prices with which English and Scotch smelters can not pretend to compete. It was certainly a new thing, however, for them to have dinned into their ears that steel billets from a country which was once our greatest customer for iron and steel was selling for delivery in the English midlands. To the unbelieving the news indeed is received as almost incredible. But

INQUIRIES BY YOUR ENGLISH CORRESPONDENT

into all the details of the business fully confirm the reports which have been published. I find that Staffordshire sheet-iron makers are already importing Messrs. Carnegie's steel tin bars for rolling down into sheets, and only to-day I have visited a works where this is going on.

Importing steel sheets to be used for tin plate from the United States into England of a better quality than is there made—

The bars are coming over here in 30-foot lengths and of 9 inches or 9½ inches wide by one-fourth or five-sixteenths inch thick, and so far seem to be giving every satisfaction. It would, however, be an advantage if your steel masters could roll them of about half the present length, since a 15-foot bar is much more suitable for our mills and is very much easier handling for all purposes, transit and cartage included. The sheets are intended for galvanizing purposes, and the firm who is using the bars is Messrs. John Lysaght, Limited, who not only owns the largest sheet-iron works in Staffordshire, but at Bristol carries on a galvanizing business which is the largest in the world. If, therefore, a firm of such standing as this can find it worth its while to use American bars, certainly others in the same line may.

AMERICAN BILLETS FOR BRITISH WIRE MILLS.

But it is not only the sheet makers of Staffordshire who are giving the American material a trial, but in South Wales and Lancashire likewise the metal is likely to get in. More than this: The Lancashire and Shropshire wire drawers are using your billets and have been for several months past, and the figure at which they are getting their billets delivered into Liverpool is, I am informed, £3 17s. 6d. per ton. Tin bars, such as the sheet makers are employing, are coming into Manchester at much the same price, and after paying railway freight of 7s. 6d. per ton, they are being delivered at railway stations in Staffordshire and at Birmingham at £4 5s. per ton, which is 7s. 6d. to 10s. per ton less than British billets are quoted on the open market. In the matter of actual sales, however, the difference between our and your price would not, I have no doubt, be quite so much as this, since our billet makers would not require the full figures here mentioned. Perhaps 5s. to 7s. 6d. per ton would more nearly represent the difference between the two.

WILL THE AMERICAN COMPETITION BE PERMANENT?

Under this head a great variety of opinions is entertained, while it is, of course, the one subject upon which steel masters here are concerned. There are those who argue that the competition will not long survive the present condition of trade in the States, and that an improvement in your own market would soon render it unprofitable for your makers to send steel over here; but against this it is borne in mind that under the new conditions of manufacture attached to iron and steel production in the Southern States, Bessemer pig can be produced at 31s. 3d. per ton and steel billets at 55s. or about £2 per ton under the minimum selling price in this country. If these estimates are well founded, it is obvious that no very exceptionally marked conditions are needed to enable American iron and steel producers to wage a serious competition with English makers even in this country, and that the American steel invasion, therefore, may have a longer life in store for it than casual observers might suppose.

UNDER PRESENT CONDITIONS, AT ALL EVENTS,

it is abundantly manifest that in certain lines your steel makers can compete with us successfully if they choose, and it is agreed on all sides that one great reason for the prices at which you can afford to supply us is not so much the temporary depression of labor and materials as the richness and abundance of the ores available and the superiority of your manufacturing appliances. It is not forgotten that the Carnegie Company is producing at its new Duquesne furnaces as much as 610 tons each of standard bessemer pig daily, at a cost of only 1,600 pounds of coke to the ton, instead of 2,000 to 2,200 pounds, as in this country. Thus in this item alone there is a saving of from 400 to 600 pounds of coke per ton. The boast of the Carnegie Company, too, that it is bent on conquering the markets of the whole world is also seriously recalled at this time.

BRITISH STEEL MASTERS' COUNTERVAILING TACTICS.

Whatever the chief reason assisting toward the present importations, it is plain to everybody that it would be a fatal mistake for English steel masters to acquiesce in the existing state of things without making a determined attempt to regain control of the market. Indeed, the billet makers are already doing this by staying to some extent the upward course of prices which was going on in the billet and tin-bar market. Some of the makers, both in South Wales, the North of England, Scotland, and elsewhere, have, I am assured, taken the alarm and are refraining from further advancing prices. Tin bars are now being offered to some consumers at the same prices as at the beginning of October, a state of things which would certainly not have prevailed were you not threatening the market, since prior to the attack by your producers billet and tin-bar prices here were going up very rapidly. Consumers welcome the American material as a check against the tall talk in which our billet and tin-bar people, being full of orders, were of late indulging, and against the big advances which these firms stated they should compel this year.

ENGLISH PROCESSES AND PLANT AT FAULT.

Another phase which the competition is developing is to enforce upon British steel makers' attention the great necessity for increased economies

in the matter of processes and plant. It is admitted that even in times like these of low prices in America and high prices on this side, and with the assistance of abnormally low freights, it ought not to be possible for steel and iron producers in the United States to send their manufactures many thousands of miles to this country at prices which defy English competition. The belief is being strongly forced upon our producers that there are cheaper methods of making iron and steel than those which are generally adopted in this country.

This letter shows, by giving illustrations, by giving the details as to sales, that American steel and iron is being shipped from the United States, paying freight across the ocean, paying the inland transportation in Great Britain, paying cartage, and all other expenses, and being laid down at the English mills at a price lower by from 3 to 7 shillings per ton than the English ironmasters quote the same article to their own people. Why, then, is there any necessity for our imposing a protective tariff to protect ourselves against the importation of English iron, of steel billets, of rail bars, of nail iron, or any kind of iron or wire? It seems to me, Mr. President, to be an absurdity.

Mr. BACON. Will the Senator from Arkansas permit me to inquire what is the relative price at which that material is held in England and in this country?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. None of the letters I have here give the relative prices. They sell steel billets in Staffordshire, laying them down in Staffordshire at the doors of the mills, at from 3 to 7 shillings less than the English ironmasters sell them. They pay the ocean freight, they pay the insurance, they pay the internal freight, the cartage, and all the expenses of laying them down at the mills at from 3 to 7 shillings per ton less than the price the English ironmasters quote to their own consumers.

Mr. BACON. I understand that; but is the Senator prepared to say whether that is more or less than the same article is sold for here?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I know nothing about the domestic prices. While the steel-rail trust was in existence, I have no doubt they sold their rails at a higher price to the domestic consumer, because the agreement contained in the note which I read to the Senate a short time ago shows that lower prices were charged for rails exported than for those sold to domestic consumers. There was no limit to the price they might charge the domestic consumer.

Mr. BACON. I have no doubt of that myself, but I thought possibly the Senator might be able to give us accurate information.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I do not know all the facts. I was just simply mentioning that fact as a confirmation of what I was saying to the Senator from Georgia as to the rates at which these articles were selling. When they are protected by a trust, when they can make an organization so as to control the American market, they will, as they have done in every instance as to all the articles found in this schedule, sell their product cheaper abroad than they will sell it to our own people.

But the very minute you decide to dissolve their trust and break up their combination, that minute the American people get the benefit of the competition, the prices of all these articles are reduced, and they are obliged to sell to American consumers at the same prices at which they sell to foreign consumers. The wire-nail trust, as the Senator will remember, a few years ago exported an enormous quantity of wire nails, which they were selling abroad at about one-half the price charged in the United States. We could not buy nails in this country at a reasonable rate, because the wire-nail trust were able to compel our people to give them higher prices for their goods than they were worth, while when they went abroad, where they were compelled to go into the open markets of the world, they sold at about half the price the same articles were sold for to the American consumers. They sold them at practically half of what they were sold for here.

It is by this arbitrary fixing of prices that these combinations are enabled to compel our people to pay more than the goods are worth. That is the worst iniquity connected with the bill. It is the feature which makes it the most outrageous. It is one, it seems to me, which should arouse the American people from ocean to ocean and make them stamp under their feet any proposition to put it in the power of a combination to compel the American consumers not only to pay more than the goods are worth, but in many instances twice as much as the American manufacturers are willing to sell their goods for abroad.

Mr. President, I shall not detain the Senate longer. I will state that in the matter of woolen goods and cotton and iron the United States has made great strides in the last ten or twenty years. A man who has not examined the statistics is surprised to learn that we are the largest producer of pig iron on the globe. We produced more pig iron in 1895 than was produced in Great Britain, at one time considered the mistress of the world in iron production. The same thing, as I shall show before we get through the debate, is true of wool, raw cotton, and the manufacture of numerous articles. Instead of being an infant in the struggle for industrial supremacy, we are to-day a giant. Young as is the nation in years, we are supreme in more fields of industry than any other nation on the globe, and yet we are told that it is necessary for us, to enable us to hold our own in competition with other people, to put these unreasonable taxes on the articles I have mentioned.

Many of us were unwilling to have put in the Wilson bill numbers of the taxes that are found in the pending bill. I believed then that they were too high. I did not believe there was any reason for them then, and there is infinitely less reason now than at that time.

Mr. CAFFERY. Mr. President, the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH] in his opening speech dwelt with some force upon the reduction of rates on iron fabrics, and instanced the decline on steel rails from $7.84 a ton under the House bill to $6.72, the Senate proposition, and asked us all to stop at that point and admire the great results of protection. Notwithstanding the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. JONES] has shown with great power and analysis the immense growth of the manufacturing industry in the United States in all iron products, notwithstanding the fact that he has shown that the fabrics of iron are to-day shipped abroad and sold in the markets of England itself at a less rate than the English can manufacture the same articles, the protectionist will still exclaim, "This is all on account of the beneficent workings of a protective tariff."

I submit that the question now is wholly aside the theoretic or academic discussion of protection. Give protection the credit of having brought the iron industry up to the point of perfection it has now attained. Does it follow that in order to keep this industry going, when it invades the markets of the world and more than competes with the most accomplished nation on the earth in these products, we must still continue to have these prohibitive rates? Is it not entirely illusory and deceptive for the Senator from Rhode Island, or Senators on the other side of the Chamber, to claim any merit from the reduction of the tariff upon an article as to which the course of trade shows the tariff to be entirely and utterly useless?

Mr. President, in connection with the iron statistics which my friend the Senator from Arkansas has introduced, I propose to read a clipping from the New York Journal of Commerce, which I cut out last night, in regard to our export trade generally. The Senator from Arkansas has dwelt upon the export of iron fabrics of the United States. Those exports, it is true, comprise a large portion of the exports of our domestic manufacture, but we have others, such as the export of wooden articles manufactured in the United States, the export of cotton goods manufactured in the United States, and a number of other exports, which swell up to an enormous sum total. This is the article which I cut from the New York Journal of Commerce and Commercial Bulletin:

WASHINGTON, *May 29, 1897.*

Another remarkable record of increase in manufacturing exports is afforded by the figures for April, which have just been completed by Chief Ford of the Bureau of Statistics of the Treasury. The exports which fall under this classification, according to the long-established practice of the Department, amounted to $24,614,318, or 31.56 per cent of the total exports of the month. The figures for the ten months of the fiscal year ending with April were increased to $224,023,016, which is 25.35 per cent of the total exports for this period. The total for the month has been surpassed only once in the recent commercial history of the United States. This was during the month of March preceding, when a great movement of imports naturally invited a counter movement of exports. The manufacturing exports of April, 1895, were only $16,304,411, so that the figures of this year show an increase of nearly 50 per cent. The proportion of manufacturing to total exports at that time was 25.49 per cent. The figures for 1896 were $21,384,730, which was 30.81 per cent of the total exports. The figures for the ten months ending with April show results in some respects even more striking. The manufacturing exports during that period in 1895 were $148,710,195, or 21.97 per cent of total exports, and in 1896 were $184,572,665, or 25.16 per cent of total exports. The remarkable record of the past three years shows an almost constant ascent month by month in the volume of manufacturing exports. The figures for the three calendar years have been as follows:

Month.	1895.	1896.	1897.
January	$14,101,738	$18,732,547	$20,622,850
February	12,221,897	17,265,164	20,298,097
March	15,576,780	19,125,795	25,874,469
April	16,304,451	21,384,730	24,014,318
May	18,144,676	22,016,909	----------
June	16,840,152	21,898,972	----------
July	17,306,192	21,553,500	----------
August	19,050,500	21,147,206	----------
September	16,352,356	21,634,784	----------
October	18,778,817	23,479,279	----------
November	17,330,143	21,639,358	----------
December	19,251,271	23,773,281	----------
Total	201,153,993	253,688,527	----------

The rapidity of the growth of exports of American manufactures has been striking since 1893. The movement which began after the crisis of that year was supposed in many quarters to be temporary, and to be due to the low prices and surfeited markets caused by reduced demand. The movement did not cease, however, with the fiscal year 1894, nor with 1895. The year 1896 showed a still ascending record which will be greatly surpassed when the figures are completed for the two remaining months of the fiscal year 1897. The total exports of manufactures for ten months of the present fiscal year have already exceeded the record of any complete fiscal year heretofore

except 1896, and the additional months of that year gave a total only $4,500,000 larger than has already been attained for 1897. The repetition during the remaining two months of the manufacturing exports of March and April will carry the total for the year to about $272,000,000. This will be a gain of $44,000,000 over the record of 1896, which itself showed a gain of $45,000,000 over the record of 1895. The following table shows the proportion of manufacturing exports to total exports for representative years since 1859, with an estimate for the year which will close on June 30 next:

Year.	Exports of manufactures.		Total exports.
	Value.	Per cent of total.	
1860	$40,345,802	12.76	$316,242,423
1870	68,277,764	15	455,208,341
1880	102,856,015	12.48	823,946,353
1885	147,187,527	20.25	726,682,946
1890	151,102,376	17.87	845,293,828
1891	168,927,315	19.37	872,270,283
1892	158,510,997	15.61	1,015,732,011
1893	158,023,118	19.02	831,030,785
1894	183,728,806	21.14	869,204,937
1895	183,595,743	23.14	793,392,590
1896	228,480,893	26.47	862,519,229
1897	272,000,000	25.01	1,079,000,000

It will be an interesting question whether the tariff legislation now pending results in diminishing American markets abroad when it takes effect. There are three ways in which this may occur—by intentional official retaliation by foreign governments, by the enhancement of the cost of our raw materials by new duties, and by the enhancement of other domestic prices which might affect the cost of manufacturing. Japan, the Argentine Republic, the German Empire, the Kingdom of Italy, and other powers have already filed courteous remonstrances against the extreme rates proposed on some of their products. Japan and the Argentine Republic have pointed out that the restriction of imports of their mattings, silks, and wool would operate to increase freight charges, cripple the merchant marine between the two countries, and diminish the tendencies to mutual exchange. Norway and the Netherlands have hinted that the same thing might occur in regard to their fish and tobacco if the House rates were retained. Notwithstanding these remonstrances, there would be perhaps a certain momentum in the trade movement once established which would prevent the immediate shrinkage in our export trade; but the discovery that we had raised the price of our boots and shoes and ceased our purchases of silks and wool would probably gradually arrest the upward movement of the export figures and finally turn them in a downward direction.

C. A. C.

Mr. President, I contend from these figures that the United States has progressed, developed, as it were, from the agricultural to the manufacturing status. It is impossible that we can look at this large export trade constantly increasing and yet place a tariff upon all raw materials or other materials necessary for the product of these goods, manufactured in America and exported abroad; but such is the case. Not only that, we are attempting, by import duties upon articles which we manufacture with much greater superiority than any other nation, to hold the home market, so that pools and combines and all unlawful combinations of that character can be resorted to and will be resorted to in order to make the American consumer pay more for the same article than the foreign consumer does when we export it.

There can be no sort of apology for any tariff whatever upon iron or iron ore. It was in order for the Republican party, when we struck the great metal schedule, to come out from the wilderness of protection in which they have been journeying for many years into the happy land of a freer trade, especially when they would hurt no American industry by it, especially when the tariff would do no good to the home manufacturer. Can anyone, after listening to the figures quoted by the Senator from Arkansas, say there is any tariff necessary upon steel billets or steel rails or pig iron or cut nails, or any of the innumerable fabrics of iron that we export abroad? A very large, in fact, the largest, portion of our exports to-day consists of iron fabrics made in America, and a large portion of it is shipped to England, a great competitor nation.

Mr. President, any reduction upon iron is a sham and a fraud. It is a kind of by-play by which the Republican managers attempt to amuse the audience, the populace. It does no good whatever. It may do and has done a great deal of harm. The history of these pools has been recited by the Senator from Arkansas. The pools kept the price of steel rails $6 or $7 higher than the rails could be sold for abroad, and were subsequently sold for. There is no necessity for the tariff, and the pretended reduction of the tariff upon iron and iron fabrics is a delusion. It is a by-play; it is a masquerade in order to deceive; but it can deceive no one when he looks at the export trade of the United States on these articles.

We have now passed many hours in the discussion of a few paragraphs in the tariff schedule on chemicals, drugs, and dyestuffs, earth and earthenware, and glassware. As yet we have not touched the fundamental principle which ought to be considered pending this discussion. My honorable friend from Rhode Island has expressed the hope that there may be no academic discussion on the folly of protection, or, as he names it, the principle of protection. I do not propose at this moment to discuss the academic features of the question.

My purpose is to promote domestic industry, to develop manufactures, and to protect American labor by resisting all taxes by which their progress will be obstructed and retarded. Among these taxes—and at this point I will have to go back to some schedules which we have passed—there are none more obnoxious than the long, complex schedule of taxes on chemicals, which lie at the very foundation of or enter as component materials into nearly every branch of work that can be or is conducted in this country. On what ground are we called upon to put a tax, really intended to be prohibitive, although not ostensibly so, on acids, on ammonia, on alkalis, on borax, and the like?

If I am rightly informed, there is no schedule in this whole bad bill or in the bad acts that have preceded it since the tariff of 1861 which costs so much for the collection of an insignificant sum, which is so complex and difficult of administration, under which the Government is so likely to be defrauded, or which presses with more subtle and malignant influence on the cost of nearly every great branch of industry in this country, eating away the small margin of profit on which modern industry now depends, than this special schedule on chemicals, drugs, and dyestuffs. No other nation so stupid, so ignorant of economic science, or governed by such disregard of the industry of the vast majority of its people has committed the folly which we are asked to commit in enacting this bill of taxes on these necessary materials which enter into the processes of all industry.

Mr. President, with all the knowledge of detail of my friend the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH] and my other friend the Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON], I doubt if they know much more than the name of half the articles on which they propose to levy a tax. I am sure that they do not know what the motive of those who have asked this tax is. They do not know how great or how small is the industry whose product they propose to raise in price by taxation. They do not know the wages that are earned. They do not know the uses to which many of these articles are put, except in a general way. They do not know what the burden will be, what the influence in wiping out the profits of those who consume these articles must be.

In fact, they can not answer the questions definitely and clearly and conclusively which we now propose to put to them in the further conduct of this measure. I am rash in making this statement. I know the complete mastery which my friend from Rhode Island has given to the details of this measure in the effort which he has made to steer in the middle, between the right and the wrong course, between those who would plunder the public for private gain and those who resist such measures in order to prevent the destruction of their own industry. He is a master of that detail as he is not a master of the correct principles of taxation.

I put to him and to you the fundamental question, Ought not all the taxes that the people pay be received by the Government? Have you any moral right—is it not even doubtful if you have a legal right—to pervert the power of taxation to raising prices except under the absolute necessity for getting a customs revenue? Have you a moral, if you have a legal, right to put the hand of the Government upon the property of the citizen and with the other to bestow it to sustain or build up private enterprise or to augment private incomes? That is not an academic question. That is not a question of protection. It is a question of the fundamental principles of good government put in defense of the rights of the citizens of this country. On that we take our stand, and we propose to resist every section, every paragraph, every schedule of this bill until debate has been exhausted and until every citizen of this country who has failed to get a hearing before the Committee on Ways and Means and the Finance Committee of this body shall have had a hearing, shall have had the opportunity to state his case, and shall have put in his protest against that which, according to the decision of Judge Miller in the case of People *vs.* Topeka, "is none the less robbery because it is done under the forms of law and is called taxation."

In the discussion of the bill I do not propose to follow the order of the paragraphs or schedules altogether. Wherever I can get the information, I propose to use it wherever it will fit. I propose to find out, for instance:

What number of establishments are there in this country making borate of lime?

From what is it made?

How many people are employed in these establishments?

What wages do they earn?

In what branches of industry is borate of lime made use of as a component material?

What proportion does the cost of borate of lime bear to the cost of the goods into which it enters?

What influence will the raised price of this article have upon the margin of profits in the arts in which it is used?

How many establishments are there using it?

What goods do they make?

How many people are employed in the arts in which borate of lime is used as a component material?

What are the wages in these arts?

What measures have you taken in granting a compensating tax on these goods to offset the tax on the material?

Do you expect to raise the price of the goods into which it enters?

Are any of them exported now?

What will be the influence of this raised price on the exports?

I take that special case because it has been made the matter of discussion; but you will bear in mind that as we get further on, when these questions are applied to wool, to alkalis, and to a vast number of other crude or partly manufactured materials on which, without regard to the fundamental principle of taxation, you propose to put taxes that the Government will not receive, but which will pass by perversion of the power of taxation into private pockets, you may have grave difficulties in meeting the questions which you will be forced to meet and which you will be forced to answer.

Mr. President, we have looked over the evidence which has been presented in support of this measure. We have taken note of the demands which have been made upon the Committee on Ways and Means and their submission to these demands. We note that with rare exception everyone who appeared before the Committee on Ways and Means, especially in support of this particular schedule, was trying to get the Congress of the United States to lay the hand of the Government on the property of the masses of the people, in order to pay it over to these applicants for bounties and privileges and subsidies to augment their private incomes or to sustain them in their effort to build up private enterprises.

Now, I propose to bring every man in this Senate to the question, Do you or do you not sustain the fundamental principle of just taxation, namely, that all taxes that the people pay the Government shall receive? I do not propose to let you escape on a subterfuge. If you answer yes, with a reservation, then I will put the question in another form: Do you justify putting taxes on articles of common and necessary use in the conduct of domestic industry which shall so raise the price to the consumers as to increase the cost of their products without yielding revenue to the Government, thus imposing upon them a heavy tax which the Government does not receive? The Senator from Rhode Island has made a fatal admission, that the Dingley bill—of which his present bill is but a modification—would fail to yield revenue on this very ground.

There is a final point in connection with this subject of taxation upon chemicals and the like which is of prime interest to my own section. A tax on acids and on alkalis is a tax on Southern agriculture. I am not as well informed as I might be. I desire time and to summon witnesses to bring evidence before the Senate on the destructive nature of taxes on the elements of the fertilizers, which are required more than anywhere else in the production of our cotton and our sugar. We demand that you shall not tax agriculture at its source, by granting bounties to the makers of alkalis, of acids, of potash, and of salt. All these are vital elements, and we demand that the cost of all our products shall not be increased to build up private enterprises and augment private incomes at our cost.

What we ask in our Southland is free access to the great markets of the world for our cotton, our iron, our coal, our timber, and yet more for our cotton fabrics. You of the North may demand, if you please, the perversion of the power of taxation to hold up your senile manufactures, which have been stimulated until they totter. We ask nothing for our infant manufactures of cotton and iron except that you shall not obstruct the import of the means of payment for which we wish to exchange them. We demand the right to import free of taxation all the materials and machinery on which we work, or on which we may work, in exchange for our finished fabrics; and if we need gold to build up our own banking system and render us less dependent on outside capital, we demand the right to be able to make all our fabrics and all our products without having their cost increased by tariff taxation, to the end that we may obtain the highest price in gold to sustain our own local industry.

Mr. President, I have sketched out quite a work for myself, and whether I shall be able to perform it or not depends upon a number of conditions purely personal to myself. But I enter my protest here at the threshold of the important metal schedule against any elevation of taxes upon the ordinary necessaries of life or ordinary materials that enter into the finished product of American manufactures, in order that the growth of those manufactures should not be retarded, in order that the weight of taxation should not be increased upon the backs of our people.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BURROWS in the chair). The Secretary will read the pending amendment.

The SECRETARY. In paragraph 120, page 32, line 10, after the word "iron," insert "square iron;" and in line 13, after "diameter," strike out "and square iron not specially provided for in this act;" so as to make the paragraph read:

120. Bar iron, square iron, rolled or hammered, comprising flats, not less than 1 inch wide nor less than three-eighths of 1 inch thick, round iron not less than seven-sixteenths of 1 inch in diameter, six-tenths of 1 cent per pound.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. In line 11, after the word "flats," I move to strike out the comma.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 121, page 32, line 17, after the word "rolled," to insert "or hammered;" in line 18, before the word "of," to strike out "eight-tenths" and insert "seven-tenths;" and in line 21, before the word "of," to strike out "five-tenths" and insert "four-tenths;" so as to make the paragraph read:

121. Round iron, in coils or rods, less than seven-sixteenths of 1 inch in diameter, and bars or shapes of rolled or hammered iron, not specially provided for in this act, seven-tenths of 1 cent per pound: *Provided*, That all iron in slabs, blooms, loops, or other forms less finished than iron in bars, and more advanced than pig iron, except castings, shall be subject to a duty of four-tenths of 1 cent per pound: *Provided further*, That all iron bars, blooms, billets, or sizes or shapes of any kind, in the manufacture of which charcoal is used as fuel, shall be subject to a duty of $12 per ton.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. In line 25, after the words "duty of" and before the word "twelve," I move to insert the words "not less than;" so as to read:

Shall be subject to a duty of not less than $12 per ton.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 122, page 33, line 5, after the word "use," to strike out "six-tenths" and insert "five-tenths;" so as to make the paragraph read:

122. Beams, girders, joists, angles, channels, car-truck channels, T T, columns and posts or parts or sections of columns and posts, deck and bulb beams, and building forms, together with all other structural shapes of iron or steel, whether plain or punched, or fitted for use, five-tenths of 1 cent per pound.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in paragraph 123, page 33, line 7, after the word "steel," to strike out "for whatever purpose used;" in line 8, after the word "except," to insert "crucible plate steel and;" in line 15, after the word "pound," to strike out "thirty" and insert "twenty-five;" and in line 16, after the word "all," to strike out "plate" and insert "sheets or plates of;" so as to make the paragraph read:

123. Boiler or other plate iron or steel, except crucible plate steel and saw plates hereinafter provided for, not thinner than No. 10 wire gauge, sheared or unsheared, and skelp iron or steel sheared or rolled in grooves, valued at 1 cent per pound or less, five-tenths of 1 cent per pound; valued above 1 cent and not above 2 cents per pound, six-tenths of 1 cent per pound; valued above 2 cents and not above 4 cents per pound, 1 cent per pound; valued at over 4 cents per pound, 25 per cent ad valorem: *Provided*, That all sheets or plates of iron or steel thinner than No. 10 wire gauge shall pay duty as iron or steel sheets.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in paragraph 124, page 33, line 19, after the word "thereof," to strike out "mill irons and mill cranks of wrought iron, wrought iron for ships" and insert "1.2 cents per pound;" in line 21, before the word "forgings," to strike out "and;" in line 22, after the word "steel," to strike out "for vessels, steam engines, and locomotives, or parts thereof, and other forgings of iron or steel, or of combined iron and steel;" and on page 34, line 2, after the word "act," to strike out "1½ cents per pound: *Provided*, That no forgings of iron or steel, or forgings of iron and steel combined, shall pay a less rate of duty than 35 per cent ad valorem" and insert "35 per cent ad valorem;" so as to make the paragraph read:

124. Iron or steel anchors or parts thereof, 1.2 cents per pound; forgings of iron or steel, or of combined iron and steel, of whatever shape or whatever degree or stage of manufacture, not specially provided for in this act, 35 per cent ad valorem; antifriction, ball forgings of iron or steel, or of combined iron and steel, 45 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. In line 6 both the comma and the hyphen after the word "antifriction" should go out.

The SECRETARY. After the word "antifriction," in line 6, strike out the comma.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. That amendment will be agreed to, and the hyphen, too, will be stricken out.

Mr. ALLISON. That is right.

Mr. QUAY. Both the comma and the hyphen will go out.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. It is not a hyphen. It is a printer's mark to show that the comma is to be stricken out.

Mr. WHITE. I inquire of the Senator from Iowa whether the rate here is not changed somewhat from the Wilson rate? I believe it was 1½ cents a pound before the word "*Provided*" in the Wilson Act, and it is now all 35 per cent ad valorem. Is that a raise, or is it practically the same?

Mr. ALLISON. It is practically the same, I believe, as the Wilson rate.

Mr. WHITE. The Wilson rate provided for—

Forgings of iron or steel, or forged iron or steel combined, of whatever shape or in whatever stage of manufacture, not specially provided for in this act, 1½ cents per pound.

And then:

Provided, That no forgings of iron or steel, or forgings of iron and steel combined, by whatever process made, shall pay a less rate of duty than 35 per cent ad valorem.

Thirty-five per cent seems to have been maintained and applied to all preceding.

Mr. ALLISON. The effect of the paragraph as amended is to throw the higher-priced or more valuable steel forgings into the ad valorem clause, because at 1½ cents a pound a good many of these forgings would pay a very small duty.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 125, page 34, line 8, after the word "Hoop" to strike out "or;" in the same line, after the word "scroll," to strike out ", or other;" in line 11, after the word "gauge," to strike out "six-tenths" and to insert "five-tenths;" in line 13, after the word "gauge," to strike out "seven-tenths" and insert "six-tenths;" and in line 15, after the word "gauge," to strike out "nine-tenths" and insert "eight-tenths;" so as to read:

125. Hoop, band, or scroll iron or steel, valued at 3 cents per pound or less, 8 inches or less in width, and less than three-eighths of 1 inch thick and not thinner than No. 10 wire gauge, five-tenths of 1 cent per pound; thinner than No. 10 wire gauge and not thinner than No. 20 wire gauge, six-tenths of 1 cent per pound; thinner than No. 20 wire gauge, eight-tenths of 1 cent per pound.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in paragraph 125, page 34, line 18, after the word "ties," to strike out "coated or not coated with paint or any other preparation, with or without buckles or fastenings, for baling cotton or any other commodity;" so as to make the proviso read:

Provided, That hoop or band iron, or hoop or band steel, cut to length, or wholly or partly manufactured into hoops or ties, barrel hoops of iron or steel, and hoop or band iron or hoop or band steel flared, splayed or punched, with or without buckles or fastenings, shall pay one-tenth of 1 cent per pound more duty than that imposed on the hoop or band iron or steel from which they are made.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. VEST. The proviso applies to what are commonly denominated cotton ties, an article of prime necessity, of course, in the South, the cotton-raising section of the country. I call the attention of the Senate to the fact that under the McKinley Act the duty upon cotton ties was two-tenths of a cent a pound. The Wilson Act made them free. But this proposed act makes the duty seven-tenths of a cent per pound, or an increase of one-half of a cent over the McKinley Act. I move to strike out the proviso for the purpose of putting cotton ties upon the free list, where they are under existing law.

Mr. President, I have but one argument to make. It is very well known that cotton production is in a very depressed condition and that the price of cotton is not such as to give any profit to those who are raising it, with a prospect of a decline in the near future greater than that in the very recent past.

Now, it does seem to me that our friends upon the other side should be willing to make cotton ties free if they desire to divest this bill of all sectional features. One of the main arguments made against the Wilson bill was that it was a sectional measure, because, amongst other things, it had put cotton ties upon the free list. If they desire now to be magnanimous in the present condition of the country, to show any sort of solicitude for the welfare of the Southern people, who are peculiarly distressed, they will put this article upon the free list, or rather allow it to remain on the free list, where it is now.

I move to strike out the proviso for the purpose of retaining cotton ties upon the free list, and upon that I shall ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Missouri desires to strike out the entire proviso?

Mr. VEST. Yes, sir. It applies to cotton ties.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Missouri moves to strike out the entire paragraph from the word "*Provided*," in line 16, to the word "made," at the end of line 24. The question is on agreeing to that amendment.

Mr. ALLISON. I suggest to the Senator from Missouri that, as is very well known, this is a great reduction upon the duty provided for in the McKinley law. The rate in the proviso is one-tenth of a cent a pound instead of two-tenths of a cent, as provided in the McKinley law.

Mr. VEST. No; it is a duty of seven-tenths, a duty of six-tenths upon the iron in the tie and then of one-tenth upon the tie, making seven-tenths altogether.

Mr. ALLISON. Very well. The McKinley rate was 1 cent a pound and two-tenths additional, so that this is about half the McKinley rate.

Mr. VEST. It is seven-tenths under this proposed act. The comparative statement shows that.

Mr. ALLISON. Well, it is seven-tenths.

Mr. VEST. It is seven-tenths of a cent.

Mr. ALLISON. Cotton ties are thinner than No. 10 wire gauge, are they not?

Mr. VEST. Yes. It is one-tenth of a cent per pound more duty than that imposed on hoop or band iron or steel, from which they are made, and that makes seven-tenths, because that is six-tenths.

Mr. ALLISON. The law of 1890 was 1.1 cents per pound, and two-tenths in addition on the same grade.

Mr. VEST. We put it on the free list in 1894.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. President, this is a very heavy burden upon the cotton growers of the country, a class of citizens who suffer more by tariff duties than any other class of people in the United States. We have made binding twine free for the farmers out in the Northwest. We give them free sacks in which to transport their wheat to foreign markets. We have helped them. We put cotton on the free list and import about $6,000,000 worth to come in competition with the cotton growers of the South; and yet we put a duty of 53 per cent on cotton ties. How much does it amount to? It takes about 11 pounds of cotton ties to each bale. On a crop of 9,000,000 bales raised in the United States it amounts to about 10 cents a bale, or a tax of $900,000 on the cotton crop of the United States.

Mr. President, this duty can not be justified upon any principle of taxation hitherto avowed by our friends on the other side. The labor cost of producing iron and steel in the United States, as shown by the census, is less than $20 on $100 worth. If you allow a tax of $20 on this article, if we were going to tax it at all, it would pay for the entire labor cost of making the product. But instead of that the committee have put on a rate of 53 per cent—$53 of tax on every $100 worth of cotton ties used for baling the cotton crop of the United States. As I said before, it amounts to about 10 cents a bale, and on a crop of 9,000,000 bales it amounts to a tax of $900,000.

Why make this distinction between the Southern planters and the Northwestern planters? Why do you give the latter free binding twine? Why do you give them free sacks in which to transport their grain to foreign markets? And why do you impose this heavy burden upon the people who grow cotton, two-thirds of whose crop must go to foreign markets for sale? That is not the case with any other product in the United States. There is no other product that engages the labor of so many people and that is so perfectly dependent upon foreign consumption as the cotton crop of the United States.

As my friend from Missouri has said, the cotton crop is dreadfully depressed at the present time; prices have been forced down from some cause or other, and if there is any community in the United States whose condition appeals to the people who are making these laws, both in the Senate and House, for kind consideration, it is the cotton growers of the United States.

Why do you put cotton on the free list? Why not tax that, too? I am not in favor of taxing cotton, but I want to see our friends act reasonably in this matter and put both cotton ties and cotton bagging on the free list. It ought to be done.

Mr. BACON. I understand the suggestion of the Senator from Missouri to be to strike out the proviso, and that his present amendment is simply intended as a preliminary to a subsequent motion to put cotton ties on the free list.

Mr. VEST. Yes.

Mr. BACON. Of course simply striking out the proviso would not accomplish that purpose.

Mr. VEST. But I gave notice that if the amendment prevails I will make a motion to put cotton ties on the free list.

Mr. BACON. The Senator gave that notice so that, in voting to strike out the proviso, it is understood that that is his intention.

I desire simply to supplement what has already been said by other Senators, by calling the attention of the Senate to the fact that cotton ties and cotton bagging, which come in under another head, relate to an industry which it is impossible in any manner to aid by any tariff duties, to wit, the production of raw cotton. While it may be conceded, if you please, as a rule, that tariff should be levied generally upon all imports, there should be an exception in the case of those articles which are necessarily used in the production of such other articles as can not be in any wise affected by a tariff duty.

It does seem to me, Mr. President, that it is due to the country that the Senators on the other side should answer the inquiry made by the Senator from Texas [Mr. MILLS]. Why is it that not only in the past, but in this particular bill, Senators who are charged with the framing of it and the party here responsible for its passage will say to the country that so far as the wheat growers are concerned they will put upon the free list the articles which it is necessary for them to use in bringing their crops to market, and that they must put this onerous duty upon articles which it is necessary for the cotton producers to use in bringing

their crops to market? I should like to know the reason. I suppose Senators have some reason for it. I should like to know for my personal information, and I think the country should have the information as to why this distinction is made. If there is a reason for it, let us know what it is, in order that it may control our action, if it is a good reason. If there is no reason for it, and if it is pure favoritism, then the country should be equally informed of the fact.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. On his proposed amendment, the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST] demands the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. FAULKNER (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. ELKINS]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

The PRESIDENT pro tempore (when Mr. FRYE's name was called). The Senator from Maine [Mr. FRYE] is paired with the senior Senator from Maryland [Mr. GORMAN].

Mr. HANNA (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Utah [Mr. RAWLINS].

Mr. FAULKNER (when Mr. LINDSAY'S name was called). The Senator from Kentucky [Mr. LINDSAY] is absent attending to official duties at Annapolis under an order of the Senate, and he is paired with the Senator from Michigan [Mr. MCMILLAN]. At my request, the Senator from Michigan has transferred his pair to the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH], so that the Senator from Michigan can vote.

Mr. VEST (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. NELSON]. I should vote "yea" if he were present.

Mr. WARREN (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Washington [Mr. TURNER]. I take this opportunity to state that I am paired with that Senator for the remainder of this week.

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. BURROWS. Has the senior Senator from Louisiana [Mr. CAFFERY] voted?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair is informed that he has not voted.

Mr. BURROWS. I am paired with that Senator.

Mr. WALTHALL. I desire to announce that the Senator from Delaware [Mr. GRAY] is paired with the Senator from Illinois [Mr. CULLOM].

Mr. BATE. I wish to state that my colleague [Mr. HARRIS of Tennessee] is absent, and is paired with the Senator from Vermont [Mr. MORRILL]. Both Senators are absent on account of sickness, and they are paired.

Mr. MALLORY. I am paired with the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROCTOR].

Mr. VEST. If there is any difficulty about a quorum——

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair is informed that there is a quorum voting.

Mr. VEST. All right.

The result was announced—yeas 21, nays 28; as follows:

YEAS—21.

Bacon,	Harris, Kans.	Mills,	Turpie,
Bate,	Heitfeld,	Mitchell,	Walthall,
Berry,	Jones, Ark.	Pettus,	White.
Chilton,	Kyle,	Roach,	
Clay,	McEnery,	Smith,	
Cockrell,	McLaurin,	Tillman,	

NAYS—28.

Allison,	Fairbanks,	Jones, Nev.	Pritchard,
Baker,	Foraker,	Lodge,	Sewell,
Cannon,	Gallinger,	McBride,	Shoup,
Carter,	Gear,	McMillan,	Spooner,
Chandler,	Hale,	Perkins,	Stewart,
Clark,	Hawley,	Platt, Conn.	Thurston,
Davis,	Hoar,	Platt, N. Y.	Wetmore.

NOT VOTING—40.

Aldrich,	Frye,	Mantle,	Proctor,
Allen,	George,	Martin,	Quay,
Burrows,	Gorman,	Mason,	Rawlins,
Butler,	Gray,	Morgan,	Teller,
Caffery,	Hanna,	Morrill,	Turner,
Cullom,	Hansbrough,	Murphy,	Vest,
Daniel,	Harris, Tenn.	Nelson,	Warren,
Davis,	Kenney,	Pasco,	Wellington,
Elkins,	Lindsay,	Penrose,	Wilson,
Faulkner,	Mallory,	Pettigrew,	Wolcott.

So Mr. VEST's amendment was rejected.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 126, page 35, line 2, after the words "flat rails," to strike out "seven-twentieths" and insert "three-tenths;" and in line 3, after the word "steel," to strike out "one-half" and insert "four-tenths;" so as to make the paragraph read:

126. Railway bars, made of iron or steel, and railway bars made in part of steel, T rails, and punched iron or steel flat rails, three-tenths of 1 cent per pound; railway fish plates or splice bars, made of iron or steel, four-tenths of 1 cent per pound.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in paragraph 127, page 35, line 5, after the word "black," to strike out "including all iron or steel commercially known as common or black taggers iron or steel" and insert "of whatever dimensions;" so as to read:

127. Sheets of iron or steel, common or black, of whatever dimensions, and skelp iron or steel, valued at 3 cents per pound or less, thinner than No. 10 and not thinner than No. 20 wire gauge, seven-tenths of 1 cent per pound; thinner than No. 20 wire gauge and not thinner than No. 25 wire gauge, eight-tenths of 1 cent per pound; thinner than No. 25 wire gauge and not thinner than No. 32 wire gauge, 1.1 cents per pound; thinner than No. 32 wire gauge, 1.2 cents per pound; corrugated or crimped, 1.1 cents per pound.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I was not able to follow the comparative statement through the reading of that paragraph, and I inquire of the Senator from Iowa whether the rates there fixed are the same as those in the Wilson law?

Mr. ALLISON. The same.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 127, line 17, after the word "all," to insert "sheets of;" in the same line, after the word "black," to strike out "sheet;" and in line 18, before the word "steel," to strike out "sheet;" so as to make the proviso to the paragraph read:

Provided, That all sheets of common or black iron or steel not thinner than No. 10 wire gauge shall pay duty as plate iron or plate steel.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in paragraph 128, page 35, line 23, after the word "zinc," to strike out "or;" in line 24, after the words "spelter, or," to strike out "other metals" and insert "lead;" in line 25, after the word "pay," to strike out "one-fourth" and insert "two-tenths;" and after the word "than," at the end of line 25, on page 35, to strike out "the rates imposed by the preceding paragraph upon the corresponding gauges or forms of common or black sheet or taggers iron or steel" and insert "if the same was not so galvanized or coated;" so as to make the paragraph read:

128. All iron or steel sheets or plates, and all hoop, band, or scroll iron or steel, excepting what are known commercially as tin plates, terne plates, and taggers tin, and hereinafter provided for, when galvanized or coated with zinc, spelter, or lead, or any alloy of those metals, shall pay two-tenths of 1 cent per pound more duty than if the same was not so galvanized or coated.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I should be glad to have the Senator from Iowa explain paragraph 128, and whether it differs at all from the existing law. I think in some of the articles there is a reduction, but I am not sure that there is in all.

Mr. ALLISON. It is a reduction from one-fourth to two-tenths.

Mr. WHITE. The Wilson law provided for a fourth of a cent.

Mr. ALLISON. Yes, and this provides for two-tenths. It is a small reduction.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 129, at the beginning of the paragraph, in line 5, to strike out "sheet" and insert "sheets of;" in the same line, before the word "steel," to strike out "sheet;" in line 6, after the word "designated," to strike out "two" and insert "one and seven-eighths;" in line 7, after the word "that," to strike out "plate or sheet or taggers" and insert "plates or sheets of;" in line 10, after the word "which," to strike out "has" and insert "have;" in line 12, before the word "cold-rolled," to strike out "is" and insert "are;" in line 13, after the word "pay," to strike out "one-fourth" and insert "two-tenths;" and in line 14, after the word "sheet," to strike out "or taggers;" so as to make the paragraph read:

129. Sheets of iron or steel, polished, planished, or glanced, by whatever name designated, 1¼ cents per pound: *Provided*, That plates or sheets of iron or steel, by whatever name designated, other than the polished, planished, or glanced herein provided for, which have been pickled or cleaned by acid, or by any other material or process, or which are cold-rolled, smoothed only, not polished, shall pay two-tenths of 1 cent per pound more duty than the corresponding gauges of common or black sheet iron or steel.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. WHITE. In line 6, after the word "designated," I move to strike out "one and seven-eighths" and insert in lieu thereof "one and three-fourths;" the latter being the Wilson-law rate.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from California offers an amendment, which will be stated.

The SECRETARY. After the word "designated," in line 6 of paragraph 129, it is proposed to strike out "one and seven-eighths" and insert "one and three-fourths;" so as to read:

Sheets of iron or steel, polished, planished, or glanced, by whatever name designated, 1¼ cents per pound.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on the amendment of the Senator from California [Mr. WHITE], which has been stated.

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. WHITE. In line 13 of the same paragraph, I move to strike out "two-tenths" and insert in lieu thereof "one-eighth;" the latter being the prevailing rate in the Wilson law.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on the amendment of the Senator from California.

The amendment was rejected.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 130, page 36, line 20, after the words "one and," to strike out "one-half" and insert "four-tenths;" so as to read:

130. Sheets or plates of iron or steel, or taggers iron or steel, coated with tin or lead, or with a mixture of which these metals, or either of them, is a component part, by the dipping or any other process, and commercially known as tin plates, terne plates, and taggers tin, 1.4 cents per pound.

Mr. VEST. I move, in line 20, to strike out "one and four-tenths" and insert the existing duty of "one and two-tenths."

Mr. President, this paragraph is a conspicuous example of the absolute fallacy of the statement and contention that these high duties are necessary to foster and encourage domestic manufactures. We have honestly asserted, and shall continue to assert until facts and arguments are produced to change that opinion, that these duties are not necessary, but that their only effect is to put largess into the pockets of certain favored classes at the expense of the large body of consumers in the country. In 1894—and it requires but a very short memory to recollect the transaction—those of us who were then engaged in making what is called the Wilson law proposed to reduce the duty on this article to 1.2 cents a pound from 2.4 cents.

We were met with the statement that that would absolutely destroy the American manufacturer and that the Welshmen would again take the market in the United States and put upon the people of this country what prices they pleased. It was a fair, open, undisguised issue between the two systems. We said, "No matter how this industry has commenced to thrive, we will permit you to assert and take the credit of saying that you have given it birth and fostered it so far by a tariff duty, but your tariff duty is no longer necessary," just as we say, when Jefferson and Madison and Polk said in the times when they lived the duties were necessary to foster and encourage the infant industries of the United States, their declarations furnish no argument for these enormous duties of the present era. A very epigrammatic and eloquent orator of the Republican party has said there is a vast difference between the infant, mewling and crying in the cradle, and the young giant, 7 feet high, ready to kick your head off unless you give him what he wants. [Laughter.]

Here we have now, after a reduction of one-half cent, an enormous increase in this industry. Look at the imports as shown by the comparative statement. The imports under the McKinley Act of 1893 were $16,691,765; in 1896, under the Wilson Act, with the duties decreased, the imports were $8,587,902, or about one-half of the amount that was imported in 1893 under a duty of 2.4 cents per pound.

And, Mr. President, to "make assurance double sure and take a bond of fate" upon this question, here is the official report of Mr. Ayers, the special agent of the Treasury Department, made in 1896. He is not to be suspected of leaning to free trade. This gentleman honestly has always been anxious to make all the reports he could in favor of high duties upon tin plate, and I had occasion in 1890 and 1894 to criticise his reports because I thought he leaned over against the decrease of the duties upon tin plate at that time.

Here is his report, all of which ought to be put into the RECORD; but of course I do not propose to do that. What does he show? He shows that we have doubled, and more than doubled, the product in the United States and taken the market entirely away from Wales. I can produce documentary evidence here from Wales to show that the manufacturers of tin plate in Wales have been bankrupted by the American competition. The miners are leaving there and hunting employment in this country. Yet, in the face of that, here is an increase upon tin plate.

I had occasion the other day to converse with a manufacturer of tin plate from Pittsburg, a very intelligent gentleman, whose name I can give, a relative of a Senator upon this floor, who invested two-thirds of all he had in the world in a tin-plate factory. He is a Republican in politics, and I asked him, "How about this duty upon tin plate?" He said, "We do not want a cent; we are doing as well as we possibly could; we have got the market away from Wales, and we can hold it for all time to come. Let us alone."

But, Mr. President, this habit of protection is like the drink habit—the more you take of it the more you want, and if you stop there is delirium tremens economically. There is no pause in this system. When men commence it as public men, they never can stop it. There is no reformation in regard to that vice. No, as my friend from California [Mr. WHITE] says, not even the gold cure, the Dwight Institute, can cure it.

Here is this report, showing absolutely and beyond any sort of question that there is no necessity for an increase of duty. Why, then, is the duty put on here? Yesterday when I called the attention of the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH] to the fact that the committee were putting up duties on an article of which we had an absolute monopoly, and of which but $224 worth came into the country and one hundred and fifty-odd thousand dollars' worth went out, he admitted what I said was right and true, but he asked, "What harm does it do?" We have got the market, and it is a mere spectacular operation to put up duties. We have got the market, and we shall continue to hold it under any rate of duty. Ah, Mr. President, but that is the vice of it.

When you put up duties, even when we have the whole market, you give an excuse to the domestic manufacturer to put the price of his goods just below the cost of the foreign article with the duty added. That is the reason these duties are put on here. It is not to hold the American market, for we have that; but the domestic manufacturers come here and plead with our friends upon the other side whose political associates they are, "Give us this increase, because then we can put on an additional price and get more for our goods from the domestic consumer."

I plead, of course, to deaf ears so far as this Chamber is concerned, and I have not the gift of special prophecy; but I tell my friends on the other side, continue this thing and you will repeat history as it occurred after the act of 1890. There is an instinct of fair play and right in the American people which will not tolerate this sort of illogical, indefensible, and outrageous taxation. If any Senator can tell me why, with the existing conditions, this duty upon tin plate should be increased, I shall be more astonished than I have ever been even in my political career.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Secretary will state the amendment proposed by the Senator from Missouri.

The SECRETARY. In paragraph 130, line 20, it is proposed to strike out "four-tenths" and insert "two-tenths;" so as to read:

130. Sheets or plates of iron or steel, or taggers iron or steel, coated with tin or lead, or with a mixture of which these metals, or either of them, is a component part, by the dipping or any other process, and commercially known as tin plates, terne plates, and taggers tin, 1.2 cents per pound.

Mr. VEST. On that amendment I ask for the yeas and nays.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President, the Senator from Missouri has well stated that, whatever may have been the reason for the success of the tin-plate industry in the United States, now, finding the industry not only upon its legs, so to speak, but in possession of the American market, there is no excuse for an advance in the tariff rate. The committee has very wisely permitted the drawback provision to remain in the bill. Were the bill passed in the form transmitted here by the House of Representatives, it would work untold injury, especially to the large industries of the State which I in part represent in the matter of canning. I have a great deal of literature demonstrative of that proposition, which, however, I deem it unnecessary to incorporate in the RECORD, as I am satisfied the Committee on Finance of the Senate in conference will insist upon that amendment. Otherwise I should feel like indulging in some remarks in regard to it now.

The statement of the Senator from Missouri is absolutely accurate with relation to the condition of the American market on the tin-plate question, and I do not understand that there is any substantial conflict in this regard.

I have in my hand a very short article, taken from the Economist, a newspaper instituted for the purpose of advancing the cause of protection and published by a company of which the present honorable Secretary of the Interior is the president, and hence I feel that I may quote from it as I would from any orthodox protection source:

THE TIN-PLATE VICTORY WON.

It looks as if the tin-plate industry of South Wales is all but beaten out of the American market, says Herapath's Railway Journal. It is stated that American tin plates now virtually monopolize the market throughout the United States, except on the Pacific Coast, and are selling on the Atlantic Seaboard at from 25 to 40 cents below the price at which Welsh plate of corresponding grades can be laid down. Importations are now confined, with hardly an exception, to lots designed for use by the exporting oil and canned-goods interest, which still enjoy a rebate of 99 per cent of the duty on all such foreign material reshipped abroad. It is true that a comparatively small proportion of imported plates is still entered for actual consumption on the Pacific Coast, owing to the relatively heavy cost of transportation thither of domestic goods and cheap freight rates from Europe. But even there the American product has entered during the past year, and it is merely a matter of time when the Pacific Coast market will also be absorbed. This is bad news for Swansea; but are there no other markets?

Here, Mr. President, is a statement, as I say, of a journal conducted by an association of very estimable gentlemen, presided over by the present Secretary of the Interior, and there can be no doubt, I assume, that the statement that the American tin-plate industry is practically in full possession of the American market can not be successfully controverted. Indeed, the figures furnished by the Statistical Abstract not only show as regards the values of the imported article, but the amount given is a demonstration of the argument of the Senator from Missouri, that while there were 385,000,000 pounds, in round numbers, imported in 1896, there were five hundred and odd million pounds imported in 1895, and so on. An investigation of the tables will show that the industry has progressed to such an extent that, with the exception of the Pacific Coast, it is now in full possession, and there, as stated by the Economist, the difficulty is as to the matter of freight rates.

I have, as I said, many communications addressed to me by citizens of the Pacific Coast with reference to the drawback clause, which I will not read, with the single exception of the letter which is now in my hands, and which refers generally to the subject. It is dated April 13, 1897, and forwarded by the Pacific Sheet Metal Works of San Francisco and addressed to me personally. The writer says:

Referring to the matter of drawback of duties on tin plate, we beg to submit the following facts, which have a direct bearing upon that question.

During the packing season of 1896, there were packed in the Pacific Ocean and tributary streams 110,000,000 cans of salmon. Of this quantity about 25,000,000 cans were packed in British Columbia, leaving 85,000,000 cans which were packed by citizens of the United States, the larger proportion of which found its market in England, from the very fact that the drawback on tin plate in the cans on each case of four dozen cans amounted to 14 cents. When you reflect that a trade frequently turns on the difference of 2½ cents per case, you will readily perceive that the 14 cents is a great inducement to foreigners to purchase.

We think it can not be successfully contradicted that the great increase in the volume of this business is owing to this very question of drawback of duties, which contributes, with other conditions, to make the price so low that salmon in England is no longer a luxury for the rich, but is an article of food for the laboring classes. In fact, it is the cheapest meat which can be procured in that country. This duty would certainly close the door of that market to a very large proportion of this business and drive the major portion of it to the canneries of British Columbia.

Of canned fruits, there are about six or seven million cans exported annually from this State, and the same conditions are applicable to the fruits that pertain to the salmon. The production of fruits in California is steadily on the increase, and the crop this year promises to be the largest one ever produced in this State. What shall become of this fruit is the very serious question which confronts the horticulturist at this time. Shall we close the door to the export of this fruit, or shall we rather adopt some measure that will stimulate and encourage this industry in which so many people of this State are engaged?

May we be excused for calling your attention at this time to some facts concerning the tin-plate industry. Take for example the price of a box of tin plate, 14 by 20, 100 pounds weight, in England, which is generally 10 shillings per box, or $2.40 of our money. The duty on tin plate under the Wilson bill is $1.20, or 50 per cent of the above selling price. The Dingley bill not only proposes to increase this duty 30 cents per box, but to take off the drawback of duty on plates that are manufactured into cans and exported from the country. Perhaps it may not be a very dignified illustration, but we are certainly reminded of the man who had the earth, but still wanted the rubber fence around it.

As said before, the Wilson bill provides for 50 per cent protection, at the same time the Americans are to-day selling billets, used in making their tin plates, to the English tin-plate maker, and the American plate maker can export his tin used in covering the black plates from Australia and Tasmania as cheaply as the English tin-plate maker.

We will say, in conclusion, that while we are not interested in the packing of salmon, the great growth of that business is largely due to the able and conscientious management. By the large aggregation of capital, the cost of production has been reduced to a minimum, and that low cost, coupled with the drawback of duty above referred to, enabled the producers to sell at the low price before alluded to.

Trusting that you will agree with us in our ideas and that you may be enabled to have the clause in the Dingley bill referred to amended to conform to these ideas, we are,

Very sincerely, yours,

PACIFIC SHEET METAL WORKS,
IRVIN AYRES, *Treasurer.*

Mr. President, as I have said, the injury which might have been done if the House bill became a law will probably be averted because of the prompt action of the Senate committee in insisting upon the existence of a drawback provision.

But that very fact is illustrative of the proposition that with the prevailing duty upon tin plate in force and no drawback allowed, it would be impossible for these large canning establishments to maintain themselves at all. When I say that the profit upon a can of fruit is considered large and remunerative if it amounts to a cent and a half or two cents, it shows how close the manufacturers and packers must figure in order to conduct their business at all. I make these remarks as much for the purpose of fortifying the committee in the view they have taken in regard to the drawback as to show the absolute absurdity of increasing the tariff.

A great deal is said nowadays by everybody in regard to trusts. We are all nominally at least opposed to trusts, but if it be a fact—and there seems to be no doubt of it, speaking from the record—that the tin-plate industry of the United States is thoroughly protected so far as protection is concerned by the prevailing tariff, what argument can be adduced to appeal either to a Republican or a Democrat, a protectionist or a free trader, or anybody else, to justify the imposition of additional duties unless it be, as already stated, to permit the domestic manufacturer to sell in discrimination against his own countrymen.

I have another statement, a very short one, which I will read, showing the magnitude of this business. The communication is from a packing establishment in Sacramento, Cal.:

Replying to your recent inquiry regarding the amount of tin plate imported and the amount of the drawback, we beg to state that the customs records show for the two fiscal years ending June 30, 1896, there was imported 71,491,744 pounds of tin plate, valued at £1,804,493. Drawback paid during the same period amounted to $373,933, which represents goods packed in tin cans valued at $6,333,760.

Trusting this is the information you require, we beg to remain,

Yours, very truly,

SACRAMENTO PACKING AND DRYING CO.,
Per B.

With the tariff on tin plate, and without any drawback, that industry will be absolutely stifled upon the figures given. All of the gentlemen whom I have read from are Republican authorities in the State of California. They have been such for many years. In fact, nearly every letter I have upon this subject here is from parties who claim they are in favor of protection.

I have here a statement taken from the consular reports, volume 53, No. 197, being a communication from Mr. Anthony Howells, consul of the United States at Cardiff. I merely introduce it for the purpose of showing the diminished exportation of tin plate from that point, and I will put it in the RECORD without reading it. It contains figures that are very instructive, but it will be unnecessary to detain the Senate by their perusal now, and, as I have already remarked, I refrain from reading the numerous letters I have here in support of the committee's action in reference to the drawback. I hope it will not be necessary to use them at all. If it does become necessary, I will use them later.

The decrease in exports to the United States continues.

Exports of tin plate from Great Britain to the United States, 1892 to 1896 (in tons of 2,240 pounds).

Month.	1896.	1895.	1894.	1893.	1892.
	Tons.	*Tons.*	*Tons.*	*Tons.*	*Tons.*
January	11,861	18,639	18,296	23,498	17,564
February	6,980	23,201	13,413	20,190	22,388
March	8,903	18,743	16,907	31,334	22,789
April	10,903	15,946	13,210	31,051	31,061
May	9,222	18,118	21,291	25,988	23,709
June	11,753	13,760	17,247	26,759	23,550
July	13,930	16,445	17,805	22,248	24,750
August	9,814	23,531	19,125	15,784	24,221
September		17,507	17,672	13,789	22,535
October		19,805	24,854	13,861	19,901
November		16,186	22,382	15,495	20,634
December		21,033	24,077	14,031	23,417
Total	82,366	222,901	226,879	255,028	276,479

ANTHONY HOWELLS, *Consul.*

CARDIFF, *October 12, 1896.*

If we add to this the exportation for the months of September, October, November, and December, 1896, we have a total for 1896 of less than 100,000 tons.

Mr. GRAY. Mr. President, I desire to say only a word. Among all the minor iniquities of the tariff bill framed upon the theory of the pending bill, I think none is more flagrant than the matter of the duty upon tin. If it were merely a revenue tariff that was sought, and if the object of the legislation was really what it professed to be, there might be a different line of argument used and a different way of approaching the subject.

This was a revenue duty of considerable magnitude at one time, but I do not understand that there is any other purpose in creating this than to protect, not the Treasury of the United States, but individual manufacturers of tin plate; and if that be true, then it is another instance, it seems to me, of a most wanton levying of tribute by this industry upon all the other industries of the country, no less worthy than itself.

Mr. President, there is something peculiar about the tin industry in its relation to other industries. Among those things which have most helped the farmer in my region, and I think in a good many others, has been the packing of vegetables and fruits, and that packing has depended for its prosperity largely upon the price of tin. There is nothing which has so much supplemented the income of the farmer in the region of which I speak—the income derived from low-priced cereals—as what he has been enabled to make from packing fruits and some of the smaller vegetables—tomatoes, beans, pease, and so on—and a very important industry it has become. Those packers are not, as a general thing, in the region of which I speak, large concerns. They are dotted all over the different communities, and almost every agricultural neighborhood has its packing establishment, where the farmers haul in, from a circuit of 5 or 6 miles, their cart loads of tomatoes, and their hundreds of baskets of peaches and vegetables, and so on, and are enabled to get fairly remunerative prices for them.

Now, then, forsooth this industry—it ought to have the name of the chevalier industry of France rather than the plain, homely Saxon name of industry—this industry, so called, not content with the opportunity that has come to it through the low prices of black plates and other conditions which have enabled it, in the face of a reduced tariff, to increase enormously the production of American tin, now demands to levy this tribute upon the great consuming masses of our country and upon these modest little establishments dotted all over our agricultural region, in order that it may make a profit greater than that which confessedly it is making under present conditions, and more natural and normal conditions.

If this line of legislation is to be followed out, and if we are to respond to these appeals constantly, as seems to be the disposition

of some to do, then the creation of a new industry, instead of being hailed with joyous acclaim, ought to be a cause for mourning; it ought to be cause for sorrow all over the country, for it only means another taskmaster, another despot to levy tribute upon the great masses of the American people.

Why is it, sir, that these people disclaimed in the bill as it came from the House even the poor pittance of a drawback, to enable the packing industry to export its goods and engage in profitable foreign commerce? It is true that the bill as amended by the Senate committee restores the drawback, but even that, it seems to me, is a poor donation to the industries of which I speak. It leaves out of sight altogether the American consumer. It is willing, for the sake of foreign commerce, to give to the foreign consumer of canned peaches and canned vegetables and canned salmon, and all the various food products that have become so important in that mode and that fashion, cheaper than they can come to the American consumer. There is no drawback to the mechanic in our American cities upon his can of tomatoes or his can of peaches. The industry, it is true, does get it, but the consumers are lost sight of, and here is this odious discrimination in favor of the foreign consumer and against the American consumer.

Mr. President, I protest against any duty that shall unduly burden these agricultural industries and that shall unduly burden the great American home market—I mean the home market on the other side of the counter, not the home market that is constantly spoken of on the other side, but the far more numerous home market, the people who buy the product from the protected manufacturers. That is the home market most important, in my notion, for us to protect.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Mr. President, I understand that there is an association among the tin-plate manufacturers, embracing about 90 per cent of the production of tin plate in the United States. The association, I believe, have what they style a gentleman's agreement as to prices. The association, if the newspaper stories can be relied on, recently has had a number of meetings, prices have been raised by the association, and those raises in prices have been submitted to by the public. There has been an effort amongst the employees of the members of the association to have their wages increased, and this has been positively refused.

I should like to know upon what ground there can be any pretense for raising the amount of protection that is given to tin plate now. If the purpose is to pay the difference in wages, ought not the increase that is given, or some part of it, go to labor? But this association of great manufacturers of tin plate, if I am correctly informed, has absolutely refused to yield the width of a hair to the demands of the laborers for increased compensation for their work. They are asking us here to raise the taxes under which they have prospered enormously. Take the official report of the Government, the paper to which my friend the Senator from Missouri alluded a few moments ago, addressed to the Secretary of the Treasury, from which I quote:

> I have the honor to report that during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1896, the production in the United States of commercial tin and terne plates was 307,228,621 pounds, against 193,801,073 pounds produced during the previous fiscal year, showing thereby an increased production of more than 58 per cent.

Here is an increase amounting to this enormous per cent growing up under the present tariff of 1¼ cents per pound, showing that the business is profitable; that it is increasing its product. The manufacturers must be making money. While they are refusing to make any concession whatever to labor, they are asking that we shall enable them to still higher and higher increase the price of tin plate to the American consumers. They are raising it now under the tariff as it stands to-day of 1¼ cents. Of course everybody knows that if an additional tariff is given, the increase will continue.

What can be the purpose, what can any sane and reasonable man believe to be the purpose, of this effort to increase the rate of taxation, except to enable the Tin Plate Manufacturers' Association of the United States to increase the prices at which they sell the tin plate? It does not go to labor. It goes to somebody else. They are already increasing production at the rate of 58 per cent per annum. They are producing more than 300,000,000 pounds of tin plate, which is being consumed here now, and yet we find they are endeavoring to carry out the narrow policy of not allowing the canners of fish and of fruit to continue their business. They are not in favor of allowing the laborers one whit more for their labor than they get now, but they are asking us to increase the rate at which they shall be allowed to sell to the public.

Mr. President, there are some very interesting and important features in connection with the Government report to which I should like to refer, but I dislike to detain the Senate. The American Metal Market, a trade paper, has the following account of a meeting held by the Tin Plate Association in April, 1897:

> "At a meeting held in Chicago on April 6 and 7 a new Tin Plate Manufacturers' Association has been completed, embracing all the American tin-plate mills, it is claimed, and an agreement has been made not to sell for delivery beyond July 1, 1897, and to hold prices at $3.25 basis for IC 14x20-100 pounds coke tins, delivered at points from the Hudson to the Mississippi River."
>
> And we make the following extract from the same paper, giving an account of a meeting held at Columbus on Friday, April 23, 1897:
>
> "An agreement was made to continue the basis price of coke tins as made at the former meeting in Chicago, and a further agreement was made not to sell ordinary grade charcoal ternes, 20 by 28 (full weight), at under $6.70, delivered at the usual points. A committee was appointed to investigate and report at the next meeting on the matter of wage scale to be arranged July 1, and it is believed a strong effort will be made by the workmen to obtain an advance over last year's rates."

Again quoting from the American Metal Market:

> As to the proceedings of a meeting held May 21 in Chicago, we take the following: "It is understood that at the last meeting of the mills some 90 per cent or more have agreed to continue their 'gentleman's agreement' not to book new orders under the former combination price of $3.35 basis for 14 by 20-100 pound coke tins. It is claimed that through the frequent mill association meetings good progress has been made on the line of guarding, by concerted action in the future, against influences that have had a tendency in the past to demoralize prices."
>
> A meeting of the tin-plate manufacturers took place at the Lincoln Hotel, Pittsburg, on May 26, at which all the local tin-plate manufacturers were represented, as well as a large number from out of the city. It was practically decided not to accede to the demands of the workers for an increase. The demands of the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers are for an advance of 15 per cent at this time. The refusal of the manufacturers to accede to the demands of the workers means a protracted strike, unless the tin-plate wage committee of the Amalgamated Association is given discretionary powers.

Here the Senate is given the notice that the tin-plate association will not increase the wages paid to labor, but they are increasing the prices of tin plate now, and they have been doing it steadily, and the only effect of increasing the rate of tariff upon tin plate will be to enable the association to increase the prices at which tin plate is being sold to the American public. We certainly mean to make this possible by our action. We can not have any other purpose, and we can have no other intention. There can be no other meaning to it, and we may as well have it distinctly understood that the purpose of this measure is to deliver the American people, so far as the purchase of tin is concerned, bound hand and foot, to the Tin Plate Manufacturers' Association.

The Dingley bill makes the rate of duty on tin plates 1¼ cents per pound, and the Senate bill changes this rate to 1.4 cents. The present rate is 1¼ cents per pound, which, stated in ad valorem terms, is over 50 per cent.

The existing rate would seem to be more than ample, since American tin plates are being sold at from 10 to 15 per cent less than the foreign article plus duty and freight. As an example, the price of a box of imported coke tin plates, 14 by 20 inches, weighing 100 pounds, and containing 112 sheets, duty and freight paid, is about $3.60 laid down in New York or Baltimore, whereas a box of tin plates of the same quality and weight of American manufacture is sold, delivered at the same points, at about $3.20, a difference in price in favor of the American article of over 10 per cent, and at other points of delivery nearer the American works the difference is still greater.

The American manufacturer can buy the bars from which he manufactures his product nearly $3 per ton cheaper than the foreigner, and as a matter of fact American tin-plate bars are exported to Great Britain to be used in making tin plates in Wales.

I read to the Senate this morning a statement from one of the iron papers in England that great quantities of bars, out of which tin plates are made, were being shipped from this country and laid down at lower prices at the iron mills in England than they could buy them there. We are shipping the materials out of which tin plate is made abroad, and they are making tin plate out of it. The truth is that the great increase in production is due to the fact that steel billets are being produced cheaper than ever before, and the tin-plate manufacturers are getting the raw material out of which tin plate is manufactured cheaper, and are thus enabled to send to England the bars to be used there for the manufacture of the same article.

The American manufacturer has the home market to himself, with the exception of tin plates, which are imported to be manufactured into articles for export, and on which the Government allows a rebate of 99 per cent of the duty. There is no longer any competition from imported tin plates, and it is well known among dealers that the foreign article is not a factor in the market. Why, then, should the duty be increased? Can there be a latent trust hidden in this schedule? If a trust or combination to raise prices were formed, the price of imported tin plates would be a limit beyond which the price of the domestic article could not be raised; hence the higher the tariff the higher it would be possible to raise prices in America. It is suggestive that there is an association of tin-plate manufacturers which has held several meetings for the purpose of fixing the prices at which their product shall be sold.

If tin plates were on the free list the people of the United States would save several million dollars annually which they now pay for the privilege of having their tin plates made in America, and the Senate of the United States should not be asked to help make it possible to export still more for the benefit of the manufacturers.

I have several clippings from different commercial papers showing the facts I have already set out here. Here is one:

The tin-plate manufacturers are getting ready early to grapple with the wage question. A big meeting of the manufacturers took place at the Lincoln Hotel yesterday, at which all the local tin-plate manufacturers were represented as well as a large number from out of the city.

Mr. D. G. Reid, of Richmond, Ind., acted as chairman, and Mr. Leeds, of Anderson, Ind., as secretary of the meeting. It was practically decided at yesterday's meeting not to accede to the demands of the workers for an increase, and another meeting will be held to-day to decide on methods to meet all contingencies.

Mr. Reid was seen last evening, and had the following to say on the subject: "We had notice about three weeks ago from the Amalgamated Association that a resolution would probably be adopted at the Detroit convention demanding from 12 to 15 per cent of an advance in wages. I see that such a resolution has passed the convention, as predicted. The manufacturers have met to take action on what shall be done. We talked the matter over carefully to day, and it was the unanimous opinion of all present that we can not see our way clear to pay more wages at this time."

M. M. Garland voiced the sentiment of the workers before leaving for Detroit, when he said: "There is no excuse for the present low price of tin plate. The workers are a unit to place even a higher tariff on tin plate, and we are doing all we can to defeat the drawback clause."

But, Mr. President, it is unnecessary for me to detain the Senate longer by these statements of facts. There are a few other points in connection with the official report of Mr. Ayer to the Treasury Department which I should like to have the Senate consider for a moment. Continuing from the point from which I read a while ago, he says:

The production in the United States of commercial tin and terne plates was 307,228,621 pounds, against 198,801,073 pounds produced during the previous fiscal year, showing thereby an increased production of more than 58 per cent.

Of the production for the year, 303,042,098 pounds, or more than 98½ per cent, were made from sheets rolled in the United States, against about 63 per cent made from such sheets during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1895.

The production for the year, distributed according to weight and kind of plates, was as follows:

	Lighter than 65 pounds per 100 square feet.	65 pounds per 100 square feet and heavier.	Total.
	Pounds.	*Pounds.*	*Pounds.*
Tin plates	182,045,509	30,543,672	212,589,181
Terne plates	82,874,323	11,765,117	94,639,440
Total	264,919,832	42,308,789	307,228,621

I will print in my remarks a few observations by Mr. Ayer, which I think will be of value to the American public, who I hope may have the opportunity of reading them in the RECORD:

AMERICAN SHEET IRON AND STEEL.

The quantity of American sheet iron and steel made by stamping and other manufacturing firms into articles and wares which were afterwards tinned, stated by quarters, was:

Quarter ended—	Pounds.
September 30, 1895	2,038,001
December 31, 1895	2,893,289
March 31, 1896	3,075,832
June 30, 1896	2,579,008
Total, fiscal year ended June 30, 1896	10,586,110

This shows a use of American sheet iron and steel in this class of manufactures 4,200,770 pounds in excess of that for the year immediately preceding, and 3,841,822 pounds in excess of the average for the four previous years.

BLACK-PLATE PRODUCTION.

The production of black plates in the United States during the fiscal year, stated by quarters, was as shown below:

	Lighter than 65 pounds per 100 square feet.	65 pounds per 100 square feet and heavier.	Total.
Quarter ended—	*Pounds.*	*Pounds.*	*Pounds.*
September 30, 1895	56,205,973	14,498,643	70,704,616
December 31, 1895	58,925,169	20,982,012	79,907,181
March 31, 1896	61,771,768	16,400,466	78,172,234
June 30, 1896	81,865,954	23,284,813	105,290,767
Total	258,768,864	75,245,934	334,014,798

	Pounds.
Total production for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1896	334,014,798
Same, fiscal year ended June 30, 1895	185,571,479
The difference is	148,443,319

Showing an increased production of about 80 per cent.

The proportion of such plates lighter than 65 pounds per 100 square feet is 77 per cent, as compared with 80 per cent during the preceding year.

Thirty-six rolling mills were producing black plates during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1896, against twenty-nine that were producing during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1895.

I recognize the fact that it is utterly useless to present to members of the Senate facts showing the utter indefensibility of this feature of the tariff bill. The edict has gone forth. The caucus has ordered that it shall be adopted. It will be adopted without regard to the monstrous increase in the tariff on tin.

Mr. ALLISON. What increase did the Senator say it is?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I did not say what the rate of percentage is. I said the monstrous increase. It is absolutely indefensible, and is made solely and purely in the interest of the tin-plate manufacturers' association. The laborer has no interest in it. I have read from the proceedings of the manufacturers' association to show that they do not intend to raise the price of wages. They do not intend to give to the laborers any part of the profit. When you gentlemen put this in the bill, you do it with full knowledge that it is simply to swell the profits of the tin-plate manufacturers.

Mr. HOAR. Will the Senator from Texas object to my putting in the RECORD, without reading, some prophecies which he made when the first tin-plate duty was adopted?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I am sorry that in the long time I have served in the Senate the Senator from Massachusetts has not learned from what State I come. I suppose, however, as he addressed himself to me personally, that he meant the Senator from Arkansas. I have no objection to his putting in the RECORD anything I have said about this question, but I have refrained from putting into the RECORD again a number of prophecies indulged in by the Senator from Massachusetts four years ago, because I did not want to embarrass the progress of the business at present.

There is a good deal of very valuable reading in the RECORD. I have run over some of it recently, some predictions and some statements, perhaps made by a number of other Senators, that would not tally very well with the positions that are being occupied now. I can remember when again and again the Senator from Massachusetts voted for free sugar, on the declaration that it was the policy of the Republican party to make a free breakfast table; that that great necessary of life was not to be taxed. The Senator so voted a number of times, and perhaps himself offered amendments to that effect.

Mr. HOAR. I thought the Senator was talking about tin.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. There have been changes on this as well as other things. I confess I am surprised at the development of the tin-plate business. I believed, when in 1894 we put the tax on tin plate at 1.2 cents instead of 2.2 cents, it was all the protection the tin-plate business needed; that it was all it ought to have; and time has proved that that was true.

The increased production came, as I said this morning, from the improved and cheapened methods of manufacturing steel billets and the dissolution of the steel-billet pool, in my opinion, which has furnished raw material cheaper than before, and so cheaply that the billets out of which the plates are made are now being shipped to England and sold at the very doors of the English iron mills cheaper than they can produce them there. This has brought the cheapened raw material to tin plate, and has made it possible, under present law, to have the production of tin plate increase from year to year—in one year 58 per cent.

Mr. HOAR. I beg pardon for winding up the clock.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST] to the committee amendment, on which the Senator from Missouri demands the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. HANNA (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Utah [Mr. RAWLINS].

Mr. KENNEY (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. PENROSE], and therefore withhold my vote. Were he present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. MCLAURIN (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Utah [Mr. CANNON]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. MCMILLAN (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. LINDSAY]. I will transfer that pair to the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH], and vote. I vote "nay."

Mr. MALLORY (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROCTOR]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. WILSON (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the Senator from Florida [Mr. PASCO]. If he were present, he would vote "yea" and I should vote "nay."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. HANNA. I will transfer my pair to the Senator from Nevada [Mr. JONES], and vote "nay."

Mr. GRAY (after having voted in the affirmative). I have a general pair with the senior Senator from Illinois [Mr. CULLOM]. As I observe that he is not in his seat, I withdraw my vote.

Mr. TILLMAN. I have a pair with the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. THURSTON]. I withhold my vote. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. HANSBROUGH. I have a pair with the Senator from Virginia [Mr. DANIEL]. If he were present, I should vote "nay."

The result was announced—yeas 21, nays 32; as follows:

YEAS—21.

Bacon,	Cockrell,	Murphy,	Vest,
Bate,	Faulkner,	Pettigrew,	Walthall,
Berry,	Jones, Ark.	Pettus,	White.
Caffery,	Mills,	Roach,	
Chilton,	Mitchell,	Smith,	
Clay,	Morgan.	Turpie,	

NAYS—32.

Allison,	Foraker,	Lodge,	Platt, N. Y.
Burrows,	Frye,	McBride,	Pritchard,
Carter,	Gallinger,	McEnery,	Quay,
Chandler,	Gear,	McMillan,	Sewell,
Clark,	Hale,	Mason,	Shoup,
Deboe,	Hanna,	Nelson,	Spooner,
Elkins,	Hawley,	Perkins,	Stewart,
Fairbanks,	Hoar,	Platt, Conn.	Wetmore.

NOT VOTING—36.

Aldrich,	Gorman,	Lindsay,	Rawlins,
Allen,	Gray,	McLaurin,	Teller,
Baker,	Hansbrough,	Mallory,	Thurston,
Butler,	Harris, Kans.	Mantle,	Tillman,
Cannon,	Harris, Tenn.	Martin,	Turner,
Cullom,	Heitfeld,	Morrill,	Warren,
Daniel,	Jones, Nev.	Pasco,	Wellington,
Davis,	Kenney,	Penrose,	Wilson,
George,	Kyle.	Proctor,	Wolcott.

So Mr. VEST's amendment to the amendment of the committee was rejected.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question recurs on agreeing to the amendment of the committee striking out "one-half" and inserting "four-tenths," making the rate on tin plates, etc., four-tenths cent per pound.

The amendment was agreed to.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Secretary will read the next amendment.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 130, page 36, line 21, after the word "pound," to strike out the proviso in the following words:

Provided, That the benefit of the drawback provision in section 24 of this act shall not apply to articles manufactured in this country from imported tin plates, terne plates, or taggers tin, or to articles manufactured abroad from tin plates, terne plates, or taggers tin.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in paragraph 131, page 37, line 5, after the word "bars," to insert "mill shafting, wrist or crank pins, connecting rods and piston rods;" and in line 14, after the word "less," to strike out "seven-twentieths" and insert "three-tenths;" so as to read:

131. Steel ingots, cogged ingots, blooms, and slabs, by whatever process made; die blocks or blanks; billets and bars and tapered or beveled bars; mill shafting; wrist or crank pins; connecting rods and piston rods; pressed, sheared, or stamped shapes; saw plates, wholly or partially manufactured; hammer molds or swaged steel; gun-barrel molds not in bars; alloys used as substitutes for steel in the manufacture of tools; all descriptions and shapes of dry sand, loam, or iron-molded steel castings; sheets and plates and steel in all forms and shapes not specially provided for in this act, all of the above valued at 1 cent per pound or less, three-tenths of 1 cent per pound, etc.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask that that portion of the amendment in lines 5 and 6, after the words "mill shafting," be disagreed to, so that wrist or crank pins, connecting rods and piston rods, being a part of the forgings, will come in the 35 per cent clause.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to amend the committee amendment by striking out after the words "mill shafting" the words "wrist or crank pins; connecting rods and piston rods."

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

The amendment as amended was agreed to.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 131, page 37, line 16, after the word "pound," to strike out "five-tenths" and insert "four-tenths;" in line 18, after the word "pound," to strike out "seven-tenths" and insert "six-tenths;" in line 20, after the word "pound," to strike out "eight-tenths" and insert "seven-tenths;" in line 22, after the word "pound," to strike out "1.1 cents" and insert "nine-tenths of 1 cent;" in line 25, after the word "and," to strike out "four-tenths" and insert "two-tenths;" in line 1, page 38, after the word "and" where it occurs the second time, to strike out "six-tenths" and insert "three-tenths;" in line 3, after the word "two," to strike out "and five-tenths;" in line 5, after the word "pound," to strike out "three" and insert "two and four-tenths;" in line 7, after the word "pound," to strike out "three and five-tenths" and insert "two and eight-tenths;" and in line 8, after the word "pound," to strike out "six" and insert "four and seven-tenths;" so as to make the paragraph read:

131. Steel ingots, cogged ingots, blooms, and slabs, by whatever process made; die blocks or blanks; billets and bars and tapered or beveled bars; mill shafting; pressed, sheared, or stamped shapes; saw plates, wholly or partially manufactured; hammer molds or swaged steel; gun-barrel molds not in bars; alloys used as substitutes for steel in the manufacture of tools; all descriptions and shapes of dry sand, loam, or iron-molded steel castings; sheets and plates and steel in all forms and shapes not specially provided for in this act, all of the above valued at 1 cent per pound or less, three-tenths of 1 cent per pound; valued above 1 cent and not above 1.4 cents per pound, four-tenths of 1 cent per pound; valued above 1.4 cents and not above 1.8 cents per pound, six-tenths of 1 cent per pound; valued above 1.8 cents and not above 2.2 cents per pound, seven-tenths of 1 cent per pound; valued above 2.2 cents and not above 3 cents per pound, nine-tenths of 1 cent per pound; valued above 3 cents per pound and not above 4 cents per pound, 1.2 cents per pound; valued above 4 cents and not above 7 cents per pound, 1.3 cents per pound; valued above 7 cents and not above 10 cents per pound, 2 cents per pound; valued above 10 cents and not above 13 cents per pound, 2.4 cents per pound; valued above 13 cents and not above 16 cents per pound, 2.8 cents per pound; valued above 16 cents per pound, 4.7 cents per pound.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the head of "Wire," paragraph 132, page 38, line 19, after the word "wire," to strike out the following additional proviso:

Provided further, That all iron or steel wire rods which have been tempered or treated in any manner or partly manufactured shall be classed and dutiable as wire.

So as to make the paragraph read:

132. Wire rods: Rivet, screw, fence, and other iron or steel wire rods, whether round, oval, flat, or square, or in any other shape, and nail rods, in coils or otherwise, valued at 4 cents or less per pound, four-tenths of 1 cent per pound; valued over 4 cents per pound, three-fourths of 1 cent per pound: *Provided*, That all round iron or steel rods smaller than No. 6 wire gauge shall be classed and dutiable as wire.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 38, beginning in line 23, to strike out paragraph 133, in the following words:

133. Round iron or steel wire, all sizes not smaller than No. 13 wire gauge, 1¼ cents per pound; smaller than No. 13 wire gauge and not smaller than No. 16 wire gauge, 1½ cents per pound; smaller than No. 16 wire gauge, 2 cents per pound; all other iron or steel wire, and wire or strip steel, including such as is commonly known as crinoline wire, corset wire, needle wire, piano wire, clock and watch wires, and all steel wires, whether polished or unpolished, tempered or untempered, in coils or straight and cut to lengths, drawn cold through dies or rolls, and hat wire, flat steel wire or sheet steel in strips, uncovered or covered with cotton, silk, or other material, or metal, and all the foregoing manufactures of whatever shape or form, valued above 4 cents per pound, 45 per cent ad valorem: *Provided*, That articles manufactured from iron or steel wire shall pay the maximum rate of duty which would be imposed upon any wire used in the manufacture of such articles and in addition thereto 1¼ cents per pound; drill rods, including such as are called "Stubbs steel," and all cold-drawn steel rods, of whatever size or shape, valued above 4 cents per pound, whether polished or unpolished, in coils or straight, 45 per cent ad valorem: *And provided further*, That wire cloth and wire netting made in meshes of any form from iron, steel, brass, copper, or any other metal shall pay a duty equal in amount to that imposed on the wire used in the manufacture thereof and 2 cents per pound in addition thereto: *And provided further*, That there shall be paid on iron or steel wire coated with zinc or tin, or any other metal (except fence wire), one-half of 1 cent per pound in addition to the rate imposed on the wire of which it is made.

And in lieu thereof to insert:

133. Round iron or steel wire, not smaller than No. 13 wire gauge, 1¼ cents per pound; smaller than No. 13 and not smaller than No. 16 wire gauge, 1½ cents per pound; smaller than No. 16 wire gauge, 2 cents per pound.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. On page 40, after line 16, after the word "pound," at the end of paragraph 133, I move to insert the following proviso, of which notice was given May 25, 1897, from the committee:

Provided, That all the foregoing valued at more than 5 cents per pound shall pay 40 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, on page 40, after the amendment just agreed to, to insert the following additional paragraph:

133½. Iron or steel or other wire not specially provided for in this act, including such as is commonly known as hat wire, or bonnet wire, crinoline wire, corset wire, needle wire, piano wire, clock wire, and watch wire, whether flat or otherwise, and corset clasps, corset steels and dress steels, and sheet steel in strips, twenty-five one-thousandths of an inch thick or thinner, any of the foregoing, whether uncovered or covered with cotton, silk, metal, or other material, valued at more than 4 cents per pound, 40 per cent ad valorem; wire cloth and wire netting, made in meshes of any form from iron, steel, brass, copper, or other metal, 45 per cent ad valorem: *Provided*, That there shall be paid on iron or steel wire coated with zinc, tin, or any other metal two-tenths of 1 cent per pound in addition to the rate imposed on the wire from which it is made.

Mr. WHITE. I desire to inquire of the Senator from Iowa if paragraphs 133 and 133½ in the bill are designed to supplant paragraph 124 of the Wilson Act? Is not that the fact? They seem to be a reconstruction.

Mr. ALLISON. Yes, sir; paragraph 124 of the Wilson Act.

Mr. WHITE. The rates are different. I ask the Senator from Iowa if there is not an increase?

Mr. ALLISON. There is a slight increase, I believe, in those rates.

Mr. WHITE. Although paragraph 133 has been read through, I ask leave, by unanimous consent, to move to substitute for paragraphs 133 and 133½ paragraph 124 of the Wilson Act, so called.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair will consider the question an open one. The Senator from California offers an amendment as a substitute for paragraphs 133 and 133½.

Mr. WHITE. The section of the Wilson Act, or the present law, is lower, as I understand it, than the rates prescribed in the amendment proposed by the Senate committee.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The amendment of the Senator from California will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

124. Wire: Round iron or steel wire, all sizes not smaller than 13 wire gauge, 1½ cents per pound; smaller than 13 wire gauge, and not smaller than 16 wire gauge, 1¾ cents per pound; smaller than 16 wire gauge, 2 cents per pound; all other iron or steel wire and wire or strip steel, commonly known as crinoline wire, corset wire, drill rods, needle wire, piano wire, clock and watch wires, and all steel wires, whether polished or unpolished, in coils or straightened, and cut to lengths, drawn cold through dies, and hat wire, flat steel wire, or sheet steel in strips, uncovered or covered with cotton, silk, or other material, or metal, and all the foregoing manufactures of iron or steel, of whatever shape or form, valued above 4 cents per pound, shall pay a duty of 40 per cent ad valorem: *Provided*, That articles manufactured from iron or steel wire shall pay the maximum rate of duty which would be imposed upon any wire used in the manufacture of such articles and in addition thereto 1 cent per pound.

Mr. ALLISON. Ours is lower than the paragraph in the present law.

Mr. VEST. I wish to call the attention of the Senator from Iowa to one great difference. Under the Wilson Act, the existing law, the duty is an ad valorem one of 40 per cent upon wire, whether coated or covered or not. There is the same duty upon wire. In the proposed amendment there is a distinction made, which is an increase upon the coated or covered wire. That is the great difference between the two provisions.

Mr. ALLISON. There is a difference in phraseology. There is no real difference in the rate. But I shall propose an amendment to paragraph 133¼.

Mr. MILLS. I desire to add to this discussion by stating that the census report shows that the manufacturers of this wire pay $19.01 in wages for every $100 worth of wire they produce, and that is nearly double the rate of wages generally claimed to have been paid abroad. Ten cents on $100 worth would cover the difference. Nineteen dollars and one cent on every $100 worth of this product will pay for all the labor expended by the manufacturers, and I suppose that that would come somewhere near being a revenue duty on this article. I do not think that we ought to give them more than enough to pay for the whole cost of the wages in the production of these goods.

Mr. CHILTON. Mr. President, I should like to have the attention of the Senator from Iowa. I notice that in his amendment he so changes the House bill as to strike out the exception in favor of fence wire. The existing law makes an exception in favor of fence wire. In other words, fence wire under the Wilson Act was not to be embarrassed with the additional charge which is made upon coated wire generally. So in the House of Representatives, when the pending bill was passed, it was provided that fence wire should not be subjected to the additional charge. It seems to me that was a wise exception in favor of the people. Fence wire is an article of universal consumption in the country. The policy of separating it from other coated wire was adopted in the Wilson Act; it was continued in the Dingley bill in the House of Representatives, and it seems to me that it ought not to be departed from now in the Senate amendments. I should like to know what is the reason for striking out the exception.

Mr. ALLISON. We have provided for fence wire elsewhere.

Mr. CHILTON. What rate do you give it elsewhere? What is the rate on it?

Mr. ALLISON. On fence wire?

Mr. CHILTON. Yes.

Mr. ALLISON. I believe fence wire is free—that is, if it is coated. There is no additional duty for coated.

Mr. WHITE. If it is not free, I give notice now that when we reach the free list I shall offer an amendment to put it upon the free list. But the sum total of the amendments proposed by the committee increase the rate of duty, I think.

Mr. ALLISON. We impose no additional duty upon fence wire if coated.

Mr. WHITE. The effect of these amendments, while in some respects the duty is comparatively lowered, is to raise the aggregate matter affected by the two paragraphs, and for that reason I have moved a substitute for paragraphs 133 and 133¼, the two paragraphs read.

Mr. CHILTON. I understood the Senator from Iowa to say a moment ago that they had provided that fence wire should not bear the additional duty. Now, that exception in favor of fence wire is just what you have distinctly stricken out of the House bill. Unless you have put such a clause into this bill at some other place, this amendment will leave fence wire subject to duty, like all other wire.

Mr. ALLISON. It is somewhere else, I am quite sure. If it is not, it is a mistake. It was so intended.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed as a substitute for paragraphs 133 and 133¼ by the Senator from California [Mr. WHITE].

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. ALLISON. Now, I move the amendment to paragraph 133¼ which is to be found on the second page of the amendments of May 25, amendment No. 6.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The amendment to the amendment will be read.

The SECRETARY. On page 41, after the words "ad valorem," in line 3, strike out the following words:

Wire cloth and wire netting, made in meshes of any form from iron, steel, brass, copper, or other metal, 45 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The next amendment proposed by the Senator from Iowa to paragraph 133¼ will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In line 6, after the word "*Provided*," strike out the words "That there shall be paid" and insert in lieu thereof the words:

That articles manufactured from iron, steel, brass, or copper wire shall pay the rate of duty which would be imposed upon the wire used in the manufacture of such articles, and in addition thereto 1 cent per pound; and.

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

The amendment as amended was agreed to.

Mr. QUAY. I desire to call the attention of the Senator from Iowa to paragraph 132. Do I understand that the Committee on Finance insisted upon the amendment striking out the last proviso, or was the proviso reinstated?

Mr. ALLISON. The intention, I will say to the Senator from Pennsylvania, was to strike out of the amendment originally proposed by the Senate committee the words "wire cloth," etc., beginning in line 3, on page 41.

Mr. QUAY. No; I am speaking of paragraph 132, page 38. I inquire whether the committee intend to insist upon striking out the second proviso, which I received the impression was to be reinstated. I may be wrong.

Mr. ALLISON. I think that was to go out. That was my understanding.

Mr. QUAY. It was not mine. However, I will talk to the Senator from Iowa again about it.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The reading of the bill will proceed.

The Secretary read as follows:

GENERAL PROVISIONS.

134. No allowance or reduction of duties for partial loss or damage in consequence of rust or of discoloration shall be made upon any description of iron or steel, or upon any article wholly or partly manufactured of iron or steel, or upon any manufacture of iron or steel.

135. All metal produced from iron or its ores, which is cast and malleable, of whatever description or form, without regard to the percentage of carbon contained therein, whether produced by cementation, or converted, cast, or made from iron or its ores, by the crucible, Bessemer, Clapp-Griffith, pneumatic, Thomas-Gilchrist, basic, Siemens-Martin, or open-hearth process, or by the equivalent of either, or by a combination of two or more of the processes, or their equivalents, or by any fusion or other process which produces from iron or its ores a metal either granular or fibrous in structure, which is cast and malleable, excepting what is known as malleable-iron castings, shall be classed and denominated as steel.

Mr. WHITE. I ask the Senator from Iowa if paragraph 135 is not a new section, not to be found in the Wilson Act?

Mr. ALLISON. It is in the McKinley law of 1890.

Mr. WHITE. It was not changed by the Wilson Act at all.

Mr. ALLISON. I think it was not changed by the Wilson Act, nor is it changed by this bill. It is the same as the existing law.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Secretary will proceed with the reading of the bill.

The Secretary read as follows:

136. No article not specially provided for in this act, which is wholly or partly manufactured from tin plate, terne plate, or the sheet, plate, hoop, band, or scroll iron or steel herein provided for, or of which such tin plate, terne plate, sheet, plate, hoop, band, or scroll iron or steel shall be the material of chief value, shall pay a lower rate of duty than that imposed on the tin plate, terne plate, or sheet, plate, hoop, band, or scroll iron or steel from which it is made, or of which it shall be the component thereof of chief value.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was to strike out paragraph 137, as follows:

137. On all iron or steel bars or rods of whatever shape or section which are cold rolled, cold drawn, cold hammered, or polished in any way in addition to the ordinary process of hot rolling or hammering, there shall be paid one-fourth of 1 cent per pound in addition to the rates provided in this act on bars or rods of whatever section or shape which are hot rolled; and on all strips, plates, or sheets of iron or steel of whatever shape, other than the polished, planished, or glanced sheet iron or sheet steel hereinbefore provided for, which are cold rolled, cold hammered, blued, brightened, tempered, or polished by any process to such perfected surface finish or polish better than the grade of cold rolled, smoothed only, hereinbefore provided for, there shall be paid 1 cent per pound in addition to the rates provided in this act upon plates, strips, or sheets of iron or steel of common or black finish; and on steel circular saw plates there shall be paid three-fourths of 1 cent per pound in addition to the rate provided in this act for steel saw plates.

Mr. ALLISON. Mr. President, on reexamination of paragraph 137, the Senate committee recommend that it be retained in the bill.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The amendment, then, will be disagreed to, if there be no objection. The Chair hears no objection, and it is disagreed to.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 139, page 43, line 13, after the word "manufacture," to strike out "1¼ cents" and insert "valued at not more than 6 cents per pound, 1 cent;" so as to make the paragraph read:

139. Axles, or parts thereof, axle bars, axle blanks, or forgings for axles, whether of iron or steel, without reference to the stage or state of manufac-

ture, valued at not more than 6 cents per pound, 1 cent per pound: *Provided*, That when iron or steel axles are imported fitted in wheels, or parts of wheels, of iron or steel, they shall be dutiable at the same rate as the wheels in which they are fitted.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. VEST. I wanted to inquire of the Senator in charge of the bill why that grade is changed there, and the words "valued at not more than 6 cents per pound, 1 cent" inserted? That language is not in the McKinley Act nor in the existing law. There may be some good reason for it; and if so, I should like to know what it is.

Mr. ALLISON. I suppose the reason for it is that if valued at more than 6 cents per pound, the axles will go into the basket clause and pay a duty of 45 or 35 per cent ad valorem, whichever it may be. It is intended that very high-grade axles shall pay a higher rate of duty than that proposed here. There are fine axles sold at 20, 30, 50, and 60 cents per pound.

The reading of the bill was resumed at paragraph 140, on page 43, line 18, as follows:

140. Blacksmiths' hammers and sledges, track tools, wedges, and crowbars, whether of iron or steel, 1¼ cents per pound.

Mr. VEST. I intended to make a remark on paragraph 138 as to the increased duty upon anvils. The duty under the existing law is 1¼ cents a pound, under the McKinley Act 2¼ cents, and in this bill 2 cents a pound. It is not a matter of any very general importance, but it is one of very great importance to the blacksmiths of the country, who, as a rule, are not a wealthy class.

I make this statement, which the Senator from Iowa, I think, will concede to be true, that there are anvils made abroad—I can not just now recall the name, though I have documents in regard to the subject—which are absolutely necessary to the blacksmiths of this country, which can not be produced in the United States, and never have been. They have a rebounding quality which we have never been able to give to the anvils made in the United States. You can go to the poorest neighborhood in the Western States and you will find one of these imported anvils. They are resonant and rebounding, they endure for an indefinite period, and they have never been produced in this country. This is a notorious fact, and I can not understand why there should be an increase upon an article of that kind in this great bill, which is to produce millions of dollars of revenue.

If the Senate will permit me, by unanimous consent, I will go back and move to restore the duty to what it is under the existing law.

Mr. ALLISON. At 1¼ cents?

Mr. VEST. Yes.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection?

Mr. ALLISON. I do not object to going back.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair hears no objection, and paragraph 138 will be again read.

The Secretary read as follows:

138. Anvils of iron or steel, or of iron and steel combined, by whatever process made, or in whatever stage of manufacture, 2 cents per pound.

Mr. ALLISON. I am told that many of these anvils are very expensive. It may be that 1¼ cents a pound will be sufficient duty, but I do not think so.

Mr. VEST. The Senator from Iowa knows that the statement I made in regard to these anvils is true. I have had occasion to examine it under two tariff bills. I can not recall the name, but the junior Senator from Iowa [Mr. GEAR] gives me the first name. It is Peter somebody. He makes these anvils as they have never been made by anybody else. He has some secret process, and we have never been able to reproduce them in the United States. I know they are used by every poor blacksmith in the West. I have had them repeatedly tell me in Missouri that if it took all they had, they would buy one of these anvils, because they could not do their work with an American anvil. This is one of those peculiar cases not confined to any foreign country, because we produce articles that can not be produced abroad.

Mr. ALLISON. I make no contest about that statement.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The amendment submitted by the Senator from Missouri will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In paragraph 138, page 43, line 10, before the word "cents," it is proposed to strike out "two" and insert "one and three-fourths;" so as to read:

138. Anvils of iron or steel, or of iron and steel combined, by whatever process made, or in whatever stage of manufacture, 1¾ cents per pound.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on the amendment submitted by the Senator from Missouri. [Putting the question.] The "ayes" appear to have it.

Mr. ALLISON. If the Chair decides that the "ayes" have it, I shall not call for the yeas and nays.

Mr. VEST. Oh, no, let it go; it is right.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The "ayes" have it; and the amendment is agreed to.

The reading of the bill was resumed at paragraph 142, as follows:

142. Card-clothing manufactured from tempered steel wire, 45 cents per square foot; all other, 30 cents per square foot.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. I should like to have that paragraph passed for a few minutes, and perhaps for the day.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, paragraph 142 will be passed over.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 145, page 44, line 10, after the word "act," to strike out "1¼ cents" and insert "nine-tenths of 1 cent;" so as to make the paragraph read:

145. Castings of malleable iron not specially provided for in this act, nine-tenths of 1 cent per pound.

The amendment was agreed to.

The reading of the bill was resumed; and paragraphs 146 and 147 were read, as follows:

146. Cast hollow ware, coated, glazed, or tinned, 2 cents per pound.

147. Chain or chains of all kinds, made of iron or steel, not less than three-fourths of 1 inch in diameter, 1½ cents per pound; less than three-fourths of 1 inch and not less than three-eighths of 1 inch in diameter, 1¾ cents per pound; less than three-eighths of 1 inch in diameter and not less than five-sixteenths of 1 inch in diameter, 2 cents per pound; less than five-sixteenths of 1 inch in diameter, 3½ cents per pound; but no chain or chains of any description shall pay a lower rate of duty than 45 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President, in respect to paragraph 147, I have a communication here to which I desire to attract the attention of the Senate. It is from the firm of Hermann Boker & Co., importers, of New York. It is as follows:

NEW YORK, *March 24, 1897.*

DEAR SIR: The proposed new tariff calls for a duty of 3¼ cents per pound on chains of all kinds, made of iron or steel, not less than five-sixteenths of an inch in diameter, provided that the duty shall not be less than 45 per cent ad valorem.

Practically all the chain which is imported is made of iron or steel less than five-sixteenths of an inch in diameter.

Under the tariff bill of 1890 the duty on such chains was 2¼ cents per pound, provided that the duty should not be less than 45 per cent ad valorem.

The duty on such chains which is paid under the present Wilson bill is 30 per cent ad valorem.

The importations of chain have for the last few years steadily decreased, chain made in this country gradually taking the place of the imported chain.

We beg to hand you, inclosed, a table showing the duties which would have to be paid under the proposed new tariff, compared with the duties paid under the tariff of 1890. These duties would be equal to about 90 per cent ad valorem on some sizes and equal to about 70 per cent on the most salable sizes. These duties would be prohibitive, prevent all further importation of chain, and appear excessively high.

We would propose a duty of 30 or 35 per cent ad valorem on chain. This would give the American manufacturers sufficient protection and still allow some chain to be imported and continue to give revenue to the Government.

Respectfully, yours,

HERMANN BOKER & CO.

Hon. STEPHEN M. WHITE, of California,
Committee on Finance, United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

Accompanying this letter is a short table, which I will ask to have inserted in the RECORD.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. It will be so ordered, in the absence of objection.

The table referred to is as follows:

Duty on chains.

	Coil chains (per 100 feet).		Halters, 4½ feet (per dozen).		Halters, 6 feet (per dozen).	
	Cost in Europe.	Duty.	Cost in Europe.	Duty.	Cost in Europe.	Duty.
No. 6-0	$2.30	$2.15				
No. 5-0	2.00	1.69				
No. 4-0	1.70	1.47	$1.20	$1.01	$1.55	$1.27
No. 3-0	1.50	1.30	1.03	.82	1.30	1.01
No. 2-0	1.35	1.07	.93	.68	1.16	.77
No. 0	1.25	.84	.84	.51	1.05	.64
No. 1	1.15	.67	.77	.42	.98	.57
No. 2	1.05	.52		*45		
No. 3		*45		*45		
No. 4		*45		*45		
No. 5		*45		*45		

*Per cent.

Mr. WHITE. I observe the Senate amendment reduces the rates to which this correspondent refers, but they still seem, in view of the importations, to be very high.

Mr. VEST. A very objectionable feature of this paragraph is what might be called the basket-clause provision—that all these articles shall bear not less than 45 per cent ad valorem. I have several communications here, amongst others that of Hermann Boker & Co., of New York, and those gentlemen coincide with Joseph F. McCoy Company, a very reputable house, which I happen to know, who are very conversant with all this matter of chains, for they import largely and also deal in the domestic article. They declare that the clause putting 45 per cent upon chains is in itself prohibitive.

I am informed by an expert, who has examined this clause and makes report to me, that it amounts to 4 cents a pound upon chains of every description, and is a large increase over the existing law. I ask the Secretary to read the letter from this house of Joseph F. McCoy Company, whose character is enough to warrant its being read.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the letter will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

NEW YORK, *May 15, 1897.*

Hon. SENATOR VEST.

DEAR SIR: We beg to call your attention to paragraph 147 of the Senate tariff bill.

The clause providing that no chain shall pay less than 45 per cent duty is of itself an advance of 50 per cent ad valorem on the present rates under the Wilson bill, and in our opinion is entirely unnecessary from a revenue standpoint.

American makers are fast driving the foreign chain out of the market, even at the present rate of duty at 30 per cent ad valorem, and if revenue is wanted, duty should be left at 30 per cent or reduced below that figure.

It is only a few kinds of chain that are now imported, most of the principal importations of chain being coil and halter chain from Germany.

The importation of this kind of chain is lessening every year, and how the Government is to get any revenue from it in the future by increasing the present rate of duty, and lessening the opportunity for importing in the future, we can not tell.

To make the duty 45 per cent will no doubt lessen revenue, and to make the duty on the principal sizes sold so extreme, as shown in our statement, will certainly stop importation and advance prices of American chain to all just as soon as business improves.

Prohibiting goods from coming here, and making every consumer among 70,000,000 people pay a "stand up and deliver" tax, may properly be named something else than protection.

If revenue is honestly sought for in the Dingley bill or Senate bill, we are with the powers that be.

The prices inclosed we can verify whenever necessary, and hope your efforts will be given to a tariff bill for revenue proposed including justice to all.

Mr. VEST. Mr. President, as I had occasion to remark, the duties can not be less than 45 per cent ad valorem, and without inflicting this table upon the Senate, which I have had an expert examine, and which he declares to be correct, it is enough to say in conclusion that the McCoy Company make these duties 102 per cent, 87 per cent, 87½ per cent, 75 per cent, and 51 per cent, always provided that the duty can not be less than 45 per cent.

There is no sort of excuse for these increases. We command the market of the United States, and we are able to do it upon all these articles of iron and steel. We export, and there is no country in the world that competes with us successfully or can undersell us. You go to Europe to-morrow, and you will find all over the Continent American steel and iron manufactures underselling the foreigners. There are only one or two articles in which they can undersell us.

For instance, take the very low-priced German knives, which we can not produce in this country for less than 25 cents, and they are made there for 5 and 6 cents. With that exception, even when you come to metals, clocks and watches, you will find American clocks and American watches for sale in Germany and in France. We are the most ingenious people in the world; we have the largest natural resources; we have the best workmen in the world, and why should we continue to put up these enormous duties? It can not be to hold the American market, for we have got it, admittedly got it. The only possible reason there can be for it, the only possible excuse for it, is to enable the American manufacturer to put up the price of his goods to the American consumer.

I had occasion to produce in 1890, and can produce to-morrow, the Export Journal, published in the city of New York, showing that our manufactures of agricultural implements of every description, such as spades, shovels, hoes, reapers, mowers, plows, rakes, hatchets, axes, are advertised to be sold at a discount to the foreigner on the price charged the American consumer. Two weeks ago I was conversing with an American manufacturer, and when I asked why this was, and told him I had tables which showed that there was a discount of 45 or 50 per cent on these goods free on board ship if sold to foreigners, and that they were so sold in European and South American markets, his answer was coolly, "That is the surplus after supplying the American market, and we have not any use for it; it is like the remnant of an old stock of goods, we put them up and sacrifice them." But it shows that these duties are not necessary except for the purpose of putting up the price to the American consumer.

Mr. Blaine, a very distinguished statesman, as we all know, who claimed to be the father of reciprocity, agreed upon a differential duty of from 25 to 30 per cent with Brazil and the South American Republics, including Argentina; that is to say, if they would let our goods come in at a certain price, we would make a discount upon theirs, and Mr. Blaine's report shows—and I have had occasion to read it to the Senate, and that is claimed by our Republican friends—that with a discount, or with a difference of 25 per cent, we would be able to compete with the British and the French and the Germans in the South American market. If we can pay transportation and with only 25 per cent difference in duties take the market away from the foreigners in South America, why can we not get along in the United States with less than 105, 90, and 75 per cent of taxation? I never heard any successful answer to that question, and I never expect to.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The amendment reported by he committee will be stated.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, on page 44, paragraph 147, line 15, before the words "per pound," to strike out "and one-fourth cents" and insert "cent;" in line 18, before the word "cents," to strike out "one-half" and insert "one-fourth;" in line 19, after the word "diameter," to strike out "and not less than five-sixteenths of 1 inch in diameter;" in line 20, before the word "cents," to insert "and one-half;" and in line 21, after the word "pound," to strike out "less than five-sixteenths of 1 inch in diameter, 3½ cents per pound;" so as to make the paragraph read:

147. Chain or chains of all kinds, made of iron or steel, not less than three-fourths of 1 inch in diameter, 1 cent per pound; less than three-fourths of 1 inch and not less than three-eighths of 1 inch in diameter, 1½ cents per pound; less than three-eighths of 1 inch in diameter, 2½ cents per pound; but no chain or chains of any description shall pay a lower rate of duty than 45 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. WHITE. I move to substitute for section 147 the following language, being section 137 of the present law:

Chains of all kinds, made of iron or steel, 30 per cent ad valorem.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The amendment proposed by the Senator from California will be stated.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to strike out all of section 147 as amended and insert:

Chains of all kinds, made of iron or steel, 30 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. WHITE. On that I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. McLAURIN (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Utah [Mr. CANNON], and therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. McMILLAN (when his name was called). Under the transfer of my pair with the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. LINDSAY] to the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH], I am at liberty to vote, and I vote "nay."

Mr. MALLORY (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROCTOR]. Otherwise I should vote "yea."

Mr. TILLMAN (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. THURSTON]. He not being present, I withhold my vote.

Mr. WILSON (when his name was called). I again announce my pair with the Senator from Florida [Mr. PASCO]. If he were present, he would vote "yea" and I should vote "nay."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. GRAY (after having voted in the affirmative). I have a general pair with the Senator from Illinois [Mr. CULLOM]. As he is not in his seat, I withdraw my vote.

Mr. VEST (after having voted in the affirmative). I ask unanimous consent to declare my pair with the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH], and I ask to withdraw my vote.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. GALLINGER in the chair). That will be the order, in the absence of objection.

The result was announced—yeas 17, nays 32; as follows:

YEAS—17.

Bacon,	Cockrell,	Mills,	Walthall,
Bate,	Harris, Kans.	Mitchell,	White.
Berry,	Heitfeld,	Morgan,	
Chilton,	Jones, Ark.	Pettus,	
Clay,	Kenney,	Turpie,	

NAYS—32.

Allison,	Frye,	McBride,	Platt, N. Y.
Burrows,	Gallinger,	McEnery,	Pritchard,
Carter,	Gear,	McMillan,	Quay,
Clark,	Hale,	Mason,	Sewell,
Davis,	Hanna,	Nelson,	Shoup,
Deboe,	Hawley,	Penrose,	Spooner,
Fairbanks,	Hoar,	Perkins,	Stewart,
Foraker,	Lodge,	Platt, Conn.	Wetmore.

NOT VOTING—40.

Aldrich,	Faulkner,	Mallory,	Smith,
Allen,	George,	Mantle,	Teller,
Baker,	Gorman,	Martin,	Thurston,
Butler,	Gray,	Morrill,	Tillman,
Caffery,	Hansbrough,	Murphy,	Turner,
Cannon,	Harris, Tenn.	Pasco,	Vest,
Chandler,	Jones, Nev.	Pettigrew,	Warren,
Cullom,	Kyle,	Proctor,	Wellington,
Daniel,	Lindsay,	Rawlins,	Wilson,
Elkins,	McLaurin,	Roach,	Wolcott.

So the amendment was rejected.

The reading of the bill was resumed at paragraph 148. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 148, page 45, line 4, after the word "pounds," to insert "all other iron or steel tubes, finished or unfinished, not specially provided for in

this act, 30 per cent ad valorem;" so as to make the paragraph read:

148. Lap welded, butt welded, seamed, or jointed iron or steel boiler tubes, pipes, flues, or stays, not thinner than No. 16 wire gauge, 2 cents per pound; welded cylindrical furnaces, made from plate metal, 2½ cents per pound; all other iron or steel tubes, finished or unfinished, not specially provided for in this act, 30 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. CHILTON. In this schedule there has been a general tendency to follow the Wilson rates, but here is an instance in which the Senate committee have raised the Wilson duty from 25 to 30 per cent, and it seems to me the increase is entirely unjustifiable. The proviso which has been added to this paragraph reaches what are known as hollow billets, such tubes, I may say to my friend the Senator from Georgia [Mr. BACON], as are used for bicycle purposes. Those billets are produced in Sweden, and none of them are made by the iron men in this country.

The only beneficiary of this particular increase of tariff, according to my information, would be the American patentee of a machine used to hollow out solid billets. All the billets made in the United States are solid billets, and he has invented a machine for hollowing out those billets. The duty fixed in this paragraph does not even rise to the dignity of helping American industries. It would help but a single individual or firm, and that is the individual or firm which will enjoy a complete monopoly by reason of a patented invention.

There was a revenue last year of $300,000, I believe, from the importation of these hollow billets, and it should not be cut off by making the duty too high. I wish to ask the Senator from Iowa if he can state any good reason for increasing the tariff on these hollow billets? We should vote down the committee amendment, and then put hollow billets in the former clause of the paragraph at same rate as boiler tubes.

Mr. ALLISON. I do not think it is a very great increase. It is 30 per cent ad valorem. It is largely confined to hollow tubes and hollow billets used for the manufacture of bicycles. There is no doubt about that. I do not think it is an excessive duty at all, judging from the price we pay for bicycles these days, and I think it is a very good revenue duty.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. In that connection, I will read a clipping which I took from a paper a few days ago, dated Pittsburg, May 20:

For the past month or so representatives of the four largest bicycle-tube manufactories in the Midland England have been negotiating with tube plants in this country, looking to the formation of an international bicycle-tube trust. To-night it is announced that their mission to this country has been successful, and the first international trust of the kind has been formed.

The trust has bought outright the tube plants at Ellwood and Greenville, Pa. The price paid for the two plants and the privilege of using the Stiefel seamless-tube process was close to $3,000,000.

The only other tube plants in this country are at Shelbyville and Toledo, and Brooklyn, N. Y. It is not probable that these plants will be taken into the trust.

Possibly that may throw some light on the subject.

Mr. ALLISON. Not very much.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment reported by the Committee on Finance.

Mr. CHILTON. On that I ask for the yeas and nays. The proviso is proposed to be added by the Senate.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CLARK (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Kansas [Mr. HARRIS]. He is not present, and I therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. HANSBROUGH (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Virginia [Mr. DANIEL].

Mr. LODGE (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the junior Senator from Georgia [Mr. CLAY]. I do not see him present, and therefore withhold my vote. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. McLAURIN (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Utah [Mr. CANNON].

Mr. TILLMAN (when his name was called). I have a pair with the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. THURSTON], and therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. WHITE (when his name was called). For the purpose of this vote I am paired with the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH], who is detained from the Chamber. Were he present, I should vote "nay" and he would vote "yea."

Mr. WILSON (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the Senator from Florida [Mr. PASCO]. If he were present, he would vote "nay" and I should vote "yea."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. WHITE. I will transfer the pair which, as I stated a moment ago, I have with the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH] to the Senator from Florida [Mr. PASCO].

The result was announced—yeas 31, nays 16; as follows:

YEAS—31.

Allison,	Frye,	McEnery,	Quay,
Burrows,	Gallinger,	McMillan,	Sewell,
Carter,	Gear,	Mason,	Shoup,
Chandler,	Hale,	Nelson,	Spooner,
Davis,	Hanna,	Perkins,	Stewart,
Deboe,	Hawley,	Platt, Conn.	Wetmore,
Fairbanks,	Hoar,	Platt, N. Y.	Wilson.
Foraker,	McBride,	Pritchard,	

NAYS—16.

Bacon,	Chilton,	Mitchell,	Turpie,
Bate,	Cockrell,	Morgan,	Vest.
Berry,	Jones, Ark.	Pettigrew,	Walthall,
Caffery,	Mills,	Pettus,	White.

NOT VOTING—42.

Aldrich,	George,	Lodge,	Roach,
Allen,	Gorman,	McLaurin,	Smith,
Baker,	Gray,	Mallory,	Teller,
Butler,	Hansbrough,	Mantle,	Thurston,
Cannon,	Harris, Kans.	Martin,	Tillman,
Clark,	Harris, Tenn.	Morrill,	Turner,
Clay,	Heitfeld,	Murphy,	Warren,
Cullom,	Jones, Nev.	Pasco,	Wellington,
Daniel,	Kenney,	Penrose,	Wolcott.
Elkins,	Kyle,	Proctor,	
Faulkner,	Lindsay,	Rawlins,	

So the amendment was agreed to.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, under the head of "Cutlery," on page 45, to strike out all after line 7 down to and including line 15, on page 46, as follows:

149. Penknives, pocketknives, or clasp knives, and erasers or manicure knives of all kinds, or parts thereof, wholly or partially manufactured, including such as have corkscrews, file blades, or manicure blades, each of which shall be held to be a blade, if valued at not more than 40 cents per dozen, 10 cents per dozen and 15 per cent ad valorem: all others, having but one blade, 50 cents per dozen and 20 per cent ad valorem; if having but two blades, $1 per dozen and 20 per cent ad valorem; if having but three blades, $1.50 per dozen and 20 per cent ad valorem; if having four blades or more, $2 per dozen and 20 per cent ad valorem; and on all the articles in this paragraph with handles or handle coverings of pearl or tortoise shell, having but two blades, 50 cents per dozen, and having three blades or more, 75 cents per dozen, in addition to the foregoing rates. Razors or razor blades, finished or unfinished, valued at not more than $3 per dozen, $1 per dozen; valued at more than $3 per dozen, $1.75 cents per dozen, and in addition thereto, on all razors and razor blades, 15 per cent ad valorem. Scissors and shears, finished or unfinished, valued at not more than $1.75 per dozen, 50 cents per dozen and 15 per cent ad valorem; valued at more than $1.75 per dozen, 75 cents per dozen and 20 per cent ad valorem.

And insert in lieu thereof:

149. Penknives or pocketknives, clasp knives, pruning knives, and budding knives of all kinds, or parts thereof, and erasers or manicure knives, or parts thereof, wholly or partly manufactured, valued at not more than 40 cents per dozen, 40 per cent ad valorem; valued at more than 40 cents per dozen and not exceeding 50 cents per dozen, 1 cent per piece and 40 per cent ad valorem; valued at more than 50 cents per dozen and not exceeding $1.50 per dozen, 5 cents per piece and 40 per cent ad valorem; valued at more than $1.50 per dozen and not exceeding $3 per dozen, 10 cents per piece and 40 per cent ad valorem; valued at more than $3 per dozen, 20 cents per piece and 40 per cent ad valorem. Razors and razor blades, finished or unfinished, valued at not more than $1.50 per dozen, 50 cents per dozen and 15 per cent ad valorem; valued at more than $1.50 and not more than $3 per dozen, $1.75 per dozen and 20 per cent ad valorem. Scissors and shears, and blades for the same, finished or unfinished, valued at more than 50 cents per dozen, 15 cents per dozen and 15 per cent ad valorem; valued at more than 50 cents and not more than $1.75 per dozen, 50 cents per dozen and 15 per cent ad valorem; valued at more than $1.75 per dozen, 75 cents per dozen and 25 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. ALLISON. I wish to offer an amendment. After line 8, on page 47, I move to insert what I send to the desk.

The SECRETARY. After the words "ad valorem," in line 8, page 47, it is proposed to insert the following proviso:

Provided, That blades, handles, or other parts of either or any of the foregoing articles, imported in any other manner than assembled in finished knives or erasers, shall be subject to no less rate of duty than herein provided for penknives, pocketknives, clasp knives, pruning-knives, manicure knives, and erasers valued at more than 50 and not more than $1.50 per dozen.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment of the committee will be modified according to the suggestion of the Senator from Iowa.

Mr. ALLISON. In line 9, I move to strike out, beginning with the word "Razors" and ending with the words "ad valorem," in line 16, and insert what I send to the desk, which is merely a change of phraseology, and provides for a bracket which was omitted.

The SECRETARY. After the amendment just adopted, strike out all of the bill down to and including the words "ad valorem," in line 16, and insert:

Razors and razor blades, finished or unfinished, valued at less than $1.50 per dozen, 50 cents per dozen and 15 per cent ad valorem; valued at $1.50 per dozen and less than $3 per dozen, $1 per dozen and 15 per cent ad valorem; valued at $3 per dozen or more, $1.75 per dozen and 20 per cent ad valorem.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment to the amendment.

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment as amended.

Mr. VEST. I offer a substitute for the entire paragraph.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Missouri offers a substitute for the paragraph, which will be stated.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to strike out paragraph 149 and insert:

149. Penknives, pocketknives, or clasp knives, and erasers or manicure knives of all kinds, or parts thereof, wholly or partially manufactured, including such as have corkscrews, file blades, or manicure blades, each of which shall be held to be a blade, if valued at not more than 40 cents per dozen, 10 cents per dozen and 15 per cent ad valorem; all others having but one blade, 40 cents per dozen and 30 per cent ad valorem; if having but two blades, 60 cents per dozen and 20 per cent ad valorem; if having but three blades, 80 cents per dozen and 20 per cent ad valorem; if having four blades or more, $1 per dozen and 20 per cent ad valorem: *Provided*, That no article of the above named shall pay a higher rate of duty than 70 per cent ad valorem.

Razors or razor blades, finished or unfinished, valued at not more than $4 per dozen, $1 per dozen; valued at more than $4 per dozen, $1.75 per dozen, and in addition thereto, on all razors and razor blades, 15 per cent ad valorem.

Scissors and shears, finished or unfinished, 45 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. VEST. On account of the change of classification it is impossible, from the comparative statement, to tell what have been the increases in the duty upon cutlery and razors and erasers. I have before me a statement of the house of Alfred Field & Co., as reputable as there is in the world, the largest cutlery house in the United States, not so large an establishment, if hardware be included, as the Simmons Hardware Company, of St. Louis, which, possibly, is the largest establishment in the world, but they deal not only in cutlery, but in hardware besides. The house of Alfred Field deals in cutlery and guns and pistols.

Before going to the articles in detail, here is a calculation based upon the actual import prices at the custom-house in New York which you will not find in the comparative statement. It is impossible to run it out under the classification as made. The statement which I have shows the duty under the Wilson Act, under the Dingley bill, and under the Senate amendment.

Comparative statement of duties on cutlery.

Articles.	Wilson average.	Dingley average.	Senate amendment average.	Dingley increase over Wilson.	Senate amendment increase over Wilson.
	Per cent.	*Per cent.*	*Per cent.*	*Per cent.*	*Per cent.*
Pocket cutlery	50	137	90	160	87½
Razors	45	57	60	26	33⅓
Scissors and shears	45	72	72	60	60
Table knives, pearl handles	45	65	65	45	45
Table knives, ivory handles	35	80	80	130	130
Table knives, rubber and celluloid handles	35	55	55	60	60
Table knives, bone handles	35	150	150	330	330
Table knives, stag handles	35	160	160	360	360
Carving knives and forks, stag handles	35	65	65	90	90

They also give the same information as to breech-loading guns, and although we have not yet reached that item I will give the figures. Under the Wilson Act, the existing law, it is 30 per cent, 70 per cent under the Dingley bill, 55 per cent under the Senate amendment, being an increase of 133 per cent by the Dingley bill and of 83 per cent by the Senate amendment.

I have here a table prepared by the same house, and I personally vouch for the integrity and correctness of the house. Mr. Saxton, the principal superintendent of the house, I know well. I have known him since 1890, when he was here representing the interest of the importers of his house, Alfred Field & Co. He stands at the head of his business. He never has been impeached as to integrity and fairness. This shows, without going into detail, that upon the lower-priced goods the increase of duty is the heaviest. That extends entirely through the whole schedule.

It is almost incredible that there should be an increase of 330 to 340 per cent over existing duties on an article of common necessity, both pocketknives and table cutlery.

Mr. President, the condition of the trade is not such as to warrant any such increase. I happen to have before me an advertisement, in the Iron Age of March 11, 1897, of the Goodell Cutlery Company, of Antrim, N. H., in which they declare: "Our cutlery business has increased 2,300 per cent in twenty years."

CUTLERY. Table knives and forks, carvers and butchers, shoe, bread, cheese, putty, kitchen knives, etc., in great variety.

Our cutlery business has increased *twenty-three hundred per cent* in twenty years. Incomparable merit, equitable prices, fair dealing did it.

The best jobbing trade handle our lines.

GOODELL COMPANY, *Antrim, N. H.*

Two thousand three hundred per cent in twenty years!

Mr. HAWLEY. Will the Senator from Missouri tell me how many the company made the first year?

Mr. VEST. I have not an idea, but there is the statement. I have put it in the RECORD and the Senator from Connecticut can examine it. It makes no difference, it seems to me, when the increase took place.

Mr. HAWLEY. If the Senator will pardon me, suppose the company made only one the first year.

Mr. VEST. Then they made up in the balance of the years, and so much higher the compliment to the existing system of tariff taxation. If they commenced at 1 per cent and then went up to 2,300 per cent in twenty years, I take it they could not have had much more legislation in their favor, if it came from legislation. Two thousand three hundred per cent in twenty years! It shows that this is no infant industry; that it has not perished under the duties of the Wilson Act; that there is no necessity for these enormous increases on pocket cutlery of 330 and 340 per cent.

Mr. HOAR. Will the Senator from Missouri pardon me? I have known a great many industries to start in my own city of Worcester, which has a great variety, and nearly every one of them, I think, has increased 2,300 per cent the first year.

Mr. CHANDLER. If the Senator from Missouri will allow me, suppose that twenty years ago they did $1,000 worth of business, and now they do $23,000 worth of business. That would have been an increase of 2,300 per cent, would it not?

Mr. VEST. It certainly shows that they have not died.

Mr. CHANDLER. They have existed. There is nothing remarkable in this statement. The Senator is confounding the gross amount of business done with the tariff rate. It is simple enough, if the Senator would be inclined to look at it fairly. This was a petty business twenty years ago, a few hundred dollars, perhaps $1,000 or $2,000, worth of business. Now it is twenty-three times as large, and the business has been built up as against the cheap cutlery of England by tariff duty, but it is now languishing. There are differences of opinion as to what makes the hard times, and we might have a long debate on all the causes that contribute to hard times, but that the cutlery manufacture in this country needs a very large protection against the methods and the cheap labor of Europe there is no doubt, and nobody knows it any better than the Senator from Missouri.

Mr. VEST. I stand here to say, and can prove it, that the American manufacturer of cutlery, upon all except the very lowest-priced German knives, has taken the trade away from the foreigner.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Will the Senator from Missouri allow me one word?

Mr. VEST. Certainly.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. I do not propose to discuss the subject very much. The number of dozens of knives imported in the year ending June 30, 1896, was 1,266,882. The number of dozens of knives made in the United States, estimated as nearly as possible, was 250,000 dozen, being about one-fifth of the quantity imported.

Mr. VEST. I have no disposition to deal unfairly with this subject. I state that upon knives up to 15 or 20 cents, which are manufactured in Germany, the American manufacturer has never pretended to compete, but when you go above 25 cents for a knife, when you go to $22 and $23 a dozen, we have taken the domestic market away from the foreigner. The cutlery business in the United States is in a flourishing condition compared with other trades and other productions. Of course there is general depression; that goes without saying; but the cutlery industry has not suffered out of proportion or anything like in the same proportion with other industries in the United States.

Now, we have the contention always that without this enormous protection these industries linger and languish and die. I do not care when the 2,300 per cent increase took place. Suppose it commenced with a business of $1,000 and increased 2,300 per cent upon that capital. The fact remains that it has not lingered and has not languished and has not died.

Now let us go to the other contention, that the tariff is imposed for the purpose of equalizing the difference in labor cost in this country and abroad. I have in my hand the official report of the commissioner of labor of Connecticut for the year 1893, upon the different interests in that State. The gentleman who made it is a Republican and a protectionist, and he can not be suspected of any sympathy with me on the tariff question.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. For what year?

Mr. VEST. For 1893. It is the last one I have been able to obtain. On cutlery the proportion of labor out of 100 is 51.57, an unusual proportion of labor. Is it necessary to put on a protective duty of 100 or 125 per cent in order to cover a difference of labor of 51.57? In the census reports the amount of labor in cutlery is 44 per cent out of 100. There can be no pretense that the duties

in the pending bill are for the purpose of equalizing the difference in labor.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Mr. President——

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Missouri yield to the Senator from Connecticut?

Mr. VEST. Certainly.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. That report of the labor commissioner embraces all cutlery, I think—table cutlery and pocket cutlery.

Mr. VEST. I am talking about all of it.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. I suppose that, on an average, it may be a correct estimate of the rate, but on pocket cutlery there is no question but that the labor cost is from 85 to 90 per cent.

Mr. VEST. This commissioner puts it at 40 to 45 per cent. Here is the official report, and I am bound to state that I believe it is correct, because it comes from a witness who has not the slightest sympathy with my opinions on this question.

Mr. President, in addition to that, I have here a very fair statement from the importers of cutlery in the United States. I will ask the Senator from California [Mr. WHITE] to read it. His voice is better than mine. I will ask the Senator first to read the names of the signers, all the large cutlery merchants in the United States. I call the attention of the Senate to it, and I state now that it is the fairest statement I have ever read upon cutlery.

Mr. WHITE. The document referred to by the Senator is signed by Alfred Field & Co., Hermann Boker & Co., Vom Cleff & Co.; Geo. Wostenholm & Son, Limited, per Edward Beckett; Wiebusch & Hilger, Limited, per W. M. Taussig, treasurer; Graef & Schmidt, Fabyan Knife Company; Joseph F. McCoy Company, Joseph F. McCoy, president; Geo. Borgfeldt & Co., F. A. Koch & Co., and John G. Witte & Bro.

The statement is as follows:

CUTLERY.

NEW YORK CITY, *May 22, 1897.*

The Finance Committee of the Senate, Washington, D. C.

GENTLEMEN: We, the undersigned, desire to make a most earnest and emphatic protest in opposition to the complex system of duties, based on value, as incorporated in the Senate amendment to the Dingley bill on cutlery.

It is claimed that the mixed duties prevent undervaluation. It is the very method that makes undervaluation easily possible. We claim to be honest merchants, and challenge the strictest investigation of our records, both inside and outside the appraisers' department, and in some cases our records cover a period of sixty years.

Prior to the McKinley tariff the rates on cutlery were purely ad valorem, and under that system cases of undervaluation were substantially unknown, because, in order to make any satisfactory gain, the undervaluation must naturally be so great that the risk involved deterred dishonest people from the attempt.

It has been shown to the Committee on Ways and Means that under the complex system of the McKinley tariff on pocketknives, by an undervaluation of 5 per cent only, a saving of 21 per cent in the cost of the goods could be made, and by the same system under the Wilson tariff, by an undervaluation of 5½ per cent only, a saving of 16 per cent in the cost of the goods could be obtained, and that these results could not be accomplished under a purely ad valorem system, representing the equivalent rates of duty, without undervaluations of about 40 per cent and 31½ per cent, respectively, which would be easily detected, and incur tremendous penalty.

It has been demonstrated over and over again that the system of mixed duties on cutlery, based on value, has the effect of putting the trade into the hands of unscrupulous men, and of driving honest men out of business, and this has been the condition ever since the inauguration of the system. To substantiate the statement, we appeal to the appraisers' department, and to the Board of General Appraisers. Therefore, by adopting such a system, the Government has, under the McKinley and Wilson bills, been put into the unenviable position of backing up dishonesty, and the Senate substitute to the Dingley bill proposes to continue the iniquitous plan.

The Dingley rates, dividing the different classes by number of blades, instead of by values, while absolutely prohibitory on the great bulk of pocket cutlery of all sorts, had this merit: They were not in favor of dishonesty. If they drove out of business the honest men, they would also drive out the dishonest men. We therefore submit that the only just and equitable method of levying duties on such goods as cutlery, where values vary many hundreds per cent on same descriptions, is by purely ad valorem rates.

We understand the American manufacturers of pocketknives, before the Ways and Means Committee, contended for an average of 70 per cent ad valorem, but submitted a misleading schedule, which was adopted by that committee, and which, based on the importations for the fiscal year 1890, figures out an average of 137 per cent ad valorem. The average ad valorem rate on pocketknives under the McKinley tariff was 91½ per cent, which resulted in a decrease of importations for the fiscal year 1894 of 70 per cent from the imports of 1890, showing that these goods can not stand any such excessive rates as were imposed by that tariff.

The average rate under the Wilson tariff is 53 per cent, and, while giving ample protection to American manufacturers, has produced considerable revenue, and would have produced more, except for the ease it affords dishonest people to swindle the Government. There is no reason for supposing that, if the rates proposed in the Senate amendment, which average 99 per cent, should be put in operation, any different result would follow than under the McKinley rates, and it is quite safe to predict that any such rates as proposed in the Senate amendment must prove an ultimate failure from a revenue standpoint. When it is understood that 85 per cent of all pocket cutlery imported costs abroad less than $1.50 per dozen, passing into the hands of consumers of small means, it will be seen that to levy the enormous rates proposed will prohibit the importation of these goods and deprive the people who can least afford it of the opportunity of supplying their wants, as the American manufacturers do not produce anything which can take their place.

While holding strongly to the opinion that an equitable ad valorem duty would best serve the purpose of the Government and honest merchants, nevertheless, if specific rates are insisted on, there is only one method of levying such rates and avoiding the condition of undervaluation that has existed and grown ever since the inauguration of the complex duties, based on value, and that way is to follow the scheme of the Dingley bill in taxing the number of blades. We therefore submit the following calculation, based on the imports of pocketknives for the fiscal year of 1896. This calculation averages 78½ per cent ad valorem, is quite safe against undervaluation, and is the utmost the goods will bear without utter destruction of revenue:

	Number of dozens.	Average price per dozen.	Amount.	Ad valorem.	Per dozen.	Duty.
Value not over 40 cents per dozen.	296,000	$0.26	$76,900	*Per cent.* 29	$0.10	$44,993
Value over 40 cts. per dozen:						
1-blade	48,000	.60	28,800	20	.40	24,960
2-blade	392,000	1.03	403,760	20	.60	315,953
3-blade	277,000	1.27	351,790	20	.80	291,958
4-blade	254,000	1.73	439,420	20	1.00	341,884
Total	1,267,000		1,900,730			*1,019,746

*Equal 78½ per cent.

This schedule averages a specific rate of 60 cents per dozen. The McKinley schedule averages a specific rate of 43½ cents per dozen.

Table cutlery, carvers, etc.—The most careful estimates indicate that only about 5 per cent to 7½ per cent of the consumption is imported, and these mainly on account of the reputation of the makers back of them. On all such goods the market price is well known, and no chance for undervaluation exists. These goods should, without question, be subject to an ad valorem rate only; and when we say that the American manufacturers have obtained from 90 per cent to 95 per cent of the consumption under heretofore existing rates of 35 per cent to 45 per cent, we think it must be patent to anyone that this rate is sufficient for protection, and should be made lower if increased revenue is desired. As the proposed bill now stands, stag-handle table knives and forks run up to 355 per cent; rubber, bone, and celluloid handles, up to 157½ per cent; pearl and ivory handles, up to 145 per cent; carving knives and forks, up to 175 per cent, which rates are, of course, absurd from any point of view.

Scissors and shears.—These have never paid a higher rate of duty than 45 per cent, and this rate only during the past seven years. Prior to 1890 the rate was 35 per cent, and under this rate the American manufacturers have completely captured the market on shears, and large quantities are exported, some domestic manufacturers having their own agents and places of business abroad for the sale of these goods.

Ladies' scissors are imported to some extent.

There is no way of putting specific duties on these goods except by value, and we think we have made the objection to this system clear enough. The complex rates in the proposed tariff bill average about 70 per cent, and would be largely prohibitive on account of advancing the prices to such an extent that people could not buy them. There is no warrant upon any ground for change from the present rate of 45 per cent.

Razors.—There is no way of putting specific duties on these, except they are based on value, which carries the objection we contend against. The highest rate ever put on razors, except under the McKinley Act, was 50 per cent ad valorem, and there is not just cause for any change from the present rate of 45 per cent, but as a revenue measure we recommend the adoption of 50 per cent ad valorem.

We close with a strong appeal to the Senate not to permit the adoption of any plan of duties that involves specific rates based on value, as being distinctly vicious, and encouraging immoral practices, and as being seriously detrimental to honest merchants.

We also urge that sections 149 and 151 of the tariff be amended so as to read as follows, and, the rates herein mentioned being amply protective to American manufacturers and as high as the producing of revenue will allow, we protest against any schedules adopting higher rates than the following on cutlery:

"SEC. 149. Penknives or pocketknives, clasp knives, pruning knives, and budding knives, of all kinds, or parts thereof, and erasers and manicure knives, or parts thereof, wholly or partly manufactured, valued at not more than 40 cents per dozen, 10 cents per dozen and 20 per cent ad valorem.

"Valued at more than 40 cents per dozen, one-blade, 40 cents per dozen and 20 per cent ad valorem.

"Valued at more than 40 cents per dozen, two-blade, 60 cents per dozen and 20 per cent ad valorem.

"Valued at more than 40 cents per dozen, three-blade, 80 cents per dozen and 20 per cent ad valorem.

"Valued at more than 40 cents per dozen, four-blade, $1 per dozen and 20 per cent ad valorem.

"Razors and razor blades, finished or unfinished, of all kinds, 50 per cent ad valorem.

"Scissors and shears, and blades for the same, finished or unfinished, 45 per cent ad valorem.

"SEC. 151. Table, butchers', carving, cooks', hunting, kitchen, bread, butter, vegetable, fruit, cheese, plumbers', painters', palette artists', and shoe knives, forks, and steels, finished or unfinished, 35 per cent ad valorem."

Mr. VEST. The comparative statement shows that the largest importation of cutlery into the United States is between 50 cents and a dollar and a half a dozen. According to the import prices at the port of New York and by the comparative statement, as to a portion of them, upon knives costing 56 cents a dozen abroad the Senate amendment imposes an ad valorem duty of 145½ per cent. When the knives are worth 68 cents a dozen, an increase of over 10 cents, nearly 12 cents, the duty is reduced to 128½ and when increased in price to 80, the duty is decreased to 115, and so on down, showing that what I stated is absolutely true—that the higher the price of the article the lower the duty, and the lower the price the higher the duty, which my friend from Rhode Island tells us is the inevitable result when you resort to ad valorems.

Before I pass from this question I call attention to a statement made by the great house of Simmons Hardware Company, of St. Louis, the largest possibly in the world. They state, and I have the communication here, that the cutlery interest is flourishing in this country; and in regard to shears they make the specific statement that they have lately furnished over 300 dozen shears in Sheffield, England, at a considerable profit to themselves. In

other words, we are exporting from this country to England and selling right at the seat of the cutlery interest—in Sheffield.

It is very true that there are two classes of cutlery in which we do not compete with foreigners, and never will. One is the very low-priced cutlery made in Germany. We can not make that class of cutlery in the United States. We make no knives under 25 cents. They retail at 25 cents. Of course we make them at wholesale for less, but they are retailed at 25 cents.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Knives are made in Connecticut which retail at 10 cents.

Mr. VEST. I have seen an American knife at 10 cents, but it could hardly be called a knife.

Mr. GEAR. Yes; a boy's knife.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. We have in the State where I reside a factory that makes a knife, and edges on it, "Miller Bros. Cutlery Company 10-cent knife."

Mr. VEST. Yes; I have seen them.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. They are sold everywhere, and it is a good knife.

Mr. VEST. I beg the Senator's pardon, they are not sold everywhere. They are rare. I have seen the knife. It does not begin to compare with the foreign knife at the same price.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. It is much better.

Mr. VEST. There is one other class of knives in which we can not compete with foreigners, and that is the very high-priced pocketknives you buy of Rodgers and Wostenholm & Co. They are sold upon their stamp and they are sold to people of means. A man who pays $2.50 or $3 or $4 for a pocketknife, and they go as high as $10, as a matter of course is a rich man comparatively in the United States. No poor man pays such prices.

But I do not wish to detain the Senate, and I will show, as an object lesson, knives furnished by the house of Alfred Field & Co., without any request upon my part, to show how we have advanced in cutlery in the United States. Here is a knife [exhibiting] the selling price of which in Sheffield is $3.62 a dozen, and the selling price in the United States for the same knife is $2.80. There are the two knives [exhibiting], and I defy any Senator to tell them apart. The American knife, if anything, is superior to the British knife, and Mr. Saxton makes the statement—and he is willing to make affidavit to it and bring the knives to show it—that the American knife to-day of the same quality is cheaper than the British knife.

Here is another knife [exhibiting]. I have nine samples here of pocketknives. There are two knives exactly the same, to all appearance. The selling price of one of them, of the same knife, in Sheffield, is $4.55 a dozen, and in the United States it is $4.25.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. What becomes of the argument that the duty is added to the price of the domestic article?

Mr. VEST. I am talking about the selling price in England.

Mr. GEAR. What becomes of the argument when the Senator said we could not compete with that kind of a knife?

Mr. VEST. I am simply speaking about the cost of making such a knife. I understand that our friends on the other side—some of them—contend that the duty is not added to the price.

Mr. MASON. You have just demonstrated that fact yourself.

Mr. VEST. Not at all. I am not talking about the sale of the English knife in the United States. If Senators had paid any attention at all to my remarks they would have heard me state that the selling price in Sheffield is $4.55 a dozen and the selling price of the same knife in the United States is $4.25 a dozen.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Of the Sheffield knife?

Mr. VEST. Of the American knife, made like the Sheffield knife, and which you could not distinguish from it; and if the Senator can do so, I will give up the argument. I am not talking about the British knife brought here and sold in our markets—as a matter of course, if it was brought here and 100 per cent duty put upon it, the importer would charge the 100 per cent in addition—but I am talking about your contention that you want to put on a duty in order to equalize the cost of the production.

Mr. MASON. Will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. VEST. Certainly.

Mr. MASON. Is there anything in the climate or soil in Sheffield that enables them to make a knife any cheaper than we do?

Mr. VEST. No; and they do not make it cheaper. I am just contending that they make it dearer.

Mr. MASON. Could we not make the same knife here at the same price if we could get the labor just as cheap as they can?

Mr. VEST. Yes, Mr. President, and we do it now, and make it cheaper; and I am here to show that from all these samples.

Mr. MASON. We make it cheaper and better, and pay more for our labor.

Mr. VEST. Yes, we pay more, because the labor is better and the materials are cheaper. We have here better workmen. We have taken the cutlery business away from the Englishmen, and yet you continue to put on a duty.

Here are other samples [exhibiting]. Without wearying the Senate, I will state that these knives are put up in couples, the American knife and the English knife, to show that in every instance the cost of the English knife is higher in Sheffield than the cost of the American knife in this country.

Now, let us go to table cutlery, and there the example is much more conspicuous. Here is a knife [exhibiting], and a handsome one, a table knife, the selling price of which in England, in Sheffield, is $2.07 per dozen, and the cost in the United States of the very same knife is $2 a dozen.

Mr. ALLISON. Are those wholesale prices?

Mr. VEST. Yes; they are wholesale prices, as a matter of course. I have these from a wholesale house.

Mr. ALLISON. I do not see how they could come in here if we had no duty at all, under those circumstances.

Mr. VEST. Very few of them do come in. There is no necessity for a duty. Here is a knife, an American knife, selling in the United States for $2 a dozen, and here is an English knife of the very same material, to all intents the same knife, which is selling in England for $2.07 a dozen, costing 7 cents more.

Mr. HAWLEY. If the Senator will permit me, I understand his argument is that the tariff does not hurt anybody at all in this country.

Mr. VEST. Yes, it does hurt somebody in this country, and I will tell the Senator from Connecticut in a very few words how it hurts them. It is not a question, as I have contended all through this debate, as to the difference in labor or the difference in cost. We can produce more cheaply than the foreigner. But when you put on these tariff duties, the domestic manufacturer, without reference to the cost of labor or the cost of material, immediately goes up to or just under the foreign price.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. But the Senator says we sell the American knife here, in spite of the tariff, cheaper than the selling price of the English knife in England.

Mr. VEST. Of course we retail them.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. And a better knife.

Mr. VEST. We retail them here; there is no doubt about it; they are sold by the wholesaler and then they are retailed by the retail merchants throughout the country. I am talking about the cost of the material and the cost of the labor; and there is no excuse for putting on these enormous duties.

Now we come to another article, the carvers, on which the duty has been enormously increased. There is a carver [exhibiting], the foreign cost of which is 65 cents a pair, and the duty is 29½ cents. Here is another carver [exhibiting], stag-handled, as it is termed by the cutlery people, the foreign cost of which is 41 cents, and the duty upon it is 30 cents. It is a foreign article. The foreign cost is 41 cents, and the duty upon it is 30 cents.

Mr. President, I contend that there is no necessity for the imposition of these high duties upon cutlery. There is no necessity for the increase unless it is proposed absolutely to exclude these articles from this market and have no competition by which the consumers in the United States may buy them as cheaply as possible.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Missouri offers an amendment as a substitute for paragraph 149. The amendment has been read to the Senate.

Mr. WHITE. The firm alluded to by the Senator from Missouri, the Simmons Hardware Company, in St. Louis, communicated some time ago with me regarding this schedule, and I asked them to give a detailed statement as to the cost of various pocket knives and other cutlery, and also the foreign cost, the tariff prior to 1890, the McKinley Act, the Wilson Act, the Dingley bill, and the bill of the Senate committee. I have such a list of prices here, an estimate of percentages, which I will insert in the RECORD. They also accompanied their statement with a short letter, which I will read:

ST. LOUIS, *May 24, 1897.*

DEAR SIR: In fulfillment of our promise to send you a computation of the rates on cutlery under the Senate bill, we herewith inclose you a sheet which gives you the prevailing tariff under the various bills in operation, beginning with 1864, and that proposed by the House and Senate bills.

The Senate bill, as you have stated, has reduced the rates on cutlery quite materially, but not nearly as much as should be the case. The Wilson bill, as you will notice, is not far from an average of 50 per cent ad valorem, and inasmuch as, with the exception of the four years that the McKinley bill was in operation, the manufacturers of cutlery have grown and prospered under practically a 50 per cent tariff, there can be no good grounds for a demand for more than this.

On certain articles that are bought and sold by the pound, and even on lines of goods that are not complicated in their nature, the specific duty is by far the best, but on a line so complex in its nature as cutlery the ad valorem is the wisest from all points of view, revenue purposes included.

Under the tariff which existed from 1864 to 1890 undervaluation of cutlery was unknown, and it was only when compound duties were put in operation under the McKinley bill that a difficulty in this direction was encountered. A compound system that exacts both specific and ad valorem duties on a complicated line like cutlery is a vicious and pernicious plan. It is an absolute invitation to fraud, and consequently a handicap to all honest importers.

The Senate bill on pocketknives, with the exception of those under 50 cents per dozen, if passed, would be substantially a reenactment of the McKinley bill.

The great irregularity in duty on pocketknives not differing particularly in value is the best commentary on the inconsistency of a plan of this nature. For instance, on knives costing, respectively, 44 cents and 56 cents per dozen, on which there is a difference in cost of only 12 cents a dozen, there is a difference in percentage of duty of 77½ per cent.

The dividing lines for a change of specific duties on pocketknives are 50 cents, $1.50, and $3. A jump from one class into the other makes a difference of 48 cents, 60 cents, and $1.20, which amounts are in themselves large profits on the goods, and which at a glance will show to anyone, even those not familiar with the importation business, the opportunities that are offered to the unscrupulous in the way of undervaluation.

We have noticed in some of the trade papers that computations have been made on the cutlery schedule under the Senate bill to ascertain the amount of revenue which it would produce. These computations are worthless and misleading, for the reason that in order to get information in this particular it is necessary to know the exact limit of importation possibility—where prohibition begins. In other words, the proper equation must be found. This can not be done excepting by the importer himself.

There are many kinds of pocketknives which have been imported very largely that under the proposed bill would not be brought in at all, consequently the revenue that has been heretofore received from them would be absolutely cut off.

In our last communication we said nothing in reference to carvers and table knives, it being purely an oversight on our part. Now all we said in reference to the manifest injustice of arranging a schedule of duties whereby cheaper goods pay a very high rate of duty and the higher priced goods a low rate of duty applies with equal force to carvers and table knives. The Senate bill in regard to these goods has not been changed from the House bill, and you will notice a carver costing 15 cents a pair pays 175 per cent duty, whereas one costing 96 cents pays only 45 per cent. This is nothing more nor less than class legislation, and will certainly be resented, inasmuch as it militates against the interests of the poor man, who should be protected in matters of this kind to a greater extent than the man of better circumstances.

Yours, truly,

SIMMONS HARDWARE COMPANY,
J. W. MORTON, *First Vice-President.*

Hon. STEPHEN M. WHITE, *Washington, D. C.*

In connection with this letter, Mr. President, I will insert as a part of my remarks the tables given with reference to pocket cutlery.

The bill as it is now framed treats of table knives and carvers in another paragraph, and I shall there insert, when we reach it, a table covering that subject.

It is evident from an inspection of this calculation, or rather this explanation of the bill, that, as the correspondent says, the rates in the present Senate bill are substantially those of the McKinley Act. The remarks made in connection with reference to carving knives are very suggestive.

I repeat, it is shown that where a pair of carvers cost but 15 cents the duty paid is 175 per cent, whereas on a pair costing 96 cents, there is only paid a duty of 45 per cent. I am informed that under the Wilson law, and the record will show it, the importation of this line of carvers amounts to scarcely anything. I can not see why an additional duty should be added.

I will submit the tables, and ask to have them printed in the RECORD.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. They will be printed in the RECORD, without objection.

The tables referred to are as follows:

POCKETKNIVES, UP TO 40 CENTS PER DOZEN, FOREIGN COST.

Foreign cost per dozen.	Tariff, 1864 to 1890.	McKinley.	Wilson.	Dingley.		Senate.
				Other than pearl and shell.	Pearl and shell.	
	Per cent.	*Per cent.*	*Per cent.*	*Per cent.*	*Per cent.*	*Per cent.*
$0.14	50	135	25	86	----------	40
.16	50	125	25	77	----------	40
.18	50	116⅔	25	70	----------	40
.20	50	110	25	65	----------	40
.24	50	100	25	56¼	----------	40
.28	50	92½	25	51	----------	40
.32	50	87½	62½	46½	----------	40
.36	50	83	58	42½	----------	40
.40	50	80	55	40	----------	40

ONE-BLADE POCKETKNIVES.

$0.44	50	77	60	139½	----------	68
.56	50	139	70	100	----------	145½
.68	50	123½	62	93¼	----------	128½
.80	50	112½	56	82½	----------	115
.92	50	101½	52	74½	----------	105
1.00	50	100	50	70	----------	100
1.16	50	93	60	63	----------	91½
1.28	50	90	56	59	----------	87
1.40	50	88	54	55½	----------	83
1.50	50	83	52	53½	----------	80
1.75	50	107	67½	48½	----------	107½
2.00	50	100	62½	45	----------	100

TWO-BLADE POCKETKNIVES.

$0.44	50	78	52	250	----------	68
.56	50	140	69	200	----------	145½
.68	50	125	62	168	242	128½
.80	50	113	56	145	207	115
.92	50	104	52	128	183	105
1.04	50	98	64	116	165	97½
1.16	50	93	60	106	150	91½
1.28	50	90	56	99	138	87
1.40	50	88	54	92	128	85
1.50	50	83	52	87	120	80
1.60	50	112½	72	83½	113½	115

TWO-BLADE POCKETKNIVES—continued.

Foreign cost per dozen.	Tariff, 1864 to 1890.	McKinley.	Wilson.	Dingley.		Senate.
				Other than pearl and shell.	Pearl and shell.	
	Per cent.	*Per cent.*	*Per cent.*	*Per cent.*	*Per cent.*	*Per cent.*
$1.85	50	104	65½	74	101	105
2.10	50	97½	60⅝	67½	91½	97
2.35	50	92½	57	62½	84	91½
2.60	50	88½	54	58	77½	86
2.85	50	85	51½	55	73	82
3.00	50	83	50	53½	70	80
3.25	50	111½	50	50⅛	65	114
3.50	50	107½	50	48½	63	108½
3.75	50	103½	50	46½	60	104
4.00	50	100	50	45	57½	100
4.25	50	97	50	43½	55½	96½
4.50	50	94½	50	42½	53½	93½
4.75	50	92½	50	41	51½	90½
5.00	50	90	50	40	50	88

THREE-BLADE POCKETKNIVES.

$0.68	50	125	62	241	----------	128½
.80	50	113	56	210	----------	115
.92	50	104	52	183	265	105
1.04	50	102	64	165	237	97½
1.16	50	93	60	150	214	91½
1.28	50	90	56	137½	196	87
1.40	50	88	54	127½	181	83
1.50	50	83	52	120	170	80
1.60	50	112½	72	113⅛	160	115
1.85	50	104	65½	101	142	105
2.10	50	97½	61	91½	127	97
2.35	50	92½	57	84	116	91½
2.60	50	88½	54	77½	106½	86
2.85	50	85	51½	73	99	82
3.00	50	83	50	70	95	80
3.25	50	111½	50	65	89	114
3.50	50	107½	50	63	84	108½
4.00	50	100	50	57½	76½	100
4.50	50	94½	50	53⅛	70	93½
5.00	50	90	50	50	65	88
5.50	50	86½	50	47½	61	83½
6.00	50	83½	50	45	57½	80
6.50	50	80⅝	50	43	54½	77
7.00	50	78½	50	41½	52	75
8.00	50	75	50	37½	48	70
9.00	50	72½	50	36½	45	66½
10.00	50	70	50	35	42½	64

FOUR-BLADE POCKETKNIVES.

$0.80	50	113	56	270	----------	115
.92	50	104	52	237	----------	105
1.04	50	102	64	213	285	97½
1.16	50	93	60	193	257	91½
1.28	50	90	56	177	235	87
1.40	50	88	54	163	216	83
1.50	50	83	52	153	203	80
1.60	50	112½	72	145	192	115
1.85	50	104	65½	127½	168½	105
2.10	50	97½	61	115	151	97
2.35	50	92½	57	105	137½	91½
2.60	50	88½	54	97	126	86
2.85	50	85	51½	90½	116½	82
3.00	50	83	50	87	111½	80
3.25	50	111½	50	81½	105	114
3.50	50	107½	50	77	98½	108½
4.00	50	100	50	70	88½	100
4.50	50	94½	50	64½	81	93½
5.00	50	90	50	60	75	88
5.50	50	86½	50	56½	70	83½
6.00	50	83½	50	53½	66	80
6.50	50	80⅝	50	51	62½	77
7.00	50	78½	50	48½	59½	75
8.00	50	75	50	45	54½	70
9.00	50	72½	50	42	50½	66½
10.00	50	70	50	40	47½	64

SCISSORS AND SHEARS.

Foreign cost per dozen.	Tariff, 1864 to 1884.	McKinley.	Wilson.	Dingley.	Senate.
	Per cent.	*Per cent.*	*Per cent.*	*Per cent.*	*Per cent.*
$0.24	35	45	45	235	78
.36	35	45	45	155	57
.48	35	45	45	120	47
.60	35	45	45	99	98½
.72	35	45	45	83	85
.84	35	45	45	75	75
.96	35	45	45	67	67
1.08	35	45	45	61	61
1.20	35	45	45	57	57
1.32	35	45	45	53	53
1.44	35	45	45	50	50
1.66	35	45	45	45	45
1.88	35	45	45	60	65

RAZORS.

Foreign cost per dozen.	Tariff, 1864 to 1884.	McKinley.	Wilson.	Dingley.	Senate.
	Per cent.	*Per cent.*	*Per cent.*	*Per cent.*	*Per cent.*
$0.72	35	170	45	154	85
.96	35	134	45	120	66⅔
1.20	35	113	45	98	57
1.44	35	100	45	85	50
1.68	35	90	45	75	124
1.92	35	82	45	67½	111
2.16	35	76	45	61	101
2.40	35	72	45	57	91
2.64	35	68	45	53	86½
2.88	35	65	45	50	81
3.36	35	60	45	67	----------
3.84	35	55	45	61	----------
4.32	35	70	45	55	----------
4.80	35	67	45	52	----------

Mr. WHITE. That is all I care to observe about this particular paragraph.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. It is now ten minutes past 5 o'clock, and I hope the Senator from Iowa will let us adjourn.

Mr. ALLISON. Does the Senator wish to speak on this paragraph?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Yes; I want to make some remarks, not long, but I do not want to go on this evening.

Mr. ALLISON. Then I suggest that we pass this paragraph for the time being, and see if we can not get through one or two of the other paragraphs.

Mr. WHITE. I think the Senator from Iowa has noticed that we will come in contact with the sword section next, and I do not propose to discuss that, as I am a man of peace; but still he may find himself on the same subject in paragraph 151, which will have to be gone over again.

Mr. ALLISON. That has been already argued.

Mr. WHITE. There are one or two tables in reference to that subject which I desire to insert in the RECORD when we reach it.

Mr. VEST. I intend to offer a substitute for the paragraph in relation to butcher knives.

Mr. WHITE. We have gotten along as rapidly as possible, and have put most of these communications in the RECORD without any extended reading.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is the Senate ready for the question?

Mr. ALLISON. Of course, if the Senator from Arkansas desires to speak on this amendment, and does not wish to go on to-night——

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I understood that we were to adjourn about 5 o'clock, and I have something to say on the amendments to these paragraphs.

Mr. ALLISON. I shall not object if we can have some understanding about meeting at 11 o'clock. That will give us another hour, and we ought at least to spend five or six hours a day upon this bill.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. So far as I am concerned, I am not willing to agree to meet at 11 o'clock and shall not agree to it. We have in good faith on this side done the best we could on this bill.

Mr. ALLISON. I have no doubt of that.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. We have not delayed it for a moment. We have devoted our time to the discussion of the matter fully and fairly, and after the length of time we are in session every day I think we are sufficiently fatigued to be allowed to adjourn. We have not objected to the bill being taken up in the morning hour immediately after the routine business, as we might have done, but we have gone forward as rapidly as we could conveniently do so, and we think we ought to have a right to show what we believe to be the improprieties, the inequalities, and the injustices of this bill. We have attempted to do that in good faith, and I do not think the Senator ought to ask us to meet at an earlier hour. We are certainly getting along more rapidly with this bill now than with any tariff bill that has ever been passed by the Senate.

Mr. ALLISON. There was certainly no harm in the suggestion.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Certainly not; and there is no harm in my objecting to the suggestion, I hope.

Mr. WHITE. I hope the Senator from Iowa will also recollect the discouraging circumstances under which we are operating; when we have appealed to the other side of the Chamber with such forceful arguments, which would have been deemed convincing elsewhere, and have met with a uniform adverse vote, except in the sole instance of the protection of anvils, we think it time to adjourn, that we may be able to recuperate for the morrow, so that we may get some equally favorable responses from the other side during the next twenty-four hours.

Mr. ALLISON. The anvil scheme was a great achievement.

Mr. WHITE. I am afraid the Senator from Iowa will move to reinstate the anvil feature when the bill reaches the Senate.

Mr. ALLISON. No; I will give the Senator notice that we shall have no trouble about that.

Mr. CHANDLER. Mr. President, I really wish the Senator from California would make a distinction when he speaks by adopting colors. For instance, when he speaks in favor of increasing a duty that he will put up a red flag, and when he speaks in favor of lowering a duty that he will put up a white flag. I understand perfectly the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. JONES] and the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST] are for reducing duties all the time; but the Senator from California confuses me. I never know, when I am listening to him and trying to get the meaning of what he says, whether he is for raising a duty to protect an industry or reducing a duty and destroying an industry. So that if he will adopt colors, as ships do sometimes, and adopt one color one day and another color another day, his speeches will certainly be altogether more edifying than they are. [Laughter.]

Mr. WHITE. I regret that my remarks have not been able, owing to his idiosyncrasies, to penetrate the mind of the Senator from New Hampshire. I will suggest, however, with reference to the color of the flags—and I appeal to his own side to know whether I am right or not—whether the red flag is not usually displayed when the Senator from New Hampshire takes the floor. [Laughter.]

Mr. GEAR. A duty is a red flag at all times to the Senator from California.

Mr. PETTUS. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Alabama moves that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

Mr. ALLISON. I shall not resist the motion of the Senator from Alabama, but I hope that Senators upon the other side will be able before a great while, in such pleasant weather as we have now, to bring themselves to the point of meeting a little earlier in the morning than 12 o'clock.

Mr. PETTUS. Mr. President, I think it is not usual to debate a motion for an executive session.

Mr. ALLISON. I am not debating, if the Senator will allow me; I am merely asking unanimous consent to make a suggestion.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair understands the Senator from Iowa is proceeding by unanimous consent.

Mr. ALLISON. I do not wish to unduly fatigue the Senators upon the other side who are opposing the bill.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Alabama [Mr. PETTUS], that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After thirty minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened, and (at 5 o'clock and 45 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Thursday, June 3, 1897, at 12 o'clock meridian.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate June 2, 1897.

TERRITORIAL GOVERNOR.

Miguel A. Otero, of New Mexico, to be governor of New Mexico, vice William T. Thornton, resigned.

TERRITORIAL SECRETARIES.

George H. Wallace, of New Mexico, to be secretary of New Mexico, vice Lorion Miller, removed.

William M. Jenkins, of Oklahoma, to be secretary of the Territory of Oklahoma, vice Thomas J. Lowe, resigned.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate June 2, 1897.

ASSISTANT ATTORNEY-GENERAL.

John G. Thompson, of Illinois, to be Assistant Attorney-General.

DEPUTY AUDITOR FOR NAVY DEPARTMENT.

John M. Ewing, of Wisconsin, to be Deputy Auditor for the Navy Department.

POSTMASTERS.

David M. Donaldson, to be postmaster at South Hadley Falls, in the county of Hampshire and State of Massachusetts.

L. I. Sturgis, to be postmaster at Oelwein, in the county of Fayette and State of Iowa.

Ada M. Bennett, to be postmaster at Miles City, in the county of Custer and State of Montana.

Lewis F. Babcock, to be postmaster at Billings, in the county of Yellowstone and State of Montana.

William G. Earp, to be postmaster at Swampscott, in the county of Essex and State of Massachusetts.

George E. Drumm, to be postmaster at Chatham, in the county of Columbia and State of New York.

Andrew J. Pollock, to be postmaster at Pensacola, in the county of Escambia and State of Florida.

Aaron Frost, to be postmaster at Wardner, in the county of Shoshone and State of Idaho.

SENATE.

THURSDAY, *June 3, 1897.*

Prayer by Rev. HUGH JOHNSTON, D. D., of the city of Washington.

The VICE-PRESIDENT resumed the chair.

The Secretary proceeded to read the Journal of yesterday's proceedings, when, on motion of Mr. MILLS, and by unanimous consent, the further reading was dispensed with.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. W. J. BROWNING, its Chief Clerk, announced that the House had agreed to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 15) making appropriations for the current and contingent expenses of the Indian Department and for fulfilling treaty stipulations with various Indian tribes for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1898, and for other purposes.

ENROLLED BILL SIGNED.

The message also announced that the Speaker of the House had signed the enrolled bill (H. R. 15) making appropriations for the current and contingent expenses of the Indian Department and for fulfilling treaty stipulations with various Indian tribes for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1898, and for other purposes; and it was thereupon signed by the Vice-President.

PUBLIC BUILDING AT SAN ANGELO, TEX.

Mr. MILLS. I ask unanimous consent to call up for consideration at this time a bill reported by the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds unanimously, the bill (S. 925) to provide for the erection of a public building at San Angelo, Tex.

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill. It directs the Secretary of the Treasury to acquire, by purchase, condemnation, or otherwise, a site, and cause to be erected thereon a suitable building, including fireproof vaults, heating and ventilating apparatus, elevators, and approaches, for the use and accommodation of the United States post-office, court-house, and other Government offices in the city of San Angelo and State of Texas, the cost of site and building, including vaults, heating and ventilating apparatus, elevators, and approaches, not to exceed $100,000.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

Mr. ALLISON. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of House bill 379.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Routine business ought to be disposed of.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. In a moment the Chair will submit the motion of the Senator from Iowa.

Mr. ALLISON. Very well.

DEFICIENCY APPROPRIATION.

The VICE-PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the Secretary of the Treasury, requesting that the sum of $1,500 be included in the deficiency appropriation bill for the year ending June 30, 1897, and for prior years, to meet such exigencies in the Marine-Hospital and Quarantine Service as may arise during the balance of the current fiscal year; which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations, and ordered to be printed.

FINDINGS OF COURT OF CLAIMS.

The VICE-PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the Court of Claims, transmitting the findings of the court in the case of David S. Parker and Forman Matthews *vs.* The United States; which was referred to the Committee on Claims, and ordered to be printed.

Mr. VEST. I call for the regular order.

Mr. HOAR. Will the Senator from Missouri allow me to introduce a bill?

Mr. VEST. Certainly. I want to have the regular routine business transacted.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. NELSON presented the petition of Mrs. Viola Decker and sundry other citizens of St. Paul, Minn., praying for the enactment of legislation for a more rigid restriction of immigration; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. PLATT of New York presented sundry memorials of citizens of Brooklyn, N. Y., remonstrating against an increase of the duty on beer; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. PENROSE presented a petition of the Boies Penrose Republican Club, of Philadelphia, Pa., praying for the repeal of the present civil-service law; which was referred to the Committee on Civil Service and Retrenchment.

He also presented a petition of 18 citizens of Philadelphia, Pa., praying for the speedy passage of the pending tariff bill; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a petition of the Board of Trade of Philadelphia, Pa., praying that the various interests of the United States be properly represented at the French International Exposition in 1900; which was referred to the Select Committee on International Expositions.

He also presented petitions of 31 citizens of New Stanton, of 24 citizens of Oxford, of 92 citizens of Reading, 13 citizens of Duquesne, 34 citizens of Millersville, and of 60 citizens of Williamsport, all in the State of Pennsylvania, praying for the enactment of legislation restricting immigration; which were ordered to lie on the table.

REPORT OF A COMMITTEE.

Mr. PETTIGREW, from the Committee on Public Lands, to whom was referred the bill (S. 364) granting settlers the right to make second homestead entries, reported it with amendments, and submitted a report thereon.

ARMOR FOR THE NAVY.

Mr. LODGE, from the Committee on Printing, reported the following resolution; which was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to:

Resolved, That there be printed for the use of the Senate Committee on Naval Affairs, 500 copies of the hearing before said committee on May 19, 1897, relative to armor for the Navy.

UNITED STATES BOUNDARY COMMISSION.

Mr. LODGE, from the Committee on Printing, reported the following concurrent resolution; which was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That there be printed as a document the report of the United States Boundary Commission, pursuant to the convention between the United States and Mexico touching the re-marking of the boundary line between those two countries west of the Rio Grande, and in addition thereto 300 copies of said report for the use of the Department of State.

ANNALS OF THE ASTROPHYSICAL OBSERVATORY.

Mr. LODGE, from the Committee on Printing, to whom was referred the following concurrent resolution submitted by himself on the 18th ultimo, reported it without amendment; and it was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That there be printed and bound 3,000 copies of a special report describing the methods and results of the investigations conducted at the astrophysical observatory of the Smithsonian Institution, entitled Annals of the Astrophysical Observatory, of which number 500 copies shall be for the use of the Senate, 1,000 copies for the use of the House of Representatives, and 1,500 for distribution by the Smithsonian Institution.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas introduced a bill (S. 2063) to authorize the White and Black River Valley Railway Company to build a bridge across the Black River in Arkansas; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Commerce.

Mr. HOAR introduced a bill (S. 2064) to remove the charge of desertion from the record of Patrick Norton, of Northboro, Mass.; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. TURPIE introduced a bill (S. 2065) granting a pension to Henry F. Barnes; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. MCENERY introduced a bill (S. 2066) for the relief of Mrs. Matilda M. Fairex, administratrix of Daniel Fairex, deceased; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. HARRIS of Kansas introduced a bill (S. 2067) granting a pension to Alexander Miller, of Eudora, Kans.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. PENROSE introduced a bill (S. 2068) granting a pension to John W. Smoot; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also introduced a bill (S. 2069) granting a pension to Rebecca Paulding Meade, widow of Rear-Admiral Richard W. Meade, late of the United States Navy; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also introduced a bill (S. 2070) granting a pension to Mrs.

Rebecca S. Holman; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. PETTIGREW introduced a bill (S. 2071) to reimburse excessive demands from preemption and homestead settlers on annulled railroad subsidy grants; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

Mr. WHITE introduced a bill (S. 2072) for the relief of Catharine McCarty; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

THE TARIFF BILL.

Mr. HALE. What has become of the motion made by the Senator from Iowa?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Morning business has intervened.

Mr. HALE. I ask that the motion of the Senator from Iowa be disposed of.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senate has heard the motion made by the Senator from Iowa that the Senate proceed to the consideration of House bill 379. Is there any objection? The Chair hears none.

Mr. VEST. What was the motion?

Mr. HALE. To proceed to the consideration of the tariff bill.

Mr. VEST. I beg the Senator's pardon; we have some morning business that ought to be attended to. I have a resolution here that I want to offer.

Mr. ALLISON. I will yield to morning business, of course.

AMERICAN SOLDIERS KILLED AT BUENA VISTA.

Mr. VEST. I offer a resolution and ask for its immediate consideration, and in connection with it I will ask for the reading of a letter.

The Secretary read as follows:

Whereas in a communication from the consul-general of the United States at the City of Mexico it has been stated that on account of long neglect and the washing of the soil by rains the skeletons of American soldiers killed at the battle of Buena Vista, on February 27, 1847, and buried near Saltillo, Mexico, are now exhumed and exposed to the weather:

Resolved, That the Secretary of State is hereby directed to cause immediate inquiry to be made as to the facts and communicate the same to the Senate, with such recommendation as he may deem proper.

The Senate, by unanimous consent, proceeded to consider the resolution.

Mr. VEST. Now let the letter from General Crittenden be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

CONSULATE-GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES,
No. 5 CALLE DE SAN DIEGO, CITY OF MEXICO
(THOMAS T. CRITTENDEN, CONSUL-GENERAL),
Mexico, May 29, 1897.

Hon. G. G. VEST,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: At the hazard of intruding on your time and patience, I inclose the following notice to you, which I cut from one of our daily papers of yesterday. I think it is a matter of such grave importance that the authorities at Washington should be informed of the unfortunate condition of the remains of our own Federal soldiers who fell in battle in Mexico in defense of their country and flag in 1847. I hope you will give this matter some consideration, as the condition of the bones of those soldiers, if wholly true, is somewhat mortifying to the American citizens here.

Very truly, yours,

THO. T. CRITTENDEN.

This battlefield is about 500 miles from here.

Mr. VEST. Let the newspaper slip be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

THE UNITED STATES SHOULD LOOK TO IT.

On February 22, 1847, the anniversary of Washington's birthday, the battle of Buena Vista was fought near the city of Saltillo, and a number of the United States soldiers are buried in a quasi reservation. For a number of years an adobe wall protected the last resting place of these soldiers, but this has now fallen down. A wagon road traverses a number of the graves, and, sad to relate, the washing of rains has unearthed portions of skeletons, which are bleaching in the sun. It does seem as if the Federal Government of the United States could make some arrangement with the Mexican authorities and protect the last resting place of the dead.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the resolution submitted by the Senator from Missouri.

The resolution was agreed to.

SANITARIUM AT CASTLE PINCKNEY, SOUTH CAROLINA.

Mr. TILLMAN submitted the following resolution; which was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to:

Resolved, That the Secretary of War inform the Senate as to the cost of constructing suitable buildings at Castle Pinckney, near Charleston, S. C., to be used as a sanitarium for disabled officers and enlisted men of the Regular and Volunteer Army of the United States.

PROPOSED SENATORIAL INVESTIGATION.

Mr. TILLMAN. Mr. President, I rise to a question of personal privilege, and ask the Secretary to read the clipping which I send to the desk.

The Secretary read as follows:

[From the Haverhill Gazette, June 1, 1897.]

Senator TILLMAN, of South Carolina, has made a pretty direct insinuation that members of that honorable body were corruptly influenced by the great sugar trust while framing the sugar clause of the tariff bill. What the South Carolina man says upon this question carries with it great weight. It will not be entirely safe to ignore his challenge, and we see no way out of a disagreeable situation than by making the investigation asked for. But in the meantime how does Mr. TILLMAN propose to meet the accusation of ex-Senator Butler with regard to his (TILLMAN'S) connection with the alleged whisky rebate steal? Are we to have two investigations to while away the hours between now and the time the tariff begins to get in its work? It looks so.

Mr. TILLMAN. Mr. President, I am well aware that Senators are familiar with the charges that have been recently put in the papers by my predecessor here, Gen. M. C. Butler. I am also aware that possibly some Senators have in their desks clippings from our State papers in regard to insinuations affecting my administration as governor.

In connection with these matters, sir, I desire to have read a part of an open letter to the people of our State which was published last week. The Secretary will please read the paragraph marked. It is an open letter from me to the citizens of South Carolina.

The Secretary read as follows:

When these stale slanders about rebates under my administration were put in circulation by the newspapers and then taken up by General Butler, in the canvass three years ago, I met them promptly and vigorously at Union and elsewhere, and last winter I joined with Governor Evans in asking that the legislature should appoint a committee to look into the dispensary's management and set the charges of corruption at rest forever. The books of the dispensary and everything connected with its financial affairs have been investigated and reported on time and again by a legislative committee, one of whose members was an "anti," incapable of seduction or of being induced to cloak wrong.

The committee has never yet made a report reflecting on the integrity or honesty of its management. Now the cry is "Investigate!" and while Gantt and no one else has or can give any satisfactory reason why my administration of the dispensary should be investigated, I desire to ask the governor to select a committee of citizens to enter upon an investigation immediately, and I am willing to answer any inquiries made, and I doubt not that every other man connected with the dispensary in any official way would be willing to do likewise. The expense can not be great, and could be paid out of the contingent fund, and the matter is of sufficient importance, I think, to warrant the outlay.

Mr. TILLMAN. Mr. President, I am well aware of the fact that it is a common dodge among lawyers when a man has a bad case to abuse the attorney for the other side. Now, I am not the attorney for the other side in this case. I am a Senator of the United States who has more regard, it appears, for the dignity and the honor of this body than some other members in it. The attempt to distract attention from the sugar-trust scandal to my personal record as governor in the hope possibly that I would be deterred from pressing this matter to the bitter end will fail, if that is the object in promulgating just at this moment these old scandals.

No man reaches the Senate of the United States without a bitter struggle, and when that man comes from the plow, as I did, and walks into the governor's office over the prostrate political forms of every old leader in the State, opposed by every corporation in the State, opposed by every bank but two, and by three-fourths of the newspapers, he necessarily makes enemies, for "He who surpasses or subdues mankind must look down on the hate of those below." My administration of the office of governor was one long warfare with these enemies, and they have been utterly unscrupulous in using the license which the press now seems to think it has a right to use in insinuating and charging any and every thing. All the crimes in the decalogue have been laid at my door.

But after four years' service as governor I went before the people of my State as a candidate for United States Senator and canvassed the State, county by county, with General Butler. These questions of rebate in regard to the dispensary management were then in the newspapers, and Senator Butler, as he was at that time, took them up and undertook to flyblow my character.

I thank God, sir, that before I went into politics at all, the forty-four years of my life had been given to building up a reputation for honesty, and decency, and morality, and truth which so far sustained me in the office that there was no proof whatever, no direct testimony, no basis of accusation itself, or insinuation, except a possibility that I had stolen because I could have stolen; so that when the canvass was over, after these questions had been passed upon, the people of South Carolina then gave me in the legislature a majority of 131 out of 160, and sent me here.

Now the same old stale eggs are brought forward and thrown at me, so as to give forth an effluvia and try to blacken me; but instead of shirking investigation, I court it at home, and I court t here. If there is any man in this body who desires to have a committee appointed to look into my past record, I beg him to move the resolution, and I will support it with all the influence I have here, and beg that the Senate shall take the question up and set it at rest forever. I have no fears as to what will be proven, because nothing can be proven affecting my integrity and honesty.

But the situation is this: They demand that I shall prove a negative, which every lawyer and every decent man knows is impossible. There is not a man here who can prove that he is honest. It lies on the man who accuses him of dishonesty, however, to prove that he is so before a decent man will regard him as dishonest.

Now, sir, so much for that. I court investigation at home. I have asked for it. I court it here, if the Senate chooses or desires to go into it. In addition to that, I say that any other man whose

name rests under an imputation here—and the Senate as a whole owes it to itself and its dignity to have these slanders and scandals and accusations more or less direct sifted to the bottom, and have it determined once for all whether we have rascals in our midst or not.

Sir, in making this explanation and courting investigation I have no personal motives whatever. I have no imputation to cast on any individual Senator. I am not a "sponsor" for the charges which have been made against the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH], as he seems to think, but I simply brought them along with the rest as evidence enough to warrant the Senate to clear itself of these accusations.

I move that the committee to whom was referred the resolution I introduced last week be discharged from its further consideration, and that the Senate now pass upon it and put itself on record, as to whether it will have the sugar scandals investigated and probed to the bottom, or whether it will stand accused before the eyes of the country of being corrupt.

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President——

Mr. TILLMAN. I want to make a word of explanation before the Senator begins, and it is to this effect: I approached the chairman of the committee [Mr. JONES of Nevada] day before yesterday, learning he was going to leave the city, and asked him, "What have you done, or what do you propose to do, in regard to the resolution sent to your committee?" He said, "I have seen the other two members of the committee and notified them that I am ready to consider the matter and report it back. I am going away to-morrow and I do not know when I will return." Therefore it rests with the other two members of the committee if the resolution has not been reported. With that explanation I am ready to hear the Senator from New Hampshire.

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President, I came into the Senate Chamber a moment ago, and hence am not fully aware of what the Senator from South Carolina has said in regard to this matter. I take it the Senator has——

Mr. TILLMAN. I have said nothing, I will explain to the Senator, except just what he heard. I was alluding to an entirely different subject altogether.

Mr. GALLINGER. I presume the Senator has been discussing the accusation made——

Mr. TILLMAN. Against me, individually.

Mr. GALLINGER. Made against the Senator in a recent issue of the Washington Post, and possibly other newspapers, apparently upon the authority of a distinguished gentleman who for a long time had a seat in this body from the State now represented by the Senator.

Mr. President, I am not going to discuss that matter this morning. The Senator has met the accusation with a denial, and we are bound to accept the denial the Senator has made. We are all aware of the fact that——

Mr. TILLMAN. I beg your pardon. The Senator will permit me. You are not bound to accept anything of the kind. I ask that it be probed to the bottom, and let me prove the other man a liar.

Mr. GALLINGER. We may or may not do that. That is for the Senate to determine for itself. I was about to observe that in this age every man in public life has felt the sting of accusations that are made with such recklessness by certain newspapers and by our political enemies. I take it if any one of us, when accused, should rise here in his seat and demand an investigation, demand that the time of the Senate and the money that is in the Treasury belonging to the people should be employed for the purpose of vindicating his character and his integrity, we would never pass a tariff bill or any other bill through the Congress of the United States.

Mr. President, that is a matter, it seems to me, for the Senator from South Carolina to settle for himself. It is a newspaper attack with which the Senate, I take it, has nothing whatever to do. Certainly, as one member of this body, I shall decline, unless I am forced into it, to vote to enter upon an investigation into the character, the integrity, the reputation, or the honesty of the distinguished gentleman who so ably represents the State of South Carolina in this Chamber.

Regarding the other matter, a single word. A few days ago, possibly a week ago, acting upon charges made in certain newspapers, a resolution was introduced by the Senator from South Carolina and referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, of which I chance to be a member. If the chairman of that committee was present to-day, I should probably not say a single word in response to the motion the Senator from South Carolina has made. But as the chairman is not present, I feel it incumbent upon me, as a member of the committee, to take exception to the motion that has been made to discharge the committee from the further consideration of the resolution.

I believe that from my induction into the Senate to the present time I have been a member of that committee, and, so far as I now can recall, no matter has been sent to that committee that has not had careful and conscientious consideration. I think I can speak for every member of the committee this morning when I say that the resolution which the Senator from South Carolina sent to the committee is not to be an exception, but that the committee, in its own good time, after having examined into the matter with the care that it is their duty to give to it, will make a report to this body.

Mr. VEST. Will the Senator permit me, before he passes from this branch of the subject?

Mr. GALLINGER. Certainly.

Mr. VEST. I think the Senate is not without precedent in regard to the demand of a Senator that there should be a committee appointed to investigate charges made against him in the public press. The older members of this body will remember that some years ago a gentleman not now a member here, ex-Senator Kellogg, rose in his place in the Senate and read a very bitter attack upon his personal character and demanded as a Senator from Louisiana that a committee should be appointed to investigate those charges, and claimed that he had a right to that investigation Senator Thurman, of Ohio, who was then a leader of the Democratic side of the Chamber, as I very well remember, and as the record will show, made a reply to the Senator from Louisiana which seemed to me absolutely unanswerable and closed the case.

He said that a Senator of the United States had a right to enter the courts like any other citizen, that his right was no more and no less than that of any other citizen of the country, and if the Senator from Louisiana wished to vindicate himself and clear his character he could enter the courts of the country by the ordinary process of law and exercise the rights of an American citizen. But he said for the Senate of the United States to drop its business and enter into the investigation of every charge made against any Senator would be the absolute suspension of the public business. There was not a single dissenting voice from that declaration of Senator Thurman, and this is the first time since that any Senator has intimated that we ought to stop the consideration of public measures in order to attend to his private character.

Mr. GALLINGER. I am obliged to the Senator from Missouri——

Mr. TILLMAN. Will you allow me a moment?

Mr. GALLINGER. In a moment. I am obliged to the Senator from Missouri for enforcing what I so haltingly expressed as being the judgment, I take it, of the more conservative members of this body against such investigations upon vague and indefinite charges, oftentimes instigated by malice and personal ill will. It seems to me that that is the only safe ground upon which the Senate can plant itself regarding matters such as seem to be disturbing the mind of the Senator from South Carolina this morning. Now I will yield to the Senator from South Carolina.

Mr. TILLMAN. You are very much mistaken if you think anything is disturbing my mind very much, least of all the investigation which I propose. I merely made allusion to this by reason of the fact that the newspapers are endeavoring to get a fire in my rear to distract attention from the fire which I am pressing in front, and I expressed a willingness that I should be investigated personally if anyone here sees proper to make that line of attack. I have asked my people at home, who are more directly interested in this matter than anyone else, to investigate it. Thus far they have refused. If public opinion points that way, and they desire to probe this matter, they will do it.

I merely desire to express my willingness to have the Senate do so as showing that I do not want one rule of conduct adopted in regard to the Senate as a whole and as to those Senators, all of us more or less directly, implicated in the accusations which emanate from the newspapers. The Senate as a whole to-day lies under suspicion; and I do not want the minds of the country diverted and the people diverted from the fact that I am pressing this investigation by the fact that I myself lie under accusation.

If anybody wants to investigate me here or in South Carolina, I am willing, and I do not see why any other man here is not willing to have the Senate as a whole investigated, and know whether the sugar trust has paid agents in here or whether it has bought the Finance Committees of this body to have a schedule put in the bill, whether it was put in in 1894, whether we are the tools and paid agents of this trust, or whether we are free Senators here, performing our duty upon an honorable basis.

Mr. GALLINGER. I may not have correctly understood the observations of the Senator from South Carolina as I entered the Chamber, but I received the impression from what I heard that the Senator asserted that after certain accusations had been made against him in his own State the people took the matter in hand and vindicated him from those accusations by triumphantly sending him to this body. It seems to me that that is the tribunal, after all, to try Senators—their constituents, their people, their legislatures—and if the people of South Carolina and the legislature of South Carolina have vindicated the Senator from the accusations made against him, as he asserts they have, I know of

no reason in sense or propriety or justice to the public interests why we should supplement that by an investigation on the part of this body.

Recurring, Mr. President, to the question at issue, the facts are that certain newspapers made accusations specifically, as I recall it, first against the Committee on Finance of this body and next against the distinguished Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH]. Those of us who know that committee, and those of us who have been associated as intimately as I have been in committee work with the Senator from New Jersey, did not require an investigation or a denial, believing as we do that the accusations must necessarily have been malicious and false—those that were made upon the committee as well as those that were made against the individual Senator. But since those accusations have been made the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH] has risen in his place and in behalf of the committee for which he spoke has entered an absolute and unqualified denial of every accusation that has been made against that committee.

It is the word of NELSON W. ALDRICH, a Senator of the United States, against James Creelman, a correspondent of the New York Journal. Which of those men, under the circumstances, are we to believe? When Mr. ALDRICH says in behalf of himself and in behalf of the committee for which he speaks that every accusation against that committee is a false accusation, without one tittle of truth in it, are we to hesitate a moment to accept the word of Senator ALDRICH as against the statement of a newspaper correspondent that that committee had done something that was not honorable as between the people of the United States and themselves?

Further, Mr. President——

Mr. TILLMAN. Will the Senator allow me?

Mr. GALLINGER. Certainly.

Mr. TILLMAN. Can Senator ALDRICH and the Finance Committee afford to deny Mr. Creelman the opportunity to prove the charges before a committee when his paper yesterday announced his willingness to appear before a committee and either prove himself a liar or prove the accusation?

Mr. GALLINGER. Suppose the Senate granted Mr. Creelman that opportunity, and on the next day the correspondent of some other newspaper made a similar accusation against the committee, does the Senator from South Carolina say that we should halt in the public business and go into another investigation——

Mr. TILLMAN. Is that——

Mr. GALLINGER. Allow me to finish. Does the Senator say that we should go into another investigation and waste our valuable time here to give that man an opportunity to try to prove his accusation? And after that was over, if some other newspaper correspondent made another accusation similar in nature, does he say that we should again halt the public business and go into an investigation after the Senator accused or the committee accused has entered an emphatic and unqualified denial of the truth of the statement? Is that the kind of work the Senator from South Carolina would have us engage in in this moment of extreme peril and anxiety on the part of the American people for legislation of more importance than an investigation of that nature?

Mr. TILLMAN. Now, will you permit me?

Mr. GALLINGER. Certainly.

Mr. TILLMAN. The way to stop this license of the press, this free use of ink to slander this body and its individual members, is when you have proven one of those men liars to bring him there before the bar and commit him to prison for contempt, and if he refuses to answer questions which will probe this matter, bring him there and propound them, and then say, "If you do not answer, we will commit you to jail." Until you do that you stand accused and almost convicted in the eyes of the American people as cloaking up rascality.

Mr. GALLINGER. Fortunately or unfortunately we are living at the close of the nineteenth century and not in the days of the Spanish Inquisition. The newspaper press is not to be muzzled in that way, and the correspondents of newspapers, whether they are summoned before the bar of the Senate or before the Senator from South Carolina, will go on and exercise their own sweet will (if it is not one man, it will be another) in making criticisms upon public men and upon the National Legislature. The Senator from South Carolina will not secure what he so diligently is desiring by undertaking to discipline the gentlemen of the press who, with so much of earnestness, zeal, and enterprise, are carrying on the work of their profession.

I was about to say a moment ago, Mr. President, supplementary to what the Senator from Rhode Island stated a few days ago with so much force and with so much effect, that the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH], a man who is well known, not only in his own State, but all over this land, as a man of business integrity and honor, whose reputation has never been attacked successfully, also rose in his place in the Senate and made a denial in explicit and unqualified terms that he was guilty in the slightest degree of the charge that has been made upon him by certain newspaper correspondents in this country.

Mr. President, again it is the word of a Senator of the United States against the word of a correspondent of some newspaper in some city of the American Union.

Mr. HOAR. And the correspondent does not speak of his personal knowledge.

Mr. GALLINGER. No; the charge made against the Senator from New Jersey and the charge made against the Committee on Finance was a vague and indefinite charge, without specification, and without anything upon which to found a conclusion in opposition to the explicit and unqualified denial of those Senators whom we all honor and respect.

Mr. President, if that is a basis for an investigation, certainly if it is a sufficient basis to railroad this resolution out of the hands of a standing committee of this body and into the Senate and through the Senate, if the Senator from South Carolina can get votes enough to accomplish that result, I do not understand the privileges and the powers that belong to the committees of this body. We have had that resolution in our care about one week. We have given it all the consideration that we could give it in addition to our other duties, and I speak not only in my own behalf, but in behalf of the other members of the committee when I say that as soon as we have had time to give it the full consideration that we think it ought to have, we will satisfy the Senator from South Carolina by reporting the resolution back to the Senate with such recommendations as we may think the subject-matter demands at our hands.

Mr. TILLMAN. Mr. President——

Mr. GALLINGER. I yield to the Senator from South Carolina.

Mr. TILLMAN. I desire to call the attention of the Senator from New Hampshire to the fact that his side of the Chamber are railroading and pressing with all their might to railroad through this body the tariff bill, after which we will adjourn. When they will accomplish that, Congress will disperse, and if we are to have any investigation which will affect in the slightest degree the infamy sought to be perpetrated upon the American people in the sugar schedule, as reported from the Finance Committee, then it is time we began that investigation at once. That is why I am railroading or endeavoring to railroad it. It is because the time is so short in which to do anything that we can not accomplish any good unless we move at once.

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President, once before in my service in this body we had an investigation of the kind proposed. There were somewhat more specific charges made then than have been made recently in the press. I was summoned from my seat to a committee room on the gallery floor, as I recall it, and had ten or twelve or fifteen questions propounded to me, which I was expected under oath to answer, and which I did. I felt then, inasmuch as no accusation had been made against me as an individual or a Senator, when no man in the newspaper press or otherwise had ventured to say that I had been guilty of anything during my service here, and especially in connection with the sugar schedule, which in any wise affected my honor or my integrity, that it was an outrage to drag me from my seat in this body to a committee room to answer whether or not I was a criminal.

Mr. TILLMAN. Mr. President——

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from New Hampshire has the floor. Does he yield to the Senator from South Carolina?

Mr. GALLINGER. Certainly.

Mr. TILLMAN. The Senator remembers that the reason why the committee felt called upon to call on each individual Senator and have him swear that he had not speculated was because the witness who refused to answer questions had directly exonerated one member, thereby leaving the rest of the Senate under charges, and that that man has since gone to jail, which in itself in the minds of the country convicts this body, or some of those who were members of it at that time, of being guilty of the thing which was charged against them, and that they lied when they swore they did not speculate.

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President, I am just a plain layman, and I look at things from what I regard as a common-sense point of view. I am not able to make the nice distinctions that lead to the conclusion that because one man in a community is exonerated from wrong every other man in the community lies under the imputation of dishonesty. I can not make that distinction in my mind, constituted as it is to-day.

I say, Mr. President, I was summoned from my seat to a committee room and interrogated as to whether or not I had been guilty of a dishonest and dishonorable act. I had no hesitancy in answering. I never owned a share of stock except in one corporation that took my good money and is now in the hands of a receiver. I never purchased a share of speculative stock in my life. I have rarely ever had money enough to purchase a share of such stock.

Mr. President, I do not really think that there is enough in this matter to warrant us in going through that fiasco again.

Mr. TILLMAN. Will the Senator allow me there?

Mr. GALLINGER. Certainly.

Mr. TILLMAN. We have just reached a point under the decision of the court where there will be no fiasco whatever, because

we can call Mr. Chapman up and make him produce the books and show whether any of those men speculated or not; and until you do that the Senate lies convicted in the minds of the public of having speculated and lied out of it.

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President, again I am unable to settle in my own mind whether we can do that or not. Mr. Chapman has been put in jeopardy once. I am not quite sure that he can be put in jeopardy again for the same offense. But, however that may be, this matter is to-day in the hands of a committee. Two members of that committee, at least, are men who do not need defense either from myself or from the Senate as a body. They are honest men. They have taken up this matter with a conscientious determination to reach a conclusion that will be just to all parties interested, and it does seem to me that it is an impertinence on the part of the Senator from South Carolina—and I use the word not in an offensive way—it is an impertinence for the Senator from South Carolina to come in here and undertake to discharge that committee from the further consideration of a resolution that they have had in their hands only a few days, at a time when the Senate is engaged in the consideration of a great public question that gives every Senator very little time for the consideration of other matters.

Mr. President, I do not know what the report of that committee may be, but in the interests of fair play, in the interests of just treatment to the committees of this body, I protest with all the vigor I am capable of using against any action of the Senate that will degrade that committee by summarily wresting from it a subject-matter that they now have under consideration, and which they have a right to hold in their possession a sufficient length of time to enable them to reach a conclusion satisfactory to themselves. Of course, if the Senate chooses to do this, I will not complain, but I do not believe the Senate will do anything of the kind.

Mr. President, I do not care to occupy any more of the valuable time of the Senate. I have no disposition to cut off debate, but I conclude by giving notice that after a reasonable discussion I shall move to lay the motion of the Senator from South Carolina on the table.

Several SENATORS. Make the motion now.

Mr. GALLINGER. I will make the motion now, but will yield to any Senator who desires to be heard before the motion is put.

Mr. TILLMAN. Mr. President, I just want to answer briefly the accusation of "impertinence" against me in endeavoring to take this matter from the committee. I would never have made this motion but for the fact that I had consulted with the chairman of the committee before he left here, and he assured me that he had tried to get the other two members to consult with him and determine the course they would pursue, and that he was ready at any time to report the resolution back to the Senate.

Mr. GALLINGER. If the Senator will permit me, on that very day the committee had a formal meeting and considered this matter, but did not reach a conclusion.

Mr. TILLMAN. They could not because the other two members overruled the chairman.

Mr. GALLINGER. I beg the Senator's pardon, that is not the fact.

Mr. TILLMAN. I only infer that it must have been the fact from what the chairman told me.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. It is impossible that the chairman could have made any such statement, because it was not true.

Mr. TILLMAN. It is not impossible, because he did make the statement to me, and will not deny it when he returns here.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I undertake to say that the chairman of the committee when he returns will not make any such statement in this Chamber.

Mr. TILLMAN. What the chairman said was that he had notified you and the Senator from New Hampshire that he was ready to take the matter up, and he tried to get you in the committee room or some other room, where the matter could be considered. The chairman will not deny that.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. He will deny it. He had secured a room for consultation, and a consultation took place, and I went to the consultation. We considered the subject and talked about it. But when the Senator from South Carolina says that the chairman of the committee said that the subject was not considered, I am sure that he made no such statement, because it is not true.

Mr. TILLMAN. I merely inferred that from what the chairman told me before he went away.

Now, in reference to this indignity which it is said is being practiced upon this committee, it is not a question about which the committee need feel so much concern. Every Senator here has been considering this matter individually, and has made up his mind as to what he wants. I see a statement in the newspapers that the Republicans had a caucus on this matter at some dinner somewhere. I suppose that is a lie, too.

I see also a statement in the newspapers that the Democrats have declared that they do not want the old scandal reopened; that they are willing to take up a new resolution to investigate the present scandal; but I am perfectly impartial so far as party is concerned.

I seek to go into the old matters, since Mr. Chapman has been tried and it has been decided that these two other men should be turned loose, and that the Senate can ask these questions and force answers. I do not want to investigate the new scandals and leave the old ones out. If there was rascality in 1894, I want to know it; and if there has been rascality since then, we ought to know it. The American people have some rights which the Senate is bound to respect, and it will rest with you gentlemen, by your votes, if you lay this measure on the table, which will be the death of it, to convict yourselves in the eyes of the people as being desirous to cloak a fraud by being unwilling to open it up. I have nothing more to say.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I hope the Senator from New Hampshire will withdraw his motion and allow me a moment.

Mr. GALLINGER. Certainly, with pleasure.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate will report this resolution back unless the Senate chooses to discharge the committee from the further consideration of the resolution. But, as one member of that committee, Mr. President, I can not shut my eyes to some facts that impress themselves very strongly on me. I regard the Senate of the United States as a respectable body. I believe the members of the Senate of the United States are gentlemen—as a rule. [Manifestations of applause in the galleries.]

But when we undertake to assume to ourselves all the virtue and all the honesty there is in this country, and to determine that we are going to undertake to pass on the qualifications of our members—gentlemen who have been elected here time after time to seats in this body, and have come here to represent the people of their States—we are assuming a good deal. If this Government is not a mistake, if it is not a failure, the people of our country ought to be capable of selecting their Senators. If the people of the States and if the legislatures are honest, they want honest men to represent them. If they are men of intelligence, they want men of intelligence to represent them; and I respectfully submit that when the Senate of the United States undertakes to pass upon the question as to whether sovereign States have sent men of respectability here, we ought only to proceed upon the gravest occasion and when the circumstances are such as to impel action.

Mr. President, if a charge is made in a magistrate's court against a fellow for stealing a chicken, there must be the solemnity of an affidavit behind the prosecution, or else the man will not be proceeded against. There must be some solemnity about the proceedings; and I submit to the Senate that the fact that a man is a member of this body, bearing the credentials of a sovereign State and the indorsement of the people of his State, who have perhaps sent him here time after time, should at least weigh for something.

Under these circumstances, I believe it is a duty that this committee owes to itself and owes to the Senate that when a proposition of such a grave character as this is submitted for consideration the committee shall take time to consider the question fairly and fully and dispassionately.

I have no temper in this matter. I believe that the Senate ought to look fairly and fearlessly into any accusation that comes here with a sufficient degree of force to induce it to believe that it rests on any substantial foundation, but I do not believe that the Senate ought to be started off lightly on every proposition, made by some man who, perhaps, with the greatest honesty in the world, has been imposed upon.

We hear rumors all around on the street by which persons are made to believe that things exist even when they do not exist, and charges are made by newspaper correspondents, who, without any disposition to misrepresent the truth, can be imposed on as well as other men. They hear these stories worked up from different quarters until they believe that there is something in them, and the desire that unfortunately controls newspaper men to a great extent, to be first to get the news and to produce a sensation, sometimes precipitates men, who do not mean to do injustice or wrong, to give currency to statements which really ought not to find their way to the public.

Under these circumstances, it seems to me that the Senate ought to proceed calmly and deliberately. If the Senate chooses to discharge the committee, I have nothing to say. I am perfectly willing for it to do so if it wants to, but if it wishes to leave the matter in the hands of the committee, the committee will act in a reasonable time.

The Senator from South Carolina said that the Senator from Nevada told him that he was going away in the afternoon and that he did not know when he was coming back. The Senator from Nevada told the Senator from New Hampshire and me that he would be back to-morrow. I do not know when he will be here, but I believe he will be here to-morrow.

I think this matter will be taken up in the committee and disposed of at the proper time. I am perfectly willing that the Senate shall take its own course. I am not prepared to say that I am in favor of anything being done further than I have already indicated to the Senate. I shall not act hastily, and no effort, no motion to discharge the committee is going to produce any haste on my part. I will go ahead, if the Senate trusts the committee with the investigation of the subject, and examine it to the best of my ability.

I do not understand the full force of the Senator's ground of complaint in speaking of the great desire to get this resolution back to the Senate by charging that there was some effort to fire in his rear, and that there must be some effort to relieve him from that. Mr. President, the Senator seemed to me to be unfortunate in that reference. The first charge of this sort that has been mentioned here this morning was the one published in a newspaper by ex-Senator Butler about the Senator from South Carolina. Six hours later the Senator from South Carolina brings into the Senate his resolution, and it does not seem to me that he can make out a case against the other side of firing in his rear under the circumstances.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President, the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. TILLMAN] stated that a vote to lay his motion on the table would end the entire investigation. This matter has been referred to the committee but a few days, and the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. JONES] who sits near me has, as everyone in the Senate knows, been diligently at work endeavoring to reform this very pernicious tariff bill, I regret to say without very much success, but, however, he has been doing something in that direction; at all events, he has been very busy. He has been occupying his seat in the Chamber and at work here all the time.

The Senator from Nevada [Mr. JONES] is necessarily absent. I had a conversation with him just before he made his present trip. He is in the city of Philadelphia, and will be back very soon.

I have perfect and entire confidence that the committee will take the matter up and report it back, and if the Senate do not like the report they will act as they wish to act. But as the matter now stands I do not feel justified in convicting that committee of disregarding its duty, and the majority of the committee being present in the Chamber, informing us that the matter is under consideration and will be reported back as soon as practicable, I shall vote to lay the motion on the table; and when the resolution comes before the Senate, I shall act as under the circumstances seems to me proper.

Mr. HOAR. I demand the regular order on the motion to lay on the table.

Mr. TILLMAN. I hope the Senator will withhold that one moment. I just want to say a word, and then I will quit.

Mr. HOAR. Very well; I will withdraw the demand; but it seems to me we are wasting a good deal of time.

Mr. TILLMAN. The Senators who are members of the committee, and who are present, having assured us that the resolution will be reported back, and that it will not be buried, and as I have no intention—not the slightest—of casting any imputation on the committee of dereliction of duty, if the Senator from New Hampshire will permit me after he has made the motion to lay on the table, I will withdraw the motion to have the committee discharged, and we will await the deliberations of the committee, and then act upon the question when it comes up without the influence that would now cause a great many Senators who are in favor of the resolution to vote to lay the motion on the table.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. What I have said has not been said with any idea or hope of such a course being taken. I should prefer to have the Senate express itself upon this subject, since the question has been raised.

Mr. BERRY. The Senator has the right to withdraw the motion, under the rule, at any time before the yeas and nays have been called.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from South Carolina [Mr. TILLMAN] moves that the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate be discharged from the further consideration of the resolution which he offered on May 26. The Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. GALLINGER] moves to lay that motion on the table. Is the Senate ready for the question?

Mr. BERRY. The Senator from South Carolina asked to withdraw the motion, Mr. President.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair did not so understand him. The Chair understood the Senator to say that he was willing to withdraw it.

Mr. TILLMAN. I asked to withdraw it and let the committee act, but I am willing to let it go one way or the other.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair understood the Senator from South Carolina to say that he was willing to withdraw the motion if the Senator from New Hampshire would permit him to do so.

Mr. TILLMAN. Well, the Senator from New Hampshire not having spoken, I thought he assented to the request.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from South Carolina has the undoubted right to withdraw his motion if he so desires. What is his desire in the matter?

Mr. TILLMAN. Of course I withdraw it under the circumstances, because I have no intention of reflecting on the honesty or the integrity of the committee.

Mr. GALLINGER. I did not know that the Senator from South Carolina appealed to me at all. I am perfectly willing that he shall withdraw his motion.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The motion is withdrawn, the Chair understands. Is that correct?

Mr. TILLMAN. Yes, sir; I asked that.

THE TARIFF BILL.

Mr. ALLISON. I call for the regular order.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The regular order is called for, the title of which will be stated.

The SECRETARY. A bill (H. R. 379) to provide revenue for the Government and to encourage the industries of the United States.

Mr. BUTLER. I hope, now that the Senator from Iowa has submitted his request to have the tariff bill laid before the Senate, that we may be permitted to present morning business.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Iowa withdraw his request?

Mr. ALLISON. I do not.

Mr. BUTLER. It would have been very easy for any Senator to object to the request of the Senator from Iowa, and I rose to do so; but at least one Senator near me assured me that it was the purpose of the Senator from Iowa to have the bill laid before the Senate, and that then we could present morning business. I could see no objection to that course, and so I interposed no objection. Certainly the Senator from Iowa does not desire to compel Senators who have morning business to object when he makes such a request hereafter.

Mr. ALLISON. I certainly yield for morning business. I did not understand the Senator from North Carolina to interpose any objection to my request, but if he or any other Senator has morning business to present, I am perfectly willing to yield to it.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. You stated that.

Mr. ALLISON. I stated that. I yield to the Senator from North Carolina. He need not be disturbed about the matter.

Mr. BUTLER. I understood the Senator from Iowa to say that he would yield to morning business, and I rose for the purpose of presenting morning business.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. If there be no objection, the Chair will receive morning business.

Mr. BUTLER. I present a memorial of several firms engaged in the lumber business in my State, protesting against the reduction of duties and the placing on the free list of certain articles in the tariff bill. Inasmuch as the memorial is short and signed by a number of large firms, I ask that it be read at the desk.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The memorial will be read, if there be no objection.

The Secretary proceeded to read the memorial, but before concluding was interrupted by

Mr. ALLISON. I hope the Senator from North Carolina will not ask to have that communication read. It relates, I suppose, to one or two schedules of the tariff bill. I have no objection to its being printed in the RECORD. The lumber schedule will be under consideration, I hope, some time to-day.

Mr. BUTLER. Very well; that will answer.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The memorial will be printed in the RECORD, if there be no objection. The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

The memorial was ordered to lie on the table and be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WILMINGTON, N. C., *May 24, 1897.*

To the honorable the Senate of the United States:

Your petitioners have been engaged for many years in the lumber business to a very large extent, shipping cargoes of pitch pine lumber to the countries of Haiti, San Domingo, and Mexico. These countries have been shipping back to a large extent logwood and other dyewoods to the United States, principally to the ports of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, to the extent of about 100,000 tons annually; these dyewoods make remittances, as against American produce, and to stop or greatly curtail the sale of logwood will naturally much reduce the extent of shipments of American goods.

We therefore earnestly protest against the reduction of duties on analin colors or blacks, at present paying a duty of 35 per cent; we earnestly protest against the placing of naphthazarin black, or any other coal-tar black, on the free list, as such action would greatly diminish the use of logwood and other dyewoods in the United States.

We desire to call to your notice that analin colors, including blacks, are manufactured solely in Germany, and they being patented in this country, no manufacturer can produce them in the United States.

We therefore regard any reduction of duties from the present law on analin dyes or blacks as favoring the commerce of Germany to the detriment of American commerce, and as tending to greatly reduce and restrict our business in pitch pine lumber with the countries shipping logwood.

CAPE FEAR LUMBER COMPANY.
HILTON LUMBER COMPANY.
BRIDGERS & McKEITHAN LUMBER COMPANY.
CHADBOURNE LUMBER COMPANY.
EDWARD KIDDER'S SON.
S. & W. H. NORTHROP.

POSTAL TELEGRAPHS AND POSTAL SAVINGS BANKS.

Mr. BUTLER submitted the following resolution; which was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to:

Whereas on April 22 the Senate passed a resolution directing the Secretary of State to send to the Senate any information received by the Department about the nature and practical workings of postal savings banks in foreign countries; and

Whereas the Secretary of State replied on May 12, stating that replies received from diplomatic representatives of the United States in answer to a circular sent them by Secretary of State Blaine under date of May 20, 1881, were referred to the Post-Office Department without being printed, which answer is contained in Senate Document 33; and

Whereas on May 17 the Senate passed a resolution directing the Postmaster-General to send to the Senate the said information relating to postal telegraphs and postal savings banks; and

Whereas the Postmaster-General, under date of May 27, replies that the Post-Office Department has never received such information from the State Department, which answer is contained in Senate Document 127: Therefore, *Resolved*, That the Secretary of State be, and he is hereby, directed to secure and send to the Senate the reports received by the State Department from the consular representatives of this Government in obedience to the circular sent them by Secretary of State Blaine on May 20, 1881.

INCOME TAXES.

Mr. BUTLER. I introduce a joint resolution, which I ask may be read at length.

There being no objection, the joint resolution (S. R. 47) to amend the Constitution of the United States, giving Congress the power to lay and collect income taxes was read the first time by its title, and the second time at length, as follows:

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of both Houses concurring therein). That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of said legislatures, shall be valid as a part of the Constitution, namely:

ARTICLE XVI.

The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on all incomes, regardless of the source from which the income is derived or acquired; but all income taxes shall be uniform throughout the United States.

Mr. BUTLER. I ask that the joint resolution be printed and lie on the table; and I give notice that to-morrow morning, during the morning hour, I shall submit some remarks upon the question, and I shall ask the Senate at an early day to consider it.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The joint resolution will lie on the table.

THE TARIFF BILL.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 379) to provide revenue for the Government and to encourage the industries of the United States, the pending question being on the amendment of Mr. VEST to strike out paragraph 149 and insert:

149. Penknives, pocketknives, or clasp knives, and erasers or manicure knives of all kinds, or parts thereof, wholly or partially manufactured, including such as have corkscrews, file blades, or manicure blades, each of which shall be held to be a blade, if valued at not more than 40 cents per dozen, 10 cents per dozen and 15 per cent ad valorem; all others having but one blade, 40 cents per dozen and 20 per cent ad valorem; if having but two blades, 60 cents per dozen and 20 per cent ad valorem; if having but three blades, 80 cents per dozen and 20 per cent ad valorem; if having four blades or more, $1 per dozen and 20 per cent ad valorem: *Provided*, That no article of the above named shall pay a higher rate of duty than 70 per cent ad valorem.

Razors or razor blades, finished or unfinished, valued at not more than $4 per dozen, $1 per dozen; valued at more than $4 per dozen, $1.75 per dozen, and in addition thereto, on all razors and razor blades, 15 per cent ad valorem.

Scissors and shears, finished or unfinished, 45 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Mr. President, the pending amendment proposes to continue the rate on pocket cutlery in the present law. The proposition submitted by the bill as it came from the House was one of the largest increases over the present law that was proposed in this bill. The Senate amendment modifies the rates as they came from the House quite materially, and the paragraph as proposed by the Senate committee is nothing like so objectionable as the proposition as it came from the House; yet the present proposition seems to me to be extreme and unreasonably high and absolutely without justification. It seems to me that the Senate ought not to lose sight of the facts bearing upon this question.

On yesterday the Senator from California [Mr. WHITE] had a table printed in the RECORD which I hope Senators have read, showing the enormous increases in the rates on cutlery, I believe exceeding 400 per cent on certain classes of cutlery in the schedule as it came from the House of Representatives, and 250 or 270 per cent in the proposed schedule. The truth is, that these high duties or that any duties over 60 or 70 per cent are practically prohibitory. If such provisions as these are embedded in the law, the result must necessarily be that there will be no importations of the low grades of cutlery which come now from abroad, and none of the high-class cutlery comes here now, or practically none. The carvers, the table cutlery, and others are altogether in the hands of the American manufacturers. It seems to me the American people are entitled to the right of competition between the producers abroad and here on something like fair terms.

I hold in my hands a comparative statement showing the effect on the revenue to be derived from the bill as it came from the House on pocketknives in comparison with the Wilson law, based on imports for the year 1896. According to the statistics of the Treasury Department, the total importation of pocketknives valued at not more than 50 cents a dozen was $148,788.12. The duty on these under the Wilson law would amount to $61,897.75. The duty on this importation under the Dingley bill as it came from the House would be $75,881.80. The duty on this grade of goods under the Dingley bill would average 51½ per cent, and the next higher grade of importations, valued at from 50 cents to $1.50, as was stated yesterday by the Senator from Missouri, is by far the largest importation. I believe, however, that the Senator did not give the figures to the Senate, and I will do so.

There were imported of goods valued at between 50 cents and $1.50 per dozen, $648,888.22.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. When? In what year?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. That is the importation of this class of knives for the last fiscal year.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. There is a mistake about that.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. This statement was made up by a man who is thoroughly skilled in these matters. He says he took it from the statistics. I do not think there is any doubt about it.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. It is right here in the statistics—363,000 dozens, valued at $393,000. In 1896 there were 444,000 dozens, valued at $375,000.

Mr. WHITE. To what does the Senator from Connecticut refer?

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. I am referring to the comparative statement.

Mr. WHITE. What paragraph?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Paragraph 149, the bracket between 50 cents and $1.50 a dozen. The Senator from Connecticut, I think, is somewhat in error. The subdivision to which he alludes seems to give the importation for 1890.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Oh, no; it gives the importations under the laws of 1890 and 1894, respectively, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1893, and the fiscal year ending June 30, 1896.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The Senator, I believe, read the importations at 363,156.65 dozens.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Yes.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. That was the importation for 1890, as shown by the comparative statement which the Senator has before his eyes.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. The Senator is certainly mistaken. If he will look in the column in front of that, under the head "Year ending June 30," he will find that the importations are for 1893 and 1896.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I still think the Senator from Connecticut is mistaken. Let me read:

Valued at more than 50 cents per dozen and not exceeding $1.50, 1890.

Then the figures are run out. Yes; the Senator from Connecticut is correct.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Yes; that is the law of 1890, and the figures are run out for the year 1893. That is the importation for 1893.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Yes, the Senator is correct about it.

Valued at more than 50 cents a dozen and not exceeding $1 per dozen.

Then it gives the importation for 1896. There does not seem to be any subdivision in the comparative statement, giving the importations between 50 cents a dozen and $1.50 a dozen. "Valued at 50 cents a dozen and not exceeding $1 per dozen," 444,000 dozens, valued at $375,000. And then, "valued at $1 per dozen and not exceeding $1.50." The two should be added together, and the two, I presume, will make the figures I have.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. What are the figures which the Senator has?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Six hundred and forty-eight thousand eight hundred and eighty-eight dollars and twenty-two cents. It is very easy to determine. It can be done in a moment.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. I think the Senator is practically right about it.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. After making the calculation I find it is exactly right, Mr. President.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. The classification is divided here.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Yes. I think the Senator's error came from the fact that he did not notice that there was a subdivision in the classification.

So the figures as stated by me showing the importations for last year of knives between 50 cents a dozen and $1.50 a dozen, $648,888.22, are correct, and upon that the duty under the Wilson Act would be $354,588.69.

The importations of pocket knives valued at from $1.50 to $3 a dozen amounted to $254,277.33, and the importations of knives valued at $3 per dozen and over were $248,000.

Mr. President, this shows that by a large margin, as was stated by the Senator from Missouri yesterday, the importations of

pocket cutlery come in the class between 50 cents a dozen and $1.50 a dozen. I will include the table in my remarks. I see by a note at the foot of the table that, according to the calculations made by the gentleman who prepared this statement, the Wilson tariff would make these importations produce $691,032.61, while he estimates the tariff to be derived from the Dingley bill on the same schedules to be much less.

Comparative statement showing the effect on revenue of Dingley tariff on pocketknives in comparison with the effect of Wilson tariff, based on imports for fiscal year ending June, 1896, according to Mr. W. C. Ford's statistics.

	Total.	Duty.	
		Wilson.	Dingley.
Importation of pocketknives valued at not more than 50 cents a dozen	$148,788.12		
Duty, Wilson tariff		$61,897.75	
Duty, Dingley tariff (average duty 51½ per cent)			$75,881.88
Importation of pocketknives valued at from 50 cents to $1.50 per dozen	648,888.22		
Duty, Wilson tariff		354,586.09	
Duty, Dingley tariff (deducting 75 per cent for goods which are excluded by excessive duty, leaving only $162,222 which could be imported, average duty on which would be about 82 per cent)			133,022.04
Importation of pocketknives valued at from $1.50 to $3 per dozen	254,277.33		
Duty, Wilson tariff		150,141.61	
Duty, Dingley tariff (deducting 35 per cent for goods which are excluded by excessive duty, leaving $165,280 which could be imported, average duty on which would be about 85 per cent)			140,488.00
Importation of pocketknives valued at over $3 per dozen	248,809.09		
Duty, Wilson tariff		124,404.56	
Duty, Dingley tariff (average duty 59 per cent)			146,796.72
	1,300,762.76	691,032.61	496,188.64

Wilson tariff as a revenue producer	$691,032.61
Dingley tariff as a revenue producer	496,188.64

In 1892 there were imported into this country of pocketknives not over 50 cents a dozen, 324,890 dozens; from 50 cents to $1.50, 235,000 dozens, and between $1.50 and $3, 72,173 dozens, and over $3, 28,977 dozens.

The values between 50 cents and $1.50 were 84 per cent of the total importations; the values from $1.50 to $3 were 11 per cent of the importations, and the values over $3 per dozen were 4½ per cent of the importations.

This was in 1892, and it shows how strongly the statement of the Senator from Missouri is corroborated by the figures.

Mr. GEAR. I think the Senator is mistaken about the number of knives at the rate of $3 a dozen and upward.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. In 1892? There is nothing in the comparative statement about 1892. The importations for the year 1893 appear there, I suppose.

Mr. GEAR. It is 29,000 dozens, showing a large increase.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Twenty-nine thousand in 1893? In 1893 there were imported of knives not over 50 cents per dozen, 437,555 dozens; between 50 cents and $1.50, 363,000 dozens; between $1.50 and $3, 81,263 dozens, and over $3, 29,283 dozens. But still in 1893 88 per cent of the total importations were of the knives between 50 cents and $1.50 per dozen. That is the point we were endeavoring to establish. Of knives between $1.50 and $3 per dozen the importations were 9 per cent; of those over $3 per dozen there were but 3 per cent, showing that the present market is absolutely in the hands of the American manufacturers. They do not compete with the Germans in the low class of knives. They do not undertake to do so, and there can be no justification for imposing such high taxes upon these knives except to render it impossible for the American people to buy the low-class knives and compel them to buy the higher-priced class of knives made by the American manufacturers. There can be no other purpose.

In 1894 there were imported of knives costing not over 50 cents a dozen, 205,000 dozens; from 50 cents to $1.50 per dozen, 180,714 dozens; from $1.50 to $3 per dozen, 39,546 dozens; over $3 per dozen, 13,000 dozens, making again 88 per cent of all the importations between 50 cents and $1.50, 9 per cent between $1.50 and $3, and 3 per cent over $3.

In 1895 we have the same story—not over 50 cents, 533,000 dozens; between 50 cents and $1.50 568,000 dozens; between $1.50 and $3, 118,916 dozens and over $3, 49,000 dozens, making 88 per cent of the importations between 50 cents and $1.50, 8½ per cent between $1.50 and $3, and 3½ per cent on knives costing over $3 per dozen.

In 1896 the figures were practically unchanged. Of knives costing not over 50 cents there were imported 449,000 dozens; from 50 cents to $1.50, 647,000 dozens; between $1.50 and $3, 115,000 dozens; over $3, 54,000 dozens, or 86½ per cent of the importations between 50 cents and $1.50, 9 per cent between $1.50 and $3, and 4½ per cent over $3.

Comparative statement of importations of pocketknives and erasers.

Year.	Class.	Number of dozens.	Per cent of importations.
1892	Not over 50 cents	324,890	
	50 cents to $1.50	235,000	84½
	$1.50 to $3	72,173	11
	Over $3	28,977	4½
		661,940	
1893	Not over 50 cents	437,555	
	50 cents to $1.50	363,157	88
	$1.50 to $3	81,263	9
	Over $3	29,283	3
		911,258	
1894	Not over 50 cents	205,668	
	50 cents to $1.50	180,714	88
	$1.50 to $3	39,546	9
	Over $3	13,775	3
		439,703	
1895	Not over 50 cents	533,380	
	50 cents to $1.50	568,330	88
	$1.50 to $3	118,916	8½
	Over $3	49,273	3½
		1,269,899	
1896	Not over 50 cents	449,332	
	50 cents to $1.50	647,434	86½
	$1.50 to $3	115,430	9
	Over $3	54,687	4½
		1,266,883	

I submit these figures to show the absolute correctness of the statement of the Senator from Missouri yesterday, when he stated generally that by long odds the largest part of the importations came within these two prices, 50 cents and $1.50 per dozen.

Yesterday some allusion was made to a letter written by the vice-president of the Simmons Hardware Company, of St. Louis, Mo. It is a strong letter, well written, by a man who is absolute master of his business. I understand it is the largest hardware company in the world. They are men who are thoroughly familiar with their business.

The man who writes the letter is an old, trained, and skilled hardware man. He writes the letter in a temperate, reasoning style. It is addressed to Mr. MORRILL, chairman of the committee. I have a copy of it, and I propose to read it to the Senate, for I think it is worthy of consideration by all Senators. It is dated April 29, 1897, and says:

Being the largest importers and dealers in the United States in guns and cutlery, we feel that we are at liberty to encroach upon your time to a limited extent, and ask your consideration to the facts that we are able to present to you in relation to the proposed duties on these goods. We have purposely postponed doing this until a time when we could feel positively sure in regard to the feelings that these duties, if enacted, would create, as we do not want to deal in conjectures, but solely in facts.

We have 181 salesmen on the road, traveling for us in every State and Territory excepting those in the extreme East. As guns and cutlery are more largely sold in the fall than at any other time, it is a custom with us to take orders for them for fall shipment, and we have not this year made an exception. In consequence, however, of the pending tariff legislation, it has been necessary for us to protect ourselves and sell for fall shipment only under certain conditions.

"Self-preservation is the first law of nature," and all business houses are protectionists when there is any element of doubt in regard to what prices may prevail in future. Our salesmen of necessity have to be informed in regard to the changes that the Dingley bill as it has passed the House would create, if enacted, on the goods they sell. They have been, ever since the bill passed the House, taking orders for fall shipment under the following condition:

"It is understood and agreed that prices are subject to any advance that may be created by the enactment of a new tariff bill prior to the time of shipment; that is to say, that the exact difference between the duties on these goods under the present tariff and of any one that may be enacted in the meantime is to be added to prices."

And yet we have gentlemen on the other side telling us again and again that the tariff is not added to the cost and is not paid by the consumer, that it is an ingenious method adopted by the American people to compel foreigners to pay our taxes and that our citizens do not pay it at all. Here is a letter written by one of these gentlemen to the chairman of the committee, giving full information of the exact terms of the contract they make in proposing to sell their goods.

Our salesmen are of all sorts of political leanings and opinions, yet tariff is a matter of business that affects them, their customers, and their customers' customers.

We are now in position to state that the proposed duties on these goods are unwise and will be resented. On general principles it can be safely stated that any cause is weak where parties resort to misrepresentations and misstatements to achieve their ends. This has been done by both parties representing the gun and cutlery manufacturers.

Mr. Hunter, representing the gun manufacturers, stated before the House Ways and Means Committee that his information was obtained in person by their treasurer and general manager, who visited Europe for this particular purpose. He said that the better grades of guns came from England and France.

France sends us nothing whatever in the gun line, and a large proportion of the higher grades comes from Germany and Belgium. He further stated that the importers had undervalued guns by importing them in parts instead of in whole, his idea being to insinuate that the importers had resorted to dishonorable methods.

The manufacturers themselves were instrumental in having the McKinley tariff arranged so that parts of guns, which they themselves imported, could be brought in at a low rate of duty. The intent of the law was that complete guns should not be separated and brought in under that classification, but the language of the law permitted this, and the decision finally rendered was that the jobbers were entitled to bring them in according to the language and not the intent of the law. The position that the importers took in this matter was purely a business one, with no intent whatever to deceive.

In our own case we were very particular to tell the officials of the custom-house in our own city just what we intended to do, and that they could appraise the guns, as they undoubtedly would, at the full valuation as complete guns, and we on our part would pay same under protest and have the case tested by the courts. It was also stated before the committee, that under the operations of the Wilson law the importations of firearms had increased enormously, and that if the American manufacturer was to hold the American market the McKinley rates must be restored.

In this connection, about the importation of firearms having increased enormously, I will state that Government statistics show that we exported $770,862 worth of firearms and imported $617,235 worth.

Mr. GRAY. Under the Wilson Act?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Yes; last year.

There has been no increase in imports of guns under the Wilson bill to speak of. Under the McKinley bill guns were imported in parts and classified as "manufactures of wood or of iron," and consequently they do not figure in the statistics of gun imports for the period in which the McKinley bill was in operation.

The total value of imports of firearms in 1895—that is, under the full application of the Wilson Act—was only, according to statistics, $458,000. This, with the exception of the records for 1893 and 1894, which, for reasons set forth above, are misleading, is far below the statistics for the last ten years, which are as follows:

1886	$860,000	1891	$1,070,000
1887	958,000	1892	647,000
1888	1,070,000	1893	321,000
1889	1,159,000	1894	122,000
1890	1,338,000	1895	458,000

The cheaper grades of guns are not made in this country, and in Belgium and other countries are manufactured by the sweating system, which we sincerely trust will never prevail here. The proposed duty is the greatest on the cheaper grades, which are used by the poor man, which will be the means of forcing the farmer boy, who uses them mostly, either to go without a gun entirely or else buy something which he can illy afford, in the shape of a very much higher priced American gun.

The enormous increase on the cheap grades can best be appreciated by an examination of the following table:

Breech-loading guns.

Foreign cost.	War tariff.	McKinley tariff.	Wilson tariff.	Dingley tariff.
	Per cent.	*Per cent.*	*Per cent.*	*Per cent.*
$3.60	35	77	30	63
4.30	35	70	30	58
4.70	35	67	30	56
5.20	35	65	30	54
5.60	35	62	30	53
6.10	35	100	30	100
7.50	35	88	30	88
8.00	35	85	30	85
10.00	35	75	30	75
12.50	35	85	30	85

The proposed tariff under the Dingley bill on guns and cutlery is very greatly in excess not only of the McKinley tariff but even of the war tariff, which is a sufficient refutation of the statement of the manufacturers that they can not prosper save under the proposed new schedule. There can be no better evidence of the manifest insincerity of the manufacturers of pocket cutlery in particular than the prospectus issued June 21, 1892, by the Messrs. Taintor & Holt, of New York City, in behalf of the United States Cutlery Company, organized under the laws of the State of New Jersey, from which we beg leave to quote, as follows:

I have the prospectus in full, and I was thinking that I would present it to the Senate, perhaps. However, I will read this extract from it:

"This corporation has been formed to purchase, unite, and take over as going concerns, four of the oldest, largest, and best-known business properties in the United States, viz, those of the Miller Bros. Cutlery Company, Meriden, Conn.; the New York Knife Company, Walden, N. Y.; the Walden Knife Company, Walden, N. Y., and that of Dwight Divine, Ellenville, N. Y. The consideration for the purpose is the sum of $1,000,000 in preferred and common stock of the company."

And from the vendors' statement we quote as follows:

"These four concerns manufacture about 65 per cent of all the pocket cutlery made in the United States. They all have excellent water power, and are capable of large extensions with very moderate outlay. This business, with a record of over twenty years, has steadily grown into a profitable undertaking. The manufactured goods now equal the best foreign makes, and it is impossible now to turn the channel of trade back to foreign manufacturers."

This was in 1892, not very long after the passage of the McKinley law, and it is a right striking fact (I think I will demonstrate it before I take my seat, if I do not forget it) that these four companies gave the total value of their property, in an examination before a committee of the Senate or of the House, at $400,000 in the aggregate, each one stating the value of his own plant and his own property. It was put down at $400,000, and the company was capitalized in the new trust, under the McKinley Act, at $1,600,000.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Does the Senator say that is the prospectus put out by the four companies or either of them?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. This letter says it was a prospectus put out by Messrs. Taintor & Holt. I have the full prospectus and will present it to the Senate, so that the Senator can see exactly where it purports to come from.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. It is unauthorized.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. It was put out by Messrs. Taintor & Holt, of New York City, in behalf of the United States Cutlery Company, and they state in the prospectus that the purpose was to absorb the four companies.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Now will the Senator let me say one word about that?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. With the greatest pleasure.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. When it was found out by the companies which they proposed to sell, it was repudiated by them publicly and never was carried into operation.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I was not aware of that fact. My impression was that it had been organized and had become the operating company. I will interrupt the reading of the letter right here, and read the whole of this, since the question has been raised by the Senator from Connecticut. I know, of course, that what the Senator from Connecticut states is true. I do not want to be understood as challenging the correctness of anything he says, so far as his information goes. I will simply submit to the Senate these facts as they come to me from what I consider reputable sources in New York, from dealers in these articles. This statement is made in full, and I was assured that it is a fact:

During the tariff hearings, 1889-90, the American manufacturers of pocket cutlery submitted a statement of their several investments, which can be found in Miscellaneous Document No. 176, page 72. In that statement will be found the following:

	Capital.
Miller Bros. Cutlery Company, Meriden, Conn	$200,000
New York Knife Company, Walden, N. Y	100,000
Ulster Knife Company, Ellenville, N. Y	50,000
Walden Knife Company, Walden, N. Y	50,000
Total	400,000

Within a few months after the passage of the McKinley tariff, the pocket-knife manufacturers, by frequent advances, came to a total increase in prices of over 30 per cent. On June 21, 1892, the above-named companies issued a prospectus, offering their plants for sale for $1,600,000, of which the following is a copy:

PROSPECTUS.

NEW YORK, *June 21, 1892.*

MESSRS. TAINTOR & HOLT, NEW YORK,

Have been authorized to offer for subscription $800,000 of 8 per cent cumulative preferred stock and $250,000 of common stock, as mentioned below:

THE UNITED STATES CUTLERY COMPANY.

Organized under the laws of the State of New Jersey.

Capital stock, $1,600,000, divided into

8,000 shares 8 per cent cumulative preferred stock of $100 each	$800,000
8,000 shares common stock of $100 each	800,000
	1,600,000

All shares are full-paid stock and nonassessable. Stockholders will have no personal liability whatever.

The company begins business without any debt or liability.

The charter of the company and its by-laws provide that no bond or mortgage can be created without the consent of 90 per cent of the preferred stockholders, also that this provision can not be altered.

Registrar of stock: Central Trust Company of New York.

Transfer agents: Taintor & Holt.

Counsel: Starr & Ruggles.

Auditors: Yalden, Brooks & Donnelly.

Officers: W. F. Rockwell, president; Thomas W. Bradley, vice-president.

Directors: W. F. Rockwell, of Miller Bros. Cutlery Company, Meriden, Conn.—

He seems to have been a member of the company—

Thomas W. Bradley, of New York Knife Company, Walden, N. Y.; E. Whitehead, of Walden Knife Company, Walden, N. Y.; Dwight Divine, Ellenville, N. Y.; James E. Campbell, Hamilton, Ohio; George H. Holt, of Taintor & Holt, New York City; Albert L. Pancoast, Jersey City, N. J.; Charles H. Sheldon, jr., of Sheldon & Binney, Providence, R. I.; A. Chamberlain, president Home National Bank, Meriden, Conn.

Application will be made to list the securities of this company on the New York Stock Exchange.

The preferred stock will be entitled to cumulative preferential dividends of 8 per cent per annum, payable out of the profits of the company, and will also rank against the assets of the company in preference to the common stock.

The common stock will be entitled to the surplus earnings, when declared in dividends, after payment of the dividend of 8 per cent on the preferred stock—

And so on, giving the terms of the division, etc.:

The vendors retain a majority of the common stock.

Then they state the terms as to subscriptions:

The subscription list will be opened at 10 o'clock a. m. on Monday, June 27, 1892, and will close on Wednesday, June 29, 1892, at 3 o'clock p. m., at the office of Messrs. Taintor & Holt, 11 Wall street, New York.

Then the following statement is submitted by the same individual:

THE UNITED STATES CUTLERY COMPANY.

This corporation has been formed to purchase, unite, and take over as going concerns four of the oldest, largest, and best-known business properties in

the United States, viz: those of the Miller Bros. Cutlery Company, of Meriden, Conn.; the New York Knife Company, of Walden, N. Y.; the Walden Knife Company, of Walden, N. Y., and that of Dwight Divine, of Ellenville, N. Y. The consideration of the purchase is the sum of $1,000,000 in preferred and common stock of the company.

The company begins business on or about July 1, 1892.

Vendors' statement.

These four concerns manufacture about 65 per cent of all the pocket cutlery made in the United States. They all have excellent water power, and are capable of large extensions with a very moderate outlay.

This business, with a record of over twenty years, has steadily grown into a profitable undertaking. The manufactured goods now equal the best foreign makes, and it is impossible now to turn the channel of trade back to the foreign manufacturers.

The members whose names are given are connected with this concern. Whether or not they succeeded in floating their scheme of selling out at four times the value of their plants, it seems to me they must be held to their own statement as to the profitableness of their business and what they were likely to do in the future.

The company acquires, free of incumbrance, all the property of the four concerns used in connection with their business, including real estate, buildings, and machinery, together with the good will, patents, trade-marks, designs, etc.

The real estate, buildings, machinery, fixtures, patterns, etc., used in manufacturing have been valued, under oath, by Hon. George B. Childs, treasurer Ellenville Savings Bank, Ellenville, N. Y.; Uriah E. Terwilliger, trustee Ellenville Savings Bank, Ellenville, N. Y.; John R. Hays, postmaster, Walden, N. Y.; Walter C. Stevens, cashier Walden National Bank, Walden, N. Y.; Judge Levi E. Coe, president Meriden Savings Bank, Meriden, Conn.; John L. Billard, Meriden, Conn.; John S. Taylor, merchant, Walden, N. Y., and Hiram B. Wooster, trustee Walden Savings Bank, Walden, N. Y., at	$692,000
Stores and manufactured goods on hand at cost price, with cash in the treasury	440,000
	1,132,000

Nothing is included in the foregoing total for any of the patent rights, trade-marks, or good will, valued at $500,000.

The books of all these concerns have been examined by Messrs. Yalden, Brooks & Donnelly, chartered accountants, and according to their report the business of these companies has steadily increased year by year, and the net profits of these companies for a period of over three years are largely in excess of the sum necessary to have paid 8 per cent dividends upon $800,000 preferred stock, and the amount available for dividends in 1891 was $131,500, and from returns already to hand since then, taking into consideration the new works now in operation, which produced no goods up to January, 1892, the profits for 1892 may be fairly estimated to be not less than sufficient to pay 8 per cent on the preferred stock and 15 per cent on the common stock.

The "Marks bill," which was quite as important to the manufacturers as the increase of the tariff, prevents the importation of knives with the names of American houses stamped upon them. Before the passage of this law, foreign houses placed on the market bad qualities of knives stamped as American, which gave the impression that American-made knives were of poor quality, whereas it has been conclusively demonstrated that the home product is superior to the best imported goods. Even if the tariff be reduced, it will have opened up channels of trade that have been exclusively occupied by foreign manufacturers, and which can never again be taken away. This has been proved beyond question by the fact of the largest jobbing houses in the country having already contracted largely for supplies from the American manufacturers for lines of goods never ordered by them before, and which have been pronounced satisfactory in every way.

The prices upon cutlery have never yet reached those which could have been asked by the increased rate of tariff.

The present owners keep a majority interest in the common stock of the new company which will be formed to take over the properties.

If it is desired, the present managers have agreed to manage the different works of this company at moderate salaries, the maximum of which is fixed, and they bind themselves not to go into the manufacture of pocket cutlery in the United States, either directly or indirectly, for the period of seven years, whether they be employed by this company or not.

The manufacturing capacity of these companies is about 30 per cent larger than in 1891, and their product is sold months ahead at the full present market price.

The value of the solid assets is nearly one and one-half times the amount of the preferred stock, which is not only preferred as to income, but also as to these assets.

Attention is specially called to the fact that the business of manufacturing cutlery is still in its infancy in this country. Starting from small beginnings, it has grown surely to its present proportions, and the opportunity opened to it has been only partially availed of. It is not a business which has reached in the past its full period of prosperity, but, on the contrary, it has just begun its history of success and profit.

It is manifest that the shareholders in this company will be benefited by these unusually favorable conditions.

This prospectus seems to show at least that there was an effort made on the part of the people who had this enormous protection under the McKinley Act not only to organize a combination, they themselves holding 65 per cent of the total production of the pocketknives in this country, but at the same time to unload that property at 400 per cent above its value. This must have been simply the advance the McKinley Act gave them over what their property was worth before that bill was passed, and now we are increasing it here.

But I will continue to read this letter from St. Louis:

The real estate, buildings, machinery, fixtures, patterns, manufactured goods on hand, and cash in the treasury are stated, under oath, to be $1,132,000, and they value their patent rights, trade-marks, and good will at an additional $500,000.

Messrs. Yalden, Brooks & Donnelly, chartered accountants, than whom there are no better in the United States, examined their books—

This letter is about the matter concerning which I have just read—

and the prospectus states that their profits for a period of over three years past were largely in excess of the sum necessary to have paid 8 per cent dividends upon $800,000 preferred stock, and that the profits for 1892 may be fairly estimated to be not less than sufficient to pay 8 per cent on preferred stock of $800,000 and 15 per cent on the common stock, also $800,000. The tangible assets of these four concerns were $1,132,000, which, according to their statement, makes the profit on the actual investment 16 per cent per annum. The prospectus further states that even if the tariff be reduced it will have opened up channels of trade that have been exclusively occupied by foreign makers, and which can never be taken away again; yet these same four manufacturers testified before the McKinley Ways and Means Committee (Tariff Hearings, Document 176, page 72), that their investment only amounted to $400,000.

The American manufacturers of pocket cutlery to-day control nearly the entire American market on the higher priced goods, which invariably bear a very much larger per cent of profit than the cheaper grades. The sole effect of the proposed schedule will be to bar out about 80 per cent of the pocketknives heretofore imported, thus rendering the new tariff in this direction an utter failure as regards being a revenue producer, and compelling the poor man to pay enormously for the knives he is able to pay for. This will be made clear to you when you consider that the importation of pocket cutlery from the year 1892 to the year 1897 shows that 87 per cent of the total amount in dozens consisted of knives costing $1.50 and less. The following table speaks for itself, and shows clearly the discrimination against the poor man's goods:

TWO-BLADE POCKETKNIVES.

Foreign cost per dozen.	McKinley tariff.	Wilson tariff.	Dingley.	
			Other than pearl or shell handles.	Pearl and shell handles.
	Per cent.	*Per cent.*	*Per cent.*	*Per cent.*
$0.44	78	52	250	300
.56	140	69	200	288
.68	125	62	168	242
.80	113	56	145	207
.92	104	52	128	183
1.04	102	64	116	165
1.16	93	60	105	150
1.28	90	56	99	138
1.40	86	54	92	128
1.50	83	53	87	120

THREE-BLADE POCKETKNIVES.

$0.68	125	62	241	262
.80	113	56	210	330
.92	104	52	183	265
1.04	102	64	165	237
1.16	93	60	150	214
1.28	90	56	137½	196
1.40	86	54	127½	181
1.50	83	53	120	170

FOUR-BLADE POCKETKNIVES.

$0.80	113	56	270	365
.92	104	52	237	320
1.04	102	64	213	285
1.16	93	60	198	257
1.28	90	56	177	235
1.40	86	54	163	216
1.50	83	53	153	203

The present tariff on scissors and shears is 45 per cent, yet it is proposed to increase this in some instances on the cheaper grades to as much as 325 per cent. Ninety-seven per cent of the shears used here are manufactured in this country, and, furthermore, a considerable quantity is exported to England. We ourselves last month took an order for over 300 dozens in Sheffield, England, at a very satisfactory profit to us.

Exporting the goods in these quantities from this country absolutely to Sheffield itself, to the headquarters of the manufacture of cutlery in Great Britain, and selling them there at a profit to our exporters, and yet insisting on increasing the tariff over 45 per cent, which the Wilson Act now gives.

The grades of scissors which are imported are not made in this country at all, nor, in our opinion, are they likely to be.

The present duty on razors is an average of 45 per cent. Very few of these goods, in fact, a very insignificant quantity only, are made in this country, not entirely on account of the price, but on account of inability to get the peculiar kind of skilled labor necessary to their manufacture.

If industries with a protection of 45 per cent have not gained a foothold in our country, as has been the case with certain classes of scissors and razors, it clearly proves that they are not indigenous to the soil and have no right to exist here, and all legislation intending to increase enormously the duty on them is a direct tax on the poorer people.

The manufacturers of pocket cutlery are on record in regard to their business through the prospectus of the United States Cutlery Company. If the cutlery schedule, as it now stands in the Dingley bill, becomes effective, this prospectus will be made use of as showing the most inconsistent feature ever passed in tariff legislation, and will tend to inflame the minds of the masses, who are already sensitive in the extreme regarding what they consider class legislation. Can it be defended on any grounds whatever? Not on account of necessity for protection; their own prospectus denies it. Not on account of obtaining more revenue; the duties are prohibitive. Their prospectus and the enormous per cent of duties, as shown on the table which we inclose, are irreconcilable, excepting as a measure to permit pools.

Mr. President, it does seem that the intention of these things must be that way. We are assured again and again by protectionists that the purpose of tariff laws is to promote the production of goods in this country, and that competition amongst our

own manufacturers will bring prices down; and yet we have instance after instance, until we have instances by the hundred, in this country of combinations of producers to regulate prices by trusts, pools, or gentlemanly agreements, as they are sometimes called—a gentlemanly agreement to rob the masses of the people for the purpose of swelling the profits on their investments in this class of business.

Where combinations are possible under the laws of this country, I tell you, Mr. President, competition is absolutely impossible. We can have no competition unless we can prevent the combinations of these people; and when you put these high rates on the articles, you are offering a premium to these people to combine and increase the price enormously. I could mention instances by the dozen where this has been done. We instanced a few of them a day or two ago—nail trusts, trusts in steel rails, and so on.

The people of this country in the last five or six months have had some very strong object lessons before them in the way of protected duties that are not at all necessary to manufacturers, excepting for the purpose of enabling them to make combines among themselves. The steel-rail pool which has just gone to pieces is also going to have quite an educational effect in this direction, inasmuch as manufacturers have demonstrated their ability to sell rails delivered in England at less than English makers can produce them; yet during a long period of years they have forced the home consumer to pay $7 to $8 per ton more than would have been the case without an unnecessary duty.

The manufacturers of steel rails, some of whom are also makers of billets and rods, in 1896 sold fair quantities for export, in one case a large lot of rods being sold at $7 or $8 per ton less than the prevailing price in America.

The Wire Nail Association in a brief period of eighteen months more than doubled the capital of some of its members, and actually sold wire nails for export at just half the price prevailing for home use. This was only possible because of an alleged protective duty, and this notwithstanding the fact that the export of wire nails has been for a number of years past a steadily increasing business.

We wish to enter our strong and earnest protest against the passage of the measure, as far as it relates to guns, pocket cutlery, scissors, and razors, in the sincere belief that it will be bad legislation and bad politics, and in using the expression "bad politics" we do not mean to apply it to any particular party, and only use it in the sense that it will create intense feeling among an enormous class of people at a time when all measures supposed to be passed for the benefit of the country should be invulnerable against an honest attack.

It is the unnecessary advance on little articles of everyday consumption, such as scissors bought by women, pocket cutlery, and cheap guns bought by boys and farmers, that causes irritation and creates discontent. In order that you may see our point in this connection, it will be but necessary to say that if the wishes of the cutlery and gun manufacturers are carried out, our salesmen, in explanation of the advanced prices at which these goods will be invoiced to customers this fall, will be compelled to show that the average increase of duties on pocketknives has been 216 per cent, and in extreme cases, on cheaper grades, 540 per cent. This naturally provokes them, and leads them to talking in turn to the parties to whom they sell their goods; in other words, the jobber is aggravated, the salesman is aggravated, and in turn the retailer and the consumer to whom the retailer sells.

It is these little things where statements are so greatly multiplied that have great effect. It becomes an every-day topic of conversation among many people, and in this way it becomes the means of having many people condemn the measure.

In conclusion, the schedule on these items is wrong in principle, because the parties who can least afford to invest their money are legislated against. The enormous increase of duties on these goods will be resented and the measure as a whole will be condemned in consequence.

Yours, truly,

SIMMONS HARDWARE COMPANY,
J. W. MORTON,
First Vice-President.

This was signed by Mr. J. W. Morton, the vice-president of this company, as he states, the largest dealers in hardware in the United States.

Mr. President, we all know, of course, that it is utterly useless to show up these enormities; that it is utterly impossible to make any impression on the Senate. The fact that these taxes are to be levied upon the masses of the people, that the poor are to be compelled to contribute in small taxes and in small amounts upon every article that they purchase for domestic consumption, to swell the pockets of those who are already rich, fall upon deaf ears when presented to the other side of the Chamber.

There is but one satisfaction connected with it, that there is an appeal which lies from this body to one beyond, and one which will not refuse to listen—one that will not close its ears when this injustice and these gross inequalities are pointed out to them.

There are numbers of these things, but I hesitate to take up the time of the Senate in presenting them. I shall from time to time present such as seem the most glaring and most imperatively demanding attention.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. CARTER in the chair). The question is on the amendment of the Senator from Missouri to the amendment of the Committee on Finance.

Mr. VEST. On that I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. TURPIE. Mr. President, I have kept personal account of the recurrence during the reading of the bill of what I shall call supernumerary rates of tariff, rates imposed not for purposes of revenue, not for purposes of protection, but exactions imposed simply for the sake of exactions and the effects that are to follow them. Take, for example, the present instance. It is admitted that, with the exception of a very low-priced grade of articles, cutlery is manufactured in the United States; that the only importation is of the low grade. The object of these increased rates is to prevent importation; the object of these increased rates is to destroy revenue——

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Indiana yield to the Senator from Connecticut?

Mr. TURPIE. At the close of my sentence. The object of these increased rates can not in any manner affect wages, because the question of wages is simply between the employees and the employers here. So this is evidently a case of the imposition of superfluous and supernumerary increased rates of tariff simply for the sake of the increase. I yield with great delight to the honorable Senator from Connecticut.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. I wish merely to say that it is not admitted we have the market on the higher grades of cutlery or that we have no market on the lower grades. There has been no such admission presented to the committee, I understand.

Mr. TURPIE. I did not use the word "admission." I am not asking the honorable Senator to admit anything. I refer, however, to the papers before us. They will show that we have the markets on the higher grades. There are some importations of the higher grades. Why? Because when a man prefers British or French cutlery, he will have it, no matter what it costs. But that brings very little revenue. All the revenue we get is on the lower grades, the importation of which is now proposed to be stopped entirely. There will be no importation of the cheaper class of goods if the rate is increased as proposed in this bill. The very object of this increase is to prevent importation and to dry up the revenue heretofore derived from that source. So this is a supernumerary rate of tariff taxation, entirely superfluous, imposed for the sake of the tariff and its effect.

Now, Mr. President, this is not a single instance, it is the twelfth instance which I have counted of the imposition of these supernumerary rates. One of the principal features in this bill, its controlling descriptive feature, is the imposition of these supernumerary rates imposed merely as tariff for the sake of tariff. They can have but one object. They bring no revenue to the Government. Their purpose is to prevent that. They make no effect upon the wages, because the question of wages becomes domestic entirely. They do not relate to protection. Why, then, do the beneficiaries of the bill insist upon those rates being a part of its contents? Merely to make space, to make room, to make an open field, to prepare a park, a reserve for the operations of monopolies in the United States and to enable incorporated monopolies without question to fix their own prices on their own wares. That is the purpose of these supernumerary rates.

The imposition of supernumerary and superfluous rates is always accompanied with the direst vice relating to prohibitory and protective legislation. It is always accompanied with the unpardonable sin which adheres to and infests this sort of lawmaking. It is always a part of its feature that the highest superfluous and supernumerary rates, imposed simply for the sake of imposition, are imposed and placed on the lowest and the cheapest rates of goods. Why? The highest rates imposed on high-priced goods allowing their importation would bring a very small revenue. The taxpayers are very few in number. But when you impose the highest rate upon the lowest-priced goods you make every man, woman, and child in the country a taxpayer; the number of taxpayers would make many millions, and the sum so laid and collected becomes large. The poor people of the country—the millions not rich—are thus subjected to the principal burdens under this fiscal system. Those least able to pay taxes have imposed upon them the chief burden of taxation, and those more able and most able to pay the taxes are released by this policy from the payment of their proportionate burdens toward the public expenditures of the country.

This unspeakable vice of the protective and prohibitory system would be sad enough in itself, but it is a sadder thing yet to reflect that this system is authorized by law. It is not the result of accident or contingency, but we are asked by an act of Congress and under the authority of law to legalize this unjust and oppressive distribution of the burdens of public taxation and the pool formed now among the manufacturers of cutlery in the United States, or waiting to be formed upon the passage of this tariff bill. This pool is a violation of law. It is a breach of the old law against forestallments, a crime against justice, against public policy; and this very gentlemanly agreement is proposed under this act of Congress to be extended to the lawmakers, so that the lawmakers shall, in conjunction with the lawbreakers, perpetrate this crime against the rights of the majority of the taxpayers of this country.

There would be some excuse, sir, for the imposition even of a rate as high as this and as unjust in its character, wholly bearing upon the class of people least able to pay it, if the revenue to be derived were to go to the Government. But it is not. Not a dollar of this supernumerary rate of tariff goes into the public Treasury.

Every penny of it will go into the treasury of the trust. It is simply an act for the increase of the value of shares, stocks, and dividends to incorporated trusts engaged in the business of the manufacture of cutlery in the United States.

These three paragraphs remind me of that universal decree of Augustus Cæsar by which all the world was taxed. All the territorial limits are already taxed, but it is proposed now to tax knives (that includes the world of boys, a very large constituency), and to tax razors (that includes the world of men), and to tax scissors, which includes the world of that sex to which legislators have so often deferred, but which are not spared in this proscription. It is a universal tax inversely imposed, the highest rates upon the cheapest articles, so as to make the greatest number of taxpayers and to inflict the greatest possible degree of injustice upon those who are compelled by law to make this contribution to the public fisc.

I intended to ask the honorable Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON], who I am sorry to see is not in his seat at this time, to consider whether he had not some error in the committee to which the bill should have been referred. I believe, sir, upon consideration, especially of the descriptive feature to which I have alluded pervading the whole measure, the bill ought to have been referred to the Committee on Pensions. It is in fact and in law an act granting pensions to the incorporated owners of machinery engaged in the manufacture of cutlery in this country. They are pensions, sir, and they are pensions not subject to the provisions and limitations of the general law. They are pensions, sir, perpetual in their nature, because they are granted to corporations, and only to corporations. There is no limitation in amount and there is no limitation in terms. They are perpetual pensions without limit to the monopolies now established and hereafter to be established in this line of business in our country. Not even death will make any vacancy in this pension roll.

I know it may be suggested that these are service pensions and it may be claimed that they are quite meritorious. They are service pensions, sir. They are pensions for services performed in the great campaign of prosperity which culminated last November. They are pensions for services performed in the grand army of confidence which dispersed at the same time—forces which have dispersed almost as suddenly as they were summoned, forces which have disappeared to-day in the sands and in the wastes of great expectations, of broken promises, of pledges unkept and dishonored to the people, sought now to be condoned by granting immeasurable subsidies, bounties, pensions, and subventions to duly incorporated trusts of the United States.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the amendment of the Senator from Missouri to the amendment of the committee, on which the yeas and nays have been demanded.

The Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BATE (when the name of Mr. HARRIS of Tennessee was called). I desire to state that my colleague [Mr. HARRIS of Tennessee] is absent sick, as is well known, and that he is paired with the Senator from Vermont [Mr. MORRILL], who is also absent sick. I desire to make the announcement now and let it apply to all votes taken to-day.

Mr. MALLORY (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROCTOR]. If he were present, I should vote "yea" and he would vote "nay."

Mr. VEST (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. NELSON].

Mr. WALTHALL (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. SPOONER].

Mr. WILSON (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Florida [Mr. PASCO].

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. McMILLAN. I have a general pair with the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. LINDSAY]. I transfer that pair to the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH] and vote. I vote "nay."

Mr. KENNEY. I announce my pair with the junior Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. PENROSE] and withhold my vote. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

The result was announced—yeas 23, nays 31; as follows:

YEAS—23.

Bacon,	Clay,	Mills,	Rawlins,
Bate,	Cockrell,	Mitchell,	Roach,
Berry,	Gray,	Morgan,	Tillman,
Caffery,	Harris, Kans.	Murphy,	Turpie,
Cannon,	Jones, Ark.	Pettigrew,	White.
Chilton,	McLaurin,	Pettus,	

NAYS—31.

Allison,	Fairbanks,	Hoar,	Platt, N. Y.
Baker,	Foraker,	Lodge,	Pritchard,
Burrows,	Frye,	McBride,	Quay,
Carter,	Gallinger,	McEnery,	Sewell,
Chandler,	Gear,	McMillan,	Shoup,
Clark,	Hale,	Mason,	Thurston,
Cullom,	Hanna,	Perkins,	Wetmore.
Deboe,	Hawley,	Platt, Conn.	

NOT VOTING—35.

Aldrich,	Hansbrough,	Martin,	Teller,
Allen,	Harris, Tenn.	Morrill,	Turner,
Butler,	Heitfeld,	Nelson,	Vest,
Daniel,	Jones, Nev.	Pasco,	Walthall,
Davis,	Kenney,	Penrose,	Warren,
Elkins,	Kyle,	Proctor,	Wellington,
Faulkner,	Lindsay,	Smith,	Wilson,
George,	Mallory,	Spooner,	Wolcott.
Gorman,	Mantle,	Stewart,	

So Mr. VEST's amendment to the amendment of the committee was rejected.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the committee as amended.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I move to amend the committee amendment by inserting, after the words "ad valorem," in line 16, the following:

Provided, That none of the foregoing rates in this paragraph shall exceed 60 per cent ad valorem.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the amendment proposed by the Senator from Arkansas to the amendment of the committee.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I ask for the yeas and nays on that amendment.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MALLORY (when his name was called). On this question I am paired with the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROCTOR]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. VEST (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. NELSON]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. WILSON. I again announce my pair with the Senator from Florida [Mr. PASCO]. If he were present, he would vote "yea" and I should vote "nay."

Mr. WALTHALL. I announce my pair with the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. SPOONER]. I also announced the pair of the Senator from Delaware [Mr. GRAY] with the Senator from Illinois [Mr. CULLOM].

Mr. TILLMAN. Has the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. THURSTON] voted, Mr. President?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. He has not voted.

Mr. TILLMAN. Then I withhold my vote, as I have a pair with that Senator.

Mr. WILSON. I transfer my pair with the Senator from Florida [Mr. PASCO] to the Senator from Nevada [Mr. JONES], and vote "nay."

Mr. CULLOM (after having voted in the negative). I have just been reminded that the Senator from Delaware [Mr. GRAY], with whom I am paired, is absent, and that I ought to withdraw my vote. I do so. I supposed he was in his seat when I voted.

Mr. CHANDLER (after having voted in the negative). Has the senior Senator from New York [Mr. MURPHY] voted?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. He has not voted.

Mr. CHANDLER. Then I withdraw my vote.

The result was announced—yeas 17, nays 29; as follows:

YEAS—17.

Bacon,	Clay,	Mitchell,	Turpie,
Bate,	Cockrell,	Morgan,	White.
Berry,	Harris, Kans.	Pettigrew,	
Caffery,	Jones, Ark.	Pettus,	
Chilton,	Mills,	Rawlins,	

NAYS—29.

Allison,	Foraker,	Lodge,	Quay,
Baker,	Frye,	McBride,	Sewell,
Burrows,	Gallinger,	McEnery,	Shoup,
Carter,	Gear,	McMillan,	Wetmore,
Clark,	Hale,	Perkins,	Wilson.
Davis,	Hanna,	Platt, Conn.	
Deboe,	Hawley,	Platt, N. Y.	
Fairbanks,	Hoar,	Pritchard,	

NOT VOTING—43.

Aldrich,	Gray,	Martin,	Stewart,
Allen,	Hansbrough,	Mason,	Teller,
Butler,	Harris, Tenn.	Morrill,	Thurston,
Cannon,	Heitfeld,	Murphy,	Tillman,
Chandler,	Jones, Nev.	Nelson,	Turner,
Cullom,	Kenney,	Pasco,	Vest,
Daniel,	Kyle,	Penrose,	Walthall,
Elkins,	Lindsay,	Proctor,	Warren,
Faulkner,	McLaurin,	Roach,	Wellington,
George,	Mallory,	Smith,	Wolcott.
Gorman,	Mantle,	Spooner,	

So the amendment to the amendment was rejected.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question recurs on the amendment of the committee as amended.

The amendment as amended was agreed to.

The reading of the bill was resumed, and paragraphs 150 and 151 were read, as follows:

150. Swords, sword blades, and side arms, 35 per cent ad valorem.

151. Table, butchers', carving, cooks', hunting, kitchen, bread, butter, vege-

table, fruit, cheese, plumbers', painters', palette, artists', and shoe knives, forks and steels, finished or unfinished, with handles of mother-of-pearl, shell, of ivory, 16 cents each; with handles of deer horn, 12 cents each; with handles of hard rubber, solid bone, celluloid, or any pyroxyline material, 5 cents each; with handles of any other material than those above mentioned, 1½ cents each, and in addition, on all the above articles, 15 per cent ad valorem: *Provided*, That none of the above-named articles shall pay a less rate of duty than 45 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. VEST. I offer a substitute for paragraph 151.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Missouri will be stated.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to strike out paragraph 151 and in lieu thereof to insert:

151. Table, butchers', carving, cooks', hunting, kitchen, bread, butter, vegetable, fruit, cheese, plumbers', painters', palette, artists', and shoe knives, forks and steels, finished or unfinished, 40 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President, in the course of my remarks yesterday I filed certain tables with reference to pocket cutlery, compiled by the St. Louis house to which I then referred—the Simmons Hardware Company. I have now here a table of knives and forks, ivory and pearl handles, also rubber, bone, and celluloid handles, stag handles, and carving knives and forks, stag handles, with the foreign cost and the tariff from 1864 to 1890, the McKinley rate, the Wilson rate, the Dingley rate, and the Senate committee's rate. Some of these rates are excessively high throughout. For instance, take table knives and forks, stag handles, costing 42 cents.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. There are no such things.

Mr. WHITE. Well, this firm, which is said to be the largest hardware establishment in the United States, informs me to the contrary. I presume that they must know what they are talking about.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Stag-handled table knives?

Mr. WHITE. Yes, sir.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. There is no such thing. There are such carving-knife handles.

Mr. WHITE. Horn handles, I believe, are called stag handles. I am so informed by this establishment; and while I have great confidence in the views of the Senator from Connecticut, yet I shall be compelled to submit this evidence.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Worse than all that, the term "stag handles" is not in the bill at all.

Mr. WHITE. That may be one of the occult features of this bill which render it more reprehensible than if it spoke openly. That is a feature of the celebrated sugar schedule, that we are to come to after a while, that everyone is calculating upon, and each produces a different result. That is an occult feature which is not commendatory of the bill. I have no doubt that the gentleman who devised this schedule managed to get everything taxed under some name. If stag handles have been left out, it is an omission of a nature seldom made by the gentlemen who concoct these wonderful schedules, confusing, confounding, and pernicious.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. The term is "deer horn."

Mr. WHITE. As to whether deer horn would be the proper designation of stag handles I do not propose to inquire. The trade definition seems to be stag handles, but it is immaterial to me. They may be called deer horn. I will compromise on that, if I can help the bill through.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Deer horns and stag horns are not used for table knives. The Senator never saw one, I venture to say.

Mr. WHITE. I have seen some very peculiar handles and some very peculiar knives, and though the Senator from Connecticut may not have seen a table knife with a stag handle, the Senator from Missouri, I have no doubt, who lives in a State where large cutlery establishments are located, will be able to convince the Senator that west of the Mississippi River, and possibly in the neighborhood east of it, knives with stag handles have been seen.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Carving knives.

Mr. WHITE. The capability of the Senator from Connecticut is no doubt great, but I doubt whether he has been able to investigate all the knife handles of the country. However, we shall not quarrel as to whether they are called stag handles or horn handles. I refer again to the table which I intend to print as a part of my remarks, from which it will be seen that on table knives and forks, stag handles, costing 42 cents per dozen, the duty under the tariff from 1864 to 1890 was 35 per cent ad valorem; by the McKinley law the duty was 55 per cent; under the Wilson law, 35 per cent, while under the Dingley bill it is 355 per cent, and the same rate is preserved in the Senate committee's bill.

Mr. Sharretts, of the Board of General Appraisers, informs me that the rates of duty under this paragraph on table and other knives are equivalent to from 45 to 255 per cent. Without further comment, I will offer this table and have it printed in the RECORD in connection with what I have said.

The table referred to is as follows:

Table knives and forks.

IVORY AND PEARL HANDLES.

Foreign cost per dozen.	Tariff, 1864 to 1890.	McKinley.	Wilson.	Dingley.	Senate.
	Per cent.	*Per cent.*	*Per cent.*	*Per cent.*	*Per cent.*
$1.48	35	53½	35	145	145
1.72	35	50	35	132	132
1.96	35	48	35	113	113
2.44	35	46	35	95	95
2.92	35	44	35	81	81
4.00	35	55	35	63	63
5.00	35	50	45	53	53
6.00	35	47	45	47	47

RUBBER, BONE, AND CELLULOID HANDLES.

$0.42	35	55	35	157½	157½
.54	35	50	35	126	126
.66	35	45	35	105	105
.80	35	42½	35	90	90
1.00	35	40	35	75	75
1.24	35	57½	35	63	63
1.48	35	53½	35	55	55
1.72	35	50	35	50	50

STAG HANDLES.

$0.42	35	55	35	355	355
.54	35	50	35	280	280
.66	35	45	35	233	233
.80	35	42½	35	195	195
1.00	35	40	35	159	159
1.24	35	57½	35	132	133
1.48	35	53½	35	112	112
1.72	35	50	35	99	99

Carving knives and forks.

STAG HANDLES.

Foreign cost per pair.	Tariff, 1864 to 1890.	McKinley.	Wilson.	Dingley.	Senate.
	Per cent.	*Per cent.*	*Per cent.*	*Per cent.*	*Per cent.*
$0.15	35	138	35	175	175
.24	35	100	35	115	115
.36	35	75	35	80	80
.48	35	65	35	65	65
.60	35	58½	35	55	55
.72	35	70½	35	50	50
.84	35	72	35	45	45
.96	35	65	35	45	45

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. There has been a good deal said about this schedule, and I desire to say one word in reply. This schedule was prepared by the president of the Board of Appraisers in New York at the request of the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives, and he was consulted by the subcommittee of the Committee on Finance of the Senate. The schedule was prepared by him, and I desire to read a word of his memorandum annexed to it. I think it answers all this talk.

151. The rates on table cutlery in this paragraph are thought to be a great improvement on those in the act of 1890 and the present act. It is thought they can not be successfully evaded (except, of course, where the conditional ad valorem rate under the proviso becomes applicable). On some of the lower-priced articles this rate would approximate those of the act of 1890. On the majority, however, they will be considerably less, and the average on such articles will not, it is believed, exceed about 55 per cent, whereas on most of those of higher value the ad valorem rate of 45 per cent will accrue. It should not be forgotten that these calculations also are based upon invoice prices of imported goods which have been more or less undervalued, particularly on those of the lower grade.

Mr. WHITE. That there may be no misapprehension as to where this schedule comes from, I wish it distinctly understood that it does not emanate from the Board of Appraisers of New York, but is the view simply of one member of that board. Another member of that board, whose name I have given, and who is a distinguished expert on these matters, makes this comment upon that paragraph:

151. The rates of duty on table and other knives covered by this paragraph are equivalent to an ad valorem duty ranging from 45 to 255 per cent. I think a duty of 45 per cent would be amply sufficient on all these goods.

So there seems to be as much disagreement amongst the General Appraisers as amongst Senators.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the amendment proposed by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST] to paragraph 151.

Mr. VEST. On that I call for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MALLORY (when his name was called). I again announce my pair with the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROCTOR].

Mr. VEST (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. NELSON].

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. CHANDLER. I am paired on political questions with the senior Senator from New York [Mr. MURPHY]. I transfer that pair to the Senator from Nevada [Mr. JONES], and vote "nay."

Mr. KENNEY (after having voted in the affirmative). Has the junior Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. PENROSE] voted?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. GALLINGER in the chair). The Senator from Pennsylvania has not voted.

Mr. KENNEY. Then I withdraw my vote.

The result was announced—yeas 23, nays 34; as follows:

YEAS—23.

Bacon,	Clay,	McLaurin,	Rawlins,
Bate,	Cockrell,	Mills,	Tillman,
Berry,	Faulkner,	Mitchell,	Turpie,
Caffery,	Gray,	Morgan,	Walthall,
Cannon,	Harris, Kans.	Pettigrew,	White.
Chilton,	Jones, Ark.	Pettus,	

NAYS—34.

Allison,	Fairbanks,	Lodge,	Quay,
Baker,	Foraker,	McBride,	Sewell,
Burrows,	Frye,	McEnery,	Shoup,
Carter,	Gallinger,	McMillan,	Spooner,
Chandler,	Gear,	Mason,	Stewart,
Clark,	Hale,	Perkins,	Thurston,
Davis,	Hanna,	Platt, Conn.	Wetmore.
Deboe,	Hawley,	Platt, N. Y.	
Elkins,	Hoar,	Pritchard,	

NOT VOTING—33.

Aldrich,	Harris, Tenn.	Martin,	Smith,
Allen,	Heitfeld,	Morrill,	Teller,
Butler,	Jones, Nev.	Murphy,	Turner,
Cullom,	Kenney,	Nelson,	Vest,
Daniel,	Kyle,	Pasco,	Warren,
George,	Lindsay,	Penrose,	Wellington,
Gorman,	Mallory,	Proctor,	Wilson,
Hansbrough,	Mantle,	Roach,	Wolcott.

So Mr. VEST's amendment was rejected.

The reading of the bill was resumed.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 152, line 18, before the word "inches," to strike out "four" and insert "two and one-half;" in line 19, before the word "inches," to strike out "four" and insert "two and one-half;" in line 20, before the word "inches," to strike out "nine" and insert "four and one-half;" in the same line, before the word "cents," to strike out "sixty" and insert "fifty;" in line 21, before the word "inches," to strike out "nine" and insert "over four and one-half;" in line 22, before the word "inches," to strike out "fourteen" and insert "seven;" in the same line, before the word "cents," to strike out "one dollar and fifteen" and insert "seventy-five;" in line 23, before the word "inches," to strike out "fourteen" and insert "seven;" and in line 24, after the word "dollars," to strike out "and 60 cents;" so as to make the paragraph read:

152. Files, file blanks, rasps, and floats, of all cuts and kinds, 2½ inches in length and under, 30 cents per dozen; over 2½ inches in length and under 4½ inches, 50 cents per dozen; over 4½ inches in length and under 7 inches, 75 cents per dozen; 7 inches in length and over, $1 per dozen.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. PETTIGREW. I wish to offer an amendment to a paragraph we passed over the day before yesterday, at the end of line 25, on page 31.

Mr. ALLISON. Does the Senator desire to offer his amendment now?

Mr. PETTIGREW. I wish to offer the amendment now, and have it acted upon.

Mr. ALLISON. We are not acting on that schedule now, and I hope the Senator will not press his amendment at this time.

Mr. PETTIGREW. I am anxious for a vote on the amendment, as I am going away the last of this week, and shall be gone two or three days.

Mr. ALLISON. We will try to take up the matter before the Senator leaves. If not, it may remain open until his return.

Mr. PETTIGREW. Very well.

Mr. PRITCHARD. I hope the matter will be left open for the present.

Mr. PETTIGREW. Very well. I shall not offer the amendment now.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Will the Senator from South Dakota state the amendment he proposes to offer? I should like to have the amendment stated, so that we may know what it is.

Mr. PETTIGREW. At the end of line 25, on page 31, at the bottom of the page, I move to insert the following words:

Sulphur ore, or pyrites, or sulphuret of iron in its natural state, $2.25 per ton.

It is on the free list now.

Mr. ALLISON. The committee proposes an amendment to paragraph 154, and I ask that it may be considered out of its regular order.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. On page 50, line 5, paragraph 154, it is proposed to strike out all after the word "thereof" and insert in lieu thereof the words "75 cents each and 25 per cent ad valorem;" so as to read:

Revolving pistols or parts thereof, 75 cents each and 25 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. VEST. How much is the proposed increase of duty?

Mr. ALLISON. Over the paragraph as it stands?

Mr. VEST. Yes; as it stands.

Mr. ALLISON. It is not so large a duty as that provided for in the paragraph.

Mr. VEST. The paragraph is 60 cents each and 15 per cent. I understand that to be an increase.

Mr. ALLISON. Upon the lower qualities.

Mr. VEST. Yes.

Mr. ALLISON. Upon the lower-priced article—pistols valued at more than $2.50—the paragraph now under consideration provides for $1.50 and 25 per cent ad valorem. The committee recommend one rate for pistols. It is a slight increase upon some of them, but a great reduction upon others.

Mr. VEST. But it is an increase upon the lower-priced article.

Mr. ALLISON. A slight increase, very.

Mr. VEST. That is the most objectionable feature of the bill to me, that whenever we strike a lower-priced article, there is an increase of duty.

Mr. ALLISON. It is not a high duty.

Mr. VEST. And as a matter of course it falls upon people the least able to pay it.

I wish to call attention, without the hope of converting anybody on the other side of the Chamber——

Mr. HOAR. May I ask the Senator whether he is speaking in favor of the poor man's revolver? He says the particular matter which is up is revolvers.

Mr. VEST. I am speaking in the interest of every honest man, poor or rich, who wants to use a revolver for legitimate purposes. A revolver, as is said sometimes about that instrument in Texas, is not needed so often, but when it is needed it is needed very badly. I have no doubt every Senator, certainly those of us who have lived in the West, has seen the time when a revolver was the most indispensable article in the world, not because he wanted to violate the law, but he wanted to defend himself with it.

But I wish to call attention, without expecting to make any converts, as I said, to the changes that are made in the bill in regard to the low-priced breech-loading guns. In the matter of sporting guns, not muskets, there has been as much revolution as there has been in any other article in recent years. All of us can, and we are not very old men, remember when such a thing as a breech-loading gun was unknown. We had the old muzzle-loader with percussion caps. I remember very well when the first breech-loading gun appeared in my State. It was a great curiosity. People came to see it. Now everybody uses a breech-loading gun, and it is the rarest thing possible to find any man, even the poorest, white or black, who has not a breechloader. We do not in this country make the cheap breechloaders. They are made in Germany and in France.

Mr. HOAR and Mr. GALLINGER. In Belgium.

Mr. VEST. And in Belgium. A large number are made in Belgium. The unit of value is $4.55. That is the foreign cost of some of these guns. My friend the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. JONES] says it is the average. We do not make these guns in the United States, and here is a change in existing law, putting up the limit as to cost from $6 to $10, and then increasing the duty enormously over the rate that now prevails.

Mr. ALLISON. Is the Senator speaking of the bill as it comes from the other House or the amendment proposed by the Senate committee?

Mr. VEST. I am speaking of the existing law and the amendment proposed by the majority of the Finance Committee.

Mr. ALLISON. And the Senator says it enormously increases the present rate? The Committee on Finance recommends that on the cheaper guns the rate shall be an ad valorem duty of 50 per cent.

Mr. VEST. Exactly, and that is an increase of 20 per cent over the existing law. In other words, where the gun is worth $6 you put $3 additional tax upon it, making it cost $9 besides the cost of transportation and profit.

To an increase of duty upon high-priced sporting guns that are made by distinguished and celebrated makers abroad and in this country, and which cost from $150 to $500, and even $1,000 apiece, there could not be so much objection, because a man able to buy a gun of that sort, and who thinks he needs it, would consider it the most trivial matter in the world if he had to pay $25 or $50 more in the shape of tariff tax. But when you go to the cheap breech-loading, double-barrel gun, bought only by the poor class of people, and which the poor people alone can buy, it is an outrage to put a tax of 50 per cent upon it when we do not pretend to produce the article in this country.

There can not be the slightest pretext that it is done for protection, because we make none of those guns. It must be done alone for revenue, and as everyone knows who has noticed the imports into this country, as you put up the tariff rates upon articles of this sort you decrease revenue. So there can be no excuse for this sort of taxation in the bill before us. I move to strike out "50 per cent" and insert "30 per cent," which is the rate under the existing law.

The committee have raised the limit from $6 to $10, and under the amendment a large number of guns costing abroad $7, $8, and $9 would be included in this provision. I move to strike out "fifty" and insert "thirty," so as to make the rate on double-barreled, sporting, breech-loading shotguns, combination shotguns, and rifles mentioned in this clause, 30 per cent ad valorem.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In line 8, paragraph 154, page 49, it is proposed to strike out the word "fifty" and insert "thirty," so as to read "30 per cent ad valorem."

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment submitted by the Senator from Missouri.

Mr. VEST. On that I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MALLORY (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROCTOR].

Mr. VEST (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. NELSON].

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. QUAY (after having voted in the negative). I understand the Senator from Alabama [Mr. MORGAN] has not voted. If that is the case, I desire to withdraw my vote, as I am paired with him.

Mr. HANSBROUGH. I desire to announce my pair with the senior Senator from Virginia [Mr. DANIEL].

Mr. THURSTON (after having voted in the negative). I learn that the senior Senator from South Carolina [Mr. TILLMAN], with whom I have a general pair, has not voted. I therefore withdraw my vote.

Mr. QUAY. I desire to transfer my pair to the Senator from Nevada [Mr. JONES], and will allow my vote to stand. The Senator from Nevada will stand paired with the Senator from Alabama [Mr. MORGAN].

Mr. WILSON. I am paired with the Senator from Florida [Mr. PASCO].

Mr. JONES of Arkansas (after having voted in the affirmative). I notice that the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE] is not recorded as having voted. I have a pair with that Senator, and therefore withdraw my vote.

The result was announced—yeas 24, nays 32; as follows:

YEAS—24.

Bacon,	Cockrell,	McLaurin,	Rawlins,
Bate,	Faulkner,	Mills,	Roach,
Berry,	Gorman,	Mitchell,	Smith,
Caffery,	Gray,	Murphy,	Turpie,
Chilton,	Harris, Kans.	Pettigrew,	Walthall,
Clay,	Kenney,	Pettus,	White.

NAYS—32.

Allison,	Davis,	Hawley,	Platt, N. Y.
Baker,	Deboe,	Hoar,	Pritchard,
Burrows,	Elkins,	Lodge,	Quay,
Cannon,	Fairbanks,	McBride,	Sewell,
Carter,	Foraker,	McMillan,	Shoup,
Chandler,	Frye,	Penrose,	Spooner,
Clark,	Gear,	Perkins,	Stewart,
Cullom,	Hanna,	Platt, Conn.	Wetmore.

NOT VOTING—33.

Aldrich,	Heitfeld,	Mason,	Turner,
Allen,	Jones, Ark.	Morgan,	Vest,
Butler,	Jones, Nev.	Morrill,	Warren,
Daniel,	Kyle,	Nelson,	Wellington,
Gallinger,	Lindsay,	Pasco,	Wilson,
George,	McEnery,	Proctor,	Wolcott.
Hale,	Mallory,	Teller,	
Hansbrough,	Mantle,	Thurston,	
Harris, Tenn.	Martin,	Tillman,	

So the amendment was rejected.

Mr. WHITE. I desire to present several communications with reference to the gun matter. One is addressed to the senior Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH], and is dated March 25. It is from Schoverling, Daly & Gales, 302 Broadway, New York, and is as follows:

DEAR SIR: Permit me to call your attention to the proposed tariff (House bill No. 379) as far as it refers to breech-loading sporting shotguns, section 155.

That is the paragraph immediately after the present one, but it may as well be considered in connection with this.

I am much surprised that the committee should have adopted such radical rates. The average duty on double breech-loading shotguns (the only kinds that are now imported to any extent) is 75 per cent; the lowest rate, 53 per cent; the highest, 102 per cent. I can not comprehend why the Ways and Means Committee has always been so severe and unreasonable in the matter of guns. In 1890 this matter was discussed to a considerable extent and the rate changed, after the bill reached the House, to 40 per cent; but the conference committee finally advanced the duty to the original House rates. In this particular line the views of the manufacturers seem to have been all-powerful.

As a matter of fact, during my own business career the number of manufacturers of firearms has grown from three to over thirty, and the output increased more than ten times; and notwithstanding the hard times and panics of the last several years, not one of the principal factories has failed, and only two or three of the embryo concerns, who would naturally have succumbed even in prosperous times, have gone out of business. On the other hand, under a varying duty of 35 to 40 per cent from 1870 to 1890, the thirty-odd factories mentioned have grown up to large proportions, while the percentage of imported guns has continually decreased, so that the extinction of the importing business in this line, under any conditions, is only a question of time, just as in edged tools and repeating rifles.

I have dealt in and sold both domestic and foreign guns ever since domestic guns have been made, and every word I write is the result of personal experience.

The manufacturers who have appeared before the Ways and Means Committee have brought up no question of equity. They simply desire the exclusion of all imported guns, thinking thereby to insure their own prosperity, whether their factories are managed or mismanaged, not recognizing the fact that they have no direct competition from the foreign guns which are sound and strong, but of common construction, and intended for a different class of trade. The American guns go to our merchants and sportsmen; the foreign guns to the farmer's boy and laboring man, who must shoot a gun of this price or else go without.

As to the question of revenue, I do not believe the committee fully recognize how strong the tendency is to use American rather than foreign goods. My observation leads me to believe that during the next ten years the tendency to decreased imports will be very marked, even under reasonable rates of duty.

If the tariff on guns, as proposed, goes into effect, it will decrease the importation two-thirds within two years. Why add the specific duty and then increase the ad valorem rates also? On cheap guns $1 and 20 per cent would be enough.

I urgently request you to look into this matter at once and to vigorously oppose section 155 on breech-loading sporting shotguns as unreasonable, excessive, and nonrevenue producing.

Respectfully,

JOSEPH GALES.

Also 231 South Broad street, Elizabeth, N. J.

I also have a letter written before the bill was reported to the Senate. It comes from California, from an extensive and well-known house, a most respectable house, that of Baker & Hamilton, one of the oldest of the kind on the Coast—I think perhaps the oldest. It is as follows:

SAN FRANCISCO, *April 3, 1897.*

DEAR SIR: Our attention is called to the proposed tariff on firearms. While we are in favor of protecting the American manufacturers, we do not deem it wise to impose prohibitory duties. Therefore take the liberty of calling your attention to the inclosed copy of the proposed tariff bill as it applies to breech-loading shotguns, etc:

Valued at more than $6 and not more than $12—proposed duty, $4.

Valued at more than $12—proposed duty, $6.

This specific duty, added to the proposed ad valorem duty, would make a total equivalent to an ad valorem ranging from 75 to 100 per cent, which we consider excessive.

We do not know of any American manufacturers of low-priced double-barrel shotguns that need this protection. If the duty is imposed it would make a fair quality, medium-grade shotgun cost so much that it would be beyond the reach of the middle and lower classes of our citizens, on whom the entire burden would fall.

The American manufacturers, as a rule, devote their attention to the making of high-grade guns, which are purchased by sportsmen well able to pay the price asked for fine guns.

We can not see why a man of moderate means wishing to buy a medium-grade shotgun should be obliged to pay 75 to 100 per cent duty, while his more fortunate fellow-sportsman should be able to buy a gun valued at $50 or more and only pay 47 per cent duty.

We submit these facts for your kind consideration, and remain,

Yours, respectfully,

BAKER & HAMILTON,
WAKEFIELD BAKER, *President.*

Hon. STEPHEN M. WHITE, *Washington, D. C.*

The next is a tabulated statement showing the interpretation placed by this firm upon that feature of the bill:

FIREARMS.

Double-barreled, sporting, breech-loading shotguns, combination shotguns and rifles, valued at not more than $6, $1 each; valued at more than $6 and not more than $12, $4 each; valued at more than $12, $6 each; double barrels for sporting, breech-loading shotguns and rifles, further advanced in manufacture than rough bored only, $3 each; stocks for double-barreled, sporting, breech-loading shotguns and rifles, wholly or partially manufactured, $3 each; and in addition thereto, on all such guns, rifles, stocks, and barrels, 35 per cent ad valorem; on all other parts of such guns or rifles, and fittings for such stocks or barrels, finished or unfinished, 50 per cent ad valorem: *Provided*, That all double-barreled, sporting, breech-loading shotguns and rifles imported without a lock or locks or other fittings shall be subject to a duty of $6 each and 35 per cent ad valorem; single-barreled breech-loading shotguns, or parts thereof, except as otherwise specially provided for in this act, $1 each and 35 per cent ad valorem. Revolving pistols, or parts thereof, valued at not more than $2.50, 60 cents each and 15 per cent ad valorem; valued at more than $2.50, $1.50 each and 25 per cent ad valorem.

Foreign value.	Ad valorem duty.	Specific duty.	Total duty.	Equivalent ad valorem duty.
				Per cent.
$3.25	$1.14	$1.00	$2.14	65
4.00	1.40	1.00	2.40	60
5.00	1.75	1.00	2.75	55
5.90	2.07	1.00	3.07	52
6.10	2.13	4.00	6.13	100
7.00	2.45	4.00	6.45	92
8.00	2.80	4.00	6.80	85
10.00	3.50	4.00	7.50	75
12.50	4.37	6.00	10.37	83
15.00	5.25	6.00	11.25	75
50.00	17.50	6.00	23.50	47

I have no further comments to make upon this article.

Mr. ALLISON. These letters relate to the bill as it came from the House, and not as proposed to be amended by the Senate committee.

Mr. WHITE. Yes, sir; but I think they are pertinent to be considered here. The bill is not in a perfected state, and any information which may be conveyed to the Committee on Finance or the committee on conference in enforcing the reduction should properly be given here.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Iowa, which will be stated.

The SECRETARY. After the word "thereof," in line 5, page 50, it is proposed to strike out the remainder of the paragraph and insert in lieu thereof the words "75 cents each and 25 per cent ad valorem;" so as to read:

Revolving pistols or parts thereof, 75 cents each and 25 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment was agreed to.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 154, page 49, line 6, before the word "dollars," to strike out "six" and insert "ten;" after the word "dollars," in the same line, to strike out "$1 each; valued at more than $6 and not more than $12, $4;" and in line 8, after the word "each," to insert, "50 per cent ad valorem;" so as to read:

154. Double-barreled, sporting, breech-loading shotguns, combination shotguns and rifles, valued at not more than $10 each, 50 per cent ad valorem.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Without objection, the amendment will be agreed to.

Mr. VEST. There is objection.

Mr. WHITE. Do not let it be recorded that the amendment is agreed to without objection.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair understood, at the request of the Senator from Missouri the other day, that all these amendments are to be considered as objected to.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 154, page 49, in line 10, before the word "dollars," to strike out "twelve" and insert "ten;" so as to read:

Valued at more than $10, $6 each.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in paragraph 154, line 16, after the word "guns," to strike out the comma and insert "and;" and after the word "rifles," in the same line, to insert "valued at more than $10 each, and on such;" so as to read:

And in addition thereto on all such guns and rifles, valued at more than $10 each, and on such stocks and barrels, 35 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment was agreed to.

The reading of the bill was continued to the end of paragraph 156.

Mr. VEST. Paragraph 156 is as follows:

Cut nails and cut spikes of iron or steel, six-tenths of 1 cent per pound.

This is an increase upon existing law; a small increase, it is true, from 22½ per cent to 25 per cent, and I challenge the Senator from Iowa now, in the kindest manner possible, to show me that there is the slightest excuse for the increase. The comparative statement shows that we absolutely control this market as to these nails, and we do the same thing, I may say parenthetically, as to all these iron and steel manufactures. The world can not successfully compete with us. The comparative statement shows that in 1896 we exported from this country, after supplying the home market, $425,630 worth of these cut nails, and we imported $143 worth.

Now, what a parody it is upon tariff taxation, for protection or for revenue, to say that there ought to be an increase upon this article of prime necessity. There is no pretense of any competition with us. The miserable, beggarly amount of $143 in a whole year is all we have brought in, when we exported the enormous amount, relatively, of $425,630.

If there is any excuse for this sort of thing I should like to hear it. As I said the other day, if our friends have just got into this habit and can not break themselves of it, and are bound to increase the duty on everything, whether it is right or whether there is reason in favor of it, they ought to say so.

Mr. ALLISON. I will simply state to the Senator that we found a duty of 22½ per cent on these articles.

Mr. VEST. And the Senate committee propose to make it 25 per cent.

Mr. ALLISON. The duty of 22½ was placed there by the Senator from Missouri and his associate the Senator from Arkansas two or three years ago, and we supposed there must have been some good reason for it at that time. We have made it specific, and now it turns out to be an addition of 2½ per cent to the rate proposed by the Senator in what is known as the Wilson Act. If there is any great injury about it, it stands simply upon the same basis as the law of 1894.

Mr. VEST. No; it is an increase upon existing law, the law of 1894.

Mr. ALLISON. It is a very small increase.

Mr. VEST. I am prepared to say that the law of 1894 was too high.

Mr. ALLISON. I might ask the Senator to explain the law of 1894.

Mr. VEST. But, as I had occasion to say the other day, and as the Senator from Rhode Island frankly stated in his opening speech here, there were reasons connected with the management of the bill on the floor which induced me to accede to 22½ per cent after a long, hard struggle, because the attempt was made to make it 30 per cent. We were able to cut it down to 22½.

Mr. WHITE. I would ask the Senator from Missouri whether the threat of a two-wheeled barrow full of eloquence had not a good deal to do with it at the time?

Mr. ALLISON. I will say that cut nails are very much in the same situation as are knives and the articles shown here by the Senator from Missouri yesterday. They are sold here about as cheaply as they are anywhere, and as the Senator truthfully said, there are large exportations of these articles.

Mr. VEST. Yes; only $143 worth coming in. Yet it is proposed to put up the duty to exclude foreign competition.

As Mr. Blaine once said here, in similar circumstances on a different subject, I suppose the Senator from Iowa is like the boy who, when some ruffians were killing his father, said he saw the old man was bound to be murdered, and he concluded, in the interest of humanity, that he would just hit him a lick himself, so as to put him out of his misery. So this duty is to be increased from 22½ to 25 per cent, in order to settle the question finally in favor of protection.

Mr. ALLISON. That is right.

Mr. VEST. I move to reduce it to 20 per cent, where it ought to have been in 1894.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. There is another fact in connection with this matter that ought not to be lost sight of. The unit of value in 1893 was $4.20 a hundred on these nails. Now it is $2.40. Twenty-two and one-half per cent is less than six-tenths of a cent per pound. The specific tax of course increases the duty considerably, and I think it is very much more than 25 per cent. I have not been able to make the calculation.

Mr. WHITE. I will say that Mr. Sharretts figures it at 30 per cent.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I think it is considerably more than 25 per cent. I believe it is more than 30 per cent.

Mr. ALLISON. These experts vary very much in their figures. I take it it is not very important whether it is 25 or 30 per cent.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Suppose we make it 20 per cent.

Mr. ALLISON. That is the proposition of the Senator from Missouri.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. That is the proposition; but as the Senator from Iowa did not think there was much difference between 25 and 30 per cent, I thought he would not think there was much difference between 20 and 25 per cent——

Mr. ALLISON. Very little.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. And I thought he would vote with us on that proposition.

I wish to call attention to a paragraph in the Iron Age of the 20th of last month, ten or twelve days ago, about the matter of cut nails:

Cut nails.—The agreement between the owners of the Eastern mills in regard to prices of nails delivered at the different points in their territory is referred to as working quite satisfactorily, with but few complaints of irregularities.

There are very few complaints of people selling below the price fixed by the gentlemen's agreement among the cut-nail manufacturers under the present rates of taxation.

The demand is, however, only moderate, and the manufacturers are not anticipating a large volume of business in the near future. In the East the prices for nails, delivered, continue as before: New York, $1.40; Boston and New England, $1.42; Philadelphia, $1.38; Baltimore, $1.35. These prices also hold for nails delivered at other points in the territory which carry the same freight rates. For delivery where a higher freight rate rules a proportionate advance is made. In the West the market is represented in a general way by the quotation of $1.20 to $1.25 base for carload lots f. o. b. mill. Less than carload lots command 5 cents more.

Chicago (by telegraph): The movement is small, carload lots selling at $1.40, Chicago, and small lots from stock at $1.45.

St. Louis (by telegraph): The rumors regarding a proposed combination of the nail manufacturers has had a benefiting effect on cut nails. Mills are advancing their prices and are slow to quote on large quantities, except for immediate delivery. We quote $1.40 rates for carload lots from mill; less than carload lots command $1.45 rates.

Pittsburg: The demand for cut nails continues small, the season evidently being pretty well ended. We quote at $1.30 to $1.25 in carload lots at mill.

I especially call the attention of Senators to the fact that "the rumors regarding a proposed combination of the nail manufacturers has had a benefiting effect on cut nails," and the advice to parties is to hold on and not sell cut nails, as the price will probably go up. The increased tax following on the rumors regarding the combination of the nail manufacturers would seem

to indicate that the increased rate is simply to result in an increased price for American consumers and an increased benefit to American nail manufacturers.

Mr. ALLISON. The price spoken of, I will say to the Senator, is from $1.25 to $1.45 per hundred pounds, the unit of value here being .024. I do not think there will be any great harm resulting from it.

Mr. WHITE. It seems to be conceded that there is no necessity for any duty so far as the manufacture of this article is concerned. I believe there is no conflict in that regard; and the duty is placed for the purpose of aiding in the maintenance of the trust combination dominating this industry. It can not have any other object.

I have in my hand a telegram published in the Washington Post of June 2 with relation to the effect upon the laborers working in a very large iron and steel establishment of Pittsburg. I should like to have it read as an indication of the beneficial effects to follow this bill. Now that it is apparent that the pending measure will receive the votes of the majority of the Senate, it is natural that the good effects of the bill should begin to manifest themselves, and that no one need be disappointed. I will ask that the article be read; it is encouraging.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read as follows:

[From the Washington Post, June 2, 1897.]

IRON WORKERS ON A STRIKE—SIGNIFICANT REDUCTION OF EMPLOYEES AT PITTSBURG—ABOUT 2,000 MEN ARE AFFECTED, AND OF THESE ABOUT 900 HAVE REFUSED TO WORK—AMALGAMATED SCALE WILL BE REJECTED.

PITTSBURG, PA., *June 1.*

A 10 per cent cut in wages affecting all men not under the amalgamated scale was ordered at Jones & Laughlin's American Iron Works to-day. As a result the open-hearth workers and some other employees, in all about 900, refused to work last night. The firm employs nearly 3,000 men.

The stories of the number of men who quit work are conflicting. At the South Side office a superintendent thought about 250 men had quit work, but these had not crippled the plant. The workmen claim that between 400 and 500 have refused to work for the reduction. The superintendent said he would rather have the old employees resume, but if they do not new men will be employed to take their places. About 2,000 men are affected by the cut.

The laborers have been paid $1.25 per day, and these have been cut to $1.12½. The present reduction is significant, inasmuch as the amalgamated steel scale comes up for consideration this month. The present scale expires July 1. If Jones & Laughlin refuse to sign the amalgamated scale, there is no telling where the trouble will end.

W. L. King, of the firm, was asked to-day if the reduction did not indicate that the new amalgamated scale will be rejected when it comes up for consideration and that the firm will demand a reduction of the present wages.

He said: "That is the assumption."

Mr. King added: "We have been hoping since last fall that we would not be compelled to make a reduction, but prices have had a downward tendency, and we put it off as long as we could, hoping business might improve.

"We must either operate our plant at these prices or close down. Thousands of mechanics and laborers apply every week for work, and it will be no trouble to get men. Our orders have largely been from hand to mouth, and and it has been difficult to get orders to keep the men at work."

The Commercial Gazette to-morrow will say: "The furnace men throughout the Shenango and Mahoning valleys contemplate a general strike about July 1 for increased wages. The men have no organization as yet, but are insisting on having organizers from the Knights of Labor sent among them.

"The plan for the strike, which will include 10,000 men, is to wait until the weather gets at summer heat, when it will be impossible for new men to do this class of work, and it is believed the furnace operators will capitulate.

"The present wages of furnace men vary from $1.50 to $2 per day."

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I wish to call the attention of the Senator from Iowa to the fact that since he called attention to the valuation of these nails as given in the Iron Age, which I just now read, from 100 to 145 cents a hundred pounds, six-tenths of a cent per pound on those valuations instead of amounting to 25 per cent amounts to from 41 per cent to 60 per cent on the value of the article, and that the amendment proposed by the Senator from Missouri will carry a tax of from 20 to 29 per cent. An exclusive tax, I believe, of 20 per cent would be the equivalent.

The complaint the Senator from Missouri made was that the committee was undertaking to raise this tax from 22 per cent to 25 per cent, whereas the values show that six-tenths of a cent a pound is increasing the tax on cut nails from 22½ per cent under the present law to from 41 to 60 per cent; that where the nails are sold at a dollar a keg the tax would be 60 per cent, and where they are sold at $1.45 a keg the tax of six-tenths of a cent a pound would be 41 per cent.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST], which the Secretary will state.

The SECRETARY. On page 50, line 14, it is proposed to strike out "six-tenths of 1 cent per pound" and insert in lieu thereof "20 per cent ad valorem;" so as to make the paragraph read:

156. Cut nails and cut spikes of iron or steel, 20 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. VEST. I ask for the yeas and nays on agreeing to the amendment.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. THURSTON (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the senior Senator from South Carolina [Mr. TILLMAN]. If he were present, I should vote "nay."

Mr. VEST (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. NELSON].

Mr. WILSON (when his name was called). I transfer my pair with the Senator from Florida [Mr. PASCO] to the Senator from Nevada [Mr. JONES]. I vote "nay."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. QUAY. I have a general pair with the Senator from Alabama [Mr. MORGAN]. I transfer that pair to the Senator from Nevada [Mr. JONES], so that the Senator from Nevada and the Senator from Alabama will stand paired until the return of the Senator from Nevada to the Senate. I will let that pair stand without making any further announcement.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. I suggest to the Senator from Pennsylvania that on this vote a transfer was made by the Senator from Washington [Mr. WILSON] of his pair to the Senator from Nevada [Mr. JONES]. The transfer suggested can possibly be arranged for the next vote.

Mr. QUAY. I stand paired, then, with the Senator from Alabama [Mr. MORGAN], and accordingly will not vote.

Mr. MARTIN. I desire to know if the senior Senator from Montana [Mr. MANTLE] has voted?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Montana has not voted.

Mr. MARTIN. I withhold my vote in his absence. Were he present, I should vote "yea."

The result was announced—yeas 26, nays 36; as follows:

YEAS—26.

Bacon,	Faulkner,	McLaurin,	Roach,
Bate,	Gorman,	Mills,	Smith,
Berry,	Gray,	Mitchell,	Turpie,
Caffery,	Harris, Kans.	Murphy,	Walthall,
Chilton,	Heitfeld,	Pettigrew,	White.
Clay,	Jones, Ark.	Pettus,	
Cockrell,	Kenney,	Rawlins,	

NAYS—36.

Allison,	Deboe,	Hawley,	Platt, Conn.
Baker,	Elkins,	Hoar,	Platt, N. Y.
Burrows,	Fairbanks,	Lodge,	Pritchard,
Cannon,	Foraker,	McBride,	Sewell,
Carter,	Frye,	McEnery,	Shoup,
Chandler,	Gallinger,	McMillan,	Spooner,
Clark,	Gear,	Mason,	Stewart,
Cullom,	Hale,	Penrose,	Wetmore,
Davis,	Hanna,	Perkins,	Wilson.

NOT VOTING—27.

Aldrich,	Jones, Nev.	Morrill,	Tillman,
Allen,	Kyle,	Nelson,	Turner,
Butler,	Lindsay,	Pasco,	Vest,
Daniel,	Mallory,	Proctor,	Warren,
George,	Mantle,	Quay,	Wellington,
Hansbrough,	Martin,	Teller,	Wolcott.
Harris, Tenn.	Morgan,	Thurston,	

So the amendment was rejected.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The reading of the bill will be proceeded with.

The Secretary read paragraph 157, as follows:

157. Horseshoe nails, hob nails, and all other wrought iron or steel nails not specially provided for in this act, 2½ cents per pound.

Mr. TURPIE. I move to strike out "2½ cents per pound" and insert "25 per cent ad valorem."

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In line 18, page 50, paragraph 157, it is proposed to strike out "2½ cents per pound," and to insert "25 per cent ad valorem;" so as to read:

157. Horseshoe nails, hob nails, and all other wrought-iron or steel nails not specially provided for in this act, 25 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. TURPIE. I ask for the yeas and nays on agreeing to the amendment.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. CAFFERY. Mr. President, I desire to state in reference to this paragraph that the apparent lowering of rate from 4 cents a pound in the act of 1890 to 2½ cents a pound is purely fictitious; that it amounts to nothing and is no good whatever. It is only to afford an opportunity to our friends upon the other side during the campaign to hold up to the ordinary man the fact that they have reduced the rate on horseshoe nails, hob nails, and all other wrought-iron or steel nails from 4 cents a pound in the act of 1890 to 2½ cents a pound in 1897.

It appears that in 1893 there were 8,180 pounds of these nails imported, worth $897, and in 1896, 61,814 pounds, worth $3,981, and the unit of value in 1893 was 11 cents, and in 1896 6.4 cents a pound. In looking at the table of exports we find that iron-wrought horseshoe and all other nails were exported last year to

the extent of $291,363, and the imports of these at he highest rate was only $3,981. So here is the fact demonstrated by this excessive export over the imports that we not only hold the home market, but we are exporting these identical nails all over the world. What, therefore, is the use of any kind of duty upon this particular article of horseshoe nails as descr ed in paragraph 157? So no capital whatever can be made from any claim of lowering duties for the benefit of the American people in this paragraph or any other paragraph of the iron schedule.

Let us look, for instance, at the paragraph below—paragraph 158. In 1893 there were 238 pounds of nails mentioned in that paragraph imported. The value was $15.40. The unit of value is 65 mills. Can anybody say that a lowering of the rate from 2 cents a pound in 1890 to half a cent a pound in 1897 is of any benefit to anybody when $15.40 worth of these nails were imported into the United States? Is not this purely fictitious and illusory? Why not go the whole hog and put these items upon the free list? Where is the point that protection is ever going to stop? The infant is a very strong, stalwart man; he walks all over the United States, and controls the whole market of the United States.

If there is any question of dumping the surplus of the foreigners in the same line of nails on this country, it is manifest that we can outdump them 40 to 1 when it comes to the dumping process. We are exporting a very large quantity of this material in excess of what we import. The idea of holding the home market to prevent the dumping process, which it is alleged the foreigner will resort to to get rid of his surplus, is of all imaginary and illusive arguments used the most imaginary and the most illusive. People never raise anything below the cost of production more than once. The foreigner is no more idiotic than the American in that regard. No one is ever going to raise an article below the cost of production for the benefit of anybody else, either a home man or a foreign man. That does not occur, it can not occur, it never has occurred, and it never will occur.

But here is an opportunity to do the right thing in the matter of nails in behalf of the American people—not only in behalf of the poor, but in behalf of the well-to-do, in behalf of the rich, in behalf of the whole population—for if there is any one article that goes more into universal consumption than nails, I do not know of it.

I simply call attention to the fact of the excess of the exportation over the importation of these nails to show that our friends upon the other side can lay no claim to any kind of virtue, to any kind of desire to aid the poor man in America, by reason of lowering the rate on the article of nails below the rate of 1890.

Mr. TURPIE. Mr. President, I am very much obliged to the honorable Senator from Louisiana for the careful detail in which he has gone into this question. He has reenforced every reasonable objection which can be made to the rates mentioned in the pending bill. My own objections are based upon the opposition to any increase in the price of horseshoes. That is the operative principal item in this section. When horses themselves have become so cheap, it is proposed to increase immeasurably almost the tax upon shoes, and to make this increase upon horseshoe nails we shall reach the point when the nails and the shoes will be worth more than the horse. That is the point to which I wish to attract the attention of the Senate and of the country.

Mr. GEAR. The Senator overlooks the fact that the importations under the Wilson Act in 1896 amounted to nearly $4,000.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Indiana [Mr. TURPIE], on which the yeas and nays have been ordered.

The Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. QUAY (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the Senator from Alabama [Mr. MORGAN], who is temporarily absent from the Senate Chamber. If that Senator were present, he would vote "yea" and I should vote "nay."

Mr. THURSTON (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the senior Senator from South Carolina [Mr. TILLMAN]. If he were present, I should vote "nay."

Mr. VEST (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. NELSON].

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. QUAY. I desire to state that until the return of the Senator from Nevada [Mr. JONES], he will stand paired with the Senator from Alabama [Mr. MORGAN], I having transferred my pair to the Senator from Nevada.

Mr. KENNEY (after having voted in the affirmative). I inquire if the junior Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. PENROSE] has voted?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. He has not voted.

Mr. KENNEY. Then I will withdraw my vote, as I am paired with that Senator.

Mr. CLARK (after having voted in the negative). I inquire if the junior Senator from Kansas [Mr. HARRIS] has voted?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. He has not voted.

Mr. CLARK. Then I withdraw my vote and announce my pair with that Senator.

The result was announced—yeas 22, nays 31; as follows:

YEAS—22.

Bacon,	Cockrell,	Mitchell,	Smith,
Bate,	Faulkner,	Murphy,	Turpie,
Berry,	Gray,	Pettigrew,	Walthall,
Caffery,	Jones, Ark.	Pettus,	White.
Chilton,	McLaurin,	Rawlins,	
Clay,	Mills,	Roach,	

NAYS—31.

Allison,	Fairbanks,	Hoar,	Pritchard,
Burrows,	Forakar,	Lodge,	Quay,
Cannon,	Frye,	McBride,	Sewell,
Carter,	Gallinger,	McEnery,	Shoup,
Chandler,	Gear,	McMillan,	Spooner,
Cullom,	Hale,	Mason,	Stewart,
Davis,	Hanna,	Perkins,	Wetmore.
Elkins,	Hawley,	Platt, Conn.	

NOT VOTING—36.

Aldrich,	Hansbrough,	Mantle,	Teller,
Allen,	Harris, Kans.	Martin,	Thurston,
Baker,	Harris, Tenn.	Morgan,	Tillman,
Butler,	Heitfeld,	Morrill,	Turner,
Clark,	Jones, Nev.	Nelson,	Vest,
Daniel,	Kenney,	Pasco,	Warren,
Deboe,	Kyle,	Penrose,	Wellington,
George,	Lindsay,	Platt, N. Y.	Wilson,
Gorman,	Mallory,	Proctor,	Wolcott.

So Mr. TURPIE's amendment was rejected.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 158, page 50, line 19, after the word "steel," to strike out "2 inches long and longer," and insert "not less than 1 inch in length and;" in line 21, after the word "number," to strike out "twelve" and insert "sixteen;" in line 23, after the word "pound," to strike out "from 1 inch to 2 inches in length, and lighter than No. 12 and not lighter than No. 16 wire gauge, seven-tenths of 1 cent per pound; shorter" and insert "less;" and on page 51, line 1, after the word "inch," to insert "in length;" so as to make the paragraph read:

158. Wire nails made of wrought iron or steel, not less than 1 inch in length and not lighter than No. 16 wire gauge, one-half of 1 cent per pound; less than 1 inch in length and lighter than No. 16 wire gauge, 1 cent per pound.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. VEST. I move to strike out all after the word "steel," in line 19 of paragraph 158, and insert in lieu thereof "25 per cent ad valorem."

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment of the Senator from Missouri will be stated.

The SECRETARY. After the word "steel," in paragraph 158, line 19, page 50, it is proposed to strike out the remainder of the paragraph and to insert "25 per cent ad valorem;" so as to read:

158. Wire nails made of wrought iron or steel, 25 per cent ad valorem."

Mr. VEST. I call attention to the fact that here is another instance in which we command the American market and make large exportations, and still there is an increase of duty in the pending bill. In 1896 we exported of wire nails $321,055 worth, and we imported $25,063 worth.

Mr. WHITE. If the Senator from Missouri will allow me, I wish to add to his statement that the weight of the nails exported was eight millions and odd pounds.

Mr. VEST. We exported in 1896 $300,000 worth more of this product than we imported. That shows absolutely that we control the American market.

I call for the yeas and nays on the proposition to make this duty 25 per cent ad valorem.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Mr. President, from the Iron Age of the same date I read from a few minutes ago I have made the following clipping on the article of wire nails, to which I desire to call the attention of the Senate, and, in addition to what the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST] has just now stated, I wish to remind the Senate that it has come out in this debate more than once that wire nails were sold abroad while the wire-nail pool was in existence at about one-half of what they were sold for to American consumers. I now read this paragraph from the Iron Age:

Wire nails.—There is little new to report in the wire-nail market. The reports current in regard to the formation of a rod pool seem to have some influence on the trade, as a good many inquiries for prices for future shipments are being received by the manufacturers. The leading mills are still well supplied with orders sufficient to cover them for the next two or three weeks, but there is more evidence of a desire to obtain new business. Prices are without change on the basis of $1.35 for carload lots at mill. The low freight rates which are ruling tend to make the delivered price at many points slightly lower than it has been. The disturbance in the Northwest, owing to the offering of nails to the small trade at relatively close prices, still continues, and is the source of a good deal of embarrassment to the jobbing trade in that section. It has also something of an effect on prices in other portions of the country.

Chicago (by telegraph): The wire-nail trade is beginning to show the effects of the reports which have been current for some time regarding the control of the manufacture of wire rods—

This comes, as I have said, from the Iron Age, which is the organ of the iron business, and is a paper which would certainly not be inclined to make reports adversely to that interest—

These results have become much more pronounced within the past two or three days, and the belief is now being confirmed that the control of the product of all the mills has been secured. Large inquiries have been received by wire-nail manufacturers for May and June deliveries, but most of the factories are either out of the market or report themselves not in condition to quote. Sales made during the past week have ranged from $1.40 to $1.45, Chicago, for factory lots, but few, if any, manufacturers will now sell at such prices. Jobbers have a good demand for small lots from stock and continue to quote $1.50.

St. Louis (by telegraph): There are persistent rumors to the effect that another combination of the nail manufacturers is about to be formed. It is stated that Commissioner Parks, who was the guiding spirit in the last nail combination, is at the head of the present agreement, and it is also reported that the wire-rod men will act in harmony with the nail manufacturers. It is not the purpose to advance the price of nails to an exorbitant figure, but rather to make a price which will show manufacturers a profit, which it is claimed they can not make at prices ruling to-day. It is difficult to get any definite information regarding the formation of the combination, but circumstances point strongly in that direction, and the developments of the next few days will be awaited with interest. The demand for wire nails keeps up remarkably well, and manufacturers are unwilling to quote for delivery beyond the present month. Prices are well maintained at $1.50 base for carload lots f. o. b. cars St. Louis. Jobbers quote $1.55 to $1.60 for lots from store.

Pittsburg: The nail trade seem to have become pretty thoroughly advised regarding the probable formation of a rod pool, and have been placing very liberal orders for nails during the past week. In fact, the demand has expanded considerably, and there is yet some difficulty in securing prompt shipments of nails. Should the rod pool go through, which now seems probable, it is very likely higher prices on nails will result. It is not proposed to form a nail association, but the market can be controlled by the larger mills if the rod pool is successfully formed. While prices on nails have not shown an actual advance as yet, they are very firm, and we continue to quote in carload lots at $1.35 at mill.

So, Mr. President, according to the report of this authority in iron production, there is being formed at this moment a combination to control the price of wire nails and at the same time control the price of rods. The wire-nail manufacturers have an organization under the present law; and I submit that any tax which enables these conspirators to make a combination of this sort is pernicious and ought not to be allowed to exist. Whenever they undertake to take advantage of the tariff to increase their profits, the American people ought to have the power to import nails from abroad and procure them at something like reasonable rates.

Mr. CAFFERY. Mr. President, in the Monthly Summary of Finance and Commerce of the United States there are some very interesting facts connected with our export trade in the various matters of iron. As the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. JONES] well stated, the lower rates under the Wilson law were not sufficient to prevent these unlawful combinations of the wire-rod manufacturers, the wire-nail manufacturers, and the steel-rail manufacturers in the United States from putting up the price to the American consumer and shipping abroad their product at a much less price.

It is very interesting, Mr. President, to look at the monthly summary of our trade and see the bearing, or rather to see the tendency of our American products in iron and steel, and particularly to note the countries to which this exported product goes. In 1895 the gross exports of iron and steel, and manufactures of, for the nine months of that year were $11,662,154; for the nine months ending October, 1896, the exports had crawled up to $18,022,638, and this in the face of what is called hard times. In the face of depressed industries the American exporter of these articles increased his exports at a rate in excess of 50 per cent in one year. That points conclusively to the fact that we need no sort of tariff upon these iron fabrics.

It is further instructive to note the countries to which these iron fabrics were exported, and to see where our trade relations really are among the nations of the world. The exports to the United Kingdom in 1895 were $1,962,814; to the same country in 1896 the exports had gone up to $3,732,177; to Germany $532,971 in 1895, and to $1,264,482 in 1896. I shall not read the whole of this statement, but will ask that it be incorporated in the RECORD. It is part of the table on page 577 of the monthly statement of the Bureau of Statistics, including the exports of iron and steel, and manufactures of, for October, 1895, October, 1896, ten months ending October, 1895, and ten months ending October, 1896.

The table referred to is as follows:

Articles and countries.	October—				Ten months ending October—			
	1895.		1896.		1895.		1896.	
	Quantities.	Values.	Quantities.	Values.	Quantities.	Values.	Quantities.	Values.
Iron and steel, and manufactures of:								
Other machinery—								
Exported to—								
United Kingdom		$288,180		$546,920		$1,962,814		$3,732,177
Germany		94,499		186,134		532,971		1,264,482
France		36,005		71,642		321,235		522,675
Other Europe		100,564		393,394		804,166		3,380,301
British North America		148,308		117,545		1,306,305		1,331,502
Mexico		205,668		183,531		1,653,448		2,148,393
Central American States and British Honduras		92,244		66,245		377,195		482,250
Cuba		67,661		6,623		404,181		121,339
Puerto Rico		18,248		15,735		44,483		71,250
Santo Domingo		28,104		15,383		95,141		84,653
Other West Indies and Bermuda		96,634		22,915		214,849		118,204
Argentina		35,894		13,406		180,907		333,146
Brazil		86,321		131,293		1,417,085		901,150
Colombia		24,604		8,166		86,455		165,252
Other South America		51,534		41,069		407,977		410,721
China		3		2,583		5,549		46,055
British Australasia		22,501		49,213		255,895		572,480
British India and East Indies		5,199		7,125		62,238		78,986
Other Asia and Oceanica		39,920		151,503		632,792		997,640
Africa		64,463		112,885		894,835		1,169,763
Other countries						1,633		219
Total other machinery		1,504,550		2,143,324		11,662,154		18,022,638
Total machinery		1,816,586		2,425,437		14,135,417		18,728,493
Nails and spikes (pounds)—								
Cut	1,493,019	33,902	2,692,281	48,189	14,456,860	299,120	21,038,200	404,709
Wire, wrought, horseshoe, and all other, including tacks	632,768	25,907	755,789	28,023	4,267,517	195,210	7,379,945	291,363
Plates and sheets (pounds)—								
Iron	43,280	1,668	120,751	3,202	866,655	29,194	1,172,730	34,027
Steel	132,702	5,000	182,332	5,449	1,545,664	54,250	1,548,100	41,903
Railroad bars or rails (tons)—								
Iron	91	2,196	2	109	6,741	137,658	563	16,708
Steel	895	16,290	4,092	104,568	8,408	208,801	55,533	1,293,674
Scales and balances		31,163		35,561		337,845		304,118
Stoves and ranges, and parts of		30,929		31,850		226,076		246,021
Wire, pounds	4,769,772	108,479	8,837,557	176,419	51,759,931	1,073,478	66,418,637	1,584,646
All other manufactures of iron and steel		660,971		665,436		5,546,948		6,614,981
Total iron and steel, etc., not including ore		3,296,403		4,408,355		28,149,061		38,957,645

Mr. CAFFERY. I desire further to include in this statement the total imports from the United Kingdom of the articles mentioned in this statement for 1896 into the United States and the total exports to the United Kingdom from the United States for the same year, as appears in the Statistical Abstract, page 85.

The paper referred to is as follows:

United Kingdom.	1887.	1888.	1889.	1890.	1891.
Imports from:					
Free	$36,732,749	$30,695,422	$28,205,060	$30,646,069	$36,418,430
Dutiable	138,394,694	147,202,553	150,063,104	155,842,867	158,304,832
Total	165,007,443	177,897,975	178,209,067	186,488,956	194,723,262
Exports to:					
Domestic	303,101,143	356,226,790	379,990,131	444,459,009	441,599,807
Foreign	3,209,536	3,276,913	2,901,543	3,436,653	3,814,219
Total	306,310,679	361,515,709	382,981,674	447,895,662	445,414,026

United Kingdom.	1892.	1893.	1894.	1895.	1896.
Imports from:					
Free	$35,367,178	$43,166,473	$24,464,593	$50,414,099	$55,982,711
Dutiable	120,933,703	139,693,296	82,908,402	108,669,144	113,980,723
Total	156,300,881	182,859,769	107,372,995	159,083,243	169,963,434
Exports to:					
Domestic	409,957,898	414,966,094	423,908,879	384,132,970	401,145,205
Foreign	5,357,464	6,168,457	7,090,288	2,992,488	4,596,134
Total	409,315,362	421,134,551	431,099,207	387,125,458	405,741,339

Mr. CAFFERY. Mr. President, it occurs to me that the lesson to be derived from these figures is so plain that none can fail to see its import. It will not do for the other side of this Chamber to claim that this industry now needs protection. The question is wholly beside the original proposition of stimulating an infant industry. The proposition has to be squarely met. When an industry obtains the proportions of the iron industry of the United States; when that industry is capable of supplying the markets of the world almost from the excess of the American product, competing with all the other nations of the world, and when that industry has invaded the market of our great competitor and almost captured it, I want to know whether any kind of a plea can be set up in justification of these high tariffs?

The only purpose that I can see in placing these high tariffs on these articles that we are exporting hence is not to create monopolies—for I do not believe the Senators on the other side would willingly do that—but it is certainly to enable the home producer to charge more to the American consumer than to his coconsumer throughout the world. If protection can be justified in this case under any kind of reason, it must be to give the home manufacturer prices in excess of the foreign manufacturer, and that reason fails when we show that the home manufacturer is more than competing with the foreign manufacturer and shipping these articles abroad. But the effect, if not the purpose, of this tax is to create monopolies, to build up trusts, as monopolies and trusts are already built up, already existing, and already fleecing the American people by reason of these high tariffs.

I repeat, that the reference of the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH] to the great benefits conferred upon the American people by reducing the rates upon iron and steel is a mere mockery, a travesty; it is almost an insult to the intelligence of the American people to say that they are offered a boon which is conferred willingly to the other peoples of the earth. All the boon we want is the same prices of these articles in America that these trusts and monopolies charge when they ship the articles abroad. That is the boon that we crave for the American people; it is the boon of fair trade; it is the boon of honest contract, of honest dealing.

I submit, Mr. President, in this particular line, in this particular industry, it would be a becoming thing, it would be a gracious thing, for our friends on the other side of the Chamber to get off these high stilts of protection and walk upon the solid ground of honest trade and honest dealing.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the amendment of the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST], on which the yeas and nays have been ordered.

The Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MORGAN (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Nevada [Mr. JONES].

Mr. THURSTON (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the senior Senator from South Carolina [Mr. TILLMAN]. If he were present, I should vote "nay."

Mr. VEST. I am paired with the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. NELSON].

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. KENNEY (after having voted in the affirmative). I inquire if the junior Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. PENROSE] has voted?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. He has not voted.

Mr. KENNEY. Then I withdraw my vote, as I am paired with that Senator.

The result was announced—yeas 20, nays 29; as follows:

YEAS—20.

Bacon,	Clay,	Mills,	Rawlins,
Bate,	Cockrell,	Mitchell,	Smith,
Berry,	Gray,	Murphy,	Turpie,
Caffery,	Jones, Ark.	Pettigrew,	Walthall,
Chilton,	McLaurin,	Pettus,	White.

NAYS—29.

Allison,	Foraker,	Lodge,	Quay,
Burrows,	Frye,	McBride,	Sewell,
Carter,	Gallinger,	McEnery,	Shoup,
Chandler,	Gear,	McMillan,	Spooner,
Cullom,	Hale,	Mason,	Wetmore.
Davis,	Hanna,	Perkins,	
Deboe,	Hawley,	Platt, Conn.	
Fairbanks,	Hoar,	Pritchard.	

NOT VOTING—40.

Aldrich,	Gorman,	Mantle,	Stewart,
Allen,	Hansbrough,	Martin,	Teller,
Baker,	Harris, Kans.	Morgan,	Thurston,
Butler,	Harris, Tenn.	Morrill,	Tillman,
Cannon,	Heitfeld,	Nelson,	Turner,
Clark,	Jones, Nev.	Pasco,	Vest,
Daniel,	Kenney,	Penrose,	Warren,
Elkins,	Kyle,	Platt, N. Y.	Wellington,
Faulkner,	Lindsay,	Proctor,	Wilson,
George,	Mallory,	Roach,	Wolcott.

So Mr. VEST'S amendment was rejected.

The reading of the bill was resumed at paragraph 159, as follows:

159. Spikes, nuts, and washers, and horse, mule, or ox shoes, of wrought iron or steel, 1 cent per pound.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I should like to ask for information of the Senator from Iowa, as there is nothing in the comparative statement to show the value of these articles, how the rate of duty here proposed of 1 cent per pound compares with the present rate of 25 per cent ad valorem?

Mr. ALLISON. It is about the same; not quite so high, I think.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. It occurred to me that it was somewhat higher, but I was not sure. Some of my colleagues think it is not.

The reading of the bill was resumed, and paragraph 160 was read, as follows:

160. Cut tacks, brads, or sprigs, not exceeding 16 ounces to the thousand, 1½ cents per thousand; exceeding 16 ounces to the thousand, 1½ cents per pound.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I move to strike out all after the word "sprigs" and insert "25 per cent ad valorem."

The SECRETARY. After the word "sprigs," in line 5, page 51, paragraph 160, it is proposed to strike out the remainder of the paragraph and insert the words "25 per cent ad valorem;" so as to make the paragraph read:

160. Cut tacks, brads, or sprigs, 25 per cent ad valorem.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Arkansas.

The amendment was rejected.

The reading of the bill was resumed, as follows:

161. Needles for knitting or sewing machines, including latch needles, $1 per thousand and 30 per cent ad valorem; crochet needles and tape needles, knitting and all other needles, not specially provided for in this act, and bodkins of metal, 25 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. VEST. This is an increase of $1 a thousand over existing law upon needles, which it is hardly necessary to observe are an article of prime necessity, used by seamstresses and the poorer class of people everywhere. I move to strike out the words "one dollar per thousand and," and to strike out "30 per cent ad valorem" and insert "25 per cent ad valorem."

Mr. ALLISON. The committee propose to reduce the rate from 30 to 25 per cent.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Missouri will be stated.

The SECRETARY. After the word "needles," in line 10, strike out the words "one dollar per thousand and;" so as to read:

Needles for knitting or sewing machines, including latch needles, 30 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment was rejected.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The committee amendment will now be stated.

The SECRETARY. In line 10, page 51, paragraph 161, after the word "and," it is proposed to strike out "thirty" and insert "twenty-five;" so as to read "25 per cent ad valorem."

The amendment was agreed to.

The reading of the bill was continued to the end of paragraph 164.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask that paragraph 164 may be passed over for the moment.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Without objection, paragraph 164 will be passed over.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 165, page 52, after the word "length," to strike out "3 cents per pound; over 1 inch and not more than 2 inches in length, 5 cents per pound; over one-half inch and not more than 1 inch in length, 7 cents per pound; one-half inch and less in length, 10 cents per pound; screws, commonly called wood screws, made of brass, more than 2 inches in length, 5" and insert "four;" in line 11, before the word "cents," to strike out "seven" and insert "six;" in line 13, before the word "cents," to strike out "ten" and insert "eight and one-half;" and in line 12, before the word "cents," to strike out "fourteen" and insert "twelve;" so as to make the paragraph read:

165. Screws, commonly called wood screws, made of iron or steel, more than 2 inches in length, 4 cents per pound; over 1 inch and not more than 2 inches in length, 6 cents per pound; over one-half inch and not more than 1 inch in length, 8½ cents per pound; one-half inch and less in length, 12 cents per pound.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. VEST. I wish to call attention to the fact that we absolutely command the American market as to this article. We exported in 1896 $320,659 worth of screws and imported $136 worth, showing that we absolutely, I repeat, command the American market, and export the enormous amount of $320,659 worth.

Under the amendment the duty is raised over the Wilson Act from 10 to 12 cents on the smallest sizes, and the increased revenue on account of that raise will amount to the enormous aggregate of 35 cents. Just think of the Congress of the United States making a raise in order to get 35 cents more revenue! Under the Wilson Act we got $1.10. On the next size the raise is 1½ cents, which will give an increased revenue of 42 cents. There is no danger to the Treasury when we get that much revenue. Forty-two cents! On the next size there is a raise of 1 cent, and the increased revenue is $2.21. On the next size there is a raise of 1 cent, giving an increased revenue of $1.21.

What is the truth in regard to this matter? And I wish to call the attention of the Senator from Iowa to it, and I should like to hear his answer. I have in my hand the annual report of the American Screw Company, of Providence, R. I., made in February, 1897. It is an elaborate review of their year's work and of the condition of this interest, and I will ask the Secretary to read what I have marked, showing the necessity for the increase of duty, which I have already demonstrated will bring no revenue at all.

The Secretary read as follows:

We are passing through a period of depression unequaled for duration and intensity by any within our experience, and for many reasons, now fairly appreciated, which are peculiar to our industry. We have gotten beyond the necessity for a high tariff; pools have proven to be of no permanent advantage to us; we have to adapt ourselves to new methods of manufacture and new conditions requiring adjustment which only time can accomplish, but are hopeful that with reviving confidence in general business and a larger demand for our product—the greater because of enforced economies of late—by this time next year we may inform you of a more prosperous business and a larger employment of our plant than for many years past and at moderately remunerative rates. Meanwhile prices may drop somewhat lower, because we are not now meeting the lowest prices of competitors, who from necessity or otherwise are selling at rates much below cost. So long as we can hold our present business we need not change. The effect of abnormally low prices will, however, lead to speculative purchases and delay the higher and remunerative rates so generally desired.

Mr. GRAY. Mr. President, in view of the authentic report of this company, which I presume is an important corporation, making wood screws——

Mr. VEST. It is the largest in the country.

Mr. GRAY. The Senator from Missouri says it is the largest in the country. In view of its statement that it does not need protection, it has got past the point where protection or pools can be a benefit to it, and that its business is in a situation that is fairly prosperous, and in view, further, of the fact that there is no revenue now produced or expected from this source, I desire to ask what the meaning of this raise is, for I should really like to know. There may be a reason.

Mr. ALLISON. If the Senator will look at the ad valorem as shown by our tables, he will see that the highest ad valorem on these articles is 40.33 per cent and the lowest is a little over 14. It ranges from 14 to 30 and 40. The duty provided for in the Senate amendment is a shade higher than that provided for in the present law, but lower than was prescribed in the act of 1890. I happen to have the report here to which the Senator from Missouri refers. It indicates, I suppose, that the company do not ask for the high rates of duty which formerly were imposed upon these articles. They say they have got beyond the necessity for high tariff. So we think. Therefore we have only slightly increased the rates of 1894.

Mr. GRAY. They say they have got beyond the necessity for protection at all.

Mr. ALLISON. No; I have the report here:

We have gotten beyond the necessity for a high tariff.

Those people are the largest manufacturers of wood screws in our country. I notice, in looking at the report, that they have some advantages, perhaps, that other manufacturers in the United States do not have; that is, they have a large amount of capital invested in a wood-screw plant in Canada, and also large capital invested in a wood-screw establishment in Great Britain. So they seem to have taken pretty good care of themselves in various ways as respects their investments, whatever may happen to the wood-screw duty. I think this rate is in accordance with their view; that is, it is not a high tariff.

Mr. GRAY. If I understand the Senator from Iowa correctly, there is no other moving cause for the increase of tariff on this important and widely consumed article than the fact that he believes that this company, and others, I suppose, would rather prefer to have that much raise.

Mr. ALLISON. The Senator misunderstood me. I mean to say that this is a fairly low rate as compared with the other iron and steel duties. Of course the situation during the last one or two years has been in a sense abnormal as respects prices not only in our country, but elsewhere. I gather from the reading at the desk that this company have had sharp competition, because other manufacturers are selling at a loss, which they are not doing.

Mr. GRAY. That is the very home competition which it is said the tariff is designed to create.

Mr. ALLISON. Selling at a loss?

Mr. GRAY. If I have understood the advocates of protection aright, their proposition has been that if you will adequately protect domestic manufactures you will create within the tariff wall a domestic competition which will reduce the price to the consumer.

Mr. ALLISON. Certainly.

Mr. GRAY. That being the very object which was sought to be produced by the tariff, or one of the great objects, why is it, when confessedly it has been produced, and presumably to the benefit of the great mass of the consumers, we seek thus, without provocation or reasonable motive, as it seems to me, with all respect to the Senator from Iowa, to raise the duty even in this slight degree, as he calls it? I do not think it is a slight degree.

There has been no outcry of a suffering or perishing or languishing industry. There is the widest sort of an association or combine among the wood-screw makers, I am informed, through this country and across the water to control the business, and why we should accede to any demand they may make, merely because they make it, without some good reason back of it, I am utterly at a loss to conceive. Surely the great mass of consumers in this country who use these articles which enter into the daily use of every community and neighborhood throughout the land are entitled to some consideration in the making up of this schedule of the tariff.

Mr. FORAKER. I wish to state, for the benefit of the Senator from Delaware, that we have some establishments of this character in our State, and I know what the experience has been during the last three years, since the Wilson Act went into effect. Every one of those establishments has been run during this whole period at a loss. They have been running at a loss rather than stop business and rather than lose the American market. They put their prices down, thinking they could hold on to the market against their adversaries from abroad until there would be legislation under which they could resume operation at the usual profit.

It is true that it is the theory of protectionists that a protective tariff will result in home competition which in the end will reduce the price of the product, but no one desires, I apprehend, that the price of the product shall be reduced below the point at which the business can be conducted with profit to those who invest their capital in it, for the minute it is so reduced the business would of course stop ordinarily.

So this rate is necessary, absolutely so, in the judgment of those in my own State whom I represent here, in order that they may conduct their business at a reasonable profit in the future as against the conduct of their business at a loss in the years gone by since the Wilson Act went into effect.

So far as the American Screw Company is concerned, as has been suggested by the Senator from Iowa, its experience is not a fair illustration of what is required by a company differently situated. That company has its establishment not only in the United States, but it also has a branch in Canada and another in England, and in the same report which was sent to the desk by the Senator from Missouri the American Screw Company speaks of those different enterprises and says it may become necessary for it to transfer its manufacturing from the United States to England.

Mr. GRAY. Mr. President——

Mr. WHITE. Will the Senator from Delaware permit me to ask the Senator from Ohio a question?

Mr. GRAY. Certainly.

Mr. WHITE. I should like to ask the Senator from Ohio how it is that under the present duty, which appears to be prohibitive, the factories find it difficult to proceed, and whether, when the duty is prohibitive, it is necessary to have it prohibitive in the second degree?

Mr. FORAKER. I answered the inquiry made by the Senator from California when I said (at least that is the answer I would make, and I was making the statement for that purpose) that the reason why there has been no importation since the Wilson law went into effect is that the American establishments have been making and selling their goods at a loss. Every one in the State of Ohio is losing money right straight along. They do that in order to hold the American market until there can be legislation under which they can continue with the ordinary profits. They would have closed down long ago, and would have discharged their employees and withdrawn their capital from the business had it not been for the hope that the day would soon come when they would have a protective tariff under which they could continue their business with safety and with profit.

Mr. GRAY. Mr. President, this is only another illustration of the fact which seems to have been made abundantly obvious in the last six years since tariff bills have been so widely discussed, that there never comes a time when the struggling infant industry has had enough of the nourishment and support and paternal care of the Government to enable it to do business profitably. The struggling infants grow into lusty adults, but they never arrive at the point when they are willing to give up their infantile food. They are just as fond of the bottle as they were at the start.

I do not find fault with my friend the Senator from Ohio for listening with friendly ear to the worthy gentlemen who tell him this tale of woe. I know a great many such. It is human nature that they should pour into his sympathetic ear such a tale as that. I have had many such poured into my own ears. I live in a community where there are many men—worthy American citizens, as good as any, patriotic, industrious, enterprising men—who are engaged in many of these industries mentioned in the schedule, who feel just the same way. He and I would feel the same way if we were there. That is human nature. We are here in a different attitude, however. We are here, some of us at least, as the Senator from Maine said the other day, to represent the American people, and we are bound to scrutinize these statements and not to take them without a grain of salt nor to take them as absolutely true without examination.

It does not appear to me that this is a reasonable request of theirs, in face of the fact that they now absolutely control the American market and are suffering from that very competition—suffering as all engaged in industries having competitors have to suffer—which the protective tariff, according to its friends, was designed to create. I do not think we ought, just at their demand and without a reasonable cause assigned, thus to erect the tariff wall a little higher. I do not know that it would make much difference. One might say there are no importations now and there will be none hereafter, and nobody is hurt, but we can not tell.

Mr. FORAKER. Will the Senator from Delaware allow me?

Mr. GRAY. In one moment. We can not tell what motive is behind it, what interested motive, nor what the exact result is going to be of making this absolutely prohibitive and forbidding tariff in their favor. The imports for 1896, as the Senator from Missouri read, amounted to $136 worth of wood screws, and for the same year there were exported of wood screws from this country $320,659 worth.

I beg pardon of the Senator from Ohio. He was about to interrupt me.

Mr. FORAKER. It is not a matter of sympathy. This is in line with all we have been doing here. I refer to those of us who believe in the protective-tariff policy. We want to retain this industry and give it a chance to be continued, and we have come to a place where the industry must be sacrificed or it must be saved to the American people. It is an important industry to us in Ohio. No doubt it is in other States where it finds a location and representation. They employ a great many people in our State; there is a large amount of capital invested, and they have come to the place, as I said a while ago, where, unless they can have adequate protection, they must discharge their labor, withdraw their capital, and invest it in some other direction.

We believe it is a good thing for the American people and for all who use wood screws manufactured by these enterprises that the industry should be maintained in our own country, and that this product should be furnished by American labor to the American users of it.

Mr. GRAY. We are not discussing the question of free trade and protection.

Mr. FORAKER. I thought the Senator from Delaware was discussing it.

Mr. GRAY. No, not so far as this particular industry is concerned, nor as to this particular time. We are discussing the question why these screw companies should ask for the higher building of the tariff wall—in other words, for more protection—when the statistics show that they have accomplished all that the highest protection ever seeks to accomplish—absolute exclusion of foreign competition.

The Senator from Ohio says, if I understand him, that the competition which now exists among the domestic manufacturers of screws is so great that it has compelled a decrease in the price and therefore a decrease in the profits. How are you going to remedy that by a tariff?

Mr. FORAKER. I did not say that.

Mr. GRAY. How can you prevent that domestic competition by building the exterior wall higher?

Mr. FORAKER. What I said was that by reason of the reduction of tariff by the Wilson Act it became necessary for these establishments, in order to hold on to their market and continue their business, to sell their product at a loss, and those in our State have been selling their product at a loss throughout all the period in which they have been operating since that law went into effect, and they are continuing at a loss. They do so in order to hold on to the market and keep out the foreign producer until there will be protection under which they can continue their business at reasonable profit.

Mr. GRAY. How, then, would the Senator explain the fact that the great American Screw Company, said to be the largest in the United States, in the report made by the president to their own stockholders, I believe——

Mr. FORAKER. Yes.

Mr. GRAY. When they are discussing their own affairs, within the privacy and the intimacy and the confidence of their own directors' parlor, undertake to say that the period is gone when they need high protection, and never allude to this distressing state of things which the Senator has portrayed as existing among other screw companies, and only speak of the fact that they are able to hold on for the present, and look confidently to next year for increased business and increased profits?

Mr. FORAKER. The Senator asked me a question, and I hope he will allow me to answer it.

Mr. GRAY. Certainly.

Mr. FORAKER. I explain it—and I have made the explanation—by the fact set forth in their report, that they are not only an American concern, but they are an American corporation with a branch manufacturing establishment located in Canada and another one located in England, and they say in that very report, as I remember it, for I saw it once before, that it may be necessary for them to transfer their machinery from the United States to England to a greater extent than they have already transferred it, and transfer the manufacture of their product there. Therefore I say that what the American Screw Company say is not to be taken as a criterion of what should be applied to a company that is solely an American concern. They have their branches in other countries, and are differently situated.

Mr. GRAY. Reasoning from the same facts that the Senator from Ohio has spoken of (I understand he was only drawing conclusions, and I am at liberty to draw conclusions myself, although I will not dispute any assertion of his made of his own knowledge), I should say that a different state of things obtains. It would seem to me that the American Screw Company, which is so extensive in its operations and so strong in its foundations, has been able so far to reduce the price that the other screw companies in Ohio have been compelled to come down to a rate that has not been remunerative to them, or at least not so remunerative as they think they have a right to expect. I can not draw any other conclusion from the facts, so far as we have them here.

Is it possible that, that being the case, having brought about this desirable condition, this haven to which all protection voyages tend, we are then to be called upon for some inscrutable reason to build higher the tariff wall that surrounds us, and, in face of the fact that there was $320,659 worth of these screws exported and none imported, to do their bidding and erect this prohibitive tariff for their benefit, presumably?

Mr. VEST. I move to reduce those three duties there 1 cent each, so as to bring them back to the existing law. The first is 4 cents, in line 10. I move to make it 3 cents. The next is 6 cents, in line 11. I move to make that 5 cents. The next is in line 12, 8½ cents. I move to make that 7 cents; and in line 14 I move to make the duty 10 cents instead of 12 cents; so as to make the paragraph read:

165. Screws, commonly called wood screws, made of iron or steel, more than 2 inches in length, 3 cents per pound; over 1 inch and not more than 2 inches in length, 5 cents per pound; over one-half inch and not more than 1 inch in length, 7 cents per pound; one-half inch and less in length, 10 cents per pound.

I will submit one motion as applied to all of them; and I call for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HALE in the chair). By unanimous consent, the amendments will be considered as one amendment; and on agreeing to the amendment the Senator from Missouri demands the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MALLORY (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROCTOR]. If he were present, he would vote "nay" and I should vote "yea."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. VEST. I announce my pair with the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. NELSON]. I would vote "yea," if he were present.

Mr. THURSTON. I have a general pair with the senior Senator from South Carolina [Mr. TILLMAN]. If he were present, I should vote "nay."

Mr. GRAY (after having voted in the affirmative). I ask if the senior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] is recorded as voting?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. He has not voted.

Mr. GRAY. I promised temporarily to pair with that Senator. I therefore withdraw my vote.

The result was announced—yeas 21, nays 29, as follows:

YEAS—21.

Bacon,	Harris, Kans.	Mitchell,	Turpie,
Bate,	Heitfeld,	Murphy,	Walthall,
Berry,	Jones, Ark.	Pettigrew,	White.
Caffery,	Kenney,	Pettus,	
Chilton,	McLaurin,	Rawlins,	
Cockrell,	Mills,	Smith,	

NAYS—29.

Allison,	Deboe,	Hawley,	Quay,
Burrows,	Fairbanks,	Lodge,	Sewell,
Cannon,	Foraker,	McBride,	Shoup,
Carter,	Frye,	McMillan,	Spooner,
Chandler,	Gallinger,	Penrose,	Wetmore.
Clark,	Gear,	Perkins,	
Cullom,	Hale,	Platt, Conn.	
Davis,	Hanna,	Pritchard,	

NOT VOTING—39.

Aldrich,	Gray,	Martin,	Teller,
Allen,	Hansbrough,	Mason,	Thurston,
Baker,	Harris, Tenn.	Morgan,	Tillman,
Butler,	Hoar,	Morrill,	Turner,
Clay,	Jones, Nev.	Nelson,	Vest,
Daniels,	Kyle,	Pasco,	Warren,
Elkins,	Lindsay.	Platt, N. Y.	Wellington,
Faulkner,	McEnery,	Proctor,	Wilson,
George,	Mallory,	Roach,	Wolcott.
Gorman,	Mantle,	Stewart,	

So the amendment was rejected.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Secretary will proceed with the reading of the bill.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 166, page 52, line 16, after the word "metal," to strike out "45 cents per 100 ribs and stretchers, and 15 per cent ad valorem; umbrella or parasol frames, including skeleton frames, if with not more than eight ribs and stretchers in each frame, 65 cents per dozen frames and 20 per cent ad valorem; if with more than eight ribs and stretchers in each frame, one-half of 1 cent additional per frame for each rib and stretcher in excess of eight; if with handles or sticks, such handles or sticks shall be dutiable as if imported separately," and to insert "50 per cent ad valorem;" so as to make the paragraph read:

166. Umbrella and parasol ribs and stretchers, composed in chief value of iron, steel, 50 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was to strike out paragraph 167, in the following words:

167. Vessels: Foreign-built yachts or other foreign-built vessels undocumented, brought to the United States after this act shall take effect, for use or for sale as pleasure vessels, whether so brought as freight or on board another vessel or by sailing thereto, 35 per cent ad valorem: *Provided*, That on a yacht or vessel so navigated such duty shall be levied, collected, and paid only upon the first arrival thereof: *And provided further*, That a like duty shall be levied, collected, and paid upon the cost of all equipments purchased abroad for such vessels, on all repairs and alterations to such yachts or vessels thereafter made in any foreign country, vessels wrecked in the waters of the United States and repaired, also vessels condemned as prize of war and those adjudged to be forfeited for a breach of the laws of the United States, hereafter admitted to the privileges of vessels of the United States under the conditions of the laws relating to the registering and enrollment of vessels, 35 per cent ad valorem: *Provided*, That such duty shall be estimated on the appraised value of the wrecked vessels as the same may be brought into a port of the United States and on the appraised value of said condemned and forfeited vessels at the time and place of their sale as forfeited.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in paragraph 168, page 53, line 23, after the word "Wheels," to insert "for railway purposes;" in line 2, page 54, after the word "manufactured," to strike out "1¼ cents per pound;" and in line 5, after the word "wheels," to insert "for railway purposes;" so as to make the paragraph read:

168. Wheels for railway purposes, or parts thereof, made of iron or steel, and steel-tired wheels for railway purposes, whether wholly or partly finished, and iron or steel locomotive, car, or other railway tires or parts thereof, wholly or partly manufactured, and ingots, cogged ingots, blooms, or blanks for the same, without regard to the degree of manufacture, 1¼ cents per pound: *Provided*, That when wheels for railway purposes, or parts thereof, of iron or steel, are imported with iron or steel axles fitted in them, the wheels and axles together shall be dutiable at the same rate as is provided for the wheels when imported separately.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. I move to insert "one and one-half" in lieu of "one and one-fourth," in lines 4 and 5.

Mr. VEST. As I understand, the Senator moves an increase of one-fourth.

Mr. ALLISON. One-fourth of a cent per pound.

Mr. VEST. In line 5?

Mr. ALLISON. In line 5.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment of the Senator from Iowa will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In lines 4 and 5 strike out "1¼ cents" and insert "1½ cents;" so as to read:

168. Wheels for railway purposes, or parts thereof, made of iron or steel, and steel-tired wheels for railway purposes, whether wholly or partly finished, and iron or steel locomotive, car, or other railway tires or parts thereof, wholly or partly manufactured, and ingots, cogged ingots, blooms, or blanks for the same, without regard to the degree of manufacture, 1½ cents per pound.

Mr. VEST. That is an increase.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If there be no objection——

Mr. GRAY. There is objection, Mr. President.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Iowa, on page 54, lines 4 and 5, to strike out "one and one-fourth" and insert "one and one-half." Is the Senate ready for the question?

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, under the heading of "Miscellaneous metals and manufactures of," paragraph 169, page 54, line 11, after the word "aluminum," to strike out "in crude form" and insert "and;" in line 12, after the word "value," to insert "in crude form;" in the same line, before the word "cents," to strike out "ten" and insert "five;" in the same line, before the word "plates," to insert "in;" in line 14, after the word "rods," to strike out "of aluminum, of any kind, in which aluminum is the component material of chief value, fifteen;" and in line 15, before the word "cents," to insert "ten;" so as to make the paragraph read:

MISCELLANEOUS METALS AND MANUFACTURES OF.

169. Aluminum and alloys of any kind in which aluminum is the component material of chief value, in crude form, 5 cents per pound; in plates, sheets, bars, and rods, 10 cents per pound.

Mr. ALLISON. By request, I ask that paragraph 169 may be passed over for the present.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Paragraph 169 will be passed over, and paragraph 170 will be read.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed by the committee to strike out paragraph 170, in the following words:

170. Manufactured articles or wares of aluminum of any kind, in which aluminum is the component material of chief value, and whether partially or wholly manufactured, 45 per cent ad valorem.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If there be no objection, the amendment will be agreed to.

Mr. QUAY. Paragraph 170 goes over with the other paragraph, does it not?

Mr. ALLISON. Not necessarily. If the Senator from Pennsylvania desires, it can go over.

Mr. QUAY. I should like to have it go over. While I have the floor, I will also ask, for my colleague [Mr. PENROSE], that paragraph 174 be passed over in the same way.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Does paragraph 170 go over?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Paragraphs 169 and 170 go over. Paragraph 171 will be read.

The Secretary read paragraph 171, as follows:

171. Antimony, as regulus or metal, three-fourths of 1 cent per pound.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 172, page 54, line 24, after the word "unmanufactured," to strike out "1 cent per pound and fifteen" and to insert "twenty-five;" so as to make the paragraph read:

172. Argentine, albata, or German silver, unmanufactured, 25 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I move to amend the committee amendment by inserting "fifteen" instead of "twenty-five."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the amendment of the Senator from Arkansas to the amendment of the committee.

The amendment to the amendment was rejected.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question recurs on agreeing to the amendment of the committee.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was to strike out paragraph 173, in the following words:

173. Brass, in bars or pigs, old brass, clippings from brass or Dutch metal and old sheathing, or yellow metal, fit only for remanufacture, 1½ cents per pound.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was in paragraph 174, page 55, line 5, after the word "leaf," to strike out "four" and insert "five;" so as to make the paragraph read:

174. Bronze powder, 12 cents per pound; bronze or Dutch metal or aluminum, in leaf, 5 cents per package of 100 leaves.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. This paragraph goes over at the request of the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. PENROSE]. The reading of the bill will proceed.

Mr. ALLISON. Paragraph 173 has been stricken out, I understand, and paragraph 174 was passed over at the request of the Senator from Pennsylvania.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Paragraph 173 has been stricken out, and paragraph 174 has been passed over.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The purpose of striking out paragraph 173 is to put brass in the basket clause?

Mr. ALLISON. It will either go into the basket clause or on the free list. I do not remember just at the moment.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. It bears a tax of 10 per cent now, and if you send it to the basket clause it will bear 45 per cent.

Mr. ALLISON. It is in the free list at page 168. It was to go to the free list. The Senator will not object to that, I suppose.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. No, sir; I do not object. My impression is that it carries a tax of 10 per cent now.

Mr. ALLISON. Does the Senator want it restored to a rate of 10 per cent?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The comparative statement submitted by the majority of the committee shows that the tax on this article is 10 per cent. I am not sure that the comparative statement is correct.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. It is on the free list now.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. In what paragraph of the free list?

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. At the top of page 168, paragraph 486f.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. In this bill?

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. In this bill.

Mr. ALLISON. I guess the Senator will find it there.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. This bill proposes to put it on the free list. It has not been on the free list heretofore?

Mr. ALLISON. No.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I am perfectly willing to have it there.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The reading of the bill will proceed.

The Secretary read paragraph 175, as follows:

175. Copper in rolled plates, called braziers' copper, sheets, rods, pipes, and copper bottoms, 2½ cents per pound; sheathing or yellow metal of which copper is the component material of chief value, and not composed wholly or in part of iron ungalvanized, 2 cents per pound.

Mr. VEST. I ask the Senator from Iowa why he makes the last specific 2 cents a pound? The first specific is 2½ cents a pound, and the next is 2 cents a pound. Under the existing law the duty is 20 per cent on each of these articles.

Mr. ALLISON. The only reason I could give for it is that the sheathing or yellow metal is partly composed of copper, while that in the first part of the paragraph is wholly composed of copper.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. The equivalent ad valorems are 19.23 per cent on the first bracket and 21.5 on the second.

Mr. VEST. There is not much difference, I know, in the duty, except that the rate is made specific.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. There is another reason why I understand the articles in this paragraph ought to bear an ad valorem instead of a specific tax. It is the great variation in the values of the different articles under the paragraph. It makes a very high tax on some, while it makes a low tax on others. It seems to me if there is any paragraph in the bill where an ad valorem tax would be more proper than specific duties this particular paragraph is the one; and I move to insert "20 per cent ad valorem," instead of "2 cents a pound" and "2½ cents per pound," in both cases.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Arkansas moves to amend the paragraph. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The amendment was rejected.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, under the head of "Gold and silver," paragraph 176, page 55, line 13, after the word "leaf," to strike out "two dollars" and insert "one dollar and seventy-five cents;" so as to make the paragraph read:

Gold and silver:

176. Gold leaf, $1.75 per package of 500 leaves.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next paragraph was read, as follows:

177. Silver leaf, 75 cents per package of 500 leaves.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was to strike out paragraph 178, in the following words:

178. Tinsel wire, lame or lahn, made wholly or in chief value of gold, silver, or other metal, 6 cents per pound and 10 per cent ad valorem; bullions and metal threads, trimmings or other articles, not specially provided for in this act, made from tinsel wire, lame or lahn, or of which the same is the component material of chief value, 6 cents per pound and 45 per cent ad valorem.

And to insert in lieu thereof:

178. Tinsel wire, lame or lahn, made wholly or in chief value of gold, silver, or other metal, 5 cents per pound; bullions and metal threads, made wholly or in chief value of tinsel wire, lame or lahn, 5 cents per pound and 35 per cent ad valorem; laces, embroideries, braids, galloons, trimmings, or other articles, made wholly or in chief value of tinsel wire, lame or lahn, bullions, or metal threads, 60 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment of the committee was, in paragraph 179, page 56, line 12, after the word "cent," to insert "and one-half;" in line 21, after the word "establishments," to insert "whether designated as bonded warehouses or otherwise;" in line 5, page 57, after the word "and," to strike out "upon his report of the lead contents of the ore" and insert "report the results to the proper customs officers, and," and in line 8, after the word "thereon," to insert "except in case of ores that shall be removed to a bonded warehouse to be refined for exportation as provided in this act;" so as to make the paragraph read:

Lead:

179. Lead-bearing ore of all kinds, one cent and one-half per pound on the lead contained therein: *Provided*, That on all importations of lead-bearing ores the duties shall be estimated at the port of entry, and a bond given in double the amount of such estimated duties for the transportation of the ores by common carriers bonded for the transportation of appraised or unappraised merchandise to properly equipped sampling or smelting establishments, whether designated as bonded warehouses or otherwise. On the arrival of the ores at such establishments they shall be sampled according to commercial methods under the supervision of Government officers, who shall be stationed at such establishments, and who shall submit the samples thus obtained to a Government assayer, designated by the Secretary of the Treasury, who shall make a proper assay of the sample and report the result to the proper customs officers, and the import entries shall be liquidated thereon, except in case of ores that shall be removed to a bonded warehouse to be refined for exportation as provided in this act. And the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized to make all necessary regulations to enforce the provisions of this paragraph.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 180, page 57, line 15, after the word "bars," to strike out "and" and insert "lead in any form not specially provided for in this act;" and in line 18, after the word "manufactured," to insert "all the foregoing;" so as to make the paragraph read:

180. Lead dross, lead bullion or base bullion, lead in pigs and bars, lead in any form not specially provided for in this act, old refuse lead run into blocks and bars, and old scrap lead fit only to be remanufactured; all the foregoing, 2 cents per pound; lead in sheets, pipe, shot, glaziers' lead, and lead wire, 2½ cents per pound.

Mr. ALLISON. At the request of several Senators, I ask that lead be passed over.

Mr. MILLS. Both paragraphs 179 and 180.

Mr. THURSTON. Including paragraphs 179 and 180?

Mr. ALLISON. Yes, sir.

Mr. MILLS. That is right.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. By agreement, paragraphs 179 and 180 will be passed over.

Mr. VEST. Now I suggest to the Senator from Iowa that we adjourn.

Mr. CULLOM and others. Oh, no.

Mr. VEST. It is 5 o'clock, and it has been a very sultry afternoon.

Mr. MILLS. I second that motion.

Mr. PRITCHARD. I ask that paragraphs 181 and 182 be passed over temporarily.

The paragraphs referred to are as follows:

181. Metallic mineral substances in a crude state, including monazite sand, and metals unwrought, not specially provided for in this act, 20 per cent ad valorem.

The Committee on Finance proposed to amend paragraph 182, after the word "Mica," in line 1, page 58, by striking out "2 cents per pound on dimensions of 1 square inch or less, and 2 cents per

pound additional for each additional square inch: *Provided*, That the maximum rate of duty shall in no case exceed 50 cents per pound" and inserting "40 per cent ad valorem;" so as to make the paragraph read:

182. Mica, 40 per cent ad valorem.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Carolina asks that paragraphs 181 and 182 be passed over for the present. If there be no objection, that will be done.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask to insert, after paragraph 178, "Tinsel wire, lame or lahn," a new paragraph recommended by the committee and found in our printed suggestions.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. It will come in at what point?

Mr. ALLISON. After line 10, on page 56, as a new paragraph, and before "Lead." It will be paragraph 178½.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be read.

The SECRETARY. On page 56, between lines 10 and 11, add a new paragraph, as follows:

178½. Hooks and eyes, metallic, whether loose, carded, or otherwise, including weight of cards, cartons, and immediate wrappings and labels, 5½ cents per pound and 15 per cent ad valorem.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be agreed to, if there be no objection.

Mr. VEST. I ask the Senator from Iowa if that is not now under the basket clause?

Mr. ALLISON. It is now under the basket clause.

Mr. VEST. This is an increase of duty, then?

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. No; it is not an increase of duty. The equivalent ad valorem upon the specific duty will average less than the present 45 per cent of the basket clause, but there has been such undervaluation that the few American manufacturers who are left would prefer to take a specific duty, even though it would average less than the duty under the basket clause.

Mr. VEST. Let the proposed paragraph be passed over and we will ascertain about it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Paragraph 178½, proposed as an amendment by the Senator from Iowa, will be passed over until to-morrow.

Mr. ALLISON. I have no objection to its going over until to-morrow.

Mr. VEST. I just want to look at it.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 183, page 58, line 6, after the word "nickel," to insert "(except nickel matte);" in line 7, after the word "is," to strike out "a" and insert "the;" and in the same line, after the word "material," to strike out "and nickel steel" and insert "of chief value;" so as to make the paragraph read:

183. Nickel (except nickel matte), nickel oxide, alloy of any kind in which nickel is the component material of chief value, 6 cents per pound.

Mr. McBRIDE. I ask that paragraph 183 be passed over.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oregon asks that paragraph 183 be passed over for the present.

Mr. ALLISON. All right; there is no objection to that course.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. That will be done.

Mr. WHITE. We are almost at the wood schedule. Considering the condition of the schedule which we have been examining to-day, I presume it will be impossible to deal with it any further to-night. I desire to say that if there is any intention (I do not, of course, know whether there is or not) to pass over the sugar schedule temporarily, we ought to be apprised of it at once, because there is only one schedule before the sugar schedule is reached, and we necessarily prepare for the schedules a day or two ahead of time, and bring our documents, and so on. If there is any intention to skip the sugar schedule, certainly we ought to be apprised of that fact now, as we are so near it.

Mr. ALLISON. If any Senator desires to have it passed over temporarily, it can be done.

Mr. WHITE. I do not, and I do not know of any Senator on this side of the Chamber who desires to have it passed over.

Mr. ALLISON. I do not know whether any Senator on this side desires it. If any Senator desires, it will be passed over.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. There is no intention of that sort on the part of the committee?

Mr. ALLISON. There is no intention of that sort on the part of the committee at present. Of course the Senator is very well aware that the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH], who is on the committee, has not been well for a day or two, and it might be necessary, possibly, to pass it over for a day on that account.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. All we want is simply to have notice when it is likely to come up. We had understood that the committee would probably pass over the sugar schedule, and we would like to know whether it is true; that is all.

Mr. ALLISON. The committee had not considered the question yet of passing over it.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. There is nothing of that sort in contemplation?

Mr. ALLISON. Not at present.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I understand.

Mr. ALLISON. As the Senator would seem to indicate, that is an important matter; and I have already stated that if the Senator from Rhode Island is here, I take it for granted the sugar schedule will be disposed of when it is reached. If he should be unwell, I would myself suppose that it would be passed over temporarily.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Does the Senator think the Senator from Rhode Island will be here by that time?

Mr. ALLISON. I think he will be here by Monday morning certainly, and if we reach the sugar schedule before that time I might want to pass it over.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I should like to ask that paragraph 189, relating to watches and watch movements, shall be passed over. We have not quite reached it, but I will not be ready to take it up when it is reached, and I would rather have it passed over now.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If there be no objection, paragraph 189 will be passed over for the present. That will be done.

Mr. PETTIGREW. I wish to state that if the sugar schedule is not to be disposed of this week I should like to have it go over until next Wednesday, as I shall be absent on Monday and Tuesday, and I desire to be here when the sugar schedule is considered.

Mr. VEST. I am certain the Senator from South Dakota knows I would not be discourteous to him, but I want to make one general remark about the sugar schedule. I think all of us will agree, upon a little reflection, that we ought to dispose of it. It is an irritating, nasty subject, although a sweet one. It is full of scandal and abuse and suspicion, and for one I want it settled and put out of the hands of the Senate as soon as possible. I have myself had enough of it.

Mr. PETTIGREW. Then I should like to have it taken up to-morrow morning. Why not agree to take it up to-morrow morning and dispose of it?

Mr. VEST. The only trouble about that is that here is one of our brethren sick, and, as a matter of course, if he is not in a physical condition to be here, no one would insist on taking it up.

Mr. PETTIGREW. Can we not agree to take it up next Wednesday morning?

Mr. VEST. It ought to be got rid of.

Mr. ALLISON. I think there will be no difficulty about arranging it, I will say, to the satisfaction of the Senators interested in this matter.

I suggest that for to-morrow we meet at 11 o'clock. There are two or three Senators who desire to speak somewhat in an extended way upon one or two of the schedules, and I think that for to-morrow we could very well meet at 11 o'clock and thereby make some progress to-morrow on the bill. I hope there will be no objection to that suggestion. I will only ask it for to-morrow.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Iowa asks unanimous consent that when the Senate adjourn to-day it adjourn to meet at 11 o'clock to-morrow morning.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. For one day only, I understand.

Mr. ALLISON. For one day only. I ask unanimous consent that that may be done, and I hope there will be no objection to it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. WHITE. I understand that there are to be some speeches delivered to-morrow.

Mr. ALLISON. I understand that two Senators have given notice that they desire to speak upon the tariff question at some length, especially on the wool feature of it. The Senator from Montana [Mr. MANTLE] has given notice that he desires to speak at some length to-morrow on the wool schedule.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. CHANDLER. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After four minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened, and (at 5 o'clock and 10 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Friday, June 4, 1897, at 11 o'clock a. m.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate June 3, 1897.

APPOINTMENT IN THE NAVY.

Washington Berry Grove, a citizen of Virginia, to be an assistant surgeon in the Navy.

POSTMASTERS.

Fred W. Kiefer, to be postmaster at Antigo, in the county of Langlade and State of Wisconsin.

William H. Conger, to be postmaster at Plymouth, in the county of Marshall and State of Indiana.

E. R. Allen, to be postmaster at Columbus, in the county of Warren and State of Pennsylvania.

Fred B. Kinsley, to be postmaster at Barron, in the county of Barron and State of Wisconsin.

Winslow Gray, to be postmaster at Campello, in the county of Plymouth and State of Massachusetts.

William D. Ellsworth, to be postmaster at Eveleth, in the county of St. Louis and State of Minnesota.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

THURSDAY, *June 3, 1897.*

The House met at 12 o'clock m. Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. HENRY N. COUDEN.

The Journal of the proceedings of the last legislative day was read and approved.

CUBA.

Mr. TERRY. I rise to a question of privilege.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. TERRY. Mr. Speaker, on last Thursday I endeavored to present to this House a matter very gravely affecting its rights and privileges; and I trust that now, with the kind indulgence of the Chair and the patience of members of the House, I may be permitted to do so.

Mr. Speaker, I am a Southern man and a Democrat. I love justice and I hate iniquity, which is another name for inequity.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will please state his question of privilege.

Mr. TERRY. Mr. Speaker, in a just, proper, and orderly manner I will proceed to state the question of privilege.

It has been repeatedly ruled, Mr. Speaker, that in the presentation of a question of privilege there is even greater latitude allowed than in ordinary debate. That has been repeatedly ruled, and I have the authorities here to support the position. I trust that in my own manner——

The SPEAKER. The Chair desires to remind the gentleman that he should state his question of privilege.

Mr. TERRY. It is a matter, Mr. Speaker, affecting the rights and privileges of this House in the matter of committees.

The SPEAKER. As to the appointment of committees?

Mr. TERRY. I have just stated, Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER. Is it as to the appointment of committees?

Mr. TERRY. I did not understand the Chair.

The SPEAKER. Will the gentleman state what his question of privilege is?

Mr. TERRY. It affects the appointment of committees—one particular committee, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. The House has already passed upon that question.

Mr. TERRY. I understand that, Mr. Speaker, but that fact does not preclude the question being raised again, because I will call attention——

Mr. PAYNE. I make the point that the gentleman presents no resolution or motion for the action of the House which involves any question of privilege.

Mr. TERRY. I will present my resolution. I have it here. Now, if I may be permitted, I will make just one other statement——

The SPEAKER. Will the gentleman kindly present his question of privilege?

Mr. TERRY. I will, Mr. Speaker. I wanted to make just one statement——

The SPEAKER. The gentleman knows he ought not to make remarks until he has presented his question of privilege. The business of the House is being stopped by his action.

Mr. TERRY. Mr. Speaker, as to that matter, I will state we have plenty of time. [Laughter.]

The SPEAKER. That may depend upon the relation between the time and what is going on.

Mr. TERRY. I understand that, too; and there is nothing going on now. [Laughter.]

Mr. PAYNE. I raise the point that the gentleman presents no question of privilege.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Arkansas declines to present his question of privilege.

Mr. TERRY. I will do so, Mr. Speaker, and as the resolution is written in my own peculiar handwriting, I will, with the permission of the Chair and of the House, read it myself:

Whereas the people of the United States are taking a deep interest in the Cuban question, and the Senate has passed and sent to the House a resolution recognizing the belligerency of Cuba; and

Whereas for the due and orderly consideration of the same, and in accordance with immemorial usage and the rules and practices of the House, it is necessary that there should be a Committee on Foreign Affairs to which said resolution may be promptly referred for proper consideration and report: Therefore,

Resolved, That it is the sense of the House that the Committee on Foreign Affairs, authorized by Rule X, should be appointed as soon hereafter as practicable, so that said Senate resolution——

Mr. PAYNE. That is no question of privilege.

Mr. TERRY (continuing the reading)—

or any other matter in the proper jurisdiction of said committee by reference thereto under Rule XI may be duly considered and acted upon as contemplated by the Constitution of the United States and the rules of this House.

Mr. PAYNE. I renew the point of order that the resolution as read by the gentleman presents no question of privilege.

Mr. TERRY. Now, Mr. Speaker, upon that matter—and I trust my friend from New York will permit me to proceed; I will do so in an orderly manner—I have great respect for the rules of this House and its presiding officer and for the gentlemen on both sides of the Chamber with whom I am associated.

I stated in the beginning, Mr. Speaker—and that was the statement I wanted to complete before I was taken off my feet—I stated in the beginning——

The SPEAKER. The point is made that this resolution does not raise a question of privilege, and the Chair decides that it does not.

Mr. TERRY. Mr. Speaker, upon that question——

Mr. PAYNE and others. Regular order!

Mr. TERRY. I wish to be heard briefly. It has been ruled——

The SPEAKER. The Chair has passed upon the question.

Mr. TERRY. I have the authorities here, Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER. The Chair has passed upon the question. Does the gentleman appeal?

Mr. TERRY. Mr. Speaker, I desire——

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman appeal from the decision of the Chair?

Mr. TERRY. I desire to state that I have the authorities here to the effect that when a question of this kind is presented——

Mr. PAYNE. I insist upon the regular order.

Mr. TERRY. It is the right of the House and not the privilege of the Speaker to determine whether or not the matter is privileged.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York [Mr. PAYNE] is recognized.

Mr. PAYNE. I call for the regular order.

Mr. TERRY. Mr. Speaker, I have the authorities here affirming that it is the right of this House, and not of the Speaker, to determine this question of order.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York is recognized.

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. Speaker, I call for the regular order, which is the amendment that was pending on Tuesday last, and the consideration of which was interrupted by the motion to adjourn.

Mr. TERRY. I most respectfully appeal from the decision of the Chair, if he rules that this resolution is out of order.

Mr. HENDERSON. The appeal comes too late.

Mr. PAYNE. The gentleman makes the appeal too late.

Mr. TERRY. I have the authorities here showing that this matter——

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Arkansas will resume his seat. He is not in order.

Mr. TERRY. I trust, Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will resume his seat.

Mr. TERRY. That this discussion may be permitted to proceed in order.

Mr. PAYNE. I make the point of order that the appeal comes too late.

The SPEAKER. The Chair asked the gentleman from Arkansas if he appealed, and he did not do so.

Mr. TERRY. I did that for this reason: I stated that I had the authorities here to show that a question of this kind was a matter for the House to decide, not for the Speaker.

The SPEAKER. It would have been for the House to decide if the gentleman had made an appeal, but he did not.

Mr. TERRY. I do make an appeal, Mr. Speaker, and I hope it will be heard by the House.

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman state that he intended to make an appeal?

Mr. TERRY. I did, sir, after——

The SPEAKER. Then the Chair will entertain the appeal.

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. Speaker, I move to lay the appeal on the table.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York [Mr. PAYNE]

moves to lay the appeal on the table. As many as are in favor will say "aye."

Mr. TERRY. Mr. Speaker, may I be heard before the House on the appeal from the ruling of the Chair?

The SPEAKER (continuing). As many as are opposed, "no." The ayes appear to have it, the ayes have it.

Mr. TERRY. I ask for a division, and I ask to be heard on my appeal.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman asks for a division. As many as are in favor of laying the appeal on the table will rise in their places and be counted.

The House divided; and there were—ayes 99, noes 60.

Mr. TERRY. I ask for the yeas and nays, Mr. Speaker.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 90, nays 66, answered "present" 27, not voting 109; as follows:

YEAS—90.

Adams,	Curtis, Iowa	Henderson,	Pearson,
Alexander,	Curtis, Kans.	Henry, Conn.	Powers,
Babcock,	Dalzell,	Hepburn,	Prince,
Baker, Md.	Danford,	Hill,	Pugh,
Barrows,	Davenport,	Hitt,	Royse,
Bartholdt,	Dayton,	Howe,	Shannon,
Bennett,	Dolliver,	Howell,	Sherman,
Bishop,	Dorr,	Hurley,	Simpkins,
Booze,	Dovener,	Johnson, N. Dak.	Spalding,
Boutelle,	Ellis,	Ketcham,	Sperry,
Brewster,	Faris,	Kirkpatrick,	Sprague,
Broderick,	Fenton,	Knox,	Stone, W. A.
Brown,	Fischer,	Linney,	Tayler, Ohio
Brownlow,	Fletcher,	Littauer,	Tongue,
Burton,	Gibson,	Loud,	Updegraff,
Butler,	Gillet, N. Y.	Loudenslager,	Walker, Va.
Cannon,	Graff,	Low,	Wanger,
Clark, Iowa	Griffin,	McCleary,	Warner,
Clarke, N. H.	Grosvenor,	Minor,	Weaver,
Codding,	Hager,	Morris,	Williams, Pa.
Cooke,	Hamilton,	Mudd,	Wright.
Cousins,	Harmer,	Parker, N. J.	
Crumpacker,	Hawley,	Payne,	

NAYS—66.

Adamson,	Davis,	Knowles,	Richardson,
Baker, Ill.	De Graffenreid,	Lanham,	Ridgely,
Barlow,	De Vries,	Lewis, Ga.	Robinson, Ind.
Bell,	Epes,	Lewis, Wash.	Sayers,
Bodine,	Fleming,	Love,	Settle,
Botkin,	Fox,	McClellan,	Shuford,
Brantley,	Gaines,	McCormick,	Sims,
Brenner, Ohio	Greene,	McMillin,	Skinner,
Broussard,	Griggs,	Maddox,	Slayden,
Brundidge,	Gunn,	Martin,	Stark,
Burke,	Henry, Miss.	Maxwell,	Stephens, Tex.
Castle,	Henry, Tex.	Meekison,	Strowd, N. C.
Clark, Mo.	Hunter,	Norton,	Terry,
Clayton,	Jett,	Ogden,	Vincent,
Cochran, Mo.	King,	Osborne,	Wheeler, Ky.
Cowherd,	Kitchin,	Peters,	
Cummings,	Kleberg,	Pierce, Tenn.	

PRESENT—27.

Acheson,	Brumm,	Henry, Ind.	Smith, Ill.
Ball,	Cooper, Tex.	Jenkins,	Sullivan,
Bartlett,	Cooper, Wis.	Jones, Va.	Sulloway,
Benner, Pa.	Davey,	Livingston,	Wheeler, Ala.
Bingham,	Davison, Ky.	Meyer, La.	Williams, Miss.
Brosius,	Evans,	Miller,	Yost.
Brucker,	Gillett, Mass.	Odell,	

NOT VOTING—109.

Allen,	Cranford,	Jones, Wash.	Mitchell,
Arnold,	Crump,	Joy,	Moody,
Bailey,	Davidson, Wis.	Kelley,	Moon,
Baird,	De Armond,	Kerr,	Newlands,
Bankhead,	Dingley,	Kulp,	Northway,
Barber,	Dinsmore,	Lacey,	Olmsted,
Barham,	Dockery,	Lamb,	Otey,
Barney,	Eddy,	Landis,	Otjen,
Barrett,	Elliott,	Latimer,	Overstreet,
Beach,	Ermentrout,	Lentz,	Packer, Pa.
Belden,	Fitzgerald,	Lester,	Pearce, Mo.
Belford,	Fitzpatrick,	Little,	Perkins,
Belknap,	Foote,	Lorimer,	Pitney,
Benton,	Foss,	Lovering,	Plowman,
Berry,	Fowler, N. C.	Lybrand,	Quigg,
Bland,	Fowler, N. J.	McAleer,	Ray,
Bradley,	Gardner,	McCall,	Reeves,
Brewer,	Grout,	McCulloch,	Rhea,
Bromwell,	Grow,	McDonald,	Rixey,
Bull,	Handy,	McDowell,	Robb,
Campbell,	Hartman,	McEwan,	Robbins,
Capron,	Hay,	McIntire,	Robertson, La.
Carmack,	Heatwole,	McRae,	Russell,
Catchings,	Hemenway,	Maguire,	Sauerhering,
Chickering,	Hicks,	Mahany,	Shafroth,
Clardy,	Hilborn,	Mahon,	Shattuc,
Cochrane, N. Y.	Hinrichsen,	Mann,	Shelden,
Colson,	Hooker,	Marsh,	Showalter,
Connell,	Hopkins,	Marshall,	Simpson,
Connolly,	Howard, Ala.	Mercer,	Smith, Ky.
Cooney,	Howard, Ga.	Mesick,	Smith, S. W.
Corliss,	Hull,	Miers, Ind.	Sparkman,
Cox,	Johnson, Ind.	Mills,	Stallings,
Steele,	Southard,	Todd,	White, N. C.
Stevens, Minn.	Southwick,	Underwood,	Wilber,
Stewart, N. J.	Sturtevant,	Vandiver,	Wilson, N. Y.
Stewart, Wis.	Sulzer,	Van Voorhis,	Wilson, S. C.
Stokes,	Sutherland,	Vehslage,	Young, Pa.
Stone, C. W	Swanson,	Wadsworth,	Young, Va.
Strait,	Talbert,	Walker, Mass.	Zenor.
Strode, Nebr.	Tate,	Ward,	
Smith, Wm. Alden	Tawney,	Weymouth,	
Snover,	Taylor, Ala.	White, Ill.	

Mr. DAYTON. Mr. Speaker, I am paired generally with the gentleman from Tennessee, Mr. PIERCE. I believed he was not on the floor. Since then he has appeared and voted. I desire to change my vote from "present" to "yea."

The SPEAKER. The change will be made.

Mr. DINSMORE. Mr. Speaker, I have a general pair with the gentleman from Minnesota, Mr. HEATWOLE. The gentleman has been present lately. I am informed that he is not present to-day. I voted "yea," and desire to withdraw my vote.

Mr. BROSIUS. Mr. Speaker, I should like to withdraw my vote and answer "present." I am paired.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman's vote will be withdrawn, and he will be marked "present."

Mr. SMITH of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I desire to inquire whether the gentleman from Arkansas, Mr. MCCULLOCH, has voted or not?

The SPEAKER. The gentleman has not voted.

Mr. SMITH of Illinois. I desire, then, to withdraw my vote, as I have a general pair with him, and answer "present."

The SPEAKER. The gentleman's vote will be withdrawn, and he will be marked "present."

Mr. BODINE. Mr. Speaker, I answered on the first call, but I understand that my name was again called. I wish to know whether I am recorded as voting. I voted "nay."

The SPEAKER. The gentleman is not recorded as voting. Does the gentleman state that he voted.

Mr. BODINE. I did, on the first call.

The SPEAKER. How does the gentleman vote?

Mr. BODINE. I vote "nay."

Mr. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, I am paired with the gentleman from Illinois, Mr. MILLS. I answer "present," but not voting, for the reason that I am paired with the gentleman.

Mr. MCMILLIN. Mr. Speaker, my colleague, Mr. CARMACK, is detained from the House by reason of sickness in his family. I ask indefinite leave of absence for him in addition to this explanation.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, the request will be considered as granted.

There was no objection.

Mr. BRUCKER. Mr. Speaker, I am paired generally with the gentleman from Michigan, Mr. WM. ALDEN SMITH. I understand he is not present, and I desire to withdraw my vote and be marked "present."

The SPEAKER. The gentleman's vote will be withdrawn, and he will be marked "present."

Mr. YOST. Mr. Speaker, I was present in the House, but did not hear my name called. I desire to answer "present." I am paired with the gentleman from Virginia, Mr. LAMB.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will be marked "present."

Mr. DANFORD. Mr. Speaker, is my name recorded?

The SPEAKER. The gentleman is not recorded as voting.

Mr. DANFORD. I answered upon the first call. It has been suggested that my name was called upon the second call.

The SPEAKER. Call the gentleman's name.

The name of Mr. DANFORD was called, and he voted "yea."

Mr. DAVISON of Kentucky. Mr. Speaker, I desire to be recorded as "present."

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Kentucky will be recorded as "present."

The following pairs were announced:

Until further notice:

Mr. SMITH of Illinois with Mr. MCCULLOCH.

Mr. HENRY of Indiana wth Mr. MIERS of Indiana.

Mr. QUIGG with Mr. BLAND.

Mr. WARD with Mr. BARLOW.

Mr. MAHON with Mr. BENNER of Pennsylvania.

Mr. LANDIS with Mr. CRAWFORD.

Mr. GILLETT of Massachusetts with Mr. MCDOWELL.

Mr. KULP with Mr. STALLINGS.

Mr. ODELL with Mr. BARTLETT.

Mr. HICKS with Mr. OTEY.

Mr. HEMENWAY with Mr. ROBERTSON of Louisiana.

Mr. MERCER with Mr. DE ARMOND.

Mr. PERKINS with Mr. COOPER of Texas.

Mr. YOST with Mr. LAMB.

Mr. WHITE of Illinois with Mr. HANDY.

Mr. DINGLEY with Mr. SWANSON.

Mr. HEATWOLE with Mr. DINSMORE.

Mr. McINTIRE with Mr. LESTER.
Mr. McCALL with Mr. JONES of Virginia.
Mr. DAVIDSON of Wisconsin with Mr. HOWARD of Georgia.
Mr. WRIGHT with Mr. ADAMSON.
Mr. YOUNG of Pennsylvania with Mr. BENTON.
Mr. BELKNAP with Mr. MAGUIRE.
Mr. HOPKINS with Mr. McALEER.
Mr. LYBRAND with Mr. LENTZ.
Mr. STEVENS of Minnesota with Mr. JONES of Washington.
Mr. MILLER with Mr. CLARDY.
Mr. LORIMER with Mr. BERRY.
Mr. BRUMM with Mr. COX.
Mr. KERR with Mr. ROBB.
Mr. PITNEY with Mr. CARMACK.
Mr. JENKINS with Mr. STOKES.
Mr. LACEY with Mr. McRAE.
Mr. BROSIUS with Mr. ERMENTROUT.
Mr. JOHNSON of Indiana with Mr. MOON.
Mr. EVANS with Mr. FITZPATRICK.
Mr. JOY with Mr. MARSHALL.
Mr. BINGHAM with Mr. DOCKERY.
Mr. HULL with Mr. BAILEY.
Mr. STRODE of Nebraska with Mr. ALLEN.
Mr. McEWAN with Mr. VEHSLAGE.
Mr. LOVERING with Mr. WHEELER of Alabama.
Mr. BELDEN with Mr. SULZER.
Mr. STEWART of New Jersey with Mr. TAYLOR of Alabama.
Mr. REEVES with Mr. BALL.
Mr. MILLS with Mr. SULLIVAN.
Mr. STEWART of Wisconsin with Mr. LITTLE.
Mr. BARHAM with Mr. FITZGERALD.
Mr. WILSON of New York with Mr. SUTHERLAND.
Mr. SAUERHERING with Mr. STRAIT.
Mr. CHICKERING with Mr. BRADLEY.
Mr. WM. ALDEN SMITH with Mr. BRUCKER.
Mr. MITCHELL with Mr. ELLIOTT.
Mr. BARNEY with Mr. BANKHEAD.
Mr. ACHESON with Mr. WILSON of South Carolina.
Mr. HOOKER with Mr. CATCHINGS.
Mr. PEARCE of Missouri with Mr. VANDIVER.
Mr. OVERSTREET with Mr. ZENOR.
Mr. FOSS with Mr. DAVEY.
For this day:
Mr. MARSH with Mr. COONEY.
On this vote:
Mr. WALKER of Massachusetts with Mr. TATE.
On this question:
Mr. WILBER with Mr. TALBERT.

Mr. DAVEY. Mr. Speaker, I desire to withdraw my vote, as I find I am paired.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman's vote will be withdrawn and he will be marked "present."

Mr. GILLETT of Massachusetts. I heard my name read among the pairs. I was not paired with my knowledge or with my consent, but withdraw my vote.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will be marked as "present."

Mr. SULLOWAY. Mr. Speaker, I understand my name was read. If I am paired, I withdraw my vote.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman's vote will be withdrawn.

On this question the yeas are 90, the nays 66, present 27—a quorum; the yeas have it, and the appeal is laid on the table.

NAVIGATION OF INLAND WATERS.

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. Speaker, I call for the regular order, which is the further consideration of the bill in relation to the navigation of our inland waters. Just before the adjournment the House was dividing on an amendment, on which a division had been called for.

Mr. STEPHENS of Texas. I want to ask the gentleman from New York a question. Is not this a bill which does not go into effect until next July?

Mr. PAYNE. This bill does not go into effect until four months after its passage.

Mr. STEPHENS of Texas. Then will not the gentleman kindly consent to let me call up at this time Senate bill No. 45, making a donation for the relief of sufferers from the flood at El Paso and in that neighborhood?

Mr. PAYNE. I will say to the gentleman and to the House that when the bill now pending is disposed of, I shall be very glad to aid him in getting unanimous consent for consideration of the bill which he mentions, but until that time I must object.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the pending amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The amendment was read, as follows:

After line 24, page 7, add:
"(d) Rafts, or other water craft not herein provided for, navigating by hand power, horsepower, or by the current of the river, shall carry one or more good white lights, which shall be placed in such manner as shall be prescribed by the Board of Supervising Inspectors of Steam Vessels."

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. Speaker, I offer the amendment which I send to the desk.

The amendment was read, as follows:

At the end of line 22, page 14, insert:
"Rule IX. The whistle signals provided in the rules under this article for steam vessels meeting, passing, or overtaking are never to be used except when steamers are in sight of each other and the course and position of each can be determined in the daytime by a sight of the vessel itself, or by night by seeing its signal lights. In fog, mist, and falling snow, or heavy rain storms, when vessels can not so see each other, fog signals only must be used."

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. Speaker, I think time will be saved if I occupy the attention of the House for a few minutes now in repeating the explanation which I have already made, but which some gentlemen do not seem to have understood. In the first place, this bill comes here on the recommendation of the American commissioners to the International Maritime Conference. The amendments also come on the recommendation of those gentlemen and on the recommendation of the Commissioner of Navigation and of the Inspector-General of Steam Vessels. The amendments are not mine; they are not suggested by me; they are suggested by this board.

The amendments are designed mainly to embody in the law rules which are now, and have been for many years, in operation, because prescribed by the board in the Treasury Department which has authority under the law to prescribe rules in relation to the navigation of our inland waters. Every one of these amendments is recommended by all these authorities. This question is a technical one, a question upon which the authority of experts is the end of the law; and if this bill and the amendments were sent to a committee, no matter how intelligently constituted that committee of this House might be, it would still have to rely upon the very gentlemen who recommend this bill and these amendments.

Having said this much, I do not intend to occupy any more time in debate, but if any gentleman on the other side, or any gentleman opposed to this bill, wishes to indulge in debate in regard to it, and will indicate how much time he desires, I will yield to him.

Mr. TERRY. Mr. Speaker——

Mr. PAYNE. Does the gentleman from Arkansas desire time to discuss this bill?

Mr. TERRY. I am addressing myself to the Speaker.

Mr. PAYNE. Then, Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman declines to answer my question, I demand the previous question on the pending amendment.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York asks for the previous question.

Mr. FLEMING. Mr. Speaker, I should like to have a few minutes, perhaps not more than ten.

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. Speaker, I withdraw the demand for the previous question, and yield ten minutes to the gentleman from Georgia.

Mr. FLEMING. Mr. Speaker, I would like to have the attention of the House for a few moments on this question. It is not my purpose to place any obstacle in the way of the proper consideration or the proper passage of this bill. I am perfectly willing to vote for it when it is brought before the House in perfected form and in such a manner that we can have some kind of authority upon which to rely for the correctness of our votes. But as it is the bill is brought before the House without having been examined by any committee of this body. It is true that, as the gentleman from New York told us the other day, this bill has passed the Senate.

It is true that he informs us now that it is recommended by a board of experts. But since the bill passed the Senate not less than one dozen, and perhaps two dozen, imperfections have been discovered in it, and the gentleman desires to have those imperfections corrected. The bill and amendments are before the House on the single statement of the gentleman from New York, and upon that alone we are asked to legislate. I submit, sir, that the whole principle of such a legislative proceeding is radically wrong.

The experts of whom the gentleman speaks as recommending this bill are not responsible to this House, and when the gentleman asks the members of this body to cast their votes in favor of a measure presented as this is we are certainly entitled to have the recommendation of some committee or of some body responsible to this House. There is no legislative body in the world that undertakes to act upon an involved and complicated question of this kind until it has been examined and reported upon by a committee.

The gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. TERRY] very properly stated on the last day the House was in session that the committees are the scouts of the House, and he might have added that they are also the generals of the House, because they furnish the brains

and the plan or outline upon which the House acts. So much on the general proposition that a body of this kind ought not to act upon a complicated question like this without proper and regular investigation.

Now, the next proposition to which I desire to call attention is this: The majority party in the House of Representatives early in this session decided that they would not have the committees appointed and the organization of the House completed in the usual way. Against that decision I have now no complaint whatever to make, nor do I rise to criticise it in any way whatever. I do, however, wish to remind gentlemen that the making of that decision was exceptional; that it was something that had never been done before in this country; and I wish further to remind them that the country demands some satisfactory explanation for such an unprecedented course of conduct in our legislative proceedings here.

The explanation given by the majority of the House was that we did not appoint committees for the reason that we did not intend to legislate. It has been stated that the House was brought together for the purpose of passing the tariff bill; and such was the burden of the President's message, and the Committee on Ways and Means was appointed for the purpose of preparing and reporting the tariff bill. You did not ask us to pass a tariff bill without its first having been passed upon by the action of the committee of this body. It was perfectly proper for the majority of the House to defend themselves against the criticisms of this side of the House and to justify themselves before the country as long as they kept those two propositions together—"We will appoint no committees because we do not intend to engage in general legislation."

It is true that one or two measures of a charitable nature have been allowed to pass the House without the examination of a committee, but in a large degree those measures did not need committee examination. Now, for the first time, we have a question of the most involved and complicated character before us for consideration. Now, for the first time, we are refused committee examination into a question of general legislation. In attempting to pass this bill under these circumstances the majority party in the House is attempting to do something in the way of overriding rules and precedents which they have not done up to this hour.

The gentleman from New York [Mr. PAYNE] told us at the last sitting of the House that this bill ought to be passed for various reasons, one being, as he said, that there was very little, if any, new matter to be added to the existing law; that this was in a large measure a revision and modification of existing law. It seems to me, sir, that when we consider the experience of the American House of Representatives in revising and codifying laws we ought at least to be on our guard. I have read—and I presume there are members of this House who personally remember—that in 1873 a bill was reported to revise and codify the coinage laws of the United States, and under cover of such a bill a fatal stab was made at one of the money metals of the Constitution.

The chairman of the committee at that time got up on the floor of this House and told the members that the bill contained no new legislation; that it was simply a revision and codification of existing law. Yet when the people awakened to the truth they found that an act had been committed which was either a piece of blundering legislation or the climax of cunning knavery and trickery.

The gentleman from New York, therefore, can gain nothing, it seems to me, in the good opinion of this House or of the country when he tells us that this bill simply revises and codifies existing laws. Such a bill should be scanned with an eagle's eye—every line of it, every section of it, every word of it. It is true, as the gentleman says, the bill has passed the Senate and has the approval of the naval board.

Mr. BARTLETT. The gentleman will allow me to say that the statement of the gentleman from New York can not be exactly correct upon the point now referred to, because in a report from this International Marine Conference it is stated that the reason they desire these regulations enacted into law is because the Supreme Court, in the case of E. A. Packer (140 U. S. Supreme Court Reports), decided that they were not the law. So the gentleman from New York must be mistaken on that point.

Mr. GAINES. Of course we can not "revise" what is not the law.

Mr. FLEMING. It seems, then, that under cover of a "revision" a part of this legislation is designed to reverse a decision of the Supreme Court.

Mr. BARTLETT. That is it exactly.

Mr. FLEMING. Now, it may be that that decision ought to be reversed. It may be that the court was right and the law was wrong. But I submit, Mr. Speaker, to the thoughtful, conservative members of this House, no matter to what party they belong, that when questions so complicated and so involved as those presented by this bill—provisions which affect every vessel, whether it be the largest steamer or the smallest rowboat on every inland creek, river, or harbor of the entire Atlantic and Pacific coasts—when such a measure is brought before us, presenting new and complicated legislation, it ought to be scanned carefully by a committee.

What faith can we place in the action of the Senate? The gentleman from New York himself states that more than a dozen imperfections have been discovered in the work of the Senate. I therefore urge again—and I put it to the gentleman from New York in good faith, for I have no desire, nor do I believe anyone on this side of the House has any desire, to obstruct the passage of this bill—I suggest to him that he ask that the bill be referred to a special committee. If gentlemen on the other side do not want all the committees appointed, let the Speaker name a special committee to take charge of this bill and report it back to the House; and if it should prove to be proper and right, we will vote for it.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman's time has expired.

Mr. FLEMING. I ask to be allowed a few minutes more—not more than five. I have another point I wish to bring out, on which I think the gentleman from New York himself may not be informed.

Mr. PAYNE. I yield the gentleman five minutes more.

Mr. FLEMING. I am not a nautical man; I am not familiar with nautical matters. I do not know whether the chairman—I was about to say the chairman of the committee, which would have been a mistake; I mean the gentleman from New York—I do not know whether the gentleman from New York is aware of the matter to which I now wish to call his attention. There are two sections of this bill which do not deal with nautical terms nor specially with matters of that kind, and I do understand something about them. I refer to the first section, embracing the enacting clause, and the last section, which undertakes to repeal certain laws.

I say that in these sections the bill is fatally defective. If this bill be passed in the form here proposed, the law will be left in a slipshod condition, which will be no credit to us and would not be any credit to a town council in the smallest city of the United States. Let me read the first section. The object of this bill is to adopt certain general legislation in reference to the navigation of inland waters, but it is not intended to apply to all inland waters. The intention is to except certain waters, mainly the tributaries of the Mississippi and the Red River of the North. Let us see what the language of the bill is.

Mr. PAYNE. The gentleman will allow me to say that I propose to offer a substitute for that section when we get to it.

Mr. FLEMING. We have already passed it.

Mr. PAYNE. Oh, no.

Mr. FLEMING. Oh, yes; we have amended several subsequent sections. The language of this section is as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the following regulations for preventing collision shall be followed by all vessels——

Mr. PAYNE. I did not know the gentleman was referring to that provision.

Mr. FLEMING. That is the point I am making—a point, I think, which the gentleman from New York has not observed.

Be it enacted, etc., That the following regulations for preventing collision shall be followed by all vessels navigating all harbors, rivers, and inland waters of the United States—

Now, mark the language—

except the Great Lakes and their connecting and tributary waters as far east as Montreal and the Red River of the North.

Now, I understand where Montreal is located; I can understand its longitude and latitude; but when the language of this section goes on to say, "as far east as Montreal and the Red River of the North," it shows that whoever drafted this bill was deficient either in his geography or his grammar; in one or the other he is very badly in error. The Red River of the North is nowhere near Montreal, I suppose it is 1,000 miles away, a thousand miles to the west of Montreal.

Now, what do we expect a court to do with a sentence like that? You are undertaking to describe the territory over which this bill is to go into effect, the ground over which it is to operate; and you say that you except "the Great Lakes and their connecting and tributary waters as far east as Montreal and the Red River of the North"—language which simply means nothing at all. If such language as that goes out to the country with the indorsement of the House of Representatives, it certainly can do no credit to us. An amendment is badly needed at that point.

Now, if the gentleman from New York will turn to the last section of the bill, he will find there an error of even greater moment. I call attention to section 5:

That sections 4233, 4412 (with the regulations made in pursuance thereof, except the rules and regulations for the government of pilots of steamers navigating the Red River of the North.

Evidently the scope of this bill is not limited to steam vessels at all. It expressly applies to all craft. Yet, when you come to insert the repealing clause you repeal everything except those laws relating to pilots of steam vessels; so that a raft or ferryboat or rowboat on those waters would not be affected in any way whatever; the act would only apply to the pilots of steam vessels.

Not only is the language of that section confused and inaccurate with reference to what is intended as to the character of the vessel, but by comparing this section with the previous section you will find it is inaccurate also with reference to the men who are managing the vessel. In section 4 a liability is to be placed on every pilot, engineer, mate, or master of any vessel. But when you come to the repealing clause, in section 5, you except only the pilots of steam vessels.

I make these remarks for the purpose merely of enforcing the view that gentlemen on the other side ought not to insist on putting through this House a bill of this kind in an imperfect condition. It ought to be perfected by somebody——

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. Speaker, I ask for the previous question on the amendment.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER (having put the question on the amendment). The ayes seem to have it.

Mr. FLEMING. I call for a division.

The question being again taken, there were—ayes 57, noes 18.

Mr. FLEMING. I raise the point that no quorum has voted.

The SPEAKER. The Chair overrules the point.

Mr. FLEMING. I make the point that there is no quorum present.

The SPEAKER. That is a different point. [Having counted the House.] There are 130 members present—not a quorum. Under the rules of the House, the yeas and nays will be considered as ordered, and at the same time there will be a call of the House. The Doorkeeper will close the doors. Members are not at liberty to leave the Hall during the call. The Clerk will call the roll. Those members who are in favor of the amendment will, when their names are called, answer "aye," and those opposed "no."

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 94, nays 39, answered "present" 49, not voting 170; as follows:

YEAS—94.

Adams,	Danford,	Hepburn,	Pearson,
Alexander,	Davenport,	Hill,	Powers,
Babcock,	Davison, Ky.	Hitt,	Pugh,
Barrows,	Dayton,	Howe,	Royse,
Bartholdt,	Dolliver,	Howell,	Shannon,
Bishop,	Dorr,	Johnson, N. Dak.	Sherman,
Boose,	Dovener,	Ketcham,	Simpkins,
Boutelle,	Ellis,	Kirkpatrick,	Slayden,
Brewster,	Faris,	Kitchin,	Spalding,
Broderick,	Fenton,	Knox,	Sperry,
Brown,	Fischer,	Linney,	Sprague,
Brownlow,	Fletcher,	Littauer,	Stephens, Tex.
Burton,	Gibson,	Loud,	Stone, W. A.
Butler,	Gillet, N. Y.	Loudenslager,	Tawney,
Cannon,	Gillett, Mass.	Low,	Tayler, Ohio
Capron,	Graff,	McCleary,	Tongue,
Clark, Iowa	Griffin,	McClellan,	Van Voorhis,
Clarke, N. H.	Grosvenor,	McDonald,	Walker, Va.
Codding,	Hager,	Meyer, La.	Wanger,
Cooke,	Hamilton,	Minor,	Warner,
Cousins,	Hawley,	Morris,	Weaver,
Curtis, Iowa	Henderson,	Mudd,	Williams, Pa.
Curtis, Kans.	Henry, Conn.	Parker, N. J.	
Dalzell,	Henry, Ind.	Payne,	

NAYS—39.

Baker, Ill.	Davis,	King,	Ogden,
Bell,	De Graffenreid,	Kleberg,	Osborne,
Bodine,	Fleming,	Knowles,	Peters,
Botkin,	Fox,	Lewis, Ga.	Richardson,
Brundidge,	Greene,	Love,	Ridgely,
Burke,	Gunn,	McMillin,	Robinson, Ind.
Clark, Mo.	Hay,	Maddox,	Sayers,
Cochran, Mo.	Henry, Miss.	Maxwell,	Settle,
Cummings,	Henry, Tex.	Meekison,	Vincent.
Davey,	Hunter,	Norton,	

ANSWERED "PRESENT"—49.

Acheson,	Cooper, Tex.	Lewis, Wash.	Sulloway,
Adamson,	Cooper, Wis.	Livingston,	Terry,
Baker, Md.	Cowherd,	Miller,	Todd,
Ball,	Crumpacker,	Odell,	Underwood,
Bartlett,	De Vries,	Plowman,	Updegraff,
Benner, Pa.	Dinsmore,	Shafroth,	Wheeler, Ala.
Bingham,	Evans,	Shuford,	Wheeler, Ky.
Brantley,	Griggs,	Sims,	Williams, Miss.
Brenner, Ohio	Hartman,	Skinner,	Wright,
Brosius,	Hurley,	Sparkman,	Yost.
Brucker,	Jenkins,	Stark,	
Brumm,	Jones, Wash.	Strowd, N. C.	
Clayton,	Lanham,	Sullivan,	

NOT VOTING—170.

Allen,	Barber,	Beach,	Benton,
Arnold,	Barham,	Belden,	Berry,
Bailey,	Barlow,	Belford,	Bland,
Baird,	Barney,	Belknap,	Bradley,
Bankhead,	Barrett,	Bennett,	Brewer,
Bromwell,	Heatwole,	Mann,	Smith, Ky.
Broussard,	Hemenway,	Marsh,	Smith, S. W.
Bull,	Hicks,	Marshall,	Smith, Wm. Alden
Campbell,	Hilborn,	Martin,	Snover,
Carmack,	Hinrichsen,	Mercer,	Southard,
Castle,	Hooker,	Mesick,	Southwick,
Catchings,	Hopkins,	Miers, Ind.	Stallings,
Chickering,	Howard, Ala.	Mills,	Steele,
Clardy,	Howard, Ga.	Mitchell,	Stevens, Minn.
Cochrane, N. Y.	Hull,	Moody,	Stewart, N. J.
Colson,	Jett,	Moon,	Stewart, Wis.
Connell,	Johnson, Ind.	Newlands,	Stokes,
Connolly,	Jones, Va.	Northway,	Stone, C. W.
Cooney,	Joy,	Olmsted,	Strait,
Corliss,	Kelley,	Otey,	Strode, Nebr.
Cox,	Kerr,	Otjen,	Sturtevant,
Cranford,	Kulp,	Overstreet,	Sulzer,
Crump,	Lacey,	Packer, Pa.	Sutherland,
Davidson, Wis.	Lamb,	Pearce, Mo.	Swanson,
De Armond,	Landis,	Perkins,	Talbert,
Dingley,	Latimer,	Pierce, Tenn.	Tate,
Dockery,	Lentz,	Pitney,	Taylor, Ala.
Eddy,	Lester,	Prince,	Vandiver,
Elliott,	Little,	Quigg,	Vehslage,
Epes,	Lorimer,	Ray,	Wadsworth,
Ermentrout,	Lovering,	Reeves,	Walker, Mass.
Fitzgerald,	Lybrand,	Rhea,	Ward,
Fitzpatrick,	McAleer,	Rixey,	Weymouth,
Foote,	McCall,	Robb,	White, Ill.
Foss,	McCormick,	Robbins,	White, N. C.
Fowler, N. C.	McCulloch,	Robertson, La.	Wilber,
Fowler, N. J.	McDowell,	Russell,	Wilson, N. Y.
Gaines,	McEwan,	Sauerhering,	Wilson, S. C.
Gardner,	McIntire,	Shattuc,	Young, Pa.
Grout,	McRae,	Shelden,	Young, Va.
Grow,	Maguire,	Showalter,	Zenor.
Handy,	Mahany,	Simpson,	
Harmer,	Mahon,	Smith, Ill.	

So the amendment was agreed to.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. Speaker, I offer the following as a substitute for the pending bill.

The substitute, to strike out all after the enacting clause and substitute in lieu thereof the following, was read:

That the following regulations for preventing collision shall be followed by all vessels navigating all harbors, rivers, and inland waters of the United States, except the Great Lakes and their connecting and tributary waters as far east as Montreal and the Red River of the North and rivers emptying into the Gulf of Mexico and their tributaries, and are hereby declared special rules duly made by local authority.

PRELIMINARY.

In the following rules every steam vessel which is under sail and not under steam is to be considered a sailing vessel, and every vessel under steam, whether under sail or not, is to be considered a steam vessel.

The word "steam vessel" shall include any vessel propelled by machinery.

A vessel is "under way," within the meaning of these rules, when she is not at anchor, or made fast to the shore, or aground.

RULES CONCERNING LIGHTS, ETC.

The word "visible" in these rules, when applied to lights, shall mean visible on a dark night with a clear atmosphere.

ARTICLE 1. The rules concerning lights shall be complied with in all weathers from sunset to sunrise, and during such time no other lights which may be mistaken for the prescribed lights shall be exhibited.

ART. 2. A steam vessel when under way shall carry—

(a) On or in front of the foremast, or, if a vessel without a foremast, then in the fore part of the vessel, a bright white light so constructed as to show an unbroken light over an arc of the horizon of twenty points of the compass, so fixed as to throw the light ten points on each side of the vessel, namely, from right ahead to two points abaft the beam on either side, and of such a character as to be visible at a distance of at least 5 miles.

(b) On the starboard side a green light so constructed as to show an unbroken light over an arc of the horizon of ten points of the compass, so fixed as to throw the light from right ahead to two points abaft the beam on the starboard side, and of such a character as to be visible at a distance of at least 2 miles.

(c) On the port side a red light so constructed as to show an unbroken light over an arc of the horizon of ten points of the compass, so fixed as to throw the light from right ahead to two points abaft the beam on the port side, and of such a character as to be visible at a distance of at least 2 miles.

(d) The said green and red side lights shall be fitted with inboard screens projecting at least 3 feet forward from the light, so as to prevent these lights from being seen across the bow.

(e) A seagoing steam vessel when under way may carry an additional white light similar in construction to the light mentioned in subdivision (a). These two lights shall be so placed in line with the keel that one shall be at least 15 feet higher than the other, and in such a position with reference to each other that the lower light shall be forward of the upper one. The vertical distance between these lights shall be less than the horizontal distance.

(f) All steam vessels (except seagoing vessels and ferryboats) shall carry in addition to green and red lights required by article 2 (b), (c), and screens as required by article 2 (d), a central range of two white lights; the after light being carried at an elevation at least 15 feet above the light at the head of the vessel. The headlight shall be so constructed as to show an unbroken light through twenty points of the compass, namely, from right ahead to two points abaft the beam on either side of the vessel, and the after light so as to show all around the horizon.

ART. 3. A steam vessel, when towing another vessel, shall, in addition to her side lights, carry two bright white lights in a vertical line, one over the other, not less than 3 feet apart, and when towing more than one vessel shall carry an additional bright white light 3 feet above or below such lights, if the length of the tow, measuring from the stern of the towing vessel to the stern of the last vessel towed, exceeds 600 feet. Each of these lights shall be of the same construction and character, and shall be carried in the same position as the white light mentioned in article 2 (a) or the after range light mentioned in article 2 (b).

Such steam vessel may carry a small white light abaft the funnel or aftermast for the vessel towed to steer by, but such light shall not be visible forward of the beam.

ART. 5. A sailing vessel under way or being towed shall carry the same

lights as are prescribed by article 2 for a steam vessel under way, with the exception of the white lights mentioned therein, which they shall never carry.

ART. 6. Whenever, as in the case of vessels of less than 10 gross tons under way during bad weather, the green and red side lights can not be fixed, these lights shall be kept at hand, lighted and ready for use; and shall, on the approach of or to other vessels, be exhibited on their respective sides in sufficient time to prevent collision, in such manner as to make them most visible, and so that the green light shall not be seen on the port side nor the red light on the starboard side, nor, if practicable, more than two points abaft the beam on their respective sides. To make the use of these portable lights more certain and easy the lanterns containing them shall each be painted outside with the color of the light they respectively contain, and shall be provided with proper screens.

ART. 7. Rowing boats, whether under oars or sail, shall have ready at hand a lantern showing a white light which shall be temporarily exhibited in sufficient time to prevent collision.

ART. 8. Pilot vessels when engaged on their station on pilotage duty shall not show the lights required for other vessels, but shall carry a white light at the masthead, visible all around the horizon, and shall also exhibit a flare-up light or flare-up lights at short intervals, which shall never exceed fifteen minutes.

On the near approach of or to other vessels they shall have their side lights lighted, ready for use, and shall flash or show them at short intervals, to indicate the direction in which they are heading, but the green light shall not be shown on the port side nor the red light on the starboard side.

A pilot vessel of such a class as to be obliged to go alongside of a vessel to put a pilot on board may show the white light instead of carrying it at the masthead, and may, instead of the colored lights above mentioned, have at hand, ready for use, a lantern with a green glass on the one side and a red glass on the other, to be used as prescribed above.

Pilot vessels, when not engaged on their station on pilotage duty, shall carry lights similar to those of other vessels of their tonnage.

ART. 9. (a) Fishing vessels of less than 10 gross tons, when under way and when not having their nets, trawls, dredges, or lines in the water, shall not be obliged to carry the colored side lights; but every such vessel shall, in lieu thereof, have ready at hand a lantern with a green glass on one side and a red glass on the other side, and on approaching to or being approached by another vessel such lantern shall be exhibited in sufficient time to prevent collision, so that the green light shall not be seen on the port side nor the red light on the starboard side.

(b) All fishing vessels and fishing boats of 10 gross tons or upward, when under way and when not having their nets, trawls, dredges, or lines in the water, shall carry and show the same lights as other vessels under way.

(c) All vessels, when trawling, dredging, or fishing with any kind of drag-nets or lines, shall exhibit, from some part of the vessel where they can be best seen, two lights. One of these lights shall be red and the other shall be white. The red light shall be above the white light, and shall be at a vertical distance from it of not less than 6 feet and not more than 12 feet; and the horizontal distance between them, if any, shall not be more than 10 feet. These two lights shall be of such a character and contained in lanterns of such construction as to be visible all round the horizon, the white light a distance of not less than 3 miles and the red light of not less than 2 miles.

"(d) Rafts, or other water craft not herein provided for, navigating by hand power, horsepower, or by the current of the river, shall carry one or more good white lights, which shall be placed in such manner as shall be prescribed by the Board of Supervising Inspectors of Steam Vessels."

ART. 10. A vessel which is being overtaken by another, except a steam vessel with an after-range light showing all around the horizon, shall show from her stern to such last-mentioned vessel a white light or a flare-up light.

ART. 11. A vessel under 150 feet in length when at anchor shall carry forward, where it can best be seen, but at a height not exceeding 20 feet above the hull, a white light, in a lantern so constructed as to show a clear, uniform, and unbroken light visible all around the horizon at a distance of at least 1 mile.

A vessel of 150 feet or upward in length when at anchor shall carry in the forward part of the vessel, at a height of not less than 20 and not exceeding 40 feet above the hull, one such light, and at or near the stern of the vessel, and at such a height that it shall be not less than 15 feet lower than the forward light, another such light.

The length of a vessel shall be deemed to be the length appearing in her certificate of registry.

ART. 12. Every vessel may, if necessary, in order to attract attention, in addition to the lights which she is by these rules required to carry, show a flare-up light or use any detonating signal that can not be mistaken for a distress signal.

ART. 13. Nothing in these rules shall interfere with the operation of any special rules made by the government of any nation with respect to additional station and signal lights for two or more ships of war or for vessels sailing under convoy, or with the exhibition of recognition signals adopted by shipowners, which have been authorized by their respective governments, and duly registered and published.

ART. 14. A steam vessel proceeding under sail only, but having her funnel up, may carry in daytime, forward, where it can best be seen, one black ball or shape 2 feet in diameter.

SOUND SIGNALS FOR FOG, ETC.

ART. 15. All signals prescribed by this article for vessels under way shall be given:

1. By "steam vessels" on the whistle or siren.

2. By "sailing vessels" and "vessels towed" on the fog horn.

The words "prolonged blast" used in this article shall mean a blast of from four to six seconds' duration.

A steam vessel shall be provided with an efficient whistle or siren, sounded by steam or by some substitute for steam, so placed that the sound may not be intercepted by any obstruction, and with an efficient fog horn; also with an efficient bell. A sailing vessel of 20 tons gross tonnage or upward shall be provided with a similar fog horn and bell.

In fog, mist, falling snow, or heavy rainstorms, whether by day or night, the signals described in this article shall be used as follows, namely:

(a) A steam vessel under way shall sound, at intervals of not more than one minute, a prolonged blast.

(c) A sailing vessel under way shall sound, at intervals of not more than one minute, when on the starboard tack, one blast; when on the port tack, two blasts in succession, and when with the wind abaft the beam, three blasts in succession.

(d) A vessel when at anchor shall, at intervals of not more than one minute, ring the bell rapidly for about five seconds.

(e) A steam vessel, when towing, shall, instead of the signals prescribed in subdivision (a) of this article, at intervals of not more than one minute, sound three blasts in succession, namely, one prolonged blast followed by two short blasts. A vessel towed may give this signal and she shall not give any other.

(f) All rafts or other water craft, not herein provided for, navigating by hand power, horse power, or by the current of the river, shall sound a blast of the fog horn, or equivalent signal, at intervals of not more than one minute.

SPEED OF SHIPS TO BE MODERATE IN FOG, ETC.

ART. 16. Every vessel shall, in a fog, mist, falling snow, or heavy rainstorms, go at a moderate speed, having careful regard to the existing circumstances and conditions.

A steam vessel hearing, apparently forward of her beam, the fog signal of a vessel the position of which is not ascertained, shall, so far as the circumstances of the case admit, stop her engines, and then navigate with caution until danger of collision is over.

STEERING AND SAILING RULES.

PRELIMINARY—RISK OF COLLISION.

Risk of collision can, when circumstances permit, be ascertained by carefully watching the compass bearing of an approaching vessel. If the bearing does not appreciably change, such risk should be deemed to exist.

ART. 17. When two sailing vessels are approaching one another, so as to involve risk of collision, one of them shall keep out of the way of the other as follows, namely:

(a) A vessel which is running free shall keep out of the way of a vessel which is closehauled.

(b) A vessel which is closehauled on the port tack shall keep out of the way of a vessel which is closehauled on the starboard tack.

(c) When both are running free, with the wind on different sides, the vessel which has the wind on the port side shall keep out of the way of the other.

(d) When both are running free, with the wind on the same side, the vessel which is to the windward shall keep out of the way of the vessel which is to the leeward.

(e) A vessel which has the wind aft shall keep out of the way of the other vessel.

ART. 18. RULE I. When steam vessels are approaching each other head and head, that is, end on, or nearly so, it shall be the duty of each to pass on the port side of the other; and either vessel shall give, as a signal of her intention, one short and distinct blast of her whistle, which the other vessel shall answer promptly by a similar blast of her whistle, and thereupon such vessels shall pass on the port side of each other. But if the courses of such vessels are so far on the starboard of each other as not to be considered as meeting head and head, either vessel shall immediately give two short and distinct blasts of her whistle, which the other vessel shall answer promptly by two similar blasts of her whistle, and they shall pass on the starboard side of each other.

The foregoing only applies to cases where vessels are meeting end on or nearly end on, in such a manner as to involve risk of collision; in other words, to cases in which, by day, each vessel sees the masts of the other in a line, or nearly in a line, with her own, and by night to cases in which each vessel is in such a position as to see both the side lights of the other.

It does not apply by day to cases in which a vessel sees another ahead crossing her own course, or by night to cases where the red light of one vessel is opposed to the red light of the other, or where the green light of one vessel is opposed to the green light of the other, or where a red light without a green light or a green light without a red light is seen ahead, or where both green and red lights are seen anywhere but ahead.

RULE III. If, when steam vessels are approaching each other, either vessel fails to understand the course or intention of the other, from any cause, the vessel so in doubt shall immediately signify the same by giving several short and rapid blasts, not less than four, of the steam whistle.

RULE V. Whenever a steam vessel is nearing a short bend or curve in the channel, where, from the height of the banks or other cause, a steam vessel approaching from the opposite direction can not be seen for a distance of half a mile, such steam vessel, when she shall have arrived within half a mile of such curve or bend, shall give a signal by one long blast of the steam whistle, which signal shall be answered by a similar blast, given by any approaching steam vessel that may be within hearing. Should such signal be so answered by a steam vessel upon the farther side of such bend, then the usual signals for meeting and passing shall immediately be given and answered; but if the first alarm signal of such vessel be not answered, she is to consider the channel clear and govern herself accordingly.

When steam vessels are moved from their docks or berths, and other boats are liable to pass from any direction toward them, they shall give the same signal as in the case of vessels meeting at a bend, but immediately after clearing the berths so as to be fully in sight they shall be governed by the steering and sailing rules.

RULE VIII. When steam vessels are running in the same direction, and the vessel which is astern shall desire to pass on the right or starboard hand of the vessel ahead, she shall give one short blast of the steam whistle as a signal of such desire, and if the vessel ahead answers with one blast, she shall put her helm to port; or if she shall desire to pass on the left or port side of the vessel ahead, she shall give two short blasts of the steam whistle as a signal of such desire, and, if the vessel ahead answers with two blasts, shall put her helm to starboard; or if the vessel ahead does not think it safe for the vessel astern to attempt to pass at that point, she shall immediately signify the same by giving several short and rapid blasts of the steam whistle, not less than four, and under no circumstances shall the vessel astern attempt to pass the vessel ahead until such time as they have reached a point where it can be safely done, when said vessel ahead shall signify her willingness by blowing the proper signals. The vessel ahead shall in no case attempt to cross the bow or crowd upon the course of the passing vessel.

Rule IX. The whistle signals provided in the rules under this article for steam vessels meeting, passing, or overtaking are never to be used except when steamers are in sight of each other, and the course and position of each can be determined in the daytime by a sight of the vessel itself, or by night by seeing its signal lights. In fog, mist, falling snow, or heavy rain storms, when vessels can not so see each other, fog signals only must be given.

ART. 19. When two steam vessels are crossing, so as to involve risk of collision, the vessel which has the other on her own starboard side shall keep out of the way of the other.

ART. 20. When a steam vessel and a sailing vessel are proceeding in such directions as to involve risk of collision, the steam vessel shall keep out of the way of the sailing vessel.

ART. 21. Where, by any of these rules, one of the two vessels is to keep out of the way, the other shall keep her course and speed.

ART. 22. Every vessel which is directed by these rules to keep out of the way of another vessel shall, if the circumstances of the case admit, avoid crossing ahead of the other.

ART. 23. Every steam vessel which is directed by these rules to keep out of the way of another vessel shall, on approaching her, if necessary, slacken her speed or stop or reverse.

ART. 24. Notwithstanding anything contained in these rules, every vessel overtaking any other shall keep out of the way of the overtaken vessel.

Every vessel coming up with another vessel from any direction more than two points abaft her beam, that is, in such a position, with reference to the vessel which she is overtaking, that at night she would be unable to see either of that vessel's side lights, shall be deemed to be an overtaking vessel; and

no subsequent alteration of the bearing between the two vessels shall make the overtaking vessel a crossing vessel within the meaning of these rules, or relieve her of the duty of keeping clear of the overtaken vessel until she is finally past and clear.

As by day the overtaking vessel can not always know with certainty whether she is forward of or abaft this direction from the other vessel, she should, if in doubt, assume that she is an overtaking vessel and keep out of the way.

ART. 25. In narrow channels every steam vessel shall, when it is safe and practicable, keep to that side of the fairway or mid-channel which lies on the starboard side of such vessel.

ART. 26. Sailing vessels under way shall keep out of the way of sailing vessels or boats fishing with nets, or lines, or trawls. This rule shall not give to any vessel or boat engaged in fishing the right of obstructing a fairway used by vessels other than fishing vessels or boats.

ART. 27. In obeying and construing these rules due regard shall be had to all dangers of navigation and collision, and to any special circumstances which may render a departure from the above rules necessary in order to avoid immediate danger.

SOUND SIGNALS FOR VESSELS IN SIGHT OF ONE ANOTHER.

ART. 28. When vessels are in sight of one another, a steam vessel under way whose engines are going at full speed astern shall indicate that fact by three short blasts on the whistle.

NO VESSEL UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES TO NEGLECT PROPER PRECAUTIONS.

ART. 29. Nothing in these rules shall exonerate any vessel, or the owner or master or crew thereof, from the consequences of any neglect to carry lights or signals, or of any neglect to keep a proper lookout, or of the neglect of any precaution which may be required by the ordinary practice of seamen, or by the special circumstances of the case.

ART. 30. The exhibition of any light on board of a vessel of war of the United States or a revenue cutter may be suspended whenever, in the opinion of the Secretary of the Navy, the commander-in-chief of a squadron, or the commander of a vessel acting singly, the special character of the service may require it.

DISTRESS SIGNALS.

ART. 31. When a vessel is in distress and requires assistance from other vessels or from the shore, the following shall be the signals to be used or displayed by her, either together or separately, namely:

IN THE DAYTIME.

A continuous sounding with any fog-signal apparatus, or firing a gun.

AT NIGHT.

First. Flames on the vessel, as from a burning tar barrel, oil barrel, etc.

Second. A continuous sounding with any fog-signal apparatus, or firing a gun.

SEC. 2. That the supervising inspectors of steam vessels and the Supervising Inspector-General shall establish such rules to be observed by steam vessels in passing each other and as to the lights to be carried by ferryboats and by barges and canal boats when in tow of steam vessels, not inconsistent with the provisions of this act, as they from time to time may deem necessary for safety, which rules, when approved by the Secretary of the Treasury, are hereby declared special rules duly made by local authority, as provided for in article 30 of chapter 802 of the laws of 1890. Two printed copies of such rules shall be furnished to such ferryboats and steam vessels, which rules shall be kept posted up in conspicuous places in such vessels.

SEC. 3. That every pilot, engineer, mate, or master of any steam vessel, and every master or mate of any barge or canal boat, who neglects or refuses to observe the provisions of this act, or the regulations established in pursuance of the preceding section, shall be liable to a penalty of $50, and for all damages sustained by any passenger in his person or baggage by such neglect or refusal: *Provided*, That nothing herein shall relieve any vessel owner or corporation from any liability incurred by reason of such neglect or refusal.

SEC. 4. That every vessel that shall be navigated without complying with the provisions of this act shall be liable to a penalty of $100, one-half to go to the informer, for which sum the vessel so navigated shall be liable and may be seized and proceeded against by action in any district court of the United States having jurisdiction of the offense.

SEC. 5. That sections 4233 and 4412 (with the regulations made in pursuance thereof, except the rules and regulations for the government of pilots of steamers navigating the Red River of the North and rivers emptying into the Gulf of Mexico and their tributaries, and except the rules for the Great Lakes and their connecting and tributary waters as far east as Montreal) and 4413 of the Revised Statutes of the United States and chapter 202 of the laws of 1893 and sections 1 and 3 of chapter 102 of the laws of 1895, and sections 5, 12, and 13 of the act approved March 3, 1897, entitled "An act to amend the laws relating to navigation," and all amendments thereto, are hereby repealed so far as the harbors, rivers, and inland waters aforesaid (except the Great Lakes and their connecting and tributary waters as far east as Montreal and the Red River of the North and rivers emptying into the Gulf of Mexico and their tributaries) are concerned.

SEC. 6. That this act shall take effect four months from the date of its approval.

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. Speaker, I have offered this amendment, substituting this language after the enacting clause, commencing with line 3 of page 1 of the bill, for the double purpose of including in it, as I have, all the amendments heretofore adopted by the House, including the one offered by the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. RICHARDSON]. I have also included four other substantial amendments here, reenacting the rules now in force and which have been in force for some time under the direction of the board appointed in the Treasury Department according to law, consisting of the Inspector-General of Steam Vessels, the Commissioner of Navigation, and one or two other officers.

These rules and the new Rule IX, which the House heard read, and another rule or rules read now, are reenacted in this law, for the purpose of having them posted as a part of the law, and for that reason only. I have also offered an amendment to section 5—two or three amendments to section 5—by striking out as many semicolons and inserting in place thereof the word "and," so as to improve the text of the bill. I have also added in section 5 an exception, excepting the Mississippi River, its tributaries, the Great Lakes, and the Red River of the North from the operations of the bill.

This is done to cure the question raised not only by the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. FLEMING], but by other gentlemen who have considered the question, and to remove any possibility of doubt of the bill being confined to the waters bordering on the high seas and excluding the great Western rivers and the Great Lakes. Another amendment was suggested by the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. MINOR], when the bill was up two days ago, to section 3 of the bill—that section which makes the engineer, mate, master, etc., liable for damages in any case of collision from disobedience to these rules. The gentleman from Wisconsin raised the question whether enacting that these different officers should be liable for damages might not relieve the vessel or owner of the vessel from damages.

I am very clearly of the opinion that the language, as it stands, does not change the liability of the owner of the vessel or of the vessel itself; and I have simply adopted this amendment because the gentleman from Wisconsin is in doubt upon that subject. It does not change the present status of the bill if it should become law in its original form, and does not change the law in that respect; and for that reason I have adopted the suggestion of the gentleman from Wisconsin.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I have moved the substitution of this language after the enacting clause for the purpose of incorporating the additional amendments which I wished to bring before the House, and in order to save the time of the House by requiring a separate vote on each one of these amendments; and I now ask the previous question on this substitute, to the third reading of the bill, and on the bill to its final passage.

Mr. RICHARDSON. I ask the gentleman to withdraw that motion for four or five minutes. I only ask for that time, and I am not making any fight on the bill itself.

Mr. PAYNE. I will withdraw my motion for the present, and yield five minutes to the gentleman from Tennessee.

Mr. RICHARDSON. Mr. Speaker, I shall not use the time in opposition so much to this measure, because I stated yesterday, and repeat it again here to-day, that there are not three members on either side of the House who understand what this measure is. Now, the gentleman from New York has set aside the work which we thought he had gotten up to his notion when he brought this bill forward, and he has now offered a substitute which has not been printed, and which we do not understand as well as we did the original bill.

But, Mr. Speaker, I want to call the attention of this House and the country simply to the fact that the majority party of this House deem it wise to set aside all pending legislation in order that this one measure may receive consideration in this House. We have none of the ordinary instrumentalities of legislation here by which a particular measure can be brought forward and offered in antagonism to this bill. This bill is brought here by the Committee on Rules.

Now, why is it more important, Mr. Speaker, than any other measure pending here? I ask gentlemen on that side of the House why it is that they sit silently there and make no protest of any kind or character against the course of the management of this House, by which hundreds of other meritorious measures are utterly ignored by the Committee on Rules and this measure is forced and pressed upon the attention of the House? What is the matter with all those bills for the relief of old soldiers of this country?

The Senate has passed over a hundred bills, many of them giving pensions to meritorious soldiers of the late war. Are you willing for every one of those measures to be ruthlessly set aside by the dominating committee of this House, the only committee that can bring a measure to our attention, and that they shall force this measure upon Congress? Are you going back to your constituencies and say to them that this bill is far more important to the country and to their interests than those pension measures? That is what you are doing when you stand up here and support the leaders of that side of the House in the course the majority is pursuing here.

You say you are very happy in it. I do not believe it, gentlemen. I do not believe you are happy in it. Here are nearly 100 pension bills passed by the Senate for the relief of the soldiers and the widows of soldiers of the late war, yet you utterly ignore them, while you press this measure upon our attention. But that is not all. Here are the Cuban resolutions which were passed by the Senate of the United States and sent here. The country is clamoring for the consideration of those resolutions, but you treat them as of no importance; you set them aside and decline to consider them, while you bring in a rule here and force the consideration for three or four days of this unimportant bill—unimportant compared with the measures I have mentioned, and others that are ready for consideration.

You even pay no attention to the respectful recommendations of your own President, who has sent two or three messages to this Congress urging action upon several important matters. I called attention to them on Tuesday last. One important question in respect to which the President has sent a message is the boundary

line between this Republic and the Republic of Mexico, but you pay no attention to that. Another matter has been deemed of such importance that the President has sent a special message urging upon Congress its consideration, but you set it aside, pay no attention to it, and bring in a rule requiring the House to give two or three days to this pending bill.

Mr. Speaker, there are more than 3,400 bills that have been introduced by the members of this House, and that are sleeping to-day without receiving, and without the prospect of receiving, any consideration at the hands of this body. Are you willing to go before the country and say that you applaud your leaders when they set aside these thousands of bills and yet can find time for the consideration of a bill no more important than the one that is now pending? Is that satisfactory to you? I do not believe it is. I will not occupy time in going into details of the measures to which I have referred. I simply desire to challenge the attention of the House and the country to this unusual condition of affairs.

[Here the hammer fell.]

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman from New York yield me five minutes?

Mr. PAYNE. If the gentleman is going to speak on the same line as the gentleman who has just sat down, no; if he wants time to discuss the pending bill, yes.

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. My remarks would not be in the same line as those of the gentleman from Tennessee.

Mr. PAYNE. Does the gentleman want time for discussion in relation to this bill?

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. My remarks would be in reference to the old soldiers' widows who are asking me to secure consideration for them here.

Mr. PAYNE. I decline to yield, Mr. Speaker. I wish to say a word to the House in reply to the gentleman from Tennessee. He wants to know if members on this side of the House are satisfied with the action of certain of their leaders, or supposed leaders.

Mr. RICHARDSON. I did not say "supposed leaders." I admit your leaders.

Mr. PAYNE. Well, "supposed leaders" was my language. I would not accuse the gentleman from Tennessee of saying "supposed leaders," because——

Mr. RICHARDSON. But you did accuse me of it.

Mr. PAYNE. Oh, no; I would not accuse the gentleman of using that expression, because it might be considered as reflecting upon somebody on that side of the House—somebody nearer home. [Laughter.]

Mr. Speaker, this side is satisfied with the action of the House during the time it has been assembled in this session, It is satisfied with it, because this side of the House and the members on this side seem to have an intelligent appreciation of the situation. We came together in this extra session for a specific purpose, a great purpose, namely, to provide revenue sufficient to pay the expenses of the Government from week to week and from month to month. We came to do what the other side had failed to do when they had the power, and what the country wants done as soon as it can be done. Our object was to bring forward a revenue bill here and enact it into law at the first possible moment.

We did that. We sent the bill to the Senate on the 1st day of April, and it has been there ever since. Of course I will not say anything here about what is done at the other end of the Capitol, but I will say, for the members on this side of the House of Representatives, that we do not mean to lay a single straw in the way of the other branch of Congress which can in any manner delay the passage of that bill and its enactment into law. [Applause on the Republican side.] The country wants relief, and the members of the majority of the House of Representatives are, to a man, anxious to have that relief given to the country at the first possible moment, and now——

Mr. RICHARDSON. Do you want the Dingley bill or the Senate bill?

Mr. PAYNE. I hope the gentleman will allow me to complete my sentence.

Mr. RICHARDSON. Certainly; but you had concluded your sentence when I interrupted you in a respectful manner.

Mr. PAYNE. The gentleman from Tennessee is very anxious about the old soldiers and their claims. Mr. Speaker, the old soldiers are content to wait until we can get money enough in the Treasury to pay their claims, and when that is done we will take care of them, as this side of the House has always taken care of them since the close of the war. [Applause on the Republican side.]

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. Does not the gentleman know——

Mr. PAYNE. I decline to be interrupted in every sentence.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from New York declines to yield.

Mr. PAYNE. Gentlemen on the other side of the House are very anxious that this body should mark out a policy for the Executive. Mr. Speaker, we have confidence in our Executive. [Applause on the Republican side.] Unlike the gentlemen on the other side, we have confidence in our present Executive, as we have always had confidence in our Executive ever since the war.

Have you gentlemen on the other side ever had any confidence in your Executive since the war? You do not seem to understand our position. We are willing to trust our Executive to deal with the Cuban question, and we are willing to give him time enough to examine into it before he declares his policy.

Mr. GAINES. How much more time do you want?

Mr. PAYNE. We want at least time enough for him to send a man down there who can investigate and return and make his report to the Executive before any policy is declared. Gentlemen on the Democratic side are very anxious about the Cuban question, and some gentlemen not far from this Hall seem to manifest the same kind of anxiety. [Laughter.]

Anxious about it, why? Simply because they think they are appealing to the prejudices of the populace; that is all. They think that popular opinion is that way; that the popular tide is running in that direction, and they are jumping to catch at some straw in order to try to resurrect themselves from the oblivion that seems to have come over them because of their record in the past.

Now, Mr. Speaker——

Mr. KING. Did the Republicans take that view in voting on the belligerency resolution?

Mr. PAYNE. I do hope I may be permitted to proceed five minutes without being interrupted.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. HEPBURN). The House will be in order. The gentleman from New York declines to yield.

Mr. PAYNE. Now, we on this side of the House propose to go right on in our own way. We have stood by the Speaker to a man. We have sat here and seen him insulted from day to day, because we knew that the insults coming from that side of the House could not harm the Speaker anywhere in this country. Why, sir, that was tried in 1890 and 1891. The gibes and the threats and the foul names and the violations of every rule of decency coming from some men—and one or two of them are still left on that side of the House—recoiled upon their authors; and the country sustained the Speaker of this House in every ruling made in the Fifty-first Congress. And you came back here and made haste to adopt every rule of that Congress and reaffirm every ruling that the Speaker had made. And so you stand by, without argument——

Mr. RICHARDSON. Will the gentleman permit an interruption?

Mr. PAYNE. I wish the gentleman would allow me to finish my sentence, and after I am through I will allow him to interrupt me to his heart's content.

Mr. RICHARDSON. Will the gentleman yield at the end of the sentence?

Mr. PAYNE. I decline to yield now.

Mr. RICHARDSON. The remarks of the gentleman have misrepresented the position of the Democratic party.

Mr. PAYNE. If the gentleman had followed me attentively, he would have seen that I was not at the end of the sentence, but was in the midst of it.

A MEMBER (on the Democratic side). Will the gentleman permit an interruption when the sentence is ended?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from New York declines to be interrupted; and interruptions of this kind are not in order.

Mr. PAYNE. And now some of those gentlemen on that side seem to think that they can get some of the fame that came to members of the Fifty-first Congress by standing in their places and hurling insult after insult at the Speaker of the House, simply because he is in the chair, where he can not answer their gibes and their insults.

Why, sir, the Fifty-first Congress was succeeded by the Fifty-second and the Fifty-third; and some of these men were members of the Fifty-second and the Fifty-third Congresses. And when the gentleman who had been Speaker of the House became simply "the gentleman from Maine," they were very careful how they crossed swords with him, because he was on the floor to defend himself. [Applause on the Republican side.]

Now, Mr. Speaker, criticism is made about bringing up this bill. Gentlemen on the other side do not seem yet to understand the nature of the bill. They have forgotten the legislation in Congress on this subject. They have forgotten what made it necessary that a bill of this kind should be passed. In 1888 Congress took action for the representation of this Government in an international commission. In 1889 that commission met and adopted "rules of the road" applicable to the high seas, and it was necessary that the lawmaking power of each of the nations taking part in that conference should ratify those rules before they could go into effect.

We have had the subject up time and again in Congress until finally the 1st day of next month has been fixed for those rules to take effect. Then it was found that some of our rules applicable to the inland waters bordering on the high seas conflicted with

the rules applicable on the high seas, and consequently there was danger of marine collisions with loss of property and life. So these same gentlemen who have been engaged in framing the international rules sat down to revise the rules for the inland waters, so as to make them correspond to the rules applicable to the high seas; and at the same time they incorporated in one body all the rules that they wished to preserve applicable to the inland waters, so that the whole legislation on the subject might be in one compact statute.

This proposed law was presented here. Congress happened to be in session for another purpose. The Senate passed this bill and sent it over to us. It has been brought up here now, under a special rule, and we are about to pass it. But gentlemen on the other side say, "No, you must not pass this bill; you must not save human life; you must not remove these dangers at sea until the measure has been submitted to a committee of the savants of this House and passed upon by them."

Suppose a committee were appointed to pass upon these rules. Why, sir, there are one or two men in this House who have a little practical knowledge on this question, and when they have read these rules they have been so modest as not to engage in debate at all on the question, because they knew the rules were right. But a committee, if appointed, would have to take the word of these experts on the question, because the experts understand this technical subject, and gentlemen on the committee would not understand it.

There is no reason for referring this bill to a committee. If the House had been in session, with the committees appointed, and this bill had gone to a committee, the committee would have adopted the suggestions of these gentlemen familiar with the subject; and the bill would have come in here and gone through without criticism, as similar bills did in the last Congress, when there was not found a man on the other side of the House to try to obstruct them.

Why, then, do gentlemen try to obstruct this bill? Why is it that they oppose it? They are vainly endeavoring to make some capital out of the situation. If they will go home to their constituents, if they will consult the people of the country, they will find that ninety-nine out of a hundred of their fellow-citizens are anxious for Congress to pass a tariff bill and leave every other matter until the tariff bill is passed. [Applause on the Republican side.]

A MEMBER (on the Democratic side). Why do not you do it?

Mr. PAYNE. Well, gentlemen over there do not seem to know yet that the tariff bill passed the House on the 31st day of March last. This is the style of question which gentlemen are anxious to interject into my remarks—why? Has some new leader come to town? [Laughter.] Some new man who wants to take command of their forces? The gentleman from Washington [Mr. LEWIS] is still here. You can not get any patent on his prerogative. The gentleman from Kansas does not seem to be in his seat to-day, but he will hasten back if any new leader tries to get in his place. Do not attempt it. Do not try to enter into that rivalry.

Now, gentlemen, I hope I have made myself sufficiently clear. I hope you understand the situation, and I hope you understand this bill. I hope you will be able to vote intelligently upon it. I now renew my motion for the previous question.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (having put the question on ordering the previous question). The ayes seem to have it.

Mr. FLEMING and others called for a division.

The question being again taken, there were—ayes 75, noes 45.

Mr. FLEMING. I make the point that there is no quorum present.

Mr. PAYNE. I call for the regular order.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. It is quite evident that there is no quorum in the House.

Several MEMBERS. Oh, yes.

Mr. PAYNE. The regular order is for the Chair to make a count.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (having counted the House). One hundred and forty-one members are present—not a quorum.

Mr. RICHARDSON. I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was rejected.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Doorkeeper will close the doors. The Clerk will call the roll. Gentlemen favoring the pending proposition will, as their names are called, answer "aye;" those opposed, "no." Those not desiring to vote will answer "present."

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 84, nays 66, answered "present" 27, not voting 175; as follows:

YEAS—84.

Adams,	Boone,	Cannon,	Curtis, Kans.
Alexander,	Brewster,	Clark, Iowa	Dalzell,
Babcock,	Broderick,	Clarke, N. H.	Danford,
Baker, Md.	Brown,	Codding,	Davenport,
Barrows,	Brownlow,	Cooke,	Davison, Ky.
Bartholdt,	Burton,	Crumpacker,	Dolliver,
Bishop,	Butler,	Curtis, Iowa	Dorr,
Dovener,	Hepburn,	McCleary,	Simpkins,
Ellis,	Hilborn,	McDonald,	Spalding,
Faris,	Hill,	Minor,	Sperry,
Fischer,	Hitt,	Morris,	Stone, W. A.
Gibson,	Howe,	Odell,	Tawney,
Gillet, N. Y.	Howell,	Parker, N. J.	Tayler, Ohio
Gillett, Mass.	Hurley,	Payne,	Tongue,
Graff,	Johnson, N. Dak.	Pearson,	Van Voorhis,
Griffin,	Kirkpatrick,	Powers,	Walker, Va.
Grosvenor,	Knox,	Prince,	Wanger,
Hager,	Littauer,	Pugh,	Warner,
Hamilton,	Loud,	Royse,	Weaver,
Hawley,	Loudenslager,	Shannon,	Williams, Pa.
Henry, Conn.	Low,	Sherman,	Wright.

NAYS—66.

Adamson,	De Graffenreid,	Latimer,	Sayers,
Baird,	De Vries,	Lewis, Ga.	Settle,
Baker, Ill.	Epes,	Lewis, Wash.	Shuford,
Bell,	Fleming,	McClellan,	Slayden,
Bodine,	Fox,	McCormick,	Stark,
Botkin,	Gaines,	McMillin,	Stephens, Tex.
Brenner, Ohio	Greene,	Maddox,	Strowd, N. C.
Broussard,	Gunn,	Maxwell,	Tate,
Brundidge,	Henry, Miss.	Meekison,	Terry,
Burke,	Henry, Tex.	Norton,	Todd,
Castle,	Hunter,	Ogden,	Underwood,
Clark, Mo.	Jett,	Osborne,	Updegraff,
Clayton,	King,	Peters,	Vincent,
Cochran, Mo.	Kitchin,	Pierce, Tenn.	Wheeler, Ky.
Cowherd,	Kleberg,	Richardson,	Williams, Miss.
Davey,	Knowles,	Ridgely,	
Davis,	Lanham,	Robinson, Ind.	

ANSWERED "PRESENT"—27.

Acheson,	Cooper, Tex.	Hay,	Plowman,
Ball,	Cooper, Wis.	Henry, Ind.	Shafroth,
Benner, Pa.	Dayton,	Jenkins,	Smith, Ill.
Bingham,	Dinsmore,	Jones, Va.	Sparkman,
Brantley,	Evans,	Livingston,	Wheeler, Ala.
Brucker,	Griggs,	Miller,	Yost.
Brumm,	Hartman,	Newlands,	

NOT VOTING—175.

Allen,	Dockery,	Lybrand,	Shelden,
Arnold,	Eddy,	McAleer,	Showalter,
Bailey,	Elliott,	McCall,	Simpson,
Bankhead,	Ermentrout,	McCulloch,	Sims,
Barber,	Fenton,	McDowell,	Skinner,
Barham,	Fitzgerald,	McEwan,	Smith, Ky.
Barlow,	Fitzpatrick,	McIntire,	Smith, S. W.
Barney,	Fletcher,	McRae,	Smith, Wm. Alden
Barrett,	Foote,	Maguire,	Snover,
Bartlett,	Foss,	Mahany,	Southard,
Beach,	Fowler, N. C.	Mahon,	Southwick,
Belden,	Fowler, N. J.	Mann,	Sprague,
Belford,	Gardner,	Marsh,	Stallings,
Belknap,	Grout,	Marshall,	Steele,
Bennett,	Grow,	Martin,	Stevens, Minn.
Benton,	Handy,	Mercer,	Stewart, N. J.
Berry,	Harmer,	Mesick,	Stewart, Wis.
Bland,	Heatwole,	Meyer, La.	Stokes,
Boutelle,	Hemenway,	Miers, Ind.	Stone, C. W.
Bradley,	Henderson,	Mills,	Strait,
Brewer,	Hicks,	Mitchell,	Strode, Nebr.
Bromwell,	Hinrichsen,	Moody,	Sturtevant,
Brosius,	Hooker,	Moon,	Sullivan,
Bull,	Hopkins,	Mudd,	Sulloway,
Campbell,	Howard, Ala.	Northway,	Sulzer,
Capron,	Howard, Ga.	Olmsted,	Sutherland,
Carmack,	Hull,	Otey,	Swanson,
Catchings,	Johnson, Ind.	Otjen,	Talbert,
Chickering,	Jones, Wash.	Overstreet,	Taylor, Ala.
Clardy,	Joy,	Packer, Pa.	Vandiver,
Cochrane, N. Y.	Kelley,	Pearce, Mo.	Vehslage,
Colson,	Kerr,	Perkins,	Wadsworth,
Connell,	Ketcham,	Pitney,	Walker, Mass.
Connolly,	Kulp,	Quigg,	Ward,
Cooney,	Lacey,	Ray,	Weymouth,
Corliss,	Lamb,	Reeves,	White, Ill.
Cousins,	Landis,	Rhea,	White, N. C.
Cox,	Lentz,	Rixey,	Wilber,
Cranford,	Lester,	Robb,	Wilson, N. Y.
Crump,	Linney,	Robbins,	Wilson, S. C.
Cummings,	Little,	Robertson, La.	Young, Pa.
Davidson, Wis.	Lorimer,	Russell,	Young, Va.
De Armond,	Love,	Sauerhering,	Zenor.
Dingley,	Lovering,	Shattuc,	

The SPEAKER. The Clerk has noted as present Mr. MEYER of Louisiana, Mr. VANDIVER, Mr. YOUNG of Virginia, and Mr. COUSINS. The vote is—yeas 84, nays 66, present in addition to those announced 27. The ayes have it. The previous question is ordered, and the question is on agreeing to the substitute.

The question being taken, on a division (demanded by Mr. RICHARDSON) there were—ayes 88, noes 11.

Accordingly, the substitute was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to a third reading; and it was accordingly read the third time, and passed.

On motion of Mr. PAYNE, a motion to reconsider the last vote was laid on the table.

INDIAN APPROPRIATION BILL.

Mr. SHERMAN. Mr. Speaker, I desire to present a conference report on the Indian appropriation bill.

Mr. STEPHENS of Texas. Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman from Texas [Mr. STEPHENS] rise?

Mr. STEPHENS of Texas. I rise to ask unanimous consent

for the present consideration of Senate resolution 45, for the relief of the El Paso flood sufferers.

Mr. SHERMAN. I think this conference report will take but a moment. We have given way twice for other matters, anyhow.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will recognize the gentleman from Texas [Mr. STEPHENS] as soon as this matter is disposed of. The Clerk will read the conference report and then the statement of the House conferees.

The conference report was read, as follows:

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate numbered 10 to the bill (H. R. 15) making appropriations for the current and contingent expenses of the Indian Department and for fulfilling treaty stipulations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1898, and for other purposes, having met, after full and free conference have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the Senate recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the House to the amendment of the Senate numbered 10, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter proposed to be inserted by said House amendment insert the following:

"The Secretary of the Interior is hereby directed to allot agricultural lands in severalty to the Uncompahgre Ute Indians now located upon or belonging to the Uncompahgre Indian Reservation in the State of Utah, said allotments to be upon the Uncompahgre and Uintah reservations or elsewhere in said State. And all the lands of said Uncompahgre Reservation not theretofore allotted in severalty to said Uncompahgre Utes shall, on and after the 1st day of April, 1898, be open for location and entry under all the land laws of the United States, excepting, however, therefrom all lands containing gilsonite, asphalt, elaterite, or other like substances. And the title to all of the said lands containing gilsonite, asphaltum, elaterite, or other like substances is reserved to the United States."

And the House agree to the same.

J. S. SHERMAN,
CHARLES CURTIS,
Managers on the part of the House.

R. F. PETTIGREW,
F. M. COCKRELL,
Managers on the part of the Senate.

The statement of the House conferees was read, as follows:

Statement to accompany conference report No. 4, Indian appropriation bill.

Conference of the disagreeing committees of the two Houses on Senate amendment numbered 10:

This amendment is in regard to the gilsonite, which has been before the House upon several occasions. By this agreement provision is made for the allotment of agricultural lands in severalty to the Uncompahgre Indians and for the opening for location and entry, under all the land laws of the United States, all the land of the Uncompahgre Reservation not allotted prior to April 1, 1898, excepting the lands containing gilsonite, asphalt, elaterite, and other like substances, the title of which, by this amendment, is reserved to the United States.

This suspends the opening of the gilsonite lands, and leaves that question subject to the disposition of Congress at some future time.

Mr. SHERMAN. Mr. Speaker, this report leaves the gilsonite and asphaltum deposits still undisposed of. The title of all lands containing any of these deposits, about which we have had so much discussion heretofore, is retained in the United States, and the matter is left for future action by Congress.

Mr. SAYERS. There is, then, no legislation whatever in this bill respecting those lands?

Mr. SHERMAN. None whatever, so far as these deposits are concerned. I move the adoption of the report.

Mr. SHAFROTH. I will state to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. SAYERS] that there is legislation in this concerning these lands, but it withdraws from entry entirely, and reserves the title in the United States. I am opposed to it, but nevertheless I do not see that we can make anything by fighting it further at this time.

Mr. SHERMAN. I ask for a vote, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the conference report.

The conference report was agreed to.

On motion of Mr. SHERMAN, a motion to reconsider the last vote was laid on the table.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. PLATT, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed the following resolutions; in which the concurrence of the House was requested:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That there be printed as a document the report of the United States Boundary Commission, pursuant to the convention between the United States and Mexico touching the re-marking of the boundary line between those two countries west of the Rio Grande, and in addition thereto 300 copies of said report for the use of the Department of State.

Also:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That there be printed and bound 3,000 copies of a special report describing the methods and results of the investigations conducted at the astrophysical observatory of the Smithsonian Institution, entitled Annals of the Astrophysical Observatory, of which number 500 copies shall be for the use of the Senate, 1,000 copies for the use of the House of Representatives, and 1,500 copies for distribution by the Smithsonian Institution.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed a bill of the following title; in which the concurrence of the House was requested:

A bill (S. 479) to provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Nashua, in the State of New Hampshire.

ENROLLED BILL SIGNED.

The SPEAKER announced his signature to an enrolled bill of the following title:

A bill (H. R. 15) making appropriations for the current and contingent expenses of the Indian Department and for fulfilling treaty stipulations with various Indian tribes for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1898, and for other purposes.

RELIEF OF EL PASO FLOOD SUFFERERS.

The SPEAKER. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Texas [Mr. STEPHENS].

Mr. STEPHENS of Texas. I now ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of Senate joint resolution 45, authorizing an appropriation for the relief of flood sufferers at El Paso, Tex.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman asks unanimous consent for the present consideration of Senate joint resolution 45, which will be reported to the House by the Clerk.

The joint resolution was read, as follows:

Joint resolution (S. R. 45) authorizing the Secretary of War to use rations for the relief of destitute persons in the district overflowed by the Rio Grande River at and near El Paso, Tex.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the sum of $10,000 is hereby appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to be expended by and under the direction of the Secretary of War in the purchase and distribution of subsistence stores to such destitute persons as may require assistance in the district overflowed by the Rio Grande River at and near El Paso, Tex.

Mr. STEPHENS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I have a telegram here which I wish to have read for the information of the House.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

Mr. LOUD. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I should like to have some information on the subject.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from California [Mr. LOUD], reserving his right to object, asks for information.

Mr. STEPHENS of Texas. I ask for the reading of the telegram which I have sent to the Clerk's desk.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will read the telegram.

The Clerk read as follows:

EL PASO, TEX., *May 28, 1897.*

JOHN A. STEPHENS, *M. C.:*

The Rio Grande has overflowed lower part of city, inhabited by poorer classes. Five hundred houses destroyed; 3,000 people homeless and destitute. Suffering too great and widespread for local charity. Many will suffer hunger, perhaps starvation, if not relieved immediately. Ask Congress to appropriate $10,000, to be expended under War Department, to feed them.

JOSEPH MAGOFFIN,
Mayor.
W. N. VILOS,
President Board of Health.
CHAS. S. DAVIS,
Collector Customs.

Mr. STEPHENS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I wish to state to the House that I am personally acquainted with the gentlemen sending this telegram. I know that they would not ask for this appropriation unless it was needed.

The city of El Paso is situated on this side of the Rio Grande River. The flood is greater than it has been for the last forty years, and, as stated in the telegram, these 3,000 people are destitute and homeless. We ask for the passage of this resolution.

Mr. LOUD. Mr. Speaker, I should like to make a suggestion or two. I do not think I shall object to the consideration of this resolution, because there seems to be a strong sentiment here endeavoring to prevail upon me to not object to its consideration. I want to call the attention of the House to the position in which we are placed in regard to this matter. Of course, first coming to Congress the overflooded sections of the Mississippi River, covering many States, and appeals having been made here in days gone by to relieve a condition that no locality could relieve, we have pursued this course, Mr. Speaker, of relieving sections of the country until we are asked to devote $10,000 of public money to relieve the people within the precincts of one city in the United States, and it has proceeded up to this position, that hereafter when any creek in the United States shall overflow its banks and drown out any citizen, he has just as much right to appeal to Congress to relieve him as has the city of El Paso. The first step taken, permit me to say to my Democratic friends, is in contradiction of their interpretation of the constitutional privileges vested in the House.

We have taken the first step. Now you have seen the absurd, logical conclusion of the whole proposition. Texas is a great State, rich in its great resources, and I am surprised that that State should come here, or any portion of that State should come here, and appeal to the nation to relieve one or two hundred people who are now in distress. In the case of every conflagration that takes place in the country that shall burn out a hundred people, why should not they come to Congress and ask to be relieved?

That, Mr. Speaker, is what it will inevitably lead to. I am informed that I should not object; that the sentiment of this House

is willing to go to the extreme of relieving in one city two or three hundred people that are temporarily in distress. Then let the House assume the responsibility. I shall content myself by voting against it. It is wrong.

Mr. GROSVENOR. Mr. Speaker, I want to ask the gentleman from Texas a question.

Mr. STEPHENS of Texas. Certainly.

Mr. GROSVENOR. Are you acquainted with the town of El Paso?

Mr. STEPHENS of Texas. I am well acquainted with that town.

Mr. GROSVENOR. How many people are there in El Paso?

Mr. STEPHENS of Texas. About 15,000. I will state this further, that the portion of the town that has been flooded is occupied entirely by poor people. Their houses were situated under this levee, and, as I have said, they have been washed out. The houses were adobe, made of sun-dried brick. They melt at once when the waters have surrounded them. The levee, I will state, was thrown up by the city, and these people built their homes under that levee.

Mr. FERGUSSON. Mr. Speaker, I also am well acquainted with that valley of the Rio Grande, and with the condition existing at El Paso, which is just across the river from New Mexico. This flood has been caused by unusual warm spring rains in the mountains of Colorado and New Mexico. It is just like the Johnstown flood again. The houses that have been washed away——

Mr. DALZELL. I would like to say to the gentleman that the Johnstown flood sufferers were taken care of by the people of the State of Pennsylvania.

A MEMBER. They were helped by the whole country.

Mr. TERRY. They were assisted by people all over the United States. I know they were from my town.

Mr. DALZELL. I think not.

Mr. FERGUSSON. The second ground upon which this resolution ought to be passed is that this is a very unusual flood, because all the snows in the mountains have been washed away at one time. The melted snow has poured down the valley, and the houses that have been washed away are not able to resist a flood. Floods in that country are not at all usual. These houses are built of adobe, and the moment the water strikes the foundation the whole house crumbles and falls into the flood. I am also acquainted with the people who live in the district which has been flooded, and am able to say that they are the poorest class of citizens in that town. I believe that this is a meritorious proposition, and from the facts stated to me and as published in the papers there are not less than 3,000 people who are sufferers from the flood. This information I get from sources independent of that which the gentleman has had read here.

In reference to the Johnstown flood, I will remind the gentleman that contributions were sent in from the whole country to assist at that time.

Mr. SLAYDEN. Mr. Speaker, I also am very familiar with the condition that exists upon the Rio Grande. I know that the unfortunate people who have suffered the loss of practically all the property that they possessed in the world in this flood are composed of the poorest people, possibly, in this entire Union, people least able to meet misfortunes of that sort; and I do hope that in this instance, in view of the present misfortunes and great distress prevailing there, that the House will not abandon the precedent which was established the other day in sending a large contribution from the country, backed up by public expenditures, to the people of India, a dependency of that country which boasts itself to be the richest in the world.

If this Congress can afford to vote money to relieve the sufferings of the East Indian people, it certainly can afford to help to sustain temporarily 3,000 of the people of our own country who have had their homes and fortunes washed away by a flood.

Mr. HILL. I wish to ask a question for information. I understand that this flood occurred about a week ago. Has the city of El Paso, with its 15,000 inhabitants, or has the State of Texas contributed anything officially for the relief of the sufferers; or is this application to Congress the first movement that has been made to relieve them?

Mr. SLAYDEN. I can not say whether the municipality of El Paso itself has contributed or not, but I know that the citizens of El Paso have done so.

Mr. HILL. Oh, the citizens always contribute under such circumstances.

Mr. BALL. Mr. Speaker, in reply to the inquiry of the gentleman from Connecticut, I will say that the governor of the State of Texas, replying to a telegram from the mayor of El Paso, stated that he would lay the matter before the State of Texas, and I have no sort of doubt that they will do their duty and do it liberally.

Mr. CANNON. Was the legislature in session?

Mr. BALL. It was not in session at the time.

Mr. HILL. It seems to me that Congress might very well wait until action is taken by the State of Texas in this matter.

Mr. FERGUSSON. I will state in reply to the gentleman that the legislature of the State of Texas has appropriated $5,000.

Mr. FISCHER. Cash? [Laughter.]

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of this joint resolution?

There was no objection.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, I offer a substitute for the joint resolution, and after it is read I shall ask to be heard for a moment.

The proposed substitute was read, as follows:

Joint resolution reappropriating the sum of $10,000 not expended for the relief of sufferers by the floods of the Mississippi River.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives, etc., That so much of the appropriation made by the joint resolution approved April 7, 1897, for the relief of sufferers by the overflow of the Mississippi River and its tributaries as remains unexpended, not exceeding the sum of $10,000, may be used by the Secretary of War in the purchase and distribution of subsistence and payment for necessary transportation to aid in the relief of destitute persons in the district overflowed by the Rio Grande River in the vicinity of El Paso, Tex.

Mr. STEPHENS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I will ask the gentleman whether that money is at present available?

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, I ask to have read the telegram which I send to the desk.

The telegram was read, as follows:

WAR DEPARTMENT, *June 1, 1897.*

To Hon. J. G. CANNON:

About $94,000 of flood sufferers' appropriation remains unexpended.

SULLIVAN, *Commissary-General.*

Mr. CANNON. Now, Mr. Speaker, a word. We appropriated, if I recollect aright, $150,000 for the relief of the flood sufferers in the Lower Mississippi Valley. The appropriation was extended so as to apply to sufferers from the overflow of the Red River of the North, but as I understand (relying upon newspaper reports) no portion of that money was in fact expended for the flood sufferers along the Red River of the North.

There was, however, a portion of the $150,000 expended for the relief of the flood sufferers of the Lower Mississippi. Gentlemen understand that from Cairo south to the Gulf the Mississippi River passes through many States and that the bottoms on each side extend to an average of from 60 to 100 miles, so that the great body of water which comes down that river in flood time sweeps over large portions of the valley, where there are many poor people, and the legislatures of many of the States not being in session at such time, there is great suffering.

Having these facts in view, Congress made an appropriation for relief. I am glad to say that it seems not to have been necessary to expend more than about one-third of that appropriation in taking care of the suffering in that great section of country reaching from Cairo to the Gulf. Now, I do not object to the consideration of the pending resolution, but I want to submit one observation upon it. We are told that since the flood the legislature of the great Empire State of the South—and it is a great Empire State, of which its citizens are justly proud and of which the citizens of the whole country are proud—we are told that the legislature of Texas has assembled, and we are informed by another gentleman that $5,000 has been appropriated by that body for the relief of the identical sufferers.

Whether the legislature of Texas is still in session I do not know. Whether the $5,000 was sufficient I do not know. Whether there is a disposition to appropriate more I do not know. During the Administration of President Cleveland one of his most signal acts was connected with one of these relief appropriations. It was relatively, perhaps, a small matter, but it attracted attention. There was a great drought in Texas, and an appropriation was made, so far as the House and Senate could make an appropriation, for the purpose of buying seeds for distribution to the people in the area that was affected by that drought.

The then President of the United States, Mr. Cleveland, vetoed that appropriation, and, upon the whole, I believe we are all, whether in Texas or out of Texas, glad that he did veto it. It is true, Mr. Speaker, that in the presence of extraordinary calamity in this country humanity prompts us to appropriate money to relieve suffering. It is true that humanity prompted us a short time ago to make an appropriation to send supplies to relieve suffering outside of our own territory, to relieve the suffering poor in India. It is true that humanity prompted us again the other day to make an appropriation for the relief of suffering American citizens in Cuba.

Now, I am not going to oppose this appropriation, but with the Texas legislature in session, and that legislature having acted, I have some doubt as to whether this calamity is of such a grade or size as to require action by Congress. Still, if the gentleman in charge of this joint resolution, after having considered the matter, thinks that it is, I am not here to say no. I would say no, I suspect, if it were not for one consideration. Some years ago there was a great flood in the Ohio River and in the Wabash. An appropriation was made for the relief of the flood sufferers along the Ohio. Some of the money was distributed in Pennsylvania, some in Ohio, and some in Indiana. And I am sorry to

say—it has been a source of regret to every Representative, I believe, from Illinois from that time to this, and substantially to every citizen of Illinois—I am sorry to say a small measure of relief was given to some of the citizens about Shawneetown, in my State. Those citizens were suffering, it is true; yet we felt that, after all, our great and powerful Commonwealth of Illinois, rich in material prosperity, should have taken care itself of that small block of sufferers. The case was not like that of great suffering, extending over hundreds of miles, running through many States.

I wanted to say just this much—not by way of criticism, but because I felt it my duty to say it. I have offered the substitute; and, if anything passes, I hope the substitute will pass.

Mr. LOUD. Will the gentleman allow me a question?

Mr. CANNON. Certainly.

Mr. LOUD. The gentleman says he will not oppose this resolution. Are we to assume that, because we have been doing wrong in large degree in days gone by, he is willing to continue a little further, and run this sort of thing into the absurd?

Mr. CANNON. I will say to the gentleman from California [Mr. LOUD] that all my life—in an individual capacity in a small way, or in a representative capacity—when suffering from hunger or cold has appealed to me, I have been slow to say "no." [Applause.]

Mr. LOUD. That was highly commendable, if the gentleman contributed the relief out of his own pocket.

Mr. CANNON. I am not defending this proposition; but I have felt it my duty to say just what I have said.

In matters of this kind, involving the appropriation of money, Congress has unlimited power. Gentlemen on one side or the other may say that measures of this kind violate the Constitution; yet when we make an appropriation, we are the judges of the propriety of the appropriation; and there is no power to withhold the money when once appropriated. The appropriation of this sum of $10,000 is not very important one way or the other, except to the persons who may need this relief. I have made my remarks with reference to their possible effect on the future, hoping that our people everywhere will take care of the suffering citizens in their various sections, unless, in the presence of some great disaster, it may not be practicable for the local authorities to give the necessary relief.

Mr. STEPHENS of Texas. I accept the substitute offered by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON].

The SPEAKER. The House will have to vote on the question.

Mr. FLEMING. May I ask the date of the telegram from El Paso which was read?

The SPEAKER. The telegram from the War Department is dated June 1.

Mr. FLEMING. I mean the telegram from El Paso.

The SPEAKER. The Chair is unable at present to give the gentleman the information.

Mr. FLEMING. Very well; it is not of material importance.

The question being taken, the substitute of Mr. CANNON was agreed to.

The joint resolution as amended by the adoption of the substitute was ordered to a third reading; there being—ayes 98, noes 11.

The joint resolution was accordingly read the third time, and passed.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will read the proposed amendment to the title.

The Clerk read as follows:

Joint resolution reappropriating the sum of $10,000 not expended for the relief of the sufferers by the floods of the Mississippi River.

The amendment of the title was agreed to.

On motion of Mr. STEPHENS of Texas, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the resolution was passed was laid on the table.

PAYMENT OF HOUSE EMPLOYEES.

Mr. ODELL. On behalf of the Committee on Accounts, I ask the adoption of two resolutions which I send to the desk, affecting the business of the House.

The SPEAKER. The first resolution sent to the desk will be read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That the Clerk of the House be, and he is hereby, directed to pay to A. E. Wurner, W. O. Detrick, L. E. Bridgeman, Joseph Hannan, Frederick Elleby, P. B. Johnson, George Cluggish, D. J. Williams, and Paul Bray for extra service from March 5 to March 14, inclusive, in the House post-office for such services, at the rate of $100 per month each.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the consideration of this resolution?

Mr. RICHARDSON. I hope the gentleman from New York [Mr. ODELL] will make some explanation, the right of objection being meanwhile reserved.

Mr. ODELL. The resolution has the approval of the Committee on Accounts.

Mr. BARTLETT. Allow me to state that the gentlemen named in this resolution did special work necessary to be done from the beginning of this session until March 14, inclusive—ten days; they did it with the understanding that they were to be paid, and it is right that they should be paid. The Committee on Accounts has approved the resolution.

Mr. CANNON. As I understand, this service would not have been performed, except in contemplation of the extra session.

Mr. BARTLETT and Mr. ODELL. That is true.

There being no objection, the House proceeded to the consideration of the resolution; which was adopted.

On motion of Mr. ODELL, a motion to reconsider the last vote was laid on the table.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will now read the other resolution sent to the desk by the gentleman from New York [Mr. ODELL].

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That the Postmaster be, and he is hereby, authorized to employ three messengers, at $100 per month each, during the sessions of the Fifty-fifth Congress, to be paid out of the contingent fund of the House.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of this resolution?

Mr. SAYERS. Let us have some explanation of it.

Mr. ODELL. This resolution contemplates the reemployment of messengers who have heretofore been employed in the post-office during the sessions of the House. There is at present no provision for the pay of these messengers, although they are rendering service. This resolution is to provide for their compensation during the sessions of the House.

Mr. SAYERS. These are not additional officers to those heretofore employed?

Mr. ODELL. Two of these gentlemen have been provided for regularly. The Postmaster has asked for one additional messenger. His letter to me can be read.

The Clerk read as follows:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, UNITED STATES,
Washington, D. C., April 15, 1897.

SIR: At your earliest convenience please secure the passage of a resolution to provide for the employment and payment of three messengers to serve in the House post-office through the sessions of the Fifty-fifth Congress only, at salaries of $100 a month.

Two of these messengers are now in the service, having been employed in the Fifty-fourth Congress. They were continued from the first day of the present extra session, but they can draw no pay until the resolution authorizing their employment has been passed.

It has been the custom for years, at the beginning of the first session of Congress, to authorize by resolution the employment of two additional men for the House post-office. One of these, however, has been classed and paid as a laborer, while in fact he has at all times performed the duties of messenger, and it seems but reasonable that he should be sworn and paid as messenger.

I now renew the request made at the first session of the Fifty-fourth Congress, that three extra or additional messengers be authorized in place of two, as heretofore. The increasing amount of mail matter, documents, and seeds coming through this office makes it absolutely necessary for the convenient and efficient handling of the Congressional mails that an additional messenger be added to the force in the House post-office.

This will be apparent to any member of Congress who will take the pains to call at the office and examine the records kept there, and the documents handled and accounted for daily by a single man, all this in addition to distributing and delivering four mails daily to 200 Congressmen, with no assistance save what the messenger who carries the branch mail from the Capitol to the city post-office can furnish.

The following session messengers were employed in the House post-office through the vacation, from March 5 to March 14, inclusive, but no appropriation has been made to pay them; they are each entitled to ten days' pay, at the rate of $100 a month, to wit: A. E. Werner, W. O. Detrick, L. E. Bridgeman, Joseph Hannam, Frederick Elleby, P. B. Johnson, George Cluggish, D. J. Williams, Paul Bray.

The above-named messengers are a part of the regular post-office force, and their services were indispensable to keep up the work and handle the unusually heavy mails, augmented as they were at the time by the presence of 125 ex-members' mails, which we were compelled to handle and forward to their respective homes, etc. So great was the increase of Congressional mails in the month of March that the postmaster at the city office was compelled to increase his force in that department.

Please include in a resolution an appropriation for the payment of these nine messengers who served through the vacation from March 5 to 15.

Yours, very respectfully,

J. C. McELROY,
Postmaster House of Representatives.

Hon. B. B. ODELL,
Chairman Committee on Accounts, House of Representatives.

There being no objection, the House proceeded to the consideration of the resolution; which was adopted.

On motion of Mr. ODELL, a motion to reconsider the last vote was laid on the table.

BRIDGE ACROSS THE CLINCH RIVER, TENNESSEE.

Mr. RICHARDSON. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill (S. 1944) to authorize the construction of a bridge across the Clinch River, Kingston, Tenn.

The bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the county of Roane, in the State of Tennessee, in its corporate capacity, is hereby authorized and empowered to construct and maintain a bridge over and across the Clinch River at or near the town of Kingston, so as to connect said town of Kingston with the opposite or north bank of said river.

SEC. 2. That said bridge shall be so constructed that a reasonably free and unobstructed passageway may be secured to all water craft navigating said river at the point aforesaid: and if said bridge shall be constructed as a draw-bridge, the draw shall be opened promptly, upon reasonable signal, for the passage of boats and vessels; and whatever kind of bridge is constructed, the

owners thereof shall maintain, at their own expense, from sunset to sunrise, such lights or other signals thereon as the Light-House Board shall prescribe.

SEC. 3. That said bridge shall not be built or commenced until the plans and location of the same shall have been approved by the Secretary of War; and no change shall be made in this construction, and no alteration of it shall be made after its construction, unless such change or alteration shall in like manner receive the approval of the Secretary of War.

SEC. 4. That the Secretary of War, upon receiving the design, drawings, and specifications of said bridge, and a map of the location, and such other information as he may call for, and upon being satisfied that the bridge, when built according to such designs and drawings, will be in accordance with the requirements of this act, and will not unreasonably obstruct the navigation of said river, be, and is hereby, authorized and directed to approve said design, drawings, and specifications, and to so notify said county of Roane. Upon receiving such notification the said county of Roane may proceed to construct said bridge, conforming strictly to the approved design, drawings, and specifications.

SEC. 5. That any bridge built under this act, according to its limitations, shall be a lawful structure, and shall be recognized and known as a post route, upon which the mails, troops, and munitions of war of the United States shall be transmitted free of charge.

SEC. 6. That the right is hereby expressly reserved to alter, amend, or repeal this act.

SEC. 7. That this act shall be null and void if actual construction of the bridge herein authorized be not commenced within one year and completed within three years from the date hereof.

Mr. PAYNE. Is this bill in the usual form, and has it been submitted to the Secretary of War?

Mr. RICHARDSON. I so understand. The matter has been more immediately under the charge of my colleague [Mr. BROWNLOW], but I am informed by him that such is the fact.

Mr. GROSVENOR. Reserving the right to object, I wish to inquire of the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. RICHARDSON] whether he does not think this bill ought to go to a committee to be examined before we pass it? [Laughter.]

Mr. RICHARDSON. This is a very simple bill, and I think it can safely be passed without reference to a committee.

Mr. GROSVENOR. If the gentleman thinks it ought to pass, I will not object.

There being no objection, the House proceeded to the consideration of the bill; which was ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

On motion of Mr. RICHARDSON, a motion to reconsider the last vote was laid on the table.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted as follows:

To Mr. BARNEY, indefinitely, on account of important business.

To Mr. STURTEVANT, for two weeks, on account of important business.

To Mr. MCCORMICK, for fifteen days, on account of sickness.

To Mr. HENRY of Indiana, until June 22, on account of important business.

Mr. PAYNE. I move that the House adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; and accordingly (at 3 o'clock and 50 minutes p. m.), the House adjourned, pursuant to its standing order, until Monday next at 12 o'clock noon.

PUBLIC BILLS, RESOLUTIONS, AND MEMORIALS INTRODUCED.

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, bills, resolutions, and memorials of the following titles were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. SLAYDEN: A bill (H. R. 3402) to provide for the extension of the thoroughfare known as Dwyer avenue, San Antonio, Tex., through the property of the United States known as the arsenal grounds, in said city—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. HENRY of Texas: A bill (H. R. 3403) to amend section 5278 of the Revised Statutes of the United States—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. KETCHAM: A joint resolution (H. Res. 62) authorizing and requiring the Secretary of War to contract with Charles Stoughton for the improvement of the Harlem Kills, New York City, by a canal to connect the lower Harlem River with Long Island Sound, 3,400 feet in length, 300 feet in width, and 15 feet in depth, at mean low water, or by a similar canal 18 feet in depth at mean low water, in strict conformity with the survey and report made thereon in 1881 by Col. John Newton—to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS INTRODUCED.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions of the following titles were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BABCOCK: A bill (H. R. 3404) granting a pension to Second Lieut. Henry Fenner—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. BOTKIN: A bill (H. R. 3405) granting a pension to James J. Darnall—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. COOPER of Texas: A bill (H. R. 3406) for the relief of the heirs of Valentine Burch, deceased—to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3407) to confirm certain Rio Hondo claims unto Pedro Flores, Elizabeth Lafitte, Maria Cordova, Louis Lafitte, Antoine Dubois, and Vital Flores—to the Committee on Private Land Claims.

By Mr. HUNTER: A bill (H. R. 3408) to increase pension of James A. McGaughey—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3409) granting a pension to Emma M. Elliott—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. LIVINGSTON: A bill (H. R. 3410) granting a pension to James R. Ward—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3411) granting a pension to George D. Boyd—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. LOUDENSLAGER: A bill (H. R. 3412) for the relief of the heirs of certain seamen lost in the foundering of light vessel No. 37—to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. PRINCE: A bill (H. R. 3413) granting an honorable discharge to Robert Henry McNeal—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SHAFROTH: A bill (H. R. 3414) to increase the pension of Henry H. Geiger—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. TAYLER of Ohio: A bill (H. R. 3415) granting an honorable discharge to Benjamin F. Hildenbittle—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3416) restoring to the pension rolls the name of Mary A. Rusher—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3417) granting an honorable discharge to William Sinclair—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3418) granting an honorable discharge to David Clancy—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3419) granting an honorable discharge to George G. Patterson—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, the following petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

By Mr. ACHESON: Petitions of L. A. Rice and other citizens of Duquesne; Robert V. Malone and others, of Canonsburg; Clark G. Reece and others, of Wooddale, and R. S. Shannon and others, of Boston, in the State of Pennsylvania, favoring the passage of a bill to further restrict immigration—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. BENNER of Pennsylvania (by request): Petition of the Brotherhood of the Union, in favor of American ownership of American land, and for other purposes—to the Committee on Labor.

Also, petitions of citizens of Carlisle, Gettysburg, York, Riverton, and Dallastown, State of Pennsylvania, favoring the passage of a bill for the further restriction of immigration—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. BURTON: Resolution of the Tippecanoe Club, of Cleveland, Ohio, protesting against the passage of House bill No. 30 and Senate bill No. 1575, restricting the right to buy and sell railroad tickets—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. CLARKE of New Hampshire: Petition of 52 citizens of Gilsum, N. H., asking for legislation restricting immigration—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. GAINES: Petition of bankers, merchants, and other citizens of Nashville, Tenn., asking for reform in currency and banking laws—to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. HENRY of Connecticut: Petition of citizens of Coventry, Conn., for free delivery of mails in country districts—to the Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads.

By Mr. HOWELL: Petitions of 78 citizens of Neptune Township and of 17 citizens of Milestone Township, Monmouth County, N. J., urging the enactment of legislation restricting immigration—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. KIRKPATRICK: Petition of Almer C. Huff and other citizens of Bethlehem, Pa.; also petition of Frank F. Heller and others, of Hecktown, Pa., favoring the passage of an immigration bill similar to that passed in the Fifty-fourth Congress, vetoed by President Cleveland—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. MCCLEARY: Protest of the William Bierbauer Brewing Company, of Mankato, Minn., against the proposed increase in the tax on beer—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. MEYER of Louisiana: Resolutions of the Louisiana Sugar Planters' Association, in favor of the abrogation of the Hawaiian reciprocity treaty—to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. POWERS: Petition of citizens of Bethel, Windsor County, Vt., praying for the passage of a bill restricting immigration—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. PRINCE: Petition of F. C. Phillips and 100 other citizens of Moline, Ill., for a more rigid immigration law—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

Also, petition of brewers of Peoria, Ill., protesting against an increased revenue tax on beer—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana: Petition of machinists of Garrett, Ind., to investigate the discharge of union men at the Brooklyn Navy-Yard—to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. WILLIAM A. STONE: Petition of George H. Greiner and other citizens of Carnot, Allegheny County, Pa., favoring more rigid restriction of immigration—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

SENATE.

FRIDAY, *June 4, 1897.*

The Senate met at 11 o'clock a. m.

Prayer by Rev. HUGH JOHNSTON, D. D., of the city of Washington.

The Secretary proceeded to read the Journal of yesterday's proceedings, when, on motion of Mr. HOAR, and by unanimous consent, the further reading was dispensed with.

PAYMENTS TO CHEROKEE FREEDMEN.

The VICE-PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the Secretary of the Interior, transmitting, in response to a resolution of the 25th ultimo, copies of all papers in relation to the payment, and of the correspondence in connection therewith, showing the reason why the payment to the Cherokee freedmen was suspended, and the action taken by the Department to complete the same; which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs, and ordered to be printed.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

Mr. STEWART, from the Committee on Claims, to whom was referred the bill (S. 759) for the relief of William H. Crook, reported it without amendment, and submitted a report thereon.

Mr. WARREN, from the Committee on Claims, to whom was referred the bill (S. 1016) for the relief of the Atlantic Works, of Boston, Mass., reported it without amendment, and submitted a report thereon.

Mr. PRITCHARD, from the Committee on Civil Service and Retrenchment, to whom was referred the amendment submitted by Mr. GALLINGER on the 20th ultimo, intended to be proposed to the general deficiency appropriation bill, reported it with amendments, and moved that it be referred to the Committee on Appropriations and printed; which was agreed to.

Mr. TILLMAN, from the Committee on Interstate Commerce, to whom was referred the bill (S. 224) to limit the effect of the regulation of commerce between the several States and with foreign countries in certain cases, reported it with amendments.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Mr. PETTIGREW introduced a bill (S. 2073) to reward certain Sioux Indians for the rescue of white captives, and their compensatory payment of ponies; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

Mr. WHITE introduced a bill (S. 2074) providing for the erection of an addition to the public building at Los Angeles, Cal., and appropriating money therefor; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

AMENDMENTS TO DEFICIENCY APPROPRIATION BILL.

Mr. STEWART submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the general deficiency appropriation bill; which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations, and ordered to be printed.

Mr. STEWART. I present two letters to accompany the amendment just submitted by me, which I move be printed as a document and referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. SMITH submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the general deficiency appropriation bill; which was ordered to be printed, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

ASSISTANT CLERK TO COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS.

Mr. DAVIS submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That the Committee on Foreign Relations have authority to employ an assistant clerk, to be appointed by its chairman and to be paid at the rate of $1,440 a year out of the contingent fund of the Senate.

PRESIDENTIAL APPROVALS.

A message from the President of the United States, by Mr. O. L. PRUDEN, one of his secretaries, announced that the President had on the 1st instant approved and signed the following joint resolutions:

A joint resolution (S. R. 43) in amendment of the joint resolution of April 7, 1897, authorizing the Secretary of the Navy to transport contributions for the relief of the famishing poor of India; and

A joint resolution (S. R. 44) making an appropriation to supply a deficiency in the appropriations for public printing and binding for the fiscal year 1897.

REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONER OF LABOR.

The VICE-PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the following message from the President of the United States; which was read, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Education and Labor, and ordered to be printed.

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

I transmit herewith the ninth special report of the Commissioner of Labor, which report relates to the social and economic condition of the Italians in Chicago.

WILLIAM MCKINLEY.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
Washington, D. C., June 4, 1897.

THE TARIFF BILL.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The morning business appears to be closed.

Mr. ALLISON. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the bill (H. R. 379) to provide revenue for the Government and to encourage the industries of the United States.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there any objection to the motion of the Senator from Iowa? The Chair hears none, and the bill is before the Senate as in Committee of the Whole.

Mr. MANTLE. I gave notice the other day that I would like to address the Senate with particular reference to Schedule K, or what is known as the wool schedule, and if there is no objection I will now proceed with my remarks upon that subject.

Mr. PETTIGREW. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The absence of a quorum being suggested, the Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Allison,	Gallinger,	Kenney,	Quay,
Bate,	Gear,	McMillan,	Rawlins,
Berry,	Gorman,	Mallory,	Shoup,
Burrows,	Gray,	Mantle,	Spooner,
Carter,	Hanna,	Mills,	Stewart,
Chandler,	Harris, Kans.	Mitchell,	Thurston,
Clay,	Hawley,	Perkins,	Vest,
Davis,	Heitfeld,	Pettigrew,	White.
Faulkner,	Hoar,	Pettus,	
Frye,	Jones, Ark.	Pritchard,	

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Thirty-eight Senators have answered to their names. No quorum is present.

Mr. GRAY. I move that the Sergeant-at-Arms be directed to request absent members to attend the session of the Senate.

The motion was agreed to.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Sergeant-at-Arms will execute the order of the Senate.

After a little delay, Mr. TILLMAN, Mr. CULLOM, Mr. CANNON, Mr. COCKRELL, Mr. SEWELL, Mr. CHILTON, and Mr. MORGAN entered the Chamber and answered to their names.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Forty-five Senators have answered to their names. A quorum is present.

Mr. GRAY. I move that the order to the Sergeant-at-Arms, made a moment ago, be vacated.

The motion was agreed to.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. W. J. BROWNING, its Chief Clerk, announced that the House had passed the bill (S. 1944) to authorize the construction of a bridge across the Clinch River, Kingston, Tenn.

The message also announced that the House had passed the joint resolution (S. R. 45) authorizing the Secretary of War to use rations for the relief of destitute persons in the district overflowed by the Rio Grande River at and near El Paso, Tex., with an amendment in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

PUBLIC BUILDING AT WILKESBARRE, PA.

Mr. QUAY. The Senator from Montana is entitled to the floor to make some remarks on the pending tariff bill, and he has consented to yield to me for the purpose of calling up the bill (S. 1271) for a public building at the city of Wilkesbarre, Pa., and appropriating money therefor, the bill which I had laid over two or three mornings at the request of the Finance Committee.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill indicated by the Senator from Pennsylvania?

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill. It directs the Secretary of the Treasury to purchase by private sale or secure by condemnation a site for and cause to be erected thereon a suitable building, with fireproof vaults therein, for the accommodation of the United States post-office and other Government offices at the city of Wilkesbarre, county of Luzerne, Pa. The plans, specifications, and full estimate for the building shall be previously made and approved according to law, and shall not exceed for the site and building complete the sum of $225,000.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

RELIEF OF SUFFERERS BY OVERFLOW OF THE RIO GRANDE.

Mr. MILLS. A joint resolution has just been returned from the House of Representatives that passed the Senate the other day providing for the relief of sufferers by the overflow of the Rio Grande. As it is a matter of pressing importance, I ask that the joint resolution may be taken up and the amendments of the House concurred in.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate the amendments of the House of Representatives to the joint resolution (S. R. 45) authorizing the Secretary of War to use rations for the relief of destitute persons in the district overflowed by the Rio Grande River at and near El Paso, Tex.

The amendments of the House of Representatives were to strike out all after the resolving clause and insert:

That so much of the appropriation made by the joint resolution approved April 7, 1897, for the relief of sufferers by the overflow of the Mississippi River and its tributaries as remains unexpended, not exceeding the sum of $10,000, may be used by the Secretary of War in the purchase and distribution of subsistence and payment for necessary transportation to aid in the relief of destitute persons in the district overflowed by the Rio Grande River in the vicinity of El Paso, Tex.

And to amend the title so as to read: "A joint resolution reappropriating the sum of $10,000 not expended for the relief of the sufferers by the floods of the Mississippi River."

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on concurring in the amendments made by the House of Representatives to the joint resolution.

The amendments were concurred in.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. NELSON presented a petition of the Union Veterans' League of Minneapolis, Minn., praying for the repeal of the present civil-service law; which was referred to the Committee on Civil Service and Retrenchment.

Mr. LODGE presented a petition of 19 citizens of Marblehead, Mass., praying for the passage of the so-called Lodge immigration bill; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a memorial of 33 shipowners of Boston, Mass., remonstrating against lowering the duties on aniline colors; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a petition of 33 citizens of South Hadley Falls, Mass., and a petition of 76 citizens of Boston, Mass., praying for the speedy passage of the pending tariff bill; which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. FORAKER presented 55 petitions, containing 3,608 signatures of railway employees in the United States, praying for the passage of Senate bill No. 1479, to amend an act entitled "An act to regulate commerce," approved February 4, 1887; which were referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

THE TARIFF BILL.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 379) to provide revenue for the Government and to encourage the industries of the United States.

Mr. MANTLE. Mr. President, I should not have presumed to take up the time of the Senate with a discussion of the wool question at this time but for the fact that, owing to the very brief time allotted for the discussion of the pending measure in the other branch of Congress, the wool schedule was not reached at all, hence no discussion whatever of this most complicated and important of all the tariff schedules was had in the debate in that body, and no public opportunity was therefore afforded for the presentation of the woolgrowers' side of the question.

If the provisions of the House bill or of the Senate amendments had been at all satisfactory to the million or more men engaged in this industry, there would, of course, be no necessity for me to ask the indulgence of the Senate, but as both the House and Senate provisions are regarded by the woolgrowers as utterly inadequate to afford them the protection they require, and which has been promised them, it is manifestly the duty of some one here to speak in their behalf. There are many here who could do this far more ably and effectively than I can hope to, but as I have the honor to represent in part the largest sheep-owning and wool-producing State in the Union, it is perhaps not inappropriate that I should undertake the task, which I do, however, with many misgivings as to my ability to discharge it in a manner befitting the extent and magnitude of the interests concerned.

WHAT IS JUST AND PROPER.

The question of what are just and proper duties to be laid upon the different classes of wool is one of the most important we have to consider for many reasons, chief among them being that, in so far as the universal lowering of prices, shrinkage of values, and consequent loss and suffering which have prevailed for the past few years may have resulted from adverse tariff legislation, the woolgrowers of the country have been peculiarly and disastrously affected. This statement is borne out fully by the statistics bearing upon sheep and wool production, which show that since 1893 there has been a decrease in the number of sheep in the country of 10,809,148, and a loss in their value of $63,919,776. Last year the domestic wool clip had decreased in amount 76,063,430 pounds as compared with the wool clip of 1893. The farm value of the American wool production in 1892 was $47,185,283. In 1896 it had fallen to $20,800,000. The total estimated loss of the woolgrowers upon wool in the last four years, as compared with the prices of 1892, has reached the enormous sum of $178,793,121.

Of course I do not pretend to assert that all this loss is due to the free-wool provisions of the Wilson law. Much of it is, beyond doubt, attributable to the constant fall of prices which has been going on all over the world since 1891-92, due to the general depression which has existed everywhere, as well as to increased production. It can not, however, be denied that under adequate protection the number of sheep and the quantity of wool produced have always steadily increased, and there is no reason to doubt but that with a just protective tariff, which shall be so framed and adjusted that the protective benefit will actually reach the woolgrower, instead of finding its way into the pocket of the importer and manufacturer, the flocks of sheep will increase and the production of wool gradually be enlarged, until finally the principle of protection as applied to this most important industry will find its vindication, just as it has in the steel-rail industry, so well described by the distinguished Senator from Rhode Island in his opening speech the other day, and just as we hope it will in the near future find its vindication in the development of the sugar-growing and other industries.

Another reason why the wool duty is important is because the great body of men engaged in producing it, numbering from one to two millions, are farmers, and I think it will be admitted that no class of our citizens are more entitled to the earnest consideration of the Congress of the United States than they are. They constitute the foundation upon which all our commercial and industrial interests rest; and unless they are made fairly prosperous, there can be no permanent prosperity for this country. Unfortunately, from the nature of their occupation, the character of their products, and the circumstances of their environment, the benefits of a protective tariff can not, in a large number of instances, be conferred directly upon them. A large surplus of their chief products can find no market at home, and is therefore compelled to seek the open markets of the world, there to compete with the products of the cheap labor of other lands and to be sold at prices which practically fix their prices at home. Hence, whenever a protective tariff is framed, it should miss no just opportunity to correct, in so far as tariff legislation may accomplish it, these disadvantages under which this numerous element of our people rest.

Then, again, it is well known that in anticipation of tariff legislation the woolgrower is being injured beyond all others whose interests are affected by the enormous quantities of wool which have been and are now being imported. A careful computation, based upon the known stock on hand, and taking into account the increase in domestic production and consumption, shows that if not another pound of wool should be imported there would still be a surplus of at least 100,000,000 pounds on hand January 1, 1899. It can, therefore, readily be seen that under the most generous treatment the American woolgrower is likely to receive but slight benefit from a tariff for three years to come.

We must bear in mind, also, that when a tariff law is to be enacted the powerful manufacturing interests of the country, with their compact and effective organizations, are always to be found upon the ground pressing their claims and pushing their interests at every opportunity, while upon the other hand the farmer and the woolgrower, and the producers of what is called "raw material" generally, are from the very nature of their vocation, which widely separates and isolates them, lacking in this essential particular. Hence their interests are not always presented with the same force and persistency and plausibility as are the interests of others. The result of this has been that in past protective-tariff legislation they have not always received the consideration which was due them in fairness and equity.

But, Mr. President, because I speak of the unfortunate condition of the farmers of the country I do not wish anyone to think that I do so from any desire to pander to any prejudice, to draw any class lines, or to create any class distinctions among the people. I realize that there is depression and suffering everywhere, in the cities as well as in the country, in the factories as well as upon the farms, and that all are entitled to whatever relief can possibly come to them through tariff legislation. But I do sincerely believe that there is greater stringency and more poverty and suffering in many of the agricultural sections of the country than is generally supposed or known.

In this connection, I want to present a letter, which I shall not stop to read, written by Hon. William E. Dodge, of New York. Mr. Dodge was a delegate to the late Indianapolis monetary convention—a gold delegate. His letter treats of the conditions which exists in the country among the agricultural classes particularly,

and he gives a most vivid picture of the conditions as related to him by delegates to that convention congregated from all over the Union. The letter treats more particularly of monetary conditions, and as I do not care to mix up these questions, I will simply insert the letter, and I trust it will be read.

I was fortunate enough to be appointed as one member of the delegation to Indianapolis, and while acting on the committee on rules and regulations, to which all the business was referred, I was shut up for two days with representatives from twenty-eight different States, and I had an opportunity of free and unrestricted intercourse and conference with those gentlemen, and the information received there was confirmed afterwards in Washington, where, as chairman of the arbitration committee, I had conferences with a number of Senators from those same States, and I came back very deeply impressed with the conviction that I had not been entirely informed, and those living in the East were not entirely informed, as to the condition of things in very large portions of our country.

I was surprised, sir, to find the assertion constantly made by men from the far Western States and the South and Southwestern States that it was not Mr. Bryan and that it was not silver that they were in favor of, but they needed some change to bring relief from the terrible condition of poverty and scarcity of money under which they labored. They felt that their condition was so extreme and so painful that any change would be of value, and when I came to look into the matter and to talk in a friendly and kindly way with them, they all confirmed the same feeling which I had found at a long conversation in the Treasury Department at Washington, that the circulation of the country is quite out of joint, that the lungs and heart are congested, and that the extremities of the country are absolutely without any blood.

I found that there were great sections of the Southern and Western country where there was absolutely no money at all; where the most primitive forms of barter obtained; where everything was most disorganized. One gentleman told me that in his county, which was quite a rich agricultural country, by some happy accident a fifty-dollar bank bill had come down into the county and that he had taken a horse and buggy and spent four days in visiting all the towns in the county striving to get it changed into smaller bills, but had been unable to do so, and finally was obliged to send it to Richmond. There were Senators who told me that their constituents never saw a dollar of money from the beginning of the year to the end, with the result that they had constantly to go into debt to the local storekeepers. The local storekeepers received their pay in kind. In fact, everything was drifting back to the old times before money was invented. And this was not in one section of the country only, but in large sections.

We can quite easily understand that where there is not sufficient money to establish a national bank under the very onerous laws at present in force, there is nothing else to take the place. The same difficulty has come up in other parts of the world.

In this country every man has a chance to care for the Government, and unless we instruct our good friends and show our sympathy with them and understand that when any part of the country suffers the whole country suffers, we are sure to have difficulty ahead. It was brought out at the Indianapolis convention that after the first sad, serious mistake made necessary by the exigencies of the civil war, we had gone on with makeshifts ever since. One bit of legislation necessary to bridge us over a particular crisis has been met with another; with every issue of bonds and of greenbacks, and with every other form of currency, legislative enactments have been made, and they contradict and overlap each other, and the business of the Treasury is exceedingly hard and difficult.

I came away from Indianapolis with this very firm impression, and I have only ventured to submit it because I feel it so deeply that unless those of us in more favored parts of the country understand the condition of our brothers and our fellow-citizens in the other parts of the country, unless we wisely instruct and educate them and bring about some wise methods for their relief, when the year 1900 comes we shall be swamped by an infinitely more powerful vote against us than during this last election. I think the change will be a very serious one. Every man that I met emphasized that fact. Therefore I make the motion that a committee be appointed to act with that commission, so that we can bring back to New York and to our friends here such information as may lead them to give their advice and experience and help to any wise efforts determined upon by the Government. [Applause.]

Here it is appropriate to say:

"Princes and lords may flourish or may fade,
A breath can make them, as a breath has made;
But a bold peasantry, their country's pride,
When once destroyed, can never be supplied."

Mr. President, a very effective way in which the farmers can be aided is to create, if possible, a home demand for some of their surplus products. This, of course, is the understood purpose and intent of protective legislation in general, but it can, to some extent, be given direct and almost immediate effect by affording to the woolgrower such practical and effective protection as will at once stimulate the growth of sheep.

With its present population, this country requires annually 630,000,000 pounds of wool, to produce which would require from 110,000,000 to 125,000,000 sheep. With this number of sheep upon the farms and ranches of this country, a market would be created for the surplus crops of corn, oats, and hay which are now rotting and wasting in the granaries and in the stacks in Ohio and Michigan and Indiana and other middle Western States.

Next to being able to feed itself, there is no question so directly affecting the welfare and prosperity and independence of a nation as its ability to clothe itself. A nation that can both feed and clothe itself out of the production of its own soil and by the labor of its own citizens occupies an impregnable position. It can never successfully be assailed from without, and has the best possible guaranty against dissensions within.

In this view of the subject it is therefore our duty as a nation to pursue such a policy as shall enable our people to produce all the wool necessary to clothe themselves, to the end that in this vital particular we may be independent and free from the danger and vicissitudes which await upon those who rely upon others to do for them that which they may do for themselves.

Of course, Mr. President, in making these remarks upon the subject I am speaking as one who believes in the policy of a protective tariff. I believe in the doctrine of protection as a correct economic principle for this country, as a broad national policy intended to promote the development of the resources of the nation, and, by diversifying our industries, to furnish employment for labor. Therefore it is as a protectionist that I venture to criticise the provisions of the pending tariff bill.

The great majority of the woolgrowers of the country are protectionists and Republicans. They may, I think, fairly be said to constitute the backbone of the Republican party in many of the middle West and far Western States. They have always stood by the Republican party, although they have more than once thought that the Republican party had not always stood by them in the adjustment of its tariffs. In the far West 95 per cent of them are believers in the doctrine of independent bimetallism for this country, and a large majority of those in the middle West hold the same financial views. The issues of free coinage and protection, however, were divided in the last national campaign, and those who believed in both principles were compelled to make a choice. The Republican platform contained a specific promise to the woolgrowers of "ample protection for wool" in the event of Republican success. Believing protection to be the paramount issue, and relying upon the pledge thus made to them, the woolgrowers gave their support to the Republican party; and it is beyond question that in the doubtful States of the middle West it was to this element of the Republican party, which then believed and still believes in the free coinage of both gold and silver by the independent action of this country, that the Republican party owes its victory last year.

The law of 1890 in its wool schedules was very unsatisfactory to the woolgrowers, as experience under it demonstrated that it did not afford them the necessary protection, for reasons which I will discuss later, and so they have by numerous petitions and memorials presented to this body at different times protested earnestly against its reenactment. The Republican majority in the House, however, ignoring these petitions and memorials, and despite the promise of "ample protection" contained in the national platform, have seen fit to substantially reenact the law of 1890 in relation to wool, while the Republican members of the Senate Finance Committee have shown their total disregard of their party pledges by reducing the House rates on wool of the first and second class, which is the chief product of the American woolgrower, 3 cents per pound—a cut of 25 per cent. To compensate for this wholesale reduction, they made some insignificant concessions on skirted and third-class wools, which, however, utterly fail to offset the enormous cut made on the two higher grades, particularly as all the original loopholes for fraud and evasions are still left in the bill, such as admitting washed second-class and scoured third-class wools without additional duty.

As a result of this treatment the woolgrowers of the country are naturally and justly indignant. They feel that they have asked for bread and have thus far been given a stone. They are outspoken in their condemnation of the proposed schedule of rates, and are not slow to proclaim that they have been deceived and that the pledge of "ample protection" under which their votes were secured when badly needed has already been broken by the Republicans in both branches of Congress. They believe, too, that this result has been accomplished at the behest and to satisfy the demands of the wool manufacturers, whose interests lie in securing their raw wool as cheaply as possible, while obtaining for their own products a high protective duty.

I have not the slightest ill will toward the wool manufacturers. I suppose they are simply following a natural instinct of humanity in striving to get the best of the bargain. But after reading many of their statements before the Committee on Ways and Means, to which I shall refer hereafter, I am fully convinced that very many of them are selfishly inclined to regard any duty upon wool as burdensome and injurious to their business, and their efforts now, as in the past, are in the direction of securing the lowest possible duties in opposition to the wishes of the woolgrowers.

I am sorry to feel compelled to say this, for I believe, with the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR], that the interests of the woolgrower and the wool manufacturer are identical and ought to be one. The woolgrower knows that he can not prosper unless the manufacturer prospers. Hence he never attempts to dictate what the duty on the manufacturer's product shall be. He is quite willing that the manufacturer should have the "most ample protection" necessary to maintain his industry.

This is the condition of affairs at this moment, and I do not hesitate to predict that if the proposed wool schedule, either as presented by the House or Senate, is enacted into law it will result in the loss of thousands of votes to the Republican party. However, it is not yet too late, and I hope that my Republican friends will reconsider their action and conclude to accept amendments that shall put the measure more in accord with the woolgrowers' necessities and more in consonance with the pledges in their party platform.

In his very able address at the opening of this debate, the Senator from Rhode Island stated that "in dealing with the wool schedule the committee have suggested more liberal rates to the domestic woolgrower than they have recommended for the producer of any manufactured article in the schedule; they have also suggested for him a more effective protection than he has ever received under any tariff law of the United States at the time of its enactment."

I very much fear that with their past experience under the laws of 1883 and 1890 the distinguished Senator will have a difficult task indeed in convincing the woolgrowers of the country of the correctness of this statement, and especially as to that portion of it where he says the woolgrowers have been treated more liberally than the manufacturers. I think a full examination of the details of the subject will disprove this statement and will show that the manufacturer, as usual, will get much the best of the proposed rates as compared with the wool producer.

The Senator in charge of the pending bill further says that the committee have aimed to give the woolgrowers a rate of duty which will average from 10 to 20 per cent higher than the tariffs of 1883 or 1890. So far as I am able to discover, this statement is not borne out by the statistics on the subject.

The average ad valorem rate on first-class wools from 1884 to 1890 was 48.8 per cent, and from 1891 to 1894 it was 57 per cent.

The value per pound of importations of first-class wools for 1895 and 1896 was 16 cents. On this basis the proposed Senate rate of 8 cents would be exactly 50 per cent, and would be but 1.2 per cent higher than the tariff of 1883 and 7 per cent lower than the tariff of 1890, which was unsatisfactory to the woolgrowers and did not afford them the necessary protection. Of course, if the value per pound of wool imports rises, the ad valorem per cent will be lower; if it falls, the ad valorem per cent will be higher. But the prime consideration to be kept in mind in this connection is that because of the unusually low price of his product and the discouraging future prospects, due to the enormous stocks of wool already laid in, the woolgrower is in need of greater protection than he has heretofore received. This, of all periods, is not the time to cut him down.

The Senator from Rhode Island lays great stress upon the changes made in the carpet-wool schedule, and the advantages which he says are to accrue to the woolgrower; but here again I can find no confirmation of his expectations from an examination of the statistics bearing upon the subject after a most careful investigation. To the extent that the duties are changed from ad valorem to specific there is a direct gain to the woolgrower, but the rate proposed is so low as to not materially change the result. The average unit of value of the imports of carpet wools from 1884 to 1891 was 10.1 cents per pound. From 1891 to 1894 the average unit of value was less than 9 cents per pound.

The average unit of value in 1895 and 1896 under free wool was 9.5 cents per pound, the specific equivalent of an ad valorem rate of 32 per cent being 3.04 cents per pound. Therefore, on the basis of the import valuation under free wool, the Senate committee has increased the rate on third-class wools less than 1 cent per pound, and when we remember that these wools are to come in washed and scoured, without any additional duty, we see at once how trifling and insignificant this alleged concession is. The lowering of the dividing line of value from 13 to 10 cents per pound is of no consequence whatever, for the reason that from 1890 up to 1896, 98 per cent of all these wools have come in at an average value of about 9 cents per pound.

On the other hand, the rate of 7 cents on these wools above 10 cents in value is an actual lowering instead of raising of the rate, for the reason that the average value of imports has been not less than 15 cents per pound, which, under the ad valorem duty of 50 per cent in the House bill, would give a specific rate of 7½ cents, which would be one-half a cent a pound higher than the rate now proposed by the Senate committee's amendment. I therefore deny most emphatically that the Senate bill, as stated by the distinguished Senator from Rhode Island, "gives the American woolgrower greater and more effective protection than he has ever before received in an American tariff." It gives him far less than the act of 1890 gave him, and the woolgrower failed to prosper under that law. As bearing directly upon the statement of the Senator from Rhode Island, I here wish to have read a letter from Theodore Justice, of the wool firm of Justice, Bateman & Co., of Philadelphia. Mr. Justice is probably as well informed as any living man upon many phases of the wool question, and he takes direct issue with the Senator from Rhode Island as to the protective benefit of the proposed Senate rate.

The Secretary read as follows:

PHILADELPHIA, *May 26, 1897.*

DEAR SIR: When I had the pleasure of seeing you in Washington last week on the subject of the tariff, I showed you a table in which the imports of wool from January up to the time of the passage of the tariff bill were estimated, which revealed the fact that there would be very little revenue from wool nor protective benefits to the woolgrower until the 1st of January, 1900. The latter has an important bearing on the continuation in power of the Republican party, as it may alter the views of woolgrowers with regard to the efficacy of Republican protection to his industry.

I now have the official Treasury figures of wool imports for the first four months of this year, which greatly exceed the statements of my previous paper, and I therefore inclose herein an amended copy. In the latter I have provided for a 5 per cent annual increase in the consumption of wool over the 463,000,000 pounds which was the average of the McKinley period, which is indicated by the lower hands on the inclosed schedule. No account whatever has been taken in this calculation of the imports that will arrive between the 30th of April and the passage of the tariff bill. Without taking any of the latter into consideration, there seems likely to be over 80,000,000 pounds of wool on hand on the 1st of January, 1900.

The lesson which this table teaches is, first, that the cost of clothing to the consumer is not likely to be much increased owing to the high duties upon wool and the compensatory duties upon manufactures thereof. Therefore, the Senate need not hesitate to generously accord adequate protection to woolgrowers out of fear of the cost of clothing to the consumer being increased, for the enormous supply of cheap foreign wool now here, and being increased by daily arrivals, will keep down the price of clothing to the consumer, and will also keep down the price of domestic wool, and our woolgrowers are bound to be disappointed with the results of the new tariff under any circumstances. The least, therefore, that you can possibly do to modify his disappointment is to concede to him the benefit of the McKinley rates of the House bill on wool of the first and second classes.

Senator ALDRICH has revealed his unfamiliarity with the subject of duties upon wool in his statement on the floor of the Senate that the Finance Committee rate of 8 cents would give the woolgrower from 10 per cent to 20 per cent more protection than he had ever had at the time of the passage of any previous tariff bill. The Senator can not substantiate this statement, for if it were true, the duties would have to be from 13½ to 15 cents instead of 8 cents in order to be 10 per cent or 20 per cent more than the tariff law of 1867. They would have to be from 11 to 12 cents instead of 8 cents to be 10 per cent or 20 per cent more than the tariff law of 1883, and they would have to be from 12.2 to 13.2 cents instead of 8 cents to be 10 per cent or 20 per cent more than the tariff law of 1890.

Thus it will be seen that the Senator's recommendation with regard to wool is utterly without value, and if his suggestion were followed the present Administration would be blamed for withholding the relief which this great industry requires, an industry conspicuous for the serious injury sustained from the hand of the Cleveland Administration.

Yours, truly,

THEODORE JUSTICE.

Hon. LEE MANTLE,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

Mr. MANTLE. I may state, Mr. President, that Mr. Justice is a Republican and a very ardent protectionist. He has great familiarity with many branches of the wool question. I do not always agree with him in some of his conclusions, particularly with reference to the protective benefits which the woolgrowers of this country have enjoyed under former tariff acts, because I do not think he makes proper allowances for many of the disadvantages under which they labor, especially in competition with the importations of foreign wool. However, all the statistics and all the information which I can gather from an examination of the statistics bear him out in the statements made in the letter.

I also present here a valuable table prepared by Mr. Justice, showing the amount of surplus wool on hand at this time, making due allowance for increased consumption and production, which shows that there will be 80,000,000 pounds surplus of wool on hand if not another pound is imported between this and January 1, 1900. This takes no account of the enormous quantities of wool which have been imported during the month of April and which are still being imported. I have seen it stated somewhere that in Boston they are taxed for warehouse room in which to store the vast quantities of wool which are now being imported prior to the enactment of this tariff law.

The table referred to is as follows:

Comparison of the supply and consumption for 1895 and 1896, with estimates for 1897, 1898, and 1899, showing that there will be little or no revenue from imported wool, nor will the domestic producer receive the full amount of the protective advantage of the tariff much before the year 1900.

	1895.	1896.	1897.	1898.	1899.
	Pounds.	*Pounds.*	*Pounds.*	*Pounds.*	*Pounds.*
Carried over from previous year	130,520,600	231,724,651	448,986,523	490,413,114	290,361,557
American clip	294,296,726	272,474,708	272,474,708	*286,098,443	*300,403,365
Imports of wool†	248,989,217	159,776,015	210,521,000	----------	----------
Imports of shoddy, noils, waste, etc.†	29,918,108	17,011,149	21,430,883	----------	----------
Total	694,724,651	680,986,523	953,413,114	776,511,557	590,764,922
Consumption	463,000,000	232,000,000	463,000,000	‡486,150,000	‡510,457,500
Carried over into next year	231,724,651	448,986,523	490,413,114	290,361,557	‡80,307,422

*American clip and American consumption estimated for 1898 and 1899, at 5 per cent increase over each previous year.

†Wool and shoddy imports from January 1 to April 30, 1897.

‡Estimated surplus on hand January 1, 1900, without importing another pound. This calculation takes no account of the wool to be imported after April 30, which, before the enactment of the tariff bill, may reach 20,000,000 pounds more.

Mr. DAVIS. I should like to ask the Senator what the average annual importations of wool have been for the last three or four years?

Mr. MANTLE. I can not state in exact amounts, but I suppose in the last three or four years under normal conditions it would require from one hundred and fifty to two hundred million pounds annually, not including the wool in imported manufactured clothing, in order to make up the difference between the

home production and the consumption. I state this in round numbers. Under the free-wool provision of the Wilson law, especially last year, these importations increased enormously, and latterly, during the past few months, they bear no legitimate relation whatever to the normal importation. They are out of proportion. There has been already imported a great deal more this year than was imported during all of last year, and the importation is still going on at an increased rate. Of course this is in anticipation of the enactment of the present bill into law imposing a duty upon wool.

(See appendix for importations.)

I also wish to include here a table showing the increase and decrease, respectively, of the number of sheep in the country at different periods under the operation of the different tariff laws.

I wish to say in this connection that the increase under the operation of the McKinley law seems to have been about 13 per cent. That increase was not brought about by the prosperous conditions following the enactment of the McKinley law to the woolgrower, but it was brought about as a result of very large investments in sheep about the time of the enactment of that law, under the impression that sheep growing and wool raising were going to be a prosperous business. However, the woolgrowers were utterly disappointed in the result.

WHAT THE MANUFACTURERS WANT.

It must be manifest to those who have followed former tariff debates and who have read the hearings before the Ways and Means Committee of the House that there always has been and is now a wide difference of opinion between the wool producer and the wool manufacturer as to what are just duties upon wool. The woolgrower bases his request upon his experience under former tariffs; he knows how they have affected him in the past, and what he may expect in the future under the same conditions.

The manufacturer is intent upon securing his raw material at the lowest possible cost, and out of this condition of affairs arises an irrepressible conflict. The manufacturers' position and contention may be briefly summed up as follows:

First. That ad valorem duties on all wools would be preferable, but are essential on those of the third class.

Second. That the values of wool, like those of wheat and cotton, are so well and universally known that frauds are practically impossible to any marked degree under an ad valorem rate.

Third. That the practice of skirting imported wool does not materially increase its value.

Fourth. That cheap third-class wools do not enter into the manufacture of clothing to any appreciable extent, and do not compete with domestic wools.

Fifth. That the compensatory duties do not compensate him for the additional cost of his material and other disadvantages under which he claims to suffer because of the tariff on wool.

Sixth. That while ad valorem duties are necessary and proper on wool, they lead to frauds, and are unjust and improper on manufactures of wool.

Seventh. That generally speaking, a tariff on wool is a great disadvantage to him; that it restricts his choice and adds to his price; that it widens the field and cheapens the price to his foreign competitor; and that the restrictions and limitations in the classifications of wools are placed there for the sole purpose of embarrassing him.

Mr. President, in order that it may not be said that I am misrepresenting the manufacturer, I have taken from the Tariff Hearings a few extracts from statements made by some of the largest wool-manufacturing concerns in the country.

Here I desire to add that, so far as I can discover from their statements, while a majority of them hold the views which I have just enumerated, there are a few who seem to be fair in their treatment of the subject, and seem to be willing that the woolgrower shall enjoy a degree of protection commensurate with that which they ask themselves, but their number is very limited.

Abbott & Co., wool manufacturers, of Graniteville, page 1627, Tariff Hearings, say:

> Whatever the duty, we desire it to be so levied that we shall not be restricted by the American definitions of washing, skirting, or sorting. * * * and the duties on these wools should be an ad valorem duty, as was the case under the tariff act of 1890.

Mr. Arthur T. Lyman, of the Lowell Carpet Company, page 1631, says:

> With free wool we can make an ingrain carpet so cheap that it is much harder to pass off a cotton and hair carpet on the consumer. In carpets and all woolens the buyer at retail is easily deceived.
>
> We are satisfied with the present conditions of the tariff. I think there is not a big mill in Lowell or Lawrence that cares to have the present tariff disturbed, though there is, of course, a preference for specific duties upon goods. The advanced rates of the McKinley bill did much harm by starting reckless competition at home. The wool-carpet trade is specially liable to injury from high duties, as its whole supply comes from abroad. If the duty is not over 30 per cent, I think all wool-carpet makers would prefer one uniform rate on all wools, ad valorem.
>
> As treasurer of the Lowell Carpet Company, of Lowell, I wish also to protest against any form of duty on wool except one uniform ad valorem rate on all wools, without regard to class, or mixture, or skirting, or sorting; and especially against any system of duties based on dividing lines of value.

Edward F. Mason, of Schofield & Mason, carpet manufacturers, Philadelphia, page 1633, says:

> The duty should be ad valorem on third-class wools, not specific, the same objections not existing to ad valorem duty on raw material as in the manufactured articles, where much greater opportunity for fraud exists.
>
> There should be no change in the classification of carpet wools unfavorable to the manufacturers. * * * A very high duty should be placed on all oriental fabrics, such as high-class rugs, jute rugs, mattings, carpetings, etc.

This gentleman, with a candor and modesty alike refreshing, insists that there shall be no change unfavorable to the manufacturer in the classification of carpet wools, but demands a very high duty on such manufactured products as come into competition with his own.

William M. Wood, of the Washington Mills Company, of Boston, Mass., which he states is the largest consumer of wool in the United States, on page 1633 says:

> The demands of the woolgrowers for protection, as expressed by Judge Lawrence, appeal to me as absurd and unjust toward the manufacturer. * * * In our experience it is unjust for the woolgrowers to demand a specific duty on wool. * * * A specific duty on wool arbitrarily placing * * * any rate per pound on wool handicaps the manufacturer.
>
> * * * * * * *
>
> I contend that the only proper and fair duty on wool should be an ad valorem one, not exceeding 25 per cent; that the duty on woolen goods remain substantially as it is, say 50 per cent ad valorem, with the proviso that the equivalent of the duty accorded wool be added as compensation, and that portion only made specific, the distinction being that wool is an article of merchandise the value of which can be easily ascertained, while that of goods is attended with much confusion, due to manipulation and adulteration, and therefore easily made the object of fraud, inviting undervaluation.

Here is a gentleman who says he represents the largest wool-manufacturing corporation in this country, denouncing the request of the million woolgrowers of the United States, as expressed through their chosen representative, for an adequate protective duty on wool, "as absurd and unjust to the manufacturers," and who, to prove his entire disinterestedness, proposes a straight ad valorem duty of 25 per cent on all wools, which would amount to a duty of from 1 to 5 cents per pound on the bulk of all importations! But while asking that the duties on the farmer's wool be cut from 40 to 70 per cent, this representative of the "largest wool-consuming corporation in the United States" demands that the rate on manufactured goods "remain substantially as it is." In other words, he is willing that the woolgrower shall have just one-half the protection he claims for himself.

The secretary of the National Wool Manufacturers' Association also appeared before the House Committee on Ways and Means. His statement is found on pages 1636 to 1655, Tariff Hearings. This gentleman is very cautious and conservative in his statements respecting what the tariff on wool should be, but it can readily be discerned that he believes an ad valorem duty on wool would be practicable and just, and that such a duty would afford relief from the embarrassments under which he claims the manufacturers have suffered and will continue to suffer because of specific duties on wool. As Mr. North is the spokesman for a very powerful organization, whose agents and representatives are always found upon the ground and in the committee rooms when tariff legislation affecting their interests is pending, and as the statements of its secretary no doubt carry great weight with the committees, I shall beg the indulgence of the Senate while I quote briefly from his testimony and answer a few of his propositions which I deem incorrect and misleading.

First, he has the following to say in favor of ad valorem duties on wools:

> I do not believe there is a commodity sold in the world of any description the market value of which is more accurately, publicly, and universally known than that of wool. It is like cotton, wheat, and other staple products in that respect. All the wools of the world, practically, which reach the public market are sold at auction. This country is the only large manufacturing country where the sale of wool is not in open market.

I deny that the market value of wool in the world is "more accurately and universally known than any other commodity." Nor is it like cotton and wheat and numerous other commodities which are so staple in character and of such comparatively limited range in quality as to permit of extensive dealing and speculation in them for future delivery. And this statement is borne out by the fact that there is no dealing in "futures" in wool, as in other commodities, for the reason that its value in the future can not be predetermined.

There are over 400 samples of wool in the Government custom-houses, representing different grades, kinds, and character of wools, and the clip from the same flock may differ materially in value from year to year. But if it were true, as alleged by manufacturers in their argument for ad valorem duties, that the value of wool is so well known and established as to render fraudulent valuations impossible, then I maintain that no better argument could be adduced in favor of specific duties, such as are laid upon iron, coal, lead, wheat, and other staples the value of which is universally known. It is true many of the wool sales in the different markets of the world are public-auction sales, but there are many private sales as well. It is also well known, and is a matter of record, that syndicates are formed in some foreign countries for the purpose of buying up the wools of certain localities for the American and European markets; and there can be

but little doubt, in the light of past experiences, that if an ad valorem rate were fixed upon all wools, as demanded by some manufacturers, both public and private sales would be so manipulated that not only would the American woolgrower be defrauded of his protection, but the Treasury would also be defrauded of its revenue.

It is to be said in this connection that the foreign holders of wool now make (in order to evade the duty, by foreign perjury and undervaluation) contracts abroad to sell delivered in our American markets, requiring no oath on this side of the water.

In a report made to the Department of State in 1887 by Thomas E. Heenan, United States consul at Odessa, Russia, he shows—

(1) That all of the wool shipped from South Russia to the United States is the property of three or four American importers.

(2) That these importers, in combination with shippers, have contrived to prevent the recognition of a market price for so-called Donskoi washed wools at Rostoff-on-Don.

(3) That the loss on duties will reach between $15,000,000 and $20,000,000 is very probable. (See Lawrence's argument in U. S. Senate Report No. 232, Fiftieth Congress, first session, October 4, 1888, Part III, page 1964.)

In the report made to the State Department by Consul E. L. Baker, dated Buenos Ayres, December 30, 1893, published in the Consular Reports for April, 1894 (Volume XLIV, No. 163, page 663), on Argentine trade, 1892–93, it is said:

But for the two items of hides and wool the exports from this country to the United States would be quite insignificant. In regard to the latter, the only wools which, owing to our high duties, it is possible to ship at a profit are the long, coarse carpet wools of Cordoba. These are included in class 3 of the schedule, and their value being 13 cents or less per pound, they are able to pay the duty of 32 per cent on the same. These wools have for many years been annually bought up by a syndicate of Massachusetts carpet manufacturers, who thus, instead of competing with each other, get the product at the lowest possible price, and then distribute the clip by some arrangement among themselves upon its arrival in Boston.

The wool manufacturers claim that there have been enormous frauds in the way of undervaluations on cloths and other fabrics under the ad valorem duties of the Wilson law, and yet, while making this claim for their own industry, they put forth the selfish and inconsistent plea that a system which cheats and defrauds them will deal honestly by the woolgrower. If the ad valorem system permits of fraudulent practices as applied to manufactures of wool, it follows logically and necessarily that the same evil results will flow from its application to wool, with its innumerable grades, classifications, and valuations. The fact is that these wool and carpet manufacturers weaken the cause of protection when they seek to impose upon the woolgrower a system of duties which they are unwilling to accept for themselves whenever they can avoid it.

Mr. North further says:

Never until he had experience under free wool did the manufacturer realize the full extent of the disadvantages he suffers by reason of the wool duty and the impossibility by any compensatory duty of fully offsetting these disadvantages.

* * * * * * *

In answer to this I might say that never until he had experienced the disadvantages which he suffered under free wool did the woolgrower realize the impossibility of offsetting this disadvantage by the compensatory benefit derived from being able to buy his clothing a few cents cheaper.

Mr. STEWART. Would it interrupt the Senator from Montana if I were to make an inquiry?

Mr. MANTLE. Not at all.

Mr. STEWART. The Senator from Montana has examined the testimony pretty thoroughly. Did he find any manufacturer who was not willing to buy in a free-trade market and to sell in a protected market?

Mr. MANTLE. I think what I have said generally answers the question of the Senator from Nevada. I have shown, or tried to show, from the hearings and statements, that the belief among many manufacturers seems to be that their industry is greatly injured by the imposition of any duty upon wool. That is the gist of their complaint, although of course they say they are perfectly willing to accord the woolgrower just and fair rates upon his product. But when we come to follow many of their arguments and examine them closely, we find that underlying them is a protest in general against the imposition of wool duties, and then a desire so to impose them that the manufacturers will become the greatest beneficiary of the duty in the end. That is the conclusion at which I arrive after a very thorough examination of what many of them have said upon this question.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Will the Senator from Montana allow me for a moment?

Mr. MANTLE. Certainly.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. I know the Senator from Montana intends to be entirely fair, but it seems to me the remarks which he is making at the present time are scarcely fair to the great bulk of woolen manufacturers in this country. Whether they think it would be an advantage to their business to have free wool or not, I can not say. Some of them do; some of them do not; but with a very few exceptions I believe the sentiment of the woolen manufacturers of this country is that there should be a sufficiently protective duty upon wool.

Mr. MANTLE. I am quoting literally the language used before the Committee on Ways and Means by some of the very largest wool-manufacturing concerns in this country. Those statements speak for themselves.

I wish to state that I have no quarrel with the woolen manufacturers. I simply ask that justice be done the woolgrowers, and that the selfish presentation of the woolen manufacturers' side of the question—and I believe it is selfish—ought not to carry weight with the Senate of the United States or the Congress in its consideration and determination of what duty shall be imposed upon wool.

If there are any great number of manufacturers who believe that there ought to be a fully protective duty on wool, as stated by the distinguished Senator from Connecticut, they have failed to appear before the committee, or I have failed to discover their statements. I repeat that many of them do say they are not opposed to a fair and just rate of protection upon wool, but when we come to analyze the whole of their testimony we discover, underlying it, a sentiment in opposition to a just rate of duty upon wool. We find a strong sentiment in favor of ad valorem duties, which all the statistics bearing upon the subject show are utterly offensive and detrimental to the woolgrowing interests of this country. That is one proposition. We find them opposed to other features of the request of the woolgrowers, such as imposing a duty upon washed wool of the second class, which is justifiable from every point of view.

So we find them generally arrayed against the desires of the woolgrowers. That is what I am trying to bring out. I do not know that they have any active hostility, but their efforts have always been in the direction I have indicated, so far as I am able to discover from my reading and from conversations with representatives of the woolgrowers who have been upon the ground constantly during the preparation and enactment of all former tariff bills. The woolgrowers and manufacturers have met together and time and time again have parted in disagreement because of the extreme and unfair demands of the manufacturers. I have no ill will, I wish it distinctly understood, to the wool manufacturers. I simply wish to call the attention of the Senate to the conditions which exist, to this clash of interests, to the end that a fair adjustment of these rates may be had when the matter is finally adjudicated.

Of course free wool is an advantage to the wool manufacturer, just as free hides is an advantage to the tanners and the boot and shoe manufacturers, just as free lead is an advantage to the lead refiners and manufacturers, just as free "raw material" is an advantage to any manufacturer. But everyone knows full well that a protective system, to stand and to be just, must cover all interests, all sections, and all classes that require its sheltering arm. The protective policy was not devised for the benefit of the wool and carpet manufacturers solely, although some of them seem to think it was. It was designed to be a broad national policy, whose purpose is to diversify our industries, to furnish opportunity for the talent and genius and labor of our own people in every practicable and possible branch of industry, and to make us a self-supporting, self-sustaining, and independent nation.

That I conceive to be the object and purpose and general scope of the protective policy justly applied, under wise, unsectional, and unselfish laws. Laws framed in the interests of the great masses of the people, and not such as will conduce to trusts and unlawful combinations of capital for the purpose of controlling the price and supply of commodities, will beyond doubt tend to bring about these results.

The weakness of the protective policy lies in its abuse, growing out of the selfishness of individual interests, which demand more than they are entitled to receive, and especially because of the unwise contentions which arise between interests which are mutually dependent upon each other, such as wool manufacturing and woolgrowing. The manufacturer does not strengthen the cause of protection by his plaintive talk about the advantages of free wool when he is fully compensated, and, as many believe, more than compensated, for any duty which he pays upon wool by the additional duties laid upon the manufactured article. But of this I shall speak more fully later on.

The woolgrower is not finding fault with the rates of duty accorded other industries. He is not insisting upon any particular rate of duty, or special manner of levying it, upon the manufacturer's products. He is willing to leave that to the manufacturer himself and to the committees and to Congress. He asks simply that the manufacturers cease their more or less covert attacks upon him and their attempt to fix upon his product rates and methods which he knows full well have defrauded him in the past. He believes in protection. He has given the principle his support and has helped it to triumph, and he now asks for an honest redemption of the pledges made to him, uninfluenced by the selfish representations of those who seek to profit themselves at his expense.

I quote Mr. North once more, for the reason, as stated before, that he represents a great and powerful organization of manufacturers. He says:

Third. The wool duty not only restricts the choice and adds to the price of the American manufacturer, but of course correspondingly enlarges the choice and cheapens the price of the wools of the foreign manufacturer.

It would be strange, indeed, and contrary to all human experience in every other direction, if there were not some slight disadvantages to offset the numerous benefits accruing from the policy of protection. That the wool duty adds to the price that the American manufacturer must pay for his wool is of course true. It may be true, also, that the duty in a measure restricts his choice of wools in foreign markets, but he is far more than compensated for these disadvantages by the fact that protection gives him the profitable home market, which repays him over and over again for the comparatively insignificant loss and inconvenience to which the duty on wool may subject him.

Mr. MASON. And a compensatory duty, besides.

Mr. MANTLE. And a compensatory duty, as the Senator from Illinois suggests, of which I shall speak later on.

So far as the duty on wools cheapening the price of the wools of the foreign manufacturer is concerned, I may add that this statement is open to serious question. For myself I very much doubt its accuracy. It is true that a duty based on wool in its unwashed condition creates a demand in the foreign markets for light shrinking wools for the American market, for the purpose of avoiding the duty as much as possible; but after all, the price of all wool is fixed on the basis of scoured or clean wool. In other words, the value of wool depends upon its shrinking in cleaning, and, generally speaking, this shrinkage regulates its value in all the markets of the world. It is not clear, therefore, how the foreign manufacturer is greatly benefited over the home manufacturer by our laying an import duty upon wool.

Again, the secretary of the National Wool Manufacturing Association says:

All the restrictions and limitations of the old law upon the importation of wool were put there to embarrass and impede the manufacturer in his choice of wools. They do have that effect, and are thus an additional disadvantage under which he labors, and for which he gets no compensatory equivalent. Nothing akin or equivalent to them appears anywhere else in any tariff schedule. They imply that the whole business of importing wool is a fraud or tainted with fraud.

Mr. President, it is not true that the restrictions and limitations of the law were placed there to embarrass the manufacturer. They were put there, after full and careful investigation, for the purpose of giving the law effect, and for the further purpose of preventing, if possible, a repetition of the frauds which experience proved had been practiced under former laws.

These restrictions are no more embarrassing as to wool than they are to numerous other schedules of the tariff bill, which experience has rendered necessary to insure an honest compliance with the law.

Neither do these limitations and restrictions "imply that the whole business of importing wools is tainted with fraud," any more than the innumerable and inexplicable limitations and restrictions which surround the duties on the manufactures of wool imply that the business of importing these goods is tainted with fraud. No honest importer of wool will draw any such inference as indicated by Mr. North, and the opinion of dishonest importers need cause no concern.

I quote him just once more. He says:

The manufacturers for whom I speak do not appear here to resist the restoration of the wool duty. They affirmatively favor a reasonable duty upon wool, as they have always done, because they believe in the policy of protection, and are willing to make sacrifices in order that the policy may be applied to all products that need protection. * * * They have a right to ask that there shall be no return to the extreme and restrictive characteristics of previous wool schedules.

Mr. President, the manufacturers are not asked to make sacrifices in the interests of the woolgrowers or any other interest. They never have made any. What sacrifices have been made in respect to wool have been made by the woolgrower, for it is a well-known fact that he has never yet received the full protective benefit of the duty named in the law. If the woolgrowers get the equivalent of the protection given the manufacturers, they will be more than satisfied. So far they do not feel that they have ever received such equivalent protection. They do not expect to receive the same protection granted "the most-favored industry," but they do expect to receive the "ample protection" promised them in the St. Louis platform by the Republican party. They deny that there have been any "extreme and restrictive characteristics in previous wool schedules." On the contrary, they assert that hitherto the provisions of the wool schedules have been so lax as to deprive them of the benefit intended to be conferred by the spirit of the law.

FRAUDULENT UNDERVALUATIONS UNDER LAW OF 1890—AD VALOREM DUTIES.

Mr. President, I will now, with the indulgence of the Senate, endeavor, as briefly as the importance of the subject will permit, to discuss the wool question somewhat more in detail and with particular reference to the experience and the complaints of the woolgrowers under the McKinley law, which is practically reenacted in the House bill and which is modified but slightly by the Senate amendments.

The objections of the woolgrowers may be stated as follows:

1. To the so-called "skirting clause" in all the bills.
2. To the ad valorem duties on third-class wools as contained in the House bill.
3. To the admission of washed wools of the second class without the payment of additional duties as proposed in both bills.
4. To the admission of washed and scoured wools of the third class without payment of additional duty as provided in the Senate bill.
5. To the totally inadequate rates on first and second class wools as provided in the Senate bill.
6. To the imperfect classifications, which permit evasions.

There are also other objections, such as the adjustment of compensatory duties, which I shall touch upon in passing.

The woolgrowers assert that under the ad valorem duties of the McKinley law gross frauds were perpetrated in the way of undervaluations, and that, largely because of these undervaluations and the low rate of duty thus secured, great quantities of so-called carpet wools went into the manufacture of clothing, thereby displacing clothing wools of domestic growth.

Upon the general question of the wisdom and justice of ad valorem duties I need say but little. I understand the Republican party to be opposed on principle to this form of levying custom duties whenever it can be avoided, and no good reason ever existed for the adoption of this system in respect to third-class wool. It was incorporated in the law of 1890 upon the demand of the manufacturers and against the wishes of the woolgrowers. And in the same manner and through the same influences it has been made a part of the proposed new tariff act as it passed the House.

It is true the subcommittee of the Senate Finance Committee has proposed amendments in part changing these ad valorem duties to specific duties, but as this change is unsatisfactory to the manufacturers, and as a strong effort will no doubt be made upon their part to restore the House provisions, it will not be out of place for me to review this particular phase of the wool schedule and to show, by an examination of the statistics bearing upon wool importations, that the charge of fraudulent practices under the ad valorem duties of the McKinley Act of 1890, as made by the woolgrowers in respect to third-class wools, is undeniably true.

I shall not stop to read to the Senate all the statistics, tables of importations, percentages of values, and rates per pound, which I have gathered after much investigation from the Treasury reports, except to say that they bear out absolutely and beyond contradiction the statement which I have just made in reference to the practice of frauds in the matter of undervaluations and also of classifications under the McKinley law. I summarize them as follows: They show that for five years prior to 1890 the average import value of the bulk of third class wools had been 10.1 cents per pound; that immediately upon the passage of the McKinley law their importation increased enormously, while in 1893 their average value dropped to 7.6 cents per pound; that foreign prices did not fall correspondingly; that the importation of other wools did not thus increase, and that their value did not so fall; that upon the enactment of the Wilson law, with free wool, the imports of third-class wools did not materially increase the first year, and fell off heavily the second year; but that their average value increased 2 cents per pound.

That is an important point to be considered, that upon the repeal of the McKinley law, under free wool the importations of cheap third-class wools began to fall, while their value began to rise. It confirms beyond any question of doubt the statement that frauds were practiced.

The statistics further show that under free wool the imports of other wools increased enormously, while their value decreased. Hence we have the proposition that under free wool the value of third-class wools increased 2 cents per pound, while the importation fell off. On the other hand, the importation of first-class wools increased enormously and their value fell 2 cents per pound, showing conclusively that the ad valorem duties of the McKinley Act on third-class wools led to enormous importations and low values through fraudulent entries and undervaluations.

Mr. WARREN. Mr. President——

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Montana yield to the Senator from Wyoming?

Mr. MANTLE. Certainly.

Mr. WARREN. I take it that by the table from which the Senator has been reading he desires to show that the reason for the fall in third-class wools was because it had been fraudulently entered, and that the reason for its great consumption was not because it was used in the manufacture of carpet, but that it was used in the manufacture of clothing, thereby supplanting first and second class wools. Am I right?

Mr. MANTLE. There can be no doubt of the truth of the

statement made by the Senator from Wyoming. The enormous importations of third-class wool under the McKinley law, and especially the second year, I think, when about 130,000,000 pounds were imported, twice as much as ever before imported in one year, have never been satisfactorily accounted for. It can not be shown that the wool went into the manufacture of carpets, and the inference is logical and legitimate that it went into the manufacture of clothing and of textiles other than carpets. That is the ground of the woolgrowers' complaint. The foreign wools thereby supplanted the use of American wool. Their low rate of duty, their low valuation, all tended to drag down the price of home wool, to the injury of the home grower.

In 1890 the law of 1883 was in force, and the provision relating to third-class wools was as follows: "Value 12 cents or less, duty 2½ cents per pound; value over 12 cents per pound, duty 5 cents per pound."

There was imported in that year 61,626,656 pounds, valued at 10 cents per pound, and 18,307,429 pounds, or 29.70 per cent of all, valued at 16 cents per pound, making a total of 79,934,085 pounds, at an average value of 11.37 cents per pound.

In October, 1890, the McKinley law went into effect, the specific rates on third-class wools having been changed, on the demand of the carpet manufacturers, as stated, to ad valorem rates, as follows: "Valued at 13 cents per pound or less, 32 per cent; valued at over 13 cents per pound, 50 per cent."

In 1891 the law of 1883 was in force a portion of the fiscal year, and the law of 1890 the remainder of the year, which serves to complicate the averages; but the same general tendency is apparent after the law of 1890 went into effect. The imports in 1891 were 73,148,022 pounds at 10 cents per pound, 6,403,112 pounds at 17 cents per pound, 4,841,471 pounds at 15 cents per pound; total, 84,392,605 pounds, at 10.8 cents per pound average value.

Under the McKinley law the imports of third-class wool in 1892 were 83,697,810 pounds, valued at 10 cents per pound, while there was only 2,106,212 pounds, or 2½ per cent of all, valued at over 13 cents per pound, the total being 85,804,022 pounds. This was an increase of 5,869,937 pounds in imports; but it will be observed that 16,201,217 pounds, which had come in at a specific duty of 5 cents and a valuation of 16 cents per pound in 1890, came in below the 13-cent limit in 1892. In 1893, under the stimulus of low ad valorem duties, the importations of third-class wools had reached the enormous amount of 125,611,283 pounds, the value per pound, however, having fallen to 7.6, the duty upon which, reduced to a specific rate, would be 2.43 cents per pound.

The imports of third-class wools above 13 cents for the same year was only 3,041,337 pounds, or 2½ per cent of all, at a value of 15 cents per pound. It is noticeable, however, that while the importations of third-class wools increased enormously under the McKinley law and their value decreased, there was no such phenomenal increase in the importations of clothing wools of class 1. The reason for this is found in the fact that the duty on wools of the first class was specific, and there being no incentive for undervaluation, the value per pound of the imports of first-class wool for the years 1891, 1892, and 1893 differed but slightly from that of the five years previous.

It will no doubt be answered by those who argue for the ad valorem duties of the House bill on third-class wools that the sudden drop in the import value of these wools in 1892 and 1893 was due to a general fall in price. But an inspection of the market prices at that period will not sustain this contention. No such fall in price was indicated in the imports of first-class wools. No reasonable explanation can therefore be offered for this sudden collapse in the value of third-class wools from an average value of 10.1 cents in 1890 to 7.6 cents per pound in 1893 except fraudulent undervaluations, which were induced and made easy under the ad valorem duties.

In 1896, under free wool, the importations of third-class wool were 96,661,663 pounds, at a valuation of 9.6 cents per pound, being 2 cents per pound higher than in 1893, although the imports were 28,949,620 pounds less. In 1896, however, the imports of first-class wool amounted to 117,533,750 pounds, at a valuation of 16 cents per pound, as against 35,322,611 pounds in 1893, at a value of 18 cents per pound. Thus it appears that while the value of the importations of first-class wool had fallen 2 cents per pound from 1893 to 1896, the importations of third-class wools had actually risen in value 2 cents per pound in the same period. The reason is plain. In 1896, under free wool, there was no incentive to undervaluation, neither was there any incentive to undervaluation on imports of first-class wool in 1893, the duty then being specific. By this comparison, then, the absolute certainty of frauds under the ad valorem provisions of the law of 1890 in the importation of third-class wools is established beyond dispute.

From 1884 to 1890, inclusive, the total imports of third-class wool of a value of 12 cents or less was 417,219,849 pounds, or an average annual import of 59,602,835 pounds, of an average value of 10.1 cents per pound, paying 2½ cents per pound duty. During the same period there was imported 108,068,793 pounds of third-class wool, or an annual average of 15,438,399 pounds, at an average value of 17 cents per pound, paying 5 cents per pound duty. Under the ad valorem duties of the law of 1890 the bulk of this higher grade of third-class wool was forced in below the 13-cent limit.

I have made an examination of the importations for the first three months of this year, which bear out all I have already said upon this important point.

The imports of third-class wools for the three months ending March, 1897, were 34,722,543 pounds, valued at 10.4 cents per pound, a higher valuation than has obtained any year since 1884, thirteen years, on the lower grades of imported third-class wools.

For the same period of three months the imports of clothing wools of class 1 were 58,734,272 pounds, of a value of 15.75 cents per pound, being a reduction of one-fourth of a cent per pound from the import value of 1895 and 1896 on the same class.

In these latter figures, therefore, we find additional confirmation of the woolgrowers' contention as to the fraudulent character of third-class wool imports under the law of 1890. In the three months' imports just quoted, with free wool and no incentive to undervaluation, the value of third-class wool continues to rise, and is nearly 3 cents per pound higher than it was in 1893, while the import value of first-class wools has steadily fallen. The conclusion is inevitable that the law of 1890 led to immediate and wholesale frauds in the importation of third-class wools and ought, under no circumstances, to be incorporated in the law now under consideration.

OBJECTIONS TO AD VALOREM DUTIES.

Another conclusive objection to ad valorem duties is that their tendency is to destroy the essential principle of the protective policy; that is to say, they fail to afford protection when protection is most needed. For example, under an ad valorem duty on wool, the lower the foreign price the lower will be the duty and the less protection will be afforded; while, on the other hand, the higher the foreign price the higher will be the duty and the higher will be the protective benefit at a time when protection is needed the least.

To illustrate further: In 1895 there was imported 26,098,418 pounds of China wool, at a valuation of 5.15 cents per pound. Under the House provision this would have been dutiable at 32 per cent ad valorem, which, reduced to specific rates, would be 1.64 cents per pound—a rate so ridiculously low as to afford neither protection nor revenue. Yet, if the House ad valorem rates are retained, we shall see millions of pounds of wool, much of it available for clothing purposes, coming in at just such rates of duty.

In this connection, when we reflect upon the light shrinkage of these wools, we see at once that the duty of 1.64 would be practically cut in two again, so that it would only be one-half of that in comparison with the shrinkage of American wool.

While upon the subject of importations of China wools, I wish to state that the imports of these wools are increasing year by year. In 1870 there were but 9,106 pounds; in 1895 there were 26,089,418. They are among the very cheapest wools that come to this country, although the bulk of the imported cheap wools come from countries where labor is of the cheapest and most degraded character. And while upon the subject of cheap labor I am reminded that we exclude the Chinese because they work so cheaply that their labor undermines the labor interests of this country. In this connection, therefore, it is a pertinent inquiry whether or not the importation of cheap Chinese and other wool produced by like cheap labor, and which comes into competition with American-grown wool, at rates of duty which afford no protection whatever, is not quite as hurtful to the American woolgrower as Chinese cheap labor was to the industrial wage earners of the country?

NOTE.—Prior to 1869 there were no imports of China wools. Since then imports have gradually increased, as indicated by specified fiscal years, as follows:

Year.	Quantity.	Value.	Import price per pound.
	Pounds.		*Cents.*
1870	9,016	$1,312	10.45
1880	66,751	9,188	13.76
1890	8,587,575	814,264	9.48
1893	20,753,993	1,812,250	8.74
1894	10,186,264	818,157	8.03
1895	26,089,418	1,099,414	5.15

Note the steady decrease in the value year by year.

NOTE.—The Wool and Cotton Reporter of June 15, 1893, page 756, said:

"When the McKinley bill was under discussion, the evidence was that only a small fraction of carpet wools was used for clothing purposes, mainly for blankets, and this evidence was undoubtedly correct. Since then fashion and excessive competition in the goods market have made it possible to utilize these wools in the manufacture of clothing. A tariff that comprehends protection of domestic wool should take cognizance of these facts."

To my mind, the importation of cheap goods, produced by ill-paid and degraded labor, which come into competition with like products of our own country, without the payment of adequate protective rates, is, if possible, more harmful than the importation of the cheap laborer himself. If the laborer comes, he must at least live, and must help to consume some of the surplus products of our farms and factories. Not only this, but he becomes amenable to our laws. If he acquires property, he must pay taxes upon it, and thus contribute to the support of our Government. If he engages in business among us, he must pay for the privilege of doing so, and under these conditions there is at least some slight hope that by contact with an enlightened and progressive people, living in an atmosphere of liberty and enjoying the blessings of a free Government, he may possibly gather inspiration from his surroundings and in time become a useful citizen.

But when this cheap labor comes in the form of a box of merchandise or a bale of wool, without payment of an adequate protective duty, it monopolizes our markets, injures our producers, degrades our labor, and takes employment from our own citizens without any just compensatory advantage. If the laborer himself comes, he may perhaps be induced to cooperate with our own laborers for the protection of labor interests; he can be talked to and reasoned with; but the American wage earner can not argue with a box of cheap foreign merchandise; neither can the American farmer argue with a bale of cheap Chinese wool.

Still another reason given by the manufacturers in favor of low ad valorem duties on third-class wools is that they do not compete with domestic wools; that we do not and can not produce coarse wools of a similar character in this country, and that therefore a protective duty is not necessary, and would be of no benefit to the American woolgrower.

As a matter of fact, I may state, and it so appears in the tariff hearings before the Committee on Ways and Means, these coarse wools are even now grown in fifteen States of the Union.

Judge Lawrence, president of the National Wool Growers' Association, who speaks with great authority as a result of knowledge gained by years of study of the wool question, says that "at least one-eighth of every fleece of the mutton breeds of sheep is coarse third-class wool. A portion something less of many fleeces even of Merino sheep is of the same class. A portion of every fleece of sheep, the crosses of Merino and mutton breeds, and of crosses of common coarse-wool sheep, is also of the same class."

This means that of every flock of 800 of this class of sheep, 100 are producing coarse wools suitable for carpets and coarse clothing.

Just what proportion of these cheap third-class wools go into the manufacture of clothing is, of course, difficult to determine. Manufacturers themselves will not tell, and wool merchants and dealers, as a rule, are loath to furnish information, for fear of incurring the ill will of their customers. Then, again, different mills are engaged in the manufacture of different kinds of goods. Many of them have special lines requiring special kinds and grades of wool. It is therefore fair to assume that the manufacturers themselves, in many instances, can not tell just what character of wool is being used in other mills. Mr. Theodore Justice, the Philadelphia wool merchant, estimates that from 15 to 20 per cent are so used.

Another prominent wool merchant, John Consalus, of Troy, N. Y., estimates that 40 per cent are so used. Others equally well informed maintain that as much as 50 per cent go into the manufacture of cheap clothing, blankets, linings, window curtains, and backings for cloths of various kinds. It is certain that immense quantities of carpet wools have been imported which never went into the manufacture of carpets.

For my own part, after considerable inquiry, I am convinced that a much larger and constantly increasing proportion than is generally supposed finds its way into the manufacture of textile fabrics other than carpets.

During the three years that the McKinley law was in force there was imported 254,138,204 pounds of third-class wool, at an average value of 8¼ cents per pound. Assuming that only 25 per cent is used for other than carpet purposes, it would reach the enormous quantity of 63,534,501 pounds, which, on account of its very light shrinkage, would equal at least 127,079,002 pounds of American merino, thus displacing that amount of the domestic product.

There is manifestly but one way to remedy this wrong, and that is to increase the duty on these wools to a protective point. If this is done, it will stimulate their production in those States and Territories where the conditions are peculiarly adapted to them.

As a result of my investigation of the subject of the duties on third-class wools, I arrive at the following conclusions:

First. That because of their cheapness, changing fashions, and improved methods in manufacturing, a very large percentage of the importations find their way into the manufacture of clothing and other textile fabrics aside from carpets, thereby lowering the price and supplanting the use of American-grown wools.

Second. That as these wools may come in washed and scoured under the Senate amendment without additional duty, and there being therefore little or no shrinkage, 1 pound of this wool as imported will take the place of from 2 to 3 pounds of domestic wool, so that the proposed duty of 4 cents on wools of a value of 10 cents or less would not actually amount to more than 1 to 2 cents per pound on the basis of unwashed wool.

Third. That the Senate amendment reducing the dividing line from 13 to 10 cents is no concession, as the market value of these wools has fallen fully 3 cents since the law of 1890 was enacted. Further than this, 98 per cent of all these wools imported in 1892, 1893, and 1894 came in at an average value of 8¼ cents per pound.

Fourth. That the low ad valorem duties of the law of 1890 upon this class of wools (which are exactly reproduced in the House bill) stimulated their importation and use, and led to fraudulent undervaluations and classifications.

CARPET WOOLS.

[From the Boston American Wool and Cotton Reporter of March 18, 1897.]

Concerning the duties on carpet wools, the following is an extract from a recent letter to us by President Jesse M. Smith, of the Utah Wool Growers' Association, whose late visit in New England won him very kindly opinions from merchants and manufacturers:

LAYTON, UTAH, *March 4, 1897.*

EDITOR OF WOOL AND COTTON REPORTER:

* * * There seems to be some doubt as to what rate the manufacturers really advocated, but if it is a 6 or 7 cent rate, that so many talked of when I was down there, they might as well save their breath for other game. I was given some credit for being a reasonable man by many of them, but a woolgrower would be lost to reason if he would submit to such low rates. I do hope that the manufacturers will support us on reasonable grounds and not try to engender more strife between them and the grower. If the Western woolgrowers can not get what reason and common sense would give them under the promise of the St. Louis platform, we will be obliged to ask our Senators to vote against any tariff of any kind; and while it will not take as much to satisfy the grower of the West as it will the grower of the East, I do not believe it would be altogether right to follow strictly the idea "let every man take care of himself."

If the grower east of the Mississippi needs a farm value of 20 cents to make his business profitable, he should have a rate that would give him the price, and I believe a single duty of 11 or 12 cents on the grade of wool in the grease would do it—that is, upon merino and combing wools. Carpets wools should pay nothing short of 7 cents, and I would be shoulder to shoulder with those who asked for 8 cents. This is not a high rate upon wool. The claim that we raise no carpet wool is not entitled to as much consideration as in the past. Wool circulars are now quoting carpet wools as grown in nearly all the Western States, at least fifteen of them, at an average price of about 7½ cents, which would yield to the grower from 4 to 5 cents, according to closeness to market. It is the first year I have noticed such classifications and have attributed it to people breeding coarse wool rams for mutton since wool became profitable. The manufacturers must understand that they can not dictate the whole of the coming tariff bill. The woolgrowers are as much interested in the permanency of the measure as they, and propose to get upon a plane that will be reasonable and just to all concerned, and any opposition to this will be defeated.

NOTE.—The wool-tariff act of 1867 provided duties as follows:

On clothing wools, unwashed, value 32 cents per pound or less, 10 cents per pound and 11 per cent ad valorem; value exceeding 32 cents per pound, 12 cents per pound and 10 per cent ad valorem; washed, double duty.

On combing wools, value 32 cents or less per pound, 10 cents per pound and 11 per cent ad valorem; value exceeding 32 cents per pound, 12 cents per pound and 10 per cent ad valorem.

On carpet wools, value 12 cents per pound or less, 3 cents per pound; value over 12 cents per pound, 6 cents per pound.

On all classes scoured, treble duty.

The tariff act of 1883 provided duties as follows:

Clothing wools, value 30 cents per pound or less, 10 cents per pound; value over 30 cents, 12 cents per pound; washed wool, double duty.

Combing wool, value 30 cents per pound or less, 10 cents per pound; value over 30 cents per pound, 12 cents per pound.

Carpet wools, value 12 cents per pound or less, 2½ cents per pound: value over 12 cents per pound, 5 cents per pound.

All classes scoured, treble duty.

The rates of duty on wools in the act of 1890 were as follows:

On class 1 wools.—Merino, etc., unwashed, 11 cents per pound; merino washed, double duty; merino scoured, treble duty.

On class 2 wools.—Down and other long wools, washed or unwashed, 12 cents per pound; scoured, treble duty.

On class 3 wools.—Native coarse sheep, if of the value of 13 cents or less per pound, 32 per cent ad valorem; if the value exceed 13 cents, duty 50 per cent ad valorem.

The original McKinley bill as reported to the House of Representatives April 16, 1890, after dividing wools and other animal fibers in three classes, provided as follows:

383. The duty upon all wools and hair of the first class shall be 11 cents per pound, and upon all wools or hair of the second class shall be 12 cents per pound.

384. Wools of the third class the value whereof shall be 12 cents or less per pound, the duty shall be 3½ cents per pound.

385. Wools of the third class the value whereof shall exceed 12 cents per pound, the duty shall be 8 cents per pound.

In the tariff bill reported to the Senate October 3, 1888, page 144, by Senator Allison, as a substitute for the House "Mills bill," the duty on third-class wools was placed at 2½ cents for wools of the value of 12 cents or less, and 6 cents on wools the value whereof shall exceed 12 cents.

In all these bills the duty proposed was made double for washed of classes 1 and 3, and treble for scoured of all classes.

But the duties were all specific.

The ad valorem duties provided in the McKinley bill as finally passed were inserted on the demand of a few, and only a few, Philadelphia carpet manufacturers, and that after a prior conference of woolgrowers and wool manufacturers, including carpet manufacturers, had agreed upon specific duties as those proper for Congress to provide.

Fifth. That we have ample territory in which much of this wool can be and will be grown under the stimulus and encouragement of specific protective rates of duty.

Sixth. That as compared with clothing, carpets may fairly be considered a luxury; therefore to the extent that these wools are actually used in the manufacture of carpets, the reasons for adequate and specific duties are quite as forcible as upon any other class.

Seventh. That if ad valorem rates are to be insisted upon for these wools, then none but ad valorem duties should be laid upon manufacturers of carpets.

Eighth. That there should be no dividing line of value in the duties, as all experience heretofore proves conclusively that the great bulk of the importations will come in below the dividing line at the lower rate of duty.

"THE SKIRTING CLAUSE."

Mr. President, I now come to the consideration of a clause in the McKinley law which has been retained in the measure before us, and which has produced more antagonism upon the part of the woolgrowers than any other, and perhaps has done them more injury, and that is what is known as the "skirting clause." I dislike to detain the Senate at great length, but it is a matter of so much consequence that I have felt that it was my duty to go into this question somewhat technically, to the end that all may have a correct understanding of what skirting means and what its result is upon the American woolgrower.

Under the provision in the law of 1890 known as the "skirting clause" it is asserted wools were freely imported in what was practically a "sorted" condition, without the payment of any additional duty, thus taking from the home woolgrower a large proportion of the protection nominally given him by the law.

In considering the woolgrower's objection in this particular, it must be kept in mind that when the wool classifications were made and the duties adjusted account was taken of the conditions which surrounded the woolgrowing industry in this country, as well as the character of the competition which it had to encounter. Thus, when the duty of 12½ cents was laid on merino wool in 1896-97 and 10 cents in 1883, it was done with the full knowledge that the average shrinkage of American wool of this class was 66⅔ per cent, and the purpose and intent of the law was that the American woolgrower should receive this amount of protection on this class of wools. The evils of which the woolgrower now complains are the result somewhat of changed conditions in the character of foreign competition, but more directly of a constant and successful effort upon the part of importers to evade and defeat the true intention of the law.

The practice of "skirting" imported wools was not extensively carried on, or at least did not excite much comment or discussion in the tariff debates, prior to 1888 and 1890. By that time, however, it had developed to such an extent as to arouse and alarm the woolgrowers, who discovered that this method of improving the quality of imported wools, by rejecting the heavier and inferior portions and importing only the lighter and finer parts of the fleece, had the effect of defrauding them of a large share of the protective benefit intended to be given them by the law. They therefore went before the House and Senate committees and secured the adoption, in the law of 1890, of a provision imposing a double duty on wools which should be imported in any other than their original condition, or which, in the language of the law, should be changed in character by "sorting," or by the rejection of any part of the original fleece.

But, unfortunately, after the woolgrowers had secured the acceptance of this just and reasonable clause, some one else came along and secured the adoption of a proviso as follows:

That skirted wools as now imported are hereby excepted.

Of course the proviso absolutely nullified the intended effect of the provision for doubling the duty. Skirted wools continued to come in under the McKinley law without any penalty, and the process of cheating the woolgrower out of his protection for the benefit of the manufacturer, whose compensation was based upon the protective benefit which the woolgrower was supposed to and ought to have received, but did not, was continued.

The same misleading and deceptive provision is contained in the pending tariff bill, both in the Senate and House reports. The provision for doubling the duty on skirted and sorted wools remains in the identical language of the McKinley law, but accompanying it is the proviso, "That skirted wools as imported in 1890 and prior thereto are hereby excepted."

Mr. President, for years the woolgrowers have been pleading that this injustice to them should be corrected. They have petitioned Congress over and over again, asking that this proviso be stricken out, so that they may stand upon fair and equal terms with the foreign producer, and honestly secure in practice the protection promised them in the law. They assert that the law as it stood in 1890, and as it is now proposed to reenact it, is upon its face a "legislative lie;" that it holds out to them a pledge of protective benefits which has not and under the proposed terms never can be realized; that it is "a fraud, a delusion, and a snare," thrust upon them in spite of their earnest protest, against their wishes, and without their consent, and that, too, at the instance and demand and in the interest of an industry which has received more protection than any other in the land. They are growing tired of the constant effort of wool manufacturers to make it appear to the country that the high rates of duty accorded the manufacturing industry are a result of unusual and exorbitant duties in favor of the woolgrowers.

The woolgrower asks that whatever protective duty is laid on wool shall be so laid that he will get it. He protests against being nominally given 11 cents in the law and then being made the victim of provisos and loopholes for fraud and evasion, so that in actual practice in the States of Michigan, Indiana, and in Ohio he gets but 5 or 6 cents per pound instead of 11, and in Montana but 3 or 4. Whatever the duty is to be, he asks that it be placed in such a manner that he will in fact receive it, and so that he will not hereafter be held accountable for a rate of protective benefit which loses more than 50 per cent in the process of being filtered through the hands of others before it reaches him.

An examination of the testimony before the Ways and Means Committee of the House upon this branch of the wool question shows that the manufacturers have striven hard to make it appear that the practice of skirting imported wools does not materially reduce their shrinkage or increase their value; and in order to prove their contention they have prepared a large number of tables relating to prices and shrinkages of imported Australian merino wools, which are to be found in the testimony of the treasurer of the Arlington Worsted Mills, on pages 1593 to 1596 of Tariff Hearings. Of these tables I may say that to me they appear to be largely irrelevant and misleading, being based upon "estimates" and assumptions rather than on conditions in actual practice. The deductions drawn from them, however, by the manufacturers are that the process of skirting reduces the shrinking of a skirted fleece from five-tenths of 1 per cent to 3.8 per cent, or an average of only 2½ per cent, and that it enhances the value of a skirted fleece only 5 per cent.

Of course it must be borne in mind that "skirted" wools as imported under free wool, with no incentive to reduce the shrinkage for the purpose of evading the duty, and "skirted" wools as imported under a protective tariff are two entirely different propositions.

Referring to these tables, which are very complete and elaborate, I wish to say, with all due respect, that the results stated are absurd and preposterous upon their face. They mean in effect, if I understand them correctly, that on an Australian merino fleece, such as is imported to this country under a protective tariff, weighing say 8 pounds, less than 4 ounces would be removed in the process of "skirting," while its whole value would be increased only 7 or 8 cents.

Mr. President, I venture to assert that there is not a boy 10 years of age herding sheep in this country who does not know that to skirt a fleece—that is, to remove the stained, coarse, and matted portions from the belly, legs, neck, and hips—would necessitate the rejection of at least 20 per cent of the fleece, and frequently much more. This would amount on a fleece weighing 8 pounds to from 2 to 3 pounds, as the rejections or skirtings are by far the heaviest portions of the fleece. In per cent it would amount to at least 37½.

In this connection, I desire to state that a controversy arose some time ago between a gentleman widely known as a woolgrower in the country and a wool merchant, as to what per cent or what portion of the fleece would be removed in the process of skirting. So the woolgrower sent to Michigan and had sent to him a fleece just as it was sheared from the sheep, and brought it to Philadelphia, and there he met the wool merchant. He spread the fleece out, and he said, "Now, how shall I skirt this fleece?" The wool merchant said, "Skirt it according to your idea." And he did, and they agreed that 10 per cent had been removed. But the wool merchant said, "My dear sir, that will never pass as a skirted fleece; you must remove a great deal more than that." And before they had gotten that fleece into the condition of a "skirted" fleece, according to suggestions of the wool merchant, 40 per cent of the fleece had been removed. I cite this as illustrating the process and method of skirting.

On page 27 of the Special Consular Report on Australian Sheep and Wool, issued in 1892, will be found a very complete and accurate description of the manner in which the "skirting" and "sorting" of wool for the American market was carried on in that country.

It is a complete answer to the extraordinary statement of the manufacturers to which I have just referred. The report was written by the American consul-general, Hon. George H. Wallace, himself a practical woolgrower, and who had made a very complete and careful investigation of the subject while on the ground. Among a number of examples given in this report, I select one

which is to be found on page 27, and which deals with the entire clip taken from 30,313 sheep at a single station or ranch.

It shows that the "wool is divided into 110 sorts;" that is, a fleece is so divided, according to the Australian custom, in preparing the wool for the American market, that 47.41 per cent was what is known as "first combing"—that is to say, the choice portions of the fleece—and the remaining 52.59 per cent was what is known as "rejections," so far as the United States market was concerned; that 22.27 per cent were "stained pieces," "bellies," and locks, which were sent to be scoured, not shipped, while 32.26 per cent were "second combing," "clothing," "dingy," "broken fleece," etc., which were not shipped to this country, but which found their way to some other market. Thus, according to Mr. Wallace, the American consul-general, instead of from 4½ to 15 per cent of "rejections," as estimated by the manufacturers in the tables referred to, there was 52.59 per cent, so far as importations to the United States were concerned.

Accepting Mr. Wallace's report of the method of skirting and sorting as being correct, we find that more than 50 per cent of the imported fleece is removed by the "skirting" process, instead of 2½ per cent, as claimed by the manufacturers, and that the value of the skirted fleece is increased at least 35 per cent by the operation instead of 5 per cent, as alleged in the papers to which I have referred.

I have prepared a statement bearing upon this particular point and carrying out the matter in detail, which I will not stop to read, as it is rather technical, and which I ask leave to print with my remarks. The table is as follows.

Allowing 66⅔ per cent as the shrinkage of the whole Australian merino fleece, we shall have 33⅓ per cent of scoured wool, and accepting the manufacturer's estimate of 50 per cent shrinkage (which is generally conceded to be about the average shrinkage on imported Australian skirted merino wools, although much of it shrinks less), we get the following results as to shrinkage:

	Pounds.
47.41 pounds of "first combings," shrinking 50 per cent, yield of scoured wool	23.71
52.59 pounds of "rejections," shrinking 81.71 per cent, yield of scoured wool	9.62
Total	33.33

Which is equal to 100 pounds of wool in the grease, shrinking 66⅔ per cent.

Accepting the manufacturers' assumption that the rejections sell for one-half of the price of the skirted wool, and taking 20 cents as the price of the skirted fleece, and making the calculation on the same basis as before, we get the following results as to value:

47.41 pounds of "first combings," at 20 cents	$9.48
52.59 pounds of "rejections," at 10 cents	5.26
Total value of 100 pounds equals	14.74

Thus showing that the process of skirting had increased the value of the skirted portion the difference between 14.74 cents per pound, the average value of the whole fleece, and 20 cents per pound, the value of the skirted portion, or 35.68 per cent, instead of 5 per cent, as claimed.

In order to show in just what manner this skirting injures the American woolgrower, we will now follow this skirted fleece from Australia to the United States. The report I have just quoted shows that 100 pounds of greasy Australian merino wool has been reduced by skirting and sorting 52.59 per cent, thus leaving but 47.41 pounds to be imported to the United States. At a rate of 11 cents per pound, as provided in the House bill, this 47.41 pounds of skirted wool would pay $5.21¼ duty. Estimating the shrinkage at 50 per cent, there would be left 23.71 pounds of scoured wool, upon which had been paid a duty of but 22 cents per pound, while the theory and language of the law is that scoured wools shall pay a duty of 33 cents per pound.

This shows very conclusively how the duty upon wool is avoided, and how one-third of the duty was evaded through the process of skirting and sorting these light, shrinking Australian wools.

Here, then, we plainly see that by importing his wool skirted the American manufacturer or importer has saved just one-third of the duty which he would have to pay if he imported it in its original condition.

If, as alleged, there is some peculiarity in Australian fine merino required for the manufacture of extra fine cloths, which are worn only by the rich, then this character of wool is in effect a luxury and should pay a duty accordingly.

The distinguished Senator from Rhode Island in his opening address the other day, when touching upon the very point to which I have alluded, suggested that these very light fine Australian wools were of such a superior quality that they were essential to the American manufacturer for the production of certain very fine goods. We used to hear the argument a good while ago, not, however, from Republican sources, that these foreign wools were absolutely essential to manufacturers in this country because they were coarse and long and because they possessed some other peculiar qualifications—that they were essential to mix with American wools.

I say that argument did not come from the Republican side. Now, however, it is intimated that these wools are necessary because they are soft and fine and are required in the manufacture of very fine clothing. I simply desire in this connection to reiterate what I have already said, that if they are such they become luxuries, and they ought correspondingly to pay a higher rate of duty. In any event, whatever the duty may be under the law, the manufacturer will be compensated by a multiple of the duty upon unwashed wool, whatever it may be.

The average shrinkage of American merino, at a low estimate, is 66⅔ per cent, although far Western and Texas wools will shrink more. It is, therefore, self-evident from the foregoing that if our heavy shrinking wools are thus brought into competition with imported skirted wools that shrink only 50 per cent and less, and which pay only the single unwashed duty of 11 cents per pound, the protective benefit to the American woolgrower is reduced just one-third, and is only 7¼ cents instead of 11, a loss to him of 3.33⅓ cents per pound. And for every per cent of shrinkage below 50 per cent there is a corresponding protective loss of a little over one-eighth of a cent, very many of these imported wools shrinking less than 50 per cent.

Then, again, the process of skirting in effect "sorts" the wool and otherwise improves and perfects the fleece, thus saving the labor which would be necessary for that purpose, and still further increasing its value; and all these elements together combine to reduce the actual benefit to the home producer.

Mr. President, I here wish to include in my remarks excerpts from statements made by a number of gentlemen, wool merchants and others, who are very familiar with the subject of skirted wools, among them Mr. W. B. Thornton, wool merchant, of Chicago, who is very pronounced in his demands for an increased duty on skirted wools, and who supports his demand with strong arguments; also John Consalus, a wool merchant of Troy, N. Y.; also Hon. John T. Rich, formerly governor of Michigan, a practical woolgrower himself. Governor Rich was a member of the commission appointed in 1890 to examine and establish standard samples of wool for the use of the custom-house officials, and is therefore the best of authority upon the subject.

I also wish to include a diagram which I have taken from the consular reports of 1892, and which was prepared for Hon. George H. Wallace, consul-general to Melbourne, Australia, by one of the most expert wool sorters in that country, a member of one of the largest wool firms in Australia. It explains fully the process of "skirting" as practiced in that country, and throws a clear light upon this whole question. As bearing directly upon the question of what percentage of Australian wools constitute "rejections," I have taken from the Australasian of April 3, 1897, which contains full reports of wool sales, a few quotations, showing the respective number of bales containing the different parts of the fleece. These quotations confirm Mr. Wallace's report in respect to the percentage of rejections. I ask leave to print them with my remarks.

Hon. NELSON W. ALDRICH, *Chairman Senate Finance Committee:*

SIR: I have read your speech in explanation and defense of the tariff bill as amended by the Senate Finance Committee, and while willing to concede that to the general public that explanation and defense may seem fair and reasonable, to those who have become practically acquainted with the workings of wool tariffs and who have noted the intricacies of your proposed rates of duty, your argument will be regarded as sheer sophistry.

Allow me to refer to one or two features of the bill. Australian skirted fleece, according to the manufacturers' expert testimony, shrinks only 50 per cent in scouring, yet it takes, they claim, four pounds of it for one pound of goods—50 per cent lost in scouring and 50 per cent of the scoured lost in manufacturing. Mr. Aldrich, I know this claim is preposterous and so do you.

You give the manufacturer on his pound of goods worth not less than one dollar, 91 cents. The wool that makes this pound of goods pays, on the unwashed basis, 4½ cents per pound and no more. With a decline in foreign value of 4½ cents, how much protection will our wool get?

In third-class wools, your only object seems to be to make the term "carpet wool" so all-embracing as to include every kind of wool required by the manufacturer of clothing goods, and admit it at only free-trade rates, thus allowing him to become entirely independent of the home product. You claim that the proposed duty of 8 cents will give the American woolgrower better protection than he has ever secured under any former tariff; that is, your 8 cents is better than the 11 cents of the law of '90, or the 13 cents of the law of '67, periods when foreign wool was much higher in price than now, and consequently less protection required. Yet you argue that the lower the foreign price the more protection we get. So if the foreign article is so low in price that, notwithstanding the 8 cents duty, it can be imported, take possession of our market and drive us out, we still have "better protection than ever."

The entire scheme is in the interest of the manufacturing trust and is a vile fraud on American farmers.

Yours, DAVIS COSSITT.

ONONDAGA, N. Y., 1897.

Shipment.	Number of bales.	Description.	Percentage of bales of rejections to bales of skirted wools.
Shipment No. 1	49	Skirted	
	33	Pieces	47.87
	12	Bellies	
Shipment No. 2	148	Skirted	
	76	Pieces	40.87
	18	Bellies	
	8	Locks	
Shipment No. 3	120	Skirted	
	64	Pieces	43.96
	21	Bellies	
	17	Locks	
Shipment No. 4	94	Skirted	
	62	Pieces	40.50
	12	Bellies	
Shipment No. 5	120	Skirted	
	91	Pieces	47.90
	33	Locks	

It must be borne in mind that the bales of "rejections" weigh much more than the bales of skirted wool, as they are made up of the heaviest part of the fleece; hence the percentage by weight is higher than by bales.

I wish to state that these tables which I have prepared, taken from this late number of that journal, completely bear out the statement made by Consul-General Wallace, which I have heretofore referred to. They show the percentage of the bales of "rejections"—that is, of the inferior portions of the fleece—in the whole number of bales.

SORTING.

Mr. President, the practice of importing these wools in what is really a "sorted" condition is a matter that should appeal with peculiar force to the Republican members of this body, because it is alleged, and I believe with truth, that this practice deprives thousands of American wool sorters of employment.

The evil would not be so glaring if the Government received any compensatory advantage in the way of increased revenue. But I have shown that it does not. I have shown that "skirting" and "sorting" are largely synonymous terms, and that both practices, as carried on, are evasions of the law, and result in defrauding the Government of revenue, cheating the woolgrower out of his legitimate protection, and depriving American labor of employment which rightfully belongs to it. Upon the subject of sorting there was much interesting testimony before the Committee on Ways and Means. It was shown that 71,627,131 pounds of wool were imported from Australia alone last year, the sorting and scouring of which would distribute among our own working people $716,271. If all imported wools were sorted and scoured here, it would mean the distribution of millions of dollars among American workingmen which are now paid to foreigners. Therefore our policy should be to so frame the law as to induce the importation of wools in their unimproved condition.

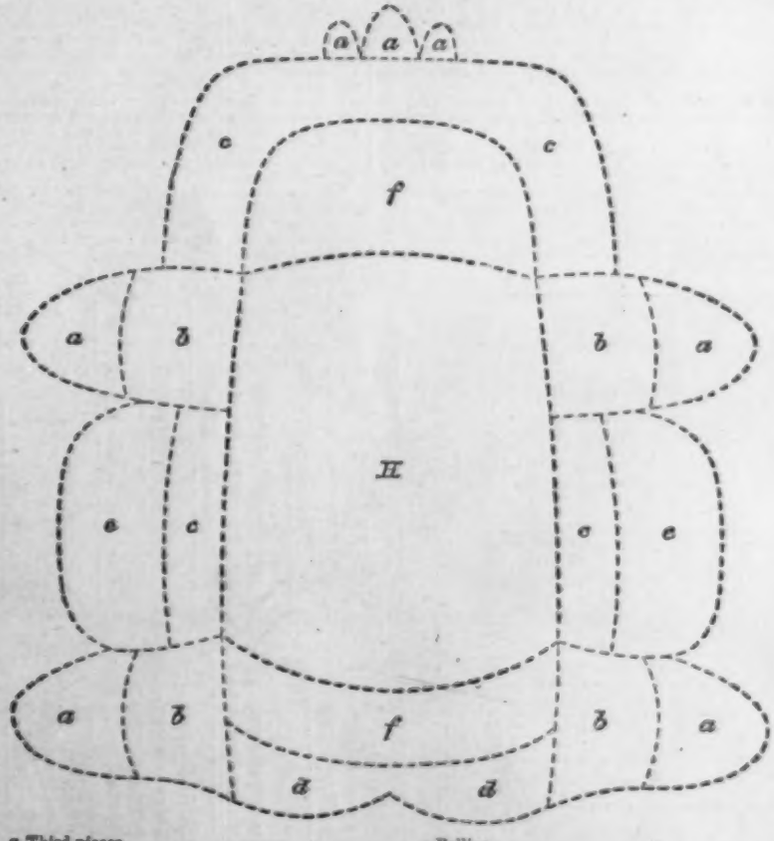
Among others, a Philadelphia wool sorter—a workingman—appeared before the committee, and this is what he said:

How does this skirted wool affect the workingman who is a wool sorter? In this wise: Before skirted Australian was known I was paid $1 per hundred pounds for sorting Australian fleece. I have known men refuse and leave a shop rather than sort it for 90 cents, and yet in this same wool room I have seen a laborer and boy, whose combined pay was $2.08 per day, put down to the wool washer from five to seven thousand pounds of this skirted wool in a day. This same wool is used by many manufacturers as assorted wool. It takes the place of sorted wool. Therefore, if the manufacturers want their wool sorted in Australia, I think in justice to the wool sorters, who are far more numerous than manufacturers and dealers combined, that they ought to be willing to pay for it in the shape of extra duty on skirted Australian.—*Senate Document No. 17*, December, 1896, pages 40, 42, 129, 155.

Mr. President, I think I have fully shown that the practice of permitting imported wools to come in "skirted" without the payment of adequate increased duties is exceedingly detrimental, looked at from the protective as well as the revenue-producing

NOTE.—Skirting as practiced to evade the duty consists in cutting out of the center of the fleece the choicest, lightest, most valuable part, equal to about one-half the fleece. Hon. George H. Wallace, United States consul-general to Melbourne, in his special consular report to the State Department on Australasian sheep and wool, August 5, 1892, gives a diagram of the Australasia fleece showing the extent of the skirting, as follows:

An Australian sorted fleece.



a Third pieces.
b Second pieces.
c First pieces (necks and skirts.
d Stained pieces.
e Bellies
f Broken fleece.
H Fleece.

And he says, page 24:

"The greatest factor in determining the value per pound of a fleece of wool is the per cent of shrinkage or loss it will sustain in being scoured, and it was found the larger part of this loss was sustained from the extremities or rim of the fleece; so the skirting, which originally consisted in removing only the stained portions, was enlarged and a portion was removed from the legs and a strip around the whole outside of the fleece, which was called 'pieces.'

"There was also another reason for this increased skirting in the trefoil bur,

standpoint, and that the complaint of the woolgrower that it defrauds and robs him of his protection is a just complaint, and entitled to our earnest consideration.

The argument of the manufacturers and importers touching this matter is founded largely upon estimates and figures of their own selection, made to suit the occasion, and not upon actual conditions as they exist in practice. But if the contention of the manufacturers that skirting does not increase the value of the imported fleece is correct, then it is pertinent to inquire, Why do they so strenuously oppose an additional duty on skirted wools? If skirting is not an advantage to them, why do they antagonize the woolgrower and deprive American labor of employment by insisting upon the proviso that skirted wools shall not be subject to an additional duty? Mr. Theodore Justice concedes that skirting increases the value 1 cent per pound, and following his suggestion the Senate subcommittee have offered an amendment providing for an additional duty of 1 cent per pound on skirted wools. This is an admission that the skirting process does enhance the value, but a 1 cent per pound penalty is utterly inadequate to equalize the difference.

Mr. Justice makes a much larger allowance for rejections than the manufacturers, but he falls into the same error of computing the shrinkage of the rejections on the basis of the shrinkage of the whole fleece, whereas, in fact, under a tariff, it is very much more. Then, again, his allowance of one-fifth in weight for skirting is too little, as practical woolgrowers all know, and as the Australian statistics prove. Another common error in the computations of those who oppose an additional duty on skirted wools is that they all insist upon taking into the calculation the percentage of shrinkage and value of the rejections. I maintain, however, that this has nothing to do with the question, so far as the American woolgrower is concerned. The rejections or skirtings are not brought here when there is a tariff on wool in force, and therefore do not come into competition with the domestic product.

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which was introduced from South America. This spread over many of the runs, and being a low-growing plant, became attached to the fleece when the sheep lay down. The presence of this bur decreased the value of the wool in which it was found 2d. (4 cents) per pound, and the practice grew into always removing burry portions. As this practice was extended to a greater or less degree, there was obtained a third 'sort' of wool for market. But the spirit of rivalry among both breeders and woolgrowers brought about a still greater amount of 'skirting,' and the neck being slightly coarser wool was torn from the fleece and added to the pieces. The odds and ends and sweepings were sacked separately and called 'locks.' The custom of the Melbourne market in 1890 was to put up the entire clip from any one station and sell as one lot, including all fleeces, lambs, pieces, and locks. The price at which it sold was so much per pound for the fleeces and lambs' wool, two-thirds of such price for the pieces, and one-half of the same for the locks.

All wool at this time was washed on the sheep's back. To-day at shearing the sorter is often a highly paid man, who has been educated in a mill in England, is an adept in (1) classifying, (2) sorting, and (3) judging wool. His skill is such that the fleece after passing through his hands is, as stated in the Manufacturer, published in Philadelphia, January 2, 1892:

"so well *skirted* on the station as to need no sorting at the mill, and the shrinkage is reduced from 48 to 52 per cent."

"* * * In the market of Melbourne it has been the rule of buyers for the American mills to refuse all wools which show a shrinkage of much, if any, over 52 per cent, and this action has no doubt had much to do with continuing and even increasing the amount of skirting and sorting done."

Mr. Wallace, in his article of the January, 1897, number of the Quarterly Bulletin of the National Wool Growers' Association, page 18, says:

"It has been asserted, and never contradicted, that unwashed Australian wool has been imported so manipulated in the processes of skirting and sorting, or, as our law expressed it, 'skirted wool as now and heretofore practiced,' as to be clean enough to go on the cards without any washing—wool without any shrinkage."

A Troy, N. Y., wool merchant, John Konsalus, says:

"I consider wools that are 'skirted' worth fully 20 per cent more than unskirted.

"The merino wools of South America and Cape of Good Hope shrink in scouring an average of 67 per cent; the Australian imported into this country only from 42 to 50 per cent.

"If all wools except Australian should be made dutiable at 10 cents per unwashed pound, the Australian should pay 15 cents; and if the duty on others be 12 cents, Australian should be 17 cents."

Another wool merchant, William H. B. Thornton, of Chicago, in a letter published in the Inter-Ocean of March 15, 1897, says:

1. There is very little merino wool from Australia that comes into this country unskirted. The wool skirted is merely a blind used by importers so as to bring in sorted wool, which was intended in the McKinley Act of 1890 to pay a double duty. What wools were admitted under that act as skirted was a subterfuge to deceive the producer of wool. Any Australian merino wools unskirted would bring in Boston or the Chicago market 5 or 6 cents per pound more than any American merino that is grown east of the Mississippi River; or, in other words, Australian merino unskirted, grading X and above, would sell in the markets mentioned at about 19 to 20 cents in the grease, while for American merino we could only realize 13 to 14 cents for the same quality of stock in the grease, or, as termed, unwashed.

2. There would be about the same difference in value between Australian and American delaine unwashed merino if the former came in unskirted.

3. Australian merino, unwashed, that comes in skirted is simply sorted wool in disguise, and, if combing stock, there is a difference in prices between this choice unwashed merino product from Australia and American unwashed merino as produced east of the Mississippi River of the same grade and classificatoin as sold in the Boston market at 10 to 13 cents per pound. These are facts which defy contradiction. It shows conclusively with what pernicious reasoning large Eastern manufacturers are trying to delude those representing Western interests. * * *

Think of it! Australian unwashed skirted merino staple wool in Boston sells from 24 to 28 cents per pound in the grease, while American unwashed wools of merino blood only bring from 14 to 15 cents per pound, also in the grease.

An editorial in the New York Weekly Tribune, of February 17, 1897, properly says:

"The skirting clause [of the McKinley act of 1890] was made the means of defeating the plain object of the law to a large extent."

Here is what was said by Hon. John T. Rich, governor of Michigan, in an address to the National Woolgrowers' Association at Chicago, September 28, 1893:

"The Fifty-first Congress (1890) enacted a law which was intended to give raw wool a fair measure of protection against foreign competition. Like the race between the safe manufacturers and the burglars is the race between tariff lawmakers and tariff lawbreakers, and it takes some years after any new law is passed before it is finally settled by Department decisions just what the law really provides. So far as the fine-wool interests are concerned what is known as the 'skirting clause' has proven to be the weakest part of the fence. Section 383 carefully provides against the sorting of wool to avoid the duty, but after having done this a proviso is inserted 'that skirted wools as now imported are hereby excepted.' The effect of this proviso is to let in wool worth quite as much as Ohio washed fleece at a duty of only 11 cents per pound, when, if it came in whole fleeces, washed, it would pay 22 cents per pound."

The following table is taken from the published statement of the Boonoke Ranche, or Station, in the Riverina section, Australia, and gives all the details of skirting and sorting, showing number of "sorts" to be 110. The lighter portions of this clip were bought for a number of years for export to the United States.

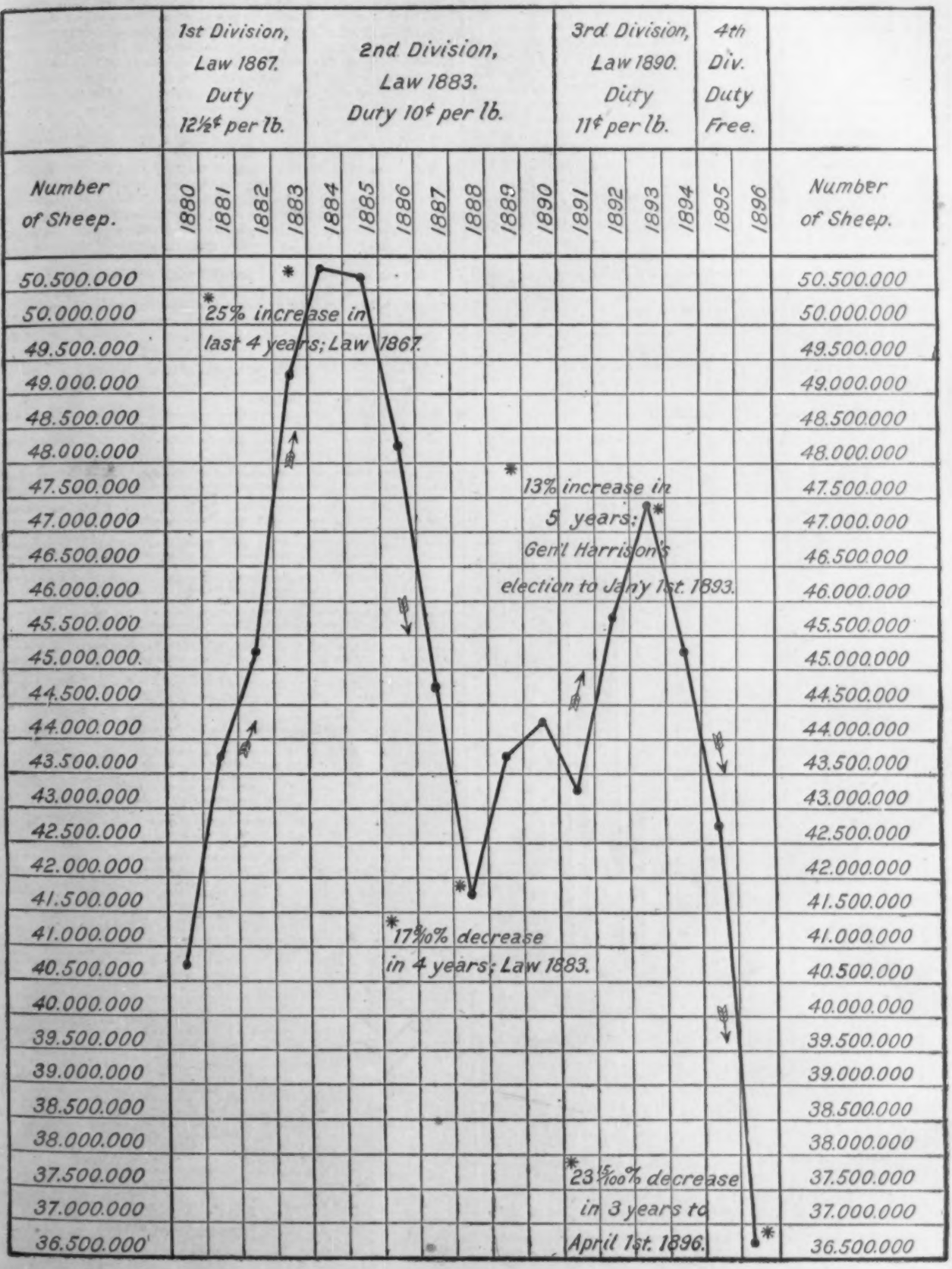
Average sheet, Boonoke, 1888.

Flock.	First combing.	Second combing.	Clothing.	Dingy and black.	Broken fleece.	First pieces.	Bellies pressed.
	Cwt. qr. lb.	*Cwt. qr. lb.*	*Cwt. qr. lb.*	*Cwt. qr. lb.*	*Cwt. qr. lb.*	*Cwt. qr. lb.*	*Cwt. qr. lb.*
Stags	89 0 11	12 3 16	6 2 5	----------	23 1 12	18 1 21	11 2 25
Wethers	165 3 22	15 1 2	0 2 19	----------	37 3 16	25 3 9	7 1 13
Single stud ewe weaners	107 0 17	6 1 22	0 1 5	----------	25 1 19	7 2 24	7 3 7
Flock stud ewe weaners	146 1 23	10 2 11	3 2 7	----------	43 3 26	7 2 13	----------
Old stud crawlers	----------	----------	32 0 25	----------	----------	4 2 10	----------
Extra stud ewes	71 2 3	0 2 6	0 1 3	----------	14 1 26	3 1 21	----------
Single stud ewes	259 1 2	14 2 21	1 1 9	1 1 9	101 3 1	13 0 2	----------
Flock ewes	228 3 1	16 1 3	----------	6 2 13	144 3 10	24 0 26	----------
Flock ewe weaners	113 1 13	7 1 0	0 3 6	----------	50 3 12	7 2 10	----------
Culls and killing sheep	59 0 10	6 3 0	----------	5 0 9	56 3 13	5 3 27	----------
Rams	24 3 26	21 2 2	----------	----------	----------	----------	----------
Totals	1,266 3 8	112 0 27	45 3 5	11 2 22	496 1 23	116 1 22	26 3 17
Per cent each	.4741	.0420	.0171	.0043	.1857	.0435	.0100

Flock.	To be scoured.			Totals.	Pounds.	Sheep.	Average per sheep.
	Stained.	Bellies.	Locks.				
	Cwt. qr. lb.	*Cwt. qr. lb.*	*Cwt. qr. lb.*	*Cwt. qr. lb.*		*Number.*	*Lbs. oz.*
Stags	21 0 17	12 3 9	14 0 15	210 0 19	23,539	2,067	11 6¼
Wethers	27 0 12	28 1 21	19 1 15	387 3 19	43,727	3,196	11 8
Single stud ewe weaners	0 3 7	0 1 10	0 3 13	183 3 12	20,592	1,979	10 6¼
Flock stud ewe weaners	36 0 16	29 2 23	27 0 24	295 1 3	33,071	3,700	8 14¼
Old stud crawlers	3 3 27	1 2 12	3 1 6	45 2 27	5,123	617	8 5
Extra stud ewes	13 1 23	12 3 13	14 1 13	130 0 5	14,565	1,095	13 4¼
Single stud ewes	35 0 4	38 2 16	23 3 22	486 2 21	54,509	5,642	9 10¾
Flock ewes	41 1 20	33 1 26	30 0 26	525 3 13	58,897	6,206	9 7¾
Flock ewe weaners	16 2 4	20 3 4	20 3 3	237 3 24	26,652	2,850	9 5¾
Culls and killing sheep	10 3 19	14 1 27	11 1 6	167 1 17	18,749	2,582	7 4¼
Rams	3 3 6	5 2 16	3 3 18	61 0 5	6,837	373	18 5½
Totals	209 1 15	207 3 11	178 1 15	2,671 3 25	299,261	30,312	9 14
Per cent each	.0783	.0777	.0667	----------	----------	----------	----------

Page 27, Consular Report on Australian Sheep and Wool, Department of State, August, 1892.
The above shows the skirted portion to be 47.41 per cent and the "rejections" or "skirtings" 52.59 per cent.

Diagram illustrating the experience with four tariff laws, demonstrating that the flocks always decreased when duties were not above 10 cents per pound and increased when they were over 10 cents per pound.



PROTECTIVE BENEFIT TO WOOLGROWERS UNDER HOUSE AND SENATE RATES AND LAW OF 1890.

I submit herewith an elaborate table prepared by Mr. Justice, showing the actual protective benefits which the woolgrowers received under the McKinley law, and what they would receive under the Senate amendment of 8 cents on first-class unwashed wool. This table shows that with a duty of 8 cents, as proposed by the Senate amendment, the increase in price of Ohio XX washed wool would be only 8¼ cents per pound, whereas it should be 16 cents. It shows that on far Western wools the increase would be but about 5 cents on the average; and when we consider the increased cost of getting Western wools to market we find that the protection under the Senate amendment would be reduced to 2¼ cents per pound, which is worse than no protection at all. If the woolgrower had no protection, he would go out of the wool-growing business and give up at once rather than try to struggle along under an alleged protective duty, which is utterly inadequate, which simply enables him to live along, struggle along, and eventually become bankrupt.

The table referred to is as follows:

The following is an estimate of the increase in price, or protection benefit, on nineteen leading grades of domestic wool that would result from a duty of 8 cents per pound, as proposed by the Finance Committee of the Senate, together with the protective benefit that resulted from 11 cents per pound duty under the law of 1890, and that which would have resulted with the same conditions under the 10-cent duty of the law of 1883 and under the 12¼-cent duty of the law of 1867. This clearly demonstrates that Senator ALDRICH was very much mistaken when he stated that the reduction of over 25 per cent in the duties provided for by the Senate amendments to the House bill would give a protective benefit to the woolgrower equal to 10 or 20 per cent more than that received by him at the time of the passage of any previous tariff law. This table shows that the House rates on wool of the first and second classes should be restored without any hesitation whatever:

Grade.	Protective benefit resulting from increase in prices caused by a duty of—			
	8 cents per pound (Senate amendments).	11 cents per pound (McKinley law of 1890).	10 cents per pound (law of 1883).	Over 12¼ cents per pound (law of 1867).
	Cts.	*Cts.*	*Cts.*	*Cts.*
Ohio XX washed	8¼	12	11	13½
Ohio medium washed	10½	14	12½	16
Ohio coarse washed (quarter blood)	10½	14	12½	16
Ohio fine unwashed	6½	8½	7½	9½
Michigan and New York X washed	7½	10	9	11½
Indiana and Missouri fine unwashed	6	8½	7½	9½
Indiana and Missouri medium unwashed	7½	10½	9½	12½
Indiana and Missouri coarse unwashed	8	9½	8½	11
Nevada, Utah, Oregon, and Montana heavy fine, shrink 75 per cent	5½	7½	6½	8½
Texas, Utah, Oregon, and Montana average fine, shrink 70 per cent	5½	8	7½	9
Texas, Utah, Oregon, and Montana fine medium, shrink 65 per cent	5½	8	7½	9
Texas, Utah, Oregon, and Montana low medium, shrink 60 per cent	6½	9	8½	10½
Ohio XX scoured	20½	28	25½	31½
Ohio medium scoured	16	22	20	25
Ohio quarter-blood scoured	13	18	16½	20½
Nevada, Utah, Oregon, and Montana fine scoured	19½	27	24½	30½
Texas, Utah, Oregon, and Montana fine medium scoured	17½	24	21½	27½
Texas, Utah, Oregon, and Montana low medium scoured	16½	23	21	26½
Texas, Utah Oregon, and Montana coarse (common)	13	18	16½	20½

The protective benefit of the House bill (McKinley law) was about 37½ per cent higher than the Senate amendments (proposed).

PROTECT THE WOOL SORTERS.—WHY ROB AMERICAN LABORERS?

Theodore Justice has said:

While it is true that the skirting of wool has deprived 20,000 American wool sorters of employment, it is a change that marks an advance in the method of marketing wool and benefits the buyer of wool, just as the invention of a sewing machine deprived hundreds of sewing women of employment, but benefits mankind. It is in the march of improvement.—*Tariff Hearings*, page 1570.

"The march of improvement"—"benefits the wool buyer!" How about the woolgrower? How about the wool sorters? The wool buyers object to giving employment to 20,000 American wool sorters, do they?—*Senate Document No. 56*, April 14, 1897, page 97.

WHY WOOL SORTERS DO NOT APPEAL TO CONGRESS.

Judge William Lawrence suggested to a prominent wool sorter that he procure from wool sorters a petition to Congress asking for increased duties on skirted wool. Here is his answer.

FEBRUARY 24, 1897.

Hon. W. LAWRENCE.

DEAR SIR: It will be impossible for me to get such a petition as you require, for the simple reason that many sorters fear to sign it on account of losing their work, and I am sorry to say that I think their fears are well founded. I know from the stand I have taken that in many mills where I am known, if I applied for work, I should be ordered off the premises.—*Senate Document No. 56*, April 14, 1897, page 17.

SECOND-CLASS WASHED GOODS.

Mr. MANTLE. I come now to another very objectionable and unjust provision, which has been found in every wool tariff from 1867 to this time. I refer to the admission of washed wools of the second class at the single or unwashed rate of duty. This concession was granted to the manufacturers in the first instance for the purpose of aiding and encouraging the worsted industry, but the necessity for this exemption from the payment of a just duty has long since passed. The improvements in machinery and in methods have placed the worsted manufacturers upon an equal footing with all others, and to-day there is not a single good reason which can be advanced why they should enjoy this bonus at the expense of the woolgrowers.

But it is not alone the woolgrowers who now object to this free gift of 12 cents a pound duty on second-class washed wool to the worsted manufacturers. I find on page 1608 of Tariff Hearings a most earnest and forcible protest, signed by fifty firms of woolen manufacturers and spinners of Philadelphia, against the injustice done them by giving the worsted manufacturers this unfair advantage over them.

I ask that that protest be printed with my remarks. I shall not stop to read it. It is a very forcible and most emphatic protest against this inequality in rates and the injustice done the woolgrowers and the favoritism shown the worsted manufacturers.

The paper referred to is as follows:

STATEMENT SUBMITTED BY THE WOOLEN MANUFACTURERS AND SPINNERS OF PHILADELPHIA, PA.

PHILADELPHIA, *January 11, 1897.*

Committee on Ways and Means:

The tariff act of 1890, otherwise known as the McKinley bill, it has been stated before your committee, was satisfactory to the woolen manufacturers. We do not so consider it. Having had experience under its operation, we have found that it discriminates against us.

The nature of our fabrics is such that we have to compete in our markets with fabrics and cloth manufactured of worsted. We would respectfully call your attention to the following statement of facts relating to the operation of the act of 1890 as to woolen goods:

In Schedule K, the classification of wools: Class No. 1, clothing wools, and class No. 2, combing wools, are the only classes of wools in which the woolen manufacturers are vitally concerned. The term "woolen manufacturer" here is understood to mean the production of woolen goods by the carding process of wool, and not the combing, and does not include what is termed worsted goods. Under the act of 1890, the McKinley Act, class No. 1 wools are divided into three classes, unwashed, washed, and scoured, the duty upon unwashed being 11 cents per pound; washed, 22 cents per pound; scoured, 33 cents per pound. Class No. 2 being divided into three classes, unwashed, washed, and scoured; the duty upon unwashed and washed, 12 cents per pound; scoured, three times the duty upon unwashed.

We desire to call your attention to the fact of the manifestly unjust disadvantage under which the woolen manufacturer was laboring on account of the inconsistency of the duty on the washed clothing wool of 22 cents per pound, while under the same act permitting the worsted manufacturer to obtain his washed combing wools at 12 cents per pound. The duty upon combing wool being taken at 12 cents, the shrinkage by scouring upon these being, for example, 25 per cent, the result is the duty of 16 cents per pound on clean wool; the clothing wool washed, 22 cents per pound duty. The shrinkage by scouring, assuming it to be the same (although it will be in actual practice in excess), the result will be a duty of 29½ cents, a difference in favor of the worsted manufacturer on imported combing wools of 13½ cents per pound, or 83½ per cent more duty on the clothing wool after scouring than on combing wool after scouring, this being, of course, to the extent as stated, to the disadvantage of the woolen manufacturer.

The intent of the tariff being the protection of all industries, and the laborers dependent upon said industries, by the just and equitable levying of the duties, by the example as cited previously, the conclusion must be that there is a radical injustice being done to the grower of the combing wool or the consumer of the washed clothing wool, to the advantage of the worsted manufacturer and to the detriment of the consumer of goods. The advantage of the worsted manufacturer in obtaining his wools at relatively lower rates of duty enables him to manufacture his goods and place the same upon the market at such a price that precludes the successful competition of the woolen manufacturer.

While we do not desire to antagonize either the woolgrower or the worsted manufacturer, yet it does appear to us that here was an inconsistency in our tariff laws that should not continue in the new bill now under contemplation. Either the grower of the washed combing wool should have placed upon his product the same rate of duty as the grower of washed clothing wool receives, thereby giving to him the same measure of protection (by which means one of the intents of the tariff will be fulfilled—the stimulating of an industry that is capable of indefinite expansion), or the woolen manufacturer should not be asked to pay an excess of duty upon his washed clothing wool over and above the duty paid upon the raw stock of his competitors. The merging of class No. 1 and class No. 2 wools would result in eradicating the discriminating duties to which objection is here made, and would also simplify the schedule.

The Leicester Mills Company (Incorporated), woolen knit goods and yarns, Germantown, Philadelphia, Wilson H. Brown, treasurer; Joseph Scatchard Sons, yarns, Germantown, Philadelphia; E. M. Cope & Co., underwear manufacturers, Germantown, Philadelphia; J. Randall & Bro., manufacturers of yarns, Germantown, Philadelphia; George Pebudy, manufacturer of knit goods, Germantown, Philadelphia; Joseph Fling's Sons, yarns, Germantown, Philadelphia; Benjamin W. Greer, Germantown, goods; J. & B. Allen, Germantown, yarns and goods; Samuel Wood, Germantown, yarns; Hamill & Co., Germantown, yarns and goods; Cruyens, Button & Co., Germantown, manufacturing yarns; David Barrows & Son, manufacturing yarns; A. Platt & Son, yarns, Manayunk; Clayton G. Rice, Manayunk, yarns; Sevill Schofield, yarns and fabrics; Arkonia Manufacturing Company, fabrics, Philadelphia; Albert Crenshaw, fabrics, Philadelphia; John Norris, fabrics, Philadelphia; Bower & Kaufmann, hosiery, Philadelphia; Thos. A. Pearce & Co., knit goods, Philadelphia; Beswick & Kay, woolen yarns; The E. H. Godshalk Company, knit goods; B. F. Boyer & Co., yarns; Henry B. Farrell, yarns; Jonathan Ring & Son, yarns; Henry Grant & Son, yarns; H. P. Rinehart, yarns;

Wm. Ernsley & Bro., yarns, Philadelphia; McGinley & Klenk, yarn manufacturers, Adams and Emerald streets, Philadelphia; J. N. Landenberger & Co., knit goods; Credential Manufacturing Company, hosiery manufacturers; Moore Manufacturing Company, woolen and worsted goods manufacturers; J. Levis Moore, Jno. G. Canuth & Co., goods; W. A. Gardner, goods; John Dalton & Co., yarns and goods; A. Erskine, goods; Wm. Rhodes & Son, manufacturers of woolen shawls; A. Oliver, manufacturer of underwear; Star and Crescent Mills Company, Lehigh avenue and Hanover; W. B. Thuapleton, Howard and Huntingdon, manufacturers of hosiery; Chas. M. McCloud & Co., yarn manufacturers.

Mr. MANTLE. The effect of this discrimination against the woolen manufacturer is as follows: He imports 100 pounds of unwashed clothing wool of the first class, shrinking 50 per cent, upon which, under the House rate, he pays a duty of $11, and from which he gets 50 pounds of scoured wool.

On the other hand, the worsted manufacturer imports 100 pounds of washed wool of the second class, which shrinks only 25 per cent, upon which he pays a duty of $12 and from which he gets 75 pounds of scoured wool. Thus, by the payment of only $1 more duty, he gets 25 pounds more of clean wool; or, in other words, he gets, on the payment of 12 cents in duty, what costs his competitor 16⅓ cents.

Its effect on the woolgrower is, however, far more disastrous, for the reason that 16,000,000, or nearly 50 per cent, of the sheep in the United States, are producing crossbred wools with which these imported washed second-class wools come into direct competition. I may state that this estimate is based upon the judgment of woolgrowers and wool merchants who are very familiar with the character of the domestic product.

Our wool product last year was 272,000,000 pounds, and it is therefore safe to assume that at least 100,000,000 pounds of this is of a character that competes directly with the imported washed second-class wools.

The second-class washed wools from Canada and the United Kingdom shrink only 25 per cent, while the domestic crossbreds shrink fully 50 per cent. The woolgrowers of Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Kentucky, Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, New York, West Virginia, and Pennsylvania, who grow what are known as the mutton breeds of sheep, are the ones who suffer chiefly from this unfair competition, which practically reduces their protection one-half.

The imports of second-class washed wools for the year ending June 30, 1896, were 15,756,318, valued at $3,509,736.

	Pounds.	Value.
From the United Kingdom (London), shrinking 25 per cent	6,505,645	24.5
From the Dominion of Canada, shrinking 25 per cent	3,817,100	20.8
From Argentina (heavier shrinkage)	3,273,075	14.1
From other countries	2,160,438	.....

This is equivalent to 20,000,000 pounds of American crossbred wool shrinking 50 per cent.

CLASSIFICATIONS.

Much dissatisfaction also existed among woolgrowers over the classifications of the law of 1890, the belief among them being that, owing to defective descriptions, many varieties of wools from Europe, Asia, and Africa which properly belonged in the first class were passed through the custom-house as third class, thus avoiding the higher rate of duty.

The difficulty, however, in this respect, was not wholly due to the faulty classifications of the law. Some of it had arisen out of the fact that since the passage of that law changing fashions and improved processes of manufacture have made it possible to utilize many of these low-grade wools in the manufacture of textiles other than carpets. Hence many of these wools have to all intents and purposes become clothing wools.

In the House bill an attempt has been made to correct these defects in former classifications, and to remove the causes of complaint by transferring to the first class some of the wools which have heretofore been included in class 3.

Table showing scoured wool values of fine wool in London and Boston, differences of same, scoured wool duties, and number of sheep in the United States each year, 1880 to January 1, 1894.

[Compiled from official sources.]

Year.	Scoured wool values.		Difference.	Duty on scoured wool.	Number of sheep in United States.
	Boston.	London.			
1880	$1.02½	$0.60	$0.42½	$0.366	40,765,900
1881	.95½	.53	.42½	.358	43,576,899
1882	.90½	.53	.37½	.358	45,016,225
1883	.86	.51	.35	.30	40,237,291
1884	.80½	.46	.34½	.30	50,626,626
1885	.71½	.41	.30½	.30	50,360,243
1886	.74	.41	.33	.30	48,322,331
1887	.73½	.42	.31½	.30	44,759,514
1888	.68	.42	.26	.30	43,544,755
1889	.73½	.48	.25½	.30	42,599,079
1890	.73½	.44	.29½	.30	44,336,072
1891	.70½	.40	.30½	.33	43,431,136
1892	.63	.34	.29	.33	44,938,365
1893	.55	.33	.22	.33	47,273,553
1894	.50	.32	.18	.33	45,048,017

It takes 3 pounds of unwashed wool to yield 1 pound of scoured or clean wool. The duty on 1 pound of unwashed merino wool being 11 cents, the price of scoured wool in Boston, in order to secure to the American woolgrower the full protective duty intended by the law, should be 33 cents more than the London price. By reference to the foregoing table, however, it will be seen that under the McKinley law the difference in the two prices—London and Boston—steadily grew less, until in 1894 it was only 18 cents, which meant that the duty of 11 cents per pound on unwashed merino wool had dwindled to 6 cents.

Statement of Mauger & Avery, wool dealers:

NEW YORK, *July 24, 1896.*

S. N. D. NORTH, Esq., *Boston.*

DEAR SIR: Your favor of the 21st instant is received, inclosing proof slip of the letter and tables prepared by us a year ago for the Senate Finance Committee, with the request to make the calculations with which said letter concludes, based upon the prices of Ohio fine washed fleeces and Port Phillip (Australian) good average grease as these prices stood July 1, 1893.

Continuing that same basis of calculation, we reach the following result, viz:

Ohio fine washed fleece costing 24 cents July 1, 1893, and shrinking 55 per cent, costs 53⅓ cents per scoured pound.

Port Phillip good average grease, costing in London July 1, 1893, 18 cents, and also shrinking 55 per cent, costs in the United States, duty and charges paid, 67½ cents per scoured pound, as follows:

Wool	$0.18
Duty	.11
Charges	.0150
Cost	.3050

or 67½ cents per scoured pound.

Cost in London, 40 cents per scoured pound.

The difference between 53⅓ cents and 40 cents, or 13⅓ cents, is the amount by which the price of Ohio fine scoured wool is enhanced because of the duty and charges. This, on fine Ohio, shrinking 55 per cent, is equivalent to 6 cents in the washed condition.

If we assume the duty of 11 cents per pound removed, and take the prices of Ohio and Port Phillip that ruled July 1, 1893, as the basis of another calculation, viz:

Ohio fine-washed fleece costing 24 cents and shrinking 55 per cent gives clean cost 53⅓ cents, and

Port Phillip, good average, costing in London	$0.18
Freight and charges added	.0150
Making cost landed in the United States	.1950

which, shrinking 55 per cent, gives clean cost of 43⅓ cents, we still find Ohio fine washed costing more than Port Phillip on this calculation, 10 cents per scoured pound more; but it would really be greater, inasmuch as Ohio fine washed fleece is not skirted, and its cost is thereby increased over that of Port Phillip at least 3 cents per scoured pound, in our opinion. The difference of, say, 13 cents per scoured pound is, on fine Ohio, shrinking 55 per cent, equivalent to about 6 cents per pound in the washed condition.

* * * * * * *

Yours truly,

MAUGER & AVERY.

This estimate was on prices as they stood July 1, 1893—that is, on Port Phillip. London price, 18 cents per pound, and the New York price, same date, of Ohio unwashed merino, 24 cents.

The effect of the 11 cents per pound duty then was:

(1) It gave no protective benefit to Ohio unwashed merino.

(2) It gave to Ohio washed, shrinking 55 per cent in scouring, a protective benefit of 6 cents per pound.

(3) On scoured Ohio merino the protective benefit was about 12 cents.

The foregoing results are verified by the statement of the Government in the Treasury Department, as follows, in answer to the inquiry from William Lawrence:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *January 11, 1897.*

SIR: Please answer for use before the Committee on Ways and Means in Congress on the following facts the questions thereto appended. The value of wool as shorn in the grease depends on the clean product it will yield in scouring. The Australian unwashed merino, as imported, shrinks in scouring an average of 50 per cent. Ohio merino unwashed shrinks in scouring 63½ per cent. It has been demonstrated by Mauger & Avery that a tariff rate of 11 cents per pound gave to Ohio washed merino, shrinking 55 per cent, a protective benefit of 6 cents in competition with Australian, as conditions and prices stood July 1, 1893.

1. What is the protective benefit to an unwashed pound of such Ohio merino?

2. What is the protective benefit to a pound of scoured wool?

ANSWER.

Assuming that the price of such Australian Port Phillip washed was, July 1, 1893, 18 cents per pound, and that Ohio washed was, in Boston, 24 cents per pound; then, owing to the different shrinkage of the wools, the prices of the several stages of the wool would be as follows:

	London (Port Phillip).	Boston (Ohio).	Protective benefit.
	Cents.	*Cents.*	*Cents.*
Unwashed	12	12	0
Washed	18	24	6
Scoured	24	36	12

* * * * * * *

Yours, respectfully,

JOSEPH S. McCOY,
Government Actuary.

JOS. S. McCOY, Esq., *Government Actuary.*

In the report accompanying the House bill from the Ways and Means Committee I find the following:

The wool and woolen schedule is substantially that of the tariff of 1890, except that a few kinds of wool classed under that and previous acts as carpet wools, which have been largely used for clothing purposes and whose use for a purpose not intended by the old classification has caused much irritation among woolgrowers, have been transferred from third-class to first-class wools.

It will be observed that the House report confirms the claim of the woolgrowers that these cheap third-class wools have been largely used for clothing purposes.

I find on examination that six varieties of wool have been transferred from class 3 to class 1, as follows:

1. Bagdad wool;
2. China wool;
3. Castel Branca;
4. Adrianople skin wool or buther's wool;
5. Egypt; and
6. Morocco.

According to a London wool circular of last December the average value of these six classes was 15.66 cents per pound.

I find, however, quoted in the same circular six other varieties of third-class wools of the same kind, which it is asserted can be used for clothing purposes, the average price being 14.8 cents per pound, and still fifteen more of the same grade or character, the average price of which is 15.23 cents per pound. I also find in the same circular eight varieties of unwashed merino wools, the average price of which is only 12½ cents per pound, showing that there are more than twenty kinds of third-class wools of very light shrinkage, the value of which is from 2 to 2½ cents per pound higher in the London market than unwashed merino wools.

Manufacturers will not, of course, buy American or other merino wools under a duty of 8 or 11 cents per pound whenever they can supplant them with these third-class wools, shrinking only a quarter as much, and get them in at a duty of 32 per cent ad valorem, or 4 cents per pound specific.

In this view of the matter, therefore, it appears that the transfer of six classes of third-class wools to the first-class by the House bill will not result in much relief to the woolgrower in the way of removing this character of competition, since there is a wide field not enumerated from which the manufacturer and importer may still select. Not only this, but it is asserted by experts on wools who are familiar with the practice in the customs department that the specific mention by name in class 1 of such wools as "Bagdad," "Morocco," "China lambs' wool," "Adrianople skin wool," and "Castel Branca," will operate inferentially to exclude a great many wools of the same character which are grown in contiguous localities, and that therefore the change in classification, while designed to benefit the woolgrower, will in practice, as has so often been the case before, actually result in his injury.

This is the opinion of Hon. E. A. Greene, who was the president of the commission appointed in 1890 to examine and classify standard samples of wools for use in the Government custom-houses. There is no better authority than Mr. Greene, and this is what he says upon the subject:

It is a mistake to mention Morocco or Adrianople wools in the first class; they have never been anything else under any bill, and by naming them specifically it leaves an opportunity to get in other African and Turkish wools as third class.

Mr. Green's opinion is that all European wools (with two exceptions) and all wools from Turkey in Asia and from Africa should be included in the first class, where they properly belong, and in this opinion he is joined by Mr. Justice.

The same objection lies against the classification of goat hair. "Angora goat" is especially mentioned in the second class, and thus a large number of mohairs of practically the same quality as Angora will be excluded if this designation is permitted to stand. Mr. Green says, in a letter to Judge William Lawrence:

2225 TRINITY PLACE, PHILADELPHIA, *March 30, 1897.*

MY DEAR JUDGE: * * * I wish we could have a duty on wool of 15 cents, but the people will not stand it; therefore whatever is settled on I want to see the law so there will be no evasion. Herdwick is a wool raised in Yorkshire. There are third-class wools in Holland, Germany, Austria, Portugal, Spain, and Italy, but advantage has been in the past taken of the classification to bring in second-class wools as third from Germany and Holland. Donskoi is essentially a carpet wool, very stiff, and is a necessity. No duty would ever lead to its being grown here, but many third-class wools can be, and if they were it would help the Merino and English blood sheepmen.

It is said that the Herdwick is as good mutton as the best Down. They are hardy and could be raised to advantage on our Northern land, and many Asiatic wools could be grown to advantage in the States and Territories I have before named. What I mean by excluding European third-class wools is by adding to the first-class paragraph also all native European wools, except Black-face Highland, and Donskoi. Also all native African wools. This confines third class to Asia and South American. * * * I do not think it would hurt carpet men with compensating duties to have a high rate on wools, but they are afraid that it can not be gotten through. If it did, it would bring a big revenue to the Government.

Sincerely, yours,

EDWARD A. GREENE.

PHILADELPHIA, 2225 TRINITY PLACE, *April 1, 1897.*

MY DEAR JUDGE: * * * Castel Branca has been third class. Butchers' wool is commercially known as Kassapbutaleteca—Turkish for butcher; with the exception of coarsest grade, was first class under McKinley bill. You can not be too extreme to suit me, but we must keep so the people will not kick. The public think sheep require no care, and wool duty is not considered with favor. Only a few days ago a Republican said to me, "I think it an outrage to put a duty on wool; it requires no labor." And he was astonished when I showed him that the percentage of labor cost was greater in wool than many kinds of goods.

Sincerely, yours,

EDWARD A. GREENE.

Another apparent inconsistency in the classification is that, while "China lamb's" wool is placed in the first class, all other China wools are relegated to the third class. A practical woolgrower can easily understand why a lamb's wool, being much softer and finer, should command a higher price than the fleece from a matured animal, but he fails utterly to comprehend how the fleece from the same individual sheep, which pays a duty of 11 cents this year, can so change its nature and character as to be admitted at a duty of from 2 to 4 cents next year. He knows full well that no such sudden metamorphosis can possibly occur in an American sheep in so brief a time, and he naturally wonders what reasons influenced the committee in making this remarkable classification.

I mention these objections for the purpose of showing the necessity of amending the proposed bill in these important particulars, so that the purpose of the law will not again be defeated in its administration.

ADMINISTRATION OF THE LAW.

It must be borne in mind that in the administration of the customs laws the importer is always upon the ground to defend his interests and protect his claim. The wool importers are largely aliens, they owe no allegiance to this country. They are here simply for the purpose of making money. As a rule, they are possessed of great influence, which they do not hesitate to bring to bear whenever doubtful questions are to be passed upon by custom-house officials.

But while the importer is on the ground, ready to take advantage of every technicality which the wording of the law may afford, the woolgrowers, who have such a vital interest in the question, are scattered all over the United States. They are upon their farms and ranches looking after their flocks and herds, and have no special agent to protect their interests. They must rely entirely upon the Government agents at New York, Boston, and Philadelphia. These officials are men of the strictest integrity. Their honesty is not questioned.

But when we consider the magnitude of the transactions involved in the business of importing wools, the wide latitude left for the exercise of the judgment of the Government inspectors, and reflect that the pressure is all from one side, it is not a matter of surprise that in the general administration of the law the importer always gets the benefit of the doubt. It is wise, therefore, to profit by past experience and remove as far as possible all ambiguities and doubtful phrases from the classification clauses of the pending bill.

Wool imports for 1895-96—One year.

Articles and countries.	Quantities.	Values.	Value per pound.	Ad valorem equivalent of 8 cents (Senate bill).	Ad valorem equivalent of 11 cents (House bill).
Wools, hair of the camel, goat, alpaca, and other like animals, and manufactures of:					
Unmanufactured—					
Class 1, clothing (free)—	*Pounds.*			*Per cent.*	*Per cent.*
Belgium	7,884,860	$1,243,690	15.7	51	70
Denmark	1,645	216			
France	6,553,133	1,677,023	25.5	31	43
Germany	392,605	66,047			
Italy	32,013	3,236			
Russia, Baltic, etc.	4,264	450			
Spain	84,503	9,173			
United Kingdom	56,408,900	9,810,493	17.3	46	63
Dominion of Canada—					
Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, etc	328,074	69,527	18.6	43	59
Quebec, Ontario, etc.	692,982	131,533			
British Columbia	126,267	12,945			
Mexico	95,334	3,940			
West Indies—British	1,653	289			
Danish	484	39			
Dutch	5,868	256			
Argentina	6,128,552	871,305	14.2	56	77
Brazil	64,926	5,358			
Chile	1,598,911	123,871	7.74	103	142
Ecuador	473	47			
Peru	166,943	16,977			
Uruguay	8,077,576	933,033	11.5	69	95
Turkey in Asia	7,229	507			
British Australasia	20,259,238	3,559,101	17.5	45	63
French Oceanica	367	18			
Hawaiian Islands	211,617	16,238			
British Africa	8,102,257	890,363	10.9	73	100
French Africa	21,190	2,507			
Turkey in Africa—					
Egypt	374	34			
All other Africa	2,202	265			
Total	117,233,440	19,448,471			

Wool imports for 1895-96—One year—Continued.

Articles and countries.	Quantities.	Values.	Value per pound.	Ad valorem equivalent of 9 cents.	Ad valorem equivalent of 12 cents.
Wools, hair of the camel, goat, alpaca, and other like animals, and manufactures of—Continued.					
Unmanufactured — Continued.					
Class 2, combing (free)—	*Pounds.*			*Per cent.*	*Per cent.*
Belgium	35,593	$8,748			
Denmark	6,345	1,711			
France	545,934	120,975	21.4	42	56
Germany	71,043	10,183			
Italy	244	22			
Turkey in Europe	741,490	253,374	34.1	26	35
United Kingdom	6,505,645	1,597,112	24.5	36	48
Dominion of Canada—					
Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, etc	22,316	4,977			
Quebec, Ontario, etc.	3,780,333	789,443	20.8	43	57
British Columbia	14,511	1,404			
Argentina	3,273,075	463,875	14.1	63	84
Peru	26,265	9,850			
China	9,606	502			
East Indies—British	80,077	6,242	7.79	115	153
Turkey in Asia	430,624	201,078	49	18	25
British Australasia	133,061	27,639			
British Africa	54,114	9,562			
All other Africa	26,070	2,979			
Total	15,756,318	3,509,736			
Class 3, carpet (free)—					
Austria-Hungary	293,948	90,299			
Belgium	1,290,268	147,342	11.4		
Denmark	68,836	11,662			
France	6,180,653	668,307	10.8		
Germany	1,557,795	158,329	10.16		
Italy	83,168	7,075			
Russia, Baltic, etc	4,469,051	447,807	11.3		
Russia, Black Sea	5,471,993	687,212			
Spain	38,324	4,995			
Switzerland	142,986	13,674			
Turkey in Europe	5,062,343	505,697	9.9		
United Kingdom	27,998,444	3,271,653	11.6		
Dominion of Canada—					
British Columbia	270	16			
Mexico	500	24	6		
West Indies—British	1,418	114			
Dutch	14,116	839			
Argentina	13,335,224	1,283,077	9.6		
Brazil	184,422	11,524			
Chile	1,839,229	136,514			
Ecuador	14,249	1,076	6.91		
Uruguay	37,385	4,556			
Venezuela	2,520	104			
China	24,537,480	1,600,280	6.5		
East Indies—British	43,160	3,115			
Turkey in Asia	5,015,811	471,704	9.4		
British Africa	96,070	9,555			
Turkey in Africa—					
Egypt	58,766	6,551	10.9		
All other Africa	83,359	9,935			
Total	97,921,715	9,493,095			

This table shows that the great bulk of the imports of wools of class 1 come from the United Kingdom, British Australasia, British Africa, and South America, in the order named. The value of those from British Africa and South America is much lower than the others, due principally to their heavier shrinkage. It must be remembered, however, that the above imports were under free wool. Under a protective tariff the value of all these wools as imported will be increased by skirting, sorting, and otherwise cleaning, as far as can possibly be done in order to reduce the shrinkages, and thus avoid the payment of duty. Of course as their value is thus increased the ad valorem equivalent of the specific rate of duty will be lowered. And what is true of wools of class 1 is also true of class 2.

The bulk of wools of class 3 come from the United Kingdom, China, South America, Turkey, and Russia. An examination of the above statistics, together with the testimony of Mr. Edward A. Green, chairman of the commission which selected the standard samples of wool for the Government customs-houses, and other competent authorities will, I think, show that the transfer of the six classes referred to in the House report will be of but slight advantage to the home grower, as but a comparatively small quantity is involved.

By far the simplest, most effective, and most equitable method of treating third-class wools is to place a single rate of duty upon them without any dividing line of value, and this rate should not be less than 8 cents. This rate would be protective, and would result in a handsome revenue to the Government.

With a dividing line of value it is absolutely certain that the bulk of the importations will come in at the lower rate of duty. This has been the experience under every arrangement of this kind heretofore as to wool. The dividing line of value, therefore, leads to fraudulent undervaluations, and we ought not deliberately to again open the door to a repetition of the frauds which have been practiced in the past.

COMPENSATORY DUTIES.

Mr. President, in consideration of the fact that a large number of woolen and worsted manufacturers are opposed to a just duty on raw wool, it may not be amiss to glance for a few moments at the matter of the compensatory duties which these manufacturers receive to indemnify them for the duties they are supposed to have paid upon wool.

In order to make this matter as plain as possible, I may again repeat that the McKinley law placed a duty of 11 cents per pound on unwashed wool of the first class, and then, to compensate the manufacturer for the duty he was thus compelled to pay upon wool and to place him upon an equal footing with the foreign manufacturer who gets his wool free, he was allowed a "compensatory" duty of four times the duty on 1 pound of unwashed wool of the first class, which would be equal to 44 cents upon 1 pound of finished cloth, the presumption being that it took 4 pounds of greasy wool, shrinking 66⅔ per cent in scouring, to make 1 pound of cloth.

Thus, if the manufacturer imports 100 pounds of unwashed wool of the first class, shrinking 66⅔ per cent, he will pay $11 duty and will get out of it 33⅓ pounds of scoured wool, out of which he will make 25 pounds of finished cloth on the basis of 4 pounds of greasy wool to 1 pound of cloth.

If, however, he imports 100 pounds of unwashed skirted wool of the first class, shrinking only 50 per cent, he will still pay but $11 duty, but he will get from it 50 pounds of scoured wool instead of 33⅓ pounds, and he will make out of it 37½ pounds of finished cloth instead of 25 pounds. He has thus gained 12½ pounds of cloth without any increase in the amount of duty paid, and has saved out of his compensatory duty of 44 cents 14.6 cents, which is a clear protective gain.

Then again, it must be remembered in this connection that while washed wools of the first class are required to pay double duty washed wools of the second class are not. They come in at the single rate, which was 12 cents per pound in the McKinley law, and is the same in the House bill. The average shrinkage of this second-class washed wool, as imported, is less than 25 per cent. It is used in the manufacture of worsted cloths, and the compensatory duties are the same as upon other cloths. Therefore, if the manufacturer imports 100 pounds of second-class washed wool, he will pay $12 duty and will get out of it 75 pounds of scoured wool, out of which he will make 56¼ pounds of finished cloth. He has thus gained 31¼ pounds of cloth upon the payment of but $1 additional duty, and has saved out of his compensatory duty of 44 cents 24 cents, which is again a net protective gain.

Of course I make this computation upon the assumption that the manufacturer actually puts the scoured product of 4 pounds of unwashed wool of the first class into a pound of finished cloth. If he puts less, which he often does, or if he uses cotton and cheap substitutes for wool, which he very often does, or if he uses in part the cheap third-class wools with their very light shrinkage and very low duties, which no doubt he does whenever he can, he saves still more out of his compensation, which goes to him as clear protective profit.

This compensatory duty provided for the manufacturers in the several paragraphs of the woolen schedule in the pending bill varies from one and one-half times the duty on 1 pound of unwashed wool of the first class to four and one-half times, according to the weight, character, and value of the goods.

For instance, paragraph 364 of the House bill, relating to "knit fabrics," "cloths," etc., provides that when the value is not more than 30 cents per pound the duty shall be three times the duty on 1 pound of unwashed wool of the first class (which in the House bill is 11 cents), and in addition thereto 6 cents per pound and 20 per cent ad valorem. I find that the unit of value of the importations of this class of goods in 1895 was 25 cents per pound. The whole duty to the manufacturer, therefore, would be as follows:

Three times the duty on 1 pound of unwashed wool, at 11 cents per pound	$0.33
Additional specific duty	.06
Twenty per cent ad valorem on value of 25 cents	.05
Making the total specific protection on 1 pound of goods valued at 25 cents per pound	.44

If we reduce this to an ad valorem basis, we find it to be 175 per cent.

It will be noticed that the compensatory duty which the manufacturer is to get in this case is 33 cents, or 7 cents more than the average value of this class of imports in 1895. Of course it must be assumed that 3 pounds of unwashed wool goes into the manufacture of 1 pound of these "cloths" and "knit fabrics" in order to justify this compensatory duty. But the language of the law reads "made wholly or in part of wool," and as a matter of fact it is well known that these low-priced goods are not made wholly

of wool, but that every sort of cheap adulterant, such as cotton, rags, shoddy, and other substitutes for wool, including the cheap third-class wools, are used in their manufacture.

It is manifestly unreasonable to suppose, however, that the scoured product of 3 pounds of unwashed wool of the first class goes into a pound of these goods, as the wool itself would be worth much more than the value of the finished product. But no matter how small the percentage of wool actually used, the manufacturer receives a compensatory duty on this grade of goods of three times the duty on unwashed wools of the first class just the same. And what is true of the case I have cited is also true of all grades of manufactured woolens and worsteds. Cheap substitutes for wools and cheap third-class wools enter to a greater or less extent in their make-up, but the manufacturer gets his compensatory duty on the basis of two, three, four, or four and a half times the duty on 1 pound of unwashed wool of the first class, whether that amount of wool goes into the manufacture of the goods or not. Therefore it is perfectly plain that in many instances a large part of the so-called compensatory duty given the manufacturer is, in fact, protection pure and simple, and ought not to be charged up to the woolgrower, which it is.

I have made the foregoing computation upon the rates contained in the House bill, but the relation between the woolgrower and the manufacturer is not changed by the proposed Senate amendments, except simply that the compensatory duties are lowered in the same proportion as the duties on wool are lowered. In other words, the cut all comes off the woolgrower and but little from the manufacturer.

Mr. President, I am not prepared to say that the manufacturer gets too much protection. I am not finding fault with the rates proposed on manufactured woolens. I am simply trying to show the relation which these compensatory duties bear to the woolgrower, and to prove that they are by no means a true indication of the amount of protection which the woolgrower actually receives, and must not be accepted as the basis upon which to measure the protection accorded him.

In all the tariff acts which have been considered from 1864 to the present time the woolgrowers have never so much as offered a suggestion as to what the manufacturers' rates should be, while, on the other hand, they have never yet come before Congress to express their wishes that they have not found themselves confronted with the active opposition of the wool manufacturers more or less openly expressed. In short, the manufacturers have heretofore written the wool tariff for the woolgrower, and the indications seem to point to the conclusion that they are striving to do so again.

Mr. President, in what I have said upon this subject I have but imperfectly presented the woolgrowers' side of this contention as to what are just and proper rates on wool. The woolgrowers themselves have given the subject much consideration, and have formulated a bill which embodies their views, and which I have heretofore introduced as an amendment to the wool schedule of the pending measure. This bill has received the sanction and indorsement of the woolgrowers of the whole country, and has been approved by the National Wool Growers' Association. It is charged by the manufacturers that the rates proposed are excessive, but for my own part I am convinced that if viewed from the true protective standpoint of desiring to stimulate and encourage the woolgrowing industry so as to produce all the wool we consume, the woolgrowers' bill is a just, sound, and defensible measure.

If, however, the Senate in its wisdom shall decide not to grant the request of the woolgrowers by accepting their amendment, then I respectfully suggest that simple justice at least demands that the House rates on the first and second classes shall be adhered to; that an additional duty of at least 3 cents per pound shall be laid on the light, shrinking, skirted Australian wools; that washed wools of the second and third classes shall pay double duty the same as those of the first; that scoured wools of the third class shall pay treble duty the same as those of the second; that a single specific rate of not less than 8 cents be placed upon third-class wools, but that if the dividing line of value is to be retained, it shall be reduced to 8 cents; that the minimum rate below 8 cents shall be raised to 5 cents, and that the maximum rate above be raised to 8 cents; that the classification be amended so as to include all wools from Turkey in Europe, all wools from Africa, and also China wools, and that such penalties be provided as will insure a strict and impartial administration of the law.

These amendments, while falling short of what woolgrowers require, will go far toward remedying the imperfections and inequalities of the pending bill.

And now, Mr. President, with many apologies for having detained the Senate so long, but giving as my excuse the urgent need of the worthy class of men for whom I speak, and the gross injustice done them in former tariff legislation, I will bring my remarks to a close by quoting a few sentences in favor of adequate protection to woolgrowers from two of the ablest and most distinguished members of the Republican party, one of them the recognized champion and great defender of "protection," who now fills most worthily the highest place within the gift of the American people as a result of his advocacy of the protective policy, the other one of the ablest and most honored members of this body, whose words always command the most profound attention and respect.

Speaking to a convention of woolgrowers at Columbus on January 12, 1893, President McKinley said:

> More than once they have demonstrated their power in this State. I do not fail to recall what punishment you inflicted upon the Republican party in 1883 for having in a tariff act of that year reduced wool from 12 cents and more, according to value, to 10 cents per pound. You defeated the Republican candidate for governor and elected the Democratic candidate. You carried the legislature for the Democratic party by a great majority, and thereby placed in the Senate of the United States a Democratic Senator. You did all this. You organized to do it, as you had a right to do, because you believed the Republican party in this slight reduction on wool had done your interest a positive injury. * * * You have made yourselves felt more than once and given evidence of your power. * * * You are entitled to full and adequate protection, just as every other interest is entitled to the protection of its own Government against competing products, and you should express your convictions in this respect in every possible and legal and constitutional way. * * *

This was the language of President McKinley, addressed to the woolgrowers of Ohio in 1893. He tells them they "are entitled to full and adequate protection." I commend these utterances to the earnest consideration of the Republican members of the Senate, and particularly to the distinguished Senator from that State whose reelection to this body will depend upon the result of this fall's campaign. The woolgrowers of Ohio are watching the action of Congress with vision sharpened by long suffering and great loss, and if Republican pledges shall fail of materialization they will again "defeat the Republican candidate for governor" and again "carry the legislature for the Democratic party by a great majority," and once again "place in the Senate of the United States a Democratic Senator from Ohio."

In the Senate, on February 26, 1896, the honorable Senator from Massachusetts used these words, which possess an added force and significance at this moment. He said:

> I have always been one of those who, in a public life now lasting nearly twenty-eight years in this and the other House, have voted in accordance with the desires of the representatives of the woolgrowing communities in this country. There has, so far as I remember, never been a discussion of that subject in which I have not given my voice and my vote for the largest protection on wool and on other interests of those communities that they have themselves desired. * * * I believe that when, as a permanent policy in this country, protection to wool is doomed, protection is doomed. As I had the honor to say when the Wilson bill was pending in the Senate, it is with protection and wool as in Byron's prophecy:
>
> "While stands the Coliseum, Rome shall stand;
> When falls the Coliseum, Rome shall fall."
>
> And he is a purblind manufacturer, whether in New England or elsewhere, who supposes that the American people will consent to continue the protection on his own industry which is denied to the farmer and the woolgrower of the great West.

And again, on the 14th day of April last, upon the occasion of the presentation of the woolgrowers' memorial, the distinguished Senator used the following language:

> Without a proper tariff on wool there will never be a protective system in this country of any value, and the question, What is a proper tariff on wool? from the necessities of the case, from the consideration as to where the political power in this country is lodged and is to be lodged—I am not speaking now of parties, but parts of the country—has to be settled in accordance with the sound and sober judgment of the farmers who grow wool. We have got to take that, to act upon it, and trust to the fact that the same sound and sober judgment will induce them to see that wool is not protected if woolens are let in from abroad without proper duties, because if that is done it will overthrow the woolgrowing of this country just as much as if it came in in the shape of wool.

I commend these utterances of the senior Senator from Massachusetts to the careful consideration of the protectionists in this body. They are words of wisdom, uttered with a full knowledge of the requirements of the situation and of the necessities of the great body of farmers and flockmasters whose interests are involved.

Mr. President, no protective tariff can hereafter endure that does not fully guard the interests of the great mass of producers of what are known as "raw materials." Protection to wool is the keystone in the grand arch of protection, and unless it be well guarded and preserved the whole structure must fall to the ground.

NOTE.—John Consalus, of Troy, N. Y., a wool merchant, says:

About 40 per cent imported as carpet wools are used in the manufacture of clothing goods.

While the manufacturer of clothing goods obtains only about 30 to 35 per cent clean wools from imported South American or Cape of Good Hope merino, the importer of carpet wools gets 80 to 90 per cent of scoured wool.

Hence the clean wool from 100 pounds of carpet wool is worth often more than the scoured wool from 100 pounds of the South American or Cape merino; hence should pay as much duty as merino.

I have a letter from a Russian wool dealer who proposes to shirt and dry his carpet wool and guarantee it not to shrink over 15 per cent in scouring.

The merino wools of South America and Cape of Good Hope shrink in scouring an average of 67 per cent, the Australian imported into this country only from 42 to 50 per cent. (See Tariff Hearings, 1616.)

NOTE.—The agreement as to 4 pounds of greasy wool shrinking 66⅔ per cent being the basis of compensatory duties was made law in 1867.

APPENDIX 1.

The Mouflon (Ovis aries), even yet found wild in the mountains of Sardinia, Corsica, Barbary, Greece, and Asia Minor, with short, course fleece resembling hair quite as much as wool, is the parent stock—the genus—from which all our various breeds of sheep have been evoluted by domestication and breeding. (One Hundred Years of American Commerce, Chapter XXXV.) New York, D. O. Haynes & Co., 1895.

The sheep of the world may now be placed in three general classes (Tariff Hearings, 1404):

The first and best are the Merino, with their subvarieties of Saxony, producing the picklock wool, the delaine merino, and various other varieties, with superiority of wool in the order stated. The wools are frequently quoted simply as "fine" wools or "clothing" wools.

The second, the sheep of English blood, the mutton breeds, embracing Leicester, Cotswold, Lincolnshire, Shropshire, and others of the Down varieties, including the Canada long wool, etc. These for convenience may be designated by the general name Down sheep, their wool down wool, generally but improperly called "combing" wools, since all wools now can be "combed."

The third, the Mouflon, the sheep of the parent stock, but generally much improved by domestication and breeding in the progress of evolution. These include the Russian Donskoi, native South American, native Mexican, native Smyrna, etc. This class of sheep is found in Russia, Greece, Mexico, and elsewhere.

The value of all wool as shorn from the sheep depends on (1) its quality and (2) on the scoured or cleaned product. All wools, as shorn, without cleansing—called "grease" wools—shrink in scouring. The clean product is called "scoured" or "clean" wool. Wool washed on the sheep's back is advanced only one stage in the process of scouring.

Wools quoted in foreign wool circulars as "fleece" wool is wool washed, generally spout washed. The average merino wools of the world will shrink in scouring 67 per cent, the down wools generally less than 30 per cent. (Tariff Hearings, pp. 1360-1362, 1403; Senate Doc. No. 17, December, 1895, p. 50, Fifty-fourth Congress, first session.)

The merino and down wools are both used in the manufacture of clothing goods, both "woolen goods" and "worsted goods."

By reason of the light shrinkage of the down wools, 1 pound of these unwashed wools will give as much clean-scoured wool as 2 pounds of average unwashed merino; hence the duty should be much more than on merino wools.

APPENDIX 2.

The following table shows the effect of the free-wool act of August 27, 1894, resulting in a loss to flock owners of $178,706,121, with items thus:

Year.	Number of sheep.	Value.	Loss on value of sheep.	Number pounds wool.	Farm value.	Loss on wool.
1893	44,938,365	$116,121,270	----------	333,018,405	$47,185,283	----------
1896	47,273,553	125,909,204	----------	348,538,138	23,164,040	$24,021,243
1894	45,048,017	89,188,110	$36,723,154	325,210,712	22,122,528	25,002,755
1895	42,294,064	66,685,767	22,500,343	294,290,726	23,543,738	23,641,545
1896	36,464,405	61,989,488	4,696,279	270,474,706	20,800,000	26,385,283
Total	----------	----------	63,919,776	----------	----------	99,110,821

The prevailing sentiment of the woolgrowers of the West is expressed by their leading journal, Wool Markets and Sheep, published in Chicago. The following extract is from an editorial article in its issue of May 13:

"The bill as reported to the Senate is a tricky, deceptive measure, and places the woolgrower in a still worse position than the Dingley bill which was perforated with innumerable loopholes for fraud. Wool men who have the growers' interests at heart are commencing to realize the dastardly attempt on the part of the East to control both Houses of Congress to defeat Western interests by giving to New England all she wants. The measure, as agreed upon by the Finance Committee, is an insult to the great Western domain, and which should be rebuked by all who follow in the wake of agriculture.

"The West is tired of this one-sided legislation. It is too much East. The Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives and the Finance Committee of the Senate have experts only from Eastern corporations to assist them in making wool duties. They take for their clerk S. N. D. North, secretary of the National Woolen Manufacturers. They use a prominent wool dealer, who is not only interested in the importation of Australian wools, but has brothers-in-law who are large manufacturers of imported stock. How can the woolgrower get justice at the hands of such a combine as this? Is it not time to cry shame for the lukewarmness upon the part of many of our Western Senators and Representatives who look on and submit to this treachery upon the part of the East, who are backed up by traitors in the West? The Dingley bill, as amended by the Finance Committee, will not suit the woolgrower. Better no bill at all than such an unfair act to become a law. There would be no protection to the woolgrower, for under its deceptive influence millions of pounds of wool would be brought into this country so greatly undervalued that disaster and bankruptcy would follow in its wake."

APPENDIX 3.

Number of sheep on hand each year from 1860 to 1897.

January 1—	Number.	January 1—	Number.
1860	22,471,275	1880	40,765,900
1861	23,471,275	1881	43,576,899
1862	24,971,275	1882	45,016,224
1863	26,971,275	1883	49,237,291
1864	29,471,275	1884	50,626,626
1865	32,471,275	1885	50,360,243
1866	35,971,275	1886	48,322,331
1867	39,385,386	1887	44,759,314
1868	38,991,912	1888	43,544,755
1869	37,724,279	1889	42,599,079
1870	40,853,000	1890	44,336,072
1871	31,851,000	1891	44,431,136
1872	31,679,300	1892	44,938,365
1873	35,002,400	1893	47,273,553
1874	33,938,200	1894	45,048,017
1875	33,783,000	1895	42,294,064
1876	35,935,300	1896	38,298,783
1877	35,804,200	April 1, 1896	*a* 36,464,405
1878	35,740,500	January 1, 1897	*b* 32,000,000
1879	38,123,800		

a Estimate of National Association Woolen Manufacturers.
b Estimate of W. B. Snow, formerly statistician of Agricultural Department.

APPENDIX 4.

Total consumption of wool.

Total consumption of wool for years ending June 30—	Domestic wool clip of previous year.	Imported wool.	Wool imported in shape of goods, shoddy, rags, and waste.	Total.
	Pounds.	*Pounds.*	*Pounds.*	*Pounds.*
1891	309,474,857	129,303,647	123,180,240	561,958,744
1892	307,101,507	148,670,652	106,697,637	562,469,796
1893	330,018,405	172,433,838	117,145,545	619,597,788
1894	364,156,666	55,152,558	55,318,050	474,627,274
1895	328,437,858	203,708,635	107,254,143	639,400,636
1896	294,295,727	230,811,473	230,000,000	755,007,200

Allowing that some of the wool imports of 1895 and 1896 were stored in warehouses, it is safe to estimate that the people of this country now need for annual consumption under normal conditions 660,000,000 pounds raw wool, which would require 110,000,000 sheep for its production. The "Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1895," frontispiece, gives the population June 1, 1895, at 69,753,000, with a per capita consumption of 6.32 pounds, of which 46.1 per cent was foreign wool. But this does not include the wool in imported woolen manufactures. North's Wool Book for 1894, page 36, gives the per capita consumption at $9\frac{1}{10}$ pounds.

Total consumption of wool.

	Year ending June 30—					
	1891.	1892.	1893.	1894.	1895.	1896.
	Pounds.	*Pounds.*	*Pounds.*	*Pounds.*	*Pounds.*	*Pounds.*
Domestic wool clip of previous year	309,474,857	307,101,507	330,018,405	364,156,666	328,437,858	294,295,727
Imported wool	129,303,647	148,670,652	172,433,838	55,152,558	203,708,635	230,811,473
Wool imported in shape of goods, shoddy, rags, and waste	123,180,240	106,697,637	117,145,545	55,318,050	107,254,143	230,000,000
Total	561,958,744	562,469,796	619,597,788	474,627,274	639,400,636	755,007,200

Production, imports, exports, and consumption of wool in the United States by years, 1880 to 1896.

Year ending June 30—	Production.	Imports.		Exports of domestic.	
		Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.
	Pounds.	*Pounds.*		*Pounds.*	
1880	232,500,000	128,131,747	$23,727,650	191,551	$71,987
1881	240,000,000	55,964,236	9,703,998	71,455	19,217
1882	272,000,000	67,861,744	11,096,050	116,179	37,327
1883	290,000,000	70,575,478	10,949,331	64,474	22,114
1884	300,000,000	78,350,654	12,384,709	10,393	3,073
1885	308,000,000	70,508,170	8,879,923	88,008	16,739
1886	302,000,000	129,084,958	16,746,081	146,423	19,625
1887	295,000,000	114,038,030	16,424,479	257,940	78,022
1888	269,000,000	113,559,753	15,897,217	22,164	5,272
1889	265,000,000	126,487,729	17,974,515	141,576	23,085
1890	276,000,000	105,431,286	15,264,083	231,042	33,543
1891	285,000,000	129,303,648	18,231,372	201,922	39,423
1892	294,000,000	148,670,832	19,698,109	202,456	30,664
1893	303,153,000	172,433,838	21,084,180	91,858	14,808
1894	298,057,384	55,152,585	6,107,436	530,247	90,675
1896	309,748,000	206,033,906	25,556,421	4,279,109	484,493

APPENDIX 5.

Wool clip of the United States and the amount of scoured wool produced.

Year.	Wool in the grease.	Shrinkage of fleece wool.	Yield of scoured wool, including pulled.	Number of sheep (millions).	Year.	Wool in the grease.	Shrinkage of fleece wool.	Yield of scoured wool, including pulled.	Number of sheep (millions).
	Pounds.	*Per cent.*	*Pounds.*			*Pounds.*	*Per cent.*	*Pounds.*	
1880	264,000,000	50	124,080,000	40½	1889	295,779,479	56.23	134,795,350	42½
1881	290,000,000	53	136,300,000	43½	1890	309,474,856	54.88	139,628,220	44½
1882	300,000,000	54	138,000,000	45	1891	307,101,507	54.87	139,326,703	43½
1883	320,400,000	54	147,384,000	49½	1892	333,018,405	59	145,300,318	45
1884	337,500,000	55	151,875,000	50½	1893	348,538,138	59.27	151,193,776	47½
1885	329,600,000	55	148,320,000	50½	1894	325,210,712	59.71	140,292,268	45
1886	325,031,026	55.74	149,365,625	48½	1895	294,296,726	60	125,718,690	43½
1887	302,169,950	55.58	140,556,685	44½	1896	272,474,706	60.70	115,284,579	36½
1888	301,876,121	57.43	136,591,955	43½					

NOTE 1.—The shrinkages and scoured yield, 1880 to 1885, inclusive, are estimates of Justice, Bateman & Co.
NOTE 2.—The shrinkages and scoured yield, 1886 to 1896, are estimates of the National Association of Woolen Manufacturers.
NOTE 3.—The number of sheep is from the reports of the United States Department of Agriculture, with the exception of 1896, which is the estimate of the National Association of Woolen Manufacturers.
NOTE 4.—The wool clip is from the Wool Book of 1895, published by the National Association of Woolen Manufacturers.

APPENDIX 6.

The following statistics are appropriate in this connection, taken from Circular No. 12, of the Department of Agriculture, January 22, 1897:

Values of important agricultural products imported into the United States from the leading countries of supply during the five years ended June 30, 1896.

WOOL, UNMANUFACTURED (TOTAL).

Country from which imported.	Year ended June 30—					Annual average, 1892-1896.	
	1892.	1893.	1894.	1895.	1896.		
	Pounds.	*Pounds.*	*Pounds.*	*Pounds.*	*Pounds.*	*Pounds.*	*P. ct.*
Belgium	130,238	123,869	48	3,463,983	9,210,716	2,585,771	1.6
France	4,882,555	8,128,213	902,734	10,245,426	13,279,720	7,499,730	4.6
Germany	415,815	1,481,500	246,389	1,235,315	2,021,443	1,080,104	.7
Russia	32,460,709	30,835,236	9,055,037	12,388,082	9,945,248	18,936,862	11.6
Turkey, European	2,458,942	3,238,602	1,153,128	2,819,710	5,803,833	3,094,843	1.9
United Kingdom	45,473,171	61,107,704	11,546,327	78,391,661	90,907,989	57,085,370	35.1
Canada	1,127,216	1,402,658	602,628	7,031,178	4,664,753	3,027,727	1.9
Argentina	14,127,791	13,842,868	8,983,667	25,745,854	22,736,851	17,087,406	10.5
Chile	2,374,910	1,644,889	1,418,219	2,149,749	3,438,140	2,205,181	1.4
Uruguay	4,832,563	652,060	247,797	10,347,873	8,114,961	4,839,045	3
China	13,889,957	20,753,883	10,186,264	26,089,418	24,547,088	19,093,324	11.7
British East Indies	568,605	403,937	267,047	884,272	123,237	449,420	.3
Turkey, Asiatic	9,194,835	13,316,552	3,904,201	7,329,877	5,453,664	7,839,826	4.8
British Australasia	15,359,722	9,176,282	4,917,306	12,383,814	20,386,289	12,444,696	7.6
British Africa	1,143,112	2,134,255	1,221,742	3,871,253	8,252,441	3,324,561	2
Other countries	2,220,511	4,191,603	439,961	1,656,441	1,725,120	2,046,625	1.3
Total	148,670,653	172,433,836	55,152,585	206,033,906	230,911,473	162,640,491	100

These are the imports from the *countries of production*, but do not necessarily include all the wool which comes from those countries. Wools from various countries are taken to London for sale and export.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. C. R. MCKENNEY, one of its clerks, announced that the House had passed the bill (S. 1886) to adopt regulations for preventing collisions upon certain harbors, rivers, and inland waters of the United States, with an amendment in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

INCOME TAXES.

Mr. BUTLER. I ask that the joint resolution which I introduced yesterday morning, to amend the Constitution so as to give Congress the power to lay and collect income taxes, may be laid before the Senate and be read.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate the joint resolution, which will be read.

The Secretary read the joint resolution (S. R. 47) to amend the Constitution of the United States, giving Congress the power to lay and collect income taxes, as follows:

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of said legislatures, shall be valid as a part of the Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE XVI.

"The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on all incomes regardless of the source from which the income is derived or acquired; but all income taxes shall be uniform throughout the United States."

Mr. ALLISON. What is the request of the Senator from North Carolina?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The joint resolution is laid before the Senate in pursuance of the notice given yesterday by the Senator from North Carolina that to-day, immediately upon the conclusion of the morning business, he would submit a few remarks on the joint resolution.

Mr. ALLISON. Does the Senator from North Carolina wish to go on now?

Mr. BUTLER. Yes; I will say to the Senator that I have no prepared speech, and I shall not detain the Senate long.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from North Carolina will proceed.

Mr. BUTLER. Mr. President, I offered the joint resolution and asked that it be not referred to the Judiciary Committee, but that it might lie on the table, to be taken up for consideration by the Senate at an early day. I do this because there is a joint resolution to the same effect now before the committee, and has been since the beginning of this session. Besides, a similar resolution was before the committee during the two sessions of the Fifty-fourth Congress. It is an important matter. It ought to be passed upon by the Judiciary Committee, and I trust it will be. But the fact stands that we have no report from that committee. Over two years ago the Supreme Court decided, in a famous decision, that Congress has no power to lay and collect income taxes; that is, without apportioning them among the States, which would be monstrous and absurd.

Only a few weeks ago the same court rendered a decision on the anti-trust law which is a little embarrassing to the great transportation lines of the country. At once a movement was started to have the decision of the court set aside by legislative action—I might say with almost indecent haste. The power of those great transportation companies was focused on Washington. A half dozen, or at least several, bills have already been introduced to nullify the decision. The Committee on Interstate Commerce has been holding constant meetings considering the bills that have been offered to set aside the decision.

We have been expecting daily for a week or two a pooling bill to be reported from the Committee on Interstate Commerce for the consideration of Congress at the earliest possible day. In fact, it seemed at one time as if the tariff might have to stand to one side to give this matter, important to the transportation companies, the right of way.

Why is it that we, the representatives of the people in Congress——

Mr. CULLOM. Will the Senator from North Carolina allow me to interrupt him?

Mr. BUTLER. Certainly.

Mr. CULLOM. The Senator from North Carolina has been making statements here about which, in my judgment, he knows very little.

Mr. BUTLER. The Senator from North Carolina would be very glad to have information, as it is a matter of importance.

Mr. CULLOM. The Senator says that a half dozen bills have

been introduced in the Senate to cure a condition brought about by a decision of the Supreme Court, and that they have been introduced with indecent haste. I believe that was the term used. The truth is, one bill was presented looking to the subject of pooling, with amendments to other provisions of the law, which have been urged upon the attention of the Senate for years, to strengthen the act to regulate commerce, or, in other words, to strengthen the power of the commission in the administration of its duties.

Mr. GEAR. Let me suggest to the Senator from Illinois that the bill was introduced prior to the decision of the court.

Mr. CULLOM. I think it was.

Mr. GEAR. I know it was.

Mr. CULLOM. I introduced one bill myself, which was sent to me by a number of gentlemen or an association of gentlemen not connected with the railroads at all, I understand, except so far as it is their duty to deal with the railroads in handling freight. Those two bills have been before the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

The further truth is that from time to time for very many months the committee have considered just such bills in the hope that we might agree upon what was best in our judgment in the interest of the public welfare, and we have never met except at our regular meetings. Once a week, like other committees, meetings are held, unless possibly in one week there were two meetings, although I am not sure about that. So when the Senator states that so far as the Committee on Interstate Commerce are concerned we have been appearing to act with indecent haste, if he applies that remark to the committee, he entirely misrepresents the committee. The committee have the subject now under consideration. We met yesterday, I believe it was, and had the matter under consideration. We adjourned as we usually do, and as other committees do, when 12 o'clock came, and if the committee meet next week, we will consider the matter again, with other bills which we have there.

I desire to say to the Senator that whatever his judgment may be about the matter, the committee are not disposed to act with indecent haste, but that when they do act, if they report a bill, they will report according to their best judgment in the premises, looking to the public welfare.

Mr. BUTLER. Will the Senator from Illinois answer a question before he takes his seat?

Mr. CULLOM. Certainly.

Mr. BUTLER. Is the bill which the committee is now considering the same kind of a bill as the bills introduced before the decision of the court on the antitrust law?

Mr. CULLOM. Most assuredly. It is just such a bill as has been before the Committee on Interstate Commerce many times before. Such bills have heretofore been considered, and once or twice have been reported to this body.

For the information of the Senate, I will state that the Committee on Interstate Commerce, or a portion of its membership, anticipated that the Supreme Court would render a decision which might to some extent weaken the authority of the Interstate Commerce Commission in the enforcement of the interstate-commerce law, and one of the purposes of the bill now is to amend the law so that the decision of the Supreme Court, which holds that under the present act the Commission has not the power to make rates, if you please, in cases of disputes between the railroads and the people, shall not apply to the law as we propose to amend it—in other words, that the Commission shall have power to say not only that a given rate is too high, but that another rate would be regarded by the Commission as reasonable and just.

Mr. BUTLER. The bill will legalize pooling.

Mr. CULLOM. The bill also has such a provision in it, and similar bills have been before the committee almost time out of mind.

Mr. CHILTON. Will the Senator from North Carolina permit me to make a statement?

Mr. BUTLER. Certainly.

Mr. CHILTON. The controversy between the Senator from Illinois and the Senator from North Carolina, so far as it relates to the form of expression used, is one in which I have no interest, but I do not think it would be just for the impression to be created that the pooling bill has not been pushed, and was not immediately pushed upon the rendition of the decision of the Supreme Court. I have been a member of the Interstate Commerce Committee for two years, and I for one have never been called upon to vote for the report of a pooling bill until since the Supreme Court of the United States delivered its recent opinion in which transportation lines were held subject to the provisions of the antitrust law.

Sir, I differ in toto with the chairman of the Interstate Commerce Committee in the statement that the bill which is now pending before the Interstate Commerce Committee would strengthen the hands of the Interstate Commerce Commission. He is entitled to his opinion; I am entitled to mine. Not only does the proposed bill contain a pooling provision, but it also contains an amendment of the present law which, in my judgment, is calculated to undermine the efficiency of interstate-commerce regulation. I refer to the amendment which provides that railroad managers and agents shall not be punished for violations of that law by imprisonment except for a second offense.

The present interstate-commerce law provides punishment by imprisonment. The transportation lines of this country litigated in all the courts of the country the right of the courts to compel witnesses to give testimony which might criminate themselves, even though they were exempted from punishment in consequence of that testimony. After the Supreme Court of the United States, upon the termination of long litigation, held that it is within the power of the court to compel witnesses to testify under such circumstances, and in consequence convictions seemed probable, then we find a bill introduced here and sent to the Interstate Commerce Committee changing the law so that the imprisonment clause was omitted.

That bill was reported favorably at the last session of Congress. At this session, though that particular bill has not been reported again, there is incorporated in the measure, which the chairman of the committee tells us will strengthen the Interstate Commerce Commission, a clause which provides that the penalty for the first offense of violating the terms of the interstate-commerce law shall not include imprisonment. As a matter of course, you will never get the same man a second time. The same manager or the same agent will never commit the second offense. It will always be some other agent or some other manager. So much in connection with that subject.

I am a member of the Interstate Commerce Committee. I am very much opposed to the pooling bill. I think it would be very detrimental to the public interests. I think it would be a vicious experiment; and so believing, I am not willing—and that is the only interest I feel, and it is my only excuse for interfering here between the Senator from North Carolina and the Senator from Illinois—that the impression shall be created that the pooling bill has not been pressed since the Supreme Court of the United States decided that the Sherman antitrust law applies to railroad companies.

Mr. GEAR. May I suggest to the Senator from North Carolina that it was pressed before?

Mr. CHILTON. It was not pressed before since I have been a member of the committee—two years.

Mr. GEAR. I beg pardon.

Mr. CULLOM. Will the Senator from North Carolina allow me to say a word further?

Mr. BUTLER. Certainly.

Mr. CULLOM. I regret to interrupt the Senator, but I did not feel that I could afford to let his remarks go by without some notice.

First, in reply to the Senator from Texas, who is a member of the Committee on Interstate Commerce, I will say, as the Senator well knows, that the amendment proposed to the fifteenth section of the present measure under consideration in the committee does strengthen the law in taking into account the recent decision made by the Supreme Court with reference to the powers of the commission. Does he not know that?

Mr. CHILTON. It is very true that a proposition to strengthen the law is pending before the Interstate Commerce Committee.

Mr. CULLOM. Exactly.

Mr. CHILTON. But I am talking about the pooling clause of the law.

Mr. CULLOM. That is another subject entirely. I wish to state that such a provision has been in a dozen bills before the present one now in the hands of the committee and under consideration. Whether an amendment to the pooling section, if it may be so called, would strengthen the law or weaken it is a question about which Senators and other people differ. That is a question under consideration.

But when the Senator intimates that, so far as the chairman or any action of the committee is concerned, we are attempting to crowd things through in a way before unheard of in that committee, I desire simply to state that he and I differ upon the question.

The Senator says, in referring to the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States as to the antitrust law, that the railroads rushed here to secure an amendment of the law, so as to get around the decision. The bill was introduced, as I said, before the last decision, but perhaps not until after the antitrust decision was made; but is it an unheard-of thing that bills shall be introduced to amend statutes in view of what the Supreme Court may have decided in reference to such statutes? Take the case I have just referred to, the Supreme Court decision a week ago on the question of the power of the Commission. I anticipated that decision, or the committee did, and we sought to get an amendment to the law continuing the power of the Commission so that it might grapple with the railroads, and where a rate was made too high might not only say that it was too high, but determine what a reasonable rate would be and fix it for the guidance of the railroad company.

Therefore, so far as that branch of the subject is concerned, I insist that neither the Senator from North Carolina nor the Senator from Texas has any ground for attacking the action of the Interstate Commerce Committee, which has now under consideration these several bills. There are other bills there which the committee is considering, as well as the one referred to by the Senator from North Carolina, but I will not take up his time longer. I do not desire to interfere with his speech.

Mr. CHILTON. Will the Senator from North Carolina permit me to make one further statement? I take no part in the controversy concerning the action of the Interstate Commerce Committee. I would have made no allusion to it. But there was a point in the remarks of the Senator from Illinois which I thought needed correction, and I only referred to the action of the committee because it was necessary to do so to meet the inference I thought might be drawn from his remarks. That was, that we had been considering the matter of pooling from time to time, and that the action of the Supreme Court in deciding that railroad companies fell within the antitrust law had not spurred on the Interstate Commerce Committee in considering the proposed pooling bill.

I repeat, that I have been a member of the committee for two years. I have endeavored to attend every meeting of the committee. Never in that time was my attention called to a pooling bill until after the decision of the Supreme Court was rendered, a short time ago. I know that three or four years ago there was a proposition pending in Congress to grant railroad companies the right to pool, but I refer to what has happened within the last two years, since I have been a member of the committee. I am clear that the subject was not brought up in committee until after the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States was rendered.

I thought it was due to the members of the committee who are opposed to the pooling bill that there should be no uncertainty in respect to that matter.

I have no interest in the contention between the Senator from Illinois and the Senator from North Carolina. Whether the haste which has been displayed is indecent or not is, of course, a matter of opinion, but as to the facts I think there certainly should be no controversy.

Mr. CULLOM. I merely wish to state that the Senator from Texas has been a very good member of the Interstate Commerce Committee, and I hope he will continue to be so. I trust we will produce such a result from our committee in the way of legislation to be presented to the Senate as shall benefit the great masses of the people of this country. I hope the Senator from North Carolina will now go on to make his speech on his joint resolution.

Mr. BUTLER. Whether my statement was too harsh, whether it was fully justified or not, I will allow the statement of facts made by the Senator from Texas, which the Senate will observe has not been contradicted by the chairman of the committee, to stand as my verification and justification. The facts as stated by him speak for themselves, and I am willing for the Senate and the country to decide what terms or adjectives should be used to describe the hasty procedure to get through some bill to relieve the transportation lines from the effect of the decision of the Supreme Court.

When the Senator from Texas states that he has been a member of the committee for two years, and that the question was never brought up and pushed before the committee or even considered, I believe he said, at all until after the decision of the court, it speaks for itself.

I am not a member of the Interstate Commerce Committee, I am sorry to say, but, if my memory serves me right, a pooling bill was pressed in Congress before the Senator from Texas and I served in this body. The bill was defeated, I think, in the closing days of the Fifty-third Congress. Then thirty-one great transportation lines, in defiance of law, formed a pool, or a joint traffic association. Thus the railroads have been pooling in defiance of law until the recent decision of the court frightened them. During this time no pooling bill was pressed in Congress because the railroads did not need it as long as they were allowed to pool without it. But when the court decided that the law prohibited pooling, then the indecent haste began to have Congress to pass a pooling bill. These are about the facts.

Mr. President, there is a feeling in this country, whether justified or not, and it is pretty widespread, that the antitrust decision of the court was expected to affect certain other parties, but it was not supposed it would affect the railroads any longer than Congress could give them relief from it, and that any other person or parties whom the decision affected might appeal in vain for relief, just as the people appeal for it, from the decision of the court on the income-tax matter.

I am glad the Senator from Illinois favors strengthening the interstate-commerce law and giving the commission more power, for certainly the law is a farce as it stands. But let us take care, when we are passing a so-called strengthening act, that we do not give more power and license to the transportation lines than we give to the commission to check and regulate them. Let us be careful that it is not a tub thrown to the whale.

I do not intend this morning, however, to discuss the interstate-commerce act. I will do that when the pooling bill is reported. I wish now to call attention specially to the difference in the course pursued by Congress when a decision of the court is rendered which affects great corporations and one is rendered that affects 69,000,000 American people by imposing unjust taxation. The Committee on the Judiciary has had before it this joint resolution ever since the first session of Congress after the income-tax decision was rendered. No action has been taken on it. If there is any hope of amending the Constitution of the United States, it would seem that it could be amended so as to remove this most monstrous decision of our highest court. It takes a long time to amend the Constitution if the lawmaking power moves speedily. Then why should we wait two years, three years, four years, to give the legislatures of the States a chance to pass upon this question? We can not take up the matter in Congress until the committees report. We can not even speak upon the question as before the body until the committees report, unless I do as I have done this morning, offer a joint resolution and ask that it lie on the table, and then be forced to go further and ask the Senate to take up and consider so important a matter as a constitutional amendment without ever having a report from a committee.

Mr. President, the proposed amendment to the Constitution that I have offered is very plain and simple. It is as follows:

ARTICLE XVI.

The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on all incomes, regardless of the source from which the income is derived or acquired; but all income taxes shall be uniform throughout the United States.

There is no doubt about the average American citizen understanding what it means. But I wanted the help of the Judiciary Committee to frame an amendment that the courts could not misunderstand. If the committee does not see proper to report upon a measure of this kind, then I shall ask the Senate, at as early a day as possible, to take up in Committee of the Whole this resolution, to consider it in Committee of the Whole, and to pass upon it.

I want to say further, Mr. President, that in view of the facts which I have stated, I will ask the Senate to pass upon this question before a pooling bill ever comes to a vote in this body. I will ask the Senate to go on record as to whether it will first give the American people a chance to say whether they want, as a part of their fundamental law, the Congress to have power to lay and collect income taxes, a power which we had till the court stabbed the Constitution, or whether, first, we shall grant to the transportation lines of this country the legal right and power to become a mammoth and despotic trust.

The proposed pooling bill will create, if it becomes a law, the most gigantic trust that the world has ever seen; a trust composed of the great transportation lines of the country, which are the throbbing arteries of commerce, the prosperity of every State and section largely depending upon them, every citizen in America affected by their management directly or indirectly; a trust with twelve billions of capital (including water) controlling the highways of the nation; a trust that might possibly collect more money in the shape of tolls and fares from the American people than all other trusts put together. The sugar trust is an infant compared to a trust of the transportation lines of the country. The Standard Oil trust is a pigmy compared to a trust that would hold the commerce of the nation in its grasp.

This pooling legislation is asked so that the railroads can be relieved of the last vestige of competition. They are asking Congress to keep them from competing with each other. They do not compete now except at terminal points, when they fall out. A railroad line runs from here south. Take the Southern Railway. On how many points of the Southern Railway is there competition? At every small station their power is absolute to charge whatever rates and fares they see fit. It is only where two great trunk lines come together, say at Atlanta, that they are subject to competition now. It is to escape competition at even these terminal points, so that there can be no competition anywhere, so that they can have absolute power to raise and fix rates and have no competition, that this pooling legislation is asked.

We have been told in excuse for allowing private corporations to own and operate the transportation lines of the country and run them as private property for private gain that the protection of the public was competition. We have had competition rung into our ears every time that anyone's voice has been raised to point to this monopoly of transportation. Every time anyone who believes that great public functions like these, so necessary to the welfare of every citizen, should be operated as a function of the Government at cost for the benefit of the public, has so stated, we have been told that competition cured all the evils and prevented all danger.

Now, these transportation lines come and ask us to relieve them

of all competition. Whenever they reach the point to say to Congress and to the country that competition is a thing of the past, that it is detrimental to their business, then they confess that private corporations should no longer be intrusted with the management of the great transportation lines of the country. When there can be no competition, then every excuse for private ownership is gone; the time for public ownership has arrived. Congress must now decide whether it is best for the American people to allow the great transportation lines to be manipulated by private corporations and further allow them to form one mammoth syndicate, one gigantic transportation trust, or best for the public to own and control this great transportation system in the interest of all the people.

Now, I am not an advocate of the competitive system, for there can be no competition that will result in justice and equity to the shipper and the general public.

I think it best for all the railroad lines of the country to be operated as one system, provided that system is operated as a public function at cost for the public good. I think the transportation lines should be operated as one united, harmonious, and complete system, just as the mail lines are operated in one perfect postal system. But how any sane man who has any regard for the public welfare can want to see such a monopoly, such a trust, in private hands is more than I can understand. Public ownership and not pooling is the remedy. The railroad corporations want a legalized trust for their own profit and power, not for the welfare of the public. This is what they are demanding from the Interstate Commerce Committee to avoid the decision of the court, that was a little inconvenient to them. This is the demand that is being pushed with indecent haste.

What is the other proposition that the Committee on the Judiciary have not had time to consider since the decision of the court over two years ago? It is a proposition to equalize taxation to some extent; a proposition to allow Congress, if the people's representatives see fit, to levy a fair rate of taxation on incomes, on accumulated wealth earning a big profit. Simply a proposition for the wealth of the country to bear its fair share of the taxation necessary to support the Government.

If I were the special guardian and spokesman in the Senate of the very people who would pay an income tax, if I were here as a special representative of the small per cent of the people of this country who have enormous incomes, and if I were asked what my advice would be for the better protection of their property and for the better government of the country in which they live, I should tell them that it was to their interest that taxation should be equalized by an income tax. The rich, if they were wise, would not oppose an income tax, but would favor it and cheerfully pay it.

One of the justices of the Supreme Court in his dissenting opinion on the income-tax decision took the same position. The position of those who enjoy the protection of our Government, who have amassed large fortunes, and who enjoy princely incomes, in using their influence and power to prevent their property from bearing its share of taxation, is shortsighted and unwise for them individually. If they are wise, they will lose no further time in putting themselves on a footing with every other American citizen and pay their fair share of taxation.

The men who would pay this income tax contribute freely to political campaigns. They give freely when they are called upon by the leaders of the political parties, I am informed. But when called upon under the law to contribute to bear the burdens of taxation they revolt and exert their power to prevent Congress, if not to try to influence the court to save them from paying a fair share of the burdens of taxation. They contribute liberally in campaigns. It must be because they expect a princely return. They refuse to contribute, if they have the power to prevent it, to support the Government, though they expect the Government to call out soldiers if necessary to protect their property, if such an emergency should arise. Let them remember that the ninety-nine out of every hundred of such soldiers are the men who are to-day forced to pay double taxes in order that the rich and powerful privileged few may escape taxation.

Mr. President, it is astonishing, when we stop to look where the wealth of this country is located, to see that the court should feel justified in straining and perverting the Constitution to prevent the majority of the wealth of the country from paying taxes. It is astonishing that Congress does not move its hand to correct the wrong. But a little over 1 per cent of the people of the United States own 70 per cent of the property of this country. Over 98 per cent of the people have left distributed among them less than 30 per cent of the wealth of the country. Under any system of tariff taxation the bulk of the duties collected and the burden of taxation falls upon that 98 per cent who own only 30 per cent of the wealth.

The doctrine that is preached in support of protection and high tariff duties is that we must protect American labor against the pauper labor of Europe and American industries against foreign industries where pauper labor is employed. I suppose pauper labor is labor that has to work cheap under competition, because no laborer works for less than what would support him if he can help himself. Now let us see how the pauper labor of America compares with the pauper labor of Europe. In Europe the average of tenant farmers, the average of men who do not own homes, who rent houses, who work for their daily living, is about 40 per cent of the population. How is it in this country? Between 70 and 75 per cent of the American people are tenants and renters. We have a larger per cent of people who do not own homes and who work one day for their next day's bread than the cheap pauper-labor countries of Europe have, and yet under the false promise of protection we continue to lay the burden of taxation upon the shoulders of that class of people and allow to go scot free those who own 70 per cent of the wealth and who are each year accumulating to themselves nearly all that labor produces. They own more wealth than they know what to do with, yet they object to paying a fair share of the taxes for the support of the Government, and Congress acquiesces.

History tells us that every country that has gone down under commercialism reached the stage of decay when less than 10 per cent of the people owned nine-tenths of the property. We have already passed that period, that danger line, long ago. If we had a fair and just income tax on the statute books, it would not remove the conditions, the special privileges, that to-day are concentrating the wealth in the hands of a few. It would simply equalize taxation. The evils that make an unfair distribution of the wealth created would still remain. Other legislation would still be needed to remedy that.

The wealth of this country has doubled since 1880. We had then about $43,000,000,000 worth of property. To-day we have over eighty-six billions. How has that wealth been distributing itself while it has been created? Out of every dollar, Mr. President, that has been added to the wealth of this country since 1880 it has gone about as follows: To one man out of twenty, two-thirds of that dollar has gone; to the other nineteen out of twenty, only one-third of that dollar has gone, to be divided among the nineteen, less than two cents for each; and the fact stares us in the face that the nineteen who have gotten one-third out of every dollar's worth of property created since 1880 have been the producers of wealth and the others have been the speculators and accumulators of wealth by special privileges granted by Congress in unjust and vicious laws.

Now, Mr. President, this disproportion, as I have said, is not due entirely to the want of an income tax. It is due chiefly to other causes. Those causes should be removed. There are great financial and transportation problems before the country that Congress will be called upon soon to consider. The causes that have brought about this startling disproportion of the distribution of the wealth must be removed if our Republic is to be preserved. But even if these causes were already removed and there was equal opportunity offered every citizen to work and enjoy the fruits of his labor, still the duty and responsibility of Congress would be just as great to see that taxation was so levied and collected that each individual would pay in proportion to his ability to pay. The income tax is the fairest and most just method of accomplishing this.

Inasmuch as the tariff bill is now under consideration, and inasmuch as the last tariff bill had an income-tax provision, and it was that provision that the court rendered its decision upon, it will probably not be out of the way to read an extract from the dissenting opinion of Mr. Justice Harlan. He is a Republican. He no doubt believes in the principle of protection. If he is a Republican such as the majority on this floor is, he was not even satisfied with the high protection of the Wilson bill. Now, what does he say about the tariff bill being a fair measure of taxation? In speaking of striking the income-tax provision out of the Wilson law he says:

> It nevertheless results that those parts of the Wilson Act that survive the new theory of the Constitution evolved by these cases are those imposing burdens upon the great body of the American people who derive no rents from real estate, and who are not so fortunate as to own invested personal property, such as the bonds or stocks of corporations that hold within their control almost the entire business of the country.

He recognized the fact that the Wilson bill with the income-tax provision struck out was not a fair and equitable measure of taxation. He recognized the fact that it laid the burdens most heavily upon those who did not own much property and who had not the means to pay.

In this connection I might call attention to the fact that whether it is a Democratic tariff or a Republican tariff, whether it is a tariff for protection or a tariff for revenue, yet a tariff is still practically a poll tax. In every State in this Union we raise our taxes by a tax on the poll and a tax on property. Why? We recognize the fact that every man, whether he owns property or not, receives certain protection from the Government as an individual. Therefore we place a uniform tax on each individual on his head and call it a poll tax, so that everyone, even if he has nothing but his limbs and his muscle, is called upon to contribute

so much to support the Government. Then, in order to equalize taxation, we turn to the individual and look at his property, and we tax him according to the amount of his property, a certain per cent on his property.

How is it with the Federal Government? We raise nearly all of our taxes by a tariff; that is, a tax on a man's necessities, a tax on his mouth, on his back. Therefore each individual is taxed on what he consumes and wears. He is taxed not according to his means but according to his necessities, without any regard to the amount of property he owns. If the man worth $1,000,000 eats no more than the man who mauls rails for 50 cents a day and does not own a dollar's worth of property, if a man worth $1,000,000 wears no more clothes than a man who mauls rails for 50 cents a day and does not own a dollar's worth of property, then they both contribute exactly the same to support the Federal Government. To that extent the tariff may be called, for it is the nearest illustration you can give to the system of State taxes, a poll tax—not literally, but near enough for illustration. Now, will we raise all of the money necessary to run this Government upon the individual; that is, by a poll tax?

I have a tenant. He owns nothing but a little personal property, which he moves from one tenant house to another when he moves. He has ten children. He buys more pairs of shoes, if he buys any for his children at all, in a year than I buy. The mills that you want to open now in order to restore prosperity depend upon being kept open on his power to buy, upon his power to consume. He has his wife and his children, and his children are increasing. His power to purchase is less now than it was five years ago, though his family is larger and his necessities greater. Shall we place upon that man, in order to increase his capacity to consume, burdens of taxation out of proportion to his ability to pay? If your American manufacturers prosper and keep their mills open, it must be because the American people are able to consume and to purchase. When we raise all of our taxes by tariff, then we not only put a poll tax on the tenant, but an additional poll tax on his wife and on each one of his ten children—a poll tax on every mouth that is fed and on every back that is clothed. Then we make this poll tax very high, high enough to raise all the tax necessary without placing a dollar of tax on property. Is that fair, is it just?

Mr. President, it is clear that the burdens of taxation to-day fall largely upon that great mass of the American people who are not accumulating wealth—men of moderate means and men who work for daily wages. For what reason I will not stop now to discuss, but they fall largely upon that great mass of American citizens who work more hours in a day than they should be forced to work in order to supply their families with the necessities of life. The wealth that is accumulated by the fortunate few in this country, whether honestly or dishonestly, is not a question to be considered with reference to an income tax, but that wealth should certainly pay in proportion to its amount with the man who has accumulated only a small amount, and who is forced to be a daily toiler and producer.

I had intended reading several extracts from the decision of the court, and also from the four very able and convincing dissenting opinions. I will not take the time of the Senate to do so now, but I will at a future time when this joint resolution is taken up for action. However, I will call the attention of the Senate to the fact that the Chief Justice in rendering the decision of the court which struck down the Constitution seemed to realize that it was necessary to apologize for the decision. Therefore, he said:

> If it be true that the Constitution should have been so framed that a tax of this kind could be laid, the instrument defines the way for its amendment. In no part of it was greater sagacity displayed.

The Chief Justice in rendering the decision felt called upon to apologize for it by pointing out that the American people, if they did not like it, could amend the Constitution so as to nullify the decision.

Mr. MASON. You can hardly call that an apology.

Mr. BUTLER. Well, I will not, at the suggestion of the Senator from Illinois, but I will simply state that he did call attention to the fact that the American people could by an amendment restore the Constitution as it stood for over a hundred years. The Chief Justice realized that he was rendering a decision in the face of every decision of the Supreme Court for a hundred years on this point; he realized that he was for the first time questioning that the Constitution gave Congress the power to equalize taxation by levying an income tax.

Further, the justices in dissenting called attention to the fact that taxation could not be equalized in this country until the Constitution was amended after this decision. The minority of the court was so shocked at the decision that they used stronger language, I think, than has ever been used by a justice of the Supreme Court in rendering a dissenting opinion before. I do not think any Senator on the floor of the Senate has ever shown stronger feeling or used stronger language about that decision than did the able jurists who dissented from it. They seemed to realize, and it appears through every line of these dissenting opinions, that here was an opinion from the highest court in the land which would not only tie the hands of Congress—for they used that language—and prevent Congress from equalizing taxation, but they realized that the court was rendering a decision that struck at the very foundation stone of the Republic, and that would shake the confidence of the American people in the highest tribunal in the land.

Mr. President, no man can read those dissenting opinions without feeling that every justice who rendered them would have been astonished if he had been told when that decision was rendered that two years would pass before either branch of Congress adopted a resolution to submit an amendment to the Constitution. Justice Harlan, in his dissenting opinion, said that the decision was deeply to be deplored, and was a national calamity, and we could not too soon amend the Constitution to restore the national authority.

It begins to look as if the Constitution may never be again amended by submitting an amendment to the States. Surely if this amendment can not be submitted to the States, then no amendment in the interests of good government and justice will ever be submitted, unless there is a radical change in the American Congress.

There is more public sentiment, founded on the commonest and broadest principles of equity, behind this question of an income tax than behind any other question that I can conceive of that will have to be submitted to the people as a constitutional amendment. If we can not amend our Constitution; if the court can render decisions digging holes in it from time to time, and the old hulk of the Constitution has to stand with the life taken and amended out of it by judicial decisions; if with the progress of events we can not amend the Constitution to keep pace with the development of civilization and commerce, then the quicker the American people know it the better.

If we can not submit to the legislatures of the States this amendment providing for an income tax, then there is one other way of amending the Constitution, and the people ought to know, and know quickly, that their only hope is through a constitutional convention. A constitutional convention, if called, Mr. President, will not be called under the auspices of a political party; it will not be called when voters can be appealed to on the ground of standing by "the dear old party." Men will vote their honest judgment; the evil effects of party machinery that warp men's judgments will not be in play then; and the delegates, coming fresh from the people, will not be so easily controlled by corporations and trusts as some members of Congress are. The delegates in a constitutional convention will stand nearer the people than Congress now does. The privileged few, who now enjoy so many unjust advantages, had best submit to a just income tax a dozen times than force the people to call a constitutional convention.

Such a convention would destroy the evils that cause the unequal distribution of wealth. I shall press this amendment, but I would prefer to see a convention held. If the privileged classes were wise, they would help me to pass this amendment. But they will not, and I wish simply to call the attention of that class of our citizens, and of those who sympathize with them so strongly as to probably be unable to do exact justice between all our citizens, to the fact that this amendment is a small reform compared to what the American people will demand in constitutional convention, if they meet—and they surely will meet soon, unless Congress measures up nearer to its duty—and that then there will be a supreme effort of the American people to go back to first principles and place this Government where its founders thought they had placed it, and better guard it, and, I think, more carefully, than our ancestors were able to do in the primitive stages of our Republic.

Mr. President, I have talked longer than I intended to, for at a later day I intend to ask the Senate to take up this question. I intend then to address the Senate at some length. I have now called it up, this proposed amendment, for the purpose of attracting attention to how long it has been since the Supreme Court rendered the anti-income-tax decision, and the difference between the procedure in Congress with reference to this decision and the recent antitrust decision, and also to say that unless the Judiciary Committee may see its way to give us a report on this proposition, which is before them, I shall be forced to ask the Senate in Committee of the Whole to take up the question, and, further, I shall ask the Senate to do it before the pooling bill is considered by this body.

THE TARIFF BILL.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 379) to provide revenue for the Government and to encourage the industries of the United States.

The reading of the bill was resumed at line 9, page 58, and paragraphs 184 and 185 were read, as follows:

184. Pens, metallic, except gold pens, 12 cents per gross.
185. Penholder tips, penholders or parts thereof, and gold pens, 25 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. PETTIGREW. I inquire what was done with paragraphs 182 and 183, relating to mica and nickel?

Mr. ALLISON. They were passed over.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Those paragraphs were passed over last evening.

Mr. PETTIGREW. I desire to offer an amendment to those two paragraphs, and I think I might as well do it now and submit what I wish to say upon the subject. I do not care, however, to have those paragraphs disposed of at this time.

Mr. PRITCHARD. I hope that those paragraphs will not be disposed of now.

Mr. PETTIGREW. I do not care to press my amendment to a vote now.

Mr. ALLISON. We have agreed to pass over those paragraphs, but, of course, if the Senator desires to make some observations upon them, he can do so.

Mr. PETTIGREW. Very briefly, and that with regard to mica. The House provision with regard to mica was:

182. Mica, 2 cents per pound on dimensions of 1 square inch or less, and 2 cents per pound additional for each additional square inch: *Provided*, That the maximum rate of duty shall in no case exceed 30 cents per pound.

That is proposed to be changed by the Senate committee to 40 per cent ad valorem, which will be pretty nearly equivalent to no duty at all because of the low valuations placed by the exporters upon these articles.

We can produce in this country all the mica used in the United States, and there would be no necessity for importing any whatever if a sufficient protective duty were placed upon the article to make up for the difference between the cost of labor in India, from which it is shipped, and the cost of labor in this country. India mica is mined by labor which costs from 10 to 15 cents a day; the mines are owned by Englishmen and Americans, and the mica is shipped to this country unassorted and unmanufactured, and valued at about 17 cents a pound; so that the duty would be about 8 cents a pound. It is here manufactured or parted into sheets, and much of it—the larger sheets—brings a price of from $3 to $5 a pound while it comes in at this exceedingly low price, but the refuse which is cut off from the sheet is sold for electrical purposes, and therefore the mica industry in this country has suddenly declined under this tremendous competition.

In North Carolina there are inexhaustible beds of this material, and in South Dakota there is enough of it to supply the United States for all time to come; but we can not furnish it and pay two dollars and a half a day for labor and compete with the India mica, with labor there at 10 to 15 cents a day.

If we are going to pass a protective-tariff measure, its benefits and advantages should extend from Delaware to the Dakotas, and embrace every industry within this country. There is no justification, because an industry has been established by a protective tariff in Delaware or in New Jersey, or in any Eastern State, for its continuance, unless the benefits as well as the burdens are shared with the people of the Dakotas. I therefore desire that this paragraph shall be amended by providing that there shall be a duty upon mica of 10 cents a pound and, in addition thereto, 40 per cent ad valorem.

Whilst I am not much of an advocate of ad valorem duties, I think perhaps such duties are fully as applicable to this article as to almost any other in this bill, and for the reason that mica may be worth 2 cents a pound, that is, the scraps and remnants, or it may be worth $4.50 a pound, and all made out of the same sheets. The refuse, the trimmings of sheets, used for stoves and other purposes, are worth 2 cents a pound, while the sheets themselves, according to their size, are worth from $2.50 to $5 per pound.

As I said before, I shall not press a decision of this matter at this time. I simply wish to submit a statement now in regard to it, which I desire to have printed in the RECORD in connection with my remarks; and I give notice that I shall ask for a vote at some future time upon the amendment which I have offered.

The statement referred to is as follows:

MICA.

North Carolina now produces a considerable portion of the mica mined in this country, although good deposits have been uncovered and worked in New Hampshire, Alabama, New Mexico, and the Black Hills of South Dakota. The domestic product now averages in value $78,691 per year, while importations average $161,759 per year. Ten years ago the domestic product was sixteen times greater in quantity than the importations. During the six years ended 1885 the average annual value of American-mined mica was $240,000, while importations of mica for the same period averaged annually in value less than $15,000. It will thus be seen that the industry is in its decadence, and requires in its behalf the application of a high-tariff stimulus. The Seventeenth Annual Report of the Geological Survey says:

"The opinion has sometimes been expressed by mica men that all of the valuable mica deposits in the southern Appalachian region have been discovered and worked to a depth where the supply of water and the increasing hardness of the rock add so greatly to the expense of mining as to make it unprofitable, and consequently that this region would no longer be a conspicuous factor in the world's supply of mica. The opening of several new mines, however, during 1895 and the early part of 1896 has encouraged the belief that other workable deposits may be found in the near future if careful search is made. And when the fact is borne in mind that much the greater part of the mica-bearing areas of this southern Appalachian Mountain region from Alabama to Virginia is still covered with an accumulation of humus and living plants, it is seen that the region has been as yet only partially explored, and there must be numerous undiscovered mica veins which will yield as rich returns as those already discovered and partially worked. * * * There can be but little doubt that in the case of a considerable number of these mines, by the use of the steam pump, the steam drill, and other modern appliances, a number of these old mica mines could be opened up anew and worked at considerable profit."

But the market need not depend wholly upon the old mica deposits of this country for its supply. In the Black Hills of South Dakota there is a large area rich in this important mineral, which would be opened to the profit of human toil under the influence of an adequate protective duty. To some extent these Black Hills mines have been worked for several years and they produce an excellent quality of mica. For reasons best known to dealers, South Dakota mica is sold as North Carolina mica; so the State I represent has never acquired the reputation it deserves in connection with this product. The employment of mica in the construction of electrical dynamos has enlarged the field of its usefulness, and its production has become an industry well worth the fostering care of the Government.

Mr. PRITCHARD. I wish to call the attention of the Senator to the fact that an electrical supply company has stated that that mica could not be used for electrical purposes, and to ask him whether he has inquired into the truth of that statement?

Mr. PETTIGREW. I have had occasion to inquire into that subject, and I find that our mica is, if anything, superior for electrical purposes to that which is imported. Not only that, Mr. President, but mica is imported from India and sold in this country as North Carolina mica in order to give it credit and character; and it is the same with South Dakota mica, which is sold as North Carolina mica, because the North Carolina mica is regarded as the best in the world, though the Dakota mica is equal to it, but it has not gained as much reputation and notice, and, therefore, because our mica is sold for North Carolina mica it has not attracted the attention that it would otherwise have attracted. We have produced large quantities of it, and are continuing to produce it each year, however, in more and more limited quantities, owing to this East Indian competition.

Mr. PRITCHARD. In this connection, I desire to have the letter which I send to the desk read, which fully corroborates the statement of the Senator from South Dakota.

Mr. PETTIGREW. I am obliged to the Senator for questioning me.

Mr. PRITCHARD. I only desire to have this information brought out.

Mr. PETTIGREW. I am very glad to have it.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. In the absence of objection, the letter referred to by the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. PRITCHARD] will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

PHILADELPHIA, *April 12, 1897.*

DEAR SIR: I have been requested by Mr. W. S. Harvey to write to you concerning what I know as to the production of mica in the United States, and whether or not the statement, which he informs me has been made by the New York Micanite Company, that no mica is found suitable for electrical work in the United States in large quantities.

I beg to assure you that I know that excellent mica for electrical purposes is found in large quantities in North Carolina, New Hampshire, and elsewhere.

Very respectfully, yours,

EDWIN J. HOUSTON.

Hon. J. C. PRITCHARD,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

Mr. PRITCHARD. I also desire to have read a letter from Dr. Holmes, the State geologist of North Carolina, bearing upon this subject.

The Secretary read as follows:

NORTH CAROLINA GEOLOGICAL SURVEY,
Chapel Hill, N. C., April 8, 1897.

DEAR SIR: Your telegram is received. In reply, I beg to say that I am informed by dealers in North Carolina mica, and I believe their testimony to be correct, that a large part of the North Carolina mica now being mined is shipped to electrical companies, and is being used by them both in the construction and in the repair of electrical apparatus. I am further informed by these parties that the companies so using this mica from the North Carolina mines have pronounced it equal to any on the market for electrical purposes; and the analyses of the North Carolina micas, and comparison with those from other States in the United States and from Canada and India, lead me to believe that for electrical purposes it is equal to any.

It may be true that the larger electrical companies in New York do not now use North Carolina mica in their business, for the reason that by the system of undervaluation which they have practiced on all their imported micas in the past few years and by the use of cheap foreign labor in the mining and preparation of this mica they have been enabled to import foreign micas much cheaper than they could buy the American mica. And I beg to submit the counter proposition that if they are allowed to continue that sort of practice the time will soon come when the statement which you quote the electrical companies as now making will be literally true, and the numerous deposits of mica which are known to exist in North Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, New Hampshire, Wyoming, South Dakota, Washington, California, Colorado, and New Mexico will remain undeveloped as long as Congress is willing for these American interests to remain in a dormant condition, because the American miner and laborer can not afford to compete with foreign labor, which is paid not more than 8 cents per day.

I think the proposed specific duty on mica is right and fair, because (1) I believe in this sort of protection for American labor. (2) Owing to the large number of deposits of mica which are known to exist in different States, there is every reason to believe that if properly protected this American industry will develop into one of much larger proportions than it ever has in the past, and that ultimately the introduction of better mining methods and

improved mining machinery will finally reduce the cost of producing American mica so that it can be mined and sold at prices lower than those now ruling without injury to the mining interests. (3) The increased duty on mica at the present time need not at all increase the cost of stoves or electrical apparatus, for the reason that the importers of foreign mica put on it so low a value before they import it and so high a value after it is imported that they can afford to increase considerably their import values without increasing the price at which they sell mica to the manufacturers of stoves and electrical apparatus, and besides this, the cost of the mica is so small a part of the cost of a stove or an electric motor or dynamo that it really enters but little into the total cost. (4) I regard this fight over the proposed increased duty on mica as a contest between plain, poor, scattered American miners on the one hand, and on the other hand a combination of wealthy mica dealers who are endeavoring to control the mica market and supply it with foreign mica, which they can mine so cheaply that it costs them but little and yet they can sell it at whatever price they may choose.

My only objection to the duty proposed in the Dingley bill on mica is that it is not high enough.

I beg to refer you to page 427 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for March 30, 1897, for additional information.

Yours, very truly,

J. A. HOLMES, *State Geologist.*

Hon. J. C. PRITCHARD,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

Mr. PRITCHARD. I have taken a good deal of pains to investigate this matter and have prepared the amendment which I offered the other day, which reads as follows:

Mica cut into rectangular or other definite shapes, 30 cents per pound; sheet mica, 20 cents per pound; mica in blocks of other forms not specified, 15 cents per pound.

I think this amendment would come nearer meeting the demands of the mica interests than the amendment offered by the Senator from South Dakota.

Mr. PETTIGREW. I shall be glad to support that amendment in preference to my own, and shall therefore not offer my amendment.

Mr. PRITCHARD. I have every reason to believe that the committee will adopt this amendment in the end, and that we shall get it incorporated into the bill.

Mr. CHANDLER. Mr. President, I only want to say that it seems to me that mica presents a very plain case, first, for a protective duty, and, secondly, for a specific duty.

There are, as has been stated in the communications which have been read to the Senate, mica mines in New Hampshire. The Senator from South Dakota [Mr. PETTIGREW] says there are mica mines in South Dakota sufficient to supply the whole American demand. There are such mines in New Hampshire also, but it is absolutely impossible to work those mines profitably and pay from $1 to $1.50 a day to the individual laborer, when the East India mica is mined with wages at from 10 to 20 cents a day. The mica is here in this country in abundance; it is here in large sheets sufficient for every purpose; but you can not get capital and labor to take it out of the ground in competition with this cheap mica of East India, where labor is from 10 to 20 cents a day.

Secondly, the necessity for a specific duty on mica grows out of the fact that it is almost impossible to raise the valuation of the mica coming from the East Indies. It is valued as being of low price at the port of exportation. There is no way of confuting the prices which are named, and mica comes in substantially at any valuation, however low, which the importer chooses to put upon it. So it is absolutely necessary, if American mica mines are to be successfully developed, that there shall be not only a duty, but that it shall be a specific duty. A large nominal ad valorem duty is of little value. A very moderate specific duty upon uncut sheets of mica, upon cut sheets of mica, and upon mica waste or ground mica will give the protection which is necessary.

I supplement what has been said by the Senators from North Carolina and South Dakota by urging the committee to adopt a schedule of specific duties. It does not so much matter what they are as that they should be specific and not ad valorem.

Mr. STEWART. Mr. President, I think the committee can take it for granted that there is no doubt whatever that there is an abundance of mica in the United States. Mica mines are found more generally over the United States than almost any other kind of mines. There is mica in Nevada, California, Oregon, and I believe nearly all of those Western States contain mines of mica, which has been a well-known fact for years. The question is constantly discussed whether they can be worked at a profit. That we have abundance of mica mines, there is no doubt. Recently I have received a large number of letters—I have not them here now—describing these mines, and suggesting that we make the duty specific. So far as getting a supply of mica in this country at a price that would pay the workmen there if we had a sufficient duty, there is no doubt.

Mr. CHANDLER. If the Senator from Nevada will allow me, I will call his attention to the fact that this 10 and 20 cent East India labor, with which mica is got out in the Orient, is paid for in silver; that it is silver 10-cent and silver 20-cent a day wages which gets out the mica, and that is only 5 and 10 cent labor in gold.

Mr. STEWART. I am aware of that.

Mr. CHANDLER. I was afraid the Senator had overlooked that fact. [Laughter.]

Mr. STEWART. I am aware that they buy our silver for 5 cents and sell it for 10 cents; and that is the way they make money.

Mr. BUTLER. Mr. President, I do not intend to address the Senate on this matter, but as to the duty on mica, I agree with my colleague [Mr. PRITCHARD] and also with the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. PETTIGREW]. I intended to call especial attention to the fact just brought out by the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. CHANDLER], that it has always been a recognized factor in tariff bills, where you are protecting American industry or American labor against the competition of a silver-using country, that the duty has to be higher than when you are protecting against competition in other countries. It has been recognized in every tariff bill that has been here that the rate of duty that would protect an article in this country against Europe, for instance, would not protect it as against India or any other part of Asia, but that you have to make the duty higher on account of the difference of exchange. This is a case where we have to compete with the labor of silver-using countries, and therefore calls for a higher duty than in a case where the competition is between American and European labor.

Mr. PETTIGREW. I also wish to call attention to paragraph 183.

Mr. VEST. Before the Senator proceeds to another paragraph, I want to call attention to the enormous increase which he proposes upon this raw material of mica. The Dingley bill provides for 2 cents per pound, and the Senate committee propose 40 per cent ad valorem. I understand the Senator from South Dakota now to propose 10 cents a pound and 40 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. PETTIGREW. I accepted the amendment offered by the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. PRITCHARD], which, I think, makes the rate even higher than that.

Mr. VEST. I did not hear what that rate was.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will state the amendment proposed by the Senator from North Carolina.

Mr. ALLISON. Let that question be passed over.

Mr. VEST. Let us be heard just a minute about it. I am waiting to hear what the amendment of the Senator from North Carolina was.

Mr. PRITCHARD. I have an amendment, which I offered a moment ago.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. What is the proposition?

Mr. PRITCHARD. The amendment proposes on uncut mica—that is, mica in the rough—15 cents a pound, on sheet mica 20 cents per pound, and on mica cut into rectangular or other definite forms 30 cents per pound.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I should like to ask the Senator what is the value of mica in the market?

Mr. PRITCHARD. It varies according to the size. It runs from 90 cents a pound up to $13 a pound in certain cases.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The comparative statement furnished by the Treasury Department to the Senate shows that there were 1,031,499 pounds of mica imported last year at a cost of 19 cents a pound.

Mr. CHANDLER. Undoubtedly, and that is the very thing that we complain of—the enormous undervaluation.

Mr. PRITCHARD. In that connection, I desire to call the Senator's attention to the fact that while it was valued at 19 cents a pound, the same mica sold at from ten to twelve dollars a pound in the American market. That is exactly the reason why we do not want an ad valorem rate and we do want a specific rate.

Mr. VEST. Let us understand exactly what the purpose is. As I understand it now, the amendment of the Senator from North Carolina puts five times as much duty specifically as the Dingley bill upon one grade of mica and ten times as much upon the other.

Mr. PRITCHARD. I will say to the Senator from Missouri that I do not propose to have the amendment considered now, but when the committee adopts it, as I feel sure it will, I will be ready to discuss the matter with him. I think I can convince him that this rate of duty ought to be adopted. The only ones who are opposed to it are the electrical and mica companies, who constitute a trust, as the Senator very well knows. They object to it because they want to handle the mica of the country and regulate the price of it. Here is the amendment I offer.

Mr. VEST. I should be very glad indeed to know whether this enormous increase is necessary to cover the difference in labor between foreign countries and North Carolina?

Mr. PRITCHARD. I can convince the Senator of that fact without any trouble when I come to it.

The amendment reads as follows:

Mica cut into rectangular or other definite shapes, 30 cents per pound; sheet mica, 20 cents per pound; mica in block of other forms not specified, 15 cents per pound.

Mr. VEST. Without detaining the Senate, I wish to have read a letter from Mr. Weston, whose reputation as an electrician is national. He and Mr. Edison stand at the head of the electrical

profession. I submit that the Senate ought to hear from electricians who use this article, which is their raw material.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read as follows:

NEWARK, N. J., *April 6, 1897.*

MY DEAR SENATOR: Permit me to bring to your attention the provision of the Dingley tariff bill which proposes to impose upon imported mica an increased duty of between 100 and 200 per cent.

The amendment which has been agreed to provides for 2 cents per pound on dimensions of 1 square inch or less, and 2 cents per pound for each additional square inch, provided that the maximum rate of duty shall in no case exceed 50 cents per pound.

In order that the electrical industry may be encouraged in this country, it appears to all interested in it that the Government should afford every facility possible for the obtaining of those materials which can not be secured in this country, and which are essential to the highest development of the art with as little expense in the way of taxation as possible.

I am informed that the effort to increase the duty on mica has been fostered by the miners of North Carolina, but it is necessary for the electrical industry to have a superior mica which will wear down to the copper, and this quality has not, thus far, been found in the United States.

Will you not kindly use your influence with the Finance Committee to prevent the duty being raised above the 15 per cent ad valorem and 3 cents per pound provided in the Dingley bill as published, or better, to have the duty remain where it is at present, 20 per cent ad valorem, if it is not among the possibilities to have mica admitted free under the classification of raw material, where it properly belongs, in my judgment.

Respectfully, yours,

EDWARD WESTON.

Hon. JAMES SMITH, Jr.,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. In this connection, I should like to call the attention of the Senate to what seems to be the effect of the effort enormously to increase the tax on mica. It seems, from the letter just read at the request of the Senator from Missouri, that mica is necessary in the great electrical industries of the country, as well as a number of other interests in which it is used.

The Senator from Nevada assures us that we may be satisfied that there is an abundance of mica in the United States. It would seem that no greater misfortune could befall a great many interests here than to find we have mica. We learn from the comparative statement submitted by the Treasury Department that the article is brought here and sold at 19 cents a pound.

Now, we must pay a tax of 15 to 30 cents a pound on the article because the Almighty has blessed us with mines of it in the hills. We must pay enormously more for it because Providence has given us a natural supply. It would be a blessing to the country and to mankind if no natural resources of this sort were furnished to us, if every time the Lord provides us with some abundant resource of this sort we are to be taxed out of sight and out of conscience, so as to enable the men who happen to own the land on which it is located to get ten times as much for it as it can be bought for abroad.

Mr. GALLINGER. Will the Senator from Arkansas permit me?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Certainly.

Mr. GALLINGER. I rise simply to make an observation. The Senator from Arkansas is not quite so frank as he usually is when he says that this article is sold at 19 cents a pound in the American market.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. What I said was that the tabulated statement furnished by the Treasury Department shows the unit of value on the more than 1,000,000 pounds imported last year to be 19 cents a pound.

Mr. GALLINGER. Certainly.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. It does not mean the American market. It means the market from which the mica was shipped. We all understand that, and I did not suppose there would be any misunderstanding about it.

Mr. GALLINGER. Certainly; but that is a very different thing. The Senator said it is sold in this country at 19 cents a pound, as the RECORD will show. It is invoiced abroad at 19 cents a pound. There is no question about that. It is brought into this market and sold for twenty times that amount or more, but there are such palpable and undisguised and outrageous frauds in the importation of mica to this country that something certainly ought to be done in the tariff bill to correct that great injustice to the American producers.

The Dingley bill, as it was sent over to the Senate—very likely attention has been called to this matter, but I have been absent from the Chamber—provides that mica shall pay 2 cents per pound on dimensions of 1 square inch or less and 2 cents additional for each additional square inch. That is a schedule which ought not to be adopted by Congress, for the reason that the foreign producers of mica will cut the mica into blocks of less than 1 square inch, and it will all, or practically all, be imported under that schedule of 2 cents per pound, because these electrical companies, who are not suffering, so far as I know, at all, but are making immense profits, beyond question, can use the mica 1 square inch in size quite as well as if it were a foot in size; in fact better, because otherwise they would have to reduce it in size, a good deal of it being used in pulverized form, I understand.

I have not given very careful attention to the amendment submitted by the Senator from North Carolina, but as the people of my State are interested in mica, as well as the people of North Carolina and Nevada and other States, I simply rose to say that some different schedule ought to be adopted than either of those found in the bill.

Mr. GRAY. Will the Senator from New Hampshire permit me?

Mr. GALLINGER. Certainly.

Mr. GRAY. Does the Senator know—and if he does, I would be very glad if he would inform the Senate, or inform me at least—what is the proportion of mica of domestic production used in the United States?

Mr. GALLINGER. I am under the impression that under the low tariff rates of the existing law the proportion of domestic mica is small. I can not give the Senator the exact proportion.

Mr. GRAY. But it is small?

Mr. GALLINGER. It is small.

Mr. GRAY. There are great frauds, the Senator says, in the operation of the tariff.

Mr. GALLINGER. There is no question but that if mica is invoiced at 19 cents a pound and comes into this country and sells in competition with domestic mica at 10 or 15 or 20 cents, there must be frauds.

Mr. LODGE. It is brought in here at 19 cents and sold at $7 a pound.

Mr. GRAY. Frauds on whom?

Mr. GALLINGER. I would say the fraud was, first, on the customs department of the Government in taking from us a revenue that properly belongs to us.

Mr. GRAY. Is that all?

Mr. GALLINGER. That is one.

Mr. GRAY. Is that the only and chief fraud that occupies the Senator's attention?

Mr. GALLINGER. I am not quite sure about that. The mica is mined by much cheaper labor than we can obtain in the United States. It is brought in here under that fraudulent valuation, and it is sold in competition with the American product, which I suppose can not be produced for less than the amount, and very likely costs more than the amount, that the mica is sold for after it is brought into this market.

Mr. PRITCHARD. Will the Senator permit me to interrupt him?

Mr. GRAY. Certainly.

Mr. PRITCHARD. I desire to suggest that the greatest fraud is the fraud perpetrated on the American mine owner.

Mr. GRAY. The American mica-mine owner?

Mr. PRITCHARD. Yes, sir.

Mr. GRAY. That is what I thought. I am glad the Senator from North Carolina said that, because I think the Senator from New Hampshire meant it, although he confined himself to the Treasury.

Mr. GALLINGER. I am not going to have the Senator from Delaware reach conclusions in my behalf. I say again that there is a fraud upon the customs department of the Government, inasmuch as we are robbed of legitimate revenue by the undervaluations, and that the mica is then brought into this country and sold for certainly as low an amount and, in my judgment, for a less amount than we can produce domestic mica for at the enhanced price of labor which we must necessarily pay in the United States.

Mr. GRAY. If the frauds are committed under the present tariff of 20 per cent, I think it is——

Mr. GALLINGER. Twenty per cent.

Mr. GRAY. And they are such as grieve all just men like the Senator from New Hampshire and myself, I think the best way to get rid of the frauds is to abolish the duty and give us free mica, and then a fraud would be entirely circumvented which is being practiced upon the great body of American consumers. The fraud upon the mica owners is insignificant in comparison with the fraud that is practiced upon the American consumers of this quite important article of commerce.

We have been told by the Senator from Nevada and others that mica is abundant in the United States; but, unfortunately perhaps, the mica is in private ownership; it is in private hands, and the abundance will not avail unless there is not only the natural compensation that comes from free commerce, but an additional law-imposed profit given to the owner. That must be done before he will let go of his abundance for the fruition of the great masses of mica consumers.

I have in mind an industry as worthy as that of the mica producer on the Atlantic Coast. Some years ago there was discovered a large deposit of mica upon the inhospitable shores of Greenland, and they sent American vessels with American laborers to get the mica out, and it came down in quantities sufficient for the purpose.

It was exceedingly good, so I am informed. It was equal to any found in this country. That was a natural bit of American enterprise; and yet that industry now, forsooth, because it has discovered the deposit of mica upon those bleak hills, is to be fined an additional fine to the 20 per cent now imposed by law for the benefit of other industries not a bit more worthy than the industry of which I speak. I believe that is a fraud on the American consumers of mica, as long as the word "fraud" has been used in

regard to this matter at all. The Senator from North Carolina says it is a fraud upon the mine owners. I say that this superimposed tax is a fraud upon those who would use, according to the possibilities that God has given them for their exercise, their faculties and their means in the way most profitable to themselves.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, as I understand it, the mines in India, from which the mica is brought, where it is mined with very cheap labor, are owned exclusively by English and American capitalists, persons interested either in the electrical business or the production of mica. It is all right, according to the Senator from Delaware, to select those American mine owners in India, and so to legislate as to give them an enormous profit, because they employ tropical labor; but it becomes a criminal fraud so to legislate as to give profit to the American mine owner in the United States who desires to employ American labor.

I do not see why it is so wicked to legislate in favor of a man who owns a mine or works a mine in the United States and perfectly admirable to legislate in favor of another American who happens to own a mine in India, worked with Indian labor.

Mr. GRAY. I never said I was in favor of legislating in favor of the American mine owner in India. I want no legislation. I want free opportunity, and let them take chances with the competition of the world.

Mr. LODGE. That is legislation.

Mr. GRAY. Is it?

Mr. LODGE. Of course it is legislation. Free trade is legislation. Free trade is legislation of the most distinct kind.

Mr. PRITCHARD. And in the worst form.

Mr. LODGE. And in the worst form. Legislation which would give a profit to one class of Americans, who are investing their capital and employing cheap tropical labor, is all right, but to legislate so as to give an opportunity to an American who invests his capital here and desires to employ American labor is all wrong. I can not myself see that there is any crime in so legislating as to enable American labor to be employed and American capital to be employed profitably, and it seems to me that it is better for the country that our capital should be invested in the United States and employed here than to be employed in India. I do not see any reason for talking about it as a fraud and a crime because we desire to help any class of American citizens to make money by their enterprise or their labor.

Mr. HALE. We have a great mountain of mica in Maine named for the product. Our people are a good deal interested in it, but I understand that this paragraph, by unanimous consent, has been passed over, and therefore I shall withhold anything I have to say in favor of our mountain of mica in Maine until it is actually before the Senate for consideration and a vote is to be taken. I hope the Senator in charge of the bill will succeed in going on with the measure where there are subjects in controversy and not simply for debate.

Mr. PETTIGREW. Mr. President, it seems to me that the issue of free trade or protection is not involved in this controversy. I undertake to assert, and I believe it is a fact——

Mr. HALE. I shall object to the paragraph going over unless the discussion upon it is to cease.

Mr. PETTIGREW. I have ceased to discuss it. I believe I have the floor.

Mr. HALE. I certainly shall object if this subject is to be debated after it was asked unanimously that it might go over. I shall object to its going over unless debate ceases.

Mr. PETTIGREW. I think I have unanimous consent to discuss the question at this time, and I stand upon my rights.

Mr. HALE. The Senator does not have unanimous consent if it requires my consent.

Mr. PETTIGREW. I had consent before the discussion commenced. I asked unanimous consent to submit some statements in regard to mica and nickel.

Mr. HALE. The Senator asked to have the paragraph go over.

Mr. WHITE. I suggest that the remarks of the Senator from South Dakota would apply to any paragraph in the bill. They are relevant anywhere, under our rules.

Mr. PETTIGREW. Mr. President, I do not believe there is a Senator in this body who would vote for absolute free trade. The issue of a tariff for protection or free trade was settled with the passage of the Wilson bill, which is a protective-tariff measure from the first to the last line of it. No political party will ever again carry this country if the people suppose for a moment that the issue is free trade, and no Senator can be returned to this body who is an advocate of free trade if his constituents believe he would vote for absolute free trade. Senators may vote for free trade upon Dakota mica, but they will not vote for free trade on Delaware manufactured goods. Therefore the issue of free trade or protection is not in this controversy at all. We are simply contending about the amount of duty.

It is a controversy over schedules, and that is all there is to it. There is not enough in it to make two political parties in this country, and neither can you maintain two political parties in this country on the issue whether the tariff shall be 10 cents a pound or 2. The question of schedules is too small a controversy to divide great political parties contending for the government of this great country. That issue is out of American politics. Why should we talk about it?

The great issues that are before the people of the United States to-day reach further than a controversy over the amount of tariff on any item in the pending bill. They are the great questions which determine whether we will march on in the course of freedom and liberty and maintain our Republic, or whether we will become a plutocracy—not a plutocracy of natural persons, but a plutocracy of artificial persons; whether we will continue to be what in fact we are to-day, a government of the corporations, for the corporations, and by the corporations, or whether we will go back to what we were in the past, a government of, for, and by the people.

The provision of the Senate committee in regard to nickel is equivalent to no duty at all. The Senate committee has provided as to nickel a duty of 6 cents per pound, and then has inserted in brackets "except nickel matte." Of course, under that provision, all of the nickel would come in, for nickel matte is simply the nickel extracted from the ore, with such other metals as accompany it in the ore. Then they can be separated in this country. It would all come in free, nickel matte being free. Therefore it is absolute free trade. That provision is a good deal like a good many other provisions in the bill, obscure; not intended to deceive, but having that effect. We can produce all the nickel used in this country, and yet what is the history of this industry? There are nickel mines in Missouri, Pennsylvania, Arkansas, Washington, North Carolina, Colorado, New Mexico, California, Oregon, Nevada, and South Dakota.

Mr. QUAY. The mines in Pennsylvania have been abandoned.

Mr. PETTIGREW. The Senator from Pennsylvania says that the mines in Pennsylvania have been abandoned. So they have been in every one of the States I have named. Pennsylvania is no exception. So would the Pennsylvania mills be abandoned if you had free trade. Open your doors to the low-paid labor of Asia, compensated in silver, and your mills will be abandoned; the doors will be closed. There is no question about it.

Let us see what is the history of nickel. We produced in the United States in 1885, 275,000 pounds of nickel; in 1886, 214,000 pounds; in 1887, 205,000 pounds; in 1889, 252,000 pounds; in 1890, 223,000 pounds; in 1891, 118,000 pounds; in 1892, 92,000 pounds; in 1893, 49,000 pounds; in 1894, 9,000 pounds. I have not the figures for 1896, but I understand the production went on declining, one mine after another closing throughout the country.

When they are all closed, you will pay twice what you now have to pay for nickel. What is the occasion of the decline in the industry? A deposit of nickel was discovered in Canada which is so rich in nickel and copper that the copper pays the cost of production. Therefore the nickel costs nothing. They can put the price at any figure they choose. The moment they have destroyed the industry in this country, then you will pay two prices for your nickel again, and no one will dare to open the mines of the United States in view of this known competition, because they know the moment they open the mines and invest their money in the industry the Canadians can come in and put down the price so as to wreck their enterprise and make them lose their capital.

What we want, then, is a duty upon nickel sufficiently large so that it can be produced in this country constantly and so that we shall not be in the hands of a foreign producer and so that with our high-priced labor we can continue the production. It will not shut out the Canadian nickel, because it can come to this market anyway, no matter what the duty is. Their nickel costs nothing. We have mines in Oregon, for instance, the ore from which has taken the premium, but it is not accompanied with copper in sufficient quantity so that the copper will pay for mining both. Yet men are ready to-day to go ahead, but not under the provisions of this bill, and put up works costing $150,000 to mine nickel in Oregon and Washington, provided a sufficient duty is placed upon the article so that they can mine it and be safe from absolute ruin by Canadian competition. I hold that there is justice in their claim.

We can mine nickel profitably in Dakota, but we can not do it, we can not get capital to do it, if we know that at our door is a deposit which can put the price where it will absolutely destroy all profit and not even permit us to make enough to pay the cost of production. I hold it is good policy to place a duty upon nickel sufficient so that we can keep our mines open. Then we will always keep the price at a reasonable figure. Then if the duty is enough, so that it will assure the working of the American mines, we will not be at the mercy of the foreigners to double the price when our mines are closed. I hold that it is good, patriotic policy again to open the mines which produced almost enough nickel to supply our wants in the past, and do it by a duty of 15 cents a pound upon nickel, and not admit nickel matte free.

I do not care to extend my remarks any further, but I desire to have the statements I have here in regard to the subject printed

in the RECORD. I ask unanimous consent that they may be printed in the RECORD.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and that will be the order.

The papers referred to are as follows:

NICKEL.

Deposits of nickel exist in the States of Missouri, Pennsylvania, Arkansas, Washington, North Carolina, Colorado, New Mexico, California, Oregon, Nevada, and South Dakota.

Mines have been worked and nickel produced in Lancaster County, Pa.; at Mine Lamotte, Mo.; at Lovelocks, Nev., and at Riddles, Oreg.

Competing foreign deposits of nickel exist in the Province of Ontario, Canada, and the islands of New Caledonia, South Pacific.

The nickel industry in the United States has steadily declined since the year 1876, in which year the value of the nickel product was $523,554. For the year 1894 it was $3,209. Since that year all the reduction works have ceased to operate, and no nickel is now produced in the United States.

In the new Caledonia mines and works Chinese and convict labor is employed. In Canada the copper obtained from the nickel-producing ore pays the cost of mining and reducing and gives the manufacturers a clear profit of all the nickel produced. The cost of producing nickel in the Oregon district is 12 cents per pound.

The market value of nickel is about 34 cents per pound.

The pending tariff bill provides a duty of 6 cents a pound on nickel and admits the ore and matte free. These provisions duplicate the nickel provisions of the present tariff law. The tariff law of 1890 was the same, excepting that the duty on refined nickel was 10 cents per pound instead of 6 cents per pound.

Both the Wilson and McKinley laws permit ore and matte to come in free, and this is beneficial to the Canadian operators, who mine nickel ore at Sudbury, Ontario. It is an advantage to them to bring the matte into the United States and here complete the reducing process. The Canadian mines and works are owned largely by United States capitalists, and they favor free matte and ore, while the owners of mines and works in the United States want duty on nickel matte and ore.

IMPORTS.

In the following tables are given the statistics of the imports of nickel and cobalt oxide into the United States from 1868 to 1895:

Nickel imported and entered for consumption in the United States, 1868 to 1895, inclusive.

Year ending—	Nickel.		Oxide and alloy of nickel with copper.		Total value.
	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.	
	Pounds.		*Pounds.*		
June 30, 1868	.....	$118,058	.....	.....	$118,058
1869	.....	134,327	.....	.....	134,327
1870	.....	99,111	.....	.....	99,111
1871	17,701	48,133	4,438	$3,911	52,044
1872	20,140	27,144	.....	.....	27,144
1873	2,842	4,717	.....	.....	4,717
1874	3,172	5,883	.....	.....	5,883
1875	1,255	3,157	12	36	3,193
1876	.....	.....	156	10	10
1877	5,978	9,522	716	824	10,346
1878	7,486	8,837	8,518	7,847	16,684
1879	10,496	7,829	8,314	5,570	13,399
1880	38,276	25,758	61,869	40,311	66,069
1881	17,933	14,503	135,744	107,627	122,130
1882	22,906	17,924	177,822	135,736	143,660
1883	19,015	13,098	161,159	119,386	132,484
1884	.....	.....	a 194,711	129,733	129,733
1885	.....	.....	105,603	64,166	64,166
Dec. 31, 1886	.....	.....	277,112	141,546	b 141,546
1887	.....	.....	439,037	205,232	c 205,232
1888	.....	.....	316,895	138,290	d 138,290
1889	.....	.....	367,288	156,331	e 156,331
1890	f 506,571	260,665	247,209	115,614	376,279
1891	355,455	172,476	g 10,245,200	148,687	321,163
1892	.....	.....	h 4,487,890	428,002	428,002
1893	.....	.....	h 12,427,986	386,740	386,740
1894	.....	.....	h 9,296,733	310,581	310,581
1895	.....	.....	h 20,355,749	629,910	629,910

a Including metallic nickel.
b Including $405 worth of manufactured nickel.
c Including $879 worth of manufactured nickel.
d Including $2,281 worth of manufactured nickel.
e Including $131 worth of manufactured nickel.
f Classified as nickel, nickel oxide, alloy of any kind in which nickel is the element or material of chief value.
g Classified as nickel and nickel matte.
h Includes all nickel imports except manufactures.

Cobalt oxide imported and entered for consumption in the United States, 1868 to 1895, inclusive.

Year ending—	Oxide.		Year ending—	Oxide.	
	Quantity.	Value.		Quantity.	Value.
	Pounds.			*Pounds.*	
June 30, 1868	.....	$7,208	June 30, 1882	17,758	$12,764
1869	.....	2,380	1883	13,007	22,323
1870	.....	5,019	1884	25,903	43,611
1871	.....	2,766	1885	16,162	28,138
1872	.....	4,920	Dec. 31, 1886	19,336	29,543
1873	1,480	4,714	1887	20,862	30,390
1874	1,404	5,500	1888	27,440	46,211
1875	678	2,604	1889	41,435	82,332
1876	4,440	11,180	1890	33,336	63,202
1877	19,752	11,056	1891	23,643	43,188
1878	2,860	8,636	1893	32,833	60,067
1879	7,531	15,208	1893	28,884	42,694
1880	9,819	18,457	1894	24,020	29,857
1881	21,844	13,837	1895	30,155	39,839

NICKEL AND COBALT.

PRODUCTION.

The nickel ores of Oregon, Nevada, and elsewhere have not yet been systematically mined, and the only nickel (and cobalt) mined in the United States in 1895 was that produced at Mine Lamotte, Mo., which yielded 180,737 pounds of matte, containing 14,458 pounds of cobalt and 10,302 pounds of nickel. In addition to this, the smelting of foreign matte makes the total product of nickel larger than heretofore. The price of nickel ranged from 28 cents to 38 cents per pound, according to quantity and fineness, and that of cobalt oxide from $1.40 to $1.45 per pound.

USES.

The effect of nickel upon steel and iron has become a favorite subject of experiment, discussion, and some speculation in the last three or four years, since its use was found to be advantageous in armor plates. A paper on the manufacture, properties, and applications of nickel steel by O. Vogel, in Stahl und Eisen, 1895, page 718 et seq., gives a comprehensive review of the subject, the substance of which is here reproduced. The author quotes from a chemical work by Christofle Girtanner, published in 1792, to show that it was then known that iron would unite with nickel.

Later, in 1820, Faraday made nickel-iron alloys by melting the two metals together, and he was followed by a number of experimenters. Nickel steel seems to have been first made by a manufacturer named Wolf, in Schweinfurt, Germany, in 1833, and was described by Liebig as resembling damascened steel. It was introduced into trade, although not very extensively, under the name of "meteor" steel, but it was not until 1888–89 that nickel steel was successfully introduced into large use, when the attention of governments was drawn to it.

The preferred methods of making nickel steel consist in adding the desired proportion of nickel to the molten metal in a Martins furnace, for example, and the nickel is introduced either as oxide, together with a reducing agent, or in the metallic state as ferro-nickel.

The author gives several tables showing the composition of various nickel steels and the results of the tests made upon them. The tests were made by the Canadian Copper Company and the Cleveland Rolling Mill Company in this country, and in several places in Europe. The results show that in steels having very nearly an identical composition, except that one contains nickel while the other does not, the steel containing nickel is superior in strength and elasticity under the same conditions. One table may be given in illustration of this point.

CHICAGO, *April 27, 1897.*

GENTLEMEN: We are owners of extensive nickel deposits in the State of Oregon, which deposits have been pronounced by experts equal to any nickel deposit in the world. Notwithstanding the great extent of our ore bodies, and notwithstanding the ore is of higher grade than the Canadian ore, we are debarred from the markets of the United States by reason of the admission of the Canadian ores and matte free of duty.

We therefore ask that the tariff bill now before your committee be amended to read as follows:

"Paragraph 183. Nickel, nickel oxide, alloy of any kind in which nickel is a component material, and nickel steel, 15 cents per pound.

"New paragraph 183½. Nickel in ore, 5 cents per pound; in matte, or other crude form, not ready for consumption in the arts, 10 cents per pound on the nickel contained therein.

"Paragraph 605. Strike out the words 'nickel and nickel matte.'"

Certain persons who are interested in having the Canadian product admitted free of duty have falsely stated that there are no deposits in the United States that can be made to pay under any reasonable duty, and state that we have no workable deposits in Oregon. We had our property examined by a very eminent mining engineer, Mr. J. Elton Bott, of Manchester, England, and I quote the following from his report:

"There are thirty openings or incipient mines, and the amount of ore on their respective dumps will aggregate 5,000 tons of nickel ore. The two most important workings are tunnel No. 1, which is 175 feet long, in addition to the open cut of 50 feet. This shows an enormous vein of high-grade nickel ore, with no signs of giving out. My opinion is that from this opening alone 500,000 tons can be quarried.

"Tunnel No. 2 is 80 feet long, exclusive of the open cut 40 feet long. This also shows as rich a deposit of high-grade ore as No. 1, and I estimate that 100,000 tons can be quarried."

Our property was also examined by Mr. J. H. Pomeroy, a mining engineer in charge of the Prosser Iron Mines, near Oswego, Oreg., who reports very favorably, and submitted analyses of samples which he collected. These analyses were made by Mr. George S. Miller, analytical chemist, at the Quinton Smelting Works:

	Nickel.	Iron.
	Per cent.	*Per cent.*
1. Average ore	9.97	3.20
2. Best selected ore	14.85	1.54
3. Soil from surface	9.50	21.67
4. Concentrates from soil	11.23	18.60

At the Columbian Exposition at Chicago ore from our mine took the first premium as the best exhibit of nickel magnesian silicate, notwithstanding the fact that the mines of New Caledonia were represented with their choicest specimens. The deposits have been examined and reported on by other eminent men, who all agree as to the extent and value of the deposits, but they also agree that it is impossible to compete with the Canadian mines so long as their products come in free of duty. We have expended in the neighborhood of $150,000 on our property, which is practically a loss unless we can secure this duty. We have already installed a 300-horsepower Sterling water-tube boiler, an 18 by 48 Corliss engine, pump, heater, etc. This is housed in a large brick building. The foundations for the breaking, crushing, drying, concentrating, and smelting plant are all complete, and the machinery, consisting of breakers, roasting furnaces, dryers, blowers, and a large smelting plant are at the railroad depot at the foot of the mountain, and have been there since 1892.

If we can secure this duty, we propose to complete our plant at once, which can be done in a couple of months' time, and we can then furnish at least a portion of the nickel required in the United States, and the other mines of the country will be able to supply the balance.

Respectfully,

SAMUEL P. PARMLY.
JOHN W. SWEET.
GEO. OLIVER.
J. H. WINSLOW.
J. W. STEWART.
H. M. WEIR.
A. N. STOMMEL.
S. J. EASTMAN.

FINANCE COMMITTEE, *United States Senate.*

The company could easily produce twenty times as much as it is now, or ever has produced, and do it at a cost of not more than $20 per ton for a product containing 25 per cent copper and 25 per cent nickel, or 1,000 pounds of metal to the ton. You can be your own judge of how cheaply nickel can be produced after taking the copper out of this matte, which can be done in a refined state at a cost of not exceeding one-half cent per pound. In other words, you can take 500 pounds of fine copper out of this ton of matte for $7.50. If you add this to the whole cost of producing the ton of matte, you have 500 pounds of fine copper for less than $30 and the 500 pounds of nickel in the matte thrown in.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was to strike out paragraph 186, on page 58, and insert in lieu thereof the following:

186. Pins with solid heads, without ornamentation, including hair, safety, hat, bonnet, and shawl pins; any of the foregoing composed wholly of brass, copper, iron, steel, or other base metal, not plated, and not commonly known as jewelry, 35 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in paragraph 187, page 58, line 23, before the word "cents," to strike out "ten" and insert "five;" so as to read:

Quicksilver, 5 cents per pound.

Mr. ALLISON. The majority of the committee instruct me to propose 7 cents a pound in lieu of 10, and instead of 5 cents, as proposed by the committee originally.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to amend the committee amendment by striking out "five" and inserting "seven;" so as to read:

Quicksilver, 7 cents per pound.

Mr. STEWART. Let me make an inquiry as to the amendment. The bill as it came from the House provided for a rate of duty at 10 cents per pound?

Mr. ALLISON. Yes.

Mr. WHITE. Seven cents is the rate of the Wilson law, is it not?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Yes.

Mr. STEWART. I should like to say one word. During all the time when the price of the commodity was fluctuating, I was living in the mines where the largest demand for quicksilver was, in a mining region in California first, and afterwards in Nevada, where they consumed very large quantities. Then they developed quicksilver mines in California; in fact the Almaden was discovered before 1850, and was being worked on a small scale. When they commenced producing quicksilver in California, so that it tended to supply the market there, they put down the price which they were charging at the mine in Spain, owned by a corporation in Spain, to such a low figure that it closed the California mines.

When the mines were closed, they put up the price of quicksilver more than double—I think they got 75 cents and a dollar a pound—and made it almost prohibitory, with great embarrassment to the miners. Afterwards a tariff of 10 cents was put upon quicksilver, and then the California mines were again opened, and the price went down. They dared not open their mines, as they were liable to be destroyed by this foreign quicksilver, and the tariff in that instance saved them from a monopoly which would have proved absolute destruction to our industry. A tariff of 10 cents a pound brought it down to more than 50 cents, because the California mines were again reopened and were kept open. The tariff on this article is quite an important factor. I do not know that the tariff is the same as in the Wilson Act, but it may answer the purpose. It is not too much, I am satisfied.

Mr. WHITE. I desire to call attention to a former paragraph.

Mr. VEST. That will be all right after we get through with this particular paragraph.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask the Senate to disagree to the next amendment to this paragraph.

Mr. WHITE. I should like to state to the Senator from Iowa that by inattention, doubtless, on my part paragraph 186 was passed, and as soon as the quicksilver item is disposed of I should like to go back to that paragraph for a moment.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Iowa has made a motion. The Chair did not understand it.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask the Senate to disagree to the amendment striking out line 24 on page 58 and lines 1 and 2 on the next page.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. After the word "pound," in line 23, strike out the remainder of the paragraph, in the following words:

The flasks, bottles, or other vessels in which quicksilver is imported shall be subject to the same rate of duty as they would be subjected to if imported empty.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask that that amendment be disagreed to.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the committee.

The amendment was rejected.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The clause stands in the paragraph as it originally passed the House.

Mr. VEST. Now I want to call attention to a fact that has not been mentioned in connection with this paragraph, the quicksilver duty. Under the McKinley Act it was 10 cents a pound; under the Wilson Act it was 7 cents a pound; under the House bill 5 cents a pound, and I understand it is now proposed to put it back to the Wilson rate.

Mr. WHITE. It was 10 cents a pound under the House bill.

Mr. VEST. Yes—I beg pardon—it was 10 cents a pound under the House bill. A majority of our committee put it at 5 cents a pound, and they now go back to 7 cents a pound. Is that correct?

Mr. ALLISON. That is right.

Mr. VEST. Mr. President, I should like to ask why it is necessary to go back to a rate of 7 cents? It was too much under the Wilson bill. The comparative statement shows that we exported in 1896 $628,673 worth of quicksilver and imported $45 worth. What are we protecting against? Unquestionably we get no revenue. Our imports amount to less than $50 worth. Unquestionably we have the American market. None comes in from abroad. Now, why the necessity of putting back this duty? I take it for granted that the majority of the Finance Committee who constructed the Senate bill reduced it 2 cents for this very reason, and they were right; and now, about the time we are congratulating ourselves that we are coming together upon something like an American basis, Senators recede and put back the old duty of 7 cents, which ought never to have been put there. I remember very well when this matter was under discussion in 1894, and I insisted on a reduction of the duty, which was 10 cents a pound under the McKinley Act.

Mr. STEWART. There is a very good reason for having it 7 cents. Notwithstanding we exported last year and imported very little, that is no reason why there should not be a duty imposed on this article.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. What is the reason for it?

Mr. STEWART. The reason for it is on account of the great combination that own the other mines of the world. They have a perfect monopoly of the quicksilver, and if there were free trade at any time, they would ship it in and put it down in this country for a short time and then force our mines to close again; and when they are closed, then the price goes up.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Why do they not keep us from exporting it if they would drive us out of the market?

Mr. STEWART. They are able to drive us out of the market.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Why do they not do it? We are exporting it and selling it in their market.

Mr. STEWART. Because we have the advantage of 7 cents.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. We have no advantage of 7 cents when we come out into the open market with them. We make hundreds of thousands of pounds and send it out to the open market without any protection, and those people can not stop it. They can not break it up. Why do they not break it up if they have the power to do so?

Mr. STEWART. Because they are not willing to lose money permanently in that business when we have that advantage. Just take that off and they can afford to lose money for a few months until they close up our mines and get the benefit of the home market, and when they close our quicksilver mines—mines of that kind fill with water and the machinery runs down—and then they will not be opened again. That is the way it was before. They can afford to lose something, and of course they will lose something. They have a monopoly there, and they will sell at a loss in this country. They did it before. They sold at a loss until the mines were closed, and then they put it at exorbitant prices. We had an actual experience in that, and I think if the duty were taken off there would be danger that they would close the mines again. It is an article that can be operated by a monopoly in that way. They can afford to make a sacrifice and close us out.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I will state what would seem to me to be the plain common sense of this situation. Our people can produce quicksilver now, send it abroad, and sell it in competition with the quicksilver abroad. We want to increase the tariff here, so as to enable them to charge our consumers of quicksilver higher prices than they have to pay now. They will be protected in these exactions levied upon our people, and they will be protected by the tariff against competition abroad. But they can enter into open competition without any protection; they can go into the open market of the world and sell quicksilver at a profit in competition with these people. They simply have not an opportunity to compel our people to pay an arbitrary price raised above the natural level by the means of a tariff. It is simply enabling these people to rob the consumers in this country to that extent; that is all.

Mr. STEWART. But with free trade they would just glut the market for a little while until they broke up the small producers, and then they would again put the price back. That is the way they did before.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. President, I desire to say only a few words in answer to my friend the Senator from Arkansas. The Rothschilds have control of all the cinnabar mines of the world excepting those in the State of California, and until we opened those

mines and developed them the average price of quicksilver was from 80 cents to $1 a pound. To-day it is 38 cents a pound in the markets of this country. The only quicksilver that we produce for export we have sent from the Pacific Coast to British Columbia and to Mexico.

It may be a crime, perhaps, that we have employed American workmen to develop the cinnabar mines of California, and have patronized the farmers and mechanics in developing those mines and sending quicksilver to Mexico and to British Columbia, but our action, I believe, meets the approval of the American people. Quicksilver to-day is cheaper than it was ever known before in this country. If my friends from Missouri and Arkansas desire to close up our mines and give the quicksilver business of the world to the Rothschilds, who, as is well known, control all the cinnibar mines abroad, I do not believe the people will sanction their action. It was one of the wise measures that prevailed in the Senate in 1894, when we defeated the report of the committee and placed a duty of 7 cents a pound upon quicksilver.

Mr. CAFFERY. Mr. President, the Senator from California is mistaken about quicksilver being lower to-day than it ever was before. It has risen from 40 cents a pound in 1893 to 60 cents a pound in 1896. He says the Rothschilds are engaged in this quicksilver business, they are crushing out the industries of California in this direction. We have been frequently treated with essays upon the baneful effects of the Rothschilds upon the importation of silver. Now we have got them into quicksilver. I should like to know of the Senator from California whether it was not as easy for them to buy up the quicksilver of California as it is alleged to be to control the money market of the world in a much greater field than quicksilver?

Mr. PERKINS. I will state to my friend, who evidently is not as well posted upon cinnabar as some others who have worked in the mines, that cinnabar in California does not average more than 2½ to 3 per cent. It is not owned by any one company or half a dozen companies, but it is divided up among twenty or thirty companies, while in the quicksilver mines of Austria and southern Spain their cinnabar yields from 15 to 20 per cent. They do not want to buy as poor mines as we have in California that pay only 2½ to 3 per cent of quicksilver.

It would not pay them to do it and pay the wages that we compensate our miners with. They prefer to employ labor in Austria and Spain for 50 cents a day and pay them in the silver that they get from other mines in the world. I will state to my friend from Louisiana further that California is the only spot on the Western Continent where quicksilver is found in paying quantities.

Mr. CAFFERY. It appears, then, that we are not asked to give protection against pauper labor or on account of the unequal natural advantages between the United States and other countries, but we are asked to protect pauper mines in this particular instance. If the mines the Senator mentions in Spain or Austria yield 15 per cent of quicksilver and those in California yield only 2½ per cent of the same article, I submit that you must have a very high protection to equalize the pauper mines of California with the richer mines of Spain and Austria. In other words, you want by artificial means, by legislation, to equalize unequal natural conditions, which I think is a matter very difficult of attainment.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the committee, making the rate on quicksilver 7 cents per pound.

The amendment was agreed to.

The Secretary read the next paragraph, as follows:

188. Type metal, 1½ cents per pound for the lead contained therein; new types, 25 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I wish to call the attention of the Senate to the fact that in the first clause this paragraph doubles the rate on type metal in the present law and raises it from 15 to 25 per cent in the second clause. I move to strike out "1½ cents" and insert "three-fourths of 1 cent" in the first paragraph, and to strike out "twenty-five" and insert "fifteen" in the second.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. After the word "metal," in line 3, page 59, strike out the words "one and one-half" and insert "three-fourths of 1 cent," and in line 4 strike out the word "twenty-five" and insert "fifteen;" so as to read:

188. Type metal, three-fourths of 1 cent per pound for the lead contained therein; new types, 15 per cent ad valorem.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Arkansas.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I should like to have the yeas and nays on agreeing to the amendment.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. HARRIS of Kansas (when his name was called). I desire to announce my general pair with the junior Senator from Wyoming [Mr. CLARK].

Mr. BATE (when the name of Mr. HARRIS of Tennessee was called). I desire again to state that my colleague [Mr. HARRIS of Tennessee] is absent sick, and is paired with the Senator from Vermont [Mr. MORRILL], who is also absent sick. This announcement applies for the day.

Mr. KENNEY (when his name was called). I announce my pair with the junior Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. PENROSE].

Mr. MALLORY (when his name was called). I desire to state that I am paired with the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROCTOR]. If he were here, he would vote "nay" and I should vote "yea."

Mr. TILLMAN (when his name was called). I have a pair with the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. THURSTON]. He being absent, I withhold my vote.

Mr. VEST (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. NELSON].

Mr. WILSON (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Florida [Mr. PASCO]. If he were present, I should vote "nay."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. HANNA (after having voted in the negative). I am paired with the junior Senator from Utah [Mr. RAWLINS], who has not voted, and I withdraw my vote.

Mr. WARREN. I desire to announce my pair with the junior Senator from Washington [Mr. TURNER].

Mr. BURROWS. My colleague [Mr. MCMILLAN] is paired with the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. LINDSAY].

The result was announced—yeas 18, nays 28; as follows:

YEAS—18.

Bate,	Cockrell,	Mills,	Turpie,
Berry,	Gorman,	Mitchell,	Walthall,
Caffery,	Gray,	Morgan,	White.
Chilton,	Jones, Ark.	Pettus,	
Clay,	McLaurin,	Smith,	

NAYS—28.

Allison,	Fairbanks,	Hoar,	Platt, N. Y.
Burrows,	Foraker,	Jones, Nev.	Pritchard,
Cannon,	Frye,	Lodge,	Quay,
Carter,	Gallinger,	McBride,	Sewell,
Cullom,	Gear,	Mason,	Shoup,
Davis,	Hale,	Perkins,	Spooner,
Deboe,	Hawley,	Platt, Conn.	Wetmore.

NOT VOTING—43.

Aldrich,	Hanna,	Mantle,	Stewart,
Allen,	Hansbrough,	Martin,	Teller,
Bacon,	Harris, Kans.	Morrill,	Thurston,
Baker,	Harris, Tenn.	Murphy,	Tillman,
Butler,	Heitfeld,	Nelson,	Turner,
Chandler,	Kenney,	Pasco,	Vest,
Clark,	Kyle,	Penrose,	Warren,
Daniel,	Lindsay,	Pettigrew,	Wellington,
Elkins,	McEnery,	Proctor,	Wilson,
Faulkner,	McMillan,	Rawlins,	Wolcott.
George,	Mallory,	Roach,	

So the amendment was rejected.

Mr. BACON subsequently said: Upon the vote on the amendment offered by the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. JONES] relative to type metal, on account of the confusion in the Hall at the time, the clerks failed to hear my response. While I do not ask that there shall be any correction made of the vote, as the result has been announced, I take this method of stating that I did vote, and that I voted in the affirmative.

Mr. WHITE. With the consent of the Senator from Iowa, I desire to go back to paragraph 186, which was passed by inadvertently a few moments ago. I understand that there is no objection to considering the paragraph as being reconsidered for the purpose of amendment. I move as a substitute for the amendment proposed by the committee the following:

Pins, metallic, including pins with solid or glass heads, hairpins, safety pins, and hat, bonnet, shawl, and belt pins, not commercially known as jewelry, 25 per cent ad valorem.

With reference to paragraph 186 as proposed by the committee, I desire to state that the change in the language of this paragraph from that of the Wilson Act and the McKinley Act is of such a character as to limit pins only to such as are made entirely of metal; whereas in the former acts common glass-head pins did not pay a duty at a rate exceeding 30 per cent. Under the present designation in the bill the duty on the same will be, as I am informed by General Appraiser Sharretts, 60 per cent. That officer, in a communication upon this paragraph, says:

I know of no industry in this country which demands such an exorbitant rate of duty on an article used by the poor, both for their personal use and for manufacturing purposes.

I therefore move the substitute.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed as a substitute for paragraph 186 by the Senator from California [Mr. WHITE].

The amendment was rejected.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was to strike out paragraph 189, as follows:

189. Watch movements having not more than seven jewels, 35 cents each; if having more than seven jewels and not more than eleven jewels, 50 cents each; if having more than eleven jewels and not more than fifteen jewels,

75 cents each; if having more than fifteen jewels and not more than seventeen jewels, $1.25 each; if having more than seventeen jewels, $3 each, and in addition thereto, on all the foregoing, 25 per cent ad valorem; watches, watch cases, and parts of watches, including watch dials, chronometers, box or ship, and parts thereof, clocks and parts thereof, not otherwise provided for in this act, whether separately packed or otherwise, 40 per cent ad valorem; all jewels for use in the manufacture of watches or clocks, 15 per cent ad valorem.

And to insert in lieu thereof the following as a new paragraph:

189. Watches, clocks, and chronometers, and parts thereof, finished or unfinished, whether separately packed or otherwise, and not specially provided for in this act, 40 per cent ad valorem; jewels for use in the manufacture of watches or clocks, 10 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. LODGE. I ask the Senator from Iowa in charge of the bill if he will be kind enough to pass over paragraph 189?

Mr. ALLISON. It may be passed over.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Paragraph 189 will be passed over.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 190, page 60, line 1, after the word "one," to strike out "and three-fourths cents" and insert "cent;" in line 2, after the word "sheets," to strike out "two and one-half" and insert "one and three-fourths;" and in line 4, after the word "remanufactured," to strike out "and zinc dust or ashes, 1¼ cents" and insert "1 cent;" so as to make the paragraph read:

190. Zinc in blocks or pigs, 1 cent per pound; in sheets, 1¼ cents per pound; old and worn out, fit only to be remanufactured, 1 cent per pound.

Mr. ALLISON. A majority of the committee have reconsidered this paragraph, and suggest 1¼ cents a pound in lieu of 1 cent in line 1, and 2 cents a pound instead of 1¾ cents in lines 2 and 3. I hope there will be no objection to that change. It is a small increase over the Wilson Act. The first clauses of the paragraph would then read:

Zinc in blocks or pigs, 1¼ cents per pound; in sheets, 2 cents per pound.

Mr. VEST. I object to any increase upon this article of zinc or any of its products. There is no necessity for it either for protection or revenue. The comparative statement shows that of zinc we exported in 1896 $187,318 worth and imported $29,730 worth, and of the other products there were exported $41,287 worth and imported $1,901 worth. I think I am qualified to speak in regard to this article, because it is produced more largely in Missouri than in any other State in the Union. The largest products in southwest Missouri are zinc smelters, and there is a very flourishing city there, Joplin, which is called the zinc metropolis of the Southwest. There is no necessity for this increase. It is not asked for by the parties interested in zinc mining. Why this increase should be made I am at an utter loss to know. If there had been any necessity for it, I certainly would have heard of it from some of my constituents. The town of Joplin is dependent almost entirely upon zinc mining, yet I have not received a single communication complaining of the present duty. So far as I know, the miners are entirely satisfied with it.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I did not understand the proposition of the Senator from Iowa.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will state the amendment.

The SECRETARY. In paragraph 190, page 60, line 1, after the word "one," it is proposed to insert "and one-half;" and in line 2, after the word "two," to strike out "and one-half;" so as to read:

Zinc in blocks or pigs, 1½ cents per pound; in sheets, 2 cents per pound.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. VEST. I should like to hear that paragraph read now as amended.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read the paragraph as amended.

The Secretary read as follows:

190. Zinc in blocks or pigs, 1½ cents per pound; in sheets, 2 cents per pound; old and worn-out, fit only to be remanufactured, 1 cent per pound, etc.

Mr. VEST. Will the Senator from Iowa be kind enough to tell me why he proposes to put up these duties?

Mr. ALLISON. We have only increased them a quarter of a cent a pound here over the Wilson law.

Mr. VEST. I do not ask as to the amount, but as to the reason.

Mr. ALLISON. Those who manufacture this article say the proposed rates are necessary to enable them to successfully compete in its production. I know perfectly well that for many years they have exported more or less of this article, and the Senator from Nevada [Mr. STEWART] thoroughly explained that on the paragraph relating to quicksilver, where he showed very clearly that there are certain duties that ought to be placed upon these articles, notwithstanding now and then there are exportations of them, or no importations, or very small importations.

Mr. VEST. But, Mr. President, the Senator speaks of persons who are engaged in the manufacture of these articles, and proposes to make an increase here upon zinc in blocks or pigs. Will he tell me where the miners are who have demanded this increase?

Mr. ALLISON. The miners did not appear before the committee. The zinc in the ore or the raw material is free. As the Senator very well knows, it is much more expensive to treat zinc ores than it is to treat lead ores. I think it costs four or five times as much. To convert this ore into zinc blocks or pigs is more expensive than it is to convert the ore of lead into blocks or pigs, and the duty here proposed seems to be necessary. It is a reduction of the rate in the McKinley Act, which was supposed to be a very fair protective measure, and it stands midway between the duty in the act of 1894 and the protection of 1890. Therefore I think in the line of compromise it is a proper adjustment of these duties, and it seems to me that it ought to meet with the approval of the Senator from Missouri.

Mr. VEST. If there has been any compromise, I have been so unfortunate as not to have discovered it in this bill. There has been a steady, a persistent, and a consistent increase not only over the rates of the existing law, but over those of the McKinley Act. Time and time again we have called attention to the increases over the McKinley Act, one of which escaped my attention whilst I was conversing with somebody a moment ago, that is in paragraph 186, where there is a clear increase of 5 per cent, without any necessity in the world, over the rate in the McKinley Act. Now, here is an article about which I happen to know something, because the people of my State are largely interested in it, and in my section of the State especially. Only yesterday a gentleman largely interested in zinc from southwest Missouri, one of the most distinguished men in the State, was in my committee room, and we talked about this very subject of zinc. He said: "Let it alone. We are doing well enough; we are satisfied with the existing law; and we do not want any increase upon it at all."

Now, my friend from Iowa, for whom I have the greatest respect, as he knows, contents himself in this debate by saying, without giving the authority for the increase, that the people interested in this industry desire that this increase shall be made. Here is an industry or a production—both a production and a manufacture of the raw material—perfectly satisfied, so far as I know, with the present rate, and my sources of information are equal to any other Senator's, on account of the interest of my people in the subject. This article is an article of prime necessity that goes into the poorest houses of the land, and still we have this increase, which I say can come from nothing else but force of habit—absolute force of habit.

Mr. CAFFERY. Mr. President, I call the attention of the Senator from Iowa to the fact that the duty on zinc under the McKinley law was 1¼ cents per pound; under the Wilson law, 1 cent per pound; under the Dingley bill, 1¼ cents per pound. The rate proposed by the Senate committee is equivalent to an ad valorem of 32.69 per cent. Under the McKinley law the ad valorem was 29.19. Before the increase now proposed by the Senator from Iowa is adopted, the rates under the Senate bill were an increase over the McKinley law of 1890. So the doctrine enunciated by the Senator from Rhode Island is certainly not complied with in this article of prime necessity to everybody in the United States.

Zinc in sheets is an article of common use, of valuable use, and more largely used, I believe, by the poor than the rich. About that, however, I do not know anything. But the reason given by the Senator from Iowa, which he takes from the Senator from Nevada, strikes me as being a very peculiar one. The Senator from Nevada says that these high rates under declining prices and decreased importations are necessary in order to keep off the remote danger of some foreigner somewhere sending to the United States the article and selling it below the cost of production, in order to run out the home producer.

That is a very remote stretching of protection; that goes a little further, perhaps, than I ever heard before, that you must not only protect against immediate and visible danger, but you have got to protect against remote possibility, leaving out of consideration all question as to whether or not the American can compete even upon equal conditions with the foreigner. I have to accept the explanation of the Senator from Iowa for these increases, but I submit to him that that explanation does not explain.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the remaining amendment of the committee to paragraph 190; which will be stated.

The SECRETARY. After the word "remanufactured," in paragraph 190, line 4, the committee propose to strike out the words "and zinc dust or ashes, 1¼ cents" and insert "1 cent;" so as to read:

190. Zinc in blocks or pigs, 1¼ cents per pound; in sheets, 2 cents per pound; old and worn-out, fit only to be remanufactured, 1 cent per pound.

Mr. VEST. I am willing to substitute the Wilson rates for those other rates, and I will make that motion. I move to insert "1 cent" in line 2 and "1¼ cents" in line 3.

Mr. ALLISON. The first two amendments have been agreed to.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The vote has been taken on those amendments.

Mr. ALLISON. The pending amendment is on lines 4 and 5, and I want to call the attention of the Senator to the fact that we reduce the rate a quarter of a cent per pound.

Mr. VEST. I do not want the yeas and nays on that, but I do want them on the first two items, and I will ask unanimous consent to have the vote again taken as to those items.

Mr. ALLISON. Then let the last amendment be agreed to, and I shall have no objection to having the vote the Senator desires.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair will then put the question upon the amendment of the committee on line 4, paragraph 190, after the word "remanufactured," to strike out "and zinc dust or ashes, 1¼ cents" and insert "1 cent."

The amendment was agreed to.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Missouri will now be stated.

The SECRETARY. In paragraph 190, line 1, after the word "pigs," it is proposed to strike out "1¼ cents" and insert "1 cent;" and in line 2, after the word "sheets," to strike out "two" and insert "one and one-fourth."

Mr. VEST. I call for the yeas and nays on the amendment.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MALLORY (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROCTOR], and therefore withhold my vote.

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. HANNA. I transfer my pair with the junior Senator from Utah [Mr. RAWLINS] to the Senator from Montana [Mr. CARTER], who has temporarily left the Senate Chamber. I vote "nay."

Mr. QUAY (after having voted in the negative). I understand the Senator from Alabama [Mr. MORGAN], with whom I am paired, has not voted. I therefore withdraw my vote.

Mr. TILLMAN. I desire to announce my pair with the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. THURSTON].

The result was announced—yeas 18, nays 28; as follows:

YEAS—18.

Bacon,	Cockrell,	Mills,	Vest,
Bate,	Gorman,	Mitchell,	Walthall,
Berry,	Gray,	Pettus,	White.
Chilton,	Jones, Ark.	Smith,	
Clay,	McLaurin,	Turpie,	

NAYS—28.

Allison,	Frye,	Jones, Nev.	Platt, N. Y.
Burrows,	Gallinger,	Lodge,	Pritchard,
Cullom,	Gear,	McBride,	Sewell,
Davis,	Hale,	Nelson,	Shoup,
Deboe,	Hanna,	Penrose,	Spooner,
Fairbanks,	Hawley,	Perkins,	Stewart,
Foraker,	Hoar,	Platt, Conn.	Wetmore.

NOT VOTING—43.

Aldrich,	Faulkner,	Mallory,	Rawlins,
Allen,	George,	Mantle,	Roach,
Baker,	Hansbrough,	Martin,	Teller,
Butler,	Harris, Kans.	Mason,	Thurston,
Caffery,	Harris, Tenn.	Morgan,	Tillman,
Cannon,	Heitfeld,	Morrill,	Turner,
Carter,	Kenney,	Murphy,	Warren,
Chandler,	Kyle,	Pasco,	Wellington,
Clark,	Lindsay,	Pettigrew,	Wilson,
Daniel,	McEnery,	Proctor,	Wolcott.
Elkins,	McMillan,	Quay,	

So the amendment of Mr. VEST was rejected.

The reading of the bill was resumed at line 6, page 60, as follows:

191. Articles or wares not specially provided for in this act, composed wholly or in part of iron, steel, lead, copper, nickel, pewter, zinc, gold, silver, platinum, aluminum, or other metal, and whether partly or wholly manufactured, 45 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I move to strike out "forty-five," in line 10, before the words "per centum," and insert "thirty-five.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In paragraph 191, line 10, before the words "per centum," it is proposed to strike out "forty-five" and insert "thirty-five;" so as to read:

191. Articles or wares not specially provided for in this act, composed wholly or in part of iron, steel, lead, copper, nickel, pewter, zinc, gold, silver, platinum, aluminum, or other metal, and whether partly or wholly manufactured, 35 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. That is the rate under the present law.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the amendment submitted by the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. JONES].

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I call for the yeas and nays on the amendment.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and being taken, resulted—yeas 20, nays 30; as follows:

YEAS—20.

Bacon,	Clay,	McLaurin,	Smith,
Bate,	Cockrell,	Mills,	Turpie,
Berry,	Gorman,	Mitchell,	Vest,
Caffery,	Gray,	Morgan,	Walthall,
Chilton,	Jones, Ark.	Pettus,	White.

NAYS—30.

Allison,	Gallinger,	McBride,	Quay,
Burrows,	Gear,	Nelson,	Sewell,
Cullom,	Hale,	Penrose,	Shoup,
Davis,	Hanna,	Perkins,	Spooner,
Deboe,	Hawley,	Pettigrew,	Stewart,
Fairbanks,	Hoar,	Platt, Conn.	Wetmore.
Foraker,	Jones, Nev.	Platt, N. Y.	
Frye,	Lodge,	Pritchard,	

NOT VOTING—30.

Aldrich,	Faulkner,	McMillan,	Roach,
Allen,	George,	Mallory,	Teller,
Baker,	Hansbrough,	Mantle,	Thurston,
Butler,	Harris, Kans.	Martin,	Tillman,
Cannon,	Harris, Tenn.	Mason,	Turner,
Carter,	Heitfeld,	Morrill,	Warren,
Chandler,	Kenney,	Murphy,	Wellington,
Clark,	Kyle,	Pasco,	Wilson,
Daniel,	Lindsay,	Proctor,	Wolcott.
Elkins,	McEnery,	Rawlins,	

So the amendment of Mr. JONES of Arkansas was rejected.

The reading of the bill was resumed at page 60, line 11, "Schedule D.—Wood and manufactures of." The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 192, line 12, after the word "timber," to insert "hewn, sided, or squared, and round timber;" and in line 13, after the word "spars," to strike out "and" and insert "or;" so as to make the paragraph read:

192. Timber hewn, sided, or squared, and round timber used for spars or in building wharves, 1 cent per cubic foot.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I should be glad if the Senator from Iowa would explain just how that modifies the present law. This would seem to apply to hewn, sided, or square logs, leaving, I presume, round logs out of the paragraph.

Mr. ALLISON. Round logs come in under the free list, but the paragraph does include round timber used for spars and building wharves.

While I am up, I wish to offer an amendment in behalf of the majority of the committee, in line 13, by inserting "1½ cents" instead of "1 cent."

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON] will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In paragraph 192, line 13, after the word "one," it is proposed to strike out "cent" and insert "and one-half cents;" so as to read "1½ cents."

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the amendment proposed by the Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON].

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. This does not include sawed logs, as I understand.

Mr. HALE. They are provided for in the next paragraph.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question recurs on the amendment of the Committee on Finance to paragraph 192, which has been stated.

Mr. ALLISON. I will say to the Senator from Arkansas that this paragraph does not include sawed logs.

Mr. GRAY. By "sawed logs," I presume I may ask the Senator from Iowa or some other Senator, is meant logs that are manufactured and brought into this country?

Mr. ALLISON. Yes.

Mr. GRAY. I wish to understand that.

Mr. HALE. Sawed logs are free.

Mr. GRAY. Free? Under the present law all lumber is free?

Mr. ALLISON. All of it is free except manufactured lumber.

Mr. GRAY. "Timber hewn, sided, or squared, and round timber used for spars," is that free?

Mr. ALLISON. It is all free.

Mr. GRAY. Is not "timber hewn, sided, or squared" manufactured lumber?

Mr. ALLISON. It is not so considered. Manufactured lumber, I believe, is not understood to include lumber sawed or hewn.

Mr. GRAY. I do not think so important an item ought to go without an explanation, and I should like to ask the Senator from Iowa why this exceedingly important raw material (if there can be any such thing as raw material, it is as near it as almost anything else) is to be taken from the free list and put upon the dutiable list?

Mr. ALLISON. Chiefly, I understand, to provide revenue, and secondly, to give a little incidental protection to that vast body of people in our own country who produce timber and manufacture it.

Mr. GRAY. I observe here that the revenue that is estimated to come from this item is $14,000. Therefore, the revenue is unimportant, and can be obtained in a great many other ways in greater abundance and without the hardship that this class of duties is going to produce inevitably.

The Senator from Iowa says, and says truly, and I think that is the gravamen of the whole proposition, that it is to protect a very worthy class of people who are engaged in producing timber. If there is any class of people who, in comparison with other classes of people in the country, can get along without this protection, it would seem to be the millionaire owners of great tracts of timber land all over the country. The white-pine timber of this country is the timber that is to be especially protected by this provision against the white-pine timber that comes across the Canadian border.

If the estimates of experts in this matter are correct, we have only about six years' supply of white-pine timber in the white-pine lands in the United States, and here is a premium offered for the destruction of white-pine forests in this country—a profit to be

given to the fortunate owners of the remaining supply in the United States, and the whole people of the United States, every man who builds an humble home, from the Atlantic to the Pacific and all along the dreary prairies of the West, are to contribute and be levied upon in order that the people who own the white-pine forests may make larger profits.

Now, sir, it is well known that those who have engaged in the white-pine lumber business are amongst the most fortunate business men of this country. They have amassed large fortunes. They do not need protection, and it is unjust that they should be mendicants upon the poor people of this country in order that their profits may be increased. They are getting along and the men they employ are getting along. I have not a word to say, of course, as to the characterization of the people who work in the pine forests as worthy people. Of course they are worthy, but they are not more worthy than the millions upon whom they seek to levy this tribute, and when you come to compare the class of people, as to importance and numbers, who seek this unjust toll on the other industries of the United States, they sink into insignificance both as to numbers and importance and in regard to the merits of the two classes.

Mr. President, I protest against the destruction of this little bit of unrestricted commerce. I protest against this legislation to artificially increase the price of an article universally used, a commodity that is a necessity all over the country, and there is no class of people anywhere who need it less than those in whose behalf the Senator from Iowa says this imposition is to be made.

Another thing. Why should we place a premium upon the destruction of our own forests? Why should not the world's supply of lumber, wherever it is available—and it is available in all those parts of this continent that are contiguous to our borders—be subject to the enterprise and to the commercial activities of our people? Why, when they reach out their hands to where they can best obtain it with most advantage to themselves, should the interfering hand of the law stay them and tell them, "You must not exercise this natural right of buying your material for a home where you can purchase it the cheapest, unless you pay toll to some so-called industry, to the men who own the land upon which the trees grow, the bounty that nature has given them?" That must be protected, forsooth, and a fine be placed upon those who would do otherwise than pay this unjust tribute to the landholders or forest owners of America.

Mr. CAFFERY. Mr. President, I presume this duty is laid with a view to the protection of American timber against the importation of Canadian timber. We are not much in the dark regarding the cost of producing white pine, of stumpage in the United States and Canada, and of milling the lumber after it is brought into the mill. In pursuance of a resolution of the Senate of April 29, 1897, which reads as follows:

Resolved, That the Commissioner of Labor be, and is hereby, directed to send to the Senate a statement of the cost per thousand feet, board measure, of producing white-pine lumber in the United States and in Canada, respectively; the statement to include the cost of lumbering, or the work in the woods, and the cost of manufacturing, or the millwork, in two separate items, including also the cost of stumpage—

The Commissioner of Labor submitted a report, with which I suppose the Senator from Iowa now in charge of the bill is perfectly familiar.

This is the report of Commissioner Wright on the resolution of the Senate of the 29th of April of the current year. He states:

In collecting information in accordance with a joint resolution approved August 15, 1894, providing for an investigation relating to the effects of machinery on labor and the cost of production, as well as the relative productive power of hand and machine labor, the cost of manual and of machine power as they are used in productive industries, and the effect upon wages of the use of machinery, the Department of Labor has secured facts in connection with the lumber industry showing wages paid and the cost of producing lumber at various places.

As a part of this work, Mr. Frank J. Sheridan, a special agent of the Department, has submitted a report on the production of white-pine lumber in certain establishments in Minnesota, Michigan, and Wisconsin, and in competing establishments in the Ottawa district in Canada, and this information answers in a general way, and in some respects specifically, the resolution of the Senate of April 29.

I submit herewith two tables, Table I giving the occupations and rates of wages of employees of four lumber-sawing establishments in the United States and four in Canada for the years 1891 to 1896, inclusive.

The absence of employees in the columns for the United States in many of the occupations, which will be noticed in studying Table I, is due in part to the use of different terms in the United States from those used in Canada, in part to the more minute classification of occupations in certain establishments both in Canada and in the United States, and further, in part to the greater general use of machinery in the United States than in Canada, thus creating a new class of occupations, which take the place of certain other occupations. It will be noticed that in the establishments for Canada there are more persons employed in certain divisions of labor than in the United States, but these remarks fairly indicate the reasons for the appearance of the table.

Table II is practically a summary of occupations and average wages of employees of the same lumber-sawing establishments in the United States and in Canada for the years 1891 to 1896, inclusive. This summary is drawn from Table I and puts the information in that table into a more compact shape.

All the wage rates given in these tables were taken from the pay rolls of the establishments involved.

The average daily wages for 1896, as they existed on a representative day in that year, were obtained from five lumber-sawing establishments in the United States and five in Canada, the concrete results being shown in the following tabular statement:

PRODUCTION OF WHITE-PINE LUMBER.

Average daily wages in five lumber-sawing establishments in the United States and five in Canada, 1896.

IN THE UNITED STATES.

Establishment number.	In mill.	In yard.	In mill and yard.
1	$1.9384	$1.5123	$1.7534
2	1.9213	1.5430	1.7385
3	2.0082	1.5700	1.8781
4	1.7130	1.3144	1.5427
5	2.0082	1.3802	1.6881
Average	1.9031	1.4623	1.7137

IN CANADA.

6	$1.4629	$1.4350	$1.4495
7	1.6786	1.4940	1.6040
8	1.3023	1.3386	1.3160
9	1.5449	1.4081	1.4907
10	1.9202	1.5257	1.7299
Average	1.4310	1.3950	1.4164

The average labor cost of 1,000 feet of white-pine lumber in the same five establishments in the United States and in the same five in Canada and for the same representative day in the year 1896 is shown in the following brief table, both for mill work and for yard work, together with the total:

PRODUCTION OF WHITE-PINE LUMBER.

Average labor cost of 1,000 feet of lumber in five lumber-sawing establishments in the United States and five in Canada, 1896.

IN THE UNITED STATES.

Establishment number.	In mill.	In yard.	Total.
1	$0.5145	$0.3080	$0.8225
2	.5489	.4124	.9613
3	.6528	.3489	1.0017
4	.6033	.3470	.9503
5	.5250	.4043	.9293
Average	.5511	.3635	.9146

IN CANADA.

6	$0.7345	$0.6682	$1.4027
7	.6431	.3881	1.0312
8	.7829	.4866	1.2695
9	.6728	.4019	1.0747
10	.7884	.5054	1.2938
Average	.7427	.4965	1.2392

In the foregoing table the cost includes labor cost only—that is, wages paid to the employees. The cost of material, management, interest, wear and tear, supplies, depreciation, and all other costs are excluded.

Mr. Sheridan remarks, relative to the foregoing table, that an examination of the pay rolls and books of sawmill establishments in the United States shows a greater production per man per day than in Canadian mills, owing to the superior machinery and better methods of handling. No wheel carts are used to haul lumber from one machine to another, the lumber being carried through the mill by machinery. He also states that an examination of the pay rolls and books of sawmill establishments in the Canadian district investigated shows low average production per man per day as compared with American mills.

In some Canadian mills old-style machinery is used, with many hand operations, and after the lumber is sawed a number of men and boys are used to load it on wheel carts and carry it to the edger saws, where it is unloaded and edged. It is then loaded and carted to the trimmers, unloaded and trimmed, and again loaded and carried to platform. The average production per man per day in the same five establishments in the United States and the same five in Canada and for the same representative day in 1896 embraced in the two preceding tables is shown in the following tabular statement:

PRODUCTION OF WHITE-PINE LUMBER.

Average production per man per day in five lumber-sawing establishments in the United States and five in Canada, 1896.

IN THE UNITED STATES.

Establishment number.	In mill.	In mill and yard.
	Feet.	*Feet.*
1	3,767	2,132
2	3,500	1,808
3	3,214	1,857
4	2,841	1,623
5	3,882	1,817
Average	3,508	1,874

IN CANADA.

6	1,992	1,053
7	2,610	1,556
8	1,663	1,037
9	2,296	1,387
10	2,435	1,248
Average	1,927	1,143

The resolution of the Senate calls for the cost of lumbering or the work in the woods. I regret that this can not be given with the same accuracy as can the wages and the cost of sawing, but Mr. Sheridan ascertained in his investigations, taking his facts from the memorandum books of American and Canadian lumbering firms, that the cost of 1,000 feet of logs, from the standing timber to the boom at mill, is in the United States $4.27½, and in Canada

$5.57½. These figures, he informs me, are derived from five establishments in the United States and four establishments in Canada, covering, entirely or in part for each establishment, the years from 1892 to 1896, inclusive. He also states that the costs, as given, include only wages paid and camp expenses, all cost of stumpage, dues, management, interest, wear and tear, depreciation, and all other costs being excluded.

The ascertainment of the cost of production of logs from the standing timber to the boom at mill was entirely incidental to the investigation being conducted by the Department. Time was not taken to make it complete, yet Mr. Sheridan, the special agent in charge of this branch of the work, feels that the figures above stated are fairly correct; but they are based on too meager data to be reported as statistically accurate, and they lack a complete exhibit of details for each item of cost, which I consider absolutely essential in arriving at a full and correct aggregate. He informs me that an examination of the pay rolls of logging establishments in the United States shows the extensive use of well-built ice roads and the employment of teams, sprinklers, and road monkeys—

I do not know what sort of monkeys they are—

to keep such roads in order, and that this, together with the use by some of the establishments in the United States of locomotives, railroad cars, and temporary rails to the skidways in the woods where the timber is cut, indicates comparatively level country and the quick hauling of logs in the district which he investigated; while an investigation of the pay rolls of logging establishments in Canada shows the absence of railroad employees in the woods, and of road monkeys or of ice-road employees, and of loaders as a leading occupation. This is accounted for by the physical characteristics of the main river, the tributaries, and the country in which the logging operations of the Ottawa mills district are carried on, and which apparently render such employment impracticable.

These characteristics show the mountainous nature of the country and make the building of logging railroads and well-equipped ice roads in the Ottawa district of Canada on the American plan quite impossible. The inaccessibility of the timber district investigated makes it necessary to ship supplies and provisions for fall operations during the previous winter, as they can not be transported by team after the rivers and streams thaw. The distance from the location of mills to the point of logging operations varies from 150 to 300 miles. The production per man, team, camp, and log driver, under such conditions, Mr. Sheridan reports, does not approach that of the northern district in the United States, where superior methods and facilities prevail; hence the greater Canadian cost of labor and supplies per 1,000 feet of logs, as shown by his statement.

I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

CARROLL D. WRIGHT,
Commissioner.

The PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE.

I offer these minute statistics to bear out the general results stated in this publication, and I ask that they may be incorporated in the RECORD as a part of my remarks.

Mr. ALLISON. This has already been printed as a document. I suggest to the Senator from Louisiana that it is hardly necessary to print all these pages, numbering 20, in the RECORD. The document is on our desks.

Mr. WHITE. I suggest to the Senator from Iowa that the value to be derived from this document is not only in its perusal here, but the country is entitled to know exactly what we are doing and the various arguments made pro and con on this measure.

Mr. ALLISON. Of course that is true; but I do not believe that it would be very interesting for the country to examine in detail all of these tables.

Mr. WHITE. They are valuable statistics.

Mr. HALE. Let it be printed as a document.

Mr. ALLISON. It might be printed as a document, and extra copies might be printed, or something of that sort, so that the country could get it.

Mr. CAFFERY. Ordinarily I would be satisfied with the general conclusion to be drawn from these minute statistics.

Mr. ALLISON. I understand that the Senator has read all of the report, the first six pages?

Mr. CAFFERY. Yes, sir.

Mr. ALLISON. That will appear in the RECORD, and I am perfectly willing that that shall appear; but as to printing all of the tables, I do not consider it necessary.

Mr. CAFFERY. I say ordinarily I would yield to the Senator's suggestions in that particular, but I submit to the Senator that the scanning or the reading of these statistics would be of great value as information to the people at large, for the whole minutiæ from the stump to the mill are given in these statistics. I ask leave to incorporate the whole of Senate Document No. 70 as a part of my remarks.

Mr. ALLISON. If the Senator from Louisiana thinks it is very important—and I do not know but that it is so—I shall not object to his having it printed in the RECORD, though I think it is a bad precedent.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Without objection, the tables will be printed in the RECORD.

The tables referred to are as follows:

PRODUCTION OF WHITE-PINE LUMBER.

TABLE I.—*Occupations and rates of wages of employees of 4 lumber-sawing establishments in the United States and 4 in Canada, years 1891 to 1896, inclusive.*

Occupations.	1891.				1892.				1893.				1894.				1895.				1896.			
	United States.		Canada.		United States.		Canada.		United States.		Canada.		United States.		Canada.		United States.		Canada.		United States.		Canada.	
	Employees.	Rate of wages.	Employees.	Rate of wages.	Employees.	Rate of wages.	Employees.	Rate of wages.	Employees.	Rate of wages.	Employees.	Rate of wages.	Employees.	Rate of wages.	Employees.	Rate of wages.	Employees.	Rate of wages.	Employees.	Rate of wages.	Employees.	Rate of wages.	Employees.	Rate of wages.
Belt repairers	.....	.....	1	$1.50	.....	.....	1	$1.50	.....	.....	1	$1.50	.....	.....	1	$1.50	.....	.....	1	$1.50	.....	.....	1	$1.50
Blacksmiths	1	$1.50	2	1.50	1	$1.50	1	1.50	1	$1.50	1	1.50	1	$1.50	1	1.50	1	$1.50	1	1.50	1	$1.50	1	1.50
	2	2.25	1	2.00	1	2.00	1	1.75	1	2.00	1	1.75	3	2.00	1	1.75	3	2.00	1	1.75	3	2.00	1	1.75
	1	2.50	.....	.....	2	2.25	1	2.00	2	2.25	1	2.00	.....	.....	1	2.00	.....	.....	1	2.00	1	2.25	1	2.00
Average	4	2.12½	3	1.66½	4	2.00	3	1.75	4	2.00	3	1.75	4	1.87½	3	1.75	4	1.87½	3	1.75	5	1.95	3	1.75
Blacksmiths' helpers	.....	.....	1	1.25	.....	.....	1	1.25	.....	.....	1	1.25	.....	.....	1	1.25	.....	.....	1	1.25	.....	.....	1	1.25
Block boys	.....	.....	1	.50	.....	.....	1	.50	.....	.....	1	.50	.....	.....	1	.50	.....	.....	1	.50	.....	.....	1	.50
	.....	.....	20	.60	.....	.....	20	.60	.....	.....	20	.60	.....	.....	20	.60	.....	.....	20	.60	.....	.....	20	.60
	.....	.....	2	.75	.....	.....	2	.75	.....	.....	2	.75	.....	.....	2	.75	.....	.....	2	.75	.....	.....	2	.75
	.....	.....	3	.90	.....	.....	3	.90	.....	.....	3	.90	.....	.....	3	.90	.....	.....	3	.90	.....	.....	3	.90
	.....	.....	2	1.16	.....	.....	2	1.16	.....	.....	2	1.16	.....	.....	2	1.16	.....	.....	2	1.16	.....	.....	2	1.16
Average	.....	.....	28	.68	.....	.....	28	.68	.....	.....	28	.68	.....	.....	28	.68	.....	.....	28	.68	.....	.....	28	.68
Block cullers	.....	.....	a 1	.75	.....	.....	a 1	.75	.....	.....	a 1	.75	.....	.....	a 1	.75	.....	.....	a 1	.75	.....	.....	a 1	.75
	.....	.....	4	1.33	.....	.....	4	1.33	.....	.....	4	1.33	.....	.....	4	1.33	.....	.....	4	1.33	.....	.....	4	1.33
Average	.....	.....	5	1.21½	.....	.....	5	1.21½	.....	.....	5	1.21½	.....	.....	5	1.21½	.....	.....	5	1.21½	.....	.....	5	1.21½
Boom men	2	1.50	10	1.25	2	1.50	10	1.25	1	1.10	10	1.25	1	1.00	13	1.25	1	1.37½	13	1.25	1	1.25	13	1.25
	3	1.70	3	1.33	5	1.75	4	1.32	2	1.50	4	1.32	1	1.37½	5	1.32	1	1.40	6	1.32	1	1.37½	6	1.32
	1	1.75	1	1.65	1	2.50	1	1.65	1	1.75	1	1.65	1	1.40	4	1.33½	4	1.50	9	1.33½	1	1.40	8	1.33½
	1	1.87½	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	2.00	.....	.....	8	1.50	1	1.50	1	1.62½	1	1.50	4	1.50	1	1.50
	1	2.50	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	2.25	.....	.....	2	1.75	1	1.65	1	1.75	1	1.65	1	1.62½	1	1.65
	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	1.75	.....	.....	1	1.75	.....	.....	1	1.75
Average	8	1.78	14	1.29½	8	1.78	15	1.29½	8	1.76½	15	1.29½	8	1.47	25	1.32½	8	1.52	25	1.32½	8	1.45½	25	1.32½
Canters	.....	.....	2	1.50	.....	.....	2	1.50	.....	.....	2	1.50	.....	.....	2	1.50	.....	.....	2	1.50	.....	.....	2	1.50
Cant-setters gang	1	2.00	1	1.33½	1	2.00	1	1.33½	1	2.00	1	1.33½	1	1.40	1	1.33½	1	1.40	1	1.33½	1	1.40	1	1.33½
	.....	.....	1	1.37½	.....	.....	1	1.37½	.....	.....	1	1.37½	.....	.....	1	1.37½	2	1.50	1	1.37½	2	1.50	1	1.37½
	.....	.....	1	1.50	.....	.....	1	1.50	.....	.....	1	1.50	.....	.....	1	1.50	.....	.....	1	1.50	.....	.....	1	1.50
	.....	.....	1	1.54	.....	.....	1	1.54	.....	.....	1	1.54	.....	.....	1	1.54	.....	.....	1	1.54	.....	.....	1	1.54
Average	1	2.00	4	1.43½	1	2.00	4	1.43½	1	2.00	4	1.43½	1	1.40	4	1.43½	3	1.46½	4	1.46½	3	1.46½	4	1.43½
Carriage men	1	1.75	2	1.37½	1	1.85	2	1.37½	4	2.00	2	1.37½	8	1.80	2	1.37½	1	1.75	2	1.37½	3	1.80	2	1.37½
	3	2.00	3	1.41½	3	2.00	3	1.41½	.....	.....	3	1.41½	1	2.00	3	1.41½	3	1.80	3	1.41½	1	2.00	3	1.41½
	.....	.....	1	1.50	.....	.....	1	1.50	.....	.....	1	1.50	.....	.....	1	1.50	.....	.....	1	1.50	.....	.....	1	1.50
Average	4	1.93½	6	1.41½	4	1.96½	6	1.41½	4	2.00	6	1.41½	4	1.85	6	1.41½	4	1.78½	6	1.41½	4	1.85	6	1.41½

a Boys.

TABLE I.—*Occupations and rates of wages of employees of 4 lumber-sawing establishments in the United States and 4 in Canada, etc.*—Continued.

Occupations.	1891.				1892.				1893.				1894.				1895.				1896.			
	United States.		Canada.		United States.		Canada.		United States.		Canada.		United States.		Canada.		United States.		Canada.		United States.		Canada.	
	Employees.	Rate of wages.	Employees.	Rate of wages.	Employees.	Rate of wages.	Employees.	Rate of wages.	Employees.	Rate of wages.	Employees.	Rate of wages.	Employees.	Rate of wages.	Employees.	Rate of wages.	Employees.	Rate of wages.	Employees.	Rate of wages.	Employees.	Rate of wages.	Employees.	Rate of wages.
Carrying-out boys			1	$1.00			1	$1.00			1	$1.00			1	$1.00			1	$1.00			1	$1.00
Cart loaders	1	$1.37½	4	1.25	1	$1.37½	4	1.25	1	$1.37½	4	1.25	1	$1.25	1	.80	1	$1.25	1	.80	1	$1.25	1	.80
			2	1.32			2	1.32			2	1.32			2	1.25			3	1.25			3	1.25
			8	1.33½			8	1.33½			8	1.33½			2	1.32			2	1.32			2	1.32
			6	1.40			6	1.40			1	1.35			9	1.34½			9	1.33½			9	1.33½
			9	1.41½			9	1.41½			6	1.40			1	1.35			1	1.35			1	1.35
			3	1.50			3	1.50			11	1.41½			6	1.40			6	1.40			6	1.40
											5	1.50			12	1.41½			13	1.41½			13	1.41½
															5	1.50			5	1.50			5	1.50
Average	1	1.37½	32	1.37½	1	1.37½	32	1.37½	1	1.37½	37	1.38	1	1.25	38	1.37½	1	1.25	40	1.37	1	1.25	40	1.37
Cart wheelers			18	1.33½			18	1.33½			20	1.33½			1	1.25			1	1.25			1	1.25
			2	1.50			2	1.50			2	1.50			17	1.33½			18	1.33½			18	1.33½
															2	1.41½			2	1.41½			2	1.41½
															2	1.50			2	1.50			2	1.50
Average			20	1.35			20	1.35			22	1.35			22	1.35½			23	1.35½			23	1.35½
Clearers	2	1.37½	35	1.33½	2	1.37½	35	1.33½	2	1.37½	34	1.33½	1	1.25	3	1.25	3	1.25	10	1.25	3	1.25	10	1.25
	4	1.50	5	1.50	4	1.50	5	1.50	4	1.50	5	1.50	5	1.37½	32	1.33½	4	1.37½	33	1.33½	4	1.37½	33	1.33½
	2	2.00			2	2.00			2	2.00			2	1.40	1	1.41½	2	1.40	3	1.40	2	1.40	3	1.40
															5	1.50	1	1.50	1	1.41½	1	1.50	1	1.41½
																			5	1.50			5	1.50
Average	8	1.59½	40	1.35½	8	1.59½	40	1.35½	8	1.59½	39	1.35½	8	1.36½	41	1.35	10	1.35½	52	1.34	10	1.35½	52	1.35½
Edgers	2	2.00	2	1.33	2	2.00	2	1.33	1	1.87½	2	1.33	2	1.80	2	1.33	2	1.80	2	1.33	2	1.80	2	1.33
	1	2.25	1	1.65	1	2.25	1	1.65	1	2.12½	1	1.65	8	2.00	1	1.65	5	2.00	1	1.65	4	2.00	1	1.65
	1	2.35	2	1.66	1	2.35	2	1.66	1	2.25	2	1.66	2	2.25	2	1.66	1	2.25	2	1.66	1	2.25	2	1.66
	1	2.75	7	1.75	1	2.50	7	1.75	1	2.35	7	1.75	1	2.50	7	1.75	1	2.50	7	1.75	1	2.50	7	1.75
	4	3.00	8	1.83	1	2.75	8	1.83	2	2.50	8	1.83	1	2.75	8	1.83	1	2.75	8	1.83	1	2.75	8	1.83
	1	3.50	1	1.83½	3	3.00	1	1.83½	3	3.00	1	1.83½	1	3.00	1	1.83½	1	3.00	1	1.83½	1	3.00	1	1.83½
			2	1.91	1	3.50	2	1.91	1	3.50	2	1.91			2	1.91			2	1.91			2	1.91
			2	1.92½			2	1.92½			2	1.92½			2	1.92½			2	1.92½			2	1.92½
			2	2.00			2	2.00			2	2.00			2	2.00			2	2.00			2	2.00
Average	10	2.58½	27	1.78	10	2.63½	27	1.78	10	2.61	27	1.78	10	2.23½	27	1.78	11	2.19	27	1.78	10	2.21	27	1.78
Edgers' helpers	1	1.50	a2	.90	1	1.50	a2	.90	2	1.50	a2	.90	2	1.37½	a2	.90	1	1.37½	a2	.90	1	1.25	a2	.90
	1	1.62½	1	1.00	1	1.62½	1	1.00			1	1.00			1	1.00	2	1.40	2	1.00	1	1.37½	2	1.00
			2	1.08			2	1.08			2	1.08			2	1.08	1	1.50	2	1.08	2	1.50	2	1.08
			12	1.16			12	1.16			12	1.16			12	1.16			12	1.16			12	1.16
			18	1.25			18	1.25			19	1.25			2	1.16½			4	1.16½			4	1.16½
			3	1.32			3	1.32			3	1.32			20	1.25			20	1.25			2	1.25
			4	1.33			4	1.33			4	1.33			3	1.32			3	1.32			3	1.32
			13	1.33½			12	1.33½			10	1.33½			4	1.33			4	1.33			4	1.33
			2	1.41½			2	1.41½			2	1.41½			9	1.33½			7	1.33½			7	1.33½
			8	1.42			8	1.42			8	1.42			2	1.41½			2	1.41½			2	1.41½
			4	1.50			4	1.50			4	1.50			8	1.42			8	1.42			8	1.42
															6	1.50			6	1.50			6	1.50
Average	2	1.56½	69	1.28	2	1.56½	68	1.27½	2	1.50	67	1.27½	2	1.37½	71	1.27½	4	1.42	72	1.27	4	1.40½	72	1.27
Electricians			1	1.50			1	1.50			1	1.50			1	1.50			1	1.50			1	1.50
Engineers	1	2.00			1	2.00			1	2.00			1	2.00			1	2.00			1	2.25		
	3	3.00			3	3.00			3	3.00			1	2.50			1	2.50			1	2.50		
													1	2.70			1	2.70			1	2.70		
													1	3.00			1	3.00			1	3.00		
Average	4	2.75			4	2.75			4	2.75			4	2.55			4	2.55			4	2.61½		
Filers			2	1.50			2	1.50			2	1.50			2	1.50			2	1.50			2	1.50
			6	1.75			6	1.75			6	1.75			6	1.75			6	1.75			6	1.75
			6	1.83			6	1.83			6	1.83			6	1.83			6	1.83			6	1.83
			1	1.91			1	1.91			1	1.91			1	1.91			1	1.91			1	1.91
			5	1.91½			5	1.91½			5	1.91½			4	1.91½			4	1.91½			4	1.91½
			3	2.00			3	2.00			3	2.00			5	2.00			5	2.00			5	2.00
			2	2.70			2	2.70			2	2.70			1	2.70			1	2.70			1	2.70
			1	3.08			1	3.08			1	3.08			1	3.08			1	3.08			1	3.08
Average			26	1.94			26	1.94			26	1.94			29	1.91½			26	1.91½			26	1.91½
Filers, band	1	3.75	1	2.00	1	3.75	1	2.00	1	2.00	1	2.00	1	3.37½	1	2.00	1	3.50	2	2.00	1	3.50	3	2.20
	4	5.00	1	2.20	4	5.00	1	2.20	3	5.00	1	2.20	1	4.00	1	2.20	1	4.00	1	2.20	4	5.00	2	3.30
	1	7.00	2	3.20	1	7.00	2	3.20	1	6.00	2	3.20	3	5.00	2	3.20	2	5.00	2	3.30			1	3.66½
			1	3.33½			1	3.33½	1	6.25	1	3.33½			1	3.33½	1	5.50	1	3.33½				
Average	6	5.12½	5	2.78½	6	5.12½	5	2.78½	6	4.87½	5	2.78½	5	4.47½	5	2.78½	5	4.60	6	2.69	5	4.70	6	2.81
Filers, circular			1	2.50			1	2.50			1	2.50	1	4.00	1	2.50	1	4.00	1	2.50	1	4.50	1	2.80
Filers, gang	2	3.00	4	1.83½	2	3.00	4	1.83½	2	3.00	1	1.75	2	2.50	1	1.75	2	2.50	1	1.75	2	2.50	1	1.75
			1	2.00			1	2.00			4	1.83½			4	1.83½	1	3.50	4	1.83½	1	3.50	4	1.83½
			1	2.47½			1	2.47½			1	2.47½			1	2.47½			1	2.47½			1	2.47½
			1	2.50			1	2.50			1	2.50			1	2.50			1	2.50			1	2.50
Average	2	3.00	7	2.04½	2	3.00	7	2.04½	2	3.00	7	2.01	2	2.50	7	2.01	3	2.83½	7	2.01	3	2.83½	7	2.01
Filers' apprentices	1	1.50	1	1.16	1	1.50	1	1.16	1	1.50	1	1.16	1	1.50	1	1.16	1	1.50	1	.75	1	1.50	1	.75
			2	1.25			2	1.25			2	1.25			2	1.25			1	1.16			1	1.16
			1	1.33			1	1.33			1	1.33			1	1.33			2	1.25			2	1.25
			1	1.42			1	1.42			1	1.42			1	1.42			1	1.33			1	1.33
			1	1.50			1	1.50			1	1.50			1	1.50			1	1.42			1	1.42

a Boys.

TABLE I.—*Occupations and rates of wages of employees of 4 lumber-sawing establishments in the United States and 4 in Canada, etc.*—Continued.

Occupations.	1891.				1892.				1893.				1894.				1895.				1896.			
	United States.		Canada.		United States.		Canada.		United States.		Canada.		United States.		Canada.		United States.		Canada.		United States.		Canada.	
	Employees.	Rate of wages.	Employees.	Rate of wages.	Employees.	Rate of wages.	Employees.	Rate of wages.	Employees.	Rate of wages.	Employees.	Rate of wages.	Employees.	Rate of wages.	Employees.	Rate of wages.	Employees.	Rate of wages.	Employees.	Rate of wages.	Employees.	Rate of wages.	Employees.	Rate of wages.
Filers' apprentices	.....	.....	1	$1.58	.....	.....	1	$1.58	.....	.....	1	$1.58	.....	.....	1	$1.58	.....	.....	1	$1.50	.....	.....	1	$1.50
	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	1.58	.....	.....	1	1.58
Average	1	$1.50	7	1.35½	1	$1.50	7	1.35½	1	$1.50	7	1.35½	1	$1.50	7	1.35½	1	$1.50	8	1.28	1	$1.50	8	1.28
Firemen	1	1.75	.....	.....	2	1.75	.....	.....	2	1.75	.....	.....	1	1.50	.....	.....	1	1.50	.....	.....	1	1.50	.....	.....
	1	1.87½	.....	.....	1	2.00	.....	.....	1	2.00	.....	.....	2	1.75	.....	.....	1	1.60	.....	.....	1	1.60	.....	.....
	2	2.00	.....	.....	1	2.50	.....	.....	1	2.50	.....	.....	1	2.00	.....	.....	1	1.62½	.....	.....	1	1.62½	.....	.....
	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	2.00	.....	.....	1	2.00	.....	.....
Average	4	1.90½	.....	.....	4	2.00	.....	.....	4	2.00	.....	.....	4	1.75	.....	.....	4	1.68	.....	.....	4	1.68	.....	.....
Floor cleaners	.....	.....	4	1.25	.....	.....	4	1.25	.....	.....	4	1.25	.....	.....	4	1.25	.....	.....	2	1.00	.....	.....	2	1.00
	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	1.25	.....	.....	1	1.25
	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	1.50	.....	.....	1	1.50
Average	.....	.....	4	1.25	.....	.....	4	1.25	.....	.....	4	1.25	.....	.....	4	1.25	.....	.....	4	1.18½	.....	.....	4	1.18½
Foremen, barn	1	1.50	.....	.....	1	1.50	.....	.....	1	1.50	.....	.....	1	1.50	.....	.....	1	1.50	.....	.....	1	1.50	.....	.....
Foremen, laborers, gap	.....	.....	1	1.66	.....	.....	1	1.66	.....	.....	1	1.66	.....	.....	1	1.66	.....	.....	1	1.66	.....	.....	1	1.66
Foremen, mill	1	2.50	1	1.30	1	2.50	1	1.30	1	2.50	1	1.30	1	2.50	1	1.30	1	2.50	1	1.30	1	2.50	1	1.30
	1	4.79	1	1.83	1	4.79	1	1.83	1	4.79	1	1.83	1	4.79	1	1.83	1	3.83½	1	1.83	1	3.83½	1	1.83
	.....	.....	1	1.85	.....	.....	1	1.85	.....	.....	1	1.85	.....	.....	1	1.85	.....	.....	1	1.85	.....	.....	1	1.85
	.....	.....	1	2.00	.....	.....	1	2.00	.....	.....	1	2.00	.....	.....	1	2.00	.....	.....	1	2.00	.....	.....	1	2.00
	.....	.....	2	2.50	.....	.....	2	2.50	.....	.....	2	2.50	.....	.....	2	2.50	.....	.....	3	2.50	.....	.....	3	2.50
	.....	.....	4	3.00	.....	.....	4	3.00	.....	.....	4	3.00	.....	.....	4	3.00	.....	.....	3	3.00	.....	.....	3	3.00
	.....	.....	1	3.80	.....	.....	1	3.80	.....	.....	1	3.80	.....	.....	1	3.80	.....	.....	1	3.80	.....	.....	1	3.80
	.....	.....	1	4.00	.....	.....	1	4.00	.....	.....	1	4.00	.....	.....	1	4.00	.....	.....	1	4.00	.....	.....	1	4.00
	.....	.....	1	4.80	.....	.....	1	4.80	.....	.....	1	4.80	.....	.....	1	4.80	.....	.....	1	4.80	.....	.....	1	4.80
Average	2	3.64½	13	2.86	2	3.64½	13	2.86	2	3.64½	13	2.86	2	3.64½	13	2.86	2	3.16½	13	2.82	2	3.16½	13	2.82
Foremen, platform	.....	.....	1	1.83½	.....	.....	1	1.83½	.....	.....	1	1.83½	.....	.....	1	1.83½	.....	.....	1	1.83½	.....	.....	1	1.83½
	.....	.....	5	2.00	.....	.....	5	2.00	.....	.....	5	2.00	.....	.....	5	2.00	.....	.....	5	2.00	.....	.....	5	2.00
Average	.....	.....	6	1.97½	.....	.....	6	1.97½	.....	.....	6	1.97½	.....	.....	6	1.97½	.....	.....	6	1.97½	.....	.....	6	1.97½
Foremen, resawing mill	.....	.....	1	2.25	.....	.....	1	2.25	.....	.....	1	2.25	.....	.....	1	2.25	.....	.....	1	2.25	.....	.....	1	2.25
Foremen, sorters	1	2.50	.....	.....	1	2.50	.....	.....	1	2.50	.....	.....	1	2.00	.....	.....	1	2.00	.....	.....	1	2.00	.....	.....
Foremen, yard	1	1.50	1	1.83½	1	1.62½	1	1.83½	1	1.62½	1	1.83½	1	1.50	1	1.83½	1	1.50	1	1.83½	1	1.75	1	1.83½
	1	2.25	1	3.19½	1	2.25	1	3.19½	1	2.50	1	3.19½	1	3.00	1	3.19½	1	3.00	1	3.19½	1	3.00	1	3.19½
Average	2	1.87½	2	2.51½	2	1.99½	2	2.51½	2	2.06½	2	2.51½	2	2.25	2	2.51½	2	2.25	2	2.51½	2	2.37½	2	2.51½
Graders	.....	.....	4	1.50	.....	.....	4	1.50	.....	.....	4	1.50	.....	.....	4	1.50	.....	.....	4	1.50	.....	.....	4	1.50
	.....	.....	7	1.58½	.....	.....	7	1.58½	.....	.....	7	1.58½	.....	.....	7	1.58½	.....	.....	9	1.58½	.....	.....	9	1.58½
	.....	.....	1	1.65	.....	.....	1	1.65	.....	.....	1	1.65	.....	.....	1	1.65	.....	.....	1	1.65	.....	.....	1	1.65
	.....	.....	3	1.66½	.....	.....	3	1.66½	.....	.....	3	1.66½	.....	.....	3	1.66½	.....	.....	1	1.66½	.....	.....	1	1.66½
	.....	.....	1	2.00	.....	.....	1	2.00	.....	.....	1	2.00	.....	.....	1	2.00	.....	.....	2	1.75	.....	.....	2	1.75
	.....	.....	1	2.04	.....	.....	1	2.04	.....	.....	1	2.04	.....	.....	1	2.04	.....	.....	1	2.00	.....	.....	1	2.00
	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	2.04	.....	.....	1	2.04
Average	.....	.....	17	1.63½	.....	.....	17	1.63½	.....	.....	17	1.63½	.....	.....	17	1.63½	.....	.....	19	1.64	.....	.....	19	1.64
Handymen	.....	.....	1	1.65	.....	.....	1	1.65	.....	.....	1	1.65	.....	.....	1	1.65	.....	.....	1	1.65	.....	.....	1	1.65
Laborers	20	1.50	6	1.33½	20	1.50	6	1.33½	40	1.50	5	1.33½	35	1.25	5	1.33½	40	1.25	3	1.33½	42	1.25	3	1.33½
	20	1.60	2	1.45	20	1.60	4	1.45	10	1.60	2	1.45	.....	.....	1	1.45	.....	.....	1	1.45	.....	.....	1	1.45
	.....	.....	1	1.50	.....	.....	2	1.50	.....	.....	2	1.50	.....	.....	2	1.50	.....	.....	2	1.50	.....	.....	2	1.50
Average	40	1.55	9	1.38	40	1.55	12	1.40	50	1.52	9	1.39½	35	1.25	8	1.39	40	1.25	6	1.41	42	1.25	6	1.41
Laborers, band saw	.....	.....	a 4	1.16	.....	.....	a 4	1.16	.....	.....	a 4	1.16	.....	.....	a 4	1.16	.....	.....	a 4	1.16	.....	.....	a 4	1.16
	.....	.....	a 32	1.25	.....	.....	a 32	1.25	.....	.....	a 32	1.25	.....	.....	a 32	1.25	.....	.....	a 32	1.25	.....	.....	a 32	1.25
Average	.....	.....	a 36	1.24	.....	.....	a 36	1.24	.....	.....	a 36	1.24	.....	.....	a 36	1.24	.....	.....	a 36	1.24	.....	.....	a 36	1.24
Laborers, circular saw	.....	.....	a 4	1.16	.....	.....	a 4	1.16	.....	.....	a 4	1.16	.....	.....	a 4	1.16	.....	.....	a 4	1.16	.....	.....	a 4	1.16
	.....	.....	a 14	1.25	.....	.....	a 14	1.25	.....	.....	a 14	1.25	.....	.....	a 14	1.25	.....	.....	a 14	1.25	.....	.....	a 14	1.25
Average	.....	.....	a 18	1.23	.....	.....	a 18	1.23	.....	.....	a 18	1.23	.....	.....	a 18	1.23	.....	.....	a 18	1.23	.....	.....	a 18	1.23
Laborers, dimension timber	.....	.....	5	1.25	.....	.....	5	1.25	.....	.....	5	1.25	.....	.....	5	1.25	.....	.....	5	1.25	.....	.....	5	1.25
	.....	.....	1	1.33	.....	.....	1	1.33	.....	.....	1	1.33	.....	.....	1	1.33	.....	.....	1	1.33	.....	.....	1	1.33
Average	.....	.....	6	1.26½	.....	.....	6	1.26½	.....	.....	6	1.26½	.....	.....	6	1.26½	.....	.....	6	1.26½	.....	.....	6	1.26½
Laborers, gang-saw	.....	.....	a 4	1.25	.....	.....	a 4	1.25	.....	.....	a 4	1.25	.....	.....	a 4	1.25	.....	.....	a 4	1.25	.....	.....	a 4	1.25
	.....	.....	a 26	1.33	.....	.....	a 26	1.33	.....	.....	a 26	1.33	.....	.....	a 26	1.33	.....	.....	a 26	1.33	.....	.....	a 26	1.33
Average	.....	.....	a 30	1.32	.....	.....	a 30	1.32	.....	.....	a 30	1.32	.....	.....	a 30	1.32	.....	.....	a 30	1.32	.....	.....	a 30	1.32
Laborers, gap	.....	.....	11	1.25	.....	.....	11	1.25	.....	.....	11	1.25	.....	.....	11	1.25	.....	.....	11	1.25	.....	.....	11	1.25
	.....	.....	1	1.33	.....	.....	1	1.33	.....	.....	1	1.33	.....	.....	1	1.33	.....	.....	1	1.33	.....	.....	1	1.33
Average	.....	.....	12	1.25½	.....	.....	12	1.25½	.....	.....	12	1.25½	.....	.....	12	1.25½	.....	.....	12	1.25½	.....	.....	12	1.25½
Laborers, slash butter	.....	.....	2	1.16	.....	.....	2	1.16	.....	.....	2	1.16	.....	.....	2	1.16	.....	.....	2	1.16	.....	.....	2	1.16
	.....	.....	4	1.25	.....	.....	4	1.25	.....	.....	4	1.25	.....	.....	4	1.25	.....	.....	4	1.25	.....	.....	4	1.25
	.....	.....	2	1.33	.....	.....	2	1.33	.....	.....	2	1.33	.....	.....	2	1.33	.....	.....	2	1.33	.....	.....	2	1.33
Average	.....	.....	8	1.24½	.....	.....	8	1.24½	.....	.....	8	1.24½	.....	.....	8	1.24½	.....	.....	8	1.24½	.....	.....	8	1.24½

a Including tail sawyers and other occupations which can not be separated.

TABLE I.—*Occupations and rates of wages of employees of 4 lumber-sawing establishments in the United States and 4 in Canada, etc.*—Continued.

Occupations.	1891.				1892.				1893.				1894.				1895.				1896.			
	United States.		Canada.		United States.		Canada.		United States.		Canada.		United States.		Canada.		United States.		Canada.		United States.		Canada.	
	Employees.	Rate of wages.	Employees.	Rate of wages.	Employees.	Rate of wages.	Employees.	Rate of wages.	Employees.	Rate of wages.	Employees.	Rate of wages.	Employees.	Rate of wages.	Employees.	Rate of wages.	Employees.	Rate of wages.	Employees.	Rate of wages.	Employees.	Rate of wages.	Employees.	Rate of wages.
Laborers, transfer			4	$1.16			4	$1.16			4	$1.16			4	$1.16			4	$1.16			4	$1.16
Log deck men	2	$1.25	1	1.00	2	$1.25	1	1.00	2	$1.25	1	1.00	1	$1.12½	1	1.00	1	$1.12½	1	1.00	1	$1.12½	1	1.00
	1	1.50	2	1.32	1	1.50	2	1.32	2	1.50	2	1.32	1	1.25	2	1.32	1	1.25	2	1.32	2	1.25	2	1.32
	1	1.60	1	1.33½	1	1.60	1	1.33½	1	1.70	1	1.33½	1	1.37½	1	1.33½	1	1.45	1	1.33½	1	1.50	1	1.33½
	1	1.75	1	1.37	1	1.75	1	1.37			1	1.37	1	1.45	1	1.37	1	1.50	1	1.37	1	1.75	1	1.37
			3	1.40			3	1.40			3	1.40	1	1.50	3	1.40	1	1.75	3	1.40			3	1.40
			1	1.50			1	1.50			1	1.50			1	1.50			1	1.50			1	1.50
Average	5	1.47	9	1.34	5	1.47	9	1.34	5	1.44	9	1.34	5	1.34	9	1.34	5	1.41½	9	1.34	5	1.37½	9	1.34
Log handlers			2	1.25			2	1.25			2	1.25			2	1.25			2	1.25			2	1.25
Log rollers			2	1.33½			2	1.33½			2	1.33½			1	1.33½			1	1.33½			1	1.33½
			5	1.50			5	1.50			5	1.50			1	1.41½			1	1.41½			1	1.41½
															5	1.50			5	1.50			5	1.50
Average			7	1.45½			7	1.45½			7	1.45½			7	1.46½			7	1.46½			7	1.46½
Log slide men	1	1.50	1	1.25	1	1.50	1	1.25	1	1.10	1	1.00	1	1.00	1	1.00	2	1.50	1	1.00	1	1.25	1	1.00
	1	1.70	1	1.33½	1	1.75	1	1.33½	1	1.75	1	1.25	1	1.50	1	1.25			1	1.25	1	1.50	1	1.25
			1	1.37			1	1.37			1	1.33½			1	1.33½			1	1.33½			1	1.33½
			3	1.40			3	1.40			1	1.37			1	1.37			1	1.37			1	1.37
			2	1.41½			2	1.41½			1	1.40			1	1.40			1	1.40			1	1.40
			2	1.50			2	1.50			2	1.41½			2	1.41½			2	1.41½			2	1.41½
											1	1.50			1	1.50			1	1.50			1	1.50
Average	2	1.60	10	1.40	2	1.62½	10	1.40	2	1.42½	8	1.33½	2	1.25	8	1.33½	2	1.50	8	1.33½	2	1.37½	8	1.33½
Log trimmers			4	1.33½			4	1.33½			5	1.33½			6	1.33½			6	1.33½			6	1.33½
Machinists	1	3.00	1	1.75	1	3.00	1	1.75	1	3.00	1	1.75	1	2.70	1	1.75	1	2.70	1	1.75	1	2.70	1	1.75
Mechanics			6	1.25			6	1.25			6	1.25			6	1.25			6	1.25			6	1.25
			3	1.33			3	1.33			3	1.33			3	1.33			3	1.33			3	1.33
			5	1.50			5	1.50			5	1.50			5	1.50			5	1.50			5	1.50
			1	2.25			1	2.25			1	2.25			1	2.25			1	2.25			1	2.25
Average			15	1.41½			15	1.41½			15	1.41½			15	1.41½			15	1.41½			15	1.41½
Mill wagon makers							1	1.50			1	1.50			1	1.50			1	1.50			1	1.50
Millwrights	1	2.75	1	1.60	1	2.75	1	1.60	1	2.75	1	1.60	1	1.75	1	1.60	1	1.75	1	1.60	1	1.75	1	1.60
			2	1.75			2	1.75			2	1.75	1	2.25	2	1.75	1	2.25	2	1.75	1	2.25	2	1.75
			1	1.91			1	1.91			1	1.91			1	1.91			1	1.91			1	1.91
			2	2.00			2	2.00			2	2.00			2	2.00			2	2.00			2	2.00
			1	2.25			1	2.25			1	2.25			2	2.25			1	2.25			1	2.25
			1	2.50			1	2.50			2	2.50			2	2.50			2	2.50			2	2.50
			1	2.83½			1	2.83½			1	2.83½			1	2.83½			1	2.83½			1	2.83½
			1	3.16			1	3.16			1	3.16			1	3.16			1	3.16			1	3.16
			1	2.19½			1	3.19½			1	3.19½			1	3.19½			1	3.19½			1	3.19½
Average	1	2.75	11	2.27	1	2.75	11	2.27	1	2.75	12	2.28½	2	2.00	12	2.28½	2	2.00	12	2.28½	2	2.00	12	2.28½
Millwright's assistant			1	2.20			1	2.20			1	2.20			1	2.20			1	2.20			1	2.20
Oilers	1	1.37½	2	1.25	1	1.37½	2	1.25	1	1.37½	2	1.25	1	1.25	2	1.25	2	1.25	2	1.25	2	1.25	2	1.25
	1	1.75	3	1.33	1	1.75	3	1.33	1	1.50	3	1.33	1	1.40	3	1.33	1	1.40	3	1.33	1	1.50	3	1.33
	1	2.30	2	1.37½	1	2.30	2	1.37½	1	2.30	2	.37½	1	1.50	2	1.37½			2	1.37½			2	1.37½
			3	1.41			3	1.41			3	1.41			3	1.41			3	1.41			3	1.41
			1	1.41½			1	1.41½			1	1.41½			1	1.41½			1	1.41½			1	1.41½
			9	1.50			9	1.50			9	1.50			9	1.50			9	1.50			9	1.50
			1	1.63			1	1.63			1	1.63			1	1.63			1	1.63			1	1.63
			1	1.66			1	1.66			1	1.66			1	1.66			1	1.66			1	1.66
			1	1.75			1	1.75			1	1.75			1	1.75			1	1.75			1	1.75
			1	1.83			1	1.83			1	1.83			1	1.83			1	1.83			1	1.83
			2	2.00			2	2.00			2	2.00			2	2.00			2	2.00			2	2.00
			1	2.25			1	2.25			1	2.25			1	2.25			1	2.25			1	2.25
Average	3	1.81	27	1.53½	3	1.81	27	1.53½	2	1.72½	27	1.53½	3	1.38½	27	1.53½	3	1.30	27	1.53½	3	1.33½	27	1.53½
Pilers	12	1.37½	a 7	.75	12	1.37½	a 7	.75	12	1.37½	a 7	.75	21	1.25	a 7	.75	15	1.25	a 7	.75	12	1.25	a 1	.60
	25	1.60	4	1.00	25	1.60	4	1.00	3	1.50	4	1.00	7	1.30	3	1.00	7	1.30	2	1.00	7	1.30	a 7	.75
	7	1.70	8	1.16½	7	1.70	8	1.16½	51	1.60	7	1.16½	1	1.35	8	1.16½	3	1.35	7	1.16½	3	1.35	a 1	.83½
	13	1.75	50	1.25	13	1.75	50	1.25	7	1.70	45	1.25	7	1.40	50	1.25	14	1.40	51	1.25	7	1.40	a 1	.90
	1	2.25	20	1.33	1	2.25	20	1.33	16	1.75	2	1.32	6	1.50	2	1.32	7	1.65	2	1.32	1	1.45	2	1.00
			44	1.33½			48	1.33½	1	2.25	20	1.33	3	1.65	20	1.33			20	1.33	8	1.50	7	1.16½
			4	1.40			4	1.40			43	1.33½	1	1.75	44	1.33½			47	1.33½	2	1.65	49	1.25
			4	1.41			4	1.41			6	1.40			6	1.40			8	1.40	6	1.75	2	1.32
			16	1.50			16	1.50			4	1.41			4	1.41			4	1.41			20	1.33
			21	1.66			21	1.66			18	1.50			20	1.50			2	1.41½			46	1.33½
			4	1.66½			4	1.66½			21	1.66			21	1.66			22	1.50			7	1.40
			23	1.75			23	1.75			4	1.66½			4	1.66½			21	1.66			4	1.41
											23	1.75			23	1.75			4	1.66½			2	1.41½
																			23	1.75			23	1.50
																							21	1.66
																							4	1.66½
																							23	1.75
Average	58	1.61	b205	1.38½	58	1.61	b209	1.38	90	1.61	b204	1.39	46	1.35	b212	1.38½	46	1.37	b220	1.39	46	1.41½	c230	1.38½
Platform men			a 13	.65			a 13	.65			a 13	.65			a 13	.65			a 13	.65			a 13	.65
			a 3	.75			a 3	.75			a 3	.75			a 3	.75			a 3	.75			a 3	.75
			a 1	.85			a 1	.85			a 1	.85			a 1	.85			a 1	.85			a 1	.85
			16	1.00			16	1.00			16	1.00			16	1.00			16	1.00			16	1.00
			9	1.08			9	1.08			9	1.08			9	1.08			9	1.08			9	1.08
			37	1.25			37	1.25			37	1.25			37	1.25			37	1.25			37	1.25
			69	1.33			69	1.33			69	1.33			69	1.33			69	1.33			69	1.33
			10	1.41			10	1.41			10	1.41			10	1.41			18	1.41			10	1.41
			3	1.50			3	1.50			3	1.50			3	1.50			3	1.50			3	1.50

a Boys. b Including 7 boys. c Including 10 boys.

TABLE I.—*Occupations and rates of wages of employees of 4 lumber-sawing establishments in the United States and 4 in Canada, etc.*—Continued.

Occupations.	1891.				1892.				1893.				1894.				1895.				1896.			
	United States.		Canada.		United States.		Canada.		United States.		Canada.		United States.		Canada.		United States.		Canada.		United States.		Canada.	
	Employees.	Rate of wages.	Employees.	Rate of wages.	Employees.	Rate of wages.	Employees.	Rate of wages.	Employees.	Rate of wages.	Employees.	Rate of wages.	Employees.	Rate of wages.	Employees.	Rate of wages.	Employees.	Rate of wages.	Employees.	Rate of wages.	Employees.	Rate of wages.	Employees.	Rate of wages.
Platform men			32 1 3	$1.58 1.66 1.75			32 1 3	$1.58 1.66 1.75			32 1 3	$1.58 1.66 1.75			32 1 3	$1.58 1.66 1.75			32 1 3	$1.58 1.66 1.75			32 1 3	$1.58 1.66 1.75
Average			a 197	1.27½			a197	1.27½			a197	1.27½			a197	1.27½			a197	1.27½			a 197	1.27½
Refuse handlers			3 1	1.33½ 2.08½			3 1	1.33½ 2.08½			3 1	1.33½ 2.08½			1 2 1	1.25 1.33½ 2.08½			1 2 1	1.25 1.33½ 2.08½			1 2 1	1.25 1.33½ 2.08½
Average			4	1.52½			4	1.52½			4	1.52½			4	1.50			4	1.50			4	1.50
Rubbish carriers			1	1.16½			1	1.16½			1	1.16½			1	1.16½			1	1.16½			1	1.16½
Sawyers, band	2 1	$3.50 5.00	1 15 2	1.41½ 2.00 2.25	2 1	$3.50 5.00	1 15 2	1.41½ 2.00 2.25	2 1	$3.50 5.00	1 15 2	1.41½ 2.00 2.25	1 1 1	$3.00 3.60 4.50	1 11 2 2 1 1	1.41½ 2.00 2.10 2.20 2.25 2.50	1 1 1	$3.00 3.60 4.00	1 13 2 1 1	1.41½ 2.00 2.10 2.25 2.50	2 1	$3.00 4.50	1 11 2 1 2 1	1.41½ 2.00 2.10 2.25 2.34 2.64
Average	3	4.00	18	1.99½	3	4.00	18	1.99½	3	4.00	18	1.99½	3	3.70	18	2.04½	3	3.53½	18	2.02	3	3.50	18	2.06½
Sawyers, band and circular	2 1	4.00 5.50			2 1	4.00 4.50			1 2	4.50 5.00			3	4.00			2 1	4.00 4.50			2 1	4.00 5.00		
Average	3	4.50			3	4.16½			3	4.83½			3	4.00			3	4.16½			3	4.33½		
Sawyers, circular	1 1	4.00 4.50	1 2	1.75 1.83	2	4.50	1 2	1.75 1.83	2	5.00	1 2	1.75 1.83	2	4.00	1 2	1.75 1.83	1 1	4.00 5.50	1 2	1.75 1.83	1 1	.25 4.50	1 2	1.75 1.83
Average	2	4.25	3	1.80½	2	4.50	3	1.80½	2	5.00	3	1.80½	2	4.00	3	1.80½	2	4.75	3	1.80½	2	4.37½	3	1.80½
Sawyers, gang	1 1	2.00 3.50	5 7 1 4 1	1.50 1.58½ 1.65 1.66 1.75	1 1	2.00 3.50	5 8 1 4 1	1.50 1.58½ 1.65 1.66 1.75	1 1	2.00 3.50	5 7 1 4 1	1.50 1.58½ 1.65 1.66 1.75	1 1	2.00 3.00	5 7 1 4 1	1.50 1.58½ 1.65 1.66 1.75	1 1	2.00 3.00	5 9 1 4 1	1.50 1.58½ 1.65 1.66 1.75	1 1	2.00 3.00	5 9 1 4 1	1.50 1.58½ 1.65 1.66 1.75
Average	2	2.75	18	1.59	2	2.75	19	1.59	2	2.75	18	1.59	2	2.50	18	1.59	3	2.50	20	1.59	3	2.50	20	1.59
Scalers	1 2 1	1.75 2.25 3.00	2	1.58½	1 2 1	1.75 2.25 3.00	2	1.58½	1 2 1	2.00 2.25 2.50	2	1.58½	2 2 1	1.75 2.00 2.25	2	1.58½	1 1 1 1 1	1.50 1.75 2.00 2.25 2.50	1	1.50 1.66½	2 1 1	2.00 2.25 3.00	1	1.50 1.66½
Average	4	2.31½	2	1.58½	4	2.31½	2	1.58½	4	2.25	2	1.58½	5	1.95	2	1.58½	5	2.00	2	1.58½	4	2.31½	2	1.58½
Setters	2 1 2 2 1	2.00 2.25 2.35 2.50 2.75	6 2 10 2 3 1	1.40 1.41 1.50 1.65 1.66½ 1.75	2 6	2.00 2.50	7 2 10 2 3 1	1.40 1.41 1.50 1.65 1.66½ 1.75	2 2 4	2.00 2.25 2.50	7 2 10 2 3 1	1.40 1.41 1.50 1.65 1.66½ 1.75	3 5	2.00 2.25	6 2 10 2 3 1	1.40 1.41 1.50 1.65 1.66½ 1.75	3 4 1	2.00 2.25 2.50	6 2 11 2 3 1	1.40 1.41 1.50 1.65 1.66½ 1.75	3 4 1	2.00 2.25 2.50	6 2 11 2 3 1	1.40 1.41 1.50 1.65 1.66½ 1.75
Average	8	2.33½	24	1.51	8	2.37½	25	1.50½	8	2.31½	25	1.50½	8	2.15½	24	1.51	8	2.18½	25	1.51	8	2.18½	25	1.51
Setters' helpers			8 2	1.25 1.33			8 2	1.25 1.33			8 2	1.25 1.33			8 2	1.25 1.33			8 2	1.25 1.33			8 2	1.25 1.33
Average			10	1.26½			10	1.26½			10	1.26½			10	1.26½			10	1.26½			10	1.26½
Slab boys			4 6 2	.60 1.00 1.16			4 6 2	.60 1.00 1.16			4 6 2	.60 1.00 1.16			4 6 2	.60 1.00 1.16			4 6 2	.60 1.00 1.16			4 6 2	.60 1.00 1.16
Average			12	.89½			12	.89½			12	.89½			12	.89½			12	.89½			12	.89½
Slab boys, gang saw			2 8	.90 1.16			2 8	.90 1.16			2 8	.90 1.16			2 8	.90 1.16			2 8	.90 1.16			2 8	.90 1.16
Average			10	1.11			10	1.11			10	1.11			10	1.11			10	1.11			10	1.11
Slab handlers	3	1.37½	b 2 6 4 2	.75 1.16 1.33½ 1.50	3	1.37½	b 2 6 4 2	.75 1.16 1.33½ 1.50	3	1.37½	b 2 6 4 2	.75 1.16 1.33½ 1.50	3	1.25	b 2 6 4 2	.75 1.16 1.33½ 1.50	3	1.25	b 2 6 2 2 1 1	.75 1.16 1.33½ 1.40 1.50 1.66½	3	1.25	b 2 6 2 2 1 1	.75 1.16 1.33½ 1.40 1.50 1.66½
Average	3	1.37½	c 14	1.20	3	1.37½	c 14	1.20	3	1. 37½	c 14	1.20	3	1.25	c 14	1.20	3	1.25	c 14	1.22	3	1.25	c 14	1.22
Slab wheelers			10 18	1.00 1.16			10 18	1.00 1.16			10 18	1.00 1.16			10 18	1.00 1.16			10 18	1.00 1.16			10 18	1.00 1.16
Average			28	1.10½			28	1.10½			28	1.10½			28	1.10½			28	1.10½			28	1.10½
Slashers	2 2 2 2	1.25 1.37½ 1.60 1.65	1	1.32	2 2 2	1.25 1.37½ 1.50 1.60	1	1.32	2 2 2 2	1.10 1.25 1.37½ 1.60	1	1.32	2 2 1 2 4	1.12½ 1.25 1.30 1.35 1.40	1	1.32	2 3 5	1.12½ 1.25 1.30	1	1.32	5 1 1	1.25 1 30 1.40	1	1.32
Average	15	1.53	1	1.32	15	1.51	1	1.32	15	1.45½	1	1.32	11	1.30½	1	1.32	10	1.25	1	1.32	7	1.28	1	1.32

a Including 17 boys. b Boys. c Including 2 boys.

TABLE I.—*Occupations and rates of wages of employees of 4 lumber-sawing establishments in the United States and 4 in Canada, etc.*—Continued.

Occupations.	1891.				1892.				1893.				1894.				1895.				1896.			
	United States.		Canada.		United States.		Canada.		United States.		Canada.		United States.		Canada.		United States.		Canada.		United States.		Canada.	
	Employees.	Rate of wages.	Employees.	Rate of wages.	Employees.	Rate of wages.	Employees.	Rate of wages.	Employees.	Rate of wages.	Employees.	Rate of wages.	Employees.	Rate of wages.	Employees.	Rate of wages.	Employees.	Rate of wages.	Employees.	Rate of wages.	Employees.	Rate of wages.	Employees.	Rate of wages.
Sluicers			4	$1.25			4	$1.25			4	$1.25			4	$1.25			4	$1.25			4	$1.25
Sorters	6	$1.37½	4	1.40	6	$1.37½	4	1.40	6	$1.37½	8	1.40	6	$1.25	8	1.40	6	$1.25	8	1.40	6	$1.25	8	1.40
	1	1.55			1	1.55			15	1.50			16	1.30			13	1.30	2	1.58½	14	1.30	2	1.58½
	18	1.60			17	1.60			1	1.55			3	1.40			4	1.40			1	1.40		
	2	1.80			2	1.80			6	1.60			4	1.50			3	1.65			1	1.50		
	4	1.85			4	1.85			2	1.80			1	1.75							4	1.60		
																					1	1.65		
Average	31	1.60	4	1.40	30	1.60	4	1.40	30	1.51½	8	1.40	30	1.34	8	1.40	26	1.34½	10	1.43½	27	1.35½	10	1.43½
Sparemen			1	1.58½			1	1.58½			1	1.58½			1	1.58½			1	1.33½			1	1.33½
																			1	1.37½			1	1.37½
																			1	1.50			1	1.50
																			1	1.58½			1	1.58½
																			1	1.65			1	1.65
Average			1	1.58½			1	1.58½			1	1.58½			1	1.58½			5	1.49			5	1.49
Splitters			8	1.33			8	1.33			8	1.33			8	1.33			8	1.33			8	1.33
			2	1.42			2	1.42			2	1.42			2	1.42			2	1.42			2	1.42
Average			10	1.35			10	1.35			10	1.35			10	1.35			10	1.35			10	1.35
Splitters' helpers			10	1.00			10	1.00			10	1.00			10	1.00			10	1.00			10	1.00
			4	1.16			4	1.16			4	1.16			4	1.16			4	1.16			4	1.16
			8	1.25			8	1.25			8	1.25			8	1.25			8	1.25			8	1.25
Average			22	1.12			22	1.12			22	1.12			22	1.12			22	1.12			22	1.12
Stable men			2	1.32			1	1.32			1	1.22			1	1.22			1	1.22			1	1.22
											1	1.45			1	1.45			1	1.45			1	1.45
Average			2	1.32			1	1.32			2	1.33½			2	1.33½			2	1.33½			2	1.33½
Tail sawyers	1	1.37½	2	1.32	1	1.37½	2	1.32	1	1.37½	2	1.32	1	1.25	2	1.32	2	1.30	2	1.32	1	1.25	2	1.32
	1	1.30	2	1.33½	1	1.50	2	1.33½	1	1.50	2	1.33½	2	1.30	2	1.33½	1	1.37½	2	1.33½	2	1.30	2	1.33½
	3	1.60	5	1.37½	6	1.60	5	1.37½	4	1.60	5	1.37½	1	1.40	5	1.37½	1	1.40	5	1.37½	1	1.37½	5	1.37½
	2	1.62½	5	1.41½	2	1.62½	5	1.41½	2	1.62½	5	1.41½	3	1.50	5	1.41½	1	1.50	5	1.44½	1	1.40	5	1.41½
	2	1.75			3	1.75			2	2.00			2	1.58			2	1.58			2	1.58		
	1	2.00											1	1.65			2	1.75			3	1.75		
																	1	2.00						
Average	10	1.64½	14	1.37½	10	1.61½	14	1.37½	10	1.65½	14	1.37½	10	1.45½	14	1.37½	10	1.55½	14	1.37½	10	1.33	14	1.37½
Tally boys	1	1.25			1	1.25			1	1.25			1	1.25			1	1.25			1	1.25		
Teamsters	3	1.37½	32	1.25	3	1.37½	32	1.25	8	1.37½	32	1.25	17	1.25	32	1.25	17	1.25	32	1.25	18	1.25	32	1.25
	10	1.50	6	1.32	12	1.50	5	1.32	10	1.50	10	1.32	1	1.37½	10	1.32	1	1.37½	10	1.32	1	1.37½	10	1.32
	9	1.60	1	1.33	8	1.60	1	1.33	9	1.60	1	1.33	2	1.40	1	1.33	2	1.49	1	1.33	2	1.40	1	1.33
	5	1.75			3	1.75							5	1.50			6	1.50			7	1.50		
Average	27	1.56½	39	1.26½	26	1.54½	38	1.26	27	1.49½	43	1.27	25	1.31½	43	1.27	26	1.32½	43	1.27	28	1.33	43	1.27
Teamsters, with teams																			5	3.00			7	3.00
Transfer men			2	1.33½			2	1.33½			2	1.33½			2	1.33½			2	1.33½			2	1.33½
Trimmers	4	1.50	1	1.25	4	1.50	1	1.25	1	1.25	1	1.25	3	1.30	1	1.25	6	1.30	2	1.25	1	1.30	2	1.25
	5	1.60	4	1.32	5	1.60	4	1.32	1	1.37½	4	1.32	2	1.37½	4	1.32	2	1.37½	4	1.32	2	1.37½	4	1.32
	1	1.70	5	1.33	1	1.70	5	1.33	3	1.50	5	1.33	2	1.40	5	1.33	2	1.50	5	1.33	5	1.40	5	1.33
	1	1.75	6	1.33½	1	1.75	6	1.33½	1	1.65	6	1.33½	2	1.50	6	1.33½	2	1.75	6	1.33½	2	1.50	6	1.33½
	2	2.00	2	1.40	2	2.00	2	1.40	3	1.75	1	1.37½	3	1.75	1	1.37½	1	2.00	1	1.37½	3	1.75	1	1.37½
			10	1.42			10	1.42	2	1.85	2	1.40			2	1.40			2	1.40			2	1.40
			1	1.43			1	1.43	1	1.87½	10	1.42			10	1.42			10	1.42			10	1.42
			1	1.65			1	1.65	1	2.00	1	1.43			1	1.43			1	1.43			1	1.43
			3	1.75			3	1.75			1	1.58½			1	1.58½			2	1.58½			2	1.58½
											1	1.65			1	1.65			1	1.65			1	1.65
											1	1.75			1	1.75			1	1.75			1	1.75
											1	1.84			2	2.00			2	2.00			2	2.00
											1	2.00												
Average	13	1.65	33	1.41	13	1.65	33	1.41	13	1.66	35	1.42½	12	1.47½	35	1.43	13	1.46½	37	1.42½	13	1.48½	37	1.42½
Trimmers' helpers			a 3	.70			a 3	.70			a 3	.70			a 3	.70			a 3	.70			a 3	.70
			41	1.25			40	1.25			40	1.25			40	1.25			40	1.25			40	1.25
			18	1.33			18	1.33			18	1.33			18	1.33			18	1.33			18	1.33
			1	1.33½			2	1.33½			2	1.33½			2	1.33½			2	1.33½			2	1.33½
			3	1.41½			3	1.41½			3	1.41½			4	1.41½			4	1.41½			4	1.41½
Average			b 66	1.25½			b 66	1.25½			b 66	1.25½			b 67	1.26			b 67	1.26			b 67	1.26
Waste-box boys			4	.75			4	.75			4	.75			4	.75			4	.75			4	.75
																			1	.83½			1	.83½
Average			4	.75			4	.75			4	.75			4	.75			5	.76½			5	.76½
Watchmen	1	1.37½	1	1.25	1	1.37½	1	1.25	1	1.37½	1	1.25	1	1.25	1	1.25	1	1.25	1	1.25	1	1.25	1	1.25
	1	1.75	1	1.66½	1	1.75	1	1.66½	1	1.75	1	1.66½	1	1.75	1	1.66½	1	1.75	1	1.66½	1	1.75	1	1.66½
Average	2	1.56½	2	1.45½	2	1.56½	2	1.45½	2	1.56½	2	1.45½	2	1.50	2	1.45½	2	1.50	2	1.45½	2	1.50	2	1.45½
Water boys			1	.50			1	.50			1	.50			1	.50			1	.50			1	.50
Yard men	7	1.50			11	1.50			11	1.50			7	1.30			11	1.30			10	1.30		
	8	1.60			1	1.60			1	1.65			7	1.40			4	1.40			2	1.35		
	2	1.80			1	1.80			1	1.80											3	1.40		
Average	17	1.68			13	1.53			13	1.53½			14	1.35			15	1.32½			15	1.32½		

a Boys.

b Including 3 boys.

TABLE II.—*Summary of occupations and average wages of employees of four lumber-sawing establishments in the United States and four in Canada for the years 1891 to 1896, inclusive.*

Occupations and years.	United States.		Canada.	
	Employees.	Rate of wages.	Employees.	Rate of wages.
Belt repairers:				
1891	.....	.....	1	$1.50
1892	.....	.....	1	1.50
1893	.....	.....	1	1.50
1894	.....	.....	1	1.50
1895	.....	.....	1	1.50
1896	.....	.....	1	1.50
Blacksmiths:				
1891	4	$2.12½	3	1.66⅔
1892	4	2.00	3	1.75
1893	4	2.00	3	1.75
1894	4	1.87½	3	1.75
1895	4	1.87½	3	1.75
1896	5	1.95	3	1.75
Blacksmiths' helpers:				
1891	.....	.....	1	1.25
1892	.....	.....	1	1.25
1893	.....	.....	1	1.25
1894	.....	.....	1	1.25
1895	.....	.....	1	1.25
1896	.....	.....	1	1.25
Block boys:				
1891	.....	.....	28	.68
1892	.....	.....	28	.68
1893	.....	.....	28	.68
1894	.....	.....	28	.68
1895	.....	.....	28	.68
1896	.....	.....	28	.68
Block cullers:				
1891	.....	.....	5	1.21½
1892	.....	.....	5	1.21½
1893	.....	.....	5	1.21½
1894	.....	.....	5	1.21½
1895	.....	.....	5	1.21½
1896	.....	.....	5	1.21½
Boom men:				
1891	8	1.78	14	1.29½
1892	8	1.78	15	1.29½
1893	8	1.76½	15	1.29½
1894	8	1.47	25	1.32½
1895	8	1.52	25	1.32½
1896	8	1.45½	25	1.32½
Canters:				
1891	.....	.....	2	1.50
1892	.....	.....	2	1.50
1893	.....	.....	2	1.50
1894	.....	.....	2	1.50
1895	.....	.....	2	1.50
1896	.....	.....	2	1.50
Cant setters, gang:				
1891	1	2.00	4	1.43½
1892	1	2.00	4	1.43½
1893	1	2.00	4	1.43½
1894	1	1.40	4	1.43½
1895	3	1.46½	4	1.43½
1896	3	1.46½	4	1.43½
Carriage men:				
1891	4	1.93½	6	1.41½
1892	4	1.96½	6	1.41½
1893	4	2.00	6	1.41½
1894	4	1.85	6	1.41½
1895	4	1.78½	6	1.41½
1896	4	1.85	6	1.41½
Carrying-out boys:				
1891	.....	.....	1	1.00
1892	.....	.....	1	1.00
1893	.....	.....	1	1.00
1894	.....	.....	1	1.00
1895	.....	.....	1	1.00
1896	.....	.....	1	1.00
Cart loaders:				
1891	1	1.37½	32	1.37½
1892	1	1.37½	32	1.37½
1893	1	1.37½	37	1.38
1894	1	1.25	38	1.37½
1895	1	1.25	40	1.37
1896	1	1.25	40	1.37
Cart wheelers:				
1891	.....	.....	20	1.35
1892	.....	.....	20	1.35
1893	.....	.....	22	1.35
1894	.....	.....	22	1.35½
1895	.....	.....	23	1.35½
1896	.....	.....	23	1.35½
Clearers:				
1891	8	1.59½	40	1.35½
1892	8	1.59½	40	1.35½
1893	8	1.59½	39	1.35½
1894	8	1.56½	41	1.35
1895	10	1.35½	52	1.34
1896	10	1.35½	52	1.35½
Edgers:				
1891	10	2.58½	27	1.78
1892	10	2.63½	27	1.78
Edgers—Con'd.				
1893	10	$2.61	27	$1.78
1894	10	2.23½	27	1.78
1895	11	2.19	27	1.78
1896	10	2.21	27	1.78
Edgers' helpers:				
1891	2	1.56½	6	1.28
1892	2	1.56½	6	1.27½
1893	2	1.50	6	1.27½
1894	3	1.37½	7	1.27½
1895	4	1.42	7	1.27
1896	4	1.40½	7	1.27
Electricians:				
1891	.....	.....	1	1.50
1892	.....	.....	1	1.50
1893	.....	.....	1	1.50
1894	.....	.....	1	1.50
1895	.....	.....	1	1.50
1896	.....	.....	1	1.50
Engineers:				
1891	4	2.75	.....	.....
1892	4	2.75	.....	.....
1893	4	2.75	.....	.....
1894	4	2.55	.....	.....
1895	4	2.55	.....	.....
1896	4	2.61½	.....	.....
Filers:				
1891	.....	.....	2	1.94
1892	.....	.....	2	1.94
1893	.....	.....	2	1.94
1894	.....	.....	2	1.91½
1895	.....	.....	2	1.91½
1896	.....	.....	2	1.91½
Filers, band:				
1891	6	5.12½	1	2.78½
1892	6	5.12½	1	2.78½
1893	6	4.87½	1	2.78½
1894	5	4.47½	1	2.78½
1895	5	4.60	1	2.69
1896	5	4.70	1	2.81
Filers, circular:				
1891	.....	.....	1	2.50
1892	.....	.....	1	2.50
1893	.....	.....	1	2.50
1894	1	4.00	1	2.50
1895	1	4.00	1	2.50
1896	1	4.50	1	2.50
Filers, gang:				
1891	2	3.00	7	2.04½
1892	2	3.00	7	2.04½
1893	2	3.00	7	2.01
1894	2	2.50	7	2.01
1895	3	2.83½	7	2.01
1896	3	2.83½	7	2.01
Filers' apprentices:				
1891	1	1.50	7	1.35½
1892	1	1.50	7	1.35½
1893	1	1.50	7	1.35½
1894	1	1.50	7	1.35½
1895	1	1.50	8	1.28
1896	1	1.50	8	1.28
Firemen:				
1891	4	1.90½	.....	.....
1892	4	2.00	.....	.....
1893	4	2.00	.....	.....
1894	4	1.75	.....	.....
1895	4	1.68	.....	.....
1896	4	1.68	.....	.....
Floor cleaners:				
1891	.....	.....	4	1.25
1892	.....	.....	4	1.25
1893	.....	.....	4	1.25
1894	.....	.....	4	1.25
1895	.....	.....	4	1.18½
1896	.....	.....	4	1.18½
Foremen, barn:				
1891	1	1.50	.....	.....
1892	1	1.50	.....	.....
1893	1	1.50	.....	.....
1894	1	1.50	.....	.....
1895	1	1.50	.....	.....
1896	1	1.50	.....	.....
Foremen, laborers, gap:				
1891	.....	.....	1	1.66
1892	.....	.....	1	1.66
1893	.....	.....	1	1.66
1894	.....	.....	1	1.66
1895	.....	.....	1	1.66
1896	.....	.....	1	1.66
Foremen, mill:				
1891	2	3.64½	13	2.86
1892	2	3.64½	13	2.86
1893	2	3.64½	13	2.86
1894	2	3.64½	13	2.86
Foremen, mill—Continued.				
1895	2	$3.64½	13	$2.82
1896	2	3.64½	13	2.82
Foremen, platform:				
1891	.....	.....	6	1.97½
1892	.....	.....	6	1.97½
1893	.....	.....	6	1.97½
1894	.....	.....	6	1.97½
1895	.....	.....	6	1.97½
1896	.....	.....	6	1.97½
Foremen, resawing mill:				
1891	.....	.....	1	2.25
1892	.....	.....	1	2.25
1893	.....	.....	1	2.25
1894	.....	.....	1	2.25
1895	.....	.....	1	2.25
1896	.....	.....	1	2.25
Foremen, sorters:				
1891	1	2.50	.....	.....
1892	1	2.50	.....	.....
1893	1	2.50	.....	.....
1894	1	2.00	.....	.....
1895	1	2.00	.....	.....
1896	1	2.00	.....	.....
Foremen, yard:				
1891	2	1.87½	2	2.51½
1892	2	1.93½	2	2.51½
1893	2	2.06½	2	2.51½
1894	2	2.25	2	2.51½
1895	2	2.25	2	2.51½
1896	2	2.37½	2	2.51½
Graders:				
1891	.....	.....	17	1.63½
1892	.....	.....	17	1.63½
1893	.....	.....	17	1.63½
1894	.....	.....	17	1.63½
1895	.....	.....	19	1.64
1896	.....	.....	19	1.64
Handy men:				
1891	.....	.....	1	1.65
1892	.....	.....	1	1.65
1893	.....	.....	1	1.65
1894	.....	.....	1	1.65
1895	.....	.....	1	1.65
1896	.....	.....	1	1.65
Laborers:				
1891	40	1.55	9	1.38
1892	40	1.55	12	1.40
1893	50	1.52	9	1.39½
1894	33	1.25	8	1.39
1895	40	1.25	6	1.41
1896	42	1.25	6	1.41
Laborers, band saw:				
1891	.....	.....	a 36	1.24
1892	.....	.....	a 36	1.24
1893	.....	.....	a 36	1.24
1894	.....	.....	a 36	1.24
1895	.....	.....	a 36	1.24
1893	.....	.....	a 36	1.24
Laborers, circular saw:				
1891	.....	.....	a 18	1.23
1892	.....	.....	a 18	1.23
1893	.....	.....	a 18	1.23
1894	.....	.....	a 18	1.23
1895	.....	.....	a 18	1.23
1896	.....	.....	a 18	1.23
Laborers, dimension timber:				
1891	.....	.....	6	1.26½
1892	.....	.....	6	1.26½
1893	.....	.....	6	1.26½
1894	.....	.....	6	1.26½
1895	.....	.....	6	1.26½
1893	.....	.....	6	1.26½
Laborers, gang saw:				
1891	.....	.....	a 30	1.32
1892	.....	.....	a 30	1.32
1893	.....	.....	a 30	1.32
1894	.....	.....	a 30	1.32
1895	.....	.....	a 30	1.32
1896	.....	.....	a 30	1.32
Laborers, gap:				
1891	.....	.....	12	1.25½
1892	.....	.....	12	1.25½
1893	.....	.....	12	1.25½
1894	.....	.....	12	1.25½
1895	.....	.....	12	1.25½
1896	.....	.....	12	1.25½
Laborers, slash butter:				
1891	.....	.....	8	$1.24½
1892	.....	.....	8	1.24½
1893	.....	.....	8	1.24½
1894	.....	.....	8	1.24½
1895	.....	.....	8	1.24½
1896	.....	.....	8	1.24½
Laborers, transfer:				
1891	.....	.....	4	1.16
1892	.....	.....	4	1.16
1893	.....	.....	4	1.16
1894	.....	.....	4	1.16
1895	.....	.....	4	1.16
1896	.....	.....	4	1.16
Log deck men:				
1891	5	$1.47	9	1.34
1892	5	1.47	9	1.34
1893	5	1.44	9	1.34
1894	5	1.34	9	1.34
1895	5	1.41½	9	1.34
1896	5	1.37½	9	1.34
Log handlers:				
1891	.....	.....	2	1.25
1892	.....	.....	2	1.25
1893	.....	.....	2	1.25
1894	.....	.....	2	1.25
1895	.....	.....	2	1.25
1896	.....	.....	2	1.25
Log rollers:				
1891	.....	.....	7	1.45½
1892	.....	.....	7	1.45½
1893	.....	.....	7	1.45½
1894	.....	.....	7	1.46½
1895	.....	.....	7	1.46½
1896	.....	.....	7	1.46½
Log slide men:				
1891	2	1.60	10	1.40
1892	2	1.62½	10	1.40
1893	2	1.42½	8	1.33½
1894	2	1.25	8	1.33½
1895	2	1.50	8	1.33½
1896	2	1.37½	8	1.33½
Log trimmers:				
1891	.....	.....	4	1.33½
1892	.....	.....	4	1.33½
1893	.....	.....	5	1.33½
1894	.....	.....	6	1.33½
1895	.....	.....	6	1.33½
1893	.....	.....	6	1.33½
Machinists:				
1891	1	3.00	1	1.75
1892	1	3.00	1	1.75
1893	1	3.00	1	1.75
1894	1	2.70	1	1.75
1895	1	2.70	1	1.75
1896	1	2.70	1	1.75
Mechanics:				
1891	.....	.....	15	1.41½
1892	.....	.....	15	1.41½
1893	.....	.....	15	1.41½
1894	.....	.....	15	1.41½
1895	.....	.....	15	1.41½
1896	.....	.....	15	1.41½
Mill-wagon makers:				
1891	.....	.....	.....	.....
1892	.....	.....	1	1.50
1893	.....	.....	1	1.50
1834	.....	.....	1	1.50
1895	.....	.....	1	1.50
1896	.....	.....	1	1.50
Millwrights:				
1891	1	2.75	11	2.27
1892	1	2.75	11	2.27
1893	1	2.75	12	2.28½
1894	2	2.00	12	2.28½
1895	2	2.00	12	2.28½
1896	2	2.00	12	2.28½
Millwright's assistant:				
1891	.....	.....	1	2.20
1892	.....	.....	1	2.20
1893	.....	.....	1	2.20
1894	.....	.....	1	2.20
1895	.....	.....	1	2.20
1896	.....	.....	1	2.20
Oilers:				
1891	3	1.81	27	1.53½
1892	3	1.81	27	1.53½
1893	3	1.72½	27	1.53½
1894	3	1.38½	27	1.53½
1895	3	1.30	27	1.53½
1893	3	1.33½	27	1.53½
Piler:				
1891	58	1.61	b 235	1.36½

a Including tail sawyers and other occupations which can not be separated.

b Including 7 boys.

TABLE II.—*Summary of occupations and average wages of employees of four lumber-sawing establishments in the United States and four in Canada for the years 1891 to 1896, inclusive*—Continued.

Occupations and years.	United States.		Canada.	
	Employees.	Rate of wages.	Employees.	Rate of wages.
Pilers—Cont'd.				
1892	58	$1.61	a209	$1.38
1893	90	1.61	a204	1.39
1894	46	1.35	a212	1.38½
1895	46	1.37	a223	1.39
1896	46	1.41½	b220	1.38½
Platform men:				
1891	----	----	c197	1.27½
1892	----	----	c195	1.27½
1893	----	----	c197	1.27½
1894	----	----	c197	1.27½
1895	----	----	c197	1.27½
1896	----	----	c197	1.27½
Refuse handlers:				
1891	----	----	4	1.52½
1892	----	----	4	1.52½
1893	----	----	4	1.52½
1894	----	----	4	1.50
1895	----	----	4	1.50
1896	----	----	4	1.50
Rubbish carriers:				
1891	----	----	1	1.16½
1892	----	----	1	1.16½
1893	----	----	1	1.16½
1894	----	----	1	1.16½
1895	----	----	1	1.16½
1896	----	----	1	1.16½
Sawyers, band:				
1891	3	4.00	18	1.99½
1892	3	4.00	18	1.99½
1893	3	4.00	18	1.99½
1894	3	3.70	18	2.04½
1895	3	3.53½	18	2.02
1896	3	3.50	18	2.06½
Sawyers, band and circular:				
1891	2	4.50	----	----
1892	2	4.16½	----	----
1893	3	4.83½	----	----
1894	3	4.00	----	----
1895	3	4.16½	----	----
1896	3	4.33½	----	----
Sawyers, circular:				
1891	2	4.25	3	1.80½
1892	2	4.50	3	1.80½
1893	2	5.00	3	1.80½
1894	2	4.00	3	1.80½
1895	2	4.75	3	1.80½
1896	2	4.37½	3	1.80½
Sawyers, gang:				
1891	2	2.75	18	1.59
1892	2	2.75	19	1.59
1893	2	2.75	18	1.59
1894	2	2.50	18	1.59
1895	3	2.50	20	1.59
1896	3	2.50	20	1.59
Scalers:				
1891	4	2.31½	2	1.58½
1892	4	2.31½	2	1.58½
1893	4	2.25	2	1.58½
1894	5	1.95	2	1.58½
1895	5	2.00	2	1.58½
1896	4	2.31	2	1.56½
Setters:				
1891	8	2.33½	24	1.51
1892	8	2.37½	25	1.50½
1893	8	2.31½	25	1.50½
1894	8	2.15½	24	1.51
1895	8	2.18½	25	1.51
1896	8	2.18½	26	1.51
Setters' helpers:				
1891	----	----	10	1.26½
1892	----	----	10	1.26½
1893	----	----	10	1.26½
1894	----	----	10	1.26½
1895	----	----	10	1.26½
1896	----	----	10	1.26½
Slab boys:				
1891	----	----	12	.89½
1892	----	----	12	.89½
1893	----	----	12	.89½
1894	----	----	12	.89½
1895	----	----	12	.89½
1896	----	----	12	.89½
Slab boys, gang saw:				
1891	----	----	10	1.11
1892	----	----	10	1.11
1893	----	----	10	1.11
1894	----	----	10	1.11
1895	----	----	10	1.11
1896	----	----	10	1.11
Slab handlers:				
1891	3	$1.37½	d14	$1.20
1892	3	1.37½	d14	1.20
1893	3	1.37½	d14	1.20
1894	3	1.25	d14	1.20
1895	3	1.25	d14	1.22
1896	3	1.25	d14	1.22
Slab wheelers:				
1891	----	----	28	1.10½
1892	----	----	28	1.10½
1893	----	----	28	1.10½
1894	----	----	28	1.10½
1895	----	----	28	1.10½
1896	----	----	28	1.10½
Slashers:				
1891	15	1.53	1	1.32
1892	15	1.51	1	1.32
1893	15	1.45½	1	1.32
1894	11	1.30½	1	1.32
1895	10	1.25	1	1.32
1896	7	1.28	1	1.32
Sluicers:				
1891	----	----	4	1.25
1892	----	----	4	1.25
1893	----	----	4	1.25
1894	----	----	4	1.25
1895	----	----	4	1.25
1896	----	----	4	1.25
Sorters:				
1891	31	1.60	4	1.40
1892	30	1.60	4	1.40
1893	30	1.51½	8	1.40
1894	30	1.34	8	1.40
1895	28	1.34½	10	1.43½
1896	27	1.35½	10	1.43½
Spare men:				
1891	----	----	1	1.58½
1892	----	----	1	1.58½
1893	----	----	1	1.58½
1894	----	----	1	1.58½
1895	----	----	5	1.49
1896	----	----	5	1.49
Splitters:				
1891	----	----	10	1.35
1892	----	----	10	1.35
1893	----	----	10	1.35
1894	----	----	10	1.35
1895	----	----	10	1.35
1896	----	----	10	1.35
Splitters' helpers:				
1891	----	----	22	1.12
1892	----	----	22	1.12
1893	----	----	22	1.12
1894	----	----	22	1.12
1895	----	----	22	1.12
1896	----	----	22	1.12
Stablemen:				
1891	----	----	2	1.32
1892	----	----	1	1.32
1893	----	----	2	1.33½
1894	----	----	2	1.33½
1895	----	----	2	1.33½
1896	----	----	2	1.33½
Tail sawyers:				
1891	10	1.64½	14	1.37½
1892	10	1.61½	14	1.37½
1893	10	1.65½	14	1.37½
1894	10	1.45½	14	1.37½
1895	10	1.55½	14	1.37½
1896	10	1.33	14	1.37½
Tally boys:				
1891	1	1.25	----	----
1892	1	1.25	----	----
1893	1	1.25	----	----
1894	1	1.25	----	----
1895	1	1.25	----	----
1896	1	1.25	----	----
Teamsters:				
1891	27	1.56½	39	1.36½
1892	26	1.54½	38	1.36
1893	27	1.49½	43	1.37
1894	25	1.31½	43	1.37
1895	26	1.32½	43	1.37
1896	28	1.33	43	1.37
Teamsters, with team:				
1891	----	----	----	----
1892	----	----	----	----
1893	----	----	----	----
1894	----	----	----	----
1895	----	----	5	8.00
1896	----	----	7	8.00
Transfer men:				
1891	----	----	2	1.33½
1892	----	----	2	1.33½
Transfer men—Continued.				
1893	----	----	2	1.33½
1894	----	----	2	1.33½
1895	----	----	2	1.33½
1896	----	----	2	1.33½
Trimmers:				
1891	13	$1.65	33	1.41
1892	13	1.65	33	1.41
1893	13	1.66	35	1.42½
1894	12	1.47½	35	1.43
1895	13	1.46½	37	1.42½
1896	13	1.48½	37	1.42½
Trimmers' helpers:				
1891	----	----	a66	1.25½
1892	----	----	a66	1.25½
1893	----	----	a66	1.25½
1894	----	----	a67	1.26
1895	----	----	a67	1.26
1896	----	----	a67	1.26
Waste-box boys:				
1891	----	----	4	.75
1892	----	----	4	.75
1893	----	----	4	.75
Water-box boys—Cont'd.				
1894	----	----	4	$0.75
1895	----	----	5	.76½
1896	----	----	5	.76½
Watchmen:				
1891	2	$1.56½	2	1.45½
1892	2	1.56½	2	1.45½
1893	2	1.56½	2	1.45½
1894	2	1.50	2	1.45½
1895	2	1.50	2	1.45
1896	2	1.50	2	1.45
Water boy:				
1891	----	----	1	.50
1892	----	----	1	.50
1893	----	----	1	.50
1894	----	----	1	.50
1895	----	----	1	.50
1896	----	----	1	.50
Yard men:				
1891	17	1.58	----	----
1892	13	1.53	----	----
1893	13	1.53½	----	----
1894	14	1.35	----	----
1895	15	1.32½	----	----
1896	15	1.32½	----	----

a Including 7 boys.
b Including 10 boys.
c Including 17 boys.
d Including 2 boys.
a Including 3 boys.

Mr. CAFFERY. This official document settles the contention in regard to the labor cost in this particular industry in the United States and in Canada. Not only is the labor cost greater in the forests at the stump in Canada, but it is greater all along the line to the finished product of the mills. It will not do to say now in answer to this, as was stated by the Senator from California [Mr. PERKINS] in regard to quicksilver, that our lumber is pauper lumber. There can be no contention on that ground.

Our white pine and all other lumber in the United States is of equal value with the pine in Canada or of any other country of which I have any cognizance. Here is an authoritative official statement which, in regard to this particular industry, belies the statement that protection ought to be placed upon the industry or in behalf of the industry to protect the American labor, and the reason of it is that the American is a more efficient man both as a controller of industry and as a manual laborer.

Mr. GALLINGER. May I interrupt the Senator?

Mr. CAFFERY. Yes, sir.

Mr. GALLINGER. The Senator manifestly is not aware of the fact that there is no class of people in the world who will do as much work in the woods as the Canadian Frenchman. If Carroll D. Wright, who, I presume, is the author of the document, is correct in his statement that the labor cost is less in the United States than Canada, I should like to ask the Senator how it happens that almost every tree that is felled in the woods in New England is felled by a French Canadian?

Mr. GRAY. Then it is not American labor that you are trying to protect?

Mr. GALLINGER. Well, I am on one point now.

Mr. CAFFERY. The Senator from New Hampshire asks me a question which is answered by Mr. Carroll D. Wright. The labor cost, as shown by this careful investigation, is less in the United States than it is in Canada, and it makes no sort of difference whether the axman of the United States is imported from Canada or not. There are superior methods; they handle it better, they have better roads, they have better wagons, they have better appliances in the United States than they have in Canada; and you can not argue from the narrow basis that a Canadian axman is superior to an American axman; that therefore the American laborer is inferior to the Canadian laborer.

It is the brain, it is the inventive genius, it is the organizing capacity behind the ax and behind the axman that gives the United States laborer the advantage. Even in the matter of manual labor, notwithstanding the Senator from New Hampshire knows so much about the superiority of the Canadian laborer over the laborer in the United States with an ax, it can not be contended, if you take all these facts together, that there is any sort of ground for the imposition of a tariff upon lumber to protect the United States lumberman as against the Canadian lumberman. That fact speaks out in this paper; you can not deny it unless you impeach the efficiency of Mr. Carroll D. Wright or his care, vigilance, and ability in the matter of making this report.

Not only is this report significant in the matter of labor and the cost of timber, but it is significant all the way along the line. We are not only superior to the Canadian in the matter of logging, and in the matter of milling, but we are superior to any other men on the earth in that regard. If the statistics could be extended so as to embrace the labor cost in the United States and in Europe in any line of industry where the American genius can apply machinery, it will be found that the American product is a cheaper product, and therefore the plea that protection is needed in behalf of the American laborer against the pauper labor of Europe falls to the ground without any significance or weight.

Mr. WILSON. May I interrupt the Senator to ask him a question, not to prolong the debate?

Mr. CAFFERY. Certainly.

Mr. WILSON. The Senator has examined this report?

Mr. CAFFERY. Yes.

Mr. WILSON. He has examined it very carefully, I take it. Is there any place in the report that shows the rebate allowed by the Canadian Government for all lumber exported?

Mr. CAFFERY. Nothing that I perceive.

Mr. WILSON. It is a well-known fact, especially in British Columbia, that the Government charges 50 cents a thousand for stumpage. They do not hold the fee in the land. The fee remains in the Crown, and they pay no taxes. For all the lumber exported they get a rebate of 25 cents a thousand. They have an advantage over us not only in the rebate and in taxes, but in the shipment of their lumber by every tramp vessel, while in our coastwise trade we must ship under the American flag. They have advantages in that way, and they shipped last year over 15,000,000 feet.

Mr. CAFFERY. Even if the statement made by the Senator from Washington be true, and I have no doubt of its correctness, then your 50-cent stumpage would not equalize the advantage from this report that the American has over the Canadian, if you give the Canadian the 50-cent stumpage or rebate, whatever you call it. But I say that the instance of the Senator from Washington is a strong object lesson of the inutility and unwisdom of bounties given in any direction, for notwithstanding the bounties given in the way of this rebate to the Canadian he is unequal to the American on even lines, and no artificial protection of that kind can ever even up unequal conditions of nature or of human efficiency.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the committee to paragraph 192.

Mr. BACON. I do not know whether the Senator from Iowa proposes to go further this evening. I desire to say a word on this matter.

Mr. WHITE. I trust we shall have an adjournment.

Mr. ALLISON. I hope the amendment of the committee will be adopted.

Mr. BACON. What I have to say can be said on the succeeding paragraph just as well.

Mr. HALE. Let us adopt this paragraph.

Mr. ALLISON. I should like to make a little progress before we adjourn.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment to paragraph 192 will be agreed to in the absence of objection. It is agreed to.

Mr. QUAY. I wish to move an executive session.

Mr. ALLISON. It is understood that the Senator from Georgia [Mr. BACON] will have the floor to-morrow morning.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Georgia will be recognized.

Mr. BURROWS. I ask to have printed in the RECORD a letter from the chairman of the executive committee of the National Lumber Convention, reviewing the report of Carroll D. Wright, which has just been read. I will not stop to read it, but I ask that it be printed in the RECORD.

Mr. COCKRELL. Why not print it as a separate document, too?

Mr. BURROWS. It is brief—only two pages, with tables.

Mr. COCKRELL. Let it be printed as a separate document also.

Mr. ALLISON. The Senator from Missouri was not here when a document of some 26 pages was ordered printed in the RECORD.

Mr. BURROWS. I ask that this letter be printed in the RECORD.

Mr. HOAR. But the Senator from Missouri wants to have it printed as a separate document also.

Mr. COCKRELL. And let the other document also be printed with it.

Mr. BURROWS. I have no objection. Let the two be printed in the RECORD and also as a document.

Mr. BACON. One in conjunction with the other.

Mr. HALE. The other has already been printed as a document.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection to printing the letter referred to in the RECORD and also as a document? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

The letter referred to is as follows:

Letter from the chairman of the executive committee of the National Lumber Convention, commenting upon the report of the Commissioner of Labor relative to the cost per thousand feet, board measure, of producing white-pine lumber in the United States and Canada, in response to the resolution introduced by Senator PETTIGREW, of South Dakota, in the Senate of the United States, April 20, 1897, as follows—

Resolved, That the Commissioner of Labor be, and is hereby, directed to send to the Senate a statement of the cost per thousand feet, board measure, of producing white-pine lumber in the United States and Canada, respectively; the statement to include the cost of lumbering, or the work in the woods, and the cost of manufacturing, or the mill work, in two separate items, including also the cost of stumpage—

Printed as Senate Document No. 70, Fifty-fifth Congress, first session.

It is a regrettable fact that the information sought by our Senators and Representatives from the various Departments of the Government and their bureaux, in order to be properly advised upon matters of great public importance, is so meager as to be utterly useless for the purposes intended.

In the report under consideration, Mr. Wright admits he has no data upon which to base an answer to the question—that is, upon which to estimate the cost of producing 1,000 feet of white-pine lumber—but simply submits a report, saying that the cost of labor in the United States is 91 cents, and of logging, $4.27½, as against $1.23 for labor and $5.57½ in Canada. He states that the cost of stumpage, interest, taxes, insurance, wear and tear, supplies (except camp expenses), repairs, depreciation, management, including office and other general expenses, are not included in the estimates submitted in this report, an omission so important as to entirely nullify the value of the figures given and render his report a complete failure, so far as securing the object sought by the resolution is concerned.

In the first place, according to the recent report of the Secretary of Agriculture, from which has been deduced the opinion that there are but five or six years of white pine remaining in the United States, it is clearly shown that the entire amount of white pine to be received from Canada during the next fifteen years, the time named in that report for the exhaustion of the Canadian supply, would be barely sufficient to supply this country for six months, while facts deduced from that report and previous ones from the same Department show that the supply of lumber from the American forests is sufficient for generations to come. This would indicate that the question in a broad sense—that is, the cost of production of 1,000 feet of lumber rather than the cost of production of a particular kind of lumber—is desired for proper enlightenment on the subject.

The Commissioner starts out by saying that the information on which this report is based was gathered for the purpose of showing the relative producing power of hand and machine labor, in which he was successful in proving the economy in the use of high-class machinery in the United States as against the cruder methods prevailing in Canada.

In the table as to the cost of handling in the yard, 36 cents per thousand feet are the figures for the United States, as against 49 cents in Canada, the cost of production by Canadian labor being, therefore, 36 per cent higher than by American.

As the wages for labor in the yard are $1.39 in Canada and $1.46 in the United States, the laborer of this class in the United States receives only 3½ per cent higher wages than his Canadian competitor for 36 per cent greater efficiency. This is purely a demonstration of the actual relative efficiency of labor in the respective countries, as in neither case is any machinery used. The superior efficiency of the laborer of the United States over his Canadian neighbors seems hardly a matter within the province of an American Congress to attempt to neutralize.

The table on page 4, showing the average production per man in five establishments in Canada and five in the United States, states the average in the American mills to be 3,508 feet per man as against 1,927 feet per man in Canada, a difference in favor of the American laborer and improved methods of about 82 per cent. In American mills the wages are $1.93 as against $1.43 in Canada, the laborer in the United States receiving, therefore, 35 per cent higher wages for a superior efficiency of 82 per cent.

The table showing the result of the labor of one man in the "yard" gives for the United States 1,874 feet, as against 1,143 feet in Canada, where improved methods are not a considerable factor, an advantage to the American laborer of about 64 per cent.

These facts are sufficient, to a certain extent, to account for the difference in the cost of logging in Canada, $5.57½, as against $4.27½ in the United States, when to the latter is added the usual trackage charged for the use of logging railroads in general use in the United States, which, the Commissioner says, are not used in Canada.

The writer has no experience as to the cost of logging white pine in the United States nor in Canada, but is extensively engaged in logging in the South, where there are no physical difficulties in the way of railroad construction, and is now having logged a tract of 60,000,000 feet, 85 miles from the mill, at a contract price of $5.60 per thousand feet; another tract of 20,000,000 feet, on a 40-mile haul, for $5.02 per thousand feet. This lumber comes in competition with the white pine and spruce of Canada, as well as the white pine of the Northwest.

The most important information given in the report of the Commissioner of Labor is that given on pages 22 to 25 of the report, which are herewith reproduced for easy reference. They show that under the operations of the tariff law of 1890, when the duty on white pine was reduced from $2 to $1 (although spruce still remained at the two-dollar rate), and the more recent law of 1894, placing both spruce and white pine on the free list, a gradual reduction in the daily wages of the American wage earner took place, while the Canadians engaged in similar labor retained their rate of wages practically unchanged for the whole period, in some instances the wages in Canada being advanced, as shown by the percentages herewith tabulated, to say nothing of the enforced idleness of fully 25 per cent of the American mill operatives resulting from the operation of the tariff laws and general business depression; while the Canadians increased their exportations to the United States, which would indicate that they were constantly employed.

[Senate Document No. 70, Fifty-fifth Congress, first session.]

TABLE II.—*Summary of occupations and average wages of employees of four lumber-sawing establishments in the United States and four in Canada for the years 1891 to 1896, inclusive, showing the percentage of increase or decrease under the operation of the tariff laws of 1890, when the duty on white pine was reduced to $1, and the law of 1894, when it was placed upon the free list.*

Occupations and years.	Rate of wages.	
	United States.	Canada.
Blacksmiths:		
1891	$2.12½	$1.66½
1893	2.00	1.75
1896	2.00	1.75

TABLE II.—*Summary of occupations and average wages of employees of four lumber-sawing establishments in the United States and four in Canada for the years 1891 to 1896, inclusive, etc.*—Continued.

Occupations and years.	Rate of wages. United States.	Rate of wages. Canada.
Blacksmiths—Continued.		
1894	$1.87½	$1.75
1895	1.87½	1.75
1896	1.95	1.75
Decrease per cent.	8	
Increase do.		5
Boom men:		
1891	$1.78	$1.29½
1892	1.78	1.29½
1893	1.76½	1.29½
1894	1.47	1.32½
1895	1.52	1.32½
1896	1.45½	1.32½
Decrease per cent.	18½	
Increase do.		2½
Cant-setters gang:*		
1891	$2.00	$1.43½
1892	2.00	1.43½
1893	2.00	1.43½
1894	1.40	1.43½
1895	1.46½	1.43½
1896	1.46½	1.43½
Decrease per cent.	26½	
Carriage men:*		
1891	$1.93½	$1.41½
1892	1.96½	
1893	2.00	
1894	1.85	
1895	1.78½	
1896	1.85	
Decrease per cent.	4½	
Cart loaders:		
1891	$1.37½	$1.37½
1892	1.37½	1.37½
1893	1.37½	1.38
1894	1.25	1.37½
1895	1.25	1.37
1896	1.25	1.37
Decrease per cent.	9	
Increase do.		.03
Clearers:*		
1891	$1.59½	$1.35½
1892	1.59½	1.35½
1893	1.59½	1.35½
1894	1.36½	1.35
1895	1.35½	1.34
1896	1.35½	1.35½
Decrease per cent.	15	
Edgers:*		
1891	$2.58½	$1.78
1892	2.63½	1.78
1893	2.61	1.78
1894	2.23½	1.78
1895	2.19	1.78
1896	2.21	1.78
Decrease per cent.	14½	
Edgers' helpers:		
1891	$1.56½	$1.28
1892	1.56½	1.27½
1893	1.50	1.27½
1894	1.37½	1.27½
1895	1.42	1.37
1896	1.40½	1.37
Decrease per cent.	10	.07
Filers, band:		
1891	$5.12½	$2.78½
1892	5.12½	2.78½
1893	4.87½	2.78½
1894	4.47½	2.78½
1895	4.60	2.69
1896	4.70	2.81
Decrease per cent.	8.3	
Increase do.		.09
Laborers:		
1891	$1.55	$1.38
1892	1.55	1.40
1893	1.52	1.39½
1894	1.25	1.39
1895	1.25	1.41
1896	1.25	1.41
Decrease per cent.	19	
Increase do.		2.1
Log slide men:		
1891	$1.60	$1.40
1892	1.62½	1.40
1893	1.42½	1.33½
1894	1.25	1.33½
1895	1.50	1.33½
1896	1.37½	1.33½
Decrease per cent.	14	4.05
Machinists:*		
1891	$3.00	$1.75
1892	3.00	1.75
1893	3.00	1.75
1894	2.70	1.75
1895	2.70	1.75
1896	2.70	1.75
Decrease per cent.	10	
Millwrights:		
1891	$2.75	$2.27
1892	2.75	2.27
1893	2.75	2.28½
1894	2.00	2.28½

*In Canada, wages for this class of labor remained unchanged.

TABLE II.—*Summary of occupations and average wages of employees of four lumber-sawing establishments in the United States and four in Canada for the years 1891 to 1896, inclusive.*—Continued.

Occupations and years.	Rate of wages. United States.	Rate of wages. Canada.
Millwrights—Continued.		
1895	$2.00	$2.28½
1896	2.00	2.28½
Decrease per cent.	37½	
Increase do.		.06
Oilers:*		
1891	$1.81	$1.53½
1892	1.81	1.53½
1893	1.72½	1.53½
1894	1.38½	1.53½
1895	1.30	1.53½
1896	1.33½	1.53½
Decrease per cent.	26½	
Slab handlers:		
1891	$1.37½	$1.20
1892	1.37½	1.20
1893	1.37½	1.20
1894	1.25	1.20
1895	1.25	1.22
1896	1.25	1.22
Decrease per cent.	9	
Increase do.		1½
Sorters:		
1891	$1.60	$1.40
1892	1.60	1.40
1893	1.51½	1.40
1894	1.34	1.40
1895	1.34½	1.43½
1896	1.35½	1.43½
Decrease per cent.	15½	
Increase do.		2½
Tail sawyers:*		
1891	$1.64½	$1.37½
1892	1.61½	1.37½
1893	1.65½	1.37½
1894	1.55½	1.37½
1895	1.55½	1.37½
1896	1.33	1.37½
Decrease per cent.	18½	
Teamsters:		
1891	$1.56½	$1.29½
1892	1.54½	1.26
1893	1.49½	1.27
1894	1.31½	1.27
1895	1.32½	1.27
1896	1.33	1.27
Decrease per cent.	14½	
Increase do.		.04
Trimmers:		
1891	$1.65	$1.41
1892	1.66	1.43½
1893	1.66	1.42½
1894	1.47½	1.43
1895	1.46½	1.42½
1896	1.48½	1.42½
Decrease per cent.	10	
Increase do.		1

*In Canada, wages for this class of labor remained unchanged.

Mr. FRYE. Is the tariff bill closed for the day?

Mr. HALE. We are about to have an executive session.

Mr. QUAY. I wish to move an executive session.

Mr. FRYE. I should like to have that motion postponed for five minutes.

Mr. QUAY. Very well.

REGULATIONS FOR INLAND WATERS, ETC.

Mr. FRYE. There is a bill on the Vice-President's table which I desire the Chair to lay before the Senate. It will not be necessary, in my judgment, to read it.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate the amendment of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 1886) to adopt regulations for preventing collisions upon certain harbors, rivers, and inland waters of the United States.

Mr. FRYE. The one amendment is a substitute for the Senate bill, and the substitute contains some four or five amendments which the American delegates finally concluded to have made. They are of no particular significance or importance. There are some five or six other amendments which are mere matters of form. The word "and" is inserted in two or three places where we had a semicolon in our bill. I think ours was the better, but the amendments are not material. I remember one of the amendments simply was a provision that the bill should not apply to the waters of the Great Lakes. It could not apply to the waters of the Great Lakes anyway. We have a separate provision for them entirely. I have examined the substitute with great care. I have been over every part of it. The whole bill has been read.

Mr. HOAR. How long is it?

Mr. FRYE. The House amendment is a substitute for the Senate bill. It is the entire Senate bill which was sent over, with two or three little immaterial amendments.

Mr. HOAR. How long is it?

Mr. FRYE. It would take an hour to read it, I suppose. I have written out here the changes made by the House, which I ask may be inserted in the RECORD. As I was stating, I have examined the substitute very carefully, and the Commissioner of Navigation has examined it with me. We have been over the whole of it, and there is no objection that can possibly be made to any part of it.

Mr. HOAR. I never have known a bill or an amendment to pass the Senate without being read. While I have the most absolute confidence in the Senator from Maine in the matter of accuracy and fairness and sound judgment, I think we shall get into a very great strait if we set such a precedent. I think the Senator ought, under the circumstances, to have the amendment read to the Senate.

Mr. FRYE. Shall I read the changes made in the House amendment?

Mr. HOAR. It makes no difference.

Mr. FRYE. I will read them, instead of having them read at the desk.

Mr. HOAR. I shall not insist on anything more than that, but I think the amendments should be read.

Mr. FRYE. I will read the amendments, then.

On page 5, for the words "or (e)" the words "the after range light mentioned in article 2 (f)."

That was necessary. There were two white lights mentioned in article 2, and that was a necessary amendment.

Article 9 (d) and article 15 (f), inserted by the House, provide that the present system of lights and sound signals for canal boats, rafts, etc., shall be retained. That is simply a provision that the rafts shall have certain lights. That is all right.

Article 18, the House has added inspectors' Rule IX, providing that the rules of article 18 shall not apply in fog, etc. This is entirely superfluous, as article 15 expressly establishes the fog signals, and article 18, as a matter of course, relates only to sound signals by day in clear weather. That does no harm.

Article 21 (page 15), the House has stricken out the "note." There was a little note in the Senate bill. The House struck it out, because it was asserted that it had never appeared in any legislation before. It has. They were mistaken. It appeared in the very last bill touching vessels at sea, and the note can be added by the Commissioner of Navigation in issuing his instructions. So there is no harm in that.

Section 2, page 18. The House has retained the power of the Board of Supervising Inspectors to prescribe rules for steam vessels passing each other, but they must not conflict with general provisions of law.

Section 3, pages 18 and 19. The House has added a proviso that the imposition of a fine on the pilot shall not relieve the vessel owner of liability for damages. The House provision is entirely unnecessary. The law now will continue to be so that the vessel owner would not be relieved. It does no harm.

Section 5, page 19. The House has used the word "and" where the Senate used semicolons. The Senate form is better, but of course that change does no harm. The House has also added at the end of the section the exemption of the Great Lakes, the Mississippi, etc., which is superfluous, as the same exemptions are established on the first page of the bill.

Those are all the changes made by the House amendment. I move that the Senate concur in the House amendment.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on concurring in the amendment of the House of Representatives.

The amendment was concurred in.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. QUAY. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After five minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened, and (at 5 o'clock and 20 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Saturday, June 5, 1897, at 12 o'clock meridian.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate June 4, 1897.

ENVOY EXTRAORDINARY AND MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY.

Lawrence Townsend, of Pennsylvania, to be envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States to Portugal, vice George W. Caruth, resigned.

TREASURER OF THE UNITED STATES.

Ellis H. Roberts, of New York, to be Treasurer of the United States, to succeed Daniel N. Morgan, resigned.

ASSISTANT TREASURER OF THE UNITED STATES.

Conrad N. Jordan, of New York, to be assistant treasurer of the United States at New York City, a reappointment, his commission having expired.

AUDITOR FOR TREASURY DEPARTMENT.

William E. Andrews, of Nebraska, to be Auditor for the Treasury Department, to succeed Ernest P. Baldwin, resigned.

AUDITOR FOR WAR DEPARTMENT.

William W. Brown, of Pennsylvania, to be Auditor for the War Department, to succeed T. Stobo Farrow, resigned.

PROMOTIONS IN THE NAVY.

Commander Richard P. Leary, to be captain in the Navy from the 6th day of April, 1897, vice Capt. Albert Kautz, promoted.

Lieut. Commander William Swift, to be a commander in the Navy from the 6th day of April, 1897, vice Commander Richard P. Leary, promoted.

Lieut. Herbert Winslow, to be lieutenant-commander in the Navy from the 6th day of April, 1897 (subject to the examinations required by law), vice Lieut. Commander William Swift, promoted.

Lieut. (Junior Grade) William J. Maxwell, to be a lieutenant in the Navy, from the 6th day of April, 1897 (subject to the examinations required by law), vice Lieut. Herbert Winslow, promoted.

Lieut. (Junior Grade) Franklin Swift, to be a lieutenant in the Navy, from the 29th day of April, 1897, vice Lieut. George A. Calhoun, deceased.

Lieut. Commander Henry B. Mansfield, to be a commander in the Navy, from the 16th day of May, 1897, vice Commander Timothy A. Lyons, retired.

Lieut. William H. Turner, to be a lieutenant-commander in the Navy, from the 16th day of May, 1897, vice Lieut. Commander Henry B. Mansfield, promoted.

POSTMASTERS.

John Alfred, to be postmaster at Leadville, in the county of Lake and State of Colorado, in the place of John H. Stotesbury, removed.

Nathaniel Barnes, to be postmaster at Kansas City, in the county of Wyandotte and State of Kansas, in the place of T. Fitz Hugh, removed.

Charles E. Bowman, to be postmaster at Argentine, in the county of Wyandotte and State of Kansas, in the place of George W. Killmer, resigned.

Harry H. Lusk, to be postmaster at Parsons, in the county of Labette and State of Kansas, in the place of F. W. Frye, removed.

Richard S. Oakford, to be postmaster at Herington, in the county of Dickinson and State of Kansas, in the place of Thomas M. Bixby, resigned.

Alfred York, to be postmaster at Fort Riley, in the county of Geary and State of Kansas, the appointment of a postmaster for the said office having, by law, become vested in the President on and after January 1, 1897.

Frank M. Atkinson, to be postmaster at St. Joseph, in the county of Buchanan and State of Missouri, in the place of Frank M. Atkinson, whose commission expired January 17, 1897.

Edwin Abrams, to be postmaster at Lawrence, in the county of Queens and State of New York, the appointment of a postmaster for the said office having, by law, become vested in the President on and after January 1, 1897, Mary A. S. Kavanagh nominated to the Senate and confirmed, but not commissioned.

Leroy L. Brinkley, to be postmaster at Edenton, in the county of Chowan and State of North Carolina, in the place of Leroy L. Brinkley, whose commission expired January 23, 1897.

Reuben J. Mott, to be postmaster at Port Allegany, in the county of McKean and State of Pennsylvania, in the place of George Weber, removed.

George H. Swearingen, to be postmaster at Dunbar, in the county of Fayette and State of Pennsylvania, the appointment of a postmaster for the said office having, by law, become vested in the President on and after January 1, 1897, Margaret B. Doonan nominated to the Senate and confirmed, but not commissioned.

Arthur B. Gibson, to be postmaster at Mercur, in the county of Tooele and State of Utah, the appointment of a postmaster for the said office having, by law, become vested in the President on and after January 1, 1897.

James F. Posten, to be postmaster at Elkins, in the county of Randolph and State of West Virginia, in the place of Milford M. Smith, removed.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate June 4, 1897.

INDIAN AGENT.

Asa C. Sharp, of Gary, Md., to be agent for the Indians of the Ponca, Pawnee, Otoe, and Oakland Agency in Oklahoma Territory.

POSTMASTERS.

Fred P. Dearth, to be postmaster at Woodsville, in the county of Grafton and State of New Hampshire.

Ezra H. Woodward, to be postmaster at Newberg, in the county of Yamhill and State of Oregon.

Charles A. Burg, to be postmaster at Livingston, in the county of Park and State of Montana.

Thomas H. Baker, to be postmaster at Louisville, in the county of Jefferson and State of Kentucky.

SENATE.

SATURDAY, *June 5, 1897.*

Prayer by Rev. HUGH JOHNSTON, D. D., of the city of Washington.

The Secretary proceeded to read the Journal of yesterday's proceedings, when, on motion of Mr. QUAY, and by unanimous consent, the further reading was dispensed with.

BOUNTIED SUGARS.

The VICE-PRESIDENT presented a communication from the Secretary of State, transmitting, agreeably to the request of the minister of Austria-Hungary, the translation of a note containing the protest of the Government of Austria-Hungary against the proposed treatment of bountied sugars; which was read.

Mr. HALE. What is the communication that has been laid before the Senate?

Mr. VEST. Let it be read again.

The communication was again read, as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, *Washington, June 4, 1897.*

SIR: Agreeably to the request of the minister of Austria-Hungary, herewith transmitted, I have the honor to lay before you, with a view to its presentation to the Senate, a translation of a note containing the protest of the Government of Austria-Hungary against the proposed treatment of bountied sugars in the tariff bill at present under consideration in the Senate.

Respectfully, yours,

JOHN SHERMAN.

Hon. GARRET A. HOBART,
Vice-President of the United States.

Inclosures: From the minister of Austria-Hungary, April 13, 1897. From the same, May 28, 1897.

Mr. HALE. I did not understand that it had been submitted by the Secretary of State. I thought it was attempted to be brought here direct, which would not have been in accordance with any precedent.

Mr. VEST. Unless it is a lengthy communication, I should like to hear it read.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. It is short. The Senator from Missouri requests that the accompanying papers be read. There being no objection, they will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

IMPERIAL AND ROYAL AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN LEGATION,
Washington, May 28, 1897.

Mr. SECRETARY OF STATE: I have had the honor to receive your note of the 17th ultimo, No. 159.

The provision relative to the discriminating duty on sugar contained in the tariff bill which has been passed by the House of Representatives is still found in that bill as amended by the Senate committee (section 3). I was instructed to protest against this provision on the ground of the right of the most favored nation, which is guaranteed to us by treaty, and should consequently be very grateful to you if you would have the kindness, Mr. Secretary of State, to send my note of April 13, 1897 (whereby I obeyed said instructions), to the Vice-President of the United States, that it may be communicated to the United States Senate.

I avail myself of this occasion to renew to you, sir, the assurance of my most distinguished consideration.

RENGELMÜLLER.

His Excellency JOHN SHERMAN,
Secretary of State, etc.

IMPERIAL AND ROYAL AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN LEGATION,
Washington, April 13, 1897.

Mr. SECRETARY OF STATE: Pursuant to instructions, I have the honor, Mr. Secretary of State, to invite your attention to the provisions of the tariff bill now before the Senate of the United States which relate to the duty on sugar, and conflict, on the one hand, with our right of the most-favored-nation treatment, and on the other threatens to heavily damage Austro-Hungarian exports.

The above-mentioned bill provides, namely, in Schedule E, No. 206, that sugar exported from such countries which grant a direct or indirect bounty shall pay, apart from the actual duty upon entrance set forth in No. 206, an additional duty to the amount of the bounty granted, so far as this bounty shall be in excess of any internal tax collected upon such sugars or upon the raw materials (beet or cane) used in their manufacture.

The question of the discriminating tariff treatment against our sugar has already been the subject of negotiation between the Imperial and Royal Government and the Government of the United States. The Imperial and Royal Government had looked upon the additional duty of one-tenth per pound upon sugar coming from Austria-Hungary, provided for in the tariff act of August 28, 1894, as a violation of the right of the most-favored nation granted to her by Article V of the treaty of 1829, and instructed me on that occasion to protest against it.

This instruction I had the honor to carry out in a note of January 3, 1895, to Secretary Gresham, and I therefore consider it unnecessary to repeat here the views advanced therein, which my Government entertains to-day in their entirety. On the other hand, I beg to call attention to the fact that the Government of the United States has recognized our right to protest against any additional duty upon our sugar which is based upon our export bounty, as it will appear from the report of Secretary Gresham to the President of October 12, 1894, and that the President in his annual message of December, 1894, recommended to Congress the repeal of the additional duty in question.

The bill now pending in Congress has in view a much greater increase of the discriminating additional duty on sugar, and threatens, therefore, our trade with the United States with new injury. In view thereof, the Imperial and Royal Government has instructed me to call the attention of the Federal Government to the disposition of these proposed provisions to infringe upon treaty obligations, and, in connection therewith, to express the hope that it will lend its assistance in order to enlighten Congress upon the existing treaty obligations between our countries, and to prevent that the proposed increase of the additional duty upon our sugar, against which the Imperial and Royal Government must further protest, should become a law.

Accept, etc.,

HENGELMÜLLER.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The communication and accompanying papers will lie on the table and be printed.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

The VICE-PRESIDENT presented a petition of the legislature of Wisconsin, praying for the enactment of legislation to strengthen the national credit; which was read, and referred to the Committee on Finance, as follows:

Memorial to Congress for the passage of an act to strengthen the national credit.

To the honorable the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled:

The memorial of the legislature of the State of Wisconsin respectfully represents:

Whereas the people of the United States in recent years have been disastrously affected by uncertainties respecting the future value of the money by which existing contracts may be discharged and business transactions be conducted, and it was the intent and purpose of the verdict rendered at the last national election to effectually remove such uncertainty; and

Whereas much time will necessarily elapse before such intent and purpose can be crystallized into legislative enactments, and it is of the highest importance that a return of prosperity be not delayed by the thought that the legislative branch of the Government may not fully respond to the popular verdict rendered as aforesaid;

Now, therefore, to the end that all uncertainties in that regard be effectually removed, your memorialists respectfully ask that a Congressional declaration be passed, to be approved by the President of the United States, so as to have the force of law in the form and in the spirit of the declaration of March 18, 1869, which was similarly made to meet a similar emergency, after a similar popular decision, pledging the faith, credit, and honor of the United States to the payment on demand of all its obligations issued to circulate as money, and all of its other obligations as they mature, in gold or silver coin of the present legal weight and fineness, at the option of the respective holders of such obligations, and to the preservation of all legal-tender money equal in value to that of the United States gold coin of the present weight and fineness:

Resolved, That the Senators and Members of Congress from this State be, and they are hereby, requested to use all honorable means to secure the Congressional declaration herein indicated, and that a duly authenticated copy of this memorial and of these resolutions be transmitted to the President of the United States, to the Secretary of the Treasury, to the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and to each of our Senators and Representatives in Congress.

EMIL BAENSCH,
President of the Senate.
G. A. BUCKSTAFF,
Speaker of the Assembly.

Given under my hand and official seal at the capitol, in the city of Madison, this 2d day of June, A. D. 1897.

[SEAL.] HENRY CASSON, *Secretary of State.*

Mr. McLAURIN presented a petition of sundry citizens of Spartanburg County, S. C., praying for the enactment of legislation for a more rigid restriction of immigration; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. SEWELL presented memorials of Frank Meyer and 1,548 other citizens of Hudson County, of Thomas E. Elleford and 285 other citizens of Essex and Hudson counties, of Siegfried Cronhein and 19 other citizens of Jersey City, Jacob Hepp and 75 other citizens of Newark, P. N. Jandruy and 25 other citizens of Perth Amboy and Newark, George E. Tilford and 20 other citizens of Newark, and of Charles A. Hunly and 26 other citizens of Newark, all in the State of New Jersey, remonstrating against an increase of the duty on beer; which were referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented the petition of Mrs. M. L. Johnson and 30 other citizens of Newark, N. J., and the petition of R. J. Hill and 37 other citizens of East Orange, N. J., praying for the enactment of legislation restricting immigration; which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. PERKINS presented a memorial of sundry citizens of Stockton, Cal., and a memorial of sundry citizens of Alameda County, Cal., remonstrating against the abrogation of the Hawaiian treaty; which were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. TILLMAN presented a petition of sundry citizens of Spartanburg, S. C., praying for the enactment of legislation for a more rigid restriction of immigration; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. SPOONER presented the petition of A. H. Skeel and sundry other citizens of Stevens Point, Wis., praying for the enactment

of legislation for a more rigid restriction of immigration; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. DAVIS presented a petition of sundry citizens of St. Paul, Minn., praying for the enactment of legislation for a more rigid restriction of immigration; which was ordered to lie on the table.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Mr. FRYE introduced a bill (S. 2075) granting a pension to William Cole; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. SPOONER introduced a bill (S. 2076) granting a pension to Johanna Krueger; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. BATE introduced the following bills; which were severally read twice by their titles, and referred to the Committee on Claims:

A bill (S. 2077) for the relief of the estate of Elizabeth Zurke, deceased, late of Memphis, Tenn.;

A bill (S. 2078) for the relief of the estate of John Morrison, deceased, late of Memphis, Tenn., as found due by the Court of Claims under the act of March 3, 1883;

A bill (S. 2079) for the relief of Jacob Glenn, of Memphis, Shelby County, Tenn.;

A bill (S. 2080) for the relief of M. Robison, administrator of T. E. Robison, deceased, late of Henderson County, Tenn.;

A bill (S. 2081) for the relief of J. J. Bailey, of Shelby County, Tenn.;

A bill (S. 2082) for the relief of the estate of Augustus B. Pharr, deceased, late of McNairy County, Tenn.; and

A bill (S. 2083) for the relief of the estate of Mathew Brown, deceased, late of Shelby County, Tenn.

Mr. MURPHY introduced a bill (S. 2084) granting a pension to Catherine C. Tracey; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. WALTHALL introduced a bill (S. 2085) to remove a suspension upon the disbursement of an appropriation; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying paper, referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

Mr. BURROWS introduced a bill (S. 2086) for the relief of Susana Marion; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. DAVIS introduced a bill (S. 2087) granting a pension to Phebe L. Peyton; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. WELLINGTON introduced a bill (S. 2088) for the relief of the crew of the United States steamship *Wyoming;* which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 2089) to increase the pay of post quartermaster-sergeants of the Army; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. PERKINS introduced a bill (S. 2090) to grant a pension to Mrs. Alice A. Hines; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. QUAY introduced a bill (S. 2091) giving William K. Mayo the rank and pay of a rear-admiral on the retired list of the Navy; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Mr. MASON introduced a bill (S. 2092) providing for the hearing, trial, and adjudication by the United States Court of Claims of the claim of Albert Wood, and removing the same from the operations of the United States statute of limitations; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. GALLINGER introduced a joint resolution (S. R. 48) granting permission for the erection of a monument in Washington, D. C., for the ornamentation of the national capital and in honor of Samuel Hahnemann; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the Library.

AMENDMENT TO THE TARIFF BILL.

Mr. McBRIDE submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill (H. R. 379) to provide revenue for the Government and to encourage the industries of the United States; which was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

AMENDMENTS TO DEFICIENCY APPROPRIATION BILL.

Mr. WELLINGTON submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the general deficiency appropriation bill; which was referred to the Committee on Claims, and ordered to be printed.

Mr. QUAY submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the general deficiency appropriation bill; which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on Commerce, and ordered to be printed.

THE TARIFF BILL.

Mr. ALLISON. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of House bill 379.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The morning business being concluded, House bill 379 is the order.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 379) to provide revenue for the Government and to encourage the industries of the United States.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The pending amendment of the Committee on Finance will be stated.

The SECRETARY. Paragraph 192, page 60, line 12, after the word "timber," insert the words "hewn, sided, or squared, and round timber."

Mr. HALE. That was agreed to yesterday.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. This amendment was agreed to yesterday.

The next amendments of the Committee on Finance were, in paragraph 193, page 60, line 21, after the word "finished," to strike out "fifty" and insert "thirty-five;" in line 23, after the word "grooved," to strike out "one dollar" and insert "seventy cents;" in line 25, before the word "cents," strike out "fifty" and insert "five;" and on page 61, line 3, after the word "grooving," to strike out the remainder of the paragraph, in the following words:

Provided, That in case any foreign country or dependency shall, either directly or indirectly, impose upon pine, spruce, elm, or other saw logs, or round unmanufactured timber, pulp wood, stave bolts, shingle bolts, or heading bolts, an export duty, discriminating crown dues, ground rents, customs regulations, or other duty or tax, when such articles or any of them are exported or intended for export to the United States from such country or dependency, then a duty of 25 per cent ad valorem upon the lumber mentioned in this paragraph shall be levied, collected, and paid, in addition to the duty herein imposed, when the same is imported from such country or dependency.

And in lieu thereof to insert the following proviso:

Provided, That if any country or dependency shall impose an export duty upon saw logs, round unmanufactured timber, stave bolts, shingle bolts, or heading bolts, the amount of such export duty shall be added, as an additional duty, to the duties imposed upon the articles mentioned in this paragraph when imported from such country or dependency.

So as to make the paragraph read:

193. Sawed boards, planks, deals, and other lumber of whitewood, sycamore, and basswood, $1 per thousand feet board measure; sawed lumber, not specially provided for in this act, $2 per thousand feet board measure; but when lumber of any sort is planed or finished, in addition to the rates herein provided, there shall be levied and paid for each side so planed or finished 35 cents per thousand feet board measure; and if planed on one side and tongued and grooved, 70 cents per thousand feet board measure; and if planed on two sides and tongued and grooved, $1.05 per thousand feet board measure; and in estimating board measure under this schedule no deduction shall be made on board measure on account of planing, tongueing, and grooving: *Provided*, That if any country or dependency shall impose an export duty upon saw logs, round unmanufactured timber, stave bolts, shingle bolts, or heading bolts, the amount of such export duty shall be added, as an additional duty, to the duties imposed upon the articles mentioned in this paragraph when imported from such country or dependency.

Mr. VEST. I give notice that at the proper time I shall move to put all these articles upon the free list. Was there any vote taken upon paragraph 192?

Mr. HALE. That was adopted last night.

Mr. VEST. I give the same notice in regard to that paragraph.

Mr. FRYE. The Senator gave the notice last night.

Mr. VEST. No; I did not. I do not know who else may have done so.

Mr. FRYE. Some Senator did.

Mr. HALE. We might go over these provisions and act on the committee amendments, and the Senator make his motion later, or he can make it now if he prefers.

Mr. VEST. I wish to call the attention of the Senate to the provision, commencing at line 15, in regard to an export duty. This, it seems to me, is an extraordinary provision in the shape of retaliation. It provides that if any country or dependency shall impose an export duty upon saw logs, round, unmanufactured, etc., the amount of such export duty shall be added as an additional duty. I should not be surprised if the provision were that if an export bounty should be imposed by any foreign country or dependency, then this duty should be imposed; but here it seems we retaliate for an export duty by a foreign country, that duty, of course, being added to the cost of the article when brought in and sold to our people, by putting an additional duty, an internal duty in the United States of the same amount, which increase is paid by the consumer also.

In other words, we retaliate upon the foreigner by increasing the price of the imported article to our own people. It is the first time within my recollection, after some limited experience in tariff matters, that this has been done. After the article has come here with the export duty of the foreign article upon it added to the cost, I do not understand how it can affect the foreigner when we add the same duty in retaliation.

Mr. HOAR. It seems to me that the answer to the Senator from Missouri is that in such cases the export duty in all probability will be taken off.

Mr. VEST. I do not know anything about that.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendments will be stated singly.

The SECRETARY. In paragraph 193, page 60, line 21, after the word "finished," strike out "fifty" and insert "thirty-five;" so as to read:

But when lumber of any sort is planed or finished, in addition to the rates herein provided, there shall be levied and paid for each side so planed or finished 35 cents per thousand feet, board measure.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Without objection, the amendment will be agreed to.

The SECRETARY. In the same paragraph, page 60, line 23, after the word "grooved," strike out "one dollar" and insert "seventy cents;" so as to read:

And if planed on one side and tongued and grooved, 70 cents per thousand feet board measure.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Without objection, the amendment will be agreed to.

The SECRETARY. In the same paragraph, page 60, line 25, after the word "and" where it occurs the second time, strike out "fifty" and insert "five;" so as to read:

And if planed on two sides and tongued and grooved, $1.05 per thousand feet board measure.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Without objection, the amendment will be agreed to.

The SECRETARY. In the same paragraph, page 61, line 3, after the word "grooving," strike out the proviso in the following words:

Provided, That in case any foreign country or dependency shall, either directly or indirectly, impose upon pine, spruce, elm, or other saw logs, or round unmanufactured timber, pulp wood, stave bolts, shingle bolts, or heading bolts, an export duty, discriminating crown dues, ground rents, customs regulations, or other duty or tax, when such articles, or any of them are exported or intended for export to the United States from such country or dependency, then a duty of 25 per cent ad valorem upon the lumber mentioned in this paragraph shall be levied, collected, and paid in addition to the duty herein imposed when the same is imported from such country or dependency.

And insert:

Provided, That if any country or dependency shall impose an export duty upon saw logs, round unmanufactured timber, stave bolts, shingle bolts, or heading bolts, the amount of such export duty shall be added, as an additional duty, to the duties imposed upon the articles mentioned in this paragraph when imported from such country or dependency.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Without objection, the amendment will be agreed to.

Mr. VEST. I object.

Mr. HALE. Then let us have a vote.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator desire a vote or simply make a note of his objection?

Mr. HALE. Let the question be put to a vote.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the committee to strike out and insert a new proviso.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. I move to amend the proviso in line 16 by inserting after the word "logs" the words "boom sticks and chains used in towing logs."

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. One of the material effects of this proposition is to take a quantity of timber which is now on the free list off the free list and make it taxable at the rate of $2 a thousand. There is a change, however, in the paragraph from what the law has been heretofore which is more significant than appears on the face of it. Sawed lumber not specially provided for in this act is to bear a rate of $2 per thousand feet board measure. This includes white pine, and puts a rate of tariff on that article that has not been in existence for a long while. There seems to have been a very determined effort on the part of the lumbermen in some sections of the Union to have this change made, and a systematic effort has been made to bring it about.

I hold in my hand a letter which explains a good deal of what has been done in this matter. It is from the National Lumber Convention, office of the executive committee, 1421 G street NW., Washington, D. C., April 9, 1897. This has been addressed to the lumbermen all through the country, and in response to the request of this letter a great many petitions have been sent to the Senate, and a great many have been sent to me which have been presented and sent to the proper committee. It says:

NATIONAL LUMBER CONVENTION,
OFFICE OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE,
1421 G Street NW., Washington, D. C., April 9, 1897.

DEAR SIR: After consultation with some of the Senators, it is found to be very important that the Finance Committee of the Senate be convinced, as soon as possible, that there is a decided sentiment among the laborers engaged in the lumber industry favorable to the lumber-tariff schedule as passed by the House of Representatives. There seems to be a feeling among the members of the Finance Committee that the active interest in behalf of this lumber-tariff schedule exists only among the wealthy owners of mills and timber lands. It therefore becomes of great importance that we at once secure signatures of operatives and laborers engaged in the industry to petitions asking that the Senate pass the lumber schedule as enacted by the House of Representatives.

I therefore earnestly urge you to take immediate steps to secure the signatures of all operatives in your employ.

It is important that petitions state that the signers are wage earners, that they and their families are dependent upon the lumber industry for their support, and they earnestly urge the Senate to pass the lumber schedule as enacted by the House.

It will be well also to set forth in the petition the depressed condition of the business, low wages, and lack of employment.

I would gladly prepare the petition for you, but think it will be much better if each person will prepare his petition separately, so that it will not appear that they were all prepared by the same individual.

The petition should, of course, be addressed to the United States Senate, and when you have signatures of all employees will you please forward same to the National Lumber Convention at the address indicated on the head of this letter.

Earnest and effective efforts are required at once. If you will spend a few hours, or days, if necessary, we feel that we shall secure a favorable tariff bill.

Do not confine yourself to your own operatives, but get all the signatures you can from lumber operatives anywhere in your vicinity.

Yours, truly,

C. W. GOODYEAR.

The fact of there being hundreds of petitions sent here signed numerously by people alleging that they are laborers and deeply interested in this sort of business makes an impression on a good many people of course; but when the explanation is given of the source from which all of it originates, that after all it is a mere expression of the mill men or the owners, the men who are to get the benefit of all this, having no effect whatever on the wages of the laboring men, having no sort of interest to them; in point of fact, when you understand the truth of it, those things will have, I imagine, less effect with the Senate. I have a number of letters, all, I have no doubt, printed and signed in the same way. The name is written at the top. My name is written after "Hon.," and then it is addressed as printed, "Washington, D. C." I have no doubt that these letters were sent out and signed by thousands of individuals all over the country, and returned at the request of the lumber headquarters at 1421 G street NW., in this city, where the keenest sort of interest is felt in a high tax upon this class of lumber.

Mr. President, other members of the Senate are more familiar than I am with the facts connected with the lumber industry. It has been for quite a while on the free list. The people of the Northwest and of the prairie States and many of the central parts of the Union have a hard enough time in providing homes and shelter for their families if they may be allowed to buy lumber as cheaply as it can be had, without any additional tax imposed upon them for that purpose. I for one believe it is unwise that there should be an increase in the tax on this article, and especially the enormous increase that is to be found in this bill.

Mr. VEST. I wish to say deliberately that in my judgment there is not a single item in this entire bill so utterly indefensible as that which increases the duty upon white pine from the free list to $2 a thousand. In the tariff act of 1890 there was a duty of $1 a thousand upon white pine and $2 upon spruce. To those who never analyzed and investigated the reason of this distinction it will be interesting to note that spruce is the production of Maine, that State producing no white pine now amounting to anything worthy of consideration. Therefore the duty upon spruce has always in the tariff bills for twenty-odd years been retained at $2, but upon white pine it was reduced in 1890 in the McKinley Act to $1 a thousand, and in 1894 all these different sorts of lumber were put upon the free list, as is well known.

White pine has been justly called the king of the coniferous woods. It is superior to any other. It is just as superior to spruce or to the pitch yellow pine of the South as mahogany is superior to the softest wood that can be used for any purpose whatever. White pine is, then, the salient point in this discussion. At last the lumbermen have been successful, and put white pine upon a par with spruce at $2 a thousand. That duty is absolutely prohibitory, and it is intended to be such. The evidence before the Ways and Means Committee, which I have here, shows the intent to be to make the duty absolutely prohibitory. On page 554 of the Ways and Means testimony this colloquy occurred between Mr. EVANS, a member of the committee, and Mr. Winchester, a prominent lumberman who was urging the imposition of the two-dollar duty upon white pine:

Mr. EVANS. What do you think the duty ought to be?
Mr. WINCHESTER. It ought to be prohibitive.
Mr. EVANS. Would $2 do that?
Mr. WINCHESTER. Yes; just about.

There is the frank testimony, and it runs all through the testimony, that the object is to absolutely prohibit this white pine, the king of the coniferous woods, from coming into the United States at all.

Mr. President, a strange and anomalous thing has happened in regard to this lumber interest. Heretofore the West and South have stood together in opposition to this prohibitory duty upon white pine; but, with the ingenuity that comes from greed, the lumbermen of the Northwest, in Michigan and Minnesota, have succeeded in forming an alliance, offensive and defensive, with

the lumbermen of the South. I make personal mention of it because I am absolutely certain of the fact, and other Senators know it to be true. In the last campaign, in the lumber region of Missouri, in what we call the Ozark country where the lumber mills are owned by people not living in the State—by large capitalists—I was confronted with the statement that I had voted for free lumber and was therefore opposed to the lumber interests of Missouri. I spoke in every one of the lumber camps, and I asked everywhere, "What wood do you saw here that comes in competition with white pine? You are engaged here in sawing the hard wood. What little white pine we had in Missouri was long since exhausted. The mills are sawing hard wood; and the soft yellow pitch pine will not be used to any considerable extent in the construction of houses." Their answer to me invariably was, "Oh, yes; we have no white pine, but if we can exclude the white pine from the United States our people will be compelled to buy the hard woods that we saw and the soft yellow pine of the South." That is the whole of it.

No Senator will stand here and say that the South produces a white pine, a coniferous wood, that comes in direct competition or approximates in value to the white pine of the Northwest and of Canada, but they hope by shutting out white pine, as this gentleman says here in his testimony, to force the people of this country to use the soft yellow pitch pine of the South, far inferior to the white pine or the hard woods that are sawed in my own State and in Arkansas and Mississippi.

I have been deluged by petitions from my own State and from all over the South to put this duty of $2 upon white pine, which amounts to absolute exclusion, and they boldly make the argument that they want to force the people of the United States to come to the use of the soft yellow pines and hard woods.

Mr. President, I referred to the fact that Maine has always retained this duty upon spruce pine; and it is a compliment to her delegation in Congress, the ablest that any State has. I will do her the justice to say that. I ask the Secretary to read the testimony of Mr. Goodyear, a most intelligent witness, who was examined before the Committee on Ways and Means of the House. He is a large lumberman, the president, I believe, of a lumber association; at any rate, of a large company.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. He wrote the letter which I read.

Mr. VEST. Yes; he is the gentleman who wrote the letter that my colleague on the committee read. Mr. Goodyear explains the difference between the tax heretofore upon white pine and upon spruce.

The Secretary read as follows:

Mr. GOODYEAR. In a great many instances Southern pine has taken the place of finishing in the place where white pine used to enter into the finishing and be regarded as absolutely essential, and that is true of hemlock also. The clearer grades of hemlock are to-day occupying the place, in some instances, that white pine formerly occupied, so that this question of taxation can not be confined, it strikes me, to the fact of the scarcity of any particular item, for the reason there are many varieties of other woods to take the place of that which may become scarce.

Now, gentlemen, that being so, we can only divine one good reason for this, and I say to you I believe that the lumbermen themselves are chargeable with the condition of the tariff bill. The State of Maine, be it said to its everlasting credit, has always, so long as I can remember, been represented by the most eminent statesmen that the country has produced. It had its James G. Blaine, than whom there was no more devoted servant to the interests of his State, and to-day it has within the Halls of Congress representatives who stand in the foremost rank of our nation's great men. It has its REED, and if I were allowed to whisper it, I would say it has its DINGLEY also; it has its BOUTELLE, and it has men who have come here year after year looking after the interests of their constituents, and you will notice in all these tariff agitations, during all the various changes through which these tariff schedules have gone, spruce has at all times and forever remained in the two-dollar list.

From 1874, with the change of 1873, and again with the change of 1890 under the McKinley bill, I never failed to find the great product of the State of Maine protected to the extent of the $2. White pine and hemlock and basswood and sycamore and all the rest got only $1, but through the vigilance, I may say, and the justice of Maine's representatives spruce has always been granted a tax of $2.

The CHAIRMAN. You forget we are the Pine Tree State.

Mr. GOODYEAR. Without any pine, but with a whole lot of spruce, and spruce that you can raise another crop of every thirty years. It is unlike white pine and hemlock, which disappear practically when the first crop is removed, but it grows rapidly to saw-log proportion in about thirty years.

Mr. VEST. When General Hancock was a candidate for the Presidency he was very much ridiculed because he dared to say that the tariff is a local question. The American people, the intelligent portion of them, are fast coming to the conclusion that Hancock was right. He could repeat that assertion now without being ridiculed, even in so august a body as the Senate of the United States. Here Mr. Goodyear gives a reason, a local reason, why this distinction is made between spruce and pine. I will not whisper what I think about the Maine delegation. I think Maine acts more wisely than any other State in the Union in picking her most distinguished and ablest men and keeping them in public life. The result is seen in a great many returns to that State. Without making invidious remarks, if you take the list of public buildings, you will find that Maine has more in proportion to population than any other State in the Union; and when you come to lumber, which is the subject before us, you will find that spruce, which is the peculiar product of Maine, has always had a duty of $2 a thousand practically, while white pine, a far superior wood, much more valuable, but not produced to any extent in Maine, had the duty diminished to $1 in 1890, when that hegira of protection came upon the country.

Mr. BACON. Will the Senator please state, as I have not the information myself, what he regards as the average commercial value of white pine? I ask the question with a view to ascertaining what is the ad valorem duty which $2 per thousand will impose.

Mr. VEST. If the Senator will turn to the comparative statement, he will find the unit of value given. I do not remember it.

Mr. BACON. I have it not before me. If the Senator has it, will he state it?

Mr. VEST. I have not the comparative statement here. I could refer to it if I had time in my copy of the bill, where I have marked the units of value. White pine, I will say, is more valuable than any other of the coniferous woods, and whatever the exact amount may be, it is safe to assume that its commercial value is larger than that of any other of the pines or coniferous woods.

Mr. President, I take it no one will assert that this increase of duty is for the purpose of protecting labor in the United States engaged in the lumber business or in the cutting and sawing of white pine. We have a report from Professor Fernow, an official report from a disinterested officer of the Government. It was read yesterday by the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. CAFFERY], and any Senator can obtain it by sending to the document room. This report shows that the cost of cutting the white pine in the woods, logging it or bringing it to the mill, cutting it and putting it into market, is higher in Canada than in the United States. Whilst our labor here, according to Professor Fernow, is 50 cents a day more than it is in Canada, they have natural obstacles and impediments, which do not exist in the United States, on account of the nature of their country, their roads, and the difficulty of transportation.

I submit that in view of this statement, made by a disinterested party, it is useless to talk about the increase to $2 a thousand upon white pine from the free list being in the interest of the lumbermen of the United States. Professor Fernow gives the amount of white pine and of other woods that are brought into the United States or that were cut last year. Of white pine, the amount was 12,000,000,000 feet; of spruce and fir, 5,000,000,000 feet; of hemlock, 4,000,000,000 feet; of long-leaf pine, 4,000,000,000 feet; of short-leaf pine and loblolly, 3,000,000,000 feet; of cypress, 500,000,000 feet; of redwood, 500,000,000 feet, and of all other conifers, 1,000,000,000 feet; making 30,000,000,000 feet.

Of this amount, there came from Canada of all sorts 750,000,000 feet, or about 2½ per cent, and yet we are told that this almost infinitesimal amount is ruining the lumber interests of the United States, even in the South and in the West, where we do not produce any lumber that comes in competition with the white pine of Canada.

Mr. President, I assert here as a notorious fact that this whole movement to increase the price of this absolute necessary of life to the poor people of the West is in the interest of the lumber barons, who have accumulated millions upon millions of dollars at the expense of the consumers of this country. Here is a communication from a responsible gentleman, whose name I am authorized to give, Mr. I. M. Weston—and I will ask the Secretary to read it—giving a list of these multimillionaires who are now pressing upon us in every direction for this increase of duty.

The Secretary read as follows:

MICHIGAN PINE KINGS—SOME INTERESTING FACTS ABOUT THEIR HOLDINGS—THE INFANTS THAT ASK PROTECTION FOR LUMBER.

Aside from David Ward, the heaviest pine land owners in the Lower Peninsula are John Canfield and E. G. Filer, of Manistee, and D. A. Blodgett, of Grand Rapids. Their holdings aggregate $20,000,000. Among the heavy holders of timber lands in the Upper Peninsula are Theodore M. Davis, of Newport, R. I., who has the old Portage Lake Canal grant, 400,000 acres, valued at $15,000,000, bought twenty years ago for a few hundred thousand dollars. J. M. Longyear, of Marquette, is credited with 200,000 acres worth $5,000,000. One section, which contains the Norrie iron mine, paid $500,000 a year in royalties during good times. The Michigan Land and Iron Company, Limited, bought the Marquette and Ontonagon Railroad grant, 464,000 acres, for $7,500,000 in 1881, and the property is now valued at $10,000,000. Lord Brassy, the present governor-general of Victoria, Australia, is the principal stockholder in this company.

The Dr. J. C. Ayer estate, of Lowell, Mass., bought the military wagon road land grant of 200,000 acres, now worth $3,500,000. The Chicago and Northwestern Railway has about $1,000,000 worth of land grants. The Samuel J. Tilden estate is also a heavy holder of Upper Peninsular timber lands. Senator MCMILLAN and the Newberry estate have a large slice of the old Detroit, Mackinac and Marquette Railroad grant. The Grand Rapids and Indiana Railway yet holds about 269,000 acres of choice timber lands in the Lower Peninsula. The above are some of the hollow-eyed infants for whose benefit the party of protection proposes to levy a tariff tax on lumber, to be paid by the home builders in the vast treeless sections of the Northwest. In fact, the above-mentioned tracts include a large proportion of the pine timber left in Michigan.

David Ward's logging railroad has 40 miles of main track from Frederic on the Michigan Central, crossing the Grand Rapids and Indiana Railroad and then running west to East Jordan and Lake Michigan near Charlevoix. He also has 60 miles of lateral track which connects all parts of his big tract

with the main line. In this group Mr. Ward has 40,000 acres of choice cork pine and 80,000 acres of hard-wood timber. The estimates are 400,000,000 feet of cork pine and 600,000,000 of hard wood. Last winter Mr. Ward cut his first 10,000,000 feet of pine logs, which are being railroaded to West Bay City to be sawed.

Mr. VEST. Mr. President, I have had that communication read after inquiry in regard to the character of the author and after ascertaining that he is an entirely responsible person. I did not have it read in order to attack the gentlemen who are fortunate enough to own this very valuable property. They had a perfect right to acquire it legitimately, and to hold it, and to be protected in it. I am making no invidious distinction against them on that account, but I am confounded with astonishment when you propose to put upon 75,000,000 people in this country this additional tax upon a necessary of life; and when that necessary comes peculiarly near to the people among whom I have lived for nearly fifty years, and whose conditions I thoroughly understand, I should be a coward not to protest against it.

I speak with some feeling upon this question, for I went to Missouri when it was the frontier. I hauled lumber to build my first cabin—the first home I ever had—60 miles from the Missouri River, and paid enormous prices, for lumber then was gold—equivalent to gold. The prices were, of course, immensely above what they are to-day. How will this sort of legislation be met by the men of the West who live in sod houses out in the Dakotas and in Nebraska, and upon the prairies of Missouri and of Illinois?

Remember, if you please, sir, that this class of people do not build houses of brick or stone, for they are too expensive. Go to the ordinances of your cities and you will see that cheap frame houses are excluded within the fire limits, ostensibly because of the danger of fire, but really to improve the worth and character of the structures.

What would be the amount of duty you would receive if you would make this increase? Upon all these schedules, $340,000 a year. And what is the penalty that is to be paid by the consumers of the United States for that pittance, compared to the revenues of the whole country? The poor settler, struggling with an inclement climate, with all the vicissitudes and absolute horrors of frontier life around him, and a growing family calling upon him for support, is to have these additional taxes put upon him at a time when every cent becomes a dollar and every dollar is almost equal to a drop of blood.

I know something of these things, for I have passed through them. This is the most indefensible item in this bill. There is no sort of justification or even palliation for this being done. In 1890, when our Republican friends went to the full extreme in regard to protection, they put a duty of but $1 upon white pine. Now it is to be put up to $2, and that, too, in the face of a statement of a disinterested official, Professor Fernow, in an official document from the Agricultural Department, that in seven years, if we pursue the same course that we have pursued in the last ten years in regard to our coniferous timber, the entire supply of white pine will be exhausted in the United States.

Do our friends in the South intend to impose their yellow pine upon the people of this country instead of white pine? They may reach the people in the Dakotas and in the treeless States, living in sod houses, but they will never be able to reap the fortunes which these circulars attempt to show that they will reap if they can exclude white pine from the use of the people of this country.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Mr. President, the yellow pine of the South is not such wood as white pine. It is practically a hard wood. It is used for flooring, used for finishing, used for a different class of purposes from white pine, which is a soft, smooth wood, easily worked, light, and not strong, whereas the yellow pine is strong.

There must be some reason for proposing to change the tariff on an article of this sort 100 per cent above the rate in the McKinley law. Propositions to increase taxes above those of the McKinley law, as a rule, have been apologized for on the other side of the Chamber, and members of the Senate are not willing to vote for such taxes, as a rule, without an explanation and without an apology.

Some of the reasons why this tax is proposed, I think, very clearly appear in a copy of a letter which I have. The original was written to a member of this body, a copy was sent to another member of the Senate, and I have a copy of the letter in the possession of the Senator to whom it was written. It was written by an ex-member of Congress, Hon. H. G. Burleigh, of Whitehall, N. Y., and as it is full of facts from an intelligent and practical man, I ask the attention of the Senate to what these statements are. The writer says:

The Dingley bill should certainly be modified as regards lumber. Lumber should be on the free list, as it enters into and is one of the bases of nearly all manufactures—boxes and a thousand other things. In any event, the duty should not exceed $1 per thousand feet. Mr. Dingley's idea is to protect Maine by making spruce $2, and it is not right. The average value of spruce lumber in Canada is $7 per thousand feet, and 40 per cent of spruce is culls. The average value of pine lumber in Canada is about $12 per thousand, and the average value of hemlock in Canada is about $6 per thousand. So you see the duty on spruce and hemlock would be about 30 per cent, while on pine only about 16 per cent. It seems that a move has been made to have pine $1 and hemlock $2, to gratify Mr. Dingley and the Maine people. You can see that on account of the greater value of pine, if there is any change, it should be to make hemlock and spruce $1 and pine $2.

The supply of spruce in the State is very limited, and more so now than ever on account of the withdrawal, practically, of the Adirondack forests from the market. This leaves a small belt of spruce in Vermont and a small belt in Maine, and upon the theory that it is a wise policy to protect the American forests, why is it not wise to let the Canadians cut off theirs first and get the benefit of it?

The Germans and Scandinavians in New York and Brooklyn and in the district that is comprised within the Greater New York use spruce for the floors of their houses, so they need not use carpets, and the spruce floors scrub handsomely. They scrub them with scrubbing brushes as they do in the old country. You remember in the canvass of 1892 the German speakers brought up this question of placing a tax upon the lumber of the poor people of New York and Kings County.

The trade relations between New York City and Canada are more intimate than between New York City and the State of Vermont, or even the State of Massachusetts. About 500 American boats carry coal and clay and other American products into Canada, and bring out lumber and other Canadian products. If I remember rightly, we sold Canada in 1896 almost double what we bought of her. This shows there should be reciprocity between the States and Canada. Two-thirds of our exports to Canada were from New York City and Boston.

It is a very singular thing that there should be inserted in a tariff bill, in a different place from the wood schedule, where it would not attract attention, the following (H. R. 379):

"SEC. 14. That the produce of the forests of the State of Maine upon the St. John River and its tributaries, owned by American citizens, and sawed or hewed in the Province of New Brunswick by American citizens, the same being unmanufactured in whole or in part, which is now admitted into the ports of the United States free of duty, shall continue to be so admitted, under such regulations as the Secretary of the Treasury shall from time to time prescribe.

"SEC. 15. That the produce of the forests of the State of Maine upon the St. Croix River and its tributaries, owned by American citizens, and sawed or hewed in the Province of New Brunswick by American citizens, the same being unmanufactured in whole or in part, shall be admitted into the ports of the United States free of duty, under such regulations as the Secretary of the Treasury shall from time to time prescribe."

Under these two sections all the lumber in New Brunswick can come into the United States through the State of Maine free of duty. Why, then, not have the lumber on the St. Maurice River and on the St. Marguerite River, that empty into the St. Lawrence, come in free, as nearly all of this territory is owned by American citizens (to the extent of 3,000,000 acres), which was purchased mainly for the pulp wood and lumber, to protect the American mills in the future? Your esteemed friend, Secretary Alger, will confirm this statement, and can give you more information than I can.

We have been in the Canada lumber business since 1852 and are familiar with all its branches. If there is any further information you would like, I shall be happy to supply it as far as possible. The fact is, lumber is used so largely by every class of people, and the supply in this country being limited, it should be allowed to come in free.

That Senator ALLISON and other gentlemen of the committee may know what sections 14 and 15 in the House bill mean, I will state that these mills are at St. John and Calais, and the logs go down the St. John and St. Croix rivers from both New Brunswick and Maine. Mr. Procter, of Ogdensburg, of the firm of Skillings, Whitneys & Barnes, said that enough logs had gone down these rivers from New Brunswick in the last thirty years to cover the State of Maine with logs 20 feet deep. Who is to tell whether the logs come from New Brunswick or Maine? The log owners certainly will not, and the mill owners' interests are identical with the log owners'. These two sections "ought not to have been in the bill unless the Government send up there and investigate this matter thoroughly, and if they do that they will be surprised at what they see and find. It is not fair to the Americans who own large tracts of land on the rivers entering into the St. Lawrence, especially the St. Lawrence River, where the paper-mill owners and lumbermen of northern New York alone own 3,000,000 acres of land.

You will notice these two sections are not put in where they properly belong—in the wood schedule—but placed where they will attract no particular attention.

Should the committee desire, we can send men up there and give them a particular report of what has been going on in the sections covered by these two paragraphs.

It does seem as though, with the intimate relation that New York has with Canada, trade should be about as free as it is with Vermont.

Very sincerely, yours,

H. G. BURLEIGH.

This gentleman, as I said a while ago, is an ex-member of Congress, as I am informed.

I have another letter from Rouse Point, N. Y., from a lumberman, in which he says:

ROUSE POINT, N. Y., *April 10, 1897.*

DEAR SIR: Our mill, covering an acre, with 53 acres of piling ground, is situated at this place, directly on the Canadian line, right next to our Government reservation and Fort Montgomery. For this very reason we, if anyone, are most particularly interested in the action that your committee will take respecting the duty on lumber. We are fully convinced from a personal experience of over forty years in the lumber business, and representing a firm, and successors of a firm, which has been in the business ever since the year 1800 (the grandfather of the writer), that the duty on lumber should be fully as much as the bill that has been passed by the House of Representatives. We know a favorable report from your committee is of vital importance to us and all the lumber manufacturers and dealers on the border. It is not that we think there is going to be such an advance in prices, but we believe that we will be able to purchase lumber in Canada for at least $2 per thousand less; so, in fact, the Canadians will be the parties who will have to reduce their prices.

Mr. President, the argument made here all the time, the plea made to members of this body for the imposition of this tax, is that it is going to protect the mill owners, and that the people of the South will get a higher price for their lumber, and here you have an argument made by one of these protectionists, in which he states that the effect will be to bring in lumber cheaper from

Canada, and that it will not affect the price of lumber in the United States. The letter continues:

For instance, the very cheapest lumber that we have been purchasing from them for the last ten to twenty years, when the two-dollar duty was on—

That duty has not been on for the last ten or twenty years—

we purchased for $6 per thousand, and now, when the duty is off, they ask us $8 per thousand. The duty of $2 per thousand on lumber, in many instances, will not be more than 5 to 10 per cent ad valorem. I am sure this would not be unreasonable. It is our honest conviction that if only $1 per thousand duty is put on we can move our mill into Canada and manufacture lumber at a greater profit than we can in the States.

These are facts that can not be disputed, because we are the ones who have had the actual experience. The gravity of the situation is our apology for asking you to consider the matter favorable, to our interest, and we hope that you will stand by us on the lumber schedule as passed by the House, regardless as to what they may do on the general bill.

Respectfully, yours,

MILLARD LUMBER CO.,
WM. B. MILLARD, *President.*

Hon. JAMES K. JONES, *Washington, D. C.*

Mr. President, I have been somewhat interested in some clippings taken from the New York Evening Post, which I shall present to the Senate later as bearing upon the question of the pine-lumber trade, but I will not present them now. My colleague on the committee has just handed me another letter, with a clipping inclosed, which is as follows:

BUFFALO, N. Y., *June 4, 1897.*

"ONE POINT OF VIEW ON LUMBER.

"TORONTO, ONTARIO, *June 2.*—The proposed American duty on lumber is still the chief topic among lumbermen here. D. L. White, Canadian manager of a big Saginaw, Mich., firm, says the proposed duty would cause American firms operating in Canada to float their logs to Michigan for manufacture, while the proposed Canadian export duty on logs that would surely follow would completely paralyze the trade for a time and result in giving Southern pine a stronger hold on Northern markets."

During the last twenty-five to thirty years Northern timber has been protected and a great industry built up in many States by a tariff on Canadian lumber. The time seems now to have come for a similar development of Southern timber. Is it not reasonable to ask an adequate tariff protection for it, viz, $2 per thousand?

Very truly, yours,

NEW YORK LUMBER CO. OF LOUISIANA.

This is addressed to a Southern Senator. One letter is written here from one of these lumbermen in this very same locality demonstrating that the effect of this duty will be simply to reduce the price of Canadian lumber; and when a Southern man is written to the argument used is that it will increase the price of Southern lumber and increase the price of all lumber; so that there is absolutely no consistency in what they claim nor in the arguments they make.

There are many other considerations, Mr. President, in connection with this matter; but I shall not detain the Senate longer. I hope the Senate will not lose sight of the fact alluded to by one of the writers here, that we have quite a large trade built up with Canada in the last two years and that a very large part of the Canadian imports are imports from the United States. Whenever we enter upon a system of levying high taxes, which some of these gentlemen say will be prohibitory as against this great industry in Canada, of course we may expect that to affect our trade unfavorably, and if we are to have any regard for reciprocal obligations in these matters, we are likely to hurt ourselves more than we shall help ourselves by the proposed tax.

Mr. McLAURIN. Mr. President, I agree with the Senator who has just spoken in one respect at least, that the schedule of this bill on wood and wooden manufactures was not designed to benefit any Southern industry, and I assert that the benefits which come are more by accident than design.

Being somewhat familiar with these schedules from my experience as a member of the Ways and Means Committee of the House, I trust I will be pardoned so early in my term of service taking part in the discussion now pending. I know somewhat of the manner in which the present rates were framed, and the committee of the Senate has increased the sectional features of the House bill not only in this, but in every other schedule. I am not a protectionist in any sense of the term, nor do I believe in a sectional application of a revenue tariff.

I do not know how I can emphasize the point any better than by reference to paragraph 194. You will find in that paragraph that the committee which is responsible for this measure in the Senate have created a monopoly in cedar and other Northern woods, which are used for railroad ties or telegraph poles, while in the first and second paragraphs of the schedule they attempt to do the same thing in sycamore, whitewood, and basswood, which are used for general building purposes. In fact, the entire schedule seems to be framed for the sole purpose of protecting the woods which are grown in the northern parts of the United States, and giving just as little as possible to the timber of the South. I want fair play for the products and the industries of my own section, and I enter my formal protest against a monopoly in favor of Northern forest owners.

I am not an expert in the railroad-tie industry, but I had some experience in the other end of the Capitol while this schedule was being arranged, and I have here a letter from a gentleman——

Mr. ALLISON. May I interrupt the Senator long enough to say that the Committee on Finance propose to recede from the amendment on lines 22 and 23 of paragraph 194, striking out the words "or other woods"? I understood the Senator to make some criticism of that provision.

Mr. McLAURIN. Yes; and I am delighted to hear the Senator's statement.

Mr. ALLISON. The committee propose to recede from that amendment.

Mr. McLAURIN. Then I will not continue my remarks on that line, but will ask the Secretary to read a letter from a gentleman engaged in the tie industry in South Carolina.

The Secretary read as follows:

GEORGETOWN, S. C., *May 31, 1897.*

DEAR SIR: We are informed that that section of the tariff bill relative to 20 per cent duty on ties has been changed so as to admit ties free, and we would like you to use your utmost endeavors to have a duty of at least 10 per cent imposed on ties imported into the United States from Canada or elsewhere. You, no doubt, are well posted as to the condition of the tie business in this section and the class of people who manufacture the ties, and we will only call your attention to a few points of interest regarding the matter.

In the first place, the ties are cut from trees that are too small for lumber or timber, and are cut from such lands which have already been cut over for sawmill timber, and are practically worthless for any other purpose.

In the second place, this timber is owned in most instances by very poor people, who make a living from year to year by cutting ties, and in a good many instances it is their sole dependence.

In the third place, they are all cut by hand and are the direct production of American labor, just as much so as anything manufactured in the United States.

These ties are manufactured with saws and axes which are both fully protected, and we see no reason in the world why ties should be admitted free, when everything that goes to the manufacturing of the tie is highly protected.

We trust that you will give this matter your immediate attention and do what you can to have it remedied.

We believe that duty in the Dingley bill was 20 per cent. This duty we think is about right, but rather than to have no duty at all we would suggest a compromise of 10 per cent, which we think might meet the approval of some of those who possibly opposed the bill on the 20 per cent tariff.

Yours, very truly,

H. KAMINSKI & CO.

Hon. J. L. McLAURIN, *Senator,*
Washington, D. C.

Mr. VEST. In line 19, paragraph 193, after the word "measure," I move to insert "except white pine;" and upon that I ask for the yeas and nays.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST] will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In paragraph 193, page 60, line 19, after the word "measure," it is proposed to insert "except white pine;" so as to read:

193. Sawed boards, planks, deals, and other lumber of whitewood, sycamore, and basswood, $1 per thousand feet board measure; sawed lumber, not specially provided for in this act, $2 per thousand feet board measure, except white pine, etc.

Mr. BACON. The Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST] says that he regards this as the most indefensible schedule in the present bill. Such a statement as that, coming from a Senator of his prominence in this body and his familiarity with this general subject, and a member of the Finance Committee, uttered with the earnestness with which he uttered it, is apt to carry conviction to the minds of those who might not stop to consider whether that was an extreme statement.

In the discussion of this bill the Senator has himself frequently criticised the rates of duty here exceeding 100 per cent on various articles of prime necessity. This schedule is one in which the average ad valorem duty is not 20 per cent. The very highest duty on any class of lumber, according to the document read by his colleague on the committee, is 30 per cent, and some of it is as low as 10 per cent, but the general average of it is certainly below 20 per cent, and yet the Senator, in the face of the fact——

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The rate is prohibitory.

Mr. BACON. You say so, but I am discussing the question whether it is or not, and it is for every member of the Senate to decide for himself whether it is a prohibitory duty or whether less than 20 per cent on any article is a prohibitory duty. We are to judge of that for ourselves.

I was proceeding to say that the general average is less than 20 per cent, probably about 15. Does that statement bear out the extreme expression of the Senator from Missouri, that this is the most indefensible schedule in this bill?

Mr. BURROWS. The Senator will allow me to say that the average rate of the entire schedule is less than 17 per cent.

Mr. BACON. The wood schedule?

Mr. BURROWS. Yes, sir.

Mr. BACON. I am speaking generally of the schedule and not of the particular paragraph now under consideration, and I understood the Senator from Missouri to speak generally of the schedule when he made that assertion.

Mr. VEST. I have no objection to the Senator's putting that construction on it, though what I did say, as the RECORD will show, is that the increase to $2 a thousand upon white pine was the most indefensible item in the bill, and the Reporter's notes will show it.

Mr. BACON. I accept the Senator's statement——

Mr. VEST. Oh, no; I make no apology.

Mr. BACON. I did not say apology. I said statement. The Senator does not disclaim the statement?

Mr. VEST. I said this item, but still I will accept the Senator's statement. I think the whole tax on lumber of every sort is the most indefensible part of the bill.

Mr. BACON. I think it is one of the most reasonable in the whole bill, and a very proper one.

The Senator from Missouri says that, entertaining the views he does, if he did not express them with the earnestness which usually characterizes him, he would be a coward. So, entertaining the opposite views, if I did not express them and sustain them with my vote, I should be equally a coward, and I am prepared to say here and elsewhere that I regard this schedule as a proper one, irrespective of the question as to which party it comes from.

I am not a protectionist. I do not believe in the protectionist system. Of course we recognize that any tariff, in the fact that it influences prices, to some extent is an advantage to the particular article upon which the duty is levied, but I am not speaking of it in that sense. I am speaking of protection as it is generally understood, which is designed to be an arrangement by law on account of which and through which parties are enabled to sell their products at an abnormal price, higher than they otherwise could, and where the design of the law is that such should be the effect, and where the prime design is not the raising of revenue.

In that sense I do not believe in protection at all. I do not believe in the imposition of protective duties on any article; certainly not as a general rule. It would have to be a very extreme case where I would ever admit its propriety. At the same time I do not believe as a general rule in a free list. I think tariffs ought to be levied as far as possible so as to operate uniformly, so that whatever burdens there may be may rest with comparative uniformity, and that whatever benefits there may be may also be enjoyed impartially.

Some things exist that no man can shut his eyes to. In the first place, whether a man believes in protection or not, he is obliged to be in favor of a tariff. The necessities of this Government make a tariff necessary, regardless of whether a man believes in protection or whether he believes in a tariff for revenue only. It is a stern fact that the great necessities of this Government require not only a tariff, but a high tariff, and there is no party, I care not what its doctrines may be, but when it comes into power and to the test, finds it necessary to impose a high tariff.

Mr. MORGAN. Will the Senator from Georgia allow me to ask him whether a low tariff on the free list, which now consists of more than one-half of the imported articles, both in number and value, would not be a revenue producer that would satisfy him?

Mr. BACON. Yes, sir. A revenue tariff would satisfy me not only on those, but on all articles, and that is the only kind of a tariff I want; but when I find a low tariff imposed upon a particular article, and I find by admeasurement and by comparison with other tariffs that it is a tariff for revenue, and upon the scale of a tariff for revenue, I am not to be deterred from supporting it because of the cry of "protection," when such charge is not supported by the fact.

I was proceeding to say that there are two things which have to be recognized. One is the absolute necessity for a tariff, and a very considerable one. The other one is that whatever may be the design of the tariff, whether it be imposed by those who design it as protection to industries or whether it be imposed by those who design it simply as a tariff for revenue only, the necessary, unavoidable effect of it is to affect prices. Whether it is intended to protect or not, the products similar to those upon which duties are imposed are necessarily raised in price by the imposition of those duties.

The great defect of the protective system is the absolute impossibility of making it uniform and impartial. If it could be made so that it would benefit every man in the country in exactly the same way, if it could be made so that it would put the same burden upon every man equally, then the great argument against it would be gone; but as that is an impossibility, I submit that the next best thing to it in the administration of the Government through means of this system of taxation is to approximate this uniformity and this impartiality as nearly as may be. If you do not do it, what is the result?

The result necessarily is that the parties engaged in the production of articles upon which the tariff is levied—and I am speaking now only of a revenue tariff and not of a protective tariff—sell their goods at a higher price than they otherwise would be sold for, and the parties engaged in the production of articles upon which there is no tariff do not have their goods raised in the same proportion, and the consequence is that they must sell cheap while they buy dear.

Mr. President, I repeat, and I can not emphasize it too strongly, that I am not speaking in defense of a protective tariff; on the contrary, I am opposed to a protective tariff; but I say when we come to levying a tariff for revenue, we should, as nearly as possible, approximate uniformity, so that all classes should, as far as possible, enjoy its benefits, whatever benefits there may be growing out of such tariff, and that all parties should have imposed upon them, as far as practicable, uniformity of burden.

I am supporting this schedule not because it is protective—if Senators can satisfy me that it is a protective duty, I will vote against it—but I am supporting it because I do not consider it a protective duty; because I consider it within the legitimate scope of a revenue duty. What are the general ranges, not to speak of the extreme schedules, of rates of tariff? Under the Wilson Act it is over 40 per cent. The Senator from Missouri speaks of the fact that this rate of duty exceeds that in the McKinley Act. That is not the question. It might have been free in the McKinley Act. The question is, Is this rate above that which is recognized as a revenue rate? That is the question. If it is, I am against it; if it is not, I am for it.

Mr. President, I said that as far as practicable I am in favor of uniformity in the imposition of a tariff, and that leads me to the proposition that while I am generally opposed to a free list, I am particularly opposed to a free list of raw materials. I can not go into a discussion of that question; it would take too much time, and I know Senators are impatient to proceed with the consideration of the bill. I probably have occupied more time than I ought to have consumed. I am now coming to the specific question as to whether or not this is a tariff duty which ought to be sustained by the Senate.

The Senators who have spoken have confined their discussions exclusively—I will not say exclusively, but in the main—to the question of effect on the particular woods grown on the Northern border. Senators are very much mistaken if they suppose that it has no effect upon woods grown in the South. If parties interested in Southern pine were here asking me to support a protective tariff on their production, I would refuse to do it. They come to me and say, "This is very much less than the ordinary revenue duty. We are engaged in the production of lumber, and in its production we have to buy articles not one of which has so low a rate of duty imposed upon it as this. We have to buy our tools, our machines, our vehicles, the clothes that our laborers wear, everything upon a scale of prices far above that which would prevail if those things were upon the free list, and yet we are asked to sell our products upon the basis of the free list; and we say it is unjust." I am prepared to say here and elsewhere that it is unjust. And while I would not support a protective tariff, I am ready at all times to say that parties engaged in legitimate industries, where there is a necessity, an absolute necessity, for the imposition of the tariff, should have duties, not protective, but revenue duties, in proportion to the revenue duties imposed upon other articles.

Mr. President, we hear a good deal in this Chamber about lumber barons. I know nothing of them. I am not familiar with that matter, but I know that one-third of my State, if not more, is a timber-producing area. I know that there is a very large proportion of the State where it is the leading industry—the industry of felling timber and carrying it to the mills and having it put into the shape of merchantable lumber. I know that not only the men who are actually engaged in that business, but the people all through that country, in whatever occupation they may be engaged, are dependent upon the success of that industry. I know that even the railroads are to a large extent dependent upon the continuance of the industry.

A very large proportion of the Southern timber manufactured into lumber is shipped to the northwestern boundary, and an immense amount of it goes to the city of Chicago. Almost all the freight cars that are manufactured in this country are made out of it. It is largely used in building houses. In a great many uses it comes in direct competition with the lumber that is brought across the border. These men know what their interest is. I yesterday received a telegram from two very prominent men in my State, engaged in this business—business men who know their interests—saying that every man, woman, and child—using those words—in the lumber region is looking to the successful passage of the lumber schedule.

If they had telegraphed to me—I repeat it, because I do not wish to be misunderstood on this subject—asking me upon that ground to support a protective duty, I should have refused. But this is not a protective duty, and no man can say that less than 20 per cent on any article can possibly constitute a protective duty, whatever the article may be.

Mr. President, in front of the house where I live runs a railroad, and I do not think I exaggerate when I say that two-thirds

of the trains which pass along that road are freighted with lumber going to the Northwest, and I do not hesitate to say that not only that railroad, but other railroads in the State, if this industry should be stricken down, would have to stop their business within a very short time.

None of these arguments would be sufficient if the question were whether or not we should protect the industry of these people; whether we should take, as those of us who do not believe in the protective system say, the money out of one man's pocket to improve the business of another man. I do not believe in any such doctrine; I do not support any such doctrine; but I do stand on the ground I have announced, that where there is a legitimate revenue tariff, the very worst form of protection, the most offensive form of protection, is that which gives the tariff to the man who manufactures the finished product and denies it to the man who furnishes him the raw material from which he makes that article.

You are in that case not only protecting the man at the expense of the Government, but you are protecting him at the expense of the man who furnishes him the raw material. A man can have a margin between the price at which he sells and the price which it costs him to make the article, either by raising the price of the finished product or by a reduction to him of the cost of the material out of which he makes his product. By no possible system of reasoning can the proposition be defended that, in order that a man who makes the finished product shall enjoy the full benefit, the man who furnishes him the raw material shall be compelled to furnish it at a price less than he would if the law put them both on the same plane.

That is all we ask for the raw material. We ask not for protection for raw material. I am opposed to protection for the raw material or for the finished product, but I do ask for equality in the imposition of duties both upon the finished product and upon the raw material.

The learned and distinguished and eloquent Senator from Missouri grows unusually eloquent in depicting the great injury that will result to those who live upon the plains if the price of their lumber is raised, not by putting on a protective tariff, but by giving the producer of the raw material the same advantages that you give the finished product by the imposition of a purely revenue tariff duty. How these men, he says, will sweat with drops of blood! I want to know in what particular the man upon the plain is more dependent upon getting lumber cheap than on getting clothing cheap, or furniture cheap. Yet the great outcry is that if these producers of raw material, who are the least able to protect themselves, these men who can not band themselves together and have the influence upon legislation that other industries have, are simply given equality before the law—and in fact not equality, because this rate of taxation does not give them half what it gives the other industries—the great crime, the great outrage is that the men of the Western plains will have to pay a little more for their lumber.

Do they not have to pay more, necessarily, for all articles out of which revenue is raised; and if this is a revenue duty, by what right can they or any other claim that they have the right to have cheaper material at the expense of the men who produce it?

Mr. VEST. I understand the web and woof of the Senator's argument in favor of this rate is that it is a revenue duty and not a protective duty.

Mr. BACON. If the Senator calls it the web and woof because he means to include the entire garment, then he is correct.

Mr. VEST. I will not put the question, if it is disagreeable to the Senator.

Mr. BACON. No; I beg the Senator's pardon.

Mr. VEST. I will say the gist of the argument. What does he do with the statements made by the men at the head of the great lumber companies to the effect that $2 upon white pine is absolutely prohibitive, and they intend to have it that way, not for revenue, but to keep it out of the country? Here are their sworn statements.

Mr. BACON. I simply say I know nothing about who they are or anything else, or what particular motive they may have had in making the statement. I do say—and every Senator, I think, will bear me out in the statement—that it is absolutely incredible that it should have any such effect.

Mr. VEST. Here is the evidence.

Mr. BACON. The evidence that they said so; but I say it is contrary to the experience of this Government, contrary to the experience of all business, contrary to the experience of all matters connected with imports, that a duty of less than 20 per cent upon anything should be a prohibitory duty.

Mr. VEST. I am astonished at the Senator's statement. As a matter of course, it is not the amount of the duty which of itself makes it prohibitory. It is the condition of the trade. There may be such competition that a 5 per cent duty will keep an article out of the country.

Mr. BACON. That is true, but——

Mr. VEST. You can not put down any rule of 20 or 30 per cent. Here is Mr. Winchester, a gentleman very well known in the lumber interest, advocating $2 on white pine, and he states before the committee that that would absolutely keep it out of the country.

Mr. BACON. And yet the Senator's colleague on the committee read as an authority here a statement from somebody else that it would have no effect whatever and that it would be exactly the same. Therefore we are called upon to exercise our own judgment in the matter, because you have brought two witnesses, one of whom says it will be prohibitory and the other one says it will not raise the price at all. Between the two, I will reject both and appeal to the common sense of the Senate as to whether or not less than 20 per cent would be a prohibitory tariff under such circumstances.

Mr. VEST. Let me ask the Senator a question. Does he believe that the imposition of a tariff duty has no effect upon the price to the consumer? Does he not know that it adds to the price?

Mr. BACON. Most undoubtedly.

Mr. VEST. Very good. Then it is absolutely impossible——

Mr. BACON. If the Senator will pardon me, I think the statement made by the correspondent of the Senator from Arkansas is utterly incredible, and I think the statement by the correspondent quoted by the Senator from Missouri is equally incredible.

Mr. VEST. He is no correspondent. It is the testimony of Mr. Winchester.

Mr. BACON. Testimony, if you please. In my own mind I am perfectly satisfied that 20 per cent would not act as a prohibitive tariff.

In the first place, these Canadian lumbermen, so far as any competition with the Southern pines is concerned, have an immense protection in the large amount of railroad freight—I say protection; it is an immense advantage in the way of market price—necessary to carry the lumber a thousand miles. But I will not pursue that line of argument further.

Mr. President, I am unable to appreciate the strength of the arguments which are made in favor of free raw material. I can not go into the question now, but I do say that unless other things can be free there is no reason why raw material should be free, and I have never seen or heard the argument which is convincing to my mind that there can be any stability in a position of that kind.

I owe an apology to the Senate, and especially to those in charge of the bill, for having trespassed this long upon their time; but I have ventured to do so in view of the fact that I am called upon to antagonize gentlemen on this side of the Chamber, and it is necessary that I should make clear the point that I am not in any manner abandoning the position I hold, that the correct duty is a revenue duty, and that I support this particular schedule because it is a revenue duty, and a very moderate revenue duty, and only about half or less than half of the average duty which the Senator himself, three years ago, when in charge of the bill, assisted in putting through this Chamber, where the average, if I am not incorrectly informed, was 40 per cent.

Mr. VEST. Lumber was on the free list.

Mr. BACON. I know the Senator put lumber on the free list. I am bringing it up to test the question as to whether or not the present rate exceeds a revenue rate, and I said that my party, of which the Senator from Missouri is a most distinguished and honored and valued member, found it necessary, when it came to put through a revenue bill—under the name of a revenue bill—to have tariff duties which exceeded 40 per cent in the average. I was taking that as a test as to what is a revenue duty. This duty is less than 20 per cent and can not be said to be a protective duty, and therefore I am for it.

Mr. VEST. Mr. President, I enter my protest against the act of 1894 being considered as a precedent for the Democratic party, or that those of us who voted for it, entertaining the opinions that I do, should be held responsible for the duties in that act. I have stated repeatedly that that bill was passed, so far as my vote was concerned, under political duress, because the President of the United States, the head of my party, and the Secretary of the Treasury said it was absolutely necessary to pass a tariff bill, and we had to make concessions, even against our judgment, in regard to the duties that were imposed.

Mr. BACON. Will the Senator permit me to ask him a question?

Mr. VEST. Certainly.

Mr. BACON. Leaving that bill out of the question, if the Senator were called upon to frame a tariff bill and to state what should be the general average of the revenue duties or the tariff duties imposed, so as to raise the requisite revenue, so as to confine it strictly to a revenue basis, what would the Senator say would be the lowest limit of the average duties which the measure should contain?

Mr. VEST. That would depend entirely upon the necessities of the Government.

Mr. BACON. Well, the present necessities. Does the Senator think it would be so low as 25 per cent on all?

Mr. VEST. If we would do our duty and cut down the expenses of the Government——

Mr. BACON. Ah!

Mr. VEST. That is the first thing to be considered. Then 25 per cent would be ample, and would make a surplus.

Mr. BACON. Does the Senator think it could be reduced below 25 per cent?

Mr. VEST. I think it could go below it.

Mr. BACON. Below 20 per cent?

Mr. VEST. It is impossible to answer the question without going into a discussion as to the necessary expenses of the Government. I can not, by any possibility, say, as a matter of conjecture, what the per cent ought to be. I content myself with saying that I would lay no duty for protection. If there come incidental protection, as it is called, it must come of itself. It should not come from any vote of mine.

When we passed the bill of 1894, I stated at the time, and I repeat, that it had three things in it which mollified its objectionable features, and those three things, the only three, according to those who believe like I do, were free salt, free lumber, and free wool; and I am sorry that a member of my party—he has a perfect right to do it, and I have no right to criticise him—is now willing to strike out free lumber and to put this duty upon it which the advocates of the duty themselves say is a prohibitory duty. A Senator can not say that one per cent or the other is proper in any case and is a revenue duty. You must consider each article for itself in framing a tariff bill.

Take the article of lead and put the duty upon it at 2 cents a pound, which is an insignificant one, not amounting possibly to 15 per cent, and yet it is an enormous duty when you consider the condition of the interest. You can exclude an article from this country with a 5 per cent tax. It depends upon the amount that is produced abroad. It depends upon the competition. It depends upon the condition of the interest at home.

I do not care to enter into a general discussion as to raw materials, but I will say incidentally that I never had any doubt that the true policy of this and every other civilized country is to admit raw materials, free in order to enable the domestic manufacturer to produce as cheaply as possible, which necessarily gives the perfected or produced article as cheaply as possible to the consumer. You must follow the relative conditions of the country when you consider the imposition of tariff taxes. France is the wisest country in the world to-day as to manufactures, as I said the other day, and why? Because French statesmen admit raw materials free, increase their value in French factories, send them abroad, and sell them for an increased price and at a profit; and it is not to be wondered at that France has paid off its enormous billion-dollar debt, the result of the disastrous war with Germany, and to-day its credit is equal to that of any other country in the world, not excepting Great Britain. France is inferior to Great Britain only because it has no carrying trade.

Every time you put a duty upon the raw material you handicap the manufacturer. Every time you handicap the manufacturer you give him an excuse to put up the price to the consumer, and because I believe as conscientiously and honestly as I believe anything in the world that our great object in all taxation should be to relieve the body of the people, the great masses of the consumers who are not skilled workmen and who are not capitalists and who compose the web and woof, to use that expression again, of the population of this country, I believe in free raw materials, and I would make them all free if I could.

Mr. CLAY. Mr. President——

Mr. BACON. I hope my colleague will pardon me a moment.

Mr. CLAY. Certainly.

Mr. BACON. The Senator from Missouri need not worry himself in regretting that members of his party should take this position.

Mr. VEST. I do regret the division in the party.

Mr. BACON. Very well; if the Senator expresses it that way, I have nothing to say as to a division in the party. I simply say the Senator can not show anything now or at any other time that free raw material is a principle of the Democratic party.

The Democratic party has never said so in a platform. When the great issue was made for free raw material, there were some very curious whisperings as to the particular influences which were behind that doctrine—very powerful influences, which might result in very great pecuniary benefit to some individuals who were thought to stand very near to those powerful influences.

I say the Senator can not say that is Democratic doctrine. He can not say it is a tenet ever expressed by the Democratic party, and he can not square it with that great fundamental principle of the Democratic party that there should be equality of burdens and equality of benefits. That is the great fundamental principle of the Democratic party, and the thing that steps aside from it, the thing that seeks to put a burden upon one man which is not borne equally by his fellows, is not Democratic.

The thing which seeks to put a benefit in the possession of one man and deny it to another is not Democratic. Standing upon that as the fundamental principle of the Democratic party, I say that it is an impossibility that anyone should be out of sympathy with the great fundamental principles in general who stands upon that particular platform.

Mr. President, I can not go further in this discussion. We are probably trespassing upon more important matters. But the Senator is unfortunate in some of his allusions. France is not a raw-material producing country, and she has not paid her debt to Germany. She owes it to-day in the shape of a bonded debt, the largest bonded debt that any nation has.

Mr. VEST. She has paid Germany.

Mr. BACON. And, aside from that, the Senator says that the great purpose is to aid the general public by aiding the manufacturer. Mr. President, when you come to the ultimate cost of any article, that cost is not represented by the work of the manufacturer alone. The ultimate cost of an article represents not only the finishing touch of the manufacturer, but it goes back to the original work upon it, and in that ultimate cost the labor and the compensation of all those people is represented.

I should like to know by what right it is sought, in order that there may be a general public benefit, to put all the profit and all the benefit in the possession of the man who puts the finishing touch upon it, and to say the others shall have none, instead of having it properly distributed between them all.

The fact that the manufacturers come here, and that they are enabled to get higher rates of duty, and to say, "If you give the free raw material man the equality which he demands, the manufacturer must have a compensatory duty," the fact that they have the power to come here and to say it, does not make it right. The proper thing to do, in order that there may be equality, is to so distribute these tariff duties that whatever benefit there may be arising from them may be enjoyed not only by the man who puts the finishing touch upon the article, but by every other man who has contributed his labor or money to produce it, so that whatever burden there is shall be equally borne by all of them.

Mr. CLAY. Mr. President, in rising for the purpose of addressing the Senate on the pending measure I am fully aware that I labor under many disadvantages. It could not be expected that a new member of the Senate could thoroughly master all the details of so complicated a measure in the short time intervening since the Finance Committee made its report; hence I shall confine my remarks to some of the leading features of the bill. I may violate the unwritten law of the Senate in presuming to discuss so important a matter at the beginning of my Senatorial term, but the subject under consideration is not only one of importance, but of great interest to the people I have the honor in part to represent upon the floor of this Chamber, hence I feel it a duty I owe to them to record my reasons for voting against this measure. Mr. President, the advocates of this bill do not attempt to disguise the fact that its purpose is twofold: First, to provide revenue to support the Government, and, secondly, to encourage the industries of the United States. It has never been questioned that the Constitution gives to us the power to levy and collect taxes, duties, imports, and excises to pay the honest and legitimate expenses of the Government. We must have sufficient revenue to meet the needs of the Government, honestly and economically administered. This revenue can be raised either by direct taxation or by customs duties on imports. That the latter is preferable to the former I am willing to admit; but I do not hesitate to state that in my opinion if the revenue now raised to pay the expenses of the Government were collected by direct taxes, so that the great masses of the people could see and fully understand the burdens they bear, our annual expenses would not exceed three-fourths the present amount. The American people under such a system would never submit to the payment of $140,000,000 annually to pensions. We should exercise the same rigid economy in public expenditures, whether our system of raising revenue is by direct or indirect taxation. The Democratic party has time and again declared in favor of a tariff for revenue only, and unalterably opposed to a tariff for protection. The school of politics in which I have been educated taught me that we owe it to the people to collect no more money by taxation than the Government needs to pay its current demands. As has often been said, "An overflowing Treasury encourages extravagance and the appropriation of public funds to objects of doubtful propriety."

A tariff duty should always be levied in such a way and so adjusted as to operate equally throughout the entire country, and there should be no discrimination between class or section. Mark you, Mr. President, the word "discrimination" should ever be kept in view by the legislator. Sir, when you discriminate it means

to enrich and build up some one at the expense of some one else. Again, taxation should always be limited to the needs of the Government when honestly and economically administered. Thus far should Congress go and no farther.

The Government should treat all of its citizens alike. Under a government so administered the people will be happy, prosperous, and contented, and patriotism will find a lodgment in the breast of every good citizen. Taxation is a necessary, but a very dangerous power. It was Chief Justice Marshall who declared that the power to tax is the power to destroy. This has been fully illustrated when Congress levied a tax of 10 per cent on the circulation of all other bank notes except national-bank issues. Everyone knows it had the effect to drive out of circulation at once all State-bank issues. "When the Government uses the taxing power and takes the labor and property of one citizen to aid private enterprises and build up private fortunes, or to enrich one class or section at the expense of another, the Government ceases to do justice to all of its citizens."

It is legitimate to raise revenue to meet the honest demands of the Government, but it is absolutely unjust and indefensible to take from one class to enrich another. It must be admitted that a revenue tariff itself gives to our manufacturers an advantage over foreign competition. This I am willing to concede them; but I ask that every section of our common country share alike in its benefits, and I insist that reason and justice demand that all should be satisfied with a Government that pursues such a policy. No man's private business, simply because it has proven unprofitable, should be kept up at the expense of our Government. The proposition can not be successfully disputed, when one citizen's business is aided and protected by legislation, it must be done at the expense of some one else. It must necessarily follow where taxes and restrictions confer wealth and property upon individuals or sections, an equal amount must be taken from another. I insist that when it comes to legislation, we must act from a patriotic and unselfish standpoint, and see to it that one section of our country shall not be made rich at the expense of another. What the producers need in this country is intercourse with the markets of the civilized world. Class legislation centralizes wealth, builds up classes, and encourages monopolies. It encourages designing men to accumulate unjustly large and dangerous fortunes. It creates the spirit of unrest and dissatisfaction, and justly so among the masses, who, finally suffering great injustice at the hands of their Government, cease to respect, honor, and obey its laws, which can but result in the ruin and destruction of the Government. Our farmers, if they get justice, must have the right to sell their surplus products in the markets where they can obtain the highest possible prices, and purchase articles for consumption they can not produce themselves in the cheapest markets. What they want is to create a demand for their surplus products. The manufacturer's business has been protected from competition at the expense of the consumer.

Protection has stifled competition, which has enabled protected parties to form trusts and combines and regulate the prices of the necessaries of life, and, in my honest judgment, the great inequality of wealth now existing can be largely attributed to the protective system. When it was born its defenders declared that its purpose was to encourage our infant industries, to enable them to advance in that strength and equality that would give them ability to compete with the markets of the old country, and the father of the system declared himself that three years would be sufficient time for them to obtain the necessary strength to accomplish this purpose. But now the Government is more than a hundred years old, and the older, more powerful, and stronger these favored industries grow under the protection of the Government the more determined they become to increase their demands. It is the doctrine of the Democratic party that all shall stand equal before the law, and the Government in making, enforcing, and construing the law shall not discriminate between citizens. It was Andrew Jackson who said:

> When the laws undertake to add to those natural and just advantages artificial distinctions and exclusive privileges to make the rich richer and the potent more powerful, the humble members of society who have neither time nor the means to secure like favors for themselves have a right to complain against their Government.

Now, let us examine this bill, or a few items of importance in the same, and let us see whether or not, measured by the rules of Democracy and measured by the rules of justice and equality, it deserves the support of the American people. Let us compare it with the Wilson bill, which was simply a step in the right direction and is far preferable to the pending measure.

Why the necessity of tariff agitation at this extra session of Congress? Why the necessity to change our entire tariff laws? If there be a deficit, why should we change the entire present law? Under the present statute markets have been secured by our manufacturing industries, commerce has adjusted itself to the rates as fixed by the Wilson bill, and now to change the whole law will upset the entire business of the country. Why the necessity of raising a hundred millions additional revenue? Does the Government need this large, enormous sum to meet its current demands? It is not the purpose of the friends of this measure to raise revenue to meet current expenses, but to protect favorite industries. It is simply class legislation. Is it not true that the deficit for 1896 was only twenty-five millions? And this was made necessary by the decision of the Supreme Court declaring against the constitutionality of the income tax incorporated in the Wilson bill. Is it not true that the monthly receipts of the Government now exceed the monthly expenditures? And is it not true that, if the present law is let alone and tariff agitation cease, our revenues will gradually increase and the business interests of the country will settle down and know what to expect? It was predicted by Mr. Carlisle that the longer the Wilson bill remained on the statute books the more revenue it would produce. And however much we may differ with him about other questions, no public man in this nation is better authority on tariff legislation than Mr. Carlisle. He has already predicted that if the Wilson bill is let alone, instead of there being a deficiency in the revenue, the receipts would exceed the expenditures by more than seven million dollars. This constant agitation and change of tariff laws has done the country incalculable injury.

Is it not true that there is available in the Treasury a hundred and thirty million dollars surplus outside the hundred millions constituting the gold reserve? Is it not true that this large, enormous sum would more than readily meet any deficiency in expenditures over receipts for the next three years? Give the present law a trial, cut down the appropriations, economically administer the Government, and make an honest and faithful effort to see if the present receipts will not meet the honest and legitimate demands of the Government. But the friends of this measure declare that it is not revenue alone they are after; their prime purpose is protection for home industries. Is this justice to all of our citizens?

I desire to call attention to some of the items taken from the free list under the Wilson bill and placed on the dutiable list under the Senate bill. Bags for fertilizers will be called upon to pay a duty equal to 31 per cent ad valorem. On bagging for cotton the duty is fixed at one-half per cent per square yard and 15 per cent ad valorem. There was imported in 1896, 1,694,758 square yards of bagging, valued at $70,191.23. Should the same amount be imported under the Senate bill, the revenue paid by our farmers in the South who produce cotton will be $19,002.48.

Cotton ties, used by the same class of farmers, are to pay a duty of seven-tenths of a cent a pound. There was imported in 1896, 7,804,420 pounds, valued at $102,327. This would cause our same farmers to have to pay extra for their ties used, for preparing their cotton for the market, $54,630.94. Under the Wilson bill they had the right to go into the markets of the world and purchase their bagging and ties where they could obtain them the cheapest, but the Senate bill denies them this right. In fact, if this class of our agriculturists are to receive any benefits under the Senate bill I have been unable to discover them. Under the Wilson bill salt was placed on the free list. This is one of the necessities of life. But the Senate bill expects to raise a revenue of more than $500,000 from this article alone. There was imported into this country in 1896, 533,264,708 pounds of salt. Being on the free list, the quantity in bulk or packages is not specified. The Senate bill fixes the duty on salt in bulk at 8 cents per hundred pounds; in bags, sacks, or barrels, at 12 cents per hundred pounds. From the best information I can obtain about 42 per cent of the amount imported came in packages and 58 per cent in bulk. This would make the tax placed on salt equal to $516,199.13. The total value of salt imported into this country in 1896 was estimated at $738,787.36, which, compared with the proposed duty on salt, is equal to a tax of 70 per cent ad valorem.

How can the friends of this measure justify before the people the increase of the duties upon wool and woolen goods? The Wilson bill placed raw wool on the free list, so the manufacturers could go into the markets of the world and purchase it where they could obtain it cheapest. Its purpose was to enable them to buy cheap raw material, that they might furnish to the consumer cheap woolen goods. Should the importations of raw wool and woolen manufactures remain the same as they were under the Wilson bill, raw wool will be called upon to pay a tax of more than $14,000,000, and goods manufactured of wool will be called upon to pay a tax of fully $45,000,000. The tariff on wool and manufactured woolen goods will amount to fully $60,000,000, nearly three times the amount paid under the Wilson bill—in round numbers, an increase of nearly $37,000,000. Now, who pays this vast, enormous sum? Every man, woman, and child who uses woolen goods will be called upon to assist in bearing this burden. Now, who receives the benefit of it? Simply those who are engaged in manufacturing woolen goods. While the sheep grower receives a duty of 46 per cent ad valorem on his raw wool, he pays to the manufacturer more than 70 per cent for the cloth consumed, manufactured of the same wool on which he received a duty of 46 per cent.

The class whose business is thus protected and aided by the Government at the expense of their neighbors, who receive no similar advantages, but who in reality give part of their substance to carry out the favors of the Government granted in the form of law, must necessarily grow rich and prosperous in business, while their less fortunate neighbors, who bear the burdens of taxation and receive no aid or encouragement at the hands of the Government, struggle for existence and are unable to even provide the necessaries of life for their homes.

I desire to call special attention to the increased duties and protection given to sugar. This additional tax applies both to the producer and the refiner. If I have any sympathy with either it is with the producer rather than the refiner, but the comparison I wish now to make is in behalf of the great mass of consumers, for we all know we have seventy millions of consumers of this article of necessity, and while we should give both to the producer and the refiner an opportunity to make reasonable profits on their investments, let us not forget that the entire people are deeply and vitally interested in seeing to it that the cost of sugar is not increased as proposed by the Senate bill. We all know that a large percentage of the sugar consumed in this country comes from foreign countries. We all know the higher the duties on imported sugars the greater will be the cost to the consumer. The Wilson bill placed a duty on raw sugar of 40 per cent ad valorem and one-eighth of 1 cent per pound additional on refined sugar. The cost of refined or granulated sugar without a duty is $2.30 per hundred pounds. Under the Wilson bill, which gave 40 per cent ad valorem and one-eighth cent per pound additional on refined sugar and one-tenth of 1 cent per pound countervailing duty, the cost of sugar was increased about $1.15 per 100 pounds.

Cost of sugar without a duty per 100 pounds	$2.30
Duty under the Wilson bill:	
40 per cent ad valorem, equal to	.92
⅛ cent specific tax, equal to	.12
Countervailing duty, equal to	.10
Total cost per 100 pounds under the Wilson bill	3.44

Now, let us see what effect the Senate bill must necessarily have to increase the cost of sugar to the great mass of consumers.

How much higher, other things being equal, will 100 pounds of sugar necessarily be under the Senate bill as compared with the Wilson bill, the former a Democratic and the latter a Republican measure.

The duty on sugar under the Senate bill gives to the refiner $1.16 per 100 pounds and 35 per cent ad valorem additional, and the countervailing duty is equal to 38 per cent. Now, what will be the price of sugar under these circumstances? The duty on raw sugar is seventy-nine one hundredths cent per pound plus 35 per cent ad valorem and two-tenths additional for every degree testing above 88.

We know it takes 107¼ pounds raw sugar testing 96 degrees to make 100 pounds of refined sugar. Granulated sugar will cost as follows under the Senate bill:

Without a duty per 100 pounds	$2.30
Duty added by the Senate bill:	
Specific duty	1.16
Ad valorem duty, 35 per cent, equals	.80
Countervailing duty equals	.38
which would make the cost of sugar under the Senate bill, per 100 pounds, equal to	4.64

The common mind can easily grasp the situation, and see that there is a difference of $1.20 per hundred pounds in favor of the refiner and against the consumer.

Now, what is the real protection on refined sugar as against raw sugar?

That depends entirely upon the quality or price of the article. Take raw sugar testing 93 degrees. The duty on 107¼ pounds of this class of raw sugar, which would produce 100 pounds of refined sugar, would, under the Senate bill, be $1.81. The duties on refined sugar would be $1.16 specific, 80 cents ad valorem, 38 cents countervailing, a total of $2.34 per hundred. Deducting the duty on raw sugar, $1.81, would leave a difference of 53 cents per hundred pounds in favor of the refiner. This is the real protection he would enjoy under the Senate bill; and of course in lower-grade sugars his protection would be much greater.

If the calculation is made without taking into consideration the countervailing duty, then the difference would be about 15 cents per hundred pounds; but it is just and proper to include the countervailing duty, for the reason that most of the raw sugar imported by the refiners comes from countries which do not pay bounties, while refined sugar comes from bounty-paying countries.

If the Senate bill shall become a law it means that the Republican party by this one change regulating the duties on imported sugar has increased the price more than 1 cent a pound to the great mass of consumers.

Now, what reason or argument can we give to the people that will justify the lawmaking power in adding an additional cost of $1.20 for every 100 pounds of granulated sugars used by the consumers. The census of 1890 shows that there was invested in this country $24,000,000 in sugar refineries, now owned, controlled, and operated by what is known as the sugar trust. This trust paid in dividends to its stockholders last year 10 per cent on $75,000,000. It is estimated that $50,000,000 of this was watered stock, the real capital invested only being about one-third of the amount.

So, in reality, the sugar trust, which has become the scandal of the nation, must have paid 30 per cent dividends on the actual capital invested. Now, does this infant industry, under the control of the Havemeyers, deserve at the hands of this Senate this additional protection? Is it just and right to the entire people that the lawmaking power shall take from the masses by increasing the cost of living and adding additional millions of profits to the pockets of the American Sugar Refining Company, which now practically controls the entire sugar refineries of this country and which is commonly designated as the sugar trust? The lawmaking power of our country is responsible for the organization of this trust. The bounties and favors given by the Government to the sugar interests, thus stifling competition, have brought about a condition of affairs whereby the different refiners have organized their properties into a trust, crushing out all small enterprises, destroying local competition, and have attained a position and standing in both the political and financial world condemned by both justice and common honesty. No political party can stand before the people and justify a law which increases the cost of sugar $1.20 per 100 pounds to the consumer and adds additional profits and dividends to a trust that saved under the present law more than 30 per cent dividends to its stockholders on the capital actually invested. Let every consumer take notice that the Senate bill, if enacted into a law, the Republican party by one act of legislation has added a duty of $1.20 to every 100 pounds of sugar consumed and legislated millions of dollars into the pockets of the refiners. Have we met here for no other purpose except to increase taxation? Is the financial issue, so thoroughly discussed among the people, to be entirely ignored? Are our friends on the other side determined to do nothing to bring about bimetallism by international agreement or otherwise?

Do they mean for this entire extra session of Congress to be devoted to the rearrangement of the entire tariff laws, which simply increases the burdens of taxation? Do they believe this is all the people expect of Congress? Suppose the people had been told during the campaign that our friends would simply come together to change the tariff laws and increase the duties on the necessaries of life. Do you suppose now that they would have charge of all three branches of the Government? Another item in this bill to which I desire to call attention. The Senate bill places a duty of 10 cents a pound on tea. For six months previous to December 31, 1896 (I take this statement from the Monthly Summary of Finance and Commerce issued May 1), there had been imported into this country 61,597,497 pounds of tea. From the best information I can obtain there will be on hand held by the tea importers of this country July 1, the time this law is to take effect, about 45,000,000 pounds of tea imported without a duty. Now, any man with common sense knows, with a duty of 10 cents a pound on tea, we have legislated into the pockets of the tea men $4,500,000 by this item alone. Do the friends of this measure expect the importations to be as large as they were under the Wilson bill? If so, what do they expect to do with the revenue raised? Do they expect to give relief to the people by increasing the tax on wool and woolen goods $37,000,000, and by increasing the tax on sugar $32,000,000, and by placing a tax of $9,000,000 on tea, $500,000 on salt, $50,000 on ties, and $20,000 on bagging? Is this the kind of relief our friends at this the extra session of Congress expect to give to the people? On three articles alone—wool and woolen goods, sugar, and tea—the Senate bill proposes to collect $78,000,000 over and above the amount collected under the Wilson bill; and add to this $14,000,000 extra on beer, we have in round numbers an increase of $92,000,000 proposed in four items by the Senate bill. Will it give relief to the people to thus increase the cost of clothing, sugar, and tea, three prime necessities of life? If the people can be made to understand this measure, drawn to deceive, it means the doom of the political party responsible for its passage. Why increase the duties on sugar, tea, and wool, and decrease them on rice and refuse a duty on the importation of long-staple cotton, beauxite, and manganese, productions and enterprises of the South? When amendments on these articles are reached, will our friends on the other side accord to our section the same justice that they ask for their own? Let us not, by all means, make this bill sectional. I hope to be heard on those amendments when they are reached.

What protection do we give the millions of men, women, and children who toil all day in the burning sun in the cultivation of

the soil in the cotton fields of the South? Why should the wool manufacturers and the sugar trust be the recipients of favors at the hands of the Government, at the expense of the cotton planters of the South and the grain growers of the West?

Why, especially, should this be the case when there is no necessity for more revenue to run the Government economically administered? Why should one section of our country, or one class of business forever receive aid and assistance from the Government at the expense of the masses? Is there never to be an end to this injustice? Why should the Congress of this Government take from one class or section to enrich another? Or why should all be taxed to benefit a part?

The Democratic party stands for the freedom and equality of all our citizens. What is the real object and purpose of this bill? It is to enable that section of the country engaged almost exclusively and entirely in manufacturing to obtain a higher price for manufactured goods, and it necessarily follows that the purchasers of clothing and other necessaries must pay the increased price. No wonder certain sections and classes have advanced in wealth and power while other sections less favored by the Government and bearing the burdens of unjust taxation have felt the pangs of poverty and want. I know, Mr. President, I have no prejudice against any section of my country. I stand upon this floor and proclaim that I am ever ready to grant equality and justice to every section and to every class, but if the people whom I have the honor to represent have suffered injustice and almost unbearable wrongs they have a right to complain.

Let us examine and see what progress our farmers are making. Why is it that our young men are unwilling to remain on our farms and cultivate the soil? It is because farming has ceased to be profitable. It has always been said the condition of the agricultural classes mark the civilization, progress, and power of any country. Happy, thrifty, and contented farmers are absolutely essential to the perpetuity of any nation. It was Thomas Jefferson who declared:

> The cultivators of the earth are the most valuable citizens. They are the most vigorous, the most independent, the most virtuous, and they are tied to their country and wedded to its liberty and interests by the most lasting bonds.

If we expect our Government to endure and to retain the respect, confidence, and love of the American people we must adopt and sustain a policy that reaches out to and among the masses who toil for a living, and give to them the blessings of a wise, just, and good government.

The products of the farm have declined in prices until they have fallen below the cost of production. I desire to attach and have printed as a part of my remarks five tables showing the average prices of corn, wheat, oats, rye, and cotton each year from 1873 to 1895, and also a table showing the expenditures of our Government each year from 1856 to 1893. In 1873 the farmer averaged 23 bushels of corn per acre, which brought in the market $11.40. In 1874 the yield decreased slightly and he received for his corn crop $13.40 per acre. In 1879 the yield was about 29 bushels per acre and he realized in cash about $11 per acre. In 1895 the average yield was 26 bushels of corn per acre and he only received $6.91 per acre. While the yield increased only about 3 bushels per acre the price went down nearly half.

Let us take wheat for the same period. In 1873 the average yield was 12 bushels per acre and the average price was $14.59 per acre. In 1879 the average yield of wheat per acre was approximately 13 bushels and the farmer realized from the wheat produced on each acre $15.27. In 1894 the average yield of wheat per acre was the same as it was in 1879 and the farmer realized $6.48 per acre on the land cultivated in wheat. While the yield per acre remained about the same, the price of wheat went down form $1.15 to 49 cents per bushel.

In 1873 the average yield per acre of oats was 27 bushels and the farmer realized $10.38 per acre on the land cultivated in oats. In 1879 the average yield was 28 bushels per acre and the amount realized was $9.50 per acre. In 1895 the average yield per acre was 29 bushels—an increase of 2 bushels per acre over 1873—but the farmer only realized $5.87 per acre cultivated in oats. Oats had declined in price from 52 cents to 19 cents per bushel.

I am indebted to Mr. Alfred D. Shepperson, of New York, for a table given me, showing the average price of cotton for the same period of time. The highest price paid for cotton in 1873 was 21¼ cents per pound. A bale of cotton, then, weighing 450 pounds, brought to the farmer $96.18. In 1892 the highest price paid for cotton was 10 cents per pound. The same bale of cotton would bring in the market $45. In 1894 the highest price paid for cotton was 8⅛ cents per pound, and the lowest price paid was 5⅛ cents per pound. A bale of cotton at the lowest price, then, would bring to the farmer less than $26. Farmers who had purchased property and contracted debts when farm products were selling for reasonable prices soon realized when cotton went to 6 cents per pound and wheat to 49 cents per bushel that there was no hope for them, nothing to expect but bankruptcy and financial ruin; but it may be truthfully said that while the yield per acre in corn, cotton, oats, wheat, and rye during the last twenty-two years has remained practically the same, nevertheless the general productions of these articles have more than doubled. The total number of bushels of wheat produced in 1873 was 281,254,700. In 1895 the total crop produced was 467,102,947 bushels. The crop of 1895 was not quite double the wheat crop of 1873, and while the number of bushels in 1895 had nearly doubled, the entire crop brought nearly a hundred million dollars less than the crop of 1873. The crop of 1873 brought $323,594,805 and the crop of 1895 $237,938,998.

The same could be said of the oat and rye crops. But how about cotton? The very existence of the people of my State and section depends upon the successful cultivation of this plant. In 1873 we produced about four and a half million bales. In 1895 the crop had about doubled. The highest price paid in 1873 was 21¼ cents; the highest price paid in 1895 was about 9¼ cents, and the lowest price paid was about 5⅜ cents. The price of cotton had gone down from 21 cents to 5⅜ cents per pound. This would hardly be just had we remained at a standstill in population. If you will examine the census you will find that the United States has almost doubled in population during the same period of time. In 1873 we had a population of about forty million people, and in 1895 our population was estimated at about seventy million. Then, with this increase of population keeping pace with the production of this staple, why has the price fallen far below the cost of production? With this state of facts looking us in the face, how can we, as Senators representing great and sovereign States, legislate high duties on wool, clothing, blankets, and carpets? The Democratic party, representing now, as it has ever done in the past, the great masses of the people in its popular sympathies, is struggling to defend them from this great, unjust, and discriminating tax.

We learn from the Commissioner of Labor, Hon. Carroll D. Wright, that in 1894 the average annual wages paid in the manufacturing industries in the United States was $347 per capita. The average daily wages, estimated, paid cabinetmakers was $2.41 per day; carpenters, $2.75; molders, $2.65; machinists, $2.71; painters, $2.82, and plumbers, $3.48. Mr. DINGLEY, the author of the House bill, estimated himself, in his speech delivered in the House of Representatives April 29, 1894, that the average yearly wages paid laborers in manufacturing enterprises in this country in 1880 was as follows:

Woolen manufacturers	$300
Cotton manufacturers	246
Iron manufacturers	390
Machine manufacturers	450
Paper making	360
Boot and shoe manufacturers	370

I thought I would examine and ascertain what were the earnings of our farmers and the men who follow agricultural pursuits for a living. Being unable to get any definite and satisfactory information on this line, and finding in the tariff discussions hitherto had no light on this subject, I addressed a letter to the present distinguished Secretary of Agriculture, and I ascertained from him, through a letter which I now have in my possession (and he made his calculations from the last census), that 5,391,573 farmers, planters, gardeners, vine growers, and other persons engaged in agricultural pursuits, deducting from their earnings the interest on the capital invested, averaged $6.33 per month, which was not quite $76 per year. I had him to estimate the average wages paid farm laborers, and the lowest amount paid was found to be $7.43 per month, including board.

With the low price of the products of the soil and with the financial distress pervading the country, is it just and right to add an additional burden of taxation of $100,000,000? Would it not be well to look to the expenditures of our Government and to endeavor by the most rigid economy in every department of the Government to reduce expenses and save the people from another change in our tariff laws? We should remember that the total expenditures of our Government in 1861 were only about $66,000,000, whereas these expenditures now nearly equal a half billion. The annual cost of pensions since 1866 has increased from $15,000,000 to $140,000,000.

Pass this bill and place it upon our statute books and its advocates and those who reap its benefits will come back with renewed energy and demand more protection. This bill will not give relief to the people. I deny that it was the real issue in the last campaign. During the last Presidential election the money question was the paramount issue before the people.

The platform of the Democratic party declared for the free and unlimited coinage of both gold and silver at the present ratio without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation. That platform demanded that the silver dollar should be a full legal tender equally with gold for all debts, public and private. That platform declared that Congress alone had the power to coin and issue money, and that this power could not be delegated to corporations or individuals. The Republican party declared against

the free and unlimited coinage by independent action, but in favor of the coinage of both metals by international agreement. And during that heated and exciting campaign the tariff issue was scarcely ever mentioned. We are to judge by their platform that our Republican friends believed that free and unlimited coinage would be advantageous to the country, provided it could be obtained by international agreement. This was at least their position previous to the election, but since Congress has convened in this extra session they seem to have abandoned the money question and have given their entire time to legislation to increase the burden of taxation. The House of Representatives have practically adjourned so far as legislation is concerned since the new tariff bill passed that honorable body; and mark my prediction, free coinage by international agreement will prove a failure.

At the end of this Administration I predict we will be no nearer bimetallism by international agreement than we were twenty years ago. If you can accomplish free coinage by international agreement and restore prosperity you will have redeemed your pledges to the people, but if you fail to accomplish this desired result through international agreement let us have the courage to grapple with this paramount issue and demonstrate to the world that this the greatest Government among the family of nations, representing seventy millions of people and seventy billions of wealth, is capable of adopting a financial system that will give justice and equality to all our citizens in every condition and station in life. The party that pursues such a policy and demonstrates its devotion to the common people will become invincible and its name will be revered while history endures. I do not expect to see prosperity until there shall be placed upon our statute books a law providing for the free and unlimited coinage of both metals without any discrimination against either, accompanied, as it must be, by a tariff for revenue sufficient to support this Government honestly and economically administered. And in order to meet the growing expenditures of the Government, now amounting to half billion of dollars annually, let us place on the statute books, even should it require a constitutional amendment to permit it, an income tax, that wealth may bear its just proportion of the expenses of this Government. Let us not stop here.

In this age no question is of more importance to the masses of the people than the question of transportation. The consolidation of our leading railroad systems and the aggregation of capital have made it absolutely necessary that the great arteries of commerce shall be so controlled and regulated by the Federal Government as to give just and reasonable freight rates and to prevent unjust discriminations. We have upon our statute books a law creating the Interstate Commerce Commission. I confess that I have been greatly disappointed with the results from the labors of this body. As yet I have not seen the good they have accomplished for the country. If the law does not empower them to enforce their decrees, enlarge their powers that they may give justice both to the people as well as the corporations. Let us not stop here. Let us examine every expenditure of our Government, and see to it that not one dollar of the public funds is appropriated except as it may be absolutely necessary to carry on the Government in an economical and business-like way. Let every useless expenditure and useless office be dispensed with; then it may not be necessary to increase the burdens of taxation; then it will not be necessary to increase the cost of living by additional customs duties on what we eat and wear. These are the principles which I have been taught constitute the Democratic creed, and are principles which are founded upon justice and right, and when enforced, "will give to us the best and freest Government the sun of heaven ever shone upon."

APPENDIX.

Cereal crops: Estimated production and value of the United States, from 1873 to 1895.

[From reports of the Department of Agriculture.]

TABLE 1.—CORN.

Calendar year.	Total.			Average.		
	Production.	Area of crop.	Value of crop.	Value per bushel.	Yield per acre.	Value of yield per acre.
	Bushels.	*Acres.*		*Cents.*	*Bushels.*	
1873	292,274,000	39,197,148	$447,186,020	48	23.8	$11.41
1874	850,148,500	41,036,918	530,043,086	64.7	20.7	13.40
1875	1,321,009,000	44,841,271	555,445,930	42	29.5	12.39
1876	1,283,827,500	49,033,364	475,491,210	37	26.2	9.70
1877	1,342,558,000	50,360,113	480,643,400	35.8	26.6	9.54
1878	1,388,218,750	51,595,000	443,152,405	31.9	26.9	8.55
1879	1,547,901,700	53,085,450	589,486,217	37.5	29.2	10.93
1880	1,717,434,543	62,317,843	679,714,499	39.6	27.6	10.91
1881	1,194,916,080	64,202,025	758,482,170	63.6	18.6	11.82
1882	1,617,025,109	65,659,545	726,867,173	44.5	24.6	11.04
1883	1,551,036,805	68,301,889	658,051,495	42.4	22.7	9.63
1884	1,795,528,000	69,663,780	640,735,560	35.7	25.8	9.19
1885	1,936,176,000	73,130,150	635,674,630	32.8	26.5	8.69
1886	1,665,441,000	75,694,208	610,311,000	36.6	22	8.06

Cereal crops: Estimated production and value, etc.—Continued.

TABLE 1.—CORN—Continued.

Calendar year.	Total.			Average.		
	Production.	Area of crop.	Value of crop.	Value per bushel.	Yield per acre.	Value of yield per acre.
	Bushels.	*Acres.*		*Cents.*	*Bushels.*	
1887	1,456,161,000	72,392,720	$646,106,770	44.4	20.1	$8.93
1888	1,987,790,000	75,672,763	677,561,580	34.1	26.3	8.95
1889	2,112,892,000	78,319,651	597,918,829	28.3	27.1	7.65
1890	1,489,970,000	71,970,763	754,433,451	50.6	20.7	10.48
1891	2,060,154,000	76,204,515	836,459,228	40.6	27	10.98
1892	1,628,464,000	70,626,659	642,146,630	39.4	23.1	9.09
1893	1,619,496,131	72,036,465	591,625,627	36.5	22.5	8.21
1894	1,212,770,052	62,582,289	554,719,162	45.7	19.4	8.86
1895	2,151,138,580	82,075,830	567,509,106	26.4	26.2	6.91

TABLE 2.—WHEAT.

1873	281,254,709	22,171,676	$323,594,805	115.1	12.7	$14.59
1874	308,102,709	24,967,027	291,107,895	94.5	12.3	11.66
1875	292,136,000	26,381,512	294,580,990	100.8	11.1	11.17
1876	289,356,500	27,627,021	300,259,360	103.7	10.5	10.86
1877	364,194,146	30,277,546	394,695,779	108.4	13.9	15.08
1878	420,122,490	32,108,580	326,346,424	77.7	13.1	10.16
1879	448,756,630	32,545,950	497,090,142	110.8	13.8	15.27
1880	498,549,868	37,980,717	474,291,850	95.1	13.1	12.48
1881	383,280,000	37,709,020	456,880,427	119.2	10.2	12.12
1882	504,185,470	37,067,194	444,602,125	88.2	13.6	11.99
1883	421,086,169	36,455,593	383,649,272	91.1	11.6	10.52
1884	512,765,000	39,475,885	330,862,290	64.5	13	8.38
1885	357,112,000	34,189,246	275,320,390	77.1	10.4	8.05
1886	457,218,000	36,806,184	314,226,020	68.7	12.4	8.54
1887	456,329,000	37,641,783	310,612,960	68.1	12.1	8.25
1888	415,868,000	37,336,138	385,248,030	92.6	11.1	10.32
1889	490,560,000	38,123,859	342,494,707	69.8	12.9	8.98
1890	399,262,000	35,087,154	334,773,678	83.8	11.1	9.28
1891	611,780,000	39,916,897	513,472,711	83.9	15.3	12.86
1892	515,949,000	38,554,430	322,111,881	62.4	13.4	8.35
1893	396,131,725	34,629,418	213,171,381	53.8	11.4	6.16
1894	460,267,416	34,882,436	225,902,025	49.1	13.2	6.48
1895	467,102,947	34,047,332	237,938,998	50.9	13.7	6.99

TABLE 3.—RYE.*

1873	15,142,000	1,150,355	$11,548,126	76.3	13.2	$10.04
1874	14,990,900	1,116,716	12,870,411	85.9	13.4	11.53
1875	17,722,100	1,359,788	13,631,909	76.9	13	10.03
1876	20,374,800	1,468,374	13,635,828	66.9	13.9	9.20
1877	21,170,100	1,412,902	12,542,895	59.2	15	8.88
1878	25,842,790	1,622,700	13,502,820	52.6	15.9	8.38
1879	26,639,460	1,625,450	15,507,431	65.6	14.5	9.54
1880	24,540,829	1,767,619	18,564,560	75.6	13.9	10.50
1881	20,704,950	1,789,100	19,327,415	93.3	11.6	10.80
1882	29,960,037	2,227,889	18,439,194	61.5	13.4	8.28
1883	28,058,583	2,314,754	16,300,503	58.1	12.1	7.04
1884	28,640,000	2,343,963	14,857,040	51.9	12.2	6.34
1885	21,756,000	2,129,301	12,504,820	57.9	10.2	5.92
1886	24,489,000	2,129,918	13,181,330	53.8	11.5	6.19
1887	20,693,000	2,053,447	11,283,140	54.5	10.1	5.49
1888	28,415,000	2,364,805	16,721,869	58.8	12	7.07
1889	26,555,446	2,038,485	13,612,222	51.3	13	6.68
1894	26,727,615	1,944,780	13,395,476	50.1	13.7	6.89
1895	27,219,070	1,890,345	11,964,826	44	14.4	6.33

*No estimates prepared by Agricultural Department for 1889 to 1892.

TABLE 4.—OATS.

1873	270,340,000	9,751,700	$101,175,750	37.4	27.7	$10.38
1874	240,360,000	10,897,412	125,047,530	52	22.1	11.47
1875	354,317,500	11,915,075	129,499,930	36.5	29.7	10.87
1876	320,884,000	13,358,908	112,865,900	35.2	24	8.45
1877	406,394,000	12,826,148	118,061,550	29.2	31.7	9.25
1878	413,578,560	13,176,500	101,945,860	24.6	31.4	7.74
1879	363,761,320	12,683,500	120,533,294	33.1	28.7	9.50
1880	417,885,380	16,187,977	150,243,565	36	25.8	9.28
1881	416,481,000	16,831,600	193,198,970	46.4	24.7	11.48
1882	498,250,610	18,494,691	182,978,022	37.5	26.4	9.89
1883	571,302,400	20,324,962	187,040,264	32.7	28.1	9.20
1884	583,628,000	21,300,917	161,528,470	27.7	27.4	7.58
1885	629,409,000	22,783,630	179,631,860	28.5	27.6	7.88
1886	624,134,000	23,658,474	186,137,990	29.8	26.4	7.87
1887	659,618,000	25,920,906	200,699,790	30.4	25.4	7.74
1888	701,735,000	26,998,282	195,424,240	27.8	26	7.28
1889	751,515,000	27,462,316	171,781,008	22.9	27.4	6.26
1890	523,621,000	29,431,399	222,048,486	42.4	19.8	8.41
1891	738,394,000	25,581,861	232,312,307	31.5	28.9	9.08
1892	661,035,000	27,063,895	209,253,611	31.7	24.4	7.73
1893	638,854,850	27,273,033	187,576,092	29.4	23.4	6.88
1894	662,036,928	27,023,553	214,816,920	32.4	24.5	7.95
1895	824,443,537	27,878,406	163,655,098	19.9	29.6	5.87

TABLE 5.—*Highest and lowest prices for cotton from 1873 to 1895.*

Year.	Highest.	Lowest.	Year.	Highest.	Lowest.
1873	21⅛	13¼	1885	11¼	9 7/16
1874	18⅛	14¼	1886	9 9/16	8 11/16
1875	17⅛	13 1/16	1887	11 7/16	9 7/16
1876	13⅛	10¼	1888	11⅛	9⅛
1877	13 1/16	10 1/16	1889	11¼	9⅛
1878	12 7/16	8⅛	1890	12⅛	9 1/16
1879	13⅛	9¼	1891	9¼	7⅛
1880	13⅛	10 1/16	1892	10	6⅛
1881	13	10 1/16	1893	9 11/16	7⅛
1882	13 1/16	10⅛	1894	8 7/16	5 5/16
1883	11⅛	10	1895	9⅛	5 7/16
1884	11 1/16	9⅛			

TABLE 6.—*Expenditures of the Government for the fiscal years 1856 to 1896.*

Year.	Civil and miscellaneous.		War Department.	Navy Department.	Indians.	Pensions.	Interest on public debt.	Total expenditures, including premium.	Bonds and other securities applied to sinking fund.
	Premium on loans and purchase of bonds, etc.	Other civil and miscellaneous items.							
1856	$385,372.90	$22,124,214.07	$16,948,196.89	$14,091,781.06	$2,769,429.55	$1,298,208.95	$1,953,822.37	$69,571,025.79	
1857	263,572.39	28,164,582.97	19,261,774.16	12,747,976.83	4,287,543.07	1,312,043.01	1,678,265.23	67,795,707.66	
1858	574,443.08	26,429,600.57	25,485,383.60	13,984,551.09	4,926,738.91	1,271,489.47	1,567,055.67	74,185,270.39	
1859		23,700,295.14	23,243,822.38	14,042,989.73	3,625,027.24	1,220,378.29	2,638,463.96	69,070,976.74	
1860		27,976,434.22	16,409,767.10	11,514,984.98	2,949,191.34	1,102,936.15	3,177,314.63	63,130,598.39	
1861		23,267,016.46	22,981,150.44	12,420,887.89	2,841,358.28	1,036,084.06	4,000,173.76	66,546,644.89	
1862		21,408,491.16	394,868,407.36	42,668,277.09	2,273,223.45	853,005.40	13,190,324.45	474,761,818.91	
1863		25,256,965.39	599,298,600.86	63,221,963.64	3,154,357.11	1,078,991.59	24,729,846.61	714,740,725.17	
1864		27,505,599.46	690,791,842.97	85,725,994.67	2,629,858.77	4,963,924.41	53,685,421.69	865,322,641.97	
1865	1,717,900.11	43,047,658.01	1,091,323,360.79	122,612,945.29	5,116,837.06	16,398,811.13	77,397,712.00	1,297,555,224.41	
1866	58,476.51	41,056,961.54	284,449,701.81	43,324,118.52	3,247,064.56	15,605,352.35	133,067,741.69	520,809,416.99	
1867	10,813,349.38	51,110,223.72	95,224,415.63	31,094,011.04	4,642,531.77	20,936,551.71	143,781,591.91	357,542,675.16	
1868	7,001,151.04	53,009,867.67	123,246,648.62	25,775,502.72	4,100,682.32	23,782,386.78	140,424,045.71	377,340,284.86	
1869	1,674,680.06	56,474,061.53	78,501,990.61	20,060,757.97	7,042,923.06	28,476,621.78	130,694,242.80	322,865,277.80	$8,691,000.00
1870	15,996,555.60	53,237,461.56	57,655,075.40	21,780,229.87	3,407,936.15	28,340,232.17	129,235,498.00	309,653,509.75	28,151,900.00
1871	9,016,794.74	60,481,916.23	35,730,991.82	19,431,027.21	7,426,907.44	34,443,894.88	125,570,565.93	292,177,188.25	29,936,250.00
1872	6,958,206.76	60,964,757.42	35,372,157.20	21,249,809.99	7,061,728.83	28,593,402.76	117,357,859.72	277,517,962.67	32,618,450.00
1873	5,105,919.99	73,328,110.06	46,323,138.31	23,526,256.79	7,951,706.88	29,359,426.86	104,750,668.44	290,345,245.33	28,678,000.00
1874	1,995,073.55	69,641,569.02	42,313,927.22	30,932,587.42	6,692,462.09	29,038,414.66	107,119,815.21	287,133,873.17	12,930,450.00
1875		71,070,702.96	41,120,645.98	21,497,626.27	8,384,656.82	29,456,216.22	103,095,544.57	274,623,392.84	25,170,400.00
1876		66,968,373.78	38,070,888.64	18,963,309.82	5,966,558.17	28,257,895.69	100,243,271.23	258,459,797.33	32,183,488.00
1877		56,252,066.60	37,082,735.90	14,959,935.36	5,277,007.22	27,993,752.27	97,124,511.58	238,680,008.93	24,498,910.05
1878		53,177,703.57	32,154,147.85	17,305,301.37	4,629,280.28	27,137,019.08	102,500,874.65	236,904,336.80	17,912,634.57
1879		65,741,555.49	40,425,680.73	15,125,128.84	5,206,109.06	35,121,482.39	105,327,949.00	266,947,882.53	723,682.99
1880	2,795,320.42	54,713,529.76	38,116,916.22	13,536,984.74	5,945,457.09	56,777,174.44	95,757,575.11	267,642,957.78	73,904,617.41
1881	1,061,248.78	64,416,324.71	40,466,460.55	15,686,671.66	6,514,161.00	50,059,279.62	82,508,741.18	260,712,887.50	74,480,351.05
1882		57,219,750.98	43,570,494.19	18,062,046.28	9,736,747.40	61,345,193.95	71,077,206.79	257,981,439.57	60,137,855.55
1883		66,678,022.21	46,911,382.93	15,283,457.17	7,362,590.34	66,012,573.64	59,160,131.25	265,408,137.54	44,807,256.96
1884		70,920,451.70	39,429,603.36	17,282,601.44	6,475,999.29	65,429,228.05	54,578,378.48	244,126,244.33	46,790,229.50
1885		87,494,258.38	42,070,578.47	16,021,079.67	6,552,494.63	56,102,267.49	51,386,256.47	260,226,935.11	45,604,065.43
1886		74,166,929.85	34,324,152.74	13,907,887.74	6,099,158.17	63,404,864.03	50,580,145.97	242,483,138.50	44,551,043.36
1887		85,264,825.59	38,561,025.85	15,141,126.80	6,194,522.69	75,029,101.79	47,741,577.25	267,932,179.97	47,903,248.15
1888	8,270,842.46	72,952,200.80	38,522,436.11	16,926,487.65	6,249,307.87	80,288,508.77	44,715,007.47	267,924,801.13	43,732,550.00
1889	17,292,362.65	80,064,064.26	44,435,270.85	21,378,809.31	6,892,207.78	87,624,779.11	41,001,484.29	299,288,978.25	39,066,173.35
1890	20,304,224.06	81,409,256.49	44,582,838.08	22,006,200.34	6,708,046.67	106,936,855.07	38,099,284.05	318,040,710.66	39,847,899.50
1891	10,401,220.61	110,048,167.49	48,720,065.01	26,113,890.46	8,527,469.01	124,415,951.40	37,547,135.37	365,773,905.35	44,006,111.37
1892		99,841,988.61	46,895,456.30	29,174,138.98	11,150,577.67	134,583,052.79	23,378,116.23	345,023,330.58	37,574,179.98
1893		103,732,790.27	40,641,773.47	30,136,084.43	13,345,347.27	159,357,557.87	27,284,392.18	383,477,954.49	6,708,744.50
1894		101,943,884.07	54,567,929.85	31,701,293.79	10,293,481.93	141,177,284.90	27,841,405.64	367,525,279.83	221,587.20
1895		93,279,730.14	51,804,759.13	28,797,795.73	9,939,754.21	141,395,228.87	30,978,000.21	356,195,298.29	1,136,366.43
1896		87,216,234.62	50,890,920.89	27,147,732.38	12,165,528.28	139,434,060.98	35,385,023.93	352,179,446.08	5,833,349.85

*Expenditures in excess of revenue.

†Excess supplied from cash in the Treasury.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, DIVISION OF BOOKKEEPING AND WARRANTS.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. THURSTON in the chair). The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST], which will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In paragraph 193, page 60, line 19, after the word "measure," it is proposed to insert "except white pine."

Mr. PETTIGREW. Mr. President, paragraph 193 provides for a duty on "sawed lumber not specially provided for in this act, $2 per thousand feet board measure." This, of course, includes white pine. The Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST] has moved to add "except lumber made from white pine." I think the amendment offered by the Senator from Missouri should be adopted, but I do not wish to dispose of that question to-day and hope it will go over. I therefore desire that paragraph 193 shall be passed over, and that we proceed to dispose of the rest of the wood schedule, if there is no objection.

Mr. HALE. I shall object to that, Mr. President.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from South Dakota [Mr. PETTIGREW] asks unanimous consent that paragraph 193 be passed over until the remainder of the wood schedule has been considered. To that, the Chair understands, objection is made by the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE].

Mr. PETTIGREW. If the Senator from Maine insists upon his objection, we shall make less progress with this bill than we should if he did not object.

Mr. HALE. I am not to be frightened from a legitimate position by a threat. The main subject-matter of the lumber schedule is found in paragraph 193. Every statute puts that foremost, the committee has put that foremost in this bill, and it ought to be considered foremost, before we proceed to the other and minor details. My objection is based upon logic, and I certainly shall not be driven from it by the Senator threatening that he will consume time.

Mr. PETTIGREW. I believe I have the floor, Mr. President.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from South Dakota is entitled to the floor.

Mr. PETTIGREW. I see the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. ALLEN] is in his seat. I do not feel myself like discussing this question this afternoon. The Senator from Nebraska desires to discuss it. He requested that the paragraph should go over and that it should be taken up next week. He has just arrived in the city, and he is now here and can speak for himself. However, if we have to go on with this schedule, we shall go on with it now and go on with it next week also.

Mr. ALLEN. Will the Senator permit me?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from South Dakota yield to the Senator from Nebraska?

Mr. PETTIGREW. I yield to the Senator from Nebraska.

Mr. ALLEN. I just returned at 12 o'clock to-day from the most delightful country in the world, and am not as familiar with the stage of the discussion upon this paragraph as I should like to be. I desire to submit some remarks upon the advisability of taxing lumber, but I do not feel that I am prepared to do so this afternoon. I certainly heartily join with the Senator from South Dakota in asking that the paragraph go over, and I believe with him that progress can be made in letting it pass over until next week. I shall then endeavor to get myself in shape to discuss it very concisely and without any particular elaboration.

Mr. BACON. Before the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. PETTIGREW] begins his remarks, I hope I may be allowed to say that in my general approval of the wood schedule, as to which I made no reservation, I had no reference whatever to the two paragraphs alluded to by the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. JONES], which excepted certain forests outside of this country, in New Brunswick.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. No; they are forests in Maine, where the wood is cut and carried to New Brunswick and manufactured, and then brought back free.

Mr. BACON. I did not mean to commit myself to the approval of those particular paragraphs, because I do not regard them as part of the wood schedule. As that, however, has been brought into the debate, I might possibly be misunderstood if I did not make this disclaimer. In my approval of the schedule I had reference simply to those paragraphs now under consideration.

Mr. PETTIGREW. Mr. President, the principle of protection as advocated by the Republican party during all its history is that by building up industries in this country through a tariff for protection those industries will compete with each other, and thus lower the price of the article to the American consumer. That is the fundamental principle of the doctrine of protection, and it has been taught on every stump since the Republican party came into existence. We have been furnished time and again with example after example of this doctrine and the effect and force of its operation. We have been told on every stump in the country that if we placed a duty of 2 cents a pound on nails that were 6 cents a pound when imported from abroad, by the application of American genius, nails would be reduced through competition

resulting from the creation of factories in this country, and sold for a cent a pound. So always and everywhere we have been taught the doctrine of competition, the fundamental principle of our civilization.

It was well that the Republican party took that position. Has it abandoned that position, or does it stand upon it to-day? If it stands upon that doctrine to-day, then it has no application whatever to the proposition to place a duty of $2 a thousand upon white-pine lumber.

The white pine of this country is a peculiar tree, and it requires two centuries for it to grow and become fit for lumber. It extended from Maine to the western part of Minnesota, following the St. Lawrence River and the Great Lakes. It does not reproduce itself when the forest is cut off.

This map, which I propose to use in illustration of the distribution of the white-pine forests of this country, shows where these forests were once located, beginning in Maine and running down through Pennsylvania into West Virginia. The portion of the map colored yellow shows the areas which they occupied. Very little remains in West Virginia, and but few trees remain in Pennsylvania; the rest has been cut off, and very little still remains in Maine. A little white pine is still growing in northern Michigan. This spot [indicating] represents the area—a little in Wisconsin, a little in Minnesota, and the rest of it has been cut off and destroyed. Two hundred billion feet have been taken from this area in the last twenty-five years, and in the last ten years about 77,000,000 feet, and all that is left, according to the report of the Agricultural Department, made by Professor Fernow, is 17,000,000,000 feet in Minnesota, 10,000,000,000 feet in Wisconsin, and 5,000,000,000 feet in Michigan. There is a supply, then, to last about six years at the present rate of cutting, and then it will be gone.

The lumber supply for the great States of North and South Dakota, Iowa, and western Minnesota was taken from these two areas [indicating] in Minnesota and Wisconsin. One company owns of those two areas of pine 10,000,000,000 feet, and there are 27,000,000,000 feet in all. A very few companies own the rest.

The proposition, then, is to place a duty of $2 a thousand upon this timber for what purpose? Mr. President, if a duty of $2 a thousand is placed upon this timber, it will be sent down the lakes into the New England market and into New York and Massachusetts. They are supplied with white-pine timber now from Canada, and it comes across the lakes and the St. Lawrence River into Ohio, New York, and New England. Put a duty of $2 a thousand on this timber, and then these States will draw upon our own sources of supply in Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota, already two small.

The surplus in these States, all that the owners can cut, will be cut and sent down the lakes into the Eastern market, and the Canadian timber will not come into this country at all, but will be shipped abroad, for white pine is scarce throughout the world. The demand for it is everywhere, and instead of our getting it it will disappear from this country, and we shall be compelled to pay for what is cut in this country $3 additional a thousand for every foot we use. I wonder where the American Forestry Association is when this effort is being made to deplete and destroy these forests in the interest of a few millionaires who own them, which has been going on now for weeks and weeks. There has been no protest from them in this direction to preserve the forests, and instead of this being an effort to protect an American industry, it is an effort to absolutely destroy it in the interest of a few men who have cornered the entire product. Neither can it be restored again.

Our theory of protection is that one factory after another will be built up and thus industries be increased, but this proposition is to destroy this industry, for these trees do not regrow, as everyone familiar with this matter knows, for over this vast region where the white pine has been cut other timber has grown up, and the white pine is gone forever. Therefore we see there is no good argument for this proposition. Are Republicans going to vote for this? Are the Senators from Minnesota going to vote for it? Are they going to compel the people who live on the prairies, their constituents, to pay to the men who have cornered the pine of Minnesota and Wisconsin $3 a thousand more than they now pay? There are more consumers of pine in Minnesota and Wisconsin than there are producers; more men who have to buy lumber than men who produce it. What argument can be made why the people of the Dakotas shall be compelled to pay tribute to the men who have cornered the pine in these two States? It may be argued that it would make a market for Southern pine. We already buy Southern pine.

I bought 2,000,000 feet of Southern pine in one season. That pine comes up from this region, Mississippi and Louisiana. We use that in connection with white pine. It will not materially increase the market for hard pine to put a duty on white pine. You simply put us in a position to be robbed by the men who have cornered our timber supply. Take 400,000,000 feet of white pine from this region, in Minnesota and Wisconsin, down the lakes to an Eastern market. What effect must it have upon our market? No Canadian pine will come into our country—not a tree; but this pine, the already short supply, will be drawn off to supply the markets of the East, and the effect of the taking of that 400,000,000 feet, which is about the amount of white pine used in the East, will be to add the $2 per thousand to all the board our people buy.

Politically, selfishly—for I do not expect to seek reelection from the Republican party—I ought to be silent and allow you to pass the bill with this provision. I should like to see you do it and carry the State of South Dakota next year or North Dakota, either. Politically, I ought to be silent and let you go on with your work. Where we had only 183 majority last year we will have 8,000 next year. There is no possible ground on which to justify this sort of a thing. But I propose to have it thoroughly understood just what you are doing, and then if you want to do it, very well. I propose to plead the cause of the brave people who have gone out on the frontier and who have built homes on the prairies, many of them still living in sod houses because of the agricultural depression which has made it impossible for them to purchase the white pine at present prices.

Mr. ALLEN. I should like to ask the Senator how many individuals or firms own the white pine in this country?

Mr. PETTIGREW. I can not answer the question, but I should like to have the Senator from Nebraska do so if he can. I understand that the fire warden who has charge of the forests of Minnesota says that there are 200 firms engaged in the cutting of all kinds of timber in the State of Minnesota.

Mr. ALLEN. I have been informed that less than a dozen men—or a dozen firms possibly, I should put it—own the entire white pine supply in the United States.

Mr. PETTIGREW. I think that is true of these three States. Enormous fortunes have been made. I understand the stock of one corporation, the Mississippi Boom Company, I believe it is, used to be $100 a share, and it is now $6,000 a share, and yet it is proposed to add to the price of that which is left for the benefit of these rich corporations. It hardly seems possible to me that we can indorse anything of the sort.

It is urged in the interest of protection that you want to equalize the cost of producing pine lumber in this country and the cost of producing in Canada. Then, in response to a resolution from this body, Carroll D. Wright has shown that it costs more to produce 1,000 feet of pine lumber in Canada than in the United States. Therefore the plea for labor is destroyed.

Mr. ALLEN. I understand, if the Senator will permit me, that the theory of protection contemplates the increase of an industry rather than its decrease.

Mr. PETTIGREW. Certainly. I have enlarged upon that point somewhat.

Mr. ALLEN. The Senator has shown that the forests are rapidly disappearing, and that in the course of a few years they must become extinct entirely. Therefore the theory of protection certainly can not apply to an industry of that kind.

Mr. PETTIGREW. Certainly not. I think I stated that within twenty-five years we cut 200,000,000,000 feet of white pine and used it up. There is left in this country and in Canada about 75,000,000,000 feet, not over 85,000,000,000 at the outside.

There is not ten years' supply of white pine in both countries, and yet the proposition is to drive the white pine across the sea and to seek markets off from this continent and turn the whole attention of those who are destroying what is left to the small tracts remaining in these three States. Why is it? Who urges it? Is it the men who use timber on the prairies? Who wants this done? Simply the men who have cornered the pine in these three localities and are already many times millionaires. They are in haste to realize upon their investment. They have to pay taxes. They are in haste to close this market, so that they can take advantage of the cheap freights down the lakes and dispose of the entire timber and realize at once, and then perhaps do as some of our millionaires, move to Europe and enjoy the rest of their days.

I do not know that they will go to Europe. I do not blame them at all for getting rich; I do not blame them at all for advocating this tariff, but I do blame the representatives of those States if they will allow them to do it. Who must be opposed, then, to this increase in the value of the small areas of remaining pine? The people who live throughout this country, on the prairies of Minnesota, Iowa, and the two Dakotas. How long are they going to bear the burden uncomplainingly? Not more than one more election, and I doubt if they do that.

There was presented yesterday (I think it was printed in the RECORD) a statement showing the amount of pine, from a report of the Agricultural Department, and also a statement from Carroll D. Wright as to the difference in the cost of production in Canada and the United States.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Would it disturb the Senator for me to ask him a question?

Mr. PETTIGREW. Not at all.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Will the Senator explain the map a little? I do not understand just what is meant by the different colors on the map. For instance, what does the green indicate?

Mr. PETTIGREW. This green area is Canadian white pine, about 40,000,000,000 feet board measure. That is the country which it occupies. This yellow area [indicating] is the region in the United States that once had white pine, and these [indicating], the green spots, show the region where there is still white pine.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I see.

Mr. PETTIGREW. These three green tracts here [indicating] represent the area covered by white pine, but do not represent the exact locality of the white pine in those States. For instance, it is scattered more.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. It gives the proportion?

Mr. PETTIGREW. It, however, gives the proportion of area which is now occupied by white pine and that which was occupied by white pine. I presume in Minnesota, for instance, some of the very best white pine still remains in this locality [indicating], near Red Lake.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. What is the coloring below; the yellow pine in the Southern States?

Mr. PETTIGREW. The yellow pine, the long-leaf pine. There are three varieties of pine in the Southern States, long-leaf or hard pine, short-leaf, and loblolly pine or soft pine; this [indicating] represents the area of that pine. For instance, in North Carolina——

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. What does the coloring on the Pacific side represent?

Mr. PETTIGREW. It represents the forests of the Pacific.

Mr. CULLOM. What kind of wood is it?

Mr. PETTIGREW. Not white pine. There is not a tree of white pine on the Pacific Coast. It is the redwood. There is some redwood in this locality [indicating].

Mr. WHITE. If the Senator will permit me, I will state that the redwood on the Pacific Coast runs from the point indicated on the diagram in California clear up nearly to the northern line, but toward the coast. The redwood is on the coast, right in there [indicating], in Mendocino and Humboldt counties.

Mr. PETTIGREW. That is where I supposed it was.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The other embraces the coniferous trees?

Mr. PETTIGREW. Cedar, Douglass fir, spruce, and hemlock. The great body of timber in all this region, with which I am more familiar than the other, is the Douglass fir. It is a hard fir, of great strength, and very valuable, but it is not white pine; neither would it be affected by a provision putting white pine on the free list, for all the timber of British America, west of the Rocky Mountains, is of the same character—entirely so. I understand that there is a very little white pine on the mountains of Idaho, not exactly like the white pine of this lower region near the Great Lakes [indicating], but it is very near akin to it. That is all the white pine remaining in this country.

Mr. President, I now intend to answer some of the arguments which have been made in favor of putting a duty on white pine. It was stated yesterday, I think, in debate, that the stumpage in Canada is only 50 cents a thousand. That is not the fact. The Canadians first estimate their timber. They advertise for bids and sell it subject to a stumpage of $1.25 a thousand. For instance, it is advertised in time so that men who wish to purchase can go in and explore the forests themselves. They go in and explore the forests and estimate the timber. The price is about $2.50 a thousand, subject to a stumpage of $1 to $1.25, which is to be paid when the timber is taken. Then a purchaser makes an investment in standing trees of $2.50 a thousand, subject, when he cuts it, to an additional payment of $1.25 a thousand.

It has also been stated that the Canadian logging streams are improved by the Government. That is not correct. I do not care to go into the subject further than to make the statement that it is not correct and to cite my authority. The matter of protection from fire in Canada has also been urged as one of the advantages of lumbering, but the owners are required to pay one-half. They have to pay $2.50 a thousand, while the Canadian Government is interested in the $1.25, which is not paid until the lumber is taken off.

I have in my hand a statement made by a large number of American citizens answering every objection raised against placing white pine on the free list, and among the number I find ex-Governor Rich, of Michigan; Albert Pack, F. W. Gilchrist, of Michigan; W. L. Procter, of New York. It is also signed by a large number of lumber firms in Michigan. In it they proceed to answer the arguments in favor of placing a duty of $2 a thousand on white pine. I ask the Secretary to read the document. It is short, and it will get into the RECORD in that way, and I wish to present the facts to the Senate.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read as indicated.

The Secretary read as follows:

THE LUMBER TARIFF.

To the members of the Ways and Means Committee of the Fifty-fourth Congress.

GENTLEMEN: On December 31 last a hearing was had by your committee on "Schedule D" of the new tariff bill in preparation, covering wood and manufactures of wood.

The undersigned were not present at this hearing, for the reason that we looked upon the former action of your committee, in framing and recommending and passing through the House of Representatives what was known as the Dingley tariff bill, as a deliberate expression of judgment as to the relatively proper tariff to be placed upon white-pine lumber.

From the entire list of imports, free and dutiable, only the wool schedule and the lumber schedule were singled out for individual consideration.

We had noted that wool and woolen goods were made dutiable at the rate, generally, of 60 per cent of the duty imposed in the McKinley bill of 1890, and that lumber was likewise made dutiable at the rate of 60 per cent of the duty under the 1890 law, or at the rate of 60 cents per thousand on undressed white-pine lumber.

And when this bill was reported to the House it was shown that it would add to our national revenues about $40,000,000 annually; that it would measurably restore the woolgrowing industry; that it would put the nation on a debt-paying basis, and so bring in an era of business confidence and prosperity.

Thus it was that we naturally relied upon your committee to take such moderate, just, and considerate action on the wood schedule as was had when the McKinley law was framed, and as had been foreshadowed in your so recent action along the lines of the McKinley bill in its treatment of lumber, and we therefore did not appear at the appointed hearing.

It was not foreseen that a committee appointed at a meeting originating with the Southern Lumber Manufacturers' Association, a body of gentlemen who produce no white-pine lumber, and who have a large natural home market for their products, with an extensive and growing export trade, would come before you, and with representations as to facts, often knowingly and willfully incorrect, create such a prejudice against Canadian lumber producers as to lead you to double the rate of the McKinley tariff on unplaned white-pine lumber, making it $2 per thousand instead of $1, thus in effect prohibiting its importation.

To be specific, we refer to the printed report of the tariff hearings upon which your action was based.

It was stated by the chairman of the lumbermen's committee, as appears on pages 489 and 490, that the Canadian Government "demands only 50 cents per thousand for their lumber (stumpage) instead of $3, as our Government demands;" that this 50 cents per thousand is not paid until the lumber is ready to ship; and he asks if this is fair to compel American lumbermen to compete with foreign producers on such a basis.

Another member of the lumbermen's committee adds the misinformation that in Canada the timber can be bought from the Government "at all times" for 50 cents per thousand.

We here state in contradiction of these gentlemen the fact, well known to at least some members of their committee present, that Canada pine timber can not be bought "at all times" from the Canadian Government for 50 cents per thousand, nor at any time.

At intervals, averaging, perhaps, three years, the Canadian Government sells the right to cut certain territory definitely subdivided into what are called "timber limits," which are sold at auction to the higher bidder, substantially for cash. The money thus paid is called the "bonus," and amounts in Ontario, where most of the lumber is produced which comes to this country, to from two to four dollars per thousand feet on the timber standing on the limit, with an average of about $2.50 per thousand.

Once bought, these limits are sold or lumbered by the purchasers just as pine lands are in this country, and when cut, the Government requires the payment of a final stumpage charge, ranging from $1 to $1.25 per thousand feet.

It can be safely stated that the average cost to the lumbermen of the white-pine stumpage cut in Ontario during the past three years, including this final payment, is nearly, if not quite, $4 per thousand feet for the merchantable timber.

Again, the chairman of the lumbermen's committee states (page 496), in reply to a question by Mr. Johnson, that the labor cost of lumbering is higher in this country than in Canada, while it is well known among lumbermen that such is not the case.

Since American lumbermen have entered so largely into the operation of Canadian timber, it is a rule that wages have advanced there fully to the American standard. Further, and by reason of the broken and mountainous surface and the long, rocky, and difficult streams to be driven, the labor cost of lumbering is not less than $1 per thousand more than in Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota.

On page 502 it is stated in the memorial individually signed by the ways and means committee of the lumbermen, including gentlemen who knew to the contrary, that "the Canadian Government carries the timber until it is cut without interest or hazard to the manufacturer, besides improving the streams and supporting a corps of forest rangers."

We have already pointed out the payment of a bonus for the right to cut of an average of not less than $2.50 per thousand feet, which is surely at the hazard of the purchaser.

The Canadian logging streams are not improved by the Government for the lumbermen, but are improved, instead, when necessary, by companies and individuals, as in this country.

The claim that the Canadian Government carries the fire risk is the nearest approach to a correct statement of Canadian conditions made before your committee, since it may be said to be one-third true. The limit holder carries, say, $2.50 of risk and the Government $1.25 of risk in each thousand feet, but the advantage of the Government carrying this risk is really considered and paid for when the right to cut is purchased.

As to the fire-ranging expenses, the limit holders are charged with the payment of one-half.

We have gone over this matter categorically in order to bring before your committee plainly the fact that it has been imposed upon in these formal statements made to it regarding the stumpage cost, labor cost, and the nature of timber holdings in the Canadian pineries.

These statements were made to create the impression that Canadian lumber competition was unequal and ruinous and to furnish a foundation upon which to stand and ask for protection against it.

But it is not for protection nor for revenue as politico-economical principles that this lumbermen's committee has established itself in this city, "to sit as long as Congress sits," with its president and its two vice-presidents and its three stenographers of which it boasts.

Their business here is to prohibit Canada pine lumber, which is nearly all used in New England and New York, and to compel people to buy their Southern lumber, whether they want it or not.

On page 554 of the record is the following from one of the lumbermen's executive committee:

"Q. Mr. EVANS. What do you think the duty ought to be?

"A. Mr. WINCHESTER. It ought to be prohibitive.

"Q. Mr. EVANS. Would $2 do that?

"A. Mr. WINCHESTER. Yes; just about."

We submit, gentlemen, that the day has long since gone when our forestry conditions warrant a prohibition of Canadian white pine, and that the day is not now, and never will come, when the people who use it will meekly submit to see it shut out in order that they may be forced by a special interest to use an inferior and unwanted lumber which that interest has for sale.

Not only would the imposition of this $2 prohibitive duty work injustice upon our own people, but also upon Canada, toward which country we must hereafter largely look for a considerable portion of our supply of white-pine logs and lumber. Such a duty would make the trade relations between the two countries, which should be amicable and mutually profitable, strained and mutually damaging, a condition which legislation should seek to avoid rather than provoke.

The prostrate condition of the lumber industry is pointed out as a reason for this prohibitive legislation. But it is shown on page 535, in response to questions by Mr. JOHNSON and Mr. PAYNE, addressed to one of the executive committee, that lumber did not begin to decline in price until 1893, or three years after the reduction of the duty on rough white-pine lumber from $2 to $1 per thousand under the McKinley bill; that it was in fact higher in 1892 and 1893 by $1 per thousand than in 1890, when the tariff change was made; and that the fall in price later was only in sympathy and correspondence with the general fall in the price of commodities during a period of great business depression.

To attribute the fall in the price of American lumber to the effect of the Canadian importation is either puerile or to mislead.

The distress in the lumber business is universal, and spreads from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from the lakes to the great Gulf. As pointed out, Canadian lumber enters in quantity only New England and New York.

The claim of the chairman of the lumbermen's committee that it seriously comes in competition at Chicago is unfounded, as the trade well knows and as the table of imports distinctly proves.

And here are the figures of the "total annual cut, including all material requiring bolt or log size," as shown by Prof. B. E. Fernow, Chief of Division of Forestry, in his circular dated February 10, 1896, as to coniferous woods:

	Feet B. M.
White pine	12,000,000,000
Spruce and fir	5,000,000,000
Hemlock	4,000,000,000
Long-leaf pine	4,000,000,000
Short-leaf pine and loblolly	3,000,000,000
Cypress	500,000,000
Redwood	300,000,000
All other conifers	1,000,000,000
Total conifers	30,000,000,000

The total importation of lumber from Canada during the year 1896 is under 750,000,000 feet, or less than 2½ per cent of the above amount; yet the lumbermen of Mississippi, the lumbermen of Minnesota, with mills situated in the edge of the Western prairies, who send lumber to Canada as a part of their market, are claiming that it is this insignificant Canadian import into the remote Eastern States that has broken down the price of lumber through the entire land.

It is a fact to be noted that it is white pine (the home supply of which will be exhausted at the present rate of cutting within ten years), a timber which does not reproduce, and the most valuable wood known to men, that it is proposed to shut out and so hasten the complete destruction of our own white-pine forests.

And this lumbermen's committee threatens us in numerous letters and in the public press that if we do not unite with them and insist upon the two-dollar duty on Canadian white-pine lumber, they will put an import duty on logs coming to our Michigan mills from Canada, as though they were the Congress of the United States.

To coerce us to their standpoint they would prohibit logs, the raw material, which, under the highest tariff bill, have always come in duty free.

In conclusion, we call your attention to the condition of the white-pine lumber industry in Michigan, the State which for nearly half a century has led in its production.

Along the eastern shore, from Mackinaw to Detroit, including the great Saginaw Valley, there has been produced during the last ten years an average annually of 1,100,000,000 feet of pine lumber. The amount has gradually shrunk since 1888 because of the passing away of the forests which sustain the sawmills.

To-day the only natural log supply for the sawmills lies just across Lake Huron in Ontario, from which 300,000,000 feet of logs have been rafted to the mills in a year, and this amount will easily swell in prosperous times to 600,000,000 feet, and along with our hard wood and hemlock, etc., will keep the sawmills running and support the chain of towns which have been built up by the lumber industry until other and permanent enterprises shall have been firmly established.

Michigan forests now produce less than one-half the pine they furnished ten years ago, and are well-nigh exhausted.

During the last ten years that State has furnished one-half of the white-pine lumber cut of the Northwest, so that should there come, as there will come, a renewal of the prosperity of 1892, there will be such a demand for white pine, "the king of woods," as can not be supplied.

Therefore, not only from a State but from a national standpoint, the sawmills along the eastern shore should be kept in commission, and this can only be by stocking them with Canadian saw logs.

Under a two-dollar duty on Canadian lumber this would be impossible, as the Canadians would naturally retaliate with an export duty or some form of countercharge on logs.

But with not over a one-dollar duty on unplaned Canadian white-pine lumber we believe relations of comity will be established which will give us logs free of any extraneous charge by Canada.

The undersigned, besides representing other large lumber interests, represent Michigan lumbermen with a capacity for an annual production of over 750,000,000 feet of lumber, or more than the annual importation from Canada.

Millions of dollars of American money have been invested in Canadian pine timber on the natural understanding that the reduction in duty in the McKinley bill from $2 to $1 per thousand would never be disturbed unless to lower it. This reduction was looked upon as a recognition of the passing away of our white-pine forests and the necessity of drawing upon Canada for a portion of our supply.

We therefore ask that the wood schedule of the proposed tariff bill shall not exceed the rates in the McKinley bill; and we earnestly protest against a two-dollar duty on rough white-pine lumber as prohibitive, as unwarranted by our forestry conditions, and as not justifiable before the people, who must see a good plain reason for a tax upon the roof tree.

W. L. CHURCHILL,
W. L. PROCTER,
JOHN T. RICH,
ALBERT PACK,
F. W. GILCHRIST,
C. E. MOULD,
Committee.

[Representing Saginaw Salt and Lumber Company, Saginaw, Mich.; Loveland, Royce & White, Saginaw, Mich.; Saginaw Bay Towing Company, Bay City, Mich.; Michigan Log Towing Company, Bay City, Mich.; Turner & Fisher, Bay City, Mich.; Pitts & Co., Bay City, Mich.; South End Salt and Lumber Company, Bay City, Mich.; McEwen Bros. & Co., Bay City, Mich.; W. L. & H. D. Churchill, Alpena, Mich.; Comstock Bros., Alpena, Mich.; F. W. Gilchrist, Alpena, Mich.; Geo. N. Fletcher & Sons, Alpena, Mich.; Albert Pack, Alpena, Mich.; Thompson Smith's Sons, Cheboygan, Mich.; Swift & Clark, Cheboygan, Mich.; W. & A. McArthur Company, Limited, Cheboygan, Mich.; Pelton & Reed, Cheboygan, Mich.; Alger Smith & Co., Detroit, Mich.; David Whitney, jr., Detroit, Mich.; Salliotte & Ferguson, Detroit, Mich.; Edmund Hall, Detroit, Mich.; Delta Lumber Company, Detroit, Mich.; Brownlee & Co., Detroit, Mich.; Cutler & Savidge, Detroit, Mich.; Holland, Graves & Montgomery, Buffalo, N. Y.; Skillings, Whitneys & Barnes Lumber Company, Boston, Mass.]

Mr. PETTIGREW. The paper is signed by a very large number of firms engaged in the manufacture of lumber in Michigan and other States. One of the largest firms engaged in lumbering in New England also signs the statement.

Mr. WILSON. May I interrupt the Senator from South Dakota to ask him a question for information only?

Mr. PETTIGREW. I should be very glad to have the Senator interrupt me.

Mr. WILSON. Is it not a fact, also, that these gentlemen who signed the paper are large owners of Canadian stumpage, and they desire to manufacture upon that side and ship it into this side free of duty?

Mr. PETTIGREW. I should not be surprised if many of them are owners of Canadian stumpage. I think that is very likely the fact. It does not detract one particle from my argument, however. I have simply had read from respectable gentlemen a refutation of many of the arguments made on the other side. So far as my argument is concerned, it is not affected one particle by the fact that those men own timber in Canada. Not a single stick of Canadian timber will come into the country where I live, and you can shut out the Canadian timber which these men wish to cut and put into the New England market, and then take the timber which supplies the country I represent and supply the New England market, and thus all the sooner exhaust the supply and make us pay $2 a thousand additional. My amendment does not affect the Pacific Coast. You have no white pine coming into that country—not a tree, not a stick, not a board. Every particle of lumber which will come in competition on the Pacific Coast is the Canadian lumber on the Pacific Coast, which is not white pine.

Mr. WILSON. It is commonly called Portland pine.

Mr. PETTIGREW. It is Douglass fir and cedar and spruce.

Mr. WILSON. Douglass fir and cedar and spruce.

Mr. PETTIGREW. But what is more, Mr. President, in 1893 in Puget Sound there were fifty ships at one time loading with lumber to go to Australia, to go to China, to go to South and Central America. Every one of those ships had to pass by the forests of Canada and into Puget Sound to get their loads. How did it come, if a duty will do the people of Puget Sound any good, that those people did not stop and get their free lumber? If lumber was cheaper in Canada, why did they not load in Canada instead of coming through the Straits of Juan de Fuca and down into Puget Sound? Why did they not load in Canada?

Mr. WILSON. They did.

Mr. PETTIGREW. Fifty of them were loading at different points in Puget Sound when I was there in 1893, and they were loading for the foreign trade. So they did not load in Canada.

However, Mr. President, the pine of North Carolina can be manufactured for $6.50 a thousand. The white pine, owing to the high price of stumpage, can not be manufactured for less than $10.50 a thousand. Your Southern pine comes in to be used in connection with white pine. I get my figures with regard to the cost and the production of pine lumber in North Carolina from Bulletin No. 5 of the North Carolina Geological Survey, J. A. Holmes, State geologist, in which he says:

The rafting of timber to the mills is done by farm laborers during the dull seasons of the year. The price paid at the mills for this timber is from $3.75 to $5 a thousand feet board measure for loblolly pine, and from $3 to $6 for cypress and ash, according to the quality of the timber and situation of the mill. Long-leaf pine brings the same prices as loblolly pine.

The cost, which is stated at $3.75 to $5 a thousand, would make the average cost $4.38 a thousand. Then, if we add the cost of sawing, which will not exceed $2 a thousand, six dollars and a half will manufacture a thousand feet of pine lumber in North Carolina.

It is well known that to-day, along the coast anywhere, white pine brings from $2 to $4 per thousand feet, even for coarse lumber, more than Southern pine. The Southern pine is worth more

for some purposes, but for others it is not worth so much. For instance, for exterior work white pine takes paint, while pitch pine will absorb more or less moisture, it will not absorb paint. Consequently, in our Northern latitude, the moisture gets in under the paint and drives the paint off. Therefore for outside work in our Northern regions it is not good, but for inside work it is excellent, and we finish our houses with it, more or less. We use it where great structures and heavy timbers are required, etc.

Further than that, an absolutely clear board of white pine is worth $50 a thousand in New England to-day. An absolutely clear board of Southern pine will bring about $25 a thousand. They can not compete, with that great difference in price. They are used for different purposes. Therefore the proposition here presented in insisting upon a duty on white pine is simply that the owners of the forests in Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Michigan shall be allowed to levy a tax of $2 a thousand upon the people who live upon those prairies; and that is all there is to it.

Now, let us see about the supply. It has been said by a Senator that I do not tell the truth about it; I will let Senators quarrel with somebody else besides myself upon the subject. I have in my hands an "extract from a statement prepared by the Chief of the Forestry Division, transmitted by the Secretary of Agriculture to the United States Senate in response to the resolution of Senator WILLIAM E. CHANDLER of New Hampshire, passed April 14, 1897; referred to the Committee on Finance and ordered printed, April 19."

Under the head of "Supplies," I read as follows:

For Minnesota the chief fire warden of the State has attempted a canvass (see Appendix 2), the result of which would indicate nearly 18,000,000,000 feet as standing in the State, including Norway pine, the estimate having been made for 1895. This has been criticised by competent judges as much too high; nevertheless, adding the estimates of all other kinds of coniferous woods, some of which as yet remains unused, it is thought that a statement in round numbers of 20,000,000,000 feet of coniferous wood in Minnesota fit for lumbering, though large, would be reasonably enough near the truth for our purposes in forecasting the probabilities.

Now, of that, between three and four billion feet is Norway pine, and not white pine.

I have in my hand the report of the chief fire warden of the State of Minnesota. In this report he undertakes to give an estimate of all pine timber in the State by counties, and of all other timber in the State by counties, and then he sums up and makes this statement:

	Feet.
Total white pine	14,424,000,000
Norway (or red) pine	3,412,475,000
Gray (or jack) pine	640,000,000

So there is the authority for the supply in the State of Minnesota.

Now, about Wisconsin. The data with regard to Wisconsin is not as accurate as I should like, and yet it shows considerable investigation upon this subject:

For Wisconsin, official data are entirely lacking. An estimate of ten billion as the maximum stand of white pine and Norway pine has been made by a competent lumberman.

Then he cites:

(See Appendix 3.) As there is considerable hemlock and other coniferous wood in the State, and as it is preferable to overstate, we may treble this amount and take 30,000,000,000 feet, a probable overstatement of 50 per cent, as the maximum amount of coniferous timber fit for lumbering standing in the State.

Now, from that I make the statement that there are 10,000,000,000 feet of white pine; of other kinds of pine, of Norway pine, spruce, and hemlock, 5,000,000,000 feet.

For Michigan a canvass from township to township has been made by the commissioner of labor of the State for 1890 (see Appendix 4) which develops an area two and one-quarter million acres in pine and hemlock—

Which will cut 5,000,000,000 feet of lumber.

The reason why I make the statement that 10,000,000,000 feet of white pine is all there is in Wisconsin is because of the statement made here with regard to the matter by the Agricultural Department, and because of the fact, established by authority, by careful investigation, that it corresponds somewhere near with the work of destruction which has been going on in Michigan and Minnesota, where we have authoritative data upon the subject. We know well enough that the pine forests of north Wisconsin have furnished the lumber for southern Minnesota, Iowa, Nebraska, and South Dakota very largely, our people having drawn almost their entire supply from the forests of north Wisconsin during the last few years.

If this is correct, these white-pine forests are bound to disappear entirely in the next eight or ten years, and no possible excuse can be urged why we should hurry its destruction.

Of course the price of pine timber has declined, but it was not because Canadian pine could come in free. The price of white pine declined because there was, in the first place, previous to 1893, an enormous demand which stimulated the cutting of the trees; but owing to the depression which came with a decline in prices resulting from the complete demonetization of silver in this country by the repeal of the Sherman law in 1893, with the misery and distress which came to the farming community all over the land, our towns ceased to grow and our people ceased to prosper, and they were unable to purchase. But the lumbermen had continued the cut, and the dull season found a large amount of pine on hand, and competition among the lumbermen lowered the price; and that is all there is to it.

Now, there is another thing, Mr. President. These same men who can combine and open an office here in the city for the purpose of securing a duty of $3 per thousand on pine can easily combine, after they have secured a duty, to maintain the price at the full limit of the tariff.

Sometimes I have thought that the condemnation of trusts was left out of the Republican platform at St. Louis on purpose to get an excessive tariff upon a great number of items that consumers use in this country, and then combine without violating their party pledges in putting the duty up to the limit of the tariff. The two conventions before the last denounced trusts, but when the trusts got together in convention at St. Louis they concluded not to abuse each other, and left it out entirely. And so we have these excessive raises all through the pending bill.

In 1890 the consumption of white pine produced from the mills of Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Michigan was 8,352,000,000 feet; the price per thousand was $11; the duty, $2 per thousand. In 1891, with the duty reduced to $1, the consumption was 8,333,000,000 feet; the price was $12 a thousand. In 1892 the consumption was 9,123,000,000 feet; the price was $12.50 a thousand and the duty $1 a thousand. In 1893, the year of the general panic, we consumed 7,073,000,000 feet; the price was $12, the duty $1.

Now what happened? The lumbermen produced as much that year as the year before, but the consumption had fallen off 2,000,000,000 feet. The consequence was a stock on hand, so that in 1894 this lumber fell to $9.50 a thousand. In 1895 it rose to $10, and in 1896 it fell to $9.50, and the consumption fell off to 6,082,000,000 feet.

Now, I contend that these men are anxious to realize; they want to shut the Canadian pine out of New England and the Eastern States and make a market for their pine, and thus destroy completely those forests from which we draw our supply, and make us pay $2 a thousand more than we are now paying for their product. The question is whether the Republican party is going to help them do it. That is all there is to it. It does not affect any other interest. The lumber producers not only in this region, but in other regions of the country, have combined for the purpose of carrying this out. Of course you may help them do it, but I am bound that you shall do it knowing the facts.

Now, a few words upon the subject of revenue, Mr. President. I do not know that my friend from Georgia said that he is in favor of this duty, but he said he is in favor of no duty unless it is a revenue duty—that no protective tariff whatever would receive approval at his hands. There is not very much revenue in this. For instance, white pine is used for boxes. They do not want pitch pine to ship meat products, because it makes them taste or smell. They do not want pitch pine to ship a high class of goods, for instance, such as clothing, dress goods, etc., because it gives a taste or smell, or the pitch melts out and destroys and injures the goods. White pine makes the best boxes because it does not warp, it stays in shape; and they use it to ship dressed meats, they use it to ship petroleum, they use it as cases for bottles, and so on; and the quantity used is enormous.

The bill provides that there shall be a rebate of the duty if it is exported. It is within thirty days that the Standard Oil Company let a contract for $30,000 worth of boxes, and they specified (perhaps here is the reason why we want a duty on white pine) that the boxes should be made out of Canadian pine. Why? Because they would get the rebate of $2 a thousand. When they were asked why they insisted on Canadian pine they said, "There is going to be a duty of $2 a thousand on pine, and we will get the rebate." Armour ships large quantities of boxes to Europe, and he will be placed in the same situation. So the Government really would be imposing the duty for the purpose of putting it into the pockets of these people. Here is another trust to be taken care of. Two hundred million feet it is estimated are exported in this way.

Mr. CAFFERY. Will it interrupt the Senator if I ask him a question?

Mr. PETTIGREW. It will not interrupt me at all.

Mr. CAFFERY. What is the amount of the rebate allowed?

Mr. PETTIGREW. The same as the duty, $2 a thousand.

Mr. CAFFERY. Then it is practically free?

Mr. PETTIGREW. Yes; it is free to those people. We are getting to the point where we do not care how much the producer of wealth pays, so we let the fellow who gets away from him what he produces go free. We imported from Canada in 1895, 750,000,000 feet. This country consumed, I suppose, twelve or fourteen billion feet of lumber. So this amounts to about 2½ per cent. Of the 750,000,000 feet imported from Canada, about 200,000,000 was spruce, so that in reality we imported 550,000,000

feet of white pine. Then we reexport in boxes, say, 250,000,000 feet, leaving 300,000,000 feet on which to pay duty. That is the revenue feature of the case. There is very little revenue in that except for the men who export the boxes made out of the pine.

I do not know, Mr. President, that I care to say anything further at this time. At some future time I shall probably enter into this subject again, for I apprehend it will not be disposed of this afternoon.

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. President, I desire to submit some remarks, very brief ones, upon this paragraph, but I am not disposed to do so this evening, and I trust the Senator in charge of the bill will permit it to be passed over until Monday.

Mr. ALLISON. If the Senator will allow me to offer some amendments on behalf of the committee to other paragraphs of the bill and have them disposed of, I think I will consent to an adjournment. It is the general expression that we ought to adjourn at an earlier hour than usual to-day. The amendments to paragraph 193 have, I believe, been agreed to——

Mr. VEST. No.

Mr. ALLISON. Except the amendment offered by the Senator from Missouri.

Mr. VEST. I have an amendment pending.

Mr. ALLISON. That is the pending amendment. That can be passed over informally.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. FAIRBANKS in the chair). That amendment will stand over for the present.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask that the next paragraph may be read.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 194, line 22, after the word "cedar," to strike out "or other woods;" so as to make the paragraph read:

194. Paving posts, railroad ties, and telephone, trolley, electric-light, and telegraph poles of cedar, 20 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask that that amendment may be disagreed to.

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. CAFFERY. Will the Senator state the reason for striking out "or other woods"?

Mr. ALLISON. The committee originally proposed to strike out "or other woods," but they have abandoned that amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Paragraph 195 will be read.

Mr. VEST. Let paragraph 194 be read the way it is proposed to be amended by the Senator from Iowa.

The Secretary read paragraph 194, as follows:

194. Paving posts, railroad ties, and telephone, trolley, electric-light, and telegraph poles of cedar or other woods, 20 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. VEST. That is the paragraph as it came from the House?

Mr. ALLISON. It leaves the paragraph as it came from the House.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The next amendment will be reported.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was to strike out paragraph 195, in the following words:

195. Kindling wood in bundles not exceeding one-quarter of a cubic foot each, three-tenths of 1 cent per bundle; if in larger bundles, three-tenths of 1 cent for each additional quarter of a cubic foot or fractional part thereof.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I understood the Senator from Iowa to state that he proposed to offer his amendments that they might be pending. I did not understand that he wanted them acted on now.

Mr. ALLISON. They may be acted upon now. They are not specially important. However, if any Senator desires to have them go over, that course can be taken.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The articles in paragraph 194 are free under the present law, and while I do not want to keep the Senate in session, I am not just ready to agree that 20 per cent shall be put on those things without a vote against it.

Mr. ALLISON. I am perfectly willing to take a vote on it, if the Senator desires a special vote upon that question.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Then we will take a vote.

Mr. ALLISON. Does the Senator move to strike out the paragraph?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I do not object to the committee withdrawing its amendment, because, while I do not agree to it, I shall make no resistance to that action; but I will move to strike out paragraph 194 and take a vote on it, with the intention of putting the articles named on the free list.

Mr. ALLISON. Very well.

Mr. HALE and others. Question!

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Arkansas to strike out paragraph 194.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. On that I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CULLOM (when his name was called). I am paired with the senior Senator from Delaware [Mr. GRAY]. He is not present, and I withhold my vote.

Mr. HANSBROUGH (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Virginia [Mr. DANIEL].

Mr. HARRIS of Kansas (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the junior Senator from Wyoming [Mr. CLARK], and therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. McMILLAN (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. LINDSAY], which I have transferred to the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH], and I am therefore at liberty to vote. I make this announcement as to the remainder of the votes for to-day. I vote "nay."

Mr. MALLORY (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROCTOR], otherwise I should vote "yea."

Mr. MITCHELL. I am paired with the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SEWELL].

Mr. VEST (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. NELSON]. I should vote "yea" if he were present.

Mr. WELLINGTON (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. BUTLER], and in his absence I withhold my vote. If he were present, I should vote "nay."

Mr. WILSON (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the Senator from Florida [Mr. PASCO]. If he were present, he would vote "yea" and I should vote "nay."

The roll call having been concluded, the result was announced—yeas 17, nays 33; as follows:

YEAS—17.

Allen,	Cockrell,	Pettigrew,	Walthall,
Bate,	Jones, Ark.	Pettus,	White.
Berry,	Kyle,	Roach,	
Caffery,	Mills,	Smith,	
Chilton,	Morgan,	Turpie,	

NAYS—33.

Allison,	Foraker,	McBride,	Shoup,
Bacon,	Frye,	McEnery,	Spooner,
Baker,	Gallinger,	McLaurin,	Stewart,
Burrows,	Gear,	McMillan,	Thurston,
Carter,	Hale,	Mason,	Tillman,
Clay,	Hawley,	Perkins,	Wetmore.
Davis,	Hoar,	Platt, Conn.	
Elkins,	Jones, Nev.	Pritchard,	
Fairbanks,	Lodge,	Quay,	

NOT VOTING—30.

Aldrich,	Gorman,	Mantle,	Rawlins,
Butler,	Gray,	Martin,	Sewell,
Cannon,	Hanna,	Mitchell,	Teller,
Chandler,	Hansbrough,	Morrill,	Turner,
Clark,	Harris, Kans.	Murphy.	Vest,
Cullom,	Harris, Tenn.	Nelson,	Warren,
Daniel,	Heitfeld,	Pasco,	Wellington,
Deboe,	Kenney,	Penrose,	Wilson.
Faulkner,	Lindsay,	Platt, N. Y.	Wolcott.
George,	Mallory,	Proctor,	

So the amendment of Mr. JONES of Arkansas was rejected.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was to strike out paragraph 195, in the following words:

195. Kindling wood in bundles not exceeding one-quarter of a cubic foot each, three-tenths of 1 cent per bundle; if in larger bundles, three-tenths of 1 cent for each additional quarter of a cubic foot or fractional part thereof.

Mr. ALLISON. A majority of the committee recommend that the amendment striking out this paragraph be disagreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If there be no objection, the amendment will be disagreed to.

Mr. QUAY. What was done with the amendment of the committee in lines 22 and 23 in paragraph 194? I was absent at the time.

Mr. ALLISON. That amendment was disagreed to.

Mr. QUAY. Then the rate of duty stands as it was in the bill as it came from the House upon all railroad ties?

Mr. ALLISON. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITE. Do I understand that the committee propose to put kindling wood on the free list?

Mr. ALLISON. They did propose that originally.

Mr. WHITE. But they have changed their opinion as to the dutiable character of the kindling wood?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Will the Senator from Iowa be good enough to explain why the committee has changed its opinion upon this question?

Mr. ALLISON. I will explain with very great pleasure. After examining this question more at large, we have discovered that the kindling-wood industry is a very large industry and rather an important one; and, of course, finding it to be an industry of importance requiring the protecting hand of the Government, we extended it.

Mr. WHITE. Does not the Senator think he is whittling down the free list a good deal by leaving off kindling wood? [Laughter.]

Mr. ALLISON. That may be so.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I notice in this bill that sometimes we have put taxes on articles because we had abundant natural supplies, and at other times we put on taxes because our natural supplies were getting extremely limited. I should like to know

whether we are putting a tax on kindling wood on the ground that we have a great deal of kindling wood or no kindling wood at all?

Mr. ALLISON. We have a very large industry in kindling wood in the United States, but Canada is competing with us.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. It is not an infant industry, I suppose?

Mr. ALLISON. No, sir; but we want to get revenue and at the same time protect our own people.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. If the committee withdraws its proposition, I will renew the amendment of the committee to strike out paragraph 195, and ask a vote upon it.

Mr. ALLISON. If that is what the Senator from Arkansas desires, all he has to do is to ask for the yeas and nays on the motion to disagree to the amendment of the committee. I have asked that the Senate disagree to the amendment striking out the paragraph.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. That will be the same thing. My idea is to put kindling wood on the free list.

Mr. ALLEN. I understood the Senator from Iowa to say that he was willing that this schedule should be passed over until Monday.

Mr. ALLISON. No; the paragraph which was under consideration, on which the Senator, I understood, desired to make some observations.

Mr. ALLEN. I understood the Senator to say that after offering a certain amendment, which was agreed to, he would consent to an adjournment.

Mr. ALLISON. I stated that after the amendments to the remaining paragraphs of this schedule were disposed of I would consent to an adjournment.

Mr. ALLEN. I had hoped that the entire schedule would be passed over until Monday. I desire to move as a substitute a portion of the Wilson law for this entire schedule.

Mr. ALLISON. Very well; there can be no objection to that. That will be still open to the Senator after the schedule is perfected.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. What is the agreement? I understood the schedule was to go over.

Mr. ALLISON. No; but the Senator from Nebraska desires to move the provisions of the Wilson law as a substitute for all these paragraphs. That, of course, will be in order after paragraph 193 goes over.

Mr. BERRY. What is the question?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Arkansas [Mr. JONES] moves to disagree to the amendment reported by the Committee on Finance to strike out paragraph 195.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The vote may be taken on the committee's motion to strike out the paragraph.

Mr. BERRY. If I understand the matter, the committee moves to strike out that paragraph. That is the report of the Committee on Finance.

Mr. ALLISON. That was the first report of the committee.

Mr. BERRY. The Senator in charge of the bill now asks the Senate not to agree to the report of the committee striking out the paragraph, and the question is, Will the Senate agree to the report made by the committee in striking out the paragraph? Is that the question?

Mr. ALLISON. That is a very reasonable statement made by the Senator from Arkansas; but I also stated that, upon reconsideration, the committee had instructed me to make the motion to disagree. It was not my own motion.

Mr. BERRY. I want to get the question properly stated, so as to know how to vote upon it.

Mr. ALLISON. The question is on disagreeing to the amendment of the committee to strike out the paragraph.

Mr. BERRY. Then the parliamentary motion is the committee recommend as an amendment to strike out this paragraph.

Mr. ALLISON. That is right.

Mr. BERRY. Then the question would be upon agreeing to the amendment proposed by the committee, and those who want the paragraph stricken out will vote "yea."

Several SENATORS. That is right.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The motion will be upon agreeing to the committee amendment striking out the paragraph.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. On that I call for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President, if there be no objection, I should like to ask the Senator from Iowa whether this item of kindling wood was dutiable under the McKinley law?

Mr. ALLISON. It was not.

Mr. WHITE. We had free kindling wood even under the McKinley law.

The Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CULLOM (when his name was called). I am paired with the senior Senator from Delaware [Mr. GRAY]. If he were present, I should vote "nay."

Mr. MALLORY (when his name was called). I again announce my pair with the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROCTOR]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. VEST. I am paired with the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. NELSON].

Mr. WELLINGTON. I again announce my pair with the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. BUTLER]. If he were present, I should vote "nay."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. CULLOM. I understand the junior Senator from New York [Mr. PLATT] is not paired. I will transfer my pair with the Senator from Delaware [Mr. GRAY] to the Senator from New York, so that I may cast my vote in order to make a quorum. I vote "nay."

The result was announced—yeas 18, nays 27; as follows:

YEAS—18.

Allen,	Chilton,	McLaurin,	Tillman,
Bacon,	Clay,	Mills,	Turpie,
Bate,	Cockrell,	Morgan,	Walthall.
Berry,	Gorman,	Pettus,	
Caffery,	Jones, Ark.	Roach,	

NAYS—27.

Allison,	Foraker,	Jones, Nev.	Platt, Conn.
Baker,	Frye,	Lodge,	Quay,
Burrows,	Gallinger,	McBride,	Shoup,
Carter,	Gear,	McEnery,	Spooner,
Cullom,	Hale,	McMillan,	Thurston,
Davis,	Hawley,	Mason,	Wetmore.
Fairbanks,	Hoar,	Perkins,	

NOT VOTING—44.

Aldrich,	Hanna,	Mitchell,	Sewell,
Butler,	Hansbrough,	Morrill,	Smith,
Cannon,	Harris, Kans.	Murphy,	Stewart,
Chandler,	Harris, Tenn.	Nelson,	Teller,
Clark,	Heitfeld,	Pasco,	Turner,
Daniel,	Kenney,	Penrose.	Vest,
Deboe,	Kyle,	Pettigrew,	Warren,
Elkins,	Lindsay,	Platt, N. Y.	Wellington,
Faulkner,	Mallory,	Pritchard,	White,
George,	Mantle,	Proctor,	Wilson,
Gray,	Martin,	Rawlins,	Wolcott.

So the amendment of the committee to strike out paragraph 195 was disagreed to.

The reading of the bill was resumed, and paragraphs 196 and 197 were read in the following words:

196. Sawed boards, planks, deals, and all forms of sawed cedar, lignum-vitæ, lancewood, ebony, box, granadilla, mahogany, rosewood, satinwood, and all other cabinet woods not further manufactured than sawed, 15 per cent ad valorem; veneers of wood, and wood, unmanufactured, not specially provided for in this act, 20 per cent ad valorem.

197. Clapboards, $1.50 per thousand.

Mr. VEST. I call the attention of my friend from Iowa to the fact that this is a part of the white-pine question in paragraphs 197 and 198, and if we pass over paragraph 193 we must pass over these paragraphs, or else bring up the whole question. Here is an increase upon pine clapboards and pine shingles.

Mr. ALLISON. The committee offer no amendment to paragraph 196. It is open to amendment, of course.

Mr. VEST. I am talking about paragraphs 197 and 198, which are part of the white-pine business. You increase the duty there on white-pine clapboards, and in the next paragraph you increase it upon white-pine shingles. That, of course, is a corollary from the increase to $2 a thousand on white pine in paragraph 193. When you start in you will have to go through it all.

Mr. ALLISON. Paragraph 198 has no reference to the question of white pine.

Mr. FRYE. That refers to hard woods.

Mr. ALLISON. That is in the act of 1894.

Mr. VEST. "Paragraph 201, shingles," is the one I meant. On pine shingles you make an increase.

Mr. ALLISON. Very well, we can pass that over. The Secretary, however, has not yet reached it in the reading of the bill.

Mr. VEST. Paragraph 197 must be passed over.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Paragraph 197 will be passed over, without objection.

Mr. PETTIGREW. I do not think paragraph 197 is connected with the question of white pine.

Mr. VEST. It makes an increase on pine clapboards.

Mr. PETTIGREW. I know; but the amendment with regard to white pine will probably only embrace that which has not been dressed or improved, simply the rough lumber, and this is an improved product.

Mr. VEST. In the McKinley law pine clapboards were $1 and spruce $1.50, and in this bill the rate is $1.50 upon all. That is what I mean. If the Senator will look at the comparative statement, he will find that in the McKinley law there was only $1 upon these pine clapboards and $1.50 upon spruce, which was right, under the duties imposed by that law. Now, in accordance with the increase upon white pine in paragraph 193, of course the committee logically have increased the duties upon the products of pine.

Mr. ALLISON. I will say to the Senator that if his amendment shall be adopted, I shall cheerfully consent to go back to clapboards and to make an amendment accordingly, so as to make the rate correspond with the McKinley law.

Mr. FRYE. And shingles, too.

Mr. ALLISON. And shingles as well, when we reach that paragraph.

Before paragraph 198 is read, on behalf of the committee, I propose a modification of the amendment by inserting the words "except fence posts" after the word "posts," in line 12, and leaving heading bolts and stave bolts as they are in the bill as it came to us from the House of Representatives; so that the paragraph will read:

198. Hubs for wheels, posts, except fence posts, heading bolts, stave bolts, last blocks, wagon blocks, etc.

The SECRETARY. In paragraph 198, page 62, line 12, after the word "posts," it is proposed to insert "except fence posts," and to strike out "heading bolts, stave bolts" and insert "except fence posts."

Mr. ALLISON. No. Let the original amendment striking out "heading bolts, stave bolts" be disagreed to; that is to say, the only amendment I propose is to insert "except fence posts," in line 12, after the word "posts."

Mr. HALE. Leaving the rest as the House of Representatives passed it.

Mr. ALLISON. I propose to modify the amendment so as to read as I have stated it.

Mr. FRYE. The one amendment is agreed to and the other is disagreed to.

Mr. VEST. What do you propose to do with fence posts—put them on the free list or in the basket clause?

Mr. ALLISON. We shall dispose of them later on by putting them on the free list or somewhere else, but we do not propose to put them in here.

Mr. VEST. I should like, as this is Saturday afternoon, to be able to spend the Sabbath in a calm frame of mind; and if you are going to put them on the free list, it will be some consolation.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The paragraph as proposed to be amended will be stated.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to amend the paragraph so as to read:

198. Hubs for wheels, posts, except fence posts, heading bolts, stave bolts, last blocks, wagon blocks, oar blocks, heading blocks, and all like blocks or sticks, rough hewn, etc.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in the same paragraph, line 14, after the words "rough hewn," to strike out "or;" and in line 15, before the word "twenty," to strike out "only" and insert "or bored;" so as to read:

And all like blocks or sticks, rough-hewn, sawed, or bored, 20 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I had intended to move to strike out, in order to save time, all the paragraphs from 197 to 201, with the intention of putting all the articles referred to in those paragraphs on the free list; but I presume the whole question will be raised by the motion made by the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. ALLEN], and so I shall not make the motion now.

Mr. HALE. That will put it all in one motion.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Yes.

The reading of the bill was resumed, and paragraph 199 was read in the following words:

199. Laths, 15 cents per 1,000 pieces.

Mr. ALLISON. The committee recommend the insertion of "25 cents" instead of "15 cents" in that paragraph.

Mr. WHITE. I ask the Senator from Iowa whether 15 cents was not the McKinley rate?

Mr. ALLISON. It was the McKinley rate.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I want the yeas and nays on that amendment.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. VEST. This is an increase of 10 cents over the McKinley rate.

Mr. ALLISON. Per thousand.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON] will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In paragraph 199, page 62, line 16, before the word "cents," it is proposed to strike out "fifteen" and insert "twenty-five;" so as to make the paragraph read:

199. Laths, 25 cents per 1,000 pieces.

Mr. BACON. I ask the Senator from Iowa what is the ad valorem, approximately?

Mr. ALLISON. Twenty-five per cent.

Mr. HALE. I will state to the Senator that if the rate was 30 cents it would about agree with $2 upon pine. It is made to conform to that.

Mr. BACON. If it was 30 cents?

Mr. HALE. If it was 30 cents, but it is only asked to make the rate 25 cents.

Mr. ALLISON. I should say it would be about 20 or 25 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. BACON. Hardly that much. It can not be 20 or 25 per cent ad valorem. That is impossible. A thousand laths certainly cost more than 60 cents.

Mr. ALLISON. Perhaps it is not more than 15 per cent, but it is a very low rate of duty.

Mr. BACON. I doubt that very much. For instance, I know that laths in my section of the country cost in the neighborhood of $1.75 to $2 per thousand.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The comparative statement says they would be worth $1.14.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Secretary will call the roll on the amendment proposed by the Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON].

The Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CULLOM (when his name was called). I am paired with the senior Senator from Delaware [Mr. GRAY].

Mr. MALLORY (when his name was called). I again announce my pair with the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROCTOR].

Mr. PENROSE (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Delaware [Mr. KENNEY], and therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. VEST (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. NELSON].

Mr. WARREN (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Washington [Mr. TURNER], who is absent, and therefore I withhold my vote.

Mr. WILSON (when his name was called). I again announce my pair with the Senator from Florida [Mr. PASCO]. If he were present, he would vote "nay" and I should vote "yea."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. TILLMAN. I inquire if the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. THURSTON] has voted?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. He has not voted.

Mr. TILLMAN. Then I withhold my vote, as I am paired with that Senator.

Mr. BATE. I desire to announce that my colleague [Mr. HARRIS] is absent sick, and is paired with the Senator from Vermont [Mr. MORRILL], who is likewise absent. I make this announcement to apply for the day.

Mr. CULLOM. I have announced my pair with the Senator from Delaware [Mr. GRAY], but I transfer that pair to the junior Senator from New York [Mr. PLATT], and I vote "yea."

The result was announced—yeas 29, nays 17; as follows:

YEAS—29.

Allison,	Fairbanks,	Jones, Nev.	Pritchard,
Baker,	Foraker,	Lodge,	Quay,
Burrows,	Frye,	McBride,	Shoup,
Carter,	Gallinger,	McEnery,	Spooner,
Cullom,	Gear,	McMillan,	Wetmore.
Davis,	Hale,	Mason,	
Deboe,	Hawley,	Perkins,	
Elkins,	Hoar,	Platt, Conn.	

NAYS—17.

Allen,	Chilton,	Mills,	Walthall,
Bacon,	Clay,	Morgan,	White.
Bate,	Cockrell,	Pettus,	
Berry,	Jones, Ark.	Roach,	
Caffery,	McLaurin,	Turpie,	

NOT VOTING—43.

Aldrich,	Hansbrough,	Morrill,	Stewart,
Butler,	Harris, Kans.	Murphy,	Teller,
Cannon,	Harris, Tenn.	Nelson,	Thurston,
Chandler,	Heitfeld,	Pasco,	Tillman,
Clark,	Kenney,	Penrose,	Turner,
Daniel,	Kyle,	Pettigrew,	Vest,
Faulkner,	Lindsay,	Platt, N. Y.	Warren,
George,	Mallory,	Proctor,	Wellington,
Gorman,	Mantle,	Rawlins,	Wilson,
Gray,	Martin,	Sewell,	Wolcott.
Hanna,	Mitchell,	Smith,	

So the amendment of Mr. ALLISON was agreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. Does the Senator from Missouri ask that paragraph 201 be passed over?

Mr. VEST. Yes, sir.

Mr. ALLISON. Let paragraph 201 be passed over.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Paragraph 201 will be passed over.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 202, page 62, line 23, before the words "per centum," to strike out "thirty" and insert "twenty-five;" so as to make the paragraph read:

202. Casks and barrels (empty), sugar-box shooks, and packing boxes and packing-box shooks, of wood, not specially provided for in this act, 25 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in paragraph 203, page 63, line 2, before the words "per centum," to strike out "fifty" and insert "forty;" so as to make the paragraph read:

203. Chair cane or reeds, wrought or manufactured from rattans or reeds, 10 per cent ad valorem; osier or willow prepared for basket makers' use, 20 per cent ad valorem; manufactures of osier or willow, 40 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. VEST. That is an increase of 10 per cent over the McKinley law.

Mr. CAFFERY. Osier or willow is to be placed back at the McKinley rate of 40 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. ALLISON. I believe so.

Mr. VEST. It is an increase over the McKinley rate.

Mr. WHITE. I wish the Senator from Iowa would consent that paragraph 203 may be passed over.

Mr. ALLISON. Let it be passed over.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 204, page 63, line 5, before the words "per one thousand," to strike out "2 cents" and insert "1 cent;" so as to read:

204. Toothpicks of wood or other vegetable substance, 1 cent per 1,000 and 15 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. WHITE. I should like to inquire of the Senator from Iowa what was the McKinley duty on butchers' and packers' skewers, which come later in this paragraph. Was there any duty at all in the McKinley Act?

Mr. ALLISON. I understand not.

Mr. WHITE. This is an addition?

Mr. ALLISON. This is an addition.

Mr. WHITE. I inquire whether there appears to be any undue importation of skewers at present?

Mr. ALLISON. I have no information as to the importations. I propose to modify the amendment of the committee by striking out what the committee have already proposed, 1 cent and 15 per cent ad valorem, leaving 2 cents stand; so that the paragraph will stand:

Toothpicks of wood or other vegetable substance, 2 cents per 1,000.

Mr. WHITE. Can the Senator state the ad valorem on that rate?

Mr. ALLISON. It is impossible to state the ad valorem on the Japanese toothpicks, but I think it is about 15 or 20 per cent on the other toothpicks, which sell at 8 or 10 cents a thousand, foreign value.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment reported by the Committee on Finance as modified.

The amendment as modified was agreed to.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 204, line 6, after the word "skewers," to strike out "40 cents per thousand" and insert "20 per cent ad valorem;" so as to read:

Butchers' and packers' skewers, 20 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask that the paragraph may now be read as amended.

The Secretary read as follows:

204. Toothpicks of wood or other vegetable substance, 2 cents per 1,000; butchers' and packers' skewers, 20 per cent ad valorem.

The reading of the bill was resumed and continued to the end of paragraph 205.

Mr. ALLISON. I have one or two amendments in addition, but they may give rise to some little discussion. I do not know that they will. I will now move an executive session, with the understanding that we go back to paragraph 193 on Monday.

Mr. PETTIGREW. I wish the attention of the Senator from Iowa for a moment. I am going to be absent from the city Monday and Tuesday. I shall be here again Wednesday, and I desire that paragraph 193 shall not be disposed of until I return.

Mr. HALE. Several Senators have remained here in order to pass upon paragraph 193, hoping that it would be acted upon today. Under the circumstances, I do not think we ought to agree to let it go over.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to considering paragraph 193 as passed over?

Mr. HALE. I must object.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. ALLISON. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After ten minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened, and (at 4 o'clock and 30 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until Monday, June 7, 1897, at 12 o'clock meridian.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate June 5, 1897.

CONSULS-GENERAL.

Andrew D. Barlow, of Missouri, to be consul-general of the United States at the City of Mexico, Mexico, vice Thomas T. Crittenden, resigned.

Carl Bailey Hurst, of the District of Columbia, now consul at Prague, Bohemia, to be consul-general of the United States at Vienna, Austria, vice Max Judd, resigned.

CONSULS.

Harold S. Van Buren, of New Jersey, to be consul of the United States at Nice, France, vice Wilburn B. Hall, resigned.

Henry H. Morgan, of Louisiana, to be consul of the United States at Horgen, Switzerland, vice Ethelbert Watts, resigned.

William W. Canada, of Indiana, to be consul of the United States at Vera Cruz, Mexico, vice Charles Schaefer, resigned.

ASSISTANT ATTORNEY-GENERAL.

Louis A. Pradt, of Wisconsin, to be Assistant Attorney-General, vice Joshua E. Dodge, resigned.

REGISTER OF LAND OFFICE.

Stephen J. Weekes, of Nebraska, to be register of the land office at O'Neill, Nebr., vice John A. Harmon, removed.

PROMOTIONS IN THE ARMY.

Cavalry arm.

Lieut. Col. Henry Erastus Noyes, Second Cavalry, to be colonel, June 1, 1897, vice Mizner, Tenth Cavalry, who vacates on accepting commission as brigadier-general.

Lieut. Col. Guy Vernon Henry, Third Cavalry, to be colonel, June 2, 1897, vice Wade, Fifth Cavalry, who vacates on accepting commission as brigadier-general.

Maj. Adna Romanza Chaffee, Ninth Cavalry, to be lieutenant-colonel, June 1, 1897, vice Noyes, Second Cavalry, promoted.

Maj. Michael Cooney, Fourth Cavalry, to be lieutenant-colonel, June 2, 1897, vice Henry, Third Cavalry, promoted.

Capt. William Curtis Forbush, Fifth Cavalry, to be major, June 1, 1897, vice Chaffee, Ninth Cavalry, promoted.

Capt. Jacob Arnold Augur, Fifth Cavalry, to be major, June 2, 1897, vice Cooney, Fourth Cavalry, promoted.

First Lieut. Henry Joseph Goldman, Fifth Cavalry, to be captain, June 1, 1897, vice Forbush, promoted.

First Lieut. Augustus Canfield Macomb, Fifth Cavalry, to be captain, June 2, 1897, vice Augur, promoted.

Second Lieut. Lawrence Julian Fleming, Tenth Cavalry, to be first lieutenant, June 1, 1897, vice Goldman, Fifth Cavalry, promoted.

Second Lieut. James Joseph Hornbrook, Second Cavalry, to be first lieutenant, June 2, 1897, vice Macomb, Fifth Cavalry, promoted.

Artillery arm.

Lieut. Col. John Isaac Rodgers, Second Artillery, to be colonel, June 1, 1897, vice Graham, Fifth Artillery, who vacates on accepting commission as brigadier-general.

Maj. William Lawrence Haskin, First Artillery, to be lieutenant-colonel, June 1, 1897, vice Rodgers, Second Artillery, promoted.

Capt. James Monroe Ingalls, First Artillery, to be major, June 1, 1897, vice Haskin, First Artillery, promoted.

First Lieut. Clermont Livingston Best, First Artillery, to be captain, June 1, 1897, vice Ingalls, First Artillery, promoted.

Second Lieut. Edward Fenton McGlachlin, jr., Fifth Artillery, to be first lieutenant, June 1, 1897, vice Best, First Artillery, promoted.

Infantry arm.

First Lieut. Hunter Liggett, Fifth Infantry, to be captain, June 1, 1897, vice Romeyn, Fifth Infantry, retired from active service.

Second Lieut. Charles Carr Clarke, Ninth Infantry, to be first lieutenant, June 1, 1897, vice Liggett, Fifth Infantry, promoted.

Candidate Sergt. Fred L. Munson, Company A, Sixth Infantry, to be second lieutenant, June 3, 1897, vice Clarke, Ninth Infantry, promoted.

POSTMASTERS.

Benjamin M. Foreman, to be postmaster at Texarkana, in the county of Miller and State of Arkansas, in the place of William R. Kelley, resigned.

Eugene H. Merriman, to be postmaster at East Hartford, in the county of Hartford and State of Connecticut, the appointment of a postmaster for the said office having, by law, become vested in the President on and after July 1, 1896. William A. Lowry, appointed by the President, and by him nominated to the Senate, not having been confirmed.

John H. Daugherty, to be postmaster at Frankton, in the county of Madison and State of Indiana, in the place of William T. Wright, resigned.

Oliver C. Gordon, to be postmaster at Union City, in the county of Randolph and State of Indiana, in the place of Amandus B. Schuyler, removed.

Ira Kidwell, to be postmaster at Elwood, in the county of Madison and State of Indiana, in the place of Francis M. Harbit, removed.

Morris B. Pote, to be postmaster at New Harmony, in the county of Posey and State of Indiana, in the place of William Richards, removed.

Benjamin L. Robertson, to be postmaster at Purcell, in the Chickasaw Nation and Indian Territory, in the place of William Clardy, removed.

E. D. Powell, to be postmaster at Exira, in the county of Audubon and State of Iowa, in the place of J. B. Connrardy, resigned.

W. W. Colfax, to be postmaster at Wyandotte, in the county of Wayne and State of Michigan, in the place of Henry Roehrig, resigned.

Eugene S. Upson, to be postmaster at Durand, in the county of Shiawassee and State of Michigan, the appointment of a postmaster for the said office having, by law, become vested in the President on and after July 1, 1896, John P. Gerardy, appointed by the President and by him nominated to the Senate, not having been confirmed.

Frank Sigel Jones, to be postmaster at Sarcoxie, in the county of Jasper and State of Missouri, in the place of Diocletian A. Smith, removed.

James R. Barr, to be postmaster at Cambridge, in the county of Guernsey and State of Ohio, in the place of W. H. H. McIlyar, removed.

George W. Farmer, to be postmaster at Martin, in the county of Weakley and State of Tennessee, in the place of W. P. Gibbs, resigned.

John E. Shields, to be postmaster at Alderson, in the county of Monroe and State of West Virginia, in the place of John M. Alderson, resigned.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate June 5, 1897.

GOVERNOR OF NEW MEXICO.

Miguel A. Otero, of New Mexico, to be governor of New Mexico.

TERRITORIAL SECRETARIES.

George H. Wallace, of New Mexico, to be secretary of New Mexico.

William M. Jenkins, of Oklahoma, to be secretary of the Territory of Oklahoma.

Charles H. Akers, of Prescott, Ariz., to be secretary of Arizona Territory.

REGISTER OF THE LAND OFFICE.

Thornton S. Howard, of Des Moines, Iowa, to be register of the land office at Des Moines, Iowa.

POSTMASTERS.

Robert N. Foster, to be postmaster at Gilman, in the county of Iroquois and State of Illinois.

Nathaniel Barnes, to be postmaster at Kansas City, in the county of Wyandotte and State of Kansas.

SENATE.

MONDAY, *June 7, 1897.*

Prayer by Rev. HUGH JOHNSTON, D. D., of the city of Washington.

The Journal of the proceedings of Saturday last was read and approved.

WICHITA INDIAN LANDS.

The VICE-PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the Secretary of the Interior, stating, in response to a resolution of the 1st instant, that, by direction of the President of the United States, the work of allotting lands to the Wichita Indians was on the 5th instant suspended; which was referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs, and ordered to be printed.

MISSISSIPPI RIVER COMMISSION CONTRACTS.

The VICE-PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the Secretary of War, transmitting, in response to a resolution of March 24, 1897, statements prepared by the secretary of the Mississippi River Commission, together with a copy of several indorsements, including the report of Colonel Gillespie to the Chief of Engineers, etc.; which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on Commerce, and ordered to be printed.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. H. L. OVERSTREET, one of its clerks, announced that the House had passed the following bills and joint resolution:

A bill (S. 956) to amend an act entitled "An act to authorize the construction of a steel bridge over the St. Louis River between the States of Wisconsin and Minnesota," approved April 24, 1894, as amended by an act approved August 4, 1894, entitled "An act to amend an act to authorize the construction of a steel bridge over the St. Louis River between the States of Minnesota and Wisconsin;"

A bill (S. 1979) to authorize the construction of a bridge across Pearl River, in the State of Mississippi: and

A joint resolution (S. R. 40) authorizing the Secretary of War to receive for instruction at the Military Academy at West Point Cárlos Gutierrez, of Salvador.

The message also returned to the Senate, in compliance with its request, the bill (S. 426) to authorize the construction of bridges across the Missouri River between its mouth and the mouth of the Dakota or James River, and across the Mississippi River between the mouth of the Minnesota River, in the State of Minnesota, and Donaldsonville in the State of Louisiana, and across the Illinois and Des Plaines rivers between the mouth of the Illinois and the city of Joliet, in the State of Illinois; and to prescribe the character, location, and dimensions of the same.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED.

The message further announced that the Speaker of the House had signed the following enrolled bills and joint resolution; and they were thereupon signed by the Vice-President:

A bill (S. 1886) to adopt regulations for preventing collisions upon certain harbors, rivers, and inland waters of the United States;

A bill (S. 1944) to authorize the construction of a bridge across the Clinch River, Kingston, Tenn.; and

A joint resolution (S. R. 45) reappropriating the sum of $10,000 not expended for the relief of sufferers by the floods of the Mississippi River.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

The VICE-PRESIDENT presented a memorial of sundry citizens of Jersey City, N. J., and a memorial of sundry citizens of New York City, remonstrating against an increase of the duty on beer; which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. MITCHELL. I present a petition of the legislature of Wisconsin, praying for a declaration in reference to strengthening the public credit. As a copy of this petition has already been presented and read by the Secretary, I do not ask to have it again read. I move that the petition be referred to the Committee on Finance.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. MCMILLAN presented the petition of F. M. Thompson and 74 other citizens of Detroit, Mich., praying for the passage at the earliest possible date of such tariff legislation as will adequately secure American industrial products against the competition of foreign labor; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented the petition of Leander A. White and sundry other citizens of Ogemaw County, Mich., praying for the passage of the pending tariff bill substantially as it was passed by the House of Representatives; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. MURPHY presented a petition of sundry manufacturers of Troy, N. Y., and a petition of 10 citizens of Cohoes, N. Y., praying for the speedy passage of the pending tariff bill; which were ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a memorial of 75 citizens of New York City, remonstrating against an increase of the duty on beer; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented petitions of 63 citizens of Ilion, of 24 citizens of Chautauqua, of 60 citizens of Lockport, and of sundry citizens of Brooklyn, all in the State of New York, praying for the enactment of legislation for a more rigid restriction of immigration; which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. PLATT of New York presented a petition of sundry tobacco growers and farmers of Savona, N. Y., praying for a retention of the duty on tobacco as proposed in the so-called Dingley tariff bill; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented sundry petitions of citizens of New York City, Poughkeepsie, and Buffalo, all in the State of New York, praying for the enactment of protective tariff legislation such as will adequately secure American industrial products against the competition of foreign labor; which were ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented sundry memorials of citizens of Brooklyn, New York City, Long Island City, Farmingdale, Rochester, Greenpoint, and Richmond, all in the State of New York, remonstrating against the proposed increase of the duty on beer; which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. FAULKNER. I present the petitions of C. W. T. Rider and

101 other citizens of Morgan County, of E. F. Johnson and 52 other citizens of Monongalia County, of G. W. Simon and 50 other citizens of Alton, of N. W. Robinson and 17 other citizens of Burton, and of H. B. McDowell and 115 other citizens of Rock Cave, all in the State of West Virginia, praying for the enactment of legislation restricting immigration. As the bill to restrict immigration has already been reported from the committee, I move that the petitions lie on the table.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. TURPIE presented a memorial of the Winter Wheat Millers' League, of Indianapolis, Ind., remonstrating against the proposed duty on burlaps and burlap bags; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a memorial of John Glenn & Co., of New York City, relative to the duty on paper; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a statement prepared by J. Schoenhof, concerning the wool situation of the world; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. DANIEL. I present a memorial of the Strother Tobacco Gloss Company, of Lynchburg, Va., together with indorsements of sundry tobacco manufacturers of the United States, remonstrating against the proposed increase in the duty on tobacco.

I would state, Mr. President, that this is a very important communication, expressing the views of many tobacco manufacturers as to the effect of the policy of the proposed change in the tobacco tax, and I ask leave that it may be printed as a public document, because it contains information which is valuable to the Senate.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there any objection to the request of the Senator from Virginia to have the memorial printed as a public document? The Chair hears none, and that is the order. The memorial will lie on the table.

Mr. DANIEL presented petitions of R. A. Tyree and sundry other citizens of Richmond; of J. L. Munn and sundry other citizens of Manchester, C. E. Hunt and sundry other citizens of Norfolk, and of J. H. Swope and sundry other citizens of Loudoun County, all in the State of Virginia, praying for the enactment of legislation for a more rigid restriction of immigration; which were ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a petition of the board of managers of the Trades League of Philadelphia, Pa., praying Congress to take such action as may be necessary to increase the capacity of our coastwise system of canals for defense and commerce, and to relieve that section of the country from discriminating tolls now authorized by Congress; which was referred to the Committee on Commerce.

He also presented a memorial of the Snead & Woodson Tobacco Company and sundry other tobacco manufacturers of Lynchburg, Va., remonstrating against an increase of the duty on tobacco; which was ordered to lie on the table.

REPORT OF A COMMITTEE.

Mr. VEST, from the Committee on Commerce, to whom was referred the bill (S. 1905) to amend an act entitled "An act to authorize the Oregon and Washington Bridge Company to construct and maintain a bridge across the Columbia River, between the State of Oregon and the State of Washington, and to establish it as a post-road," reported it without amendment.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Mr. HALE introduced a bill (S. 2093) providing for a library for the Government Printing Office; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Printing.

Mr. ALLEN introduced a bill (S. 2094) setting apart Fort Omaha, in the county of Douglas and State of Nebraska, to be used as a school for the education of Indian youth, and for other purposes; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 2095) granting a pension to Howard C. Friend, of Douglas, Nebr.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also introduced a bill (S. 2096) granting an increase of pension to Almon Stuart, of Minden, Nebr.; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying paper, referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. GRAY introduced a bill (S. 2097) to grant to the city of Wilmington, Del., the use of certain real estate in said city on which is situated the building recently occupied for Federal purposes; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Mr. TILLMAN introduced a bill (S. 2098) for the relief of J. E. Davis; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. ALLEN introduced a joint resolution (S. R. 49) providing for a joint Congressional committee to examine and report on unpaid claims against the United States, and for other purposes; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

AMENDMENTS TO THE TARIFF BILL.

Mr. QUAY. I present four amendments to the pending tariff bill. The effect of the amendments is to substitute for the proposed duty on tea and the internal-revenue features of the bill a duty of 10 per cent ad valorem upon the entire free list. The amendment is in the form of striking out what has not yet been adopted, being committee amendments. The proposition is merely tentative, and I have put it in its present form.

Mr. MORGAN. Let the amendments be read at the desk. I should like to hear them.

The Secretary read as follows:

Amendment intended to be proposed by Mr. QUAY to the bill (H. R. 379) to provide revenue for the Government and to encourage the industries of the United States:

Strike out lines 14, 15, 16, and 17, on page 181, and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"SEC. 2. On and after the 1st day of July, 1897, and until the 1st day of July, 1901, there shall be levied, collected, and paid upon the following articles imported from foreign countries a duty of 10 per cent ad valorem; after the 1st day of July, 1901, they shall be exempt from duty."

Amendment intended to be proposed by Mr. QUAY to the bill (H. R. 379) to provide revenue for the Government and to encourage the industries of the United States:

Strike out paragraph 286½, providing for a duty on tea.

Amendment intended to be proposed by Mr. QUAY to the bill (H. R. 379) to provide revenue for the Government and to encourage the industries of the United States:

Strike out sections 4, 5, 6, and 7.

Amendment intended to be proposed by Mr. QUAY to the bill (H. R. 379) to provide revenue for the Government and to encourage the industries of the United States:

At the end of paragraph 118 add the following:

"*And provided further*, That all iron ore produced in foreign countries from mines owned by citizens of the United States or by corporations or partnerships in which citizens of the United States have the controlling interest, and imported for their own use and not for sale, shall be exempt from duty."

Mr. QUAY. That duty on tea, of course, is not at present in the bill. It appears in the printed bill as a proposed amendment of the Committee on Finance.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendments will be printed and lie on the table.

AMENDMENT TO THE TARIFF BILL.

Mr. KYLE submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill (H. R. 379) to provide revenue for the Government and to encourage the industries of the United States; which was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

AMENDMENT TO DEFICIENCY APPROPRIATION BILL.

Mr. WARREN submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the general deficiency appropriation bill; which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations, and ordered to be printed.

THE TARIFF BILL.

Mr. ALLISON. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the bill (H. R. 379) to provide revenue for the Government and to encourage the industries of the United States.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the motion of the Senator from Iowa.

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will proceed.

The Secretary read as follows:

Schedule E.—Sugar, molasses, and manufactures of.

Mr. ALLEN. What has become of the wood schedule?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair understands that paragraphs in that schedule were passed over Saturday afternoon, to be called up as Senators desire.

Mr. ALLISON. It was understood that this morning we would take up the remaining paragraphs relating to lumber. I had one paragraph passed over until to-day at the request of the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. ALLEN]. It is paragraph 193.

Mr. ALLEN. I desire, if in order at this time, to offer a substitute for the entire schedule.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair understands that there is an amendment pending to paragraph 193, the amendment offered by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST], proposing to except white pine from the payment of the rate of $2 per thousand.

Mr. HALE. The Senator from Nebraska can offer an amendment, of course, to the whole schedule, which would be voted on after the minor amendments are passed upon.

Mr. ALLEN. Yes, sir; let my amendment be pending.

Mr. HALE. What is the Senator's amendment?

Mr. ALLEN. I offer Schedule D of the Wilson Act of 1894 as a substitute for the entire wood schedule of this proposed act. I propose to offer it at the proper time. I do not know but that I will offer it now, so that it may be pending.

Mr. ALLISON. I do not hear what the Senator says.

Mr. HALE. He offers the provisions of the Wilson Act.

Mr. ALLEN. I shall offer now, and let it be pending. Schedule D of the act of August 27, 1894, as a substitute for the schedule in the bill.

Mr. HALE. For the entire schedule?

Mr. ALLEN. For the entire wood schedule I move to substitute paragraphs 672 to 684, inclusive, of the act of August 27, 1894, transferring all those articles to the free list. I will put it in form, however, before the matter comes up formally.

Mr. President, upon the paragraph that is pending and soon to be voted upon I desire to offer some brief remarks in opposition.

I was thoroughly convinced from the speech of the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. PETTIGREW] on Saturday and from the map he presented on that occasion that we ought not to levy a tax of any kind upon white pine. It would seem from his argument, and I believe his argument to be sound, that we have left in this country but 33,000,000,000 feet of white pine, and according to the rate of the annual disappearance of white pine we shall be without that kind of lumber in the United States within the next six or seven years.

Of course the theory of protection proceeds upon the thought that it increases an industry rather than decreases it. Every man who is convinced of the benefits of a protective tariff (and I am not now saying that protection in some respects is not proper) bases his argument upon the theory that it increases the home market, increases the industry itself, increases wages, and increases the opportunity of wage earners to earn a livelihood for themselves and their families. That kind of protection, however, which is destructive of an industry, it occurs to me, can not be sustained by those who are thoroughly convinced of the soundness of the doctrine of protection.

What is the result of the adoption of paragraph 193, inposing a duty of $2 a thousand upon white pine? It was shown before the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives that a tax of that kind would be prohibitive; that it would turn over the domestic market entirely to the domestic manufacturer, and prohibit the introduction of white pine from Canada or from any other source. I quote from page 554 of the Tariff Hearings before the Ways and Means Committee:

Question by Mr. EVANS:
What do you think the duty ought to be?

Speaking with reference to white pine.

Mr. WINCHESTER. It ought to be prohibitive.
Mr. EVANS. Would $2 do that?
Mr. WINCHESTER. Yes; just about.

Mr. BURROWS. Will the Senator allow me to interrupt him for a moment there?

Mr. ALLEN. Certainly.

Mr. BURROWS. Is the Senator quite clear that that answer refers to white pine?

Mr. ALLEN. I think it refers to white pine. I think that is the subject which was under discussion.

Mr. BURROWS. I know; but I had a talk with Mr. Winchester this morning, and he says that he had no reference to white pine in it, as we would observe by looking at the context.

Mr. ALLEN. I ask the Senator from Michigan, who is thoroughly familiar——

Mr. BURROWS. I simply want to call attention to this and have it read in connection. The subject was a duty on lumber. To Mr. EVANS this witness says:

We are tanning hides for South America in West Virginia; we are tanning hides for Texas. The trees are cut down and peeled for the bark. If you take a trip up the valleys, you can see it.
Mr. EVANS. How much chestnut-oak and hemlock bark do you produce in West Virginia?
Mr. WINCHESTER. The bark is mostly wasted now, because the lumber interest pays nothing. The largest tannery in the United States is in Chattanooga, and the second largest is at Davis, which we supply.
Mr. EVANS. What do those engaged in the production of this kind of bark say about its being put on the free list?
Mr. WINCHESTER. They do not like it.

After omitting something.

Mr. EVANS. What do you think the duty ought to be?
Mr. WINCHESTER. It ought to be prohibitive.
Mr. EVANS. Would $2 do that?
Mr. WINCHESTER. Yes; just about.

Now, Mr. Winchester tells me he had no reference to white pine, but it related simply to the bark industry.

Mr. ALLEN. That signifies nothing one way or the other. The subject was a tax upon lumber.

Now, we know that the supply of spruce, yellow pine, redwood, and fir of different kinds is greater than the supply of white pine, and if a tax of $2 a thousand feet upon lumber manufactured from those kinds of wood would be prohibitive of the importation of that kind of lumber from Canada or anywhere else, would it not be doubly so as respects white pine, which is practically exhausted in this country? So, whether Mr. Winchester has reference to one particular kind of lumber or another, the argument still stands that a tariff of $2 a thousand feet upon white pine, which is disappearing in this country like a snowball in the hot sun, would be prohibitive of the importation of a like grade of lumber from Canada or from any other source.

If I am correctly informed, the white pine of this country is in a trust, a syndicate, and the entire stumpage of the United States is controlled by less than a dozen men or a dozen firms. I should like to ask my good friend from Michigan, who interrupted me a moment ago, what reason he or any gentleman upon the other side of the Chamber can assign for placing a tax of $2 a thousand upon white pine? I am perfectly willing to yield at this point for an explanation of that kind.

Mr. BURROWS. If the Senator from Nebraska will allow me, I will respond to the statement just made by him in which he asserts that a two-dollar duty would be prohibitive, as I understood him.

Mr. ALLEN. Yes, sir.

Mr. BURROWS. I call his attention to the statistics. When the two-dollar duty was in operation the amount imported from 1887 to 1888 was 608,000,000 feet; from 1888 to 1889, 747,000,000 feet, and from 1889 to 1890, 659,000,000 feet, yielding the first year a revenue from 1887 to 1888 of $608,000; from 1888 to 1889, $747,000, and from 1889 to 1890, $659,000. Now, if a two-dollar duty is prohibitive, how did the lumber come in and yield such a revenue?

Mr. ALLEN. That does not answer the question at all. That is, if my friend will permit me to say, very skillful fencing. The question is, Will this duty be practically prohibitive of the introduction of white pine into the country?

Mr. VEST. Mr. President, will the Senator from Nebraska permit me to ask my friend from Michigan a question?

Mr. ALLEN. Certainly.

Mr. VEST. Of course I do not want to do Mr. Winchester any injustice. I quoted his testimony, taken by the Ways and Means Committee. I know that at the time they were discussing the question of bark, though they had been discussing the whole question of white-pine lumber and other kinds. Mr. EVANS, a member of the committee, asked Mr. Winchester:

What do you think the duty ought to be?

He refers, as a matter of course, I take it, to all that had preceded. They had been discussing white-pine lumber and yellow-pine lumber, and then had come down to bark—all a part of the lumber schedule. Mr. Winchester said:

It ought to be prohibitive.

Mr. EVANS asked:

Would $2 do that?

Mr. Winchester answered:

Yes; just about.

I should like to ask the Senator from Michigan, if Mr. Winchester referred to bark, what he meant by $2? Two dollars on how much? Two dollars on a thousand feet of bark?

Mr. BURROWS. He said to me this morning, $2 a cord.

Mr. VEST. That is a most remarkable statement.

Mr. ALLEN. That would be more than the bark is worth.

Mr. VEST. Two dollars on a cord of bark!

Mr. BURROWS. Of course it is a heavy percentage.

Mr. VEST. Nothing had been said about cords. They had been talking about a tax of $2 a thousand feet on the lumber, and then got off into an incidental talk about bark for tanning purposes, then Mr. Winchester said, "About $2." I submit to the Senator from Michigan in all fairness that anyone would conclude that he meant $2 a thousand, which is the rate proposed in the Senate bill and in the House bill.

Mr. BURROWS. I thought I ought to make the statement in justice to Mr. Winchester, after what he said to me this morning.

Mr. VEST. I do not want to do him any injustice.

Mr. BURROWS. On page 553, the Senator will observe, Mr. DOLLIVER inquired of him, "Why do you want the duty on sycamore wood advanced to $2?" I think that the Senator will find that there was no discussion about the duty on white pine, and he made the statement in connection with bark and cross-ties. In looking it over I had some doubt about it, and so I called on him and asked him about it, and he said he never intended to have it apply to white pine, and he was not so understood at the time.

Mr. VEST. In the immediate context of his reply it seems that they were discussing cross-ties. Mr. EVANS asked:

What do those engaged in the production of this kind of bark say about its being put on the free list?

Mr. WINCHESTER. They do not like it.

Now he goes on:

Something has been said about cross-ties. There are no "gentlemen" interested in cross-ties. These are gotten out by the one-gallused, poor, barefooted men in the mountains. Their living depends on cross-ties. When you talk about protection, they need a dollar as much as any of you need a dime.

Then Mr. EVANS asked:

What do you think the duty ought to be?

I would take it that he was talking about cross-ties, if he was not talking about the whole lumber schedule. Then Mr. Winchester said:

It ought to be prohibitive.
Mr. EVANS. Would $2 do that?

Now, $2 on how many cross-ties? Certainly he does not mean on a thousand feet of cross-ties. That is absurd on the face of it.

He certainly does not mean on a thousand feet of bark, because that is more than absurd.

Mr. ALLEN. Bark is not measured by the thousand feet.

Mr. VEST. No, of course not; it is measured by the cord.

Mr. ALLEN. Two dollars a thousand feet on bark would be three or four times the original cost.

Mr. VEST. As a matter of course, and $2 on a thousand feet of cross-ties would be nearly as bad.

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. President, I do not think it signifies the slightest whether this witness was talking about white pine or yellow pine or any other kind of lumber. The simple fact, and the fact that I desire to make patent, is that the owners and controllers of white pine in the United States are endeavoring through the instrumentality of this schedule to prohibit the importation of white pine from Canada or from any other source. That is the pivotal thought of this paragraph as applied to white pine. I have not yet heard the Senator from Michigan explain why there is any necessity for it or what necessity there may be to levy a tax upon white pine. It can not be for the purpose of increasing the industry, for white-pine trees do not reproduce themselves, if I am correctly informed. When a tree is once cut down, it is destroyed for all time, and is not replaced in the course of years by another white-pine tree, but another species of timber grows in its place.

Mr. President, a tax upon white pine that would make importation prohibitive and which would result in raising the price of that article to the consumers of this country would not benefit to exceed a dozen men or a dozen institutions. Why should a tax of $2 a thousand be levied upon every farmer and every home builder in this country who may be compelled or who may desire to use white pine in the construction of his home? The natural effect of it would be that the owners of white pine in Minnesota, Michigan, and Wisconsin would ship their pine to the Eastern markets, and the people in Nebraska and the treeless States will be compelled to go to the same cormorants who own the majority of the pines of the South and purchase their lumber there, and by that means the entire pine output of the United States will be placed in the keeping of this syndicate or these few men. The great millions of people who are struggling to establish homes upon the prairies, who want to build schoolhouses and churches and other institutions for their benefit and for the accommodation of their children and themselves, will have a tax of $2 a thousand or more levied upon them to pay tribute to this syndicate or these few men.

Mr. President, when the white pine disappears in this country, if this paragraph shall become a law, do not our friends upon the other side know that these same men will control the white pine forests of Canada, and will not the people of this country be at the absolute mercy of the owner or owners of Canadian pine? Then the cry will go up through the length and breadth of our country that white pine is gone and the tariff must come off of it, and the Canadian and the Yankee in secret partnership across the line, owning and controlling the white pine of Canada, will raise the price of it to the American consumer, and he will be at their absolute mercy. Mr. President, there is no escape from this proposition.

I notice one peculiar thing in the tariff hearings, or rather the absence of one thing. In examining these hearings upon wood, and the manufactures of, there is a singular absence of any witness representing the agricultural interests of this country. Among all of the competent men in the United States, and there are some very competent men representing the agricultural interests, the master of the grange, the presidents of the different alliances, not one of them was invited by the Committee on Ways and Means to give his testimony upon this schedule. Why, sir, it was a race of jackals before that committee. Every man who appeared before it was interested in the lumber trade or in the timber trade in some form or another.

The men who wanted protection, the men who owned the forests and who wanted to grow rich out of the people who are compelled to use their product, were there in great numbers. The men who were handling the lumber as an occupation, or thought of making an occupation of it, were there. Not a home builder in the United States, not a representative of the humble classes who are building up the cities and the villages of the great West and South, was there. These hearings were not open to him. Neither the doors of Congress nor the doors of the committee room were open to the representatives of that class of people. They were open only to those who fatten and grow rich out of tariff taxation.

Mr. President, the adoption of this paragraph will place every farmer in the Missouri and Mississippi basin and the great West and Southwest at the absolute mercy of the men who control the pine interests of this country. What does it signify to a farmer to-day? To pay the tariff tax on a thousand feet of lumber means 20 bushels of corn to the farmer according to current prices. It means between 16 and 17 bushels of oats. It means about 4, or between 4 and 5, bushels of his wheat. If he builds a home requiring 10,000 feet of lumber, which will be a humble home indeed, it takes 200 bushels of his corn at current prices to pay the tariff tax. What reason is there in permitting less than a dozen men or a dozen institutions of this country to levy upon every corn field and every oat field and every wheat field of the United States a tribute of this kind? Why should not these men be put upon an equality in the market? Why should not the men who are dealing in white pine to-day be compelled to walk out into a competitive market and take their chances in that market as other people are required to do?

Mr. President, it will not do to say that the American wage earner in the pine woods of the United States is paid more and better wages than the Kanuck is paid. The truth is, the wages across the line as a whole are higher than they are in the United States for like services. There is nothing in that argument. The claptrap so frequently used in these discussions, that the interest of the wage earner is advanced and the poor man's condition in this country is improved over the condition of a like laborer in another country, can not be urged in this case. No, Mr. President, it is simply an attempt, in my judgment, to pay back to this great syndicate or these great syndicates of lumber owners a compensation which possibly they advanced less than a year ago.

Mr. President, larceny is larceny; it makes no difference what name you may give it. You may call it a breach of trust, you may call it a breach of good faith, you may call it embezzlement, you may give it any soft-sounding name you see fit, but a law that permits one class of people to take from another without compensation their just and honest earnings is, in the eyes of the law, of the higher law, and in the eyes of honest men, nothing short of absolute larceny, legalized larceny.

We have thirteen and a half million of homes in the United States. Many of our people are undergoing the privation of pioneer life. Life at best in the great West and in the undeveloped portion of this country is a constant struggle. Why should not those who are marking out the pathway of civilization and endeavoring to build up homes be encouraged to some extent at least? Why should not the material that enters into the construction of their humble abodes be free from taxation, especially when there is no necessity of levying a tax for revenue upon lumber?

Mr. President, there can be no excuse for this. The people are disorganized; they are not organized like the syndicates controlling almost one-half of the white pine of this country. They are too poor to come to Congress and hang around these lobbies and galleries to influence the action of Congressmen. They can not do that. Many of them would be unable to get here and return from the profits of their farms. They must depend upon the sense of right and the patriotism of their representatives here to protect them from such an enormous evil as the imposition of a tariff upon lumber would be.

Every prairie in the land, every interior section of the United States, under just legislation upon this and upon other questions would have a schoolhouse and a church and colleges as gorgeous and commodious as the most populous city. Is there any reason why they should not have these accommodations? Are they not American citizens? Do they not bear their burdens of taxation and the other burdens of Government when called upon, and do it patiently and uncomplainingly? Why should any man in a populous city have a greater opportunity to enjoy the blessings of life in this country than should be enjoyed by the farmers and the industrial classes under a just and humane system of legislation?

At the proper time I shall urge the passage of the amendments I have offered.

Mr. BERRY. Mr. President, the question pending before the Senate, if I am correctly advised, is the motion of the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST] to strike white pine from the list of lumber proposed by the House bill to be taxed at $2 per thousand feet. I think from the argument used here on Saturday it is admitted that the great body of white pine in the United States has been consumed, and that which remains is owned by a comparatively few syndicates of very wealthy men in the States of Michigan, Minnesota, and Wisconsin. This proposition is to place a tax of $2 on the thousand upon Canadian lumber, which will thereby increase the value of the white pine owned by these syndicates $2 on the thousand.

It is also argued, Mr. President, and was, I think, by the Senator from Georgia [Mr. BACON] on Saturday last, that if the price of white pine is increased in those Northern States, it will have a tendency also to broaden the market for the yellow pine of the South, and will also, if not to the same extent at least to a large extent, increase the price of the yellow pine which is grown throughout the Southern States.

It is argued, however, upon the other hand by a great many persons, that the tax on white pine will not affect the yellow pine of the South either one way or the other, that it is used for different purposes in a large measure, and that no tax levied upon white pine can increase the price of the yellow pine.

Let that be as it may, if it does not increase it, then there is no reason why Southern Senators, as I believe, should vote to cause the people of the Dakotas and Nebraska and Kansas to pay the

owners, this syndicate, in certain Northern States $2 a thousand upon all the lumber that they buy to build their houses.

Mr. ALLEN. Will the Senator from Arkansas permit me to interrupt him at that point?

Mr. BERRY. Certainly.

Mr. ALLEN. I want to state for the benefit of the Senator and for the benefit of the Senate that the yellow pine of the South is rapidly displacing the white pine of the North in the treeless States. Whereas twenty years ago we built our houses with white pine largely, 90 per cent of the construction of our houses to-day is of the yellow pine of the South.

Mr. BERRY. I was going to state, if it does not affect it, then, unless a man believes in protection for the sake of protection, I can not see why he would vote to increase the price of white pine that is located in the States of Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota.

If, upon the other hand, it does increase the price of the yellow pine of the South, then, unless a Senator be in favor of protection for the sake of protection, I can not see why, as to those engaged in other pursuits—in raising cotton, wheat, corn, fruit, or any other pursuit—he would vote to impose this additional tax upon them in order to increase the price of the lumber throughout that section.

Unless it be in the State of Mississippi, the State of Arkansas has probably the largest amount of yellow pine of any of the Southern States. The southern part of Arkansas and all parts of it has more or less yellow pine. Throughout the eastern and the northeastern part of the State there is a large interest in cypress, while in the north and in the northwest there is hard wood of various kinds.

I have been urged again and again, by letter, by telegram, and by petition from the mill owners in my own State, to vote to place this tax upon lumber. If I could justly and conscientiously aid those people, Mr. President, without working an injury to any other human being, if I could do them a benefit without doing a wrong to the agriculturists of my own State or of other States, then I should have every disposition on earth to help them; but to ask me, in order to enable them to get more for their lumber, to vote to impose an additional tax upon the man who is raising cotton, out of the proceeds of which he may build his house, seems to me such rank injustice that I can not in conscience cast such a vote.

The manufacturers of lumber tell me that they can not sustain themselves unless they get an additional price for lumber. On the other hand, the men who are engaged in raising cotton, wheat, and corn say, "With the present prices, if you force us to pay an additional amount for lumber to build the houses that shelter our families, we can not buy the lumber with the prices that we receive for our wheat and our corn and our cotton."

Mr. President, in a Government like ours, which professes to do equal and exact justice to all, under a Government which professes to confer no special privileges, how can we justify a vote which takes from a man engaged in raising cotton and gives to the man who is running a mill in the same State? That is not my idea of justice; and much as it would gratify me to be able to do that which these citizens of my State ask me to do, I believe that it is wrong in conscience, that it is contrary to principle, that it is contrary to every profession that I have ever made, and that it is contrary to the Democratic faith and the Democratic doctrine as I understand it. Therefore, notwithstanding the wishes of these large interests, I shall be compelled to vote to strike off the tax of $2 a thousand feet upon white-pine lumber, which is placed in this bill for the benefit of large syndicates in the Northern States. I can not believe that it is just or fair that I should force the people in Nebraska, in the Dakotas, or in Kansas to contribute to the wealth already held by these enormous syndicates by placing a tax upon the lumber which the people are compelled to purchase.

The Senator from Georgia [Mr. BACON], however, says that this tax is purely a revenue tax. He said he was not a protectionist, and he repeated more than once that if he believed this tax was placed here for the purpose of protection he would not vote for it. But, Mr. President, what is a protectionist? What does the Senator understand protectionist to mean? I understand it to mean the man who believes that it is right to impose a tax upon imported goods in order to increase the price of the same character of goods or of goods used for the same purpose which are produced in our own country. I understand protection to mean a tax upon foreign goods for the purpose of increasing the price in this country of the domestic goods of the same character. I care not whether it is done directly or indirectly, if that is the purpose, if that is the idea, if that is the object, it is protection.

Mr. President, the Senator from Georgia said—and I give him credit for stating that which he honestly believes—that his sole object in voting for this tax was in order to obtain revenue. I do not dispute his word. I have no doubt that he honestly believes what he stated; yet I can not resist the conclusion that if there was no yellow pine in Georgia, if there was no sawmill within the limits of that State, if the people of Georgia were compelled to get their lumber from some other State in this Union, the Senator would not have been so anxious for revenue from this particular article, but would have found some other article upon which a tax could have been levied.

Mr. BACON. Will the Senator permit me?

Mr. BERRY. I yield to the Senator from Georgia.

Mr. BACON. Mr. President, I have no disposition to interrupt the thread of the Senator's address. If I shall have any reply to make to what he says, I prefer to make it at another time; but I can not allow his misstatement of my position to go unchallenged. The Senator is entirely mistaken in attributing to me any such expression as that which he has just stated. He can not find it, and the RECORD will not show it.

Mr. BERRY. Which expression, please?

Mr. BACON. The Senator stated with very great emphasis that I had said that my sole purpose in favoring this wood schedule was to raise revenue for the Government, and then he proceeded very effectually to demolish that position. I never made any such statement, and the Senator can not find it in the printed RECORD.

Mr. BERRY. I was not undertaking to quote the exact language used by the Senator from Georgia, but I stated that he said not only once, but reiterated it again and again, that he was not a protectionist, and that if this tax was levied for the purpose of protection, he would not support it.

Mr. BACON. That is not what I said. I said if it amounted to a protective rate, I would not support it.

Mr. BERRY. Well, Mr. President, they are fine distinctions which the Senator draws, and if they are satisfactory to him, they are satisfactory to me; but I stated that the Senator had said that he was not a protectionist, and he said that more than once.

Mr. BACON. Oh, yes; that is correct.

Mr. BERRY. Mr. President, if the object of the tax is not to increase the price of lumber, then it must be for revenue only, and if the object be to increase the price of lumber, then it is protection. Whether the tax is large or whether it is small, whether it comes incidentally or directly, wherever and whenever the purpose behind it is to give one man more for his product than he would otherwise receive without the enactment of such a law, then it is what I call protection.

I do not believe in protection. I believe that protection is a great curse to this country. If I had been inclined to believe in it, when I had seen, as I have seen this winter, men gathered around this Capitol, gathered around the members of the Finance Committee, and urging in every possible way that the taxes be increased upon this article and upon that article, protesting that they could not make a living unless Congress stepped in and passed a law which would aid them in getting more from their neighbors than they could get without the law; when I have seen a bill framed, as this was framed, in the interest of every trust and combine in this country; when I have seen Senators who here three years ago opposed the sugar tax, and denounced it as a capitation tax, bring in a schedule which gives the trust far more than it was receiving under the bill which they opposed so strenuously three years ago; when I have seen that every increase of rate has been where there was great wealth and combinations of capital behind it—I say, if I had been inclined to favor protection before, these things would be sufficient to show that a bill framed upon protection lines ought never to pass the Congress of the United States.

I know full well, Mr. President, that in my own State those who are engaged in the sawmill business, and many merchants, too, who are dependent upon that interest, are earnestly urging the delegation from that State to vote for this tax. It has been said by certain Southern members, though not by the Senator from Georgia, that notwithstanding it is all wrong, yet, while these benefits are being divided out, "Why should not the South come in and get her part?"

Mr. President, I can not subscribe to such a doctrine as that. If it be wrong in principle, if Congress has no right to do it, if, as the Democratic convention in 1892 declared, every dollar levied for any purpose except for revenue was a robbery, then no man can justify himself in participating in that robbery by insisting that as others will reap the benefit anyhow, he should have his part. That may be sufficient for others, but it is not sufficient for me. I can not call it a robbery to put a tax upon an article consumed by the people of my State and at the same time say it is a virtue to put a tax on an article that we have to sell.

Then, as I say, Mr. President, notwithstanding these interests in my own State, notwithstanding the petitions which have come from them, I know full well that while the large body of people who are engaged in agricultural pursuits and engaged in every other vocation of life have not been heard from, yet I know they will not and can not approve of a proposition that we should legislate here to make their burdens heavier in order to put more money into the pockets of those engaged in the lumber business throughout the United States.

Mr. HOAR. May I ask the Senator a question before he sits down?

Mr. BERRY. Certainly.

Mr. HOAR. I ask the Senator if, in his judgment, there should be any revenue duty upon white pine?

Mr. BERRY. In my opinion, knowing the present condition, white pine ought to be on the free list, so that every farmer throughout the land can buy it for the lowest price possible.

Mr. HOAR. Why should there not be a revenue duty on that as much as on anything else?

Mr. BERRY. I do not propose to be cross-examined by the Senator from Massachusetts in regard to the various tariff schedules of this bill. I am arguing as to the white-pine schedule; and I tell him the duty which is proposed has been shown to be prohibitive; and, that being true, the only purpose can be to give the men who own the white pine in the Northern States this additional amount of money.

I repeat to the Senator, as I have said before, when he asks why there should not be a duty upon white pine, that there are many other articles upon which a revenue duty could be placed which would bear less hard upon the agricultural classes than a tax on lumber.

Mr. CAFFERY. Mr. President, in 1896 there was imported $1,947,280 worth of woods, and manufactures thereof, into the United States. The exportations from the United States were $31,947,108 worth of woods, and manufactures thereof. In the same year there was imported of woods, and manufactures thereof, about $30,587,000 worth. It is known of all men that the forests of the South are covered with a growth of pine and other timber sufficient not only for all our domestic purposes, but they constitute a large amount, if not the most considerable amount, of the exports of wood from the United States.

It was perfectly apparent from the exposition made of the white-pine industry by the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. PETTIGREW] that the only purpose and object of placing a tariff on white pine was to enable the syndicates and owners of the mills in the United States engaged in the white-pine industry to levy just the amount of the tariff on the home consumer. It was stated by that Senator that there were only some 50,000,000 feet of white-pine lumber left standing in the United States, and it was in order to monopolize the remainder of this white-pine lumber that this tariff was asked in behalf of the white-pine sawmill men in the States of Michigan and Wisconsin.

Mr. WILSON. May I interrupt the Senator on that point? I can give him some information, I think. I shall occupy but a moment.

Mr. CAFFERY. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. WILSON. We had exhibited here on Saturday a map relating to the white-pine regions, and the statement has gone out to the country that the only white pine was in Michigan and Wisconsin. These very able statisticians seem to overlook the fact that there is to-day standing in the State of Idaho more white pine than was originally standing in the States of Pennsylvania, West Virginia, and Maine, and the State of Idaho selected those white-pine lands under the grant by Congress to that State when it was a Territory.

Mr. GRAY. May I ask the Senator a question right there?

Mr. WILSON. Certainly.

Mr. GRAY. The Senator says that there is more white pine standing in the State of Idaho than there was in what States?

Mr. WILSON. That there is more white pine in Idaho than in the States of Pennsylvania, West Virginia, and Maine originally.

Mr. GRAY. And yet they call upon the Government to give them something in addition to that bounty of nature.

Mr. WILSON. We call upon the Government to do the same that is done upon the other side of the line. We do not have rebates on this side of the line as they have on the other side.

Mr. GRAY. With such a bounty as nature has given you, I do not commend the attitude of the Senator in seeking to obtain an additional advantage by the imposition of a duty to be paid by the poor people of the United States.

Mr. WILSON. Mr. President, I do not desire the commendation of the Senator from Delaware upon that.

Mr. MANTLE. May I interrupt the Senator from Louisiana a moment?

Mr. CAFFERY. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. MANTLE. I merely want to ask, in connection with the statement just made by the Senator from Washington [Mr. WILSON], whether it is true or it is not true that this great body of white pine in the State of Idaho to which he has just referred has not been set apart in the late forestry reservation order, and if it is not, therefore, or if it will not be in a few months, withdrawn from public use?

Mr. WILSON. Mr. President, in answer to the Senator——

Mr. CAFFERY. I believe I have the floor.

Mr. WILSON. I beg the Senator's pardon.

Mr. CAFFERY. I desire to state to the Senator from Washington that the report from the Agricultural Department, I am informed, states that the white pine of which he speaks will be exhausted in about seven years. So that the supply of white pine is very limited, and the argument made by the Senator from South Dakota is in no manner impaired or weakened by the statement of the Senator from Washington.

Mr. SHOUP. Will the Senator from Louisiana allow me to say a word?

Mr. CAFFERY. Certainly.

Mr. SHOUP. I wish to call the Senator's attention to the fact that just before the expiration of the term of President Cleveland something over 4,000,000 acres of timber lands were set apart as forest reserves in the State of Idaho. These reserves, however, do not embrace all the white pine in Idaho, for we have some white pine in other parts of the State not set aside for reservations, along the Salmon River, in the Bitter Root reserve, extending something like 200 miles along the Salmon River and extending back to the Bitter Root Mountains.

In the extreme northern part of the State and on the borders of the State of Washington there is another great forest reservation. It is a fact, however, that only a portion of this timber is white pine; but of the 9,000,000 acres of timber land in the State of Idaho nearly one-half of the timber is of white pine.

Mr. CAFFERY. Mr. President, I do not desire to branch off into the discussion suggested by the argument of the Senator from Idaho [Mr. SHOUP] as to the propriety or impropriety of these forest reservations. It may be that there is a large amount of timber land included within those forestry reservations. My own opinion is very decided in that regard, that the Presidential order exempting those lands from depredations and reserving those lands was a wise one and a proper one. I think it is evident that the denudation of forests——

Mr. RAWLINS. Will the Senator permit a question?

Mr. CAFFERY. Certainly.

Mr. RAWLINS. I wish to ask, Does the Senator think that the forestry-reservation order was a wise one in the interest of the timber monopoly in Michigan and Wisconsin that has been spoken of?

Mr. CAFFERY. I have no reference to the timber monopoly. I believe that the denudation of the forests of the United States is a fruitful cause of excessive droughts and excessive floods. I do not believe, further, that these timber reservations ought to be open to the indiscriminate spoliation by which they have been devastated in the past. But that question is wholly aside from the one I am discussing.

Mr. ALLEN. Will the Senator permit me a suggestion there?

Mr. CAFFERY. I do not care, however, to be drawn into any argument in regard to the policy or the impolicy of the forest-reservation order.

Mr. ALLEN. I simply wanted to inform the Senator of a fact of which he appears to be in ignorance.

Mr. CAFFERY. I am ignorant of a great many facts, I have no doubt.

Mr. ALLEN. One-half of these forest reservations do not grow five trees to the acre. What they do grow are little, scrubby trees, not to exceed 10, 15, 20, or 25 feet in height. They are scarcely fit for firewood. Does the Senator think that settlers should be deprived of the privilege of settling on that land by having immense reservations of that kind set apart?

Mr. CAFFERY. Land that will only grow scrub trees will not grow much of anything else. The agricultural properties of that soil are very well defined by the Senator from Nebraska when he says that the land will not grow forest trees.

Mr. ALLEN. I say, take it along the base of the Rocky Mountains—if the Senator knows anything about that country—the land does not produce good trees; it is good grazing land and produces good grass, but the little knotty trees, 10, 15, or 20 feet in height, would barely make firewood. Thousands of acres of that kind of land have been set apart in forest reservations by the very intelligent order of the recent President of the United States.

Mr. CAFFERY. I know the Senator's animus toward the recent President of the United States.

Mr. ALLEN. No; I have a very high respect for the great ability of the recent President of the United States, but I think he should have traveled over this country and seen it before he made any order affecting forest reservations.

Mr. CAFFERY. I have no doubt if he had traveled over the country his views and those of the Senator from Nebraska would be much wider apart than they are now, for more extended knowledge perhaps on his part would make the divergence very great indeed.

Mr. ALLEN. The late President of the United States has not traveled over this country.

Mr. CAFFERY. I do not think it is necessary to travel over this country at all to arrive at an intelligent conclusion as to the policy or impolicy of making forest reservations; but I do not care to enter into that question.

Mr. ALLEN. I say the late President of the United States, Mr. Cleveland, practically knows nothing about any section of the country west of the Alleghany Mountains.

Mr. CAFFERY. I will state that the forestry-reservation order of the President of the United States was founded upon the report of the forestry commission. That commission was composed of men entirely familiar with the subject, both as a practical matter and as a scientific matter. It is impossible for the President of the United States at any time to travel all over the United States and to look into these details. President Cleveland had, therefore, to take the conclusions of the forestry commission and base his order upon those conclusions. I do not care, however, about being drawn into such a discussion.

Mr. ALLEN. Will the Senator permit me in that connection?

Mr. CAFFERY. I decline to yield further on that ground.

Mr. ALLEN. Very well, then; I will take another ground. Will the Senator yield to me on that?

Mr. CAFFERY. Very well; go ahead.

Mr. ALLEN. I wish simply to say that the commission of which the Senator speaks was composed of a lot of Eastern theorists who knew nothing whatever practically about forests. It was composed of a few men calling themselves the American Forestry Association, who live upon the Atlantic Seaboard, and they have practically set apart a great scope of country from actual settlement and actual use for the purpose of a forest reservation.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Mr. President——

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Louisiana [Mr. CAFFERY] has the floor.

Mr. CAFFERY. I yield to the Senator from Arkansas.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I voted to revoke the order of the late President on the assurance given in the Senate that there were vast tracts of this land that were practically treeless, and that there were thousands of settlers in the midst of them, and post-offices and villages scattered all through them. I confess that I am astonished now to find that the bulk of them are solid white-pine forests from side to side, containing nothing but white-pine trees.

Mr. ALLEN. Where did the Senator get that information?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. From Senators on the other side.

Mr. CAFFERY. These gentlemen seem to corroborate the forestry commission. But the question concerns the denudation of these forests. It is a very great question, and it is a wide question. Whether the trees are little or whether they are big, they shade the ground, they prevent the too rapid precipitation of the water falling from the skies into the rivers, and they therefore hold back floods and are an immense benefit to the people living in the valleys of rivers which overflow their banks.

The Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST] has kindly handed me an extract from a statement prepared by the Chief of the Forestry Division, and I will read it. It is as follows:

> In all these estimates of standing timber the writer has leaned toward extravagance rather than understatement, and thus the total is found to add up 10,000,000,000 feet of coniferous growth in the Northern States, of which less than half is pine, to satisfy a cut of at least eighteen to twenty billion feet per annum.
>
> The writer does not say that in less than six years every stick of pine, spruce, and hemlock will be cut, for such figures as these do not admit of mathematical deductions, but the gravity of the question of supply is certainly apparent. Even doubling the estimates it is found that, with the present rate and method of cutting, ten years must have exhausted our virgin timber of these classes. We should add that much more intimate knowledge exists now regarding these supplies than was possible in 1880, when much of the country was still unopened and unknown.
>
> To be sure, there is some new growth and reproduction going on. The probability as to the former is that decay and destruction by fire offsets the accretion on the old timber of coniferous growth, and no one familiar with our forest conditions and present methods will indulge in a hope that the reproductions and young growth can materially change the results. Long before any new reproduction can have attained log size we will have got rid of the virgin supplies.

There is a statement, I suppose, from one of those impractical theorists who do not know anything about trees as they exist; but as we have to take our statements from these sources, we are bound to accept this finding of the forestry commissioner that in less than ten years the forests of coniferous growth will be exhausted and not reproduced.

But, Mr. President, this question assumes a wider scope than the mere question of the monopoly of white-pine interests in the States of Michigan and Wisconsin. The Senator from Nebraska has argued the question of free lumber upon purely Democratic lines. He has assailed to some extent, as has the Senator from Arkansas, the principle laid down by the Senator from Georgia [Mr. BACON]. The Senator from Georgia says that he advocates a tariff on lumber purely upon a revenue basis.

I venture to say that with the enormous forests of the South, with their almost inexhaustible supply of yellow pine, with the constantly growing export trade of the lumber from those forests, and its manufactures, no revenue of any kind can come by the imposition of a protective tariff upon the yellow pine of the South. How will it work? Before you can put on a protective tariff you have to have imports, and an examination of the statistical table here shows that there is no import of yellow pine into the United States.

Mr. BACON. Will the Senator permit me?

Mr. CAFFERY. Certainly.

Mr. BACON. A protective tariff might not yield revenue, and a revenue tariff might. The Senator begs the question when he says there will be no revenue from a tariff levied upon yellow pine. There can be a revenue from a tariff, such as is proposed here, levied upon the importations of lumber; and without trespassing upon the Senator's time I desire to call his attention to the fact that the comparative statement, which I presume he has among the voluminous documents I see upon his desk, shows that last year there was nearly $17,000,000 worth of lumber imported into this country, and a rate of 20 per cent, which does not exceed a revenue rate, would produce between three and four million dollars of revenue for the Government.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Where does the Senator think the lumber comes from?

Mr. BACON. I presume it comes from Canada. I do not know where else.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The importation of lumber from Canada was seven and a half millions.

Mr. BACON. If the Senator will examine the document, he will see—I got it from the Senator from Texas, who showed it to me in a document on his desk—that it amounted to between sixteen and seventeen million dollars.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I think the Senator will find that the importations from Canada are about seven and a half million dollars and the domestic production about four and a half or five hundred million dollars. So it is about 2 per cent.

Mr. BACON. I do not say the importation is from Canada. I do not know where it is from. It does not state that it does come from Canada. It states the amount.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. We are discussing the importations of Canadian lumber, and it is pertinent to know the amount of lumber that comes from Canada.

Mr. BACON. We are not discussing that. We are discussing the importations. The Senator from Arkansas asked me where the lumber came from. I said I presumed it came from Canada. I do not know where else it comes from, Mexico not being a lumber-producing country, and none of it, I presume, coming across the sea.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. South America.

Mr. BACON. We export lumber to those countries and do not import it. Certain woods come from South America, but they are not woods that come into competition in the ordinary construction of houses. Woods out of which furniture and things of that kind are made come from South America.

Mr. CAFFERY. I understand the proposition of the Senator from Georgia to be that a revenue tariff might not yield revenue on all lumber, and that a revenue tariff upon pine lumber may not yield protection. That is what I understand the Senator to say.

Mr. BACON. I confess that, while the Senator is usually very lucid, I do not understand his statement.

Mr. CAFFERY. My statement is that a revenue tariff, a tariff of 20 per cent, as he says, may yield revenue on all lumber, but it would not yield a revenue and therefore no protection on yellow-pine lumber. Is that straight enough?

Mr. BACON. I say that the levying of a revenue duty necessarily affects the prices of all articles with which the article thus taxed would come into competition, and that when you have a general tariff upon the importation of all kinds of lumber, whether there is any yellow pine imported or not, if the lumber upon which the duty is imposed comes into competition with yellow pine, it will affect the price of yellow pine.

Mr. CAFFERY. As a matter of fact, white pine does not come into competition with yellow pine. They are used for different purposes.

Mr. BACON. That is a matter of fact upon which the Senator from Louisiana is entirely mistaken.

Mr. CAFFERY. Very well.

Mr. BACON. There are a great many uses of white pine in which yellow pine is not used, but white pine is used in a great many things, in the building of houses, boarding, siding, and things of that kind, where it does come directly into competition with yellow pine. It is not used for making boxes, and white pine is.

Mr. CAFFERY. Therefore the proposition is that if white pine is used for purposes for which yellow pine is used and white pine has a revenue tariff upon it, it affects the price of yellow pine.

Mr. BACON. Undoubtedly.

Mr. CAFFERY. So that the duty as to yellow pine, from the admission of the Senator from Georgia, is purely for protection, because none of it is imported.

Mr. BACON. Not at all; not in the least. The revenue is derived from that which comes into competition with it.

Mr. CAFFERY. Yes, sir; but none from yellow pine. You put a tariff upon an article to protect it, or to produce revenue. In my simple Democratic faith I would consent to have a tariff put upon an article only to produce revenue, with no sort of idea of protection. It does not enter into my calculation.

But I dispute the proposition of fact. The tariff upon lumber can only affect that lumber which is imported into the United States to a great extent. The yellow-pine lumber of the South can not legitimately be raised in price by a tariff in favor of the white-pine lumber of the North. We export large quantities of yellow pine. Ships from my country go every week to Mexico. Immense quantities are shipped from Mobile, and nearly every Southern port is a port of export for sawed pine lumber or split lumber.

Mr. President, in my opinion a tariff of $2 a thousand upon white pine is absolutely prohibitive. You can not get it in. The tariff is too high. So the feature of revenue spoken of by the Senator from Georgia cuts no figure at all in this matter. If this tariff, as it is alleged to be and as it is shown to be, is prohibitive of the introduction of white-pine lumber, you can not get revenue, by reflex action, upon the yellow pine of Georgia, for the white pine will not come in. It will prohibit it. Therefore it is that the competition among the home producers of yellow pine fixes the price at home, and the price of the exported article of yellow pine has a tendency to fix the domestic price.

A tariff on lumber, while useless for revenue and for legitimate protection, would only provide a means for the easier formation of lumber trusts.

I can find no point upon which the tariff on lumber can rest, either for revenue or protection. It is designed simply to allow a few mill owners and white-pine forest owners on the border between the United States and Canada to charge an unconscionable price for their lumber. It will not affect the Southern industry. That industry is broadening and extending to a wonderful degree. It is seeking foreign markets in every direction. We have an inexhaustible supply, and I speak knowingly when I say that the cypress-lumber industry of my State, notwithstanding the fact that a representative of it came before the Committee on Ways and Means and asked for the imposition of this tax of $2 a thousand, appears to be in as flourishing a condition as any other industry in the State.

The cypress is finding its way all over the United States. It is being used for a number of purposes for which cedar was used. It is very valuable in making water tanks to keep a supply of water. The shingles are of extraordinary durability, lasting as long as the best shingles ever made, and they are finding their way to the markets of the United States. While I am glad to see any industry in my State flourish as I know now that the cypress industry is flourishing, I should be very sorry to see any imposition laid upon the consumers of lumber in the United States merely to afford the mill owners of Louisiana an opportunity to add more to the price of the lumber than the lumber ought legitimately to sell for.

Why is this tariff sought to be placed upon lumber? With these inexhaustible forests of lumber in the South, with the absolute impossibility of any competition with our mill owners, with the fact staring us in the face that we are exporting large quantities of the product of our forests in the South, I can not find it in my conscience to place a tariff upon lumber. Providence has so ordained things in the United States that we have prairie land and timber land in juxtaposition.

The lumber of the South exchanges for the corn and the hogs and the other products of Kansas and other States. There has sprung up between us a most profitable trade in the interchange of products—our Southern products for the products of the prairie States—and I submit it would be a very heavy blow to our industry to shatter or to embarrass the purchasing power of the dwellers in the prairies by placing upon them an additional price to be paid for the lumber necessarily used by them. It will have a tendency to cripple the home industry. It will not add one single cent to your revenue, for none of it comes in. You can not put a tariff where there is no importation, or if you do, it is useless. I can not find any one single point upon which the tariff on lumber can rest so far as the Southern lumbermen are concerned.

I am curious to know how an advocate of the tariff-for-revenue-only principle can support a tariff on lumber. The absolute prerequisite is wanting. A tariff upon white-pine lumber is prohibitive, and in consequence you do not get any of that lumber imported from Canada. A tariff in favor of yellow-pine lumber is inoperative, because none is imported. Where, therefore, is your revenue? Either this tariff must be justified upon the ground of protection, pure and simple, or it can not be justified at all. Not only are we making all the lumber we want, with capacity to extend its manufacture to indefinite proportions, but we are exporting it. It can not be imported, and I should like to know where the Senator from Georgia finds a basis to place the tariff-for-revenue-only principle on lumber.

Mr. BACON. I recognize the fact that the Senator from Louisiana may not concede the orthodoxy of this document, but the platform on which I stand does not use the language he now uses. The platform of the Democratic party in its last convention on this subject was in these words:

> We hold that the tariff duties should be levied for purposes of revenue—

And I call the attention of the Senator particularly to what follows, because it is upon that that I base my position in this matter—

> such duties to be so adjusted as to operate equally throughout the country and not discriminate between class or section.

That is my platform, and the one, I say, on which I base the position I take as to the wood schedule; that it is that which insures equality to all sections in imposing equal rates of tariff, or approximately equal rates of tariff, upon the raw material as well as upon the finished product, and that the other plan, favoring the finished product and not the raw material, is to discriminate between class and section, that which the Democratic party condemns, and which I also condemn, because I thoroughly agree with it.

Mr. CAFFERY. There appears to be a little difference between the platform adopted at Chicago and the platform adopted at Indianapolis. It may suit the ideas of some Senators to say there is but one Democratic platform, and that is the platform of Chicago; but take that platform and let us see how it squares with the doctrine enunciated by the Senator from Georgia.

"We believe in a tariff for revenue," leaving out "only." Very well. "We believe in adjusting the tariff so that all classes will be equally operated upon." Those, substantially, are the words of the platform which the Senator quoted. Now, how does that square with the facts in this case? A tariff on lumber only benefits the white-pine producers of the United States lying on the Canadian border.

Mr. BACON. There is where the Senator and I differ as to the facts.

Mr. CAFFERY. Very well; that is my argument. A tariff upon lumber can not affect the yellow-pine interest of the South. You can not have a tariff for revenue—leave out the "only," if you please—unless you get the article imported. Your tariff upon lumber of $2 a thousand will prohibit the introduction of lumber from Canada. Where is your revenue without the imports? It is begging the question to say that, with no imports of yellow pine into the United States from abroad, a tariff on lumber generally, which is prohibitive of the introduction of all lumber, will by reflex action benefit the yellow-pine lumber of the South.

Perhaps I am obtuse; perhaps I can not see the exceedingly fine-spun point of the Senator from Georgia, but in my humble way of looking at things it is catching before killing; it is importing an article before you can put a tax upon it. When you place a tax which is proved to be prohibitive of the only lumber that comes into the United States, I should like to know where the reflex action is that would beneficially affect lumber in other localities. We are bound to import into the United States lumber that we do not and can not raise in the United States. We are bound to import dyewoods and other hard woods which we do not produce, and upon them a tariff is purely for revenue; but they are introduced to such a small extent and are so necessary in the manufacture of articles that a tariff upon them is unwise and injudicious, inasmuch as it cripples other manufactures.

Nor do I agree with the Senator from Georgia in the matter of his uniform tariff upon raw material and the finished product. He challenges any precise statement in any Democratic platform of a tariff upon raw materials. I concede that so far as my observation goes there is no express Democratic declaration on that point, but, sir, it flows from the very nature of Democratic principles. It is a part of the essence of Democracy. If you impose a tariff upon the raw materal, you must necessarily impose a tariff upon the finished product to compensate for that duty. You thereby impose a tariff for protection, pure and simple, to the manufacturer, and the argument therefore leads to the conclusion that as the Democratic principles in their essence deny the imposition of a tariff for protection, therefore you can not place a tariff upon the raw material, which necessarily introduces protection.

It may be that manufacturers are unduly protected. It may be that it is in violation of Democratic principle, and it is that they should be unduly protected, but I submit to the Senate whether or not, one wrong being conceded, you want to multiply wrongs and go deeper into error by placing a tariff upon the raw material because the manufacturer is protected. In other words, if the protected hand slaps you on one cheek, turn around and slap yourself on the other. If there is error, multiply it. If it is wrong to put a tariff upon the manufactured article, place one upon the raw material. Is that the logic of Democracy?

Mr. BACON. The language of Democracy is that tariff should be levied for revenue, and if it is levied for revenue on the manufactured article, it should also be levied for revenue on the raw material.

Mr. CAFFERY. But when you place it on the raw material you do not secure revenue. You have to compensate the manufacturer, and the tariff he pays upon the raw material is added to the selling price of the article. It comes out of the consumer. It does not go into the Treasury. It is a tax, pure and simple, upon consumption. It does not come within the grasp of Democratic principles in my construction of what Democratic principles are. As a matter of course, gentlemen differ with me in this opinion. That is their privilege. I am now only attempting to show, in my humble way, that it is un-Democratic to place a tariff on the raw material because there is a tariff upon the manufactured article of which the raw material is one of the ingredients or component parts.

Mr. BACON. I shall not interrupt the Senator to the extent of discussing the question whether, where there is a tariff upon the finished article, it should all be in favor of the manufacturer who puts the finishing touch, as I said Saturday, on some particular article, or whether it should be distributed so as to include the manufacturer of the raw material out of which the finished product is made. As I say, I shall not stop to discuss that now. It would take too much of the Senator's time, and, in addition, I expressed my views on that point upon Saturday. But as I called the attention of the Senate to the question of the amount of imports of wood, and there seemed to be some doubt expressed by Senators as to whether I was correct, I will give the source of my authority.

In the document entitled Imports of Merchandise for Consumption, 1893, on page 76, there is a statement of importations of woods not elsewhere specified, and manufactures of. In that statement it is shown that of the class of woods which we naturally expect to find imported from South America, such as box, cedar, ebony, lancewood, lignum-vitæ, mahogany, rose, sandal, and all other woods of that class, the total imports amounted to one million eight hundred and forty-six thousand and some odd dollars. Of the woods other than those, and of the kind which are being dealt with in this particular schedule, the imports free were $16,806,589.

Of manufactured woods of the material not embraced in the South American woods there were $3,505,973. So, exclusive of the South American woods, the imports into this country free last year were $16,806,589, upon which, it strikes me, a very considerable revenue could be gotten for the Treasury of the United States by the imposition of a duty not protective, but strictly within the revenue limits.

Mr. CAFFERY. The Senator must remember that the wood which he speaks of as being imported was imported under free trade.

Mr. BACON. Oh, yes; and so I stated.

Mr. CAFFERY. It does not follow (in fact, just the contrary follows) that if the tariff is reimposed you will have revenue from it. I doubt not that a very large portion of our imported woods are from Canada. Canada is a new country, and it is full of wood. The wood industry is necessary to the people living upon the border, and the beneficial effects of an exchange between the Canadian and the American with regard to timber does not extend beyond that narrow frontier. It is confined there. The Senator from Georgia never saw any timber imported from Europe. He will find no lumber imported from the old countries, because they have none.

You can not have wood from those countries which largely compete with us in manufactures. You must have your wood from countries like Canada, or from the Tropics—from new countries. It is absolutely impossible for any importation from the old countries to affect us seriously. There may be a certain growth of timber in old countries that I am not aware of that is imported to some extent, but it could only be very small. The figures cited by the Senator from Georgia prove but very little, for if he will look further into the tables from which he has quoted he will find that the importations jumped up under free trade, and that the high specific tariff which is now being imposed upon a decreased price of lumber will have the undoubted effect of prohibiting the importation altogether.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BURROWS in the chair). The question is on the amendment proposed by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST] to paragraph 193.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Mr. President——

Mr. HOAR. I was going to propose, before the Senator from Arkansas proceeds, what I think might be satisfactory to the Senator from Georgia and the Senator from Louisiana, and would save an immense deal of the time of the Senate in debate. It is that the Senator from Georgia should agree to apply to sugar the protective principle which he thinks ought to be applied to lumber, and the Senator from Louisiana should agree to apply to lumber the protective principle which he thinks ought to be applied to sugar. That would save a great deal of time. [Laughter.]

Mr. BACON. If the Senator from Massachusetts will simply strike out the word "protective" and put "revenue duties" in place of it, I will accept the proposition.

Mr. HOAR. By any other name it would taste as sweet. By any other name it would give high protection.

Mr. CAFFERY. By any other name the statement of the Senator from Massachusetts would be just as erroneous. He can not make me out a protectionist by any side questions like that. There is not any protection in me. If I knew where it was, I would forthwith cut it out. I do not want protection on sugar. I have never asked for protection on sugar. I have had the hardihood to ask for a tariff for revenue on sugar.

Mr. HOAR. Why is the Senator pleading so piteously for a tax on that necessary of life which the poor people in Louisiana have to consume, unless he wants the tax to protect them in raising it?

Mr. CAFFERY. The Senator from Massachusetts is so infused, so inoculated, with the virus of protection that he can never see the strength of any argument for a tariff for revenue purposes. I propose a tariff on sugar because that tariff will go into the Treasury. You want a tariff upon manufactured articles, the proceeds of which will go into the pockets of the manufacturer. There is the distinction. I want a tariff upon articles that yield a revenue to go into the coffers of the Government, and I point to sugar as one of these articles. As I have said to the Senator from Georgia, you could not get the revenue from lumber, and therefore it does not come under the tariff-for-revenue doctrine. There is the difference between us.

Mr. BACON. The trouble about the Senator's argument is that he bases it upon a bald assertion that such a thing can not be or that such a thing will be, and there is no evidence upon which the Senate can act which would bring us to the conclusion that he is correct. He says because one man—and that was disputed this morning in the statement made by the Senator from Michigan—said it would be prohibitory, therefore it must be prohibitory. He takes that as an accepted, conclusive, indisputable fact, and therefore he says his conclusion deduced therefrom must be correct.

Mr. CAFFERY. The statement that all lumber in the United States ought to be protected is a statement which can not be borne out. If we made all the sugar that we wanted and exported a vast amount of sugar, could I have the hardihood to come before the Senate of the United States and ask for a tariff upon it on the line of a tariff for revenue? I could not. We have lumber in that category. We have inexhaustible fields of lumber. Our forests are our wealth. We are disseminating the blessings of that wealth all over the world. We are exporting lumber. We have more than enough. We are giving to those who have no lumber out of our abundance. I want to know whether that article comes within the category of a tariff for revenue.

Every market of Central America, a great many markets of Europe, Canada itself, are recipients of our exports. It can not be a tariff for revenue, or, if so, to a very small degree. The imports show an insignificant amount. In 1889, or the year before the McKinley Act went into operation, the amount of revenue from sugar was $58,000,000, three times the amount of the gross import of lumber into the United States. So, sir, I stand on clear ground, on defensible ground, on Democratic ground, when I plant myself upon sugar as a revenue-producing article.

Mr. TILLMAN. But you do not object to the incidental protection that you get on sugar?

Mr. CAFFERY. I have no regard for incidental protection. I never look backward; I look forward to the principle. Place the tariff on a revenue-producing article and let it operate as it will.

Mr. BACON. If the Senator will pardon me, I simply desire to state that his disclaimer reminds me of the fact that Macaulay, in his History of England, in speaking of the Puritans, said that they objected to bear fighting, or bear baiting, as I believe he termed it, not because it gave pain to the bears, but because it gave pleasure to the spectators. I suppose, on the same line, the Senator from Louisiana objects to every imposition of the tariff, not because it will cause an expense to the people, but because there may be some indirect or incidental benefit derived therefrom.

Mr. CAFFERY. The historical allusions of the Senator from Georgia are as pointless as his argument upon a tariff for lumber.

Mr. BACON. Does the Senator doubt the correctness of it?

Mr. CAFFERY. The correctness or the incorrectness of it is of no sort of moment. Whether Macaulay or Socrates or Plato or anybody else said it, it has no application to the point we are now discussing. I want the pleasure for the people. The bears can take care of themselves.

Whom is the tariff on lumber to benefit? It will give an infinite amount of satisfaction to the lumber syndicates upon the Canadian border. It will give pain and suffering to every poor man who wants to erect a shelter to cover his head. That is what it will do, sir. You want to place a tariff upon this indispensable article, an article that shelters the poor from the pitiless storm, and you cite to me, as a reason to show the fallacy of my argument, the ideas of the old Puritans in regard to bear baiting.

No, sir; I speak here not so much from any sentimental standpoint, from the standpoint of helping the poor, and in advocacy of the correctness of the Democratic principle of tariff for revenue

only. I say that the tariff on lumber can be brought within neither of the principles. What is the principle of protection? Protect until you stimulate the whole enterprise in order to bring the price cheaper to the consumer. That is their theory. The fact has never jumped with the theory. If you want to stimulate the production of lumber, you denude the forests, you kill your industry by protection. Under the situations that exist in the United States, it is absolutely impossible to protect everybody engaged in the lumber business, and you can only protect the lumber industries along the Canadian border.

Mr. HOAR. Mr. President, I do not question the sincerity of the declaration of the Senator from Louisiana. Of course I have no doubt whatever that he is one of those instances of gentlemen which often occur—very honest and worthy people who deceive themselves. But the fact is this: He represents a State which is largely engaged in raising sugar, and which can not make a profit unless there is a revenue duty on sugar, or a bounty, which is out of the question this year. Putting that revenue duty on sugar raises the price of sugar to everybody in this country, and raising the price of sugar to everybody in this country raises the price of a necessary of life of which the poor men consume as much per capita as the rich. Whenever there is a question as to other revenue duties the Senator is not found rising in his place and insisting that there shall be an increased excise tax on beer because it is sure to go into the Treasury, or that there shall be an increased excise tax or duty on a dozen other things which are situated in the same way, which will go into the Treasury; but his whole cry is, "Sugar, Mr. Speaker; sugar, sugar, sugar, sugar!" When the Wilson bill passed, the honorable Senator was so doubtful whether sugar had been taken care of sufficiently that if I am not mistaken he voted "nay," against the bill, when his name was first called, and "yea" on the final vote, and his vote turned the scale. Now, he is as sincere a man as ever lived—I do not say this for the sake of imputing any want of absolute sincerity to the Senator—but he has his theory, and the result of his theory is that the one thing which on free-trade principles is to be protected is the sugar of Louisiana and nothing else.

The honorable Senator from Georgia, who is also a sincere man, a man of the greatest personal worth and intelligence, as we all know, has a theory, under which the lumber of his State is to be protected.

Mr. BACON. The Senator will allow me to correct him. My view of the subject is not limited to lumber. I am in favor, as a general rule, of a tariff on all raw materials, whether they are produced in my State or not.

Mr. HOAR. On all raw materials that compete with the products of Georgia?

Mr. BACON. No, sir; whether they do or not.

Mr. HOAR. Then there are a lot of other Senators who see the point of this and who are laughing about it, who have an idea that a duty of something like 80 or 90 per cent on rice is all right; that it is a revenue duty. Rice is a necessary of life; the duty raises the price of rice to every poor man; it is the poor man's food; but after all the good old Democratic doctrine of free trade is exemplified by putting a duty of 80 or 90 per cent on the rice that our people raise.

Mr. BACON. Will the Senator permit me to ask him a question?

Mr. HOAR. Mr. President, if you commit the making of a tariff to the gentlemen who are conducting this debate against the pending bill on the Democratic side of the Chamber, and tell them if they will write out a tariff we will all shut our eyes and open our mouths and vote for it, they will make a tariff which they will call free trade, but which will amply and thoroughly protect every important industry of their own States. That is what they did when they had a chance to make one before, and that is what they would do if they had a chance to make one now. There is a great deal——

Mr. BACON. I hope the Senator will allow me to ask him a question.

Mr. HOAR. No; let me finish the sentence and then I will yield. Mr. President, there is a great deal of human nature in Democrats. [Laughter.]

Mr. BACON. I desire to ask the Senator from Massachusetts, if the opportunity were given to us to draw a tariff bill, and we should put into it a tax on hides, would he support the bill, or would he insist upon free hides in the interest of the leather and shoe manufacturers of Massachusetts?

Mr. HOAR. If the bill seemed to me to be a sound measure, as I think the present one is likely to be, one which will protect the industries of the country generally, I should certainly defer to the opinion of the majority of my colleagues in regard to one single item like that, and I would vote for the bill.

Mr. BACON. But the Senator is speaking about what individual Senators favor as it may affect their own particular localities, and I desire to know of the Senator from Massachusetts whether he would favor a tax on hides, or whether he would prefer to favor a tax on the manufactures of leather?

Mr. HOAR. That is not the question the Senator asked me before.

Mr. BACON. Well, I ask it now.

Mr. HOAR. The Senator asked me whether, if there was a duty on hides in a tariff bill, I would vote for it, and I said, if it was a proper bill in other respects, I should.

Mr. BACON. I will change the question to the latter form, if the Senator will permit me.

Mr. HOAR. The Senator puts that question. I do not want to prolong the debate, but I will say just this: The hide is not a thing which is produced by itself alone. It is a part of an animal which must be killed to make it. Now, if there is a duty upon hides alone of a cent a pound, the hides averaging 60 pounds in weight, so that it would be a tariff of 60 cents on an animal, which would be, on an average, worth $60, it would be a tariff of 1 per cent only on the product. I think that a tariff of only 1 per cent on any product is an absurdity as a matter of protection. It never would have any effect at all. You can not put a protective tariff upon the horns of an ox of 3 or 4 cents only and have it a stimulant or an aid or an assistance in raising the ox. So I think a tariff on hides of that sort, not a tariff on the whole product, but upon a little piece of it, is utterly absurd. But if I do not succeed in convincing the judgment of other gentlemen that that is true, I shall think that I am probably mistaken, and if the tariff in other respects is sound, I shall support it. That is my attitude exactly.

Mr. CAFFERY. Mr. President——

Mr. STEWART. Will the Senator from Louisiana allow me to make a remark?

Mr. CAFFERY. Yes, sir.

Mr. STEWART. Mr. President, I concur with the Senator from Massachusetts that a tariff of 1 cent a pound on hides is entirely inadequate. But I am unable to distinguish between the principle of the tariff on hides and a tariff on any other products of the United States, whether of the loom, the factory, or the farm. Farmers are more generally interested in a tariff on hides than any other article that can be named. There are more farmers who raise some cattle than persons engaged in any other one pursuit. Everything depends on the farmers. The farmers have to sell abroad in a free-trade market and buy at home in a protected market. They pay your imports, the interest on your foreign obligations, and maintain the credit of the country. Our exports mostly come from the farmers, and we should relieve them as much as possible.

I do not have in mind now just how much we pay for foreign hides, but it is a very large amount. Perhaps some gentleman can answer as to that. I do not understand why we should not protect hides in order to benefit the farmer and enable him to make something in raising stock. We should give him the market for hides when we put a tariff on the finished material, on boots and shoes. When we build up that industry, a manufacturing industry which is confined to a very few people, and compel the farmer to buy his boots and shoes in a protected market, we should not deny him the protection that we give to others.

I deny that the raising of beef cattle is a profitable business in this country. It hardly pays at present prices. Farmers can hardly afford to do it. But if you put a tariff on hides, so as to make the hides of some value and distribute the protective principle among them more generally, you will make it much more satisfactory.

I tell you there is nothing in any argument that may be made for a tariff upon anything that does not apply to hides more emphatically than to any other one article, because they are more generally produced by a larger number of people, and produced by those people who have to buy boots and shoes. The idea that any class of people in this country should be indulged with the purchase of what is needed to furnish them in a free-trade market, and should always be allowed to sell in a protected market, is unfair. There are very few things that you can protect for the farmer. He is forced to buy in a protected market and sell his surplus, which pays for what you buy abroad, in a free-trade market. That is unfair.

It has been suggested that 1 cent a pound upon hides is not a sufficient duty. I will say that I think it is not. The duty ought to be 10 cents a pound at least; it ought to be protected. We have hides enough in this country to supply the home demand. Thousands and thousands of hides are left where the beeves are slaughtered and not used at all; they will not bear the cost of transportation. If we had such protection as would enable them to get the hides to market, we could produce enough in this country probably to supply the demand entirely. I have never been able to see an argument on the part of anybody that could make a distinction between a duty on hides and a duty on boots and shoes.

Mr. WHITE. I understand it is claimed by the other side, however, that hides are raw material.

Mr. GRAY. Rawhides? [Laughter.]

Mr. STEWART. Everything is raw material, and it is so declared in all the letters that come in here. Every man regards

everything that he uses in his business and that he has to buy as raw material. Every letter that comes here goes on to speak of everything else as raw material, no matter how many processes it has gone through. No matter how much labor has been bestowed upon it, if he wants it for manufacturing purposes he calls it raw material. There is nothing in such a claim. Raw material is that material upon which no labor has been expended, and you can not draw any other line. If you say that any material upon which labor has been expended is raw material, then everything is raw material. That is the only line that can be drawn.

Why, I ask, should not the laborer in raising cattle or sheep or in producing coal from the mines be protected from competition with the cheap labor of the Old World as well as those who stay in the cities, the employees you import into cities and who work in factories? Is not the labor of the farmer, the pioneer who goes out and develops the resources of nature and produces wool and hides and minerals and all that goes into manufacturing, as meritorious as the labor in the factories, which is mostly imported? That labor has not developed anything; it has not breathed free air; it is not always the labor of American people; it has been herded in confined cities; it has not gone out and developed the country. I ask why the pioneer labor of the farmer that develops the country is not as much entitled to protection as any other labor. The laborers who produce this kind of raw material are mostly American citizens, native born for the greater part, and they are entitled to some recognition. Why should they not be protected equally? I do not understand that.

The object is to protect American labor. I want to know why American labor in the fields, why American labor that develops the resources of nature, is not as much entitled to protection as the American labor that dwells in the cities. Are not these valuable citizens? Do we not want them as a foundation for the Republic?

As suggested to me, the raw material of one man is the finished product of another. That is the way it goes. The rule should be that anything which is produced by labor should be protected. If anything is to be protected, if the protective principle is to be applied, it should be applied so as to protect labor.

See what the competition is in this business. Look at Mexico, South America, and other countries where the cattle run free and wild, and hides are gathered by the lowest kind of labor. We come into competition with them. So it is with wool. In that industry we come in conflict with the cooly labor, the inferior labor of India. So it is in all this question of raw material.

Why, I ask, are not the American citizens, upon whom this fabric of liberty rests, who develop the resources of nature which make this Government great, entitled to protection? This would not have been a great Government if there had not been great natural opportunities and resources and if those resources had not been developed by the building of homes in the prairies and in the mountains and bringing forth the treasures of nature. Those things have made this country great and prosperous. Why should not the labor of these people be protected as much as that of any other people?

If you are to have a protective tariff, you should protect labor, I say, in the field as well as in the factory. Any other protective tariff will fail to give satisfaction on account of its injustice, and will continue the agitation here. The time will come when no class of men in this country will be allowed to buy in a free-trade market and sell in a protected market while the great mass of the people are compelled to buy in a protected market and sell in a free-trade market enough to maintain the credit of the Government.

Mr. CAFFERY. Mr. President, in the course of the remarks of the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] he referred to my vote on the sugar schedule of the Wilson Act, and he opened his remarks with the statement that I had succeeded in deceiving myself with regard to the Democratic theory of tariff for revenue only. I have this consolation, Mr. President, in that respect, that while I may be deceiving myself, the evil stops with me. I may be the victim of my own infatuation, but ever since the Senator from Massachusetts has been in this body he has been a potent factor in deceiving the whole or a large portion of the people of the United States in regard to the pernicious workings of his tariff for protection. I may deceive myself, but I have not been the instrument of deceiving others.

Mr. President, I have no apologies to make for the vote I gave upon that sugar schedule, nor would I have adverted to it but for the manner and style, more than for the matter, in which the Senator from Massachusetts adverted to it. Upon the final passage of that bill I did get up in my seat in the Senate and vote "nay," and afterwards changed it to "aye." That nay vote had no reference to the principle of tariff for revenue or tariff for protection.

As I stated on that occasion, I cast that vote because, as I thought, of the injustice or the want of faith displayed by my own side in the matter of that sugar schedule. It was agreed on that the bill should be reported with a 40 per cent plus 8 plus 10 duty, to go into effect on the succeeding 1st of January. That promise was violated, and it was for no other reason, without regard to the tariff-for-revenue principle or the tariff-for-protection principle, that I cast that vote. I had a right to cast it, and I have no apologies to make for casting it. When the Senator from Massachusetts attempts by introducing that vote before this body to show that I had vacillated in the application of my principles, he has sadly failed of his purpose.

Sir, he says a tariff upon hides is an absurdity, because it is only 1 per cent of the value of the animal, and we have it from that high authority, the Senator from Massachusetts, that a tax is only to be levied, only to be placed, when it reaches up into very high percentages; that it is an absurdity because it is low and does not pile enough upon the backs of the American people. A tariff on hides of 1 cent a pound, in the beautiful light of the protective theory, is denounced by the Senator as an absurdity. Pile up more upon the backs of the people. You have not got enough tariff on hides. Nothing will satisfy your theory—the theory through which you have deceived the American people, or a large part of them—unless you pile such enormous tariff burdens upon their shoulders that they are bowed and bent to the earth itself.

I do not wish to go into an academic discussion of the principle of tariff for revenue or tariff for protection. It is a great principle which divides the two parties; it is a great principle that will ever divide mankind. Your principle is a principle of selfishness; it is a remnant of slavery. When men are debarred by the civilization of the age—and, thank God, they are debarred in the section in which I live—from owning human property, the next step is to own human industry.

By this protective tariff you are attempting to spoliate a man of his industry and apply it to particular classes. That, in my opinion, is the working of a tariff for protection. There is no slavery now in human flesh, but slavery in the proceeds of human toil. That is what you want. You illustrated the beauties of the theory when you denounced the tariff upon hides as too little. You want more of human labor, of human toil. You want specially protected industries in order that your theory may work in its beautiful order all along the line from the hide to the shoe.

Mr. HOAR. The Senator from Louisiana [Mr. CAFFERY] finds fault with my thinking that a tariff of 1 per cent on an animal does not operate for protection. He thinks that 30 per cent or 40 per cent on sugar is nothing but a revenue duty, and not protection at all. The Senator says he does not find fault, however, so much with the matter as with the manner of what I said. I wish to say, if the Senator is through, that I should like to withdraw the manner and let the matter stand by itself.

The Senator further says that he has not deceived anybody. I wish to say that I thoroughly agree with him that he has not deceived anybody, because his attitude answers itself.

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. President, I was not in the Chamber when the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] is reported to have said that the tariff on hides was simply a tariff of 1 per cent on the animal; but if that statement was made, it is entirely incorrect. An ordinary full-grown animal, unfed—that is, unfatted—to-day is worth about $32 or $33 in the average market. The hide of that animal is worth from $3 to $3.25, according to its condition. That would be a great deal more than 1 per cent of the value of the animal.

But, aside from that, I think I ought to call attention, Mr. President, to one peculiarity in this bill that escaped my attention when I occupied the floor a few moments ago. I find sections 9 and 10, on page 207, entirely disjointed from the subject-matter of lumber or from those other sections that pertain to lumber and timber, which read as follows:

SEC. 9. That the produce of the forests of the State of Maine upon the St. John River and its tributaries, owned by American citizens, and sawed or hewed in the Province of New Brunswick by American citizens, the same being unmanufactured in whole or in part, which is now admitted into the ports of the United States free of duty, shall continue to be so admitted, under such regulations as the Secretary of the Treasury shall from time to time prescribe.

SEC. 10. That the produce of the forests of the State of Maine upon the St. Croix River and its tributaries, owned by American citizens, and sawed or hewed in the Province of New Brunswick by American citizens, the same being unmanufactured in whole or in part, shall be admitted into the ports of the United States free of duty, under such regulations as the Secretary of the Treasury shall from time to time to prescribe.

Mr. President, I should like to know, as one Senator who will be compelled, I suppose, to vote upon this bill one way or the other, just why those sections are placed in the bill, and I know of no person who is more familiar, or who should be more familiar, with those than the senior Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE]. If I can get his attention, I should like to have those sections explained.

I call the attention of the senior Senator from Maine to the fact of the existence of sections 9 and 10, on page 207 of this bill, with reference to lumber taken from the pine forests of Maine to New Brunswick to be manufactured and brought into our markets. I should like to have the Senator from Maine, who, of course, is

familiar with the facts, state what necessity there is for these provisions.

Mr. HALE. Mr. President, I do not wish to delay the consideration of that part of the bill that the Senate is actually engaged in, and I did propose later, when the sections referred to by the Senator are reached, to make a brief explanation of what is entirely and easily explainable. The two provisions—it will take me only a minute to make a statement in answer to the Senator—which are found later in the bill, on page 207, sections 9 and 10, are known as the St. Croix and St. John river acts. They have been entirely misinterpreted and their meaning perverted. The letter that was introduced on Saturday, signed by Mr. Burleigh, of New York, clearly misunderstands the case.

The origin of the case is this: By the fundamental treaty with Great Britain permission is given to float down in the British waters of the St. John River lumber cut on the upper branches and the affluents of that river in the State of Maine, and the two acts which are incorporated in this bill, and which have been in every tariff bill but one for forty years, simply provide that where United States lumber cut in the United States territory, which has but one way only of getting out, and that is through the British waters of the St. John, as allowed by treaty, may be floated down and manufactured and brought in free, because they are the product of our forests.

The argument has been made that if this is true it ought to apply to any American-owned lumber on British or provincial territory. But that is an entirely different case. This lumber, covering some hundreds of townships, unless taken down the St. John River, could never be removed from the place where it grows. The waters all run that way; the streams run into the St. John; and the ax of the woodsman would never be heard in those townships, and the product would lie absolutely useless if it did not come down the St. John waters. Acting upon that knowledge, those two acts, the St. John River Act and the St. Croix River Act, were passed.

It has been said that you can not tell what is the product of these forests in Maine. The answer to that is that it is like everything in lumbering that is found upon a drive in a river. To the unsophisticated you could hardly make it appear that it would be possible for a hundred lumbermen in one stream, putting all their products upon the banks of the same river, to be able to distinguish their product one from another, but such is the fact; the marking is such, and everything is agreed upon, so that the logs that are cut in Maine and floated down in that way through British waters under the provisions of the law and treaty are all marked, and the Government has agents to inspect them. While I do not say that there may not at times have been some slight abuses, yet, as a matter of fact, the product of the Maine forests is followed and identified, and that only is subject to these provisions.

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. President, it occurs to me that it is entirely proper to discuss the whole wood schedule together; that is, every section of this bill which applies to the question of lumber or timber. I must say that it seems to me a little peculiar that these two sections are taken entirely from the wood schedule and placed over in the back part of this bill by themselves.

I want to say also that I do not take the slightest stock in any man's profession that he discusses the tariff question free from any local influence that naturally would affect his opinion. It is preeminently a selfish question, and every man more or less, if he be a member of Congress, is guided by the interests of his State or his district.

Certainly it is very peculiar that Maine, of all the States of the Union, should have a right to take her logs on British territory, manufacture them into lumber, buy her supplies upon British territory, hire her labor upon British territory, pay for it there, and bring the manufactured product into the ports of the United States free of duty.

I do not say anything about the abuse of a law of that kind. I have no doubt, from what has been told me and from what slight investigation I have been able to give the matter, that annually there are millions and millions of feet of lumber that are cut from the forests of New Brunswick and manufactured into lumber by British mills, which come as American lumber into the United States of America without paying a cent of duty.

The testimony before the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives shows, I think, conclusively that the men who manufacture the great bulk of lumber in New Brunswick are not American citizens, and can not be said to come within the class of persons who are entitled to protection; and I ask the Senator from Maine who has just spoken if it be not true that 90 per cent of all the men who fell the forests in Maine and carry the product to New Brunswick are people of British birth, and many of them not citizens of the United States?

Mr. HALE. What is the Senator's question? There is so much noise in the Chamber that I could not hear it.

Mr. ALLEN. I ask the Senator to state if it be not true that 90 per cent, practically speaking, of the men who fell your forests and who convert the logs into lumber are foreigners?

Mr. HALE. Oh, no; nothing of the kind.

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. President——

Mr. GRAY. Will the Senator from Nebraska permit me right there?

Mr. ALLEN. Yes.

Mr. GRAY. I find in the RECORD of Friday last that the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. GALLINGER] said in a colloquy with the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. CAFFERY]:

> I should like to ask the Senator how it happens—
>
> Said Mr. GALLINGER—
>
> that almost every tree that is felled in the woods in New England is felled by a French Canadian?

Mr. ALLEN. Certainly.

Mr. HALE. I noticed that at the time, and I had the same feeling then as I have now about it, that the Senator had entirely misapprehended the conditions. I live myself in a lumbering community, on a lumbering river, where a great part of the industries of the people is made up of that business, and I do not suppose of the hundreds and perhaps thousands of men who are employed in lumbering that 3 per cent are of foreign birth and residence. There are some portions upon the line where the percentage is larger; but it is not the fact that the great amount of labor is performed by foreigners. Neither is it, I may say, the fact that any great portion of the lumber that comes into our lumber market is furnished under those sections which have been referred to.

The amount is comparatively small. The proportion of the New Brunswick product that comes from the Maine lands that is shipped down the waters of the St. John is small. American citizens own the lands, put in the crews, float the logs down, own the mills, saw the lumber, and bring it in; but it is a limited business; it is not very large; it does not cut much feature in connection with the whole lumber business; and it is not enough to arouse the opposition or the indignation of the Senator from Nebraska. It is a small feature relatively in the whole great question; and its needs come from just what I have stated. This lumber never would come out in any other way, but the amount of it is not large.

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. President, the Senator from Nebraska is not indignant at all. The people whom I represent in part in this Chamber are victims of the lumber interests of this country, the lumber trusts, and the syndicates. I speak for my people; and I say, Mr. President, notwithstanding the statement of my friend from Maine, for whom I have great respect personally, that the great bulk of the men engaged in felling the trees and sawing lumber in this country are men of foreign birth. I say that 80 per cent of them from Maine to Minnesota are men of foreign birth, and a great portion of them are not citizens of the United States.

You can not secrete the fact from a person who takes a trip through these great pine forests, who watches the industry, and looks at the men engaged in the labor, that they are men who do not naturally belong to this country. They come here, as many another man comes, for the purpose of making a few dollars; and when those few dollars are made they return to their foreign homes. They do not get any particular protection or increase of wages in consequence of a protective tariff. Show me an industry in the United States—one of them alone—the wages of whose operatives have been increased by tariff taxation, and I will show you an isolated instance in the history of this country. I say, sir, there is not an industry in all the ramifications of the industrial pursuits of this country where the wages of the man who performs the labor have been materially increased by the imposition of tariff taxation—not one.

I know Senators will rise in their places and discourse upon the beauties and sing the song of protection; and yet, look at our country and see who profits by the imposition of a tariff of that kind. Where is the millionaire who has earned a livelihood or a fortune by his hand or his craft? There is not one. But, Mr. President, the Atlantic Seaboard has its thousands and thousands of millionaires who have made their millions within the last thirty years under the pernicious influences of high protection.

Mr. CHANDLER. Will the Senator kindly tell us how many thousand millionaires there are on the Atlantic Coast?

Mr. ALLEN. I think about 4,000. I do not know that the Senator from New Hampshire is one of them. I hope not. I think it is generally conceded that there are about 4,000 of them. Mr. President, a third of a century ago there was not one. Before the imposition of the tariff of 1861 there was not a millionaire in this country who had made his fortune through tariff taxation. Yet, sir, they have increased until they amount to thousands, and where in all the nation can be found a man who is dependent upon his hands or upon his brain as an operative who has been able to

do more than to keep soul and body together and care for his little family in an humble way?

I know that this was called to my attention very forcibly a few years ago. I noticed a little factory. The man had grown rich. He had accumulated a fortune, and when I came to investigate, I found out that he and his neighbor a few years before were alike humble farmers, living upon adjoining farms, each industrious, each possessed of about the same amount of ability, each economical. One had grown to have a tremendous fortune as a manufacturer. The other had barely held his own during those thirty years, being able to hold on to his little homestead. Can any man convince you, sir, that a law which will produce results of that kind is just to those two men? A law the result of which will make one class rich and keep the other poor is unjust and inequitable; and when you come to apply a law of that kind to thousands and tens of thousands and hundreds of thousands who are carrying the torch of civilization upon the great prairies and in the mountains and valleys of the West, you are imposing upon civilization a burden which it ought not to be called upon to bear.

Sir, make our homes free—as free as they can be made consistently with the raising of sufficient revenue to conduct the affairs of the Government. Make the three great essentials to human life, shelter, clothing, and food, as free as the air and sunlight. The American people are entitled to have them as free as they can be made, consistent with the raising of revenue to conduct the Government.

Mr. President, while we are imposing a burden in the form of a tariff of $2 a thousand upon white pine (for I suppose the yoke will be put upon our necks after a time), why permit the constituents of my friend the Senator from Maine to go over upon British territory and cut logs by the millions of feet and use British labor in manufacturing them into lumber and come into the ports of the United States free, as they are doing every day now? Why should that be done?

Mr. HALE. It is not done.

Mr. ALLEN. I say to the Senator from Maine that I am prepared to prove that it is done. I am prepared to prove that the laws of the United States are violated by the manufacture of British logs into lumber and imposing them upon the people of the United States as American lumber.

Mr. THURSTON. Mr. President, it is not my purpose to indulge in the luxury of a speech on the tariff at the expense of the millions who are waiting, watching, hoping, and praying for the speedy enactment of a Republican tariff law; nor is it necessary that the argument for the protective theory of tariff should again be made. That argument has been made in the last four years by the silent spindles, the rotten water wheels, the smokeless chimneys, the rusty dinner pails, the Coxeys' armies, the ragged women, and the hungry children. But what I desire now, in just a moment or two, is to express my reasons for supporting a tariff of $2 a thousand upon white pine, as upon all other similar classes of manufactured lumber.

Under the tariff law logs are admitted free. The tax is upon the manufactured lumber. If the trees are grown across upon the Canadian side of the line and it is Canadian timber which the American people are to build their houses with and my people are to use upon the broad prairies where we grow no timber, the only result, in my judgment, will be to transfer the location of the sawmills and the lumber manufactories from the American side of the line to the Canadian side of the line. In my judgment it will not make a difference of one cent a thousand in the price of lumber to the consumers in the State of Nebraska. Logs will come into this country free. They will be manufactured on this side of the line under the present bill, and the price of lumber generally will be as it should be—that price which the general American competition in all kinds and classes of manufactured lumber and the cost of its manufacture produce and fix upon it.

Mr. ALLEN. I should like to ask my colleague a question before he takes his seat, if he will submit to it. I understand the principle of protection to be to make a scarce market. It is prohibitive, either entirely or partially, in its theory and in its effect. The very theory of imposing $2 a thousand duty upon manufactured lumber is to give the American manufacturer of lumber control of the American market.

Mr. THURSTON. No, Mr. President. It is for the purpose of securing the benefit of the manufacture of American logs on American soil by American men and in American mills.

Mr. ALLEN. If my colleague will permit me, we will not have any American logs to manufacture in the course of four or five years more.

Mr. THURSTON. I did not refer to American logs.

Mr. ALLEN. I understand my colleague to say American logs.

Mr. THURSTON. It is to give the American people on this side of the line an opportunity to manufacture the Canadian white-pine logs.

Mr. ALLEN. They are doing that now.

Mr. THURSTON. Put manufactured white pine lumber on the free list, and does my colleague pretend to tell me that a log will ever come in as a log from the Canadian side to be manufactured on this side of the line?

Mr. ALLEN. Why not?

Mr. THURSTON. Why should it?

Mr. GRAY. Do they not come in now?

Mr. THURSTON. To a certain extent, where they can be floated in without being transported, as the lumber would be, on the railroads; but wherever the Canadian logs can not reach this country except upon the railroad lines, the lumber and not the logs comes here now.

Mr. GRAY. Will my friend the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. ALLEN] permit me for one moment? I wish to make a remark in line with what the Senator said. I am informed that the great fear in upper Michigan now among the manufacturers of lumber is that if this duty is put upon Canadian lumber it will interfere with the trade they are now doing in sawing the logs that come across from Canada. The American manufacturers are now doing the very business of which the Senator from Nebraska was speaking, and they fear that this tax on lumber will interfere with it.

Mr. THURSTON. If the Senator from Delaware, representing those American manufacturers in their objection to this tariff, can inform me in what way a tax on the manufactured product would prevent the continued free importation of the logs for manufacture on this side, I shall be pleased to hear the argument.

Mr. GRAY. I am not representing them particularly, except as I wish to stand up for all the great interests of this country, so far as I can understand them; but the point I wish to make is that the manufacturers of lumber in northern Michigan say that they are now manufacturing their lumber largely out of Canadian logs. And how, then, is the $2 a thousand tax on sawed lumber further to protect them in the particular industry of sawing Canadian lumber?

Mr. THURSTON. I understand that the most of the mills in that particular part of the country are now on the Canadian side, and, as I said before, wherever the Canadian timber, in order to reach this country, requires railroad transportation, not a log comes in, or will come in, for manufacture on this side, but it is always and at all times the manufactured product, because of the better facilities for railway transportation of the lumber as against the logs.

Mr. ALLEN. I simply wish to suggest that the sawmills in the United States have been so thoroughly established at such great expense that they are not going to remove from American soil without some great reason. I am informed that logs are coming over from Canada constantly and are being manufactured into lumber by our American mills, even under the present tariff, and I have every reason to believe that if the tariff is entirely removed from white pine, its removal will not be an obstruction to the logs coming over here and being manufactured into lumber.

But if there be anything more apparent than another in the logic of my colleague it is this: If lumber can be manufactured in Canada cheaper than it can be in the United States, then under a system of tariff taxation here, where we have higher priced labor, as it is said, than in Canada, we will naturally, under a system of protection, force the opening of mills on the Canadian shore, the development of railroads there, so that the low-priced manufactured lumber of Canada may be made to compete successfully with the highly protected article manufactured in the United States. So, divested of all the poetry and the glory with which my colleague has clothed the subject of protection, it occurs to me that the only safe course we can pursue, if we are looking after the interests of the American people, and the American wage earners and home builders, and especially if we are looking after the interests of the settlers upon the great prairies of the West and Northwest, is to make lumber as free to them as possible.

Mr. CAFFERY. I wish to suggest to the Senator from Nebraska that there was evidence produced in the Senate three or four days ago to show that the labor cost in the forests, in the mill, and in the yard, measured by the results of labor, is cheaper in the United States than in Canada. The comparison was made by an expert employed by Commissioner of Labor Carroll D. Wright, and it resulted in such a showing, which was published and also incorporated in the few remarks I made upon the subject. I suggest to the Senator that if logs are free and we can manufacture lumber cheaper in the United States than in Canada, as has been shown by this statement, then the manufactured product enjoys both the advantage of a tariff and cheaper labor.

Mr. ALLEN. I do not doubt the statement made by Mr. Wright. I was only arguing, however, upon the hypothesis usually assumed by protectionists, that in consequence of protective laws our labor is higher than it is in Canada or in any other country, and that, therefore, if labor is cheaper in Canada, as they contend, than in the United States, a high protective duty upon lumber in this country necessarily would eventually drive the manufacturer of lumber to the region of cheap labor.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Mr. President, it seems to me there are one or two facts in connection with the trade between this country and Canada which ought to be considered before we determine to change our course toward that Government in the material way we propose now to do.

The importations into Canada from the United States amounted last year to $58,574,024. The exports from Canada to the United States were $44,448,410, leaving a balance of trade in our favor of $14,125,614. There were admitted into Canada free American imports amounting to $29,472,378 out of $58,000,000. There were admitted free into the United States from Canada $17,167,000. We shipped into Canada free $29,000,000 and over, against $17,000,000 and over imported from Canada into the United States free.

Now, if we change the tariff as proposed in the pending bill and the importations are the same, there will be free importations from Canada into this country of $2,975,000 against $29,472,000 admitted free into Canada from this country. When we contend that we are undertaking to build up reciprocal trade relations, it seems to me we had better consider for a moment the fairness of a proposition of this sort.

The average rate of duty imposed in Canada upon all imports was 18.28 per cent. The average rate on dutiable imports was 30.06. The rate of duty on all American imports was 13.26 per cent. The rate of duty on British imports was 22.31, and on imports from all other countries 26.75. The rate of duty on dutiable imports from the United States was 26.35; on British goods 30.02, and all other imports 36.97 per cent.

That shows that the importations from the United States are received in Canada on more favorable terms than importations coming from the mother country into that colony, and yet we propose to shut out from this country importations of lumber which bear a significant relation to the lumber consumption of this country. The amount of lumber consumed here is estimated now at about $500,000,000. The census of 1890 showed it to be $450,000,000. There is now imported from Canada about $7,500,000 worth of lumber out of $500,000,000 produced and used here. Yet gentlemen who are insisting on having this tax imposed use very extraordinary expressions. One of the members of the lumber association which appeared here by a large representation before the Ways and Means Committee, in speaking of the matter of the importation of Canadian lumber, said:

> This timber produces the same character of lumber with which our markets have been flooded during the last four years by Canadian manufacturers.

Our markets have been flooded by the Canadian manufacturers! Seven million five hundred thousand dollars out of $500,000,000! Flooding our markets and running the price down to practically nothing! Yet this is the sort of argument presented to the Ways and Means Committee for putting white pine on the taxable list at a rate that was not even proposed in the McKinley Act. It is 100 per cent higher than the rate of duty in the McKinley Act.

There is one other argument which I will mention before I forget it. One of the arguments used before the Ways and Means Committee was the high price to be paid to the United States for stumpage on white pine; that $3 a thousand was paid by the lumbermen of the West for stumpage. We all remember that there was a sale at Crookston, Minn., a few years ago, of a lot of lumber bought from the Chippewa Indian Reservation. An agreement was made that the timber on land not allotted to the Indians should be sold. It was to be appraised and put on the market and sold, and large quantities of it were sold. After the sale had gone on, a suspicion arose that everything was not going just right, and an investigation was instituted. I hold in my hand Document No. 85, the report which Secretary Bliss has submitted on this question. I shall not detain the Senate by going into the matter to any considerable extent, but I do want to call attention to a few facts. I do want the Senate to understand about the high rate of stumpage that is paid by the people who are now asking to have a tax of $2 a thousand laid on this lumber to make their lumber holdings profitable.

On page 6 of this report a statement is made which I will summarize. Here are 40 acres of land, section 24, township 150, range 35, southwest of northwest, reported by the appraisers to contain 65,000 feet of lumber. It was found by a special examiner sent to look the matter over, with several able assistants selected by himself, who counted the trees on the 40 acres and measured their size and figured up what they would produce, to contain by one examiner (Ayres) 865,000 instead of 65,000. Mark you, the sales were made on the Government estimates. They had to pay $3 a thousand for what the Government estimate was that the land held. They had to pay on the 40 acres, for 65,000 feet, $3 a thousand—the poor Indians must have compensation for the lumber they had—whereas those people absolutely had 865,000 feet instead of 65,000 feet, which was the estimate. The poor, innocent lumber barons, who are looking after purchases of this sort, made no mistake in buying the particular properties they needed. Take the list and go through the page, and opposite those overestimated you will find marked "Not sold; not sold;" it runs clear down, while in those underestimated every one was sold.

Ayres estimated the lumber on that quarter to be 865,000 feet; McGuigan estimated 700,000 feet, "the difference being due to difference in opinion in regard to defective timber."

Subsequently—

Says the general examiner who was sent out—

> with two men I personally tallied the calipering and measuring of each tree on this tract, and found 1,611 trees, which it was computed would make 902,000 feet of lumber, as shown on list submitted herewith marked "A."

He gives all the particulars—40 acres of land, bought on the basis of having 65,000 feet of lumber, at $3 a thousand, whereas in point of fact it had 902,000. Yet, because the Government required those people to pay $3 a thousand stumpage, they say the rank and file of the American people ought to be compelled to pay an increased price on lumber of $2 a thousand to compensate them for the high prices they pay for the standing trees.

This thing runs clear through the report; there is instance after instance here, as any Senator who will take time to look into it will see. There is not a Senator here who believes those men did not understand what they were getting. They knew perfectly well what they were buying. Otherwise how did it happen that in the case of 40 acres where the lumber was overestimated, it was not sold, and where it was underestimated it was sold? "By their fruits ye shall know them," I think I have read somewhere, and you see the result of action of this sort. There is no mistaking it.

I call attention to another instance just below in the same report. The southwest quarter of the southeast quarter of section 32, township 150, range 33, reported at 11,000 feet, all Norway, was found by Ayres to contain 222,000 feet, and by McGuigan 225,000 feet, almost all white pine. It was reported to contain 11,000 feet of Norway; yet one of them found it contained 220,000 feet and the other 225,000 feet, all white pine. Of course the outrage to the Indians in selling the lumber for less than it is worth by just this sort of fraud is one part of the consideration; but when we are asked to put a high tax on white-pine lumber for the purpose of enabling those people to recoup the high rate they are compelled to pay the Indians for the timber, the facts may as well be understood by the Senate.

> All trees on this tract were subsequently measured with calipers, and tallied by myself, and found to contain 338 trees, which it was computed would make 295,000 feet of lumber.

Another one was the southeast quarter of the same section, reported at 135,000 feet. Ayres found 361,000 feet and McGuigan 383,000.

> Each tree on this tract was subsequently measured with calipers, tallied by Special Agent Parke, found to contain 513 trees, which it was computed would make 421,000 feet of lumber.

But what is the use of detaining the Senate longer to go through these statements?

Mr. ALLEN. Let me ask the Senator if there is any instance in the report where Ayres or McGuigan overestimated the amount of lumber?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. No, sir; on the contrary, in each one of the cases the timber was subsequently measured by the man sent out by the Government, J. George Wright, United States Indian inspector. He counted the trees and measured them by calipers, and made the calculation accurately; and in every instance these two men, Ayres and McGuigan, were found to be below the facts. It was increased by actual measurement in each instance.

Mr. President, on the same page from which I read a while ago, in the statement made by the lumbermen's association before the Ways and Means Committee, I notice, with reference to this individual, the following:

> Bearing on this state of the case, it may be stated that Otis Staples, who was the chief officer having charge of the duty of estimating the timber on the Chippewa Indian Reservation in Minnesota, and who is probably as well informed a timber cruiser as there is in the State, expresses the opinion, in a letter to the State fire warden, that more pine has been destroyed by fire than has been cut.

They were showing the Ways and Means Committee about the great risks that were incurred by fire. They referred to this man, and as these marvelous estimates had been made, and this man, Otis Staples, was the man who made them, I felt a little curious to look through this report and see if I could find anything relating to Mr. Staples. I thought perhaps there would be some allusion made to him, as he is brought in by the lumbermen's association as being the authority which explains the muddy and ugly and foggy places and makes it all clear. In two or three lines in this official report, on page 58, I find the following, which is of some interest:

> It is also represented that a Mr. Staples, chief of former corps of examiners, purchased large tracts on the day of sale, and has continued to do so at intervals since, both in his own and other names.

Yet this man's statements are to be accepted as a sufficient reason for raising the tariff 100 per cent above the McKinley Act to protect these people by it and to pay high rates of stumpage.

Mr. President, I shall not detain the Senate by repeated instances of this sort. What I have already stated is sufficient. I can not persuade myself that under the circumstances the Senate will deem it wise or proper or just that the American people shall be called upon to pay a tariff tax twice as high as the McKinley rate for the purpose of increasing the profits of men who have resorted to methods of this kind to increase their fortunes.

Mr. SPOONER. Mr. President, I have no doubt that the report referred to by the Senator from Arkansas as to fraudulent underestimation of pine upon certain Indian reservations is correct. But that Senator can hardly be willing to arraign before the Senate and before the country the great body of lumbermen of the Northwest or of the country upon any such basis as that.

I lived for twenty years in that portion of Wisconsin which is largely devoted to the lumbering interest, and I can say as to the great body of those men, some of whom I think are millionaires, that they are men of great integrity and of great public spirit. The lumber industry of the United States is not to be dealt with, I take it, by the Senate upon the basis of that report or by any accepted impeachment, because of that report or the use which the Senator attempts to make of it, of the men who are engaged in this business.

I shall not take much of the time of the Senate, Mr. President, upon this subject or any other during the pendency of this bill, but I desire to call the attention of the Senate to the remarkable amendment which is now pending, and to some of the arguments which have been made in support of it. The lumbering industry in the United States is a very great one. I do not know that there is any larger. It is stated that $750,000,000 are invested in the lumbering industry throughout the country, and that about 600,000 men are employed at daily wages in the various departments of the industry. Nearly 3,000,000 people are dependent upon it for a comfortable living.

I can understand how Senators on the other side could bring themselves to vote to put lumber upon the free list, notwithstanding the magnitude of this industry, or to put upon lumber a low rate of duty for revenue only, because many Senators on the other side believe in a tariff for revenue only; but I can not for the life of me understand how any Senator can arrive at the conclusion that it is just or in any sense logical for the Senate to adopt the amendment proposed by the Senator from Missouri.

What is it? It is a proposition, Mr. President, to leave a two-dollar duty upon the spruce timber of Maine; to leave a two-dollar duty upon hemlock, which is called "the poor man's lumber;" to leave a two-dollar duty upon the pine of Arkansas and the pine generally throughout the South; to leave a two-dollar duty upon the California timber, upon the timber of Washington and Oregon, and to put white-pine lumber, a product mainly now of three States, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota, upon the free list.

Mr. VEST. Will the Senator permit me?

Mr. SPOONER. Certainly.

Mr. VEST. I endeavored to state as distinctly and emphatically as I could that I favor the putting of lumber, manufactured, and the raw material, logs and all, upon the free list, and that I proposed at the proper time to make the motion which has already been made by the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. ALLEN]. I made this motion to except white pine because it is the salient point in this whole discussion, and I wanted a test vote as to how the Senate stood upon that particular lumber.

Now, I will state, if the Senator will permit me a moment longer, that under the McKinley Act spruce was taxed $2 a thousand, a product of Maine, whilst there was $1 a thousand put upon white pine. In the act of 1894 all were put upon the free list, which is the position that I and a large number of my colleagues upon this side of the Chamber maintain now. But I disclaim responsibility into which my friend from Wisconsin places me now, that I am satisfied with excluding white pine. I simply wanted to test the view of the Senate in regard to this, the principal and salient point in the whole discussion, as to whether white pine should be excepted or not.

Mr. SPOONER. I am discussing the motion which the Senator made, and not the motion which the Senator intends to make. I say now what I said a moment ago, that if it were a proposition to put lumber upon the free list, from the Senator's standpoint, I can understand why he should make it and why he should support it.

Mr. VEST. I intend to support it and to follow it up by the further motion I stated.

Mr. SPOONER. But I can not understand why all other lumber should be left dutiable, as it would be by the adoption of this amendment at $2 a thousand, and the white-pine industry of Michigan, Minnesota, and Wisconsin be alone dealt this blow.

Mr. PRITCHARD. Will the Senator from Wisconsin permit me?

Mr. SPOONER. Certainly.

Mr. PRITCHARD. I desire to call attention to the fact that there is a considerable amount of white pine in my State, in Virginia, in Tennessee, and in Kentucky. With the Senator's permission, I ask the Secretary to read a telegram from our State geologist showing the amount that we have in our State.

The Secretary read as follows:

CHAPEL HILL, N. C., *June 5, 1897.*

Senator J. C. PRITCHARD,
1820 I street NW., Washington, D. C.:

Two hundred thousand acres dense white-pine forest, besides considerable quantity scattering timber.

J. A. HOLMES.

Mr. PRITCHARD. With the Senator's permission further, I desire to call the attention of the Senate to the following letter bearing on this question, from Mr. Winchester, a resident of the State of West Virginia, a gentleman who is engaged in the lumber business. I ask to have it read.

The Secretary read as follows:

NATIONAL LUMBER CONVENTION,
OFFICE OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE,
1421 G Street NW., Washington, D. C., June 5, 1897.

DEAR SIR: Being in the Senate gallery to-day, I was surprised upon looking at the map exhibited by Senator PETTIGREW to find that no white pine was indicated in the States of West Virginia, Tennessee, Kentucky, and North Carolina, with the mountain portions of which I am most thoroughly familiar, and know from personal observation that in each of these States stand large forests of the true white pine, altitude having made up for latitude, giving to this section the same forest growth that is found in corresponding temperatures farther north.

The St. Lawrence Boom and Lumber Company, with mills at Ronceverte, W. Va., on the Chesapeake and Ohio Railway, have taken from their forests in Pocahontas County, W. Va., an average of over 20,000,000 feet per annum for every year since the war, and still have standing sufficient timber to keep up this annual output for fifteen years to come, or a total of 300,000,000 feet. In the counties of Mercer and Monroe stand fully as much, while the greater part of the county of Raleigh is of unbroken white-pine forest, containing, at a conservative estimate, one thousand million or 1,000,000,000 feet. Thus we have in the State of West Virginia, of which I am a citizen, not less than 1,600,000,000 feet of white pine.

As an active lumberman, I know of standing white pine in the State of Kentucky to the extent of 250,000,000 feet, and in the State of Tennessee I was at one time interested in and now know of 500,000,000 feet. Across the line in North Carolina there is an equal amount.

So it is that within my own personal knowledge there stands within the mountain portion of the four States mentioned an aggregate of 2,850,000,000 or nearly 3,000,000,000 feet of white pine, while the natural deduction made from the map exhibited by Senator PETTIGREW in the Senate to-day would be that not a single foot of white pine exists in that territory.

Very truly,

A. H. WINCHESTER.

Hon. J. C. PRITCHARD,
United States Senate, City.

Mr. SPOONER. There is and for a great many years has been the manufacture of pine in Wisconsin, and it is a great industry. It is a great industry in the South. There has been a wonderful change in the influence of the Southern pine-lumber product upon the Western markets within the last few years. I am glad it is so. I wish to see that section and all sections built up and prosperous. The millionaires in Wisconsin, as they are called here—the men who have been engaged for a great many years in the manufacture of lumber—have spent millions of dollars in wages. They have spent millions of dollars for supplies which have gone into the woods during the winter. They have spent millions of dollars in payments to transportation companies.

If there is any industry in this bill which is entitled to be protected, it is that industry, and this rate is less than 20 per cent ad valorem. They need this protection. I am assured by the lumbermen of the South that now, as there have been constructed railroads from Canada leading to Superior, to Minneapolis, to St. Paul, and thence West and Southwest, bringing Canadian refuse or common lumber into the markets to meet Southern pine—they, too, need this protection. It is an unfair competition in many ways, because of the difference in conditions.

Now, upon what conceivable theory of justice is it, Mr. President, that all other lumber in the United States and the industry engaged in it should be protected by a duty and that the white-pine lumber industry of these three States should be stricken down, as it were?

Mr. GRAY. There is none.

Mr. SPOONER. There is none, and there is a peculiar reason, Mr. President, why that industry should be protected which does not apply to some of the others. It is because those States lie along the Canadian line. They are bordered by lakes and streams which afford cheap transportation for Canadian lumber, while the States of the South are remote from Canadian competition, although they feel it.

This must be a system or it must go to pieces. Its benefits must be fairly distributed. No man living can answer the argument made here the other day by the Senator from Georgia [Mr. BACON] upon the subject of equality between industries and sections in the imposition of tariff rates. If we are to have duties, whether you call them revenue duties or protective duties, if they operate to protect American industries, they should be equal in their operation. The tariff bill must be constructed upon fair principles. I

have sat here day after day voting for duties to build up and protect industries in different States.

I am ready to vote for a protective duty on rice, and one that is adequate, because I believe in protection. I am willing to vote to build up and maintain any industry in this country. I want the American market for the products of American labor. But this proposition to single out adversely the industry in the State of Wisconsin, or one branch of the lumber industry in the States of Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Michigan, seems to me utterly without warrant or foundation upon any principle of justice.

Mr. VEST. If it is at all satisfactory (I should think it would be) to the Senator from Wisconsin, I am willing to withdraw my amendment and to have the question taken by yeas and nays upon the amendment of the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. ALLEN].

Mr. SPOONER. That is a very different proposition.

Mr. VEST. All I want is a test vote as to free lumber.

Mr. SPOONER. To vote for free lumber is one thing; to vote for free pine lumber only is another.

Mr. VEST. That is a mere technicality.

Mr. SPOONER. That is the proposition which I have been contesting. If the Senator withdraws it——

Mr. VEST. No; I do not withdraw it after the Senator has made that statement. I will take the yeas and nays.

Mr. SPOONER. No, sir; I am not satisfied with it.

Mr. VEST. You can not conciliate anybody.

Mr. SPOONER. I will take but a moment longer. Under this bill Canadian lumber may come in free. The opposition—another phase of selfishness—to the duty on white-pine lumber comes mainly from men from some of the States who rely now for the support of their mills upon Canadian logs, which under this bill are free, or who manufacture in Canada. Those men had for many years, up to 1890, enjoyed the benefit of the two-dollar duty on white-pine lumber. They exhausted their supply of white-pine timber and transferred the industry, so far as they were concerned, to Canada.

Now they want white-pine lumber free. They care nothing for the hundreds of men who have invested millions in the States of Michigan, Minnesota, and Wisconsin, whose forests have not yet been exhausted. There is no justice in that. There is no fairness in it. Under the operation of the Wilson Act, which put this lumber on the free list, the lumbering industry of the Northwest has been greatly depressed. There have been more failures during the last three years, I think the statistics show, in the lumber industry in the United States than in any other industry.

There has been a reduction of wages all along the line, while in Canada wages in the lumber industry have either been increased or, with two or three exceptions, have been maintained. Canada is very much interested in this subject, but I am here to legislate for the United States and the whole United States and not for Canada.

I quote from pamphlet No. 10, issued during the Ontario general elections of 1894:

> The lumber trade is of Dominion concern, and perhaps ranks second in importance in Canada. All the provinces are more or less affected by the prices obtained and the markets available for sawed lumber, but to Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick, and British Columbia (all large exporters of sawed lumber) the prosperity of the trade is of vital importance. The United States is practically our only market for sawed lumber and shingles—

Observe it—

> The United States is practically our only market for sawed lumber and shingles, and its value may be judged from the fact that Canada sent there last year 1,031,000,000 feet of sawed lumber, valued at $8,900,000, and 357,000,000 shingles, valued at $734,000, or a total value of $9,634,000. The rougher grades of lumber were now capable of being marketed there at a profit—

That is what hurts the Southern lumbermen—

> and it has been estimated by Colonel O'Brien, member of Parliament for Muskoka, and corroborated by reports from the Crown timber agents, that from 30 to 50 per cent more white pine is cut and marketed from the same area of licensed territory than was formerly the case. This means a large increase in the revenue of the provinces for material which had formerly gone to waste. It also means a large increase in the employment of labor and markets for produce.

Mr. President, something has been said about preserving our forests. It is pretty late to talk about preserving our forests by putting this product of the sawmills upon the free list. The Government has a perfect right, and it is a wise policy, to preserve its own forests, but it has opened its land to purchase—its timber lands, pine-timber land as well as hard-wood land and prairie land. Men were invited to buy. They invested their money in it. They have paid taxes upon it for a great many years. They have borne the loss by fire and trespass and theft, and now it is proposed that these men, some of whom have paid $3, $4, and $5 a thousand stumpage, men who have to pay large taxes every year upon every section and quarter section of the land, shall be prevented by an unjust discrimination in a tariff law from using their own property, in the interest of forest preservation.

If you want to preserve the white-pine timber of Wisconsin—about 12,000,000,000 feet of it—of Michigan, of Minnesota, buy it, and hold it free from taxation, as Government property is held free from taxation; but to put it upon the free list and say to the men who have invested their money in it, who have built large lumber plants, and who have built up towns and villages and cities by this industry, "We will so arrange our tariff law as to compel you to wait year after year, paying taxes and paying interest, standing the loss by fire, until Canada has exhausted her almost illimitable supply of white pine," is confiscation and nothing less.

The very argument upon this subject based upon forest preservation admits, or there is nothing in it, that to put this pine timber on the free list means to give an advantage to Canada, and to thereby preclude the use by the owners of this property for the markets of the United States, otherwise it would not tend even to preserve the forests.

Now, let us have fair play in this tariff law. I shall vote to take care of every interest in this country, North or South, East or West. I have voted for some duties concerning which I had misgivings, the facts in regard to which have been disputed between the different sides of the Chamber. I resolve the doubt every time in favor of American labor and an American industry.

Senators talk about this pine being in the hands of ten or fifteen men. That is not true. There are wealthy men, as I have said, who own vast tracts of pine timber, and who own interests in other tracts of pine timber, but there are at least 150 or 200 separate concerns, I am told, in Wisconsin alone, engaged in the manufacture of white-pine lumber. Some of them owe for the timber still. They expect to cut it off and use the proceeds to pay their debts.

Six concerns in Wisconsin and Minnesota paid in one year $570,000 wages alone to men dependent upon that for their daily bread, and within two years after white pine was put upon the free list those six concerns paid nearly $300,000 less in wages. Up in Wisconsin, at Superior—on the border of the St. Louis River, which divides Wisconsin from Minnesota, is a city called Superior. In that city, on the banks of that river, is a sawmill in the midst of a lumber yard. Over on the other side, in Minnesota, is a sawmill and lumber yard.

A year and a half ago, when those mills were both shut down, when those lumber yards were filled with sawed lumber waiting for a market, when the men were all thrown out of employment, a company undertook to build a bridge across that river under authority from Congress, and one end of that bridge was in the Wisconsin lumber yard, and the other end in the Minnesota lumber yard, and every stick of lumber, I am told, which went into that bridge came in from Canada free. If it had not been free, it would not have come in from Canada.

As I said when I began, I can see some logic and reason from the standpoint of the Senator from Missouri in a proposition to put lumber upon the free list, but I can see no justice, no logic, in a proposition to single out this one class of lumber and put it upon the free list, leaving the Maine lumber, the Southern lumber, and the Western lumber all protected by a two-dollar duty against Canadian competition.

It is true, and it is not to be successfully denied, that wages are lower in the lumber industry in Canada than they are in the United States; that the difference in conditions is otherwise very marked because of the system they pursue there in permitting a man to pay for his timber in the main only as he cuts it.

Mr. ALLEN. I wish to ask the Senator would not the putting of a tax of $2 a thousand upon white pine hasten the disappearance of white pine in this country?

Mr. SPOONER. I do not think it would hasten it much, for the reason that they are obliged to cut it to prevent its destruction by fire.

Mr. ALLEN. I inferred—and that is the logical conclusion of the Senator's argument—that it would hasten the disappearance of our white-pine forests, and by that means prevent white pine from Canada coming in. If the white pine from Canada could be permitted to come here under free trade, would not that conserve our forests for some time?

Mr. SPOONER. I am willing that you should conserve your forests. I do not want you to conserve mine.

Mr. ALLEN. But I am interested in your forests as much as you are, because I must build my home from your forests.

Mr. SPOONER. You did build your home from our forests, probably.

Mr. ALLEN. I think I did, but I did not build as good a home as I ought to have built for the money at the time, and would have built but for the tax.

Mr. SPOONER. That may be.

Mr. ALLEN. Aside from that, if we protect our white pine by a tax of $2 a thousand, and by that means hasten its disappearance, I infer that in six or seven years, from the manner in which it has been cut off, it will probably disappear. What, then, hinders Canada, when our forests are entirely gone, placing the price of white pine as high as a cat's back, if necessary, to the American consumer?

Mr. SPOONER. When the duty was reduced by the McKinley law to $1 on white pine, the price of Canadian pine lumber went

up $1, and that one dollar did not go into the pockets of my friend from Nebraska, who probably about that time was building his humble home, but it went into the pockets of those people over in Canada.

Mr. ALLEN. If the Senator will permit me, I was told by very competent authority—an authority I think I have a right to rely upon, no less than the grand master of the Knights of Labor, a very competent and very worthy gentleman whom I have known since we were boys, and I say in all sincerity he is a very competent man to judge—that when the McKinley Act was put in force and became a law he was called to the Canadian border to adjust matters between the Canadian workmen and the American workmen.

The American simply said to his laborers, "The Kanucks are going to get their lumber in here by reducing their wages on the Canadian side, and we must make a corresponding reduction of wages to our laborers to meet the reduction upon the Canadian side," and instead of benefiting the American laborer who was engaged in that industry it had the direct effect of lowering his wages. I say that is the statement based upon a thorough investigation of the matter by this gentleman.

Mr. SPOONER. I have the data here which show the wages paid in every department of the lumber industry in the United States and the wages paid by every department of the lumber industry in Canada. It not only appears that much lower wages are paid all through Canada in the lumbering industry, but it shows another thing, that since white-pine lumber was put upon the free list the wages of men engaged in the lumber industry in Canada have either been increased or have been maintained, while the wages which theretofore were paid to the men engaged in the lumber industry of the United States have been greatly decreased.

Of course I do not attribute all of this decrease to the tariff legislation as to lumber; a part of it is probably to be accounted for by the general depression throughout the country; but I have no doubt whatever that in part it is to be attributed to putting this product upon the free list.

Mr. President, I did not rise to make a speech on the tariff. I only desired to call the attention of the Senate to the remarkable discrimination made by the Senator in his amendment, under which the entire lumbering industry of the United States would be protected by this bill except the white-pine lumber industry of a few of the States, and those States lying along the border of Canada.

I spoke about "my forests" in a colloquy with the Senator from Nebraska. It might be inferred from that remark that I am interested in some pine forests of the United States. I desire to say that I am not. The only personal interest I have in any timber is beyond the jurisdiction of the United States. Some of my associates in that enterprise I think want lumber free.

Mr. GRAY. Mr. President, I do not know that any apology is necessary for anyone who rises to discuss this very important question of the imposition of a tax on one of the great necessaries of life which this schedule presents to us. It is one of those three things which the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. ALLEN] well said constitute the elementary necessaries of human well-being—food, clothing, and shelter. But, nevertheless, I will say that I am not disposed to trespass upon the patience of the Senate except in very brief fashion.

I know very little about the details of prices and the wages that concern this great subject, but I have thought a great deal of the underlying principle that governs a tax like this, and that must apply, if principle is to apply at all, to the imposition of a burden upon one of the necessaries of life. There ought to be something to justify it; and yet we have sat here for these two or three days and we have not heard a single word from those who propose the tax in defense of its imposition. We have heard no explanation of why this great staple, which concerns the trade, and business, and comfort of the masses of the American people, should be taken from the free list, where it now is, and placed upon the taxable list.

The Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. SPOONER] who has just taken his seat has made a very interesting speech in regard to the supposed discrimination which the amendment offered by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST] would make in regard to white-pine lumber, in which he is specially interested as a product of his own State. I agree with him in that; but I occupy what he admits is the logical position of being opposed to a tax upon lumber at all. In regard to that I feel deeply; and in regard to that I believe that too many protests can not be made on behalf of the American people.

Mr. President, here we have heard time and time again one Senator after another arise, not to defend this tax, not to explain why this burden should be placed upon the backs of the American people, but arise and boastingly state that in their own States the bounty of nature had given them large tracts of valuable timber land, that Idaho had more timber than the States of West Virginia and Wisconsin and Michigan put together, that North Carolina has a great tract of valuable white-pine timber lands; and so we go on and hear from time to time of these great bounties of nature that God has given to this fruitful and blessed land of ours, and then that is supposed to make the groundwork and justification for putting barriers between the people and access to those bounties of nature.

Of what benefit are the hundreds of thousands of acres of white-pine timber lands in North Carolina to the struggling, hard working masses of this country if they are not to enjoy the natural advantage which commercial activity and enterprise will give them in order to avail themselves of that bounty, but are to climb over a tax that is to enhance the difficulty of getting at what they want. Why should we undertake here to tell these 75,000,000 American people that "You are to be held back from these great timber supplies necessary to build your homes in order that the fortunate owners of the lands upon which that timber grows may levy an additional tribute upon you in order to increase their own well-being and their own fortunes?" Upon what theory of public morals—I will not say political economy—can such a tax be justified?

Mr. President, in this time of unrest and social upheaval we hear a great deal in denunciation of the private ownership of land at all. If, sir, it is to be defended, it can not be defended upon the ground that there is any right in those who have that ownership to tax the great body and mass of the people before they shall enjoy the bounties that nature gives through that land. If they are fortunate in owning timber tracts, if valuable revenue or income shall accrue to them, all right, but why seek by legislation to make it harder, to make it more difficult for the toiling masses of this country to enjoy this bounty than it would be under natural conditions, untrammeled and uninterfered with by the hand of legislation?

The Senator from Wisconsin spoke a moment ago about the owners of this white-pine land in his own State, and said with a good deal of eloquent interrogatory, Why should they not be allowed to do with their own what they choose and not be interfered with by legislation? Why should not those who own the white-pine timber land of Wisconsin, who had bought it and paid for it and built up towns and cities and accumulated great wealth and paid taxes on it, he asked, be allowed to sell it and not have that sale deferred until the Canadian forests are exhausted?

Nobody wants to interfere with the owner of white-pine timber land, or the owner of any other timber land, in doing what he pleases with his own; but, I retort, Why should not the millions and millions of people who use white-pine timber be allowed to do with their own what God Almighty gave them the right to do under natural conditions, and that is, spend it where they can get the most for it? Why should they be restrained by the powerful hand of legislation from buying the timber across the Canadian border, or anywhere else where it has been allowed to grow, in order that they may pay tribute to the owners of the timber land in Wisconsin and Minnesota?

Now, who can answer that question? Who can undertake to say why I and the 75,000,000 other people in this country who have honestly earned the money in our pockets shall be restrained from spending it where it will avail us most because of the demand of those who are so fortunate as to own that portion of the earth's surface upon which timber grows? Nobody answers. Even the Senator from Michigan [Mr. BURROWS] sits silently in his seat and can not be provoked into an answer, because I know and he knows that votes are more powerful than speeches or explanations.

Mr. PRITCHARD. Will the Senator from Delaware permit me?

Mr. GRAY. Certainly.

Mr. PRITCHARD. If I understand the Senator, he desires to know why we ask the right to sell our white-pine lumber. I want to say to the Senator that in my judgment the American citizen who pays taxes to keep up American institutions should be permitted to go into the American market on an equal footing with individuals living on the outside.

Take, for instance, the lumber industry in North Carolina. Suppose you live in Newbern, N. C., and want to sell a load of lumber, where do you sell that lumber? You sell it in the distributing markets—in Boston, Philadelphia, and New York. Now, I ask the Senator to compute the freight from Newbern to Boston, Philadelphia, and those other markets. Then take the freight rate from Canada and compare the two, and you will see that the Canadian has a wonderful advantage over the North Carolinian. All we ask of the American Congress and all we ask of the American Senate is to put the North Carolina lumber dealer upon an equal footing with the Canadian lumber dealer.

I see no reason, and I can not for the life of me understand, why a Southern Democrat can stand up in this body and advocate free lumber, because on every page of this bill we find protection for cutlery, and we find protection for other industries that have been built up in the Northern and the New England States.

Mr. BERRY. It was not put in there by the votes of Southern Democrats.

Mr. PRITCHARD. Now we have an opportunity to develop an

industry in our own section, an industry that will enable the Southern people to make something out of the product of their soil, and we find Southern men standing up here and stubbornly saying, "No; we will not have it."

That policy, Mr. President, has done more to hinder the South and keep us in an unfortunate condition than any other one thing. The Southern politicians have in the past sullenly refused to accept the benefits growing out of the protective system, while our friends from the Northern States have displayed more wisdom. We find they are advocating protection for every single industry in their States. The result has been that the North has grown powerful and rich and they have had a development of all their interests. We should have had a similar development in the South had we pursued a different policy.

I for one, representing in part the State of North Carolina, propose to stand here while this bill is being framed, and to see to it, so far as I may be able to do so, whenever an industry is to be affected by my vote, I shall vote so as to put the North Carolina citizen on an equal footing with the citizen living in New England, and, if needs be, I shall vote to give him an advantage over the Canadian or any other foreigner; and any man who has any Americanism in his soul, it seems to me, ought to advocate that kind of policy.

Mr. GRAY. I was proceeding, Mr. President, a while ago to state that it seemed to me impossible to give any good reason why this legislative interposition between the millions of this country and the bounties of nature should be made. And now the Senator from North Carolina comes to the front and says, very patriotically and with a great deal of emphasis, that he intends and is more than willing, by legislation, to equalize the conditions of what he calls the North Carolina timber grower and those in Canada, and that he is going to so legislate, if I understood him correctly, or that he is willing to so legislate, that it may be just as hard for a man who lives up on the northern tier of States and in the northern part of that northern tier of States, along the Canadian border, to get Canadian lumber as it is now to get North Carolina lumber. That is the Senator's idea of justice and equality and the beneficence that the law should distribute to a free people.

Mr. President, I want to equalize the conditions of the people who consume lumber, and I want to deny your right to levy that tribute upon them. If God has given you a State or a country in which this bounty has been specially conspicuous, that does not furnish a reason why you should lay a tribute upon the people for whom that is a necessity, in order that you may be further enriched than nature has already enriched you. There can be no justification for it. It destroys the only defense you can make for the private ownership of land; it destroys the only defense you can make for the possession and control by individuals of those great natural monopolies and bounties of nature.

If you claim that you can by legislation enhance the value of it to the producer by raising the price to the consumer—for that is the only way in which you claim that you can equalize these conditions about which the Senator from North Carolina speaks—then you are doing just what would be accomplished if you made this timber supply scarcer, and thus neutralized to the consumer the benefit of abundant forests.

You may call this a free Government, you may call it what you please, but it is nothing less than the despotism of wealth if the men who live along the northern tier of counties of that northern tier of States can not reach out their hands across this line that divides us from Canada to take the bounty that nature has given them.

Timber grows there not by the contrivance of man, but by the bounty of the great Creator; and why should not that man living in that northern tier of counties of that northern tier of States avail himself of this great advantage that has come to him without the contrivance of the Senator from North Carolina or of any of his constituents? And why does the Senator reach out from that distant State, hundreds of miles away, and seek to stay him by the interfering hand of his Government, and say, "You must not make the most of the income of your toil, but you can only have these necessaries of life by paying tribute to me, who lives a thousand miles away?" Mr. President, it is because I believe——

Mr. WILSON. Will I interrupt the Senator while he is speaking of the northern tier of States by stating the conditions which prevail in one of them; for example, we in the State of Washington probably have more lumber than nine Southern States and Michigan, Wisconsin, Pennsylvania, New York, and Maine combined? I have before me an exceedingly interesting statement—the estimates for the State of Washington and the estimates for the other States I have mentioned.

While in Wisconsin or while in North Carolina they can take up any amount of timber land without any act of Congress, yet in the State of Washington the land is acquired under the timber-land act of June 3, 1878, and is all owned by small holders, farmers, who sell timber to the mill owners in order to clear this land of this immense deposit of timber. That makes it higher for the mill owner.

Another condition enters—I will detain the Senator but a moment with this matter—and that is the question of transportation. To get our lumber to the California market we must ship it under the laws governing the coastwise trade, as the Senator well knows, under the American flag. We can not ship it in any tramp vessel that comes along, as they can in British Columbia. Second, each farmer must pay a tax on his land. They pay no tax in British Columbia; they only pay stumpage under what is known as the timber law at 50 cents a thousand and get a rebate of 25 cents on all kinds of exported lumber. The third is the matter of the kind of labor. They may employ in British Columbia Japanese, Chinese, and all other kinds of labor, which can not be done on this side. The matter of transportation and ownership of land is not all that enters into this business which unfavorably affects the people on this side of the line.

I do not wish to detain the Senator longer.

Mr. GRAY. Not at all. The Senator did not detain me. I am always glad to hear anything he has to say.

There it is again, though, the same old argument. Here is this rich inheritance, into which the Senator and his constituents have come in his State, and he tells us that because they happen to be there and because they own the land upon which this great growth of timber exists, that they have the right to reach down to San Francisco and say to the mechanic and laboring man who seeks to build a home, "You shall not get cheaper lumber because forsooth——

Mr. WILSON rose.

Mr. GRAY. Oh, no; do not interrupt me, as the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE] has suggested to you, it will just take up time.

Mr. WILSON. The Senator from Maine did not say anything of the kind.

Mr. HALE. What I was going to say to the Senator from Washington was that the Senator from Delaware is talking, as he always does, eloquently, of course, in favor of real free trade.

Mr. GRAY. Yes; real free trade.

Mr. HALE. The Senator from Delaware says if the Canadian can furnish lumber cheaper, we ought to let him do it.

Mr. GRAY. I say so.

Mr. WILSON. I do not desire to interrupt the Senator from Delaware, but there are some things which enter into the production of lumber on the west coast that I thought even in the Senate of the United States somebody ought to know something about its production, its shipment, and its transportation in competition with the rebate allowed by the British Columbian Goverment, and all that sort of thing. We are not seeking to exact toll; we are supplying the people as far east as the Senator's own State with cheaper shingles and cheaper lumber than they have ever received in the history of this country.

Mr. GRAY. But you can not supply them as cheaply as they can from Canada or you would not want this legislation. Is not that so?

Mr. WILSON. I think not.

Mr. GRAY. Then why do you want a tariff?

Mr. WILSON. The Senator was talking so eloquently just now about ships loading with lumber on the waters of Puget Sound that I wish to say to him that that was when we had a tariff, in 1893.

Mr. GRAY. Then, if you do not need that protection, and can furnish my State with lumber as cheaply as we can get it from Canada, why do you not do so?

Mr. WILSON. If it does not hurt the gentleman, why is he so vociferous in his opposition to it?

Mr. GRAY. Because I know full well that behind every protective tariff, not revenue tariff, there is the motive that you are to help a class by raising the prices of a product that they own, and you can not help them in any other way.

Mr. WILSON. No; I want to help the 100,000 people interested in the production of lumber in my State——

Mr. GRAY. Exactly.

Mr. WILSON. Who have almost gone into bankruptcy since the passage of the Wilson bill, that gave us free trade.

Mr. GRAY. That is the class of people the Senator wants to help. I am speaking of a far larger class, the 75,000,000 people whom he would rob in order that the class he represents may be protected; and I do not use that phrase in any other but its economic sense. Of course the Senator knows I do not use it in any offensive sense.

Mr. President, I am not to be scared from this argument by being told it is free trade. I have no prejudice against the words "free" or "freedom," and I do not know why the presumption of freedom should not obtain in regard to trade and the intercourse of men as well as it does in other respects in which a free, self-governed people can use that term. Freedom of trade ought to

be the rule, and protection and restriction ought to be the exception; and when they prevail they should be grounded upon reasons that will satisfy reasonable minds.

Mr. TILLMAN. Why does the Senator from Delaware draw the line at the free coinage of silver? [Laughter.]

Mr. GRAY. The free coinage of silver, which the Senator from South Carolina takes up in the absence of the Senator from Nevada, like the flowers of spring, has nothing to do with the case, any more than the free coinage of copper or the free coinage of any other metal.

Mr. TILLMAN. If free coinage is so dear to our hearts, why not let us have it?.

Mr. GRAY. Why not give the free coinage of copper or the free coinage of nickel?

But I am not to be drawn aside either by the newly fledged protectionist from South Carolina or by the gentleman who casts free trade in my face. I think protection and free silver ought to go together. They belong to the same class of economics. Both aim to raise prices by law. But I do say that having the concrete example given by the Senator from Washington, there can be no basis or justification in law or in morals or in political economy why he should seek to levy a tribute upon the artisan or the mechanic of San Francisco who seeks to buy lumber for his home, by making him, through legislation, pay more than he otherwise would, for the benefit of the class who own the lumber region.

Mr. President, it is just because the interests of the great mass of my countrymen should be predominant and the interest of classes should be subordinate that I am opposed to protective legislation. I believe there is no justification for a tariff except for revenue. I do not believe, sir, that you have a right to arm any class of men, however good and worthy they may be, with the taxing power of this great Government, in order that they may put their hands into the pockets of the people and take from them the dollar they have earned and put it into the pockets of those who have not earned it. That is the reason.

Mr. STEWART. I should like to ask the Senator from Delaware a question right here.

Mr. GRAY. I will be through in a minute, and then the Senator from Nevada can take the floor.

Mr. STEWART. I do not want to take the floor.

Mr. GRAY. Is it anything about free silver?

Mr. STEWART. No; I am not going to ask the Senator about any question he can not understand.

Mr. GRAY. That may be. I can not understand that, I confess.

Mr. STEWART. I should like to have the Senator state to me how a tariff for revenue can be levied upon articles similar to those produced in this country without operating as a protective tariff?

Mr. GRAY. You can not levy a revenue tariff on any article that comes into this country without raising the price to the consumer.

Mr. STEWART. Certainly.

Mr. GRAY. Of course that is true; but because it is, there is no reason why, for the sake of protection, you should levy a tariff that produces no revenue. If one justifies the other, I will hear the Senator some time when he gets off the free-silver question and can devote a little time to it. I do not believe in a tariff for revenue with incidental protection any more than I believe in virtue and incidental prostitution.

Mr. HOAR. Does the Senator believe in either of those things?

Mr. GRAY. No, sir; I do not. I can understand that a revenue tariff may result, as the tariff on sugar, the great revenue producer of the tariff list, results, in advantage to the sugar growers. There is no reason why we should discard that great revenue producer from the tariff list because of the incidental advantage. Suppose you were to put a great public building, an absolute public necessity, near the land of my friend the Senator from Massachusetts. There is no doubt he would derive an incidental advantage from the increase in the value of the land he holds by the erection of this great public improvement. The building would be put there for the sake of the public; it would not be put there for the sake of improving the land of the Senator from Massachusetts, but I will not refuse to put it there because it happens in that way to work to his advantage.

It is only by preferring the interest of a class to the interest of the whole people that you can defend the protective tariff, and I believe in those wise and pregnant words of Mr. Gladstone, which I read some years ago on the floor of the Senate, and are as true now as they were when they were uttered in his address to the voters of Midlothian. He said:

> Now is the time for every true friend of this country to remind the masses that they owe their present political elevation to no principles less broad and noble than these: Love of liberty for all, without distinction of class, creed, or country; and resolute preference for the interests of the whole people to any interests of narrower scope.

I try, so far as I am able to understand it, to place myself upon that broad and noble declaration, and when I can discover that the interests of a whole people are to be subordinated to the interests of a class, and think that I perceive it, then I must refuse to lend the sanction of my voice or vote to such a proposition.

Mr. President, the gifts of a bountiful Providence to the people of the world were not meant to be segregated or confined for the benefit of a few, and to be made difficult of access to the many by artificial means.

Mr. HOAR. I desire to ask the Senator from Delaware a question in regard to the quotation from Mr. Gladstone which he read, where, if I understood him, Mr. Gladstone said that the people ought to be governed by the interest of entire humanity, and not the interests of a few, or something of that kind. Is that in the same letter or speech in which he says, "England ought not to join in any proposition for the restoration of silver to its place of coinage, because England is a creditor nation, and if the burdens of the debtor nations of the world should constantly be increased, it would only be a benefit to us?"

Mr. GRAY. I will leave the Senator from Massachusetts and Mr. Gladstone to settle that between them. I admire the genius and the eloquence of my friend the Senator from Massachusetts, but he can not, by that rather impertinent intrusion into my speech, keep me from giving my meed of homage and praise to the noble sentiment uttered by that great English statesman. Whatever he may have said at other times and on other occasions and in regard to different lines of thought, the Senator from Massachusetts can in his own time and in his own way produce and comment upon it.

I say that, so far as I am concerned, I try to stand upon that proposition. I may fail to do it. I may fail to appreciate fully and widely and highly, perhaps, the situation in which we find ourselves now, but it is because I think I have found that there is in the proposition of protection throughout the pending bill, and especially in the schedule as to which we are now concerning ourselves, a subordination of the interests of the people to the interests of the few that I have interested myself as much as I have and have trespassed upon the patience of the Senate so long.

Mr. President, the commercial activities of a great and free people ought not to be trammeled without an excuse and without an explanation that can be given reasonably to a reasonable man. The great wealth-producing resources of the world ought to be open everywhere to the endeavor of man, and every legislative obstruction ought to be removed. Suppose the Canadian border had been brought down 150 or 200 miles, paralleling its present border. I suppose the advocates of protection would then think it just as suicidal, just as dangerous, to trade with the people who live in that belt as they now think it is to trade with the people of Canada, and yet we all know that a factor of enormous magnitude in the prosperity of this people is the perfect freedom of trade that reigns and has sway from ocean to ocean and from the lakes to the Gulf.

If it is wrong economically to trade with Canada, if we are to be injured by it, then it is wrong for the people of Maryland and Delaware and Virginia to trade with Massachusetts and New York and New Hampshire, for the same reason exactly applies; and knowing that the prosperity of this great country, which is the largest contiguous area over which free trade reigns in the whole world, is due to that free trade, I am willing to apply logically that doctrine to our trade with those who live across the wire fence that separates us from Canada.

Mr. LINDSAY. Will the Senator from Delaware permit a suggestion? I understand that the philosophy of protection to establish industries is to encourage American manufacturers and ultimately to reduce the prices of products.

Mr. GRAY. So I understand.

Mr. LINDSAY. I ask the Senator whether it is likely that the two-dollar tax will encourage the timber industry and ultimately reduce the price of lumber to the American consumer lower than it would be if we left it to Canada to supply it?

Mr. GRAY. I do not think anybody so contends. I do not think it would be a very grateful argument to the owners of the valuable timber land in North Carolina and Georgia, in Idaho and Washington, that this competition is going to reduce the value of the timber lands in that country.

Mr. WILSON. There is one thing, if the Senator from Delaware will permit me, of which he is probably aware better than I am. Two or three years ago, when we had a tariff on lumber and could buy it, a party came into power and said, "We will give you free trade in raw materials, and by the free trade in lumber and coal and lead we are going to have peace and plenty and prosperity, and the great aurora borealis is going to spread itself all over this country and give the people plenty of employment and happiness." Has it come? Is it visible to the naked eye? Is this free-trade doctrine, for which he is speaking so eloquently to-day, here?

Mr. GRAY. I am not going to answer questions which it is incumbent upon the Senator himself to answer. He is one of the advance agents of prosperity, and if he has got so far ahead of the procession, he can look back and tell us how far off it is.

Mr. WILSON. About as far off as the prosperity under the Wilson Act.

Mr. THURSTON. There is nothing in the way of it now but talk.

Mr. GRAY. Mr. President, I am through. Perhaps I should have concluded before, but I want to say there is no reason, it seems to me, why this schedule should remain, and why we should not have this free raw material and allow the people of this country access, untrammeled and unhindered by legislation, to that bounty which has with lavish hand been distributed all over this country and all over this continent by nature itself. We should be no better off if consuming fire had devastated every forest north of the Canada border, and yet that would produce the precise effect that you are seeking to produce by a protective tariff. The world's wealth would be that much decreased, and every man, woman, and child who depends upon lumber for shelter would suffer an appreciable loss, but of course the owners of the timber land would gain, because the price of timber would be increased, and that is what a protective tariff seeks to do. It seeks to do what fire and flood might do, to make a scarcity, as the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. ALLEN] so well said a while ago, and fill the pockets of those who are fortunate enough to possess the article to be sold.

Mr. RAWLINS. Mr. President, I have not long been a member of this body, and I have listened with some attention to the discussion as it has proceeded in regard to the tariff question. I started upon the same platform which has been so eloquently defended by the distinguished Senator from Delaware [Mr. GRAY]. Commercial and industrial freedom, together with all kinds of freedom spoken of by the Senator, ought to be, in my opinion, dear to every American heart.

In my feeble way during the late campaigns I advocated that cause before the people. When the convention of the Democratic party convened at Chicago and made its declaration of principles, we submitted the issues to the American people. I am compelled sincerely to sympathize with some of the gentlemen who find themselves in an unusual dilemma. We have had from the eloquent tongue of the Senator from Delaware [Mr. GRAY] and other Senators upon this side a vivid depiction of the evils of the protective system which is now proposed to us for consideration and adoption by Senators upon the other side. We have had portrayed to us and the American people the great burden which is to result to the immense body of American consumers by the increased cost to them of the necessaries of life, resulting from the application of that system in the administration of our Government.

But what does surprise me is that when that issue was presented to the American people voices which are now so eloquent were then silent. I wonder now whether they may not be somewhat conscience-stricken for having contributed to the success of the party which openly declared its purpose to inaugurate this system of which they now so bitterly complain? If we had heard then the voices we hear now, perhaps the result might have been different.

For myself, sitting here and listening to this discussion, I think it is but vain resistance to the inevitable. The measure has been prepared. It has been decreed. It will be passed as it has been framed. No eloquence now upon this side or opposition at this time will have the least possible effect in mitigating its evil consequences, if evil consequences are to come. The time when we should have spoken has passed. I regret that we did not have that measure of support from some people who ought to have been in sympathy with us then which seems so in evidence now.

Mr. GRAY. May I interrupt the Senator from Utah for a moment?

Mr. RAWLINS. In one moment.

Mr. GRAY. I wish to say only one word. If the Senator and others had paid as much attention to free trade as they did to free silver, or had paid more attention to free trade than to free silver, perhaps we would have had a different result.

Mr. RAWLINS. Perhaps we should have had a different result if the prophecies the Senator made in 1893, to restore prosperity if only his financial policy should be acted upon and adopted in this country, had been verified. You said to us the efflux of gold would cease. You said to us, "Repeal the Sherman law." You said, "Stop the coinage; stop this creation of dishonest money. We promise you that there will be immediate restoration of confidence. The evils that afflict the country will pass away." Unfortunately for you and those who made the prophecy at that time, your predictions have been falsified by experience. Unfortunately for you, as well as for others who cooperated with you last year in bringing about the very result which you now decry, the announcement of the vote in last November did not verify the truth of the assertions which you then made to the public. It was that we shall not open the mints, but we will open the mills.

Mr. President, I did not rise to discuss the financial question. When it is opportune and proper to talk about it, we may meet that issue. But I desire to say, in this connection, that it seems to me we ought to let the gentlemen now do at once, and quickly, the inevitable. Let them take the responsibility of it. When the time comes, we will again make the appeal, perhaps, to the American people. We shall then hear the voices of the distinguished Senator and other Senators, perhaps, when, in the light of experience, the result of the election may be different. I sincerely hope it will be.

One word more. Something has been said about free raw material, which implies that the improved or finished product, of which it becomes an ingredient, shall not be free. That means discriminating protection. As I view it, it means class favoritism. It means sectional inequality. It is an attempt to discriminate between the different degrees or stages of development and production, between the crude and the improved and the finished.

Its usual effect is a discrimination between the seller and the buyer, because what is one man's finished product is another man's raw material. What is one man's principal is another man's instrumentality.

It means usually nothing more than a discrimination between the rural and the urban, the crude and the artistic, between section and section, and in the end, if you analyze it, it comes down to a question of discrimination between the sweat of the brow and the friction of the machine, the blood flowing in the veins of the workingman and the falls of Niagara.

I wish now to enter my protest, because some votes which I shall cast in this body will be upon the principle which I now desire to state, and I do not care to be required to make explanation of it later. That is my only justification for detaining the Senate at this time.

Here is an economic policy, in my judgment a paradox, an Irish bull, the very statement of which involves a denial of its correlative: For the factory owners it is claimed that if their materials are taxed they can not enter into the markets of the world upon the same terms with their foreign competitor. The correlative is if their materials are untaxed they can enter the markets of the world upon equal terms with their foreign competitor. That is a confession that there is no necessity for protection for the sake of protection. That is eliminated.

Then the remaining question is, How shall we equitably and justly distribute the burdens of taxation among our own people? Then, again, we hear from the factory or mill classes of this country, "We can not afford to be taxed; our business is unprofitable; we are in distress, and must be exempt from taxation." But from the farm, from the mine, from every industry throughout the length and breadth of the country that same appeal for exemption, resulting from distress, may as well, in intensified degree, be made, be echoed and reechoed. If you exempt one on that account, you must exempt all the others. There is but one class of people who can not truthfully raise this cry. That class is safely secured and guarded from the inroads of taxation behind the bulwark of the Constitution of our country.

Then the question which confronts the people—those of us who plead that this Government ought to be economically administered, but that the people should bear their just share of taxation, which is necessary for its preservation and maintenance—is how to do it upon terms of equality. So the Democratic convention at Chicago set itself right upon this and other fallacies into which it temporarily fell, in deference to an accident, in adoration of a fetich, by declaring for the imposition of duties for the purposes of revenue, such duties to be so adjusted as to operate equally throughout the country and not to discriminate between class or section.

If you tax woolen goods, which shelter the people from the inclement weather, there is no reason why you should not tax the materials which enter into the composition of those goods. If you tax for one section, you must distribute the burden by taxing for other sections, if you can. It is impossible to form an equitable basis of taxation upon the protective theory, operating and falling alike heavily upon all our people. We must, in the nature of things, under existing circumstances, keep uniformity and equality as an ideal to which the nearest possible approach should be made.

I am opposed as much as is the Senator from Delaware to the imposition of duties in favoritism to manufacturers to conserve wealth, to create monopolies. It does not benefit labor either directly or by any process of filtration. I can by no wild flight of imagination conceive my fortune improved because some other man is elevated in the scale of magnificent wealth and luxury, when I occupy no relation to him by which to share the bounty or become heir-expectant to his fortune. It is equally absurd to say that the toiler in the mill is to reap any part of the fruit of advantage which you, by the pending tariff bill, give for the benefit of the proprietor. You but increase the power to enslave and oppress.

Mr. CAFFERY. Mr. President, the Senator from Utah, as has been done before, has injected a silver issue into this discussion. He seems to resent the fact that because some of us claiming to be Democrats would not uphold the Chicago platform upon the money issue, therefore we should now keep our mouths closed. The Senator from Utah and all his silver colleagues, not only at the time of the adoption of the Chicago platform, but ever since that period, have proclaimed, in and out of season, that the money question was and is the paramount question of the day. The great leader of the forces that marched under the banners erected at Chicago has stated that the campaign just passed was only the initial struggle; that it was only the first gun in a battle to be continued until silver triumphed or silver was defeated.

I have regretted the attitude of the Republican party on the tariff question. I thought and think now that a moderate revenue tariff, framed to meet what was alleged to be a deficit between the expenditures and receipts, ought to have been presented by the Republican majority, and not a bill framed upon lines of protection, pure and simple. Neither that party nor any other party can evade the issue that is pushed upon them by the adherents of the Chicago platform. I thought then, and think now, that the adoption of free silver at 16 to 1 is beyond all expression more dangerous to the prosperity and peace of the country than any tariff law.

Now, sir, while we who have been separated from our brethren on the money question, honestly divided, patriotically divided, choose to add our voice to the voice of a large constituency that we represent in deprecation of the theory of this bill, we are met by the censures of the Senator from Utah. I have formed my opinion upon the question of silver with as much deliberation, with as much honest study, as I am capable of giving to it, and I tell the Senator from Utah now that, whenever that question is raised, whenever the battle with silver is to be fought, I will be upon the side opposed to the free coinage of silver at 16 to 1. I thought that there was great danger to the country from the adoption of the principles of the Chicago platform. I thought my duty lay in the direction of supporting a ticket opposed to the principles enunciated in that platform. Subsequent reflection and subsequent light have only confirmed me in that opinion.

You want free silver. You want legislation to legislate value into a piece of metal. I am not astonished at the Senator from Utah when he couples a tariff upon the raw material with a demand for protection upon silver, or embraces silver within the same lines as enveloped the tariff upon products of the soil, or of the loom, or any other product. Free silver is a misnomer. It is an attempt to turn back the hand of civilization, the fiat of commerce which gives its value to one metal or the other, and substitute the artificial value to be imputed to these metals by legislation.

I believe neither in national nor international bimetallism. I believe that any effort on the part of legislation to give one centime of value to silver more than the commercial sense of mankind gives it, is nugatory and idle, and if you coin silver at 16 to 1 now or at any time when the market gives it the value that it has now, you will have silver monometallism. That thing that circulates all commodities, that thing upon which all transactions are based, must be stable and certain, not disturbed by legislation, and when the common measure of value is tampered with, threatened with annihilation by these constant assaults, then trade becomes demoralized, paralyzed, threatened, and it is less because of the tariff, but it is more because of this constant agitation of the silver question that trade does not manifest stability and health. That is my opinion.

I never have believed, and do not believe now, that you can make this people rich and prosperous by adding to the burden of tariff taxation or any other burdens. I never could see how a protective tariff could make people at large prosperous, for it is a diminishing of the amount of the consuming individual's property and placing it into the hands of a favored few. It can not augment the aggregate wealth. It only transfers from many pockets into a few pockets. I predict now that when this bill passes, as it will pass, the prices of the leading commodities, mostly the produce of the farm, will not advance one step. Highly protected manufactures probably will advance. You may add to the stability of commerce, you may put business upon a little safer foundation, because this tariff agitation certainly disturbs business to some extent, but you can not regulate all prices by a tariff any more than you can regulate the prices of a metal commodity by legislation.

I protest, Mr. President, against the constant injection into this debate of the silver question. It has no sort of connection with the tariff. The tariff is a broad proposition; so is this monetary proposition, but the two are not related in this debate.

I will attempt in my feeble way, sir, notwithstanding the eager haste to pass this bill, to show up what I consider to be its injustices and its enormities; nor will I be deterred in that line of conduct by any statement that the voices that are now loud in behalf of the principle of tariff for revenue were not raised in behalf of silver when its supporters were marching upon the Capitol, in my opinion, to the destruction of the prosperity of the country.

Mr. HALE and others. Question!

Mr. VEST. I ask for the yeas and nays.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The pending question is upon the amendment of the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST], which will be read.

The SECRETARY. In paragraph 193, after the word "measure," line 19, page 60, insert the words "except white pine;" so as to read:

Sawed lumber, not specially provided for in this act, $2 per thousand feet board measure, except white pine.

Mr. HALE. On that let us have the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CLAY (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE]. Were he present, I should vote "nay."

Mr. HALE. The Senator from Massachusetts, if present, would vote "nay."

Mr. CLAY. Then I will vote. I vote "nay."

Mr. HOAR. I desire to state that my colleague [Mr. LODGE] is unwell and is compelled to be absent.

Mr. QUAY (when his name was called). On this vote I am specially paired with the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE].

Mr. WARREN (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Washington [Mr. TURNER].

Mr. WELLINGTON (when his name was called). I have a pair with the junior Senator from North Carolina [Mr. BUTLER]. In his absence I will withhold my vote. If he were present, I should vote "nay."

Mr. WILSON (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Florida [Mr. PASCO]. If present, he would vote "yea" and I should vote "nay."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. VEST. I announce my pair with the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. NELSON]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. LINDSAY (after having voted in the affirmative). I withdraw my vote and stand paired with the senior Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH].

The result was announced—yeas 20, nays 38; as follows:

YEAS—20.

Allen,	Carter,	Jones, Ark.	Morgan,
Bate,	Chilton,	Kyle,	Murphy,
Berry,	Cockrell,	Mantle,	Pettus,
Caffery,	Gray,	Mills,	Roach,
Cannon,	Harris, Kans.	Mitchell,	Walthall.

NAYS—38.

Allison,	Foraker,	McBride,	Rawlins,
Bacon,	Frye,	McEnery,	Sewell,
Burrows,	Gallinger,	McLaurin,	Shoup,
Chandler,	Gear,	McMillan,	Spooner,
Clark,	Hale,	Martin,	Thurston,
Clay,	Hanna,	Mason,	Tillman,
Cullom,	Hawley,	Perkins,	Wetmore,
Davis,	Heitfeld,	Platt, Conn.	White.
Elkins,	Hoar,	Platt, N. Y.	
Fairbanks,	Jones, Nev.	Pritchard,	

NOT VOTING—31.

Aldrich,	Hansbrough,	Pasco,	Turner,
Baker,	Harris, Tenn.	Penrose,	Turpie,
Butler,	Kenney,	Pettigrew,	Vest,
Daniel,	Lindsay,	Proctor,	Warren,
Deboe,	Lodge,	Quay,	Wellington,
Faulkner,	Mallory,	Smith,	Wilson,
George,	Morrill,	Stewart,	Wolcott.
Gorman,	Nelson,	Teller,	

So Mr. VEST's amendment was rejected.

Mr. ALLEN. Mr President——

Mr. ALLISON. Before the Senator from Nebraska asks a vote on his motion to amend, I desire now to perfect the remaining paragraphs that were passed over until this matter was disposed of. Paragraph 201, I believe, was passed over.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. And paragraph 197, I think.

Mr. ALLISON. Paragraph 197 was also passed over.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I think it was; I am not positive.

Mr. HALE. Yes, paragraph 197 was passed over.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Paragraph 197 will be read.

The Secretary read the paragraph, as follows:

197. Clapboards, $1.50 per thousand.

Mr. ALLISON. As the paragraph stands now there is no amendment proposed.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Paragraph 197 is open to amendment.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Some one asked to have it passed over.

Mr. ALLISON. Line 19, page 62, paragraph 201, was passed over.

The SECRETARY. In line 19, paragraph 201, after the word "shingles," the Committee on Finance propose to strike out "thirty" and insert "twenty-five;" so as to read:

201. Shingles, 25 cents per thousand.

Mr. ALLISON. The committee recommend that that amendment be disagreed to.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. ALLISON. After paragraph 202 the majority of the committee recommend the insertion of a new paragraph, 202½. It is a transposition from another part of the bill.

The SECRETARY. After line 23, page 62, insert as a new paragraph:

202½. Boxes, barrels, or other articles containing oranges, lemons, limes, grape fruits, shaddocks, or pomelos, 30 per cent ad valorem: *Provided*, That the thin wood, so called, comprising the sides, tops, and bottoms of orange and lemon boxes of the growth and manufacture of the United States, exported as orange and lemon box shooks may be reimported in completed form, filled with oranges and lemons, by the payment of duty at one-half the rate imposed on similar boxes of entirely foreign growth and manufacture.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. On line 2, page 63, paragraph 203, I ask that the committee amendment may be now agreed to. It was passed over on Saturday.

The SECRETARY. On line 2, page 63, in paragraph 203, after the word "willow," the Committee on Finance propose to strike out "fifty" and insert "forty;" so as to make the paragraph read:

203. Chair cane or reeds, wrought or manufactured from rattans or reeds, 10 per cent ad valorem; osier or willow prepared for basket makers' use, 20 per cent ad valorem; manufactures of osier or willow, 40 per cent ad valorem.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Without objection, the amendment will be agreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. The committee propose no further amendments. I suppose the amendment of the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. ALLEN] is now in order.

Mr. ALLEN. I now call up my amendment.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Was not paragraph 204 passed over?

Mr. ALLISON. Paragraph 204?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I think so.

Mr. ALLISON. Paragraph 204, relating to toothpicks and skewers, was agreed to.

Mr. HALE. Yes; that paragraph was agreed to.

Mr. ALLEN. I move to strike out the entire schedule—Schedule D—and to substitute what I send to the desk.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment will be read.

The SECRETARY. Strike out all of Schedule D and insert in lieu thereof the following:

SCHEDULE D.—WOOD AND MANUFACTURES OF.

Osier or willow, prepared for basket-makers' use, 20 per cent ad valorem; manufactures of osier or willow, 35 per cent ad valorem; chair cane, or reeds, wrought or manufactured from rattans or reeds, 10 per cent ad valorem.

Casks and barrels, empty, sugar-box shooks, and packing boxes and packing-box shooks, of wood, not specially provided for in this act, 20 per cent ad valorem.

Toothpicks of vegetable substance, 35 per cent ad valorem.

House or cabinet furniture, of wood, wholly or partly finished, manufactures of wood, or of which wood is the component material of chief value, not specially provided for in this act, 25 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. VEST. On that I ask for the yeas and nays.

Mr. WHITE. If I understand the effect of the amendment of the Senator from Nebraska, it is to restore the Wilson Act provision. Am I correct?

Mr. ALLEN. I supposed I had the floor until I could explain the matter.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Nebraska has the floor.

Mr. ALLEN. My motion is to substitute Schedule D of the Wilson Act for the schedule in the pending bill.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. To strike out this schedule and insert the schedule of the Wilson Act.

Mr. ALLEN. To strike out this schedule and insert Schedule D of the Wilson Act.

Mr. BATE. It is the schedule of the Wilson Act which has just been read, and which is intended as a substitute?

Mr. ALLEN. Yes. It is to be followed by proposing for adoption paragraphs 671 to 684 of the Wilson Act, transferring various forms of lumber and timber to the free list.

Mr. HALE. That is, if the Senator's amendment carries, then the free-list provision he refers to will have to be changed accordingly?

Mr. ALLEN. Yes, sir; I shall then ask the Senate to adopt the free-list provision of the Wilson Act.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. We all understand it now.

Mr. ALLEN. In other words, I want the Wilson Act as it stands on the question of lumber adopted.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. ALLEN].

Mr. HALE. Let us have the yeas and nays upon agreeing to the amendment.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. DANIEL (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. HANSBROUGH].

Mr. GRAY (when his name was called). I am paired on this vote with the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE]. If he were present, I should vote "yea" and he would vote "nay."

Mr. BATE (when the name of Mr. HARRIS of Tennessee was called). I desire to state that my colleague [Mr. HARRIS of Tennessee] is out of his seat this evening and is paired with the Senator from Vermont [Mr. MORRILL].

Mr. VEST (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. NELSON] or I should vote "yea."

Mr. WARREN (when his name was called). I again announce my pair with the junior Senator from Washington [Mr. TURNER]. Were he here and voting, I should vote "nay."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. WILSON. I again announce my pair with the Senator from Florida [Mr. PASCO]. If he were present, he would vote "yea" and I should vote "nay."

Mr. WELLINGTON. I again announce my pair with the junior Senator from North Carolina [Mr. BUTLER]. Were he present, I should vote "nay."

Mr. LINDSAY (after having voted in the affirmative). I again withdraw my vote, and will stand paired with the senior Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH]. If he were here, I should vote "yea."

The result was announced—yeas 21, nays 37; as follows:

YEAS—21.

Allen,	Cockrell,	Mills,	Turpie,
Bate,	Faulkner,	Mitchell,	Walthall,
Berry,	Harris, Kans.	Morgan,	White.
Caffery,	Heitfeld,	Murphy,	
Cannon,	Jones, Ark.	Pettus,	
Chilton,	Kyle,	Roach,	

NAYS—37.

Allison,	Fairbanks,	McBride,	Sewell,
Bacon,	Foraker,	McEnery,	Shoup,
Burrows,	Frye,	McLaurin,	Spooner,
Carter,	Gallinger,	McMillan,	Stewart,
Chandler,	Gear,	Mason,	Thurston,
Clark,	Hale,	Perkins,	Tillman,
Clay,	Hanna,	Platt, Conn.	Wetmore.
Cullom,	Hawley,	Platt, N. Y.	
Davis,	Hoar,	Pritchard,	
Elkins,	Jones, Nev.	Quay,	

NOT VOTING—31.

Aldrich,	Hansbrough,	Morrill,	Teller,
Baker,	Harris, Tenn.	Nelson,	Turner,
Butler,	Kenney,	Pasco,	Vest,
Daniel,	Lindsay,	Penrose,	Warren,
Deboe,	Lodge,	Pettigrew,	Wellington,
George,	Mallory,	Proctor,	Wilson,
Gorman,	Mantle,	Rawlins,	Wolcott.
Gray,	Martin,	Smith,	

So Mr. ALLEN's amendment was rejected.

Mr. VEST. Mr. President, I have heard it intimated that the sugar schedule, which comes next in sequence in the bill, for some reason may not be considered to-morrow. That is one of the most important schedules we have in the bill, and we should like very much upon this side of the Chamber to know from the majority what is their intention in regard to it. To be entirely frank, I will first mention something that I have heard of some change of that schedule. I do not know it, and I am not authorized to state it, but I make that inquiry respectfully of the Senator from Iowa.

Mr. ALLISON. In response to the suggestion made by the Senator from Missouri, I will say that it is possible that some changes may be made in the Senate committee's amendment to the sugar schedule. I think it will be impossible, however, for us to go over that so as to be ready to take up the sugar schedule to-morrow. It is the purpose, as I understand, of this side of the Chamber to consider that schedule at as early a date as possible, taking into account the facilitating of its passage in some form. That I understand also to be the object of Senators on the other side.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President——

Mr. ALLISON. Will the Senator please wait for one moment?

Mr. WHITE. Certainly.

Mr. ALLISON. Should any changes be made or proposed, they will be presented to the Senate at a very early day, so that the sugar schedule, if delayed to-morrow for that reason or any other—possibly we shall not want to take up the sugar schedule to-morrow even if the amendments are ready—the amendments will be offered and time will be given, if the other side desire it, to consider them before they are taken up in the Senate. If the sugar schedule should be passed over to-morrow, I hope we shall arrange to go on

with the tobacco schedule, although it is barely possible that we shall ask that that be postponed for a day. If that be true, then we shall be ready to take up the agricultural schedule. I hope that either the sugar schedule or the tobacco schedule will be taken up to-morrow, and that one will follow the other.

Mr. MORGAN. I will ask the Senator from Iowa whether he would not be willing to take a recess for, say, two days, in order to give the committee a chance to prepare a bill?

Mr. ALLISON. I do not quite understand the intimation of the Senator from Alabama.

Mr. MORGAN. I merely made a request.

Mr. ALLISON. Of course the Senator from Alabama is well aware of the fact that we have passed over many paragraphs and many schedules with a view to hearing people who are interested, and some, perhaps, who are disinterested, and the sugar schedule, for reasons that are perfectly known to the Senator from Alabama, we have not been able to consider at all in the committee for several days. As to the tobacco schedule, I will restate that we hope to be able to take that up to-morrow.

Mr. MORGAN. If I had heard of any Democrats who desired to be heard before the committee, I should be quite content if the committee would give a little delay so that those Democrats might express themselves. I believe, however, this side of the House has never been invited into a consultation at all.

Mr. ALLISON. I will say to the Senator from Alabama that very many Democrats have appeared before the committee with a view of changing paragraphs in the various schedules, and I have taken it for granted that they were interested—possibly they may not be; but I suppose people are interested one way or the other in this bill whether they are Democrats or Republicans, and we want to get it as nearly right as we can for the general interest without reference to party.

Mr. MORGAN. I am glad to hear that any Democrat has ever been permitted to go before the committee at all. I suppose they have ascertained now what their fate is to be. There is to be no modification of these schedules except according to the will of one side of this committee, and I think, inasmuch as the committee are evidently not prepared to go on with this bill now, the best thing we can do is not to ask consent to take it up by piecemeal or a schedule at a time, and skip some and go on with others, but that we had better just take a recess and give the committee time to prepare the bill. They are not ready now, it seems.

Mr. WHITE. Will the Senator from Iowa yield to me for a question?

Mr. ALLISON. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITE. I desire to ask the Senator from Iowa whether I understood him as saying that it was probable that the sugar schedule would not come up to-morrow, but that still it might come up, and that it was possible that the tobacco schedule would come up to-morrow, but that still it might not come up? It seems to me that statement was a little uncertain; and, not wishing to annoy the Senator from Iowa by this reference to it, I think that those of us who find it necessary to examine these schedules day by day would like to know definitely some schedule that is to come up to-morrow unless unforeseen circumstances intervene; and I suggest to the Senator from Iowa to state, if possible, a schedule that is certain to come up to-morrow. If he will do so, it may perhaps lighten the labors of those who have to carry ponderous protests to this Chamber.

Mr. ALLISON. My suggestion was perhaps a little indefinite, and the Senator from California, acute as he is, has made it appear more indefinite than I intended it. We have been told two or three times by those in charge of the opposition to the bill on the other side that they wanted some notice if there was to be a postponement of any of these schedules. It has been well known that the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH], who has been quite ill for a week or more, expects to be present when the sugar schedule is taken up; at least I hope he may be. He may be in the Chamber to-morrow, or he may not be. I hope he will be. It is also possible that there may be a modification of the sugar schedule, and I hope that will not be offensive.

If a modification is made, the Senators on the other side would possibly require it to be printed in order that they might be enabled to throw such light upon it as a night would give them an opportunity to do. In that event, the schedule would not be taken up to-morrow. That is one of the uncertainties. Now, if the uncertainty should solve itself in the way of a postponement of that schedule, we should take up the tobacco schedule, unless something intervened, as matters from time to time have intervened. It may be postponed, but I hope it will not be.

Mr. WHITE. That is quite clear.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Mr. President——

Mr. ALLISON. I wish to say one word more, and then I shall yield. In response to the intimation and suggestion of the Senator from Alabama [Mr. MORGAN] of the incapacity of those who have charge of this bill to conduct it without a recess, I can assure him and assure Senators on the other side, that if they do not wish to act according to the convenience of those who have this bill in charge, we shall be ready to-morrow to take up any schedule that will suit the convenience of Senators on the other side.

Mr. MORGAN. I protest that I made no sort of intimation against the capacity of the committee. I sympathize with them very deeply in their involvement in troubles which are unavoidable. I can conceive how the Senators are facing questions extremely difficult to handle; and I put in my suggestion in order to give them full breathing time, that they might come back to the Senate with their minds made up and their consciences all reconciled to what they were about to do. That is all.

Mr. QUAY. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. With the permission of the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. QUAY], I should like to ask the Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON], before he leaves the Senate Chamber, what we are to do to-morrow? It is absolutely necessary, in order that we may have some idea of what is to be done. For him to tell us that either the sugar schedule, the tobacco schedule, the agricultural schedule, or some other schedule will come up to-morrow seems to be too indefinite, and the Senator from Iowa is too fair a man to think it is just to us that we shall be asked to adjourn this evening and come back to-morrow morning knowing nothing on the face of the earth as to what will come up to-morrow.

Mr. ALLISON. It was in deference to what I suppose to be the wishes and desires of those opposed to this schedule that I endeavored to state with frankness the difficulties that might be in our pathway to-morrow. I will say to the Senator that I think it is doubtful whether the sugar schedule will be taken up to-morrow.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Then say the sugar schedule will not come up to-morrow.

Mr. ALLISON. That is the next schedule in order.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Certainly it is, and I should like to have the Senator say now, before adjourning, whether the sugar schedule will or will not come up to-morrow. It seems to me we are entitled to know that much.

Mr. ALLISON. The Senator from Alabama [Mr. MORGAN] took occasion to say that we ought to take a recess that we might know what is coming up to-morrow. The sugar schedule is in order now, and sufficient unto the day is the evil or the good thereof.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The minority has some rights in this matter as well as the majority, and I deny that the majority has the right to say to the minority that "sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof," and that we shall know nothing of what is to come before the Senate.

Mr. ALLISON. I said "the good thereof."

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. There is no good in it.

Mr. ALLISON. If the Senator desires that I shall give notice of what shall be done to-morrow, I will give notice that on to-morrow the sugar schedule will be passed over, if that suits the convenience of Senators.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Anything suits us that the Senator wishes; but I should like to know what is going to be taken up.

Mr. ALLISON. I understand that. On to-morrow the tobacco schedule will come up. I shall ask that that schedule be considered to-morrow.

Mr. CANNON. May I ask the Senator a question?

Mr. ALLISON. Yes, sir.

Mr. CANNON. In view of the uncertainty of the first statement as to the tobacco schedule, I was about to ask the Senator from Iowa if he would not consent to have the agricultural schedule taken up to-morrow, and I make that request now.

Mr. ALLISON. After what has been said on both sides of this Chamber, and the apparent good will and good feeling that prevails on the other side, I should like very much to accommodate those who are on the other side and take up these schedules as rapidly as we can in the order of their succession, and therefore the tobacco schedule will come up to-morrow, as I have already stated. It will occupy, I think, only a portion of the day. Then, if the sugar schedule is not ready to be taken up, for the convenience of both sides of the Chamber the agricultural schedule will be next in order; but it will be taken up at the earliest possible time to-morrow, and certainly by the next day.

Mr. CANNON. If the Senator from Iowa will continue his kindness, if the sugar schedule is passed over to-morrow, as I now understand to be the intention of the committee, will the agricultural schedule be taken up immediately following the tobacco schedule and before the recurrence of the sugar schedule?

Mr. ALLISON. I am not able to state that, for I do not know; but I should think the sugar schedule would be taken up at the earliest possible day and gotten out of the way, if that is the wish of Senators.

Mr. QUAY. Regular order, Mr. President.

Mr. CANNON. With the permission of the Senator from Pennsylvania, I give notice that at the conclusion of paragraph 283 of the bill, being the agricultural schedule, I shall move to

amend the bill by the insertion of the amendment offered by me recently for the granting of export bounties to shippers of agricultural products from the United States, and I shall make some remarks thereon. I ask that the amendment I have proposed may be inserted in the RECORD.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. If there be no objection, the amendment intended to be proposed by the Senator from Utah will be inserted in the RECORD.

The amendment referred to is as follows:

At the agricultural schedule insert:

"And from and after sixty days from the passage of this act there shall be paid, out of any moneys in the Treasury of the United States not otherwise appropriated, to any exporter of wheat or wheat flour, rye or rye flour; corn, ground or unground; cotton, hops, or tobacco, produced wholly in the United States and exported by sea from any port in the United States to any port of any other country, the following export bounty, by way of an equalization to agriculture of the benefits of this act to encourage the industries of the United States, to wit: Ten cents per bushel on wheat; 50 cents per barrel on wheat flour; 10 cents per bushel on rye; 50 cents per barrel on rye flour; 5 cents per bushel on corn; 10 cents per cental on corn, ground; 1 cent per pound on cotton; 2 cents per pound on hops; 2 cents per pound on tobacco. And all payments of bounty under this act shall be made upon negotiable vouchers, issued by the collector of customs at the port of clearance, upon presentation at the Treasury or any subtreasury of the United States; and the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby charged with making and enforcing such regulations as may be necessary for the full protection of the exporters and of the Government according to the true intent and meaning of this law."

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. QUAY. I renew my motion that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After fifteen minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened, and (at 5 o'clock and 45 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Tuesday, June 8, 1897, at 12 o'clock meridian.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate June 7, 1897.

SUPERINTENDENT OF CHARITIES.

Herbert W. Lewis, of Maryland, to be superintendent of charities for the District of Columbia, vice John Tracey, deceased.

PROMOTIONS IN THE NAVY.

Ensign Benjamin W. Wells, jr., to be a lieutenant (junior grade) in the Navy, from the 21st day of March, 1897, vice Lieut. (Junior Grade) William E. Safford, promoted.

Ensign Newton A. McCully, to be a lieutenant (junior grade) in the Navy, from the 6th day of April, 1897, vice Lieut. (Junior Grade) William J. Maxwell, promoted.

Ensign Levi C. Bertolette, to be a lieutenant (junior grade) in the Navy, from the 29th day of April, 1897, vice Lieut. (Junior Grade) Franklin Swift, promoted.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate June 7, 1897.

SOLICITOR FOR DEPARTMENT OF STATE.

William L. Penfield, of Indiana, to be Solicitor for the Department of State.

AUDITOR FOR TREASURY DEPARTMENT.

William E. Andrews, of Nebraska, to be Auditor for the Treasury Department.

AUDITOR FOR WAR DEPARTMENT.

William W. Brown, of Pennsylvania, to be Auditor for the War Department.

CONSUL.

William W. Canada, of Indiana, to be consul of the United States at Vera Cruz, Mexico.

PROMOTIONS IN THE NAVY.

Commander Richard P. Leary, to be a captain.
Lieut. Commander William Swift, to be a commander.
Lieut. Herbert Winslow, to be a lieutenant-commander.
Lieut. (Junior Grade) William J. Maxwell, to be a lieutenant.
Lieut. (Junior Grade) Franklin Swift, to be a lieutenant.
Lieut. Commander Henry B. Mansfield, to be a commander.
Lieut. William H. Turner, to be a lieutenant-commander.

POSTMASTERS.

James R. Barr, to be postmaster at Cambridge, in the county of Guernsey and State of Ohio.

James F. Posten, to be postmaster at Elkins, in the county of Randolph and State of West Virginia.

Alfred York, to be postmaster at Fort Riley, in the county of Geary and State of Kansas.

Richard S. Oakford, to be postmaster at Herington, in the county of Dickinson and State of Kansas.

Harry H. Lusk, to be postmaster at Parsons, in the county of Labette and State of Kansas.

Charles E. Bowman, to be postmaster at Argentine, in the county of Wyandotte and State of Kansas.

Frank M. Atkinson, to be postmaster at St. Joseph, in the county of Buchanan and State of Missouri.

John Alfred, to be postmaster at Leadville, in the county of Lake and State of Colorado.

William Drawe, to be postmaster at Cuero, in the county of Dewitt and State of Texas.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

MONDAY, *June 7, 1897.*

The House met at 12 o'clock noon, and was called to order by the Speaker.

Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. HENRY N. COUDEN.

The Journal of the proceedings of Thursday last was read and approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT.

A message in writing from the President of the United States was communicated to the House of Representatives by Mr. PRUDEN, one of his secretaries, who also announced that the President had approved and signed a bill of the following title:

An act (H. R. 16) making appropriations for sundry civil expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1898, and for other purposes.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. PLATT, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed bills of the following titles; in which the concurrence of the House was requested:

A bill (S. 1271) for a public building at the city of Wilkesbarre, Pa., and appropriating money therefor; and

A bill (S. 925) to provide for the erection of a public building at San Angelo, Tex.

The message also announced that the Senate had agreed to the amendments of the House of Representatives to joint resolution and bill of the following titles:

Joint resolution (S. R. 45) authorizing the Secretary of War to use rations for the relief of the destitute persons in the district overflowed by the Rio Grande River at and near El Paso, Tex.; and

A bill (S. 1886) to adopt regulations for preventing collisions upon certain harbors, rivers, and inland waters of the United States.

CÁRLOS GUTIERREZ.

Mr. DINSMORE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of Senate joint resolution 40, authorizing the Secretary of War to receive, for instruction at the Military Academy at West Point, Cárlos Gutierrez, of Salvador.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. DINSMORE] asks unanimous consent for the present consideration of a joint resolution which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, etc., That the Secretary of War be, and he hereby is, authorized to permit Cárlos Gutierrez, of Salvador, to receive instruction at the Military Academy at West Point: *Provided*, That no expense shall be caused to the United States thereby: *And provided further*, That in the case of the said Gutierrez the provisions of sections 1320 and 1321 of the Revised Statutes shall be suspended.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of this joint resolution?

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. Speaker, I should like to ask the gentleman from Arkansas if there are precedents for this, and what is the reason for it?

Mr. DINSMORE. There are precedents for it. It has been done a number of times. It is merely a courtesy which is frequently extended to foreign countries by our Government. This is the son of a distinguished citizen of Salvador. As will be seen by the reading of the resolution, no expense whatever will be caused to the United States. It merely gives this young man the privilege of being educated in our Military Academy. I feel sure that nobody will object to it.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The joint resolution was ordered to a third reading; and it was accordingly read the third time, and passed.

On motion of Mr. DINSMORE, a motion to reconsider the last vote was laid on the table.

BRIDGE OVER THE ST. LOUIS RIVER BETWEEN WISCONSIN AND MINNESOTA.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of Senate bill 956, relating to the construction of a bridge across the St. Louis River between the States of Wisconsin and Minnesota.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. MORRIS]

asks unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill the title of which will be reported by the Clerk.

The Clerk read the title, as follows:

A bill (S. 956) to amend an act entitled "An act to authorize the construction of a steel bridge over the St. Louis River between the States of Wisconsin and Minnesota," approved April 24, 1894, as amended by an act approved August 4, 1894, entitled "An act to amend an act to authorize the construction of a steel bridge over the St. Louis River between the States of Minnesota and Wisconsin."

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the bill.

The bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That sections 3 and 9 of the above entitled original act and section 3 of the same, as amended by the said act approved August 4, 1894, entitled "An act to amend an act to authorize the construction of a steel bridge over the St. Louis River between the States of Minnesota and Wisconsin," be amended so as to read, respectively, as follows:

"SEC. 3. That the accessory works referred to in the preceding section shall be such booms, dikes, piers, or other suitable and proper structures for confining the flow of water to a permanent channel, and for the guiding of steamboats, rafts, and other water craft safely through the draw and rafting spans, as shall be required by the Secretary of War; and in addition thereto, and before the construction of the bridge to be built under this act, the company or persons owning or holding such bridge shall be required, under the direction of the Secretary of War, or such officer as he shall designate, to dredge above and below said bridge to such depth and for such distance as in the judgment of the Secretary of War, or of such other officer as he shall designate, shall have been rendered necessary by the erection of the piers to said bridge."

"SEC. 9. That this act shall be null and void if actual construction of the bridge therein authorized be not commenced within one year and completed on or before August 1, A. D. 1897."

SEC. 2. That all acts or parts of acts in conflict with the provisions of this act are hereby repealed.

Mr. McMILLIN. Mr. Speaker, I should like to ask the gentleman in charge of the bill whether it has been reported on by any committee of the House?

Mr. TAWNEY. Yes; it passed the House at the last session.

Mr. MORRIS. This bill was reported upon by the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce of the last House and passed unanimously. It went to the Senate and there failed to pass. It has now been passed by the Senate and comes back from the Senate to this House.

Mr. McMILLIN. It has never been considered by any committee of the present House?

Mr. MORRIS. Not by any committee of the present House.

Mr. McMILLIN. And this House is working up the remnants of the failures of the last Congress on its recommendations, instead of recommendations of committees appointed by this House?

Mr. MORRIS. That is for the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. McMILLIN] to say.

The bill was ordered to a third reading; and it was accordingly read the third time, and passed.

On motion of Mr. MORRIS, a motion to reconsider the last vote was laid on the table.

BRIDGE ACROSS PEARL RIVER, MISSISSIPPI.

Mr. LOVE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill S. 956, which is a similar bill to the one just passed, and also to the bill which was passed here last Thursday. It is an altogether local matter, and no objection can be made to the bill.

The SPEAKER. Has the gentleman a copy of the bill?

Mr. LOVE. No, sir. I thought the Clerk told me he had a copy of it. There is a mistake in the number of the bill. It is the bill S. 1979.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman had given the Clerk the wrong number.

Mr. LOVE. The Clerk gave me the wrong number.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED.

The SPEAKER. There is a wrong number somewhere [laughter]; but while the papers are being obtained, the Speaker will announce his signature to the following bills:

A bill (S. 1886) to adopt regulations for preventing collisions upon certain harbors, rivers, and inland waters of the United States;

A bill (S. 1944) to authorize the construction of a bridge across the Clinch River, Kingston, Tenn.; and

A joint resolution (S. R. 45) reappropriating the sum of $10,000 not expended for the relief of sufferers by the floods of the Mississippi River.

SENATE BILLS REFERRED.

Under clause 2 of Rule XXIV, the following Senate bills and concurrent resolutions were taken from the Speaker's table and referred to their appropriate committees as indicated below:

A bill (S. 479) to provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Nashua, in the State of New Hampshire—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, when appointed.

A bill (S. 129) to amend "An act for the correction of the military record of Wilhelm Spiegelburg," approved July 21, 1892—to the Committee on Military Affairs, when appointed.

A bill (S. 925) to provide for the erection of a public building at San Angelo, Tex.—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, when appointed.

A bill (S. 1271) for a public building at the city of Wilkesbarre, Pa., and appropriating money therefor—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, when appointed.

Concurrent resolution No. 8—

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That there be printed and bound 3,000 copies of the special report describing the methods and results of the investigations conducted by the astrophysical observatory of the Smithsonian Institution, entitled Annals of the Astrophysical Observatory, of which number 500 shall be for the use of the Senate, 1,000 for the use of the House of Representatives, and 1,500 copies for distribution by the Smithsonian Institution—

To the Committee on Printing, when appointed.

Concurrent resolution No. 10—

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That there be printed as a document the report of the United States Boundary Commission, pursuant to the convention between the United States and Mexico, touching the re-marking of the boundary line between those two countries west of the Rio Grande, and in addition thereto 3,000 copies of said report for the use of the Department of State—

To the Committee on Printing, when appointed.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITION OF THE ITALIANS IN CHICAGO.

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following message from the President; which was read, referred to the Committee on Labor, and ordered to be printed:

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

I transmit herewith the ninth special report of the Commissioner of Labor, which report relates to the social and economic condition of the Italians in Chicago.

WILLIAM McKINLEY.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
Washington, D. C., June 4, 1897.

NOTE.—The manuscript of this report has been delivered to the Senate.

RETURN OF BILL TO THE SENATE.

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following resolution of the Senate:

Resolved, That the Secretary be directed to request the House of Representatives to return to the Senate the bill (S. 426) to authorize the construction of a bridge across the Missouri River between its mouth and the mouth of the Dakota or James River, and across the Mississippi River between the mouth of the Minnesota River, in the State of Minnesota, and Donaldsonville, in the State of Louisiana; and across the Illinois and Des Plaines rivers between the mouth of the Illinois River and the city of Joliet, in the State of Illinois; and to prescribe the character, location, and dimensions of the same.

The SPEAKER. If there be no objection, the request of the Senate will be complied with. [After a pause.] The Chair hears no objection, and it is so ordered.

Mr. VINCENT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the resolution which I will ask the Clerk to read, with the consent of the House.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Mississippi has been recognized.

BRIDGE ACROSS PEARL RIVER, MISSISSIPPI.

Mr. LOVE. Mr. Speaker, has the Clerk found the bill to which I referred a few moments ago?

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Mississippi asks unanimous consent for the present consideration of the following bill.

The Clerk read as follows:

A bill (S. 1979) to authorize the construction of a bridge across Pearl River, in the State of Mississippi.

Be it enacted, etc., That the board of supervisors of Marion County, in the State of Mississippi, be, and is hereby, authorized to construct and maintain a highway bridge and approaches thereto across Pearl River, at or near the town of Columbia, in said county and State.

SEC. 2. That said bridge shall be located and built under and subject to such regulations for the security of navigation as the Secretary of War may prescribe, and to secure that object the said board of supervisors shall submit for his examination a design and drawing of the bridge and a map of the location, and until the said plan and location are approved by him the bridge shall not be commenced or built; and should any change be made in said bridge before or after completion, such change shall be likewise subject to the approval of the Secretary of War.

SEC. 3. That the said bridge shall be so kept and managed as to offer reasonable and proper means for the passage of vessels and other craft through or under the same, and for the safety of vessels passing at night there shall be displayed on said bridge, from sunset to sunrise, at the expense of the owners thereof, such lights or other signal as the Light-House Board may prescribe; and any changes in said bridge which the Secretary of War may, at any time, deem necessary and order in the interests of navigation shall be made by the owners thereof at their own expense.

SEC. 4. That this act shall be null and void if actual construction of the said bridge be not commenced in one year and completed in three years from the date hereof.

SEC. 5. That the right to alter, amend, or repeal this act is hereby expressly reserved.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. PAYNE. I want to ask the gentleman from Mississippi, for the information of my friend from Tennessee [Mr. McMILLIN], who I hope will give attention to it, if this bill has been considered by any committee of this House?

Mr. McMILLIN. My friend from New York needs information worse than I do.

Mr. PAYNE. I think I know; but I wanted to have it understood, so that the gentleman from Tennessee would know.

Mr. LOVE. I would just like to say that that bill has not been referred to a committee, because there are no committees to refer it to.

Mr. PAYNE. It has not been reported by any committee of this House.

Mr. GAINES. That is the fault of the Republicans of this House.

Mr. PAYNE. I have no objection.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the consideration of the bill? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

The bill was ordered to a third reading; and it was accordingly read the time, and passed.

On motion of Mr. LOVE, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Mr. GROSVENOR. I move that the House do now adjourn.

The SPEAKER proceeded to put the question.

Mr. BAILEY. Before that motion is submitted——

The SPEAKER. The motion is not debatable.

Mr. BAILEY. I understand it is not. I simply desire to say before the vote is taken that so long as the Cuban resolution and the bankruptcy bill are undisposed of we will feel compelled to resist these motions to adjourn.

Mr. GROSVENOR. Regular order!

Mr. BAILEY. I am ready for the regular order now.

The question was taken; and the Speaker announced that the ayes seemed to have it.

Mr. BAILEY. Division, Mr. Speaker!

The House divided.

Mr. GROSVENOR. The yeas and nays!

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Ohio demands the yeas and nays.

Mr. BAILEY. I should like to have the vote announced.

The SPEAKER. On this question the ayes are 79, the nays 80. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. RICHARDSON. Another leader wrecked!

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 92, nays 79, answered "present" 11, not voting 170; as follows:

YEAS—92.

Adams,	Dalzell,	Hitt,	Royse,
Alexander,	Danford,	Hooker,	Showalter,
Babcock,	Davenport,	Howe,	Simpkins,
Baker, Md.	Dorr,	Hurley,	Smith, S. W.
Barber,	Dovener,	Jenkins,	Southard,
Barrows,	Ellis,	Johnson, N. Dak.	Spalding,
Bartholdt,	Evans,	Kirkpatrick,	Sperry,
Bennett,	Fenton,	Linney,	Stewart, N. J.
Bingham,	Fletcher,	Loud,	Stone, C. W.
Bishop,	Foss,	Lybrand,	Sulloway,
Boutelle,	Fowler, N. J.	McDonald,	Tawney,
Brewster,	Gibson,	McIntire,	Tayler, Ohio
Broderick,	Gillett, Mass.	Miller,	Tongue,
Brown,	Graff,	Moody,	Van Voorhis,
Brownlow,	Griffin,	Morris,	Wadsworth,
Burton,	Grosvenor,	Mudd,	Walker, Va.
Clark, Iowa	Hamilton,	Olmsted,	Weaver,
Codding,	Harmer,	Overstreet,	White, Ill.
Cooke,	Hawley,	Packer, Pa.	White, N. C.
Cousins,	Henry, Conn.	Parker, N. J.	Williams, Pa.
Crumpacker,	Hepburn,	Payne,	Wilson, N. Y.
Curtis, Iowa,	Hicks,	Pearson,	Wright,
Curtis, Kans.	Hill,	Pugh,	Yost.

NAYS—79.

Adamson,	Cowherd,	Knowles,	Robinson, Ind.
Bailey,	Davey,	Lanham,	Sayers,
Baird,	Davis,	Latimer,	Settle,
Baker, Ill.	De Graffenreid,	Lentz,	Shuford,
Barlow,	De Vries,	Lewis, Ga.	Sims,
Bartlett,	Elliott,	Lewis, Wash.	Skinner,
Bell,	Epes,	Livingston,	Stark,
Bodine,	Fleming,	Love,	Stephens, Tex.
Brantley,	Fox,	McMillin,	Stokes,
Brenner, Ohio	Gaines,	Maddox,	Strowd, N. C.
Broussard,	Griggs,	Martin,	Sutherland,
Brundidge,	Gunn,	Maxwell,	Tate,
Burke,	Hay,	Meekison,	Terry,
Castle,	Henry, Miss.	Ogden,	Underwood,
Catchings,	Henry, Tex.	Osborne,	Vandiver,
Clardy,	Howard, Ala.	Peters,	Vincent,
Clark, Mo.	Hunter,	Rhea,	Wheeler, Ky.
Clayton,	Jett,	Richardson,	Williams, Miss.
Cochran, Mo.	Kitchin,	Ridgely,	Young, Va.
Cooper, Tex.	Kleberg,	Rixey,	

ANSWERED "PRESENT"—11.

Ball,	Cooper, Wis.	McClellan,	Swanson,
Benner, Pa.	Dinsmore,	McCulloch,	Vehslage.
Brucker,	King,	Pierce, Tenn.	

NOT VOTING—170.

Acheson,	Barney,	Belknap,	Botkin,
Allen,	Barrett,	Benton,	Bradley,
Arnold,	Beach,	Berry,	Brewer,
Bankhead,	Belden,	Bland,	Bromwell,
Barham,	Belford,	Booze,	Brosius,
Brumm,	Grow,	McEwan,	Shattuc,
Bull,	Hager,	McRae,	Shelden,
Butler,	Handy,	Maguire,	Sherman,
Campbell,	Hartman,	Mahany,	Simpson,
Cannon,	Heatwole,	Mahon,	Slayden,
Capron,	Hemenway,	Mann,	Smith, Ill.
Carmack,	Henderson,	Marsh,	Smith, Ky.
Chickering,	Henry, Ind.	Marshall,	Smith, Wm. Alden
Clarke, N. H.	Hilborn,	Mercer,	Snover,
Cochrane, N. Y.	Hinrichsen,	Mesick,	Southwick,
Colson,	Hopkins,	Meyer, La.	Sparkman,
Connell,	Howard, Ga.	Miers, Ind.	Sprague,
Connolly,	Howell,	Mills,	Stallings,
Cooney,	Hull,	Minor,	Steele,
Corliss,	Johnson, Ind.	Mitchell,	Stevens, Minn.
Cox,	Jones, Va.	Moon,	Stewart, Wis.
Cranford,	Jones, Wash.	Newlands,	Stone, W. A.
Crump,	Joy,	Northway,	Strait,
Cummings,	Kelley,	Norton,	Strode, Nebr.
Davidson, Wis.	Kerr,	Odell,	Sturtevant,
Davison, Ky.	Ketcham,	Otey,	Sullivan,
Dayton,	Knox,	Otjen,	Sulzer,
De Armond,	Kulp,	Pearce, Mo.	Talbert,
Dingley,	Lacey,	Perkins,	Taylor, Ala.
Dockery,	Lamb,	Pitney,	Todd,
Dolliver,	Landis,	Plowman,	Updegraff,
Eddy,	Lester,	Powers,	Walker, Mass.
Ermentrout,	Littauer,	Prince,	Wanger,
Faris,	Little,	Quigg,	Ward,
Fischer,	Lorimer,	Ray,	Warner,
Fitzgerald,	Loudenslager,	Reeves,	Weymouth,
Fitzpatrick,	Lovering,	Robb,	Wheeler, Ala.
Foote,	Low,	Robbins,	Wilber,
Fowler, N. C.	McAleer,	Robertson, La.	Wilson, S. C.
Gardner,	McCall,	Russell,	Young, Pa.
Gillet, N. Y.	McCleary,	Sauerhering,	Zenor.
Greene,	McCormick,	Shafroth,	
Grout,	McDowell,	Shannon,	

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will announce the pairs.

The following pairs were announced:

Until further notice:

Mr. HAGER with Mr. HANDY.

Mr. MCCALL with Mr. JONES of Virginia.

Mr. YOUNG of Pennsylvania with Mr. BENTON.

Mr. BELKNAP with Mr. MAGUIRE.

Mr. FARIS with Mr. ZENOR.

Mr. HENRY of Indiana with Mr. MIERS of Indiana.

Mr. SMITH of Illinois with Mr. MCCULLOCH.

Mr. ACHESON with Mr. WILSON of South Carolina.

Mr. BARNEY with Mr. BANKHEAD.

Mr. WM. ALDEN SMITH with Mr. BRUCKER.

Mr. CHICKERING with Mr. BRADLEY.

Mr. SAUERHERING with Mr. STRAIT.

Mr. BARHAM with Mr. FITZGERALD.

Mr. STEWART of Wisconson with Mr. LITTLE.

Mr. MILLS with Mr. SULLIVAN.

Mr. REEVES with Mr. BALL.

Mr. BELDEN with Mr. SULZER.

Mr. LOVERING with Mr. WHEELER of Alabama.

Mr. MCEWAN with Mr. VEHSLAGE.

Mr. STRODE of Nebraska with Mr. ALLEN.

Mr. JOY with Mr. MARSHALL.

Mr. JOHNSON of Indiana with Mr. MOON.

Mr. BROSIUS with Mr. ERMENTROUT.

Mr. LACEY with Mr. MCRAE.

Mr. PITNEY with Mr. CARMACK.

Mr. KERR with Mr. ROBB.

Mr. BRUMM with Mr. COX.

Mr. LORIMER with Mr. BERRY.

Mr. STEVENS of Minnesota with Mr. JONES of Washington.

Mr. CLARKE of New Hampshire with Mr. KING.

Mr. MINOR with Mr. SPARKMAN.

Mr. HULL with Mr. DOCKERY.

Mr. SPRAGUE with Mr. MCDOWELL.

Mr. HEATWOLE with Mr. DINSMORE.

Mr. PERKINS with Mr. COOPER of Texas.

Mr. MERCER with Mr. DE ARMOND.

Mr. HEMENWAY with Mr. ROBERTSON of Louisiana.

Mr. QUIGG with Mr. BLAND.

Mr. MAHON with Mr. BENNER of Pennsylvania.

Mr. LANDIS with Mr. CRANFORD.

Mr. KULP with Mr. STALLINGS.

Mr. WALKER of Massachusetts with Mr. SLAYDEN.

Mr. WILLIAM A. STONE with Mr. MCCLELLAN.

Mr. DAVIDSON of Wisconsin with Mr. HOWARD of Georgia.

Mr. RUSSELL with Mr. SWANSON.

Mr. MCCLEARY with Mr. TALBERT.

Mr. MITCHELL with Mr. TAYLOR of Alabama.

Mr. OTJEN with Mr. LESTER.

Mr. HOPKINS with Mr. MCALEER.

Mr. WRIGHT with Mr. ADAMSON.

For this day:

Mr. CORLISS with Mr. LAMB.

Mr. LOW with Mr. OTEY.

Mr. MARSH with Mr. COONEY.

Mr. ODELL with Mr. FITZPATRICK.

Mr. HICKS. Mr. Speaker, I was paired with the gentleman from Virginia, Mr. OTEY, but the pair has been transferred to Mr. LOW, of New York, and I have voted "aye."

Mr. SWANSON. Mr. Speaker, I voted in the negative and would so vote, but finding that the gentleman from Connecticut, Mr. RUSSELL, has not voted, and being paired with him, I desire to withdraw my vote.

Mr. KING. Mr. Speaker, I voted "no," but I am paired with the gentleman from New Hampshire, Mr. CLARKE, and I withdraw my vote.

Mr. BROUSSARD. Mr. Speaker, I desire to vote.

The SPEAKER. Was the gentleman present and listening when his name was called, and did he fail to hear it?

Mr. BROUSSARD. Yes, sir.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman's name will be recorded.

Mr. BROUSSARD voted "no."

Mr. BRUCKER. Mr. Speaker, I voted "no," but I am paired with the gentleman from Michigan, Mr. WM. ALDEN SMITH, so I will ask to be recorded as present.

Mr. EVANS. Mr. Speaker, how am I recorded?

The SPEAKER. The gentleman is recorded as present.

Mr. EVANS. I desire to vote. I was under the impression that I was paired, but I am not, the pair having been transferred, and I vote "aye."

Mr. YOST. Mr. Speaker, I answered "present," thinking that I was paired, but I desire to vote "yea."

The SPEAKER. The gentleman's vote will be recorded.

Mr. SAYERS. Mr. Speaker, I ask that my colleague, Mr. SLAYDEN, be excused on account of business.

There was no objection, and it was so ordered.

Mr. BALL. Mr. Speaker, I voted "no," but I find that I am paired with the gentleman from Illinois, Mr. REEVES, and I withdraw my vote.

Mr. SWANSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask that my colleague, Mr. OTEY, be excused for ten days, on account of sickness in his family.

There was no objection, and it was so ordered.

Mr. PIERCE of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I desire to know whether the gentleman from West Virginia, Mr. DAYTON, has voted?

The SPEAKER. He has not.

Mr. PIERCE of Tennessee. Then I withdraw my vote.

Pending the announcement of the vote, leave of absence was granted, by unanimous consent, as follows:

To Mr. KIRKPATRICK, for ten days, on account of important business.

To Mr. BUTLER, for one day, on account of death in his family.

To Mr. MINOR, indefinitely, on account of sickness.

To Mr. DAVISON of Kentucky, indefinitely, on account of important business.

To Mr. MCCLEARY, for ten days, on account of important business.

To Mr. OTEY, for ten days, on account of sickness and death of brother.

To Mr. LOUDENSLAGER, indefinitely, on account of sickness.

Mr. TERRY. I make the point, Mr. Speaker——

Mr. GROSVENOR. Regular order, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. TERRY. I make the point, Mr. Speaker, and I would like to be heard just a moment——

The SPEAKER. The Chair anticipates the gentleman's point, and answers it by stating that 92 members have voted in the affirmative and 79 in the negative, while 11 have answered "present," making a total of 182; and although that may be of no consequence in any gentleman's estimation——

Mr. TERRY. My point is that the House can not adjourn without a quorum for more than one day, and I desire to be briefly heard on that point.

The SPEAKER. The Chair declines to hear the gentleman, even on his own basis, because it is not a fact that there is no quorum.

Mr. TERRY. I understood that to be the fact.

The SPEAKER (at 1 o'clock and 10 minutes p. m.). The ayes have it, and accordingly the House stands adjourned until Thursday next, at 12 o'clock noon.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of Rule XXIV, the following communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

A letter from the assistant clerk of the Court of Claims, transmitting a copy of the findings filed by the court in the case of Joseph M. Middlekauff against The United States—to the Committee on War Claims, and ordered to be printed.

A letter from the assistant clerk of the Court of Claims, transmitting a copy of the findings filed by the court in the case of Napoleon B. Allen against The United States—to the Committee on War Claims, and ordered to be printed.

A message from the President, transmitting a special report of the Commissioner of Labor, relating to the social and economic condition of the Italians in Chicago—to the Committee on Labor, and ordered to be printed.

PUBLIC BILLS, RESOLUTIONS, AND MEMORIALS INTRODUCED.

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, bills, resolutions, and memorials of the following titles were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. MOODY: A bill (H. R. 3420) to establish a life-saving station at Swampscott, Mass.—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. ELLIOTT: A bill (H. R. 3421) to establish a sanitarium at Castle Pinckney, in Charleston Harbor, South Carolina, for the use of disabled officers and enlisted men of the Regular and Volunteer Army and Navy of the United States—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. ELLIS: A bill (H. R. 3435) fixing times when, regulating the manner in which, and declaring the character of the accounts between the United States and the several public-land States, relative to the net proceeds of the sales and other disposition of the public lands made and to be made therein by the United States, which shall hereafter be stated and certified to the Treasury Department for payment—to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. JENKINS: A memorial of the legislature of the State of Wisconsin for the passage of an act to strengthen the national credit—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. BABCOCK: A memorial of the legislature of the State of Wisconsin for the passage of an act to strengthen the national credit—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. GRIFFIN: A memorial of the legislature of the State of Wisconsin, for an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relative to trusts—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, a memorial of the legislature of the State of Wisconsin, for the passage of an act to strengthen the national credit—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. BULL: A memorial of the legislature of the State of Rhode Island, relative to a memorial to be placed over the graves of American soldiers and sailors at Put in Bay Island—to the Committee on the Library.

By Mr. CAPRON: A memorial of the legislature of the State of Rhode Island, relative to a memorial to be placed over the graves of American soldiers and sailors at Put in Bay Island—to the Committee on the Library.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS INTRODUCED.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions of the following titles were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BOTKIN: A bill (H. R. 3422) granting an honorable discharge to Jesse Dotts—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3423) granting back pension to Isaac Lantz—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. DOCKERY: A bill (H. R. 3424) granting a pension to Levi R. Long—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. GAINES: A bill (H. R. 3425) for the relief of George A. Dickel & Co., at Nashville, Tenn.—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HUNTER: A bill (H. R. 3426) granting a pension to Turner J. Bowling—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3427) granting a pension to Sarah A. Denham, widow of Benjamin F. Denham—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. JOY: A bill (H. R. 3428) for the relief of J. E. Gillingwaters—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. RIDGELY: A bill (H. R. 3429) to remove the charge of desertion against Hiram Lane—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3430) to remove the charge of desertion against E. A. Brown—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3431) granting a pension to O. C. Denslow—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3432) granting a pension to David W. Thurston—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3433) granting a pension to Martin M. Flint—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3434) granting a pension to John Carr—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. ELLIS: A bill (H. R. 3436) for the relief of Wilbur F. Cogswell—to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, the following petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

By Mr. BULL: Petitions of citizens of Providence and of East

Providence, R. I., for a more rigid restriction of immigration—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. CAPRON: Petitions of citizens of Hope and East Providence, R. I., for the further restriction of immigration—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. DANFORD: Petition of Local Union No. 20, Belmont Central Trades and Labor Union, of Bellaire, Ohio, praying for the passage of the so-called Minnesota label law—to the Committee on Labor.

By Mr. DOVENER: Petitions of John L. Hunt and 87 other citizens of Church district, Wetzel County; E. R. Coffman and 27 others, of Sardis, Harrison County; W. W. Rogers and 45 others and Thomas D. Bennett and 47 others, of Ohio County; James Welch and 52 others, of Viola, Marshall County; A. E. Sutton and 83 others, of Gaston, Lewis County; J. N. Conley and 29 others, of Barbour County, State of West Virginia, for a more rigid restriction of immigration—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

Also, petition of Lee Haymond and 17 other late officers of the Volunteer service, United States Army, of Clarksburg, W. Va., for the relief of George J. Stealey—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. ERMENTROUT: Petition of the National Arbitration Committee, of Washington, D. C., for international arbitration—to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, petition of Robert Stuntz, of the Persian Rug Factory, of New York City, for higher duty on Persian rugs—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, petition of the Merchant Tailors' Exchange of Boston, Mass., for limit to amount of clothing travelers from abroad shall be allowed to import without duty—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. HILBORN: Petition of the Board of Trade of Oakland, Cal., in favor of the Torrey bankruptcy bill—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HUNTER: Paper to accompany House bill granting a pension to Sarah A. Denham—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, petition of Henry H. Wright and other citizens of Effingham, Ill., veterans of the late war, favoring the passage of a service-pension bill—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. JOY: Petition of Edward G. Burles and other citizens of St. Louis, Mo., for an appropriation for the payment of all judgments of the Court of Claims in favor of letter carriers and others, reported in the Fifty-fourth Congress—to the Committee on Appropriations.

Also, petition of D. I. Bushnell & Co. and other business firms of St. Louis, Mo., protesting against the free distribution of seeds by the Government—to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. LOUDENSLAGER: Petition of citizens of Leesburg, N. J., for the restriction of immigration—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. MILLER: Petition of D. E. Stewart and others, of Cabell County, W. Va., asking for the passage of a bill to further restrict immigration—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. OLMSTED: Petition of H. W. Moyer and sundry other citizens of Myerstown; also of E. R. Payne and others, of Harrisburg; also of John A. Berry and others, of Annville, in the State of Pennsylvania, praying for the passage of a law to further restrict immigration—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

SENATE.

TUESDAY, *June 8, 1897.*

Prayer by Rev. HUGH JOHNSTON, D. D., of the city of Washington.

The Secretary proceeded to read the Journal of yesterday's proceedings, when, on motion of Mr. QUAY, and by unanimous consent, the further reading was dispensed with.

SANITARIUM AT CASTLE PINCKNEY, SOUTH CAROLINA.

The VICE-PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the Secretary of War, transmitting, in response to a resolution of the 3d instant, a report from the Quartermaster-General of the Army relative to the cost of constructing suitable buildings at Castle Pinckney, near Charleston, S. C., to be used as a sanitarium for disabled officers and enlisted men of the Regular and Volunteer Army of the United States; which was read.

Mr. TILLMAN. I move that the communication and accompanying report of the Quartermaster-General be printed and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs, to accompany the bill now before that committee.

The motion was agreed to.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. QUAY. I present a petition of the members of the Philadelphia Wool Merchants' Association, praying for the early passage of the pending tariff bill, and remonstrating against the imposition of lower rates of duty on articles under Schedule K than those proposed by the so-called Dingley tariff bill. As these gentlemen are a very respectable body of men, I ask that the petition be read.

The petition was read, and ordered to lie on the table, as follows:

PETITION.

PHILADELPHIA, *June 5, 1897.*

To the Senate of the United States, Washington, D. C.:

We, the undersigned members of the Philadelphia Wool Merchants' Association, earnestly petition and urge your active cooperation in securing protective tariff legislation at the earliest possible date which will adequately secure American industrial products against the competition of foreign labor. Any lower rates than those provided for in Schedule K by the House bill (H. R. 379) will not furnish adequate protection to the wool industry.

Paul Jagode, president Wool Merchants' Association; J. Philip Jagode & Co.; Justice, Bateman & Co.; Kayser, Fisler & Co.; J. Reifsnyder, Son & Co.; Bullock Bros.; Jno. M. Leslie & Co.; Chas. J. Webb & Co., Jno. S. Whilldin, attorney; H. B. Heston & Co.; Cunningham's Sons; Wm. Mower's Sons; H. L. Cooper; Patrick Roach; Jno. J. McCloskey; Sam'l Lee & Co.; Lee & Bacchus; Joseph C. Mance, jr.; Coates Brothers; H. Cowan & Son; Stone & Christie; Bradford Smith; T. Kenworthy & Bro.; James G. Kibben & Co.; Jagode & Lewis.

Hon. M. S. QUAY,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

Mr. QUAY. I also present resolutions adopted by the general assembly of Pennsylvania, favoring the passage of Senate bill No. 1747, providing for the reappointment and retirement of David McMurtrie Gregg, late captain, Sixth United States Cavalry, and brevet major-general United States Volunteers, with the rank of captain, which will be read under the practice of the Senate.

The resolutions were read, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs, as follows:

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, *May 31, 1897.*

Whereas there is pending in Congress Senate bill No. 1747, which provides for the reappointment and retirement of David McMurtrie Gregg, late captain, Sixth United States Cavalry, and brevet major-general of United States Volunteers, with the rank and grade of captain; and

Whereas in consideration of the long and faithful military services of this distinguished son of Pennsylvania before and during the late war of the rebellion, especially for gallant conduct at the battle of Gettysburg, we ask proper recognition at the hands of the Government he so faithfully served, and that the acknowledgment thereof may be testified by the prompt passage of said bill: Therefore,

Be it resolved (*if the senate concur*), That our Senators and Representatives in Congress be requested to support and use their utmost efforts to effect the speedy passage of said bill reappointing and retiring General Gregg.

Resolved further, That a copy of the above preamble and resolution be sent by the governor of this Commonwealth to our Senators and Representatives in Congress.

JERE B. REX,
Chief Clerk of the House of Representatives.

IN THE SENATE, *June 1, 1897.*

The foregoing resolution concurred in.

E. W. SMILEY,
Chief Clerk of the Senate.

Approved the 3d day of June, A. D. 1897.

DANIEL H. HASTINGS.

Mr. DANIEL presented the petition of S. J. Steven and sundry other citizens of Pulaski, Va., praying for the enactment of legislation for a more rigid restriction of immigration; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. CARTER. I present a communication from the governor of Alaska, together with a petition from citizens of the Yukon Valley district in that Territory, praying for the creation of a court of competent jurisdiction for Alaska. I move that the communication and accompanying petition be printed as a document and referred to the Committee on Territories.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. ALLEN presented a petition of sundry citizens of North Platte, Nebr., praying for the enactment of legislation for a more rigid restriction of immigration; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. WETMORE. I present a petition of the general assembly of Rhode Island, praying that an appropriation be made for the erection on Put in Bay Island of an appropriate memorial over the long-neglected graves of the patriotic soldiers and sailors of the battle of Lake Erie; which I ask, under the rule, may be printed in the RECORD and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

The petition was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[State of Rhode Island, etc. In general assembly, January session, A. D. 1897.]

Resolution relative to a memorial to be placed over the graves of American soldiers and sailors at Put in Bay Island.

Resolved, That the delegation in Congress from Rhode Island be, and they are hereby, requested to use their best efforts to secure a sufficient appropriation by the General Government at Washington to erect on Put in Bay Island an appropriate memorial over the long-neglected graves of the patriotic soldiers and sailors of the battle of Lake Erie;

Resolved, That the secretary of state be, and is hereby, directed to forward copies of these resolutions to each of our members of Congress and to the governor of the State of Ohio and to the mayor of the city of Cleveland, Ohio.

STATE OF RHODE ISLAND,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,
Providence, May 24, 1897.

I certify the foregoing to be a true copy of a resolution passed by the general assembly of said State on the 19th day of May, A. D. 1897.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the seal of the State aforesaid the date and year first above written.

[SEAL.] CHARLES P. BENNETT,
Secretary of State.

Mr. WILSON presented a petition of the legislature of Washington, praying for the establishment of a national soldiers' home upon the site of Fort Sherman Military Reservation; which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

STATE OF WASHINGTON, *Office of the Secretary of State.*

I, Will D. Jenkins, secretary of state of the State of Washington, do hereby certify that I have carefully compared the annexed copy of the house joint memorial No. 16, adopted by the legislature, session 1897, approved by the governor March 3, 1897, with the enrolled memorial now on file in this office, and find the same to be a true and perfect copy thereof.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the seal of the State of Washington.

Done at Olympia this 1st day of April, A. D. 1897.

[SEAL.] WILL D. JENKINS,
Secretary of State.

House joint memorial No. 16.

A memorial to Congress in regard to a national soldiers' home at Fort Sherman, Idaho, by the senate and house of representatives of the State of Washington.

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled:

Whereas by act of Congress and the orders of the War Department, the troops will, at an early date, be removed from Fort Sherman to the newly established military post at Spokane, Wash.; and

Whereas the present site of Fort Sherman, with all its buildings and improvements, will be worthless to the United States, and can not be sold for any very great amount of money; and

Whereas it is located at the north end of Cœur d'Alene Lake, a beautiful body of water, upon which are many steamers, with Cœur d'Alene City near by with good railroad facilities; and

Whereas there is not a national soldiers' home in the extreme Northwestern States: Therefore,

We earnestly ask that you give this matter due consideration and establish a national soldiers' home upon the site of Fort Sherman, in order that those men who defended the country's flag in time of peril may have a pleasant, healthy place to spend their last days upon earth; and that a copy of this memorial be sent to each of our Senators and members of the House of Representatives in Congress.

Adopted by the house February 25, 1897.
Adopted by the senate February 27, 1897.
Approved by the governor March 3, 1897.

[Certificate.]

STATE OF WASHINGTON, OFFICE OF SECRETARY OF STATE,
Olympia, Wash., April 1, 1897.

I, Will D. Jenkins, secretary of state of the State of Washington, and custodian of the seal of said State, do hereby certify that the foregoing is a true and correct copy of the enrolled document now on file in this office.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the seal of the State of Washington the day and year above written.

[SEAL.] WILL D. JENKINS,
Secretary of State.

Mr. WILSON presented a petition of the legislature of Washington, praying that the claims of William A. Newell as the originator of the system of Life-Saving Service of the United States be recognized by the Government; which was referred to the Committee on Commerce, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

STATE OF WASHINGTON, *Office of the Secretary of State.*

I, Will D. Jenkins, secretary of state of the State of Washington, do hereby certify that I have carefully compared the annexed copy of the house memorial No. 12, adopted by the legislature, session 1897, approved by the governor March 6, 1897, with the enrolled memorial now on file in this office, and find the same to be a true and perfect copy thereof.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the seal of the State of Washington.

Done at Olympia this 1st day of April, A. D. 1897.

[SEAL.] WILL D. JENKINS,
Secretary of State.

House memorial No. 12.

Whereas the legislature of the State of New Jersey did, at its last session, in the year 1896, adopt the following preamble and resolutions, to wit:

"Preamble and resolutions setting forth and acknowledging the claims of William A. Newell as the originator of the system of Life-Saving Service of the United States and thanking him for his agency therein.

"Whereas William A. Newell, Representative in Congress from the Second Congressional district of this State to the Thirtieth Congress of the United States, did, on the 3d day of January, 1848, introduce the following resolution, viz: '*Resolved*, That the Committee on Commerce be instructed to inquire whether any plan can be devised whereby the dangerous navigation along the coast of New Jersey between Sandy Hook and Little Egg Harbor may be furnished with additional safeguards to life and property, and that they report to the House by bill or otherwise,' which was passed without opposition; and

"Whereas the committee made no report whatever upon said resolution, and William A. Newell did, on the 3d day of August, 1848, make a carefully prepared speech detailing his system at length, as is recorded in the appendix to the Congressional Globe of that date, and on the 9th of the same month did offer the following amendment to the light-house bill, to-wit, 'For providing surfboats, lifeboats, rockets, carronades, and other necessary apparatus for the better preservation of life and property from shipwreck along the coast of New Jersey between Sandy Hook and Little Egg Harbor, $10,000, the same to be expended under the supervision of such officer as may be designated by the Secretary of the Treasury,' which passed unanimously; and

"Whereas William A. Newell, at the second session of the Thirtieth Congress, introduced and secured the passage of an amendment appropriating $20,000 for the extension of the system from Little Egg Harbor to Cape May, and the Atlantic coast of Long Island, Fire Island, and Montauk Point, and did, on July 14, 1866, when again in Congress, deliver a speech in the House of Representatives calling for an additional appropriation of $20,000, and strongly urging the justice of paying the life-saving crews, which propositions were adopted: and

"Whereas it is thus made clearly apparent that William A. Newell did, while a Representative from this State, originate the system which has been instrumental in saving many thousands of human lives from shipwreck and an untold amount of property from destruction: Therefore,

"*Be it resolved by the senate and house of assembly of the State of New Jersey*, That we do hereby recognize William A. Newell as the true author and originator of the Life-Saving Service, and that the thanks of this legislature be, and are hereby, extended to him for his agency in establishing this most successful instrumentality in the cause of humanity.

"*Resolved*, That these resolutions be spread upon the minutes, and that the governor of this State be requested to forward to the Hon. William A. Newell an original copy of the same."

And whereas William A. Newell was a governor of Washington Territory, and is now an honored citizen of this State; and

Whereas Washington is preeminently distinguished as a maritime State by reason of ocean frontage, straits, huge inland salt seas, navigable rivers and lakes, and as many of our people are engaged in commercial and seafaring pursuits and thus interested in all measures tending to diminish dangers to life and property from shipwreck: Therefore,

Be it resolved by the senate and house of representatives of the State of Washington, That we do heartily approve of and indorse the action of the legislature of the State of New Jersey in according to William A. Newell the honor of originating and carrying into successful operation the Life-Saving Service of the United States.

Resolved, That an engrossed copy of these proceedings be transmitted to Governor Newell; and

Be it further resolved, That a copy of this memorial be sent to the legislature and the governor of the State of New Jersey; also that copies thereof be forwarded to our Senators and Representatives in Congress, with the request that they secure from the Congress of the United States, where the system was inaugurated, an indorsement of these testimonials of the State of New Jersey and of Washington, so eminently merited and so long withheld.

Adopted by the house February 11, 1897.
Adopted by the senate March 3, 1897.
Approved by the governor March 6, 1897.

[Certificate.]

STATE OF WASHINGTON, OFFICE OF SECRETARY OF STATE,
Olympia, Wash., April 1, 1897.

I, Will D. Jenkins, secretary of state of the State of Washington, and custodian of the seal of said State, do hereby certify that the foregoing is a true and correct copy of the enrolled document now on file in this office.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the seal of the State of Washington the day and year above written.

[SEAL.] WILL D. JENKINS,
Secretary of State.

Mr. WILSON presented a petition of the legislature of Washington, praying that the forest-reserve proclamation issued by President Cleveland on February 22, 1897, be revoked; which was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

STATE OF WASHINGTON, *Office of the Secretary of State.*

I, Will D. Jenkins, secretary of state of the State of Washington, do hereby certify that I have carefully compared the annexed copy of the senate memorial No. 12, senate joint resolution No. 25, house memorial No. 17, adopted by the legislature, session 1897, approved by the governor March 11, March 10, and March 10, respectively, with the enrolled memorials and resolution now on file in this office, and find the same to be a true and perfect copy thereof.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the seal of the State of Washington.

Done at Olympia this 1st day of April, A. D. 1897.

[SEAL.] WILL D. JENKINS,
Secretary of State.

Senate memorial No. 12.

To the honorable the President and Congress of the United States:

Whereas there has been set apart within the State of Washington three tracts of land containing many million acres as forest reservation;

Whereas these tracts are rich in mineral resources and contain many of the best mines in the State;

Whereas mining is one of the greatest industries of this State and this act strikes at the foundation of our present and future prosperity; and

Whereas we believe that these tracts of land should be opened to prospectors and miners, with full privilege to find, develop, and operate all and any mining properties therein: Therefore,

Be it resolved by the senate (the house of representatives concurring), That we memorialize the President and Congress of the United States to revoke, as speedily as may be, that part of the law which prohibits mining within the above-mentioned reservation, and to enact a law permitting the finding, developing, and operating of mines, the construction of roads and bridges, and all the other necessary adjuncts requisite to a full development of the mineral resources of these reservations.

And your memorialists will ever pray.

Passed the senate March 9, 1897.
Passed the house March 10, 1897.
Approved by the governor March 11, 1897.

[Certificate.]

STATE OF WASHINGTON, OFFICE OF SECRETARY OF STATE,
Olympia, Wash., April 1, 1897.

I, Will D. Jenkins, secretary of state of the State of Washington and custodian of the seal of said State, do hereby certify that the foregoing is a true and correct copy of the enrolled document now on file in this office.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the seal of the State of Washington the day and year above written.

[SEAL.] WILL D. JENKINS,
Secretary of State.

Senate joint resolution No. 25.

Whereas the forest-reserve proclamation issued by President Cleveland on February 22, 1897, includes many mining camps, villages, and homes of settlers within the State of Washington; and this hinders the advancement of one of our most promising industries and retards the efforts of many settlers to build up homes: Therefore,

Be it resolved by the senate and house of representatives of the State of Washington, That our Senators and Representatives in Congress be, and they hereby are, most earnestly urged to secure as speedily as possible action along one of the following lines:

First. By the enactment of a general law to permit miners and settlers to use the timber on all forest reserves, under proper restrictions, and to permit miners to operate and own their mines situated within such forest reserves.

Second. Failing in the above, to induce President McKinley to modify the Executive proclamation of the new forest reserve, if possible, so as to remove the great blight placed on the growing industry of mine development in the State of Washington.

Third. Failing in these efforts, to seek at once, by Congressional enactment, to annul the proclamation of February 22, 1897, by which nearly one-sixth of the lands of this State were withdrawn from settlement.

And be it further resolved, That, inasmuch as it has been manifested in the said proclamation that the nation is willing to relinquish all further profit from the public lands in this State, Congress be urged to cede the remaining public land of all kinds to the State of Washington, and that the management and control of the forest reservations within this State be placed with the State authorities.

And be it further resolved, That a copy of this resolution be forwarded immediately to each of the Senators and Representatives in Congress from the State of Washington.

Passed the senate March 8, 1897.
Passed the house March 8, 1897.
Approved by the governor March 10, 1897.

[Certificate.]

STATE OF WASHINGTON, OFFICE OF SECRETARY OF STATE,
Olympia, Wash., April 1, 1897.

I, Will D. Jenkins, secretary of state of the State of Washington and custodian of the seal of said State, do hereby certify that the foregoing is a true and correct copy of the enrolled document now on file in this office.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the seal of the State of Washington the day and year above written.

[SEAL.] WILL D. JENKINS,
Secretary of State.

—

House memorial No. 17.

Whereas the late President of the United States, Grover Cleveland, by a proclamation issued February 22, 1897, created a forest reserve in the State of Washington, embracing all that territory in said State from the one hundred and twentieth meridian of longitude to the one hundred and twenty-second meridian, and from the forty-eighth parallel of north latitude to the forty-ninth parallel, or the northern boundary of this State, containing a mountainous area of the Cascade range of 60 miles from north to south and 120 miles from east to west, which cuts off from the four great mineral-producing counties of this State—Okanogan, Whatcom, Skagit, and Snohomish—fully one-half of the territory of each county from settlement and development, and that 90 per cent of the said territory has little or no timber of any commercial value, but is, on the contrary, a rocky, mountainous country, and is practically valueless for any other than its great and almost unlimited mineral deposits, consisting of gold, silver, copper, iron, coal, asbestus, marble, and other minerals, and this very territory is the great mineral belt in the State of Washington, and is now conceded by many of the best experts in the country to be the greatest gold, silver, and copper belt in America; and

Whereas many millions of dollars of the people of the State of Washington and other States have been invested in the development of the mineral resources of this territory, in the building of populous and thriving towns, erection of schoolhouses and churches, and clearing and improving of small farms in the valleys of the mountain recesses, the construction, equipment, and operation of railroads and telegraph lines, the development and operation of extensive mining properties that are large producers of gold, silver, copper, and coal, affording employment at this time to more than 5,000 men in the State of Washington and a means of support to more than 20,000 people. In this territory are included the thriving and prosperous towns and mining camps of Monte Cristo, Silverton, Cascade, Galena, Sultan, Index, Skykomish, Ruby Creek, Methow, Squaw Creek, Chelan, and many others. That more than 20,000 mineral locations have already been made in this very district, and that the number will probably be doubled during the year 1897, and that hundreds of thousands of dollars of investors' and capitalists' money is now ready and waiting only for the spring season to open and develop and bring into circulation the hidden stores of gold and silver deposited by nature in these mountains, which will furnish employment to thousands of idle and hungry men, and a means of subsistence to thousands upon thousands of suffering women and children who are now without the bare necessities of life; and

Whereas if this reserve is continued and maintained and further prospecting prevented and development retarded, this promised and assured prosperity will be diverted from us and our State to the British possessions across the line and immediately adjoining; and

Whereas under the statutes of the United States, volume 26, page 1103, any and all prospectors, settlers, or locators on any of the lands in such territory, after the date of the said proclamation, would clearly be trespassers, and as all prospectors, settlers, or locators already in the country would be unable to reach their lands or improvements without going over other unsettled or unlocated land within the reserve, all would be trespassers; therefore the reservation prevents and obstructs all improvement, railroad building, and mining operations, and is a stupendous and disastrous blow to every commercial and business interest of the State; and

Whereas the future prosperity of this State is largely dependent upon the development of the vast mineral resources of this territory directly tributary to the commercial centers, as is so plainly illustrated and exemplified in the recent and present growth and prosperity of Spokane, which is conceded to be due to the mining interests tributary thereto; and the great cities of Denver, Butte, Leadville, Salt Lake, and even San Francisco are shining examples of the prosperity and bond of union that exists between profitable mining development and successful agricultural and commercial life; and

Whereas it seems almost incomprehensible that such an Executive order creating this particular forest reserve, designated in the proclamation, should have issued on the eve of the retirement of the President, and we being firmly of the opinion that the real facts and truth as to the mineral character and the extensive improvements and state of development of this district could not have been in the possession of the President, and believing and being firmly convinced that a grievous wrong, injustice, and irreparable damage has been done to the mining and commercial interests of all the citizens of this State: Now, therefore,

We, your memorialists, the legislature of the State of Washington, respectfully memorialize the President and the Congress of the United States for the immediate revocation and cancellation of the order of proclamation of February 22, 1897. And we request our Representatives in Congress and instruct our Senators to use every diligence and honorable means to that end. And that copies of this memorial be forthwith transmitted to the President of the United States, the President of the Senate, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and to our Senators and Congressmen.

Adopted by the house March 8, 1897.
Adopted by the senate March 8, 1897.
Approved by the governor March 10, 1897.

[Certificate.]

STATE OF WASHINGTON, OFFICE OF SECRETARY OF STATE,
Olympia, Wash., April 1, 1897.

I, Will D. Jenkins, secretary of state of the State of Washington, and custodian of the seal of said State, do hereby certify that the foregoing is a true and correct copy of the enrolled document now on file in this office.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the seal of the State of Washington the day and year above written.

[SEAL.] WILL D. JENKINS,
Secretary of State.

Mr. WILSON presented a petition of the legislature of Washington, praying for the establishment of a life-saving station on the coast of Washington at some point between the entrance to Grays Harbor and Point Granville; which was referred to the Committee on Commerce, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

STATE OF WASHINGTON, *Office of the Secretary of State.*

I, Will D. Jenkins, secretary of state of the State of Washington, do hereby certify that I have carefully compared the annexed copy of the house memorial No. 3 and house memorial No. 8, adopted by the legislature, session 1897, approved by the governor March 6 and March 9, respectively, with the enrolled memorials now on file in this office, and find the same to be a true and perfect copy thereof.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the seal of the State of Washington.

Done at Olympia this 1st day of April, A. D. 1897.

[SEAL.] WILL D. JENKINS,
Secretary of State.

—

House memorial No. 3.

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States:

We, your memorialists, the legislature of the State of Washington, respectfully represent as follows:

Whereas that portion of the coast of the United States between the entrance to Grays Harbor and Cape Flattery on the west coast of the State of Washington, a distance of 130 miles, is entirely without either light-house or life-saving station; and

Whereas strong ocean currents setting in along said coast make navigation along said coast extremely hazardous; and

Whereas many ships have been wrecked and many lives have been lost along said coast:

Be it therefore resolved by the legislature of the State of Washington, That the State of Washington respectfully ask the Congress of the United States to take such steps as will result in establishing a life-saving station on the coast of Washington at some point between the entrance to Grays Harbor and the promontory known as Point Granville, and in extending to said Grays Harbor the Government telegraph line now having its terminus at Tatoosh Island.

Adopted by the house February 15, 1897.
Adopted by the senate March 3, 1897.
Approved by the governor March 6, 1897.

[Certificate.]

STATE OF WASHINGTON, OFFICE OF SECRETARY OF STATE,
Olympia, Wash., April 1, 1897.

I, Will D. Jenkins, secretary of state of the State of Washington, and custodian of the seal of said State, do hereby certify that the foregoing is a true and correct copy of the enrolled document now on file in this office.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the seal of the State of Washington the day and year above written.

[SEAL.] WILL D. JENKINS,
Secretary of State.

—

House memorial No. 8.

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States:

We, your memorialists, the legislature of the State of Washington, respectfully represent as follows:

Whereas that portion of the coast of the United States between Grays Harbor and Cape Flattery on the west coast of the State of Washington, containing an area of two and one-half million acres of the best agricultural land to be found within the State of Washington; and

Whereas said area of land is immensely rich in timber and mineral resources; and

Whereas the Olympic Mountains, on the east side of said area of land, is a bar of obstruction to constructing modern railroads and transportation lines into the Quillayute Valley; and

Whereas a harbor constructed at the mouth of the Quillayute River will open up said territory to settlement by the home seekers and homeless; and

Whereas many ships have been wrecked and many lives have been lost near the mouth of the Quillayute River:

Be it therefore resolved by the legislature of the State of Washington, That the State of Washington respectfully ask the Congress of the United States to appropriate $150,000 for the purpose to build a harbor and light-house at the mouth of the Quillayute River.

Be it further resolved, That the Senators and Representatives of this State in Congress are requested to use their most earnest efforts to procure an appropriation for harbor and light-house at the mouth of the Quillayute River; for which your memorialists will ever pray.

Adopted by the house February 15, 1897.
Adopted by the senate March 3, 1897.
Approved by the governor March 9, 1897.

[Certificate.]

STATE OF WASHINGTON, OFFICE OF SECRETARY OF STATE,
Olympia, Wash., April 1, 1897.

I, Will D. Jenkins, secretary of state of the State of Washington and custodian of the seal of said State, do hereby certify that the foregoing is a true and correct copy of the enrolled document now on file in this office.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the seal of the State of Washington the day and year above written.

[SEAL.] WILL D. JENKINS,
Secretary of State.

Mr. WILSON presented a petition of the legislature of Washington, praying that an appropriation be made to cover the claim of the survivors of the Indian war of 1855 and 1856 in that State; which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs (to accompany Senate bill 1756, for payment of balance unpaid of Oregon and Washington Territory Indian war claims for suppression of Indian hostilities in 1855 and 1856, as found due by commission appointed by Secretary of War, etc.), and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

STATE OF WASHINGTON, *Office of the Secretary of State.*

I, Will D. Jenkins, secretary of state of the State of Washington, do hereby certify that I have carefully compared the annexed copy of the senate memorial No. 10, adopted by the legislature, session 1897, approved by the governor March 6, 1897, with the enrolled memorial now on file in this office, and find the same to be a true and perfect copy thereof.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the seal of the State of Washington.

Done at Olympia this 1st day of April, A. D. 1897.

[SEAL.] WILL D. JENKINS,
Secretary of State.

Senate memorial No. 10.

In relation to the survivors of the Indian war of 1855 and 1856 in the Territory (now State) of Washington.

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled:

Your memorialists, the legislature of the State of Washington, would respectfully represent that many of the early settlers of the Territory of Washington, during the years 1855 and 1856, in the protection of the lives of themselves and families and their property, having to contend against the hostile Indians occupying the country at that time, upon the call of the governor of the Territory freely volunteered to suppress the hostility of such Indians; that while fighting these Indians many valuable lives were lost and much property destroyed; that of those volunteers and early settlers but few now survive; that while the service of the soldiers of the Regular Army during that war were promptly provided for by the Government, without diminution of any kind, and received full recognition at the hands of the General Government for their services, the brave men who volunteered and defended the Northwest territory from the hostile Indians in the war of 1855 and 1856, responsive to the call of the governors of the Territories of Washington and Oregon, have failed to receive that recognition and consideration at the hands of the Government of the United States to which they are entitled; that by the eleventh section of the act of August 18, 1850, the Secretary of War was directed "to examine into the amount of the expenses necessarily incurred in the suppression of Indian hostilities in the late Indian war in Oregon and Washington by the Territorial governors of said Territories for the maintenance of the volunteer forces engaged in said war, including the pay of the volunteers," and he was authorized, if in his judgment necessary, to appoint a commission of three persons to ascertain and report such expenses; that by an order issued from the War Department September 4, 1850, Capt. A. J. Smith, United States Army; Rufus Ingalls, United States Army, late Quartermaster-General, and La Fayette Grover, afterwards governor of the State of Oregon and United States Senator from said State, were appointed a commission to ascertain and report upon the expenses incurred by the Territories aforesaid. The commission met at Portland, Oreg., October 20, 1850, organized a board, proceeded to the discharge of the duty assigned them, and after full investigation and consideration found, among other things, that the aggregate number of troops engaged in this war from the Territory of Washington was 1,896, that the approximate number of troops engaged at any one period was 1,000; and in taking action upon the pay of the volunteers from Washington Territory the commission, in the absence of any law of the Territory upon the subject, deemed it proper and just to recommend the same rates of pay and allowances as was reported in the case of the volunteer troops of Oregon. The Oregon statute provided as follows: "Whenever such volunteers are called and received into the service of the Territory each noncommissioned officer and private shall be entitled to receive $2 per day and rations, and $2 per day for the risk of his horse, except for horses actually killed in action, unavoidably lost, or reported unfit for service, in which cases the owner shall receive the appraised value thereof. All commissioned officers shall receive the same pay as officers of the same rank in the Army of the United States: *Provided*, That commissioned officers shall receive the same pay for the use and risk of horses as noncommissioned officers." The commission, upon that basis, found that there is due for troops in the service of the Territory of Washington a total of $519,593.06; and it was further found, in examining into the amount of expenses necessarily incurred for the maintenance of these volunteers that the total amount due for expenses was $961,882.39. That said commission visited extensively both Territories, with the view of being informed fully as to the nature and extent of the Indian hostilities, means employed for their suppression, the rates of labor, the prices current for the property furnished for the service, and the facilities and expense of transportation. They examined into each distinct department of the service, and filed an exhibit of the total expense necessarily incurred in the suppression of the Indian hostilities in the late Indian war by the Territorial governors of said Territories, and further found that the expenses for the maintenance of the volunteer forces engaged in said war from the Territory of Washington, including pay, was $1,481,475.45, and for the State of Oregon the sum of $4,499,940.33, and the total amount reported by the commissioners as due the Territories of Oregon and Washington was $5,011,457.86. That on the 7th day of February, 1860, the Third Auditor of the Treasury reported to the House of Representatives upon these claims, and allowed, under said report, only $2,714,808.55, thus leaving a balance justly due these early pioneers of $3,296,648.81. Your memorialists respectfully refer you to the report of the commission above named and the adjustment by the then Third Auditor of the Treasury, and respectfully ask that an appropriation may be made sufficient to cover the claims above set forth as due the volunteers from the State of Washington and State of Oregon during the Indian war of 1855 and 1856; and to that end your memorialists will ever pray.

Passed the senate February 26, 1897.

Passed the house March 5, 1897.

Approved by the governor March 6, 1897.

[Certificate.]

STATE OF WASHINGTON, OFFICE OF SECRETARY OF STATE,
Olympia, Wash., April 1, 1897.

I, Will D. Jenkins, secretary of state of the State of Washington, and custodian of the seal of said State, do hereby certify that the foregoing is a true and correct copy of the enrolled document now on file in this office.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the seal of the State of Washington the day and year above written.

[SEAL.] WILL D. JENKINS,
Secretary of State.

Mr. SMITH presented sundry memorials of citizens of New Jersey, remonstrating against the proposed increase of the tax on beer; which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. ELKINS presented sundry petitions of citizens of New Cumberland, Wyandotte, Pawpaw, Burton, Monongalia County, Cabell County, and Morgan County, all in the State of West Virginia, praying for the enactment of legislation for the more rigid restriction of immigration; which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. SEWELL presented the petition of John Bullock and 39 other citizens of Boundbrook, N. J., praying for the speedy passage of the pending tariff bill; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented the petition of L. Fischel and 24 other citizens of Newark, N. J., and the petition of Edward Ruff and 38 other citizens of Newark, N. J., praying for the enactment of legislation for a more rigid restriction of immigration; which were ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented memorials of Alexander Roth and 74 other citizens of Newark; of Lewis Fink, jr., and 24 other citizens of Newark; of Lewis Johnson and 24 other citizens of Bloomfield, and of Philip Messner and 24 other citizens of Newark, all in the State of New Jersey, remonstrating against the proposed increase of the tax on beer; which were ordered to lie on the table.

REPORT OF A COMMITTEE.

Mr. HANSBROUGH, from the Committee on Public Lands, to whom was referred the bill (S. 1985) granting to the State of Wyoming 50,000 acres of land to aid in the continuation, enlargement, and maintenance of the Wyoming State Soldiers and Sailors' Home, reported it with amendments, and submitted a report thereon.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Mr. HOAR introduced a bill (S. 2099) to grant medals to the officers of the Fifty-fourth Regiment Infantry, Massachusetts Volunteers; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. WETMORE introduced a bill (S. 2100) granting a pension to Hepza Hobson Werden; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying paper, referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. CHANDLER introduced a bill (S. 2101) granting a pension to John C. Emery; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. DANIEL introduced the following bills; which were severally read twice by their titles, and referred to the Committee on Claims:

A bill (S. 2102) for the relief of Thomas D. Gold, administrator of Zebedee Gray, of Clarke County, State of Virginia; and

A bill (S. 2103) for the relief of the heirs at law of Maj. Tarleton Woodson, deceased, in accordance with the findings of Court of Claims.

TRANSMISSISSIPPI AND INTERNATIONAL EXPOSITION.

Mr. ALLEN. I introduce a joint resolution which is purely of a local nature, and I should like unanimous consent for its consideration this morning. It will not lead to any debate. I desire to call the attention of the members of the Finance Committee to the joint resolution.

The joint resolution (S. R. 50) authorizing foreign exhibitors at the Transmississippi and International Exposition, to be held in the city of Omaha, in the State of Nebraska, during the year 1898, to bring to the United States foreign laborers from their countries, respectively, for the purpose of preparing for and making exhibits, was read the first time by its title, and the second time at length, as follows:

Whereas the Transmississippi and International Exposition Company of Omaha, Nebr., has extended invitations to various foreign nations to make exhibits at the Transmississippi and International Exposition to be held at said city in the year A. D. 1898, which invitations have been accepted and space for installing foreign exhibits has been applied for and duly awarded, and concessions and privileges have been granted by the exposition management to the citizens and subjects of foreign nations; and

Whereas, for the purpose of securing the production on the exposition grounds of scenes illustrative of the architecture, dress, habits, and modes of life, occupation, industries, means of locomotion and transportation, amusements, entertainments, and the like, of the peoples of foreign countries, it has become necessary for the Transmississippi and International Exposition Company to grant concessions and privileges to certain firms and corporations of the right to make such productions: Therefore,

Be it resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the act of Congress approved February 26, A. D. 1885, prohibiting the importation into the United States of foreigners under contract to perform labor, and the various acts of Congress prohibiting the coming or bringing of Chinese persons into the United States,

and all acts of Congress amendatory of said act or acts, shall not be construed to prohibit the bringing into the United States under contract to labor such mechanics, artisans, agents, or other employees or persons natives of their respective foreign countries as may be or may be deemed necessary for the purpose of making preparation for installing or conducting foreign exhibits, or preparing for installing or conducting any business authorized or permitted by virtue of any concession or privilege which may have been or may hereafter be granted by the Transmississippi and International Exposition Company of Omaha, Nebr., in connection with such exposition. Nor shall any such act or acts of Congress operate to prevent, hinder, or in any manner restrict any foreign exhibitor, representative, or citizen of a foreign nation, or holder of a concession or privilege from the Transmississippi and International Exposition Company, from bringing into the United States under contract any such mechanic, artisan, agent, or other employee deemed necessary or proper for the purpose of making preparations for installing or conducting foreign exhibits, or preparing for installing or conducting any business authorized or permitted under or by virtue of or pertaining to a concession or privilege which may have been or may be granted by the said Transmississippi and International Exposition Company in connection with such exposition: *Provided, however*, That no alien shall by virtue of this act be permitted to enter the United States to perform labor therein except by express permission, naming such alien, and then not for a longer time than one year after the close of the Transmississippi and International Exposition, and thereafter such person shall be subject to all the processes and penalties applicable to aliens coming into the United States in violation of any act of Congress prohibiting alien contract labor from being brought or coming into the United States.

SEC. 2. *And be it further resolved*, That all articles and property of any kind that may be brought to the United States from any foreign country to be placed on exhibition at such Transmississippi and International Exposition, as well as all tools and implements necessary or proper to be used in preparing for an exhibition and the equipment and paraphernalia of the exhibitors, artisans, laborers, and the like, shall be admitted to the ports of the United States free of duty, under such rules and regulations as may be prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury: *Provided, however*, That said articles shall be removed from the United States within one year after the close of said exposition. If not so removed, and the same shall be sold or disposed of in the United States, they shall be subject to the customs laws thereof.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the joint resolution?

Mr. ALLISON. I do not object to the present consideration of the joint resolution, but I suggest to the Senator from Nebraska to allow it to go over until to-morrow morning, and be printed. I suppose it is practically what we have done as respects other international expositions.

Mr. ALLEN. I think so. I have no objection to its being printed and going over.

Mr. ALLISON. It is necessary to have it passed at an early day, and I will confer with the Senator.

Mr. HAWLEY. Before the joint resolution goes over, I should like to ask a question of the Senator from Nebraska. Foreign governments do not usually accept an invitation to a local exhibition or to any exhibition in the country unless it has been extended to them through the State Department or formally through the United States Government itself. Has the Secretary of State invited foreign governments to participate?

Mr. ALLEN. I am not able to say. However, I may state that the managers of the exhibition inform me that they have applied for concessions.

Mr. HAWLEY. As governments or as individual exhibitors, manufacturers, etc.?

Mr. ALLEN. As individuals, and I think in some instances the governments have done so. I will not be certain as to that.

Mr. HAWLEY. It has been the rule in this matter that a government would not act as a government unless our Government acted as a government.

Mr. ALLEN. I think, however, they are mostly private individuals and corporations who desire to make exhibits.

Mr. HAWLEY. Nobody makes any objection to governments, private corporations, or individuals coming here and making exhibits; but a government abroad will not send a commission to take a formal part in the exhibition unless an invitation comes from the United States Government.

Mr. ALLEN. That matter will be attended to without delay.

Mr. HOAR. Before the resolution goes over, I desire to suggest what I think the measure ought to contain—a clause authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to make regulations for the carrying out of these provisions for the admission of foreign laborers and goods and to see that the existing laws are followed, except so far as the joint resolution remits them. I hope the Senator will add such a clause when the joint resolution comes up to-morrow.

Mr. ALLEN. When the resolution comes up to-morrow morning, I will accept the suggestion of the Senator from Massachusetts and propose such an amendment.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The joint resolution will be printed and lie over.

AMENDMENT TO THE TARIFF BILL.

Mr. WARREN submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill (H. R. 379) to provide revenue for the Government and to encourage the industries of the United States; which was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

PRESIDENTIAL APPROVAL.

A message from the President of the United States, by Mr. O. L. PRUDEN, one of his secretaries, announced that the President had on the 7th instant approved and signed the act (S. 1886) to adopt regulations for preventing collisions upon certain harbors, rivers, and inland waters of the United States.

THE TARIFF BILL.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The morning business is concluded, and the unfinished business, being House bill 379, will be proceeded with.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 379) to provide revenue for the Government and to encourage the industries of the United States.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask that Schedule E may be passed over temporarily.

Mr. VEST. The sugar schedule?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will proceed.

The SECRETARY. Schedule F.—Tobacco and manufactures of——

Mr. VEST. Let me understand this matter. Schedule E is the sugar schedule?

Mr. ALLISON. It is the sugar schedule.

Mr. VEST. The Senator, I understand, asks that it be passed over. We ought to be entirely frank with each other about this matter.

Mr. HAWLEY. Mr. President, I hope there will be order in the Chamber. These are very interesting moments and we would like to hear what is said.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senate will be in order.

Mr. VEST. The Senator from Iowa, I understand, asks in behalf of the majority of the Committee on Finance that the sugar schedule be passed over and that the next schedule shall be taken up. It is an open secret already in the Senate that our friends upon the other side, the majority, have modified the sugar schedule, and in common fairness to us those modifications ought to be announced and printed, and some agreement made as to when this most important schedule shall be taken up.

Mr. ALLISON. I entirely concur with the suggestions made by the Senator from Missouri. There are no open secrets that I know of, or other secrets, about the sugar schedule.

Mr. VEST. I used that as a conventional term.

Mr. ALLISON. I asked that the sugar schedule should be passed over temporarily in order that we might take up another schedule for the moment.

I will now announce on behalf of the majority of the committee that that majority proposes to modify the amendments originally proposed and as now found in the printed bill. It proposes to modify the schedule by asking the Senate to disagree to the amendments reported by the committee, or, if it is in order, to withdraw those amendments; and it further proposes, on line 22, page 63, to strike out "eight hundred and seventy-five one-thousandths" and insert "ninety-five one-hundredths."

Mr. VEST. What page does the Senator say? Is not that on page 64?

Mr. ALLISON. It is on page 63. It is to strike out "eight hundred and seventy-five one-thousandths" and insert "ninety-five one-hundredths."

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. In what line?

Mr. ALLISON. In line 22. The majority of the committee proposes also to add after line 19 a new paragraph, which I will read.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. On what page?

Mr. ALLISON. On page 64, after line 19.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. At the end of the paragraph?

Mr. ALLISON. At the end of paragraph 206 to insert a new paragraph (which will be paragraph 206½, I suppose), as follows:

206½. That the duties on molasses, clayed, jaggery, and other sugars testing not above 87 degrees by the polariscope shall be one-tenth of 1 cent per pound less than those imposed by the preceding paragraph on corresponding tests of sugars.

I ask that this amendment may be printed.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. It will be so ordered.

Mr. ALLISON. I will say to the Senator that the committee, as notice was given when the bill was reported, have not yet prepared a provision relating to the question of sugar imported from the Hawaiian Islands. Therefore, in considering the sugar schedule, that may possibly be temporarily passed. But I have no doubt that an amendment will be prepared to-morrow.

Now, I suggest, if it suits the convenience of Senators on the other side, that the sugar schedule be passed over for the day and that we have it understood that the schedule shall be taken up to-morrow morning immediately after the assembling of the Senate, as soon as the routine morning business shall have been concluded.

Mr. VEST. That is satisfactory.

Mr. ALLISON. And I suggest that during the day we go on as best we may with the other schedules in the bill. I hope that will be satisfactory to Senators on the other side.

Mr. VEST. It is satisfactory, Mr. President. There is no objection to that course.

Mr. ALLEN. I should like to ask the Senator from Iowa if he will have the amendment which he has presented on behalf of a majority of the committee printed to-day, so that we can see it? Can it not be placed on our desks to-day, so that we may know what it is?

Mr. VEST. It can be printed by special order.

Mr. ALLISON. I have already asked that the amendment—the second amendment—be printed.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. But let it be printed immediately.

Mr. ALLEN. Let it be printed immediately, so that we can see it this afternoon.

Mr. ALLISON. I hope that monition will be regarded by the clerks at the desk and elsewhere, and that the amendment will be printed at as early a moment as practicable.

Mr. CANNON. I should like to ask the Senator from Iowa in charge of the bill whether, if we shall reach the agricultural schedule before to-morrow and shall be engaged in its consideration, it is his intention to postpone the completion of that schedule in order to return to the sugar schedule?

Mr. ALLISON. My belief is that we shall proceed with the agricultural schedule later in the day, if that will be agreeable to the Senator from Utah, and I think on to-morrow (I had an understanding with the other side at least) the sugar schedule will be disposed of, or, at least, we shall commence the disposition of it to-morrow.

Mr. CANNON. That would be perfectly satisfactory if it were not that we may not reach the agricultural schedule until very late this afternoon. Then to begin its consideration and be interrupted therein to-morrow by returning to the sugar schedule I think would be very inconvenient to those who are disposed to pay attention to the agricultural schedule. So far as I am concerned, I am ready to go on now or at any time with the consideration of the agricultural schedule; but I desire to complete it after once taking it up. I should like to have some understanding on that point, if it will not inconvenience the Senator from Iowa and the other gentlemen who are in charge of the bill.

Mr. ALLISON. If it suits the convenience of the Senate, I am willing to go on with Schedule G and to pass over for the time being the tobacco schedule. I intended, at any rate, to-day, to ask the Senate to pass over the first paragraph in the tobacco schedule. If it suits the convenience of Senators, I am perfectly willing to go on with the agricultural schedule now and allow the tobacco schedule to be passed over until we have completed the sugar schedule, and then take up the tobacco schedule immediately afterwards.

Mr. CANNON. I submit this alternative to the Senator from Iowa then, that if it will not inconvenience those in charge of the bill, we can either take up the agricultural schedule now or take up the sugar schedule immediately after the tobacco schedule and fix a time for the consideration of the agricultural schedule.

Mr. ALLISON. I will suggest that we proceed with the agricultural schedule instead of Schedule F, if that course is convenient to Senators.

Mr. VEST. I speak only for myself. I would prefer to go on with the tobacco schedule, with the understanding that the sugar schedule is to be taken up to-morrow morning. I will be entirely frank about it. I want to dispose of the sugar schedule. As I had occasion to say the other day, it is the most troublesome, the most scandalous, the most irritating of all the schedules in the bill, and I want to get rid of it as far as we can in the Senate and let the country know what we intend to do. Now, if we go on with the agricultural schedule, it is a long schedule, and we shall not finish it to-day, the result will be that the sugar schedule will be crowded out in the morning. The tobacco schedule is a very important one to a large number of people in this country. There is no reason why it should be postponed.

My only objection to taking up the agricultural schedule is that it is a long one, and it will be a troublesome one. The probabilities are that we would not get through with it to-day, and then in the morning we would find that schedule in front of the sugar schedule and ahead of it. I want to take up the sugar schedule in the morning.

Mr. ALLISON. Then, if it will suit the convenience of the Senator from Utah, I suggest that we proceed with the tobacco schedule and take up the agricultural schedule afterwards, and go as far as we can to-day. I think the tobacco schedule will not occupy much time.

Mr. CANNON. I am quite disposed to acquiesce in that suggestion, but I renew the point that it will be extremely inconvenient to those Senators who propose to discuss the agricultural schedule to be interrupted in its consideration. If we are to take up the sugar schedule to-morrow it would be far preferable not to enter upon the consideration of the agricultural schedule to-day.

Mr. ALLISON. I think we will have no trouble in accommodating all Senators.

Mr. VEST. As to the discussion suggested by the Senator from Utah, under the rules of the Senate he can offer his amendment (I believe he has already offered it) and discuss it on the tobacco schedule, which is an agricultural product. There is nothing in the rules of the Senate to prevent him from doing so. If general speeches are to be made upon an export bounty on agricultural products, they can be made just as well upon one schedule as the other. Tobacco is essentially an agricultural product.

Mr. CANNON. It was to avoid a discussion of this question, except directly in connection with the schedule itself, that we have been waiting for this supposed opportunity. I will bow to the wishes of Senators in charge of the measure on the two sides, but it seems to me that there is a very simple arrangement which could be made. The tobacco schedule, being an important one, will occupy some time. It appears that the sugar schedule will be ready for presentation and consideration by the time the tobacco schedule shall be ended. If we could have an assurance of that sort at this time, subject, of course, to necessary changes, then those who are interested in the agricultural schedule would know that their question would not come up until after the determination of the sugar schedule.

Mr. FAIRBANKS. I ask that paragraph 210 of the tobacco schedule be passed over.

Mr. ALLISON. I stated when suggesting to take up the tobacco schedule that I would ask that the first paragraph—paragraph 210—be passed over for the day; and I hope that will be done.

Mr. VEST. That is essentially the whole schedule. It is about all the salient point of discussion in it. The balance of the schedule does not amount to anything.

Mr. ALLISON. Then, if that be true, I trust the suggestion of the Senator from Utah may be adopted, and that we shall go on with the agricultural schedule rather than defer doing so until later in the day.

Mr. VEST. If we are to pass over paragraph 210, of course the balance of the schedule should be passed over also.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present request that the tobacco schedule be passed over and that Schedule G be proceeded with? The Chair hears none, and the Secretary will proceed.

The Secretary resumed the reading of the bill on page 68, line 16. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in Schedule G, "Agricultural products and provisions," paragraph 215, page 68, line 19, after the word "cattle," to strike out the words "valued at not more than twenty," and also to strike out the comma, and insert "if 1 year old or over, valued at not more than ten;" in line 21, after the word "head," to strike out "if 1 year old or over, six" and insert "four;" and in line 22, after the word "head," to insert "if valued at more than $10 and not more than $20, $6 per head;" so as to read:

SCHEDULE G.—AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS AND PROVISIONS.

Animals, live:

215. Cattle, if 1 year old or over, valued at not more than $10 per head, $4 per head; if valued at more than $10 and not more than $20, $6 per head; if less than 1 year old, $2 per head; any cattle valued at more than $20 per head, 30 per cent ad valorem.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the amendment of the committee? Without objection, the amendment is agreed to.

Mr. VEST. This is taken up in such a hurry we can hardly tell what it is.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair will not put the question until Senators are ready. The amendment will be again read.

The Secretary again read the amendment of the committee.

Mr. QUAY. I ask the Senator from Iowa to allow this paragraph to go over.

Mr. ALLISON. Very well.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Pennsylvania that the amendment be not considered at the present time?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I will offer an amendment which may remain pending to this paragraph. I move to strike out the entire paragraph as it stands and insert:

All live animals not specially provided for in this act, 20 per cent ad valorem.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment will be read, so that Senators may understand it.

The Secretary read the amendment of Mr. JONES of Arkansas.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection to passing over the paragraph? The Chair hears none, and the next paragraph will be read.

The Secretary read the next paragraph, as follows:

216. Hogs, $1.50 per head.

Mr. ALLEN. I desire to ask the Senator from Iowa if this paragraph is intended to cover pigs also? A pig is a hog under 6 months of age, I understand.

Mr. VEST. It covers all.

Mr. ALLEN. It covers all ages?

Mr. ALLISON. I think so.

Mr. ALLEN. I understand that farmers make a distinction

between a hog and a pig, and that animals of this kind under 6 months of age are not classed as hogs.

Mr. ALLISON. This is the phraseology which has always been used in these laws. I am not sure as to the particular time when a pig ceases to be a pig, but I should think it would be a shorter time than six months.

Mr. ALLEN. I do not know what construction may be placed upon the language by the authorities.

Mr. ALLISON. I think it covers what the Senator desires to cover in the schedule.

Mr. ALLEN. I was going to suggest the propriety—I will not move it, however—of inserting the words "and pigs" after the word "hogs" in paragraph 216.

Mr. ALLISON. What is the amendment suggested by the Senator from Nebraska?

Mr. ALLEN. I suggest that the paragraph read as follows:

Hogs and pigs, $1.50 per head.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to amend the paragraph, after the word "Hogs," in line 3, by inserting the words "and pigs;" so as to read:

Hogs and pigs, $1.50 per head.

Mr. HOAR. The best way is to use the word "swine." That is always used in criminal legislation on the subject.

Mr. ALLISON. I think the suggestion of the Senator from Massachusetts is a better one.

Mr. ALLEN. Yes; I accept it.

Mr. ALLISON. I suggest that the word "Hogs" be stricken out and "Swine" inserted, if that is satisfactory to the Senator from Nebraska.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In line 3 strike out "Hogs" and insert "Swine;" so as to read:

216. Swine, $1.50 per head.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair hears no objection, and the amendment is agreed to.

The Secretary read the next paragraph, as follows:

217. Horses and mules, valued at $150 or less per head, $30 per head; if valued at over $150, 25 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Was there any action taken on paragraph 216?

Mr. FRYE. Yes; it was agreed to.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I intended to offer an amendment to that paragraph. The amendment which I gave notice would be offered in room of the first paragraph will apply to all these paragraphs—to paragraphs 215, 216, 217, and 218. If it is adopted at all, it ought to be adopted in the room of the whole of them, and I offer it now.

Mr. ALLISON. As a substitute?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I offer it now, and ask for a vote on it as a substitute for these paragraphs. One paragraph has already been passed over, and of course that will have to remain, but as I do not like to have paragraphs passed over, I will move the amendment now as a substitute for all of these paragraphs and ask for a vote on it.

Mr. ALLISON. I have no objection to a vote on the amendment of the Senator from Arkansas.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. My purpose is to substitute an ad valorem tax on all live animals instead of the specific rate. I propose to substitute the rate in the present law.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Arkansas is in order as a substitute.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask that the amendment of the Senator from Arkansas may be postponed for a moment until we pass upon paragraph 218, as I understand he also desires to have his amendment apply to paragraph 218.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Yes; I propose to strike out all these paragraphs.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will proceed.

The Secretary read the next paragraph, as follows:

218. Sheep, 1 year old or over, $1.50 per head; less than 1 year old, 75 cents per head.

Mr. ALLISON. Now the Senator from Arkansas proposes to strike out the four paragraphs which have been read and to insert a substitute.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I move to strike out paragraphs 215, 216, 217, and 218 and insert in lieu the following paragraph:

215. All live animals not specially provided for in this act, 20 per cent ad valorem.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed as a substitute by the Senator from Arkansas.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. On that I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. DANIEL (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. HANSBROUGH]; otherwise I should vote "yea."

Mr. HARRIS of Kansas (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. CLARK]. He not being present, I withhold my vote.

Mr. MARTIN (when his name was called). Has the senior Senator from Montana [Mr. MANTLE] voted?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. He has not voted.

Mr. MARTIN. Then I withhold my vote, as I have a general pair with that Senator. I should vote "yea" if he were present.

Mr. WARREN (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Washington [Mr. TURNER]. Were he present and voting, I should vote "nay."

Mr. WILSON (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Florida [Mr. PASCO]. If he were present, I should vote "nay."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. CLAY (after having voted in the affirmative). I inquire if the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] has voted?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. He has not.

Mr. CLAY. Then I withdraw my vote, as I am paired with that Senator.

Mr. BATE. I will state that my colleague [Mr. HARRIS of Tennessee] is absent on account of sickness, and is paired with the Senator from Vermont [Mr. MORRILL].

Mr. FAULKNER (after having voted in the affirmative). I will ask whether the junior Senator from West Virginia [Mr. ELKINS] has voted?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. He has not voted.

Mr. FAULKNER. On this vote I feel that I should observe my pair with him, and I withdraw my vote.

Mr. CLARK. I inquire if the junior Senator from Kansas [Mr. HARRIS] has voted?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. He has not.

Mr. CLARK. I am paired with that Senator, and withhold my vote.

The result was announced—yeas 23, nays 38; as follows:

YEAS—23.

Bacon,	Gray,	Mitchell,	Tillman,
Bate,	Jones, Ark.	Morgan,	Turpie,
Berry,	Kenney,	Murphy,	Vest,
Caffery,	Lindsay,	Pettus,	Walthall,
Chilton,	McLaurin,	Roach,	White.
Cockrell,	Mills,	Smith,	

NAYS—38.

Allen,	Deboe,	Heitfeld,	Quay,
Allison,	Fairbanks,	Hoar,	Rawlins,
Baker,	Foraker,	McBride,	Sewell,
Burrows,	Frye,	McMillan,	Shoup,
Butler,	Gallinger,	Mason,	Spooner,
Cannon,	Gear,	Nelson,	Thurston,
Carter,	Hale,	Penrose,	Wellington,
Chandler,	Hanna,	Perkins,	Wetmore.
Cullom,	Hansbrough,	Platt, Conn.	
Davis,	Hawley,	Pritchard,	

NOT VOTING—28.

Aldrich,	Gorman,	Mallory,	Proctor,
Clark,	Harris, Kans.	Mantle,	Stewart,
Clay,	Harris, Tenn.	Martin,	Teller,
Daniel,	Jones, Nev.	Morrill,	Turner,
Elkins,	Kyle,	Pasco,	Warren,
Faulkner,	Lodge,	Pettigrew,	Wilson,
George,	McEnery,	Platt, N. Y.	Wolcott.

So the amendment of Mr. JONES of Arkansas was rejected.

The reading of the bill was resumed, beginning at paragraph 219, on page 69, and continued to paragraph 220, which was read, as follows:

Breadstuffs and farinaceous substances:

220. Barley, 30 cents per bushel of 48 pounds.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. In line 14, after the word "barley," I move to strike out "30 cents per bushel of 48 pounds" and insert "30 per cent ad valorem;" so as to read:

220. Barley, 30 per cent ad valorem.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the amendment proposed by the Senator from Arkansas.

Mr. VEST. Mr. President, we enter now upon a series of enormous increases upon agricultural products in the interest of the farmers of the United States. Confining myself to parliamentary language as far as possible, these increases are a fraud, a sham, and a pretense. The idea of protecting the farmers of this country upon corn and wheat and barley and oats when we export millions of dollars' worth and import but a few thousand dollars' worth is an insult to the intelligence of the whole country, and especially to the men who raise those cereals. There is not an intelligent man in this country who believes that this is for any

other than political purposes and to deceive the agricultural classes.

I commence with barley. The same thing applies to animals in the schedule, the specifications as to which we have passed over.

We export an immense amount of barley and import a very inconsiderable amount. We export of corn some thirty-odd million dollars' worth, and we import some $6,500 worth.

As to wheat the comparison is much stronger. These increases are made as they were made in the McKinley law, for the purpose of cajoling the farmers of the country into the idea that they are protected and that the prices of their products are increased by putting these absolutely spectacular duties upon their products. It did not succeed in 1890, as the elections after the passage of the McKinley law gave strong evidence to the country. The agricultural States voted against the Republican party, notwithstanding the fraudulent increases—for they were nothing else—contained in the act of 1890; and these increases will not succeed in deceiving the people now. The farmers of the country are not mistaken in regard to the object of these increases.

I will ask the Secretary to read a statement made before the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives by the head of the grangers of Pennsylvania, representing the farmers of that State. This is a statement before that committee expressing the official action of the farmers of Pennsylvania, assembled at Altoona, on December 8 to 11, 1895, and it was embodied in the shape of resolutions, of which I shall ask the Secretary to read the part I have marked.

The Secretary read as follows:

That we can not deceive ourselves with the idea that any measure of protection to our industries offered by a tariff on imports can avail in the slightest degree to benefit the grower of those crops of which he produces a surplus for export, and whose price is necessarily made in the world's market, where they are and must continue to be disposed of.

That we have a right to demand that the same proportion of advantage shall be given to the agricultural industry that is accorded by law to any other in this broad land.

That while protection countries which are importers of agricultural products may in a measure remedy the evil of low prices by increasing the duties of agricultural imports, it is manifestly impossible for those which produce a surplus for export to give the least particle of relief to the interest of their farmers by a high tariff on these products.

That the lessening of production of these farm staples so as to bring them within the limit of our own home consumption is no remedy, as it is an economic impossibility, and in any event could only injure by limiting the opportunities of employment to our people, reducing the actual resources and wealth of our country.

Again, that diversification of our production can afford no certain nor permanent relief, as experience has proved that a largely increased production of specialties, such as dairy products, truck, berries, fruit, etc., only tends to eventually lower these things, as well as the staples, below the profit point.

At a time when the American farmer had a world monopoly in the production of staples, when with cheaper lands he was the almost exclusive user of improved agricultural machinery, he was then able to pay the ultimate net cost of a high protective tariff and live; but when, as now, the world's prices are down to one-half their former rates, in the face of this to even maintain, let alone raise still higher, the protective tariff would be economic suicide.

Mr. VEST. Mr. President, I want to give some object lessons from the official reports to show what a fraud this is. In 1896 we exported $37,836,862 worth of corn and we imported $2,974 worth; yet the increases in this bill, in order to deceive the farmers, are from 20 to 100 per cent upon Western corn. Does anybody believe that will benefit the farmers in the country who are raising this cereal? Where is the competition with $37,000,000 against $2,974? No wonder the head of the Grange in Pennsylvania, testifying before the Ways and Means Committee, in producing this resolution, said that the farmers at the next election would resent that attack upon their intelligence; that they know very well that this will not help them.

Take oats. By the official report, we exported in 1896, $3,497,611 worth, and we imported $6,933 worth. Of wheat we exported $39,709,868 worth, and we imported $9,506 worth, and that was seed wheat to improve the crop in the United States. Yet the farmers are told, "We are your friends; the Republican party will undertake to deceive you now in 1897 as we did in 1890, and we will put an enormous increase upon those articles with which there is no foreign competition at all, relying upon your ignorance to catch your votes."

This gentleman, the head of the Grange, is obviously a very intelligent farmer. When he had filed those resolutions, he proceeded to give his statement. I know the Senate is not listening much to this testimony, but I will ask the Secretary to read the parts of it I have marked.

The Secretary read as follows:

The population of the State——

Mr. VEST. That refers to the State of Pennsylvania.

The Secretary continued the reading, as follows:

has increased about as fast as the property of the farmers has diminished during these twenty-five years.

But while agriculture has so retrograded, manufacturing has gone forward with wondrous strides. Capital thus invested has risen from $416,000,000 to $1,000,000,000 (it was $991,000,000 in 1890), the number of employees has been doubled, the amount of wages paid has increased 60 per cent, and the product of the factories to an even greater rate.

While the population as well as the wealth of farming communities has shrunken, the towns and centers of business have known no setbacks. Twelve agricultural counties have less population now than sixteen years since, while manufacturing towns have doubled their population and quadrupled their wealth.

That the coal-mining industries do not make an equal showing is because the management is more concerned to roll up big profits than to increase the output, and prefer the increment in dollars rather than in tons.

While Pennsylvania farmers have lost $250,000,000 in the assessed value of their holdings, the real estate of Philadelphia alone has in the same time raised from $440,000,000 to $732,000,000.

So that under the protective system, which has prevailed ever since the exigency of the war rendered its imposition possible, because it seemed unavoidable, mining, manufacturing, and kindred business enterprises have been favored and assisted, while farming has depreciated.

If this condition prevailed in Pennsylvania alone it might be held that local causes engendered it; but it is notorious that it is coextensive and affects every State and Territory over which our starry banner waves; more, perhaps, in some and less in other localities, but everywhere, and the loss to farmers is greatest where they have had the most to lose. That it should exist in Pennsylvania, of all States in the Union, is perhaps the greatest anomaly, if there is any truth in the home-market arguments for protection.

The facts as they stand, however, utterly disprove them, and show that no such thing as a sufficient or remunerative home market has been furnished us in return for the immense and incalculable sacrifices made by the farmers on the altar of protection for now a full generation.

If anything, we are now more dependent on the foreign market than we have ever been, and the only reason that the volume of our agricultural surplus is not greater yet than it is now is because of the increasing poverty of our farmers and their inability to continue production without profit.

That the capital of the farmers of Pennsylvania, situated as they are in the heart of the most heavily protected industries of this country, has diminished at least 25 per cent is proven by the censuses of 1870 and 1890, which show that the assessed value of their real estate alone fell in those twenty years from $1,043,000,000 to $922,000,000, and that the capital of the manufacturers augmented in the same time from $406,000,000 to $991,000,000, while the city real estate more than doubled; the value of railroad, telegraph, and other speculative properties nearly tripled.

We submit that we are entirely satisfied that, whoever may have gotten the benefits of a protective tariff, we certainly have not.

Mr. VEST. Mr. President, I take it that ought to be sufficient warning to our friends upon the other side that the farmers of this country are not caught by this chaff of putting up enormous duties upon articles of which we export a large surplus and which do not come in competition with the products of agriculture in the United States. I have seen a statement made, and I believe it is true, although I am not an expert statistician, that the farmers of the United States since 1892 have lost $500,000,000 in the fall in price of farm products. That fall went on under the McKinley Act, and for the two years that act was in force, notwithstanding the enormous duties, as high in a great many instances as some that are imposed in this pending bill.

Our friends in St. Louis told us when they indorsed the McKinley Act that they did not propose to make the tariff higher than that of 1890; and yet they have done it here upon nearly every page in this whole bill, and now, losing the farmer vote as they have done repeatedly in the agricultural States, they propose to attempt this old stale subterfuge of touching the farmers by increasing upon their products the duties that were imposed by the McKinley Act of 1890. In my judgment that can not be done, Mr. President, and the head of the Grange who testified, and whose testimony has been read from Pennsylvania, the great protective State of the Union, is a sufficient answer to this attempt.

Mr. GEAR. May I interrupt the Senator for a moment?

Mr. VEST. Certainly.

Mr. GEAR. This duty upon barley is the same as that which was in the McKinley law.

Mr. VEST. I am not calling attention to the duty on barley, but to others.

Mr. GEAR. In 1889 we imported from Canada, where they had cheaper labor, cheaper lands, and cheaper transportation than the American farmer, eleven and a half millions of barley.

Mr. GRAY. For the brewers?

Mr. GEAR. For the brewers. And at the expiration of the McKinley law we only imported about three millions. It is true that last year we exported some barley to England, for the reason that there was a comparative failure of the crop in Russia.

The farmers in my State indorse the duty on barley, and the grand master of the National Grange helped to form the agricultural schedule of the McKinley law, and every rate put in that bill on barley and every other agricultural product was the work of the grand master of the National Grange of the State of Iowa. So that one officer of the Grange at least indorsed in the highest degree the protection given to agricultural products.

Mr. VEST. Does the Senator pretend to say that the committee have not increased the duty on every cereal over the rates in the act of 1890?

Mr. GEAR. That may be; and if so, there has been a good reason for it.

Mr. VEST. What good reason?

Mr. GEAR. I call the attention of the Senator from Missouri to the fact that they have also increased very largely the duties on animals.

Mr. VEST. But I want to know why these increased duties are proposed to be placed on corn and on wheat when we are exporting

much more largely than we did in 1890? Does anybody pretend to say that we are not now sending out from thirty-five to forty million dollars' worth of corn and wheat and bringing in only four or five thousand dollars' worth? How do you protect the farmers of this country by the imposition of a duty on these cereals? What intelligent man can pretend to say it does? What Republican Senator will rise here and say that will protect the farmers of this country? Then what are we doing it for? That is the question. Is there not some political reason hidden under this, and do you not know it? You are playing upon the ignorance, as you assume it to be, of the farmers of the United States by pretending that you are helping them by giving them protection against nothing—absolutely nothing.

We brought in $9,504 worth of wheat—seed wheat—and exported $39,000,000 worth of wheat; and then you go to the farmer and say, "My dear bucolic friend, let me embrace you; I am your friend. I have protected you against this $9,504 worth of foreign wheat!" If the doctrine prevails that we are to tax everything we have here, without regard to whether it ought to be taxed or not, in the name of equality, I have nothing more to say; if we are to take up this bill and put a duty upon everything because of revenue to be derived from everything in the country, that is an answer to any expostulation at all; that is the end of it.

The Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] yesterday, I understood—but I did not have the honor to listen to him, as I was out of the Chamber on business—was kind enough to say that all of us on this side of the Chamber prominently engaged in this discussion had at one time or another voted to protect articles of production in our States. If I had been here, I should have said to the Senator what I propose to say now.

There was a time in my public career when I believed in the doctrine advocated by Monroe and Polk, called a revenue duty with incidental protection. I was ignorant enough once, foolish enough—and I use the word myself—to say here that I did not blame a Senator for voting to put a revenue duty upon an article in his district or his State; and I went into the discussion of the first tariff bill upon which I was engaged in this Chamber with that sort of idea. My mind, however, was very rapidly disabused. I found that whenever you went beyond the limit of a tariff for revenue without regard to protection, you turned the Congress of the United States into that famous convention of monkeys of which a great writer once wrote, who were engaged in a solemn discussion of affairs of state, when some one, without regard to the dignity of the occasion, threw in a handful of nuts, and immediately the Senators and Representatives commenced grabbing for nuts and forgot the public business. [Laughter.] Whenever you once admit the idea of protection into a tariff bill, all restraints are gone, and it is merely a question of who will get there first and get the most. You can not satisfy them. When you put on a high duty one year, the very same men who secured it will come and hold up their emaciated and pallid hands the next year and beg for an increased duty, because, they say, "We are still suffering and languishing and dying," and some Senator or Representative, listening to the domestic appeal, whose election is in danger, says to some gentlemen interested, "I will stand by you in the name of the people of the United States and give you an increased duty in order that money may flow into your pockets and coffers."

It is the old, old story, as old as the world, whenever you allow avarice and greed to enter into any discussion, avarice and greed will control that discussion and the result.

The old doctrine of the Democratic party was protection and is protection to the poor, to those who need protection if protection is to be given, protection in the shape of equality, no governmental partnership—that is the curse of all tariff legislation—no partnership between an individual or any class by which governmental functions are used for individual profit.

I know it is said that Mr. Jefferson, the founder of our party, at one time spoke of a protective tariff. If Mr. Jefferson were living to-day, he would be false to every doctrine of his life if he did not oppose this high protective tariff system. I can understand in the age in which he lived, confronted with the great rivalry and oppression of Great Britain, he could have said, and honestly, that he was for building up the infant industries of the United States. Where are the infant industries to-day? They are hoary, gray, giant in power, all-pervading in influence, and yet they come here with not the feeble whine of the infant, but with the roar of the giant, demanding year after year increased duties.

I voted in 1890, in reparation of what foolishness I had ever uttered upon the tariff question, for free lead, free salt, free lumber, free wool; and I have been voting that way ever since, and expect, God willing, to vote that way until I cease to be in public life. I would rather retire from this Chamber to-morrow than give a vote to tax the lumber, the salt, the wool of the United States. They were the only three features of the Wilson bill that reconciled me to its passage. To take them out now, or either of them, is to strip that bill of what commended it to me more than anything else.

Now, Mr. President, I return to the immediate article before the Senate, the duty upon barley, and ask the Secretary to read the communication which I send to the desk.

The Secretary read as follows:

OSWEGO BOARD OF TRADE, *Oswego, N. Y., April 7, 1897.*

To the honorable the Finance Committee of the Senate, Washington, D. C.

GENTLEMEN: The rate of duty on barley prior to the enactment of what is known as the McKinley Act, the act of 1890, was 10 cents per bushel. The rate was fixed by legislation, following the recommendations of the Tariff Commission of 1883.

After an exhaustive investigation, aided by the best attainable testimony, the commission decided to reduce the existing rate of duty on barley from 15 cents to 10 cents per bushel; and in order to protect American manufacturers of malt against the competition of Canadian malsters, the rate of duty on malt was fixed at 20 cents per bushel. Following the adjustment of these rates of duty on imported barley and malt, the business of converting Canada barley into malt was vastly increased along the northern frontier on the American side of the line dividing the United States and Canada. Large sums of money were invested in malting plants. The investment in this industry was augmented in the city of Buffalo alone from $1,362,000 in 1880 to $3,299,195 in 1890, and during the same period of time like investments in the city of Oswego grew from $85,000 to $802,000.

It is scarcely too much to say that this investment of capital has been rendered valueless by the prohibitory duty on Canada barley under the operation of the tariff enactment of 1890, and not remedied as yet by the later act of 1894. In addition to the destruction of the value of plants and correlative loss to individuals engaged in the business of malting, all revenue, or practically all, for the Government from that source has ceased.

It is alleged that the prohibitive duty would benefit the American farmer; that he would command, in consequence, a higher price for his barley. The facts and the developments since the enactment of the prohibitive duty show conclusively that no such result has followed. Prices of American-grown barley have never before been so low as since the enactment of a prohibitive rate of duty.

The production of barley in the United States is far beyond the malting demand, and the surplus is sold for feed at home and abroad, and the feed price regulates the price of the whole crop. The quantity of barley imported never exceeded, if it ever equaled, 10,000,000 of bushels in any one year, while the production in the United States as far back as 1880 reached the 65,000,000-bushel mark, and is now much larger. The total quantity malted that year was about 40,000,000 bushels, showing a surplus of 25,000,000 bushels. In 1895 the production in this country was 87,000,000 bushels, and the malting consumption did not exceed 50,000,000 bushels, showing that a surplus of about 37,000,000 bushels was necessarily disposed of for feed.

We defy anybody to prove that if barley is admitted into the United States under a 10-cent-per-bushel rate of duty, the quantity likely to be imported under such a rate would lower the price of the home-grown article or do anyone any harm whatever. On the contrary, it would be a great benefit to many citizens of the United States and would yield the United States Government some revenue.

Finally, the subscribers would respectfully suggest that your committee recommend a duty of 10 cents per bushel on barley, and also fix a rate that will establish a just equivalency of protection on malt—say 25 cents per bushel. Such rates, it is believed, will bring considerably increased revenue to the Government, and at the same time make a revival of the malting industries on the northern frontier a possibility, although at a largely reduced margin of profit to those engaged in the business as compared with the profit under conditions as they existed prior to the tariff enactment of 1890.

Craving your consideration of the statements herein set forth, and trusting that your action will be the means of restoring life to an industry seriously crippled, if not yet quite wounded to death, with sentiments of profound respect, we subscribe ourselves,

Very respectfully,

ROBT. DOWNEY, *President.*
F. O. CLARK, *Secretary.*

Mr. MANTLE. I wish to inquire from whom the communication comes?

Mr. VEST. From the Oswego Board of Trade.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. From the Oswego Board of Trade.

Mr. VEST. There is a vast amount of literature upon the question of barley which I shall not inflict on the Senate, as I know the result is predetermined and adjudged. I shall content myself simply with moving to strike out the rates proposed in the bill and to insert those under the existing law. Barley is proposed to be taxed at 30 cents per bushel of 48 pounds. That is the McKinley rate. Under the Wilson Act it is 30 per cent ad valorem. I move to insert "30 per cent ad valorem" instead of "30 cents per bushel of 48 pounds."

Mr. MANTLE. Mr. President, on the question of barley, while I do not care to make any extended remarks, I wish to state that I take it that the communication which has just been read is from what might be called that branch of the barley industry that represents what would be the manufacturing interest as opposed to the producers of barley—what might be termed the raw material. It is about the same contest that is going on all along the line in the matter of the tariff.

So far as a practical result following the levying of a duty upon barley is concerned, I can speak with an absolute knowledge as to the State of Montana. We have in Montana a valley which is especially adapted to the growing of barley, due to some peculiarity of the soil, and I believe it is said that we produce the finest barley that is produced in the United States, or in fact in the world. That is evidenced by the fact that a great brewing concern, known as the Manhattan Company, has bought some 30,000 acres of land in that valley which it has devoted to the growing of barley, and the barley from the valley has been shipped to foreign countries.

Now, I know that by reason of the duty which the McKinley law laid upon barley the value of the barley grown in the valley was enhanced, and the farmers prospered accordingly.

Mr. VEST. Will my friend the Senator from Montana permit me to ask him a question?

Mr. MANTLE. Certainly.

Mr. VEST. The comparative statement shows that in 1896, under the operation of the present duty, we exported $3,100,311 worth of barley. We imported only $312,224 worth. Of barley malt we exported $126,942 and imported $4,774. Now, I would ask him if the interest of the growers of barley does not seem to be in pretty fair condition from that statement? And yet he proposes to increase the duty from 38 to 78.42 per cent.

Mr. MANTLE. I am not familiar with the statistics just read by the Senator from Missouri. What I say I am saying from practical and personal knowledge of the conditions that exist in my State with reference to the barley growth. I know that the price of barley, under the operation of that law, to the farmers of the valley, was enhanced. The farmers were benefited by it.

I made some examination into this subject a year or two ago, and I found that prior to the enactment of the McKinley law the importations of barley had been very much larger than they were subsequent to that law, and that a resultant benefit had been enjoyed by the barley growers of Montana and Minnesota and Wisconsin and the States running next to the Canadian line. Naturally the brewing interests in the great cities of the East would be benefited by the ability to import barley from Canada at a low rate of duty or free of duty. As I said before, they represent the manufacturing end of the industry, and their interest lies in getting their raw material just as cheaply as they possibly can.

Mr. President, I am in favor, as has been so well said by other members of this body, in the adjustment of the tariff, of a duty being laid at every opportunity where the farmer may derive any direct or indirect benefit from it. We are going to have a protective tariff here. I say, let us apply it in every direction, and let us make its benefits felt, so far as it is possible to do so, in all sections and by all classes and all interests. In the very nature of things the farmers of this country are the last to receive a benefit from a protective tariff. It is something that can not be helped. It is natural that it should be so. But I do believe that whenever the opportunity presents in the framing of these duties we should lose no opportunity to make its benefits apply to them, if it is possible to do so. I speak from a practical knowledge, so far as this question is concerned. Without going into the broad details of the subject, I know the duty on barley did benefit the barley growers in the State of Montana.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. JONES], supplemented by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST].

Mr. VEST. I withdraw my amendment. I did not know that my colleague had offered one. On agreeing to the amendment of my colleague I call for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CLAY (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. FAULKNER (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. ELKINS]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. HARRIS of Kansas (when his name was called). I have a pair with the junior Senator from Wyoming [Mr. CLARK]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. HARRIS of Tennessee (when his name was called). I am paired with the senior Senator from Vermont [Mr. MORRILL]. If he were present, I should vote "yea" on this amendment.

Mr. PENROSE (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Delaware [Mr. KENNEY]. I think he has not voted, and I therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. WARREN (when his name was called). I again announce my pair with the junior Senator from Washington [Mr. TURNER].

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. VEST. I am paired with the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. NELSON]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. MANTLE (after having voted in the negative). I inquire if the junior Senator from Virginia [Mr. MARTIN] has voted?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. He has not voted.

Mr. MANTLE. Being paired with him, I withdraw my vote.

The result was announced—yeas 17, nays 34; as follows:

YEAS—17.

Bacon,	Daniel,	Mills,	Walthall,
Bate,	Gray,	Morgan,	White.
Berry,	Jones, Ark.	Pettus,	
Caffery	Lindsay.	Roach,	
Cockrell,	McLaurin,	Turpie,	

NAYS—34.

Allen,	Carter,	Frye,	Hawley,
Allison,	Cullom,	Gallinger,	Heitfeld,
Burrows,	Deboe,	Gear,	Hoar,
Butler,	Fairbanks,	Hale,	Jones, Nev.
Cannon,	Foraker,	Hansbrough,	McBride,
McEnery,	Platt, Conn.	Sewell,	Tillman,
McMillan,	Pritchard,	Shoup,	Wetmore.
Mitchell,	Quay,	Spooner,	
Perkins,	Rawlins,	Stewart,	

NOT VOTING—38.

Aldrich,	Gorman,	Mason,	Teller,
Baker,	Hanna,	Morrill,	Thurston,
Chandler,	Harris, Kans.	Murphy,	Turner,
Chilton,	Harris, Tenn.	Nelson,	Vest,
Clark,	Kenney,	Pasco,	Warren,
Clay,	Kyle,	Penrose,	Wellington,
Davis,	Lodge,	Pettigrew,	Wilson,
Elkins,	Mallory,	Platt, N. Y.	Wolcott.
Faulkner,	Mantle,	Proctor,	
George,	Martin,	Smith,	

So the amendment of Mr. JONES of Arkansas was rejected.

The reading of the bill was resumed, as follows:

221. Barley malt, 45 cents per bushel of 34 pounds.

Mr. VEST. I move to strike out "45 cents per bushel of 34 pounds" and insert "40 per cent ad valorem."

Mr. ALLISON. I suggest to the Senator from Missouri, having settled barley, that barley malt should follow practically in the same ratio. I do not think Mr. Downey, the president of the Oswego Board of Trade, would enjoy the rate proposed by the amendment.

Mr. VEST. We will have a vote on it, anyway.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Missouri.

The amendment was rejected.

The Secretary read as follows:

222. Barley, pearled, patent, or hulled, 2 cents per pound.
223. Buckwheat, 15 cents per bushel of 48 pounds.

Mr. VEST. In paragraph 223 I move to strike out "15 cents per bushel of 48 pounds" and insert "20 per cent ad valorem." I call attention to the imports of this country, a large and destructive importation. In 1896 it amounted to $162 worth of buckwheat, and the farmers of the United States are languishing and dying under the competition. I call for the yeas and nays on my amendment.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. TURPIE. Mr. President, I wish sincerely that the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST] would move to place buckwheat on the free list. I do not feel even like voting for the reduced rate which he proposes. It is very clear that the duty is unnecessary. The only revenue derived from it is from the seed for planting the earth and soil of the United States. The seed is a germ—a germ of export. It is a germ of wealth in this country. It ought not to be taxed. It is said seed can be taxed. Certainly we can tax it. All things are lawful to us. But all things are not expedient. I think we might derive a revenue to the Government in abundance without placing a penny of tax upon seed for planting. I think that all seed ought to be admitted free of duty. Nor is it necessary for the protection of the farmers in this country or for their encouragement, because their product is exported as a surplus, the price of which is fixed in the foreign market, and no home or domestic legislation can affect that price.

I agree fully with the Senator from Missouri that the whole of this schedule is fraudulent and is false. There is only one condition upon which it could operate as protection to the farmers or benefit the farmers of the United States. This enormous increase of duty upon cereals would be an absolute benefit to the farmers of the United States if they could form a trust, the same as other favored and protected industries, but the farmers of the United States have never been able to form a trust. I do not know that they wish to form one.

In the first place, they are too numerous. Six or seven million persons is too large a number to go into any combination. In the next place, they are too much divided and scattered, with respect to their habitations and localities, to undertake those sudden changes and shifts which are necessary for the successful operation of a trust in the market. Instant communication, very brief and subtle communication, with every member of the trust, when a trust is made, is one of the absolutely indispensable things which attend it.

In the next place, the interests of the farmers of the United States are as diversified and varied as their habitations and places of abode. The surplus of this great industry—the surplus of the agricultural crop—is exported and must always be exported, and it meets with the agricultural products of all the other nations of the world in free competition, and this trust, even if it were possible otherwise—the agricultural trust of the United States, embracing every member of a family engaged in this country in that business—could not control the price of its surplus products. Therefore there would be no means, no efficient means, to regulate prices, and no means of gain in forming such a trust, if it were possible.

These rates here make opportunity for a trust. These rates make the ability to the farmer to form a trust, if it were physically

possible to form one. But the farmers' trust is a phantom, and these increased rates of duty, except for the purpose of taxing the seed imported for planting, are also phantoms.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Missouri, on which the yeas and nays have been ordered.

The Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CLAY (when his name was called). I rise for the purpose of announcing my pair with the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE]. Were he present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. FAULKNER (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. ELKINS]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. HARRIS of Tennessee (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Vermont [Mr. MORRILL].

Mr. MANTLE (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Virginia [Mr. MARTIN]. I therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. VEST (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. NELSON]. I should vote "yea" if he were present.

Mr. WILSON (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Florida [Mr. PASCO], who would vote "yea" if he were present, and I should vote "nay."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. KENNEY (after having voted in the affirmative). Has the junior Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. PENROSE] voted?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. He has not voted.

Mr. KENNEY. I withdraw my vote, being paired with that Senator.

The result was announced—yeas 18, nays 28; as follows:

YEAS—18.

Bacon,	Cockrell,	McLaurin,	Turpie,
Bate,	Daniel,	Mills,	Walthall,
Berry,	Gray,	Morgan,	White.
Caffery,	Jones, Ark.	Pettus,	
Chilton,	Lindsay,	Roach,	

NAYS—28.

Allison,	Frye,	McEnery,	Quay,
Cannon,	Gallinger,	McMillan,	Sewell,
Carter,	Gear,	Mason,	Shoup,
Cullom,	Hale,	Perkins,	Spooner,
Deboe,	Hawley,	Platt, Conn.	Thurston,
Fairbanks,	Jones, Nev.	Platt, N. Y.	Tillman,
Foraker,	McBride,	Pritchard,	Wetmore.

NOT VOTING—43.

Aldrich,	George,	Mallory,	Rawlins,
Allen,	Gorman,	Mantle,	Smith,
Baker,	Hanna,	Martin,	Stewart,
Burrows,	Hansbrough,	Mitchell,	Teller,
Butler,	Harris, Kans.	Morrill,	Turner,
Chandler,	Harris, Tenn.	Murphy,	Vest,
Clark,	Heitfeld,	Nelson,	Warren,
Clay,	Hoar,	Pasco,	Wellington,
Davis,	Kenney,	Penrose,	Wilson,
Elkins,	Kyle,	Pettigrew,	Wolcott.
Faulkner,	Lodge,	Proctor,	

So Mr. VEST's amendment was rejected.

The Secretary read the next paragraph, as follows:

224. Corn or maize, 15 cents per bushel of 56 pounds.

Mr. VEST. I move to strike out the duty proposed in the pending bill and to insert 20 per cent ad valorem, the Wilson rate.

The SECRETARY. After the word maize, on page 69, line 21, paragraph 224, strike out the remainder of the paragraph and insert "20 per cent ad valorem;" so as to read:

224. Corn or maize, 20 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. VEST. This is an increase from 20 per cent to 100 per cent in order to protect the farmers of the country of this staple. We exported in 1896, $37,836,862 worth of corn. We imported $2,975 worth, which was not for consumption, but was seed corn brought in principally from Canada. Yet in the interests of the agricultural community we are to increase the duty from 20 per cent to 100 per cent. I call for the yeas and nays upon my amendment.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Missouri, upon which he demands the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CLAY (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE]. I should vote "yea" if he were present.

Mr. HARRIS of Tennessee (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Vermont [Mr. MORRILL].

Mr. VEST (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. NELSON], or I would vote "yea."

Mr. WELLINGTON (when his name was called). I announce my pair with the junior Senator from North Carolina [Mr. BUTLER]. Were he present, I should vote "nay."

Mr. WILSON (when his name was called). I again announce my pair with the Senator from Florida [Mr. PASCO]. If he were present, I should vote "nay."

The roll call having been concluded, the result was announced—yeas 16, nays 30; as follows:

YEAS—16.

Bacon,	Chilton,	Jones, Ark.	Mitchell,
Bate,	Cockrell,	Lindsay,	Morgan,
Berry,	Daniel,	McLaurin,	Pettus,
Caffery,	Faulkner,	Mills,	Walthall.

NAYS—30.

Allen,	Foraker,	McBride,	Rawlins,
Allison,	Frye,	McEnery,	Sewell,
Burrows,	Gallinger,	McMillan,	Spooner,
Cannon,	Hale,	Mason,	Thurston,
Carter,	Hanna,	Platt, Conn.	Tillman,
Deboe,	Hawley,	Platt, N. Y.	Wetmore.
Elkins,	Hoar,	Pritchard,	
Fairbanks,	Jones, Nev.	Quay,	

NOT VOTING—43.

Aldrich,	Gray,	Morrill,	Stewart,
Baker,	Hansbrough,	Murphy,	Teller,
Butler,	Harris, Kans.	Nelson,	Turner,
Chandler,	Harris, Tenn.	Pasco,	Turpie,
Clark,	Heitfeld,	Penrose,	Vest,
Clay,	Kenney,	Perkins,	Warren,
Cullom,	Kyle,	Pettigrew,	Wellington,
Davis,	Lodge,	Proctor,	White,
Gear,	Mallory,	Roach,	Wilson,
George,	Mantle,	Shoup,	Wolcott.
Gorman,	Martin,	Smith,	

So Mr. VEST's amendment was rejected.

The Secretary read the next paragraph, as follows:

225. Corn meal, 20 cents per bushel of 48 pounds.

Mr. VEST. I move to strike out "20 cents per bushel of 48 pounds" and insert "20 per cent ad valorem."

The SECRETARY. In line 23, page 69, after the words "corn meal" it is proposed to strike out the remainder of paragraph 225 and insert "20 per cent ad valorem."

Mr. VEST. This is a small raise over the existing law. I want to call attention to the fact that we exported in 1896, $654,121 worth of this product and imported the enormous amount of $287 worth. But, as a matter of course, the farmer must be protected against that importation. I shall not call for the yeas and nays upon the amendment, but I will ask for a vote upon it.

Mr. BATE. I desire to state in this connection, that I for one should like to have an opportunity to vote upon the question of the duties upon these necessaries of life, these cereals, particularly corn and corn meal, etc. I do not believe in imposing any tariff upon them. They ought to be free. I should like to have the minority members of the committee, if they see proper to do so, move to put them on the free list, so that we who feel this way can put ourselves upon record properly, and show that we are in favor of placing these products upon the free list.

Mr. VEST. I should vote for the Senator's motion if he moved to put it on the free list, but I am afraid we would be a little more lonesome than we are now.

Mr. BATE. I think we should try it.

Mr. VEST. I will stay with the Senator.

Mr. BATE. I shall be glad to have your company.

Mr. VEST. But our votes on this side of the Chamber are getting smaller and smaller.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST].

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. BACON. I move to insert as a new paragraph:

225½. Raw cotton, 20 per cent ad valorem.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Georgia.

Mr. BACON. Mr. President, I am unable to understand why the Republican members of the Finance Committee, in their general disposition to give at least equality to some extent in the recognition of all agricultural products, should omit one of the principal agricultural products of the United States.

Before I pursue that, though, I want to say something else. I am going to return to it, and I hope to have some explanation from the learned and distinguished gentlemen as to why they make this discrimination.

I want to say that I offer the amendment in the utmost good faith. I believe that a duty ought to be placed upon all importations of raw cotton, and I believe the rate which I have suggested in the amendment is a strictly moderate revenue rate. I do not desire to repeat what I have already said to the Senate upon a similar question, and therefore I must omit a great deal that is apt and pertinent to this particular discussion.

I recognize the fact that there can be such a thing as a legitimate revenue duty, and I recognize the fact that one who opposes the principle and the system of protection can legitimately favor and support the imposition of a duty which is a revenue duty.

Mr. PRITCHARD. Will the Senator from Georgia yield to me for a moment?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. GALLINGER in the chair). Does the Senator from Georgia yield to the Senator from North Carolina?

Mr. BACON. Certainly.

Mr. PRITCHARD. Does not the Senator think it would be a better idea to put a specific rate on cotton as well as on these other articles?

Mr. BACON. I do not think so.

Mr. PRITCHARD. I have offered an amendment fixing the rate on cotton at 1¼ cents a pound. Why not agree on that?

Mr. BACON. I will state to the Senator from North Carolina the reason why I do not think a specific duty is a proper one, outside of any question as to whether as a general proposition specific duties are to be preferred to ad valorem rates. We have two distinct kinds of cotton. One is worth twice as much as the other—sometimes three times as much as the other. That, I think, is a sufficient answer to the suggestion of the learned Senator from North Carolina.

I appreciate, of course, the fact that he favors the imposition of a proper tariff duty upon the importation of cotton, and it is simply a question of difference between us as to what is the proper method of imposing the duty. If it were not for the fact which I have mentioned, I would be willing to waive whatever preference I might have on the subject of an ad valorem in favor of the specific duty, in order that those who favor a duty might not be divided.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. What is the price of Egyptian cotton as compared with other cotton—the foreign price?

Mr. BACON. I do not know anything about the foreign price. The comparative statement, I think, shows the value of the imported cotton.

Mr. MILLS. The imported cotton is 12 cents a pound.

Mr. BACON. Twelve cents is the average. But the Senator will understand that that is not the extreme price. Some of it is very much higher.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. The principal importation is of Egyptian cotton, is it not?

Mr. BACON. I presume it is. I know it is the principal importation, but it is not the exclusive. I am not prepared to state to the Senator the extent of the importation.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. If the Senator from Georgia will permit me, I will read from the imports. The imports of unmanufactured cotton show that there is a small amount from Germany; a small amount from Russia and the Black Sea country; from the United Kingdom 9,530,000, and from Peru 1,661,000 pounds. There are small quantities from other countries. From Turkey in Africa and Egypt the importations amount to 43,574,000 pounds.

Mr. PRITCHARD. Making in all 55,350,520 pounds.

Mr. MASON. Those are the importations?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The importations.

Mr. McLAURIN. I have here a dispatch from Mexico that bears on this point. I should like to give the Senator from Georgia the benefit of it, and I ask the Secretary to read it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read as follows:

MEXICO SHIPPING COTTON—THE HIGH RATE OF EXCHANGE FAVORS HER PRODUCTS.

MEXICO CITY, *May 14.*

Mexico is now shipping cotton in certain forms to the United States, thus reversing what has heretofore been the rule. This is particularly true of cotton waste, which, at present, is being bought in large quantities by American firms. There are seventy cotton factories in the Republic, and the total available amount of waste from them per month is about 50,000 pounds, which is handled here almost exclusively by one man. He, by the high rate of exchange at present prevailing, is shipping large consignments of this commodity to the United States.

Two large lots, the first of 400,000 pounds and the second of 700,000 pounds, have already gone forward.

Mr. BACON. Mr. President, as I was proceeding to say, I am offering this amendment in the utmost good faith, because I think as a Democrat and one who does not believe in the protection principle it is a legitimate duty, and a proper duty, and that its omission from the schedule is a violation of the principle enunciated in the Democratic platform, which says:

Such duties to be so adjusted as to operate equally throughout the country and not discriminate between class or section.

I want to illustrate, if I do not trespass upon the time of the Senate, by what I will admit to be an extreme case, but which will prove the rule. Everyone will admit that the imposition of duties upon imports raises the price of similar articles in this country, and necessarily so.

Now, suppose, just for the sake of the illustration, that the tariff bill should lay a uniform duty of 25 or 30 per cent on every article imported into this country except one. Can any man doubt, whether it raises the price to the extent of 25 or 30 per cent or not, that it would raise the prices of all these various articles very materially; and can any man doubt that the one single article which was omitted would be left behind and would not have its price raised to the same plane and in the same proportion as the others? If that were done, is there not the gravest injustice, outside of any protection feature, considering it solely as a revenue measure, confined strictly to revenue duty? Is there any possibility of denying the proposition that there is a grave injustice to the particular article of produce which is left not included in this list of duties? If it would be true in that extreme case, it is true, in a different degree, but equally true, when there is a larger number of articles not included in the list upon which duties are imposed.

Now, the particular article that we have under consideration is one which can derive at best exceedingly small benefit by the way of the raising of its prices equally with the prices of other articles which its producers have to consume. There is no class of producers in this country upon which there falls with such absolute dead weight the burden of the tariff as the class that produce cotton, for the reason that in the main it is impossible for a tariff duty to affect the prices in the way of raising them, and for the other reason that there is not a single thing that the cotton planter has to use in the production of his crop that he does not have to pay a high price upon by reason of the imposition of the tariff. Every implement that he uses—plows, trace chains, harness—every imaginable appliance that he has to use in the production of his crop is raised in price from 25 to 100 per cent by reason of the tariff; and yet, while he has to pay these extreme prices, he is to be left in the lurch.

Mr. President, before I proceed to ask the distinguished gentlemen of the majority of this committee the question that I hope they will answer me, I want to call attention to another fact in connection with the question of the propriety of the imposition of this duty. I have not the slightest idea, and I presume no Senator will pretend, that the imposition of this duty would exclude a single pound of Egyptian cotton or cotton from any other country. The comparative statement shows that last year there were imported into this country 55,350,530 pounds of cotton, and that the value of it was $6,580,823. The imposition of a tariff of 20 per cent ad valorem would yield to the Government over $1,300,000 of revenue. Therefore I say this is a legitimate subject for the imposition of a revenue duty.

Mr. FAULKNER. How much would it produce?

Mr. BACON. It would produce, at 20 per cent ad valorem, more than $1,300,000 to the Treasury of the United States, if there was the same amount of importation in the future that there was last year.

The uses for imported cotton seem to be constantly growing, because the importation constantly grows. In 1887 there were imported into the United States only 3,900,000 pounds. In 1896—I trust the Senators who are in charge of this bill on the other side will notice these figures—there were imported 55,000,000 pounds. To be accurate, the quantity was 3,924,531 pounds in 1887, and in 1896, 55,350,530 pounds. Therefore there is no reason to apprehend that this slight duty would deter the importation of that cotton, for which there seems to be this growing and increasing demand.

Mr. CLAY. I desire to state to my colleague that I hold in my hand a letter addressed to both of us from our State in regard to this matter. It gives the details, and with his permission I will send it to the desk and let it be read.

Mr. BACON. I hope it may be read.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read as follows:

BLACKSHEAR, GA., *June, 1897.*

DEAR SIR: We beg to call your attention to the importance of having a duty placed upon the importations into this country of Egyptian and other long-stapled cottons.

Three memorials were presented to the Ways and Means Committee of Congress, praying for this duty. One was from a convention of the Sea Island Cotton Farmers' Union, held in this place; one was from a convention of the planters of Georgia and Florida, held in Valdosta, Ga., and one was from a convention of the planters of Florida, held in Gainesville, Fla. When the matter came up before the Ways and Means Committee, two Republicans voted for the duty and two Democrats voted against it.

We beg to inclose you tables showing the size of the various crops the past eighteen years, the average price of the grade "fine" in Savannah, and the number of bales consumed annually in the United States and abroad. You will see that this is a growing industry, or, rather, promises to be if not killed by the competition of Egyptian long-staple cotton.

Last year the imports of Egyptian long-staple cotton exceeded the production of our home crop of sea-island cotton. The New York Dry Goods Chronicle is authority for the statement that the importations this year will double those of last year.

You will notice that our sea-island cotton is worth only about one-half now of what it was worth four years ago. If the importations of Egyptian long-staple cotton continue on an increasing scale (and this is very likely), prices will still further decline. This means ruin to the planters producing this crop.

The negro is, equally with the whites, a producer of this cotton, and nearly all of it is gathered by them. At the present prices for this crop, wages must be cut in half. This means that the laborer must be brought to a condition hard to contemplate.

A moderate duty of, say, 3 cents per pound would put from one to two million dollars a year into the United States Treasury, and would not be a

hardship on those least able to bear additional taxes, for the following reasons, viz: One-half of our crop of sea-island cotton is used by the spool-thread manufacturers. This thread to the consumer is the same in price as when the raw material costs from 40 to 50 per cent more, and it is only slightly cheaper than when the raw material costs 100 per cent more. The balance of this crop is used in a fine grade of lawns, laces, silks, etc., which the poorer class of people do not buy.

The Ways and Means Committee, not content with refusing to put a duty on the importations of long-staple cotton, have put a duty on the bagging to cover it, although not a single yard of this bagging is manufactured in the United States. This is an additional hardship.

The rate of freight from Alexandria, Egypt, via direct ship to New England points is no more than the freight from our ports to New England points. You no doubt well understand that the Egyptian planter will receive his bagging free of duty, and that he is enabled to buy, trading as he does with free-trade England, many articles of consumption at a very much lower price than our planters have to pay, trading as they do in the United States.

It is clearly evident that our planters can not produce sea-island cotton in competition with the Egyptian without reducing labor to the condition of fellah labor of Egypt, and unless our planters can buy their supplies as cheap as the Egyptian buys his supplies.

We inclose a schedule showing the cost of the bagging used for sea-island cotton for the past eighteen years.

Respectfully submitted.

Yours, very truly. A. P. BANTLEY, *President.*

Mr. BACON. I want to call the attention of Senators on this side of the Chamber as well as of Senators on the other side to the question as to whether this is a proper thing to do according to the measure of propriety which they themselves have set up. I do not suppose it will be contended by anybody on either side of the Chamber that there is anything peculiar in cotton which makes it an improper subject-matter for the imposition of a revenue duty. Some might go further; but there is nothing peculiar in the cotton itself, or in the people who raise it, or in the methods by which it is raised which would properly exclude it as an article to be included in a revenue tariff. If that is true, Mr. President, then whatever is recognized as a proper revenue rate for other agricultural products ought to be accepted as a proper revenue rate for this agricultural product, unless it can be differentiated in some way.

Now, what said the Republicans as to other agricultural products? Almost every agricultural product which could be named, certainly every important one, was put into the tariff bill by the Republicans at a rate of from two to four times as high as that which I now propose for cotton. Therefore the particular rate can not be objectionable to Republicans.

What have said the Democrats as to what is the proper rate to impose upon the importation of agricultural products? The Wilson law has been brought here as a test in this particular thing, and the distinguished Senator on my right [Mr. VEST], the leading member of the minority, as I understand, on the Finance Committee, himself offers, in behalf of that minority and as the representative of the party, amendments putting a rate of 20 per cent on each one of these agricultural products. Now, I want to know by what right and upon what reason the Democrats would say that cotton should not enjoy an equal rate of 20 per cent ad valorem? So it seems to me that, taking this question by the rule of consistency, there ought to be a unanimous vote on each side of this Chamber, if we are controlled by the rule which they themselves have laid down, and that this amendment should be adopted.

Mr. President, I asked the distinguished Senators composing the majority of the Finance Committee last week a question which they would not answer. I say I asked it. The senior Senator from Texas [Mr. MILLS] first asked the question, and they did not answer him. I do not know that he put it in the form of a question, but I did, and I called for an answer. It was stated by the Senator from Texas that not only in this bill, but in former tariff bills controlled by the Republican party, they had exempted from all duty the articles which are used by the wheat growers in the preparation of their crops for market and in the bringing of them to market, and that they put binding twine and the material out of which grain sacks are made upon the free list, and at the same time they refused to put cotton bagging upon the free list and refused to put cotton ties on the free list. Yet the cotton bagging and the cotton ties are as essential to the cotton grower in the preparation of his product for market as binding twine and grain sacks are to the wheat grower.

The distinguished Senators in charge of the bill not having responded to the statement made by the Senator from Texas, I took the liberty of putting the question to them direct; and I asked them to explain why this discrimination was made between the wheat grower and the cotton grower. I said to them that if there was a good reason for it we ought to know it, in order that our action should be controlled by that reason; and that if there was no reason for it, they ought to say so, in order that the country might recognize it as a square case of favoritism in favor of one and against the other.

Mr. President, when I took my seat I expected, of course, there would be some reply from the distinguished Senators who sat there, and yet not only was there no reply, but there was no further reference to the subject, and they called for a vote, the question being whether cotton ties should be put on the free list or whether they should have a high duty placed upon them, which would involve an expense to the cotton planter of the South of $900,000 a year at the lowest estimate, taken out of the pockets of the cotton planter, 10 cents on every bale of cotton at the same time when they were letting the wheat grower have his binding twine and his grain sacks free. I say that being the question, the vote was immediately taken without any response from the learned Senators as to why it was that this discrimination existed.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Would it satisfy the Senator from Georgia to have a vote now? We shall be very glad to vote.

Mr. BACON. Most undoubtedly, if the Senator is prepared to vote with me, and if the pressing of this inquiry has brought the Senator to that frame of mind, I am very glad.

Mr. CHANDLER. We are ready to vote with the Senator if he will only let us.

Mr. VEST. Of course the Senators on the other side will vote with the Senator from Georgia.

Mr. HAWLEY. Mr. President, I have been absent from the Chamber, and have not heard all the argument of the Senator from Georgia, but I know what he proposes—a 20 per cent or ad valorem duty upon cotton—and I shall vote with him. I can not see sound logic in a bill which taxes barley and lets cotton come in free.

Mr. CHILTON. Mr. President, I see that there is this logic about it, that, instead of tending to increase, it would tend to diminish the price of cotton if this duty were put on.

It seems to me that the Senator from Georgia [Mr. BACON] admits his whole case away when he says that there would be the same number of bales of Egyptian cotton imported after this duty is imposed as before. I understand him to make that distinct statement; in other words, that the tariff which he proposes would not diminish the competition he complains of, now existing between Egyptian and American cotton.

Mr. President, I should feel very kindly disposed to this proposition if I believed it would tend to increase the price of American cotton. The Senator from Georgia is right in the statement that the cotton raisers in this country are the most defenseless victims of the protective-tariff policy. There is no method by which they can be made the beneficiaries of such a system. That is unfortunately true. They are discriminated against by a tax on their bagging and by a tax on their cotton ties. Their product occupies that peculiar position in the industrial world that no tariff scheme devised by man can enhance its price.

Now, sir, what is there in this cotton question? There is the upland cotton, which has a staple of, say, 1 inch; the sea-island cotton, which has a staple of, say, 1.61 inches, and the imported Egyptian cotton, which has a staple of about 1.41 inches. The Egyptian cotton has a different color from the sea-island cotton or the ordinary upland cotton. The Egyptian cotton is of a dark color, while the other cotton is white.

What is the Egyptian cotton imported for? For use in the manufacture of a certain class of goods, a sort of silk-finished cotton goods, or mixed with silk, such as balbriggan, hosiery, and certain sorts of yarn and threads.

Mr. MASON. Will the Senator allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. CHILTON. Yes.

Mr. MASON. Would not the American cotton take the place of the Egyptian cotton?

Mr. CHILTON. It would not.

Mr. MASON. Why not?

Mr. CHILTON. It would not, as I will show you. It can be demonstrated that the Egyptian cotton does not interfere with the sale of the sea-island cotton. Turn to the statistics referred to by the Senator from Georgia. He tells us that during the last half dozen years the importations of Egyptian cotton have increased wonderfully. That is true. But what further does the record show? It shows that just in proportion as the American consumption of Egyptian cotton has increased, just in that proportion has the American consumption of sea-island cotton increased; so that if my friend from Georgia will go into the figures, he will find that by this increased importation of Egyptian cotton there has been brought about an increased American use of sea-island cotton.

Mr. McLAURIN. May I interrupt the Senator?

Mr. CHILTON. Certainly.

Mr. McLAURIN. There is an upland long-staple cotton, known as the Allen long staple, and if the Senator will investigate he will find that the importation of Egyptian cotton has driven our upland country people out of the production of that staple. That has occurred in the upper part of South Carolina on account of this very importation of Egyptian cotton, which prevents the use of the Allen long staple in connection with the sea island and upland short staple.

Mr. CHILTON. I will tell you why those planters gave up the business of raising the Allen long staple. It was because the price of this cotton had fallen throughout the world, so that those people could find a better profit in other lines.

I have examined this question, and there is a conclusive answer to all this argument in favor of a tax on cotton. What fixes the price of sea-island cotton? What fixes the price of the ordinary upland short-staple cotton in the markets of the world? It is the Liverpool price. Why is it fixed in Liverpool? It is fixed there because the surplus of the American product is sold there.

The surplus of the American product of sea-island cotton is sold in Liverpool just as the surplus of the upland cotton is sold there. What effect, therefore, would it have upon the price of cotton in the United States to keep Egyptian cotton out of our market and throw it into the Liverpool market? Would there not be just that much more surplus cotton sold in the Liverpool market? And it would have exactly the same effect upon the price of cotton in this country as it would when sold in the American market.

If the home consumption of our cotton approached the production, then there might be something in this argument; but as our whole surplus of cotton, both of sea-island cotton and of upland cotton, is sold in Liverpool, so the price of both kinds of cotton is governed by the Liverpool market; and it does not make a bit of difference what tariff is put on cotton, we can not raise the price of it one tittle. It is impossible, in the nature of things, so long as the surplus is sold abroad. It is just like your wheat tariff, and things of that kind. When the surplus is sold in foreign markets, you can not raise the American price? The price of the surplus in the foreign market will fix the American price in spite of your tariff. That is the condition of this cotton question.

I would ask the Senator from Georgia if he does not believe that this bill will raise enough revenue without adding this tax to it? I do, and therefore to put this tax on Egyptian cotton will simply add that much more to the price of the goods made from this Egyptian cotton and sold to American consumers. Either that will be the effect or it will drive out from this country the manufacture of those goods.

This cotton question does not stand like manufactures. It stands by itself, or like wheat, as I have said, or some such product. The surplus is sold abroad, and therefore the price of the surplus fixes the price of the domestic crop. You can not raise the price of an article by tariff when you raise more of it than your home consumption.

That is our condition in this country with regard to sea-island cotton as well as upland cotton, and it is impossible to do anything for these products by means of this tariff bill. The only result, as I say, would be to burden the consumer of balbriggans and hosiery, and other goods made in this country in mixture with our cotton, with an extra price.

If you place such a burden on manufacturers as to drive the industry over to England, then you rather hurt the price of your domestic cotton.

As our cotton is used in mixture with Egyptian cotton to make certain classes of goods, and you are forced to buy those goods from England, then the American cotton to be mixed with Egyptian must be carried across the ocean, there manufactured into goods, and then brought back to this country. In such case somebody must pay the transportation charges both ways. Whereas if you leave the manufacture of these balbriggans, hosiery, and certain classes of yarns to thrive in this country, then you increase the American consumption of your upland cotton and your sea-island cotton, because they are all mixed together. When you increase the American manufacture of these articles, you are saved the transportation of upland and sea-island cotton across the ocean and back again.

Mr. President, you can raise revenue—that is undoubted—you can raise more revenue by imposing this tax upon cotton; and if the Senator from Georgia really believes that we ought to have more revenue, then I think he can cast a logical vote for the amendment. But if, as the Senator says, there will be just as many bales of this cotton imported into this country after you put this 20 per cent duty on as there is now, that very fact shows that you can not raise the price of our cotton. If the tax raised the price at all, it would be by reducing the competition of the Egyptian cotton with the American cotton. How are you going to reduce that competition if the same number of bales of Egyptian cotton will still be imported?

Mr. VEST. Mr. President, as a matter of course, this amendment will be adopted. The Republicans will vote for it because it is in the line of high tariff duties, because they have committed themselves to larger duties upon all sorts of agricultural products, without regard to the fact of the enormous amount of exports and the small amount of imports. It will furnish them with an additional argument for disrupting the solid South and producing dissatisfaction there with regard to the Democratic party, a large majority of whom, I hope, will oppose this amendment.

The Senator from Georgia [Mr. BACON] talks about revenue as if this Government was impoverished and famished, while we have, according to the Monthly Statement this morning, $125,000,000 of surplus money in the Treasury over and above the gold reserve. Where, then, is the necessity for breaking through the precedents of the Government and of the Democratic party and putting a duty upon cotton which will enhance the price of manufactured cotton goods to the consumer?

Mr. BACON. The Senator from Texas [Mr. CHILTON], as I understand his remarks, denies that proposition.

Mr. VEST. I care not who denies the proposition; it will enhance the price of the manufactured article to the consumer, and if it does not, then your whole theory of protection is a farce, a fraud, and an insult to the intelligence of any man who must listen to it.

What do you mean by protection? Do you not mean to protect the American manufacturer and producer? How do you protect him? By giving him a larger price for his product, or else it is not protection. That is the end of it mathematically, not to say logically.

Now, if the Senator from Georgia abandons every argument of the Democratic party against high protection, he must admit what I say, that this 20 per cent he proposes upon raw cotton will enable the manufacturer to add it to the price of his finished product.

The Senator talks about the Chicago platform. I was a member of the Chicago convention and voted for that platform, but I never would have voted for it if I had thought it could be what he says. I understood it to mean that taxation should be equal and just, and not sectional, not discriminating in favor of classes and monopolies. If I had thought it meant this universal expansive protection to everything in the country by imposing a tariff upon everything, without regard to exportations, without regard to importations, without regard to the necessities of the Government, I would not have touched that platform any more than I would touch a rattlesnake when there was no whisky within 100 miles. [Laughter.]

But, Mr. President, when it comes to platforms, what would my friend from Georgia think of the platforms of the Democratic party, not nebulous and indistinct and liable to misconstruction, but so emphatic and so plain that the wayfaring man, though a fool, need not err therein? In 1888 we made a platform unanimously, before the Democratic party was divided as it is now in regard to these questions of tariff and finance, and the very first clause of that platform declared for the Mills bill and for free lumber. That platform declared that the Mills bill must be enacted speedily, and that its principles were correct. What were they? Free raw material, free lumber, free salt, and free wool; and yet we are told now by this modern Democracy that the Democratic party is not pledged to free raw material, but must tax everything in the whole country.

God help us, Mr. President, if the new evangel is to prevail. All my life has been given to an utter misunderstanding of the principles and the doctrines of the party to which I belong, if we are now to be told that we must put a duty upon raw material—upon cotton, upon wool, upon salt, and upon lumber.

Mr. President, I have always understood—and I have given a little attention to this tariff question; it has been my duty to do so—that while depression and gloom have rested upon the wool manufacturers of this country at many times, the cotton manufacturers have flourished in spite of adversity prevailing everywhere else.

I have understood that this has been especially the case with the cotton mills of the South during these five or six years of unexampled adversity. I have stood upon this floor as a Southern man and boasted of the fact and pointed with pride to the fact that the cotton mills of the South were paying regular dividends; that they, in spite of the clouds that rested upon the balance of the country, were prosperous and bathed in sunshine; and, to my surprise, I hear now from a Southern Senator that cotton is depressed, and that the cotton raisers of the South are peculiarly the people who should have the bounty of the Government.

I want to make no sectional distinctions here. If I understand the principles of my party, they apply without sectional division to all the people of all the country; but I distinctly disavow the truth of the statement that the cotton raisers of the South are in any worse condition, so far as their products are concerned or the burdens placed upon them are concerned, than my constituents in Missouri or the people in the great Northwest.

Sir, if I chose to produce the argument, I could prove mathematically, it seems to me, that we are in much worse condition than the people of that sunny clime, who need less clothing, who need less food, to whom the bounty of nature takes the place of artificial methods. In the northern and rigid climates, exposed to the snows and blasts of winter, wool is an absolute necessity of life, without which comes discomfort, and not only discomfort, but disease and death. In the South this is not the case.

Who proposes to lift the prices of the agricultural products of the Northwest? Who expects to do it by this false method of putting enormous duties upon products none of which come into this country and enormous quantities of which go abroad? As was said by the Senator from Texas [Mr. CHILTON], the price of

cotton is fixed in Liverpool, and we can not raise it by a tariff tax. It is fixed abroad, as the prices of our corn and wheat are fixed abroad; and the same arguments apply to the condition of both the people in the North and in the South, with the distinction that the people of the North need more and must have more to meet the ordinary demands of nature.

Mr. President, in regard to competing cotton from abroad, I received a letter—and the Senator from Arkansas doubtless has it here—from the Protective Tariff League, the apostles of the highest protective taxes that are possible, asking me to vote for 3 cents a pound tax upon cotton, all cotton that comes into this country, in order to protect the cotton raisers. They use the specious and delusive argument that there were 55,000,000 pounds of cotton that came into this country in 1896 and only three million and some odd hundred thousand pounds in 1893, and that this was an argument for excluding this cotton by a high protective tariff tax. They did not for one instant fairly and candidly and honestly state the truth, that 43,000,000 pounds of this cotton, out of the 55,000,000 pounds which came into this country, did not compete with the American cotton and could not compete with it.

The same argument which applies to wool applies to cotton. We have contended for free wool because we say we can not compete with the woolen manufacturers of the world unless we have certain forms of foreign wool that can not be produced in the United States. So in regard to cotton. I am told by cotton manufacturers, and have the statements in my committee room, that this Egyptian cotton is necessary for the rough cotton goods now so fashionable in this country and abroad. They can only be made with the long-staple cotton, and we have no cotton in the United States that is equivalent to the Egyptian cotton for that purpose. When mixed with a small quantity of silk, it makes a beautiful textile that the fashionable and wealthy intensely demand. It does not come in competition with the short staple, about which my friend from Georgia is so intensely enthusiastic.

But we are told that we must put on this duty for the sake of revenue, when we have an overflowing Treasury, when the McKinley law, that citadel of protection, did not put any such duty upon cotton. There was no contest even in 1894 in the turbulent scenes of discussion over the Wilson bill, and there was no discussion which involved the question of a tax upon cotton.

As a Democrat, I have always voted for free cotton, always pointed to free cotton as an exemplification of the truth that with free raw material the manufacturers of the United States could compete with those of any country in the world, and now from the South comes a proposition to break down the precedents of our party, to abandon its traditions and its legendary history, and to put a duty upon this raw material of cotton, which justifies a duty upon wool, lumber, salt, and every agricultural product, without regard to exports or imports, and leaves us naked, without argument.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Mr. President, I am a cotton grower; I have lived all my life on a cotton farm, and if any man living has a deep sympathy with the struggling thousands who are engaged in this business I have, but I have too high an opinion of these people to fear that they can be imposed on by this movement.

I was out of the Senate Chamber for a few moments, but there are some considerations in connection with this proposed amendment which are conclusive with me. I think it is perfectly natural that the Republicans should fall in with and accept this amendment for several reasons. One is that which was mentioned by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST] a moment ago, because it can be pointed to as an example of the fact that we have been able to say heretofore that this was a clear illustration of the practical working of things, that cotton was not taxed, that there was no necessity for it; and this has given trouble to the other side. They would be glad to be rid of it; they would be anxious to put a tariff on cotton for the very same reason they have put a tariff on wheat and on corn, not because they believe it will do any good except to mislead and deceive those in the country who they think can be misled by this sort of chaff and this sort of talk.

But, Mr. President, in my opinion there is another substantial reason why the gentlemen who are advocating these high rates of tax will be in favor of a tariff on cotton. They know perfectly well that it will not increase the price of cotton one iota. While they make a pretense of protecting American cotton growers, they know they will get no benefit from it whatever; that when this tax is put on cotton and when an American mill is asking here for the protection necessary to enable it to make its business profitable, this committee, before we get through with the cotton schedule, will propose to increase the rates on cotton goods to compensate for the tax put on the raw material. Where will the argument proceed against it? We will answer that no benefit whatever comes to the people of this country who raise cotton; that it will not raise the price. Here is the answer: But there is a provision for a tariff of 20 per cent, or so much a pound, which is to increase the cost of the raw material to the spinners, and therefore they must have the rate of taxation increased by just so much above what was necessary for them to have before the tariff was put on. They get a substantial benefit in that respect.

The increased tariff will go on because of this, and yet the cotton will cost them not one cent more than it did before, and instead of getting the protection they get now, they will get protection increased by whatever this tax amounts to, without any compensation whatever to the public. The consumers of cotton goods will have to pay an increased price for cotton over and above the proposed rates under the pending bill because of this proposed tariff, which amounts to nothing and will bring nothing to the cotton raisers except additional taxes. Instead of its being something for the benefit of the cotton growers, it is an additional burden upon the cotton growers, and they will have to pay for it.

There are 10,000,000 bales of cotton produced in this country. All the high-sounding millions of pounds which gentlemen have been talking about on this floor, after all, amount to 100,000 bales. What figure will 100,000 bales cut in fixing the price of 10,000,000 bales? The price of cotton is not fixed, even now, in the mills of New England. The prices are fixed in Liverpool, where two-thirds of the American cotton crop goes, and where the prices of cotton are fixed. It will make no difference whether 100,000 bales, more or less, come from Egypt to New England or go somewhere else. The price of American cotton will be fixed in Liverpool, and if New England chooses to buy this cotton abroad, which has the peculiarities mentioned by the Senator from Missouri for making rough fabrics, and for which they say no other kind of cotton can be used, and brings that cotton in, and has to pay a tax on it, the foreign producer will simply have to lower the price by the amount of the tariff the manufacturers have to pay here, because they can easily say, "If we do not buy this, we can manufacture something else." So, in my opinion, there will be no increase in cost to the New England manufacturer by reason of this tax, but there will be, I have not the slightest doubt, before we get through the bill, as a compensation, an increased tax on manufactured goods.

I do not believe the farmers of this country have been satisfied by the pretenses that they are being benefited by the taxes on wheat and corn. The Senator from Missouri this morning had a statement read at the desk which I wish every Senator had listened to. It was a clear, strong, forcible statement, showing that these people can not be caught with this sort of chaff. The cotton growers of the South have as much sense as that class of people anywhere else in this country or anywhere else in the world. They will see through this pretense. They will see through all this stuff about increasing the price of cotton as clearly as anybody else. They will not be misled or deceived by an argument so palpably thin and fallacious as it is.

Mr. MCLAURIN. Mr. President, the Senator from Missouri made the statement that the Egyptian cotton does not come into competition with any American cotton. I deny that statement. When the Egyptian cotton was first imported into this country, it was used as a substitute for long-staple cotton in the making of the finer thread. It is now used in the cotton factories for making the cotton warps in cheap woolen goods, and to that extent has supplanted upland cotton. As I said to the Senator from Texas, we produce a grade of long-staple upland cotton, and I defy anybody to distinguish between it and the Egyptian cotton. It is almost exactly the same grade, but owing to the difference of expense in cultivation we have been forced ont of the production of this cotton by the importation of the Egyptian cotton. I can myself remember plantations where ten years ago there were large quantities of the upland long staple grown which have completely abandoned its production in recent years.

Mr. BACON. Mr. President, I dislike very much to delay the Senate in the consideration of this amendment. Some things have been said here, however, which makes it necessary that I should occupy a little of the time of the Senate, and I trust I may be indulged.

If positiveness of statement and vehemence of assertion would establish a proposition, then the distinguished Senator from Missouri has correctly established that for which he contends. But in this forum I submit that argument is the thing which is to control action and that neither I nor any other Senator is to be set down by the vehemence and unqualifiedness of assertion of the distinguished Senator from Missouri, however long he may have been a member of the party, however great an ornament he may be to it, however much we may all respect him.

What is the proposition upon which I base my support of this amendment? I base it, first, upon the proposition that the rate of duty does not make it a protective duty. I stated that plainly. Does the distinguished Senator from Missouri take issue with that proposition? I am always very glad to follow the distinguished Senator, and I endeavored to do so to-day. I had intended to put a higher rate as that which I would suggest to the Senate to be imposed upon the importation of cotton. I had suggested to my distinguished friend on my left [Mr. MILLS] that I would put it at 30 per cent; but as I sat here the agricultural

schedule was taken up, and the distinguished Senator from Missouri himself rose in his place, as the representative not only of the committee, but of the party, and as agricultural product after product was named he himself offered as the rate of duty which he would recognize as a revenue rate 20 per cent ad valorem. He certainly does not regard 20 per cent ad valorem as a protective tariff rate. Otherwise he would not have proposed it.

Mr. VEST. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Georgia yield to the Senator from Missouri?

Mr. BACON. Certainly.

Mr. VEST. It is well enough for us to understand each other, in order that we may avoid any criticism or adverse argument. I stated distinctly to the Senate when the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. BATE] suggested that we put agricultural products on the free list that I agreed with him, but I said to him in the present instance, knowing I would be defeated, I should content myself by simply going back to the duties of the Wilson Act. I was opposed to them at the time they were put there, in 1894, but a majority of my colleagues overruled me. That is all. I do not concede that those duties are necessary. I do not think they will help any farmer, even those that I propose. Where we export enormously and import nothing, I would put all these articles on the free list.

Mr. BACON. The difference between the honorable Senator from Missouri and myself is this: I ask the Senate to impose a duty which I earnestly believe is a correct duty, and the Senator rises in his place and asks the Senate to impose a duty which he himself says he does not believe is a correct duty. That is the difference between us. I do not ask this duty because of any other fact than that I believe it is a proper duty.

I was stating, in order that we may determine this matter by reason and not by bald assertion, that the fundamental principle upon which I base the application to the Senate to include this amendment is that 20 per cent ad valorem is not a protective duty; and the distinguished Senator has not taken issue with that fact.

Mr. BERRY. Will the Senator from Georgia allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. BACON. Certainly.

Mr. BERRY. I wish to ask the Senator if he believes the tax proposed by him will increase the price of American cotton throughout the United States?

Mr. BACON. I will state to the Senator that I think it will have very little or no effect upon the general class of cotton. How much effect it will have upon the particular kind of cotton that is imported, I am not prepared to say.

Mr. PRITCHARD. Will the Senator permit me?

Mr. BACON. In just one moment.

Mr. PRITCHARD. I wish to have a statement read.

Mr. BACON. Let me complete the sentence, and then I will yield to the Senator with great pleasure.

Everyone admits—the distinguished Senators themselves admit it either in direct terms or necessarily by implication—that the imposition of the duty will have an effect upon the price of the articles similar to that upon which the duty is imposed and the article which will come in competition with that upon which the duty is imposed. Therefore it will affect the price of the long-staple cotton. How much, I am unable to say. Now I yield with pleasure to the Senator from North Carolina.

Mr. PRITCHARD. I desire to have read a letter from Mr. Wilbur F. Wakeman, secretary of the Protective Tariff League.

Mr. BACON. I hope the Senator will not stop me to have letters read.

Mr. PRITCHARD. It bears upon the amount of cotton imported and the character of the importation. I presume the Senator would like to have that information.

Mr. BACON. Yes; but I should like to have it introduced at some other time. It breaks up the thread of my argument. I hope the Senator will excuse me. However, I have no objection to its being read.

Mr. PRITCHARD. I send the letter to the desk and ask that it may be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

THE AMERICAN PROTECTIVE TARIFF LEAGUE,
New York, June 7, 1897.

DEAR SIR: The phenomenal increase in the imports of cotton deserves the attention of every legislator. Until recently the importations have been chiefly of Egyptian cotton, but now upland or staple cotton is also being imported to a considerable extent. To illustrate, we give the importations for the fiscal years 1897 and 1896, as follows:

Imports of cotton.

	Pounds.
1897	3,924,531
1896	55,260,520

We earnestly ask that an import duty be placed upon all imports of cotton in the pending tariff measure.

Based upon the importations of 1896, a duty of 3 cents a pound would produce a revenue of more than one and one-half million dollars and give protection to the cotton-growing industry.

Yours, very truly,

WILBUR F. WAKEMAN,
General Secretary.

Hon. J. C. PRITCHARD,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

Mr. CAFFERY. I should like to ask the Senator whether he advocates placing wheat, barley, oats, and these other agricultural products on the protected list?

Mr. BACON. I follow the lead of my distinguished friend on my right in making it 20 per cent ad valorem, which he himself proposed and which the Senator from Louisiana voted for.

Mr. CAFFERY. Very well; but I ask the Senator whether he now advocates placing the agricultural products mentioned by me on the protected list?

Mr. BACON. I listened to the distinguished Senator from Missouri without interrupting him, when he had said some things very decidedly personal to me and when I could have interrupted him. I listened to the distinguished Senator from Arkansas without interruption. I am endeavoring to reply to them. I think my distinguished friend from Louisiana will have enough to do to answer the questions which the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] asked him yesterday about a duty on sugar, without stopping now to interrupt this argument.

Mr. CAFFERY. The Senator from Georgia has quite as much to answer as to lumber.

Mr. BACON. Certainly.

Mr. CAFFERY. And not only to the Senator from Massachusetts, but to the Democratic principle in that regard.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Georgia has the floor.

Mr. BACON. The difference between the distinguished Senator from Louisiana and myself is very much like the difference between the distinguished Senator from Missouri and myself, and that is, I advocate that which I say I believe, while these distinguished Senators put their support of the particular things which they advocate on some other ground.

I was endeavoring to reply to the argument of the Senator from Missouri with some degree of continuity. I wanted to present a fact. I had stated the proposition which I submitted to the Senate, giving the reasons upon which I base it. I had endeavored to place them clearly before the Senate, and the Senator from Missouri had replied to me with very great earnestness and very great vehemence, and never once alluded to either of the things which I had presented as arguments. It may be that they were not arguments, but I am asking again to have them considered by the Senate.

I say the first proposition upon which I base it is that 20 per cent ad valorem is not a protective duty, and therefore everything which the learned Senators say with reference to the support of a protective tariff has no application to this particular duty. Is there an answer to that? There can be but one answer to it—that is, that it is a protective duty—and yet we have two distinguished Senators, one of them saying that it will raise the price, and the Senator from Texas, on the other hand, saying it will not.

Mr. VEST. I said it would raise the price of the manufactured cotton goods.

Mr. BACON. The Senator does not think it will raise the price of cotton?

Mr. VEST. I do not think it will.

Mr. BACON. Then here we have these two distinguished Democrats who believe in raising revenue out of goods that do not come in competition with domestic production, and we have the plain fact that $1,300,000 can be raised out of this duty, and yet they are objecting to it in the face of the fact that they do not believe it will raise the price. If that is the old evangel, it is time for a new one.

That is the first proposition upon which I base it, and which I say has not been answered, that 20 per cent ad valorem is not a protective tariff duty, and that therefore nothing which is said with reference to a protective duty has application to this particular amendment.

The second proposition which I made was that there is nothing in the nature of cotton or in the methods by which it is produced or in the locality in which it is produced which makes it an improper article for the imposition of a tariff duty.

Mr. President, if those two propositions are correct, where is the impropriety? If it is a rate which is recognized as a revenue rate and if no reason can be produced here why this particular article should not be subjected to the rate, where is the heinousness of the offense?

If a man is a free trader, then any tariff is an iniquity. If the Senator says he is a free trader, then his argument is good; but if he is not a free trader, if he believes in a tariff for revenue, there is no basis for his argument, because this is within the bounds of

a revenue tariff, and no reason is shown why it should be excepted from it.

Mr. President, the learned Senator from Missouri talks about a new evangel. What is the new evangel? If it is anywhere, it is in the platform which he says he himself assisted in making.

Mr. VEST. It is in the new interpretation.

Mr. BACON. I do not put any interpretation upon it. I let the language speak for itself. I will read it. I ask the Senate if this language from the Chicago platform needs any interpretation?

We hold that the tariff duties should be levied for the purposes of revenue, such duties—

They are talking about nothing but duties—

to be so adjusted as to operate equally throughout the country and not discriminate between class or section.

I say that is plain; it does not need any interpretation, and yet as the distinguished Senator seems to think two constructions can be put upon it, it is proper to examine the construction. What is the object of the convention when it says that tariff duties shall be so levied that they shall operate equally throughout the country, unless, forsooth, the convention had in mind the fact that in the past the tariff laws had not been so framed as to operate equally throughout the country; unless they had in view the notorious, well-recognized fact that for a generation the tariff has been so framed that a particular class of industries has enjoyed all its benefits and a particular section of the country has been the one in which those particular industries have been most found, and that therefore it has operated in the past to the benefit of class and to the benefit of section? What else could they have meant? How did they propose to remedy it? They proposed to remedy it, if language means anything, by recognizing the fact that so far as an article comes within the legitimate range of a revenue duty it shall be included in a revenue tariff. What else could it mean? Do we not stultify ourselves when we seek to say that it means anything else?

Mr. President, that is all there is in the new evangel, that the country shall still levy a tariff for revenue purposes; but, recognizing the fact that wherever a revenue duty is laid it affects the price of the particular article upon which it is laid, recognizing the fact that there is an injustice in raising the price of one class of articles and leaving the other class unraised, the platform seeks to establish the principle and to inaugurate the plan by which there shall be a more general inclusion in a tariff bill than there has heretofore been of all articles upon which, legitimately, revenue can be raised. What other interpretation can be put upon it? I stand here and present an article which, according to the papers upon the Senators' desks, is one where a revenue duty of 20 per cent will place in the Treasury over $1,300,000.

Mr. President, I deny that there is any new evangel in this matter, so far as principle is concerned. On the contrary, I say it is a recognition of the great fundamental principle of the Democratic party as expounded by Jefferson, that the guiding star of the Government in its administration is that there shall be perfect equality in burden and benefit, and I say that it is an impossibility that there shall be an equality either of burden or benefit so long as one class of industries and one class of products have whatever benefit there may be in a tariff law and another class of industries and another class of products have no such benefit, keeping in view all the time that there should be only a tariff for revenue, because when you go beyond that you are doing that which these gentlemen and which I condemn, to wit, the taking of one man's property for the benefit of another.

Mr. GRAY. May I ask the Senator from Georgia a question?

Mr. BACON. Most undoubtedly.

Mr. GRAY. If the imposition of this tax should result largely in prohibiting the introduction of Egyptian or foreign cotton, the Senator thinks part of his object will be secured, does he not?

Mr. BACON. What is the question?

Mr. GRAY. If the proposed tax results in prohibiting in whole or in large part the importation of Egyptian or foreign cotton, would not the Senator think that his object had been attained?

Mr. BACON. No, sir; I would not; but I would be glad if the Senator, when he speaks of my object, would specify which particular object he means. He may have one idea and I another.

Mr. GRAY. Would he be content with the tax then?

Mr. BACON. No; I would not.

Mr. GRAY. The Senator would not?

Mr. BACON. No, sir.

Mr. GRAY. If it should result in reducing the importation of Egyptian or foreign cotton, then he would not be in favor of retaining the tax, for then it would not be a revenue tax.

Mr. BACON. The Senator goes a little too far when he says "if you succeed in reducing it." That depends upon how much the reduction is. If it were prohibition, I should oppose it.

Mr. GRAY. Suppose it should substantially reduce the revenue?

Mr. BACON. There is no revenue now.

Mr. GRAY. Suppose that by prohibition or the reduction of imports the revenue should be inconsiderable?

Mr. BACON. If the effect of the imposition of the tariff is to prohibit, practically, the introduction of cotton, I should not be in favor of that high tariff, because I am not in favor of a prohibitory tariff on anything. That is the answer to the question.

Mr. GRAY. The Senator is in favor, if I understand him aright——

Mr. CHILTON. Mr. President——

Mr. BACON. One at a time.

Mr. GRAY. I shall not interrupt the Senator from Georgia if he intimates to me that he prefers not to be interrupted.

Mr. BACON. I have not the slightest objection.

Mr. GRAY. I do not believe in breaking in on a speech.

Mr. MASON. Mr. President, I should like——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Delaware is speaking.

Mr. MASON. I simply ask for order, so that we may enjoy this family jar.

Mr. GRAY. I understood the Senator from Georgia to say that he is for a tariff for revenue, and that on the principle of a tariff for revenue he advocated this tax. Now, the question, which I do not think he has exactly answered——

Mr. BACON. I desire to say to the Senator that I am not in favor of a tariff for revenue only. I am opposed to any tariff that has not for its primary purpose the raising of revenue.

Mr. GRAY. Does not the Senator think that is Democratic doctrine?

Mr. BACON. But I am not one of those who object to a tariff by reason of the fact that somebody is going to get a benefit from it. I only object to a tariff so far as it is an injury and a burden.

Mr. GRAY. Does not the Senator think that a tariff for revenue only is good Democratic doctrine?

Mr. BACON. I do not think——

Mr. GRAY. The Georgia Democratic convention declared for a tariff for revenue only.

Mr. BACON. They followed the national platform which was adopted before that. I take the platform as it now exists.

Mr. GRAY. I have the Georgia platform before me, and it declares for revenue only.

Mr. BACON. We were loyal to the party and we adopted the platform just as the national convention of 1892 had adopted it, but the platform of 1896 does not say that, and I am one of those who stand upon the platform adopted at Chicago and agree to every line and every letter of it, and until it has been reversed by another national Democratic convention I am bound by it.

Mr. GRAY. Then I understand the Senator from Georgia to say that a tariff for revenue only is not Democratic doctrine to-day?

Mr. BACON. I mean to say that a tariff for revenue is Democratic doctrine.

Mr. GRAY. I said "for revenue only."

Mr. BACON. If the Senator means by the term "for revenue only" that in framing a tariff bill the Congress of the United States should have exclusive regard to the question how much money it will raise, and should utterly ignore the question whether it does justice or injustice to any particular section or any particular class or any particular person, then I say it is not Democratic.

Mr. GRAY. All right.

Mr. BACON. I say the Democratic doctrine is that primarily the object of a tariff is to raise revenue. I say that must be the great object, that without the necessity for revenue there should be no tariff; but as we have to raise revenue, when we raise it we ought to have regard for the needs, the necessities, and the advantages and disadvantages of different classes and different sections, so as to carry out the balance of the platform adopted at Chicago, to which I owe allegiance—

So adjusted as to operate equally throughout the country, and not discriminate between class or section.

Mr. GRAY. Mr. President——

Mr. BACON. So, if the learned Senator will permit me long enough to say it——

Mr. GRAY. I shall not interrupt the Senator if he objects.

Mr. BACON. I do not object to the interruption if the Senator will merely permit me to complete a sentence.

Mr. GRAY. I myself submit so freely to interruptions that perhaps I trespass upon others.

Mr. BACON. I am perfectly willing, and I think the Senator knows by experience that I do not object to interruptions.

Mr. GRAY. I think I do, and I think the Senator is right about it.

Mr. BACON. The Senator has so interrupted me that I am not sure that I am continuous in my expression. The Democratic doctrine and that upon which I stand, not only as a loyal Democrat, but which I believe as a man, is this: That a tariff should be a tariff for revenue; that that should be the prime purpose and object, but that in the levying of that tariff, keeping that primary

object always in view, there still ought to be a reference to the question of equality of burden and equality of benefit growing out of it; and that in the sense that the expression "tariff for revenue only" means that it shall ignore everything else but the question of the amount, that it shall be indifferent to equality and justice between sections and classes, it is not Democratic, and never has been so declared but once, and was repudiated by the party as soon as we had a lick at it.

Mr. GRAY. I will not interrupt the Senator again if he will allow me just there to say a word.

Mr. BACON. Certainly.

Mr. GRAY. If I understand the Senator then, being in favor of this tax because it is essentially a revenue tax, as he supposes, if it should result by its prohibitive effect in not producing sufficient revenue, he will not be in favor of it?

Mr. BACON. I would certainly not be in favor of it if it had the effect to prohibit importations.

As these Senators are so persistent upon that question, I want to see whether they are in favor of protection or not. I think that the very worst form of protection, the very rankest and most offensive and unjust form of protection that can be devised, is a tariff law which puts upon certain classes of products a tariff, and thus increases to the consumer the price of those articles, and at the same time says to the producers of another class of products, "You shall not have your property raised correspondingly, but the man that we have already benefited shall have the further benefit of getting your property at less than he would have had it if he was put on the same plane as yourself."

Now, let us see how that works. I want to see whether the distinguished Senators who take issue with me on this question are for equality or whether they hold to the purpose of protecting certain industries. Take any particular article that enters into the process of agriculture, in the raising of cotton, for instance. Take the man who makes plows. You put a tariff upon the importation of plows of a certain kind which he is obliged to use, so that the manufacturer gets 50 per cent more for those plows than he would otherwise get. When the cotton planter comes to carry on his business he has to use those plows and has to pay the 50 per cent increase on the price.

In the same bill you say that cotton shall be free. Now, for the purpose of argument, we will assume that if a tariff were put upon the cotton it would raise the price of the cotton correspondingly to the rise in the price of the plows. Then the putting of a tariff upon plows and the putting of a tariff upon cotton would be equal in its operation, because while the cotton planter paid that much more for his plows he would get that much more for his product, and there would be an equilibrium. But when you say, "We will put it on the plows and we will deny it to the man who has to use the plows as to his product," you are taking from that man who makes cotton his product at a less price and you are giving the benefit of that reduced price to the other man who makes plows. Are you not in that way benefiting the one to the loss of the other?

Senators grow eloquent on the subject of lumber and say that lumber is manufactured into furniture and the man who manufactures the furniture has to use lumber. You have a tariff on furniture. The price of that furniture is raised by reason of the tariff. The manufacturer of lumber has to buy the furniture, but you say to him, "You shall have no tariff upon your lumber." If there was a tariff on lumber, the price would be raised, and he would have a corresponding elevation of prices. But you say to him that the man who makes the furniture, in whose favor the Senator from Delaware grew so eloquent, shall have the lumber of the man at a less rate than he would have had it if the law dealt equally with each one. Is not that protection? Is it not the worst form of protection, because there is no possibility of excuse of any revenue feature in it?

Mr. President, I will not detain the Senate. I desire to say, however, as we have been talking about platforms, that you may look through the Democratic platforms for the last forty years, further back than that, to the period the Senator from Missouri himself referred to, and you will find that while here and there there are extreme expressions, through them all has run that recognition of the great fundamental Democratic doctrine of equality, and while all have held that the principle that tariff for revenue is the guiding star, that it should never be lost sight of, at the same time they have held that it is proper in the framing of a tariff bill to have regard to the question of equality between different occupations and different industries, so that there might be no injustice to the one at the expense of the other.

Mr. President, if Senators are free traders, then their argument is good. If they are free traders, then it is right to oppose every feature in a tariff bill. If they are not free traders, if they recognize that there should be a tariff, if they recognize that the Government can not be supported properly in any other way than by a tariff, if they are opposed to inaugurating direct taxation and wish to adhere to the collection of revenues, in the main, upon imports, then it is not a question whether every tariff rate is necessarily unjust, but it is a question as to whether a particular article has too high a rate of duty put upon it or whether from any particular reason it should be excepted from the general rule, which would put upon all imports equality of tariff, at least approximately.

Mr. President, as I said the other day, the great defect in the protective-tariff system is the impossibility of equality in its operation. The great defect in it is that it does not benefit all men alike, and that consequently burdens are placed out of which result greater benefits to some than to others. But that is an inseparable and unavoidable characteristic of a tariff so long as we have no uniformity of tariffs. So long as that is necessary, the highest obligation to my mind is the obligation to see to it that tariffs are as near as possible equal.

Now, Mr. President, only a single word more and I have done. Certainly I had no expectation of occupying the time of the Senate. Senators have time and again spoken of the fact that my State is interested in the particular articles upon which I advocated duties. Is that a good argument? If I advocate any duty which is not right in itself, then that of itself is a sufficient argument against it; but if the argument that it will affect some industry in my State is pressed, I say that of itself is not a good argument. I am free to say, and I do not hesitate to say, that while I will not abandon the view which I hold as to the impropriety of a protective tariff, I am not indifferent to the fact that my people will be injured or benefited according as this tariff bill is equal or unequal in its operations.

I propose, so far as I am able, not to do that which is improper, not to seek to get that which ought not to be granted because somebody else may succeed in getting it. I have no patience with any such doctrine as that. But I do say that so far as I am able, recognizing the propriety of a tariff duty, of a tariff for revenue, I do propose to see to it, so far as I am able, that the industries in my part of the country shall be placed upon an equality with those in other parts of the country.

Mr. President, if I may quote from the Bible, there is an expression in it somewhere substantially to the effect that the man who will not provide for his own, and specially for those of his own house, is worse than an infidel; and so far as I am able, without going outside of the lines which I recognize as proper, so far as I am able within legitimate limits in what I consider to be revenue duties, I propose to see that the industries in my State have the same impositions that are made upon the products of other States.

Mr. STEWART. Mr. President, I regret that I do not understand a good deal of the language that is being used in the debate. Consequently I do not enjoy the debate on the tariff question as much as I otherwise would. For example, when I hear some talking about a tariff for revenue and others talking about a tariff for protection, I am very much confused by those two names for tariff. I do not know why a tariff should have those two names, as if there were any difference in a tariff. I am for a tariff for protection, and I am for a tariff for revenue. Any tariff whatever upon any article will have a tendency to some extent to enhance its price, because the imported article must pay for coming in. It has that tendency because it keeps out the imported article. The only tariff for revenue which would not have that tendency would be a tariff on articles not produced in this country. That is the only real revenue tariff in any just sense.

The only item in a revenue tariff that I have heard suggested for a good many years, ever since the war tariff was first modified, is the one brought in by the Committee on Finance to put a duty on tea. That is purely a revenue tariff. The amendment of the Senator from Georgia [Mr. BACON], which I believe is a good amendment and for a good purpose, is purely a protective tariff as well. The Senator from South Carolina [Mr. MCLAURIN] gets up and says that is not true: that there is nothing in this country to protect by your tariff, because Egyptian cotton is taking the place of the long-staple cotton in the islands of his part of the country; that they have been driven out of the business in a vast region. Twenty per cent ad valorem is proposed. The rate ought to be more; it ought to be 2 or 3 cents a pound. But if you make any charge upon the importation, it will make the Egyptian cotton more expensive, and if the rate is sufficient the farmers in his State who raised long-staple island cotton will be enabled to go into the business again. It will have that tendency. It will have a protective tendency. It may not be sufficient protection, but anything that keeps out foreign competition has a tendency to protect American industry. It may not be adequate protection, but you can not raise revenue at all without shutting out foreign competition to the extent of that revenue. That is the fact. It raises the price of what they have to pay to bring it in, and consequently it protects home industries.

All this talk about what is a protective tariff and what is a revenue tariff is Greek to me. I do not understand it. It is confusing. For example, suppose you put a duty of 10 cents a pound on

an article, and the article is worth $10 a pound in the market. You say that rate is so reasonable that it would be only a revenue tariff. But suppose there should be some new device invented whereby it could be produced for 10 cents a pound in the foreign market, then the rate would be 100 per cent ad valorem and it would be prohibitory. It would be protection, but it would be a prohibitory tariff. There is no such thing as a revenue tariff on an article produced in this country that is not protective in its nature, and there is no such thing as a protective tariff not absolutely prohibitory which is not a revenue tariff.

I can understand people when they say they are opposed to a prohibitory tariff. I am opposed to a prohibitory tariff. I am in favor of a protective-revenue tariff. I can understand that very well. But in order that a revenue tariff shall not be protective, it must be put upon things not raised in this country or it must be so high as to be absolutely prohibitive, so that it will produce no revenue.

All this talk about revenue and protection and about a change of a half cent or some little change to bring it into one classification and then into another is too refined for me. We hear Senators talking about those things for hours and hours. I can not make those classifications. They confuse me. Please talk in some language that I can understand. I have been thinking about this matter for thirty years, and you have a new language here that I do not understand. I hear Senators talking about the slightest change, but it is the difference between tweedledum and tweedledee. Yet they say one rate will make it protective and the other rate will make it a revenue tariff.

Now, that is my view. I believe in a good many things that the Senator from Georgia said. He said he desires to equalize the tariff as far as in human skill it can be done, and that when a man has to pay a higher price for what he buys he would compensate him if he could by giving him a higher price for what he has to sell; that he would protect all alike. That is the kind of a tariff that I am in favor of. We all agree that we shall have a protective tariff. There are no free traders in the country. The Wilson Act has not a free-trade clause in it. There are no prohibitory duties absolutely in it; but that is not free trade. There is no article taxed that I know of in that act but what is produced in this country. It is a protective law, as is every law that has been passed. Its principle is protection from beginning to end, and nothing else. Every tariff bill that the Democratic party has ever passed has been a protective bill absolutely.

The Democratic party is as thoroughly committed to protection as the Republican party. There is no difference, so far as the principle is concerned, if you look at the acts. Bring me the acts passed by either party, and I will show you that they are built upon the same principle of protection precisely; that there is no difference in the principle upon which they are built. The only question is as to the legislative acts, and these agree. I do not care for your platforms, what you have said in the vague planks of your platforms that had no meaning at all, that nobody could interpret; but in your legislative acts both parties have been from time immemorial protective parties, and the only question was how to levy that protection so it would be fair.

The Senator from Georgia is acting right when he says that he will try to look out for his own constituents. That is the only means by which a fair protective tariff can be levied. What do we have representatives from different sections for except to represent the interests of our constituents? A Senator near me suggests that we are also here to get offices for our friends. That is not true, because only part of us ever have a chance to do that. The offices are always monopolized by one side or the other. We are all here to see to the various interests in our parts of the country, to enact laws to protect them equally and live under equal laws.

When a gentleman from one section of the country says that an article is raw material and it is raised in his section, and although his people have labored to produce it, there is no duty on it at all; that he will have no protection; that the laboring men in his State may be brought in competition with the Asiatics and he does not care how much they suffer in that competition; that he has a theory that raw material should not be taxed; that everything produced in his section should be treated as raw material; that although his people labor in the fields to produce it, they shall labor in competition with the Asiatics, he says that those who live in cities and live by manufacturing shall buy in the free-trade market there in his State or in Asia or elsewhere, and sell in a protected market, and that his constituents, after having sold in a free-trade market, shall be compelled to buy in a protected market and build up the manufacturers.

It is the duty of every Senator and every Representative to look to the interests in his own State and to see that they are protected, for otherwise we shall never have fair tariff laws. If the tariff laws are unfair, it is because Senators in different sections have not looked after the interests of their constituents. If New England is built up and is more prosperous than the other sections, it is because the representatives of New England have always seen to it that everything that comes to New England shall come as raw material, and that everything New England sells is a completed product to be sold in a protected market. Every section of the country should look to its own interests as New England does. We would then have the thing distributed, and the tariff would not be so unequal and unfair, and there would not be so much agitation.

Equality, as the Senator from Georgia says, is what we are seeking for, and I am glad to see a representative from Georgia and the South—and there are several of them—crying out for this principle of equality, because we are going to have a protective tariff under any Administration, and it is the duty of the South to get her share, and of the West to do the same. Then there will be less complaint.

Here is the place to carry that contest on. It is honorable for each section and for the Senators from each section, representing the rights of their constituents, to see that that is accomplished: and that being done, the tariff may be equalized and so modified that it will not create such inequalities as to destroy the party responsible for it.

Every tariff has brought disaster to the party which has framed it on account of its inequalities. It is almost impossible for any party to go before the country successfully after having passed a tariff bill because of the glaring inconsistencies which will be pointed out in it. People living out in my section of the country will say, "Why has not our labor in the production of a certain article as much right to protection as the labor of the people in New England? We are out in the field; we are herding our sheep; we are cutting hay to feed the sheep; we are shearing them; we are working all the time"—it requires a great deal of work to produce wool—"and we are competing with Asia, with South America and Mexico, where the laborers are paid starvation wages. Why should not we be protected as well as the woolen manufacturers?"

As to every article there will be dissatisfaction, and no tariff law will stand the glaring inequalities which will creep into it if the theory of free raw material is indulged in for a moment, because every man regards everything as raw material which comes to his shop to be manufactured, and everything which he produces is a completed article so far as he is concerned, and he wants a tariff on that. We must recognize the fundamental principle that nothing is raw material upon which labor has been bestowed. If we are to protect labor, I hope we shall recognize the fact that all labor is equally entitled to protection, and that all tariff, by whatever name, upon articles produced in this country is protective, and the name will not change it; it will only confuse matters and lead to further agitation.

Mr. CAFFERY. Mr. President, the Senator from Nevada [Mr. STEWART], in my opinion, has correctly characterized the position of the Senator from Georgia [Mr. BACON] in his application or demand for a tariff upon cotton. He states that this tariff is bound to be protective, that the idea of revenue is incidental, the idea of protection is paramount.

Mr. BACON. Does the Senator hold the same view with reference to the tariff on sugar?

Mr. CAFFERY. I would gladly answer the Senator from Georgia, but on two occasions he has declined to answer my questions, and I decline peremptorily to yield to him.

Mr. BACON. Well, sir——

Mr. CAFFERY. I do not want to be interrupted.

Mr. BACON. I accept that status as between us with pleasure.

Mr. CAFFERY. You made the status yourself, and you must lie on your own bed.

Mr. BACON. Very well. That is a deprivation which I shall endeavor to bear up under.

Mr. CAFFERY. I hope you will have the patience and fortitude to stand it. I am sure it will not disturb my equanimity one particle.

Mr. President, the proposition that is laid down by the Senator from Georgia is that the statement of the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST] in regard to the tariff on raw materials, or his interpretation of the tariff in a particular instance, was based upon a bald assertion, and that assertions never made arguments, and that he would proceed to argue the question; and forthwith he made as bald a statement to predicate his argument upon, without any support of reason or fact to back it; and the statement was that a 20 per cent ad valorem tariff was not protective. This statement was made broadly. It did not stop at the tariff of 20 per cent that he asked upon cotton, but he made the bald, general statement that a 20 per cent ad valorem tariff was not protective. Mr. President, these invectives, these disclaimers against unsupported, bald statements seem to come home to the Senator from Georgia with great force.

Why is not a 20 per cent ad valorem tariff under certain conditions absolutely protective, and sometimes prohibitive? It clearly depends upon the margin of difference as between the value of the home article and the foreign article imported, that is all; and a

tariff of 20 per cent ad valorem in certain cases would not only work high protection, but in other cases would work prohibition.

Another statement made by the Senator from Georgia is that the tariff proposed by him would not raise the price of cotton; that the tariff of 20 per cent would have no effect of raising the price of domestic cotton.

Again, the Senator states that he is in favor of laying a tariff all along the line upon any article that will produce revenue, without any sort of regard to the Treasury itself. Therefore, when this proposed bill, according to the statement of the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH], would produce a surplus of $50,000,000, he proposes to pick out something else, pick out cotton, to swell this $50,000,000 with an additional million or so of dollars. Is that Democratic argument or any other sort of argument? Are tariffs to be raised simply for the purpose of swelling the volume of money in the Treasury? That is the bald proposition made that, notwithstanding all the money that is now in the Treasury and that is proposed to be placed in the Treasury, you must still increase the taxation upon the people in order to follow out this theory that taxes must be laid all along the line upon any and every article that will produce the slightest amount of revenue.

Mr. MCLAURIN. May I be allowed to ask the Senator from Louisiana a question?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Louisiana yield to the Senator from South Carolina?

Mr. CAFFERY. Yes, sir.

Mr. MCLAURIN. Would the Senator be willing to make a little reduction of the duty on sugar and place a little on cotton, adjusting it between the two articles in such a way as not to increase the revenue?

Mr. CAFFERY. I see that the bad precedent set by my friend the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] in his various attempts to put me in a hole on sugar are being followed by my colleagues on this side. [Laughter.]

Mr. HOAR. Some other Senators seem to have got into a hole also.

Mr. CAFFERY. The Senator from Massachusetts crawls out of his little casemate once in a while, and now he pokes out his head and asks if there is not somebody else in a hole. Now, Mr. President, I will say that I favor a tariff upon sugar not because I live in a sugar State. While I am not the most unselfish human being in the world, and claim no right to any immaculate purity in any direction, I believe that I favor a tariff on sugar solely upon account of its revenue-producing qualities, and I would be perfectly willing to lower the tariff upon sugar in any line that would benefit the public, but not place it on your cotton, because I believe that would be harmful to the public, would be harmful to the United States, and of no good whatever to the cotton growers of the South.

While the Senator from Georgia, with very great vehemence and no inconsiderable amount of ingenuity and ability, disclaims any idea of protection, he wound up his discourse and argument by a quotation, as he said, substantially from the Scriptures, to this effect, that a man who will not take care of his own household is worse than an infidel. So, however much the Senator may claim he is not for protection, his Scriptural quotation entirely negatives his statement. He has taken care of his household, and that is what he is after. He is for a tariff upon cotton, because he thinks it will do some good somewhere. With an overflowing Treasury we do not want the money, but it is merely for the purpose of taking care of the household gods of the Senator from Georgia that he demands that the Senate of the United States adopt this amendment.

The argument of the Senator from Missouri is entirely conclusive; the admission of the Senator from Georgia is to the same effect, that a tariff upon cotton will not raise the price of domestic cotton, but it will disturb and hurt the domestic manufacturer, it will prevent him, if this tariff should happen to be prohibitory, or if it should work so that the Egyptian cotton would not be imported and the manufacture of that cotton into cloth should be transferred or largely take place in England or some other foreign country—in that event, the American manufacturer would be disturbed and hurt without any compensation whatever to anybody.

I am not one of those who think there is any antagonism between one business in the United States and another when conducted upon legitimate principles. I believe that the tariff has been piled upon manufactured articles in the country unnecessarily. The tariff upon domestic manufactures had its origin in the debts and troubles growing out of the war of 1812; and the hardest thing in the world is to remedy a settled evil; the hardest thing in the world is to take the protective hand off of the throat of the country when once it is placed there. There never has been, in my opinion, any necessity for the placing of a tariff upon the domestic manufactures of cotton in this country for protection. Our natural advantages, our possession of the whole domestic product in cotton, the ingenuity, the genius of our people have, in my opinion, always been enough protection for the cotton manufacturer. But this business has grown up under the guise, under the shelter of protection; and when once a business is grown up and built up, protected and sustained by a tariff, then the legislator, in removing that tariff, must proceed with due caution and consideration to those interested.

The Democratic party, prior to 1861, was rapidly taking steps in the direction of free trade. It has been asserted in this Chamber that there was no free trade in it. When a Democrat plants himself upon a tariff for revenue only, he comes as near to being a free trader as the Constitution of the United States will permit; and that is the sort of a Democrat I am. Free trade has no terrors for me—not one particle—and I believe that when the manufacturing interests of this country develop into larger and greater proportions than they now have, the enlightened self-interest of New England itself will take the initiative step in the direction of free trade in cotton and other manufactures. Under present conditions the tariff must rest upon imported articles. In placing a tariff upon imported articles it is essential, in order to follow out the creed of Democracy, announced in every convention, in every platform of the party, if not expressly, by necessary implication, that the tariff should be placed upon articles which produce most revenue with the least burden to the people.

The primary object is that the money collected by the tax upon consumption should go into the Federal coffers. It is not the purpose of the Democracy, I understand, to build up protected interests in any direction, in any form, and you inevitably do so when you place a tariff upon raw material. That tariff is bound to be recouped in the manufactured product, and that tariff, therefore, does not go entirely, or nearly so, as it should, into the Federal Treasury, especially in cases of domestic manufactures which nearly supply the domestic demand, for the ratio then of the receipt into the Treasury is very small in proportion to the receipts into the pockets of the protected interests.

Sir, I have been attempted to be twitted about sugar. It appears that certain Senators can not understand how a Democrat can be born and reared in the atmosphere of protection and yet be true to his principles. They do not seem to understand that because there is an interest, a small interest in sugar, an infinitesimal interest almost, compared with the great volume of the consumption of sugar in the United States, therefore, a man can be lifted out of a narrow, selfish condition and stand forth an honest and patriotic Democrat.

It is not because sugar is raised in my section of the country that I am a Democrat; it is because I believe in the truth-grounded principles of the Democratic party and their broad and comprehensive humanity. I believe that any other principle of taxation than the Democratic principle of taxation bears with a heavy hand upon the toiling masses of the people. I believe that this tariff for protection is the remnant of the monopoly of privileges of the Middle Ages. I believe that it gives the right to the protected man to place his hands in the pocket of labor; and that, in my opinion, is diametrically opposed to every principle of the Democratic party. "Equal rights to all, special privileges to none," is the declaration of the immortal founder of the Democratic party; and can you comply with that declaration when, by an imposition of protective tariffs, you build up monopolists and privileged classes, legalized to rob and plunder the people? That, in my opinion, is the tendency of the protective idea, and I believe that the doom of that idea is at hand to-day. I believe the handwriting is on the wall.

When the Senator from Rhode Island got up and confessed the failure of protection, it occurred to me that he had a forecast of the doom to come of his protective theories. He had to borrow the Democratic principle for revenue in order to eke out a surplus necessary to uphold the credit of the nation; he had to go to the rejected article of sugar; he had to go to beer, and also tea—to place a tariff upon tea and beer, to be retained until that blessed time shall come when an overflowing Treasury can dispense with them, confessing weakness, confessing the inability or incompetency of a tariff based upon protective principles to meet what the Republican party deems a public exigency.

Protection is a failure, in the words of its apostle; it has passed out. The United States is reaching abroad for the markets of the world. No longer are we an agricultural people exclusively. Of late years we have displayed the greatest ability, the greatest proficiency, in the manufacturing line, and now the United States challenges the supremacy of England itself.

Mr. President, let us buy our ships where we can. Take down the barriers, lower the wall, and our ships will plow the seas, and the proceeds of our manufactures will be in every market of the world.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the amendment proposed by the Senator from Georgia [Mr. BACON].

Mr. VEST. On that I call for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CLAY (when his name was called). I am paired with the

junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE], but I transfer that pair to the senior Senator from Kentucky [Mr. LINDSAY] and vote "yea."

Mr. GORMAN (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Maine [Mr. FRYE].

Mr. HANSBROUGH (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Virginia [Mr. DANIEL].

Mr. LINDSAY (when his name was called). On this vote I am paired with the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE]. I do not know how he would vote, but if he were present, I should vote "nay."

Mr. MITCHELL (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SEWELL].

Mr. PROCTOR (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Florida [Mr. MALLORY].

Mr. ROACH (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Nevada [Mr. JONES]. If he were present, I should vote "nay."

Mr. WARREN (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Washington [Mr. TURNER]. If he were present and voting, I should vote "yea."

Mr. WILSON (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Florida [Mr. PASCO]. If he were present, I should vote "yea." I do not know how he would vote.

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. CHANDLER (after having voted in the affirmative). I inquire if the senior Senator from New York [Mr. MURPHY] has voted?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. He has not voted.

Mr. CHANDLER. Then I withdraw my vote, as I am paired with that Senator.

The result was announced—yeas 42, nays 19; as follows:

YEAS—42.

Allen,	Elkins,	McEnery,	Quay,
Allison,	Fairbanks,	McLaurin,	Rawlins,
Bacon,	Foraker,	McMillan,	Shoup,
Burrows,	Gallinger,	Mantle,	Spooner,
Butler,	Gear,	Mason,	Stewart,
Cannon,	Hale,	Nelson,	Thurston,
Carter,	Hanna,	Penrose,	Tillman,
Clay,	Hawley,	Perkins,	Wellington,
Cullom,	Heitfeld,	Platt, Conn.	Wetmore.
Davis,	Hoar,	Platt, N. Y.	
Deboe,	McBride,	Pritchard,	

NAYS—19.

Bate,	Faulkner,	Martin,	Turpie,
Berry,	Gray,	Mills,	Vest,
Caffery,	Jones, Ark.	Morgan,	Walthall,
Chilton,	Kenney,	Pettus,	White.
Cockrell,	Kyle,	Smith,	

NOT VOTING—28.

Aldrich,	Gorman,	Mallory,	Roach,
Baker,	Hansbrough,	Mitchell,	Sewell,
Chandler,	Harris, Kans.	Morrill,	Teller,
Clark,	Harris, Tenn.	Murphy,	Turner,
Daniel,	Jones, Nev.	Pasco,	Warren,
Frye,	Lindsay,	Pettigrew,	Wilson,
George,	Lodge,	Proctor,	Wolcott.

So the amendment was agreed to.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The reading of the bill will be proceeded with.

The Secretary read as follows:

226. Macaroni, vermicelli, and all similar preparations, 2 cents per pound.

Mr. VEST. It seems to be useless to have any votes, but I simply wish to call attention to a few facts. In paragraph 226 the duty is raised upon a food product, macaroni, from 20 to 58 per cent, an increase of 38 per cent. It is very well known that macaroni is manufactured in this country, but we do not manufacture any macaroni equal to the foreign article. But this is an entirely consistent tax as our friends on the other side are framing the present bill. It is intended by taxation to force the people of this country to eat American macaroni whether they like it or not.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 229, line 6, before the word "cents," to strike out "two" and insert "one and one-half;" in line 9, before the words "per pound," to strike out "1½ cents" and insert "eight-tenths of 1 cent;" and in line 12, after the word "sieve," to strike out "one-half" and insert "one-fourth;" so as to make the paragraph read:

229. Rice, cleaned, 1½ cents per pound; uncleaned rice, or rice free of the outer hull and still having the inner cuticle on, eight-tenths of 1 cent per pound; rice flour, and rice meal, and rice broken which will pass through a sieve known commercially as No. 12 wire sieve, one-fourth of 1 cent per pound; paddy, or rice having the outer hull on, three-fourths of 1 cent per pound.

Mr. PRITCHARD. I should like to have the paragraph passed over informally.

Mr. ALLISON. The majority of the committee recommend the restoration of the House rates in the first bracket and also in the second bracket. They recommend the withdrawal of amendments Nos. 1 and 2 in this paragraph.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from North Carolina request that the paragraph shall be passed over?

Mr. PRITCHARD. I withdraw the request.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Iowa moves that the Senate disagree to the amendments he has named.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. It is not often that we get an opportunity to vote with the majority of the Committee on Finance. I want to vote with the committee occasionally, and I ask for the yeas and nays. I am not willing to disagree to the proposed Senate amendment.

Mr. WHITE. There are a couple of communications here which I have received from people in my State, which I desire to have read.

The Secretary read as follows:

SAN FRANCISCO, *May 4, 1897.*

DEAR SIR: We have before us the new Dingley bill regarding the rice tariff, and learn to-day that representatives from the South are not satisfied with the proposed law, but want to increase the duty on uncleaned rice.

We take the liberty to address you on this subject and ask your intervention in the interest of this Coast, as you have been kind enough to do when the rice tariff of the Wilson bill was discussed.

We can not possibly object to the protection afforded the Southern rice planters by an increase in duty on cleaned rice, and if the rate is fixed at 2 cents per pound as proposed by the new measure, no harm will be done to California. The Hawaiian grower will reap part of this benefit and the Government will share another part thereof. Chinese importations will continue because our Chinese population is averse to using other than Chinese rice.

What we object to is an increase of duty on "uncleaned rice," because it would destroy an industry on this coast which has only lately been developed and would compel us to shut down our mills when just about to earn an interest on the capital and labor invested.

The present differential duty—eight-tenths of a cent per pound on uncleaned rice, with duty of 1½ cents per pound on cleaned rice—is barely sufficient to pay the cost of milling. If the Dingley bill, proposing 1½ cents per pound on uncleaned rice and 2 cents per pound on cleaned rice, is carried through, we will have hard work to keep our mills running without a loss.

We are of the impression that the demand of the Southern planters is unjust and unreasonable. The Louisiana rice miller has no market here, and no matter how high the duty on uncleaned rice is fixed the Hawaiian Islands will always supply us as long as the reciprocity treaty is in force.

The increased duty on uncleaned rice over and above the same proportion as it is fixed by the Wilson bill in relation to duty on cleaned rice would be equal to wiping out the existing rice mills on this coast, depriving a large number of workingmen of their earnings, besides the total loss of capital invested in buildings and machinery, and, to all appearances, without the least benefit to those who propose this measure.

We earnestly request you to use your influence in favor of the existing rates of duty on uncleaned rice; and, as far as paddy is concerned, we have already found it impossible to import the same at the rate of the McKinley and Wilson bills, although we have originally prepared our mills for this kind of rice. Any increase of over 80 cents per hundred pounds on uncleaned rice will make it impossible for our business to exist.

If we understand the tendency of protection correctly, the principal aim is to encourage home industry by free admittance of the raw material, and if we only ask to be protected by a duty not exceeding 25 cents per hundred pounds on paddy, 80 cents per hundred pounds on uncleaned rice, and $2 per hundred pounds on cleaned rice, as demanded by the Southern interests, it seems a very moderate request.

Hoping this will receive your immediate attention, we remain,

Respectfully, yours,

HINZ & PLAGEMANN.

Hon. STEPHEN M. WHITE.

Mr. WHITE. The other communication which I ask to have read is a copy of a letter addressed to the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH].

The Secretary read as follows:

SAN FRANCISCO, *May 18, 1897.*

SIR: In the public prints we find a notice which Senator BUTLER has given of an amendment to the lately prepared Senate bill on rice, increasing the rates to: Cleaned, 2 cents per pound; uncleaned, 1½ cents per pound; paddy, 1 cent per pound.

We are importers of rice, especially in the uncleaned state, it being afterwards milled by a local rice mill. By close watching and economical work we have succeeded in finding a market for our rice, particularly in such districts as the Louisiana is not directly interested. Under the rates proposed by Mr. BUTLER, it becomes very questionable whether we will be able to continue rice importations in the future, thus giving the Hawaiian rice, which under the reciprocity treaty comes in free of duty, a clear field.

So far as we are able to judge, the Wilson tariff gives ample protection to the home rice interests. No doubt your committee had good reasons for changing the rates proposed by the House back to those of the Wilson bill.

We have before us an article in the Louisiana Planter of the 9th of January, issue No. 2, in which is given the history of a committee of gentlemen from Louisiana and South Carolina before the Ways and Means Committee, explaining, on their part, the reasons why an advance over the existing rates should be made, and we beg leave to take up the different arguments which they have made, and which, in our opinion, do not hold good.

1. "In the two Carolinas, Louisiana, and Georgia the crops had been reduced one-half by the reduction of the tariff, on account of the competition of Asiatic cheap labor."

This is not based on facts. Prices on rice declined owing to the large crops produced in Louisiana and the other States, and the eagerness of the holders to dispose of their products. This was done to such an extent that it considerably reduced the importations of Hawaiian rice, lowering the price of the same to 3½ cents. The importation of Japan and other foreign rice was likewise curtailed, but we could not follow the decline of the market, as the cost and the high duty which we have to pay would not permit us to do so. However, there is a certain trade for Japan rice which, to secure the same, is willing to pay a higher price. Thus, during the constant decline from the spring of 1895 to 1896, the prices of Japan rice hardly varied, except in accordance with the fluctuations of the Japan markets.

We may add further that during the time mentioned all rice markets were weak. You will therefore see that it was not the competition of cheap Asiatic labor, but a state of affairs brought about by the Southern planters and millers themselves.

2. "It was stated in the opening that the annual consumption of rice in this country was about 228,000,000 pounds, valued at $6,840,000, and that destruction

to the industry was threatened by foreign capital and foreign cheap labor. The committee asked that, in framing the new tariff bill, the definitions in the present law be retained, and that the rates on the different grades of rice be fixed on a parity with each other according to values."

It appears to us that the consumption of rice is considerably in excess of the above-mentioned quantity. However, the imports of foreign rice are regulated by our home crops. When the latter are large, the imports will fall off, and with small crops we have to look to other countries to secure our requirements. Up to December 1, 1893, the imports amounted to 73,530,608 pounds against 109,937,552 at the same time in 1893. The last domestic crop was small, and consequently a larger business was done in the foreign article.

3. "If cleaned rice is required to pay a duty of 2 cents per pound, the relation of values of the imported article to the cost of production will be only in a measure restored to what was obtained under the old tariff, while the duty of 1¼ cents a pound on rice, uncleaned, will approximately maintain the true parity, according to the values of cleaned rice and uncleaned rice, and at the same time give ample protection to the interest of the American miller."

Our Southern friends wish to make the committee believe that 50 cents per 100 pounds would be an ample protection for the American miller. The outturn of uncleaned rice varies according to the different kinds of rice from different countries. While Japan, being the most favorable, will turn out about 80 per cent, Java will not give more than 75 to 78 per cent, according to quality, and Rangoon will run even as low as 60 per cent. The duty is payable on the gross weight of the rice. Thus, at the rate of 1¼ cents, it amounts to 1¼ cents on the polished rice, leaving only one-eighth of a cent margin, which is not sufficient to pay even the expenses of storage and cartage, while the offal will not cover the cost of milling. You will readily see that with the other grades the result is still more unfavorable. Two cents per pound duty for polished rice is prohibitive, except in times of a total failure of our domestic crops, and then it would only mean an unnecessary increase in the cost of an article of consumption for our poorer classes, and could only be overcome by placing the duty on uncleaned rice on such a basis that it would pay the American miller to import it, and which, if we understand correctly, is the tendency of the proposed protective tariff—to provide for this margin.

4. "It has been our sad experience that the boldest and most active and successful attacks upon the interests of the producers of rice in the legislation upon the tariff have come from two individuals in New York, who have erected machines of inexpensive character for polishing into cleaned rice the article which has been imported under the name of uncleaned rice."

We believe this may have been true to some extent when, under the former decision of the General Appraisers, rice which went under the commercial name of "rice in the meal" was permitted as uncleaned in New York, and which did not require much machinery for cleaning. However, the Wilson tariff has abrogated this and a distinction between this and uncleaned rice has been maintained since then.

The mill which is located in San Francisco was originally intended to mill "paddy," but was hardly in a fair way of promising good results, even under the old McKinley tariff, with a difference of 1¼ cents between this and cleaned rice, when the Wilson bill, with a reduction to 80 cents, gave a new impetus to the business, and although large returns were not obtained, a fair rate of interest was secured on the capital invested.

5. "Although this interest is confined, as far as known, to these two persons in New York and one other person owning a similar machine in San Francisco, employing about ten operatives, who appear as the American millers, importing uncleaned rice."

We are not prepared to say what the New York mills can do, but, judging by the imports, their capacity must be quite considerable. As to the little mill in San Francisco, it turns out, in busy times, 600 bags of 100 pounds each per day. Furthermore, there is a somewhat smaller mill in Portland and another in Seattle.

As to "paddy," it is impossible to work it at the rate of 75 cents, which is readily explained by its turnout being only 50 per cent on the harder kinds of rice; much less on soft rice, such as Java and India rice.

Concerning China rice, the higher duty on cleaned would probably be an inducement for the Chinese in our country to purchase rice which is milled here, and which, under the Wilson tariff, we also attempted to do, with small success as to its sale.

As to an advance in the duty on cleaned rice to 2 cents, we do not care to give an opinion, but we would suggest that the duties now levied under the Wilson bill on uncleaned rice remain undisturbed, and that, to provide for home industry in the full sense of its meaning, the rate on "paddy" be reduced, so that we may be enabled to import the article in this state, receiving the full benefit of all the work that has to be performed in producing the cleaned rice.

We trust that, in view of the general benefit to be derived from the present tariff provision, you will excuse us for intruding on your time.

Yours, respectfully,

PARROTT & CO.

Hon. NELSON W. ALDRICH,
Chairman Finance Committee, Washington, D. C.

Mr. McLAURIN. The proposed legislation in regard to rice involves an important industry in South Carolina, and I should like to understand if it is proposed to return to the House rate.

Mr. ALLISON. The rates proposed are the rates of the other House, except upon broken rice.

Mr. McLAURIN. What rate is proposed on broken rice?

Mr. ALLISON. One-quarter of a cent per pound.

Mr. McLAURIN. There is no change in the classification?

Mr. ALLISON. No change in the classification and no change in the rate except on broken rice.

Mr. McLAURIN. Mr. President, there is a matter connected with the rice industry of more importance even than the rates of duty; I refer to the classification under which the rice is imported. I send to the Clerk's desk and ask to have read a letter on this subject from an intelligent rice planter in South Carolina.

The Secretary read as follows:

McCLELLANVILLE, S. C., *April 9, 1897.*

DEAR SIR: I learn from the papers that the tariff bill has passed the House and is now in the Senate. The bill is apparently all right, but it will not stand a close examination. It appears on its face that the rice planters have a protection of 2 cents per pound, which, if true, would do very well.

Uncleaned rice, or rice with the outer hull on, is dutiable at the rate of 1¼ cents per pound. Such rice can be brushed or polished by the millers for one-eighth of a cent per pound. You see that class of rice could be placed on the market at a duty of 1.37 cents per pound. For this reason there would be no cleaned rice imported, since it would be more profitable to import the uncleaned rice.

Rough or paddy rice is dutiable at three-fourths of a cent per pound. Now, to illustrate how it would work with this class of rice, 44 pounds of rough rice is a bushel, and the mills in Charleston charge 8 cents for cleaning a bushel. The duty on 44 pounds at three-fourths of a cent per pound would be 33 cents; add 8 cents for milling and we have a total of 41 cents. The 44 pounds of rough rice will turn out 30 pounds of clean rice and about 2 pounds of small rice and rice flour. So you see rough rice can be imported and turned into clean rice at a dutiable rate of about 1½ cents per pound. This again, would be cheaper than the duty on cleaned rice.

The small rice and rice flour come in at a very low rate indeed, and are used by the brewers for making beer. I think that those who drink rice can afford to pay as much duty as those who eat it. There are great frauds perpetrated through the importation of this class of rice. Whole rice can be mixed with it and smuggled through the custom-house, and then separated and put on the market at a low rate.

As the bill stands, there is but little in it for the rice planter. It favors the mill owner and the speculator. I would suggest to you to have the bill altered so as give cleaned rice a duty of 2 cents per pound and rough rice 1½ cents per pound, and have but these two classes. Have the so-called uncleaned and cleaned in one class and the rough, broken, and rice flour in the other. This would prevent fraud and help the rice planter.

Hoping you will do all you can for us and get all the tariff you can for the South, I remain,

Yours, truly,

T. W. GRAHAM.

Hon. J. L. McLAURIN,
Washington, D. C.

Mr. McLAURIN. I shall not consume the time of the Senate further, but will direct the attention of the committee in charge of the measure to just one point connected with the classification of rice. The two classifications of rice in a general way are cleaned rice, fit for food consumption, and rough rice, as it comes from the farmer.

Now, last year the imports of cleaned rice were 41,915,000 pounds; of the uncleaned, 22,748,000; of the rough or paddy rice, 15,894 pounds; of the rice flour, meal, and broken rice, 68,894,000 pounds.

This statement is sufficient, it seems to me, to condemn the present system of classification. The intermediate grades are the uncleaned, the meal and broken rice, and the rough or paddy rice. Of the general classifications there were 41,900,000 pounds imported, while of the intermediate grades 91,773,000 pounds came in from abroad, and I venture the assertion that of these intermediate grades a large proportion were, to say the least, irregular and a fraud on the revenues of the Government, besides being an injustice to the rice planters and millers of this country.

I have here a book which gives the testimony taken before the Ways and Means Committee, containing the statement of a prominent rice dealer in New Orleans, Mr. Ernst. I shall not consume the time of the Senate to read it. Mr. Ernst stated that the rice is broken up and crushed by foreign exporters in order to take advantage of the present system of classification, and to furnish to the brewers of this country a cheap article out of which I suppose they make beer and palm it off as being made from hops, or something of the sort. These facts are well known. They were presented to the Ways and Means Committee of the House, and I doubt not were presented to the committee on this side who had charge of the measure.

Then why, I ask, is the present system of classification allowed to remain in the bill? Are the brewers and speculators of this country of more importance than its rice planters and millers? Must a legitimate line of material production be sacrificed to the interests of those two classes?

Mr. GRAY. I should like to ask the Senator from South Carolina what would be the result on the revenue of the change he proposes?

Mr. McLAURIN. On the revenue?

Mr. GRAY. Yes. I presume this is a revenue measure.

Mr. McLAURIN. Yes, sir. I should think it would produce more revenue, because you will notice that where there is the least importation, as in the rough or paddy class, there is no change made in the House rates. Of course, if you made but two general classifications, and placed the rough and broken rice in one of these classes where the rate of duty is much higher, there would be more revenue than is now received under a lower rate of duty, and hence the revenues of the country would be correspondingly increased.

Mr. GRAY. This is entirely a revenue duty. That is the Senator's proposition.

Mr. McLAURIN. I am not proposing any duty at all. It is a change in classification to which I refer.

Mr. GRAY. And a change in the direction of more revenue?

Mr. McLAURIN. I am not trying to avoid the question. I will state that, irrespective of revenue duty or anything else, the rice planters in this country have just as much right as any other class of people in the country. That is my position on that question.

Mr. GRAY. There we agree.

Mr. McLAURIN. Now, if the Senator wants to know my position, I will give it to him.

Mr. GRAY. I do not want it. I ask the Senator from South Carolina what the effect will be upon the revenue. I want to know.

Mr. McLAURIN. I think the effect will be to increase the revenue.

Mr. GRAY. I notice, carrying out the ad valorem, that there is about 100 per cent duty on rice now.

Mr. McLAURIN. Yes, sir; but I have not made the computation.

Mr. GRAY. And the House rate would figure out about 133 per cent.

Mr. McLAURIN. I presume so.

Mr. GRAY. So I really wanted to know what effect it was going to have on the revenue with this enormous ad valorem duty.

Mr. McLAURIN. I think that it would really increase the revenues of the Government.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. What is the change in the classification which the Senator from South Carolina proposes?

Mr. McLAURIN. The change I would propose is, instead of four, to make only two general classifications, and strike out all of the intermediate grades and put all rice into the general classification.

Mr. BUTLER. I should like to ask the Senator from South Carolina if it is not a fact that under a schedule like this a great deal of rice will come in as broken rice at a low rate which would come in and pay higher duty if it were not for the low classification on broken rice?

Mr. McLAURIN. I think the Senator from North Carolina is correct.

Mr. BUTLER. Does not that explain why such an enormous amount of broken rice, or rice classed as broken rice, is imported?

Mr. McLAURIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. BUTLER. Larger than under any other schedule, and chiefly because a great deal of it imported as broken rice was not really broken rice.

Mr. McLAURIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. BUTLER. The importers take advantage of the very duty on broken rice to import rice under that classification. It is just the same thing we have to contend with in trying to protect our mica in North Carolina. Under the ad valorem duty they bring in mica under the lowest classification, or rather they undervalue it and get it in without paying much duty, and it yields very little revenue. In the same way they will dodge the duty under the rice schedule as it is now, and therefore in this classification we will always have the largest amount of rice imported under the lowest schedule.

Mr. McLAURIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. BUTLER. So you do not get either protection or revenue.

As the Senator from South Carolina so well says, it is purely a question between the farmer and the brewer. Of course the brewers would like to have the rice they use free. Now, we make a loophole here so that the rice that the brewers want they can get practically free, and therefore not only no revenue will be derived from it, but no protection will come to the farmers under it. If this schedule is left at one-fourth of a cent per pound on broken rice, the largest quantity of rice imported under any schedule will be imported under it. Therefore it reduces the whole schedule down to one-fourth, or near that, in practical effect.

The committee, it seems to me, should restore the House rate of one-half a cent. It is enough favoritism for the brewers, because one-half a cent is the lowest rate under the House bill. Now, I understand the Senate committee propose to lower the House rate from one-half to one-fourth. I hope if the Senate committee are going to change back to the House schedule on all other kinds of rice that they will maintain the House schedule on broken rice. It is unfair to the farmer. It is pretending to give him something and to give him nothing. It is pretending to collect revenue and collecting none.

I have a great many letters here from rice planters, but I will not take the time of the Senate to read them. I have two letters here from the governor of North Carolina, who is one of the largest rice planters in the State, who makes a very clear statement of the whole case. I have letters from other rice planters and millers as well.

Mr. McLAURIN. I will only interrupt the Senator from North Carolina to yield him the floor.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from North Carolina will proceed.

Mr. BUTLER. Mr. President, I have stated the case clearly, I hope. I can not add to it except to produce facts and data to back up the statement. No one will question, I think, the statement I have made, and if no one questions it I need not ask more time to argue it except to appeal to the committee in restoring a part of the House schedule to restore all of it, and give us the one-half cent on broken rice as it was in the House schedule. I think my colleague the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. PRITCHARD] will agree with me in the statement that that is simply fair and just to the rice planters from North Carolina.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the first two amendments.

Mr. ALLEN. I do not think the Senator from Iowa has informed the Senate whether this is regarded as purely a revenue measure or a protective measure. If it be protective, I think the Senate ought to know in what respect and to what extent it is before we are compelled to vote on it.

Mr. ALLISON. It depends, of course, upon the point of view. The Senator from Louisiana [Mr. CAFFERY] would call it a revenue measure, as I suppose would the Senator from Georgia [Mr. BACON]. I call it a revenue measure with protection added, as we think the rates here, especially upon the first two paragraphs, one embracing 133 per cent and the other about 83 per cent, can be called fairly protection, if not excessively so.

Mr. BATE. Will the Senator from Iowa please inform us whether it is his desire to have the terms of the House bill upon rice to remain, or does he want the Senate committee amendment adopted? They are in conflict, and I am myself in doubt, as are others around me, to know what the Senator in charge of the bill desires.

Mr. ALLISON. The last suggestion of the committee, I will say to the honorable Senator from Tennessee, is that the first two brackets, if I may use that term, in this paragraph shall be restored as the House provided, and that the last bracket shall remain as recommended by the Senate Committee on Finance, it being the exact provision of the law of 1890. I confess that the large importations of rice under the last clause seem to indicate that perhaps a higher duty would give us more revenue. I think the duty as provided in the McKinley law, as to all, was fairly satisfactory to the rice interests, as I understand the House provision is.

Mr. BATE. It seems, if I read it correctly, that your committee has sought to lower the rates in the rice paragraph.

Mr. ALLISON. That was the intention of the committee.

Mr. BATE. Now, I want to know whether your committee desire to stand by what you have done, or whether you desire to return to the rates fixed by the House? Has there been anything withdrawn?

Mr. ALLISON. I have endeavored to state that the committee proposes now to return to the rates of the House, and therefore abandon the first amendments in the paragraph.

Mr. TILLMAN. I merely desire to call the attention of the Senator in charge of the bill to the fact that if he will go to the House schedule, or specification, or tariff, of one-half a cent a pound on broken rice, according to the best evidence you have here of those of us who represent the rice States, you will give us protection and you will get more revenue. Now, if you are a protectionist from principle, and want equality, as you have just said, for the South, along with the rest of the country, why can you not do two good things at one stroke by going back to the House rate of one-half a cent a pound, thereby getting more revenue for the Government and giving the Southern rice growers more protection. And I will say, by the way, that in my State nineteen-twentieths of the rice growers are negroes.

Mr. PRITCHARD. In reply to the suggestion of my colleague that I back him in the advocacy of this rate of duty, I beg to say that I have seen the committee and got them to agree to adopt the House rate except this last item, and I still hope to be able to get them to adopt my suggestion in that particular. The rice growers of the South will be satisfied with the rates adopted by the House.

Mr. GEAR. I just want to say a word, Mr. President, about broken rice. Everyone who is familiar with the rice trade knows that broken rice is used solely and expressly in the manufacture of beer. We are the only people in the world possibly that use it for that purpose; therefore, a large quantity of broken rice from the East Indies comes to this country and is sold at a very low rate. Now, does any man of sense think for a moment, notwithstanding the large importations of this kind of rice, that any man who owns a hundred bags or a thousand bags of sound Rangoon rice would take it and break it up for the sake of getting it in at a low rate of duty and selling it for half the real value of sound rice? I think that answers the whole argument.

Mr. ALLEN. If the Senator will permit me, I understood the statement to be made a moment ago that it was expected to break up good rice for the express purpose of reducing the tariff upon it in that form.

Mr. GEAR. That is what is claimed. That is what the Senator from South Carolina claims, and my friend from North Carolina also.

Mr. ALLEN. If that be true, it would seem——

Mr. GEAR. If it were true, it would be all right; but it is not true.

Mr. ALLEN. It is not true, the Senator says.

I do not know that my State is particularly concerned in rice any further than it forms food for babies and young children, and possibly some of it may be consumed in the form of beer. However, I can not help embracing this opportunity to express my deep regret at the seeming disturbance in the ranks of the Democratic party in this Chamber, which has been such a faithful ally of the Populist party for a year or more.

Yesterday, when one of the vital interests of my State was involved, namely, the levying of a tax upon lumber, which must shelter our people from the great storms of the Northwest, I discovered, to my utter surprise, that six Southern Senators here, who had professed the doctrine of Jefferson and Jackson and of the illustrious statesmen of the past, and who claim to be revenue reformers and to levy a tax for revenue purposes exclusively, were willing to place my people absolutely at the mercy of the lumber trust.

It seems from the discussion to-day that my good and amiable friend from Delaware [Mr. GRAY], who entertains very correct views in the main upon some subjects and incorrect views on others, as I view it, and my friend from Georgia [Mr. BACON] got into a discussion as to what constitutes Democratic doctrine, and there was some slight difference, if I heard correctly, between the junior Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST] and the senior Senator from Georgia [Mr. BACON] upon what constitutes Democratic doctrine.

I do hope, Mr. President, that these faithful allies of ours will go into their caucus room and get together upon the great question of the tariff taxation again; that they will make an effort, like a jury struggling to reach a verdict, to come to some conclusion and reach some definite plan from which they can act harmoniously, so that in three years from now they can unite with us under the Populist banner and bring about victory in this country and rescue the Government once more from the dominating influences of the Republican party.

I regret to see the tendency upon the part of my friend from Georgia [Mr. BACON] and my illustrious friend the senior Senator from South Carolina [Mr. TILLMAN] to run after strange gods and after false doctrines. All through its grand and illustrious history (and it has not only been grand and illustrious, but brilliant in many respects) the South has been preeminently the apostle of equality and freedom to the people. It has been preeminently the advocate of the doctrine that that which should be applied to one man should, under like circumstances, be applied to every other human being, and that there should be no special privileges and no inequalities created by legislation in this country. And yet, all over this side of the Chamber during the discussion thus far upon the pending measure, which is to be the salvation of the American people if our Republican friends are to be relied upon, there has been manifested from time to time a disposition to abandon the tenets of the Democratic party upon this question, notwithstanding Jefferson has been made to do duty for the protectionist and the free trader, too.

There has been, I say, a disposition to abandon the tenets of the Democratic party upon this question and have every man go in for himself, and, as my friend the senior Senator from Texas [Mr. MILLS] says, let the devil have the hindmost. Every man seems to be disposed to run his hand into the grab bag clear up to the shoulder and take everything he can get for his particular locality, notwithstanding it may impoverish a great portion of the people of the United States, notwithstanding it may turn them from shelter of their own into hired or charitable shelter, and notwithstanding it may reduce their state of living.

Mr. PETTUS. Will the Senator from Nebraska allow me?

Mr. ALLEN. Certainly.

Mr. PETTUS. Is not his language too broad when he says every man is doing that?

Mr. ALLEN. Well, possibly my language was a little broad. My friend at my left has been here but a few months and I think he has not been corrupted by the corroding influences of this Chamber.

Mr. President, it occurs to me that it is absolutely absurd to put a tax as high upon rice as is proposed here. Rice can be grown in this country as cheaply as corn, as cheaply as any other field product, and why should it be selected to receive the special favors of this proposed tariff measure?

We will have the travesty of placing a tax upon corn, a tax upon wheat, and a tax upon other farm products. There is not a child in the United States who does not know that a tax of that kind will not be productive of revenue and will not be prohibitive in the slightest degree of the importation of like articles from other countries.

Mr. GRAY. It will not be protective.

Mr. ALLEN. It will not be protective. We are preeminently a corn-growing country. We produce a great surplus. It is the surplus of these products sold in the foreign market that fixes the price at home, and no protective tariff can enhance the value to the producer. Sir, to-day corn is selling in my State at from 7 to 10 cents a bushel, and I say to you, Mr. President, it can not be produced at a profit to the farmer at 14 or 15 cents a bushel. Does any man tell me that the protective tariff will raise the price of corn? It is impossible. Why, then, should the price of rice, which is an essential food in this country, be raised to the American consumer by the levying of a tax upon it which would prohibit the importation of a like article raised somewhere else?

I think the time has come when we must yield to the doctrine of greed; when we must yield the people of this country absolutely into the grasp of the men who are constantly sending Senators letters and circulars importuning protection for their peculiar interests, or when we must stand firmly for the great millions of men, women, and children who are not represented here excepting as they send Senators and Representatives to make laws for them.

Mr. President, there is not a trust in this country that is not constantly importuning the Finance Committee. They want a tariff as high as it can be written. They care nothing about the revenues of the Government; they are not concerned that the nation shall pay its debts and levy a just and fair rate of taxation. They want a high tariff for the sole purpose of creating a scarce market that they may have an opportunity to tax the people of this country for their supplies without restraint.

Mr. CHILTON. Mr. President, I think all have been much edified by the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. ALLEN], and especially by that part of his remarks in which he gave advice to the Democrats to unite on a revenue-reform policy. He says that we should go into caucus and get together. I think his advice is seasonable. But, sir, would it not be a proper thing for the Populist party to go into caucus and get together also? One of the chief architects of this one-sided tariff bill which is about to be thrust upon the American people is that member of the Populist party who, as I understand, holds the balance of power in the Finance Committee.

Mr. ALLEN. Point him out.

Mr. CHILTON. The Senator from Nevada [Mr. JONES]. Not only so, but who has not noticed here how that other distinguished Populist, the Senator from Nevada [Mr. STEWART], has been voting for all these protective duties? It seems to me that gentlemen like our distinguished friend on the left [Mr. ALLEN], who has cast some good votes in connection with the tariff, should first clear up the difficulties which exist in his own household before undertaking to remedy those which disturb the family of his neighbor.

Mr. STEWART. Will the Senator allow me a question?

Mr. CHILTON. Certainly.

Mr. STEWART. Has the Senator from Texas voted for any other than protective duties since this bill has been up?

Mr. CHILTON. Have I?

Mr. STEWART. Yes; has the Senator voted against protection?

Mr. CHILTON. I have voted for the lowest duty invariably.

Mr. STEWART. Was it not a protective duty?

Mr. CHILTON. That depends upon circumstances. Of course I would rather have a small protective duty than a high one.

Mr. STEWART. Point out one that is not protective.

Mr. CHILTON. I prefer to put the articles considered this morning on the free list. Let any man make the motion and I will vote to put them on the free list. I do not deny that there are occasions when the Government needs revenue, and when it needs revenue it is necessary to select articles upon which to raise it; but at this juncture the Government of the United States does not need revenue.

There is no occasion for a tariff bill at all at this particular moment. This whole subject might have been postponed until the December session of Congress. No man can claim that there is such an urgency in the affairs of the American people that there need to have been an extraordinary session of Congress called to raise revenue. Let no man deceive himself. This bill, under the guise of levying taxes, is to be made a great instrumentality of protection. In my humble judgment it will fall by its own weight. It will fall as the McKinley bill fell whenever it comes to the test before the American people and they learn its results by actual experience.

Mr. ALLEN. Will the Senator allow me a suggestion?

Mr. CHILTON. Certainly.

Mr. ALLEN. In vindication of the Populist party, I will say that the tariff is not an issue of the Populist party. It never has been. We regard the whole thing as a snare, a fraud, and a delusion.

Mr. CHILTON. I did not understand the Senator.

Mr. ALLEN. I say the tariff is not an issue with the Populist party at all. You can not find it in one platform.

Mr. CHILTON. There are very few practical things which are made issues by the Populist party.

But, sir, the Populist organization can not escape the responsibility of being a party. The Populist party can not afford to abstain from taking ground on these questions.

Mr. President, I noticed that in the speech of the Senator from Georgia a few moments ago he pointed to the Democratic platform, and claimed that it indorses such a vote as he feels willing to cast in favor of a duty upon lumber, cotton, and other articles. He reads from that platform a general declaration that we believe in the equality of taxation among sections and classes. That is nothing more than the declaration in another form of that great

proposition contained in the Constitution that all the taxes in this country shall be uniform. Everybody believes in that. Let us not haggle about generalities. Let us come to actual cases, to actual paragraphs, to actual brackets in actual paragraphs, and see how our votes shall be cast. Follow the votes upon this bill from the first paragraph of the first schedule down to the item now under consideration, and an examination will verify the statement that there has been far more unity in the Democratic party upon this floor than has been exhibited in the Populist party.

Mr. ALLEN. Will the Senator allow me to suggest to him that the Democratic party has been very willing to follow in the wake of the Populist party upon the silver question? The Populist party is the first political organization in the United States that ever declared unequivocally for the coinage of gold and silver at the ratio of 16 to 1.

Mr. CHILTON. Mr. President, valued Democrats of the olden time advocated the free and unlimited coinage of silver before the Populist party had ever been conceived in the womb of American politics.

Mr. ALLEN. When and by whom?

Mr. CHILTON. Why, sir, it was the standing policy of this country from the origin of our Government down to 1873. Whoever heard of the Populist party before that time?

Mr. ALLEN. I desire to suggest to the Senator from Texas that the question of the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1 never became an issue until about 1887 or 1888, and your party never did declare in favor of the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1 until 1896.

Mr. CHILTON. Mr. President, I do not wish to be understood as denying to the gentleman from Nebraska and other Populists due credit for having supported the doctrine of the free and unlimited coinage of silver. Let no man misunderstand me. For one, I am in favor of the free and unlimited coinage of silver. I welcome the help of every Populist in the United States. I would not turn the back of my hand on any one of them. In the ranks of that party there are found many good men. But the attempt to claim that the Populist party is entitled to the credit of first advocating the free and unlimited coinage of silver as an issue in this country is as bald and arrant a pretension as the claim of Amerigo Vespucci that he discovered the continent upon which we live.

Mr. STEWART. The issue between the Democratic party as announced in its platform and the Republican party as announced in its platform is not a tariff issue; it is a financial issue. The Republican party is for the gold standard so long as England is. The Democratic party, the Populist party, and the free-silver Republicans are for the restoration of the coinage laws of the better days of the Republic. They are opposed to contraction, falling prices, and hard times.

The Republican party proposes now to restore prosperity by changing the tariff. That has been tried from the foundation of the Government without eminent success. There was never more than half or seldom half of the people who were in favor of any tariff bill that has been passed.

The Republican party say that they can produce prosperity by this method. I propose to let them try it; knowing, as I do, that it can not supply the place of money with which to do business, and that so long as the volume of money is shrinking business will shrink and times will grow worse. Knowing that, I am willing they shall make the experiment; and in making that experiment I want them to give the country the best possible tariff bill.

Unfortunately, some of my Democratic friends do not understand the tariff question, because they have never considered it. They have been discussing free trade. That is not a question to be discussed. There are no free traders of any consequence in this country; they are mere outsiders.

Every tariff law, as I said before to-day, is a protective law, and we aim in getting this protective law to make it as fair as possible. My colleague [Mr. JONES of Nevada] is in favor of making as good a protective tariff as possible. I say a protective tariff that will not protect what is called raw material is a fraud and uncalled for.

The committee reported in favor of protection on articles produced in my section—and there are many produced there that need protection—and they are as much entitled to it as those in any other section of the country, for those articles are produced by labor; and because my colleague and I vote for the protection of the labor of our section, when we are to have a protective tariff, no matter what party is in power, we are criticised.

I want it understood that a man who talks about free trade talks nonsense so long as either party proposes to raise revenue by tariff on articles produced in this country. In placing that tariff, when it is agreed that we shall have a protective tariff, you say to me that my colleague and I shall not have the privilege of asking that the laborers in our section of the country shall be protected as well as those in New England. I think my friends from the South should look to the articles produced by their labor and see to it that they are protected.

After it has been established by all parties that protection is necessary, when it is the law of the land and the policy of both parties, it is the duty of men from the South to see to it that reasonable protection is placed upon articles produced there by their labor. They know best what articles are produced there and what taxes are necessary, and it is their duty, as well as the duty of my colleague and myself, to see to it that the people of the West shall share equally in protection, because protection is a foregone conclusion. My colleague would have been untrue to his section if he had not stood out for protection upon those articles which the labor of the West and the South produce. He is for honest protection, protection which will protect all labor everywhere; and is opposed to discussing free trade, when there is no free trade in the country; when the thing is impossible; when all parties say that we will raise revenue by tariff on all articles produced in this country; when all parties have put tea, coffee, and other articles produced in other countries on the free list as a rule; when all agree that there shall be a protective-tariff system, he regards the man who will not look out for his own section as really denying the faith and worse than an infidel.

My colleague is for the protection of the whole country, and I indorse what he has done. It was right and proper. It is not to be suggested that we are untrue to our faith, that we are untrue to the principles, and untrue to the grand movement upon which the fate of humanity rests—the great financial question—because we are willing to help to have a protective-tariff law enacted that shall be the best that can be made. I am willing that our Republican friends shall have the best legislation in that direction that they can have.

I wish the tariff would give prosperity. I know it will not. It may help some special interests; it may do that; though it can not furnish money with which to revive enterprise; and as long as the iron hand of contraction paralyzes enterprise in this country and throughout all civilized countries we will be on the downward march toward barbarism. There is not the same freedom in the civilized world now that there was fifty years ago. I have heard it said that we have abolished slavery. Yes, we have abolished chattel slavery in this country, but we have made more progress toward universal slavery in the last twenty years than was ever made in any of the centuries in all the history of man.

Look at the slavery that Great Britain has established. India is enslaved worse than any country ever was in the Dark Ages. The last stroke was to rob them of seventeen hundred millions of their hard earnings and let them perish by the million in the recent famine. Recently Egypt has been enslaved. Now England is marching on to enslave South Africa and break down the struggling republics there. Slavery is progressing, and we find in Italy, we find in Austria, and we find everywhere throughout Europe the condition of the people of the laboring classes harder than it has been for a century. We find the Christian world united to maintain the Turk in the right to kill Christians on account of this money question. We find the world moving backward into the Dark Ages. In America, with resources unparalleled, with 70,000,000 enterprising citizens, with every reason why we should have prosperity, we find grinding poverty and misery and gloom such as has never existed since the landing at Jamestown.

That is the great issue. We must have financial reform before we shall have prosperity or liberty; and in the name of all that is decent, let us make this tariff as equal as we can; let us protect labor everywhere. That is the patriotic duty of every lover of his country. My colleague was right, and he has been right for the last twenty years, in promulgating the issue which now divides the Democratic and Republican parties, and I indorse what he did.

Mr. PETTUS. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Alabama moves that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

Mr. BUTLER. Will the Senator withdraw the motion for a few moments, in order that I may say a word?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from North Carolina appeals to the Senator from Alabama to withdraw his motion for a few moments.

Mr. ALLISON. I hope we shall go on for a little while with the tariff bill and have a vote on the first two brackets of this paragraph, and then I think I shall be content to have an executive session or to adjourn.

Mr. PETTUS. I should be willing to do that but for the fact that I do not think we are getting to a vote. I think we shall vote more coolly in the morning.

Mr. BUTLER. Mr. President, I am anxious to get a vote on a part of this schedule, but I wish the indulgence of the Senate for a few minutes, as I can not allow the statement of the Senator from Texas [Mr. CHILTON] to go unchallenged.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair has no choice except to put

the motion of the Senator from Alabama, if he so desires. Does he insist upon his motion?

Mr. PETTUS. I insist upon my motion.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Alabama insists upon his motion, that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

Mr. BUTLER. I hope the Senator from Alabama will withdraw his motion for a few minutes.

Mr. PETTUS. I would for anything that was not interminable; but this debate is interminable. [Laughter.]

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Alabama, that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was not agreed to.

Mr. BUTLER. Mr. President, I can not allow the statement of the Senator from Texas [Mr. CHILTON] to go unchallenged. He states that his party has always stood for the free coinage of silver, the money of the Constitution, and that he is glad to accept our assistance to help them to secure what they have always been most ardently striving for. Unfortunately for the Senator, the record of his party is to the contrary.

Mr. President, the People's Party, it is true, has not been in existence as long as the Democratic party, but it came into existence when there was great need for such a party, when the Democratic party backslided from the principles upon which it was founded and organized and fought manfully for a number of years. The People's Party came into existence when the Democratic party stood no longer for the principles of Thomas Jefferson and Andrew Jackson; the People's Party came into existence when the Republican party stood no longer for the principles of Abraham Lincoln. It came into existence to preserve, support, and defend those principles. We stand there to-day. I challenge any Senator or anyone else to point to a single principle for which the People's Party stands that is not good Republicanism as represented by Abraham Lincoln and good Democracy as represented by Jefferson and Jackson.

It was after the great fundamental principles of good government had been ignored and trampled under foot by these two old parties, and while they were fighting sham battles over schedules in tariffs, that the People's Party came into existence. It planted itself at the beginning on the great fundamental principle of good government represented in the beginning by these two parties, and it stands there to-day.

We brought to the front the financial and the monopoly questions as the great vital issues that the Democratic party had run away from. The People's Party forced these issues to the front and forced the Democratic party in its last convention to reform to some extent—to get nearer back to first principles. The Chicago convention never would have declared for what it did had it not been for the People's Party. They realized that the rank and file of their party would leave them, as we had left, and get back to the original principles of good government if they did not reform themselves, and they partially reformed.

Now, I wish to say to the Senator from Texas and to his Democratic colleagues that if they do not backslide before the next election we will accept their help as far as they can help us; that is, as far as they are reformed; as far as they can get back to the original principles of their party we shall be glad to have their help; but they must reform further than they have before they will be in good fellowship with the original Democrats and original Republicans represented in the People's Party.

The Democratic party and the Republican party have both been in copartnership with the enemies of good government, they have both been in copartnership with the trusts, the combines, the monopolies, and the shylocks. They are both responsible for the national-banking system, the demonetization of silver, the contraction of the currency, and the rule of monopolies. Both parties had agreed to keep in the background the great vital issues. It was while these two parties were fooling the people with a sham fight over schedules and rates, the difference between tweedledee and tweedledum, while the monopolies, the shylocks, and the privileged few were absorbing the wealth of the country and the millions were growing poorer each day, that the People's Party came into existence and raised the banner of pure democracy and pure republicanism. It is standing there to-day, and nothing can take it from its true and impregnable position; but if either one of these old parties will reform itself entirely, then we will gladly accept their fellowship or help.

The Senator from Texas objects to the rice duty. I should like to ask him if he could put a duty on cotton, and thereby protect the cotton farmers of his State to-day from the competition of India and other silver-using countries, so ruinous to our farmers, if he would not do it?

The Senator says the People's Party has no position on the tariff question. I say it has. The tariff is a third or fourth rate question, but our party is always on the right side of every question. Its position is to do whatever will benefit the American people; to do what will help in any way to restore prosperity. If we could put a moderate duty on cotton to-day and protect the American farmer from the competition of silver-using countries, and thus make cotton again bring 10 or 12 cents a pound, I should most cheerfully vote for it; and I challenge the Senator from Texas to say in the face of his constituents that he would not.

Now, if we can protect the rice farmers with an import duty, let us do it. We can protect the American wheat and cotton farmer with an export bounty—and the Senator from Texas will be called upon to vote with the People's Party for that reform. He can protect his people and raise the price of their cotton in that way, and before another week he will have a chance to go on record to help the People's Party to help the farmers of this nation. Will he do it?

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. ALLISON. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After twenty minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened, and (at 5 o'clock and 45 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Wednesday, June 9, 1897, at 12 o'clock meridian.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate June 8, 1897.

ASSISTANT ATTORNEY-GENERAL.

Henry M. Hoyt, of Pennsylvania, to be Assistant Attorney-General, vice Edward B. Whitney, resigned.

MARSHAL.

John M. Barnes, of Georgia, to be marshal of the United States for the southern district of Georgia, vice John D. Harrell, to be removed.

SUPERINTENDENT OF MINT.

Frank A. Leach, of California, to be superintendent of the mint of the United States at San Francisco, Cal., to succeed John Daggett, removed.

ASSAYER OF MINT.

William M. Lynch, of Louisiana, to be assayer of the mint of the United States at New Orleans, La., in place of Frank F. Claussen, deceased.

PROMOTIONS IN THE ARMY.

Infantry arm.

Second Lieut. Vernon Avondale Caldwell, Twenty-fifth Infantry, to be first lieutenant, June 7, 1897, vice Defrees, Fifth Infantry, retired from active service.

Candidate Sergt. Thomas M. Anderson, jr., Troop G, Fourth Cavalry, to be second lieutenant, June 8, 1897, vice Fox, Thirteenth Infantry, retired from active service.

Candidate Corpl. John E. Hunt, Troop H, Eighth Cavalry, to be second lieutenant, June 8, 1897, vice Caldwell, Twenty-fifth Infantry, promoted.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate June 8, 1897.

ASSISTANT ATTORNEY-GENERAL.

Louis A. Pradt, of Wisconsin, to be Assistant Attorney-General.

TREASURER OF THE UNITED STATES.

Ellis H. Roberts, of New York, to be Treasurer of the United States.

CONSUL.

Henry H. Morgan, of Louisiana, to be consul of the United States at Horgen, Switzerland.

CONSUL-GENERAL.

Carl Bailey Hurst, of the District of Columbia, now consul at Prague, Bohemia, to be consul-general of the United States at Vienna, Austria.

MARSHAL.

John K. Thompson, of West Virginia, to be marshal of the United States for the district of West Virginia.

DISTRICT JUDGE.

John J. De Haven, of California, to be United States district judge for the northern district of California.

ASSISTANT TREASURER OF THE UNITED STATES.

Conrad N. Jordan, of New York, to be assistant treasurer of the United States at New York City.

POSTMASTERS.

Peter P. Smith, to be postmaster at Adams, in the county of Berkshire and State of Massachusetts.

Earle E. Doud, to be postmaster at Sheffield, in the county of Colbert and State of Alabama.

E. D. Powell, to be postmaster at Exira, in the county of Audubon and State of Iowa.

Benjamin M. Foreman, to be postmaster at Texarkana, in the county of Miller and State of Arkansas.

Eugene S. Upson, to be postmaster at Durand, in the county of Shiawassee and State of Michigan.

W. W. Colfax, to be postmaster at Wyandotte, in the county of Wayne and State of Michigan.

Eugene H. Merriman, to be postmaster at East Hartford, in the county of Hartford and State of Connecticut.

Ira Kidwell, to be postmaster at Elwood, in the county of Madison and State of Indiana.

Oliver C. Gordon, to be postmaster at Union City, in the county of Randolph and State of Indiana.

John H. Daugherty, to be postmaster at Frankton, in the county of Madison and State of Indiana.

Patrick B. Gibbons, to be postmaster at Paris, in the county of Lamar and State of Texas.

John E. Shields, to be postmaster at Alderson, in the county of Monroe and State of West Virginia.

Morris B. Pote, to be postmaster at New Harmony, in the county of Posey and State of Indiana.

SENATE.

WEDNESDAY, *June 9, 1897.*

Prayer by Rev. WALLACE RADCLIFFE, D. D., of the city of Washington.

The Secretary proceeded to read the Journal of yesterday's proceedings, when, on motion of Mr. QUAY, and by unanimous consent, the further reading was dispensed with.

MANUFACTURE OF ARMOR PLATE.

The VICE-PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the Secretary of the Navy, transmitting, in response to a resolution of the 25th ultimo, a statement prepared by the Chief of the Bureau of Supplies and Accounts, showing the number of tons of armor plate bought from the Carnegie Steel Company and the Bethlehem Iron Company; which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs, and ordered to be printed.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. PLATT of New York presented sundry memorials of citizens of New York City, Brooklyn, Richmond, Long Island City, Yonkers, Buffalo, Haverstraw, Hurleyville, and Sheldrake, all in the State of New York, remonstrating against the proposed increase of the tax on beer; which were referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. FRYE. I present a petition of the Stove Flexible Shaft Company and sundry citizens of Philadelphia, Pa., and the petition of F. D. Banks and sundry other citizens of Hampton, Va., praying for the early passage of the pending tariff bill. I am heartily in favor of the prayer of the petitioners. I move that the petitions lie on the table.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. COCKRELL. I present a memorial of the legislative committee of the Medical Society of the District of Columbia, remonstrating against the passage of Senate bill No. 1063, for the further prevention of cruelty to animals in the District of Columbia, introduced at the present session. I move that the memorial lie on the table and that it be printed as a document.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. ALLEN presented sundry papers to accompany the bill (S. 2096) granting a pension to Almon Stuart, of Minden, Nebr.; which were referred to the Committee on Pensions.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Mr. QUAY introduced a bill (S. 2104) for the recognition of the military service of the officers and enlisted men of certain Pennsylvania military organizations; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. MCMILLAN introduced a bill (S. 2105) authorizing the restoration to the Reform School of boys who have been discharged on probation, and for other purposes; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

Mr. MARTIN introduced a bill (S. 2106) granting a pension to James Willard, late assistant surgeon First Regiment Potomac Home Brigade, United States Volunteers; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. TURPIE introduced a bill (S. 2107) granting an increase of pension to Theodore S. Cross; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Pensions.

AMENDMENT TO DEFICIENCY APPROPRIATION BILL.

Mr. CARTER submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the general deficiency appropriation bill; which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations, and ordered to be printed.

TRANSMISSISSIPPI AND INTERNATIONAL EXPOSITION.

Mr. ALLEN submitted the following concurrent resolution; which was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to:

Resolved by the Senate of the United States (the House of Representatives concurring), That the President of the United States be, and he is hereby, requested to invite, by proclamation or otherwise, as he may deem most proper, foreign nations to make exhibits at the Transmississippi and International Exposition to be held at the city of Omaha, in the State of Nebraska, from the 1st day of June to the 1st day of November, A. D. 1898.

Mr. ALLEN. I ask unanimous consent to call up a joint resolution lying on the table which went over until this morning. It is a local resolution pertaining to our exposition at Omaha. It has been submitted to the senior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR], and, at his suggestion, I will offer an amendment to it.

Mr. FRYE. Is it a joint resolution?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. It is joint resolution No. 50.

Mr. ALLEN. It was introduced yesterday and passed over. It is now in print on the table of each Senator. It was passed over at the suggestion of the Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON] yesterday.

Mr. ALLISON. I read the joint resolution in the RECORD this morning, but I have not had time to compare it with the statutes that were passed for the expositions at Chicago and other places.

Mr. ALLEN. I can say to the Senator that I think it is in substance the same as the resolutions that were passed respecting the World's Fair and the Atlanta Exposition.

Mr. ALLISON. My recollection is that the former statutes provided that the foreign exhibits, etc., should be returned within six months after the close of the exposition. I see that the Senator provides for a period of one year.

Mr. ALLEN. Very well; I will accept an amendment as to the time in which the articles shall be removed from the United States.

Mr. ALLISON. I only ask the Senator if that is not true as respects former expositions?

Mr. ALLEN. I think, in reference to the World's Fair, it was the case, although I am not certain as to that.

Mr. ALLISON. I think six months is a period long enough.

Mr. ALLEN. I shall be perfectly willing to accept an amendment of that kind and make the period six months.

Mr. ALLISON. Then I shall make no objection to the passage of the joint resolution.

Mr. ALLEN. I ask unanimous consent to call it up.

Mr. ALLISON. Of course I yield for this purpose, with the understanding that it will not occupy time.

Mr. ALLEN. No, sir; I think not.

Mr. ALLISON. If it should lead to debate, I must call for the regular order.

Mr. COCKRELL. Let it be read for information.

The Secretary read the joint resolution (S. R. 50) authorizing foreign exhibitors at the Transmississippi and International Exposition, to be held in the city of Omaha, in the State of Nebraska, during the year 1898, to bring to the United States foreign laborers from their countries, respectively, for the purpose of preparing for and making exhibits; and, by unanimous consent, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to its consideration.

Mr. ALLEN. In section 1, line 33, I move to strike out the word "act" and insert the word "resolution;" so as to read:

That no alien shall, by virtue of this resolution, be permitted to enter the United States to perform labor therein, except by express permission, etc.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. ALLEN. In section 2, line 11, I move to strike out "one year" and insert "six months;" so as to make the first clause of the proviso read:

That said articles shall be removed from the United States within six months after the close of said exposition.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. ALLEN. In compliance with the suggestion of the senior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR], I move to add at the end of the joint resolution the following additional proviso:

Provided further, That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to make such rules and regulations as may be necessary, in his judgment, to carry into execution the provisions hereof and to prohibit the infraction of existing statutes, except as the same may be temporarily modified and changed by this resolution.

The amendment was agreed to.

The joint resolution was reported to the Senate as amended, and the amendments were concurred in.

The joint resolution was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, was read the third time, and passed.

Mr. ALLEN. In the fourth line of the first clause of the preamble, after the word "city," I move to strike out the words "in the year."

The amendment was agreed to.

The preamble as amended was agreed to.

PRESIDENTIAL APPROVALS.

A message from the President of the United States, by Mr. O. L. PRUDEN, one of his secretaries, announced that the President had on this day approved and signed the following act and joint resolution:

An act (S. 1944) to authorize the construction of a bridge across the Clinch River, Kingston, Tenn.; and

A joint resolution (S. R. 45) reappropriating the sum of $10,000 not expended for the relief of sufferers by the floods of the Mississippi River.

THE TARIFF BILL.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask the Senate to proceed to the consideration of House bill 379.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 379) to provide revenue for the Government and to encourage the industries of the United States.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The pending question is on agreeing to the amendments of the Committee on Finance to the first two brackets in paragraph 239. The amendments will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In paragraph 229, line 6, before the word "cents," strike out "two" and insert "one and one-half;" and in line 9, before the words "per pound," strike out "1¼ cents" and insert "eight-tenths of 1 cent;" so as to read:

229. Rice, cleaned, 1¼ cents per pound; uncleaned rice, or rice free of the outer hull and still having the inner cuticle on, eight-tenths of 1 cent per pound.

Mr. ALLISON. As I stated yesterday, the majority of the committee recommend that these two amendments be disagreed to.

The amendments were rejected.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 229, page 70, line 12, after the word "sieve," to strike out the words "one-half" and insert the words "one-fourth;" so as to make the paragraph read:

229. Rice, cleaned, 2 cents per pound; uncleaned rice, or rice free of the outer hull and still having the inner cuticle on, 1¼ cents per pound; rice flour, and rice meal, and rice broken which will pass through a sieve known commercially as No. 12 wire sieve, one-fourth of 1 cent per pound; paddy, or rice having the outer hull on, three-fourths of 1 cent per pound.

Mr. PRITCHARD. After having received a letter which I shall ask to have read, I have concluded to withdraw my opposition to the committee amendment bearing on this question. I ask that the letter may be read, in order to explain the matter.

The Secretary read as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *June 9, 1897.*

DEAR SIR: It was agreed by the representatives of the rice industry from Charleston, Savannah, and Louisiana that they would make no contest over the duty on rice flour and broken rice that would pass through a No. 12 sieve, as this broken rice is not a home product of sufficient quantity to materially affect the producing interest. It is never sold upon the general market, and is chiefly used for brewing purposes.

Very respectfully,

S. A. KNAPP,
Representing South Carolina, Georgia, and Louisiana.

Hon. J. C. PRITCHARD,
Washington, D. C.

Mr. ALLISON. The committee desire that the amendment proposed in line 12 shall be agreed to.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. MILLS. Before we leave the question of a duty on rice, I move to strike out the whole paragraph and insert:

Rice in all forms, 40 per cent ad valorem.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Texas.

Mr. MILLS. Let us have the yeas and nays on that question.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. KENNEY (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. PENROSE], and withhold my vote.

Mr. MITCHELL (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SEWELL].

Mr. WILSON (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Florida [Mr. PASCO]. If he were present, he would vote "yea" and I should vote "nay."

The roll call having been concluded, the result was announced—yeas 19, nays 40; as follows:

YEAS—19.

Bate,	Harris, Tenn.	Morgan,	Turpie,
Berry,	Jones, Ark.	Murphy,	Vest,
Chilton,	Lindsay,	Pettus,	Walthall,
Cockrell,	Mallory,	Rawlins,	White.
Gray,	Mills,	Smith,	

NAYS—40.

Allen,	Davis,	Hoar,	Platt, N. Y.
Allison,	Debse,	McBride,	Pritchard,
Bacon,	Fairbanks,	McEnery,	Proctor,
Burrows,	Foraker,	McLaurin,	Quay,
Butler,	Frye,	McMillan,	Shoup,
Cannon,	Gallinger,	Mason,	Spooner,
Carter,	Gear,	Morrill,	Stewart,
Chandler,	Hale,	Nelson,	Thurston,
Clay,	Hawley,	Perkins,	Tillman,
Cullom,	Heitfeld,	Platt, Conn.	Wellington.

NOT VOTING—30.

Aldrich,	Gorman,	Mantle,	Teller,
Baker,	Hanna,	Martin,	Turner,
Caffery,	Hansbrough,	Mitchell,	Warren,
Clark,	Harris, Kans.	Pasco,	Wetmore,
Daniel,	Jones, Nev.	Penrose,	Wilson,
Elkins,	Kenney,	Pettigrew,	Wolcott.
Faulkner,	Kyle,	Roach,	
George,	Lodge,	Sewell,	

So Mr. MILLS's amendment was rejected.

The Secretary read the next paragraph, as follows:

230. Rye, 10 cents per bushel; rye flour, one-half of 1 cent per pound.

Mr. VEST. I wish to call attention to the fact that in 1896 we exported $445,075 worth of rye and imported $291 worth. Of rye flour we exported $11,163 worth and imported $1 worth. Under the doctrine which obtained yesterday in the Senate upon the votes, I know it is entirely useless to make any protest and to show that this increased duty is absolutely unnecessary upon rye. Everything is to be taxed now, and I suppose the importation of rye flour, although only $1 worth comes into the United States, is a standing menace to the farmers of this country, and we must therefore increase the duty upon it. I will not make any motion to amend the paragraph, but let it go.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was to strike out paragraph 231, in the following words:

231. Tapioca, cassava or cassada, farina, and sago in flake, pearl or flour, one-half of 1 cent per pound; arrowroot flour, 3 cents per pound.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Without objection, the amendment is agreed to.

Mr. RAWLINS. Mr. President, I rise for the purpose of occupying the attention of the Senate for a few moments with reference to the speech which was delivered yesterday by the distinguished Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST]. The feeling and earnestness which he displayed on that occasion, it occurred to me, perhaps were by reason of some remarks which I had made on the previous day in regard to exempting from duty raw material. I have always had and still have the highest respect and admiration for the Senator from Missouri. He seems to think that the declaration in the Chicago platform, as construed by the remarks of mine and some other Senators upon this side, is a new evangel, a political heresy, a departure from the Democratic faith. My sole purpose in rising now is to give the genesis of that declaration, to show that it is in strict accordance with the teachings of the Democratic party. That declaration, as contained in the platform adopted at Chicago in 1896, is in this language:

We hold that the tariff duties should be levied for purposes of revenue, such duties to be so adjusted as to operate equally throughout the country and not discriminate between class or section, and that taxation should be limited by the needs of the Government honestly and economically administered.

As a member of the committee on platform and resolutions in the Chicago convention, I had the honor to present the feature which has been the subject of so much criticism, and upon my motion it was adopted. Is it a heterodox in the political history of the Democratic party? The political division between the parties upon the tariff question first came significantly to the front in 1824, and there was a revision of the tariff in 1832. As the basis of that revision a petition was presented to the Congress of the United States by Albert Gallatin.

Mr. LINDSAY. Will the Senator from Utah permit a question?

Mr. RAWLINS. With pleasure.

Mr. LINDSAY. I understood him to say that this part of the platform was adopted upon his motion.

Mr. RAWLINS. The part relating to the equality of duties.

Mr. LINDSAY. I will ask if the word "only," after the word "revenue," was intentionally omitted from the platform?

Mr. RAWLINS. I think not.

Mr. LINDSAY. Was it accidentally omitted from the platform?

Mr. RAWLINS. It was omitted from the platform.

Mr. LINDSAY. Accidentally or purposely? I ask the question

because the Senator said that he proposed that particular clause of the platform, and I took it for granted that he knew whether the old-fashioned Democratic word "only" was omitted purposely or accidentally.

Mr. RAWLINS. Perhaps what I say will be a sufficient answer to the question as propounded by the Senator.

Mr. TILLMAN. I can give some light on that subject, if the Senator will allow me. It was omitted purposely, after discussion.

Mr. RAWLINS. Mr. President, I do not wish to detain the Senate any longer than possible upon this question, but simply to set ourselves right in regard to it. I will read a letter from Albert Gallatin, addressed to the Congress of the United States, in this instance to the Hon. John C. Calhoun, Vice-President and President of the Senate, under the date of 23d of January, 1832. I read from a compilation, State Papers and Speeches on the Tariff, by F. W. Tausig, professor of political economy in the University of Harvard:

NEW YORK, *23d January, 1832.*

SIR: I have the honor to inclose the memorial of the committee appointed by the convention of delegates from several States, held at Philadelphia in September and October, 1831, for the purpose of preparing and presenting to Congress a memorial setting forth the evils of the existing tariff of duties, and asking such a modification of the same as shall be consistent with the purposes of revenue and equal, in its operation, on the different parts of the United States and on the various interests of the same.

I pray that the said memorial may be laid before the Senate; and have the honor to be, with great respect, sir,

Your most obedient servant,

ALBERT GALLATIN,
Chairman of the Committee.

The Hon. JOHN C. CALHOUN,
Vice-President of the United States
and President of the Senate.

This paper thus presented to Congress is an elaborate, candid, dispassionate, and most able presentation of the question of the tariff in opposition to the theory of Hamilton. The very end and purpose of the discussion was to establish, or, to use the language of the petition, "asking such a modification" of the existing tariff law "as shall be consistent with the purposes of revenue, and equal in its operation on the different parts of the United States and on the various interests of the same." In further explanation, I read from page 117 of the same paper:

The question then at issue is, simply, whether the amount wanted shall be so raised as to fall equally upon all the consumers, or, in other words, on the community, and so as to encourage equally every branch of industry, or whether certain branches shall receive special protection by high and sometimes prohibitory duties.

Whether taxes are laid on income or on consumption, it is equally the duty of a government founded in justice to lay them equally on all in proportion, as the case may be, to the income or the consumption. Were there no taxes of the latter description, every part of the country and every class of society would be left at liberty to supply its wants on the cheapest terms and to pursue that branch of industry for which each was best fitted. If a tax equivalent to an average duty of 20 per cent (or at any other rate) on all foreign commodities becomes necessary for the support of government, and is laid at an equal and uniform rate on all such commodities, all the sections of the country, classes of society, and individuals are left as far as practicable in the same relative situation as before. But any law materially varying the rate on any of the taxed articles will in some respect change that relative situation and, to an extent proportionate to the change, render the burden of the tax unequal.

I next invite attention to another leading state paper which, perhaps more than any other in the history of the country, has been referred to as containing a correct representation of the Democratic view of the tariff question, and upon the basis of which a tariff bill was framed which has ever been held up as a model for imitation by Democratic advocates before the American people. I refer to the Treasury report of 1845, by Robert J. Walker, an able statesman from the State of Mississippi; and I read from this same compilation at pages 219 and 220, where the following language is used:

In suggesting improvements in the revenue laws, the following principles have been adopted:

First. That no more money should be collected than is necessary for the wants of the Government economically administered.

That is in the Chicago platform.

Second. That no duty be imposed on any article above the lowest rate which will yield the largest amount of revenue.

Third. That below such rate discrimination may be made, descending in the scale of duties, or for imperative reasons—

Mark the language—

or for imperative reasons the article may be placed in the list of those free from all duty.

Fourth. That the maximum revenue duty should be imposed on luxuries.

Fifth. That all minimums and all specific duties should be abolished and ad valorem duties substituted in their place, care being taken to guard against fraudulent invoices and undervaluation and to assess the duty upon the actual market value.

Sixth.—

This is embodied in the Chicago platform. It is the origin of the declaration which was the subject of animadversion by the distinguished Senator from Missouri—

Sixth. That the duty should be so imposed as to operate as equally as possible throughout the Union, discriminating neither for nor against any class or section.

No article is to be exempt from duty except for imperative reasons. It excludes the idea of free raw material as does this last principle with reference to which the Walker tariff was framed. I have that tariff bill here and I desire to call attention to the free list or articles exempt from duty as contained in that act. It covers a little more than one-half of a page of this volume and it contains no hint or suggestion of exempting raw materials from duty. I will ask permission to print it in the RECORD at the end of my speech as an appendix, but I shall not detain the Senate by reading it.

What is the interpretation according to this standard of well-recognized Democratic authority of the declaration which has been embodied in the Chicago platform? I call attention, further, to the language of this report on page 227, and I desire Senators to mark the language, because we have a contemporaneous, a recognized, and a clear exposition and interpretation of the meaning, not only of the principle upon which that Democratic tariff was framed, but of the same declaration as contained in the Chicago platform.

The present tariff—

Says this distinguished Democrat—

is unjust and unequal, as well in its details as in the principles upon which it is founded. On some articles the duties are entirely prohibitory and on others there is a partial prohibition. It discriminates in favor of manufactures and against agriculture by imposing many higher duties upon the manufactured fabric than upon the agricultural product out of which it is made.

It discriminates in favor of the manufacturer and against the mechanic by many higher duties upon the manufacture than upon the article made out of it by the mechanic. It discriminates in favor of the manufacturer and against the merchant by injurious restrictions upon trade and commerce, and against the shipbuilding and navigating interest by heavy duties on almost every article used in building or navigating vessels. It discriminates in favor of manufactures and against exports, which are as truly the product of American industry as manufactures. It discriminates in favor of the rich and against the poor by high duties upon nearly all the necessaries of life and by minimums and specific duties, rendering the tax upon the real article much higher on the cheaper than upon the finer article.

That is not only a good criticism of the pending measure, but it is a clear exposition of the doctrine of the Democratic party as embodied in the Chicago platform.

Mr. President, in 1884, and again in 1888, and it was repeated in 1892, at the suggestion, I believe, of the factory and mill owners to a large extent of New England, as a sop to the people whose support in that direction was sought by the Democratic party, that the traditions of the party should be so far departed from as to exempt from duty, for the benefit of one section of the country largely, all the product or a large part of it of the greater proportion of the country; I said it was taken up in deference to that sentiment and that it was as vicious in principle as it was unequal in operation. As a result of that, the Democratic party came to disaster. No Democrat can stand in the West or the South or in any of the great producing regions of this country as justifying a monopoly to the Eastern or Northern manufacturers, their political enemies, by saying that the burden of taxation shall not be imposed upon them to the degree that is possible in a just and equitable distribution of tariff burdens.

Then this declaration in the Chicago platform, excluding as it does the idea of free raw material, is not a new evangel; it is not an evil genius; it is not a vile reptile or rattlesnake. There is no need for any Senator, in order that he may be protected from it, to make any solemn and dramatic invocation to the Almighty and in agony and despair to ask God to help him. It comes to us fresh and pure and undefiled from the very source and fountain of Democratic faith, and, so far as any vote that I cast is concerned, it will be in accordance with the declaration and principles of my party.

SCHEDULE I.—(Exempt from duty.)

Animals imported for breed; bullion, gold and silver; cabinets of coins, medals, and other collections of antiquities; coffee and tea, when imported direct from the place of their growth or production in American vessels, or in foreign vessels entitled by reciprocal treaties to be exempt from discriminating duties, tonnage, and other charges; coffee, the growth or production of the possessions of the Netherlands, imported from the Netherlands in the same manner; coins, gold, silver, and copper; copper ore; copper, when imported for the United States mint; cotton; felt, adhesive, for sheathing vessels; garden seeds, and all other seeds not otherwise provided for; goods, wares, and merchandise, the growth, produce, or manufacture of the United States, exported to a foreign country and brought back to the United States in the same condition as when exported, upon which no drawback or bounty has been allowed: *Provided*, That all regulations to ascertain the identity thereof prescribed by existing laws or which may be prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury shall be complied with; guano; household effects, old and in use, of persons or families from foreign countries, if used abroad by them, and not intended for any other person or persons, or for sale; junk, old; models of inventions and other improvements in the arts: *Provided*, That no article or articles shall be deemed a model or improvement which can be fitted for use; oakum, oil, spermaceti, whale and other fish, of American fisheries, and all other articles the produce of such fisheries; paintings and statuary, the production of American artists residing abroad, and all other paintings and statuary: *Provided*, The same be imported in good faith as objects of taste and not of merchandise; personal and household effects (not merchandise) of citizens of the United States dying abroad; plaster of paris, unground; platina, unmanufactured; sheathing copper, but no copper to be considered such, and admitted free, except in sheets 48 inches long and 14 inches wide,

and weighing from 14 to 34 ounces the square foot; sheathing metal; specimens of natural history, mineralogy, or botany; trees, shrubs, bulbs, plants, and roots, not otherwise provided for; wearing apparel in actual use, and other personal effects not merchandise, professional books, implements, instruments, and tools of trade, occupation, or employment, of persons arriving in the United States: *Provided*, That this exemption shall not be construed to include machinery or other articles imported for use in any manufacturing establishment, or for sale.

Approved July 30, 1846.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. President, we have been listening for two months to the efforts to adjust and readjust, and unadjust and readjust again, the relative claims of the beneficiaries who are to share in the monumental trust fund that this measure is intended to raise. The Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives struggled with this question all through the winter, and in the early spring the House sent to this body the product of their long labor. Their work has been again considered with great deliberation, and the relative shares of the claimants have been again readjusted, and as we progress with the bill the controversy goes on, former decisions are reopened, and new decisions made The claimants are not content with the shares of the spoil as they have been divided.

The relative proportions distributed to each have not been satisfactory. The work of redistribution goes on, and the representatives of 73,000,000 of people sitting in the Capitol of the Republic are engaged day by day and hour by hour trying to settle, as in a court of equity, the relative shares of each one of these claimants in this great fund which is to be raised by Congress for distribution. Little, sir, has been said about where this money is to come from. Senators and Representatives dispose of it, and levy these great shares as though it was to be let down in a sheet from heaven, as if it was to be taken from no one, as if it were a bounty which, like the atmosphere and the rain which God gives to the people, each one of these favored classes was to have a certain share of; and we are sitting here to determine the proper amount to be given to each claimant.

I come, sir, to speak for the forgotten man—the taxpayer. I come to speak for those from whose pockets this vast sum is to be raised: from whose labor and sweat, day and night, this vast contribution is to be taken. They have some right to be heard in the councils of the nation when their property is to be taken by an act of legislative rapine and distributed among men who have paid no consideration for it.

I have been surprised, Mr. President, when we have called upon the originators and constructors of this measure to explain it, that they have sat in silence, feeling conscious of power, and have not deigned even to give a reason to the taxpayers of this country for this measure which they propose to put upon the statute books of the nation.

Where is this money to come from? I look upon the rates of taxation in this bill with the profoundest astonishment, and ask you where this money is to come from? Commencing at the very beginning of this measure, I find that you have put a tax upon boracic acid of $126.89 on $100 worth of that product. Who is to pay it? What right have you to take the property of the taxpayers of this country and distribute it among the men who own boracic acid?

Here are some, and only some, of the rates of taxation imposed upon the necessaries of life:

Rates of duty levied by Senate bill.

Boracic acid	$126.89	Morphia	$82.64
Tannic acid	128.15	Opium for smoking	81.86
Alcoholic perfumery	71.22	Red lead	88.71
Alcoholic compounds	349.27	Spirit varnishes	95.17
Borax, refined	71.48	White lead	63.96
Collodion	70.42	Putty	69.19
Copperas	62.50	Strychnine	77.00
Sulphuric ether	318.33	Glass bottles	80.38
Fruit ethers	128.90	Window glass	115.16
Window glass	126.43	Salt	114.23
Plate glass	109.72	Compounds of distilled spirits	1,206.34
Plate glass	118.73	Brandy	346.02
Iron and steel in sheets	67.28	Bay rum	112.95
Iron and steel in sheets	70.43	Wines	272.72
Cutlery	111.05	Plushes, cotton	74.07
Razors and razor blades	88.08	Shoddy	217.39
Shotguns	60.00	Nails	109.02
Wire nails	60.22	Nails	102.00
Silver leaf	158.88	Woolen rags	172.63
Pig lead	111.11	Woolen cloth	128.23
Sugar	75.62	Blankets	135.95
Tobacco leaf	134.20	Flannels	119.41
Tobacco leaf	222.22	Wool shawls	171.15
Tobacco leaf	288.11	Felts	224.55
Cigars	110.80	Plushes, woolen	127.60
Cigarettes	133.63	Wool carpets	80.22
Rice	133.33	Total carpets	104.17
Currants	93.75		

When the Constitution of the United States was formed, it was intended to be the great charter for the government of a free people. It laid down distinctly the just powers of the Government it created, and it defined in the clearest language the limitations of those powers and guarded, as far as words could guard, against their abuse. It gave to Congress power to lay and collect taxes. For what purpose? Was it to raise money to distribute among favored classes? It does not say so; but to lay and collect taxes to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare.

Mr. President, no clearer definition of the proper functions of government on this continent has ever been given than that which was given by the noble old Commonwealth of Massachusetts in her constitution of 1780. She knew what liberty was worth, and she knew the proper functions of just government. She estimated the blessings of freedom as we estimate all blessings—by their flight. She was then struggling against the oppression of arbitrary power located on another hemisphere. She was the first to lay her lambs, without spot or blemish, upon the altar of sacrifice. She poured in the streets of Boston, in 1770, the first blood offered as a protest against tyrannical taxation.

She emphasized her devotion to liberty at Lexington, Concord, and Bunker Hill before this great charter of free government was written. She made the declaration while the struggle was still on and the warm blood of her own children was still flowing, and before the coveted boon came to her and her confederates at Yorktown. Let me call your attention to her words:

> The end of the institution, maintenance, and administration of government is to secure the existence of the body politic, to protect it, and to furnish the individuals who compose it with the power of enjoying in safety and tranquillity their natural rights and the blessings of life. * * * Government is instituted for the common good, for the protection, safety, prosperity, and happiness of the people, and not for the profit, honor, or private interest of any one man, family, or class of men.

Virginia, by the hand of George Mason, wrote the same great truth in the bill of rights to her constitution in 1776. She said:

> No man or set of men are entitled to exclusive or separate emoluments or privileges from the community but in consideration of public services.

It is the same thought, it is the same idea, but not the way in which Massachusetts spoke it. Was it true in 1780 that in a free government no one man, no one family, no one class of men were entitled to separate emoluments? Was it true in 1780 that government was instituted for the common good and for the protection, safety, prosperity, and happiness of the people, and is it now to be administered for the profit of one man, or one class of men, or one family of men? If the declaration was true then, it is true now.

The Democratic party, that started with the birth of the Government, started with the idea that liberty could only be perpetuated on this continent by strictly construing the words of that grant. There was where the battle started. They did not mean to construe the words of that instrument so as to make them mean what they did not mean, but to construe them to mean what they meant in the common conversation of the day. There is not a word in that Constitution that authorizes Congress to take one man's property and give it to another. It is contrary to the fundamental principles of honesty as well as of free government, and all our constitutions contain the interdiction that government shall not even take private property for public purposes without paying for it.

But here is a bill of confiscation, proposing to take the property of the forgotten men, who are not sharers in this grand slush fund, who are under the ban of their Government, laboring in their fields on their crops and in the highways trying to make a support for themselves and their wives and children, and the all-powerful classes, built up by the plunder of the people by legislation, put their hands upon the throats of the people, and when we stand here and ask for some explanation of these exorbitant levies, they look at us as much as to say, "What are you going to do about it?" They may go on recklessly in their bold career, but I call to their memory the admonition of the wise man who speaks from the Bible:

> Rejoice, O young man, in thy youth; and let thy heart cheer thee in the days of thy youth, and walk in the ways of thine heart, and in the sight of thine eyes: but know thou, that for all these things God will bring thee into judgment.

We have got no tribunal here. These doors are slammed in our faces. The old fundamental maxim of Saxon liberty, that every man shall be heard before he shall be condemned, has no place in this court. Thank God, there is a tribunal whose doors stand wide open day and night; and to that tribunal we will take you gentlemen.

You made a bill like this in 1890, and while you were making it you were outraging the public sentiment of this country. The response came to you in the elections that followed.

You talk now about the depression of the business interests of the country. It began in 1890, and the evidence of it was in the elections of November of that year. The country gave some premonitory symptoms of the bubonic plague, and in 1892 they put the Republican party in quarantine, there to remain until it had been thoroughly fumigated. Now, Mr. President, it is proposed to reenact that law with all its horrible iniquity intensified.

Look at the enormous rates of taxation in the list I have mentioned; $100 worth of tannic acid taxed $128.15; $100 worth of alcoholic compounds taxed $349.27; $100 worth of compounds of distilled spirits taxed $1,206.34. All this money you levy on the pockets of the forgotten man, whose pockets, alas, are now empty.

Where is this money to come from? Who is to pay it? It is to come from somebody. We have been told when we have pressed for an answer to this question, "Why, the foreigner pays that tax; you have nothing to do with it; it gets into the public Treasury, and is expended by the Government, and the foreigner pays it." Do you think that the foreigner contributes the material cost, the labor cost, and all the expenses incident to the production of a hundred dollars' worth of product, reserving to himself a little profit to live on and carry on his business—that he pays all that and pays $1,200 besides that to get to sell it for $100? No man in his senses believes any such thing.

But if the foreigner pays the tax, if we compel him by law to pay a tax for the support of our Government, in which he has no interest, what is the difference between that and piracy on the high seas? Why should we take from any foreigner a solitary dollar for any purpose in the United States? It would be highway robbery if done upon land, and it would be piracy if committed upon the high seas. But every child 10 years old knows that the foreigner does not pay a particle of this tax.

But, Mr. President, if we grant that the foreigner pays all the taxes upon the foreign imports that come into this country, amounting now to about $160,000,000, who pays the protective tax on domestic goods consumed in this country? The foreigner never touches them. Who pays the enhanced price placed upon those goods by these exorbitant tariff rates? There is no escaping the answer to that question, that it is the forgotten man who pays all those bills—the forgotten men, women, and children, about 72,500,000, perhaps, out of the 73,000,000 of American people.

Mr. President, I hold in my hand a book, written by a man recognized throughout the world as a statistician and a man skilled in financial matters, entitled Industries and Wealth of Nations, written by Mr. Mulhall. We have often had quotations from him. He gives the value of the manufactured products of the various countries, and compares them with each other. He tells us in his book that he has converted foreign money into pounds sterling at $4.80 to the pound. I have converted his values into dollars at $4.80 to the pound, and they stand as follows:

Great Britain	$4,204,800,000	Italy	$912,000,000
France	2,860,800,000	Spain	580,000,000
Germany	3,312,120,000	Belgium	569,000,000
Russia	1,824,000,000	Switzerland	196,000,000
Austria	1,574,400,000	United States	9,360,000,000

We can form some estimate of the correctness of his figures for other countries by his approximate estimate to our official reports of 1890. Our census reports show their value to be $9,372,437,283, and his figures show $9,360,000,000. In making this comparison, listen to what Mr. Mulhall says: "The value of American manufactures is artificially raised by protective tariffs fully 33 per cent over the real value: the latter amounts, therefore, to about one thousand four hundred and sixty-four millions sterling, or the value conjointly of British and French manufactures." In his table, expressed in pounds, he put the value of our manufactures at £1,952,000,000. He says the correct value is £1,464,000,000; that the protective tariffs have added £488,000,000 to their true value. Four hundred and eighty-eight millions of pounds sterling, at $4.80 to the pound, amount to $2,342,400,000! Deducting the $200,000,000 worth of manufactures we export, we consume $9,172,437,283 at a price 33 per cent too high because of high tariff rates.

Their value in the open market would be $6,879,327,000, and $3,293,327,000 is the increased price we pay annually for protective tariffs. The value of the products of labor in agriculture, horticulture, dairies, vineyards, orchards, gardens, forests, mines, manufactures, and fisheries are less annually than $15,000,000,000, and more than one-sixth of that is extorted from the taxpayers every year as bounty to protected producers. Where does this monumental pile of boodle come from?

Not out of the pockets of the foreigner, but out of the pockets of the forgotten man, out of the taxpayers of the United States; and yet we do not hesitate to put a tax of 200, 300, 400, and even 500 per cent on many articles contained in this bill. Many of those articles escape attention because the cheaper product bearing the higher rate is eliminated and prevented from coming to the country, and our people are compelled to pay higher rates than even those mentioned in these schedules; and the forgotten man, the farmer in the field, the miner in the mine, the laborer on the highway, the man behind the counter and in the offices and in the schoolhouses all over this country have got the strong and powerful hand of the Government rammed down into their pockets to take out of the whole annual income of the people of the United States almost **$2,300,000,000** annually of their earnings. I want the Public Printer to put these figures in heavy black.

I want to fix the attention of the country, if possible, to this stupendous system of legislative rapine and robbery. Two billion two hundred and ninety-three million dollars annually goes to the beneficiaries of this fund, to the protected classes, contrary to the doctrine of liberty as written by Massachusetts, contrary to all the teachings that are written in Virginia, contrary to the teachings of our fathers from that day to this; and the attempt to bring this idol into camp and compel us to uncover our heads and bow down and say our prayers to this god of Dagon will not be accepted in the Democratic camp, no matter where it comes from. When you attempt to bring this Philistine idol into our temple and compel us to worship it, if it does not fall down like the statue of Dagon fell before the Ark of the Covenant, the American people will kick it down, and then kick the life out of it after it is down.

What is the reason for this harsh, oppressive, and destructive measure? Why is it that these enormous exactions are demanded? What cause exists for it? The revenues are increasing. The Government Treasury is full to overflowing. We know of no such instances of taxation in any of the States or in any of the cities. Go to the great city of New York, the great city of Chicago, or any other great city, and you do not find the tax rate over 3 per cent; and if it does go beyond that, it almost raises a revolution. Why is it that the people resent a 3 per cent tax in the States and submit to a tax of 300 per cent by the National Government? Because the tax in the States is levied upon wealth and every man knows when he pays his tax that he is paying it upon his property, and there is a boundary beyond which no government can pass. But here this taxation is indirect.

The people do not know it; they pay it in the stores where they buy. It is constantly taken from them under false pretenses. They only know that depression and distress exist all over the whole land, and they are told that it exists because this tariff bill is delayed here. We are told that the wheels of machinery are standing still and rusting; we are told that the people are in rags waiting for the coming of a Messiah—the tariff bill, that is to be "the be all and the end all" of everything for which they can hope for their benefit. They are standing still and waiting for the tax-gatherer to come and bring them good times by demanding more taxes!

Mr. President, when this Government was first formed we had no manufactures. We had just passed through a most trying and bloody ordeal of seven years, one which I do not think we ever could have passed through but for the friendly hand of France. All through that revolution we felt the necessity of the products of manufacture, of arms, munitions of war, clothing, wagons, and everything to transport, to mobilize an army, and to support and maintain it while it was struggling in the field. Hence our great fathers at that time agreed, for the public benefit, for the national safety, to put a protective duty of 5 or 10 or 15 per cent on goods coming into this country, in order to encourage an infant industry.

Henry Clay, who is said to be the father of the American system, called it an infant industry, and after it had existed for some years—in 1833, I believe—when introducing the compromise tariff of that year, which every two years was to reduce by 10 per cent the rate of existing duties until they would come to a horizontal level of 20 per cent in 1841 or 1842, he gave nine years of time, at the expiration of which the infant was to arrive at maturity, put off his boyish garments, and stand forth as a man in full stature. The period of infancy, in the judgment of the protectionists of the early day, was to terminate by 1840, and when the Whig party in 1842 restored our manufactures to their state of infancy it was assailed all over the country in the campaign of 1844. James K. Polk was made President of the United States, and the Walker tariff of 1846 was placed upon the statute book—the first step in advance toward free trade.

I speak that word regardless of how it may grate on the ears of some of my Democratic friends. They then took the position that this country was to embark in manufactures, to give employment to its people, and send the products of their labor all over the whole world and compete with the whole world. How was it to be done? It was to be done by putting the raw materials of manufacture upon the free list and reducing the finished products to a low revenue duty. The revenue tariff of 1846, Mr. Walker tells us, did not accomplish so much as he intended that it should, because of the efforts of Mr. Calhoun. But I will read you what he says. In a letter written by him in 1867 as the financial agent of the Government of the United States, he says to the world:

> But the tariff of 1846, although it remained much longer in operation than any other tariff, and produced much more beneficial results, was susceptible of great improvements, especially in its application to the present condition of our country—
>
> First. The raw material of manufactures, as recommended in my first annual report, shou'd be duty free, as is the practice of all enlightened nations. This proposition, then made by me, was to some extent defeated at that time by Mr. Calhoun. His argument was this: That, so far as no revenue was collected on the raw material of manufactures imported here, we must make good the loss from other articles, and that this was an unjust and unconstitutional discrimination in favor of American manufactures.

We hear something of the same sort to-day.

> My answer was: First, that it would never be unconstitutional to permit any one or more articles to come in duty free; second, that Mr. Calhoun had agreed to a large free list in the compromise tariff of 1832; third, that, in point of fact, there was no real loss of revenue, but an actual gain, resulting in this way: That, as our imports were measured by our exports, specie

only liquidating occasional balances, and that, as we reduced our exports, we were necessarily diminishing our imports, and decreasing our revenue. To illustrate this, I said that dyestuffs are now free from duty, and we have a considerable export of dyed goods to foreign countries. But if we impose a tax upon dyestuffs, which are admitted duty free by all other countries, we shall either annihilate or gradually diminish our exports of dyed goods, correspondingly decrease our imports, and diminish the revenue. This proved to be the case, as shown by the tables of our exports of dyed goods under the tariff of 1846, as compared with those of 1842.

After a close investigation of this subject, and after examining the tariffs and the manufacturing establishments of foreign countries in 1851-52 and 1853-54, I am convinced that to admit the raw material of manufactures in all cases duty free would greatly increase our wealth, augment our exports, imports, and revenue, and diminish the burdens of taxation. Let us remember that in taking the duty off the raw material, the consumers, the people of the United States, get the manufactured article at a lower rate. This, then, is another step in the reduction of taxes. With this principle in view, we could take up the 5 and 10 per cent schedules, and, having admitted, duty free, all the articles specified in them constituting the raw material of manufactures, we should abolish those two schedules and put the remaining articles into the 15 per cent schedule, thus simplifying and improving the system and increasing the revenue.

Mr. President, we have been told what Democracy is, as though it were a revelation that just came down from heaven in 1896 at Chicago. Have there been no Democratic utterances in this country except at Chicago in 1896? Have there been no battles fought for Democratic doctrine prior to 1896? Was there an inspiration direct from heaven that selected each one of the words? I am reminded that there has been a struggle of late years to switch the Democratic party out of its beaten path as the guard of liberty on this continent and to make it go blindfolded into the Republican camp as the defender and vindicator and espouser of protective-tariff legislation and tariff abominations.

It was tried in 1884. It was tried in 1888. It was tried in 1892 at Chicago. I happened to be there when the committee on platform brought in the equivocal declaration made by some members in the interest of protective tariffs. The plank was brought to me by a friend of mine, and I said to him, "Make open battle before the body of the convention for Democratic doctrine." It was done. What was the result?

The platform, when it was reported to the Democratic convention in 1892, was equivocal. It was a straddle. It contained a provision on which we could either go into the Republican camp or some Republicans in disguise in our ranks could stand upon the platform and say, "This is Democracy." But when it was brought before the convention the Democratic doctrine was written out in clear, ringing words, unequivocal, and it was adopted by a vote of 564 to 342. I find Georgia casting 22 votes for it and 4 against it. I find South Carolina casting 18 votes for it and none against it. Utah cast 2 Territorial votes for it and none against it.

Mr. President, they simply declared in that platform, as I will show later on, the old doctrine of Democracy, the doctrine that it is the duty of the Government to secure to every citizen in the country every natural right and take none of them from him.

That is old Jeffersonian Democracy as declared by Massachusetts, and Massachusetts was the stronghold of Democracy in 1780. Mr. Jefferson, after the tariff of 1816 had been passed, making a departure from that principle, said in a letter that "our legislators are not sufficiently apprised of the rightful limits of their power; that their true office is to declare and enforce only our natural rights and duties and to take none of them from us." You notice he says "only." Only is a Democratic shibboleth. The duty of the legislator is to declare and enforce "only" our natural rights and duties and take none of them from us. He says that "the idea is quite unfounded that on entering into society we give up any natural right."

Mr. President, I will go back to the first national convention the Democratic party ever had in the United States, if I am not mistaken, that of 1836, and, copying from that letter of Jefferson, they say in this one sentence—they do not give it all, but it is a creed as clearly written as that in the constitution of Massachusetts:

> Every man is under the natural duty of contributing to the necessities of society, and this is all the law should enforce on him.

Taxation to support the government that protects him in his natural rights, and nothing else. That is the only contribution just government has a right to exact from him. The government is only society, to whose necessities he is required to contribute. If one man is not making by his occupation as much money as he wants, the others are not bound to contribute to a fund for that purpose. The Democratic national conventions have always declared against such perversions of governmental power.

In 1840 they said:

> Justice and sound policy forbid the Federal Government to foster one branch of industry to the detriment of another, or to cherish the interests of one portion to the injury of another portion of our common country.

Did the Democratic national convention of 1896 antagonize this principle? Did they intend to renounce the faith of a century? I say no. The convention intended to reiterate the fundamental principle for which the party had stood through all its history. We are told the committee on platform intentionally struck out the word "only." But the convention did not know of their intention. If it had, the convention would have run over the committee as they did in 1892. It seems the committee attempted to derail the train and run it into the woods. They intended, or a majority of them intended, to blindfold the old guard and lead it away from the citadel of liberty, around whose walls it had been doing duty for a hundred years.

Mr. RAWLINS. Will the Senator from Texas permit one question?

Mr. MILLS. Certainly.

Mr. RAWLINS. If I understand the proposition of Mr. Jefferson aright, it was that one class of citizens should not be fostered at the expense of another. The question which I desire to propound is this: If you arrange a tariff bill in favoritism to manufacturers by imposing taxes to give them a monopoly, on one side, and in favoritism of manufacturers by exempting materials they use in their manufactures, on the other side—double favoritism—and you bestow no corresponding benefit to the other class, which, as I understand, is the operation of the principle for which the Senator now contends, is it not the grossest violation of the proposition Mr. Jefferson founded?

Mr. MILLS. I do not know that I can answer the Senator's long question. I am stating what Mr. Jefferson believed and what the Democratic party believes, and I will go on and state it, and my friend the Senator from Utah can draw his answer from what I am going to say.

In 1848, after the enactment of the Walker tariff, when the Democratic party assembled in convention again, they said they reaffirmed what they had said in 1844. They reaffirmed their former declaration of Democratic principles, and then they congratulated themselves "on the fulfillment of the hopes of the Democracy of the Union in the noble impulse given to the cause of free trade by the repeal of the tariff of 1842 and the creation of the more equal, honest, and protective tariff of 1846." They were not afraid of the question of free trade. It was no bugaboo to men who loved freedom, free labor, free speech, free thought, free religion, free locomotion, free occupation, free exchanges, and the freedom to take to the consumer the products that you make for the consumer and take back his which he makes for you, a natural right upon which both lives depend.

In 1852 they reaffirmed again, and in 1856, without going straight to free trade, they said, "The time has come for the people of the United States to declare themselves in favor of free seas and progressive free trade throughout the world." No protective tariff in that. No class legislation in that. The men who carried the banners of liberty in those days and who worshiped liberty as the representative of divinity did not uncrown her when she got in the presence of a rice field or a sawmill or a sheep ranch. They loved liberty. They stood by it. Why did they say they were in favor of free seas? Because it had not been very long since Great Britain claimed that the seas were her private property.

Franklin Pierce and William L. Marcy only a short time before had, by negotiation with Denmark, opened the sound and abolished the sound dues that Denmark charged upon the commerce of the world. All the great Democratic statesmen were laboring to free the seas, declaring them to be the common property and the common heritage of the people of the earth, and that they had a right to traverse them without paying sound dues or ocean dues or having their vessels searched by any power on the globe. The next thing after that, they were starting with Great Britain to strike down all this class legislation, that it was building up an aristocracy, building up nobility, building up titles, and standing as a buttress around thrones and monarchies. They were starting to diffuse throughout the earth the blessings of liberty.

They were "progressing," as they used that word, and in 1856 they made further progress. How did they do it? They reduced the duty on finished goods and put a large number on the free list, and yet we are told that a tariff to be equal and to be just and to be democratic must be imposed on every article imported into the United States. I defy any man living to point to a tariff from Hamilton's, in 1789, to the present that does not discriminate and carry a free list. The very first tariff that was made put wool and other articles on the free list—George Washington's tariff, Thomas Jefferson's tariff, for he was Secretary of State in the Cabinet, and, of course, was counseled upon a measure of such importance, Alexander Hamilton's tariff—it is called Hamilton's tariff. He was Secretary of the Treasury, and Hamilton was a protectionist. Not after the idea of to-day, however. Every one of our old leaders followed them without a faltering step and believed that the materials of manufacture should be free. Why?

Was it for the benefit of Massachusetts alone? Oh, no. Was it for the benefit of Vermont, New York, or New Jersey? Oh, no. They had a higher and loftier object than that. They said that every man had a natural right to labor and to live. They said, "If we tax the raw materials of manufacture and discriminate against our manufacturers in the cost of production a half cent to the yard, that half cent drives him out of every market beyond

our boundaries. If we discriminate against him by increasing the cost of his product a half cent a pound, it closes the markets of the whole world against him. We must strip him to the waist, 'lay aside every weight, and the sin which doth so easily beset us;'" and if any sin doth more easily beset than a protective tariff, I have yet to learn about it.

Leave all these free of duty to the manufacturers. What, then? We have got cheaper labor than any country in the world, because machine labor is cheaper than hand labor. In many branches of manufacture one man with a machine does ten times as much work as one man by hand. Everyone who has studied the question knows that. Mulhall gives that as the reason why we excel all the world in the value of the products of our manufactures. He says, "American manufactures have multiplied just twenty-fold since 1840, while those of Europe have only doubled. Nearly all American manufactures are produced by machinery, while in Europe more than half is hand work. The result is that the output per hand in the United States is much greater." He puts the average value of product per hand in British manufactures at $513.60; France, at $638.40; Germany, $379.20; Austria, $350.40.

It is amusing to contrast these figures with the value of product per hand in the United States. Here it is $2,204 per hand—more than three times as much as the Frenchman; more than four times as much as the Englishman; more than five times as much as the German and Austrian, and more than eight times as much as the Russian and Italian, the first of which turns out $242 worth of product, and the latter $266 worth.

Mr. GRAY. That is the reason why he gets more wages.

Mr. MILLS. Of course that is the reason why he gets more wages; and yet he gets almost double the wages of the man in Great Britain, hardly double those of France, nearly three times more than those of Russia and Austria. Yet when you look at the fact and see a British laborer turning out about $513 of product a year, and look at the American turning out $2,204 worth of product, when you look at the others turning out two or three hundred dollars' worth of the products, you see how far we have distanced them.

Now, what is the policy of the party? Is it not to stand true to the faith of our old fathers, that the natural right of the citizen is what we should secure? They believed that God is wiser than man; that He has so created man and endowed him with these natural rights, and that in their enjoyment he rises to his highest beneficence all over the globe.

Mr. RAWLINS. Will the Senator from Texas allow me to ask him a question? If I understand the logical conclusion of the Senator's argument, it is that there is no necessity for and there ought not to be protection either to the raw material or to the finished product; that the ideal condition is universal freedom of commerce or trade. If he will put himself there and demonstrate that that is a practical proposition in American politics to-day, I shall be glad to stand with him.

Mr. MILLS. I would say to my friend the Senator from Utah that he had better quicken his steps if he wants to get with me on that line.

Mr. RAWLINS. Mr. President——

Mr. MILLS. I must go on. I have the greatest respect in the world for my friend, but he is breaking the line of my argument. I will go along, and do the best I can with this matter.

Mr. RAWLINS. I understand, and I shall not interrupt the Senator further.

Mr. MILLS. I want to illustrate the free-raw-material position a little. We had a few years ago a tax on wool. We have not now, but we will have one in a very short time. It was a tax of 11 cents a pound. The manufacturers say that it takes 4 pounds of wool in the grease to make 1 pound of cloth. Let us see how that works.

The American manufacturer and the English manufacturer go together to the wool dealer in London. Each buys 4 pounds of wool at 15 cents a pound in the grease, making 60 cents. The Englishman goes and expends for labor 30 cents on that 4 pounds, making 90 cents for the whole cost, leaving him a margin of profit, after other things, of 10 per cent to him. The American goes along at the same time, buys 4 pounds of wool costing 60 cents, brings his wool home, and pays 44 cents duty at the custom-house. That is $1.04. He pays 30 cents for labor, which makes $1.34. Now, if you leave those two persons right there in that situation, the Englishman comes in and undersells the American by 44 cents in the yard of goods at home, not in the foreign market.

What does it mean? The demolition and destruction of every wool-manufacturing establishment in the United States, the throwing out of employment of perhaps a half million men, and if you carry that policy out in all branches of manufacture, you will throw out of employment 5,000,000 people. You destroy your manufactures. Not only that, but let us see what condition the woolman is going to be in who is demanding this thing. The woolman now with free wool compels the wool producer in Argentina and Russia and Australia and everywhere else to pay the cost of transportation to the American market to compete with him at home. Merchants tell us that is equivalent to about 10 per cent. Now, with this wool market gone at home, he has to transport his wool to the English and German and French markets and pay 10 per cent cost to compete with the foreign wools in their own markets. Is that the policy which is commended to us? They say, "No; that will not do. You must put a duty on the woolen goods of the Briton and the Frenchman and every other."

What for? To compensate the manufacturer for what he has advanced to the woolgrower. Of course you will have to do it, and put back in his pocket the 44 cents that he expended for the duty on his 4 pounds of wool. Now, then, you leave him exactly as he was at the beginning. Then what have you got to do? To put him on equal terms with the woolgrower, you have to protect him to the extent of 11 cents a pound. There are two taxes, double taxes. And it is so as you go on with the schedule, as all know who have investigated the subject, and none know it better than the two distinguished Senators who are so ably representing our party in this controversy [Mr. VEST and Mr. JONES of Arkansas]. Every step we advance toward the finished product we have to increase taxation.

Mr. GRAY. Who compensates the forgotten man?

Mr. MILLS. Nobody compensates him, and nobody cares for him but Democrats. Protectionists tell him he is getting rich when he is poor. They tell him that the advance agent of prosperity is coming on horseback, but he never appears. They tell him when he is plundered with taxation that he is better off than any other people in the world. But he is forgotten, badly forgotten.

Look at your tax on iron ore, on raw material; your tax on coal, another. It takes coal and iron ore to make pig iron. You tax pig iron. There are three taxes on one product. When the pig iron is converted into steel, bar steel or any other, it is taxed again. There are four taxes. When the bar steel is converted into cutlery it is taxed again, and there are five taxes—taxes piled on top of each other like Ossa upon Pelion—all to be paid by the forgotten man.

Then, what does it all amount to? It amounts to keeping our manufactures from going into the world. It keeps us from the employment of our labor to the best advantage. It denies work to every laborer in this country who is out of employment, because it is a fact beyond question that with free trade, with all imports on the free list, with this Government supported by taxation on wealth—as it ought to be, like the State government—or by the tax alone on the last finished product that goes into consumption, and that a light one, we could manufacture the four to five hundred million dollars' worth of cotton goods that Great Britain is shipping to the world, for she shows by her own statisticians that we have cheaper labor and better machinery. We have the cotton at home, and we do not have to pay any cost of transportation to Great Britain on it.

The two-thirds of our crop of 9,000,000 bales could be manufactured at home and give employment to three times as many people as we employ in manufacturing one-third of it at home. Would they not be more prosperous? Would they not make more money? Would they not have more wants, and would they not want more bread? Would they not give a higher price for wheat? Would they not, by the increased demand for bread, raise the demand for wheat to the farmers of the country? Would they not eat more meat? Would there not be an increased demand for that meat? Would it not increase the price of meat? Would not the wealth made by the labor of our people distribute itself all over our country, in the pockets of all our people, by a natural God-given law? Unquestionably it would. All agricultural products would rise in value. All manufactured products and others now raised by law would fall to the level of the world's markets, and wealth created by labor would remain around the homes of the laborer.

Mr. President, as I said, in 1857 we started on in the line of progress toward free trade—toward that happy condition that our fathers had been looking for. We put all wool under 20 cents a pound on the free list, and put a small duty on the other—a trifling duty. They ought to have put the whole of it on the free list, but the advance thought was not strong enough at that time.

Mr. Blaine says in his book that about that period there was nobody in the United States contending for a protective tariff. The idea had been so strongly embedded in the brain of the people of the United States that protection was wrong and freedom of trade was right that there was nobody contending for it. Hence, after the war was over and these high-protective duties had been imposed to raise an extraordinary fund to support the war, we find in 1870 a large body of the people, I think clearly a majority, began to cry for low taxes; and I do not believe that there has been less than a pronounced majority of the people who have not been in favor of low taxes from that day to this. I have never found it the case anywhere. If the issue is directly made and all money is kept away from the polls and nobody bought or intimidated, the

people of the United States would vote by more than a million majority for low taxes.

So in 1870, after they had been demanding a reduction of the then existing rates, Congress responded to it, and what did they do? They reduced the duties on imported goods and put 178 articles on the free list. That was not sufficient to satisfy the public demand, and in 1872 they further reduced the duties on finished goods and put 213 articles on the free list. They did it under a misapprehension of the manufacturers. They thought that it was going to decrease the revenue $57,000,000. They did not want to increase the revenues.

The two acts resulted in an increase of revenue, just exactly what Democrats have been contending for all the time, and when they found out that instead of decreasing the revenue $57,000,000 and stopping the payment of the bonds of the United States in the interest of another allied money class, then light shone in on the minds of the protectionists, and that was that the idea of going toward free trade and pushing their products into the markets of the world would not be as productive of wealth to them as to stop the whole business and fortify and build up trusts in this country to control the product and levy two thousand three hundred million dollars a year out of the forgotten man's pockets in the United States. That has been the policy and that is now the policy.

Everybody knows that the increased rates in this bill do not make up a difference in labor cost, which is cheaper in this country than anywhere else. Everybody knows that there are no infant industries in this country, when our product was $9,372,000,000 in 1890 and over ten billion to-day; as I said the other day, leaving England out, almost equal to the entire product of the balance of the world, on account of machinery and the inventive genius of a free people standing by their natural rights and believing that their highest material development comes from freedom, and that, standing fast by it and defending it on all occasions, this Republic would rise and overshadow the whole earth with its glory.

But, alas, we are taking the backward track now, and what are we doing? Building up a vast and sordid plutocracy in this country. Somebody asked the other day how many millionaires there are in the United States. You could count them on the fingers of one hand before 1860. The policies and measures adopted by the Democratic Administrations before the war did not permit the growth of such monsters in this country. Republican policies have fostered and fattened them. They now insolently refuse to be taxed, and insolently demand that other people shall work out their lives to pay them tribute.

I read from a paper written by Thomas G. Shearman, one of the ablest lawyers in the United States. It was published and republished again in the magazines. It was published in 1890. It has never been questioned. It has been sent broadcast; it has been commented on everywhere; and never have I heard one breath of contradiction or criticism of the article. I will read what he says, and he gives the names of some of them in his discussion, and they do not deny it:

There are 200 persons worth $20,000,000 each	$4,000,000,000
There are 400 persons worth $10,000,000 each	4,000,000,000
There are 1,000 persons worth $5,000,000 each	5,000,000,000
There are 2,000 persons worth $2,500,000 each	5,000,000,000
There are 6,000 persons worth $1,000,000 each	6,000,000,000

Twenty-four billion dollars owned by 9,600 persons!

Then he puts down 15,000 people who own $500,000 each, making $7,500,000,000. Thus, these 24,600 people own $31,500,000,000, or more at that time than one-half of the national wealth of the United States. Startling as are these figures, the work of creating and multiplying millionaires still goes on, and to-day the people are confronted with a bill proposing to levy one-hundred-dollar taxes and two-hundred-dollar taxes and three-hundred-dollar taxes on a hundred dollars' worth of the necessaries of life—not to raise revenue and pay the debts of the Government, but to raise revenue for the private pockets of a favored class, and to an amount estimated at nearly $2,300,000,000 a year. Now, then, the democratic people want to stop this business and return to the old canons of free government, and we are met with the assertion that the creed was changed at Chicago in 1896. This I deny.

In 1887 the House was Democratic by a small majority, and Mr. Cleveland, then President, sent to Congress a ringing message, calling on Congress to reduce the duties on imports. In April, 1888, a bill was reported to the House and passed in July, which took from the dutiable list articles amounting to more than twenty-two millions in value and made a reduction of about thirty millions of taxes on dutiable goods. The Democratic national convention of 1888 indorsed that bill and indorsed the men who supported it. The Democracy was advancing, not retreating, then. We were progressing toward freer trade, open markets, just government, and economical expenditures. We were getting back around the old family hearthstone. There were some gentlemen in that convention who were opposed to "only," but the great body of the convention were not, and the Democratic people of the nation were not. The bill, largely increasing the free list, with lumber, wool, and tin plate among the items freed from taxes, was indorsed by the national convention and by almost every State convention of that party in the United States.

In 1892, in the national convention at Chicago, there were some protectionists who wanted to evade the direct issue and put in the platform some words that could be construed both ways; but the scheme failed. The Democratic principle of taxation was not revealed to the world for the first time in 1896 at Chicago. When the differences were carried to the body of the convention for decision, they spoke the ancient faith in words that it is impossible to misunderstand.

Here is the plank put in that platform by the vote of the convention:

SEC. 3. We denounce Republican protection as a fraud, a robbery of the great majority of the American people for the benefit of the few.

That sounds like the old doctrine.

We declare it to be a fundamental principle of the Democratic party that the Federal Government has no constitutional power to impose and collect tariff duties except for the purposes of revenue only, and we demand that the collection of such taxes shall be limited to the necessities of the Government when honestly and economically administered.

That is the canon of the old faith as I understand it.

We denounce the McKinley tariff law enacted by the Fifty-first Congress as the culminating atrocity of class legislation; we indorse the efforts made by the Democrats of the present Congress to modify its most oppressive features in the direction of free raw materials and cheaper manufactured goods that enter into general consumption, and we promise its repeal as one of the beneficent results that will follow the action of the people in intrusting power to the Democratic party.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. We won on that.

Mr. MILLS. And we won largely on it; yet we are told that to tax imports coming into the United States is not Democratic, and we are told that Democratic doctrine was the doctrine proclaimed at Chicago by striking out the word "only." In other words, that taxation is for the purpose of protection against competition and building up a rich and powerful class and incidentally to raise some money for the support of the Government.

Let me quote for the delectation of my friends some utterances from old tariff literature which I have culled from the Library. It is not complete, but it is enough to show conclusively that the Democratic people have been, without variableness or shadow of turning, in favor of limiting the power of taxation and confining it to its constitutional purpose. They have declared over and over again in State and national conventions that that power was to be exercised "only" to raise revenue for the Government. The national conventions from 1840 to 1860 were for "progressive free trade." From 1876 to the present they have been for revenue "only," which is the same thing in different words.

In 1870 the Democratic State convention of Maine said:

"*Free trade is the right of the people.*"

In 1876 New Hampshire said:

"We favor a tariff for revenue *only*."

In 1876 Vermont said:

"A tariff for the purpose of revenue *only*."

In 1871 Massachusetts said:

"We demand a tariff for revenue *only*."

In 1876 Connecticut said:

"The tariff law should be adjusted for the purpose of revenue *only*."

They had no war to make on "only."

New York in 1871 said:

"Government should lay no tax on imports *except for revenue purposes*."

In 1874 New York said:

"Federal taxation for revenue *only*."

In 1876 New York said:

"We are in favor of a tariff for revenue *only*."

In 1877 New York said:

"A tariff for revenue *only*."

In 1880 New York said:

"A tariff for revenue *only*."

How strange it is the word "only" has hung all along in our history as a proper limitation of the taxing power of the Government, and now we are told that it is to be carted out and dumped in the rubbish.

Mr. LINDSAY. And purposely.

Mr. MILLS. And purposely done to define the new doctrine of Democracy.

Ohio said in 1869:

"A tariff based upon revenue principles *alone, with the closest possible approximation to free trade.*"

Ohio in 1871 said:

"We are in favor of a *strictly revenue tariff.*"

Ohio said in 1875:

"A tariff for the *sole* purpose of raising revenue."

Ohio in 1876 said:
"We are in favor of a tariff for revenue *only*."
In 1877 Ohio said:
"A tariff for revenue *only*."
Indiana in 1870 said:
"We are in favor of a tariff for revenue *only*."
In 1871 Illinois said:
"Taxes should be levied *solely* for the support of the Government."
Illinois in 1880 said:
"No tariff for protection."
In 1874 Michigan said:
"We demand a tariff for revenue *only*."
In 1877 Iowa said:
"A tariff for revenue *only*."
Iowa said in 1878:
"A tariff for revenue *only*."
Minnesota said in 1874:
"A tariff for revenue *only*."
In 1876 Minnesota said:
"A tariff for revenue *only*."
Wisconsin in 1871 said:
"A tariff for revenue *only*."
In 1876 Wisconsin said:
"A tariff for revenue *only*."
Kansas in 1878 said:
"A tariff for revenue *only*."
Nebraska in 1874 said:
"A tariff for revenue *only*."
Nevada in 1878 said:
"A tariff for revenue *only*."
Oregon in 1872 said:
"We are in favor of a tariff to raise money *only* for the necessary expenses of the Federal Government."
California in 1876 said:
"A tariff for revenue *only*."
Missouri in 1874 said:
"A tariff for revenue *only*."
Kentucky in 1876 said:
"A tariff for revenue *only*."
Tennessee in 1870 said:
"No candidate is worthy of support who is not in favor of a low revenue tariff *which closely approximates free trade*."
Georgia in 1894 said:
"A tariff for revenue *only*."
Texas in 1882 said:
"A tariff for revenue *only*."

Mr. GRAY. And Georgia in 1896.

Mr. MILLS. Yes; Georgia has said it, and all the rest of them, because the cardinal doctrine of our faith, the fundamental, bedrock doctrine of Democracy is that the taxing power of this Government should be limited to the purposes of raising revenue to support the Government.

Mr. President, we are told that there is a new doctrine, and a new definition of Democracy, which has come down to us in these latter days after the Democratic party has carried this country in triumph from its infancy up to its gigantic proportions, and that new revelation is that we must go into the camp of the enemy, that "only" must be stricken out, that the limitations upon the abuses of the taxing power must be destroyed, that the enemy must be let in, and we are all to be blindfolded and led into the camp of the Republican party and to cry hosannas when they are piling up this monster fund for the corruption of the politics of this country and the overthrow of republican institutions.

Mr. President, the Bible tells us that one of the prophets of God smote the army of the Syrians with blindness and led them into Samaria and delivered them captive to the King of Israel. But the Democratic people of the United States are not Syrians and there are no Elishas in this country authorized by God to smite the Democratic people with blindness and lead them into the Republican camp.

Mr. RAWLINS. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. CHANDLER in the chair). Does the Senator from Texas yield to the Senator from Utah?

Mr. MILLS. Certainly.

Mr. RAWLINS. To whom does the Senator refer when he speaks of some gentlemen leading other gentlemen into the Republican party?

Mr. MILLS. What is that?

Mr. RAWLINS. To whom does the Senator refer?

Mr. MILLS. I hold that the doctrine of protection——

Mr. RAWLINS. I thought the Senator was alluding to those gentlemen on this side who voted the Republican ticket last fall.

Mr. MILLS. I am alluding to men who assert that the Democratic party must abandon the word "only," that it must tear down the limitations upon taxation and become a party for protective tariff. I do not name anybody. Every man can wear the garment if it fits him, and if it does not, he can throw it aside. That is what I am talking about.

Now, Mr. President, what is all this for—this building up of great fortunes, this enormous fund creating and multiplying millionaires? Have we not been witnessing for the last few years a thing that must be humiliating to every lover of the institutions of this country?

Have we not seen the daughters of the millionaires endowed with money wrung by legislation from the pocket of the *forgotten* taxpayers of this country shipped to Europe like fatted heifers and peddled for titles? What a spectacle to see American women exported and sold like so many carcasses of mutton or fresh beef for aristocratic titles forbidden by the Constitution of their country to be worn within its jurisdiction—titles declared to be at deadly enmity with its institutions. And yet we are constantly beholding it.

Of what moment was it that the old fathers of the Republic, whose bodies wore the wounds and blood stains of the Revolution, fought to secure their liberty and the liberty of their posterity? Of what use was it for them to declare that titles of nobility should not be conferred in this country? It was natural that they should do so. It was the democracy of a free government that they were creating—a free, popular government, whose whole power came from the governed. It was a government of the governed; a self-government; a free government; and there was no place in our system for titles or titled classes. And yet we see, as soon as these people get this inordinate wealth, their daughters are shipped over to Europe and put on the market, hawked and peddled and sold with American money, to become princesses and duchesses and countesses and marchionesses, and we are here levying upon the pockets of the poor laboring people $200 and $300 and $400 and $500 on $100 worth of the necessaries of life to raise the money to enable our girl to make the trip and buy the title.

Do you think there is no hereafter, gentlemen? Wait until the swallows homeward fly. There is a tribunal whose doors are always open, and we will invite you to meet us there. If the people of the United States indorse your doctrine and the policy that you write on the statute books to-day, they are not fit for self-government. Nor will they do it, either. They will bring you to an account, and the places that know some of you to-day will know you no more hereafter forever.

Mr. President, why pile up duties 150 per cent on woolen goods? Why put up the duty to 75 and 80 and 100 per cent on sugar? It is because the forgotten men pay these taxes, the fellows whom you think you can fool by telling them that they are not paying the taxes but the foreigner is paying them.

Suppose you should put a tax of 10 per cent on a yard of domestic woolen goods made in the United States. You would hear the thunders and see the lightning. Why should you not tax domestic woolen goods as well as tax beer? You have already an internal-revenue tax on beer, you have an internal-revenue tax on whisky, you have an internal-revenue tax on tobacco, you have an internal-revenue tax on oleomargarine, you have it on cheese. Do you know any good reason why you should not have it on woolen goods, and on cotton goods, and on iron, and steel, and lead, and leather?

The distinguished Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH] said very truly the other day that the time is coming (and it will come much sooner, perhaps, than he thinks, if he pushes this measure any further) when we shall have to rely on internal-revenue taxes. When we have to impose internal-revenue taxes, why not put the tax on some things that we protect against competition? If we put in the pockets of the woolen manufacturer $100 worth of bounty or booty, whichever you may please to call it, why should you not tax $10 of that out for the support of a Government that is so beneficent and kind to him? Is there any reason why it should not be done? When we put a tax on cotton goods, why can we not put a tax of 5 or 10 per cent on the domestic goods, and let that tax come out of the pockets of the manufacturer? It would not come out of the pockets of the forgotten men.

The manufacturers had to pay these taxes during the war, but those gentlemen came to Congress and said, "This money all comes out of our pockets; the war is all over now; take it out;" and Congress took it out and repealed the taxes and stopped taking the money from them.

If we are in favor of equal taxation, of equal and just laws, why should we not require the protected industries of the country into whose pockets we pour this enormous bounty to contribute money enough at least to support the Government that does it? Five per cent on $9,300,000,000 would support the Government and give you nearly $500,000,000. While we are creating this enormous fund, two billion and nearly three hundred million dollars, of pure bounty every year to build up these enormous fortunes, can we

not ask these gentlemen kindly and condescendingly to submit to a taxation of just 5 per cent instead of 100 or 150?

Mr. President, I shall give the gentlemen a chance to vote on a proposition of that sort to lower the taxes on imported goods and put some taxes on the domestic products as well as on beer, that already has an internal-revenue tax, and as well as on whisky, and tobacco, and cheese, and playing cards. If that policy is wise, let us apply it all along the line.

I wonder if our friends think of the pernicious results to come to this country from stopping importations? They boldly proclaim that this duty is necessary to stop the imports, and, of course, stop the revenues. But have you ever thought what the consequences of stopping importations would be? Every dollar of importation that is stopped from coming to this country stops a dollar of exportation. There is nothing truer than that all foreign trade is an exchange of products.

A few years ago I asked a distinguished Republican member of Congress the question, "Suppose you stop all imports from coming into the country, what would you do with our products that we send away, our cotton, breadstuffs, and provisions? What would you have in exchange for them?" He said, "Gold and silver." Let us see how perfectly fallacious that proposition is. There are eight thousand million dollars of gold and silver in all the world. A great quantity of it is in the vaults of governments. We export from $800,000,000 to $1,000,000,000 of products every year.

In ten years, if the thing were possible, we would exhaust all the gold and silver in the world, and what would we do on the eleventh year and all the other years that are to follow? How supremely ridiculous that proposition is! When silver and gold begin to leave a country, prices of all commodities rise behind them and attract the precious metals back and restore the equilibrium of prices throughout the world. The thing is impossible. One product must go to bring the other, and when one stops the other stops. Then what would we do?

We must import in order to export. Old Dr. Johnson once said, "If you want to bring the wealth of India to England, you must take the wealth of England to India." Whenever you stop the importation, cotton, breadstuffs, and provisions must go, but they will go at a lower price. In 1887, 7,000,000 bales of cotton were worth in our markets $291,000,000, but in 1894 9,000,000 bales were worth only $250,000,000. At the prices of 1887, the 9,000,000 bales would have been worth $374,000,000. Here is a loss of more than a hundred millions. Whether it was caused by lessening the demand for it by prohibiting the import of things to exchange for it or not, that is one of the causes that will lower the prices of all exports. The farmer is the man who is the worst hurt of all, and the cotton farmer is the most seriously injured of all farmers. They are all among the forgotten men, but he is forgotten with a relish.

Supporters of this bill know that the foreigner can not buy our products when we will not take his. They know he has nothing to give in exchange. They know he has nothing but the surplus products of his labor to give for the surplus products of ours. But what do they care?

The Republicans have been fooling the sheep men all over the country and making them believe that they are benefited by the tax on wool. In 1890 a tax of 27½ cents a pound was put on woolen yarns to compensate the yarn manufacturer for what it was assumed he paid the woolgrower as protection on 2½ pounds of wool. He demanded this for *compensation* for the increased price on wool. But wool did not rise; it fell. Imported woolen cloths were taxed 33 cents a pound to compensate the manufacturer for 33 cents on 3 pounds of wool, which he assumed he would pay by reason of the tariff of 11 cents a pound on imported wool, but wool did not rise; it fell and the manufacturer got what the woolgrower thought he was to get. The compensation floated in the immaterial regions of the imagination of the woolgrower, but it materialized beautifully in the pockets of the wool manufacturer. The same thing occurred with blankets and other manufactures of wool. In every instance where duties were imposed on woolen goods to compensate for duties paid to the woolgrower, the woolgrower was left in the lurch. When he pushed his hand down into his pocket to realize his share of the good things, he recoiled and whispered to his inner consciousness—

Alas! empty is the cradle—baby's gone!

Tariffs have never raised the price of wool. Wool has been steadily falling for forty years, not only in the United States but all over the world. The fleece has been increasing in weight on each sheep and the number of sheep has been increasing everywhere faster than population, and that has forced a steady decline in wool. Besides that, cheaper substitutes for wool have been increasing rapidly in the last thirty years. In 1890 there was consumed in woolen manufactures in the United States 75,428,865 pounds of cotton, every pound of which displaced a pound of wool; 73,678,066 pounds of shoddy and animal hair, besides 7,684,804 pounds of camel hair and 2,136,244 pounds of mohair. Every pound of these substitutes took the place of a pound of wool. They were mixed with 207,584,746 pounds of scoured wool.

All these substitutes are cheaper than wool, and will be used in its stead as long as wool is higher than they and as long as the Government pays the manufacturer a compensatory duty on cotton shoddy and hair used in wool manufacture. Wool was worth 50 and 60 cents a pound forty years ago, but it has been falling ever since. It had high rates of duty till 1894, but still it continued to fall. In 1890 the duty was put at 11 cents a pound, and in 1891 the price in the Philadelphia market of Texas wool was 17 to 20 cents; in 1892 it was 14 to 18 cents; in 1893 it was 10 to 12 cents, and it was at that in 1894 when it was put on the free list; it is now 13 to 15 cents.

It has been slowly rising since it was put on the free list. Within the last few months the rise has been rapid, and I see by the paper put in my hand by the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. LINDSAY] that in the Louisville market it is quoted at 5 cents higher this year than last. With the fact staring them in the face that duties on wool do not raise the price of wool, it is astonishing that woolgrowers continue to demand it.

When I was in the other House, a gentleman from Texas came before the Committee of Ways and Means to ask for higher duties on wool. He had, he said, $128,000 invested in the business, 18,000 sheep, and more than 80,000 acres of land in his ranch, and he said he wanted protection because the woolen manufacturer got it. He wanted his business to be as remunerative as other people's business. He was willing to increase the price of the shirts on the backs of the men he was paying $15 per month, and gave us to understand that he and his people would vote the Republican ticket if they did not get what they wanted.

In fact, he said at the Presidential election in 1884 his precinct gave "Cleveland two hundred and odd and Blaine 11," but in 1888 "Cleveland got 11 and Mr. Harrison got two hundred and odd." He said he was a Democrat in 1884, but with $128,000 invested in sheep raising he could not vote the Democratic ticket while wool was so low. His loyalty to his party was on a parity with the loyalty of the Turk to Mohammed:

Thou for my sake at Allah's shrine,
And I at any god's for thine.

Raising money by taxation to give to favorites is a scourge to the people and exhausts the strength of the Republic. It has already built up a tremendous power whose heavy hand is felt on legislation every day. It is felt everywhere. We see it at the ballot box. We see it in the executive and judicial departments of governments, and everywhere its repulsive features are scowling upon our institutions and threatening their overthrow.

Of what use was it for our fathers to warn us against perpetuities, monopolies, entailments, and primogenitures? Why did they tell us in the early constitutions that they were against the genius and spirit of a free people? And yet they have hung those signboards all along our path.

The fathers of the Republic of Texas, when framing their first constitution, wrote those words down for our guidance. We have had five constitutions, and every one of them to this day proclaims to us these ominous words. We have had line upon line and precept upon precept to warn us away from the rocks upon which the ship of state may be driven. We have been told that concentrated money is equally as powerful for evil as concentrated swords and bayonets, and that liberty must leave the land where either tyrant rules. We are trampling to-day all these admonitions under our feet.

We are casting our pearls away faster than our enemies can gather them. We are turning dead ears to the voices that come to us from Massachusetts and Virginia that our Government is for free men, for the preservation of our natural rights, for the security of our happiness and well-being, and not for the profit of any one man, or family, or class of men. Our ship is driving upon the rocks, and unless we seize the helm and change its course, the historian will emerge from the darkness to write the melancholy pages of the decline and fall of the great American Republic.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. CHANDLER in the chair). The question is on the adoption of the amendment of the committee to strike out paragraph 231.

The amendment was agreed to.

The reading of the bill was resumed at paragraph 232, on page 70, line 21.

Mr. VEST. I suggest that paragraphs 232 and 233 be read together, as I desire to submit a motion which will apply to both.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Secretary will read paragraphs 232 and 233 as requested.

The Secretary read as follows:

232. Wheat, 25 cents per bushel.
233. Wheat flour, 25 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. VEST. Mr. President, this raises the duty upon wheat from 20 to 44 per cent, and upon wheat flour from 20 to 71 per

cent. We exported in 1896, $39,709,868 worth of wheat, and imported $9,506 worth. Of wheat flour we exported in 1896 fifty-two million seven hundred and odd thousand dollars' worth, and imported $6,258 worth.

I move to strike out both of those paragraphs, for the purpose of moving hereafter to put them on the free list, and I ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the amendment proposed by the Senator from Missouri to strike out paragraphs 232 and 233, on which he asks for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CAFFERY (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Michigan [Mr. BURROWS]. I should vote "yea" if he were present.

Mr. CLAY (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE].

Mr. HARRIS of Tennessee (when his name was called). Upon this, and indeed upon all other questions, I am paired with the senior Senator from Vermont [Mr. MORRILL]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. JONES of Arkansas (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE], who is absent from the Senate Chamber. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. PROCTOR (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Florida [Mr. MALLORY].

Mr. QUAY (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Alabama [Mr. MORGAN].

Mr. VEST (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. NELSON]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. WILSON (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Florida [Mr. PASCO]. If he were present, I should vote "nay."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. HANSBROUGH. I announce my pair with the senior Senator from Virginia [Mr. DANIEL]. I should vote "nay" if he were present.

The result was announced—yeas 15, nays 35; as follows:

YEAS—15.

Bate,	Harris of Kans.,	Murphy,	Smith,
Berry,	Kenney,	Pettus,	Turpie,
Cockrell,	Lindsay,	Rawlins,	Walthall.
Gray,	Mills,	Roach,	

NAYS—35.

Allen,	Fairbanks,	McBride,	Pritchard,
Bacon,	Foraker,	McEnery,	Shoup,
Cannon,	Frye,	McLaurin,	Spooner,
Carter,	Gallinger,	McMillan,	Stewart,
Chandler,	Hanna,	Mason,	Thurston,
Clark,	Hawley,	Penrose,	Tillman,
Cullom,	Heitfeld,	Perkins,	Wellington,
Davis,	Hoar,	Platt of Conn.	Wetmore.
Deboe,	Jones of Nev.,	Platt of N. Y.	

NOT VOTING—39.

Aldrich,	Faulkner,	Mallory,	Quay,
Allison,	Gear,	Mantle,	Sewell,
Baker,	George,	Martin,	Teller,
Burrows,	Gorman,	Mitchell,	Turner,
Butler,	Hale,	Morgan,	Vest,
Caffery,	Hansbrough,	Morrill,	Warren,
Chilton,	Harris, Tenn.	Nelson,	White,
Clay,	Jones, Ark.	Pasco,	Wilson,
Daniel,	Kyle,	Pettigrew,	Wolcott.
Elkins,	Lodge,	Proctor,	

So the amendment of Mr. VEST was rejected.

Mr. CANNON. I move to amend the bill by inserting what I send to the Secretary's desk, to come in after paragraph 233, the new matter to be known as paragraph 233¼.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment submitted by the Senator from Utah will be stated.

The SECRETARY. On page 70, after line 22, it is proposed to insert as paragraph 233¼ the following:

And from and after sixty days from the passage of this act there shall be paid, out of any moneys in the Treasury of the United States not otherwise appropriated, to any exporter of wheat or wheat flour, rye or rye flour; corn, ground or unground; cotton, hops, or tobacco, produced wholly in the United States and exported by sea from any port in the United States to any port of any other country, the following export bounty, by way of an equalization to agriculture of the benefits of this act to encourage the industries of the United States, to wit: Ten cents per bushel on wheat; 50 cents per barrel on wheat flour; 10 cents per bushel on rye; 50 cents per barrel on rye flour; 5 cents per bushel on corn; 10 cents per cental on corn, ground; 1 cent per pound on cotton; 2 cents per pound on hops; 2 cents per pound on tobacco. And all payments of bounty under this act shall be made upon negotiable vouchers, issued by the collector of customs at the port of clearance, upon presentation at the Treasury or any subtreasury of the United States; and the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby charged with making and enforcing such regulations as may be necessary for the full protection of the exporters and of the Government according to the true intent and meaning of this law.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the adoption of the amendment submitted by the Senator from Utah [Mr. CANNON].

Mr. CANNON. I yield a moment, Mr. President, to the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. THURSTON], who desires to be heard briefly.

Mr. THURSTON. Mr. President, I do not rise to make a speech on the bill, but I wish to announce to the Senate that a little of the expected prosperity has appeared, perhaps in the most proper place in the world where it should appear first, in the city of Omaha. In evidence of this, I ask to have read a double-leaded editorial from the Omaha World-Herald of Sunday last, one of our great Democratic free-silver papers, of which the Hon. William J. Bryan was the editor in chief.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read as follows:

[From the Omaha Sunday World-Herald, June 6, 1897.]

OMAHA RETAIL TRADE GROWS.

Never before in the history of Omaha has so much building been in progress for retail-business houses.

The new addition to Hayden Bros.' store; the enlargement of the Boston store, just announced; the building of the Nebraska Clothing Company store; the alteration of the Karbach block for Nicoll the tailor—these are the leading building improvements being made at this time, and they are significant. They are not made on a haphazard plan. They are being carried on by the shrewdest and most successful business men in this city because the present growth and immediate prospects for their trade demand the enlargement of facilities.

But the big stores are not the only ones which have commenced to feel an increase in business. It came to the wholesale houses first, and then it extended to the big retail stores; but inquiry proves that the small retailers, where they have shown any enterprise at all, have done far more business this year than last up to date.

The improvement in business in Omaha is gaining momentum weekly now. Last year every month grew duller than its predecessor; but this year, from January on, the reverse has been the case, and the present prospect is that the summer months, usually dull, will be very lively.

There will be more demand for labor in building operations in Omaha during July and August alone than there was for the whole twelve months of 1896.

Mr. GRAY. May I ask the Senator from Nebraska if the Wilson tariff law is not still on the statute book?

Mr. THURSTON. The expectation of the new tariff law is in the minds of the people; and if Senators upon the other side will give us a chance to pass it, we shall then commence to realize in full measure what we can now only hope to see the beginning of.

I also ask to have read, Mr. President, an article from the same paper of the same date.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read as follows:

BUSINESS HAS DOUBLED—MANUFACTURERS SPEAK WELL OF THE MONTH OF MAY.

Mr. W. H. Roberson, manager of R. G. Dun & Co.'s mercantile agency, speaking of trade for the last week, says:

"One of our leading manufacturers says his business for May was double that of one year ago, and another in an entirely different line reports his trade better for May than it has been for three years past. The new factories manufacturing envelopes and chicory are quite enthusiastic over the outlook and are loud in praise of Omaha as a center for their lines.

"At the banks money continues easy. Regular customers are allowed liberal lines and 8 per cent is the ruling rate. There is a demand for gilt-edge commercial paper and well-secured bonds and mortgage notes.

"In real-estate circles inquiries are active, and some sales are being made, usually small properties to wage earners, who are taking advantage of the very low prices of lots to secure homes and holdings. There is more building and repairing in progress now than before in five years. During the week a strike of carpenters for increased pay was reported. This is significant. The thought of striking has not entered the mind of the workmen for many moons, for the reason that work at any price was not available.

"At South Omaha the receipts continue heavy, and large forces are at work in all the packing establishments. The packing town takes on something like its old time life and energy, and at the yards there is evidence of present prosperity and future promise in the improvements progressing there."

Mr. THURSTON. I also ask to have printed as part of my remarks the tables which I send to the desk, and will only ask the Secretary to read the printed portion of the article.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If there be no objection, the document submitted will be printed as part of the remarks of the Senator from Nebraska.

Mr. CANNON. Before that document is read, I should like to ask the Senator from Nebraska what the vote of his State declared for last year?

Mr. THURSTON. What was the question of the Senator?

Mr. CANNON. I ask the Senator what Presidential candidate received the vote of Nebraska last year?

Mr. THURSTON. It declared for all the heresies of the Chicago platform; but that was the first time that my State has ever taken that position, and I believe it will be the last time.

Mr. CANNON. I should like to ask the Senator if he is quite sure that he has not mistaken the cause of this prosperity which has come to Nebraska? One hundred and fifteen thousand of the population there declared for what the Senator calls the "heresies of the Chicago platform." I think, perhaps, they are building in Omaha in expectation of disappointing the Senator and his confrères and voting with the vast majority of the people of the United

States in the year 1900 for many of those same so-called heresies and bringing actual prosperity to the United States.

Mr. THURSTON. Mr. President, I am not here to make an argument or to make a speech at this time, but the people of my State do not anticipate so far in advance. They are looking now to the immediate future, and it is for the development and prosperity of the immediate future that they are beginning to build.

Mr. BERRY. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Nebraska yield the floor?

Mr. CANNON. I will cheerfully yield.

Mr. BERRY. I wanted to ask the Senator from Utah to yield to me for a moment.

Mr. CANNON. I do so with great pleasure.

Mr. BERRY. I should like to have read a short extract from a statement said to have been made by Mr. Wanamaker, a distinguished citizen of Pennsylvania.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will suspend a moment. The Senator from Utah [Mr. CANNON] had the floor.

Mr. CANNON. And I can not yield to the Senator from Arkansas for the purpose he indicates. I do not believe in unconstitutional punishment, and the reading of the declaration of Mr. Wanamaker after the declaration of the Omaha paper here in the presence of the Senator from Nebraska would be inflicting cruel, inhumane, and unjustifiable punishment. [Laughter.] I decline to yield to the Senator from Arkansas.

Mr. BERRY. Well, Mr. President, I will ask the Senator from Utah if he will permit a short extract to be read from a letter written by Mr. Creelman, of the same date, June 6, at Cleveland, Ohio? It is very short, and I should like to have it read.

Mr. ALLISON. I object to any further reading of documents at the Secretary's desk.

Mr. ALLEN. I hope my colleague will be allowed to proceed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair understood the Senator from Utah [Mr. CANNON] to yield to the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. THURSTON], and the Chair did not know whether the Senator from Nebraska had finished.

Mr. CANNON. I should be perfectly willing to allow the conclusion of the reading.

Mr. THURSTON. I think it will appear by reference to the Secretary's desk that "the Senator from Nebraska" has not finished.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The portion of the document will be read, as requested by the Senator from Nebraska.

The Secretary read as follows:

THE LIVE-STOCK MARKETS.

UNION STOCK YARDS, *South Omaha, June 5.*

Receipts for the last week, with comparisons.

Date.	Cattle.	Hogs.	Sheep.
Monday, May 31	1,583	3,128	1,858
Tuesday, June 1	2,684	9,502	507
Wednesday, June 2	3,517	8,680	1,087
Thursday, June 3	2,290	6,936	3,091
Friday, June 4	3,783	8,050	4,104
Saturday, June 5	1,897	5,795	260
Receipts this week	15,754	42,091	10,887
Receipts last week	13,846	52,952	22,450
Same week last year	7,073	38,832	3,514

Most of the trading was on a steady basis, the market becoming tolerably active as the morning advanced. There were some choice 1,300-pound beeves that brought $4.90, the highest price paid in several weeks; but, as usual, most of the offerings were on the fair-to-good order, and sold at from $4.45 to $4.65. The common-to-fair 1,000 to 1,250 pound steers brought from $4.10 to $4.40. Toward the close the tone to the trade was quite firm, and a good early clearance was made. Receipts for the week, 15,754 head, were about 2,000 heavier than last week, and nearly 7,000 heavier than a year ago. During the greater part of the week the market has been in very good shape, with prices tending upward, the week's advance on desirable beef steers being pretty close to 15@20 cents.

Beef steers.

Number.	Average.	Price.	Number.	Average.	Price.	Number.	Average.	Price.
2	985	$3.75	2	1,085	$4.00	43	1,076	$4.30
13	1,008	4.15	8	1,056	4.30	53	1,503	4.30
56	1,215	4.30	52	1,304	4.30	21	1,347	4.35
23	932	4.35	38	1,225	4.35	44	1,092	4.45
23	1,131	4.40	24	1,018	4.40	25	1,149	4.45
22	1,208	4.45	31	1,242	4.45	23	1,262	4.45
11	1,359	4.45	60	1,246	4.45	26	1,323	4.45
18	1,324	4.45	36	1,245	4.45	61	1,482	4.50
31	1,402	4.47½	36	1,429	4.50	17	1,420	4.50
10	1,270	4.50	16	1,250	4.50	107	1,274	4.55
17	1,286	4.52½	55	1,269	4.52½	22	1,280	4.65
34	1,560	4.60	20	1,192	4.60			
13	1,303	4.90	70	1,172	4.10			

Mr. THURSTON. I also ask to have printed in the RECORD certain tables from the same issue of the same paper, showing the prices current in Omaha on products.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it will be so ordered.

The tables referred to are as follows:

Hogs.—The week closes with a moderate run. There were 84 fresh loads, 5,795 head, or about 2,000 short of last Saturday's arrivals. Receipts for the week foot up 42,091 head. This was nearly 11,000 short of last week, but 3,000 more than were here during the same six days last year.

REPRESENTATIVE SALES.

Number.	Average.	Shk.	Price.	Number.	Average.	Shk.	Price.
16	352		$3.25	60	287	80	$3.30
41	295	80	3.25	74	241	80	3.30
53	334	80	3.27½	79	247		3.30
64	309	160	3.27½	71	309	80	3.30
66	281	80	3.30	60	266	40	3.30
59	281		3.30	44	359	80	3.30
56	349		3.30	72	259	40	3.32½
53	302	80	3.30	84	228		3.32½
72	259	280	3.30	10	157		3.32½
65	306		3.30	76	251	80	3.32½
46	276		3.30	53	277	80	3.32½
69	309	160	3.30	56	280		3.32½
68	269	160	3.30	60	270		3.32½
52	321	120	3.30	65	252		3.32½
68	269	120	3.30	55	246		3.32½
57	282	320	3.30	60	245	160	3.32½
63	287		3.30	68	235		3.32½
63	261		3.30	76	280	80	3.32½
58	312		3.30	65	259	80	3.32½
55	272	120	3.30	71	255		3.32½
27	358	80	3.30	68	240	120	3.32½
65	302	80	3.30	55	254		3.32½
71	277	160	3.30	55	254		3.32½
59	280		3.30	62	262	80	3.32½
74	254		3.30	60	293	80	3.32½
51	297		3.30	61	251	80	3.32½
45	313	80	3.30	61	243		3.32½
39	297		3.30	56	253	240	3.32½
72	261	280	3.30	13	235		3.32½
59	298	80	3.30	74	240		3.32½
71	271	80	3.30	69	245	80	3.32½
56	288		3.30	74	245		3.32½
30	313		3.30	61	251		3.32½
54	284	80	3.30	75	248	160	3.32½
60	271		3.30	70	224		3.35
50	349		3.30	79	227	80	3.35
69	247	80	3.30	62	260	80	3.35
59	262		3.30	63	246	80	3.35
68	310	80	3.30	78	243	80	3.25
67	241	80	3.30	72	249	80	3.35
59	272	240	3.30	71	254		3.35

Omaha feed and grain market.

[Prices quoted are for the best quality.]

WHOLESALE.

Wheat, north Nebraska and Dakota, hard, by carload	per bushel	$0.68
Wheat, No. 3, by carload, new	do	.65
Rye	do	.30
Flaxseed	do	.70
Flour, best patents	per hundredweight	2.20
Flour, second best patents	do	2.00
Flour, low grades	do	1.50
Flour, bakers'	do	1.80
Corn, new, by carload	per bushel	.17
Oats, new, by carload	do	.14@ 17
Hay, upland, by carload	per ton	5.00
Hay, midland, by carload	do	4.50
Hay, lowland, by carload, color makes the price	do	4.00
Rye straw	do	4.00
Bran	do	8.00
Middlings	do	9.00
Chop	do	8.00@8.50
Linseed meal	do	17.00

RETAIL.

Flour, best patents	per sack	1.25@1.30
Flour, second best patents	do	1.15@1.20
Corn	per bushel	.25
Oats	do	.25
Bran	per hundredweight	.60
Chop	do	.50

Mr. LINDSAY. I will ask the Senator, with his permission, whether or not all these evidences of prosperity are confined to the city of Omaha? That is the way I understand it.

Mr. THURSTON. I am introducing now the evidence of the Democratic free-silver press of my city. I have no other witnesses to call at the present time. I judge that prosperity has chosen wisely in selecting the finest city of the United States wherein to herald her approach.

Mr. LINDSAY. I will ask the Senator if the Congress of the United States did not act with equal wisdom when it chose the city of Omaha in which to expend $200,000 of Federal money in assisting the Omaha Exposition——

Mr. THURSTON. There is no doubt about it.

Mr. LINDSAY. And whether the State of Nebraska did not

choose equally wisely, and whether the beginning of the expenditure of those sums of money in the city of Omaha is not coincident with this revival of prosperity in that particular city?

Mr. THURSTON. Not one dollar of those moneys has been expended yet, and in all these declarations of the Omaha World-Herald not one reference is made to any prosperity or any increase of prosperity or any increase of prices which could in any manner relate to the Omaha or Transmississippi Exposition.

Mr. CANNON. All this movement in Omaha is doubtless due to the expectancy——

Mr. LINDSAY. Of the expenditure of the money.

Mr. CANNON. As I was about to say, of the expenditure of these hundreds of thousands of dollars.

Mr. ALLEN. I should like to interrupt the Senator from Utah just once.

Mr. CANNON. Certainly.

Mr. ALLEN. I do not want to rob my colleague of any glory for the prosperity that may attach to Omaha. We are both interested in the progress of Nebraska and Omaha, its metropolis, and I should be glad to know that prosperity, that is, permanent prosperity resulting from legislation or proposed legislation, is making itself felt in that city and that State. Of course I can not afford to put myself in the attitude of saying that our people are not getting along so well as the people of any other Western or Southern section, because it would be incorrect, and I should subject myself to the argument sometimes used by the demagogue, that I was undertaking to run down and belittle my own place and my own people.

My colleague lives in the metropolis of Nebraska, a splendid city of splendid possibilities, and I have no doubt that under proper legislation Omaha, instead of being a city of one hundred and fifty-odd thousand people, might be, within a very few years, a city of a half million population, with its industries increased 500 per cent, and that a wave of general prosperity would not only reach Omaha, but every section of the State.

Now, it is due for me to say that in my judgment the prosperity that has reached Omaha now, or is reaching it—that is, that prosperity which is greater than the prosperity at like places at the present time—is due in a very large measure to the preparations that are being made for the holding of the Transmississippi and International Exposition in 1898. I had occasion to visit the city but a few days ago, and my information was to that effect. I have no doubt, knowing the World-Herald and its managers as well as I do, that they are speaking with reference to the approaching exposition when they speak of this wave of prosperity.

Let me say another word, through the kindness of the Senator from Utah, as respects prices in South Omaha, where our cattle and hog market is found. It is true that the prices of cattle in Nebraska are higher than they have been for some little time, but it is not due in the slightest degree to any kind of legislation. In 1894 the farmers of the State of Nebraska were compelled to sell short on their cattle, and in 1896 there was and in 1897 there is being done in the State of Nebraska what has never been done in its history before, namely, cows are being put into the feed pen and fattened and sent to market, thus each year shutting off the supply of cattle. I have occasion to know to some extent, because I am in a small way engaged in raising cattle.

As respects the prices which the farmers of Nebraska receive for their grain, permit me to say that the reports from this market are in a certain sense and in a very large sense misleading. Transportation is a great thing with the farmer of Nebraska. I have occasion to say from experience, and experience within the last sixty days, that corn has been sold and is being sold in that State to-day by the farmer at from 7 to 10 cents a bushel. I sold some within thirty days for 7 and 8 cents a bushel, within 125 miles of the Omaha market, and it was good corn, too.

I wish it were true, and I would rejoice with my colleague, notwithstanding we differ politically, if it were true, that the million and a half people in the State of Nebraska, all of them, not a few of them, did feel a genuine wave of prosperity coming back to that struggling and growing Commonwealth, but what has been referred to is, in my judgment, due in a very large measure, if not altogether, to the prospect of the exposition.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. President, in support of the motion to amend the bill, I lay down the following preliminary grounds:

I. A bill justly to claim the name of protection and justly to demand the support of believers in that doctrine must be as nearly equitable as the intellect of its framers, conscientiously devoted, can devise.

II. The pending measure is grossly, palpably inequitable. It discriminates against the American producer of agricultural staples, since, under its provisions, he must sell his commodity at the lowest price of the world and must buy manufactured goods at the highest price of the world.

Contributory to the foregoing:

An import duty on agricultural staples, of which we export considerable quantities, does not add one jot or tittle to the price at home or abroad.

An import duty on other articles aids our staple agriculture only indirectly and to an almost inappreciable extent, since whatever advantage is derived therefrom is shared equally by all the producers of staple agriculture in all the world.

III. An export bounty on staple agricultural commodities will give protection prices to their producers.

Mr. President, every nation has its primary industry. With us it is agriculture. It has always been so. It always will be, so long as the Republic is to survive in strength and dignity in this world. Not necessarily because agriculture is the first essential to the sustenance of human life, for other nations may have manufacturing for a primary industry, since by the character of their people, by their experience in the mechanical arts, by their financial situation they may be better disposed as well as better qualified to pursue manufacturing industries than agriculture.

In the beginning, of course, as all new nations with vast area, we were producers of raw material, so called, and it was the thought of the fathers of the Republic that we should stimulate the diversification of employment for our people for high patriotic as well as practical reasons. It was not deemed by them to be the part of wisdom that this new nation, setting a mark for all the ages yet to come, should be dependent for any of the necessaries of life comprised within manufacturing on those countries which at that time were our enemies, because we differed essentially with them in the purposes and objects of government and of community life. Nor was it deemed wise that the agriculturist should be compelled to sell that which he produced entirely in a market over which he had no control.

I think if there was a thought of a practical nature absolutely crystallized at that time in the purpose of legislators, and in the view of those who gave their support to the first protective tariff bill, it would have been this: We will protect manufactures until the two great pillars of community strength shall have reached an equality, manufacture and agriculture, each employing its hosts within the land, and neither one trespassing upon the proper domain of the other or being an unjust burden upon the other.

I give my adherence now, as I always have done and believe I always shall, to the doctrine by which it was proposed to stimulate manufactures at that time. Had agriculture remained the sole industry of the country, as it was and is the prime industry, we could not have achieved the distinction among the nations which we have acquired, nor could our people have been so prosperous and contented at home. But, Mr. President, the day came when the equilibrium was reached, and we passed it without a pause, passed it as a thief in the night. The farmer had been taught to vote for protective tariff for the benefit of the country, for the sustenance of his own industry, so that he might have a better home market for the product of his toil. The day came when manufacturing in the United States more than balanced agriculture, and the farmer continued to vote for the protective tariff upon manufactured goods while not receiving directly any benefit from it.

I can not state exactly when that equilibrium was reached, nor when there should have been such modification of the method of applying tariff law as to have insured to the farmer his just benefit therefrom. We are never conscious of the exact moment of a crisis or a great occurrence depending upon thought or general progress. We often predict with absolute certainty. We look back and point the exact time of any occurrence. But in the doing of great formative matters we are unconscious of the crisis.

The moment the manufacturing industries of the United States in manufactures had reached such magnitude and such volume of participation by our industrial population that those pursuits were as well equipped to sustain themselves at home as agriculture was equipped to sustain itself the tariff laws should have been modified. They should have provided equitable protection for all classes, and by equitable protection, I mean they should have reached out to the farmer exactly the same proportionate benefit that they extended to manufacturers. That we have long passed the point of equilibrium is proved by a table compiled from the United States census reports, which shows the number of wage earners in various occupations in the United States. I submit it at this time, and ask its insertion in the RECORD as a part of my remarks, if I may have the consent of the Senate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If there be no objection, the table will be printed in the RECORD.

The table referred is as follows.

Comparative statement of population, and of wage earners, proprietors, capital invested, value of products, etc., in agriculture and in manufacturing and mechanical industries in the United States, 1850 to 1890.

[From United States Census Reports.]

Population, wage earners, etc.	1850.	1860.		1870.		1880.		1890.	
	Total.	Total.	Increase over 1850.	Total.	Increase over 1860.	Total.	Increase over 1870.	Total.	Increase over 1880.
			Per cent.		*Per cent.*		*Per cent.*		*Per cent.*
Population	23,191,876	31,443,321	35.56	38,551,371	22.63	50,155,783	30.08	62,622,250	24.86
Wage earners, 10 years of age and over, in agricultural pursuits (*a*)	(*b*)	(*b*)		2,933,473		3,433,812	17.06	3,209,995	*c*—6.52
Proprietors in agricultural pursuits (*d*)	(*b*)	(*b*)		3,015,038		4,286,009	42.15	5,355,931	24.96
Wage earners, 10 years of age and over, in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits	(*b*)	(*b*)		2,305,414		3,344,754	39.63	4,037,400	47.62
Proprietors and officials in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits	(*b*)	(*b*)		58,329		69,595	22.47	153,893	121.13
Wage earners, 10 years of age and over, in all other occupations (*e*)	(*b*)	(*b*)		3,163,629		4,895,279	52.84	6,773,157	40.08
Proprietors and officials, etc., in all other occupations (*f*)	(*b*)	(*b*)		941,490		1,422,560	51.10	2,305,312	62.05
Agriculture:									
Number of farms	1,449,073	2,044,077	41.06	2,659,985	30.13	4,008,907	50.71	4,564,641	13.86
Average size of farms (acres)	203	199	*c*—1.97	153	*c*—23.12	134	*c*—12.42	137	2.24
Value of land, improvements, implements, and live stock	$3,967,343,580	$7,980,493,063	101.15	*g* $11,124,958,747	39.40	$12,104,001,538	8.80	$15,963,267,689	32.04
Estimated value of farm products	(*b*)	(*b*)		*g* $2,447,536,059		$2,212,540,927	9.60	$2,490,107,454	11.19
Manufacturing and mechanical industries:									
Number of establishments	123,025	140,433	14.15	252,148	79.55	253,502	.54	322,638	27.27
Capital invested	$533,245,351	$1,009,855,715	89.38	$1,694,567,015	67.80	$2,780,766,895	64.10	$6,130,307,785	120.78
Value of products, including custom work and repairing	$1,019,106,616	$1,885,861,676	85.05	$3,385,860,354	79.54	$5,349,191,458	57.99	$9,056,764,906	69.31

a Including dairymen and dairywomen, lumbermen and raftsmen, stock raisers, herders, drovers, and wood choppers.
b Not reported in censuses of 1850 and 1860.
c Decrease.
d Including overseers, apiarists, gardeners, florists, nurserymen, and vine growers.
e Including miners, quarrymen, fishermen and oyster men, and persons engaged in trade and transportation, and in domestic and personal service.
f Including professional occupations.
g In currency at a discount in gold, which was worth an average premium of about 25 per cent during 1870.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. President, that a continuation of protective tariff upon manufactured goods, with absolutely no protection to agricultural staples, is an injustice, and that if we shall continue the present form of imposition of tariff the farmer must, as declared by me in the beginning, buy at the highest price in the world and sell at the lowest price in the world, seems to me to be beyond dispute. The whole theory of protection and the whole efficiency of its maintenance before the people of the United States have been upon the idea that the United States was the greatest market in the world, the best market in the world; that its toilers were paid higher wages; that there was more opportunity here than anywhere else under God's sun.

If that be true, then the manufacturers have received better prices; they have had greater stability in the market in which they have had to sell than prevailed anywhere else; and therefore the farmer of the United States has had to pay higher prices. Everyone knows that the home market has never been sufficient to absorb the great product of agricultural staples in the United States, and that the man who has produced cotton year after year and wheat year after year, and tobacco and rye and hops, has been looking vainly for the time when manufacturing should have been so stimulated by the farmers' unselfish willingness to support protective tariff that all the staples produced in the United States would be consumed here.

On the contrary, all the surplus staples have been sold in the markets of the world at the world's free-trade prices, and the world's free-trade prices have controlled the domestic price. The American farmer has received in England the English free-trade price for his agricultural product; and, more momentous to him, he has received that same price for all which he has sold at home, and at the same time he has paid the protective prices for the goods which he received in exchange.

In so far as the pending bill contains any intentional protection—and some of the protection which it does contain, I am grieved to learn, is unintentional on the part of some of the gentlemen who propose amendments to the schedule—it is necessarily in behalf of labor. The only ground of morality upon which the protective doctrine can stand is that our people in the United States—those who toil, not those who live off the toiler—are of more value to the sum of human progress than any other people in the world.

Protection is for the labor of this country, to guard it against the industrial fight inaugurated in the pauper lands of the world. How can any man say that the hand which has toiled in mills, in factories, and at the forge must be guarded from competition with pauper labor abroad, but that the farmer of the United States must go into the world and compete with the most degraded labor there is on the face of the earth? If any man can contend it here, I hope he will be able and will have the frankness to contend it before his agricultural constituents. Put it in that exact form of truth, for that is what it is. The farmer sells in open competition with all the pauper labor engaged in agriculture in all the world, and the agricultural labor in other lands than this receives less compensation than a toiler of the same land in any other industry.

One of the great elements in the consideration of this bill, as enunciated by the very able Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH] upon its presentation, one of the essentials which he proposed, was that the law should endure for a time. I take it there will not be very much prosperity in Omaha resulting from expectation or realization of tariff, nor in any other place in the United States, long to endure through expectation or realization of a new tariff enactment, if we are to be plunged anew into the agony of a tariff fight before the people of the United States next year or two years later.

I fancy that our friends, who have had to make so many apologies within the last few months that they are adepts in formulating and presenting them, would give to us next year this idea: "Prosperity was ready to spread her benignant wings over the people of the United States. Omaha, the greatest city of the world, felt the reviving effect of the prospective protective tariff; but just as soon as we got the bill passed we realized that the people were intending to agitate for its repeal, and all prosperity came to a sudden stop. The people are to blame, and not the framers of the law, and not the political party which proposed the law."

Let us have this bill just, and it will endure. It is a homely truth, but it is absolutely the truth, that into every tariff bill of recent years, perhaps from the beginning, there has crept the deadly poison of wrong toward one great class or another. The wronged class has always agitated for redress, and, happily for the dignity and hope of America, any class, however small, which agitates for the redress of a real grievance can find plenty of support from the noninjured classes of the country.

Mr. President, I should like to see the pending bill passed in such form that it would endure, with slight modifications at most, for many years, because this world is waiting for some other reforms than the revision of the tariff. Weightier matters than this pause on the threshold of the Senate Chamber and the other House of Congress. There are mighty questions of principle which the people desire to see considered here, and I shall hope that the tariff bill may be so framed and may be so acceptable to the mass of American voters that there will not be any great urgency nor any haste nor any political madness directed in behalf of its immediate repeal.

I stand entirely within the lines of protection in proposing this amendment, because I do believe in the policy of protection, because I think that self-preservation is as much the law for a nation as it is the first law of nature. I did not believe in this particular method of protecting the farmer when I first heard of it. The distinguished Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. CHANDLER] now occupying the chair inquired of me the other day, when the amendment was proposed with some few remarks by me in support of it, when I first came to a knowledge that

tariff was a robbery of the farmer. I replied to him, as became my weakness, very inefficiently, but truthfully, that I thought this system of imposition of tariff, so-called protection, was a robbery of the farmers just as soon as I had the opportunity and the occasion to look into the question to such depth that I found the injustice of it.

No man in this Chamber who shall oppose the amendment was ever more determined against the idea than I was. If, in answer to the Senator from New Hampshire more fully than I was able to answer him the other day, because of not desiring to continue the discussion, I may be permitted to be reminiscent to this extent, I will say that a man named David Lubin brought this proposition to the Transmississippi Congress three years ago, when I was chairman of the committee appointed by that body to consider the question. I was full of zeal for the farmer, for free silver, and for the Republican party. I had just been elected a Delegate to Congress from the Territory of Utah. I was as grateful to the Republican party as the Republican party at that time professed to be grateful to me for the great result achieved in the Territory.

When Mr. Lubin offered this, I said to him, "Free silver is the remedy for the farmer." He answered that he would not contend against that idea, but the realization of it was too remote. I then stated that protection of manufactured goods would so stimulate the consumption of agricultural staples in the United States that we would soon cease to be exporters; and then, with high protection on corn and wheat, on cotton and tobacco, on hops and rye, the farmer of the United States would set his prices for himself within the great domain reserved to him by legislation.

I accepted and contended for the Republican interpretations of the tariff, as I had never been brought into any other than remote contact with the schedules, and when it was put forth as a cardinal doctrine of the Republican party that protection on manufactured goods could and would eventually give efficient, substantial, and commensurate protection to the American producer of agricultural staples, I believed it.

Heaven forgive me, I was instrumental in defeating Mr. Lubin's proposition before that Transmississippi Congress.

I looked into the question and I found I was wrong. Having found that I was wrong, I had the zeal which a man usually has when he discovers that he has been treading a wrong path and chooses to take the right one. I said that at the first opportunity I would contend for equitable protection for the farmer of the United States, who all these years had borne the burden of a protective-tariff system, not only by payments from his pocket, but had sustained the protective-tariff system by his vote.

Mr. President, we have reached a new-world condition. We are in an era of falling prices. However sufficient may have been the remedy of protective tariff for ills which existed in an earlier day, however efficient it may have been to create a condition of industrial equilibrium which the fathers desired to see attained within the Republic, it is not sufficient now unless it shall be modified, unless it shall be added to, unless it shall be so thoroughly rebuilt as to answer and meet the requirements of to-day.

There has been a fall of prices so tremendous that the industrial world has practically been shattered by that fall. From within the Republican party the doctrine is enunciated that it is overproduction; and from within the Democratic party the same announcement is made, that it is overproduction. And the people starve because there is overproduction of wheat, and go naked because there is overproduction of clothes, and are shelterless in the land because there is an overproduction of houses. The plea is not sufficient. I think we should adopt some other policy than that which forces us to make such an answer to misery.

It is the duty of lawmakers to confront the new condition, to rise to the same plane of devotion to the interests of all the people of the United States that our fathers stood upon when they formulated the first great act for the protection of the industries of this country. That was new. They occupied hitherto untrodden ground in this country. Why should not the lawmakers of to-day, equally patriotic, animated by the same spirit, say, "We will meet the conditions of this time with the same sacred devotion to the interests of the people that our fathers showed when they met and conquered difficulty."

There have been two causes for the fall of prices. One has been the multiplication of all kinds of labor-saving machinery, by which one man has been able to perform, through the assistance of steel and iron and wood fashioned cunningly to his hand, the work which was formerly done not alone by ten men, as the Senator from Texas [Mr. MILLS] stated, but often by a hundred or a thousand men.

Another cause of the fall of prices has been the withdrawal of a large portion of the power of the people to buy. It follows, naturally, that you can not sell what no one else has the power to purchase, and that excess in the stock of produced articles necessarily tends to a fall of prices.

Mr. STEWART. May I interrupt the Senator from Utah to make a suggestion on one point?

Mr. CANNON. It never interrupts me to hear the Senator from Nevada.

Mr. STEWART. I know it is the popular idea that the use of machinery has produced a great fall of prices. That is true as to the articles upon which machinery operates, but there is a countervailing force. In the intellectual development of the country new articles, new luxuries, are invented that are high priced and bring up the average. On an examination, if you take the average price of all commodities, including new luxuries that have been created since machinery has made the common article so cheap, you will find that it has raised the average to about the original level. I do not believe there has been a fall of all prices. If you go into any household you will find high-priced luxuries created by the genius of man. Take the plumbing and the painting and all that is done in the house, and you will find that the average cost of furnishing that house, or the average cost of commodities in the house, will be as high to-day as fifty years ago. That ought to be taken into account in studying this question.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. President, before I shall conclude, I hope, if I do not trespass too much upon the time of the Senate, to submit a brief observation on the fall of prices induced in special lines and within certain circumscribed areas by inventions in the mechanical arts. In the main, I agree with what the Senator from Nevada has stated. I am not proceeding now to discuss this dual proposition in detail. I put forward, as a generality, the declaration that falling prices have been produced in part by the invention of labor-saving machinery, so sudden, so almost miraculous, that the people of the world have not been able to keep pace socially and in the application of law to the needs of men and customs to the requirements of men with this wonderful development in mechanical arts. It will be no news to Senators here for me to declare that I regard as the chief factor in the fall of prices the restrictions upon the money of the people.

Mechanical development is a blessing to mankind. God never gave an inspiration to the mind of man, in poetry, in art, or in mechanics, except for the blessing of the world. It is our fault if we turn it to a curse. Money restrictions are not a blessing. Mechanical development which has led to a fall of prices destructive to the opportunity of people to buy in some slight direction is a blessing, but the money restriction placed upon the people which forbids them to buy because they have not the wherewithal to pay for that which they buy is an unmitigated curse.

Falling prices have come with terrific weight upon the manufacturers. No one disputes that. Mills are closed; factory hands are idle; warehouses are overstocked with goods. The shelves of mercantile establishments rot away with their burden of goods which can not be sold. Therefore the manufacturer can not have good prices.

But under any distress which threatens the manufacturer he has opportunities to ward it off that do not exist with the agricultural producer. The trust in the United States is the absolute outgrowth of the spirit of self-defense and self-preservation which animates the manufacturers.

When prices fall and the people have not the same extended power to buy, the manufacturer of one town joins with the manufacturer of another town, and they combine together to hold up the prices of their product. The result has been trusts; trusts which will go on, I fear, stimulated and defended as they are in this country, until we shall see the natural result, which will be the taking possession of all natural opportunities by the one great trust, the Government, in order that they may be administered for the good of the people.

The trusts are making Populists of the people of the United States. The trusts were organized to withstand the fall of prices, and they are used to fight against some of the remedies for that fall proposed by our friends the Populists. If they shall continue to demonstrate that the greater the combination the cheaper the article to the consumer and the better wages paid to the producer, they will have taught to the people that in order to have absolutely just prices for that which you buy and absolutely good wages for your daily toil there must be one gigantic trust, under the name of the Government, whose profits go to the people. That is the result which they will produce if we continue unrestrainedly in the same line in which we have been proceeding for some time past.

The farmer can not make these combinations. He is their victim. The farmer knows nothing in advance concerning what he will get for his product. It is largely true of the whole country, it is especially true of that region of semiarid America from which I come, that there is no science more exact than that of agriculture. The farmer can tell almost to an hour largely all over the country, and absolutely within the semiarid region, how many days of toil he must devote to the production of a given quantity of agricultural product. After all, that is a better test of the cost and enables us to form a better judgment of the cost than the number of dollars that have to be paid for anything. We have gotten so that we make a sacred standard of the dollar. The real

standard which God Almighty set was how many pulse beats of the human hand it took to produce anything, how much of labor it took to create it. That is the measure; and we will never have righteousness in social economy until that is not only a method of judgment, but is the finality of the judgment.

The farmer can only tell how much he knows it costs in toil and sweat to produce a bushel of wheat or a bale of cotton. My distinguished friend from Georgia [Mr. BACON], who is to benefit his cotton producer by a tariff, may pass through the whitened fields of his State and say to the men engaged in the production: "Taking the years by and large, my friend, you know just what time in the year you have to begin your labor; you know what time in the year you have to devote yourself and the help of your assistants to any given stage of this production; you can tell in the dawning springtime precisely how much of labor will have been devoted by you to the production of a bale of cotton. But can you tell me whether you are to get 5 cents or 16 cents a pound for your cotton?" The farmer will have to answer, "No." He has no means of setting a price on his product; nor can he have advance knowledge of what that price is to be.

I have seen men engaged in the wheat fields. I have watched their labor from the time they sowed the seed through all the steps of irrigation and harvesting and thrashing. I have asked the farmer how much he was going to get per bushel, and he has always answered that he did not yet know; that he found out from his local merchant, who not only set the price of the goods which the farmer bought from the merchant, but set the price of the goods which the farmer sold to the merchant, and the farmer had no guess on it either way; that the local merchant found out from the commission house in the nearest large town; that the commission house ascertained from Chicago, and that Chicago ascertained from Liverpool. Some man in Liverpool who never saw an American wheat field, and some man in Liverpool who never saw an American cotton plantation, is the man from whom the American planter and the American farmer receives dictation as to the price of his commodity.

Congress proposes to supplement the power of the local manufacturers within the United States to combine together for their own protection and benefit by giving to them the aid of law. If you vote against this proposition, you propose to vote to deny to the man who most needs it that power of protection and that particular benefit which tariff acts are supposed to bestow upon all American industries alike; and you will leave the American producer of agricultural products still the victim of free-trade prices.

There is a threat of a continued fall in manufactured products as well as continued fall in agricultural products. We stand on the Atlantic Seaboard and gaze through purblind eyes into Europe, thinking that the land from which the menace was first directed against us, the land from which we got most of our thought of political economy, is likely to descend upon us with an avalanche of manufactured products to destroy the American market. We are looking in the wrong place. There rises an industrial power in the Orient which will do for the manufacturing industries of the United States precisely what has already been done for the agricultural industries in this country, and no protective tariff will avail you.

We pay an export bounty to the Chinaman of 100 per cent on all he sends to this country, and we rear an import duty in his behalf of 100 per cent on all he buys from us by the system of exchanges permitted under the gold standard. The manufacturer who thinks that 30 or 40 per cent or 75 per cent or 100 per cent will be sufficient protection for him when that wonderful people of the Orient shall have risen from the ashes of their past and shall assail the industries of the United States will find himself sadly mistaken.

Mr. President, I do not think that the fall of prices is a general advantage to the world. It would be true if all things fell exactly alike, that is, in exact relation to each other, but there are so many things which do not fall. As a commodity goes down, public taxes, public salaries paid out of public taxes, the demands of a luxurious civilization, rise in proportion to the fall of commodities in the market, and so we can not have that exactitude of relation which would make a general fall in prices advantageous to the people of this country.

I do not contend that a fall in prices directly resulting from a mechanical invention ought to be an evil. We simply ought to provide to prevent any evil effects from that fall. But we do not thus provide; we have come to a strange social condition. If Mr. Tesla addresses himself to a financier, a politician, or even a minister of the gospel and says, "After years of investigation I have discovered a means whereby I can telegraph from one place to another without the use of a wire; I can put in a million of my instruments in the United States and telegraph from one to another and no two will conflict," the politician, the financier, or even the minister of the gospel answers him, "Form a joint stock company quick and let me in on the ground floor."

No tale of physical possibility is too wild for men to accept in this time of miracles in physical advancement. But let some man who has worked for years in his study evolving plans for the betterment of men go to the politician, or to the financier, or in some instances even the minister of the gospel, and say, "I have discovered a method whereby we can make the application of law more just to all the people and the disposition of nature's bounty more equitable to all who need; I have discovered a method by which no child shall be without shoes, and no man shall be hungry, and no woman shall cry because there is want in the home," and that same politician and financier, and even perhaps the minister of the gospel, will answer, "This is my busy day; call to-morrow."

We have not time nor willingness for the consideration, to say nothing of the acceptance, of great social truths.

Mr. President, there is a righteous and world-wide remedy for falling prices. I shall not apologize to the Senate for stating what that remedy is, nor shall I feel that the time has been wasted, by me at least, no matter how much of an infliction upon the Senate and upon the country, which is devoted to a declaration that this fall of prices will go on until we restore money justice to the people of the world—not only to the United States, but to all the world. Some of my friends of the bimetallic cause in this Chamber have authorized me to say for them, as I say for myself now, that this bill for a protective tariff will not restore prosperity to the American people in any general sense. It will not give to the people the power to buy, no matter how easy it may make domestic production.

We must have a wider basis for the money of this world and the business of this world if we would have prosperity. When we make the dollar measure too much of everything else in the world, then the wise investor who likes to have his wealth in the thing least subject to mutation puts his wealth in dollars and hoards them. If you make dollars less attractive to the investor, and the things which the people produce by toil a little more attractive to the investor, there will be more dollars go into things, and there will be more dollars in circulation in the United States and the rest of the world. No labor is ever uplifted under an appreciating money standard. I challenge contradiction at any time upon this assertion: Labor is not generally uplifted under an appreciating money standard.

Is the protective tariff for the uplifting of labor? So the teaching has been. But it can not elevate toil under that appreciating money standard which now exists in the United States and throughout the world. Not only should there be, and not only will there be, I think—if I also may pose as a prophet, since the rôle has been taken up this afternoon—a restoration of silver to the money of the world, but there will be such wider expansion of the money volume as the needs of the people of the world shall dictate.

Does any man in his senses suppose that a great, intellectual, courageous people will forever submit to having general poverty simply because the thing with which we measure commodities has been contracted? That thing created by law called money is not now sufficient to do the measuring of to-day; and as we can get nothing without its first being measured, we can not get it except we have a sufficient volume of money with which to measure it. That is true of all the world, but what folly without a parallel it is for the people of the United States, a debtor nation, to permit conditions to prevail which essentially depress the price of that with which they pay their debts!

If a farmer deliberately did that, the probate court in his county would send him to a lunatic asylum. If he practiced that in his private business, his friends and relatives, his wife and children, who had been defrauded by his folly, would have a guardian appointed for him. The people of the United States are doing it; and yet we are told that every man who raises his voice in remonstrance must be either "heretical," to quote the word of the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. THURSTON], or an anarchist, to use the word which was so much abused last year.

We pay our interest and other money obligations to the world in money, of course—$600,000,000 of it every year, some writers say; but we get the gold for such payment from the commodities which we sell to the world, and we are engaged in reducing the price of these commodities—agricultural staples—so that our creditor shall have twice as much in payment of any given dollar of our obligation to him as he could have gotten when the debt was incurred. And the opponents of that idea are called "heretics" and anarchists.

The creditor nations of the world are forcing the silver-using nations to the gold standard; and they are doing it while we are waiting on international bimetallism. Japan, for the sake of being able to borrow, has gone to the gold standard—not as the gold-standard press and its advocates would lead the people to believe, for while Japan has made her coinage at the ratio of 32.34 of silver to 1 of gold, yet she has done it by giving to the gold yen twice the value it had before, so far as value can be given by legislative enactment. Peru is being forced to the gold standard. Every

debtor and every borrowing nation is being crowded in these critical days by the gold power to go to that standard, so that after we shall have finished our international minuet in behalf of bimetallism there will not be any country on the earth to join with us in the effort.

There is not time here and now, nor is there occasion at this hour, to discuss the question of independent bimetallism. But I ask permission of the Senate to print as an appendix to my remarks an article published in a magazine called Money, issued at New York, written by Hon. Charles A. Towne, under the title, "Is independent free coinage of silver practicable?" I am satisfied that the Senate will consent rather than to impose the use of the time for me to read the article.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If there be no objection, the paper referred to by the Senator will be printed in the RECORD.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. President, I stated a little while ago that we gave an export bounty of 100 per cent to oriental producers of agricultural goods and to oriental producers of manufactured goods, and that we reared a wall of 100 per cent protective tariff around the Orient to prevent those people from receiving our goods. The explanation of that statement belongs properly within my brief, cursory statement of the general remedy for the ills from which the agriculturist is suffering.

Take the producer of cotton in China, for China does produce cotton, though not much of it reaches the markets of the world yet, but it will. Russia is going down through Manchuria to reach the Yellow Sea. There is a secret arrangement between the Czar of Russia and the Emperor of China by which she can establish a military outpost every 10 miles, and she proposes to guard those outposts by railway and telegraph lines, which they are ostensibly themselves to guard, and thus she will open a vast region, where, within the latitudinal extent of 14 degrees, you can produce upon the same soil both wheat and cotton growing side by side. I am advised by a gentleman who comes from the cotton-producing States that the latitudinal range of that production in the United States is only 4 degrees; that, perhaps, with the exception of Texas and the Indian Territory, you can not produce from the same land both wheat and cotton. When the Chinaman gets into the markets of the world——

Mr. BACON. The Senator is mistaken as to the limit of that range. I have seen the same thing in the upper part of the State of Georgia, in which that can be done. In the upper part of the State, in Floyd County, we produce both wheat and cotton.

Mr. TILLMAN. It can be done in every part of the State.

Mr. BACON. It can not be done in the lower part of the State.

Mr. TILLMAN. It can be done in all that section of country except in Florida.

Mr. CANNON. I did not quite grasp what the Senator from Georgia said. Is the latitudinal range of cotton in this country greater than 4 degrees?

Mr. BACON. I did not understand that to be the particular thing to which I addressed my remarks. I understood the Senator to say that there was but a limited territory in which both cotton and wheat could be raised on the same land. I understood him to limit it to Texas and some other portion of the country.

Mr. CANNON. The Indian Territory.

Mr. BACON. Yes; the Indian Territory.

Mr. CANNON. I was so advised by the very able senior Senator from Louisiana [Mr. CAFFERY], who is not now here. Yesterday I made the inquiry, not being certain as to the facts, and I have repeated his statement substantially as he made it to me.

Mr. BACON. I think it is substantially true that the territory in which both of those products can be advantageously raised is limited.

Mr. CANNON. It was only a general statement, of course.

Mr. WHITE. If the Senator will permit me, I observe, looking at the statistics of the Agricultural Department with reference to the production of wheat, that, while it is true that wheat is produced to some extent in the cotton States, the production is not very extensive; I do not know what the capabilities may be, but the production is limited. On page 596 of the report of last year it is shown that it is not very great comparatively.

Mr. CANNON. I thank both Senators for the information.

In general it can be maintained—it certainly is undisputed—that the agricultural producer in China, the man who raises cotton and wheat, has not only the advantage conferred by nature, but he has a great additional advantage, if it be an advantage, in the cheap labor of the country. Against those things a protective tariff is supposed to erect a guardian wall; but, Mr. President, the producer of staples in China receives under the money system of the world, the gold standard, 100 per cent of export bounty, and the producer of manufactured goods in China has 100 per cent of import duty arising from the maintenance of that standard.

The producer of cotton in China will sell his cotton in the same markets, at the same prices, under the same exchanges as the Southern planter will sell his cotton, and the Chinese producer of cotton will get 10 cents in gold while that is the metal in which the world's exchanges are written. He will take it home to his country and he will exchange it for 20 cents of the money of his country at the present ratio of gold and silver in the commercial world, and with that 20 cents he can pay 20 cents' worth of the obligations which exist upon him as a member of the community. And this is equivalent to an export bounty of 100 per cent. But the unaided, unprotected American planter will sell his cotton for that same amount of 10 cents, and will bring it home, and it will pay just 10 cents of the obligations which he must meet as a member of the community. The system which works so advantageously to the oriental producers of agricultural staples is reversed when you come to manufactures which those countries import. It takes 200 cents of the money of their country to make $1 of the money of the world.

Not long since a steamship company doing business upon the rivers of China wanted to renew its fleet. It found that under the changed conditions which had arisen in the money of the world within twenty years it would cost $10,000 of the money of China to buy one of the little launches which had formerly cost $5,000 in the money of China and $5,000 in the money of the world. Instead of buying those ships from the United States or from Great Britain, they made them right on the banks of the Chinese river, for under the gold standard they have 100 per cent of protection against the gold-standard world.

We can not withstand that competition. Agriculturists suffer most from it now, because rivalry is reaching out from Argentina and from Uruguay, as well as from all the countries of the Orient, and taking away the market where the farmer of the United States formerly sold his surplus, from the proceeds of which all the balance of trade was paid and all our civilization was maintained. But the manufacturer will have his day of darkness.

Mr. President, I ask permission to insert here some documents relating to the special interest of agriculture in this question, being the remarks of Mr. M. G. Boutmy before the Imperial Economical Society at St. Petersburg, April 9, 1897, and the views of the economists gathered at the agricultural congress in Budapest. If I may have the permission of the Senate, I desire to have them inserted as part of my remarks.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. If there be no objection, that will be the order.

The papers referred to are as follows.

[From the address of M. G. Boutmy before the Imperial Economical Society at St. Petersburg, April 9, 1897.]

I do not know whether the united efforts of France, the United States, England, and Germany will shortly rid the world of the tyranny of gold, the effects of which are becoming more serious daily and are tending to the ruin of producers; but I hope and trust that they will succeed, in the interests of the commerce, progress, and prosperity of the whole world, and of Russia in particular. But so long as the monetary schism exists which divides the world into two camps—the yellow camp, where agriculture is ruined, and the white camp, where the farmers are protected from the crises that occur in the yellow camp—I fail to understand how any Russian patriot can desire to see his country go over from the white camp to the yellow camp, or how a Russian minister can pursue such a reform with so much tenacity, without regard to the consequences, and in spite of the law and the legislature.

The gold standard will mean the ruin of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce—the ruin of Russia as a nation. Moreover, the reform that proposes to bring it about would be a disgrace to our country. Instead of maintaining the par of our credit ruble at 1 silver ruble = 4 silver francs, in accordance with the law and the obligations entered into by the State, it is proposed to ruin Russian agriculture, in order to make 1 credit ruble equal to 2½ francs in gold. It is a combination of prodigality and bankruptcy. Very well, but we neither wish to deceive others nor be deceived ourselves; we simply desire to maintain the law in its present state, and this we can and ought to do.

The gold standard, while ruining debtor countries like Russia, is a source of profit to none save the international bankers and speculators. I do not know what motive the minister of finance may have in advocating this baneful régime, but I fully realize that the time has come for all friends of the Russian fatherland and Russian social order to unite and exert all their strength in order to prevent the accomplishment of this reform. If we are to be vanquished, let the calamity come upon us while fighting it to the last.

VIEWS OF THE ECONOMISTS OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF AGRICULTURE AT BUDAPEST (SEPTEMBER 17-20, 1896) ON THE MONEY QUESTION.

Alphonse Allard, director of the mint of Belgium, Brussels: All the nations that accept but gold ruin themselves; the prices go down.

The products of the earth having gone down by 50 per cent, the soil itself must go down by the same per cent.

The decrease of prices caused by the present standard of money has arrived at 50 to 60 per cent.

To the demonetization of silver in Germany in 1871, in the Latin countries in 1876 (August 5), and since then successively in all Europe we must attribute the changes wrought in the relation of value of the precious metals.

The prices have gone down by 50 to 60 per cent everywhere where the gold standard has been adopted.

The crisis of low prices would be arrested by the remonetization of silver or by the creation of a bimetallic union.

All the countries are prepared for that step. The United States are on the point of marching alone.

Dr. Otto Arendt, member of the Prussian Landtag, Berlin: The variation of the relation of value must be attributed not to the change of the conditions of production, but to the modification of monetary legislation.

The fall of the value of silver, the increase of the value of gold, have accentuated the differences of values and almost changed an exception into a rule. Value is a factor of price in the international competition. In proportion as the differences of the standard of the two precious metals increase the producer of the countries with an inferior money can lower the prices of the

world's market by his simple offer to sell. An efficient exportation is not even necessary.

Nowhere is there a thought of the introduction of silver monometallism. But a bimetallic union would raise and consolidate the price of the white metal, would make the differences of values an exception, would establish similar conditions of production everywhere, and would arrest the depression of prices in the world's market. Even the partisans of the gold standard expect from bimetallism a lowering of the value of gold; that is, that desirable "goldverschlechterung," or an increase of the price of merchandise in proportion to the natural (not artificially raised) value of gold.

If the principal countries coin gold and silver at a fixed standard or fixed relation of value, the price of the precious metals on the regulating markets can not waver from that fixed relation. This would mean the stopping of the fluctuations of the relation of values and the ceasing of losses produced by these fluctuations. All the countries have an equal interest in the realization of this agreement, and the opposition to this needed reform will indeed be overcome one day. Even if England will not join, bimetallism will be introduced without and against England.

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Barfoot-Saunt, delegate of the Central Chamber of Agriculture, London, (gold monometallist): The cause of the variation of the relation of the precious metals is the cheapness and the great quantity of silver produced in comparison with the production of and the demand for gold. In course of history gold always was the more precious metal; equally, the demand for gold was never inferior to the offer of the same. As to silver, the demand for it could always be satisfied, and even oversatisfied. Thus the relation of gold to silver sank from 1 to 11.8 in 1581 down to 1 to 16 in 1813. This decrease of the value of silver took place between 1867 and 1874 to such an extent that France and the Latin Union were obliged to cease coining silver in order to escape a financial catastrophe. But this diminished the demand for silver still more, and lowered yet its value in comparison with gold.

The remonetization of silver would produce a still further decrease of the cost of production. It is just this cheapness which permits the producers of the countries with the silver standard to compete with the gold countries.

The reestablishment of the former value of silver respecting the former relation between the two precious metals (16 to 1) would really mean the demonetization of gold and the establishment of the silver standard in all the countries of the world. The relation of value between the different articles of consumption would be absolutely the same as to-day, except the actual debts of the gold-standard countries, which could be paid by a depreciated money.

There is absolutely no prospect that the relation between the two metals will ever be rearranged by the gold countries.

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Charles Baross de Bellus, political economist, Budapest: The cause which brought about the variation in the relation of value between the precious metals is the preference given to gold by certain countries and the colossal power acquired by the keepers of gold in the domain of political economy. By artificial means they arrived at unduly augmenting the demand for gold, a demand which could not be reached by the production of the yellow metal. The special increase of the value of gold as against silver (for the value of gold rose without that of the silver going down in its purchasing power) augmented still more the value of money.

The silver still continued to serve as standard in a great many States important from the point of view of political economy, but in the world's market gold prevailed. Thus the agricultural products have to struggle not only against the general "hausse" of money, but especially against the "hausse" of gold. This means: You must, for a certain quantity of gold, give in exchange a greater and ever greater quantity of products, especially breadstuff. This brings about the lowering of the prices of the products.

The remonetization of the value of silver would make cease the ever-continued efforts of raising by force the value of gold; one would suddenly see on the market a much more considerable quantity of "sound money;" the demand for money would be easier satisfied and its value in consequence fall to a normal point. On the other hand, the price of grain would rise without fail in a certain measure and for a certain time. For all these reasons I consider bimetallism as a very important factor, but not entirely as a panacea for all the economic faults. In the interest of the agricultural population bimetallism must be established as a rational part, but, as I recognize, only as a part of a new system of political economy.

In my opinion the stardard of the still remote future times will be neither gold nor silver, but paper money sustained by a special convention between the interested States, and will thus be guaranteed by the credit of the human race.

The establishment of international bimetallism is a question of might, pure and simple. Bimetallism will surely be established if the poor men and the farmers will prevail in the direction of political economy in the world. It will not be established if supremacy remains with the bankers and merchants.

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D. F. A. Bauduin, president of the Dutch Society of Agriculture, member of the National Society of Agriculture of France: I express my full and entire conviction that the only remedy for the critical condition of agriculture in the countries with an exclusive gold standard consists in the necessity of a union of all these states for the reestablishment of the bimetallismof gold and silver in a certain proportion.

No one can deny that if silver were again admitted in the international transactions in a fixed proportion with gold, if the governments again opened their mints to the coinage of silver, the great advantage of the British Indies would cease.

Undoubtedly also the Argentine Republic would then see its value at par in no remote time, if it could revert to specie payment in silver instead of its extremely depreciated paper.

Everyone can easily calculate that in this case the competition with this fearful enemy would be much easier for us.

Bimetallism is our only hope for an amelioration which is not very far removed.

If we had to wait till the production of gold in the world surpassed to such an extent that of silver that the rôles would be equal or reversed, we would expose the working and producing population to that cruel and cynical exploitation which it suffers now for twenty-four years on the part of the great money lenders, for there is no doubt that the opposition to bimetallism proceeds from this side.

This class enjoys constantly the great advantages which the gold of their rents procures to them by the general fall of prices, "baisse," of the products, which, for example, has brought it about that the agriculturist must give to-day two hectoliters of grain for £1, while formerly one single hectoliter sufficed.

It is to be remarked that this general fall of prices of the agricultural products for a number of years went apace with the fall of the price of silver, and in almost equal proportions.

This coincidence must find its explanation in the fact that in 1873 a sum of silver valued at 2,000,000,000 livres sterling ($400,000,000) had been excluded or demonetized for the international circulation. In excluding the silver from the mission which it fulfilled before together with gold, Mr. Chaplin, of London, has well shown that there was in circulation before 1873 about 3,600,000,000 livres sterling. Since then Europe and America must content themselves with 1,600,000,000 livres sterling, with a yearly production of gold which Mr. Chaplin values at only 30,000,000 livres sterling.

There is consequently less than one-half of the volume of money at present that there was formerly as the metallic basis of exchange and of all transactions.

This explains clearly the general fall of prices by the proportionate scarcity of money which serves to pay for products.

Instead of seeking the explanation of the general depression in the diminution of the volume of money, the silver being driven from the international service in Europe, the monometallists seek by all kinds of false reasonings to complicate the question and to render it frequently incomprehensible to most people by enveloping it with a cloud of so-called scholarship. It is especially in England, in the great city of London, that the opposition to bimetallism seems to have its seat, and one considers pitilessly, with an almost criminal cynicism, how much the country suffers by the destruction of its agriculture and even to a great extent of its industries.

Not long ago the director of an English company of navigation declared that he would soon be obliged to have his ships constructed or repaired in the Orient, where silver was in circulation, and that it would cost him half of what it would cost in England.

The textile industries, which develop so enormously in the Indies, Japan, and China, will soon have the same advantage over English manufactures.

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Count André Bethlen, deputy to the Hungarian Parliament: The demonetization of silver, producing an insufficiency of money, respecting means of circulation, is one of the principal causes of the general debasement of prices, especially those of grain.

The restoration of bimetallism by international action will have as a consequence the rise of prices, the diminution of public charges, and a very great revival in business transactions.

The rapid propagation of the bimetallic movement, as well as the importance of the personages who direct it, assure its future success.

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Dr. Charles Bunele, attorney and political economy writer (Vienna), is against bimetallism.

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R. Lacey Everett, member of Parliament (Rushmore, Ipswich): The closing of the mints to the free coinage of silver in the United States, in France, etc., has brought about the changes in the relation of values between gold and silver. As long as the mints were open to both metals, the old relation of the two precious metals could be maintained in spite of the great difference in the production of the metals. Since the mentioned mints have been closed, the two metals have continued to be produced at the ratio as before. But since silver has been excluded from free circulation in the markets which were open to it heretofore, and since gold must now accomplish the double task, it is but natural that the value of gold has been unduly pushed upward. By the term price one understands, to-day, gold. Owing to the rise of the value of gold, brought about by the increase of its demand (silver having been demonetized), grain and other merchandise are exchanged now for one-half of the quantity of gold paid before the demonetization of silver, while the exchange of merchandise and silver goes on at the same ratio as before. Owing to the fact that at the head of the British Government there is to-day a statesman who is a sincere partisan of an international understanding, it seems that there may be hopes for a betterment. English agriculture is progressively ruined by the actual conditions.

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Louis Frankl, deputy to the Landtag and landed proprietor: The changes produced in the relation of value between the two precious metals can not be attributed, according to the given statistics, to an overproduction of silver, or this can have taken place only in a very insignificant measure. The changes in question have been provoked by the demonetization of silver in most of the countries, following the example set by Germany. These changes have been aggravated by the fact that gold, though increased considerably by production, has not by far increased to such an extent as would have been necessary in view of the enormous extension of its need for industrial ends and business requirements.

This change has exercised a very unfavorable influence upon the constitution of agricultural products. It is true that the baisse of prices has been produced to a certain extent by the decrease of the cost of production, and especially by the diminution of the existing means of circulation, owing to the retirement of paper money, which has taken place these last years on a large scale. But the decisive reason lies always in the great rise of the value of gold, for every increase in the value of money has as a necessary consequence a corresponding decrease of the price of merchandise.

This gives a considerable advance to the production of countries with silver and paper money, in view of the fact that the wages of labor, and consequently the cost of production of all the merchandise manufactured in the country, usually follow only very slowly the rise of the value of money. Since the countries in question must mainly depend upon the exportation of agricultural products, the competition will become considerably aggravated in this respect. This explains why it is just the agricultural products which are in the first place affected by the depression of prices.

The establishment of the silver standard, or, better, the creation of a bimetallic league strong enough to maintain a definite relation between gold and silver, would have as a consequence an increase of the means of circulation and at the same time a decrease of the price of money, which would be followed immediately by a considerable increase of the value of merchandise. On the other hand, the wages will follow only slowly afterwards; consequently the cost of production will become cheaper. All the public or private charges resulting from the introduction of the double standard would be paid in less dear money, and thus be borne easier. The countries which have actually a silver or paper basis would be less able to compete and could only flood the market with their products in a much weaker proportion. The economic consequences of a similar measure would then be extremely advantageous for the producer in general, first of all for the agriculturist.

An understanding of the interested countries in regard to an accommodation of the two precious metals could only be reached jointly with England, otherwise they would run a risk of seeing the gold dispossessed by silver.

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Geza de Gerloczy, professor at the Royal Agricultural Institute at Kassa, Hungary: The gold standard is one of the causes of the depression of prices. It is a universally acknowledged fact that the introduction of the gold standard and the suppression of the white metal have lowered the price of our grain. With bimetallism, a system by which the fluctuations of the two precious metals would be equalized, we should have stable money; the sale of our products abroad would be carried on more advantageously; the prices of our products would not be exposed to those perpetual fluctuations. The relation between the two precious metals ought to be fixed in a stable manner and by international agreement, the only way to make it stable and to

prevent fluctuations; the establishment of a bimetallic union would then ameliorate the situation. These are the remedies to extenuate the agricultural crisis.

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Charles de Alberti Givola, delegate of Argentina, agricultural engineer, Buenos Aires: Statistics show that the change between the value of the two precious metals can not be attributed to an overproduction of silver, for the quantity of silver produced is far from surpassing the growing needs of commerce and industry. It is its suppression for payment which has diminished its value. At the same time gold is sought more and more, especially since the establishment of the gold standard, and though its production has not diminished, it has not increased either in the proportion required by the necessities of industries and its function in countries with the gold standard.

Gold has become more scarce, owing to the destruction of half the volume of money, i. e., silver, and its demand has increased considerably. A by far greater quantity of merchandise is necessary in order to buy the same quantity of gold, and the price of goods, especially agricultural products in general, has decreased. But it is not gold alone which has provoked this baisse; also the multiplication of the means of transportation, the diminution of freight expenses, the development of international competition have exercised a great influence upon prices.

The restoration of the silver standard would produce an increase of money and better prices for the products, which would be favorable for agriculture; but at the same time the wages and other expenses of production would increase; life would become more expensive, which would tend toward leveling the benefits which the people hope to derive therefrom, and after some time the situation would become the same. The conditions of production of exporting countries would not be much modified, and the situation of international agriculture would not be much benefited.

To avoid a disordered monetary circulation, an agreement between the interested States would be necessary; but this seems hardly probable. The countries which have imposed to themselves great sacrifices to establish the gold standard would not enter into the proposed reform, and the certain absence of other countries would make the union worthless.

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William James Harris, Beauworthy, Devonshire: To the suppression of silver as a general means of payment in some countries; to the introduction of paper money in lieu of all the other species of money. This exercises a considerable influence, because the nations of western Europe have an unfavorable opinion of the value of foreign money which they can not coin anew in their own mints.

If all the nations could be forced to admit silver money in a fixed, determined ratio with gold, countries like Argentina, Russia, and India would probably lose their important advantages in regard to their products. I do not believe that any group of States could force the nations who have a paper standard to adopt a metallic valuata. Moreover, certain States—for instance, the Argentine Republic—would be unable to retire their paper money from circulation and to replace it by silver which they would have to buy on the open market.

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Hugo Hitschmann, editor of the Landwirthschaftliche Zeitung, Vienna: The cause of the variation of the relative value of gold and silver must be attributed on one side to the great demand for the yellow metal, in consequence of the introduction of the gold standard in a number of European States, though there was no great increase in the production of gold; on the other hand, to the demonetization of silver by the adoption of the system in question, though the production of the white metal has not diminished.

According to economic laws, the prices of merchandises go down when they are more abundant than money. Owing to the introduction of the monetary system by which silver is deprived of its character as money, gold has increased in value so that a smaller sum will buy a far larger quantity of merchandise.

The restoration of the double standard would bring about an increase of the means of circulation, a rise of prices of merchandise, and consequently economic prosperity.

Mr. Hitschmann urges strongly international bimetallism, in order to remedy essentially the economic situation and to arrest the depreciation of agricultural products.

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Emile Levasseur, membre de l'Institut, professor at the College de France. (gold-standard man): One must attribute the changes to the considerable increase of the production of silver for twenty years; to less coining of silver in several great states, though in general the coinage of silver money by the mints is far from having diminished in the world as much as is said generally. The increased offer of silver and the decreased demand would have lowered the price of any merchandise.

If silver has sunk in value, has gold risen? I believe that there is a tendency to increase, though little accentuated. Indeed, the production of gold has increased considerably for twenty years. The procedures of credit have increased still more than the means of payment, which suffice entirely for the large trade. Gold plays an infinitesimal role in the exchange regulated by the bank. Statistics show that the wholesale prices of certain common merchandises are always at baisse. But is it the gold that has risen in price or the merchandise which has sunk in price? The retail prices have not diminished, or diminished imperceptibly, and the salaries—probably the most important factor—have increased.

The economy in the production and the abundance of the products are certainly the two principal causes of the baisse of the wholesale prices, especially in grain. The agricultural products have decreased in value because they are offered in larger quantities than before on the regulating markets, with a smaller cost of transportation from countries where the production is cheaper owing to cheaper wages, or to cheaper economic procedure of work (machines), or to small agricultural taxes. These are the great influences.

The species of money, however, exercises an influence. Countries with a silver standard are at an advantage when they sell their grain in countries with a gold standard. This advantage is shared in various proportions between the producer, the exporter, and the intermediary agents. If this influence were as great as certain publicists have said, India would be to-day covered with harvests and Europe deluged with its grain.

The consequences of the restoration of the double standard in the gold countries would be the gradual diminution of the circulation of gold, the rise of prices of most merchandises, first in wholesale, then in retail. The agricultural products would probably be among the first to profit from this baisse, and the wages among the last prices that would rise. The transition would be advantageous to the farmers, noxious to the laborers.

At the end of a certain number of years the equilibrium would adjust itself. There would consequently be no particular profit for anybody, except in long-term contracts concluded before the baisse (rents, obligations, pensions, trusts on property), in which cases the creditors would be robbed and the debtors profit. All prices would be raised and the country would find itself with a depreciated currency, in a state of unfavorable exchange, and a disadvantageous situation in general as regards its commercial relations with the foreign countries.

There is no hope for international bimetallism, but it is possible that a political majority would drag the United States to voting separately for free coinage of silver, which would become an argument for the bimetallists of Europe. As regards England, it uses the theory of bimetallism only as an article of exportation for the use of foreign countries!

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Dr. W. Lexis, privy councilor, professor at the University of Gottingen (gold-standard man): The depreciation of silver in relation to gold has been produced (1) by the enormous increase of the production of the white metal within the last twenty-five years; (2) by the cessation of free coinage of silver in a certain number of countries, especially the Latin Union. Of a demonetization of silver one can, however, speak at most from November 1, 1893, since the repeal of the Sherman Act in the United States, for up to that time, i. e., twenty years, there has been coined or deposited for the circulation of bank notes a larger quantity of silver than ever before during an equal course of time. But, in spite of the agitation of the bimetallists, no state has been able to decide upon a legal recognition of silver in the former proportion of value with gold. Therefore the tendency is toward gold monometallism in spite of all difficulties.

There has, however, come no increase of the intrinsic value of gold; the variation of the relation of the two precious metals has been due solely to the diminution of the value of silver. The decrease of prices of several merchandises can be perfectly explained by the conditions of international competition and the diminution of the expenses of production and transportation. An increase of the intrinsic value of gold is therefore impossible, because the production of this metal has doubled within ten years, and because the average production of gold and silver is more considerable than between 1860-70 and 1850-60; because the stock of gold of the great European central banks rises to a quantity which would have been deemed incredible formerly; because in the important exchanges the use of coined gold is reduced more and more by the check and clearance system; because for several years the Bank of England has possessed always from twelve to fifteen million pounds of sterling more than the amount of its bank notes in circulation. Besides, all the branches of production and commerce have been in a favorable condition excepting agriculture.

The depreciation of silver has had only a minimal influence upon the constitution of the prices of agricultural products.

The creation of a bimetallic league—suppose that it could maintain itself—would undoubtedly raise the price of silver quite close to its legal relation of value with gold, but there would always remain a premium on gold which would have to amount only to 1 per cent to drive the gold from the daily transactions and to make of silver the only means of current circulation. Such was also the situation in France under the régime of the double standard before the invasion of the Californian and Australian gold.

The production of silver would surpass the actual amount so much that the legal value of silver as against gold would rise comparatively to its actual value on the market. If we admit the ancient legal relation between the two precious metals, it would rise to twelve hundred millions and more, in view that the European capital and that of North America would be extremely tempted to exploit the mines of Mexico and South America, and, indeed, with the best technical means of modern times. The consequence would be a great depreciation of all the money—that is, the increase of the nominal price of all the merchandise in the trade. As to agriculture, it might happen that it would derive no profit therefrom, because the rise of value of its products might be neutralized by the rise of wages and other expenses of production, and by the general higher price for the means of subsistence.

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Andre de Llaurado, engineer, inspector general of forests (Barcelona): The monetary question may be summed up as follows: I. Unfavorable balance, not only commercially but financially. II. Scarcity of gold on account of the demonetization of silver and the increase of business transactions.

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Dr. Rudolph Meyer, economic writer (Austria): In the countries with the silver standard—India, Japan, China—the prices of agricultural products have risen by 10 to 20 per cent since the period of 1865-1875. In the countries with the gold standard they have fallen by about one-third and sometimes by one-half since that period. I see the pernicious character of the gold standard for the states which have adopted it, in so far as they present themselves as exporting countries and not only as creditor countries, inasmuch as the silver valuata respecting the paper valuata (Argentina, for example, with 80 per cent) acts as a premium of exportation of grain and other products, and as a tariff of protection against the importation of merchandise coming from countries with a gold valuata.

It is very likely that the remonetization of silver in several great states would have as a consequence a very important increase of all the products and merchandise. But the encouragement which would result from it for agriculture, an agricultural and industrial overproduction, would terminate fatally in a general crisis. Thus the remonetization of the white metal would surely be more dangerous than its demonetization.

The European States will not decide to abolish the gold standard except under the pressure of the great political parties, and I do not see which these parties would be, in view that they would have to be recruited especially from the landed proprietors. It is true they are debtors for the most part, and the debtors are normally weaker than their creditors. But this pressure could be exercised by the American farmers, whose monetary situation is always very independent. If they succeed in conquering in the United States, the counter act will make itself momentarily felt in Europe, but I do not believe that it may exercise a lasting effect. I have not failed in its time to strongly advise against the introduction of gold monometallism, but I shall beware of participating in the agitation which demands its suppression.

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Paul Orosz de Balasfa, landed proprietor, delegate of the Society of Agriculture, Hungary: In view of the fact that the production of silver is abundant and that this metal is little employed in industry, there is an excess of the white metal, and consequently a larger quantity of it has to be given as a price. On the other hand, the introduction of gold monometallism has considerably increased the price of gold. This has lowered the prices for agricultural products.

The restoration of silver would at all events have beneficial consequences—the rise of prices, more active trade and commerce, and the lowering of interests for borrowed capital, which is the most important question. There will be bimetallism, if the aims of certain interested groups can be avoided.

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Leon Louis A. Raffalovich, counselor of state of the Bank of Commerce (St. Petersburg): The change of value between the two precious metals has been brought about, one may say, solely by the legislative measures taken in 1871 and from that date on.

These changes have produced a pernicious influence upon the movement of prices by provoking a baisse which has never had its like.

The reestablishment of the status quo ante is desirable in all respects. The establishment of the silver standard, pure and simple, does not present real advantages and is not possible at present, though more realizable than gold monometallism, which is not realizable at all.

A bimetallic union is the sole possible and acceptable solution. This system is well known; it has existed very long and its restoration would consequently only be the return to a normal condition.

Arthur Raffalovich, corresponding member de l'Institut de France, holds it unlikely that the countries which impose upon themselves sacrifices to reform their money in order to have stable money and to live a normal life with an unchangeable currency will enter anew upon bimetallism. He is a gold monometallist.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. President, speaking generally, the restoration of the money conditions which will enable the people to buy freely is the right remedy for the distress of the times.

A protective tariff alone will not do it. A protective tariff makes a country rich, and bad money laws make the people poor. What object is it to a Christian nation that we should build the general fabric so high to the ruin of the masses of the people who stand beneath the Government? The statistics by which we show that every person in the United States has got an average of a thousand dollars are no longer satisfactory. It is no use to make the country rich and the people poor. That is not a remedy for existing ills. But at present we can not get a just money law.

There is an alternative. If one class of our people, and that the largest individual class, the one upon which we must most rely, is to be compelled by conditions which exist in the world and by our method of making law to sell in a free-trade market, then common justice demands that they shall be permitted to buy in a free-trade market; and I renew here the declaration that, coming, as I think I have, to the comprehension of the justice of this case, I should prefer to stand for a policy which enabled the farmer to buy in a free-trade market if he must sell there, rather than to speak for and vote for a policy which compels him to sell in a free-trade market and at the same time buy in a protected market. A house divided against itself will not stand; and while this great proposition of inequity abides in the United States the people are not united—they are severed upon the one great vital proposition of life and the means of living.

But no party is going to propose free trade. Our friends of the Democratic faith, I regret to see, are torn by dissensions the moment some one of their Senators says that he is not afraid of the word "free" as applied to trade. And we who share their money views witness the harrowing spectacle of a quarrel about the tariff, which is not an issue before the American people and will never be made the vital issue again before the people of this country. No great party will stand on a declaration for free trade. It is foreign to the genius of America. We believe in ourselves and in our self-sufficiency. We believe that all the work and all the wages of America belong to Americans, and that as much of the work and wages of the rest of the world as Americans can get belong to Americans. No party will stand long in the United States on a free-trade platform, but no party will stand very long upon a platform one-half of which is free trade.

We can not have free trade in America any more than they can in England, and have the satisfaction of the masses. It is good for the rich and the powerful, who can buy where they please, but it is poor policy for the people who produce.

There is a partial remedy for existing ills, and there is absolute equity for the farmer of the United States under a protective tariff if the amendment I have offered shall be adopted. It gives to the American producer of agricultural staples a protection price, and that is all it does.

Mr. ALLEN. Will the Senator permit me to ask him if he has made an estimate of the expenses attending the administration of this amendment if it become part of the law? How much will it cost the Government of the United States?

Mr. CANNON. Calculated upon the exports of the calendar year 1896, it will cost the Treasury of the United States annually $47,944,580.

Mr. ALLEN. On the rates fixed in the amendment?

Mr. CANNON. Yes. The figures are slightly different from those which I gave in my remarks at the time the amendment was introduced, because those figures were based on computations for the fiscal year ending in June, 1896. I have been able since to prepare tables from which I give the figures for the calendar year 1896.

To fully answer the inquiry of the Senator from Nebraska, and in order to give a full showing upon this question, I ask the privilege of inserting the table which I have here, prepared from the reports of the United States Treasury Department. This table meets in detail the inquiry of the Senator from Nebraska and all similar questions which may be propounded.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The table referred to will be printed in the RECORD, in the absence of objection.

The table is as follows:

Quantities and values of certain agricultural products exported from the United States from 1887 to 1896.

[From reports of the United States Treasury Department.]

	1887.	1888.	1889.	1890.	1891.	1892.	1893.	1894.	1895.	1896.
Wheat:										
Bushels	101,971,949	65,789,261	46,414,129	54,387,767	55,131,948	157,280,351	117,121,109	88,415,230	76,102,704	60,650,080
Value	$90,716,481	$56,241,468	$41,652,701	$45,275,906	$51,420,272	$161,399,132	$98,534,970	$59,407,041	$43,805,603	$30,709,868
Wheat flour:										
Barrels	11,518,449	11,963,574	9,374,803	12,231,711	11,344,304	15,196,769	16,620,339	16,859,533	15,208,892	14,630,864
Value	$51,950,082	$54,777,710	$45,296,485	$57,096,138	$54,705,616	$75,362,283	$75,494,347	$69,271,770	$51,651,928	$52,025,217
Rye:										
Bushels	357,256	78,789	287,252	2,257,377	332,739	12,041,316	1,477,058	290,822	9,437	988,466
Value	$216,190	$50,705	$153,917	$1,279,814	$212,161	$11,432,160	$1,002,796	$126,532	$5,340	$445,075
Rye flour:										
Barrels	3,341	2,674	3,669	3,933	4,254	4,552	2,811	3,055	3,768	3,777
Value	$11,781	$10,068	$13,370	$15,782	$18,185	$22,461	$10,290	$9,273	$12,063	$11,163
Corn:										
Bushels	40,307,252	24,278,417	69,592,929	101,973,717	30,768,213	75,451,849	46,097,274	65,324,841	27,091,137	99,992,835
Value	$19,347,301	$13,355,950	$32,992,277	$42,058,015	$17,652,687	$41,590,400	$24,587,511	$30,211,154	$14,650,767	$37,836,962
Corn meal:										
Barrels	265,333	270,613	312,186	361,248	318,329	287,609	271,155	291,172	223,567	276,885
Value	$705,343	$705,050	$870,485	$896,879	$946,977	$919,961	$793,081	$770,523	$648,844	$654,121
Hops:										
Pounds	280,721	6,793,818	12,589,262	7,540,854	8,736,082	12,604,686	11,367,030	17,472,975	17,523,388	16,765,254
Value	$54,970	$1,205,080	$2,823,832	$1,110,571	$2,327,474	$2,420,502	$2,605,867	$3,844,232	$1,872,597	$1,478,919
Tobacco, leaf:										
Pounds	203,666,993	249,195,681	211,521,051	244,343,740	256,969,589	240,716,150	248,367,258	268,701,312	293,805,855	287,700,301
Value	$25,637,983	$21,507,776	$18,546,991	$21,149,889	$20,710,911	$20,303,245	$22,292,704	$22,939,353	$25,622,776	$24,405,245
Cotton:										
Pounds	2,169,457,330	2,284,120,826	2,384,816,609	2,471,799,853	2,907,358,795	2,935,219,811	2,212,115,136	2,683,282,325	3,517,433,109	2,335,226,385
Value	$206,222,057	$223,016,760	$237,775,270	$250,968,792	$290,712,892	$258,461,241	$188,771,445	$210,869,289	$304,900,990	$190,056,409
Total value	$394,852,248	$370,928,583	$380,120,328	$420,389,766	$438,707,175	$571,911,445	$409,183,011	$397,449,173	$343,170,976	$346,622,990
All agricultural products, value*	$515,725,865	$492,887,433	$524,614,719	$616,899,690	$629,882,151	$785,320,046	$601,908,291	$612,050,110	$537,056,875	$553,863,234

* Comprising animals (horses, sheep, etc.), breadstuffs, broom corn, cotton, eggs, feathers, fruits and nuts, hay, hides and skins (other than fur skins), honey, hops, oil cake and oil-cake meal, meat and dairy products, rice, rice bran, meal, and polish, seeds, tobacco (leaf), vegetables (including canned, pickles, and sauces), wax (bees), and wool.

Amounts of money that would have been required to pay bounties on exports of certain agricultural products from the United States from 1887 to 1896.

Products and rates of export bounties.	1887.	1888.	1889.	1890.	1891.	1892.	1893.	1894.	1895.	1896.
Wheat, at 10 cents per bushel	$10,197,195	$6,578,926	$4,641,413	$5,438,777	$5,513,195	$15,728,135	$11,712,111	$8,841,523	$7,610,270	$6,065,008
Wheat flour, at 50 cents per barrel	5,759,225	5,986,787	4,687,402	6,115,856	5,672,152	7,598,385	8,310,169	8,429,767	7,634,446	7,310,432
Rye, at 10 cents per bushel	35,726	7,878	28,725	225,738	33,274	1,204,132	147,706	23,082	944	98,846
Rye flour, at 50 cents per barrel	1,671	1,337	1,835	1,967	2,127	2,276	1,406	1,528	1,884	1,889
Corn, at 5 cents per bushel	2,015,363	1,213,620	3,479,646	5,098,686	1,588,411	3,772,592	2,301,864	3,266,242	1,384,557	4,999,642
Corn meal, at 10 cents per barrel	26,533	27,061	31,219	36,125	31,833	28,761	27,116	29,117	22,357	27,688
Hops, at 2 cents per pound	5,214	135,876	251,785	150,817	174,722	252,094	227,341	349,459	350,468	335,305
Tobacco, leaf, at 2 cents per pound	5,873,340	4,983,914	4,230,421	4,886,875	4,739,392	4,814,323	4,967,345	5,375,826	5,876,117	5,754,008
Cotton, at 1 cent per pound	21,694,573	22,641,208	23,848,167	24,717,999	29,073,588	29,352,198	22,121,151	26,832,823	35,178,331	23,352,264
Total	45,008,840	41,576,607	41,200,673	46,672,840	46,828,694	62,752,896	49,816,209	53,149,367	58,055,374	47,944,580

Mr. CANNON. Mr. President, if this amendment to grant an export bounty shall be accepted and shall become a part of the law, the Treasury of the United States will be compelled to pay out to private individuals, citizens of the United States, that immense sum of money, that great bonus, that largess of $47,944,580 every year, and more if we shall export more of the staple commodities.

Republicans believe in a bounty. I do not see how they can afford to vote against the amendment. They believe in governmental aid to the industries of the United States which can not stand alone. That is a general proposition, but it has not been applied to the farmer. He has been supposed to stand alone or fall. But the idea that it is right to extend governmental aid to any industry in the United States capable of development here which can not stand alone has been advanced from the beginning of the party until now.

I have here a few words uttered by William McKinley, jr., in the House of Representatives in the Fifty-first Congress, which will be found in the speech from which this extract is taken, in volume 21, part 11, of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. The present President of the United States then said:

> This is called a "sectional" bill. Now, what has this bill done? It has taken care of every product of the South, unless you except sugar. And it has given to the producers of sugar a bounty equal to the duty they heretofore have been enjoying—a direct and assured protection.

A bounty is called by the present President of the United States "a direct and assured protection."

> And we propose, Mr. Speaker, to go right on protecting the South. We propose to go on giving them such protection as will still further increase their industrial prosperity and development. We have done it for twenty years or more, and we will not stop so long as we have a majority in Congress.

I appeal to the Republicans in this body, who belong to the party which has a majority in Congress, to see that these words of the present President of the United States are vindicated before the American people, and that we shall give a direct and assured protection to the agricultural classes of this country.

The distinguished Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH], in his speech in the presentation of this bill, said:

> It is believed by the friends of the beet-sugar industry that we can successfully imitate the example of Germany in the rapid development of beet-sugar production. Germany has within four years increased her product by 50 per cent, and, as the result of her system of bounties, is now successfully invading the sugar markets of the world.

There is an inferential commendation of bounty. But why should it be limited to the one great agricultural industry of the United States which can be protected by a tariff? The production of sugar, either beet or cane, can be protected by a tariff, and there is no absolute need—if the tariff be placed high enough—why we should have a bounty; but the production of agricultural staples of which we export large quantities can not be protected by a tariff. That is why the bounty is demanded.

The farmer would not only get the $47,000,000 from the Treasury of the United States, but he would receive an enhancement in the price of his commodity in the domestic market to the full extent of the bounty granted by Government. The farmer sells his surplus abroad, and receives at home and abroad the world's price. He would continue to sell his surplus abroad and continue to answer the needs of the domestic market, and he would receive for all his wheat, whether exported or whether consumed at home; he would receive for all his cotton, whether sent abroad or used in the mills of the United States; for all his tobacco, whether smoked in Europe or America; for all his hops, whether they went into beer in Germany or into beer in Milwaukee, the world's price plus the bounty granted by the Government. That would yield to the farmer of the United States an enhancement of $225,000,000 per annum, speaking in round figures, on the normal production of those staples.

The manufacturer of the United States derives under protective tariff an enhancement of more than $4,000,000,000 per annum, and some of my friends on the Democratic side contend that he receives much more, if the figures given by the Senator from Texas show with any degree of correctness the average of the burden placed upon American buyers of manufactured goods.

The objectors to this proposition say that the Government can not afford the bounty. That is always the first proposition advanced by those who oppose the amendment. The distinguished chairman of the Ways and Means Committee of the other House gave out an interview to the press not long since, authoritative, I think, in which he intimated that there would be no trouble about the gold reserve when we should get the tariff law fairly at work; that there never had been any considerable withdrawal of gold so long as we had more revenue than expenses. Every man in this Chamber knows that the gentlemen who entertain the idea of a necessary retirement of the greenbacks rely entirely upon the excessive revenue to be produced from this bill in order to insure that retirement by stealthy action. If it be true that the bill will produce an excess of revenue, the greatest blessing which could come to the United States would be to have that surplus disbursed among the people equitably and honestly within the channels of trade.

But I waive that. I confess that I have no means even of forming an opinion as to whether the bill will produce a surplus of revenue or a deficit. I plead absolute ignorance on the question, although I have examined carefully the statements of the leading Senators of this body who have had the formulation of various tariff bills within recent years. I find absolutely no prediction fulfilled upon which I can hinge any judgment. No man has been able to tell what the result would be, in a revenue sense, of any bill proposed. We can provide the means, however, even if there shall be no surplus, based upon our present expenditures. The people would welcome economy in Government expenditures to the extent of $50,000,000 every year.

I have been struck repeatedly by the declarations which have emanated within the last two years from the distinguished senior Senator from Maryland [Mr. GORMAN] on this subject. He has repeatedly called attention to the fact that the Government is making too many expenditures for the good of the Republic, for the satisfaction of the people. That sentiment has been echoed in every hamlet in the United States. We can give two great benefits to the people of this country—economizing in our expenditures to the extent of $50,000,000 a year and then paying the $50,000,000 to the producers of agricultural staples in the United States, so that they may have a share in the protection which they have maintained.

Another objection is that the bounty would not reach the farmer, but would get to the speculator. I refer anyone who chooses to advance that objection, which I have heard repeatedly, to the remarks made by Mr. George F. Stone, secretary of the Chicago Board of Trade, which are shown in Report No. 1999 of the House of Representatives, Fifty-third Congress.

Another objection is that the bounty would be paid again and again; that a man would take out a cargo of wheat or of cotton or of tobacco from some port in the United States, receiving the bounty therefor, and, without unloading it, would bring it back and reship it, receiving a repetition of the bounty. The last possible ground upon which that objection can stand was removed by the Senator from Georgia [Mr. BACON], under whose amendment cotton is to be protected by an import duty. Thus all the commodities mentioned in this amendment are protected by import duties, and therefore can not return to the country.

Another objection is that staples consumed in the United States would not be increased in price and that all the good a farmer would get would be from the bounty of the Government, and that he would still sell his wheat and cotton at the free-trade prices of the world within the markets in this country. That is answered by another objection from the same people, who say that the price of breadstuffs will be increased by the bounty, and that therefore it would be an injustice to the toiler in the cities who buys the products of the farmer. The toiler in the cities would pay more for his breadstuffs, but under the Republican theory he would find it easier to buy.

All through the campaigns of 1888 and 1892 as Republicans we proclaimed the doctrine that high prices were absolutely necessary in order to have plenty, and that a coat for the American artisan or farmer to cost him $20 was better than a coat that cost him $10. A distinguished gentleman, now in the happiness of private life, who was during that period the Chief Magistrate of this nation, used to say that it was better to have a coat costing $20 and have $25 to buy it than a coat costing $10 and have only $5 to buy it with.

People do not eat more wheat when wheat is cheap, and recent statistics demonstrate that when wheat was the lowest in this country there was less of it being eaten per capita than at any other time. In February, 1894, there were 30,000 unemployed men in Liverpool. I saw thousands of them, idle, penniless, hungry, gathered around Wellington Column in that city, and on that very day you could buy a ton of wheat at Liverpool docks for the same price that a ton of hay would cost. Hay, of English production, cost as much a ton as American wheat, and 30,000 hungry men were gathered in the city on that day. You can not give plenty to the poor by merely making goods cheap.

If you can, then a protective tariff—I will not say a protective tariff, as I know the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. CHANDLER] would be justified in challenging me; but this Republican tariff bill is not only wrong to the farmer, the producer of agricultural staples, but it is an iniquity from beginning to end upon all classes. If cheapness is the consideration, then let us have the cheapness of the great fight that is going on through all the world. Let us have the cheap man who wears the cheap coat, and the cheap man who buys the cheap loaf. The higher the price of wheat in this country and the higher the price of cotton in this country the better off are the employees of the manufacturing industries of the country who have to buy wheat and whose employers have to buy cotton.

The final objection which I have heard is that this proposition would be unjust, because the benefit of protection percolates through the manufacturing industries and reaches the farmer, and this would give to him a double benefit. If the indirect advantage of a protective tariff is sufficient for the farmer, then the indirect benefit of the bounty will be sufficient for the manufacturer, and we can take off the import duties, because if import duties percolate through the manufacturing industries down to the farmer, then export bounties will percolate up from the farmer to the manufacturer. We can dispose of all this trouble about schedules and remove the whole difficulty by just giving a bounty to the farmer of the United States on every staple that he produces.

At this point I desire permission to insert in the RECORD certain tables of statistics taken from Government reports showing the prices of agricultural staples for a term of years.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Without objection, the tables will be printed in the RECORD.

The tables referred to are as follows:

Cotton crop: Estimated annual acreage, product, and value by States and Territories, in 1850, 1860, 1870, 1878 to 1880, 1882 to 1888, 1890, 1892, 1894, and 1895.

[For 1850, 1860, 1870, and 1890 from the Census Reports, and for the other years from the Annual Reports of the Department of Agriculture.]

Year.	Alabama.			Arkansas.			Florida.			Georgia.		
	Area.	Product.	Value.	Area.	Product.	Value.	Area.	Product.	Value.	Area.	Product.	Value.
	Acres.	*Bales.*		*Acres.*	*Bales.*		*Acres.*	*Bales.*		*Acres.*	*Bales.*	
1850*	----------	564,429	----------	----------	65,344	----------	----------	45,131	----------	----------	499,091	----------
1860*	----------	989,955	----------	----------	367,393	----------	----------	65,153	----------	----------	701,840	----------
1870*	----------	429,482	----------	----------	247,988	----------	----------	39,789	----------	----------	473,934	----------
	Pounds.			*Pounds.*			*Pounds.*			*Pounds.*		
1878	1,837,550	242,556,600	$19,880,841	1,165,850	318,277,050	$26,098,718	166,650	17,664,900	$1,448,522	1,483,500	238,843,500	$19,585,167
1879	1,892,700	321,759,000	35,393,490	1,177,500	323,812,500	32,381,250	161,600	16,968,000	1,696,800	1,592,000	248,352,000	24,835,200
1880	2,460,000	378,932,400	37,893,240	1,080,200	232,243,000	23,224,300	251,600	35,727,200	3,215,448	2,786,300	454,166,900	45,416,690
	Bales.			*Bales.*			*Bales.*			*Bales.*		
1882	2,610,420	810,000	8,450,000	1,188,545	697,000	31,365,000	257,799	62,000	3,472,000	2,872,748	942,000	41,448,500
1883	2,610,420	630,400	28,052,800	1,188,545	518,500	22,814,000	257,799	58,900	2,650,500	2,872,748	752,500	33,110,000
1884	2,740,941	648,700	29,862,905	1,259,858	531,400	23,711,068	268,111	57,300	3,151,500	2,958,930	807,400	35,141,278
1885	2,795,760	760,447	31,349,428	1,348,048	610,666	25,226,612	273,473	73,837	4,357,860	3,047,698	960,025	39,413,826
	Pounds.			*Pounds.*			*Pounds.*			*Pounds.*		
1886	2,823,718	367,083,340	30,467,917	1,354,788	325,149,120	26,662,228	270,738	27,886,014	2,286,653	2,956,267	405,008,579	33,210,703
	Bales.			*Bales.*			*Bales.*			*Bales.*		
1887	2,809,599	842,880	35,881,402	1,388,658	611,010	25,495,761	262,616	66,179	1,829,383	2,941,486	947,158	39,388,513
	Pounds.			*Pounds.*			*Pounds.*			*Pounds.*		
1888	2,851,742	456,278,880	38,783,705	1,416,422	297,450,510	25,283,293	259,990	30,158,840	2,533,343	2,970,901	463,460,556	39,394,147
		Bales.			*Bales.*			*Bales.*			*Bales.*	
1890*	2,761,165	915,210	----------	1,700,578	691,494	----------	227,370	57,928	----------	3,345,104	1,191,846	----------
1893	2,316,000	810,000	----------	1,867,250	679,000	----------	165,000	55,000	----------	3,050,000	1,000,000	----------
1894	2,664,861	854,122	23,915,416	1,483,319	709,722	16,572,009	201,621	48,005	1,344,140	3,610,968	1,183,924	32,853,891
1895	2,371,726	663,916	----------	1,186,655	520,860	----------	191,540	38,722	----------	3,069,323	1,067,377	----------

* The crop of the preceding year.

Cereal crops: Estimated production and value of the United States, from 1873 to 1895.

[From reports of the Department of Agriculture.]

CORN.

Calendar year.	Total.			Average.		
	Production.	Area of crop.	Value of crop.	Value per bushel.	Yield per acre.	Value of yield per acre.
	Bushels.	*Acres.*		*Cents.*	*Bushels.*	
1873	932,274,000	39,197,148	$447,183,020	48	23.8	$11.41
1874	850,148,500	41,036,918	550,043,080	64.7	20.7	13.40
1875	1,321,069,000	44,841,371	555,445,930	42	29.5	12.39
1876	1,283,827,500	49,033,324	475,491,210	37	26.2	9.70
1877	1,342,558,000	50,369,113	480,643,400	35.8	25.6	9.54
1878	1,388,218,750	51,585,000	441,153,405	31.9	26.9	8.55
1879	1,547,901,790	53,085,450	580,486,217	37.5	29.2	10.93
1880	1,717,434,542	62,317,842	679,714,499	39.6	27.6	10.91
1881	1,194,916,000	64,262,025	759,482,170	63.6	18.6	11.82
1882	1,617,025,100	65,659,545	783,867,175	48.5	24.6	11.94
1883	1,551,066,895	68,301,889	658,051,485	42.4	22.7	9.63
1884	1,795,528,000	69,633,780	640,735,560	35.7	25.8	9.19
1885	1,936,176,000	73,130,150	635,674,630	32.8	26.5	8.69
1886	1,665,441,000	75,694,208	610,311,000	36.6	22	8.06
1887	1,456,161,000	72,392,720	646,106,770	44.4	20.1	8.93
1888	1,987,790,000	75,672,763	677,561,580	34.1	26.3	8.95
1889	2,112,892,000	78,319,651	597,918,829	28.3	27.1	7.65
1890	1,489,970,000	71,970,763	754,433,451	50.6	20.7	10.48
1891	2,060,154,000	76,204,515	836,439,228	40.6	27	10.96
1892	1,628,464,000	70,020,658	642,146,650	39.4	23.1	9.09
1893	1,619,496,131	72,036,465	591,925,627	36.5	22.5	8.21
1894	1,212,770,058	62,582,369	554,719,162	45.7	19.4	8.86
1895	2,151,138,580	82,075,830	567,509,106	26.4	26.2	6.91

WHEAT.

1873	281,254,700	22,171,676	$323,594,805	115.1	12.7	$14.59
1874	301,102,700	24,967,027	291,107,895	96.5	12.3	11.66
1875	292,136,000	26,381,512	294,580,990	100.8	11.1	11.17
1876	289,356,500	27,627,021	300,259,300	103.7	10.5	10.86
1877	364,194,146	26,277,546	394,695,779	108.4	13.9	15.08
1878	420,122,400	32,108,560	326,346,424	77.7	13.1	10.16
1879	448,756,630	32,545,970	497,030,142	110.8	13.8	15.27
1880	496,549,868	37,986,717	474,201,850	95.1	13.1	12.48
1881	383,280,080	37,709,229	456,880,427	119.2	10.2	12.12
1882	504,185,470	37,037,194	444,602,125	88.2	13.6	11.99
1883	421,086,160	36,455,503	383,049,272	91.1	11.6	10.52
1884	512,765,000	30,475,885	390,862,280	64.5	13	8.38
1885	357,112,000	34,189,246	275,320,390	77.1	10.4	8.05
1886	457,218,000	36,806,184	314,226,030	68.7	12.4	8.54
1887	456,329,000	37,641,783	310,612,960	68.1	12.1	8.25
1888	415,868,000	37,336,138	385,248,030	92.6	11.1	10.32
1889	490,569,000	38,123,859	342,491,707	69.8	12.9	8.98
1890	399,262,000	36,087,154	334,773,678	83.8	11.1	9.28
1891	611,780,000	39,916,897	513,472,711	83.9	15.3	12.86
1892	515,949,000	38,554,490	322,111,881	62.4	13.4	8.35
1893	396,131,725	34,629,418	213,171,381	53.8	11.4	6.16
1894	460,267,416	34,882,436	225,902,025	49.1	13.2	6.48
1895	467,102,947	34,047,332	237,998,998	50.9	13.7	6.99

Cereal crops: Estimated production and value of the United States, from 1873 to 1895—Continued.

RYE. *

Calendar year.	Total.			Average.		
	Production.	Area of crop.	Value of crop.	Value per bushel.	Yield per acre.	Value of yield per acre.
	Bushels.	*Acres.*		*Cents.*	*Bushels.*	
1873	15,142,000	1,150,355	$11,543,126	76.3	13.2	$10.04
1874	14,990,900	1,116,716	12,870,411	85.9	13.4	11.53
1875	17,722,100	1,359,788	13,631,900	76.9	13	10.03
1876	20,374,800	1,468,374	13,635,826	66.9	13.9	9.29
1877	21,170,100	1,412,902	12,542,895	59.2	15	8.88
1878	25,842,790	1,622,700	13,592,836	52.6	15.9	8.38
1879	23,639,460	1,625,450	15,507,431	65.6	14.5	9.54
1880	24,540,829	1,767,619	18,564,560	75.6	13.9	10.50
1881	20,704,950	1,789,100	19,327,415	93.3	11.6	10.80
1883	29,990,037	2,227,889	18,439,194	61.5	13.4	8.28
1883	28,058,583	2,314,754	16,300,503	58.1	12.1	7.04
1884	28,640,000	2,343,963	14,857,040	51.9	12.2	6.34
1885	21,756,000	2,129,301	12,594,820	57.9	10.2	5.92
1886	24,489,000	2,129,918	13,181,330	53.8	11.5	6.19
1887	20,693,000	2,053,447	11,283,140	54.5	10.1	5.49
1888	28,415,000	2,364,805	16,721,869	58.8	12	7.07
1893	26,555,446	2,038,485	13,612,222	51.3	13	6.68
1894	26,727,615	1,944,780	13,395,476	50.1	13.7	6.89
1895	27,210,070	1,890,345	11,964,826	44	14.4	6.33

OATS.

1873	270,340,000	9,751,700	$101,175,750	37.4	27.7	$10.38
1874	240,369,000	10,807,412	125,047,530	52	22.1	11.47
1875	354,317,500	11,915,075	129,499,930	36.5	29.7	10.87
1876	330,864,000	13,356,908	112,805,900	35.2	24	8.45
1877	406,394,000	12,826,148	118,661,550	29.2	31.7	9.25
1878	413,578,500	13,176,500	101,945,830	24.6	31.4	7.74
1879	363,761,330	12,683,500	120,533,204	33.1	28.7	9.50
1880	417,885,380	16,187,977	150,243,565	36	25.8	9.28
1881	416,481,000	16,831,600	193,198,970	46.4	24.7	11.48
1882	488,250,610	18,494,691	182,978,022	37.5	26.4	9.89
1883	571,302,400	20,324,982	187,040,284	32.7	28.1	9.20
1884	583,628,000	21,300,917	161,528,470	27.7	27.4	7.58
1885	629,409,000	22,793,630	179,631,360	28.5	27.6	7.87
1886	624,134,000	23,658,474	186,137,930	29.8	26.4	7.87
1887	659,618,000	25,920,906	200,699,790	30.4	25.4	7.74
1888	701,735,000	26,998,282	195,424,240	27.8	26	7.23
1889	751,515,000	27,462,316	171,781,006	22.9	27.4	6.26
1890	523,621,000	26,431,369	222,048,486	42.4	19.8	8.41
1891	738,324,000	25,581,861	232,312,267	31.5	28.9	9.08
1892	661,035,000	27,093,835	209,253,611	31.7	24.4	7.73
1893	638,854,850	27,273,033	187,576,092	29.4	23.4	6.88
1894	662,030,928	27,023,553	214,816,920	32.4	24.5	7.95
1895	824,443,537	27,878,406	163,655,068	19.9	29.6	5.87

* No estimates of crops prepared by Agricultural Department for 1889 to 1892.

Cereal crops: Estimated production and value of the United States, from 1873 to 1895—Continued.

BARLEY.*

Calendar year.	Total.			Average.		
	Production.	Area of crop.	Value of crop.	Value per bushel.	Yield per acre.	Value of yield per acre.
	Bushels.	*Acres.*		*Cents.*	*Bushels.*	
1873	32,044,491	1,387,106	$29,333,529	91.5	23.1	$21.15
1874	32,552,500	1,580,626	29,983,769	92.1	20.6	18.97
1875	36,908,600	1,789,902	29,952,082	81.2	20.6	16.73
1876	38,710,500	1,766,511	25,735,110	66.5	21.9	14.57
1877	34,441,400	1,614,654	22,028,644	64	21.3	13.65
1878	42,245,630	1,790,400	24,483,315	58	23.6	13.67
1879	40,283,100	1,680,700	23,714,444	58.9	24	14.11
1880	45,165,346	1,843,328	30,080,742	66.6	24.5	16.32
1881	41,161,330	1,967,510	33,862,513	82.3	20.9	17.21
1882	48,253,226	2,272,103	30,768,015	62.8	21.5	13.54
1883	50,136,097	2,379,009	29,420,423	58.7	21.1	12.37
1884	61,203,000	2,608,818	29,779,170	48.7	23.5	11.41
1885	58,360,000	2,729,359	32,867,696	56.3	21.4	12.04
1886	59,428,000	2,652,957	31,840,510	53.6	22.4	12.00
1887	56,812,000	2,901,953	29,464,390	51.9	19.6	10.15
1888	63,884,000	2,996,382	37,672,032	59	21.3	12.57
1893	69,869,495	3,220,371	28,729,386	41.1	21.7	8.92
1894	61,400,465	3,170,602	27,134,127	44.2	19.4	8.56
1895	87,072,744	3,290,973	29,312,413	33.7	26.4	8.88
BUCKWHEAT.*						
1873	7,837,700	454,152	$6,382,043	81.4	17.3	$14.05
1874	8,016,600	452,590	6,477,385	80.8	17.7	14.31
1875	10,082,100	575,530	7,166,267	71.1	17.5	12.45
1876	9,668,800	666,441	7,021,498	72.7	14.5	10.54
1877	10,177,000	649,923	6,998,810	68.8	15.7	10.77
1878	12,246,820	673,100	6,454,120	52.7	18.2	9.59
1879	13,140,000	639,900	7,856,191	59.8	20.5	12.28
1880	14,617,535	822,802	8,662,486	59.4	17.8	10.55
1881	9,486,200	828,815	8,205,705	86.5	11.4	9.90
1882	11,019,353	847,112	8,038,862	72.9	13.1	9.48
1883	7,668,954	857,349	6,303,980	82.2	8.9	7.35
1884	11,116,000	879,403	6,549,020	59	12.6	7.45
1885	12,626,000	914,394	7,057,363	55.9	13.8	7.72
1886	11,869,000	917,915	6,465,120	54.5	12.9	7.04
1887	10,844,000	910,506	6,122,320	56.5	11.9	6.72
1888	12,050,000	912,630	7,027,647	63.3	13.2	8.36
1893	12,132,311	815,614	7,074,450	58.3	14.9	8.67
1894	12,668,200	789,232	7,040,238	55.6	16.1	8.92
1895	15,341,399	765,277	6,906,525	45.2	21.1	9.09

* No estimates of crops prepared by Agricultural Department for 1889 to 1892.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. President, it is time that we relieved the congestion of the cities. We have stimulated manufacturing under protective tariff, city life itself has had so many attractions, and great centers of population have had such magnetic force to draw the people of the United States that there is a menace and a danger of vast importance to the people in the magnitude of one element at least in the cities of this country who should be out learning the lessons of independence for themselves and teaching the lessons of industry and patriotism to their children.

It is not too much to say that under every great city in this country slumbers a volcano. We should make agriculture more attractive, and relatively, therefore, city life less attractive, to the masses of the people. The strength of our civilization comes from wider lands than Manhattan Island, splendid as is its civilization. You can not expect a race of great, liberty-loving people to grow up within the cities where every man can touch the horizon of his whole life with his finger tip. You can not expect a race of Americans to do honor to the history of the past and to protect the present for the sake of the future if that race of Americans is to be reared in the great congested cities of this country, where the masses live without hope.

Mr. President, you can not expect the prosperity of this country to begin in the cities, not even in Omaha. The first announcement of it will not be in the Omaha World-Herald, even if that paper was once edited by William J. Bryan. There was a happy conjunction in some of the declarations of the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. THURSTON]. He could not even mention prosperity in his own town of Omaha without mentioning William J. Bryan.

The first sound of prosperity will not be in the newspapers. The sign will not first be visible above the steeple of Trinity Church. Until the farmer of the United States, until the toiler of the West and the cotton planter of the South shall see that sign in the sky, its existence is only a dream. There will be no conquering by our people until the farmer sees the redemption. Rather than all the newspaper editorials which were ever written as a true indication of prosperity, I would hear the cheerful lullaby sung by a million wives of farmers in the United States at the cradles of their children. Prosperity in this country will start from the farm and nowhere else, and until it is there it is not at all.

The manufacturer will sell in the United States only what the farmer can buy. The protective-tariff wall which has been reared is just as strong for inclusion as it is for exclusion, and, righteously applied, when the American producer is to sell in the best market of the world under protective tariff, that will be his only market, and it is only when you attack the protective-tariff principle itself that you can give him any other market. Therefore the measure of the farmer's prosperity is the measure of the prosperity of the people of the United States.

Mr. President, it is in no spirit of self-importance in connection with this question that I say that, in my humble judgment, the action of the American Congress upon this amendment, and the action of the Executive, if it shall pass beyond this body and be considered by the Executive, will show the course the Republic is to pursue. Let no man deceive himself with the idea that the people are not thinking of this matter. The plan was called at first "a wild idea, properly emanating from the West." I wish I might have been the modern author of it. It is not an absolutely original proposition, but to another than myself belongs the credit of bringing it forth anew.

All over this country the people who produce agricultural staples and who buy manufactured goods are saying that they must have this or some similar measure of equity for themselves or they will rebel against the protective-tariff system. And some of the splendid men who occupy pulpits in the large cities are indorsing the farmer's demand. We have seen an exhibition of the chaos, politically speaking, in which protection is thrown on the tariff question. All the exhibition has been from the other side of the Chamber, but in reality Republicans are no more at a unity of faith on this question than are Democrats.

We all remember the time when for a man to say within Republican ranks that we wanted the markets of the world was to commit heresy. He had no right to the markets of the world; he did not want them. Steadily the manufacturer of the United States has been moving to the opinion that he wants to compete for the trade of all the human race. We have found that the policy of noncommercialism, which was established under protection, is not thoroughly satisfactory even to the immediate beneficiaries of protection. Noncommercialism would be the absolute result of absolute protection—that we should not trade with the world because we were competent to maintain ourselves within our own borders.

The manufacturer finds that with us, as with England, the wonderful producing capacity of the people has been multiplied into such stupendous energy that it threatens now with us, as in the case of England, to become a battering ram to break down the wall of protection. My friends on the Democratic side who have contended always for the markets of the world for the manufacturer need only to possess their souls in patience a little while longer and the manufacturer will be here asking for those markets in his own proper person; and, if we may judge the future by the past, he will probably get what he demands.

England built up her industries under protection, and, even without the magnificence of mechanical development which belongs to our people to-day, she found that she had to reach out for the trade of all other lands. I do not believe in it. I think the world is entering upon a struggle which should make every American desire to put the most irrefragable guardianship around the shores of the United States and its boundary lines, so that we may not share in the sins of the world nor partake of its plagues.

I believe there are coming movements which will shatter thrones and destroy republics, and that the policy of noncommercialism is the policy for us in America. But it must be a just policy of noncommercialism. If not, then the elements within the wall of tariff, incited by injustice and indignation, will turn and tear the fabric of our own social order.

The very logic of Republican tariff, as opposed to the Democratic idea of free trade, is that we will care for our own, and that every man in the United States is the Government's own; that we will provide means under statute by which willing hands shall have toil, and a method by which they shall be justly compensated. There is a great law: "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread." It is the universal law of labor that every man must work if he would live; and the Government of the United States, when it passed a protective tariff bill, took upon itself the responsibility of providing toil for the men who want to work in this country.

There is no escape from the logic that the responsibility is on the Government to-day, and the people will demand such laws under this policy of noncommercialism as will insure the opportunity for every man to labor. The people have taken advanced ground. Some political parties are taking advanced ground. The battle of the future will be fought far beyond the river which has separated the parties in the past; and the party which does not march forward to the needs of humanity and say that so long as society compels obedience to the law of God that men shall work, society is under a solemn obligation to provide opportunity for that obedience, will not be intrusted with the responsibility of government.

APPENDIX.

IS INDEPENDENT FREE COINAGE OF SILVER PRACTICABLE?

[By the Hon. Charles A. Towne, chairman provisional national committee Silver Republican party.]

In the short answer I have been asked to make to this question I shall not enter at large upon the general discussion of the subject of bimetallism nor attempt any exhaustive treatment of even the relatively narrow field here indicated. I can only point out the main conditions on which the practicability of free coinage hinges and some of the more obvious facts that, in my judgment, seem to meet and satisfy these conditions.

The very statement of the question, indeed, relieves us from considering the evils of the gold standard, because it admits them. It admits free coinage of silver to be desirable. For why discuss whether it is practicable to do a thing which it is undesirable should be done? And if bimetallism is desirable, it can be so only because the single gold standard is undesirable.

The question also assumes that bimetallism is possible. The query is whether independent free coinage is practicable, the necessary implication being that an international concert of action on the subject would be effectual. Thus the mental attitude of the supposed inquirer is that of perfect conviction as to the evils of gold monometallism, assurance of the necessity of the restoration of the full-money uses of both gold and silver, confidence in the ability of "the leading commercial nations" to open their mints to the free coinage of both metals and maintain them at a parity; but doubt whether the United States alone may safely undertake to do it.

Let it be remarked that the argument deals with probabilities and not with absolute certainties. It lies rather in the domain of historical reasoning than in that of mathematical demonstration. It is this fact that has supplied the gold-standard advocates with much reenforcement of their arguments. All men are naturally conservative. Every presumption is in favor of that which now is. The gold standard has thus far been upheld not so much by reasonings in its behalf as by cunningly stimulated doubts as to the efficacy of the substitute proposed, and by lurid representations of ruin as sure to follow the remedy. Undoubtedly, with large numbers of men, these aroused suspicions and factitious fears will avail to cause submission to the existing system until such time as its rigors shall have become so intolerable that its victims are ready to seek relief in what it will no longer terrorize them to bear called an "experiment."

The believer in the adequacy of the international treatment must, of course, eschew the common adages of the gold-standard cult, such as, "You can not change value by law;" "You can not make 50 cents' worth of silver into a hundred-cent dollar;" "The value of gold is independent of statute," etc. For they are as valid against the bimetallism brought about by international cooperation as against that brought about by independent action. If law per se is powerless to affect value, the law of many nations would be as impotent as the law of one nation.

Law can, and does daily, affect value. It affects value by setting in operation forces that act upon the equation of supply and demand; and value is ratio between supply and demand. This principle, essentially true of commodities, is absolutely true of basic money substances. The cost of production of bullion bears an infinitesimal relation to the value of the full-money coins made out of it. The sole determinant of the value of such money units is the ratio between the number there is of them and the demand there is for them. No sophistry can elude the demonstration of this truth. A piece of money is worth what it costs to get it, not what it costs to make it. It will call for more things in exchange in proportion as it grows scarce; and it may grow scarce from either of two causes: Lessening the supply of it while the exchanges to be performed by it remain the same, or increasing the exchanges it must perform while its supply remains unchanged.

The purchasing power of gold has been enhanced by both of these processes, one operating naturally and the other artificially. The increase in the world's population, and the relatively much greater increase of its exchanges, have together furnished a natural expansion of the demand for gold out of all proportion to its increase in supply; while contemporaneously therewith the nations have been guilty of the inexcusable and immeasurable folly of artificially—that is, by statute—adding vastly to that demand by taking away, in gradual but growing increments, the power of silver to respond to the practically limitless money demand, and imposing this magnified burden on the gold alone. Prior to 1873 not 40,000,000 of people were using gold alone for full-power money. To-day, to use Bismarck's expressive metaphor, the number engaged in tugging at the gold blanket and trying to make it cover them is more than 400,000,000.

That gold and silver are in some of their forms commodities and subject to a demand for use as such, has occasioned much of the muddy thinking on monetary matters. The fact is that in considering these metals when used as money we must practically neglect their commodity aspect. As commodities, gold and silver are fitted by their physical and chemical properties for certain purposes, and are necessary thereto, and will be so employed no matter what they may cost. There are some other uses where their cost undoubtedly qualifies the extent of their consumption. In the great field of ornamentation, decoration, and display, however, it is safe to say that their employment will rather increase than otherwise in proportion as they become costlier.

There their dearness is their chief charm. If gold were as plentiful as iron, very few rich men's tables would groan under the weight of gold service, and watches and bracelets of gold would be replaced with objects of more precious material. Take away from gold to-day its use as money, and a man would not have to be a moral philosopher to hold it as "dross." With at least seventy years' supply for all other purposes on hand, it would become a veritable drug in the market.

The demand for money has sometimes been called an "unlimited demand," an expression that has come in for no small share of the ridicule of the advocates of gold. And yet the phrase embodies an almost literal truth. Since the economic demand for any commodity is a desire for it by some one ready to exchange an equivalent, and since the instrument of exchanging commodities is money, we may truly say that the demand for money is practically equal to the demand for all other things together; and since commodities will always be exchanged as long as human wants remain unsatisfied, and the imagination can set no bounds to human necessities and desires, it may be claimed with a close approach to scientific exactness that the demand for money is "unlimited." This conclusion is emphasized by the consideration that untold millions of dollars are annually necessary for the payment of taxes and of the principal and interest of debts, not to mention the vast sums disbursed as wages and salaries.

Suppose that by law you confer upon a substance not previously in use as money the right so to be used without restriction. The commodity use was one thing, but the new-money use is a totally different thing. The former applied to a very small segment in the great circle of human wants. The latter touches that whole circle at every point. The greater comprehends the less, and, where the whole is so almost infinitely greater than the part, is it not plain that the value of money must be studied and understood through the principles that grow out of the money function? Nine-tenths of the analogies adduced between commodities as such and commodities which have lost commodity individuality, so to speak, by becoming money, are false and mischievous.

For example, it is common for the opponent of bimetallism to state his position, that the law can not restore the relation of 16 to 1 between silver and gold, in terms that treat the attempt to do so as an ordinary case of selling and buying, of fixing prices by law. "You might as well," says he, "propose to fix a price upon the farmer's wheat as upon the miner's silver." But it is not an attempt at all to fix the "price" of silver. The chief vice of the gold-standard intellect is that it can not rid itself of the superstitious and awful prepossession for gold that habit and false teaching have bred there; the unconscious acceptance of the notion that gold is somehow not subject to the frailties that attach to every other material thing, and the instinct of comparing everything with gold as a mental standard even when the nature of the argument is supposed to postulate an exact equivalence of dignity, power, and right in both metals.

Under bimetallism it is no more the business of silver to be at parity with gold than it is the business of gold to be at parity with silver. When by law a ratio is established between the two, at which they may be freely taken to the mints and, not exchanged the one for the other, but coined and given back to the one bringing them, and when, after being coined, either may be used indifferently for any purpose for which the other may be used, the person that has a payment to make (for example, the debtor) being always allowed to choose in which kind of coin he will make it, and nobody being permitted by contract to discriminate against either metal, the law has not fixed a "price" (in the usual sense of that term) upon anything. It has simply determined the ratio to each other at which two substances may discharge, not a commodity function, but a new and added function, which the law itself at that very moment confers. "Prices" will be fixed by the relation between things and these money units, as always.

Rightly viewed, then, as it seems to me, the question of ratio is a relatively simple matter. When we consider how all-dominating the money function is, and how limitless and constant the demand is for whatever will fully perform that function, it appears reasonable that the law, in the very act of conferring on two substances interchangeably the right to discharge this function and respond to this demand, may have quite a latitude in fixing the ratio each-to-each at which they may do so. The law itself in granting the power to both imposes the condition on which alone either can exercise it. When so tied together they become, as Cernuschi said, practically one money.

These observations seem to be confirmed by historic facts. For hundreds of years, in spite of the widest fluctuations in relative production and in the midst of a great variety of ratios prevailing in different countries, the market ratio, so-called, of gold and silver remained almost constant and very close to the coinage ratio of the most powerful mints. Between 1687 and 1873 the extremes were 14.14 to 1 in 1760, and 16.25 to 1 in 1813. The coinage or mint ratios in Europe varied from 12 to 1 to 16.50 to 1, that of England being, in the earlier part of this period, 15.21 to 1, and that of France from 1785 to 1873, 15.50 to 1. Since 1873 the market ratio has fallen to about 33 to 1, no great mint now being open to the free coinage of both gold and silver. This fall of silver since 1873 has been coincident with a less disproportionate production of the two metals than has taken place for over four hundred years.

Confining our attention to the last two hundred years, there was produced from 1681 to 1720 80 per cent more silver than gold, from 1721 to 1760 38 per cent more silver than gold, from 1761 to 1800 150 per cent more silver than gold, from 1792 to 1848 100 per cent more silver than gold, from 1849 to 1862 200 per cent more gold than silver, from 1863 to 1873 100 per cent more gold than silver, from 1874 to 1897 10 per cent more silver than gold. From Mulhall's Dictionary of Statistics and the reports of the Director of the Mint we may also learn the following curious and interesting facts: Between 1800 and 1897 the relative proportions, in weight, of gold and silver "coin and bullion available for coinage" in the world have been as follows:

Ratio by weight of coin and bullion available for coinage in the world.

Period.	Silver stock.	Gold stock.	Period.	Silver stock.	Gold stock.
1800-1820	32.2	1	1860-1870	22.6	1
1820-1840	31.1	1	1873-1890	18.6	1
1840-1860	31	1	1892-1896	16	1

Considering, therefore, the facts, and very remarkable ones they are, that for hundreds of years the market ratio of gold and silver remained practically coincident with the mint ratio, notwithstanding a disproportionate production for many years, at a time amounting to as much as 200 per cent, while what we may term the quantity ratio varied over 100 per cent from the coinage ratio; and that the market ratio began to fall as soon as the mints were closed and has fallen over 100 per cent during a time when gold and silver have been produced in more nearly equal quantities than at any period in four hundred years preceding, and has reached 33 to 1 when the quantity ratio is 16 to 1, I venture to think that it has been demonstrated that law has had incalculably more to do with determining the relation between gold and silver used as money than all other influences combined; has been in fact the almost exclusive factor. Indeed, I believe the incontestable data of history prove that this relation is susceptible of legal fixation for all practical purposes at any convenient point within very wide limits.

But can the United States alone accomplish this? I have myself no doubt of it. Let us first reason by example. It is an established fact that France from 1803 to 1873, with her mint open to the free coinage of gold and silver at the ratio of 1 to 15½, maintained the actual parity of the metals within her own territory and practically even on the London markets. The London market quotations show no wide divergence from the French mint relation, the greatest being, very naturally, during the Napoleonic wars; but are so close as to show that, making allowance for cost of shipment, insurance, etc., the parity must have been maintained in France.

Indeed, correcting the mint ratio by allowing for the different charges (nominal) for coining gold and coining silver, which thus becomes 15.58 to 1, the average market ratio for eighty years (1792–1873), by the London quotations, almost exactly tallies with it, being 15.60 to 1. Of course, during part of this time the name of France embraces the other countries of the Latin Union—Italy, Greece, Belgium, and Switzerland; but as I remember it, they had nearly all their coining, which was very small, done in France, and were of practically no importance in the task of sustaining the system.

It is often said, when the case of France is being examined, that her example affords no guide to us now because she then had the assistance, in the maintenance of silver, of several of the nations of Europe that have since adopted the gold standard. Here, again, our gold-standard friends need to be reminded that we are speaking of a system of bimetallism, and that France had to maintain the parity of gold with silver as well as that of silver with gold. If she then had assistance in maintaining silver, we should now have it in maintaining gold. During the period under discussion, events occurred of the most startling description and calculated to put her system to violent and perilous trial.

The unprecedented and revolutionary increase in the output of gold, coupled with the sudden demonetization of it by Holland and Germany, acting under the fear that it might become "cheap" and "dishonest" money, subjected the exchanges of France to a severe shock and threw a heavy burden upon her mint. But she met it, and her system survived practically unimpaired—a triumphant demonstration of its strength and practicability.

The evidence that France succeeded is overwhelming. Lord Aldenham (formerly Sir H. H. Gibbs), for over forty years a director, and for a time governor, of the Bank of England, has emphatically and authoritatively declared this. Sir Robert Peel, in a speech in the House of Commons May 24, 1844, bore testimony to the same effect when he declared that because of the bimetallic system in France international remittances could be made as well in silver as in gold. Similarly the great economist, Bagehot, was of the opinion that France might safely have continued the system, and that if she had done so the effects of the unloading by Germany of her mass of silver would have been rendered "scarcely observable." The findings of the English royal commission of 1886 are specific enough. I quote briefly from that part of its report signed by all twelve commissioners—six gold monometallists and six bimetallists:

"So long as the bimetallic system of the Latin Union was in force we think that, notwithstanding the changes in the production and use of the precious metals, it kept the market price of silver approximately steady at the ratio fixed by law between them, namely, 15½ to 1. The fact that the owner of silver could in the last resort take it to the mints of the Latin Union and have it converted into coin, which would purchase commodities at the ratio of 15½ of silver to 1 of gold, would, in our opinion, be likely to affect the price of silver in the market generally, whoever the purchaser and for whatever country it was destined. It would enable the seller to stand out for a price approximating to the legal ratio and would tend to keep the market steady at about that point."

The last authority I shall cite in support of the statement that France realized practical bimetallism is the late and lamented Gen. Francis A. Walker, universally esteemed the weightiest name in the list of American economists and one of the greatest of his time. At page 101 of his last book, International Bimetallism, he says (the italics being mine):

"The astonishing spectacle is exhibited of *one nation, alone, unaided*, not only *maintaining that monetary system* unshattered and *almost unshaken, through the greatest storm of centuries*, but even preserving the monetary peace of the world and carrying Europe safe through what threatened to be a complete wreck of industry and finance."

It seems to me that what France did the United States can do. This is the opinion of Lord Aldenham, Moreton Frewen, W. H. Grenfell, also an ex-governor of the Bank of England; Dr. Arendt, the famous German economist; Prince Bismarck; President Andrews, of Brown University, and an increasing number of students and statesmen with whom it is a satisfaction to be in accord.

Let us ask, paraphrasing the above citation from the English commission, "If the owner of silver could in the last resort take it to the mints of the United States and have it converted into coin which would purchase commodities (and, let me add, pay taxes, debts, and interest) at the ratio of 15½ of silver to 1 of gold, would not this fact be likely to affect the price of silver in the market generally, whoever the purchaser and for whatever country it were destined? Would it not enable the seller to stand out for a price approximating the legal ratio, and tend to keep the market steady at about that point?"

Whether or not under bimetallism the metals were maintained at a parity would depend upon the sufficiency of the demand for them to give them use enough to absorb them at par. If a man could bring 15½ ounces of silver to the mint and get it stamped into coins with which he could do himself the same service that he could do with the coins struck from 1 ounce of gold, and vice versa, then silver and gold would be and remain at a parity, and no man anywhere in the world would take less than such an equivalent for either. It is a question of use and demand. All that is needed is enough demand and enough use. If one great nation can afford such use and create such demand, it is as well as if a dozen nations did it.

What could a man do with silver money newly minted in the United States? What use has money here, how extensive and varied? The answer is, of course, that there is more scope and opportunity for its employment here than anywhere else on earth. Time has been when the exchanges of the people of the United States exceeded $65,000,000,000 in a single year. The total indebtedness, public and private, of the country is probably $35,000,000,000, installments of which are constantly maturing, and on which the interest, averaging it at 4 per cent, payable each year, would amount to at least $1,400,000,000.

The total taxes paid annually to State, national, and local governments will reach at least $800,000,000. These figures indicate to some extent the demand for money in the United States. But not fully. We must remember the hundreds of thousands of square miles of territory, rich in every natural resource of soil and climate, as yet scarcely subdued from the wildness of nature, yearning for settlement and civilization, and ready, as soon as the artificial dearness and scarcity of full money shall once more be succeeded by a supply of dollars that thrive by use rather than by idleness, to welcome a large population and employ it in a diversified commerce.

We must remember the increase of more than two millions a year in our population, which must enter into the performance of its share in production and exchanges, and which therefore calls for a proportionate addition to the basis of trade and values. We must remember the vast regions in the country where the resources of credit are so slender, but whose expansion can proceed only upon the procurement of an enlarged support in more fundamental money.

The figures will show, with whatsoever thoroughness they be examined, that, in every respect qualifying a nation to absorb money, the United States bears to the total similar power of the world to-day a relative proportion from two to eight times as great as that which France sustained to the world's total in 1870. In steam power we are more than three times as strong; in commerce at least an equal preponderance is ours; in agriculture the proportion is about two to one; in manufactures, more than two to one; in railway mileage, more than six to one; in freight tonnage, about eight to one; in banking power, eight to one. Mulhall declares that in energy we practically equal Germany, France, and England together. These are fair indices of the ability to make use of the great instrument of production and exchange, and they show, in my opinion, a proportionable capacity to-day on the part of the United States to equalize by use the values of two freely coined and equally empowered metals, greater than three Latin Unions in 1870.

The actual operation of the system as we should expect it to appear upon the opening of our mints as exhibited in the following words of the late William P. St. John, a practical banker and financier connected with affairs for many years, who began the study of the coinage question as a gold-standard man, but ended, as nearly all careful and thorough students do end, by becoming an earnest convert to independent bimetallism, and whose untimely loss to the cause and the country is deeply to be deplored:

"This, then, is what will follow the reopening of our mints to silver: The gold already in the Treasury will remain there, if common sense dictates the Treasury management; that is, if the Treasury exercises its option to redeem United States notes in silver. A premium on gold [which, let us remember, is conceded, for the sake of argument, as a probable, immediate, and temporary result] will not occasion a contraction of the currency, bank hoards of gold continuing to serve as a portion of bank reserves against their liabilities. A premium on gold will tend to increase our exports by causing a higher rate of foreign exchange; that is to say, by yielding a larger net return in dollars on the sale of bills of exchange drawn against goods exported. Such premium will tend to diminish our imports by increasing the cost of bills of exchange with which to pay for goods imported.

"The tendency of increasing our exports and decreasing our imports will be, first, to set our spindles running, swell the numbers of paid operatives, increase their wages, thereby adding to the number and paying capacity of consumers, and thus enlarge our home markets for all home products and manufactures, with prosperity in general as the result assured. The tendency of increasing our exports and decreasing our imports will be, second, to establish a credit balance of trade for the United States. A credit balance of trade means that Europe has become our debtor and must settle with us in money. Europe's silver money is overvalued in her gold, compared with ours, by from 3 to 7 cents on the dollar. [He refers to the European token coinage ratios of about 15 to 1, at which their coined silver is employed, as compared with our 16 to 1.] The European merchant or banker will therefore make his trade settlements with us in gold more profitably by from 3 to 7 per cent than in his silver. With the instant that European trade settlements with the United States are made in gold, parity for our gold and silver money is established in the markets of the world."

Our products are in constant demand abroad. With the advance in their prices that would follow an addition to the money fund that measures them, and with the destruction of the advantage now enjoyed by our chief competitors through the loss of the par of exchange between silver and gold, by the restoration of that par, our products exported would yield us a tremendous and continuing favorable balance and prevent any possible disaster due to an excessive drain upon our resources in either metal. How little, indeed, is to be feared from the alarmist cry about driving out gold may be seen in the events following the same dire prophecies made in 1878 upon the passage of the Bland-Allison Act. In 1876 our net exports of gold had amounted to $23,184,341. In 1878 (the act was passed in February) the net import of gold was $4,125,760; in 1879, $1,037,334; in 1880, $77,119,371; in 1881, $97,466,127; in 1882, $1,789,174; in 1883, $6,133,261.

The speculative element would greatly assist the establishment of the parity in the market in correspondence with the ratio of the mint. Everybody is familiar with the fact that when, June 26, 1893, the Indian mint was closed to the free coinage of the rupee, the market value of silver bullion fell 25 per cent in a very few days. Conversely, in 1890, when a bill for the free coinage of silver in the United States appeared to have some chance of becoming a law, the London market price of silver went up, in anticipation of the restoration of the demand of our commerce for the use of silver equally with gold, from a ratio of 22.10 to 1 (the average ratio of 1889) to about 17 to 1, or within one point of par (the average for the whole year 1890 being 19.76 to 1).

It seems wholly reasonable to me that the certain prospect of the passage of a free-coinage law in this country would instantly start gold and silver toward a parity, and that its actual enactment would be speedily followed, indeed but for temporarily effectual manipulation would be actually preceded, by their absolute equivalence in every portion of the world—a condition of inestimable importance to the progress of the United States and to the peace and happiness of mankind.

CHAS. A. TOWNE.

WASHINGTON, *April 19, 1897.*

Mr. BUTLER. Mr. President, the amendment offered by the Senator from Utah [Mr. CANNON] is as follows:

And from and after sixty days from the passage of this act there shall be paid, out of any moneys in the Treasury of the United States not otherwise appropriated, to any exporter of wheat or wheat flour, rye or rye flour; corn, ground or unground; cotton, hops, or tobacco, produced wholly in the United States and exported by sea from any port in the United States to any port of any other country, the following export bounty, by way of an equalization to agriculture of the benefits of this act to encourage the industries of the United States, to wit: Ten cents per bushel on wheat; 50 cents per barrel on wheat flour; 10 cents per bushel on rye; 50 cents per barrel on rye flour; 5 cents per bushel on corn; 10 cents per cental on corn, ground; 1 cent per pound on cotton; 2 cents per pound on hops; 2 cents per pound on tobacco. And all payments of bounty under this act shall be made upon negotiable vouchers, issued by the collector of customs at the port of clearance, upon presentation at the Treasury or any subtreasury of the United States; and the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby charged with making and enforcing such regulations as may be necessary for the full protection of the exporters and of the Government according to the true intent and meaning of this law.

The purpose of this amendment is to correct, to some extent, the inequalities in the pending tariff bill. Its purpose is to extend a measure of justice to the American farmer, and this has never been done by any Democratic or Republican tariff measure.

If the revenues to sustain the Government are to be derived, in the main, from imposts, and the policy is to be continued that articles not produced in our own country are to be exempt from duty, then protection upon articles produced in this country similar to those upon the dutiable list becomes an incident to the collection of all duties regardless of whether the law be passed by Democrats or Republicans; and I submit that the measure should be so framed as to distribute the burdens and extend the benefits as equitably as it is possible so to do between all classes of our citizens. This I believe to be Democratic doctrine.

But the Wilson bill—the present law—in no sense approaches that standard. The Wilson bill justly characterized would be called the McKinley bill, junior. All of the benefits, or incidental protection as it is called, accrued to the manufacturers, while the interests of the farmers and the other producers of raw materials were either sacrificed or overlooked. In short, the present Democratic tariff law, like its predecessors, is unjust to the farmer and discriminates against him.

If we are to have a tariff for protection—and every tariff that places import duties on articles which are produced in this country is a protective tariff—then I submit that such protection

should be fairly and equitably distributed between the various sections of the country and the various industries in each section. The Republican party stands pledged to that doctrine, but it has never applied it or even attempted to do so in good faith. The pending bill fails to measure up to their campaign declarations. On manufactured articles the duty is placed so high as to be almost prohibitory, thus making it impossible for much, if any, revenue to be derived from such duties, because few such articles can be imported under it, while, on the other hand, it will give to the manufacturers a monopoly on these articles.

The protection thus given to the manufacturers will enable them to so advance the price of their products that it will give them several hundred millions additional profit each year before reaching the point that will admit of foreign competition. The authors of this bill, fearing a diminishing revenue because of its prohibitive character, have included in its provisions an import duty on articles not produced in this country and have increased the internal-revenue tax on tobacco and other domestic products.

There is no protection in this bill for agriculture. Those who produce wheat, corn, cotton, and other staples of agriculture, of which we produce a surplus for export, have the prices of their own products fixed in Liverpool in competition with the products of the pauper, serf, ryot, and coolie of Europe and Asia, the fellah of Egypt, and the cheap labor and cheap lands of South America.

The farmer is forced to pay the advanced price not only for domestic manufactured goods, but also forced to pay more for the articles upon which a revenue duty and an internal-revenue tax is placed, and at the same time is left to struggle with the free-trade markets of the world in which to sell his products.

In short, the farmer is forced by law to buy his supplies in the dearest market in the world and to sell his products in the cheapest markets of the world. He must buy in a protected market; he must sell in a free-trade market. Is this fair? Is it just? If this is not robbery, then what is it?

The Republican party offers this bill to the American people as the measure that will redeem their promise to restore prosperity. Can such a measure possibly contain this boon? Can it accomplish this universally desired result?

If the effect of this bill will be to enlarge the ability of the one-half of our people who live by agriculture to purchase the products of our manufactories, a general revival of business will follow. If it fails to do this, the increased price of the manufactured goods will compel the farmers to consume less than they now do, and more factories will be shut down or work on short time and the yearly income of factory operatives will be less than before its passage. Thus the laborers in our mills and factories will find themselves unable to purchase as much of the products of the factory or the farm as before, and the effect of the bill will be to aggravate and intensify the evils which its authors proclaim it a remedy to cure.

The pending tariff bill is framed upon the idea that the American people are purchasers and consumers of large quantities of foreign manufactured goods. It is framed upon the idea that if we shut out from our markets foreign goods our people will buy and consume the products of our own factories, and that then the mills will start up, labor will be employed, and the prosperity that has been promised will be restored.

If the authors of this bill will go with me to any town in my own State and follow up a drummer or salesman as he enters one of our stores with his samples and price list for the purpose of selling one of our merchants a bill of goods, I will be able to show them a practical illustration that would teach them an important lesson. They would learn through the medium of their own eyes and ears why it is that so many mills of this country have shut down and labor is out of employment. They would hear the merchant tell the salesman either that he could give him no order or that he must give him a smaller order than formerly. The merchant would either point to the goods on his shelves unsold or to his books which contained the accounts of his customers showing where he had sold on credit and had not been able to collect—accounts against customers who in prosperous times paid promptly but who now are unable to pay.

What is the matter? Are the needs of the people growing less? Is population diminishing? No. The merchants in every section of the country will testify and statistics will prove that the population around him is increasing and that the needs of the people in his county and town are increasing; that there are more mouths to feed and more backs to clothe, but that the people do not buy. Why is it? Is it because his customers have ceased to work? No. The merchant will testify and statistics will prove that his customers are creating each year more and more produce, more wheat, more cotton, more corn, and more of all of the great staples than ever before; yet this merchant tells the salesman that these people are economizing, economizing because they must because they are unable to pay. What is the result? The salesman sends in smaller and fewer orders, and therefore the jobber and wholesale man place fewer and smaller orders with the factories, and therefore the factories must make fewer goods, and therefore some of the labor employed in factories is thrown out of employment.

Mr. President, this tells the whole story. It is the condition of the consumer, the inability of the masses to purchase, that has shut down some mills and caused others to run on short time. You may open the mills again, but you can not keep them open; they will close down and simply have increased the surplus goods each additional day that they run, until you do something to improve the condition of agriculture. Will this bill accomplish that? No. Even its authors are not rash enough to make such a claim.

The cause of industrial depression is much deeper than the difference between the Wilson Act and the proposed tariff bill. It is deeper and wider than the difference between a so-called revenue tariff and a so-called protective tariff. We have suffered business depressions, strikes, lockouts, and hard times alike under Democratic and Republican tariffs. We have always felt the pall of business stagnation whenever the agricultural classes, who create the wealth of the country, have not reaped a fair reward for their labor and products.

The Republican party proposes two remedies to restore prosperity—the gold standard and a protective tariff. This is an illogical combination. It is an attempt to ride two horses going in different directions.

The gold standard is a decree that prices must continue to fall rapidly for a protracted and indefinite period in the future as the world's money demands are narrowed to conform to the volume of gold alone, and a universal price level shall govern exchanges between all the nations adopting it; while the purpose of a protective tariff is to uphold domestic prices and exempt the people of our own country from the competition of lower civilizations and cheaper labor. The two propositions are antagonistic and irreconcilable, and, joined together as the policy of a political party, are absurd.

Free trade and the gold standard go together hand in hand. The position of the Senator from Delaware [Mr. GRAY] when he pleads for free trade and the gold standard is more logical than the Republican position. If I were for the gold standard, I would be for free trade. If I favored this so-called money of the world, then I would favor going into the international scramble for the markets of the world. To my mind there is a greater objection to free trade than the one advanced by the Republican party. Free trade would at once send our merchants and traders seeking foreign markets. This would lead to far-reaching consequences that would, to say the least, be undesirable in a republic like ours.

We do not seek special foreign markets for the staples of agriculture. They are put on the market at the world's price, and distribution takes care of itself. But when our manufactured products are forced to seek foreign markets they must seek and hold special foreign markets. This leads to colonization and conquest, and conquest leads to monarchy. The history of Phœnicia and of Carthage in ancient times, and of England in modern times, tells the story. In short, free trade leads to international commercialism, which is antagonistic and fatal to the genius of our republican institutions. I believe that it is best for a great Republic situated as ours is to pursue a domestic policy.

On the other hand, I do not believe in or indorse the system of protection as it has been presented and illustrated by the Republican party. Nearly all, if not all, the great nations of the world, except ours, that have the protective system in any form have what we may call a dual system—that is, they not only protect their manufacturers with an import duty, but they also protect their agriculturists with an export bounty. If we are not to have free trade, then certainly equity demands that agriculture should be protected equally with manufacturing. I believe in an American financial system, in a domestic currency sufficient in quantity to meet the needs of our ever-increasing population and business, and therefore I believe in a home market and an American industrial system.

I will not, however, at this time attempt to discuss the financial question, but I wish now to address myself to my Republican friends, who have preached on every stump in America the doctrine of protection to American labor and American industry. I would be glad to see the Republican party carry out in good faith in this bill its promises and pledges to the American people. Will this bill do it? No Republican Senator will attempt to prove that the pending bill measures up to their promises and declarations. Nine-tenths of the benefits which this bill affords is given to a few special industries and to a very small class of our people.

It is not a protection measure in any fair sense. Labor is not protected. The bill as framed does not and can not afford any safe and just protection to even the labor employed in the factories. The price of labor depends upon the demand for it, and the demand is dependent upon the primary industry, agriculture. The farmer must be prosperous, must be able to buy and consume, before the

labor employed in the factories will get steady employment at good wages. When the farmer can not buy, the manufacturer shuts down. He has sufficient to live on while his factory is closed, but his laborers are thrown out of employment and their families suffer.

But let us suppose, for argument's sake, that this bill will give ample protection to the labor employed in the factories. Let us suppose that the bill will carry out in good faith the Republican promises to the manufacturer and to the laborers he employs. Is that all of the Republican promises? The promise was to protect American labor and American industries against cheap foreign competition—not a part of our labor and industries, but all American labor and American industries. Do the manufacturing concerns of this country comprise all of our industries? I now put this question to my Republican friends: Do you consider agriculture an American industry? Do you consider the labor employed upon the farms of the nation American labor? You must answer this question now, or you will have to answer it on every stump in the United States. You have done nothing for agriculture or farm labor in this bill.

The American farmer who has voted for protection for lo these many years has done it knowing or feeling that he got little or no benefit from it, but he did it because he felt that he was protecting some American citizen from competition abroad. I wish to ask you how you can satisfy that farmer in the next campaign when he is shown that you could protect him by this amendment, that you could protect him equally with the manufacturer by applying your principle of protection through an export bounty, and that you would not do it?

Protection is the principle. These import duties are simply the method employed by you to apply the protection to the manufacturer. The export bounty is the method which you should employ to extend the same protection to the farmer. Will you do it? If not, how can you expect the farmer to continue to support this unjust and one-sided protective system? Such discriminations will drive him to free trade, if anything will. How many laborers are employed in the manufacturing concerns to-day? Only about 4,000,000. How many are employed upon the farms of the nation? How many American laborers are employed in the wheat fields of the West, the cotton fields of the South, and in the agricultural interests of the country generally? More than twice as many as are employed in the factories. Are they not American laborers? Are they not forced to compete with the cheap pauper labor of India, Egypt, Argentina, and Russia, just as the manufacturing concerns of America would be if we had general free trade? When the farmer exports his products, he meets competition in Liverpool.

The cheap foreign pauper labor that you are so afraid of, that gives the nightmare to your manufacturing concerns, stands in Liverpool to crush the life out of agriculture. You protect the manufacturer against such competition by an import duty. You can protect the farmer from the same competition by applying the principle of protection by the method of an export bounty. But you have not done it; you have deliberately drawn a tariff bill that says to the 9,000,000 American laborers engaged in agriculture that "you must stand under free trade while paying tribute to a minority class protected; you must sell in a free-trade market and at the same time pay more for what you buy from the protected class." You know, and every farmer who has supported protection knows, that these duties increase the price of the manufactured goods that he buys; yet you want him and expect him to continue to support this one-sided protection while you refuse to give to him the same benefit that you give to the manufacturer. He will not be satisfied with such discrimination any longer. He is growing too poor to stand it.

Suppose that you reverse the position of the farmer and the manufacturer. Suppose you protect the farmer against the cheap foreign competition and then put the manufacturer under free trade and force him to compete with the world; and when he began to grow poor under such competition, that you should attempt to appease him by telling him that he should go into some other business or should diversify, as you now tell the farmer. How long would the manufacturer submit to such injustice, such insult, such impudence? But the American farmer is more conservative than the manufacturer. He is more patient and long-suffering. You advise him, when cotton, wheat, and the other great export staples get too low to return a profit, to diversify.

In the South he has begun to take your advice. He has begun to raise potatoes, beans, grapes, strawberries, cabbages, and all the other perishable farm products which are not exported. He is rushing them into the Northern and Eastern markets in larger quantities each year. He is competing with your New England truck farmer. This has lowered the prices of such products, to the detriment of your New England farmer. To illustrate, in 1894 there was raised in the United States 170,787,338 bushels of potatoes, which brought $91,526,787; in 1895 there was raised 297,237,870 bushels of potatoes, which only brought $78,984,901. Over 100,000,000 bushels more potatoes produced in 1895, yet the whole crop sold for nearly $13,000,000 less. This has caused your New England farmers to consume less of manufactured goods and has helped to shut down the mills and to throw factory labor out of employment.

This is but the beginning. If you do not do something to increase the price of the great agricultural staples for export, the competition at home will grow fiercer and more destructive. To-day my own State is sending train loads of such perishable products to all of the markets of the North and East. Why? Because you have made cotton raising unprofitable. This competition will continue to grow in volume until it is again profitable for us to raise cotton and the great staples. No; diversification is not the remedy. It aggravates and spreads the disease.

The Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST] held up the agricultural schedule of this bill on yesterday and pointed out with derision the import duties which you have placed on wheat, corn, barley, cotton, and the other export staples, and showed that it would give no protection to the farmer. He grew eloquent denouncing these pretended import duties on export articles as a sham and a fraud. He was right. But he offered no remedy. He should have gone further and put the sincerity of our Republican friends to the test. He should have pointed out to the country the fact that you could protect the farmer by placing a bounty upon these exports equal to the import duty given to the manufacturer. But he did not. He and the Senator from Texas [Mr. MILLS] satisfied themselves by simply declaring that they favored "a tariff for revenue only."

What do our Democratic friends mean by a tariff for revenue only? If we are to judge by their record, they mean that an import duty of 40 per cent on hats and shoes is for protection when levied by the Republican party; that when this duty is lowered by the Democrats to 35 per cent, then it is a tariff for revenue only. Are they correct? No. An import duty of 35 per cent on hats and shoes is a protective duty; it protects the manufacturer; and when our Democratic friends in addition, put hides and wool on the free list, they do what the manufacturer most wants, and they give him in fact more protection than the Republican duty of 40 per cent gives while hides and wool are protected by a duty. If free raw material (while the manufacturer is protected) is the essence of Democracy, as we have been told, then I have no sympathy with such Democracy. It is to that extent worse than the essence of Republicanism.

But what is "a tariff for revenue only?" It is a tariff *only* on articles imported which are not produced in this country, such as *tea, coffee, etc., and no duty whatever* on articles imported which are produced in this country. Have our Democratic friends ever offered such a bill? No. Every bill which they have offered has been a bill for protection to the manufacturer, with no protection for the farmer. Every import duty, high or low, placed upon imported articles which we produce is a protective duty pure and simple. No one will question this. The Mills bill, the Wilson bill, and every other tariff bill offered by our Democratic friends has been full of such duties. Therefore every Democratic tariff bill offered or passed has differed from the Republican bill, not in principle, but simply in the percentage of the duty levied. The Mills bill would have discriminated against the farmer. The present Wilson law discriminates against the farmer.

Indeed, there is no way to protect the farmer and put him on an equal footing with the manufacturer under the present Democratic law except to amend it by adding an export bounty on agricultural staples that are exported. I challenge any Democrat to deny this. Now our Republican friends propose to increase the protection which the Democrats have been giving to manufacturers. Therefore let them now give the farmer the export bounty, which he should have had before, and let them increase the export bounty to the farmer every time they increase the import duty to the manufacturer. This is fair; nothing less would be just or fair.

The farmer is now discriminated against in two ways. Not only is a bounty given to manufacturers, from whom the farmer must buy and pay an increased price on account of the tariff, but a bounty is also given to his competitors who raise wheat and cotton in foreign countries. The Republican party is to a great extent responsible for this double discrimination, this deadly competition which the farmer is to-day struggling against. Our competition comes largely from silver-using countries. That competition is deadly largely because of the enhanced price of gold and the fall in silver exchange. The cotton farmer in India and Egypt raises a pound of cotton, takes it to Liverpool, and sells it for, say, 5 cents in gold, which he takes home, where it becomes 10 cents in the money of his country. With this 10 cents he makes 2 pounds of cotton and faces the American farmer in Liverpool next year. The American farmer sells his 1 pound of cotton for 5 cents in gold, takes it home, and it is still but 5 cents, in gold-standard America. He has 5 cents capital, his competitor has

10 cents. It amounts to a bounty of 100 per cent to our competitors.

Those of you who favor the gold standard favor a policy that gives this bounty to our competitors. The competition would be hard enough on the farmer if our competitors did not have that bounty. In fact, if you would restore the money of the Constitution and thus take this bounty from our competitors, still the American farmer ought to have an export bounty as long as the manufacturer has an import duty, which is but another name for a bounty.

Mr. President, this is no new doctrine. It is not a doctrine started up since the gold standard has been fastened upon our country. One of the clearest-headed men that this country has ever produced preached this doctrine of justice in the early days of the Republic. Alexander Hamilton, when Secretary of the Treasury, in 1780, in an official document, said:

> As often as a duty upon foreign articles makes an addition to its price, it causes an extra expense to the community for the benefit of the domestic manufacturers; a bounty does no more.
>
> The true way to conciliate these two interests (agriculture and manufacture) is to pay a duty on foreign manufactures of the material the growth of which is desired to be encouraged, and to apply the produce of that duty by way of bounty.

It was the clear head of Alexander Hamilton, at the beginning of the Republic, looking at our broad country, foreseeing that there would be a clash of interests between agriculture and manufacturing if one was protected and the other was not, seeing that they ought to work in harmony, seeing that they both ought to be treated alike as American industries, seeing that it was necessary for agriculture to prosper in order that the whole country might prosper, who made this proposition, who offered this solution. He favored giving all the money collected from import duties which would enhance the price of domestic manufactures to agriculture in export bounties as a compensatory protection to them. Yet this amendment proposes to apply only a small portion of such import duties to agriculture by way of an export bounty. Henry Clay gave utterance to the same opinion when discussing the tariff bill in 1824. In the same debate Daniel Webster substantially approved the position of Hamilton and Clay. If it was just and fair then, it is tenfold more so now, with America on the gold standard and our competitors on the silver standard.

Mr. President, this is such a plain, simple proposition of wisdom and justice that it seems only necessary to be stated to be comprehended and assented to by all: That, if we are to have an American system, not only should all industries and all classes of labor be treated equitably and justly, but that above all agriculture should come first. It should be the first care of any man and any party that has any regard for the future of the Republic and the welfare of our people.

Our Democratic friends can not help the farmer by simply standing up and fighting this tariff bill and denouncing it in the name of the farmer. He has grown poorer each year while they have pursued that policy, and when they came into power they continued to discriminate against him and gave him no protection. They gave protection to the manufacturer and gave no equal benefits to the farmer. He has grown poorer each year under the Wilson bill. If that law were to stand, it should be amended by adding the provisions contained in the amendment now before the Senate.

Our Republican friends have gone along all the time promising that the farmer would get the benefit of the tariff after a while in some indirect way. He has not got it and he can not get it in this bill. There is no sentiment about this matter. This proposed bounty is a simple business proposition. Every Senator, whether he be a free trader or a protectionist, will admit that it will raise the price of the farmer's products; that it will protect him to some extent against the deadly competition which he now faces. If it will do that, why, in God's name, shall we not give it to the farmer?

The farmers of the South assent each year to an appropriation of $150,000,000 for pensions to the Union soldiers. Do we complain? It is voted in five minutes, but you have no right to ask us to pension your manufacturers at our expense. The farmer is taxed to help everybody, but nobody helps him. Here is a proposition to expend only $47,000,000. What will be the effect? It will put over $200,000,000 into the pockets of the American farmers each year. Is that not a fine investment? The Government will only pay the bounty on the articles exported, but the result will be to raise the price of every pound of cotton and every bushel of wheat used in this country. It will be a direct and immediate benefit. It will increase the capacity of the farmer to consume. Therefore it will benefit the factories and every other industry in the whole country.

It is true that this alone will not remove the causes of industrial depression or restore prosperity, but it will to some extent be a measure of justice to the farmer and improve his condition. Therefore I am ready and willing to vote for this amendment and for any other fair and equitable measure that will give the farmer a modicum of justice and relief. Foreign competition has been as deadly to the farmer every hour since the war as it would have been to the manufacturing concerns of this country had they been under free trade. How much longer will you put free trade on the farmer while giving his neighbor ample protection?

Mr. President, I do not believe that present conditions can be righted by any tariff bill, however wise or just. I consider the tariff only a third-rate question. There are other questions more vital to American interests and welfare. I believe that a contracting volume of money and the rule of monopolies are the twin curses that are bringing stagnation to business and poverty to the masses of the country. I believe that there must be legislation to remove these causes before our people will ever enjoy the prosperity that the Republicans have so profusely promised.

But, sir, I put the welfare of the people above every other consideration, and I am ready to vote for any proposition that will give them a measure of relief, however small. It can be done to some extent by the Republican party adopting this amendment and carrying out its principle of protection fairly and equitably. I am ready to cast my vote to help do it. I hope that every Democratic Senator will do the same. Every Populist and every Silver Republican Senator will vote for it. Therefore if every Democrat on the floor of the Senate will vote for this amendment, it will be adopted, even if every Republican voted against it. It is no excuse for you to say that it is against your principles.

Remember that the pending tariff bill will become a law; and remember also that until we have an income tax or some other means of equalizing taxation, we will always have a high-tariff bill, whether you are in power or the Republicans are in power. Now, shall the farmer be discriminated against during all of this time? The pending bill may be ever so unjust, yet Democratic Senators now have an opportunity to take some of the money which they have said it will wring from the farmer and pile up in the Treasury and distribute it back to the farmer. The Democratic party has now an opportunity to give at once some relief to the farmer, for whom they have recently pleaded so eloquently.

I would be glad to see the Republicans vote for this amendment because it is their doctrine and they have promised to protect all alike. If they will, the Silver Republicans and Populists will furnish the votes to give them a majority, but I fear they will not. They favor protection, not for the farmer but for the other fellow only. The Senator from Texas [Mr. MILLS] on yesterday made an eloquent plea for the "forgotten man" (the farmer), and said that everybody was ready to help the farmer with chin music. Now let the Senator from Texas and his Democratic colleagues help us to test the sincerity of the Republicans and at the same time prove that they are willing to help the farmer with something more than chin music. Let every Democrat vote with us for this amendment and we will place it on the bill. Then the Republicans must pass the bill with the amendment or not pass it at all. If either one of the old parties are willing to treat the farmer as they have the manufacturer, he will get this relief and get it at once. Will you do it? The vote will show.

Mr. QUAY. Mr. President——

Mr. ALLISON. Will the Senator allow me?

Mr. QUAY. I was about to move an executive session, but I will yield to the Senator.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask the Senate to consent that when we adjourn this afternoon it be to meet to-morrow morning at 11 o'clock. I have an understanding with those who are in charge of the opposition to the bill that that shall be done.

Mr. BATE. Will the agreement extend beyond to-morrow?

Mr. ALLISON. I have no agreement as to that. My motion is simply that when we adjourn it be until to-morrow morning at 11 o'clock. I hope the Senate will consent to that.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Iowa, that when the Senate adjourn to-day it be until to-morrow at 11 o'clock.

The motion was agreed to.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. QUAY. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After twelve minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened, and (at 5 o'clock and 37 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Thursday, June 10, 1897, at 11 o'clock a. m.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate June 9, 1897.

ENVOYS EXTRAORDINARY AND MINISTERS PLENIPOTENTIARY.

Henry L. Wilson, of Washington, to be envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States to Chile, vice Edward H. Strobel, resigned.

William F. Powell, of New Jersey, to be envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States to Haiti, vice Henry M. Smythe, resigned.

John G. A. Leishman, of Pennsylvania, to be envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States to Switzerland, vice John L. Peak, resigned.

CONSUL-GENERAL.

John F. Gowey, of Washington, to be consul-general of the United States at Kanagawa, Japan.

ASSISTANT APPRAISERS OF MERCHANDISE.

Michael J. Brown, of Pennsylvania, to be assistant appraiser of merchandise in the district of Philadelphia, in the State of Pennsylvania, in place of Sheppard G. Young, removed.

Fred P. Vincent, of Pennsylvania, to be assistant appraiser of merchandise in the district of Philadelphia, in the State of Pennsylvania, to fill an existing vacancy.

DEPUTY AUDITORS.

Daniel A. Grosvenor, of Maryland, to be deputy auditor for the War Department, to succeed John C. Edwards, resigned.

Robert S. Person, of South Dakota, to be deputy auditor for the Interior Department, to succeed George W. Sanderlin, resigned.

PROMOTIONS IN THE NAVY.

Asst. Engineer John K. Robison, to be a passed assistant engineer in the Navy, from the 9th day of May, 1897 (subject to the examinations required by law), vice P. A. Engineer Frank H. Eldridge, promoted.

P. A. Engineer Edgar T. Warburton, to be a chief engineer in the Navy, from the 28th day of May, 1897 (subject to the examinations required by law), vice Chief Engineer John A. Scot, retired.

Medical Inspector James M. Flint, to be a medical director in the Navy, from the 6th day of June, 1897, vice Medical Director Thomas N. Penrose, retired.

Surg. Charles U. Gravatt, to be a medical inspector in the Navy, from the 6th day of June, 1897, vice Medical Inspector James M. Flint, promoted.

Passed Asst. Surg. Victor C. B. Means, to be a surgeon in the Navy, from the 6th day of June, 1897, vice Surg. Charles U. Gravatt, promoted.

POSTMASTERS.

Lee McLaughlin, to be postmaster at Sanger, in the county of Fresno and State of California, in the place of Lee McLaughlin, whose commission expired April 8, 1896.

George E. Smith, to be postmaster at Laurel, in the county of Sussex and State of Delaware, in the place of M. Ellis, whose commission expired April 14, 1897.

Charles W. Warner, to be postmaster at Hoopeston, in the county of Vermilion and State of Illinois, in the place of William Finley, resigned.

John M. Long, to be postmaster at Clay City, in the county of Clay and State of Indiana, in the place of George E. Oberholtzer, removed.

Lewis Signs, to be postmaster at North Manchester, in the county of Wabash and State of Indiana, in the place of Samuel M. McCutchen, removed.

Elizabeth M. Broadwell, to be postmaster at La Cygne, in the county of Linn and State of Kansas, in the place of William H. Judson, removed.

Edson E. Burnham, to be postmaster at Amite City, in the parish of Tangipahoa and State of Louisiana, the appointment of a postmaster for the said office having, by law, become vested in the President on and after July 1, 1897.

Thomas B. Leland, to be postmaster at Water Valley, in the county of Yalobusha and State of Mississippi, in the place of Henry T. Crosby, removed.

Mathew J. Orr, to be postmaster at Osceola, in the county of St. Clair and State of Missouri, in the place of John S. Smith, resigned.

Carl Kramer, to be postmaster at Columbus, in the county of Platte and State of Nebraska, in the place of D. F. Davis, removed.

Aaron Brining, to be postmaster at Versailles, in the county of Darke and State of Ohio, the appointment of a postmaster for the said office having, by law, become vested in the President on and after July 1, 1896, Isaac Marker, appointed by the President and by him nominated to the Senate, not having been confirmed.

Walter McKay, to be postmaster at Lead, in the county of Lawrence and State of South Dakota, in the place of Albert R. Garretson, removed.

A. M. Lee, to be postmaster at Huntingdon, in the county of Carroll and State of Tennessee, in the place of James P. Wilson, removed.

E. B. Atterbury, to be postmaster at Comanche, in the county of Comanche and State of Texas, in the place of A. L. Hamilton, removed.

George J. Elam, to be postmaster at Marlin, in the county of Falls and State of Texas, in the place of Isham J. Pringle, removed.

William C. Smith, to be postmaster at Bowie, in the county of Montague and State of Texas, in the place of Elbert A. Gwaltney, removed.

Orrin H. Jones, to be postmaster at Wilmington, in the county of Windham and State of Vermont, the appointment of a postmaster for the said office having, by law, become vested in the President on and after October 1, 1896, Eli H. Porter, appointed by the President and by him nominated to the Senate, not having been confirmed.

May Mosby Campbell, to be postmaster at Warrenton, in the county of Fauquier and State of Virginia, in the place of Lizzie C. Yates, removed.

Luzerne P. Harper, to be postmaster at Suffolk, in the county of Nansemond and State of Virginia, in the place of E. B. Britt, whose commission expired April 11, 1897.

Verlin M. Scott, to be postmaster at Saltville, in the county of Smyth and State of Virginia, in the place of Rufus K. Sanders, resigned.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate June 9, 1897.

ENVOYS EXTRAORDINARY AND MINISTERS PLENIPOTENTIARY.

Lawrence Townsend, of Pennsylvania, to be envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States to Portugal.

Henry L. Wilson, of Washington, to be envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States to Chile.

John G. A. Leishman, of Pennsylvania, to be envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States to Switzerland.

CONSUL-GENERAL.

Andrew D. Barlow, of Missouri, to be consul-general of the United States at the City of Mexico, Mexico.

PROMOTIONS IN THE ARMY.

Artillery arm.

Lieut. Col. John Isaac Rodgers, Second Artillery, to be colonel.

Maj. William Lawrence Haskin, First Artillery, to be lieutenant-colonel.

Capt. James Monroe Ingalls, First Artillery, to be major.

First Lieut. Clermont Livingston Best, First Artillery, to be captain.

Second Lieut. Edward Fenton McGlachlin, jr., Fifth Artillery, to be first lieutenant.

Infantry arm.

First Lieut. Hunter Liggett, Fifth Infantry, to be captain.

Second Lieut. Charles Carr Clarke, Ninth Infantry, to be first lieutenant.

Candidate Sergt. Fred L. Munson, Company A, Sixth Infantry, to be second lieutenant.

PROMOTIONS IN THE NAVY.

Ensign Benjamin W. Wells, jr., to be a lieutenant (junior grade).

Ensign Newton A. McCully, to be a lieutenant (junior grade).

Ensign Levi C. Bertolette, to be a lieutenant (junior grade).

POSTMASTERS.

George W. Farmer, to be postmaster at Martin, in the county of Weakley and State of Tennessee.

W. L. Paine, to be postmaster at Argenta, in the county of Pulaski and State of Arkansas.

William H. Illian, to be postmaster at Humphrey, in the county of Platte and State of Nebraska.

Tracy R. Thomas, to be postmaster at Prescott, in the county of Nevada and State of Arkansas.

Cyrus E. Hunter, to be postmaster at Wakefield, in the county of Dixon and State of Nebraska.

C. H. Cornell, to be postmaster at Corona (late South Riverside), in the county of Riverside and State of California.

F. J. Heinemann, to be postmaster at Kirkwood, in the county of St. Louis and State of Missouri.

George W. Tilton, to be postmaster at Epping, in the county of Rockingham and State of New Hampshire.

SENATE.

THURSDAY, *June 10, 1897.*

The Senate met at 11 o'clock a. m.

Prayer by Rev. WALLACE RADCLIFFE, D. D., of the city of Washington.

On motion of Mr. FAULKNER, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of yesterday's proceedings was dispensed with.

COMMITTEE SERVICE.

Mr. BERRY. I ask that I may be excused from further service upon the Committee on Railroads.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there any objection to the request of the Senator from Arkansas, that he be relieved from further duty upon the Committee on Railroads. The Chair hears no objection, and the Senator from Arkansas is excused.

Mr. GORMAN. I ask unanimous consent that the junior Senator from Florida [Mr. MALLORY] and the junior Senator from South Carolina [Mr. MCLAURIN] be assigned to committee vacancies now existing as designated in the paper I send to the desk.

The Secretary read as follows:

Mr. MALLORY: Committee on Fisheries, Committee on Patents, Committee on Territories, Committee on Revision of Laws, Committee on Railroads, Committee on Woman Suffrage.

Mr. MCLAURIN: Committee on Claims, Committee on Coast Defenses, Committee on Immigration, Committee on Indian Affairs, Select Committee on International Expositions.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. If there be no objection, the assignments proposed by the Senator from Maryland will be ordered. The Chair hears no objection, and that is the order.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

The VICE-PRESIDENT presented sundry memorials of citizens of New York City, remonstrating against the proposed increase of the tax on beer; which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. FAULKNER. I present the petitions of J. A. Avey and 27 other citizens of Hedgesville; of J. Ferns and 61 other citizens of Pawpaw; of J. W. Garland and 66 other citizens of Hancock County, and of Guy Peck and 51 other citizens of Cabell County, all in the State of West Virginia, praying for the enactment of legislation restricting immigration. I move that the petitions lie on the table, the bill having already been reported.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. GALLINGER. I present the petition of A. E. Stearns and 11 other citizens of Manchester, N. H., praying for the enactment of immediate tariff legislation. As the petition relates to the tariff bill now under consideration, I move that it lie on the table.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. PLATT of New York presented petitions of sundry citizens of New York City, Buffalo, and Philmont, all in the State of New York, praying for the immediate passage of a protective-tariff bill; which were ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented sundry memorials of citizens of New York City, Brooklyn, Flushing, Westchester, Nyack, Tappan, Congers, Mamaroneck, Long Island City, Rochester, Waverly, Richmond County, and Commack, all in the State of New York, and memorials of sundry citizens of Jersey City and Hoboken, in the State of New Jersey, remonstrating against the proposed increase of the tax on beer; which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. HALE presented a petition of sundry citizens of Hartland, Me., praying for the enactment of protective-tariff legislation, at the earliest possible date, which will adequately secure American industrial products against the competition of foreign labor; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. HANSBROUGH presented a memorial of sundry citizens of Bismarck, N. Dak., remonstrating against the proposed duty of $2 per thousand feet on white-pine lumber; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. SEWELL presented the petition of Samuel Pancoast and 43 other citizens of Vineland, N. J., praying for the enactment of legislation restricting immigration; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented the petition of Watts Cook and 189 other citizens of Paterson, N. J., and the petition of William Hemethy and 66 other citizens of Newark, N. J., praying for the early passage of the pending tariff bill; which were ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented memorials of C. J. Wilson and 48 other citizens of Boundbrook, of Richard A. Boyce and 24 other citizens of Plainfield, of Peter J. Brady and 25 other citizens of Bayonne, and of William W. Gaertner and 114 other citizens of Newark, all in the State of New Jersey, remonstrating against the proposed increase of the tax on beer; which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. PRITCHARD presented a memorial of the Tobacco Board of Trade of Raleigh, N. C., remonstrating against the proposed increase in the tax on tobacco; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. PROCTOR presented the petition of James H. Habberly and 35 other citizens of Bennington, Vt., praying for the enactment of immediate protective-tariff legislation; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented the memorial of A. V. Vance and 45 other citizens of Lunenburg, Vt., remonstrating against the enactment of legislation intended to destroy the present system of ticket brokerage; which was referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

Mr. QUAY presented a memorial of sundry brewers of Lancaster County, Pa., and a memorial of sundry business men of Lancaster County, Pa., remonstrating against the proposed increase of the tax on beer; which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. FORAKER presented sundry papers to accompany the bill (S. 128) granting an honorable discharge and status of pilot in the United States service to Oscar B. Jolly; which were referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

Mr. ALLEN, from the Committee on Claims, to whom was referred the bill (S. 57) for the relief of the heirs of Jacob R. Davis, reported it without amendment, and submitted a report thereon.

Mr. VEST, from the Committee on Commerce, to whom was referred the bill (S. 2063) to authorize the White and Black River Valley Railway Company to build a bridge across the Black River in Arkansas, reported it with amendments.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Mr. FAULKNER introduced a bill (S. 2108) to amend section 4 of the act of Congress entitled "An act relating to the supreme court of the District of Columbia," approved June 21, 1870, and for other purposes; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

He also introduced a bill (S. 2109) for the relief of James V. Moore; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. FORAKER introduced a bill (S. 2110) to remove the charge of desertion against Phillip Schaefer, late of Company K, Twenty-seventh Regiment Missouri Volunteer Infantry, and for other purposes; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also introduced the following bills; which were severally read twice by their titles, and referred to the Committee on Pensions:

A bill (S. 2111) granting a pension to George Thompson;

A bill (S. 2112) granting a pension to Jesse O. Davy;

A bill (S. 2113) granting a pension to Mary Hughes;

A bill (S. 2114) granting a pension to Rebecca E. Kutz;

A bill (S. 2115) granting a pension to Milton T. Bedford;

A bill (S. 2116) granting a pension to Isaac Neer;

A bill (S. 2117) granting an increase of pension to Fannie Kautz; and

A bill (S. 2118) granting a pension to Daniel Uptegraft.

Mr. ALLEN introduced a bill (S. 2119) granting a pension to Elsie Desmond, of Norfolk, Nebr.; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. WHITE introduced a bill (S. 2120) granting a pension to William A. P. Fellows; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. COCKRELL introduced a bill (S. 2121) for the relief of James W. Howell, late of Company H, Fifty-fourth Regiment Illinois Infantry Volunteers; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. QUAY introduced a bill (S. 2122) to remove the charge of desertion from the military record of Edward T. Lewis; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

AMENDMENTS TO THE TARIFF BILL.

Mr. WARREN submitted three amendments intended to be proposed by him to the bill (H. R. 379) to provide revenue for the Government and to encourage the industries of the United States; which were referred to the Committee on Finance, and ordered to be printed.

AMENDMENTS TO DEFICIENCY APPROPRIATION BILL.

Mr. FAULKNER submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the general deficiency appropriation bill; which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations, and ordered to be printed.

Mr. CARTER. I ask that the reference of the amendment submitted by me on yesterday intended to be proposed to the general deficiency appropriation bill be changed from the Committee on Appropriations to the Committee on Commerce.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. In the absence of objection, it will be so ordered.

RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES, ETC.

Mr. COCKRELL. I ask for the present consideration of a resolution simply calling for statistical information from the Treasury Department.

The resolution was read, considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby directed to make to the Senate a report showing in tabular form the total receipts from all sources, excepting from sales of United States bonds, and the total expenditures for all purposes for each fiscal year, 1875 to 1896, both inclusive, and the excess of either for each year; and also the total receipts from all sources, except from sales of United States bonds, and the total expenditures for all purposes, with the excess of either for each annual period, beginning March 1, 1885, and ending March 1, 1897; and also showing in tabular form the payments of the principal, of the interest, and of any premium of the public debt and any increase of principal for each fiscal year, 1885 to 1896, both inclusive; and further showing the payments of the principal, of the interest, and of any premium for each annual period from March 1, 1885, to March 1, 1889, and the total for such four years; and from March 1, 1889, to March 1, 1893, and the total for such four years; and from March 1, 1893, to March 1, 1897, and the total for such four years.

THE TARIFF BILL.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The morning business appears to be closed.

Mr. ALLISON. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of House bill 379.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. There being no objection to that request, the Chair lays the bill before the Senate.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 379) to provide revenue for the Government and to encourage the industries of the United States.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The pending question is on the amendment proposed by the Senator from Utah [Mr. CANNON], which has been read.

Mr. WALTHALL. Let the amendment be again read.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment will be read.

The SECRETARY. On page 70, after line 22, it is proposed to insert, as paragraph 233½, the following:

And from and after sixty days from the passage of this act there shall be paid, out of any moneys in the Treasury of the United States not otherwise appropriated, to any exporter of wheat or wheat flour, rye or rye flour; corn, ground or unground; cotton, hops, or tobacco, produced wholly in the United States and exported by sea from any port in the United States to any port of any other country, the following export bounty, by way of an equalization to agriculture of the benefits of this act to encourage the industries of the United States, to wit: Ten cents per bushel on wheat; 50 cents per barrel on wheat flour; 10 cents per bushel on rye; 50 cents per barrel on rye flour; 5 cents per bushel on corn; 10 cents per cental on corn, ground; 1 cent per pound on cotton; 2 cents per pound on hops; 2 cents per pound on tobacco. And all payments of bounty under this act shall be made upon negotiable vouchers, issued by the collector of customs at the port of clearance, upon presentation at the Treasury or any subtreasury of the United States; and the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby charged with making and enforcing such regulations as may be necessary for the full protection of the exporters and of the Government according to the true intent and meaning of this law.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment. Is the Senate ready for the question?

Mr. TILLMAN. Mr. President, it is my intention to discuss this matter at some length, but before doing so, if there is to be anyone in opposition, if any Senator on either side desires to maintain that this is not a proper, just, and righteous provision to insert in this proposed tariff law, I would prefer to let him speak before I do.

Mr. CULLOM. If you have a speech to make, go ahead and make it.

Mr. TILLMAN. If the discussion is to go on in this one-sided manner, I would prefer to have all my colleagues here, and I note the absence of a quorum.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The absence of a quorum is suggested by the Senator from South Carolina. The Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Allison,	Faulkner,	McBride,	Proctor,
Bate,	Foraker,	McMillan,	Quay,
Berry,	Gallinger,	Mallory,	Rawlins,
Burrows,	Gear,	Mitchell,	Sewell,
Caffery,	Gorman,	Morgan,	Shoup,
Cannon,	Gray,	Morrill,	Spooner,
Chandler,	Hale,	Nelson,	Tillman,
Clark,	Hanna,	Penrose,	Vest.
Clay,	Hansbrough,	Perkins,	Walthall,
Cockrell,	Harris, Kans.	Pettigrew,	Warren,
Cullom,	Hawley,	Pettus,	Wellington,
Davis,	Hoar,	Platt, Conn.	Wetmore,
Deboe,	Kenney,	Platt, N. Y.	Wilson.
Fairbanks,	Lindsay,	Pritchard,	

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Fifty-five Senators have answered to their names. A quorum is present. The Senator from South Carolina will proceed.

Mr. TILLMAN. Mr. President, the discussion of the tariff bill which has been proceeding here, or progressing, in a one-sided way, for some ten days, presents a remarkable condition of political feeling and a nebulous state of mind on the part of many men on both sides of the Chamber. The Republicans by common consent, under stress of party orders, I suppose, given by the caucus, sit quietly by and vote. They say nothing. They seem afraid to say anything. The iniquities they are perpetrating upon the American people are so outrageous that they prefer not to discuss them even, but they press relentlessly forward with the intention of carrying out their compact with the trusts and monopolies; and every schedule prepared by the party caucus is voted for by them unanimously.

The Democrats are in a condition of transition. They do not know exactly where they are. The older, more renowned, more experienced leaders of the party stand up and proclaim their allegiance to the old doctrines, time-honored, ancient. We had an exhibition yesterday of an impassioned speech based upon the Walker tariff, brought forward at this late day as true Democratic doctrine. Secession, nullification, and other issues which have been settled and have passed out of the minds of men as living questions had just as well be brought in here.

The tariff is not a principle unless it be that it rests on principle. It is merely a question of policy as to how the Government shall derive its revenue. It has been talked about so much and so long and so ably that I can not expect to present any new phase of it; but I propose, as one humble representative of a State on this floor, to give some views that may be mine only, but which appear to me to be those which should obtain in governing men who come here to frame tariffs.

What is the true doctrine of tariff taxation, the American doctrine, the patriotic doctrine, the statesman's doctrine? I for one stand ready to confess and announce my faith in the belief that it is to the best interests of the American people as a whole that everything consumed by our people should be produced by our people, if it is possible. If that be Republican doctrine, then I am a Republican. If it is not Democratic doctrine, it ought to be Democratic doctrine.

It is not necessary for me to state, because it is known to all students of history, that those nations which confine all their labors to one product, or to agriculture only, are pauper nations. They do not progress; they do not achieve any place in history that amounts to anything. They do not gather wealth; they do not produce culture; they have not advanced civilization. Therefore, I announce as a sound policy that we ought to diversify our industries as far as we can and give employment to as many men of as many occupations as can get work at a profitable figure.

We do not want all farmers in this country. We want to have manufactures. And why do we not want any more farmers just now? Because we are to-day producing more of the staple crops of export raised on the farm than we can get a living or decent price for; and why, in God's name, should we undertake by a tariff policy to drive from the factories and from the cities to the farm more competitors to produce cotton and wheat to export at a loss? We do not want any more farmers. What we want is a tariff so levied that the farmer shall not be robbed for the benefit of the laborer in the cities and that he shall have an equal chance in life to get that for his family and for his comfort that the Declaration of Independence declares is the inalienable right of every freeman.

There is a reciprocity of interests here. The farmer wants a market for that which he produces; the manufacturer wants a market for that which he produces. There is no conflict of interest between these two when their interests are weighed in an equal balance by honest legislators. It is only when you throw into the scale in favor of manufacturers your laws which give them undue advantage, when you rob the producing farmer for the benefit of the manufacturer, that any man has a right to complain.

From the foundation of the Government there have been those who contended that the manufacturers should be protected and a home interest built up which would supply the American market with all the manufactured articles necessary. On the other hand, those engaged in agriculture have declared that they were unjustly dealt with and were forced to buy from these men at a higher price than they could buy in Europe. The tariff discussion has gone on along those lines from the beginning of the Government until to-day.

Now, for the first time in our history, when this protective policy has borne its fruit and the pauperized farmer stands here with his skinny, bony hands begging justice and equality, and the opportunity is given you, by a bounty on his exports, to give him some compensation for the robbery that he has undergone for half a century, you sit in stony silence, you sneer, you elevate your eyebrows, you refuse to discuss the proposition as unworthy of debate, and you expect to see this idiotic farmer not know that you had the opportunity to give him some meed of justice and you refused it.

But I pledge you my word and honor, gentlemen, you are face to face with an issue that you can not shirk or dodge, and both

parties will have to face it in the near future; because the 9,000,000 men in this country who are engaged in agriculture and who are face to face with pauperism and bankruptcy, whose farms are slipping from beneath them and are being absorbed by loan and trust companies that loan them money, will settle with you at the ballot box, as to whether you shall continue to take from their pockets their hard-earned dollars to give to the manufacturing industries, and give them nothing in return.

How has the tariff policy of protection, which has been the governing principle ever since the war, and even before the war to a limited degree, worked? It was intended by domestic competition to reduce prices; but instead it has been the means and instrument of building up domestic monopoly to raise prices, and the wealth that has poured into the coffers of a few thousand men, or 10,000, or 50,000, or 100,000 engaged in and who own manufactures, has been taken from the hard earnings of the masses of the people, and you have got to settle with these farmers if you now refuse them redress.

Trusts and monopolies could not exist if the products of those trusts were admitted free of duty; but when you erect barriers between us and the foreign market and allow no opportunity for the import of these things, you put it in the power of the domestic manufacturers, by forming combinations among themselves, to fix the price that they choose to charge in the home market, and the farmers must pay a bounty to these men and can not help themselves.

You Republicans proclaim the doctrine a cardinal one, of "America for the Americans." To that I say amen, for I am an American. But I want you to include in that charmed circle of America for Americans the farmer along with the rest, and give us an equal showing. As I am a farmer pure and simple, as I never had any other occupation and never had any other means of income but from the farm, I can stand here with more propriety, possibly, than any other man and demand equality and justice. I can not hope to do more than supplement the able, masterly, unanswerable argument presented yesterday by the Senator from Utah [Mr. CANNON], but I am prepared to advance some arguments that will stagger some of you to answer.

The cry is, "Protect American labor against the pauper labor of Europe." It is your sole reliance in appealing to the voters to say, "We do not want the prices which we pay you for your work to sink to the level of your European competitors."

Who competes with the American farmer? Where are you driving him? Take the producer of wheat. Who are his competitors? The people of India, Argentina, and Russia. Take the cotton grower. Who compete with him? The people of Egypt and India. You are driving the producers of those staple crops, which are largely exported, to the level of the paupers who work in Egypt, in India, in Argentina, and in Russia. You can not deny the proposition.

As long as we had a monetary system which gave us fair prices for our exports, we could stand the competition by reason of our rich virgin soil and our improved machinery and the superior industry and intelligence of the American farmer. But we have reached a point, since the repeal of the Sherman law and the final annihilation of silver as money, where we are face to face with a crisis in agricultural affairs in this country; and you gentlemen who are pressing madly onward, imagining that you can hold your farmer vote, that you can hold the wheat grower to your standard by pretending that he will be benefited indirectly while you can not give him a bounty and can not compensate him, will find when this question is presented to him, as it will be presented in the next two years, that you must explain why you refuse to give the farmer equality and justice in this scheme of protection. If you can hold his vote after he shall be made to clearly understand the class favoritism involved in the refusal to vote this bounty, then he will deserve his fate, and will be a fit "mudsill" to serve as a basis of the plutocracy which now controls in this country.

I have too much respect for the descendants of the New Englanders and citizens of the Middle States, who have moved to the West and who are to-day producing wheat at a loss, to believe that you Republicans can hold them in your party if you refuse to do them justice. And as for my friends on this side who elevate their brows and sneer at the idea of a bounty as not being Democratic, I will, before I get through, show to you that you are clinging to the letter and not the spirit of Democracy, and that if you refuse to do justice to your own fellow-citizens by your votes here, they will hold you to a strict accountability.

I said a moment ago that the American farmer furnishes the exports with which you pay your foreign exchanges. I will give the exact figures. All the exports sent abroad by this country in 1896 amounted to $863,000,000. Of that sum, the farmers dug out of the ground and shipped, because the home market would not take it, $593,000,000 worth, or nearly three-fourths. You are not able to consume the farmer's surplus, and he is forced to sell wherever he can find a buyer. You force him to buy at home in a market the prices of which have been raised from "20 per cent ad valorem," which is the true Democratic proposition, I believe, to somewhere between 100 and 150 per cent on many articles, and an average of over 50 per cent on all.

Then you turn around and in this tariff bill you offer him "all the protection possible" by giving him 25 cents a bushel on wheat, 15 cents a bushel on corn, 30 cents a bushel on barley, and so on through the agricultural schedule. And while the taxgatherer comes around yearly and while the mortgage eats and gnaws day and night upon his home, the one that this Government may have given him, feeling that it is slipping from beneath his feet by these unjust conditions, you expect him to vote the Republican ticket because, forsooth, you have given him "protection" in this scheme by a tariff on these articles.

It is an insult to his intelligence, and if the man who framed it—I do not know who did it—has an agricultural constituency that is worth a fillip, he would never see the light of this Chamber any more after they got a chance to vote upon it. You know it is an insult to proclaim that the farmer gets any benefit from these tariff duties.

But, Mr. President, who and what are some of these men who are thus discriminated against? Let us consider for a moment, if we please, two brothers born in Germany, who, feeling that they could better their condition by emigrating to America, set out from there twenty years ago and came to our shores. One of them stopped somewhere eastward of here, in New York, or Massachusetts, or Pennsylvania, or some one of those manufacturing States, and went into manufacturing. The other one moved westward, pressing on beyond the Mississippi into the virgin fields of Iowa, Kansas, or Nebraska, and by the bounty of the Government was given 160 acres of land, upon which he settled and began to farm.

Let us follow them on and see how they are treated. They both became American citizens, and they are both American laborers, so to speak. They came to this "land of the free and home of the brave," its Government founded upon the immortal declaration that "all men are born free and equal, and have an inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." From the day when the farmer settled in Nebraska on his quarter section he has been mulcted and pinched and some of his substance taken by tariff taxation for the benefit of the brother who went to manufacturing under the protective tariff.

How many of the farmers are foreigners? They are as clever and as good men as we have, many of them—I mean the intelligent portion of them. But to give you a little insight as to the situation, I will take the nine States of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. The total of foreign-born citizens 10 years of age and upward engaged in gainful occupations there is 2,199,120. How many of these are engaged in farming? Two hundred and forty-six thousand eight hundred and seventy-five. How many are engaged in manufacturing? Eight hundred and ninety-nine thousand nine hundred and forty-six. That is all very well. It seems very well to some men to have the 246,000 farmers mulcted and taxed on what they buy for the benefit of 899,000 who went into manufacturing.

But let us go further. Take the twelve wheat-growing States known as the Middle West—Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, and Kansas. The total number of foreign-born citizens engaged in gainful occupations was 2,173,693; the number engaged in agriculture was 837,357. The number engaged in manufacturing industries was 534,831. You make the 837,000 farmers pay tribute to their brethren who are engaged in manufacturing industries in their own States as well as in the Eastern States, and when they go to sell their own products of wheat, beef, cheese, butter, and other things, after they have given to this country all it can consume, they have to send the surplus abroad, where they compete with their brethren in Europe on an equality, while the foreign-born American manufacturer competes with his brethren in Europe with the protective tariff thrown around him, by which he is enabled to rob the same brother who came with him, and to rob the native-born American who is fool enough to farm under these conditions.

Now we come to the Ishmaelite section, which has no rights, which never has had any rights since the war that anybody is bound to respect. I give the ten cotton States, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, and Arkansas. The total foreign population of those States in gainful occupations is 172,505, of whom 58,142 are engaged in agriculture and 36,429 are engaged in manufacturing. It does not matter, of course, that the South to-day furnishes a larger proportion and possesses a larger proportion of native-born Americans, descendants of those who fought the battles of the Revolution, than any other portion of the country. But though we are laboring under the ban of secession and the effort to disrupt the Government, and have paid our thousands of millions for seceding, we are still face to face with the demand of the daughters of the horse-leech to give, give, give.

I ask leave to insert a table here from the census of 1890, giving the figures more in detail:

Total number of white foreign-born citizens, over 10 years of age, engaged in gainful occupations in several divisions of States.

State.	All occupations.	Agriculture, mining, and fishing.	Manufacturing, mechanical, and industrial.
Maine	42,897	7,213	19,302
New Hampshire	42,587	4,199	28,411
Vermont	23,390	7,941	7,241
Massachusetts	381,000	24,835	193,337
Rhode Island	62,381	2,935	36,062
Connecticut	105,618	11,086	51,701
New York	878,306	76,908	332,919
New Jersey	183,491	13,750	78,633
Pennsylvania	478,330	98,008	154,340
Total	2,199,120	246,875	809,946
Ohio	220,985	51,277	81,789
Indiana	78,369	27,236	21,827
Illinois	457,202	103,705	146,846
Michigan	285,314	107,658	68,419
Wisconsin	266,092	119,077	61,519
Minnesota	257,119	130,143	45,848
Iowa	172,918	99,822	24,821
Missouri	135,040	34,805	40,915
North Dakota	43,018	30,463	2,789
South Dakota	48,513	34,410	3,717
Nebraska	110,967	59,046	15,948
Kansas	79,006	49,715	10,393
Total	2,173,603	837,357	524,831
North Carolina	2,232	640	561
South Carolina	3,779	617	958
Georgia	7,495	800	2,354
Florida	10,520	2,254	4,551
Tennessee	12,074	2,512	3,592
Alabama	8,867	2,678	2,493
Mississippi	5,208	1,341	1,260
Louisiana	28,492	5,399	7,044
Texas	84,933	36,329	11,799
Arkansas	8,865	3,572	1,817
Total	172,505	58,142	36,429

The cry is: Meet your competitors in India and in Egypt and fight it out. And if an effort is made here, through a bounty on exports, to give those men a scintilla of the amount taken from them by unjust tariff taxation, the representatives of those cotton States will stand here and vote against the proposition, no doubt upon the ground that it is not Democratic doctrine.

Mr. ALLEN. Will the Senator permit me to call his attention to the fact that this country, on August 10, 1790, passed a tariff act which contained an export bounty?

Mr. TILLMAN. Oh, my dear sir, I recall and recollect the fact that, in order to seduce a certain lot of people in Louisiana into the support of a certain party, they gave a bounty on sugar, which was a bounty on production and not on export.

Mr. ALLEN. I am talking about the export bounty in 1790, and not in 1890—one hundred and seven years ago.

Mr. TILLMAN. I was unaware of that.

Mr. ALLEN. With the Senator's permission, I shall read a short section of that act.

Mr. TILLMAN. I shall be glad to hear it.

Mr. ALLEN. Section 4 of the act provided:

And be it further enacted, That there shall be allowed and paid on dried and pickled fish of the fisheries of the United States, and on other provisions salted within the said States, which, after the said last day of December next, shall be exported therefrom to any foreign port or place, in lieu of a drawback of the duty on salt which shall have been expended thereupon, according to the following rates, namely: Dried fish, per quintal, 10 cents; pickled fish and other salted provisions, per barrel, 10 cents.

Laying down expressly the doctrine of an export bounty.

Mr. HOAR. Was that not in lieu of an import duty?

Mr. ALLEN. It does not make any difference what it was in lieu of; it was taking money out of the Treasury of the United States to pay it to the producers of these articles in consequence of their exportation.

Mr. HOAR. But was not the export bounty regulated in substance by the amount of the import tax?

Mr. ALLEN. How is that?

Mr. HOAR. My question is whether that was not a bounty—though that phrase is not used—but in fact was it not the refunding of the import tax? They made a rude calculation of what the duty had been on the imported salt and paid it back to the salt user.

Mr. ALLEN. If the Senator from South Carolina will permit me, that is neither here nor there. No matter what the specific thing is, it recognizes the doctrine that in this country we have the power under our Constitution to pay an export bounty, and that one hundred and seven years ago we did adopt that policy, whether it was in a large or a small degree.

Mr. TILLMAN. If the Senator from Nebraska will allow me, he will realize that that bounty or rebate, or whatever you may term it, was put in that tariff for the benefit of New England.

Mr. ALLEN. Yes.

Mr. TILLMAN. Just as anything and everything connected with the tariff in the way of protection has had its genesis and ablest champions from that section of the country.

When interrupted, Mr. President, I had just given the figures showing the immigration here and how unfairly the immigrant from Europe who had gone to the West and settled there as a farmer had been treated in comparison with his brother who had settled in the East and began manufacturing.

The Senator from Minnesota [Mr. NELSON], whose State has upward of 150,000 of these foreign-born citizens, nearly all of them farmers, may explain to them when he gets home where they come in under these tariff schedules, and what good protection does them unless this bounty feature is incorporated in the bill; and the Senators from those other Western States will have an opportunity to explain why they will vote here against this proposition to give compensation to the American producer on the farm when we hear so much about compensatory duties for the woolen manufacturer by reason of the tax that is given in these schedules here to the wool producer.

Why are these men to be left out in the cold? Why are they ignored in this scheme of tariff taxation? Why is no compensation given to them? Why is there no equality, no equity, no justice to them? Gentlemen, when you meet your constituents and they ask you why, I hope you will have your answers ready, because I tell you they are going to ask you.

You may drag this juggernaut-car policy with its double team of protection and gold monometallism over the prostrate forms of the farmers, you may mash them deeper into the mire of poverty than they are already, but a day is coming when they will turn and say, "Your party of Republicanism to-day is a byword and a hissing. We inherited the principles of Abraham Lincoln: we fought for those principles during the war, and one of those principles, which was dearer to us than any other, was the equality of men, even the black man with the white. We shed our blood to emancipate the negroes of the South, and you have in turn placed us in a condition of slavery that is as hopeless as that of the slaves who were held as chattels."

We have it here boldly proclaimed that there is an alliance between the Eastern manufacturers and the woolgrowers of the West by means of which alone this tariff bill can go through. The two sections in alliance against the balance of the country boldly march up here through their representatives, join forces, and say, "Give us wool duties and take your compensation on the woolen manufactures." Then they join in and give the sugar trust and every other trust all it asks for. Will there be no day of reckoning? If there be none, then the spirit of liberty in America is dead and the farmers of the West are hopelessly enslaved already.

Here is a quotation from Albert Gallatin, in a memorial to Congress in 1831, in which this very danger is pointed out, and the danger which always confronts a legislative assembly which comes here composed of men who do not rise to the dignity of American Senators, who come here as the representatives of States only. Mr. Gallatin said:

The true problem to be solved in the United States is not whether the people can govern themselves, of which not the slightest doubt can be entertained, but whether that government can be successfully applied to an extensive territory embracing interests which must occasionally be in collision with each other; whether majorities formed by combinations of sectional interests will be so governed by a sense of justice and a spirit of conciliation as not to oppress those parts of the country whose rights, though they may be in a minority, ought nevertheless to be respected.

What is the wool clip of the United States worth? Thirty million dollars, while the aggregate value of our farm products is $2,000,000,000 annually, and yet there is a combination between the Senators representing the States largely interested in woolgrowing, who make that a condition upon which their votes shall be given, with the States interested in manufacturing, while both through this tariff bill, which is higher in many respects than any we have had, utterly ignore the rights and interests of the great masses of people engaged in farming. Boldly you ally yourselves together, the extreme sectional West and the East. Dare you oppress the Middle States and the South engaged in the production of agricultural exports? You are offered an opportunity to give them compensatory duties by a bounty. Will you do it? Dare you refuse it? There is very little you will not dare, but there is a day of reckoning for you Republicans, as there has been for the Democratic party when it was false to the people and recognized not that there was a day of judgment coming.

Democrats here proclaim that "tariff for revenue only" is alone true Democratic doctrine. It has already been pointed out that this word "only" was stricken out in the last Democratic convention. I could give the history of it, but it is not necessary, except that we saw after the passage of the Wilson bill, which was a protective tariff, that any contention along those lines was simply

a waste of time and would put the party in a false position. The Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST] says he voted for the Wilson bill under protest, but he stood by his party. Is it Democracy to do wrong because the party says so? Is it Republicanism to do wrong because the party says so?

Mr. VEST. Mr. President——

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from South Carolina consent to be interrupted?

Mr. TILLMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. VEST. I was unfortunate if I was understood by the Senator to say that.

Mr. TILLMAN. I do not want to do you an injustice, and if I misquoted you I should like to have you set yourself straight.

Mr. VEST. I did not use the word "straight." I stated the fact.

Mr. TILLMAN. "Correct," then.

Mr. VEST. I voted in the Chicago convention, amidst great confusion and uproar, for a long, rather intricate, and, in parts, nebulous platform. I sat by the side of the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. WALTHALL], the chairman of his delegation, and he knows that both of us were in doubt as to the meaning of some portions of that platform.

I want to state now, frankly, that I never knew until it was stated in this Chamber that that word "only" was left out of that platform. The issue in the campaign was the money question; the tariff was not discussed in my campaign in Missouri at all; and I state now, frankly, that I did not know that that change had been made.

If I had known it, I should have risen in my place and moved to insert that word "only," because I believe that it is the creed of the Democratic party. I never would have supported that platform with that word taken out of it. I may have been guilty of great neglect and inattention, but that is the truth, and I do not believe that the great majority of that convention knew that that change had been made. All our attention was concentrated upon the money issue, and very little was said about the tariff.

Mr. TILLMAN. Mr. President, it is not worth while for us to discuss here how the word "only" came to be left out of the platform, or why. I will say this, however, that the reason it was stricken out was because we wished to confine the attention of the country and fight the battle on the money question only. We did not care to have the tariff brought into it as an issue at all; and after the passage of the Wilson bill, those of us who were perhaps more advanced than the Senator from Missouri in our ideas on this question did not feel that we could consistently contend about the word "only" when the Wilson bill from one end to the other had recognized the protective principle, and that the party stood committed to the acknowledgment that it was right and proper—or expedient, if you choose—to protect American industries.

The tariff was not an issue in the last campaign, except as it was made such in those States where we did not fight, where there was no contention by the followers of Mr. Bryan at all against the onslaught of the other side. We surrendered the northeastern section of the country as committed wholly and irrevocably to the gold monomania, and we made our fight in the West and South. It is not the issue now, and it can not be made the issue; and the way we vote here will not affect the next election one way or the other, except that those of you who have fooled your constituents by proclaiming that we must "open the mills instead of opening the mints" have to show prosperity in the next eighteen months or you will stand condemned and the thousands of workmen who voted your ticket on that pledge will vote for somebody else. You have to show how you can give prosperity under the gold standard by increasing taxes, and without any effort—or rather with only a futile effort—to increase the prices to the farmer on export products; and if you give him none of this money which you propose to wring from the people by this tariff bill, he will settle with you the sooner and the more effectually.

Somebody will ask, and all of you are asking in your minds now, what right have you to take money out of the Treasury and pay a bounty to anybody; what right have you to raise money by taxation and pay it out in bounties? You Republicans can answer that when you explain by what right you took money out of the Treasury and paid a bounty to the sugar planters of Louisiana, not on exports, but on what they produced. But I want to ask you who dispute the right to take money out of the Treasury and pay it out in bounties, what right have you to levy taxes which take money out of the pockets of the people and pay bounties to the manufacturer? You may call it a tariff, but it is a bounty on manufacturing, and the farmer has to pay one-half of it. What I mean is that the agricultural population of this country being about one-half of it, therefore, in proportion to consumption, they pay one-half of the tariff duties of this country, and they get nothing in return. What right, if we come to the question of right and wrong, have you to take money from these people and give it as a bounty to manufacturers?

I believe that it has been asserted here by almost every Democrat who has had anything to say about the iniquities of this bill that it proposes a scheme of robbery by which the people are to be mulcted, robbed, not so much to put money into the Treasury, but indirectly by raising the price of all that is consumed in the country. I think the Senator from Texas [Mr. MILLS] calculated yesterday that the bounty to the manufacturing industries would be something like twelve hundred million dollars. The figures were staggering. To take the most conservative estimate, if the benefits to the protected industries by means of the tariff amount to $3 to the manufacturers and their employees as compared to $1 received by the Government, it would still be an enormous amount.

Is it not robbery? Will some Democrat dare say that he does not think it is robbery? How many of you have stated that it is robbery? Well, my colleagues, my fellow-Senators, my brethren of this party, who stand up and proclaim the doctrine of equal rights for all and special privileges to none as the cardinal principle of Democracy, if it be robbery in this bill to take from the masses of the people these hundreds of millions of dollars and pay them into the coffers of the manufacturers and into the coffers of the Government, how will you face your farmer constituents and vote against a provision in this same bill which will restore a minimum amount, a very small proportion of the amount that they have been robbed of?

It is not a question of whether it is Democratic policy or not to pay bounties, because you are not responsible for this measure. You have to take it whether you like it or not, and you have an opportunity by this amendment, with the help of a few Republicans over there who are not lost to all sense of shame and decency and patriotism, to put the farmer on some basis, however small, on an equality with the balance of the country; and you can not be accused of having deserted your party policy or your party platform or anything else if you try to amend the bill so as to do justice to your own States, to your own constituents, and to the farmers throughout the country, without regard to politics or section.

You can not get around the proposition that if it is robbery to take it away, it would be honesty and patriotism and Democracy to restore it. It is not a question of party policy. It is not a question of whether you would favor bounties per se as a party policy if you had the framing of the bill, but it is simply a question as to whether you will endeavor to amend this bill in a way to do justice to your people.

This may be "a new Democracy, which seeks to lead some of us into the camp of the enemy," as the Senator from Texas twitted us with yesterday. It may be "a new evangel of Democracy" to ask you to amend this iniquitous tariff measure or vote to amend it so as to restore to your people that which you say they have been robbed of; but to my mind it is the essence of Democracy to proclaim equality, the cardinal doctrine of our party, rather than to offer your constituents the dry husks and the Sodom apples of old party platforms for "revenue only."

It is not a question of how you are going to get the money. The money will be there. They proclaim that they expect a surplus; they are proclaiming that they want to increase the gold reserve to $150,000,000, so as to absorb some of this prospective surplus. They have proclaimed a desire to retire the greenbacks by locking up this money in the Treasury. You have the opportunity to force them to show their hands by voting to pay out $47,000,000 to the farmers who make wheat and cotton, who have been robbed in every schedule of this bill, and you say, "No; I will not do it because it is not Democratic; it is not for revenue only." Great God, such Democracy! They ask you for bread and you offer them a stone; they ask you for an adherence to your principles and instead of the Goddess of Liberty you put up a mummy labeled "Tariff for revenue only." The question is with you gentlemen. No doubt you will vote in accordance with what you believe is your duty.

I say this as a farmer who has felt the iron enter his soul by reason of the injustice and iniquities practiced by the protective tariff; and in the name of the cotton and the wheat growers, I say here that if it is not Democratic to vote for this, then I am no Democrat. You have got the telescope with the big end close to your eye, the little end away off yonder, and at the other end you see, "Tariff for revenue only." Turn it around and you will see "Equality" as the cardinal doctrine of Democracy; "Equal rights for all, special privileges to none;" "The greatest good to the greatest number." These are the fundamental principles of Democracy as I understand the word, and I propose to stand by them. You will not accept it, you will not support it, you will not vote for it because you put party platforms above party principles, and party policy above the principles of Jefferson and of Jackson. Well, explain it if you can when you come to face your constituents.

For my part, I believe in getting everything out of this tariff business that we can get, for if the policy of the Government is to be one of robbery or to be one of special classes and privileges,

while I know it is impossible for the Southern States to get anything like their share, then when I can put anything into the bill which will give us only a small proportion of what is our due, I shall vote to put it there. A tariff tax on cotton will do us no good. There are very few planters out of the millions who raise cotton who grow sea-island or long-staple cotton or anything of that kind. The tax on wheat, the tax on corn, will do the Western farmers no good, and you know it. Do you think we are idiots and fools, that you can cram that down our throats and get us to vote with you on that proposition? Do you not know that this country can not absorb our surplus and that we must export it? Do you not know that the surplus is lowered in price by reason of the destruction of one of the money metals of the world? Do you not know the only way in which you can raise the price of agricultural exports is to restore silver and thereby increase the volume of the money of the world?

You do know it; and yet you say, "We can not relieve the American farmer because we must have international bimetallism." You erect a barrier between us and Europe, your tariff, and then you say, "We can not allow English free traders to dictate our tariff policy;" but we allow the English bondholders to come in and buy our Government and control our Senate and dictate our policy in everything, to keep these men down as though they were under the dastardly heel of the Spanish butcher, Weyler. You do these things, and yet you stand here claiming that you are the apostles of Lincoln, when you are unworthy to untie the shoe latchets of that great man, if he were living; and you, my Democratic friends, stand here and proclaim that you are the followers of Jefferson, when you refuse to undo this iniquity so far as you can, to restore to the people a small proportion that you say this bill robs them of.

I take my stand for "equality of benefit and equality of burden" as the highest and noblest principle of Democracy, and will fight for it here and elsewhere as long as I have breath. I may be alone now, but the time will come speedily when that principle will triumph in this Government or liberty will cease to claim America as her home.

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. President, I shall occupy the time of the Senate for a moment only, to express my approval of the amendment offered by the Senator from Utah [Mr. CANNON]. While I have refused, and still refuse, to commit myself to the dangers of a high-protective policy, yet fully realizing that the pending bill is shortly to become a law, I deem it highly just under the circumstances that the agriculturists of our country should derive some benefit from it, and that all its benefits should not be permitted to go to a few thousand manufacturers. While we will, by the bill, impose duties on imported cereals, ostensibly for the purpose of protecting our farmers and planters, there is not a child in the United States who does not know that any duty, however high or in whatever form laid, will not protect them in the slightest degree, for they are exporters of wheat, corn, cotton, tobacco, and other farm products and are compelled to sell in the open and sharply competitive markets of the world, where trade is unrestricted and unhampered by tariff taxation.

The farmer, then, will be placed in the peculiar attitude of being forced to purchase everything his family may consume in a noncompetitive and scarce market, made so by laws which have a tendency to create a monopoly in the hands of the American manufacturers, while he is compelled to sell the products of his farm and obtain the money with which he shall make purchases in a competitive market. He will therefore obtain no benefit from a protective tariff, either direct or indirect, and to the end that he may share in some measure in the benefit to be derived from the policy of protection, if benefit is to follow its adoption and enforcement, I am in favor of the amendment which will operate in the nature of a rebate and will return some of the millions the farmers are compelled to pay to advance the interests of the American manufacturers.

It would be useless to argue the subject at length. It is all stated in the simple proposition that under the law as now proposed the entire benefit will go to a few thousand, while under the amendment proposed by the Senator from Utah some benefit would be derived by the millions of our agriculturists; and I take it no man can justify himself in voting special benefits to a few and excluding the many. The farmer is as worthy of protection by the laws of his country as the manufacturer or any other class of citizens, and for this reason, and realizing this truth, I shall cast my vote for this amendment.

Mr. President, I ask to make a part of my remarks certain papers from the pen of Mr. David Lubin, of California.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Nebraska? The Chair hears none, and the papers will be printed in the RECORD.

The papers referred to are as follows:

"The San Francisco Argonaut once gave the definition of a Populist as 'a man who does not know what he wants, but that he wants it d—d bad.' Permit me to add this definition of a Democrat: As a man who does not know what he wants, but damns the Republican party for not getting it.

"We all know what a Republican wants. He wants protection, and manages to get it; but can anyone tell us just what a Democrat wants, apart from wanting an office? Does he want free trade? Well, sometimes, and on certain occasions. Does he want protection? For himself, as a rule, yes; but for others, no.

"But does he not have much to say about 'tariff reform?' Yes; very much, and often quite a good deal on a 'tariff for revenue.' What does he mean by 'tariff reform?' As a rule, he does not know what he means, but he talks about it anyway, because the term sounds well, especially the word 'reform.'

'Who, in this sinful world of ours, is not in need of reform? No one. Hence 'reform' must be in general demand, and so our Democratic brother is trying to supply the demand.

"Whenever he is forced into a definition he begins to flounder. Sometimes he works himself up to a great pitch of enthusiasm, but you seek in vain for the cause of the elation. You can not find it; and, in truth, there is no cause.

"After a thorough analysis and much mental effort you will conclude that 'tariff reform' means a low tariff on suspenders and a high tariff on peanuts; that is, provided this particular Democrat grows peanuts. But if he manufactures suspenders he wants a high tariff on these, and 'reform' for peanuts.

"We may now inquire what he means by a 'tariff for revenue.' This seems clear enough, so it does to everyone but an average Democrat. The question is not what it means; but what does a Democrat say it means? Ask him, and the chances are you will get a great talk with the word 'reform' plentifully thrown in.

"Analyze carefully all that he says and you will find that he means a lowering of the tariff for everyone excepting for himself.

"But are there not some free-trade Democrats? Yes; but so few in number as to be no political factor.

"It is clearly a fact, then, that the people want protection, and in the opinion of the writer protection is the best policy for this nation. Why is it the best policy? Because it will best serve to maintain and perpetuate the Republic.

"The uniform history of free-trade countries, from Phœnicia to Carthage down to England, shows in these an intensified eagerness for foreign markets. With foreign markets obtained, there is as great an eagerness for foreign colonization. After foreign colonization comes the same eagerness for foreign conquests; and then good-bye to a liberal form of government. Commercialism has conquered, and liberty is sold for a mess of pottage.

"Shall we then always live under the irksome and restraining system of protection, rather than in the free and ethical atmosphere of free trade? By no means. There is perhaps no intelligent protectionist to be found who holds to such an opinion.

"Free trade will come as soon as the social and political conditions of competing races and nations will permit it to come without loss to our social and political standard.

"Will not the leveling influence which free trade exerts tend to speed the time of progress? For some races, some nations, yes; for the American people, no. At this time in the world's history it is perhaps best for this nation to preserve that state of semi-isolation which protection permits, and which international commercialism would tend to destroy.

"But because we grant protection let it not be understood that we favor an unjust or one-sided protection. Protection is only defensible as a policy whenever it is just and equitable. It would be far more expedient to have free trade than an injury-working system of protection.

"Any injury through free trade would press upon us from without, but the injury of an unjust and inequitable protection system would generate trouble from within. As it is easier for this nation to withstand outside pressure rather than internal disorder, it would therefore be preferable to adopt free trade rather than continue a protective system which in its operation produces inequity and injustice in our midst.

"We may now properly inquire, Is our present protective system just? And the answer is 'no.'

"Wherein is it unjust? In failing to protect the producers of agricultural staples. But are these not protected as manufactures are, by a tariff on imports? They are on the tariff schedule, but this can not protect them like manufactures, because they are exports and not imports. But are not some manufactures also exported? Yes; but manufactures are sold at local prices at private sale; the staples of agriculture are sold at the world's international prices for the exports. But what about the greater quantity for home use? These bring no more than the exports do, for the price is the same to home or export buyers, both buying in the same place, time, and quotation.

"But are not the agricultural staples protected indirectly? No; for before our higher wage rate through protection by its increased consumption can raise the price it must first of all raise the world's price, and which gives the foreign competitor an advantage whereby he can increase the area under cultivation, and

thus lower the world's price. Besides, what equity is there in compelling the farmer to pay a 47 per cent tariff, with profits of middlemen added to it, and giving him in return a probable advance in the world's price of perhaps 1 per cent, and which 1 per cent goes to his competitor, who has not been compelled to pay the 47 per cent with middlemen's profits added?

"But must we not tax some industry to build up manufactures? Are not manufactures already built up? But how can our manufacturers compete with the pauper labor of France, Italy, Germany, Austria, or England? Well, how can the American farmer compete with the pauper labor of eastern Europe, North Africa, and South America?

"Does the drift of all this mean that we must have free trade? No; not necessarily. Protection as it is now is one-sided, unjust, and inequitable, because it is limited to a tariff on imports. To be just and equitable it should be as Alexander Hamilton wanted it to be, by a tariff on imports, on manufactures, and by a bounty on exports for the staples of agriculture.

"'Would not the exporter get the bounty?' 'Yes.' 'Of what benefit, then, would that be to the farmer?' 'The farmer would receive the world's price, with the addition of the bounty, whether the product be exported or for home use.' 'What would prevent some speculators from combining and pocketing the bounty?' 'Other speculators in various markets of the world.' 'Would this not enhance the price of agricultural staples to the poor man?' 'Yes; and to the rich man, too.' 'Would this be desirable to the poor man?' 'Yes; for it would increase the purchasing power of the primary industry, which would create the demand for labor.' To illustrate: The Sierra Nevada Mountains, when covered with a plentiful supply of snow, supply moisture to the fruit lands of the valleys in California. A deficiency of snow on the mountains would cause drought in the valleys.

"Now, what the snow is to the Sierra Nevada Mountains for the fruit plains of California, that is the purchasing power of the primary industry, agriculture, to the workingmen in manufacturing centers. Then why would it not be wise to have free trade on manufactures and protection by an export bounty for agriculture? Because it would be as unjust as to protect manufactures at the expense of agriculture. Does it not seem that this proposition of protecting manufactures at the expense of agriculture by a tariff on imports, and, again, to protect agriculture by a bounty on exports at the expense of the manufacturers—does this not seem like trying to lift ourselves up by boot straps? Is it not an attempt to tax ourselves rich? Not at all. It is simply providing a means to conserve that political semi-isolation which would best tend to maintain our institutions.

"Protection as a national policy is as defensible as any other means of national preservation. But what is the use of this additional mode of protection for agriculture when its need was not felt in the past, when there was prosperity without it? There was prosperity so long as farmers of this nation had almost a monopoly of prices in the production of staples.

"That time has gone, gone for good, as hundreds of European factories for the manufacture of agricultural machinery for the cheap land and labor countries will show.

"So, then, this question narrows itself down to this: The time has come when we must adopt one of two plans, free trade or a twofold protection by a tariff on imports for manufactures and a bounty on exports of agriculture? Yes.

"Right here is where our Democratic brother should line up. He should drop his hypocritical, unmeaning mumbling and murmurings about 'tariff reform.' He should take the stand of a man for free trade or for equitable protection. For free trade pure and simple, with no ifs, ands, or buts, or he should take the stand for equitable protection, for protection by a bounty on exports for agriculture so long as manufactures are protected by a tariff on imports. By taking either of these stands his demand will be grounded on a principle of justice and equity, and it is an unalterable and eternal law of God that justice and equity must in the end prevail.

"To form conclusive opinions for present guidance derived almost exclusively from generalizations of passed marked events is conservatism; to do so from the present is radicalism.

"There is, as a rule, an element of truth and of error in conservatism and in radicalism, and it is the function of the critic to point out 'the happy medium,' the path we should go.

"In the affairs of government the critic performs an important function. The more so in a republic, in which the power of determination is vested in the individual citizen.

"The citizen critics of the United States are confronted by a most serious problem—a problem, it is true, which not alone clamors for solution in the United States, but also in the important countries of western and central Europe. The problem referred to is in the adoption of proper means for the removal of the disturbance in the economic conditions. That such a problem is here, no one can truthfully deny, but its cause and remedy is not so clearly manifest. Schemes and plans are offered in abundance, but the question still remains, Which of the schemes and plans shall be adopted? 'Adopt mine,' says the conservative gold man. 'No, but adopt mine,' says the radical silver man. 'Adopt mine,' says the conservative protectionist. 'No, but adopt mine,' says the radical free trader.

"Before we adopt any it is the duty of the citizen critic to analyze and synthesize all the important factors which caused the disturbance, with the aim in view of more accurately arriving at a conclusion which should remove it.

"In the endeavor to do this we may find it advantageous to first understand what we mean when we say that 'agriculture is the foundation industry.' Do we simply mean that it is so because agricultural products come from the earth, and as the earth is the foundation, therefore its cultivation is a foundation industry? Clearly such a definition would be of little practical value. We really mean that agriculture is the primary industry, and that all the other industries are secondary. If this is a truth, it is an important one, for the secondary industries are therefore and necessarily dependent upon the primary industry for their prosperity.

"Not to be misunderstood in this, we may draw our inference from an illustration. A carpenter, for instance, has a twofold economic cycle, one his wages for carpentering, the other in the expenditure of his wages in his home by his wife. The 'primary' is his wage-earning power and the 'secondary' is his expenditure cycle. Every reasonable person can see that the carpenter's 'secondary' cycle is governed by his 'primary' wage-earning power.

"As with the carpenter, the individual, so with a nation. Every nation has a 'primary' and a 'secondary' industry, and its prosperity, like that of the carpenter, depends upon the prosperity of its 'primary' industry.

"When we admit, therefore, that in the United States the foundation or primary industry is agriculture, we admit as a phase an element which becomes a most important factor in our investigation and in our conclusions.

"And is not agriculture a primary industry? It certainly is, and in no country more so than in the United States. In England, for instance, the primary industry is manufactures; under free trade she sells her manufactures to all parts of the world, with the profits of which she buys food. In the United States, and under the protective system, we can find no general market for our protected manufactures abroad; these are almost altogether sold to ourselves; whereas agricultural products are not alone produced for home consumption, but these besides form from 66 to 76 per cent of our exports. Therefore agriculture in the United States is not alone the foundation industry, but is substantially the primary industry.

"Any cause, therefore, which in its operation affects adversely the agricultural industry in the United States must in a corresponding degree affect the other or secondary industries.

"Has, then, agriculture been adversely affected? Certainly, and to a marked degree; to a degree so radically adverse and so generally acknowledged that it is not deemed necessary at this time to occupy space with facts and figures so generally admitted. It is a recognized fact that agricultural products and agricultural land values have seriously declined in the past few years.

"It is, therefore, in order for us to ask, 'What has caused the adverse condition of agriculture in the United States?' Here three general answers are given: One, demonetization of silver; another, the lowering of the protective tariff; and the third, to the inequality in the ratio of values caused by the protective tariff.

"It now becomes the duty of the citizen critic to examine these answers with care; the more so because the interest involved is not alone that of the primary industry, agriculture, but, as we have before seen, through it, all the other and secondary industries.

"That demonetization, by diminishing the volume of the money metals, may have caused a general decline in prices to some extent is admitted by many able economists. That this cause should have operated in the United States most adversely on the agricultural interest is problematic. A general decline, while adverse in some minor directions, is not nearly so damaging and destructive as a special decline. And agriculture in the United States has suffered a special decline.

"Why special? The reasons are these: Agricultural staples, being exports, are sold at the world's price. The world's price having declined, all these agricultural products in the United States have correspondingly declined, but manufactures were not permitted to decline by this rule; for these there is protection, which is but another name for bounty to the protected. How this protective bounty affected the free-trade prices of agricultural staples in the United States can be made evident by an example. Given a protective-tariff rate of 40 per cent when wheat is, say, $1 per bushel on the farm. In the event the operation of protection caused the free-trade-selling wheat farmer to pay an average bounty for protection buying of 25 per cent, it would, without any additional raise of the protective tariff, cause him to double

the ratio of the protection bounty whenever the farm price of wheat should have fallen to 50 cents per bushel.

"The claim that the adverse condition of agriculture was caused by any lowering of the protective tariff is therefore false.

"We may now safely conclude that the cause of the adverse condition was in the decline of the world's price of the staples on the one hand and the destructive operation of the protective tariff on this decline on the other.

"What, then, is the remedy? Shall it be remonetization? Can remonetization remove the artificial bounty which protection affords to manufactures at the expense of the free-trade staples of agriculture? Certainly not. Hence it offers no remedy, so far as this inequality is concerned. But will not remonetization enhance the world's price of the staples? This is by no means so certain. Cheap silver may have been one of the causes of agricultural development in the cheap land and labor countries, but this development is now a fact and is on the increase, and which remonetization can no longer prevent or arrest. Were this development in countries of dear land and labor, any temporary advantage removed would remove the adverse competition. But the facts prove the contrary; our new competitors have cheap land and cheap labor, with ample transportation facilities, and have, in addition, revolutionized their mode of production by employing our agricultural machinery.

"Do the people of the United States realize the bearing upon our economic condition of this new factor? Have the leading journals and magazines given it consideration? Has the Department of Agriculture inquired into it?

"The writer of this in 1894 drew the attention of the Secretary of Agriculture to this matter and requested an investigation of the subject. A reply was received that the foreign consuls were too busy to spare the time for the purpose, but that the request would remain on file for future action. Up to the present date no action has yet been taken by the Government to ascertain the fact.

"The statistics, indeed, show the exports from the United States, and which are about $5,000,000 a year, consisting largely of harvesters, reapers, mowers, seeders, and gang plows and cultivators. But this amount is insignificant when compared with the very much greater amount now produced by European manufacturers. It was the significance of this fact, observed by the writer during several trips to Europe, which induced him to advocate a modification of the protective system, in order to avert that economic disturbance which he saw must come through it.

"The result of the information in Europe on this head was repeatedly submitted by the writer of this article in public addresses and in pamphlets. But it seems to be a difficult task to impress upon the mind of the people the importance and the direct bearing of this factor upon our economic condition.

"Not alone is it difficult to make it plain to the average citizen, but it is likewise difficult to make it plain to our national lawmakers, as the following illustration will show: Senate Document 157, page 11, contains a portion of the remarks made before the Committee on Ways and Means of the present Congress. At that session of the committee some 25 pounds of catalogues of European manufacturers of agricultural machinery and modern implements were exhibited. The committee was informed in precise and emphatic terms that a new industry had grown up in Europe which had a direct adverse effect on American agriculture; that agricultural machinery was being manufactured in Europe, and was being applied in the cheapest land and labor countries of the world in the production of agricultural staples; that this was the main cause of the decline in the world's prices of agricultural staples, and was the cause of the adverse economic conditions in the United States.

"The catalogues were shown as evidence, but Congressman DOLLIVER, a member of the committee, after seeing these catalogues and hearing the explanations, seemed to misunderstand the bearing and importance of these catalogues, for he said, 'What is the object in submitting these books?' Again the explanation was made, and it is manifest from the first portion and continuation of the document, in the clearest manner possible. And with what result? Seemingly none; for neither Congressman DOLLIVER nor any other of the Committee on Ways and Means took any notice of the matter.

"Were they right in ignoring this evidence? We will leave the conclusion to the intelligence of the reader, the American citizen critic.

"That Congressman DOLLIVER and the committee were wrong is evident; evident from the fact that the catalogues were submitted; evident from the fact that this is a recognized factor in the economic disturbance in western and central Europe, and to which cause is mainly attributed the decline in the world's prices of agricultural staples.

"To overlook the importance and bearing of this factor upon the adverse economic condition of the people of the United States by a carpenter, by an average or unenlightened citizen critic, would have been excusable, but its neglect by a national lawmaker, a Congressman, was inexcusable. Much more so was it by its neglect on the part of the entire Committee on Ways and Means.

"The time has come when the importance of this factor can no longer be safely ignored; when we must recognize as a factor in our adverse economic condition the general employment of agricultural machinery in the cheap land and labor countries of the world.

"What, then, is to be done? Can we not by some means withdraw these machines, and thus restore former conditions?

"No; this is an impossibility. On the contrary, the increase in the European manufacture of agricultural machinery is going on, and is expanding in an almost geometric ratio, over which we have no voice or control.

"There is but one thing that we can do, and that should be done promptly; as promptly as we wish to restore prosperity to all industries. We must either entirely abolish the protective system or we must extend protection to the staples of agriculture in a form which will be as effective in enhancing its home-market price as protection by a tariff on imports is effective in enhancing the home price of manufactures. And this can only be done by a bounty on exports of the staples of agriculture.

"Many objections have been raised against this, especially by interested protectionists, but not a single objection is valid.

"There is just as much necessity for the protection of agriculture by an export bounty as there is for that of manufactures by a tariff on imports. More so, in fact, for under the present economic conditions protection for manufactures at the expense of agriculture means a continuation of adverse conditions, not alone for agriculture directly, but for all other industries indirectly.

"The opponents of this proposition refer to it contemptuously as an attempt to foist a 'bounty system' upon the people, in the meantime designating their own bounty-receiving system 'protection.' This gives them an apparent advantage, for the word 'protection' is a more acceptable term than the word 'bounty.' But what are the facts? Can any honest and capable political economist deny the fact that protection by a tariff on imports is really and fully as much a 'bounty' as an export bounty is 'protection'?

"The American Protective Tariff League was asked just this very question by several State granges, but up to the present time it has significantly persisted in a reticence on this subject wholly out of keeping with its eagerness to impart 'literature' on protection.

"Signs are not wanting which indicate that the people are at last beginning to examine into this matter with open eyes and willing ears. It was predicted that this proposition would only find favor 'in the wild and woolly West.' This prediction was wrong. The writer, on invitation, has addressed many meetings in the Eastern States. At every meeting a vote was taken for or against this proposition. While there were altogether but six votes against, the rest, numbering thousands, were in favor.

"When this was seen, the sneering remark was made that only 'hayseeds' and Eastern Populists would favor it. This also was an error, for the Central Labor Union of Chicago and New York indorsed it by a large majority.

"Last, but by no means least, in point of influence, is the indorsement and cooperation of the clergymen of various denominations, fifty-two of whom in Philadelphia are pledged to promote this measure of equity from their pulpits. Ten of these clergymen have delivered sermons memorializing Congress for the adoption of this proposition. These are in print, and may be had free of charge from Senator FRANK J. CANNON, under the title Senate Document No. 60, Fifty-fifth Congress, first session.

"In conclusion, it may be said that this proposition is intended not merely as a means of economic equity, but likewise as a means of political expediency.

"There is no greater factor in the maintenance of a liberal form of government than equity, and there is no swifter road to decay and anarchy than through inequity. Especially hazardous is it when the inequity is of a kind which, in its operation, tends to convert the conservative farmers of the United States into bands of discontented radicals.

"A continuation of such a condition must in the end produce national disorders as destructive to our Republic as similar disorders were to nations which have ceased to be.

"The time is now at hand when we must act, and in a manner which will be in harmony with industrial and economic equity, to the end that not alone shall prosperity come to agriculture, our primary industry, but through it the prosperity of all other industries.

"And this can be had by the removal from agriculture of its unjust and inequitable protection system, either by granting it protection by an export bounty or by the total abolition of tariff protection.

"Ordinarily protectionists oppose free trade on the ground of closed factories, paralyzed industries, etc., which seems conclusive. In the presentation of this proposition I have always taken a different stand. Free trade would no doubt close down factories, but only for a time. Eventually the hungry workingman would go to work, if not at high, then at low wages. In time our factories would not alone supply our home needs, but would also enter the world's market as an international competitor.

"Witness the effect in the lowering of the tariff even in a limited degree. In 1893 our exports of manufactures were $158,023,118, or 19.02 per cent of our entire exports, which under the operation of a lower tariff gradually rose until in 1896 it was $228,571,178, or 26.48 per cent. This indicates clearly what free trade would do. It would not close up factories; on the contrary, it would keep them going. Objections to free trade, therefore, on that score are not valid. We may go even further and safely assert that so far as national wealth is concerned, nothing is more calculated to augment it than free trade. But is national wealth the chief end to be sought in our national life? Is it not rather in the further development of our peculiar American institutions? Are not these institutions of much more importance to the perpetuity of this Republic than any mere increase of wealth? What, then, are these institutions of which we speak? They are those which seek to maintain, perpetuate, and develop to the fullest those principles of government which have made this nation peculiar among the nations of the earth.

"Not least in beneficent results is this influence operating upon the other nations, thereby placing us in position of the teacher, the prophet nation of the world.

"Is not this position preferable as a choice rather than one of increased national wealth? If one or the other must be chosen, which shall we take? Every true and loyal American must unhesitatingly answer that our stand should be for that which shall most conserve, develop, and perpetuate the true trend of this Republic—American liberty.

"To do this we must preserve that certain measure of commercial isolation which protection makes possible. Commercial intercourse with foreign nations when nearly limited to the sale of agricultural staples is best calculated to promote commercial isolation to the desirable degree. This is so because these products, being sold at international prices at the world's auction rooms, commonly called exchanges, offer less temptation for commercial or political entanglements with other nations. Not so with manufactures.

"Manufactures being sold at local prices and at fluctuating profits when having the world for a market invites local energy to be directed in foreign quarters, and in its endeavor to set aside foreign obstructions it seeks to overcome them by various means, chief among which are these two:

"First. Through foreign alliances, treaties, and political entanglements.

"Secondly. Through conquests.

"It is a historic fact that foreign conquests by a commercial nation, as a rule, are rooted in the endeavor by merchants to find distant markets. This was the case with Phœnicia and Carthage in ancient times. Modern examples are those of Russia and England. Northern Asia was first invaded, not by Russian soldiers, but by Russian traders, and England's invasion of India was also first begun by British traders.

"Conquests and foreign political alliances may aid to augment the national wealth, but it would surely give the deathblow to American liberty. It would be retrogression for this nation, and through it to the world. It is because we object to this that we object to free trade, and when we object to free trade on this ground it places us as protectionists on the solidest ground possible for the advocacy of protection. This declaration, once for all, is sufficient to establish in the minds of all reasonable and logical people that we are not here merely masquerading (as some say) in the guise of protectionists, and that we are free traders in reality; we have shown that we are protectionists in every sense of the word, and have given our reasons for our stand.

"Are we, then, inculcating and living under these principles of liberty which we enjoy? Are these, then, exclusively our own, not shared by others? Not so. The fates have decreed otherwise. If not by our own inclination, then in spite of it do the themes we teach become public property to all the world in the higher walks of life, but even greater in the lower.

"Witness the departure of a great ocean steamer to a foreign country. About the last thing to be done is the storing away in the hold of the vessel of the many mail sacks for hundreds of thousands of foreign homes. Millions of these annually go to the poor in the slums of the different foreign nations, and what a potent teacher these millions of letters are. Though written by rude, unlettered hands, though directed by crude, unpolished minds, there is yet in them an educating potency of infinite grandeur, enlightening, civilizing, uplifting, teaching the poor of the world in kindergarten fashion the great object lesson of liberty. Such is the lesson of the United States mail bags going to foreign countries.

"Have we, then, anything to fear from foreign nations so long as this educator freely goes abroad, and in the spirit in which it does? Certainly not, so long as these very letters tend to paralyze any effort of the foreign soldiers which may be directed against us, and so long as these soldiers have been converted by our principles and to our principles of liberty; converted to a degree which makes the Stars and Stripes a holier and grander emblem in the mind's eye of the foreign soldier than the flag of his fatherland.

"Let it be conceded that the mission of this Republic is a sacred one, not alone to be a light to itself, but to be a lamp for the whole earth. Let it be conceded that it is the peculiar mission of this people how to gain, maintain, and perpetuate liberty. And it must be conceded that this may be best attained by commercial isolation, and when we so declare we have declared in most emphatic terms, in terms irrefutable, that we are protectionists. But no sooner have we made this declaration clear then we wish this to be connected with one more proposition, which we shall make equally clear; and that is, protection shall be not alone for manufactures, but also for agriculture. It shall be effective for agriculture as it now is for manufacture. It shall not be a reality for one and a seeming reality for the other. It shall be actually real for both. It must be actually real for both, for unless it be we can have no liberty, for liberty is first of all justice, and there is no liberty where there is injustice.

"Within the past few years the question of the annexation of foreign lands has been submitted and rejected. Samoa, the Sandwich Islands, Lower California, and Cuba have been more or less prominently before the American people for annexation, and have been rejected. Would these lands have been rejected under free trade? In all probabilities, no. For free trade would make of us eager seekers of foreign markets and cause us to follow closely in the footsteps of Great Britain, and in time we would lose all relish for our peculiar institutions in the eager chase after foreign markets and in the acquisition of foreign territory.

"Under free trade commercialism would devour patriotism, and in the end would itself be devoured by anarchy. The getting of free trade as a means of supremacy would be equivalent to the sale of our birthright for a mess of pottage. To preserve the Republic, and the spirit for which it stands, we must maintain commercial relations with foreign countries as they now are, and this would not be the case under free trade.

"Some may criticise this as a farmer's cry. And does not the farmer require some attention? Must all our energies and efforts be directed in the interests of manufactures and to the exclusion of the just claims of agriculture? Would such a policy be in the best interests of the Republic?

"But let us not be misunderstood. We are not seeking to obtain any special advantage or privilege for agriculture. We are consistent protectionists, and we ask for the adoption of a plan which when adopted will as effectually enhance the home market prices of agriculture as protection by a tariff on imports now enhances the home market price of manufactures by the exclusion of the cheaper foreign price.

"To do this would be no injustice to manufacture, nor would it be conferring a special privilege on agriculture. It would simply give the same privilege to agriculture that is now and has been enjoyed by manufacture.

"To do less would be class legislation pure and simple. Who can deny it? Can we, then, justly have class legislation? No; not justly; and the time has come when we may not even have it unjustly.

"And what is to prevent it? A new economic world condition! A condition which we can not and dare not ignore, unless we invite destruction. A condition as permanent as progress and as exacting as time. It is here to stay, and we must meet it.

"What, then, is this new economic world condition?

"It is this: In the past we were the almost exclusive users of agricultural machinery. This gave us a world advantage in the production and profitable disposition of agricultural staples. This advantage is now gone, never to be regained.

"Agricultural machinery is now being introduced into the cheapest land and labor countries of the world. The United States statistics show that we export $5,000,000 a year of these machines to foreign countries. But this is insignificant when compared with the much greater amount now manufactured in Europe, as these catalogues will show.

"All this was submitted to the Ways and Means Committee of this present Congress, as is evidenced in the printed report of the tariff hearings. But what cognizance did the Committee on Ways and Means take of this matter? Can anyone tell? Certainly. They ignored it. Why did they ignore it? Was it because it was irrelevant or untrue?

"That it is not irrelevant is evident, because even the dullest mind can comprehend that the employment of agricultural machinery is a potent factor in the production of agricultural staples.

"That it is true is evident, because it is true that we export $5,000,000 worth of agricultural machinery a year, which fact is verified by the United States statistics. It is also evident that it is true from the fact that we submit here the catalogues of the European manufacturers of and dealers in these agricultural machines. Here are illustrations of combined harvesters, self-binders, mowers, reapers, seeders, cultivators, gang plows, engines, pumps—everything which we have, and of which we until recent times were the almost exclusive users. (Here see page 3, Senate Document No. 157.) It is evident, therefore, that the facts submitted to the Ways and Means Committee were relevant and true.

"Being both relevant and true, it is important. Being so, it becomes the solemn duty of the Senate to consider it. And it devolves upon this Senate not merely to assent to the fact, but likewise to point out a method of modification of the adverse state which the new economic world condition has brought about."

Mr. PERKINS. I desire to offer an amendment to the amendment.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment to the amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to amend the amendment by inserting after the word "tobacco," in line 15:

Provided, Such export bounties shall be paid only on such of the products named above as shall be exported in American ships built in the United States and duly documented in the custom-houses under the navigation laws of the United States.

Mr. PERKINS. The amendment is self-explanatory. While we all admit that the agricultural interests of our country are greatly depressed, the same can be said about our marine commerce. Surely if agriculture is the mother of other industries, commerce is her handmaiden, and there is no reason why, if we are to pay export bounties, they should be given to foreign-built vessels, vessels built in other countries, and operated and manned by foreigners, and paying their taxes to other governments. Therefore if we are to help the great agriculturists of our country, let us at the same time extend a helping hand to the commerce of our country. The country that builds ships owns those ships, and the trade of the world follows the flag.

I will not weary the Senate by enlarging upon this proposition, which in the main was so ably dwelt upon at length by the distinguished Senator from West Virginia [Mr. ELKINS] when he advocated in his speech discriminating duties upon imports. The same arguments, the same line of reasoning, apply to exports from our country. To-day we are paying out to foreign-built vessels more than $150,000,000 annually for the carriage of freight exported from this country and the transportation of people who are traveling. Let us, therefore, at the same time that we extend this helping hand to the agriculturists, extend our other hand to the commerce of our country.

Mr. CANNON. I desire to submit a proposition to the Senator from California as to which perhaps we may all agree. I have a very strong feeling in favor of the shipping interest of the United States, not only that it shall be maintained, but built up, so far as possible, by the extension of just governmental aid. If this shall become a part of the amendment, will the Senator vote for the amendment then?

Mr. PERKINS. I am prepared to vote for the amendment provided the amendment to the amendment which I have proposed is adopted by the Senate. I believe then that whatever is given in the way of a subsidy or subvention will be given to our own people, and that we will build ships to transport the products of our soil, and that our own people will be the best market in the world for the product of the farmer.

Mr. BACON. I desire that the amendment of the Senator from California to the amendment may be read.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will again read the amendment to the amendment.

The amendment to the amendment was again read.

Mr. CANNON. If this informal way of holding a caucus does not offend against the dignity of the Senate, I should like to propound another inquiry to the Senator from California. Will it not be acceptable to him to have his amendment enlarged so that there shall be maintained upon the export of agricultural staples the precise figures given in the original amendment, and an additional export bounty of exactly half the amount upon all export staples sent abroad in American vessels? If the Senator from California is desirous of benefiting both of these great industries, let us have the proposition so segregated and so simplified that each particular industry or interest will know the exact amount of governmental aid extended to it.

Mr. CHILTON. Will the Senator from Utah permit me to ask him a question?

Mr. CANNON. Certainly.

Mr. CHILTON. I desire to ask the Senator if he does not think there ought to be a bounty also to the railroads that transport the goods to the seaports?

Mr. CANNON. I think the railroads have already had their bounty.

Mr. TILLMAN. If not, they have the pooling bill here ready to get it.

Mr. CANNON. So far as I am concerned, if the Senator from California will agree to the proposition which I advance——

Mr. CHILTON. I did not hear the observation of the Senator from South Carolina.

Mr. TILLMAN. I said if the railroads have not a bounty, it is proposed to give it to them in the pooling bill.

Mr. CHILTON. I agree with the Senator from South Carolina on that.

Everybody understands my position on the pooling bill. I have been contesting it strenuously. While I am on the floor, I will say that, individually, of course I do not wish to give the railroads a bounty for the transportation of freight, and my suggestion on that point was merely in the line of demonstrating the impracticability of applying the amendment.

Mr. CANNON. My reading of history on this subject has not brought me to the view that it is impracticable to pay a bounty upon domestic exports sent in American vessels, but such examination as I have been able to give the subject has demonstrated to me and convinced me that we should separate absolutely the two bounties. I submit my proposition to the Senator from California, and hope that he will reply affirmatively, that we may have a modified or enlarged amendment which we can both support. I yield for the answer.

Mr. PERKINS. The amendment proposed by my friend the Senator from Utah is so simple that he who runs may read. It proposes to pay so many cents a pound as an export duty upon wheat, cotton, tobacco, and other articles enumerated; and I am prepared to vote with him upon his proposition provided he will confine it to American vessels, vessels built in the United States, flying the American flag, and documented in the custom-houses of our country.

Mr. ALLEN. Will the Senator from California permit me?

Mr. PERKINS. Certainly.

Mr. ALLEN. What is there to prohibit American-built vessels, under the amendment proposed by the Senator from California, from absorbing all the benefits of the amendment of the Senator from Utah, and taking the bounty which the farmer himself should receive?

Mr. CANNON. If the Senator from California will allow me to interpose here, I will state that my proposition to that Senator was to guard against any absorption of the farmers' bounty by shipowners, and to give to the shipowner a sufficient bounty to justify the Senator and his friends in supporting the original amendment on the floor. I submit this distinct proposition to the Senator from California: That we shall amend the amendment by adding thereto a clause which shall give an additional export bounty of 50 per cent of the original proposition upon all staples sent from the United States in American vessels.

Mr. PERKINS. Inasmuch as the expenditures of our Government for the last four years have exceeded its receipts by about $40,000,000 per annum and we have increased our national indebtedness $262,000,000, I think we should stop and see what will be the revenue to be derived from the bill under consideration, whether it will pay the running expenses of our Government, and then after we have demonstrated that fact, two years later, we can perhaps afford to be more liberal to the commerce of our country.

In the meantime, I join hands with my friend in supporting his amendment if he will join hands with me by saying, "We will not give this export bounty to foreign vessels; we are paying quite enough to them to-day."

Mr. ALLEN. With the permission of the Senator from Utah, I call the attention of the distinguished Senator from California to the fact that the author of this bill, whose name it bears, has said that it will produce $125,000,000 surplus revenue a year.

Mr. CANNON. I hope the Senator from Nebraska will not pursue that line of argument for the moment, because my friend the Senator from California and I are going to get together on this proposition if he means what he says and any justice at all will answer the requirement of the shipowner.

It would be unfair to the Treasury of the United States to grant any additional bounty to that proposed. Will the Senator from California vote for the proposition as it stands if we take down 20 per cent of the bounty proposed for the farmer in the original amendment and give it to the American shipowner? I will agree with him if he will consent to that, that we shall modify the whole proposition as it now stands before the Senate, my amendment and his amendment thereto, so that there shall be paid on all exports of staples of the United States from any port of this country to any foreign port 80 per cent of the bounty proposed in

the original amendment, but if shipped in American vessels there shall be added thereto the remaining 20 per cent; and I take it the Senator from California would not contend that more than 20 per cent of this bounty, ostensibly for the farmer, should go to the shipowner.

Mr. PERKINS. My friend presents a mathematical proposition which I presume we could all solve if we took the time. The shipowner takes nothing directly by this plan. The shipowner receives no subsidy, no subvention. The shipowner and shipbuilder are contributing money to pay the bounty to the farmer. I simply ask and propose in my amendment to the amendment that this bounty, which the mechanics, the laboring man, the farmer will pay, shall not be given to the foreign shipowner. It is to me the simplest proposition imaginable, and if my friend the Senator from Utah accepts my amendment, he gets one vote for his amendment as amended.

Mr. PETTIGREW. Will the Senator from Utah allow me to make a suggestion?

Mr. CANNON. Certainly.

Mr. PETTIGREW. As I understand the amendment offered by the Senator from California, it would take $4,500,000 out of the Treasury. An amount equal to 50 per cent of the bounty given the American farmer would give to the shipowner $25,000,000. It seems to me that the Senator from Utah will get the worst of the trade, for if the amendment offered by the Senator from California is not adopted, he will not vote for the amendment of the Senator from Utah. Therefore the Senator from Utah is trading with the Senator from California to receive nothing in return, as the amendment of the Senator from California is sure not to be adopted.

Mr. PERKINS. It ought to be.

Mr. TILLMAN. I do hope, if the Senator from Utah will permit me, that he will not belittle this question by any trafficking of that kind. Let it stand on its broad merits—9,000,000 farmers and only about 100,000 men engaged in transportation on the sea. We do not want to traffic away the rights of the 9,000,000 with those fellows. I do not say that in any invidious sense.

Mr. CANNON. The distinguished Senator from South Carolina has demonstrated to us to-day that this is all a traffic. Unseemly as this traffic may be on the floor of the Senate, there are some of us who unfortunately have no other way of caucusing with those who think partly as we do; and I am compelled to have my personal conference with the Senator from California upon the floor of the Senate.

The Senator from California will not, I think, escape the logic of this proposition. If the American farmer may ship his staple surplus to any country of the world where there exists a market, in any vessel flying any flag, he will receive an enhancement of price equal to that bounty. I do not think the Senator from California will contend against that declaration. If, on the other hand, the farmer of the United States, the producer of export staples, is required, before he can have any benefit of this bounty, to ship his wheat or cotton or corn or tobacco in ships flying the American flag, it is simply adding to the burden of protection which he must carry in behalf of other interests than his own. He will get no benefit from it for years to come. We will build up a great merchant marine, perhaps, in the United States for the United States, as one was built up for Great Britain under her export-bounty law, but I call the attention of the Senator from California to the fact that the great origin of this proposition of the shipmasters of the United States was in England, where the export-bounty law was passed purely for the benefit of the shipowners, to build up a merchant marine and not for the benefit of agriculture.

I do not believe, under circumstances which would be created by the adoption of the amendment proposed by the Senator from California, the farmer, in whose behalf this appeal has been made, would receive the benefit intended by the original amendment, but I am willing, although the proposition may be denominated as trafficking, to come to some arrangement with the Senator from California. Surely, with his intimate knowledge of the needs of agriculture and his great experience with shipping, he can decide what proportion of a proposed bounty of this character ought to go and would go to the American shipmaster. Either American shipping would receive an additional benefit in the rates to be paid for transportation, or else there is no object in the amendment proposed by the Senator from California.

Once more I renew the request. If 20 per cent of the entire bounty is not satisfactory to the shipowners of America, if that will not be sufficient to build up our merchant marine, then I will make it 25 per cent. I shall be willing, sir, in order to obtain the votes of the Senator from California and his friends upon the floor, to consent that 75 per cent of the original proposed bounty on agricultural export staples shall be a bounty absolutely to the producer of the staples, and that 25 per cent of it shall be added if the exports be sent abroad in American ships. The 25 per cent will go directly to the shipping interests of America, and the 75 per cent will go directly to the agricultural interests. We will accomplish this great object, and we will know the exact amount of governmental aid extended to the two great interests. I ask the Senator from California if he will consent to that arrangement, and will then vote for the measure?

Mr. PERKINS. Only one word in reply. My friend insists upon placing me in a false light. I am asking nothing in the shape of a subsidy for American ships. I am asking no subvention and no aid. I simply say that this aid to be given by our people to the farmer in the form of a subsidy shall not be granted unless he ships in American vessels. I care not to modify my amendment. If the Senator does not accept it, it shows that he is in favor of one interest in the country and does not favor the other.

Mr. TILLMAN. Will the Senator from Utah allow me?

Mr. CANNON. Certainly.

Mr. TILLMAN. I call the attention of the Senator from California to the difference between the American shipowner and the American farmer. There are no taxes on the shipowner.

Mr. PERKINS. The Senator is mistaken.

Mr. TILLMAN. The tariff does not fall on him.

Mr. PERKINS. The Senator is mistaken.

Mr. TILLMAN. But the farmers are to-day being stripped of their hard earnings on everything they buy by reason of the tariff protection given to the manufacturers, and we are trying simply to get compensation or equality or equity.

Mr. CANNON. The question can not remain justly in the attitude in which it was placed by the last remark of the Senator from California, who says that if I do not accept his amendment I demonstrate thereby that I am in favor of one interest as against another. I do not desire to be offensive to the Senator from California, but surely his remark reflects more seriously upon him than upon me. He says he is willing to vote for the export bounty, notwithstanding the great burden which it will lay upon the Treasury of the United States, if only the shipping interests are taken care of, and if the shipping interests can not have a bounty, I am left to infer that he will not vote for the amendment, nor will he vote for it if I make the proposition now that the shipping interests shall be insured 25 per cent of the bounty.

Mr. President, I am in favor of treating all classes of American citizens alike under this bill, and that is the reason why I proposed this export bounty. I will not accept the amendment under the circumstances. I will leave this question in its present simple attitude, so far as I am concerned, to be fought out before the people of the United States if it shall fail in Congress, as doubtless it will. I would not consent to have the amendment to the amendment added in its present form. The farmer already has too much dealing with the complication of tariff bills, and he would never know whether he was to receive—and I doubt very much whether he would ever know that he had received—any of the export bounty if I were to accept the amendment of the Senator from California.

Therefore I shall resist it, and I trust that all those who favor the proposition of an export bounty in behalf of the farmer will vote against the amendment to the amendment, and not only that, but that all those people who do not believe in granting subsidies and subventions to the shipping interests will vote against it. The Senator from California will have opportunity on many occasions to present his proposition. What I have said is not in antagonism necessarily to the shipping interests of the United States.

Mr. PERKINS. It is evident that the friends of the amendment proposed by the Senator from Utah do not look with favor upon shipping the product of our farms in American ships, but by implication would rather give it to foreign countries. The Japanese Government to-day is paying a larger subsidy to its line of steamers plying the Pacific Ocean than was ever given to any steamship line before with vessels of the same tonnage and capacity. The Japanese operate their ships for from 40 to 50 per cent less than we Americans operate our vessels. But enough of this. As the friends of the amendment do not seem disposed to accept the amendment to the amendment, indeed, they say they will resist it, I withdraw it.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment to the amendment is withdrawn.

Mr. GRAY. I should like to ask the Senator from Utah how he proposes to get the 10 cents a bushel on wheat, 50 cents a barrel on wheat flour, and so on, into the hands of the farmer. I observe here that it is to be paid to the exporter of the articles, that is, the person who is engaged in the export trade, I presume. Is there any assurance that the bounty, which will come out of the taxes of the people to go to the farmers, will not be waylaid, so to speak, by the exporter, and, after all, the honest farmer be deprived of what belongs to him under it?

Mr. CANNON. Mr. President, there is the assurance of experience and common sense that the farmer will receive this bounty; and yet there is no absolute assurance that anything which is on

its way to the farmer for his benefit will not be waylaid somewhere and captured by brigandage. Many things have started toward the farmer that never arrived, and it is barely possible that under some manifestation of cunning, which I can not now conceive, some one else would get this; but as some one else gets everything else anyhow, and he will only be retaining that which he has already, let us make the attempt to reach the farmer with it.

Mr. LINDSAY. I suggest to the Senator, with his permission, that the guaranty to the farmer here is equally as good as the guaranty to the laborer that he will get the benefit of tariff taxation. Is it not?

Mr. CANNON. It is even better, because we have had demonstrated to us that the laborer does not get the benefit in the other case. We may have a doubt as to the extent, but the weight of the argument is on my side in the comparison of the two cases. There is not any doubt in the other case. That has gone into the past. We know that the laborer in many cases did not receive the benefit of protection.

Mr. LINDSAY. With the permission of the Senator, I will ask him what he has to say in answer to the intimation of the Senator from California [Mr. PERKINS], that it is only a question between the foreign shipowner and the American shipowner as to which will get the benefit of this bounty?

Mr. CANNON. I thought that the Senator from California was a little unfair in intimating that the friends of this amendment had given inferential approval to the idea of shipping these American products in foreign vessels rather than in American vessels. There is no such idea; and there can not be maintained here or elsewhere a declaration that the foreign shipmaster would receive this bounty in lieu of the American shipmaster if we had free access to a ship flying any flag in any port of the United States with which to send out these exports.

But I call the attention of the Senator from California to one weak point, to which I had not intended to allude had it not been for the remark of the Senator from Kentucky. The moment the Senator from California says that with free trade in the shipment of these exports the foreign shipowner will get the bounty, just that moment he proves that if his amendment were adopted the domestic shipowner would get every cent of it. He disproved his own case. The only proper thing to do, after making that admission, by which he gave his case away, was to withdraw the plea.

Mr. PERKINS. Admitting the statement of the Senator from Utah to be true, it would be the people of the United States who were receiving the money instead of the people of Japan, England, and other foreign countries. The money would be in our own country, among our own people.

Mr. ALLEN. Will the Senator from California permit a question, with the permission of the Senator from Utah? Is it not true and has it not been announced repeatedly in this Chamber that 90 per cent of the men who are manning our ships are foreigners, and therefore the argument that is usually used by protectionists does not apply to the seamen?

Mr. PERKINS. I think the Senator from Nebraska is mistaken. That applied to only one line of vessels plying upon the Atlantic. It is not true that there are 90 per cent of foreigners in our vessels. In the coasting trade of the United States 90 per cent are American citizens, and as to those engaged in the foreign trade, no one can have a license as an officer of a vessel unless he is an American citizen.

Mr. ALLEN. I am talking about the foreign trade and the men who are to get the benefit of this bounty, as the Senator proposes.

Mr. PERKINS. It would be sailing ships principally, and we would build up a great shipping industry in our State. We voted the other day to place a $2 duty upon lumber. My friend from South Carolina thought we would buy the pitch pine from the Carolinas and put it into our vessels, and our mechanics would be working and patronizing the farmer and using the product of the soil.

Mr. ALLEN. I understand all that.

Mr. PERKINS. No one industry in this country can be protected without kindred interests being benefited thereby.

Mr. ALLEN. What I call the attention of the Senator from California to (and I hope he will not run away from the point or amplify it by argument) is to the fact that the large majority of seamen who man the American vessels carrying the foreign trade are of foreign birth and owe allegiance to some other country——

Mr. PERKINS. I think that applies only to the American line of steamships plying between New York and Great Britain.

Mr. ALLEN. And so much has that been the case that we have been compelled to take foreigners into our Navy.

Mr. PERKINS. I think that on all other American ships, and I speak advisedly as to the coasting trade, 90 per cent of them are American citizens.

Mr. ALLEN. But the coasting trade is not at all affected by this bounty.

Mr. PETTIGREW. Will the Senator allow me?

Mr. STEWART. Mr. President——

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Utah is entitled to the floor. Does he yield further?

Mr. CANNON. I will yield to the Senator from Nevada [Mr. STEWART] for an inquiry.

Mr. STEWART. I want to make an observation. I want to set the gentlemen right.

Mr. CANNON. I yield for an observation, then.

Mr. STEWART. I will make an observation to set them right. It is proposed to mix up another question with the amendment under consideration, and that is the shipping interests. I am in favor of reaching that, but the direct way to do it is to do it generally and to do it as it was done by the first act of Congress, by a less duty on articles brought in American ships, and make it apply all around. Such a provision belongs to the whole tariff system. But do not make an exception here and attempt to hitch it on this particular branch. It ought to be made to apply to the whole measure if we are going to do anything with it.

Then one word as to the absurdity of the claim that some one else would get the bounty and not the farmer. It will be so much paid on wheat, and the farmer will understand that there is so much more on his wheat, and he will not be likely to sell it without taking that fact into consideration. If wheat is worth 50 cents a bushel, he will look out for that 50 cents. If there is a bounty on it, making it 55 or 60 cents, he will look after that. He can look after one part of it as well as the other.

Mr. TILLMAN. Will the Senator from Utah allow me a word?

Mr. CANNON. Certainly.

Mr. TILLMAN. I call the attention of the Senator from California to the fact that the poverty of the American shipping interest, the diminutiveness of it, the disgraceful condition, so to speak, in which it now exists, was emphasized the other day by the fact that when we wanted to send a shipload of corn, wheat, and other charitable contributions to the starving people of India we did not have an American vessel carrying the American flag which could transport it. Your proposition amounts to this, that you must wait five, ten, or twenty years until a certain lot of capitalists, who are now wealthy and have grown wealthy by all the stealings which they have gotten from the farmers, shall go into another industry and build up a carrying trade to transport the product before any benefit is to be derived from a bounty.

Mr. PERKINS. I simply want to correct the history of my friend. The *City of Everett* sailed from San Francisco, carrying some 3,000 tons of wheat and other cereals to the people of India, which were contributed by the charitable people of this country.

Mr. TILLMAN. I am only speaking of the resolution which passed the Senate. You do not deny the authenticity of it? Now, another word.

Mr. CHANDLER. Will the Senator from South Carolina allow me a word?

Mr. TILLMAN. Certainly; but this is a crisscross kind of a debate.

Mr. CHANDLER. It has some reference to the remark of the Senator. As almost everything has been discussed in this debate, I want to state to the Senate that the ship which we authorized to be employed in New York to take the New York contributions to India is not to be hired. The money is to be saved. The grain that has been contributed is to be sold in New York, and the money has already been sent by telegraphic transfer to India.

Mr. TILLMAN. Do they eat money in India?

Mr. CHANDLER. This is a slight contribution of mine to the debate, and it is quite as pertinent as many things that have been said.

Mr. TILLMAN. One more word in answer to the question of the Senator from Delaware [Mr. GRAY]. He asks you what assurance you have or how you would go about proving that the farmer would get the benefit of this bounty? I am going to tell you a very simple fact that he will acknowledge, and which will demonstrate that you can not keep the farmer from getting it. This is the reason: There can not be two prices of wheat upon the market; you can not have a price for export and a price for home consumption. The amount that will be paid for wheat in the market will depend upon the amount of the bounty. After the export price has been fixed in Europe, then that plus the bounty will be the domestic price; and it will be 10 cents more a bushel here minus the transportation charge.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Utah will proceed.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. President, I have been holding the floor purely for the purpose of answering the Senator from Delaware, if I were able, and I was only led into a slight digression because of his use of the word "waylaid," which struck me as being a matter for very grave consideration at this time, in view of the fact that here was a very grave avowal of an attempt absolutely to waylay and completely to confiscate the whole of the bounty.

I leave the question of the shipping interest entirely upon the

final admission of the Senator from California, who admits the logic of my contention as deduced from his remarks and his proposition.

The Senator from Delaware doubtless will admit it to be a fact that when we send abroad wheat or cotton to be sold at the world's market price, the exporter, by this bounty, if the amendment shall become a part of the law, will receive from the Treasury of the United States the amount of money specified in the amendment. I do not mean now necessarily that the farmer will receive it, but in order to assert an indisputable proposition I maintain, and ask the Senator from Delaware if it be not correct, that the exporter of an American staple, if the amendment shall become a part of the law, will receive for that staple the world's market price plus the amount which he draws out of the Treasury of the United States.

If it were possible, and I do not admit that it would be, for the exporters of our agricultural staple, as contradistinguished from the producers of our agricultural staple which goes abroad, to waylay every dollar of the bounty and confiscate it to their own use and their own aggrandizement, still the farmer would receive all the enhancement of price within the domestic market, which is very much larger than that abroad, because the men who deal in wheat and the men who deal in cotton or the other staples would not allow an ounce of any one of the commodities to be sold in the American market except at the international price plus the bounty. They certainly would not sell it at one cent less than they could get, and as by exporting they could get the world's price plus the Government bounty, those things would be sold in the domestic market at the international price plus the Government bounty.

The quotations of wheat, therefore, in Chicago, which govern the prices to the commission houses in the agricultural districts, the quotations of cotton on the New York exchange, which govern the prices in the Southern commission houses, would regulate the price which the farmer and planter would receive for his products. I do not think it possible, under any circumstances, that any considerable portion of this bounty shall be waylaid unless under some more mysterious form, unless some other proposition of brigandage shall be introduced here which we can not expose so readily as the one recently offered and just withdrawn.

Mr. GRAY. I am as loath as anyone to continue this debate, and I will say only a word in answer to what the Senator from Utah has just stated. An ounce of experience is worth a good deal of theory to the pound. Unless I have been misinformed, the whole effect of the export bounty on sugar given by European governments for the export of beet sugar goes to the exporters and not to the farmers and producers.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Utah [Mr. CANNON].

Mr. CHANDLER. On that I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CLAY (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE]. I am informed that he would vote "nay" if present. I will therefore vote. I vote "nay."

Mr. TILLMAN (when Mr. MCLAURIN's name was called). My colleague [Mr. MCLAURIN] is absent, and is paired with the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. PRITCHARD]. My colleague authorized me to state that if he were here, he would vote "yea."

Mr. PRITCHARD (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from South Carolina [Mr. MCLAURIN]. If he were present, I should vote "nay."

Mr. SHOUP (when his name was called). I have a standing pair with the senior Senator from California [Mr. WHITE]. Not knowing how he would vote, I will withhold my vote.

Mr. TILLMAN (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. THURSTON]. I do not know how he would vote. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. WARREN (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Washington [Mr. TURNER]. Not knowing how that Senator would vote if present, I withhold my vote.

Mr. WILSON (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Florida [Mr. PASCO]. I am not advised how he would vote on this question, but I think he would vote "nay." However, I will withhold my vote.

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. GALLINGER. I inquire if the senior Senator from Texas [Mr. MILLS] has voted?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. He has not voted.

Mr. GALLINGER. I am paired with that Senator. I suggest to the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. TILLMAN] that the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. THURSTON] may stand paired with the senior Senator from Texas [Mr. MILLS], so as to enable us both to vote.

Mr. TILLMAN. All right, sir.

Mr. GALLINGER. I vote "nay."

Mr. TILLMAN. I vote "yea."

Mr. CHANDLER (after having voted in the negative). I am informed that if the senior Senator from Colorado [Mr. TELLER] were present he would vote "yea." Therefore I will pair with him, and withdraw my vote.

The result was announced—yeas 10, nays 59; as follows:

YEAS—10.

Allen,	Harris, Kans.	Pettigrew,	Tillman.
Butler,	Heitfeld,	Roach,	
Cannon,	Mantle,	Stewart,	

NAYS—59.

Allison,	Elkins,	Kyle,	Pettus,
Bacon,	Fairbanks,	Lindsay,	Platt, Conn.
Baker,	Faulkner,	McBride,	Platt, N. Y.
Bate,	Foraker,	McEnery,	Proctor,
Berry,	Frye,	McMillan,	Quay,
Burrows,	Gallinger,	Mallory,	Rawlins,
Caffery,	Gear,	Martin,	Sewell,
Carter,	Gray,	Mason,	Smith,
Chilton,	Hale,	Mitchell,	Spooner,
Clark,	Hanna,	Morgan,	Turpie,
Clay,	Harris, Tenn.	Morrill,	Vest,
Cockrell,	Hawley,	Murphy,	Walthall,
Cullom,	Hoar,	Nelson,	Wellington,
Davis,	Jones, Ark.	Penrose,	Wetmore.
Deboe,	Kenney,	Perkins,	

NOT VOTING—30.

Aldrich,	Hansbrough,	Pasco,	Turner,
Chandler,	Jones, Nev.	Pritchard,	Warren,
Daniel,	Lodge,	Shoup,	White,
George,	McLaurin,	Teller,	Wilson,
Gorman,	Mills,	Thurston,	Wolcott.

So Mr. CANNON's amendment was rejected.

Mr. ALLISON. In accordance with the understanding day before yesterday, I ask that we now return to the sugar schedule—Schedule E.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read.

The SECRETARY. Schedule E.—Sugar, molasses, and manufactures of. The Committee on Finance report to strike out paragraph 206, in the following words:

206. Sugars not above No. 16 Dutch standard in color, tank bottoms, sirups of cane juice, melada, concentrated melada, concrete and concentrated molasses, testing by the polariscope not above 75 degrees, 1 cent per pound, and for every additional degree shown by the polariscopic test three one-hundredths of 1 cent per pound additional, and fractions of a degree in proportion; and on sugar above No. 16 Dutch standard in color, and on all sugar which has gone through a process of refining, 1 cent and eight hundred and seventy-five one-thousandths of 1 cent per pound; molasses testing above 40 degrees and not above 56 degrees, 3 cents per gallon; testing 56 degrees and above, 6 cents per gallon; sugar drainings and sugar sweepings shall be subject to duty as molasses or sugar, as the case may be, according to polariscopic test; sugars, tank bottoms, sirups, cane juice or beet juice, melada, concentrated melada, and concrete and concentrated molasses, the product of any country which pays, directly or indirectly, a bounty on the export thereof, whether imported directly and in condition as exported therefrom, or otherwise, shall pay, in addition to the foregoing rates, a duty equal to such bounty, or so much thereof as may be in excess of any tax collected by such country upon such exported article, or upon the beet or cane from which it was produced: *Provided*, That nothing herein contained shall be so construed as to abrogate or in any manner impair or affect the provisions of the treaty of commercial reciprocity concluded between the United States and the King of the Hawaiian Islands on the 30th day of January, 1875, or the provisions of any act of Congress heretofore passed for the execution of the same.

And in lieu thereof to insert:

206. Sugars not above No. 16 Dutch standard in color, tank bottoms, sirups of cane juice and of beet juice, melada, concentrated melada, concrete and concentrated molasses testing by the polariscope above 87 and not above 88 degrees, seventy-nine thousandths of 1 cent per pound, and for every additional degree shown by the polariscopic test, two hundredths of 1 cent per pound, and fractions of a degree in proportion. Sugar above No. 16 Dutch standard in color, and sugar that has gone through a process of refining, one and sixteen hundredths of one cent per pound; and in addition thereto, on all the foregoing, 35 per cent ad valorem.

Sugars not above No. 16 Dutch standard in color, tank bottoms, sirups of cane juice and beet juice, melada, concentrated melada, concrete and concentrated molasses testing by the polariscope not more than 87 degrees, 75 per cent ad valorem. Molasses testing above 40 and not more than 56 degrees, 4 cents per gallon; testing 56 degrees and not above 70 degrees, 8 cents per gallon.

Machinery purchased abroad, imported and erected in any beet-sugar factory and actually used in the production of sugar in the United States from beets produced therein within two years from the 1st day of July, 1897, shall be admitted free of duty under such regulations as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe.

Mr. PETTIGREW. Mr. President——

Mr. ALLISON. Will the Senator from South Dakota allow me?

Mr. PETTIGREW. I wish simply to make an announcement very briefly.

At the end of line 15, on page 66—that is, at the end of the sugar schedule—I shall offer and ask to have considered the amendment which has already been presented, providing that all articles in this bill which are the subject of a trust shall be admitted free of duty. I simply wish to give that notice now at the beginning of the consideration of the schedule.

Mr. ALLISON. In accordance with the notice given a day or

two since, I ask that the Senate may vote negatively or that the committee may be permitted to withdraw its amendment, printed in italics, beginning on line 20, on page 64, and ending with line 20, on page 65, and originally proposed as a substitute for paragraph 206.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there any objection to the withdrawal of the amendment proposed by the committee as a substitute for paragraph 206, and the offering of a new one?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. There is no objection.

Mr. ALLISON. That can be done by unanimous consent.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. No objection being made, the amendment of the committee is withdrawn. The committee proposes an amendment to the paragraph, which will be read.

The SECRETARY. The Committee on Finance propose, on page 63, line 22, paragraph 206, to strike out "eight hundred and seventy-five one-thousandths" and insert "ninety-five one-hundredths;" so as to make the paragraph read:

206. Sugars not above No. 16 Dutch standard in color, tank bottoms, sirups of cane juice, melada, concentrated melada, concrete and concentrated molasses, testing by the polariscope not above 75 degrees, 1 cent per pound, and for every additional degree shown by the polariscopic test, three one hundredths of 1 cent per pound additional, and fractions of a degree in proportion; and on sugar above No. 16 Dutch standard in color, and on all sugar which has gone through a process of refining, 1 cent and ninety-five one-hundredths of 1 cent per pound; molasses testing above 40 degrees and not above 56 degrees, 3 cents per gallon; testing 56 degrees and above, 6 cents per gallon; sugar drainings and sugar sweepings shall be subject to duty as molasses or sugar, as the case may be, according to polariscopic test; sugars, tank bottoms, sirups, cane juice or beet juice, melada, concentrated melada, and concrete and concentrated molasses, the product of any country which pays, directly or indirectly, a bounty on the export thereof, whether imported directly and in condition as exported therefrom, or otherwise, shall pay, in addition to the foregoing rates, a duty equal to such bounty, or so much thereof as may be in excess of any tax collected by such country upon such exported article, or upon the beet or cane from which it was produced: *Provided*, That nothing herein contained shall be so construed as to abrogate or in any manner impair or affect the provisions of the treaty of commercial reciprocity concluded between the United States and the King of the Hawaiian Islands on the 30th day of January, 1875, or the provisions of any act of Congress heretofore passed for the execution of the same.

Mr. ALLISON. Before we proceed to consider that amendment, I desire to say that, on page 64, after the word "test," in line 3, down to and including the word "produced," in line 12, the committee recommend that these lines be stricken from the bill, the same paragraph in substance being inserted on page 195, section 3, making this countervailing duty apply to all articles instead of to this article alone. I ask that that may be done.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Does the Senator from Iowa propose to take that amendment up now? I prefer that it should be passed over. I should like an opportunity to examine it.

Mr. ALLISON. Very well. I also desire to give notice that I shall ask at a later period in the consideration of the bill that the last proviso, beginning in line 12, on page 64, be passed over and not considered at this time, that being the question relating to Hawaiian sugar.

I desire to say in this connection, that although it has often been repeated that the Committee on Finance, or a majority of the committee, recommended that a duty should be imposed upon Hawaiian sugar by the operation of this bill, the committee never made such a declaration and never had such a purpose. That question was not considered by the committee to the extent of proposing a provision, intending that, when reported, it should be passed over until the matter should be fully considered. At a later day it may be that the committee will offer an amendment to this clause; but for the present we ask unanimous consent that it may be passed over.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I think that this provision ought to be considered while we are considering the sugar schedule. I do not object to the Senator's proposition that a vote on it shall not be pressed now.

Mr. ALLISON. I mean that we shall not vote on it to-day.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I have no objection to that.

Mr. ALLISON. I have asked that it shall be passed over temporarily.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I think it pertinent that it should be considered in connection with the rest of this schedule.

Mr. ALLISON. It is a pertinent matter of debate, of course, in the general consideration of the subject. I ask that we pass over for the present all that portion of the bill that is found between line 3 and line 19, on page 64.

Mr. CAFFERY. Am I to understand from the Senator from Iowa that the provision of the bill relating to the abrogation of the Hawaiian treaty is to be passed over? Is that it?

Mr. ALLISON. Both of the provisions to which I have called attention are to be passed over for the present.

Mr. CAFFERY. There was so much confusion and noise in the Chamber that I could not hear what the Senator said.

Mr. ALLISON. That was my request.

Mr. CAFFERY. What is the other provision?

Mr. ALLISON. The other provision is that relating to the countervailing duties, the committee having inserted a new provision covering that same subject. It is found on page 195 of the bill as section 3.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Mr. President, it seems to me that the first amendment which ought to be offered to this paragraph is to strike out the words "and on all sugar," in line 10, page 63, and I hope the committee will be willing to accept that amendment. The purpose is clear. Beginning at the semicolon above, in line 19, the language reads:

And on sugar above No. 16 Dutch standard in color, and on all sugar which has gone through a process of refining, 1 cent and eight hundred and seventy-five one-thousandths of 1 cent per pound.

If the committee amendment should be adopted, it would be 1 cent and ninety-five one-hundredths of a cent per pound. The effect of striking out the four words I have indicated would be to limit this tax of 1 cent and ninety-five one-hundredths of a cent per pound, if the Senate should adopt the amendment of the Senate committee—which I hope it will not do—to such sugar as is above No. 16 Dutch standard in color, and it will not apply to classes of sugars which are under 16 Dutch standard in color or which have gone through a process of refining.

As is well known to the Senator in charge of this bill, there are sugars imported in great quantities into this country and largely used which test about 88 degrees in saccharine strength, which are below 16 Dutch standard in color, and which have gone through a process of refining; and these low-grade, cheap sugars, which would not sell for but very little more and which have very little more value in the market than raw sugars, testing 88 degrees, ought not to pay the higher specific tax, which is intended to keep the high-grade sugars out of the American market.

Without regard to the contention which exists between the two sides of the Chamber on this general sugar schedule, I think no Senator who examines this proposition can fail to see the justice of striking these words out, so that the tax of $1.95 per hundred pounds, which is now proposed by the committee, shall not be applied to sugar which is practically raw sugar.

I have samples here of sugar. This sugar [exhibiting] tests 87 degrees. It is a refined sugar. It has but little more value than raw sugar testing about the same. It is not right that that sugar should bear the same specific tax that that sugar should [exhibiting]; it is not just; and I hope the members of the Senate will not agree to such a provision, and I hope the Senate committee will not insist upon it.

I propose, Mr. President—and I may as well give notice of it now—to strike out also, in lines 21 and 22, on page 63, these words, "one cent and eight hundred and seventy-five one-thousandths of one cent" and insert "twelve and a half one-hundredths of a cent."

The effect of this proposed amendment, if it should be adopted, will be to apply the rate of taxation now proposed by the committee to the low-grade sugar, and apply the same rate of taxation to the high-grade sugar in proportion to its saccharine strength, and that on refined sugar there shall be a tax of twelve and a half one-hundredths of a cent in addition to the tax levied by the general provisions of the bill.

Under the bill as it stands at present the proposition is to levy a tax on low-grade sugar of 1 cent per pound on sugar not above 75 degrees in saccharine strength and three one-hundredths of a cent per pound additional for each degree above that. If that is applied to raw sugar, why not let it go through refined sugar as well, and then put a clear, distinct difference between the tax on raw and refined sugar stated explicitly, so that the members of the Senate and the people of the country can know exactly the difference we propose to give between refined and raw sugar? As it is, we have this provision applying to raw sugar, and instead of applying the same provision to raw sugar and then adding one-eighth of a cent more, which the present law allows, and under which the refining interests have lived, we propose to put a specific tax on refined sugar of $1.95 on a hundred pounds.

Mr. President, in a new country, such as ours was a century ago, where there was no accumulation of wealth, it was doubtless necessary for each member of the community to contribute from the proceeds of his daily labor toward the support of the Government under which he lived; but when there has been an accumulation of wealth, when the community has grown rich, then it would seem just and fair that the entire burden of taxation of all sorts ought to fall on the wealth of the community rather than upon the daily labor of its citizens. It is especially improper in a Government like ours that there should be any tax on the homes of the people. We exempt churches and schools from taxation for obvious reasons, and I believe that when there is a sufficient accumulation of surplus wealth, of hoarded wealth, to justify it, that the homes of the people, and all the things that go to make up a home, as well as the persons composing the community, should be exempt from the exactions of the taxgatherer.

The home is the nursery of manhood, virtue, and patriotism.

Without the foundations laid by the mothers and fathers and homes, the churches and the schools would accomplish little. The home is the very foundation of the Republic, and ought not to be taxed, directly or indirectly. The system of taxation prevailing in this country at this time is, however, the exact reverse of this. It began in the infancy and poverty of the Republic, and has been continuously kept up to this time. It is not surprising that reforms intended to shift the burdens of the Government from the poor to the rich and powerful are very difficult of accomplishment, for obvious reasons.

There has never been any serious effort to take a substantial step in this direction but once, and this effort was promptly suppressed by the Supreme Court when it declared the income-tax provision of the Wilson bill unconstitutional. No more just, fair, or equitable tax has ever been laid; but wealth is always unwilling to do even its fair share toward the support of the Government. In the administration of the present system of laying taxes upon homes and men rather than upon wealth, of taxing people according to consumption rather than according to ability to pay, the Democratic and Republican parties have differed materially.

Democrats have always insisted, and yet insist, that there is no power given to the Government to collect taxes except for public purposes, and this only, while the Republicans have exercised the right to levy taxes to provide for private benefit. For the reason that almost all the tax possible of collection on sugar goes into the public Treasury, sugar has always been regarded by Democrats as a desirable subject of taxation, so long as the present system continues. Four-fifths, perhaps nine-tenths, of the sugar consumed in the country is imported. Hence when the cost of sugar is increased to consumers by tariff taxes, four-fifths or nine-tenths of this added cost or tax goes into the Treasury. Republicans have never liked a sugar tax for this reason. A tax on woolen goods, on the contrary, is their ideal tax, because four-fifths to nine-tenths of the woolen goods consumed in the country are made here, and whatever increase in cost of woolens may come from taxation goes, four-fifths to nine-tenths, to the woolen manufacturer, and one-fifth to one-tenth to the Government. Hence the woolen tax is the ideal Republican tax, while the sugar tax has been the ideal Democratic tax.

The present President was reported some years since to have said, upon taking the chair to preside over some Republican meeting, that as between tariff for revenue with incidental protection, or a tariff for protection with incidental revenue, he was decidedly in favor of the latter. This clearly illustrates the difference in Republican and Democratic ideas of administering this present system of taxation. As long as the present system of raising revenue by taxation upon consumption and not upon wealth is allowed to exist, I am in favor of a tax on sugar rather than a tax on woolen goods, and for these reasons.

I believe, however, the time has come when the people of the country should insist on the burdens of taxation being placed upon the wealth of the country, and that manhood and home, like churches and schools, should go untaxed.

The Senator from Rhode Island in charge of this bill, who I regret is not physically able to be present now, in his speech at the beginning of the consideration of the bill stated to the Senate that the proposed Senate schedule, then reported from the committee, gave less protection to the sugar refiners than was given by the original bill as it came from the House—the Dingley bill. I will read it, so that there may be no mistake about what the Senator from Rhode Island said:

> This table shows that the differential between raw and refined sugars by the Senate proposition varies from 9.77 to 15.40 cents per 100 pounds, while the differential in the House bill varies from 12.20 to 17.35 cents per 100 pounds.

The majority of the Senate Finance Committee have abandoned this proposition of giving the sugar refiners a smaller margin than they had in the House bill, and they have returned to all that was given them by the House bill, and have increased the margin of difference in favor of the sugar refiners from what it was in the bill as it came from the House. There was an understanding around the Senate Chamber that there would be difficulty in having this provision as reported by the Senate Committee adopted by the Senate, because of the feeling of antagonism to the disposition to give the sugar refiners a larger margin of profit than was given by that bill, though, according to the statement of the Senator from Rhode Island, it gave a smaller margin of profit than was given by the Dingley bill. This has been abandoned, to the astonishment of all of us who believed in the good faith of those criticisms.

The present proposition coming from the Finance Committee gives the sugar refiners a higher margin than even the House gave. It proposes to increase the profit of the sugar refiners in every single point from top to bottom.

The House provided that the tax should be 1 cent per pound on raw sugar not above 75 degrees, and three one-hundredths of a cent per pound for each additional degree. Then, instead of taking the House rate of 1 cent and eight hundred and seventy-five one-thousandths of a cent on refined sugars, which, according to the calculation of Mr. DINGLEY, the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee of the House, would amount to twelve and one-half one-hundredths of a cent, the Senate committee increased the tax on refined sugar from 1 cent and eight hundred and seventy-five one-thousandths of a cent a pound to 1 cent and ninety-five one-hundredths, increasing the margin of difference between the raw sugar and the refined seven and one-half one-hundredths of a cent in addition to all that had been allowed by the House bill, and which was declared by the Senator from Rhode Island to be greater than the amount allowed by the original proposition of the Senate committee.

If such was the purpose of the managers of this bill, it would be well enough for them to avow it and let it be known, let it be understood.

I stated a few minutes ago that I am in favor of a tax on sugar as long as we resort to the present system of raising the revenue of the country, because the overwhelming majority of the money raised in this way goes into the Treasury, and because it is not a means of legislating money out of the masses of the people generally and into the hands of the few, except in an exceedingly limited way. But, while I am in favor of a sugar tax, I believe the sugar tax should be so laid as to bear as lightly as possible upon those who consume sugar, and that there should be no especial benefit given to anybody by the way the sugar tax is arranged.

There is another gross injustice in the method of comparison which the committee has given out to the world. The Senator from Rhode Island in his opening speech stated that the comparisons ought to be made between what is called the first-marks German sugar and raw sugar. It is not fair to institute a comparison between first-marks German sugar and raw sugar for the reason that the first-marks German sugar does not compare with the American product made from the raw sugar; and when you are figuring up the difference between the amount of money which ought to go to the manufacturers of refined sugar, you ought to take into consideration the grade of German sugar which is equal to the American sugar.

Mr. President, there is nothing that so well establishes a fact such as an object lesson. Here in this vial [exhibiting] is a sample of the first-marks German sugar. This is the kind of sugar with which these gentlemen insist the comparison ought to be made. Here is a sample of the sugar made by the sugar refiners of the United States. [Exhibiting.] This came from the refinery of Havemeyer & Elder. The two speak for themselves. No man can doubt the difference between the two. When we are talking about the difference in the margin of price between the two, we ought not to measure the difference by the difference between this sugar and raw sugar, but between this sugar [exhibiting] and raw sugar, because this is the American product, and this is the article the American refiners propose to sell, and the price of this sugar in the market is the value that ought to determine the difference between the raw sugar and the refined. The Senator from Rhode Island said the proper estimate was to be made with this sugar at $2.30 a hundred pounds.

Mr. ALLISON. The Senator from Rhode Island, as I understood him, simply gave the price of the granulated sugar at Hamburg on a particular day. I did not understand him to make a contention on the matter about which the Senator speaks now—namely, as respects the character of the sugar which he is exhibiting here. There is a difference in price as between that and the first-class refined sugar from Germany.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I propose that there shall be some contention—it may not be a great contention, but I propose that there shall be some contention—before the Senate adopts as the proper basis of estimate of value between these sugars, this first-marks German sugar and the kind I have just exhibited to the Senate. I will read what the Senator from Rhode Island said.

Mr. ALLISON. I have no doubt that the Senator from Rhode Island stated what he understood to be the fact.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I have no doubt about that. I will read to you the remarks of the Senator from Rhode Island, as reported in the RECORD, and I assume that they are correct. He said:

> I have taken first-marks German granulated for the comparison, as this is the sugar that competes with our refiners and furnishes the proper basis for comparison. If I had taken fine German granulated, which costs thirteen-hundredths of a cent per pound more, as a basis, the differential would be 15.30 cents per 100 pounds on 96 degrees test, and if I had taken Dutch cane granulated, that costs thirty-hundredths of a cent per pound more, the differential would be 21.3 cents per 100 pounds.

Now, Mr. President, we have the Senator from Rhode Island fixing the differences between these three grades of sugars. He takes the first-marks German granulated at 2.30 cents. He says that the finer grades of sugar would be thirteen one-hundredths of a cent a pound more than the other, that the Dutch sugar would be thirty one-hundredths of a cent more; and in making this

calculation, instead of counting sugar worth $2.30 a hundred pounds, if you compare it with the Dutch or English sugar, it would be $2.63 a hundred pounds.

I sent to the New York custom-house for samples of Dutch granulated sugar and samples of English sugar, and here they are [exhibiting], and here is the Havemeyer sugar made in this country. [Exhibiting.] Any man can see by looking at the two that there is no difference between them at all. The sugar we are talking about giving protection to in this bill is the Havemeyer sugar. It is sugar made by the American refiners, and it stands equal to the Dutch standard or the English sugar. It is made from cane.

So that, when you institute comparisons between the margin of profits of the refiners, you must take the value of the sugar that is made in this country in competition with all the balance of the sugar before you can determine the profits they get. Instead of making the calculation on sugar at $2.30 a hundred pounds, we have the right to make it at $2.66, because that is the value of the refined sugar. I took the Senator's prices as given in one of his tables, and have had a careful statement made, by giving the total amount of the sugar, and I shall subsequently put this in the RECORD, so that Senators may have the opportunity of criticising it.

Take sugar at 87. The line of demarcation between muscovados and granulated sugar on the price given is $1.88 a hundred pounds. The duty on that under the present proposed schedule is $1.36. The duty and the price added together amount to $3.24. The custom-house makes an allowance for drawbacks on it. It takes 124.27 pounds of sugar, testing 87 degrees, to make 100 pounds of granulated sugar. Accepting that as correct, and making the calculations on this basis, we have the duty and the cost of this raw sugar enough to make 100 pounds of granulated coming to $4.27 a hundred pounds.

Now take $2.30 as the basis. I am not making any comparison of $2.63, as I think I have a right to do, or taking $2.43, as I have a right to do, but I am making the comparison on the basis proposed by the Senator from Rhode Island, at $2.30. Add the tax, according to this statement, as I have it made, of $1.95, and then adding the German bounty of 38.3 cents, we get a total cost of refined sugar at $4.633, as against $4.27, leaving a margin of fifty-three one-hundredths of a cent between the cost of the amount of sugar testing 87 necessary to make 100 pounds and 100 pounds of this $2.30 granulated sugar. I have not made the calculation to ascertain how much wider the difference would be if we had taken $2.43 or $2.63 as the proper sugar with which this is to be compared. It makes the difference fifty-three one-hundredths of a cent, more than half a cent difference on the grade of 87, adding the taxes on the raw and comparing that with $2.30 as the price of the refined sugar, which, as I have already stated, is lower than it ought to be taken at.

Now take 88, and the difference is fifty one-hundredths of a cent; 89, and it is five hundred and two one-thousandths of a cent. 90, forty-six one-hundredths of a cent; 91, forty-four one-hundredths of a cent; 92, forty-two one-hundredths of a cent; 93, forty-three one-hundredths of a cent; 94, four hundred and thirty-three one-thousandths of a cent; 95, four hundred and thirty-eight one-thousandths of a cent; 96, four hundred and forty-one one-thousandths of a cent; 97, forty-three and one-half one-hundredths of a cent. Here we have, taking the Senator from Rhode Island at his estimate of $2.30 for granulated sugar, a difference ranging from forty-three one-hundredths of a cent to fifty-three one-hundredths of a cent as the margin of difference, the profit to the sugar refiners in the manufacture of this product.

It may be that the intention of the Senate is to make this difference, but I confess I have doubts about it. The argument made by the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee in the House was that the difference allowed under his bill was only twelve and one-half one-hundredths of a cent. If he believes twelve and one-half one-hundredths of a cent is the fair difference between raw and refined, if twelve and one-half one-hundredths of a cent is fair profit to be allowed to the sugar refiners, if he made a mistake in making his schedule so as to give more than that, he certainly ought to be willing to make his schedule conform to it.

If the Finance Committee of the Senate intended to make a schedule which would give a smaller margin to the refiners than was given in the House—and I have shown them that so far from making it smaller they have made it larger—but if they are willing to make a schedule that is smaller than was intended in the House, I ask them so to frame this schedule as to carry out their intention. The figures will show in a way that can not be denied, that no man can gainsay or get away from, that the profit to the sugar refiners by this provision is away beyond the profit that would be gained by them if the Dingley bill had been adopted pure and simple, and a long ways above what is professed by both of the committees as being the margin they intended to give.

Mr. President, there are so many things in the bill that ought to be considered that I scarcely know what to take up first. I have pointed out briefly that the Senate committee, while leaving the Senate and the country to understand that their intention is to leave the profit of the sugar trust at something like they now have, have increased it. I am in favor of treating the sugar refiners as fairly as anybody else. But they have lived under one-eighth of a cent differential. We were told four years ago, when we were proposing to pass the Wilson bill, that if that measure were passed with no more margin to the sugar refiner, he would leave the United States; that he could not live in this country; that he could not exist. I confess an impression was made upon me that there might be danger that that was true.

For one I gave the most careful scrutiny and attention to the question. I looked into it conscientiously. I have no prejudice against anybody engaged in any branch of this industry, but I only felt that justice and fairness ought to be done. After I looked into it to the best of my ability, I was satisfied that a clear differential of one-eighth of a cent was all that ought to be allowed. That was adopted. It passed the Senate and became a law. The sugar refiners have gone on; they are engaged in manufacturing sugar now, and the sugar industry has been increasing under the present law.

Now, I ask, where is the excuse? What is the reason for increasing the margin given to the sugar refiners over what it is under the present law? How can it be justified? What is the occasion for it? What is the excuse for it? It certainly will result in levying taxes upon the people of the country by making the cost of sugar higher and higher to the people who consume it, and simply for the purpose of increasing the profits of people who are engaged in a business already profitable. If the Senate committee desire to make the sugar schedule mean what they say it means, then I ask Senators carefully to consider the amendment which I propose to offer, and which I conscientiously think ought to receive the votes of gentlemen on both sides of this Chamber. I am not proposing the amendment in a captious spirit; I am not proposing it to find fault with the schedule as proposed by the Senate committee. I am proposing it because I believe, as God is my judge, that it presents a fair difference between the refined and the raw and gives the refiners all the margin they are entitled to.

The bill as you propose will put on raw sugar of 75 degrees a duty of 1 cent a pound and three one-hundredths of a cent additional on every degree above that. That is, on all raw sugar. Now, why should not the same rate be applied to raw and refined, and then say that, in addition to this tax, on all refined sugar there shall be levied and collected one-eighth of 1 cent a pound additional? That plainly gives the difference. That lets the people of the country and the men in the Senate understand the amount of margin that is being given to the sugar refiners, and there can be no mistake about it. There is no juggling in it. The way it is done here now it provides that there shall be 1 cent a pound on 75-degree sugar and three one-hundredths of a cent additional for each additional degree, and upon the refined sugar $1.95 on the 100 pounds.

If raw sugar goes down in price, the margin of the trust becomes larger and larger. As I have read from the figures here, taking Mr. ALDRICH'S own figures, it shows a margin ranging from forty-three one-hundredths of a cent to fifty-three one-hundredths of a cent, instead of twelve and one-half one-hundredths of a cent, which the refiners get at present prices, and, as I say, I take his own figures. But when you institute a comparison between the raw German sugar, the first-marks German sugar, and the Havemeyer & Elder sugar, take that at its value in the market, instead of taking the price of $2.30, which the Senator from Rhode Island took—when you take it at $2.63, which the market fixes it at, you have a margin to the sugar refiner nearer a cent a pound than a half a cent. Why should intelligent people, men who mean to do right, men who intend to do what is fair, advocate a schedule here which will allow such a margin to the refiner, when they are proposing to give one-eighth of a cent a pound difference?

I am inclined to believe that the sugar-refining business would succeed on a margin less than one-eighth of 1 cent per pound. I am led to that belief by a number of facts which have developed here and there from time to time in my investigation of the sugar question. It is a question which perhaps requires expert knowledge to understand all the facts. No man not familiar with all the ins and outs of the sugar trade, no man not familiar with the details of sugar manufacture, can tell exactly what is right and what ought to be done. I have no disposition to strike down any interest, even one with the name of sugar trust. I would not legislate unfairly against anybody, even if he were in a trust.

I do believe that the general law ought to be enforced, and that whenever there is a combination in restraint of trade or for the purpose of putting up prices it should feel the heavy hand of the law; but when we are framing a tariff bill, although it may be charged that the sugar refiners or a large number of them are in

a trust, still I believe in looking at these things fairly and dispassionately, and I would not object to one-eighth of a cent margin between refined and raw if it were confined religiously and safely to that one-eighth. I am inclined to believe it is more than is necessary to make the business profitable, but still, as I am not sufficiently familiar to be able to say that that is true, I should be disposed to let that matter go.

There is another feature about these tariff taxes which I do not like. I know it is frequently charged that the sugar refiners want an ad valorem tax and that the sugar trade want a specific tax. I know that the committee of the sugar trade sent from New York which appeared before the Ways and Means Committee was strongly in favor of a specific tax. I had one of the papers written by one of the men who constituted the committee printed in the RECORD, so that Senators may see it. I read the argument carefully. I have considered the reasons which they presented in favor of a specific tax and as against an ad valorem tax.

I confess that my strong predilections in favor of an ad valorem tax have not been shaken by anything I have read in any of those arguments. It seems to me to be a just and fair method. Whenever a tax is to be levied, if an ad valorem tax can be honestly and fairly levied there can be no doubt it is the ideal method of levying taxes. An article worth 1 cent a pound ought to pay half as much tax as one worth 2 cents a pound, and no more and no less. It is unjust and it is unfair to provide a method of taxation which puts the same taxation on an article costing 2 cents as on one costing 1 cent. It is putting the double rate of taxation on the low article and one-half on the high grade.

I know perfectly well that the practice of the Republicans has always been to levy the highest taxes on the lowest grades and the cheapest articles, and to levy the lowest taxes on the highest grades and the most expensive articles. It has been a part of their financial system from the beginning. It is so now, and I can understand why they can believe that the levying of a specific tax is better than an ad valorem tax, because the people who use cheap sugar will be compelled to pay a higher rate of taxes than the people who use high-grade sugar. But I have no sympathy with that system of taxation. I believe that taxation ought to be equal; that it ought to be ad valorem; that it ought to be levied according to the value of the article to be taxed.

The one argument made against an ad valorem tax which seems to have force, and which I confess has force with me, is the charge of undervaluation, the charge of dishonesty in the administration of the law. In framing a tariff law we must assume in the first place that the Government is capable of getting honest men to administer the laws. If men can be hired to do wrong under an ad valorem tax, they can be as easily hired to do wrong under a specific tax. If we have honest and competent administrators of the law, then it eliminates that part of the trouble. Is it any easier to carry out frauds of this character under an ad valorem than under a specific tax, assuming that the officers of the law are equally competent under each?

We have been living under an ad valorem tax on the sugar schedule since the last law was passed. While complaints come from sugar traders and sugar growers and sugar dealers as to the difficulty of enforcing the law, I have not heard one single complaint from the Treasury Department that there is any difficulty in carrying it out. On the contrary, they report that it is easily enforced. I remember that when we talked about putting on an ad valorem tax four years ago, there were questions as to whether the difficulties of administration would not be so great as to make it practically nugatory. I talked with Treasury officials at the time. Some of them believed it could be done; some thought there was doubt about its being done; but all agreed that if you would provide competent and honest men, it ought to be worked out. We put it in the law, it has been tried, and the Treasury Department has not complained of its operation.

So I believe, Mr. President, that the just and fair way to levy a tax is to levy an ad valorem tax on sugar, and if I were proposing a sugar schedule and intended to propose the same rate that this schedule seeks to levy, I should put it in the form of an ad valorem tax and not in the form of a specific tax. I do not know that I shall make any motion in this direction, but I call attention to this as one of the difficulties which has to be considered. I think before I get through I will present some of the arguments which have been presented by those who are in favor of a specific tax, and compare them with the practical experience under the existing situation.

The sugar dealers, the sugar refiners, and the sugar growers have all been here in force and in numbers presenting their peculiar views on each member of the committee and each member of the Senate and House. Senator MILLS's forgotten man, the consumer, the seventy-odd millions who have to buy and consume sugar, have not been here. They have been waiting, hoping, believing that the members of the Senate would listen to reason, would find out what the truth is, and among themselves would do right. That class of men can not come here to present their views, but it is none the less our duty to look after them than it is our duty to look after what is presented so ably and shrewdly by men who have private and pecuniary interests in having their peculiar views adopted.

I have a letter from a sugar maker in California which is full of information, and the few Senators who do me the honor to listen to what I am saying will, I think, be edified by hearing the letter read. It is not a long one, but it is as full of information as an egg is of meat. It is from the Alameda Sugar Company, 132 Market street, San Francisco, Cal., and is as follows:

Hon. JAMES K. JONES,
Senate Chamber, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The Alameda Sugar Company, an association of 65 American stockholders, with a paid-up capital of $600,000, begs to present the following plea:

Last year we manufactured 4,700 tons refined sugar, from 3,500 acres, grown by 228 different farmers. This year we expect 9,000 tons refined sugar, from 6,600 acres, grown by 430 different farmers.

From the Hawaiian Islands, under the falsely called reciprocity treaty, there came in free of duty last year 227,000 tons of sugar.

This equals the product of twenty-five such factories as ours. These 227,000 tons displaced the most profitable product of 165,000 acres of land, and robbed 10,750 American farmers of their most profitable crop.

The manual labor which these 10,750 American farmers would have employed in the intensive farming which the cultivation of the sugar beet requires is still another consideration; the factory labor yet another.

Now, Senators, mark this:

To refine a ton of duty-free Hawaiian sugar requires the labor of one man for one and one-third days.

Yet we are asked to put a tax in this bill amounting practically to one-half of 1 cent a pound profit to the sugar refiners to compensate them, according to the Republican theory, for the difference in labor cost of refining sugar on this side of the water and on the other, and here is an American producer himself who states that a ton of sugar requires the labor of one man for one and one-third days.

Mr. BACON. If the Senator from Arkansas does not object to an interruption, I should like to ask him a question.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I do not object at all.

Mr. BACON. I am very much in accord with the Senator as to the propriety of an ad valorem duty. I wish to ask the Senator, before I put the question which I wish to propound, to state again the amendment which he suggests as the one that ought to be accepted.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Instead of having in the bill a tax of $1.95 on 100 pounds of refined sugar, I propose that the rate levied on raw sugar of 1 cent a pound on 75 degrees, and three-tenths of a cent additional on each degree above that, shall apply to refined as well as raw, and then that there shall be a difference of twelve and one-half one-hundredths of a cent specific between raw and refined sugar.

Mr. BACON. The question I wish to ask the Senator is this: For what purpose would the Senator consent to a higher rate of duty upon refined sugar than he would upon raw sugar?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Because the refining of sugar involves labor and expense. It has been the practice to allow something like a half cent difference between raw and refined sugar on account of the difference in labor, as it is called.

Mr. BACON. If I understand the Senator correctly, then, he wants this difference in rate between raw and refined sugar for the benefit of the refiner?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Certainly; of course.

Mr. BACON. It is not for revenue, then, but for the benefit of the refiner?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. That is the practical effect of it. We all know that that is what it means. I do not believe that any part of it ought to be sustained; but as between fifty one-hundredths of a cent for the refiners and twelve and one-half one-hundredths of a cent, I would rather submit to twelve and one-half one-hundredths.

Mr. BACON. I thoroughly agree with the Senator that the proposition to allow the refiners this great profit is not justifiable, and I am going to vote with him, but I want to know the particular ground on which the Senator justifies any difference.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I do not justify any difference. There is a difference between submission and justification.

Mr. BACON. Why is the Senator willing to have any difference?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. There is a difference between submission and justification. When a man can not help himself, he has to submit.

Mr. BACON. The Senator does not propose that as his particular view?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. No, sir; I do not. I propose it as fully meeting what is the pretended view on the other side; as meeting exactly what they pretend they want to do; as accomplishing what they profess to have in view. It fully meets it, and

it does it at one-quarter cost, and perhaps at one-eighth cost, of what their own proposed scheme would do.

Mr. BACON. Does not the Senator think that in proposing an amendment here it is better to propose an amendment which would be exactly in accord with his view, and as to which, I am frank to say, I would be glad to vote with him? I believe in a uniform rate on sugar, without distinction between raw and refined sugar.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I will vote for any proposition of that sort which the Senator may offer.

Mr. BACON. I am not offering one.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I am undertaking to deal now with conditions as we find them. We know the majority on the other side of the Chamber can do as they please with this proposition. When I undertake to show these gentlemen that what I have offered here carries out what the committees in both Houses have said they wanted to do, and will accomplish it clearly and distinctly, and there can be no doubt about it, but that it allows no hidden advantage to the refiners, I do have hopes that men on the other side of the Chamber will vote for the proposition because it does what they say they want to do. That is the reason why I offer it. That is the reason why I propose it, not because I believe it is a proper schedule as within itself, but it is a better schedule than the one they propose, and it is one that will result in enormous saving to the people of the country.

Mr. BACON. I will vote with the Senator on it.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I hope that a good many others will.

Mr. BACON. I am going to vote for one uniform rate.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I will vote for the proposition of a uniform rate which the Senator suggests. I have no hope of a perfect tariff bill under existing conditions. If we can get rid of some of the worst features of the bill as we go along, we will be doing amazingly well. I have no hope of changing its worst features, but when I offer a proposition which does what these gentlemen propose to do and clearly does it, and I show that their own proposition does not do it, but gives the refiner an advantage absolutely unjustifiable, I do hope that we will have support from the other side and that the committee will agree to accept this modification.

But to go on with this letter. I will read the last line again. There may be some Senator who did not hear it:

To refine a ton of duty-free Hawaiian sugar requires the labor of one man for one and one-third days.

This comes from a sugar grower, from a sugar refiner, from the Alameda Sugar Company of San Francisco.

To grow from the soil up and manufacture one ton of refined sugar requires the labor of one man for 38 days.

This 227,000 tons of Hawaiian duty-free sugar yearly displaces in money value—

Factory labor	$1,135,000	Coal	$1,500,000
Farm labor and rentals	9,000,000	Other supplies	650,000
Limestone	400,000		

The labor of allied industries, foundries, jute and cotton mills, etc., remain still to be reckoned on, and all this native labor displaced that a coolie-made contract-labor product may thrive in a foreign island.

The three localities in California where the three beet-sugar factories are already established are the only really prosperous agricultural communities in that State to-day.

Domestic exports to Hawaii in 1895 were not so large as in 1883; less by nearly $1,000,000 than in 1890, and less by over a million and a quarter than in 1891.

1883	$3,683,000	1892	$3,781,000
1890	4,606,000	1895	3,648,000
1891	4,935,000		

In this connection, before I forget it, I wish to make a suggestion about the importation of sugar from Hawaii. I have statements in my possession from reputable men, men of business, who state that the standard, fixed price by which the sugar of the Hawaiian Islands is sold to the refiners on the Pacific Coast is one-quarter of 1 cent less than the New York price for the same grade of sugar. What is the effect of it? The effect of it is that where, as we supposed, we were reducing the cost of sugar for the American consumer, by remitting the tariff on the Hawaiian sugar, the Hawaiian sugar growers get all of their profit except the one-quarter of 1 cent, and the sugar refiners get that, leaving nothing as the result to the consumers of this country.

Mr. MILLS. I will state, if the Senator will allow me, that according to the census report of 1890 the labor cost of refining $100 worth of sugar was $2.29.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Yes; and yet we are asked by this bill to give an average of 50 cents on the 100 pounds to compensate for the difference in labor cost between this country and Europe, where they refine sugar by pauper labor.

I will go on with the letter:

In 1895-96 the value of Hawaiian sugar imported was over $19,000,000, upon which the duty at 40 per cent would have been $7,600,000.

For the sake of maintaining a foreign commerce of $3,648,000, and in order that a few shipping houses of San Francisco may benefit by the trade and keep control of the large cash balances of Hawaiian planters, the nation at large must give up $7,600,000 of revenue.

This is reciprocal trade with a vengeance. This is a high price to induce the Hawaiian people to buy products from the American people.

For the sake that coolies may work in a foreign climate which white labor can not stand, and where the white and dominant race forms about 3 per cent only of the population, the laboring men of San Francisco now parade its streets calling for work, and a charitable fund aggregating $25,000 is daily published in its newspapers and is now being disbursed to an idle crowd who clamor for the tickets doled out to them in the order of application and which entitle each to a day's work at $1 per day upon an unnecessary boulevard.

That prosperity we heard about having arrived at Omaha the other day does not seem to have reached San Francisco. It seems to have been confined to rather a limited location. It has not spread around very generally.

Should a Coxey army again march on Washington and class ever be arrayed against class in our fair country, it will be because home labor is denied a right to work for its own market, in order that foreign coolie labor may add to the wealth of a class now actively at work to influence national legislation in a perpetuation of their privileges.

The local agents of Hawaiian planters, without any possible accruing benefit to themselves and as mere retaliation against the producer of native sugar, are to-day so unpatriotic as to be collecting figures—

I shall be glad to have Senators listen to this, because there is a sequel to it. These gentlemen go on, giving us valuable information:

The local agents of Hawaiian planters, without any possible accruing benefit to themselves and as mere retaliation against the producer of native sugar, are to-day so unpatriotic as to be collecting figures from native California sugar factories, in order to produce them at Washington and support their claim that native sugar needs no protection—

I have heard that when a certain class of men fall out honest men get their due—

whereas up to January 1, 1897, they knew that the Alameda Sugar Company—

That is, this company—

had, since 1880, paid out in dividends $130,000 and received in bounty $236,744.93, showing a loss without bounty of $96,744.93.

Conditioned upon favorable legislation, within two years the 75,000 tons of sugar needed on the Pacific Coast would be entirely made from the native product, and not a pound of this Hawaiian sugar would be required to supply the coast consumption.

The opposition to tariff legislation has always contended that tariffs were designed to aid manufacturers, trusts, and the moneyed class generally.

The abrogation of the Hawaiian treaty is respectfully asked in the interest of the agricultural class and of native labor.

For the purpose of diverting attention from the main question of protecting the California farmer and the investments of American capital in an American industry, the advocates of the continuance of Hawaiian reciprocity have recently begun the use of part of the California press in appealing to the prejudices of the people on the ground of an admission that Claus Spreckels had sold a minority interest in his two beet-sugar factories to the American sugar trust. While this fact may be regarded by many as a misfortune, the facts remain that there are other sugaries uncontrolled by the sugar trust and the development of the industry on so large a scale will tend to the permanent benefit of the depressed agricultural interests of the State.

Let the example of California in the matter of beet sugar be imitated by the different States along the northern and temperate belt of our country, and the multiplicity of factories would make the control of the industry by any concentrated power a commercial impossibility.

Very respectfully,

JAMES COFFIN.

James Coffin is the secretary of this company.

Now, I call the attention of Senators, as I read this letter, to the charge made by this man that—

Local agents of the Hawaiian planters, without any possible accruing benefit to themselves and as mere retaliation against the producer of native sugar, are to-day so unpatriotic as to be collecting figures from native California sugar factories in order to produce them at Washington and support their claim that native sugar needs no protection.

The charge is true, I presume. Whether these things have been procured by the Hawaiian sugar planters for the purpose of showing that the sugar business needs no protection, I do not know, but I hold in my hand a letter sent to me by a reputable citizen, a gentleman in whose personal integrity I have entire confidence, inclosing to me an affidavit, which I will read to the Senate as connected directly with the statement of the Alameda Sugar Company which I have just read in the hearing of the Senate. It is as follows:

[Norman McLaren, public accountant, 307 Sansome street. Member of the American Association of Public Accountants, New York.]

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., *April 21, 1897.*

OSCAR T. SEWALL, Esq.,
202 Market Street, San Francisco.

DEAR SIR: I beg to report that I have examined the books of the Alameda Sugar Company, and find that the net earnings of the company for the year, April 1, 1896, to April 1, 1897, (exclusive of bounty), were $99,231.16, being 39.692 per cent on the capitalization of $250,000.

Yet here we have the company writing this strong and eloquent appeal showing the crookedness of the other side of the sugar interest, pleading the baby act for themselves, that their infant industry must be protected and provision made under the law by which they can live, and here an accountant, who seems to be a reputable man, states that the percentage of profit made last year, down to the 1st day of last April, was more than 39 per cent. He signs it:

I am, dear sir, yours, faithfully,

NORMAN McLAREN.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 21st day of April, A. D. 1897.
[SEAL.] G. W. T. KNOX, *Notary Public.*
(In and for the city and county of San Francisco, State of California.)

Mr. PERKINS. What is the name of the man who made the affidavit?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. His name is Norman McLaren, of 307 Sansome street, San Francisco, Cal. He says he is a member of the American Association of Public Accountants of New York. The letter is addressed to Oscar T. Sewall, 202 Market street, San Francisco. He states that after an examination of the books the profit they have made is over 39 per cent, and then he swears to it before a notary public—G. W. T. Knox, notary public, San Francisco.

Mr. ALLISON. Was that of the crop of last year?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The examination was made of the books of the company for the year from April 1, 1896, to April 1, 1897, exclusive of bounty, he states.

Mr. ALLISON. There was no bounty then.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I suppose it is a State bounty; I do not know.

Mr. PERKINS. We have no State bounty.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I do not know, but he says "exclusive of any bounty." I do not know how that comes in, but that is in the letter. I have read it as it is. The letter is dated April 21, 1897, and the jurat is of the same date.

Mr. President, I do not know whether the statement made by either of these people is true or not, but one thing that I do know is that in making the argument in favor of one branch of the sugar business they make statements about another part of it that I believe to be literally true, and I am inclined to think that they are both true.

I have a copy of a statement by Professor Wiley, chief of a division in the Agricultural Department here, who makes a statement about the figure that ash cuts in beet sugar compared to what it did some years ago. Members of the Senate will remember that in former discussions here great importance was given to the amount of ash that was involved in beet sugar. It was said that the outturn was very much less on account of ash and the sugar that will not crystallize. I do not remember the technical name.

Mr. ALLISON. Invert sugar.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Yes; invert sugar. The statement is that this amounts to very much less now than it did formerly. I will read only a few words of it, and let the whole of it go into the RECORD.

By modern methods of manufacture, however, the influence of ash has been very greatly lessened in respect of its molasses-forming properties; in fact, molasses has almost disappeared as a product of beet-sugar factories, it being possible, by the best modern improved methods, to extract almost the entire quantity of sugar.

The statement referred to is as follows:

It gives me pleasure to comply with your request to express my views in regard to the influence of ash upon the rendement of sugar during the process of refining. In the older methods of manufacture the influence of the ash was felt to a more or less extent in the refining of sugar. The ash of the sugar cane, being less molassigenic than that of the sugar beet, was regarded as of less importance. In former times it was the custom to estimate the ash in raw beet sugars and to multiply the contents by 3 or 4 and deduct the product from the polarization in computing rendement. By modern methods of manufacture, however, the influence of the ash has been very greatly lessened in respect of its molasses-forming properties. In fact, molasses has almost disappeared as a product of beet-sugar factories, it being possible, by the best modern improved methods, to extract almost the entire quantity of sugar, even from the lowest grade molasses.

While it is true that the ash content of a raw sugar has doubtless a disturbing effect in the refining of sugar, it is no longer just to magnify it, as was done in former days. There is no reason whatever for discriminating between the raw cane and beet sugars in this respect; in point of fact, the raw beet sugars which are imported into this country have so little ash as to make any discrimination in their favor unnecessary. Raw beet sugars imported into this country polarize from 92 to 96 per cent, and the quantity of ash they contain is of little consequence, in view of the improvements in refining which have been lately introduced. It is not necessary for me to call your attention here to the fact that the sugar is completely separated from the lowest grade molasses, even in the case of sugar beets, by precipitation with lime. The lime compound is afterwards broken up with carbonic acid, and the sugar obtained in almost a pure state. In this way a complete separation of the sugar, even from the most alkaline salts, is easily obtained.

H. W. WILEY,
Chief of Division of Chemistry.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I read what I did only to lay a predicate for another letter, which I wish now to present to the Senate, if I can put my hands on it.

Mr. CAFFERY. Before the Senator gets on that point, I will state to him that I was absent from the Chamber while he made his preliminary statement, and I desire to know to what degree of saccharine strength you run raw sugar before you commence adding a differential upon refined. Is it 96 test?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. In the comparisons that I made, I took, first, sugar testing 87 with its price, as given in the table submitted by the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH], at $1.88 a hundred pounds. I then took the tax under this bill, which would be $1.36 on a hundred pounds. The cost of that sugar, $1.88, and the tax, $1.36, added together makes $3.24, which would be the cost of 100 pounds of 87 sugar. The Treasury Department holds that it takes 124.27 of 87 sugar to make 100 pounds of granulated. I multiply $3.24 by 1.24 and get $4.02 as the total amount of cost of 87 sugar to make 100 pounds of granulated sugar.

I then took granulated sugar at the rate stated by the Senator from Rhode Island, at $2.30 a hundred pounds. I called the attention of the Senate before I began to the fact that this is German sugar, costing $2.30 [exhibiting]; that this is American sugar [exhibiting]. The difference between the two is very apparent. The Senator from Rhode Island stated that the better class of German sugar, instead of $2.30, would cost 13 points more, making $2.43, and he stated that Dutch sugar and English sugar would cost 33 points more, making it cost $2.63 instead of $2.30. Here is Dutch sugar [exhibiting], here is German sugar [exhibiting], and here is American sugar [exhibiting]. I defy any man living to show the difference between them.

I stated that the fair way to make these estimates would be to compare the cost of the raw sugar with the value of the American refined that was made out of it, and that $2.63 would be a proper basis on which to institute this comparison. But for the purpose of conservatism and to be sure that it would give the other side all it was entitled to, I made the calculation not at $2.63, but at $2.30, which would make the difference between the cost of the two fifty-seven one-hundredths of a cent. The margin will be greater if you take the actual value of the American sugar and compare it with a certain class of German sugar. If you compare it with German sugar, it will make a wide margin; but taking it at the lowest price, getting rid of all the difficulties they get rid of by taking a price to suit themselves, it makes a difference of more than half a cent a pound.

Following that down, I stated what the margin would be on each degree from 87 to 97. The whole statement will appear in the RECORD, and it will show just what the margin would be to the trust. Before the debate closes, I think it is due to the Senate and due to the public, for the sake of gaining a knowledge of this question, that they shall know what the margin is between these figures as stated here and the figures if the price were put down at $2.63 instead of $2.30.

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. FAULKNER in the chair). Does the Senator from Arkansas yield to the Senator from Kentucky?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. With pleasure.

Mr. LINDSAY. I ask for explanation. I understand in ascertaining the saccharine matter in sugar by the polariscopic test 100 is the unit.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Yes, sir; it is purity.

Mr. LINDSAY. How close to the unit of purity does American refined sugar or any refined sugar approximate?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I think all such sugar as this [exhibiting]—Havemeyer, Dutch, Austrian—goes above 99, some above 99½. Some of it goes to 99.8. But I do not suppose that there is any sugar that is absolutely free from some foreign matter, usually water.

Mr. LINDSAY. Then, if no sugar above 87 can be refined under this bill without any differential, the refiners will get the advantage of the difference allowed between 99 and 87 to cover the expense of refining?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Necessarily.

Mr. ALLISON. Do I understand the Senator from Arkansas to contend that there are no sugars refined below 87 degrees?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Not at all. I was making this calculation on the basis of 87.

Mr. ALLISON. That was the inference drawn by the Senator from Kentucky.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The great bulk of sugar is really from 92 to 96.

Mr. LINDSAY. Then the sugar refiner gets the difference under this bill of the tariff between 92 or 96 and pure sugar, 99 and 100?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Whatever of pure sugar fails to come up to 96 will be a practical benefit to the refiners, because this calculation is made on the basis of refined sugar. But the advantage to the sugar refiners, after all, comes from the difference between the cost of the raw sugar and the cost of the refined with the tariff added. When you take a sufficient amount of sugar of any grade to make 100 pounds of refined sugar and figure up the entire cost, and then take 100 pounds of foreign refined sugar and add the tariff, taking one from the other, you get the margin of protection that the refiners have in their business.

Mr. CAFFERY. Then I understand the Senator from Arkansas to say that at 87 degrees the differential in favor of the fine sugar is fifty-seven one-hundredths of a cent a pound.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I believe I read it fifty-seven. I think it is fifty-three.

Mr. CAFFERY. I will state to the Senator from Arkansas that the 96-test sugars, which are the base of all raw sugar, are nearly purity itself. There is only 4 per cent left of moisture, or dirt, or whatever substance there may be in pure sugar. The Louisiana centrifugals will very frequently come up to 100 per cent purity. After having washed all the coloring matter out of it centrifugal sugar will polarize by the polariscope just about

98 per cent of the sugar on an average, and I think the sugar of the American refining institution or the trust will more often than otherwise approach 100 per cent pure sugar.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I have been looking anxiously for a letter which I have from Mr. Farr. I had it among my papers. I find two letters from him, but not the one I want. I can state the substance of the letter, but not half so well as the writer himself states it. I regret exceedingly that I have it not. His statement is pertinent to this particular question. Instead of being necessary to take 107 pounds of 96 sugar to make 100 pounds of granulated, while it may be true that something approaching 107 pounds of 96 sugar are necessary to make 100 pounds of granulated, and while something approaching 112 pounds of 92 sugar may be necessary to make 100 pounds of granulated, this man, who is a member of the committee sent by the New York sugar trade to the Ways and Means Committee to present the schedule that was adopted by the committee, states positively in his letter to me over his own signature that they make 100 pounds of sugar actually out of every 100 pounds of sugar melted; that instead of this calculation being proper which adds one-fifth, as it did, thereby decreasing the apparent difference between the value of sugar and decreasing the price to the sugar refiners, they get absolutely 100 pounds of sugar out of every 100 pounds of sugar melted. He told me that personally at first. I said, "Mr. Farr, that must be an impossibility; there are but 96 pounds of sugar in 100 pounds of 96 sugar. How is it possible to get 100 pounds of sugar out of it?" He said, "It is as simple as A B C. If you made every ounce of your 100 pounds of sugar of centrifugal like that, it would take 107 pounds to do it. But that," he said, "is never done." He told me that the very week before he was talking to me a sugar refiner told him that they were then making but 60 per cent of refined, granulated sugar out of the sugar they refined.

Mr. Farr inclosed to me, which I wanted to present to the Senate (I am sorry I can not find it; I will put it in the RECORD), a certificate from a New York firm giving the saccharine contents of what he says are the fourteen varieties of sugar made by the American Sugar Refining Company. They certainly understand how to manage sugar. They know what they are doing. They make, as he says, on an average 75 per cent of dry granulated sugar out of the sugar they melt. Then they make 25 pounds of soft sugar; that is, refined sugar. They make sugar going through all grades. Here is a sugar [exhibiting] that only tests 87½.

That sugar is 12½ per cent water, and it is white. I have in my possession samples of sugar testing only 84 degrees, and they are very white, but they are soft. There is 4 per cent of water in 100 pounds of 96 sugar, and there is 96 pounds of sugar in it. If they take 75 pounds of granulated sugar, and if they have only 4 pounds of water in the 25 pounds remaining, they would have a grade of sugar that would show less of water than this sample does. [Exhibiting.] This is a sample of white sugar [exhibiting] which has more than 10 per cent of water in it; yet in making up the calculations of the profits to sugar refiners no account is taken of this fact, and we make the calculation as though the whole of it was brought down to fine granulated sugar. Such is not the case. Such is never the case.

How can any member of the Senate who will look these facts in the face as I have presented them have any doubt that this sugar schedule, as it has been brought into the Senate, gives an unconscionable advantage to the sugar refiners and gives them a margin of profit which can not be justified on any ground in the world?

I have already stated that I propose to offer an amendment to this bill which will bring the margin of profit down to what they say it is, 12½ cents on the hundred pounds. I stated, while I was willing to do that, that I did not believe even that was necessary to make their business a profitable one.

I told you what Mr. Farr said in his letter, and I presented a letter of a New York chemist, showing that there is absolutely no loss on account of impurities in the sugar, because, after all, the sugar that is below the 100 standard is made up of saccharine matter and water. There is the smallest possible amount of coloring matter and other stuff of that sort in sugar; it is infinitesimal in weight and amounts to practically nothing when refining takes place. When all these advantages are considered, I do not see how any man can hesitate for a moment to admit that the change I propose in this schedule would give the sugar refiners more than they are fairly entitled to.

Mr. CAFFERY. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Arkansas yield to the Senator from Louisiana?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. With pleasure.

Mr. CAFFERY. I did not hear all the Senator from Arkansas said, and I will ask him to tell me what will be the difference between this bill and the Wilson law in the margin allowed to the refiner?

Mr. ALLISON. On the 87-degree test?

Mr. CAFFERY. No, sir; on the basis of the 96 test, the basis on which the refiner calculates the cost.

Mr. ALLISON. Why not give the 87 test, as now stated by the Senator, instead of the 96 test?

Mr. CAFFERY. Because the basis of the 96 test of sugar is the basis from which the refiner calculates the cost of all raw sugars under that test.

Mr. ALLISON. Yes; but the Senator from Arkansas is now making the comparison with the 87 test. I hope he will answer the question of the Senator from Louisiana and give us the differential upon that test in the present law as compared with the proposed schedule in the bill, and then I shall be very glad also to have the 96 test.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I shall answer the question of the Senator from Louisiana to the best of my ability, and then I shall endeavor to answer any question the Senator from Iowa may desire to ask.

Mr. ALLISON. I have no question to ask. I only wanted to get the scope of the question of the Senator from Louisiana.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I thought I had the figures here. I have them somewhere among my papers, but I came here somewhat hastily this morning and have mislaid some of them.

My impression is that under the Wilson law on sugars testing 96 degrees the refiners get a margin of twenty-one one-hundredths of a cent a pound. I have the exact figures in relation to this matter, but I can not put my hand on them now; but it is about twenty-one one-hundredths of a cent under the present law, as compared with fifty-three one-hundredths as proposed by the Senator from Iowa. That is about the difference, I take it.

Mr. ALLISON. Now, I will venture to ask the Senator a question, if he will allow me; but I do not wish to interrupt him. The Senator draws the differential as respects this bill and the cost of the sugar upon the 87-degree polariscope test, and makes the difference fifty-three one-hundredths. Then he takes the differential, in answer to the question of the Senator from Louisiana as respects the present law, and makes a difference of twenty-one one-hundredths on the test of 96 degrees. I merely want to call attention to that.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I think, since the Senator has called my attention to it, that the margin on 96 sugar is only about 13 or 14 under the Wilson law, and the margin on 88 sugar would be about 20. With the comparison between the two under the amendment as the Senator proposes it, the difference on 96 sugar, as I make it, is about 43, and the difference on 87 or 88 sugar is about 53 now. As this is a mere matter of impression, I will make the figures and present them later; but I think under the Wilson law that the difference on 96 sugar is about 13 or 14, and the difference on 87 sugar would be about 20 or 21.

Mr. ALLISON. I should be very glad to see this expert whose tabulation the Senator has produced give the difference on each scale of sugar between the present law and the proposed amendment.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. What is the proposition?

Mr. ALLISON. I wish whoever makes these tables—of course the Senator does not make them himself——

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I do.

Mr. ALLISON. Very well. Then I hope the Senator will draw the distinction all along the line of these different grades of tests, showing the difference between each degree of sugar between our amendment and the present law.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I shall endeavor to get an expert familiar with that to do that for me. The figures from which I have been quoting to-day and which I quoted some few moments ago were made by an expert and furnished to me, but every one of them I had made before and had them in pencil. I took his because they were typewritten and because I could more readily read them; but I have made every one of the figures I have given, and I believe they are absolutely correct.

Mr. ALLISON. Are they in that table?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. A part of them are. I will endeavor to put all of them in as well as I can.

Mr. President, there are one or two other points in connection with this subject that I should like to present if I can find the data that I had, but I am afraid I have mislaid them or left them at my room.

There have been some very remarkable arguments presented to maintain the Hawaiian treaty, and they are sending here newspaper clippings and letters and arguments of one sort or another which are very striking.

Mr. WHITE. Will the Senator permit me?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Certainly.

Mr. WHITE. As I was necessarily absent during the first few hours of the session to-day, I should like to inquire whether the Senator from Iowa presented any amendment with reference to the provision relating to the Hawaiian treaty?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. He did not; but he asked that the portion of the bill referring to that treaty should go over.

Mr. WHITE. Is it understood that some amendment will be presented? I presume there will be an amendment offered later on.

Mr. ALLISON. I have no doubt the whole question will be fully discussed, and it is possible that the majority of the committee may present an amendment and it is possible they may not.

Mr. WHITE. I am inclined to agree with the Senator in that. [Laughter.]

Mr. CAFFERY. I will inquire of the Senator from Iowa whether we will know, after that very unequivocal statement, what the committee propose to do?

Mr. ALLISON. The provision respecting Hawaii is in the bill and it can not be got out of the bill without an amendment, and therefore the question is already before the Senate, whether the committee propose an amendment or not. If the committee can agree upon a plan or a scheme of their own, they may possibly present it, and if they do not agree, they will not present it, but leave it to the Foreign Relations Committee, which deals with these subjects, to present such amendment as it may think proper.

Mr. WHITE. I will ask the Senator from Iowa if it is possible that this bill is to get into the Committee on Foreign Relations?

Mr. ALLISON. No one knows into what committee it may get before it is completed. But the question is before the Senate, and if the committee choose to make no amendment, the subject must be considered by the Senate. The Senator from California certainly understands that.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President, I will say to the Senator from Iowa that of course I understand that; but as we have been informed two or three times that there was an amendment in process of construction somewhere and by somebody, I merely desired to know whether that amendment was of a practical character, whether it really had some essence, and would perhaps appear, but the Senator not being able to tell more definitely as to the matter, I shall not press it. I do not wish to intrude upon the secrets of the caucus chamber at all.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Mr. President, while I have not found the letter from Mr. Farr, I have found the chemist's certificate, which he sends, and which gives the different grades of sugar, and I call the attention of the Senate to the saccharine strength of the various grades he gives as being made by the sugar refineries. His statement is as follows:

SUGAR CERTIFICATE.

[Duplicate.]

A. WEICHERT LABORATORY,
101 Wall Street, New York, December 22, 1896.

Messrs. NEVERS & CALLAGHAN:

I hereby certify that I have examined the samples of sugar marked as below and find them to contain as follows:

Marked.	Cane sugar.	Marked.	Cane sugar.
Ex-refinery:	*Per cent.*	Ex-refinery—Continued.	*Per cent.*
1	94.4	11	85.4
2	93	12	86
3	91.9	13	85.6
4	90.4	14	85.6
5	87.6	15	85.4
6	87	Yellow Scotch	89
7	86.1	Dutch granulated	99.7
8	85.8	German granulated	99.7
9	84.6	American granulated	99.8
10	84.5		

A. WEICHERT CHEMICAL LABORATORY,
101 Wall Street, New York.

This shows the grades of sugar made by the refineries, and it goes at least to the extent to sustain the statement made by Mr. Farr, that the sugar refineries make 100 pounds of sugar out of every 100 pounds of sugar melted.

Mr. CHILTON. Do they make it from the German sugar?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I do not know as to that, but I presume there is some German sugar used. The great bulk, however, of the sugar of this country is the cane sugar.

Mr. CHILTON. I understand that; but I want to know what is the per cent of adulteration.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I think there is more adulteration of German sugar than of cane sugar. I know two or three years ago there was a much larger per cent of ash in German sugar; and it was to show that improved methods had got rid to a great extent of those difficulties that I read the statement of Professor Weichert.

Mr. CHILTON. I understand that this which is called the refined sugar is supposed to test 100 degrees, that there is such an amount of water poured into it that it does not test 100 degrees, and all I want to get at is whether the German refined sugar that is brought here is subject to the same difficulty or trouble.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. There is, of course, water present in all sugar below 100 degrees. In sugar testing 100 degrees there is no water; it is perfectly dry; but the sugar below 100 degrees, as a rule, has no deleterious substances present; it has no foreign matter except water. Sugar testing 96 degrees, as a rule, means 96 pounds of sugar and 4 pounds of water. There is no special harm in it.

There are some crudities and impurities that are taken out, but they are infinitesimal in point of weight, and this, of course, is less and less the case as the sugar is higher and higher in test. In the lower grades of sugar there is more molasses. Of course these impurities and ingredients are less in the higher grades of sugar, but even where there is a considerable amount of molasses present it is saccharine matter—sugar that has not been crystallized.

Mr. President, I have a sort of circular which was sent to me from San Francisco in favor of maintaining the Hawaiian treaty. It is a remarkable paper in many respects, and I will ask the indulgence of the Senate to read it as a specimen of the sort of arguments that are used for the purpose of maintaining that treaty. The circular says:

DEAR SIR: Your attention is directed to the following article published in the San Francisco Examiner of Monday, May 24, 1897:

"THE PROFITS OF HAWAIIAN TRADE.

"The sugar trust is weakening in its efforts to smash the Hawaiian reciprocity treaty. According to the reports from Washington, it is now ready to compromise by providing for a levy on Hawaiian products of but one-third their ordinary duties.

"This is, as a matter of course, to be preferred to the proposition to put Hawaii on the same footing as foreign countries and tax her products at full rates. But the proposition should none the less be resisted by the California delegation in Congress and beaten out of the tariff bill. It is but the change from a proposition to kill our trade with the islands to a proposition to take away part of the trade. California has no trade that she is willing to spare, and the effort to deprive her of any part of it should meet with strenuous resistance.

"The efforts to prove that our trade with Hawaii is a losing business for the United States still continue, in spite of the demonstration offered that it is the most profitable part of our local commerce. The fact that we bought $15,244,977 from Hawaii in the last calendar year, and sold Hawaii only $4,184,351 worth of goods in exchange is advanced as a proof that the trade is costing more than it brings.

"The absurdity of this view has already been explained by the Examiner. So far from showing a loss, the figures show a profit. We received $15,244,977 in goods. We sent only $4,184,351 in exchange. On any system of bookkeeping in private business these figures would show that we made a profit of $11,060,626. The prevalent theory that this is a 'balance of trade' against us is probably founded on the idea that this difference between exports and imports is a 'due bill' that must be settled in coin. The customs figures show that this is a gross error. We sent to Hawaii in the calendar year 1896 $1,065,278 in gold and $73,000 in silver. This is the total shipment in settlement of the 'balance.' The other $9,221,448 was profit. We swapped off $5,323,529 of merchandise and cash for goods worth $15,244,977."

Mr. President, I shall not read the remainder of this statement, but the idea of anybody solemnly sending a document of that sort, printing it, and undertaking to make men of sense believe that we have made a profit of over $9,000,000 in a transaction of that kind, because it did not show how they were paid for, is such an absurdity that there is no use of anyone stopping to discuss it. If the profits were made by the people of San Francisco out of the investment, it makes no difference. Suppose you admit, for the sake of argument, that these absurd claims are true, who would get the benefit? The individuals who bought the goods at one-third the value have obtained the profit.

It has been of no benefit to the American public, no benefit to the Treasury, no benefit to any taxpayer in the United States, and even if the absurd statement were true, it would be no reason for maintaining a condition of things such as is existing now. The statement made by this sugar company that we are giving up more than $7,000,000 of tariff a year for the purpose of inducing the Hawaiian people to buy $4,000,000 worth of goods from us is a plain statement of the common sense of the situation; and if the American people refuse to continue to remit this amount of $7,000,000 of tariff taxes, the statement made by me a few minutes ago that the standing agreement between the sugar refiners and the sugar producers was that the sugar producers of Hawaii should have for their sugar what the sugar was worth in New York, less one-fourth of a cent, shows where the profit goes.

What is the value of the sugar in New York? It is the value of the outside article obtained in Cuba, the Philippine Islands, or anywhere abroad, and the tariff paid to lay it down in New York. Now, as to the foreign cost of sugar in the Hawaiian or the Philippine Islands, or the West India Islands, or in South America, they sell this sugar higher than any Cuban can sell his sugar, and by so much higher as the American tariff, less one-fourth of a cent a pound, which goes to the trust.

It seems to me, Mr. President, that that statement ought to make it impossible for the American Senate to continue a system which takes out of the Treasury practically $7,000,000 a year which is all to go into the hands of the Hawaiian sugar producers except one-quarter of a cent a pound that is to go to the refiners of New York.

Mr. LINDSAY. Where do the persons live who make the Hawaiian sugar?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. In San Francisco, I suppose—that is, I suppose most of the men who own the plantations live there. I understood that at least a great many of them live there. The labor that produces that sugar is cooly labor, and there is only 3 per cent of the population in the Sandwich Islands white people.

If this profit went to the labor of the Sandwich Islands—as all the other taxes that we levy here are for the benefit of labor—it would not be for the benefit of the white laborer, but it would go to coolies; it would not go to Americans or people speaking the language of our country. It may be possible that a lot of San Francisco or California people may own the plantations in Hawaii, and it may be of enormous value to them to be allowed to bring their sugar in and sell it at the same price it would sell for duty paid; but is there any justice in levying a tax upon the masses of the people to enable those who happen to own plantations in Hawaii to sell their sugar to the American people at a higher price than they would sell it but for this law?

Mr. LINDSAY. I will ask the Senator if the sugar planters live in the United States and pocket the profits whether that does not account for the fact that we do not send the money out to Hawaii?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. That is precisely the way I account for it.

Mr. President, there are many other facts in connection with this matter that I should like to present to the Senate, but I have already been on my feet so long that I feel that I ought not to trespass any longer on the time or patience of the Senate; but before the debate is closed I shall attempt to elucidate some other points on the question to the best of my ability.

Mr. MILLS. I want to state that on the vote taken this morning I was paired with the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. THURSTON] on the amendment offered to the bill by the Senator from Utah [Mr. CANNON]. Had I been present, I should have voted "nay."

Mr. VEST. Mr. President, it is not my purpose to attempt any elaborate address on this important schedule. There has been a vast amount of irritation exhibited whenever the schedule has come up for discussion in any tariff bill. In 1894 it was the Cape Hatteras of debate, and caused investigation, vituperation, libel, and slander until the character of individual Senators and the character of the Senate at large became involved in the discussion.

The sugar trust is a plain, palpable, bald, admitted trust. It controls, according to statements of its own members, 70 per cent of the consumption of sugar in the United States; and it is stated by experts who are not in the trust that the amount it controls is 96 per cent, leaving only 4 per cent outside of its cormorant grasp. I know that the decision made by the circuit court of the United States and affirmed by the Supreme Court, involving the effect of the antitrust law, misnamed the Sherman Act—with which Mr. Sherman had no more to do than the inhabitant of another planet—the antitrust law, which was framed by the Judiciary Committee, chiefly by Mr. Edmunds, then Senator from Vermont, and reported to the Senate and passed by both Houses, and construed by the Supreme Court of the United States, first by the circuit court in New Jersey, in a case where the sugar trust was a party—it was not pretended that it was not a trust, but that case went off upon the question whether the product of the trust had entered into interstate commerce so as to bring it and bring the trust within the sphere of the operation of that law. That was the only point virtually decided.

As to its being a trust, as to its controlling the sugar consumption in the United States, there was no pretense of denial. It is not only an open and undisguised and palpable and admitted trust, but its operations have been flagrant, bold, and its managers have been men of the greatest financial and economic ability; and it has proceeded with a confidence that arose from a sense of ability and from the consciousness of great financial resources. It has been estimated that this trust has invested in the refining of sugar some $25,000,000. It has bought up all the rival refineries that were of sufficient importance to interfere with the general design of monopoly.

In the city of St. Louis the old Belcher refinery, which at one time was considered a marvel of prosperity and production in the way of refined sugar, was bought by the trust and closed; and the same thing happened with the large refinery finished in 1895 in the city of Baltimore. Its doors were suddenly closed and its chimneys have been smokeless from that time. When the facts came out, it developed that this refinery, like the Belcher refinery and the refinery in San Francisco, had passed into the control of this giant monopoly, and for its purposes had gone out of practical operation.

To show the enormous profits of this business, it is only necessary to refer to the testimony of Mr. Searles in the Lexow investigation. Mr. Searles made no phenomenal revelations, because the reports of the company and what can be read by any man in regard to its stock and its dividends show its enormous profits. With $24,000,000 of capital invested, or $35,000,000 at the largest estimate, the trust has $37,500,000 of preferred stock and $37,500,000 of common stock, making $75,000,000. Upon the $37,500,000 of common stock it pays 3 per cent every three months, or 12 per cent a year, equivalent to 13 per cent.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. My understanding is that it pays 6 per cent on its preferred stock and 12 per cent on the common.

Mr. VEST. It pays 7 per cent on the preferred and it pays 12 per cent upon the common, which is equivalent to 21 per cent, because when a dividend is payable every three months the calculation is that 1 per cent is added to its annual value. That would make it 13 per cent upon the common stock and 8 per cent upon the preferred—in the aggregate 21 per cent on the common and preferred.

Mr. BATE. I will ask the Senator from Missouri if the stock has been watered? I just came into the Chamber, and I did not hear the Senator's statement. If it has been watered, to what extent has it been watered?

Mr. VEST. As a matter of course it has been watered. I yield to the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. CAFFERY] to make a statement.

Mr. CAFFERY. I simply desire to read the quotations of the stock of the American Sugar Refining Company for a number of years.

For the year 1892: Common, 115⅛; lowest, 78⅛; closing, 111½. Preferred, 107⅛; lowest, 90; closing, 99½. Sales, 4,514,617 shares of common.

For the year 1893 the highest quotation of common was 134⅛; lowest, 61½; closing, 81⅞. I will not read the whole of the table.

For the year 1894: Common, 134⅛; lowest, 75⅛; closing, 89½. For the year 1895, 121½; lowest, 90½; closing, 102½. The figures all run above par both for common and preferred for 1892, 1893, 1894, and 1895.

Mr. WHITE. While the Senator from Louisiana is upon his feet, I should like to inquire whether the introduction of this reform sugar schedule by the other side of the Chamber has had any effect on the stock market in reference to sugar stock?

Mr. VEST. It went up five points.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. In one day, and it has gone up since then.

Mr. CAFFERY. This is a report for the period from 1892 to 1895, and the proposed bill would have no effect on that term. I simply read the figures to show the amount of premium the stock is carrying.

Mr. WHITE. My question was addressed to the effect of the bill upon stock at a recent date.

Mr. VEST. Some of us may be mistaken with regard to the sugar schedule, but there are certain people who are never mistaken, and those people are in Wall street. The speculators of Wall street understand immediately and almost instinctively the effect of legislation here. There is no question in regard to the correctness of their conclusion. When our friends in caucus the other day decided upon the present and pending schedule, sugar stock went up five points in thirty minutes, and it has continued to go up ever since. I am told that to-day it is as high as 124, having started immediately on the adjournment of the caucus from 118. There is no question about the correctness of their conclusion. They know whether this schedule is more favorable to them than the existing law, or than the Dingley bill, or than what is called the Aldrich amendment, and the result is shown in the stock board, and it is now predicted, as I understand from a gentleman in speculation, I believe, to some extent, that sugar will go to 150. The trust has all it wants.

But I have not contented myself with conjecture in regard to this matter, and with the assistance of the best expert in the United States, in my opinion. I have arrived mathematically at the effect of the caucus amendment, and I have here tables showing all the different phases of the sugar question, worked out with absolute certainty, and they put the question beyond doubt. Of course I shall not undertake to go through this labyrinth or wilderness of calculation upon an occasion like the present, and I will content myself with results. I take it for granted the Senate wants to know the difference of protection given to the trust under these different measures, commencing with the existing law and winding up with the proposed amendments or schedule of the caucus which we are now considering.

One question which has to be determined is upon what grade of sugar shall we make the calculation. Of course Senators know, and it is an elementary fact in regard to the sugar schedule, that there are two systems upon which to treat this question. One is that of color, and the other is that of saccharine strength. When you speak of 16 Dutch standard, you mean a color about like that of coffee. When you speak of the polariscopic test, you mean its saccharine strength, running from 75 to 99 degrees, making altogether twenty-six grades or degrees, according to the polariscopic test.

Governor DINGLEY, in framing his bill in the House, took 92-degree sugar as the test upon which he based his bill and sent it to the Senate. He assumed, and I think correctly, that 92 is about the mean or medium degree, going up from 92 to 99 and from 92 down to 75. The sugar dealers of New York, and conspicuously the great house of Willett & Gray, took 96 as the grade upon which the sugar schedule should be determined and argued. As was said by my colleague upon the Committee on Finance, the Senator

from Arkansas [Mr. JONES], the lower grades of sugar are full of impurities, with large quantities of water, and they are not the favorites of the trust, but the higher grades of sugar produce the article which competes with the granulated sugar of Germany, which is refined sugar, coming into this market in large quantities, and there is the battlefield between the foreigner and the domestic refiner in the United States.

I repeat, that the 96 polariscopic grade is that upon which this question must be argued and determined, because that is the grade in which the trust is more interested than in any other, and not in the lower or muscovado sugars, which are full of impurities and which the refiners never buy if they can help it. As a matter of course, there has been a vast change in the sugar market of the world produced by the Cuban revolution or war. If Senators would go to the official reports, they would find that from importations of a billion and half pounds of sugar brought to us from Cuba and the Philippine Islands it has fallen off to some 200,000,000 pounds, and if the war continues it is safe to assume that the cane sugar of Cuba will practically disappear from the American market.

The trust, compelled to have its raw material in spite of war, was forced to go to the beet sugar of Germany, and the result was that the beet sugar of Germany, as shown by official reports, increased in importation in 1896, or in the nine months preceding July of this year, from 400,000,000 to 900,000,000 pounds. So there has been a revolution. In 1896, 2,230,000,000 pounds of cane sugar were brought into this country and refined, but that has fallen off to a billion and a half, and the place of the Cuban cane sugar has been taken by the beet sugar from Germany.

Mr. President, I come to the real question in which every Senator is interested, and in which the people particularly are interested. What is the protection given to the trust by existing law? What is the result of this amendment? Have the speculators of Wall street been mistaken in regard to its effect when they put sugar up from 118 to 124 inside of the past two days? I assert that this calculation is mathematically correct. I have gone over it carefully, deliberately, and am responsible for it, because I know that it was made by a man, in my judgment, the most competent that can be found for such work.

We will take, in the first place, 96-degree sugar, which is the test sugar. Under the Wilson Act the protection is thirty-four and a fraction cents on the hundred pounds to the trust; under the Dingley bill instead of 34 it is 59 cents on the hundred pounds; under the Aldrich amendment it is 61 cents; under the present schedule proposed by the caucus it is 66, an increase over the Aldrich amendment, which was itself an increase over the Dingley bill, which was itself an increase over the Wilson Act; and the difference between the Aldrich amendment and the caucus schedule is over 5 cents on the hundred pounds.

Mr. President, this calculation is made upon the prices given by the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH] in his speech. I believe those prices are too low, but for purposes of fair, legitimate argument I took his own prices and made this calculation upon them.

There are 26 grades of sugar, running from 75 to 99 degrees, inclusive. On 17 of those grades the caucus amendment is a slight decrease from the Aldrich schedule. Upon 9 of them it is a very considerable increase, and I come now to the salient point in this discussion, to which I challenge the attention of the opposite side and their contradiction. It is most significant that all these reductions in the protection given are upon the muscovados or lower degrees of sugar, below 87. Upon all the higher grades, which constitute the favorite raw material of the trust, there is a very marked and significant increase of protection.

Take, for instance, 75, the lowest grade. Under the Aldrich amendment the protection is $2.87; under the caucus amendment it is $2.29, a reduction. On 76 it is $2.68 under the Aldrich amendment and $2.16 under the caucus amendment. On the next grade it is $2.50 under the Aldrich amendment and $2.04 under the caucus amendment. On the next grade it is $2.34 under the Aldrich amendment and $1.91 under the caucus amendment. On the next grade it is $2.19 under the Aldrich amendment and $1.81 under the caucus amendment. I leave off the thousands in the shape of fractions.

On the next grade it is $1.87 under the Aldrich amendment and $1.58 under the Senate amendment, and so on with a small decrease of from 1 to 3 cents until you reach the fated grade of 87, when a new section, an amendment of our friends upon the other side, takes effect, and from that time on, above 87 and up to 99, there is a most significant and marked increase of protection given to the trust.

We will take, for instance, 93, and you find the protection given to the trust is 77 cents under the Aldrich amendment, 78 in the Senate amendment; in the next grade it is 68 under the Aldrich amendment and 71 in the Senate amendment; on the next it is 62 cents in the Aldrich amendment and 67 in the caucus amendment; on the next it is 61 under the Aldrich amendment and 66 under the Senate amendment; on the next it is 59 under the Aldrich amendment and 64 under the Senate amendment; in the next, 59 under the Aldrich amendment and 64 under the caucus amendment, and on the next it is 60 under the Aldrich amendment and 66 under the caucus.

Then follow in the calculations the price of refined sugar under the different bills. Under the Wilson Act it is $3.44; under the Dingley bill, $4.55; under the Aldrich amendment, $4.64; under the Senate amendment it would be $4.63.

These are the rates of protection, and the hand that constructed and the intellect that devised that schedule understood exactly what was wanted. It is ingenious, artistic, and calculated to hide the increase so effectually from all except experts that it is almost impossible to make the detection. The men in Wall street understood it, and in five minutes after the lightning had flashed the news that our friends in caucus had decided upon this schedule prices jumped from 118 to 123¼, and now it is 124 and possibly more.

I will ask that these tables for the use of the Senate may be inserted in my remarks, and I challenge criticism upon them. I have taken the prices of the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH] himself. I have dealt fairly with every one of these measures, and I assert that this is an enormous bounty to the sugar trust upon the grades of sugar which they always desire to use, while for the purpose of deluding the people at large, and those who have given no special attention to the sugar duty, they have decreased with great clamor and ostentation the protection upon the lower grades of sugar least desired by this giant monopoly.

In fixing any rates of duty and attempting in advance to announce their effects on the revenue, on the interested industries, and as burdens to the taxpayers, it is necessary to note the conditions abroad and the probable tendencies of markets for the future.

The false encouragement given in bounties by continental countries has resulted in overproduction abroad, and in so depressing the world's sugar markets that since the enactment of the present law prices of sugar have so declined that our revenues have fallen away more than a third below what was computed these rates would yield at the time the law was passed, and has so cheapened sugars to the consumers that they have hardly noticed the burden which 40 per cent on this necessary of life has imposed.

It does not seem possible that prices can go much lower than now; but our consul-general at Frankfort, in the February Consular Report (page 167), shows that new legislation in Germany, instead of reducing the trouble, as anticipated, by reason of the same tendencies of greed-grasping benefits that prevail there as here, has exaggerated the embarrassments and encouraged still more burdensome overproduction in Germany, and France retaliates with like legislation.

The result is that while the Germans can only afford 12 or 15 pounds of sugar per capita annually for home consumption, they help England and the United States pay for the 50 or 60 pounds per capita consumed in these countries.

It seems a foolish policy, as anyone must admit who reads Consul-General Mason's letter, but it is continuing and progressive just now, and will probably result in still lower prices, which will set at naught any calculations offered at this time on the effects of the duties proposed in this bill.

The amount of protection afforded by any system of rates on sugar, especially when these are partly or entirely ad valorem, depends, of course, in great measure upon the relative invoice prices of the raw and refined sugars, and these are just the elements which the layman has no means of determining, and which the parties most interested decline to furnish.

If the latter were quite ingenuous, the matter would still be complicated and uncertain by reason of fluctuations, of differences in different markets, at different ports, and in different seasons. When the present law was enacted sugar was more than a cent higher than at the present time, and the 40 per cent rate fixed was calculated and realized, a half cent more per pound on our tremendous importations.

In criticising the estimates made by Hon. William L. Wilson on the rates proposed by the Senate bill, Senator ALDRICH (RECORD, page 1557) says:

> German granulated, the price of which I have already shown, in the month of March was 2.8 cents per pound.

And on page 1559 of the RECORD, in a table given to show how irregularly and unfairly the proposed rates of the Dingley bill affect the various grades of raw sugars, the import price for each grade of such raw sugars is given by Senator ALDRICH.

Taking these prices as a basis, and using the drawback allowance of pounds of each grade established by the Government—from 101 pounds of 99-degree sugar to nearly 147 pounds of 75-degree test to make 100 pounds of granulated—the margins found in the following tables show the differences of the duties paid on the raw and refined sugars, usually accepted as the measure of protection.

These are of course misleading, since in the 114.94 pounds of 92-degree sugar there is not only realized 100 pounds of hard refined sugar, but several pounds of valuable soft sugars and molasses.

Before the Ways and Means Committee, Mr. W. J. McCahan, of Philadelphia, a refiner, stated that he had calculated the cost of refining in his refinery for a year.

In that time, running on from one-half to two-thirds time, using 96-degree centrifugals, it cost him 56 cents per 100 pounds to refine the sugar; but he added, "There is 26 cents waste to come out of 56 cents."

This is on 96-degree sugar, and there is but 7 pounds out of which to realize the 26 cents. It ought not to be less on lower grade sugars, where the allowance runs as high as 46 pounds, and this adds a quarter of a cent per pound protection to any calculation which makes the Government drawback allowance the basis for computing the margin of profit to the refiner.

It is assumed in all these calculations that the refiners turn out no white sugar except of 100 degrees test. Yet centrifugals of 96 to 97 degrees may be used and 94-degree refined white sugar result, in which case, instead of a waste, more pounds of refined sugar come out than went in of raw sugar.

This condition can not, ought not to have any bearing upon any calculation as to margins, but ought to be an answer to the brazen and the foolish, who alone claim that the protection in the rate on refined sugar is limited to what is left after subtracting the duties paid on 115 pounds of 92-degree or 122 pounds of 88-degree sugar.

To show how entirely these calculations rest upon the values of the sugars, it is only necessary to compare page 636 of the Ways and Means testimony, where Mr. PAYNE, of the committee, suggests, and Mr. McCahan, the refiner, does not dissent, that the rates established by the committee do not vary 5 per cent on any grade, and Senator ALDRICH's table (RECORD, page 1559), which shows these rates range from 78 per cent on 99-degree sugar to 144 per cent ad valorem on that of 75 degrees test.

Table showing protection under rates in Senate bill on prices given by Senator Aldrich (Record, page 1559).

Degrees, polariscopic test.	Senator Aldrich's price. (Record, page 1559.)	Senate specific rate.	35 per cent Senate rate.	Duty per pound under Senate bill.	Government drawback allowance.	Duty on enough raw to make 1 pound granulated.	Differential under Senate bill.
75	0.69275			0.51956	146.68	0.70308	1.53622
76	.7735			.58012	144.82	.84012	1.50818
77	.85428			.64071	142.95	.91589	1.43241
78	.935			.70125	141.08	.99832	1.35898
79	1.0075			.75562	139.21	1.05189	1.29841
80	1.0825	75 per cent		.81937	137.35	1.12540	1.22290
81	1.17125			.87843	135.48	1.19009	1.15821
82	1.25			.9375	133.61	1.25259	1.09571
83	1.33651			1.00238	131.74	1.32053	1.02777
84	1.4187			1.06402	129.88	1.38194	.96636
85	1.4895			1.11712	128.01	1.43002	.91824
86	1.5484			1.1613	126.14	1.46486	.88344
87	1.6051	79	0.56178	1.35178	124.27	1.67985	.66845
88	1.6633	81	.58215	1.36215	122.41	1.70413	.64417
89	1.7255	83	.59342	1.42342	120.54	1.71579	.63251
90	1.7936	85	.60576	1.45576	118.67	1.72873	.61957
91	1.7683	87	.61800	1.4880	116.81	1.73918	.60912
92	1.8272	89	.63952	1.52952	114.94	1.75803	.59027
93	1.892	91	.65170	1.5617	113.07	1.76581	.58249
94	1.95	93	.68250	1.6125	111.20	1.76900	.55521
95	2.025	95	.70875	1.65875	109.34	1.81367	.53463
96	2.0629	97	.72201	1.692	107.47	1.81839	.52991
97	2.1134	99	.73990	1.73990	105.60	1.82555	.52175
98	2.13775	101	.74821	1.7582	103.73	1.82578	.52452
99	2.198	103	.76930	1.7993	101.87	1.83295	.51535

* Senator ALDRICH says German granulated sugar is worth 2.3 cents per pound. Thirty-five per cent of this is 0.805 cent, plus the specific rate, 1.16 cents, equals 1.965 cents, plus the German bounty, 0.3833 cent, equals 2.3483 cents.

Table showing protection under rates of Dingley bill on prices given by Senator Aldrich (Record, page 1559).

Degrees, polariscopic test.	Senator Aldrich's prices.	Duty under Dingley bill.*	Government drawback allowance.	Duty on raw sugar in 1 pound refined.	Differential under Dingley bill.
75	0.69275	1	146.68	1.4668	0.7915
76	.7735	1.03	144.82	1.4916	.7667
77	.85428	1.06	142.95	1.5152	.7431
78	.935	1.09	141.08	1.5377	.7206
79	1.0075	1.12	139.21	1.5591	.6992
80	1.0825	1.15	137.35	1.5795	.6788
81	1.17125	1.18	135.48	1.5986	.6597
82	1.25	1.21	133.61	1.6166	.6417
83	1.33651	1.24	131.74	1.6335	.6248
84	1.4187	1.27	129.88	1.6494	.6089
85	1.4895	1.30	128.01	1.6641	.5942
86	1.5484	1.33	126.14	1.6776	.5807
87	1.6051	1.36	124.27	1.6899	.5684
88	1.6633	1.39	122.41	1.7014	.5569
89	1.7255	1.42	120.54	1.7116	.5467

* Under the Dingley bill the duty on refined sugar is 1.875 cents, and on bounty-fed German sugar a retaliatory duty equal to the bounty, 38.33 per cent, makes the whole duty per pound 2.2583.

Table showing protection under rates of Dingley bill, etc.—Continued.

Degrees, polariscopic test.	Senator Aldrich's prices.	Duty under Dingley bill.	Government drawback allowance.	Duty on raw sugar in 1 pound refined.	Differential under Dingley bill.
90	1.7336	1.45	118.67	1.7207	0.5376
91	1.7683	1.48	116.81	1.7287	.5296
92	1.8272	1.51	114.94	1.7355	.5228
93	1.892	1.54	113.07	1.7412	.5171
94	1.95	1.57	111.20	1.7458	.5125
95	2.025	1.60	109.34	1.7494	.5089
96	2.0629	1.63	107.47	1.7517	.5066
97	2.1134	1.65	105.60	1.7529	.5054
98	2.13775	1.69	103.73	1.7529	.5054
99	2.198	1.72	101.87	1.7521	.5062

Table showing protection under Wilson Act on prices given by Senator Aldrich (Record, page 1559).

Degrees, polariscopic test.	Senator Aldrich's prices.	40 per cent under Wilson bill.	Government drawback allowance.	Duty on raw sugar in 1 pound refined.	Differential under Wilson bill.*
75	0.69275	0.2771	146.68	0.40645	0.73855
76	.7735	.3094	144.82	.44807	.69693
77	.85428	.341712	142.95	.48847	.65653
78	.935	.374	141.08	.52763	.61737
79	1.0075	.403	139.21	.56101	.58399
80	1.0825	.437	137.35	.60021	.54479
81	1.17125	.4685	135.48	.63472	.51028
82	1.25	.5	133.61	.66835	.47665
83	1.33651	.534604	131.74	.70428	.44072
84	1.4187	.56748	129.88	.73704	.40796
85	1.4895	.5958	128.01	.76268	.38232
86	1.5484	.61936	126.14	.78126	.36374
87	1.6051	.64204	124.27	.79786	.34714
88	1.6633	.66532	122.41	.81440	.33060
89	1.7255	.6782	120.54	.81750	.32750
90	1.7936	.69344	118.67	.82580	.32210
91	1.7683	.70732	116.81	.83022	.31878
92	1.8272	.73088	114.94	.84007	.30893
93	1.892	.7448	113.07	.84214	.30286
94	1.95	.78	111.20	.86736	.27764
95	2.025	.81	109.34	.88565	.25935
96	2.0629	.82516	107.47	.88679	.25821
97	2.1134	.84536	105.60	.89270	.25230
98	2.13775	.8551	103.73	.89099	.25801
99	2.198	.8792	101.87	.89564	.24936

* Senator ALDRICH (RECORD, page 1557) gives the value of German granulated sugar as 2.3 cents per pound. Under the Wilson Act the duty on this would be 40 per cent=0.92 and ½ cent, is 0.125, or together 1.045; with 0.10 differential against bounty-fed sugar makes the total duty 1.145.

Table showing protection under rates of Senate bill on prices furnished by New York committee of the raw-sugar dealers.

Degrees, polariscopic test.	Price given by sugar dealers	35 per cent Senate bill.	Senate specific rate.	Total rate per pound.	Government drawback allowance.	Duty on raw sugar in 1 pound refined.	Differential under Senate rates.
75	119			0.8925	146.68	1.3091	1.0392
76	125			.9375	144.82	1.3576	.9907
77	131			.9825	142.95	1.4044	.9439
78	137			1.0275	141.08	1.4495	.8988
79	143			1.0725	139.21	1.4930	.8553
80	149	75 per cent		1.1175	137.35	1.5348	.8135
81	155			1.1625	135.48	1.5749	.7734
82	161			1.2075	133.61	1.6133	.7350
83	167			1.2525	131.74	1.6500	.6983
84	173			1.2975	129.88	1.6851	.6632
85	178			1.3350	128.01	1.7089	.6394
86	183			1.3725	126.14	1.7312	.6171
87	188	.658	.79	1.448	124.27	1.7904	.5489
88	192	.672	.81	1.482	122.41	1.8141	.5342
89	196	.686	.83	1.516	120.54	1.8273	.5210
90	200	.70	.85	1.55	118.67	1.8393	.5090
91	204	.714	.87	1.584	116.81	1.8502	.4981
92	208	.728	.89	1.618	114.94	1.8597	.4886
93	211	.7385	.91	1.6485	113.07	1.8639	.4844
94	214	.749	.93	1.679	111.20	1.8670	.4813
95	217	.7595	.95	1.7095	109.34	1.8691	.4792
96	220	.77	.97	1.74	107.47	1.8699	.4784
97	223	.7805	.99	1.7705	105.60	1.8696	.4787
98	226	.791	1.01	1.801	103.73	1.8681	.4802
99	229	.8015	1.03	1.8315	101.87	1.8657	.4826

Degrees, polariscopic test.	Differentials in bills of—			
	Wilson.	Dingley.	Senate.	New schedule.
75	0.7385	0.7915	1.5862	1.0130
76	.6969	.7667	1.5081	.9873
77	.6565	.7431	1.4324	.9618
78	.6173	.7206	1.3589	.9374
79	.5839	.6992	1.2904	.9141
80	.5447	.6788	1.2229	.8919
81	.5102	.6597	1.1562	.8709

Degrees, polariscopic test.	Differentials in bills of—			
	Wilson.	Dingley.	Senate.	New schedule.
82	0.4769	0.6417	1.0957	2.8510
83	.4407	.6248	1.0277	.8322
84	.4079	.6089	.9663	.8147
85	.3823	.5942	.9182	.7979
86	.3637	.5807	.8834	.7825
87	.3471	.5684	.6684	.7683
88	.3306	.5569	.6441	.6326
89	.3275	.5467	.6325	.6224
90	.3221	.5376	.6195	.6133
91	.3187	.5296	.6091	.6053
92	.3049	.5228	.5992	.5985
93	.3028	.5171	.5824	.5928
94	.2776	.5125	.5552	.5882
95	.2593	.5089	.5346	.5845
96	.2582	.5066	.5299	.5823
97	.2523	.5054	.5217	.5811
98	.2580	.5054	.5245	.5811
99	.2493	.5062	.5153	.5819
Duty on refined	1.145	2.2583	2.3483	2.334

The tables are made to show the differentials under the different bills, and it should be remembered that the calculations are based on a valuation of 2.3 cents per pound, which must be an undervaluation, since the last crop in Germany realized an average price of 2.43 for the year, and no refined sugar of any great quantity has come in yet at that figure, though it may go below in time, for the survival of the cheapest is as inexorably a commercial tendency as that death follows birth. It must not be forgotten that this sharp decline in price of sugar is in spite of the temporary cutting off of a part of the sugar supply of Cuba, though we received more Cuban sugar in March, 1897 (78,029,093 pounds), than in the corresponding month of 1896 (73,294,680).

The refined sugars which came in in 1896 were valued at 2.8 cents per pound; for the first nine months of the present fiscal year the little refined sugar imported was valued at 2.55 cents, and for the month of March last at 2.42 cents. Any of these would give a somewhat higher margin to the refiners than the 2.3 cents on which the tables were computed. If refined sugar was entered as for all the year 1896 at 2.8 cents, then the margin would be 17.50 cents per hundred pounds higher; and if to this be added what is realized from the softer sugars and molasses, the by-product in refining, admitted in one case to be 26 cents per hundred pounds, then the margin would be 43.50 points higher.

The House committee assumed, as has long been admitted, that the average of raw sugars imported into the United States was of 92 degrees polariscopic test. This does not mean that any great proportion of the sugars below 16 Dutch standard was of that grade, but that Cuban centrifugals and continental beet sugars were about as great in volume as the lower-grade cane sugars of the Southern republics, the islands, and the Indies. The champions of the Senate schedule at one fell swoop wiped out the cane sugars of the world. The two and three-quarter billion pounds which came in in 1896 of cane sugars disappeared like the smoke from the fisherman's jar, and in its stead the horrible Afrite rose, labeled German beet. German refined could come in at 2.3 cents per pound, and if on this the retaliatory duty of 38.33 cents should be counted as part of the protection, then, too, the 27 cents bounty on the raw sugars of Germany must be counted as part of the duties against all raw sugars.

No matter that the German raw sugars do not grade below 90 degrees, or at any rate carry no bounty below that figure. No matter that our share of the cane sugar of the world, between two and three thousand million pounds, carry no such bounty. Germany is hereafter to furnish our sugar. She will wipe out our refiners as she has done those of England. Our cane fields of the South which the flood has spared shall be neglected; our beet farms in the West shall once more be waste places. But be it remembered, when all this is done the Tropics will still raise some cane, and the trust will be found doing business at the old stand.

No account is to be taken of the fact that Europe produced 886,744,320 less pounds of raw beet sugar last year than the year before. No matter that Germany cultivated 160,051 less acres of beets in 1896 than in 1895, or that she produced 499,013,760 less pounds of beet sugar, or that she exported 239,926,400 pounds less. All these facts are ignored in the cry, "Beware the bogie man from Germany!" As has been said, the preceding tables are not a measure of profit of the refiner, but only intended to show the differential of duties which would result on the prices as quoted, for which no guaranty is given.

If the margin of profit is to be calculated, a different method is necessary, for in that case it must be borne in mind that the refiner pays also for the extra pounds of sugar which he buys to make his hundred pounds of refined. As an instance, take the raw sugar of 92 degrees, the average point, worth, as Senator ALDRICH has said, 1.8272 cents. On this, under the Senate schedule, the specific rate is 0.89 cent, and the 35 per cent ad valorem is 0.63952, or together, 1.52952 cents. If the sugar cost 1.8272, and the duty is 1.52952, the duty-paid value of each pound of that grade of sugar would be 3.35645.

To this add the 0.27 cent of the German export bounty on raw sugar and we have the total duty-paid cost of the sugar, 3.62645. On the export of this sugar of 92 degrees when refined, our Government allows a drawback on 114.94 pounds, estimating it takes that much of this grade to make 100 pounds of hard refined sugar. Multiplying the cost of 1 pound by this drawback allowance of 114.94, and we have for the actual duty-paid cost of enough raw sugar to make 1 pound of refined, 4.1682 cents.

Now, the price of the refined sugar is 2.3 cents, according to Mr. ALDRICH, and on this the duty is 2.3483, or together the duty-paid price of such sugar is 4.6483 cents, and the margin of profit is therefore the difference between these two prices, or 0.4801, to which should be added 0.26 cent admitted as realized out of the soft sugars which result in the process of refining, which together make 0.7401, or nearly three-quarters of a cent protective margin within which it may be sold under the German sugar.

The point is made against all the estimates on the sugar schedule that if the retaliatory duties on bounty-fed sugars of 38.33 cents be counted on the refined sugar, 27 cents should be added to the price of the raw sugars and reduce the nominal protection by that amount.

When it is suggested that these bounties do not apply to cane sugars, but only to beet sugars from two or three continental countries, hands are thrown up and one is asked in surprise where these cane sugars are to come from. Cuban sugar is gone. "Seventy-seven per cent of our raw sugar comes from Germany."

This is arrant nonsense. Admit Cuba ships no sugar to-day. It is a convenient moment to make a tariff that will add a quarter of a cent of profits to Cuban sugar to-morrow. Because Cuba ships no sugar this 4th of July, do friends of the trust claim that she will ship none in the future? Do they think because they "are virtuous there shall be no more cakes and ale?"

In 1896 we imported 2,752,012,512 pounds of cane sugar without counting the Hawaiian, on which there was no bounty. Shall all this be ignored in calculating probable profits under this bill?

Besides, Germany under the new law gives no bounty on any sugar under 90 degrees. (See letter from Treasury Department to Senator CAFFERY.) Her bounties are granted on an analysis of 84 per cent, equivalent to 90 degrees polariscopic test, and on all the sugars under this there are no countervailing (German) duties to be added.

France, whose bounty system has just been remodeled in retaliation on Germany, sent us only $488,000 worth of beet sugar in 1896, and none for the nine months of the present year.

German sugars will perhaps be imported in progressively increasing quantities. As long as that Government pursues the policy of taxing their own people to furnish England and the United States cheap sugar, both countries are likely to continue to profit by such generosity.

Germans pay 12 cents per pound for the sugars they eat, while we get it for half the price. They have an import duty of above 4 cents per pound, and an internal-revenue tax of 2.16 cents on each pound consumed at home.

While we may continue to increase our purchases from that country, the 750,000,000 already taken in this fiscal year must be left out of the calculation.

That was abnormal, and only in response to a quick demand to anticipate the new tariff.

When the new law becomes effective, prices will be readjusted, and if German raw sugar, with the compensatory duty of 27 cents per 100 pounds, can be secured at a price more profitable to refiners than cane sugars without such additional burdens, the former will be preferred, and may gradually crowd out the cane sugars, though the operation will be slow, for the latter would soon fall—without demand—to a profitable figure. Besides, there is a limit to the amount on which Germany or any country can pay these bounties, and the burden is likely to become heavy enough to overthrow the whole system.

Until then, under this proposed law, such raw sugars as come from Germany will pay the additional impost of 27 cents on sugars of 90 degrees and above. In taking this off the probable margin of protection or profit, it should not be forgotten to add 26 cents realized from the by-products of soft sugars, where the Government drawback allowance is used as the basis of the estimates, as in the following tables:

Protection under Wilson bill on Aldrich prices.

Degrees, polariscopic test.	Aldrich prices.	Wilson rate, 40 per cent duty.	Duty-paid cost per pound.	Government drawback allowance.	Duty-paid cost of raw sugar in 1 pound refined.	Protection.
75	0.69275	0.2771	0.97	146.68	1.422	2.022
76	.7735	.3094	1.083	144.82	1.568	1.877
77	.85423	.341712	1.196	142.95	1.709	1.736
78	.935	.374	1.309	141.08	1.849	1.596
79	1.0075	.403	1.41	139.21	1.963	1.482

Protection under Wilson bill on Aldrich prices—Continued.

Degrees, polariscopic test.	Aldrich prices.	Wilson rate, 40 per cent duty.	Duty-paid cost per pound.	Government drawback allowance.	Duty-paid cost of raw sugar in 1 pound refined.	Protection.
80	1.0025	0.437	1.53	137.35	2.101	1.344
81	1.17125	.4685	1.64	135.48	2.222	1.223
82	1.25	.5	1.75	133.61	2.338	1.107
83	1.33651	.534604	1.87	131.74	2.463	.982
84	1.4187	.56748	1.986	129.88	2.579	.866
85	1.4895	.5958	2.085	128.01	2.669	.776
86	1.5484	.61936	2.168	126.14	2.735	.710
87	1.6051	.64204	2.247	124.27	2.792	.653
88	1.6633	.66532	2.329	122.41	2.851	.594
89	1.6955	.6782	2.374	120.54	2.862	.583
90	1.7336	.69344	2.427	118.67	2.880	.565
91	1.7683	.70732	2.476	116.81	2.892	.553
92	1.8272	.73088	2.558	114.94	2.940	.505
93	1.862	.7448	2.607	113.07	2.948	.497
94	1.95	.78	2.73	111.20	3.035	.410
95	2.025	.81	2.835	109.34	3.100	.345
96	2.0929	.82516	2.888	107.47	3.104	.341
97	2.1134	.84536	2.959	105.60	3.125	.320
98	2.13775	.8551	2.993	103.73	3.105	.340
99	2.198	.8792	3.077	101.87	3.135	.310

Aldrich price, 2.3 cents per pound; Wilson rate, 40 per cent, or 0.92 plus ½, or 0.125 cent, equal 1.045 cents plus (one-tenth) 0.10 cent against bounty-fed sugar = 1.145 duty. Duty-paid cost of refined sugar is therefore 3.445 cents.

Protection under Dingley bill on Aldrich prices.

Degrees, polariscopic test.	Aldrich prices.	Dingley rates.	Price per pound, duty paid.	Government drawback allowance.	Duty-paid price of raw sugar in 1 pound refined.	Protection, Dingley rates.
75	0.69275	1	1.693	146.68	2.483	2.076
76	.7735	1.03	1.804	144.82	2.613	1.946
77	.85428	1.06	1.914	142.95	2.736	1.823
78	.935	1.09	2.025	141.08	2.857	1.702
79	1.0075	1.12	2.128	139.21	2.962	1.597
80	1.0925	1.15	2.243	137.35	3.081	1.478
81	1.17125	1.18	2.351	135.48	3.185	1.374
82	1.25	1.21	2.46	133.61	3.287	1.272
83	1.33651	1.24	2.577	131.74	3.395	1.164
84	1.4187	1.27	2.689	129.88	3.492	1.067
85	1.4895	1.30	2.79	128.01	3.571	.988
86	1.5484	1.33	2.878	126.14	3.630	.929
87	1.6051	1.36	2.965	124.27	3.685	.864
88	1.6633	1.39	3.053	122.41	3.737	.822
89	1.6955	1.42	3.115	120.54	3.755	.804
90	1.7336	1.45	3.184	118.67	3.778	.781
91	1.7683	1.48	3.248	116.81	3.794	.765
92	1.8272	1.51	3.337	114.94	3.836	.723
93	1.862	1.54	3.402	113.07	3.847	.712
94	1.95	1.57	3.52	111.20	3.914	.645
95	2.025	1.60	3.635	109.34	3.964	.595
96	2.0929	1.63	3.693	107.47	3.969	.590
97	2.1134	1.66	3.773	105.60	3.984	.575
98	2.13775	1.69	3.828	103.73	3.971	.588
99	2.198	1.72	3.918	101.87	3.991	.568

Dingley rate on refined, 1.875 cents per pound, plus German bounty, 38.4, equals 2.259; with Aldrich price, makes duty-paid cost of refined sugar 4.559.

Protection under Senate bill on prices of Senator Aldrich.

Degrees, polariscopic test.	Aldrich's prices.	Senate specific rate.	35 per cent Senate rate.	Duty per pound under Senate schedule.	Duty-paid cost of raw sugar in 1 pound of refined.	Government drawback allowance.	Duty-paid cost of raw sugar in 1 pound of refined.	Protection under Senate rates.
75	0.69275			0.51956	1.212	146.68	1.778	2.871
76	.7735			.58012	1.354	144.82	1.961	2.688
77	.85428			.64071	1.495	142.95	2.137	2.502
78	.935			.70125	1.636	141.08	2.308	2.341
79	1.0075			.75562	1.763	139.21	2.454	2.195
80	1.0925			.81997	1.913	137.35	2.626	2.023
81	1.17125	75 per cent		.87843	2.050	135.48	2.776	1.873
82	1.25			.9375	2.188	133.61	2.923	1.726
83	1.33651			1.00238	2.339	131.74	3.081	1.568
84	1.4187			1.06402	2.483	129.88	3.225	1.424
85	1.4895			1.11712	2.607	128.01	3.337	1.312
86	1.5484			1.1613	2.710	126.14	3.418	1.231
87	1.6051	.70	.56178	1.35178	2.957	124.27	3.675	.974
88	1.6633	.81	.58215	1.39215	3.055	122.41	3.740	.909
89	1.6955	.83	.59343	1.42343	3.119	120.54	3.760	.889
90	1.7336	.85	.60676	1.45676	3.190	118.67	3.786	.863
91	1.7683	.87	.61890	1.4889	3.257	116.81	3.805	.844
92	1.8272	.89	.63952	1.52952	3.357	114.94	3.859	.790
93	1.862	.91	.65170	1.5617	3.424	113.07	3.872	.777
94	1.95	.93	.68250	1.6125	3.563	111.20	3.962	.687
95	2.025	.95	.70875	1.65875	3.684	109.34	4.028	.621
96	2.0929	.97	.72201	1.692	3.756	107.47	4.035	.614
97	2.1134	.99	.73969	1.72969	3.843	105.60	4.058	.591
98	2.13775	1.01	.74821	1.7582	3.896	103.73	4.041	.608
99	2.198	1.03	.76930	1.7993	3.997	101.87	4.072	.577

Senator ALDRICH price, German granulated 2.3 cents; 35 per cent duty is .805 plus the specific rate 1.16 is 1.965 plus the German bounty, .384 is 2.349 cents for total duty.

Duty-paid cost refined sugar, 4.649 cents.

Protection of caucus bill under prices of Senator Aldrich.

Degrees, polariscopic test.	Senator Aldrich's prices (Record, page 1559).	Duty under amendment.	Duty-paid cost per pound on raw sugar.	Government drawback allowance.	Duty-paid cost of enough raw sugar to make 1 pound hard refined.	Protection without the profit in soft sugar.
75	0.69275	0.90	1.59275	146.68	2.3382	2.2978
76	.7735	.93	1.7035	144.82	2.4670	2.1670
77	.85428	.96	1.81428	142.95	2.5935	2.0405
78	.935	.99	1.925	141.08	2.7157	1.9183
79	1.0075	1.02	2.0275	139.21	2.8224	1.8116
80	1.0925	1.05	2.1425	137.35	2.9427	1.6913
81	1.17125	1.08	2.25125	135.48	3.0490	1.5841
82	1.25	1.11	2.36	133.61	3.1531	1.4800
83	1.33651	1.14	2.47651	131.74	3.2625	1.3715
84	1.4187	1.17	2.5887	129.88	3.3622	1.2718
85	1.4895	1.20	2.6895	128.01	3.4428	1.1912
86	1.5184	1.23	2.7484	126.14	3.4668	1.1672
87	1.6051	1.26	2.8651	124.27	3.5604	1.0736
88	1.6633	1.29	3.0533	122.41	3.7375	.8965
89	1.6955	1.32	3.1155	120.54	3.7554	.8786
90	1.7336	1.45	3.1836	118.67	3.7839	.8501
91	1.7683	1.48	3.2483	116.81	3.7943	.8397
92	1.8272	1.51	3.3372	114.94	3.8357	.7983
93	1.862	1.54	3.402	113.07	3.8466	.7874
94	1.95	1.57	3.52	111.20	3.9142	.7198
95	2.025	1.60	3.625	109.34	3.9635	.6705
96	2.0929	1.63	3.7229	107.47	3.9687	.6653
97	2.1134	1.66	3.7734	105.60	3.9847	.6493
98	2.13775	1.69	3.82775	103.73	3.9705	.6635
99	2.198	1.72	3.918	101.87	3.9912	.6428

The duty on refined sugar is 1.95, and with the retaliatory duty on German bounty-fed sugar 38.4 (see Senator CAFFERY's letter from Treasury), equals 2.334 cents per pound; invoice price (Senator ALDRICH), 2.3 cents per pound; total duty-paid cost refined, 4.634 cents per pound.

Protection under different bills.

Degrees, polariscopic test.	Wilson.	Dingley.	Senate.	Caucus schedule.
75	2.022	2.076	2.871	2.2978
76	1.877	1.946	2.688	2.1670
77	1.736	1.823	2.502	2.0405
78	1.596	1.702	2.341	1.9183
79	1.482	1.597	2.195	1.8116
80	1.344	1.478	2.023	1.6913
81	1.223	1.374	1.873	1.5841
82	1.107	1.272	1.726	1.4800
83	.982	1.164	1.568	1.3715
84	.896	1.067	1.424	1.2718
85	.776	.988	1.312	1.1912
86	.710	.929	1.231	1.1672
87	.653	.864	.974	1.0736
88	.594	.822	.909	.8965
89	.583	.804	.889	.8786
90	.565	.781	.863	.8501
91	.553	.765	.844	.8397
92	.505	.723	.790	.7983
93	.497	.712	.777	.7874
94	.410	.645	.687	.7198
95	.345	.595	.621	.6705
96	.341	.590	.614	.6653
97	.320	.575	.591	.6493
98	.340	.588	.608	.6635
99	.310	.568	.577	.6428
Duty-paid cost foreign refined	3.445	4.559	4.649	4.634

Mr. CAFFERY obtained the floor.

Mr. LINDSAY. Before the Senator from Louisiana commences to speak, will he give way to allow me to offer an amendment?

Mr. CAFFERY. Certainly.

Mr. LINDSAY. I will read the amendment and send it to the desk. I ask the attention of the learned gentleman in charge of the bill to it, so that he may explain to me, after the amendment has been read, whether it reaches the object which I propose to attain. A gentleman very high in authority in the Government discussed this schedule with me the other day, and when I expressed the difficulty I had in comprehending it, he not only concurred in my statement, but said the explanations he had received always darkened the mystery of the schedule.

My object is to amend section 206 by striking out of lines 13 and 14 the words "not above 16 Dutch standard in color," and also all of the said section between the words "proportion," in line 19, and the word "molasses," in line 23.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Kentucky will be stated.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to amend section 206 by striking out of lines 13 and 14 the words "not above 16 Dutch standard in color;" and also all of said section between the word "proportion," in line 19, and the word "molasses," in line 23.

Mr. LINDSAY. I ask that the amendment may be printed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be printed and lie on the table.

Mr. MORGAN. Will the Senator from Louisiana allow me to send to the desk and have read an amendment to the pending schedule which I propose to offer at the proper time?

Mr. CAFFERY. Certainly.

Mr. MORGAN. I offer an amendment, which I ask may be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

A tax of 1 cent per pound is hereby levied and shall be assessed and collected on sugar that is the product of any refinery of sugar in the United States; but the persons or corporations engaged in the business of refining sugar, in whose business there is employed less than $100,000 of cash capital, and who are not connected in business by agreement with any other person or corporation engaged in refining sugar, are exempt from such tax. The laws for the collection of the tax on tobacco, so far as they are applicable to the subject of this enactment, shall apply to the collection of the tax imposed by this act upon refined sugar. And no person or corporation shall be exempt from the tax on sugar refined at any sugar refinery who shall not clearly establish the right to such exemption under the rules and regulations to be prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury for the execution of this law.

Mr. MORGAN. I ask that the amendment may be printed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. It will be printed and lie on the table.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. W. J. BROWNING, its Chief Clerk, announced that the House had passed a joint resolution (H. Res. 64) relating to the payment of salaries in the consular service; in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

The message also announced that the House had agreed to the concurrent resolution of the Senate calling upon the Secretary of War for such information as he may have in his possession with reference to the present condition of the harbor of Cumberland Sound.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED.

The message further announced that the Speaker of the House had signed the following enrolled bills and joint resolution; and they were thereupon signed by the Vice-President:

A bill (S. 956) to amend an act entitled "An act to authorize the construction of a steel bridge over the St. Louis River between the States of Wisconsin and Minnesota," approved April 24, 1894, as amended by an act approved August 4, 1894, entitled "An act to amend an act to authorize the construction of a bridge over the St. Louis River between the States of Minnesota and Wisconsin;"

A bill (S. 1979) to authorize the construction of a bridge across Pearl River, in the State of Mississippi; and

A joint resolution (S. R. 40) authorizing the Secretary of War to receive for instruction at West Point Cárlos Gutierrez, of Salvador.

CONSULAR SERVICE SALARIES.

Mr. HALE. Will the Senator from Louisiana yield to me?

Mr. CAFFERY. Yes, sir.

Mr. HALE. I ask that the joint resolution which has come from the House of Representatives may be laid before the Senate.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Maine asks unanimous consent that House joint resolution No. 64 may be laid before the Senate. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and the joint resolution will be read by its title.

The joint resolution (H. Res. 64) relating to the payment of salaries in the consular service was read the first time by its title.

Mr. HALE. I now ask that the joint resolution may be read at length.

The joint resolution was read the second time at length, as follows:

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives, etc., That the salaries appropriated by the act making appropriations for the diplomatic and consular service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1898, approved February 20, 1897, for consuls-general and consuls at certain places hereinafter named, may be paid to the consuls-general and consuls heretofore appointed at certain other places until consuls-general or consuls are appointed, qualify, and enter upon their duties at the places named in said act of February 20, 1897, as follows, namely: The salary of the consul-general at Apia and Wuknalofa, Tonga, to the consul-general at Apia; the consul-general at Yokohama to the consul-general at Kanagawa; the consul-general at Monterey to the consul-general at Nuevo Laredo; the consul at Elberfeld to the consul at Barmen; the consul at Edinburgh to the consul at Leith; the consul at Ciudad Juarez to the consul at Paso del Norte; the consul at Ciudad Porfirio Diaz to the consul at Piedras Negras; the consul at Sydney to the consul at Pictou; the consul at Progreso to the consul at Merida; the consul at St. Michaels to the consul at Fayal; the consul at Valencia to the consul at Denia; the consul at Utilla and Truxillo to the consul at Ruatan and Truxillo; the consul at Lourenco Marques to the consul at Mozambique, and all allowances for office rent, clerk hire, and transit salary are also continued at the above-named offices as now established until the contemplated changes have been fully effected.

Mr. HALE. Mr. President, I think there will be no objection to the passage of this joint resolution, and it ought to be passed at once. It is to avoid the accounts of consuls being held up by the Comptroller. In the last diplomatic and consular appropriation act the names of about a dozen consulates were changed, and in some cases the location of the consulate was removed, another consulate being created by a new name. For instance, the old consulate at Leith was removed and changed to the consulate at Edinburgh, and we appropriated for the next fiscal year for the consul at Edinburgh. Now, unless a new appointment is made by the 1st day of July, the consul at Leith, who is now commissioned as such consul, can get no pay. This joint resolution simply provides that in such a case the accounts may be allowed and that the consuls may receive their pay. There is no objection to the joint resolution, and I hope it may be at once put on its passage.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the joint resolution?

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the joint resolution.

The joint resolution was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

THE TARIFF BILL.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 379) to provide revenue for the Government and to encourage the industries of the United States.

Mr. CAFFERY. Mr. President, although I come from a section of our country where sugar is more largely raised than in any other part of it, I am yet unfamiliar with the intricacies of polariscopic tests and differentials and all the other technical terms which are embraced in this schedule, either in the amendment of the Senator from Rhode Island to the schedules of the Dingley bill or the bill itself as it came from the House.

The American Sugar Refining Company, commonly called a trust, has, as said by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST], some of the ablest and most efficient business men and experts in the sugar industry in the world. They know all the ins and outs and all the advantages and disadvantages of any schedule proposed by Congress as affecting their interests.

The old fight between the producer and the manufacturer, which crops out in a number of instances, is on hand in this sugar schedule. The old fight between the amount of revenue to be derived from an article and the amount of compensating duty to be given the manufacturer using the article for the manufacture of a finished product is now on hand.

The American sugar refiner has an unenviable reputation for the facility with which it is said he has molded legislation in his favor. I do not suppose anyone has forgotten the amount of scandal that ensued upon the report of the Wilson bill, and the same scandal, to a somewhat less degree, has fallen upon the formation of the schedule of the pending bill in regard to sugar. I have no animosity against the American Sugar Refining Company, and I would not care to visit animosity, if I had any, in my capacity as a legislator.

But the article of sugar presents a case where beneficial or harmful legislation can very materially affect the interests of the largest sugar-refining company in the world. Before the cultivation of the beet in Europe, the cane of the Tropics supplied the civilized world with sugar, and after the artificial product of beet was largely developed in Europe the beet slowly made its way in Europe to the command of the markets there, and now, under the peculiar condition of the bounty and tariff laws of Germany and other European countries, beet sugar monopolizes the European markets.

The consumption of sugar in the world is enormous, and the consumption of sugar in the United States is larger than that of any other country except England. The consumption of sugar in the United States, according to the Statistical Abstract, embracing the home production and imported sugar, from 1883 to 1895, is as follows:

Quantity in tons of sugar consumed in the United States, 1883 to 1895.

[Data furnished by Messrs. Willett & Gray, New York.]

Calendar year.	Refined product of imported sugar.*	Domestic product.					Total.	Consumption per capita.
		Manufactured from imported molasses.*	Of cane.	Of maple.	Of beet.	Of sorghum and other.		
	Tons.	*Tons.*	*Tons.*	*Tons.*	*Tons.*	*Tons.*	*Tons.*	*Pounds.*
1883	1,021,956	40,722	142,297	18,500	536	.....	1,224,011	51.1
1884	1,098,000	50,000	135,243	25,000	737	313	1,309,383	53.4
1885	1,122,345	47,259	100,876	25,900	900	1,400	1,298,380	51.8
1886	1,232,755	72,613	135,158	18,000	754	.....	1,459,280	56.9
1887	1,213,791	62,274	85,394	20,000	255	.....	1,381,714	52.7
1888	1,270,629	58,840	167,814	20,000	1,640	360	1,519,283	56.7
1889	1,193,761	43,715	153,909	22,000	2,400	689	1,416,474	51.8
1890	1,257,292	53,282	136,503	25,000	2,800	1,500	1,476,377	52.8
1891	1,614,580	31,320	221,951	15,000	5,400	570	1,888,851	66.1
1892	1,597,306	30,000	204,064	9,500	12,000	500	1,853,370	63.5
1893	1,623,872	20,000	235,886	10,500	16,000	500	1,906,758	63.9
1894	1,700,635	15,000	271,338	5,000	20,443	300	2,012,714	66
1895	1,572,498	15,000	324,506	7,500	30,000	300	1,949,744	62.6

*Leading refiners state that little or no sugar is manufactured from domestic molasses; also that in refining there is only about 2 per cent waste of original weight. Messrs. Willett & Gray, New York, state that of the sugar consumed in 1895 only about 182,984 tons were unrefined.

From this table it appears that the consumption in 1883 was 51.1 pounds per head; in 1895 it was 62.6 pounds per capita. It shows an enormous quantity of a necessary article of food imported

into the United States. The rise or fall of a half a cent a pound makes an enormous amount of money. In round numbers the amount of sugar consumed in the United States is 4,000,000,000 pounds annually; with half a cent a pound in favor of the trust, which melts all our sugar, it amounts to $20,000,000. So it is easily perceived what is the animus, the impelling cause, that brings the American Sugar Refining Company to the doors of Congress at every session demanding a tariff in its behalf.

The American Sugar Refining Company practically monopolizes the purchase and sale of cane sugar. It monopolizes the sale of not only the cane sugars of Louisiana and the beet sugars of Nebraska and California, but the cane sugars of the world.

As I stated, the production of beet sugars in Germany, France, Russia, Sweden, Belgium, of the whole of continental Europe, supplies the European demand. Up to last year there was but a small amount of beet sugar imported into the United States, and that was only on account of the war in Cuba, which forced the sugar trust to import some raw beet sugar, and some refined sugars came in on account of the very low price to which refined sugars had been driven by the excessive production in Germany, stimulated both by a prohibitive tariff and by an export bounty.

There was some very interesting testimony given before the special committee to investigate attempts at bribery in 1894, contained in Senate Document No. 606, in regard to the monopolistic character of the American sugar-refining interests. Mr. H. O. Havemeyer is the witness whom I propose to quote. He appeared before that committee to testify in regard to the question then under consideration, which was whether United States Senators had been speculating in sugar stocks. The Senator from Nebraska [Mr. ALLEN] asked Mr. Havemeyer the following questions:

Senator ALLEN. And when you sell in this country you control the price?
Mr. HAVEMEYER. Yes, sir.
Senator ALLEN. And it was organized, Mr. Havemeyer, as I understand it, with the view of controlling the price and output to the people of this country.
Mr. HAVEMEYER. That was one of the objects of the consolidation.
Senator ALLEN. And you have succeeded in doing it?
Mr. HAVEMEYER. Yes, sir.
Senator ALLEN. That was the principal object in organizing the American Sugar Refining Company?
Mr. HAVEMEYER. It may be said that that was the principal object.

Mr. Havemeyer is exceedingly frank. He does not equivocate a particle. The object of organizing the American Sugar Refining Company was to control the price of sugar in the United States, and he succeeded in his object. He controls the price, or his company does. Here it is, plain, unequivocal, unambiguous:

Senator ALLEN. And making money, incident to that control?
Mr. HAVEMEYER. Yes, sir.
Senator ALLEN. At the time of your organization, in 1891, I understand you were capitalized for $50,000,000?
Mr. HAVEMEYER. At the time of the reorganization the capital was $50,000,000.

I will read again where this monopolist, this confessed monopolist, says that he controls the price in America, and he runs up the price precisely to the importing point.

Senator ALLEN. The American Sugar Refining Company is able to control the prices of the sugar sold in the United States, is it not?
Mr. HAVEMEYER. Up to the importing point, it is.

I will read further from this witness. He goes on in his testimony and states that after the formation of this trust they bought up nearly all outside companies. After stating that purchase, Senator ALLEN asked him this question:

Before that—

That is, before the consolidation—

you had not been able to control the price of sugar absolutely? There was competition between the American Sugar Refining Company and these outside factories?
Mr. HAVEMEYER. Yes, sir.
Senator ALLEN. That competition you succeeded in destroying by bringing them into the trust, did you?
Mr. HAVEMEYER. Yes, sir.
Senator ALLEN. And made the price of sugar to the American Sugar Refining Company much more favorable than it had been before that time?
Mr. HAVEMEYER. Precisely.

So they not only control the price, they not only hold up the price to the importing point, but they advanced the price immediately after the consolidation of the companies.

Mr. Havemeyer testifies again as to what he had been making. The Senator from Nebraska [Mr. ALLEN] asked to know how much was the price additional to what it would have been had there been no consolidation. Mr. Havemeyer answers with great frankness.

Senator ALLEN. And what difference does it make for the consumers in this country in a year, in your judgment?

That is, the additional price asked over and above the competing price before the consolidation.

Mr. HAVEMEYER. It has been in three years past three-eighths of a cent more on every pound they ate, as against doing business at a loss.

A half a cent a pound would be about $20,000,000; three-eighths would be $15,000,000 that the American Sugar Refining Company here say that they placed upon the people of the United States in excess of the price that was charged for sugar prior to the formation of this trust. Then Senator ALLEN asked him the following question:

And that would be about how much, in round numbers?
Mr. HAVEMEYER. It is a large sum in the aggregate.
Senator ALLEN. How many millions?
Mr. HAVEMEYER. I should say it was close to $25,000,000 in three years.

It would be a little closer to $45,000,000 in three years. I suppose he thought, as he was dealing in millions, that $25,000,000 was close enough to get to $45,000,000.

In his testimony somewhere, which I read a little hurriedly this morning, not expecting to take the floor, Mr. Havemeyer makes the further statement that the profit he makes upon every pound of sugar refined is a quarter of a cent a pound. He says he made that profit. That was under the operation of the McKinley law. This was before the Wilson Act took effect. He acknowledged to a profit of a quarter of a cent a pound.

I propose to show, Mr. President, that under all tariffs, under the Wilson Act, under the McKinley Act, under the act of 1883, the profits of the sugar trust, while somewhat irregular before the formation and consolidation of these companies, was very extensive.

The Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST] has taken the proper predicate on which to base any calculation on as to the price of the different degrees of sugar. Of late years the old-time methods of making sugar have been very much improved on. The centrifugal has been introduced in lieu of the open-kettle process, as was explained by the Senator from Rhode Island.

The centrifugal is nothing more nor less than a machine with a centrifugal force, a vessel into which the sirup, after being boiled to the point of crystallization, is placed, and the action of the centrifugal force throws the molasses from the center, and thereby dries the molasses and refines the sugar to a state of almost purity. When the sugar comes from the centrifugal, it will polarize 96 per cent of saccharine matter; and this being the mode of making sugar in the Tropics or in the semitropical countries, the sugar is of 96 test. Saccharine matter is naturally the basis of the calculation for the price of all sugars below and above that price.

I am told by gentlemen who know about this subject and who are perfectly familiar with sugar that the price is ranged up or down from 96 test. If sugar is 95 test, the seller gets one-sixteenth of a cent less than the basis of the price agreed on at 96 test, and if the test is above 96, he gets about one thirty-second in excess of the price at 96 test. So any differential between 96-test sugar and the price of the standard granulated sugar in the New York markets will show very accurately the amount of profit that the trust is making.

From Willett & Gray's Sugar Journal, a publication entirely in the interest of the sugar trust—I am told owned by them, but about which, however, I do not make any positive assertion—the following figures are gathered:

In 1883, prior to the formation of the sugar trust, which was in 1887, the price of 96-test centrifugal in the New York market was 7.50; the price of the standard granulated was 8.44; differential, ninety-four one-hundredths of a cent. In 1884 the price of standard granulated was 6.87 cents, and the price of 96-test centrifugal 6.19; differential, sixty-eight one-hundredths of a cent, competition getting sharper. In 1885 the price of granulated was 6.50, the price of centrifugals 5.87; differential, sixty-three one-hundredths. In 1886 the price of granulated sugar was 6.37, and the price of 96 centrifugals 5.69; differential, sixty-eight one-hundredths of a cent. In 1887, the year of the formation of this trust, granulated sugar was 6.01, centrifugals 5.24; differential, seventy-seven one-hundredths of a cent.

Now, mark the jump, Mr. President; mark the effect of the consolidation of all these independent refineries into this gigantic trust. In 1888 the price of standard granulated was 7.01, and the price of 96 centrifugal, 5.75, differential, 1.26, double the differential when there was competition in 1884, 1885, and 1886. In 1890 the differential was seventy-three one-hundredths of a cent per pound; in 1891 it was seventy-eight one-hundredths of a cent per pound; in 1892 it was 1.04 cents per pound; in 1893, it was 1.12 cents per pound; in 1894 it was eighty-eight one-hundredths of a cent per pound; in 1895 it was eighty-eight one-hundredths, and in 1896, ninety-one one-hundredths of a cent per pound.

I will not read any further, but will insert the table in my remarks.

Average annual quotations in New York of granulated sugar and 96-degree centrifugal sugar for each calendar year, 1883 to 1896.

[Compiled from circulars of Messrs. Willett & Gray, sugar brokers, 91 Wall street, New York.]

	1883.	1884.	1885.	1886.	1887.	1888.	1889.
Granulated sugar	8.44	6.87	6.50	6.37	6.01	7.01	7.64
96-degree centrifugal sugar	7.50	6.19	5.87	5.69	5.24	5.75	6.43
Difference	.94	.68	.63	.68	.77	1.26	1.21

Average annual quotations in New York of granulated sugar, etc.—Continued.

	1890.	1891.	1892.	1893.	1894.	1895.	1896.
Granulated sugar	6.17	4.64	4.35	4.81	4.12	4.15	4.53
96-degree centrifugal sugar	5.44	3.86	3.31	3.69	3.24	3.27	3.62
Difference	.73	.78	1.04	1.12	.88	.88	.91

Mr. President, it will be seen that notwithstanding the sugar trust said that the tariff of 1894 would ruin them, they have made about as much differential in the prices between the raws and the refined at 96 test as they enjoyed under the McKinley Act of 1894, and more than they enjoyed under the very high tariffs prevailing from 1883 to 1890. So all they want is enough tariff to keep out the German or any other granulated sugar, and then they would work their sweet will as to the prices of cane sugar.

Another remarkable fact appears from the statement in the investigation of the trust before the Lexow committee. It was claimed in behalf of the trust that they had reduced the price of sugar to the American consumer, and after they showed that the price of sugar had been reduced to the consumer, some of the New York newspapers based leading editorials upon the beneficence of trusts in general, stating that while aggregations of capital to control trade were generally improper and illegitimate, sometimes they were an unalloyed benefit to the people; and it was strongly intimated that the sugar trust was one of these angelic benefactors.

How have they reduced the price of sugar to the consumer? By hammering down the prices to the producer. Their differential has been as great under low prices as under high prices. Whoever loses, they win; and the lower price of sugar to the American consumer is on account of competition between the German sugars and the cane sugars, and not on account of the illegitimate formation of this trust to control prices and to restrain trade.

Here were the prices of Cuban centrifugals in 1896: 3.62.

Mr. ALLISON. What test?

Mr. CAFFERY. The 96 test.

In 1883 they were 7.50; and yet in 1883 there were only three points of difference between the profit the trust made out of refining then and the profit they made in 1896.

Look again. In 1885, for instance, the price of centrifugals was 5.87, the price of granulated 6.50. That is more than the difference between 3.62 and 4.53, and the differential in favor of the trust in 1885 was sixty-three one-hundredths of a cent, while in 1890 it was ninety-one one-hundredths of a cent.

This very peculiar institution sets up extravagant claims for the admiration and applause of the American people. It never loses. All it wants is differential enough and a tariff wall high enough to keep out the importer of the foreign article, and then it has the American consumer at its mercy.

But, as I said, in regulating a tariff the legislator ought not to be animated with vindictive feelings toward an institution which avails itself of the opportunities that these high tariffs give of fleecing the American people; for if the legislator proceeded upon those lines there would be found very few manufacturing interests that did not take advantage of their opportunities to charge the American consumer the highest price allowed by the duty upon the imported competing article.

Mr. President, it was said by the sugar trust that they would be ruined, slaughtered, by any differential less than a clean quarter of a cent. Under the differential of one-eighth of a cent given under the Wilson law, the ad valorem bringing it up some, they prospered.

Mr. GEAR. How much protection did the ad valorem afford?

Mr. CAFFERY. I do not understand the Senator's question.

Mr. GEAR. The Senator from Louisiana stated that the Wilson law gave an eighth specific duty, and he stated that the ad valorem brought that protection up somewhat. Will he kindly state how much?

Mr. CAFFERY. Here is what the protection was under the Wilson law: For sugars testing 96, thirty-four one-hundredths.

Mr. GEAR. And an eighth of a cent added to that?

Mr. CAFFERY. No, sir; that is all; that is the differential; that is the concealed benefit in the ad valorem; and that is the countervailing duty to offset the benefit, and all added together make thirty-four one-hundredths of a cent.

Mr. ALLISON. Under what law?

Mr. CAFFERY. Under the Wilson law.

Mr. GEAR. I am glad to know that.

Mr. CAFFERY. Thirty-four one-hundredths of a cent per pound. Under this present amendment it is sixty-seven one-hundredths.

Mr. ALLISON. Does the Senator include in that thirty-eight one-hundredths countervailing duty on account of imported German sugars?

Mr. CAFFERY. This includes that.

Mr. ALLISON. Very well.

Mr. VEST. That is the German export bounty.

Mr. CAFFERY. That is the German export bounty added, of course, to the duty, and it makes sixty-seven one-hundredths of a cent. Under the original Senate amendment it is 62 cents a hundred, and under the Dingley bill it was 59 cents a hundred.

I will refer to the prices given by the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH], though I do not believe them to be correct, for, figuring upon the compound specific and ad valorem rate with the proposed amendment, it was clear that, in order to get the lower differential, the prices of raw and refined sugars must be brought close together. The Senator from Rhode Island took the prices for March, 1897. Why did he take the prices of one month? Why did he not take the prices of a year? Was it possible that the ingenious Senator from Rhode Island discovered that in taking the prices for March, 1897, when the prices of raw and German granulated sugars were very close together, the cloven foot of the benefit in the ad valorem would not appear? The prices of a year, taken by Mr. Wilson—and that was the correct way to take the prices—made the differential substantially 0.48.

The distinguished Senator from Rhode Island, in criticising the calculation made by the Hon. William L. Wilson, stated that he had made a mistake in not giving enough pounds of raw on the basis of 87 or 75 pounds, I do not remember which, to make a hundred pounds of refined, but when Mr. Wilson's statement is carried down and predicated upon the price of 96-test sugars, where it takes 107 pounds of raw to make 100 pounds of refined, the calculation is substantially correct. So, therefore, we would have this difference: Forty-eight one-hundredths of a cent, under the calculation of Mr. Wilson, taking the basis of the calculation the same as the Senator from Rhode Island took.

Now, I submit to my distinguished friend from Iowa that if the sugar trust flourished and made money and commanded the markets of the United States under a differential of thirty-four one-hundredths of a cent under the Wilson law, how has he the face to submit, much less the cruelty to submit, to a differential of sixty-seven one-hundredths of a cent per pound?

I remember what hot shot was poured over on this side of the Chamber when the sugar schedule of the Wilson bill was up for consideration. My learned brother from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR], whom I now see before me, waxed eloquent on sugar. He was not trying to put me in a hole, which has been his amusement here for a day or two past, but he was attempting to throw obloquy upon the whole Wilson tariff.

Mr. HOAR. If the Senator will pardon me, I never attempted to put him into a hole. I called attention to the fact that he was in one. [Laughter.]

Mr. CAFFERY. Oh, yes. The Senator from Massachusetts has got so purblind that he can not see the difference between a man being out of a hole and his attempt to put him into one. He thinks everybody is in a hole. Sometimes we think over here that he has hardly crawled out of his hole. [Laughter.]

I remember the hot shot which was poured on this side of the Chamber on the sugar schedule of the Wilson bill. I remember how some of my weak-kneed brethren on this side took to the woods when you shelled them so fiercely they could not stand the fire. Grape, canister, shrapnel, slugs, chain, every projectile that could be cast was slung over here.

Then came on the heels of that the investigating committee. We were investigated; we were solemnly sworn to say whether we had not speculated in sugar stock, and every mother's son of us said "nay," Republicans as well as Democrats; nobody had speculated in sugar stock. I do not believe they had. But the enormous amount of noise you made about this thing cast obloquy around that part of the Wilson bill. Have you taught instructions which, being taught, return to plague the inventor?

Are you not now partaking of the poisoned ingredients of your own chalice? You thought it was an outrage upon the American people to propose to put thirty-four one-hundredths of a cent differential between raws and refined. You proclaimed that from every house top. There was not a newspaper in the United States that was not lashing the Democratic majority on account of this enormous bounty in favor of this hated institution; and now you come forward with a differential of sixty-seven one-hundredths of a cent per pound, when we only gave thirty-four one-hundredths of a cent per pound.

Mr. ALLISON. May I ask the Senator from Louisiana if he is in favor of striking out the thirty-eight one-hundredths provided for here as the countervailing duty to the German bounty?

Mr. CAFFERY. Do you think that that countervailing duty makes up the difference between the Wilson law and this bill?

Mr. ALLISON. I will answer the Senator if he will answer my question.

Mr. CAFFERY. Well, Mr. President, as a general proposition, I am in favor of taking the good that other nations give us, whether by reason of violating the economic law, or whether from any

other reason. I think that the bounty system of Germany is built upon vicious principles. I believe that ordinarily a nation does not protect itself against an export bounty which makes a product cheap when imported into its borders by placing a countervailing duty against it.

Mr. ALLISON. Then I understand the Senator favors the striking out of the bounty provision?

Mr. CAFFERY. No; you do not understand me in that way.

Mr. ALLISON. Very well. What I want to understand is whether those who are making these calculations respecting differentials are in favor of striking out the thirty-eight one-hundredths of a cent which is involved in all these computations?

Mr. CAFFERY. I will tell the Senator what I am in favor of. There will be about 30 points left after you take out the countervailing duties, and I am in favor of reducing those 30 points to 12½.

Mr. ALLISON. In other words, then, the Senator does agree that we ought to retain this thirty-eight one-hundredths of a cent a pound, or 38 cents upon the hundred pounds, as a countervailing duty to the German bounty on sugar.

Mr. CAFFERY. I do in this instance; but I do not subscribe to the principle generally, and I will tell the Senator why.

Mr. ALLISON. I understand that.

Mr. CAFFERY. And I propose to read what an American consul says on that subject.

That brings me, Mr. President, to the question of the raising of sugar in Germany. The production of sugar in Germany is wholly artificial. In my opinion it is a signal instance of the failure to bring up by artificial legislation an unnatural and unadapted product. The whole German system is toppling to its fall. This whole vast sugar superstructure that rests upon the basis of a prohibitive tariff and an export bounty must fall in ruins and crush everybody engaged in it. I will now read what the American consul-general at Frankfort says on that subject.

This is from the United States Consular Reports, volume 51, Nos. 188 to 191 of 1896, page 510. I beg Senators to listen to this statement of the American consul-general in regard to the sugar-beet industry in Germany. It teaches an object lesson which in the United States ought to bear good fruit and prevent, if possible, the application of bounties to unnatural productions.

THE NEW SUGAR EXPORT BOUNTIES IN GERMANY.

The sugar tax amendment law, over which has been waged in the German Parliament one of the longest and most determined battles of recent years, was finally enacted as a concession to the agrarian interest, and went into effect on Monday of the present week.

That is about equivalent to our protection interest over here.

Mr. CHILTON. What is the date of the report?

Mr. CAFFERY. It is dated Frankfort, May 28, 1896.

Its influence will be to increase the sugar production of Germany, and to that extent exert a depressing effect upon the general market and the interests of producers in other beet-growing countries.

The circumstances which have led to the present situation are, briefly, these: From the time when the Prussian Government began the systematic encouragement of the beet-sugar industry down to 1887 the tax on sugar for home consumption was calculated upon the quantity of beets worked up by each separate factory, it being assumed that the quantity of roots required to produce a given weight of sugar would be uniform and invariable. The proportion adopted was 20 units of raw beet root to 1 unit of sugar, which, at the time when the law was enacted, was approximately correct.

But, under the stimulus of the export bounties provided by the same law, the German beet growers and sugar makers worked hard and intelligently to improve and increase their product. By careful selection and cultivation the beets were so improved that from 12 to 14 tons of roots would yield a ton of sugar. Great advance was also made in the machinery and processes employed in the sugar factories, so that, as a final result, the German Government, which paid nearly 12 cents per hundredweight bounty on all sugar exported and charged a tax of the same amount on all sugar for home consumption that could be made from 20 hundredweight of beets, found that the export bounties completely absorbed the revenue derived from the sugar tax.

This tendency of the system had become apparent as early as 1869, and an attempt was made at that time to revise the law, but the sugar-producing interest was powerful enough to resist this effort, and during the sugar season of 1886-87 the Government was paying about $1.17 bounty on each 100 kilograms (220.46 pounds) of sugar exported to foreign countries. This was more than the imperial treasury could well withstand, and the export bounty was reduced to 2.50 marks (59.5 cents) per 100 kilograms—a little more than one-fourth of a cent per pound.

Sugar growing still continued to be the most profitable form of culture for German farmers, the area of cultivation and number of sugar factories continued to increase, loud complaints were heard against a system that favored one class of farmers at the expense of the entire population, and in 1891 the Imperial Diet reduced the sugar export bounty by half, that is, to 29.7 cents per 100 kilograms, and decreed that such bounty should entirely cease on the 31st of July, 1897, provided that, in the meantime, Austria, France, and other bounty-paying countries should likewise reduce their bounties on exported sugar.

Several attempts have been made to reach such an international agreement, but without successful result, and under cover of this failure to secure a general reduction or abolition of bounties the German agrarians have rallied and secured the adoption of the present law, which restores the export bounty of 1887 (59.5 cents per 220.46 pounds) and raises the tax on sugar for home consumption from 18 marks ($4.28) to 21 marks ($4.99) per 100 kilograms, or about 2.2 cents per pound. This increased tax will, of course, be added to the retail price of sugar, already very high, and tend to still further retard the increase of sugar consumption in Germany, which is now only 29.8 pounds per capita, against 73.68 pounds per capita in England and 77 pounds in the United States.

This low rate of consumption will not appear unnatural when it is remembered how large a percentage of the working classes in Germany must live with the utmost economy, and that sugar, which sells in the United States at 4 and 5 cents per pound, costs at retail 7½ cents per pound in Germany.

From the statistics that were brought out in the recent debate, it appears that the whole system of beet culture and sugar manufacture in Germany has reached a higher standard of scientific perfection than has been attained in any other European country. Every step, from the preparation and fertilization of the land to the smallest detail in the factory process, has been reduced as nearly as possible to exact scientific methods. Comparing the results attained in this country with those in France, the country probably next in rank in respect to the perfection of its beet-sugar industry, the following statistics of the campaign of 1895-96 are presented:

	Germany.	France.
Factories operated.....number..	397	355
Area of beets planted.....hectares..	374,174	200,693
Beets harvested.....tons..	11,672,000	5,411,000
Sugar obtained.....per cent..	13.25	12
Beets required for unit of sugar.....units..	7.25	8.08

All these statistics were cited to prove that the German sugar producers are safe from all European competition and do not need the protection of an increased export bounty; but nothing could withstand the demand of the Agrarians, and their victory is one of the most significant events in recent German legislation.

Whether Austria and France will follow this lead by increasing their export bounties remains to be seen; but, in any event, the new law of Germany can not fail to increase its future sugar product, and thereby exert a more or less tangible effect upon the general market.

To this complexion has the highest protection ever accorded brought the German people. What does it amount to? The per capita consumption of sugar in Germany is about a third of what it is in the United States. They pay 3 cents a pound for sugar more per capita than we do in the United States, and more than they do in England. For the same sugar that we buy for 4 to 5 cents they pay 7½ cents. With the German population at 60,000,000, with 3 cents per capita extra, there is $18,000,000 a year for the benefit of an agrarian interest that is never satisfied.

German beet culture had its origin, I believe, in the Napoleonic wars, when England would not permit vessels loaded with sugar to be carried from the West Indies to France, and from that time on this industry has been stimulated by government subsidy and by prohibitive taxes until it has arrived at what point? At the point where the demand for bounty never ceases, at the point where the German consumer has to pay 3 cents more for his sugar than his civilized brethren in America and in England pay. Is it the end of this kind of a policy that the people in whose behalf it is made should, upon an indispensable, necessary article like sugar, pay a double price? Does the amount of money that the Germans have to pay in order to keep this industry alive compensate them for the benefit of a few agrarian sugar planters who ship their surplus product, under the stimulus of a bounty, to the United States?

I answered the Senator from Iowa that in this particular instance, even at the expense of the people of the United States, I believe the agrarian idea ought to be rebuked. It is true that they are sending their surplus here and selling it at a very small price, and in order to correct that evil our people have to be deprived of the benefit of the cheapness of that sugar. Otherwise suppose this case: Suppose the ideal condition of free trade. I have heard some Senators say here that nobody believes in free trade and nobody dares to advocate free trade. I am one of those hardy individuals who believe in it and who will advocate it at the proper time. But suppose the ideal condition of free trade, where there is a free interchange of products, where what one nation raises with greater efficiency than another is exchanged for the products of that other nation, in turn raised with greater efficiency.

Now, suppose there was in the United States or Germany or the Tropics conditions not varying much in their natural equality or varying none, and one of those nations should interpose such an obstacle to the free interchange of the product as to give an export bounty on one of its products. That would violate the cardinal principle of free trade, and as the Democratic party, in my opinion, is tending inevitably in that direction, I believe we ought to put the brakes upon this German agrarian, bounty-fed, tariff-built sugar and not permit them to come into the United States with their artificial product to run out the natural product, if so it be that we have it.

I think the lesson taught from the communication of Mr. Mason is full of interest and significance to our people. Commence your artificial industry and it never ceases its clamors. Germany wants an international agreement to take off the export bounty. The other nations will not consent. The agrarians besiege the German Reichstag. They get what they want, as the protected interests generally do, whenever there is a monopolistic tendency in the character of the government or in the genius of the people. Suppose we built up your beet industry. Suppose it is built up under a highly protective tariff or one prohibitive of the introduction of the natural product of the Tropics, and you get your industry to the perfection that the Germans have theirs. Is there a time when you can take down the wall? Is there not some justice in the demand of the people whom you have induced to go into a business of this sort, that the governmental prop should not be taken from under them? As you placed it there, you induced them to go into the business; they have invested their capital and their

energies and their labor in an enterprise of this sort, and is there not some justice in the demand, conceding that the enterprise or business is built upon a wrong basis, that the Government or the people who induced the entrance into the enterprise should not take away the prop by which it raised it into being? And if the prop has to be removed, it must be removed so as not to entirely destroy the protected business.

That is the problem which confronts the Germans. The German sugar raisers own large factories. The beets are cultivated under the direction of the factories, down to the very minutest detail, I am told—the time to prepare the land, how to prepare it, how to fertilize it, all being prescribed with great minuteness. The culture employs a large number of women and boys. It is a very tedious and laborious culture. Now they claim that it must be protected by the Government in order to keep the industry going which experience has demonstrated to them can not stand on its own legs, and if our people by high tariff, or by bounties, or by Government subsidies in any direction are induced to go into this business it will share the fate of the Germans, and, in my opinion, this wall will have to come down, this artificial prop will sooner or later be removed.

The German people pay a bounty of $18,000,000 a year or thereabouts, and besides that starve their people in the consumption of sugar for the benefit of a few large factory owners. That is the condition of the German sugar interests. That is precisely what it is. It is artificial. It is against the laws of trade. It is against that natural freedom of trade and of intercourse among men that ought to prevail as against these highly protective tariffs and this artificial restrictive policy.

I will advert somewhat to my own country. The sugar belt of Louisiana lies in the delta of the Mississippi River. It is one of the most favored regions in the world, both for soil and climate. The water transportation and the rail facilities are abundant. The enterprise and thrift of the people are acknowledged by all who have ever visited them. Since I have been in the Senate the sugar growers of that State have, until this session, besieged me with clamorous demands to place the highest protective tariff upon the article of sugar that the Congress of the United States would stand.

In the formation of the Wilson bill I did vote for and sustain a 40 per cent ad valorem tariff plus an eighth plus a tenth, solely upon the ground that as sugar had been a revenue-producing article for one hundred years, as it had formed the foundation of all tariffs made by either party for revenue, it was not improper, it was not un-Democratic, to ask for a tariff of 40 per cent, especially in view of the fact that under the pernicious workings of the bounty system those people had been induced to incur great expense and to contract debts which under a healthier and better régime they would not have entered into or contracted.

Prior to 1890 sugar had always been on the list of dutiable articles. It was never questioned that it was a revenue-producing article. Nobody ever doubted that it came within the lines of the strictest construction of the Democratic principle of tariff for revenue only. I have adverted to the fact that we consume about 4,000,000,000 pounds of sugar and the domestic production is hardly in excess of 600,000,000 pounds. In 1865 it was only 10,000,000 pounds of sugar, or thereabouts. So, therefore, under any construction and under any party principle, sugar is justly entitled, if revenue is sought, to be put upon the dutiable list. A very great many erroneous impressions have been circulated in regard to sugar.

It was said that sugar could not live unless there was a tariff of 3 or 3½ cents a pound, or thereabouts. This was afterwards reduced to 1½ cents per pound as a living basis.

I propose to read some statistics to show that under the 24 per cent ad valorem the domestic production of sugar was about half the consumption of sugar in the United States at the opening of the war. Now it is not more than one-seventh. I will read the production of sugar under the tariff of 1846, which was a 30 per cent tariff, and under the tariff of 1857, which was a 24 per cent tariff.

In 1850–51 the crop was 231,200,000 pounds of sugar, all made in Louisiana. In 1851–52 the crop was 257,100,000 pounds. In 1852–53 the crop was 368,100,000 pounds of sugar; in 1853–54 it was 495,200,000 pounds. That shows a very good advance under a 30 per cent ad valorem tariff—231,000,000 pounds in 1850; 495,000,000 in 1853. I do not see any backward movement there. In 1854–55 it was 385,200,000 pounds; in 1855–56 it was 254,600,000 pounds; in 1856–57 it was 81,400,000 pounds of sugar.

Why was that dropping off? It was not on account of the operation of any tariff or any artificial means.

Mr. GEAR. It was a bad season.

Mr. CAFFERY. It was because of the total failure of the crop, from a drought, grievous and hard to be borne. I remember it distinctly, for I was making sugar at the time. These figures are from the census returns.

For 1857–58 it was 307,700,000 pounds; in 1858–59 it was 414,800,000 pounds; in 1859–60 it was 255,100,000 pounds; in 1860–61, 263,100,000 pounds, and in 1861–62, 528,300,000 pounds. Now, how much was imported? In 1861–62 there were 557,738,382 pounds of sugar imported into the United States, as against a production of 528,300,000 pounds. We produce about one-seventh of our sugar consumption. In 1861–62 we produced about one-half, and that under a 24 per cent ad valorem tariff, and the prices of the sugar in Cuba were not much higher at that period than the Cuban centrifugal prices in New York last year. All sugars made at that period were open-kettle sugars; we had no centrifugal process. The brown sugars went directly into consumption.

Refined sugar or granulated sugar was considered an article of luxury. It was only the rich who could use it as a general thing, and it was the brown sugar, the ordinary kettle product of Louisiana, that largely supplied the home consumption of the United States. This shows that Louisiana was rapidly advancing toward supplying the home demand when war broke out. The industry there appeared to be on a solid basis under a low tariff. Her people need not despair of being able to hold their own under normal conditions. The pernicious policy of beet-growing Europe is their great danger.

I submit the following letter from the Statistician of the Agricultural Department:

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
DIVISION OF STATISTICS,
Washington, D. C., June 5, 1897.

SIR: In answer to your telephone message and letter of yesterday, I have the honor to communicate the information contained in the accompanying table. The production is that of Louisiana only, and the authority is said to be M. Champoiner for the years prior to 1861 and L. Boucherau since that date. For the years since 1871, see Statistical Abstract, page 286, where it appears that Louisiana produced on the average 94 per cent or more of the product of the United States. Substantially the same ratio is given by the census figures for 1850-1880. The addition for the production of other States to the figures here furnished must therefore be about 6 per cent, making, say, 3,230,000,000 pounds of cane sugar for the decade 1850-1860, 1,360,000,000 pounds for 1860-1870, or 4,590,000,000 for the twenty years.

The amount of beet-sugar production during this period may be neglected. The maple-sugar reported in 1850 was 34,300,000 pounds; in 1860 was 40,100,000 pounds, and in 1870 it was 24,400,000 pounds. We may therefore add 370,000,000 pounds for maple sugar to the total for the first decade, and 340,000,000 for the second decade, to allow for maple. This gives sums of 3,600,000,000 and 1,700,000,000 pounds, respectively; 5,300,000,000 pounds in all.

The first column of prices is from the Senate report on wholesale prices, etc. (the Aldrich report), part 2, page 112, where the figures are said to have been furnished by Messrs. Hitchcock, Darling & Co., of New York City, and to belong to "fair refining sugar." The quotation is that for January of each year. The second column is that supplied by the Treasury figures, equal to total value divided by total quantity of imported sugar for the fiscal year, the values being those at the points whence exported. All these figures, except those here supplied for the first two years, are copied from the Abstract, page 285. The same may be said of the figures in the column following, showing amounts imported.

I greatly regret my inability to give full particulars or satisfactory information as to the product of refined sugar. For the years of your inquiry I can find no authority except the census, and the library of this Department is unfortunately without the Seventh and Eighth Census volumes relating to manufactures. The Ninth Census (Compendium, page 326) gives as the material consumed by 59 establishments in the country (33 of which were in New York and Pennsylvania) 804,408,427 pounds of sugar, besides 23,952,131 gallons of molasses; and as the product therefrom 754,010,951 pounds refined sugar, along with 18,168,279 gallons sirup, and some other products. These figures apply to the year ending May 31, 1870. Doubtless similar particulars could readily be found in the volumes for 1860 and 1850, and an estimate covering the intervening years be made from them.

I hope these facts may be of assistance to you.

Respectfully,

HENRY A. ROBINSON, *Statistician.*

Hon. DONELSON CAFFERY,
United States Senate.

Year.	Cane sugar production of Louisiana.	Price per pound.		Sugar imported.
		In New York.	In exporting country.	
	Pounds.	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Pounds.*
1850-51	231,200,000	4.8	3.64	380,402,289
1 51-52	257,100,000	4.3	3.22	457,511,093
1852-53	368,100,000	4.5	3.23	464,402,286
1853-54	495,200,000	4.4	3.01	455,928,585
1854-55	385,200,000	4.3	3.10	473,809,847
1855-56	254,600,000	7.4	4.08	545,226,430
1856-57	81,400,000	9	5.45	776,084,252
1857-58	307,700,000	6	4.26	519,260,387
1858-59	414,800,000	6.9	4.55	655,845,352
1859-60	255,100,000	7.2	4.38	694,838,197
Total for decade	3,050,400,000			5,421,149,738
1860-61	263,100,000	5.4	3.68	809,749,958
1861-62	528,300,000	7.8	3.66	557,738,382
1862-63	96,000,000	9.5	3.63	518,594,861
1863-64	84,500,000	12	4.68	632,230,247
1864-65	10,800,000	17.7	4.39	651,336,494
1865-66	19,900,000	11.5	4.02	1,000,055,024
1866-67	42,900,000	9.8	4.09	849,054,006
1867-68	41,400,000	11.5	4.33	1,121,189,415
1868-69	95,100,000	11.2	4.74	1,247,833,430
1869-70	99,500,000	10.5	4.95	1,196,773,569
Total for decade	1,281,500,000			8,585,155,386
Total for 20 years	4,331,900,000			14,006,305,124
1870-71	168,900,000	9.3	4.94	1,277,473,653

Mr. PETTIGREW. About four weeks ago I introduced and the Senate passed a resolution authorizing the Committee on Pacific Railroads to investigate the issue of land patents to those roads. I have heard nothing from it since, and I desire to ask the chairman of the Committee on Pacific Railroads what has been done in that connection by the committee?

Mr. GEAR. In reply I beg to state, as chairman of the committee, that the gentleman will hear in due time what action the committee has taken and will take.

Mr. PETTIGREW. Mr. President——

Mr. GEAR. I should like to state, further, that there have been a good many important matters pending, and I ordered the clerk of the committee to call a meeting for Saturday. If it is agreeable to the other gentlemen, a meeting will be held on Saturday, and when the committee comes to report, the Senator will be the first to hear it, if he is here.

Mr. PETTIGREW. It appears, then, that the committee have not had a meeting since the resolution was referred?

Mr. GEAR. We have not had a meeting.

Mr. PETTIGREW. I said at the time the resolution was sent to the committee that I thought it would be a graveyard of the resolution, and it looks very much like it.

Mr. GEAR. The Senator is simply mistaken. There is no intention to graveyard the resolution, as he calls it. Recollect that the Senator's resolution asked for a special committee, a junketing committee, if you please, to go around and gather information which I stated then, and believe now, can be obtained from the proper Department by asking for it in a proper manner. It is true I have not called a meeting of the committee before this time, because I have been exceptionally busy on other matters, as almost every other gentleman has.

Mr. PETTIGREW. Mr. President——

Mr. WHITE. It seems to me rather late in the evening for a funeral, and if the Senator from Iowa has no objection, I will move an adjournment.

Mr. QUAY. I should be glad to have an executive session.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. CHANDLER in the chair). The Senator from South Dakota has the floor.

Mr. PETTIGREW. I desire to know from the chairman of the Committee on Pacific Railroads whether the meeting which has been called for Saturday has been called to consider the resolution.

Mr. GEAR. I do not know that that is any of the business of the gentleman. It is for the purpose of considering such business as may be brought before the committee.

Mr. PETTIGREW. I wish to state that if at the next meeting the resolution is not taken up I shall move the Senate to discharge the committee from its further consideration.

Mr. GEAR. That is the gentleman's right.

Mr. PETTIGREW. The chairman said that no investigation was necessary, and yet he was anxious to have the resolution referred to his committee. I call the attention of the country to the fact that the chairman takes that position.

Mr. GEAR. I beg the gentleman's pardon. I said I did not believe that an investigation of the character the gentleman wanted was necessary. I still adhere to that view. What the committee does the gentleman will be advised of. If he possesses his soul in patience, he will be advised as to what will be the action of the committee when it meets.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the adoption of the amendment proposed by the Committee on Finance to paragraph 206 of the pending bill. Is the Senate ready for the question?

Mr. ALLISON. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After five minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened, and (at 5 o'clock and 10 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Friday, June 11, 1897, at 12 o'clock meridian.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate June 10, 1897.

SOLICITOR OF THE TREASURY.

Maurice D. O'Connell, of Iowa, to be Solicitor of the Treasury, vice Felix A. Reeve, to be removed.

MARSHAL.

William M. Griffith, of Arizona Territory, to be marshal of the United States for the Territory of Arizona, vice William K. Meade, to be removed.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

THURSDAY, *June 10, 1897.*

The House met at 12 o'clock noon, and was called to order by the Speaker.

Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. HENRY N. COUDEN.

The Journal of the proceedings of Monday, June 7, 1897, was read and approved.

SWEARING IN OF A MEMBER.

The SPEAKER. The Chair has notice of the presence of a new member, and the Clerk will read the certificate of his election.

The certificate of election of Hon. James T. Lloyd, Representative-elect from the First Congressional district of Missouri, was read.

Mr. Lloyd, accompanied by Mr. CLARK of Missouri, appeared at the bar of the House, and the oath of office was administered to him by the Speaker.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. PLATT, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed the following joint and concurrent resolutions; in which the concurrence of the House of Representatives was requested:

Joint resolution (S. R. 50) authorizing foreign exhibitors at the Transmississippi and International Exposition, to be held in the city of Omaha, in the State of Nebraska, during the year 1898, to bring to the United States foreign laborers from their countries, respectively, for the purpose of preparing for and making exhibits.

Concurrent resolution (Senate Con. Res. No. 11) as follows:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the President of the United States be, and he is hereby, requested to invite, by proclamation or otherwise, as he may deem most proper, foreign nations to make exhibits at the Transmississippi and International Exposition to be held at the city of Omaha, in the State of Nebraska, from the 1st day of June to the 1st day of November, A. D. 1898.

SALARIES OF CONSULS, ETC.

Mr. HITT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of a joint resolution which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. HITT] asks unanimous consent for the present consideration of a resolution which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled, That the salaries appropriated by the act making appropriations for the diplomatic and consular service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1898, approved February 20, 1897, for consuls-general and consuls at certain places hereinafter named, may be paid to the consuls-general and consuls heretofore appointed at certain other places until consuls-general or consuls are appointed, qualify, and enter upon their duties at the places named in said act of February 20, 1897, as follows, viz: The salary of the consul-general at Apia and Nukualofa, Tonga, to the consul-general at Apia; the consul-general at Yokohama, to the consul-general at Kanagawa; the consul-general at Monterey, to the consul-general at Nuevo Laredo; the consul at Elberfeld, to the consul at Barmen; the consul at Edinburgh, to the consul at Leith; the consul at Ciudad Juares, to the consul at Paso del Norte; the consul at Ciudad Porfirio Diaz, to the consul at Piedras Negras; the consul at Sydney, to the consul at Picton; the consul at Progreso, to the consul at Merida; the consul at St. Michaels, to the consul at Fayal; the consul at Valencia, to the consul at Denia; the consul at Utilla and Truxillo, to the consul at Ruatan and Truxillo; the consul at Lourenzo Marquez, to the consul at Mozambique; and all allowances for office rent, clerk hire, and transit salary are also continued at the above-named offices, as now established, until the contemplated changes have been fully effected.

Mr. HITT. Mr. Speaker——

Mr. BAILEY. Pending the request for unanimous consent, I am very free to say that I know absolutely nothing about this matter, and I reserve the right to object until the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. DINSMORE], who I am sure is familiar with the subject, can tell the House whether this is proper or not.

Mr. DINSMORE. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. HITT] was about to make a statement concerning the matter. I am acquainted with the conditions making this legislation necessary; but I should like to have the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. HITT] make his statement. If it is necessary, I will make a subsequent statement, but I should not like to interrupt the gentleman from Illinois. The resolution is wholly unobjectionable, and its only purpose is to make the appropriation of money available as compensation to the persons for whom it was intended in the appropriation bill.

Mr. BAILEY. I did not notice that the gentleman from Illinois was about to address the House.

Mr. HITT. Mr. Speaker, in the appropriation bill which was passed by the last Congress to provide for the consular and diplomatic service provision was made for eight consulates, the designations of which were more or less changed upon the recommendation of the Secretary of State. None of these are important matters, but the Comptroller holds that the new designations in these cases will make it requisite to have new appointments, or the consuls can get no pay after the 30th of June. That is, the consul who is now the incumbent can not draw any pay, if he remains incumbent after the 30th of June, without a reappointment. The

Comptroller so states in the communication which I hold in my hand.

Mr. SAYERS. Mr. Speaker, I should like to ask the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. HITT] if this resolution be adopted, would it have the effect to establish additional consulates to those which were authorized in the appropriation bill?

Mr. HITT. No. This resolution which the Comptroller has drawn enables the Government to pay the same person who is now serving at the post under the old name, to be paid under the new name without a new appointment. For example, the city of Leith is the port of the city of Edinburgh. There is a consul at Leith. At the suggestion of the Secretary of State, the designation was changed so as to make the consul there consul at Edinburgh, and there is no appropriation for the consul at Leith after the 30th of June. So this consul will get no pay unless he is appointed anew to Edinburgh.

Mr. SAYERS. Then this resolution can not be construed as authorizing the establishment of any new consuls?

Mr. HITT. It can not.

Mr. SAYERS. Or affecting the pay of those now existing?

Mr. HITT. In nothing does it affect the pay except to authorize payments to be made as they were manifestly intended to be made in the appropriation bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

The joint resolution was ordered to a third reading; and it was accordingly read the third time, and passed.

On motion of Mr. HITT, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the joint resolution was passed was laid on the table.

HARBOR OF CUMBERLAND SOUND.

Mr. DAVIS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of Senate concurrent resolution No. 9, that I send to the Clerk's desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring). That the Secretary of War be requested to furnish the Senate with such information as he may have in his possession with reference to the present condition of the harbor at Cumberland Sound, and to inform the Senate whether any immediate action is necessary to protect the entrance from being closed against the commerce usually entering the port of Fernandina.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. DAVIS. Mr. Speaker, I wish to offer the amendment which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Strike out the word "Senate," in the second and fifth lines, and substitute in lieu thereof in each of said lines the word "Congress."

The amendment was agreed to.

The concurrent resolution as amended was agreed to.

On motion of Mr. DAVIS, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the concurrent resolution was agreed to was laid on the table.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The question was taken; and the Speaker announced that the ayes seemed to have it.

Mr. BAILEY. Division, Mr. Speaker!

The House divided; and there were—ayes 87, noes 87. [Laughter and applause.]

The SPEAKER. The Chair votes in the affirmative, and the ayes have it. [Renewed laughter and applause.]

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, I desire tellers.

The question was taken on ordering tellers.

Mr. DALZELL. Let us have the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 100, nays 88, answered "present" 11, not voting 154; as follows:

YEAS—100.

Adams,	Curtis, Kans.	Jenkins,	Russell,
Alexander,	Dalzell,	Johnson, N. Dak.	Shannon,
Arnold,	Davenport,	Ketcham,	Sherman,
Baker, Md.	Dorr,	Linney,	Showalter,
Barber,	Eddy,	Loud,	Simpkins,
Barrows,	Ellis,	Lybrand,	Smith, S. W.
Bartholdt,	Evans,	McDonald,	Southard,
Belford,	Fenton,	McIntire,	Spalding,
Bingham,	Fletcher,	Mahon,	Sperry,
Bishop,	Fowler, N. J.	Mercer,	Stewart, N. J.
Booze,	Gardner,	Mesick,	Stone, C. W.
Boutelle,	Gibson,	Miller,	Sulloway,
Brewster,	Gillett, Mass.	Moody,	Tawney,
Broderick,	Graff,	Morris,	Tayler, Ohio
Brown,	Griffin,	Olmsted,	Tongue,
Brownlow,	Hamilton,	Overstreet,	Updegraff,
Burton,	Harmer,	Packer, Pa.	Wadsworth,
Butler,	Hawley,	Parker, N. J.	Walker, Va.
Clark, Iowa	Henderson,	Payne,	Wanger,
Codding,	Henry, Conn.	Pearson,	Weaver,
Connell,	Hepburn,	Powers,	White, Ill.
Cooke,	Hilborn,	Prince,	White, N. C.
Cousins,	Hill,	Pugh,	Williams, Pa.
Crumpacker,	Hitt,	Robbins,	Wright,
Curtis, Iowa	Howell,	Royse,	Yost.

NAYS—88.

Adamson,	Cochran, Mo.	Knowles,	Richardson,
Bailey,	Cowherd,	Lamb,	Ridgely,
Baird,	Davey,	Lanham,	Robinson, Ind.
Baker, Ill.	Davis,	Latimer,	Sayers,
Bankhead,	De Graffenreid,	Lentz,	Settle,
Barlow,	De Vries,	Lewis, Ga.	Shuford,
Bartlett,	Elliott,	Lewis, Wash.	Sims,
Bell,	Epes,	Livingston,	Skinner,
Benner, Pa.	Fleming,	Lloyd,	Slayden,
Berry,	Fox,	Love,	Smith, Ky.
Bodine,	Gaines,	McMillin,	Stephens, Tex.
Brantley,	Greene,	Maddox,	Stokes,
Brewer,	Griggs,	Martin,	Strowd, N. C.
Broussard,	Gunn,	Maxwell,	Sutherland,
Brundidge,	Hay,	Meekison,	Swanson,
Burke,	Henry, Miss.	Meyer, La.	Tate,
Castle,	Henry, Tex.	Norton,	Terry,
Catchings,	Hinrichsen,	Ogden,	Underwood,
Chickering,	Howard, Ala.	Osborne,	Vandiver,
Clardy,	Hunter,	Peters,	Vincent,
Clark, Mo.	Jett,	Pierce, Tenn.	Wheeler, Ky.
Clayton,	Kleberg,	Rhea,	Williams, Miss.

ANSWERED "PRESENT"—11.

Acheson,	Dayton,	King,	Otey,
Ball,	Dinsmore,	McClellan,	Vehslage.
Cooper, Tex.	Gillet, N. Y.	McCulloch,	

NOT VOTING—154.

Allen,	Dockery,	Lester,	Sauerhering,
Babcock,	Dolliver,	Littauer,	Shafroth,
Barham,	Dovener,	Little,	Shattuc,
Barney,	Ermentrout,	Lorimer,	Shelden,
Barrett,	Faris,	Loudenslager,	Simpson,
Beach,	Fischer,	Lovering,	Smith, Ill.
Belden,	Fitzgerald,	Low,	Smith, Wm. Alden.
Belknap,	Fitzpatrick,	McAleer,	Snover,
Bennett,	Foote,	McCall,	Southwick,
Benton,	Foss,	McCleary,	Sparkman,
Bland,	Fowler, N. C.	McCormick,	Sprague,
Botkin,	Grosvenor,	McDowell,	Stallings,
Bradley,	Grout,	McEwan,	Stark,
Brenner, Ohio	Grow,	McRae,	Steele,
Bromwell,	Hager,	Maguire,	Stevens, Minn.
Brosius,	Handy,	Mahany,	Stewart, Wis.
Brucker,	Hartman,	Mann,	Stone, W. A.
Brumm,	Heatwole,	Marsh,	Strait,
Bull,	Hemenway,	Marshall,	Strode, Nebr.
Campbell,	Henry, Ind.	Miers, Ind.	Sturtevant,
Cannon,	Hicks,	Mills,	Sullivan,
Capron,	Hooker,	Minor,	Sulzer,
Carmack,	Hopkins,	Mitchell,	Talbert,
Clarke, N. H.	Howard, Ga.	Moon,	Taylor, Ala.
Cochrane, N. Y.	Howe,	Mudd,	Todd.
Colson,	Hull,	Newlands,	Van Voorhis,
Connolly,	Hurley,	Northway,	Walker, Mass.
Cooney,	Johnson, Ind.	Odell,	Ward,
Cooper, Wis.	Jones, Va.	Otjen,	Warner,
Corliss,	Jones, Wash.	Pearce, Mo.	Weymouth,
Cox,	Joy,	Perkins,	Wheeler, Ala.
Cranford,	Kelley,	Pitney,	Wilber,
Crump,	Kerr,	Plowman,	Wilson, N. Y.
Cummings,	Kirkpatrick,	Quigg,	Wilson, S. C.
Danford,	Kitchin,	Ray,	Young, Pa.
Davidson, Wis.	Knox,	Reeves,	Young, Va.
Davison, Ky.	Kulp,	Rixey,	Zenor.
De Armond,	Lacey,	Robb,	
Dingley,	Landis,	Robertson, La.	

The following pairs were announced:

Until further notice:

Mr. WILSON of New York with Mr. YOUNG of Virginia.

Mr. WILLIAM A. STONE with Mr. MCCLELLAN.

Mr. MCCLEARY with Mr. TALBERT.

Mr. MITCHELL with Mr. TAYLOR of Alabama.

Mr. OTJEN with Mr. LESTER.

Mr. HOPKINS with Mr. MCALEER.

Mr. REEVES with Mr. BALL.

Mr. BELDEN with Mr. SULZER.

Mr. LOVERING with Mr. WHEELER of Alabama.

Mr. MCEWAN with Mr. VEHSLAGE.

Mr. STRODE of Nebraska with Mr. ALLEN.

Mr. JOY with Mr. MARSHALL.

Mr. JOHNSON of Indiana with Mr. MOON.

Mr. BROSIUS with Mr. ERMENTROUT.

Mr. LACEY with Mr. MCRAE.

Mr. PITNEY with Mr. CARMACK.

Mr. KERR with Mr. ROBB.

Mr. BRUMM with Mr. COX.

Mr. HICKS with Mr. OTEY.

Mr. STEVENS of Minnesota with Mr. JONES of Washington.

Mr. CLARKE of New Hampshire with Mr. KING.

Mr. PERKINS with Mr. COOPER of Texas.

Mr. HAGER with Mr. HANDY.

Mr. SPRAGUE with Mr. MCDOWELL.

Mr. HEATWOLE with Mr. DINSMORE.

Mr. STEWART of Wisconsin with Mr. LITTLE.

Mr. BARHAM with Mr. FITZGERALD.

Mr. MILLS with Mr. SULLIVAN.

Mr. SAUERHERING with Mr. STRAIT.

Mr. CHICKERING with Mr. BRADLEY.

Mr. WM. ALDEN SMITH with Mr. BRUCKER.

Mr. ACHESON with Mr. WILSON of South Carolina.

Mr. SMITH of Illinois with Mr. MCCULLOCH.
Mr. HENRY of Indiana with Mr. MIERS of Indiana.
Mr. FERRIS with Mr. ZENOR.
Mr. BELKNAP with Mr. MAGUIRE.
Mr. YOUNG of Pennsylvania with Mr. BENTON.
Mr. MCCALL with Mr. JONES of Virginia.
Mr. MINOR with Mr. SPARKMAN.
Mr. HULL with Mr. DOCKERY.
Mr. QUIGG with Mr. BLAND.
Mr. HEMINGWAY with Mr. ROBERTSON of Louisiana.
Mr. LANDIS with Mr. CRAWFORD.
Mr. KULP with Mr. STALLINGS.
Mr. DAVIDSON of Wisconsin with Mr. HOWARD of Georgia.
Mr. BABCOCK with Mr. DE ARMOND, for one week.
For this day:
Mr. BARNEY with Mr. TODD.
Mr. MARSH with Mr. COONEY.
Mr. ODELL with Mr. FITZPATRICK.
Mr. GROSVENOR with Mr. RIXEY.
Mr. FOSS with Mr. STARK.
Mr. WALKER of Massachusetts with Mr. PLOWMAN.

Mr. COOPER of Texas. Mr. Speaker, being paired, I withdraw my vote, and desire to be marked "present."

Mr. BRUCKER. Mr. Speaker, I am paired with the gentleman from Michigan, Mr. WM. ALDEN SMITH. I therefore withdraw my vote and ask to be marked "present."

Mr. GAINES. Mr. Speaker, I desire to know whether the gentleman from Vermont, Mr. POWERS, has voted?

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Vermont has voted.

Mr. KING. Mr. Speaker, being paired with the gentleman from New Hampshire, Mr. CLARKE, I desire to withdraw my vote and to be marked as "present."

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED.

Pending the announcement of the vote, the Speaker announced that he had signed the following enrolled bills:

A bill (S. 956) to amend an act entitled "An act to authorize the construction of a steel bridge over the St. Louis River between the States of Wisconsin and Minnesota," approved April 24, 1894, as amended by an act approved August 4, 1894, entitled "An act to amend an act to authorize the construction of a steel bridge over the St. Louis River between the States of Minnesota and Wisconsin;"

A bill (S. 1979) to authorize the construction of a bridge across Pearl River, in the State of Mississippi; and

Joint resolution (S. R. 40) authorizing the Secretary of War to receive for instruction at the Military Academy at West Point Cárlos Gutierrez, of Salvador.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted as follows:

To Mr. LINNEY, for one week, on account of important business.

To Mr. WHITE of Illinois, for ten days, on account of important business.

To Mr. BOTKIN, for three weeks, on account of sickness of relatives.

The SPEAKER (at 12 o'clock and 53 minutes p. m.). On this question the yeas are 100, the nays are 88, and 11 members are reported "present." The ayes have it, and accordingly the House stands adjourned until Monday next at 12 o'clock noon.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS.

Under clause 2 of Rule XXIV, the following executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting, with a letter from the Chief of Engineers, report of examination and survey of Lewis River, Washington—to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, and ordered to be printed.

A letter from the Third Assistant Secretary of State, inclosing a copy of a letter from the Comptroller of the Treasury and a draft of a resolution for the payment of certain consular officers—to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and ordered to be printed.

PUBLIC BILLS, RESOLUTIONS, AND MEMORIALS INTRODUCED.

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, bills, resolutions, and memorials of the following titles were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. MAXWELL: A bill (H. R. 3437) to create postal savings banks and provide for investing the money—to the Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads.

By Mr. BELL: A bill (H. R. 3438) withdrawing the right of the Secretary of the Treasury to issue bonds, and for other purposes—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3439) to provide for the securing to the State of Colorado full title to all mineral lands, etc.—to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3440) to require the Secretary of the Treasury to pay the bonds issued under the contract of the Secretary of the Treasury with August Belmont & Co. and others, bearing date February 8, 1895, interest and principal, in not less than one-half in standard silver dollars—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3441) to authorize the exploration and purchase of mines within the boundaries of private land claims—to the Committee on Mines and Mining.

By Mr. BINGHAM: A bill (H. R. 3442) making an appropriation toward the construction of a dry dock at the navy-yard, League Island, Pa.—to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. BELL: A joint resolution (H. Res. 63) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States providing for election of Senators by the votes of the qualified electors of the States—to the Committee on Election of President, Vice-President, and Representatives in Congress.

By Mr. ADAMS: A memorial of the legislature of the State of Pennsylvania, urging passage of Senate bill 1747, to reappoint and retire David McMurtrie Gregg—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. BINGHAM: A memorial of the legislature of the State of Pennsylvania, urging passage of Senate bill 1747, relative to David McMurtrie Gregg—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. DALZELL: A memorial of the legislature of the State of Pennsylvania, in favor of the reappointment and retirement of David McMurtrie Gregg as captain—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. OLMSTED: A memorial of the Pennsylvania legislature, urging the passage of Senate bill 1747, for the reappointment and retirement of David McMurtrie Gregg as captain—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS INTRODUCED.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions of the following titles were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BARLOW: A bill (H. R. 3443) for the relief of Morgan Everts—to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3444) to grant a pension to Louisa E. Linn—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. BELL: A bill (H. R. 3445) granting a pension to George E. Tuttle—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3446) for the relief of Mrs. Julia A. Humphries—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3447) granting a pension to Simon D. Kohl—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3448) granting a pension to Lemuel Kingsbury, of Denver, Colo., and late of Company A, Twelfth Regiment Michigan Volunteer Infantry—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3449) granting an increase of pension to Henry Logan, of Buenavista, Colo.—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3450) granting a pension to Thomas B. Roark—to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3451) for the relief of Irving W. Stanton—to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. BOTKIN: A bill (H. R. 3452) granting a pension to D. O. Leary—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3453) granting an honorable discharge to Marion M. Barton—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3454) granting a pension to William S. Hanna—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. HAY: A bill (H. R. 3455) for the relief of Miss E. A. Lewis—to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. MOODY: A bill (H. R. 3456) granting a pension to Julia C. Jenkins—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. OSBORNE: A bill (H. R. 3457) for the relief of Louis Miller—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. TAYLER of Ohio: A bill (H. R. 3458) granting a pension to L. Emma Boone—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3459) granting an honorable discharge to James Smith—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. VEHSLAGE: A bill (H. R. 3460) to correct the military record of James H. Tucker—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, the following petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

By Mr. ACHESON: Petitions of T. D. Schuyler and other citizens of McKeesport; W. T. Sterling and others, of Carnot; Adam Behm and others, of Duquesne; J. O. Parkenson and others, of McDonald; C. G. Creel and others, of Point Marion, and J. W. Wright and others, of Cheathaven, in the State of Pennsylvania, praying for the passage of an act restricting immigration—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. ADAMS: Resolution of the Grocers and Importers' Exchange of Philadelphia, urging the passage of the Torrey bankruptcy bill—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, petition of Herman A. Cohen and other citizens of Philadelphia, favoring a more rigid restriction of immigration—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. BARLOW: Resolution of the Council of Labor of Los Angeles, Cal., favoring the abrogation of the Hawaiian treaty—to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. BELL: Petitions of E. G. Cleverdon and others and A. B. Wilson and others, citizens of Cripple Creek, Colo., for a more rigid restriction of immigration—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. BINGHAM: Resolution of the Sixth Ward Republican Club of Philadelphia, Pa., condemning the civil-service laws—to the Committee on Reform in the Civil Service.

By Mr. BURKE: Petition of various labor organizations of Dallas, Tex., in favor of restricting immigration—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. DALZELL: Resolution of the Grocers and Importers' Exchange of Philadelphia, Pa., indorsing the Torrey bankruptcy bill—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FLETCHER: Petition of the Board of Trade of Minneapolis, Minn., urging the immediate passage of a tariff bill—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. HARMER: Petitions of Edward Cushmore and others and Charles H. Davis and others, citizens of Philadelphia, Pa., in favor of further restricting immigration—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. HENDERSON: Resolution of the Trades and Labor Congress, Dubuque, Iowa, remonstrating against an increase in the tariff on tobacco imported and used in the manufacture of cigars—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. OLMSTED: Petition of Annie Pisle and numerous other residents of Steelton, Dauphin County, Pa., praying for the passage of a law to further restrict immigration—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. SIMPKINS of Massachusetts: Resolution of the common council and board of aldermen of the city of Fall River, Mass., urging upon Congress the necessity of adopting the most comprehensive plan for the dredging and improvement of Mount Hope Bay and Fall River Harbor, adopted June 7, 1897—to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

SENATE.

FRIDAY, *June 11, 1897.*

The Senate met at 12 o'clock m.

Prayer by Rev. HUGH JOHNSTON, D. D., of the city of Washington.

The Vice-President being absent, the President pro tempore took the chair.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore presented the petition of C. J. Barker and sundry other citizens of Lewiston, Me., and the petition of Dennison Walker and sundry other citizens of Pittsfield, Me., praying for the early enactment of a protective-tariff law; which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. GALLINGER presented petitions of A. B. Lawrence and 45 other citizens of Bennington, of A. M. Frink and sundry other citizens of Gilsum, and of Edward E. Grimes and sundry other citizens of Piermont, all in the State of New Hampshire, praying for the early enactment of a protective-tariff law; which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. PLATT of New York presented a petition of sundry citizens of Buffalo, N. Y., praying for the early enactment of a protective-tariff law; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented sundry memorials of citizens of New York City, Brooklyn, and Syracuse, all in the State of New York, remonstrating against the proposed increase of the tax on beer; which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. SEWELL presented the petition of George H. Wocke and 27 other citizens of Haledon, N. J., and the petition of Heinrich Bros., of Paterson, N. J., praying for the early passage of the pending tariff bill; which were ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented the petition of J. H. Francisco and 51 other citizens of Little Falls, N. J., and the petition of Charles E. Thurston and 49 other citizens of Camden, N. J., praying for the enactment of legislation restricting immigration; which were ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented memorials of J. H. Stells and 49 other citizens of Jersey City, of August Genzel and 24 other citizens of Bayonne, and of Felix Graf and 24 other citizens of Newark, all in the State of New Jersey, remonstrating against the proposed increase of the tax on beer; which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. DANIEL presented a petition of the John L. Rober Lumber Company, of Norfolk, Va., and 13 other lumber manufacturing firms in the State of Virginia, praying for the imposition of a duty of $2 a thousand feet on rough lumber; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. NELSON presented petitions of the Board of Trade of Minneapolis, of J. E. Muzzy and sundry other citizens of Mankato, and of E. C. Willard and sundry other citizens of Mankato, all in the State of Minnesota, praying for the early passage of the pending tariff bill; which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. FAIRBANKS presented sundry petitions of citizens of Terre Haute, Warren, Evansville, and Goshen, all in the State of Indiana, praying for the enactment of protective-tariff legislation, at the earliest possible date, which will adequately secure American industrial products against the competition of foreign labor; which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. FAULKNER presented the petition of T. T. Bonar and 50 other citizens of Marshall County, W. Va., praying for the enactment of legislation restricting immigration; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a memorial of the National Association of Internal Revenue Officers, through L. J. Frazee, president, remonstrating against the removal of United States revenue collectors, storekeepers, and gaugers from the classified service; which was referred to the Committee on Civil Service and Retrenchment.

Mr. BURROWS presented the petition of William Saterlee and 19 other citizens of Birmingham, Mich., and the petition of Harry J. Nichols and 11 other citizens of Marion, Ohio, praying for the early passage of the pending tariff bill; which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. McMILLAN presented a memorial of sundry citizens of Baraga County, Mich., remonstrating against the imposition of a duty on imported hides; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented the petition of John B. Cahill and 20 other citizens of Hart, Mich., praying for the enactment of protective-tariff legislation, at the earliest possible date, which will adequately secure American industrial products against the competition of foreign labor; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a memorial of the American Medical Association, remonstrating against the passage of Senate bill No. 1063, for the further prevention of cruelty to animals in the District of Columbia; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented the petition of George E. Thompson and 100 other citizens of Detroit, Mich., praying for the passage of Senate bill No. 1063, for the further prevention of cruelty to animals in the District of Columbia; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. LINDSAY presented a petition of sundry wholesale liquor dealers of Louisville, Ky., praying that the tax on distilled spirits be fixed at the rate which will produce the greatest revenue, and that the bonded period be made not longer than three years on future production; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a communication from the Secretary of Agriculture, together with a letter from S. D. Goff, of Winchester, Ky., relative to the adulteration of Kentucky blue-grass seed; which were referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

Mr. HOAR presented sundry petitions of citizens of Worcester, Mass., praying for the enactment of legislation for a more rigid restriction of immigration; which were ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented petitions of 36 citizens of Fitchburg and West Fitchburg, of 8 citizens of Athol, and of 28 citizens of Massachusetts, all in the State of Massachusetts, and a petition of 11 citizens of Philadelphia, Pa., praying for the early passage of the pending tariff bill; which were ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a memorial of the Massachusetts Dental Society, of Cambridge, Mass., remonstrating against the proposed duty on mineral teeth; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a petition of sundry citizens of Gainesville, Ga., praying for the enactment of protective-tariff legislation, at the earliest possible date, which will adequately secure American industrial products against the competition of foreign labor; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. GRAY presented a petition of sundry citizens of St. Georges, Del., praying for the enactment of legislation for a more rigid restriction of immigration; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. GEAR presented a petition of 37 citizens of Mount Ayr, Iowa, and a petition of 4 citizens of Mount Ayr, Iowa, praying for the early passage of the pending tariff bill; which were ordered to lie on the table.

REPORTS OF A COMMITTEE.

Mr. STEWART, from the Committee on Claims, to whom were referred the following bills, reported them severally without amendment, and submitted reports thereon:

A bill (S. 743) for the relief of Thomas Guinean, of Oregon; and

A bill (S. 1149) for the relief of Avery D. Babcock and wife, of Oregon.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Mr. COCKRELL introduced a bill (S. 3123) to carry out the findings of the Court of Claims in the case of Napoleon B. Allen; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. DANIEL (by request) introduced a bill (S. 2124) for the relief of James T. Smith; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. McBRIDE introduced a bill (S. 2125) for the relief of Clement Marciel, of Portland, Oreg.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. CULLOM introduced a bill (S. 2126) to recognize the gallant conduct and meritorious services of Francis M. Charles as a volunteer aid in the late war; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 2127) authorizing the Commissioner of Internal Revenue to prescribe regulations for storing, handling, transporting, and conveying distilled spirits, and fixing penalties for violations of the same; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Finance.

AMENDMENTS TO DEFICIENCY APPROPRIATION BILL.

Mr. PETTUS submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the deficiency appropriation bill; which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations, and ordered to be printed.

Mr. McBRIDE submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the general deficiency appropriation bill; which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations, and ordered to be printed.

AMENDMENT TO THE TARIFF BILL.

Mr. PRITCHARD submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill (H. R. 379) to provide revenue for the Government and to encourage the industries of the United States; which was referred to the Committee on Finance, and ordered to be printed.

UNION PACIFIC RAILROAD COMPANY.

Mr. HARRIS of Kansas. I submit a resolution, and ask for its immediate consideration.

The resolution was read, as follows:

Whereas by an act of Congress entitled "An act authorizing an investigation of the books, accounts, and methods of railroads which have received aid from the United States, and for other purposes," approved March 3, 1897, it is provided:

"SEC. 4. That whenever, in the opinion of the President, it shall be deemed necessary to the protection of the interests and the preservation of the security of the United States in respect of its lien, mortgage, or other interest in any of the property of any or all of the several companies upon which a lien, mortgage, or other incumbrance paramount to the right, title, or interest of the United States for the same property, or any part of the same, may exist and be then lawfully liable to be enforced, the Secretary of the Treasury shall, under the direction of the President, redeem or otherwise clear off such paramount lien, mortgage, or other incumbrance by paying the sums lawfully due in respect thereof out of the Treasury; and the United States shall thereupon become and be subrogated to all rights and securities theretofore pertaining to the debt, mortgage, lien, or other incumbrance in respect of which such payment shall have been made. It shall be the duty of the Attorney-General, under the direction of the President, to take all such steps and proceedings, in the courts and otherwise, as shall be needful to redeem such lien, mortgage, or other incumbrance, and to protect and defend the rights and interests of the United States in respect of the matters in this section mentioned, and to take steps to foreclose any mortgages or liens of the United States on any such railroad property.

"SEC. 5. That the sinking funds which are or may be held in the Treasury for the security of the indebtedness of either or all of said railroad companies may, in addition to the investments now authorized by law, be invested in any bonds of the United States heretofore issued for the benefit of either or all of said companies, or in any of the first-mortgage bonds of either of said companies which have been issued under the authority of any law of the United States and secured by mortgages of their roads and franchises, which by any law of the United States have been made prior and paramount to the mortgage, lien, or other security of the United States in respect of its advances to either of said companies as provided by law."

And whereas certain first-mortgage bonds on the said Union Pacific Railroad Company have matured, and the holders thereof have instituted foreclosure proceedings in several of the United States circuit courts to foreclose the liens created thereby and sell said railroad and all other properties and rights belonging thereto, and said foreclosure proceedings may, unless prevented by the President, proceed to final decrees and a final sale of all said properties be made: Therefore,

Be it resolved by the Senate of the United States, That it is the sense of the Senate that the President should, in strict accordance with the above-quoted statute, direct the Secretary of the Treasury to carry out the provisions of said act by redeeming or otherwise clearing off the paramount liens, mortgages, and incumbrances on said railroad by paying the sums lawfully due in respect thereof out of the Treasury to the holders of prior liens, and direct the Secretary of the Treasury thereupon to take control and management of said railroad and all the property, real and personal, in any manner belonging thereto; or, if that shall not be deemed the wiser course to pursue, that the President should direct the Attorney-General to take such steps and proceedings in the courts and otherwise as shall be needful to redeem such property from any prior mortgage, lien, or incumbrance necessary and proper to defend the interests of the United States in respect to the matters in said act of Congress mentioned, and to take steps to foreclose any mortgage or lien of the United States on any of said railroad property.

And the President is hereby requested to inform the Senate what action, if any, has been taken under the provisions of this law to protect the interests of the United States.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. The preamble states a variety of alleged facts. It is long, and I do not think a resolution of this kind ought to be passed without the Senate having an opportunity to examine it in print. I ask, therefore, that it go over and be printed.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Objection being made, the resolution will go over and be printed for the information of the Senate.

PORT OF FERNANDINA, FLA.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate the amendments of the House of Representatives to the concurrent resolution of the Senate passed May 26, 1897.

The amendments of the House of Representatives were, in line 2, to strike out the word "Senate" and insert the word "Congress;" and in line 5 to strike out the word "Senate" and insert the word "Congress."

Mr. PASCO. The amendments are proper, and I ask that they be concurred in.

The amendments were concurred in.

Mr. ALLEN. What is the resolution itself?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The concurrent resolution will be read as amended.

The Secretary read as follows:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the Secretary of War be requested to furnish the Congress with such information as he may have in his possession with reference to the present condition of the harbor at Cumberland Sound, and to inform the Congress whether any immediate action is necessary to protect the entrance from being closed against the commerce usually entering the port of Fernandina.

THE TARIFF BILL.

Mr. ALLISON. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of House bill 379.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 379) to provide revenue for the Government and to encourage the industries of the United States, the pending question being on the amendment of the Committee on Finance, in paragraph 206, page 63, line 22, after the words "one cent and," to strike out "eight hundred and seventy-five one-thousandths" and insert "ninety-five one-hundredths;" so as to make the paragraph read:

206. Sugars not above No. 16 Dutch standard in color, tank bottoms, sirups of cane juice, melada, concentrated melada, concrete and concentrated molasses, testing by the polariscope not above 75 degrees, 1 cent per pound, and for every additional degree shown by the polariscopic test, three one hundredths of 1 cent per pound additional, and fractions of a degree in proportion; and on sugar above No. 16 Dutch standard in color, and on all sugar which has gone through a process of refining, 1 cent and ninety-five one hundredths of 1 cent per pound; molasses testing above 40 degrees and not above 56 degrees, 3 cents per gallon; testing 56 degrees and above, 6 cents per gallon; sugar drainings and sugar sweepings shall be subject to duty as molasses or sugar, as the case may be, according to polariscopic test; sugars, tank bottoms, sirups, cane juice or beet juice, melada, concentrated melada, and concrete and concentrated molasses, the product of any country which pays, directly or indirectly, a bounty on the export thereof, whether imported directly and in condition as exported therefrom or otherwise, shall pay, in addition to the foregoing rates, a duty equal to such bounty, or so much thereof as may be in excess of any tax collected by such country upon such exported article, or upon the beet or cane from which it was produced: *Provided*, That nothing herein contained shall be so construed as to abrogate or in any manner impair or affect the provisions of the treaty of commercial reciprocity concluded between the United States and the King of the Hawaiian Islands on the 30th day of January, 1875, or the provisions of any act of Congress heretofore passed for the execution of the same.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Yesterday in submitting some remarks to the Senate I alluded to a letter which I had received from Mr. Farr, of New York, who insisted that the sugar refiners got 100 pounds of sugar of different grades out of every 100 pounds of sugar melted. I wanted to put the letter in the RECORD or have it read, but I did not find it until after the Senate had adjourned. I will let it be inserted in the Senate this morning, so that Senators may see the statement made by this member of the committee sent by the sugar trade from New York to present a schedule to the Ways and Means Committee of the House.

The letter referred to is as follows:

NEW YORK, *May 26, 1897.*

SIR: Referring to your letter of 25th instant to Mr. P. J. Smith, inclosing statement of Messrs. Willett & Gray, to which you ask a reply, I beg to say that many of their statements are misleading and not in accordance with the facts.

The average test of all raw sugars imported and melted by refiners at present is about 92 degrees polarization. It is the custom, however, for refiners to figure in their raw sugars on a basis of 96 degrees, and the difference in price between 96 degrees and 92 degrees test, at present five-sixteenths cent per pound, is sufficient to cover the additional loss by waste and cost of refining of the lower grade.

In the figures furnished by Messrs. Nash, Spalding & Co., proprietors of the Revere Refinery, of Boston, to the Ways and Means Committee, they state positively that it requires 105 pounds of 96-degree centrifugals cane sugar to make 100 pounds granulated, and in the testimony of Mr. W. J. McCahan, before the same committee, he claimed it required 112 pounds 88-degree analysis beets testing 94 degrees, or 110 pounds beets testing 96 degrees, to make 100 pounds granulated. Assuming that these figures are true, and that refiners use one-half of each grade, it would require 107½ pounds of 96-degree test sugars to make 100 pounds granulated, which were also the figures arrived at by the Treasury Department in their calculations for drawback.

Now, all these calculations are made on the assumption that granulated is the only product of the refineries, whereas, as a matter of fact, 75 per cent is the usual outturn of granulated and 25 per cent low grades on soft sugars, while at present one of the largest refineries in the country is not turning out more than 60 per cent granulated.

For your information I inclose chemists' certificates showing the polarizations of the sixteen grades of sugar manufactured by the American Sugar Refining Company, from which it will be seen that while granulated tests 99.8 degrees, the other fifteen run from 94.4 down to 84.5, balance being water.

It is perfectly evident, therefore, that the average test of the refined sugars manufactured by the refineries is less than the test of the raws melted, and this corresponds with the statement made to me not long ago by a prominent

refiner that no first-class refinery turned out less weight of refined sugar than was melted in the shape of raws. I therefore repeat without hesitation the statement made you as to this fact and trust I have made the point clear.

In regard to the other suggestion by Messrs. Willett & Gray, that the countervailing duty should only be assessed on German or other refined sugars and not on the raws, I beg most emphatically to deny both their premises and conclusions. The bounty paid to German manufacturers of sugars has been the curse of the whole sugar trade of the world, and is of great detriment not only to the domestic producers but to all other legitimate sugar-producing countries against which it discriminates.

If a German shipper of sugars pays the same rate of duty as other shippers and receives the bounty of 27.2 per pound on his shipment, he is manifestly getting an advantage equal to this bounty against the other foreign producers and our domestic producers; in other words, he is beating our tariff to this extent.

Messrs. Willett & Gray are acting as the agents of the refiners in this matter, and while I have every reason to desire that our refiners shall have ample protection, I can not understand why they should find it necessary to resort to misleading and confusing technical statements which seem to be made up with the idea of tangling people up instead of making the subject clear.

Yours, respectfully,

JOHN FARR.

Hon. JAMES K. JONES,
United States Senator, Washington, D. C.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The Senator from Iowa yesterday asked me to make or have made a table showing the difference, as I see it here—the margin, the differential, as it is usually called—between raw and refined sugar under the Wilson Act, and also under the present proposed amendment. I requested Mr. Schoenhof, who is a careful accountant and a man familiar with these things, to make a statement of the kind. I have gone over a considerable part of the figures, and I am satisfied that they are correct.

I asked him to make it somewhat wider than was requested by the Senator from Iowa. I will present and have printed in the RECORD a comparison showing the difference between raw and refined sugar under the Dingley bill as originally passed, under the bill as first reported by the Senate committee, and under the bill as it is now proposed to be amended, and then the difference between the amended bill as it is now proposed on molasses and the lower grades of sugar and the Wilson Act.

I will state briefly to the Senator from Iowa that I stated from memory yesterday what I thought the differences would be between the Wilson Act and the pending measure. Under the Wilson Act at 88 the difference was 16½. It is 58.7 under the pending schedule. At 96 under the Wilson Act it was 13.6. Under the pending proposition it is 52.1. These differences run through all the schedule. I will let the statement go into the RECORD so that Senators may see the figures as they are made, showing the differences between the various propositions. I will not detain the Senate by going over the figures in detail. I am willing to state, if any Senator desires me to do so, what the differences are between the different propositions on any degree of polariscopic test and to give the figures as I understand they are, so that Senators may see the methods by which these conclusions were reached.

I think the table is absolutely correct, and in connection with the table I will send to the desk and have printed the calculations by which these results were arrived at, showing the price at which the different grades of sugar is taken, the rate of taxation under each, the calculations as they are made step by step, so that each Senator may see for himself just how the conclusions are arrived at.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Arkansas desire to have the papers printed as a document, or in the RECORD?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I presume they had better go into the RECORD.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The papers, if there be no objection, will be printed in the RECORD.

Mr. ALLISON. I take it for granted the Senator includes in that calculation the three-eighths countervailing duty and the 27 cents a hundred pounds countervailing duty on raw sugar.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I count the three-eighths countervailing duty on all refined sugar, but none on raw, because these are cane sugars and there is no bounty on them.

Mr. ALLISON. On all refined sugars?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The calculations I have made as to raw sugar have been on centrifugal; it is cane sugar, and on this there is no countervailing duty, because there is no bounty to this sugar.

Mr. ALLISON. Undoubtedly.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. And I counted the one-tenth of a cent countervailing duty now levied in all calculations under the present law when refined or German sugar is considered.

Mr. ALLISON. That countervailing duty applies in the present law to both raw and refined.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. To all shipments of it from Germany. Under the proposed schedule there is a difference between the countervailing duty on raw and refined sugar, one being about three hundred and eighty-three one-thousandths, the other twenty-seven one-hundredths. I ask that these tables be printed as a part of my remarks.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. It will be so ordered, if there be no objection.

The tables referred to are as follows:

Difference between cost of duty-paid raw sugar contained in 100 pounds of refined sugar and cost of 100 pounds of German granulated, duty paid, including German bounty equivalent (based on $2.30 net dutiable value), under the provisions of the Dingley bill, the Senate bill, the amended Senate bill, and the present tariff law.

Degrees.	Difference under Dingley bill.	Difference under Senate bill.	Difference under amended Senate bill.	Difference under amended Senate bill—molasses, sugars, etc.	Difference under present tariff law.
75	$1.346	$1.593	$1.426	$1.713	$1.00
76	1.257	1.479	1.337	1.638	.91
77	1.169	1.358	1.249	1.568	.828
78	1.090	1.264	1.170	1.494	.741
79	1.008	1.173	1.088	1.428	.665
80	.938	1.092	1.018	1.357	.573
81	.858	.976	.938	1.29	.505
82	.791	.889	.871	1.231	.435
83	.734	.794	.814	1.168	.349
84	.661	.709	.741	1.118	.297
85	.618	.668	.698	1.08	.255
86	.577	.618	.657	1.047	.217

Degrees.	Difference under Dingley bill.	Difference under Senate bill.	Difference under amended Senate bill.	Difference under amended Senate bill—molasses, sugars, etc.	Difference under present tariff law.
87	$0.531	$0.556	$0.611	$1.018	$0.182
88	.507	.50	.587	----------	.165
89	.502	.46	.562	----------	.152
90	.463	.434	.543	----------	.122
91	.447	.408	.527	----------	.103
92	.429	.393	.509	----------	.097
93	.430	.398	.510	----------	.107
94	.433	.384	.513	----------	.12
95	.438	.406	.518	----------	.125
96	.441	.414	.521	----------	.135
97	.435	.424	.515	----------	.148

Dingley bill:

Granulated	$2.30
Duty	1.875
German bounty	.383
	4.558

Amended Senate bill:

Granulated	$2.30
Duty	1.95
German bounty	.383
	4.633

Degrees.	Price given by sugar dealers.	Duty per 100 pounds.	Duty-paid price per 100 pounds.	Drawback allowance.	Duty-paid price of sugar in refined.	Difference between duty-paid raw and refined under Dingley bill.	Centrifugal and muscovado—difference between duty-paid raw and refined under amended Senate bill.	Molasses sugar, jaggery, etc.				
								Price of molasses jaggery, etc.	Duty per 100 pounds.	Duty-paid price per 100 pounds.	Duty-paid price of sugar in refined.	Differential between duty-paid raw and refined.
				Pounds.								
75	119	100	219	146.68	3.212	1.346	1.426	99	100	199	2.925	1.713
76	125	103	228	144.82	3.301	1.257	1.337	105	102	501	3	1.638
77	131	106	237	142.95	3.389	1.169	1.249	111	104	215	3.07	1.568
78	137	109	246	141.08	3.468	1.090	1.170	117	106	223	3.144	1.494
79	143	112	255	139.21	3.55	1.008	1.088	123	108	231	3.21	1.428
80	149	115	264	137.35	3.62	.938	1.018	129	110	239	3.24	1.357

Degrees.	Price given by sugar dealers.	Duty per 100 pounds.	Duty-paid price per 100 pounds.	Drawback allowance.	Duty-paid price of sugar in refined.	Difference between duty-paid raw and refined under Dingley bill.	Centrifugal and muscovado—difference between duty-paid raw and refined under amended Senate bill.	Molasses sugar, jaggery, etc.				
								Price of molasses jaggery, etc.	Duty per 100 pounds	Duty-paid price per 100 pounds.	Duty-paid price of sugar in refined.	Differential between duty-paid raw and refined.
				Pounds.								
81	155	118	273	135.46	3.70	0.858	0.938	135	112	247	3.347	1.29
82	161	121	282	133.61	3.767	.791	.871	141	114	255	3.407	1.231
83	167	124	291	131.74	3.824	.734	.814	147	116	263	3.45	1.188
84	173	127	300	129.88	3.897	.661	.741	153	118	271	3.52	1.118
85	178	130	308	128.01	3.94	.618	.698	158	120	278	3.538	1.08
86	183	133	316	126.14	3.981	.577	.657	163	122	285	3.591	1.047
87	188	136	324	124.27	4.027	.531	.611	168	124	292	3.62	1.018
88	192	139	331	122.41	4.051	.507	.587					
89	196	142	338	120.54	4.056	.502	.582					
90	200	145	345	118.67	4.095	.463	.543					
91	204	148	352	116.81	4.111	.447	.527					
92	208	151	359	114.94	4.129	.429	.509					
93	211	154	365	113.07	4.128	.430	.505					
94	214	157	371	111.20	5.125	.433	.508					
95	217	160	377	109.34	4.120	.438	.513					
96	220	163	383	107.47	4.117	.441	.516					
97	223	166	389	105.6	4.123	.435	.510					

Senate bill:	
Granulated	$2.30
Duty, 35 per cent	.805
Duty, specific	1.16
German bounty	.383
	4.648

Wilson Act:	
Granulated	$2.30
Duty, 40 per cent	.92
Specific	.125
Bounty tax	.10
	3.445

Degrees.	Price given by sugar dealers.	Ad valorem per Senate bill.	Specific per Senate bill.	Total duty per Senate bill.	Duty-paid price per 100 pounds.	Drawback allowance.	Duty-paid price of sugar in refined.	Difference between duty-paid raw and refined.	40 per cent ad valorem.	Duty-paid price of 100 pounds.	Duty-paid price of sugar in 100 pounds refined.	Difference between duty-paid raw and refined.
						Pounds.						
75	119	0.8025	.....	0.8025	2.0925	146.68	3.055	1.593	0.476	1.666	2.445	1.000
76	125	.9375	.....	.9375	2.1875	144.82	3.149	1.479	.50	1.75	2.535	.91
77	131	.9825	.....	.9825	2.2925	142.95	3.289	1.359	.524	1.834	2.617	.828
78	137	1.0275	.....	1.0275	2.3975	141.08	3.364	1.264	.548	1.918	2.704	.741
79	143	1.0725	.....	1.0725	2.5025	139.21	3.475	1.173	.572	2.002	2.78	.665
80	149	1.1175	.....	1.1175	2.6075	137.35	3.586	1.082	.596	2.086	2.872	.573
81	155	1.1625	.....	1.1625	2.7125	135.48	3.672	.976	.62	2.17	2.94	.505
82	161	1.2075	.....	1.2075	2.8175	133.61	3.779	.899	.644	2.254	3.01	.435
83	167	1.2525	.....	1.2525	2.9225	131.74	3.854	.794	.668	2.338	3.096	.349
84	173	1.2975	.....	1.2975	3.0275	129.88	3.909	.709	.692	2.422	3.148	.297
85	178	1.335	.....	1.335	3.115	128.01	3.99	.668	.712	2.492	3.19	.255
86	183	1.3725	.....	1.3725	3.2025	126.14	4.05	.618	.732	2.562	3.228	.217
87	188	.658	70	1.448	3.328	124.27	4.092	.556	.752	2.632	3.263	.182
88	192	.672	81	1.482	3.402	122.41	4.148	.50	.768	2.686	3.28	.165
89	196	.686	83	1.516	3.476	120.54	4.188	.46	.784	2.74	3.293	.152
90	200	.7	85	1.55	3.55	118.67	4.214	.434	.80	2.80	3.323	.122
91	204	.714	87	1.584	3.624	116.81	4.24	.406	.816	2.856	3.342	.103
92	208	.728	89	1.618	3.698	114.94	4.255	.390	.832	2.912	3.348	.097
93	211	.7385	91	1.6485	3.7585	113.07	4.25	.398	.844	2.954	3.338	.107
94	214	.749	93	1.679	3.839	111.20	4.292	.384	.856	2.996	3.325	.12
95	217	.7595	95	1.7095	3.8795	109.34	4.242	.406	.868	3.038	3.32	.125
96	220	.77	97	1.74	3.94	107.47	4.254	.414	.88	3.08	3.31	.135
97	223	.7805	99	1.7705	3.9005	105.6	4.224	.424	.892	3.122	3.297	.148

Mr. TURPIE. I am authorized by the minority of the Committee on Finance to submit an amendment to the pending bill. I ask that it be read and ordered printed, and I give notice also that when we reach that portion of the bill relating to internal revenue, I am authorized to offer the amendment for adoption. I shall ask at that time the courtesy of the Senate to make some remarks upon the subject-matter thereof.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Indiana presents an amendment to the bill, and asks that it be read for the information of the Senate and printed. The Secretary will read the proposed amendment, offered on behalf of the minority of the committee, as the Chair understands, if there be no objection.

The Secretary read as follows:

Insert the following:

"SEC. —. That on and after the 1st day of January, 1898, and for five years thereafter, there shall be laid and levied a sum equal to the rate of 2 per cent of the value of every decedent's estate, as an inheritance, whether it be testate or intestate, which shall be paid by the executors, administrators, or trustees thereof, or by the heirs or distributees, devisees or legatees, when the value of such estate as an inheritance is $5,000 and upward, except where legacies or bequests are made to religious, charitable, educational, or other organizations which may by the laws of the State, Territory, or District in which the decedent was residing at the time of his death be exempt from taxation.

"SEC. —. That it shall be the duty of the collector of internal revenue of the district wherein the decedent resided at the time of his death, within one year from the time of such death, to ascertain the value of the estate as an inheritance at the time of such death, and to enter and record in a book to be provided for that purpose a list of all estates affected by the foregoing section, and to note therein the name of the decedent, the name of the executor, administrator, trustee, heir, or distributee, legatee, or devisee being in charge of or having an interest in the same, and to note in each case the value of the estate as an inheritance, and to record therein the amount of the impost levied according to the provisions of the foregoing section in each case.

"SEC. —. That as soon as the amount of the impost is ascertained and recorded as in the foregoing section provided the collector shall send, by mail, to the person or persons liable for the payment thereof notice in writing of the amount of the same, with a demand for its payment. Any person aggrieved by the amount of such levy in any such case may, within thirty days after the receipt of the notice aforesaid, bring suit, without regard to the amount in question, in the district court of the United States to have the said levy set aside or reduced. Such suit shall be tried and determined in like manner as other civil causes in said court, and the district attorney of the United States shall appear therein for the Government; and in such suit the court is empowered to enter a judgment against the person who may have brought the same for the amount, if any, of the sum levied against him as may be determined in said cause, together with the interest thereon and penalty thereon, as provided in the section next following.

"SEC. —. That if the amount of such levy be paid it shall be credited in the entry of the record aforesaid, and a receipt shall be given by the collector to the person making the payment. In case of the nonpayment of the same, unless the person liable for the same shall have brought suit to set aside or reduce the levy, the collector shall, within ninety days after the time of sending the notice by mail, as heretofore mentioned, notify the district attorney of the United States of the district, who shall, upon the receipt of such notice of nonpayment, bring suit on behalf of the United States in the district court of the United States, without regard to the amount of the same, for the payment thereof, against the person or persons liable under the foregoing provisions for the payment of the same, which suit shall be tried and determined as civil suits in other cases in said court; and upon recovery against the defendant 6 per cent interest shall be collected from the time of the commencement of such suit, together with 10 per cent in damages as a penalty for nonpayment. The lien of the judgment rendered in such case against the real estate of the defendant therein shall relate back to the time of the commencement of the suit, and take effect at such time.

"SEC. —. That the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized to make such rules and regulations and prepare such books, forms, and papers as may be necessary to carry into effect the provisions in this enactment, and a sum

of money is hereby appropriated, out of any moneys in the Treasury, that may be sufficient to defray the expenses needed for that purpose, the said appropriation to be immediately available upon the passage of this act."

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The proposed amendment will, without objection, be printed. The pending question is on the amendment of the Committee on Finance, in paragraph 206, page 63, line 22, to strike out "eight hundred and seventy-five one-thousandths" and insert "ninety-five one-hundredths."

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I ask for the yeas and nays on the amendment.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair would like to be informed as to the exact status of the amendment. Did the committee report a substitute for the sugar schedule?

Mr. ALLISON. It did not. In line 22, page 63, it proposes to strike out "eight hundred and seventy-five one-thousandths" and insert "ninety-five one-hundredths."

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is the question to be taken first on that amendment or the amendment offered by the Senator from Arkansas?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I did not offer an amendment. I stated to the Senate yesterday that I would offer an amendment. The amendment which I had in contemplation I do not care to offer. I am willing to take a vote on the amendment offered by the Senator from Iowa in behalf of the committee. There was an amendment that I contemplated offering just before that, but I can offer it later. I am willing to take a vote on the proposition as it stands.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair will then submit the question once more on the amendment of the Senator from Iowa.

Mr. LINDSAY. Before the vote is taken, I inquire whether it will be in order, should the committee amendment be adopted, to press the amendment I offered?

Mr. ALLISON. Undoubtedly.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. It undoubtedly will be in order.

Mr. ALLISON. I wish to state, in order that Senators may understand the situation, that the amendments which are found in the printed bill have been withdrawn, including the amendment striking out paragraph 206. Now the committee propose an amendment to the original text, which is the amendment pending.

Mr. CAFFERY. Mr. President, before the vote is taken on the amendment, I desire to add to the remarks I made yesterday by reading from the New York World of 1894, about the time the sugar schedule of the Wilson bill was pending in the Senate, a sketch giving the history of the sugar trust. I read as follows:

To fully understand the sugar trust and to appreciate its officials, it is necessary to go back a few years and to study the conditions out of which the trust grew.

It is evident from the prices of raw and refined sugars between 1880 and 1887, when the sugar trust was formally formed, that some kind of an "understanding" or pooling agreement existed between the leading refiners from 1880 to about 1884. The average difference between the prices of raw and refined sugars for 1880, 1881, 1882, and 1883 was 1.33 cents per pound.

Deducting the cost of refining, then estimated at five-eighths cent per pound, the total profits for refining imported sugar during these four years are seen to have been between $50,000,000 and $60,000,000—fully twice the amount of capital invested in the refining business. Such unusual profits attracted capital to this industry, and new refineries were soon competing with those in the pool, until the principals of the pool gradually lost their grip and were unable to limit production sufficiently to sustain prices and profits.

The average difference between prices of raw and refined sugars declined to nine hundred and twenty-three one-thousandths of a cent in 1884, and to seven hundred and twelve one-thousandths of a cent in 1885. In 1886 it was seven hundred and eighty-one one-thousandths and in 1887 seven hundred and sixty-eight one-thousandths of a cent, respectively. During these four years profits averaged about $6,000,000. Meanwhile the Havemeyers and others, who had tasted of the profits of monopoly and restriction in 1880 to 1884, were busy trying to induce refiners to "get together" to loot the country again.

During this period the same gentlemen who have lobbied the present sugar schedule through the Senate swindled our Government out of about $3,000,000 by means of false statements in regard to the number of pounds of refined that could be made from a certain number of pounds of raw sugar, a misrepresentation on which drawbacks were based. During the years 1885, 1886, and 1887 we exported 638,000,000 pounds of refined sugar, on which our refiners obtained a fraudulent export premium or bounty of nearly $3,000,000. During these years the average export price of refined sugar (after deducting drawback duties) was about 4.6 cents per pound, while the average price (in foreign ports) of foreign refined imported was over 5 cents.

These facts make it clear that our refiners were then not only able to hold their own in our markets without any special privileges, but that, with a slight export bounty—scarcely sufficient to pay expenses of transportation to Europe—they could and did sell refined sugar at the very doors of their foreign competitors. Our exports of refined sugar then went to fifty-nine different countries, but over half of all went direct to England, where it competed with the cheap-labor sugars from Cuba and the East Indies, as well as with those dumped into England because of the export bounties of France, Germany, and other European countries.

We shall see later that our refiners are now better able to compete with foreign competitors than ever before.

THE TRUST IS FORMED.

The sugar trust was formed in 1887, when eight of the leading refining corporations transferred their stocks to the Sugar Refineries Company. Twelve more companies "came in" a little later. This company paid for the stocks by the issue of trust certificates. The deed of agreement was dated August 6, 1887, but the trust was not in working order until November, 1887. According to Dr. E. B. Andrews (see Quarterly Journal of Economics, January, 1889) these eight establishments represented 85 per cent of the refining capacity this side of the Rocky Mountains. The alleged objects of the new organization were:

I think if Senators will pay attention to this historical sketch of the trust, it may not be uninstructive to them.

First. To promote economy of administration and to reduce the cost of refining, thus enabling the price of sugar to be kept as low as consistent with reasonable profit; second, to give each refinery the benefit of all appliances and processes known or used by the others, and useful to improve the quality and diminish the cost of refined sugar; third, to furnish protection against unlawful combinations of labor; fourth, to protest against inducements to lower the standard of refined sugars; fifth, generally to promote the interests of the parties in all lawful and suitable ways.

The trust authorized $50,000,000 in trust certificates, but only $42,500,000 were outstanding at the time of the Congressional inquiry in 1888. What these certificates represented, and what was the real value of the various refineries' properties at the time of their absorption by the trust, has been concealed by the officers of the trust. The senate committee of New York which investigated this trust in 1888 came to the conclusion that the face value of the certificates was about four times the total stock which had been replaced. One of the few facts drawn out by this committee was that $595,000 in certificates was paid for the North River Sugar Refinery Company, which had just before been sold for $325,000 in cash.

When the trust was undergoing reorganization in 1890 to escape the laws of New York State, the books of the company were overhauled, at the request of the trust, by Messrs. Deloitte, Dever, Griffiths & Co., London experts. They said in their report (see Financial Chronicle, November 1, 1890): "The statements furnished to us indicate that the original organization included no working capital, and that about $10,000,000 was subsequently borrowed to be used for that purpose."

Their statement shows that the entire working capital of each company was withdrawn when the different refineries went into the trust, and that they turned over to the trust only their bare plants. Based upon reliable authorities, James H. Maury estimates the total value of the eighteen plants mentioned in a suit brought by the Attorney-General (see Financial Chronicle, January 21, 1893, and New York World, January 8, 1894) at $8,900,000, their original capital stock being $15,650,000. Against these plants have been issued the $10,000,000 of bonds, to obtain working capital, and stock certificates with a face value of $75,000,000.

TYPICAL WATERED STOCK.

That the trust certificates represent little else than water in its most expanded form is shown in another way. The Havemeyer & Elder Sugar Refining Company was capitalized at $500,000. Its three properties in Brooklyn, the only ones turned over to the trust, were assessed in 1889 at $420,000 and in 1893 at $510,000. Now, $15,000,000 in trust certificates were issued to this Brooklyn company.

As some of the plants were old, others badly located, and others filled with antiquated machinery, it is safe to say that, based on their earning capacity as competitors, their total aggregate value did not much exceed $15,000,000. But the trust was preparing for the inordinate profits which it hoped to cover up by a big capitalization. As Dr. Andrews put it, "The certificates were apparently proportioned not to the old getting power but to the larger one which was in prospect." As its realizations have exceeded its fondest hopes, we now know that it was very conservative in its issue of certificates.

According to Willett & Gray, sugar statisticians, the trust made a net profit of five-eighths of a cent per pound, or $14 per ton, in 1888 and 1889, and one hundred and forty-four one-thousandths of a cent per pound, or $3.23 per ton, in 1890. This enabled it, after paying dividends of $5,000,000 each year (10 per cent) and $2,500,000 for January, 1891, to transfer a cash surplus of $11,743,654 to the American Sugar Refining Company, which began business January 12, 1891, regularly organized under the laws of New Jersey, whither it had fled to get a legal status and to stop "all this howl in the newspapers about trusts," as H. O. Havemeyer designated the persecution of the trust which made Wall street less eager to speculate in its certificates.

Soon after it was formed, in 1887, the trust, by dismantling some and annexing others, reduced the number of refineries in operation from 20, with a daily capacity of 32,300 barrels, to 10, with a daily capacity of 28,500 barrels. At this time there were 5 refineries, with a total daily capacity of 10,400 barrels, outside of the trust. Thus, having control of the market, the trust was not slow in inaugurating an era of high prices. The following table shows the average prices of raw and refined sugar for the years 1887, 1888, 1889, and 1890:

	Price per pound.		
	96-degree centrifugal.	Granulated.	Difference.
	Cents.	*Cents.*	*Cents.*
1887	5.245	6.013	0.786
1888	5.749	7.007	1.258
1889	6.433	7.640	1.207
1890	5.451	6.171	.720

SOME STARTLING FIGURES.

An idea of the enormous profits of this period can be obtained from what Willett & Gray said in their Analysis, 1888, 1889, and 1890, and February, 1891. They said:

"Summary, 1888: Total consumption of United States, 1,457,204 tons, or 10,200,848 barrels; sugar trust refined 987,570 tons, or 6,912,990 barrels, and the nontrust refined 371,866 tons, or 2,603,202 barrels; consumed without refining, 97,809 tons, or 634,656 barrels; sugar trust averaged 23,043 barrels daily, and the nontrust averaged 8,677 barrels daily.

* * * * * * *

"Sugar trust paid $5,000,000 dividends in 1888.

"Sugar trust's earnings, as above, from refining in 1888 equaled 27.5 per cent on the certificates.

"1889: Total consumption of United States, 1,412,813 tons, or 9,839,817 barrels; sugar trust refined 853,472 tons, or 5,974,304 barrels, and the nontrust refined 433,358 tons, or 3,033,506 barrels; consumed without refining, 126,001 tons, or 882,007 barrels; sugar trust averaged 19,915 barrels daily, and the nontrust averaged 10,111 barrels daily.

* * * * * * * *

"Sugar trust paid $5,000,000 cash dividends in 1889 and distributed 8 per cent in certificates.

"The sugar trust's earnings, as above, from refining in 1889 equaled 23.9 per cent on the certificates.

* * * * * * *

"1890: Total consumption of United States, 1,522,731 tons, or 10,659,117 barrels. sugar trust refined 974,937 tons, or 6,824,559 barrels; the nontrust refined 464,794 tons, or 3,253,558 barrels; consumed without refining, 83,000 tons, or 581,000 barrels; sugar trust averaged 22,748 barrels daily, and the nontrust averaged 10,845 barrels daily.

* * * * * * *

"Sugar trust paid $5,000,000 cash in dividends in 1890.

"The sugar trust's earnings, as above, from refining in 1890 equaled 6.4 per cent on the certificates.

* * * * * * *

"Estimate for 1891: Total meltings, 12.5 per cent over 1890, 1,620,000 tons; American Sugar Refining Company, 1,085,000 tons; other refineries, 535,000 tons; total, 1,620,000 tons.

"American Sugar Refining Company, 1,085,000 tons, at one-fifth cent per pound (profit, $4.43 per ton), $4,860,000; 7 per cent on preferred stock, 12.44 per cent on common stock.

* * * * * * *

"It is always encouraging to have a good 'send-off' for a new business in a new year, and the American Sugar Refining Company has this fortune in having at this time a profit as good as secured of, say, one-half cent per pound on at least 100,000 tons of raw sugar bought, which includes a large amount of the Sandwich Island sugars, say $1,120,000 profit on the import account."

During 1890 and 1891 there was competition between the trust and antitrust refineries. The trust could have maintained prices, but not without great future cost to itself, which it attempted to avert by reducing the price of sugar and making it easy for it to purchase the leading outside refineries at reasonable figures. This scheme was baffled mainly by the opposition of Claus Spreckels, a California refiner, who had made many millions out of our "reciprocity" agreement with Hawaii, and who was prepared to play a game of bluff with the great Havemeyers themselves.

CLAUS SPRECKELS'S BLUFF.

He built, at a cost of about $4,000,000, a model refinery in Philadelphia. This began operation in 1890, and at once became a thorn in the side of the sugar trust. Its capacity is 5,000 barrels a day. The trust made overtures to Spreckels, but the latter turned a deaf ear. He declared it to be his intention to fight to a finish. Columns of interviews were given out in which he posed as the advocate of cheap sugar for the people and as the inveterate enemy of dishonest competition. The trust carried the warfare to the Pacific; Spreckels carried it to the Atlantic Coast. For a time it looked to those who did not understand the game as if Goliath had met David, and the cheap sugar would be the outcome of Goliath's destruction.

It is noticeable, however, that at no time were prices low enough to prevent fair profits. The removal of the duty on raw and the reduction of the duty on refined sugar from 3 cents to one-half cent per pound on April 1, 1891, caused the consumption to increase nearly 20 pounds per capita. The increased demand made competition less intense in 1891 and prolonged the struggle. By 1892 the refineries in operation were more than able to supply the demand, and the trust was forced to capitulate and pay Spreckels his price.

Good authorities say that the price paid for his Philadelphia refinery was $10,000,000, and that the total sum paid for this and three other Philadelphia refineries—the Franklin, the Knight, and the Delaware Sugar House—was $18,500,000. This was probably more than twice their first cost.

The wily Claus Spreckels, chuckling over his bargain, returned to California to make presents of $1,000,000 to each of his two sons. His great sincerity as an enemy of the trust and a friend of the people is shown by the fact that his refinery and the Havemeyer refinery, both in San Francisco, have united under the title of The Western Sugar Refineries Company, and that, with Spreckels as manager of this end of the trust, prices of sugar west of Colorado have been even more exorbitant than Eastern prices.

In order to pay for the properties acquired in March, 1892, and to prepare to cover the enormous profits which could be easily extorted from the people during the two or three years which must intervene before important new refineries could be built and before the probable removal of the one-half cent per pound duty on refined sugar, the trust increased its capitalization by $25,000,000.

And right here is a good place to insert a few words about the methods employed by this almost omnipotent monopoly to obtain favorable legislation. In 1890, after hearing sugar refiners give testimony so perpendicular to facts that it would shock the nerves of a Baron Munchausen, the largest duty that Major McKinley's elastic conscience would permit him to leave on refined, after giving refiners free raw sugar, was four-tenths of a cent per pound. Apparently this was satisfactory to the refiners, though one of them had testified that "we consider ourselves to be public benefactors when we take raw sugars that cost us 5 cents per pound, containing 4 per cent of impurities, and give to the public refined sugar at 7 cents per pound."

CORRUPTING THE SENATE IN 1890.

But when the bill reached the Senate, unexpected opportunities opened up to the sugar magnates. Senator ALDRICH was chairman of the Committee on Finance. In the quiet hush of the Senate committee room an additional duty of one-tenth of a cent per pound, worth $3,000,000 to the trust, was added to McKinley rates. It has been openly charged by Col. A. K. McClure, of Philadelphia, that as a result of a bargain made with Senator ALDRICH the sugar men fought the battle in Rhode Island which reelected ALDRICH, and that they contributed a very large sum to the Republican campaign corruption fund.

The power of the trust is not limited to the Republican party. In 1892, when everybody was wondering why the Ways and Means Committee did not report the bill, which it had long been considering, to place refined sugar on the free list, the New York Daily Commercial Bulletin sent a special correspondent to Washington to learn the cause of the inaction. The correspondent, after interviewing various members, declared the committee dare not report the bill, because when it had reached the Republican Senate, it would not be passed, but would be held, "like the sword of Damocles, over the sugar trust, to force it to contribute an enormous campaign fund for the use of the Republican party during the coming campaign."

These are only incidents in the past history of this trust which help to establish the fact of the monopoly as well as the oppression and corruption due to it.

No clearer evidence of a monopoly can be obtained than that drawn from the prices of raw and refined sugar since the trust, in March, 1892, gained direct control of 90 per cent of the refineries in this country, and indirect control of a considerable portion of the remaining 10 per cent. Here are the prices for raw 96-degree centrifugal and granulated sugar for March, 1892:

Date.	Price per pound.		
	96-degree centrifugal.	Granulated.	Difference.
	Cents.	*Cents.*	*Cents.*
March 3	3.410	4.07	.660
March 10	3.370	4.19	.820
March 17	3.375	4.29	.915
March 24	3.250	4.29	1.040
March 31	3.125	4.28	1.155

Notwithstanding that the average difference between raw and granulated was less than one-half cent for January and February, 1892, the average difference for the whole year was 1.035 cents. In 1893 it was 1.153 cents. It thus appears that the trust made nearly $30,000,000 clear profits in 1892, and more than $30,000,000 in 1893.

ENORMOUS PROFITS IN RAW SUGAR.

Besides the profit on refined, the trust speculates in raw sugars. It buys large quantities when it is cheap, and is thus nearly always making far greater profits than the market quotations would indicate. Willett & Gray said in February, 1891: "We estimate that the American Sugar Refining Company will make more profit in 1891 from their import account of raw sugar than from their refining account. The total profits of refiners this year will require to be estimated from their purchases of raw sugars rather than from the correct market prices of raw and refined at time of melting the sugar. The latter may, and probably will, at times show less than a refining profit. The American Sugar Refining Company has this fortune in having at this time a profit as good as secured of, say, one-half cent per pound on at least 100,000 tons of raw sugar bought, which includes a large amount of the Sandwich Island sugars, say $1,120,000 profit on the import account."

In their Analysis for 1888, 1889, and 1890, Willett & Gray said: "In estimating the profits of 1890 we have given the refiners the benefit of the lower cost of melting larger quantities and the savings from improvements which have been introduced, and reduced our estimate of cost of refining to nine-sixteenths of a cent per pound instead of five-eighths of a cent per pound, as in 1888 and 1889. We expect that the cost of refining in 1891 will be still further reduced to one-half of a cent per pound by economies already being introduced and the saving in the interest account by the removal of duties."

In other paragraphs they stated that all excess of differences over these estimates represented "net profits from refining."

It must not be forgotten that Willett & Gray's interests are bound up with those of the trust and that they speak as agents of the trust. It is quite certain the cost of refining is much less than they stated. Reports of the census of 1890 have been issued for only three cities in which sugar refineries are mentioned. The two principal of these are Philadelphia and Brooklyn.

In Philadelphia the total cost of producing $46,598,524 worth of refined sugar was $2,032,002, $753,386 of which was for wages. In Brooklyn the total cost of producing $16,629,982 worth of sugar was $862,385, $530,558 of which went for wages. Thus the total cost was 4.36 per cent of the product in Philadelphia and 5.78 per cent in Brooklyn. The average price of refined sugar from May 31, 1889, to June 1, 1890, was 7.295 cents per pound. It thus appears the total cost of refining in 1890 was three hundred and seventeen one-thousandths of a cent per pound in Philadelphia and forty-two one-hundredths of a cent in Brooklyn.

While Porter's statistics may be very unreliable, it is probable they have not overestimated the cost of refining sugar. If the cost of refining in the great refineries was between three-tenths and four-tenths of a cent in 1890, it is probably between twenty-five one-hundredths and three-tenths of a cent in the still greater refineries of 1893 and 1894. Indeed, these are the estimates of many familiar with the conditions of the industry. Of course, no refiner in or out of the trust will state the facts. On the contrary, all data from which the cost of refining might be deduced are jealously withheld, not only from the public, but from importers, dealers, and all others in the trade.

AMERICAN REFINERIES THE BEST.

Our refineries are the largest, contain the most improved machinery, and are in every way superior to those of Europe. In fact, there are no modern refineries outside of the United States. This state of affairs comes not merely from the fact that Americans usually distance all competitors where machinery is the chief productive factor and where the labor cost is less than 2 per cent of the product, as in the case of sugar, but it is the result of conditions in Europe.

England has practically gone out of the refining business because she can obtain her supplies cheaper from continental countries, which pay their refiners a premium for dumping their sugars in England and in other foreign countries.

Small refineries have been hastily and poorly constructed in continental Europe to take advantage of these foolish export bounties while they last. But not only are our plants superior to all others; the labor cost of refining is lower here than elsewhere.

Few Americans now find employment in refineries. Nearly all employees are Huns and Poles. The work has become so slavish under trust management that even Italians refused to be stewed to death in the intensely heated rooms of the refineries at the low wages paid. Last summer the firemen in the Havemeyer refinery in Brooklyn refused to work twelve hours a day during the summer. During the previous summer several hundred were overcome with heat and had to be taken to hospitals, where many died. The men feared a repetition of this. They sent a committee to see Havemeyer.

That gentleman coolly did a little figuring to prove that such a move would cost the company several thousands, and it was therefore out of the question to grant the demand. He told them so in language more forcible than choice. This practically settled the strike, the trust being the only employer in this country of this kind of labor. Some of the strikers refused to go back and some reluctantly returned, to jump out of the refinery into the East River—as many do—when their existence was no longer endurable. Such is the kind and the condition of the workers who refine our sugar and who make the millions for the rich beggars who infest Washington and corrupt Congress.

The following table shows that nine of the trust's refineries were closed last year, that five more were connected with larger refineries, and that the remaining eight were working. It will be seen that the smallest refinery now operated by the trust has a capacity of 1,500 barrels a day—50 per cent more than the largest refinery in Germany, whence competition is most feared.

All of the small or badly located ones, in which the cost of refining was comparatively high, were promptly closed by the trust and the machinery removed or allowed to rust out. Of course labor was thrown out of employment by the closing of these plants. The process was necessary, however,

in order to restrict production, obtain higher prices, and receive the full benefit of McKinley protection. The following table also shows the composition and condition of the American Sugar Refining Company in July, 1893:

Refiners in the trust.

Companies.	Daily capacity.	Condition.
	Barrels.	
Hav. & E. S. R. Co., Brooklyn	8,000	Working.
Brooklyn S. R. Co., Brooklyn	4,000	Connected with H. & E. house.
De Castro & Donner S. R. Co., Brooklyn.	3,000	Closed since 1887.
Dick & Meyer Co., Brooklyn	3,000	Burned September, 1889; not rebuilt.
Havemeyer S. R. Co., Jersey City	500	Connected with F. O. M. & W. house.
F. O. Matthiessen & Wiechers Co., Jersey City.	4,500	Working.
Mollers & Sierck Co., Brooklyn	500	Dismantled.
North River S. R. Co., New York	500	Do.
Oxnard Bros. Co., Brooklyn	400	Do.
Standard S. R. Co., Boston	3,000	Working.
Bay State Co., Boston	500	Dismantled; machinery used in Standard house.
Continental S. R. Co., Boston	500	Connected with Standard.
Boston S. R. Co., Boston	1,500	Working.
Forest City S. R. Co., Portland	500	Closed since 1887.
St. Louis S. R. Co., St. Louis	1,000	Do.
Louisiana S. R. Co.		Working.
Planters' S. R. Co., New Orleans	6,000	Connected.
American S. R. Co., San Francisco	2,000	Under lease to Western S. R. Co., C. Spreckels, manager.
California S. R. Co., Spreckels, president, San Francisco.	1,600	Do.
Harrison Frazier Co. (Franklin), Philadelphia.	7,000	Working.
E. C. Knight & Co., Philadelphia	1,000	Connected with Franklin.
Spreckels S. R. Co., Philadelphia	5,000	Working.
Baltimore S. R. Co., Baltimore	1,500	Burned 1893.
Delaware S. R. Co., Philadelphia	500	Connected with Spreckels.
Total	56,000	
Deducting closed and dismantled plants.	10,900	
Total in operation	45,400	

The only refineries even ostensibly outside of the trust are the Revere Sugar Refinery (Nash, Spaulding & Co.), Boston, with a daily capacity of 1,000 barrels; Mollenhauer Sugar Refining Company, Brooklyn, built in 1892, with a capacity of 1,800 barrels; Cunningham Miller, Sugarland, Tex., completed in 1892, with a capacity of 500 barrels; Henderson's refinery, New Orleans, erected in 1891, with a capacity of 300 barrels; Howel's refinery, in Yonkers, finished last December, with a capacity of 1,000 barrels, and the McCahan, in Philadelphia, finished last October, with a capacity of 2,000 barrels.

These six refineries, with a total daily capacity of 6,600 barrels (10½ per cent of the total for all refineries in this country), are all running. If they were all entirely independent, and sharp competitors of the trust, they could not have a perceptible influence on the power of the trust to control production and prices. Practically, however, because of a common interest, and because many of the same men are interested as stockholders in both trust and anti-trust refineries, there is no real competition.

The question that naturally suggests itself here is, "Why, if profits are so unusually high, are there not more independent refineries?" It is because it takes a long time to construct a model refinery; because there are but few who understand the requirements of such a refinery and can command the requisite capital; because these few are now either large holders of sugar-trust certificates or are bribed by good positions—like that of Spreckels—to continue loyal to the trust; because of the uncertainties as to tariff and anti-trust legislation, which may at any time introduce competition and reduce profits to normal, and because of the fear of the wrath of the great and wealthy trust.

COST OF THE SUGAR LEECH.

The United States has probably squandered more money in various ways in connection with the sugar industry than with any other leech industry that has attached itself to the protection pap. The expensiveness of interfering with private business is well illustrated in this case. Here are some of the ways in which we have been bled by the sugar industry:

Mr. Lindqvist, in Tariff Reform of July 30, 1890, estimated the total net profits for refining imported sugar from 1880 to 1889, inclusive, at $101,316,443. This estimate was based upon statistics of Willett & Gray. Since 1890 they have published "corrected tables adjusted to net cash prices" which show much greater profits.

Thus the difference between the prices of raws and refined in 1881 is changed from 1.354 cents to 1.436; this changes the margin for profits from six hundred and twenty-nine one-thousandths to eighty one-hundredths of a cent per pound, and raises the total for the ten years to about $115,000,000. The tariff bounties to producers during this period were about $75,000,000, $3,000,000 more were paid to refiners, and $36,571,614 in bounties went to the sugar planters of the Sandwich Islands—a total of about $230,000,000 in ten years given as a bounty to those who produce and refine sugar! The profits of refining during the last four years will average fully $25,000,000 a year above honest returns for capital invested.

Based on Willett & Gray's circular, the profits of refiners are over $88,000,000 for these four years; but, as we have seen, the actual cost of refining has probably averaged between three and four tenths of a cent per pound, instead of over one-half cent.

Still further profits accrue to the trust from large quantities of raw sugar, bought often at one-quarter or even one-half cent below the prices quoted, when it sells its products. In fact, the quoted prices of raws, so far as the trust is concerned, are merely nominal. After it has purchased large supplies at low prices, and there are no large available supplies in sight, it usually causes the price of raws to rise one-quarter or one-half cent, to the great disadvantage of the independent refiners, who have not sufficient capital to take advantage of markets. As before stated by Willett & Gray, these profits may exceed the marginal profits on refined sugars.

Another source of profits comes from mixing large quantities of cheap beet sugar of 88 or 90 degrees test with cane sugar of 96 degrees test, and then estimating the margin of profits for refined as if it were all produced from 96 degrees cane sugar.

Putting together all these profits and including tariff and actual bounties paid to our producers, we have a total of fully $370,000,000 worse than wasted during the last fourteen years. It has been worse than wasted, because it has produced a monopoly that has thrown more men out of employment than it has found employment for in a protected and bounty fed industry.

THE GERMAN EXPORT BOUNTIES.

One of the slickest of bunco games was worked upon the present Ways and Means Committee. Without any apparent reason, either for revenue or protection purposes, a duty of one-fourth cent per pound was left on refined, while raw sugar remained free. But one rational explanation has been offered—the committee was duped by false statements in regard to German export bounties on refined sugar.

The Sugar Trade Journal of September 28, 1893, stated: "German refiners receive a discrimination or protection of 21½ cents per 100 pounds (nearly one-fourth cent per pound), because this is the amount of bounty which the German Government pays on the exportation of granulated sugar from August 1, 1892, to July 31, 1895." This statement was worked for all it was worth before the committee, and it saved, or promised to do so, $10,000,000 a year bonus to the $75,000,000 sugar infant.

As soon as the statement reached Germany, it was criticised and corrected by the Berlin Zuckerindustrie and the Prager Zuckermarket. These authorities stated there is an export premium on 111 pounds of raw sugar (the amount required to make 100 pounds of refined) of 15 cents. This acts like an interior tax on raw sugar, and has to be paid by the refiner. Hence, although he gets an export bounty of 21½ cents, his net export premium is only 6½ cents per 100 pounds. The Sugar Trade Journal gave space for this correction in its issue of October 26, 1893, but the trust probably took no pains to bring it to the attention of the Ways and Means Committee. It was the exposure of this and many other false claims in the House, by John De Witt Warner, that caused that body to refuse to accept the decision of its committee.

But it is unnecessary to protect our refiners even to the extent of 6½ cents per 100 pounds to prevent them from going to Germany, as it is declared by Willett & Gray they will do. Not only will this rate of export bounty end in 1895 (and all German export bounties cease in 1897), but while it lasts it is not equal to the cost of transporting sugar across the Atlantic. This cost seldom or never falls below 8 cents per 100 pounds.

Nearly all German refineries are in the interior of Germany, and the cost of carrying sugar to the coast is often greater than the ocean freight. Hence, notwithstanding the export bounty, our markets are well protected without any duty on imported sugar.

Since the Senate Committee has reported a bill placing a duty of 1 cent per pound on sugar testing 80 by the polariscope, adding one one-hundredth of a cent for each degree up to 90, and two one-hundredths of a cent for each degree from 90 to 96 test, and a duty of 1.4 cents on all above 96, the sugar-trust people have been pretending to be very much displeased at the result and have asserted not only that it would leave them no protection but that under it they would be worse off than with all sugars free.

The Sugar Journal of March 8 says: "The above schedule affords the refiners very little, if any, protection, and would be destructive to the sugar-refining industry in this country."

PROTECTION IN THE NEW SCHEDULE.

As usual, the facts are dead against this statement. It is not possible to state just what protection this complicated schedule would give to refiners, but it is impossible to deal with facts and not find considerable protection for them.

Able and reliable men who have been connected or acquainted with the sugar business for years assert that under the new conditions which such duties would bring about, the protection would be nearly one-third of a cent per pound. They claim the average test for cane sugar—which is now about 95—would fall to about 90, on which the duty would be 1.1 cents per pound, and that the loss in refining this sugar would be about offset by the gains from mixing with beet sugars and from securing free admission into a protected market for the by-products of refining—sirups and molasses.

It seems more probable, however, that the net protection will be rather less than one-half cent per pound. The average test of imported cane sugars now being about 95, the average duty as proposed would be 1.20 per pound. One hundred pounds of this sugar will make nearly 95 pounds of refined sugar, 4 pounds of sirup, and 1 pound of waste. The duty on 95 pounds of refined sugar would be $1.33, as against $1.20 on the 100 pounds from which it was made—a protection of about one-eighth of a cent per pound.

To this should be added the protection to the 4 pounds of sirup. This is probably very little, because we have ceased to be a molasses or sirup consuming nation, and we now export large quantities of sirups to Europe, where they are used in distilleries and as a substitute for linseed cakes in feeding stock.

On 90-degree sugar the protection would be about one hundred and twenty-four one-thousandths cent per pound; on 90-degree sugar, about seventeen one-hundredths cent. From 90-degree down to 80-degree sugar the protection declines somewhat, but as the amount and quality of the molasses yielded increases greatly, something should be added on this account.

It is not improbable that the sugar trust would be glad to get more protection. It is also not improbable that it is playing with loaded dice and that it lobbied the present rates through the Senate, intending later to show the injustice of such duties and to secure more protection. Here is one of the places in which the sugar schedule needs repairing:

Beet sugar, as now imported, actually tests 94 or above by the polariscope, but as it contains more ashes or salts than cane sugars, which injure the quality of the sugar and are hard to extract, it is customary to deduct from the actual test about 5 per cent for every 1 per cent of salts. The average test at which they are now sold is about 90 polariscope, though they are rated according to what is called "88 analysis." Even after making deductions, the price of beet sugars is about one-fourth of a cent per pound less than cane sugars of similar test. It is evident that duties based strictly upon polariscope tests would discriminate against beet sugars, which form about one-fifth of our imports.

PRICE OF SUGAR STOCKS.

The sugar-trust officials fully understand these facts, but they did not choose to point them out until after they had secured an admission from the Senate committee that there should be some protection left on refined sugar. They intend later to get in their fine work when the schedule is revised. Probably they will try to obtain ad valorem duties on all sugars as the only way to prevent complications and effects of this kind.

That our refining industry would not be destroyed by the proposed duties is evident from the fact that sugar stocks are now selling between 85 and 90. This shows what those who best understand the facts think of the prospects. When it looked as if we might have free trade in sugar, stock sunk to below 70.

It is unnecessary to enumerate in detail more of the many cases of trust lying. In spite of the fact that Willett & Gray, in 1891, estimated the total cost of refining at one-half cent per pound, they are now claiming that it costs five-eighths of a cent. The Journal of Commerce has repeatedly taken them to task for this absurd claim, but they continue to make it.

The trust is foxy in every way. When the New York State legislature was probing the trust and asked for its books, it was discovered they had disappeared from their accustomed places, and none of the officers appeared to know or care where the accounts were. The books were never produced before the legislature.

In January, when the House was discussing the proposed duties, the time arrived for the trust to meet and declare its usual quarterly dividends of 3 per cent on the $37,500,000 of common and of 1½ per cent on its equal amount of preferred stock. Strange to say, no quorum was present. A month later the tariff skies had not yet cleared, and not a single official saw fit to attend the meeting—a remarkable unanimity of forgetfulness. Last Saturday the officers met on the quiet and declared the dividend.

One of the trust's ways of concealing surplus profits is to pay large salaries to all connected with the business. The proprietor of the Forest City Refinery, at Portland, Me., is said to receive $12,000 a year, though his refinery has been closed since it entered the trust in 1887. Others are said to receive as much as $60,000 a year for equally onerous work. It is also quite probable that many refiners were induced to join the trust by giving them fat contracts for supplying barrels, tanks, bags, gas, etc., to the trust. It is certain that in many cases all of the allied industries of making barrels, bags, etc., were withheld from the trust.

The trust is now buying all sugar in sight and is chartering vessels to go to the West Indies and elsewhere, to return with cargoes of sugar before the new tax shall take effect.

Without reading it, I will ask that the remainder of the article be inserted in my remarks.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. That order will be made, in the absence of objection.

The remainder of the article is as follows:

We have seen that the sugar trust can refine sugar more cheaply than it is refined anywhere else; that it has by far the largest and best equipped refineries in the world; that it pays less for labor per product than refiners in any other country; that it employs chiefly imported Huns and Poles, and treats them in a most degraded, slavish manner; that it is paying enormous dividends on highly watered capital; that there is no justification for protecting it because of export bounties in Europe, or for any other reason; that it has been a chief source of bribery and corruption in our legislative, executive, and judicial halls; that it has a complete monopoly in this country, and is most greedy and exacting in its demands, and that it is a constant violator of Federal and State antitrust laws.

MR. HAVEMEYER IS ON GUARD—IN CHARGE OF THE SUGAR FIGHT IN THE SENATE—WILL HILL ATTACK THE TRUST?

[Special to the World.]

WASHINGTON, *March 13.*

Henry O. Havemeyer, head of the sugar trust, has returned to his old quarters in the Arlington, and has resumed his conferences with Senators on the sugar schedule. Notwithstanding that the Senate has refused to investigate the charge that certain Senators have been speculating in sugar stock, his movements are as mysterious as before.

Mr. Havemeyer has discovered that while the sugar schedule is acceptable to the trust it will be hard to get it through the Senate, and it is his plan, if no investigation is ordered, to remain here and personally direct the campaign. The Louisiana cane-sugar men have made an alliance with him, and the combination is expected to insure the passage of the tax on refined sugar.

The sugar men understand that the sugar schedule will be fought by many Democrats who favor free sugar, but it is not this opposition that the trust fears most. It has been a liberal contributor to the campaign funds of both parties, and sugar profits have played no small part in the political fights in New York State. The trust has played a sharp game, but according to reports heard here to-day it dipped into the Democratic factional struggles in New York State, and it is this that promises to upset its plans in the Senate. Senator Hill has learned, it is said, that the trust contributed $25,000 to the antisnapper movement, and is awaiting an opportunity to expose it. He will not discuss this rumor.

Mr. Havemeyer has heard the rumor and he has arranged to stay here and await developments. There is a long and bitter fight ahead in the Senate first, then in the House, if the Senate passes the bill, and finally in conference. The opinion that sensational facts about the trust methods will be brought to light is expressed freely.

Mr. CAFFERY. Mr. President, a basis has been taken to ascertain the amount of raw sugar it requires to make a pound of the refined sugar from the Treasury statement, and that statement is challenged as to its correctness. I will ask the distinguished Senator from Iowa, who is in charge of this bill, upon what is based the statement from the Treasury as to the number of pounds of raw sugars it requires to make a pound of refined sugars at any degree? I am not aware of the basis of the statement made by the Treasury officials as to the number of pounds of raw sugars it requires to make a pound of refined.

Mr. ALLISON. I have not the Treasury circular before me, but I take it for granted that it is very well stated in the table inserted by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST] on yesterday. I believe those figures are correct. It is also found on page 10.

Mr. CAFFERY. Does the Senator state that in his view these tables are correct?

Mr. ALLISON. They are taken from the Government circular and estimate.

Mr. CAFFERY. But I ask the Senator from Iowa upon what the Government officials base the statement? It is a well-known fact that all the secret processes of refining are known only to the sugar trust. It requires a first-class chemist to estimate the amount of raw sugar at any specific degree it takes to make a pound of refined sugar, and the statement of the Treasury officials is challenged as to its correctness by other experts.

Mr. ALLISON. I understand that these statements from the Treasury have been made up by experts of the Treasury Department from actual tests. Of course, I do not know what the processes are by which these experts reach their conclusions, but they are well settled, and are admitted to be correct, I believe, by those who have investigated them.

Mr. CAFFERY. I have the paper now containing another estimate made from statements by competent chemists and by Mr. B. W. Holt, a competent tariff expert. These statements show that the Treasury estimate is too high; that the Treasury estimate requires more pounds of raw sugars at a certain specific test to make a pound of refined sugars than is actually the case.

The sugar trust has evaded all inquiries into its business. It refused to give to the census takers the data necessary for them to have in order to make up the proper census returns of the sugar-refining business. That is well known to the Senator from Iowa. They referred Mr. Porter and his agents, when they were taking the census, to other persons than themselves for the desired information, and it is supposed that the Treasury officials, having no other means of ascertaining the number of pounds of raw sugar that were required to make a pound of refined sugar, obtained the information from the trust officials themselves.

I shall read what purports to be a true estimate of the number of pounds of raw sugar it takes to make a pound of refined sugar and compare this estimate with the estimate made by the Treasury officials. At 100 degrees of polariscopic test, of course there can be no difference; at 99 degrees, the Treasury report is 101.87. The corrected statement, or the statement which I introduce as correct, is 101.01 of a pound. At 98 degrees, the Treasury estimate is 103.73 of a pound; the corrected estimate is 102.04 of a pound. At 97 degrees, the Treasury estimate is 105.60; the corrected estimate is 103.09 of a pound. So it runs on down. At 87 degrees, I will take the Treasury estimate, which is 124.27 of a pound, and the corrected estimate is 114.94 of a pound.

Mr. President, it is easily seen that if there had been any juggling with figures or any incorrect estimate derived from the officials of the sugar trust in regard to the number of pounds of raw sugar it requires to make a pound of refined sugar, a calculation on the basis of the Treasury official statement must necessarily be erroneous and necessarily be in favor of the trust.

It will be further seen from an investigation of the amount of the differentials in favor of the trust upon raw sugars and refined under the proposed sugar schedule that the protection is much greater upon the lower grades of sugar; and how easy it is, if there were a market abroad for the export of our refined sugars, for the sugar trust to make an enormous amount of money in exporting sugars under a false estimate of the number of pounds it requires to make refined sugars from the low-degree polariscopic test of raw sugars.

Some years since there was a very large amount of money that the sugar trust obtained from the Treasury of the United States upon the drawback allowed them on the export of refined sugars by falsely estimating the number of pounds of raw sugar it required to make a pound of refined sugar. So the same thing can be done under this bill, were there an opportunity for the sugar trust to export its refined sugars. They practically hold the market for all cane sugars.

The only fear of competition they have is from the German granulated sugar, and I propose to show that that fear is overcome, if it exists, by reason of the differential allowed to them in this bill. If, then, they can import raw cane sugars and overestimate the number of pounds of raw cane sugar of a certain polariscopic test it requires to make 100 pounds of refined sugar, and can find a market for the export of whatever surplus they make beyond supplying the home market, there is a fine opportunity for them to reap a rich harvest abroad.

In connection with these figures, I will submit a statement prepared by Mr. Holt, the gentleman who kindly furnished me with the corrected statement as to the number of pounds of raw sugars it requires to make a pound of refined—the statement that I have just read. I will ask my friend from California to read this statement for me.

Mr. WHITE read as follows:

The amended Senate sugar schedule protects American sugar refiners in several ways:

First. By a direct bonus of 20 cents on every hundred pounds of refined. This amount is undeserved and indefensible from any other standpoint than that it is the business of the Government to help those who help themselves. As we consume annually over 4,000,000,000 pounds of refined sugar, this gratuity for the refiners amounts to over $8,000,000 per year. This is fully twice the amount of wages paid in refineries in this country, even when including the $250,000 salaries paid to five sugar-trust officers. Statistics obtained from the Census Office in 1894 show that only seventeen establishments were reported as engaged in the refining of sugar in the census year of 1890. These did not include the trust's largest refineries, in which the cost of refining is lowest.

The trust absolutely refused to comply with the census laws. The seventeen establishments reporting paid $1,728,417 in wages, other than salaries, to 3,854 employees. The value of their products was $110,492,163. The labor cost, therefore, was only 1.56 per cent in the smaller establishments, or, including salaries, 1.78 per cent. The average value of refined sugar in 1890 was about 6¼ cents per pound. Therefore the labor cost per pound was only twelve ten-thousandths of a cent. Why, then, even on protection grounds, should the refiner receive a direct and clear protection nearly double the total labor cost? As a matter of fact, the "difference of labor cost" between this and other countries is all in our favor. In no other country is sugar refined as cheaply as here.

Second. The refiners are protected by the difference between the present (40 per cent ad valorem) and the proposed duty on all of the sugars in the refiners' hands at the time the new bill becomes a law. About 2,050,000,000 pounds of sugar were imported during the months of March, April, and May, 1897. It will come in rapidly during June and July. According to Willett & Gray's Sugar Trade Journal of June 3 there was 616,880 long tons or 1,381,811,200 pounds of sugar in the hands of refiners and importers on June 3.

This amount will probably be increased to 2,000,000,000 pounds when the new tariff becomes a law. There is over one-half cent per pound difference between the present and the proposed rates of duty. The refiners, therefore, will profit by about $10,000,000 by their speculations in sugar and by their foresight in chartering so many sugar-carrying ships that it is at present difficult for outsiders to import sugar. Besides, the outsiders have not, as has the trust, constantly on hand $4,000,000 or $5,000,000 belonging to wholesale grocers—unpaid rebates—and millions of surplus profits awaiting just such opportunities for investment.

Third. The countervailing duty of 38 cents per hundred pounds on refined sugars from Germany is practically all protection for refiners. If our refiners should import and refine German beet-root sugar, they would have to pay on enough raw to make 100 pounds of refined sugar a countervailing duty of about 31 cents. Therefore this net protection against German refined sugars is about 7 cents per hundred pounds. As a matter of fact, our refiners are not at all dependent upon Germany for raw sugars, and under the new law they would practically cease to import German raw sugars. They would then enjoy almost the full protection of the 38 cents per hundred pounds on German refined sugars, these being the principal sugars which compete with our refined sugars in our markets.

These countervailing duties are virtually discriminations against German sugars as between our market and the markets of the rest of the world. Stated in another form, German sugars, because of the export bounty, have an advantage over competing sugars in all markets of the world except ours. Our countervailing duties would therefore result in excluding German sugars from our markets. This would be so because the markets of the world, outside of Germany and the United States, are so big that they afford ample opportunity both for our refiners to purchase raw sugars and for German refiners to dispose of refined sugars. This countervailing duty would therefore permit our refiners to elevate prices about 38 cents per hundred pounds higher than would otherwise be possible.

Fortunately for the refiners, they are in shape to pull together to take full advantage of such favorable conditions. It is an appreciation of all these facts which has caused Germany and Austria to protest strongly against such discriminations. Our consumers should also protest. If Germany has such friendly feelings toward the rest of the world that she pays her sugar makers to dump sugars in other markets, why should we object to having them dumped here and to giving our people the full benefit of cheap sugars? England has for years taken such gifts from Germany and France, and by so doing has not only given her people the cheapest sugar ever known, but has built up her canning and preserving industries so that she supplies the whole world with jellies, jams, and preserves.

Fourth. The sugar trust will get considerable protection and relief by the insertion of the provision which makes all refined sugars dutiable at $1.95 per hundred pounds. Heretofore only such refined sugars as were above No. 16 Dutch standard in color have had to pay the highest rates on refined. Small quantities of refined sugars, some above and some below No. 16 and testing from 87 to 93 degrees, are being imported. They are used by bakers and manufacturers of certain kinds. The American Biscuit Company uses large quantities of these sugars. While the quantity imported is comparatively insignificant, yet these sugars compete with several grades of the trust's "soft" sugars and prevent the trust from getting exorbitant prices for such sugars as can be consumed in an uncrystallized form.

Under the proposed duty, a pound of cheap refined sugar testing 87 would pay a duty of 1.95 cents, while a pound of raw sugar testing 86 would pay only nine-tenths of a cent. It is needless to say that with such unjust discriminations against these sugars, they would be excluded from our markets. The trust will then say to the users of these sugars: "Buy our hard refined sugars at our prices or take our 'softs' on the same terms." Without a possibility of producing revenue, this slyly inserted provision will put an occasional odd million into the trust's already fat pockets.

Fifth. The extra deduction of 10 cents per hundred pounds on raw sugars below 87 degrees gives so much additional profit on the low-grade sugar imported. These being the sugars which compete largely with the raw sugars produced in this country, the trust will not be likely to overpay our beet-sugar farmers for their products.

Sixth. There is much concealed protection in the proposed specific duty on raw sugars. These duties are apparently adjusted to the allowances for 100 pounds of hard refined sugar made by the Treasury Department in the payment of drawback duties. Even if these allowances were correct, the specific duties decline so rapidly that they slightly favor the importation of low-grade raw sugars. There is, however, good reason for believing that these allowances are unfair, and that they will operate to give export bounties to refiners whenever the refiners care to engage in the export business, which they will probably do as soon as the sugar duties are fixed for a few years.

They "gouged" our Treasury Department out of about $3,000,000 in this way in the early eighties, and can be expected to do so again when "all this howl about trusts" and tariffs is out of the way for awhile. They would probably be exporting now but for the heavy German export bounty. The following table has been prepared after consultation with numerous sugar brokers, importers, and chemists. It is believed that it makes liberal allowances. The profits shown in this way do not include those made on soft sugars and molasses, nor those from contravailing duties:

ACTUAL PROTECTION ON REFINED SUGAR WHEN MADE FROM EACH GRADE OF RAW SUGAR.

Statement showing the actual number of pounds of raw sugar of each grade needed to make 150 pounds of refined, compared with the present Treasury table of equivalents, and the actual net protection of refiners based on these equivalents.

Raw "test" degrees.	Pounds required.			Duty per pound.	Duty on actual amount.	Duty on 100 pounds refined.	Protection.
	Theoretical.	Treasury.	Actual.				
				Cents.			*Cents.*
100	100	100	100	1.75	$175.00	$1.95	20.00
99	101.01	101.87	101.2	1.72	174.06	1.95	20.94
98	102.04	103.73	102.4	1.69	173.05	1.95	21.95
97	103.09	105.60	103.7	1.66	172.14	1.95	22.86
96	104.17	107.47	105	1.63	171.15	1.95	23.85
95	105.26	109.34	106.4	1.60	170.24	1.95	24.76
94	106.38	111.20	107.8	1.57	169.25	1.95	25.76
93	107.53	113.07	109.3	1.54	168.32	1.95	26.68
92	108.69	114.94	110.8	1.51	167.31	1.95	27.69
91	109.89	116.81	112.3	1.48	166.20	1.95	28.80
90	111.11	118.67	113.9	1.45	165.15	1.95	29.85
89	112.35	120.54	115.5	1.42	164.01	1.95	30.99
88	113.64	122.41	117.1	1.39	162.77	1.95	32.23
87	114.94	124.27	118.7	1.36	161.45	1.95	33.55
86	116.28	126.14	120.3	1.33	150.00	1.95	45.00
85	117.65	128.01	122	1.30	148.60	1.95	46.40
84	119.05	129.88	123.7	1.27	145.83	1.95	49.17

Putting together the different kinds of protection to refiners under the proposed rate, we have, for 96-degree cane sugar, which includes more than half of all imported, the following protection on 100 pounds of refined sugar:

	Cents.
Differential (195-175)	20.00
Graded specific duty	3.85
Countervailing duty	38.00
	61.85

On 84-degree sugars, which include about 5 per cent of our imports, the protection on 100 pounds of refined is about as follows:

	Cents.
Differential	20.00
Extra differential	10.00
Graded specific duty	29.17
Countervailing duty	38.00
	97.17

Senator ALDRICH stated in his speech of May 25:

"As a basis for the calculation of the number of pounds of sugar of each polariscopic test required to make 100 pounds of refined sugar, I have taken the statement of the Treasury Department, promulgated June 25, 1896, Department Circular No. 102. I assume there will be no question as to its accuracy. The computations have been confirmed by various statements furnished by the appraiser's office in New York.

"For illustration, I will take an analysis of sugar tested 88 degrees, made by the chemist in charge of the sugar laboratory in New York. This sugar contained seventy-four one-hundredths per cent of ash, 4.13 per cent of invert sugar, and an out-turn of 81.85 per cent of crystallized sugar. Of this sugar it would take 122.17 pounds to make 100 pounds of refined sugar. The Treasury estimate is 122.41 for this test. It will be noticed that this sugar contained 4.13 per cent of invert sugar. This invert sugar becomes sirup in the process of refining, and is worth from one-half to three-fourths of a cent a pound. The result in this case would probably be a fair estimate of the average result of the value of the residuum of invert sugar contained in all cane sugars testing in the neighborhood of 89 degrees. The value of this sirup would not appreciably affect differentials."

This statement is lacking in several particulars. It leaves unaccounted for 6.15 pounds of crystallizable sugar. If his sample tested 88 degrees, it contained 88 per cent of crystallizable sugar. He says that it yielded 81.85 per cent. Where is the remaining 6.15 per cent? The invert sugar is not a part of this 6.15 per cent, because invert sugar does not materially affect a polariscope. As a matter of fact, 3.70 of the 6.15 per cent is crystallizable sugar held in chemical combination with the seventy-four one-hundredths per cent of ash or salts. The most of this 6.15 per cent is, in practice, either made into crystallizable sugar, or, with the invert sugar, into low-grade sugars and sirups. In either case, both are of considerable importance, and should be considered in making up a tariff schedule. Even with 6.15 per cent of crystallizable sugar unaccounted for, Senator ALDRICH finds that the Treasury Department allows twenty-four one-hundredths of a pound too much.

Mr. CAFFERY. Mr. President, there are several points in this statement which are very forcible. The percentage of labor cost in refining is a very material point. The percentage of labor cost of the product is 1.56 per cent, without including enormous salaries that this institution pays to its officials, and including those salaries it is only 1.78 per cent; second, the trust has already imported into the United States a very large amount of sugar; and it is estimated that before this bill can be enacted into a law about 2,000,000,000 pounds of sugar will have been imported. That is a half year's supply.

Mr. President, the sugar-trust managers are among the most astute of men. They would never have imported this sugar in anticipation of the enactment of this bill into a law were not the terms of this bill more favorable to them than the terms of the Wilson law.

Mr. GEAR. Would it disturb the Senator if I should ask him a question?

Mr. CAFFERY. Not at all.

Mr. GEAR. I understood the Senator to say that the sugar recently imported into this country has been very largely in excess of the ordinary importations?

Mr. CAFFERY. Yes, sir.

Mr. GEAR. What is the amount?

Mr. CAFFERY. I will read it from this statement. About 2,050,000,000 pounds of sugar were imported during the months of March and April.

Mr. GEAR. The report of Willett & Gray shows that the imports for those months were but 646,000,000 pounds, in round numbers, and that the amount in the hands of the refiners yesterday was 394,000,000 pounds, showing that the difference between 394,000,000 pounds and 646,000,000 pounds was held by these people. I will read from Willett & Gray. I have the statement here in my hand.

Mr. CAFFERY. According to Willett & Gray's Sugar Trade Journal of June 3, there were 616,800 long tons, or 1,381,811,200 pounds, of sugar in the hands of refiners and importers on June 3.

Mr. GEAR. That does not show, if I may be permitted to say it, that there is any very undue excess of importations this year. It is little more than usual, but not very much.

Mr. CAFFERY. It is more than double the amount.

Mr. GEAR. I beg pardon; because the consumption is 400,000 tons for four months. The consumption is 2,000,000 tons annually in this country, in round numbers.

Mr. CAFFERY. About that.

Mr. GEAR. About that, in round numbers.

Mr. CAFFERY. Yes.

Mr. GEAR. That shows that only one-third of the annual consumption in this country has been introduced into this country in four months. So there must be some mistake about the

importations being of an unusually large amount in view of the possible passage of this bill.

Mr. CAFFERY. I have seen it stated that the importations of this year are in excess of any previous year in the history of the importation.

Mr. GEAR. It can not be. The Senator can not make a statement here that will not pan out with the consumption.

Mr. CAFFERY. I propose to make this statement good.

Mr. GEAR. That is right.

Mr. CAFFERY. I propose to show that the importations of sugar into the United States this year are in excess of any year heretofore. If I am mistaken in the statement, of course I will acknowledge the error.

Mr. GEAR. I have no question that the Senator makes the statement in earnest, because he believes it.

Mr. CAFFERY. I do believe it.

Mr. GEAR. I call his attention to the fact that the annual consumption is only 2,000,000 tons, and that the importations from the 1st of January and for the first four months have not been in advance of the consumption of this country. The two must be reconciled.

Mr. CAFFERY. That may be true, but this is in excess. This is the stock on hand. This will last six months. That is what I say, and it is a larger amount of sugar imported than ever has been imported before.

Mr. GEAR. To make the statement perfectly correct, the Senator must add to the amount of importations the amount of sugar on hand on the 1st day of January. That will give the exact amount of the stock on hand and the amount imported. Then you can prove whether the importations and the stock on hand are equal to the consumption.

Mr. CAFFERY. All I desire to show is that there is a stock now on hand and prospectively to be imported six months in advance of the consumption. If I prove that, I prove my case. It is idle to inquire any further.

Another point made in this communication, which in my opinion is very forcible, is that the countervailing duty of 38 cents per 100 is quite a sufficient differential in favor of the trust. There is no other competitor than the Germans. The cane sugars used in the world are in the hollow of the hand of the sugar trust. The Germans occupy all other markets. If the Germans can be kept out, then the trust has the sole monopoly of the trade of the United States.

The differential of thirty-eight one-hundredths of a cent a pound looks to be sufficient to keep out the import of the German granulated. If that be true, then the trust has the markets of the United States in the grip of a monopoly which has never relaxed since there was a large differential imposed between the raws and the refined.

Mr. President, I will send to the desk and ask the Secretary to read both the letter written by Mr. Carroll D. Wright to the Hon. John De Witt Warner and the statement which the Commissioner sends with it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. PERKINS in the chair). The Secretary will read as indicated.

The Secretary read as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR, CENSUS OFFICE,
Washington, April 11, 1894.

SIR: In reply to your letter of April 6, 1894, I take pleasure in handing you the inclosed statement presenting totals for 17 establishments located in the United States reported to this office as engaged in the refining of sugar during the census year ending May 31, 1890. These 17 establishments are included in the 300 establishments presented in the published reports of this office under the title of "Sugar and molasses refining."

Very respectfully,

CARROLL D. WRIGHT,
Commissioner of Labor, in Charge.

Hon. JOHN DE WITT WARNER,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

ELEVENTH CENSUS OF THE UNITED STATES—STATISTICS OF MANUFACTURES.

Statement of the totals for 17 establishments in the United States reported as engaged in the refining of sugar during the census year ending May 31, 1890.

Items.	Total.	Louisiana.	Pennsylvania.	All other States.*
Number of establishments reporting	17	9	3	5
Capital, aggregate	$18,581,330	$1,684,806	$6,167,050	$10,729,474
Miscellaneous expenses	$5,515,567	$495,680	$508,490	$4,511,388
Average number of employees, aggregate	4,025	1,395	1,174	1,456
Total wages	$1,906,562	$372,556	$629,112	$904,894
Officers, firm members, and clerks—				
Average number	171	31	46	94
Total wages	$298,145	$30,316	$47,518	$164,311
All other employees—				
Average number	3,854	1,364	1,128	1,362
Total wages	$1,728,417	$346,240	$581,594	$800,583
Cost of materials used	$97,518,028	$11,053,911	$39,363,412	$47,100,705
Value of products	$110,492,163	$12,372,598	$43,838,548	$54,281,017

*Includes establishments distributed as follows: California, 2; Maine, 1; Massachusetts, 1; New York, 1.

Mr. CAFFERY. There is no speculation about that. It comes direct. It shows the correctness of the figures of Mr. Holt. There is the gross value of the output of these refineries; there is the gross amount of wages they pay; and the percentage is easily ascertained from those two factors. The percentage stated in the statement of Mr. Holt of 1.56 per cent, 1.78 per cent including the salaries of officials of the sugar trust, is well authenticated by the letter of Mr. Wright.

This information has been eked out, not by any particular statement of the sugar trust, but by investigations of Mr. Wright in all the refineries that he could reach, the sugar trust always on all occasions smothering up the real facts surrounding its business, and it was only by importunity and constant demands on the part of the census officials that what little information is put down in the census was obtained from them.

Here is an institution which under every bill that comes before Congress appears to be the recipient of peculiar favors. It is no answer to say from the other side that the Wilson Act gave a too great differential in favor of the sugar trust. The pending bill carries more than the Wilson Act, and the Wilson Act carried too much. As the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. JONES] said yesterday, he was at the time of opinion that the differential in favor of the trust of one-eighth with the countervailing tenth was deserved, that their business required it, but subsequent developments have opened his eyes in that regard and he does not think they ought to have any.

Here is an institution where the labor cost of the product is 1¼ per cent in the largest refineries in the world, making the cheapest output in the world, with the largest market in the world, selling more sugar than the combined factories of Europe or as much, and this institution, with its enormous plant, with its diminished labor cost, and with its market right at its hand, is constantly importuning the Congress of the United States for special privileges and favors.

The first report that came from the House was based upon specific duties. The Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH] in introducing his amendment stated that the bill gave the trust too much. He proposed to give them less. There has been no calculation made by any expert acquainted with the subject which has not shown that his differential is greater than that contained in the Dingley bill. Calculate it from any point you please, take even the statement of the Senator from Rhode Island, and you can not make the differential less than between forty and forty-eight one-hundredths of a cent per pound.

I propose now to have read a statement from the New York Staats-Zeitung of June 4 and 5, 1897. It was prepared evidently by an expert familiar with German sugar and familiar with polariscopes and with the whole subject of sugar. I send it to the desk, and ask that it be read.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Secretary will read as indicated.

The Secretary read as follows:

THE SUGAR TARIFF.

[From the New York Staats-Zeitung of June 4 and 5, 1897.]

When, less than three years ago, the Wilson tariff was being discussed in the Senate, the sugar trust exerted a powerful influence. It could, indeed, be seen that the trust decided in what form the sugar duty should be levied, and that no tariff bill was then possible which did not satisfy the wishes of the trust. It is now conceded that similar conditions exist, and we may assume that the sugar trust this time also approves of the schedule, if it has not actually dictated it.

That Senator ALDRICH's assertions that the trust has had nothing at all to do with the tariff bill can not be believed without further proof follows from the fact that in an entirely unnecessary manner a mixed duty—that is, both a specific and an ad valorem duty—has been laid upon sugar. It follows from this fact, not alone, as has already been explained, that the trust can bring in sugar bought in far-away markets cheaper than others who can not avail themselves of this important aid, but also makes it more difficult to determine in practice where and how heavily the tax would fall.

For this reason we have so far seen in no paper an exact calculation of the protection offered this trust by the Aldrich tariff, and it has been with much labor that we have collected, from the statements of experts, the following tables, which we consider correct.

The Senate tariff imposes the following taxes:

	Cents.
(1) Raw sugar, not over No. 16 Dutch standard of color, standard sugar polarization ("testing") at least 87 degrees but not over 88 degrees, per pound	0.79
For each additional per cent over 88 degrees in addition to the foregoing, per pound	.02
(2) Raw sugar over No. 16 and refined sugar and in addition 35 per cent ad valorem on all kinds, per pound	1.16

Upon the operations of this duty we consider in the first case European beet sugar, for the trust wishes protection against the importation of European, especially German and Dutch, refined sugar. The greatest part of the raw sugar imported from Germany consists of the so-called first products, which, upon the basis of 88 degrees analysis (not to be confounded with polarization or "test"), are sent to America, and the greater part of which is capable of a polarization of 94 to 95 degrees; the equally valuable imported so-called after products, the second, third, and even the fourth product—strontian and osmose sugar polarization apparently lower—are on the average reckoned at 90 to 91 degrees, but the importation is not considerable enough to reduce the average polarization of the beet sugar sent to America lower than 94 degrees, and for that reason we take this standard as the normal one in our calculation.

A 94-degree sugar would have to pay the following tariff:

		Cents.
Duty up to 88 degrees	per pound..	0.79
88-94 degrees—6 per cent, 0.02 cent	do....	.12
		.91

to which the ad valorem duty of 35 per cent is added. Following the estimates of the tax collector, we set the present value as 2.3 cents per pound for raw sugar and 2.9 cents per pound for refined sugar. This is not exact, for the present values are lower, but as long as the difference between the prices of raw and refined sugars is about six-tenths of a cent per pound this little variation is of no account.

	Cents.
We have now, as above stated	0.91
Add 35 per cent ad valorem on 2.3 cents, equals	.805
Making a total tax of	1.715

per pound, 94-degree raw sugar, which is almost 75 per cent of its actual selling price.

Now we come to the sugar over No. 16 Dutch standard, and refined sugar. (Really it relates almost entirely to "granulated.")

		Cents.
The tax thereon levied	per pound..	1.16
And the value of the goods, as already stated, being 2.9 cents, the 35 per cent ad valorem tax levied equals	per pound..	1.015
A total tax of	per pound..	2.175

or exactly 75 per cent of the value of the sugar. According to percentages, the raw and refined sugars are treated alike, and a difference arises in the duty of between 2.175 on refined sugar and 1.715 on raw sugar of forty-six one-hundredths of a cent per pound.

From Hamburg, for example, to New York it costs now, laid down (the freight need not be considered, as it is exactly the same in both cases):

	Cents.
1 pound granulated	2.90
Duty	2.175
Total	5.075

And further—

	Cents.
1 pound 94-degree raw sugar	2.30
Duty	1.715
Total	4.015

And also a great and puzzling difference of 1.06 cents between raw and refined sugar, about which we will have more to say to-morrow.

II.

As we showed yesterday, the difference in value between raw and refined sugar (we speak always of granulated) before the paying of the tax was six-tenths of a cent, but after payment amounts to 1.6 cents—the difference therefore cleverly raised to forty-six one-hundredths, which amount represents the actual protection which the trust enjoys. When it is taken into consideration that the trust, owing to its far-reaching connections and its great resources, seldom pays the full, and never the highest market price for its raw sugar, it can be plainly seen that under the Aldrich tariff it will not place itself in a worse position than it occupied under the McKinley bill, when raw sugar was free and refined sugar paid one-half cent per pound.

But probably the protection is still greater. To be able to calculate it accurately we must know the cost of refining, which is exactly what can not be discovered. That is a trade secret which any other refiner will betray as little as the trust. We can not expect that business men will give that information. Certainly, however, they must then be content if the public draws its own conclusions and acts upon them. We believe to-day, and we base our belief upon the testimony of experts as well as the statements of officials and intimate friends of the trust, that we can refine sugar cheaper here than in Germany. That has been so often clearly demonstrated that it is not necessary for us to refer to it again. Even if the refining would cost as much or more than in Europe, still the trust would not need protection, for it has many other advantages over European competition, as, for example, a better method of packing goods, which causes them to be preferred by their customers, of prompt delivery, and a greater facility in financial exchange. There is, therefore, at present not the least excuse for putting a higher duty on raw than on refined sugar.

In spite of these facts, Senator ALDRICH, who himself declared in his great tariff speech that the cost of refining, including everything (even including the loss of raw sugar), amounts to one-half cent per pound, has given the trust a protection of at least forty-six hundredths of a cent per pound. There is, indeed, no mention of an attempt to equalize the actual or at least supposed difference of labor cost of turning raw into refined sugar. In spite of all this, it may be that European refined sugar can and will be imported; but there are other reasons for this besides that of price, and so long as the trust can count on a half cent per pound more than it ought to have on about 95 per cent of the sugar consumed here, it can complacently allow some 4 per cent to be imported. It does in this way a better business than if it reduced the price so far as to entirely prohibit the importation of refined sugars.

At the same time the trust can always bring forward the importation as a proof that the duty is not unreasonably high. Therefore, in every way it pays the trust to hold its price so high that importation is impossible.

The cheek of those who advocate and support the sugar schedule is almost unbelievable. It is not possible to believe that Senator ALDRICH is misinformed. He knows exactly what he does and the amount of his gift to the sugar trust. The trust may count about half a cent more for every pound of sugar which it sells. As the yearly consumption amounts to about four thousand million pounds, this present is equal to about $20,000,000, which sum the people must pay and of which not one cent finds its way into the Treasury of the country.

Mr. CAFFERY. Mr. President, the calculation made by the writer in the Staats-Zeitung shows the difficulties of unraveling the schedule introduced as an amendment by the Senator from Rhode Island to the Dingley bill, which amendment he subsequently withdrew and adopted the Dingley bill to a great extent. The basis of the calculation makes the differential between the raw German sugars and the refined article at the start only 6 mills, and by applying the exceedingly intricate provision of the schedule as proposed by the Senator from Rhode Island the differential figures out forty-six one-hundredths of a cent.

By a calculation which to me appears to be entirely correct, and if there is any error in it I can not perceive it, forty-six one-hundredths of a cent is the outcome between the raw and the refined. Starting with 6 mills differential only between the raws and the refined, the outcome under the operation of the amendment proposed by the Senator from Rhode Island is 46 mills differential.

That schedule was a dazzling piece of business. Nobody could understand it hardly; nobody but an expert in the American Sugar Refining Company, outside of the Senator from Rhode Island, could understand it, and I suppose it was in deference to the protests of those who failed to understand the intricacies of the schedule that it was abandoned and the specific rates of the Dingley bill adopted in lieu.

This shows, Mr. President, the exceeding caution with which we ought to move with regard to any schedule containing a differential in favor of the sugar trust. Here are statements made that the Treasury estimate itself is erroneous; that the Treasury estimate is based upon information from the sugar trust as to the number of pounds of raw sugar it takes to make a pound of refined. All these calculations are based upon the Treasury estimate, and where could the Treasury get its estimate? Nobody knows exactly but a chemist, and I am told that a chemist will give no information to a private party. Why is this information concealed? What is there hidden about this thing, unless it is for the benefit of this enormous institution? This is the only gigantic trust in the world that rests entirely upon legislation for its support.

The ordinary battle between the producer and the manufacturer of the finished product in regard to a tariff upon the raw material pales into insignificance when it comes to the demand of the sugar trust for a difference between the tariff upon the raw sugar and the tariff upon the refined. It is by legislation that it controls the price of the cane sugar of the universe, and whenever that institution thrusts its presence into the legislative halls there is always a feeling that an evil genius is around.

There appears to be a kind of malodor arising from the efforts of the sugar trust to obtain legislation in its favor.

If it appears by reasonable showing, if it appears from the face of the papers and by intelligent and sufficient evidence that this institution ought not to desire or ought not to demand and ought not to receive the great differential that has been given it between the tariff on raw and refined, now is the time to refuse its demands.

The political play that was indulged in during the enactment of the Wilson bill does not influence me at all in the position I take upon this subject. I think that any political advantage to be derived by attempting to place obloquy upon one side or the other of this Chamber in framing a tariff bill has little weight with one who desires to frame a tariff bill in the interest of his country. It has no weight with me.

The animus that impelled the investigation during the pendency of the Wilson bill in the Senate was more political than otherwise. It was an attempt to smirch the reputation of Senators supposed to be Democratic. It was not an attempt to advance the interests of the country, because here is a bill that carries more differential than the Wilson bill, and the question is as to whether the consumers of this country are interested in this differential, and whether the Senate of the United States is going to accord to this giant industry, which overshadows the earth with its power, which goes to the Hawaiian Islands, to the West Indies, to Asia, to Egypt, and to every quarter of the globe to get its supplies, and wherever its ships go there the trust commands the price, a further lease of power to control the price of this indispensable article of food and raise it or lower it at its sweet will and caprice.

While I have no animosity against the trust because it has heretofore been playing a tyrannical part in the industrial rôle in this country, I desire that the consumers of sugar shall get it at the lowest price commensurable with an adequate tariff for revenue. But I oppose the differential to the degree that it has been allowed in this bill in favor of the sugar trust on the ground of unjustifiable favors.

On one occasion, before some committee of Congress, at some time in the past, one of the members of this sugar-trust organization, Mr. Theodore Havemeyer, who is now dead (whether the American Sugar Refining Company was then a trust or not I do not know; whether it was prior to the organization of the trust I am not certain), testified that his concern could make sugar cheaper than any other refinery in the world. The evidence, derived from the Commissioner of Labor, in regard to the small percentage of the labor cost of the refining process, more than corroborates Mr. Havemeyer's statement.

According to the figures of the experts who made the tables introduced by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST], the differential in favor of the trust is about sixty-seven hundredths of a cent a pound upon that polariscopic degree of saccharine strength of the sugar that he has taken as a predicate, and that is too much. I am of opinion that a differential of thirty-eight hundredths of

a cent allowed as a countervailing duty is quite sufficient in behalf of the trust under the circumstances as they exist now in the United States. I am not in favor of giving them any more, although, as the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. JONES] well said yesterday, we can submit to some exactions in consideration of getting a rebate of a too great allowance.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Will the Senator allow me a question?

Mr. CAFFERY. Certainly.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Suppose that the differential, as it is called, was made exactly the thirty-eight one-hundredths of a cent, which is equivalent to the German bounty on refined sugars—that and no more—and then suppose that the Germans should repeal that bounty, what would become of the industry in the United States?

Mr. CAFFERY. The German Government repealing the bounty of thirty-eight one-hundredths?

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Yes.

Mr. CAFFERY. It would flourish much more; it would do it good.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. There would then be no protection to the sugar-refining industry here?

Mr. CAFFERY. It would be twenty-eight one-hundredths. Suppose the Germans should repeal the bounty; they would have twenty-eight one-hundredths more.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. The Senator has referred to the countervailing duty.

Mr. CAFFERY. I say the countervailing duty is now sufficient, in my opinion.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. But that only applies when the foreign country puts on an export bounty.

Mr. CAFFERY. Then they would stand on an even keel.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Then, if they took off the export bounty, the countervailing duty would be taken off?

Mr. CAFFERY. Yes, sir. Then I say the trust can survive and do better than any other industry in the United States. I believe that from their processes of refining, from the minimized cost of their production, from the enormous market at command, the sugar trust could make more money under that condition of affairs than any other industry.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Then what the Senator from Louisiana wants is a duty which will protect the production of sugar and free trade in refined sugar?

Mr. CAFFERY. The Senator from Connecticut is another instance, a sad and melancholy instance, of the fact that you can not attribute to anybody who argues for any kind of tariff any other view than having somebody in his mind to protect. I have repeated time and again in the Senate, and I now repeat, that a duty on sugar is the ideal duty of the Democratic party for revenue only, and upon that ground I sustain it. If it were for protection, I repeat, I would not support it.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Louisiana yield to the Senator from Connecticut?

Mr. CAFFERY. Yes, sir.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Does the Senator think that no duty on sugar would be as beneficial to the sugar producers of Louisiana as the proposed duty on sugar?

Mr. CAFFERY. No, sir; I do not.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Then how does he make it appear that a duty is not protective to them?

Mr. CAFFERY. I do not say that a duty levied will not under some circumstances protect. If the sugar were not raised at all in the United States, it would protect nobody. As it is raised only to a small extent, the amount of protection is insignificant compared with the amount of revenue. That is all there is about it.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. But it is a good protection to those who raise it.

Mr. CAFFERY. I am not considering protection. If my people are the beneficiaries of a tariff levied for revenue, well and good; but, so far as I am concerned, I have never advocated, and I shall never advocate, any duty for protection pure and simple. You took the tariff off of sugar. You did it in pursuance of a policy of Chinese protection. You succeeded in destroying the revenues of the United States. And now in your extremity, when you want a surplus revenue in order to tide over the financial troubles which stare you in the face, you go to the rejected article of sugar.

You are compelled to go to the Democratic sources of revenue in your distress. Then you fling into the face of a Democrat who is arguing for a tariff for revenue the insidious doctrine of protection. Neither in your distress nor in the time when you pile up the duties so high that nothing can get over it can you assail any of my motives or any of my principles by an attack upon a position that advocates a tariff for revenue only.

I yesterday read a paper which showed that the sugar industry of Louisiana under the ad valorem tariff of 24 per cent in the decade between 1850 and 1860 flourished to a greater extent than it ever did before. I read that statement to challenge the statement that the pernicious bounty had been the only incentive to increased production of sugar in Louisiana. I do not believe in my own mind that there is much difference between the semitropical country where I live and the tropics of the West Indies in regard to the production of sugar. While our part of the country does not produce as much sugar as the Tropics, there are advantages to compensate for the deficiency of production, advantages which I now need not advert to.

While I think of it, Mr. President, I will make a statement suggested to me by my honorable friend from Texas yesterday evening. In a colloquy between me and the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. GALLINGER] he seemed to imply by his statement that I was personally very largely benefited by a tariff on sugar. That must have sprung from his idea that I was an owner or a shareholder in a large central factory in my State which is named after me. I never owned one single share of its stock; I never had the slightest pecuniary interest in that refinery; and I am but a very small sugar planter, a modest sugar planter. If every single interest that I have——

Mr. GEAR. May I ask the Senator how large a sugar plantation he owns?

Mr. CAFFERY. Yes, sir. I made last year about 700,000 pounds of sugar.

Mr. GEAR. Then the Senator is not a very small planter.

Mr. CAFFERY. I own 500 acres.

Mr. GEAR. The Senator's plantation is a good deal larger than the average in his own State?

Mr. CAFFERY. No, sir.

Mr. GEAR. I think so.

Mr. CAFFERY. I have one of the smallest in my parish.

Mr. GEAR. That may be true in regard to the parish, but not as to the State.

Mr. CAFFERY. I used a good deal of outside cane to make the 700,000 pounds. My friend from Iowa is trying to magnify my business. I wish it were so. He is trying to magnify my little modest business into one of these overgrown sugar plantations. He can not do it. My little farm is about 500 acres. I have but very indifferent works upon it. I bought a little outside cane, which, with my own, made the number of pounds stated. I am not quite sure that I stated the number accurately, but I made something like the amount stated.

I was going to state that if every single industry I have in the world were in sugar (and that is all the interest I have; that is the sum total of my private fortune), and if it were all involved in this bill, I would not sustain a tariff for anything else but revenue. A public man who can not get out of the narrow confines of a selfish interest is not fit to be in the Senate of the United States.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. May I ask the Senator one more question?

Mr. CAFFERY. Yes, sir.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. I understand this proposed specific duty on sugar averages somewhere from 75 to 80 per cent ad valorem?

Mr. CAFFERY. Yes, sir.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. How high a duty does the Senator think could be put on sugar which would be only a revenue duty? Would 100 per cent be a revenue duty?

Mr. CAFFERY. Any per cent you please.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Would 200 per cent be a revenue duty?

Mr. CAFFERY. Any per cent you please.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. I am trying to get at what is the Senator's idea about a revenue duty.

Mr. CAFFERY. It can go just as high as you please. If a tariff is on consumption, as an import tariff must be, it makes very little difference to the consumer whether he pays all his taxes in a lump or whether the taxation is spread over a number of articles. If you put all your tariff on sugar, you take it off of other things and equalize the tax to the consumer. A tax too high might be prohibitive, thereby defeating the end to be obtained. What the consumer might pay on any one article, on the revenue basis, would relieve him from taxes on others.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. I should like to put in the RECORD at this point the report of the Bureau of Statistics of the importations of refined sugar during the calendar year 1896, for the first four months ending April, 1897, and for the month of May, 1897, showing a total importation in the calendar year 1896 of 197,000,000 pounds, not counting fractions; for the first four months ending April, 1897, of 64,000,000 pounds, and for May, 1897, of 30,000,000 pounds.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the statement will be printed in the RECORD.

The statement referred to is as follows:

UNITED STATES.

Imports of sugar above No. 16 Dutch standard.

Countries from which imported.	Calendar year 1896.		Four months ending April, 1897.	
	Pounds.	Values.	Pounds.	Values.
Austria-Hungary	3,670,679	$88,415	4,953,363	$117,828
Belgium	10,120	311		
France	13,376,126	370,189	14,898	811
Germany	81,419,536	2,232,718	32,600,536	765,428
Netherlands	46,770,216	1,363,420	19,170,717	492,102
United Kingdom	22,157,025	598,407	4,533,424	92,185
Dominion of Canada	83,803	3,240	6,013	339
Mexico	308,247	4,618		
West Indies, Spanish: Cuba			1,529,176	28,486
Argentina	10,800	354		
Guiana: British	220	9		
China	22,299,413	675,103	613,079	15,395
Hongkong	6,498,900	204,435	1,184,188	31,555
Japan	849,298	23,833		
Hawaiian Islands			20,136	705
Total	197,454,443	5,595,052	64,625,530	1,544,834

Imported May, 1897 (countries not received), 30,285,831 pounds, $698,121.

WORTHINGTON C. FORD,
Chief of Bureau.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
Bureau of Statistics, June 10, 1897.

Hon. JOHN H. GEAR,
United States Senate.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President, I wish to make a very few observations with reference to the pending sugar schedule, and will refer especially to the attitude of the other side of the Chamber upon this interesting matter.

Preliminarily, however, I will submit and have printed as a part of my remarks a computation made by General Appraiser Sharretts, a highly skilled and reliable expert and Government official, with reference to the protection given by the present law, the House bill, the original Senate bill, and the Senate committee amendment or caucus amendment of June 8.

The statement referred to is as follows:

The appraising department at the port of New York to-day (June 9) reports that the value of German granulated sugar, first marks, which is the kind imported, is 8s. 7d. per hundredweight, or $2.30 per hundred pounds. The value of the sugar testing 89 degrees, from the 1st of January to the present time, has fluctuated between $1.81 and $1.97 per hundredweight. The present value is $1.88 to $1.90.

It is further reported that little or no sugar testing less than 87 degrees is manufactured into granulated sugar, for the reason that the additional expense of using low-grade sugar for that purpose makes it unprofitable to do so.

For the purposes of a comparison, we shall confine ourselves to the raw sugar testing 89 degrees by the polariscope, and granulated sugar, which are the only kinds of sugar imported. The Treasury Department in a published circular has estimated that it takes 120.54 pounds of raw sugar testing 89 degrees to make 100 pounds of granulated. We shall accept this as the basis of calculation also.

The comparison of the present law, the House bill (No. 379), the Senate amendments thereto, and the amendments offered in the Senate yesterday (June 8) shows the following results, namely:

PRESENT LAW.

Value of 120.54 pounds of raw sugar required to make 100 pounds of granulated sugar	$2.29
Duty on the same at 40 per cent ad valorem	.916
Value of sugar, duty paid, required to make 100 pounds of granulated sugar	3.206
Value of 100 pounds of German granulated sugar	2.30
Duty on the same at 40 per cent ad valorem	.92
Value of the same, duty paid	3.22
Add for purposes of comparison (German bounty)	.3833
	3.6033
Deduct value of raw sugar	3.20
Difference	.40

HOUSE BILL.

Value, raw, of sugar required to make 100 pounds of granulated sugar, duty paid	4.00
Value of German sugar, granulated	4.175
Deduct the value of the raw sugar	4.00
Difference	.175
Add German bounty	.3833
	.5583

ORIGINAL SENATE AMENDMENT.

Value of 100 pounds of sugar, 89 degrees	1.90
Value of 120.54 pounds of raw sugar necessary to make 100 pounds of granulated sugar	2.29
Duty at 79 plus two one-hundredths on 120.54 pounds	$0.9764
Ad valorem duty on 2.29, at 35 per cent	.8015
	1.7779
Value of the 120.54 pounds of raw required	4.0679

GRANULATED FIRST MARKS.

Value of 100 pounds	$2.30
Duty at 1.16	$1.16
Duty at 35 per cent ad valorem on $2.30	.805
	1.965
Value of 100 pounds of granulated sugar, duty paid	4.265
Value of raw sugar, duty paid, required to make 100 pounds of granulated sugar	4.0679
Protection	.1971
Add German bounty	.3833
	.5904

NOTE.—Granulated sugar is not made from sugar testing less than 87 degrees.

AMENDMENTS OF JUNE 8.

Value of 100 pounds of 89-degree sugar	1.90
Value of 120.54 pounds required to make 100 pounds of granulated	2.29
Duty on same at $1 plus three one-hundredths above 79 degrees	1.71
Value of the same, duty paid	4.00
Value of 100 pounds of German granulated sugar	2.30
Duty on the same at $1.95	1.95
Value of the same, duty paid	4.25
Value of raw, 120.54, necessary to make the same	4.00
Protection	.25
Brought forward (protection)	.25
Add German bounty	.3833
Full amount of protection	.6333

RECAPITULATION.

Protection under the present law, with 38.33 (German bounty) added for purposes of comparison	per 100 pounds	.40
Protection under House bill	do	.5583
Protection under original Senate amendments	do	.5904
Protection under Senate committee amendments of June 8	do	.6333

Mr. WHITE. The conclusion thus reached is that the present committee amendment, the caucus amendment, or the reformed amendment is higher than the original Senate amendment, that that in turn is higher than the House bill, and that that in turn is higher than the Wilson Act. So we are climbing up. Thus has the trust continually profited by changes made.

Mr. ALLISON. I do not wish to interrupt the Senator from California, but the figures given on the other side seem to differ on this question. The table which was put in by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST] yesterday shows that the caucus schedule, which seems to be the designation of the matter now before us, is a shade less than the schedule as originally reported from the Committee on Finance. The Senator from Missouri vouched for the accuracy of this gentleman as to the making of the figures. I merely wish to note that there seems to be a difference.

Mr. WHITE. I think an inspection of the table submitted by the Senator from Missouri will show that as to the sugars mainly imported there is a difference in favor of the caucus amendment. However, if there is any preponderance the other way, it is exceedingly slight.

Mr. President, I do not claim to be an expert as to sugar differentials. I have observed that there is some variance in the computations made by all of the experts. I have not yet observed any two expert calculations on this problem which agree absolutely. I might refer to the leading authority of the Senate, for such I consider the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH] to be. I believe he is more familiar with these matters than either or any of his colleagues. He is authority on all tariff affairs.

He stated in effect that the Senate bill as then reported by his committee contained less protection than the House bill or the Wilson bill, and yet, after that authoritative statement the House bill was adopted by the Republican Senatorial caucus and its protective features increased as to the higher grades of sugar, which alone are extensively imported. Hence, if the proposition of the Senator from Rhode Island be correct, the amendment about to be voted on, except as to very low grades not imported, is all in favor of the larger differential, to wit, in favor of the trust. The trust has profited by each and all amendments and changes made by the Republican majority.

There is another point that we must keep in mind. Undoubtedly it is necessary to raise a large amount of revenue; but we must remember that the effect of this bill and of this particular item will be the imposition of an immense tax upon the American people. I believe sugar to be a proper subject for a revenue imposition, but I notice an entire change of view on the other side of the Chamber as contrasted with the sentiment expressed eloquently and often in this Chamber during the consideration of the Wilson bill.

As far as that measure is concerned, no one, I believe, will question that its provisions are less protective than the proposal before us. German refined sugar, it is conceded, is to be taken at 2.3. An ad valorem of 40 per cent means ninety-two one-hundredths. Then we add one-eighth for the tax on refined (one hundred and twenty-five one-thousandths); also the countervailing duty of one-tenth, and we have $3.445 per hundred pounds as the cost of German refined sugar coming into this country, duty paid, under the

so-called Wilson bill—the present law. It is well to keep these figures before us. Taking the present bill, we have $2.30, the same value of the German refined. Then the caucus amendment gives 1.95 as the duty on refined. The countervailing duty is three hundred and eighty-three one-thousandths, which brings the duty-paid cost up to $4.633, a difference of $1.188 as between the Wilson bill and the proposed caucus amendment, the latter containing the higher figure.

In other words, sugar will cost $1.188 more under this bill than under the present law, to wit, the Wilson Act. If it be true, as reported by the Agricultural Department of the United States, that the per capita consumption of last year was 62.6 pounds (less by nearly 4 pounds than the previous year's consumption), and if it be also true that we have 75,000,000 people within the limits of the United States, it is easy to ascertain the immense burden which the proposed legislation necessarily imposes upon the public, a burden to some extent required for essential revenue, but the imposition of which is absolutely inconsistent with the position which the Senators on the other side of the Chamber occupied in 1894.

I have looked over several of the eloquent speeches made during the progress of that debate, and I have been, I must say, somewhat appalled. I will make limited extracts from the suggestions of Senators, some of whom are not in the Chamber at this time, but they are entitled to be here. Perhaps the remarks which I design quoting are familiar to these distinguished legislators; if not, a perusal of the citations will refresh the memory.

My distinguished friend from Connecticut [Mr. PLATT], a member of the Finance Committee, made the following remark during the consideration of the Wilson bill while speaking of the sugar schedule. He said:

> It is clothed in language that it requires an expert to determine, but it was sufficient to put up the price of common sugar stock in New York $15 a share.

Mr. President, when I noticed in the newspapers of yesterday (my attention having been attracted to the fact by people who are better posted in stock matters than myself) that the introduction into this Chamber of the caucus-reform amendment forced up sugar quotations several points, and when I heard every Senator in private conversation and in public statement concede that of all tariff schedules this is the most technical and difficult to understand, and when I know that no one has denied or will deny that a schedule is peculiar when honest, intelligent gentlemen, experts in the business, are unable to reach coinciding results, I felt that the language of the Senator from Connecticut in criticism of the Wilson bill ought to be read as a comment on this bill. He proceeded:

> It is enough to prevent the introduction of refined sugar into this country, and anybody who has studied this matter knows it, whether he be Senator or whether he be speculator in Wall street in sugar-trust stock.

I quote from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, page 4706, volume 26, part 5, May 14, 1894. The same Senator continued on the same page:

> The bill has been changed, increasing the proposed duty upon refined sugar simply because it could not be passed unless that concession was made to the sugar trust.

Now, is it not a singular coincidence, is it not startling, that these strictures leveled at that bill at that time can be truly uttered with reference to this bill at this time? When reading at the present moment the language which I have quoted a person not familiar with the circumstances would assume that the criticism was justly made during the present debate.

Mr. President, we know that the Republican party was in 1890 and 1894 committed to a bounty on sugar. During the consideration of the Wilson bill, day by day, it was dinned into the public ear of this country that the only true method of bringing about a correct solution of this entire tariff subject regarding sugar, and the only way to build up the sugar industry, was to impose a bounty. Throughout the consideration of that bill, from the day the debate began until it concluded, we were informed by Senators on the other side of the Chamber that a tax on sugar was an outrage.

Let me read certain excerpts from our brethren of the opposition, then speaking the Republican language of the day, which, however, for reasons unknown to me, has become a lost tongue. The Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. GALLINGER] said:

> The advantage which the new tariff act—
>
> It was the McKinley Act of which he then spoke—
>
> gives to the country in the matter of sugar for one year can be seen at a glance:

Amount of duty taken off	$60,000,000
Amount paid for bounties	9,000,000
Amount saved to the people by the new reciprocity treaty alone	51,000,000

(Congressional Record, page 4972, volume 26, part 5, May 19, 1894.)

The then Senator from Ohio [Mr. Sherman], now the distinguished Secretary of State, elaborated upon this subject, and he laid down the proposition that it was absolutely unnecessary to give any differential to the refiners; that any allowance made to the refiners was not only injudicious, but was a contribution to the most oppressive monopoly of the day. During the entire course of that debate it was charged that we were under the influence of the trust, and that the ad valorem tariff of 40 per cent was placed in the bill especially for the benefit of that institution—so loyal to Democracy's opponents. Yet, Mr. President, these very Senators are here to-day ready to vote for a differential greater than that which they then denounced in unsparing terms and which they even insinuated challenged the honesty of the men who supported it.

But I am told that this is ancient literature. It is not so very old. It is new enough to be important and instructive.

The distinguished Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. CHANDLER], who, I regret, is not in his seat, commented upon the situation thus:

> I wish again to show (1) that duties on sugar have failed to develop the home industry, because cane sugar can not possibly be supplied in quantities to meet more than one-fifth of the American consumption; (2) that under the bounty system the growth of the cane-sugar and the beet industry is rapidly increasing our home production, and (3) that the abolition of the bounty and the return to the duty system, the duty to be 40 per cent ad valorem and one-eighth of a cent a pound in addition on refined sugar, will tend to check the American production of sugar and to stop the growth of the beet-sugar industry, while unnecessarily taxing the American consumers over $60,000,000 annually, and enriching the monopoly known as the sugar trust by devices which will enrich its owners nearly $75,000,000 profits during the next year and permanently fasten the trust upon the households of America at a cost of $70,000,000, one-half of which will go as an unfair profit to the trust and the other half into the Treasury as a tax, not needed, upon one of the necessaries of life.—*Congressional Record*, page 5719, volume 26, part 6, June 4, 1894.

This speech surely could not be made upon that side of the Chamber now, for our Republican friends tender us a direct proposition to impose the tax which they formerly repudiated. They now threaten to inflict it in a more obnoxious form and to an exaggerated extent.

The "American breakfast table" was a source of great solicitude on the other side of the Chamber during that debate. We were told that the poor man was entitled to have his sugar without any tariff mixture. Untaxed sugar was something that the Republican party guaranteed to every American consumer.

He must have sugar, and he must have it free from tax. Yet, Mr. President, the same distinguished gentlemen, I repeat, who at that time so roundly denounced the Democracy in this Chamber because of the imposition of a small sugar tariff are here to-day levying a greater tax, as the result of all their experience and in the face of their own advertised promises and record. Even the Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON], whom we all know to be an extremely conservative man and an able Senator, made this remark:

> Mr. President, if I had my way, I should strike from this bill every vestige which provides a duty upon sugar, and I would continue the bounty as we are bound under our contract until 1905 by a moral obligation which is as binding on the United States as any contract that I may make can be binding upon me. And if additional revenue is required, I would look around among the luxuries that are consumed by our people and find that revenue.—*Congressional Record*, page 5703, volume 26, part 6, June 6, 1894.

Something was said recently, Mr. President, regarding a supposed contract with sugar producers under the bounty law. I think that my friend the Senator from Iowa [Mr. GEAR], in an interrogative way, remarked that that contract was binding, and that we did not do our duty when we ignored it. I say to him and his associates, here is your golden opportunity. You affirm that there was a contract so binding upon your consciences that it was with the greatest difficulty that you remained in your seats and saw it repudiated. The unfortunate expectant beneficiaries of that moral obligation stand outside of this Chamber. They can be found in various parts of the United States suffering by reason of the nonperformance of this obligation. Why do you not restore to them that which the Democracy sought to take away? Why do you not stand by the agreement thus violated? Why do you continue to repudiate it?

Mr. GEAR. If the Senator will allow me, I will state that, in my opinion, it should be paid now, as I said in 1894. If I had my way, I would permit the bounty to go on. The reason that we have resorted to these taxes on sugar is owing to the manner in which the Democratic party, of which the Senator is a member, administered the affairs of the Government for four years and caused the diminution of the revenue $200,000,000. So, under present conditions, we can not do otherwise than impose a tax on sugar.

Mr. WHITE. I understand, Mr. President, that there has been a Republican caucus; the newspapers have announced that there has been a caucus, and the statement the Senator from Iowa has just made is corroborative of another proposition—that that caucus bound its members to sacrifice their judgment and to vote according to programme upon this floor.

Mr. GEAR. I did not say that I sacrificed my individual judgment. I am just simply accepting the condition of affairs brought about by a Democratic administration of the national finances, which has caused this great deficit and which makes it necessary that this tax should be levied. The Senator knows that as well as I do.

Mr. WHITE. I trust the Senator will not leave the Chamber.

Mr. GEAR. I am not going to leave the Chamber.

Mr. WHITE. It is a notorious fact that the McKinley law was not as good a producer of revenue as the Wilson law, and that fact is proven by the statement of the Treasury Department, showing that in the last fiscal year of the McKinley law it yielded less revenue, the times being bad, than the first year of the Wilson law, the times being equally bad.

Mr. GEAR. That was owing to the fact that the Democratic party had come into power and announced its declaration of free trade or low tariff; and with that threat hanging over the people, of course the revenues fell off.

Mr. WHITE. But the statement made before the last Presidential election was that prosperity would come to us on the advent of the Republican party to power. The Senator from Iowa and all other eloquent and able champions of his party moved about the United States and absolutely seduced, and by reason of their persuasive eloquence induced, the American people to believe that prosperity would immediately follow the election of Mr. McKinley.

Mr. GEAR. I hope the Senator will possess his soul in patience, and that his party will do the same.

Mr. WHITE. My soul is being possessed in patience.

Mr. GEAR. The present Administration has only very recently come into power, and it has not yet had an opportunity to legislate. It is endeavoring to legislate and will legislate, God willing, in such a manner as to restore prosperity.

Mr. MASON. Give us a vote on the bill, Mr. Senator.

Mr. GEAR. Yes; I will agree to vote, and I am ready to vote now, and I suggest to my friend from California that we should promptly legislate so that prosperity can be brought about.

Mr. WHITE. If my friend from Iowa will preserve his soul in patience, I will say that it is a poor rule that does not work both ways. If the triumph of the Democratic party at the polls produced hard times because the people feared there would be unwise legislation, so should confidence, that great essential of prosperity and necessity of the hour, have followed the triumph of the Republican party. But confidence did not come; it has not appeared; it is not here. Why not?

The public knew and know that the party to which the distinguished Senator from Iowa belongs is in power; they knew and know that a tariff bill is going through just as the Republican members of the Finance Committee construct it—everyone knows that—and yet with this absolute certainty before them the people of this country do not seem to be overburdened with confidence, money coffers have not opened, industry has not awakened, enterprise remains fettered, poverty stares us in the face. These conditions are more emphatic than ever. The looked-for panacea fails to act. The real remedy will not, in my judgment, be found in this or any other tariff bill.

Mr. GEAR. The country knew just as well as the Senator from California knew that the Republican party had no majority in this Chamber, but they know now that we have got votes enough to pass this bill and that we are going to pass it and bring prosperity to the people.

Mr. WHITE. If the Senator from Iowa will look back a little, he will recollect that the statement was made by him and everyone of his party that the mere election of the Republican candidates would instantly produce prosperity. We came to this Chamber, after the extra session was called, to enact the promised remedy. It was publicly proclaimed by members of the Populist party and by Silver Republicans that they would interpose no objection to the passage of the tariff bill and that some of them would vote for it.

It was an assured fact from the very moment that this Congress was convened that this bill, or some bill formulated in that fountain of creative wisdom, the Republican caucus, would be enacted by the Congress of the United States; and yet we did not have and have not now prosperity. The people who were frightened because Mr. Cleveland was about to be President of the United States and who were scared out of prosperity have not rushed into happy lines since. They have not, as I said before, become confident. They still seem indisposed to prosperity. The promise of the opposition has not been verified.

Now, let us make a limited perusal of this literature (constructed by Republicans), which seems to be somewhat unpalatable. The Democratic party was censured for passing the Wilson bill upon the ground that that measure did not produce enough revenue. No doubt the argument "took" and had its effect. But are we to blame the Senators upon this side for their action when distinguished Republicans here cautioned us that we were raising too much revenue?

I was interested then, being unacquainted with the processes obtaining here, when I heard such authority as the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH] announcing that the Wilson bill would yield a hundred millions of surplus, not including the income tax. I was alarmed lest we should have too much money, and I inquired of some of my more experienced associates whether there was not danger that we would be overcrowded with coin in the Treasury of the United States.

The Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE] said during the progress of the debate already alluded to on May 21, 1894, page 5020, volume 26, part 5, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

> The Senator from Missouri shall not escape by declaring that a duty of 40 cents a ton upon iron ores may be a revenue duty. The Senator knows that by the bill he has presented here, or that he and his associates have put before this body, that all the amendments that have been put upon us, without reckoning the income tax and the tax that they lay upon sugar, the two thus increasing the House bill over $30,000,000, there will not be a deficit obliging them to resort to protective duties in order to raise a revenue, but there will be a surplus. * * *

How could I, unsophisticated in the arts of legislation and not conversant with the intricacies of tariff computation, doubt the accuracy of such a statement emanating from such a source? The same Senator continued:

> They have got on these two propositions, one of which taxes the breakfast table of the American people and the other of which makes it next to a felony for any man to dare accumulate property. * * *

There is the breakfast table again. The supper table and the dinner table seemed to be rather immaterial, but the poor breakfast table! I sympathize with that breakfast table. It is forgotten in this bill. It is burdened now; not with untaxed sugar, but with taxes for sugar and on sugar. It is loaded with taxation. It groans under taxation. I assume that no one in this Chamber will deny that the tariff tax is paid by the consumer in this particular case. Of course the foreigner has been in the habit of paying all tariff taxes, even in cases where rates are prohibitive. I may be pardoned if I deny that where there are prohibitive tariff rates the foreigner pays the tax, because it is necessary to catch the foreigner before he can be made to pay.

But in the case of sugar there has never been any doubt that the consumer does pay the tax. Again I rested cheerfully and with the utmost confidence upon the other side of the Chamber. During the course of that discussion the same distinguished Senator, already quoted, RECORD, page 3063, volume 26, part 4, said:

> High duty on sugar puts up the price to the consumer.

That is right. It is correct. Then the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH] made this comment, to be found on page 4670, volume 26, part 5 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, May 12, 1894:

> If it is to be the principle of the Democratic party and of the majority of the committee in this Chamber that the duty upon luxuries is to be decreased for the purpose of furnishing an excuse to increase the duties upon necessaries of life like sugar, then we had better understand it at once.

If now we are to have a superlatively high duty upon sugar, we had better understand it at once.

The following colloquy occurred. It appears on page 4914, volume 26, part 5, of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, May 18, 1894. The Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE] said:

> The duty upon sugar will be paid by every man, woman, and child in the United States.

That is true; there is no doubt about it. I affirm it. Then the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH] said:

> The increase of taxation and revenue from sugar will be at least $50,000,000.

We became most thoughtful in the presence of that proposition. The prospect of the imposition of $50,000,000 of taxation upon the American people was not cheerful. Then the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE] said:

> So that a part of this scheme is to take off $38,000,000 upon imports which are pure luxuries and not used in everyday life, and to make up for that reduction the committee propose to add $50,000,000 to the sugar duties and tax the breakfast table of every man, woman, and child in the United States. Is that true?
>
> Mr. ALDRICH. That is true.

And it is true now; it is true of this bill; it is just as true now as it was then, and with this bill superlatively so—if I may use such an expression—in this, that the rates of duty are so much higher that every hundred pounds of sugar under the provisions of this bill will cost probably $1.18 or $1.20 more than it does under the prevailing Wilson bill.

I now refer to a statement made by the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. PLATT], whom I observe in the Chamber, which I wish to read—a very pertinent statement, to be found on page 4707, volume 26, part 5, of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in the proceedings of May 14, 1894. He said:

> How are you who have denounced this duty upon refined sugar—this concession to the sugar trust—going to vote for it now? How great must be the compulsion which obliges Senators thus to swallow not only the words but the opinions of years and vote for a prohibitive duty on refined sugar.

I find a very interesting statement from the honorable Senator from Vermont [Mr. MORRILL] concerning the methods of preparing the Wilson bill, and especially the sugar schedule. It is singularly pertinent to the present proceedings, and will be found on page 3811, volume 26, part 4, of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in the proceedings of April 18, 1894:

> Concerning the rates of duties reported in the tariff bill, it is no violation of the confidential relations of the Senate Committee on Finance to state now

that they were all fixed and determined without the votes of the Republican members, and even against the votes of any hesitating or divergent minority of Democratic members. Thus many of the most important questions may have been determined by the small fraction of three or four of a committee of eleven.

Sad to say, these comments apply with greater force to the situation which now surrounds us.

I also find the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] commenting graphically upon the outrages assumed to have been perpetrated by the Democratic majority of the Finance Committee upon their unfortunate brethren. On page 4350, volume 26, page 5, of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in the proceedings of May 2, 1894, that Senator said:

It must be remembered that there have been practically no public hearings upon the bill. There have not been the usual opportunities to the persons affected by it to present their views before committees in regard to its provisions. No hearings have been given here.

The able senior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] added his significant criticism thus:

I never before heard of a financier who made up a budget and did not have some expectation of the amount he could depend upon from particular sources.—*Congressional Record*, volume 26, part 5, page 4483.

Well, since that day the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts has heard of such a financier. There are several such financiers. They are Republicans and can be found not far removed from the majority in charge of this peculiar scheme.

It has been intimated that there are various features of the present tariff bill which do not meet the individual approval of all of the Senators upon the other side; and that must be necessarily the case in the preparation of all tariff bills. For my part, I do not desire to criticise, and I do not for a moment criticise, the majority because they have kept together and have joined their forces in such a wonderfully cohesive manner that we have not been able to break through in any case, except in one instance, when, inadvertently, no doubt, we obtained a reduction, made upon a very small item.

Still such an agreement can not bind the parties to improper legislation. But while the Wilson bill was here, Democrats quite generally adhered to the committee, and the distinguished Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH] referred to the control exercised by the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. JONES], who had the floor at the time and was conducting the debate, as we all know, together with the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST], under great difficulties. The Senator from Rhode Island said (RECORD, volume 26, part 5, page 4823):

And I hope that in this particular case some of the Senators upon the other side, representing some of the Southern States, may break away from this iron-bound caucus rule and vote for one thing which they believe in and not submit their consciences entirely to the keeping of the Senator from Arkansas; but once a day at least, merely for a change, that they shall vote for amendments or suggestions which commend themselves to their judgment and which are in the interests of the people whom they represent.

Mr. President, I am not unfeeling enough to again read this article and substitute the names of the distinguished Senators on the other side in charge of the present bill for that of the Senator from Arkansas. The pertinency of the citation is manifest.

Who can doubt, Mr. President, that this revised caucus-reform schedule is not satisfactory to everyone upon the other side of the Chamber? It is absolutely impossible that the entire Republican Senatorial representation should have changed all at once and all the same way and all in a day. There was and is an agreement requiring the sacrifice of opinions and the yielding of convictions to the majority. I do not, as I have said, particularly complain; but I allude to the striking utterances made in 1894 in criticism of this side of the Chamber with reference to matters concerning which we have now very distinguished imitators.

When the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST] made his opening statement here regarding this bill, he remarked that the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH] in the debate of 1894 had stated that the income from the Wilson bill would be $100,000,000, but the Senator from Missouri, desiring to be entirely fair, stated that no doubt this estimate included the income tax. Since that time we have examined the RECORD and find that the statement was even more elaborate than intimated. It was as follows, and can be found on page 4753, volume 26, part 5, of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in the proceedings of May 15, 1894:

If, as I believe, it can be shown, and shown beyond the fear of contradiction upon the other side of the Chamber, that we are to have by this bill, if it become a law, $100,000,000 or more of surplus, then it is pertinent in every part of the bill and in every paragraph to ask as to what will be its effect upon the revenue, etc.

And on the same page, further down, this language was used:

And this estimate—

Referring to the above estimate—

does not include the income tax. It is based upon the revenue duties alone.

The entire discussion appears on the pages of the RECORD which I have given. I refer to this, as I said before, for the purpose of showing that it is not just to criticise the men who framed the Wilson bill and prepared it because it did not yield sufficient revenue, because the ablest Republican authority declared that it would yield a greater revenue than anyone upon this side of the Chamber had suggested was possible.

There are many expressions kindred to those which I have been quoting. The unanimous expression of the minority in 1894 was adverse to all sugar legislation and positive that the Wilson bill, without the income tax, would yield abundant revenue. The change of base now obvious disturbs me. My faith is shaken, and like the masses of the American people, I do not feel the coming of confidence.

First we had the House bill, then we had the Senate bill, which we were assured by the Senator in charge was an excellent measure, and now we have the caucus bill, which we find, as shown by the computations thus far introduced—and certainly such is the reasonable inference from the remarks of the Senator from Rhode Island—presents a case of maximum protection to the sugar trust.

Senators on the other side of the Chamber eloquently and forcibly and truthfully criticised the trust in the debate of 1894, and I, having entire confidence in their statements and believing that everything they uttered was bona fide, am now disturbed to find that they are legislating in favor of that oppressive creation, not of their imaginations, but of the corporate laws of this country—an institution against which they powerfully inveighed at that time. Then they attacked the trust; now they protect it. Why should there be any legislation at all in favor of the refiner if the theories enunciated by Senators on the other side of this Chamber three years ago were well founded?

If it be true that the sugar trust is an illegal combination—and it was so decided when an earlier organization made for the same purposes by the same people sought to do business in the State of New York; the dissolution then decreed led to incorporation under the laws of New Jersey—if it be true that we are legislating for the purpose of suppressing trusts, and sometimes criticise even courts, perhaps without reason, because they have not been able to suppress the trusts, is it not singular that we should be here endeavoring to find a so-called fair differential to promote and advance the very institution we profess to be desirous of blotting from the face of the earth? Republicans denounce the sugar trust as a public enemy and yet aid it to oppress.

Mr. President, when it is our duty to directly legislate against trusts and combines, will the omnipotent Republican caucus permit such legislation to become an accomplished fact? Will this duty be done? I imagine not. I think it will appear that the Republican party, as it is now organized, is paying its debts to the institutions whose grasping propensities and inordinate demands were so ably dwelt upon some time ago by the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. CHANDLER]. I refer to his remarks and publications made before the last campaign had been fully organized. It would seem that all the intimations which he then made with reference to the influence of the monopolies of the United States upon legislation were well founded and that the present bill is prepared and is being passed in satisfaction of campaign services and contributions.

Again, recurring to the hope expressed by the Senator from Rhode Island, I trust that many Republican Senators before indorsing this most improper sugar schedule will reflect seriously upon the situation and will ask themselves whether they can not afford to break away even from the ironclad caucus to which they have in an unguarded moment submitted their convictions.

I do not desire to detain the Senate any further, Mr. President, at this time.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on the adoption of the amendment proposed by the Senator from Iowa in behalf of the Committee on Finance.

Mr. BERRY. I think the yeas and nays were ordered on that amendment. If not, I intend to ask for them.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair is informed that the yeas and nays were not ordered.

Mr. BERRY. Then I ask for the yeas and nays on the amendment.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. PETTIGREW. Let the amendment be stated from the desk.

The SECRETARY. In line 22, paragraph 206, page 63, it is proposed to strike out the words "eight hundred and seventy-five one-thousandths" and insert "ninety-five one-hundredths;" so as to read "1 cent and ninety-five one-hundredths of 1 cent per pound."

Mr. GORMAN. Mr. President, I wish to say only a few words before the vote is taken on the amendment.

I understand perfectly the difficulties our friends upon the other side of the Chamber have encountered in the construction of this particular provision in relation to the tax on sugar. I do not intend to enter into a discussion of the details of the provision, except to say that I have no doubt the conditions of the Treasury have forced our friends on the other side to abandon their theory of the past eight years of a free breakfast table. They have been

compelled, because of the conditions confronting them, with the extravagant appropriations, to levy a tax upon sugar. They have not been content to permit the present conditions to continue, with the only fair tax that can be laid upon this article, an ad valorem duty.

The provision as presented by the Senator from Iowa, with the specific duty upon all grades of sugar, is illogical, unfair, and destructive to the commercial interests of the country, and it grants too great protection to the refiner. If it were a mere matter of the number of points that they permitted the refiner to have the benefit of, the country could possibly submit to it for the time being. That it gives more than double the protection allowed by the Wilson Act is beyond question. I think it is even greater. I believe the figures presented by the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. JONES] are absolutely correct, as near as the calculation can be made.

But more than that, the Senate is asked now by the action of the Finance Committee, resulting from the united action of Senators on the other side, to adopt a plan of taxation which the distinguished Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH], in reporting the bill, informed the Senate would result in the destruction of our trade with all the countries south of us who produce these low-grade sugars. Not only will you by this provision increase the burden upon the consumer, but all the people of our country who trade with the southern countries understand perfectly that unless we can take the low-grade sugars from Java and other countries our trade with those countries is absolutely gone. It is not large now, but we all know that it is absolutely essential for us to extend our markets and not to restrict them. Yet the proposition pending now, and which I take it will be passed by a majority of the Senate, does both of those things to which the American people will object. It increases their taxes, and increases the cost of every pound of sugar that will be consumed, and gives to the refiner a greater amount of profit than he is entitled to. In addition, it will destroy whatever trade we have with the countries south of us.

That presents a very serious condition of affairs, I submit to our friends on the other side, and I regret that pride of opinion and because of their declarations against an ad valorem tax made three years ago in the consideration of the then revenue bill have led them to the destruction of our commercial interests. What reason there is for it I confess I do not know. I have heard none assigned. As the order has gone forth from the caucus chamber that we are not to have discussion upon this question, of course the country can not be enlightened nor can the Senate be informed before it votes. We have reached a point in legislation, it appears, under the control of our friends on the other side, where they seem to be afraid to come out in the open and discuss these questions here or elsewhere. In the body where the bill emanated it was not permitted to be discussed or dissected, and by this rule which you have adopted we can get no information even in the Senate of the United States.

But the result of this legislation is as certain, in my judgment, as that of the legislation of 1890, when the McKinley bill was passed. This is more extreme, more offensive, more destructive to our commercial interests than that measure was, which was rejected by the country; and I have no doubt that this will be rejected. By this manipulation, by this change of front, the bill, framed as to its sugar schedule by another body, when it came here was amended, not in the only fair line looking to the commercial interests of the country, but by caucus action this more offensive, more destructive, more unjustifiable measure is presented, and it is now accepted apparently without a murmur and certainly without much criticism by the press of the country.

Three years ago we were held up to ridicule and denunciation because a tax was levied (the only logical tax that can be imposed upon the sugar schedule) by which the manufacturer had only one-eighth of a cent a pound protection, a measure which in its operations proved most fair and just. It prevented an undue amount of profit on the part of those engaged in the manufacture, because it opened the ports of the country for the first time to active competition by the importer. It brought into the country and enabled the consumers to receive beet sugar to such an extent that it kept the price down to a minimum and lower than was ever known in the history of the country.

As I understand it, the one condition imposed by those who are in favor of reduction in taxation and as low taxation as is consistent with the condition of the country and the business interests, is that the scale of protection shall only be sufficient to protect our own industries and yet open the ports and the custom-houses to imports from abroad wherever there is extortion. But now, under this schedule, that has passed away. Under this schedule as it is framed it will give more revenue, it is true, but it will give it without regard to the interests of the people of the country. It will pile up money in the Treasury, but it will take it from the rich and the poor alike.

Therefore I shall vote against this proposition. I believe it is unfair and destructive, and I hope that before we shall have reached a conclusion on this bill our friends on the other side, who began their consideration of the measure as it came from the House evidently with the desire, while observing their protective lines, not to exclude and destroy trade, may be induced, in their own councils, in the interest of commerce and trade, to go back somewhat to the schedule, or at least to proceed upon the lines upon which they proposed the schedule when they first reported the bill. Forever the prediction of the Senator from Rhode Island will stand as correct. A specific duty all the way through, beginning upon the low-grade sugars, will destroy this trade of ours.

I know that the high rates of the pending bill will aid certain industries, that it will be a stimulant and will enable them to make greater profits out of small wares; but I say the bill as a whole, and speaking of this schedule particularly, as was once said by a distinguished leader of the Republican party of the bill of 1890, there is not a line or a provision of the measure as now constituted which will enable us to sell an additional bushel of wheat or grain or oats or a pound of cotton or any other product of the land. The only effect that it can have will be to induce other countries to retaliate and to restrict our trade, whereas our whole time and attention should be given to increasing it.

You can not overlook what is going on in the world. Our products of the soil and of the mines are going hence in greater volume than has occurred at any time in the history of the land, and yet the prices that are brought are not much more than one-half what they were ten years ago. The same conditions confront other nations engaged in the trade and commerce of the world. The English Government, with its system of subsidies and the establishment of banks in the very countries whose trade you propose to exclude by your action now—and you do it knowingly—is making desperate efforts to get that trade.

And now have come within the last ten years the Germans, who are outstripping all other nations on the face of the earth, not by restricting trade, but by subsidizing their steamers and placing them on the ocean to reach every port, and especially those in South America. They are educating by Government aid the young men who become attachés of their legations to introduce German manufactured articles and wares into every country with which they have diplomatic relations. Their steamships are subsidized to an equal extent, if not more so, than those of Great Britain, and they are establishing banks from Mexico down to the pole. They have entered China and Japan, as to which countries heretofore by our unwise legislation we have almost stripped ourselves of trade. They are reaching out to the southern countries, to which they send their wares and take in payment sugar and other crude products, which they refine at home, and thus the trade of these countries is going away from us.

It is being monopolized by the Germans to such an extent that it threatens even the English policy, and yet now in the Senate of the United States, with full knowledge of all these facts known to all men, the Committee on Finance of the Senate, with its able and intelligent membership, after receiving from another coordinate branch of the Government a bill which they have told us officially would destroy what little trade we have in this commodity with those southern countries, under the whip of party and at the dictation of men who have been carried away by party principle, as they call it, for specific taxation, have not been courageous enough to adhere to what they have told us is the truth, but have turned and destroyed this trade because of party caucus and party drill.

We have no power to stay you. In the Senate of the United States you have a clear, unquestioned majority for the protection idea—protection run to exclusion. You have it in your power to shape the details of this bill as you will. With the distress in the country, impoverishment among the people, with the want of labor for honest men who are begging for employment, with a demand from the merchant and manufacturer, the laborer, and the farmer for a better condition of affairs, for the prosperity that has been promised them over and over again from October last until now, it was not wise, it is not wise, for us to attempt to delay and discuss this bill as propositions of this sort should be discussed. It would give the country time to understand its enormity, but would delay business and delay the prosperity promised when you have passed this bill, and hence it is that we have contented ourselves with a mere statement of the effects and defects of the measure as we understand them.

But for this condition in the country I should have been in favor of doing precisely with the pending bill as was done with the McKinley bill of 1890—open it to the fullest and freest discussion and dissect every line and paragraph of the measure, as you did with the bill of 1894, and give the country an opportunity, even before its passage, to understand how bad it is. But the conditions are such that patriotism and feeling for the masses require a different course. The mistake, whatever it is, great as I think it is, must be borne by the party which has assumed the reins of government and now controls every branch of the Government. I would not have disturbed the present law, not because

of party reasons, not because we differ in our theories of tariff taxation, but I believe, and I do not hesitate to state it, that the wise thing for the party in power to do, looking alone at the prosperity of these great people who are now prostrate, would have been to permit the present law to stand, while placing taxes upon such articles on the free list as would give from forty to forty-five million dollars more to the Treasury to meet the expenditures. But that probably will not be. It can not be.

The only excuse for dealing with this question at all is that there has not been enough revenue to meet the expenses of the Government. In 1890 our friends on the other side brought forth a measure to reduce the revenue, known as the McKinley bill. It did reduce the revenue $50,000,000 per annum, and immediately in one item alone you increased the expenditures $50,000,000 and left the Treasury in a condition where it was embarrassed, and it was seriously embarrassed in 1893. There was not revenue enough under the measure. When the Wilson bill came to this body in 1894, it came here, as this one has come and as all bills of which I have had any knowledge since 1861 have come, imperfect in every provision, not carefully considered, and no account taken of the revenue as compared with the expenditures. We added $75,000,000 to it, and yet, owing to the decision of the Supreme Court, even with the $75,000,000 added, there has been a deficit in the Treasury every hour since the day of its passage until now.

I confess I would not have voted for the bill, even in the shape in which it passed, had I believed at that time that it would not produce revenue enough to meet all the extravagant expenses of the Government, for they have reached the point of $500,000,000 per annum practically, and can not for the next two or three years be materially reduced, although I have stood in my place on every proper occasion and advocated a reduction of those expenditures. It is possible that during the next fiscal year they may be reduced somewhat below those of last year, but only slightly.

Now comes this bill, which, when it reached here the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH] claimed would produce a surplus of many million dollars; and yet the examination made by the Republicans on the Finance Committee showed conclusively that there would not be sufficient revenue to support the Government. You have undertaken to remodel it. You have undertaken to make it a revenue measure. I trust, Mr. President, that it may be a revenue measure. I trust it may produce revenue enough to meet the expenditures that are bound to come. But what a condition of affairs our friends on the other side are confronting! From the beginning of the Government until the war, and then after the war, the position of the Republican party, as that of the Democratic party, was that the revenue to support the Government, or the great bulk of the revenue, should come from tariff taxation and not from internal-revenue taxation.

We remember to what speeches we were treated by the distinguished Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON] and others on the other side three years ago when, in order to produce revenue enough to pay the extravagant expenditures which you had forced the Government to make by your laws, we proposed to put on temporarily an income tax, and now the confession comes from you—how humiliating it must be to the older Republicans—that with your theory of taxation, that of raising money from imports, you by your extravagance have made it impossible, no matter how high you place the duties, to receive enough money to meet the expenditures of the Government. You propose to place a tax upon the man who takes a refreshing drink with his family on any day of the week. You intend to tax the poor fellow who can not drink champagne and who has not enough money to get a drink of whisky. You do that because of your extravagance and because you raise the rates in this bill so high that you have prohibited revenue from importations from abroad. The tobacco that he smokes or chews is to be added to.

In time of peace, thirty-odd years from the day when you first levied internal-revenue taxes to support the Government, you go back, confessing that your system is a failure, confessing that you have been so extravagant that it is impossible for you to support the Government unless you enter every household in the land and tax that which is produced in the man's own country.

So be it, Mr. President. The country will understand it. The country will understand perfectly that this great scheme of prosperity, this great measure of relief, adds tenfold to the taxation on the consumption of every man of moderate means in the land, while there is nothing here that attempts to approach the ideal—making men pay for the support of the Government in proportion to their wealth. The whole system is unequal and unjust. The people's verdict will be that of 1892.

Mr. STEWART. I should like to inquire of the Senator from Iowa, because I do not know, whether the protection to the manufacturers in the pending bill, if this amendment shall be adopted, will be greater or less than that under the Wilson Act?

Mr. ALLISON. I have no doubt that, exclusive of the countervailing duty, which is put in the bill for a special purpose, well known and understood, the pending bill, as it stands, does not give higher protection to the sugar-refining industry than does the Wilson Act.

Mr. BERRY. Does it give as much protection?

Mr. STEWART. Does the Senator from Iowa mean as it stands with the amendment?

Mr. ALLISON. As it stands now, with the amendment proposed by the committee. That is my belief.

Mr. President, after what has been said by the Senator from Maryland [Mr. GORMAN] and other Senators this morning, I think it is perhaps due to this side of the Chamber, and due especially to those who have been in a sense responsible for this schedule, that I should say a few words respecting it.

In the debate, so far as I have observed, upon the sugar schedule, we have been dealing with decimal figures, with cents and fractions of a cent, without apparently discussing what lies at the bottom of the sugar schedule as it lies at the bottom of other schedules in the bill.

We have been taunted by the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. CAFFERY] with the bounty of 1890 and with the statement that so far as that portion of our country is concerned the schedule is supported and sustained upon the theory that it is a tax for revenue only. I wish for myself to declare in my place here in the Senate that if that were the only object involved in the schedule I should not give it my vote. I do not believe that if we were establishing a system of revenue providing for the expenditures of our Government, even by means of imposts, and imposts alone, the article of sugar should bear the proportion of those taxes or burdens that are imposed by the bill. If we are to raise revenue for purposes of revenue only by imposts, then there should be a distribution of these burdens in such a way as not to lay them all upon one particular article.

The Senator from Louisiana called attention to the fact that away back in the year 1846 and prior years 30 per cent ad valorem upon sugar was a protection sufficient to enable the sugar planters of Louisiana from year to year to increase their output of sugar, and he argues to-day, and others argue, as though our conditions now are the conditions of thirty or forty years ago.

When I was a boy, if I may be permitted to illustrate by my own experience, it was a rare thing for me to see sugar that approached whiteness. Since that time all the conditions of our country and of the civilized world have changed. Although we now consume four thousand million pounds of sugar per annum in the United States (a per capita of consumption, I believe, only exceeded by the per capita of consumption in Great Britain), I think it is safe to say that not one-fiftieth or one-thousandth part of that sugar comes upon the table of the rich or the poor, of the laborer and mechanic or those who have a fortune, unless it first is put through a process which in some form is the refining process.

Therefore it is that in all the bills which have been passed that I know of since the refining process became necessary to our own civilization we have undertaken to make a distinction between raw sugar as it is produced in the fields and refined sugar as it is placed upon the table. So if you run back through all the years of the past you will see that in 1883, in 1890, in 1894, and in the pending bill as it comes to us from the House and as it is now presented by the committee amendment it is proposed to give a fair protection to the refining industry in our own country as against the refining industries in other countries.

Now, the pending bill comes to us from the House of Representatives with a specific scale of duties, beginning at 75 degrees polariscopic test and at a rate of duty of 1 cent a pound, running up three one-hundredths of a cent for each degree of polariscopic test. What is the polariscopic test? My associate on the committee explained it somewhat the other day. It is a sample of the imported sugar, whether in bags, or boxes, or barrels, and that sample is taken into the appraiser's office and an officer, looking through the polariscope, tests the fineness of the sugar. That has been the commercial method of testing the fineness of sugar the world over for the last twenty years.

Senators say it is difficult for us to fathom the intricacies of the pending schedule. It is certainly difficult for a layman, but it is not difficult for an expert in sugar. What does the bill, as it comes to us from the House, propose? It proposes that for each degree of this polariscopic test there shall be three one-hundredths of a cent added. Why is that done? Because experts have discovered, and merchants have discovered, that for each increased degree of polariscopic test there is an increased value in the sugar.

I am inclined to agree with the Senator from Maryland that a portion of this could well be distributed by placing an ad valorem duty upon it; but the House of Representatives prefer a specific duty, and I can say without offense, I hope, to anyone that those who believe in the protective policy believe that it is wiser, wherever it can be done, to provide specific duties.

In order that there might be no damage to the trade, which the Senator from Maryland spoke of, and which I believe is a desirable trade for the people of the United States, the committee have

proposed here another amendment, which will enable us, as we hope and believe, to continue the trade in the lower grades of sugars that are found throughout the islands of the world.

Mr. GORMAN. Will the Senator from Iowa permit me to ask him a question for information?

Mr. ALLISON. Certainly.

Mr. GORMAN. To what extent does the Senator believe that the provision made as to low-grade sugars is sufficient? Does he believe that it will extend even to half the additional cost of transportation from Java as compared with Habana?

Mr. ALLISON. I am not prepared to say whether it will be a full compensation for what would be called an ad valorem duty, but I believe it is such a compensation as will enable us to carry on the trade which we are now carrying on. I have no doubt that the amount allowed here will be sufficient, or approximately so.

Now, for this duty, partially specific and partially ad valorem, we have substituted $1.95 per hundred pounds for $1.87½ per hundred pounds in the bill as passed by the House. We have done that believing, as I believe (but I shall not take the time now to elucidate the tables that I have before me in great number to show it), that this is a less duty than is imposed by the existing law for the protection of refiners, if you will take out of that duty the consideration of the three-eighths of a cent per pound and the 27 cents per hundred pounds countervailing duty upon beet sugars.

Mr. TILLMAN. Mr. President——

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Is not the three-eighths just as much a part of the tax as any other part of it?

Mr. ALLISON. I will deal with that.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Iowa yield to the Senator from South Carolina?

Mr. ALLISON. I do.

Mr. TILLMAN. I merely wish to ask a question. The Senator dwells on and emphasizes the point of protection. Do I understand him to mean that he wishes to protect American capital or American labor?

Mr. ALLISON. That is a generality which the Senator must know how I would answer. I believe in protecting American labor——

Mr. TILLMAN. And not the capital?

Mr. ALLISON. Against foreign labor, and American capital, if need be, against foreign capital. I believe in protecting American industry, which must necessarily include both labor and capital.

Mr. TILLMAN. I merely wish to call your attention to the fact that, according to the statement of President Havemeyer before the investigating committee, there are only 25,000 men all told engaged in the sugar-refining business, and you propose to give, according to his own statement, in the differential which you offer and which you have increased, well, anywhere between twelve and twenty million dollars a year, to be taken from the consumers throughout the country for the protection of 25,000 men and the millionaires who work them.

Mr. ALLISON. I do not intend to go into a detailed discussion of that question with the Senator from South Carolina, but I want to say that all the testimony of all the past, and of all those who have studied this question, is that the sugars which are consumed in the United States will be consumed in the form of refined sugar, and that sugar will be refined by somebody, either in the United States or abroad. For my part, if there are but 25,000 laborers and whatever capital is invested in the refining, whether it be done by the sugar trust or by independent refiners, I prefer that it shall be done in the United States of America rather than in Germany, Holland, or Great Britain.

Mr. TILLMAN. Will the Senator allow me?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Iowa yield?

Mr. ALLISON. I do not intend to go into a discussion of this subject in its details, and I trust the Senator from South Carolina will excuse me.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Iowa declines to be interrupted.

Mr. TILLMAN. Certainly; I will not do so if the Senator insists upon not being interrupted.

Mr. ALLISON. That is the situation as respects the sugar schedule. Now, I wish to say a word about the policy of it. It is that we shall do what Europe has done; that we shall establish the industry of producing sugar in our own country, instead of paying $100,000,000 per annum, as we have been paying for the last twenty years, to other countries who are engaged in agriculture. But for that part of this policy I would follow Senators who would place a duty of only 40 to 45 per cent ad valorem even upon sugar as one of the methods of raising revenue to carry on the Government.

We import into the United States now nearly 3,500,000,000 pounds of sugar from other countries, and in increasing quantities constantly from Europe from sugar beets, which sugar beets are grown upon land in Germany, Austria, Holland, and Belgium that is worth three or four times the land in our own country which would produce, and by actual test can produce, sugar from beets equally well with the countries I have named. It is for this purpose that I favor these provisions for a high duty upon sugar.

The Senator from California [Mr. WHITE] did me the honor a while since to quote what I said two years ago. It was the policy in 1890 to encourage the growth of the sugar industry in our own country by paying a bounty. That policy of course failed. It failed, perhaps, first, by the rapid increase of the production of sugar in our country, requiring a large draft upon the Treasury. It failed, secondly, by the policy of the Democratic party four years ago, when they decided that they would do nothing to encourage the beet industry of our country and but little to encourage the continuation of the production of sugar from cane.

So, Mr. President, the schedule stands or falls, and this policy stands or falls, as we succeed in establishing the beet-sugar industry in our country, which can be established, as shown by chemical tests, in nearly half the States of the Union.

Mr. HOAR. It is a great agricultural industry.

Mr. ALLISON. It is an agricultural industry, as my friend from Massachusetts suggests, and a great agricultural industry. It is said that it is the beet-sugar production in Germany that has given to that country its marked prosperity for the last few years. Can anyone tell me why it is that we should export the corn, the meat, the pork, and the grain of Iowa to Europe, grown upon fields in the interior of our own country and bearing the burden of transportation to the countries of Europe which now produce sugar, and then draw from them the refined sugar which we consume in Iowa? That is the question we are deciding here.

Of course the other question is also under consideration, and I do not minimize the importance of it, and that is that while we are doing this we shall so balance the scales as between all interests as to give neither to the refiner nor to the producer an undue advantage.

That is all there is in this schedule. It may be that we have had the schedule adjusted and arranged not precisely as it ought to be, but it is confessedly within a fraction of all the schedules that have been devised in the past upon the subject, except that of 1894, and this one is much lower than any prior schedule.

I was asked by the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. JONES] to state why this three-eighths should not be counted as a part of the differential duty to refiners. This three-eighths of a cent is only 11 cents on a hundred pounds to the refiners, 27 cents of which is upon raw sugar. It is a fact, and a certain fact, as it seems to me, that if we do not give the three-eighths and the 27, the effect of it will be that our industry, which we call the beet-sugar industry, and the cane-sugar industry, if you please, will be still, as it has been, at the mercy of the beet-sugar raisers of Europe. If we shall not charge this countervailing duty, then we are in no position to compete with German sugars or with the sugars of the Continent. Therefore this countervailing duty is put on now as it was put on in 1894 in the Wilson bill, so called. They put on a countervailing duty equivalent to the bounty at that time. The result was to get rid of the countervailing duty.

Germany, France, and Austria all increased their bounties, so that the countervailing duty which the Senators on the other side of the Chamber put on four years ago proved unavailing to protect our sugar industry; and I think our own sugar industry would not be protected unless we place this countervailing duty of three-eighths of a cent per pound upon the sugars produced in Europe or in bounty-paying countries. Now, that is all there is of it. If Senators can show me that the countervailing duty is an injustice, I will deal with them in a spirit of justice as respects it. It is not involved now in the particular question before us; but I can see no way of protecting our industry in this country, whether it be beet or cane sugar, except by imitating what was proposed by the Senators on the other side in 1894 and imposing a countervailing duty equal to the bounty.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. GALLINGER in the chair). Does the Senator from Iowa yield to the Senator from Arkansas?

Mr. ALLISON. Certainly.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The Senator's calculation, as I understand it, is that 38.03 cents imposed on refined sugar is justified because there is 27 cents imposed on raw sugar. I confess there would have been force in that argument if the bounty-paid raw sugar were the raw sugar used in the manufacture of refined sugar in this country. The Senator will bear testimony to the fact that year before last there was 8 per cent of beet sugar, all told, imported into the United States, and that even last year 67 per cent of the sugar coming into the United States was centrifugal sugar, not counting the muscovado sugars, molasses sugars, and the other sugars that came in afterwards. So the sugar actually used in the manufacture of refined sugar is not the beet sugar on which 27 cents is paid, but cane sugar on which no bounty at all is paid.

Mr. ALLISON. Of course, if there is no bounty paid on raw

sugar and no bounty paid upon refined sugar, there will be no differential duty upon either raw or refined sugar by the bill. So that that is all there is in that question.

Mr. BERRY. Will the Senator from Iowa permit me to ask him a question absolutely for information?

Mr. ALLISON. Certainly.

Mr. BERRY. The Senator from Iowa said to the Senator from Nevada that, leaving out the countervailing duty, there was no greater protection to the refined sugar in this bill than in the Wilson Act. I will ask the Senator if there is any greater protection in his proposed amendment to the House bill than there is in the House bill as it now stands?

Mr. ALLISON. Possibly there may be a slight increase. I think there is.

Mr. BERRY. I should like to ask the Senator one other question. The duty paid on 100 pounds of refined sugar imported at this time, outside of the countervailing duty, is about $1.04 per hundred pounds. Under the proposed scale it will be $1.93 on a hundred pounds outside of the countervailing duties. So if the bill becomes a law, there will be that difference between the Wilson bill and the present bill as to the amount of duty.

Mr. ALLISON. I will say to my friend from Arkansas that there will be just the difference between 40 per cent ad valorem of the value upon that sugar as under the existing law and $1.95 a pound. Undoubtedly we are largely increasing the duty upon sugar. There is no doubt of it. I do not think we are quite doubling it, but we are running a long way toward doubling the present duty on sugar.

Mr. BERRY. The Senator from Iowa stated that in 1894 every dollar levied on sugar—not only the imported sugar, but the domestic sugar—was paid by the consumer. Then, if the tax is largely increased, it seems to me that the refiners would unquestionably get a larger increase under this bill and a larger protection by far than they would under the other.

Mr. ALLISON. Yes; but the Senator from Arkansas forgets that the refiner must pay the duty on all the raw material that he puts into his refinery; and there is no doubt, I will say to the Senator—I have no concealment to make about what I think as to the effect of this duty—until we can develop the beet-sugar industry and greatly enlarge the production of sugar from cane in our own country, and in that portion of it in proximity to the State in which the Senator lives, whatever duty we place on sugar must, in the nature of things, be added to the price.

Mr. BERRY. Will the Senator permit me to say one word there?

Mr. ALLISON. Yes, sir.

Mr. BERRY. Three years ago the Senator from Iowa and other Senators stood here and denounced the sugar tax in the Wilson bill as protecting and fostering an illegal trust, a trust which they charged had the country by the throat, that was making impositions upon the great laboring classes of the people, a trust that was growing rich. They denounced it then: and why is it, Mr. President, that they will not join with us and take all the taxes off of refined sugar and give to the refined sugar no more than the raw? If it be the great evil to this country which it has been represented to be, why not crush it at once and forever, and say that a trust which has acted as this has done shall not have any protection from the Senate of the United States?

Mr. ALLISON. I believe it is the policy of this side of the Chamber, as I have no doubt it is, or ought to be, that of the other side, not to transfer the refining of sugar—which is essential to our method of consumption—to Germany or Holland or England: and if there is not an opportunity given for what may be called a compensatory duty to the refiner, as a matter of fact that industry will be transferred to other countries. Everybody knows that.

Mr. GORMAN. I should like to say a word, if the Senator from Iowa will allow me a moment. The statement which has been referred to of the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH] was made when this bill was first reported to the Senate. I call attention to it because my own immediate constituents have a very great interest in this trade, as have the people of the entire country. The Senator from Rhode Island, as will be found in the RECORD on page 1555, made this statement in regard to the bill as it came from the House of Representatives:

We believe—

Said the Senator from Rhode Island, speaking for the Republican members of the Committee on Finance—

that the imposition of the high specific rates upon low-grade sugars testing 87 degrees or below would have the effect to exclude them from the markets of the United States. The total amount of these low grades produced is, as I have already stated, unimportant as compared with the total sugar crop, but their continued importation into the United States is very important when viewed from the standpoint of our trade and commerce with other countries. The sugars referred to are imported from the Philippine Islands, Java, China, Brazil, the British West Indies, Puerto Rico, Haiti, Santo Domingo, Mauritius, Egypt, and the Argentine Republic. They are largely brought to the United States, especially from countries in the East, as return cargoes of American ships that take from the United States cotton cloth, petroleum, and other American manufactured products, the principal article of export in many cases being cotton goods, and these countries furnish practically the only foreign market for the export of these goods. To exclude from the American market all the low-grade cane sugars from nearby countries, and sugars of all grades from distant countries, would confine American purchasers to beet sugar and to centrifugals from points nearest the United States, and send all other sugars to free markets, like Canada and England.

I should like to have the Senator from Iowa, who represents the majority of the Committee on Finance on the other side of the Chamber, state the reasons why they have agreed to change from their original position and go back to specific duties, making them higher than they were when this comment was made upon the provision as it stood, and to state how this American trade can be protected.

Mr. ALLISON. The committee propose to compensate for the change from ad valorem to specific by means of the reduction of one-tenth of a cent a pound upon sugars testing 87 degrees and below. It is said by those who know about it that this will certainly compensate for the additional cost of transportation, and that those who do trade with the countries which have been referred to will continue to trade under these conditions.

I am perfectly aware of the relatively low price of this class of sugars as compared with the large class of sugars used by refiners; but to give them compensation, it is said by those who know more about it than I do, that, whilst not adequate, it will enable them to maintain the trade, and for that purpose we have inserted a provision, as the Senator knows, covering that class of sugars.

Mr. GORMAN. I should like very much to have a more specific statement than that given by the Senator. My information is that the cost of transportation alone in sailing vessels which carry our product, under the present law, is more than 5 mills to the pound in the difference between the cost of transporting the Habana and other sugars. This slight concession is not sufficient, and it will destroy that trade. In Baltimore, Boston, and New York there are large fleets of vessels, practically the only great sailing vessels we have, which are engaged exclusively in this trade; and my information from the shippers and from those who are interested in the business, and who are not looking at the rates particularly except that they may be permitted to live, is that it will absolutely exclude those vessels from that trade.

Take the matter of the New England trade. It is said that nearly all the cotton goods, and all the other wares that go from New England, unfortunately now pass by rail by the Canadian lines and then by English steamers to China and Japan, and that we have nothing left for American bottoms except this trade. The owners of these vessels and the men who know the details of this business insist that, unless you adopt the provision practically as the Senate committee agreed to it, that trade will be gone, though it is at present enormous and growing. I should like to have the Senator's figures as to that.

Mr. ALLISON. I will say to the Senator that the committee of the importing merchants of New York who import these sugars recommended to the Committee on Finance this one-tenth as a solution of this whole matter.

Mr. GORMAN. But the Senator from Iowa will, I am quite sure, agree with me that in New York the great trade is in the other line of sugars, which you have thoroughly protected; but in the ports south of New York—Philadelphia, Baltimore, Newport News, and other Southern ports where the vessels come in and trade—is the interest that is especially affected. The great volume of trade in New York is in the other sugars, which are amply provided for.

In view of the increase which has been made, I suggest to Senators on the other side—I am not dealing now with the general question that divides us by this aisle—that they ought to at least furnish us, and furnish the country, with some positive evidence that they are not absolutely destroying the trade to which I refer. I know the Senator from Iowa and Republican and Democratic Senators do not desire to do that. I believe the best judgment of my friend from Iowa is in accord with the suggestion I make, and it does seem to me that in a case so plain as this you ought to remodel the bill as to this tax so far as low-grade sugars are concerned.

Mr. ALLISON. It may be that the bill would be improved by increasing that allowance. I do not know.

Before I take my seat, Mr. President, I want to say a word to the Senator from Maryland on another topic. He has taken occasion two or three times to speak of the extravagant expenditures and appropriations of the Government, especially under the Republican party. I want to say to him and to the Senate that I have analyzed that question with great care, and, as one Senator, I will welcome any suggestion coming from the other side of the Chamber respecting a material reduction of our expenditures.

The Senator from Maryland stated that we increased a single item $50,000,000 in 1892. That, of course, was an increase of the pensions of our soldiers. I have heard of no Democrats, at least upon the floor of the Senate, who propose to change that law, although they have had an opportunity to do it. Respecting the

other great increases, our rivers and harbors, they are passed here usually without the yeas and nays. You can hardly find Senators enough opposed to river and harbor bills to call for the yeas and nays.

So I do not think, although some of these expenditures may be unnecessary, that the Senator from Maryland can go very far in reducing the annual appropriations for rivers and harbors. I have heard him eloquently, and at length, proclaim the necessity of an enlarged and more vigorous Navy. That expenditure, I presume, he would not be willing to dispense with. I do not suppose he would be willing to dispense with another necessary expenditure—that of providing our seacoast cities with fortifications. We have been making liberal appropriations for this purpose for the last few years.

I have scanned these details, and I am sure that it is not possible for us to very greatly reduce these expenditures in the next few years. Therefore it is that I welcome any suggestion that the Senator from Maryland may have to make, with the hope of securing now, what we did not secure in 1894 by means of the tariff bill then passed, a revenue sufficient to meet our expenses.

Mr. HOAR. Before the Senator sits down, I want to ask one question as to a part of his statement which goes to the country, and it is obvious enough, I suppose. Would not the transferring, as the result of an inadequate protection of the sugar-refining business, to other countries tend very largely to prevent the establishment in this country of the business of raising cane and beet sugar for our domestic consumption?

Mr. ALLISON. There is certainly no doubt of that. The dealing with this great sugar question, from the time of its production to its final consumption, is an entirety; and if we are to foster and protect it in our country, we have got to do it with the work in our country.

Mr. HOAR. I put that question to the Senator because I have heard it said more that once on this floor that the framers of this bill were indifferent to the agricultural interests of this country. Now, if I understand it—whether the details be right or wrong I am not competent to discuss, and there is no time to discuss them now—but if I understand the attempt of the Senator from Iowa and his associates, it has been to establish, encourage, and promote a great agricultural interest of this country, which shall be enabled to supply not foreign markets, but the home market, which is now largely possessed by other countries; and it seems to me that the gentleman shuts his eyes to the effort of the framers of this measure who does not see that the struggle over this sugar scheme which we are making with our Democratic and our other opponents is a struggle to establish one of the greatest, most profitable, and most valuable agricultural industries that we can possibly get for the purpose of supplying our home market.

Mr. ALLISON. I have failed to be understood if I did not say in the beginning that but for the fact that we all believe this schedule will secure at an early period the production, from beets chiefly, of the sugar necessary for the consumption of the people of our country I would not support this sugar schedule.

Mr. BERRY. Mr. President, the Senator from Iowa knows the great respect I have for him, but three years ago, upon the floor of the Senate, he made this statement:

> I pause here to call attention to the fact that the sugar schedule as it is now proposed is in its essence a capitation tax, a tax upon every man, woman, and child in the United States of $1.

He said at another time what I think the Senator from California [Mr. WHITE] probably read a while ago:

> If I had my way, I would strike from this bill every vestige which provides a duty on sugar, and I would continue the bounty; * * * and if additional revenue is required, I would look around among the luxuries that are consumed by our people and find that revenue.

To-day, Mr. President, the Senator from Iowa stands upon the floor of the Senate and admits that this almost doubles the duty which is now contained in the Wilson law.

Mr. ALLISON. I did not admit it; I stated it.

Mr. BERRY. I understood the Senator from Iowa only a few minutes ago to say he admitted that the bill largely increased the duty—almost doubled it.

Mr. ALLISON. I said I did not admit it; I stated it.

Mr. BERRY. Very well. Then the Senator stated that to be the fact. Now he proposes to double this capitation tax. He said also, three years ago, that this tax not only applied to foreign sugar, but that it applied to the domestic sugar, and that the consumer had to pay that tax. I should like to know who gets this 91 cents on the hundred on the domestic sugar? Does that all go to the cane-sugar raiser or does it go to this trust?

One other word. It is said it is necessary to protect these refiners in order to prevent the refining business being done abroad. It is charged all over this land, and it is not denied by the press or anyone else, that the sugar trust have made millions of dollars under the schedule of 1890 and millions of dollars under the schedule of 1894; yet the Senator admits, if you include the countervailing duty, as it is called, that these refiners are still protected at least to as great or a greater extent than under the Wilson law. Why is that? If the sugar trust is all that the Republicans charge it with being, why will they not stand here and vote with us when we have an opportunity to stop its influence?

If this organization controls, as is charged, all the politics of the country, if it is an organization whose president swore that it had contributed to both political parties, an organization which contaminates everything it touches, an organization which has grown so powerful that the press of the country says that this Senate dare not antagonize it, why can not we give the lie to that charge, and why can we not vote here this evening to take away the protection which is contained in this bill, and place that trust upon an equality with other men? If they can not make a living in the refining business, let them engage in some other business. By what system of reasoning can you say to the people of this country that you will double this tax upon them; that you will continue to give this trust the benefit of this differential by the tax on refined sugar when it has already grown rich? Why will you say that these men can not make a living in the refining business unless Congress passes a law to help them make it?

I think that all professions about the trust should be brought to a test. I believed three years ago that there ought to have been no protection given in that bill for the trust. The Republicans said they believed it then. I believe it to-day, and now is the opportunity to act. Let us see whether or not you were acting in good faith when you made your professions three years ago.

Mr. STEWART. I am in favor of the speedy passage of this bill, but not for the reasons which are ordinarily assigned. It is not true that there is any immediate necessity for more revenue. There are from one hundred to one hundred and thirty million dollars of idle money in the Treasury which ought to be in circulation, and that speedily. There is an immediate necessity for paying that money out. We are paying 4 per cent per annum interest on the bonded debt, and have, with the reserve fund, $230,000,000 idle money in the Treasury. So I am not for the immediate passage of the bill because there is any necessity to raise more revenue. We do not need more taxes. We need more money with which to pay the taxes we already have to pay.

I am not in favor of the passage of this bill because I anticipate any material relief to the country, for I do not believe that any tariff legislation can cure the evils which afflict the country. It is said that when a person is afflicted with a cancer, the whole system is out of order. There is a cancer of contraction gnawing at the vitals of this Republic which diseases the whole body politic.

I hear a good deal said about trusts. Trusts are the natural consequence of falling prices. Those engaged in any class of business are as certain to unite and curtail production and manage the entire product when they are losing money as it is certain they have any sense whatever. That is the first resort when competition will destroy them on account of falling prices. They will adopt that course to protect themselves. That is what every manufacturing industry in the country is doing, and what they will continue to do.

The trust, when it is formed, becomes strong; it gets the entire combination of manufacturers in that line in it; it allows many establishments to lie idle, as is done by this sugar trust. Many magnificent establishments are idle to-day in the sugar trust. Under those circumstances, while prices are continuing to fall, nobody else can engage in the business, for if they do ruin is inevitable. So long as falling prices continue, the life of the trust is continued. Trusts in this country, as I say, are the natural outgrowth of contraction, and always have been. Nothing makes competition possible but rising prices. Then people can go into new enterprises.

Again, it is said there has been much disappointment in the amount of revenue raised by the various tariff laws. Of course there has, and there will be. With every avenue of business closed, stagnation prevails everywhere. I defy anyone to state the name of any class of legitimate business where a young man can go forth and have a reasonable certainty of making a living to-day. The opportunities for young men are absolutely cut off. The laborer is begging for employment everywhere. There are millions out of employment; there is no hope before them, and there can never be while prices fall.

If we had stability of prices, young men could do as they have done from the foundation of this Government; they could go forth and, with their labor and credit as honest and industrious young men, engage in business and make it pay. They could pay for the cost of the business establishment and they could build homes. Under those conditions this great country was started with homes from the Atlantic to the Pacific. They are building none now.

The principal discussion in every household where there are young men and young women is as to what they will do for a living. Can they marry and make homes as their fathers did? All say no. If the fact should be known, you would find the percentage of marriages have fallen off all through the country at least from 25 to 40 per cent in the last ten years. That is the result of falling prices. It paralyzes everything. The body politic

is a paralytic; and the higher taxes you levy the less will be your revenue.

The Wilson law, with an honest monetary system which would maintain the stability of prices, would give you revenue enough. You can not calculate on what revenue a tariff law will produce on account of anything which has preceded it. You must calculate that your tax receipts will shrink with the shrinkage of the business of the country. If the 70,000,000 people in this country were employed, with unlimited resources, the taxes to carry on the Government would not be felt. If there were only sufficient business for the mass of the people, it would be impossible for trusts to form; other establishments would start, and there would be competition; new railroad enterprises would spring up; new mining enterprises would be inaugurated; new agricultural developments, and new manufactories. All these things would follow the establishment of a proper financial system.

This bill can not produce prosperity, though a great many people have been deceived with regard to it, and many good people have been made to believe that a tariff will bridge the difficulty. It can no more reach the difficulty than you could cure a broken leg by putting a poultice on your toe. But many people believe it will, and I want them to have the bill as an object lesson. We all know that a readjustment of the tariff always produces confusion in business, and the first year or so it will do more harm than good, as almost every new tariff does. Dissatisfaction always springs up. We know the party in power never gained any popularity as the immediate result of the passage of a tariff bill, and I do not want the Republican party to gain any popularity.

I do not want to popularize the gold standard, which means slavery. I do not want to popularize robbing the people of the circulating medium. I do not want to popularize the movement inaugurated in Great Britain and adopted by the monarchs of the world to unite with the money powers and contract the currency, take away opportunities, and destroy democracy, which they claim they will do and are doing. I do not want to augment the money power and diminish the power of man.

It is a question between the money powers and man. If you take away opportunities and make the people dependent upon the money power, you are marching on toward the Asiatic conditions; and now we see every day that the march goes on. Wages are reduced in every town. Cleveland came out the other day and stood for a grand reduction. I do not know how much the per cent is, but a grand sweep, leading up to an election. It is man against money, and I am in favor of liberating man. You say that slavery has been abolished and the world is making progress. I deny it. Four million chattel slaves were liberated in this country, but slavery has made more progress since that hour than in any one century before.

The chains of slavery upon 300,000,000 people in India have been fastened a hundredfold, while poverty abounds and a ruthless Government robs the people. Slavery in Africa has beenestablished since. A foolish Khedive in Egypt involved that country in five hundred millions of debt. Great Britain sent her army and navy there to collect it. She placed taskmasters over the Egyptians and collects the debt. Of course the Egyptians have to labor under the lash to pay it, and each acre of land has to contribute from seven to eight dollars a year. It can be done by nothing but the most abject and cruel slavery, and this system of moneyed slavery is marching on.

We have heard it in Europe this very year. For the last five hundred years Christian Europe has been protesting against the march of barbarism and has been protesting against the murder of Christians, but when the Christians rose to assert themselves in Crete, the Christian powers of Europe united to vindicate the right of the Turk to murder Christians. When we are told by Gladstone and others that they have murdered 100,000 Christians in the last few years, we find Christian Europe combined to aid the Turk in his claim of vested right to kill Christians. We see this. Why is it? It is the money power. It is the bonds which Turkey owes. It is because the people of Turkey are enslaved by the money power the same as the Egyptians. It is the money power that is blotting out liberty in Europe. It is the money power that deprives this country of its circulating medium, and we have a promise of prosperity, a promise of prosperity without dethroning the money power, a promise of prosperity without removing this cancer. Let them try it, and try it quickly. The quicker the better.

As to this particular schedule, I am not scared about its effect upon the trust. There are going to be trusts anyhow, so long as the volume of the circulating medium is shrinking. I was opposed to the removal of the tariff on sugar in 1890 and the substitution of a bounty. It was done. It was the theory then that we would build up home industries. We are told by the managers of this bill that the protection here given will have a tendency to develop that industry, and it is very likely it will. The land upon which beets can be raised in this country is almost without limit. We have enough good land suitable for beet culture to raise beets enough to supply the world. That industry is being developed, and I am anxious that a tariff shall be restored so that the industry may thrive.

I do not like to see a tariff so levied that it will unreasonably foster this trust; but you can not kill trusts so long as you cultivate contraction, which is the mother of trusts. You will find them everywhere. You will find that your laborers have to get together and form trusts. Those who are left out of the trusts will starve. Labor unions are trusts. You can not provide for all unless you provide a larger volume of money. Otherwise every year you must reduce your population. We are reducing it very rapidly. There are at least 5,000,000 willing hands who can not find anything to do in this country. Those 5,000,000 represent 20,000,000 people. Those 5,000,000 are not in the market for money. Consequently you have taken away at least one-fifth of your population. They do not need money.

There may be a great many more of them. You are taking them out of the market for money, and therefore reducing your population and the demand for money more rapidly than ever before. You are shrinking your industries, throwing men out of employment, shrinking this great Republic. You are going on with this villainous and cruel policy, which the Republican party will pursue so long as it suits England. They are unaware that those who govern England are in this world's combination to enslave mankind. They are not aware that that is the center of the money power. They are not aware that the money combination of England is engaged in this wrecking business to wreck the world. They are not aware of that. They do not give heed when it is told them.

Mr. Gladstone told them that he would not undertake to estimate the colossal accumulations of modern obligations held in England; that it was too great for estimate. He suggested ten thousand millions, and all of them say he was far below the fact. He said to allow silver to be remonetized would be a gracious gift to the debtor world that is now compelled to pay in gold. He said they might thank you for it, but the statesmen of England who consented to extend such a gracious gift to mankind would lose their reputations for sagacity, for shrewdness, for selfishness, and he repudiated the idea.

Now we are sending a commission to Europe to treat with those people who have a policy of enslavement and robbery under which they are accumulating their millions and through which they are enslaving mankind and putting the lash on the back of the Egyptians; through which they are maintaining the right of the Turk to assassinate Christians; through which, I say, they are marching on and making the world march on to slavery. We are sending commissioners to them and asking them, if they please, for permission to pass such laws as are authorized by our Constitution. There is nothing more humiliating than sending commissions to Europe asking of monarchies the right to legislate in the great Republic of America.

I want to see all these object lessons given to the people at once. I did not oppose the sending of those commissioners, because many honest people have been made to believe that it will do some good. I want them to have the object lesson. Read the English papers and see how they are treated there. Who backs this commission? Are they backed at home? Does the appointment of Gage, of Roberts, of Jordan from the inner circle of gold contraction mean nothing?

Right in that connection Mr. Gage goes over to Maryland to the bankers' association, and a resolution is passed (he suggested it, no doubt, because he and Eckels were both there) in favor of the gold standard first, last, and all the time. That is telegraphed to Europe to encourage and aid your commissioners to persuade Europe that this country is for bimetallism. They understand perfectly that the gold standard has a fast hold upon this country, and they laugh at this proceeding and treat it as a necessity growing out of the platform and without a particle of honest intention. That is the way you are viewed there, and it is a just view.

I want the pending bill to pass. I want to protect all industries alike. I want it to be as good a tariff bill as it can be. I want it to be such a tariff bill that the tariff men themselves will say it is a good bill, so that there can be no question about it. I want the people to see that they can not have prosperity without money. I want them to know that if we will not help ourselves Europe will not help us. I want them to know that the great Republic must stand for itself and by itself. I want them to know that we must return to the legislation of the better days of the Republic before we can have prosperity. The quicker this bill is passed the better. The wandering commission is on its travels. People see what it is doing.

Now let us see what this will do. Let them see the whole business. It may be that the storm will be so great, so intense, that it will melt the hearts of Wall street, even if it does not melt those of Lombard street. Wall street may relent, but whether it does

or not the people are now organized. They have a candidate in the field. They have their platform. It is indorsed by 6,500,000 men who are in earnest. It is reenforced by hundreds of thousands every month. It is progressive.

Last year the organization of the silver forces was made in the face of the enemy. They got together nobly under those difficult circumstances. They showed their patriotism. Now they are organized. The enemy has made promises that it can not fulfill. The people will demand of you the fulfillment of those promises. You can not do it with this bill; you can not do it by sending commissioners to Europe. You must give the people more money or you must go out of power, and that ignominiously. The handwriting is on the wall. You have to reorganize now in the face of a determined, aggressive foe, which has suffered wrongs that it will right; suffered wrongs under which it smarts.

Do not fear that when the silver forces get into power they will retaliate. They are not in that mode of thinking. They are the American people. They believe in the greatest good to the greatest number, and will injure no one. They will furnish an adequate supply of money for the development of enterprises, and open the mills and the mines and give employment to all, and start the ship of state under full sail and full speed on the high road of prosperity. It is coming, and do not forget it. Anything we can do to facilitate its coming we are here ready to do. We want you to go ahead with your schemes, which we know are futile, and which we can prove mathematically can not work. Consequently we cooperate to facilitate their passage.

Mr. CAFFERY. Mr. President, the Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON] referred to me in his remarks as having charged the Republican party with being driven to sugar, a Democratic article of revenue, on which to raise sufficient money to meet their ideas of how much money there ought to be in the Treasury. So that none of us on this side should be left under the impression that the tariff imposed upon sugar is intended for revenue, he disclaimed any purpose of that sort, and the tariff imposed in this schedule, he said, is proposed solely for protection.

After depicting the great benefits to accrue to the people from the culture of the beet, he went on to say that the refiner of the United States ought to be protected. He was aided and abetted in that idea by the Senator from Massachusetts, who stated that the Republican party could not be charged with any forgetfulness of the interest of the agriculturist, as this tariff would stimulate the growth of beets and very materially advance the interests of the farmers in that section of the country where beets can be grown. Nothing could more accentuate the difference between the Democratic and the Republican principle than the tariff upon sugar, the Democratic side placing it entirely on the revenue basis and the Republican side on the protective basis; and it was very carefully stated that this tariff would not have been imposed for the sugar-cane planter, but for the beet grower.

Mr. President, we have heard almost pathetic appeals for the American sugar-refining interest. We have been told that it would be a great evil if this industry should be transferred from the United States to some foreign country, this industry which so largely aids the general industrial condition of the United States. Does the American Sugar Refining Company need any artificial aid in the way of legislation? Are we left in any doubt on that point? Is there any inferiority in labor or in any other condition between refining in the United States and refining abroad? We are not left in any doubt on the subject. I will read the testimony of Mr. Theodore Havemeyer before the Committee on Ways and Means of the House in 1880. He was asked this question by Mr. Tucker:

> Speaking of the competition between the refining interests in this country and the English refining interests, would you be able to compete in the business market if there was perfect free trade in sugar?
>
> Mr. HAVEMEYER. We would beat them. We can refine sugar here more cheaply than they can in England.

This was in 1880. Again, on the 22d of February, 1881, the following discussion ensued:

> Mr. FRYE. In conversation with Mr. Havemeyer yesterday he said that the principal objection that he had against the Carlisle bill would be removed provided the low-grade sugars could be imported into this country, refined, and exported under such conditions that American refiners would still have the benefit of refining them and selling them in a foreign market. I understood him to say that the Carlisle bill would be satisfactory with this addition, that bonded warehouses for the storage of sugar in bond may be established at any port of entry of the United States under such regulations as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe; that any imported sugar may be transferred from such warehouse without payment of duty, and that the product of such refinery may be exported free of duty or may be withdrawn for consumption in the United States on payment of the same duties as would have been paid thereon had they been imported in a condition in which they were withdrawn. The amendment I submitted to Mr. French this morning.

To that Mr. Havemeyer said:

> I spoke to Mr. FRYE yesterday in reference to the amendment which I gave to him. * * * This amendment was meant only to be a saving clause in case there was a possibility of the Carlisle bill passing.
>
> Mr. MILLS. How much refined sugar do you export annually?
>
> Mr. HAVEMEYER. Our exports for this year would probably amount to about $250,000.
>
> Mr. MILLS. How much sugar do you think you would be able to export under that proposed provision?
>
> Mr. HAVEMEYER. The export of refined sugar would be increased very materially. I do not see why, under free trade in sugar, we could not supply a very large proportion of the world's consumption.

Again the question was propounded to him:

> Q. Have you made any money in your business in the last ten years?
> A. Do you mean Havemeyer & Elder?
> Q. Yes, sir.
> A. Yes, sir; lots of it. I do not believe that anybody else has.

Why these tears in favor of the American Sugar Refining Company? Why these pathetic appeals in behalf of a company the main official of which as early as 1880 testified explicitly that they were not only on an equality with foreign refiners, but that they could more than compete with them? And when the Carlisle bill was pending, which imposed a large duty upon raw sugars, they said if they could export their sugar and get a drawback equal to the duty, it was all they wanted.

Mr. President, what aid in the shape of additional tariff on the refined sugar can the American Sugar Refining Company ask at this late day? Is it possible that the Senate of the United States, in view of this testimony, can add to the already enormous accumulations of the American Sugar Refining Company; can add to their power to place upon the American people whatever price for sugar they desire, up to the importing point at least, and that importing point is so high that the margin for them to operate upon is very large, and results in an enormous gain to them?

It has been asserted by the Senator from Iowa, and I believe by the Senator from Massachusetts, that great benefit to the agricultural classes would flow from the stimulus of the culture of beets. We heard the other day in the Senate a most eloquent appeal in behalf of the corn grower, the wheat grower, the oat grower, the raisers of small grain all through the United States, in behalf of an export bounty directly, not indirectly.

The Senator from Utah [Mr. CANNON], who made that eloquent appeal, did not want the benefit of the farmer to be filtered through a benefit to the manufacturer, because he stated that the filtration process had never come down to the farmer; that the principle upon which the manufacturer was protected was to benefit the agricultural classes by making a larger home demand and stimulating home production, so that the home supply would find a home market readier, easier, and more profitable. But he demonstrated the fact that the manufacturer kept all he had, and he appealed to the Senate of the United States to relieve by direct bounty the raisers of small grain throughout the United States who had never enjoyed and who never will enjoy the benefit of protection in favor of any other class.

Mr. President, suppose for the moment that beet culture is undertaken under the stimulus of this high tariff and that there is an amount of beets in the United States sufficient to supply the home demand for sugar. What would be the consequence? They will come to the doors of Congress, if the time ever arrives when they can be stimulated up to producing enough to supply the home demand, and ask for more and more protection. We have an example to-day in Germany to that effect. Every year the agrarians are beseeching the Reichstag not only for a continuance of the prevailing bounty, but for more and more bounty.

Then will come the time to apply the logic of the Senator from Utah. If you have one agricultural industry in the United States living under a bounty, there is no reason why we should not have all agricultural industries protected by a bounty. If the beet growers of the United States are not only to be stimulated by protective tariffs to make enough sugar to supply the home demand, but continued in that business by further and larger bounties, why can not the corn grower, the wheat grower, the hop grower, the cotton grower, and every other agriculturist ask for the same protection or its equivalent in bounties?

The whole principle is wrong. It does not stand upon any legitimate law of trade. This vast industry of Germany and of continental Europe is rotten at the base. It has no rational support. Artificially stimulated beet sugar can not compete with the cane product, and it is a most conspicuous instance, in my opinion, of the absolute failure of the doctrine of protection.

We on this side believe, or most of us, that governments have no right either by protective tariffs or bounties to indicate to the citizen what business he shall follow. We believe that individuals should pick out their own pursuits. They have the ability and the intelligence to know what is better for them to pursue, and whenever governments come in by artificial bounties, tariff protection, or subsidies to induce the citizen to go into occupations not adapted to his surroundings, the governments make a fatal mistake; the governments usurp the province that ought to be left to individual sagacity and individual industry, and build up industries, top-heavy, without substantial bases, and surely doomed to destruction in the long run.

Now, after reading this testimony about Mr. Havemeyer, I want to know upon what ground the American Sugar Refining Company is entitled to the high protection granted in this bill? Here is the evidence direct, before the formation of this trust, which dates from 1887, that they are not only upon an equality, but that

they can refine sugar in this country with greater facility and at a less cost than in any other place in the world.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The yeas and nays having been ordered on agreeing to the amendment, the Secretary will call the roll.

Mr. BACON. I ask that the question may be stated. There have been a number of speeches made, and it is impossible to tell what is the exact status of it.

The SECRETARY. The Committee on Finance propose, on page 63, line 22, paragraph 206, to strike out "eight hundred and seventy-five one-thousandths" and insert "ninety-five one-hundredths;" so as to make the paragraph read:

206. Sugars not above No. 16 Dutch standard in color, tank bottoms, sirups of cane juice, melada, concentrated melada, concrete and concentrated molasses, testing by the polariscope not above 75 degrees, 1 cent per pound, and for every additional degree shown by the polariscopic test, three one-hundredths of 1 cent per pound additional, and fractions of a degree in proportion; and on sugar above No. 16 Dutch standard in color, and on all sugar which has gone through a process of refining, 1 cent and ninety-five one-hundredths of 1 cent per pound; molasses testing above 40 degrees and not above 56 degrees, 3 cents per gallon; testing 56 degrees and above, 6 cents per gallon; sugar drainings and sugar sweepings shall be subject to duty as molasses or sugar, as the case may be, according to polariscopic test; sugars, tank bottoms, sirups, cane juice or beet juice, melada, concentrated melada, and concrete and concentrated molasses the product of any country which pays, directly or indirectly, a bounty on the export thereof, whether imported directly and in condition as exported therefrom, or otherwise, shall pay, in addition to the foregoing rates, a duty equal to such bounty, or so much thereof as may be in excess of any tax collected by such country upon such exported article, or upon the beet or cane from which it was produced: *Provided*, That nothing herein contained shall be so construed as to abrogate or in any manner impair or affect the provisions of the treaty of commercial reciprocity concluded between the United States and the King of the Hawaiian Islands on the 30th day of January, 1875, or the provisions of any act of Congress heretofore passed for the execution of the same.

The Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. HANNA (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Utah [Mr. RAWLINS], and withhold my vote.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE]. If he were present, I should vote "nay."

Mr. KENNEY (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. PENROSE]. If he were present, I should vote "nay."

Mr. FAULKNER (when Mr. MURPHY'S name was called). I was requested by the Senator from New York [Mr. MURPHY] to state, in case this vote occurred in his absence, that he was temporarily called out of the Senate, and is paired with the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. CHANDLER]. The Senator from New York [Mr. MURPHY] would vote "nay" if present.

Mr. PRITCHARD (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from South Carolina [Mr. MCLAURIN]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. TILLMAN (when his name was called). Did the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. THURSTON] vote?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair is informed that the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. THURSTON] has not voted.

Mr. TILLMAN. I am paired with the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. THURSTON], and therefore withhold my vote. If he were here, I should vote "nay."

Mr. WARREN (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Washington [Mr. TURNER]. Not knowing how he would vote if present, I withhold my vote.

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. HARRIS of Kansas. I am paired with the junior Senator from Wyoming [Mr. CLARK]. If he were present, I should vote "nay."

Mr. BATE. I desire to state that my colleague [Mr. HARRIS of Tennessee] is temporarily out of the Chamber. He is paired, however, with the Senator from Vermont [Mr. MORRILL]. If my colleague were here, he would vote "nay."

Mr. PRITCHARD. I will transfer my pair with the junior Senator from South Carolina [Mr. MCLAURIN] to the junior Senator from New York [Mr. PLATT], and vote. I vote "yea."

Mr. HANNA. I transfer my pair with the junior Senator from Utah [Mr. RAWLINS] to the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE], and vote "yea."

Mr. GEAR (after having voted in the affirmative). I wish to ask if the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH] has voted?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair is informed that he has not voted.

Mr. GEAR. I withdraw my vote, being paired with that Senator. If he were present, he would vote "nay" and I should vote "yea."

Mr. CLAY. On the statement of the Senator from Ohio [Mr. HANNA] that the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] will stand paired with the junior Senator from Utah [Mr. RAWLINS], I will vote "nay."

Mr. PETTIGREW. I wish to announce that on this vote the Senator from Utah [Mr. CANNON] is paired with the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH].

Mr. CHANDLER (after having voted in the affirmative). I am paired with the senior Senator from New York [Mr. MURPHY], and therefore withdraw my vote.

Mr. TILLMAN. I desire to announce that my colleague [Mr. MCLAURIN] is paired with the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. PRITCHARD], and that the pair of my colleague has been transferred to the Senator from New York [Mr. PLATT].

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I will transfer my pair with the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE] to the Senator from Colorado [Mr. TELLER], and vote. I vote "nay."

Mr. MORGAN (after having voted in the negative). I wish to inquire whether the senior Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. QUAY] has voted?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. He has not voted, the Chair is informed.

Mr. MORGAN. I withdraw my vote. I am paired with the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. QUAY].

Mr. MANTLE. I am paired with the Senator from Virginia [Mr. MARTIN]. I find that the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. TILLMAN] is paired with the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. THURSTON]. The Senator from Nebraska [Mr. THURSTON] would vote "yea" if present, and the Senator from Virginia [Mr. MARTIN] would vote "nay." The Senator from South Carolina [Mr. TILLMAN] and myself desire to transfer our pairs, so that we may vote upon this proposition. I vote "nay."

Mr. TILLMAN. I vote "nay."

Mr. MORGAN (after having voted in the negative). I transfer my pair with the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. QUAY] to the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. ALLEN], and will allow my vote to stand.

The result was announced—yeas 32, nays 30; as follows:

YEAS—32.

Allison,	Foraker,	McBride,	Proctor,
Burrows,	Frye,	McEnery,	Sewell,
Carter,	Gallinger,	McMillan,	Shoup,
Cullom,	Hanna,	Mason,	Spooner,
Davis,	Hansbrough,	Nelson,	Stewart,
Deboe,	Hawley,	Perkins,	Wellington,
Elkins,	Hoar,	Platt, Conn.	Wetmore,
Fairbanks,	Jones, Nev.	Pritchard,	Wilson.

NAYS—30.

Bacon,	Daniel,	Mallory,	Roach,
Bate,	Faulkner,	Mantle,	Tillman,
Berry,	Gorman,	Mills,	Turpie,
Butler,	Gray,	Mitchell,	Vest,
Caffery,	Heitfeld,	Morgan,	Walthall,
Chilton,	Jones, Ark.	Pasco,	White.
Clay,	Kyle,	Pettigrew,	
Cockrell,	Lindsay,	Pettus,	

NOT VOTING—27.

Aldrich,	George,	Martin,	Smith,
Allen,	Hale,	Morrill,	Teller,
Baker,	Harris, Kans.	Murphy,	Thurston,
Cannon,	Harris, Tenn.	Penrose,	Turner,
Chandler,	Kenney,	Platt, N. Y.	Warren,
Clark,	Lodge,	Quay,	Wolcott.
Gear,	McLaurin,	Rawlins,	

So the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I move to strike out the words "and on all sugar," after the word "color," in line 20, page 63, paragraph 206.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In paragraph 206, page 63, line 20, after the word "color," strike out the words "and on all sugar;" so as to read:

And on sugar above No. 16 Dutch standard in color which has gone through a process of refining, 1 cent and ninety-five one-hundredths of 1 cent per pound.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I was out of the Chamber for an instant when the debate closed and the Senate proceeded to vote a few minutes ago. I wanted an opportunity to make some reply to a statement made by the Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON] when he had the floor. He stated that, taking the thirty-eight one-hundredths of a cent tariff to countervail a bounty out, between the rates of the pending measure and the rates of the Wilson Act there was practically no difference. I wish to say that, taking the value of German refined sugar which the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH] stated as being the price of the lowest grade of German refined sugar, counting in the thirty-eight one-hundredths of a cent countervailing duty, the difference in the profit to the refiner is 52.1 cents under the present measure and 13½ under the present law.

The thirty-eight one-hundredths of a cent is as much a part of the tariff tax imposed upon sugar as is the 1 cent on 75; that 1 cent on the 75 polariscopic test is as much a tax as is the $1.95 a tax on a hundred pounds.

No man can make a fair calculation of the amount of the tariff paid upon refined sugar who does not count in the two different elements in which the tax is levied. Upon one is $1.95 specific, and 38.3 countervailing duty upon the other. Each is proposed by the same bill; each is a provision for a direct tax to be levied upon the sugar when it comes into this country; and how any

man can propose to strike one feature out for the purpose of making comparison with another is beyond my comprehension.

There is a similar tax in the law as it stands now, a tax of ten one-hundredths of a cent imposed on German sugar or sugar coming from countries that pay a bounty. This 13½ cents carries that 10 cents imposed under the present law. When the Senator from Iowa proposes to drop the thirty-eight one-hundredths of a cent out of the 52 cents that the bill provides for, and claims that that makes it the same as the Senate bill, he does not drop out the same tax in the other calculation. Take 38 cents off of 52 and it leaves 14; and if you do not take 10 out of 13½, it leaves 13½ and 14 close together. But by what sort of reasoning the Senator from Iowa can persuade himself that the 38 cents ought to be dropped out of one and the 10 cents not dropped out of the other is beyond my comprehension.

Mr. President, the truth is, as I stated yesterday, that 2.30 is not a fair basis for a calculation of the value of these sugars. The value of this sugar [exhibiting] was stated by the Senator from Rhode Island to be 33 points higher than the German granulated sugar that he took in his calculation. This is English sugar. [Exhibiting.] Here is the Havemeyer & Elder sugar. [Exhibiting.] Here is the sugar [exhibiting] made out of cane by the American refiners, and the two are exactly alike.

The Senator from Rhode Island stated that this sugar [exhibiting] was worth 230. He admitted that that sugar [exhibiting] was worth 33 points more. This is exactly like the English sugar that he admitted was worth 33 points more.

Then, instead of taking 230 as the value of the refined sugar which is to be compared with the raw, you ought to take 263 as the basis, and, counting in the 38 on the one side and the 10 on the other, the difference would be eighty-five one-hundredths of a cent under the Senate bill and thirteen and a half under the Wilson Act.

Mr. President, that runs through this schedule from top to bottom. It can not be gainsaid nor denied. It is the simple, plain truth. The 38 cents is as much a part of the tax as anything else in it.

I have made this calculation, comparing the German refined sugar, which carries a tax of thirty-eight one-hundredths of a cent, with cane sugar, that has no bounty at all. If German raw was used to make the refined sugar, it would be fair and right to count in a tax of twenty-one one-hundredths of a cent in addition to the cost of the raw to compensate for the tax paid on the raw material that is used by the refiners; but in point of fact 75 per cent of the sugar consumed by the sugar refiners is cane sugar; it is not beet sugar at all. A very small per cent of beet sugar is used, if any at all.

The beet sugar that comes here is refined sugar. The sugar that is brought in competition with it is the refined sugar made of cane by the refiners. Hence it is fair, it is entirely legitimate, to count in the thirty-eight one-hundredths as against the refined sugar and treat the other on the basis of raw without any differential whatever. It seems to me to be perfectly plain. I was unwilling for the statement of the Senator from Iowa to go without challenge; but of course I know it will make no difference so far as the action of the Senate is concerned.

Mr. BERRY. I should like to ask my colleague a question.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Certainly.

Mr. BERRY. I want to know whether the protection to the refined sugar is greater under the Aldrich amendment or under the caucus amendment?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. It is greater under this amendment.

Mr. BERRY. Under the caucus amendment.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I will give two or three points to show the case exactly. The difference on 96 sugar under the Senate bill as first proposed was 41.4 cents. The difference under the pending measure is 52.1 cents. Take 88 sugar, which is the standard of muscovados. The differential under the original Senate bill was 50 cents on the hundred pounds. Under the proposed measure it is 58.7 on a hundred pounds. That runs through from 88 to 100. These tables will go into the RECORD.

Mr. GORMAN. What is 88 under the present law?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Sixteen and one-half. It was, under the Senate bill as first proposed, 50 points. In the one pending now it is 58.7. Under the Wilson Act it is 16½. The 96 was 41.4 under the bill as first reported, and it is 52.1 under the bill as pending now, and it was 13½ under the Wilson bill.

Mr. LINDSAY. I ask the Senator from Arkansas whether in any event the retaliatory or compensatory duty under the proposed bill is not 28 points higher than the retaliatory duty under the existing law?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. It is 28 points higher on refined sugar.

Mr. LINDSAY. That is what I meant.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Raw sugar carries 27 points, instead of 38, at the present time in Germany, whereas it formerly had 10 per cent on all sugar—one-tenth of a cent.

Mr. President, if the Senator from Iowa is willing to allow this amendment to go over until to-morrow morning, I should prefer not to proceed this afternoon. I have a statement to make in connection with it which will not take very long. If the Senator does not object, I prefer not to make it now, but that we shall have an adjournment.

Mr. ALLISON. Why not take up the next amendment offered by the committee?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. What is that?

Mr. ALLISON. The one-tenth.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. There is a general feeling on this side of the Chamber that we desire to adjourn, and I hope the Senator from Iowa will not insist upon proceeding further this evening.

Mr. ALLISON. I regret that we are not making more rapid progress with the bill. I now ask the Senator from Arkansas if we can not have an understanding that on Monday we shall begin our sessions at 11 o'clock?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I have said that we on this side are as anxious to get on with the bill as anybody. We do not want to sit into the dog days any more than anybody else; but we want to have a reasonable time given us in which to examine the bill as we go along and state our objections to it. We think that the bill has progressed with a reasonable degree of rapidity; but the sugar schedule is a most important one; and it was to be expected that some time would be taken in its discussion. There is probably no other provision in the bill which will take as much time as that.

I do not think it reasonable to ask us to begin our sessions as early as 11 o'clock on Monday, though, so far as I am concerned—and I believe it meets the approval of my colleagues—I shall be willing on some day later to agree to meet at 11 o'clock, provided we adjourn at 5. I would not consent to that as early as Monday or Tuesday next, but say Thursday or Friday next week. If we can make arrangement of that sort now, I shall have no objection.

Mr. ALLISON. I hope the Senator can agree to meet on Tuesday at 11 o'clock. I am willing to compromise between Tuesday and Wednesday at 11 o'clock. As to the hour of adjournment, I think that should suit the convenience of the Senate from day to day.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I am willing to compromise on Thursday. We are getting pretty close together, and there ought not to be much difficulty about that.

To be entirely frank with the Senator—we had some private conversation about this matter, and the Senator knows our feeling on this side—I am willing to agree to meet at 11 o'clock, say on Thursday of next week. I suppose I ought to have begun by fixing Monday week, so as to give a little more margin to fall back upon, but I must stand up a little more obstinately and make it Thursday.

Mr. ALLISON. Let the matter go over, then.

Mr. COCKRELL. We can arrange that when the time comes.

Mr. ALLISON. I hope we may go on a little longer this evening. I am willing to take up the next amendment of the committee.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. So far as I am concerned, if we are to be compelled to remain in session, I should prefer to take the amendments as they come in their order. I do not want to remain in session longer, but if the Senator insists on it, so far as I am concerned, while I shall not make any motion to adjourn, I do not feel that it is just and fair to keep us here longer.

Mr. VEST. I appeal to the Senator from Iowa to let us adjourn. I have some remarks to make on this schedule. I do not want to go on to-night, and my colleague on the committee [Mr. JONES of Arkansas] says he does not want to go on to-night. You will make time by acceding to our request.

Mr. ALLISON. If I could be assured that we should make time by adjourning now, I would not object.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I assure the Senator that he will make time.

Mr. ALLISON. That seems to be satisfactory.

Mr. FRYE. Will the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. CAFFERY] make the same assurance?

Mr. CAFFERY. Yes; I will say also that you will save time.

Mr. HOAR. I desire to give notice of an amendment intended to be proposed at the end of paragraph 206, which I should like to have read.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Massachusetts will be read.

The SECRETARY. At the end of paragraph 206 it is proposed to insert:

Provided, That the President of the United States shall appoint a commission, to consist of five persons, who shall report to Congress at its next regular session concerning the condition of the industry of producing and refining sugar in the United States, and what policy is best adapted to procuring a sufficient supply of sugar for the people of the United States at the least cost, and to encourage and promote the raising in the United States of a sufficient supply of sugar for domestic consumption, and what amount of duty on imports of sugar is necessary to enable the business of refining sugar in

the United States, to be conducted at a reasonable and moderate profit, and also what amount of duty upon such imports is expedient, having reference to raising a sufficient revenue to provide for the public expenditure; and to report such facts in regard to the business of producing and refining sugar, and whether the same is so conducted as to enable persons interested therein to exercise an improper control over the market; and such other facts as they may consider important and pertinent to the subject-matter of their inquiry; no more than three members of said commission to belong to the same political party.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment submitted by the Senator from Massachusetts will be printed.

Mr. CARTER. I submit at this time an amendment intended to be proposed to the pending bill, which I ask may lie on the table and be printed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. That order will be made, in the absence of objection.

Mr. MANTLE. I submit an amendment which I intend to propose to the pending bill, and, as it is very short, I ask that it may be printed in the RECORD and that it be also printed separately as an amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

The amendment intended to be proposed by Mr. MANTLE is as follows:

Amend section 23, page 212, line 8 of Senate report, by inserting after the word "consumption" the following:

"*Provided further*, That in respect to lead ores imported under the provisions of this section the refined metal set aside shall either be reexported or the regular duties paid thereon within sixty days from the date of the receipt of the ore."

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. McMILLAN. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After twelve minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened and (at 5 o'clock and 25 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Saturday, June 12, 1897, at 12 o'clock meridian.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate June 11, 1897.

SUPERINTENDENT OF CHARITIES.

Herbert W. Lewis, of Maryland, to be superintendent of charities for the District of Columbia.

CONSUL.

Harold S. Van Buren, of New Jersey, to be consul of the United States at Nice, France.

ASSISTANT APPRAISERS OF MERCHANDISE.

Michael J. Brown, of Pennsylvania, to be assistant appraiser of merchandise in the district of Philadelphia, in the State of Pennsylvania.

Fred P. Vincent, of Pennsylvania, to be assistant appraiser of merchandise in the district of Philadelphia, in the State of Pennsylvania.

DEPUTY AUDITOR FOR INTERIOR DEPARTMENT.

Robert S. Person, of South Dakota, to be deputy auditor for the Interior Department.

SUPERINTENDENT OF MINT.

Frank A. Leach, of California, to be superintendent of the mint of the United States at San Francisco, Cal.

ASSAYER OF MINT.

William M. Lynch, of Louisiana, to be assayer of the mint of the United States at New Orleans, La.

PROMOTIONS IN THE NAVY.

Medical Inspector James M. Flint, to be a medical director.

Surg. Charles U. Gravatt, to be a medical inspector.

P. A. Surg. Victor C. B. Means, to be a surgeon.

Asst. Engineer John K. Robison, to be a passed assistant engineer.

P. A. Engineer Edgar T. Warburton, to be a chief engineer.

POSTMASTERS.

Mathew J. Orr, to be postmaster at Osceola, in the county of St. Clair and State of Missouri.

A. M. Chisholm, to be postmaster at Hibbing, in the county of St. Louis and State of Minnesota.

F. P. Corrick, to be postmaster at Cozad, in the county of Dawson and State of Nebraska.

Walter McKay, to be postmaster at Lead, in the county of Lawrence and State of South Dakota.

SENATE.

SATURDAY, *June 12, 1897.*

Prayer by Rev. HUGH JOHNSTON, D. D., of the city of Washington.

The VICE-PRESIDENT resumed the chair.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. SEWELL presented the petition of Albert Naylor and 157 other citizens of Trenton, N. J., praying for the early passage of the pending tariff bill; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented the petition of Louis D. Culver and 27 other citizens of South Amboy, N. J., praying for the enactment of legislation for a more rigid restriction of immigration; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented the memorial of James Sheridan and 44 other citizens of Newark, N. J., remonstrating against the proposed increase of the tax on beer; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. PERKINS presented memorials of James D. Phelan, mayor, and sundry commercial organizations, insurance companies, and leading merchants of San Francisco, Cal., remonstrating against the abrogation of the Hawaiian treaty; which were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also presented petitions of sundry citizens of Alameda County; of the board of directors of the Chamber of Commerce of Sacramento; of the board of supervisors of Colusa County and Yuba County, and of sundry other county organizations, all in the State of California, praying for the abrogation of the Hawaiian treaty; which were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also presented a petition of sundry merchants of San Francisco, Cal., praying that further appropriations for the purchase of seeds for free distribution in the United States be discontinued; which was referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

He also presented a petition of sundry citizens of San Francisco, Cal., praying for the enactment of protective-tariff legislation, at the earliest possible date, which will adequately secure American industrial products against the competition of foreign labor; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. MORRILL presented a petition of sundry citizens of Colebrook, N. H., praying for the early enactment of a protective-tariff law; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. ALLEN presented a petition of Local Union No. 131, Journeymen Tailors' Union of America, of Pittsburg, Pa., praying for the adoption of clause No. 666 of the pending tariff bill, relating to the free imports of wearing apparel, etc., as passed by the House of Representatives; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. GALLINGER presented the petition of Frederick W. Ely and 44 other citizens of Greenville, N. H., praying for the early enactment of a protective-tariff law; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. BUTLER presented a memorial of the Tobacco Board of Trade of Raleigh, N. C., remonstrating against the proposed increase of 2 cents in the revenue tax on manufactured tobacco; which was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RALEIGH, N. C., *June 5, 1897.*

DEAR SIR: Whereas the proposed 2-cent increase of revenue tax on manufactured tobacco would, in our judgment, operate simply as an additional burden upon the manufacturers, the effect of which would be to further depress and lower the price paid the grower without bringing in any more revenue: Therefore,

Resolved by the Raleigh Tobacco Board of Trade, That we hereby enter our united and earnest protest against said 2 cents increase, or any other increase of the revenue on manufactured tobacco, and that we believe said increase of 2 cents, or any increase or change, would be greatly inimical to the interests of the tobacco business generally, especially the growers of tobacco, upon whom the loss would inevitably fall.

Resolved, second, That copies of these resolutions be at once mailed to our Senators at Washington.

E. L. FLEMING, *President.*
E. W. THOMASON, *Secretary.*

Hon. MARION BUTLER,
Washington, D. C.

Mr. ELKINS presented sundry petitions of citizens of Bayard, Morris, and Wheeling, all in the State of West Virginia, and a petition of sundry citizens of Littleton, Va., praying for the early passage of the pending tariff bill; which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. HAWLEY presented the memorial of John F. Moran and 74 other citizens of Danbury, Conn., remonstrating against the proposed increase of the tax upon beer; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. HOAR presented a petition of the Worcester Bleach and Dye Works Company, of Worcester, Mass., praying for the enactment of protective-tariff legislation, at the earliest possible date, which will adequately secure American industrial products against the competition of foreign labor; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. MURPHY presented petitions of Thomas H. Smith, of Jamestown; of sundry citizens of New York City, and of 104 citizens of Brooklyn, all in the State of New York, praying for the early passage of the pending tariff bill; which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. SMITH presented memorials of 1,406 citizens of Newark, of 855 citizens of Newark, of 570 citizens of Hudson County, and of 1,400 citizens, all in the State of New Jersey, remonstrating against the proposed increase of the tax on beer; which were ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented sundry petitions of citizens of Camden, East Orange, Gloucester City, Hamburg, Harrison, Jersey City, Little Falls, Madison, Newark, Asbury Park, Barnegat, Glassboro, Millstone, Milltown, Elizabeth, Pennsville, Rockaway, Sergeantsville, and Waretown, all in the State of New Jersey, praying for the enactment of legislation restricting immigration; which were ordered to lie on the table.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Mr. WILSON introduced a bill (S. 2128) for the relief of John O'Keane, of the State of Washington; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

Mr. ALLEN introduced a bill (S. 2129) granting an increase of pension to Josiah D. Fye, of Aurora, Nebr.; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying paper, referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. HAWLEY introduced a bill (S. 2130) granting a pension to Thomas S. Hancox; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also introduced the following bills; which were severally read twice by their titles, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs:

A bill (S. 2131) granting an honorable discharge to George A. Daniels;

A bill (S. 2132) to correct the military record of Edwin T. Leach; and

A bill (S. 2133) to remove the charge of desertion against Henry L. Snow.

Mr. WELLINGTON introduced a bill (S. 2134) for the relief of C. Wright Geddes, late a first assistant engineer in the United States Navy; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying paper, referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Mr. THURSTON introduced a bill (S. 2135) granting a pension to Michael Curtin, of Phillips Station, Nebr.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also introduced a bill (S. 2136) granting a pension to J. L. McGee, of Beatrice, Nebr.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also introduced a bill (S. 2137) to amend section 998 of the Revised Statutes of the United States for the District of Columbia, so as to make the 12th day of February a holiday within said District; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the Library.

AMENDMENT TO THE TARIFF BILL.

Mr. ALLEN submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill (H. R. 379) to provide revenue for the Government and to encourage the industries of the United States; which was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

RETURN OF PAPERS TO JOHN DOLAN.

On motion of Mr. HOAR, it was

Ordered, That the Secretary of the Senate be directed to return to John Dolan, of Washington, D. C., all papers filed by him in support of bills which have been introduced for his relief, and upon which an adverse report has been made: *Provided*, That said John Dolan shall leave with the Secretary of the Senate a copy of all papers withdrawn.

DIFFERENCES IN RANK.

Mr. ALLEN. I submit the resolutions which I send to the desk and ask that they be read and lie on the table subject to call. At a future time I shall ask leave to address the Senate upon the resolutions.

The resolutions were read, as follows:

Resolved, That the distinction heretofore made in granting pensions by special act of Congress between the equally meritorious widows of officers of the volunteer army and navy and those of enlisted men, sailors, and marines is unjust and un-American and should be abandoned, and that hereafter all such persons should be pensioned equally.

And be it further resolved, That differences in rank between citizens of the United States when serving as officers and enlisted men, sailors, and marines, in the military and naval forces cease by the laws of this country when such persons return to private life and take their respective stations in society, and that thereafter no distinction in rank can or does exist between them.

Mr. GALLINGER. Do I understand the Senator from Nebraska to request that the resolutions lie upon the table for future action?

Mr. ALLEN. I desire to have the resolutions printed and lie on the table subject to call. Within the course of a few days I shall ask the indulgence of the Senate to submit some remarks in their support.

Mr. GALLINGER. There can be no objection, I will suggest, to the course requested by the Senator from Nebraska. I trust that the resolutions may not be called up in my absence, because I shall probably want to make a motion to refer them to the Committee on Pensions. It is an important matter, and it ought to be considered by some committee.

Mr. ALLEN. I shall endeavor to accommodate the Senator from New Hampshire. It occurs to me, however, that the resolutions announce a doctrine so plain and so unequivocal that it does not require the wisdom of the Committee on Pensions to determine whether they shall be adopted. There has been a distinction, an invidious and a cruel distinction, enforced and recognized in this Chamber during the four years I have been here, and I want to put the Senate upon record, if I can, either in favor of or against the resolutions. I do not want to have them buried out of sight by the mysterious process employed here to strangle unpleasant resolutions, putting them in a committee and never reporting them.

Mr. GALLINGER. I will add only a word. The Committee on Pensions at the present time has about 900 bills of every conceivable kind before it for consideration. Many of them are unjust bills. Some, I apprehend, introduced by the Senator from Nebraska will not receive the favorable consideration of the committee.

Mr. ALLEN. Not because they are not just, however.

Mr. GALLINGER. Well, perhaps not, in the opinion of the Senator from Nebraska. I do not think that the Senate will feel, at this early period in the Congress, like instructing the Committee on Pensions as to their procedure in the consideration of those bills. At any rate, I am willing that the matter shall come up for discussion, and perhaps the Senator from Nebraska and I may be in full concurrence when we come to hear the arguments.

Mr. ALLEN. Yes, sir.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolutions will be printed and lie on the table.

Mr. ALLEN. Subject to call.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Subject to the call of the Senator from Nebraska.

UNION PACIFIC RAILROAD COMPANY.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate as a part of the morning business the resolution submitted yesterday by the Senator from Kansas [Mr. HARRIS]

Mr. HARRIS of Kansas. Since I introduced the resolution yesterday I have ascertained that the information embraced in the last paragraph was called for on the 25th of May. I therefore desire to strike out lines 20, 21, 22, and 23, and have the resolution referred to the Committee on Pacific Railroads, which will meet, I understand, on Monday.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The modification suggested by the Senator from Kansas will be stated.

The SECRETARY. Strike out the last paragraph of the resolution in the following words:

And the President is hereby requested to inform the Senate what action, if any, has been taken under the provisions of this law to protect the interests of the United States.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will be so modified. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Kansas to refer the resolution to the Committee on Pacific Railroads.

The motion was agreed to.

THE TARIFF BILL.

Mr. ALLISON. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of House bill 379.

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 379) to provide revenue for the Government and to encourage the industries of the United States, the pending question being on the amendment proposed by Mr. JONES of Arkansas, in paragraph 206, page 63, line 20, after the word "color," to strike out the words "and on all sugar;" so as to read:

And on sugar above No. 16 Dutch standard in color which has gone through a process of refining, 1 cent and ninety-five one-hundredths of 1 cent per pound.

Mr. VEST. Mr. President, I listened very attentively yesterday to my friend from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON] who has charge of the bill on the part of the majority of the Finance Committee. I was exceedingly anxious to hear his construction of the schedule that is now proposed. We endeavored upon this side of the Chamber to make a distinct, clear, emphatic announcement based upon the reports of the best experts who could be reached as to the effect of the change now proposed by the majority of the committee.

It seems to me, with great respect to the Senator from Iowa, that it was due to the Senate, to himself, and his party, to state clearly and emphatically what is the construction of the other side of the Senate in regard to the effect of this change. We make the distinct issue before the country that the change largely increases the protection given to the trust. We produce the testimony of the leading and controlling members of the trust to

show that they are now making 21 per cent net upon their watered capital every year, and we challenge the legislation that gives to this monopoly the enormous increase that we have shown to exist in the bill.

What is the reply of my friend from Iowa in charge of the bill and representing the majority of the Committee on Finance and possibly the majority in the Senate? As I understand him (and if I do him injustice, I hope he will correct me now), his statement was that he believed there was an increase upon this protection if the 38.3 cents of discriminating duty put on in the shape of export bounties by Germany was included in the estimate, but leaving that out, there was no increase. Not for one single instant did the Senator from Iowa undertake to tell us in a discussion of the figures what he believed was the exact mathematical effect of this increase if the 38.3 cents was included. And by what sort of legerdemain (I use the word in no offensive sense) does the Senator exclude that 38.3 cents? He might just as well, as my friend from Arkansas said yesterday, include the 1.95 upon the refined sugar. The law puts that 38.3 cents into the estimate, and how does he get it out?

Mr. President, it seems to me so plain that this increase has been made and has not been answered that it is an insult to the intelligence of anyone to continue that discussion. I repeat now, in order that there may be no sort of mistake about it, and I challenge criticism of the table, that there has been an increase between what was known as the Aldrich amendment and the pending bill upon 96-degree sugar by the polariscopic test of 5 points, or 5 cents.

I have here before me the protection given by each one of the four measures, the Wilson Act, the Dingley bill, the Senate committee's bill, and the proposed caucus amendment. The caucus amendment is higher than any other in its protection. Upon the 96-degree polariscopic sugar, which the Senator from Iowa will admit and all experts admit to be the test sugar, it gives an increase of 5 points over the Aldrich amendment, a large increase over the Dingley bill, and an increase from 34 cents protection on the 100 pounds under the Wilson Act to sixty-six and a fraction under the caucus amendment which is now pending before the Senate.

How is this arrived at? I challenge investigation in regard to it. We accept, as a matter of course, as the basis of this calculation the prices given by the Senator from Rhode Island. It is fair, legitimate, logical, in answering his proposition, to take his prices, and certainly neither he nor his friends ought to complain if we do so. I believe those prices are too low, but for the sake of argument and in all candor and fairness I assume them to be correct. We take the price, for instance, given by Mr. ALDRICH of 96-degree polariscopic test, and it is 2.6 cents per pound. Upon that is the duty of 1.63. Adding to that the cost of the sugar itself, it would make the cost, duty paid, per pound of sugar at 96 degrees polariscopic, 3.69 cents.

But it takes 107.47 pounds of that polariscopic degree of sugar to make 100 pounds of refined sugar. That is according to the official statements of the Government published to instruct the custom-house officers as to drawback upon the different degrees according to the polariscope. Multiplying the amount which I have named, the duty and the cost of the sugar, by the 107 pounds necessary to make 100 pounds of refined, and we have the whole cost as 3.96 cents, and if that is subtracted from the cost of the refined sugar it would leave the differential and the protection at sixty-six and a fraction, instead of 61 under the Aldrich amendment and 34 under the Wilson Act.

Mr. President, if these figures are not correct, disprove them. If they are not correct, it is due to the people of the United States that that should be done. When the facts come before us indisputably that this trust is making the enormous amount of 21 per cent clear, and declaring a dividend upon $24,000,000 invested in their stock or in their plant, with a watered capital of $75,000,000, it is due that these figures should be answered or admitted. Then let every Senator take the responsibility that must rest upon him for his vote.

I have heard but one excuse for this enormous and outrageous taxation, which is utterly indefensible in my judgment, or else my able friends upon the other side would long since have defended it. It was said here yesterday by the Senator from Iowa that this was done not for revenue, but for the encouragement of the beet-sugar industry in this country. That position was emphasized by the senior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR], who asked the Senator from Iowa if this increase of duty had not been made for the purpose solely of increasing or fostering the great agricultural interest of beet sugar in the United States. The reply was that it was done for that purpose, and, said the Senator from Iowa, as the RECORD shows, "I have failed to be understood if the Senate does not know that to be my object."

Mr. President, I call Mr. Oxnard to the stand in regard to the condition of the sugar-beet industry of the United States under the Wilson law, the derided act which took off the bounty upon sugar, and which Mr. Oxnard, who came before the Finance Committee in 1894, declared was clear assassination of the beet-sugar culture in this country. I call Mr. Oxnard to the stand before the Ways and Means Committee of the House, of which Mr. DINGLEY is chairman. Here is his testimony: "In 1830 two-thirds of the world's sugar was from cane, while in 1895 two-thirds of the world's supply was from the beet. The domestic beet sugar increase, in tons," in this country, now, mark it, "has been"—and we will see under what sort of legislation beet sugar and beet culture have prospered in the United States—in 1889, the commencement of the culture, there were 2,000 tons produced in this country; in 1890, 2,800. Then the McKinley Act was enacted. In 1891, the first year under its operation, there were 5,400 tons, from 2,800 in 1890; in 1892, 12,000 tons; in 1893, 20,000 tons.

Then came the enactment of the derided and depreciated Wilson bill. Now mark the figures for 1894, 1895, and 1896, as given by Mr. Oxnard, an interested witness upon the other side and president of the Beet Growers' Association of the United States, an owner of three beet-sugar factories, two in Nebraska and one in California. In 1894, instead of falling off under the obnoxious and iniquitous Wilson bill, which took off the bounty, it increased from 20,000 tons to 22,443 tons. The next year it was 20,000, and in 1896, according to Mr. Oxnard's estimate, it was 37,000 tons.

Mr. COCKRELL. Notwithstanding the general depression.

Mr. VEST. Notwithstanding, as my colleague says, the general depression and gloom that rested upon the country. My colleague on the committee [Mr. JONES of Arkansas] tells me that it is stated by others to be 41,000 tons, but I will take the most unwilling witness of all, the head of the Beet Growers' Association in this country.

Mr. ALLEN. Will the Senator from Missouri permit me a moment?

Mr. VEST. Certainly.

Mr. ALLEN. It is due to a correct understanding of this matter to say that the beet-sugar factories have not increased under the present law. The acreage has increased somewhat, but it has increased under a bounty that was offered in my State of five-eighths of a cent a pound on refined sugar, and I do not know but something of a bounty in California, where the other factory is owned by Mr. Oxnard. I think the increase of the beet-sugar industry during the last two or three years is due in a very large measure to the bounties offered by different States.

Mr. VEST. I am discussing the proposition that this increase of protection to the trust is in order to increase the culture or production of beet sugar and the cultivation of the sugar beet, and I answer the proposition with the statement of the head and front of the Beet Growers' Association in this country, the owner of these three beet-sugar factories, and it shows that in one year under the Wilson law the acreage (and I will adopt the Senator's word) increased 17,000 tons, equal to the increase in the three years under the McKinley Act.

Mr. ALLEN. But in Nebraska, where two of the Oxnard factories are located, the legislature passed an act two years ago last winter offering five-eighths of a cent per pound on sugar from beets grown in the State, provided the factories would increase the price from $4 a ton to $5 a ton for beets.

Mr. VEST. I understand.

Mr. ALLEN. Under that bounty the acreage was largely increased in the State. I think that accounts in a large measure for the increased acreage, and therefore the increased output of sugar.

Mr. VEST. Mr. Oxnard stated first in 1890 that if this bounty should be given by the United States Congress he would undertake to say that in a very few years there would be enough beets grown in the country to supply the domestic demand for sugar. In 1894 he stated to the committee that if the national bounty was taken away, notwithstanding the State bounty in Nebraska, the industry would languish and die; to use his expression, that it would be assassinated by taking off the national bounty of 2 cents a pound.

Mr. ALLEN. But it has not increased——

Mr. VEST. It has increased, as his own testimony shows, from 20,000 tons in 1895 to 37,000 tons in 1896.

Mr. ALLEN. I beg to state to the Senator from Missouri that it has not increased as a consequence of the present law; that there is no sympathetic relation between the increased acreage and the increased output in the country under the present law, and that the increase must necessarily be due, in a large measure, to the local bounties offered for the growing of beets.

Mr. CHILTON. Will the Senator from Missouri permit me to call his attention to the fact that the price of sugar has fallen more than the amount of the local bounty?

Mr. VEST. There is no bounty paid in California.

Mr. BACON. I was going to state, if my friend from Missouri will permit me, that I know in California the price of beets is $4 a ton. I had the statement last year from Mr. Claus Spreckels in person that the standing price in California is $4 a ton.

Mr. ALLEN. The price of beets in Nebraska was $5 a ton

until there was a failure to carry out the provisions of the act of 1895. The extra dollar was due to the payment of the local bounty, which stimulated the cultivation of beets and caused the increased acreage.

Mr. VEST. What is the number of tons produced in Nebraska?

Mr. ALLEN. I can not state the number exactly; I think it is something like 14,000,000 pounds.

Mr. VEST. Fourteen million pounds?

Mr. ALLEN. Yes; I am talking about pounds, not tons. It is in the neighborhood of 14,000,000 pounds. I can not state the exact production.

Mr. VEST. The production in 1896, according to Mr. Oxnard, was 37,000 tons, and in 1895 it was 20,000 tons.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. About 7,000 tons in Nebraska in 1896.

Mr. VEST. According to that estimate, as my colleague suggests, and I believe he is correct, there were about 7,000 tons produced in Nebraska and about 30,000 tons outside of that State in the year 1896.

Mr. ALLEN. I think you will find that my statement in pounds is substantially correct. I wish to call the attention of the Senator to the fact that since the passage of the present law, and I am not assailing nor defending the present law, there has been no increase in the number of pounds in the United States, nor any enlargement of the output of the factories.

Mr. VEST. In regard to the latter statement, the Senator from Nebraska is mistaken. I happened to meet on this floor Mr. W. A. Clark, of Montana, who came to us once with credentials as a Senator from that State and was rejected—a very prominent Democrat and a very wealthy gentleman—and he told me that he is now putting up in California a sugar refinery to cost $700,000, and he expects to have it in running order in a very short time.

Mr. ALLEN. What kind of a sugar factory?

Mr. VEST. Beet sugar, of course.

Mr. WHITE. If the Senator from Missouri will permit me, I will state that the factory to which he refers as being in process of construction is located not very far from the city of Los Angeles, about 35 miles distant, at a place called Los Alamitos; that it is not only in process of construction, but very nearly completed, and Mr. Clark will undoubtedly have it in operation in the next campaign, as they call the sugar season.

Mr. VEST. I was informed that it would be the largest and finest refinery in the world. It is most extraordinary that one of the most successful men in the annals of American finance should make the mistake, if the beet-sugar industry is now dying, of investing $700,000, and possibly more, of his money in the face of the conclusions that have been announced here in regard to beet culture.

I had occasion to say the other day that there is one set of men in this country not mistaken as to the effect of this legislation. Our experts may be wrong. We may be in the fog, as a Senator recently a member of this body said; we may ring our fog bells as much as we please, but there is one class of men in this country not mistaken in regard to the effect of this schedule. Our friends in Wall street know what it means. Sugar was 118 when this caucus amendment was reported. When I spoke in the Senate the other day briefly it was 124. It closed last night at 125½. Does anybody believe that they do not know what the protection is to the trust? Suppose you had taken away or reduced this protection, what would have been the result? Do we not know that Wall street would have responded as my hand responds to my brain? Do we not know that an electric thrill would have gone through that market immediately, and sugar would have gone down? But it is going up, and the cry on Wall street amongst the speculators is, "The trust will get all it wants; it has friends in Congress; its interests will be protected; it will continue its enormous dividends of 21 per cent net upon preferred and common stock of $75,000,000; it is the best investment that can be made. Up with the flag of protection, because it puts money into our pockets, and it is for the benefit of all the consumers of sugar!"

Mr. McENERY. Mr. President, during the consideration of this sugar schedule we have heard a great deal in denunciation of the sugar trust as a monopoly, and one which more than any other is attempting to crush out the lifeblood and the energy of American industries. But it is not alone one of the organizations which is now meeting with condemnation from the American people by reason of the action of the representatives of wealth, the aggregated and concentrated wealth and power of this country. It has been said that there are in the city of New York 250 men who could stop the plows in the field, prevent the harvesting of crops, prevent your fleet from sailing on the ocean, your railroads from traversing the continent, stop the telegraph and telephone messages; in fact, by their power put the 70,000,000 people of the country into beggary, want, misery, starvation, and death. Another said that Congress dare not legislate against the power and the influence of Wall street; that it held in reserve a power which would always prevent any legislation against the interests of the concentrated wealth and power of this country.

But in the South there is now threatening to strangle its energies and to impoverish its people a trust in comparison with which the power, the influence, and the ability, if you may so call it, of the sugar trust is but an infinitesimal portion. I refer to the great American Cotton Company, which controls some new process for baling cotton, a trust which has been organized by the combination of several rival presses. Its intention is to purchase the cotton of the South and to bale it. Failing in this, it is its intention to establish its presses in every cotton vicinity and bale the cotton at the expense of the farmer.

No cotton planter can to-day buy one of those cotton presses. The object of that organization is to control the price of cotton, and in failing to do that, to make every planter in the South contribute to its wealth and power, and in carrying out the purposes of this power they will have at their back, by their influence and their money power, every cotton exchange in America and every cotton exchange in Liverpool, and they will force the planters to do their bidding just in the same manner as the cotton-tie trust forced them speedily and at great expense to discard the tying of cotton with rope.

Now, Mr. President, this is a power which everyone on both sides of this Chamber recognizes that it is the duty of Congress to stop by appropriate legislation. The genius, the ability, the experience of Congress will in time apply a remedy, but I say to strike down this power, to check this cruel wrong to other industries in order to reach the influence of this power, is just exactly what is being done by the opposition to this sugar schedule in the Senate.

I have not heard a proposition nor has an amendment been offered or a suggestion made that, unintentional though it may be, has not the effect of increasing the power and the influence of the sugar trust at the expense of the sugar-producing industry in this country. This trust receives more benefit from the ad valorem duty imposed by the Wilson law than from either the schedule of the bill as it came from the House of Representatives or the amendment reported by the Senate Committee on Finance. In the bill as it came from the House the trust received the greatest protection, and in this way its power was increased. Its mode and its manner of controlling the introduction into this country of low-grade sugars is beyond the power of anyone to ascertain. While it has been attempted in the Senate, no one has ever been able to ascertain what percentage of protection the trust gains by an ad valorem duty.

I know what is the feeling among the sugar producers of this country. They have been alarmed, and are yet in unrest, because they believe that it is the intention to so confuse by amendment the sugar schedule that, when it gets into the conference committee, in sheer desperation there will be a surrender to this power and a general ad valorem duty adopted. I believe this impressed the Senate Finance Committee when they changed from a mixed schedule to a specific duty.

It is now in the differential only 7½ points more than in the bill as it came from the House. That is small, comparatively, when you learn the fact that every sugar producer's interest goes along side by side with that of the trust when you measure the advantages in a specific duty. All they contended for was that the duty should be so fixed that it should be certain and determinate, and not a duty so arranged that low-grade sugars could be imported into this country and refined at a less cost than that at which they could be produced on the plantations, and then rendered into a product fit for consumption.

Mr. President, I have in my possession a great many facts bearing on this question of ad valorem duty, but as that question is not now before the Senate, I shall not inflict upon this honorable body a tedious detailed statement. I will now, in a few words, direct my attention to the amendment which is before this body.

The pending amendment is designed to strike down the dividing line between lower-grade sugars, those below 16 Dutch standard, and those above, and to make it apply to all classes of importation. Here [exhibiting] is a sample of what is known as standard 6 of the soft sugars offered by the American Sugar Refining Company to the trade. This sugar polarizes 83.6. Its value on the 10th day of June was 4.06, granulated sugar on the same day polarizing 99.08; difference of polarization, 16.02; difference in value, sixty-nine one-hundredths. That is easily ascertained by the proportions 99.08 is to 83.6, as 4.75 is to 3.97. On examination of that sugar you will perceive that it has a good color; it is a sugar which is directly sold to the trade; it is a sugar which may be largely imported.

I can see no reason for this amendment. In no direction can anyone be benefited, except it be Crooks & Co., of New York, who import the sugars made by the Scotch and the English refiners.

The Senator from Arkansas [Mr. JONES] was generous in his argument. He was controlled by a philanthropic motive when he said this was the poor man's sugar. It is a fraud and a deceit. It contains 16½ per cent of water. It is a sugar that deceives the eye. Its value is 4.06 in the market. It goes into the hands of the retailer, and the consumer can not tell the amount of sugar

and of other solids in this sample. What is the real value of that sugar? Its relative value is only 3.978, and yet the consumer pays 4.06 for it. What will be the result of this amendment? It will flood this country with that kind of sugar.

Here [exhibiting] is the poor man's sugar. This is a sample of the raw Louisiana sugar, made on sugar plantations by Louisiana industry and refined in Louisiana sugar houses. Here [exhibiting] is a sugar which is slightly darker in color, but which polarizes 94.6. The difference between that and this [exhibiting], which polarizes 88.6, is that that is nearly a pure sugar, and was worth in the New Orleans market on the 10th day of June 3 cents a pound.

Here [exhibiting] is another, higher in color, larger in grain, polarizing 99, with only 1 per cent of water in it, and it is quoted in the New Orleans market at 3.75. Here [exhibiting] is another choice white, larger grain sugar, but the consumer could hardly distinguish the difference. That polarizes 99, and its cost is 3¼ of a cent a pound. Here [exhibiting] is a very high grade of sugar, called confectioners' sugar, used by confectioners and by bakers. That sugar is worth only $3\frac{9}{16}$ cents per pound in the market, and polarizes 99.4.

Here [exhibiting] comes par excellence the poor man's sugar, with only 2 per cent of water in it, which polarizes 98. That is sold for $3\frac{9}{16}$ cents in the New Orleans market. Here [exhibiting] is a choice article, with larger grain, though a poorer sugar, without a single harmful ingredient in it, which polarizes 98.5. That is sold for 3¼. This [exhibiting] is common brown sugar, known as "off yellow," worth 3¼ cents per pound, polarizing 97.8. This [exhibiting] is a higher grade of sugar, made on the plantation, called "plantation granulated," and that is quoted at $4\frac{1}{16}$ cents a pound, while the refinery sugar, testing 88.6, is quoted at 4.06 cents.

Mr. President, if this amendment be adopted, it will have the effect to bring here in large quantities this sugar. It will be sold at a reduced price. Consequently these sugars will have to be reduced in price and their manufacture entirely and absolutely destroyed. That will be the effect of the adoption of this amendment.

Now, what is the industry to be protected, and what advantages are to accrue to the country from the adoption of this schedule? As I stated before, this specific duty, this differential, as they call it, is a direct benefit to the manufacturer of these sugars, because 85 per cent of these sugars are over No. 16 Dutch standard in color and polarize over 85 degrees. We make but few common sugars in the State of Louisiana.

Therefore, speaking for that State, I say that the interest of her planters is in the direction of the maintenance of this differential duty. Take that off, and you strike a blow at the industry in that State. Not only that, but you will put to idleness every beet factory in this country. I do not see, therefore, the patriotism in attempting to get at what they call the sugar trust in striking down the most important and growing interest of this country, one that is more national in its character than any other which appears upon any schedule of this tariff bill.

Why shall you, in order to get at your enemy, thrust the sword through the body of your friend? But that is exactly what you are doing. To reach what is called "a colossal power," they take their sword and thrust it through the body of an infant, in order to reach and strike down a giant. It is not manly; it is not courageous; and it is not in harmony with American character and American intelligence.

Mr. President, the beet-growing people and the sugar-making people are all farmers engaged in adding to the wealth of this country by cultivating its soil and by turning into finished products the things and the articles which they raise on their farms. I say the American farmer has a right to demand that he shall be permitted to produce in this country everything that we now import. That ought to be the underlying principle of all tax laws. That is about the only real and substantial benefit that you can confer upon him by tax legislation. Our agricultural exports are more than $570,000,000 per year. It is said that one-half of that amount is needed to pay for sugar and many other things which we import and which we could make at home. We have paid as import duties on articles which we could make in this country in the last six years the enormous sum of $1,750,000,000, which is as much as the interest-bearing debt of the United States.

Beet sugar can be produced in twenty-three States of this Union. That has been demonstrated beyond question or doubt, and it is believed that its successful cultivation can be extended to other States. The beet belt runs through Alabama, through northern Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and on along the Atlantic coast. The introduction of the beet culture gives new life and new energy to other industries. It is a fact that wherever the beet has been introduced it has increased other crops because of the better tilth of the soil, its pulp also being useful for food for cattle, and the droppings supplying a good manure for the grain crop following. It is a fact that in this country in the vicinity of every beet factory land has advanced from 25 to 50 per cent in value.

As I have stated and attempted to show by these samples, the beet factories and the Louisiana sugar houses produce a product ready for consumption. Under the McKin ey law a bounty of 2 cents a pound was paid for all sugars over the 80 test which were produced in the United States. That law was attacked by a Democratic Congress, which, I say, with reckless disregard of the national honor, repealed it, throwing into distress and into bankruptcy and into poverty men who had invested more than $2,000,000 in improvements on the promise of the Government.

Call that bounty un-Democratic! It was not un-Democratic for New Jersey in 1872 to exempt from taxation for a period of ten years the machinery and buildings and capital stock of the beet-sugar factories erected in that State. Nor was it un-Democratic in New Jersey to pass a law in 1881 granting a bounty of 1 cent per pound upon all merchantable sugar made from beets or sorghum. Nor was it un-Democratic for Delaware to offer a premium for the manufacture of beet sugar. Maine, Nebraska, Massachusetts, Kansas, all offered bounties. So we have in line Democratic and Republican States recognizing the fact that a bounty was a proper expedient for stimulating an industry.

Germany, since 1775, has been fostering the cultivation of beets and the manufacture of sugar, and she has been followed by France, by Holland, by Russia, and other European countries, until to-day it requires 1,437 factories to manufacture the beets which are raised on the Continent.

We import over 1,500,000 tons of dutiable sugar. We send abroad, it is estimated, from one hundred millions to one hundred and thirty-seven million dollars to pay for it. To manufacture that sugar which we import will require the erection of 530 additional factories, which will cost the enormous sum of $150,000,000.

There can be no doubt that with proper legislation and protection these factories will be established. What a vast amount of money to send abroad, when we have all the essentials which are necessary to erect these factories and to keep them in successful operation.

I say every section of this country will be benefited if there is any truth in the letters which I have received from Cincinnati, from Chicago, from New York, from Philadelphia, and from all over the Union, protesting against the importation of beet-sugar machinery free of duty, for the simple reason that they all expect to enlarge their factories and engage in the manufacture of sugar machinery. Already there are 10,500 farmers engaged in the beet industry, and it requires seven factories to manufacture the beets which they raise. In Louisiana one-half of our population is engaged in the raising of sugar.

Mr. President, a few words as to the production of sugar in Louisiana. The soil of Louisiana and the amount of land that can be devoted to cane will produce—it is a large estimate, I will admit, but it has been so stated by the director of the Louisiana Sugar Station—the soil of Louisiana and the amount of land that can be devoted to cane will produce one-half the sugar needed to supply the entire people of the United States. The soil of our State wherein sugar cane is so successfully grown is not so well adapted to any other crop. The early history of the colony recites what efforts the colonists made to raise other crops, and what failures met their efforts. It can therefore be understood with what joy and with what anxiety as to the future the discovery of the adaptation of soil and climate to cane production was received when Etienne de Bore announced the results of his experience.

Struggling against uncertainty in legislation, sometimes ruinous, the sugar industry, by force of necessity, now engages the attention of one-half the population of the State; more than one-half the capital and at least one-half of its lands under cultivation are devoted to the raising of the sugar cane. This and the manufacture of sugar requires the investment of large capital and gives employment to a great army of laborers. It necessitates the use of costly machinery, much of which comes from other sections of the Union. It demands the best class of work animals, probably four times as many as are required in the cultivation of any other crop, the mules averaging in cost from $175 to $200 each, all of which come from Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Kentucky, and Tennessee. It demands the use of large quantities of the best and most expensive fertilizers, phosphates, and lime, which come from beyond the borders of our State. The implements used, from the plow drawn by four, six, and eight mules to the lighter cultivators, are furnished by the factories in other sections of the country.

Even the cane knife, of which we now hear so much in connection with the Cuban struggle for liberty, is a costly instrument, and comes from the factories of the North. The large number of carts and wagons necessary to convey the immense tonnage of cane from field to factory come to us from other States. We need heavy supplies of chemicals, to apply which the services of skilled chemists are employed, and then there are blacksmiths, carpenters, coopers, engineers, and sugar makers, many of whom are drawn from your population during the grinding season. The

large army of employees have to be clothed and fed. Their food and clothing come from the fields and factories of the North and West. Every section of the North, East, and West feels the beneficial influence of the cultivation of cane and the manufacture of sugar. More than any other industry in the Mississippi Valley it adds to the commerce on the great river; more than any other industry it adds to the earnings of the railroads; more than any other industry it draws supplies from the mills of the East and from the Great Plains of the West.

No agricultural product is made at such heavy expense; commencing with the most expensive drainage, the cost of seed cane, of more labor than is required in the cultivation of any other crop, more mules and of higher grade, and more wages and costs; and all this in the face of the uncertainties of legislation. Fortunately, the climate of Louisiana is favorable for the cultivation of cane, but the risks involved are necessarily great. The heaviest cost, however, is in the manufacturing department of the industry, as all modern sugar factories and the necessary implements, even some of the old ones, cost from $150,000 to $200,000; such, for instance, as would turn out from two to four million pounds of first-class sugar, running from No. 16 to No. 20 Dutch standard.

Without assistance from the Government, without sharing equally with other industries in the benefits of protection arising from the imposition of a duty, the vast amount of capital employed in the sugar industry in Louisiana will be destroyed; the large and productive area of the State on which the cane is planted will be idle; the great and costly mills will go to decay, the walls will crumble, and the machinery will be eaten up with rust. The vast number of laborers, the skilled scientists and mechanics, will be out of employment. Desolation will be where there had been promise of a prosperous and happy condition. Is this section to be given up to desolation? If so, its effect will be felt in other sections. Factories of all kinds in the North and East, and the farming sections of the West, railroads and river transportation will be disastrously affected. I am no agriculturist, but I am told that the beet thrives in the cold and arid sections of the country. Where other things perish, this plant thrives and produces its best results.

Estimate the area of our country that is possessed of such a climate, where the farmer has been driven away in an unequal contest with the climate, in efforts to raise cattle and cereals. Here is where the beet-sugar central factories have been located to keep the farmer in the neighborhood, directing his attention to a new industry in order that an inhospitable climate may be wooed into giving to this country an increase of wealth and of prosperity and instilling hope into the breast of the heretofore unsuccessful farmer, to be realized in a near future into an active and a paying industry.

From what I have stated, from the vast amount of interest that Louisiana has in the cultivation of rice, of sugar, the output of her sawmills, of her salt mines, of her sulphur mines, is there any reason for doubting that the Democratic party of that State is committed to protection along Democratic lines to afford the utmost protection that revenue can give with the least burden to the people? I believe that this also is the doctrine of the Republican party. I do not believe that either party desires to impose unnecessary burdens upon the people.

Mr. President, in some quarters there has been criticism made upon the position which I have taken before this honorable body, but it is no new one to the people of Louisiana. In 1884, when the industries of Louisiana were threatened by adverse legislation, I took occasion to state substantially the grounds upon which I now stand. When I was nominated by a Democratic caucus for this position, before the vote was taken, so that there should be no misunderstanding, although not called on, I went before the caucus and made the same statement that I did in my inaugural address in 1884. There was not a dissenting voice, and if you will go to the newspapers you will find it recorded that when I uttered that sentiment there was an outburst of applause.

If we look at the condition of the country we find that a large amount of money will have to be raised in order to support the Government. Why more revenue? It is answered by the fact that there has been a constant increase in population, in the wants and in the necessities of the Government, and this is shown by a regular increase of the appropriations every four years. We need a large sum of money. It is true that extravagance has been charged in the expenditure of our revenue, but such charges are and will be made as often as one Administration succeeds another, but the accuser does no better than the accused.

One Congress is derisively called a "billion-dollar Congress." It is succeeded by another, which is expected to do better, but which, in its turn, exceeds its predecessor in appropriations. I have seen no itemized statement showing in what direction expenses can be reduced. No one will say that we ought to cease building war vessels. Each year requires an increase in our Navy. The great maritime powers are increasing the number of their ships of war and their armaments, and common prudence demands that there shall be no backward step in the progress we have already made in building up a formidable fleet.

No one demands that pensions shall cease; on the contrary, there is a universal sentiment in favor of so increasing the pension list as to provide for every widow and orphan of those who died in the Federal service, and for the care of every veteran, not niggardly, with a sum barely sufficient to stave off hunger, but liberally, so that the remaining years allotted to them shall be passed in ease and comfort; so that when their last moments shall come they will breathe blessings upon the country they served, instead of curses for its neglect and ingratitude.

No one wants the work on seacoast defenses stopped or the Army crippled in its organization or in its usefulness. We do not want to check the Government in its aid to the unfortunate who may be driven from their fields and firesides by floods and must necessarily depend upon its generosity to save them from suffering and from starvation. I hope no one will demand that there shall be even a diminution in the sums appropriated for the improvement of our rivers and harbors. That great highway, the Mississippi River, will demand additional sums in order that in the future no such disaster as the recent flood shall overtake the people dwelling along its banks and along those of its tributaries. These things considered, the fact is forced upon us that more revenue is needed now than at any time in the history of this country, save in the few years when internecine war brought woe to all our people.

For one I believe in making this country greater. So far as the Government can increase its prosperity, it is its duty so to do. We hear that there are hundreds of thousands of our people out of work. It is certain they are menacing the existing order of society and threatening the stability of the Government. Call them from the highways and the byways; employ them in building ships and fortifications; in improving your rivers and harbors. Wherever the Government can expend money for useful purposes, let it go and find its way in affording relief to a suffering people. Summon up the old Roman spirit in sending out not armies for conquest, but armies of busy and contented laborers, imbued, as were the old Roman officers and soldiers, with fidelity and devotion to the government they so well served.

By our efforts let us bring happiness and contentment, peace and prosperity, to all the people. In the symbol city of prosperity, as the people pass through its hundred gates, let its shield be borne aloft inscribed with the mart, the field, the ship, the plow, and the loom—with all the symbols of labor and of industry; and let the march of the people in progressive prosperity be lit with the fires of the forge, the furnace, and the factory.

I affirm that the true doctrine of Democracy is in line with the rapid and progressive development of our country. I deny that its principles are directed to the destruction of our industrial system, the putting out of furnace fires, the silencing of the busy hum of our looms or the whirring of our wheels, or, worse than all, to the paying of a premium to foreign pauper labor and the impoverishment of our toilers in every industrial occupation.

In Hamilton's report (in 1790) upon "Commerce and manufactures," there is not one thing said that is not good Democratic doctrine. It committed the nation to the protective system. It brought the people irrespective of party to the support of the tariff act of 1789, which was the practical beginning of a protective era lasting till 1816. All tariff legislation until that date was protective; all received the support of both parties, Federalists and Republicans (Democrats). The tariff act of 1794, which increased duties to raise a greater revenue, found stronger support among Republicans (Democrats) than among Federalists. The Republicans were more inclined to its support because of their opposition to the excise tax of the previous session. On March 26, 1804, an amended tariff act was passed still further increasing duties. The Republicans were in power, and Thomas Jefferson, the great apostle of Democracy, was President.

The acts amendatory of the act of 1789 were all in the line of protection. During this period Washington said, in his message:

> Our agriculture, commerce, and manufactures prosper beyond example—every part of the Union displays indications of rapid and various improvements, and with burdens so light as scarcely to be perceived.

Mr. Adams, in his last message, said:

> I observe with much satisfaction that the product of the revenue during the present year is more considerable than at any former period.

Thomas Jefferson, in his second annual message, said:

> To protect the manufactures adapted to our circumstances is one of the landmarks by which we shall guide ourselves.

That tariff produced an excess of revenue. In speaking on the subject, in his sixth annual message, he said:

> Shall we suppress the imposts and give that advantage to foreign over domestic manufactures? On a few articles of more general and necessary use the suppression, in due season, will doubtless be right; but the great mass of the articles on which imposts are laid are foreign luxuries purchased only by the rich, who can afford themselves the use of them.

At the present day if duties were imposed only upon articles used by the rich and high enough to provide the revenue needed by the Government there would be absolute prohibition, which has been so much discussed as the ruling idea in the bill sent to this Senate by the House. In a special message, in May, 1809, President Madison said:

It will be worthy of the just and prudent care of Congress to make such further alterations in the laws as will more especially protect and foster the several branches of manufacture which have recently been instituted or extended by the laudable exertions of our citizens.

The tariff of 1808 was protective in laying an impost duty on cordage, glass, nails, salt, and many manufactures of iron. Protection of textiles and of unmanufactured iron had received no attention, but the Berlin and Milan decrees and the English orders in council and the declaration of war against Great Britain drew attention to the necessity of a revenue tariff with protective features.

Mr. Madison urged the passage of the tariff act of 1812 "as a means to preserve and promote the manufactures which have sprung into existence and attained an unparalleled maturity during the period of the European wars." Calhoun and Lowndes joined with Clay in a demand that protection to home industries should no longer be secondary to a tariff for revenue only. The Republican party of that time, to which the present Democratic party is the successor, quoted the report of Hamilton to sustain their position upon which the earlier tariff acts had been based.

This position of the Republicans caused the Federals to ignore the traditions of their party faith and to take the antiprotection side of the controversy. The Democratic tariff of 1812 imposed the highest rates of duty since the foundation of the Government until 1842. It was, it is true, a war tax, in aid of Democratic support of the war. The existing rates were doubled. Sugar received protection to the extent of 5 cents per pound; coffee was taxed 10 cents, tea 36 cents, pig iron 30 per cent, bar iron 30 per cent, cotton manufactures 30, woolen 30, and silk 25.

The tariff act of 1816 was in its entirety protective, rendered necessary by the recent war, but its fatality was in taking from it this revenue feature, with incidental protection, after three years. In 1819, when protection under the act reached the minimum, Great Britain began to flood the country with her surplus wares. More than twice the quantity needed by this country was imported. There was depression in business, and general bankruptcy was the result. Thomas H. Benton described the condition of the country as follows:

No price for property, no sale except those of the sheriff and marshal, no purchaser at execution sales save the creditor or some money hoarder, no employment for industry, no sale for the products of the farm. No sound of the hammer save that of the auctioneer knocking down property. Distress was the universal cry of the people; relief the universal demand thundered at the doors of legislatures—State and Federal.

Relief was offered in the extension for seven years of the provisions of the tariff act of 1818. It was abortive. A panic lasting for several years followed, and relief became imperative. President Monroe urgently recommended "additional protection to those articles which we are prepared to manufacture." The tariff act of 1824 was framed. Mr. Calhoun now became the leader of the free traders.

Andrew Jackson and James Buchanan supported the bill, which recognized the doctrine of protection in a revenue bill more emphatically than any former revenue act. Opposition to the bill was more on sectional lines than from any well-defined principles. The bill fully recognized the "American system" as a living principle in our politics. Sugar received an import duty of 3 cents per pound. Coffee was taxed 5 cents; tea, 25 cents; salt, 20 cents; pig iron, 20 per cent; bar iron, $30 per ton; glass, 30 per cent and 3 cents per pound.

Manufactures of cotton were taxed 25 per cent, and silk 25 per cent. There was such improvement in the financial and industrial condition of the country that the supporters of the act were encouraged to try further efforts in the direction of raising a revenue with incidental protection, a necessary and desirable adjunct. In the Twentieth Congress the Democrats were in the majority, but they were divided over the tariff. Those of the North voted with the Whigs and passed the tariff act of 1828. Jackson had carried New York, Pennsylvania, and Illinois by his protective-tariff record, and the act was in a measure a Jackson tariff law.

This act also emphasized the "American" idea, and there was protection in every change in the act of 1824. Jackson said of the protective act of 1824–1828, in his message of 1832:

Our country presents on every side marks of prosperity and happiness unequaled perhaps in any portion of the world.

Responding to the charges that these tariff acts were unconstitutional, null, and void, because they were protective in principle and unjust and oppressive, Andrew Jackson, in his second annual message, December 7, 1830, used the following language:

The power to impose duties on imports originally belonged to the several States. The right to adjust those duties with a view to the encouragement of domestic branches of industry is so completely identical with that power that it is difficult to suppose the existence of the one without the other. The States have delegated their whole authority over imports to the General Government, without limitation or restriction, saving the very inconsiderable reservation relating to their inspection laws. This authority having thus entirely passed from the States, the right to exercise it for purpose of protection does not exist in them, and consequently if it be not possessed by the General Government it must be extinct.

Our political system would thus present the anomaly of a people stripped of the right to foster their own industry and to counteract the most selfish and destructive policy which might be adopted by foreign nations. This surely can not be the case; this indispensable power, thus surrendered by the States, must be within the scope of the authority on the subject expressly delegated to Congress. In this conclusion I am confirmed as well by the opinions of Presidents Washington, Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe, who have each repeatedly recommended the exercise of this right under the Constitution, as by the uniform practice of Congress, the continued acquiescence of the States, and the general understanding of the people.

This is a correct enunciation of the doctrine of raising revenue by tariff legislation with incidental protection.

No stronger and more convincing argument was made for the adoption of the Constitution than that the States, by impost duties and customs, regulated exclusively by one body, would be enabled to encourage manufacturers, and free themselves from the boots and shoes, ready-made clothing, hats, nails, sheet-iron hinges, and other utensils of iron which Great Britain imposed upon them, and the freedom from the regulation of the flour market by Spain, through a navigation act. Said one:

It will have energy and power to regulate your trade and commerce—to enforce the execution of your imposts, duties, and customs. Instead of the trade of this country being carried on in foreign bottoms, our ports will be crowded with our own ships and we shall become the carriers of Europe. Heavy duties will be laid on all foreign articles which can be manufactured in this country, and bounties will be granted on the exportation of our commodities; the manufacturers of our country will flourish; our mechanics will lift up their heads and rise to opulence and wealth.

The history of the times preceding the adoption of the Constitution abounds in such arguments in favor of its adoption.

The history of tariff legislation shows that the general tendency of public opinion is in the direction of a tariff for revenue, and protection necessarily following as an inseparable incident. The policy of this Administration, at least, is for a protection of American industries. That a tariff bill framed on this principle will be enacted is a certainty.

Louisiana is vitally interested in the production of salt, lumber, rice, sugar, and cotton. The pending bill makes no discrimination in the arrangement of the schedules for revenue against these products. Why should she stand idly by and decline to accept the benefits to be derived from the necessary levying of revenue by impost duties?

Call it what you will, protection or a revenue tariff with incidental protection, millions of dollars have to be raised, and the benefits of protection from it distributed. Why, then, should the people of Louisiana resist the building of cotton factories, furniture factories, the erection of sawmills, the opening and improving of sugar fields, and the erection of central factories, the opening of salt mines, and hundreds of other industries that are just now coming into existence? I say, so long as it is the policy of this Government to have a protective law, it would be a suicidal policy for the people of Louisiana to decline to demand the benefits tendered in a law which is general in the arrangement of its schedules and impartial in the duties it imposes and nonsectional in its character.

The South is more interested in the proper levying of a tariff than any other section of the country. Her development in manufacturing interests in the last two decades has been marvelous. This has been in spite of free-trade ideas and a free-trade policy. Had there been a demand for adequate protection to her cotton mills, her wealth would have doubled. Field and factory, the spindle and the plow being in close relationship, would have doubled her productive capacity, would have given tenfold value to her lands, would have multiplied her population with an intelligent and industrious people, would have rescued her from debt, and there would be now no borrowing from foreign mortgage syndicates, where principals are doubled in five years by usurious interest. No one can deny the constitutional right to levy import duties in such a manner as to afford protection.

The Democratic platform in 1892 recognized the right, and demanded a tariff bill in which the duties imposed should be general and impartial. As a Democrat, I have a right to demand that that platform shall be carried out. If in a tariff bill framed by the Republican party I find a nearer approach to the constitutional principle announced in that platform, no Democrat can consistently question my motives and say that I have abandoned the party. In the last campaign Democrats who met in convention and framed the platform in the interest of the money of the Constitution were denounced for having abandoned their party by the gold Democrats who assembled at Indianapolis and materially aided and assisted in putting the Republican party in power. We resented the accusations made by the gold Democrats, and said they were outside of the Constitution, had repudiated the bimetallic provision of the Constitution, and had left the Democratic party.

I stand to-day with Jefferson and Jackson on the tariff issue,

founded on sound constitutional interpretations, just as I said in my silver speeches I stood with them on constitutional grounds on that issue. There is not a State in the Union which, if it had the power, would not exercise it to protect its domestic interests. It is known to all that this absence of self-protection led to the jarring jealousies under the Articles of Confederation and resulted in the present power in the Constitution for the laying of import duties and the regulation of commerce by the Federal Government, and prohibiting their exercise to the States.

There is no restriction in the Constitution in the exercise of this power limiting it to a tariff for revenue only. On the contrary, it was the intention that the power should be exercised in the interest of protecting the industries of each State, which the States separately, when they had the power, were unable to do. A tariff for revenue without protection was never contemplated by the founders of this Government. There may be differences of opinion as to the schedule rates in a tariff bill, but on the facts presented in each case any Democrat has a right to exercise his individual opinion for the best interests of the country. Neither the Democratic party nor the Republican party has a right to demand that any man shall forfeit his allegiance to the Constitution by joining in a party demand for an administration of affairs contrary to that Constitution.

A bitter partisan and sectional animosity was engendered by the act of 1830, which considerably reduced the rates of duty provided in the act of 1828. It was unsatisfactory to Southern Democrats because it did not entirely eliminate the protective principle. There was a demand for the affirmation of a free-trade policy. This demand was to some extent appeased by the act of 1832, which placed coffee and tea on the free list, but, like the act of 1830, it did not entirely eliminate the protective theory—did not repudiate the doctrine of protection—and was therefore displeasing.

Nullification and the force bill were the results, and the turmoil finally led to the compromise act of 1833. Like all compromises, it lacked strength and stated nothing affirmatively. There was a gradual repeal of protective duties and a partial abandonment of the doctrine of protection. Confusion and uncertainty arose, and the policy of the Government on tariff measures was undefined. Biennial reductions, as provided in the act, soon brought the rates of duty to a point where there was no protection. There was a calamitous panic in 1837, in which the money loss was calculated at $1,000,000,000.

Prices fell to ruinous rates. There was no market for farm products. The revenue fell 25 per cent, and the Government had to borrow to pay current expenses. After fruitless efforts to enact a tariff law framed with pronounced protective features, the act of August 10, 1842, became a law.

Under the scaling act of 1833 there was laid a uniform duty of 20 per cent. This was changed by putting cotton goods to 30 per cent, woolens to 40 per cent, silks to $3.50 per pound, bar iron to $25 per ton, pig iron to $9 per ton, sugar to 2½ cents per pound, and left tea and coffee on the free list.

While the act was not such as was originally intended as a protective measure, it afforded substantial relief to the country. President Polk, in his message in 1846, said:

> Labor in all its branches is receiving ample reward. The progress of our country in resources and wealth and in the happy condition of our people is without example in the history of nations.

The act of 1846 provided for rates ranging from 5 to 100 per cent, and introduced the vicious system of ad valorem duties, and affirmed the doctrine of revenue without protection, but had some protective features. It disappointed the Northern wing of the Democratic party. The country this time escaped the usual disaster of rapid reduction in tariff rates because of adventitious circumstances.

The Mexican war created a demand for breadstuffs and supplies; the discovery of gold in California increased the demand for labor, mining implements, agricultural products, and shipping, besides increasing the money values of this country. On the other hand, European countries were in revolution from 1848 to 1851. Instead of exporting, they demanded food supplies from abroad. The German war and Irish famine created a demand for breadstuffs. These adventitious aids, like the embargo acts and orders in council, proved to be powerful protective agencies.

When they ceased to exist, say in 1854, true economic conditions asserted themselves. Our exports declined, manufactories suspended operation, and foreign imports reappeared in our markets to an alarming extent. The Thirty-fourth Congress went over to a free-trade policy in the passage of the tariff act of March 2, 1857. Immediately thereafter foreign goods flooded the country, for duties along the entire line of imports of leading articles were reduced almost to the rates of the compromise act of 1833.

Within six months after the passage of the act there was a great panic. Ruin was widespread and all branches of industry were disastrously affected. There were 5,123 failures, and the Government had again to borrow money for current expenses. The public debt increased $46,000,000, and the expenditures exceeded the receipts by $77,234,116. President Buchanan, in his message, said:

> With unsurpassed plenty in all the productions and all the elements of natural wealth, our manufactures have suspended; our public works are retarded; our private enterprises of different kinds are abandoned; thousands of useful laborers are thrown out of employment and reduced to want. We have possessed all elements of material wealth in abundance, and yet, notwithstanding all these advantages, our country, in its monetary interests, is in a deplorable condition.

The tariff act of 1861 increased duties all along the line. The act was framed on just principles, to provide a needed revenue, and at the same time to incorporate and confirm the doctrine of incidental protection, giving a helping hand to labor and encouraging home production and manufacture. There were several amendments subsequently made to the act, all in the line of protection, and rendered necessary by the exigencies of war.

The act of 1872 reduced duties considerably and added largely to the free list. Very soon thereafter, in 1873, a panic followed. Whether this panic was the result of this reduction or a decrease in the circulating medium and demonetization of silver is a question of fact not yet ascertained. I am inclined to believe that both causes contributed to the result.

The issue in the campaign of 1888 was free trade *vs.* protection. The McKinley bill was the logical sequence of the campaign, just as the Wilson bill was that of 1892. It is said that a protective tariff bill will not yield revenue. The McKinley Act, whatever may be said of it in other respects, demonstrated the contrary to be true. It raised all the necessary revenue for current expenses and provided a surplus.

The Wilson bill, in its original intent, carried the doctrine of free trade—that is, of low tariff to the extreme. The idea was that protection of any kind was opposed to the interests of a free and prosperous people. The bill as modified proved a disastrous failure. The sugar schedule did not respond to what was expected of it because of its ad valorem rate, and the income tax was eliminated, both of which were relied upon for a large revenue. The fact remains that there is surplus money in the Treasury, arising from the sale of bonds, and which debt has to be paid.

We have had tariff acts carrying protection with the imposition of duties from 1789 to 1842 and from 1861 to 1894, and low tariffs in 1783, 1816, 1832, 1846, 1857, and 1894. We are told that taking the two decades 1840 to 1850 and 1850 to 1860, and regarding the first as a period most affected by the low ad valorem tariff of 1846, the comparison is in favor of the latter; but no account is taken of the disaster which followed the reduction of the tariff of 1816, 1832, and 1833. In the decade 1850 to 1860 it will be remembered that the adventitious circumstances—the Mexican war, revolutions in Europe, discovery of gold in California, and the Irish famine—all had the effect of protective agencies.

From this partial and imperfect résumé of tariff legislation, it will be noted that parties have occupied different positions on the tariff question and that leading statesmen have changed their opinions, dictated by party necessity or by local self-interest.

It may be truthfully stated that the Government has no such thing as a tariff policy. It is time, in my opinion, for one to be asserted which will be certain and permanent. The tariff policy ought to be taken out of party politics and relegated to the business methods of the Government. If it could be estimated, I think the loss to the people of the United States by the frequent changes of tariff laws, the unsettling of values, and the insecurity of investments would express an amount that would bewilder the mind.

The argument as to the unconstitutionality of a tariff law has long ceased to be available. The Democratic party as well as the Republican party is committed to tariff legislation as the best mode of raising revenue. There is no such thing as absolute free trade in this country. So true is this that any party presuming to advocate it would deservedly pass into oblivion.

The Democratic party will never risk a campaign before the people and say that incidental protection means opposition to the encouragement of American industries.

In the platform of 1892 it was affirmed that "we hold that tariff duties should be levied for purposes of revenue, such duties to be so adjusted as to operate equally throughout the country." In my opinion the tariff bill before the Senate responds more exactly to this declaration than did the Wilson bill. It covers all industries in all sections, and is designed to raise an adequate revenue. The Wilson bill was sectional and partial. It carried a low tariff on some things and an unnecessarily high tariff on others, and had a large free list. It unduly protected some industries, while as a revenue-producing tariff it was a confessed failure.

It is urged, as an argument against a tariff embodying any protective idea, that it will cause an additional price to be added to the protected article and thus impose a burden upon the consumer.

In 1790 Mr. Hamilton asserted that "internal competition is an effectual corrective of monopoly, and in the end leads to a lower scale of prices for protected manufactures than prevailed for

foreign." Experience has demonstrated this to be correct. It is within the memory of many Senators that in certain lines of goods European nations practically monopolized the trade in this country and we had to pay high prices for them. By protecting the manufacture of such goods they have multiplied in this country. They fully equal the imported goods, and we now get them at a greatly reduced price. They are within the reach of the poorest.

An argument against a protective system was made by great Democrats, embodying the idea that capital would be forced here and employed in manufacturing and destroy those already in existence. Mr. Buchanan said in 1846:

> Our domestic manufactures have been saved by the election of James K. Polk from being overwhelmed by the immense capital which would have rushed into them for investment, and from an expansion of the currency which would have annulled any protection short of prohibition.

With a judicious tariff manufactures will multiply; labor and capital will find profitable employment, as new and inexhaustible fields will be opened to each. Domestic merchants will find ready sales at remunerative prices, while commerce and interstate trade will be stimulated by the distribution of both raw materials and manufactured products. The nation will approach complete independence in the employment of skilled labor, and there will be a harmonious development in all sections and in all the great interests of the people. To accomplish this a tariff bill ought to be impartial as to individuals and as to sections.

Every industry that needs protection to keep it in active existence and free from injurious foreign competition ought to receive it, not to such an extent as to enrich the beneficiaries and to impose unnecessary burdens upon the people, but fully enough to provide a revenue for all possible needs of the Government, to encourage domestic production and manufacture, to create competition at home, and to raise the country to a plane of perfect and complete independence.

The founders of this Government believed it to be a right and a duty to foster industry by legislation. They invested the Government with ample power to provide a revenue through legislation, and at the same time to protect the industries of the country. Under the Articles of Confederation there was an era of unlimited free trade. There was no uniformity in duties imposed. States nullified the laws of other States. The large importations of foreign goods were sold at prices which prevented the establishment of factories at home, drained the specie from the country, and proved ruinous to all domestic industries.

There was a crying demand for industrial and commercial independence, for, in the language of one of our early statesmen, "foreign nations were passing such laws as they judged most likely to destroy our commerce and extend their own. The arm which had struck for independence in the field was palsied in the workshop, the industry which had been burdened in the colonies was crushed in the free States, and the mechanics and manufacturers of the country found themselves, in the bitterness of their hearts, independent—and ruined."

What happened then will again occur if we invite by a low tariff the importation of foreign goods. Cheap labor abroad will always enable the foreign manufacturer to undersell our home products if duties be low, inflicting cruel wrong upon our skilled and intelligent labor. We do not want to degrade this labor. We do not want to close a single factory and turn its operatives out upon an inhospitable world. The only means of raising adequate revenue is by tariff legislation, and if we, in the interests of foreign manufacturers, impose low duties, disregarding revenue necessities and adequate protection to domestic industries, our revenue will be scant, our Government be degraded and embarrassed, and our labor, thus discriminated against, sordid and malcontent.

Whenever Congress attempts tariff legislation there are Democrats who contend for and vote for the protection of the industries of their States. They endeavor to get as high protection as possible, and it is a rare instance when one offers an amendment to reduce the tariff rate applicable to the interests in the State he represents. In this way they aid and assist in making the tariff protective, and then vote against it because it is protective.

In the enactment of the Wilson law there was a struggle to secure individual and local interests. It was asserted that one prominent Democrat threatened to defeat the bill unless a certain local interest was satisfied. In this way the tariff act became a disastrous compromise of selfish interests. One end of it was highly protective to satisfy Democrats who demanded protection for local interests, and its low tariff rates were the logical sequence of an absence of interests to be protected.

A principle can not be violated in one particular instance without discrediting the whole doctrine which it supports. It would be more consistent to vote for the bill, unless in other respects it is objectionable. There can be no excuse for voting against it by those who help to make it protective because it is of that character.

The history of the party on the tariff question and the conduct of the masses of the party and the declarations of its leaders have been equally inconsistent.

District, State, and national platforms have been at variance. The national platforms have declared for a tariff for revenue only and a tariff with incidental protection.

This "incidental protection" is thus expressed by Mr. Madison:

> In adjusting the duties on imports to the object of revenue, the influence of the tariff on manufacturers will necessarily present itself for consideration. However just the theory may be which leaves to the sagacity and interests of individuals the application of their industry and resources, there are in this, as in all cases, exceptions to the rule.

This means a discriminative duty in favor of industries which exist, but which would cease to exist unless protected. What was a theory with Hamilton became a fact in the enunciation of incidental protection in Democratic platforms and in the consideration of the Wilson bill, with its protective features in parts of the act.

In 1872 the Liberal Republicans nominated Horace Greeley for President on a platform declaring the tariff one of local interests, and simply relegated the question to the Congressional districts. It was a declaration that it should not be made a party question and should be taken out of politics. The Democratic convention met at Baltimore and accepted the platform and the nominations of the Liberal Republican party. It thus favored the taking of the tariff question out of national politics and eliminating it from the professions of Democratic faith.

The Democratic party in 1876 nominated for its President Samuel J. Tilden, a protection Democrat, who declared over his own signature that he had a strong liking for protection. This declaration was made in 1833, and during all the discussion of the tariff question thereafter there is not on record one syllable to show that he ever retracted his utterance on that occasion.

In 1880 the party nominated General Hancock for President. It declared in the platform for a revenue tariff. But this was done away with when the party accepted as a supplement to the platform General Hancock's letter of acceptance, in which he said that the tariff question was one for local discussion in Congressional districts. This was the second attempt of the party to eliminate the tariff question from national politics and strike it from national Democratic platforms.

In the late campaign, despite the efforts of the Republican party to tender the tariff issue, the Democratic party ignored it and forced the financial issue.

The Democratic party three times elected Samuel J. Randall, a protection Democrat, Speaker of the House of Representatives, placing him in a position in which his influence and power were great in shaping and directing tariff legislation.

I have recited these facts not to impeach the integrity of the party, in no way to detract from the brilliant record it has made, but to show that the tariff question has never been an element of Democratic fealty.

The tariff question is an economic one, and it ought to have no place in party platforms. It should not be disturbed by party defeats and party successes. The bill under discussion should become a law and remain on the statute book at least a sufficient time to demonstrate its merits and its defects.

During the period of reconstruction and of the infamous governments which were imposed upon the people, old-line Whigs and Democrats united as one body in efforts to get rid of negro domination. While the struggle lasted, there was no tariff issue presented to the people of the South. The problem was far above free trade and protection. Now that the danger of the supremacy of the negro in government has in a great measure been removed, it is but natural that men who hold views of protection should seek the opportunity of pressing their convictions.

The South has been solidly Democratic from necessity. In the efforts to secure good and honest government by placing white men in power she lost sight of minor interests which, though subordinate to the great and all-absorbing issues confronting her, are nevertheless important for her development and welfare. In Louisiana many of those who acted promptly and effectively in overthrowing carpet-bag government were men who had been reared and educated in the Whig school of politics. There were and are Democrats whose services to the party are not less than those of any Democrat in the Union. These men hold to the views that I have but indifferently expressed.

Two Senators from Louisiana opposed the tariff act of 1857 because it failed to provide adequate protection to the interest of their State. These men were dear to the State of Louisiana and to the South; both were leaders in the movement of secession. One was originally from the North, the other originally a British subject. They believed their allegiance was first to their adopted State. They threw her into war in devotion to what they believed to be a preservation of her honor and conducive to her interests. There is now no divided allegiance. We are not, and I hope we will never be, called upon again to make our choice between allegiance to Federal and State government, but in all the material

interests which affect Louisiana, in all matters of legislation which will promote her interests, when the choice is presented to me of voting for them or party measures which would lay her fair surface bare and desolate, I have no hesitation in saying, and I utter the statement with the proudest satisfaction, that I will, regardless of party discipline, vote in favor of any measure that will bring prosperity to my State, and in doing this I will not, to promote such interests, endeavor to destroy the interests of other communities. I want all to share alike in the benefits of legislation. I do not want to see sectionlism and favoritism encouraged.

It is difficult, Mr. President, to conceive how any tariff bill can be enacted into a law without carrying some degree of protection with it. The greater the amount to be raised, the greater is the amount of protection afforded. If a revenue of two hundred millions is to be raised, it necessarily follows that two hundred millions of protection must be placed on the different industries of the country in the various sections.

The question presented is how to impartially place this amount, and what industries need the greatest protection to make them self-supporting and beyond foreign competition, in what sections the protection inevitably following this levy shall be placed, the effort being to produce the greatest good to the country in all sections and in every industry.

If no revenue were needed, it is certain no revenue law would be passed; and if necessary to protect our mechanical, mining, manufacturing, and agricultural industries from being destroyed by foreign competition, another provision of the Constitution, to regulate commerce, would have to be invoked in order to apply the proper remedy.

The whole question, then, in framing a revenue law is as to the proper arrangement of schedules. It really becomes a question of schedules, not any underlying principle, except what is right and just. It is the duty of each Senator, without reference to party, to aid and assist in the proper framing of the schedules and to direct the application of the money to be raised in such a manner as to promote the best interests of the country, in a manner that will promote the happiness and contentment of the people by imposing the least burden upon them.

The policy of arbitrarily objecting to schedules to make a record for an ensuing campaign, in my opinion, is inexcusable.

In order to frame the pending bill an estimate was made of the amount necessary to be raised. The schedules and paragraphs were arranged for this purpose. There was at least apparent consistency in the whole. To go through the bill and cut down rates by a half or a fraction of a cent is to disturb the symmetry of the bill, to make patchwork out of it, and in the end to destroy its usefulness as an instrumentality for raising a revenue for the Government.

I do not mean to intimate that objectionable schedules should be received, but some measure, at least, should be proposed to take the place of the one rejected. I mean to say that the charges of robbery, etc., and objections made simply to make a record for campaign uses is not right or proper.

The bad financial condition of the country, the scarcity of a circulating medium, the low prices of farm products, of wages, the increased price of gold, the absence of a demand for labor, and the general and universal distress are admitted. I do not propose to go into a lengthy discussion of the cause which has led to this universal depression in business and suffering among the masses of the people.

The Republican party claims that it is exclusively due to the repealing of the McKinley tariff law and the enactment of the Wilson bill.

The Democratic party ascribes it to the demonetization of silver, the exclusion from coinage, equally with gold, silver, one of the money metals of the Constitution. I fully agree in this contention, and, in my opinion, there can be no lifting of the dark curtain which overhangs us until the mints are opened to the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold as it existed prior to 1873.

The Democratic party sympathize with the prevailing distress. There has been but little, if any, improvement in the condition of the country. The appeals of the Democratic party for relief were earnest and vehement. The Republican party promised that relief would come with a new tariff law framed according to the principles of that party in tariff legislation. Under existing conditions there is no opportunity of enacting financial laws in accordance with the views which I hold in common with other Democrats.

The people accepted the Republican promise of relief by tariff legislation. I believe we should respect the wishes of the people and interpose no objection to the means of relief which this party offered and which the people accepted. We ought to endeavor as far as conscience will permit to carry out the will of the people. If we were sincere in our demands for the relief of the people, to lift the heavy burden from them which they have borne so long, we should not reject the relief which was promised and which they accepted, no matter from what source it comes.

I do not believe that it can come solely from tariff legislation, either by Democrats or Republicans; but the bill before the Senate may be the first steps to the restoration of quiet and rest and the beginning of confidence, and thus pave the way for the complete regeneration of the country by the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the legal ratio of 16 to 1.

Entertaining these views, I will vote for the bill and do what I can to put it speedily upon the statute book.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. FAIRBANKS in the chair). The question is on the amendment submitted by the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. JONES], which will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In paragraph 206, page 65, line 20, after the word "color," it is proposed to strike out "and on all sugar;" so as to read:

And on sugar above No. 16 Dutch standard in color which has gone through a process of refining, 1.95 cents per pound.

Mr. CAFFERY. I call for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. HARRIS of Kansas (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the junior Senator from Wyoming [Mr. CLARK]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. HARRIS of Tennessee (when his name was called). I am paired with the senior Senator from Vermont [Mr. MORRILL]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. MORGAN (when his name was called). I am paired with the senior Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. QUAY]. Not seeing him in the Chamber, I withhold my vote. I should vote "yea," if he were present.

Mr. TILLMAN (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. THURSTON]. As he is not in the Chamber, I shall not vote. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. WARREN (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Washington [Mr. TURNER], but, by an arrangement with the junior Senator from Georgia [Mr. CLAY], the pair has been transferred to the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE], so that the Senator from Georgia and I are at liberty to vote. I vote "nay."

Mr. WELLINGTON (when his name was called). I have a pair with the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. BUTLER]. The junior Senator from New York [Mr. PLATT] is paired with the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. MCENERY]. It has been arranged to transfer that pair, and I vote "nay."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. HARRIS of Kansas. The junior Senator from Delaware [Mr. KENNEY] requested me to announce his pair with the junior Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. PENROSE].

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I inquire if the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE] has voted?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. He has not voted.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I am paired with that Senator, and therefore withhold my vote. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. WARREN. I desire to announce that my colleague [Mr. CLARK], who is detained from the Chamber, is paired with the junior Senator from Kansas [Mr. HARRIS].

Mr. PERKINS (after having voted in the negative). I have a general pair with the junior Senator from North Dakota [Mr. ROACH]. In his absence, I withdraw my vote.

Mr. MANTLE. I have a general pair with the Senator from Virginia [Mr. MARTIN]. I understand that if he were present he would vote "yea" upon this amendment. As I intend to vote in the same manner, I shall cast my vote. I vote "yea."

The result was announced—yeas 20, nays 32; as follows:

YEAS—20.

Allen,	Daniel,	Mantle,	Smith,
Bacon,	Faulkner,	Mills,	Turpie,
Bate,	Gorman,	Mitchell,	Vest,
Berry,	Gray,	Murphy,	Walthall,
Caffery,	Heitfeld,	Pasco,	White.
Chilton,	Lindsay,	Pettigrew,	
Clay,	McLaurin,	Pettus,	
Cockrell,	Mallory,	Rawlins,	

NAYS—32.

Allison,	Fairbanks,	Hoar,	Proctor,
Baker,	Foraker,	Jones, Nev.	Sewell,
Carter,	Frye,	McBride,	Shoup,
Chandler,	Gallinger,	McEnery,	Spooner,
Callom,	Gear,	McMillan,	Warren,
Davis,	Hanna,	Nelson,	Wellington,
Deboe,	Hansbrough,	Platt, Conn.	Wetmore,
Elkins,	Hawley,	Pritchard,	Wilson.

NOT VOTING—23.

Aldrich,	Harris, Kans.	Mason,	Roach,
Burrows,	Harris, Tenn.	Morgan,	Stewart,
Butler,	Jones, Ark.	Morrill,	Teller,
Cannon,	Kenney,	Penrose,	Thurston,
Clark,	Kyle,	Perkins,	Tillman,
George,	Lodge,	Platt, N. Y.	Turner,
Hale,	Martin,	Quay,	Wolcott.

So the amendment was rejected.

Mr. LINDSAY. I ask to have read the amendment I offered the other day, with a view of placing all sugars upon an equality.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Kentucky will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In paragraph 206, page 63, line 13, after the word "Sugars," it is proposed to strike out the words "not above No. 16, Dutch standard in color;" and also, after the word "proportion," in line 19, to strike out down to and including the word "pound," in line 23, as follows:

And on sugar above No. 16 Dutch standard in color, and on all sugar which has gone through a process of refining, 1 cent and ninety-five one-hundredths of 1 cent per pound.

So as to read:

Sugars, tank bottoms, sirups of cane juice, melada, concentrated melada, concrete and concentrated molasses, testing by the polariscope not above 75 degrees, 1 cent per pound, and for every additional degree shown by the polariscopic test, three one-hundredths of 1 cent per pound additional, and fractions of a degree in proportion; molasses testing above 40 degrees and not above 56 degrees, 3 cents per gallon, etc.

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. President, after the very candid statement made on yesterday by the Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON] there can be no doubt that this particular schedule is intended as a protective measure pure and simple. It is true it will raise a very large amount of revenue, but pains are taken to declare that the purpose of the taxation is not revenue, but to promote the particular industry known in this country as the sugar-beet industry, including, of course, the sugar-cane industry.

To do this we have a proposed tax which operates upon every class of the community, rich and poor, and operates so nearly equally upon every class of the community that it approximates a capitation tax. The highest rate of taxation applies to refined sugar, and the Senator from Iowa candidly stated that not more than one pound out of fifty of the sugars used by the people of this country, without regard to wealth, was of a quality inferior to refined. The tax of $1.95, which is proposed to be put upon every 100 pounds of sugar under this bill, will operate as a tax upon everyone who uses sugar, no matter how humble or how great the particular person may be.

This is to be done under the pretense that it is necessary to build up the sugar industry and render this country independent of foreign countries by supplying all our sugar by our home production; and the rather remarkable position has just been taken by the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. MCENERY] that to afford adequate protection and assistance to the agricultural producers of sugar from either cane or beet it is necessary the sugar trust shall be fostered and kept alive; in other words, that we are now about to develop a great industry which can not live unless, by positive legislation, we keep alive a great organization of capital, which operates as an undisguised trust, which avows its ability to control 80 per cent of the production and 80 per cent of the sales of sugar, which avows that it fixes the price at its own will, and does not conceal the fact that out of the great profits coming to it under the laws which have been in force during the past twenty years it has used a portion to control the politics of the communities in which its factories are located.

I am not here to make any war upon the protection offered the sugar producer. I realize that any such attempt is now hopeless. The Republican caucus has decided that this particular industry shall have protection that no other industry, unless it be the tin-plate manufacturers, ever enjoyed, and I take it there are enough Senators bound by the fiat of that caucus to insure that this protection shall be given. The other side avow that they do not control a majority of Senators by party obligations; therefore I am not without hope that independent Senators enough may be found to assist in crippling, if we can not strike down, the great trust which dominates our markets and assumes to control our politics.

How much of this tax—and it is a tax pure and simple—is intended to encourage the production of sugar by the agricultural people? My friend from Iowa says that if there were no such incident to this tax as the encouragement of American industries, he would regard 45 per cent ad valorem as a reasonable revenue duty to be laid upon imported sugar. Forty-five per cent to be laid as an import duty would operate as 45 per cent incidental protection to the American producers of sugar. But this bill does not confine itself to 45 per cent ad valorem incidental protection to the American sugar producer. The Senator who represents the majority of the Finance Committee says that the protection to be given will amount to nearly twice 45 per cent.

In order that I may do no injustice, that I may not overstate the case, I will admit that 55 per cent of the tax to be levied will be in the nature of a revenue duty, but 45 per cent is protection pure and simple. Let us apply these facts to the status of the industry we assert our intention to build up. The total annual consumption of sugar in the United States is over 4,200,000,000 pounds. Before it goes into consumption it is almost universally refined. I deduct one-seventh from the aggregate in order to ascertain the amount of refined sugar our people use each year. Deducting 600,000,000 pounds to ascertain the amount of refined sugar, I find that we consume annually 3,600,000,000 pounds.

This bill proposes to tax these 3,600,000,000 pounds of sugar $1.95 upon each hundred pounds. The aggregate tax to be levied under the bill and paid by the people will be $70,200,000. Fifty-five per cent of that sum, which may be justified upon the idea that it is a tax for revenue, will amount to $38,620,000, and 45 per cent, which is conceded to be protection, without the slightest regard to revenue, which is conceded to be a subsidy for the sugar-planting and the sugar-refining interests, will amount to $31,580,000.

What is this industry we are thus to protect? What is the condition of the industry we propose to build up? The whole amount of American sugar produced last year, cane and beet, was less than 600,000,000 pounds. At 3½ cents a pound it would sell in the market for $21,000,000. That is the last cent to be realized by the producers of sugar. With a 45 per cent incidental protection—$21,000,000 is the aggregate of the entire crop—and we propose by this bill to give to that $21,000,000 of sugar product $31,580,000 in the way of an undisguised subsidy each year so long as present conditions shall exist.

For every $1 worth of sugar produced in this country by the sugar raisers we propose to give $1.50 pure and simple, unconcealed protection, and when we count the protection incident to the revenue portion of the duty in addition to this, we find that this $21,000,000 of American product will receive over $70,000,000 of protection each year, or nearly $3.50 to each dollar of the value of the output of the industry.

I propose to make no war upon any of this protection that goes to the sugar planter. We may submit to that, but I insist the trust does not need and is not entitled to separate and special protection, and ought not to receive it.

Mr. ALLEN. I should like to ask the Senator from Kentucky a question. I ask if he thinks it is possible to frame a sugar schedule on any basis or upon any theory that this American trust will not receive benefit from it either directly or indirectly?

Mr. LINDSAY. I do not believe we can frame a bill that will not incidentally give to this trust more protection than it needs and more assistance than it ought to have.

Mr. ALLEN. Then I should like to ask the Senator this question: Why not proceed as though we meant to do business, and by a quo warranto proceeding or some appropriate process dissolve this trust and take from it its power? We have laws sufficient for that purpose.

Mr. LINDSAY. I hope before this tariff bill becomes a law an amendment will be ingrafted upon it which will enable the courts of the country to protect the people against the avarice of this and all other trusts; but it is not for the legislative department to give additional subsidies to this combination because the courts may have failed, or the executive officers may have failed to take the necessary steps to dissolve the trust.

Mr. ALLEN. Will the Senator permit me at that point to make a suggestion?

Mr. LINDSAY. Yes, sir.

Mr. ALLEN. We had four years of Democratic Administration, which closed on the 4th of March last, and not a solitary step was taken by that Administration to close out that trust. We had four years of Republican Administration just preceding that when nothing was done to close out that trust.

Mr. LINDSAY. My friend overstates the proposition to some degree. Under a Democratic Administration a suit was instituted which resulted in the dissolution of what is denominated the railroad trust.

Mr. VEST. Will the Senator permit me?

Mr. LINDSAY. Certainly.

Mr. VEST. The Senator from Nebraska overstated the proposition in another respect. A suit was instituted by the United States in New Jersey, in the Federal circuit court in that State, and it was decided there, and taken to the Supreme Court, against this very sugar trust.

Mr. ALLEN. I think the Senator from Missouri is mistaken.

Mr. VEST. I am not mistaken.

Mr. ALLEN. Under what was known as the old Parsons law?

Mr. VEST. Oh, no. The suit was instituted under what is misnamed the Sherman antitrust law. I say it was misnamed after Mr. Sherman, because it was drafted by Mr. Edmunds. The trust, however, escaped.

Mr. ALLEN. Things are named by their opposites sometimes.

Mr. VEST. The trust escaped because the Government was unable to prove that its product went into interstate commerce. The Senator will find it in the decision of the Supreme Court, I think in 114 United States Reports.

Mr. HOAR. I think the Senator from Missouri is mistaken in saying that the law was drawn by Mr. Edmunds.

Mr. VEST. Partially. He drew most of it.

Mr. HOAR. I was on the committee when that law was drawn.

Mr. VEST. So was I.

Mr. HOAR. I know the facts.

Mr. VEST. The Senator from Massachusetts assisted and I assisted in framing the bill, but Mr. Edmunds reported it.

Mr. HOAR. That is another thing.

Mr. VEST. And if anybody deserved to have the law named after him it was Mr. Edmunds, and not Mr. Sherman, who was opposed to it. Though he was against the trust, he did not like that bill.

Mr. ALLEN. With the permission of the Senator from Missouri, I should like to ask what became of that case?

Mr. VEST. It was decided in favor of the trust on the ground that the Government could not produce the evidence that the refined sugar had gone into interstate commerce. When we drew that bill, we were confronted with this difficulty: Senator Sherman, as the RECORD will show, introduced a bill which ignored State lines and provided that the Government of the United States could institute proceedings in any State as to the product of any trust which was sold in that State.

There was very naturally criticism by the lawyers in this body in regard to such a measure, and after three days' debate Mr. Sherman's bill was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary. Then the antitrust law was drawn, and principally by Mr. Edmunds. The Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] participated, and so did I, but I never had an idea of claiming that it was my bill. Mr. Edmunds reported it to the Senate. In that bill we undertook to keep within what we conceived to be the constitutional limitation, assuming that our jurisdiction applied to commerce with foreign nations and commerce among the States, and that you must prove against a trust, in order to dissolve it and stop its commercial transactions, that its product did go into commerce among the States.

Mr. Olney was very severely criticised because he did not attack the sugar trust particularly. He caused proceedings to be instituted in New Jersey. The case was tried there and went to the Supreme Court of the United States, and the trust gained it upon a failure of proof. There was no question but that it was a trust.

Mr. ALLEN. Does the Senator say that there was not evidence enough within the reach of the law officers of the Government to prove a prima facie case of interstate commerce?

Mr. VEST. I say exactly what the Senator will see in the decision, that there was no proof that the identical product of the trust in New Jersey was shipped to other States. The Government was not able to get the proof of it; I do not know why. I can see the difficulty, as any lawyer can, in such a case; but the case went off on that point, as the Senator will find if he will send to the Law Library and get the volume containing the report of the case.

Mr. ALLEN. Then I should like to ask the Senator from Missouri what is to prevent the Government of the United States from resorting to the common-law writ of quo warranto, bringing this trust into court and dissolving its existence regardless of any statute?

Mr. VEST. I have no doubt it could be done if we could get at the proof in the case, if the State corporation was operating in restraint of trade under the Edmunds law.

Mr. ALLEN. It does not make any difference about it being a State corporation.

Mr. VEST. But the question was, Did it operate in restraint of trade among the States?

Mr. HOAR. You can not issue a quo warranto against a State corporation.

Mr. VEST. I do not know that you can issue that particular writ of quo warranto, but the proceedings to which I refer were instituted under the Edmunds law.

Mr. ALLEN. Does the Senator from Massachusetts pretend to say that the charter of a State corporation can not be dissolved, or, at least, that it can not be prevented from doing business when it monopolizes interstate trade and results in a monopoly?

Mr. HOAR. If my honorable friend the Senator from Nebraska will pardon me, in all good nature, I do not pretend anything in the Senate. I am asked to state my view of a law question and whether I pretend so and so.

Mr. ALLEN. I did not mean to offend the Senator.

Mr. HOAR. It is not a very agreeable kind of a question.

Mr. ALLEN. I simply wanted to give it as my opinion (and it is the opinion of only one man, and not quite so good or right as that of the Senator from Massachusetts) that there is no question about the power of this Government to dissolve such a corporation, regardless of the fact where it gets its charter. Whenever it leaves the State in which it is incorporated and engages in the transaction of business which is international commerce and interstate commerce, the nation has control.

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. President——

Mr. HOAR. Will the Senator pardon me for a sentence?

Mr. LINDSAY. Certainly.

Mr. HOAR. I supposed the law to be that the writ of quo warranto is a writ to dissolve a corporation which by illegal conduct has forfeited its power to exist, and that it is a writ addressed to it to come and show cause by what warrant it continues to act as a corporation. I suppose that can only be done, under our system of jurisprudence, in the courts of the sovereign that created the corporation, which is the State in the case of a State corporation. I do not concede that that is a proper writ or remedy to prevent a corporation from doing an unlawful thing.

Undoubtedly the courts of the United States may by proper process enjoin a State corporation, as they could an individual, against violating a United States law in cases where such an injunction is the proper and fitting proceeding, but that would not be by instituting an action of quo warranto, and it would not be in any case, as I suppose, within the powers of the United States courts to dissolve a State corporation.

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. President——

Mr. LINDSAY. I can not yield further.

Mr. ALLEN. Very well.

Mr. LINDSAY. I can not stop my line of argument to determine what the executive and judicial officers of the Government can or ought to do in regard to the sugar trust, nor to have the question settled who is entitled to the credit of the preparation of the antitrust law, about which we hear so much of late. These matters are collateral to the argument I propose to make. Whether the executive and administrative officers have performed their duties or whether the courts have faithfully administered the existing laws makes no difference to me, when as a member of the legislative department I am asked to support a measure which gives to the trust additional aid to the end that it may continue the work which I, with other Senators, believe ought to be suppressed.

The suit of 1891 in the State of New York was a proceeding in the nature of quo warranto, and it resulted in dissolving the New York corporation which had entered the trust, upon the ground that it thereby exceeded and abused the grant of corporate power; but after that proceeding had been had, the trust organized as a corporation under a New Jersey charter, and the question of its powers and the abuse of them is a question addressed to the authorities of the State of New Jersey.

If this corporation violates any law of the United States, if this corporation so conducts its business as to violate the Constitution of the United States, then to the extent it so violates the Federal Constitution or laws it is within the province of the authorities of the United States to prevent such violations by fine and imprisonment of its officers and agents, or by any other usual or regular method of suppression. But that is not the question here. If we are giving aid and comfort to this corporation by existing laws, that aid ought to be withdrawn. If we are proposing to give additional aid and support, that additional aid and support ought to be refused.

In 1890, when the present antitrust law was under discussion, the powers of the Government were exhaustively considered and discussed. There was one proposition about which there was no dissent, and that was that the Government of the United States had the clear, the indisputable power, and rested under the imperative duty to withdraw any assistance which such a trust might receive through or in virtue of its revenue laws; and that is the point to which I desire to call the attention of the Senate.

It was said by the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH], when he made the opening statement in favor of this bill:

> The fact that the business, as conducted to-day, is in comparatively few hands, and that a large portion of it is carried on by one company, while it furnishes a reason for unusual care in the adjustment of rates in order that no undue or unfair advantage shall be given to sugar refiners, should not be allowed to furnish a pretext in the preparation of a tariff bill constructed upon protective lines for the destruction of a great industry. In other words, it is important from every economic standpoint that we make it possible that the refining of sugar can be successfully carried on here, and that the business be not turned over by legislative discrimination to German refiners.

The extent of his claim was that in the construction of a tariff bill upon protective lines we should not make it possible for a foreign industry to break down the existing sugar industry in the United States. I agree to that. I wish to impose no business disabilities. I favor no discrimination against the American sugar-refining industry. I wish to see that industry go on and flourish within the lines of proper and legitimate management. What I object to is not that we fail to discriminate against it, not that we fail to make it impossible for the industry to live, but that we take it up as a favored enterprise, to be fostered and encouraged, in the face of its history during the twenty years last past.

Does the sugar-refining industry in the United States need protection? If it does, how much protection ought it to have? We have had experts dealing in figures and reaching conclusions which laymen can not dispute because they can not comprehend the premises, but there are facts which speak and need no explanation. The sugar industry is to-day living under the Wilson law with the expectation of benefits to come to it under the bill which the caucus of the Republican Senators has decreed shall pass this body. Yesterday in the New York market sugar, centrifugal, 96 degrees

test, sold for 3¼ cents a pound. It is not disputed that 107 pounds of that sugar will make 100 pounds of refined sugar. That would make the cost to the refiner 3.75 cents per pound of crude sugar.

Now he has taken that sugar and refined it, and put it upon the market, and yesterday he sold the refined product in New York for 4¼ cents a pound. The difference on yesterday between the cost to the refiner of the raw product and the market price of the refined article was 1 cent, or more than 25 per cent advance upon the raw product. This profit the refiner divides with the retailer, and it may be safely said (and nothing has been said upon the other side which would militate against the conclusion) that upon every pound of refined sugar, with this difference in the purchase and the selling prices, the refiner pockets one-half of 1 cent in the way of clear profit.

Mr. SEWELL. Will the Senator from Kentucky allow me to make a suggestion?

Mr. LINDSAY. Certainly.

Mr. SEWELL. The Senator from Kentucky does not take into consideration that the price of the sugar he refers to is in bags on board ship. The sugar has to be taken to the refinery and refined. He has to calculate upon the price of the barrels. The refined sugar is sold in barrels. That comes up to one-half of what the Senator speaks of.

Mr. LINDSAY. I will not stop now to make a close calculation of how much of this profit goes in the way of expense for the barrels, bags, etc. Suppose that one-half of it goes to that account. You have a quarter of a cent left to the refiner, which amounts to 12½ or 15 per cent profit on each dollar invested, and at three-eighths of a cent a pound profit the trust cleared in less than three years $25,000,000.

In 1880 Mr. Havemeyer, in answer to a question propounded by Mr. Tucker, of the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives, said:

> Would you be able to compete in the business market if there was perfect free trade in sugar?
>
> Mr. HAVEMEYER. We would beat them. We can refine sugar here more cheaply than they can in England.

And again:

> I do not see why, under free trade in sugar, we could not supply a very large proportion of the world's consumption.

Nothing has happened since 1880 to deprive the great sugar-manufacturing combination of the power to compete with the world, if you give it free sugar, or if you compensate for the tax it has to pay on the raw by an equal tax upon the manufactured product.

We were told three years ago by the president and secretary of the trust that the price of sugar has been reduced to the consumer. How, and why? By combining all the factories under one management, by reducing the number of officials, by striking down healthy competition, the trust claims to have been enabled to reduce the cost of production, and therefore to reduce the price to the consumer. In 1880, with competition open and flagrant, free sugar would have enabled the refiners to compete with the world. In 1897, with competition destroyed, with the whole business in the hands of one corporation with an aggregation of capital which makes the trust simply irresistible, we are told now that it can not live unless we give it a differential duty of from 40 to 50 cents on each 100 pounds.

Mr. CAFFERY. Will the Senator from Kentucky permit me?

Mr. LINDSAY. Certainly.

Mr. CAFFERY. Will the Senator explain to me the character of his amendment? Is it to put all sugars upon a uniform specific basis?

Mr. LINDSAY. It is to strike out all of the bill as it comes from the House which makes a discrimination between sugars above the Dutch standard or which have had their color changed by refining, and sugars in the hands of the sugar producers. It is to put the refined sugar upon the same footing with the highest quality of sugar produced by the Louisiana sugar planter, and to give the trust no advantage over the Louisiana sugar planter. I will read what I propose to strike out.

Mr. CAFFERY. Will the Senator please read the section as he proposes to amend it?

Mr. LINDSAY. I will ask the Secretary to read the clause as it is proposed to be amended.

The SECRETARY. If amended, the clause would read as follows:

> Sugars: Tank bottoms, sirups of cane juice, melada, concentrated melada, concrete and concentrated molasses, testing by the polariscope not above 75 degrees, 1 cent per pound, and for every additional degree shown by the polariscopic test, three one-hundredths of 1 cent per pound additional, and fractions of a degree in proportion.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. For the sake of information, I ask the Senator whether the effect of his amendment is to put raw sugars and refined sugars at the same duty?

Mr. LINDSAY. The same rates of duty, precisely. That is what I am attempting to do. In other words, instead of making $1.95 upon the 100 pounds the maximum duty levied upon the highest grade of sugars, I would have it $1.75, or 20 cents less than the bill proposes.

Mr. GRAY. Strike out what is called the differential?

Mr. LINDSAY. Strike out the differential.

The bill as it now reads provides that upon sugars testing 75 degrees a cent shall be levied on each pound, and that an additional duty of three one-hundredths of a cent shall be levied for each additional degree as shown by the polariscopic test. The maximum duty on unrefined sugar will be three times twenty-five one-hundredths of a cent in addition to 1 cent, or 1 cent and seventy-five one-hundredths upon each pound. That is the last mill the sugar in the hands of the sugar raiser can get in the way of protection. I propose that it shall be the last cent the sugar refiner shall get in the way of protection; and if that be made the law, the sugar refiner will still get more protection than he claims he is now getting; the sugar-refining industry will still flourish, and the sugar-refining industry will be protected by this protective-tariff law just as the sugar producer will be protected.

Take sugar 94 degrees polariscopic test as the average of sugar before it has undergone the process of refining, and let us see what the sugar trust would get from the bill as it is proposed, and under the bill as I propose to amend it. On 75-degree sugar the tax is 1 cent. The difference between 75 and 94 is 19, which, multiplied by 3, amounts to fifty-seven one-hundredths of a cent, giving the sugar producer who sells sugar testing 94 degrees of purity $1.57 per 100 pounds protection.

This bill, independent of the difference of the retaliatory duty against foreign export bounties, if that be the proper name to give it, proposes to give the sugar refiner $1.95 protection on each 100 pounds of refined sugar, a difference of 38 cents on the 100 pounds over the protection to be given the planter. Ninety-four-degree sugar will net the sugar raiser $1.57 in the way of protection. The 6 additional degrees up to purity will amount to 18 cents on each 100 pounds, and the sugar refiner will get the benefit of those 18 cents under the amendment I propose.

If he needed no protection in 1880, why, with all his improved opportunities and his improved position, does he need more than 18 cents on the 100 pounds independent of and in addition to the retaliatory duty in 1897? Suppose you take 96 as the average of the purity of sugar in the hands of the sugar producer.

Mr. CAFFERY. Will the Senator yield to me for a minute?

Mr. LINDSAY. Certainly.

Mr. CAFFERY. The Senator, then, places all sugars on the same basis?

Mr. LINDSAY. I do.

Mr. CAFFERY. The Senator gives to all $1.75.

Mr. LINDSAY. I give to all that test high enough under the polariscopic test $1.75.

Mr. CAFFERY. Now, if it takes so many pounds of raw in addition to make a pound of refined, do you not by that discriminate against the refiner?

Mr. LINDSAY. I do not.

Mr. CAFFERY. I wish the Senator would explain it.

Mr. LINDSAY. I think I can explain it by the figures given by the Senator yesterday. Just as the raw sugar approximates purity it takes a smaller number of pounds to make a pound of refined sugar.

Mr. CAFFERY. That is true.

Mr. LINDSAY. When you get up to 96 degrees, 103¼ pounds, as I understand the figures given by the Senator yesterday, will make 100 pounds of refined sugar.

The difference between 96 and 100 is four times three one-hundredths of a cent, which amounts to 12 cents on every 100 pounds; and you thus cover the difference in quantity. You can not work out this proposition in any way, on any figures that have been submitted by either side, under which my amendment, if adopted, will not leave the sugar refiner in as favorable an attitude as he was in 1880, when he said he needed no protection.

Mr. CAFFERY. The figures which I introduced yesterday show this: Taking the Treasury statement to be correct, the theoretical statement is that at 96 test it will take 104.72 pounds to make 100 pounds of refined. By the Treasury statement it will take 107.47 pounds of raw to make 100 pounds of refined. When the refiner imports 96-test sugar, which can be taken very safely as the basis for all calculations, he pays the tariff on 4 pounds more than he sells, does he not?

Mr. VEST. If he export it, he gets the drawback on 107.47 pounds.

Mr. CAFFERY. Suppose he does not export it?

Mr. VEST. Of course, then, he does not get any drawback.

Mr. CAFFERY. He gets no drawback and he pays as much tariff. There is a discrimination against him to the amount he has to pay extra upon the 7 or the 4 pounds of raw sugar, is there not? I wish the Senator from Kentucky would make that clear. I do not exactly understand it.

Mr. LINDSAY. I can not undertake to follow the labyrinths of figures that may be presented by sugar experts.

Mr. CAFFERY. I disclaim being a sugar expert. I am not a sugar expert.

Mr. LINDSAY. But I can say that the sugar refiner to-day lives under a duty one-eighth of 1 cent in addition to the advantage given him by the ad valorem tax, and these additional three one-hundredths amount to as much as the present ad valorem tax advantage, and he gets only 10 cents a hundred pounds compensation against the German sugar bounty, which is 38 cents on the 100 pounds, and yet he buys his sugar at 3½ cents a pound and sells it in the United States at a profit of 1 cent, or more than 25 per cent advance. There has always been, and there will be under any method of taxation anyone else than an expert can devise, concealed advantages to the sugar trust which those who oppose it will not be able to point out.

Let us see whether or not the trust ought to have any advantage at all, and whether, if there be a doubt, the doubt ought not to be resolved against it. In 1890, when the antitrust bill was being discussed, and the then sugar trust cut a very important figure in the discussion, the distinguished Senator from Mississippi [Mr. GEORGE], whose seat is to-day vacant because of his unfortunate illness, defined a trust and its methods in language accurate in all its details and wonderfully perspicuous. Senator GEORGE said:

These trusts and combinations are great wrongs to the people. They have invaded many of the most important branches of business. They operate with a double-edged sword. They increase beyond reason the cost of the necessaries of life and business, and they decrease the cost of the raw material, the farm products of the country. They regulate prices at their will, depress the price of what they buy and increase the price of what they sell. They aggregate to themselves great, enormous wealth by extortion, which makes the people poor. Then, making this extorted wealth the means of further extortion from their unfortunate victims, the people of the United States, they pursue unmolested, unrestrained by law, their ceaseless round of peculation under the law, till they are fast producing that condition in our people in which the great mass of them are the servitors of those who have this aggregated wealth at their command.

Mr. BATE. What is the date?

Mr. LINDSAY. I read from Senator GEORGE'S speech made in 1890. What was this sugar trust organized for, and what does it do? Let its president tell its own story. In 1898 Mr. Havemeyer, the president, said in answer to certain questions, as I shall read:

Senator ALLEN. The American Sugar Refining Company is able to control the prices of the sugar sold in the United States, is it not?
Mr. HAVEMEYER. Up to the importing point, it is.
Senator ALLEN. And when you sell in this country you control the price?
Mr. HAVEMEYER. Yes, sir.
Senator ALLEN. And it was organized, Mr. Havemeyer, as I understand it, with the view of controlling the price and output of the people of this country?
Mr. HAVEMEYER. That was one of the objects of the consolidation.
Senator ALLEN. And you have succeeded in doing it?
Mr. HAVEMEYER. Yes, sir.
Senator ALLEN. That was the principal object in organizing the American Sugar Refining Company?
Mr. HAVEMEYER. It may be said that that was the principal object.
Senator ALLEN. And making money, incident to that control?
Mr. HAVEMEYER. Yes, sir.

And again, after stating the number of companies it had absorbed, the number of rivals it had coerced into its partnership, and the additional liabilities it had incurred by the increase of stock, Mr. Havemeyer was asked by Senator ALLEN:

By which means, Mr. Havemeyer, you are able to control the price and output of these other refineries that were brought into the trust?
Mr. HAVEMEYER. Yes.
Senator ALLEN. Before that you had not been able to control the price of sugar absolutely? There was competition between the American Sugar Refining Company and these outside factories?
Mr. HAVEMEYER. Yes, sir.
Senator ALLEN. That competition you succeeded in destroying by bringing them into the trust, did you?
Mr. HAVEMEYER. Yes, sir.
Senator ALLEN. And made the price of sugar to the American Sugar Refining Company much more favorable than it had been before that time?
Mr. HAVEMEYER. Precisely.

That is a specimen of candor that commands a certain kind of admiration, outrageous as may be the conduct of the corporation whose president, with so much boldness, portrays its purposes and its success.

There is a sugar refinery on the Pacific Coast which does not belong to the American Sugar Refining Company. No; but Mr. Havemeyer told us that the American Sugar Refining Company owns one-half the capital stock of the Western Sugar Refining Company, and is thereby enabled to dominate its policy. There are sugar-refining companies in Boston which do not belong to the trust. Yes; but those independent sugar-refining companies in Boston are interested in the trust as the holders of stock in the Sugar Refining Company.

When they compete with the Sugar Refining Company they lessen the dividends on their stock. When they do not compete they help to keep up the prices of refined sugar; they increase their own earnings and increase their dividends on the stock they hold in the Sugar Refining Company. There are not 5 per cent of independent sugar refining establishments in the United States, and they live by the sufferance of the trust. It controls 80 per cent of the entire output. It controls the price to the extent of 80 per cent of the output. The independent companies do not compete with the trust, and that is explained by this testimony. When they attempt to compete, the trust holds its sugar until their 20 per cent is exhausted, and then it is the master of the situation.

This is the trust that Senator GEORGE had in mind when he penned the graphic description of the character of the enterprise, the methods of its operation, and its results upon the public.

There was another distinguished Senator who participated in the discussion of the antitrust law of 1890. Senator Sherman, after commenting upon the sugar trust, and calling attention to the outrages that were being perpetrated by it, used the language which I shall now read. After speaking of the necessity for organized capital, the necessity for corporate enterprises, he said:

But associated enterprise and capital are not satisfied with partnerships and corporations competing with each other, and have invented a new form of combination, commonly called trusts, that seeks to avoid competition by combining the controlling corporations, partnerships, and individuals engaged in the same business, and placing the power and property of the combination under the government of a few individuals, and often under the control of a single man called a trustee, a chairman, or a president.

The sole object of such a combination is to make competition impossible. It can control the market, raise or lower prices, as will best promote its selfish interests, reduce prices in a particular locality, and break down competition and advance prices at will where competition does not exist. Its governing motive is to increase the profits of the parties composing it. The law of selfishness, uncontrolled by competition, compels it to disregard the interest of the consumer. It dictates terms to transportation companies, it commands the price of labor without fear of strikes, for in its field it allows no competitors. Such a combination is far more dangerous than any heretofore invented, and, when it embraces the great body of all the corporations engaged in a particular industry in all of the States of the Union, it tends to advance the price to the consumer of any article produced, it is a substantial monopoly injurious to the public, and, by the rule of both the common and the civil law, is null and void and the just subject of restraint by the courts, of forfeiture of corporate rights and privileges, and in some cases should be denounced as a crime, and the individuals engaged in it should be punished as criminals. It is this kind of a combination we have to deal with now.

The sugar trust was a combination, and the oil trust was another combination the venerable Senator had in view when he uttered this striking language:

If the concentered powers of this combination are intrusted to a single man, it is a kingly prerogative, inconsistent with our form of government, and should be subject to the strong resistance of the State and national authorities. If anything is wrong, this is wrong. If we will not endure a king as a political power, we should not endure a king over the production, transportation, and sale of any of the necessaries of life. If we would not submit to an emperor, we should not submit to an autocrat of trade, with power to prevent competition and to fix the price of any commodity. If the combination is confined to a State, the State should apply the remedy; if it is interstate and controls any production in many States, Congress must apply the remedy.

I call the attention of Senators to the following expression given by this apostle of protection:

If the combination is aided by our tariff laws, they should be promptly changed, and, if necessary, equal competition with all the world should be invited in the monopolized article.

That is what I am appealing for to-day. If the courts can not restrain or control this trust, and it receives advantages from the revenue laws of the United States, we can at least repeal or modify those laws to the extent they help to build up and foster and continue the power of this monstrous monopoly by opening the markets of the United States to the competition of the world; and that is what I ask you to do.

If my amendment goes too far; if the Senator from Louisiana is right, that the reduction is too great, then let the friends of the monopoly, let those who think it ought to be treated fairly, let those who can ascertain the secrets of its trade, propose a modification, so that it will get no protection other than that which is necessary to compensate against the protection upon the raw material, and I will accept it. But as long as the trust sits with sealed lips, and as long as it demands that a duty shall be fixed which discriminates in its favor as it was never discriminated in favor of except in 1890, then I say let us give it the same protection we give to the raw product, and no more, and let it take the consequences.

We will not break down the sugar-refining industry. If the Sugar Refining Company can not live under a tariff which treats it as the sugar producer is treated, it will come back to Congress not as a monarch or an autocrat of trade, but like any other citizen, prepared to turn its case inside out, so that the legislative department of the Government can understand the mysteries of its trade and do it justice through well-understood and intelligent legislation.

The sugar industry lived before the war in Louisiana with 30 per cent protection. It lives to-day with 40 per cent protection. It has no right to complain that the Congress of the United States in 1894 declined further to treat it as an industry entitled to be paid a bounty. There can be no breach of good faith where no obligation exists. Donations, subsidies, and gratuities are acts of grace and not matters of contract. When Congress concluded that this matter of grace, this matter of subsidy, should exist no longer and changed its policy as to the sugar industry, it broke no contract, it violated no faith.

Senators say that $2,000,000 were invested upon the faith of the bounty to be paid. Congress listened to that appeal, and the year after its policy had been changed doubly compensated Louisiana for the investment of this $2,000,000. Whether it had authority to do it or not, the appeal was irresistible, the bill was passed,

and the additional bounty has been paid. Eleven million dollars were given annually to the sugar industry in the way of bounty; not a dollar to the wheat industry, not a dollar to the cotton industry, not a dollar to any other industry, but all those industries were taxed to raise the money to pay the bounties to the sugar producers.

If any part of our moral obligation remains unsatified, I am willing to satify it; but it does occur to me that to impose a tax of 70 per cent upon the value of all the sugar used by the people of the United States to protect such an industry as the sugar trust is carrying the doctrine of protection beyond the limits of any possible excuse or apology.

I read from Facts and Figures, prepared by gentlemen in Chicago who are in favor of promoting the production of beet sugar in the United States. They state that the people of the United States consume annually 2,163,160 tons of sugar, and that in 1896 the United States produced 267,000 tons of cane and beet sugar combined. Every time 1 pound of American sugar is protected by the tariff, 7 pounds of foreign sugar, which the American producers can not supply, are taxed for their benefit. When will we be able to convert the United States into a sugar-producing country, a country producing sugar enough to supply all of the wants of the people? Louisiana has practically reached the maximum of her capacity.

Mr. McENERY. It is estimated that the sugar-producing capacity of Louisiana can be doubled.

Mr. LINDSAY. Well, double it.

Mr. McENERY. And instead of 300,000 acres there can be 600,000 acres put in cultivation.

Mr. LINDSAY. Then, instead of raising 237,000 tons it is possible in Louisiana to raise 374,000 tons. Then we have 30,000 tons of beet sugar. When is the beet-sugar industry to make up the great difference between 600,000 tons of sugar, after Louisiana has exhausted her capacity, and the 2,183,769 tons of sugar we consumed last year? Population and consumption will increase as fast as production. Ten years hence the disproportion between the production and consumption will possibly be as great as it is to-day.

We have entered upon a system of protection which is against the policy of the Republican party itself. That party has always claimed that they protect an industry for the purpose of encouraging competition, and, as Mr. Garfield said, with the ultimate end of reaching free trade. Now, the Republican party has taken hold of an industry that can never reach that point, and there is not a Senator who will vote for this bill who believes this country can ever supply its home demand for sugar. This is protection for the sake of protection; not protection for the sake of revenue, but 45 per cent of the tax protection without any reference whatever to revenue.

Does anyone believe that this thirty-one millions of revenue which is to be raised for the protection of the sugar producers of the United States and the sugar trust could not be legitimately raised in some other way than by taxing the breakfast table of the poor man?

The Democratic party three years ago gave the poor man free salt from all countries except those which imposed a duty upon the American salt. We gave free wool, we gave free lumber, and we gave free cotton, free binding twine, free cotton ties, and free bagging; but now the breakfast table is to be taxed for protection's sake $31,000,000 and upward on sugar, 35 per cent ad valorem on salt, and $2 a thousand feet on the pine plank out of which the table is manufactured.

I do not complain that the other side have done all these inexcusable things, because from the standpoint of protection they are logical; but I do insist that, having protected sugar up to the point of $1.75 on each 100 pounds, the trust should be allowed to stand upon that amount of protection until, like every honest industry, it comes here and exposes the secrets of its trade and gives us to understand what amount of protection is necessary to enable it to exist; and when that is done, then appeal to the justice of the American Congress, instead of coming here and, by concealing the facts, seek to entrap Congress into giving it protection which it does not need, and which, if it ever did deserve, it has long since by its misconduct forfeited the right to demand. Let this trust run one year or two years without the necessary profit to enable it to distribute moneys in controlling elections—local, State, or Federal—and then come back to Congress with clean hands, when its presence will not give rise to suspicions of corruption nor provoke scandal, and tell the whole truth and trust to Congress to do its duty.

The responsibility for continuing the dominating influence of this trust rests with those who vote against the proposition I make without suggesting a substitute which will work no injustice to the sugar refiner, but will remove all ground for the continued scandal which taints the air whenever the trust comes to Congress. The opportunity is now presented to act, to act decisively, and to reduce this single-handed power, this autocrat of legislation, to the level of an ordinary American citizen, and that opportunity ought not to be neglected, to the further scandal of the American Congress.

Mr. CAFFERY. Mr. President, it is easy to see from the questions I asked the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. LINDSAY] that I was under the impression that his amendment discriminated against the refiner.

Mr. LINDSAY. No; it does not.

Mr. CAFFERY. I thought it did to some extent, and I am now satisfied it does not.

The Senator from Arkansas [Mr. JONES] has furnished me some figures which show that the refiner is not discriminated against in the matter of having to buy more than 100 pounds of raw sugar at certain degrees of polariscopic strength to make a hundred pounds of refined sugar, and there are two examples given. For instance, take sugars at 96 test, which are the sugars that are mostly used by refiners. Under the Treasury statement it would take 107 pounds of those sugars to make 100 pounds of refined.

Under the amendment proposed by the Senator from Kentucky the tariff on such sugar of 96 test would be 1.63. Multiplying 1.63 by 1.07 the whole amount of tariff on the sugar at this test would be 1.7441. So, at 93 test the amount of tariff on sugar under the amendment of the Senator from Kentucky would be 1.7355. The sugar trust will enjoy the full amount of the 1.75 tariff. The Senator commences in his amendment with sugar at 1 cent a pound, 75 degrees, running 3 degrees up to a hundred. So the refined sugar clearly gets the maximum of the tariff, 1.75.

These two examples show that the amount of tariff that the refiner would pay upon the raw sugar would be about the amount of protection in his favor upon the refined, and so as to that matter he would be evened up.

But there is another element, the element of handling this extra amount of pounds required to make 100 pounds of renned sugar out of 100 pounds of raw. How much that would be I do not know. I do not think it would be a great deal. The refiner would have to haul and handle 107 pounds of 96-test sugar to make 100 pounds of refined sugar.

Mr. LINDSAY. I will ask the Senator whether German refined sugar sells in this country for as much as the American refined sugar?

Mr. CAFFERY. It does not.

Mr. LINDSAY. Then the refiner gets the advantage of that, does he not?

Mr. CAFFERY. Yes, sir.

Mr. LINDSAY. I understand that to be about one-fourth of a cent a pound.

Mr. CAFFERY. I think it is.

Mr. CHILTON. Does he not get the advantage of the difference between the 100 and the 107 pounds?

Mr. CAFFERY. Exactly. I was coming to that point. The sirup made out of the residue, or waste, you may call it, is estimated to be worth about 2 cents a gallon. It appears to me that this residue would easily offset the amount of freightage and handling that the refiner would have to pay for, so that he would get just as much protection on the refined sugars as exists upon the raw. He would be without any protection whatever, and everybody would be upon an even keel.

Mr. President, 1.75, the maximum, is quite sufficient either for revenue or protection. The Louisiana sugar planters would hardly have the face to ask for more than 1.75 cents on sugar worth 4 cents or 3½ cents. It is a very heavy tariff for protection's sake. The beet grower can ask no more; and when you come to a revenue basis, it is quite sufficient to put on any article, in my opinion.

It is very true, as I stated yesterday evening in my answer to the query of the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. PLATT], that if you place all the tariff upon an article of consumption that the people would consume anyhow, you have got your revenue, and you could relieve other sources of taxation, and so the thing equalizes. But this is quite sufficient to place upon any one article of import for purposes of revenue, and it is quite sufficient for any purposes of protection. It is as much protection as any industry ought to enjoy. It is about 60 per cent on the ordinary price of Louisiana centrifugal sugar, and that is enough for protection. The protection now is something over 40 per cent—about 42½ to 43 per cent, or somewhere in that neighborhood.

I consider from the statements made by the sugar-trust officials themselves that they do not stand in need of any protection whatever. It is clear from their statements that they can hold the markets of the United States against all competitors. They fear no foreign competition. The foreign beet sugars are made by a lot of independent refiners in their own sugarhouses. The business abroad is not of such large proportions as it is in the United States. They do not turn out per diem anywhere near the amount of sugar that the American Sugar Refining Company does. That company minimizes the cost of production in every particular; and while I do not want to discriminate against them, and would not do it if I knew the effect of my vote was that way, I do not

propose, so far as I am concerned, to give them any protection whatever. I do not think they are entitled to it.

I think the money they have made heretofore unduly out of the American people is sufficient for them to carry on the business without further extortion and further tyranny and further oppression. Therefore it is that I support the amendment of the Senator from Kentucky. I think it will do no harm whatever to the sugar trust, and if it has the effect only of keeping the sugar trust out of legislation, it will be a godsend to this country. At every session of Congress there is a sort of mildew upon the Senate and the House of Representatives from contact with that institution; and, as it needs no such support, as it is not an infant industry to be encouraged, but an ancient institution that is firmly rooted and can not be destroyed, and, from its own testimony, ought to stand and does stand stronger and firmer than any other sugar industry in the world, I am not disposed to give them gratuities and bounties.

Mr. President, the baleful presence of the sugar trust in the National Legislature brings about a feeling of shame that this, the incubus, still hangs on, asking for a further lease of power to stifle trade and poison legislation. I will narrate an incident which I read in a newspaper some year or so ago. A Louisiana planter attempted to sell some sugar in Omaha. His Omaha patron wanted to buy sugar. The best Louisiana centrifugal sugar, as was shown by my colleague [Mr. MCENERY] in the samples he offered this morning, is quite equal to the output of the American Refining Company. This Omaha patron could not buy. Why? The sugar trust boycotts every man who does not patronize it exclusively.

If a patron of a Louisiana sugar planter purchases sugar from him, he can not buy from the sugar trust. That was stated by the Omaha purchaser, or the designed purchaser, to the Louisiana planter. He would like to take the sugar of the Louisiana planter, he said, but he could not do it, for if he did he would be deprived from supplying his customers. As the Louisiana supply would not last the whole year and he could not get the supply from the Louisiana planter continuously, he had to decline what he considered to be a good bargain. This was current in the newspapers.

I desire to state to the Senate that there is an extraordinary decline in the price of Louisiana sugars just at the time they are marketable, and there is an extraordinary rise just after they are marketed. I account for that by the depression of the price by the sugar trust. Some years ago the sugar trust nearly monopolized the Louisiana product, and if the planter did not take the price the sugar trust offered, he could not sell at all; and that price shaded, always shaded, the price of centrifugals in New York.

The sugar crop in Louisiana is marketed about the 1st of January or a little prior to that, and is all sold about the 1st of May. Here I find in the tariff hearings before the Committee on Ways and Means of the House of Representatives, on Schedule E, on page 620, a statement giving the average monthly quotations of Louisiana vacuum-pan sugar for nine years. The average price in January, when these sugars are marketed, was 5 cents. That was for nine years, from 1885 down to 1893. The average price in August for nine years was 5.57, a little over a half cent higher, and it runs through nearly every year the same way for nine consecutive years.

What accounts for that? I have heard that the sugar trust accounts for it by saying that we put too much sugar on the market at one time. Our sugar did not conflict with theirs, and they bought a great deal of it. They refined and melted a great deal of this sugar, and they distributed the refined sugar made out of Louisiana sugar all over the country.

Now, I should like to know what is the cause of the depressed price at the time the sugar is marketed and at the time the trust buys it except the control of the market by the sugar trust.

Mr. SMITH. Will the Senator allow me a moment?

Mr. CAFFERY. Yes, sir.

Mr. SMITH. We have heard in most of the speeches upon the other side of the Chamber that it is of great importance to help the beet-sugar industry. I ask the Senator from Louisiana what, in his judgment, would be the result to the beet growers of the country in the disposition of their sugars when you have had such an experience in Louisiana with your cane sugars?

Mr. CAFFERY. Mr. President, I think if the culture of beets were developed to the extent that the output of beets would supply the home market, it would prove to be somewhat of a corrective against the power of the sugar trust, because the sugar trust manipulates the market of the domestic product by reason of the small amount of the domestic product and by the overwhelming mass of the sugar imported. If the domestic producers were producing enough to sell of their own to supply the market, there would be no means of the sugar trust importing the sugars and holding the market, and thereby depressing the price of the home product. But, as I stated yesterday, I do not believe that a greater evil could befall the sugar-beet people than to go into the sugar-beet industry.

Mr. ALLEN. What does the Senator mean by going into the sugar-beet industry?

Mr. CAFFERY. I mean that if this industry is stimulated by tariff or by bounty when it is apparent that the German sugar can not compete with the cane sugar upon an even plane, we would build up a tremendous superstructure, whose base is artificially supported by legislation; that that legislation is capricious, unstable, and uncertain, and at the very moment when you get your enterprise supported, built up, maintained by legislation, the legislation may be withdrawn and your enterprise destroyed.

Mr. ALLEN. Did not the Senator from Louisiana say in 1894, in the discussion of the Wilson tariff bill, that the cane-sugar industry of Louisiana could not support itself without some protection?

Mr. CAFFERY. I did not, that I recollect.

Mr. ALLEN. Did the Senator not use words to that effect?

Mr. CAFFERY. I did not.

Mr. ALLEN. Did not the Senator from Louisiana refuse to vote upon that bill with his party in consequence of insufficient protection to Louisiana sugar?

Mr. CAFFERY. I did not fail to vote for that bill; I voted for that bill.

Mr. ALLEN. The Senator voted for the bill, but under duress. I remember the peculiar circumstances which occurred here at that time.

Mr. CAFFERY. I have explained to the Senate on several occasions, and I believe to the Senator from Nebraska himself—I am not certain about that—why I cast that vote. That vote had no reference whatever to any tariff for protection or tariff for revenue. That vote was cast "nay," and afterwards changed, as I openly proclaimed upon the floor of the Senate at the time, as a resentment against the violation of caucus faith upon the part of the Democratic party.

Mr. ALLEN. That caucus faith, as I understand, was that there should be some protection to the cane-sugar industry of Louisiana.

Mr. CAFFERY. It was not a protection, Mr. President. I never put my support of the Wilson tariff duty of 40 per cent plus one-eighth plus one-tenth upon any ground of protection. I put it upon the ground of revenue, and, as the Senator will remember, I stated that the Louisiana people had been induced by reason of the bounty—which I never supported and which I repudiate—to undertake great expense, to incur large debts, acting under the presumption of the continuance of that bounty for the term stated in the law; and then to destroy the bounty without some alleviation to the fall would be cruel, would be unjust, and would amount to having led the people into a line of conduct, into embarrassments, into debts, and then, in the midst of their debts and embarrassments, to strike them a deadly blow.

Mr. ALLEN. Then I understand the Senator to say that the grant of a bounty to the cane-sugar industry, in the first instance, was a work of supererogation; that it was not necessary to its development or its protection; and therefore the Senator from Louisiana was against it, or would have been against it if he had been here.

Mr. CAFFERY. I never would have voted for a bounty.

Mr. ALLEN. Does the Senator from Louisiana now say that the cane-sugar industry of Louisiana is and can be self-supporting without any protection, direct or indirect, in the form of a protective tariff or a bounty from this Government?

Mr. CAFFERY. I have not said so.

Mr. ALLEN. I ask the Senator what he would say to that proposition?

Mr. CAFFERY. I state, as I did yesterday, that under the 24 per cent ad valorem tariff in 1857 the sugar industry flourished more than it ever flourished, and that demonstrated the fact that the sugar industry did not require for its development a very high tariff. Now, whether with no tariff at all it would flourish I am not prepared to give a very decided answer. I think, if you want to know my individual opinion——

Mr. ALLEN. Certainly.

Mr. CAFFERY. I think that there is a section of my State that is about equal to Cuba in the production of sugar cane, taking all things around, taking the advantages that we enjoy, together with the disadvantages that we are laboring under—I think that we can about hold our own even under free trade.

Mr. ALLEN. I understand sugar beets are not grown in Louisiana?

Mr. CAFFERY. They are not.

Mr. ALLEN. How, then, does the Senator reach the conclusion that the beet-sugar industry can not live without protection?

Mr. CAFFERY. I reach the conclusion in this way: I think the conditions in Germany, in France, and in the Continent of Europe generally, where beets are raised, are quite as favorable as they are in the United States. I find that after some forty years of protection and bounty the beet-sugar industry is toppling to its fall. I find that at every single session of the German legislature

there is a demand for more and more bounty. I find that while the Germans are apparently prospering in sugar culture, they are paying more for sugar than it is worth.

They pay about 3 cents a pound additional to the price paid by the consumer in the United States and Great Britain. I find that while they pay this excessive price, the consumption is not over one-third of what it is in the United States. I therefore conclude that if this artificial culture of the beet—I call it artificial, because I do not believe it is natural—can be built up to the proportions of the beet crop of Germany and France and Sweden and Norway and Belgium and other countries of Europe, the consequences may be, and likely will be, precisely similar to the consequences that have befallen the beet culture in Europe.

In other words, you make cheap sugar for the foreigner and you make high sugar for the home consumer. You will put it so that they can not consume sugar. The same sugar that sells for between 7 and 8 cents a pound in Germany the American gets for 4 and 4¼ cents. If it is the object and design of the tariff in this bill to stimulate that production just precisely as it has been stimulated abroad, the same result will follow, and the beet growers will be constantly threatened with annihilation. Multiply the German population by the amount of 3 cents a pound, and if they consumed as much sugar as we do in the United States, it would be from fifty to sixty million dollars per annum for the privilege of raising sugar. I do not believe the game is worth the candle.

Mr. ALLEN. If we were to pursue the policy of stimulating beet culture in some form—and I am not arguing in favor of protection or a bounty at this time—and by that means increased the beet output, would not that have a tendency to benefit the consumer?

Mr. CAFFERY. No, sir.

Mr. ALLEN. Would not an increased quantity lower the price?

Mr. CAFFERY. It has not done so in Germany.

Mr. ALLEN. Of course you can not violate the natural laws of trade. Let me ask the Senator how much refined sugar is made from a ton of cane in Louisiana?

Mr. CAFFERY. Sometimes 200 pounds, but this is abnormal—160 to 170 pounds, or about that.

Mr. ALLEN. We make from 246 to 250 pounds of granulated sugar out of a ton of beets in Nebraska. I think the output in Louisiana must be more than 200 pounds.

Mr. CAFFERY. Two hundred pounds is a large average in Louisiana. They do not make that in many districts.

Mr. ALLEN. Yet, with this large saccharine substance, 246 or 250 pounds to a ton of beets, the Senator still thinks that the beet-sugar industry is not worthy of stimulation?

Mr. CAFFERY. I do not. While you grow about 12 tons of beets to the acre, in Louisiana we make from 20 to 30 tons of sugar cane.

Mr. ALLEN. Sometimes more.

Mr. CAFFERY. Very seldom, on the average.

Mr. ALLEN. Sometimes much more. Without intending to be personal or offensive at all in the slightest degree, may it not be possible that the sugar interests of Louisiana are opposed to the competition which would result if the beet-sugar industry were thoroughly established in this country?

Mr. CAFFERY. The question implies a kind of insinuation that I am governed in my action by that sort of sentiment.

Mr. ALLEN. I do not mean it in that sense. May not the Senator, taking into consideration Louisiana's interest, be imperceptibly influenced in favor of the development of the Louisiana cane industry and against the beet-sugar industry?

Mr. CAFFERY. If it is imperceptible to me, if it is unknown to me, how on earth can I answer the question? I know when I design something, but if the Senator says that I may be imperceptibly swayed, then he knows about as much about it as I do, and more, too.

Mr. ALLEN. The Senator recognizes the fact that sometimes men are so circumstanced that their minds are biased and their conduct is biased, and yet, possibly, they are not conscious of the fact at the time.

Mr. CAFFERY. That is a psychological statement to which I bow assent.

Mr. ALLEN. The Senator recognizes that as a truth?

Mr. CAFFERY. Yes, sir. I recognize it as a fact.

Mr. ALLEN. Now I ask whether the Senator from Louisiana is not so circumstanced that possibly he is a victim of that psychological fact?

Mr. CAFFERY. There is no telling. I may be the victim of many delusions. I may be worked upon by causes the extent of which and the character of which I can not place or determine, and of which I do not even know the existence, but as I know myself—and perhaps I do not—and as I review my own feelings on this proposition, I am not conscious of being influenced in the slightest by any motive of the kind which the Senator from Nebraska thinks may linger in my mind unknown to me and imperceptible to me.

It appears that from a discussion of acute mathematics on the sugar schedules the Senator from Nebraska has led us into the high domain of hairsplitting metaphysics. In that domain I know I am no match for him, and I do not care to stay in it any longer than I can get upon the solid ground of reality and facts. I was simply stating that in my opinion it would be a very unfortunate thing to stimulate an industry which could not sustain itself after the stimulation.

There is something in the protective theory as to infant industries. There is no doubt about it. There is no question that where a tariff law is properly applied to an industry which can sustain itself by reason of the natural environments, tariff stimulation will push it forward into quicker maturity. I suppose we will not quarrel about that statement. I hope my friend the Senator from Nebraska will not get metaphysical on that point. But does the principle apply to industries which, though stimulated, though brought to quicker maturity, can not maintain themselves after the artificial aid is withdrawn?

I submit to the Senator that, judging the United States by Europe, comparing the beet industry in Germany with the contemplated beet industry in the United States, precedent is against him. The Germans can not sustain themselves. If they were to admit sugar from the Tropics, take down the high protective wall, or even lower it, their whole artificial beet culture would dry up. It can not stand alone, and the culture in Germany embodies within itself two of the most pernicious principles, in my view. The original pernicious principle is protection, and the supplementary pernicious principle is a bounty on exports. They have not only a protection which is an absolute barrier to the introduction of foreign sugar, but they have an export bounty that stimulates a culture already stimulated too much, so that they are clamoring and clamoring and clamoring for governmental aid all over Europe. They can not stand alone. Is that the condition in which the Senator from Nebraska desires to place his people?

It is a safe proposition to lay down that there is not a single industry in the United States which flourishes to-day that has not flourished in spite of tariff, and there is not a single industry in the United States which is not flourishing to-day, how high and how great soever it may have been protected, that displays a character to sustain itself without the artificial prop. You have to have the natural environments. You have to have the adaptability. I invite my friend the Senator from Nebraska into the field of free trade. Take away your artificial restriction, your artificial appliances, your props, your stimulating drinks, and let every industry stand or fall according to its merits.

This attempt to induce the beet culture in the United States, in my opinion, is founded upon a wholly erroneous principle. If beet culture in the United States is naturally profitable, the people are going into it; if it is not profitable, they will not. They ought not to be almost bribed to go into it. And beet culture, in my opinion, is one of the instances, and a conspicuous instance, of the fallacies that lie at the bottom of the principle of protection.

When we come back to the real point at issue and discuss the amendment of the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. LINDSAY], we are met face to face with the proposition whether or not we shall continue this governmental aid to an institution which in the past and now displays the greatest capacity to get along without any help. It is not a case where you have to compensate by extra duty, because the refiner gets just what he pays. He is protected against the foreigner by the amount of tariff upon the foreign product, and what he pays out for his raw material is compensated to him by the amount he gets against the foreign article.

I do not pretend to be an expert in this matter, but I am perfectly safe in giving a vote in favor of the amendment, even if wrong, for I know from the well-disciplined vote on the other side that it will be cast as a solid shot against this amendment, and there is no danger whatever of its being adopted. The vote on the amendment will signify whether the Senate of the United States is a friend of the sugar trust; whether or not the trust is so needful of charity, is such a mild, humane institution, so beneficent as to warrant any particular favor at the hands of the Congress of the United States. This institution that comes before us as a violator of law, this institution which has set at defiance the very statutes we have passed here, this institution which carries on its business in restraint of trade, in contempt of the prohibition of the statutes, this institution demands at the hands of the United States a bonus to be allowed to carry on its business. I am in favor of the amendment of the Senator from Kentucky.

Mr. MORGAN. I desire to present an amendment which I propose to submit to the bill at the proper time. I ask that it may be read from the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. MANTLE in the chair). The amendment will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

There shall be levied and collected a sum equal to 2 per cent of the profit made by each person or corporation in buying or selling any bonds or stocks, whether the same are issued in the United States or in any other country.

There is exempt from the operation of this act all the profits realized or accrued on the purchase or sales of stocks or bonds that have been held and owned in good faith by the same person or corporation for a continuous period of six months or more prior to such sale. It is the duty of every person and corporation, within ten days after a profit is realized or has accrued on any purchase or sale of stocks or bonds subject to taxation under this act, either for present or for future delivery, to report the same under oath to the collector of internal revenue of the district in which the purchase or sale is made, stating the date of such purchase or sale, the amount thereof, the description of the stocks or bonds so purchased or sold, and the name and residence of the person or corporation with whom such dealings of purchase or sale were had, and the amount of the profit realized on such transactions, each separately; and the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized to make all needful regulations for the assessment and collection of the taxes imposed by this act.

Any person, and the agents or officers of any corporation, who shall omit or refuse to make due report and return of any profits realized or accrued on the purchase or sale of bonds or stocks that are taxable under this act, according to law and the regulations prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury, is guilty of a misdemeanor, and shall be punished by any court having jurisdiction of such offenses by a fine not exceeding $500 and by imprisonment for a term not less than thirty days nor exceeding one year, at the discretion of the court.

Mr. ALLISON. Mr. President——

Mr. ALLEN. With the consent of the Senator from Iowa, I rise for the purpose of receiving recognition, that I may proceed with some remarks Monday morning.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Nebraska will be recognized as entitled to the floor.

Mr. ALLISON. I move that the Senate adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 4 o'clock and 30 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until Monday, June 14, 1897, at 12 o'clock meridian.

SENATE.

MONDAY, *June 14, 1897.*

The Senate met at 12 o'clock m.

Prayer by Rev. L. B. WILSON, D. D., of the city of Washington.

The Journal of the proceedings of Saturday last was read and approved.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

The VICE-PRESIDENT presented memorials of the Oswego Lumbermen's Exchange, of Oswego; of E. W. Rathbun & Co., wholesale lumber dealers, of Oswego, and of C. W. Mott, of Oneida, all in the State of New York, remonstrating against the imposition of the proposed duty of $2 per thousand feet upon lumber; which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. PLATT of New York presented sundry memorials of citizens of New York City, Geneva, Albany, Waterville, Rochester, Yonkers, Callicoon, Northbranch, and Brooklyn, all in the State of New York, remonstrating against the proposed increase of the tax on beer; which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. MORRILL presented a petition of sundry citizens of Pownal, Vt., and a petition of sundry citizens of Saxtons River, Vt., praying for the early passage of the pending tariff bill; which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. PASCO presented a petition of the Chamber of Commerce of Fernandina, Fla., praying that an appropriation be made for the purpose of keeping the entrance of Cumberland Sound open to commerce; which was referred to the Committee on Commerce.

Mr. PRITCHARD presented a petition of sundry citizens of Burlington, N. C., and a petition of sundry citizens of Concord, N. C., praying for the passage, at the earliest possible date, of such protective-tariff legislation as will adequately secure American industrial products against the competition of foreign labor; which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. HANSBROUGH presented a petition of sundry citizens of Milton, N. Dak., praying for the early passage of the pending tariff bill; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. HOAR presented a memorial of 61 citizens of Massachusetts engaged in the manufacture of shoes, remonstrating against any increase in the present rate of duty on tanned skins for morocco or a duty on raw goatskins; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a petition of 196 business men of Lowell, Mass., and a petition of 36 citizens of North Adams and Briggsville, Mass., praying for the early passage of the pending tariff bill; which were ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a petition of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Bristol County, Mass., praying for the enactment of legislation prohibiting the reproduction of pugilistic encounters by means of the kinetoscope; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. TURPIE presented a petition of sundry citizens of New Albany, Ind., praying for the speedy enactment of a protective-tariff law; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. HAWLEY presented the petition of T. E. Hopkins and 36 other citizens of Danielson, Conn., and the petition of T. M. Ross and sundry other citizens of Tolland County, Conn., praying for the early passage of the pending tariff bill; which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. SPOONER presented petitions of Dorton Mihills and 103 other citizens of Evansville, of Benjamin P. Hill and 31 other citizens of Bayfield, of D. S. Conger and 44 other citizens of Prairie du Sac, of C. C. Pratt and 11 other citizens of Deerfield, of Frank B. Bacon and 106 other citizens of Sparta, of E. T. Buxton and 30 other citizens of Superior, and of John B. Stickney and 103 other citizens of Mazomanie, all in the State of Wisconsin, praying for the early passage of the pending tariff bill; which were ordered to lie on the table.

SALE OF ALCOHOLIC LIQUORS IN SOUTH CAROLINA.

Mr. TILLMAN. From the Committee on Interstate Commerce I submit a report giving the judicial decisions on the regulation of commerce between the several States and with foreign countries in reference to the South Carolina liquor law. I move that the report be printed for the information of the Senate, to accompany the bill (S. 224) to limit the effect of the regulation of commerce between the several States and with foreign countries in certain cases.

The motion was agreed to.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Mr. PETTIGREW introduced a bill (S. 2138) to give the consent of Congress to a compact entered into between the States of South Dakota and Nebraska respecting the boundary between said States; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. ALLEN introduced a bill (S. 2139) granting a pension to Richard Barnes, of Madison County, Nebr.; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. DANIEL (by request) introduced the following bills; which were severally read twice by their titles, and referred to the Committee on Claims:

A bill (S. 2140) for the relief of the legal representatives of Paul McNeel, deceased, of Pocahontas County, W. Va.;

A bill (S. 2141) for the relief of W. E. Judkins, executor of Lewis McKenzie; and

A bill (S. 2142) for the relief of Alexander Stoddart, of New York.

AMENDMENT TO THE TARIFF BILL.

Mr. PRITCHARD submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill (H. R. 379) to provide revenue for the Government and to encourage the industries of the United States; which was referred to the Committee on Finance, and ordered to be printed.

ENROLLED BILL SIGNED.

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. W. J. BROWNING, its Chief Clerk, announced that the Speaker of the House had signed the enrolled joint resolution (S. R. 64) relating to the payment of salaries in the consular service; and it was thereupon signed by the Vice-President.

THE TARIFF BILL.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The morning business appears to be closed.

Mr. ALLISON. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of House bill 379.

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 379) to provide revenue for the Government and to encourage the industries of the United States.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The pending question is upon the amendment of the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. LINDSAY], upon which the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. ALLEN] has the floor.

Mr. ALLISON. If the Senator from Nebraska will yield to me for a moment, I ask that beginning on Wednesday morning the sessions of the Senate shall commence at 11 instead of 12 o'clock, as now.

Mr. VEST. All right.

Mr. ALLISON. I think it would facilitate the business if we should adopt that course.

Mr. VEST. That is with the understanding, of course, that we shall adjourn at 5 o'clock.

Mr. ALLISON. I think perhaps it would not be wise to make such an order as to the hour of adjournment. I have no doubt that we will all feel like adjourning about 5 o'clock, or, at any rate, like passing from the consideration of this bill to other business that may be necessary—executive business, and so on. I assure Senators that they will have no trouble as to the hour of adjournment if this order is agreed to.

Mr. VEST. That is all right. I want to be entirely frank about it. It is the late sessions that count against those of us who are working on the bill. I do not mind meeting at 11 o'clock in the morning, but to stay here after 5 is more than those of us who are past middle life want to bear.

Mr. ALLISON. Under our methods of business, as the Senator

very well knows, it may not always be convenient to adjourn at a particular time.

Mr. VEST. I mean, to let the tariff bill go over.

Mr. ALLISON. Unless there is some special reason, perhaps that can be arranged.

Mr. VEST. I do not mind executive sessions after 5.

Mr. ALLISON. I hope there will be no agreement as to the hour of adjournment. I think there will be no difficulty in arranging that to suit Senators on both sides.

Mr. VEST. Very well.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask unanimous consent, therefore, that, beginning Wednesday morning, the hour of meeting shall be 11 instead of 12 o'clock until otherwise ordered.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senate has heard the request of the Senator from Iowa asking unanimous consent that, beginning on Wednesday, the hour of meeting of the Senate shall be 11 o'clock in the morning instead of 12 o'clock, as heretofore.

Mr. ALLISON. Until otherwise ordered.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Until otherwise ordered. The Chair hears no objection to the request. No objection being entered, that will be the order. Beginning Wednesday morning, the Senate will meet at 11 o'clock. The Senator from Nebraska will proceed.

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. President, during the very interesting remarks of the senior Senator from Kentucky [Mr. LINDSAY] on Saturday last the following colloquial discussion took place:

Mr. ALLEN. Then I should like to ask the Senator from Missouri what is to prevent the Government of the United States from resorting to the common-law writ of quo warranto, bringing this trust into court and dissolving its existence regardless of any statute?

Mr. VEST. I have no doubt it could be done if we could get at the proof in the case, if the State corporation was operating in restraint of trade under the Edmunds law.

Mr. ALLEN. It does not make any difference about it being a State corporation.

Mr. VEST. But the question was, Did it operate in restraint of trade among the States?

Mr. HOAR. You can not issue a quo warranto against a State corporation.

Mr. VEST. I do not know that you can issue that particular writ of quo warranto, but the proceedings to which I refer were instituted under the Edmunds law.

Mr. ALLEN. Does the Senator from Massachusetts pretend to say that the charter of a State corporation can not be dissolved, or, at least, that it can not be prevented from doing business when it monopolizes interstate trade and results in a monopoly?

Mr. HOAR. If my honorable friend the Senator from Nebraska will pardon me, in all good nature, I do not pretend anything in the Senate. I am asked to state my view of a law question and whether I pretend so and so.

Mr. ALLEN. I did not mean to offend the Senator.

Mr. HOAR. It is not a very agreeable kind of a question.

Mr. ALLEN. I simply wanted to give it as my opinion (and it is the opinion of only one man, and not quite so good or right as that of the Senator from Massachusetts) that there is no question about the power of this Government to dissolve such a corporation, regardless of the fact where it gets its charter. Whenever it leaves the State in which it is incorporated and engages in the transaction of business which is international commerce and interstate commerce, the nation has control.

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. President——

Mr. HOAR. Will the Senator pardon me for a sentence?

Mr. LINDSAY. Certainly.

Mr. HOAR. I supposed the law to be that the writ of quo warranto is a writ to dissolve a corporation which by illegal conduct has forfeited its power to exist, and that it is a writ addressed to it to come and show cause by what warrant it continues to act as a corporation. I suppose that can only be done, under our system of jurisprudence, in the courts of the sovereign that created the corporation, which is the State in the case of a State corporation. I do not concede that that is a proper writ or remedy to prevent a corporation from doing an unlawful thing.

Undoubtedly the courts of the United States may by proper process enjoin a State corporation, as they could an individual, against violating a United States law in cases where such an injunction is the proper and fitting proceeding, but that would not be by instituting an action of quo warranto, and it would not be in any case, as I suppose, within the powers of the United States courts to dissolve a State corporation.

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. President——

Mr. LINDSAY. I can not yield further.

Mr. ALLEN. Very well.

At this point I was cut short from answering the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] by the refusal of the Senator from Kentucky to permit further interruption, and I embrace the first opportunity to reply briefly to him on this point.

Quo warranto is the proper common-law writ by which to inquire into and determine the right of persons to exercise corporate functions or franchises, and the remedy is limited only by the facts and circumstances of each particular case as it presents itself, for it is doubtful if in illustrative jurisprudence two cases can be found presenting exactly the same or substantially a similar state of facts. The English law of quo warranto descended to us as an inheritance, and it came in all its fullness and efficiency, and not so crippled and hedged about by unreasonable and unnecessary restrictions as to make it barren of results when properly set in motion. I can not bring myself to agree with the Senator from Massachusetts, much as I am inclined to do so, for, as I look at the question, there can be little, if any, doubt of the jurisdiction of the Federal courts to oust a corporation in so far as it engages in interstate or international commerce if it does not possess lawful authority to do so.

If Havemeyer and his associates went to New Jersey to procure a charter as a mere shield from consequences of a business conducted elsewhere, and not to conduct business there, the act was fraudulent, the charter was void, and the Federal court would, in a proper case, have jurisdiction to so adjudge it. It must be remembered that under the liberal practice obtaining in the United States the court, in a case of quo warranto, is not confined to entering a judgment of ouster merely, but it has authority to enter as a part of its judgment a perpetual injunction restraining the corporation from the exercise of functions it does not lawfully possess. In addition to quo warranto, a bill in chancery may be filed to restrain the corporation from carrying on a business not contemplated by its charter, and I take it for granted that it is elementary that a corporation deriving its chartered powers from the legislature of New Jersey or any other State does not possess the right to engage in interstate or international commerce, and that the State granting the charter has no power to confer that authority.

A State possesses power to charter a corporation to transact business within its territorial limits only. It can not extend beyond State boundaries and it must of necessity be confined to carrying on a lawful business within the State and to State commerce, and incidentally to such interstate and international commerce as may by the sufferance of Congress be transacted within the State. It has no authority, however, by virtue of its corporate existence to pass beyond the boundaries of the State of its origin and domicile and engage in a commerce over which, by the Constitution, Congress has original and exclusive jurisdiction.

The common-law remedy of quo warranto not only authorizes the court to inquire by what warrant or authority the corporation transacts business, but to inquire into and determine whether a particular branch of business comes within its chartered privileges or not, and if it does not to oust it from the transaction of such business and restrain it from engaging therein again.

The Constitution declares—

That Congress shall have power to regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several States and with the Indian tribes.

These powers are very comprehensive and embrace not alone a direct regulation by act of Congress of how and when such commerce may be conducted, but the means, and as an incident the Congress may declare that no commerce shall be carried on through the instrumentality or agency of corporations. It may confine such commerce to individuals, or copartnerships, or, in fact, impose any other restriction on it that may be deemed politic and wise.

The grant is to regulate commerce with the foreign nations. This does not mean with foreign nations as distinct political entities, but with the people of foreign nations, and therefore it embraces within its legitimate scope complete authority to regulate the interchange of traffic between the people of the United States and the people of a foreign nation, and there follows impliedly from this the incidental power to determine the class of vessels in which commerce may be carried, and, in fact, the right to regulate commerce carries with it the right to suspend or prohibit it if necessary for the time being and for the general welfare, and it is declared that Congress shall have power to regulate commerce "among the several States." In the first case the word "with" is used, while in the latter "among" is employed. Perhaps there is no significance in this change of expression in speaking of the two classes of commerce, and yet it must be noted in passing that a change was made. This does not mean among the several States as political entities, for at the time the Constitution was adopted there was no commerce among the several States as such, or practically none, and therefore it must be held to refer to the people of the several States.

And here, too, is implied the authority to prohibit the interchange of commercial relations between the people of the several States if for any purpose it shall be deemed wise and proper for Congress to do so. And there is further implied the right to choose the means of regulating and the instrumentalities thereof, and therefore I assume it is elementary that if Congress shall declare that no commerce among the several States shall be carried on through the instrumentality of a corporation, the law would be constitutional and would be enforced not only in the Federal courts, but in the State courts as well, for it is primarily the duty of the State courts to enforce an act of Congress when its jurisdiction is properly invoked in the ordinary course of litigation. It would be strange, then, if, Congress possessing this power, broad and comprehensive as it is, we should find ourselves without a remedy to enforce an act of regulation. It was an axiom at the common law that for every right there was a remedy, and that axiom came to us from the English law, and we may therefore properly declare that where there is a right in the sovereignty of the United States there is a remedy for its enforcement.

Let us suppose that the Havemeyers, residing in New York, went across the line into New Jersey and procured a charter from the legislature of that State, without having a domicile there, and by virtue of that charter established an office in the city of New York

and created a monopoly in the sugar business. If the chief purpose in obtaining the charter was to enable them to transact business as a corporation in New York and engage in interstate and international commerce, the New Jersey charter would not afford them protection from the Federal courts in New York, or any other district or circuit where their business may be conducted. The moment they ceased to transact a purely local or State business within the State of New Jersey and engaged in interstate and international commerce beyond the territorial lines of that State, that moment they placed themselves in a position where they were subject to the jurisdiction of the United States courts, and it would be somewhat singular if they could engage in a business 99 per cent of which is interstate and international in its character and the courts of the United States would have no jurisdiction to control them or adjudge their business unlawful, if unlawful, or conducted unlawfully, or oust them in so far as their business might be a monopoly and in violation of the common or statute law.

I assume, for the purpose of this argument, that at the common law a monopoly was in violation of law, and was subject to control of the courts, and its agents might be indicted and punished and its existence dissolved and the corporation restrained by injunction from carrying it on in the future.

It is admitted on all hands that no sugar schedule can be framed by any party from which the sugar trust will not derive pecuniary benefit. I am well satisfied from my own observation and experience as a member of the investigating committee of 1894 that this is true. Then why waste time on this schedule? If there is a real desire and an honest purpose to destroy this gigantic monopoly that is eating out the substance of the people, why not employ the courts to dissolve it, or at least to oust it from the exercise of this particular function? We should begin at the proper place and employ the proper remedy and deprive it of a monopoly of one of the staple necessities of life.

As long as we higgle on schedules, the sugar trust will laugh at us in derision and mock our impotency and continue to fatten on unlawful exactions from the people. It will only fear the Government when we shall invoke the aid of the courts and deprive it of existence outside of its lawful situs.

It has been suggested that the courts can not be relied on to control this monopoly; that the judges are surrounded by influences that will prevent them from determining the question as they should. If this be true, then the Government in its judicial branch is a failure and the people are without a remedy. I have confidence, however, in the courts of the United States to believe that when their jurisdiction is properly invoked they will not hesitate to deal justly by the people and dissolve this gigantic monopoly.

There is another subject to which I desire to direct attention for a moment. We have a treaty relation with the Hawaiian Islands by which Hawaiian sugars are admitted into the United States free of duty. There come to the United States annually at least 225,000 tons under that treaty which do not pay a cent of revenue into the Treasury. I think I am entirely safe in asserting that the United States loses from six to six and a half million dollars annually in consequence of the treaty.

The time has come, in my judgment, when this treaty ought to be revoked. I am not prepared to say that it ought never to have been made. Its making antedates by several years my advent into public life, and I am not prepared to say that circumstances did not exist at the time which warranted the Government in entering into a treaty with the then King of Hawaii.

But, Mr. President, the people derive no benefit from the provision of the Hawaiian treaty which admits sugar free of duty. The investigation in 1894 by the special committee apointed by this body developed the fact that the American Sugar Refining Company, at the head of which stands Henry O. Havemeyer and the king of the sugar trust of the Hawaiian Islands, Claus Spreckels, were in partnership in Hawaiian sugars; that they owned jointly the Western Refining Factory, located at San Francisco, Cal., and that an agreement existed between them by which all the section of our country lying west of the Missouri River was turned over to Spreckels to supply with sugars, and the portion of the United States lying east of the Missouri was devoted exclusively to the forays of the American sugar trust. And I think the fact is that only about 7 per cent of the sugar trust's sugars go west of the Missouri River.

Mr. President, we receive no benefit from this treaty relation. Sugars raised upon many of the islands in the Atlantic and Pacific oceans are shipped to Honolulu, there repacked and marked Hawaiian sugars, and brought into this country under the language of that treaty, but really in violation of its spirit and purpose.

Why, then, should the people be deprived of deriving revenue to the amount of between $5,000,000 and $7,000,000 a year from these imported sugars? There is no competition between Hawaiian sugars and sugars manufactured or refined by the American sugar trust. The moment those sugars come to the United States that moment they are owned and controlled by this combination between Havemeyer and Spreckels, and there is immediately stifled that natural and legitimate competition which under proper regulations would exist.

The sugar trust takes these sugars in its control and fixes the price to the American consumer, entirely regardless of the fact that they are admitted free of duty. Those sugars would be no higher to the consumers if they paid this tax of between $5,000,000 and $7,000,000 annually. And how many years will elapse until the 225,000 tons of sugar admitted annually free of duty as Hawaiian sugars will grow into 450,000 tons or 500,000 tons, when the Government will be deprived of revenue to the amount of from $12,000,000 to $14,000,000 a year?

Mr. President, we can not build up the American sugar industry or develop it in the slightest degree if this treaty is permitted to remain intact. It has been demonstrated that beet sugar, for instance, up to this time, can not be produced and sold in the market for less than about 4 cents a pound, while under the operation of the Hawaiian treaty Hawaiian sugars can come to the United States and be sold to the consumer for less than 3 cents a pound and a reasonable profit be made on them. How can it be expected, if that treaty is permitted to remain, that domestic sugar can contest in the markets of the United States with the product of the Polynesians and the low class of labor found on the islands of the Pacific Ocean?

Mr. President, so far as I am concerned, as one member of this body, and in my judgment, so far as the Populist party is represented in this Chamber, there is but one course to pursue, and that is to cast our votes at all times and under all circumstances to cancel the treaty between the United States and the Hawaiian Islands, and by that means give some impetus, if impetus can be given in that way, to the development of the American sugar industry. Not only that, sir, but we can not afford to cast our votes to throw away $6,500,000 of revenue annually and give it to the American sugar trust that is now eating out the life and paralyzing the energies of the American people. It will be one step at least in the direction of impairing the efficiency of that trust.

Mr. President, I have, in the four years I have been here, witnessed the singular spectacle of a play on the part of Congress with the American Sugar Refining Company. In 1894, when the Wilson bill was before this body and was being considered, Senators on the other side of the Chamber held up their hands in holy horror that the Democratic party and the Populists should be bold enough to give the sugar trust some advantage under the sugar schedule of that bill. That act reduced the benefits that were then being derived under the McKinley law by the sugar trust. It did not wipe out entirely the profits they were making, it is true; for, sir, I conceive it impossible for Congress, in the form of a sugar schedule, to deprive this gigantic corporation of some profit.

Now, Mr. President, in 1897, when this bill is pending before this branch of Congress, our Democratic friends hold up their hands in horror that the American sugar trust should receive some benefit from it, and yet all, Democrats, Republicans, and Populists agree that it is impossible to frame and pass through Congress a sugar schedule that will not result in benefit to the trust. Sir, if we are honest with the American people, if this reform Administration that was heralded as the advance agent of prosperity seven or eight months ago intends to do anything for the relief of the American people in this respect, why not invoke the courts of the country to dissolve and oust this corporation, in so far as it assumes to exercise functions that control interstate and international commerce?

Mr. President, he would be a bold man indeed, and a reckless lawyer, who would assert that this corporation or any other could pass beyond the territorial limits of the State in which it was organized and created and engage in a purely interstate and international commerce without jurisdiction upon the part of the Federal courts to oust it of unlawful exercise of that power, especially when it has become a monopoly and inimical to the general welfare. We may talk of schedules high and schedules low, we may undertake to make the American people believe that we are in favor of checking this gigantic monster, we may deceive a portion of the people; but this monopoly will never stand in fear of Congress or any other branch of this Government, it will never cease to fatten and grow rich out of the American people, until the plenary jurisdiction of our courts is invoked for its dissolution and restraint.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. CHANDLER in the chair). The question is on the adoption of the amendment proposed by the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. LINDSAY]. Is the Senate ready for the question?

Mr. PETTIGREW. Mr. President, I do not care to address myself to the pending amendment, but I wish to submit some remarks in regard to the amendment which I offered on the 25th of May, providing that all articles the subject of a trust shall be admitted free of duty.

Mr. President, our civilization is founded upon the theory of evolution, upon the doctrine of the survival of the fittest, upon

the law of competition, and is opposed to socialism. We say, as far as is consistent with the existence of protection under the law, Let man, untrammeled and unrestrained, work out his destiny. The result of this theory in the past was feudalism, or the supremacy of brute strength and physical courage, and its resulting paternalism. But feudalism, by the operation of the law of competition and evolution, destroyed itself by the subjugation of the weaker by the stronger and the creation of monarchical forms of government in its place.

To-day, under the operation of this law of competition, we are drifting toward socialism on the one side and plutocracy on the other. It is for us to say whether we will stop the march of events in their course, and make this again a government of the the people, by the people, and for the people, or allow the present to crystallize and thus continue to be what we now are—a government of the trusts, by the trusts, and for the trusts—a plutocracy of artificial persons, sustained by bribery. In the past all plutocracies have been of natural persons, with something of conscience and human sympathy in their composition, and they have kept discontent in check by force and bribery, by a paid police, and by a standing army. But as our plutocracy is of the worst form, without heart and conscience, being an artificial person, it is fitting and well that it should be forced—if its existence shall be perpetuated—to rely upon the one means of sustaining its existence—that of loathsome bribery.

We have abandoned as a people the doctrine so oft repeated and so much believed, that competition is the life of trade, and have adopted the doctrine that competition is killing, resulting in the organization of trusts and combinations to restrict production, to maintain or increase prices, until to-day there are but few articles manufactured in the United States that are not the subject of a trust. There is a trust to control coffee, coal, sugar, lead, oil, glass, all kinds of hardware, steel, chemicals, and crockery. Thus the fundamental principle of our civilization is overturned, and those who can not combine—the farmer and individual proprietor and toilers of the land—are at the mercy of those who do combine.

TARIFF AND THE TRUSTS.

When the Republican party came into being as the advocate of protection to American industry by the means of a tariff, it wisely based its advocacy of the doctrine of protection upon the theory on which our civilization rests—competition, and declared that the building of American factories to supply the protected article would create competition and thus lower the price of the article to the consumer. In every campaign we have told the people the story of nails—how they were 6 cents per pound, and we put a duty on them of 2 cents per pound, and American genius and energy produced the machinery, and competition reduced the price, and nails sold for 1 cent per pound, and the Republican doctrine of protection was triumphantly vindicated.

Last year the nail trust was organized, and the price of nails rose from 1 cent a pound to 3¼ cents a pound, and thus the Republican theory of protection was completely overthrown. The same story can be told of almost every manufactured article in this bill. How to remedy this defect so as to justify a tariff for protection in the future is the problem which every Republican is called upon to solve. The two questions are so intimately connected that they must go together. No tariff bill can be defended that does not protect the people against trusts. If the Republican party undertakes it, you will go down in defeat at the next election.

Mr. President, I offer my amendment in good faith as a protectionist. If it is not adopted, the theory of protection falls to the ground. If it is adopted, you can defend this bill before the people of the United States.

The amendment provides—

That all articles on the dutiable list mentioned in this act shall be admitted free of duty if said articles or articles of a like character of domestic production are manufactured or their sale controlled or the price affected by a trust or combination to increase the cost of said articles to purchasers by preventing competition or otherwise. Every contract, combination in the form of a trust, or association or corporation whose effect is to restrict the quantity of production or increase the price of any article, or any conspiracy in restraint of trade, shall be deemed a trust within the provisions of this act.

Any citizen of the United States may file a petition, verified by oath or affirmation, in any district court of the United States where the defendant has an office or place of business or may reside, alleging the existence of a trust as herein defined, and that articles or products subject to duty under this act, or articles or products of like character of domestic production, are manufactured, or their sale controlled, or the price affected by said trust; whereupon a summons shall be immediately issued from said court directing the defendant to appear and answer said petition, the case to be governed as to time and manner of service, the pleadings and all proceedings had therein, as is now provided by law in civil causes instituted in the district courts of the United States.

If any citizen of the United States shall file with any district attorney for said district the petition herein set forth, it shall be the duty of said attorney to institute proceedings forthwith in the district court for said district in the name of the United States for the purpose of determining the issues made by said petition, like proceedings to be had in such case as hereinbefore prescribed.

The summons to the defendant or defendants herein required shall be served upon the president or chief officer, if a corporation, or upon all the members, if an association or partnership, and the Secretary of the Treasury shall also be notified of the existence and nature of the suit.

All cases instituted as herein provided shall be advanced upon the docket of the court so as to have precedence of trial over all civil causes thereon, and an appeal may be taken from the decision of the district court to the circuit court of the United States for the district, under the same rules as are prescribed for like appeals in other civil cases, but the judgment of the circuit court shall be final.

If the decision of the court shall be that the allegations of the petitions are true, an order directing the customs officers of the United States to thereafter permit the importation of such article or articles free of duty shall at once issue: *Provided*, That where a duty is levied upon raw material or any article that is improved by any process after being imported, the duty on the raw material or unrefined or unimproved article shall be collected, and a like amount of duty upon the refined or improved article as provided by this act; but the differential or additional duty shall not be collected if the improved or refined product is found to be the subject of a trust, as hereinbefore set forth: *Provided*, That at any time after judgment the Secretary of the Treasury, upon written grounds, or any party to the proceedings upon petition, verified by oath or affirmation, may move the court to set aside or suspend the enforcement of such judgment. If upon hearing it shall be adjudged that the trust has ceased to exist, it shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to withdraw or cancel his orders to the customs officers, and such officers shall immediately resume the collection of the duties imposed by this act. The parties to the original proceeding who do not join in the motion shall have reasonable notice thereof, and the motion shall be advanced and have precedence of trial over all civil causes. Appeals may be taken as in the original proceeding to the circuit court, but the judgment of that court upon the motion shall be final.

But you urge that if this amendment is adopted it will defeat the object of passing a tariff bill, as no revenue will be derived therefrom. If this is true, then surely we are in the hands of the trusts. But I contend that this tariff bill is so framed that the articles which are the subject of a trust are not the articles from which much revenue is derived, the evident purpose of the framer of the bill being to give the American market to the trusts and raise the revenue from other articles.

Is it not more reasonable to suppose that the trusts will dissolve rather than share the rich American market with foreigners? For if the trusts do not disband, and thus allow the various manufacturers to compete with one another, the operation of the amendment I offer will be to compel them to compete with the foreign manufacturer. Is it not sure to follow that, rather than open our doors to the free competition of the world, the trusts will cease to exist?

It is urged, however, that but part of the manufacturers may be in the trust, and that this amendment punishes the innocent with the guilty; but there can be no innocent persons, for the amendment provides that in order to be a trust the effect must be to restrict the quantity of production or increase the price of the article. Thus those not in the combination are the recipients of the benefits, and the willing recipients, or they would have prevented the rise in price resulting from the trust. If the trust ceases to exist as to any article, the Secretary of the Treasury may commence proceedings to have that fact declared by the court, and the duty again collected.

TRUSTS RESULT FROM DECLINING PRICES.

The rapid growth of trusts in the United States began with the demonetization of silver, and the formation of trusts was the means adopted by some of the most far-seeing and shrewdest men having control and direction of capital invested in manufacturing and transportation to avert losses to themselves by reason of falling prices, which lead to overproduction and underconsumption. They realized that the first effect of a decline in prices is to stimulate production, because the producers hope to make up the difference in price by larger sales at a less expense. They also foresaw what the average producer fails to see, that when the decline of prices is general the purchasing power is less in the whole community, and therefore an increased production can find no market at any price, so that there exists at the same time an overproduction of things which are most needed and an underconsumption of these very things, because of the inability to purchase them.

The organizers of the trusts did not go into the causes of the falling prices. In most cases they knew nothing about the natural effects of throwing the entire burden upon one metal constituting the basis of the money of the world, which had formerly rested upon both gold and silver. So they made the common error of mistaking effect for cause, and attributed the decline in prices to overproduction. Therefore they combined and formed trusts to restrict production and keep up prices.

But the sole argument which the advocates of the gold standard have offered to appease the producer of farm products for the lower prices which he must take for the results of his labor, and to the workingman for the enforced acceptance of lower wages, has been the increased purchasing power of what they call "honest money," whereby $1 now will buy as much of most articles of general consumption as $2 would have done twenty years ago.

The effect of the successful operations of trusts is to compel higher prices to be paid for the finished product, or for transportation, while they do not check the decline in the value of raw material nor in the rates of wages, nor do their managers wish to do so.

I do not desire to be understood as charging that the trusts are able to withstand the general fall of prices. The ability of the consumer to pay fixes the limit beyond which prices can not be forced, and that is the only limit upon the powers of a trust to

regulate prices when the combination of domestic producers is so perfect as to defy competition at home and the tariff duty upon the imported articles excludes the competition in our markets of foreign producers.

Therefore the people of the United States are robbed by the trusts of the only advantage, if it can be called an advantage, which the advocates of the gold standard offer as a reason for the perpetuation of that standard.

Certainly, Mr. President, no consistent advocate of the gold standard can refuse to give his vote in support of a measure like my amendment, which is intended to destroy the monopolies held by the trusts in order to let the people get the advantage, through competition, unhampered by tariff duties, of the lower prices for all that they must purchase, which would naturally follow the maintenance of the "existing gold standard."

I insist that so long as the gold standard prevails the legislation of this Congress ought to be such as to give to the people who are the consumers of manufactured articles, who pay the freight on the railroads, all the advantage which would naturally come to them through the legislation of this and other countries which increased the purchasing power of gold, and that this Congress ought not to permit the passage of any tariff legislation for the protection of American manufacturers without taking good care that no benefit whatever shall accrue to trusts from such legislation, whether the trusts are now in existence or may be organized in the future.

OBJECTION TO TRUSTS FOUNDED ON REASON.

Mr. President, the objections to trusts are not fanciful, neither are they prompted by animosity to wealth or wealthy men. They rest upon public principles which are inherent and fundamental to our civilization. At common law bonds and contracts in restraint of trade are void.

In the time of Henry V the judge declared, when such a contract was presented and proven before him, that if the guilty party were present he should go to prison. In 1811 Judge Sedgwick said that bonds to restrain trade in general are bad, as prejudicial to trade and honest industry. (8 Mass., 283). The common law from the first forbade agreements to restrict the freedom of trade, and has been universal in its application and in accordance with the spirit of our institutions.

The supreme court of Pennsylvania, as early as 1832, in declaring the illegality of an agreement between five coal-mining companies to fix the amount of each one's product, to bring the price and sales under the control of the combination (Judge Agnew) said such a combination is more than a contract; it is an offense, and that where the public is subject to the power of confederates a combination is criminal. (68 Pa. State, 173.)

In New York, where the owners of canal boats had combined to divide profits and control rates, the court held such a combination to be illegal and void. (5 Denio, 434; 4 Denio, 349.) The principle of the common law was laid down in England four hundred and sixty years ago that—

A monopoly has three incidents mischievous to the public: 1, the rise of the price; 2, the commodity will not be as good; 3, the impoverishing of poor artificers and all those not parties to the combination.

It has been remarked frequently in my presence during the last few days that there were no trusts; that corporations existed, but that no trusts existed. Under my amendment, in which I undertake to define trusts, any combination to limit production or increase prices is a trust, and therefore subject to the penalties prescribed in the amendment. But I think, perhaps, Mr. President, it is well to give the history of some of these combinations of capital, some of these corporations which control prices and limit production, in order that we may best determine whether such combinations actually exist.

SUGAR TRUST.

Prior to August, 1887, there was life and free competition in all branches of the sugar trade. The producers of raw sugars all over the world sought in the ports of the United States a market in which numerous strong buyers were always ready to take their offerings at a price varying with the supply and demand. The duty collected by the United States upon imported sugar was specific, so many cents per pound, according to the color and saccharine contents of the goods. The seller knew what the duty was, and that it could not be changed by any collusion with the buyer in regard to the price. The buyer knew what the sugar was worth for his purposes, and how to refine it for the home consumption or to sell it for use unrefined, as the case might be.

There was the same healthy competition among the sugar refiners as among the producers and importers of raw sugar. This was manifested by constant efforts to improve the product and to lessen the cost of refining by the introduction of better processes.

The distribution of the raw and refined sugar to the consumer through the usual trade channels from the importers and the refiner by way of the jobber, the wholesale grocer, and the retail grocer to the family was also untrammeled. Each bought where he could purchase to the best advantage and sold upon terms agreed upon between him and the buyer, and not dictated by any third party.

In short, Mr. President, the sugar business was subject to the laws of trade as understood and expounded by the best school of political economists.

But in 1887 the enormous profits amassed by the Standard Oil Trust suggested to a few of the leading refiners the possibility of controlling the sugar trade in the same way. It was then claimed for the first time that the individual refineries through competition were unable to make sufficient money to continue in business.

This seems a little strange in view of the fact that most of the refiners who had the misfortune to die or had retired from business before that time are known to have left or still possess many millions. These millions, however, no doubt seemed insignificant in comparison to the potentialities of wealth offered by the adoption of trust methods.

So the sugar trust was formed in the fall of 1887 by a combination on the plan of the oil trust, between a number of corporations, some of which were formed out of existing unincorporated firms for the express purpose of entering the trust, which was called the Sugar Refineries Company.

The firms or corporations that composed it at that time were:

1. The Brooklyn Sugar Refining Company, New York.
2. The Decastro & Donner Sugar Refining Company, New York.
3. The Dick & Meyer Company, New York.
4. The Havemeyer Sugar Refining Company, New York.
5. The Havemeyer & Elder Sugar Refining Company, New York.
6. The F. O. Matthiessen & Wiechers Sugar Refining Company, New York.
7. The Moller, Sierck & Co. Sugar Refinery, New York.
8. The North River Sugar Refinery, New York.
9. The Fulton Sugar Refining Company, New York.
10. The Knickerbocker Refining Company, New York.
11. The Havemeyer, Eastwick & Co. Sugar Refining Company, New York.
12. The Bay State Sugar Refinery, Boston.
13. The Boston Sugar Refinery, Boston.
14. The Continental Sugar Refinery, Boston.
15. The Standard Sugar Refinery, Boston.
16. The De Forrest Sugar Refinery, Portland, Me.
17. The Planters' Sugar Refinery, New Orleans.
18. The Louisiana Sugar Refinery, New Orleans.
19. The Belcher's Sugar Refinery, St. Louis.
20. The American Sugar Refinery, San Francisco.

And a year or two later,

21. The Baltimore Sugar Refining Company, Baltimore, was absorbed.

One of the first acts of the new trust was to close up the North River Sugar Refinery. This led to an action by the attorney-general of New York in behalf of the people for the forfeiture of the charter of the company, at the end of which the court of appeals declared the trust illegal, and the charter of the North River Company was forfeited. The trust was thereby compelled to abandon its organization and reorganize under the laws of New Jersey as the American Sugar Refining Company, a single corporation, in which were combined all the parties to the original trust.

What the value or the valuation was of the properties and plants which were thus united under one management it is impossible to say, but it did exceed $10,000,000. The capitalization of the whole was $50,000,000, which thus contained $40,000,000 of stock for which no consideration was paid. This was divided into common and preferred stock, one-half of each. The common stock was to pay quarterly dividends, which have never been less than 3 per cent, or 12 per cent per annum. The preferred shares are guaranteed to pay 7 per cent per annum, and this interest or dividend must be paid before the common shares are entitled to any distribution of the profits.

The properties which have since been acquired by the trust are the Spreckels Sugar Refining Company, the Franklin Refining Company, and the E. C. Knight & Co. Sugar Refinery, of Philadelphia, and the California Sugar Refinery, of San Francisco.

Another refinery, built about a year ago at Camden, N. J., was bought up and never opened. It was rumored that the trust had bought the property. These new properties cost the trust $10,895,000 in stock.

The capital was now raised to $75,000,000, also one-half common and one-half preferred shares. The common has never paid less than 12 per cent per annum, and on one occasion—I believe it was in 1893—an extra dividend of 10 per cent was distributed. The preferred have always paid the guaranteed 7 per cent, besides the interest on ten millions of bonds.

All the above refineries are now owned by the trust, at least I know of none having been disposed of. One has been turned into

a coffee-roasting establishment, to run in competition to the Arbuckle Bros., who have begun the building of a sugar refinery. Quite a number have been kept closed since the trust was formed. Those now in operation are:

At Philadelphia, the Franklin Sugar Refining Company, the E. C. Knight & Co. Refinery, and the Spreckels Sugar Refining Company have been combined.

At New York, the Havemeyers & Elder Sugar Refining Company and the Brooklyn Sugar Refining Company have been combined; and the F. O. Matthiessen & Wiechers Sugar Refinery and the Havemeyer Sugar Refining Company have been combined, and if needed, the Decastro & Donner Sugar Refinery is opened.

At Boston, the Standard Sugar Refinery and the Boston Sugar Refinery have been combined.

At San Francisco, the American Sugar Refinery and the California Sugar Refinery.

Further, one or both refineries at New Orleans part of the year. All the rest are closed.

The average product of the trust refineries is 30,000 barrels per day. Allowing 300 working days in the year, this would mean that they are melting up something like 1,400,000 tons of raw sugar per annum, or, say, 70 per cent of the total consumption of 2,000,000 tons. The remainder of 600,000 tons is used by the independent refiners, including part of the Louisiana cane crop which is consumed without refining, and the refineries using beet sugar, etc., grown in this country.

There are now only four independent refineries in operation, and two are now being built at Brooklyn, one by Messrs. Arbuckle Bros, the other by Mr. Claus Doscher, who was formerly connected with the Brooklyn Sugar Refining Company. The four independent refineries now in operation are the following: The Mollenhauer Sugar Refinery and the National Sugar Refinery, New York; the Revere Sugar Refinery (Nash, Spaulding & Co., owners), Boston, and the W. I. McCahan Sugar Refinery, Philadelphia. Their combined product, I believe, is about 450,000 tons per annum.

The trust takes about 80 per cent of the Louisiana crop, mostly for the New Orleans refineries, and in order to get the sugars cheap they generally reduce their own prices all round as soon as the crop comes to market.

The Hawaiian sugars are bought under contracts with the producers, who are thereby enabled to absorb a good proportion of the duty saved. The terms have varied, but I think the present arrangement is that the trust pay the New York value of centrifugals 96 degrees test on day of arrival of any cargo at San Francisco or any other United States port, less one-fourth cent per pound.

Mr. President, in this connection there is certainly a very interesting state of affairs. It appears that the sugar trust has bought the Hawaiian sugar, paying for it at the New York price, less one-fourth of a cent a pound; in other words, the duty which would have been levied upon Hawaiian sugar has been divided between the producers and the sugar trust. The contract between the Hawaiian sugar producers and the sugar trust expires within a few weeks, and the trust is trying to force the producers to give them a larger share of the duty. They are not satisfied with one-fourth of a cent a pound, which amounted last year to $1,200,000, but they want more of the plunder.

It is very significant in this connection, Mr. President, that the committee of this body struck out the House provision continuing the Hawaiian treaty. It looks as though the intended purpose was to help the sugar trust and compel a greater division of the spoils. We can judge whether this is so or not when the committee bring in their provision to reinstate the treaty, and we can clearly, it seems to me, reasoning from cause to effect, see that the job has been consummated and that the producers have surrendered. It seems to me the Republican party is serving a curious purpose when it permits itself to be used in this manner.

It is said the trust is opposed to the continuation of the remission of duties to the Hawaiian sugar planters, and that has been used as an argument why the treaty should be continued. Mr. President, from the very moment the trust succeeds in getting the planters to divide the great bonus we give them by remitting duties, we shall find the sugar trust as ardent and as patriotic as the most enthusiastic jingoist from Massachusetts in favor of continuing the treaty.

A portion of the beet sugar produced in California as well as in Nebraska and other Western States is refined on the spot and goes into consumption. The rest is absorbed in the trust refineries, mostly in San Francisco.

I was a little surprised the other day to hear the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] urge as a reason why the duty should be increased upon refined sugar that it would stimulate the production of sugar in this country. It seemed to me to sound like the same old argument which has been used to carry through almost every scheme to enrich a few people at the expense of the many.

Beet sugar is refined by the factories which produce it. The sugar does not go to the refinery at all. All the sugar is ready for market when it leaves the mill. Therefore, to stimulate the production of beet sugar in this country means the destruction of the refiners now operating; it means the absolute destruction of their property. The day that beet sugar supplies the American market the property of the refiners, whose refineries are located all along the coast, will be absolutely worthless. That will happen when the American farmer produces beets enough to supply the American market.

Therefore the trust is interested in anything and everything which will prevent the growth of the beet-sugar industry in this country. How a duty in the special interest of a lot of gamblers in New York can be construed into stimulating the beet-sugar industry of this country is beyond the range of my imagination. Neither will that argument be of any value to obtain for the Republican party the votes of the people of the West. They are going to know the facts in regard to this bill; they are going to know whether what we charged in the last campaign was true or not, that the Republican party has ceased to stand for anything but the gold standard and the trusts.

As a rule, we have always received about 80 per cent of the Cuban crops each year, which yielded a total of 1,000,000 tons and over, but, owing to the insurrection, only about 200,000 to 250,000 tons have been made during the last two years. For 1896 our sources of supply have been as follows:

	Tons.
Cuba	251,522
Puerto Rico	29,841
St. Croix	3,571
Trinidad	23,449
Haiti and Santo Domingo	48,809
British West Indies	84,527
Demerara	66,973
Surinam	5,951
Europe	*525,232
Egypt	41,793
Java	312,502
Mauritius	18,181
Philippine Islands	61,382
Sandwich Islands	†46,185
Brazil	68,519
Argentine Republic	12,867
Total four Atlantic ports (New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and Baltimore)	1,599,484
Total Pacific ports (San Francisco), nearly all from Sandwich Islands	†157,981
Total imports of foreign, including Hawaiian	1,757,465

The 2,000,000 tons of sugar now used in the United States per year are drawn from the following sources:

About 1,550,000 tons come from foreign countries.
About 200,000 tons come from Hawaiian Islands.
About 250,000 tons are produced in this country—in Louisiana and Texas from cane, say about 200,000 tons; the remainder, 50,000 tons, from beet, maple, and sorghum.

Say 2,000,000 tons.

I wish to call attention to this fact, Mr. President, that all the Hawaiian sugar was not received at the port of San Francisco. On the contrary, 49,000 tons of Hawaiian sugar went to the port of New York and were admitted there free of duty, the same as that which was admitted at San Francisco.

Two million tons, Mr. President, are 4,480,000,000 pounds. Estimating the population of the United States at 76,250,000, the average annual consumption of each individual—man, woman, and child, of all races—is 62 pounds, and 70 per cent of this, or 43 pounds, is supplied by the trust.

Practically the entire sugar trade of the United States is subject to the dictatorship of the trust. The independent refiners follow the trust quotations and place their product in the same way. In buying raw sugars they are believed to have an understanding. At any rate, no signs of competition are visible. There are enough buyers disgruntled with the trust to keep up the independent refiners, and the latter are glad to be let alone by the trust so long as the trust is graciously disposed, as at present, to let them live upon the crumbs which fall from its table.

HOW THE SUGAR TRUST CONDUCTS BUSINESS.

Let us consider the manner in which the business of the sugar trust is conducted. From the date of its organization in 1887, including as it did all the leading refineries, the trust controlled the sugar trade of the United States. Recognizing this fact, the Wholesale Grocers' Association of New York requested to be informed by daily quotations from the trust of the price of sugar, and otherwise how to manage their business. The trust complied and began at once to issue daily quotations of the price at which all grades of sugar manufactured by it should be sold by the wholesale grocers and jobbers, the profit of these to depend upon certain discounts and drawbacks allowed by the trust, but only paid

* Nearly all beet. † Duty free.

at the end of three months upon the affidavit of the wholesale grocers and jobbers that the trust prices had been strictly adhered to.

At first, before the grocery merchants generally had become accustomed to submit to trust methods, the trust used to inflict severe punishment upon those who did not comply with its rules by refusing to supply them with goods, and it still continues to remind the trade of its power by occasionally summoning a merchant to its office to answer to the charge of selling below the established quotations. There was a time, also, when it was not possible for a merchant who handled the product of any of the independent refiners to obtain sugar from the trust, but it is said to be more lenient in this respect now.

About a year ago, in order to avoid the charge of discrimination in sales, the trust determined not to sell their goods to anyone. They then established a system of factors, to whom all sugar for the trade is consigned to be sold for account of the trust, upon a commission of three-sixteenths of a cent per pound, to be paid upon affidavit at the end of three months from the date of each consignment that the trust prices as established daily have been adhered to in selling. There are also certain commissions allowed upon like terms. By this system of factors the managers of the trust also secure themselves against loss. If a wholesale dealer in groceries, sugars, teas, and coffees who is a factor of the trust fails, the sugar trust takes possession of the sugar which he has on hand, and also receives from the assignee of the failing dealer all collections for sugar sold by him.

One exception is made by the sugar trust to the policy of making no sales to anyone, and that is in favor of manufacturers, such as bakers, confectioners, packers and preservers of fruit, etc. Sales of sugar are made to such persons upon an agreement that the sugar is not to be sold except in the form of confections, candy, cake, pies, preserves, etc. It is a fact that a manufacturer of candy or a canner of fruit must sign a written agreement that he will not buy sugar of anyone but the trust, and that he will not sell or dispose of the sugar except in a manufactured form in connection with his own product, and if he will not sign such an agreement, then the trust will furnish him no sugar whatever.

A factor or manufacturer who did not comply with the agreement as to prices and sales would be refused further consignments or supplies, and would thus be compelled to go out of business. Agents of the trust are continually on the watch to detect apparent violations of the agreement, and merchants and manufacturers are subject to frequent annoyance growing out of false and malicious reports of the trust spies.

The trust does not now attempt to control the retail trade, which can only purchase from the factor. Having made sure that the retail grocer pays the trust price for his goods, he may sell sugar to the consumer at any price he pleases.

The methods of the sugar trust can be best illustrated by the evidence taken before the Lexow committee in New York last winter. I shall not read this testimony, but I ask to have it inserted in my remarks. I will say, however, that Francis H. Krenning, of St. Louis, a wholesale grocer, refused to sign the agreement which the trust presented to him, and thereupon they refused to sell him sugar upon any terms. He then applied to the four independent refiners of this country to secure sugar for his customers.

They also refused to sell him a single pound of sugar under any circumstances, showing that after all the trust reaches every refinery in this country, and that the combination is absolute and complete. He was therefore compelled to import sugar. But he says that if the duty on refined sugar is increased above the present rate under the Wilson Act, he will be compelled to cease importing; that it will be impossible to do it, and he will be forced out of the sugar trade, in fact.

DEFIED THE SUGAR TRUST.

Francis H. Krenning, a St. Louis wholesale grocer, gave some clear-cut testimony in regard to the methods of the sugar trust in controlling middlemen and the absence of any real competition by the so-called "independent" sugar refineries. Mr. Krenning said that, desiring to maintain his independence, he refused to sign the latest sugar factors' agreement, and was promptly turned adrift by the trust, which charged him more for sugar than even the retailers were required to pay.

He tried to get sugar from the brokers of the "competing" refineries, and they flatly refused to sell him a pound. Nevertheless, he has managed to get along and make money by buying sugar of the small independent refineries in Louisiana during the season and by importing Dutch sugar at other times. The trust has not yet succeeded in closing him up, though it has placed spies upon him and attempted to cut off his source of supply. Mr. Krenning expects to be able to keep on fighting unless the tariff on refined sugar is raised, in which case he would have to go out of business or agree to the trust's conditions.

His testimony, which was substantiated by telegrams from the trust and from the "independent" refiners, was so telling that Senator McCarren could not let it pass unchallenged. The witness proved more than a match for him. He told him that Dutch sugar could be imported because the Dutch refiners were satisfied with a small margin of profit. He demonstrated that sugar labor was paid the same here as in Holland, and when Senator McCarren tried to disprove by him the theory that wholesale grocers can not exist without the consent of the trust, he answered him by pointing out that he was only one out of 18,000, or the exception which proved the rule.

The first witness in the afternoon was Francis H. Krenning, of St. Louis. Senator Lexow lost no time in getting down to business.

Q. Have you as a jobber had transactions with the American Sugar Refining Company?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you accept the factors' plan of agreement?

A. No, sir.

Q. Is this the system of factors' agreement adopted in St. Louis [handing the witness a document]?

A. Yes, sir.

"What happened when you did not accept the agreement?" asked Senator Lexow.

"The American Sugar Refining Company notified its St. Louis broker that we were to pay 9 points more for sugar. We also lost the rebate, which made a total difference of 36 points, or $1.30 a barrel."

ATTEMPT TO CRUSH KRENNING.

Mr. Krenning here produced a copy of a telegram which he said the American Sugar Refining Company sent the St. Louis broker on November 22, 1895. It was as follows:

"Have no consignment of sugars to offer Krenning. Will sell Krenning at $4.75, direct shipment."

"What price would that be, including freight?"

"It would give the factor $1.75 per barrel advantage over us."

Mr. Krenning also said that subsequent to this the Mollenhauer Sugar Company and the Howell National Sugar Company, both "independent," had declined to sell his firm sugar. He identified the copy of a telegram which his firm had received from the Howell Company. It was as follows:

"Howell declines to sell Krenning under any terms."

"What is the effect of the factors' agreement?"

"You can not do business without the factors' agreement."

"Are jobbers having the factors' agreement allowed to sell to you, not having the factors' agreement?"

"No, sir."

Mr. Krenning said that because of his refusal to sign the agreement his firm had experienced considerable difficulty in securing any sugar at all.

Q. Do you know whether an attempt has been made to exclude the Louisiana planters' sugar from competition?

A. Yes, sir; they attempted to exclude the Louisiana planters' sugar the same as the imported sugar.

Q. Are the factors allowed to sell the Louisiana sugar?

A. In 1896 they were prohibited from selling it, but in 1897 they were allowed to sell it under certain restrictions.

Q. (Senator McCARREN.) Why did you refuse to become a factor?

A. Because the factor system stifled competition, and that is not right.

Mr. Krenning said that the American Sugar Refining Company, during the grinding season, in which the sugar crop of the country is being produced, lowered the price of sugar in St. Louis by one-fourth of a cent a pound below the price at which it is sold in the East, and that immediately after the grinding season caused the price of its product to be increased in St. Louis.

Q. (Senator McCARREN.) Can you explain to the committee why foreign refineries sell at a lesser price than the American Sugar Refining Company?

A. The foreign refiners are content with a smaller margin of profit than the American Sugar Refining Company.

WATERLOO FOR M'CARREN.

Q. Is it not because labor is cheaper on the other side?

A. No, sir; the average wages of laborers in the sugar business is about the same here as in Europe.

In reply to another question by Mr. McCarren, the witness said his firm was selling more sugar than ever and that they were making greater efforts to sell.

Q. (Senator McCARREN.) Have you ever found it difficult to supply your trade since October, 1895?

A. Sometimes.

Q. And your profits have been as great as when you dealt with the American Sugar Refining Company?

A. About the same.

Q. Then why did you come here to testify?

A. I want to show how that company has tried to prevent the importation of foreign sugar.

Q. And you are a living example of their failure to force wholesalers out of business?

A. I am the exception that proves the rule.

Mr. Krenning said that if the tariff on foreign sugar was increased his firm would have to go out of business or else sign the factors' agreement.

Q. (Senator McCARREN.) Would you be in favor of paying a slight increase for the American product if labor would benefit by it?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Then why don't you do it in this instance?

A. We can't get the American sugar without signing the agreement.

The relation of the daily price of refined sugar fixed by the trust to the market price of raw sugar is illustrated by the transactions of one day in May of the present year. On that day the price of granulated sugar as fixed by the trust was $4.56 per hundred pounds. Now the factor's trade allowance on this of three-sixteenths of a cent a pound is 18¾ cents, leaving the price to him $4.37¼. From this is to be deducted in his favor the trade discount of 1 per cent, say 4¼ cents, leaving $4.32¾, and from this a further discount of 1 per cent is made for cash, leaving the net price to the factor of refined, $4.28¼ per hundred pounds. The price of raw centrifugals, 96 degrees test, duty paid, on that day was $3.31¼ per hundred pounds.

The difference, or apparent profit, is 97¼ cents; or if all the decimals had been carried out, as they would be in large transactions, say $97.29 on 10,000 pounds. From this, of course, is to be deducted the cost of refining. This is estimated by men who have grown up in the sugar trade as samplers and graders of sugar and have followed the cost of refining for years, from the time when it was 4 cents a pound and more down to the present time, to be now from 37½ to 44 cents per 100 pounds.

Taking the highest estimate, and both cover everything that enters into cost of refining, including labor, interest on capital, wear and tear of plant, and delivery of goods f. o. b., the net profit is $53.29 on 10,000 pounds.

The average product daily of the trust refineries is 30,000 barrels of 320 pounds each, or 9,600,000 pounds, upon which the profit thus estimated is $51,098.40. For three hundred working days in the

year it would be $15,329,520. The annual charge of 7 per cent upon $37,500,000 of preferred stock is $2,625,000. The annual dividend of 12 per cent on $37,500,000 of common stock is $4,500,000. Together they amount to $7,125,000, or less than one-half the estimated net profit of the trust, for three hundred working days, of 30,000 barrels daily product of granulated sugar.

In this connection, it is well to remark that the work of refining is done almost entirely by machinery; the number of men employed is very small; they are required to work twelve hours a day, and during the summer the heat is intense. So to-day no American laborers are employed in the sugar refineries of this country. The work is done by Huns and Poles, who have largely been imported for that purpose, and the number is exceedingly small—five or six thousand men at the outside. Yet we hear so much about the protection of American labor, and under the provisions of this bill we actually make a present to the sugar trust of $10,000,000, not $2,000,000 of which will be paid to those laborers.

The product is not all granulated sugar, and the relative quantity of hard and soft sugars made by the trust is a trade secret which is carefully kept. But the margin of profit on the soft sugars is greater than on the hard, because they are made from a cheaper grade of raw sugars and the process of refining is less expensive, so that the estimate of the profits of the trust based on all granulated sugar is not too large.

Moreover, the price of raw sugar in New York is subject to manipulation by the trust, as has been before alluded to in speaking of the purchase of the Louisiana crop. The price of raw sugar in New York is governed nominally by the prices quoted by cable for cane and beet sugars in London and Hamburg. But if the trust wanted to buy in New York, they might sell in London or Hamburg, so as to put down the price, and then buy in New York the next day.

Similar tactics are believed to be pursued in regard to the purchases of sugar abroad, and if the invoices of sugar imported by the trust are made out at lower rates than actually paid, as has often happened in the case of merchandise imported by others, an explanation would be easy of the preference by the managers of the trust for an ad valorem duty instead of a specific duty of so much per pound. If the trust keeps out of the market for three or four weeks, the price of raw sugar goes down, because the other refiners can not take enough to keep the market up.

In addition to the advantage which thus accrues to the sugar trust through an ad valorem duty upon the raw sugar, there is also in the Wilson tariff act, as well as in the bill now before the Senate, a differential duty upon refined sugar. This is estimated by the trade to be about 22 cents per 100 pounds under the Wilson tariff. The trade also estimate that the proposed differential in the bill now under discussion, as it passed the House, was 35 cents per 100 pounds, and as originally reported by the Senate Finance Committee it was 45 cents per 100 pounds. As now reported by the Republican caucus of the Senate, the differential duty in favor of the trust is 52 cents per 100 pounds.

It is this differential duty which the amendment of which I gave notice on May 25, and which has been read to-day, undertakes to abolish, unless the sugar trust ceases to exist, or, in other words, changes its methods of business so far as they restrict and restrain trade.

How much relief this would afford to the trade is a matter that can only be tested by experience. At present the quantity of refined sugar imported is quite small in comparison with the total consumption of this country.

Foreign refined sugar is now sold in limited quantities in New York, duty paid, at one-eighth to three-sixteenths of a cent lower than the net price of American refined—that is, the daily trust price—less the trade allowance and discounts. But it is not so popular as the domestic refined, partly because of the manner in which it is put up in bags instead of barrels and partly because it does not run so regular in the qualities of color and grain, although the saccharine test of most of it is equal to that of the American product.

It is quite probable that the repeal of the differential duty, which amounts now to a little over one-fifth of a cent per pound, and was increased to nearly half a cent a pound by the Senate Finance Committee and by the Republican caucus to over half a cent, would not enlarge to any great extent the importations of foreign refined sugar in ordinary times, but the chief value of the repeal would consist in the check which it would impose upon the arbitrary increase of the price of refined sugar by the trust, for such an increase would be sure to cause foreign refined sugar to be sent here in quantities sufficient to affect the market.

The Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH], in presenting the bill to the Senate, stated that at times raw sugar and refined sugar brought the same price in Germany. There is no doubt that is true, from the fact that the modern German factories are refineries as well, and they turn out nothing but refined sugar, and the cost of refining is therefore practically saved. So they can sell refined sugar at about the price of raw sugar, and if we were producing beets in sufficient quantities to make the sugar of this country, we would sell refined sugar at about the same price, for every modern factory is a refinery as well.

DUTY IN FAVOR OF THE TRUST.

So far I have only referred to the strictly revenue duty upon sugar. I come now to the consideration of the differential duty imposed for the protection of the refiners.

The refiners of sugar, when they are not combined in a trust, are entitled to protection just as much as any other class of American manufacturers. But this protection should, like the duty upon the raw or unrefined article, be specific and so stated that all can understand it. Upon this point the sentiment of the public is, I believe, expressed in the following:

"Put a round extra duty of one-eighth of a cent per pound on all refined sugars, and if that is not enough, make it one-fourth of a cent. If the protection is too high, matters will easily adjust themselves by the building of more refineries."

I have no objection to whatever measure of protection to the sugar refiners may be satisfactory to a majority of the Senate. If the amendment which I have proposed to the pending bill be adopted, the following provision will apply to the sugar schedule as well as to others:

Provided, That when a duty is levied upon raw material or any article that is improved by any process after being imported, the duty on the raw material or unrefined or unimproved article shall be collected as provided by this act; but the differential or additional duty shall not be collected if the improved or refined product is found to be the subject of a trust, as hereinbefore set forth.

THE TRUST HAS NOT REDUCED BUT INCREASED THE PRICE.

I have already given a description of the manner in which the sugar trust conducts its business. Its methods are obnoxious to every free American citizen. But, Mr. President, the claim is made in behalf of the trust that it has cheapened the cost of sugar to the people.

I have therefore investigated the question, and find, on the contrary, that the organization of the trust has raised the price of sugar: not that sugar has not gone down since the trust was organized, for all things have gone down in value as measured in gold, but I contend that the price of refined sugar compared with the price of raw sugar is higher to-day and has been every day since the trust was formed than it was before. In other words, the difference is greater. I have prepared a table showing the price of raw centrifugal sugar in New York in 1886 and each year since up to 1896, and the price of refined granulated sugar at the same place, and also the difference between the two.

I find that in 1886 the difference between raw and refined sugar in New York was 71 cents a hundred pounds. In 1887, the year the trust was organized, but previous to its going into operation, it was 64 cents a hundred. In 1888, the year after the trust was organized, the difference between raw and refined sugar in New York was $1.25 a hundred pounds. In 1889 it was $1.32 a hundred pounds. In 1890 the McKinley bill was pending; we were going to put sugar on the free list, and the trust was anxious for a differential protection, and it reduced the price of refined sugar so that the difference between raw and refined was but 70 cents a hundred pounds.

In 1891, however, they raised it to 73 cents a hundred pounds, and in 1892 to $1.03 a hundred pounds, and in 1893 to $1.15 a hundred pounds; but again a tariff bill was pending, the Wilson bill was under consideration, and they reduced the difference to 88 cents a hundred pounds. In 1896 it was 91 cents per hundred pounds, and to-day there is 97½ cents difference on the hundred pounds between the price of raw and refined sugar as against 64 cents when the trust was organized. Therefore we have between 30 and 35 cents more to pay for refined sugar than we would have to pay if the trust had never been organized.

Average prices of sugar, raw centrifugals, 96 degrees, and granulated refined, in New York, for the calendar years 1886 to 1896.

Year.	Raw centrifugal.	Refined granulated.	Difference.	Year.	Raw centrifugal.	Refined granulated.	Difference.
	Cents.	*Cents.*	*Cents.*		*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*
1886*	5.53	6.23	0.71	1892†	3.32	4.35	1.03
1887*	5.38	6.02	.64	1893†	3.69	4.84	1.15
1888*	5.93	7.18	1.25	1894†	3.24	4.12	.88
1889*	6.57	7.89	1.32	1895*	3.27	4.15	.88
1890*	5.57	6.27	.70	1896*	3.62	4.53	.91
1891†	3.02	4.65	.73				

* Duty paid † Free of duty.

These figures are taken from the Statistical Sugar Trade Journal of New York. They show that at no time since the trust was organized has the difference between the cost of raw and refined sugars been so small as in 1887, before the formation of the trust. In 1887 the average difference between the cost of raw centrifugals and refined granulated was sixty-four one-hundredths of 1 cent per pound. The next year the trust took advantage of

their mastery of the situation and advanced the price of granulated one cent and a quarter a pound above the price of raw sugar. In 1889 they gave the screw another twist and advanced the price to 1 cent and thirty-two one-hundredths of a cent above the price of raw sugar.

In 1890 a tariff bill was pending which put sugar on the free list, but in which the trust wanted the protection of a duty on refined, and so it reduced its margin of profit to seventy one-hundredths of a cent a pound. This was only increased by three one-hundredths of a cent in 1891, but the margin was over a cent a pound in 1892 and 1893. The trust came down to eighty-eight one-hundredths of a cent a pound in 1894, while the Wilson bill was pending, and kept that rate, on an average, in 1895. Last year the difference was ninety-one one-hundredths of a cent, which is about the average of the past eleven years, or twenty-one one-hundredths more than in 1886, the year before the trust was organized. The difference at present, as I have shown already, is a little over ninety-seven one-hundredths of a cent a pound.

When the reduction in the cost of refining sugar since 1886 is taken into consideration, when we take into consideration the cheaper labor, cheaper material of every kind which can be had to-day than in 1886, this increase between the cost of raw and refined sugar shows how perfectly and how completely the trust have been able to manipulate and control the market.

Under these circumstances, owing to the fact that the trust charge practically all the difference they can possibly charge under whatever tariff we levy, it seems to me the conclusion must be that they can refine sugar as cheaply as anybody, and that any differential duty that we may place upon sugar is absolutely in the interest of the trust; and if we do it, we do it with our eyes open, intending to put that much in the pockets of the trust and take it out of the pockets of the people of this country. There ought to be no differential duty whatever in favor of refined sugar.

Mr. Havemeyer testified before the House committee that he could refine sugar as cheaply in this country as it could be refined any place in the world. Therefore what reason is there—I would like to know what reason the committee can give—why we should take out of the pockets of the people of this country this sum of money and put it into the pockets of men who, owing to this fact, have succeeded in staining the fair character of the Senate of the United States in the eyes of the people of this country?

They came in 1890, and what occurred? The House of Representatives had placed a duty of four-tenths of a cent a pound on refined sugar, all other sugar to be free. The bill came to this body. Everyone knows that 40 cents a hundred is a sufficient duty upon refined sugar, for it costs only 40 cents to refine it. It is 100 per cent. Yet the Senate of the United States deliberately increased the amount to 50 cents a hundred, making the duty about 140 per cent upon the cost of refining. Of course a sugar scandal grew up. Mr. Havemeyer testified in 1894 that under the operation of the McKinley law the sugar trust made a profit in three years of $35,000,000, and he said so long as the McKinley law continued upon the statute books he proposed to take out of the people of this country that profit.

Everybody understands how in 1894 the sugar trust was on the ground and how close the fight was; but there was always enough to protect the trust. If every Republican in this body at that time had voted to strike off the one-eighth differential duty in favor of the trust, it was well understood that the Wilson bill could not pass.

SUGAR TRUST CONTROLS THE SENATE.

It was well understood that unless the sugar trust had one-eighth of a cent differential duty in their favor on refined sugar they could beat the Wilson bill. And yet so potential was the trust, so all-powerful was their combination, that of the Republicans most interested in the defeat of the Wilson bill and in the perpetuation of the protective-tariff measure as framed by Republicans, enough were found to vote with the sugar trust to prevent striking off the eighth. In other words, the interest was so much greater in the sugar trust than in the general policy of protection that they flew to the rescue of the trust and abandoned the principle of protection.

When we come to a test vote now, it is very close, as it was the other day, but enough votes are secured always to protect the interests of the trust. It seems to me that unless the Republican party wants to go into the next campaign hampered by this issue, unless it wants to have put upon it as a party, in a way it can not avoid, the issue that it exists simply that the gold standard may be perpetuated and that trusts may thrive, it must vote for the amendment offered by the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. LINDSAY] striking off all differential duties whatever.

I should like to ask the Republicans from the Western States, who have no interest in sugar refiners and have no sugar refineries in their States, what they get out of being used for the purpose of perpetuating the interests of this monopoly? Do they want in the next campaign to confront their constituents upon this issue? Perhaps they can afford to sacrifice their political lives, but I doubt it. They certainly can not afford to sacrifice their consciences and their opinions.

There is no doubt that the price of refined sugar is less now than it was when the trust was formed. At that time the duty on raw sugar was specific, based upon the saccharine strength, and averaged about 2 cents a pound. This duty was taken off by the McKinley tariff in 1890. Sugar remained free of duty until August 28, 1894, but the difference between the price of raw and of refined was greater in 1892 and 1893 than at any time since 1886, except during the two years 1888 and 1889, immediately following the organization of the trust. Since the imposition of the Wilson tariff duty of 40 per cent ad valorem, the apparent difference between the cost of raw sugar, duty paid, and that of refined is less than in the years referred to, but nearly 16 per cent greater than it was in 1886.

So the reduction in the price of sugar to the consumer is not due to the operation of the trust, but to changes in tariff duties and a fall in the price of raw sugar, which has lowered the price of refined sugar all over the world, and makes it possible now for foreign refined sugar to be sold in New York, duty paid, at a slightly lower cost than the net cash price of the product of the trust.

All dealers in sugar have a feeling of dread in their dealings with this corporation that grates upon their American instincts. They know that they are but slaves of an iron-handed and steel-willed despotism, which has the power of commercial life and death, and is subject to no restraint but the will of its managers. They dare not openly complain of the conditions under which they are forced to do business for fear that they may be deprived of the opportunity of doing business at all.

Since the sugar trust does not sell its product for general consumption, but appoints its own factors to sell its goods upon commission, it may dismiss a factor at its own discretion, and that means simply ruin to a merchant who has grown up in the sugar trade from boyhood and knows no other business in which to make a living for himself and his family.

MUST REWRITE OUR POLITICAL ECONOMY.

Mr. President, the old treatises upon political economy must all be destroyed and new text-books written for the instruction of the coming generation, no matter whether they are engaged in selling manufactured sugar or any other manufactures, if the rule of trusts is to be perpetuated through the neglect of Congress to enact the legislation necessary for their suppression. We have been taught that the successful merchant buys in the cheapest market and sells in the dearest, that prices are at all times subject to supply and demand, and that the wise man in business foresees the demand and provides the supply.

But I have shown conclusively that these laws of trade are absolutely overthrown in the cases of the sugar trust, and it is so with every trust. I have taken the sugar trust, and have largely exposed its methods, as an illustration of the entire business policy when conducted under trust methods.

Not only the merchants in the sugar trade and in every other trade controlled by a trust, but also the entire American people who are not participants in the profits of such illicit combinations are very impatient of trust domination. They do not listen with respect to the apostles of the new political economy who assure them that greater benefits accrue to the poor man under the modern system of trusts than under the old free competition in business which used to be called the life of trade.

ANTHRACITE COAL TRUST.

But, Mr. President, there are many other trusts. I intend to give briefly the history of some of the other trusts which exist in this country. One of the greatest, most oppressive, and most heartless trusts is the anthracite-coal trust, and as it is a fair sample of many others, I will give a brief sketch of its methods.

Here, again, it is asserted that no trust exists. It will be fair, therefore, to examine somewhat the methods of this organization. This trust has existed for years. Fifty years ago the courts of Pennsylvania declared that the anthracite coal producers could not combine lawfully; but to-day they are combined, and the rise in the price of coal in every hamlet in the United States upon a single day last year proves conclusively that a combination exists.

This trust has existed for years, but was reorganized at a meeting of the officers of the railroad companies engaged in the anthracite coal traffic held in New York City January 23, 1896. The various companies were represented as follows: Philadelphia and Reading, by Joseph S. Harris, president and receiver, and C. E. Henderson, general manager; Delaware, Lackawanna and Western, by Sam Sloan, president, and E. R. Holden, vice-president; Lehigh Valley, by E. P. Wilbur, president, W. H. Sayre, second vice-president, and H. S. Drinker, general counsel; Central of New Jersey, by J. Rogers Maxwell, president; Delaware and Hudson, by Robert M. Olyphant, president; Pennsylvania Railroad, by George B. Roberts, president, and W. H. Joyce, general freight agent; Pennsylvania Coal Company, by Samuel Thorne, president, and Thomas Hodgson, sales agent; Erie, by E. B. Thomas, president, and H. B. Crandall, coal freight agent; New York, Ontario

and Western, by Thomas P. Fowler, president, and J. E. Childs, general manager; New York, Susquehanna and Western, by Amos Lawrence Hopkins, president, and F. P. Moore, coal agent; Delaware, Susquehanna and Schuylkill Railroad, by Alfred Walter, president.

The trust is created by a combination of the railroads who handle the anthracite coal. In fact, the coal mines are controlled by the roads.

At this meeting the claims of the Reading Company were admitted to produce 21 per cent of the total output, and the percentage which should be produced and brought to market by each of the other companies was agreed upon. The fact that Reading was undergoing reorganization at the hands of Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan, who was the manager of the notorious bond deals with President Cleveland in 1895 and 1896, by which it is proper incidentally to remark that as a sort of compliment to the Cleveland Administration somebody got about $30,000,000, had much to do with inducing the other companies to accede to the demands of the Reading.

It was said at the time that "the chief difficulty hitherto in handling the coal trade as a whole to advantage has been the attitude taken by the Reading Company, which has claimed that it was entitled to a greater proportion of the tonnage than it was securing, and in the last two years had been enforcing this claim by increased activity at its mines." The Reading Company owns 33 per cent of the anthracite in the ground, and in the last six months of 1895 it produced more than 23 per cent of the total output.

With Reading reorganized and its stock held in a voting trust named by Mr. J. P. Morgan, the other coal companies felt compelled to accede to whatever terms Mr. Morgan authorized Reading to propose, for they knew the power which he possessed and had seen some evidences of the relentless manner in which he exercised this power when his wishes were disregarded. So the matter was settled by giving the Reading Company the tonnage which it demanded, while the distribution among the other companies of the remainder of the anthracite production was made upon the basis recommended by the Reading Company—that is, by J. Pierpont Morgan & Co. So Mr. Morgan decided finally exactly how much coal should be produced by each one of the companies, and then decided just what price the American people should pay for the coal.

The anthracite-coal trust is not incorporated, and the distribution of the business is fixed by the percentage arrangement of January 23, 1896. The quantity of coal to be produced each month is agreed upon by the parties to the arrangement, and the prices of the different grades of coal are fixed by a circular issued every month to the trade. The control of the anthracite trade by the trust is absolute, but that trade is subject to competition by soft coal, gas, and electricity, so that the trust is under some restraint as to prices. Nevertheless, the statistics of the trade gathered by Mr. Rothwell, of the Mining Journal, show that the value of anthracite produced in 1896 was an increase of $7,855,000, although the number of tons mined in 1896 was considerably less than in 1895. The division of the business is substantially as follows:

	Per cent.
Philadelphia and Reading Railroad	21.36
Lehigh Valley Railroad	16.72
Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad	13.22
Central Railroad of New Jersey	11.97
Pennsylvania Railroad	9.77
Delaware and Hudson Canal Company	9.29
Pennsylvania Coal Company	4.44
Delaware, Susquehanna and Schuylkill Railroad	3.79
Erie Railroad	3.65
New York, Ontario and Western Railway	2.97
New York, Susquehanna and Western Railroad	2.82

It is estimated by the managers of the trust that the production for the current year will be about 40,000,000 tons, which is 6,545,000 tons less than in 1895, the year before the trust was reorganized. It is also positively assumed that there will be no reduction in prices, but rather an advance,* if the people will stand it.

It appears from the evidence taken before the Lexow committee last winter that the price of anthracite coal was increased $1 per ton in 1896, and as the production was 40,000,000 tons, the profits must have been $40,000,000.

I will give an extract of the testimony taken before the Lexow committee which covers this point and shows that these people met together and agreed to raise the price of coal first 25 cents a ton. That worked so well that shortly afterwards they raised it 25 cents more, and then raised it more, in each case on the same day throughout the United States. It applied even to coal in the hands of retail dealers.

President D'E. B. Thomas, of the Erie Railroad, was sworn. He said he was present at the conference held by the presidents of the various coal carriers and that the Erie Railroad received a 4 per cent allotment of the coal to be carried.

Then Senator Lexow read the following allotments: Philadelphia and Reading, 20.50 per cent; Lehigh Valley, 15.65; New Jersey Central, 11.70; Delaware, Lackawanna and Western, 13.35; Delaware and Hudson, 9.60; Pennsylvania, 11.40; Pennsylvania Coal Company, 4; Erie Railroad, 4; New York, Ontario and Western, 3.10; Delaware, Susquehanna and Schuylkill, 3.50, and New York, Susquehanna and Western, 3.20 per cent. Mr. Roberts said he thought these figures were correct.

Q. Did your company live up to the agreement?

A. Not entirely.

Q. Is it not a fact that the coal sales agents hold meetings at No. 1 Broadway to fix the price of coal?

A. I don't know.

Mr. Roberts admitted that the restriction of output naturally increased the demand for coal, but said that the amount of coal to be produced was never discussed at any meeting he had attended.

TO RAISE PRICES AND RESTRICT OUTPUT.

Q. Was not the object of the conference to get a fair price for coal?

A. That was one of its objects. In 1895 the output exceeded the demand and there was a glut of coal on the market. We wanted to get a fair price in 1896.

Q. Can you give us the prices that ruled from February, 1896, until now?

A. The agents can.

Q. Do you remember that a month after the conference the price went up 25 cents a ton, and that the next month it went up another 25 cents?

A. I don't know.

Q. Is it not a fact that the price of coal has increased a dollar a ton since the conference.

A. I don't know; the agents can give you the figures.

Q. Was it not a fact that the output was limited to 40,000,000?

A. No agreement was made to limit the output. I will give you the figures since 1891. In that year the output was 40,000,000 tons; in 1892 it was 42,000,000; in 1893 it was 43,000,000; in 1894 it was 41,000,000; in 1895 it was 46,000,000, and in 1896 it was 43,000,000.

The price of anthracite coal, Mr. Roberts said, had fallen somewhat, owing to the use of oils and gas. Now, he said that the conference agreement terminated February 1 of this year. The witness created some surprise by announcing that he did not know the price of coal now.

F. H. Gibbons, treasurer of the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad Company, was then called and gave it as his impression that the price of coal was increased 30 or 40 cents a ton in 1896.

R. H. Williams, sales agent for the Erie Railroad Company, was then called. He admitted it was customary for the agents to hold "informal talks" monthly about coal. He also said that it was customary to discuss the possible output for each month, and the allotments were based on those estimates.

Q. Why was it that the price of coal was increased after the presidents' conference?

A. Because the price was so low in 1895 that there was no money in the mining business.

Q. You believe you had the right to meet and agree upon a fair price for your property?

A. Yes, sir.

KITING THE PRICES.

Q. You fix the price for coal?

A. We try to do it, but we can not do it. The price of bituminous coal regulates the price of anthracite coal in New York.

Q. Was the first advance in coal in 1896 the result of the conference?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. When was the second increase?

A. About May or June.

Q. That was an increase also of 25 cents per ton?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. And there was another increase of 25 cents on July 1?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. And on September 1 the price was still raised 25 cents?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. So that between February 1 and September 1, 1896, the price of coal was increased $1 per ton?

A. That is so.

Q. And that $1 a ton increase was the result of the conference?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. What does it cost to mine coal?

A. From $1.60 to $1.80 a ton.

Edwin R. Holton, vice-president of the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad Company, was then called. He said he had entire charge of the fixing of prices and sale of coal in his company. He denied that there had been any conferences of sales agents, but there were occasional informal "talks."

Charles W. Wisner, of Walden, N. Y., vice-president of the Stevens Coal Company, was next called. He testified that his company sold coal to the Lehigh Valley Railroad Company and that they got 60 per cent of what the product brought at "tide water." The other 40 per cent goes to the railroad company.

Q. What does it cost to produce a ton of coal at the mines?

A. About $1.80 for anthracite coal.

Q. What does that sell for at tide-water prices?

A. I think the tide-water prices are $3.87 a ton for stove coal.

COAL CARRIERS' BIG PROFITS.

Q. So that you would receive $2.32 for a ton and the carrying company $1.55?

A. Yes, sir.

The witness said when all expenses were cleared, the mine only made 12 cents a ton profit.

Q. Does your company fix the price to the consumer?

A. No, sir.

Q. That price is fixed by the carrying company?

A. Yes, sir: after we sign a contract with them.

Q. If you don't sign the contract, what happens?

A. We would have to market our coal direct to the consumer.

Q. Would that be feasible?

A. No, sir.

CONTRIBUTION TO THE REPUBLICAN CORRUPTION FUND.

It was a fine thing to have a combination like this as a contributor to the committee in the campaign, was it not? A raise of $1 a ton on 40,000,000 tons of anthracite coal would be $40,000,000. A raise of 25 cents a ton would be $10,000,000. So they made a raise in September. The campaign was in full blast. They made another raise a little later. Four raises were made, or a raise of $1 a ton during 1896.

*Coal Trade Journal, New York, June 2, 1897.

This combination must have been formed, I judge, in anticipation of the campaign which was coming on. Who do you suppose was the recipient of these great contributions, if any were made? Certainly it was not those who supported Mr. Bryan. Twenty-five cents a ton would buy a great many marching capes in a campaign; it would pay the expenses for speakers and railroad fare and all legitimate items in a contest of great magnitude, and get all the voters out. Was this for the benefit of the candidate who was nominated by the reform Democracy at Chicago? I hardly think so.

I have here a document which will prove conclusively, I think, that if any contribution was made, it was not made to the parties who supported William J. Bryan in the last contest, for Mr. Bryan, in one of his speeches (and the question of trusts was one of the issues of the campaign), said:

I have been called an anarchist because I have opposed the trusts and syndicates which would manage this country. I am glad to have the opposition of these men. I am glad that if I am elected there is not a trust or syndicate that can come to me and say, "We put you there, now pay us back."

Again he said in another speech:

Mr. Harrison was to debate the question of the survival of our institutions. I will tell him that the great trusts which are supporting the Republican ticket are a greater menace to our Government than anything else we have ever had. The various trusts of this country, by their representatives, are collecting tribute from the public, and when we protest against it they call us disturbers of the peace and anarchists. I am opposed to the trusts. As an Executive I shall use what power I have to drive every trust out of existence.

ANSWERED BRYAN BY RAISING PRICE OF COAL.

I am glad to have supported that sort of a candidate, the man who had the indomitable courage in that heated campaign to make that immortal declaration. It was followed by a 25-cent raise in coal. That was a very convenient thing. It is no wonder they had a surplus after the contest was over. It is no wonder that they had a surplus in the treasury to go out and manipulate legislatures in order to make sure of this body. We heard it talked and whispered about this Chamber—no, not whispered, but talked on the streets, talked everywhere. It was a convenient thing.

The argument that trusts reduce prices is thoroughly overthrown (and I have taken some pains to go into this question because it has been so earnestly urged) by the experience of the Standard Oil Company. I will publish as part of my remarks a statement showing the cost of the crude oil and the cost of refined oil, and the difference between the cost of crude and refined, from 1870 to 1893.

Year.	Price crude oil.	Price refined oil.	Difference.	Year.	Price crude oil.	Price refined oil.	Difference.
	Cents.	*Cents.*	*Cents.*		*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*
1870	9.19	26.35	17.16	1882	1.87	7.39	5.52
1871	10.52	14.14	13.72	1883	2.52	8.02	5.50
1872	9.43	23.59	14.16	1884	1.99	8.15	6.16
1873	4.12	17.87	13.75	1885	2.11	7.93	5.82
1874	2.81	12.98	10.17	1886	1.09	7.07	5.38
1875	2.96	13.00	10.04	1887	1.59	6.72	5.13
1876	5.99	19.16	13.17	1888	2.08	7.49	5.41
1877	5.68	15.44	9.76	1889	2.24	7.11	4.87
1878	2.76	10.76	8.00	1890	2.06	7.30	5.24
1879	2.04	8.08	6.04	1891	1.67	6.85	5.18
1880	2.24	9.05	6.81	1892	1.32	6.07	4.75
1881	2.30	8.01	5.71	1893	1.50	5.22	4.72

Bearing in mind that the Standard Oil trust was formally organized in 1882, although in process of formation several years before that time, we observe that the average difference in price between crude and refined oil during the four years 1870–1873 was 14.697 cents per gallon, and during 1880–1883 was 5.885 cents, and during 1890–1893 was 4.97 cents.

The average difference during 1881, 1882, and 1883 was 5.577 cents, and during 1891, 1892, and 1893 it was 5.55 cents.

This establishes the fact that the fall in the charge for refining, which had been very rapid prior to the formation of the trust, has almost disappeared since then. The Standard Oil Company, although more farsighted in forestalling public attack by some concessions in price than the sugar and some other trusts, has evidently intercepted many of the benefits which the progress in arts would inevitably have conferred upon the public under free competition.

Before the Lexow trust committee, according to press reports, President Henry O. Havemeyer thus testified:

It goes without saying that a man who can control 80 per cent of the output can control the price if he chooses to exercise that power.

Q. Then by controlling 80 per cent of the output you really do control the price?

A. Without a doubt.

Q. The trust fixes the price for itself, and when you fix it for yourselves you practically fix it for your competitors, don't you?

A. That is undoubtedly and substantially the way it works.

Mr. Arbuckle said that his competitors in coffee "usually adopt the scale of prices as fixed by us."

Thanks to these methods, the Standard Oil Company in 1896 made over 30 per cent on its capital of a little over $60,000,000.

In the formation of the sugar trust in 1887 it was stated that $6 of stock was issued for every dollar actually invested. However, I think this statement is excessive. But that more than $3 of stock was issued for every dollar of value that was put into the combination there can be no possible doubt.

OVERCAPITALIZATION BY TRUSTS.

One of the great evils of the trust is overcapitalization. This deceives investors and the public as to the amount of its exorbitant charges and its rational basis for expecting a continuance of these profits.

I think this overcapitalization was designed in their case for the purpose of deceiving the public as to the amount of their profit. Take, for instance, the sugar trust. Half of its profit was sufficient to pay 12 per cent on $37,500,000 common stock and 7 per cent on a like amount of preferred stock, and the interest on $10,000,000.

But if stock had been issued only for the amount actually invested, say $20,000,000, which will cover every cent—$25,000,000 at the outside—these dividends would have been more than three times as large, and would have attracted such attention that the Senate of the United States would not dare longer to continue to be the champion of this organization.

On the question of overcapitalization I propose to read a portion of the report of the Lexow senate committee on trusts in New York last winter, as follows:

Sufficient appears upon the record to justify the conclusion that of at least coordinate importance with the plan of industrial concentration was the scheme of the issue of stock certificates of greatly inflated nominal values. That this was a purpose definitely formed and not merely incident to industrial development was substantially admitted by the spokesmen for at least two of the principal combinations of the five which were examined.

In one case corporate assets acquired by an officer of the combination for the sum of $350,000 were capitalized over night in the new combination by the issue of certificates of a nominal value of twice that amount, less 15 per cent.

Other corporations, organized for the distinct purpose of absorption by the combination on the basis of a stock issue of a nominal value of $60,000, were simultaneously recapitalized in the combination by an issue of a nominal share value of about $14,000,000. Corporations representing in the aggregate share issues of less than $7,000,000 were recapitalized in the combination by a nominal share issue of $50,000,000, less a rebate of 15 per cent. In another case live assets were valued at about $5,000,000 and made the basis of an issue of about $25,000,000 of stock, the difference being made up in the assumed value of "good will," "brands," "trade-marks," etc. In another instance the live assets were capitalized in so-called debenture stock, while the common stock was issued upon the basis of computing the average percentage of profits over a period of years and multiplying these by 16.

The trusts, then, have adopted 16 to 1; that is, sixteen shares at $1 each for every dollar they invest. Perhaps that is what they were contending against in the last campaign. I heard some of them talking, and I did not believe they understood the issue much better than to have taken that position.

In another instance both common and preferred stock were issued in bulk for the several properties acquired, studious care being exercised to conceal the details of payments for particular properties and to avoid the disclosure of the processes whereby values represented by stock issues were computed.

The net result of each of these methods of capitalization was that large overissue of capital stock was the important, if not the main, purpose of consolidation. One of the witnesses, whose experience and intelligence were especially marked, when interrogated upon this question, stated that the stock issued represented the prospective earning capacity of the combination; that is to say, its earning capacity considered from the view-point of all those advantages attributable to a perfected consolidation, the control of product, the ability to fix its price, and the economy, so eloquently described by all the witnesses, flowing from concentration of production, management, and distribution.

It is worthy of note that while these properties were separately competing with each other their stock issues were small and in a few hands, and that as soon as the combination was effected and the nominal values were inflated, the shares were listed on the Stock Exchange and distributed among the public.

Of course they would have distributed them among the public if they could get rid of them. They would be willing to take a part of the money acquired from their inflated capital to pay dividends for a while if they could get the public to take the stocks which were issued, three or four for one. It is no wonder that they were desirous of getting rid of them. It is no wonder that they might justly fear that legislation would affect their value when they were pursuing such a course of wholesale robbery of the people of the United States.

In one case properties controlled by not to exceed 100 owners and stockholders became at once speculatively active, and their shares were distributed in a short time among upward of 9,000 distinct stockholders; in another, the holdings of not to exceed 35 people became subdivided among about 6,000 stockholders, while in a third the properties of a few men were finally represented by share certificates held by upward of 2,000 people.

This has been pointed to as one of the beneficent results of large combinations, viz, the diffusion of ownership, whereby the control of a few has been subdivided among many. This argument would have some force were it not for the methods adopted in the capitalization of the properties before indicated. The diffusion of shares does not necessarily carry with it the control by many of the properties thus represented. Stockholders, satisfied with the profits they receive, are willing to leave the original management in permanent control. Realization of dividends is the father of contentment, and

the supreme effort of management must be directed toward maintaining earnings proportionate to the stock issued, whether for live assets or for properties closed, abandoned, or dismantled.

All this tends to indicate that the net profits of a corporation thus organized must be held at an abnormally high figure in order to justify the payment of dividends upon live, dead, and inflated capital; and that, correspondingly, labor on the one hand and the consumer on the other must relatively bear their proportion. And this without reference to the fact that the change from a strictly industrial pursuit to one intimately coupled with speculation in the certificates representing that industry must naturally have some effect; and volume of product, price, and all the incidents of a purely industrial management must be affected by the requirements of fluctuating values on the exchange. What shall be purely industrial becomes the tender of speculation, and the law of supply and demand, instead of remaining the constant regulator of output and price, finds itself determined and disturbed by the exigencies of speculation.

So it is, Mr. President, that instead of pursuing the even tenor of our way as a people and as producers of wealth, the tendency is to organize for inordinate, unusual speculative profits, and we therefore change our business men from the plodding, honest, industrious pursuit of a trade or calling to gamblers and speculators. This certainly must have an effect upon our industrial life, upon our character as a people, which is well worthy of consideration in this connection.

I believe that one of the most important duties this Government has to solve to-day is the question whether we shall drift until we become absolutely a nation of gamblers or speculators, or whether we shall make an effort to return to that industrial life which characterized the better and more vigorous days of the Republic.

STATEMENTS OF TRUSTS.

Mr. President, I propose to give a list of many of the trusts, of the amount of their capital, and the amount which the properties were worth which were incorporated into the trust, showing the vast amount of pretended capital upon which the people of this country are compelled to pay interest. I have summarized it. First is the sugar trust.

American Sugar Refining Company: Incorporated January 10, 1891, under the laws of New Jersey, to take overestimated assets and business of the companies represented by the certificates of the Sugar Refining Company, which was reorganized in June, 1890:

Capital stock, common	$37,500,000
Capital stock, preferred	37,500,000
Total	75,000,000
First-mortgage bonds, bearing interest at 6 per cent	10,000,000

In January, 1892, an increase of $25,000,000 was voted, half to be common and half to be preferred, the proceeds to be used for buying up other refineries or for buildings. Accordingly a controlling interest was purchased in March, 1892, in the stock of the E. C. Knight Company, of Philadelphia, $800,000; of the Franklin Sugar Company, of Pennsylvania, $5,000,000; of the Spreckels Sugar Refining Company, of Pennsylvania, $5,000,000, and of the Delaware Sugar House, $96,000.

The $25,000,000 of additional stock is included in the $75,000,000. Dividends of 7 per cent per annum have always been paid on the preferred, and 12 per cent per annum on the common stock. Sixty million dollars of that $75,000,000 of stock is water, and so is the $10,000,000 of bonds. The officers of the company have always refused to make a statement of their earnings. Since 1890 the company has paid in dividends $43,000,000.

Directors—H. O. Havemeyer, T. A. Havemeyer, F. O. Mathiessen, John E. Parsons (their attorney), J. E. Searles, William Dick, W. B. Thomas.

Officers—H. O. Havemeyer, president; John E. Searles, secretary and treasurer.

General office—117 Wall street, New York.

TOBACCO TRUST.

Then the American Tobacco Company, which was incorporated under the laws of New Jersey for fifty years on January 21, 1890, for the purpose of curing leaf tobacco, to buy, manufacture, and sell tobacco in all its forms, and to establish factories, agencies, and depots for the sale and distribution thereof, and to do all things incidental to the business of trading and manufacturing, with power to carry on its business in all other States and Territories of the United States, and in Canada, Great Britain, and all other foreign countries.

The company pays 8 per cent on the preferred stock, and has paid 12 per cent on the common. The last three dividends on the common have been at the rate of 8 per cent. About one year ago 20 per cent in scrip was declared on both classes of stock. The officers are now talking of redeeming it in cash.

	Issued.
Capital stock, common, par $50	$17,900,000
Capital stock, preferred, par $100	11,935,000
Total	29,835,000
Authorized issue	35,000,000

	Amount not issued.
Capital stock, preferred	$2,065,000
Capital stock, common	3,100,000
Total	5,165,000

The company has paid in dividends since 1890 a little over $19,000,000.

The water in this company's stock is $20,000,000.

Directors—Lewis Ginter, Richmond, Va.; John Pope, Richmond, Va.; George Arents, William H. Butler, Charles G. Emery, New York; James B. Duke, Somerville, N. J.; Benjamin N. Duke, George W. Watts, Durham, N. C.; William A. Marburg, George W. Gail, Baltimore, Md.; Josiah Browne, Plainfield, N. J.; John Doerhoefer, Louisville, Ky.

Officers—James B. Duke, president; William H. Butler, first vice-president; John Pope, second vice-president; William Marburg, third vice-president; George Arents, treasurer; Josiah Brown, secretary; W. R. Harris, auditor.

Principal office—Newark, N. J.

New York office—507 to 529 West Twenty-second street.

NATIONAL LINSEED OIL COMPANY.

National Linseed Oil Company: Incorporated in June, 1887, under the laws of Illinois. The different properties now owned by this company were brought together in an association called the National Linseed Oil Trust. During 1890 the trust was dissolved and the properties were acquired by purchase. It appears that this trust organized just as the sugar trust did in the first place, by the combination of a large number of producers, and after the New York court declared that that form of organization was illegal under her industrial laws, they dissolved the trust and the properties were acquired by purchase by the National Linseed Oil Company, in April, 1890. They have 52 oil works, located in 42 cities of the United States, besides real estate, machinery, patents, etc. Capital stock, par value $100, $18,000,000.

It is estimated that the entire property in this trust was worth about $8,000,000, and that they added $10,000,000 at the time of forming the combination.

Directors—Alex Eustow, St. Louis, Mo.; R. D. Hubbard, Mankato, Minn.; W. P. Orr, Piqua, Ohio; Samuel Thomas, New York City; A. C. Abbott, Buffalo, N. Y.; Marcus Simpson, Burlington, Iowa; A. S. Hall, Chicago, Ill.; J. A. Willard, Mankato, Minn.; I. P. Keiser, St. Louis, Mo.

Officers—Alex Eustow, president; A. O. Hall, first vice-president; Marcus Simpson, second vice-president; A. C. Abbott, third vice-president; T. G. McCulloh, secretary and treasurer.

General office—Old Colony Building, Chicago, Ill.

New York office—Nos. 93, 95, and 97 John street.

NATIONAL LEAD COMPANY.

National Lead Company: This company was organized December 8, 1891, under the laws of New Jersey. It has plants in New York, Massachusetts, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Kentucky, Illinois, and Missouri, manufacturing white lead and like products.

Capital stock, common	$15,000,000
Capital stock, preferred	15,000,000
Total	30,000,000

A regular 7 per cent dividend is paid on the preferred, and occasionally a dividend on the common is declared.

This is a gambling stock, and there is no doubt that the preferred represents more than the entire investment.

Directors—E. F. Beale, Philadelphia; G. O. Carpenter, jr., St. Louis; L. A. Cole, East Orange, N. J.; R. R. Colgate, New York City; A. T. Gosharn, Cincinnati, Ohio; J. L. McBirney, New York City; J. H. McKelvy, Pittsburg, Pa.; F. W. Rockwell, Chicago, Ill.; R. P. Rowe, Brooklyn, N. Y.; A. P. Thompson, Buffalo, N. Y.; D. B. Shipman, Chicago, Ill.; J. A. Stevens, Brooklyn, N. Y.; W. P. Thompson, Red Bank, N. J.

Officers—W. P. Thompson, president; L. A. Cole, first vice-president; R. R. Colgate, second vice-president; J. L. McBirney, treasurer; F. R. Fortmeyer, assistant treasurer; Charles Davison, secretary.

General office—No. 1 Broadway, New York.

UNITED STATES LEATHER COMPANY.

United States Leather Company: This company was incorporated in New Jersey February 25, 1893, and commenced the business of tanning and selling sole and belt leather on May 2, 1893. At the time of the organization this company acquired many properties connected with the business, and since then many properties engaged in the manufacture of leather have been purchased, and to pay for the same the issue of preferred stock has been increased from time to time, and in addition to every share so issued one share of common stock has been paid for the good will of the company.

In the State of Pennsylvania property was acquired by companies organized under the laws of said State. These separate companies are known as the Elk, the Penn, and the Union Trimming companies, their capital stock, $10,000,000 each, being mostly owned by the United States Leather Company.

Capital stock, common	$61,509,900
Capital stock, preferred	60,909,900
Total	122,419,800

Bonds, debentures, 6 per cent, $5,700,000.

Officers—Mark Hoyt, president, Boston, Mass.; James Horton, first vice-president, Buffalo, N. Y.; Edward R. Ladew, second vice-president, New York; Lewis H. Lapham, third vice-president, New York; Josiah T. Tubby, secretary, Brooklyn; James R. Plum, treasurer, New York City.

Corporate office—Jersey City, N. J.

General office—26 and 28 Ferry street, New York City.

Directors—Mark Hoyt, George A. Vail, Edward R. Ladew, Patrick C. Costello, Lewis C. Lapham, Joseph H. Ladew, Henry B. Vaughn, Gurdow B. Horton, Walter G. Garritt, A. Augustus Healy, Daniel F. Stevens, Frank H. Goodyear, James H. Proctor, Josiah T. Tubby, James Horton, Norman Schultz, James R. Plum, Jerry Crary, Nemiah W. Rice, Loring R. Gale, Lyman F. Rhoades, Samuel P. Davage, William H. Humphrey, Charles H. Lee, Charles M. Vail, Edward C. Hoyt, Edson G. Davage.

The total amount of common stock, $61,509,900, is water pure and simple—that is, there was no consideration for it whatever—and more than $20,000,000 of the preferred stock, making, out of this $122,000,000, $81,500,000 of stock issued for which there is no consideration whatever.

The preferred stock is entitled to 8 per cent, and is cumulative. It is now behind in its dividends on the preferred stock 20 per cent. The last four dividends were 1 per cent quarterly. The last 1 per cent was paid March 15, 1897. So it is not behind in its dividends, except it pays only about one-half what it was supposed that the stock would pay.

UNITED STATES RUBBER COMPANY.

The United States Rubber Company is an interesting example. This company was incorporated in New Jersey in 1892, for the manufacture of rubber boots, shoes, etc. The organization includes the following:

American Rubber Company, Boston.
Boston Rubber Company, Boston.
Para Rubber Company, Boston.
L. Candee & Co., New Haven, Conn.
Goodyear Metallic Rubber Shoe Company, Naugatuck, Conn.
Lycoming Rubber Company, Williamsport, Pa.
Meyer Rubber Company, New Brunswick, N. J.
New Brunswick Rubber Company, New Brunswick, N. J.
New Jersey Rubber Shoe Company, New Brunswick, N. J.
National India Rubber Company, Bristol, R. I.
Woonsocket Rubber Company.
Mervel Rubber Company.
Lawrence Felting Company.
Colchester Rubber Company.
Rubber Manufacturers' Selling Company.

Capital stock, common	$20,166,000
Capital stock, preferred	10,400,500
Total	30,566,500

Officers—Joseph Banigom, president, Providence, R. I.; Robert D. Evans, first vice-president, Boston, Mass.; James D. Ford, second vice-president; Charles R. Flint, treasurer, New York City; M. C. Martin, assistant treasurer, New Brunswick, N. J.; Charles L. Johnson, secretary, New Haven, Conn.

Bankers and transfer agents in New York—H. B. Hollins & Co.

Directors—Charles A. Coffin, Robert D. Evans, William H. Hill, George H. Hood, Boston; Samuel P. Colt, Joseph Bannigan, W. S. Ballou, John J. Bannigan, George Watkinson, Providence, R. I.; James B. Ford, Charles R. Flint, J. Howard Ford, Robert M. Galloway, H. B. Hollins, Herman Burr, William L. Trenholm, New York City; Henry L. Hotchkiss, Charles L. Johnson, New Haven, Conn.; James P. Langdon, M. C. Martin, New Brunswick, N. J.; George A. Lewis, Naugatuck, Conn.; Edwin A. Lewis, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Frederick M. Shepard, Orange, N. J.; George M. Allerton, Waterbury, Conn.; Samuel N. Williams, Williamsport, Pa.

The common stock, $20,166,000, is all water. The preferred pays 8 per cent, and very frequently the common gets a dividend. The company claim it is earning 7 per cent on the common.

The capital stock—the common stock—was issued for what is called good will, brands, trade-marks, etc. It was issued and divided among the men who organized, intending in advance to compel the people of this country to pay the interest or the dividends on this which was nothing.

Mr. President, wealth can only be created by toil. To issue stock is not to create wealth. No dividends can be paid upon any of this watered stock unless somebody has toiled to pay them, and toil must be plundered if such dividends are paid. There is no possible chance to avoid that conclusion.

The rubber trust has decided to shut down indefinitely the greater part of its immense plant at Bristol, R. I., and henceforth to manufacture there only tennis shoes. This means that more than 500 residents of Bristol who have depended upon the factory for their livelihood will be deprived of their only means of subsistence in Bristol. About 1,700 others were thrown out of work when the trust acquired the plant and have never been taken back. This is in perfect harmony with the methods of the rubber trust. After it was organized it acquired possession of about 15 rubber factories which had been competing with one another for nearly all the business in the country.

Having paid a fee of $200,000 to Charles R. Flint, another of $100,000 to H. B. Hollins & Co., and another of $100,000 to Joseph P. Earle for their services in promoting the trust, the trust shut down about half its factories. Then it made factors' agreements with the trade under which dealers received a rebate of 7 per cent if they did not sell under the prices fixed by the trust. Though times have been hard and the prices of other commodities have declined, the trust's products have risen in price from 20 per cent to 40 per cent. The net annual profits were $2,239,791.50, the gross expenses being only $293,148. This was during the year ended May, 1896. The trust made a profit of $7 on every dollar of expenses. December 23, 1896, the trust declared a dividend of 2 per cent on the common stock. This, after paying 8 per cent on the preferred, left $1,921,712.38, to which must be added the surplus earnings for the year ended April 1, 1897. As these will probably amount to fully $3,000,000, the net surplus of the trust to-day can not be less than $5,000,000.

DECREASED PRODUCTION—HIGHER PRICES.

In Bristol 2,200 persons were thrown upon the world. In Woonsocket and Millerville, R. I., 2,500 people are in distress—1,200 out of work. Since the trust acquired the plants in these places, the Millerville operatives have averaged only one-third time, on reduced wages. In Woonsocket the factory has been shut down nearly half the time, and wages have also been reduced. August 13, 1896, the two big factories closed, ostensibly on account of the agitation for bimetallism, and several thousand persons were left destitute.

They gave that excuse last summer. Whenever a factory shut down they would say if people would quit talking about silver the factories would all open, and the very moment that it was defeated they would start up. Now we are hunting for prosperity and the factories continue closed, and will continue closed. If talking about silver will close the factories, we will have them all shut up by the next campaign, for we intend to agitate the question.

An industrial structure that will not stand talking about, that falls before the breath of discussion, had better be destroyed, and we had better build another one. The fundamental principle of American institutions is free discussion, a full review of methods, men, and measures, and then let the people decide. Yet the formers of this rubber trust closed this factory, and said it was because we talked about bimetallism.

August 21, 1896, for the same ostensible reason, the factory in New Haven was closed and 1,200 persons were thrown out of work. In February of this year, 1897, 500 persons were deprived of employment by the closing of the factory at Setauket, Long Island. At other times three factories, employing 3,000 persons, at New Brunswick, N. J., have been shut down; also one employing 700 persons at Colchester, Conn., one employing 500 persons at Franklin, Mass., and one employing 500 persons at Millertown, N. J. In all cases wages had been reduced by the trust, so that the average earnings of the employees were not over 75 cents a day. Rubber shoes that before the trust's formation cost the jobber 35 cents, now cost 65 cents a pair, an increase of nearly 100 per cent.

In addition to all this, the trust has accumulated $5,000,000 in the treasury after paying dividends on watered stock. Yet the Senate is afraid it will interfere with some of these so-called industries!

SOME ONE MUST TOIL TO PAY DIVIDENDS ON OVERISSUES OF STOCK.

I desire to print in the RECORD a table of these eleven trusts. It shows that they are capitalized for $432,000,000, bonded for $43,000,000, and that the total actual investment was $171,000,000. In other words, the people of the United States are called upon to pay dividends and interest on $300,000,000 more than the investment.

Somebody has got to toil to earn that interest. Not one dollar of it can be earned except by the toil of somebody, and yet we are asked to legislate in favor of these combinations, these modern pirates of the world!

Statement showing the capitalization, estimated actual investment, estimated value of products, and duties on imports under the laws of 1890 and 1894, and the proposed law of 1897, of principal products of certain industrial trusts.

Trusts.	Capitalization (stock outstanding).			Bonded debt.	Estimated actual investment (a).	Estimated value of products (annual) (b).	Duties on imports of principal products.		
	Common stock.	Preferred stock.	Total.				Law of 1890.	Law of 1894.	Proposed law of 1897.
1. American Cotton Oil Co	$20,237,100	$10,198,800	$30,435,700	$3,068,800	$15,000,000	$19,000,000	10 cts. per gallon	Free	7 cts. per gallon.
2. American Spirits Manufacturing Co.	26,491,200	6,662,800	33,154,000	2,000,000	15,000,000	70,000,000	$2.50 per gallon	$1.80 per gallon	$2.50 per gallon.
3. American Sugar Refining Co.	36,968,000	36,968,000	73,936,000	10,000,000	20,000,000	135,000,000	$\frac{4}{10}$ cent per lb *c*	$\frac{1}{8}$ ct. per lb. and 40 per ct. ad val. *c*	1$\frac{1}{4}$ cts. per lb. *d*
4. American Tobacco Co	18,173,000	12,117,800	30,290,000	----------	10,000,000	12,000,000	$4.50 per lb. and 25 per ct. ad val.	$4 per lb. and 25 per cent ad val.	$4.50 per lb. and 25 per ct. ad val.
5. General Electric Co	30,420,000	4,252,000	34,712,000	8,750,000	20,000,000	15,000,000	45 per ct. ad val	35 per ct. ad val	45 per ct. ad val.
6. National Lead Co	14,905,400	14,904,600	29,809,400	----------	15,000,000	6,500,000	2 to 2$\frac{1}{2}$ cts. per lb.	1 to 1$\frac{1}{2}$ cts. per lb.	2 to 2$\frac{1}{2}$ cts. per lb.
7. National Linseed Oil Co	18,000,000	----------	18,000,000	108,000	10,000,000	13,000,000	32 cts. per gallon	20 cts. per gallon	32 cts. per gallon.
8. National Starch Co	4,450,700	4,066,200	8,516,900	3,837,000	4,500,000	5,000,000	2 cts. per pound	1$\frac{1}{4}$ cts. per pound.	2 cts. per pound.
9. Standard Rope and Twine Co.	12,000,000	----------	12,000,000	10,500,000	7,000,000	20,000,000	$\frac{1}{10}$ to 3 cts. per lb.	10 per ct. ad val. *e*	1 to 2 cts. per lb. *f*
10. United States Leather Co	61,509,000	60,909,900	122,418,900	5,520,000	40,000,000	60,000,000	10 per ct. ad val	10 per ct. ad val	10 per ct. ad val.
11. United States Rubber Co	29,166,000	19,400,500	39,566,500	----------	15,000,000	20,000,000	30 per ct. ad val	25 per ct. ad val	30 per ct. ad val.
Total	263,360,400	169,479,000	422,839,400	43,783,800	171,500,000	373,500,000			

a These estimates are believed to be liberal, and it is thought that, could the facts be definitely ascertained, the figures here given would be found to be largely in excess of the real investments or values of the properties of the trusts named.
b These estimates are based upon the best obtainable data.
c Also, one-tenth cent per pound additional when produced by or exported from a country paying an export bounty.
d Also, when exported from a country paying an export bounty, a duty equal to such bounty or so much thereof as is in excess of any tax collected by such country.
e Except binding twine, placed on free list.
f Except binding twine, placed on free list, but subject to duty of one-half cent per pound if imported from a country levying a duty on binding twine imported from the United States.

I will also publish a table showing 5 other trusts, making 16 in all, who are capitalized in about the same proportion but are smaller in size. I found it very difficult to secure information with regard to the organization of these trusts. I found it very difficult to get the details with regard to the amount invested. They are very secretive people. They do not care to talk very much, and nobody is responsible, because they are a trust. I found that the committees in New York had difficulty in securing information. Books were lost; officers say they do not know or that somebody else was responsible. So it is hard to get evidence with regard to these organizations.

Trusts.	Capital stock.	Bonds.	
		Size, or par value.	Amount outstanding.
American Strawboard	----------	$1,000	$889,994
American Type Founders	$4,000,000	----------	196,000
Diamond Match	(*)	100	11,000,000
Debenture	8,000,000	----------	----------
National Wall Paper Co	30,000,000	100	7,500,000
New York Biscuit Co	10,000,000	100	9,000,000

* Listed in Chicago.

It has been urged that this tariff bill will produce no revenue if my amendment is adopted. If that is true, then we are certainly in the possession of the trusts. If the object of this bill can not be accomplished, which is supposed to be the raising of revenue, if my amendment is adopted, then that argument is predicated upon the proposition that the trusts will not dissolve; that they will continue; that they will be perpetuated and share the market of this country with the foreign manufacturer.

Of course I believe that they will dissolve if my amendment is enforced. I know they will contest it in the courts, and I am well aware that many of our courts are subject to influences which make their decisions doubtful. I do not care to attack the courts, Mr. President, but I believe the courts will enforce this amendment of mine. Of course you will occasionally find a judge who will not; but it is a significant thing that in the testimony taken before the Interstate Commerce Committee of this body last winter this fact was disclosed, and it is a fact which makes the American people afraid of the courts.

COURTS DISQUALIFIED TO TRY CASES AGAINST CORPORATIONS.

When a case was to be tried in New York for the purpose of dissolving the Joint Traffic Association, which was a combination of railroads from Chicago to the seaboard, it was found that out of eight judges in that circuit only one man was qualified to try the case, because all the others held the stocks and bonds of the defendant corporations; all the others were the owners of stocks and bonds of railroads; and they had to go up into Vermont and find some rural fellow, who had not caught on to the modern methods of business, to try the case.

The evidence before the Interstate Commerce Committee of this body goes on to show that Judge Jennings said he had afterwards qualified, because he had disposed of his stock and bonds. Of course it is unpleasant to recite these things, but when they come in as sworn evidence before a committee of this body, it is well to call the attention of the American people to the facts.

I believe, after examining this bill, Mr. President, that very many of the items contained in it are in the control of trusts, and that the loss of revenue, if not one single trust be disbanded, will not be very great. We will continue to collect the revenue from raw sugar. We will not collect any revenue from refined sugar, because none comes in. As to the other items, the duties are so high that nothing comes in; and on the basis of last year's importations, if the trust which embraces boilers and radiators, house furnaces, steam and hot-water heating apparatus, etc., should refuse to dissolve, we should only lose $163,000 of revenue, for that is all that was collected last year. The duties range from 12 to 45 per cent. On chemicals, which embrace nearly everything in the chemical line in the bill, there is a trust, and if the trust should continue, so that these chemicals would be admitted free of duty, we should only lose $2,107,000. The duty on all these articles is from 16 to 80 per cent. On iron and steel the duties are from 17 to 82 per cent, and pretty nearly everything made of iron or steel is in a trust.

If the trust should continue and there should be no foreign competitor coming in to take the market, the loss of revenue would be $894,000.

On copper, lead, and zinc, which is in a trust, the duty is from 45 to 111 per cent, and the amount of duty collected is quite large, being $1,338,880. We consume more lead than we produce in our country, and we shall be obliged, no matter what the duties may be, to import some of it.

On glass the duty is from 48 to 62 per cent, and if the glass trust should continue, we should lose but $2,211,000, for that was the duty collected. The duty on leather is 20 per cent, and of that the duty on imports last year was but $898. On linseed oil the duty is 52 per cent, and on that the duty collected last year was $2,420. On paper the duty is from 28 to 50 per cent, and we collected last year $113,000. On rubber the duty is 34 per cent, and we collected last year $85,306.

On saws and screws the duty is from 25 to 29 per cent, and the duty collected last year was $1,374. On textile manufactures we collected $205,320, and the duties range from 29 to 132 per cent. On car wheels and other wheels the duty is from 40 to 41 per cent, and we collected in duty last year $131,000. On looking-glasses and on paints, varnish, arms, guns, fireworks, gunpowder—all of which are in a trust—collars and cuffs, oilcloths, etc., are all embraced in trusts, and the total loss of revenue if all the trusts I have named should continue would be $8,189,000.

If the trusts were all to continue and insist upon continuing and sharing the American market with the foreigners, if they have to compete with the foreigners, they could not keep up their prices, and the people of this country would get the benefit of reduced prices. We can afford to lose $8,000,000, and then collect the duty on sugar from the Hawaiian Islands.

According to the report of the Senate Committee on Finance, the duty on sugar from the Hawaiian Islands will amount next year to a little over $8,000,000. Two-thirds of the plantations in Hawaii are owned by Englishmen, Germans, Scandinavians, and

native Hawaiians. What reason is there why we should give them a bonus of $8,000,000 a year? If we should collect this revenue and the trusts should not disband, the revenue would not be affected at all. If our action and conduct are governed by reason and good judgment, there will be no trouble about revenue, while we could save the whole amount of the $8,000,000 by paying only what it is worth to carry the mails. For twenty years there has been no reduction in the cost of carrying the mails.

WE DON'T WANT MORE REVENUE BUT LESS EXPENSES.

We pay 8 cents a pound where we ought to pay but 1 cent, and we pay $30,000,000 where we ought to pay less than $20,000,000. What man in this country would, if he were paying $30,000,000 a year for express, pay the same price now as he paid twenty years ago? We pay $30,000,000 for that service, the same price we paid thirty years ago, and yet we refuse to change it. I tell you it seems to me the Republican party will have a good deal to answer for if it passes this bill and collects the revenues proposed by it, and continues to spend our money to fatten the coolie labor and the miserable, wretched native inhabitants of the Hawaiian Islands, and pays $10,000,000 more than it is worth to carry the mails of this country.

The expenses of this country have increased $100,000,000 in ten years. If they had increased according to the increase of population, they would have only increased $50,000,000. Instead of wanting more revenue, we want less expense. We should spend $50,000,000 less. We have a surplus in the Treasury of $125,000,000, and if we should spend $50,000,000 less there would be no deficiency and we should have revenue enough. Yet it is proposed to tax sugar in order to raise $52,000,000 under this bill; it is proposed to tax tea and raise another $10,000,000; and, furthermore, to tax beer and things that go into consumption per capita, and thus take from the people of this country seventy-five or eighty million dollars and give it in remitted duties to Hawaii, to the railroads, and then to build fortifications where they are not needed, and also to build ships to rot on the seas.

If the Republican party wanted to live, it ought to have brought in a bill here to reduce the expenses one-half and gone before the people on that issue, instead of coming here and being obliged to go before the people as the apologists of trusts and the champions of the infamies of the gold standard.

The leading student of the problem among the college professors of political economy, J. W. Jenks, of Cornell University, thus writes in the Political Science Quarterly for September, 1894, in the best magazine discussion that has thus far appeared upon this subject:

> I expect to live to see the day when the political economists * * * must consider that a very large proportion of the productive business of society is on the monopoly basis.

This was written in 1894. He certainly lived to see the day of which he had spoken.

In the report of the Lexow committee on trusts of the New York senate, already referred to, dated March 9, 1897, the proposition is stated thus:

> One after another industrial pursuits are surrendering to similar combinations, and it is safe to predict that, unless this movement subsides, most, if not all, of the industrial pursuits will reach a similar concentration, and will be followed by results similar to those indicated in this report.

In a recent able symposium on trusts in the New York Independent of March 4, 1897, the socialist view of the trust was presented by Daniel De Leon, formerly lecturer at Columbia University, New York City, and now editor of the socialist organ the People. He holds, as do an increasing number of thinking people, that the trust is an evolutionary movement in the line of progress and that it will go on until all lines of machine industry are thus combined. The natural and inevitable end of the development is held by these thinkers to be the public ownership and operation of the trust.

Certainly it would be far more in accord with justice and equity, rather than to allow this condition of things to continue, for the public to take, own, control, and operate all these properties. However, I do not advocate anything of that sort. I believe we can remedy the evil by other means, and that it is our duty to do so.

On the other hand, Otis Kendal Stuart, of Philadelphia, arguing in the same symposium from the standpoint of the individualist, denounces competition as developing waste, business mendacity, and fraud.

He has reached the point where it seems to be moral to absolutely abandon the whole theory of Anglo-Saxon civilization, and it is well that some advocate should arise to justify this condition of things, for we have already nearly approached that point. "The trust," he says, "is not only the next natural stop in business, it is a stop in social evolution; the trust is not only a conservator of energy and of wealth, it is a conservator of morals and religion."

I wonder what kind of morals and religion are taught by a gambling operation such as is carried on, for instance, by the sugar trust. Of course it is time that on high moral grounds somebody should appear to advocate this new doctrine of social existence. The new order of things needs a champion if they are to continue and revolution be avoided.

AMERICAN PEOPLE OBJECT TO THE PATERNALISM OF TRUSTS.

Mr. President, there has never from the day of our independence been a time, until recently, when a genuine American citizen did not resent the imputation of being a poor man, even if he did not have a dollar in his pocket. He is rich in his inheritance of religious and political liberty, rich in his confidence of manhood, and he was rich in opportunities to acquire wealth until deprived of them by legislation in the interest of corporate trusts and monopolies and of the manipulators of the world's standard of values, who aimed to prevent the masses from rising above the condition of poverty in order that their own accumulations might acquire greater value.

The time has not yet come when the American people will permit the plea of poverty to be entered in their behalf by trust magnates as an argument in favor of the continuance of trust methods. The same assertions that are made in behalf of the trusts might be repeated with equal force in favor of the establishment of a monarchy and the creation of orders of nobility, to be composed of the individuals who are so fond of prating about their regard for the welfare of the "poor people."

All that the American people want for themselves is a fair field and no favor. In business, as well as in politics, they believe that they can govern themselves better than any self-constituted dictators can govern them. The history of the American people demonstrates that this belief is well founded. One State after another, in obedience to the will of the people, has declared unlawful all trusts and combinations in restraint of trade.

The Congress of the United States so declared seven years ago by the passage of the act of June, 1890, which was Senate bill No. 1 of the Fifty-first Congress. The Supreme Court only recently affirmed the application of that act to combinations among railroad corporations. It remains for this Congress to enforce the provisions of the antitrust act of 1890 by providing an efficient penalty for its violation through the adoption of the amendment to the tariff act which I have proposed.

The future may develop that even this remedy may not avail, and that other remedies are required to be tried, but it seems to me that this remedy will be most effective and efficient, for I do not believe that the trusts in this country will undertake to continue, and thus deprive themselves of the exclusive control of the American market; but if this remedy does not avail, there have been many suggestions upon this subject, and I will briefly note two or three of them.

It has been suggested, first, that absolute publicity of accounts under Government control and audit must be insisted upon, as is coming to be done in a feeble way by railroads. This is the view of two eminent students of the problem, Prof. Henry C. Adams, of the University of Michigan, statistician of the Interstate Commerce Commission, and by Von Halle, in a work on Trusts, published by Macmillan & Co. in 1895.

It is the interesting suggestion of Professor Jenks, of Cornell University, that stock exchanges should not be allowed to list any of the securities of capitalistic monopolies without publishing most complete and sworn returns of the cost of construction, of capitalization, cost of products, etc., and that no stock shall be issued in excess of the actual investment.

The prohibition of factors' agreements. The New York senate trust committee, in its valuable report (obtainable, probably, from the secretary of state of New York), fully describes, on pages 22–25, inclusive, these agreements.

The control by a national commission of maximum charges, and the prohibition, some way, of discrimination in charges in towns or counties contiguous to each other. That is, it might be possible to prevent a trust from charging more in one place than in another except by the amount of the difference of freight rates. One of the great weapons of the Standard Oil and the meat trusts is to ruin competitors by reducing the rates in a place below what the same company is charging in neighboring places.

METHODS OF ROBBERY PURSUED BY THE STANDARD OIL TRUST.

There comes to my mind in this connection a very interesting illustration. In Colorado there are oil wells. Petroleum exists there in inexhaustible quantities and of excellent quality. An oil refinery was constructed at a cost of $2,000,000. That company was engaged in supplying that country with oil, when one day the Standard Oil Company began business in Pueblo and in other towns in Colorado, and sold oil at 5 cents a gallon until they wrecked and ruined the Colorado refinery and closed its doors.

The day after that was done the Standard Oil Company raised the price of their oil to 25 cents a gallon and continued to sell it at that price until they had made an immense profit and recouped the loss they had previously sustained, and to-day they charge 20 cents a gallon for their oil. In my own town an independent oil company began selling oil, and it was selling it at 8 cents a gallon,

for the trust had put it down to that price, and yet the independent company was able to live and did live and continued for two years of time.

Finally one day they sold out to the trust; and from that day to this we have been paying 16 cents a gallon for oil. It is argued that we can not protect ourselves against these things. Certainly, Mr. President, if we can not, our institutions totter to a fall. What is this but socialism in the most odious form?

PUBLIC OWNERSHIP.

If these remedies fail, we must resort, unless others are found, to the last remedy, that of public ownership.

This may take the form of public ownership of such natural sources of supply as anthracite coal mines and oil wells, or possibly the leasing of their operation to private companies; or it may take the form of public ownership and operation of all industries that have become practical monopolies. This remedy begins to loom up as a distant possibility, but is as yet too remote a contingency to come within the domain of practical politics. But of one thing we can rest assured, socialism is preferable to despotism, and the right of each citizen to enjoy the products of his toil must be maintained if we are to maintain our institutions.

Mr. President, the history of the past teaches this lesson. Shall we follow the course of all other peoples in the past, or shall we begin a new era? When was it that Rome was destroyed? When the original landed proprietors became paupers; when her farms became great estates. In the days of Cincinnatus 12 acres sufficed for each family; farms of 12 acres, owned by freemen, surrounded the walls of Rome, and no hostile legions could reach the city. When Rome fell, the individual proprietor was gone; the usurer had taken the land; the Roman citizen had been sold into slavery, and was toiling as a slave upon the estate a part of which he was once the proud owner.

The legions of Goths and Vandals that marched to the walls of Rome would have been scattered like chaff before the legions of Cæsar recruited from the farms of Italy. So it will be with us if we allow the usurer to further fasten his grasp upon our people. If we continue this organization of capital, by which those who can not combine are deprived of the products of their toil, I say the end is near.

Our last census shows that the earnings of 54 per cent of our people are less than $100 per year per capita. How near we come to European conditions, if $100 per capita by 54 per cent of our people is all they can earn and consume; and yet we stand upon this floor and boast about the high wages of the American toiler. It is well to review the last census, which shows that 250,000 men own forty-four billion dollars of the wealth of the United States and 52 per cent do not own their homes and have no property whatever.

These problems, Mr. President, are pertinent. We can no longer satisfy the American people by quarreling and by fighting a sham battle over schedules in a tariff bill. We have done that for the last several years, with first one party in power and then the other, until to-day the tariff issue has fled from our politics. Last week it was demonstrated more than ever before that you can no longer divide the American people upon a question of schedules in a tariff. Other and mightier questions now do and must in the future divide parties and press for solution.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President, in view of the remarks made this morning by the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. ALLEN] and the remarks just made by the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. PETTIGREW], I desire to suggest that in the Forty-seventh Congress, second session, there was a report, No. 1013, made from the Committee on Finance by the present distinguished chairman of that committee, together with a short minority report, agreeing with the majority in their conclusions, but giving certain reasons in justification thereof. As that report bears directly upon the Hawaiian treaty, and is not very long, and is practically out of print, I suggest that it be printed as a document for the use of the Senate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. CARTER in the chair). In the absence of objection, it will be so ordered.

The question is on the amendment proposed by the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. LINDSAY].

Mr. LINDSAY. On that I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. THURSTON. Let the amendment be stated, Mr. President.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In paragraph 206, page 63, line 13, after the word "Sugars," it is proposed to strike out the words "not above No. 16 Dutch standard in color;" and also, after the word "proportion," in line 19, to strike out down to and including the word "pound," in line 23, as follows:

And on sugar above No. 16 Dutch standard in color, and on all sugar which has gone through a process of refining, 1 cent and ninety-five one-hundredths of 1 cent per pound.

So as to read:

Sugars, tank bottoms, sirups of cane juice, melada, concentrated melada concrete and concentrated molasses, testing by the polariscope not above 75 degrees, 1 cent per pound, and for every additional degree shown by the polariscopic test, three one-hundredths of 1 cent per pound additional, and fractions of a degree in proportion; molasses testing above 40 degrees and not above 56 degrees, 3 cents per gallon, etc.

The Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. DANIEL (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. HANSBROUGH]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. HARRIS of Kansas (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. CLARK]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. MALLORY (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROCTOR]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. MITCHELL (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SEWELL]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. MORGAN (when his name was called). I am paired with the senior Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. QUAY]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. TURNER (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. WARREN]. As I do not see him in the Chamber, I withhold my vote.

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. BATE. I wish to state that my colleague [Mr. HARRIS of Tennessee] is absent temporarily. He is paired with the Senator from Vermont [Mr. MORRILL]. My colleague, if present, would vote "yea."

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I have a general pair with the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE]. I transfer that pair to the Senator from Colorado [Mr. TELLER], and vote "yea."

Mr. CULLOM. I have a general pair with the senior Senator from Delaware [Mr. GRAY]. My colleague [Mr. MASON] being absent and, I believe, not paired, I take the liberty of transferring my pair with the Senator from Delaware to my colleague and vote. I vote "nay."

Mr. HARRIS of Kansas. I am requested to announce that the junior Senator from Delaware [Mr. KENNEY] is paired with the junior Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. PENROSE].

Mr. CLAY (after having voted in the affirmative). I am paired with the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE]. I see he is not present, and I withdraw my vote.

Mr. CULLOM. The Senator from Florida [Mr. PASCO] states that my colleague [Mr. MASON] is paired with the Senator from Virginia [Mr. MARTIN] and that the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. WARREN] is paired with the Senator from Washington [Mr. TURNER]. If agreeable to the Senator from Washington, the Senator from Delaware and the Senator from Wyoming may stand paired, and we may both vote.

Mr. TURNER. Very well.

Mr. CULLOM. I have cast my vote in the negative.

Mr. TURNER. I vote "yea."

Mr. MANTLE. I have a general pair with the Senator from Virginia [Mr. MARTIN]. That pair has been transferred to the Senator from Illinois [Mr. MASON]. I therefore am at liberty to vote, and I vote "yea."

Mr. HOAR. My colleague [Mr. LODGE] was compelled to leave Washington by ill health. If he were present, he would vote "nay."

The result was announced—yeas 27, nays 29; as follows:

YEAS—27.

Allen,	Cockrell,	Mills,	Tillman,
Bacon,	Faulkner,	Pasco,	Turner,
Bate,	Heitfeld,	Pettigrew,	Turpie,
Berry,	Jones, Ark.	Pettus,	Vest,
Butler,	Lindsay,	Rawlins,	Walthall,
Caffery,	McLaurin,	Roach,	White.
Chilton,	Mantle,	Smith,	

NAYS—29.

Allison,	Fairbanks,	McBride,	Spooner,
Baker,	Foraker,	McEnery,	Stewart,
Burrows,	Frye,	McMillan,	Thurston,
Carter,	Gear,	Perkins,	Wetmore,
Cullom,	Hanna,	Platt, Conn.	Wilson.
Davis,	Hawley,	Platt, N. Y.	
Deboe,	Hoar,	Pritchard,	
Elkins,	Jones, Nev.	Shoup,	

NOT VOTING—33.

Aldrich,	Gray,	Martin,	Quay,
Cannon,	Hale,	Mason,	Sewell,
Chandler,	Hansbrough,	Mitchell,	Teller,
Clark,	Harris, Kans.	Morgan,	Warren,
Clay,	Harris, Tenn.	Morrill,	Wellington,
Daniel,	Kenney,	Murphy,	Wolcott.
Gallinger,	Kyle,	Nelson,	
George,	Lodge,	Penrose,	
Gorman,	Mallory,	Proctor,	

So the amendment was rejected.

Mr. MILLS subsequently said: I wish to withdraw my vote and to announce my pair. I thought the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. GALLINGER], with whom I am paired, was present, but I have learned that he was not, and I therefore wish to withdraw

my vote. If the Senator from New Hampshire had been here, I should have voted for the amendment.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the withdrawal of the vote of the Senator from Texas? The Chair hears none.

Mr. BUTLER subsequently said: On the last yea-and-nay vote, the vote upon the amendment of the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. LINDSAY], I voted without observing that the Senator from Maryland [Mr. WELLINGTON], with whom I have a general pair, was not present. The result was announced with my vote standing, and he was absent. My vote did not affect the result, but I ask unanimous consent that I may withdraw it. I wish to take whatever action I can to protect my pair.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from North Carolina?

Mr. PETTUS. The request was not heard on this side of the Chamber.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. He voted by mistake. The Chair hears no objection, and leave is given to the Senator from North Carolina to withdraw his vote.

Mr. MILLS. I move to strike out section 206 and insert what I send to the desk in lieu thereof.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to strike out paragraph 206 and to insert in lieu thereof the following:

206. Sugar, tank bottoms, sirups of cane juice or beet juice, melada, concentrated melada, concrete and concentrated molasses, 40 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. This is the rate of the present law, the Wilson Act, 40 per cent.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Texas.

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. HOAR. I now propose the amendment of which I gave notice the other day, to come in at the end of the paragraph.

The SECRETARY. At the end of paragraph 206 it is proposed to insert the following proviso:

Provided, That the President of the United States shall appoint a commission, to consist of five persons, who shall report to Congress at its next regular session concerning the condition of the industry of producing and refining sugar in the United States; and what policy is best adapted to procuring a sufficient supply of sugar for the people of the United States at the least cost, and to encourage and promote the raising in the United States of a sufficient supply of sugar for domestic consumption; and what amount of duty on imports of sugar is necessary to enable the business of refining sugar in the United States to be conducted at a reasonable and moderate profit; and also what amount of duty upon such imports is expedient, having reference to raising a sufficient revenue to provide for the public expenditure; and to report such facts in regard to the business of producing and refining sugar, and whether the same is so conducted as to enable persons interested therein to exercise an improper control over the market; and such other facts as they may consider important and pertinent to the subject-matter of their inquiry; no more than three members of said commission to belong to the same political party.

Mr. HOAR. Mr. President, I do not wish to detain the Senate by any remarks upon this subject except to make one or two suggestions on the proposition that the sugar schedule ought properly to be the subject of a separate commission, to be dealt with by itself. This amendment does not raise the question of the wisdom or propriety of a general commission on the subject of a protective tariff. In regard to that, though some very worthy men favor it, there are, to say the least, some very great difficulties. If such a policy be ever adopted, it must be adopted after long and very careful consideration. The matter of the duty on sugar has been the bête noire of all persons concerned in the fiscal affairs of this country and England for nearly one hundred and fifty years.

I happened to see a collection of English political pamphlets covering the time of the administration of Lord Chatham, the time of our old French war and coming down to the time of the Revolution and the Napoleonic wars, and there is an immense mass of speeches, tracts, and essays on the sugar question; and you would almost think, on reading a great many of the very ablest of them, that you were reading a speech of the honorable Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST] or the honorable Senator from Arkansas [Mr. JONES]. There is the same discussion of these perplexing subtleties, the same accusation of there being an improper influence by wealthy persons having special interests. That has been going on all the time there. It has been going on here certainly during the framing of the last half dozen tariff bills, and it will go on to the end of time unless a day comes when we make our own sugar and supply sugar ourselves. Then it will cease.

I suppose everybody remembers the anecdote in the life of Lord Chatham, of the dramatic and theatrical way in which he pronounced the words "sugar, Mr. Speaker," when he was William Pitt and in the House of Commons. I do not believe that any considerable portion of the American people, whatever the newspapers or anybody to be considered in the Senate may say, have any belief that the gentlemen on either side of the Chamber who have been concerned in the framing of tariff bills for the last few years have had any desire except to solve the difficult problem of the duty on sugar in the manner which is for the best interests of the country.

Of course they have had their theories about the protective policy, of the policy of a tariff for revenue, or free trade, and those theories have brought them to different practical conclusions. But the desire to find out what this great product ought to bear as its proportion of the expense of the country, what is a fair and just provision, having reference to the needs and exigencies of our revenues, and to provide and get at that without the slightest respect for persons, the slightest desire to get the favor of this great trust, I believe, has actuated both parties in the Senate.

It would be ridiculous to impute any other motive to the honorable Senator from Arkansas [Mr. JONES] and the honorable Senator from Texas [Mr. MILLS] and the honorable Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST], who framed what is known as the Wilson Act; and if all three of those Senators were to express themselves on the subject, they would say it is as ridiculous to impute any other motive to the gentlemen who have framed the bill which we are now considering. But the trouble is that those gentlemen are themselves perplexed and doubtful.

If the Senator from Arkansas were to relate the history of the framing of the tariff bill which became the law in 1894, he would tell you of his own doubts, of his own changes of mind, after he supposed he had once come to a conclusion, and of the questions which he had to discuss with political friends of his own, equally honest and equally intelligent with himself or with anybody. The gentlemen who make these tariffs come to the consideration of this, which is one of the most profound and subtle questions in all finance, when a thousand other cares and interests are distracting their attention, with wearied-out and overburdened minds, with a burden of care which has broken down already one of the members of the committee and sent him home sick, which has broken down more than one of the Senators who are not upon the committee at all, but have merely had the duty of looking after the interests of their own constituents in the tariff bill; and so it is impossible to deal with this great subject in the way it deserves.

I believe the President can command the services of gentlemen for this especial purpose who would not lay aside their own large interests to hold any political office or to undertake such a jurisdiction and function with reference to the entire field of tariff legislation. They can command the ablest experts in the country. They can settle a great many of these questions. They can give us in a compact form a clear statement of the condition of things in regard to many of the subjects which have to be discussed, and they can put before us in a way that nobody can deny, nobody can impugn, nobody can charge as being the result of political passion or prejudice, the mode of business and the profits of the persons who are engaged in refining sugar. They can tell us what other countries are doing and what we ought to be doing in the matter of the great agricultural interest of raising beets.

Some Senators or some newspapers say we do nothing for agriculture. Mr. President, if you had in your hand the wand of a magician and could compel anything in the way of wealth or prosperity to spring up at its touch, you could not accomplish for agriculture any benefit like that which you could accomplish if you could cause the farmers of this country to raise the material for supplying this country with its sugar. Certainly next to the blessing which Providence gave us when we found these great and virgin wheat fields, ready for the cultivation of the immigrants, would be the benefit of such a condition as I have described, and that benefit can be accomplished and wrought by wise and judicious and bold legislation. I wish I could see both parties in this country eager and emulous in rivaling each other without political division to accomplish and bring about that great boon to the people of the Northwest.

Mr. President, as I said, we have implicit confidence in our committees. There is not a Senator in this Chamber who would rise in his place and express the slightest doubt of the absolute integrity of purpose and desire of the gentlemen who have framed this bill for the Senate, any more than we would of the gentlemen who framed the bill a few years ago; and although there are some utterances in the press and in speeches suggesting that there may be a doubt about that subject and that the sugar trust may be bribing this, that, or the other person, they are suggestions which are met in the minds of the serious, sober, and honest men of this country of all parties and all sections with the most absolute contempt. But at the same time, as I have said, the committees doubt themselves. If you were to ask the old Democratic committee to come and frame a sugar schedule for us to-day, and they brought one in to-morrow morning, if they were to spend a week over it, they would bring in another or some modification.

Now, let us have this one subject removed from the path of politics, if we can. We have to settle it for the present as well as we can in the pending schedule. But when we have done it, let us commit this to a body of five men, on which the President will put the ablest Democratic financier and statesman and the greatest Populist financier and statesman he can find. Let us have the result in their judgment of the whole subject.

A Senator has suggested to me in private that to have an entire

tariff commission would in the first place delay enormously the work upon this one subject, and in the next place it would involve a thousand considerations and policies which are not applicable to it.

Mr. THURSTON. May I ask the Senator from Massachusetts a question?

Mr. HOAR. Certainly.

Mr. THURSTON. Do I understand that the Senator from Massachusetts is urging an amendment of his own here which has not been reported by the Finance Committee?

Mr. HOAR. I do not understand that this is an amendment which relates to any duty or section. I submitted it to the Finance Committee and have their approbation of it.

Mr. ALLISON. The amendment was submitted to me here and I glanced it over, neither giving it my approbation or otherwise.

Mr. HOAR. Very well.

Mr. ALLISON. I did not see any special objection to it, but I trust the Senator from Massachusetts will at least give the Finance Committee an opportunity to look into it as a committee. I hope for the present he will withdraw it.

Mr. HOAR. Let it be referred.

Mr. ALLISON. The committee have before them several propositions respecting commissions. They have one covering the entire tariff question, and surely it seems to me it would be wise to postpone the consideration of so important a question as this until we can consider the whole subject. I hope the Senator from Massachusetts will withdraw his amendment.

Mr. HOAR. Certainly. I submitted it to the Senator in charge of the bill, and he made the reply which he has said. I supposed the committee were aware that I intended to propose the amendment, and that if they had preferred that I should postpone it they would have said so.

Mr. ALLISON. I was not aware that the Senator intended to propose it. The committee have four or five hundred amendments before them, and it has not been practical for them under the circumstances to examine all of them.

Mr. HOAR. I proposed it Friday. One member of the committee suggested that the schedule was not then disposed of, or the particular paragraph, I think. I withdrew it and said I would propose it later. Probably the Senator from Iowa did not hear what took place. I move that the amendment be referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. President——

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Massachusetts to refer the amendment to the Committee on Finance.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I wish to make a suggestion in connection with this matter. Some years ago a proposition was made to take the whole tariff question out of politics and refer it to a commission. It was a Republican movement. The commission was appointed, the tariff question was investigated, and the commission recommended a reduction of 20 per cent all along the line. Instead of being acted on after it came in, it was incontinently thrown aside and did no good whatever, and, as a rule, it made the impression on gentlemen who think as I do, who have the same politics that I have, that the whole purpose of the movement was for delay, without accomplishing any good.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Does the Senator from Arkansas refer to the commission which sat in 1883?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I do.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. That commission was appointed upon a resolution introduced by my predecessor in the Senate, Mr. Eaton. It was not a Republican measure at all.

Mr. MILLS. The commission was created by act of Congress.

Mr. LINDSAY. I desire to ask what action was taken on the motion to refer the amendment?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment was referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. LINDSAY. I rose for the purpose of objecting.

Mr. TILLMAN. Mr. President, I have the greatest respect for the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR], and there is no man on either side of the Chamber for whose integrity of purpose and honesty and patriotism I have more respect. The Senator has been here so long and perhaps has been fretted so much by adverse newspaper criticism that he has grown callous and perhaps is not in touch with the masses of the American people. That may account for his utterance a moment ago, that the best people of this country on both sides, without regard to party, treat with contempt the insinuations and accusations which have been brought against the integrity of the Senate in framing the sugar schedule.

Mr. President, if there is one thing of which I am convinced it is that not one in a hundred of the American people is satisfied but that there has been corruption and rottenness in the framing of the sugar schedules in the two tariff bills, the one which is now the law and the one which is under consideration. It is about three weeks, I believe, or nearly three weeks, since I offered a resolution here asking for an investigation of these charges. Men who are permitted to go into the press gallery and who are given the privilege to sit there and hear our debates and send out their reports have over their own signatures charged directly that Senators are speculating in sugar stock, that Senators are in touch with the sugar barons, Searles, Havemeyer, and others, and when we consider the circumstantial evidence, the fact that there is a trust, a monopoly which notoriously and avowedly controls the American market and levies tribute upon the consumers as it pleases, and that the American people are helpless in the grasp of this octopus, which has throttled our freedom here in one sense, through the instrumentality of the Senate, I say, sir, that any Senator who undertakes to say that the American people are treating contemptuously these charges against this high body is entirely mistaken.

The people want an investigation. They want these charges cleared up. They want the men who are under accusation cleared and the reputation of the Senate restored, or else they want the men who have slandered the Senate punished and denied the privilege of coming in here to slander us. If those men have lied on us, then it ought to be shown up. If they can prove the charges which they have made, the Senate should act. I was going to offer an amendment that the commission (which, of course, could be honest and honorable or it could not be, according to the men selected) should take into the scope of its investigation not only the question how sugar is refined and what is a reasonable and proper tariff to protect American labor and capital against foreign competition, but whether the sugar trust has used undue means, improper methods to control legislation, and to get at the root of how it is and why it is that the American Senate can not touch sugar without being contaminated.

Mr. HOAR. Mr. President, I desire simply to say that I remain of my original opinion. We have heard a great deal of talk about the masses of the American people. Some people seem to have an idea that down beyond and below the ken of ordinary men, the men who get their living by honest work, who do their duty as honest citizens, is a great seething mass of humanity, which they speak of as masses, and which is moved and stirred by different motives and different opinions and ideas than those of persons with whom we deal.

I know through and through the character, the purposes, and the opinions of the men who get their living on the farms and in the workshops of Massachusetts. I am sprung from a race of Massachusetts yeomen. My friends and kinsmen and acquaintances and supporters, the men who think with me on questions of politics and social questions and religious questions, are of that class. I know what they are thinking about, if I know anything.

And I know something of the men who have built up those thirty-three great manufacturing cities that shine like resplendent jewels in her diadem. They are simple, sincere, honest, patriotic, liberty-loving, country-loving, God-fearing men. They think no evil; and, so far as they are concerned, appeals to vile prejudices and vile passions, general railing accusations, without specification either of man or of witness or fact, fall upon their ears as upon deaf ears.

Mr. TILLMAN. Will the Senator allow me?

Mr. HOAR. In a moment.

Mr. President, the kind of men who make up the laborers on the farms and in the workshops of the State of Massachusetts are the kind of men who are all over the country. There is not any great difference in the character or quality of American citizenship. Their children and kinsmen have settled the prairies of the West, and have gone to the Pacific and are building up a new empire to look out upon Asia as the empire of one hundred years ago that our fathers built looked out toward Europe. They are building there a larger, a more intelligent, a more powerful, a more glorious, and a wealthier New England. They are to have there the streets of a more cultured Boston, the halls of a more learned Harvard, the workshops of a busier Worcester.

The same thing which New England has done for the West, Virginia and the old States, with their glorious history, have done, are doing, and will do hereafter for the more southern parallels of latitude.

There is not a more glorious history of republican liberty and republican wisdom which ever could be written on this planet than the history of the great Commonwealth of Virginia, which is now so honorably represented in this body. I think I know, not from contact but from study, something of the opinion and the character and the temper of the people of that section of the country also. Whatever may have been their opinions or their errors in regard to some constitutional questions, they are an honest as they are a brave people; and the character of that people is impressed upon the men who represent them in this and the other House. And I hold that these charges upon this great body are not only preposterous, but I think they are infamous.

Now I will listen to the Senator from South Carolina.

Mr. TILLMAN. I desire to state that as to the seething mass of ignorance which the Senator designates as the masses——

Mr. HOAR. That I utterly deny. I said the notion that such a thing existed was a mistake.

Mr. TILLMAN. Well.

Mr. HOAR. I said there was no such thing in this country. That is what I said. My language is not to be perverted.

Mr. TILLMAN. I do not want to pervert your statement. I am merely trying to get at the honest interpretation of your words. You are the last man I would undertake to misrepresent to his face.

As I understood the Senator, he seemed to think that he knows as much about the masses as I do. While I claim no special mission here as a representative of the masses, I do claim to have come here much more recently than the Senator; to be a farmer; to have received thousands of letters from my fellow-farmers all over the North and West and South, hundreds within the last ten days, since this resolution to investigate the sugar fraud or sugar scandal was introduced here; and I know that the American people do not consider the charges infamous unless we will prove them so by bringing the witnesses to the bar of the Senate and making them answer the questions which we now have a right to ask. To hide behind the Senatorial toga and say we are so pure and high and noble that we can not be investigated is a confession of guilt before the people. That is what it is, and they so consider it; and they will consider the Senate disgraced if it lies under the accusation already affirmed by respectable correspondents over their own signatures and dare not investigate.

To go one step further, Mr. President, I said when I introduced the resolution that I had no personal animosity against any man or any set of men. I was absolutely impartial in my discussion of the subject, in calling attention to the fact that in 1894 the accusations lay against the Democratic Finance Committee, while recently they lie against the Republican Finance Committee, and that it did not matter which committee was interested or involved, the same charge—that the sugar trust controls the Senate and could get any differential it wanted—led the American people to believe that bribery was abroad and that men here, either directly or indirectly or as attorneys or something else, were receiving undue compensation and dishonorable money.

I believe it, and I have asked for an investigation. I have had information furnished me which says that they will prove that Senators have speculated in sugar stock. If they do not furnish it, they are liars. Until you give them the opportunity to prove it you are convicted by your own action of being afraid to investigate for fear you will find that you have in your midst bribe takers and corrupt men.

Mr. LINDSAY. In paragraph 206, page 63, line 22, I move to strike out "ninety-five one-hundredths" and to insert in lieu thereof "eight-tenths;" so as to read:

On all sugar which has gone through a process of refining, 1 cent and eight-tenths of 1 cent per pound.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Kentucky.

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. President, if this amendment be adopted, there will be no question about the sugar refiner receiving a differential of 5 cents on each 100 pounds in addition to the 38 cents to be paid him or to be paid by the importer for his benefit on account of the export duties paid by the German Government to those who export refined sugars from that country to the United States.

If you take 96 degrees polariscopic test, it will leave a difference of 17 cents on the hundred pounds between raw sugar and refined sugar, and that is more than the differential under the existing tariff law.

I find that under the tariff law as it now exists the American Sugar Refining Company declares annually upon $37,500,000 of common stock 12 per cent dividend, and upon $37,500,000 of preferred stock 7 per cent dividend, making an average upon its capital stock of $75,000,000 of 9½ per cent profits each year.

Out of seventy-seven stocks representing railroads and industrial corporations reported by Henry Clews there is not a single stock that pays such dividends as are being paid by the sugar refining company. It is a clear case, therefore, that this industry, under existing law, is receiving benefits under our revenue system that it ought not to receive, even if it be admitted that the $75,000,000 of stock represents $75,000,000 of cash actually invested in the enterprise; and no man pretends that it represents more than half that amount of cash. Take the actual money invested in this combination at $37,500,000, and it is paying to-day 19 per cent in the way of dividends—dividends such as are not approximated by any other industry whose stocks are reported this week by Henry Clews & Co.

Now, the Senator from Massachusetts proposes that we shall send out a committee to ascertain certain facts. I submit to the Senate that concerning the existence of those facts there is no dispute. When this committee comes back and reports, it can not report anything else than is conceded on all sides by the sugar trust and those who defend it. It is to inquire, first—

What policy is best adapted to procuring a sufficient supply of sugar for the people of the United States at the least cost, and to encourage and promote the raising in the United States of a sufficient supply of sugar for domestic consumption.

This Senate has settled the last inquiry, that the way to secure a sufficient supply for domestic consumption is to encourage the sugar industry by protection such as has never been given to any other industry. Why inquire, when that question has been considered and settled? Why send out a commission to ascertain and report a fact which has been already considered and decided by the Congress of the United States? Further—

What amount of duty on imports of sugar is necessary to enable the business of refining sugar in the United States to be conducted at a reasonable and moderate profit.

We know what the existing duties are. We know that under those existing duties the sugar-refining industry each year realizes inordinate and extortionate profits upon the business at the expense of the people of the country; and when the Senate comes to act upon the proposition, what shall be done in the face of conceded facts, the Senate increases the protection given to the sugar trust and thereby declares in favor of increasing its profits.

Mr. HOAR. May I ask the Senator from Kentucky a question?

Mr. LINDSAY. Yes, sir.

Mr. HOAR. What amount of duty, in his judgment, is necessary to enable the business of refining sugar to be conducted at a reasonable profit?

Mr. LINDSAY. My judgment is, not a single cent of duty in excess of that which is levied upon the raw product.

Mr. HOAR. What amount of duty, absolutely, without any regard to what may be done with the raw product?

Mr. LINDSAY. You have decided that the revenue necessities of the country determine that $1.75 on each 100 pounds of sugar is necessary.

Mr. HOAR. But the Senator does not accept that decision. I want to know what he thinks is necessary.

Mr. LINDSAY. I say 40 per cent ad valorem, without any differential whatever, will enable the sugar industry to thrive and enable the sugar-refining business to live.

Mr. HOAR. Does not the Senator think 30 per cent ad valorem would do it?

Mr. LINDSAY. I am willing to try it.

Mr. HOAR. Does the Senator think 30 per cent ad valorem would be a sufficient rate?

Mr. LINDSAY. I prefer leaving that question to those engaged in the industry. I know by the experience of the last three years that 40 per cent is abundant.

Mr. HOAR. My honorable friend does not quite answer my question. I do not want to press it unduly, but I ask him if he thinks 30 per cent would do it?

Mr. LINDSAY. I think it would.

Mr. HOAR. Does he think 20 per cent would?

Mr. LINDSAY. But it is not a question of 30 per cent.

Mr. HOAR. Will the Senator be kind enough to tell me if he thinks 20 per cent ad valorem would be enough?

Mr. LINDSAY. That is a method of cross-examination to which I do not think I ought to submit.

Mr. HOAR. I will state what I wanted to get at, if the Senator will pardon me.

Mr. LINDSAY. Yes.

Mr. HOAR. Will he tell us the lowest amount of protection ad valorem that he thinks would do it? I do not want to put half a dozen questions. I want to get——

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Mr. President——

Mr. HOAR. No, no. I want to know if the Senator will tell us the lowest that he thinks will do it.

Mr. LINDSAY. I will say that 30 per cent will do it and has done it. In my opinion, that would be ample protection.

Mr. HOAR. Now, will the Senator tell me whether 20 per cent will do it?

Mr. LINDSAY. The Senator would then ask me if I thought 15 would.

Mr. HOAR. Certainly.

Mr. LINDSAY. And then if I thought 10 would.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. If the Senator will permit me——

Mr. HOAR. Allow me one minute. It is very obvious that the Senator from Kentucky himself does not know and has not an opinion as to what is the lowest practicable limit.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I only ask the Senator from Massachusetts to look at the proposition fairly. His question submitted to the Senator from Kentucky was what difference there should be between the tariff on the raw and the refined sugars to enable the refiners to live.

Mr. HOAR. No; I did not ask that question.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. What was the Senator's question?

Mr. HOAR. What amount of duty would enable the business of refining sugar to be conducted in this country at a reasonable and moderate profit? I did not say anything about raw sugar or manufactured sugar.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Very well. I understand the Senator from Kentucky answered the same that was levied on the raw. That was a distinct and plain answer, which would apply to any rate that could be imposed. He meant if you put 40 per cent on raw, 40 per cent would be the rate on the refined. If you put 50 per cent on the raw, it would be 50 on the refined, and no more.

Mr. HOAR. Suppose raw was free.

Mr. LINDSAY. Then nothing.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Then, in his opinion, the refined should be free. That was the effect of his answer. It was plain.

Mr. HOAR. I did not ask the Senator whether he thought it should be free. I asked him whether the business could be conducted at a reasonable and moderate profit at a particular duty.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. His answer was that it required no additional tariff above that on raw to make the interest succeed, and that was a clear and distinct business answer.

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. Havemeyer stated in 1880 that if you would give him free sugar he needed no protection whatever. He said that he would undersell the English in their own markets if you would give him free sugar. In 1890 the Republican party gave the sugar trust free sugar, and in the face of the statement of Mr. Havemeyer that he needed no protection whatever, it gave to the sugar trust 50 cents on each 100 pounds of sugar by way of a subsidy to it. As was said this morning, the bill came over from the House with 40 cents on each 100 pounds, and for some reason, which the Republican side of the Chamber can probably explain, it was raised from 40 to 50 cents on the hundred pounds.

Three years ago the Senator did not think the sugar industry needed any such encouragement or any such protection as it is now proposed to give it. The original report from the Finance Committee in 1893 as to the tax on sugar was as follows:

All sugars, tank bottoms, sirups of cane juice or of beet juice, melada, concentrated melada, concrete and concentrated molasses testing by the polariscope not above 80 degrees shall pay a duty of 1 cent per pound, and for every additional degree or fraction of a degree above 80 degrees and not above 90 degrees shown by the polariscope test, shall pay one one-hundreth of a cent per pound additional, and above 90 degrees and not above 96 degrees, for every additional degree or fraction of a degree shown by the polariscope test, shall pay a duty of two one-hundredths of a cent per pound additional, and upon all sugar testing above 96 degrees by polariscope test, or above No. 16 by the Dutch standard in color, there shall be levied and collected a duty of one-eighth of 1 cent per pound in addition to the duty imposed upon sugars testing above 96 degrees.

Afterwards the committee fell upon the ad valorem principle and reported that portion of the bill which is now a law. The junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] moved to substitute for that provision the original report of the committee. On the call of the yeas and nays every Senator on the other side of the Chamber voted in favor of it, and my friend from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] voted in favor of it.

The pending bill commences with a cent at 75 degrees, and adds three-tenths of a cent for every additional degree. Three years ago the other side of the Chamber was in favor of giving to the sugar industry a tariff at the rate of 1 cent a pound for 80 degrees, and an additional one-hundredth of a cent up to 96 degrees, and then two hundredths of a cent above, and one-eighth of a cent differential. If in 1893 that was all the protection the sugar industry ought to have had, how is it that in 1897 it is indispensable that we shall give to it nearly 50 per cent more protection than was then necessary? At 1.80, or 1 cent and eight-tenths, the differential will be 17 cents, ample to pay the difference of expense in converting raw into refined sugar. Under the present law less than 170,000,000 pounds of refined sugar found its way into the American market, against 3,600,000,000 pounds consumed by the American people. The present tariff is almost a tariff of exclusion, and this bill as it now stands, if enacted into law, will be a tariff of absolute exclusion.

Let us see how the refined sugar from foreign countries gets into this country at all and finds a market. I read from the Journal of Commerce of last Friday the New York market:

Granulated sugar, American, sold by the American Sugar Refinery at 4¼ cents per pound.

And the sugar of every American refinery sold at the same price. But when you come to the foreign sugar, it sold at from 4¼ to 4⅛ cents a pound, three-eighths of a cent less in the market than the American refined sugar sold at. Therefore no foreigner can now bring his sugar here and sell it in competition with the protected sugar of the sugar trust under the existing law unless he underbids the sugar trust, and with the willingness to underbid the trust, last year only 170,000,000 pounds were brought in out of a consumption of 3,600,000,000 pounds.

In the face of all, the Senate, true to its instincts, true to its history, in 1890, instead of reducing or accepting the protection given by the House of Representatives, has increased the protection given by the House of Representatives. One cent and eight hundred and seventy-five thousandths of a cent was just as much as the other House thought ought to be given to the sugar trust on refined sugar. The Senate thinks that 1 cent and ninety-five one-hundredths ought to be given, and it appears from the newspaper accounts of the executive sessions held by our friends on the other side—which are no more secret than the executive sessions which are from time to time held by the Senate—that there are Senators on the other side who believe that the increase from eight hundred and seventy-five thousandths to ninety-five one-hundredths involves a subsidy to the sugar trust of from four to five million dollars a year. Under existing laws, 9½ per cent, or nearly $10,000,000, is paid out to the sugar trust in the way of profits. Under the law as it will be, if the pending bill be adopted, the profits will be from thirteen to fifteen million dollars.

Mr. ALLISON. Mr. President, the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. LINDSAY] now proposes to strike out what has been inserted already in Committee of the Whole and insert eight-tenths or eighty one-hundredths. I shall make a point of order upon that amendment, that we can not strike out what has been inserted and insert something else later on.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Will the Senator allow me to interrupt him right there?

Mr. ALLISON. Yes, sir.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. When this bill was taken up, among the first amendments offered was one involving almost the same point. I then asked the question if technical points were to be made, or if we should have to be careful in offering amendments so as not to forfeit our rights of subsequently offering amendments to amendments which had been adopted. My understanding was that it was stated on the other side of the Chamber that there was to be no technical advantage taken on things of that kind. I respectfully submit, therefore, that a vote ought to be allowed on this amendment if any Senator wants it.

Mr. ALLISON. On the statement of the Senator from Arkansas, I shall not insist on my point.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I think that is fair.

Mr. ALLISON. I intend to deal as fairly as I can, but hereafter when we have taken a vote, as we have on this subject, I think we will never end a question unless we abide by the vote upon it.

Mr. President, I want to say a few words in opposition to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Kentucky, and in order that I may speak intelligently, at least to myself, I want to make some comparisons as to this bill as reported by the Senate Committee on Finance and as to the bill as it came to us from the House of Representatives.

The only change which is of value in this discussion which has been proposed by the Senate Committee on Finance is the change that applies to sugars above No. 16 Dutch standard in color and to refined sugars. We also have proposed—which has not yet been voted upon—that sugars testing 87 degrees by the polariscope and less shall pay one-tenth of a cent less per pound than the sugars above 87. Those two amendments are the only amendments which have been proposed by the Finance Committee to this schedule.

What is the House schedule? The House schedule begins with sugars which test 75 degrees by the polariscope, and fixes the duty upon those sugars at 1 cent a pound. It then has an ascending scale for each degree of the polariscope of three one-hundredths of a cent per pound running through the entire scale. Now, I want to ask Senators why it is that three one-hundredths of a cent is applied to each degree of the polariscope? I want to call the attention of my friend from Kentucky to the answer which I will give, and that is, that it is the result of absolute experiment, as shown not by the value of sugar in the various markets of the world, but as shown by the value of the sugar in the great port of New York, where all sugars are equalized in the local market, whatever may have been the price paid for those sugars in Manila, or in Egypt, or in any of the islands of the sea.

Therefore it was that what is known as the merchants' schedule was established. Who are these merchants? They are a committee of the great merchants of New York, not refiners of sugar, but those who deal with sugar in the markets of the world. They came before the Committee on Ways and Means of the House of Representatives and, as shown in their testimony, they disclosed that these various sugars in bond in the city of New York, including the original market price in the place of production, including the cost of transportation from the place of production to the city of New York, including commissions and all local charges in the place of exportation, and every element which enters into the price of these raw sugars, are all equalized, because they come there to one common market, and you must take that scale which is disclosed in the table presented by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST] as respects these various values of sugar.

When the House of Representatives fixed this scale of three one-hundredths of a cent as a proper ascending scale covering the market value of all these sugars in the great city of New York, they found that scale to be so equally and evenly adjusted that the highest variation was only a fraction of two one-hundredths of a cent on the various grades. In other words, it was an equal and exact equilibrium as respects every ounce of sugar imported into the United States from all the countries outside of our boundaries.

That being the scale, what is the effect of that scale? It is that whether I purchase sugars in the Philippine Islands, whether I purchase them in Egypt, or whether I purchase centrifugal sugars in Cuba or San Domingo, when I get those sugars into the common market of consumption, whether that consumption is for refining or for other purposes, there is an exact equivalent of every class of sugar. Therefore, in the nature of things, there can be no practical profit arising from these sugars to the refiner of sugars; and so it is that this ascending scale, running up from 96 degrees of the polariscope, discloses a duty upon sugar of 1.68 cents per pound as against 1 cent per pound upon sugars that test only 75.

Whilst this is true in the market of New York, I agree that it is not mathematically true as to sugars in other respects. I could have shown, had I not been anxious to secure a vote upon the former amendment proposed by the Senator from Kentucky, that the duty on all the sugars that are used by the refiners of sugar in the United States to the extent of 75 per cent, at least, of those sugars under this schedule, without the differential which is here found, would be more than the duty upon the refined sugars. I made this calculation myself for the purpose of satisfying myself of its absolute accuracy; and I found that sugars testing 95 degrees by the polariscope—and it is well known that all the sugars which are refined by the American refiners are sugars that are imported testing 88 degrees or more, only a few coming in under that test—the large body come in from 95 to 96.

Now, take sugar testing 95 degrees, and the duty by this bill, without the differential upon that sugar, would be $1.75 per hundred pounds and forty-four one-thousandths in addition; in other words, the sugars that are refined in the United States under the scale proposed by the Senator from Kentucky a few moments ago would pay more per pound than would the refined sugars. Sugars testing 96 would pay $1.75 and seventeen one-hundredths; sugars testing 97 would pay $1.75 and twenty-nine one hundredths—speaking only in round numbers—those testing 98, $1.75 and thirty one-hundredths, and those testing 99, $1.75 and twenty-two one-hundredths.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Would the Senator object to stating how he arrives at those figures?

Mr. ALLISON. Certainly not. I was about to state that I arrived at those figures by taking the number of pounds of raw sugar which are required to produce a given number of pounds of refined sugar—that is to say, given the number of pounds of raw sugar that will produce 100 pounds of refined sugar, I find, taking the 95-degree polariscopic test, that it will take 120.54 pounds of raw sugar to make 100 pounds of refined sugar, according to the absolutely accurate test made by Secretary Carlisle as Secretary of the Treasury, and produced by him, as I have been told, after the most accurate calculations of the best chemists and experts obtainable on the sugar question.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Does the Senator mean that to apply to sugar testing 95 degrees?

Mr. ALLISON. I mean that to apply to sugar testing 95 or 96 degrees, or whatever it may be.

Mr. WHITE. I understand the Senator takes the Treasury table heretofore alluded to as No. 102, and from that calculation is made the printed table we have had.

Mr. ALLISON. I do.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. That table shows that it takes 107 pounds of sugar testing 96, instead of 120 pounds.

Mr. ALLISON. I had the table here a moment ago. I find I was mistaken in the statement.

Mr. WHITE. I think the Senator will find the figures otherwise on that test.

Mr. ALLISON. Has the Senator the table which was produced by the Senator from Missouri?

Mr. WHITE. It was put in the RECORD, and will be found on page 1987.

Mr. ALLISON. I had the paper here a moment ago.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Possibly the Senator may have mixed his figures.

Mr. ALLISON. I have not mixed my figures.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. It is the 88 sugar which takes 128 pounds, and not the 96, which takes but 107.

Mr. ALLISON. Not having the table before me, I am not able to quote the figures with absolute accuracy.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I understand the process by which the Senator arrives at his figures.

Mr. ALLISON. I take the 95 sugar, of which it takes 109 pounds and thirty-four one-hundredths, and I find that this bill gives upon that class of raw sugar a higher duty upon 100 pounds than is given by the House bill upon sugars testing 100. I am talking about the bill as it came from the other House. I am undertaking to show, if I can, that as to the amendment proposed by the Senate committee and as to the bill as it came from the House, the difference is only in one single thing, and that is that we allow 1.95 as against 1.875 in the bill as it came from the House, or a difference of 7½ cents a hundred pounds.

Mr. LINDSAY. I submit to the Senator that that increase was the only criticism I made upon the bill as reported by the Senate Committee on Finance.

Mr. ALLISON. But the Senator undertook to show that there was in this bill, by this ascending scale, a benefit to the refiners without reference to what we call the differential.

Mr. LINDSAY. No. I undertook to show that whenever you pass 96 degrees the refiner gets the benefit of your ascending scale. Up to 96 degrees the sugar producer and refiner proceed side by side.

Mr. ALLISON. That is where the Senator is mistaken. I have the absolute calculation here of sugars testing 96, and those sugars necessary to make a pound of refined sugar will be obliged to pay a duty of 1.7517 instead of paying a duty of 1.75, as sugars testing 100 would under this sliding scale. So when the Senator says that there is a protection or differential lying in this scale, running from 75 degrees of the polariscope to 100 degrees, I reply that that protection or differential is not to be seen.

Now I present a table which I have intended for some days to put into the RECORD, and I ask leave to do it now. This table shows the differentials under the bill as it came from the House, under our Senate amendments, and under the present law, and I challenge contradiction when I say that the differential under the existing law is higher and greater than under the schedule that lies before us.

Mr. STEWART. That is, the Senate amendment is less.

Mr. ALLISON. The Senate amendment is less in differential than the existing law. I have here—and I ask that it be inserted in the RECORD—a table showing this, and I challenge a contradiction of the accuracy of this table. Taking the average prices of the refined sugars as shown, not at 2.30, but at 2.47, which is the average value of sugars; taking the German sugars, the first marks, so called, which are the cheapest, and taking the prices of Holland refined and the prices of English refined, and averaging them all, making 2.47, I am tired of the accusation that we have increased here, by 40, 41, 43, 52, and 59 per cent, the protection or the differential to sugar refiners.

The table referred to is as follows:

Degrees.	Price.	Rate.			Differential.		
		Act of 1894.	House.	Proposed Senate.	1894.	House.	Proposed Senate.
	Cents.	*Per ct. Cts.*	*Cts. Per ct.*	*Cts. Per ct.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*
75	88.65	40=35.46	100 =112.89	90=101.5	56.29	40.82	62.99
76	94.84	40=37.94	103 =108.60	93= 98	56.34	38.34	60.32
77	101.04	40=40.42	106 =104.90	96= 95	53.53	35.97	57.76
78	107.22	40=42.88	109 =101.66	99= 92.3	51.80	33.72	55.53
79	113.42	40=45.37	112 = 98.74	102= 89.9	48.14	31.58	53.01
80	119.61	40=47.84	115 = 96.15	105= 87.7	45.59	29.55	50.78
81	125.81	40=50.32	118 = 93.79	108= 85.8	43.12	27.63	48.68
82	132.00	40=52.80	121 = 91.66	111= 84	40.75	25.83	46.69
83	138.19	40=55.28	124 = 89.93	114= 82.5	38.48	23.94	44.61
84	144.38	40=57.75	127 = 87.96	117= 81	36.29	22.55	43.04
85	150.57	40=60.23	130 = 86.33	120= 79.7	34.20	21.09	41.39
86	156.77	40=62.70	133 = 84.83	123= 78.4	32.21	19.73	39.84
87	162.96	40=65.18	136 = 83.45	126= 77.3	30.30	18.50	38.43
88	169.15	40=67.66	139 = 82.2	130= 82.2	28.48	17.35	24.85
89	175.34	40=70.14	142 = 80.9	142= 80.9	26.76	16.33	23.83
90	179.96	40=71.98	145 = 80.6	145= 80.6	25.88	15.43	22.93
91	185.125	40=74.05	148 = 79.9	148= 79.9	24.80	14.62	22.12
92	190.29	40=76.12	151 = 79.6	151= 79.3	23.81	13.95	21.45
93	195.46	40=78.18	154 = 78.7	154= 78.7	22.91	13.38	20.88
94	201.42	40=80.57	157 = 77.9	157= 77.9	21.71	12.82	20.32
95	207.18	40=82.87	160 = 77.2	160= 77.2	20.69	12.56	20.06
96	212.795	40=85.12	163 = 76.6	163= 76.6	19.82	12.33	19.83
97	215.89	40=86.35	166 = 76.9	166= 76.9	20.11	12.20	19.70
98	219.06	40=87.62	169 = 77.1	169= 77.1	20.41	12.20	19.70
99	222.15	40=88.86	172 = 77.4	172= 77.4	20.78	12.28	19.78
100	223.71	40=89.48	175 = 78.2	175= 78.2	21.82	12.50	20.00
Refined	247.00	(*)	187.5= 75.9	195= 78.9	.....	.....	.....

*40 per cent and ½ = 111.30.

Mr. WHITE. Will the Senator from Iowa permit me to ask him a question?

Mr. ALLISON. Certainly.

Mr. WHITE. In the presence of the Senator from Iowa, the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH], who at that time had charge of this bill, and who is now ill, stated that the differential in the bill as it came from the House was greater than the differential in the then Senate bill, and he inserted in his remarks a table which, if correct, demonstrated the truth of that statement.

Now, I desire to know whether anything that has transpired since that time, any elucidation or light, has convinced the Senator from Iowa that his colleague upon the committee, who then had charge of the bill, was in error?

Mr. ALLISON. I am not dealing with the statements of the Senator from Rhode Island, nor am I dealing with the prices as estimated by him. I am taking the prices which appear in these tables, which are the true prices, not those for one month, January, which the Senator from Rhode Island took; not the current prices, but the average prices. That table is based upon the average prices of this class of raw sugar during the four months beginning on the 1st day of January and ending on the 1st day of May.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Will the Senator from Iowa be good enough to explain what basis he takes for refined sugar? He quotes the price of raw sugar here, but he does not state in this table what the price of refined sugar is, from which he calculates the difference.

Mr. ALLISON. The prices of raw sugar are found in the first column of the table. The prices of refined sugar are found right under them, $2.47. I have not taken the prices of January, as suggested by the Senator from Rhode Island, but I have taken the actual prices as furnished by the public record, the average prices of raw and refined sugar for the four months ending on the 1st day of May.

Mr. WHITE. The Senator from Iowa is mistaken when he says January was taken. March was taken.

Mr. ALLISON. March was taken by the Senator from Rhode Island for the price of refined sugar. He took the price upon a single day of what is called "first marks refined sugar," which, of course, as Senators know, is rather an inferior kind of refined sugar that comes from Germany, but a kind that is largely imported.

Mr. CAFFERY. Will the Senator kindly tell me what is the differential in the table between raw and refined?

Mr. ALLISON. I have made a scale there running about twenty one-hundredths in the Senate schedule.

I will say another thing with respect to this schedule, because I do not hesitate to state the method whereby this result was reached. The method does not include the countervailing duty put on under this bill and not put on in the Senate; and I have been amazed that, with all the zeal for the reduction of the enormous differential to the refiners, some Senator on the other side of the Chamber has not risen in his place and moved to strike out the three-eighths of a cent. Why is it that the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. LINDSAY], with his zeal and his energy and his activity, does not address himself to the question of striking out the three-eighths differential, as he calls it, which is found in this same paragraph? Why does he stop at the suggestion of 5 cents a hundred pounds, when there lies right under his eyes and on his table a proposition where, by a single amendment which he could propose, he could strike down the refiners' thirty-eight one-hundredths of a cent.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Where is that in this paragraph? On what page is it?

Mr. ALLISON. Here it is in this provision; I wish to read it, and I want to know why it is that Senators on the other side of the Chamber strain at a gnat and swallow a camel.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Please answer my question.

Mr. LINDSAY. Where is the three-eighths?

Mr. ALLISON. If the Senator has not investigated the bill far enough to know, I will point it out to him.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I will say to the Senator that that was stricken out on his own motion, and it is out of the paragraph now.

Mr. ALLISON. I do not understand that it is out of the paragraph.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. It is, and the RECORD will so show. It was done on the Senator's own motion, and therefore there is no occasion for anybody else to draw any amendment of the sort.

Mr. ALLISON. If that is out on my own motion, and they thought it was out, why is it that they are insisting in every debate and in every table that it is in?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Because the Senator has it in another paragraph later on in the bill, which will be reached hereafter. That is the reason.

Mr. ALLISON. I want the Senator from Arkansas to open up the debate on the countervailing duty, that we may show, as we can show now, that this countervailing duty is only an imitation and an emulation of his own committee in 1894, when they provided a tenth of a cent countervailing duty upon refined sugar and the same countervailing duty upon raw sugars.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. We will be ready for it when we get there.

Mr. ALLISON. I hope the Senator will.

Mr. LINDSAY. I want the Senator from Iowa to do me the justice at least to say that it does not rest upon me to move to strike out three-eighths, or to make any motion in regard to that retaliatory duty until we reach it. When we reach it, we will try to attend to it.

Mr. ALLISON. I did not know it was out. I supposed it was still there. I made my remarks upon that basis. Whilst Senators were discussing this question as a fixed fact, I wanted to call their attention to the mountain that is in their pathway as compared with this molehill.

Mr. TILLMAN. Will the Senator from Iowa allow me to call his attention to the fact that he has just confessed that the duty now proposed is in emulation—I believe that was the very word——

Mr. LINDSAY. Imitation.

Mr. TILLMAN. Imitation and emulation of the villainies practiced by his Democratic colleagues three years ago.

Mr. ALLISON. Fortunately for me, I do not indulge in the epithets of the Senator from South Carolina. I did not call it a villainy.

Mr. TILLMAN. That is my word.

Mr. ALLISON. Nor do I think it is a villainy. I believe that the provision in the act of 1894 was a necessary provision, as I believe also that this is a necessary one.

Mr. LINDSAY. If the Senator will pardon me, I will say that the act of 1894 gives 10 cents, and this measure proposes to give 38 cents, and the sugar refiners are declaring 9½ per cent profit on $75,000,000 worth of stock and are paying the difference between 10 and 38 at the present time.

Mr. ALLISON. When this differential was put upon the bill in 1894, the duty upon raw sugar was less than 10 cents a hundred pounds, and the duty upon refined sugar was 10 cents a hundred pounds. Since that time the German Government, I believe in May last, and I call the attention of the Senator to the fact, increased their bounty upon raw sugar to twenty-eight one-hundredths of a cent or twenty-seven and a fraction one-hundredths, and upon refined sugar to thirty-eight one-hundredths and a fraction. It was only the difference, at most, between the raw and the refined upon which they secured this advantage. But what I am complaining of is that in the tables which have been presented here this 10 cents countervailing duty is not computed, nor is the 27 cents a hundred pounds computed upon the raw sugar, but there is thirty-eight one-hundredths of a cent computed upon refined sugar. Every Senator who has spoken, so far as I know, has taken it absolutely for granted that the protection on refined sugar is thirty-eight one-hundredths of a cent in this bill because of the fact that there is thirty-eight one-hundredths of a cent bounty by the laws of Germany.

Mr. LINDSAY. I will ask the Senator if three-quarters of the crude sugar does not come from countries that pay no export bounty?

Mr. ALLISON. Then my answer to the Senator is, Why was it put in the act of 1894? That act was intended to reach the bounty of sugar-producing countries, and it was put in there because those who were responsible then believed that there must be a countervailing duty in order that the refiners of this country should be placed upon an equality with the refiners of Europe.

Now I will ask my friend another question. Suppose it should turn out that instead of these sugars coming into the United States to be refined they should go to Montreal or Holland, if you please, or to England. What would be the protection to our refiners against sugar refined there from those sugars? It is 1.875 cents or 1.95 cents a pound, as the case may be.

Mr. LINDSAY. I will say that there is no danger of those sugars going to Montreal or anywhere else to be refined, if my amendment be adopted. The complete answer to the question lies not in ascertaining how many pounds of sugar the sugar trust says it has to buy in order to make a pound of refined sugar, but in what does the business of the sugar trust domonstrate. It demonstrates that, notwithstanding the change of conditions in the country, sugar stock has remained above par all the time, and since this bill has been under discussion it has gone up 5, 6, 8, or 10 points, and sold Saturday last at 126.

Mr. ALLISON. The Senator from Kentucky can get me into no argument upon that question. I have not taken the figures of the sugar trust. I have taken the figures of his friend John G. Carlisle, Secretary of the Treasury, and I have made every calculation upon his computations and not upon the computations of the sugar trust.

Mr. LINDSAY. And Mr. Carlisle got the figures from the sugar refiners, because no one else understands the trade well enough to give the figures.

Mr. ALLISON. If the Senator from Kentucky will pardon me, that is simply an absurdity. There are men connected with the Treasury (they may not be quite so familiar with the tests of sugar and the value of sugar as are the men who for long years have been engaged practically in the business) and there are men now in the employ of the custom-house in New York who have been there for twenty or twenty-five years, and they as experts know all about the sugar question.

Mr. CAFFERY. Mr. President——

Mr. ALLISON. I am not to be diverted now, if my friend the Senator from Louisiana will excuse me, by any table which he inserted the other day, prepared by an expert whom I do not know and who certainly has not the responsibility of government.

Mr. CAFFERY. I am not going to mention the table. I wish simply to ask the Senator a question. He, I understand, has presented a schedule of prices different from the prices presented by the Senator from Rhode Island. I should like to ask him why he has discarded the prices given by the Senator from Rhode Island and taken new prices?

Mr. ALLISON. I did not discard the suggestions made by any Senator. I have not discarded the suggestions made by the Senator from Louisiana.

Mr. CAFFERY. I am not talking about the suggestions, but of the fact, of the prices. The Senator from Rhode Island made his calculation upon certain prices of sugar. The Senator from Iowa, I understand, has offered a calculation based upon other prices. Now, I desire to know why he has taken other prices and not maintained those of the Senator from Rhode Island?

Mr. ALLISON. I have done that to get rid of some confusion which early existed in my own mind, and I hope in some way to bring other Senators to the opinion I now entertain. If I have failed to explain that, I have failed in part in my object.

I stated that the schedule of specific rates of duty, with the continuous ascending scale of three one-hundredths of a cent per pound, is a scale not based upon the price of sugar in the Philippine Islands, as the price of the Senator from Rhode Island was, not based upon the price of sugar in Egypt, as the price of the Senator from Rhode Island was, or in any of the islands of the sea, but is the price of sugars in bond in the city of New York, as shown by tables presented by merchants in New York and incorporated by the Senator from Missouri; and upon these tables (and they are tables from which most of the calculations have been made) I have demonstrated, at least to my own satisfaction, that the rate as it is proposed here is a less rate of duty than that in the existing law. In a good many cases I agree that it is only a fraction less, but in every case except one or two it is less.

Mr. CAFFERY. Whatever the prices may be, I wish to ask the Senator from Iowa whether by this ascending scale, from 75 degrees up, the rates are not clearly ascertained. Given the number of pounds of raw sugar it takes to make a pound of refined sugar and given this ascending scale, is not that a true criterion of the duty and not variable prices here and there?

Mr. ALLISON. I do not argue that question now, because the Senate itself has accepted that. It comes here with the experience and observation of the merchants of New York, and we have adopted it and incorporated it here in our schedule, and therefore I do not go beyond that in the suggestions I make.

Mr. President, the question after all is, What is the differential? My answer to that, and if it is not a truthful answer then I am to be corrected, is that it is the duty upon 100 pounds of refined sugar as compared with the duty upon the number of pounds of raw sugar required to produce 100 pounds of refined sugar. Therefore it is that on the ascending scale which I have named, sugars that are refined are practically upon an even keel, taking the sugars from 88 or 89 to 97.

Now, then, we come face to face with the main question, because I take it that after all our zeal for the destruction of a trust or combination, if you please, will not run so far that we will destroy the refining industry in the United States. It has been stated here, and of that I speak only from information and not from knowledge, that 70 per cent of the sugars—some have said here in debate that it is only 66 per cent, or two-thirds—that are refined is in the control of what is known as the American sugar trust. Of course, the remainder is refined here and there, independent of the trust. I do not know how that may be, but I do know that it would be the height of unwisdom for us to transfer to Germany, or to Holland, or to Great Britain, or to our neighbor on the north, as my colleague [Mr. GEAR] suggests to me, the business of refining four thousand million pounds of sugar.

That being true, the question for us to consider here is what is a fair and proper differential in order to give such protection to the business of sugar refining as will keep it in the United States. In 1883 that differential varied from 75 to 125, and yet we have heard on this floor to-day that under that high differential such was the difficulty in refining sugars that there was a practical loss and many refiners went out of business.

Mr. GEAR. Let me remind my colleague that the Senator from Texas [Mr. MILLS], who was chairman of the committee that framed the bill named after him, only proposed to reduce that protection 20 per cent.

Mr. ALLISON. Yes; I am glad to be reminded of that fact. The Senator from Texas will allow me to interpolate another suggestion right here. I believe that more than half the paragraphs in this bill contain less rates of duty than were provided in the bill of 1888, called the Mills bill. But I do not allude to that except to say that this fact illustrates how rapidly prices have gone down, how successful our manufacturers have been, and how large a share of the products of manufactures are now made in this country, enabling us to reduce the rates of duty.

Mr. STEWART. Do I understand the Senator to say that the protection given to the trust in the bill by the Senate amendment is less than under the act of 1894?

Mr. ALLISON. I say that, from these tables, and in doing so I do not take into account the differential that arises from this thirty-eight one-hundredths of a cent any more than I take into account the differential that arises from the one-tenth in the law of 1894 and the one-tenth in the law of 1890.

Mr. WHITE. May I ask the Senator from Iowa if that is not a practical protection to the refiner in both cases, whether a just one or not?

Mr. ALLISON. If it is——

Mr. WHITE. Is it not?

Mr. ALLISON. If it is, then that eleven one-hundredths should be added. If the Senator will turn to the paragraph which I supposed was passed over and not stricken out, he will see that both as respects raw and refined sugar the countervailing duty is neither 27 nor 38, and that in this respect——

Mr. WHITE. It is a sliding scale?

Mr. ALLISON. No, it is not a sliding scale. It says:

> Sugars, tank bottoms, sirups, cane juice or beet juice, melada, concentrated melada, and concrete and concentrated molasses, the product of any country which pays, directly or indirectly, a bounty on the export thereof, whether imported directly and in condition as exported therefrom, or otherwise, shall pay, in addition to the foregoing rates, a duty equal to such bounty, or so much thereof as may be in excess of any tax collected by such country upon such exported article, or upon the beet or cane from which it was produced.

Mr. WHITE. I call that a sliding scale.

Mr. ALLISON. The Senator calls that a sliding scale. In other words, there is an unknown quantity to be ascertained as to this bounty, and in no event can it anywhere near approach thirty-eight one-hundredths of a cent a pound; and yet in all these calculations of differentials we find this scale in our tables, as though it were an exact mathematical condition with respect to the export bounty of Germany.

Mr. ALLEN. I wish to take the attention of the Senator from Iowa away from differentials for just a moment, and to put what I regard as a very vital question, and that is whether, in the judgment of the Senator from Iowa, it is possible to frame a sugar schedule that will not result in some benefit, direct or indirect, to the American sugar trust?

Mr. ALLISON. The Senator from Kentucky [Mr. LINDSAY] has been trying to do that all day. As a matter of course, if raw sugar pays as high a duty as sugar which has been refined, then there is no differential for the trust or for any refiner of sugar, whether in a trust or otherwise. As the measure now stands, all sugars above No. 16 Dutch standard in color pay $1.95 a hundred pounds; they are protected by a duty of $1.95 a hundred pounds, and they will all be protected, if the amendment of the Senator from Kentucky prevails, by a duty of only $1.80 a hundred, or 1.8 cents per pound, whereas they are now protected under this paragraph as it stands by $1.95.

So the Senator from Kentucky, pro tanto, to the extent of his amendment, proposes to withdraw what we believe is wise and essential—and I think the Senator from Nebraska agrees with me in that respect—in order to develop the great industry of beet sugar in the heart of this continent, which, like the trust, makes refined sugar, which turns out the same class of sugar and throws it upon the markets. That, I believe, is the true remedy by which the refining of sugar and the production of sugar in condition to be consumed by the people of this country will be given development in the interior of our country, because until that is done and so long as we are importing from the islands and the continent 3,500,000,000 pounds of sugar, in the very nature of things that refining will be done on the Atlantic Seaboard or on the Pacific. It will be done at the point where the ships that carry the raw sugars can find the first harbor and the first place to unload their cargoes into the refineries.

So, being diverted somewhat from the main question, I come back to it again and say to the Senator from Nebraska and the Senator from Louisiana that the Senator from Kentucky by his amendment proposes to withdraw 15 cents per hundred pounds from the protection that is now given, so far as this bill is concerned, to every pound of sugar produced in Nebraska, and practically every pound of sugar produced in the State of Louisiana or the State of California.

Mr. ALLEN. Will the Senator from Iowa permit me just another question? Saturday last the Senator from Kentucky admitted, and I think the admission was for the Democratic party, as he spoke for the Democratic party, that, in his judgment, it is impossible to frame a schedule imposing taxes upon sugar from which the Sugar Refining Company, in consequence of its being a monopoly, would not receive some benefit. I put the same question to

the Senator from Iowa, who represents his party, for the purpose of making it appear, if possible, and as I believe it to be true, that it is impossible to frame a tariff schedule upon sugar by which you impose any tax on sugar at all from which the trust will not receive some benefit.

Mr. ALLISON. That question is answered by asking another and answering it, if I can. That is, Is it wise for us in the United States to turn over to foreign countries the refining of the 4,000,000,000 pounds of sugar which we consume? If it is not wise for us to do that, then it is wise for us to give such differential, whatever it may be, as will fairly secure a proper benefit to those who do refine sugar. That is my answer to the Senator.

Mr. ALLEN. Will the Senator permit me? I do not want to interrupt him unnecessarily, but I want my position to be understood. I do not wish to legislate any legitimate industry out of existence. I want to see the sugar refiners of this country receive a legitimate and honest compensation for their work. I want them to receive that, however, within the bounds of the law. But the question which I submit is whether the sugar trust, so called, or the American Sugar Refining Company, has not such an absolute control of the sugar market of the United States and the sugar market of the world that it is impossible by a tariff schedule to lay a tax upon sugar in any form that will not result in some benefit to it over and beyond a legitimate profit on the refining?

Mr. ALLISON. It is possible that those who are refining sugar now may have some advantages outside the tariff laws, but it is perfectly certain that nobody here will continue to refine sugar and pay a duty upon raw sugar when sugar can be refined in England or in Germany without paying a duty upon the raw sugar from which it is made.

Mr. ALLEN. Will the Senator permit me?

Mr. ALLISON. The Senator will pardon me until I answer further. Therefore it is plain to me that unless we put a duty of some kind upon refined sugar, as we do upon iron, chicory, and the thousand other things that are embraced within these schedules, the protective idea which we have, whether it be 5 per cent or 2 per cent or 1 per cent, is gone, and we might fold our hands here and give no protection to any industry in the United States, because, except by the barrier that is thrown around the manufacturers in our own country by means of our tariff laws, we can not tell how long it will be until everything we produce here will be produced elsewhere, where cheaper labor, cheaper capital, and, to some extent, more economical conditions in other respects prevail in regard to the production of these articles.

Now, the Senator asks me impliedly by his question whether I believe that any duty is necessary. It is perfectly certain that it costs less to refine sugar in Germany than here. Especially does it cost less to refine sugar in Germany when it is refined by a continuous process of refining from the raw beet itself. We must bear in mind that in this great industrial competition with Germany we are dealing with a people who are expert in all this class of manufactures. They have the most intelligent and most expert chemists in the world, and they have been able to produce up to this time more pounds of sugar to the ton of beets than have any other people on the globe.

Mr. VEST. May I ask the Senator one question? I did not exactly catch his meaning.

Mr. ALLISON. Certainly.

Mr. VEST. I suppose he admits (if not, I should like to hear him deny it) that the whole amount of the export bounty of Germany or of any other country is imposed as an additional tariff tax by this bill upon the imported article when it comes into this country.

Mr. ALLISON. That is, if it comes from Germany.

Mr. VEST. That is in section 3, on page 195.

Mr. ALLISON. If it comes from Germany, that is true.

Mr. VEST. If it comes from any country; I beg the Senator's pardon.

Mr. ALLISON. Certainly not unless the bounty is paid.

Mr. VEST. I say that wherever any country pays an export bounty——

Mr. ALLISON. Undoubtedly.

Mr. VEST. On refined sugar or anything else, and it comes into this country, then the amount of the bounty imposed in the foreign country is added to the tariff cost at the custom-house in the United States.

Mr. ALLISON. It is the net bounty, less the taxes and reductions which I have named.

Mr. VEST. I understand that. Now, I want to ask the Senator one other question, so that we shall come to a fair, square issue.

Mr. ALLISON. Certainly.

Mr. VEST. What does he say is the amount of export bounty, taking out taxes, etc., granted by Germany?

Mr. ALLISON. I have already stated that I do not know. Of course it can not exceed three-eighths of a cent a pound—thirty-eight one-hundredths on refined sugar—nor can it exceed twenty-seven one-hundredths upon raw sugar. But it may be very much less.

Mr. VEST. That explains the difference in the calculation between the Senator from Iowa and ourselves. We count the amount of bounty that Germany pays as a part of the tariff protection to the trust in the United States. It is as much a part of it as is the 1.95.

Mr. ALLISON. How much of it?

Mr. VEST. It is within a fraction of 38.4 upon a hundred pounds.

Mr. ALLISON. Very well.

Mr. VEST. I will ask the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. CAFFERY] to read an official communication from the Treasury Department, showing the amount of bounty paid by Germany and by France.

Mr. ALLISON. That is an immaterial question for my argument. The point I make is that none of that bounty should be charged.

Mr. VEST. It is charged by this law which you put in yourselves.

Mr. ALLISON. The Senator does not gather my point. My point is that if this bounty, whether upon raw sugar or refined sugar, is paid, and the countervailing duty which we have put on here is exacted, it is not a bounty to the trust or to the refiners of sugar beyond the difference, whatever that difference may be, between raw and refined sugar.

Mr. VEST. I grant the proposition that the cost of the raw sugar must be deducted——

Mr. ALLISON. Undoubtedly.

Mr. VEST. From the cost of the refined sugar. But I insist that 38.3 should be added.

Mr. ALLISON. Does the Senator agree that twenty-seven one-hundredths shall be deducted before the thirty-eight one-hundredths is put in?

Mr. VEST. As a matter of course, if that is duty paid by the trust upon raw sugar, it is put in in our computation. If it is not, it ought to be put in.

Mr. ALLISON. In every table that has been submitted by the Senator and his associates they have counted the thirty-eight one-hundredths and they have not deducted the twenty-seven one-hundredths upon raw sugar.

Mr. VEST. I beg the Senator's pardon. If they paid in 27 per cent upon raw sugar, it was put in the cost of the raw sugar to them. Then the full amount was deducted from the cost of the refined sugar with the export bounty added to it.

Mr. ALLISON. Certainly; but if sugar is imported from Holland, refined, or from Great Britain, or from any other country that does not pay a bounty——

Mr. VEST. Then of course the section does not apply.

Mr. ALLISON. It does not apply.

Mr. VEST. Of course not.

Mr. ALLISON. It can not apply in any computation except to the extent of the differential between the bounty upon raw sugar and refined. Therefore I complain that in all these tables you have charged this differential to the refined sugars and have not subtracted from it the twenty-seven one-hundredths that come from the raw sugar.

Mr. VEST. We took the prices furnished by the Senator from Rhode Island.

Mr. WHITE. And without objection.

Mr. VEST. Nothing was said on that side in regard to their being incorrect. I take it that in any court of justice or in any other tribunal where the opposite side accepts the statement of the antagonist logically and fairly and beyond any sort of question, that ought to close that branch of the case.

Mr. ALLISON. A just court would take the whole statement.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President——

Mr. ALLISON. If the Senator from California will pardon me just a moment, the Senator from Rhode Island stated that in his computation he did not include the bounty provided for in the existing law and the countervailing duty nor the bounty and countervailing duty in this act.

Mr. WHITE. Will the Senator from Iowa inform me whether it is not his judgment that fully 65 per cent of the sugars used by the manufacturers of this country come from places which impose no export bounty at all—cane sugars, in other words?

Mr. ALLISON. That may be. I do not regard that as a matter of moment.

Mr. WHITE. Now, will the Senator permit me to ask another question? If I understand the table which the Senator from Iowa has just presented, it has heretofore never seen the light in the Senate. The table submitted by the Senator from Rhode Island was presented on behalf of the committee, printed with his opening statement made for the committee, and never questioned until to-day. Is it not, therefore, a case not where a pleading has been amended, but where a new cause of action is attempted to be sustained?

Mr. ALLISON. We are not trying a case here—at least I do not suppose I am.

Mr. SPOONER. The question is whether it is right or not.

Mr. ALLISON. I am, as a Senator, dealing with the tariff bill; trying to deal justly and wisely, so far as I can, with every interest embraced within the bill. I am neither trying a lawsuit against the Senator from California nor the Senator from Missouri, nor do I want them to try a lawsuit against me. Whatever becomes of any or all of us, the bill will be judged, when it finally becomes a law, by what there is contained in it as respects the great interests of our country, whether they be the consuming interests or the industrial interests of our country.

Mr. President, I have detained the Senate longer than I desired. I shall be glad to have a vote upon the amendment proposed by the Senator from Kentucky.

Mr. CAFFERY. I send up and ask the Secretary to read a communication fixing the differential.

The Secretary read as follows:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, D. C., May 21, 1897.

SIR: In reply to your letter of the 17th instant, I have to state that the bounties paid by Germany and France, respectively, on exported sugars are as follows:

GERMANY.

1. On raw sugar at least 90 per cent, and on refined sugar under 98 per cent and at least 90 per cent, 2.50 marks per 100 kilograms. (Very nearly equivalent to 27 cents per 100 pounds.)
2. On candy and sugar in white, hard loaves, blocks, etc., at least 99½ per cent, 3.55 marks per 100 kilograms. (Very nearly equivalent to 38.4 cents per 100 pounds.)
3. On all other sugars at least 98 per cent, 3 marks per 100 kilograms. (Very nearly equivalent to 32.4 cents per 100 pounds.)

FRANCE.

1. On raw sugar in grains or small crystals of the minimum test of 98 per cent, for all beet-root sugars, or of 97 per cent for colonial sugar (as determined before the reduction of the loss by refining), 4 francs per 100 kilograms of refined sugar. (Very nearly equivalent to thirty-five ten-thousandths of 1 cent for each pound and degree of polarization.)
2. On raw sugars of the standard of 65 to 98 per cent for beet-root sugars, or 65 to 97 for French colonial sugar, 3.50 francs per 100 kilograms of refined sugar. (Very nearly thirty-one ten-thousandths of 1 cent per pound and degree of polarization.)
3. Candies, and refined loaf or crush, hard, and dry sugars, polarizing not less than 99.75, 4.50 francs per 100 kilograms. (Very nearly 3.9 cents per pound.)
4. Refined sugars, in grains and crystals, at a minimum standard of 98 per cent, 4 francs per 100 kilograms. (Very nearly 3.5 cents per pound.)
5. Bastards, 4.50 francs per 100 kilograms of refined. (Thirty-nine ten-thousandths of 1 cent per pound and degree of polarization.)

Respectfully, yours,

W. B. HOWELL, *Assistant Secretary.*

Hon. D. CAFFERY, *United States Senate.*

Mr. CAFFERY. Mr. President, the very fact that the Senator from Iowa has seen proper to introduce a schedule based upon different prices from the prices on which the Senator from Rhode Island based his calculations shows the intricacies of this question. I should like to know how it is and why it is that the Senator from Iowa at this late day undertakes to alter the prices upon which the Senator from Rhode Island made his calculations.

There is one thing that arises from these schedules outside of any prices whatever. Given the percentage of duty at a certain degree, given the number of pounds of raw sugar at that degree it takes to make a pound of refined, whatever differential there is between the duty on the raw and the duty on the refined is absolutely certain. You need not go to prices to ascertain it.

Mr. ALLISON. Did I state otherwise?

Mr. CAFFERY. But you have introduced a new factor. You have introduced different prices, by which you attempt to disturb the conclusions of the Senator from Rhode Island. Now, just look at this schedule. No one can contend that there is not a differential here, a very large differential, wholly beside the question of price. At 96 the differential is 24.76 cents. That is a clean quarter of a cent by the calculation based upon the number of pounds of raw sugar it takes to make a pound of refined sugar and applying the respective duties to each.

Out of that position it is impossible for the Senator from Iowa to get, and out of this differential it is impossible for anybody to get. Here is a differential of a quarter of a cent at that degree of saccharine strength which the trust makes its sugar out of. Without any sort of attention to the 38 or any attention to prices, here is a mathematical demonstration of the amount of protection they get upon the class of sugar out of which they make theirs. It runs all the way through. At 100 they have a clean 20 per cent under this differential, and so on down they enjoy greater protection as you descend in the scale of saccharine strength.

Mr. President, it is said that we must not injure the refining industry. Has the Senator from Iowa shown how or where, in what particular, the refining industry of the sugar trust would be injured by placing the sugar trust exactly upon an equality, giving it so far as duty is concerned the price it gets, the protection upon the refined and the price it pays on the raw?

The Senator from Iowa states that it costs more money to refine sugar in the United States than in Germany. Where does he get the facts upon which he predicates that statement? How does he arrive at his figures? We have been juggling with figures a great deal. We had a certain set of figures to predicate a statement on at one period which was thrown aside at another. We have a statement made of the comparative cost of making sugar in Germany and in the United States, but I should like to see some facts on that point before I could accept the statement of the Senator from Iowa as absolute truth. I know he thinks that it is true, but there is not that degree of certainty about the statement, or any other statement in regard to this schedule, which would carry any conviction to the ordinary mind.

How does that statement compare with the statement of Mr. Havemeyer, that give him raw sugar and he could beat the world? How does it square with the fact that the German refiners are a lot of small refiners? They refine in small sugarhouses. They turn out small quantities of sugar, it is true, by a process different from that which the sugar trust uses. But judging from the ordinary result of large plants, large outputs, comparing the enormous amount of sugar that the sugar trust makes with any concern in Germany, the inference to be drawn is that the German refiner makes his sugar at a much higher cost than the American refiner.

And besides, Mr. President, that sugar is not of the value of the sugar of the American Refining Company. It is about three-eighths of a cent lower, as was stated by the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. LINDSAY]. Not only have we here positive, unequivocal testimony that the sugar trust makes its sugar cheaper than anyone else in the world, but that they defy competition.

Mr. GEAR. May I interrupt the Senator from Louisiana?

Mr. CAFFERY. Yes, sir.

Mr. GEAR. The German sugar refiner does not refine his sugar; he washes it.

Mr. CAFFERY. What do you call it refined sugar for?

Mr. GEAR. It is the common name, but as a matter of fact he does not refine it in the sense that American sugar is refined. It is simply washed sugar. If the Senator will take the samples the Senator from Arkansas has and place them before him, he will see the difference at once.

Mr. CAFFERY. I understand the process by which the Germans make sugar. It is called a carbonatation process, which is used for the purpose of refining it.

Mr. GEAR. The Senator from Connecticut has just called my attention to what I forgot to mention. One is the melting process and the other is simply washing through water, and they are worth about one-eighth of a cent below. They are quoted in New York at one-eighth below.

Mr. CAFFERY. Are you certain about their being only one-eighth below?

Mr. GEAR. That is about the difference. They vary.

Mr. CAFFERY. I have heard it very frequently stated by people who knew that there was from a quarter to three-eighths difference.

Mr. GEAR. You can take Willett & Gray's circular and figure it up.

Mr. CAFFERY. But, however that may be, the German sugar is made out of the juice of the beet. That juice is boiled; the water is evaporated. After it is boiled to the point of crystallization it is placed in the centrifugal. It is there subjected to a kind of a chemical process that the Germans call carbonatation. It comes out of the centrifugals, and it is called the ordinary marks German granulated sugar. The sugar trust takes its common sugar, puts water to it, melts it in vast quantities, all handled by machinery. The sugars are boiled but a trifle. They are passed after that process through the bone black. That extracts all the impurities and colors the sugar; and that is the end of the process.

What is the great difference in the cost? I can not see it. The Germans have to handle the beet; they have to boil the juice; they have to evaporate the water out of the juice. It takes a vast amount of boiling to do it. Juice that has 5, 6, or 7 per cent sugar only has to be dried of its water, run through the clarifiers and evaporators, and then through the vacuum pan and from the vacuum pan to the centrifugals. All that the American refiner has to do is to melt what has already been evaporated. He puts a little water in it to keep it from burning, melts it, boils it down again to evaporate that water, which is not a costly process, for there is not much water in it, passes it through the bone black, and there is his sugar.

Do you tell me that a concern which turns out 15,000 barrels of sugar per diem can not make sugar cheaper than a sugarhouse which makes two or three hundred barrels or four or five hundred barrels per diem? The thing is not reasonable. They challenge

and defy competition. They have said so, and it does not stand in anybody's mouth to deny their statement.

Mr. President, this sugar trust does not come with clean hands before the Senate of the United States. It has smothered testimony. Nobody can investigate it. It refused to give the proper information to the census officials. It tyrannizes and oppresses all over the land. Everywhere you feel the baneful effects of the sugar trust. It crushes the producer, it boycotts the purchaser, and it invades the Senate; it places its blighting hand upon legislation, and wherever it goes the sugar trust blasts and shrivels and palls. It ought to be put out of legislation.

I do not say that to do any injury, Mr. President. I would not injure any institution. But when the evidence comes direct from the mouth of the sugar trust that it needs no protection, not a weak, puling, squalling infant, but a great giant industry that controls the markets of the world and imposes whatever price it pleases upon its product, I want to know if that sort of an institution, with its character, with its antecedents, can come before the Senate of the United States and set up a cry for aid.

The Senator from Iowa resented with some indignation the schedules that we adopted, but I listened attentively to hear one single word where he contradicted them. The essential point in these schedules is in the differential between the amount of raw sugar it takes to make a pound of refined sugar and the refined sugar, and here it is without any regard to the price of either, and without any regard to the differential, and it is a quarter of a cent a pound.

Mr. President, this is, in my opinion, an apt illustration of the evils of this whole system. Here is this great giant industry, this sugar trust, which has been the cause of scandal and contumely heaped upon the Senate and the other House, too, and why? Is it doing any more than the ordinary protected industry? Is it not a disreputable scandal that these great institutions should come and ask legislation in their behalf, and when they get too monstrously large, when they get to be a stenca in the nostrils of the people, then scandal is in their wake and attends on their importunate demands? The whole system is rotten; the whole principle is wrong.

Go to the tariff hearings—importunate beggars clamoring for aid in every direction. There is no period when the clamor will ever cease; there is no point where the demand will stop—constant demands, constant importunities to be allowed to make a living at the expense of the people of the United States.

Who pays this sugar trust but the consumer? Who foots up all these enormous gains but the poor man, the rich man, and every consumer of sugar in the United States? So it is all along the line of these protected industries. There was a time when protection was less intense and acute than it is now; there was a time when it was thought the infant could walk after being coddled and assisted with jumping horses and various artificial devices—bicycles and tricycles and all other powers of locomotion used in behalf of this little toddling infant.

I submit that the time has about arrived when the sugar trust is big enough to walk alone. It does not need your aid. It has said so, and you can not deny the truth of that statement. It not only does not want your aid, but it says, "We can beat the world." "Suppose," said the questioner to Mr. Havemeyer, "you had raw sugar free; what then would be your condition?" "We can beat the world," or "We can beat them all," or words to that effect. Now, I submit to the Senators on the other side whether or not this great infant, which bestrides the earth like a colossus, comes within the tender mercies of the humane principle of protection.

The Senator from Massachusetts evidently had some doubts as to the correctness of these schedules or he would not have offered the amendment which he did. He went away back into the early history of sugar schedules, and he quoted the Earl of Chatham, I believe, who himself in his day and generation was very much perplexed as to how to regulate a sugar schedule; and from that time on, the Senator said, this question of sugar has been a question which has troubled the legislator in so far as regulating duties upon it is concerned. It is certainly a troublesome matter now; and the only great trouble about the whole thing is that the sugar trust demands in its behalf, in order that its monopoly may never be disturbed, such an amount of tariff as to keep off perpetually all kinds of competition. That is all it wants. It has only a distant fear now, but it is going to take the protection and keep competition out as a kind of safeguard. Although it said as early as 1880 that it did not want protection, the sugar trust think it is a handy thing to have around the house, and that it can use it when some foolish German comes here with a consignment of sugar and tries to sell it to the American people. The trust wants the privilege of keeping him out and charging the people just what it pleases upon the home product.

There are several points in this schedule which have given me concern. I have never known or understood from the statement of the Senator from Rhode Island how, when there was 88 per cent of sugar in the test that he took, he could only make 81 pounds of sugar out of it. That has bothered me and troubled me, and I want to elucidate that point. I send to the Secretary's desk a letter addressed to me on this subject by Mr. Calvin Tomkins, of this city, chairman of the Reform Club, and ask to have it read.

Mr. BERRY. I suggest, as it is getting late, that the Senator have the letter printed in the RECORD without its being read.

Mr. CAFFERY. Very well. I will ask to have the letter printed in the RECORD.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. If there be no objection, it will be so ordered. The Chair hears none.

The letter referred to is as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *June 14, 1897.*

DEAR SIR: The duties in the amended Senate schedule being entirely specific, it is plainly evident that the amount of "protection" given to the sugar trust is to be determined by the number of pounds of raw sugar required to make 100 pounds of refined. Senator ALDRICH has stated specifically that the first Senate schedule was based upon the allowances for drawbacks made by the Treasury Department, and it is evident from all the calculations made by the advocates of the amended schedule that it also rests upon the same basis. It therefore becomes necessary to examine into the accuracy of the figures upon which these calculations depend. Senator ALDRICH stated in his speech of May 25:

"As a basis for the calculation of the number of pounds of sugar of each polariscopic test required to make 100 pounds of refined sugar, I have taken the statement of the Treasury Department promulgated June 25, 1896, Department Circular No. 102. I assume there will be no question as to its accuracy. The computations have been confirmed by various statements furnished by the appraiser's office in New York.

"For illustration, I will take an analysis of sugar testing 88 degrees, made by the chemist in charge of the sugar laboratory in New York. This sugar contained seventy-four one-hundredths of 1 per cent of ash, 4.13 per cent of invert sugar, and an out-turn of 81.85 per cent of crystallizable sugar. Of this sugar it would take 122.17 pounds to make 100 pounds of refined sugar. The Treasury estimate is 122.41 for this test. It will be noticed that this sugar contained 4.13 per cent of invert sugar. This invert sugar becomes sirup in the process of refining, and is worth from one-half to three-fourths of a cent per pound. The result in this case would probably be a fair estimate of the average result of the value of the residuum of invert sugar contained in all cane sugars testing in the neighborhood of 89 degrees. The value of this sirup would not appreciably affect differentials."

This statement is lacking in several particulars. It leaves unaccounted for 6.15 pounds of crystallizable sugar. If his sample tested 88 degrees, it contained 88 per cent of crystallizable sugar. He says that it yielded 81.85 per cent. Where is the remaining 6.15 per cent? The invert sugar is not a part of this, because invert sugar does not materially affect a polariscope. As a matter of fact, 3.70 of the 6.15 per cent is held in chemical combination with the 0.74 per cent of ash or salts. The most of this 6.15 per cent is in practice either made into crystallizable sugar, or, with the invert sugar, into low-grade sugars and sirups. Here, then, is 6.15 per cent of crystallizable and 4.13 per cent of invert sugar, every bit of which is worked into valuable product, and a great part of which is, in practice, made into refined sugar almost as valuable as granulated. We do not agree with Mr. ALDRICH that these products are unimportant and do "not appreciably affect differentials." Mr. ALDRICH, in fact, ignores 10.28 pounds for every 81.85 pounds of product for which he accounts.

In this one item alone may be concealed a greater amount of protection to sugar refiners than many protection Senators would be willing to grant.

Recurring to the basis of the pending schedule, the absurdity of the figures is evidenced by the regular market quotations for raw and refined sugars. According to the figures upon which the present schedule claims to be based, the Treasury Department drawback allowance, it should take 120.54 pounds of raw sugar testing 89 degrees to make 100 pounds of refined. This sugar, according to the statement of General Appraiser Sharretts, is now worth $1.90 per 100 pounds. If it actually took 120.54 pounds to make 100 pounds of granulated, the cost of the raw material alone from which to make 100 pounds of refined sugar would be $2.29; while, according to the same authority, the actual market price of the refined granulated at this price was $2.30. Manifestly, therefore, the 100 pounds of refined must have been made from considerably less than 120.54 pounds of raw sugar. We were at that time importing large quantities of raw beet sugar from Germany, when we might, according to prices quoted above, just as well have been importing refined sugar at the same price.

This is a reductio ad absurdum of the most glaring kind. It reaches conclusions which are directly opposed to both facts and common sense.

In view of the above presentation of what we believe to be the facts, on behalf of the tariff-reform committee of the Reform Club I would request you to renew your challenge to the supporters of the proposed sugar tariff. We are convinced that there are gross errors in the basis of their calculations, as partially indicated above, and that there is a very great amount of protection concealed therein in addition to that avowedly given.

In view of the magnitude of the public and private interests at stake in this matter, surely there should be no question as to the fundamental facts on which the discussion rests.

Yours, truly,

CALVIN TOMKINS, *Chairman.*

Hon. DONELSON CAFFERY,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. VEST. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

Mr. ALLISON. Has the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. CAFFERY] concluded his remarks?

Mr. VEST. I think so.

Mr. CAFFERY. Yes; I have concluded.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Missouri.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After ten minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened, and (at 5 o'clock and 22 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Tuesday, June 15, 1897, at 12 o'clock meridian.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate June 14, 1897.

CONSUL-GENERAL.

John F. Gowey, of Washington, to be consul-general of the United States at Kanagawa, Japan.

POSTMASTERS.

A. L. Thompson, to be postmaster at Springdale, in the county of Washington and State of Arkansas.

Orrin H. Jones, to be postmaster at Wilmington, in the county of Windham and State of Vermont.

Aaron Brining, to be postmaster at Versailles, in the county of Darke and State of Ohio.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

MONDAY, *June 14, 1897.*

The House met at 12 o'clock m. Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. HENRY N. COUDEN.

The Journal of the proceedings of Thursday last was read and approved.

SETTLERS IN GREER COUNTY, OKLA.

Mr. LACEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill (H. R. 3351) for the relief of settlers in Greer County, Okla.

The bill was read.

Mr. BAILEY. I reserve the right to object until we can hear a statement.

Mr. LACEY. Very well. The act of January 18, 1897, gave to these settlers in Greer County, Okla., formerly Greer County, Tex., six months within which to file and prove up their various claims before the register and receiver of the Mangum land office. The retiring President, Mr. Cleveland, did not appoint a register and receiver for that new office. President McKinley has appointed those officials, and they are about ready to take charge of the office, which will be opened about the 1st of July. This, however, will only allow about eighteen days for these claimants, numbering over 3,000, to file and prove up their claims.

Secretary Bliss, on the 19th of May, sent to the House and the Senate a request for the passage of an act extending the time. The bill which I now desire to call up was introduced by the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. BELL], a former member of the Committee on Public Lands. I ask unanimous consent that the bill be disposed of now. It will only give to these settlers the length of time originally proposed by the act of the Fifty-fourth Congress.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. GAINES. Has any committee reported on this?

Mr. HENRY of Texas. I object.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. PLATT, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed without amendment joint resolution (H. Res. 64) relating to the payment of salaries in the consular service.

The message also announced that the Senate had agreed to the amendments of the House to Senate concurrent resolution requesting the Secretary of War to furnish such information as he may have with reference to the present condition of the harbor of Cumberland Sound, etc.

ENROLLED JOINT RESOLUTION SIGNED.

The SPEAKER announced his signature to enrolled joint resolution of the following title:

Joint resolution (H. Res. 64) relating to the payment of salaries in the consular service.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Mr. McMILLIN. Mr. Speaker, I demand the regular order, so that there may be consideration of bills from committees under clause 6 of Rule XXIV.

Mr. PAYNE. I move that the House do now adjourn.

The question being taken on the motion of Mr. PAYNE, there were—ayes 77, noes 74.

Mr. BAILEY. Tellers!

Mr. SULZER. Yeas and nays!

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 88, nays 79, answered "present" 15, not voting 171; as follows:

YEAS—88.

Adams,	Barrows,	Broderick,	Codding,
Alexander,	Bartholdt,	Brosius,	Connell,
Arnold,	Belford,	Brown,	Cousins,
Babcock,	Bingham,	Brownlow,	Curtis, Iowa
Baker, Md.	Bishop,	Burton,	Curtis, Kans.
Barber,	Booze,	Butler,	Dalzell,
Barrett,	Brewster,	Clark, Iowa	Davenport,
Dovener,	Hill,	Miller,	Southard,
Eddy,	Hitt,	Moody,	Spalding,
Ellis,	Howe,	Morris,	Sperry,
Evans,	Jenkins,	Olmsted,	Stewart, N. J.
Fletcher,	Johnson, Ind.	Overstreet,	Stewart, Wis.
Foss,	Johnson, N. Dak.	Payne,	Stone, C. W.
Gibson,	Ketcham,	Pearce, Mo.	Stone, W. A.
Graff,	Kirkpatrick,	Prince,	Sulloway,
Griffin,	Littauer,	Royse,	Tawney,
Grout,	Loud,	Russell,	Tongue,
Hamilton,	McDonald,	Shannon,	Updegraff,
Hawley,	McIntire,	Shattuc,	Warner,
Henderson,	Mann,	Simpkins,	Wilson, N. Y.
Henry, Conn.	Mercer,	Smith, S. W.	Wright,
Hilborn,	Mesick,	Snover,	Yost.

NAYS—79.

Adamson,	De Graffenreid,	Lewis, Ga.	Richardson,
Bailey,	De Vries,	Lewis, Wash.	Ridgely,
Baird,	Epes,	Livingston,	Robinson, Ind.
Baker, Ill.	Fleming,	Lloyd,	Sayers,
Bankhead,	Fox,	Love,	Settle,
Barlow,	Greene,	McClellan,	Shuford,
Bartlett,	Griggs,	McDowell,	Sims,
Bell,	Gunn,	McMillin,	Skinner,
Berry,	Handy,	Marshall,	Smith, Ky.
Bodine,	Henry, Miss.	Martin,	Stephens, Tex.
Brantley,	Henry, Tex.	Maxwell,	Stokes,
Broussard,	Hinrichsen,	Meekison,	Strowd, N. C.
Brundidge,	Howard, Ala.	Meyer, La.	Sutherland,
Burke,	Hunter,	Moon,	Tate,
Castle,	Kelley,	Norton,	Vandiver,
Clardy,	Kleberg,	Ogden,	Vincent,
Clark, Mo.	Knowles,	Osborne,	Wheeler, Ky.
Cochran, Mo.	Lamb,	Peters,	Williams, Miss.
Cowherd,	Lanham,	Pierce, Tenn.	Young, Va.
Davey,	Latimer,	Plowman,	

ANSWERED "PRESENT"—15.

Ball,	Cooper, Wis.	King,	Sulzer,
Benner, Pa.	Dinsmore,	Lacey,	Weaver,
Brucker,	Gaines,	Otey,	Wheeler, Ala.
Catchings,	Jones, Wash.	Rhea,	

NOT VOTING—171.

Acheson,	Dingley,	Lester,	Sauerhering,
Allen,	Dockery,	Linney,	Shafroth,
Barham,	Dolliver,	Little,	Shelden,
Barney,	Dorr,	Lorimer,	Sherman,
Beach,	Elliott,	Loudenslager,	Showalter,
Belden,	Ermentrout,	Lovering,	Simpson,
Belknap,	Faris,	Low,	Slayden,
Bennett,	Fenton,	Lybrand,	Smith, Ill.
Benton,	Fischer,	McAleer,	Smith, Wm. Alden
Bland,	Fitzgerald,	McCall,	Southwick,
Botkin,	Fitzpatrick,	McCleary,	Sparkman,
Boutelle,	Foote,	McCormick,	Sprague,
Bradley,	Fowler, N. C.	McCulloch,	Stallings,
Brenner, Ohio	Fowler, N. J.	McEwan,	Stark,
Brewer,	Gardner,	McRae,	Steele,
Bromwell,	Gillet, N. Y.	Maddox,	Stevens, Minn.
Brumm,	Gillett, Mass.	Maguire,	Strait,
Bull,	Grosvenor,	Mahany,	Strode, Nebr.
Campbell,	Grow,	Mahon,	Sturtevant,
Cannon,	Hager,	Marsh,	Sullivan,
Caproh,	Harmer,	Miers, Ind.	Swanson,
Carmack,	Hartman,	Mills,	Talbert,
Chickering,	Hay,	Minor,	Tayler, Ohio
Clarke, N. H.	Heatwole,	Mitchell,	Taylor, Ala.
Clayton,	Hemenway,	Mudd,	Terry,
Cochrane, N. Y.	Henry, Ind.	Newlands,	Todd,
Colson,	Hepburn,	Northway,	Underwood,
Connolly,	Hicks,	Odell,	Van Voorhis,
Cooke,	Hooker,	Otjen,	Vehslage,
Cooney,	Hopkins,	Packer, Pa.	Wadsworth,
Cooper, Tex.	Howard, Ga.	Parker, N. J.	Walker, Mass.
Corliss,	Howell,	Pearson,	Walker, Va.
Cox,	Hull,	Perkins,	Wanger,
Cranford,	Hurley,	Pitney,	Ward,
Crump,	Jett,	Powers,	Weymouth,
Crumpacker,	Jones, Va.	Pugh,	White, Ill.
Cummings,	Joy,	Quigg,	White, N. C.
Danford,	Kerr,	Ray,	Wilber,
Davidson, Wis.	Kitchin,	Reeves,	Williams, Pa.
Davis,	Knox,	Rixey,	Wilson, S. C.
Davison, Ky.	Kulp,	Robb,	Young, Pa.
Dayton,	Landis,	Robbins,	Zenor.
De Armond,	Lentz,	Robertson, La.	

So the motion to adjourn was agreed to.

The following pairs were announced:

Until further notice:

Mr. HEMENWAY with Mr. ROBERTSON of Louisiana.

Mr. LANDIS with Mr. CRAWFORD.

Mr. KULP with Mr. STALLINGS.

Mr. DAVIDSON of Wisconsin with Mr. HOWARD of Georgia.

Mr. STRODE with Mr. HAY.

Mr. QUIGG with Mr. BLAND.

Mr. HULL with Mr. DOCKERY.

Mr. MINOR with Mr. SPARKMAN.

Mr. MCCALL with Mr. JONES of Virginia.

Mr. YOUNG of Pennsylvania with Mr. BENTON.

Mr. BELKNAP with Mr. MAGUIRE.

Mr. FARIS with Mr. ZENOR.

Mr. HENRY of Indiana with Mr. MIERS of Indiana.

Mr. DANFORD with Mr. TERRY.

Mr. POWERS with Mr. GAINES.
Mr. DORR with Mr. MADDOX.
Mr. PARKER of New Jersey with Mr. ELLIOTT.
Mr. HOOKER with Mr. CATCHINGS.
Mr. SPRAGUE with Mr. DE ARMOND.
Mr. SMITH of Illinois with Mr. LITTLE.
Mr. HEATWOLE with Mr. DINSMORE.
Mr. MCCLEARY with Mr. TALBERT.
Mr. MITCHELL with Mr. TAYLOR of Alabama.
Mr. OTJEN with Mr. LESTER.
Mr. HOPKINS with Mr. MCALEER.
Mr. REEVES with Mr. BALL.
Mr. FISCHER with Mr. CUMMINGS.
Mr. BELDEN with Mr. SULZER.
Mr. LOVERING with Mr. WHEELER of Alabama.
Mr. MCEWAN with Mr. VEHSLAGE.
Mr. STRODE with Mr. ALLEN.
Mr. JOY with Mr. MARSHALL.
Mr. DINGLEY with Mr. SWANSON.
Mr. BROSIUS with Mr. ERMENTROUT.
Mr. LACEY with Mr. MCRAE.
Mr. PITNEY with Mr. CARMACK.
Mr. KERR with Mr. ROBB.
Mr. BRUMM with Mr. COX.
Mr. HICKS with Mr. OTEY.
Mr. STEVENS of Minnesota with Mr. JONES of Washington.
Mr. CLARKE of New Hampshire with Mr. KING.
Mr. PERKINS with Mr. COOPER of Texas.
Mr. BARHAM with Mr. FITZGERALD.
Mr. MILLS with Mr. SULLIVAN.
Mr. SAUERHERING with Mr. STRAIT.
Mr. CHICKERING with Mr. BRADLEY.
Mr. WM. ALDEN SMITH with Mr. BRUCKER.
Mr. ACHESON with Mr. WILSON of South Carolina.
For this day:
Mr. MUDD with Mr. STARK.
Mr. HARMER with Mr. JETT.
Mr. ODELL with Mr. FITZPATRICK.
Mr. GROSVENOR with Mr. RIXEY.
Mr. BARNEY with Mr. TODD.
Mr. MARSH with Mr. COONEY.

Mr. RHEA of Kentucky. I am paired with my colleague, Mr. PUGH, although I did not hear the pair announced. I have cast my vote in the negative, but now wish to withdraw it and be recorded "present."

Mr. KING. I am paired with the gentleman from New Hampshire, Mr. CLARKE. I voted "no," but desire to withdraw my vote and be recorded "present."

Mr. WHEELER of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, I find that the gentleman with whom I have been paired is not present. I will therefore withdraw my vote and ask to be recorded as "present."

Mr. BURKE. I ask unanimous consent that my colleague, Mr. SLAYDEN, be granted leave of absence for the week, on account of important business.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, the request will be granted.

There was no objection.

Mr. CATCHINGS. I desire to withdraw my vote, as I am paired with the gentleman from New York, Mr. HOOKER.

Mr. MCCULLOCH. Mr. Speaker, I desire to vote.

The SPEAKER. Was the gentleman present and listening when his name should have been called?

Mr. MCCULLOCH. I can not say whether I was listening or not.

The SPEAKER. Then it is impossible for the Chair to entertain the request.

Mr. MCCULLOCH. I noticed that the Chair did not put the question in that form to other gentlemen.

The SPEAKER. If the Chair did not do so, it was because of inadvertence. He puts the question to the gentleman from Arkansas.

Mr. MCCULLOCH. During the roll call I was writing a part of the time and conversing at other times. I intended to listen, but I missed my chance to answer by just one name. I can not say whether I was listening at the moment my name was called or not.

The SPEAKER. The statement of the gentleman scarcely brings him within the ruling, and his vote can not be received.

Mr. GAINES. I have voted "no" on this question, but I am paired with the gentleman from Vermont, Judge POWERS, and therefore wish to withdraw my vote and be marked "present."

Mr. LACEY. I am paired on all political questions with the gentleman from Arkansas, Mr. MCRAE. This seems to be a political question and therefore I desire to withdraw my vote.

Mr. MCCALL. I am paired with the gentleman from Virginia, Mr. JONES, on all political questions. If I voted, I should vote "aye."

Mr. BRUCKER. I am paired with the gentleman from Michigan, Mr. WM. ALDEN SMITH. I have voted "no," but wish to withdraw my vote and be marked "present."

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted as follows:
To Mr. TODD, indefinitely, on account of important business.
To Mr. DAVIS, for one week, on account of important business.

The result of the vote on the motion to adjourn was announced as above recorded; and accordingly (at 12 o'clock and 45 minutes p. m.), the House adjourned, pursuant to its standing order, until Thursday next, at 12 o'clock noon.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS.

Under clause 2 of Rule XXIV, the following executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting, with a letter from the Chief of Engineers, report of a survey of Erie Harbor, Pennsylvania—to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, and ordered to be printed.

A letter from the Acting Secretary of War, transmitting a copy of a letter from Maj. C. C. Sniffen, paymaster, United States Army, and recommending that a duplicate check be issued in favor of Charles C. Ely—to the Committee on Claims, and ordered to be printed.

A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting, with a letter from the Chief of Engineers, report of examination and survey of Bayou Teche from St. Martinsville to Port Barre, La.—to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, and ordered to be printed.

A letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, making certain recommendations in regard to the admission of Chinese into the United States to attend the Omaha Exposition—to the Committee on Ways and Means, and ordered to be printed.

A letter from the Acting Secretary of War, recommending legislation to provide immediate funds for construction of works for protecting the eastern beach of United States land at Sandy Hook, N. J.—to the Committee on Appropriations, and ordered to be printed.

A letter from the Attorney-General, transmitting a copy of a letter to the chairman of the Senate Committee on Appropriations relating to legislation desired by the Department affecting the pay of certain officers thereof—to the Committee on Appropriations, and ordered to be printed.

A letter from the Attorney-General, transmitting a copy of a letter to the chairman of the Senate Committee on Appropriations relating to the pay of certain officers—to the Committee on Appropriations, and ordered to be printed.

PUBLIC BILLS, RESOLUTIONS, AND MEMORIALS INTRODUCED.

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, bills, resolutions, and memorials of the following titles were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. SHAFROTH: A bill (H. R. 3461) for the erection of a monument to the memory of the women who during the rebellion attended and nursed the sick and dying soldiers of the United States—to the Committee on the Library.

By Mr. MAXWELL: A bill (H. R. 3462) to amend an act to provide for the adjudication and payment of claims arising from Indian depredations, approved March 3, 1891—to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. WADSWORTH: A resolution (House Res. No. 57) to pay funeral expenses and six months' pay to widow of Edwin Giddings, late conductor of elevator in House of Representatives—to the Committee on Accounts.

By Mr. ERMENTROUT: A memorial of the legislature of the State of Pennsylvania, asking the reappointment and retirement of General Gregg, late United States Army—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS INTRODUCED.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions of the following titles were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr BELL: A bill (H. R. 3463) for the relief of William L. McClure—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. CLARK of Missouri: A bill (H. R. 3464) granting a pension to John P. Clark—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. DAVENPORT: A bill (H. R. 3465) granting a pension to Ida Wiederhold—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. JOY: A bill (H. R. 3466) for the relief of Martha A. Murphy—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. KULP: A bill (H. R. 3467) for the relief of William Ogden, Shamokin, Pa.—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3468) to remove the charge of desertion from the military record of Milton McPherson, of Northumberland, Pa.—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. LACEY: A bill (H. R. 3469) granting a pension to George M. Gibson—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3470) granting a pension to George W. Scott, jr.—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3471) restoring the pension of Mahala A. Dahlman, formerly Brumley—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. MAHON: A bill (H. R. 3472) for the relief of Mary Isabella Krebbs—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. MEYER of Louisiana: A bill (H. R. 3473) for the relief of certain employees of the United States mint at New Orleans, La.—to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. SHAFROTH: A bill (H. R. 3474) granting an increase of pension to James S. Wiggin—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SETTLE: A bill (H. R. 3475) to relieve John W. Barnes of the charge of desertion—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SIMPKINS of Massachusetts: A bill (H. R. 3476) for the relief of Andrew Morse, jr.—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SAMUEL W. SMITH: A bill (H. R. 3477) to correct the military record of Wesley B. Coon—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3478) to correct the military record of Henry Berry—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SOUTHARD: A bill (H. R. 3479) to pension Orilla Chadwick, widow of John Henry Chadwick—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3480) to pension James Ross Johnson—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3481) to increase the pension of Wilson W. Brown—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3482) to correct the military record of Wayne Mapes—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. CHARLES W. STONE (by request): A bill (H. R. 3483) granting a pension to John W. Smoot—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, the following petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

By Mr. ADAMS: Resolution passed by the select and common council of the city of Philadelphia, adopted June 10, 1897, urging the immediate passage of the tariff bill—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. BELFORD: Petition of citizens of Queens County, N. Y., remonstrating against the proposed increased tax on beer—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. BINGHAM: Resolutions of the Grocers and Importers' Exchange of Philadelphia, Pa., recommending the enactment of the Torrey bankruptcy bill—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, resolutions of the select and common council of the city of Philadelphia, Pa., urging the immediate passage of the tariff bill—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. BULL: Petition of citizens of Providence, R. I., for a more rigid restriction of immigration—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. DALZELL: Resolutions of Local Union No. 121, Journeymen Tailors' Union of America, in favor of limiting tourists to $100 worth of clothing for exemption from duty—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, resolution of the select and common council of the city of Philadelphia, Pa., in favor of the speedy passage of a tariff bill—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. DOVENER: Petitions of E. B. Criss and 57 other citizens of Mount Union; Thomas Leyland and 68 others, of Twilight; J. L. McCoy and 52 others, of Palmer; N. W. Robinson and 18 others, of Burton; T. T. Bonar and 51 others, of Marshall County, in the State of West Virginia, demanding a more rigid restriction of immigration—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. ERMENTROUT: Petition of R. S. Heckman and other citizens of Reading, Pa., asking for the passage of a bill for a more rigid restriction of immigration—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

Also, protest of the Civil Service Reform Association of Philadelphia, Pa., against the repeal of the civil-service laws—to the Committee on Reform in the Civil Service.

Also, resolution of the Grocers and Importers' Exchange of Philadelphia, Pa., favoring the passage of the Torrey bankruptcy bill—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, protest of the W. H. Keen Company, of Philadelphia, Pa., and other dealers in refined sugar, against increased protection upon refined sugar, and petition for amendment of the sugar schedule so as to admit sugar (yellow refined) not over No. 16 Dutch standard—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, petition of the Wine and Spirit Association of Cleveland, Ohio, asking for the passage of the law recommended by the Secretary of the Treasury relative to tax on distilled spirits, etc.—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, resolution of the Winter Wheat Millers' League, passed at St. Louis convention May 19 and 20, 1897, asking that burlap, burlap bags, and bolting cloth be left on the free list—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, petition of Frederick Mead & Co. and other tea dealers in New York City, in favor of a specific duty on tea—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, memorial of B. J. Hoffacker, of San Francisco, Cal., protesting against the abrogation of the Hawaiian treaty in the matter of beet sugar—to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, memorial of the American Chamber of Commerce at Paris, addressed to the Congress of the United States, asking for action by the United States in the matter of the coming Paris Exposition, etc.—to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. GROUT: Petition of W. H. Green and 213 other citizens of Montpelier, Vt., in favor of a law to further restrict immigration—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

Also, resolution adopted by the Winter Wheat Millers' League, requesting that burlaps and burlap bags be left on the free list, as they are at the present time—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, memorials of Mrs. L. D. Dyer, president of the Addison County Woman's Christian Temperance Union, of Salisbury, Vt., and Mrs. Mary B. Cockle, of Starksboro, Vt., president of the Bennington County Woman's Christian Temperance Union, to forbid the transmission of gambling messages by telegraph—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, petitions of C. S. Hall and 78 other citizens of Randolph, Orange County, Vt., requesting that the free delivery of all mail matter be extended to every post-office in the settled portions of the country, with free collection of letters—to the Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads.

Also, memorials of Mrs. L. D. Dyer, of Salisbury, Vt.; Mrs. E. M. Denny, of Montpelier, Vt.; Mrs. Gratia E. Davidson and Miss Carrie E. Lowe, of Newfane, Vt., praying for the passage of Senate bill No. 1187, prohibiting kinetoscope reproductions of prize fights—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HARMER: Petition of Alexander Dugnay, of Frankford, county of Philadelphia, Pa., for a pension—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. HILBORN: Resolution of the Council of Labor of Los Angeles County, Cal., urging the abrogation of the Hawaiian treaty—to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. JOY: Paper to accompany House bill for the relief of Martha A. Murphy—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. KERR: Petition of W. A. Rose, A. Burros, and other citizens of the Fourteenth Congressional district, State of Ohio, relating to the tariff on wool, praying for more protection in the interest of woolgrowers—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. KULP: Petitions of George W. Metz and 53 others, and Charles F. Long and 96 others, citizens of Shamokin, Pa., favoring a more rigid restriction of immigration—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. LACEY: Papers to accompany House bill granting a pension to George M. Gibson—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, papers to accompany House bill granting a pension to Mahala A. Dahlman—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, papers for the relief of George W. Scott, of Eldon, Iowa—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. LOUD: Petition of merchants of San Francisco, Cal., relating to the time when the tariff bill should take effect—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, resolution of the Council of Labor of Los Angeles County, Cal., relative to the abrogation of the Hawaiian treaty—to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. MAHON: Papers to accompany House bill for the relief of Mary Isabella Krebbs—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. OLMSTED: Petitions of J. Blessing and other citizens of Harrisburg and Samuel Reed and others, of Steelton, Dauphin County, Pa., praying for the passage of a law to further restrict immigration—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. OVERSTREET: Petition of James Dotson and 63 other

veterans of the late war, praying for the enactment of a law equalizing bounties—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SNOVER: Petition of William Canham and 100 other citizens of St. Clair County, Mich., asking for the appointment of a monetary commission—to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. STEPHENS of Texas: Petitions of citizens of Wichita Falls and Abilene, State of Texas, asking for the passage of the bill for the relief of the book agents of the Methodist Episcopal Church South—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. SULZER: Petition of citizens of the United States, containing 6,000,000 names, favoring the granting of belligerent rights to the Cuban patriots—to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. WANGER: Petition of Isaac S. Yeakle and 36 other citizens of Norristown, Pa., for a more rigid restriction of immigration—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. YOUNG of Pennsylvania: Resolution adopted by the select and common council of the city of Philadelphia, Pa., asking for the speedy passage of the tariff bill—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

SENATE.

TUESDAY, *June 15, 1897.*

The Senate met at 12 o'clock m.

Prayer by Rev. L. B. WILSON, D. D., of the city of Washington.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

AGREEMENT WITH CHOCTAW AND CHICKASAW INDIANS.

The VICE-PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the Secretary of the Interior, transmitting, in connection with Department letter of the 18th ultimo, a copy of a letter of the 12th instant and accompanying copy of a memorial from certain freedmen of the Choctaw Nation, relative to their rights as members of that tribe, in which they complain that they are not given any interest in the schools and moneys of the Choctaw Nation; which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs, and ordered to be printed.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

The VICE-PRESIDENT presented memorials of P. H. Woolsey & Co., of Livingston Manor; of N. Duin's Sons, of Peekskill; of Thomas Showoe's Sons, of Newburg; the Hawley Box and Lumber Company, of New York City; the American Lumber Company, of New York City; Douglass L. White & Co., of Albany; the New Rochelle Coal and Lumber Company, of New Rochelle; the Inman Manufacturing Company, of Amsterdam; J. C. Hubbell, of Albany; R. D. Clark, of South Fallsburg; W. M. Crombie & Co., of New York City; the Manhattan Trunk and Box Factory, of New York City; Frederick W. Starr, of Brooklyn; James H. Dykeman, of Brooklyn; the Cross, Ostend & Ireland Lumber Company, of Brooklyn; Lawrence Bros., of Yonkers; Darmat & Pell of New York City; Sylvester Ross, of Brooklyn; Jimenis & Co., of New York City; Crane & Clark, of New York City, and of D. M. Rossequil, of Brooklyn, all in the State of New York, and memorials of the Florence Furniture Company, of Florence; of Holt & Bugby, of Boston, and of S. B. Dibble & Co., of North Adams, all in the State of Massachusetts, remonstrating against the imposition of the proposed duty of $2 per thousand feet on lumber; which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. SEWELL presented the petition of Edward Harding and 45 other citizens of New Brunswick, N. J., and the petition of John R. Radcliff and 23 other citizens of Millville, N. J., praying for the early passage of the pending tariff bill; which were ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented petitions of Herman Strauss and 149 other citizens of Jersey City; of Thomas Flannery and 146 other citizens of Bayonne; of John Jacobson and 59 other citizens of West Orange; Emil Baumann and 99 other citizens of Hoboken; Henry Taft and 32 other citizens of Perth Amboy; W. T. Matthews and 49 other citizens of Passaic; William J. Raab and 24 other citizens of Bloomfield; Charles Bender and 11 other citizens of Manhattan Park; D. F. Smith, jr., and 23 other citizens of Hackensack; Neil J. Lynch and 1,431 other citizens of Newark, and of sundry citizens of Jersey City, all in the State of New Jersey, and the memorial of Robert G. Rankin, jr., and 13 other citizens of Philadelphia, Pa., remonstrating against the proposed increase of the tax on beer; which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. PLATT of New York presented sundry petitions of citizens of Brooklyn, Antwerp, Hagaman, and Schaghticoke, all in the State of New York, praying for the early enactment of a protective-tariff law; which were ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented sundry memorials of citizens of New York City and Brooklyn, in the State of New York, remonstrating against the proposed increase of the tax on beer; which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. FAIRBANKS presented sundry petitions of citizens of Goodland, North Indianapolis, Milford, Shipshewana, Muncie, Cicero, Middletown, and New Albany, all in the State of Indiana, praying for the early enactment of a protective-tariff law which will adequately secure American industrial products against the competition of foreign labor; which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. GALLINGER presented a petition of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Dover, N. H., praying for the enactment of legislation prohibiting the reproduction of pugilistic encounters by means of the kinetoscope; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented memorials of the Drake & Sanborn Shoe Company, of Pittsfield, N. H.; of N. B. Thayer & Co., and of W. S. Pillsbury, remonstrating against any increase in the present rate of duty on tanned skins for morocco or a duty on raw goatskins; which were ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a memorial of the Presbytery of the city of Washington, indorsing the recent action of Congress relative to the distribution of money appropriated for charitable purposes in the District of Columbia; which was referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

Mr. CAFFERY presented a memorial of the Sugar Planters, Association of Louisiana, remonstrating against the statement made by him that the Wilson tariff act affords enough protection to sugar; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. HOAR presented a memorial of sundry citizens of Massachusetts, remonstrating against any increase in the present rate of duty on tanned skins for morocco or the duty on raw goatskins; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. McMILLAN presented a petition of sundry citizens of Detroit, Mich., praying for the passage, at the earliest possible date, of such protective-tariff legislation as will adequately secure American industrial products against the competition of foreign labor; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented the memorial of O. H. Blackman and 101 other citizens of Michigan, remonstrating against the enactment of legislation intended to destroy the present system of ticket brokerage; which was referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

He also presented the memorial of R. M. Power, of Holyoke, Mass., remonstrating against the proposed increase of the duty on leaf tobacco; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. FRYE presented the petition of N. J. Lamb and sundry other citizens of Sangerville, Me., and a petition of 463 citizens of Sanford, Me., praying for the early enactment of a protective-tariff law; which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. SPOONER presented the petition of H. W. Meyer and 41 other citizens of Appleton, Wis., praying for the early passage of the pending tariff bill; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. TURPIE presented the memorial of Joseph J. Little, of Attica, Ind., remonstrating against the proposed increase of the duty on granite; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a petition of sundry citizens of Brazil, Ind., praying for the early enactment of a protective-tariff law; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. CHANDLER presented petitions of Hon. David Harvey Goodell, ex-mayor, and 108 citizens of Antrim; of Hon. John B. Smith, ex-governor, and 64 citizens of Hillsboro, and of Charles T. Page and 24 other citizens of Concord, all in the State of New Hampshire, praying that active cooperation be given toward securing protective tariff legislation at the earliest possible date; which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. ELKINS presented sundry petitions of citizens of West Virginia, praying for the enactment of legislation restricting immigration; which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. BURROWS presented petitions of H. T. Emerson and 21 other citizens of Menominee; of H. J. Holmes and 38 other citizens of Hart; of Dr. Earl Fairbanks and 61 other citizens of Luther; Don C. Henderson and 172 other citizens of Allegan; Amy Kinney and 142 other citizens of Eastlake, and of Dwight Warren and 23 other citizens of Threeoaks, all in the State of Michigan, and the petition of R. C. Griffin and 42 other citizens of Valleyhead, Ala., praying for the early passage of the pending tariff bill; which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. COCKRELL. I present a resolution of Lodge No. 82, Brotherhood of Boiler Makers and Iron Ship Builders of America, in regular session convened at Kansas City, Mo., on the 12th of June, 1897, stating the insecurity of national and State banks under our present laws as a source of large loss to them, and praying Congress for the enactment of a law for the establishment by the General Government, without delay, of Government savings banks in connection with the Post-Office Department. I move that the petition be referred to the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. COCKRELL presented a petition of sundry citizens of Concordia, Mo., and a petition of sundry citizens of Desoto, Mo., praying for the passage, at the earliest possible date, of such protective-tariff legislation as will adequately secure American industrial products against the competition of foreign labor; which were ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a petition of the board of directors of the Merchants' Exchange of St. Louis, Mo., praying for the enactment of legislation restoring to the people of this country the carrying trade on the high seas; which was referred to the Committee on Commerce.

Mr. QUAY presented sundry memorials of citizens of Easton, Pa., remonstrating against the proposed increase of the tax on beer; which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. KENNEY presented a petition of sundry citizens of St. Georges, Del., praying for the enactment of legislation restricting immigration; which was ordered to lie on the table.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

Mr. GALLINGER. I am directed by the Committee on Pensions, to whom was referred the bill (S. 344) to amend an act entitled "An act granting pensions to the survivors of the Indian wars of 1832 to 1842, inclusive, known as the Black Hawk war, Creek war, Cherokee disturbances, and the Seminole war," approved July 27, 1892, to report it without amendment, and to submit a report thereon. • I call the attention of the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MCBRIDE] to the report.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The bill will be placed on the Calendar.

Mr. QUAY, from the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, to whom was referred the bill (S. 2097) to grant to the city of Wilmington, Del., the use of certain real estate in said city on which is situated the building recently occupied for Federal purposes, reported it without amendment.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Mr. CAFFERY (by request) introduced a bill (S. 2143) to remove the statutory bar of limitation now standing against the claim of J. Viosca, and conferring full jurisdiction upon the United States Court of Claims to try and adjudicate said claim and render judgment therefor; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. ELKINS introduced a bill (S. 2144) for the relief of Charles Hurrle; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. FORAKER introduced a bill (S. 2145) to amend section 4 of the act approved March 2, 1895, being an act amendatory of an act with reference to the postal service; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads.

AMENDMENT TO THE TARIFF BILL.

Mr. TILLMAN submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill (H. R. 379) to provide revenue for the Government and to encourage the industries of the United States; which was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

TRIALS BY COURTS-MARTIAL.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas (by request) submitted the following resolution; which was read, and referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Navy be directed to inform the Senate on the following points, namely:

1. Whether the following-named persons are or have been held as prisoners by the Secretary of the Navy or under his authority in Massachusetts: Jesse G. Crain, Louis V. Eytinge, C. W. Duyer, Joseph J. Wiles, Michael F. Mooney, James Skelty, Charles Brown, John J. Harrington, and S. A. Weirman; and whether they have, with or without the assent of the naval officers in charge of them, sent a letter to George F. Ormsby, esq., requesting him to act as their attorney, or to appoint such as he might deem necessary, in obtaining their release and redress from the losses suffered by them from their sentences of courts-martial.

2. Whether the judicial records of their trials by courts-martial, in the custody of the United States Navy Department, are open to the inspection of their attorneys in the same manner as other judicial records of other courts constituted under the laws of the United States.

3. Whether the records of these trials show and state that the charges upon which these prisoners were tried and sentenced (if at all) were within the jurisdiction of a court-martial as limited by article 43, section 1624, United States Revised Statutes; and whether they were all tried on "charges other" than those "furnished" them "at the time" they originally began to be "under arrest" or in confinement; and whether, if so, the record shows that it "appeared" to the court-martial that said charges were not prohibited by said article 43 from trial; and if so, how.

4. Whether when said prisoners were first placed in arrest or confinement they were furnished with copies of any charge or charges of any offense alleged to have been committed by them and known to the authority by whom they were thus deprived of liberty; if not, how long such knowledge of the cause of their imprisonment remained so unfurnished to them, and how long they remained prisoners under a bare order or lettre de cachet or without being informed specifically and in writing of the nature and cause of their arrest and imprisonment as required by article 42, section 1624, United States Revised Statutes.

THE TARIFF BILL.

Mr. ALLISON. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of House bill 379.

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 379) to provide revenue for the Government and to encourage the industries of the United States.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The pending question is on the amendment proposed by the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. LINDSAY], which will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In line 22, page 63, paragraph 206, it is proposed to strike out "ninety-five one-hundredths" and to insert "eight-tenths;" so as to read:

On all sugar which has gone through a process of refining, 1 cent and eight-tenths of 1 cent per pound.

Mr. CAFFERY. Mr. President, it was stated yesterday by the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. LINDSAY] that the late Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Carlisle, derived his statement or figures as to the number of pounds of raw sugar it required to make a pound of refined from the sugar trust. I submit that the statement coming from the Senator from Kentucky is entitled to due weight and consideration, and it flows from that statement that the figures upon which the basis of calculation is made as to the number of pounds of raw sugar it requires to make a pound of refined is entirely misleading. Nothing has ever come from the sugar trust yet that, in my opinion, was satisfactory. They have studiously avoided giving any testimony whatever as to the workings of their plant, the cost of their plant, their labor cost, and all other facts necessary to be known in order to ascertain the precise character of their business.

Yesterday the Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON] stated emphatically that the labor cost in refining sugar in the United States is greater than the labor cost in Germany. In 1894 a statement was prepared by Hon. John De Witt Warner, then a member of the lower House, assisted by Mr. Byron W. Holt, press editor of the Reform Club, and Mr. L. Carroll Root, fellow of Cornell University in political economy and finance, in regard to sugar tariffs and the sugar trust. I ask the Secretary to read from page 4 of that report, which was published by order of the Senate, down to page 7.

The Secretary read as follows:

LABOR COST OF SUGAR REFINING.

That the cost of sugar refining in the United States is much less than elsewhere is indicated by a comparison of the labor cost. In 1890 Mr. T. E. Willson investigated as to the "labor cost" of refining sugar in different countries. Before publication his figures were submitted to the representatives of the sugar trust and admitted to be fair and correct. The result he reached was that the labor cost per 100 pounds of refining sugar was then, in Germany 43 cents, in France 38 cents, in England 34 cents, in Cuba 22 cents (slave and semi-slave), and in the United States 14 cents. English statistical papers had noted this and predicted that, because of the comparatively cheap labor cost in the United States, America would sometime control the sugar market in Great Britain.

The low labor cost of sugar refining in the United States is strikingly shown by the 1890 census. The two most important refining centers in this country are Brooklyn and Philadelphia, where by far the largest proportion of the total refining is carried on. On page 6 of Bulletin No. 234 of the Eleventh Census the number of refineries in Brooklyn is given as 8; the total wages paid by them in the year ending May 31, 1890, $330,558; value of product, $16,629,982. From these figures it appears that the labor cost in these refineries amounted to 1.986 per cent of the value of the product. From Bulletin No. 244 the corresponding data as to the 8 refineries in Philadelphia are found to be: Aggregate wages, $753,386; value of product, $46,598,524; from which it appears that the labor cost in these refineries was 1.617 per cent of the value of the product. The total wages paid in the 16 refineries located in these two cities amounted to $1,083,944, the aggregate value of the product being $63,228,506, a labor cost of 1.714 per cent of the value of the product.

Taking the average prices of refined sugars for the years 1889 and 1890, as well as for the year ending June 1, 1890, as given by Willett & Gray's Journal, viz, 7.827 cents, 6.30 cents, and 7.265 cents, respectively, as the value of the product at the refineries (and it must be remembered that these figures are somewhat above the value at the refinery, inasmuch as they include the cost of marketing, commissions, etc.), the labor cost of 1 pound of refined sugar is found to be—

Estimated labor cost per pound in cents.

	1889.	1889–90.	1890.
Brooklyn	0.1855	0.1444	0.125
Philadelphia	.1295	.1175	.1018
Average	.1341	.1245	.108

The actual labor cost being less than the above in the same proportion that the market price of refined sugar, as quoted, is higher than its estimated worth at the refinery.

The lower cost of labor in the United States arises from the extraordinary extent to which, in new refineries—by far the largest in the world—system and machinery are availed of to the utmost extent in reducing cost of refining and handling to a minimum. The comparatively low (though high) cost of labor in Cuba arises not from it being slave labor, but from the fact that, next to those of the United States, the Cuban refineries are the most modern in the world, while, from causes noted below, those of England, France, and Germany are behindhand and will remain so for years to come, and will always be at a disadvantage as compared with those of the United States.

THE TOTAL COST OF REFINING.

The following figures are taken from the advance bulletins of the Eleventh Census:

Cost of refining in 1889–90 according to Eleventh Census.

	Brooklyn.	Philadelphia.
Wages	$330,558	$753,386
Fuel	100,342	436,516
Mill supplies	15,986	6,977
Sundry materials	287,739	260,231
Rent	20,450	76,722
Power and heat	900	
Taxes	21,877	28,279
Insurance	21,397	43,807
Repairs	29,171	37,757
Interest on cash used in business	65,449	48,834
Sundries	68,516	349,493
Total	962,385	2,032,002
Value of product	16,623,134	46,598,524
Cost of refining, per cent of product	5.79	4.361

The average price of granulated sugar from May 31, 1889, to May 31, 1890, was 7.265 cents. On this basis the estimated total cost of refining per 100 pounds would be 42 cents in Brooklyn and 31.7 cents in Philadelphia. But the real cost of refining in 1889-90 was as far below 42 cents and 31.7 cents per 100 pounds at Brooklyn and Philadelphia, respectively, as the quoted price for refined sugar, 7.265 cents per pound, was above its value at the refinery. And it must be remembered that Messrs. Willett & Gray estimated that on account of the improvements already provided for at the close of 1890 the cost of sugar refining would be 6¼ cents per 100 pounds less than 1890—this necessarily in the Brooklyn refineries, since the great new refineries in Philadelphia were not then owned by the trust. It must also be remembered that since that time new refineries have been built and improvements made to old ones at a greater rate than ever before, and that the Philadelphia refineries are now in the trust combine. When these facts are taken into account, the only remaining question is as to how far below 31 cents per 100 pounds is the present cost of all items included in refining (except the absolute waste, which, as above shown, is scarcely 2 per cent of the cost of the raw sugar used).

This is corroborated by late admissions of the sugar trust itself. Mr. Henry O. Havemeyer, its head, in a carefully prepared statement published in the New York Herald of March 25, 1894, referred to the sugar trust as "a concern that melts a million and a half tons of sugar" a year, and also stated as follows:

"The American Sugar Refining Company has distributed during the last two years and eleven months for improvements at the refineries, cost of manufacture, labor, packages, fire insurance, bone black, etc., more than $34,000,000 in round numbers, paying out monthly $1,000,000 in cash."

By comparing these figures and remembering that the net waste in refining high-grade sugar is slight—the difference in weight between raw and refined being partly compensated by valuable by-products, also that it takes 2,240 pounds to make a ton of sugar—it is seen that the total expense of refining, between the raw sugar and the refined product, including labor supplies and incidentals, and even improvements on real estate, fire insurance, etc., and actual loss in refining, can not well be above 37½ cents per 100 pounds, even if Mr. Havemeyer's estimate of $1,000,000 per month total expenditure be correct. A similar result is reached if we take the figures of the refined sugar turned out by the trust during 1893 as a basis for the calculation.

As nearly, therefore, as can be approximated until the trust gives up its secrets, the actual labor cost of refining is to-day probably between 10 and 11 cents per 100 pounds; the total expenses of refining are about 30 cents per 100 pounds, and the total margins between the market prices of 96 degree centrifugals and granulated necessary to cover all depreciation of plant, charges, allowances, and expenses (except net profits in the shape of dividends on invested capital) are probably about 35 to 40 cents per 100 pounds in case of the sugar trust, and from 35 to 45 cents per 100 pounds in the case of the so-called "independent" refiners, whose status is exposed below.

Mr. CAFFERY. Mr. President, it will appear very clearly from this statement, published by authority of this body, that the refining cost in the United States of sugar is very considerably under 30 cents a hundred pounds. In the absence of any proof to the contrary, I will assume, and I think the whole nation has a right to assume, that the refining cost in the United States is less than anywhere else in the world.

There has been nothing whatever to substantiate the statement made by the Senator from Iowa that the labor cost abroad, or the refining cost abroad, is less than in the United States, and the plea for protection upon that ground signally fails. There is no ground for it whatever.

Yesterday the Senator from Iowa introduced some figures as against the correctness of which he challenged contradiction. I take his figures to be correct. It is utterly immaterial where he places the price of granulated sugar. The price of the raw sugar or the dutiable predicate upon which we must calculate, is taken from the schedule itself. According to a clause in the bill, all degrees of sugar below 87 are to suffer a reduction of 10 cents a pound. He commences, then, at 75 degrees, which under the bill carries a cent, and reduces that amount by one-tenth. He starts with the valuation, then, at 90 cents on the hundred pounds. He goes on down with about 6¼ mills to a degree until he reaches 96 test. Ninety-six test is dutiable under the bill at 1.63 cents. The corresponding duty upon refined at that test is 1.95 cents. It is true that the duty here is somewhat against the refined sugar at 1.95. There is a slight reduction to be made, but reducing the twenty one-hundredths of a cent, the clear margin by the amount that the refined loses by the differential between the raws at 96, we still have 19.82 cents.

At 97 we have 19.70 cents protection, of clear protection, without any regard to prices. Prices are merely illusory in this schedule. It is the duties that we must consider. The differential in the duty is 19.70 cents clear at 97. At 98 it is 19.70, and at 99 it is 19.78.

There is a slight falling off of the differential in favor of the trust as you go up in degree. As you go down in degree, according to the method by which the duties are levied, the differential becomes still greater and the protection still larger. So at 75 there is a clear differential of 62 cents per hundred, as against, you may say, an equality at 96, without considering the twenty hundredths. Considering that, there is 19.82. So the difference between 19.82 at 96 test and sixty-two hundredths at 75 test is the degree of protection that is to be received from this schedule as you go down in the polariscopic strength.

I submit to the Senator from Iowa, without any consideration whatever of this differential of thirty-eight hundredths, that that is too much protection under the evidence that we have of the ability of the trust to maintain itself against all competition. When you put on the thirty-eight hundredths, you bring up the protection in favor of this trust to nearly sixty hundredths of a cent per pound—over half a cent.

There is another thing to which I slightly adverted yesterday. The Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH] stated in his opening speech that taking a degree testing 88 per cent of sugar he makes 81 pounds of sugar. Where is the difference, where is the loss, between the 88 per cent of sugar and the 81 pounds actually made? How does it occur? There are some 6.85 pounds or 6.15 pounds that are not accounted for in that calculation.

The sugar trust makes out of this 6.15 pounds soft sugars and molasses. In none of these calculations is this amount of sugar at the various degrees credited to the sugar trust. On the contrary, it is considered as pure loss. This is an element in the consideration of these schedules that ought not to be lost sight of. Besides, it ought to be clearly ascertained, and the sugar trust itself ought to furnish the evidence, whether or not the Treasury statement is correct. It is stated upon high authority in this body, as coming directly from Mr. Carlisle himself, that he derived his statement, as to the number of pounds of raw sugar it took to make a pound of refined sugar, from the sugar trust itself.

I do not desire to occupy the time of the Senate unduly in discussing this matter, but it occurs to me that it is a clear case where the interests of the whole United States, as well as the dignity and self-respect of this body, are concerned, not that any of us desire, so far as I know, to visit vengeance on this institution because of the manner in which it is said it has manipulated legislation thus far, but because in equity and in good conscience we ought not to give this overgrown corporation any further power to oppress the American people and to control the prices of this necessary article of food to the extent that it does.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. GALLINGER in the chair). The question is on the amendment proposed by the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. LINDSAY].

Mr. LINDSAY. I call for the yeas and nays on the amendment.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. COCKRELL. Let the amendment be stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In paragraph 200, page 63, line 22, it is proposed to strike out "ninety-five one-hundredths" and to insert in lieu thereof "eight-tenths;" so as to read:

On all sugar which has gone through a process of refining, 1 cent and eight-tenths of 1 cent per pound.

The Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. GORMAN (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Maine [Mr. FRYE].

Mr. HARRIS of Kansas (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Wyoming [Mr. CLARK], and therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE], but I transfer that pair to the Senator from Colorado [Mr. TELLER], and vote "yea."

Mr. TURNER (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. WARREN]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. DANIEL. I am paired with the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. HANSBROUGH]. If he were here, I should vote "yea."

Mr. GEAR. I am paired with the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH], but I transfer that pair to the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE], and vote "nay."

Mr. CANNON (after having voted in the affirmative). I am paired with the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH], and therefore withdraw my vote. I voted inadvertently.

Mr. WHITE (after having voted in the affirmative). I arranged yesterday with the Senator from Nevada [Mr. JONES] to pair with him during his temporary absence from the Chamber. However, I will allow my vote to stand, as I am now informed that the Senator from Nevada has been otherwise cared for.

Mr. CLAY. I am paired with the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE]. Under an arrangement with the Senator from Iowa [Mr. GEAR] the Senator from Massachusetts will stand paired with the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH], and I vote "yea."

The result was announced—yeas 32, nays 35; as follows:

YEAS—32.

Bacon,	Faulkner,	Mallory,	Pettus,
Bate,	Gray,	Mantle,	Rawlins,
Berry,	Harris, Tenn.	Martin,	Roach,
Butler,	Heitfeld,	Mills,	Tillman,
Caffery,	Jones, Ark.	Mitchell,	Turpie,
Chilton,	Kenney,	Morgan,	Vest,
Clay,	Lindsay,	Pasco,	Walthall,
Cockrell,	McLaurin,	Pettigrew,	White.

NAYS—35.

Allison,	Frye,	Mason,	Quay,
Burrows,	Gallinger,	Morrill,	Sewell,
Carter,	Gear,	Nelson,	Shoup,
Chandler,	Hanna,	Penrose,	Spooner,
Cullom,	Hawley,	Perkins,	Thurston,
Davis,	Hoar,	Platt, Conn.	Wellington,
Deboe,	McBride,	Platt, N. Y.	Wetmore,
Fairbanks,	McEnery,	Pritchard,	Wilson.
Foraker,	McMillan,	Proctor,	

NOT VOTING—22.

Aldrich,	Elkins,	Jones, Nev.	Teller,
Allen,	George,	Kyle,	Turner,
Baker,	Gorman,	Lodge,	Warren,
Cannon,	Hale,	Murphy,	Wolcott.
Clark,	Hansbrough,	Smith,	
Daniel,	Harris, Kans.	Stewart,	

So the amendment was rejected.

Mr. ALLISON. Is there any amendment pending, Mr. President?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair is informed that on page 64, from line 3 to line 12, the text was passed over. Does the Senator from Iowa desire that to be now considered? The language referred to begins after the word "test," in line 3, on page 64, and goes down to the word "produced," in line 12.

Mr. ALLISON. On yesterday it was stated that my recollection of the situation was not correct and that those lines had been stricken from the bill. If they have been passed over, that is in accordance with my understanding. The Senator from Arkansas [Mr. JONES] stated on yesterday that those lines had been stricken from the bill.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. That is my understanding.

Mr. ALLISON. Is that the situation or have those lines been passed over?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair is informed that the RECORD shows that they were passed over.

Mr. ALLISON. I so understood it yesterday, and therefore I again correct myself, having been corrected on yesterday by the Senator from Arkansas.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I correct myself by saying that I understood the matter had been stricken out on motion of the Senator from Iowa. Then the motion to strike out is still pending, and when put will be unanimously agreed to.

Mr. CULLOM. Then let the motion be put, and get it out of the way.

Mr. ALLISON. Very well.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is the Chair to understand that the Senator from Iowa has made a motion to strike out those words?

Mr. ALLISON. I move to strike out those words, inasmuch as they are embraced in section 3 of the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the amendment proposed by the Senator from Iowa, and the words proposed to be stricken out by him will be stated.

The SECRETARY. On page 64, line 3, after the word "test," it is proposed to strike out:

> Sugars, tank bottoms, sirups, cane juice or beet juice, melada, concentrated melada, and concrete and concentrated molasses, the product of any country which pays, directly or indirectly, a bounty on the export thereof, whether imported directly and in condition as exported therefrom, or otherwise, shall pay, in addition to the foregoing rates, a duty equal to such bounty, or so much thereof as may be in excess of any tax collected by such country upon such exported article, or upon the beet or cane from which it was produced.

Mr. VEST. Mr. President, I do not rise for the purpose of antagonizing this motion. I was under the impression, as was my colleague on the committee from Arkansas [Mr. JONES], that the motion to strike out had been adopted some days ago.

Mr. FRYE. Declare it agreed to, and that will be the end of it.

Mr. VEST. I was under the impression that those words had been stricken out of the bill; but upon one point we are all agreed, and that is that in section 3, on page 175, which is known as the retaliatory section, there is 38.3, or, to speak more accurately, 38.4, imposed as a tariff duty in this country substantially upon refined sugars, granulated sugars that come from Germany, Germany being the great competing country with the United States as to refined sugars.

Mr. President, I stated yesterday, and stated at the time this question first came before the Senate, that it was only fair and right and logical to assume that the prices given by the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH] as the basis of discussion upon this measure were correct. The Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON] now changes that calculation and increases the prices, and, as a matter of course, all calculations based upon the prices fixed by the Senator from Rhode Island, who then represented the majority of the Finance Committee, go for nothing, and we have a different calculation by reason of the change of price. We see in the newspapers every day, from experts, calculations entirely different in regard to the amount of protection that is given to the trust, and I have no question that in a large majority of cases they are from perfectly honest and disinterested experts; but the difference comes in the calculation and in the result from the estimate of the price. As you change the price upon the sugar that is brought into the country, both refined and raw, necessarily and mathematically you must change the calculation.

To show the vast difference in the calculation, I hold here in my hand, which I prepared last night, the estimates of price made by the Senator from Rhode Island, then the prices made by my friend from Iowa, and then the prices made by the committee of sugar men who visited the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives in behalf of the importers and sellers of sugar, and who claim not to be connected with the trust at all. Take any of those polariscopic tests or grades; take, for instance, 96, which, I agree with the Senator from Iowa, is the principal grade of commerce. The Senator from Rhode Island estimated his prices and based his calculations at 2.6 cents and a fraction upon a pound upon the 96-test grade. My friend from Iowa, now in charge of the bill, puts the estimate at two cents and twelve one-hundredths and a fraction, and the sugar committee from New York put the price at two cents and a quarter a pound, or 2.25. Take either one of those prices and you change the entire calculation; and that is the secret of all these various estimates that we see so often and hear so often in the Senate.

But, Mr. President, there is another radical difference between the Senator from Iowa and ourselves. He leaves out entirely in his calculation the 38.4 export bounty of Germany, which is given, according to the official letter presented by the Senator from Louisiana from the Treasury Department, upon the refined sugars that come from Germany; and yesterday the Senator from Iowa taunted me—I will not use that word—he suggested to me that in all our calculations we had left out upon this side of the Chamber the 27-cent export bounty from Germany upon raw sugar, which, as a matter of course, should be credited to the price. If we charge to them the 38.3 export bounty upon the refined sugar of Germany when it reaches the ports of the United States, I submitted to the Senate—and I made the estimate honestly and fairly, without any disposition to prejudice anyone, in the early part of this discussion, in some remarks I made—what I believed to be the actual protection given to the trust upon the price as fixed by the Senator from Rhode Island. Since last night I have, as fairly and as honestly as I could, made an estimate of the protection given to the trust under the prices submitted by the Senator from Iowa. If they are not fair, it has been unintentional on my part.

I take the figures now of the Senator from Iowa himself. He made the astonishing statement that the protection to the trust under the Wilson law was greater than that under the pending caucus amendment. I think he makes it 85.12 under the Wilson law upon 96-degree polariscopic test. Now, we will take 96 as the test grade. The Senator from Iowa puts the value of the raw sugar at 2.12795. He assumes the refined sugar upon that grade to be 2.47 instead of 2.34, as made by the Senator from Rhode Island. The duty-paid value of the refined sugar, taking the estimate of the Senator from Iowa, is, under the Wilson law, 3.68; under the Dingley bill, 4.74; under the Aldrich bill, 4.87, and under the pending caucus amendment, 4.80. This is mathematical and unquestionable. That is the duty-paid value of refined sugar under these four bills.

The duty-paid value of raw sugar, taking the figures of the Senator from Iowa, is, under the Wilson law, 3.31; under the Dingley bill, 4.33; under the Aldrich bill, 4.45, and under the pending amendment, 4.33, giving as the net result, counting in the 27 cents upon raw sugar which comes from Germany—the omission of which is complained of by the Senator from Iowa—giving protection to the trust under the Wilson law of 37 cents on the hundred pounds, under the Dingley bill of 41 cents on the hundred pounds, under the Aldrich bill of 46 cents on the hundred pounds, and in the pending caucus amendment of 47 cents on the hundred pounds. This is based upon the prices submitted by the Senator from Iowa himself, showing an increase over the Wilson law, under the pending bill, of 10 cents on the hundred pounds, and of 1 cent over the

Aldrich amendment, as it is termed, in the caucus amendment. In all these calculations, I allow the 27 cents not upon the cane sugars, but I make this calculation upon sugars that come from Germany. I take the German bounty of 27 cents on the raw sugar and of 34.4 cents on the refined sugars.

My colleague on the committee suggests to me that a large amount of cane sugar was imported. We imported into the United States in 1896, by the official report, which I have before me, 2,752,012,512 pounds of cane sugar upon which there was no bounty at all. We imported in 1896 a little over 200,000,000 pounds of bounty-fed sugar, as it is termed, from Germany, upon which there was 34.4 cents bounty, while there was 27 cents on the raw sugar coming from Germany.

I repeat, that we imported in that year 2,752,012,512 pounds of cane sugar, upon which no bounty was paid at all. But I am, for the purposes of this argument, and to be entirely fair, taking the bounty-fed sugar from Germany, and I am taking the official bounty as reported from the Treasury Department on the refined and the raw, and I am taking the prices of the Senator from Iowa himself; and, instead of 85.12 protection under the Wilson law, the protection, as I have shown it here, is 37 cents on a hundred pounds; under the Dingley bill 41 cents; under the Aldrich bill 46 cents, and under the pending caucus amendment 47 cents.

Mr. President, I have made these statements, for I do not desire here in this debate to conceal anything, because if the Senator from Iowa had done me the honor to listen to the remarks I heretofore made, and which he will find in the RECORD in the early part of this debate, he would have found that on the duties as they then stood on the 35 per cent ad valorem in the bill I said this:

The tables are not made to show the millions the sugar trust will reap out of this schedule. They are made to show possible margins to the refiners under its duties; and it should be remembered that the calculations are based on a valuation of 2.3 cents per pound, which must be an undervaluation—

As I have always thought—

since the last crop in Germany realized an average price of 2.43 for the year, and no refined sugar of any great quantity has come in yet at that figure, though it may go below in time, for the survival of the cheapest is as inexorably a commercial tendency as that death follows birth. It must not be forgotten that this sharp decline in the price of sugar is in spite of the temporary cutting off of a part of the sugar supply of Cuba, though we received more Cuban sugar in March, 1897—73,029,000 pounds—than in the corresponding month of 1896—73,294,680 pounds.

The refined sugars which came in in 1896 were valued at 2.8 cents per pound; for the first nine months of the present fiscal year, the little refined sugar imported was valued at 2.55, and for the month of March last at 2.42. Any of these—

I am speaking now, of course, when we had the ad valorem of 35 per cent—

would give a somewhat higher margin to the trust than the 2.3 cents on which the tables were computed. If refined sugar was entered as for all of the year 1896 at 2.8 cents, then the margin would be 17.50 cents per 100 pounds higher; and if to this be added what is realized from the softer sugars and molasses, the by-product in refining, admitted in one case to be 26 cents per 100 pounds, then the margin would be 43.50 points higher than in the table.

The House committee assumed, as has long been admitted, that the average of raw sugars imported into the United States was of 92 degrees polariscopic test. This does not mean that any great proportion of the sugars below 16 Dutch standard was of that grade, but that Cuban centrifugals and continental beet sugars were about as great in volume as the lower grade cane sugars of the Southern republics, the islands, and the Indies.

The Senate committee at one fell swoop wiped out the cane sugars of the world. The two and three-fourth billion pounds of cane sugars which came in in 1896 disappeared. German refined could come in at 2.3 cents per pound, and if on this the retaliatory duty of 38.33 cents should be counted as part of the protection, then, too, the 27 cents bounty on the raw sugars of Germany must be counted as part of the duties against all raw sugars. No matter that the German raw sugars do not grade below 90 degrees, or at any rate carry no export bounty below that figure. No matter that our share of the cane sugar of the world, between two and three thousand million pounds, carry no such bounty. Germany is hereafter to furnish our sugar. She will wipe out our refiners as she has done those of England. Our cane fields of the South which the flood has spared shall be neglected; our beet farms in the West shall once more be waste places. But be it remembered when all this is done the Tropics will still raise some cane, and the trust will be found doing business at the old stand.

No account is to be taken of the fact that Europe produced 886,744,320 less pounds of raw beet sugar last year than the year before. No matter that Germany cultivated 60,051 less acres of beets in 1896 than in 1895, or that she produced 499,013,760 less pounds of beet sugar, or that she exported 239,920,400 pounds less. All these facts are ignored in the cry, "Beware the bogie man from Germany."

As has been said, the tables are not a measure of profit to the trust, but only intended to show the margin of duties which would result on the prices as quoted, for which no guaranty is given. If the margin of profit is to be calculated, a different method is necessary, for in that case it must be borne in mind that the refiner pays also for the extra pounds of sugar which he buys to make his hundred pounds of refined. As an instance, take the raw sugar of 92 degrees, the average point, worth, as Senator ALDRICH has said, 1.8272 cents. On this the specific rate is 0.89 cent, and the 35 per cent ad valorem is 0.63952, or, together, 1.52952 cents.

If the sugar cost 1.8272, and the duty is 1.52952, the duty-paid value of each pound of that grade of sugar would be 3.35645. To this add the 27 cents of the German bounty, and we have the total duty-paid cost of the sugar, 3.62645. Now, of this sugar of 92 degrees the Government allows a drawback on 114.94 pounds, estimating it takes that much of this grade to make 100 pounds of hard refined sugar. Multiplying the cost of 1 pound by this drawback allowance of 114.94, and we have for the actual duty-paid cost of enough raw sugar to make 1 pound of refined 4.1682 cents. Now, the price of the refined sugar is 2.3 cents, according to Mr. ALDRICH, and on this the duty is 2.3483, or together the duty-paid price of sugar is 4.6483 cents, and the margin of profit is therefore the difference between these two prices, or 0.4801, to which should be added 0.26 cent admitted in one case as realized out of the soft sugars which result in the process of refining, which together make 0.4701.

I am entirely willing to base this whole discussion upon that basis, but I deny absolutely the correctness of the figures of the Senator from Iowa when he says that under the Wilson Act we impose 85.12 cents upon a hundred pounds as protection, while under the present bill we impose only 46. I contend that under the Wilson Act the protection given is 37 cents on the hundred pounds; that it is 46 cents on the hundred pounds under the Aldrich amendment, and 47 cents a hundred pounds under the pending caucus amendment.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President, the table presented by the Senator from Iowa can be found upon page 2049 of the RECORD. A competent party has shown me a brief analysis of the calculations thus submitted to the Senate. I will insert the table and read the criticism.

The table referred to is as follows:

Degrees.	Price.	Rate.			Differential.		
		Act of 1894.	House.	Proposed Senate.	1894.	House.	Proposed Senate.
	Cents.	*Per ct. Cts.*	*Cts. Per ct.*	*Cts. Per ct.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*
75	88.65	40 = 35.46	100 = 112.80	90 = 101.5	56.29	40.82	62.99
76	94.84	40 = 37.94	103 = 108.60	95 = 98	56.34	38.34	60.32
77	101.04	40 = 40.42	106 = 104.90	96 = 95	53.53	35.97	57.76
78	107.22	40 = 42.88	109 = 101.66	99 = 92.3	51.80	33.72	55.33
79	113.42	40 = 45.37	112 = 98.74	102 = 89.9	48.14	31.58	53.01
80	119.61	40 = 47.84	115 = 96.15	105 = 87.7	45.59	29.55	50.78
81	125.81	40 = 50.32	118 = 93.79	108 = 85.8	43.12	27.63	48.68
82	132.00	40 = 52.80	121 = 91.66	111 = 84	40.75	25.83	46.69
83	138.19	40 = 55.28	124 = 89.93	114 = 82.5	38 48	23.94	44.61
84	144.38	40 = 57.75	127 = 87.96	117 = 81	36.29	22.55	43.04
85	150.57	40 = 60.23	130 = 86.33	120 = 79.7	34.20	21.09	41.39
86	156.77	40 = 62.70	133 = 84.83	123 = 78.4	32.21	19.73	39.84
87	162.96	40 = 65.18	136 = 83.45	126 = 77.3	30.30	18.50	38.45
88	169.15	40 = 67.66	139 = 82.2	139 = 82.2	28.48	17.35	24.85
89	175.34	40 = 70.14	142 = 80.9	142 = 80.9	26.76	16.33	23.83
90	179.96	40 = 71.98	145 = 80.6	145 = 80.6	25.88	15.43	22.93
91	185.125	40 = 74.05	148 = 79.9	148 = 79.9	24.80	14.62	22.12
92	190.29	40 = 76.12	151 = 79.3	151 = 79.3	23.81	13.95	21.45
93	195.46	40 = 78.18	154 = 78.7	154 = 78.7	22.91	13.38	20.88
94	201.42	40 = 80.57	157 = 77.9	157 = 77.9	21.71	12.82	20.32
95	207.18	40 = 82.87	160 = 77.2	160 = 77.2	20.69	12.56	20.06
96	212.795	40 = 85.12	163 = 76.6	163 = 76.6	19.82	12.33	19.83
97	215.89	40 = 86.35	166 = 76.9	166 = 76.9	20.11	12.20	19.70
98	219.06	40 = 87.62	169 = 77.1	169 = 77.1	20.41	12.20	19.70
99	222.15	40 = 88.86	172 = 77.4	172 = 77.4	20.75	12.28	19.78
100	225.71	40 = 89.48	175 = 78.2	175 = 78.2	21.82	12.50	20.00
Refined	247.00	(*)	187.5 = 75.9	195 = 78.9	.....	.....	.....

* 40 per cent and $\frac{1}{9}$ = 111.30.

This table represents what purports to be the differential duties of the present law, the House bill, and the proposed Senate amendment. Without paying attention to any of the sugars testing less than 89, which are not used in the manufacture of granulated sugar, we find that the value given for an 89 test is 1.7534. This price for an 89-test sugar is absolutely incorrect. The present price, as indicated by the Sugar Journal on the 10th instant, is $2\frac{5}{8}$ cents per pound, cost and freight, but not duty, added. The dutiable value, allowing 20 cents for freight, would be $2 per 100 pounds. The price during the year, according to the Sugar Journal, has fluctuated between 2.09 and 2.20, the average price being about 2.15. Deducting therefrom 20 cents, would leave the price 1.95.

The local appraiser at New York, on the 8th instant, reported that at that date the value of 89 sugar from Jamaica, Barbados, and St. Kitts was 1.88 to 1.92 per 100 pounds, and that from the 1st of June of the present year up to the present time the prices had ranged between 1.81 and 1.97. The sugar importers, who are supposed to be in a position to be well informed touching the value of sugar, reported the value of an 89-degree sugar to be 1.96. Thus there is abundant evidence and proof of the incorrectness of the value given by the Senator from Iowa. The effect of this error will be plainly seen when we consider that the duty imposed by the House bill and the Senate bill will not vary with the increased or decreased value of the raw sugar, whereas under the ad valorem duty in the present law a fictitious low value will show a very large differential between the duty on the raw sugar and the refined.

Taking the value of 89-degree sugar, as established by the sugar dealers themselves, namely, 1.96 per 100 pounds, based upon the computation of the Senator from Iowa, the following result is shown:

Value of 120.54 pounds, necessary to make 100 pounds of granulated	2.3626
Duty under the present law (40 per cent ad valorem)	.9450

Value of 100 pounds of granulated sugar, as averaged by the Senator from Iowa	2.47
Duty on the same at 40 per cent ad valorem	.988
Add one-eighth additional duty	.125
Total duty	1.113
Deduct duty on raw	.945
Differential	.168

As against .2676 estimated in the table of the Senator from Iowa.

HOUSE BILL.

Value of 100 pounds of granulated sugar, as above	2.47
Duty	1.875
Duty on 120.54 pounds of 89-test sugar	.1711
Deducting .1711 from duty on granulated (.1875), leaves as differential	.164

SENATE BILL.

Duty on 100 pounds of granulated sugar	1.95
Deduct duty on 120.54 pounds of raw	1.711
Differential	.239

It will thus be shown that the table furnished by the Senator from Iowa is incorrect and that the difference under the present law, taking the value of granulated at 2.47, which is the average value given by him, is considerably less than under the Senate bill. The same difference exists as to 96 centrifugal and all other grades specified in the table furnished by the Senator from Iowa. This computation is made without regard to the three thousand eight hundred and thirty-three ten-thousandths differential which is imposed under the House and Senate bills as a countervailing duty for the German bounty.

Mr. President, whatever we may think of these figures, there is one fact which no one will deny, and that is to be discovered by inspecting the last column of the computation furnished by the Senator from Iowa. Take 95 and 96 sugars, which are admitted to be the grades of which there is the main importation. What is the status of the present amendment with reference to those grades, according to the tables furnished by the Senator from Iowa? In the case of 95 sugars it is stated that the Wilson Act differential is 20.69. In the present amendment it is given as 20.06; practically the same. On 96 sugars it is given under the Wilson Act at 19.82, and the Senate bill, 19.83.

Now, what is the Wilson Act which is thus being imitated and relied upon by the Senator from Iowa in justifying this measure? It seems that the argument in justification of this schedule, which is supposed to be absolutely conclusive, is that it is no higher than the Wilson Act.

Mr. ALLISON. Will the Senator from California allow me?

Mr. WHITE. Certainly.

Mr. ALLISON. My only endeavor was to answer the arguments made upon the other side that we have gone beyond the Wilson Act in our differential.

Mr. WHITE. I thoroughly understand that proposition, but we come right back to my point. The justification, if justification it can be called, suggested by the argument of the Senator from Iowa, and accepting (which we do not) his computation as correct, is that this bill is no worse than the Wilson Act.

What is the attitude of the other side of the Chamber when confronted by this argument? I quoted expressions from Senators made three years ago when I offered a few remarks two or three days past. I have several brochures of the same character upon my desk, and I will read very briefly from two or three of them, which indicate that while the Republican side of the Senate may now believe that the Wilson Act is the most perfect measure ever formulated as regards sugar, their sentiments were, in 1894, widely at variance with their professed faith now. The Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE] said:

Mr. President, there is one thing that is as certain as the coming of tides and sunrise, and that is that whatever happens to be put finally into the bill and is comprehended in its features when it passes, the American people will not go long without a return to the feature of free sugar for the breakfast tables of the people, thereby saving to those breakfast tables an annual tax of between $60,000,000 and $70,000,000.—*Congressional Record*, page 5764, volume 26, part 6, June 5, 1894.

Again, Mr. President, I must say my feelings are outraged. This breakfast table, around which our Republican brethren rallied in 1894, is turned over to its modern autocrat—the sugar trust.

The Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. CHANDLER], whom I am pleased to see in the Chamber, commented at the same time upon the bill as follows:

Mr. President, the sugar show is about to close—

We are now very near the end of this schedule, Mr. President, it will be observed—

The Populists have got free barbed wire and free lumber. The Democrats have got the Populists, and the sugar trust has got them all. The American people are to be taxed next year, and year by year, $60,000,000 annually upon a necessity of life solely in order that the shameless boast of the sugar trust in the Sugar Trade Journal, that the trust controls Congress, may be carried out. (Page 5774, volume 26, part 6, June 5, 1894.)

And yet we have a table presented by the Senator from Iowa, the result of weeks of skilled incubation, which discloses that upon these two most important items of 95 and 96 test the bill is defensible because it is practically like the Wilson Act.

Then the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH], who is absent owing to sickness and who presented the opening argument for the Republican side, and upon which they rested, which they stood by and sanctioned by their silence, and from which no one dissented and against which no Republican computation was offered until yesterday, made the following comment:

Mr. President, it is evident that the die is cast—

Evident!—

The spectacle of a great party responsible for legislation, but hopelessly and helplessly under the control of influences outside of this Chamber, must be a humiliating one to the American people.

I confess to some diffidence in continuing this, but as a matter of duty I will proceed:

If the Senators upon the other side of this aisle should vote upon the propositions contained in this schedule according to their conscience and judgment, it would receive the almost universal condemnation of Democratic Senators.

A substitution should be made here.

Not over six Senators upon that side believe in the justice or equity of the propositions now to be approved in the Committee of the Whole. Certain persons not known to the Constitution or the laws, not recognized as any part of the National Government, have demanded that certain provisions shall be written in the statutes of the United States, and the members of a great party cravenly submit to these demands. (Page 5775, volume 26, part 6, June 5, 1894.)

And yet the same organization, the representatives of which stood by, and if they did not applaud the sentiments it was because the decorum of the body prevented it, is to-day not only sanctioning a bill containing larger differentials than the Wilson and House bills, but which likewise imposes a double tax upon the American people.

The same Senator, at page 5775 of the same volume, said:

And I say to you now that when this question is reached in the Senate, we shall try on this side of the Chamber to secure, if possible, a vote for free sugar.

Let me ask Republican Senators whether they are prepared to secure a vote for free sugar at this time?

This struggle will not end—

The Senator continues—

This struggle will not end to-day in the Senate; it certainly will be continued before the American people and their judgment taken. I tell you, Senators, that no act of yours, no provision in this bill, will be so certain to bring upon you and your party the condemnation of the American people as this one; and when I say "your party" I include also the representatives of the Third Party. Those gentlemen have always asserted that they were the friends of the people. They have signalized that friendship to-day by joining their Democratic allies in forcing upon the people of the United States this unjustifiable, indefensible, and infamous [sugar] tax. I said this tax [sugar] was infamous, and if I could employ any stronger word than that in characterizing it, I should be glad to do so.

Is it not sad to reflect, Mr. President, that a great party, within whose ranks these patriotic sentiments were born, should change its tactics and adopt the very policy which it then characterized as infamous?

Mr. TILLMAN. Will the Senator from California allow me for a minute?

Mr. WHITE. Certainly.

Mr. TILLMAN. Yesterday we had some other things characterized as infamous by a distinguished Senator on the Republican side, and later on I was chided indirectly by my good friend the Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON] because I dealt in epithets. I used the words, "the villainy" which the colleagues on the Finance Committee of the present members of that committee had perpetrated upon the American people in 1894. The Senators on the Republican side claim that they were emulating and imitating their colleagues. The Senator from California has saved me the trouble of proving that what you then characterized as infamous you yourselves are to-day perpetrating.

Mr. WHITE. I have referred to the table furnished by the

Senator from Iowa for the purpose of illustration, not because I concede its correctness in any regard, but, assuming it to be correct, I am pointing out to the Senate that its defense depends upon an imitation of the legislation thus vigorously denounced. Now we are told that the sugar people are entitled to some protection. There seems to be a struggle to protect them in some way. Under the head of "Differential," in the table furnished by the Senator from Iowa, take the figures given in reference to the House bill. According to the table, the House on 95 sugars gave a differential of 12.56, and the Senator proposes that we shall now vote a differential of 20.06; and on 96 the House gave 12.33 and the Senate is now to give 19.83, a little more than the Wilson Act and largely more than the House. Hence the argument is that the protection afforded the trust by the House bill was insufficient. If that is not the argument, why this differential? This table demonstrates, as we have said right along, that, without considering the countervailing duty of thirty-eight one-hundredths at all, the Senate proposes to give to the trust as high duty upon the substantial grades as before conferred and largely in excess of the House schedule.

Now, I wish to know how Senators upon the other side will defend themselves against the charge that they are legislating in favor of this gigantic monster, as they were in the habit of terming it three years ago; how are they to defend themselves when it appears by demonstration from their own figures that they have raised the House differential and are giving to this institution much more than the House proposed. So far as I am concerned, I do not look with any aversion at all, I may say, to such advantage which an American industry may legitimately get because of the imposition of necessary revenue duty, but I do not believe that the trust people are in a position to deserve legislative favors. You have all heard much that was said before the Senate investigating committee. I will read briefly therefrom:

Senator ALLEN. Had you or the Sugar Refining Company contributed anything to the campaign fund in New York last year—the Democratic State campaign fund of last year?

Mr. HAVEMEYER. I will have to answer that in the affirmative.

Senator ALLEN. Did you also contribute something to the Republican campaign fund—that is, for the State campaign?

Mr. HAVEMEYER. We always do that. I have not the amount in my mind.

Senator ALLEN. In 1892 did you contribute to either party?

Mr. HAVEMEYER. The local parties?

Senator ALLEN. The national parties.

Mr. HAVEMEYER. No, sir; but always to the local parties. Let that be distinct.

This evidence was given before the last election—

Senator ALLEN. And you contribute to both parties with the expectation that, whichever party succeeds, your interests will be guarded?

Mr. HAVEMEYER. We have a good deal of protection for our contribution.

They evidently obtain large interest even here—

Senator ALLEN. Therefore you feel at liberty to contribute to both parties?

Mr. HAVEMEYER. It depends. In the State of New York, where the Democratic majority is between 40,000 and 50,000—

It used to be—

we throw it their way. In the State of Massachusetts, where the Republican majority is doubtful, they probably have the call.

Senator ALLEN. However, in the State of New York you contribute to the Democratic party, and in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts you contribute to the Republican party?

Mr. HAVEMEYER. It is my impression that wherever there is a dominant party, wherever the majority is very large, that is the party that gets the contribution, because it is the party that controls local matters.

Senator ALLEN. Then the sugar trust is a Democrat in a Democratic State and a Republican in a Republican State?

Mr. HAVEMEYER. As far as local matters are concerned, I think that is about it.

There was no concealed differential about that.

Senator ALLEN. In the State of Maine, you control the refineries at Portland, do you not?

Mr. HAVEMEYER. That is defunct. We would not give anything to the State of Maine.

Senator ALLEN. In the State of Pennsylvania, where do your contributions go?

Mr. HAVEMEYER. I will have to look that up.

Senator ALLEN. In the State of your nativity, or the nativity of your corporation, New Jersey, where do your contributions go?

Mr. HAVEMEYER. I will have to look that up.

Senator ALLEN. I understand that New Jersey is invariably a Democratic State. It would probably go to the Democratic party?

Mr. HAVEMEYER. Under the theory I have suggested, if they were there, it would naturally go to them.

* * * * * * *

Senator ALLEN. And this money that you contribute to these different parties for campaign purposes, local campaign purposes—that money comes out of the corporation of the sugar refining company?

Mr. HAVEMEYER. Yes, sir.

Senator ALLEN. And is a part of the expenses of that company?

Mr. HAVEMEYER. Yes, sir.

Senator ALLEN. Charged up on your books as expenses?

Mr. HAVEMEYER. Yes, sir.

Senator ALLEN. How would it show—as so much money?

Mr. HAVEMEYER. It would show that a payment was made, and that payment would have to be explained by the party who made it.

Senator ALLEN. The manner in which he did explain it actually would not appear upon your books?

Mr. HAVEMEYER. No, sir.

There are numerous comments made upon this matter in the document which I hold in my hand. I continue:

Mr. Havemeyer has lately explained that he, Mr. Searles, and other trustees of the American Sugar Refining Company are conscientiously working for the stockholders, whose interests they hold in sacred trust, and he modestly states:

"To-day over 7,000 persons are interested as stockholders of the company. The average holding of stock is about $10,000. It has cost its holders on the average par. With the exception of the limited amount which is used for speculative purposes, it is held for investment."

How disinterested are Mr. Havemeyer, Mr. Searles, and others can be inferred from this quotation:

Quoting from the Louisiana Planter and Sugar Manufacturer of April 14, 1894:

A Wall street paper claims to have inside information, and gives the following figures as being accurate. It says: "Mr. H. O. Havemeyer, as president of the company, receives $75,000 per annum. As a member of the board of trustees he receives an additional salary of $25,000, making his annual income from the American Sugar Refining Company $100,000. Mr. Theodore A. Havemeyer receives $75,000—$50,000 as vice-president and $25,000 as trustee.

"Mr. J. E. Searles enjoys the same substantial income, $50,000 as secretary and treasurer of the company, and $25,000 as a trustee. The other members of the board, Messrs. F. O. Matthiessen, William Dick, and Joseph B. Thomas, all receive $25,000 a year, making another annual expenditure of $75,000. There is a vacancy in the board of trustees, caused by the death of the late George Magoun, which necessitates another expense of $25,000 per annum. The American Sugar Refining Company therefore annually expends $350,000 in salaries for officers and trustees."

The average holding of stock may be about $10,000; but the following is the testimony under oath lately given in the New York supreme court as to where the majority of it was located, and recent evidence does not indicate that the control has changed hands.

Quoting from the New York World of April 10, 1894:

At Mr. Matthiessen's home, in Irvington, September 3, 4, and 5, 1889, Mr. Matthiessen described the sugar trust. Mr. Havemeyer and he worked together and controlled in equal shares $31,000,000 of the $50,000,000 of capital. (Testimony of Clarence E. Leonard.)

The richness of the statement that the stock had cost its holders on the average par may be appreciated when it is remembered that the controlling interests of Messrs. Havemeyer and Matthiessen were simply their share of $50,000,000 of stock representing property which, by the trust's own organ, in January, 1891, was estimated at $10,293,336.

Mr. President, can it be possible that it is necessary for us to spend our time here devising means to give this institution more protection? If the Senator from Iowa is correct with reference to the House bill, why is it that we are to devote ourselves to increasing trust protection and affording these people an opportunity further to pursue their monopoly? Every political organization has been in the habit of denouncing these trusts. There are many people, there are many able statesmen who believe that the coming question is as to the control of these enormous combines. We know that in all lines of business concentrated capital in the form of trusts is dominating business affairs, narrowing the avenues in which youth may hope to win success, thus making it harder for a man to be independent, self-reliant, and useful, and thus forcing more and more toward servility to centralized power all classes and conditions. The great question of the hour is how to legislate so that we may be able to master these enemies of enterprise and good government.

I confess that it is a tremendous task and one not easy to be solved. But when we find a proposition here designed to directly benefit a power against which we daily declaim, and which we declare should be subverted, it is our duty to hesitate before we vote affirmatively to increase the profits of the combination. We should, if we believe, as we profess, that trusts should be eradicated, oppose any increase of their gains. Otherwise our good faith will be seriously questioned. Fair legislation I favor. I do not believe this is fair legislation, and I do not think upon reflection, when Senators understand it and appreciate, it they will be willing to father it, as I know they can not defend it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion submitted by the Senator from Iowa to strike out the words which have been read.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask that the proviso, beginning with the word "*Provided*," in line 12, page 64, down to and including the word "same," in line 19, may be passed over.

Mr. WHITE. What is the request of the Senator from Iowa?

Mr. ALLISON. I ask that the proviso relating to the Hawaiian matter may be passed over.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Iowa? The Chair hears none, and it will be so ordered.

Mr. ALLISON. If there are no further amendments to this paragraph, I move to insert the amendment of which I gave notice the other day, to be known as paragraph 206½.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Iowa will be stated.

The SECRETARY. It is intended to insert as a new paragraph the following:

206½. That the duties on molasses, clayed, jaggery, and other sugars testing not above 87 degrees by the polariscope shall be one-tenth of 1 cent per

pound less than those imposed by the preceding paragraph on corresponding tests of sugar.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the amendment proposed by the Senator from Iowa.

Mr. ALLISON. I think it should be stated there, "on other sugars testing above 87 degrees by the polariscope."

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. What was the last statement of the Senator? I did not understand it. Does he propose to modify the amendment?

Mr. ALLISON. I propose to modify it by inserting instead of "corresponding tests of sugar" the words "on grades of sugar testing above 87 degrees of the polariscope." Let the Secretary read it as I have modified it. The language now is "on corresponding tests of sugar," that is, imposed by the preceding paragraph on sugars testing above 87 degrees of the polariscope.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Then, instead of being a reduction, the Senator proposes to increase the rate enormously on these low-grade sugars?

Mr. ALLISON. To increase them?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Yes, sir; that amendment will put the tariff on these low-grade sugars exactly the same as on sugars above 87. I take it the Senator will put no such tax as that on sugars.

Mr. ALLISON. Certainly I have no such purpose, I will say to the Senator. It is only a correction of phraseology to which my attention has been called.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. As I understand the amendment as it stands at present, it is to reduce the——

Mr. ALLISON. I will state to the Senator from Arkansas the purpose of this amendment. I think it is well known that sugar of this character testing 87 degrees and below by the polariscope should pay one-tenth of a cent less than other sugars.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. That is to say, it shall pay 1 cent for 75 and 2.01 cents for each degree above 75 until it reaches 87, instead of 3.

Mr. ALLISON. Yes; that is——

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Does the language of the proposed amendment carry out the Senator's intention? It seems to me that the present language will leave the rate at 1 cent on 75, and three one-hundredths on each degree even after it passes 87. So it will be three one-hundredths on sugar between 75 and 87, as well as above that. But with the change the Senator just now intimated it would increase the rates on the low-grade sugar absolutely to the gross tariff on the amount above 87.

Mr. ALLISON. I withdraw my suggestion. Certainly I had no such purpose. What I fear is that the words "on corresponding tests of sugar" will relate to the same test of sugar embraced in the paragraph, and therefore will be meaningless; that is all. I assure the Senator, and of course Senators must understand it, that all I desire in this amendment is what we propose.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. With the language of the amendment, "That the duties on molasses, clayed, jaggery," etc., I am inclined to think the words "and other sugars" ought to go out before the words "testing not above 87 degrees by the polariscope shall be one-tenth of 1 cent per pound less than those imposed by the preceding paragraph on corresponding tests of sugar;" that is to say, sugars testing below 87 degrees.

Mr. ALLISON. Very well. The amendment was suggested by an observation made at my side by the Senator from Connecticut, but I withdraw the suggestion.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I am very much inclined to believe that the words "and other sugars" ought to go out.

Mr. ALLISON. I think that is not the purpose. The purpose is to include all sugars testing below 87 degrees by the polariscope.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. But is there any sugar excepting molasses and jaggery testing below 75?

Mr. ALLISON. I think there is.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. There certainly can be no centrifugals.

Mr. ALLISON. None of them test below 89; few of them below 90. I will allow the amendment to stand.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the amendment proposed by the Senator from Iowa.

Mr. ALLISON. I withdraw my modification.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The modification is withdrawn, and the amendment will stand as at first presented.

Mr. ALLISON. As printed.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 207, page 65, line 23, after the word "unmanufactured," to strike out "twenty" and insert "ten;" so as to make the paragraph read:

207. Maple sugar and maple sirup, 4 cents per pound; glucose or grape sugar, 1½ cents per pound; sugar cane in its natural state, or unmanufactured, 10 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in paragraph 208, page 66, line 1, after the word "saccharine," to strike out "$2" and insert "$1;" and in line 2, after the word "and," to strike out "fifteen" and insert "ten;" so as to make the paragraph read:

208. Saccharine, $1 per pound and 10 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 66, line 3, paragraph 209, after the word "confectionery," to strike out the comma and the words "and all other articles made wholly or in part of sugar;" in line 5, after the word "less," to strike out "and on sugars after being refined, when tinctured, colored, or in any way adulterated, eight" and insert the word "four;" in line 7, paragraph 209, before the words "per centum," to strike out "twenty" and insert "fifteen;" in line 8, after the word "pound," to strike out "and not more than 35 cents per pound, 12 cents per pound and 20 per cent ad valorem; valued at above 35 cents per pound;" in line 12, before the word "immediate," to strike out the words "of paper or other" and insert "of the;" and in the same line, after the word "immediate," to strike out "wrappers, tickets, labels, cans, cartons, boxes or;" so as to make the paragraph read:

209. Sugar candy and all confectionery valued at 15 cents per pound or less, 4 cents per pound and 15 per cent ad valorem; valued at more than 15 cents per pound, 50 per cent ad valorem. The weight of the immediate coverings, other than the outer packing case or other covering, shall be included in the dutiable weight of the merchandise.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. VEST. I should like to inquire of the Senator from Iowa what he estimates that increase of duty upon—candy valued at 15 cents a pound, 4 cents a pound and 15 per cent ad valorem? It is 35 per cent under existing law. I notice that we exported $515,263 worth in 1896, and we imported $22,000 worth.

Mr. ALLISON. As the Senator will see, we recommend a reduction largely from the House bill.

Mr. VEST. But my calculation is that you put it back to 50 per cent from 35. That is the reason why I asked the question.

Mr. ALLISON. Twelve cents per pound and 20 per cent ad valorem. Does the Senator conclude that that is less than 50 per cent? My understanding is that it is more.

Mr. VEST. I ask the Senator what is his estimate of the duty?

Mr. ALLISON. It was intended to place that at 50 per cent ad valorem. It is a less rate of duty than that proposed in the matter stricken out. If there are no further amendments to this schedule, Mr. President——

Mr. PETTIGREW. I offer an amendment to come in at the end of line 15, on page 66.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment submitted by the Senator from South Dakota will be read.

Mr. ALLISON. Is that the amendment proposing a new section respecting trusts, etc.?

Mr. PETTIGREW. Yes, sir; that is the amendment.

Mr. ALLISON. I hoped the Senator would be willing to allow that amendment to be passed over for the present, inasmuch as it is in the nature of legislation and should go in as a separate and distinct section, especially as it applies, I understand, to every one of the schedules of the bill. There are several legislative provisions, and if the Senator will allow it to be passed over until we reach those legislative provisions I think it would facilitate action on the bill and also place the amendment really in the place where it properly belongs. I of course——

Mr. PETTIGREW. The sugar paragraphs of the bill are intimately related to this amendment, and any discussion of the amendment necessarily involves the discussion of the sugar question. It seems to me if we want to facilitate the passage of the bill we had better dispose of the sugar question now and not bring it up again at the end of the paragraphs of the bill. I shall have no objection after it is disposed of, if it is adopted, to giving unanimous consent that it may be put in at any place in the bill in arranging the order of the sections afterwards, but it seems to me that we had better dispose of the question now. Therefore I desire that it shall be considered at this time. Of course we can not prevent a majority of the Senate, if they choose to do so, from delaying action upon it, but, as far as I am concerned, I prefer to dispose of it at this time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment submitted by the Senator from South Dakota will be read.

Mr. VEST. Mr. President, I want to say a word about this matter without detaining the Senate unnecessarily. I never supposed until the present session of Congress that there was any difference between the two great parties of the country as to the propriety of this amendment. I remember very distinctly that in 1890 the leader of the Republican party, now the Secretary of State, Senator Sherman, of Ohio, declared in this Chamber that whenever he was satisfied that a trust existed as to any article protected by the tariff he would immediately favor removing the duty upon that article. That sentiment was repeated with great

approbation upon both sides of the Chamber and in the press of the country of all complexions and political opinion, and until now I did not suppose there was any difference of opinion.

But, Mr. President, I have one overwhelming reason for wanting to vote upon this proposition now, and I gave it or intimated it some days ago. I want to dispose of the sugar schedule. As I have had occasion to say more than once, it is a source of calumny, scandal, and irritation, and there is no peace, to speak properly, in the Senate or in Congress as long as the schedule is pending.

Now, suppose we put off this amendment until the close of the bill. Then when it comes up for discussion the whole sugar schedule will be up again, the whole question will be gone over, and there will be the same irritation and the same scandal. For one, I want to dispose of it and take my share of responsibility as to all parts of it. I shall insist upon a vote now. If our friends upon the other side are not willing to meet it, let them take the responsibility of putting it off.

It seems to me that this is the appropriate time. We have been talking here about trusts and combines for a week. The press of the country is full of all sorts of innuendoes and direct charges even as to the motives of Senators and the influences at work here. That great trust is like an octopus, as they say, and is controlling Congress. I want to see now whether we can not dispose of this matter, and dispose of all the phases of it and get rid of it. As the Senator from South Dakota has properly remarked, as to the place in the bill where this provision is to go, that is very easily adjusted. There can be no friction in regard to it.

It is reported—I do not know, for I am not in the confidence of our friends on the other side politically—that this matter has been the subject of caucus deliberation by the Republicans, and that it has been referred to the majority of the Judiciary Committee of the Senate, the Republican Senators on that committee. Now, we are just as competent to decide on this question as any committee. We understand the bearing of the whole question as much as we will know after a dozen reports from a dozen committees. I know of no legal question that is involved in it, and as to the details of the amendment we are entirely competent and ready, so far as I am concerned, to take it up and dispose of those details. Until we do get rid of it it will hang over the Senate and be the fruitful source of all sorts of irritation and scandal. For one I want to vote on it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment submitted by the Senator from South Dakota will be read.

The SECRETARY. After line 15, page 66, it is proposed to insert:

That all articles on the dutiable list mentioned in this act shall be admitted free of duty if said articles or articles of a like character of domestic production are manufactured or their sale controlled or the price affected by a trust or combination to increase the cost of said articles to purchasers by preventing competition or otherwise. Every contract, combination in the form of a trust, or association or corporation whose effect is to restrict the quantity of production or increase the price of any article, or any conspiracy in restraint of trade, shall be deemed a trust within the provisions of this act.

Any citizen of the United States may file a petition, verified by oath or affirmation, in any district court of the United States where the defendant has an office or place of business or may reside, alleging the existence of a trust as herein defined, and that articles or products subject to duty under this act, or articles or products of like character of domestic production, are manufactured, or their sale controlled, or the price affected by said trust; whereupon a summons shall be immediately issued from said court directing the defendant to appear and answer said petition, the case to be governed as to time and manner of service, the pleadings, and all proceedings had therein, as is now provided by law in civil causes instituted in the district courts of the United States.

If any citizen of the United States shall file with any district attorney for said district the petition herein set forth, it shall be the duty of said attorney to institute proceedings forthwith in the district court for said district in the name of the United States for the purpose of determining the issues made by said petition, like proceedings to be had in such case as hereinbefore prescribed.

The summons to the defendant or defendants herein required shall be served upon the president or chief officer, if a corporation, or upon all the members, if an association or partnership, and the Secretary of the Treasury shall also be notified of the existence and nature of the suit.

All cases instituted as herein provided shall be advanced upon the docket of the court so as to have precedence of trial over all civil causes thereon, and an appeal may be taken from the decision of the district court to the circuit court of the United States for the district, under the same rules as are prescribed for like appeals in other civil cases, but the judgment of the circuit court shall be final.

If the decision of the court shall be that the allegations of the petitions are true, an order directing the customs officers of the United States to thereafter permit the importation of such article or articles free of duty shall at once issue: *Provided*, That where a duty is levied upon raw material or any article that is improved by any process after being imported, the duty on the raw material or unrefined or unimproved article shall be collected, and a like amount of duty upon the refined or improved article as provided by this act; but the differential or additional duty shall not be collected if the improved or refined product is found to be the subject of a trust, as hereinbefore set forth: *Provided*, That at any time after judgment the Secretary of the Treasury, upon written grounds, or any party to the proceedings upon petition, verified by oath or affirmation, may move the court to set aside or suspend the enforcement of such judgment. If upon hearing it shall be adjudged that the trust has ceased to exist, it shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to withdraw or cancel his orders to the customs officers, and such officers shall immediately resume the collection of the duties imposed by this act. The parties to the original proceeding who do not join in the motion shall have reasonable notice thereof, and the motion shall be advanced and have precedence of trial over all civil causes. Appeals may be taken as in the original proceeding to the circuit court, but the judgment of that court upon the motion shall be final.

Mr. PETTIGREW. Mr. President, up to the last national convention the amendment which I have offered was in strict accord with the platform, the principles, and the policies of the Republican party. But the last convention of the Republican party at St. Louis left that plank out of their platform. Previous to that time the Republican party had declared for bimetallism. Bimetallism is dangerous to trusts, because trusts do not thrive on rising prices, but flourish when prices decline. Therefore if the trusts were to be left out, and bimetallism left out, everything was in absolute harmony. The platform accorded apparently with the policies of the convention. If this was accidental, if this provision was left out of the platform by an oversight, if it was not left out because the trusts had gained possession of the convention and did not desire to abuse each other, then of course that will be illustrated by the vote to-day.

In the platform of 1888 the Republican party declared:

We declare our opposition to all combinations of capital, organized in trusts or otherwise, to control arbitrarily the condition of trade among our citizens; and we recommend to Congress and the State legislatures, in their respective jurisdictions, such legislation as will prevent the execution of all schemes to oppress the people by undue charges on their supplies, or by unjust rates for the transportation of their products to market. We approve the legislation by Congress to prevent alike unjust burdens and unfair discriminations between the States.

And that is good Republican doctrine. It was at that time. At the next convention, in 1892, the Republican party declared:

We reaffirm our opposition, declared in the Republican platform of 1888, to all combinations or capital organized in trusts or otherwise to control arbitrarily the condition of trade among our citizens. We heartily indorse the action already taken upon this subject and ask for such further legislation as may be required to remedy any defects in existing laws and to render their enforcement more complete and effective.

To-day we have a chance to carry out the plank in that platform and enact those necessary laws, to enact one of those protective provisions to carry out this platform by declaring that every article controlled by a trust or by a combination to limit production or increase the price shall be subject to the competition of the world, unless the trust will dissolve. The punishment is therefore automatic. The trust can decide whether it will go out of existence or contest the rich American market with the manufacturers of other countries. It is absolutely and strictly in accordance with the fundamental principles of protection as laid down by the Republican party since it came into existence, for the Republican doctrine was that by protection we reduce the price of the article to the consumer; that by protection we build up competition at home; that competition lowers the price and does justice to the consumer. But, Mr. President, when you allow the existence of a trust to control that price and then fix a tariff by which they can raise the price to the limit of the tariff, you have overturned every principle of protection. You can not justify this bill without the amendment.

Mr. HOAR. Mr. President, I do not wish to debate this question now. I expected when I came here and now expect to do, for one, all in my power to check and control the evil at which the amendment is aimed. I do not think it finds a proper place in a tariff bill. I think it belongs to the penal legislation of the country; that it should be considered by the Senators who are charged by the Senate with the consideration of that class of questions, and should be a bill by itself. It seems to me to have no place here. I trust that some additional legislation may be devised and will be devised that may be satisfactory to the country as far as such things can be controlled by legislation.

Further, I am opposed to the amendment for one special reason, besides many others. Its provisions are such that any two or three men (they may be foreigners, they may be exporters, they may do it for the express purposes of accomplishing that result), by making a combination for the purpose of increasing the cost of articles, can at once compel the article they make to be put on the free list, and doing the thing with that motive, however small or temporary or ineffective their purpose, will put the article affected on the free list. So if three wool importers in Boston do this thing, they can ruin every woolgrower in the West, whose prosperity depends on the existence of the tariff. If three men in Chicago make a combination to put up the price of the manufactures of wool, they can ruin 10,000 innocent, honest woolen manufacturers in New England. In other words, you put the great protective policies of this country at the mercy of two or three criminal persons.

Senators may talk about trusts and speculation. Was there ever a trust, was there ever a speculation possible under existing laws like what would be possible under a law which, like this amendment, provides that three men may have a tariff on an article for one six months and not for the next six months, and then renew it another six months, and so on?

So I propose to vote against the amendment.

Mr. FAULKNER. I ask the Senator whether he is correct in his view in reference to the effect of the amendment. When he

considers the amendment on page 3, from line 44 down to line 55, he will find that it very guardedly protects the very proposition that he thinks it opens to every party.

Mr. HOAR. No; I do not think it does at all, as you will see.

Mr. FAULKNER. The proviso beginning in line 47 reads:

Provided, That where a duty is levied upon raw material or any article that is improved by any process after being imported, the duty on the raw material or unrefined or unimproved article shall be collected, and a like amount of duty upon the refined or improved article as provided by this act; but the differential or additional duty shall not be collected if the improved or refined product is found to be the subject of a trust, as hereinbefore set forth.

For example, take the sugar trust. The Senator does not mean to maintain, if the courts held and adjudicated that that was a trust under the provisions of this amendment, that raw sugar would be exempt from duty, but simply the differential between the raw and the refined as given by the bill?

Mr. HOAR. Mr. President, let us see, if we can, what this amendment is. It says:

That all articles on the dutiable list mentioned in this act shall be admitted free of duty if said articles or articles of a like character of domestic production are manufactured—

That is one complete sentence—

or their sale controlled—

That is the second alternative—

or the price affected by a trust or combination to increase the cost of said articles.

That is the third alternative. That would cover every contract whose effect is to restrict the quantity of production or increase the price. A contract between two country firms, of the most insignificant character, diminishing the quantity of production or increasing the price of any article is a trust. The doing of any of the things I have read would make an article free. That ends that.

Mr. FAULKNER. No.

Mr. HOAR. Now comes your remedy:

Any citizen of the United States may file a petition, verified by oath or affirmation, in any district court of the United States where the defendant has an office or place of business or may reside, alleging the existence of a trust as herein defined.

That is, that John Brown and John Smith, of Huckleberry Center, Me., have contrived to raise the price of imported wool or of wheat in that town, or to restrict the product of grain, each of them having an acre of wheat, agreeing that they will not raise any more. That having been done, you file your petition and the summons issues. Then, when that is done, the parties being the petitioner on one side and these two people on the other, the case goes on. Then you have another provision that the district attorney also, for the Government, may file a like petition. When either of these cases, either this between John Brown and John Smith, of Huckleberry Center, or John Jones or the district attorney's petition has got to the court, the court finds, without any discretion, that the allegations of the petition are true.

Then, having found that, an order is issued directing the customs officers of the United States to thereafter permit the importation of wool throughout this country free, or the importation of wheat free, or of cotton, or of lumber free, as the case may be, that little, trivial, petty transaction having taken place; and thereupon there are these provisions about raw materials, etc., which it is not necessary to read.

I say again that there never was put into words like these a scheme suggested or proposed in the wildest imagination which would so encourage gambling, speculation, and trusts, the improper control of the business of many men by the few. It is folly and abomination through and through. Three knaves, Canadians, Englishmen, Germans, Scandinavians, Mesopotamians, Jews, bond or free, as St. Paul says, may come over here and do this thing for the very purpose of overthrowing our tariff laws, and the whole tariff system in this country is to be at their mercy, and the thousands and thousands of honest men doing a small business on the stream where you live, Mr. President [Mr. GALLINGER in the chair], or where I live, the farmers in the great wheat-growing regions of this country, the manufacturers of iron and steel, are to be put at the mercy of this combination by this proposition, which does not, even if that would help it much, give a drop of discretion to anybody to temper its exercise either by mercy or by reason. I tell the Senator from West Virginia I am right in what this thing means and as to what it says, and neither he nor anybody else can get away from it.

Mr. FAULKNER. Mr. President, I am not going into any denunciation of any interest, or use any strong language, such as the Senator from Massachusetts has done in discussing this question. I am looking at it simply from a legal standpoint. I am satisfied the Senator from Massachusetts is wrong. I am satisfied that the provision is clearly drawn to carry out the purpose and intention of its author, and that no order could be issued which could put raw material, such as wool, taking the illustration which the Senator gave, on the free list, although it might be found that the manufactured article, which is woolen cloths, was in a trust.

Mr. HOAR. I did not say that the manufactured article being in a trust would make wool free. I said a trust affecting wool would make wool free.

Mr. FAULKNER. It could not make wool free if it is raw material, nor could it make even the manufactured product free; but the ad valorem duty upon the article, which is the tariff duty upon wool, and not the compensatory duty by reason of raw wool, would also be collected under the provisions of this bill. The only penalty would be the penalty of the compensatory duty. That would be forfeited.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Does not the Senator understand that, by the provisions of this proposed amendment, if there is a trust which in any way controls the raw material, that raw material is to be free also?

Mr. FAULKNER. No, I do not.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. I have not the amendment before me, but I wish the Senator would read that provision.

Mr. FAULKNER. The Senator from Massachusetts simply read the opening clause, which refers to the subjects that are intended to be embraced; and then he went on very carefully to describe the right of the citizen or the district attorney to file a petition to bring the subject-matter before the court for its adjudication; but when he came to the judgment of the court, the Senator from Massachusetts ceased to discuss the amendment. Why? Because the judgment of the court fixes exactly the question as to whether or not the transaction would deprive the parties or the Government of the right of taxation on either the raw material or the improved article, except so far as the differential was given in the interest of that particular trust, or of the compensatory duty given, as in the interest of wool.

Here is the provision as to the judgment of the court, and that is the only way by which any article can get upon the free list by virtue of this judgment, and that judgment is controlled by the express provision of the amendment itself:

If the decision of the court shall be that the allegations of the petitions are true, an order directing the customs officers of the United States to thereafter permit the importation of such article or articles free of duty shall at once issue.

If the provision stopped there, there is no question about what would be the effect of it. All articles as to which there was a trust would necessarily be placed upon the free list by virtue of the provisions of this amendment; but the limitation under the proviso is as follows:

Provided, That where a duty is levied upon raw material, or any article that is improved by any process after being imported, the duty on the raw material or unrefined or unimproved article shall be collected, and a like amount of duty upon the refined or improved article as provided by this act; but the differential or additional duty shall not be collected if the improved or refined product is found to be the subject of a trust, as hereinbefore set forth.

It is limited to the improved product.

Mr. HOAR. If the Senator will pardon me, all articles are to be admitted free of duty if such articles are controlled by a trust. That is the way the amendment begins, "All articles." Then it goes on to say:

That where a duty is levied upon raw material, or any article that is improved by any process after being imported, the duty on the raw material or unrefined or unimproved article shall be collected, and a like amount of duty upon the refined or improved article as provided by this act; but the differential or additional duty shall not be collected.

Very clearly to my apprehension that only applies to what the Senator has read; but where this trust affects, not the raw material, but the thing in its advanced stage, in which case the raw material being still dutiable, in spite of the provision that all matters affected by a trust are free, the advanced process is the subject of the trust. Then the provision goes on to say, that this duty being collected on the raw material, you are to collect on the advanced process of the product so much as is the duty on the raw material, but not the differential. That would be an injustice in this thing.

The Senator certainly does not mean to say that this provision was drawn with the view of protecting trusts on raw materials which the operators or the manufacturers in an advanced stage had nothing to do with. He does not mean to say that he proposes to support an amendment which permits trusts in wool, or permits trusts in wheat, or permits trusts in cotton, or anything of that kind, or to make them still lawful and protected, and that he is only aiming at trusts by manufacturers. It would be a monstrous proposition, which my honorable friend never would support. This is very clear in that particular to my apprehension. It says, first, that all articles that are the subject of this trust shall be admitted free of duty without an exception, but that when the raw material continues dutiable, that is not being the subject of a trust, but where there is a trust in the advanced stage you shall collect the duty on the raw material, and that from the men who

raise it, who are not guilty, you shall collect the duty on so much of the thing in its advanced stage as belongs to the raw material; otherwise you would be punishing them, and you shall not collect the differential, which is what this trust is dealing in. That is what the thing says.

Mr. FAULKNER. I see the Senator from Massachusetts, upon a reconsideration of the matter, recognizes the correctness of my position.

Mr. HOAR. The Senator will pardon me. If the Senator is right, then you have got a proposition here, as is suggested to me by the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. PLATT], by the confession of its friends, providing for an importers' trust and only protecting that. It is worse in the construction of my honorable friend the Senator from Connecticut than it is in mine.

Mr. FAULKNER. The honorable Senator is as much in error upon that as he was before; but inasmuch as he has confessed his first error——

Mr. HOAR. I have not confessed any error.

Mr. FAULKNER. The entire discussion of the question——

Mr. HOAR. Will the Senator pardon me?

Mr. FAULKNER. I thought I had the floor. The Senator has not addressed the Chair and he has not asked permission to interrupt me.

Mr. HOAR. Will the Senator from West Virginia yield to me?

Mr. FAULKNER. I will, with pleasure.

Mr. HOAR. I desire to say to my honorable friend that I am amazed at his statement. I have not suggested or thought or intimated that I had been mistaken in any respect. I affirm now, without qualification, that the proposition which I first laid down is true. What I said was that if in substance this amendment does in effect protect trusts by importers, it is worse even than I had thought it.

Mr. FAULKNER. That was in the latter part of the Senator's remarks, suggested to him by the distinguished Senator from Connecticut [Mr. PLATT]; but as I understand from his remarks—and I think he will find I am correct when he reads them in the RECORD—he said that he recognized the fact that it did not enable anyone to combine in reference to raw wool by making a trust and having it declared a trust, and then raw wool was to come in free. That was the argument of the Senator.

Mr. HOAR. I disclaim having said that before. I never said that.

Mr. FAULKNER. Then I did not understand the distinguished Senator.

Mr. HOAR. That is exactly right.

Mr. FAULKNER. Of course I attribute it entirely to my obtuseness and not to the Senator's want of facility in expression.

Mr. HOAR. Will the Senator from West Virginia yield to me further to say a word?

Mr. FAULKNER. With pleasure.

Mr. HOAR. I only wish to say that the Senator is a man of most remarkable intellectual acuteness, but that, in fact, he misunderstands me.

Mr. FAULKNER. I have no doubt, as the Senator so states, that I did misunderstand him; but I think the Senate understood the Senator as I did; at least, the Senators around me certainly did.

It will be found upon an examination of this amendment just as I stated. It puts a punishment upon all combinations or trusts in manufactured articles where there is a duty upon the raw material and where there is a duty also upon the manufactured product, which duty upon the manufactured product is increased by reason of the fact that a duty is put upon the raw material. It is simply provided that, in the judgment of the court, the differential or benefit given to them over and above the amount of the duty upon the raw material shall be taken from them by reason of the formation of the trust as a penalty for that offense. When that is done, the penalty of the law is fully exhausted, and any manufacturers who form a trust in raw material would not be benefited by having wool, as suggested by the Senator, put upon the free list; but all raw material, under all circumstances, under the provision of the amendment providing for the judgment of the court, must be put upon the dutiable list at the rates fixed in this bill.

Further than that, all partially manufactured articles must also be kept upon the dutiable list, as provided in this bill, notwithstanding this; but so far as the finished product is concerned, as to the differential given to it—as in the case of woolen goods, the compensatory duty, and, as I suppose would be the case as to the sugar trust, the difference between the raw and the refined sugar—the trust would have, of course, to surrender that benefit as a penalty under the provisions of the amendment.

Mr. HOAR. May I ask the honorable Senator before he sits down one practical question?

Mr. FAULKNER. Certainly.

Mr. HOAR. Suppose it be the case of Egyptian cotton, which, I suppose, is an article of "like character" with the sea-island cotton for the purposes of this bill; at any rate, we will assume that. What is to be done with that? The amendment says:

That all articles on the dutiable list mentioned in this act shall be admitted free of duty if said articles or articles of a like character of domestic production are manufactured—

Leave that out—

or their sale controlled or the price affected by a trust or combination.

So if the sale of sea-island cotton is controlled or its price is affected by a trust or combination to increase the cost of the article to the consumer, then it is to be admitted free of duty. That is the first proposition.

Mr. FAULKNER. That is according to the Senator's interpretation.

Mr. HOAR. That is my interpretation of the first clause. Then you go on and say that a duty shall be levied; then that the duty on the raw material shall be collected, and the differential duty shall not. It seems to me—and I ask the Senator if I am not right—that where the duty is not to be levied upon an article any longer because it is on the free list, the provision about the differential does not apply; in other words, is it not true that the purpose of the framer of this amendment was to strike at the trust, if the trust only affected the manufactured article, and then not to hurt the producer of the raw material? But if it affected the producer of the raw material, then to protect him. Is not that true, or is not the alternative proposition true, that this is provided to protect importers' trusts of raw material, and only to strike at manufacturers' trusts?

Mr. FAULKNER. I do not think it does apply. I do not think that is the correct view of the provision. I think it has no effect whatever in the cases suggested by the Senator; but really the penalty, which is the provision on the third page of the amendment, and the only penalty that can be imposed by the order of the court, is limited in such a way that it can only apply to the manufactured article. That is my opinion.

The amendment is carefully worded in reference to another question. In some instances in the tariff the manufactured article does not receive a compensatory or differential duty which is as large as the duty on the raw material. This amendment provides that, notwithstanding that provision, the manufactured product, although in the trust, being compelled to pay the full duty on the raw material, the same amount of duty shall be collected upon competing articles of that character, although they are in the trust.

Mr. FRYE. Will the Senator allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. FAULKNER. Certainly.

Mr. FRYE. The woolen manufacturers receive a compensatory duty for the duty on wool. Suppose the woolen manufacturers of Massachusetts should form a trust for the purpose of increasing the price of woolen goods, would not, then, the woolen manufacturers of the country, under this proposed amendment if it should become a part of the law, lose their compensatory duty?

Mr. FAULKNER. Partly so, but as the duty on the raw material is so large, they would get a larger duty by reason of the provision of this amendment than they would get as a duty upon the manufactured product.

Mr. FRYE. But they are still obliged to pay a duty on the wool.

Mr. FAULKNER. To that extent they would get the duty on the competing articles which were imported.

Mr. FRYE. As I understand it, if the woolen manufacturers of Massachusetts should form a combination in the shape of a trust, and the woolen manufacturers of Maine and Indiana should not, the woolen manufacturers of Maine and Indiana would pay the penalty for the wrong done by the woolen manufacturers of Massachusetts?

Mr. FAULKNER. To the extent that the article produced by the trust would be put upon the free list.

Mr. FRYE. If they were affected at all, would it not be in the way I have stated?

Mr. FAULKNER. I think it would be just, because it would return every cent that they had paid for the material that entered into this article which was the product of the trust. That is the provision of this amendment.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. I should like to ask the Senator from West Virginia what his construction of this amendment is? Is his construction such that if there be a combination to control the price of imported articles which are raw material and on the dutiable list, those articles will be admitted free of duty, or is it only in the case of manufactured products?

Mr. FAULKNER. In the case of manufactured products, I say, because there is no provision for the judgment of the court except as to manufactured products. That limits all the provisions of the amendment.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Then it seems that the construction which I suggested to the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] is correct. Here is an amendment which proposes to put manufactured articles on the free list if anybody in any way is associated to raise the price of those manufactured articles, but

it does not put articles which are called raw materials on the free list, however many trusts there may be in them. If a trust be formed to control the importation of raw sugar, sugar is not to be put on the free list because of the trust; but it is only when some trust relates to the manufacture or improvement of what is called the raw material. So that the amendment provides for and encourages importers' trusts, and condemns trusts if they exist among our own people to improve upon imported articles.

[Mr. PETTUS addressed the Senate. See Appendix.]

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, I do not intend at this time to enter upon a general discussion of the subject-matter of trusts, but I shall simply aim in a few brief words to point out what I conceive to be some of the radical defects of the amendment of the Senator from South Dakota. In the little I undertake to say on this occasion I will proceed on the theory that we are all of us actuated by an honest desire and an honest purpose to repress by suitable legislation all unlawful trusts and unlawful combinations, as far as it is possible, and that the real difference is in respect to the means that we severally invoke.

In the early part of this session, when the tariff bill first came into this body, I took the liberty of preparing and introducing an amendment on the subject of trusts. I studied over the question somewhat, and when I had prepared my brief amendment and introduced it I thought at the time that so far as it extended it was a perfect piece of legislation. I was further fortified in this view by the fact that a provision substantially similar appeared in the Canadian tariff bill. But I have now, after deliberating over the matter, come to the conclusion that the amendment which I offered, as I shall point out by and by, is not the proper thing, and would not in practical operation subserve the purpose intended, but would tend to greatly embarrass the Executive and would lead to no substantial advantage.

When I first read the amendment of the Senator from South Dakota, I thought it had undoubted merit. In the first place, as a lawyer, it appealed to my sense of justice from the fact that it proposed to submit the question of trust to the courts. But if we look at the ultimate object in view from a practical standpoint—and that is the test we must apply in all these cases when we come to legislate—we will see the defects of the measure.

The amendment of the Senator from South Dakota contains three controlling provisions. In the first paragraph it defines what constitutes a forbidden trust or combination in the following language:

> That all articles on the dutiable list mentioned in this act shall be admitted free of duty if said articles or articles of a like character of domestic production are manufactured or their sale controlled or the price affected by a trust or combination to increase the cost of said articles to purchasers by preventing competition or otherwise. Every contract, combination in the form of a trust, or association or corporation whose effect is to restrict the quantity of production or increase the price of any article, or any conspiracy in restraint of trade shall be deemed a trust within the provisions of this act.

This is the definition of a trust or unlawful combination. It lays down the fundamental principle or cause of action. The following paragraph prescribes the procedure to be resorted to in ascertaining the existence of the trust:

> Any citizen of the United States may file a petition, verified by oath or affirmation, in any district court of the United States where the defendant has an office or place of business or may reside, alleging the existence of a trust, as herein defined, and that articles or products subject to duty under this act, or articles or products of like character of domestic production, are manufactured, or their sale controlled, or the price affected by said trust; whereupon a summons shall be immediately issued from said court directing the defendant to appear and answer said petition, the case to be governed as to time and manner of service, the pleadings, and all proceedings had therein, as is now provided by law in civil causes instituted in the district courts of the United States.
>
> If any citizen of the United States shall file with any district attorney for said district the petition herein set forth, it shall be the duty of said attorney to institute proceedings forthwith in the district court for said district in the name of the United States for the purpose of determining the issues made by said petition, like proceedings to be had in such case as hereinbefore prescribed.

The issue thus presented is to be tried by the court, and if the court finally decides that a trust does exist, no matter how limited, no matter how few may be in the trust, no matter how limited may be the territorial area which it occupies, then it inevitably follows that the goods in respect to which the trust exists or those of a similar nature are to be put upon the free list, except in the case of raw material. This is the language of the amendment upon this point:

> If the decision of the court shall be that the allegations of the petitions are true, an order directing the customs officers of the United States to thereafter permit the importation of such article or articles free of duty shall at once issue.

What are the consequences of such a judgment? The consequences are that all the goods of the character and kind embraced in the trust found throughout the entire Union are put upon the free list, and, as a consequence, the Government is deprived of the revenue. But this loss of revenue is not all. If in any portion of this country, in any corner—and we have an immense domain, extending from ocean to ocean and from the Great Lakes to the Gulf—there is a trust of any kind or to any extent in the manufacture of, say, woolen goods, or in the manufacture of cotton goods, and any citizen chooses to make complaint that there is such a trust, and that issue is tried and found to be true, under this amendment it inevitably follows that not only is that part of the country in which the trust exists and which is directly affected by the trust placed under free trade, but the entire country, East as well as West, suffers the same penalty. The innocent manufacturer suffers in common with the guilty one.

Take the case of a great industry from which we derive a large amount of revenue. If in respect to that one industry a trust is found in any corner of this broad land, in any one of our forty-odd States, no matter how limited in area or numbers the trust may be, and the court decides there is such a trust, then under this rigid and arbitrary amendment it follows inevitably that all over this Union the product or output of that industry is put upon the free list. So you see that if a trust is found by the court in any corner of this land, two consequences follow, two punishments follow that may be far greater than the evil to be corrected. One is that all over the country parties who are innocent of the trust, parties who have not been in the combination, but who are unfortunate enough to be engaged in that particular industry, are punished and put under the penalties of free trade, and then, in addition, the Government is deprived of its revenue, a matter that may be of serious consequence where millions of revenue are involved.

We can not fool the American people by any such legislation as this. However anxious and desirous we may be to check and restrain trusts—and I believe I am as anxious as anybody—we can not afford to inject any such legislation into a tariff bill or put it on the statute books.

Mr. President, in this connection, I will candidly call attention to my amendment and what I now see are its defects, and will also call attention to a provision in the Canadian tariff bill on the same subject. First I will read the Canadian provision, so Senators can see the difference. The Canadian is as follows:

> That whenever it shall appear to the satisfaction of the governor in council that as respects any article of commerce there exists any trust, combination, association, or agreement of any kind among the manufacturers of such article, or the dealers therein, or any portion of them, to enhance the price of such article, or in any other way to unduly promote the advantage of such manufacturers or dealers at the expense of the consumers, and that such disadvantage to the consumers is facilitated by the customs duty imposed on a like article when imported, then the governor in council shall place such article on the free list, or so reduce the duty on it as to give to the public the benefit of reasonable competition in such article.

Now, this provision is subject to the same criticism, in my mind, but not to an equal extent, as is the amendment of the Senator from South Dakota. It is subject to the criticism that if the governor in council—that means the governor and his cabinet—finds that there is a trust, then it is mandatory on him to apply the law and to put the article on the free list or reduce the duty. It is in this respect as rigid as the amendment of the Senator from South Dakota.

My amendment differs in this respect, that it leaves the exercise of the power discretionary with the President. This is the amendment which I prepared, and which I thought at the time I introduced it was a good one:

> That whenever it shall appear to the satisfaction of the President of the United States, after due investigation, upon the complaint of any person, that a contract, understanding, combination, in the form of a trust or otherwise, or a conspiracy exists among the producers or manufacturers of any product or commodity to restrain, stifle, or monopolize the manufacture, production, or sale, or to enhance the price of such product or commodity, then he shall have the power, in his discretion, to suspend, by Executive order, the collection of all duties levied under this act upon any product or commodity imported which is substantially similar or like in material, quality, texture, or the use to which it may be applied, to the product or commodity in respect to which the contract, understanding, combination, or conspiracy aforesaid may exist, and during such suspension the products or commodities upon which the duties levied are suspended, as aforesaid, shall be admitted free of duty. Whenever the President becomes satisfied that the cause for which the suspension was ordered has ceased to exist, it shall be his duty to revoke the order of suspension, and thereupon duties shall thereafter be levied and collected as though said order had never been made.

Now, the criticism upon this trust amendment, and I think it is a fair and a just one, is of a twofold nature. The first is that it imposes an extraordinary and burdensome duty upon the Executive to investigate these trusts. That is a criticism of my own and of others. But that is not the worst feature of it. The executive department could refer the question of determining the existence of the trust to the Secretary of the Treasury or other subordinates.

But the worst feature, to my mind, and I ask every one of you to put yourselves in the President's place—you know I can not do it—is the onus of exercising the discretion cast upon him. However honest a President may be, however fearless and independent he may be, whatever course he might take would be subject to criticism. One side or the other might charge him with unfairness, and he would be kept under perpetual suspicion. One side or the other would suspect him of unfairness. It would never do

under our system of government to place our President under such stress or to subject him to any such embarrassment or humiliation. This feature of the amendment is, to my mind, a very serious objection; so serious that after considering it I have felt as though it would not be fair for me to press it any further.

But while these are my views about all these amendments, I still feel that we ought to insert in this bill some legislation to restrain and repress trusts. But let us do it, Mr. President, in a manly and straightforward manner. Let us remember that we can not fool the American people, however much we may fool ourselves, by putting in an amendment here that will be self-destructive and suicidal. The Canadian provision, as I have pointed out, is fatal, because it makes it obligatory, if a trust is found, upon the Governor-General and council to place the article on the free list and remit the duty in whole or in part. The amendment of the Senator from South Dakota is defective for at least two reasons. If a trust in any corner of our land, no matter how limited, is found to exist by the court, two fatal consequences will follow. One is a loss of revenue which may cripple the Government, and the other is to punish manufacturers, all over the land, who are as innocent of the trust as the babe on its mother's knee.

Senators, we can not afford to resort to any such legislation. We can not fool any of the American people by taking any such steps as these. I hope that in a manly way we will vote down all these amendments, and then get together and agree upon something that is within the range and scope of practical legislation. By and by, when this question comes up again, I shall take the liberty to ask a few moments time of the Senate to discuss the question in the light of the bounds of Federal and State legislation, so that we may ascertain just what is right and what is proper under State and Federal laws. Without understanding that question, and taking our bearings from those points of the compass, we can never legislate with safety and as becomes the Senate of the United States.

Mr. CAFFERY. It is possible, Mr. President, that there are some matters in this amendment that ought of themselves to be amended, but the general scope of the amendment meets my approbation entirely. Whatever is defective in the amendment can be easily remedied by proper amendment.

It has been the boast of the other side of this Chamber that protection carried to its legitimate consequences would result in home competition, and that home competition would result in lower prices to the consumer. They have always repudiated the statement or the charge that their tariff laws built up monopolies and trusts.

Here is an opportunity which, in my opinion, ought to be eagerly grasped, eagerly availed of, by the other side of the Chamber to remedy the irregular workings, it may be, of their theory of protection. Nobody can deny the fact that there are trusts in every important branch of industry in the United States. One of the largest manufacturing industries not only in the United States but in the world is now up for discussion, and that that industry is controlled by a trust nobody has the hardihood to deny.

The object of the amendment of the Senator from South Dakota is to take down the tariff walls as a punishment against the action of the very theory that the other side advocates with so much vehemence. It occurs to me that there ought to be no hesitancy on the other side by objections to considering the amendment at this moment or at any other moment. If the principle is adopted, if you sanction the idea embodied in the amendment, why not approve it? If there are any defects in the amendment, that might be a matter for amendment, but it is no matter for opposition. You are now opposing the consideration of this amendment, and there is but one point suggested, so far as I have heard, that merits any attention whatever.

The Senator from Massachusetts says that two or three individuals—Jones or Thompson or some others—can get together and form a sort of fictitious combination, and by reason of that combination all the innocent industries not involved in a trust will suffer and the product of their enterprise will be put upon the free list. Does anybody seriously think that any court in the United States would hold that a fictitious combination between two or three individuals would amount to a trust to control prices? It would be thrust out of the courts as if it did not exist.

Mr. HOAR. If the Senator will pardon me, the amendment says if the article or articles of a like character are manufactured.

Mr. CAFFERY. I think if the Senator from Massachusetts will read the whole of the first paragraph of the amendment it will be clear to him that it applies only to those combinations that are formed for the purpose of controlling trade and that do control trade, for it is expressly provided that the effect of the combination must be in restraint of trade or to affect prices. I can see no just criticism of the amendment so far as the case put by the Senator from Massachusetts goes. I can see some justice in the criticism of the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. PLATT], but the amendment of the Senator from South Dakota can be easily perfected in that regard. I refer to the proviso:

Provided, That where a duty is levied upon raw material or any article that is improved by any process after being imported, the duty on the raw material or unrefined or unimproved article shall be collected, and a like amount of duty upon the refined or improved article, as provided by this act; but the differential or additional duty shall not be collected if the improved or refined product is found to be the subject of a trust, as hereinbefore set forth.

Now, suppose a case where there is a trust in the raw material and no trust in the finished product. Under the operation of this amendment the duty upon the raw material that enters into the finished product would be abolished and the manufacturer would have a duty upon his manufactured product, which duty ought to fall in so far as it is a compensatory duty, that is, to compensate the manufacturer for the duty he has to pay upon the raw material. This amendment would leave him with raw material without duty and with a high duty upon the finished product to compensate for the raw material, for in looking down the schedules of the bill it is easy to see that wherever there is a duty upon the raw material the ingenuity of the protectionists has not suffered the manufacturer to languish for want of a duty; but they have compensated him, and are compensating him in all instances, for the amount of duty that he pays upon the raw material, besides giving him an independent duty outside of the compensatory duty. I believe that statement is absolutely true.

I submit to the Senator from South Dakota that the proviso ought to be continued with something to this effect:

Provided further, That wherever there is a trust in the raw material used by any manufacturer and there is a compensating duty on the finished product, the latter shall not be collected in case the trust on the raw material is established by decree of the court herein provided to try the issue of trust.

I think that will meet any possible defect that there can be in the amendment.

The Senator from Massachusetts has, in my opinion (and I am very deferential to his opinion, for he is a very great lawyer), criticised the amendment too much on the order of a verbal criticism. I do not think he has taken into consideration the whole purport of the first clause of the amendment. I will read it:

That all articles on the dutiable list mentioned in this act shall be admitted free of duty if said articles or articles of a like character of domestic production are manufactured or their sale controlled or the price affected by a trust or combination—

To do what?—

to increase the cost of said articles to purchasers by preventing competition, or otherwise.

Is it possible that two or three individuals can get together and control the price of leading articles of industry? Does not everybody know that these trusts embrace an enormous amount of capital, and that any combination to control prices is utterly futile unless the combination embraces within itself nearly all engaged in the manufacture of the particular article or particular product concerning which and about which the trust is formed? Is it contended that two or three men can get together and control the price of a leading article of industry? It can not be done. The language of the amendment will cover the practical case of trusts. The sugar trust, for instance, embraces 98 per cent of all the refiners; it is so stated; and those who are not in the trust are of the trust, under the wing of the trust, under the shelter of the trust, and derive all the advantages of the trust.

Mr. President, no combination can be formed of any character to control trade or affect prices unless it is a powerful combination. These weak combinations are futile; it is idle to consider them; and the objection of the Senator from Massachusetts, in my opinion, is purely verbal. It is a verbal criticism that does not affect the bearings of the amendment at all.

Here is an opportunity to test the workings of the protective theory. The protectionists indignantly deny the charge that under the shelter of these high tariffs monopolies and trusts are built up. They have lived under protection nearly ever since the war. We have trusts and combinations. They have been formed under the shadow and protecting wing of the tariff. The facts do not square with the theory.

If there is any philanthropic protection, here is the place to practically test it. I do not believe that Senators on the other side want trusts. I do not believe that they desire to see the land overshadowed with these powerful combinations, individual competition throttled, trade stagnated and paralyzed by the enormous power of these institutions. Here is a clear, straight, fair opportunity afforded to you to see whether you will in practice comply with your theory.

In my opinion, the junior Senator from Alabama [Mr. PETTUS] has created imaginary dangers to manufacturers. If trusts are formed with any degree of potency, they embrace all or nearly all the industries in the line in which the trusts are formed. If they do form a trust, if, notwithstanding the advantages they derive from the pending bill, they seek further to add to their gains by these unlawful combinations, I ask the Senator from Alabama if

he can support them in that work? That is precisely what will be effected, and what this amendment is designed to prevent.

Mr. LINDSAY. I will ask the Senator from Louisiana, with his permission, whether, if the amendment be adopted, the courts will not, in his opinion, be bound to find that the American sugar refiner comes within the description of trusts?

Mr. CAFFERY. There is no question of it.

Mr. LINDSAY. And to enter a judgment striking down the differential?

Mr. CAFFERY. Yes, sir.

Mr. LINDSAY. Now, how can we consistently adopt such an amendment when we have deliberately determined that this country can not get along, and that the sugar industry can not live, if we drive the sugar trust out of business?

Mr. CAFFERY. You are speaking for the other side.

Mr. LINDSAY. I want to be consistent.

Mr. CAFFERY. I hope the Senator from Kentucky is not leveling that very acute criticism against those of us on this side who do not want to level the walls all along the line. When, in the face of the admitted fact of the existence of a combination among the sugar refiners, the Republican majority who adopt the differential have voted against the amendment of the Senator from Kentucky to put them upon an equality, it is hardly with any consistency that they can support the amendment. But this comes in a broader form. This is a larger dose. Here is the whole matter condensed not only for the sugar trust, but to test your principle to its core.

That is all I want to accomplish. I want to test the correctness of the assertion that protection is inaugurated and carried into a system in order to bring about competition that you say is the be-all and the end-all. If that be your stand, you must assist to strike down that which stifles competition. You can not maintain trusts and maintain your theory. If there is anything objectionable in the amendment that would work badly or irregularly or inequitably, suggest your amendment; but in refusing to consider the amendment the American people will take it as a refusal to destroy trusts and combinations, because this is the golden opportunity, right in the midst of this discussion concerning the most gigantic trust in the United States. This is the opportunity to test the correctness of your assertions heretofore.

Mr. ALLISON. I asked the Senator from South Dakota, when he introduced the amendment, to allow it to be passed over, in order that it might come in at its proper place and be more maturely considered. I am strengthened in this view by the criticisms that have already been made upon the amendment. It deals with a very important subject and deals with it in a way that may be effective, or, instead of working justice, it may work injustice. It goes upon the assumption that the way to cure this evil is by punishing the people who are engaged in trusts by placing all the articles manufactured in the country of a like character upon the free list. It assumes also that the tariff itself is the author of the trust.

I remember very well, as a good many Senators on this floor remember, that we had a long debate on the question of dealing with trusts and the remedies some six or seven years ago. The venerable Senator from Ohio, now Secretary of State, introduced a bill upon that subject. It was referred, I think, to the Committee on Agriculture at first and reported from that committee. That may not have been the committee. My recollection is not very distinct upon that subject. It was reported back and debated here for a week or two. Then it was referred to the Judiciary Committee and was considered for some weeks by that committee, and then reported back here and debated, and finally passed.

I submit to the Senate that a matter which may do injustice, which may be an ineffectual remedy, which may only do partially what is sought to be done, should have more mature consideration than can be given to it in debate here from day to day upon the subject. So I appeal again to the Senator from South Dakota to allow the amendment to be passed over for the time being until we have finished these schedules, and then reintroduce it when Senators on both sides of the Chamber shall have an opportunity to present modifications or amendments to it. If the Senator will do that, I think it will facilitate our work on the tariff bill.

Mr. PETTIGREW. Has the Senator finished?

Mr. ALLISON. I have.

Mr. PETTIGREW. I wish to make my reply at some length.

Mr. President, I will say in answer to the question of the Senator from Iowa that I have no pride with regard to the form of this amendment. All I desire is to accomplish the purpose which is clearly indicated by the amendment. Neither have I any pride in its being my amendment. Let us discuss and point out what defects, if any, there are in the amendment. I think the subject is of sufficient importance for the Senate to consider it until we perfect the amendment. Where it is attacked in good faith, I believe the Senator attacking it should offer an amendment to the amendment which will cure the defect. Of course I understand that when a Senator wishes to find an excuse for going against the amendment he can find it, and he can find it in technical quibbles. Capable and able lawyers can readily raise plenty of those.

It seems to me the weakest objection that has been urged against the amendment came from the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR]. That Senator says that men at Four Corners—I do not know where it was—at Buzzards Bay, or Hickory Point, or some place, could get together and organize a trust under this provision, and then the articles covered by the trust would come in free of duty. That is an argument which hardly seems to me worthy of an answer; and yet it was made with great emphasis.

This amendment provides that the courts shall decide whether a trust exists or not; but if three or four people have got together at some Four Corners somewhere in an obscure locality, the court will evidently observe the purpose for which they got together and declare their acts are not equivalent to a trust under the provisions of the amendment.

Further than that, the case goes into court; it is tried; an appeal is taken from the district to the circuit court, and during all this time this obscure combination of country grocers must have maintained a rise in the price of the article and continued a combination that affected production in order to be declared a trust by the court under the provisions of the amendment. Therefore, I say it is hardly worth while to answer such an objection.

The legal questions raised, perhaps, are entitled to more consideration. The purpose is to provide that the American consumer shall have a chance to purchase his article in a competitive market, and if he is deprived of that right by a combination of American producers, then the market shall be open to competition from all the world.

How can there be any objection to that? How can any protest be raised against a proposition of that sort? If that is not good Republican doctrine and in accordance with the principles of the tariff, I am certain I have failed all my life to understand the principles of a tariff. We have asserted in all our arguments to the American people that the tariff produces competition, and competition reduces prices. On every stump we have told the people how an imported article, fuller's earth, for instance, was worth from nineteen to thirty-two dollars a ton, but we discovered it in this country and began its production under a very small duty, when the price fell to $12 a ton in a year and a half. It was the same with nails. It seems to me that if we wish to perpetuate the principles of protection and defend this bill we must carry out that policy which we have so often advocated and give to the American consumer a competitive market. That is all I desire. Can not we perfect an amendment, then, that will accomplish that object?

But, Mr. President, I have my doubts about some Senators wanting to do this. I think it has been developed in this debate and in the votes that have been taken that some Senators do not want to do this. They do not want to give to the people of this country a competitive market.

Everybody knows there is a sugar trust. There is not a man within the sound of my voice who does not know it, and who is not thoroughly satisfied of it. Who, then, that votes for a differential duty for the special benefit of the sugar trust is going to vote for my amendment or any other amendment that would deprive the trust of that duty? I do not see how you can deceive anybody in this matter. Everybody knows this, and everybody knows it absolutely, and knows it unqualifiedly.

Mr. SEWELL. Will the Senator allow me to interrupt him?

Mr. PETTIGREW. Certainly.

Mr. SEWELL. How does the Senator know that there is a sugar trust? The American Sugar Refining Company is a corporation of my State, with a very large capital and doing a large business. It is not in a trust with anybody, as I understand it. They surrendered everything of that kind three or four years ago.

Mr. PETTIGREW. Mr. President, that is a strange question and a remarkable proposition. The American Sugar Refining Company was formerly a combination of twenty-one refineries. They closed the North River refinery. The courts of New York declared that combination to be a trust. Then these same people formed a corporation under the laws of New Jersey.

I notice that almost every rotten corporation in this country is organized under the laws of New Jersey. I do not know whether the laws need fixing or not; but something is the matter. At any rate, all such corporations go there whenever they want to get up a combination to get away with somebody and to be sure that they will not be troubled. They formed a combination there of all these refineries, and then they proceeded to close refineries, raised the price to the limit of the tariff, and took from the people of this country untold millions. Under this amendment any combination or corporation for this purpose, to control production and increase the price, is a trust, and therefore the American Sugar Refining Company is a trust, and the courts can so decide.

What is more, Mr. President, the president of the American Sugar Refining Company testified that they controlled the price

of sugar—I read his testimony yesterday—that they fixed the price for their customers, and that fixed it to everybody else. I also showed yesterday that the American Sugar Refining Company controlled every refinery in this country but four, and then I showed by the testimony of a St. Louis grocer that they controlled those four; for when this St. Louis grocer refused to sign a contract by which he was to bind himself to buy no other than sugar made by the trust at a price fixed by them—when he refused to sign that contract to take their refined sugar on commission—they refused to sell him any sugar at all; and when he applied to the four independent refineries, he could not buy a pound of sugar from them. So that, after all, the combination embraces not only all the refineries in the trust, but all the others.

After we passed the McKinley law, which was particularly favorable to the trust, Mr. Havemeyer was called before the Senatorial investigating committee, and he gave this testimony:

SUGAR TRUST WILL ROB US AS LONG AS THERE IS A DUTY.

Mr. HAVEMEYER. We undertake to control the price of refined sugar in the United States. That must be distinctly understood.

And yet Senators stand up here and want to know how I know there is a sugar trust!

Senator ALLEN. And the price of refined sugar in the United States is higher to the American people in consequence of the existence of the American Sugar Refining Company than it would be if the different companies in your organization were distinct and independent companies?

Mr. HAVEMEYER. For a short time it is.

Yet there is no sugar trust!

Senator ALLEN. And what difference does it make for the consumers in this country in a year in your judgment?

Mr. HAVEMEYER. It has been in three years past three-eighths of a cent more on every pound they ate, as against doing business at a loss.

In other words, the fact that they were in a trust and that they controlled the price, according to his own statement, added three-eighths of a cent to every pound of sugar consumed in this country.

Senator ALLEN. And that would be about how much in round numbers?

Mr. HAVEMEYER. It is a large sum in the aggregate.

Senator ALLEN. How many millions?

Mr. HAVEMEYER. I should say it was close to $25,000,000 in three years.

How do I know there is a trust in sugar? It has been told to everybody, until there is not a boy 6 years old who can read and write who does not know there is a sugar trust.

Senator ALLEN. And you intend to keep your hold upon the American people as long as you can?

Mr. HAVEMEYER. As long as the McKinley bill is there we will exact that profit.

"We will exact that profit." Is there competition? Is there any show for competition? They say they fix the price and that they are going to continue to do it so long as you keep the duty on; and yet the Senator wants to know how I know there is a sugar trust. It would be astonishing if I did not know it.

Now, let us see. There are some remarkable things in connection with this sugar business, and I am going to refer to them. When this bill was reported the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH] made this statement:

This table shows that the differential between raw and refined sugars by the Senate proposition varies from 9.77 to 15.40 cents per 100 pounds, while the differential in the House bill varies from 12.30 to 17.35 cents per 100 pounds.

That is the difference between raw and refined sugars, and the protection to the trust, as the bill was brought in from the committee, was from 9.77 cents to 15.40 cents on every hundred pounds. Then he goes on to say that the differential in the House bill varies from 12.30 cents to 17.35 cents per hundred pounds; in other words, he presented to us a bill which he said reduced the duty in favor of the trust, and presented it as a sort of argument in favor of the Senate committee proposition.

What has happened? Why, Mr. President, a Republican caucus has been held, and they decided to increase the rate, according to their own admission, 7½ cents on a hundred pounds. Why did they do that? I should like to have somebody answer. If the duty as the bill came here from the committee was less in favor of the trust than the House bill, and that was presented to us by the manager of the bill as a reason why we should support it, how is it that the committee now come in and increase the rate 7½ cents a hundred pounds over the House bill? How do they account for it? Have the trust lost money in the meantime, and have they to be taken care of? Is that the purpose? Are we afraid that the trust will go to pieces, and therefore we must add to their profits?

I want to call attention to another fact. The moment this was done the price of sugar stock went up five points a share in New York.

Mr. GEAR. May I ask the Senator a question?

Mr. PETTIGREW. Yes; I shall be glad to yield to the Senator.

Mr. GEAR. Four years ago, when our Democratic friends were sitting behind closed doors and discussing the arrangement of the tariff, sugar stock went up a little; and if the Senator will refer to the quotations, he will find that it went up 66 points in thirty days as against from 6 to 8 points recently.

Mr. PETTIGREW. I do not remember the amount. I know it advanced.

Mr. GEAR. I can show the Senator the figures.

NEW POLITICAL PARTY REQUIRED.

Mr. PETTIGREW. It is a curious state of affairs; and I have come to the conclusion that the two debates on the tariff bill, the one of three years ago and the one on this bill, justify the existence of a new political party in this country. That is all I have to say to that proposition. It seems that the trust has to be taken care of; but was it necessary to add these 7½ cents on a hundred pounds?

TRUST PROFITS IN APRIL AND MAY $6,000,000.

Mr. President, the trust has been industrious. It imported in the month of April of last year 388,381,830 pounds of sugar, and in the month of April this year 773,527,477 pounds, this bill pending all that time, and the difference was 385,145,647 pounds between what they imported last year and what they imported this year. In the month of May of this year the trust imported 790,324,053 pounds, and in the month of May of last year 544,106,453 pounds. They have therefore imported in the two months that this bill has been pending 631,363,248 pounds more of sugar than they imported in the same two months of last year. Have we not every reason to believe that this importation was for the purpose of getting advantage of this advanced rate of duty? Have we not given them enough? Did not the House bill give them enough? Why should they have this 7½ cents added? Was it done so that the trust would not lose anything? I wonder how great their campaign contribution was last year.

Now, let us see. They imported 631,363,248 pounds more of sugar than they did for the same months last year, and the increased rate of duty in this bill, according to the statement of the Senator from Iowa, is 91 cents on the 100 pounds over the rate in the existing law. Therefore the duty on these six hundred and thirty-one million and odd pounds of sugar which have been imported during the last two months in excess of what was imported last year in similar months would amount to between five and six million dollars; and now, on top of that, it is proposed to add 7½ cents a hundred pounds more. It seems to me the contribution of last year can be doubled and trebled in the campaigns to come.

Mr. President, in regard to this amendment, I have this to say: I am perfectly willing it shall go over until to-morrow, so that we may discuss and perfect it. The American people are against the trust. They are not willing to allow any Senator in this body to vote against this amendment simply because its phraseology does not suit him. Neither are Senators going to crawl out by a quibble that the amendment will not accomplish the object it has in view. It is the duty of any Senator who objects to the amendment to offer an amendment to perfect my amendment, and I shall be glad to accept such an amendment.

I have a table here which shows the duty in favor of the trust under the pending provision, which runs from 20 cents up to 46.25 cents per 100 pounds of sugar. It costs 40 cents a hundred pounds to refine sugar. The duty, then, is under this, according to the degree of the sugar test, from 50 to 115 per cent. I ask to have this table printed in the RECORD as part of my remarks.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. If there be no objection, that will be the order.

The table referred to is as follows:

In the column showing rate on refined sugar the figures show the rate that would be paid on different amounts of such refined sugar from 75 to 100 pounds, as shown in second column, which figures also represent the percentage of sugar contained in different grades of raw sugar:

Rate on refined from 75 to 100 pounds.	Percentage of sugar.	Rate on raw per 100 pounds.	Differential.	Rate on refined from 75 to 100 pounds.	Percentage of sugar.	Rate on raw per 100 pounds.	Differential.
1.95	100	1.75	0.20	1.6985	87	1.36	0.3365
1.9305	99	1.72	.2105	1.6770	86	1.33	.3470
1.9110	98	1.69	.2210	1.6575	85	1.30	.3575
1.8915	97	1.66	.2315	1.6380	84	1.27	.3680
1.8720	96	1.63	.2420	1.6185	83	1.24	.3785
1.8525	95	1.60	.2525	1.5990	82	1.21	.3890
1.8330	94	1.57	.2630	1.5795	81	1.18	.3995
1.8135	93	1.54	.2735	1.5600	80	1.15	.4100
1.7940	92	1.51	.2840	1.5405	79	1.12	.4205
1.7745	91	1.48	.2945	1.5210	78	1.09	.4310
1.7550	90	1.45	.3050	1.5015	77	1.06	.4415
1.7355	89	1.42	.3155	1.4820	76	1.03	.4520
1.7160	88	1.39	.3260	1.4625	75	1.00	.4625

You import 100 pounds of raw sugar testing 75 degrees, and the duty is $1, and this material contains 75 pounds of sugar.

Now, you import 75 pounds of refined sugar, and the the rate of duty is 1.95 cents per pound, so the duty on the 75 pounds is 75×$0.0195=$1.4625, which makes the differential $0.4625.

The differential decreases in the ratio of $0.0105 per 100 pounds for each increased degree of saccharine strength.

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. President, before this matter goes over, I desire to submit some propositions to the Senate in connection with it, which may possibly facilitate a correct study and understanding of this subject. I observe by section 14 of this bill that

only two sections, if I am correct about it, of the act of 1894 are repealed out and out.

Mr. ALLISON. The first and second sections are the only two sections which are proposed to be repealed as the bill has been reported by the Committee on Finance.

Mr. MORGAN. The remainder are all preserved, and all the rights and liabilities which have accrued under the existing law are also preserved and maintained by this bill.

Mr. ALLISON. I want to say to the Senator from Alabama that if there is any possible question about the preservation of those sections, we intend to make it absolutely clear before we finish this bill. I think there is no possible question about that, however.

Mr. MORGAN. From my reading of it I do not think there is any doubt at all that all the law as it stands now on the statute books regulating revenue collections by the tariff of 1894 is retained except two sections of the act. That is an important statement, Mr. President, very important, and the Senate should look at that fact when they come to study this particular amendment, and all other amendments which relate to our efforts to repress or to take away from the sugar trust its peculiar advantages under legislation which has been enacted at this session—I mean that has been voted upon this bill.

I have an objection to the amendment of the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. PETTIGREW] which, though it was not elaborated, was stated very clearly by my colleague [Mr. PETTUS]. That objection relates to the want of power in Congress to act. Congress has but two powers in the control of commerce or in the control of contracts or conduct in connection with commerce. Those powers relate to foreign commerce and to interstate commerce. Congress can not enter the State of Alabama, and upon commerce or transaction of any kind, trusts or what not, that are purely local in their operation, pass any law to affect those matters.

Congress is just as powerless to pass laws in restraint of contract or in the regulation of local markets in the State of Alabama as it would be in Canada. It has no such power at all. The power that Congress can exercise in respect of this subject of repressing trusts must be powers which are connected with or relate to interstate or foreign commerce; and I understand that there is no departure in any of the decisions from this statement, and that that is the correct statement of the law as it is understood by the Supreme Court and by the great body of the jurists of the United States.

The amendment the Senator from South Dakota proposes is not restricted to interstate commerce, nor is it restricted to foreign commerce, but is purely local in its application; and that is the pith and merit of the objection made by the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR], when he said that two persons might get together and, whether by combination or by actual guilt, undertake to create a local trust within the borders of a State, and the Congress of the United States could not predicate that a suspension of the revenues of the entire Government over the entire Union should be based upon that local question, which was resolvable and determinable alone by the local State tribunal.

Mr. CAFFERY. Will the Senator from Alabama allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. CAFFERY. If Congress has power to levy duties on imports, has not Congress the same power to remove them?

Mr. MORGAN. I do not think it would require a very old man to answer that.

Mr. CAFFERY. Would that be local? Would that be in the exercise of any local power?

Mr. MORGAN. No; because Congress in imposing the duties over the whole Union imposes them for all, and when it takes them off it is the same thing reversed. I do not think I am quite able to comprehend the merit of a question put at me in that way.

What I meant to state, and all I meant to state, was that Congres, in interfering in contracts or interfering in any way with the freedom of trade, must confine itself to those objects which are within its jurisdiction, to wit, interstate or foreign commerce. I will take the market here in the District of Columbia. Everybody knows—and I think that nobody objects to the fact—that a trust obtains here in this market in regard to almost everything which is sold every day in the form of provisions to the people of the city of Washington. I will suppose this market to be now in a State, because perhaps the District of Columbia might be a little different in regard to the powers of Congress to legislate for this District—but we will take such a market now as there is in Washington, where we understand perfectly well, where everybody understands, that there is an agreement between the holders of the stalls in that market that beef, and mutton, and pork, and chickens, and turkeys, and macaroni, and sugar, and everything else are to be sold not below a certain price. That may be an illegal agreement, and under the common law it is an illegal agreement. It is a monopoly or a forestalling or a regrading of the market. It is one of those offenses defined in the common law for the purpose of putting a moral restraint upon a universal right of free trade in respect to all manner of human transactions.

Free trade amongst men means unrestricted and unlimited trade, and is a common-law right. It is a right that belongs to a man because he belongs to a free country, such as Great Britain, or the United States, which has inherited this great body of common law from Great Britain. But there are qualifications in the common law that a man, though he may enjoy free trade, shall not combine with another man to deprive somebody else of his rights or put up the price of things in the market, or, on the contrary, make a conspiracy to break up somebody for reducing the price in the market. These qualifications belong naturally and as elementary principles to the right of trade between man and man.

Now, when the Congress of the United States, in the exercise of some of its constitutional powers, undertakes to put restraints upon the liberty of trade, the liberty of organization for the purposes of trade, you must find that power somewhere in the Constitution; otherwise Congress can not do it.

The restraints that Congress can put upon trade in this country, as I observed before, are confined to interstate and foreign commerce, because the power is given to Congress to regulate interstate and foreign commerce. That carries the power to restrain it, of course, within due bounds. That is the same sort of power that belongs to the principles of a national and high morality under the common law when it is administered in the old country and as administered in the common-law courts of this country.

Testing this proposed amendment, we find it would be perfectly easy here to prove that trusts exist in the city of Washington in regard to the everyday supplies of the 250,000 or 300,000 people here now. Suppose that was a combination in respect to imported hams or macaroni, or any other thing that comes from abroad—of which there are hundreds, if not thousands, of articles in our markets here—suppose a combination existed in regard to that, and you should carry a couple of these combiners upon a certain article, or more of them, before a court here, and you should say to them, "You have combined now to raise the price in the market of any given article, or of any given commodity, that you are selling at these stalls here to these people; we charge you with it, and we ask the court to say whether or not you entered into that combination."

The facts show, the evidence proves conclusively, that the combination has been made. Then comes the act of Congress. What is the effect of that? You certify the judgment of the court to the Secretary of the Treasury, and instantly he must suspend the duties upon the importation of this article around the whole of the customs-house borders of the Union. You take away the interest and the rights of the whole people of the United States and make them to depend upon the judgment of a local court upon a local interest, and one that Congress has no power to touch or to interfere with at all. That is a fatal infirmity of this amendment.

Mr. HOAR. The Senator from Alabama will pardon me for suggesting to him that it is even a little stronger than that. The provision is that the order shall at once issue, so that the question of duty or want of duty on everything that is on its way from all around the world will be affected at once, and the advantage will go to the importers upon this local judgment of a local court upon a purely local subject.

Mr. MORGAN. Very good. Upon this local judgment of a local court upon a purely local subject of interest to the people, where the combination has only a very limited circle of influence, all these great consequences are made to depend by this amendment. The Secretary of the Treasury receives the certificate and instantly he must take off the duty. It is intended to supply revenue or intended for protection—it makes no difference what—but in the competency of Congress it may mean either and be perfectly good.

But he must take off the duty on that article upon the predicate of the judgment of that one court, affecting, as I have stated, the whole of the United States, the Treasury, and the welfare and interest of the seventy-two or seventy-three million people. He must do that upon the judgment of a single court, and that a local court, in a matter between two or three persons.

Now, suppose that on the same day different suits of this kind are brought against different persons in various parts of the American Union, and here come down these orders showering upon the Secretary of the Treasury, and informing him that the judicial department of this Government has intervened in a political subject, the subject of taxation, and has ordered that it be suspended until the judgment is reversed, or until the evil is stamped out, exterminated. What is to be the situation of the Secretary of the Treasury under that case? Take one of these cases to a higher court and it is reversed, and you take it to another higher court in another State and it is affirmed. Where do you stand there? What is he going to do?

Mr. PETTIGREW. The amendment provides that cases shall be commenced before the United States district court, and appeals shall be taken to the United States circuit court. Those are not very obscure courts, nor are there very many of them. Every

court will know what the other is doing, and if a question is pending in one court it will hardly be taken to another until it is disposed of there. Is not that the practice?

Mr. MORGAN. I have seen it done many times. Judges are as apt to disagree as any other set of men I have ever met. The decision of one district court is not binding on another district court or on the circuit court. It is only the decision of the Supreme Court which is binding.

Suppose you have a half dozen cases, and no more, in different circuit or district courts of the United States. You have the right of appeal in each to the Supreme Court of the United States. A judgment is found. A certificate is issued. A writ of error suspending the operation of the judgment is issued and goes to the Supreme Court of the United States. What is the situation while the appeal is pending? Of course it is one of absolute confusion, inextricable difficulty, and the revenues of the United States would be suspended, upon a bond to take an appeal in the case, or else, contrary to law, the customs officers would go on and collect the duties because an appeal bond had been given and the judgment suspended.

Mr. HOAR. I think this amendment provides that in all cases the judgment of the circuit court shall be final.

Mr. MORGAN. Very good. If that is true, it is unconstitutional, because if it involves a question of constitutional power the judgment of the circuit court can not be final. That is all there is about that.

Mr. FAULKNER. I will ask the Senator from Alabama whether that is not subject to amendment? There are a number of defects in the amendment, I have not any doubt, but the question is whether we can not take up this amendment and consider it and perfect it?

Mr. MORGAN. Of course I am not discussing something that is to be or that is in the imagination of some Senator here. I am discussing what is before the Senate. I am taking the measure as it was proposed here to be voted upon. If there are amendments which can be put to it, I should like to see them. I should like to see some amendment offered to this measure which would confer the power upon Congress to determine a matter of trade, of traffic, and pronounce that it is a trust and liable to punishment, referring to something that occurred within the body of a State and had no relation at all to interstate or foreign commerce. I should like to see an amendment of that sort presented and see whether or not the Senate would approve it. It can not be done, and there is a fatal defect in the amendment. We are reaching for powers that we do not possess. It is a vain effort.

Now, we leave, as I said, and as the Senator admits, upon the statute book the Sherman Act, which relates to interstate commerce, and although that act, by the indulgence of a former Administration of this Government, has lain in desuetude and has not been at all acted upon except at a very late day, yet we find the Supreme Court of the United States has found great merit and constitutional power in it, and I do not know that I have ever been more comforted by anything at all than I have by the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States that Congress does still have power, in respect to matters that relate to interstate and foreign commerce, to punish trusts and combinations whenever they exist, whether amongst railroads or amongst merchants or any other class of people. Unquestionably the Sherman Act, if it is imperfect, and I do not say that it is, is capable of being enforced now, and it stands as a guard, a protector against trusts and combinations relating to interstate commerce.

Section 73 of the act of 1894 will remain upon the statute book if this bill passes in the form in which it is now presented here. I will read that and a few subsequent sections:

SEC. 73. That every combination, conspiracy, trust, agreement, or contract is hereby declared to be contrary to public policy, illegal, and void, when the same is made by or between two or more persons or corporations either of whom is engaged in importing any article from any foreign country into the United States, and when such combination, conspiracy, trust, agreement, or contract is intended to operate in restraint of lawful trade, or free competition in lawful trade or commerce, or to increase the market price in any part of the United States of any article or articles imported or intended to be imported into the United States, or of any manufacture into which such imported article enters or is intended to enter. Every person who is or shall hereafter be engaged in the importation of goods or any commodity from any foreign country in violation of this section of this act, or who shall combine or conspire with another to violate the same, is guilty of a misdemeanor, and, on conviction thereof in any court of the United States, such person shall be fined in a sum not less than $100 and not exceeding $5,000, and shall be further punished by imprisonment, in the discretion of the court, for a term not less than three months nor exceeding twelve months.

SEC. 74. That the several circuit courts of the United States are hereby invested with jurisdiction to prevent and restrain violations of section 73 of this act; and it shall be the duty of the several district attorneys of the United States, in their respective districts, under the direction of the Attorney-General, to institute proceedings in equity to prevent and restrain such violations. Such proceedings may be by way of petitions setting forth the case and praying that such violations shall be enjoined or otherwise prohibited. When the parties complained of shall have been duly notified of such petition, the court shall proceed, as soon as may be, to the hearing and determination of the case; and pending such petition, and before final decree, the court may at any time make such temporary restraining order or prohibition as shall be deemed just in the premises.

SEC. 75. That whenever it shall appear to the court before which any proceeding under the seventy-fourth section of this act may be pending that the ends of justice require that other parties should be brought before the court, the court may cause them to be summoned, whether they reside in the district in which the court is held or not; and subpœnas to that end may be served in any district by the marshal thereof.

SEC. 76. That any property owned under any contract or by any combination, or pursuant to any conspiracy (and being the subject thereof) mentioned in section 73 of this act, and being in the course of transportation from one State to another, or to or from a Territory, or the District of Columbia, shall be forfeited to the United States, and may be seized and condemned by like proceedings as those provided by law for the forfeiture, seizure, and condemnation of property imported into the United States contrary to law.

SEC. 77. That any person who shall be injured in his business or property by any other person or corporation by reason of anything forbidden or declared to be unlawful by this act may sue therefor in any circuit court of the United States in the district in which the defendant resides or is found, without respect to the amount in controversy, and shall recover threefold the damages by him sustained, and the costs of suit, including a reasonable attorney's fee.

Mr. CHANDLER. Will the Senator from Alabama allow me?

Mr. MORGAN. In a moment. I believe that if the honorable Judiciary Committee of this body—who are the equals, I suppose, of any like number of lawyers perhaps in the world—should take that section and undertake to mature and perfect it, they would perhaps find themselves scarcely able to add anything to it to make it efficacious. But take that statute, plain, significant, thorough, and complete as it is, and put it into the hands of an unwilling Executive and an unwilling Attorney-General, who will not execute it, and then of course it falls into innocuous desuetude; and there it has been these years upon the statute book, in the face of the admissions which have been so frequently made here, from the sworn testimony of one of the gentlemen engaged in the business, that the importations of sugar from abroad are under a trust and for the very purpose of capturing the markets, to extract from them all the money that he could get out of them.

Now, here we stand with an unexecuted law and without will—not the power, but without the will—of the Executive to do his duty. Of course in a case of that kind we are simply abandoned by the authorities of our own Government, and we can not make laws that such men ever will execute if they go against the grain. Now I will hear the Senator from New Hampshire.

Mr. CHANDLER. I remember very well when, in 1894, the Senator from Alabama, standing where he now does, moved these exceedingly well-drawn clauses of an antitrust statute. They apply to trusts in all imported merchandise, as the act of 1890 applies to all merchandise transported, in interstate commerce.

Mr. MORGAN. This act also applies to merchandise transported which has been imported.

Mr. CHANDLER. Which has been imported; that is to say, the two statutes——

Mr. MORGAN. Cover the whole ground.

Mr. CHANDLER. Cover the whole ground. What I wish to ask the Senator is, whether the constitutionality of this statute which he proposed, and which was unanimously adopted in 1894, has ever been denied by any legal authority of note?

Mr. MORGAN. Oh, no; there is no denial of it. I do not suppose anybody would venture to deny it.

Mr. CHANDLER. Then the Senator's argument is that so far as statute law is concerned making trusts penal, as to imported merchandise and merchandise transported in commerce within the United States, there is to-day ample statutory authority to punish such offenses.

Mr. MORGAN. That is my opinion, and particularly it is strengthened by the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States of recent date in the railroad cases. But I wish to say, in addition, that if the Congress of the United States desire to go still further and to take from any trust in this country the benefits of its advantages, its profits, etc., and to punish the individuals engaged in such a trust, it is easy enough to do it by denominating the particular trust or the particular article in respect to which the trust exists or is supposed to exist or will exist, and put the penalty right down on the shoulders of those men. There is room for legislation in that direction, but if we keep our statutes and do not repeal them, there is no room for legislation in any other direction that I can see.

Mr. CHANDLER. I will ask the Senator a question before he takes his seat. After these two statutes became a law, there was a question whether the statute of 1890 applied to railroads, and in the recent decision the Supreme Court, in the transmissouri case, held that the act of 1890 does apply to railroads.

Mr. MORGAN. Yes.

Mr. CHANDLER. Now, we have trusts in merchandise and trusts in transportation made high crimes under national law, do we not?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes. The Senator may remember that in the first year of Mr. Olney's occupation of the office of Attorney-General and in his first report he made criticisms upon what is called the Sherman law, and expressed the belief, I think very clearly (my attention was called to it at the time), that the law would not hold water, that it was an effort to do a vain thing, and that it was an unconstitutional attempt. The opinion of that

great lawyer rather brooded upon the legal profession in the United States, I suppose—it did upon my mind, at all events—and hence it was that I felt bound to-day to express my gratification that the Supreme Court had reversed it.

Mr. HOAR. I should like to ask the Senator from Alabama one question before he sits down. He has made a very luminous and powerful statement on this matter. This amendment to the law of 1894, in the seventy-seventh section, provides:

That any person who shall be injured in his business or property by any other person or corporation by reason of anything forbidden or declared to be unlawful by this act may sue therefor in any circuit court of the United States in the district in which the defendant resides or is found, without respect to the amount in controversy, and shall recover threefold the damages by him sustained, and the costs of suit, including a reasonable attorney's fee.

Was it not his purpose and intent in moving that amendment to put into the power of any private citizen whose business was crushed out or hampered by the performances of a trust, without waiting for the Attorney-General or the United States authorities to move, to have his own remedy? Therefore, if the purpose of the mover of this section be carried out, is it not lawful for any private refiner in this country, if what has been said on this floor about the sugar trust is true, to bring his private suit?

Mr. MORGAN. He can bring his private suit for damages to his business and recover threefold damages, and section 77 confers upon the United States court full jurisdiction to render judgment in the premises. Then, again, under section 79 and under section 75, he may bring his private injunction suit and have the party enjoined from proceeding with his trust arrangement; and furthermore, there is no sugar refiner in the United States, who chooses to do it, who can not take the facts as they have been stated in the Senate, admitting them all to be true, and recover against the gentlemen who have availed themselves of combinations and trusts and the like of that to run the business of their competitors out of the market. The field is open and full of opportunities.

Mr. ALLISON. I move to lay the amendment of the Senator from South Dakota on the table.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Iowa to lay on the table the amendment submitted by the Senator from South Dakota.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. On that I ask for the yeas and nays.

Mr. CHILTON. Will the Senator from Iowa withdraw the motion for a moment?

Mr. ALLISON. I will, for a moment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The motion is temporarily withdrawn.

Mr. CHILTON. Mr. President, it seems to me there is some misapprehension in regard to the state of the law on the subject of trusts. The objection is made to the amendment of the Senator from South Dakota that it would seem possible for a simulated trust to be formed in a particular section by a few persons or a great number of individuals for the purpose of setting aside the duties collected at the custom-houses in this country. While the courts would probably not hold any such arrangement to be a trust within the contemplation of this amendment, it seems to me it might be well to guard that point, and so I have prepared an amendment to the amendment which I hope the Senator from South Dakota will accept. It is to amend by inserting, after the word "forth," in line 55, page 3, the following proviso:

Provided, That if upon the hearing it shall appear to the court that the trust complained of is an arrangement contrived to evade or prevent the collection of duties, then the petition herein referred to shall be dismissed.

Mr. HOAR. May I ask the Senator from Texas how the court is going to find that out, if the two parties, the plaintiff and the defendant, have an understanding with each other, in order to secure a judgment?

Mr. CHILTON. How would the court find out anything in any case? Parties who are interested can intervene in the suit.

Mr. HOAR. I do not think the Senator from Texas understands my proposition. Here is a suit brought, setting up the existence of a trust. When that is found in that suit, the court has no discretion whatever. It must absolutely issue its mandate to the Secretary of the Treasury, and he will stop collecting duties. How is the court to discover the fact of itself? The Senator says, "Do it in the way the court discovers anything." But the court discovers other things from the fact that there are parties antagonistic to each other, and the truth is brought out by one side or the other. But what protection is there for the revenue of the United States from duties, if that were all, against two men combining or conspiring to bring a friendly or fictitious suit, and so deceiving the court?

Mr. CHILTON. With all due respect to the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts, it seems to me his objection is purely imaginary.

Mr. PETTIGREW. Allow me to make a suggestion to the Senator from Texas.

Mr. CHILTON. Certainly.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Iowa yield?

Mr. ALLISON. I yield temporarily. I wish to test the sense of the Senate on this question.

Mr. PETTIGREW. In answer to the Senator from Massachusetts, I will say that the amendment provides that—

The summons to the defendant or defendants herein required shall be served upon the president or chief officer, if a corporation, or upon all the members, if an association or partnership, and the Secretary of the Treasury shall also be notified of the existence and nature of the suit.

Mr. CHILTON. I was about to call attention to that point. Further, it is just like any proceeding in court. When parties' rights are at stake, they have the right to intervene. An amicus curiæ could be heard by the court. The court itself has the right to look into the good faith of the litigation. The objection is fanciful, and it seems to me with an amendment such as this the customs law would be clearly guarded against any sort of overreaching.

Mr. ALLISON. Is the Senator from Texas through?

Mr. CHILTON. Not quite.

Mr. FAULKNER. I should like the Senator from Texas to yield to me for just a moment.

Mr. CHILTON. Certainly.

Mr. FAULKNER. It seems to me the motion to lay on the table means simply that the Senator in charge of the bill does not propose to allow the amendment to come before the Senate on its merits.

Mr. ALLISON. I do not yield to the Senator from West Virginia.

Mr. FAULKNER. Well, sir, I am not asking the Senator from Iowa to yield. I asked the Senator from Texas to yield——

Mr. ALLISON. The Senator from Texas has not the floor.

Mr. FAULKNER. He yielded to me, and I claim the floor from the Senator from Texas, and not from the Senator from Iowa.

Mr. ALLISON. I appeal to the Presiding Officer to know who has the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Iowa moved to lay the amendment on the table, and temporarily withdrew it to enable the Senator from Texas to make a statement.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The Senator from Iowa withdrew the motion.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Iowa renew the motion?

Mr. CHILTON. I make the point of order that I am entitled to the floor.

Mr. ALLISON. The Senator from Texas asked the floor for only one moment. I yielded to him courteously, as I desired to do. I wish to say that if the Senator from West Virginia undertakes to impugn the motives which controlled me in making the motion, I shall yield to all of them and make my motion in my own time and in my own way.

Mr. FAULKNER. That is all right. The subject is before the Senate, and I think the Senate ought to perfect the amendment. If this is not the right amendment, let us have an amendment on this subject which we can perfect and vote upon.

Mr. PETTIGREW. I accept the amendment of the Senator from Texas.

Mr. CHILTON. The Senator from South Dakota having accepted the amendment, it will be unnecessary for me further to protract the discussion in regard to it. This protects the litigation which is to be instituted in the court from any sort of undue advantage by any of the parties. It protects the revenues of the Government from any sort of interference by collusive proceedings or by simulated trusts or combinations on the part of any of the people of the United States.

Mr. President, while I have the floor, I wish to state that the two trust laws which have been pointed to do not cover the case. They do not cover all the instances of trusts and combinations in this country. The sections of the Wilson Act which have been read by the Senator from Alabama apply only to the case of importers. They can not be held to apply to any other cases than those of importers. While the Sherman antitrust law, in its general language, includes all manufacturers in this country under trust or combination, the Supreme Court, in the case of Knight *vs.* The Sugar Refining Company of Philadelphia (156 United States Reports), decided that it is not within the competency of Congress to prohibit the manufacture of goods in a particular State by a trust or combination; and the proceedings which had been instituted in the city of Philadelphia against the trust in that city, which is a part of this same American Sugar Refining Company, fell to the ground.

I will tell you what we will have to do, and at the proper time I have an amendment which I shall submit. I do not think it would be fair, in view of the fact that the Senator from Iowa has yielded only for a discussion which is germane to this particular amendment, to go into that matter. At the proper time I shall submit an amendment designed to prohibit the transportation from one State or Territory to another State or Territory of articles which have been manufactured by a trust. Such a law would be

within the constitutional competency of Congress. Such a law, in my judgment, would be upheld by the Supreme Court of the United States, and such a measure, if it were passed, would within three months' time bring to an end all trusts and combinations in this country, because they would not be permitted to transport their goods from one State or Territory into another State or Territory. I have prepared such an amendment, but I will not offer it at this particular time.

Mr. ALLISON. I renew the motion to lay the amendment on the table.

Mr. PASCO. I ask the Senator from Iowa to yield until we can attempt to perfect the amendment.

Mr. ALLISON. I beg the Senator to excuse me. I insist upon my motion.

Mr. PASCO. I will state that that course will save no time, for I can renew the amendment in another form at any time.

Mr. COCKRELL. The Senator from Florida can offer them all. There is plenty of time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The motion is not debatable. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Iowa to lay on the table the amendment of the Senator from South Dakota.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas and Mr. FAULKNER called for the yeas and nays, and they were ordered.

The Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CLAY (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE]. I transfer that pair to the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH], and vote "nay."

Mr. DANIEL (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. HANSBROUGH]. If he were present, I should vote "nay."

Mr. GEAR (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH]. I transfer my pair to the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE], and vote "yea."

Mr. HARRIS of Kansas (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Wyoming [Mr. CLARK]. If he were present, I should vote "nay."

Mr. JONES of Arkansas (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE]. I understand from the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. PETTIGREW] that the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE] is paired with some other Senator, I do not know whom. I vote "nay."

Mr. JONES of Arkansas (when Mr. MANTLE'S name was called). I transfer my pair with the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE] to the Senator from Montana [Mr. MANTLE], and will let my vote stand. Otherwise I would withdraw my vote.

Mr. PETTIGREW. The Senator from Montana [Mr. MANTLE] has just informed me that if present he would vote "nay" on this question.

Mr. PETTUS (when his name was called). I am not in favor of this amendment as it stands, but I want to have it perfected. Therefore I vote "nay."

Mr. CHANDLER (when Mr. TELLER'S name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Colorado [Mr. TELLER], who, if present, would vote "nay." I should vote "yea."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. GALLINGER (after having voted in the affirmative). I have a general pair with the senior Senator from Texas [Mr. MILLS]. He has not voted, and I therefore withdraw my vote.

Mr. HARRIS of Kansas. I desire to transfer my pair with the junior Senator from Wyoming [Mr. CLARK] to the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. ALLEN]. I vote "nay."

Mr. BATE. My colleague [Mr. HARRIS of Tennessee] is absent from his seat. He has been here all day, but left the Chamber a short time ago. He is paired with the Senator from Vermont [Mr. MORRILL].

Mr. PETTIGREW. The Senator from Utah [Mr. CANNON] is paired with the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH]. If the Senator from Utah [Mr. CANNON] were present, he would vote "nay."

The result was announced—yeas 35, nays 32; as follows:

YEAS—35.

Allison,	Gear,	Morgan,	Sewell,
Burrows,	Hanna,	Nelson,	Shoup,
Cullom,	Hawley,	Penrose,	Spooner,
Davis,	Hoar,	Perkins,	Thurston,
Deboe,	Jones, Nev.	Platt, Conn.	Warren,
Elkins,	McBride,	Platt, N. Y.	Wellington,
Fairbanks,	McEnery,	Pritchard,	Wetmore,
Foraker,	McMillan,	Proctor,	Wilson.
Frye,	Mason,	Quay,	

NAYS—32.

Bacon,	Faulkner,	McLaurin,	Rawlins,
Bate,	Gray,	Mallory,	Roach,
Berry,	Harris, Kans.	Martin,	Tillman,
Butler,	Heitfeld,	Mitchell,	Turner,
Caffery,	Jones, Ark.	Murphy,	Turpie,
Chilton,	Kenney,	Pasco,	Vest,
Clay,	Kyle,	Pettigrew,	Walthall,
Cockrell,	Lindsay,	Pettus,	White.

NOT VOTING—22.

Aldrich,	Clark,	Hansbrough,	Smith,
Allen,	Daniel,	Harris, Tenn.	Stewart,
Baker,	Gallinger,	Lodge,	Teller,
Cannon,	George,	Mantle,	Wolcott.
Carter,	Gorman,	Mills,	
Chandler,	Hale,	Morrill,	

So Mr. PETTIGREW'S amendment was laid on the table.

Mr. PETTIGREW. I give notice that to-morrow I shall offer the following amendment:

Provided, That none of the increased rates of duty provided for in this act shall apply to any articles or commodities the sale or manufacture of which is controlled by trusts in this country.

Mr. BERRY and Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Offer it now.

Mr. PETTIGREW. I will offer it now.

Mr. PASCO. If there is another amendment pending, I will not offer now the amendment I rose to offer, but I will ask that it be printed and go over until in the morning. I have no desire to prolong the discussion upon this question, but Senators made objection to the amendment in the shape in which it was offered by the Senator from South Dakota, and I have attempted to avoid some of the objections which were urged against that amendment in the shape in which it was proposed. I ask that this amendment be printed and that it be printed in the RECORD and go over for consideration until to-morrow.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Unless there is objection, that will be the order.

The amendment submitted by Mr. PASCO is as follows:

Every contract, combination in the form of a trust, or association or corporation whose effect is to restrict the quantity of production or increase the price of any article imported into the United States, or any improved or manufactured article into which such raw material enters, or any conspiracy in restraint of trade with reference to such articles, shall be deemed a trust within the provisions of this act.

Any citizen of the United States may file a petition, verified by oath or affirmation, in any district court of the United States where the defendant has an office or place of business or may reside, alleging the existence of a trust as herein defined, either with reference to the raw material or unimproved or unrefined article, or with reference to a manufactured or improved article into which such raw material or unimproved article enters after being imported, and that articles or products subject to duty under this act, or articles or products of like character of domestic production are manufactured, or their sale controlled, or the price affected by said trust: whereupon a summons shall be immediately issued from said court directing the defendant to appear and answer said petition, the case to be governed as to time and manner of service, the pleadings and all proceedings had therein, as is now provided by law in civil causes instituted in the district courts of the United States.

If any citizen of the United States shall file with any district attorney for said district the petition herein set forth, it shall be the duty of said attorney to institute proceedings forthwith in the district court for said district in the name of the United States for the purpose of determining the issues made by said petition, like proceedings to be had in such case as hereinbefore prescribed.

The summons to the defendant or defendants herein required shall be served upon the president or chief officer, if a corporation, or upon all the members, if an association or partnership, and the Secretary of the Treasury shall also be notified of the existence and nature of the suit.

All cases instituted as herein provided shall be advanced upon the docket of the court so as to have precedence of trial over all civil causes thereon, and an appeal may be taken from the decision of the district court to the circuit court of the United States for the district, under the same rules as are prescribed for like appeals in other civil cases, but the judgment of the circuit court shall be final.

The court shall determine, first, whether such trust exists; second, whether it affects the raw material or unimproved article, the improved or manufactured article into which such raw material or unimproved article enters, or both the raw material and improved article, and the judgment of the court shall be certified to the Secretary of the Treasury. If the court shall find that the trust affects both the raw material and the manufactured or improved article into which such raw material enters, then the Secretary of the Treasury shall make an order directing the customs officers of the United States to thereafter permit the importation of both such raw material and such manufactured article free of duty. If it is found by the court that the trust affects the raw material only, the Secretary shall direct the customs officers to thereafter permit the importation of such raw material free of duty and the manufactured or improved article at a rate of duty diminished at the rate or by the amount theretofore imposed upon the raw material or unimproved article. If the court shall find that the trust affects the manufactured or improved article only, then the order of the Secretary shall direct that the said customs officers thereafter permit the importation of such improved or manufactured article at the same rate of duty that is fixed by law upon the raw material which enters into such improved or manufactured article, and the rate upon the raw material or unimproved article shall continue unchanged: *Provided*, That at any time after judgment, the Secretary of the Treasury, upon written grounds, or any party to the proceedings upon petition, verified by oath or affirmation, may move the court to set aside or suspend the enforcement of such judgment. If, upon hearing, it shall be adjudged that the trust has ceased to exist, it shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to withdraw or cancel his orders to the customs officers, and such officers shall immediately resume the collection of the duties imposed by this act. The parties to the original proceeding who do not join in the motion shall have reasonable notice thereof, and the motion shall be advanced and have precedence of trial over all civil causes. Appeals may be taken as in the original proceeding to the circuit court, but the judgment of that court upon the motion shall be final.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Chair understand the Senator from South Dakota to offer his amendment now?

Mr. PETTIGREW. I will simply give notice of it now and offer it in the morning.

Mr. CHILTON. I have prepared an amendment which I desire to offer to come in at the end of this schedule as paragraph 209½. I desire to have it read and printed, and I shall offer it to-morrow.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment will be read.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to amend the bill by inserting as a new paragraph at the end of line 15, page 66, the following:

209½. If any manufacturer, dealer, carrier, or other person, knowing that any article or articles of like character to those upon which duties are levied under this act are manufactured or their sale controlled or their price affected by a trust or combination, shall send, consign, or transmit, or cause to be sent, consigned, or transmitted, any such articles from a place in one State or Territory to a place in another State or Territory, such manufacturer, dealer, carrier, or other person shall, upon conviction before any circuit court of the United States, be punished by imprisonment not more than three years.

Mr. ALLISON. The tobacco schedule has been passed over for the present, and I ask that we may go on with the agricultural schedule at the bottom of page 70, line 23, "Dairy products."

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Does the Senator from Iowa propose to go on further to-night?

Mr. ALLISON. Reasonably. I will not proceed long, but we can go on for a while. I think there will be no trouble in making some progress.

Mr. VEST. We had better adjourn.

Mr. CULLOM. Let the Secretary read a paragraph or two.

Mr. ALLISON. If we can make a little progress, I shall be ready to make a motion to adjourn in a few minutes.

Mr. CHANDLER. Regular order!

The SECRETARY. Page 70, line 23——

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I hope the Secretary will wait until I can get my papers in shape. I supposed we were going to adjourn at the usual hour.

Mr. ALLISON. The usual hour has not yet arrived. If the Senator from Arkansas has any objection to a few of these paragraphs in the agricultural schedule being passed, of course I will accommodate him.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. No; I have no objection.

The Secretary read as follows, beginning at line 23, page 70:

Dairy products:

234. Butter, and substitutes therefor, 6 cents per pound.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I hope the clerks will wait until we can get the place in the bill.

Mr. ALLISON. It is on page 70.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I move to strike out "six" before "cents" in paragraph 234 and insert "four," which is the rate under the present law, the Wilson Act.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In line 24, page 70, strike out "six" and insert "four" before the word "cents;" so as to make the paragraph read:

234. Butter, and substitutes therefor, 4 cents per pound.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Arkansas.

Mr. VEST. I think the Senator from Iowa ought to lay before the Senate the official reports as to exports and imports. For instance, on oleomargarine, which is a substitute for butter, the exports were $587,369 in 1896 and there were no imports at all; on oleomargarine oil, $8,087,405, and no imports. Of butter we exported $2,937,203, and imported $8,248 worth; of cheese, $3,091,914, and we imported $1,494,601 worth of the foreign cheese which is not manufactured in this country. As to much the larger portion of the articles included in this paragraph we imported nothing. But I suppose we are putting on these duties for the purpose of protecting the American producers and of obtaining revenue. I call for the yeas and nays on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Arkansas.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CLAY (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE]. I transfer that pair to the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH], and vote "yea."

Mr. DANIEL (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. HANSBROUGH]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. GALLINGER (when his name was called). I am paired with the senior Senator from Texas [Mr. MILLS]. If he were present, I should vote "nay."

Mr. GEAR (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH]. I transfer that pair to the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE], and vote "yea."

Mr. HARRIS of Kansas (when his name was called). I transfer my pair with the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. CLARK] to the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. ALLEN], and vote "yea."

Mr. MCMILLAN (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. LINDSAY], and therefore withhold my vote.

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. THURSTON. Has the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. TILLMAN] voted?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. He has not.

Mr. THURSTON. I have a general pair with the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. TILLMAN]. If he were present, I should vote "nay."

The result was announced—yeas 29, nays 34; as follows:

YEAS—29.

Bacon,	Faulkner,	Martin,	Turner,
Bate,	Gray,	Mitchell,	Turpie,
Berry,	Harris, Kans.	Morgan,	Vest,
Butler,	Heitfeld,	Murphy,	Walthall,
Caffery,	Jones, Ark.	Pasco,	White.
Chilton,	Kenney,	Pettus,	
Clay,	McLaurin,	Rawlins,	
Cockrell,	Mallory,	Roach,	

NAYS—34.

Allison,	Frye,	Mason,	Sewell,
Burrows,	Gear,	Nelson,	Shoup,
Chandler,	Hanna,	Penrose,	Spooner,
Cullom,	Hawley,	Perkins,	Warren,
Davis,	Hoar,	Platt, Conn.	Wellington,
Deboe,	Jones, Nev.	Platt, N. Y.	Wetmore,
Elkins,	Kyle,	Pritchard,	Wilson.
Fairbanks,	McEnery,	Proctor,	
Foraker,	Mantle,	Quay,	

NOT VOTING—28.

Aldrich,	Gallinger,	Lodge,	Stewart,
Allen,	George,	McBride,	Teller,
Baker,	Gorman,	McMillan,	Thurston,
Cannon,	Hale,	Mills,	Tillman,
Carter,	Hansbrough,	Morrill,	Wolcott.
Clark,	Harris, Tenn.	Pettigrew,	
Daniel,	Lindsay.	Smith,	

So the amendment was rejected.

Mr. ALLISON. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After five minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened, and (at 5 o'clock and 5 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Wednesday, June 16, 1897, at 11 o'clock a. m.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate June 15, 1897.

GOVERNOR OF ALASKA.

John G. Brady, of Sitka, Alaska, to be governor of the District of Alaska, vice James Sheakley, resigned.

COMMISSIONERS FOR ALASKA.

Caldwell W. Tuttle, of Columbia City, Ind., to be a commissioner in and for the District of Alaska, to reside at Sitka, vice Robert C. Rogers, resigned.

John E. Crane, of Chicago, Ill., to be a commissioner in and for the District of Alaska, to fill one of the four additional commissionerships, at points to be designated by the President, created by the act approved June 4, 1897.

PROMOTION IN THE MARINE CORPS.

Second Lieut. George Richards, United States Marine Corps, to be a first lieutenant in said corps from the 2d day of February, 1897 (subject to the examinations required by law), vice Second Lieut. Elisha Theall, failed to qualify, and retired as first lieutenant.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate June 15, 1897.

ASSISTANT ATTORNEY-GENERAL.

Henry M. Hoyt, of Pennsylvania, to be Assistant Attorney-General.

PROMOTIONS IN THE ARMY.

Infantry arm.

Second Lieut. Vernon Avondale Caldwell, Twenty-fifth Infantry, to be first lieutenant.

Candidate Sergt. Thomas M. Anderson, jr., Troop G, Fourth Cavalry, to be second lieutenant.

Candidate Corpl. John E. Hunt, Troop H, Eighth Cavalry, to be second lieutenant.

MARSHALS.

William M. Griffith, of Arizona Territory, to be marshal of the United States for the Territory of Arizona.

John M. Barnes, of Georgia, to be marshal of the United States for the southern district of Georgia.

POSTMASTERS.

Percy R. Trubshaw, to be postmaster at Cooperstown, in the county of Griggs and State of North Dakota.

Samuel M. Griffin, to be postmaster at Quitman, in the county of Brooks and State of Georgia.

C. G. Brown, to be postmaster at Eastman, in the county of Dodge and State of Georgia.

Carl Kramer, to be postmaster at Columbus, in the county of Platte and State of Nebraska.

Elizabeth M. Broadwell, to be postmaster at La Cygne, in the county of Linn and State of Kansas.

Marshall Lambert, to be postmaster at Newkirk, in the county of Kay and Territory of Oklahoma.

SENATE.

WEDNESDAY, *June 16, 1897.*

The Senate met at 11 o'clock a. m.

Prayer by Rev. HUGH JOHNSTON, D. D., of the city of Washington.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

The VICE-PRESIDENT presented a petition of the Woman's Health Protective Association, of Philadelphia, Pa., praying the President of the United States and the Senate to formulate such treaties as will effectually prevent the difficulties arising between the United States and other nations; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. MITCHELL presented a petition of the Chamber of Commerce of Milwaukee, Wis., praying for the passage of the Torrey bankruptcy bill; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a memorial of the J. Miller Company, of Racine, Wis., remonstrating against the imposition of a duty on tanned skins for morocco or a duty on raw goatskins; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a memorial of A. D. Fleming & Co., flax spinners and bleachers, of Albany, Wis., remonstrating against the imposition of a duty on imported flax tow; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a memorial of the Menasha Wooden Ware Company, of Menasha, Wis., remonstrating against a change in the present law governing the use of wooden tobacco pails; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. GALLINGER presented memorials of the Howard Furniture Company, of Nashua; of Foster & Pinkham, of Henniker; of Blake, Allen & Co., of Manchester, and of Crafts & Green, all in the State of New Hampshire, remonstrating against any increase in the present rate of duty on tanned skins for morocco or a duty on raw goatskins; which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. DEBOE presented sundry petitions of citizens of Carrollton and Catlettsburg, in the State of Kentucky, praying for the passage, at the earliest possible date, of such protective-tariff legislation as will adequately secure American industrial products against the competition of foreign labor; which were ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented the petition of Rev. F. T. Hefferman, superintendent of the Louisville (Ky.) Church Workers and sundry other citizens of Kentucky, praying for the repeal of the present civil-service law; which was referred to the Committee on Civil Service and Retrenchment.

Mr. PLATT of New York presented a petition of sundry citizens of New York City and a petition of sundry citizens of Sodus Point, N. Y., praying for the early enactment of a protective-tariff law; which were ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a memorial of sundry citizens of New York City engaged in the lumber business, remonstrating against the proposed duty of $2 per thousand feet on lumber; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented sundry memorials of citizens of New York City and sundry memorials of citizens of Norwich, Conn., remonstrating against the proposed increase of the tax on beer; which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. BATE. I present, by request, a petition of sundry citizens of Georgetown, Tenn., praying for the passage, at the earliest possible date, of such protective-tariff legislation as will adequately secure American industrial products against the competition of foreign labor. I move that the petition lie on the table.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. BUTLER presented a memorial of members of the North Carolina Liquor Dealers, Distillers, and Grape Growers' Association, remonstrating against the proposed increase of the tax on beer; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. PRITCHARD presented a memorial of the North Carolina Liquor Dealers, Distillers, and Grape Growers' Association, remonstrating against the proposed increase of the tax on beer; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a petition of sundry citizens of Concord, N. C., and a petition of sundry citizens of Greensboro, N. C., praying for the early passage of the pending tariff bill; which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. PENROSE presented a petition of the Grocers and Exporters' Exchange of Philadelphia, Pa., praying for the passage of the Torrey bankruptcy bill; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a petition of the Sixth Ward Republican Club, of Philadelphia, Pa., praying for the repeal of the present civil-service law; which was referred to the Committee on Civil Service and Retrenchment.

He also presented a memorial of sundry citizens of Lancaster, Pa., and a memorial of sundry brewers of Lancaster, Pa., remonstrating against the proposed increase of the tax on beer; which were ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented petitions of 17 citizens of Philadelphia, of 52 citizens of Philadelphia, of 37 citizens of Norristown, 46 citizens of McKean, 26 citizens of Allegheny County, 52 citizens of Pennsylvania, 100 citizens of Philadelphia, 77 citizens of Weissport, and of Steelton Circle, No. 26, of Steelton, all in the State of Pennsylvania, praying for the enactment of legislation restricting immigration; which were ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented petitions of 31 citizens of Minersville, of 47 citizens of Philadelphia, of 43 citizens of Philadelphia, 24 citizens of Steelton, 24 citizens of Wilkesbarre, 34 citizens of Reading, 30 citizens of Philadelphia, 13 citizens of Philadelphia, 36 citizens of Reading, 46 citizens of Philadelphia, of 9 citizens of Philadelphia, and of the select and common councils of Philadelphia, all in the State of Pennsylvania, praying for the early passage of the pending tariff bill; which were ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a petition of the Merchant Tailors' Exchange of Allegheny, Pa., and a petition of Local Union No. 131, Journeymen Tailors' Union of America, of Pittsburg, Pa., praying for the adoption of clause 666 in the pending tariff bill, limiting the free importation of wearing apparel, etc.; which were ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a petition of the general assembly of Pennsylvania, praying for the early passage of Senate bill No. 1747, reappointing and retiring Gen. David McMurtrie Gregg, late captain, Sixth United States Cavalry, and brevet major-general of United States Volunteers, with the rank and grade of captain; which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. MILLS presented a memorial of Brewers' Union No. 112, of San Antonio, Tex., remonstrating against the proposed increase of the tax on beer; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. PROCTOR presented a memorial of the C. A. Hibbard Boot and Shoe Company, remonstrating against any increase in the present rate of duty on tanned skins for morocco, or a duty on raw goatskins; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. TURPIE presented a petition of Emil Wulschner & Son, of New York City, praying that the duty on musical instruments and parts for the same be provided for at the rate of 35 per cent ad valorem; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. HANNA presented memorials of D. H. Gaumer and 19 other citizens, of E. W. Van Wagenen and 19 other citizens, of W. T. Cosgrove and 19 other citizens, of S. A. Weller and 51 other citizens, C. N. Ritter and 19 other citizens, S. McCarthy and 16 other citizens, Leo Guthman and 19 other citizens, Otto A. Bauer and 19 other citizens, William H. Smith and 19 other citizens, the Sexton Furniture Company and 14 citizens, I. W. Clark and 18 other citizens, A. Parsons and 45 other citizens, J. T. Crabbs and 52 other citizens, J. C. Fish and 51 other citizens, J. S. Marquis and 50 other citizens, W. J. Tappan and 51 other citizens, G. S. Brum and 52 other citizens, Allen Thompson and 49 other citizens, Dr. J. A. Francis, jr., and 18 other citizens, W. L. Rowland and 49 other citizens, J. C. Fish and 52 other citizens, Harry L. Peebles and 16 other citizens, A. S. Clark and 19 other citizens, and of J. A. Knapp and 27 other citizens, all in the State of Ohio, remonstrating against the enactment of legislation intended to destroy the present system of ticket brokerage; which were referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

Mr. FORAKER presented memorials of the Bailey Drug Company and 18 citizens, the Collier-Budd Coal Company and 11 citizens, of James Shiny and 19 other citizens, J. B. Olivers and 49 other citizens, E. W. Hunting and 18 other citizens, Edward G. Howard and 52 other citizens, J. H. Wilson and 19 other citizens, Edward L. Meyers and 14 other citizens, and of William F. Gabell and 17 other citizens, all in the State of Ohio, remonstrating against the enactment of legislation intended to destroy the present system of ticket brokerage; which were referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

Mr. BURROWS presented memorials of C. C. Snedeker and 52 other citizens, Wright, Kay & Co. and 39 other citizens, David Long and 49 other citizens, Charles A. Strelinger and 45 other citizens, H. C. Hubbin and 19 other citizens, and of Brown Bros. and 51 other citizens, all in the State of Michigan, remonstrating against the enactment of legislation intended to destroy the present system of ticket brokerage; which were referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

Mr. MASON. Mr. President, I desire to present a large number of memorials which have been sent to me to be presented to the Senate, and I will ask the Secretary to note the name of the first memorialist on each paper and the number of signers. I should say that I have been informed, and from my examination believe it to be true, that these memorials are signed by some 15,000 memorialists. I am also informed that most of them are citizens of the State of Illinois. They protest against the passage of the anti-scalping bill. I should like to have the RECORD show the names, not of all the memorialists, but the first name on each memorial, and the number that follow.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. That order will be made, in the absence of objection.

The memorials are as follows:

Memorials of G. C. Burk and 49 other citizens, of Tower Dawson & Co. and 52 other citizens, of A. J. Shilling and 52 other citizens, of H. Lau and 51 other citizens, of E. D. Read and 50 other citizens, James D. Murphy and 50 other citizens, A. J. Reynolds and 40 other citizens, J. R. Black and 52 other citizens, A. R. Stanley and 52 other citizens, G. E. Ranaous and 19 other citizens, F. Wiehle and 26 other citizens, O. F. Bridges and 19 other citizens, J. F. Neunan and 52 other citizens, J. C. Hagenbuch and 17 other citizens, H. M. Shoub and 19 other citizens, J. H. Johnson and 18 other citizens, D. H. Clarke and 19 other citizens, D. Ogdine and 19 other citizens, H. Barkhausen and 19 other citizens, W. B. Senmark and 50 other citizens, H. Cooting and 52 other citizens, Robert Manning and 51 other citizens, Thomas Drury and 52 other citizens, L. C. Noble and 49 other citizens, M. L. Brown and 52 other citizens, S. Rice and 49 other citizens, J. Conarty and 52 other citizens, E. Wilken and 52 other citizens, D. P. Shaw and 50 other citizens, D. J. Riley and 52 other citizens, J. J. Conerty and 52 other citizens, Harry Filkins and 51 other citizens, J. J. Sullivan and 30 other citizens, H. Bottheim and 52 other citizens, Charles Nebel and 49 other citizens, A. R. Shroeder and 51 other citizens, C. J. Roe and 51 other citizens, T. McArdle and 52 other citizens, W. W. Taylor and 52 other citizens, P. H. Wilson and 52 other citizens, H. Y. Whiteman and 53 other citizens, W. G. Hargis and 52 other citizens, Charles Stornan and 51 other citizens, L. C. Noble and 48 other citizens, W. A. Sager and 41 other citizens, N. O'Brien and 43 other citizens, S. Wilson and 52 other citizens, J. P. Warner and 51 other citizens, F. J. Thompson and 19 other citizens, Filis Perl and 52 other citizens, Arnold Schiess and 52 other citizens, George W. Nye and 52 other citizens, F. J. Purdy and 52 other citizens, William McChesney and 49 other citizens, Th. Williams and 52 other citizens, E. J. McCarty and 52 other citizens, M. Plunkett and 52 other citizens, E. P. Adams and 50 other citizens, A. N. Swigert and 52 other citizens, J. A. Keley and 52 other citizens, F. E. Hatfield and 52 other citizens, B. C. Teal and 52 other citizens, M. Timmions and 20 other citizens, George D. Hall, M. D., and 51 other citizens, E. J. Highland and 49 other citizens, J. Hughes and 52 other citizens, W. O. Robertson and 52 other citizens, A. J. Wilson and 52 other citizens, E. Flin and 52 other citizens, R. Hand and 52 other citizens, J. T. Sullivan and 52 other citizens, C. A. Davies and 52 other citizens, J. G. Eager and 51 other citizens, H. Gundling and 52 other citizens, J. C. Duncan and 52 other citizens, L. B. Care and 52 other citizens, P. Lane and 52 other citizens, A. B. Horne and 51 other citizens, S. F. Erskine and 52 other citizens, T. T. Hughes and 52 other citizens, P. J. Holbrook and 52 other citizens, S. Lange and 52 other citizens, P. H. Wilson and 52 other citizens, J. N. Pincier and 51 other citizens, W. H. Bromiley and 52 other citizens, M. Ginby and 52 other citizens, S. Lee and 52 other citizens, W. J. Fagan and 52 other citizens, C. A. Vim Velzu and 52 other citizens, W. J. Tennison and 51 other citizens, J. C. Brooks and 53 other citizens, Charles Langguth and 51 other citizens, E. Klosterman and 49 other citizens, N. Parson and 51 other citizens, M. Schellender and 52 other citizens, H. Uebel and 48 other citizens, M. Adler and 52 other citizens, William McChesney and 48 other citizens, A. B. Rosenblum and 52 other citizens, William Force and 52 other citizens, J. Weil & Bros. and 51 other citizens, M. P. Hooker and 49 other citizens, W. J. Salmon and 52 other citizens, W. McDevitt and 53 other citizens, William Johnson and 14 other citizens, Henderson & Jampolis and 46 other citizens, Nelson Chesman and 52 other citizens, E. E. Kelly and 51 other citizens, W. W. David and 52 other citizens, George S. Lemon and 49 other citizens, M. Timmons and 19 other citizens, E. E. Duseman and 11 other citizens, E. R. Blake and 15 other citizens, The Fort Wayne Electric Corporation and 51 citizens, T. P. Blanchard and 52 other citizens, J. Chuseman and 51 other citizens, G. A. Washburn and 52 other citizens, W. H. Wright and 52 other citizens, C. A. Van Velger and 52 other citizens, J. A. Grant and 52 other citizens, E. Wertke and 52 other citizens, J. J. Jones and 50 other citizens, W. Mangler and 52 other citizens, F. L. Clark and 52 other citizens, S. Jones and 52 other citizens, H. C. Nau and 52 other citizens, H. A. Williamson and 51 other citizens, J. Schneider and 52 other citizens, Charles Deubler and 51 other citizens, E. Simon and 51 other citizens, M. Goldsmith and 51 other citizens, D. C. Clark and 52 other citizens, William G. Morrison and 52 other citizens, S. Singer and 57 other citizens, N. H. Daly and 52 other citizens, G. S. Glurehauf and 52 other citizens, J. Ascher and 52 other citizens, J. N. Mason and 50 other citizens, B. Amheim and 52 other citizens, L. Cohn and 17 other citizens, A. Arenson and 52 other citizens, D. Camp and 52 other citizens, A. R. Mitchell and 52 other citizens, E. V. Doran and 53 other citizens, C. Langguth and 52 other citizens, L. C. Marks & Co. and 52 other citizens, J. Valentine and 52 other citizens, P. J. Metty and 49 other citizens, W. Cronan and 52 other citizens, M. Connors and 52 other citizens, G. P. Burke and 49 other citizens, Grossman, Michelson & Co. and 52 other citizens, J. C. Wagner and 52 other citizens, E. Goldman & Co. and 51 other citizens, S. J. Hirsch and 52 other citizens, J. G. McGregor and 52 other citizens, P. P. Sly and 52 other citizens, E. Selmond and 52 other citizens, D. Heyman and 52 other citizens, Isaac F. Rubel and 52 other citizens, W. Hudson and 52 other citizens, J. Cheesman and 51 other citizens, A. Kennedy and 52 other citizens, Joe Hart and 50 other citizens, John F. Flynn and 29 other citizens, Frank Keene and 51 other citizens, B. J. Daniels and 52 other citizens, D. E. Morton and 52 other citizens, J. G. Jordan and 52 other citizens, George L. Russell and 50 other citizens, Edw. Cummings and 51 other citizens, W. J. Salmon and 52 other citizens, C. J. Leiber and 52 other citizens, the Munwegen & Weiss Manufacturing Company and 52 citizens, D. Kahn & Co. and 52 other citizens, Charles P. Root and 52 other citizens, Thomas B. O'Hara and 52 other citizens, J. Roberts and 52 other citizens, Adolph Moses and 11 other citizens, Henry Stern and 52 other citizens, H. G. Nye and 51 other citizens, Samuel Cains and 51 other citizens, Will. Miller and 52 other citizens, W. W. Wilder and 52 other citizens, J. A. Duggan and 52 other citizens, G. Mendrick and 52 other citizens, G. W. Hambaugh and 52 other citizens, H. S. Rice and 52 other citizens, G. Nuneneger and 49 other citizens, J. H. Brannan and 31 other citizens, F. A. Rogers and 52 other citizens, R. Nixon and 52 other citizens, Charles H. Ames and 22 other citizens, Pettibone, Mulliken & Co. and 49 other citizens, Emil K. Costerman and 49 other citizens, L. S. Kenlay and 52 other citizens, J. N. Mason and 51 other citizens, E. Baird and 52 other citizens, Carl Muller and 52 other citizens, F. M. Goodman and 52 other citizens, James O'Brien and 51 other citizens, Joseph Friedman and 19 other citizens, H. R. Platt and 52 other citizens, E. H. Brown and 52 other citizens, Capt. Jack Cranford and 52 other citizens, S. Adams and 51 other citizens, M. S. Hartman and 50 other citizens, E. J. Hill and 52 other citizens, W. J. Jackson and 53 other citizens, O. E. Pardee and 51 other citizens, M. Gimbel & Sons and 53 other citizens, J. S. Heath and 52 other citizens, E. Hart and 53 other citizens, A. Brown and 36 other citizens, Robert S. Brinton and 52 other citizens, B. Meyer and 53 other citizens, J. S. Horeland and 51 other citizens, the Cole Lithographing Company and 50 citizens, R. M. Atkinson and 52 other citizens, T. S. Rapp and 52 other citizens, James Thompson Drug Manufacturing Company and 52 citizens, S. J. Strickland and 50 other citizens, S. Tanzer and 17 other citizens, E. A. Luffin and 39 other citizens, J. F. Adams and 52 other citizens, T. Jacobs and 49 other citizens, S. Fishel and 51 other citizens, W. Eisendrath and 51 other citizens, J. E. Lamard and 48 other citizens, J. E. Laman and 49 other citizens, W. M. Umbdenstock and 52 other citizens, W. H. Jones and 52 other citizens, W. Eberhardt and 51 other citizens, C. L. Feladamf and 17 other citizens, M. T. Sterling and 52 other citizens, F. Beck and 45 other citizens, G. C. Joseph and 51 other citizens, H. J. Faulkner and 51 other citizens, A. J. Wilson and 52 other citizens, R. S. Turmia and 53 other citizens, H. Ganz and 51 other citizens, H. Y. Whitemon and 52 other citizens, J. C. Salomon and 51 other citizens, M. P. Hooker and 49 other citizens, A. L. Dean & Co. and 52 other citizens, J. McCormick and 52 other citizens, H. C. McDonald and 52 other citizens, C. S. Garrett and 52 other citizens, and J. W. Patterson and 52 other citizens, all in the State of Illinois.

Mr. CULLOM. The memorials presented by my colleague should be referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce. I did not hear any statement as to their reference.

Mr. MASON. That is correct.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The memorials will be so referred.

Mr. HOAR. I present the memorial of George W. Maddock, president of the Boston Upper Leather Tanners' Club, of Boston, Mass., relative to the tariff on hides and leather. I move that the memorial lie on the table, and that it be printed as a document.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. CHANDLER. I present sundry memorials as to a matter that is immediately pending before one of the committees of this body—sundry memorials of citizens of New Hampshire and other States, remonstrating against the enactment of the antiscalping bill, so called.

The memorialists represent that "the bill would destroy a natural and legal right to dispose of one's own property in the open market." They say "it would enable the strong railroad systems to shut out the weak lines on through business and thus destroy competition," that "it would send a citizen to prison and brand him with infamy for disposing of his own property, while imposing no penalty upon the railroad company for a failure to redeem tickets, as provided," and it also declares that "the business of ticket brokerage is directly in the interest of the traveling public." I ask that the memorials may be separately noted in the RECORD, and referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

The memorials were referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce, as follows:

Memorials of J. M. Pearion and 19 other citizens, E. C. Eartman and 14 other citizens, G. Sheltry and 9 other citizens, S. Brooks and 18 other citizens, S. Gasper and 17 other citizens, S. C.

Kobler and 50 other citizens, C. P. Kenyon and 18 other citizens, Wright & Lynch and 51 other citizens, H. F. Bancker and 51 other citizens, S. F. Ellis and 50 other citizens, F. A. Milliken and 51 other citizens, Dr. S. Olin Leech and 51 other citizens, George L. Barr and 52 other citizens, H. E. Mitchell and 52 other citizens, Carl Rosenburger and 52 other citizens, and George A. Berry & Co. and 19 other citizens.

Mr. GALLINGER presented the memorial of J. M. Pearson and 58 other citizens of Suncook, N. H., remonstrating against the enactment of legislation intended to destroy the present system of ticket brokerage; which was ordered to lie on the table.

REPORT OF A COMMITTEE.

Mr. FAIRBANKS, from the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, to whom was referred the bill (S. 1056) to provide for a public building at Cleveland, Ohio, reported it without amendment, and submitted a report thereon.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Mr. PENROSE introduced a bill (S. 2146) granting a pension to Susan Kroeson, widow of Thomas Kroeson, late a soldier in the Union Army during the war of the rebellion; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also introduced the following bills; which were severally read twice by their titles, and referred to the Committee on Claims:

A bill (S. 2147) for the relief of Mrs. Celia Ford, late a laundress in Battery F, Second Regiment United States Artillery; and

A bill (S. 2148) for the relief of the legal representatives of Merrick, Merrick & Cope.

Mr. COCKRELL introduced a bill (S. 2149) for the relief of Richard C. Silence; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

ELECTRIC RAILWAY LINE OVER THE POTOMAC.

Mr. PENROSE submitted the following concurrent resolution; which was referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the electric railway line from the Aqueduct Bridge to Fort Myer and Arlington may, with the permission and under the direction of the Secretary of War, be extended across the Aqueduct Bridge on or near the east sidewalk: *Provided*, That all cost of such extension shall be paid by the railway company and that this permission may be revoked by the Secretary of War at any time.

IMPROVEMENT OF CAPE CHARLES HARBOR.

Mr. SEWELL submitted the following concurrent resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Commerce:

Resolved by the Senate of the United States (the House of Representatives concurring), That the Secretary of War is hereby directed to prepare and submit plans and estimates for the further improvement of the harbor and approaches at Cape Charles City, Va., by the construction of a stone breakwater on the south side of the cut leading to Cape Charles Harbor, similar to the breakwater which has just been completed on the north side; and for sundry dredging near Old Plantation Light, in the cut leading to the harbor, thereby enabling vessels to go in and out of the harbor without danger or difficulty.

FREDALINE GLASTETTER.

Mr. COCKRELL. On the 16th day of March last I introduced a bill (S. 303) granting a pension to Fredaline Glastetter. He has passed beyond the reach of the beneficence of the Government, and I move that the Committee on Pensions be discharged from its further consideration, and that the bill be indefinitely postponed.

The motion was agreed to.

THE TARIFF BILL.

Mr. ALLISON. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of House bill 379.

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 379) to provide revenue for the Government and to encourage the industries of the United States.

The reading of the bill was resumed at page 70, line 25, as follows:

235. Cheese, and substitutes therefor, 6 cents per pound.
236. Milk, fresh, 2 cents per gallon.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I was not aware that the bill had been taken up. I was looking at something else. I should be glad to have a moment's delay.

I should like to have an understanding with the Senator from Iowa. There are a considerable number of amendments here where the rates have been raised, as we think, unreasonably, and we would like to have votes upon propositions to reduce them. At the same time we do not want to delay the Senate by taking a vote on every single paragraph. If there were to be no point of order made as to our going back to make the motion, I was thinking that we would perhaps allow a half dozen paragraphs to go at a time, and then move to strike out in each one of the paragraphs the objectionable rate and to substitute what we propose, and have one vote on the whole. I am aware, if we allow a paragraph to pass, the Senator in charge of the bill can make the point, if he chooses, that the paragraph has gone by and we can not return to it. If that point is to be made, of course we shall have to ask for separate votes as we go along.

Mr. ALLISON. I thoroughly sympathize with the Senator from Arkansas in his desire to make the utmost speed in the consideration of the bill consistent with the care that we ought to take in its examination. Therefore I assure him, upon the suggestion now made by him, that I shall make no point of order.

Mr. VEST. I move to strike out paragraph 236, in order to put fresh milk upon the free list, as it is under the existing law. I call attention to the fact that in 1896 we exported $270,453 worth of milk and imported $19,100 worth. Here is an article of prime necessity, entirely healthy, necessary to the comfort, indeed, to the life of a large portion of our people. I therefore move to strike out the paragraph in order to put fresh milk upon the free list, where it is now.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Missouri will be stated.

The SECRETARY. Strike out paragraph 236 in the following words:

Milk, fresh, 2 cents per gallon.

The amendment was rejected.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 237, page 71, line 2, after the word "of," to strike out "all coverings and packing material" and insert "immediate coverings;" so as to make the paragraph read:

237. Milk, preserved or condensed, or sterilized by heating or other processes, including weight of immediate coverings, 2 cents per pound; sugar of milk, 5 cents per pound.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I move to strike out "2 cents a pound," in line 5, and insert "20 per cent ad valorem."

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there any objection to the amendment proposed by the committee? The Chair hears none, and it is agreed to. The Senator from Arkansas moves an amendment which will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In line 5, page 71, it is proposed to strike out "2 cents per pound" and insert "20 per cent ad valorem."

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. And also strike out "5 cents per pound" and insert "20 per cent ad valorem."

The SECRETARY. Also, in lines 5 and 6, strike out "5 cents per pound" and insert "20 per cent ad valorem;" so as to make the paragraph read:

237. Milk, preserved or condensed, or sterilized by heating or other processes, including weight of immediate coverings, 20 per cent ad valorem; sugar of milk, 20 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The manufacture of condensed milk was begun just before the war, and has developed rapidly during and since then. There are now about ten factories in the United States that make about 40,000,000 1-pound cans of condensed milk annually. Five of these belong to the New York Condensed Milk Company and two to the Anglo-Swiss Company. Of these seven, four are in New York and three in Illinois.

When the factory employees and the dairy farmers in the vicinity of these establishments learned that McKinley had given the condensed-milk men all the duty they wished on preserved milk and had removed the duty on sugar, which in this particular case the foreigner refused to pay, they were jubilant. Prices of milk and wages were to be greatly advanced. This was the understanding all along the line. Whatever might be the effect of this new tariff act on other industries, it was certain to help the dairy farmer and the workers in the condensed-milk factories. But behold! When the condensed-milk men met and fixed the prices they would pay for milk for the year 1891, instead of being higher, they were found to be lower than for fifteen or twenty years, averaging only 3 cents per quart for winter and 2½ cents for summer months.

The wage earners in this highly protected industry can shake hands with the farmers, for all have been equally benefited by the tariff. Matters are somewhat different with the factory owners, who are now selling condensed milk somewhat higher than in 1890, and are now, because of cheaper sugar, making at least 1 cent more on each pound can, or $400,000 a year, though they had made their millions under the old duty. Of course, with such a high duty and such enormous profits, it was unbecoming for these men to depend upon the crude and amateurish methods of organization that had before bound them together. They must put their stock in a syndicate and have it sold in the exchanges. Hence, on December 2, 1891, the Associated Press contained the following from Chicago.

A special dispatch from Elgin, Ill., says:

"It is understood that arrangements are completed for the transfer to an English syndicate of the five milk-condensing factories at Carpentersville, Ill., and at Brewster, Wassaic, and Walden, N. Y. They have been owned by the Borden and Milbank families for over twenty-five years. The purchase price is not stated, but as their net revenue last year is said to have been over $750,000, it must be $12,000,000 or $15,000,000. The Borden heirs living here and in California are now in New York on this business."

This trust is now in shape to hold fast all the McKinley Act gave it and to dictate wages and prices on everything bought and sold. Moreover, they can and probably will soon begin to give extra discount to foreigners, who now purchase about $200,000 worth of condensed milk a year from us.

There can be no reason in making this increased tax on this article of prime necessity. The claim that it is done for the purpose of increasing wages of employees is absolutely disproved by the history of this product. The rate that I have proposed by the amendment I have offered is the one under the existing law at this time, under which large quantities of this article are being exported, I understand, and there is practically none being imported.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Arkansas.

The amendment was rejected.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 238, page 71, line 8, after the word "Beans," to strike out "fifty" and insert "forty;" so as to make the paragraph read:

238. Beans, 40 cents per bushel of 60 pounds.

Mr. SPOONER. I ask the Senator in charge of the bill to allow this paragraph to be passed over.

Mr. ALLISON. Very well.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. At the request of the Senator from Wisconsin, the paragraph will be passed over temporarily.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 239, page 71, line 13, after the word "all," to strike out "coverings and packing material" and insert "tins, jars, and other immediate coverings;" so as to make the paragraph read:

239. Beans, pease, and mushrooms, prepared or preserved, in tins, jars, bottles, or similar packages, 2½ cents per pound and 15 per cent ad valorem, including the weight of all tins, jars, and other immediate coverings; all vegetables, prepared or preserved, including pickles and sauces of all kinds, not specially provided for in this act, and fish paste or sauce, 40 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment was agreed to.

The Secretary read the next paragraph, as follows:

240. Cabbages, 3 cents each.

Mr. VEST. Under the existing law cabbages are upon the free list. I move to strike out the paragraph with a view to putting them upon the free list.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the amendment of the Senator from Missouri, to strike out paragraph 240, "Cabbages, 3 cents each."

The amendment was rejected.

The next paragraph was read, as follows:

241. Cider, 5 cents per gallon.

Mr. VEST. Mr. President, I draw the line on cider. After three weeks of arduous labor, we have succeeded upon this side of the Chamber in making only one reduction in the bill, and that was a quarter of a cent upon anvils. Now we have the cider put on the dutiable list. The official reports show that we exported of cider during 1896, $47,670 worth and imported $1,704 worth.

I appeal to New England to put this article upon the free list. Every one of us, and we have all been boys, must go back to reminiscences of boyhood in order to find an argument, and a very conclusive one, in behalf of free cider. There can be no pretense that this is in the line of protection, because we supply the domestic market and export nearly $50,000 worth of this innocent beverage.

Mr. GRAY. It is not for revenue.

Mr. VEST. It is not for revenue, because we imported only sixteen or seventeen hundred dollars' worth during 1896. If there is a temperance man upon the other side of the Chamber, I appeal to him. My judgment, formed upon observation and very considerable experience, is that the use of light wines, beer, and cider is the right road to temperance. The American people never will be a temperance people until we quit the fierce, maddening, life and soul destroying liquors above proof in alcohol and adopt the continental system.

One good thing, at least, they have in Europe, the use of beer and light wines. I believe it is almost a crime in these modern days to confess that you have been to Europe. I saw a quotation from a distinguished statesman upon my own side in politics the other day where he thanked God he was too much of an American ever to have been to Europe. Well, I have been to Europe. I went there for my health, and I am very sorry I am not there now.

Mr. HOAR. May I inquire of the Senator if it is not the fact that that statesman was himself born in Europe?

Mr. VEST. No; he is a native-born American. He thanked God that he never had been there, and said he was too much of an American ever to go there. I said that I wished I was there now. I would infinitely rather be there, on account of my health and comfort, than to be struggling hopelessly over this tariff bill.

Mr. FRYE. Give it up.

Mr. VEST. We can not always give up these things. Every public man has sometimes to take hold of a live wire, and he can not let go. I saw my friend the chairman of the Commerce Committee, with whom I have labored so many years, wrestling and struggling with a strong disposition to piscatorial exercises, when he felt he was compelled to stay here and wrestle with financial and economic questions.

I have been to Europe, Mr. President. I went there from necessity, and the necessity arose from the fact that you can get no rest in this country. I make no apology for it. With telephones, telegraphs, and the demands upon every man, even in private life, and much more in public life, there is no rest in this rushing, worrying, irritating American life of ours unless we go abroad.

I do not propose to open up the temperance question, but I am defending cider, the liquid of our boyhood, the beverage that "cheers but not inebriates," that sparkles at every New England festival and in every New England home and in the West and South wherever the apple is raised and used. Upon the Continent of Europe you can see from five to fifteen thousand people—men, women, and children—assembled in the gardens every afternoon in family groups, drinking wine and beer and listening to music—not a loud word, not a boisterous expression, the home preserved. If you had that many Americans there, under our system of bibulation, it would not be ten minutes until you would hear the yell of some drunken ruffian and the music of the revolver.

If we want temperance in this country—and I am in perfect sincerity when I say so—we must change our methods of drinking. The desire for some sort of stimulus is natural to mankind. We read in the Bible that as far back as the days of Noah he had not joined the Sons of Temperance. If we would have real, true temperance, obedient to natural appetites, in this country, we must do away with these strong liquors and go back to light wines and the drinks of our childhood—milk, water, and cider.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Will the Senator allow me? I think it would have been better for Noah if he had joined the Sons of Temperance.

Mr. VEST. But he did not join them. That is the point I am making. We are told that the races of men were divided, and the descendants of Ham were put into slavery because Ham, instead of protecting the old man's weakness, ridiculed him, and the result was that his descendants became slaves.

Mr. President, I make this appeal earnestly in favor of cider. I have heard that at one time there was a distinguished member of this body who came in when a financial bill was being discussed by Senator Sherman, of Ohio. In those early days Senator Sherman was advocating an increased tax upon whisky, nothing like what we have now, but it was considered then an enormous increase. This Senator came in, deposited his hat and gloves upon his desk before him, and said, "May I interrupt the Senator from Ohio?" Mr. Sherman yielded the floor, and this Senator said: "Mr. President, I understand that whisky has no friends in this Chamber. I am the friend of whisky, and whisky is my friend. It builds up the strong and destroys the weak." And he retired from the Chamber after that declaration in favor of his favorite beverage.

If whisky could have an advocate, how many advocates ought cider to have, the beverage of sobriety, the beverage of home? What excuse is there for putting it upon the dutiable list, when we export the amount I have named and receive nothing in the shape of revenue? I appeal frankly and earnestly to New England to come to the rescue of cider.

I ask for the yeas and nays on agreeing to my amendment.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the amendment of the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST] to strike out paragraph 241, "Cider, 5 cents per gallon," on which he demands the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CANNON (when his name was called). I am paired with the senior Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH]. If he were here, I should vote "yea."

Mr. CLAY (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE]. I would vote "yea" if he were present.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE], but I transfer that pair to the Senator from Colorado [Mr. TELLER], and they will remain paired. I make this announcement for the day.

Mr. LINDSAY (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the senior Senator from Michigan [Mr. MCMILLAN], who, I understand, is not in the Chamber. I therefore withhold my vote. If he were here, I should vote "yea."

Mr. PRITCHARD (when his name was called). Has the junior Senator from South Carolina [Mr. MCLAURIN] voted?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. He has not voted.

Mr. PRITCHARD. I am paired with the junior Senator from South Carolina. If he were present, I should vote "nay."

Mr. PROCTOR (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Florida [Mr. MALLORY].

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. TILLMAN. Has the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. THURSTON] voted?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. He has not voted.

Mr. TILLMAN. I am paired with that Senator, and therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. PASCO. Has the Senator from Washington [Mr. WILSON] voted?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. He has not voted.

Mr. PASCO. I am paired with that Senator, and therefore I withhold my vote. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. FAULKNER (after having voted in the affirmative). I am paired with my colleague the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. ELKINS]. I do not see him in the Chamber. I should like to know whether he has voted.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. He has not voted.

Mr. FAULKNER. I withdraw my vote.

Mr. GEAR. I am paired with the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH]. I transfer that pair to the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE], and vote "nay."

Mr. CLAY. I transfer my pair to the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH], and vote "yea."

Mr. BUTLER (after having voted in the affirmative). I am paired with the junior Senator from Maryland [Mr. WELLINGTON]. As he is not present, I withdraw my vote.

The result was announced—yeas 21, nays 28; as follows:

YEAS—21.

Bacon,	Harris, Tenn.	Morgan,	Vest,
Bate,	Heitfeld,	Murphy,	Walthall,
Berry,	Jones, Ark.	Pettus,	White.
Clay,	Kenney,	Rawlins,	
Cockrell,	Mills,	Roach,	
Gray,	Mitchell,	Turpie,	

NAYS—28.

Allison,	Fairbanks,	Hoar,	Platt, Conn.
Burrows,	Foraker,	McBride,	Platt, N. Y.
Carter,	Frye,	Mason,	Quay,
Chandler,	Gallinger,	Morrill,	Sewell,
Cullom,	Gear,	Nelson,	Spooner,
Davis,	Hanna,	Penrose,	Stewart,
Deboe,	Hawley,	Perkins,	Wetmore.

NOT VOTING—40.

Aldrich,	Faulkner,	McEnery,	Shoup,
Allen,	George,	McLaurin,	Smith,
Baker,	Gorman,	McMillan,	Teller,
Butler,	Hale,	Mallory,	Thurston,
Caffery,	Hansbrough,	Mantle,	Tillman,
Cannon,	Harris, Kans.	Martin,	Turner,
Chilton,	Jones, Nev.	Pasco,	Warren,
Clark,	Kyle,	Pettigrew,	Wellington,
Daniel,	Lindsay,	Pritchard,	Wilson,
Elkins,	Lodge,	Proctor,	Wolcott.

So the amendment was rejected.

Mr. WHITE subsequently said: I have been advised that I voted in the absence of the Senator from Idaho [Mr. SHOUP], with whom I am paired. I ask unanimous consent to withdraw my vote. I had not observed that the Senator from Idaho was not here.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from California asks leave to withdraw his vote on the previous roll call. Is there objection? The Chair hears none.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 242, page 71, line 21, after the word "Eggs," to insert "not specially provided for in this act;" so as to make the paragraph read:

242. Eggs, not specially provided for in this act, 5 cents per dozen.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. VEST. I move to strike out "five" and insert "three;" so as to read:

Eggs, not specially provided for in this act, 3 cents per dozen.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Missouri.

Mr. VEST. I wish to call the attention of my friends who are anxious to secure revenue to the fact as shown by the official report. In 1893, under the McKinley Act, at 5 cents a dozen, there were brought into this country $392,616 worth of eggs. In 1896, under a reduction to 3 cents per dozen under the Wilson Act, we brought in $88,701 worth. So if it is desired, as I understand is the case, to obtain revenue, I would suggest that the present duty be retained. Therefore I make the motion.

The amendment was rejected.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 243, page 71, line 23, after the words "ad valorem," to strike out the semicolon and the words "albumen, 5 cents per pound;" so as to make the paragraph read:

243. Eggs, yolk of, 25 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. ALLISON. In behalf of the majority of the committee, I move to insert after the words "ad valorem," and in lieu of the part stricken out, the following:

Albumen, egg, or dried blood, 3 cents per pound; dried blood when soluble, 1½ cents per pound.

Mr. VEST. I ask the Senator from Iowa if dried blood is not now on the free list?

Mr. ALLISON. It is on the free list.

Mr. VEST. And it is proposed now to put a duty of 3 cents a pound upon it?

Mr. ALLISON. Three cents a pound on egg albumen and dried blood.

Mr. VEST. I call attention to the fact that the official report shows no imports at all of the yolk of eggs. This duty of 25 per cent ad valorem can not be imposed for the purpose of protecting the American production, as none comes in from abroad at all. In other words, we absolutely control the domestic market. In addition to that, under the amendment the Senator puts 3 cents per pound, I understand, upon albumen and 3 cents per pound upon dried blood.

Mr. ALLISON. Dried-blood albumen.

Mr. VEST. Dried-blood albumen. Now, will the Senator please explain why he wants to take that article off the free list?

Mr. ALLISON. The House provided for a duty of 5 cents per pound. It is largely produced in our own country and imported also. We struck it out, but on a reexamination we provide for a small duty.

Mr. VEST. I could not hear what the Senator from Iowa said. Will he be kind enough to repeat his statement?

Mr. ALLISON. We provide a small duty in lieu of 5 cents a pound provided for by the House. The House provision is 5 cents a pound. We insert 3 cents for egg albumen or dried-blood albumen, and 1½ cents for dried blood when soluble.

Mr. VEST. Does the Senator mean to say that they are the same thing?

Mr. ALLISON. They are not the same thing, but they are like things, used for the same purposes.

Mr. GRAY. What are those purposes, may I ask the Senator?

Mr. VEST. I understand that it is a hospital article.

Mr. ALLISON. They are used largely in purifying cloths, etc.

Mr. VEST. They are also used in medicinal preparations.

Mr. ALLISON. They are used in the manufacture of beer as well.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the adoption of the amendment of the Senator from Iowa.

Mr. VEST. Let us have a vote on that amendment.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. On the committee amendment?

Mr. VEST. I do not call for the yeas and nays. I want a viva voce vote.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Iowa, which includes the amendment of the committee.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 244, page 72, line 1, after the word "Hay," to strike out "$4 per ton" and insert "$3.50 per ton, gross weight;" so as to make the paragraph read:

244. Hay, $3.50 per ton, gross weight.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I move to strike out "$3.50" and insert "$2." I call attention to the fact that the revenue derived from a tax of $4 a ton was about $900,000, and the revenue derived from a tax of $2 a ton was $2,700,000—three times as much revenue on the rate of $2 a ton as there was on the rate of $4 a ton.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the amendment of the Senator from Arkansas to the amendment of the committee.

Mr. ALLISON. In behalf of the committee, I withdraw the amendment proposed by the committee, and will allow the vote to be taken on the House provision.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I hope the Senator will let me have a vote taken on the proposition I have made.

Mr. ALLISON. Undoubtedly.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I ask for the yeas and nays on my amendment. The Senator from Iowa proposes to raise the proposed Senate committee rate of $3.50 a ton to $4 a ton. I ask for a vote by yeas and nays on my amendment reducing the rate to $2.

Mr. QUAY. Will the Secretary have the kindness to state the amendment?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the amendment proposed by the Senator from Arkansas [Mr JONES], which will be stated.

The SECRETARY. The committee amendment to paragraph 244 having been withdrawn, it is proposed to strike out "$4" and insert "$2;" so as to read:

244. Hay, $2 per ton.

The Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. FAULKNER (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. ELKINS]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. HARRIS of Kansas (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Wyoming [Mr. CLARK]. As he is not present, I withhold my vote.

Mr. LINDSAY (when his name was called). I am paired with the senior Senator from Michigan [Mr. MCMILLAN], and therefore withhold my vote. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. PASCO (when his name was called). I again announce my pair with the Senator from Washington [Mr. WILSON]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. PROCTOR (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Florida [Mr. MALLORY].

Mr. TILLMAN (when his name was called). I again announce my pair with the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. THURSTON].

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. GEAR. I am paired with the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH]. I transfer that pair to the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE], and vote "nay."

Mr. WHITE (after having voted in the affirmative). I inquire if the Senator from Idaho [Mr. SHOUP] has voted?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. He has not.

Mr. WHITE. I am paired with that Senator, and therefore withdraw my vote.

Mr. BURROWS. I notice that the senior Senator from Louisiana [Mr. CAFFERY] is not present. I am paired with that Senator, and I request that my vote may be withdrawn. I voted without observing his absence. I ask leave to withdraw my vote on the last roll call.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. If there be no objection, it will be so ordered.

Mr. WHITE. I suggest to the Senator from Michigan that we might exchange pairs and vote. I am paired with the Senator from Idaho [Mr. SHOUP] and the Senator from Michigan is paired with the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. CAFFERY]. If the Senator has no objection, I will transfer my pair to the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. CAFFERY], and that will enable the Senator from Michigan and myself to vote.

Mr. BURROWS. That will be entirely agreeable to me. I vote "nay."

Mr. WHITE. I vote "yea."

The result was announced—yeas 23, nays 29; as follows:

YEAS—23.

Bacon,	Cockrell,	McLaurin,	Roach,
Bate,	Gray,	Mills,	Turpie,
Berry,	Harris, Tenn.	Mitchell,	Vest,
Butler,	Jones, Ark.	Morgan,	Walthall,
Chilton,	Kenney,	Murphy,	White.
Clay,	McEnery,	Pettus,	

NAYS—29.

Allison,	Foraker,	Mason,	Quay,
Burrows,	Gallinger,	Morrill,	Sewell,
Carter,	Gear,	Penrose,	Spooner,
Chandler,	Hansbrough,	Perkins,	Wellington,
Cullom,	Heitfeld,	Pettigrew,	Wetmore.
Davis,	Hoar,	Platt, Conn.	
Deboe,	Kyle,	Platt, N. Y.	
Fairbanks,	McBride,	Pritchard,	

NOT VOTING—37.

Aldrich,	George,	Mallory,	Teller,
Allen,	Gorman,	Mantle,	Thurston,
Baker,	Hale,	Martin,	Tillman,
Caffery,	Hanna,	Nelson,	Turner,
Cannon,	Harris, Kans.	Pasco,	Warren,
Clark,	Hawley,	Proctor,	Wilson,
Daniel,	Jones, Nev.	Rawlins,	Wolcott.
Elkins,	Lindsay,	Shoup,	
Faulkner,	Lodge,	Smith,	
Frye,	McMillan,	Stewart,	

So the amendment was rejected.

The next paragraph was read, as follows:

245. Honey, 20 cents per gallon.

Mr. VEST. I move to strike out "twenty" and insert "ten," which is the rate in the present law.

The SECRETARY. In line 3, page 72, it is proposed to strike out "twenty" and insert "ten;" so as to read:

245. Honey, 10 cents per gallon.

Mr. VEST. I want to call attention to the official report of exports and imports. We exported of honey in 1896, $90,959 worth, and we imported $17,632 worth, showing an excess of exports over imports of more than $70,000 in the year 1896. There can not be any pretense of the necessity for protection to this simple production, and it certainly does not bring us any revenue. I can not see any necessity for imposing this duty upon an article entirely harmless and entirely necessary.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the amendment proposed by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST].

The amendment was rejected.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 246, page 72, line 4, after the word "Hops," to strike out "fifteen" and insert "twelve;" so as to read:

246. Hops, 12 cents per pound.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I move to amend the proposed amendment by striking out "twelve" and inserting "eight."

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment to the amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to amend the committee amendment, on page 72, line 4, after the word "Hops," by striking out "twelve" and inserting "eight;" so as to read:

246. Hops, 8 cents per pound.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the amendment to the amendment.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I have a communication from a number of hop exporters and importers showing the condition of the trade in hops, and, as it seems to me, the absolute uselessness of this increase in the present tariff. The rate proposed by me is that which is now the law. I will read a statement made by these gentlemen showing the condition of this trade:

NO. 35 PEARL STREET, NEW YORK CITY, *March 29, 1897.*

To the Senate Finance Committee of the United States, Washington, D. C.:

The undersigned, hop merchants, exporters and importers, respectfully submit the following statement of facts in relation to the hop trade, to demonstrate that the proposed increase in the duty on hops from 8 cents to 15 cents per pound will be an injury rather than a benefit to the producer, that it will be a hardship to the consumer, and that it will probably prove of no advantage whatever from a revenue point of view, and is therefore against public policy.

First. The present duty of 8 cents per pound affords protection to the extent of fully 100 per cent upon the average cost of producing hops in America. In proof of this it may be stated that on the Pacific Slope, where three-fifths of the total American crop is now produced, hops can be grown, harvested, cured, and baled, ready for market, at a cost of only 6 cents per pound, and can be delivered in New York at 7½ cents. A large proportion of the Oregon crop of 1896 was sold under contract by growers at 6 cents per pound six months before harvest time, and before they had incurred any outlay for the purpose of cultivation. In New York State, which produces the other two-fifths of the American crop, the cost of production is popularly supposed to be 10 cents per pound, but without doubt a large proportion of the crop is now being produced at a much lower cost.

Second. The annual exports of American hops absorb about one-third of our production and have become such a serious menace to the English growers that they are continually beseeching Parliament to protect them against American competition. During the past three years the volume of exports have averaged nearly half the total quantity of hops consumed by American brewers.

Third. The small quantity of European hops which are imported to this country do not really enter into competition with the home product. They are used for special purposes by brewers of high-grade beers, who blend them with American hops in the proportion of about one to ten, mainly to impart to their beer a certain flavor which can not be acquired in any other way, and which will enable them to successfully imitate the flavor of foreign beers. Their special value consists in their peculiar aroma, and it is doubtful if in other respects they possess as much merit as our home product for general brewing purposes.

Fourth. The ratio of imports to exports is, on the average, about 1 to 7 and the extent to which imported hops may be said to displace our native hops is certainly not over 7 per cent of the total consumption of the United States. Even this small displacement is probably fully balanced by the extent to which our exporters are relieved from the competition of Germany in the London market. It is an axiom in the hop trade that London makes our prices, so that the exports of German hops to England are of vastly more importance to the American grower than are the exports of German hops to the United States. In this connection attention should be called to a report made by Louis Stern, United States commercial agent at Bamberg, September 14, 1896, upon the German hop trade, setting forth how seriously the trade in German hops is threatened by American competition in the English market.

And yet we are proposing to protect the American market against competition of this kind, when we are threatening their market abroad and selling a large percentage of our hops.

Fifth. The past four years in the hop trade have been marked by an era of low prices, resulting from constant overproduction. This conclusion is evident from the fact that the consumption of beer has not decreased, showing that the situation was not influenced by the general business depression. The plain truth of the matter is that the majority of the growers in New York State can not successfully compete with those on the Pacific Coast, and it is therefore the refinement of cruelty to bolster them up by creating in their minds a false impression of the probable benefit to them of a practically prohibitive tariff.

Sixth. With regard to the revenue from imported hops, the statistics of the Treasury Department will show that the revenue derived from hops under the operation of the McKinley bill (when the duty was 15 cents per pound) was less than during the same period prior thereto, when the duty was only 8 cents per pound.

Your attention is directed to the following resolution, which was adopted unanimously at a full meeting of hop merchants and growers held in New York on April 2, 1894, and embodied in a petition sent to the United States Senate, to wit:

"*Resolved*, That the hop trade as a unit deplores the action of the Finance Committee of the United States Senate in having recommended a change in the hop schedule of the Wilson bill, recently passed by the House of Representatives, whereby the tariff on hops is to be changed from a specific to an ad valorem duty, and that the said hop trade unanimously petitions the honorable the Senate of the United States to reinstate the Wilson schedule of specific duty.

"*Resolved*, That although the opinion of different members of the trade has been at variance as to the amount of said specific duty, they have, after a conference with the hop growers throughout the State of New York, united in petitioning that the rate established by the House of Representatives, to wit, 8 cents per pound, be adopted by the Senate."

We respectfully submit that the proposal to increase the duty upon hops is undesirable from every point of view, and is calculated to cast discredit

upon the protection idea. We ask your committee to grant us the privilege of a hearing.

Very respectfully,

Hugh F. Fox, 35 Pearl street, New York; Rothbarth & Sons, 35 Pearl street, New York; T. Rosenwald & Co., 15 Water street, New York; E. Wattenberg Co., 104 Broad street, New York; Martin Rothbarth & Co., 26 Whitehall street, New York; E. Uchtmann, 17 and 19 Broadway, New York; Carl Ullmann & Co., 17 and 19 Broadway, New York; Hugo Reisinger, 38 Beaver street, New York; S. S. Steiner, 25 Whitehall street, New York; M. Seidenberger's Sons, 25 Whitehall street, New York; C. & L. Heidenheimer, 13 Stone street, New York; Paul Reinemann, 22 Whitehall street, New York; Charles Zoller, 12 Water street, New York; F. W. Simonds & Son, 18 South William street, New York; Geo. W. Elkins & Co., Philadelphia, Pa.; Dole Bros. Co., Boston, Mass.; Falk, Wormser & Co., Chicago, Ill.; Chas. L. Klewert & Co., Milwaukee, Wis.; Meyer Supply Co., St. Louis, Mo.; L. R. Van Derveer, Buffalo, N. Y.; Elsas & Pritz, Cincinnati, Ohio; A. Lehman & Co., Cincinnati, Ohio; Herman Goepper & Co., Cincinnati, Ohio; A. Magnus's Sons, Chicago, Ill.; Cleveland Brewers' Supply Co., Cleveland, Ohio.

The specific duty of 8 cents a pound put in that bill was understood to be entirely satisfactory to the hop growers at that time. Now, notwithstanding the fact that there is only about 7 per cent of the total consumption of hops imported into the United States, notwithstanding the fact that we ship abroad from a third to a half of all the hops raised in the United States, and notwithstanding the fact that American hops regulate the prices and value of hops in the London markets, it is proposed to go through the form of undertaking to increase the price of American hops by raising this duty. There can not be any pretense that it is to raise revenue, because the importation of hops is infinitesimal, and the duty can have no effect, except probably locally, to interfere with the natural operations of trade.

Mr. VEST. Mr. President, I realize the fact that it is hopeless to obtain any reduction of the items in this tariff bill. I am simply discharging a duty placed upon me by a brother Senator when I send to the desk a communication from the brewers of the city of St. Louis—which has a very large brewing interest—asking that the duty on hops be put back to 8 cents, as under the existing law.

I want to state, Mr. President, that the evidence is incontestable that these foreign hops are absolutely necessary to the American brewer, and that they do not interfere with the hop-growing interest of the United States, because, as my colleague on the committee [Mr. JONES of Arkansas] says, large quantities of American hops are sent abroad and sold in Europe at a profit. There is no rivalry between the foreign hops and the hops grown in the United States, and especially in Oregon.

I send to the desk the communication, and ask that it be read. It is very short.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. In the absence of objection, the Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read as follows:

ST. LOUIS, MO., *April 10, 1894.*

Hons. GEORGE G. VEST and FRANCIS M. COCKRELL,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

We, the undersigned, representing substantially the entire brewing interest of the city of St. Louis, Mo., hereby petition you, praying for the reasons set forth by the trade committee of the New York Produce Committee, that the duty on hops be restored to 8 cents per pound specific, as fixed by the Wilson tariff bill now pending.

ST. LOUIS BREWING ASS'N,
ELLIS WAINWRIGHT, *Prest.*
ANHEUSER-BUSCH B. ASS'N,
ADOLPHUS BUSCH, *Prest.*
THE AMERICAN BREWING CO.,
By HENRY KOEHLER, JR., *President.*
HOME BREWING CO.,
Per THEO. HEROLD, *Prest.*
NATIONAL BREWERY CO.,
Per HENRY GRIESEDIECK, JR., *Prest.*
COLUMBIA BREWING CO.,
Per CHAS. F. KOEHLER, *Prest.*
W. J. LEMP BREWING CO.,
W. J. LEMP, *Prest.*

Mr. VEST. Here is a communication, in addition to that sent to me by the St. Louis brewers, accompanied by a letter from Hon. Ashbel P. Fitch, formerly a member of Congress from New York. This represents the wishes and opinions of the entire brewing interest of the city of New York.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read as follows:

From the point of view of the protectionists the proposed increase of the duty on foreign hops must appear exceedingly illogical for these reasons, viz:

First. Because the American hop growers are not in any manner affected by the importation of foreign hops, which does not amount to 10 per cent of the entire quantity of hops consumed in American breweries.

Second. Because the question of "pauper labor," which is the determining factor in all legislation of a protective character, is not involved at all in this case, since the exportation of American hops to the pauper-ridden countries of Europe exceeds by 75 per cent the importation of foreign hops to this country—the actual figures for seven years (1882 to 1888) being, exportation 54,976,722 pounds, importation 33,217,477 pounds. (See Statistical Abstract, Treasury Department, for 1888.)

Third. Because the small quantity of foreign hops consumed in American breweries, being used merely for the purpose of producing certain flavors peculiar to certain plants of foreign growth, can not, and unless the market be manipulated by speculators and dealers will not, affect the price of American hops, but will have the effect either of terminating such importations—which is not likely—or of compelling the brewer to pay a higher price for such hops, through an additional and unnecessary tax. It can be shown that the home production exceeds the home demands; but it has also to show that the surplus of domestic production or consumption finds a ready market in Europe at prices rivaling those paid for the foreign article in England. (The latter is borne out by many American hop growers, among them one Mr. Clark, who appeared before the Committee on Ways and Means.) Here we have, then, an inversion of the fundamental theory of the protectionist, since the American producer, far from needing protection against "pauper labor," has successfully entered the European markets and "downed" the foreign producer. The money which the American brewer paid for foreign hops during the seven years (1882 to 1888) amounted to $7,486,239; the money which the American farmer received for hops sold in pauper-ridden Europe amounted to $14,702,739.

What is said concerning the probable effect or rather noneffect of an increased duty upon home prices applies, of course, only to a normal state of affairs; but it will readily be understood that sharp dealers, and the strongest support of the proposed increase emanates from dealers, may, by a combination of favorable circumstances and their own shrewdness, so manipulate the market as to enhance prices in a manner that will not at all increase the profits of the producer, but simply those of the middlemen.

In the event of a failure of the American hop crops the poor-protected farmer will not be saved by an increased duty, but the brewer would be compelled to seek supply in foreign markets and pay for it an exorbitant tax into the national Treasury, already too plethoric for the common welfare.

The salient point of the opposition to an increased duty may be summed up in a few sentences. The object of protection is to guard the American producer against the competition of the purchasers of the cheap commodities.

In our case the fact is that foreign hops are by far dearer on account of duties, cost of transportation, etc., than the American product, while the American product is being sold with profit to the American producer in European markets at foreign prices.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the amendment proposed by the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. JONES] to the amendment reported by the committee.

Mr. VEST. I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CLAY (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE]; but I transfer that pair to the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH], and vote "yea."

Mr. FAULKNER (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. ELKINS].

Mr. GEAR (when his name was called). I transfer my pair with the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH] to the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE], and vote "nay."

Mr. HANNA (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Utah [Mr. RAWLINS]. If he were present, I should vote "nay."

Mr. LINDSAY (when his name was called). I announce now for the day my pair with the senior Senator from Michigan [Mr. MCMILLAN]. If he were here, I should vote "yea."

Mr. PASCO (when his name was called). I again announce my pair with the Senator from Washington [Mr. WILSON]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. PROCTOR (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Florida [Mr. MALLORY].

Mr. WELLINGTON (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. BUTLER]. In his absence, I withhold my vote. If he were present, I should vote "nay."

Mr. WHITE (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Idaho [Mr. SHOUP].

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. BURROWS. I am paired with the senior Senator from Louisiana [Mr. CAFFERY], but I transfer that pair to the Senator from Nevada [Mr. JONES], and vote "nay."

Mr. PROCTOR. I have announced my pair with the junior Senator from Florida [Mr. MALLORY], but I will transfer that pair to the Senator from Kansas [Mr. BAKER], and vote "nay."

Mr. DANIEL. I beg leave to state that I am paired with the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. HANSBROUGH]. Otherwise I should vote "yea."

The result was announced—yeas 22, nays 28; as follows:

YEAS—22.

Bacon,	Gorman,	Mills,	Tillman,
Bate,	Gray,	Mitchell,	Turpie,
Berry,	Harris, Tenn.	Morgan,	Vest,
Chilton,	Jones, Ark.	Murphy,	Walthall.
Clay,	Kenney,	Rawlins,	
Cockrell,	McLaurin,	Roach,	

NAYS—28.

Allison,	Fairbanks,	Kyle,	Platt, N. Y.
Burrows,	Foraker,	McBride,	Pritchard,
Carter,	Frye,	Morrill,	Proctor,
Chandler,	Gallinger,	Nelson,	Sewell,
Cullom,	Gear,	Penrose,	Spooner,
Davis,	Hawley,	Perkins,	Thurston,
Deboe,	Hoar,	Platt, Conn.	Wetmore.

NOT VOTING—39.

Aldrich,	Cannon,	George,	Heitfeld,
Allen,	Clark,	Hale,	Jones, Nev.
Baker,	Daniel,	Hanna,	Lindsay,
Butler,	Elkins,	Hansbrough,	Lodge,
Caffery,	Faulkner,	Harris, Kans.	McEnery,

McMillan,	Pasco,	Smith,	Wellington,
Mallory,	Pettigrew,	Stewart,	White,
Mantle,	Pettus,	Teller,	Wilson,
Martin,	Quay,	Turner,	Wolcott.
Mason,	Shoup,	Warren,	

So the amendment to the amendment was rejected.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the committee.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. I move to add to the paragraph what I send to the desk.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. At the end of paragraph 246 it is proposed to add:

Hop extract and lupulin, 50 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I hope the Senator from Iowa will explain something about the significance of the amendment.

Mr. ALLISON. Hop extract is imported; 1 pound of it contains the essence of 12 pounds of hops, and it is sold at a very high price.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. About what price?

Mr. ALLISON. Hop extract sells for $1 a pound.

Mr. VEST. Is there any estimate in the comparative statement as to hop extract and lupulin?

Mr. ALLISON. I have a memorandum here covering the cost. Hop extract sells for $1 per pound.

Mr. VEST. Is there anything in the comparative statement about it?

Mr. ALLISON. No. Hop lupulin is the hops treated so as to get out all there is in the hops, so that a pound of lupulin is equal to about 4 pounds of hops.

Mr. VEST. What are these articles used for?

Mr. ALLISON. For the same purposes that hops are used for.

Mr. GALLINGER. And for medicinal purposes.

Mr. ALLISON. And for medicinal purposes as well. They are simply the value of the hops extracted and put in a small compass.

Mr. WHITE. The Senator says they are used for medicinal purposes?

Mr. GALLINGER. They are.

Mr. WHITE. Would they not then come under the general medicinal preparation classification?

Mr. ALLISON. I suppose they would. We propose to make the duty 50 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. WHITE. Are they used for anything except medicinal purposes?

Mr. ALLISON. They are used for the same purposes in brewing that hops are and for all purposes for which hops are used. Of course, if hops are made into extracts in this way, they would get a much lower rate than is provided for here, unless we make an ad valorem rate.

Mr. GRAY. What is the revenue to be produced?

Mr. ALLISON. It is not very large.

Mr. GRAY. It is not a revenue measure?

Mr. ALLISON. Certainly; absolutely so. It is with a view of securing the revenue both from hops and the extract of hops that the amendment is proposed.

Mr. GRAY. I understood the Senator first answered that there would be very little revenue.

Mr. ALLISON. Very little revenue compared with the revenue from articles largely imported. Of course hops is not a very large article of importation.

Mr. WHITE. Are there any statistics giving the amount imported into this country either of hop extract or lupulin?

Mr. ALLISON. It is impossible to give the figures, because the articles come now under the basket clause of the tariff act. I think there ought to be no objection to this amendment.

Mr. GRAY. It strikes me that before the amendment is voted on we ought to understand whether this tax will not be a serious burden upon an article which, according to the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. GALLINGER], is a medicinal preparation; and I can understand that it is used as a tonic for invalids, and especially in hospitals, and that there must be some really very weighty reason why we should burden that class of our people with this additional tax. I think that all such tonics and nutritives should be on the free list, unless there is some good reason to the contrary.

Mr. ALLISON. I do not think this article is used very largely for medicinal purposes.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the committee.

The amendment was agreed to.

The reading of the bill was resumed, beginning at paragraph 247, as follows:

247. Onions, 40 cents per bushel.

Mr. VEST. I move to strike out "forty" and insert "thirty;" so as to read, "30 cents per bushel," which is the existing law.

I wish to say a word, but without any hope of changing the result. It is due to the current history of tariff, I think, that it should be stated. We exported of the ordinary American onion $61,000 worth, and we imported largely more than that of Bermuda onions, but the Bermuda onion, as will be seen by the testimony before the Ways and Means Committee, does not at all compete with the onion of the United States. It is an entirely different species of the same genus, and it comes at a time when we produce no onions in this country, even under the hothouse system. The Bermuda onion comes to the United States in January, and from that on until March, and as soon as the American crop comes into the market, the Bermuda onion is not imported here at all and ceases to be a competitor.

Now, the effect of this provision doubling the duty over existing taxation on this vegetable is simply to make those persons who, after a long, hard winter, and especially in the Northern States, desire some vegetable to relieve the natural craving of the stomach and appetite for some vegetable or fruit, pay twice as much as they do now in the shape of taxation. I believe it is an admitted fact by experts in hygiene—naval, military, civilian—that no vegetable is equal to the onion in its beneficent effects on the human system. I heard General Hardee, who, whatever might have been his position in the war, was recognized as the finest hygienic authority in the world, admitted all over Europe to be so, declare once that if you would give him a sufficient supply of onions on shipboard or in the army, he would pledge his life that scurvy would never appear.

When our troops were in front of Atlanta, and, on account of defending in the trenches without moving, were exposed to scurvy and all the diseases incident to the want of exercise and insufficient food, the farmers of Georgia called upon General Hardee, through their representative men, and asked him what they should bring to relieve the army. He said "Onions, onions;" and they were brought there, as many Senators around me know, in great wagonloads, dumped down in the trenches, and the men ate them, oftentimes without salt. The army was healthy, as healthy as any army that could be found, considering the position in which it was placed.

Now, why should we put a double duty on this vegetable, which does not compete with those grown in the United States, which are absolutely necessary at the time of the year when they come in? I leave the matter to the Senate.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Missouri.

The amendment was rejected.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The committee amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. After the word "bushel," in paragraph 247, line 5, page 72, it is proposed to strike out "garlic, 1 cent per pound."

Mr. ALLISON. On behalf of the majority of the committee, I withdraw the committee amendment.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The committee amendment will be considered as withdrawn.

Mr. ALLISON. Now I move to amend the bill by inserting before the words "one cent" the words "three-fourths of;" so as to read, "garlic, three-fourths of 1 cent per pound."

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I hope the Senate will stand by the committee in its first recommendation.

Mr. VEST. The amendment puts back, I understand, a duty of three-quarters of a cent a pound on garlic.

Mr. ALLISON. Three-quarters of a cent. I understand we can produce garlic in this country very largely.

Mr. VEST. Why do you put this duty on, then?

Mr. ALLISON. I do not think it will do any harm. It is a small provision.

Mr. VEST. If, as the Senator says, we can produce plenty of garlic in this country, why do you want to put three-fourths of a cent protective duty on it? I am afraid to continue the discussion, however, for fear the Senator from Iowa will put it back to 1 cent a pound, like the old preacher who said, "Blessed are ye who expect nothing, for ye shall not be disappointed."

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the committee.

The amendment was agreed to.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 248, line 9, page 72, after the word "dried," to insert "20 cents per bushel;" so as to make the paragraph read:

248. Pease, green, in bulk or in barrels, sacks, or similar packages, 40 cents per bushel of 60 pounds; pease, dried, 20 cents per bushel; split pease, 50 cents per bushel of 60 pounds; pease in cartons, papers, or other small packages, 1 cent per pound.

Mr. ALLISON. I desire to modify the amendment. In line 8 I move to strike out "forty" and insert "thirty;" in line 9 I move to strike out "twenty" and insert "thirty;" in line 10 I move to strike out "fifty" and insert "forty."

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed in line 8 to strike out "forty" and insert "thirty;" in line 9 to strike out "twenty" and insert "thirty;" and in line 10 to strike out "fifty" and insert "forty;" so as to make the paragraph read:

248. Pease, green, in bulk or in barrels, sacks, or similar packages, 30 cents per bushel of 60 pounds; pease, dried, 30 cents per bushel; split pease, 40 cents per bushel of 60 pounds; pease in cartons, papers, or other small packages, 1 cent per pound.

Mr. VEST. I should like to inquire of the Senator from Iowa what is the duty in the existing law upon pease, green, in bulk or in barrels, sacks, or similar packages. I have it marked free. I move to strike out all of paragraph 248 down to and including the word "pounds," in line 8, for the purpose of placing those articles, pease, green, in bulk, etc., on the free list, where they are now.

I call attention to the fact that by the comparative statement of exports and imports we exported, in 1896, $632,000 worth of pease and beans and imported $297,000 worth, being about three times as many exported as imported; and yet we take this article off the free list and propose to put upon it the high duty of 40 cents, I believe reduced now to 30 cents, under the amendment. I move to strike out the lines I have indicated, so as to leave the article where it is now.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. In order to perfect the text first, the amendment of the committee is in order. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Committee on Finance as modified.

The amendment as modified was agreed to.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Missouri, to strike out what will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

Pease, green, in bulk or in barrels, sacks, or similar packages, 30 cents per bushel of 60 pounds.

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. ALLISON. I move to insert a new paragraph after line 12, to be called paragraph 248½.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to insert as a new paragraph the following:

248½. Orchids, palms, dracœnas, crotons, and azaleas, 30 per cent ad valorem. Tulips, hyacinths, narcissi, jonquils, lilies, lilies of the valley, and all other bulbs, bulbous roots, or corms which are cultivated for their flowers, 30 per cent ad valorem. Natural flowers of all kinds, preserved or fresh, suitable for decorative purposes, 30 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. VEST. I promised myself not to consume any time unless compelled to do it. This is a case of compulsion. I am bound to say, with great respect, that the proposed amendment is an outrage. That we should change the existing law and put a duty now upon these flowers in their natural condition, or preserved and brought in here to decorate our homes or to adorn the dead, is an outrage, in my judgment. It is intended for but one purpose, and that is to enable a lot of nurserymen in this country to charge the people of the United States more for their products. You can not obtain from one of these nurseries an ordinary rose for less than 15 or 25 cents, and some of them are as high as a dollar. They have now, I believe, forty-four different varieties of roses, and the price goes up until a man of ordinary means is guilty of criminal extravagance if he buys even one of them. Go down here and try to buy one of the American Beauties or Jack roses.

I saw some the other day, and, attracted by their beauty, I went in and priced them. They were $2.50 a dozen. I contented myself by smelling one and walking out. What next will be taxed? The air we breathe? If our Republican friends could find some sort of new invention to seize the atmosphere, they would not only tax the whole of it in the concrete, but tax the nitrogen and the oxygen.

Mr. GRAY. The raw materials.

Mr. VEST. The raw materials. They have taxed everything, and now the flower that adorns the humble home of the poor man, brightens the sick chamber, or goes upon the coffin of our dead is to be put up by this enormous duty to enable the nurserymen in the United States to rob and plunder, for that is the whole meaning of it in plain English. I hope the Senate will vote the amendment down, but it is a faint hope.

Mr. ALLISON. I do not wish to occupy time. Under the act of 1894, the existing law, the great necessity of life known as orchids, which are found in every poor man's home in great quantities, and lilies of the valley are already taxed 10 per cent. The Senator from Missouri four years ago did not observe the absolute importance of these things to the poor man's home.

Mr. VEST. Let me interrupt the Senator from Iowa. He ought to be fair. Is there anything in the act of 1894 that taxes natural flowers?

Mr. ALLISON. Let me read the act:

Orchids—

Mr. VEST. Oh, yes.

Mr. ALLISON—

lilies of the valley, azaleas, palms, and other plants used for forcing under glass for cut flowers—

Mr. VEST. Yes.

Mr. ALLISON—

or decorative purposes, 10 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. VEST. That is right.

Mr. ALLISON. We have increased it only slightly.

Mr. VEST. You have now extended it to all natural flowers—a violet or a rose.

Mr. ALLISON. Used for the same purpose.

Mr. VEST. It applies to any fresh flowers that coure in. There is no such provision in the act of 1894.

Mr. ALLISON. Let the amendment be read, and we will see how many are incorporated in it that are not found in the act of 1894.

The Secretary again read the amendment.

Mr. ALLISON. We have substantially included the same articles put in the act of 1894——

Mr. VEST. No; I beg pardon.

Mr. ALLISON. Except under the stress of revenue we have increased the ad valorem. I hope the Senator from Missouri will not make any further objection to it.

Mr. VEST. The Senator from Iowa and I ought to deal with each other frankly. We have known each other a long time, and have served here together a long time. Does he mean to say that he has not put into this item anything except what is in the act of 1894?

Mr. ALLISON. We have put in some other things of like character, but only two or three others.

Mr. VEST. You include bulbs of all sorts.

Mr. ALLISON. Those of like character; similar things.

Mr. GRAY. How about daisies.

Mr. ALLISON. We do not include daisies. They are of domestic growth.

Mr. VEST. I have not a copy of the act of 1894 before me.

Mr. WHITE. I have it.

Mr. VEST. Will the Senator read it?

Mr. WHITE. The act of 1894 in this respect reads as follows:

Orchids, lily of the valley, azaleas, palms, and other plants used for forcing under glass for cut flowers or decorative purposes, 10 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. VEST. Is that all?

Mr. WHITE. Yes; that is all.

Mr. VEST. Here is the way the amendment reads:

Orchids, palms, dracœnas, crotons, and azaleas, 30 per cent ad valorem. Tulips, hyacinths, narcissi, jonquils, lilies, lilies of the valley, and all other bulbs, bulbous roots, or corms which are cultivated for their flowers, 30 per cent ad valorem.

Then follows a provision which never was heard of before:

Natural flowers—

Natural flowers—

of all kinds, preserved or fresh, suitable for decorative purposes, 30 per cent ad valorem.

I am not able to give the information which my friend the Senator from Texas [Mr. MILLS] asks, whether the amendment includes dog's fennel and Jamestown weed.

Mr. ALLISON. I will answer the Senator that it does not.

Mr. VEST. It must include Jamestown weed, because that has a flower, and a very beautiful one.

Mr. ALLISON. It would only be included where it is used for decorative purposes in some great city house.

Mr. VEST. I have seen Jamestown weed used for decorative purposes, and it is a very beautiful flower.

I am fully justified, comparing the act of 1894 and the proposed amendment, in stating that this is an entire innovation, and was never before heard of in a tariff measure.

Mr. ALLISON. Only a word more. We found in the existing law these flowers used for purposes of luxury bearing a duty of 10 per cent ad valorem. If people go to the pains of importing flowers expensive in their character for purposes of adornment and luxury, why should they not pay a little revenue? That is all there is about it.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I should like to ask the Senator from Iowa a question in this connection. I am perfectly willing to put a tax, and I do not object to putting an increased tax, on high-grade flowers, such as orchids and some of the others with unpronounceable names that follow here, of which I never heard and do not know anything about, but in the second paragraph the majority have added a class of flowers on which I respectfully submit to the Senate it is not right to have this enormous tax imposed. I refer to tulips, hyacinths, narcissi, jonquils, lilies, lilies of the valley, flowers that are found in every home in the United States, and there is not ten square feet of unoccupied territory in the United States scarcely, before any man's cabin, that has not some of these flowers in it. They are everywhere. They are of universal use, and it seems to me there is no reason

why people should not have these flowers which are in common use everywhere.

Is it a crime that the people of the United States desire to have something that is beautiful for their children, something that will make their homes attractive, something that will add a charm to the cabin, and something which the children of the poor raise in this country?

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Will the Senator allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Certainly.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Does the Senator think that putting a duty on those flowers when they are imported will prevent the poor people in this country from having them in their gardens?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The finest class of hyacinths and tulips are imported from abroad. The climate is better in Holland than anywhere else for the production of these bulbs. You can not find any such high-grade bulbs for hyacinths and tulips as you get from abroad. The people of this country are entitled to have in front of their cabins as high-class flowers and as beautiful flowers as grow on the face of God's green earth.

The poor of this country ought to be allowed to have these flowers, which are surpassingly beautiful. We all admired them in our childhood, and we have admired them ever since. There is no sense, there is no justification, there is no apology, it seems to me, in undertaking to levy a tax upon this article of almost universal use all over this country. I protest against it, Mr. President. I hope that the Senate will not agree to this amendment.

I move to amend the amendment as offered by the Senator from Iowa by striking out the words "tulips, hyacinths, narcissi, jonquils, lilies, lilies of the valley, and all other bulbs, bulbous roots, or corms."

Mr. VEST. And "natural flowers."

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. And "natural flowers." I move to strike out that clause.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. GALLINGER in the chair). The proposed amendment to the amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to strike out of the amendment the following words:

Tulips, hyacinths, narcissi, jonquils, lilies, lilies of the valley, and all other bulbs, bulbous roots, or corms which are cultivated for their flowers, 30 per cent ad valorem. Natural flowers of all kinds, preserved or fresh, suitable for decorative purposes, 30 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I ask for the yeas and nays on agreeing to my amendment to the amendment.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CLAY (when his name was called). I transfer my pair with the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] to the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH], and vote "yea."

Mr. FAULKNER (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. ELKINS]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. GEAR (when his name was called). I transfer my pair with the senior Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH] to the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE], and vote "nay."

Mr. WELLINGTON (when his name was called). I announce my pair with the junior Senator from North Carolina [Mr. BUTLER].

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. BURROWS. I am paired with the senior Senator from Louisiana [Mr. CAFFERY]. If there be no objection, I will transfer that pair for the day to the Senator from Nevada [Mr. JONES]. I vote "nay."

Mr. DANIEL. I am paired with the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. HANSBROUGH]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

The result was announced—yeas 25, nays 33; as follows:

YEAS—25.

Bacon,	Harris, Tenn.	Morgan,	Turpie,
Bate,	Jones, Ark.	Murphy,	Vest,
Berry,	Kenney,	Pasco,	Walthall,
Chilton,	McLaurin,	Pettus,	White.
Clay,	Mallory,	Rawlins,	
Cockrell,	Mills,	Roach,	
Gray,	Mitchell,	Tillman,	

NAYS—33.

Allison,	Frye,	Mason,	Sewell,
Burrows,	Gallinger,	Morrill,	Shoup,
Carter,	Gear,	Penrose,	Spooner,
Chandler,	Hanna,	Perkins,	Thurston,
Cullom,	Hawley,	Platt, Conn.	Wetmore,
Davis,	Hoar,	Platt, N. Y.	Wilson.
Deboe,	Kyle,	Pritchard,	
Fairbanks,	McBride,	Proctor,	
Foraker,	McEnery,	Quay,	

NOT VOTING—31.

Aldrich,	Elkins,	Jones, Nev.	Smith,
Allen,	Faulkner,	Lindsay,	Stewart,
Baker,	George,	Lodge,	Teller,
Butler,	Gorman,	McMillan,	Turner,
Caffery,	Hale,	Mantle,	Warren,
Cannon,	Hansbrough,	Martin,	Wellington,
Clark,	Harris, Kans.	Nelson,	Wolcott.
Daniel,	Heitfeld,	Pettigrew,	

So the amendment to the amendment was rejected.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question recurs on agreeing to the amendment submitted by the Senator from Iowa.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 249, page 72, line 17, after the word "less," to insert "and evergreen seedlings;" and in line 25, after the word "stock," to strike out "unless otherwise specified, thirty" and insert "not specially provided for in this act, twenty-five;" so as to make the paragraph read:

249. Stocks, cuttings or seedlings of Myrobolan plum, Mahaleb or Mazzard cherry, 3 years old or less, $1 per thousand plants; stocks, cuttings or seedlings of pear, apple, quince and the St. Julien plum, 3 years old or less, and evergreen seedlings, $1.75 per thousand plants; rose plants, budded, grafted, or grown on their own roots, 3 cents each; stocks, cuttings and seedlings of all fruit and ornamental trees, deciduous and evergreen, shrubs and vines, manetti, multiflora, and brier rose, and all trees, shrubs, plants and vines, commonly known as nursery stock, not specially provided for in this act, 25 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. ALLISON. I desire to call the attention of the Senator from Arkansas and the Senator from Missouri to amendments that I propose in behalf of the majority of the committee in this paragraph, modifying the amendments already reported.

In line 15 I move to strike out "one dollar" and insert "50 cents;" after the word "plants," in the same line, to add "and 15 per cent ad valorem;" and in line 18 to strike out "and 75 cents" and insert, after the word "plants," "and 15 per cent ad valorem."

Mr. VEST. What does 15 per cent amount to in each case? This is a new section, and therefore I have not any data upon which to calculate.

Mr. ALLISON. Yes; it is a new section. There are no data from the old law.

Mr. VEST. There are no data on which to calculate the percentage, and that is the reason why I ask.

Mr. ALLISON. Also, in line 20, I move to strike out "3 cents" and insert "2½ cents." I ask the Secretary to read the paragraph as it would be if amended as I propose.

The SECRETARY. If amended as proposed, paragraph 249 would read:

249. Stocks, cuttings, or seedlings of Myrobolan plum, Mahaleb or Mazzard cherry, 3 years old or less, 50 cents per thousand plants and 15 per cent ad valorem; stocks, cuttings, or seedlings of pear, apple, quince, and the St. Julien plum, 3 years old or less, and evergreen seedlings, $1 per thousand plants and 15 per cent ad valorem; rose plants, budded, grafted, or grown on their own roots, 2½ cents each; stocks, cuttings, and seedlings of all fruit and ornamental trees, deciduous and evergreen, shrubs and vines, manetti, multiflora, and brier rose, and all trees, shrubs, plants, and vines commonly known as nursery stock, not specially provided for in this act, 25 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. VEST. Will the Senator from Iowa be kind enough to tell us what the per cent amounts to, because we have not the unit of value? He strikes out half of the specific and inserts 15 per cent ad valorem. What is 15 per cent ad valorem equivalent to?

Mr. ALLISON. Of course it is impossible, owing to the variety of prices of these articles, to estimate more than an average ad valorem. It is our purpose, as near as may be, to make an average of about 30 per cent ad valorem. Of course it may be, and probably will be, larger upon some of the very cheap importations.

Mr. VEST. Now, I should like to ask the Senator another question. I confess that that reply is not exactly satisfactory. I would like to know whether we have an increase or a decrease by his amendment. I should like to know why stocks of the Mahaleb or Mazzard cherry, three years old or less, are put in with a specific tax upon them. I never heard of that cherry before, and I do not know what it is.

Mr. ALLISON. We are told that it is a very fine variety of cherry; that they are imported by the thousand, and that the duty ought to be a specific value, with a view——

Mr. VEST. To keep it out?

Mr. ALLISON. No; with a view to collect a real duty rather than a nominal duty. So we have provided for a compound duty here instead of a wholly ad valorem or wholly specific duty.

Mr. VEST. I should like to ask my friend frankly, confidentially, for the use of the Senate, whether this rate of duty was not suggested on that specific article by some nurseryman who did not want this Canadian cherry tree to come in here and compete with the cherry trees that he is selling. It never has appeared in any tariff bill before.

Mr. ALLISON. I have no doubt it was suggested by nurserymen and others. We have suggestions coming all the time from people who are familiar with the subjects, and nurserymen are familiar with this subject.

Mr. WHITE. There is one word in this paragraph that is new to me. I am not very well versed in such matters. What is meant by "manetti" in this connection?

Mr. ALLISON. Manetti vine?

Mr. WHITE. After vines, "manetti." Then follows "multiflora."

Mr. ALLISON. I suppose it is an Italian plant. I do not know what it is. I will say to my friend from Missouri I think there

is no trouble about this rate. The probability is that on some of these low-priced seedlings the ad valorem, if properly collected, will be more than 30 per cent, and on many of them it will be less. Therefore we make a compound duty so as to equalize matters between the high-priced and the lower priced article.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. I think I can answer the inquiry of the Senator from California.

Mr. ALLISON. I hope the Senator can, because he desires to know.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. As I understand, it is the wild-rose stock, imported for the purpose of grafting old ones upon.

Mr. VEST. Mr. President——

Mr. PETTUS. I merely wish to offer an amendment, if the Senator from Missouri will allow me to interrupt him.

Mr. VEST. I yield with pleasure.

Mr. PETTUS. I beg leave to offer an amendment to the sugar schedule, and I ask that it be printed and lie on the table.

Mr. VEST. I should like to hear it read.

Mr. PETTUS. Let it be read.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

Amendment proposed by Mr. PETTUS to House bill No. 379.

The importations into the United States from any foreign country of sugar, or of any material of which sugar can be made, by or for any trust, combination, or conspiracy, existing or hereafter formed between two or more persons or corporations, intended to operate in restraint of lawful trade, or to hinder or restrain free competition, or to increase the market price of sugar in any part of the United States, is hereby declared to be unlawful, and such sugar and such material so imported into the United States shall be forfeited to the United States.

And it shall be the duty of the Attorney-General of the United States to cause proceedings to be instituted and prosecuted to enforce such forfeitures, and to enforce all other laws of the United States intended to prevent or suppress unlawful trusts, combinations, or conspiracies for the restraint of trade or free competition.

And the Attorney-General of the United States will report each year to the Congress of the United States concerning such proceedings so instituted and prosecuted.

Mr. HOAR. I desire to ask the Chair to give direction that the amendment be printed immediately, so that it can be returned from the printers for the use of Senators forthwith.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. That order will be made. The Senator from Missouri will proceed.

Mr. VEST. Under the Wilson bill as it came from the House there was as a duty upon "plants, trees, shrubs, and vines of all kinds commonly known as nursery stock, not specially provided for in this act," 20 per cent ad valorem. I think it was upon my motion in 1894 that all nursery stock was stricken out of the dutiable list and put in the free list as paragraph 587.

Unavailing as it will be, of course, I simply want to remark that it seems to me this is a violation of all the rules that should govern a civilized country in regard to the articles that are to be used for the benefit of their people. I have always understood that it was the highest duty of every government to furnish its people with the instrumentalities for improvement in agriculture, manufactures, and commerce. It was one of the crowning glories, in my opinion, of Thomas Jefferson, that while he was minister to France from this country, and viewing the great drama of the French Revolution, the fall of the Bastile, the execution of the King and Queen of France, he never for one instant ceased to export by sailing vessels to the United States all sorts of foreign plants and bulbs in order to improve the agriculture of the people of this country.

One significant episode in his life is that he became greatly interested in the culture of rice, which was then just in its incipiency in the Carolinas. He went over Europe incognito, crossed the Alps into Italy, after going through southern France, and found in one of the provinces or districts of Italy a very superior article of rice. He was not able to secure any of it for export because the laws of Italy prohibited its exportation, and it is said that the author of the Declaration of Independence filled the pockets of his Virginia overcoat—the old-fashioned Virginia coat, with capes to it, which our grandfathers wore—with this rice, and, to use plain language, smuggled it out of the country. The end justified the means, possibly. He carried it to Paris, put it in small packages of five and ten grains, and sent it to Charleston, S. C., and that was the basis of the South Carolina rice, the finest now in the world. I have always, as a Democrat and follower of Mr. Jefferson, boasted of his care for agriculture and his zeal in sending to this country European plants of every description that might help the people of the United States, both in articles of necessity and even of decoration.

Here the whole system is reversed. A lot of nurserymen, to speak plainly, have gone before the controlling influence of the Finance Committee and shut out by enormous taxation superior trees, shrubs, and flowers that come from Canada and from abroad. They have absolutely now, for the first time (and I have been somewhat familiar with tariff bills in the last twelve or eighteen years), singled out specifically competing products like this cherry, and they have had such a duty put upon it as they know will exclude it from competition with them; and the people of this country are to be made to use the cherries and plant the cherry trees that these gentlemen have on hand and in the market. If that is not protection run mad, I do not know what a financial and economic lunatic asylum is. They have absolutely selected a particular cherry tree and put an enormous duty upon it. If that is not class legislation I should like to have some gentleman on the other side tell me what is.

I do not know what this cherry is. I have been under the impression, from observation and experience, that the finest cherries in the world are raised in the United States. I have never tasted any such cherries elsewhere. It is said that they have cherries equal to them in France, but I have never seen them. The cherry of Washington and Oregon is the finest fruit, in my opinion, that was ever put in the mouth of mortal man. After eating them, which you can do in any quantity without any injury to your health, I have always thought if it had been a cherry in the Garden of Eden, instead of an apple, I would have gone very far toward excusing Adam for taking a bite. But it seems these gentlemen have discovered that there is a cherry in Canada which must be kept out of this country, and instead of having these improved fruit trees cultivated in the United States, in the Middle and Northern States particularly, they are to be excluded by an enormous taxation, whereas they are now upon the free list.

Mr. GEAR. May I make a suggestion to the Senator from Missouri?

Mr. VEST. Of course.

Mr. GEAR. The Mahaleb cherry is the stock. I do not recollect the cherry called the Mahaleb, but it is the stock on which cherries are grafted.

Mr. VEST. I do not know, but I am as certain as I am that I am speaking in the Senate of the United States that some nurseryman had a job when he had that put in. It was not done by accident, and it was no rhetorical exhibition. There is money at the bottom of it. They never would have picked out this particular cherry tree and put this enormous duty on it except to answer their own purposes. The Senator from Iowa very frankly tells us that he presumes that it was done by some nurseryman. And it is for the benefit of the people of this entire country!

Mr. President, I speak with some feeling about excluding fruit trees. I come from a State where fruit is the greatest possible luxury. The farmer upon the prairie, after the long, hard winter and the struggle with all the opposing forces of nature, appreciates fruit more than anything else—fruit and fish. I shall never vote to exclude from this country any article that goes to add to the comfort of the home of the Western pioneers who have blazed the pathway of civilization against all the rigors of nature, some of them with the ax in one hand and the rifle in the other.

There is no justification for this sort of legislation. We have now in the Treasury of the United States, I see by to-day's statement, more than $131,000,000 of surplus revenue. I should like to hear from some Senator who believes that the taxing power of the Government should be confined to the actual necessities of the Government economically administered what sort of excuse he finds for voting additional taxes, when the bill as it stands will produce $50,000,000 surplus every year. And yet the majority of the Finance Committee, not content with the bill as it is, are now putting in amendments at every stage increasing taxation, and increasing it upon articles which, I say, upon every principle of civilization and humanity, should be permitted to come to this country free.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The proposed amendments will be separately stated.

Mr. VEST. I shall move to strike out the whole paragraph, with the view of putting the articles contained therein on the free list, but first let the changes proposed by the committee be acted upon.

The SECRETARY. In paragraph 249, on page 72, line 15, after the word "less," the committee propose to strike out "one dollar" and insert "50 cents;" and after the word "plants," in the same line, to insert "and 15 per cent ad valorem."

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in line 17, after the word "less," to insert "and evergreen seedlings."

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, after the words "one dollar," in line 18, to strike out "and 75 cents."

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, after the word "plants," in line 19, to insert "and 15 per cent ad valorem."

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in line 20, before the word "cents," to strike out "three" and insert "two and one-half."

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, after the words "nursery stock," in line 25, to strike out "unless otherwise specified, thirty" and insert "not specially provided for in this act, twenty-five."

The amendment was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The committee amendments to the paragraph having been agreed to, the Chair will call the attention of the Senator from Missouri, as he indicated a desire to offer an amendment.

Mr. VEST. I now submit my motion to strike out the whole paragraph as amended, for the purpose of putting all these articles on the free list.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the amendment of the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST] to strike out paragraph 249 as amended.

The amendment was rejected.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, on page 73, line 3, paragraph 250, after the word "potatoes," to strike out "twenty-five" and insert "twenty;" so as to read:

250. Potatoes, 20 cents per bushel of 60 pounds.

Mr. ALLISON. On behalf of the majority of the Finance Committee I withdraw the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment proposed by the committee striking out the paragraph will be regarded as disagreed to.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I move to strike out "twenty-five" and insert "fifteen." I should not have made that motion if the majority of the committee had stood by its own recommendation; but as we reach each one of these proposed modifications of the high rates as they appear in the Dingley bill the committee seems inclined to give way on all of them and to cause us to abandon the hope that we had that there was to be some reduction in the rates of taxation as proposed by the original Dingley bill. I therefore move to strike out "25 cents" and insert "15 cents," which is the rate in the present law.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment of the Senator from Arkansas will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In paragraph 250, page 73, line 3, before the word "cents," it is proposed to strike out "twenty-five" and insert "fifteen;" so as to read:

250. Potatoes, 15 cents per bushel of 60 pounds.

Mr. VEST. Mr. President, this is another case like that of onions. The imported potatoes do not come in competition with the potatoes of the United States. The Bermuda potatoes come into this country in the winter market. The importation commences about January and closes in March, or possibly in April, when the new potatoes in the United States come into market, and there is no further importation or competition on the part of the Bermuda potato.

Now we come to the next proposition, as I understand it to be, in the platform of the Republican party as to this bill—the question of revenue. There is no protection. The market reports show and all the testimony conclusively establishes that under the McKinley law, when the duty was 25 cents per bushel, in 1893 we collected on imported potatoes $127,588; under the Wilson Act, after we had reduced the duty from 25 to 15 cents a bushel, in 1896 we collected $371,485; in other words, the amount of revenue increased over three times under the lower rate. Now we are asked to go back to the McKinley rate of 25 cents a bushel. As a matter of course, it will result in a diminution of revenue, and the motion made by my colleague on the committee ought to be sustained.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the amendment proposed by the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. JONES].

The amendment was rejected.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 251, page 73, line 8, before the word "cents," to strike out "thirty" and insert "twenty-five;" and in line 14, before the words "per centum," to strike out "forty" and insert "twenty-five;" so as to make the paragraph read:

251. Seeds: Castor beans or seeds, 25 cents per bushel of 50 pounds; flaxseed or linseed and other oil seeds, not specially provided for in this act, 25 cents per bushel of 56 pounds; poppy seed, 15 cents per bushel; but no drawback shall be allowed upon oil cake made from imported seed, nor shall any allowance be made for dirt or other impurities in any seed; seeds of all kinds not specially provided for in this act, 25 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. HAWLEY. May I inquire how far the bill has been read?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair will state that the bill has been read and acted upon to the end of paragraph 251.

Mr. HAWLEY. I was listening and waiting for an opportunity to make a suggestion on that. I did not know that it had been passed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will be recognized for that purpose.

Mr. HAWLEY. My attention has been particularly directed to lines 13, 14, and 15 of paragraph 251, "seeds of all kinds not specially provided for in this act, 25 per cent ad valorem," instead of 40 per cent ad valorem, as the House bill had it. Several Senators are very largely interested in this matter, and one of them, now absent, intended to make the request that this should lie over; but I can not, in justice to myself and with due regard to the desires of many constituents, permit even this opportunity to pass without addressing a few remarks to the subcommittee of the Committee on Finance, entreating their favorable action.

There are among my constituents a large number of men who have been for many years in the seed business. The name upon their packages is worth a dividend to them. Nothing ever went from their gardens that was not what it purported to be. They are distressed very much by the abundant importation of seeds from abroad bearing names not known, or, if known, not respected here, which seeds are dumped upon us, are not pure and true, but are dirty and false, and are a great injury to the legitimate trade. As to the duty, when a man brings in worthless seed, it does not trouble him much to tell a lie about their value when you come to put 25 per cent ad valorem upon them. I want that returned to 40 per cent, as the House put it, to say the least. I concur with several Senators, who wish this to go over for the present for further consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the vote adopting the last amendment, making the change to 25, will be regarded as reconsidered.

Mr. LINDSAY. In connection with what has been said by the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. HAWLEY], I call the attention of the committee to the fact, evidenced by certain papers now here in the hands of the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, that there is a certain Canadian seed, called the Canadian blue-grass seed, which is imported into this country for use in New England, and nowhere else, and that portion not used in New England is used for the purpose of being mixed with the true American blue-grass seed, it being worth about one-fourth as much, and American blue-grass seed has been put under the ban of suspicion everywhere by reason of the admixture. This seed which is grown in Canada—and we object to everything that comes from Canada—which is used only for the purpose of being mixed with an American product in order to render the American product less valuable, is put by this bill on the free list.

I ask the Senator when he is considering New England that he also consider the fact that seed which is not common to New England goes on the free list, and therefore 25 per cent ought to satisfy him in regard to New England seed.

Mr. HAWLEY. Though not comprehending the Senator's advice, I am obliged to him for his information. To use the language of Dick Swiveller, this whole trade is full of "various games of that sort." Of course seed imported under the circumstances referred to by the Senator ought to be stricken from the free list, and ought to go in with the others and pay at least 40 per cent duty.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Before that paragraph is left, I should like to say, in connection with what the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. HAWLEY] has just said, that I believe with him that in the seed business the name is perhaps of more value than in any other business, except perhaps the jewelry business. I believe a good name in the seed business is equal to a dividend as a rule. I do not believe that seeds brought here from abroad and dumped on the market are likely to do harm, coming even in the way suggested, by reason of the fact that ordinarily I believe nine men out of ten, if not ninety-nine out of one hundred, will buy seeds of seed growers whose names are established and have been well known for years.

For instance, Landreth & Sons, of Philadelphia, have been seed growers for more than a century. I confess I was astonished to get a pamphlet from that concern, saying that they had been connected with the seed business from 1784 up to this time, that from 1784 to 1861 there had been no tariff on seeds, and that the tariff on seeds was first 10 per cent, then 20 per cent, then 30 per cent, and now, for the first time in the history of this infant, which is 113 years old, in the hands of this one concern, the House proposes a tax of 40 per cent ad valorem, and the Senator from Connecticut wants that tax imposed. I believe that the character of these men is sufficient to guarantee the sale of their seeds everywhere, and that no unknown and untried seedsmen can sell seed in competition with such firms as that of Landreth & Sons.

Mr. HAWLEY. The infant industry in this case is the fraud. The old industry was honestly conducted. I have the honor of having known Mr. Landreth very well for twenty-five years, and he asks exactly what I ask, that frauds of that kind may be obstructed.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. But the theory on which protection is asked is to protect infant industries; and where we have an establishment of this sort, of more than a century old, it seems to me that the excuse for this enormous tax is not sufficient.

Mr. HAWLEY. It is the thief that came in last night that is the infant industry, and not the honest man, and against the thief we desire reasonable protection.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the portion

of paragraph 251 indicated by the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. HAWLEY] will be passed over.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 252, page 73, line 16, after the word "ton," to insert "gross weight;" so as to read:

252. Straw, $1.50 per ton gross weight.

The amendment was agreed to.

Paragraph 253 was read, as follows:

253. Teazles, 30 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I believe that the rate of the present tariff law is on teazles 15 per cent. The committee proposes to double it. The enormous amount of $441 worth was imported last year, and I suppose the committee propose to get rid of this $441 of revenue by taxing it out of existence. Certainly I suppose there is danger of overflowing the Treasury with the enormous amount of revenue, and so this is to be gotten rid of; otherwise I can not understand the policy of doubling the tax on teazles.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, on page 73, beginning in line 23, to strike out paragraph 255, as follows:

255. Anchovies and sardines packed in oil or otherwise, and other fish packed in oil, in tin boxes measuring not more than 5 inches long, 4 inches wide, and 3½ inches deep, 10 cents per box; in boxes measuring not more than 5 inches long, 4 inches wide, and 1½ inches deep, 5 cents per box; in boxes measuring not more than 4½ inches long, 3½ inches wide, and 1½ inches deep, 2½ cents per box; when imported in any other form, 40 per cent ad valorem; fish in cans or packages made of tin or other material, not specially provided for in this act, 30 per cent ad valorem.

And in lieu thereof to insert:

255. Fish known or labeled as anchovies, sardines, sprats, brislings, sardels, or sardellen, packed in oil or otherwise, in tins, boxes, or cans, shall be dutiable as follows: In boxes or cans containing 7½ cubic inches or less, 1½ cents per box or can; containing more than 7½ and not more than 21 cubic inches, 2½ cents per box or can; containing more than 21 and not more than 33 cubic inches, 5 cents per box or can; containing more than 33 and not more than 70 cubic inches, 10 cents per box or can; if in other packages, 40 per cent ad valorem. All other fish, if in tin packages, or if in packages containing less than one-half barrel, and not specially provided for in this act, 30 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. ALLISON. I wish, on behalf of the majority of the Committee on Finance, to modify the amendment proposed by the committee in respect to this paragraph, and for convenience I have had the paragraph rewritten. I will ask the Senator from Arkansas and other Senators to pay close attention to the change of phraseology. We propose to insert "bottles and jars" with cans and other packages. Fish are imported in bottles and jars as well as in cans, etc.

There is also a modification in the last part of the paragraph, and if Senators will pay attention to the phraseology, they will see the change that is made.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The paragraph as proposed to be modified will be stated.

The Secretary read the paragraph as proposed to be amended, as follows:

255. Fish known or labeled as anchovies, sardines, sprats, brislings, sardels, or sardellen, packed in oil or otherwise, in bottles, jars, tin boxes, or cans, shall be dutiable as follows: Containing 7½ cubic inches or less, 1½ cents per bottle, jar, box, or can; containing more than 7½ and not more than 21 cubic inches, 2½ cents per bottle, jar, box, or can; containing more than 21 and not more than 33 cubic inches, 5 cents per bottle, jar, box, or can; containing more than 33 and not more than 70 cubic inches, 10 cents per bottle, jar, box, or can; if in other packages, 40 per cent ad valorem. All other fish, except shellfish in tin packages, 30 per cent ad valorem. Fish in packages containing less than one-half barrel and not specially provided for in this act, 30 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Let me ask for information, Does the proposed amendment make any modification except that it adds bottles and jars to cans and other packages? Does it change the rate?

Mr. ALLISON. That is all, except that we have modified the last part of the amendment by adding "all other fish, except shellfish, in tin packages, 30 per cent ad valorem."

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. How does that leave shellfish? What is the effect of that change? I do not quite understand it.

Mr. ALLISON. Shellfish will be on the free list.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. As to the tax of 40 per cent on line 2, page 75, of the pending paragraph, what is that under the present law?

Mr. ALLISON. "If in other packages, 40 per cent ad valorem." I think the rate is about 40 per cent now.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. My impression was that the other rates are about the same as those in the present law.

Mr. ALLISON. It is 40 per cent in the present law.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. But the paragraph is constructed differently. It seems to me that the rates are about the same. Am I mistaken in that?

Mr. ALLISON. They are about the same. I do not think there is any increase in that paragraph.

Mr. VEST. I do not know the means of information open to the Senator from Iowa, but I know it is absolutely impossible for a layman, like myself, to know whether this amendment as modified or changed makes an increase or not.

I call attention to the fact that the whole scheme or system of appraising these goods is changed. I mean to say that under the existing law it is done by the linear inch—so many inches long and so many inches wide of the can or box—and here it is changed to cubic inches, and it is done by experts in the fish trade, as a matter of course, for their own purposes. I have endeavored to find out whether it was an increase or a decrease, but I have been unable to ascertain that fact from any of the experts.

In the comparative statement it is said, without the last amendment of the Senator from Iowa, that the duty is about the same; but it is an indefinite piece of information. I do not think, with the greatest respect to Senators on the other side in charge of the bill, that they know accurately whether it is an increase or not. Of course I take it that the change is made by fish dealers and importers, and that they have, as a matter of course, arranged the schedule so as to make it more difficult to import these fish to come in competition with the products which they sell.

Mr. ALLISON. These changes in phraseology were made after examination by expert appraisers, who stated to us that the effect is not to increase the duty.

Mr. VEST. There ought to be an ad valorem duty upon these fish.

Mr. ALLISON. Senators know perfectly well how reliable the experts are. I have no special knowledge as to these subjects, and we must take the reports of experts as our guide. I have never examined closely these fish in their original packages, but I have no doubt that this is an adjustment that is a wise one. I think there are one or two cases where the duty is increased from 20 per cent to 30 per cent, as I read the old statute, the existing law.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I am a little apprehensive that the Senator has been misled in this matter. I notice by the comparative statement submitted by the Treasury Department that these rates are given as the same as those in the existing law; and running over the matter hastily, I thought they were; but I desire to call attention to the law as it stands now, namely, fish "packed in oil, or otherwise, in tin boxes measuring not more than 5 inches long, 4 inches wide, and 3½ inches deep, 10 cents per whole box." A box 5 inches long by 4 inches wide and by 3½ inches deep would contain 70 cubic inches.

Mr. ALLISON. Would it?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. It must necessarily. A box 5 inches long by 4 inches wide and 3½ inches deep would necessarily contain 70 cubic inches. Multiplying 5 by 4 it, would be 20; and multiplying that by 3½ would make 70. Now, the provision standing here says "in boxes or cans containing 7½ cubic inches or less, 1½ cents per box or can." A 70-inch box, then, would contain ten times as much as this, and would be dutiable under the present law at 10 cents, and under this proposed law it would be about 15 cents; which would be an increase of 50 per cent, instead of being the present rate.

My own impression was at first glance that the paragraph was about identical with the old law; but I think, on examination, that it is an increase of about 50 per cent; and that there is a larger increase in another respect. The language of the present paragraph is "containing 7½ cubic inches or less." So that if it contains only half as much, the gross tax is 1½ cents per inch, if that remains in the law.

Take the next clause in the pending paragraph:

Containing more than 7½ and not more than 21 cubic inches, 2½ cents per box or can; containing more than 21 and not more than 33 cubic inches, 5 cents per box or can.

I think the entire paragraph is an increase of something like 50 per cent over the existing law.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment as modified.

The amendment as modified was agreed to.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 256, page 75, line 8, after the word "act," to strike out "and herring, fresh, one-half of 1 cent per pound" and insert "one-fourth of 1 cent per pound;" so as to make the paragraph read:

256. Fresh-water fish not specially provided for in this act, one-fourth of 1 cent per pound.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was to strike out paragraph 257, as follows:

257. Herring, pickled, salted, smoked, or dried, and all fish not specially provided for in this act, 1 cent per pound.

And in lieu thereof to insert:

257. Herrings, pickled or salted, one-half of 1 cent per pound; herrings, fresh, one-fourth of 1 cent per pound.

Mr. VEST. Wait a minute, Mr. President. I want to call attention to paragraph 256, in regard to "fresh-water fish not specially provided for in this act, one-fourth of 1 cent per pound."

Mr. GRAY. They ought to be free.

Mr. VEST. Under the existing law these fish come into the United States free. The total amount of fresh fish of all sorts imported in 1896 amounted to $900,000. We have 10,000 miles of seaboard, and we have in the interior of the country splendid rivers and lakes teeming with fish, and yet we are to put this duty

on, and to take this article, an article of absolute necessity as a food, from the free list and impose a duty on it in the name of either protection to American fish or else of revenue.

Here is the list of exports: Of fresh fish we exported $84,814; of dried fish, $448,286; of herring, $96,462; of mackerel, $15,692; of other fish, $104,374; of salmon, $3,348,889; of other fish, again, $167,981; of shellfish we exported $291,707, and of oysters $696,179, being in the aggregate largely above the imports that come into the United States of an article, as I have said, of prime necessity as a food; and yet we put this duty upon it and take the article off the free list either for revenue or for protection, or for both, and I am unable to see that it does either.

Mr. GRAY. Mr. President, I hope that now, even in the face of the ironbound rule of the caucus, the Senator from Iowa and the other Senators in charge of this bill will give a moment's favorable consideration to the proposition to keep these fresh fish where they are now—on the free list. There is no article of food that is more universally necessary and more universal in its use, at least on the Atlantic Seaboard and in the region of the lakes, than the fresh fish that are brought to the daily markets of the large and small cities and towns that are within reach of that industry. In these hard times, when we are told that men are starving, these times when depression and want stalk our streets, it does seem rather hard to interpose any difficulty between the masses of the people and their access to this important and absolutely necessary article of food.

Mr. ALLISON. If the Senator will allow me, if he will look at page 172 of this bill, he will find on the free list:

Fish, fresh, frozen, or packed in ice (except salmon), caught in the Great Lakes or other fresh waters by or for American fishermen or citizens of the United States.

Mr. GRAY. I see the provision is:

Fish, fresh, frozen, or packed in ice (except salmon), caught in the Great Lakes or other fresh waters.

That is better than I supposed.

Mr. VEST. What paragraph is that?

Mr. GRAY. Paragraph 535½. That, however, does not apply to fish caught on our Northern Seaboard, or where a person who happens to live on the border line of Canada comes in with a load of fish.

Mr. ALLISON. It does not apply to the Atlantic Seaboard.

Mr. GRAY. I do not know that there are many cases of the kind, but if a load of fish comes in caught by a Canadian fisherman, why should this difficulty of a tariff exaction be imposed, not upon the fishermen, but upon the people who go to market to spend their scant earnings in something that will sustain life and sustain it in a healthful and wholesome fashion?

Mr. President, the duty, as read by the Senator from Missouri, is not very great, and the reports do not show very large importations, but the duty is not the chief difficulty. The very fact that you arrest a load of fresh fish and compel it to go through the red tape of custom-house officialism destroys in large part its value, and instead of coming fresh to the tables of those who ought to be able to enjoy the bounty of the sea, they have to wait the weighing and the custom-house inspection, and if they get them at all, they get them deprived in large part of what makes them appetizing and useful.

Mr. ALLISON. This is a very light duty.

Mr. GRAY. Why should there be any duty?

Mr. ALLISON. The fish are caught in the sea by fishermen.

Mr. GRAY. Of course they are.

Mr. ALLISON. Our American fishermen are under the impression that they ought to have a little advantage.

Mr. GRAY. They have the advantage of free access to the sea, and why should not the thousands and thousands who depend upon this wholesome food have some consideration? Why should they be taxed for the benefit of fishermen who already exercise a gainful calling?

Mr. ALLISON. The Senator will remember, for it is within his recollection (I am sorry I have not the document before me), that a committee of this body, of which ex-Senator Edmunds was chairman, made an investigation as respects the effect of taking off the duty, and it was found that there was no change in the price of fish to the American consumer. It is quite a report, made, I think, in 1890; I do not remember the number. It disclosed that a small duty does not affect the price of fish at all. It is only a question as to who shall have control of the local markets as respects fish—our fishermen or the Canadian.

Mr. WHITE. I call the attention of the Senator from Iowa to what possibly may be an ambiguity in phraseology. It has been suggested by an expert. It is said, "It has always been a matter of controversy as to what constitutes fresh-water fish. Many fish are migratory, and are caught at different periods both in salt and fresh water." I desire to inquire whether the phraseology of the bill is of a character to remove that difficulty?

Mr. ALLISON. That is a difficulty. I suppose the Potomac is called a fresh-water river, and yet it empties into the sea.

Mr. WHITE. A fresh-water fish may be caught in fresh water, and the same sort of fish may be caught in salt water. Does that change the character of the duty?

Mr. ALLISON. This phraseology has been uniformly used, and I do not think there has been any difficulty.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. There has been.

Mr. ALLISON. Does the Senator from California propose any modification?

Mr. WHITE. I have no amendment.

Mr. ALLISON. I do not think it is a serious matter.

Mr. WHITE. I thought the Senator's attention might have been directed to it before.

Mr. VEST. I wish to ask the Senator from Iowa a question. I do not exactly understand the phraseology. Paragraph 256, on page 75, reads:

Fresh-water fish not specially provided for in this act.

Paragraph 535½ of the free list is as follows:

Fish, fresh, frozen, or packed in ice (except salmon), caught in the Great Lakes or other fresh waters by or for American fishermen or citizens of the United States.

Those are on the free list. When you speak of fresh-water fish and then fish caught in the lakes, does that mean the same thing? Suppose a salt-water fish should get into the lakes?

Mr. ALLISON. It means the same thing as respects fresh waters or rivers. The lakes are described as the American lakes.

Mr. VEST. This excepts salmon, which are at one time a salt-water fish and at another time a fresh-water fish.

Mr. LINDSAY. Shad?

Mr. VEST. It also includes shad and herring. It is a peculiar quality of the salmon and the shad that they go back to their first habitat, where they spawn. We have a stream in Arkansas, the Washita, where I have seen as fine shad as I ever saw in the Potomac. I have seen shad from that river weigh 5 and 6 pounds, and as palatable as any I ever saw in the city of Washington.

It happened a long time ago that a gentleman who lived in Maryland went for his health to the Hot Springs in Arkansas, and he had a great passion for shad. His health was restored. He was quite a fisherman, and he determined that he would bring the shad out and put them in the Washita River; and they are there to-day in large quantities. They go out to the ocean at a certain time of the year and return in the spring. They are caught in large quantities. My friend the Senator from Arkansas knows that, as I know it personally. There is a salt-water fish, and yet you catch it in fresh water.

I do not see why salmon should be excepted. The official reports show that we exported 3,084,884 pounds of salmon put up in cans. The effect of this amendment in the free list—I am discussing it in connection with the other, although we have not reached it—is simply that if the fish are caught by a Canadian fisherman, they must pay the duty, unless he is paid by an American fish dealer. If he is paid by an American fish dealer, they come in free; and yet we hear pæans and appeals in behalf of American labor. A fish dealer under this provision can go over into the Canadian waters or the waters of the Great Lakes under the jurisdiction of Canada, and employ the professional Canadian fishermen and never pay one dollar to an American fisherman. Yet he can bring in his fish free, because the fish are paid for, and the Canadian fisherman is paid by the day or week or month with the money of the American. It seems to me that is no protection to American labor. It is simply a protection to the speculator in fish in order to put up the price of the fresh fish to the people of the United States.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was to strike out paragraph 257 and insert in lieu thereof the following:

257. Herrings, pickled or salted, one-half of 1 cent per pound; herrings, fresh, one-fourth of 1 cent per pound.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was to strike out paragraph 258 and insert in lieu thereof the following:

258. Fish, pickled, in barrels or half barrels, not specially provided for in this act, and mackerel or salmon, pickled or salted, 1 cent per pound; fish, smoked, dried, salted, pickled, frozen, packed in ice, or otherwise prepared for preservation, and fresh fish, all the foregoing, not specially provided for in this act, and fish skinned or boned, three-fourths of 1 cent per pound.

Mr. ALLISON. I desire to modify the amendment of the committee by inserting the phraseology I send to the desk in lieu of that originally proposed.

The SECRETARY. In lieu of the amendment which was originally reported it is proposed to insert:

Fish, fresh, smoked, dried, salted, pickled, frozen, packed in ice, or otherwise prepared for preservation, not specially provided for in this act, three-fourths of 1 cent per pound; fish, skinned or boned, 1¼ cents per pound, mackerel, halibut, or salmon, pickled or salted, 1 cent per pound.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I should like to ask how this compares with the present rate. Are the fish provided for in this paragraph free under the present law?

Mr. ALLISON. I think not. It is a slight increase over the

present rate under the entire paragraph. The only change from the printed paragraph, as the Senator will see, is that we have provided a higher duty on fish skinned and boned. It has always borne a higher rate.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I think some of the classes of fish mentioned here are free. I am not positive about it, however, but where 1 cent a pound is provided in the pending amendment, three-fourths of a cent has been the rate heretofore.

Mr. ALLISON. Codfish and mackerel have been slightly raised.

Mr. VEST. Some of these fish were put upon the free list by the Wilson Act. This is therefore a great change, even under the amendment proposed by the Senator from Iowa. I do not understand the effect of the amendment. It is impossible to do it in a running debate of the provisions of the bill. Of course it will be adopted as the committee have proposed it, and I will let it go.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Committee on Finance as modified.

The amendment as modified was agreed to.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was to strike out paragraphs 259 and 260, as follows:

259. In addition to the duties otherwise provided for in this act, there shall be levied, collected, and paid, upon all fish imported from any country or dependency which pays an export bounty on fish, a duty equal to the amount of such bounty.

260. Cans or packages, made of tin or other metal, containing shellfish admitted free of duty, not exceeding 1 quart in contents, shall be subject to a duty of 6 cents per dozen cans or packages; and when exceeding 1 quart, shall be subject to an additional duty of 3 cents per dozen for each additional half quart or fractional part thereof.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in line 18, paragraph 261, after the word "apples," to insert "and pears;" and in line 19, after the word "peaches," to insert "pears;" so as to read:

Apples and pears, green or ripe, 25 cents per bushel; apples, peaches, pears, and other edible fruits, including berries, when dried, desiccated, evaporated or prepared in any manner, not specially provided for in this act, 2 cents per pound.

Mr. ALLISON. The committee wish to propose an amendment to the amendment. In line 18, after the word "apples," I move to insert "peaches, currants, quinces, cherries, plums."

Mr. FRYE. Green?

Mr. ALLISON. Green or ripe.

Mr. VEST. What is the necessity for the amendment, when the Senator has, in lines 19 and 20, the words "and other edible fruits?"

Mr. ALLISON. The fruits here provided for are green or ripe. The others are dried or desiccated.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Without objection, the amendment as amended will be agreed to.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 261, line 22, after the word "act," to strike out "2 cents" and insert "1 cent;" so as to read: "1 cent per pound."

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 261, line 23, after the word "pound," to strike out the semicolon and the words "berries, edible, in their natural condition, 1 cent per quart."

Mr. ALLISON. The committee withdraw the amendment.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment is withdrawn.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Are not the same things mentioned twice? I should be glad to have the paragraph read to see how it stands.

Mr. ALLISON. I wish to propose another amendment, and then it can be read. After the word "quart," in line 24, I move to insert "cranberries, 25 per cent ad valorem." Now, I think we have nearly everything in here.

Mr. VEST. The Senator has left out blackberries.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Iowa.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Now let the paragraph be read as amended.

The Secretary read as follows:

261. Apples, peaches, currants, quinces, cherries, plums, and pears, green or ripe, 25 cents per bushel. Apples, peaches, pears, and other edible fruits, including berries, when dried, desiccated, evaporated, or prepared in any manner, not specially provided for in this act, 1 cent per pound; berries, edible, in their natural condition, 1 cent per quart; cranberries, 25 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. ALLISON. That is right.

Mr. VEST. In line 18, paragraph 261, I move to strike out "25 cents per bushel" and insert "20 per cent ad valorem."

I wish to call attention to the fact that in 1896 we exported $1,340,507 worth of dried apples and we imported $481 worth. Four hundred and eighty-one dollars against an exportation of $1,340,507! But I suppose we are in great danger of losing the American market. Of green apples we exported, in 1896, $930,289 worth and imported $95,000 worth; and in the face of these statistics we are to increase the duties. I have no doubt that in the next campaign the rural districts will resound with Republican eloquence telling the farmers how they have been protected in their orchards. Four hundred and eighty-one dollars imports of dried apples against $1,340,507 worth; $95,000 worth of green apples imported against exports of $930,289! Yet our Republican friends will tell their dear bucolic supporters that they have died in the last trench in order to protect the orchards of the farmer from the invasion of the foreign apple, the pauper apples of Europe.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Missouri.

The amendment was rejected.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was to strike out paragraph 263 and insert in lieu thereof the following:

262. Comfits, sweetmeats, and fruits preserved in sugar, molasses, spirits, or in their own juices, not specially provided for in this act, 35 per cent ad valorem; if containing over 5 per cent of alcohol and not specially provided for in this act, 35 per cent ad valorem and in addition $2.50 per proof gallon on the alcohol contained therein in excess of 5 per cent; jellies of all kinds, 35 per cent ad valorem; pineapples preserved in their own juice, 25 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. VEST. This is a considerable increase over existing law.

Mr. ALLISON. In line 10, before the words "per centum," I move to strike out "five" and insert "ten;" and in line 14, before the words "per centum," I move to strike out "five" and insert "ten;" so as to increase the percentage of alcohol.

Mr. VEST. The Government statistics show this condition of commerce in regard to these commodities: Of preserved fruits we exported, in 1896, $1,376,281 worth; of other fruits, $60,353 worth; of all other fruits, $1,868,353. We imported of fruits in their own juices, $207,931. Still, these duties must be raised in order to protect us against foreign importation.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment of the Senator from Iowa to the amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In line 10, paragraph 261, page 77, before the words "per centum," it is proposed to strike out "five" and insert "ten;" and in line 14, before the words "per centum," it is proposed to strike out "five" and insert "ten;" so as to read:

Comfits, sweetmeats, and fruits preserved in sugar, molasses, spirits, or in their own juices, not specially provided for in this act, 35 per cent ad valorem; if containing over 10 per cent of alcohol and not specially provided for in this act, 35 per cent ad valorem and in addition $2.50 per proof gallon on the alcohol contained therein in excess of 10 per cent.

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

The amendment as amended was agreed to.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 263, line 18, page 77, after the word "prunes" to insert the word "prunelles;" so as to read:

Figs, plums, prunes, prunelles, raisins, and other dried grapes.

Mr. ALLISON. In paragraph 263, line 18, after the word "prunelles," I move to insert "2 cents per pound" and a semicolon; so that it will read:

Figs, plums, prunes, prunelles, 2 cents per pound;

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

The amendment as amended was agreed to.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in the same paragraph, line 19, to strike out "and one-half;" so as to read, "2 cents per pound:"

Figs, plums, prunes, prunelles, 2 cents per pound; raisins and other dried grapes, 2 cents per pound.

Mr. ALLISON. I withdraw the amendment.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment is withdrawn.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I do not know but that we should save time by allowing these amendments to be adopted, and then make the motion I desire to make. I wish to move "1½ cents" where the Senator proposes "2 cents," and "one and one-half" where he proposes "2½ cents." I suppose I may as well make a motion now to strike out the rates in the bill and insert "1½ cents" in each instance.

Mr. ALLISON. Let me perfect the paragraph first, and then the Senator can make his motion.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. It is immaterial to me which course is pursued.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in line 23, before the word "cents," to strike out "twenty-five" and insert "twenty;" so as to read:

Olives, green or prepared, in bottles, jars, or similar packages, 20 cents per gallon.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask the Senate to disagree to the amendment.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment reported by the Committee on Finance.

The amendment was disagreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. That perfects the paragraph.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. It begins to look as if all the committee amendments heretofore reported are to be withdrawn, and it might be done quicker in bulk. I will not insist on that being done, however. I move to strike out 2 cents where it was inserted on motion of the Senator from Iowa and insert "1½ cents."

Mr. MILLS. It ought to be 1 cent.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The present rate is 1½ cents.

Mr. MILLS. It ought to be 1 cent.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I am satisfied that is true, but I prefer to stand by the present law; and I make the motion in that way, because it is the existing law. I move to strike out "2½ cents," in line 19, and insert "1½ cents;" and in line 21 I move to strike out "2 cents per pound" and insert "20 per cent ad valorem;" and I ask for a vote on all of the amendments together.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment submitted by the Senator from Arkansas will be stated.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to amend paragraph 263, on page 77, line 18, by striking out "2 cents per pound" and inserting "1½ cents per pound;" in line 19, by striking out "2½ cents" and inserting "1½ cents," and in line 21, by striking out "2 cents per pound" and inserting "20 per cent ad valorem;" so as to read:

Figs, plums, prunes, prunelles, 1½ cents per pound; raisins and other dried grapes, 1½ cents per pound; dates, one-half of 1 cent per pound; currants, Zante or other, 20 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. President, that has reference to the duty on Zante currants. The duty proposed in the pending bill on these currants from the island of Zante is 125 per cent. The unit of value is 1.6, and the duty is 2 cents per pound. Of course that is more than 100 per cent. I could understand this high rate of duty if it were for the protection of some American product, but these currants are peculiar to a single little island, I believe, in the Gulf of Corinth. They grow nowhere else in the world; they can not grow anywhere else in the world. I have conversed about them with intelligent persons who have been on that island and investigated this business.

Mr. GEAR. What does the Senator state the duty to be?

Mr. MILLS. The duty is 125 per cent here.

Mr. GEAR. Let me state for the benefit of the Senator from Texas that when the present law was framed the currants were worth 1 cent a pound. They had been classed at 10 cents by the Wilson committee, and when the bill came here, through my friend from California and my friend from Arkansas, there was a duty of 1½ cents a pound placed on them, which is 150 per cent. So this is really a reduction.

Mr. MILLS. I am talking about what it ought to be, not about what any of my friends have done heretofore. As I said, there is nothing to protect in the United States by this high duty. Therefore we must have a revenue duty.

Mr. WHITE. Will the Senator from Texas allow me to correct a statement of fact?

Mr. MILLS. Certainly.

Mr. WHITE. I will take pleasure in presenting the Senator with a small box of Zante currants, a sample produced in California, where they are grown in large quantities, and in the cloakroom I have a so-called Zante currant bush which is really a grape bush. I will state that they are as much in competition with the other raisins in California, for they are all a raisin, as any dried grape can be, and furthermore, that the importation from the island of Zante cuts a very small figure in the total importations into the United States. The currant is largely produced in Greece, and the name "currant" is derived, I believe, from the word "Corinth." It is really a grape. There is a bush in the cloakroom which the Senator can inspect.

Mr. MILLS. Anything can be called a Zante currant by name. I am talking about the currant that is grown upon the island of Zante.

Mr. WHITE. This is the exact and identical currant.

Mr. PERKINS. If my friend from Texas will permit me to correct the premises from which he is reasoning, I desire to state that the general appraisers of New York held to the views that my distinguished friend from Texas holds, but the ninth judicial court of the district embracing California and Oregon judicially determined otherwise. With the Senator's permission, I should like to read the findings of the court, but I will not interrupt him; I will wait until after he has made his argument. Then I should like to have the privilege of reading the findings of the court.

Mr. MILLS. Several years ago I studied the question of Zante currants when I was trying to reduce the revenues of the Government, which were excessive; but our friends who were opposed to it would not permit a reduction upon articles that were competing with domestic articles. I proposed even to take this revenue article and put it on the free list, in order simply to reduce the surplus revenues of the Government. I remember conversing with a very eminent gentleman, Hon. Samuel Sullivan Cox, known to all of us, who was the minister to Turkey and who was all over the island of Zante time and again. He told me that the real Zante currant could not be grown in any other soil on the face of the globe than upon that island. While we may grow currants like it, they are not Zante currants. The importation into this country of $1,185,532 worth of these currants shows that the same article can not be produced in this country, call it by whatever name you please.

Mr. VEST. If the Senator will permit me, he overlooks one great elementary principle of protection, and that is, if the people can not get the currants, they have to take the California grape.

Mr. MILLS. Precisely; but there is always a certain number of people who must get the Zante currants and pay 2½ cents or 1½ cents. It was in 1893, when the duty was 2½ cents a pound, that they imported $1,185,532 worth of these very currants, notwithstanding we are told that California is full of them.

I remember the remark of my distinguished friend, Judge Kelley, no longer with us, but many of us here knew him well. When I was proposing to put these currants on the free list, I said, "They can not come in competition, my friend, with anything you want to protect in this country. Let us put them on the free list and reduce the revenue. The Treasury is full to overflowing." Mr. Cleveland was telling us that that was the condition which confronted us—not theories, but an enlarged Treasury. I said, "Now, let me put this on the free list." He said, "My dear sir, the taste is a question of culture, and if you will keep the Zante currant from coming into this country, we will encourage the cultivation of the blackberry and develop the American taste for blackberries." That was one of the reasons given.

Now we are told that there are Zante currants grown in California. It may be, for they do remarkable things in California. It is a great State, and a great fruit State. It is the greatest flower State in the Union. The largest roses I ever saw in my life, I will say to my friend from Missouri, who was speaking about flowers this morning, I have seen in California. The finest fruits of almost all sorts are grown there. But we know there is a peculiar taste to fruits, a peculiarity given by the soil itself.

A few years ago I was going through a remarkable campaign in Texas on the question of prohibition, and I was an antiprohibitionist. An old friend of mine, whom I had known for a long time, came to me and said, "I am astonished, sir, to find you going around over this country and defending the saloons." I said, "Your astonishment is not greater than mine. You have drunk ten times more whisky than ever I saw in my lifetime, and you are a prohibitionist. I want you to explain that to me." He said, "Yes, sir; I am a prohibitionist, but I do not expect prohibition to keep me from drinking whisky. I do not intend it for that. I drink the very best whisky that is made in the United States. I know where it is to be had, sir. I know where there is a peculiar soil that raises a peculiar corn, and where there is a peculiar water; and the peculiarity of the climate, and the peculiarity of the soil, and the peculiarity of the water give a peculiar taste to the whisky." He said, "That is found in Robertson County, Tenn. I bring my whisky from there, sir, and I expect to have it as long as I live." I asked him, "What is it that you want to have prohibition for?" "Not for myself," he said, "but for the Irish and the d——d niggers." [Laughter.]

I give this illustration to show that there is a peculiarity about things. There is a peculiarity that adapts itself to the taste of people in the manufacture of certain kinds of goods and certain kinds of stamps upon goods. I once heard a gentleman who was a manufacturer of stockings (it was when we had up the question of the balbriggan stockings) say that his wife would not wear the American stockings, that her taste was to have the imported stockings, and he got some of his own stockings that he was manufacturing and put the balbriggan brand on them and she was reconciled. She did not know anything about it; it was a pious fraud practiced on her; and she wore the stockings of her own husband's manufacture all the time. It is so about all these different things. There are peculiarities of taste in men and peculiarities of taste in products that commend themselves to people who are seeking for this, that, and the other thing for consumption.

I have not a single, solitary doubt but that in California they have the finest grapes. I know it. I have been there and I have seen them and eaten them. They have the finest fruits. It is one of the greatest States in the Union. As I said, they have flowers there that can not be equaled elsewhere on the face of the globe or in any other place on the globe where I have ever been. But, Mr. President, they have not the Zante currant, and these figures show it. Therefore we ought to put a revenue duty on them instead of putting on this high, exclusive duty of 125 per cent.

Mr. PERKINS. I am very desirous to have my friend from Texas vote for this measure, and while I may not convince him, perhaps, that he should do so because we raise Zante currants in California, as I can demonstrate to him, I am sure I can have his vote if he is consistent, and he always is, upon the revenue question.

In 1890 Zante currants were upon the free list. The Government received nothing from their importation. In 1894, at a cent

and a half a pound duty, we received $29,478.22. Under the proposed duty of 2 cents it is estimated that we will receive $39,304.28. Therefore we should have the Senator's vote upon the ground of revenue, if upon no other.

But as a matter of fact, we do raise the Zante currant in California. We have in California more than 4,000 vineyards, owned by 4,000 different individuals, who employ from fifteen to twenty thousand men, women, and boys in cultivating those vineyards. They have demonstrated the fact that they can raise the Zante currant. We have had a substitute, the Thompson seedless grape, the Sultana, and perhaps 10 per cent of the Muscat of Alexandria are seedless and similar to the Zante currant. There is the Zante currant [exhibiting], and I will defy my friend to distinguish it except that it is better. The Zante currant is raised in Sutter County, Cal., in the central part of our State. It is raised upon a vine the same as the grapevine and not upon a currant bush. The Zante currant grows upon a regular grapevine so far as the ordinary unscientific eye can determine.

But I want to show, and I am going to be brief on this point, because I feel confident that my friend from Texas will vote with us, what was the finding of the court. I will first read from a brief submitted by a committee of the raisin growers of California on the raisin industry of California, and in which is embodied several quotations from the opinion of the court:

The Zante currant is a grape. It grows upon a grapevine, and not on a bush or shrub, as is commonly supposed. It has all the characteristics of the grape, is treated similarly for commerce, and is essentially a grape as much as the Muscat, the Catawba, or any other variety, and is used as a raisin.

This statement has recently—March 26, 1896—been judicially determined to be true by the circuit court of the United States, ninth circuit, northern district of California, in a case appealed from the decision of the Board of General Appraisers on duty at New York.

In Circular No. 77, dated May 27, 1896, issued by the Treasury Department, this opinion is published, and all customs officers are instructed to be guided by it.

Witnesses for importers in this case undertook to contribute to the popular misconception as to the Zante currant by testifying that it is not a grape. But evidence of the highest character from many experts who had seen this so-called currant growing on the island of Zante and on the mainland of Greece and in California and elsewhere showed it to be unmistakably a grape. The court, in its opinion showing the result of the evidence, said:

"The term 'Zante currant' is a well-known commercial expression among importers, dealers, and growers of raisins, and relates to and comprehends a kind of raisin made from a small seedless grape grown not only in the island of Zante, but also, and to a much greater extent, on the mainland of Greece and other neighboring localities. 'Zante currants' is simply its English name. It derives the name 'currants' from the fact that in times past it was shipped from the city of Corinth, Greece. In German it is called 'Korinthen;' in French, 'rasin de Corinthe;' in Spanish, 'pasas de Corinto.' It is a raisin grape, as distinguished from the shrub currant, with which its name may confound it, but from which it is entirely distinct, the former belonging to the grapevine family, or Vitis vinifera, of plants, the latter to the shrub or Ribes. A Zante currant on the vine is a small-sized grape. When picked and dried it is a 'dried grape' or kind of raisin whose popular and commercial designation is 'Zante currants.'"

The court then shows that this definition is in accord with that given to the word "currant" in the Century Dictionary, Webster's International Dictionary (1890), Encyclopedia Britannica (1877), and the Standard Dictionary of the English Language (1895).

One witness, Dr. Gustav Eisen, the author of a valuable book upon the raisin, traced the history of this grape as far back as the year 1333.

E. W. Hilgard, professor of agriculture at the California State University, testified that a Zante currant is "a raisin made from a small grape which grows in the Ionian Islands, and also in the archipelago there; also on the mainland of Asia Minor. They are dried and prepared in various ways and shipped all over the world." Many other distinguished scientists and agronomists were called as witnesses, to the same effect.

Among the exhibits used at the trial was a currant vine taken up by the American consul at Patras, Greece, which was fully identified as a grape belonging to the species Vitis vinifera, and wholly distinct from the English or kitchen-garden currant of the species ribes. Photographs of the vine growing in Greece, on the mainland, and on the island of Zante, and also growing in California, were introduced.

I call the attention of the Senator from Texas to the opinion of the court. The court said:

Without going further into the evidence, it is enough to say that, as a whole, the following four propositions of fact were, to my mind, conclusively established: (1) That the currants comprising the importation in question are Zante currants; (2) that Zante currants are a kind of raisin; (3) that Zante currants are grapes dried; and (4) that Zante currants are not the product exclusively of the island of Zante, but they are produced also on the mainland of Greece, in the archipelago, and other places, and in much larger quantities than on the island.

That was the decision of the court after hearing the evidence of Professor Hilgard, who has the chair of agriculture in our State University, and other eminent scientists. There was a grapevine sent by the American consul from some port in Greece. It was exhibited in the court, and it was there demonstrated to the satisfaction of the court that it was a facsimile of the same grapevine, the same character of raisins or grapes or Zante currants that we were producing there.

But, be that as it may, Mr. President, the imported Zante comes into competition anyhow with the raisins of California. I believe that, in so far as it is possible to do so, we have our home market for our own home production. We have demonstrated the fact that we are capable of raising in California a sufficient quantity of raisins and currants to supply this country, and we are doing it to-day at a less price than they were ever furnished before.

Years ago, when I was engaged in merchandising, I sold the ordinary Malaga raisins at from 20 to 25 cents a pound. To-day they are selling in the markets of the principal cities of this country at from 4 to 6 cents a pound. The price has been brought down by competition among our own people, who had the courage to go out West from Texas, Missouri, and other States and settle upon those arid plains, bring in water from the mountains, irrigate the valleys, and plant their grapevines and produce these raisins and currants.

There is no industry of this country that is deserving of a fostering care and a helping hand more than the raisin industries of the country. I went the other day to one of our stores, and I there bought two packages of Zante currants, imported, at 10 cents a package, and the package weighs 1 ounce less than a pound will. Will the half-cent increase in duty here increase the cost to the consumer? My friend from Texas knows that it will not. It simply will increase the revenue derived by the Government from this source.

I have here the consular reports. I will read one line to show that our friends in Greece are trying to do something to build up this industry there, to foster it with their own people, and then dump their product upon our own country. Mr. George Horton, who is our consul at Athens, writes:

There is much popular agitation in Greece at present, resulting from the low price of currants, the principal crop of this country. A general idea has spread among the people that the Government is able to raise the price of the crop at will, and there is a popular demand that Parliament pass some measure to that end. Large mass meetings are being held in various parts of Greece, and considerable excitement prevails.

That is because the people of California, by their energy and their push and their enterprise, have produced raisins and currants that are taking the market of Greece away from those people and giving it to our people.

Mr. GRAY. May I ask the Senator from California a question?

Mr. PERKINS. Certainly.

Mr. GRAY. I am very much interested in what the Senator has said about the wonderful growth of the industry of raising currants and the manufacture of raisins in California. How long has the industry been in progress in that State?

Mr. PERKINS. In 1880 we first commenced planting grapevines successfully—that is, the muscat of Alexandria, and producing the Malaga raisin.

Mr. GRAY. And the currants?

Mr. PERKINS. The currants later.

Mr. GRAY. I understand that the currant production has been a very prolific one, and certainly, from the specimen we have seen, a very beautiful one, and that you are succeeding now in taking away the market in Greece.

Mr. PERKINS. We hope to do so, with your kind assistance.

Mr. GRAY. Then why do you want an additional protective tariff?

Mr. PERKINS. Because the wages we pay in California to our own people range from $1 to $1.50 a day. Those people have families, and they are teaching their boys and girls the first lessons in American citizenship; they are supporting our public schools, our churches, paying taxes in our own country, and we want to continue to pay the same high wages that we are now paying them.

Mr. GRAY. I understand that there was no tax at all on the Zante currants up to 1894. Is that true?

Mr. PERKINS. That is not correct.

Mr. GRAY. They were on the free list in 1890.

Mr. PERKINS. From 1879 until 1891 there was a duty of a cent a pound. In 1891 they were upon the free list.

Mr. GRAY. Notwithstanding all that, the industry has flourished in a most interesting and gratifying way.

Mr. PERKINS. It has languished.

Mr. GRAY. I do not see why they should make this demand upon the consumers and upon the home market to pay this additional tribute.

Mr. PERKINS. For the same reason, I will say to my friend from Delaware, that has prevailed in Greece. The consul says, and I think it answers the Senator:

The currants are low in price—

That is, in Greece—

mainly because there has been overproduction. If all the farmers in the United States for some one year should plant all their land to one crop the price of that crop would fall. This is practically what has happened in Greece.

And they have had to find a market, and they ship them to this country in foreign ships to compete with our people.

Mr. LINDSAY. I understood the Senator to say a while ago that it was the progress of the currant industry in California that had broken down the price of currants in Greece.

Mr. PERKINS. No; my friend misunderstands me. It is the competition of the low prices that have prevailed in Greece by overproduction, and because they have not been honest in shipping their products into this country. I will take the testimony of our consul. I will read one more paragraph. Our consul, Mr. Horton, says:

In the haste to get large quantities of the profitable article on the market arose another condition that ultimately injured the price of the crop. Inferior currants were packed and sold as first-class, and in many cases sand even was sprinkled in the boxes to add to the weight.

That class of fruit has been brought in here to compete with us. I expect my friend from Kentucky to join with my friend from Texas, as I know my colleague will, and vote for this measure for revenue, if for no other reason.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President, I simply wish to correct some statements made here which I know were made inadvertently.

The Senator from Texas [Mr. MILLS] spoke of an authority from which he derived his information that the so-called Zante currant is grown only upon the island of Zante. A very little familiar history will show how much in error was the party who gave that information. We placed in our last tariff act a provision for Zante currants, fixing the rate at a cent and a half a pound. It was claimed that the expression used referred only to currants coming from the island of Zante. Although we had used it, no doubt, in the act as we would use the words "Lima beans," "Malaga grapes," or any expression of that sort, still it was otherwise held in a case that was not very carefully considered in the custom-house in New York. Afterwards, when an invoice came to San Francisco from Patras, the matter was decided in the suit referred to by my colleague, which is entitled "In re Wise, collector, 73 Federal Reporter, page 183." The judge, in delivering the opinion, among other things, said:

As a matter of fact, the evidence tended to show that much larger quantities of Zante currants, so called, are grown and exported from the provinces of Greece than from the island of Zante, and that those grown on the mainland are still known commercially in this country as "Zante currants." In other words, "Zante currants" is the commercial name for this variety of grape, when dried into raisins. It would be unreasonable to suppose that Congress, in imposing duties on Zante currants in the general language employed, intended to tax those coming from the island of Zante alone and not those which come in much larger quantities from other localities.

That, of course, disposes of the contention absolutely that they are solely a product of the island of Zante. Again, every scientific work on the subject defines Zante currant as a true raisin. If Senators who have any doubt on the subject will take the trouble to look at the bush which was sent me by Mr. Onstott, of Yuba County, Cal., whose product I have here, they will be unable to distinguish it from any other grapevine they have ever seen. The leaves are precisely alike, and the bunches of fruit, which of course are now very small and green, are formed very much as the Zinfandel grape grows.

The English currant, which we see growing in our yards, is an entirely different product, so much so that wine is made out of the grape produced on the currant bush; but now we in California have produced not only a large raisin, which is generally known as the Malaga raisin of commerce, but a large number of smaller raisins without seeds. Among those are the Zante currant, so called, and other varieties, I believe, of the seedless grape. The Zante grape—for it is truly a grape—is a competitor with all of the other classes of raisins, and if we are to utilize this tariff bill for any purpose whatever with reference to raisins, there should be no exclusion of the Zante currant, which is itself a true raisin and comes from a true grape.

So, in looking over the matter, when the case to which I have referred was in the course of preparation, the counsel upon neither side could find a single authority anywhere to the contrary, and to settle the dispute we took the trouble to send to Greece to get an actual Zante currant bush and produced it in court as an exhibit. It was precisely the same bush that I have here now in the cloak-room. So there was nothing in that point. While the suit was pending, the Zante currants, under the decision of the board of appraisers, were admitted free, and we lost a very large amount of revenue.

Mr. HOAR. May I ask the Senator a question?

Mr. WHITE. Certainly.

Mr. HOAR. I have been unable to follow the Senator's statement fully, and I should like to ask him whether he is in favor of the duty on Zante currants or not?

Mr. WHITE. I have always been in favor of a duty on Zante currants, and a duty on a good many other articles, I will say to the Senator from Massachusetts, produced even under the shadow of his influence. I am not opposed to duties, and I have never said so.

Mr. HOAR. I did not put the question to the Senator from California with the view which he seems to suppose. I put the question very much as General Taylor employed bloodhounds in the Seminole war, not to worry the Indians, but to find out where they were. [Laughter.]

Mr. WHITE. I do not exactly know to whom the Senator refers by the Indian in this case; but his wisdom is frequently so occult that I am not able to reach conclusions regarding it.

All I desire to say, in conclusion, Mr. President, is that the Zante currant of commerce and the raisin should be treated alike, and if we are to have a bill imposing duties at all, the whole class of raisins should be retained.

Mr. GEAR. I used to be a merchant many years ago, and I have sold a great many of the goods called Zante currants. It is purely a commercial phrase, as everybody who has investigated the matter knows. They are a very low, inferior order of grape that have been grown in Corinth and in the island of Zante, which gives the name of "Zante currant" to them. They are imported in large quantities. They are a very inferior article of goods and sold at a very low price. I recollect prior to the McKinley law they were but a cent or a cent and a quarter a pound. We put them on the free list because we found that they were used largely by the plain people of this country (as Mr. Lincoln used to call them) in making pies and puddings.

Mr. GRAY. And very good they are, too.

Mr. GEAR. They do not compete with the Zante grapes of California, which my friend refers to. There is 4 cents a pound difference. When our Democratic friends were framing the Wilson tariff bill they found that they wanted revenue. It was claimed that Zante currants were high priced, and they put a duty on them of a cent and a half a pound, which was about 150 per cent, for they were only worth a cent to a cent and a quarter a pound.

Greece is a pretty poor country, as we all know, and they keep no minister here; they only have a consul-general of the Greek Government, who lives in New York. I can not recall his name.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. Botassi.

Mr. GEAR. Yes; Mr. Botassi. He came to me for a letter of introduction, and at his request I introduced him to the conferees on the part of the House of Representatives when the bill was pending between the two Houses in conference, Judge Montgomery and Judge Turner, who were conferees on the part of the House, and also gave him a letter to my friend Hon. William L. Wilson. Mr. Botassi went down to the Arlington Hotel to consult with Mr. Wilson, who gave him an audience and treated him very courteously.

Mr. Botassi told Mr. Wilson that Greece was a very poor country and that their product did not really come into competition with the California grapes; that they were sold at 1 cent a pound and used by a different class of people; that they were quoted at that price in New York. Mr. Wilson said to Mr. Botassi: "You will get no protection in this bill for your people. Our Democratic friends are demanding an increase on all these things. The Senator from California is preeminent, and these duties will stand." When I saw him after the interview with Mr. Wilson, I said to him, "Mr. Botassi, how did you come out?" He said: "I did not come out at all. I went down to the Arlington and I had a very delightful interview with Mr. Wilson. He knows more about my country than I do, though I was born in Greece. He knows all about her ancient history, her wars, her statuary, her art, and everything else, "but he not know a tam ting" about currants. And that was substantially true. [Laughter.]

The whole theory of the duty of 1½ cents a pound on Zante currants in the Wilson law was based on the assumption that there was competition between the Grecian and the California currant, when any man who is a merchant can understand the difference between these two articles; and yet our committee has seen fit to increase the duty to 2 cents a pound, which I shall vote for, because I believe in protecting the grapes of California; but I shall vote for it upon a different principle from what the Senator from California does.

Mr. MILLS. The Senator from Iowa [Mr. GEAR] has demonstrated that what I stated was correct. He says that these grapes from Zante or from Greece do not come in competition with the American currants, that our currants are worth 4 cents a pound and the imported Zante currants are worth from 1 cent to 1½ cents a pound. That is what I stated, that this duty can not be for protection, and that it is too high for revenue.

Mr. PERKINS. I will state to the Senator that I purchased at a leading grocery in this city two packages of Zante currants, supposed to be a pound avoirdupois, but they weighed but 15 ounces, and I was charged 10 cents a pound for them. We sell our best California currants for less than that.

Mr. MILLS. Still they are quoted at 1.6 cents a pound officially. I am going by the official tables, and not by the prices charged by retailers every day all over the country.

Mr. PERKINS. What I intended to say was that the consumer did not get the benefit of it.

Mr. MILLS. I am talking now about the Zante currants coming in competition with the California currants. I say the Senator from Iowa [Mr. GEAR] has demonstrated that they do not; and if they do not, what is your excessive duty going to do? You can not bring them into this country and naturalize them, to use the expression of the protectionists; it is impossible to do that; and my friend from California on this side of the Chamber [Mr. WHITE] says that in the judicial investigation to which he has referred he brought a plant from Greece into court and demonstrated that it was the same plant they have in California; but he did not pretend to say that he could bring the atmosphere and soil of Greece with it.

My father was a Virginian, born over in eastern Virginia, and lived and died in the belief that there was no real, pure chewing tobacco except "the Jeems River," as he called it; and he chewed "Jeems River" as long as he lived. When I was a boy, he sent to

Cuba and got the seed of the celebrated Cuban tobacco to make into cigars, and I used to make cigars for sale when I was a chap. Every other year he would have to send to Cuba and renew the seed. Why? The seed sent here was from the same plant precisely that they have in Cuba, and it was grown in the United States, but they could not bring the Cuban soil and the Cuban climate, and the tobacco degenerated and became American tobacco by a process of differentiation, or evolution, as I suppose the scientists would call it. In Cuba the soil and climate entered into the tobacco. I remember when it was growing the first year on our land in Kentucky, if you occupied a position a quarter of a mile from the field and the wind was blowing in your direction across the field, you could smell the delightful aroma from it, but the third or fourth year it was gone.

Mr. President, we may make high tariffs and put on all sorts of duties, but we can not change the law of nature. These things are peculiar gifts to man, and the influences of soil and climate, all those things that God in His wisdom has made, we can not change. Our wants go out to them all over the whole face of the earth, and we send the products of our labor in exchange for them.

I want to again call the attention of our friends to the fact that when you are putting these prohibitive duties on things coming to the United States you are putting prohibitive duties against the things that we produce by our labor going away from the United States; you are depressing the prices of things that we have to sell and upon which we have to get a living, and you are raising the prices of the things that we have to buy and upon which we have to live.

I return to the proposition with which I set out. I am willing to vote for a revenue duty, and a good substantial revenue duty, on this article, but I can not see why our friends, who can not produce this article by any amount of fostering in this country, will insist upon high duties simply to exclude the article from coming to this country and exclude our cotton going from the South to pay for it.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President, if I understand the argument of my friend the Senator from Texas [Mr. MILLS], it is that because there is a greatly inferior fruit raised in Greece that we can not hope to emulate Greece in the raising of that fruit, even if we were to bring the vine and plant it in our own State. Of course we would not attempt any emulation of that kind; but I believe that even an inferior fruit, when it competes with a superior fruit, is more liable to depreciate the general market, so far as that proposition goes, if it is material at all, than a fruit that is of equal quality. I believe that that is the experience of everyone. Of course I have my own theory about the ultimate effect of all this.

I believe that ultimately there will be such a large quantity of this fruit produced that it will be a very difficult problem for those engaged in making this particular product to know what they are going to do with it; but I am taking the theory of this bill and following it through, and I am very certain, taking the whole production as expressed in the words "raisins" and "Zante currants" together, that we are imposing a duty which will yield a large amount of revenue, but which will not go over the average of this bill.

I differ entirely with my friend the Senator from Texas that this article will be excluded. I think he will ascertain by the end of the fiscal year that we will have some revenue out of it, and while it has been said here that this bill will yield $50,000,000 of surplus, I must say for myself that I think the surplus will be exceedingly small, unless we recover some of that prosperity for which we have been looking for many days, and for which we have very recently prayed.

Mr. MILLS. Zante currants by the law of 1890 were free, and we imported $1,185,532 worth of them when they were on the free list. The law of 1894 put a duty of a cent and a half a pound upon them, equivalent to about 93 per cent, and the importation fell down to $32,783.

Mr. WHITE. If the Senator will excuse me, that is a mistake. I said a few minutes ago, perhaps while the Senator was not in the Chamber, that the General Board of Appraisers of New York held that the tariff only applied to currants produced in the island of Zante, and admitted all the others free.

Mr. MILLS. Then these figures are not correct.

Mr. WHITE. Only as to the island of Zante, and not to the general importation of currants.

Mr. MILLS. Of course I can only go by the figures which have been furnished us.

Mr. WHITE. What I have stated is the fact.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the three amendments proposed by the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. JONES] to paragraph 263.

The amendments were rejected.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 264, on page 78, line 1, after the word "grapes," to strike out "and peaches, 1 cent per pound" and insert "in barrels or other packages, 20 cents per cubic foot;" so as to make the paragraph read:

264. Grapes in barrels or other packages, 20 cents per cubic foot.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in paragraph 265, on page 78, line 4, after the word "pomelos," to strike out "three-fourths of 1 cent" and insert "1 cent;" so as to read:

265. Oranges, lemons, limes, grape fruit, shaddocks or pomelos, 1 cent per pound.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 78, line 5, after the word "pound," to strike out the remainder of the paragraph, as follows:

And in addition thereto, 30 per cent ad valorem upon the boxes, barrels, or other articles containing any of the foregoing: *Provided*, That the thin wood, so called, comprising the sides, tops, and bottoms of orange and lemon boxes of the growth and manufacture of the United States, exported as orange and lemon box shooks, may be reimported in completed form, filled with oranges and lemons, by the payment of duty at one-half the rate imposed on similar boxes of entirely foreign growth and manufacture.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I move to strike out paragraph 265 as amended and insert the paragraph which I send to the desk, which is the paragraph in the present law relating to those articles.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Arkansas will be stated.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to strike out paragraph 265 as amended and in lieu thereof to insert:

265. Oranges, lemons, and limes, in packages, at the rate of 8 cents per cubic foot of capacity; in bulk, $1.50 per 1,000; and in addition thereto a duty of 30 per cent ad valorem upon the boxes or barrels containing such oranges, lemons, or limes: *Provided*, That the thin wood, so called, comprising the sides, tops, and bottoms of orange and lemon boxes of the growth and manufacture of the United States, exported as orange and lemon box shooks, may be reimported in completed form, filled with oranges and lemons, by the payment of duty at one-half the rate imposed on similar boxes of entirely foreign growth and manufacture.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Of course I know it is utterly useless to undertake to get any change in any of these rates, and I shall not enter into any elaborate discussion of this proposition, but I have the reasons so clearly shown why my amendment should be adopted and why the high rate in the bill should not be adopted in a letter sent to me from New York that I shall read the letter, which comes from an importer. He says:

NEW YORK, *March 25, 1897.*

RESPECTED SIR: We desire to call your marked attention to paragraph No. 265 in the new tariff, fixing the proposed duty on imported green fruit—i. e., oranges and lemons—at the rate of three-fourths of a cent per pound, which, we feel confident, is an error due to a misunderstanding of the circumstances surrounding its importation, and one which will work radical injury to the poor of our city and to those who are engaged in bringing this most healthful form of food into the country.

The present duty is specific at 8 cents per cubic foot of capacity of the box, and 30 per cent ad valorem on the boxes, making a total duty of about 23 cents per box, while the proposed change raises the duty, each box weighing from 80 to 100 pounds, to 60 or 80 cents, or equivalent to an increase of, say, from 200 per cent to 300 per cent.

While the consumption of Sicily lemons alone for the year ending November 1 last amounted to 2,962,200 boxes, the total amount produced in this country, from California only, was about 300,000 boxes, Florida being absolutely out of the question, owing to the unfortunate ruin of her groves by frost, and will continue to be for several years to come.

As lemon trees take ten years' growth to come into full bearing, and there is no way to supply the large diminution in imports which will unquestionably occur if this apparently unjust and unnecessary discrimination is made against foreign lemons, it can but work injury to the poor of our cities in favor of an undeveloped industry of the State of California, which is entirely inadequate to the task of supplying the country at large, even were it given a full opportunity to do so.

And this same argument holds good in regard to the cheap Sicily oranges, which, selling to people of scanty means at a cost of 1 penny each, do not seem to call for protection to such an exorbitant degree in favor of the California orange, "the rich man's fruit," as its sobriquet is, since a cost of, say, 5 cents is far beyond their slender means.

We do not hesitate to express our views thus frankly, as we are not only foreign-fruit experts, but also steamship agents for a line which is bringing into the country (at this moment) fully one-half of all the fruit that is imported from Italy, and we know that our views are those of a majority of the people engaged in the fruit business at this the largest fruit center in this country.

In our capacity of steamship agents we also beg leave to tell you that it is a practical impossibility for the correct duty due on fruits imported to be ascertained without causing an unnecessary and cruel loss to the fruit owners and steamship lines.

Green fruit is imported by steamships which carry little or nothing else, in cargoes of an average of 20,000 boxes, which consist of from 300 to 500 different brands and shipments.

To ascertain the weight of the fruit in these boxes it will be necessary to weigh several boxes of each lot by removing their contents, to the destruction of beautifully packed and ornamented inside coverings materially affecting the market value of boxes so destroyed, nor can the large proportion of rotten fruit which oftentimes is found in part of the boxes, be ascertained by the examination of a few of them, and we submit that rotten fruit is no more a proper article for taxation than any other absolutely valueless article.

The above-mentioned method of weighing boxes will further entail an unjust and unwarrantable delay in the management and delivery of our cargoes, which are discharged on docks whose rental amounts to $70 per day, and those cargoes, consisting of perishable merchandise, deteriorate more every day they are detained.

The importation of bananas last year amounted to 12,000,000 bunches, free of duty, and they could easily bear a part of the burden which has been placed upon lemons and oranges, without affecting the retail price in the least degree, and at the small duty of only 10 cents per bunch would yield

the Government an increase in revenue of $1,200,000, and afford a much-needed protection to our constantly increasing crop of apples, which now suffers from their competition.

In view of the above circumstances, we pray you that you will use your great influence to prevent the injury to and (at least) the partial destruction of a business upon which at least 100,000 of our citizens depend for their means of subsistence.

Mr. Henry W. Mitchell goes to Washington this afternoon in connection with the subject-matter of this letter, and will stop at the Metropolitan Hotel. Should you desire any further information on the subject, it will afford him great pleasure to place himself at your disposal.

Yours, very truly,

VILLARI, MITCHELL & CO.

Hon. JAMES K. JONES,
915 M Street NW., Washington, D. C.

This letter shows distinctly and clearly that the present proposed tax on this article will prove a very great detriment to this trade. These oranges and lemons can not be examined by the appraisers under the provisions of this bill without very materially injuring them.

There is practically no competition now between Sicily oranges and California oranges. Take one of each and show them to anybody, and there will be no hesitancy about the value. One will sell for 5 cents, and you may buy the others for a cent apiece in this town. Recently when I wanted to buy oranges, when I was present with a member of my family, 50 cents a dozen was the price asked for California oranges, and a cent apiece was the price of the other oranges. Nobody would hesitate a moment to say that those selling for 50 cents a dozen were infinitely cheaper than those at 12 cents a dozen. There is practically no comparison between the two. If this class of fruit is allowed to come in, it will reach a class of people who would probably buy the lower priced oranges and use that kind of fruit, and there ought not to be an increased rate to prevent the importation of the cheaper and lower grade simply because there is a similar kind of fruit produced in this country.

Mr. PERKINS. Only a word, Mr. President, in answer to my friend from Arkansas. The letter which the Senator has read is a special plea from the agent of a foreign ship, manned by foreigners, built in a foreign country, and representing the product of foreign toil.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Does it tell the truth?

Mr. PERKINS. I have no doubt of the truth of what I have stated, for I have a duplicate of the letter which the Senator read, or one similar to that, which was written to me. No doubt the writer of the letter has told the truth, as he understands it, from his standpoint. He is advocating the interests of those he represents. He is the agent of a foreign ship, built in a foreign country, manned by foreigners, and he represents the product of a foreign soil. The owners of that ship do not pay one dollar tax to this country.

I stand here, Mr. President, representing in a small degree the horticulturists of this country, especially those in my own State, and we have demonstrated that we can raise citrus fruits, lemons and oranges, equal to any other country on God's footstool. All we ask—we do not want any protection—is the difference between the price we pay for labor in this country and that paid in foreign countries.

I want to say as to the ad valorem duty fixed in this bill, that I have made a careful calculation of it, and it is a much less figure than that levied by Russia, by Germany, by Denmark, and by Austria-Hungary, and the result is neither one of those countries raises citrus fruits, either lemons, oranges, or any other belonging to that particular citrus family.

The duty proposed is a reasonable duty; it is a fair duty; and when the Senator says that this fruit can not be weighed, and objects that the duty is not specific, I ask what can be more specific than the imposition of duty by weight? Every barrel of sugar that comes into this country from Germany or from any other country, every cask of brandy, has the gross weight, the tare, and the net weight marked upon it.

So far as damaged fruits are concerned, the fact of the damage can be verified by the weighers. In answer to that, I may say that I have a letter from the Secretary of the Treasury stating that there is no trouble whatever in weighing fruit that comes into this country.

It seems to me, Mr. President, that this is a specious argument, a special plea by the agent of a steamship company. Every transportation company of this country is coming down to a weight basis, and their freight is classified upon a weight basis. I am in the steamship business myself, and I know how easy it is to juggle with figures about measurements. You can measure an oblong, a square, a triangle, or a torpedo-shaped box; and it takes quite a mathematician to make a calculation of the contents. The steamship men, from what I know of them, generally favor their side of the house, or the agents do certainly. Therefore, it is fair, right, and proper to have this specific duty by weight.

As to the special plea about the damage to the fruit, my friend knows well—because he is thoroughly conversant with the law—that if there is 10 per cent damage to any of the fruit, they have the right to reject it and to surrender it to the Government, and therefore it pays nothing. If there were 100 boxes of limes, or lemons, or oranges, and it was found that 10 of them had been spoiled on the voyage, the importers simply segregate them and say to the inspector: "We surrender that 10 per cent of this invoice," and that is the end of it.

Mr. McLAURIN. I have a letter here, Mr. President, from a genuine importer of fruit, who is not connected with any steamship company, and which is a strong support of the position taken by the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. JONES]. The letter comes from Charleston, S. C., and I ask that it may be read.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read as follows:

CHARLESTON, S. C., *June 7, 1897.*

DEAR SIR: Your favor of the 4th instant has our attention. Replying to the same, we beg to state we have no data to give on the subject except what we have written you of in our first letter.

The entire matter, condensed in a nutshell, is that a duty of 1 cent per pound will simply be prohibitory.

The following points, we think, can be used by you to good effect. The average price the year round on oranges and lemons from foreign countries will not exceed $1.55 per box. This you can have confirmed by reference to sales made by Messrs. Brown & Seccomb, of New York City, the largest fruit auction house in the United States, and headquarters for the sale of foreign oranges and lemons.

The weight of a box of lemons or oranges is 80 pounds, and the duty of 1 cent per pound means 80 cents per box; to this add the cost of the box, paper, wrapping, and freight, and you will see that it will not bring more than expenses, leaving nothing for the growers. The consequence will be that imports will cease, and the price will be such that only the wealthy can use them; whereas were they free, they would have no effect on the Florida nor the California crop, because they are such inferior goods to either one of the domestic crops.

Again, 50 per cent of the foreign crop has been marketed before the Florida crop begins, that is about November 1; and three-quarters of the crop from Florida has been marketed before the California begins, which is about December 10.

As we have said before, the quality of the foreign fruit is so much inferior to either the Florida or the California fruit that even when Florida had her crop of 5,000,000 boxes they sold for 50 per cent more than any Mediterranean fruit did, and do now, and will always continue to do so.

We again beg leave to assert that it is only the poorer classes who buy the imported fruit, as anyone who can afford it will readily pay double the price for a Florida or California orange that he would for an imported one; and as we have said in our first letter, the duty can not help Florida or California, and must deprive the poor of the fruit and simply prohibit the importation of fruit.

If the proposed duty is passed, the result will prove our prediction, and will be a great imposition on the middle classes.

As regards the grape fruit or shaddock, they should remain as they are now—that is, free. There is none raised here to speak of; the industry is only in its infancy, and it will take years before any size of a crop is raised at all. Florida and California together do not raise one-thousandth part of the consumption. This fruit is mostly used in a case of sickness, and they weigh from about four to five pounds each and sell for from five to six dollars per hundred, and if this duty of 1 cent per pound is imposed upon them, you can see just about what it means.

Regarding difference between duty per pound and duty per thousand, it will require double length of time to weigh a cargo of oranges in bulk (in which way a good many are imported) than to count them. Besides, oranges are sold by the thousand and not by weight, and we think complaints would be caused on this score alone, not to say that extra costs would be put to the Government; and this, added to the fact that only the moderate classes would suffer, should be called to the attention of the Senate.

If this high tariff is passed, it will not only deprive the poor man of his oranges and lemons, but will take away revenue from the Government, furnish less freight for steamships and railroads, less business for importers and brokers.

We can not see why the entire people of this country should be taxed simply to enable a few growers in Florida and California to sell their products for more than market price. Nor can we be persuaded to believe that high protection will improve the quality of the imported orange and enable them to be put on competition with California or Florida oranges, which are of so much superior quality.

If the Senate passes this tariff, we hope they will find comfort in the misery and oppression they will cause the poorer classes by it. Thanking you for your kind attention and wishing you success,

We remain, very respectfully, yours,

HENRY BAYER & SON.

Hon. JOHN L. McLAURIN,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

Mr. GRAY. Mr. President, as anxious as I am to see the end of the tariff discussion, and as unwilling as I am to protract it even for a few moments by any contribution of mine, I can not allow this schedule to pass without adding my protest to that of other Senators in regard to the iniquity of the proposed duty. It is a good illustration of the devastating effect that a surrender to the principle of commercial restriction works upon otherwise good and clear minds. Once grant the power to any class to use the sovereign power of the country for their own benefit, and at once all the evil characteristics that attach to power and to despotism will characterize its exercise.

Mr. President, this is a wanton and a cruel tax upon the poor people of this country. My amiable and good friend the Senator from California, who I know has as much of the milk of human kindness as anyone, is yet a good illustration of what I have just spoken of—how forgetful he may become of the wider interests of humanity and of kindness and of benevolence, which generally possess his breast, when he becomes the advocate here of an especially greedy and grasping interest.

Mr. HOAR. May I ask the Senator from Delaware a question?

Mr. GRAY. Not now; as the Senator from Massachusetts says, not until I conclude what I am saying.

Mr. HOAR. I wish to know to which Senator from California the Senator from Delaware refers.

Mr. GRAY. I am speaking to the Senator from California in front of me [Mr. PERKINS].

In reply to the Senator from Arkansas, the Senator said, with a good deal of warmth of feeling I thought, that the Senator from Arkansas was making the plea of an importing agency and of transportation companies as against the interests of the fruit growers of the section of country represented by the Senator from California. If we were merely to balance the selfish interests of those two classes, I do not know whether we might not say that both are deserving. I do not see why the one deserves encouragement and commendation and the other malediction and reproach. It is an honest business, as the Senator from California knows, to engage in the transportation of the bounties of nature across the sea, and to bring them from one country to another in order that they may be enjoyed as widely as possible. But he has spoken of the class of fruit growers for whom he takes the floor, and he has commented with a good deal of severity upon the other class.

I wish to say that in the few words I shall utter I am speaking for a much larger and much more meritorious class, and that is the great body of the consumers of this country, those forgotten people of whom the Senator from Texas [Mr. MILLS] spoke so eloquently the other day. I am speaking for every fever-wasted patient in a hospital. I am speaking for the poor wan boy and girl who, in the paroxysm of fever, need a cooling fruit that can be bought for a penny apiece. I am speaking for those who are excluded from the high-priced productions of the California groves and the Florida groves, and it is on that account that I thought it worth while to delay the Senate, for a few moments at least, while the car of progress in this cruel and, as I have characterized it, wanton proposition rolls along.

Mr. President, this tax, unless the figures I have are entirely erroneous, will amount to an increase of 411 per cent over the Wilson Act, the present tariff law, and an increase of 280 per cent over the McKinley tariff act of 1890. What is the justification for it? The letter to the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. MCLAURIN], just read, states, and states truly, I have no doubt, that the oranges that come from Sicily, inferior in quality to California and Florida oranges, selling for a cent apiece where the others sell for 5 or 6 cents apiece, come at a time when the Florida orange and the California orange are not in the market. They supply a vacuum in the market and do not seriously interfere with the American production. But if they did, what of it? Why, then, should we put ourselves at the mercy of those who have been blessed with the bounty of nature and have been able to cultivate this fruit, no doubt to their own advantage, and pay the high wages that American workmen enjoy? Why should we, in their interest, put this additional tax to go not into the Treasury, but into the pockets of the favored few who have so developed this industry as has been portrayed by the Senator from California?

If those orange groves have flourished, if this industry has been fairly profitable in the past, why do they seek additional profit to be levied not out of the ordinary commercial competition of the world, but from legislation and out of the pockets of the people who can least afford to pay it?

Mr. President, this is all I intend to say. It is all I can say. It pertains to all this schedule. It pertains to the pineapple as well as to the orange, for the pineapple, as we will see further on, is to be made a very expensive luxury, and it will take out of the reach of the poor people of this country a healthful, necessary fruit product, one that adds to the enjoyment and comfort of the people and does a little to relieve the hardship of those who have to toil for their daily bread and for the scant subsistence which in distressed times comes to them. I do not see why we should now approve such a wanton and cruel proposition.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. President, I can not permit the remarks of my friend the Senator from Delaware [Mr. GRAY], the philanthropic views which he has so feelingly expressed in sympathy for the sick and fever patients, to go without extending to him my right hand of fellowship in sympathy. I think, perhaps, that is one reason why I feel it incumbent upon me to champion the citrus growers of California—the orange and lemon growers. I have in mind an occasion, some three or four years since, when the poor sick people were famishing from thirst, dying with fever heat because there was no lemon, no lime to appease their thirst. Our philanthropic friends who represented the foreign steamship companies imported millions, and advanced the price from $2 and $3 until it reached $8 a box. Some of our California orchardists had a few thousand boxes placed away in their storehouses, and they sent them into the market, and the fever patients were relieved by California coming to their rescue. They did it then and they will do it now, and I am on his side, for the people, in order that they may have cheap fruit and good fruit.

The trouble is that European countries have placed such a high duty upon citrus fruits that only the very best fruit is taken into those countries, while the poor windfalls are sent into this country, carrying with them pestilence and disease frequently, for they are condemned by the quarantine officers and in many instances are thrown overboard.

Now as to the duty. I have made a corresponding table. I will not weary the Senate by going through all of its details, but taking the average price, in 1895 it was 65 per cent ad valorem on 1 cent a pound. In 1896, taking the average of the twelve months, it was 39½ per cent ad valorem. These figures are here in answer to a circular sent from New York, and I am prepared to verify them.

This duty is a small one, I will say to my friend the Senator from South Carolina, who had a letter read here. This is 39 per cent, and the other day I had the pleasure of voting for over 100 per cent on rice. I thought it was right. I want to protect South Carolina and all the other States against the cooly labor that is sending rice into this country, but we want but 35 to 39 per cent.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President, I trust that the rumor which has lately gained currency with respect to an island where coolies produce rice, that it is to be incorporated as a part of the American Republic, may prove to be somewhat of a canard.

I wish to say one word in reference to the circular read by the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. JONES]. The assertion that fruit would be injured by weighing is to me a novelty. If it is true in the United States, it must be true in France and England, and all the countries of Europe where duties are imposed upon this article, for everywhere they weigh the article. That is a complete answer to that statement.

Another thing. The same authority states that it will be great difficulty in finding the rotten fruit. They pay a duty now upon measuring the boxes. How do they find the rotten fruit by measuring the boxes? Can they not find it just as well if they weigh the boxes?

The packages that come in now are much wider in the middle than at either end. The measurement is usually made by a tapeline. The length of the box is measured, and the end of the box is measured, and in that way they bulge it a good deal on the revenue officials. Pound duty has been found, in other countries, to work well, and we are simply behind the times in trying to levy the duties as we have been doing in the past. As far as concerns this being an extreme duty, it is not. On the present price it will not exceed 45 per cent ad valorem.

I will say that in 1896 California packed 1,340,000 cases of fruit, and produced 84,000,000 pounds of raisins, 148,500,000 pounds of dried fruit, 51,000,000 pounds of prunes, and about 8,000 carloads of oranges. She also produced $350,000 worth of nuts. There are 76,000 acres set out to oranges and 70,000 planted in prunes. Her lemon product in 1897 will aggregate about 1,000 carloads, at 280 boxes to the car, or 280,000 boxes, upon which the freight, at $1.10 per box, equals $380,000. The orange product for 1897 is 7,100 carloads, each car containing 336 boxes, or a total of 2,385,600 boxes, upon which the freight, at 90 cents per box, equals $2,147,040, or an aggregate freight for oranges and lemons alone of about $2,500,000. Riverside alone pays nearly $700,000 in freight. It is within the figures to say that the freight rates annually paid by California upon green and dried fruits, including citrus fruits and prunes and raisins, approximate $6,000,000.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Mr. President, I still believe there will be some difficulty of administration, as suggested by the gentleman's letter which I read. The delay in taking the fruit from the ships into the hands of the dealers of course always results in more or less injury to the fruit. The longer the delay is the greater the injury to the fruit. Unpacking and reexamining fruit in boxes must take a very great length of time, and it must be a very considerable annoyance. But I do not propose to discuss that point any further.

I understand perfectly well that this paragraph will remain in the bill, as the balance do. It will stay here exactly by the same force and the same power which has kept so many unjust things in the bill heretofore. But there is one other point I wish to call attention to before we leave this paragraph. I was struck with the providence of the majority of the Finance Committee when our attention was called by the Senator from Iowa to paragraph 535½ in the free list about the importation of fish. I wish to call particular attention to this, and the reason for this being done, and then I want to read a letter from a prominent citizen of the United States about the fruit business. The free paragraph as to fish says:

Fish, fresh, frozen, or packed in ice (except salmon), caught in the Great Lakes or other fresh waters—

Now, this is the part to which I wish you to pay particular attention—

by or for American fishermen or citizens of the United States.

There seems to be a desire there on the part of the committee to take care of the people of the United States even when they hire foreigners to catch pauper fish in outside waters. They are to be allowed to come into the United States free.

I have a letter, a very short one, written by Mr. J. A. Robertson, a gentleman well known to many members of the Senate perhaps, a gentleman of high character and high standing, whose statements will be accepted as true by everybody who knows him. It is written from Monterey, Mexico. The letter is short and explains itself:

First, presenting my apology for annoying you about a personal matter, but feeling that you do not wish to see an injustice done, I beg to explain that I am the owner of a large orange and fruit farm at Montemorelos, in this State. I have been engaged in this enterprise for about seven years, and my trees will come into bearing some this year and generally next year. Under the McKinley bill the duty on oranges was 25 cents per box of 2 cubic feet. Under the Wilson bill the duty was reduced to 20 cents per box—8 cents a cubic foot—and an ad valorem of 4 cents a box. The Dingley bill proposes a tariff of 20 cents a cubic foot, or 40 cents a box. Now, the California people are not yet satisfied and want their Senators to ask for a duty of 1 cent per pound, which would be about 75 cents per box, which does not seem very large for a single box, though it is equivalent to $210 per car.

An orange grove in full bearing in California will produce from 4 to 5 boxes per tree, with 100 trees to an acre, being equivalent to from 400 to 425 boxes per acre, which makes a tariff in their favor of from $275 to $300 per acre annually, which is certainly unnecessary and uncalled for to properly protect their interest, particularly when the Mexican orange crop matures from ten to fourteen weeks earlier than their crop and at a time when there is no fruit of that character on the market.

Certainly it is not the policy of the American people to so favor any particular industry as to inflict a privation upon its citizens, and especially in protecting the fruit growers of California against a fruit that does not really enter into competition with them, but meets a requirement of the people at a time when they can not supply it.

The duty imposed in the McKinley bill was entirely fair and was satisfactory, and it was upon the strength of that duty that I began the extensive culture of oranges in this country which I have.

I submit these facts to you with the hope that they will in some way attract your sympathy and that the attention of the proper committee may be called to the matter in time to give it careful consideration before the bill is passed.

Anticipating your gracious compliance, I convey my thanks as well as those of the numerous other Americans who have engaged in a similar business here.

As I say, this comes from J. A. Robertson, a gentleman known to many of us. He states the case very clearly and so plainly that it does seem to me the committee, which is so careful to look after the interests even of the money of an American citizen when he hires a foreigner to catch foreign fish that it is provided that the fish shall be allowed to come in free, should present a provision by which this American citizen, who has put his money into the culture of oranges in Mexico, when he believed he understood what the law would be, should be protected against this exorbitant increase in a tax that is levied against him so as to keep his oranges out of the country at a time when there are no American oranges, practically, in the market.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the substitute proposed by the Senator from Arkansas.

The substitute was rejected.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, on page 78, after line 15, to strike out paragraph 266 and insert in lieu thereof the following:

266. Orange peel or lemon peel, preserved, candied, or dried, and cocoanut meat or copra, desiccated, shredded, cut, or similarly prepared, 2 cents per pound; citron or citron peel, preserved, candied, or dried, 4 cents per pound.

Mr. ALLISON. In line 22, after the word "two," I move to insert "and one-half;" so as to read "2½ cents."

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BURROWS in the chair). The question is on agreeing to the amendment to the amendment.

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

The amendment as amended was agreed to.

Mr. VEST. I simply wish to call attention to the fact that this is an increase of one-half cent over the McKinley Act and from 30 per cent under existing law.

The reading of the bill was resumed, as follows:

267. Pineapples, in barrels and other packages, 6 cents per cubic foot; in bulk, $6 per thousand.

Mr. QUAY. Mr. President, I do not at present wish to move to amend the paragraph, although I may be compelled to do so later. The rate per cubic foot ought to be 15 cents instead of 6, to do justice to the agricultural interests of the only State in the nation that produces pineapples, and instead of $6 per thousand it should be per pound just one-half the duty to be placed on Zante currants. I suggest to the Senator from Iowa in charge of the bill that the whole of this paragraph go over.

Mr. ALLISON. Very well.

Mr. VEST. Before it goes over, I wish to call attention to the fact that this is a horrible example of an increase over the McKinley Act. We were told that in no instance was it proposed in this bill to go over the McKinley rates. Pineapples under the McKinley Act were free, and 20 per cent was imposed under the Wilson Act, while in this paragraph the committee propose 6 cents a cubic foot and $6 per 1,000.

Mr. QUAY. I desire to call the attention of the Senator from Missouri to the fact that he, as one of the members of the Committee on Finance when the tariff bill of 1894 was being considered, thought proper to take pineapples from the free list and place them upon the dutiable list, in his charity to the State of Florida.

Mr. VEST. Nobody in the Senate knows better why that was done than the Senator from Pennsylvania.

Mr. QUAY. That is also possible.

Mr. VEST. He knows we were not free agents with respect to that bill as to a great many duties. With one majority in the Senate, we could not lose a fraction of a vote, and we were held up on a great many things.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the paragraph will be passed over.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 268, line 4, page 79, before the word "cents," to strike out "five" and insert "three;" so as to read:

Nuts—

268. Almonds, not shelled, 3 cents per pound; clear almonds, shelled, 7 cents per pound.

Mr. ALLISON. I desire to modify the amendment, in line 4, by inserting "4 cents" instead of "3 cents;" and in line 5 by inserting "6 cents" instead of "7 cents;" so as to read:

268. Almonds, not shelled, 4 cents per pound; clear almonds, shelled, 6 cents per pound.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The impression has gone out all over the country that the Senate committee, in reporting the Dingley bill, so called, from the committee, intended materially to reduce what seemed to be extravagantly high rates in that measure. I confess I am astonished that whenever we reach in this bill a proposition to carry out one of the committee amendments the committee proposes at once to recede and to accept and stand by the rates that came in the Dingley bill. It seems to me that it would have been better, if the majority of the committee intended to take the Dingley bill as it came from the House, to have reported it to the Senate in that way and to have stood by it, so as to let the Senate and the country understand that they intended to take the high rates of the Dingley bill from the beginning, and not make any pretense of making reductions in these paragraphs, upon which we have been led to believe there were going to be material reductions from the Dingley bill.

Mr. ALLISON. The Senator from Arkansas does not understand the amendment.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I thought I did.

Mr. ALLISON. The amendment proposed is 4 cents, where the rate in the House bill is 5 cents.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The Senator proposes to strike out "three," as first reported, and to insert "four."

Mr. ALLISON. Yes; but the bill as it came from the House reads "5 cents."

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I thought perhaps the Senator did not want to do the whole thing in one amendment, but that before we would leave the paragraph the Senator would make the other change.

Mr. ALLISON. The Senator is right about the first proposition.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment to the amendment.

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

The amendment as amended was agreed to.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, on page 79, paragraph 269, line 6, after the word "shelled," to strike out "three" and insert "two and one-half;" and in line 8, before the word "cents," to strike out "six" and insert "five;" so as to make the paragraph read:

269. Filberts and walnuts of all kinds, not shelled, 2½ cents per pound; shelled, 5 cents per pound.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 270, page 79, line 10, before the words "one cent," to insert "one-half of;" and in line 11, before the words "per pound," to strike out "and one-half cents" and insert "cent;" so as to make the paragraph read:

270. Peanuts or ground beans, unshelled, one-half of 1 cent per pound; shelled, 1 cent per pound.

Mr. VEST. I simply wish to call attention to the fact that of peanuts unshelled we imported, in 1896, $2,359,000 worth, and of peanuts shelled we imported $4.24 worth. I suppose that this increase of duty is for the purpose of protecting the peanut growers from the $4.24 worth imported from abroad.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 271, page 79, line 13, after the word "one," to strike out "and one-half cents" and insert "cent;" so as to make the paragraph read:

271. Nuts of all kinds, shelled or unshelled, not specially provided for in this act, 1 cent per pound.

The amendment was agreed to.

The Secretary read as follows:

Meat products:

272. Bacon and hams, 5 cents per pound.

Mr. VEST. I move to strike out "5 cents per pound" and insert "20 per cent ad valorem."

Here is a conspicuous example of protection to the American farmer which must not pass unnoticed. We exported in 1896 to foreign countries from the United States $33,442,847 worth of bacon and $12,669,763 worth of hams. We imported of bacon and hams $44,906 worth, that amount coming in the shape of the Westphalia hams, which are very much prized by epicures and are sold in the first-class hotels and restaurants of New York. Here is an object lesson which, as a matter of course, will go for nothing: $33,442,847 worth of bacon, $12,669,763 worth of hams, making $46,000,000 of bacon and hams, are sent from this country abroad, and we increase the duty in order to protect the American producer of bacon and hams from $44,906 worth, which come in as fancy hams from the Continent of Europe; yet I have no doubt my Republican friends will go to the farmers and say, "*We*, *we* saved you from an influx of bacon and hams. We saved your bacon against the pauper hogs of Europe;" and the Republican party stands and affectionately caresses the bacon and ham makers of the United States.

I ask for a vote on the amendment which I have submitted.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In paragraph 272, page 79, line 16, strike out "5 cents per pound" and insert "20 per cent ad valorem;" so as to read:

Bacon and hams, 20 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment was rejected.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 273, page 79, line 17, before the word "mutton," to strike out "Beef" and insert "Fresh beef, veal;" so as to make the paragraph read:

273. Fresh beef, veal, mutton, and pork, 2 cents per pound.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I move to strike out "2 cents per pound" and insert "20 per cent ad valorem."

Mr. VEST. Now I want to complete the object lesson. In 1896 we exported from this country of foreign pork $43,739 worth and imported $1,560 worth. We exported of pickled pork $3,172,461 worth and imported $118,000 worth. We exported of fresh beef $18,974,107 and imported $24,569 worth. We exported in 1896 of canned beef $59,371 worth, and we imported of all these, beef, veal, etc., $9,685 worth. Notwithstanding the enormous exports and the inconsiderable imports, we are now protecting the American beef and pork industry in the way indicated in this bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Arkansas.

The amendment was rejected.

The Secretary read the next paragraph, as follows:

274. Meats of all kinds, prepared or preserved, not specially provided for in this act, 25 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I move to strike out "twenty-five" and insert "ten;" so as to make the duty 10 per cent ad valorem, which is the present rate.

The amendment was rejected.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was to insert the following as a new paragraph:

274. Dead game, and game meats, 2 cents per pound.

The amendment was agreed to.

The Secretary read the next paragraph, as follows:

275. Extract of meat, not specially provided for in this act, 35 cents per pound; fluid extract of meat, 15 cents per pound.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I should like to have that paragraph passed over.

Mr. ALLISON. I propose to amend it so as to perfect it. However, I understand the Senator from Arkansas desires to have the paragraph go over, and I shall not object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Iowa proposes an amendment to the paragraph, which will be stated.

The SECRETARY. Add at the end of paragraph 275, page 79, line 25, the following:

But the dutiable weight of the extract of meat and of the fluid extract of meat shall not include the weight of the package in which the same is imported.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. That is a very great improvement, but I should like to have the paragraph go over for the present.

Mr. ALLISON. Is there any objection to this amendment?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. There is no objection to the amendment. I think it is right.

Mr. ALLISON. Then let the amendment be agreed to, and the paragraph be passed over.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If there be no objection, the amendment will be considered as agreed to, and the paragraph will be passed over.

The Secretary read the next paragraph, as follows:

276. Lard, 2 cents per pound.

Mr. VEST. I move to reduce the rate from 2 cents to 1 cent a pound. I ask the Secretary to read an official report by Worthington C. Ford, Chief of the Bureau of Statistics. Read the heading and down to the subhead "Tallow."

The Secretary read as follows:

EXPORTS OF LARD, ETC., FOR FEBRUARY.

Worthington C. Ford, Chief of the Bureau of Statistics, submits the following statement of the exports of lard, tallow, oleo oil, and oleomargarine from the United States during the month of February, 1897:

LARD.

	Pounds.	Value.
February, 1897	41,941,199	$2,063,040
February, 1896	25,631,103	1,789,697
Eight months ending February, 1897	328,007,983	16,898,314
Eight months ending February, 1896	335,153,134	23,171,715

Mr. VEST. In view of those figures, I should like to have a reply to one question. I expect no satisfactory reply. Why should we double the duty upon this article when we export that enormous amount after supplying the home market? Is it to be pretended that this is any protection to the American producer? Is it to be pretended that any protection is necessary under the circumstances? It shows what a miserable farce this has degenerated into. I suppose the purpose is to furnish a campaign argument to the raisers of hogs in the West and South.

Our friends upon the other side vastly depreciate the intelligence of our people if they think that this will be looked upon in any other light than the master of the grange from Pennsylvania viewed it in his testimony, which I read the other day, before the Ways and Means Committee of the House, when he said it was an insult to the intelligence of the farmers of this country to attempt to make them believe that when they made enormous exports of an article an increase of the tariff duty was in their interest. Here is an unparalleled exportation of this article, and when we are the great exporting country of the world, here the duty is increased 100 per cent, and the farmers are expected to believe that it is done for the purpose of protecting them.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Missouri.

The amendment was rejected.

The next paragraph was read, as follows:

277. Poultry, live, 3 cents per pound; dressed, 5 cents per pound.

The next paragraph was read, as follows:

278. Tallow, 1 cent per pound; wool grease, including that known commercially as degras or brown wool grease, one-half of 1 cent per pound.

Mr. VEST. I ask the Secretary to read the official report of Mr. Ford as to tallow.

Mr. FORAKER. I ask that paragraph 278 be passed over.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Ohio asks that the paragraph be passed over.

Mr. ALLISON. All right.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair hears no objection, and the paragraph is passed over.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, under the heading "Miscellaneous products," in paragraph 279, page 80, line 8, after the word "Chicory-root," to strike out "raw, dried, or undried, but unground, 1 cent per pound; chicory-root;" and in line 12, after the word "act," to strike out "three" and insert "two;" so as to make the paragraph read:

279. Chicory-root, burnt or roasted, ground or granulated, or in rolls, or otherwise prepared, and not specially provided for in this act, 2 cents per pound.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask that the first amendment of the committee be disagreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If there is no objection, the first amendment is disagreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. And the second amendment——

Mr. VEST. Let us understand the effect of that.

Mr. ALLISON. In behalf of the committee, I modify the amendment in line 12 by inserting after the word "two" the words "and one-half;" so as to read "2½ cents a pound."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If there is no objection, the amendment as modified will be agreed to.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. And thereby you raise the rate higher than under the McKinley Act, or higher than the Dingley bill.

Mr. ALLISON. Not so high as the Dingley bill.

Mr. VEST. Higher than the McKinley Act.

Mr. ALLISON. We are steering under the House provision in this paragraph at least, but it seemed to me that we had reduced the duty a little too low on the prepared article.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I should like to ask the Senator if this article, chicory, is used for any other purpose than to adulterate coffee?

Mr. ALLISON. I believe it is a substitute and an adulterant as well. It improves coffee, I am told. I think it can bear a revenue duty.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I understand it is a practical fraud, and that the purpose is to enable grocers who choose to do so to

mix a cheaper stuff with coffee and to sell it as coffee rather than to sell the coffee itself.

Mr. ALLISON. Does the Senator want to raise the duty in order to prevent its importation?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I confess I am somewhat at a loss to know just how it should be treated.

Mr. ALLISON. I think it should be 2½ cents a pound.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I do not see why we should undertake to promote the development of a domestic fraud, and I am not particularly anxious to confer any favors on a foreign fraud. It seems to me that the thing is a fraud from end to end.

Mr. ALLISON. Between the difficulties in the way, I think we can compromise upon 2½ cents a pound on prepared chicory, and whatever the result, our own people——

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Is that for the purpose of protection?

Mr. ALLISON. For protection and revenue.

Mr. CHANDLER. I desire to state to the Senator from Arkansas, in view of his remark that this is a fraud, that the senior Senator from Nebraska [Mr. ALLEN] would take occasion, if he were present, to controvert that statement at great length.

Mr. ALLISON. I hope he will not do that.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. If the Senator from New Hampshire is familiar with the opinions of the Senator from Nebraska on the subject, perhaps he will favor the Senate now by stating what those opinions are.

Mr. CHANDLER. I can make the statement shorter than the Senator from Nebraska would do if he were here. He gave me a fine package of chicory, made and prepared as a product of his own State, and said that he thinks it is as much entitled to protection as anything that is contained in the bill. He omitted to say that he should vote for a duty upon anything else besides chicory, but I think, perhaps, he would object if he were here; at any rate, I know he would speak at great length, if he were here, on account of the remark which the Senator from Arkansas has made, that the protection of chicory, a native product of great value in Nebraska, is a fraud.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The Senator from New Hampshire seems strangely to misunderstand what I said. I did not say that the protection of chicory is a fraud; I do not think that I said that the use of chicory is a fraud. I said that such was my understanding. I should be glad to have the Senator explain to the Senate now, as he seems to be an expert on the subject, if the sole purpose of the production of chicory is not to adulterate coffee?

Mr. CHANDLER. I am joining now with the Senator from Arkansas in reducing the duty on the products, and therefore it is not pertinent——

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. What is the Senator's theory in wanting the duty reduced? I am seeking light.

Mr. CHANDLER. Therefore it is not pertinent to ask me whether it is a fraud. But I think I will answer the Senator's question briefly. I do not understand chicory to be prepared for purposes of adulteration. I understand that as it is now prepared in Nebraska and sold as a cheap product it is to be used alone and without coffee.

Mr. FORAKER. As a substitute for coffee.

Mr. CHANDLER. As a substitute for coffee. If anybody chooses to mix it with coffee, no one will find any fault, any more than if a Southern gentleman mixes his drinks occasionally.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Will the Senator be kind enough to state whether he ever saw a cup of chicory unmixed with coffee or ever heard of anything of that sort practically?

Mr. CHANDLER. Oh, yes; I have heard of it from the Senator from Nebraska.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. My own impression was that it was used only for the purpose of adulterating coffee, and it was for that reason that I did not think it deserved any particular fostering care at the hands of the Senate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON].

Mr. CHANDLER. Mr. President, one word, in order not to place the absent Senator from Nebraska in a wrong position. I understand that he is very anxious to have this duty, but does not want it as a protective duty; he insists upon it as a revenue duty.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Iowa, including the amendment of the committee as modified.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was to strike out the following paragraph:

280. Chocolate and cocoa, prepared or manufactured, not specially provided for, valued at not above 12 cents per pound, 1½ cents per pound and 10 per cent ad valorem; valued above 12 cents per pound and not above 24 cents per pound, 2½ cents per pound and 15 per cent ad valorem; valued above 24 cents per pound and not above 35 cents per pound, 3 cents per pound and 20 per cent ad valorem; valued above 35 cents per pound, 50 per cent ad valorem; powdered cocoa, unsweetened, 5 cents per pound; and when packed in cans or packages made of tin or other metal, not exceeding 1 pound each in contents, an additional duty of 6 cents per dozen cans or packages; and when exceeding 1 pound, an additional duty of 3 cents per dozen for additional half pound or fraction thereof.

And in lieu thereof to insert:

280. Chocolate and cocoa, prepared or manufactured, not specially provided for in this act, valued at not above 15 cents per pound, 2 cents per pound; valued above 15 and not above 25 cents per pound, 2½ cents per pound and 10 per cent ad valorem; valued above 25 and not above 40 cents per pound, 5 cents per pound and 10 per cent ad valorem; valued above 40 cents per pound, 50 per cent ad valorem. The weight of the immediate coverings, other than the outer packing case or other covering, shall be included in the dutiable weight of the merchandise.

Mr. ALLISON. I desire, on behalf of the committee, to propose a modification of the substitute which is embraced in lines 8 to 21, inclusive. I will say to the Senator from Arkansas that this has been very carefully prepared by the experts at the Treasury Department, and that it does not essentially change the duty.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The proposed modification will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

280. Chocolate and cocoa, prepared or manufactured, not specially provided for in this act, valued at not over 15 cents per pound, 2½ cents per pound; valued above 15 and not above 24 cents per pound, 2½ cents per pound and 10 per cent ad valorem; valued above 24 and not above 35 cents per pound, 5 cents per pound and 10 per cent ad valorem; valued above 35 cents per pound, 50 per cent ad valorem. The weight and value of all coverings, other than plain wooden, shall be included in the dutiable weight and value of the foregoing merchandise. Powdered cocoa, unsweetened, 5 cents per pound.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If there is no objection, the amendment will be agreed to.

Mr. VEST. There is objection, and very decided objection. This is manifestly an increase upon the amendment proposed by the majority of the committee. In the comparative statement, Mr. Ford estimates, by the amendment prior to this last one, an increase over the Wilson Act or the existing law from 11 per cent to 24 per cent, and in the higher grades from 35 per cent to 50 per cent. As I caught the reading of the last proposed amendment, it is unquestionably an increase over those figures, and I should like to know from the Senator——

Mr. ALLISON. It is a slight increase at the valuation of 35 cents rather than 40 cents.

Mr. VEST. I seriously object to this duty, but of course I do not expect what I say will have any effect upon the Senate. Here is an article which is one of food, a necessity to the American people, and unquestionably it is not necessary to protect any American industry. The duty as proposed in the original amendment was excessive. I should like to ask the Senator what new light has caused him to propose this increase now?

Mr. ALLISON. I will state to the Senator that the modifications of this paragraph were made after consultation, I may say, with those who import this article and those who manufacture it here, and it is better to equalize the different grades or brackets in the paragraph that the modifications were suggested. The general scope of the amendment is in accordance with the provision of the House, and in accordance with our original provision, except that we have reduced below the House provision in both our amendments.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Iowa, modifying the amendment of the committee.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 281, page 81, line 22, after the word "cocoa-butterine," to strike out "six" and insert "three and one-half;" so as to make the paragraph read:

281. Cocoa-butter or cocoa-butterine, 3½ cents per pound.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 282, page 81, line 24, after the word "and," to strike out "other;" and on page 82, line 2, after the word "act," to strike out "one and one-half" and insert "two;" so as to make the paragraph read:

282. Dandelion-root and acorns prepared, and articles used as coffee, or as substitutes for coffee, not specially provided for in this act, 2 cents per pound.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask leave to modify the amendment by inserting "and one-half" after "two," so as to make these other substitutes for coffee accord with the provision already made respecting chicory.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I hope the Senator will explain to the Senate why it is necessary to raise the tax on acorns some 100 per cent higher than was proposed even in the Dingley bill. Is it possible that pauper acorns from abroad are going to exterminate American acorns?

Mr. ALLISON. The Senator understands, I think—I hope he does—that this is a provision relating wholly to substitutes for coffee not specially provided for in this act, and the duty is upon prepared substitutes for coffee. If acorns are thus prepared, I do not see why they should not pay a fair revenue as well as chicory.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. My understanding is that acorns are used for other purposes besides.

Mr. ALLISON. Not those mentioned in this paragraph. It reads, "Dandelion-root and acorns prepared, and articles used as coffee, or as substitutes for coffee not specially provided for in this act."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the committee as modified by the Senator from Iowa.

The amendment was agreed to.

The Secretary read the next paragraph, as follows:

283. Salt in bags, sacks, barrels, or other packages, 12 cents per 100 pounds; in bulk, 8 cents per 100 pounds: *Provided*, That imported salt in bond may be used in curing fish taken by vessels licensed to engage in the fisheries, and in curing fish on the shores of the navigable waters of the United States, under such regulations as the Secretary of the Treasury shall prescribe; and upon proof that the salt has been used for either of the purposes stated in this proviso, the duties on the same shall be remitted: *Provided further*, That exporters of meats, whether packed or smoked, which have been cured in the United States with imported salt, shall, upon satisfactory proof, under such regulations as the Secretary of the Treasury shall prescribe, that such meats have been cured with imported salt, have refunded to them from the Treasury the duties paid on the salt so used in curing such exported meats, in amounts not less than $100.

Mr. VEST. I remarked the other day that whilst there were many features in the tariff act of 1894 to which I seriously objected, but was compelled to accept in order to pass any bill at all, there were four features in that bill which reconciled me to those that were objectionable. Those features were the income tax, free salt, free lumber, and free wool. It was attempted to put a duty on wool. Much as I desired to pass some tariff bill in order that the party to which I belong should not be discredited and accused of inefficiency, I peremptorily declared in committee and in the Senate that if a duty was put upon wool I should vote against the bill. We have already taken lumber off the free list and put a duty upon it. I take it for granted that we shall put this duty on salt, and I have no doubt that we shall put what I consider an outrageous and excessive duty upon wool.

Nothing can better illustrate the protective system than the utter disregard of the interests of the immense masses of the consumers of the country in order to put additional profits into the pockets of certain classes. My illustrious predecessor in this Chamber, Thomas H. Benton, was in the habit of saying here and to his constituents that salt was the great preservative of nature. It is like the air we breathe, like the water that leaps down the mountain side and flows through the valleys without asking leave; yet with $130,000,000 of surplus in the Treasury, I am told that Democrats who have always preached the doctrine of a tariff not one cent above the expenses of the Government economically and honestly administered are prepared now to put a duty on salt against all the legends, traditions, teachings, and appeals of the great leaders of our party in all the past.

Mr. President, I have here a pamphlet showing why salt should remain upon the free list. It comes from the section which we have been notified will support a duty upon salt. I have here a statement signed by hundreds of the leading citizens, merchants and others, in New Orleans; in Monroe, La.; in Shreveport, La.; in Ouachita, La.; in Natchez, Miss.; in Kosciusko, Miss.; in Jackson, Miss.; in Macon, Miss.; in Yazoo City, Miss.; in Vicksburg, Miss.; in Crystal Springs, Miss.; in Greenwood, Miss.; in Monticello, Miss.; in Wesson, Miss.; in Durant, Miss.; in Holly Springs, Miss., and in a number of other places in the South, protesting against putting this duty upon salt.

I want to call attention to the sectionalism of this provision. While the fisherman of New England is entitled to a rebate upon all the foreign salt he uses in curing his fish, without limitation as to the amount, the meat grower of the West and South must produce $100 worth of meat or pack $100 worth of meat before he secures any rebate at all. Why this limitation put upon one section and not upon the other? It shows, Mr. President, that whilst it is pretended that there is no sectionalism in this bill, and the advent of Southern Senators to the cause of protection is hailed with more enthusiasm than when a soul is saved at a camp meeting, the whole thing is a pretense; and we always find the cloven foot of class legislation showing itself when the opportunity presents.

Out of respect to these gentlemen, many of whom I know personally in New Orleans and in Shreveport, where I formerly lived, I ask that the Secretary read that argument coming from citizens of the South.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Secretary will read as requested, in the absence of objection.

The Secretary proceeded to read the paper referred to, but before concluding was interrupted by

Mr. VEST. I will ask that the entire paper be printed in the RECORD, without being further read, as a part of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If there be no objection, it will be so ordered.

The paper referred to is as follows:

SALT SHOULD NOT BE TAXED.

NEW ORLEANS, LA., *June 1, 1897.*

To the honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, Washington, D. C.:

We respectfully beg to submit a short argument on the question as to whether salt should remain on the free list as it now is or go into the tariff as a dutiable item.

There is now pending before your honorable body a measure the title of which is "An act to provide revenue for the Government and to encourage the industries of the United States." In this proposed act, under the head of Schedule G, we find an item reading as follows: "Salt, in sacks or other packages, 12 cents per 100 pounds; in bulk, 8 cents per 100 pounds.

As stated in this act, the first object to be accomplished is to provide revenue. Should salt be placed on the dutiable list at this time, would it prove to be a satisfactory revenue producer? Judging by the recent past, when salt was dutiable, we contend that salt will not produce sufficient revenue to pay for its collection. Let us go back and review the facts. The war tariff enacted in 1862 was repealed in 1872. In making the new tariff of the latter year, instead of placing salt on the free list, it was included as a dutiable item, the rate being fixed (the same as is now proposed) at 12 cents per 100 pounds if in sacks, and 8 cents per 100 pounds if in bulk, which was equivalent to an ad valorem tax of 50 per cent. This was evidently a disappointment to the importers, for soon after the enactment of this tariff there began to appear in the annual reports compiled and published by the Government a perceptible falling off in the imports of salt; and with the exception of three or four years this continued while salt remained subject to a duty.

In confirmation of the above, we submit the following extract from official returns: The total dutiable value of the salt imported in 1874 was $2,102,000; while in 1879, five years later, it was but $1,685,200; in 1884, ten years after, it was only $1,527,500; and in fifteen years (1889) it was only $846,760; in 1893 it was but $622,563; and in 1894 it had shrunk to a total of but $483,283, a shrinkage in values of imported salt of 77½ per cent in twenty years.

The above refers not to the duties collected on salt, to which we will refer later, but is the yearly total value of all the imported salt which paid duty, said value being compiled by the Government.

The dutiable values were low, and there was but little fluctuations during the first fifteen or sixteen years—say to 1889—and were higher during the last four or five years; therefore the above, being a conservative statement, is also, we consider, a correct one.

Had the Government persisted in maintaining the excessively high duty then prevailing (and the identical rate is inserted in the pending bill), is it not evident that inside of five or six years the importations of salt would have ceased entirely? This did not happen. The importations fell off (as did the annual revenue derived from the duty on salt grow less and less) until, in 1893 and 1894, the receipts from this item were so small as to attract the attention of Congress, which then very wisely placed salt on the free list, where it should have been and where it should always remain.

Let us ascertain just what kind of a revenue producer salt proved to be during the last decade it was serving as a dutiable item.

The following, taken from the official statistics of the Government, shows, for the fiscal year ending June 30, the gross annual amount of revenue collected by the Government from the duty on salt from 1884 to 1894, inclusive:

1884	$762,201	1890	$394,215
1885	751,300	1891	408,789
1886	706,324	1892	329,143
1887	676,895	1893	301,972
1888	552,693	1894	220,803
1889	469,435		

It will be noted in the five years from 1884 to 1889 the falling off in revenue to the Government was nearly 40 per cent; in nine years it was over 60 per cent, and in ten years (1894) the Government's revenue had shrunk 70 per cent. It must be remembered that while under a special proviso, inserted in the tariff act, the Eastern fisheries were allowed to withdraw their salt from the bonded warehouses free of duty, the same is not considered in the above, nor has any deduction been made for the refunds under the same proviso allowed to the numerous large packers of meat in the West, who use foreign salt exclusively in preparing their products for exportation. While we do not know the amounts of these refunds, they must be considerable, and they tend to materially reduce the above very small annual revenue, which, as we have stated, are the gross receipts of the Government, it being absolutely necessary that while salt is included in the tariff the Government incurs the same care and expense in keeping records, checking, weighing, etc., in the case of these imports the duty on which is rebated as if they were paying a duty like the balance of the imported salt.

Looking at the pitiful amount of revenue indicated above, collected by the officials of the customs service employed on our thousands of miles of seacoast from Maine to Mexico and from Washington to Lower California, for the twelve months ending June 30, 1894, and again for the years ending June 30, 1892 and 1893, when there was no change anticipated in the tariff nor agitation about the duties on salt, we confidently assert that (after allowing for the rebates to be deducted therefrom) the net amount of these collections were not sufficient to reimburse the Government the cost of collection.

Though making every effort to ascertain the yearly amount of the duty paid back by the Government under the proviso, it was not, we regret, until after writing the above that we succeeded in securing some information prepared by the customs service, which, having a direct bearing on the case, and though incomplete, is, we consider, of sufficient importance to submit with this argument.

The following amounts were paid back to the exporters of meat who had used imported salt in curing same. Only nine of the customs districts are given, amounts paid out being as follows: 1889, $56,438; 1890, $71,049; 1891, $75,145; 1892, $73,856; 1893, $73,972.

This left the receipts of duty on salt for same years as follows: 1889, $412,997; 1890, $223,166; 1891, $323,644; 1892, $255,287; 1893, $228,000.

We have not the amount of the drawback for 1894, but the average for the five previous years is just $70,000, and as the system was the same for that fiscal year as had been maintained since 1872, no doubt the average was maintained that year. Making the allowance, we find the gross revenue on salt, as near as can be ascertained, was the very insignificant sum of $159,803.

These facts clearly show that, if placed on the dutiable list again, salt would not be a satisfactory revenue producer.

The second object to be accomplished, as stated in the pending act, is "to encourage the industries of the United States." We contend that the makers of salt in this country no longer need encouragement; having for so many years dominated the salt trade and dictated prices in the United States, they could without protection successfully cope with the imported article. Through favorable tariff enactments these manufacturers have been protected and encouraged for more than three-quarters of a century (the infant developing meantime into a robust industry), growing stronger and stronger, until in later years, finding no foe from without worthy of attention, they went to competing among themselves, and when a salt works was compelled to close, investigation invariably proved it was forced out of business by its neighbor, and not because of competition with foreign salt.

As evidence of this we submit the following abstract, taken from the statement of the mineral resources of the United States for the calendar year 1892, compiled by the Department of the Interior: "The amount of salt produced in the United States in 1892 was unprecedentedly large, reaching 11,698,890 barrels of 280 pounds, as against 9,937,945 in 1891. Although the yield was the largest yet obtained, the business was not by any means satisfactory to producers. Sharp competition for trade during the past two years (1891 and 1892) has cut the prices to such low figures that profits have almost disappeared and a number of the smaller concerns have been compelled to close their works. No more conclusive evidence of the improvement in the quality of the domestic salt is necessary than a study of the table imports, which show a steady decrease since 1885. The total value of the salt imported into

the United States in 1892 was nearly 50 per cent less than in 1885." The following extracts are also taken from statement of the same Department for the year 1893: "The salt product of the United States in 1893 was 117,882 barrels more than in 1892; prices ruling for 1892 were about as low as they could reach, so low indeed that a number of manufacturers ceased producing, though they were protected and encouraged by the heavy duty on foreign salt, finding the business unprofitable. Notwithstanding the low prices which have prevailed, and which have been due to keen competition among producers of domestic salt, there has been a laudable endeavor on the part of a number of domestic manufacturers to improve the quality of their product, and salt of American production has been so improved by new processes that importation of refined (foreign) salt has almost ceased to be a factor."

The same authority in the statement for year 1894, published in 1895, says: "Imports of foreign salt into the United States have shown an almost constant decrease since 1881, the decrease being particularly noticeable in the imports of refined salt due to the improvements in the manufacture by American producers which has placed the domestic product on a line with if not ahead of salts of foreign make."

We call attention to the last assertion: "The improvement in the manufacture by American producers has placed the domestic product on a line with if not ahead of salts of foreign make."

The statement from which the above extract was taken was written by an expert compiler, one equipped with the necessary knowledge acquired after many years' experience at such work, who was therefore in a position to know whereof he wrote; his conclusions, being indorsed by the chief of division, were also approved by the director of the Bureau, therefore being the conclusion of three of the most expert statisticians and compilers in the employ of the Government.

While the last statement was for the year ending December 31, 1894, it was compiled early in 1895, when foreign salt was not being excluded from the United States by a heavy duty, and the official announcement at such a time that "salt of domestic production was equal in quality if not superior to foreign make" is conclusive evidence that the salt industry had reached such a stage of superabundance of quantity (note amount of annual output) as well as perfection in quality as to no longer need encouragement and protection.

An impost duty was first placed on salt in July, 1789. During the 105 years following, to August 28, 1894, salt was on the free list for twenty-four years and dutiable for eighty-one years. In 1861 the rate was made very high, equal to about 75 per cent ad valorem, followed shortly after, in 1862, by a still higher rate, equaling 100 per cent ad valorem. This continued until 1872, when it was reduced to a rate equal to 50 per cent ad valorem. Here is an industry protected and encouraged for over eighty years, the last thirty-three years being consecutive, during all of which time our people have been heavily taxed on an article of absolute necessity to man and beast—an article used in many of the manufactures and in all food and food products. Carrying such a heavy tax for so many years, it is natural to suppose that great benefit was being derived by a large number of people and that many thousands of laborers found employment in the numerous salt works. What do the records show?

If we take the census of 1880, we will learn there were 276 establishments manufacturing salt in the United States, a capital investment of $8,500,000, with a total of 4,493 employees, who were paid $1,305,020 in wages annually, each laborer averaging $290 per year, or $24.16 per month, which is just 80 cents per day. The census of 1890 shows there were only 200 establishments, with a capital of $13,437,749, a total of 4,455 employees, less than 23 people, including manager, clerks, and laborers, to each salt works, whose annual wages, $1,762,491, an average of $400.11 to each employee per year, or $33.34 per month, or $1.10 per day.

It having been shown that collections from the duty on salt, owing to the prohibitory rate, were so small that the Government could not longer derive benefit therefrom, the question naturally arises, Who would be benefited by a tax levied on 71,000,000 people? Would it be a great army of laborers at liberal pay, or the [less than] 4,500 employees receiving the extravagant compensation in return for their labor of from 80 cents to $1.10 per day? No; the sole beneficiaries would be the few proprietors of the salt works, whose already enormous profits would be thereby increased.

For though salt is just as necessary to the well-being of all as is air or water, our people would be compelled to pay an advanced price on the salt they used, because to the regular profit in the selling price of the domestic article there would be added an amount equal to the duty paid on the imported salt, therefore the cost to the consumer would be increased to that extent.

When salt is again made dutiable, and thus added to the list of articles which it is claimed need encouragement, these beneficiaries will be encouraged to again take up and continue the concentration of capital and the consolidation of works. While the total capital invested in works in 1880 was but eight and one-half million dollars, in 1890 it was thirteen and one-half million dollars, but the number of establishments was decreased from 276 in 1880 to 200 in 1890, and further reduced to less than 160 in 1894, and this while the proprietors of these salt works were being protected and encouraged by the then existing heavy duty on all foreign salt. It was just eight years since, in June, 1889, that an effort at combination was made to form a salt union of all the makers in the United States by the formation of a company with a capital of $15,000,000. This union had option on all the establishments whose output was seven-eighths of all the salt produced in America, and it was principally because the few remaining establishments could not be secured, except at exorbitant prices, that the combination fell through. Who can predict that, salt being again made dutiable, the next attempt at combination will not be successful?

The following tabulated statement shows the total imports of all kinds of foreign salt and the total production of American salt from 1884 to 1894, inclusive, on basis of 2,000 pounds to the ton in both cases:

Year.	Total imported.	Total production of American salt.	Year.	Total imported.	Total production of American salt.
	Tons.	*Tons.*		*Tons.*	*Tons.*
1884	460,297	912,091	1890	246,837	1,228,779
1885	415,000	985,411	1891	239,247	1,308,312
1886	408,983	1,078,991	1892	235,075	1,637,845
1887	350,959	1,120,554	1893	195,983	1,665,609
1888	330,007	1,127,823	1894	172,739	1,815,438
1889	270,271	1,120,779			

We call attention to and request your careful consideration of the above, which was compiled for the period (the eleven years) immediately preceding the removal of the duty on salt. It clearly shows the effect the almost prohibitory duty was having. While the output of the American establishments was steadily increasing each year, the importations were as surely decreasing, being steadily driven from the market and out of competition, until, of the total amount of salt consumed in 1894, there were sold 172,739 tons of (2,000 pounds each) imported salt, which was only 9 per cent of the total consumption of this country for that year, 91 per cent being supplied by the American manufacturers.

While shrinkage in importation of the foreign salt amounted to 62 per cent during the eleven years, the increase in production of the American salt amounted to nearly 100 per cent in the same time.

How was it that during these eleven years the selling price of the American salt fell over 40 per cent, in spite of the protection afforded by a heavy duty? It certainly can not be claimed that this was due to foreign competition. The facts are, and can not be denied, that under the stimulus of a high duty, almost prohibitory, the domestic manufacture has been steadily growing—in fact, has been suffering from overproduction induced by excessive protection.

The proprietors of the American Salt Works late in 1893 and in 1894 predicted dire disaster and ruin to their business and a great falling off in the amount of the production should the duty on salt then prevailing be taken off. The contrary has proven to be the case, for their output for 1895, when salt was free, was 98,313 tons more than in 1894, when salt was dutiable, the total amount of the output of the American Works for 1895 being 1,913,751 tons, and there were 248,404 tons of foreign imported, which was less than 13 per cent of the total amount consumed during this year, when salt was free, and to exclude this insignificant competition Congress is asked to put a heavy duty on salt.

Respectfully submitted.

JACKSON & KILPATRICK,
New Orleans, La.

COPY OF PETITION AGAINST DUTY ON SALT.

[Original petition in the possession of Finance Committee of the United States Senate, Washington.]

The undersigned importers, exporters, ship agents, merchants, and consumers of salt at the port of New Orleans, La., and vicinity, respectfully submit for your careful consideration the following appeal against the placing of salt on the dutiable list.

Steamships coming to this port from Liverpool for cargoes of our products, such as cotton, cotton-seed oil, oil cake, lumber, staves, etc., bring salt. This salt, besides being a desirable cargo, always pays freight, thus contributing toward the cost of bringing steamers here, and to that extent permitting of a material reduction in the rate of freight on all outward cargoes of our American products which go to seek a market abroad.

On the other hand, should the importation of salt be prohibited, owing to the imposition of an excessively high duty, as now proposed, many of these steamers would be compelled to come in purchased ballast, and thus our exports, under such circumstance, would necessarily have to pay a higher freight, one sufficient to compensate steamer for the entire round trip.

Official statistics published by our Government show that of the total amount of salt consumed in the United States during 1895, more than 87 per cent was produced in this country, and though salt was then free of duty, less than 13 per cent was imported.

We submit, if a duty is levied on salt, it will be solely for the purpose of preventing this insignificant competition, and if the importations did not cease entirely, they would be so infinitesimally small the Government would not collect enough revenue from this item in the tariff to compensate for the cost of collecting same.

The rate now proposed (12 cents per 100 pounds on all salt in sacks and 8 cents per 100 pounds on all salt in bulk) would undoubtedly result in practically excluding all importations of salt.

We can not believe the advancement of our American industries is best secured by means of a prohibitory tariff that may result in such retaliatory tariffs by other countries as would discriminate against the products of the farms and factories of the United States.

NEW ORLEANS, *April, 1897.*

New Orleans, La.: Jackson & Kilpatrick, importers; B. H. Flashpoller & Sons, E. Feiblemian, Sons & Co., Jno. M. Parker & Co., Berkson Bros., C. Doyle & Co., H. T. Cottam Company, Limited, J. & B. Schutten, J. & M. Schwabacher Company, Limited, Fly Hobson & Talbert, V. Schwan & Co., and The Ledoux Company, Limited, wholesale grocers; Andrew J. McShane and Kuebel & Raquet, wholesale hides and wool; The Finnegan, Fitzpatrick Company, wholesale dealer hides and wool and exporters; J. H. Menge & Sons, Limited (per B. H. Menge, president), wholesale grocers and ship chandlers, etc.; H. B. Schreiber & Bro. and John T. Gibbons, wholesale grain dealers; H. & S. Blum, produce merchants; Albert Mackie Grocery Company, Limited (per Albert Mackie, president), Preston & Stauffer, and J. G. Spor, wholesale grocers; Smith Bros. Company, Limited (per J. B. Sinnott, president and manager), wholesale grocers and importers; Codifer Exterstein & Co. (per Hy. Exterstein, secretary), wholesale grocers and importers; American Brewing Company (Frank Beck, secretary); Lawrence Fabacher & Bros., restaurant; Clark & Meader, grocers and importers; A. Dumser & Co., importers; Nicholas Burke Company, Limited, wholesale grocers; E. S. Reems, wholesale grocers; Barnett & Lemle, H. R. Gogrere, Andrew J. Keenan, and H. Hammett, wholesale grocers; Wm. Mehle, exporter and dealer in hides and wool; A. G. Ricks, New Orleans Brewing Association; E. Conery & Son, Limited, wholesale grocers, ship and boat storers; Chas. Gitzinger, grain dealers; Louis Pfister, Poydras and Magazine streets; J. H. Keller, soap works (per Hy. Haag, secretary and treasurer); G. W. Dunbar & Sons, packers; Wm. Atkinson, commission; M. J. Sanders, agent West India and Pacific Steamship Company; Alfred Le Blanc, agent Harrison Line Steamship Company; Elder Dempster Company, per M. R. Warriner, agent Elder Dempster Line steamers; A. B. French & Co., Melletta & Stoddart, and Corral & Sevilla, ship agents; Chas. D. Orthwein & Sons, grain exporters; Francis Xiques & Co., exporters of staves; Macheca Bros., steamship owners; A. K. Miller & Co. and S. V. Fornaris & Co., steamship agents; Bobet Bros. and Jno. J. Gragard, stave exporters; W. J. Hammond, agent Hammond & Sunsett Steamship Company; Simon Kern and Max Lowry, stave exporters.

Monroe, La.: Meyer Bros., T. G. Reiley, R. L. Prophit, James C. Weaks, Moses Elder Company, Limited, J. W. Carlton, Southern Grocery Company, Limited, McCormick & Fluker, T. O. Brewer & Co., E. Fudickar, W. B. Reily, J. J. Jordan, and Uriah Millsaps, wholesale grocers; Consolidated Ice Company; D. A. Breard, jr., president Ouachita National Bank; J. S. Handy, president Monroe Grocery Company; W. C. Hilliard, president Monroe Hardware Company; E. B. Blanks, president Merchants and Farmers' Bank; John D. Painter, president Planters' Oil Company.

Ouachita City, La.: J. A. Peck, merchant.

Kentwood, La.: Banner Lumber Company.

Shreveport, La.: The Hicks Company, Limited, W. B. Ogilvie, W. F. Taylor, Hunter Bros., Ardis & Co., and Crawford, Jenkins & Booth, wholesale grocers.

Natchez, Miss.: Rumble & Wensel Company, S. Geisenberger, C. G. Miller, E. B. Foster, P. Burns, Adolph Jacobs, P. Sanguinetta, A. F. Jacobs & Bro., Stockman Grocery Company, W. H. Pritchard & Co., Chas. Zerkowsky, Dreyfus Mercantile Company, Postlethwaite & Chase, Charles Meeks, R. Viener & Co., M. E. Poelesta, E. J. Byrne, Frank Tudorce, B. Kullman, A. Beer & Co., Frank Howe, I. Lowenburg & Co., Wm. James, Perrault & Maher, Julius W. Roos, David Laub, R. J. Thompson, A. J. Smith, Miller & Ruoff, The Mallery Grocery Company (by D. S. Bisland, treasurer), and Chas. H. Schelle, merchants.

Kosciusko, Miss.: W. B. Potas Company, S. Abraham & Co., S. P. Kissimer, W. A. Stingly, L. B. Rosenthal, J. H. Collier, J. Miles Boyd, C. B. Gregory, Wm. Shanks, Du Bard & Smith, G. W. Smith, P. S. Edmonds, J. N. Alexander, W. A. Gilliland & Co., A. E. Kelly, W. G. Boswell, and W. J. Brown Bros. & Co., merchants.

Jackson, Miss.: W. W. Morrison, R. M. McElroy, A. Zehnder, S. Virden, J. & B. Hart, Rathff Grocery Company, Wm. Clancey, Joe Ascher, Thos. P. Barr, H. M. Kernaghan, D. W. Wilkinson & Co., D. G. Pattin, E. Virden, T. J. Mitchell, jr., merchants.

Canton, Miss.: C. L. Gross, Jones & Bros., D. & L. K. Levy, W. K. Baldwin, P. Trolio, A. Hiller, Isador Gross, S. Pulinsky, H. Gwinner, Luckett & Hall, C. Wohner, and I. Hesdorffer, merchants.

Macon, Miss.: A. Klaus, J. W. Klaus, J. L. Klaus, Z. T. Dorrah, Jno. W. Carr, E. V. Yates, Jas. C. Bush, R. B. Wovorly, R. Breider, J. L. Cruce, J. W. Patty, F. M. Chapman, Chas. Hardin, J. L. Griggs, T. S. Murphey, E. C. Batchelor, C. C. Sessions, Louis Frank, T. E. Woodward, J. S. Scott, N. H. Harrison, T. N. Cole, Benj. Klaus, S. J. Feibleman, J. Holliery, F. E. Carleton, H. L. Owens, W. H. Helm, W. B. Stewart, W. N. Jones, Jno. D. Dolhew, Sam. Hamerstein, D. Owens, C. L. Heinrich, Wm. White, W. S. Frunur, J. C. Cavett, L. F. Holberg, Jno. A. Tyson, Macon Mercantile Company, N. Scales, D. W. Smoot, W. H. Scales, J. P. Triplett, T. P. Crymer, W. P. Calmes, R. Kedoltin, jr., W. E. Stokes, C. B. Ames, G. L. Conner, J. L. Holberg, W. F. Skinner, J. R. Craig, J. F. Jones, D. W. Dent, W. S. Farmer, W. O. Barns, J. E. Rives, S. P. Fant, Jno. Chappell, D. B. Scarborough, R. C. Hamerstein, W. J. Phelps, R. Hamerstein, J. J. Hamerstein, W. H. Helm, Threefoot Bros. & Co., Winner & Meyer, Sam. Lyle, and Jos. Baum & Son Company, merchants.

Crystal Springs, Miss.: Lotterhos & Huber, T. D. Nicolson, J. C. Smith, W. C. Wilkinson, W. H. Barron & Co., O. H. Spence, and A. Oulif, merchants.

Meridian, Miss.: I. Klein and R. H. Suttle, merchants.

Edwards, Miss.: L. A. Moss, G. F. Waiblinger, B. B. Balladd, J. L. Redfield, Wm. Price & Co., A. J. Lewis, L. D. Freese, J. J. Gold, J. R. Howie, F. Angelo, W. G. Redfield, M. W. P. Pool, Jno. D. Butler, S. J. Birdsong, J. D. White, Jas. D. Hagan, R. H. Noblin, J. K. Robb, Jno. E. P. Pool, W. O. Dromgoos, D. V. Howell, A. McCallum, and E. F. Crisler, merchants.

Yazoo City, Miss.: J. F. Powell, Hollingsworth Bros., D. J. Dunn, F. Howard, Warren & Montgomery Bros., R. Hirsch & Co., Alex. Deck, F. Barksdale, T. A. Brown & Co., Brown & Troy, J. H. Barnwell, D. A. Swayze & Co., E. Summerfield, Jno. J. North & Co., W. H. Hyatt, A. H. Courts, W. H. Richardson, H. S. O'Reilly, M. W. Purnell, D. A. James & Co., E. G. Olden & Co., F. Schmitt, and Wise Bros., merchants.

Vicksburg, Miss.: R. L. Crook & Co., S. C. Ragan & Co., S. Schwarz & Co., L. M. Nicholson & Co., P. P. Williams Company, Emile Bonnelli, and Sherard Grocery Company, merchants.

Greenwood, Miss.: W. W. McNeill, J. B. Redditt, Robt. Herman, Hendeson Baird, Joe Stein, Austin & Fountain, Harron, R. T. Jones & Co., Jno. Dalmer & Son, Thayer & Co., L. T. Baskett, H. Bernstein, W. L. Barrow, A. Casper, H. Lenoir, Saul J. Stein, E. Hyman & Bro., Stein Bros., and R. P. Greene, merchants.

Fayette, Miss.: B. Straas, N. Eilbott, C. Cooper, G. C. Fleming, McClure & Harper, S. Hirsh & Co., R. R. Liddell, Mrs. W. L. Stephen, J. J. Gordon, F. Krauss, H. H. Meyer, and J. J. Lidden, merchants.

Utica, Miss.: Z. Wardlow, S. Grossman & Co., D. T. Lee, Smith & Winters, M. F. Powell, Long & Osborne, E. H. Currie & Bro., Lattimore & Harris, Reeves & Maddox, Mimms P. Newman, and Kelley & Carson, merchants.

Magnolia, Miss.: The Lampton Mercantile Company, V. A. Daniel, N. K. Nettles, D. M. Huff, J. E. Wolfe, S. Cohn & Son, Magnolia Mercantile Company, Williams & Elliott, T. C. Simons & Co., and H. Hall, merchants.

Tyler Town, Miss.: Lampton Bros. & Co., merchants.

Monticello, Miss.: Lampton Bros. & Rawls Company, Wm. Atkinson & Foxworth Company (Columbia, Miss.), and Wm. Atkinson & Bacot Company (Osyka, Miss.), merchants.

Brookhaven, Miss.: Jno. McGrath & Sons, A. C. Seavey, C. Heuck & Son, R. Abrahms, Hymen Zwirn, L. Cohen & Bro., Brookhaven Grocery Company, Pfeifer & Dreyfus, Jos. Heuck, Sherman & Davis, R. T. Scherck, I. Lowethal & Son, J. M. Wood, Max Priebatsch, Daniel & Willoughby, and Geo. Bowsky, merchants.

Wesson, Miss.: The Becker, Lyell & McGrath Company, Bank of Wesson, S. P. Bloom, Wm. Atkinson & McDonald, W. L. Welman, J. P. Remleuf, H. E. Price, Earns, Long & Co., Williams Bros., and J. F. Patterson, merchants.

Durant, Miss.: Joe. A. Rosenberg, Durant Commercial Company, Wm. Schild, Commercial Hotel, A. Schild, Joel Schild, C. H. Gaskins, Mullen & Owen, M. L. Weems, E. W. McLellan, W. E. McLellan & Bro., W. W. Barth, and J. Marseilles, merchants.

Holly Springs, Miss.: P. H. Fant and Jno. E. Anderson, merchants.

Camden, Ark.: Geo. L. Ritchie, Thomas D. Thomson, and M. G. Williams, wholesale grocers.

Eldorado, Ark.: E. C. Wilson & Co., merchants.

Mr. VEST. Now I move, if I have not already done so, to strike out paragraph 283, on page 82, for the purpose of putting salt upon the free list; and on that I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Mr. President, I shall not detain the Senate by any lengthy argument at this time on this question; but it does seem to me that it is one that is entitled to serious consideration at the hands of the Senate.

The amount of the domestic production of salt in this country is more than a million and a half of tons, and the total importations are only a little over 300,000 tons. Since salt was put on the free list, in 1894, there have been large amounts of capital invested in salt manufacturing. People who have been familiar with the business from their childhood, people who have been engaged in salt manufacturing for years, are investing large sums of money now in New York and in Michigan in building new salt works.

The American production has enormously increased since salt was put on the free list. The American salt makers have the markets of this country absolutely in all the North. The cost of delivering a sack of Liverpool salt in New York is about 82 cents. The New Yorkers can sell the same kind of salt for about 72 cents in New York, as claimed by the trade. The expense of bringing salt from abroad is, of course, considerable, and, taking that into consideration, it gives all the protection that the American salt producers ought to ask. Then, when you take into consideration the fact that the great bulk of the consumption of salt, estimated at 70,000,000 bushels, is in the great interior, the enormous advantage is in favor of the American producers in all the interior points over what they have on the seaboard.

There is but one section of this country where this is not the case. The English salt makers can lay their salt down cheaper in the Southern States than can the Northern salt makers, because the expense of transporting it from the Northern salt works to the Southern States is larger in proportion than the ocean transportation from England to the South. Of the 220,000 tons of salt imported into this country, more than 120,000 are imported into the South.

The effect of the adoption of this paragraph will be simply to increase the cost of the salt consumed by the Southern people. It will not bring salt into the Northern States, because the manufacturers of salt in that section of the country absolutely control the market now.

I have here statements made by salt manufacturers, which show the cost in detail of manufacturing and delivering salt at important commercial centers all through the country, showing that American salt can be made and laid down cheaper than it can be brought from abroad. There is absolutely no room for competition in the Northern market; it is a matter of no concern whatever, and the salt makers themselves would not have asked for the imposition of this tax to affect the salt in the Northern States. It is simply for the purpose of compelling the people who are already having a hard enough time in the Southern States to pay an increased price for salt that this tax was put upon it, as I believe.

Mr. President, the hour is late, and while this is a wonderfully interesting subject, and one which ought to attract the attention of all Senators, I shall not detain the Senate now by going elaborately into this question; but I wish to call the attention of Senators to the importations of salt.

In 1884 there were imported into this country 416,000 tons; in 1885, 370,000 tons; in 1886, 365,000 tons. The importation steadily decreased, year by year, down to 1894, when it came to 154,000 tons. In 1895, after salt had gone on the free list, there was an increase in the importation, and it went from 154,000 tons to 221,000 tons, and in 1896 it reached 246,000 tons. At the same time there was an increase in the domestic production of salt, while salt was free, of 231,000 tons; showing that the increase is enormously more rapid in the development of the domestic production than it is in the importation of foreign salt.

The statement is made in these papers that salt is delivered free on board cars at a dollar and a half a ton. The freight cost, as stated by the merchants, has been in no instance less than 6 shillings, and in almost every instance 6 shillings and 6 pence, making $1.62, the freight across the ocean thus amounting to more than the price of the salt, American made, delivered on board the cars. There is 100 per cent protection in the transportation alone across the ocean, which seems to me in all conscience to be enough.

Every human being, every domestic animal, every man, woman, and child, is compelled to use salt. It is an article of universal use; it goes into every home and is used at every meal. It is used for all domestic purposes.

Why we should now undertake to increase the cost of this article, an absolute necessary of life, when the natural conditions existing give the producers of it a protection of more than 100 per cent is beyond my comprehension, unless we stop to think that it seems to be the policy of the Republican party, wherever and whenever they see the possibility of levying a tax on the many for the benefit of the few, that they will avail themselves of every such opportunity. While it is the case now in this country that foreign salt can not interfere with the American production, except in the Southern States, there seems to be a desire to seize every opportunity to levy a species of blackmail on those who eat their bread in the sweat of their faces all the days of their lives in the Southern States, for the purpose of increasing the price to be paid to certain salt manufacturers of this country, when, after all, Mr. President, the result is no benefit to the salt producer. The transportation companies intervene between the two; and we

know how adept they are in turning whatever advantages the conditions may offer to their own use and profit.

I think that in the whole compass of this bill there is not a single provision which is more absolutely indefensible than this one of the tax on salt.

I should be glad to have the Senate consider some of the numerous arguments, some of the reasons and illustrations, which are as thick as blackberries in their season, why salt should remain on the free list; but I shall not trespass on the time or the patience of the Senate at this late hour to present them. I shall only repeat that I have letters on my desk from American salt manufacturers themselves, men who have put their money in Michigan salt works and in New York salt works, and who are handling salt by the ton, who say they have invested their money in the production of salt under free salt, and they state distinctly and clearly that they want no tax on salt; that they are perfectly satisfied that they can hold their own against anybody anywhere, and that this market can not be influenced by any outside importation; that it cuts no figure whatever.

Mr. President, the majority of the committee think that salt should be given free to packers of fish on the Atlantic Seaboard. What is the reason why packers of fish should have salt free any more than packers of beef? Why should the packers of fish have salt free any more than the men who want to use it for food? There is no reason for it that I can see except that that section of the country and its representatives are vigilant and active in looking after their local interests, and they have been in the habit in all tariff bills as they have been passed of making discriminations against the balance of the country and in favor of certain sections under their own particular care.

I sincerely hope that the patriotism of the Senate will be sufficient to prevent the perpetration of this great wrong by putting so monstrous a proposition as this upon the statute books, when it is clear that it can have but one effect, and that is to tax again an already overtaxed and overburdened people in one locality in this country. I demand the yeas and nays on this proposition.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The yeas and nays have already been ordered on the motion of the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST] to strike out paragraph 283.

The Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CANNON (when his name was called). I am paired with the senior Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH].

Mr. CLAY (when his name was called). I transfer my pair with the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] to the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH], and vote "yea."

Mr. GEAR (when his name was called). I am paired with the senior Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH], and I transfer my pair to the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE], and vote "nay."

Mr. KENNEY (when the name of Mr. HARRIS of Kansas was called). I was requested by the junior Senator from Kansas [Mr. HARRIS] to announce that he is paired with the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. CLARK].

Mr. MCLAURIN (when Mr. TILLMAN'S name was called). I was requested by the senior Senator from South Carolina [Mr. TILLMAN] to announce his pair with the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. THURSTON].

Mr. WELLINGTON (when his name was called). I again announce my pair with the junior Senator from North Carolina [Mr. BUTLER]. If he were present, I should vote "nay."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. THURSTON. I transfer my pair with the senior Senator from South Carolina [Mr. TILLMAN] to the Senator from Kansas [Mr. BAKER], and will vote. I vote "nay."

Mr. LINDSAY. Except for the absence of my pair, the senior Senator from Michigan [Mr. MCMILLAN], I should vote "yea" on this proposition.

Mr. BURROWS. I transfer my pair with the senior Senator from Louisiana [Mr. CAFFERY] to the Senator from Nevada [Mr. JONES], and will allow my vote to stand.

Mr. WARREN. I desire to announce that my colleague [Mr. CLARK], who is unavoidably absent, is paired with the junior Senator from Kansas [Mr. HARRIS].

Mr. SEWELL (after having voted in the negative). Has the senior Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. MITCHELL] voted?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. He has not voted.

Mr. SEWELL. I withdraw my vote, being paired with that Senator.

The result was announced—yeas 24, nays 31; as follows:

YEAS—24.

Bacon,	Faulkner,	Mallory,	Roach,
Bate,	Gray,	Mills,	Turner,
Berry,	Heitfeld,	Morgan,	Turpie,
Chilton,	Jones, Ark.	Pasco,	Vest.
Clay,	Kenney,	Pettigrew,	Walthall,
Cockrell,	McLaurin,	Pettus,	White.

NAYS—31.

Allison,	Chandler,	Deboe,	Foraker,
Burrows,	Cullom,	Elkins,	Frye,
Carter,	Davis,	Fairbanks,	Gallinger,
Gear,	Mason,	Quay,	Thurston,
Hawley,	Nelson,	Pritchard,	Warren,
Hoar,	Penrose,	Proctor,	Wetmore,
McBride,	Perkins,	Shoup,	Wilson.
McEnery,	Platt, Conn.	Spooner,	

NOT VOTING—34.

Aldrich,	Gorman,	Lodge,	Sewell,
Allen,	Hale,	McMillan,	Smith,
Baker,	Hanna,	Mantle,	Stewart,
Butler,	Hansbrough,	Martin,	Teller,
Caffery,	Harris, Kans.	Mitchell,	Tillman,
Cannon,	Harris, Tenn.	Morrill,	Wellington,
Clark,	Jones, Nev.	Murphy,	Wolcott.
Daniel,	Kyle,	Platt, N. Y.	
George,	Lindsay,	Rawlins,	

So Mr. VEST'S amendment was rejected.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, on page 83, paragraph 284, line 2, before the word "cents," to strike out "two" and insert "one and one-half;" so as to make the paragraph read:

284. Starch, including all preparations, from whatever substance produced, fit for use as starch, 1½ cents per pound.

Mr. WHITE. I have received a letter on this subject. I am not personally aware of the technical matters referred to in the communication, but I will read it, so that if it affords any information to the committee it may be acted upon:

MILTON, MASS., *May 12, 1897.*

DEAR SIR: We notice that by section 284 of the tariff bill as reported to the Senate, a duty of 1½ cents per pound is levied on starch, and that by section 285 a like duty is levied upon "dextrine, burnt starch, gum substitute, or British gum."

We wish to call your attention to the illogical nature of these duties as compared with each other.

Starch is the raw material of dextrine and of British gums, and is the only material which in any way affects their weight. In the course of manufacture the raw starch is first treated with chemicals, which do not in the slightest degree add to its weight, and it is then subjected for a considerable length of time to an intense heat, which converts it either into dextrine or British gum, according to the nature of the chemicals applied.

The inevitable result of this process is a shrinkage of from 15 to 22 per cent, so that it takes much more than 1 pound of starch to make 1 pound of dextrine, or British gum. Therefore, while we receive protection to the amount of 1½ cents per pound on our manufactured product, we pay a duty of about 2 cents per pound on the raw material which enters into that pound of manufactured product, making an actual discrimination against the domestic manufacturer of about one-half cent per pound.

This, we submit, is an injustice and hardship to which we should not be subjected. The result of this system of duties is typically illustrated in the potato-dextrine trade. The discrimination against the American manufacturers turns over to the German manufacturers practically the whole of a large business which, with a logical tariff, we believe that the American manufacturers would entirely control.

We feel that the change which we ask is a matter of simple justice, and trust that we may rely upon your assistance in having a duty levied upon dextrine, burnt starch, gum substitute, or British gums one-half cent per pound higher than upon starch; in other words, if the duty on starch remains at 1½ cents per pound, the duty on dextrine and British gums should be 2 cents per pound.

Respectfully, yours,

HORATIO N. GLOVER & SON.

Hon. STEPHEN M. WHITE,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

The letter is signed by Horatio N. Glover & Son, manufacturers of dextrine, British gums, gum substitute, Milton, Mass.

I called the attention of the author of this letter to the fact that the same discrimination obtained in previous laws, and he said that was undoubtedly the fact, but nevertheless the statement he made is absolutely accurate. I suggest whether, under this showing, if the statement be correct, and I believe it is from a respectable firm, the duties ought to remain as they are. True, it has been so heretofore, but that would scarcely afford an argument.

Mr. ALLISON. I call the attention of the Senator from California to the fact that under the act of 1890 the duty on starch is 2 cents and on burnt starch 1¼ cents.

Mr. WHITE. That is obviously wrong.

Mr. ALLISON. It would seem to be obviously wrong. Yet there was no special complaint about it, because in the act of 1894 the only correction made was to put the two on an equality. It may be that what this gentleman states is true. It evidently must cost something to burn the starch.

Mr. WHITE. It will be observed that in the statement which I just read the writer mentions one large line of manufacturing which is being conducted wholly abroad now because of a discrimination of that kind. It seems to me that if we can we ought to rectify it. However, I do not make any motion. I merely attract the attention of the Senator to the subject. Perhaps when the bill reaches the Senate an amendment might be drawn.

Mr. ALLISON. Would the Senator suggest a higher duty on dextrine?

Mr. WHITE. I would suggest a lower duty on starch, to equalize it in that way.

Mr. ALLISON. I think the Senator might find difficulty on our side of the Chamber, and probably on his, in attempting to reduce the duty on starch.

Mr. WHITE. If I were pursuing the theory of the Senator from Iowa, I should raise it on the second section.

Mr. FRYE. That is what the Senator from Iowa ought to do.

Mr. WHITE. I will allow it to remain as it is.

Mr. ALLISON. Very well; and we will see about it later.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment reported by the Committee on Finance.

The amendment was agreed to.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, on page 83, line 3, paragraph 285, before the word "cents," to strike out "two" and insert "one and one-half;" so as to make the paragraph read:

285. Dextrine, burnt starch, gum substitute, or British gum, 1½ cents per pound.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in paragraph 286, line 8, after the word "pound," to strike out—

Sweet marjoram, 3 cents per pound; summer savory, coriander seed, and thyme, one-half of 1 cent per pound.

So as to make the paragraph read:

286. Spices: Mustard, ground or prepared, in bottles or otherwise, 10 cents per pound; capsicum or red pepper, or cayenne pepper, 2½ cents per pound; sage, 1 cent per pound; spices not specially provided for in this act, 3 cents per pound.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 83, after line 12, to insert a new paragraph, as follows:

286½. Tea, 10 cents per pound, until January 1, 1900; after that date tea shall be admitted free of duty.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask that the paragraph may be passed over. It will be observed that it is only a temporary duty, intended to bridge over a deficiency that may occur for the first year or two. I hope that during the progress of the bill we may dispense with this duty. I am not quite prepared to suggest it, however, so I ask that the paragraph may be passed over.

Mr. WHITE. I simply wish, for the information of the Senate, to call attention to a few remarks made by the distinguished Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH] during 1894, in reference to this very matter. In criticising the Democratic side he made use of this phraseology:

If it be the purpose of this amendment to raise revenue, if it is a necessity, as I claim it is not—

Referring to sugar—

to raise additional revenue, why not take some other means? There are a thousand methods open to the Congress which are certainly preferable to this one. Why not impose a higher duty upon whisky if revenue is a necessity? Why not increase the tax upon beer? The tax of $1.50 a barrel upon beer would give approximately as much revenue as the proposed duty upon sugar. Who would be hurt by the imposition of a tax like that? Not all the people of the United States, because they are not obliged to buy beer.

I showed in some statements which I made to the Senate a week or ten days ago that the absolute reductions in taxes by this bill as it now stands upon pure luxuries is $38,000,000, or an approximate sum to that which is proposed to be imposed by the bill upon sugar. Think of the monstrous proposition of reducing the duties upon cosmetics, upon artificial feathers and flowers, upon fine laces and embroideries, upon silk clothing, and upon all that class of articles, in order to furnish an excuse for the imposition of a tax upon sugar! What justification can you find in the judgment of the American people for this action?

I refer to an extract in the same connection and bearing directly upon the tea tax.

Again—

He says—

if it is necessary to secure revenue, as I believe it is not, why not add to the tax on tobacco? You can easily get from an additional tax on tobacco all the revenue which it is proposed to derive from the tax on sugar. Why not, if revenue is necessary and you do not care to levy a tax upon anything produced in the United States, impose a duty on tea and coffee? A duty of 10 cents a pound on tea would never reach the consumer of tea through an addition to price, as tea which can be imported to-day at from 10 to 12 cents a pound is sold at retail mainly at from 40 to 50 cents a pound.

You might impose a duty upon tea of 10 cents a pound and it would reduce the profits of the importers or of the distributors of tea in the United States; but when you impose a duty upon sugar, so close is the competition upon sugar that whatever you add to the duty, as shown so clearly by the distinguished Senator from Kansas [Mr. Peffer] yesterday, is certainly and inevitably added to the price to the consumer, wherever he may be located. There is no dispute whatever about this proposition, and there can be none.

Thinking that possibly the proposition might be overlooked by Senators upon the other side, I call attention to the suggestion thus made by the distinguished Senator from Rhode Island, that it was unnecessary to tax sugar, that a tax upon tea and beer would answer the purposes much better.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. If there be no objection, paragraph 286½ will be passed over. The Chair hears none, and it will be so ordered.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 287, line 16, before the word "gallon," to insert the word "proof;" and in line 17, after the word "standard," to insert "proof;" so as to make the paragraph read:

287. Vinegar, 7½ cents per proof gallon. The standard proof for vinegar shall be taken to be that strength which requires 35 grains of bicarbonate of potash to neutralize 1 ounce troy of vinegar.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. I will not press the consideration of the bill further to-night.

Mr. MILLS. I wish to ask unanimous consent to go back to the first paragraph of the bill in order to offer an amendment in the morning, which I wish to have printed in the RECORD. I was not present when that part of the bill was acted upon; it was not possible for me to be here; and I have an amendment which I wish to offer, and I should like to have it voted on in the morning. It relates to the first paragraph of the bill. I will send the amendment to the desk in order that it may be read.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. After the word "prescribed," in line 9, page 1, it is proposed to insert:

Provided, That only 75 per cent of the duties imposed by this act shall be collected on imports from countries whose mints are open to the free and unlimited coinage of gold and silver at the rate of 16 grains of fine silver equal in value to 1 grain of fine gold.

Mr. MILLS. I ask unanimous consent that we may go back to that part of the bill in the morning, in order that we may have a vote on the amendment.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut and others. Oh, no.

Mr. ALLISON. I trust the Senator from Texas will not press that request at this moment. The amendment may lead to some debate. I think very likely it will. There are very many things which have already been passed over, and it is not wise to discuss the amendment the Senator from Texas has offered.

Mr. MILLS. I will ask to have the amendment printed in the RECORD as one which I shall offer to the bill at the proper time.

Mr. ALLISON. To that I have no objection.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment has been read, and it will therefore appear in the RECORD.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. DAVIS. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After forty minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened, and (at 5 o'clock and 35 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Thursday, June 17, 1897, at 11 o'clock a. m.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate June 16, 1897.

ENVOY EXTRAORDINARY AND MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY.

Stewart L. Woodford, of New York, to be envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States to Spain, vice Hannis Taylor, resigned.

CONSUL.

Julius Goldschmidt, of Wisconsin, to be consul-general of the United States at Berlin, Germany, vice Charles de Kay, resigned.

SURVEYOR OF CUSTOMS.

John R. Puryear, of Kentucky, to be surveyor of customs for the port of Paducah, in the State of Kentucky, to succeed Felix G. Rudolph, resigned.

COLLECTOR OF CUSTOMS.

Levi M. Willcutts, of Minnesota, to be collector of customs for the district of Duluth, in the State of Minnesota, in place of Emil Olund, removed.

AUDITOR FOR NAVY DEPARTMENT.

Frank H. Morris, of Ohio, to be Auditor for the Navy Department, to succeed William H. Pugh, resigned.

ASSISTANT AGENT AT SALMON FISHERIES OF ALASKA.

James C. Boatman, of California, to be assistant agent at the salmon fisheries of Alaska, office created by the sundry civil appropriation act approved June 4, 1897.

AGENT AT SALMON FISHERIES OF ALASKA.

Howard M. Kutchin, of California, to be agent at the salmon fisheries of Alaska, office created by the sundry civil appropriation act approved June 4, 1897.

PROMOTIONS IN THE ARMY.

General officer.

Col. Anson Mills, Third Cavalry, to be brigadier-general, June 16, 1897, vice Mizner, retired from active service.

Quartermaster's Department.

First Lieut. Andrew Gregg Curtin Quay, Third Cavalry, to be assistant quartermaster, with the rank of captain, June 16, 1897, vice Pope, nominated for promotion.

Maj. John Simpson, quartermaster, to be deputy quartermaster-general, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel, June 11, 1897, vice Forsyth, retired from active service.

Capt. James Worden Pope, assistant quartermaster, to be quartermaster, with the rank of major, June 11, 1897, vice Simpson, promoted.

Cavalry arm.

First Lieut. Thomas Jefferson Lewis, Second Cavalry, to be captain, June 13, 1897, vice Kingsbury, Second Cavalry, deceased.

Second Lieut. William Franklin Clark, Seventh Cavalry, to be first lieutenant, June 13, 1897, vice Lewis, Second Cavalry, promoted.

Artillery arm.

Capt. James Chester, Third Artillery, to be major, June 7, 1897, vice Darling, Third Artillery, retired from active service.

First Lieut. John Deane Charles Hoskins, Third Artillery, to be captain, June 7, 1897, vice Chester, Third Artillery, promoted.

Second Lieut. Archibald Campbell, Third Artillery, to be first lieutenant, June 7, 1897, vice Hoskins, Third Artillery, promoted.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate June 16, 1897.

REGISTER OF THE LAND OFFICE.

Frank G. Deckabach, of Ocosta, Wash., to be register of the land office at Olympia, Wash.

RECEIVER OF PUBLIC MONEYS.

John O'B. Scobey, of Olympia, Wash., to be receiver of public moneys at Olympia, Wash.

POSTMASTERS.

Cassius C. Pillsbury, to be postmaster at West Superior, in the county of Douglas and State of Wisconsin.

Reuben J. Mott, to be postmaster at Port Allegany, in the county of McKean and State of Pennsylvania.

George H. Swearingen, to be postmaster at Dunbar, in the county of Fayette and State of Pennsylvania.

SENATE.

THURSDAY, *June 17, 1897.*

The Senate met at 11 o'clock a. m.

Prayer by Rev. HUGH JOHNSTON, D. D., of the city of Washington.

Mr. HENRY M. TELLER, a Senator from the State of Colorado, appeared in his seat to-day.

On motion of Mr. DAVIS, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of yesterday's proceedings was dispensed with.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. HOAR presented the petition of Joseph Dobbins and 86 other citizens of Worcester, Mass., employed in the carpet mills of M. J. W. Whithall, praying for the early enactment of a protective-tariff law; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a memorial of sundry citizens of Massachusetts, remonstrating against the proposed duty of $2 per thousand feet upon lumber; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a memorial of sundry citizens of Massachusetts, remonstrating against any increase in the present rate of duty on India tanned skins for morocco; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a petition of the Woman's Auxiliary of the Young Men's Christian Association of Somerville, Mass., praying for the enactment of legislation prohibiting the reproduction of prize fights by means of the kinetoscope; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. DAVIS presented a petition of the Board of Trade of Minneapolis, Minn., and a petition of 103 citizens of Lake Crystal, Minn., praying for the early passage of the pending tariff bill; which were ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a memorial of 49 citizens of Rochester, Minn., remonstrating against the passage of a clause in the pending tariff bill providing for the use of stamps on bank checks; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. PLATT of New York presented a petition of sundry citizens of Rifton Glen, N. Y., praying for the early enactment of a protective-tariff law; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented sundry memorials of citizens of New York City, remonstrating against the proposed increase of the tax on beer; which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. MORRILL presented a petition of sundry citizens of Randolph, Vt., praying for the earliest possible passage of a protective-tariff bill; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. MITCHELL presented a petition of the Millers' National Association of the United States, praying for the adoption of a reciprocity clause in the pending tariff bill; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a petition of the Rohlfing Sons' Music Company and other importers of musical merchandise of Milwaukee, Wis., praying that the customs duty on musical instruments and parts for the same be provided for at the rate of 35 per cent ad valorem; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented memorials of the Krause Shoe Company, of Milwaukee; of the Racine Shoe Company, of Racine, and of the Atwell Shoe Company, of Milwaukee, all in the State of Wisconsin, remonstrating against an import duty on raw goatskins; which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. GALLINGER presented a memorial of the Laconia Lumber Works, of Laconia, N. H., and a memorial of W. P. Gardner & Co., of Concord, N. H., remonstrating against the proposed duty of $2 per thousand feet on lumber; which were ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a memorial of Woodbury Bros., of New Hampshire, remonstrating against an increase in the present rate of duty on tanned skins for morocco or a duty on raw goatskins; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a petition of W. D. Brackett & Co., of Boston, Mass., praying for the imposition of a duty on goatskins; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. VEST presented memorials of the Amalgamated Wood Workers, the Building and Trade Council, the Union of United Brewers' Workingmen's Association, and sundry other organizations of St. Louis, Mo., remonstrating against the enactment of legislation intended to destroy the present system of ticket brokerage; which were referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

Mr. CAFFERY presented a memorial of E. J. Hart & Co. and 1,094 other citizens of Louisiana, remonstrating against the enactment of legislation intended to destroy the present system of ticket brokerage; which was referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

Mr. TURPIE presented the petition of J. O. Perrin and sundry other citizens of Lafayette, Ind., praying for the enactment of legislation authorizing the President of the United States to appoint a commission as proposed by the Indianapolis (Ind.) monetary convention; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented a petition of sundry citizens of Terre Haute, Ind., praying for the early enactment of a protective-tariff law; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. MORGAN presented sundry memorials of citizens of Birmingham, Ala., remonstrating against the enactment of legislation intended to destroy the present system of ticket brokerage; which were referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

Mr. KYLE presented sundry petitions of citizens of Custer and Goodwin, in the State of South Dakota, and a petition of sundry citizens of Brooklyn, N. Y., praying for the early enactment of a protective-tariff law; which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. PRITCHARD presented a petition of sundry citizens of Raleigh, N. C., praying for the early passage of the pending tariff bill; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented the petition of Thomas J. Keith, of Charlotte, N. C., praying that he be remunerated for services as night watchman at the post-office at that city; which was referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. PROCTOR presented the memorial of C. J. Hibbard, of Newport, Vt., remonstrating against an increase in the present rate of duty on tanned skins for morocco, or a duty on raw goatskins; which was ordered to lie on the table.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

Mr. THURSTON, from the Select Committee on International Expositions, to whom was referred the joint resolution (S. R. 32) accepting the invitation of the French Republic to take part in an international exposition to be held in Paris in 1900 A. D., reported it with an amendment, and submitted a report thereon.

Mr. MARTIN, from the Committee on Claims, to whom was referred the bill (S. 1133) to pay the Richmond Locomotive and Machine Works its claim for damages and losses incurred in the construction of the armored battle ship *Texas*, reported it without amendment, and submitted a report thereon.

Mr. CHILTON, from the Committee on Interstate Commerce, to whom was referred the bill (S. 2041) to amend section 4386 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, striking out "twenty-eight consecutive hours" and "twenty-eight hours" and inserting "forty consecutive hours" and "forty hours," reported it without amendment.

LANDS IN GREER COUNTY, OKLA.

Mr. CARTER. Upon the 19th of May the Secretary of the Interior addressed a communication to Congress requesting that the time within which certain homestead settlers in Greer County, Okla., should have the preference right to file on lands be extended for the period of six months. The extension was sought because the land office could not be opened before the 1st day of July, whereas under the existing law the preference right would expire on the 18th day of that month. The intervening time, that is, the space of time between the opening of the land office and the expiration of the preference right under the law, is not adequate to enable all of the settlers to make their filings. The Committee on Public Lands unanimously report a bill granting the extension as requested, and I ask unanimous consent for its present consideration.

Mr. ALLISON. I shall not object unless it leads to debate. If it does, of course I must insist on the regular order.

Mr. COCKRELL. It will not lead to debate.

The bill (S. 2150) to amend an act entitled "An act to provide for the entry of lands in Greer County, Okla., to give preference rights to settlers, and for other purposes," approved January 18, 1897, was read the first time by its title, and the second time at length, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the time for the exercise of the preference right of entry granted to bona fide occupants of land within the territory established as Greer County, Okla., by section 1 of an act entitled "An act to provide for the entry of lands in Greer County, Okla., to give preference rights to settlers, and for other purposes," approved January 18, 1897, be, and the same is hereby, extended to January 1, 1898.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Montana asks unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the bill.

There being no objection, the bill was considered as in Committee of the Whole.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Mr. DAVIS introduced the following bills; which were severally read twice by their titles, and referred to the Committee on Pensions:

A bill (S. 2151) granting a pension to Mrs. Jeannette E. Sweet; and

A bill (S. 2152) granting an increase of pension to Don A. Daniels.

Mr. QUAY (by request) introduced a bill (S. 2153) for the relief of certain volunteer officers and soldiers of the civil war, and for other purposes; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. PETTIGREW introduced a bill (S. 2154) for the relief of John H. McLaughlin; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. PRITCHARD introduced a bill (S. 2155) for the relief of Thomas J. Keith; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. McBRIDE introduced a bill (S. 2156) for the relief of Wilbur F. Cogswell; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Mr. COCKRELL introduced a bill (S. 2157) granting a pension to Fielding L. Rutherford; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying petition, referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. McENERY introduced a bill (S. 2158) for the relief of the estate of Isadore Daigle, deceased, late of West Baton Rouge Parish, La.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. GORMAN introduced a bill (S. 2159) for the relief of Pay Inspector John H. Stevenson; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

DRAWBACK ALLOWANCES.

Mr. CAFFERY submitted the following resolution; which was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to:

Resolved by the Senate of the United States, That the Secretary of the Treasury be directed to furnish the Senate, as early as practicable, copies of all evidence or statements on which the drawback allowance contained in Circular No. 102, Division of Customs, were based, with the names and occupations of the persons making the statements or furnishing the evidence, and also be directed to inform the Senate whether the drawback allowances for the different degrees of saccharine strength of sugar were derived from proof furnished, or were reached by a theoretical calculation, and all information and facts in possession of the Department on which the drawback allowances in said circular were made.

THE TARIFF BILL.

Mr. ALLISON. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of House bill 379.

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 379) to provide revenue for the Government and to encourage the industries of the United States.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The reading of the bill will be proceeded with.

The Secretary read as follows:

Schedule H, page 83—Spirits, wines, and other beverages.

Mr. ALLISON. Before the Secretary proceeds to read, I ask unanimous consent to turn back to page 23, line 1. After the word "unfilled" I wish to insert the words "not otherwise specially provided for." It relates to glass bottles, vials, jars, etc., filled or unfilled, and applies to all of them, whereas in the schedule we are about to consider there are special exceptions made. The words "not otherwise specially provided for" should be inserted in the glass schedule; otherwise it will be inconsistent with what we are about to do or probably will do.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Most likely.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. On page 23, line 1, paragraph 94, after the word "unfilled," insert "not otherwise specially provided for;" so as to make the paragraph read:

94. Plain green or colored, molded or pressed, and flat, lime, or lead glass bottles, vials, jars, and covered or uncovered demijohns and carboys, any of the foregoing, filled or unfilled, not otherwise specially provided for, and whether their contents be dutiable or free, except such as contain merchandise subject to an ad valorem rate of duty, or to a rate of duty based in whole or in part upon the value thereof, shall pay duty as follows: If holding more than 1 pint, seven-eighths of 1 cent per pound; if holding not more than 1 pint and not less than one-fourth of a pint, 1½ cents per pound; if holding less than one-fourth of a pint, 45 cents per gross: *Provided*, That none of the above articles shall pay a less rate of duty than 40 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. WHITE. I wish to make a suggestion to the Senator from Iowa. Yesterday when paragraph 281, "Cocoa-butter or cocoa-butterine," was passed upon by the Senate I desired unanimous consent that it might be reconsidered and passed over temporarily. I have received some communications with reference to the subject of cocoanut oil and desire to investigate a decision made by the circuit court of New York regarding the subject. I will not ask for any lengthy detention.

Mr. ALLISON. As to paragraph 281 I suppose it is the Senator's purpose to consider the propriety of adding cocoanut oil?

Mr. WHITE. Yes, sir.

Mr. ALLISON. Why not allow the paragraph to stand? I shall have no objection to returning to it and adding cocoanut oil, if it is found that that ought to be done.

Mr. WHITE. Very well.

Mr. ALLISON. Cocoanut oil is now on the free list, and I am not sure but that the Senator is right.

Mr. WHITE. I shall examine the decision to which I referred.

Mr. ALLISON. We can return to it at any time.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The reading of the bill will be proceeded with.

Mr. ALLISON. Before the Secretary proceeds, I desire to turn back to paragraph 149, page 47, line 17. I propose to insert the word "not" after the word "at;" so as to read:

Scissors and shears, and blades for the same, finished or unfinished, valued at not more than 50 cents per dozen, 15 cents per dozen and 15 per cent ad valorem.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Without objection, that amendment will be made.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. That makes a very material difference.

Mr. ALLISON. It does. It is a mere clerical error as it now stands. It should read, "valued at not more than 50 cents per dozen." The next bracket is, "valued at more than 50 cents per dozen." The object is to reach those at not more and those at more than 50 cents. The Senator will see that it is a mere clerical error.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Yes, sir; I see.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Without objection, the amendment is agreed to.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Yesterday at my request the Senator from Iowa consented to pass over paragraph 275, relating to extract of meat. He offered an amendment to the paragraph which met most of the objections I had. I am willing now to take the paragraph up. I wish to say, however, to the Senator that I think the tariff of 35 cents a pound is greater than it ought to be. The amendment offered by the Senator will take off about two-thirds of the proposed tariff, but it will still leave the tariff at 35 cents a pound, which is about, as I make it out, from 10 to 12 cents a pound more than it is under the present law.

The importation of Liebig's extract under the present law has been limited to a considerable extent. It does not enter into competition with American products which are somewhat of the same character. Liebig's extract is manufactured in South America by a very expensive process, I understand, for the purpose of preparing it so that it will keep for any length of time and in any latitude. The American product is not so handled; it is not intended to be preserved in such a way; it is not so costly; it is not so expensive to manufacture. Liebig's extract is prescribed by physicians for invalids, and where it is needed it is an absolute necessity.

Under the circumstances, it seems to me that the Senator from Iowa ought to agree to a tax of 20 per cent ad valorem, which is the present rate, instead of 35 cents, as proposed. I shall ask for a vote on the proposition unless the Senator accepts it. I am willing to take up the paragraph and dispose of it.

Mr. ALLISON. I am sorry that I can not accommodate my friend. I am willing to take up the paragraph and vote on it now.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Let us have a vote. I move to strike out "35 cents per pound" and insert "20 per cent ad valorem," in line 24, page 79, paragraph 275.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In line 24, page 79, paragraph 275, strike out "35 cents per pound" and insert in lieu thereof "20 per cent ad valorem;" so as to read:

275. Extract of meat, not specially provided for in this act, 20 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. ALLISON. The Senator proposes to strike out the fluid extract also?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I move to strike out the words "fluid extract of meat, 15 cents per pound," so that both classes shall pay 20 per cent.

The SECRETARY. And also strike out the remainder of the printed paragraph after the word "pound," in the following words:

Fluid extract of meat, 15 cents per pound.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Arkansas.

The amendment was rejected.

The reading of the bill was resumed at page 83, line 21, "Schedule H.—Spirits, wines, and other beverages."

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 288, page 84, line 1, under the heading "Spirits," after the word "and," to strike out "fifty" and insert "twenty-five;" so as to make the paragraph read:

SCHEDULE H.—SPIRITS, WINES, AND OTHER BEVERAGES.

Spirits:

288. Brandy and other spirits manufactured or distilled from grain or other materials, and not specially provided for in this act, $2.25 cents per proof gallon.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in paragraph 289, page 84, line 13, after the words "*And provided further*, That," to strike out "any brandy or other spirituous or distilled liquors imported in any sized cask, bottle, jug, or other package, of or from any country, dependency, or province under whose laws similar sized casks, bottles, jugs, or other packages of distilled spirits, wine, or other beverage put up or filled in the United States are denied entrance into such country, dependency, or province, shall be forfeited to the United States; and;" so as to make the paragraph read:

289. Each and every gauge or wine gallon of measurement shall be counted as at least 1 proof gallon; and the standard for determining the proof of brandy and other spirits or liquors of any kind imported shall be the same as that which is defined in the laws relating to internal revenue: *Provided*, That it shall be lawful for the Secretary of the Treasury, in his discretion, to authorize the ascertainment of the proof of wines, cordials, or other liquors, by distillation or otherwise, in cases where it is impracticable to ascertain such proof by the means prescribed by existing law or regulations: *And provided further*, That any brandy or other spirituous or distilled liquor imported in a cask of less capacity than 10 gallons from any country shall be forfeited to the United States.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask that the amendment striking out the first part of the additional proviso be disagreed to.

The amendment was rejected.

The reading of the bill was continued. The next amendment was, in paragraph 291, page 85, line 1, after the word "Cordials," to strike out "liquors" and insert "liqueurs;" and in line 4, after the word "and," to strike out "fifty" and insert "twenty-five;" so as to make the paragraph read:

291. Cordials, liqueurs, arrack, absinthe, kirschwasser, ratafia, and other spirituous beverages or bitters of all kinds, containing spirits, and not specially provided for in this act, $2.25 per proof gallon.

The amendment was agreed to.

The reading of the bill was continued. The next amendment was, in paragraph 294, page 86, line 2, after the word "gallon," to insert "but no separate or additional duty shall be levied on the bottles;" so as to make the paragraph read:

294. Champagne and all other sparkling wines, in bottles containing each not more than 1 quart and more than 1 pint, $8 per dozen; containing not more than 1 pint each and more than one-half pint, $4 per dozen; containing one half pint each or less, $2 per dozen; in bottles or other vessels containing more than 1 quart each, in addition to $8 per dozen bottles, on the quantity in excess of 1 quart, at the rate of $2.50 per gallon; but no separate or additional duty shall be levied on the bottles.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was to strike out the following paragraph:

295. Still wines, including ginger wine or ginger cordial and vermuth, in casks, 60 cents per gallon; in bottles or jugs, per case of 1 dozen bottles or jugs, containing each not more than 1 quart and more than 1 pint, or 24 bottles or jugs containing each not more than 1 pint, $2 per case; and any excess beyond these quantities found in such bottles or jugs shall be subject to a duty of 7 cents per pint or fractional part thereof, but no separate or additional duty shall be assessed on the bottles or jugs: *Provided*, That any wines, ginger cordial, or vermuth imported containing more than 24 per cent of alcohol shall be forfeited to the United States: *And provided further*, That there shall be no constructive or other allowance for breakage, leakage, or damage on wines, liquors, cordials, or distilled spirits. Wines, cordials, brandy, and other spirituous liquors imported in bottles or jugs shall be packed in packages containing not less than 1 dozen bottles or jugs in each package; and all such bottles or jugs shall pay an additional duty of 3 cents for each bottle or jug unless specially provided for in this act.

And in lieu thereof to insert:

295. Still wines, including ginger wine or ginger cordial and vermuth, in casks or packages other than bottles or jugs, if containing 14 per cent or less of absolute alcohol, 30 cents per gallon; if containing more than 14 per cent of absolute alcohol, 50 cents per gallon. In bottles or jugs, per case of 1 dozen bottles or jugs, containing each not more than 1 quart and more than 1 pint, or 24 bottles or jugs containing each not more than 1 pint, $1.60 per case; and any excess beyond these quantities found in such bottles or jugs shall be subject to a duty of 5 cents per pint or fractional part thereof, but no separate or additional duty shall be assessed on the bottles or jugs: *Provided*, That any wines, ginger cordial, or vermuth imported containing more than 24 per cent of alcohol shall be classed as spirits and pay duty accordingly: *And provided further*, That there shall be no constructive or other allowance for breakage, leakage, or damage on wines, liquors, cordials, or distilled spirits. Wines, cordials, brandy, and other spirituous liquors, including bitters of all kinds, and bay rum or bay water, imported in bottles or jugs, shall be packed in packages containing not less than 1 dozen bottles or jugs in each package, or duty shall be paid as if such package contained at least 1 dozen bottles or jugs; and all such bottles or jugs shall, unless otherwise specially provided for in this act, pay an additional duty of 3 cents for each bottle or jug. The percentage of alcohol in wines and fruit juices shall be determined in such manner as the Secretary of the Treasury shall by regulation prescribe.

Mr. ALLISON. Before this amendment is voted on, I desire to modify it by striking out, on page 87, in lines 22 to 24, the words "and all such bottles or jugs shall, unless otherwise specially provided for in this act, pay an additional duty of 3 cents for each bottle or jug" and inserting "and in addition thereto duty shall be collected on the bottles or jugs at the rates which should be chargeable thereon if imported empty."

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the committee, including the amendment of the Senator from Iowa.

Mr. WHITE. In connection with this schedule, as relates to wine, I desire to have a letter read which was forwarded to me by Hon. Morris M. Estee, who is known to many Senators here personally and whom we all know to be one of the leading Republicans of the West. It is in reference to the particular item in the schedule now under consideration.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read the letter.

Mr. WHITE. I desire the attention of the Senator from Iowa to the statements contained in the letter.

The Secretary read as follows:

SAN FRANCISCO, *May 24, 1897.*

MY DEAR SENATOR: The tariff schedule adopted by the United States Senate, so far as it relates to American wines, is unjust, and the grape growers of California are practically a unit in opposition to it. By request of some of the leading producers of our State, I venture to write you on this topic.

You are aware that personally I have ceased to be interested in grape culture in California, but, in common with all of our people, I am deeply interested in whatever secures the prosperity of the producers of our State and country.

1. There is but a very small portion of the earth's surface where the finer qualities of the European grape can be raised. These grapes never will prosper in the Tropics, nor, indeed, in the temperate zones, except in especially favorable localities. California is the only part of the American Union where the European vine has thus far been largely cultivated. The culture of the grape is an infant industry, so far as our country is concerned, and if the principle of protection means anything, it means that infant or undeveloped industries shall be protected against unfair foreign competition. That is what we ask, and all we expect. The inquiry then arises, What should be done to accomplish this purpose? It goes without saying that all foreign wines brought to the United States are a luxury which none but the wealthy can enjoy, and this is so whether high import duties are imposed on them or not, as the American consumer of the middle classes uses American wines only; and hence the question of protection to American wines resolves itself into a contest between the rich American consumer and the foreign producer on the one hand and the industrious American producer and the poor American consumer on the other.

2. It is claimed that under the Senate amendments of the Dingley tariff bill this American industry will be destroyed. Ought this to be done? The amount invested in vineyards in California now exceeds $50,000,000. This is divided between the raisin, the wine, and the brandy industries. During the last four years there has been a great depression in the grape culture, caused largely by the so-called Wilson tariff bill, which placed the duty on dry wines at 20 cents per gallon. This was raised in the Dingley bill to 60 cents; but the Senate Finance Committee has cut it down to the old figure of 30 cents, and not only that, but it has changed the duty on imported wines in glass to $1 a case of a dozen bottles.

This is an actual discrimination in favor of the foreign product, because the one-dollar duty does not meet the difference in the price of wages in France and America. To illustrate, in the wine districts of France the average wages paid to labor is from 1½ to 3 francs a day, the laborer boarding himself, except his lunch. In California the price of labor for the same work is from 75 cents to $1 a day and board. It will thus be seen that if it were a mere matter of the value of labor in cultivating the vine, America could not on even terms compete with France in the making of wine. In this connection, it ought also to be observed that the interest on money in California is from 7 to 10 per cent per annum; in France, Germany, and Italy it is from 3 to 4 per cent per annum. And it should also be noted that Germany charges an import duty on wines brought into that country in glass of $1.95 a case; Italy, $1.44 a case, and France, on all wines above 10.9 of alcoholic strength, the same proportionate duty she imposes on spirits.

The Senate amendments to the Dingley bill are not only wrong to the producers, but are unjust to the whole people. For instance, the duty on wines of an absolute alcoholic strength of from 14 to 24 degrees is 50 cents a gallon, while the duty on spirits whose absolute alcoholic strength is 50 is $2.25 a gallon. Thus the duty on twenty-four fiftieths of a gallon of spirits, when blended with wine, is only 50 cents; but when it comes into the country in the form of pure spirits the duty would be over a dollar, thus discriminating in favor of foreign wines. And, again, this would encourage adulteration, because the ordinary strength of California wines is about 11½ degrees of alcohol, while under this bill the importer could bring in wine braced up to 24 in spirits, and by the use of water and other substances dilute it until it was down to the usual strength of 11½ degrees of spirits, and thus make more than 2 gallons of wine out of 1.

And, again, it is a notorious fact that the French officials have recently reported to the French Government that a considerable portion of the wines of France are adulterated. Whatever may be said of California wines by people who underrate our own productions, yet no one ever doubted but what they were pure.

3. As a revenue proposition the Senate amendments to the Dingley bill in relation to wines would prove a failure. As before stated, it is well understood that imported wines of the better grades are drank only by wealthy people, and it is also a fact that the chief test of the value of these wines with the American user is the cost of such wines, rather than their quality and purity, and thus 50 cents a gallon duty on dry wines (that is, those under 12 per cent of alcoholic strength) will not perceptibly affect the amount of the importation of wine. Such a duty would, however, protect our own producers, and would throw into the market in competition with imported wines an absolutely pure article, and which is improving in quality every year, and

thus, while a 50-cent duty would increase American revenue, it would at the same time sustain an American industry.

It must be noted also in this connection that the duties on wines and liquors are high in all countries where any duty at all is imposed. As a rule, this duty is imposed for the single purpose of producing revenue. The contention that a lower rate of duty on imported wines would stimulate the importation, and thus increase the revenue, has by the experiences of the past proven to be an error. For instance, the importation of wines in the United States in 1893 was 3,354,078 gallons. The duty on these wines at 50 cents per gallon amounted to $1,727,039.14, while the amount of wine imported in 1896, when the duty was 30 and 50 cents a gallon, was 2,768,485 gallons, and the duty collected amounted to $1,420,251.99. So you can readily see that, if these Senate amendments to the Dingley bill were prompted for the purpose of increasing the revenue, they will prove a failure.

The fact is, France never has been a good market for American productions. We therefore owe no commercial obligations to France that we have not thrice paid; but even if we did, is it either fair or wise for our brethren in the more populous portions of our country to pass laws which will protect the industries in which they are engaged, but at the same time forget their kindred in the remoter portions of this Republic? They should remember that while their wool and iron and coal and their products of the farm are protected, our fruits and wines should be equally protected; and thus by developing all the resources of every part of the country they will increase the average wealth of the people, maintain prices for labor, give to capital remunerative investments, and make our country self-supporting by producing nearly everything that our people consume.

Yours, sincerely,

MORRIS M. ESTEE.

Hon. STEPHEN M. WHITE,
United States Senator, Washington, D. C.

Mr. WHITE. The communication just read presents one view of this matter which, it seems to me, ought to be determinative so far as the other side of the Chamber is concerned. But my view of the whole subject embraced in this chapter is that there is no reason, upon any theory advocated by anyone here, justifying the reduction of tariff upon the alcoholic beverages referred to in Schedule H. It is a proposition entirely different from what is ordinarily discussed in a tariff debate. This schedule has reference to champagnes, brandies, wines, and so on, and those articles ought to be taxed considerably. Of course I would not put on a prohibitive tax, but I would put a tax on the luxury theory.

I was not able to see when the bill was under consideration two years ago, and I do not now see, any reason to justify the lowering of the tax upon these specific articles. I do not refer particularly to wine, but to other articles. If I had my way about it, I would keep up the rate of taxation upon brandies and similar liquors to the standard prescribed by the McKinley Act, simply for the reason I have stated. I think that these articles can stand a high tariff. Those who wish them will procure them in any event, and hence there will be no loss, but on the contrary an increase of revenue by following that principle.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the committee, to strike out and insert a new paragraph, including the amendment moved by the Senator from Iowa.

Mr. WHITE. I offer no amendment in connection with the paragraph.

Mr. VEST. It seems to me that this tax now is up to the revenue point. It is folly to go any higher, unless, as the Senator from California says, a thing is to be done which I deprecate, to prohibit absolutely these foreign wines from coming into the country. As a matter of course, these are articles of luxury, and a high duty is expected to be imposed upon them, but I submit that the doctrine of forcing every man who can not drink California wines and proposes to drink the still wines that are imported from the Rhine and from France and Italy, and prohibiting him from indulging in that taste, is all wrong and oppressive. These wines ought to pay a fair revenue and no more.

I hold in my hand—I do not pretend to be an expert in the matter—a communication from the wine importers of the city of New York, some of them very reputable men, to my knowledge. I see the names of two here who removed from the State of Missouri to New York, whom I know to be reputable men. I will ask, without having it read, that the communication be placed in the RECORD. The substance of it is that the imposition of this duty would absolutely exclude these wines from this country and force everybody who wants to drink wine at all, which I think is an admirable thing to do if they must drink, instead of drinking whisky, to take California wine.

I must be permitted to say that my experience about tariff is that that is at the bottom of all this taxation. They come here in the name of revenue, but the real object is to force the American people to take their products. The meaning of this increased taxation is, if you must drink wine, then you must drink our wine, and if a man can not drink the California wine, as a great many people can not, you must not drink wine at all. I do not belong to the class who believe that it is an unadulterated evil to drink wine. I believe in the old Bible doctrine, "Use a little wine for thy stomach's sake." If I want a particular sort of wine, and believe it is pure and healthful, I have a right under the Constitution of the United States to exercise that privilege myself.

This new doctrine which has come in vogue of late years, to use the tariff to force me either to leave my stomach empty or to take into it the products of certain people in this country, is all wrong, undemocratic, unrepublican, and opposed, in my opinion, to the genius of our institutions.

I suppose it is perfectly useless to move to reduce this duty, but I will ask that the communication I have presented may go into the RECORD to show that this is not an ex parte question by any means.

The communication referred to is as follows:

NEW YORK, *March 31, 1897.*

Hon. GEORGE G. VEST, *Washington, D. C.:*

We, the undersigned, dealers in American and foreign wines in this city, respectfully beg to submit to your consideration the following reasons why the proposed duty of 60 cents per gallon on foreign still wines imported in casks to this country should not be enacted, and the present rate of 30 cents maintained, especially for a particular class of foreign still wines.

First. The proposed duty of 60 cents per gallon would be a prohibitive rate on most of the foreign wines imported to this country in casks, because in the case of the cheapest wines it would increase their cost by about 200 per cent, and this exorbitant increase would stop their importation, thus causing a loss instead of a gain in the revenue of the Government. The original cost of California wines averages about 18 cents per gallon, while in the case of foreign wines fit for exportation it is seldom less than 35 cents delivered in the countries of production. This is already a natural protection of about 100 per cent on California wines; but the proposed duty of 60 cents per gallon on foreign wines would raise this protection to the enormous ratio of more than 330 per cent, to the detriment of the consumers, who are, for the most part, people of limited means, and would have to pay a double or triple price for an article that has not a higher value.

Second. The proposed duty of 60 cents per gallon is higher even than the rate demanded by some California growers. We say "some growers," because not all of them think that there is any need of further protection.

In fact, from an article on the tariff on wines that appeared in the Pacific Wine and Spirit Review, of San Francisco, under date of February 6, 1897, and where the increase of duty on foreign wines is strongly opposed, we gather the following statement:

"The present duty of 30 cents per gallon affords sufficient protection."

And further, in the same article, Mr. Charles Wetmore, a prominent Californian wine maker, says:

"The present tariff—30 cents on dry natural wines and 50 cents on fortified, such as ports and sherries—averages the same as the old 40-cent rate, but is more scientific, as it aims to tax imported wines according to alcoholic strength at about the same rate as the internal-revenue tax on spirits. It is, in fact, a rate of 150 to 200 per cent on the cost price of wines to the wholesale merchants.

"Even now, with better prices for wines, merchants can and do deliver their goods in New York for less than the duty, having the full cost price and expenses on foreign wines as the margin of protection. From the protective standpoint, our wines have now a larger measure of protection than any other product that I can think of. Higher duties would be unjust and oppressive. * * *

"A prohibitive tariff is tyrannical and fosters shoddy of all kinds by removing from competition superior articles which serve to stimulate producers to improve in quality. The fine wines of foreign countries are not in competition with our products; they command prices and customers of their own, and their presence is the only incentive left to encourage higher grades in our own vineyards."

Third. Such a prohibitive rate of duty as the proposed 60 cents per gallon would encourage the adulteration of wines and the manufacture of artificial wines, which must be prevented by all means in the interest of agriculture, of honest trade, and of public health. With an increase in prices for pure wine in this country, the business of manufacturing artificial wine would prosper, and this could not be effectually stopped under existing laws. With a prohibitive duty on foreign wines, the "brick vineyards" in this country, where sugar and spirits are cheap, would be sure to develop. Artificial or spurious wines are the real competitors of the wine industry of this country and not foreign wines, which do not come into competition with the home product, being of an entirely different character. It is natural that the manufacturers of spurious wines will favor higher duties on foreign wines. If the price of genuine wine is pushed much above what they can turn it out for, they will flood the markets of the country with artificial wines. Who will be the losers? The wine growers of this country first, then the wine consumers—who would lose both their money and their health—and last, but not least, the Government in the expected revenue from imported wines.

Fourth. By hindering or wiping out the importation of foreign wines in casks, as would result from the application of the 60-cent duty, considerable damage would be done to the prosperous American export trade with Europe in staves for wine barrels. Most of the wines imported from southern Europe are packed in oak casks of American origin, and this trade would be seriously affected the day that the importation of wines from Europe into this country should be reduced to a minimum on account of the prohibitive duty.

Fifth. On the following point, we desire to draw especially your attention:

Not all foreign wines imported into the United States are intended for direct consumption, but a discrimination must be made for a special class of wines imported from southern Italy, southern France, and Spain, and called, from the use to which they are designated, blending wines. These wines are a raw material and are imported into the United States for the purpose of improving, by blending, a certain class of American wines. They are a natural production of the grapes of certain parts of the above countries, and are so rich in alcohol, body, and coloring matter, and so low in acid, that they could not be used for direct consumption, but are suitable only for the mixing with others.

The American wines requiring to be blended with these wines are still wines obtained in the States east of the Rockies, where, on account of the unfavorable climatic conditions and of the existence of the phylloxera, the cultivation of the European grape is not possible and only the indigenous American grape can be raised, which, for wine-making purposes, is not so suitable as the European variety, with the result that many of the wines obtained in this section are but too frequently poor, acid, thin, and possessing a disagreeable foxy flavor. On account of this, they do not obtain good prices in their original condition, as the greater number of wine consumers of this country are people of foreign origin, who require wines of a similar character to those to which they were accustomed in their respective countries. In order to raise the quality of the American wines in question to the required standard it is necessary to resort to the use of blending wines, which, on account of their rich composition, can remedy in a natural way the deficiencies of the wines obtained from the American grapes, giving as a result wines of proper composition, palatable, that will keep well and improve with age and sell more easily and at a better price than they would in their original condition. That they are not a luxury, but a raw material intended for

blending purposes, is proved, first, by their composition, and second, by their original cost, which is on the average of about 28 cents per gallon.

In some parts of Germany, Switzerland, and Austria, where certain thin, acid wines, for themselves of little value, are produced, on account of the fact that the grape does not always attain perfect maturity, and where, therefore, conditions exist similar to those of the Eastern States of this country, the practice of blending these naturally poor wines with those of southern Italy, for instance, is a well-established fact, and the Italian blending wines are largely exported to the countries above mentioned for the purpose indicated. Germany, in order to improve the quality of some of her wines by this natural means, has arranged in her commercial treaty with Italy a differential duty on blending wines, which can be imported into Germany subject to only half the duty (10 marks per hectoliter) that wines for direct consumption have to pay (20 marks per hectoliter).

A similar provision, we think, would benefit the wine merchants and intelligent growers of this country east of the Rockies, who would thus be enabled to improve the wines of American grapes and find for them a readier and more profitable market. It must be observed that one-half of the production of wines in the United States, which averages yearly 18,000,000 gallons, is grown in the Eastern States, and the interests pertaining to this production deserve an equal amount of consideration with those of the Pacific Coast. In the United States of America no wines are grown having the character of blending wines, and such wines, therefore, would not come into competition with any class of American wines; on the contrary, as has been said, a large portion of them would be benefited by their use.

Hoping that you will give a favorable consideration to the arguments brought forward in this memorial and maintain unaltered the present tariff on foreign still wines, we remain,

Most respectfully,

Cella Brothers, L. Gandolfi & Co., Achille Starace, Louis Peirano, F. Romeo & Co., Renauld & Niederstadt, H. A. Batjer & Co., Zucca & Co., C. Maspero, Du Vivier & Co., John Solari & Co., Musica & Wynen, E. La Montague & Sons, Henry E. Gourd, D. Fratelli Ciani, W. H. Westervelt & Co., Giuseppe Brignoli, A. Bagaglia, importers, New York; V. Savarese & Bros., G. Cinque & Son, Ajello & Cañero, Schiaffino's Sons & Co., L. Balbi & Co., importers, Brooklyn; G. Rossati, wine expert of the Italian department of agriculture, in mission to the United States.

P. S.—For further information, please apply to G. Rossati, 24 State street, New York.

Mr. WHITE. I call the attention of my friend the Senator from Missouri to the proposition shown by the statistics that, under the act prevailing anterior to the Wilson Act, we obtained more revenue from this article than we did under the Wilson Act, and it is so with reference to all of the provisions involved in this particular schedule of the bill. As the Senator says, it is true that these articles are luxuries and are expected to be taxed as such. We must not pass the revenue point; but it is obvious that as a tariff for revenue the present law is not a success in this regard.

I do not care to prolong the debate. I shall vote against the amendment proposed by the committee, as I believe the House provision is better than the provision now proposed.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the committee to strike out and insert, including the amendment proposed by the Senator from Iowa to the amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 298, on page 88, line 11, after the word "fruit," to strike out "juice" and insert "juices;" so as to read:

Cherry juice and prune juice, or prune wine, and other fruit juices not specially provided for in this act.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in the same paragraph, after the word "act," at the end of line 11, to strike out "containing no alcohol or not more than 18 per cent of alcohol."

Mr. ALLISON. I ask the Senate to disagree to the amendment striking out those words.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment reported by the committee, to strike out the words which have been read.

The amendment was rejected.

The next amendment was, in the same paragraph, line 14, after the word "alcohol," to strike out "$2.50 per proof gallon; fruits preserved in spirits when containing over 5 per cent of alcohol, $2.50 per proof gallon for the alcohol contained therein" and insert "60 cents per gallon, and in addition thereto $2.07 per proof gallon on the alcohol contained therein;" so as to make the paragraph read:

298. Cherry juice and prune juice, or prune wine, and other fruit juices not specially provided for in this act, containing no alcohol or not more than 18 per cent of alcohol, 60 cents per gallon; if containing more than 18 per cent of alcohol, 60 cents per gallon, and in addition thereto $2.07 per proof gallon on the alcohol contained therein.

The amendment was agreed to.

The reading of the bill was resumed, and paragraph 299 was read, as follows:

299. Ginger ale, ginger beer, lemonade, soda water, and other similar waters in plain green or colored, molded or pressed, glass bottles, containing each not more than three-fourths of a pint, 18 cents per dozen; containing more than three-fourths of a pint each and not more than 1½ pints, 28 cents per dozen; but no separate or additional duty shall be assessed on the bottles; if imported otherwise than in plain green or colored, molded or pressed, glass bottles, or in such bottles containing more than 1½ pints each, 50 cents per gallon, and in addition thereto, duty shall be collected on the bottles, or other coverings, at the rates which would be chargeable thereon if imported empty.

Mr. ALLISON. I wish to offer an amendment to that paragraph, in line 21, to strike out the word "waters," after the word "similar," and insert the words "beverages containing no alcohol;" so as to read:

Ginger ale, ginger beer, lemonade, soda water, and other similar beverages containing no alcohol, etc.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I move, in line 23 of that paragraph, after the word "pint," to strike out "eighteen" and insert "fourteen;" so as to make the rate 14 cents per dozen for bottles containing not more than three-fourths of a pint.

The equivalent tax under the present law is about 14 cents. These things are all water; none of them contain any alcohol. I see no difference between them and the class of mineral waters practically which are provided for in section 300. These mineral waters are admitted at a tax of 14 cents per dozen bottles. I do not understand why there should be a higher rate upon ginger ale, ginger beer, lemonade, and soda water than is placed on mineral waters in paragraph 300.

The rate on these articles under the McKinley law was 13 cents a dozen, and the equivalent ad valorem 20 per cent, and under the Wilson law, now in existence, it is 14 cents. I think there certainly can be no objection on the part of the committee to making the rate of duty on these the same as the rate of duty on the mineral waters provided for in paragraph 300. It is a higher rate than that of the McKinley law by 1 cent, and I can see no reason why this class of articles should be taxed higher than mineral waters, which are similar in their character and used for similar purposes. If there is any reason for this difference I should be glad to have the Senator from Iowa state it.

Mr. ALLISON. The majority of the committee considered this subject very carefully, and think this is a very reasonable duty on ginger ale and like beverages.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. It should be the same as the rate on mineral waters.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the amendment proposed by the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. JONES], which will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In paragraph 299, page 88, line 23, before the word "cents," it is proposed to strike out "eighteen" and insert "fourteen;" so as to read, "14 cents per dozen."

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I ask for the yeas and nays on that amendment.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CLAY (when his name was called). I announce my pair with the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. JONES of Arkansas (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. LINDSAY (when his name was called). I transfer my pair with the senior Senator from Michigan [Mr. MCMILLAN] to the senior Senator from New York [Mr. MURPHY], and vote "yea."

Mr. MITCHELL (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SEWELL]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. MORRILL (when his name was called). I am paired with the senior Senator from Tennessee [Mr. HARRIS]. Not knowing how he would vote if present, I withhold my vote.

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. GEAR. I am paired with the junior Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH], but I transfer that pair to the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE], and vote "nay."

Mr. TILLMAN. I announce my pair with the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. THURSTON]. I see he is not in the Chamber, and so I withhold my vote.

Mr. KENNEY. I announce my pair with the junior Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. PENROSE]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. CLAY. The Senator from Iowa [Mr. GEAR] having transferred his pair with the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH] to the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE], with whom I am paired, I am at liberty to vote. I vote "yea."

Mr. HARRIS of Kansas. I am paired with the junior Senator from Wyoming [Mr. CLARK]. He not being present, I withhold my vote.

Mr. MORRILL. I transfer my pair with the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. HARRIS] to the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. WARREN], and vote "nay."

Mr. BURROWS (after having voted in the negative). I am paired with the senior Senator from Louisiana [Mr. CAFFERY], but I transfer that pair to the Senator from Nevada [Mr. JONES] until further notice, and will let my vote in the negative stand.

The result was announced—yeas 23, nays 33; as follows:

YEAS—23.

Bacon,	Cockrell,	Martin,	Roach,
Bate,	Gray,	Mills,	Turpie,
Berry,	Heitfeld,	Morgan,	Vest,
Butler,	Lindsay,	Pasco,	Walthall,
Chilton,	McLaurin,	Pettus,	White.
Clay,	Mallory,	Rawlins,	

NAYS—33.

Allison,	Fairbanks,	Mantle,	Spooner,
Baker,	Foraker,	Mason,	Stewart,
Burrows,	Frye,	Morrill,	Teller,
Carter,	Gallinger,	Perkins,	Wellington,
Chandler,	Gear,	Platt, Conn.	Wetmore,
Cullom,	Hanna,	Platt, N. Y.	Wilson.
Davis,	Hawley,	Pritchard,	
Deboe,	Hoar,	Proctor,	
Elkins,	Kyle,	Quay,	

NOT VOTING—33.

Aldrich,	Hale,	McEnery,	Smith,
Allen,	Hansbrough,	McMillan,	Thurston,
Caffery,	Harris, Kans.	Mitchell,	Tillman,
Cannon,	Harris, Tenn.	Murphy,	Turner,
Clarke,	Jones, Ark.	Nelson,	Warren,
Daniel,	Jones, Nev.	Penrose,	Wolcott.
Faulkner,	Kenney,	Pettigrew,	
George,	Lodge,	Sewell,	
Gorman,	McBride,	Shoup,	

So the amendment was rejected.

Mr. COCKRELL subsequently said: This morning on the yea-and-nay vote that was taken I was paired with the Senator from Oregon [Mr. McBRIDE], and voted without noticing that he was not in the Chamber. I desire to announce my pair with him at that time. He was unavoidably called from the Chamber. I ask unanimous consent that I may have leave to withdraw my vote. It does not change the result at all or break a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. GALLINGER in the chair). Without objection, leave will be granted.

Mr. VEST. Mr. President, before this schedule is disposed of, I want to call attention, without going into any extended discussion, to the increase over the McKinley rates by this paragraph. For instance, in line 23 the increase is from 13 to 18 cents; in line 25 the increase is from 26 to 28 cents; and in lines 1, 2, and 3, on page 89, a duty is put upon bottles, which was not placed upon bottles by the McKinley Act or the Wilson law. That is all I desire to say on that question.

The reading of the bill was resumed, and paragraph 300 was read.

Mr. VEST. I move to strike out that paragraph for the purpose of putting these natural mineral waters on the free list, where they now are.

We have taxed everything else, and now we propose to tax these products of nature, which are absolutely necessary to a great many invalids in this country. There are thousands of people in the United States who are not able to live without these mineral waters, and the experience of years has demonstrated to them that fact. The Carlsbad water and other waters which are brought to this country, and the salts which are produced from them, are absolutely necessary to invalids.

I do not care to elaborate the subject, but here is a petition from the leading physicians in the principal cities of the Union—New York, Boston, Chicago, St. Louis, Baltimore, and all the other cities of the country. It is very short, and I will ask that the body of the petition be read.

There are also statements from the principal medical journals in the United States, protesting against the duty upon these articles, stating that they are absolutely necessary to the health of the people of this country.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The paper referred to by the Senator from Missouri will be read, in the absence of objection.

Mr. ALLISON. Does the Senator desire to have that paper read?

Mr. VEST. It is very short, and contains only a few sentences.

Mr. ALLISON. Very well.

The Secretary read as follows:

PETITIONS OF THE MEDICAL PROFESSION OF THE UNITED STATES.

To the honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled:

We, members of the medical profession in various sections of this country, respectfully present this our petition.

The tariff bill now under consideration in the House of Representatives would inflict duties upon natural mineral waters, which would greatly lessen, if not entirely prevent, their importation.

Under the existing and all other tariffs since 1872 the dietetic effervescent waters, and all other natural mineral waters, have been, for reasons of public utility and because of their great value to public health as hygienic beverages and as medicines, expressly admitted free, except in respect to a duty on the bottles in which they are imported.

The carbonic-acid gas that the natural dietetic waters contain, and which necessarily renders them more or less effervescent, is an important element in their constitution; it has the effect of preserving their valuable natural ingredients in solution, and without such free carbonic-acid gas they would inevitably suffer change and deterioration, which would alter their constitution and destroy their properties and good effects; they would undergo decomposition and become undrinkable and useless.

The heavy and prohibitive tax which it is now proposed to levy on such mineral waters would work a serious injury by depriving the public and the medical profession of the benefits now derived from these necessary and important resources of hygiene and medicine, and we respectfully submit that, on the grounds of health and public utility, the provisions relating to foreign natural mineral waters, and to the bottles wherein they are imported, which were in force prior to October, 1890, be reenacted in any tariff which is sanctioned by your honorable Houses.

We respectfully and earnestly pray that our petition may be considered at an early date.

Mr. WHITE. If the amendments proposed by the committee to this paragraph have been adopted, I wish to offer a substitute for it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair will suggest to the Senator from California that the amendments proposed by the committee to the paragraph have not been acted upon. They will first be acted upon.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 300, page 89, line 10, after the word "pint," to strike out "thirty" and insert "fourteen;" in line 12, after the word "quart," to strike out "forty" and insert "twenty-four;" in line 16, after the word "quart," to strike out "thirty" and insert "twenty;" and in line 18, after the word "charged," to insert "thereon;" so as to make the paragraph read:

300. All mineral waters and all imitations of natural mineral waters, and all artificial mineral waters not specially provided for in this act, in green or colored glass bottles, containing not more than 1 pint, 14 cents per dozen bottles. If containing more than 1 pint and not more than 1 quart, 24 cents per dozen bottles. But no separate duty shall be assessed upon the bottles. If imported otherwise than in plain green or colored glass bottles, or if imported in such bottles containing more than 1 quart, 20 cents per gallon, and in addition thereto duty shall be collected upon the bottles or other covering at the same rates that would be charged thereon if imported empty or separately.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. On behalf of the majority of the Committee on Finance, I propose to add to the paragraph the proviso which I send to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Iowa will be stated.

The SECRETARY. At the end of the paragraph it is proposed to insert:

Provided, That all filled bottles imported under this and the preceding paragraph after February 1, 1898, shall have a designation of the contents thereof blown in said bottles.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. VEST. Mr. President, I simply wish to add as to this provision that I hold in my hand a paper which shows that in one instance the ad valorem duty on bottles is equal to 118 per cent; under another provision of this schedule the ad valorem duty on the bottles is equal to 90 per cent; under another provision the ad valorem duty is equal to 218 per cent, and under another it is equal to 127 per cent.

It is very manifest that the intention is, as I said in regard to wines, to exclude these articles from abroad, no matter how necessary they may be to the life or health of any American citizen, and we are met with the argument that they can get just as good mineral waters in this country, and they must take them.

Mr. President, if there is anything that constitutes a peculiar feature of disease, it is that the subtile connection between mind and body must be considered by the skillful physician. If the patient becomes possessed of the idea that a certain sort of mineral water is necessary to his health, then nothing else will have the effect upon him of that particular water. Our friends upon the other side can not come in, in the name of American production and in the name of protection to American products, and say to the patient, "You must reverse your opinion on this question and swallow our waters; and if you do not do it, then die. It is better for you to die than that the great protective system should be sacrificed in a single feature." [Laughter.] That is the meaning of this enormous duty of 218 per cent upon bottles. It is proposed to exclude them from the country absolutely, and then to compel any man whose physician advises him to drink mineral waters, or who thinks he needs a certain foreign mineral water, to take the American water or else go out of existence and escape by death from this universal and permeating spirit of protection. [Laughter.]

I ask leave to have inserted in the RECORD the paper which I send to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. In the absence of objection, it will be so ordered.

The paper referred to is as follows:

NATURAL MINERAL WATERS.

Natural mineral waters, for remedial and table purposes, have always been imported free of duty as beneficial for and essential to the preservation of health.

All attempts to impose a duty upon them, or upon the bottles in which they were imported, were at first fruitless, Congress insisting that they should be imported duty free. In 1883 Congress again agreed to the principle that natural mineral water should be free from duty, but it imposed upon its bottles a duty of 2½ cents per case 50 large bottles and 25 cents per case 100 small bottles, equal to 30 per cent ad valorem on the bottles.

By the act of 1890 (McKinley tariff) this duty upon the bottles was increased to 75 cents per case 50 large bottles and $1.50 per case 100 small bottles, being

1 cent per pound on large bottles and 1¼ cents per pound on small bottles, equal to 118 per cent ad valorem on the bottles.

By the act of 1894 (Wilson tariff) this duty upon the bottles was decreased to 58 cents per case 50 large bottles and $1.12 per case 100 small bottles, being three-fourths of a cent per pound on large bottles and 1¼ cents per pound on small bottles, equal to 90 per cent ad valorem on the bottles.

It is now proposed in the liquor schedule of the new tariff bill to ignore all the often-repeated decisions of Congress by which natural mineral waters were retained on the free list, and to tax "all mineral waters," whether natural or artificial, at the rate of 40 cents per dozen large bottles and 30 cents per dozen small bottles, equal to $1.67 per case 50 large bottles, or three times the present duty on the bottles; $2.50 per case 100 small bottles, or about two and a quarter times the present duty on the bottles; equal to 218 per cent ad valorem on the bottles, and (should this attempt to tax the water be defeated) to increase the duty on its bottles in the glass schedule to 1½ cents per pound on the large bottles and 1¼ cents per pound on the small bottles, equal to 94 cents per case of 50 large bottles and $1.50 per case of 100 small bottles, or more than four times as much as the duty imposed in 1883, equal to 127 per cent ad valorem on the bottles.

It is certainly most remarkable that, while it is thus proposed to tax those celebrated European mineral waters which practical physicians in all countries have long regarded and esteemed as amongst the most valuable and indispensable of their dietetic and therapeutic resources, a much lower duty has been fixed in the same schedule (H) for ginger ale, ginger beer, lemonade, and soda water.

It will be shown herein that the arguments in support of the proposed enormous increase of duty are incorrect, and that no legitimate reason exists for its imposition.

The increased duty can not produce increased revenue, because its imposition would practically prohibit importation.

It can only, therefore, be justified as a protective duty, destined to prevent all competition with a domestic industry.

Natural mineral table water, such as apollinaris water, is sold to the wholesale dealer at $7 per case of 50 large bottles—bottles, straw mats, and case included—and costs the consumer, including the dealer's profit, about $7.50 per case of 50 large bottles.

The domestic table waters of the United States sell at from $4 to $4.50 per case of 50 large bottles, minus an allowance of $2 for the 50 bottles when returned empty, which bottles, as returned, the bottler refills over and over again.

Consequently, the consumer in the United States pays for 50 bottles of the domestic water, including dealer's profit, say, $3 net, against $7.50 for 50 bottles of apollinaris.

How, then, can it be said that apollinaris, with its necessarily high selling price, competes as regards cost with the domestic waters?

Nor is there a single instance of a domestic water reducing its price on account of apollinaris; but, on the contrary, the competition among the bottlers of domestic water is so keen that, to keep it within bounds, they have in some places agreed among themselves not to sell below $4 per case.

How can they need more protection, or how can further protection do them any good, if, having it in their power to raise their price to the price of apollinaris and other imported table waters, they do not avail themselves thereof?

The truth is that, as apollinaris, etc., do not compete with the home waters in price, such extra duty is not needed or asked for as a protective duty at all, but as a penalty to be imposed upon would-be consumers of apollinaris water—designed, in fact, to exclude this article of necessity from the country altogether.

Bottles.—If natural mineral waters should escape the high duty of $1.67 to $2.50 per case in the liquor schedule, it would still have to face the proposal of a duty of about $1 to $1.50 on its bottles in the glass schedule, which treats filled bottles as if they were new bottles.

Bottles in which natural mineral table waters are imported can not compete when empty with new bottles manufactured in the United States. Whatever such bottles may have cost originally, whatever the duty paid upon them when imported, the small proportion which are sold when empty are always sold to the junk man, and, owing to their unmarketable condition, for a very low price. The majority of such bottles do not come into the market at all, while the bottles in which the medicinal mineral waters are imported are of a shape which renders them quite useless when empty.

The bottle manufacturers are unreasonable, therefore, in asking that filled bottles should be treated in the tariff exactly as if they were new bottles imported for sale. Congress has repeatedly considered and dismissed this claim upon unanswerable arguments, as will be found in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 60, pages 1272, 1340; volume 60, page 2063, etc., February, 1883.

It was stated to the Committee of Ways and Means at Washington, on the 8th of January, 1897, by Mr. Edgar A. Agord, of Streator, Ill., of the Green Glass Workers' Association, that the average cost in America of making bottles amounts to $3.55 per average gross, quarts and pints.

The duty proposed on all mineral waters is equal to $4.20 per average gross, quarts and pints, while the duty proposed upon bottles, large and small, is equal to $2.60 per average gross, quarts and pints.

It is evident that even the latter figure is far too large merely as a protective duty on an article which costs $3.55, and which is already protected by the cost of production in Europe, the cost of transport, and the fact above mentioned that the vast proportion of filled imported bottles do not come into competition for employment when empty.

The present duty upon imported bottles is equal to $1.04 per average gross, quarts and pints, and it is sufficiently shown above to be adequate for protection and revenue alike, amounting to nearly 50 per cent of what is stated by Mr. Agord to be the average cost of production in the United States.

The new tariff bill proposes that, for the first time, "all mineral waters," no matter what their remedial qualities may be, are alike to be subject to a tax which will be tantamount to a prohibition upon importation.

Thus remedies held in universal esteem by the medical profession throughout the whole world, and of established and undoubted value and importance as therapeutic agents, such as the waters of Carlsbad, Marienbad, Ems, Vichy, Vals, Contrexéville, Friedrichshall, Kissingen, Homburg, and the Hungarian aperient waters—these, as well as other medicinal waters of world-wide adoption and repute, are to be more highly taxed than ginger beer and soda waters, and the members of the medical profession and their patients are thus to be deprived of some of the most precious and indispensable of their resources in the treatment of acute and chronic ailments.

Thousands and thousands of patients—and their numbers are ever on the increase—annually visit Europe to drink these waters at the springs, and it is essential to the enduring success of such courses of treatment that on their return home these patients should be able to continue the use of the waters as imported from Europe.

To deprive them of such a means of restoration to health seems wholly indefensible, or to impose on them the necessity of prolonging their stay in Europe, which must be the inevitable result if Congress excludes these healing waters from the country.

Mr. WHITE. I offer, as a substitute for the section as amended, what I send to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment proposed by the Senator from California will be stated.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to strike out paragraph 300 as amended, and in lieu thereof to insert:

All imitations of natural mineral waters, and all artificial mineral waters, 20 per cent ad valorem.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is upon the amendment in the nature of a substitute submitted by the Senator from California [Mr. WHITE].

The amendment was rejected.

The reading of the bill was resumed at "Schedule I.—Cotton manufactures." The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 301, page 90, line 13, before the words "on all," to insert "in addition thereto;" in line 14, after the word "twenty," to insert "and up to No. 80;" and in line 15, after the word "pound," to insert "on No. 80 and above, 50 per cent ad valorem;" so as to make the paragraph read:

301. Cotton thread and carded yarn, warps or warp yarn, in singles, whether on beams or in bundles, skeins or cops, or in any other form, except spool thread of cotton hereinafter provided for, not colored, bleached, dyed, or advanced beyond the condition of singles by grouping or twisting two or more single yarns together, 3 cents per pound on all numbers up to and including No. 15, one-fifth of a cent per number per pound on all numbers exceeding No. 15 and up to and including No. 30, and one-fourth of a cent per number per pound on all numbers exceeding No. 30; colored, bleached, dyed, combed or advanced beyond the condition of singles by grouping or twisting two or more single yarns together, whether on beams, or in bundles, skeins or cops, or in any other form, except spool thread of cotton hereinafter provided for, 6 cents per pound on all numbers up to and including No. 20, and in addition thereto on all numbers exceeding No. 20 and up to No. 80, three-tenths of a cent per number per pound; on No. 80 and above, 50 per cent ad valorem; cotton card laps, roping, sliver or roving, 45 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I offer a proviso as an amendment to come in at the end of the paragraph, which I ask the Secretary to read.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Arkansas will be stated.

The SECRETARY. At the end of paragraph 301 it is proposed to insert:

Provided, however, That in no case shall the duty levied exceed 8 cents per pound on yarns valued at not exceeding 25 cents per pound, nor exceed 15 cents per pound on yarns valued at over 25 cents per pound and not exceeding 40 cents per pound; *And provided further*, That on all yarns valued at more than 40 cents per pound there shall be levied, collected, and paid a duty of 45 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The purpose of this proposed amendment is obvious, of course, to all the members of the Senate. I suppose the pending paragraph, following the present rates in the McKinley law, leaving out the limitations which this proviso makes, was framed in compliance with a request such as the one I now propose to read to the Senate. This is from the treasurer of the Kerr Thread Company, of Fall River, Mass. He says:

FALL RIVER, MASS., *April 24, 1897.*

DEAR SIR: We take the liberty of drawing your special attention to Schedule I, paragraph 301, of the tariff bill—cotton yarns.

This schedule, as it passed the House of Representatives in its amended form, is one which the fine cotton yarn industry of this country has long fought for, being necessary not to prohibit the importation of foreign yarns, but to give the American manufacturer an opportunity to make the same in competition with the foreigner. Our mills, the same as quite a number of others, have been built and equipped with the most modern and finest machinery, so that the industry as represented in this country is not one which requires "bolstering up" in any sense of the word in order to compete successfully. The item of labor cost, as is well known, is the one greatest difficulty we have to contend with, and in fine yarns the proportion of labor in the cost of production amounts to a very large per cent. The wages we have to pay in Fall River, as compared to Lancashire, England, are not 25 per cent or 50 per cent, as many people imagine is the case, but they will average fully 100 per cent, in many instances being over this amount.

The bill as it has passed the House is entirely specific in its form, and for this reason is satisfactory to our interests, as with such a bill we are able to figure pretty closely the amount of protection we receive, whereas with an ad valorem measure the difference between the strictly honest importer and the other who is not quite so particular works very much to the detriment of the home producer.

The present so-called Wilson bill, while at first glance it may appear to be a specific bill, has been found in its working to be entirely ad valorem. The riders at the end of this bill are for all practical purposes the bill itself, and the riders being on an ad valorem basis, the spinners of cotton yarns have suffered more than is generally known under its working.

Yours, truly,

R. C. KERR, *Treasurer.*

Senator JONES,
Finance Committee of the Senate,
Washington, D. C.

Mr. President, the purpose I had in reading that letter was to call attention to the reason why these rates are wanted. The rates are the same, as I say, in the first part of the clause as those in the McKinley law, but the reason why the proviso which I have just sent to the Secretary's desk and had read was left out I will now undertake to show.

While on the low grade of yarns the tariff will be the same, on the high grades, in the singles, exceeding No. 30, the equivalent ad valorem will be from 43 to 94 per cent, and on colored singles from No. 20 to 80 the equivalent ad valorem will be from 47 to 103 per cent. The letter I have just read explains that the labor cost between the yarns at Fall River and Lancashire was not 25 per cent or 50 per cent, but that it was 100 per cent and over.

I had a table prepared in 1894, when we had this subject under

consideration. I remember to have had stated the cost of labor in Massachusetts, at Fall River, by Jacob Schoenhof, a patient, honest, and careful investigator, for the spinning of a pound of yarn. When the figures given as the cost for spinning these different yarns were published, they were denounced by the manufacturers all over the country. The Manufacturers' Club at Boston particularly denounced the figures, and published a statement that they would expose the absurdity and the fallacy of the scale published by Mr. Schoenhof. I hold in my hand a letter from Mr. Robert Howard, the secretary of the Fall River Cotton Mule Spinners' Association, in which he says:

FALL RIVER COTTON MULE SPINNERS' ASSOCIATION,
Fall River, Mass., June 11, 1897.

DEAR SIR: Yours received and contents carefully noted. The number of spindles in the King Philip mules are 1,472, or 636* in mule. I have gone over the list you sent me—which is inclosed—and find it figured out correctly. The same prices are still in force, and I inclose two copies of them. The same prices are paid in the city of New Bedford, but in New Bedford the mules contain more spindles, which is an advantage to the spinner.

With best wishes, I am, very truly, yours,

ROBERT HOWARD,
Secretary Fall River Spinners' Association.

Mr. J. SCHOENHOF.

A scale of prices is submitted by Mr. Schoenhof as being the labor cost of spinning these yarns at Fall River, and in an opposite column, which I will present and allow to go into the RECORD, is Mr. Schoenhof's published statement, at the same time, of the cost of yarns in Bolton, England, where he went to the books of the mills and took the expenses from the books, from their current business, they giving him every facility to understand the facts.

On No. 36 yarn, the cost in Fall River was 1.17, in Bolton 1.10. On No. 40, in Fall River 1.368, in Bolton 1.294. On No. 48 it was 1.8 in Fall River against 1.614 in Bolton, and so on down to 96. On 96 it was 4.538 in Fall River and 4.47 in Bolton.

When you reach the high numbers—when you get to 100 and from 100 up—the labor cost, taken from the best mills in Fall River and from mills at Bolton, changes its condition, and the labor cost is not 25 per cent more in favor of the English mills, nor 50 per cent, nor 100 per cent, but is actually cheaper in Fall River than in England. On No. 100, 4.85 is given as the cost at Fall River and 4.86 in Bolton. On No. 108, it is 5.346 in Fall River and 5.45 in England. On No. 116, it is 5.647 in Fall River and 6.066 in Bolton. On 120, it is 6.098 in Fall River and 6.38 in Bolton, cheaper than it is in England.

The following are the rates paid to mule spinners at Fall River, Mass., and Bolton, England, per pound of weft yarn. Prices are computed on the same basis of number of spindles to the mule. The price list for Fall River is from the King Philip Mills, and is based on prices to be paid per 100 hanks. They are reduced to the pound rate in order to conform to the English prices, which are given per 100 pounds. The English prices are those from the "Official price list for Bolton and district," in force at the same time at which the prices for the King Philip Mills were handed to the Senate Finance Committee in 1894:

Mule spinners' prices paid at Fall River, Mass., and Bolton, England, per pound of weft yarn.

Yarn number.	Fall River.	Bolton.	Yarn number.	Fall River.	Bolton.
	Cents.	*Cents.*		*Cents.*	*Cents.*
36	1.17	1.10	84	3.805	3.739
40	1.368	1.294	92	4.351	4.287
48	1.8	1.614	96	4.538	4.47
52	1.944	1.83	100	4.85	4.83
60	2.37	2.256	108	5.346	5.45
64	2.56	2.466	116	5.647	6.066
72	2.986	2.996	120	6.098	6.38
80	3.50	3.476			

* Mr. Howard undoubtedly means 736.

The labor cost is less in the higher numbers in Fall River than it is in Bolton, while, on the other hand, in the low numbers the rates are infinitesimally more favorable on the other side than on this. There is nothing approaching 25 per cent nor 50 per cent nor 10 per cent as the difference in labor cost in these yarns. Yet we have the assurance from the spinners in the letter which I have just now had read that the reason why they insist on these high tariffs is to enable them to compete with 100 per cent difference in labor cost.

Mr. President, I confess that it seems to me the time has come when we ought to stop this talk about our being unable to compete with those upon the other side. This country is no longer a manufacturing infant. It is time that we should stop this claim about our new industries and infant industries on small beginnings, just starting, and that therefore it is necessary to have some sort of protection to enable them to hold their own in competition with people abroad.

I wish to call attention to some tables which were prepared by Mr. Schoenhof, showing the growth of the industries in the United States and in Great Britain. I shall not detain the Senate long, but I will call attention to a few striking facts to which it seems to me we can not afford to shut our eyes. The total of the highest manufactured articles, chiefly machinery, implements, and apparatus, exported in 1886 from this country abroad was $22,618,000. In 1891 we exported $40,618,000. In 1896 we exported $63,516,000 of this class of goods, making an increase in the first five years of $18,000,000 and in the second five years an increase in our exports of this class of manufactured goods of $22,000,000, and this excluded the lower classes of manufactured goods.

Mr. President, I hold in my hand a table which shows the increase in the United States in the production of coal and pig iron as compared with the production of coal and pig iron in Great Britain and as compared with the production of coal and pig iron in Germany. We have been hearing for the last ten years that Germany was coming rapidly to the front in the manufacture of all sorts of goods and that she was driving other nations out of the markets of the world by reason of the fact that her enormously cheap labor enabled her to produce these articles for less expense than we could, we paying the highest wages to labor of any nation on the globe, Germany paying exceedingly low rates, while Great Britain comes next to us in the rates paid.

In 1886 this country produced 96,000,000 tons of coal. In the same year Great Britain produced 157,000,000. I will not detain the Senate by reading the gradual increase in the production of coal in both countries, but in 1887 we produced 110,000,000 tons and in 1888 126,000,000 tons; in 1889, 126,000,000 tons; in 1890, 140,000,000 tons; in 1891, 150,000,000 tons; in 1892, 160,000,000 tons; in 1893, 162,000,000 tons; in 1894, 152,000,000 tons, and in 1895, 172,426,366 tons of coal, while Great Britain, with a steady gradual increase from 1886 to 1895, produced 189 661,362 tons, only exceeding our production of coal by ten or twelve million tons.

In the production of pig iron we had, in 1886, 5,000,000 tons. I will not give the odd figures. This has been increased to 6,000,000 and 7,000,000 and 8,000,000 tons, until 1895, when we produced 9,446,308 tons. Great Britain, with a steady increase until 1895, produced 7,703,459 tons, or nearly 2,000,000 tons of pig iron less than the United States.

We now equal England in the production of coal. We surpass England in the production of pig iron, and Germany hardly counts in the race. The German production of coal was only 73,000,000 tons in 1886, against 98,000,000 tons in 1884, while pig iron was 3,000,000 in 1886, against 5,000,000 in 1884. But I will content myself by placing these figures in the RECORD, and I will not detain the Senate by giving them in full.

Number of tons of coal and of pig iron produced in the United States, the United Kingdom, and Germany in the ten years from 1886 to 1895, inclusive.

[2,240 pounds for the United States and United Kingdom, and metric tons of 2,200 pounds for Germany.]

Years.	United States.				United Kingdom.				Germany.			
	Coal.		Pig iron.		Coal.		Pig iron.		Coal.		Pig iron.	
	Tons.	Per cent.	Tons.	Per cent.	Tons.	Per cent.	Tons.	Per cent.	Tons.	Per cent.	Tons.	Per cent.
1885			4,044,526		150,351,418		7,415,469		73,675,500		3,687,400	
1886	96,144,829		5,683,329	40	157,518,482	— 1.2	7,000,754	5.5	73,682,600	.01	3,528,700	— 4.3
1887	110,727,906	15	6,417,148	13	162,119,812	2.9	7,559,518	7.8	76,232,600	3.4	4,024,000	14
1888	126,819,406	14	6,489,736	1	169,935,219	5	7,908,969	5.8	81,960,100	7.5	4,337,100	7.8
1889	126,097,780	.6	7,603,643	17	176,916,724	4.1	8,322,824	4	84,973,200	3.6	4,524,600	4.3
1890	140,882,729	11.7	9,202,703	21	181,614,288	2.6	7,904,214	5	89,290,800	5	4,658,500	3
1891	150,505,964	6.8	8,279,870	—10	185,479,126	2.1	7,406,064	—6.3	94,232,300	5.5	4,641,200	— 4
1892	160,115,242	6.3	9,157,000	10.6	181,786,871	— 2	6,709,255	—9.4	92,544,100	—2	4,937,500	6.4
1893	162,814,977	1.7	7,124,502	—22.2	164,325,745	— 9.6	6,970,900	4	95,424,100	3	4,986,000	1
1894	152,447,791	— 6.4	6,657,388	— 6.5	188,277,525	14	7,427,342	6.5	98,805,700	3.5	5,380,000	7.9
1895	172,426,366	13	9,446,308	4.2	189,661,362	7	7,703,459	3.7				
1886-1895		79		*133		*19		*3.9		†34		†45.8

*1885 to 1895. †1885 to 1894.

Mr. MORGAN. Will the Senator from Arkansas allow me to make a statement on this subject?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. With pleasure.

Mr. MORGAN. The Board of Trade at Birmingham, Ala., has presented some figures. I can not quote them with absolute accuracy, but I will give what will be very close in the neighborhood of a correct statement. Within the last ten months there has been exported from Alabama to European markets and sold at a profit 1,200,000 tons of pig iron, and a large quantity has also been exported to and sold in Japan and China.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I am obliged to the Senator from Alabama for the statement, and it accords with the statement I made when we had the metal schedule up, when I read extracts from trade papers here and there, showing that not only were we sending pig iron to Great Britain and selling it there, but that we were sending steel billets and a number of other productions of steel and selling them at the very doors of the English steel mills at a profit where they were not able to compete with us. This only proves that all the talk about our being an infant in industrial productions is idle and is unworthy the Senate of the United States.

But I desire to call attention to another statement, and one which seems to me to be vastly significant. It is as to the quantity of raw cotton used in the United States, in the United Kingdom, and in Germany. In 1886 we used 1,128,000,000 pounds; Great Britain used 1,517,000,000; Germany used 354,000,000 pounds. I will not detain the Senate by giving these figures, but I will publish them in full in the RECORD.

There was a steady, gradual increase in the United States. Great Britain has varied but little. Sometimes the consumption has been larger, sometimes smaller; but in 1895, as against 1886, there was consumed in Great Britain 1,553,000,000 pounds of cotton, while in the United States there was consumed 1,567,000,000 pounds of cotton. More cotton was consumed in the United States than in Great Britain. We are the largest cotton user in the world. We have not only for a century produced the cotton to clothe the nations of the world, furnishing the cotton for mills all over the world, but our own cotton industry has been increasing in the last ten or fifteen years, and under what are called the low rates of the Wilson Act the increase has gone on until we are absolutely spinning more cotton to-day than any nation on the face of the earth. Great Britain has taken her place as the second as a consumer of cottons, and Germany, this fearful country from which we are to receive such detriment, consumed 587,000,000 pounds, while we consume more than three times that much. Yet so formidable are the German productions as compared with the American manufactures that we must plead the baby act and must impose high and outrageous duties at the customs-houses to prevent those people, who are consuming less than a third of the cotton we are, from taking our markets away from us in our own country.

Quantity of cotton consumed in the United States, the United Kingdom, and Germany in each of the ten years from 1886 to 1895.

Year.	United States.	Per cent of increase.	United Kingdom.	Per cent of increase.	Germany.	Per cent of increase.
1886	1,128,063,588		1,517,186,720		354,127,400	
1887	991,129,273	—12	1,498,822,304	—12	434,931,200	22.8
1888	1,180,345,185	11.8	1,456,915,936	— 2.8	393,888,000	8.5
1889	1,062,903,210	— 9	1,659,859,936	14	493,904,400	25.3
1890	1,163,924,275	9.5	1,578,853,360	— 5	498,605,800	.9
1891	1,429,148,210	23	1,812,877,248	14.8	522,141,400	4.6
1892	1,599,887,165	11.8	1,542,332,400	—14.4	481,914,400	7.7
1893	1,183,550,452	—26	1,192,158,576	22.7	498,401,200	3.4
1894	1,112,775,186	— 6	1,548,221,808	30	559,528,200	12.3
1895	1,567,991,708	40	1,553,758,080	.3	587,594,200	4.9
Increase for decade	439,928,120	39	36,571,360	2.4	233,466,800	65.9

I have another table in this connection, which, while it does not pertain particularly to this schedule, is interesting in considering the question of our ability to consume manufactured goods. It is a comparison of the consumption of wool in the United States, in Great Britain, and in Germany. The table which I hold in my hand and which I will place in the RECORD shows the production of wool from 1886 to 1895 and the imports of wool from 1886 to 1895. It gives the total amount of wool produced and imported and used in this country as compared with the wool used in Great Britain and Germany. We used, in 1886, 424,404,000 pounds of wool. Great Britain used 435,989,000 pounds. In 1895 we used 538,989,000 pounds of wool, while Great Britain used 527,420,000 pounds. We are the largest producer of pig iron in the world, the largest user of raw cotton in the world, and the largest user of raw wool in the world, and yet we are constantly talking about our infant industries and the absolute necessity of all these things being protected.

Number of pounds of wool produced and retained for home consumption, and number of pounds of wool imported and retained for home consumption by the United States, the United Kingdom, and Germany in each of the ten years from 1886 to 1895, inclusive.

Year.	United States.			United Kingdom.			Germany.		
	Wool produced and retained for consumption.	Net imports and retained for consumption.	Total retained for consumption.	Wool produced and retained.	Wool imports retained for consumption.	Total retained for consumption.	Wool produced and retained for consumption.	Net imports.	Total retained for consumption.
1886	301,353,000	123,084,000	424,404,000	151,505,000	284,464,000	435,989,000	102,000,000	246,312,000	348,312,000
1887	284,742,000	114,038,000	392,051,000	156,825,000	258,721,000	415,546,000	99,000,000	252,804,000	351,804,000
1888	268,977,000	113,559,000	378,176,000	150,040,000	300,192,000	450,232,000	98,000,000	286,024,000	391,024,000
1889	264,858,000	126,487,000	388,085,000	155,142,000	337,256,000	492,398,000	93,000,000	319,761,000	412,761,000
1890	275,708,000	105,431,000	377,911,000	170,507,000	292,315,000	462,822,000	90,900,000	269,500,000	360,500,000
1891	284,708,000	129,303,000	411,373,000	184,471,000	335,789,000	520,260,000	87,000,000	311,130,000	398,130,000
1892	293,797,000	148,670,000	439,460,000	183,924,000	312,217,000	496,141,000	84,000,000	353,566,000	437,566,000
1893	303,061,000	172,439,000	471,276,000	174,601,000	331,578,000	506,179,000	81,000,000	291,604,000	372,604,000
1894	297,353,000	55,152,000	346,712,000	167,274,000	359,541,000	526,815,000	80,000,000	349,905,000	429,905,000
1895	305,408,000	206,033,000	500,159,000						
1896*	290,000,000	248,989,000	538,989,000	156,977,000	370,443,000	527,420,000	80,000,000	397,647,000	477,647,000

*Calendar year.

There are many other items of interest in these tables in this connection which I will present to the Senate at a later time in the debate. I want to bring this out in the discussion of the cotton-yarn question for the reason that it seems to me the rates we placed on cotton yarns under the Wilson Act were absolutely too high; that there was really no defense for this rate on cotton yarns. But even admitting that this rate shall stand, taking it as it is, as I am willing it shall be, I do insist that it is nothing but fair and right that the limitations which prevented those rates from going to outrageous heights on the Wilson Act shall also be incorporated in this provision as we have it in the pending bill, and that we shall adopt a proviso which shall prevent the tariff on some grades of these cotton yarns from going to 100 per cent, and that it ought to be properly limited.

I shall ask for the yeas and nays on the pending motion.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. President, the old question about the cheap labor of Europe interfering with our manufactures, as often as it has been stricken down, still appears in the ring. We meet it day by day. Some years ago a gentleman was sent by the cotton manufacturers of Great Britain to examine the condition of the cotton business in the United States. He was an expert, having grown up in the business. He came and examined the books at Providence, R. I., Fall River, and three or four other of the principal cotton seats in the United States, brought his books with him from Great Britain, and compared fairly the cost of a pound of print cloth, making some 6 or 7 yards—the labor cost, the material cost, and every other item of cost.

The result was that at every place in the United States, without exception, the labor cost was less than it was in Great Britain, and in Great Britain it is less than anywhere in Europe; and yet when the sum total of the cost of the production of a pound of goods was reached, Great Britain produced it at a fraction less in the pound than it was produced in the United States, and that cost us the markets of the world, into which she sends from three to four hundred million dollars of manufactured cottons every year. It is not the labor cost. It is the cost of the material.

After having listened to the statements made and the figures given by my friend the Senator from Arkansas, it seems to me if we would look to the interests of the people of the United States we would try to strip ourselves of the incumbrances which we have placed upon our labor and our industries in this country, and instead of shipping two-thirds of the great cotton crop of the

United States—two-thirds of that of the whole world—away to other people to manufacture, we would manufacture almost every pound of it at home. Instead of giving employment to 218,000 operatives to manufacture it, as we did in 1890, to manufacture, in round numbers, one-third of that product, we would give employment to 700,000 people in the United States to manufacture almost the whole of it and take the markets of the world.

Why should we not manufacture the cotton? Certainly cotton is cheaper in the United States than it is in any point in Europe. We produce it cheaper because we have the most productive labor in the world. It is conclusive evidence that we produce it cheaper that we send it from home into foreign markets for consumption. Every product goes from the point at which it is at the lowest price to the point where it is at the highest price for the profit. No man will contend that we do not produce it cheaper and sell it cheaper than anywhere else, and it can not be that we are kept out of the markets of the world because cotton is higher here than it is in Europe. We all know that it costs from a half cent in the pound or more to transport it to Europe, to England, and Germany, and France, and Belgium, and the other countries that manufacture it. We have in the 2,000,000,000 pounds that we ship to foreign countries at least $15,000,000 advantage in the price of the material itself over our competitors in Europe. Then why shall we not manufacture that cotton and give employment to our own people, who are idle all over the country? We have the cheapest labor in the world, as my friend has demonstrated, and has been over and over again demonstrated by comparison of the figures.

Mr. President, I have some figures here which I have taken from statisticians, taking our own census report for ours. In 1890 in the United States we turned out cotton goods to the value of $267,981,724. We paid for wages $66,024,538. The annual wage rate was $302. The annual value of the product which each man turned out to his employer was $1,224, and there were 218,876 hands employed. The labor cost of $100 worth of this cotton product, including salaries of officials, was $25.93. Excluding the salaried officers, members of partnerships and corporations making the goods, and applying the labor cost alone to wage earners who made them, the labor cost of $100 worth of these cotton goods was $24.63.

In England, in 1887, the year for which I have the returns, there was turned out $486,720,000 worth of cotton goods, at a labor cost of $141,120,000. The annual wages paid to each operative was $267.

The value of the output of each laborer was $840. The labor cost per $100 worth of product was $28. The labor cost of $100 worth of goods in our country was $25.93 and in Great Britain $28. Our man turned out for his employer $1,224 worth of product, and the English operative turned out $835 and $840 at different times.

Yet, Mr. President, we are confronted with the statement that our labor cost is higher, and that the higher cost of labor enters into a part of the total cost of the product, and that that keeps us out of the market. What is it that keeps us out of the market? We have the cheapest labor. We have the cheapest material. Why is it we do not take the market? It is simply because we have loaded with taxation all the elements of production in these cotton goods.

I was at one of the cotton manufactories in New England some years ago when the proprietor showed me from his book that he had purchased $300,000 worth of dyes, and you will see by the chemical schedule that they are taxed from 50 to 100 per cent. Everything about it is taxed. The bands that turn the wheels are taxed, the machinery itself is taxed, the oil that lubricates the machinery is taxed, the dyes that go into the goods are taxed; but when you go to England, and Germany, and France, and Belgium, and look at the American's competitor, who is driving him out of the markets of the world, you find that his Government has stripped him to the waist and has taken away all these elements in order that he may enter the markets, while we are loading up our manufacturer not for the benefit of the laboring man in this country, but in order to build up magnificent trusts to dominate the legislation of this country, as they are doing.

Now, if we were to take and put the whole chemical schedule on the free list, put the cotton yarns on the free list—they are part of the materials that ought to be untaxed—and give our manufacturers the right to bring everything into this country that will give employment to our people and make the finished product, we could go out into the markets of the world and drive all competitors before us. As my friend says, we are no infants. We are outmanufacturing any people. We have the capital, we have the machinery, we have the genius, and we have the material. We are raising a vast amount of the materials that give employment to the manufacturers of Europe, and we are shipping them to Europe, paying additional cost upon them, and then so loading ourselves with cost of production that when the finished product goes in the market it drives us out of the markets of the world, and our people stand idle in the highways, asking and wishing and praying for the return of prosperity, when we are prohibiting them from exercising the God-given right to work for meat and bread for their support.

Mr. President, the cotton yarns ought to be put on the free list; but if we do not intend to put them on the free list, let us at least reduce the cost of them and increase the exportation and consumption of our cotton goods and give more employment to our people.

Mr. VEST. Mr. President, I hope our friends on the other side will at least respect the utterances and weigh the testimony of the most distinguished leader their party has had in the last fifty years. I refer to the Hon. James G. Blaine, at one time a member of this body, the Republican candidate for the Presidency, and Secretary of State under the Administration of Garfield. On June 25, 1881, Mr. Blaine made an official report as Secretary of State in regard to the cost of labor in the manufacture of cotton goods in this country and in England, and I will ask the Secretary to read it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the Secretary will read as indicated.

The Secretary read as follows:

[Extract from report of James G. Blaine, Secretary of State, on the "Cotton goods trade of the world," dated Department of State, Washington, June 25, 1881, pages 98 and 99.]

Owing to the different arrangements of the English and American tables of wages, it is difficult to give comparative analyses thereof which would show at a glance the difference in the wages of the operatives of both countries.

The wages of spinners and weavers in Lancashire and Massachusetts, according to the foregoing statements, were as follows, per week: Spinners, English, $7.20 to $8.40 (master spinners running as high as $12); American, $7.07 to $10.30. Weavers, English, $3.84 to $8.64, subject, at the date on which these rates were given, to a reduction of 10 per cent; American, $4.82 to $8.73.

The average wages of employees in the Massachusetts mills is as follows, according to the official returns: Men, $8.30; women, $5.62; male children, $3.11; female children, $3.08. According to Consul Shaw's report, the average wages of the men employed in Lancashire mills on the 1st of January, 1880, was about $8 per week, subject to a reduction of 10 per cent; women, from $3.40 to $4.30, subject to a reduction of 10 per cent.

The hours of labor in the Lancashire mills are fifty-six, in the Massachusetts sixty per week. The hours of labor in the mills in the other New England States, where the wages are generally less than in Massachusetts, are usually sixty-six to sixty-nine per week. Undoubtedly the inequalities in the wages of English and American operatives are more than equalized by the greater efficiency of the latter and their longer hours of labor. If this should prove to be a fact in practice, as it seems to be proven from official statistics, it would be a very important element in the establishment of our ability to compete with England for our share of the cotton-goods trade of the world.

In the two prime factors which may be said to form the basis of the cotton-manufacturing industry, namely, raw material and labor, we hold the advantage over England in the first, and stand upon an equality with her in the second.

Having the raw material at our doors, it follows that we should be able to convert it into manufactures, all things being equal, with more economy and facility than can be done by England, which imports our cotton and then manufactures it in her mills; the expense of handling, transportation, and commission must be an important item in this regard, as compared with our turning in the fiber from the cotton fields to our mills and shipping it in the advanced form of manufactured goods. Add to this the secondary fact that it costs us no more to handle and manufacture the same than it costs in England, and we stand on an undoubted equality, thus far, in the race of competition.

* * * * * * *

JAMES G. BLAINE.

Mr. VEST. That letter covers every point in this discussion, and it comes from one of the most eminent apostles of a protective tariff who has ever lived in the United States. Mr. Blaine states there that the American labor is the cheapest, the most effective, and that there is no reason why we should not compete with England for the cotton trade of the world.

But I call to the stand now another witness. In 1894, when the Wilson bill, so called, was under discussion, Mr. Borden, the largest manufacturer at Fall River, Mass., appeared in the public prints in an interview published in the Philadelphia Press; and I take it that no one on the Republican side will question the absolute devotion of that journal to the cause of protection, in season and out of season. I ask the Secretary to read what Mr. Borden stated in regard to the ability of the cotton manufacturers of the United States to compete with those of England anywhere.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read as follows:

Many of these [cotton] manufacturers are now able to maintain themselves against competitive manufacturers anywhere in the world. Mr. M. C. D. Borden, who is now regarded as perhaps the ablest man now engaged in the business of print-cloth manufacture, and who has recently erected two enormous mills in Fall River, said to me:

"So far as our business is concerned, it does not make much difference what Congress may do with respect to any tariff bill. American print-cloth manufacturers are now able to beat the world. During the panic of last summer I paid $500,000 for indigo alone, and if we do not command the markets of the world it is probably because we do not make the kind of goods which people in foreign lands want. A few years ago we sent several hundred thousand cases of print goods to Manchester, the very heart of English print-goods manufacturing, and the manufacturers there could not touch our prices. The market for these goods was, however, limited, because they were of a different kind of make from that which English consumers had been accustomed to buy. However, we could have made these goods popular in England, and should have done so had it not been for the fact that the American market

offered a higher price than we could get over there, so that we brought the greater proportion of these cases back and marketed them in the United States at a reasonable profit."

Mr. VEST. That is the testimony of the largest manufacturer at Fall River in 1894 stating that the American manufacturers need no protection. It seems to me if we now increase these duties, as I had occasion to say in the early part of this discussion, it is from mere force of habit and without any reason at all and without any cause in the way of protecting any interest in the United States.

There is an increase in the pending amendment over the Dingley bill, of course a large increase over the Wilson Act, and in many cases above the McKinley Act. I undertake to say now that before we close this matter of taxation under the cotton schedule the 20 per cent tax upon cotton which we have imposed here will be made the excuse for additional increases. I am as certain of that as of anything in the future.

There will be another increase, because the cotton manufacturers of New England will say, "You put 20 per cent upon long-staple Egyptian cotton that is necessary in the manufacture of certain sorts of cotton cloth and we must be compensated." That is the word, "compensated." The whole tariff system seems to be based upon the idea that when one tax is put on another tax must follow, and they call it equalization and compensation. There is never any compensation to the consumers of the country who are compelled to buy cotton cloths or else go naked.

Mr. McLAURIN. Mr. President, athough not strictly in order under this amendment, as the debate has assumed a wide range on the subject of cotton, I desire to call the attention of the Senator in charge of this bill to paragraph 342 to inquire and express the hope that he will be able to explain why a duty is imposed on jute bagging for covering cotton, while in another paragraph binding twine is placed on the free list?

If such discrimination can be defended, I am certain that it would be listened to with very great attention. If such a policy can be justified by any rule of national legislation, its advocates should hasten to make the disclosure.

To my mind it assumes the form of studied and pernicious sectionalism, of a deliberate and premeditated attempt to punish the cotton planter of the South and favor the grain grower of the North and West. In my opinion it admits of no other construction.

Mr. PETTUS. Will the Senator from South Carolina allow me to suggest that cotton ties are in exactly the same attitude?

Mr. McLAURIN. I am coming to that.

Mr. PETTUS. And more than that, if they come in on cotton I suppose they are now taxed 20 per cent, but before 20 per cent was added they came in free on cotton imported, but we have to pay for them if we use them at home.

Mr. McLAURIN. Yes, sir; I will come to cotton ties in a moment.

SECTIONALISM EXPOSED.

In fact, a careful examination discloses the earmarks of sectional advantage running all through the provisions of the bill, which should be a source of profound regret to everyone interested in the general welfare of our common country.

The South seeks no advantage and only asks for equal rights under all national legislation.

Sound public policy, if nothing else, should secure to us these rights, since continued injuries to the South in the near future must react on the balance of the country. When I consider the evident unfairness of this measure, I must confess to a feeling of alarm that the spirit of oppression yet prevails and that the South must continue to conserve the greed and avarice of the North.

This measure will doubtless pass and become a law. There is little hope of changing few, if any, of its oppressive features. Yet I desire to go on record as protesting against its sectionalism and demanding justice and equality for the industries of the South.

Going further into the details of the bill, I find free binding twine for the Northern farmer and taxed cotton ties and jute bagging for the Southern planter; protected wheat and corn for the North and, until recently, free cotton for the South. The Senate committee attempted to protect the Northern railroad-tie industry and leave the Southern tie industry to fight for itself. As the bill came from the House, there were free hides for New England and taxed boots and shoes for the balance of the country.

I find Northern linseed oil protected 20 cents per gallon and Southern cotton-seed oil but 4 cents per gallon. Maple sugar, for Vermont and the North, is protected 4 cents per pound, while the tar of Georgia and the Carolinas is put on the free list. The turpentine of the South is put on the free list, while the maple sirup of the North is protected by a duty of 4 cents per pound. Northern hay is protected $3 per ton, while Southern oil cake is placed on the free list. Cotton waste is found on the free list, while New England shoddy is protected 20 cents per pound.

I might continue this list of discriminations to a greater length. I might take up the list of manufactured products and show that certain grades manufactured in the South are not protected in proportion to other grades in similar lines manufactured at the North.

I might analyze the iron, coal, and other great industries and show how the Eastern monopolists have arranged their intricate schedules to plunder the South. I might point to the outcome of the recent contest over the railroad ties, rice, and cotton schedules as further evidence of the sectional animus of this bill.

If all the tricks and schemes of the New England manufacturers and Eastern importers could be fully exposed, the people would be amazed at their extent and the cunning manipulations which fixed them in this bill. But I have already pointed out enough to sustain my contention that this bill is framed upon sectional lines and is unjust and injurious to the South. Even in its provisions of reciprocity with Hawaii the South bears the burden, while the North, as usual, reaps the benefit. I venture the assertion that 90 per cent of the free imports from those islands come in direct competition with Southern industries, while 90 per cent of the exports to those islands are Northern products.

THE BILL MIGHT HAVE BEEN DEFEATED.

While I disclaim most positively any attempt to stir up sectional strife or sectional animosities, I feel a sense of deep concern over the sectional features of this measure. Without intending to criticise anyone, or in any manner assume superior knowledge, I give it as a matter of personal opinion if those who are opposing this bill had taken time to thoroughly analyze its sectional provisions and had fought it out on that issue as persistently and intelligently as they now are doing on other lines, the bill might have been defeated or a full measure of justice and fair play secured.

I believe there are those on the other side of this Chamber who would recognize these unfair conditions and vote with us to correct the wrong.

Mr. President, in a speech upon this bill while under consideration at the other end of the Capitol, I took occasion to disclose the result of sectionalism in previous tariff legislation, and the disclosures made at that time have so far remained uncontradicted. I gave the facts and statistics concerning the different sections of the country with reference to the decrease in wealth, the accumulation of wealth, and the distribution of capital and wealth. In each and every instance the result favored the manufacturing and money-loaning States. I will quote the conclusions given at that time:

Mr. Speaker, I have shown by comparison of losses between the sections, by a comparison of gains between the sections, and by the distribution of loanable funds among the sections, that the manufacturing and money centers of the East in each hold a decided advantage. I have shown also that these advantages are increasing every year, and now submit the question whether this state of affairs is to continue or not? Shall the manufacturers and money loaners of the East continue to exact tribute from the balance of our people? Shall these two interests stand on the highway of national progress, and, like the buccaneers of old, demand tribute from all who pass their way?

The cry for relief from the insatiate greed of these two absorbers of wealth is coming up from our people louder and more earnest every day. Something must be done, in my judgment, and that at once, to stay the rapacity of the one and lighten the burdens of the other. At this point it is proper to ask what has brought about this vast difference in conditions. While many no doubt will refuse to accept my interpretation, yet I firmly believe that unequal taxation and the increased purchasing power of money lies at the root of this great evil. Unequal taxation brought unfair exchange between the sections, and the increased purchasing power of the dollar took what remained after the transaction.

Many of our ablest statesmen believe that the manipulation of our finances is alone responsible for present conditions. I am ready to concede that our financial system is wholly bad, and has been a potent factor in bringing about the distress we see on every hand. But, Mr. Speaker, there must have been unfair exchanges among the people before money secured its present powerful position. So long as exchanges are fair and equal between the sections, just so long will the people of the various sections secure their proper share of the money in circulation.

When the sections which produce raw material receive proportionate remuneration with sections which manufacture, the producers of raw material will prosper reciprocally with those who manufacture. In other words, when there is a reciprocity in remuneration or profits for all labor in all sections there exists an equality of results, which eliminates the advantage of one class of laborers over another. Under such condition, no matter whether the volume of money be great or small, everyone who labors will receive his proportionate share, and the money of such a country will remain divided among its people, and can not be secured and hoarded by a few while the many go without. The very moment, however, that one section obtains an advantage unequal exchanges begin, and unequal division of money follows.

Money is the lifeblood of business, flowing through the arteries and veins of commercial exchange. When these exchanges are fair and just, the entire economic system thrills and vibrates with this life-giving element. But when exchanges become unfair, when some of the veins and arteries are clogged, and this life-giving element does not or can not return, the entire system becomes deranged, and the lifeblood is found congested in some parts and wanting in others. The result is disaster and death. An unfair protective tariff gave the Eastern manufacturing States an advantage. This advantage in taxation made unfair and unequal exchanges throughout the country. Through its application the manufacturer obtained a larger remuneration for his labor than those who produced the raw material used in the factory or the food products consumed by the operatives.

Under such conditions the manufacturing centers gradually but surely received an unequal share of the general fund of circulating medium, and became the money as well as the manufacturing centers of the nation. With every exchange between the East and the balance of the country an unfair division of profits or remuneration took place, and an unequal portion of the general stock of money went to New England. It was through this method of unfair exchange, made possible by unequal taxation, that the East obtained more than its proportion of the money of the country, and now bids defiance to the balance of the nation.

THE SOUTH PLUNDERED OF ITS RIGHTS.

Mr. President, the more I examined the subject the more thoroughly I became impressed with the belief that the people of the

South were being plundered, and that, as a rule, we were giving more attention to the propaganda of a political theory than the material interests of our constituents. Acting upon this belief, I demanded of the Committee of Ways and Means an equalization of the benefits of this measure between the North and the South.

I asserted that if the policy of the measure proved beneficial, the South was selfish enough to want her proportion; if, on the contrary, the bill should be detrimental, the South was patriotic enough to stand its share of disaster; that in any event and at all times we of the South demanded that all national legislation should distribute its burdens and benefits equally among all the sections and all the people. The novelty of such a position was so great and the spectacle so rare for a Southern Representative to make such demands that I have been called a protectionist.

NOT A PROTECTIONIST.

Mr. President, I am not a protectionist; have never given a vote in support of that principle or uttered a word in defense of that doctrine. I look upon the doctrine of protection as indefensible and a potent factor in building up and maintaining trusts and monopolies. Certain newspapers in the North, instead of answering my arguments against protection, have been pleased to call me a protectionist because I demanded equality before the law. I stand squarely upon the tariff plank of the Chicago platform and base my actions entirely upon its teachings. My votes upon the lumber, cotton, and rice schedules are in strict accord with the doctrines of Democracy. They were given in defense of the people whom I represent, and to compel the Republican party to place the South on an equal footing with the balance of the country.

So far I have been guided by a sincere desire to serve the best interests of my own State and the South. And I want to say most emphatically that no matter who may criticise, or what criticism may be made, I shall continue to labor for the welfare of South Carolina to the very limits of my ability.

I believe that if the representatives of each State would labor more earnestly for the material interests of their people the laws on our statute books would be less sectional and far more just and equitable.

HISTORY OF THE DOCTRINE OF FREE RAW MATERIAL.

Mr. President, I would gladly yield the floor at this point, could I do so and retain my self-respect or in the least degree merit the continued confidence of those whom I represent. But, sir, with others, I have been charged, in this Chamber and elsewhere, with being recreant to established principles of Democracy and that such action threatened discord in the Democratic party. Much as I love peace and deprecate all party dissensions, I can not permit such imputations to remain unchallenged. I have sought carefully and earnestly to inform myself upon this subject, with a sincere desire to be right and act intelligently.

From all the facts that I have been able to gather, I feel justified in making the assertion that what is now known as the doctrine of free raw material has never been an established principle of Democracy. To prove my contention, I will appeal to the past record of the Democratic party itself.

I repeat, that the idea of placing raw material on the free list, while the finished product is protected by a duty, is not and never has been a principle of Democracy.

The Walker tariff, which was practically in force from 1846 to 1861, did not provide for a single article of free raw material except cotton. I will admit that the rate of duty on certain products was very low, but I contend that the principle of free raw material was not recognized in that bill.

I have examined quite carefully the history of legislation since the war, especially the speeches and letters of the Hon. S. J. Tilden, and I find no mention of this "established principle" of Democracy until March 30, 1882. On that day Hon. A. S. Hewitt, then a member from New York, introduced the following resolution, upon which he made an extended speech:

Resolved, That the bill creating a tariff commission be recommitted, with instructions to the Committee on Ways and Means to report within thirty days, or an earlier date if it be practicable, a bill based upon the following instructions:

First. That all raw materials, meaning thereby all materials which have not been subjected to any process of manufacture, and all waste products, meaning thereby all waste materials which are only fit to be manufactured, and all chemicals which are not produced in this country, and alcohol for use in manufactures, shall be placed upon the free list.

Second. That so far as possible specific duties shall be substituted for ad valorem, and that in determining such specific duties the average dutiable value of imports during the last three years shall be taken as the standard of value, upon which no higher rate of duty shall be imposed than shall be necessary to compensate for the difference in the cost of labor at home and abroad expended in the production of such products, after making due allowance for the expenses of transportation, and that the rate of duty shall not in any case, except on luxuries, exceed 50 per cent of such average dutiable value.

The bill under consideration at that time provided for a tariff commission. I have examined the debates on this measure as carefully as my limited time would admit, but failed to discover that this resolution attracted much attention, or was cordially indorsed by Democratic speakers. Mr. Hewitt was charged by the Republicans with selfish motives, which the facts in the case appeared to confirm.

FRAUDULENT DEMANDS OF NEW ENGLAND.

I will quote from a speech of Mr. Townsend, of Ohio, upon this point:

And right here, Mr. Chairman, let me emphasize what I have said by referring to the resolutions which appear at the opening of the speech of the gentleman from New York, which declare for free raw material. This would include iron ore; and in the course of his remarks he favors the free importation of scrap iron. He would strike a blow at our native ores, which constitute so large a part of our mineral productions, and drive out of employment our puddlers by the free introduction of scrap iron. The manufacturers on the seaboard want free foreign ore, because they need it to mix with the ores of New Jersey; and if once they could bring it in as ballast cheaper than they could get our Lake Superior ores, the benefit, if any, would be to the manufacturers on the seaboard, and would not result in a reduction in the price of iron or steel. It would give an advantage to those manufacturers, at the expense of their associates engaged in the same trade further removed from the seaboard.

When, in addition to the above, it is known that Mr. Hewitt was a large manufacturer of iron, the charge of selfishness appears not altogether without foundation. I examined the daily press of New York and found these resolutions mentioned as "Hewitt's plan" and "Hewitt's idea." This led me to suspect that the doctrine of free raw material originated with Mr. Hewitt, and that his motives were somewhat selfish.

These resolutions were up before the New York Chamber of Commerce on April 8, 1882, and were adopted by the narrow majority of 33 to 29.

A meeting held at Chickering Hall, New York, April 15, passed resolutions favoring Mr. Hewitt's propositions. The Democratic county committee of New York soon after indorsed the resolutions, all of which went to prove that at that time the doctrine of free raw material had not become an established Democratic principle.

It is not probable that all this trouble would have been incurred to bring out and indorse an old and well-established Democratic principle.

On May 6, 1882, at the close of debate on the bill, Mr. Hewitt introduced the following amendment as specific instructions for the tariff commission:

1. Repeal of the duties on raw materials.
2. The proportionate reduction of the duties on articles manufactured from raw materials thus placed on the free list.
3. No duties to exceed 50 per cent except those on luxuries.
4. No internal-revenue duty to be imposed on alcohol used in manufactures.
5. Where practicable duties to be made specific by converting ad valorem into specific duties on the basis of average market values.

This amendment was rejected on a division by a vote of 42 to 88.

It is evident from this vote that Mr. Hewitt's doctrine was somewhat of a stranger among Democratic principles.

HON. RANDOLPH TUCKER, HON. W. R. MORRISON, AND HON. R. Q. MILLS STRANGERS TO THE DOCTRINE IN 1882.

Hon. Randolph Tucker, of Virginia, immediately followed with another amendment in which he proposed a schedule of duties ranging from 45 per cent ad valorem on woolens to $14 per ton on railroad iron. The only free raw materials suggested by Mr. Tucker were medicinal barks, prepared or otherwise. This amendment was rejected by a vote of 37 to 79.

It is quite evident that so eminent a Democrat as Mr. Tucker had not learned of this doctrine being an important tenet of his party. Hon. W. R. Morrison then presented an amendment for a similar purpose, which provided:

Said commission shall report no revision of the tariff providing for duties in excess of the several duties and rates of duty imposed by the act of Congress approved March 2, 1861, and known as the Morrill tariff, on any of the following articles not subject to tax under the internal-revenue laws, namely:

Manufactures of cotton, iron and steel, wood, hemp, jute, flax and manila, glass and glassware.

On all articles embraced in the schedule of sundries; also on all metals not otherwise provided for, and all manufactures of metals.

On all spices.

On all wool, hair of the alpaca goat and other animals, and all manufactures thereof.

On beef, pork, hams, bacon, cheese, wheat, butter, lard, barley, corn, and fish.

Mr. Morrison is a Democrat of Democrats, but this resolution discloses the fact that even he had not then learned the lesson of free raw material. He had the temerity to demand, in defiance of this alleged principle, a tariff on wool, wheat, corn, barley, and other raw materials.

Then followed a motion by Hon. R. Q. MILLS of Texas (now a distinguished member of this body), to recommit the bill with the instructions which I shall read. Mr. MILLS stated that his instructions were those which were prepared by Hon. R. J. Walker in the tariff of 1846:

Resolved, That the bill creating a tariff commission be recommitted to the Committee on Ways and Means, with instructions to report within thirty days a bill framed in compliance with the following instructions:

1. That no more money should be collected than is necessary for the wants of the Government economically administered.
2. That no duty be imposed on any article above the lowest rate that will yield the largest amount of revenue.
3. That below such rates—

I call particular attention to this—

That below such rates discrimination may be made, descending in the scale of duties, or for imperative reasons the article may be placed on the list of those free from all duties.

4. The maximum revenue duty should be imposed on luxuries.

5. That all specific duties should be abolished and ad valorem duties substituted in their place, care being taken to guard against fraudulent invoices and undervaluation, and to assess the duty upon the actual market value.

6. That the duty should be so imposed as to operate as equally as possible throughout the Union, discriminating neither for nor against any class or section.

This amendment was rejected by a vote of 152 to 75.

A TARIFF FOR REVENUE AGAINST THE DOCTRINE OF FREE RAW MATERIAL.

Mr. President, this resolution of Mr. MILLS demanded the reenactment of the Walker tariff of 1846, in which the idea of the doctrine of free raw material can not be found. This resolution received the solid support of the Democratic members, if I remember correctly, and was no doubt considered orthodox Democracy at that date.

May we not fairly draw the conclusion that up to this date the doctrine of free raw material had not become an "established principle" of the Democratic party? Having located, as I believed, a date when the doctrine of free raw material was not an established Democratic principle, I continued my investigation to find when it was.

In the Democratic platform of 1884 I find the first mention of free raw material in the following indirect manner. Speaking of the Republican party, "It has subjected them to an increasing flood of manufactured goods and a hopeless competition with manufacturing nations, not one of which taxes raw materials." In the same platform I find the following significant statement, referred to the other day by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST], which I shall not take the time to read, as the Senate is familiar with it, but will print in my remarks:

Knowing full well, however, that legislation affecting the operations of the people should be cautious and conservative in method, not in advance of public opinion, but responsive to its demands, the Democratic party is pledged to revise the tariff in a spirit of fairness to all interests. But, in making reduction in taxes, it is not proposed to injure any domestic industries, but rather to promote their healthy growth. From the foundation of this Government taxes collected at the custom-house have been the chief source of Federal revenue. Such they must continue to be. Moreover, many industries have come to rely upon legislation for successful continuance, so that any change of law must be at every step regardful of the labor and capital thus involved. The process of the reform must be subject in the execution to this plain dictate of justice—all taxation shall be limited to the requirements of economical government.

The necessary reduction and taxation can and must be effected without depriving American labor of the ability to compete successfully with foreign labor and without imposing lower rates of duty than will be ample to cover any increased cost of production which may exist in consequence of the higher rate of wages prevailing in this country. Sufficient revenue to pay all the expenses of the Federal Government, economically administered, including pensions, interest, and principal of the public debt, can be got under our present system of taxation from the custom-house taxes on fewer imported articles, bearing heaviest on articles of luxury and bearing lightest on articles of necessity. We therefore denounce the abuses of the existing tariff; and, subject to the preceding limitations, we demand that Federal taxation shall be exclusively for public purposes, and shall not exceed the needs of the Government, economically administered.

It would require a very vivid imagination, in my opinion, to torture this statement into a demand for free raw material; yet the distinguished Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST] declared quite recently that such was its meaning.

The platform of 1888, which the distinguished Senator so emphatically stated declared for the doctrine of free raw material, reads as follows:

The Democratic party of the United States, in national convention assembled, renews the pledge of its fidelity to the Democratic faith, and reaffirms the platform adopted by its representatives in the convention of 1884, and indorses the views expressed by President Cleveland in his last annual message to Congress as the correct interpretation of that platform upon the question of tariff reduction; and also indorses the efforts of our Democratic representatives in Congress to secure a reduction of excessive taxation.

It would appear from the reading of this paragraph and the declaration of the distinguished Senator from Missouri that the interpretation placed on the Democratic platform of 1884 by President Cleveland, together with the schedules of the Mills bill, furnish the real authority for declaring the doctrine of free raw material a cardinal principle of Democracy.

DON'T WANT CLEVELAND'S INTERPRETATION.

Mr. President, I do not remember President Cleveland's interpretation; neither do I care to know, since the time has come, thank God, when his declaration of what Democratic principles are or should be do not pass current.

As for the distinguished author of the Mills bill being authority upon so important a matter, I assume there is at least room for honest differences. Not that I would reflect on his Democracy or eminent ability, but the resolutions of 1892, when compared with the schedules of his bill of 1888, disclose a want of continuity that is not always a distinguishing feature for safe guidance.

In 1892 the distinguished Senator is found advocating the doctrine of the Walker tariff, in which there is not a single trace of the principle of free raw material, while in 1888, less than six years later, he is declared the bulwark of that principle.

I find free raw material mentioned in the platform of 1892, as follows:

We indorse the efforts made by the Democrats of the present Congress to modify its most oppressive features in the direction of free raw materials and cheaper manufactured goods that enter into general consumption.

In the platform of 1896 the idea of free raw material was eliminated altogether.

Mr. President, have I not shown conclusively that the doctrine of free raw material has never been an established principle of Democracy? Have I not shown that a single allusion made to it in the platform of 1884, a covert attempt to indorse it in 1888, a qualified indorsement in 1892, and an absolute abandonment in 1896 is the real history of this dogma?

This doctrine, Mr. President, came and went with Grover Cleveland, and I believe that the people are willing for him to keep it, or sink it in Buzzards Bay, as he may elect.

GOVERNOR CULBERSON OF TEXAS AGAINST FREE RAW MATERIAL.

Mr. President, since I took a position against the so-called doctrine of free raw material, I have received hundreds of letters from the South commending my course. I will refrain from printing any of them, but instead read an extract from a letter written by the present governor of Texas, Hon. C. A. Culberson, for the purpose of disclosing the fact that a very wide difference of opinion exists on the question of free raw material between the governor of Texas and the distinguished Senator from Texas, Mr. MILLS. The letter is dated Austin, Tex., July 9, 1895, and is addressed to Hon. John Brookhout, Dallas. I will print the letter and comments by Mr. E. W. Cave as an appendix to my remarks, and content myself at present with reading a short extract:

The great question of tariff reform should be resolutely pressed. The taxes levied by this system should be limited to the actual needs of government economically administered, and within these limitations the interests of Texas and her inexhaustible raw material should be cared for. No good can result to the people of Texas by continuing high duties on manufactured articles and putting our raw material from which they are made on the free list, and thus invite destructive competition with foreign countries, which only benefits Eastern manufacturers. Until Texas engages more largely in manufactures than at present, such a policy can but be hurtful to us and in the interest of sections already enriched by protection. If in the present condition of the Treasury it should be deemed unwise or inexpedient to attempt a further general revision in the near future, inequalities should be adjusted by special laws.

The conclusions which I have reached in regard to the doctrine of free raw material are the result of careful investigation. I disclaim all thoughts of bringing discord into the Democratic party, and I sincerely hope this doctrine will follow Grover Cleveland into quiet obscurity and thus fade into "innocuous desuetude."

CONTEST OF SCHEDULES.

Mr. President, I realize quite fully the difficulties which surround this measure. I saw them at the beginning of its construction, and have seen them multiply and intensify every day since. Long before the bill left the Ways and Means Committee it had degenerated into a contest over schedules, and has remained in that position until the present time. This bill represents no fixed or particular economic theory, but, to the contrary, is a mixture of them all, with the keen New England manufacturers, the sugar-trust kings, and other kindred spirits manipulating the compound.

By attempting to liquidate political obligations in conjunction with a billion-dollar Congress, the Republican party has fallen upon hard lines, and in its extremity has given the country a tariff bill which, to say the least, is fearfully if not wonderfully made.

If the next one hundred years of national existence witnesses as rapid an increase in per capita expenses and political obligations as the past century, it is extremely problematical as to what sort of taxation will then obtain. Secretary John Sherman, then Congressman from Ohio, in a speech dated May 27, 1858, gave the per capita expenses of the Government at different dates.

For information I will quote them:

1789 to 1791	$0.42	1840	$1.41
1800	.90	1850	1.60
1810	.73	1857	1.93
1820	1.36	1858	2.98
1830	1.03		

We are now living under a billion-dollar Congress, which means an expenditure of $500,000,000 annually, or $7.19 per capita for our 70,000,000 of people.

In commercial transactions large aggregates of business are conducted on less expenditure per unit than smaller ventures. Yet it would seem, so far as national business is concerned, that retailing is much cheaper per unit than wholesaling. When our national expenses increase from 42 cents per capita to $7.19 per capita, I submit something is radically wrong and calls for immediate and careful attention.

MY REMEDY.

Mr. President, it will be a very difficult undertaking to bring prosperity under any system of taxation, more especially under present conditions. Something besides tribute bearing must intervene before the people will enjoy the blessings of plenty and good times. In my opinion, the first move in this direction should be to open the mint to the free coinage of silver. Follow this by a reduction of expenses to the lowest point consistent with good government.

Abolish the internal-revenue system and put in its stead a just and proper income tax, together with an inheritance tax similar to the one proposed by the distinguished Senator from Indiana [Mr. TURPIE].

Then I would secure the balance needed for Government expenses by a good, old-fashioned Democratic tariff for revenue, so adjusted as to place its burdens upon all the people of all the sections and give its incidental benefits to labor, where it ever belongs. This, in brief, is my remedy for present hard times, and I trust the near future will see it applied.

In 1837 we had one of the most destructive panics of the century.
In 1857 we had another disastrous panic.
In 1873 we had a panic that brought wreck and ruin to nearly all business interests.
In 1893 we had a panic of which no one need be reminded.
The panic of 1837 occurred under the Clay tariff, averaging about 26 per cent.
The panic of 1857 occurred under the Walker tariff, averaging 25 per cent.
The panic of 1873 came under the Morrill tariff, which averaged 48 per cent; and the panic of 1893 occurred under the McKinley tariff, which averaged 58 per cent.
Here we find that two disastrous panics came under the lowest tariffs since 1816, and also that two terrible panics came under the highest tariffs we ever had.
This proves that panics come under low tariffs and high tariffs.

But no man living or dead ever heard of or witnessed a panic when the people had plenty of money.

APPENDIX.

FREE RAW MATERIAL VS. A TARIFF FOR REVENUE—EQUITABLE DUTIES ON ALL IMPORTS—TEXAS AND HER INEXHAUSTIBLE RAW MATERIAL SHOULD BE CARED FOR.

[Open letter from E. W. Cave, Houston, Tex., to Governor C. A. Culberson.]

HOUSTON, TEX., *November 1, 1895.*

SIR: I take the privilege, as a citizen of Texas and a Democrat, to congratulate you, the Democratic party, and the country on the following statesmanlike views on the subject of "tariff reform," expressed in your letter to Hon. John Bookhout, Dallas, Tex., dated Austin, July 9, 1895:

"The great question of tariff reform should be resolutely pressed. The taxes levied by this system should be limited to the actual needs of government economically administered, and within these limitations the interests of Texas and her inexhaustible raw material should be cared for. No good can result to the people of Texas by continuing high duties on manufactured articles and putting our raw material from which they are made on the free list, and thus invite destructive competition with foreign countries, which only benefits Eastern manufacturers. Until Texas engages more largely in manufactures than at present such a policy can but be hurtful to us and in the interest of sections already enriched by protection. If in the present condition of the Treasury it should be deemed unwise or inexpedient to attempt a further general revision in the near future, inequalities should be adjusted by special laws."

Although entirely out of politics, I feel an interest in the success of my party and in the welfare of my country. I hope it may not be deemed presumptuous in me to supplement your views with some data and suggestions bearing on the subject.

In 1871, previous to coffee being placed on the free list, the total imports, exclusive of specie, were $520,223,000. The "free list" was $36,587,000. The customs revenue was $200,270,000. The average duty on dutiable imports was 43.95 per cent, and if levied on all imports, the average duty would have been 38.94 per cent.

In the fiscal year ending June 30, 1895, the total imports were $731,957,000. The "free list" was $363,228,000 and the dutiable list was $368,729,000. The customs revenue was but $152,749,000. The average rate of duty on dutiable imports was 41.42 per cent. If levied on entire imports, the average duty would have been but 20.86 per cent.

Leading items of the free list of 1871.

Chemicals, drugs, dyes, dyewoods	$5,881,000	Rags for paper	$3,749,000
Fur skins, undressed	1,028,000	Rubber, gutta-percha, etc.	2,507,000
Horse hair	1,379,000	Wood and timber	1,016,000
Raw silk, cocoons	5,739,000	Total free imports	36,587,000

Leading items of free raw material in 1895.

Art works	$3,655,000	Matting	$1,638,000
Chemicals, drugs, and dyes	30,325,000	Oils	3,179,000
Cocoa, crude	3,195,000	Rags	3,780,000
Coffee	95,085,000	Seeds	1,336,000
Cork	1,049,000	Raw silk, cocoons	22,625,000
Cotton, raw	4,714,000	Spices	2,367,000
Feathers, undyed	1,722,000	Sugar and molasses	29,599,000
Fertilizers	1,092,000	Tea	13,170,000
Fish	1,106,000	Grasses, etc	12,099,000
Fruits, nuts	5,467,000	Grasses, etc., manufactured	6,491,000
Furs, undressed	3,330,000	Wood	13,597,000
Grease	1,227,000	Wool	23,896,000
Hair, unmanufactured	1,165,000		
Chip, etc	2,755,000		
Hides, skins	25,962,000	Total free list	363,228,000
Rubber, etc	18,477,000		

Manufactured articles into which the free raw materials of this list enter are protected by duties ranging from 10 to 50 per cent. Many of the manufactures are protected by a specific duty.

For the fiscal year of 1890 the total imports were $789,310,000, of which $523,641,000 were dutiable and $265,668,000 free of duty. The receipts from customs were $229,668,000. The receipts for 1889 were $223,832,000.

Under the extreme policy of protection, as defined by the McKinley bill of 1890, the results were:

Year.	Imports dutiable.	Imports free.	Customs revenue.
1891*	$478,674,000	$306,241,000	$219,522,000
1892	369,402,000	457,999,000	177,452,000
1893	421,856,000	444,544,000	203,355,000
1894	275,199,000	379,796,000	132,296,000

*Sugar dutiable, 1891, $62,792,000.

The effort doubtless was to protect the manufacturer fully, both by high tariff duties and "free raw material." The result was an average increase of free imports for the four years of $146,477,000. The dutiable imports decreased, at the end of the four years, $248,442,000. The American manufacturers, with free raw material, had command of the market. The customs revenues decreased $97,850,000.

The total loss of revenues in the four years, as compared with 1890, was $186,539,000. The Government was left without the means of sustenance.

The tariff-reform policy of the Fifty-third Congress eventuated in a reduction of the ad valorem rates of duty imposed by the McKinley bill, substituting in some cases specific duties and the perpetuation and extension of the policy of "free raw material" except as to sugar, which was made dutiable at 40 per cent ad valorem. The effort was to further extend it to embrace free iron ore and coal. The result for the fiscal year ending June, 1895, is:

Increase in dutiable imports	$93,530,000
Decrease in free imports	6,567,000
Increase in total imports	76,963,000
Increase in customs revenues	20,930,000

The imports of sugar free in 1894 were $124,635,000. The total imports for 1895 were $76,460,000, of which $29,599,000 was free. The wise placing of sugar on the dutiable list gave the Government about $18,400,000 of revenue. The deficit in the Government's receipts and expenditures was $42,825,000 for the year.

It seems apparent that under the present system it is not practicable to produce such an amount of customs revenues as is necessary for the support of the Government. Exorbitant protective tariffs like the McKinley bill reduce imports, and thus reduce revenues.

Reasonable reduction in tariff rates will not increase imports in such ratio as to afford greatly increased revenues. Receipts from customs must continue to be, as they always have been, the chief source of revenues. Internal revenues, like those from customs, are likely to be depleted by more onerous taxation, and collection defeated by an effort to extend that system to the annoyance and cost of the people. The decrease in the last fiscal year is $3,543,000. The decrease in the three months of 1895 ending September is $20,300,930. The necessity for a return to the Democratic policy of a "tariff for revenue" seems equally apparent.

Upon what Democratic ground can "free raw material" for manufactures be maintained? Unless it can be claimed that Government should be operated and the people taxed for the benefit of manufactures, "free raw material" can only be defended on the same grounds as the doctrine of protection. The argument that our manufacturers should have free raw material in order to build up our manufactures, enable them to compete with foreign manufacturers, give employment to our labor, and ultimately cheapen the cost of goods to our people is all that Mr. McKinley or Mr. REED would urge in behalf of a high protective tariff.

"Free raw material" is the additional discriminating protection given the American manufacturer as against the foreign manufacturer and importer who pays a duty not only upon the cost of manufacturing but also upon the material of which the articles are composed.

It is a mooted question who pays the tax on imported goods—the consumer or the foreign manufacturer. There is no doubt as to who pays the tax on "free raw material" imported. The people pay it, to recoup the Government in the lost revenue donated to the manufacturer. Commerce must be maintained and defended. Navies, ministers, consuls, Government must be supported. Why should not all commerce contribute to this? Why should $30,000,000 of chemicals, drugs, and dyes imported be exempted from duty, and chemical glassware be taxed 40 per cent; medical preparations be taxed 25 per cent, and dyed cotton cloth, valued at 6¼ cents per yard or less, be taxed 1½ to 1¾ cents a square yard? It is true we have cheap quinine, but the imports of quinia and extracts of cinchona bark only amount to $342,000.

Why should $95,000,000 of coffee be imported free? It is a luxury and a comfort, but so also is the Government. Do the people realize any benefit from its loss of revenues? Coffee was dutiable at 3 cents a pound in 1873, when it was placed on the free list. The wholesale price in New York in 1869 and 1870 for Rio coffee was 11 and 13 cents per pound. From 1844 to 1848 New York quotations were 5 and 8 cents per pound. The price was forced up between 1873 and 1878 to as high as 28 cents, when it declined, reaching the lowest point, 7¼ cents in 1882. The price was 8½ and 10 cents in 1885. It has been advancing since, under the control of foreign rings, and is now quoted in New York at 16 cents per pound. The consumption in 1871 was 7.91 pounds per capita, in 1885 was 9.00 pounds per capita, in 1881 was 6.81 pounds per capita, in 1892 was 9.63 pounds per capita, and in 1893 declined to 8.25 pounds per capita. The total imports for 1895 were 652,000,000 pounds. The Government sacrificed $19,560,000 of customs revenue without any benefit to the people of this country.

Ninety seven million two hundred and forty-nine thousand pounds of tea were imported free last year, at an average invoice value of 13.55 cents per pound. Consumption per capita, 1871, was 1.14 pounds. Consumption per capita, 1890, was 1.32 pounds. Tea was dutiable in 1871 at 17.7 cents a pound. If a duty of 5 cents a pound had been collected on last year's imports of tea, the Government would have been able to decrease the deficit $4,890,000. Can it be supposed any tea consumer would be able to find where the duty came in when settling with his grocer at the retail price?

Why should the Government not have collected a duty on the 100,000 bales Egyptian and other cotton imported free last year, and especially when its importation at 9¾ cents average per pound is destructive to the culture of sea-island, good middling uplands, and other long staple cotton in the South? These cottons are fostered by foreign capital, and practically produced by semislave labor. The imports have grown from 6,650 bales in 1879, at invoice value of 16¾ cents, to the above figures. The Northern and Eastern manufacturer, who thus ignores the Southern planter, is protected in the class of goods for which they are used and in mixture with other good middling cottons by duties ranging from 30 to 50 per cent. Every product of Northern and Eastern agriculture, from a green apple to preserved watermelon rind, from a bush bean to a bushel of wheat, from a dozen of eggs to a dressed gobbler, is protected by a tariff duty. Why should our Southern staple be discriminated against, and especially when the Government needs the revenue? These imports are increasing. In the eight months of 1895 there were imported 73,000 bales, an increase over previous eight months of 21,200 bales. These cottons will now take the benefit of our short crop.

Take the item of hides and skins, of which $26,000,000 worth were imported last fiscal year free of duty. Hides and skins paid an average duty in 1871 of 10 per cent. What benefit is derived by the masses of the people from this discrimination against the cattle and sheep raisers of Texas for the benefit of the cattle and sheep raisers of Europe, South America, and Australia, and for the enrichment of a great leather trust capitalized at $128,000,000? While our cattle and slaughtered meats, as well as our salted meats, are excluded or prejudiced under the pretense of the public health, we are adding value to the cattle, sheep, and hogs of Europe by admitting their skins and hides duty free. The quotations for dry salted hides in the Houston market for April, 1893, 1894, and 1895 have been 5 and 5½ cents; October 30, 6 and 7 cents.

The price of leather has been dictated by the trust, and prices have been advanced largely until in the last few months discord has broken combinations and competitive influences have advanced prices of our hides. This may end in a week, and prices be governed by the same dictation. It seems folly for the Government to longer sacrifice its revenues under the illusive idea that shoes and harness can be thus cheapened. Even if the leather trust is circumvented, the leather manufacturer is protected by from 10 to 20 per

cent, and the manufacturer of boots and shoes by from 20 to 40 per cent. Meanwhile the free import increases, reaching 200,000,000 pounds in the eight months of the year ending August, an increase of 160 per cent.

Free wool! This extraordinary concession to the woolen manufacturing interests of the country must rest upon the same argument as that of "free raw material" generally. True, wool enters largely into the uses of the people, but at the same time it amounts to a discrimination against the producers of this country in favor of the wool producers of foreign countries. The question of direct benefit to the people of this country will probably be found, as in the case of other "free raw material," so finely drawn as not to be demonstrable. What the foreign wool grower or manufacturer does not take to himself will be difficult to find in a wool shirt or a blanket. Besides, wool is the competitor of cotton in American manufactures.

In proportion as it is cheapened or fills the market, cotton inevitably must be displaced. Every additional thread of wool substituted for cotton in a mixture lessens the demand for that much cotton. The man who sleeps under a blanket does not sleep under a quilt. Cheap wool means cheaper cotton. Our people might as well understand this now, as the vast product of the world's sheep is tending to our markets. In 1871 the imports of wool into the United States were 68,000,000 pounds. Of this 50,174,000 pounds entered into consumption. Of this the wool of class 3, valued at 12 cents per pound or less, and dutiable 3 cents per pound, was 19,858,000 pounds, at average invoice value of 10½ cents per pound. Upland cotton was then worth in New York, lowest price, 15 cents per pound, and it did not get below 11 cents until 1877.

The imports of wool in the last fiscal year were 206,134,906 pounds, at an average value of 12.4 cents per pound. The increased imports over 1894 were 151,000,000 pounds. Of this 105,500,000 pounds had an average invoice value of but 9 cents per pound. For the eight months of 1895 the imports are 179,521,000 pounds, an increase of 135,000,000 pounds, of which there is 65,000,000 pounds of class 3 wools free, with an average invoice value of 9.47 cents per pound, and 100,449,000 pounds of clothing wools free, with an average invoice value of 15.6 cents per pound. Our consumption per capita:

Year.	Wool.	Cotton.
	Pounds.	*Pounds.*
1871	5.43	10
1880	7.11	16.16
1893	7.03	17.28

It will be seen that while cotton consumption increased 60 per cent, 1870-1880, it has been practically held in check since. The interests of the woolgrowers and cotton planters of Texas are alike jeopardized by free wool and free cotton.

The world's capacity to supply wool is only practically measured by a profitable demand. The production in 1891, exclusive of the United States, was 2,149,673,000 pounds. The increase from 1870 to 1880 was 1,030,673,000 pounds. The increase from 1880 to 1891 was 650,673,000 pounds.

Our imports last year were 156,770,000 pounds greater than in 1870.

Over $13,500,000 timber, lumber, and shingles imported duty free last year, depriving the Government of the revenue and bringing the lumber of Canada farther down the country, into competition with the lumber of Texas and the Southern lumber districts. What a stretch of the liberality of the Government and evidence of the elasticity of the tariff system it is to sacrifice the revenues that ought to be collected on $18,477,000 of crude india-rubber, gutta-percha, etc., while rubber manufacturers are protected by a 30 per cent duty! Why should we risk the importation of the rags of the world free of duty for the benefit of paper manufacturers, who are protected by duties on paper from 10 to 35 per cent? Where does the benefit to the masses come from the import last year?

Twenty-two million six hundred and twenty-six thousand dollars of raw silk, cocoons silk, and silk waste. The manufacturer of silk goods with his protection of from 20 to 50 per cent can see where the benefit to him comes in, or probably to his especial employees; but what do the farmers of Texas, who have to pay 30 per cent duty on an imported trace chain, get out of this free raw silk? Thirty-one million two hundred and five thousand dollars of manufactured silk and silk goods were imported last fiscal year, notwithstanding the advantage given the American silk manufacturer by "free raw material." Silk and silk manufactures certainly are within the most extreme line of taxation, and those who wear them can certainly afford to contribute to the support of the Government, no matter in what shape imported.

The great railway transportation interests of the country are deprived of the benefits of foreign competition in the American market for steel and iron rails. Perhaps if a revenue had been assured by a reasonable tariff on raw silk, Congress would have felt encouraged and justified in levying a less duty than $7.84 per ton on these rails, and we may have had some imports, as the present duty on rails is prohibitory. The whole imports last year amounted to but 784 tons; in 1894 to 2,178 tons. Considering the fact that there are about 228,000 miles of railways in the United States, besides street railways, with an enormous demand for new rails for renewals and extensions, the showing seems remarkable. The London price of steel rails for the year has been £3 12s. 6d.

Has it been demonstrated during the paternal efforts of the Government to legislate prices for the benefit of the people by discriminating "tariffs" and "free lists" that the desired result can be thus secured? Good and bad seasons, increased foreign and domestic production, trade depression, war apprehension, panics, money value, combinations, and trusts are factors that often negative these efforts. This country has grown too large for dependence on the paternal care of Government as a regulator of prices of commodities. The time has come when the Government may safely engage principally in the business of providing for its own maintenance. That it may be relieved of apprehensions on this score, is pretty clearly indicated by the results of making sugar dutiable. Although sugar pays a duty of 40 per cent under Senate bill of 1894, the following is the result:

Sugar quotations, Houston (Tex.) market.

Date.	Granulated.	Cubas.	Powdered.	Fancy yellow.
March, 1893	5	5½	.....	4½
October, 1893	5½	6½	6½	5½
March, 1894	4½ to 4½	5½	5½ to 5½	4½
October, 1894	5½ to 5½	5½ to 5½	5½ to 5½	4½ to 4½
March, 1895	4½ to 4½	5 to 5½	5 to 5½	3½ to 3½
October, 1895	5½	5½	5½	4½ to 4½

Iron cotton ties were graciously placed on the free list in 1894. There were none imported in 1894; last fiscal year the imports showed an extraordinary increase amounting to $120. Bagging, gunny cloth, and similar material for covering cotton was also placed on the free list. Not a yard was imported in 1894: the imports of the last fiscal year were only $30,490. Binding twine, of which there had been no imports in 1894, was placed on the free list; the imports last fiscal year only reached $16,422. Burlaps, however, tailed on to cotton ties, cotton bagging, and binding twine, and $4,506,000 dutiable imports of 1894, were converted last fiscal year into $4,902,000 free imports, for the benefit of the great mill interests of the country, who buy bags; flax and hemp were already free, in competition with our farmers' production, and in competition with the use of cotton for bags and sacks. Now we have the manufactured bags free, uniting cheap manufacturing labor with European and Asiatic cheap agricultural labor against the producers of American hemp, flax, and cotton.

Rice has been on the dutiable list since 1867. The duty on clean rice ranged from $2.37 to $2.59 per hundred pounds until 1879; New York quotations, 5½ to 8¼ cents, lowest, to 7 to 12⅝ cents, highest, per pound, affected part of the time by gold fluctuations. The duty in 1879 was 2.02 cents per pound; price, 5½ to 7¼ cents per pound. The duty in 1883 was 2½ cents per pound; price, 4 to 7¼ cents per pound. The price fell in 1885 and 1886 to 5.38 cents per pound. The duty in 1890 was 2 cents per pound. The Bureau of Statistics quotes New York prices on "good" rice, 1893, July to December, 2½ to 4½ cents; 1894, January to December, 4½ to 5 cents.

The duty on rice was reduced, under the Senate bill of 1894, to 1¼ cents per pound. The Bureau of Statistics quotes New York price, August, 1894, to August, 1895, at 4½ to 5 cents per pound. The price in August and September, 1894, was 5 cents per pound. The price in June, 1895, was 4¾ to 4¾, and in July, 4½ to 5 cents.

In view, therefore, of the advanced condition of our manufactures, the uncertainty as to whether the people are benefited in low prices on articles imported free consumed by them direct, the depressed condition of our agricultural, pastoral, and timber interests, affected by foreign competition, the inequitable discrimination in favor of certain manufacturers and consumers, and the necessity of the Government to have sufficient revenues for its support, has not the time come for a new departure?

Let us have "tariff reform" on the basis of a "tariff for revenue," with its rates of duty equitably distributed on true economic principles, and on the line of a conservative public policy. It is perhaps too early to even contemplate any large retrenchment of expenditures. The people have got used to an expensive and extravagant Government, and, strange to say, seem to like it. Billion-dollar Congresses are probably not altogether a thing of the past. In the fourteen years previous to 1894 the customs contributed an average annually of about $206,000,000 to the Government receipts. The culmination of the restrictive duties and expanded free list of the McKinley bill brought the customs revenues down in 1894 to $132,294,000.

To sustain our present system the customs must furnish about $300,000,000 annually. It is now impossible to secure this upon a dutiable list of $400,000,000. It can be secured by fair duties on all imports, and our manufacturers and agricultural interests receive all the protection that a just consideration for the interests of all the people permits them to have. Our largest year of imports of merchandise has amounted to $866,800,000; under our present policy they had declined to $655,000,000. Indications point to $800,000,000 for this fiscal year. The customs revenue in the eight months ending August show an increase of $29,728,000. The condition will not admit of further experiment on the line of internal taxes to recoup the losses on customs revenue.

In the discussion in the House of Representatives of the United States, which resulted in the founding of a tariff system, Mr. Madison said, August 9, 1879:

"I presume that, however much we may be disposed to promote domestic manufactures, we ought to pay some regard to the present policy of obtaining revenue. * * *

"In my opinion, it would be proper also for gentlemen to consider the means of encouraging the great staple of America. I mean agriculture, which I think may be justly styled the staple of the United States, from spontaneous productions which nature furnishes, and the manifest advantage it has over every other object of embodiment in this country. * * * But it will be necessary to confine our attention at this time peculiarly to the object of revenue."

After the war with England had demonstrated the necessity for additional encouragement of our manufactures, Mr. Calhoun, in his speech, April 4, 1816, enunciated these broad principles:

"Neither agriculture, manufactures, nor commerce, taken separately, is the cause of wealth; it flows from the three combined, and can not exist without each. The wealth of any single nation, it is true, may not immediately depend upon the three, but such wealth always presupposes their existence. * * *

"It is admitted by the most strenuous advocates on the other side that no country ought to be dependent on another for its means of defense; that at least our musket and bayonet, our cannon and ball, ought to be domestic manufacture. But what, he asked, is more necessary to the defense of a nation than its currency and finance?"

After a hundred and six years of tariff experience, and the culmination of the grandest expectations of the statesmen who gave a fostering care to our manufacturing interests, have we not again reached a point when, in the language of Mr. Madison, "it will be necessary to confine our attention peculiarly to the object of revenue," and when we must recognize, in the graphic language of Mr. Calhoun, that "neither agriculture, manufactures, nor commerce, taken separately, is the cause of wealth," and also that discrimination against either is not conducive to national prosperity?

Very respectfully,

E. W. CAVE.

Governor CHARLES A. CULBERSON,
Austin, Tex.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The yeas and nays have been ordered on the amendment submitted by the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. JONES], and the Secretary will call the roll.

Mr. BACON. I ask that the amendment may be first stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. At the end of line 17 of paragraph 301, on page 90, it is proposed to insert:

Provided, however, That in no case shall the duty levied exceed 8 cents per pound on yarns valued at not exceeding 25 cents per pound, nor exceed 15 cents per pound on yarns valued at over 25 cents per pound and not exceeding 40 cents per pound: *And provided further*, That on all yarns valued at more than 40 cents per pound there shall be levied, collected, and paid a duty of 45 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. BACON. I should like to inquire of the Senator from Arkansas if that is the provision of the present law?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. It is the closing portion of the paragraph in relation to cotton thread and carded yarn, etc., of the

present law. The proposed schedule is identical with the present law down to the end of the pending paragraph, leaving out the part of the present law which I have moved to insert. This is a limitation which cuts off the higher numbers and preserves the existing rates, as I have stated.

Mr. BACON. Then, if this amendment should be adopted, the paragraph would be the same as that in the present law?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Exactly.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the amendment submitted by the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. JONES], on which the yeas and nays have been ordered.

The Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CLAY (when his name was called). I transfer my pair with the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] to the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH], and vote "yea."

Mr. GEAR (when his name was called). My pair with the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH] has been transferred to the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE]. I am therefore at liberty to vote, and vote "nay."

Mr. GRAY (when his name was called). I am paired for the present with the junior Senator from Illinois [Mr. MASON]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. MALLORY (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROCTOR]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. MITCHELL (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SEWELL].

Mr. MORRILL (when his name was called). I transfer my pair with the senior Senator from Tennessee [Mr. HARRIS] to the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. WARREN], and vote "nay."

Mr. TURNER (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. WARREN]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair will suggest to the Senator from Washington that the senior Senator from Vermont [Mr. MORRILL] has transferred his pair to the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. WARREN], which will leave the Senator at liberty to vote.

Mr. TURNER. Then I vote "yea."

The roll call having been concluded, the result was announced—yeas 20, nays 30; as follows:

YEAS—20.

Bacon,	Clay,	Morgan,	Tillman,
Bate,	Jones, Ark.	Pasco,	Turner,
Berry,	McLaurin,	Pettus,	Vest.
Butler,	Martin,	Rawlins,	Walthall,
Chilton,	Mills,	Roach,	White.

NAYS—30.

Allison,	Frye,	Mantle,	Stewart,
Burrows,	Gallinger,	Morrill,	Teller,
Carter,	Gear,	Perkins,	Thurston,
Chandler,	Hanna,	Platt, Conn.	Wellington,
Deboe,	Hawley,	Pritchard,	Wetmore,
Elkins,	Hoar,	Quay,	Wilson.
Fairbanks,	McBride,	Shoup,	
Foraker,	McEnery,	Spooner,	

NOT VOTING—30.

Aldrich,	Faulkner,	Kenney,	Penrose,
Allen,	George,	Kyle,	Pettigrew,
Baker,	Gorman,	Lindsay,	Platt, N. Y.
Caffery,	Gray,	Lodge,	Proctor,
Cannon,	Hale,	McMillan,	Sewell,
Clark,	Hansbrough,	Mallory,	Smith,
Cockrell,	Harris, Kans.	Mason,	Turpie,
Cullom,	Harris, Tenn.	Mitchell,	Warren,
Daniel,	Heitfeld,	Murphy,	Wolcott.
Davis,	Jones, Nev.	Nelson,	

So the amendment was rejected.

Mr. ALLISON subsequently said: I inadvertently voted on the last amendment, being paired with the Senator from Missouri [Mr. COCKRELL]. I ask unanimous consent that my vote may be withdrawn.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The request will be complied with.

Mr. ALLISON. Inadvertently the amendment of the committee in line 13 of paragraph 301 was agreed to. That amendment should be disagreed to, and I ask unanimous consent to recur to it for that purpose.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In paragraph 301, page 90, line 13, after the words "twenty and," the Committee on Finance reported to insert "in addition thereto."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the vote whereby the amendment was agreed to will be considered as reconsidered, and the amendment disagreed to.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 302, page 90, line 18, before the word "thread," to strike out "Cotton" and insert "Spool;" in the same line, after the word "thread," to insert "of cotton, including crochet, darning, and embroidery cottons;" in line 22, after the word "yards," to strike out "of thread;" in line 23, after the words "one hundred," to strike out "yards;" in line 24, after the word "than," to strike out "wound;" in line 25, before the word "cent," to strike out "a" and insert "one;" in line 1, on page 91, after the word "yards," to strike out "of thread;" and in the same line, after the word "thereof," at the end of the paragraph, to insert:

Provided, That in no case shall the duty be assessed upon a less number of yards than is marked on the spools or reels.

So as to make the paragraph read:

302. Spool thread of cotton, including crochet, darning, and embroidery cottons on spools or reels, containing on each spool or reel not exceeding 100 yards of thread, 6 cents per dozen; exceeding 100 yards on each spool or reel, for every additional hundred yards or fractional part thereof in excess of 100, 6 cents per dozen spools or reels; if otherwise than on spools or reels, one-half of 1 cent for each 100 yards or fractional part thereof: *Provided*, That in no case shall the duty be assessed upon a less number of yards than is marked on the spools or reels.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. VEST. I have no objection to the proviso which has just been adopted, but I move, in line 21, before the word "cents," to strike out the word "six" and insert "five and one-half;" and I make the same motion in line 23, before the word "cents," to strike out "six" and insert "five and one-half."

We have heard a great deal about the poor sewing girl in the tariff debates, and here is an increase over the existing law, and a very considerable one when the amount of this article consumed in the United States is considered. I ask that the motion may be put upon both amendments at once.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendments proposed by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST] will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In paragraph 302, page 90, line 21, before the word "cents," it is proposed to strike out "six" and insert "five and one-half;" and in line 23, before the word "cents," to strike out "six" and insert "five and one-half;" so as to read:

302. Spool thread of cotton, including crochet, darning, and embroidery cottons on spools or reels, containing on each spool or reel not exceeding 100 yards of thread, 5½ cents per dozen; exceeding 100 yards on each spool or reel, for every additional hundred yards or fractional part thereof in excess of 100, 5½ cents per dozen spools or reels.

The amendment was rejected.

The reading of the bill was resumed at paragraph 303, as follows:

303. Cotton cloth not bleached, dyed, colored, stained, painted, or printed, and not exceeding 50 threads to the square inch, counting the warp and filling, 1 cent per square yard; if bleached, 1¼ cents per square yard; if dyed, colored, stained, painted, or printed, 2 cents per square yard.

Mr. VEST. Before we leave that paragraph, I want to read the official statement to show how far advanced the cotton manufactures of the United States are as to the articles named in this paragraph. We exported, in 1896, $3,419,158 worth of colored cotton cloths, and in the same year we exported $9,579,199 worth of uncolored cotton cloths, and of all other cotton cloths we exported $3,170,940, making in the aggregate over $15,000,000 worth of these cotton cloths exported from the United States and competing successfully with the manufactures of other countries.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. In the line of what my colleague on the committee [Mr. VEST] has just suggested, I think this is perhaps as appropriate place as any to present some tables showing the relative cost of production of cotton cloths at Burnley and Lancashire, in England, and in Lowell, Mass., taking cloths at 64 by 64 warp and weft and 28 inches wide.

The yarn in the American cloth is made of No. 28 warp and 36 weft, averaging 32. The English yarn is four numbers finer, but in reality it is from eight to ten numbers finer.

This statement shows the English yarn is 37½ inches, and it is taken from the accounts of one of the best and latest mills erected at Rochdale, Lancashire, working under the most advantageous conditions of machinery and management. It is a cooperative mill, where the directing and superintending are run on the most economical principles.

This statement, as I have said, is taken from the official statement of the mill. The cost of carding 1 pound of yarn is eight hundred and fifty-five one-thousandths of a cent; spinning and incidental thereto, 1.137. The rates I have thus far given are the Massachusetts rates. The Lancashire direct wages are 1.684, and other wages and salaries twenty-four one-thousandths, making the total paid in wages in Massachusetts 1.992 cents, and in Lancashire 1.708 cents, in the matter of spinning of yarns necessary to make a pound of cloth.

The American cloth weighs 7 yards to the pound; the English cloth, by the use of 10 numbers finer yarn, weighs about 9 yards to the pound. The cost is therefore computed on an equal basis of 7 yards in the account given by Mr. Schoenhof for comparison. The weaving rate is, per cut of 50 yards, in Lowell, at the rate of

20 cents, and in Lancashire at the rate of 12½d., or 25½ cents for the same length; 20 cents in Massachusetts and 25½ cents in England. The actual cost, computed from the mill books at Burnley and from the Lowell account, foots up as follows:

This is a quotation from a part of the report of Mr. Schoenhof. The labor cost on the basis of 7 yards is as follows:

	Burnley.	Lowell.
Weavers' wages	3.57	2.8
Dressing the warp	.479	.469
Beaming, twisting, and winding	.753	.428
Lowell extra board	.....	.039
	*4.802	†3.736

*0.686 cent per yard. †0.534 cent per yard.

The cost of weaving per yard is one hundred and fifty-two one-thousandths of a cent less in Lowell than in England. The difference in the final outcome is to the advantage of England by the saving of two-ninths of a pound of yarn, the selling price of which in the mill's accounts given by Mr. Schoenhof was 8d., or 16 cents per pound. Two-ninths of that is 3.55 cents, and per yard is equal to five-tenths of a cent, far outbalancing the difference in labor expense, and explains the impossibility of the heavier American cloths competing with the lighter and finer cloth of England in the markets of the world, where the finer cloth at the lower price finds preference.

The difference in weavers' wages per yard in cotton weaving has incontestably been established, and is due to the larger number of looms run per hand by American mills.

The higher paid American labor, the more intelligent American labor, the men of the higher type and higher class, more independent, do more work for the amount of money paid. Although they insist upon receiving and do receive more money by the day for the work they do, they do more work for the money they get than do their confrères on the other side of the water. They turn out more work for the cent, more work for the dollar, than do the wage earners in either England or Germany.

While we boast of the high wages paid to labor in this country, when there is a careful analysis of facts made, it will be found that the labor cost of an article manufactured in this country as a rule is cheaper than that in the country where lower wages are paid. It shows the wisdom of the high rate of wages in this country. It shows the wisdom of American institutions. It shows the wisdom of developing the manhood and independence and individuality of our citizens. It shows that the higher the type of man the lower the cost of the goods which he produces for the balance of mankind. It is a strong argument, not only in favor of the ability of our mills to maintain themselves against mills abroad, but one strongly in favor of the civilization and intelligence of the people of this country.

In 1894 the Senate Finance Committee obtained from Fall River, through Robert Howard, secretary to the Fall River Mule Spinners' Association, a statement of the rates of wages paid then for print cloth. To a question put to him in writing, he states: "In reply * * * I will inform you that the price for weaving 64 by 64 regular print cloth (28 inches wide) in Fall River is 16 cents per cut of 45 yards." This is equal to 36 cents per 100 yards.

A similar inquiry sent to English manufacturers through the instrumentality of a member of Parliament, and an extensive manufacturer himself—John Albert Bright—gives the following answer:

Below we give a few examples. We rise or fall one-half penny per pick and one-half penny for each 4 inches in width per piece of 24 yards. For instance:
28-inch, 16 by 16 (American, 64 by 64), 5½d., 44 cents per 100 yards.
32-inch, 16 by 16 (American, 64 by 64), 5½d., 48 cents per 100 yards.
28 inch, 18 by 18 (American, 72 by 72), 6½d., 56 cents per 100 yards.
32-inch, 18 by 18 (American, 72 by 72), 7½d., 60 cents per 100 yards.
36-inch, 18 by 18 (American, 72 by 72), 7½d., 64 cents per 100 yards.

But the striking point in this is that Mr. Howard, the secretary of the Mule Spinners' Association of Fall River, states that the amount paid in Fall River for spinning a cut of 45 yards is 16 cents, while it would seem from this statement coming from England that it is more than twice as much on the other side in this one item of spinning.

According to this statement, prices have been reduced on both sides of the Atlantic, but the difference in favor of the United States is still proportionately about the same as given in the Consular Reports for 1887 by Mr. Schoenhof, to wit, 8 cents lower in the 100 yards, and in percentage nearly 20 per cent lower in America than in England.

For comparison I will attach a statement taken from Hon. Carroll D. Wright's Report on Textiles, giving the cost of labor in manufacturing print cloth, along with the cost statement as stated by Mr. Schoenhof in his book.

Cost of labor.

	Hon. Carroll D. Wright's figures on print-cloth making, page 63 (average 7 yards to the pound).							Consul Schoenhof's report for Lowell mill.
Mill numbers	218	219	220	221	222	223	224	.....
Opening, picking, carding, drawing, roving	0.1417	0.1455	0.1269	0.1934	0.1368	0.1347	0.1192	.....
Spinning	.2329	.1958	.1816	.2252	.199	.1923	.1596	.....
Spooling, warping, dressing	.1017	.0988	.0984	.0906	.0956	.084	.0850	.....
Weaving	.4014	.4494	.4491	.4776	.4789	.4488	.4433	.....
Cloth room	(*)	.0193	.0172	.0220	.0180	.0207	.0180	.....
All other	.0800	.0583	.0513	.0103	.0488	.0949	.0457	.....
Total spinning part, per yard	.3746	.3413	.3085	.4186	.3358	.3270	.2788	.....
Spinning, per pound	2.6222	2.3891	2.1595	2.9302	2.3506	2.2890	1.9516	1.995
Total weaving part, per yard	.5831	.6258	.6160	.6005	.6413	.5728	.5920	.....
Weaving, cost per pound	4.0817	4.3806	4.3120	4.2035	4.4891	4.0096	4.1440	3.736
Total labor cost spinning and weaving one pound of print cloth in United States	6.7039	6.7697	6.4715	7.1937	6.8397	6.2986	6.1959	5.731

*Contained in "all other."

I think it will interest Senators to see the cost of printing this cloth, as shown by Carroll D. Wright in his official report, and then comparing it with the statement made by Mr. Schoenhof some years ago, which was denounced as being so absurdly low as to be untrue. Mr. Wright, in making his report on several mills, gives the total cost of the general labor cost.

Mr. Schoenhof had stated the cost at one of the best mills in Fall River at 5.7 cents. Mr. Wright gives it at 6.7 in one mill, 6.7 in another, 6.4 in another, 7.1 in another, 6.8 in another, 6.2 at another, 6.1 at another, showing a variation of 1 cent and a half from the statement made by Mr. Schoenhof at that time which was denounced as being so absurdly low that it could not possibly be true. But Mr. Wright, who certainly has no sympathy with the ideas that some of us have on these economic questions, in his official report fully sustains all these statements.

I thought it proper to state these facts in connection with the cotton schedule. I believe it is unreasonably high, and I want the facts to be presented to the Senate.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 307, page 96, line 8, before the word "cents," to insert "and one-half;" in the same line, after the word "yard," to strike out the comma and insert a semicolon; in line 9, before the word "cents," to strike out "fourteen" and insert "fifteen;" in the same line, after the word "yard," to strike out the comma and insert a semicolon; and in line 11, before the word "cents," to strike out "sixteen" and insert "seventeen and one-half;" so as to make the proviso read:

Provided, That on all such cotton cloths not bleached, dyed, colored, stained, painted, or printed, valued at over 12½ cents per square yard; bleached, valued at over 15 cents per square yard; and dyed, colored, stained, painted, or printed, valued at over 17½ cents per square yard, there shall be levied, etc.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I should like to ask the Senator from Iowa a question. My impression is that while the other preceding four or five paragraphs have taken the rates of the Wilson Act exactly, and the rates as they stand at present, this paragraph proposes materially to increase the rates all along. I should like to ask the Senator if the proposed amendments add additional increases above those already put in the Dingley bill on the present rate?

Mr. ALLISON. I do not understand that they do.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. For instance, on page 96, where the bill as it came from the House provided for a tax of 12 cents, the Senate committee propose an addition of one-half cent. Twelve cents, I understand, is higher than it is in the Wilson Act, or it is the same rate, I am not sure which. Then where "fourteen" appears in line 9 the Senate committee propose to strike out "fourteen" and insert "fifteen."

Mr. ALLISON. There may be a small increase in that respect.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The Senate committee propose a small increase, from 16 to 17½ cents in that line, making it 17½, where the Dingley bill proposed 16 cents.

Mr. ALLISON. It says "valued at over 17½ cents per square

yard." I think that is a reduction. Unless 40 per cent is higher than the specific rate of duty, it is a reduction.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. That is true. I had not noticed the context, but I noticed the amendment to strike out "sixteen" and insert "seventeen."

I should like to ask the Senator from Iowa an additional question. Does paragraph 308 embrace goods which were dutiable under the Wilson Act, which embraces the class of goods which are now included in paragraph 307? In other words, are there two divisions of goods taxed under paragraph 256 of the Wilson Act? Paragraph 256 of the Wilson Act begins:

Cotton cloth, not bleached, dyed, colored, stained, painted or printed, exceeding 200 threads to the square inch, counting the warp and filling, etc.

Mr. ALLISON. Paragraph 308 is a new paragraph, not contained in the Wilson Act, and is intended to reach fine cottons. It is to be hoped that we can make these in our own country from Egyptian or other fine cotton.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. It embraces goods which are now included under paragraph 256 of the Wilson Act?

Mr. ALLISON. It does.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. That is what I understood.

Mr. GRAY. The Senate has put a tax on Egyptian cotton.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. While I shall make no motion now as to paragraph 307, when paragraph 308 shall have been read through I shall move to strike out paragraphs 307 and 308 and substitute paragraph 256 of the Wilson Act.

Mr. ALLISON. That is all right.

Mr. VEST. The changes made amount to this: In the Wilson Act this was the last section, and it read, "exceeding 200 threads to the square inch." Now it is proposed to enlarge the limit from 200 to 300 threads to the square inch and increase the duty one-half cent a yard. That is exactly what it does. Then they make a new section—paragraph 308—which takes in from 300 threads to the inch up, and still adds to the duty.

Mr. ALLISON. That is right.

Mr. VEST. That is the effect of it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the committee amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 308, page 97, line 4, after the word "pound," to strike out "eight" and insert "six and one-half;" in line 5, after the word "yard," to insert "exceeding 3 square yards to the pound, 8 cents per square yard;" and in line 12, after the words "ad valorem," to strike out "*Provided further*, That on cloth composed of cotton or other vegetable fiber, containing an admixture of silk, and not otherwise provided for in this act, there shall be levied, collected, and paid a duty of 8 cents per square yard and 30 per cent ad valorem;" so as to make the paragraph read:

308. Cotton cloth not bleached, dyed, colored, stained, painted, or printed, exceeding 300 threads to the square inch, counting the warp and filling, and not exceeding 2 square yards to the pound, 4 cents per square yard; exceeding 2 and not exceeding 3 square yards to the pound, 4½ cents per square yard; exceeding 3 and not exceeding 4 square yards to the pound, 5 cents per square yard; exceeding 4 square yards to the pound, 5½ cents per square yard; if bleached and not exceeding 2 square yards to the pound, 5 cents per square yard; exceeding 2 and not exceeding 3 square yards to the pound, 5½ cents per square yard; exceeding 3 and not exceeding 4 square yards to the pound, 6 cents per square yard; exceeding 4 square yards to the pound, 6½ cents per square yard; if dyed, colored, stained, painted, or printed, and not exceeding 3 square yards to the pound, 6½ cents per square yard; exceeding 3 square yards to the pound, 8 cents per square yard: *Provided*, That all such cotton cloths not bleached, dyed, colored, stained, painted, or printed, valued at over 14 cents per square yard; bleached, valued at over 16 cents per square yard; and dyed, colored, stained, painted, or printed, valued at over 20 cents per square yard, there shall be levied, collected, and paid a duty of 40 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair calls the attention of the Senator from Iowa to line 7, and suggests that the word "on" should be inserted after the word "that."

Mr. ALLISON. That is right.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be made.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I move to strike out paragraphs 307 and 308 and substitute what I send to the desk to be read, being paragraph 256 of the present law, which contains a lower rate all along than the one proposed. I regret that the committee did not see fit to follow the Wilson Act in its rate on all these cotton goods.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The substitute proposed by the Senator from Arkansas will be stated.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to strike out paragraphs 307 and 308 and insert in lieu thereof the following:

Cotton cloth not bleached, dyed, colored, stained, painted, or printed, exceeding 200 threads to the square inch, counting the warp and filling (1), and not exceeding 2½ square yards to the pound, 3 cents per square yard; exceeding 2½ and not exceeding 3½ square yards to the pound, 3½ cents per square yard; exceeding 3½ and not exceeding 5 square yards to the pound, 4 cents per square yard; exceeding 5 square yards to the pound, 4½ cents per square yard; if bleached (2), and not exceeding 2½ square yards to the pound, 4 cents per square yard; exceeding 2½ and not exceeding 3½ square yards to the pound, 4½ cents per square yard; exceeding 3½ and not exceeding 5 square yards to the pound, 5 cents per square yard; exceeding 5 square yards to the pound, 5½ cents per square yard; if dyed, colored, painted, or printed (3), and not exceeding 3½ square yards to the pound, 5½ cents per square yard; exceeding 3½ square yards to the pound, 6½ cents per square yard: *Provided*, That on all such cotton cloths not bleached, dyed, colored, stained, painted, or printed (4), valued at over 12 cents per square yard; bleached (5), valued at over 14 cents per square yard; and dyed, colored, stained, painted, or printed (6), valued at over 16 cents per square yard, there shall be levied, collected, and paid a duty of 35 per cent ad valorem.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the substitute proposed by the Senator from Arkansas.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. On that I ask for the yeas and nays.

Mr. BUTLER. Mr. President, the section now under consideration places import duties on the various kinds of cotton cloth, ranging from 3½ cents to 7 cents per yard. The Senator from Arkansas [Mr. JONES] moves to strike out this section and insert in lieu of it the corresponding section in the present law—the Wilson bill.

Comparing the section of the Wilson Act with the pending section of the present bill, I find that there is a difference of only one-half cent per yard on each different classification. For instance, where the present bill proposes an import duty of 3½ cents the Wilson Act has 3 cents. Where the present bill proposes 7 cents a yard the Wilson Act has 6½ cents per yard. I am expected to vote for one of these two schedules, one 7 cents a yard and the other 6½ cents a yard, and one is called a revenue duty and the other a protective duty. I must confess that I am unable to see any difference in principle between them. If to give the manufacturer the benefit of an import duty of 7 cents a yard is protection and robbery, then I submit that to give the manufacturer an import duty of 6½ cents on each yard of cotton cloth is also protection and robbery.

I say that in principle the duty in the Wilson Act of 6½ cents a yard on cotton cloth is just as much of a discrimination and an injustice to the farmer who raises cotton and must sell it in a free-trade market, and who is forced to buy his cotton back in the shape of this cloth, as is 7 cents duty. There is no difference in principle. One taxes him 6½ cents for the benefit of the manufacturer, and the other taxes him 7 cents a yard for the benefit of the manufacturer. Both old parties protect the manufacturer; neither protects the farmer. Both force the farmer to compete with the cheapest pauper labor in the world. Both force the farmer to sell his cotton in a free-trade market. Both force him to pay tribute to the manufacturer. The expense of shipping cotton to Liverpool, the expense of manufacturing it, what is paid to labor, the expense of shipping it back, with all the insurance charges added, and the profit must be paid by the farmer when he buys his cotton back in the shape of cloth.

The difference in transportation to Liverpool and back is considerable protection for the home manufacturer, and the farmer would be forced to pay all those charges before he could buy his cotton back in the form of cloth from his home manufacturer. So if there were no duty on cotton cloth the farmer would still have to pay a protective duty or bounty to the home manufacturer equal, at least, to the cost of transportation to Liverpool and return.

Mr. President, our Democratic friends can not consistently ask us to vote for 6½ cents per yard protection on cotton cloth, and then vote against giving any protection to the cotton farmer. If our Democratic friends want us to give a protection of 6½ cents to the cotton manufacturer, then they ought at the same time to vote with us to give protection to the farmer who raises the cotton. The Wilson Act in this respect is a discrimination against the farmer. The Republican bill is simply a greater discrimination—a half a cent a yard more—that is all. The difference is a bagatelle compared to the discrimination which both parties make in favor of the manufacturer and against the farmer.

I agree with my friend the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. MCLAURIN] in denouncing the free-trade heresy with which his party was afflicted for a short and sad period, while the manufacturer is protected amply; but if he will pardon me, I wish to differ with him about this bill being purposely a sectional measure. It is true in effect it is sectional, but it was framed for another purpose. I do not think it was framed with a sectional feeling or purpose, though framed by the Republican party. It is more of a class bill than a sectional bill. It is framed to benefit one class at the expense of all other classes. It discriminates in favor of the sugar trust and against the New England user of sugar as well as against the Southern user of sugar. It discriminates against the man in New England who buys this cotton cloth as much as the man in the South or West. It is a discrimination against the producer of agricultural products and all consumers of manufactured products. When any tariff bill discriminates against the farmer and the producer of wealth it discriminates against the labor employed in the factories.

This bill will not protect labor, whether in the South or the North. It will not protect even the labor employed in the factories. The bill is a tax on the laborer and the farmer for the benefit of the few, whether they are located in New England, in the South, or

in the West. If the Carnegie steel concern were in South Carolina or North Carolina, the protection they get in this bill would be just the same, provided their location did not lessen their influence with this body. If the sugar refineries were in South Carolina or North Carolina, the protection to them and the discrimination against others would be just as great, if their location did not lessen their influence with this body.

The great trouble with this measure is that it is a class bill. Unfortunately, the South is discriminated against more heavily than another section, but that is incidental. The object is not sectional, but to put money into the pockets of the trusts and a small class at the expense of all other citizens. There is no regard in this bill for the farmer or laborer in New England any more than in the South, and I am sorry to admit that our Democratic friends in their bill proceeded on the same principle. The difference between the Wilson bill and this bill is in schedules, not in principle. I was grateful to our Democratic friends when they lessened the amount of the discrimination, but they do not live up to their doctrine when they protect the manufacturer and refuse to protect the farmer. Our Republican friends, on the other hand, pretend to protect all American labor and American industries, but they leave out those who create the raw materials, those who work in the factories, and those who create the great export products of the country. The other day both of the old parties lined up against the farmer when the export bounty was before the Senate.

The Senator from Texas [Mr. MILLS], in a very able speech a few days since, made a powerful and eloquent plea for the "forgotten man." He said that everybody was ready to help the farmer with chin music. Indeed, it seems to be so. But I want to ask him and his side, when they appeal to us to vote for a 6½ cent duty per yard on cotton cloth to protect the manufacturer and then vote to leave the farmer to struggle under free trade, to compete with the pauper labor of the world, if they are not robbing him by the same method that our Republican friends do? The other day, when the amendment to pay the farmer an export bounty on wheat and cotton so as to put him on equal footing with the manufacturer was before the Senate, every Democratic Senator but three voted against it. To-day you are ready to vote a protection of 6½ cents a yard on cotton cloth for the manufacturer, but when you were asked to give the farmer an export bounty as long as the manufacturer has an import duty, you say no, it is against your principle. It is not against your principles to protect the manufacturer, but when it comes to treating the farmer the same way, you serve him with chin music yourselves.

The present Democratic law is full of protection for the manufacturer, but there is nothing in it for the farmer; the pending Republican bill is full of protection for the manufacturer, but there is nothing in it for the farmer.

Mr. President, I submit that as long as the manufacturer is protected with an import duty, the farmer should be protected with an export bounty. Yet, when the Senator from Utah [Mr. CANNON] offered an amendment to protect the farmer with an export bounty, every Republican voted against it, and every Democrat except three voted against it. Who voted for it? Who voted to treat the farmer as the manufacturer is treated? Every Populist, every Silver Republican, and three Democrats—all the other Senators served the farmer with nothing but chin music.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the substitute submitted by the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. JONES], upon which the yeas and nays are demanded.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. HARRIS of Kansas (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. CLARK], and withhold my vote.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. KENNEY (when his name was called). I again announce my pair with the junior Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. PENROSE], and withhold my vote.

Mr. MALLORY (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROCTOR], and therefore refrain from voting.

Mr. MITCHELL (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SEWELL].

Mr. MORRILL (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. HARRIS].

Mr. TILLMAN (when his name was called). I again announce my pair with the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. THURSTON]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. WALTHALL (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. SPOONER]. I would vote "yea" if he were present.

Mr. WARREN (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Washington [Mr. TURNER]. I do not see him in the Chamber, and therefore withhold my vote.

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. GEAR. I am paired with the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH]. I transfer that pair to the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE], and vote "nay."

Mr. BERRY. I am paired with the Senator from Montana [Mr. CARTER]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. CLAY. The junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] stands paired with the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH].

Mr. COCKRELL (after having voted in the affirmative). Has the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MCBRIDE] voted?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair is informed that the Senator from Oregon has not voted.

Mr. COCKRELL. Has any pair been announced with that Senator?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair is informed that no pair has been announced.

Mr. COCKRELL. It is probable that he may consider that our pair was extended. I am not certain. I thought he was in the Chamber at one time. I will withdraw my vote and announce that I am paired with him. If he were present, I should vote "yea," and he would doubtless vote "nay."

Mr. PETTUS (after having voted in the affirmative). I desire to inquire if the senior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] has voted?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair is informed that the senior Senator from Massachusetts has not voted.

Mr. PETTUS. I withdraw my vote, being paired with that Senator.

The Secretary recapitulated the vote.

Mr. COCKRELL. I will vote "yea." It will not change the result.

Mr. MORRILL. I will transfer my pair with the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. HARRIS] to the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. SPOONER], which will enable the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. WALTHALL] and myself to vote. I vote "nay."

Mr. WALTHALL. I vote "yea."

The result was announced—yeas 18, nays 27; as follows:

YEAS—18.

Bacon,	Cockrell,	Mitchell,	Vest,
Bate,	Gorman,	Morgan,	Walthall,
Butler,	Gray,	Pasco,	White.
Chilton,	McLaurin,	Rawlins,	
Clay,	Mills,	Turpie,	

NAYS—27.

Allison,	Foraker,	Mason,	Shoup,
Burrows,	Gallinger,	Morrill,	Stewart,
Chandler,	Gear,	Perkins,	Teller,
Cullom,	Hanna,	Platt, Conn.	Wellington,
Deboe,	Hawley,	Pritchard,	Wetmore,
Elkins,	McEnery,	Quay,	Wilson.
Fairbanks,	Mantle,	Sewell,	

NOT VOTING—44.

Aldrich,	Frye,	Kyle,	Pettus,
Allen,	George,	Lindsay,	Platt, N. Y.
Baker,	Hale,	Lodge,	Proctor,
Berry,	Hansbrough,	McBride,	Roach,
Caffery,	Harris, Kans.	McMillan,	Smith,
Cannon,	Harris, Tenn.	Mallory,	Spooner,
Carter,	Heitfeld,	Martin,	Thurston,
Clark,	Hoar,	Murphy,	Tillman,
Daniel,	Jones, Ark.	Nelson,	Turner,
Davis,	Jones, Nev.	Penrose,	Warren,
Faulkner,	Kenney,	Pettigrew,	Wolcott.

So the amendment was rejected.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. W. J. BROWNING, its Chief Clerk, announced that the House had passed the bill (S. 2050) to amend an act entitled "An act to provide for the entry of lands in Greer County, Okla., to give preference rights to settlers, and for other purposes," approved January 18, 1897.

THE TARIFF BILL.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 379) to provide revenue for the Government and to encourage the industries of the United States.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, on page 97, after line 17, to insert the following as a new paragraph:

308a. The term cotton cloth, or cloth, wherever used in the paragraphs of this schedule, unless otherwise specially provided for, shall be held to include all woven fabrics of cotton in the piece or otherwise, whether figured, fancy, or plain, the warp and filling threads of which can be counted by unraveling or other practicable means.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 97, after line 23, to insert the following as a new paragraph:

308b. Cloth, composed of cotton or other vegetable fiber and silk, whether known as silk-striped sleeve linings, silk stripes, or otherwise, 8 cents per

square yard and 30 per cent ad valorem: *Provided*, That no such cloth shall pay a less rate of duty than 50 per cent ad valorem. Cotton cloth, filled or coated, 3 cents per square yard and 20 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in paragraph 309, page 98, line 7, after the word "whether," to strike out "wholly or partly;" in line 8, after the word "finished," to insert "or unfinished;" in line 9, after the word "duty," to insert "on the cloth contained therein;" so as to make the paragraph read:

309. Handkerchiefs or mufflers composed of cotton, whether in the piece or otherwise and whether finished or unfinished, if not hemmed, or hemmed only, shall pay the same rate of duty on the cloth contained therein as is imposed on cotton cloth of the same description, weight, and count of threads to the square inch; but such handkerchiefs or mufflers shall not pay a less rate of duty than 45 per cent ad valorem. If such handkerchiefs or mufflers are hemstitched, or imitation hemstitched, or revered, or have drawn threads, they shall pay a duty of 10 per cent ad valorem in addition to the duty hereinbefore prescribed, and in no case less than 55 per cent ad valorem; if such handkerchiefs or mufflers are embroidered in any manner, whether with an initial letter, monogram, or otherwise, by hand or macbinery, or are tamboured, appliqued, or trimmed wholly or in part with lace or with tucking or insertion, they shall not pay a less rate of duty than 60 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I move to strike out paragraph 309 and insert paragraph 358 of the Wilson Act, which I believe covers the same articles.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Arkansas will be stated.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to strike out paragraph 309 of the bill and to insert in lieu thereof the following:

Clothing ready made, and articles of wearing apparel of every description, handkerchiefs, and neckties or neck wear, composed of cotton or other vegetable fiber, or of which cotton or other vegetable fiber is the component material of chief value, made up or manufactured wholly or in part by the tailor, seamstress, or manufacturer, all of the foregoing not specially provided for in this act, 40 per cent ad valorem.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment submitted by the Senator from Arkansas.

The amendment was rejected.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 310, page 99, line 5, after the word "same," to strike out "description" and insert "condition;" so as to make the paragraph read:

310. Cotton cloth in which other than the ordinary warp and filling threads have been introduced in the process of weaving to form a figure, whether known as lappets or otherwise, and whether unbleached, bleached, dyed, colored, stained, painted, or printed, shall pay, in addition to the duty herein provided for other cotton cloth of the same condition, weight, and count of threads to the square inch, 1 cent per square yard if valued at not more than 7 cents per square yard, and 2 cents per square yard if valued at more than 7 cents per square yard.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I move to strike out this paragraph.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Will the Senator permit the committee amendment first to be acted upon?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Certainly.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the committee.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I move to strike out paragraph 310. I hope the Senator from Iowa will explain to the Senate if it is not covered by paragraph 308, which has already been adopted, and better covered than in the present form. The amendment submitted by the committee, it seems to me, covers the ground intended to be covered by this paragraph, and does it much better and in a less ambiguous way.

For instance, take the word "condition," in line 5, on page 99. "Cotton cloth in which other than the ordinary warp and filling threads have been introduced in the process of weaving to form a figure, whether known as lappets or otherwise, and whether unbleached, bleached, dyed, colored, stained, painted, or printed, shall pay, in addition to the duty herein provided for cotton cloth of the same description." The word "description" has been stricken out and the word "condition" put in. It seems to me that the word "condition" must necessarily produce confusion. Now, take the paragraph numbered 308b:

308b. Cloth, composed of cotton or other vegetable fiber and silk, whether known as silk-striped sleeve linings, silk stripes, or otherwise, 8 cents per square yard and 30 per cent ad valorem: *Provided*, That no such cloth shall pay a less rate of duty than 50 per cent ad valorem.

And paragraph 308a is as follows:

308a. The term cotton cloth, or cloth, wherever used in the paragraphs of this schedule, unless otherwise specially provided for, shall be held to include all woven fabrics of cotton in the piece or otherwise, whether figured, fancy, or plain, the warp and filling threads of which can be counted by unraveling or other practicable means.

It seems to me that paragraph 310 is included, and very much better included, in paragraph 308 than it is in this form; that the form in which the House put it ought to be struck out and the amendment of the Senate committee ought to remain.

I have the suggestion from a custom-house officer that in paragraph 308 the language is comprehensive, and that the language in paragraph 310 is confusing and will lead to litigation. The words "the same condition, weight, and count of threads" would include only such cloths as are figured in weaving, and these are certainly included in the words of paragraph 308a, which says that the term "cotton cloth, or cloth" shall be held to include all woven fabrics, "whether figured, fancy, or plain."

It seems to me that, under the circumstances, the Senator will agree to have paragraph 310 go out of the bill. At any rate, I move to strike it out. It was put in by the House before paragraph 308 went into the bill, and it is certainly, it seems to me, much less artistically drawn than paragraph 308 and covers exactly the same goods.

Mr. ALLISON. I think the intention in paragraph 310 is to cover a special character of weaving, where figures are introduced, and an additional duty is placed upon that character of goods. Paragraph 308, it is true, is a general definition and description of cloth, whether figured or plain, but here is a provision requiring an additional duty as a figure is introduced in the process of weaving. I think this is intended to cover more than is covered in paragraph 308. That is my understanding. I hope the Senator will allow it to remain in until we can make a more thorough examination of the difference between these two provisions.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. If the Senator will note for a moment the structure of these two paragraphs, it seems to me there can be no doubt in his mind. Paragraph 308a says:

The term cotton cloth, or cloth, wherever used in the paragraphs of this schedule, unless otherwise specially provided for, shall be held to include all woven fabrics of cotton in the piece or otherwise, whether figured, fancy, or plain, the warp and filling threads of which can be counted by unraveling or other practicable means.

Then paragraph 308b is as follows:

Cloth, composed of cotton or other vegetable fiber, and silk, whether known as silk-striped sleeve linings, silk stripes, or otherwise, 8 cents per square yard and 30 per cent ad valorem: *Provided*, That no such cloth shall pay a less rate of duty than 50 per cent ad valorem.

Now, this old paragraph 310 that remains in the bill certainly includes the same goods and proposes a rate of "1 cent per square yard if valued at not more than 7 cents per square yard, and 2 cents per square yard if valued at more than 7 cents per square yard."

Mr. ALLISON. If the Senator will allow me, paragraph 308a states: "The term cotton cloth, or cloth, wherever used in the paragraphs of this schedule, unless otherwise specially provided for." In paragraph 310 there is a particular kind of cotton cloth that is otherwise specially provided for. Therefore they are not inconsistent, but they are harmonious, because the particular kind of cloth provided for in paragraph 310 is where a figure is woven into the cloth, and therefore it is excepted by the terms of paragraph 308 from that definition.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Does the Senator say that where a figure is woven into the cloth it is not included in paragraph 308?

Mr. ALLISON. Undoubtedly many figures are.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. But where a figure is woven into the cloth, is it not included in the language of paragraph 308?

Mr. ALLISON. It may be or it may not be.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. How could it possibly not be included?

Mr. ALLISON. But here is a figure specially provided for, and therefore it is not included in paragraph 308.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The language of paragraph 308a is, "all woven fabrics of cotton in the piece or otherwise, whether figured, fancy, or plain." That certainly means woven figures.

Mr. ALLISON. That is a general provision.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Certainly.

Mr. ALLISON. Here is a provision in paragraph 310 that says, "cotton cloth, in which other than ordinary warp and filling threads." That means, I take it, some special warp, some filling threads, in order to secure a special figure.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. That would result in a figured piece of goods, and paragraph 308 provides for the figured goods. But if the Senator is not willing to take my view of it, I should like to have him explain what the word "condition," which he has had put in in place of "description," means. What does it stand for? The language of paragraph 310 is:

Cotton cloth in which other than the ordinary warp and filling threads have been introduced in the process of weaving to form a figure, whether known as lappets or otherwise, and whether unbleached, bleached, dyed, colored, stained, painted, or printed, shall pay, in addition to the duty herein provided for other cotton cloth of the same condition.

Mr. ALLISON. I should think the word "condition" there means "character," while the word "description," as used there, would mean the same cloth.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. It seems to me to mean exactly what is embraced in paragraph 308.

Mr. ALLISON. If the Senator can show me that these two paragraphs cover identically the same thing in every respect, I will consent to strike out paragraph 310.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I move to strike it out now.

Mr. ALLISON. Very well. I hope that will not be done.

Mr. CHILTON. I should like to ask the Senator from Iowa about the clause at the end of paragraph 308, which reads:

Cotton cloth, filled or coated, 3 cents per square yard and 20 per cent ad valorem.

So far as I can see, that is a new provision in tariff bills. I do not think it is in either the Wilson or the McKinley law; and I should be glad to have the Senator's opinion in regard to the effect of it. Does it increase the duty?

Mr. ALLISON. This clause has never appeared in any tariff bill before that I know of. It is intended to cover a particular kind of cotton cloth that we find in our houses—what we call curtains. They are fixed at 3 cents a square yard and 20 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. CHILTON. You do not think, then, it increases the duty beyond what it would be if not enumerated?

Mr. ALLISON. I would not like to say that. I think it does increase the rate of duty somewhat. It is intended, as I say, to cover a class of cotton cloths filled with oil or coated in some way.

Mr. CHILTON. I understand.

Mr. ALLISON. When so filled or coated the article pays specific duty of 3 cents a square yard and 20 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. CHILTON. I want to know whether the Senator thinks that would increase the duty beyond what it would be if it was not enumerated?

Mr. ALLISON. I think it will slightly increase the duty. If not enumerated, it would go into the basket clause and pay 45 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. CHILTON. Yes.

Mr. ALLISON. If these articles were fine cloth, the duty would probably be greater; if of coarse cloth, it would probably be less. I am not familiar enough with the details of the business to know whether it would be an increase or a diminution. It is intended to protect that class of cotton cloth which has oil in it, or which is coated. It is a new provision.

Mr. CHILTON. I did not care to make a motion to strike it out unless I was sure it made an increase of duty; and, not being sure, I shall not make the motion.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the amendment proposed by the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. JONES] to strike out paragraph 310.

The amendment was rejected.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, on page 99, paragraph 311, line 16, before the word "provided," to strike out "the articles" and insert "any outside garment;" and in line 17, after the word "material," to strike out "(not including gloves);" so as to make the paragraph read:

311. Clothing, ready-made, and articles of wearing apparel of every description, including neckties or neckwear composed of cotton or other vegetable fiber, or of which cotton or other vegetable fiber is the component material of chief value, made up or manufactured, wholly or in part, by the tailor, seamstress, or manufacturer, and not otherwise provided for in this act, 50 per cent ad valorem: *Provided*, That any outside garment provided for in this paragraph having india rubber as a component material shall pay a duty of 15 cents per pound and 50 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. VEST. I should like to inquire of the Senator from Iowa why that change is made in line 17, striking out the words "not including gloves." What does the Senator propose to do with gloves?

Mr. ALLISON. As I understand this paragraph, before our amendment was adopted it was intended to cover all articles having india rubber as a component material. We have by our amendment in line 16 confined this duty to a particular class of garments. Garments which are known as waterproof garments are only included here, and therefore it is not necessary to have the words "not including gloves," because this proviso is limited to outside garments, which we thought was a proper limitation for this, I might say, considerable duty, not excessive perhaps, but it would be excessive on anything else except very fine outside garments known as waterproof garments. I think the Senator will see the propriety of the amendment.

Mr. VEST. I ask the Senator what effect the striking out of the words "not including gloves" has? Does that put them in the basket clause, or where does it leave them?

Mr. ALLISON. They will undoubtedly go wherever gloves go, either in the basket clause, if india rubber is a component material, or in some other basket clause covering articles not specified. The Senator will see that by the amendment we propose we exclude gloves.

Mr. VEST. What I am trying to arrive at is whether this is an increase upon gloves or not. I notice in the basket clause to this schedule the rate is increased, if I am not mistaken.

Mr. ALLISON. Gloves are not included. I think that is perfectly clear.

Mr. VEST. Do they go under the basket clause?

Mr. ALLISON. If the words "not including gloves" were retained, then the clause would read, "any outside garment provided for in this paragraph having india rubber as a component material (not including gloves);" which certainly are not intended as an outside garment within the meaning of this proviso as we have made it.

Mr. VEST. I do not know whether you would call gloves a garment or not, but they are worn outside.

Mr. ALLISON. Certainly we do not wear gloves inside.

Mr. VEST. In line 15, before the words "per cent," I move to strike out "fifty" and insert "forty."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST] will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In paragraph 311, page 99, line 15, before the words "per cent," it is proposed to strike out "fifty" and insert "forty;" so as to read:

And not otherwise provided for in this act, 40 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment was rejected.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 312, page 99, line 21, after the word "fabrics," to strike out the comma and insert "cut or uncut; any of the foregoing;" so as to read:

312. Plushes, velvets, velveteens, corduroys, and all pile fabrics cut or uncut; any of the foregoing composed of cotton or other vegetable fiber, not bleached, dyed, colored, stained, painted, or printed, etc.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair will inquire of the Senator from Iowa as to whether he thinks the comma should be stricken out after the word "fabrics," in line 21?

Mr. ALLISON. I think the comma should be stricken out.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Then it will be so determined, in the absence of objection; and the question will be upon the adoption of the remainder of the amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in the same paragraph, line 23, after the word "printed," to strike out "ten" and insert "nine;" in line 24, before the words "per centum," to strike out "twenty" and insert "twenty-five;" in the same line, after the words "ad valorem," to strike out "on all such goods if bleached, 12 cents per square yard and 20 per cent ad valorem;" in line 1, on page 100, before the word "dyed," to insert "bleached;" in line 2, before the word "cents," to strike out "fourteen" and insert "twelve;" in the same line, after the words "yard and," to strike out "twenty" and insert "twenty-five;" in line 3, after the word "*Provided*," to strike out "That corduroys, composed of cotton or other vegetable fiber, weighing over 6 ounces per square yard, and valued at not more than 40 cents per square yard, shall pay a duty of 20 cents per square yard and 30 per cent ad valorem, and if weighing over 6 ounces per square yard and valued at over 40 cents per square yard, shall pay a duty of 25 cents per square yard and 40 per cent ad valorem: *Provided further*;" in line 11, after the word "manufactures," to insert "or articles in any form including such as are;" in line 13, after the word "made," to insert "or cut;" and at the end of the paragraph, in line 16, after the words "ad valorem," to insert "*Provided further*, That none of the articles or fabrics provided for in this paragraph shall pay a less rate of duty than 47½ per cent ad valorem;" so as to make the paragraph read:

312. Plushes, velvets, velveteens, corduroys, and all pile fabrics, cut or uncut; any of the foregoing composed of cotton or other vegetable fiber, not bleached, dyed, colored, stained, painted, or printed, 9 cents per square yard and 25 per cent ad valorem; if bleached, dyed, colored, stained, painted, or printed, 12 cents per square yard and 25 per cent ad valorem: *Provided*, That manufactures or articles in any form, including such as are commonly known as bias dress facings or skirt bindings, made or cut from plushes, velvets, velveteens, corduroys, or other pile fabrics composed of cotton or other vegetable fiber, shall be subject to the foregoing rates of duty and in addition thereto 10 per cent ad valorem: *Provided further*, That none of the articles or fabrics provided for in this paragraph shall pay a less rate of duty than 47½ per cent ad valorem.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. VEST. I call attention to the fact that on common plushes, velvets, velveteens, etc., not bleached, by the provision of this paragraph the duty is increased from 40 per cent under the existing law to 74.47 per cent, and on the next classification upon velvets and plushes that are bleached the duty is increased from 47½ per cent under the existing law to 69.39 per cent.

I move to strike out, in line 23, after the word "printed," the words "9 cents per square yard and 25 per cent ad valorem" and insert "40 per cent ad valorem;" and upon that I call for the yeas and nays. This is an excessive duty.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Missouri will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In paragraph 312, page 99, line 23, after the word "printed," it is proposed to strike out "9 cents per square yard and 25 per cent ad valorem" and insert "40 per cent ad valorem."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the amendment proposed by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST], on which the yeas and nays are demanded.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. GEAR (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH], but I transfer that pair to the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE], and vote "nay."

Mr. KENNEY (when his name was called). I again announce my pair with the junior Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. PENROSE]. Were he here, I should vote "yea."

Mr. WELLINGTON (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. BUTLER], and therefore withhold my vote.

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. DAVIS (after having voted in the negative). I am paired with the Senator from Indiana [Mr. TURPIE], who I am advised has not voted. I therefore withdraw my vote.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas (after having voted in the affirmative). I am paired with the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE], and therefore withdraw my vote.

Mr. WARREN. I inquire if the junior Senator from Washington [Mr. TURNER] has voted?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair is informed that the Senator from Washington has not voted.

Mr. WARREN. I am paired with that Senator, and therefore withhold my vote.

The result was announced—yeas 20, nays 27; as follows:

YEAS—20.

Bacon,	Gorman,	Mitchell,	Rawlins,
Bate,	Gray,	Morgan,	Roach,
Berry,	McLaurin,	Murphy,	Tillman,
Chilton,	Mallory,	Pasco,	Walthall,
Cockrell,	Mills,	Pettus,	White.

NAYS—27.

Allison,	Gallinger,	Perkins,	Shoup,
Burrows,	Gear,	Platt, Conn.	Spooner,
Chandler,	Hanna,	Platt, N. Y.	Stewart,
Deboe,	Hawley,	Pritchard,	Thurston,
Fairbanks,	Hoar,	Proctor,	Wetmore,
Foraker,	McBride,	Quay,	Wilson.
Frye,	McEnery,	Sewell,	

NOT VOTING—42.

Aldrich,	Davis,	Kenney,	Pettigrew,
Allen,	Elkins,	Kyle,	Smith,
Baker,	Faulkner,	Lindsay,	Teller,
Butler,	George,	Lodge,	Turner,
Caffery,	Hale,	McMillan,	Turpie,
Cannon,	Hansbrough,	Mantle,	Vest,
Carter,	Harris, Kans.	Martin,	Warren,
Clark,	Harris, Tenn.	Mason,	Wellington,
Clay,	Heitfeld,	Morrill,	Wolcott.
Cullom,	Jones, Ark.	Nelson,	
Daniel,	Jones, Nev.	Penrose,	

So the amendment of Mr. VEST was rejected.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 313, page 100, line 20, before the words "table covers," to strike out "Chenille curtains" and insert "Curtains;" in the same line, after the word "all," to strike out "goods" and insert "articles;" and in line 22, after the word "value," to strike out "fifty-five" and insert "fifty;" so as to make the paragraph read:

313. Curtains, table covers, and all articles manufactured of cotton chenille or of which cotton chenille is the component material of chief value, 50 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I move to strike out paragraph 313 as amended and insert as a substitute the paragraph I send to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Arkansas will be stated.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to strike out paragraph 313 as amended and in lieu thereof to insert:

Chenille curtains, table covers, and all goods manufactured of cotton chenille, or of which cotton chenille forms the component material of chief value, 40 per cent ad valorem; sleeve linings or other cloths, composed of cotton and silk, whether known as silk stripe sleeve lining, silk stripes, or otherwise, 45 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The present rate on this article of 40 per cent is practically prohibitory. There was a revenue of but $2,700 derived from it last year under the present law. To increase this tax 25 per cent, as this bill now proposes to do, it seems to me, would absolutely exclude all importations under this paragraph. For that reason I hope the rate in the present law will be maintained, and I move that the amendment suggested by me be adopted.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the amendment proposed by the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. JONES].

The amendment was rejected.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 315, page 101, line 9, after the word "dollar," to strike out "and 50 cents;" in line 10, after the word "pairs," to strike out "and in addition thereto 15 per cent ad valorem;" in line 12, after the word "dollar," to strike out "and fifty cents;" in line 13, before the words "per dozen," to strike out "three dollars" and insert "one dollar and fifty cents;" in the same line, after the word "pairs," to strike out "seventy-five" and insert "sixty;" in line 14, after the word "pairs," to strike out "and in addition thereto 20 per cent ad valorem;" in line 15, after the word "than," to strike out "three dollars" and insert "one dollar and fifty cents;" in line 17, before the word "dollars," to strike out "five" and insert "two;" in the same line, after the word "pairs," to strike out "one dollar" and insert "70 cents;" in line 18, after the word "pairs," to strike out "and in addition thereto 25 per cent ad valorem; valued at more than $5 per dozen pairs, $1 per dozen pairs, and in addition thereto 40 per cent ad valorem" and insert, "valued at more than $2 per dozen pairs and not more than $3 per dozen pairs, $1.20 per dozen pairs; valued at more than $3 per dozen pairs and not more than $5 per dozen pairs, $2 per dozen pairs; and in addition thereto, upon all the foregoing, 15 per cent ad valorem; valued at more than $5 per dozen pairs, 55 per cent ad valorem;" so as to make the paragraph read:

315. Stockings, hose and half hose, selvedged, fashioned, narrowed, or shaped wholly or in part by knitting machines or frames, or knit by hand, including such as are commercially known as seamless stockings, hose and half hose, and clocked stockings, hose or half hose, all of the above composed of cotton or other vegetable fiber, finished or unfinished, valued at not more than $1 per dozen pairs, 50 cents per dozen pairs; valued at more than $1 per dozen pairs and not more than $1.50 per dozen pairs, 60 cents per dozen pairs; valued at more than $1.50 per dozen pairs and not more than $2 per dozen pairs, 70 cents per dozen pairs; valued at more than $2 per dozen pairs and not more than $3 per dozen pairs, $1.20 per dozen pairs; valued at more than $3 per dozen pairs and not more than $5 per dozen pairs, $2 per dozen pairs; and in addition thereto, upon all the foregoing, 15 per cent ad valorem; valued at more than $5 per dozen pairs, 55 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. VEST. I call attention to the effect of these amendments. The Wilson Act provision upon all these articles is 50 per cent ad valorem. On the first grade, valued at not more than $1 per dozen, it is 65 to 100 per cent. On the grade from $1 to $1.50 it is 55 to 75 per cent. From $1.50 to $2 the rate is 55 to 65 per cent. On the next grade, $2 to $3, the rate is from 55 to 75 per cent. On the next, from $3 to $5, the rate is from 55 to 80 per cent, and upon the five-dollar grade, which is the highest here, it is 55 per cent.

It will be noticed that the heaviest increases are upon the cheapest articles, and that the lowest rate of duty is upon the highest valued goods, those at $5 per dozen.

I move, wherever these rates occur in the paragraph, as to each one of these classifications, they be stricken out, and that there be added at the end of the paragraphs the words "on all the foregoing, 50 per cent ad valorem."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Missouri.

The amendment was rejected.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 316, page 102, line 7, after the word "frames," to insert "or knit by hand, finished or unfinished;" in line 10, after the word "dozen," to strike out "twenty-five" and insert "sixty;" in line 11, before the words "per centum," to strike out "thirty-five" and insert "fifteen;" in line 14, before the word "cents," to strike out "seventy-five" and insert "one dollar and ten;" in line 15, before the words "per centum," to strike out "thirty-five" and insert "fifteen;" in line 17, before the words "per dozen," to insert "and fifty cents;" in line 18, before the words "per centum," to strike out "forty" and insert "twenty-five;" in line 20, before the word "cents," to strike out "twenty-five" and insert "seventy-five;" in line 21, before the words "per centum," to strike out "forty" and insert "thirty-five;" in line 24, before the word "cents," to strike out "one dollar and seventy-five" and insert "and not more than $15 per dozen, two dollars and twenty-five;" and on page 103, line 1, before the words "per centum," to strike out "forty" and insert "thirty-five;" and in the same line, after the words "ad valorem," to insert "; valued above $15 per dozen, 50 per cent ad valorem;" so as to make the paragraph read:

316. Shirts and drawers, pants, vests, union suits, combination suits, tights, sweaters, corset covers, and all underwear of every description made wholly or in part on knitting machines or frames, or knit by hand, finished or unfinished, not including stockings, hose and half-hose, composed of cotton or other vegetable fiber, valued at not more than $1.50 per dozen, 60 cents per dozen and 15 per cent ad valorem; valued at more than $1.50 per dozen and not more than $3 per dozen, $1.10 per dozen, and in addition thereto 15 per cent ad valorem; valued at more than $3 per dozen and not more than $5 per dozen, $1.50 per dozen, and in addition thereto 25 per cent ad valorem; valued at more than $5 per dozen and not more than $7 per dozen, $1.75 per dozen, and in addition thereto 35 per cent ad valorem; valued at more than $7 per dozen and not more than $15 per dozen, $4.25 per dozen, and in addition thereto 35 per cent ad valorem; valued above $15 per dozen, 50 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. VEST. I wish to call attention briefly to the effect of this amendment. Under the McKinley law upon shirts valued at not more than $1.50 a dozen, the duty imposed was 35 per cent ad valorem. On the same classification under the Wilson Act it is 50 per cent ad valorem. Under the rate proposed it is from 55 to 75 per cent ad valorem.

On the next classification, valued at more than $1.50 and not more than $3, the rate is from 52 to 88 per cent. Valued at more

than $3 and not more than $5, the McKinley rate was 60 to 73 per cent. Under the bill it is from 55 to 75 per cent. Valued at more than $5 per dozen and less than $7 per dozen, the Dingley rate was 55 to 65 per cent, and under this bill it is from 60 to 70 per cent. Valued at $7 to $15, the Dingley rate was 53 to 65 per cent, and under the pending bill it is 50 to 66 per cent.

I call attention to the fact that upon the highest grades, valued at over $15 a dozen, the rate is only 50 per cent. So we have again the significant fact that upon the highest priced articles there is the lowest duty, and that upon the cheaper goods the increase is the greatest.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I move to strike out paragraph 315 and paragraph 316 and insert in lieu thereof the paragraph which I send to the desk, being paragraph 262 of the present law, which embraces all of the same articles, I understand.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Arkansas will be stated.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to strike out paragraphs 315 and 316 and insert in lieu thereof the following:

Stockings, hose and half-hose, selvedged, fashioned, narrowed, or shaped wholly or in part by knitting machines or frames, or knit by hand, including such as are commercially known as seamless or clocked stockings, hose or half-hose, and knitted shirts or drawers, all of the above composed of cotton or other vegetable fiber, finished or unfinished, 50 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. From the best examination I have been able to give this matter, it seems to me the facts as stated by the Senator from Missouri are absolutely correct. We have a tariff of 50 per cent now on these articles, and the proposed tariff will increase the rate from 66 per cent to 100 per cent. There are some items on which it will be 100 per cent. The rates are not lower than 66 on the lower grades, and on none, so far as my investigation goes, is it more than 100 per cent.

I can see no justification for this increase, and I think the present rate ought to be retained. I have a letter from a New York importer, which I will ask the Secretary to read, as giving the reasons why this should be done. I have on my desk samples of these goods. It is useless to exhibit them to the Senate. They will make no impression on anybody. But it seems to me, when you examine the character of goods produced in this country and sold here, and see the rates at which it is proposed to tax the goods, and compare them with the goods that come from abroad, there can be no justification for asking that this article of universal use shall be taxed at a higher rate than 50 per cent. I ask the Secretary to read the letter which I send to the desk.

The Secretary read as follows:

NEW YORK, *May 25, 1897.*

DEAR SIR: Yours of the 24th instant at hand. Replying to same, we beg to state that full-fashioned hosiery, to compete with goods of which we have sent you samples, are made in this country by the Brown Bros. & Aberle Company, of Philadelphia, Pa., the Wayne Knitting Mills, of Fort Wayne, Ind., the Philadelphia Silk Mills, of Philadelphia, Pa., and others whom we do not happen to know. We have sent you to-day samples of goods made by the two former concerns, the prices stated on the tickets being the net quotations at which the goods have been sold to the wholesale houses of this country. These concerns have been running for quite some time, and with the present protection of 50 per cent, you can see by comparison of the goods that they are able to compete quite successfully.

In reply to your inquiry, what prospect there is that American manufacturers will be able to produce fashioned goods to any appreciable extent, we would say that with the constant changing of our tariff laws there is no prospect that the goods will be manufactured in this country to any great extent; inasmuch as the machinery producing such goods is very expensive; it makes it too discouraging, with our constant tariff agitation, for anyone to make such large investments necessary in the manufacture of these goods. Otherwise we know of no other reason why, with a protection of 50 per cent, goods should not be produced here to a larger extent.

It requires, according to a representative of a mill which produces fashioned goods in this country, a capital of $150,000 to produce $200,000 worth of hosiery. There are about $5,000,000 worth of hosiery imported; add 50 per cent duty, will be $7,500,000. The profit being small, there will not be many enterprising merchants who would invest large capital in such expensive machinery. The McKinley tariff was higher yet on some things, and no one ventured to import the necessary machinery, but under the Wilson tariff large progress has been made, particularly in seamless goods.

There are other factors which may be mentioned as retarding the manufacture of full regular hosiery in this country. There is a vast district around Chemnits in which hardly anything else is made but hosiery. The wages depends upon the demand of the goods. The workman will accept in dull times the smallest kind of pay. Should the American public (the better classes) insist in wearing full-fashioned hose, it will have to pay instead of 15 cents, 19 cents; instead of 19 cents, 25 cents a pair. Of course the duty on goods retailed above 25 cents a pair is lighter, because the American manufacturer does not produce these; neither does he propose to make them. He merely wants to compel the public to buy his production in larger quantities. The hosiery industry has never suffered in this country.

The average price of imported hosiery is about mark 4.40. You will perceive that the higher class of hosiery is comparatively small. The duty on higher grades is therefore deceiving. If the grades which are aimed at will drop out of the importation, how can the receipts be increased? If they are not kept out, the public will pay the duty and the profit on the duty to the importers. We do not think that the importer will be the loser in any case, because if he imports less the difference will be made up in the larger duties which neither the rich nor the poor man pays, because the poor man does not buy imported goods and the rich man is only taxed 50 to 55 cents. But the middle class, who principally buy the foreign goods—and we think will continue to buy them in future—will have to pay 75 to 90 per cent and still more. We mention again that the most honest gentleman in New York and Washington will try and buy the stocking for $1 and not for $1.05, because there is 10 cents more duty on the hose which costs 1 cent over a dollar. We predict there will be very few goods imported near the three different dividing lines. There is very little undervaluation going on under the present tariff, but under the proposed everybody will be compelled to be dishonest.

There are other and weighty reasons which we could mention, but we think we have already encroached upon your time too liberally. Permit us to make one more remark. Why should a sock of the same material as a lady's hose, which (the sock) costs one-third less, pay the same rate of duty as the lady's hose—that is 50, 60, or 75 cents per dozen and 15 per cent?

A good deal can be said on wool hosiery, which is heavily taxed and only imported in small quantities.

We shall be glad to furnish you with any evidence which you may desire in our line, and remain,

Yours, very truly, SCHIFF & BODENHEIMER.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I have in my hand samples of the goods on which there is a tax of 100 per cent. I certainly can not believe that the Senate will be ready to double the tax now paid on them.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Arkansas.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. On that I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CLAY (when his name was called). I transfer my pair with the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] to the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH], and vote "yea."

Mr. DAVIS (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Indiana [Mr. TURPIE].

Mr. GEAR (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH]. I transfer my pair to the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE], and vote. I vote "nay."

Mr. KENNEY (when his name was called). I again announce my pair with the junior Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. PENROSE], and withhold my vote. Were he here, I should vote "yea."

Mr. TURNER (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. WARREN]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. WELLINGTON (when his name was called). I again announce my pair with the junior Senator from North Carolina [Mr. BUTLER]. If he were present, I should vote "nay."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. GRAY (after having voted in the affirmative). I desire to inquire if the junior Senator from Illinois [Mr. MASON] has voted?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair is informed that he has not voted.

Mr. GRAY. I voted inadvertently, and as I am paired temporarily with the junior Senator from Illinois, I withdraw my vote.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas (after having voted in the affirmative). I am paired with the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE], and therefore withdraw my vote.

The result was announced—yeas 23, nays 31; as follows:

YEAS—23.

Bacon,	Heitfeld,	Morgan,	Tillman,
Bate,	McLaurin,	Murphy,	Turpie,
Berry,	Mallory,	Pasco,	Vest,
Chilton,	Martin,	Pettus,	Walthall,
Clay,	Mills,	Rawlins,	White.
Cockrell,	Mitchell,	Roach,	

NAYS—31.

Allison,	Foraker,	McEnery,	Shoup,
Baker,	Frye,	Perkins,	Spooner,
Burrows,	Gallinger,	Platt, Conn.	Stewart,
Carter,	Gear,	Platt, N. Y.	Teller,
Chandler,	Hanna,	Pritchard,	Thurston,
Cullom,	Hawley,	Proctor,	Wetmore,
Deboe.	Hoar,	Quay,	Wilson.
Fairbanks,	McBride,	Sewell,	

NOT VOTING—35.

Aldrich,	Faulkner,	Jones, Nev.	Nelson,
Allen,	George,	Kenney,	Penrose,
Butler,	Gorman,	Kyle,	Pettigrew,
Caffery,	Gray,	Lindsay,	Smith,
Cannon,	Hale,	Lodge,	Turner,
Clark,	Hansbrough,	McMillan,	Warren,
Daniel,	Harris, Kans.	Mantle,	Wellington,
Davis,	Harris, Tenn.	Mason,	Wolcott.
Elkins,	Jones, Ark.	Morrill,	

So the amendment was rejected.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 317, page 103, line 16, before the word "cents," to strike out "twenty" and insert "twenty-five;" so as to make the paragraph read:

317. Bandings, beltings, bindings, bone casings, braids, cords, garters, gorings, lining for bicycle tires, ribbons, suspenders and braces, tapes, tubing, and webs or webbing, any of the foregoing articles made of cotton or other vegetable fiber, whether composed in part of indiarubber or otherwise, and not embroidered by hand or machinery, 45 per cent ad valorem; spindle banding, woven, braided or twisted lamp, stove, or candle wicking made of cotton or other vegetable fiber, 10 cents per pound and 15 per cent ad valorem; loom harness or healds made of cotton or other vegetable fiber, or of which cotton or other vegetable fiber is the component material of chief value, 50 cents per pound and 25 per cent ad valorem; boot, shoe, and corset lacings made of cotton or other vegetable fiber, 25 cents per pound and 15 per cent ad valorem; labels, for garments or other articles, composed of cotton or other vegetable fiber, 75 cents per pound and 35 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. In paragraph 317 I move the amendment which I send to the desk.

The SECRETARY. In paragraph 317, page 103, line 5, it is proposed to strike out the words "suspenders and braces;" and in line 9, after the words "ad valorem," to insert the words "suspenders and braces, made as aforesaid, 40 per cent ad valorem;" so as to read:

Bandings, beltings, bindings, bone casings, braids, cords, garters, gorings, lining for bicycle tires, ribbons, tapes, tubing, and webs or webbing, any of the foregoing articles made of cotton or other vegetable fiber, whether composed in part of india rubber or otherwise, and not embroidered by hand or machinery, 45 per cent ad valorem; suspenders and braces, made as aforesaid, 40 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. In line 19 I move to strike out "seventy-five" and insert "fifty;" and in the same line I move to strike out "five."

The SECRETARY. In paragraph 317, line 19, it is proposed to strike out "seventy-five" and insert "fifty," and to strike out "thirty-five" and insert "thirty;" so as to read:

Labels, for garments or other articles, composed of cotton or other vegetable fiber, 50 cents per pound and 30 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. In accordance with the notice given some time ago, I move to strike out the word "braids" in line 3 and the word "gorings" in line 4.

The SECRETARY. In paragraph 317, line 3, page 103, it is proposed to strike out the word "braids;" and in line 4 to strike out the word "gorings;" so as to read:

Bandings, beltings, bindings, bone casings, cords, garters, lining for bicycle tires, ribbons, tapes, tubing, and webs or webbing, any of the foregoing articles made of cotton or other vegetable fiber, etc.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. VEST. Now I move to strike out the whole paragraph and insert paragraph 263 of the existing law.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Missouri will be stated.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to strike out paragraph 317 and insert in lieu thereof the following:

Cords, braids, boot, shoe, and corset lacings, tapes, gimps, galloons, webbing, goring, suspenders and braces, woven, braided, or twisted lamp or candle wicking, lining for bicycle tires, spindle binding, any of the above made of cotton or other vegetable fiber, and whether composed in part of India rubber or otherwise, 45 per cent ad valorem.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Missouri.

The amendment was rejected.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 318, page 103, line 21, after the word "cotton," to insert "table;" so as to make the paragraph read:

318. Cotton table damask, 40 per cent ad valorem; cotton duck, 35 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. VEST. In line 21 I move to strike out "forty" and insert "thirty-five;" so as to read "35 per cent ad valorem," which is the existing law.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Missouri.

The amendment was rejected.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 319, page 103, line 24, before the words "per cent," to strike out "forty" and insert "forty-five;" so as to make the paragraph read:

319. All manufactures of cotton not specially provided for in this act, 45 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I move to amend the committee amendment by striking out "forty-five" and inserting "thirty-five," which is the present law.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment to the amendment.

The amendment to the amendment was rejected.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question recurs on agreeing to the committee amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. I move to insert as an additional paragraph what I send to the desk.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to insert as a new paragraph the following:

319½. On all cotton yarns finer than No. 10 single, and on all manufactures of cotton made in whole or in part from yarns finer than No. 10 single, there shall be levied and collected 10 per cent ad valorem in addition to the appropriate rates of duty provided therefor in paragraphs 301 to 319, inclusive, or any other paragraph of this act providing for such manufactures.

Mr. ALLISON. Some days ago an additional duty was placed upon all raw cotton, but applying especially to Egyptian cotton. The committee is satisfied that a number of brackets in the various paragraphs in the cotton schedule will require some modification, but with the limited time allowed and the information available it is impossible for the committee to recommend the modifications. My own judgment, which is not very valuable, I agree, is that the modifications will be applied to very few of the paragraphs or brackets; but it is manifest that if this duty is to remain, as I suppose it is, it will be necessary in a degree at least to revise those paragraphs. It will be necessary to go over them with care.

This amendment is proposed in order that at a later period when the bill is in the Senate we may have the paragraphs modified, if it is possible to do so, or if not, that the conference can make such modifications as may be necessary because of the duty upon cotton.

Therefore, I hope there will be no objection to the insertion of this paragraph, so that it may be in order later on to deal with such portions of the several paragraphs as may require additional treatment. Of course, this is a tentative matter and will be considered with the utmost care hereafter.

Mr. GRAY. If I understand the Senator from Iowa, this is what may be called a compensatory duty—a duty to compensate for the amendment which has been adopted levying a duty of 20 per cent on certain grades of raw cotton.

Mr. ALLISON. It may be termed a compensatory duty.

Mr. GRAY. It is not a revenue tax?

Mr. ALLISON. It will be a revenue tax if the articles are imported.

Mr. GRAY. If it produces any revenue.

Mr. ALLISON. To that extent it will be a revenue tax.

Mr. GRAY. I did not hear any reason of a revenue nature alleged by the Senator from Iowa, and I was trying to ascertain the moving cause of this additional tax. Of course I think these things are important and that we ought to know the reasons.

Mr. ALLISON. They are important.

Mr. GRAY. I think a burden always ought to have a good reason to justify it. If I understand the Senator from Iowa, this is purely a compensatory tax to offset the 20 per cent duty on raw cotton that has been adopted.

Mr. ALLISON. The Senator does not quite comprehend me.

Mr. GRAY. That is what I want to do. I wish to comprehend the Senator.

Mr. ALLISON. I do not mean to say wholly. Of course, if articles are fabricated from cotton that pays this tax, as a good many of them are, it will be necessary and proper to levy an additional duty upon such articles so fabricated, and if they are imported it will be a revenue tax or a revenue measure, as the entire bill is a revenue measure. I do not need to repeat every time I speak that this is intended as a measure to raise revenue upon imports and to protect at the same time the industries of our country.

We have endeavored to distribute in these paragraphs the duties upon imports to raise revenue in such a way as to protect our own industries. Now, if it turns out that Egyptian cotton is used in the manufacture of any of the articles in the cotton schedule, and only used, and it is more valuable than our domestic cotton for this purpose, would it be an unwise thing to fairly protect the people who are engaged in this manufacture, or is it wiser, by placing this duty upon Egyptian cotton, to so arrange the remainder of the schedule as that they could not manufacture these articles in our country? Now, that is the whole of it.

Mr. GRAY. The Senator from Iowa will not misunderstand me. I did not design at this time to enter into the question of the wisdom or unwisdom of the tax. I wanted clearly to understand the nature of it, because this is a complex matter. I understand that the motive and justification for this measure are mainly to increase the revenues, to supplement or supply the deficit that unfortunately from certain causes has taken place in our revenue in the last few years. Certainly that is a justification for a consideration of our tax laws. If there is a deficit, we must make it up. We have the taxing power, and we must exercise it for that purpose.

I wanted to understand what the motive of this tax was, because all through the bill I find different motives. There are certain taxes the Senator has frankly said were not revenue taxes; they were protection taxes. I understood the Senator from Rhode Island to say that the result of the whole bill would not be such as to supply that deficiency which has been the moving cause of our being called in extra session, but that by the bill as it came from the House there would still be a deficit, and there were certain direct taxes imposed that were meant to supply the revenue that the main bill wholly failed to supply.

Mr. VEST. I should like to ask the Senator from Iowa a question, which I hope he will answer frankly. Would he have offered this amendment if the 20 per cent tax had not been put on raw cotton?

Mr. ALLISON. I certainly would not have offered it.

Mr. VEST. That is the whole of it.

Mr. President, I would have been very much surprised, as I stated this morning, if this compensatory tax had not been offered by our friends upon the other side. That is one of the invariable characteristics of the tariff system. One tax breeds another. It is a great interdependent, intercommunicating trust. One duty rests upon another, one interest helps another, and the result is to

increase the price of all manufactures to the consumer. It is entirely consistent, after putting a 20 per cent tax upon raw cotton, now to bring in this amendment. I am not at all surprised.

Mr. GRAY. I should like to ask the Senator from Missouri a question. He is very experienced in these matters and knows all about ad valorems and compensatory taxes. Has he ever discovered where any compensation to the consumer comes in?

Mr. VEST. Oh, Mr. President, that is in the clouds or somewhere else; we can not get at it. We always increase the duties, so as to increase the cost to the consumer. When it comes to compensating him, he is merely compensated in general philanthropic declarations as to how much they think of him, without doing anything for him.

I wish our friends had listened to the official report of Mr. Blaine in June, 1881, when he was Secretary of State, which I read here this morning to deaf ears, in which he congratulated the people of this country upon the fact that they had raw cotton, and said that that of itself enabled them, together with cheaper labor in the cotton mills than they had in Europe, to compete with our English cousins in all the markets of the world in manufactured cotton goods.

But I want to call attention to a single feature that has developed in the course of this ex parte discussion. When the Senator from Rhode Island made his initiatory speech and outlined the general effect of the bill that was reported by the majority of the Finance Committee, we were told that there was very little increase as to the cotton schedule; that there had been some changes made in the bill, but he dismissed the cotton schedule with the remark that very little change had been made in that schedule. We find now increases above the McKinley Act. We find that, not satisfied with the existing law, there have been enormous increases over the Wilson Act.

Mr. President, it is astonishing with how much complacency my friend from Iowa moves an increase, abandoning the decreases which he made in his report of the pending bill and going to the larger duties in the Dingley bill. It was made a great matter of congratulation that they had reduced the duties in the Dingley bill. The Senator from Rhode Island with great unction dwelt upon that fact. But so soon as the Republican caucus had consolidated and crystallized, so soon as there was a general agreement on the other side of the Chamber reconciling conflicting interests to support whatever the majority of the Finance Committee agreed upon, together with this associated tribunal of additional Senators, an auxiliary corps who advised them in regard to the expediency of certain increases—so soon as that was brought about my friend from Iowa marches up with a smile upon his face and drops all his decreases and goes back to the increases of the Dingley bill and above them. It shows what confidence comes from assured success. It shows what gallantry can be displayed when there are overwhelming numbers to back whatever may be determined upon by the caucus.

I call attention to the fact that every Senator who has taken any interest in this bill has seen that nine out of every ten of the decreases made and foreshadowed and boasted of in the speech of the Senator from Rhode Island have been abandoned. They have not only gone back to the Dingley rates, but they have gone beyond them and above the rates in the McKinley Act. With all our protests, not to say arguments, we have been met with the serene, amiable smile of the Senator from Iowa and a steady vote for the increase, no matter what it may be.

Sir, it is not at all a matter of wonder that this compensatory duty is to be placed in the bill. It was absolutely necessary and logical, and I am glad that the Senator from Iowa—I expected nothing else—was candid enough to avow the real object.

Mr. ALLISON. Mr. President, I wish to occupy but a moment.

Mr. VEST. If the Senator from Iowa will permit me, the Senator from California [Mr. WHITE] suggests that the statement of the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH] should be read. I ask my friend from California to read what the Senator from Rhode Island said.

Mr. WHITE read as follows:

> In the cotton schedule the rates, which are practically those of 1894, have not been changed from the House schedules, except in the paragraphs relating to hosiery, underwear, and corduroys, and velveteens. On these the rates are somewhat lower than the House provisions.

Mr. ALLISON. As respects the particular schedule we have passed over, there are a number of rates that have been reduced below the House bill, and some of them have been reduced below the existing law. So under influences, whatever they may be, the committee have abandoned some of the amendments reducing duties, and they have reduced other duties less than originally recommended to the Senate. These influences, whatever they are, only show, however, that history repeats itself.

I remember very well four years ago when the Senator from Missouri, in overhauling the Wilson bill, reduced the duties of that proposed law by amendments, I think nearly 200 in number. They were brought in by the then managers, or on behalf of the majority of the Committee on Finance, by the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. JONES]. They were printed and examined by Senators.

Immediately, or as soon thereafter as the Senators could gather themselves together, there was an adjournment of the Senate from Thursday until Monday. There was a convention of Democratic Senators (I do not know whether they called it a caucus, or what) that met—not in this Chamber, but in this Capitol—and expended four or five days in dissecting and dividing the bill called the Wilson bill, and as the result of that conference, or whatever it was called, there came into this Chamber new and revised schedules, which, instead of reducing the duties of the Wilson bill, increased those duties all along the line. There was a committee of safety, or whatever I might choose to call it, inside and outside of the majority of the Finance Committee at that time which ruled the amendments upon that bill in a way that was absolutely comfortable to the other side of the Chamber, because whenever any amendment was proposed by them to that bill, whether it was compensatory or otherwise, it was straightway voted into the bill. When the iron schedule was reached, the duty on iron ore was placed at 40 cents a ton. There was a compensatory duty of $4 a ton put upon pig iron, and when pig iron had a duty of $4 a ton there was a compensatory duty upon final forms of iron leading up to No. 35 wire gauge.

So, Mr. President, when we speak of the inner movements, whatever they may be, of this side of the Chamber, whether we are coerced by caucus or otherwise, or whether these amendments are presented here because of more mature deliberation of the committee, it is only the repetition of history, and I hope my friend from Missouri will not be disturbed because now and then I have moved, in as good nature as I could, amendments under the direction of the committee that were not originally proposed by the Senate Finance Committee when it reported the bill.

The duty upon Egyptian cotton was placed on the bill in the Senate by a very large vote and upon very solid and substantial arguments, coming largely from the other side of the Chamber. Of course that duty being placed upon the raw material of a manufacture, it does seem to be necessary to treat it as in the case of pig iron or iron ore or flax. Take the flax duty. We put so much on untowed flax, so much on dressed flax, and so much on manufactures of flax. All these things are in a sense compensatory, if we are to continue the manufacture of these articles in our country. What would be the use of a duty upon Egyptian cotton if no American manufacturer could manufacture Egyptian cotton in competition with the outside world?

Mr. President, I think there is nothing remarkable about this amendment. It is an amendment, as I said before, tentative in its character. I think it will turn out that it will only apply in the end to a very few of these paragraphs and a very few brackets in the paragraphs. I think it will also turn out that the real duty to be imposed will be less than 10 per cent ad valorem. But it is necessary that some amendment be made here in order that these paragraphs may continue to be within the control of the Senate. That is all there is about it.

Mr. TILLMAN. Mr. President, as one of the "auxiliary corps" of five Democrats who voted with the Republicans for the 20 per cent duty on cotton, I feel constrained to submit just a few remarks at this time.

It is very surprising to me to see the attitude of these experienced and grave seigniors here in discussing this question—how they pitch the ball back and forth; and the excuses which are now given by our Republican friends are nearly always, "You did it when you had the power, and therefore we do it now that we have got it." In other words, when the present majority of the Committee on Finance is attacked by the minority for the enormities being perpetrated in the tariff schedules, they invariably answer with some allusion to what was done when the Wilson bill was under discussion and when the Republicans were in the minority.

Well, while that may be satisfactory to Senators, I do not think it is going to be satisfactory to the people of the country. For my part, I avow here and now that I want you to load this tariff bill as heavily as you dare, and I am ready to help you load it, because I do not believe it is going to have any effect other than to disgust the people of this country and make them turn you out of power as soon as they get an opportunity.

The tariff is not the issue before the country. It can not be made the issue, or at least of a lasting character. If this compensatory duty will satisfy you gentlemen who are clamoring for protection, and who deny, not in direct terms, but in general phrase, that you are making a sectional tariff, I say to you, go on and levy it; the people of the entire country who will consume the articles made from Egyptian cotton are to pay it. So far as the short-staple cotton is concerned, as I have already said, all of us who voted for the duty of 20 per cent upon raw cotton know that it does not affect it one iota and can give no protection, because we export five-eighths of the crop.

But the manufacturer must always be compensated. He must

always have the advantage. The producer of raw material can receive nothing. You desire now, by this additional compensatory duty, to recoup the manufacturer for the tax which has been placed on his raw material, and you make the consumers throughout the country pay it all. Well and good. I say again, as one of the five, if my friends here can get any consolation out of the twitting which they have given us for not following their lead, so to speak; for acting independently and trying to take care of the local interests of our States in this general game of grab and stealing, well and good. The time will come when the tariff will sink you Republicans, because you can not give prosperity under any scheme of duties that you may enact. Therefore I congratulate you upon the liberality with which you are treating your manufacturers and ignoring the interests of the producers of raw material.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Mr. President, there is no question that whenever a tariff duty is imposed on a raw material which enters into a manufacture there must be a compensation allowed to the manufacturer for the increased prices he must pay for his raw material. There can be no question about it. It is plain, simple, common sense. What I object to are the wrongs done under the guise of what is fair and straight. It is not in itself fair.

In the woolen schedule of the bill there is a proposition that for every pound of manufactured goods there shall be charged a tariff equal to the tariff on 3 pounds of unwashed wool and in addition thereto 50 per cent ad valorem. This is put in under the supposition, under the pretense, that 3 pounds of unwashed wool enter into the manufacture of 1 pound of woolen goods. The facts will show, as will appear when the proper times comes, that there is not one solitary kind of wool on the face of the green earth of which it takes 3 pounds of the unwashed wool to make a pound of scoured wool.

A pound and a half in some cases will make it, and from that ranging up to less than 3 pounds. In addition to that, it is well known that enormous importations of wool have already been made this year, enough to supply the woolen mills with all the raw material they will use for twelve months to come, upon which they have paid no tariff. Yet we propose to embody in this bill a compensation amounting to three times the proposed tax on unwashed wool upon which not one cent of tax has been paid by the manufacturers, and still they would be allowed to increase the price of every single pound of woolen goods they produce, on the theory that they have been compelled to pay three times the value of the tax on 3 pounds of unwashed wool for every pound of manufactured goods.

It is this sort of fraud, Mr. President, that I utterly abominate. This pretense that there is compensation here in the wool schedule for rates of taxation which have been paid when they never have been paid is what I dislike. It is exactly the same in the case of this cotton schedule. The Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON] said each time he mentioned it that this tax of 20 per cent on Egyptian cotton was the thing to be considered—a tax for which he and every other man on the other side of the Senate Chamber has voted. The proposition now is to leave these schedules open, so that an increase may be put in these rates in case this tax remains permanently in the bill.

The Senator from South Carolina [Mr. MCLAURIN] stated a while ago what we all know, that there will not be an increase of one iota in the value of cotton by reason of this tax. Yet here is a proposition presented to us now that if we leave this tax standing, if it goes through the conference committee and remains in the bill, there must be a compensating tax paid upon it just as there is in the bill now in the wool schedule for tariffs never paid. It is that sort of thing that I object to, and that is the unfairness of the thing, which, it seems to me, ought to excite the indignation of all members of the Senate.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the adoption of the amendment proposed by the committee.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Let us have the yeas and nays on that.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. COCKRELL. Let the amendment be stated.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to insert as a new paragraph at the bottom of page 103 the following:

319½. On all cotton yarns finer than No. 10 single, and on all manufactures of cotton made in whole or in part from cotton yarns finer than No. 10 single, there shall be levied and collected 10 per cent ad valorem in addition to the appropriate rates of duty provided therefor in paragraphs 301 to 319, inclusive, or in any other paragraph of this act providing for such manufactures.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. GEAR (when his name was called). I transfer my pair with the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH] to the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE], and vote "yea."

Mr. HANSBROUGH (when his name was called). I am paired with the senior Senator from Virginia [Mr. DANIEL], and therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. VEST (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. NELSON].

I wish to state that I may, through inadvertence, have voted this afternoon when the Senator from Minnesota was absent. If so, I apologize for it now. I should vote "nay" on this proposition if he were here.

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas (after having voted in the negative). I am paired with the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE], and withdraw my vote.

Mr. GRAY (after having voted in the negative). I inquire if the junior Senator from Illinois [Mr. MASON] has voted?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. He has not voted.

Mr. GRAY. I have a temporary pair with that Senator, and therefore withdraw my vote.

Mr. CLAY. I transfer my pair with the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] to the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH], and vote "nay."

Mr. BATE. I desire to state that my colleague [Mr. HARRIS] is unavoidably detained from the Chamber. He is paired with the Senator from Vermont [Mr. MORRILL].

Mr. CLAY. I have been requested to announce that the junior Senator from Delaware [Mr. KENNEY] is paired with the junior Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. PENROSE].

The result was announced—yeas 31, nays 26; as follows:

YEAS—31.

Allison,	Foraker,	Mantle,	Shoup,
Burrows,	Frye,	Perkins,	Spooner,
Carter,	Gallinger,	Platt, Conn.	Stewart,
Chandler,	Gear,	Platt, N. Y.	Thurston,
Cullom,	Hanna,	Pritchard,	Wellington,
Davis,	Hawley,	Proctor,	Wetmore,
Deboe,	Hoar,	Quay,	Wilson.
Fairbanks,	McBride,	Sewell,	

NAYS—26.

Bacon,	Gorman,	Mitchell,	Teller,
Bate,	Heitfeld,	Morgan,	Tillman,
Berry,	McEnery,	Murphy,	Turpie,
Butler,	McLaurin,	Pasco,	Walthall,
Chilton,	Mallory,	Pettus,	White.
Clay,	Martin,	Rawlins,	
Cockrell,	Mills,	Roach,	

NOT VOTING—32.

Aldrich,	Faulkner,	Jones, Nev.	Nelson,
Allen,	George,	Kenney,	Penrose,
Baker,	Gray,	Kyle,	Pettigrew,
Caffery,	Hale,	Lindsay,	Smith,
Cannon,	Hansbrough,	Lodge,	Turner,
Clark,	Harris, Kans.	McMillan,	Vest,
Daniel,	Harris, Tenn.	Mason,	Warren,
Elkins,	Jones, Ark.	Morrill,	Wolcott.

So the amendment was agreed to.

The Secretary proceeded to read "Schedule J.—Flax, hemp, and jute, and manufactures of."

Mr. PETTIGREW. I ask that paragraphs 320 to 325, inclusive, of that schedule, be passed over temporarily until to-morrow morning. There are some Senators absent who, I think, desire to be present when those paragraphs are considered.

Mr. ALLISON. I have no objection to passing them over until to-morrow morning, but I think we ought to consider them in connection with the remainder of the schedule.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. We on this side of the Chamber should be glad to know what arrangement is being made on the other side.

Mr. ALLISON. The Senator from South Dakota [Mr. PETTIGREW] has asked that paragraphs 320 to 325, inclusive, be passed over until to-morrow morning, and I stated that I had no objection, but I thought they ought to be considered in connection with the remainder of this schedule.

Mr. WHITE. I hope the Senator will allow that schedule to go over until to-morrow. I have some references and data which I wish to present to the Senate, and as we are passing over these paragraphs it appears to me we might as well let them all go over. My data are not here. I did not expect that we should reach the schedule to-day. We are making quite rapid progress, more so really than could have been anticipated, I presume, by anybody.

Mr. ALLISON. If it is the wish of other Senators on the opposite side, as well as of the Senator from California, that the schedule be not considered to-night, I will allow the whole schedule to be passed over.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. MORGAN. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After twelve minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened, and (at 4 o'clock and 30 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Friday, June 18, 1897, at 11 o'clock a. m.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate June 17, 1897.

COLLECTOR OF INTERNAL REVENUE.

Jacob E. Houtz, of Nebraska, to be collector of internal revenue for the district of Nebraska, to succeed James E. North, resigned.

INDIAN INSPECTOR.

Charles F. Nesler, of Newark, N. J., to be an Indian inspector, vice Province McCormick, resigned.

INDIAN AGENT.

Henry J. Cleveland, of Arizola, Ariz., to be agent for the Indians of the Pima Agency in Arizona, vice J. Roe Young, resigned.

COMMISSIONERS.

Clinton A. Snowden, of Tacoma, Wash., to be commissioner for lands of the Puyallup Indian Reservation in Washington, under the provisions of the Indian appropriation act approved June 7, 1897.

John U. Smith, of Portland, Oreg., to be a commissioner in and for the District of Alaska, to fill one of the four additional commissionerships, at points to be designated by the President, created by the act approved June 4, 1897.

William J. Jones, of Port Townsend, Wash., to be a commissioner in and for the District of Alaska, to fill one of the four additional commissionerships, at points to be designated by the President, created by the act approved June 4, 1897.

Clarence L. Chaffee, of Omaha, Nebr., to be a member of the Missouri River Commission, provided for by the act of Congress approved July 5, 1884, entitled "An act making appropriations for the construction, repair, and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors, and for other purposes," vice Richard S. Berlin.

PROMOTIONS IN THE NAVY.

Lieut. (Junior Grade) John F. Luby, to be a lieutenant in the Navy, from the 16th day of May, 1897, vice Lieut. William H. Turner, promoted.

Ensign George W. Logan, to be a lieutenant (junior grade) in the Navy, from the 16th day of May, 1897, vice Lieut. (Junior Grade) John F. Luby, promoted.

Lieut. Commander Eugene de Forrest Heald, to be a commander in the Navy, from the 4th day of June, 1897, vice Commander George E. Wingate, retired.

Lieut. George P. Colvocoresses, to be a lieutenant-commander in the Navy, from the 4th day of June, 1897, vice Lieut. Commander Eugene de Forrest Heald, promoted.

Lieut. (Junior Grade) Lewis J. Clark, to be a lieutenant in the Navy, from the 4th day of June, 1897, vice Lieut. George P. Colvocoresses, promoted.

APPOINTMENT IN THE NAVY.

Raymond Spear, a citizen of Pennsylvania, to be an assistant surgeon in the Navy, to fill a vacancy existing in that grade.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate June 17, 1897.

ENVOY EXTRAORDINARY AND MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY.

William F. Powell, of New Jersey, to be envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States to Haiti.

PROMOTION IN THE MARINE CORPS.

Second Lieut. George Richards, United States Marine Corps, to be a first lieutenant.

REGISTER OF THE LAND OFFICE.

Stephen J. Weekes, of Nebraska, to be register of the land office at O'Neill, Nebr.

POSTMASTERS.

Verlin M. Scott, to be postmaster at Saltville, in the county of Smyth and State of Virginia.

Luzerne P. Harper, to be postmaster at Suffolk, in the county of Nansemond and State of Virginia.

May Mosby Campbell, to be postmaster at Warrenton, in the county of Fauquier and State of Virginia.

William C. Smith, to be postmaster at Bowie, in the county of Montague and State of Texas.

E. B. Atterbury, to be postmaster at Comanche, in the county of Comanche and State of Texas.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

THURSDAY, *June 17, 1897.*

The House met at 12 o'clock m. Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. HENRY N. COUDEN.

THE JOURNAL.

The Journal of the proceedings of Monday last was read.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, the Journal as read will be approved.

Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas. I object.

Mr. SULZER. I move to correct the Journal.

Mr. PAYNE. I move that the Journal as read be approved; and as the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. SIMPSON] has not stated any particular objection to the Journal, and as I have no doubt that it is correct as read, I move the previous question on my motion.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York [Mr. SULZER]——

Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas. I simply object to the approval of the Journal by unanimous consent. I demand a vote. There is no quorum present, and I want a quorum present to vote on this question.

Mr. SULZER. I move to correct the Journal.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York [Mr. SULZER] desires to correct the Journal. The gentleman from New York [Mr. PAYNE] moves that the Journal be approved, and on that motion asks for the previous question.

Mr. SULZER. Mr. Speaker, on last Monday I presented to this House——

The SPEAKER. Debate is not in order.

Mr. SULZER. I move to correct the Journal.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York [Mr. PAYNE] moves that the Journal be approved, and asks for the previous question.

Mr. SULZER. Is it not in order to move to correct the Journal?

Mr. BAILEY. I submit that the motion to correct the Journal has precedence over the motion to approve.

The SPEAKER. Not at all.

Mr. BAILEY. The motion to correct the Journal is a question of higher privilege than the motion to approve the Journal, because of course the House must be offered an opportunity to have the Journal corrected before it is called upon to approve it.

The SPEAKER. But the House must also be offered an opportunity to approve the Journal, if it so wishes.

Mr. BAILEY. Undoubtedly. After the Journal is corrected, the question would come up on its approval. Otherwise this hardship would arise——

The SPEAKER. But the matter is entirely under the control of the House. If it chooses to vote down the previous question, then the Journal will be open to amendment.

Mr. BAILEY. But the House ought not to be compelled to vote upon the approval of the Journal until it has been informed of the particular in which the Journal is claimed to be incorrect.

The SPEAKER. The rule is the other way.

Mr. SULZER. I rise to a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. SULZER. Is it not good parliamentary law that the Journal must be corrected before it is approved; and does not a motion to correct the Journal take precedence of a motion to approve it?

The SPEAKER. It does not.

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, without any intention to be merely factious about this matter, I feel so certain that the ruling of the Chair is incorrect that I shall be compelled to appeal from it. Upon that appeal I desire simply to say this, that both the motion to correct and the motion to approve——

The SPEAKER. This question is not debatable. The previous question has been called.

Mr. BAILEY. On the question of approval.

The SPEAKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. BAILEY. The Chair holds, as I understand, that the motion to correct can not be submitted while the motion to approve is pending.

The SPEAKER. It is simple parliamentary law, and has always been the rule of the House, that a motion to approve the Journal takes precedence of a motion to amend, when first moved.

Mr. BAILEY. And I have a right to appeal from the decision of the Chair.

The SPEAKER. And the House has an entire right to pass upon the question.

Mr. BAILEY. But I have a right to appeal from the decision of the Chair.

The SPEAKER. But that appeal, pending the previous question, must be determined without debate.

Mr. BAILEY. That is true, Mr. Speaker; I concede that point.

The SPEAKER. Certainly. Now, the gentleman from Texas makes the point of order that the motion to amend the Journal has precedence over a motion to approve it——

Mr. BAILEY. "To correct the Journal" was the gentleman's proposition.

The SPEAKER. "To amend the Journal" is the correct technical expression. The gentleman from Texas makes the point that the motion to amend has precedence over the motion to approve. The Chair decides that the point of order is not well taken: and from that ruling the gentleman from Texas appeals. The question is, Shall the decision of the Chair stand as the judgment of the House?

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. Speaker, would it be in order to move to lay the appeal on the table?

The SPEAKER. It would.

Mr. BAILEY. Then it must have been in order to have debated the appeal.

The SPEAKER. Certainly not, because the motion to lay on the table is not debatable under any circumstances.

Mr. BAILEY. I would appeal from that decision but for the fact that only one appeal can be pending at the same time.

The SPEAKER. That seems to be one good reason. [Laughter.]

The question being taken on the motion of Mr. PAYNE to lay the appeal on the table, there were—ayes 83, noes 77.

Mr. BAILEY. I call for tellers.

Mr. PAYNE. I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 96, nays 80, answered "present" 16, not voting 161; as follows:

YEAS—96.

Alexander,	Dingley,	Joy,	Royse,
Babcock,	Dovener,	Ketcham,	Russell,
Baker, Md.	Eddy,	Kirkpatrick,	Shannon,
Barber,	Ellis,	Kulp,	Shattuc,
Bartholdt,	Evans,	Lacey,	Simpkins,
Bennett,	Fletcher,	Linney,	Smith, S. W.
Bishop,	Foss,	Littauer,	Smith, Wm. Alden
Boese,	Gardner,	Loud,	Snover,
Brewster,	Gibson,	Low,	Spalding,
Broderick,	Graff,	McDonald,	Sperry,
Brown,	Griffin,	Mann,	Stewart, N. J.
Brownlow,	Grow,	Mercer,	Stewart, Wis.
Burton,	Hamilton,	Mesick,	Stone, C. W.
Butler,	Harmer,	Miller,	Stone, W. A.
Clark, Iowa	Henderson,	Moody,	Sulloway,
Codding,	Henry, Conn.	Morris,	Tawney,
Connell,	Hill,	Mudd,	Tayler, Ohio
Cooke,	Hitt,	Overstreet,	Tongue,
Cousins,	Howe,	Parker, N. J.	Updegraff,
Crumpacker,	Howell,	Payne,	Warner,
Curtis, Iowa	Hurley,	Pearce, Mo.	Wilber,
Curtis, Kans.	Jenkins,	Pitney,	Wilson, N. Y.
Dalzell,	Johnson, Ind.	Prince,	Wright,
Davenport,	Johnson, N. Dak.	Robbins,	Yost.

NAYS—80.

Adamson,	Davey,	Latimer,	Richardson,
Bailey,	De Graffenreid,	Lewis, Ga.	Ridgely,
Baird,	De Vries,	Lewis, Wash.	Sayers,
Baker, Ill.	Epes,	Livingston,	Settle,
Bankhead,	Fleming,	Lloyd,	Shafroth,
Barlow,	Fox,	Love,	Shuford,
Bartlett,	Greene,	McClellan,	Simpson,
Bell,	Griggs,	McCulloch,	Sims,
Bodine,	Gunn,	McDowell,	Skinner,
Brantley,	Henry, Miss.	McMillin,	Slayden,
Broussard,	Henry, Tex.	Marshall,	Stephens, Tex.
Brucker,	Hinrichsen,	Martin,	Stokes,
Brundidge,	Howard, Ala.	Maxwell,	Strowd, N. C.
Burke,	Hunter,	Meekison,	Sulzer,
Clardy,	Kelley,	Moon,	Sutherland,
Clark, Mo.	Kitchin,	Ogden,	Tate,
Clayton,	Kleberg,	Osborne,	Vincent,
Cochran, Mo.	Knowles,	Peters,	Wheeler, Ky.
Cowherd,	Lamb,	Pierce, Tenn.	Williams, Miss.
Cummings,	Lanham,	Plowman,	Young, Va.

ANSWERED "PRESENT"—16.

Ball,	Brumm,	Dinsmore,	King,
Belknap,	Chickering,	Dorr,	McEwan,
Berry,	Cooper, Wis.	Gaines,	Rhea,
Brosius,	Davidson, Wis.	Hicks,	Stevens, Minn.

NOT VOTING—161.

Acheson,	Bromwell,	Davison, Ky.	Handy,
Adams,	Bull,	Dayton,	Hartman,
Allen,	Campbell,	De Armond,	Hawley,
Arnold,	Cannon,	Dockery,	Hay,
Barham,	Capron,	Dolliver,	Heatwole,
Barney,	Carmack,	Elliott,	Hemenway,
Barrett,	Castle,	Ermentrout,	Henry, Ind.
Barrows,	Catchings,	Faris,	Hepburn,
Beach,	Clarke, N. H.	Fenton,	Hilborn,
Belden,	Cochrane, N. Y.	Fischer,	Hooker,
Belford,	Colson,	Fitzgerald,	Hopkins,
Benner, Pa.	Connolly,	Fitzpatrick,	Howard, Ga.
Benton,	Cooney,	Foote,	Hull,
Bingham,	Cooper, Tex.	Fowler, N. C.	Jett,
Bland,	Corliss,	Fowler, N. J.	Jones, Va.
Botkin,	Cox,	Gillet, N. Y.	Jones, Wash.
Boutelle,	Cranford,	Gillett, Mass.	Kerr,
Bradley,	Crump,	Grosvenor,	Knox,
Brenner, Ohio	Danford,	Grout,	Landis,
Brewer,	Davis,	Hager,	Lents,
Lester,	Mitchell,	Shelden,	Underwood,
Little,	Newlands,	Sherman,	Vandiver,
Lorimer,	Northway,	Showalter,	Van Voorhis,
Loudenslager,	Norton,	Smith, Ill.	Vehslage,
Lovering,	Odell,	Smith, Ky.	Wadsworth,
Lybrand,	Olmsted,	Southard,	Walker, Mass.
McAleer,	Otey,	Southwick,	Walker, Va.
McCall,	Otjen,	Sparkman,	Wanger,
McCleary,	Packer, Pa.	Sprague,	Ward,
McCormick,	Pearson,	Stallings,	Weaver,
McIntire,	Perkins,	Stark,	Weymouth,
McRae,	Powers,	Steele,	Wheeler, Ala.
Maddox,	Pugh,	Strait,	White, Ill.
Maguire,	Quigg,	Strode, Nebr.	White, N. C.
Mahany,	Ray,	Sturtevant,	Williams, Pa.
Mahon,	Reeves,	Sullivan,	Wilson, S. C.
Marsh,	Rixey,	Swanson,	Young, Pa.
Meyer, La.	Robb,	Talbert,	Zenor.
Miers, Ind.	Robertson, La.	Taylor, Ala.	
Mills,	Robinson, Ind.	Terry,	
Minor,	Sauerhering,	Todd,	

So the appeal from the decision of the Chair was laid on the table.

Before the result of the vote was announced,

Mr. HICKS. Mr. Speaker, I am paired with the gentleman from Virginia, Mr. OTEY. I wish to withdraw my vote and answer "present."

Mr. KING. I have voted "no," but find I am paired with the gentleman from New Hampshire, Mr. CLARKE. I therefore desire to withdraw my vote and be marked "present."

Mr. BROSIUS. As I am paired, I wish to withdraw my vote and answer "present."

Mr. RHEA of Kentucky. As I am paired with my colleague from Kentucky, Mr. PUGH, I wish to withdraw my vote in the negative and be marked "present."

Mr. BELKNAP. I have voted "aye," but find that I am paired with the gentleman from California, Mr. MAGUIRE. I wish, therefore, to withdraw my vote and be recorded as "present."

Mr. GAINES. As I am paired with the gentleman from Vermont, Mr. POWERS, I wish to withdraw my vote, which I have cast in the negative, and be marked "present."

Mr. WHEELER of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, I rise to a parliamentary inquiry. At what time can a member be recorded as present? Can it be done at any time after the roll is called if he is paired?

The SPEAKER. The Chair is inclined to think not, following the spirit of the rule which requires a member to vote when his name is called. But if a member has been put down by the Clerk as "present," he has afterwards the right to withdraw that response and to vote. The case is different, however, where he has failed to respond. That is the present impression of the Chair, subject to any revision which may seem hereafter to be necessary.

Mr. WHEELER of Alabama. I think the Chair is right; I simply wanted the statement of the Chair on that point.

The following pairs were announced:

Until further notice:

Mr. MCCLEARY with Mr. TALBERT.

Mr. MITCHELL with Mr. TAYLOR of Alabama.

Mr. OTJEN with Mr. LESTER.

Mr. HOPKINS with Mr. MCALEER.

Mr. REEVES with Mr. BALL.

Mr. HENRY of Indiana with Mr. MIERS of Indiana.

Mr. DANFORD with Mr. TERRY.

Mr. POWERS with Mr. GAINES.

Mr. DORR with Mr. MADDOX.

Mr. HOOKER with Mr. CATCHINGS.

Mr. DE ARMOND with Mr. GILLETT of Massachusetts.

Mr. GROUT with Mr. BERRY.

Mr. HEMENWAY with Mr. ROBERTSON of Louisiana.

Mr. FISCHER with Mr. STALLINGS.

Mr. LANDIS with Mr. CRAWFORD.

Mr. DAVIDSON of Wisconsin with Mr. HOWARD of Georgia.

Mr. BELDEN with Mr. CARMACK.

Mr. QUIGG with Mr. BLAND.

Mr. HULL with Mr. DOCKERY.

Mr. MINOR with Mr. SPARKMAN.

Mr. MCCALL with Mr. JONES of Virginia.

Mr. YOUNG of Pennsylvania with Mr. BENTON.

Mr. BELKNAP with Mr. MAGUIRE.

Mr. FARIS with Mr. ZENOR.

Mr. SOUTHARD with Mr. NORTON.

Mr. BARROWS with Mr. JETT.

Mr. HAWLEY with Mr. SWANSON.

Mr. MCEWAN with Mr. VEHSLAGE.

Mr. SPRAGUE with Mr. LENTZ.

Mr. ALEXANDER with Mr. STARK.

Mr. ACHESON with Mr. WILSON of South Carolina.

Mr. CHICKERING with Mr. BRADLEY.

Mr. SAUERHERING with Mr. STRAIT.

Mr. LOVERING with Mr. WHEELER of Alabama.

Mr. BRUMM with Mr. COX.

Mr. MILLS with Mr. SULLIVAN.
Mr. BARHAM with Mr. FITZGERALD.
Mr. PERKINS with Mr. COOPER of Texas.
Mr. CLARKE of New Hampshire with Mr. KING.
Mr. STEVENS of Minnesota with Mr. JONES of Washington.
Mr. HICKS with Mr. OTEY.
Mr. HEATWOLE with Mr. DINSMORE.
Mr. BROSIUS with Mr. ERMENTROUT.
Mr. KERR with Mr. ROBB.
Mr. LACEY with Mr. MCRAE.
Mr. WALKER of Massachusetts with Mr. VANDIVER.
Mr. WALKER of Virginia with Mr. SMITH of Kentucky.
Mr. WHITE of Illinois with Mr. BRENNER of Ohio.
Mr. STEWART of Wisconsin with Mr. LITTLE.
Mr. SMITH of Illinois with Mr. ALLEN.
For this day:
Mr. ODELL with Mr. FITZPATRICK.
Mr. GROSVENOR with Mr. RIXEY.
Mr. BARNEY with Mr. TODD.
Mr. MARSH with Mr. COONEY.

The result of the vote was then announced as above stated.

The question being taken on ordering the previous question, Mr. SULZER demanded a division.

The House divided; and there were—ayes 84, noes 53.

Mr. SULZER. Yeas and nays, Mr. Speaker.

The yeas and nays were refused, 7 members, not a sufficient number, rising in support of the demand therefor.

Mr. SULZER. Mr. Speaker, a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. SULZER. If the previous question is ordered, are we not entitled to twenty minutes on each side to debate the main question?

The SPEAKER. The Chair thinks there was no debate.

Mr. DALZELL. Yes; there was debate.

Mr. PAYNE. I debated the question myself.

The SPEAKER. The Chair understands there was debate. In that case further debate would not be in order, under the rule, after the previous question is ordered.

Mr. MCMILLIN. Mr. Speaker, I think on an examination of the RECORD, it will be found that the question was not debated in the sense that would preclude the debate contemplated by the rule. There was a controversy among a number of gentlemen on parliamentary questions, but the main question was not discussed on its merits.

The SPEAKER. On this question the ayes have it, and the previous question is ordered. The question is on the motion that the Journal be approved.

Mr. SULZER. Mr. Speaker——

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. BAILEY) there were—ayes 83, noes 71.

Mr. BAILEY. Tellers, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. DALZELL. We may as well have the yeas and nays, Mr. Speaker.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 95, nays 76, answered "present" 18, not voting 164; as follows:

YEAS—95.

Alexander,	Dingley,	Johnson, N. Dak.	Royse,
Babcock,	Dovener,	Joy,	Shannon,
Baker, Md.	Eddy,	Kirkpatrick,	Shattuc,
Barber,	Ellis,	Knox,	Simpkins,
Bartholdt,	Evans,	Kulp,	Smith, S. W.
Belknap,	Fletcher,	Lacey,	Snover,
Bennett,	Foss,	Linney,	Spalding,
Bishop,	Gardner,	Littauer,	Sperry,
Booze,	Gibson,	Loud,	Stewart, N. J.
Brewster,	Graff,	Low,	Stewart, Wis.
Brosius,	Griffin,	Mann,	Stone, C. W.
Brown,	Griggs,	Mercer,	Stone, W. A.
Brownlow,	Grow,	Mesick,	Sulloway,
Burton,	Hamilton,	Miller,	Tawney,
Butler,	Harmer,	Moody,	Tayler, Ohio
Codding,	Henderson,	Morris,	Tongue,
Connell,	Henry, Conn.	Mudd,	Updegraff,
Cooke,	Hill,	Overstreet,	Wadsworth,
Cousins,	Hitt,	Parker, N. J.	Warner,
Crumpacker,	Howe,	Payne,	Wilber,
Curtis, Iowa	Howell,	Pearce, Mo.	Wilson, N. Y.
Curtis, Kans.	Hurley,	Pitney,	Wright,
Dalzell,	Jenkins,	Prince,	Yost.
Davenport,	Johnson, Ind.	Robbins,	

NAYS—76.

Adamson,	Clardy,	Henry, Miss.	Lewis, Wash.
Bailey,	Clark, Mo.	Henry, Tex.	Livingston,
Baird,	Clayton,	Hinrichsen,	Lloyd,
Baker, Ill.	Cochran, Mo.	Howard, Ala.	Love,
Bankhead,	Cowherd,	Hunter,	McClellan,
Barlow,	Cummings,	Kelley,	McCulloch,
Bartlett,	Davey,	Kitchin,	McDowell,
Bell,	De Graffenreid,	Kleberg,	McMillin,
Bodine,	De Vries,	Knowles,	Marshall,
Brantley,	Epes,	Lamb,	Martin,
Broussard,	Fox,	Lanham,	Maxwell,
Brucker,	Greene,	Latimer,	Meekison,
Brundidge,	Gunn,	Lewis, Ga.	Moon,
Osborne,	Sayers,	Slayden,	Sutherland,
Peters,	Settle,	Stephens, Tex.	Tate,
Pierce, Tenn.	Shuford,	Stokes,	Vincent,
Richardson,	Simpson,	Strowd, N. C.	Wheeler, Ky.
Ridgely,	Sims,	Sullivan,	Williams, Miss.
Robinson, Ind.	Skinner,	Sulzer,	Young, Pa.

ANSWERED "PRESENT"—18.

Ball,	Cooper, Wis.	King,	Smith, Wm. Alden
Barrows,	Davidson, Wis.	McAleer,	Stevens, Minn.
Berry,	Dinsmore,	McEwan,	Wheeler, Ala.
Brumm,	Fleming,	Plowman,	
Chickering,	Hicks,	Rhea,	

NOT VOTING—164.

Acheson,	Davis,	Landis,	Robb,
Adams,	Davison, Ky.	Lentz,	Robertson, La.
Allen,	Dayton,	Lester,	Russell,
Arnold,	De Armond,	Little,	Sauerhering,
Barham,	Dockery,	Lorimer,	Shafroth,
Barney,	Dolliver,	Loudenslager,	Shelden,
Barrett,	Dorr,	Lovering,	Sherman,
Beach,	Elliott,	Lybrand,	Showalter,
Belden,	Ermentrout,	McCall,	Smith, Ill.
Belford,	Faris,	McCleary,	Smith, Ky.
Benner, Pa.	Fenton,	McCormick,	Southard,
Benton,	Fischer,	McDonald,	Southwick,
Bingham,	Fitzgerald,	McIntire,	Sparkman,
Bland,	Fitzpatrick,	McRae,	Sprague,
Botkin,	Foote,	Maddox,	Stallings,
Boutelle,	Fowler, N. C.	Maguire,	Stark,
Bradley,	Fowler, N. J.	Mahany,	Steele,
Brenner, Ohio	Gaines,	Mahon,	Strait,
Brewer,	Gillet, N. Y.	Marsh,	Strode, Nebr.
Broderick,	Gillett, Mass.	Meyer, La.	Sturtevant,
Bromwell,	Grosvenor,	Miers, Ind.	Swanson,
Bull,	Grout,	Mills,	Talbert,
Burke,	Hager,	Minor,	Taylor, Ala.
Campbell,	Handy,	Mitchell,	Terry,
Cannon,	Hartman,	Newlands,	Todd,
Capron,	Hawley,	Northway,	Underwood,
Carmack,	Hay,	Norton,	Vandiver,
Castle,	Heatwole,	Odell,	Van Voorhis,
Catchings,	Hemenway,	Ogden,	Vehslage,
Clark, Iowa	Henry, Ind.	Olmsted,	Walker, Mass.
Clarke, N. H.	Hepburn,	Otey,	Walker, Va.
Cochrane, N. Y.	Hilborn,	Otjen,	Wanger,
Colson,	Hooker,	Packer, Pa.	Ward,
Connolly,	Hopkins,	Pearson,	Weaver,
Cooney,	Howard, Ga.	Perkins,	Weymouth,
Cooper, Tex.	Hull,	Powers,	White, Ill.
Corliss,	Jett,	Pugh,	White, N. C.
Cox,	Jones, Va.	Quigg,	Williams, Pa.
Cranford,	Jones, Wash.	Ray,	Wilson, S. C.
Crump,	Kerr,	Reeves,	Young, Va.
Danford,	Ketcham,	Rixey,	Zenor.

So the Journal was approved.

The Clerk announced the following additional pairs:

Until further notice:

Mr. MCINTIRE with Mr. MAGUIRE.

Mr. PUGH with Mr. RHEA of Kentucky.

Mr. COCHRAN of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I desire to know if I am recorded.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Missouri is not recorded.

Mr. COCHRAN of Missouri. My attention was diverted to something else and I did not hear my name called. I desire to vote "no."

The SPEAKER. Was the gentleman listening at the time when his name should have been called, and did he fail to hear it?

Mr. COCHRAN of Missouri. Yes; I was in the Hall, trying to listen. I suppose that my attention was attracted by something else.

The SPEAKER. The Chair wants the gentleman from Missouri to understand the matter. The only ground on which a vote has been permitted by the House under the rule, after the completion of the call, is where there is reason to suppose that the name of the member may not have been called.

Mr. COCHRAN of Missouri. Well, I did not hear my name called. I was in the Chamber and did not hear it. I was here for the purpose of voting, and for no other purpose. So I suppose that the noise or something must have diverted my attention from it.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman understands the matter now. The Clerk will call his name and he will vote or not, as he deems proper.

The Clerk called the name of Mr. COCHRAN of Missouri, and he voted in the negative.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. PLATT, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed the bill (S. 2150) to amend an act entitled "An act to provide for the entry of lands in Greer County, Okla., to give preference rights to settlers, and for other purposes," approved January 18, 1897; in which the concurrence of the House was requested.

GREER COUNTY, OKLA.

Mr. LACEY. Mr. Speaker, I desire to call up the bill (S. 2150) received from the Senate this morning and ask consent for its immediate consideration.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Iowa asks unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill which the Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

A bill (S. 2150) to amend an act entitled "An act to provide for the entry of lands in Greer County, Okla., to give preference rights to settlers, and for other purposes," approved January 18, 1897.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the time for the exercise of the preference right of entry granted to bona fide occupants of land within the territory established as Greer County, Okla., by section 1 of an act entitled "An act to provide for the entry of lands in Greer County, Okla., to give preference rights to settlers, and for other purposes," approved January 18, 1897, be, and the same is hereby, extended to January 1, 1898.

Mr. SULZER. Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Iowa asks unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill which has been reported by the Clerk.

Mr. SULZER. Before I object, I desire to submit a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. SULZER. Mr. Speaker, on Monday last I had the honor to present to this House a monster petition, with hundreds of thousands of names——

Mr. DINGLEY. The gentleman seems to be debating the matter.

Mr. SULZER (continuing). Of citizens of the United States favoring the granting of belligerent rights to the Cuban patriots.

The SPEAKER. Will the gentleman state his parliamentary inquiry?

Mr. SULZER. My parliamentary inquiry is, What has become of that monster petition? [Laughter.]

The SPEAKER. That is a physical question rather than a parliamentary inquiry. [Laughter.]

Mr. LACEY. I trust that the suffering settlers in Oklahoma will not be prejudiced by a discussion of the Cuban question.

Mr. LIVINGSTON. Reserving the right to object, I desire to ask the gentleman what is the necessity for this extension of time?

Mr. LACEY. I made a full statement of this matter on last Monday, but objection was made, inadvertently, I think, by one gentleman on the other side, who afterwards attempted to withdraw the objection, but the attempt was not made until the House was dividing on a motion to adjourn. The situation, I will briefly state, is this——

Mr. LIVINGSTON. Never mind.

Mr. LACEY. Perhaps some other member of the House would like to hear an explanation of the matter. I will very briefly outline the occasion for this action——

Mr. GAINES. Will you allow any debate on your question?

Mr. LACEY (continuing). And that is this: A bill was passed in the last Congress allowing settlers in Greer County who had obtained their claims through the State of Texas six months in which to prove up their rights to the land in that county. There are 3,200 of these families in this condition. The register and receiver for that land office were not appointed until within the last few weeks, and the office can not be opened until the 1st day of July. The result will be that the 3,200 proofs that must be filed by these heads of families can not be made in the eighteen days intervening before the expiration of the six months allowed by the last Congress for the completion of those claims; and Congress is asked to give six months additional, a sufficient time to do that; and I hope no one will interpose an objection. The Senate has passed the bill, and we ought to pass it promptly.

Mr. LANHAM. This is a Senate bill, and is of the same purport as the bill offered by the gentleman the other day.

Mr. LACEY. It has the same object as that bill.

Mr. LANHAM. And the object of this is simply to give bona fide, actual settlers of Greer County additional time in which to prove up their homestead rights.

Mr. LACEY. It is to give them the same time that they would have had if the register and receiver had been appointed last January, as Congress intended they should be; but as they have not been appointed until this time, it is necessary to make an extension of the time, otherwise it is utterly impossible for the settlers to comply with the act of the 18th of January last.

Mr. LANHAM. This is a meritorious bill, and I trust no one will object.

Mr. LACEY. I think it is a meritorious bill.

Mr. McMILLIN. I will ask the gentleman has this bill been referred to any committee of the House?

Mr. LACEY. I think I have heard that question submitted by the gentleman on a previous occasion.

Mr. McMILLIN. And you are liable to hear it again.

Mr. LACEY. This has not been referred to a committee, as we do not have committees.

Mr. McMILLIN. I think the gentleman voted against having committees to which this might have been referred.

Mr. LACEY. That brings up another question that I have very decided views upon, in which I presume I would not agree with my friend.

Mr. LANHAM. I hope the bill will be allowed to pass.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. SULZER. I should like to ask the gentleman a question.

Mr. LACEY. Certainly.

Mr. SULZER. Will the gentleman permit this bill to be debated ten minutes on a side?

Mr. LACEY. Unquestionably, if it is desired.

Mr. McMILLIN. If the gentleman does not demand the previous question, it is subject to debate, and a gentleman being recognized can hold the floor for an hour.

Mr. SULZER. Will the gentleman withhold the demand for the previous question on this bill and permit it to be debated?

Mr. LACEY. I do not desire to make any bargain with my friend from New York.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. McMILLIN. I think the gentleman might at least allow a reasonable debate on any question at this time.

Mr. LACEY. "The gentleman" has nothing to do with the allowing of debate. That is a matter for the House to determine.

Mr. GAINES. The gentleman says he has nothing to do with allowing debate. If this is a meritorious bill, why do you cut off debate? It seems to me there ought to be full enough debate to ascertain the purposes and effect of the bill.

Mr. SULZER. The gentleman says that he does not want to make a bargain with me, yet he asks me to make no objection, and still wants to pass the bill without debate.

Mr. LACEY. I will say to the gentleman that this is a question involving 3,200 settlers in Oklahoma who have homes and desire to save them.

Mr. GAINES. Is it not perfectly proper that we should have an opportunity to discuss a proposition for the benefit of many people who have no homes?

Mr. LACEY. Let us dispose of these homes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. SULZER. Mr. Speaker, I do not want to object——

The SPEAKER. The Chair hears no objection. [Laughter.]

Mr. LACEY. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from New York [Mr. SULZER] feels, I understand, a profound interest in the settlers of Oklahoma, and I yield him five minutes.

A MEMBER. Give him ten.

Mr. SULZER. Mr. Speaker, in the few moments given to me by the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. LACEY] I desire to speak for Cuban liberty. On Monday last I had the honor to present to this House——

Mr. WILLIAM A. STONE. Will the gentleman allow me a question?

Mr. SULZER. I have only five minutes. The gentleman can have all the time he wants after I conclude.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York [Mr. SULZER] is entitled to the floor upon the pending bill.

Mr. SULZER. Mr. Speaker, to continue, on Monday last I had the honor to present to this House a monster petition signed by hundreds of thousands of citizens of the United States——

Mr. WILLIAM A. STONE. It is on just that point I wanted to ask the gentleman a question.

Mr. SULZER (continuing). Requesting this House to pass Senator MORGAN'S resolution granting belligerent rights to the Cuban patriots. That resolution came over to this House several weeks ago. It passed the Senate by an overwhelming vote. I am informed it has never been referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, because the Committee on Foreign Affairs has never been appointed.

We are wasting time here day in and day out while hundreds and hundreds of American citizens are languishing in Cuban jails for no offense whatever. Our trade with Cuba ruined, our flag fired upon, our citizens robbed, insulted, and assassinated, or driven like wild beasts from their homes and farms in the interior of Cuba to the Spanish fortified towns on the coast to starve, to sicken, and to die! The history of the last two years' struggle in Cuba is the saddest in all the annals of the world. It is high time this great Government should protect its citizens and their property in Cuba. It is high time we should intervene in the name of humanity, civilization, and Christianity, and put a stop to this brutal, bloody, devastating carnage.

These citizens of the United States in Cuba look to this country for their rights and protection. Apparently they look in vain. The flag of their country, which should protect them, is spit upon by the brutal Spaniards. These cruel and bloodthirsty Spaniards trample our flag in the dust, ignore treaty rights, and bid defiance to this great Republic.

It is time for us to act. If we do not, we will stand disgraced in the opinion of our own liberty-loving citizens and before the Christian powers of the world. If we do not put a stop to the

fiendish barbarities and refined cruelties of these Spanish brigands, our boasted republicanism will become a byword and our flag of freedom a reproach and a farce. How long shall we submit? How much longer shall we permit poor Cuba to be a human shamble?

I desired to-day to correct the Journal of the House in regard to the petition I presented. Parliamentary tactics precluded that. We do not know what has become of that great petition in favor of "Cuba Libre." The House Journal simply says: "To the Committee on Foreign Affairs." That can not be a fact, for the reason that the Committee on Foreign Affairs has not been appointed. It should have been appointed long ago. The joint resolution of that venerable Senator and friend of humanity, Mr. MORGAN, granting belligerent rights to the Cubans, should be speedily submitted to a vote of this House. Some one is responsible for its suppression. Somebody is responsible for its delay. Who is the man?

The Cuban cause is the cause of liberty. By the grace of God it will and must triumph.

The American people to-day are in favor of granting to the Cuban patriots belligerent rights. If that question could be submitted to the people of this country, they would decide in favor of it by an overwhelming majority. The American people would like to know why the resolution of Senator MORGAN lies on the Speaker's desk. They would like to know why no action has been taken by this House on that joint resolution of belligerency. If there is "hell on earth," as John Sherman said when he was in the Senate, it is in Cuba. Does he believe that to-day? If so, then why does he not act? We send relief to India; we sympathize with the Greeks; but we allow our citizens to be butchered, murdered, and assassinated in Cuba without a protest.

The policy of that great assassin, Weyler, the greatest thief, the greatest coward, the greatest brute, the greatest liar, the greatest murderer, the greatest enemy to humanity the world has ever known, is devastating the fairest island in the world within gunshot of our own shores, and exterminating as brave a people battling for freedom and for independence as ever fought for self-government on the face of the earth. If that resolution of belligerency could be submitted to this House, I have every reason to know that it would pass by an overwhelming vote. The American people want Cuba to be free. They will see to it sooner or later that Cuba is free. I do not know who retards the joint resolution. I do not know who is responsible for the delay in procuring action upon it; but I do know that the day of reckoning is not far distant, and the American people, who sympathize with those brave and struggling Cuban patriots, will hold some one responsible. And woe to that man!

I saw in a newspaper yesterday that the President of the United States was in sympathy with the Cuban patriots; that he wanted them to succeed and achieve their independence, as our forefathers achieved their independence. I hope that is true. I am in favor of his policy to annex the Hawaiian Islands; but before the Hawaiian Islands are annexed I hope the President will take some action to make Cuba free and independent. He could not do a more popular thing. I read from an editorial in last evening's Washington Times this statement:

On Monday last a petition from 600,000 American citizens asking recognition of Cuban belligerency was presented——

The SPEAKER. The gentleman's time has expired.

Mr. SULZER. I ask unanimous consent to occupy five minutes more.

Objection was made.

Mr. LACEY. I yield one minute to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. WILLIAM A. STONE].

Mr. SULZER. I ask unanimous consent to incorporate in my remarks this little editorial in the Washington Times of last night about the suppression of the House of Representatives——

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. WILLIAM A. STONE] is entitled to the floor.

Mr. WILLIAM A. STONE. Mr. Speaker, I believe no member of this House has more sympathy with the struggling Cubans than I have——

The SPEAKER. The Chair hopes the gentleman will confine himself to the subject under discussion, which is a bill in reference to lands in Greer County, Okla.

Mr. WILLIAM A. STONE. I shall endeavor to do so.

The SPEAKER. The Chair hopes the gentleman will.

Mr. WILLIAM A. STONE. But in endeavoring to do that, I wish to correct a statement made by the gentleman who last occupied the floor. He stated here that the petition to which he alluded contained hundreds of thousands of signatures. The clerks have, out of curiosity, counted the names, and there are just 14,560 names upon it.

Mr. SULZER. I challenge that statement.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman is not in order. The time of the gentleman from Pennsylvania has expired.

Mr. LACEY addressed the Chair.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. SULZER attempted to address the Chair.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will please be in order.

Mr. LACEY. Mr. Speaker, in making figures of speech, of course a great deal of latitude is allowed; and I trust the gentleman from Pennsylvania will not too severely criticise the gentleman from New York [Mr. SULZER] when he estimates that 15,000——

The SPEAKER. The Chair hopes the gentleman from Iowa will be in order.

Mr. LACEY. Now, Mr. Speaker, I believe that this House fully understands the nature of the bill before it. There seems to be practically nobody opposed to the bill, and therefore I move the previous question.

Mr. McMILLIN. I wish to ask the gentleman in charge of this bill whether there was a report made on this question in the last Congress?

Mr. LACEY. Oh, yes.

Mr. McMILLIN. Will the gentleman please have that report read? The House ought to know something about this question before acting upon it.

Mr. LACEY. I have stated the substance of the report——

Mr. McMILLIN. If we can not secure the appointment of committees, we should at least have matters discussed intelligently when brought here.

Mr. LACEY. I have stated the substance of the report, which was made in connection with what has been known as the Greer County legislation. There were several bills introduced on the subject. If the gentleman has followed this land legislation, as I think perhaps he has——

Mr. McMILLIN. I did.

Mr. LACEY. He will remember that the whole matter was very fully discussed in the House, and what was known as the Cockrell bill, I think, was the one which we finally passed—a bill prepared by Mr. Cockrell, of Texas, who formerly represented the district embracing these Greer County lands when they were supposed to belong to the State of Texas. A good deal of time was spent on the bill; the questions involved in it were thoroughly reported upon and discussed. There is nothing proposed now in this Senate bill embodying an amendment to the existing law, except simply to grant such an extension of time as will allow to these settlers the period provided for in the original bill.

Mr. McMILLIN. There was some confusion in the House when the bill was read and I was unable to understand the period of extension. How much additional time is granted?

Mr. LACEY. Six months.

Mr. McMILLIN. Six months was the time originally granted?

Mr. LACEY. This bill will give a little less than six months. The former bill gave until the 18th of July; but the land office will not be open until about the 1st of July, so that these settlers under existing law would have only eighteen days instead of the six months originally intended.

Mr. McMILLIN. At what period of the last session was the bill passed?

Mr. LACEY. Early in the session.

Mr. LIVINGSTON. In January.

Mr. LACEY. On the 18th of January the bill became a law. There was ample time if the appointments of the land officers had been promptly made. But, as will be remembered, President Cleveland was to retire from office on the 4th of March under somewhat disadvantageous circumstances, and it was a little difficult, I believe, for him to select out of the patriots on the other side the men to fill these offices.

Mr. McMILLIN. There ought to be no difficulty over a matter of that kind.

Mr. LACEY. In point of fact, President Cleveland did not before retiring make any selection for any of these places.

Mr. CUMMINGS. It was no fault of these people who settled upon these lands that their claims were not filed, was it?

Mr. LACEY. Oh, no; not at all.

Mr. CUMMINGS. It was the fault of the Government?

Mr. LACEY. Well, I do not know that anybody was specially to blame. At any rate, we are confronted with these facts——

Mr. CUMMINGS. The President of the United States must have been to blame, because he did not appoint the officers who could have recorded these claims.

Mr. LACEY. Well, he was very busy. He was getting ready to retire.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Why should these people suffer by his laches?

Mr. LACEY. They should not; and we are trying by this bill to give them relief. I move the previous question.

The bill was ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

On motion of Mr. LACEY, a motion to reconsider the last vote was laid on the table.

FOREIGN EXHIBITORS AT OMAHA EXPOSITION.

Mr. MERCER. I desire unanimous consent for the consideration of Senate resolution No. 50. This is a joint resolution which passed the Senate some days ago—simply a pro forma resolution with reference to the admission of Chinese and other laborers in connection with the foreign exhibits at the Omaha Exposition.

The Clerk proceeded to read the joint resolution (S. R. 50) authorizing foreign exhibitors at the Transmississippi and International Exposition, to be held in the city of Omaha, in the State of Nebraska, during the year 1898, to bring to the United States foreign laborers from their countries, respectively, for the purpose of preparing for and making exhibits.

Mr. DINGLEY (before the reading of the joint resolution was concluded). Mr. Speaker, I interrupt the reading to call the attention of the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. MERCER] to the fact that within three or four days a communication has been received from the Secretary of the Treasury (my attention was not called to this matter until a moment ago) with reference to these admissions of Chinese, saying that there have been great abuses growing out of such permissions, and that in future legislation it would be desirable to have certain amendments adopted to the law. Now, as long as the Committee on Ways and Means has jurisdiction of this question, I suggest that the resolution go to that committee, so that the question may be examined. The committee can report at any time upon the resolution. In this way we can be assured that any door for abuses will be closed.

Mr. MERCER. I would say to the gentleman from Maine [Mr. DINGLEY] that I understood that before this resolution passed the Senate it was so amended, on motion of the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR], as to cover this point.

Mr. DINGLEY. If that has been done, I have no objection.

Mr. MERCER. I think it has been done.

Mr. DINGLEY. I call attention to the fact that the Secretary of the Treasury has written a communication referring to these abuses.

Mr. BAILEY. I will suggest that there is a committee to which this resolution can properly be referred—that it would properly go to the Committee on Ways and Means; and if there is any danger of an abuse growing out of any suspension of our alien contract-labor laws, I shall insist on the resolution going to that committee.

Mr. MERCER. Mr. Speaker, rather than permit an abuse of that kind, I will accede to the request of the gentleman from Maine [Mr. DINGLEY].

Mr. DINGLEY. I think that would be better. There will be no difficulty about it. It can be reported back promptly.

The SPEAKER. The resolution will be referred to the Committee on Ways and Means.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted as follows:

To Mr. STROWD of North Carolina, for two weeks, on account of important business.

To Mr. BARROWS, indefinitely, on account of representing the United States Government on the Prison Commission.

To Mr. CRUMPACKER, for ten days, on account of important business.

To Mr. MEEKISON, for ten days, on account of important business.

Mr. DINGLEY. I move that the House do now adjourn.

The question being taken, on a division (demanded by Mr. BAILEY) there were—ayes 75, noes 65.

Accordingly (at 1 o'clock and 35 minutes p. m.), the House, under the order heretofore adopted, adjourned until Monday next at 12 o'clock noon.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS.

Under clause 2 of Rule XXIV, the following executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a copy of a communication, with memorial of certain freedmen of the Choctaw Nation, relating to their rights as members of that tribe—to the Committee on Indian Affairs, and ordered to be printed.

PUBLIC BILLS, RESOLUTIONS, AND MEMORIALS INTRODUCED.

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, bills, resolutions, and memorials of the following titles were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BELL: A bill (H. R. 3484) to amend section 2323 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, relative to tunnel rights—to the Committee on Mines and Mining.

By Mr. SHAFROTH: A bill (H. R. 3485) to grant the arid lands of the United States to the respective States in which they are situate—to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. STOKES: A joint resolution (H. Res. 65) proposing an amendment to the Constitution, authorizing a tax upon incomes—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. EVANS: A joint resolution (H. Res. 66) authorizing the President to alter, modify, amend, or revoke the classifications and rules regulating the classified civil service—to the Committee on Reform in the Civil Service.

By Mr. LEWIS of Washington: A resolution (House Res. No. 58) seeking information from the honorable Speaker of the House of Representatives as to the status of the organization of the House and the appointment of regular committees for legislative work, as provided by law—to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. JONES of Washington: A memorial of the legislature of the State Washington, urging the establishment of a national soldiers' home upon the site of Fort Sherman—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a memorial of the legislature of the State of Washington, relative to forest reservations in the State of Washington—to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, a memorial of the legislature of the State of Washington, relative to William A. Newell—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, a memorial of the legislature of the State of Washington, asking an appropriation for harbor and light-house at the mouth of the Quillayute River—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, a memorial of the legislature of the State of Washington, in relation to the survivors of the Indian war of 1855 and 1856 in the Territory of Washington—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. STEWART of Wisconsin: A memorial of the legislature of Wisconsin, for the passage of an act to strengthen the public credit—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. MCALEER: A memorial of the legislature of Pennsylvania, for the reappointment and retirement of Capt. McMurtrie Gregg—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS INTRODUCED.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions of the following titles were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BERRY: A bill (H. R. 3486) to allow the distillery of the New England Distilling Company and the rectifying house of Mullins & Crigler, both situated in Covington, Ky., to be operated within 600 feet of each other—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. CLARDY: A bill (H. R. 3487) for increase of pension of John W. Majors—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3488) for increase of pension of A. B. Van Cleve—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3489) to pension Georgia Moseley, widow of John W. Moseley—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. COUSINS: A bill (H. R. 3490) to remove the charge of desertion from the military record of Wilson Certain—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. FISCHER: A bill (H. R. 3491) to pay John Pope Hodnett for services rendered as counsel to the Government in the investigation into affairs of the District of Columbia, acting as such counsel by order of a resolution of the House of Representatives; also for acting as counsel for the workingmen of the District of Columbia for fifteen years last past—to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. SULLOWAY: A bill (H. R. 3492) to increase the pension of Susan D. Yates—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3493) granting a pension to Ellen M. Gray—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, the following petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

By Mr. BARTLETT: Petitions of the Daunenberg Company and E. B. Harris & Co., of Macon, Ga., protesting against a tariff on goatskins—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. BROSIUS: Resolutions of select and common councils of the city of Philadelphia, Pa., asking for the passage of the tariff bill—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, resolutions of the Civil Service Reform Association of Brooklyn, N. Y., protesting against the proposal to exempt laborers and workmen of all classes from classification under civil-service law—to the Committee on Reform in the Civil Service.

By Mr. COUSINS: Paper to accompany House bill to correct the military record of Wilson Certain, late of Company A, Thirty-first Regiment Iowa Volunteers—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. CRUMPACKER: Petition of J. Oppenheimer and 39 other citizens of Lafayette, Ind., favoring the appointment of a monetary commission—to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. DORR: Petition of W. K. McDowell and other citizens of Rockcave, W. Va., praying for the restriction of immigration—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. GARDNER: Petitions of citizens of Beverly, Riverside, Barnegat, Mount Holly, Glendola, and Toms River, State of New Jersey, favoring a more rigid restriction of immigration—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. HUNTER: Petition of John Redman and other citizens of the State of Illinois, for the purchase by the Government of a formula in the possession of H. C. Fahlbush for the prevention of hog cholera—to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. McALEER: Petition of the Grocers and Importers' Exchange of Philadelphia, Pa., favoring the passage of the Torrey bankruptcy bill—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, petition of B. J. Hoffacker, of San Francisco, Cal., protesting against the abrogation of the Hawaiian treaty—to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, resolution of the Civil Service Executive Committee, of Philadelphia, Pa., protesting against the repeal of the civil-service law—to the Committee on Reform in the Civil Service.

Also, petition of the Edwin H. Fitler Company, of Philadelphia, favoring the passage of the Dingley tariff bill—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, protest of manufacturers and dealers in refined sugars in Philadelphia, against an increase in the tax—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, petition of G. A. Bisler and other business firms in various cities, asking for protection on paper boxes, etc.—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, petition of importers of harness and saddlery, protesting against the passage of the Dingley bill—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, petition of French, Cave & Co., of Philadelphia, Pa., protesting against changing paragraphs 2 and 67 in the Dingley tariff bill—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, protest of C. Schmidt & Son, of Philadelphia, against increasing the revenue tax on beer—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, resolutions of the Boston Merchants' Association, protesting against the high duties in the Dingley bill—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, remonstrance of C. F. Lennig, of Philadelphia, against a tariff on plumbago—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, petition of wholesale liquor dealers of Cleveland, Ohio, recommending the reduction of the tax on whisky—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, petition of the Alameda Sugar Company, of San Francisco, Cal., protesting against favoritism to Hawaiian interests applying specially to the sugar schedule—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, resolutions adopted by the Winter Wheat Millers' League, requesting that burlap and burlap bags and bolting cloth be placed on the free list—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, petition of Kreeger & Connolly and other paper-box manufacturers of Philadelphia, asking for protection upon paper boxes—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, petition of M. Carey Thomas, president of Bryn Mawr College, requesting that existing law stand so far as relates to books, maps, charts, etc.—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, petition of L. W. Miller, secretary of the Art Club of Philadelphia, protesting against a tariff on works of art—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, petition of Monroe Bros. & Co., of Philadelphia, protesting against a tariff on hides—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, remonstrance of Arthur Spencer & Co., of Philadelphia, against increasing the tax on tea—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, petition of wholesale tea dealers in the United States, favoring a specific duty on tea—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, petition of the Grocers and Importers' Exchange of Philadelphia, protesting against the repeal of the drawback on tin plate—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, petition of the Commercial Exchange of Philadelphia, protesting against that portion of the Dingley bill failing to give a rebate on tin plate unless manufactured in bonded factories—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, resolution of the Pennsylvania Museum and School of Industrial Art, protesting against the high ad valorem duty on art—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. McEWAN: Petition of F. E. Potter, Joseph Hampton, A. S. Brownell, and others; also petition of George H. Kupfrain, Edwin Randall, Edward Keenan, and others; also petition of W. H. Harland, jr., Robert F. Place, jr., J. R. Ewing, and others, citizens of Jersey City, N. J., in favor of the restriction of immigration—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana: Petition of Wayne Knitting Mills, of Fort Wayne, Ind., favoring the passage of a bankruptcy bill—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

SENATE.

FRIDAY, *June 18, 1897.*

The Senate met at 11 o'clock a. m.

Prayer by Rev. HUGH JOHNSTON, D. D., of the city of Washington.

On motion of Mr. QUAY, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of yesterday's proceedings was dispensed with.

DEFICIENCY APPROPRIATIONS.

The VICE-PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting, for inclusion in the general deficiency appropriation bill, an estimate of deficiency to pay the amount found due by the accounting officers of the Treasury Department to the Western Union Telegraph Company for freight telegrams, etc., for the fiscal year 1896, $1,414.48; which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations, and ordered to be printed.

Mr. HALE presented a communication from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting a letter from the Commissioner of Internal Revenue in relation to the necessity for an emergency appropriation of $50,000 for salaries of collectors and deputy collectors of internal revenue and necessary expenses to complete the service of the current fiscal year; which, with the accompanying papers, was ordered to be printed as a document, and referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. TELLER presented a petition of the legislature of Colorado, praying for an increase of the duty on lead in ores; which was ordered to lie on the table, and to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[Senate joint memorial No. 11. By Senator Wheeler.]

The senators and representatives of the State of Colorado, now in session as the Eleventh general assembly, do most respectfully memorialize our Senators and Representatives in the Senate and Congress of the United States to support the action of the lead producers of this country, and endeavor to have incorporated into the present Dingley tariff bill, now before the United States Congress, the recommendations of such producers as to the duty of 1¼ cents per pound instead of 1 cent per pound, as now proposed, to be placed on lead in foreign ores shipped from points foreign to the United States, we appreciating and knowing it will greatly benefit the people of the State of Colorado and the United States at large to have a higher duty placed on lead in ores, thereby keeping out foreign lead ores, except when smelted in bond, and enhancing the value of lead to our home mines and miners. At the same time it would permit the successful operation of numerous lead properties in the State of Colorado and the United States that can not be mined profitably at the present time on account of the low price of lead.

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent to each of our United States Senators and Representatives.

JARED L. BRUSH,
President of the Senate.
EDWIN W. HURLBUT,
Speaker of the House.

Approved April 7, 1897, 4.30 p. m.

ALVA ADAMS,
Governor of the State.

Mr. TELLER presented a petition of the legislature of Colorado, praying that an appropriation be made for the erection of a United States Government building at Glenwood Springs, in that State; which was referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[Senate joint memorial No. 12. By Senator Taylor.]

To the honorable Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled:

Your memorialist, the Eleventh general assembly of the State of Colorado, hereby petitions your honorable body to pass the bill introduced by Hon. JOHN C. BELL, our Representative in Congress, providing for the erection of a United States Government building at the town of Glenwood Springs, Garfield County, Colo.

JARED L. BRUSH,
President of the Senate.
EDWIN W. HURLBUT,
Speaker of the House.

Approved April 10, 1897.

ALVA ADAMS,
Governor of the State.

Mr. TELLER presented a petition of the legislature of Colorado, praying that the mining department of the Geological Survey be strengthened, and also that provision be made for the more timely publication of the preliminary and final reports of that Department; which was referred to the Select Committee on the Geological Survey, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[Joint memorial No. 2. By Senator Campbell.]

To the honorable Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled:

Your memorialists, the general assembly of the State of Colorado, now in session, petition your honorable body to make generous provision for the

branch of the United States Geological Survey which is engaged directly in examining the metalliferous districts of the States and Territories, to the end that needed surveys may be commenced or completed and the results published at the end of each season in pamphlet form, as much of the value of the information thus received depends upon its speedy publication.

It is not expected that the specialists of the survey will take the place now occupied by the prospector or the mining engineer. They should, however, understand the work of either or both of these classes of men and should furnish an accurate basis upon which that work may be founded. Let the survey stand between them and nature, demonstrating as well as may be in the absence of development where the prospector may and where he may not prospect to advantage for this or that valuable mineral.

In the absence of a Government department of mining, your memorialists believe that Congress should strengthen the mining department of the Geological Survey and provide for the more timely publication of its preliminary and final reports.

And your memorialists will ever pray.

FRANCIS CARNEY,
President pro tempore of the Senate.
EDWIN W. HURLBUT,
Speaker of the House.
ALVA ADAMS,
Governor of the State.

Mr. TELLER presented the petition of James H. Baker, president, and other members of the faculty of the University of Colorado, praying that all books, works of art, and philosophical apparatus imported into this country for the use of colleges and universities be admitted free of duty; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a petition of Branch No. 204, National Association of Letter Carriers, of Colorado Springs, Colo., praying that an appropriation be made for the payment of the judgments rendered by the Court of Claims in favor of letter carriers; which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

He also presented a petition of the Colorado State Cattle Growers' Association, praying for the imposition of a duty on hides; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented sundry petitions of citizens of Cripple Creek, Crested Butte, Colorado Springs, and Elkton, all in the State of Colorado, praying for the enactment of legislation for a more rigid restriction of immigration; which were ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented sundry memorials of citizens of Denver, Colorado Springs, Greeley, Erie, Cripple Creek, Boulder, Lafayette, Harris, Telluride; of Sixteen to One Union, No. 63, Western Federation of Miners, of Telluride; of the Victor Trades Assembly, American Federation of Labor, of Victor; and of the International Union of Journeymen Horseshoers, of Denver, all in the State of Colorado, remonstrating against the enactment of legislation intended to destroy the present system of ticket brokerage; which were referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

He also presented a memorial of the Colorado State Medical Society, remonstrating against the passage of Senate bill No. 1063, for the further prevention of cruelty to animals in the District of Columbia; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a petition of sundry citizens of New Mexico, praying for the abrogation of the Hawaiian reciprocity treaty; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. MITCHELL presented a memorial of F. Clements & Co. and sundry other cigar manufacturers of West Superior, Wis., remonstrating against an increase of the duty on Sumatra tobacco; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a petition of the Department of Wisconsin, Grand Army of the Republic, praying for the establishment of a national military park to commemorate the siege of Vicksburg; which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also presented a petition of the Department of Wisconsin, Grand Army of the Republic, praying for the introduction of military instruction in the public schools of the country; which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. TURPIE presented memorials of E. T. Hartman and 47 other citizens; of Charles E. Stockmeyer and 51 other citizens; of H. R. Wood and 48 other citizens, and of Albert Sahm and 52 other citizens, all in the State of Indiana, remonstrating against the enactment of legislation intended to destroy the present system of ticket brokerage; which were referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

He also presented the petition of E. L. Snyder, president of the National Wholesale Liquor Dealers' Association of America, praying that the bonded period on whiskies be reduced to three years; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. McLAURIN presented a petition of the National Grange, Patrons of Husbandry, and of the National Equitable Protection Association, praying for the enactment of legislation to promote and protect the industrial interests of the country; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. PETTUS presented sundry memorials of citizens of Birmingham, Ala., remonstrating against the enactment of legislation intended to destroy the present system of ticket brokerage; which were referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

Mr. CULLOM presented a memorial of sundry citizens of Illinois, remonstrating against the imposition of a tax on tea, and also against the proposed increase of the tax on beer; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented sundry petitions of citizens of Eureka, Ottawa, Bement, Leemont, Bushnell, Springfield, and Chicago, all in the State of Illinois, praying for the early enactment of a protective-tariff law; which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. PROCTOR presented a memorial of the Bethel Shoe Company, of Bethel, Vt., remonstrating against an increase of the duty on tanned skins for morocco or a duty on raw goatskins; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. HOAR presented a petition of 45 citizens of Bondsville, Mass., and a petition of sundry citizens of Massachusetts, praying for the early enactment of a protective-tariff law; which were ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a memorial of sundry citizens of Massachusetts, remonstrating against any increase in the present rate of duty on tanned skins for morocco or a duty on raw goatskins; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a memorial of Hazen B. Goodrich & Co. and 104 other shoe manufacturers of Haverhill, Mass., remonstrating against any increase in the present rate of duty on India tanned skins for morocco; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a memorial of the Civil-Service Reform Association of Brooklyn, N. Y., remonstrating against the proposed amendment in the deficiency appropriation bill exempting laborers in the employ of the Government from the civil-service rules; which was referred to the Committee on Civil Service and Retrenchment.

Mr. PENROSE presented petitions of 146 citizens of Philadelphia, Pa., praying for the early passage of the pending tariff bill; which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. GALLINGER presented sundry petitions of citizens of Bank Village, N. H., praying for the early enactment of a protective-tariff law; which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. WELLINGTON presented a petition of sundry citizens of Maryland, praying for the enactment of protective-tariff legislation at the earliest possible date such as will adequately secure American industrial products against the competition of foreign labor; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented sundry petitions of citizens of Prince George County, Ellerslie, Hereford, Savage, Ocean Mines, Myersville, Catonsville, Bloomington, and Baltimore, all in the State of Maryland, praying for the enactment of legislation for a more rigid restriction of immigration; which were ordered to lie on the table.

PUBLIC BUILDING AT CLEVELAND, OHIO.

Mr. HANNA. I ask that the bill (S. 1056) to provide for a public building at Cleveland, Ohio, be taken up for immediate action.

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill. It directs the Secretary of the Treasury to purchase, acquire by condemnation, or otherwise, the block of land located in the city of Cleveland which is bounded by Rockwell street on the north, by Wood street on the east, by Superior street on the south, and on the west by the land now owned by the United States, upon which the post-office building is located, to be used in connection with the land already occupied by the post-office or Government building, as a site for a new public building, for the use and accommodation of the United States post-office, custom-house, internal-revenue office, United States circuit and district courts, signal service, pension office, and other Government offices, in the city of Cleveland, Ohio, the cost of the site and building, including fireproof vaults, heating and ventilating apparatus, elevators, and approaches, complete, not to exceed $2,500,000.

Mr. PETTUS. Are there two sections to the bill? Is there a purchasing section?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. There is only one section, divided into several paragraphs.

Mr. PETTUS. I propose as an amendment to insert the following proviso:

Provided, That the Secretary of the Treasury can purchase said property at a reasonable price.

I do not remember ever to have seen a bill of this sort specifying the property——

Mr. HANNA. I accept the amendment.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Alabama, to insert after the words "to purchase, acquire by condemnation," etc., a proviso, which will be read.

Mr. PETTUS. It is accepted by the Senator from Ohio.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment is accepted; and, without objection, it is agreed to.

The bill was reported to the Senate as amended, and the amendment was concurred in.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

PUBLIC BUILDING AT M'KEESPORT, PA.

Mr. QUAY. I make the same request of the Senate as to the bill (S. 1272) to provide for the erection of a public building at McKeesport, Pa. It seems that the gentlemen in charge of the tariff bill are not yet ready to proceed with it.

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill. It directs the Secretary of the Treasury to acquire, by purchase, condemnation, or otherwise, a site, and cause to be erected thereon a suitable building, including fireproof vaults, heating and ventilating apparatus, elevators, and approaches, for the use and accommodation of the United States post-office and other Government offices at McKeesport, State of Pennsylvania, the cost of the site and building, including vaults, heating and ventilating apparatus, elevators, and approaches, complete, not to exceed $200,000.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. I simply wish to ask whether the regular order of morning business has been concluded?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. It has not.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Mr. HANNA introduced the following bills; which were severally read twice by their titles, and referred to the Committee on Pensions:

A bill (S. 2160) to increase the pension of John Walker;

A bill (S. 2161) to increase the pension of George F. Davenport (with an accompanying paper); and

A bill (S. 2162) to increase the pension of George B. Ague (with an accompanying paper).

Mr. HANNA introduced the following bills; which were severally read twice by their titles, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs:

A bill (S. 2163) for the relief of Nicholas Welter (with an accompanying paper);

A bill (S. 2164) for the relief of Isaac Holdbrook (with an accompanying paper);

A bill (S. 2165) for the relief of Andrew Robinson (with an accompanying paper);

A bill (S. 2166) for the relief of Henry Fishering (with an accompanying paper); and

A bill (S. 2167) for the relief of Levi G. Fessenden (with an accompanying paper).

Mr. HANNA introduced the following bills; which were severally read twice by their titles, and referred to the Committee on Claims:

A bill (S. 2168) granting payment to John Shearer for the burial and funeral expenses in the interment of John G. Kyle, lieutenant, First Regiment United States Cavalry; and

A bill (S. 2169) to refer to the Court of Claims the claim of John S. Armstrong for compensation for loss of wheat in 1862 (with an accompanying paper).

Mr. TELLER introduced the following bills; which were severally read twice by their titles, and referred to the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads:

A bill (S. 2170) for the relief of Harry A. E. Pickard; and

A bill (S. 2171) for the relief of M. D. Crow.

Mr. TELLER introduced the following bills; which were severally read twice by their titles, and referred to the Committee on Finance:

A bill (S. 2172) to provide for the coin redemption of national-bank notes; and

A bill (S. 2173) to provide for the reserves of national banks.

Mr. TELLER introduced the following bills; which were severally read twice by their titles, and referred to the Committee on Claims:

A bill (S. 2174) for the relief of the legal representatives of Alexander C. Crawford;

A bill (S. 2175) for the relief of David A. McKnight;

A bill (S. 2176) for the relief of Irving W. Stanton;

A bill (S. 2177) for the relief of Mrs. Julia A. Humphries;

A bill (S. 2178) for the relief of Thomas Williams, an employee of the Senate folding room, for injuries received while in the discharge of his duties in the year 1892;

A bill (S. 2179) for the relief of Mrs. Ellen Sexton; and

A bill (S. 2180) for the relief of the legal representatives of Mrs. A. Shirley.

Mr. TELLER introduced the following bills; which were severally read twice by their titles, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs:

A bill (S. 2181) to remove the charge of desertion against Charles L. Thompson, late lieutenant, Seventh Kansas Cavalry;

A bill (S. 2182) to correct the military record of Charles A. Wahl;

A bill (S. 2183) for the relief of Capt. George W. Brown;

A bill (S. 2184) to reimburse the State of Colorado for moneys expended in the suppression of Ute Indian depredations during the year 1887;

A bill (S. 2185) removing the charge of desertion from the name of Frank A. Land, of Nathrop, Colo.;

A bill (S. 2186) for the relief of Wilbur F. McCue;

A bill (S. 2187) removing the charge of desertion in the case of John Holderby;

A bill (S. 2188) granting an honorable discharge to James Brown;

A bill (S. 2189) granting an honorable discharge to George S. Raymond;

A bill (S. 2190) for the relief of the estate of Emmet Crawford, deceased, late captain of the Third Regiment United States Cavalry;

A bill (S. 2191) to establish a council of ordnance;

A bill (S. 2192) granting an honorable discharge to John Kinchlow; and

A bill (S. 2193) for the relief of the First Colorado Mounted Militia.

Mr. TELLER introduced the following bills; which were severally read twice by their titles, and referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs:

A bill (S. 2194) to abolish the office of Commissioner of Indian Affairs and the office of Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and to create in lieu thereof a board of Indian commissioners;

A bill (S. 2195) for the relief of John A. Sibbald;

A bill (S. 2196) to provide for the allotment of lands to Inidans without changing their tribal relations, and to authorize the leasing of Indian lands in certain cases;

A bill (S. 2197) to pay the administrator of the estate of Bluford West, deceased, for the Bluford West Saline, in Cherokee Nation;

A bill (S. 2198) for the relief of Sarah R. Dresser;

A bill (S. 2199) for the relief of William S. Peabody; and

A bill (S. 2200) for the relief of David A. McKnight.

Mr. QUAY introduced a bill (S. 2201) to appropriate the sum of $75,000 to purchase a site and erect a public building at Shamokin, Pa.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Mr. PENROSE introduced a bill (S. 2202) making an appropriation toward the construction of a dry dock at the navy-yard, League Island, Pa.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

ANNEXATION OF THE REPUBLIC OF HAWAII.

Mr. DAVIS. I move that 5,000 additional copies of the message from the President of the United States, transmitting a treaty for the annexation of the Republic of Hawaii to the United States, signed at Washington by the plenipotentiaries of the parties June 16, 1897, be printed, with the accompanying papers.

The motion was agreed to.

THE TARIFF BILL.

Mr. ALLISON. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of House bill 379.

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 379) to provide revenue for the Government and to encourage the industries of the United States.

The Secretary resumed the reading of the bill at line 1, page 104, and read as follows:

SCHEDULE J.—FLAX, HEMP, AND JUTE, AND MANUFACTURES OF.

320. Flax straw, $5 per ton.

Mr. VEST. I move to strike out paragraph 320, in order to place flax straw upon the free list, where it is now. It is free under the existing law. On this amendment I intend to call for the yeas and nays. I ask the Secretary to read a communication which I think is absolutely correct. Although it is signed "Citizen," and I have cut it out of a New York paper, it states in succinct form what is the result of this flax schedule in the proposed law.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read as follows:

THE FLAX SCHEDULE.

To the Editor of the Evening Post:

SIR: Mr. T. H. Sharretts, president of the Board of General Appraisers at New York, in speaking of the Senate tariff bill in last night's Evening Post, was very wide of the mark when he said: "The cotton schedule shows very little change from the Wilson law, and the same may be said of the metal, flax, and sundries schedules." The present tariff (Wilson) on all manufactures of flax is 35 per cent ad valorem, and even under the McKinley law no higher tariff was ever collected, excepting on a few of the lower qualities—goods counting less than 100 threads to the square inch—on which the rate was 50 per cent. The tariff proposed by the Senate Finance Committee on manufactures of flax counting not more than 180 and not less than 121 threads to the square inch—the class of goods used by the great masses of the people—ranges from 55 to 90 per cent ad valorem, goods counting 121 threads paying as high as 90 per cent, while goods counting 180 threads pay 55 per cent.

It is the same old story, told time and time again by the Republican party. All they want of the poor and those in moderate circumstances is their votes to put them in office where they can squander the enormous taxes

levied on those classes, and which they think ought to be paid without a murmur.

The present tariff (35 per cent) is, in all conscience, high enough, but we might struggle on for a time under a 50 per cent rate, though I believe it would not bring in as much revenue as the present tariff. The flax schedule as passed by the House of Representatives, crude and impracticable as it is, would be infinitely preferable to that presented to the Senate by the Finance Committee, which is simply outrageous, and clearly shows that the framers (at least as far as the flax schedule is concerned) know little or nothing about tariff making.

CITIZEN.

NEW YORK, *May 7.*

Mr. VEST. I did not observe the latter remark in the communication, and I do not indorse it; but the statement in regard to the duties I do indorse, and I can prove it mathematically. If this bill is framed for revenue, I call attention to the official report as to the article of flax straw. Under the McKinley Act, with the duty then imposed of 60 per cent—$5 a ton—there was collected, in 1893, $765 on an importation of 153.10 tons. In 1896 there was an importation of 33 tons, although we put this article upon the free list, showing that by removing the duty the importation fell off 120 tons.

Mr. President, this whole flax schedule seems to be based upon the idea recently advanced that we can raise flax and prepare it for manufacture in this country. I deny it. I deny it upon the testimony of men engaged in the manufacture of linen and all the goods of which flax is the raw material. It has been unquestioned heretofore that we could not produce the textile for linen goods in the United States because we did not have the climate nor did we have the fiber with which to do it. It is a peculiar process, and Ireland is the only country, with the exception of a small portion of the Continent of Europe, where the cultivation of flax for linen and the manufacture of linen has been successful.

The idea is now advanced, as I see from the testimony before the Ways and Means Committee, that Minnesota can produce this flax; that the discovery has been made recently, in the last two or three years, that the climate of Minnesota suits it, which is entirely different from that of Holland or Ireland. It requires, I understand, a damp climate. They have in Ireland a peculiar process of retting this flax. It is taken after being cut and put in large ponds or tanks, and it has to be turned over and rearranged twice a day for weeks until the retting process is complete. It is then subjected to another process, until finally the fiber is suited for manufacture. We obtain the celebrated Irish linen and the Dutch linen from Holland by means of these processes and under climatic conditions that do not exist in this country.

All the manufacturers state emphatically and distinctly that they have tested the Minnesota flax and that it is not suitable for their purposes. And yet this flax schedule is constructed from the beginning upon the assumption that there is an interest in this country to be protected by these enormous duties. We have flax straw taken from the free list and taxed $5 a ton. We have flax not hackled or dressed, which is upon the free list now, which was at 1 cent in the McKinley Act, put at three-fourths of a cent per pound in this bill. They have taken flax hackled, known as dressed line, which was $67.20 per ton under the McKinley Act, and 1¼ cents per pound under the law of 1894, and put it at 2½ cents per pound, or about $50 a ton.

The only result of these enormous taxes is to increase the value of linens to the purchaser in the United States. I assert here that unless these manufacturers, some of whom stand as high as any other merchants in New York, are practiced and conscious prevaricators, not to use the word liars, the Minnesota flax can not be used in competition with flax or the products of flax that come to us from abroad.

I call for the yeas and nays upon this amendment as a test proposition.

Mr. WHITE. It seems to me that the paragraph presents rather an unimportant issue except by way of illustration. The Senator from Missouri stated the extent of the importation. I notice in looking over the statistics that, taking the last ten years, we can not find in any one year more than $800 worth of importations. If it be true that in some part of the country this article can be produced, certainly there is nothing in the history of our importations to indicate that there will be any injurious competition from abroad, because it appears that the article does not come in at all in any quantity, and unless the paragraph is inserted for the purpose of exercise, or by way of training, I can not imagine any object in view.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Upon agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Missouri to strike out paragraph 320, "Flax straw, $5 per ton," the Senator from Missouri calls for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CLAY (when his name was called). I announce my pair with the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE]. Were he present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. HANNA (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Utah [Mr. RAWLINS].

Mr. MORRILL (when his name was called). I am paired with the senior Senator from Tennessee [Mr. HARRIS], and therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. PASCO (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Washington [Mr. WILSON]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. PROCTOR (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Florida [Mr. MALLORY].

Mr. TURNER (when his name was called). I announce a general pair with the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. WARREN], and withhold my vote.

Mr. WALTHALL (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. SPOONER]. Otherwise I should vote "yea."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. GEAR. I am paired with the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH]. I transfer that pair to the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE], and vote "nay."

Mr. CLAY. I transfer my pair with the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] to the senior Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH], and vote "yea."

Mr. THURSTON. Has the senior Senator from South Carolina [Mr. TILLMAN] voted?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. He has not.

Mr. THURSTON. I have a general pair with that Senator. If he were present, I should vote "nay."

Mr. HARRIS of Kansas. I am paired with the junior Senator from Wyoming [Mr. CLARK]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

The result was announced—yeas 18, nays 28; as follows:

YEAS—18.

Bacon,	Cockrell,	Mills,	Turpie,
Bate,	Gray,	Mitchell,	Vest,
Berry,	Jones, Ark.	Morgan,	White.
Butler,	Kenney,	Murphy,	
Clay,	McLaurin,	Pettus,	

NAYS—28.

Allison,	Deboe,	Hoar,	Platt, N. Y.
Baker,	Fairbanks,	McEnery,	Pritchard,
Burrows,	Frye,	Nelson,	Quay,
Carter,	Gallinger,	Penrose,	Sewell,
Chandler,	Gear,	Perkins,	Shoup,
Cullom,	Hale,	Pettigrew,	Wellington,
Davis,	Hawley,	Platt, Conn.	Wetmore.

NOT VOTING—43.

Aldrich,	Gorman,	McMillan,	Spooner,
Allen,	Hanna,	Mallory,	Stewart,
Caffery,	Hansbrough,	Mantle,	Teller,
Cannon,	Harris, Kans.	Martin,	Thurston,
Chilton,	Harris, Tenn.	Mason,	Tillman,
Clark,	Heitfeld,	Morrill,	Turner,
Daniel,	Jones, Nev.	Pasco,	Walthall,
Elkins,	Kyle,	Proctor,	Warren,
Faulkner,	Lindsay,	Rawlins,	Wilson,
Foraker,	Lodge,	Roach,	Wolcott.
George,	McBride,	Smith,	

So the amendment was rejected.

Mr. TURPIE. Mr. President, I give notice on behalf of the minority of the Committee on Finance, that I shall move that the amendment offered the other day in relation to an inheritance rate will be offered as a substitute amendment for section 4, on page 196, containing the provision for an increase of the tax on beer. The pending bill, constructed wholly upon duties and excises, rests altogether upon consumption. The opportunity will be given and a tentative effort will be made to take some part of the revenue burden from consumption and transfer it to accumulation. It will lighten the task of those who are already subject to the exactions of duties and excises, and it will make a rate easily payable against those who are more highly favored by wealth and property.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 321, page 104, line 4, after the word "dressed," to insert "three-fourths of;" so as to make the paragraph read:

321. Flax, not hackled or dressed, three-fourths of 1 cent per pound.

Mr. ALLISON. I hope the amendment will be disagreed to. On further consideration, the committee recommend the House rate.

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. WHITE. I move to strike out paragraph 321, and give notice that when the free list is reached I shall move to put the article therein described on the free list.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from California moves to strike out paragraph 321.

The amendment was rejected.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 322, page 104, line 6, after the words "dressed line," to strike out "three" and insert "two and one-half;" so as to make the paragraph read:

322. Flax, hackled, known as "dressed line," 2½ cents per pound.

Mr. ALLISON. I am instructed to ask the Senate to disagree to the amendment.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The Senator from Iowa, it seems to me, can save time by just giving notice that all the committee amendments are abandoned. It appears that we are to have no opportunity to vote on the amendment of the committee for the reduction of a single proposition that came from the House of Representatives. "Two and one-half" was proposed by the Senate committee. I will agree with the majority that we shall give up that "two and one-half," but I propose to put the rate at 1½ cents instead of 3. I ask for the yeas and nays upon my amendment.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. VEST. Before the vote is taken, I propose to put upon record the testimony of a person of credibility in this matter in regard to the production of flax in Minnesota, for the protection of which all these increases are made. I do not quote now from any importer, but from Mr. S. S. Kepler, manager of the Eau Claire Linen Company, of Wisconsin. It may be an importing company, but I also understand it manufactures coarse towels, crash, etc. I will ask the Secretary to read.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read as indicated.

The Secretary read as follows:

OUR LINEN INDUSTRY—LINEN MANUFACTURERS FEAR EFFECTS OF TARIFF ON TOW.

Mr. S. S. Kepler, manager of the Eau Claire Linen Company, interviewed on tariff issues last evening, said:

"As a strong effort is being made to induce the Senate to raise the duty on tow of flax from one-half cent per pound, as fixed by the Finance Committee, to the House rate of 1 cent, we feel obliged to protest against such change, as it would seriously imperil this industry, as we do not consider the duty proposed on manufactured goods compensatory. We prefer the present tariff, providing the ad valorem duty on imported goods is changed to specific and tow left on the free list. A duty of 1 cent per pound on tow would increase its cost to us about 15 per cent.

"That this or even a much higher duty will encourage the raising of flax in the Northwest we do not believe. For twenty-five years or more the farmers of Minnesota and Dakota have been growing flax for the seed, and they have found it one of the most profitable crops. They will continue to do this for years to come regardless of the tariff on tow, for the reason that in all these years they have produced no tow that manufacturers of linen cloth could use. We have been making common crash toweling for ten years, and during this time we have seen no samples of domestic tow that we could use.

"If a single ton of merchantable tow, suitable for making linen cloth of any kind, has been produced in Minnesota or Dakota, it remains to be shown. Any claims to that effect need stronger evidence than has been produced.

"If this is true, and we believe it is, with what justice can it be asked that an oppressive duty should be laid on an article not now produced in the Northwest?

"As manufacturers can not use the domestic product, they will have to continue to import the foreign or shut down their mills, unless Congress imposes higher duties on linen fabrics than is now proposed. To do that would increase the cost of crash toweling to a price that would be felt by the consumer. This grade of toweling is used largely by the common people, who can not afford the fine, high-priced goods imported from Europe and sold largely to the rich. The common crashes made by the Eau Claire Linen Company, the Stevens Mills in Massachusetts, and one or two other concerns in this country are in daily use in every farmhouse, workingman's home, settler's cabin, mining and lumbering camp in the land. To largely increase its cost by a high duty on the raw material of which it is made would not seem to be legislating for the interests of the people.

"It is claimed by some that the culture of flax needs no encouragement in the way of duty on imports. The product of Minnesota and Dakota tow mills appears to be sold almost exclusively for upholstering purposes at about 1 cent per pound. If they could or would make tow that could be spun and woven into coarse linen goods, their tow would sell for 6 to 7 cents per pound. If this difference of 5 to 6 cents per pound is not sufficient inducement to make a good article of tow, how would a duty of 1 cent per pound help them? We have no reason to suppose that it would in the least increase the production of good tow. We fear that the only effect of taking flax tow from the free list and placing a duty upon it would be to cripple the linen mills in this country already established and prevent the building of new ones. How such a result would encourage flax culture is not clear."

Mr. VEST. Mr. President——

Mr. DAVIS. Will the Senator allow me?

Mr. VEST. If the Senator will wait a minute, I will yield the floor to him, and he can then answer all I have to say upon the subject.

Mr. President, that is a statement from Wisconsin—the Eau Claire Linen Factory. Some six weeks ago my attention was called to a publication in the Economist, which paper the publishers are kind enough to send me occasionally, to the effect that there had been a large shipment—I think I use the exact words—of Minnesota flax to Europe, to Belfast, I believe, and that there was to be a revolution in the linen trade of the United States by reason of this discovery of Minnesota flax.

I send to the desk a communication in regard to this very interesting fact from Richard H. Ewart, of the firm of William Ewart & Son, Limited, of New York, dated May 11, 1897, and ask the Secretary to read it.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read as requested, in the absence of objection.

The Secretary read as follows:

WILLIAM EWART & SON, LIMITED,
New York, May 11, 1897.

To the Editor of the Dry Goods Economist.

DEAR SIR: We read in your valued paper of the 1st instant that a large shipment of Minnesota flax was sent to Belfast last month, which naturally gave the impression that it was used there for the manufacture of linen, and was therefore suitable for that purpose. As we are large users of flax, and obtain it from all the best markets, and have never been able to avail ourselves of American-grown flax, we inquired of our people in Belfast regarding this shipment, and asked them to report to us. We are informed that the amount received was only 1 ton, and the quality "very inferior." We would also like to mention, in confirmation of this, that since the 1st of May a representative of the Minnesota Flax Company has called upon us here with a view to business, and he admitted that only 2 tons of flax had so far been shipped to Belfast—1 ton to Messrs. Barbour and 1 ton to Messrs. John Preston & Co., flax dealers in Belfast.

These facts do not lead us to expect much relief from the Minnesota flax-growing district, and we are inclined to believe that as yet there is practically no flax grown in that district suitable for the manufacture of linen goods, as was the case when in August last, in answer to a bona fide inquiry, the Minnesota Flax Company stated that there was not any flax grown in that neighborhood which could be used in manufacturing linen.

As the question of flax raising and the manufacturing of linen has been very much before the public lately, these facts may be of interest to your readers.

Yours, faithfully, RICHARD H. EWART, *Director.*

Mr. VEST. Mr. President, I have no acquaintance with the members of that firm; but upon inquiring of a New York merchant who happened to be in my committee room yesterday, I was informed that their character is as high as that of any merchant in the city of New York or anywhere else, and I should insist on reading something further on that question were it not for the fact that I might be accused of taking up unnecessarily the time of the Senate, when we are told that now prosperity is at the door ready to rush frantically in as soon as this bill is passed, as it was officially and ecclesiastically announced [laughter] by our Chaplain, a very worthy and excellent expounder of Holy Scriptures, an emissary from Providence, who thanked God that the signs of returning prosperity were already before us. Great was his faith. It could remove mountains. To find any signs of prosperity would require some miraculous interposition, for the ordinary American citizen, who is not accredited directly from the Almighty, has seen nothing of the kind.

Now, Mr. President, I simply want to put in evidence a communication which I have received from a merchant in the city of New York, giving the effect of the table which he incloses. He says:

The following table shows how paragraph 327, Schedule J, changes the percentage of duty payable on the three recognized qualities of linen thread.

I shall put this in the RECORD in evidence of my statement that there is an enormous increase in this schedule upon flax and upon linen thread. As a matter of course, as we were told yesterday by the Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON], whenever you put a duty on the raw material you are bound to put it on the finished product. The writer of the communication goes on to show that on the first quality, "F," the Senate Finance Committee's rate is 67½ per cent, instead of 35 per cent, as now; on quality "A" the Senate Finance Committee's rate is 54 per cent, instead of 35 per cent; and on the best quality it is 45 per cent, instead of 35 per cent, as now. So there is an increase, upon an average, of more than 20 per cent upon this single article manufactured out of flax.

I ask that the whole communication may be printed in the RECORD as a part of my remarks.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. That order will made, in the absence of objection.

The communication referred to is as follows:

NEW YORK, *May 24, 1897.*

DEAR SIR: We beg to show below how the proposed duty would affect linen thread, and to ask your aid in its modification.

We understand that domestic makers of linen thread have recently informed their trade that if Senate Finance Committee's bill is put in effect they will make little or no change in their present prices, which shows that the present rate of 35 per cent ad valorem is sufficient for protection, while, so far as revenue is concerned (which, we understood, was the chief goal), it would be much less under the proposed prohibitive rate than under a moderate tax; besides it is well known in the trade that many of our citizens engaged in various manufactures in which linen thread is used as a raw material prefer imported, because of its strength and finish, which probably, owing to climatic causes, the domestic-made thread has not attained.

We make this statement as large contributors for many years to the Government revenue on this single item alone, and believe an article which enters so largely as a raw material is entitled to equal consideration with Troy shirt makers' linen, which gets a special rate of 35 per cent ad valorem.

The following table shows how paragraph 327, Schedule J, changes the percentage of duty payable on the three recognized qualities of linen thread:

Quality.	Proposed rate.*	Present rate.
	Per cent.	*Per cent.*
F	67½	35
A	54	35
Best	45	35

*Senate Finance Committee's rate.

The bulk of importations being "F" and "A" qualities, the increase is consequently the more severe and, we believe, unjust and unnecessary, and we respectfully ask for its modification.

Yours, very truly,

JOHN R. HALL & CO.

The Hon. GEORGE G. VEST,
United States Senator, Washington, D. C.

Mr. DAVIS. Mr. President, in view of the importance of this question of a duty on flax, and the very large and increasing production of that article established in the Northwest, I can not permit the statements made in the correspondence to which we have listened to pass unchallenged.

The duty proposed to be imposed is upon the direct line and for the purpose, and we believe will be efficacious, to protect a most important agricultural staple raised over a vast area fit for its production, as the corresponding area in another part of the country is for the raising of the already established staple of hemp.

It is not my purpose to take up any time in debate here or to obstruct the speedy progress of this bill to its final passage, for which the country is so anxiously desirous; but I wish to say that in Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and the two Dakotas flax is produced in great abundance as a regular crop. It has been mostly produced for the seed up to a recent time by letting it grow for the maturing of the seed. Until recently it has not been cultivated for the fiber, but of late in Michigan and Minnesota especially attention has been turned to the production of the flax for its fiber.

The Messrs. Livingston, of Yale, Mich., have established six mills in that State. They produced a thousand tons of it last year, which was used in this country. In Minnesota there are two mills that produced 250 tons last year. It is produced by a most intelligent process. The flax manufacture is conducted—everything except the planting and cultivating—the intermediate processes are done largely by machinery and by most intelligent operations.

Mr. President, in regard to the statement that Minnesota can not produce and does not produce flax fiber fit for weaving and making linen, I hold in my hand a specimen of Minnesota flax [exhibiting], prepared entirely at Northfield, in that State. Three thousand pounds of this were sent, by way of experiment and demonstration to Belfast, Ireland, early this year in this shape. I have seen a letter from a Belfast gentleman, who undertook to weave it and did weave it, stating that for length of fiber and tensile strength it exceeded their own. There is some difference owing to their superior inherited skill in the manipulation, and perhaps in the color, something easily to be overcome.

Here is a towel made at Belfast from that same flax [exhibiting], apparently of good substance, and the inexpert eye would not probably be able to discern the source from which the flax came out of which this towel was made.

I hold in my hand the samples woven in Belfast from this same consignment of flax which I have mentioned, of various degrees of fineness of linen down to the coarse articles, such as are sometimes made into garments. The samples are many, and they can be seen by Senators, from the exceedingly coarse article up through all the degrees to the finer article of as white linen as one ever saw.

So, Mr. President, the gentlemen who write so confidently in regard to the incapacity or inability of Minnesota or the Northwest to produce this article are simply mistaken. The demonstration has taken place, and profert is here made of its results.

In the Northwest, in North Dakota, in South Dakota, and in Minnesota, raising flax, as they do, over a vast area, for the production of linseed oil, you can see every year thousands of tons of this straw burned in the stacks. Riding through that country you will see the stacks of flax straw being burned as you will see stacks of wheat straw being burned, to get them out of the way. It is designed by this industry, so hopefully established in Michigan and Minnesota and the Dakotas, to bring forward Minnesota and the Northwestern flax as a textile fabric to be woven in this country and furnished to the mills of this country to build up an industry.

Surely, Mr. President, agriculture should have some protection here; its claims should be treated with great generosity. No interest throughout the country is more depressed. From no vocation in life do cries of distress and demands for relief come up more unceasingly. Here we bring to you from the Northwest a production or an adaption of a production to weaving and making all linen fabrics of the most promising character, and, indeed, a demonstrated success, and we claim with entire confidence that with the duty proposed by the committee—which we do not think is large enough, but which we accept—it can be established.

Mr. VEST. May I ask the Senator a question?

Mr. DAVIS. Certainly.

Mr. VEST. How many of these linen factories are there now in Minnesota and the Dakotas?

Mr. DAVIS. There are two in Minnesota; there are six in Michigan; as to South Dakota I am not prepared to say, and there is one, I think, in Iowa.

Mr. VEST. Are they using the Minnesota flax?

Mr. DAVIS. Indeed they are.

Mr. VEST. To make linen?

Mr. DAVIS. I do not say that linen cloth is woven in the United States. It is made in Belfast.

Mr. VEST. Oh, yes.

Mr. DAVIS. It is said that it is impossible to make linen out of Minnesota flax, because heretofore it has been made for the seed and not for the fiber.

Mr. VEST. You do not call that the finer grade of linen, do you?

Mr. DAVIS. Come and look at it.

Mr. GRAY. May I ask the Senator from Minnesota how long these mills have been in operation?

Mr. DAVIS. In Minnesota about three years.

Mr. GRAY. How long in Michigan?

Mr. DAVIS. I do not know.

Mr. GRAY. May I ask the Senator from Michigan how long the mills which produce linen have been in operation in that State?

Mr. BURROWS. I am unable to state, but I think from six to eight years. I can have the data here in a few minutes.

Mr. GRAY. There is no one in this Chamber to whom this information in regard to what seems to be a successful conversion of Minnesota flax into linen is more grateful than it is to me. I hail with sincere pleasure the statement made by my distinguished friend from Minnesota [Mr. DAVIS] in regard to the success he seems to think it is of the experiment of sending flax to Belfast and there having it turned into the apparently fine linen fabrics which he has displayed.

But, Mr. President, the pleasure that this gives me does not result in the same motive for action that seems to possess the minds of gentlemen on the other side of the Chamber. While it gives me pleasure to see an industry able to stand without becoming a mendicant upon the public, it does not give me pleasure to hear it heralded as the foundation, as the justification for laying a new tax imposition upon the shoulders of the American people. If that is to be the result of the discovery of this process by which Minnesota flax can be converted into these beautiful fabrics, then it is a misfortune, not a boon, that comes to this country; it is a calamity, not a source of gratulation.

Mr. President, these mills have been established for three, four, five, and six years, and they have been operating under a system of taxation under which flax comes into this country free; and now, forsooth, having struggled to their feet upon these more equal conditions, it is contended here that it is just and right to tax the whole American people in regard to this very important fabric, so necessary to the health and comfort of the people, second only in importance to the fabrics of wool that are necessary to the health and clothing of the people.

I protest that it is not just, that it is not fair, that it is most unwise to attempt to levy an imposition like this upon an article so absolutely necessary to the well-being of the great masses of the people.

Why should we have, as I have said before, interposed between the people and the obtaining of the best fabrics of that kind that can be obtained in the world this high tariff rate? Why should it be made more difficult for the people—for the poor people, if you please—of this country to get for themselves the best that the world's market affords, in order that these industries, which seem to have struggled to their feet without a subsidy from the Government, should have a bounty that is to be taken out of the pockets of the masses of the people and from the labor of the country?

All that has been said in regard to this industry was most pleasant to hear, because it has obtained its present position under free and normal conditions; and there is no reason, according to the statements of the honorable Senators themselves, for the imposition, even on their theory, of a protective tax in order to encourage this industry.

Mr. MORRILL. Mr. President, the Senator from Delaware [Mr. GRAY] takes precisely the same position on this question that Mr. Gladstone or any other free trader in Great Britain would take. They desire to have our farmers retain the business of producing the raw material, but the moment that is produced, they want to have us send it to Belfast or to some other place in Great Britain or Ireland and have it manufactured.

I think, Mr. President, that this industry is a very great one; its power of development is certainly large; and, so far as I am concerned, I am quite ready and willing to promote its use here as something more than a raw material. I want the raw material to be manufactured here.

Mr. GRAY. Mr. President, I did not have—because I was not at my desk when I was last upon my feet—what I now have in my hands to show what this tax amounts to and what are the dimensions of this burden which is to be imposed upon the taxpayers of this country. Here is an article called table damask, of

the cheaper kind [exhibiting], which goes into universal consumption and is bought by people of all situations in life—bought by the very poor—and which is necessary to the comfort and the decency of life—table damask. The tax upon it was high enough under the McKinley law; it is 35 per cent ad valorem under the Wilson tariff, and under the proposed tariff there will be what is called an ad valorem tax of 109½ per cent, more than doubling the cost of this article to those who have to consume it.

Now, in the name of those who want to maintain a decent mode of living, to maintain decent and comfortable homes, to get those things that are absolutely necessary to make homes decent and comfortable, I protest against this burden being placed upon the bowed back of American labor, the tax being more than three times as much, as the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. JONES] suggests, than the McKinley tax; yet we have been told the McKinley tax was to be in a certain way a standard for the adjustment of the tariff in this bill.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. May I be permitted to ask the Senator what he said was the equivalent ad valorem percentage on the article of table damask?

Mr. GRAY. One hundred and nine and one-third per cent.

Mr. BACON. I should like to ask Senators familiar with the question what will be the amount of ad valorem duty at the rate proposed by the committee?

Mr. ALLISON. On these articles that we are now dealing with?

Mr. BACON. On this particular one under consideration, paragraph 322, as I understand.

Mr. ALLISON. On the particular items embraced in paragraphs 321, 322, and 323 the ad valorem will range from 7 to 11 per cent.

Mr. GRAY. On all three?

Mr. ALLISON. On all of the first paragraphs of the schedule now under consideration.

Mr. GRAY. That is the raw flax. I was speaking of the manufactured article.

Mr. ALLISON. Any Senator who will look at the tables will see that the duty is very low on the articles embraced in these paragraphs when reduced to an ad valorem.

Mr. GRAY. That is where the compensation comes in on the manufactured article.

Mr. PETTIGREW. Mr. President, I do not care to speak to this schedule for the purpose of sustaining the rate placed upon these articles by the committee, because they are too low. The rate ought to be on flax, not hackled or dressed, 2 cents per pound. That would be about 28 per cent ad valorem. On flax, hackled, known as "dressed line," it should be 4 cents a pound, which, upon that, would be about 28 per cent ad valorem; and on retted tow the rate should be 2 cents a pound, if we propose to encourage and build up this industry in this country.

We can produce in the United States all the raw material, if you choose to call this raw material, necessary to furnish the linen goods for the people of the United States. We do produce to-day the flax fiber in quantity sufficient to supply the American market with all its spinning material for making linen goods, but we burn it up, because our people have not been trained in the way to cultivate and save this fiber. Within the last few years we have begun to learn to handle the flax straw that is grown for the seed, so that we can produce the fiber as well as the seed. To continue to enlarge that industry, we simply ask that a duty shall be placed upon these articles which shall make up for the difference between the cost of labor in this country and abroad, and between the cost always attending the establishment of new processes.

In the old country flax is raised upon a little patch of ground, owned or rented by the tiller thereof and his family, who pull the flax. It is taken into the house after it has been retted in the streams or by the dews, and scutched, perhaps, over the back of a chair with a wooden knife. The woody fiber is then beaten out, for the flax fiber is around the stem of the flax itself; then it is hackled; in other words, it is drawn through a hackle and the short fiber taken out. That product is called "dressed line." So that there is a great deal of labor connected with the production of flax. In Minnesota and Michigan it is produced largely by machinery.

The farmers who own their own farms sow a little thicker than they would sow for the seed; they till the ground with a little more care, and when the time for the harvesting comes the flax is either cut by a machine which runs close to the ground or pulled by a machine, for they have already invented, for the first time in the history of the world, a machine that can successfully pull flax. Then it is retted either in the dew or in the rivers. Minnesota has been peculiarly successful, and has produced a most excellent quality of this material.

But before I go into that question I shall verify the statement that we produce enough flax straw in this country to supply it with linen if we only save it. All we want is a duty to encourage our people to save this material instead of burning it up.

I have here a table giving a list of the States which produce flax. I will give the larger items, and publish the whole table in my remarks. This table is taken from the census of 1890.

Idaho produced 83,409 bushels of flaxseed, and I presume did not save one single pound of fiber. Illinois produced 35,013 bushels of flaxseed and saved and made some use of 1,943 tons of straw, and produced 57,776 pounds of fiber for spinning and other purposes. Indiana produced 17,566 bushels of flaxseed and 4,350 pounds of fiber. Iowa produced 2,282,359 bushels of flaxseed, 34,510 tons of straw, and 6,281 pounds of fiber. Kansas produced 994,127 bushels of flaxseed, 41,237 tons of straw, and 36,093 pounds of fiber. Minnesota produced 2,721,987 bushels of seed, 31,163 tons of straw, and 8,609 pounds of fiber in 1890. Last year Minnesota increased her production of spinning fiber to 253 tons. Nebraska produced 1,401,104 bushels of seed, 35,074 tons of straw, and 1,025 pounds of fiber. North Dakota produced 164,319 bushels of seed, 1,909 tons of straw, and 568 pounds of fiber. South Dakota produced 1,801,114 bushels of seed, 36,993 tons of straw, and 3,278 pounds of fiber. In all there were produced 10,251,000 bushels of flaxseed, 207,000 tons of flax straw, and 251,479 pounds of flax fiber in 1890. The production of fiber since that time has been increasing. The fiber produced in 1890, according to the census, was mostly tow and used for upholstering and for some very coarse spinning; but since that time the mills of Michigan and Minnesota and one mill in Iowa have begun the production of spinning tow; and that it can be successfully produced is proved by the samples.

The table referred to is as follows:

Production of flax seed, straw, and fiber, census of 1890.

	Seed.	Straw.	Fiber.	Value of products.
	Bushels.	*Tons.*	*Pounds.*	
Arkansas	12	2	26	$14
California	4,130	26	.....	4,910
Colorado	1,994	46	.....	4,910
Idaho	83,409	725	.....	81,521
Illinois	35,013	1,943	57,776	40,766
Indiana	17,566	516	4,350	19,129
Iowa	2,282,359	34,510	6,281	2,323,974
Kansas	994,127	41,237	36,093	1,008,242
Kentucky	1,321	296	12,295	1,928
Maine	46	7	1,611	127
Maryland	2	.....	.....	3
Massachusetts	4	.....	.....	4
Michigan	3,719	284	31,610	5,544
Minnesota	2,721,987	31,163	8,609	2,811,384
Missouri	450,831	12,379	1,458	461,767
Nebraska	1,401,104	35,074	1,025	1,302,689
New Jersey	8	1	.....	14
New York	21,307	1,612	15,826	36,880
North Carolina	397	57	3,637	787
North Dakota	164,319	1,909	568	158,609
Ohio	145,557	6,383	18,377	179,288
Oregon	3,871	138	.....	5,270
Pennsylvania	4,183	216	173	5,772
South Dakota	1,801,114	36,993	3,278	1,770,322
Tennessee	51	9	2,664	200
Texas	749	13	.....	855
Vermont	20	.....	.....	20
Virginia	538	95	27,133	1,867
Washington	42,285	292	.....	42,131
West Virginia	115	15	4,008	322
Wisconsin	68,227	1,816	4,591	79,958
Total	10,251,000	207,000	251,479	10,437,200

Mr. PETTIGREW. I have here some Minnesota flax of great length and of excellent quality, of the crop of 1896. It is unhackled flax; that is, it has been scutched, the woody fiber taken out of it. It is of wonderful strength, great fineness, and will make the finest linen goods in the world. It is the flax out of which the goods exhibited by the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. DAVIS] were made.

This [exhibiting] is of the same quality. It was produced in the same locality, and is unhackled flax of great strength and great length. It was retted in the water from one of the rivers of Minnesota. It has been found this stream in Minnesota is almost equal for retted flax to the river Lesse, in Europe, where the finest flax is produced.

From this same fiber, here [exhibiting] is a sample of hackled flax. The tow has been taken out of it. In other words, the short fibers have been taken out and it is ready for spinning. This [exhibiting] is the flax which was sent to Ireland. Now, let us see what was said about it. I care nothing about some importer's letter which has been read here saying that a little flax was sent there of poor quality. Here is the answer. I read from a letter received from Belfast, Ireland:

March 26 there arrived at Belfast by steamship from Baltimore a consignment of flax in bales, consigned to local firms. This flax has been forwarded from the State of Minnesota, adjacent to Manitoba, and is the first importation of American flax to this city. Since its arrival, it has created not a little interest among local spinners. Experts, in passing an opinion as to its strength and quality, pronounce it to be almost equal to any grown in Ireland. In length it surpasses Irish flax.

Certainly it does, for it is the longest fiber I ever saw, and I have examined very many samples from almost every country in the world which produces this material.

This is attributed to the strong virgin soil of Minnesota, but notwithstanding the strength of the soil, the fiber shows that peculiarly fine texture that renders it so suitable for the spinning of high-class yarns, almost equal to that of French or Belgian.

Mr. President, I desire that these duties shall be raised. I think there is justice in the claim. For instance, flax, unhackled, at 1 cent per pound and retted flax tow at 1 cent per pound. Unhackled flax is worth from 9 to 10 cents per pound. That makes the duty equal to 11 per cent. The samples which I have exhibited under this bill pay a duty of 1 cent per pound. That makes the duty equal to 11 per cent. It is too little when you take into consideration the committee have raised the rates on all linen goods from 35 and 50 per cent to 52 and 109 per cent. I suppose that is the compensatory duty for putting a mere nothing on the raw material. So the bill all the way through seems to leave the producers of the raw material out of the count.

I was much amused yesterday when we put the compensatory duty on cotton goods, because the Senate had put a duty on cotton in order to break up the solid South. Let us see what they did yesterday, after all. Let us see where our Southern cotton Democrats came out in that transaction. We export millions upon millions of bales of raw cotton to points all over the world. Forty-five million pounds of cotton comes in from Egypt. Our Southern friends thought they would shut out the Egyptian cotton. They thought it was a very nice scheme. The Eastern Republican thought it would be a fine scheme to break up the solid South. So they went in together and put a duty on raw cotton. They were going to shut out the Egyptian product and, by making the Egyptian cotton higher in price, create a market for the somewhat inferior cotton grown in the South. So they put a compensatory duty upon goods made from the Egyptian cotton.

Therefore the Egyptian cotton will continue to come in, because the manufacturer gets the money back out of the consumer as the staple of the Egyptian cotton is a little better than the cotton produced in the South, which might fill its place if the Egyptian cotton were higher and they had no compensatory duty. So the Egyptian cotton will continue to come in, and all the Southern cotton Democrats have got out of the transaction is the assistance they have rendered the Eastern Republicans in breaking up the solid South.

So here, again, a little duty is put upon flax straw for the Western farmer—or flax fiber—and immediately the duty is doubled upon the manufactured goods made in the East. The fact of the matter is that this controversy has been drifting toward free raw materials and a high duty on manufactured goods. So they give us 11 per cent on these grades of flax. Unhackled flax, dewretted, is worth 7 cents per pound. One cent per pound is equal to 14½ per cent ad valorem. Retted flax tow is also worth now about 7 cents per pound. This makes the duty equal to 14½ per cent ad valorem. If these rates were changed as I propose, that is, on flax not hackled or dressed, 2 cents per pound, the rate of duty would be 28.6 per cent ad valorem. If unhackled flax, dewretted, were increased as I propose, it would make the duty 28½ per cent ad valorem, and if 4 cents a pound were placed upon hackled flax, known as dressed line, suitable for spinning the high grades of goods, the duty would be about 25 per cent ad valorem.

Now, I insist that under these circumstances, owing to the fact that the compensatory duties have been increased so enormously, these rates should be increased very much over what the committee have reported. I am well aware that it is almost useless to argue this question. I am well aware, of course, that what the committee do will be ratified, but if I should say nothing about this matter my silence would appear to be consent to this schedule, so unfair and so unjust to the people of the West; for we have increased the duties on the manufactured goods, especially the low grades. On low-grade damask tablecloth, for instance, we have increased the rate to 109 per cent ad valorem, from about 35 per cent heretofore, while we have only placed a duty on the material out of which it is made of 11 per cent. We have added, then, on damask tablecloths of the low grades 70 per cent ad valorem, and we have placed on the raw material, for which that is a compensatory duty, a duty of only 11 per cent ad valorem. I have letters here from spinners in this country in regard to the character of this Minnesota flax, but I will not take the time to put them in the RECORD.

I wish to state further, however, that we can produce the fiber used by the people of this country. All over the South there is a fiber which will answer for cotton bagging just as well as jute. Years ago cotton bagging was made in this country out of flax largely. Of course that industry perished because of the competition of the jute butt, which was the refuse of the jute fiber of India, produced by labor that received about 10 cents a day.

I wish to reiterate the fact that we burn up in the Western States, in Minnesota, Iowa, Nebraska, South Dakota, over 100,000 tons of flax straw per year; yes, more than 200,000 tons of flax straw per year; more than 1,000,000 tons of flax straw per year, and all of this flax straw can be made into linen with a little more care in the cultivation of the crop—with a little thicker sowing, a little more attention to the soil, and with pulling before the seed becomes absolutely ripe and dead.

Mr. BACON. Mr. President, the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. PETTIGREW] very much misunderstands the purpose and the scope of the action of the Senate in placing a 20 per cent duty upon raw cotton. It has no relation to the political status of the South. I was not in the Senate yesterday when the amendment was offered by the distinguished Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON], putting what is known as a compensatory duty upon certain cotton manufactures. I came in pending the discussion, without knowing what had been said, and I did not feel free at that time to participate in it. I did not, in fact, know what had been said until I had the opportunity of reading it this morning in the RECORD. I do not know that I should have said anything now but for the remarks of the Senator from South Dakota, and, while I will not immediately direct my remarks in reply to him, possibly what I may have to say before I finish may be an answer to his suggestions.

Mr. President, I think the action of the committee, representing the majority, in the imposition of this which is called a compensatory duty was not warranted by the facts. The ground upon which I base that statement is this: The duty already given to cotton manufactures is sufficient fully to include any expense which may be caused by the imposition of the duty upon raw cotton. I have had something to say on the propriety of the imposition of a tariff duty upon raw material, and I do not wish to repeat what I then said except to emphasize that I do not believe in the imposition of any higher duty than is recognized as a fair revenue duty.

Mr. ALLISON. Will the Senator from Georgia allow me?

Mr. BACON. Certainly.

Mr. ALLISON. I stated yesterday—I have not had time to examine the RECORD, but I have no doubt it is correctly reported there—that the amendment is tentative in its character and was only offered for the purpose of drawing, in conference or in the Senate hereafter, such provisions as will equalize the duties, if any equalization shall become necessary.

My own judgment is that the amount put in yesterday as an ad valorem is far beyond any necessity as respects the articles embraced in the various paragraphs, but it is purely tentative. It is not intended to become a part of the bill, but only to remain there for the purpose of future and more careful examination.

Mr. BACON. I am very glad to hear the statement by the distinguished Senator from Iowa, because I feel that a very great injustice is done by putting that item in the bill.

But as the subject has been discussed, I desire to call attention to some few features connected with the question of compensatory duties. I do not think, I repeat, that there should be any, for the reason that the cotton schedule already gives to the cotton manufactures a rate of duty amply sufficient to cover everything which relates to these products from the beginning of their existence as raw material until their completion as finished articles.

As evidence of that, I call attention to a statement of the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST] yesterday, which was not controverted, and which I presume can be fully substantiated. Replying to the suggestion of the Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON], the Senator from Missouri said:

When the Senator from Rhode Island made his initiatory speech and outlined the general effect of the bill that was reported by the majority of the Finance Committee, we were told that there was very little increase as to the cotton schedule; that there had been some changes made in the bill, but he dismissed the cotton schedule with the remark that very little change had been made in that schedule. We find now increases above the McKinley Act. We find that, not satisfied with the existing law, there have been enormous increases over the Wilson Act.

That statement is significant in view of what I believe is the accepted fact, that the cotton schedule in the Wilson Act was drawn by parties interested in the manufacture of cotton. In fact, I have been informed that a distinguished Senator, now a member of this body, was practically the author of the cotton schedule of the Wilson Act. I have had it stated to me within the past twenty-four hours by distinguished Republican Senators that there has been no dissatisfaction among the cotton manufacturers with the cotton schedule in the Wilson Act. If so, there certainly could be no higher evidence of the fact that the cotton schedule in the Wilson Act was ample for the desires and demands of those who as protectionists claimed that that industry should be protected.

Mr. HOAR. Will the Senator from Georgia pardon me? I do not think the cotton manufacturers of New England go quite so far as that. I believe they thought the schedule, so far as the distribution of protection was concerned, the scaling, was a great improvement on all previous laws, but, if I remember aright, there was a proviso at the end of the schedule limiting the amount of

the duty, which, in some cases especially, they thought worked great hardship.

Mr. BACON. I do not controvert that, but I do state the fact, which has been repeatedly stated——

Mr. ALLISON. I do not wish to interrupt the Senator from Georgia, but he seems to be basing his remarks upon an observation made by the Senator from Missouri yesterday that there have been enormous increases in the cotton schedule.

Mr. BACON. I did not emphasize the word "enormous" with quite the degree of power that the Senator from Iowa does.

Mr. ALLISON. The Senator from Missouri of course did not go into details. If he had, he would have shown that the increases are upon very fine cotton fabrics and not upon the fabrics that are generally made in this country; that they were added to the schedule for the purpose of enabling our people to make those very fine cotton fabrics, and that they apply to a very small proportion, I understand, of the manufactures of cotton.

Mr. BACON. The statement of the Senator from Iowa is exactly in the line of the suggestion which I was about to make.

Mr. ALLISON. I beg pardon.

Mr. BACON. The strength of it I think he will recognize. I was endeavoring to present the proposition that the present schedule as provided for in the pending bill is ample to cover any possible increase to the manufacturers by reason of the increase of the raw material. That is the proposition.

Mr. President, the only increase is upon raw material which goes exclusively and solely into the finer goods. They are made in New England. They are the goods which are covered by the great increases in this particular bill. That is the proposition which I submit—the injustice of providing a compensatory duty because of the fact that there has been a 20 per cent duty put upon raw cotton, when all the raw cotton which can possibly be affected by the duty is material which goes exclusively into the manufacture of the fine goods upon which the rates have already been raised to this enormous extent.

So far as the coarser grades of goods are concerned, it is true, as stated by the Senator from Iowa, that they are not affected by the bill; that the bill does not raise the duties on them. They have begun to be manufactured in the South and have ceased to be the object of the care and solicitude of some gentlemen, as they formerly were. But the finer goods, the lisle thread, the laces, manufactured out of this particular grade of cotton, are the ones upon which there has been this enormous increase of tariff duty, and I say the enormous increase of tariff duty is ample to cover the increase upon raw cotton when it relates to raw cotton which alone enters into the manufacture of these particular goods.

I say that of itself would be sufficient, but I think I may be justified in calling the attention of the Senate to the fact of the extreme solicitude and sensitiveness of Senators on the other side of the aisle when anything relates to the particular interests of a particular class of producers in this country. Within the very limited time after the incorporation in this bill of the provision for the levying of a duty of 20 per cent upon raw cotton, here are those interests putting themselves in communication with this committee, and as a result, without notice to any of us, and I must confess in great surprise to myself, although the Senator from Missouri had confidently anticipated it, we have this proposed increase of duty.

I recognize the statement of the Senator from Iowa, at which I expressed gratification, that it may not be so, but I take advantage of this opportunity to say something on it in the hope that it may conduce to the result which the honorable Senator anticipates. But, as I was saying, while it is true that they are so sensitive, they have not manifested that sensitiveness as to the interests of other portions of our country and of other classes and of other industries. I have twice before upon this floor called the attention of the Senate to a most flagrant and marked discrimination made by the Republican members of the Senate in the framing of the pending bill between the interests of the farmers of the North and the interests of the farmers of the South. Twice upon this floor I have asked them to state to the country upon what they base the right to make that discrimination, and neither time have we had a response.

Mr. ALLISON. I wish the Senator would name the special articles where we have discriminated in favor of the North and West as against the South.

Mr. BACON. I was about to do so. I have done it twice before in the hearing of the honorable Senator. I have asked for an explanation. There may be an explanation. If there is, I am ready to accord to them the propriety of their action.

The farmers of the North and West need sacks in which to carry their grain to market. They need binding twine with which to prepare it before they can send it. Both of these articles are upon the free list. I think it is proper that they should be there, in view of the fact that we have the kind of tariff bill that we do, although I should very much prefer a tariff bill that did not recognize much of a free list. At the same time that the grain producers of the North and West are accorded free bags and free binding twine the cotton producers of the South are required to pay a high tax upon bagging and ties.

Mr. WHITE. I may be mistaken in this respect, but it is my opinion, from reading the bill, that grain bags are not on the free list.

Mr. ALLISON. Certainly not; none of them are.

Mr. WHITE. I was preparing some observations in criticism of that provision.

Mr. ALLISON. If the Senator from Georgia will allow me, I will say that while he is preparing to criticise us for having these articles upon the free list, the honorable Senator from California is making great preparations to show they ought to be there.

Mr. BACON. How about binding twine?

Mr. ALLISON. That is a very different thing. I will assure the Senator that so far as the committee is concerned, before we finish the bill as respects the things he is criticising now, they will be treated in the same way that we treat the Southern products.

Mr. BACON. I am more than glad to hear it.

Mr. BERRY. Let me ask the Senator from Iowa a question?

Mr. ALLISON. Certainly.

Mr. BERRY. Does the Senator intend to bring about the equality by putting cotton bagging on the free list along with binding twine, or by putting a tax on binding twine?

Mr. ALLISON. The Senator from Arkansas will take note that the committee, so far as it can, is deliberating upon all these subjects, and it will endeavor to keep an equilibrium with respect to these articles, and in one way or the other the matter will probably be accomplished.

Mr. BERRY. I have learned that the committee is deliberating. I have learned that much, and that is about as much as I knew before I asked the question. Now; will the Senator from Georgia permit me for one moment?

Mr. BACON. Certainly.

Mr. BERRY. Binding twine, used to bind the grain of the Northwest, is on the free list. Cotton bagging, which is used to cover the cotton of the South, is on the taxed list. Now, if the Senator from Iowa will put cotton bagging on the free list along with binding twine, I will feel that this discussion has not been entirely in vain.

Mr. WHITE. How about cotton ties?

Mr. BERRY. I was speaking particularly of this schedule at the present time. Cotton ties, as a matter of course, ought also to be upon the free list.

Mr. BACON. I must say, in justification of myself, that my statement in reference to grain sacks being on the free list was based upon a statement made by the Senator from Texas [Mr. MILLS] in the Senate, and Senators were asked upon that particular occasion to state why it was done, and no response was made. I did not examine the bill. I supposed, of course, that the statement made by the Senator from Texas was correct.

Mr. ALLISON. I did not hear the Senator from Texas, if he made that statement.

Mr. BACON. I can show it to the Senator from Iowa in the RECORD. Not only so, but the Senator from Missouri called attention to it, and as nothing was said in response by distinguished Senators, I took it upon myself to ask the question why it was, and to ask them to give an explanation. It was upon that that I based my statement. I am more than delighted to hear the statement of the Senator from Iowa, because practical results are what we are after. We desire that the cotton farmers of the South, who, as I said before, feel the dead weight of all this imposition of tariff, shall have the benefit, as far as practicable, of free material in the preparation for the market of a crop which itself in the main can have no benefit either direct or indirect from the imposition of a tariff.

I am extremely gratified to hear the assurance of the distinguished Senator from Iowa that it is the purpose of the committee and of the Senators upon the other side of the Chamber to see that this important industry has fair and equal and impartial treatment.

Mr. President, I desire to say one other word in this connection with reference to the matter of compensatory duty. I trust it may turn out that in this particular instance there may be no compensatory duty. But Senators upon this side of the Chamber who differed with those who acted with myself in favoring a tariff duty of 20 per cent ad valorem upon cotton seem to regard the fact that the distinguished Senator from Iowa, representing his party, had proposed a compensatory duty as one entirely vindicating their original position that 20 per cent ad valorem duty on raw cotton was an improper duty because, as stated by them, it would be taken as an excuse for the imposition of that compensatory duty.

The particular point that I want to call the attention of the Senate to is that even if my contention were erroneous and the compensatory duty in this particular case is a proper duty, it would

not change the proposition that a revenue tariff upon cotton is a proper tariff.

In considering that question one important fact must be borne in mind. While this tariff is one which is proposed to be levied upon the importation of all kinds of cotton, it in fact relates to a very small proportion of the cotton crop, and can have no effect upon the general crop. There are about 100,000 bales of long-fiber cotton made in the United States. They are all made in the States of South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida. There are at the same time about 100,000 bales of similar cotton imported into this country. So, instead of its being a tariff duty levied upon an article where there is a product of nine or ten million bales of cotton, it is a tariff levied upon a product of which there are in this country only about 100,000 bales. And it is a tariff levied upon a product where there is an import of about the same amount as that which is made in this country.

Mr. President, I say that, tested by every rule which has ever been recognized by the Democratic party by which should be determined whether an article is a proper and legitimate subject for a tariff for revenue, an article which is produced in this country to the extent of about 100,000 bales, and in which there is an import of about an equal amount, is such an article, and can be defended anywhere and everywhere as a proper and legitimate subject of revenue tariff.

What is the contention of those who say that if a compensatory duty is levied it shows that the original duty upon the raw material should not be levied? The argument is that it is practically taking it out of one pocket and putting it into the other; that the Republicans consent to this suggestion on the part of those of us who come from the section where this particular cotton is raised, and at the same time turn around and tax it the same amount.

Well, Mr. President, that is not a correct statement of the case. The object of free raw material, as stated by those who contend for it, is to put a cheap material at the command of the manufacturer, so that he can manufacture more cheaply for the consumption of the people.

The distinguished Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST] and the distinguished Senator from Texas [Mr. CHILTON] said that the effect of this duty on raw material could not be to raise the price of cotton. The Senator from Texas has said it, and the Senator from Missouri echoed it and affirmed it and approved it. If so, Mr. President, it can be no ground for the placing of a compensatory duty. But the truth is it is not so. The truth is that the placing of a duty on this cotton will raise the price in the hands of the producer.

The objection is made by those who oppose this 20 per cent duty on cotton on the ground that it raises the price to the manufacturer, and that therefore the manufacturer must raise the price to the consumer.

If the argument is carried out, what does it mean? It means that the cotton must be cheapened to the manufacturer in order that he may cheapen his finished product to the consumer.

Now, Mr. President, who are the consumers? The consumers are those who use fine goods among 70,000,000 people. It is true these consumers will not be the common people at all. They are the people who wear laces, and lisle-thread clothes, and lisle-thread socks, and lisle-thread underwear. The proposition is that in order that these people may have cheap underwear and cheap articles of luxury of this kind the price must be made cheap at the expense of those who produce the raw material.

Let me give an illustration. It is estimated that under this duty the cost of the cotton, the raw material which is to be consumed by the makers of these fine goods, the duties upon which have been so enormously raised, as we have heard, will be increased to these manufacturers to the extent, say, of $1,300,000. Therefore it is argued that the cost to the consumers will be increased, necessarily, $1,300,000. If a compensatory duty is put upon manufactured goods, of course that increased cost will be distributed among all of the consumers, among the 70,000,000 people who use this grade of goods. If the prices are not to be increased to that extent, then the prices are to be cheapened at the cost of somebody.

Now, who is that somebody to be? Who is to lose $1,300,000? Is it to be distributed among all these consumers by the compensatory duty, or is it to rest exclusively upon and be borne by the producers of this cotton? Are the few men who produce this long staple to be made to lose $1,300,000, or shall the enormous number of consumers of this class of goods pay it through the methods of a compensatory duty?

Mr. President, how many men do you suppose there are engaged in the production of this cotton? I said that the production was limited to the States of South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida; but those engaged in those States in the production of this particular cotton are comparatively very few. I doubt if there are 15,000 people engaged in the cultivation of this particular class of cotton. Yet the proposition which will deny the right to impose this duty because, forsooth, there might be a compensatory duty is that the 15,000 people must bear this loss of $1,300,000 rather than that the entire community of 70,000,000 should have that amount distributed among them, each paying his proportionate part of it.

So I say, Mr. President, taking whichever horn of the dilemma you will, if there is no propriety in the compensatory duty, then of course there is no increased cost to the people in the imposition of the 20 per cent duty; and if there is propriety in the imposition of the compensatory duty, it is much better that the $1,300,000 should be borne by the entire people than that the loss should fall upon 15,000 people or less in the three States of South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida.

Mr. President, I do not desire to continue this discussion, but it does seem to me that Senators who oppose this proposition have been extremely inconsistent.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. May I ask the Senator from Georgia a question?

Mr. BACON. Certainly.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. The Senator makes a calculation that the duty will be increased $1,300,000?

Mr. BACON. I judge that on the amount imported last year.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Will not that be paid really by the persons engaged in manufacturing Egyptian cotton into fabrics?

Mr. BACON. I think that very probably they will raise the price of their goods. It will be paid ultimately by the consumer. I believe that all things are ultimately paid by the consumers.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. But they will be obliged to pay that much more for their material.

Mr. BACON. I think so. I think the people who raise that class of cotton in this country will get the direct benefit of it. A great many things which have been said here and which have been said elsewhere about this as a duty laid upon the general cotton crop have no possible relation whatever to the subject. It is just as distinct as if it were not named cotton. It is just the simple question of a product of 100,000 bales in this country, two-thirds of which, I will say in passing, is raised in my own State. Generally speaking, 100,000 bales are raised in this country and 100,000 bales are imported, and it might as well be jute or anything else so far as the principle is concerned. And I say, Mr. President, that you may look through this bill, you may look through the Wilson bill, and there are without number instances of revenue duties laid upon agricultural products for which the argument in favor of them is not half so strong nor a tenth so strong as in this particular case.

Senators, I repeat, have been inconsistent in this matter. My distinguished friends on my right announce, with the utmost positiveness, without qualification, that they have no regard to anything except the question as to whether or not a particular levy of a duty will raise a revenue; and yet the Senator from Missouri and the Senator from Arkansas both yesterday affirmed, as a positive principle which could not be ignored, that the levy of a duty upon a raw material necessitated a compensatory duty upon the finished product.

Now, if so, why? Does the levy of a duty upon the raw material make the compensatory duty necessary in order that there may be a revenue upon the finished product? Can it be defended upon any ground except the single position that the revenue having been laid upon the raw material, it is necessary that there should be a compensatory duty in order to protect the manufacturer of the finished product?

I say there is no possible reconciling the position of the Senators who claim that they have an eye single to revenue and who at the same time announce in the most emphatic language that wherever there is a revenue duty laid upon the raw material there must be a compensatory duty upon the finished product.

Mr. VEST. I know the Senator from Georgia does not intend to misrepresent me. If he will look at the RECORD, he will observe that I did not say that.

Mr. BACON. I beg the Senator's pardon.

Mr. VEST. I was arguing against the compensatory duty, and I said that our Republican friends always put on a compensatory duty. It is not right to do it, and I am opposed to both duties.

Mr. BACON. I am delighted to hear the Senator say that; but I am going to read his language to show that I did not purposely misquote him.

Mr. VEST. I did not revise what I said.

Mr. BACON. I am delighted for this reason: If there is no reasonable ground for a compensatory duty, if no compensatory duty is right, then the fact that somebody else is going to do wrong in imposing a compensatory duty is no argument why we should fail to do right in imposing a revenue duty on raw material.

Mr. VEST. If the Senator will excuse me, I will state what I meant to say. I have not revised any remarks I have made in the debate. I do not know what the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD shows, but I know what I intended to say. I was arguing against the

compensatory duty of 10 per cent, and I said that I was not at all surprised that it had been put there, because I had never known a case in my experience in tariff bills where there was a duty put upon raw material that it was not followed by the Republican party by a compensatory duty paid to the manufacturer. But I never was in favor of a duty on raw material to commence with.

Mr. BACON. I understand that.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Will the Senator allow me?

Mr. BACON. Yes; I am going to read what both Senators said.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I have no objection to your reading what I said, but——

Mr. BACON. I beg pardon; go on.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. What I have said, and what the Senator from Missouri has said, all the time, was that we did not believe in duties on raw materials, but whenever you load the cost of raw material to the manufacturers you handicap them, unless you make some compensation to them for the tribute that the Government levies upon their raw material. It is our opposition to a tax on raw materials that made us say that this thing ought not to be done, and I say whenever you put a tax on the raw material you are compelled to put on a compensating tax if you would allow the manufacturer to live at all. It is to show the utter absurdity of taxing raw materials that I mentioned the thing at all.

Mr. BACON. Do you mean to say that they ought to have a compensatory duty?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. They are bound to have it if you want them to live.

Mr. BACON. Do you think they ought to have it?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I do not think they ought to be robbed any more than anybody else. I do not think we ought to levy a tax, in the first place, on raw materials. I do not think that the robbery there, because it is levied, would justify another robbery.

Mr. BACON. I want to ask the Senator whether or not he thinks as a matter of right they should have a compensatory duty?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I do not believe any tax ought to be levied for the benefit of private individuals, but it ought to be levied for revenue, and it ought not to be so levied for revenue on articles as to create an injustice. A man ought not by taxation to rob somebody else for his benefit. The whole thing is wrong.

Mr. BACON. The Senator declines to answer my question. I have asked him two or three times. I will not press it.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I have answered distinctly in plain English, so that anybody can understand what my position is.

Mr. BACON. I have asked the question——

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Ask the question again and I will answer yes or no.

Mr. BACON. I wanted to see whether the Senator from Arkansas agreed with the Senator from Missouri. I asked the Senator whether he thought it was a matter of right, in case there was a duty upon the raw material, that the manufacturer of the finished product who used that raw material should have a compensatory duty.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I answered that when I said I did not believe that any taxes ought to be levied except for revenue. Was not that a plain answer to the Senator's question?

Mr. BACON. No.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Then I will answer no.

Mr. BACON. You do not believe there should be a compensatory duty?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I do not believe that any tax ought to be levied anywhere on the face of God's green earth except for revenue, and that alone.

Mr. BACON. Very well. Now I have the answer of both Senators plain and explicit. I did not have it before.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I think you did if you had read the language.

Mr. BACON. The position of the distinguished Senators is this: The fact that there is a duty levied on raw material does not as a matter of right and justice make it proper that there should be any compensatory duty. That necessarily leads to this proposition, that the argument which they use against a duty on raw material because of a compensatory duty on the finished product falls to the ground. If a tariff for revenue upon the raw material is a proper thing, then we ought not to be deterred from it by the fear that somebody else will do an improper thing. That is the answer to the position of the distinguished Senators.

Mr. President, as we are on that point, I desire to call attention particularly to one thing. I went over it just now, but I think I will emphasize it, in view of what the Senators have just said. They say they do not believe in free raw material. Why? Because they want manufactures——

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I did not say I did not believe in free raw material. I said I did not believe in a tax on raw material.

Mr. BACON. Very well; that is what I intended to say. The Senators say they believe in free raw material. That is the same thing as saying that they do not believe in a tax on it. The distinguished Senators say they believe in free raw material because they desire that the manufacturer should get that raw material at as cheap a price as possible, in order that he may manufacture cheaply and sell cheaply.

Mr. President, there are two ways in which the manufacturer can make a profitable business. One is by decreasing the cost of the material that he manufactures; the other is by increasing the price at which he sells. In other words, it is the difference between the cost of manufacture and the price of sale which makes his profit; and it does not make a particle of difference to him, so far as that profit is concerned, whether it is secured by increasing the price at which he sells or by decreasing the cost of the material which he manufactures. That is a plain proposition.

Now, what is the proposition of the distinguished Senator on my right? Protection, as we ordinarily understand it in this country, is designed for the purpose of raising the price at which a man can sell his finished product. I think protection which has that for its object is wrong, and I am opposed to it. The Senator says he is opposed to it also. But I do say that those Senators who favor free raw material are in favor of a system of protection that is more odious to me than the system which raises the price of the finished article. Why? Whenever you raise the price of a finished article without decreasing the cost of the raw material, the increased cost is distributed among all the 70,000,000 consumers of this country. On the other hand, whenever you increase the profits of the manufacturer by lowering the price of the material that he uses, he makes the same profit; but that loss in the cost to him of the raw material falls exclusively upon the man who produces the raw material, and is not distributed among the 70,000,000 people who consume it. Is there any answer to that, Mr. President?

Mr. VEST. Yes.

Mr. BACON. I say again, at the risk of repetition, because I now have the attention of Senators, that I illustrate this by the case of the duty upon long-fiber cotton, because that is what it means. I use that as an illustration of the proposition. The manufacturers of fine goods who use the long-staple cotton are not those who purvey to the tastes and necessities of the common people of this country. They are those who make articles which are consumed by the rich all over the country.

The proposition of the distinguished Senators is that the 15,000 or less people in South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida who make this long-staple cotton should furnish to the manufacturers their cotton at $1,300,000 less than it would cost them if an ordinary revenue duty were put upon it, and if that is done the manufacturers can sell to the consumers, who, I say, are the rich class of people, this product at $1,300,000 less than they could sell it if a duty were imposed. Therefore they say that in order that the men who consume these fine goods, these laces, this fine underwear, may have their goods cheaper, the people who produce this long-staple cotton, and who are barely living from hand to mouth, shall be compelled to furnish to the manufacturers their goods at $1,300,000 less, and that instead of the people who consume these fine goods paying the $1,300,000, this cotton shall be furnished at the practical loss to this small class of people of the $1,300,000.

Mr. President, what is there in this particular article which makes it so odious to the distinguished Senators? I was not in the Senate when the Wilson bill was passed, but I recollect that I read with a great deal of interest the fight made by the distinguished Senator from Alabama [Mr. MORGAN] who sits in front of me against the putting of iron ore upon the free list. Who then claimed that the Senator from Alabama was acting outside of the tenets of the Democratic party? And when the compensatory duty of $4 upon pig iron and some other rate upon manufactured iron were put upon it, who said that the distinguished Senator from Alabama had abandoned the tenets of the Democratic party? If anyone said so, point to the RECORD. Senators before me were here then.

Mr. President, I need not go back to three years ago for the purpose of illustration. I can take the RECORD of the last two weeks and point to instance after instance where distinguished Senators on my right rose in their places as the representatives of the party and advocated amendments by which ad valorem duties were put upon agricultural products. The distinguished Senator from Missouri says that he did that in the interest of the lowering of duty, that if he had, as he said in response to the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. BATE], his wish in the matter, he would put them on the free list.

What prohibited the Senator from suggesting the free list? What was there to induce him to ask for 20 per cent ad valorem upon various agricultural products and 35 per cent upon one? He did not expect that any amendment which he offered on the subject would be incorporated in the bill as a law. He was not offering the amendments with the slightest expectation of having them adopted. He was offering them as the representative of his

party and as the exposition of his own view in the matter, to show what his party would do if they were in power and had the framing of this bill, and to show what the Senator from Missouri would do if he had the control of it. Why should he propose 20 per cent upon these various agricultural products instead of moving to put them on the free list?

Mr. VEST. The Senator from Georgia certainly does not mean to misrepresent what I said.

Mr. BACON. Most assuredly not. I would not do so for the world.

Mr. VEST. I stated emphatically to the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. BATE], when he asked me why I did not move to put a certain agricultural article on the free list, that I was entirely willing and anxious to do so.

Mr. BACON. I understand that, and I so stated.

Mr. VEST. The reason, and I have stated it here again and again, was that when an increase upon any article was proposed, we offered the Wilson rate, the existing law, not because we did not want to put the article on the free list.

Mr. BACON. I understand that.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. We preferred the Wilson rates to the rates proposed here.

Mr. VEST. We preferred the Wilson Act to this proposed law, because the duties are lower, although, as I said to the Senator from Tennessee, we should prefer to place them on the free list. I should like to ask the Senator from Georgia a question.

Mr. BACON. Let me answer that first. I certainly do not desire to misrepresent the Senator, and I think I stated substantially what he has said. I said that the Senator did offer these amendments and that he stated in response to the suggestion of the Senator from Tennessee that he would prefer to have them on the free list. But I went on to say that there was no reason why the Senator, if he had such preference, should have made suggestions of various rates of ad valorem duties, because the Senator was not offering the amendments with the expectation of having them incorporated in the bill. He was simply making a record for his party. He was simply showing what his party would do if they had control of the bill. He was simply showing that they would do now what they did three years ago, when they did put these agricultural products upon the revenue list.

Mr. VEST. If the Senator will permit me, I want to make a frank statement. This is very delectable to the Republican party. They listen with great avidity. Their hearts are cheered, and I can see their eyes gleaming with delight. I have refrained from developing the dissensions in the Democratic party on this side if I could help it. I did not move to put those articles on the free list because I knew the Senator from Georgia and four other Senators on this side would immediately declare that we were attacking the agricultural interests, and because agricultural papers in this country, conspicuously the American, published in Philadelphia, had declared that these were protective duties in the interest of the farmer.

In 1890, when the Republican party proposed these duties upon corn and wheat and oats and rye, when we furnished the home market and then sent nine-tenths of the product abroad, I said that it was a fraud and a farce. In 1894, certain Democrats, when we were compelled to have every vote on this side of the Chamber, insisted upon putting duties, modified as they are in the Wilson Act, upon these articles, and the Senator from Arkansas and myself were compelled to accede to it. I said then, as the RECORD shows, that I did not believe it would help the farmer.

Mr. BACON. Did the Senator take that position in reference to iron ore that the Senator from Alabama insisted should be put upon the dutiable list?

Mr. VEST. I was in favor of free iron ore. I differed with the Senator from Alabama. I was in favor of free lead, and my State produces more of galena ore than any other State in the Union. I am ready to vote for it now. I have gone into the lead regions of Missouri and told them I was for free lead, and if they wanted a man here who would vote to put a tax on it, to send somebody else. That is my position, and I intend to stand by it.

Now, I want to ask the Senator this question, since he has brought up this lavatory here for dirty linen in the Democratic party—these dissensions that exist: Do you believe that the tariff is a tax?

Mr. BACON. I do. But I do not like to be put upon the witness stand in this way.

Mr. VEST. I beg the Senator's pardon. I will put the question, then, through the President of the Senate, with an apology in advance.

Mr. BACON. I will state to the Senator that I do not object, of course, to a reasonable interruption and to any direct question, but as to being put upon the stand for a series of categorical questions upon the tariff, I hardly think it is in accordance with the usual custom.

Mr. VEST. I do not propose to cross-examine the Senator.

Mr. BACON. You started that way.

Mr. VEST. But I do want to ask him this question. He says the tariff is a tax.

Mr. BACON. Yes.

Mr. VEST. Does the Senator not believe, as a Democrat, that the taxation of the Government ought to be limited to the amount necessary to carry it on economically administered?

Mr. BACON. I do.

Mr. VEST. Then how does the Senator propose to put this tax on cotton, or any other article, when he knows there is over $130,000,000 surplus money in the Treasury of the United States now, and that if there should be a deficit of $10,000,000—and it can not possibly be over $35,000,000 for the next year—we can pay it out of the surplus money in the Treasury and still have a surplus besides that?

Mr. VEST. A Senator near me suggests that that is borrowed money. But we do not have to borrow it. We have already borrowed it and got it on hand, as this morning's Treasury statement shows. Then why the necessity of helping the Republican party to put on taxes?

Mr. BACON. If I had my way, Mr. President, there would be no tariff bill passed at this session.

A Senator on my right says in an undertone that as the Republicans are doing it I want my share. I absolutely and utterly repudiate any such suggestion.

Mr. VEST rose.

Mr. BACON. If the Senator will pardon me, I will endeavor to tell him that I have no possible recognition of the propriety of any such position. I put it absolutely behind me. I have no sympathy with the cry that, if the Treasury is being looted, my section must have its part of it. I absolutely abhor the idea. I do say this, however, that whatever revenue bill is passed ought to be equal in its operations to all.

Mr. TILLMAN. And the Democratic platform demands it.

Mr. BACON. Yes; the Democratic platform demands it. I have read that plank of its platform in this Chamber, and I will read it again if anybody desires it.

I say whatever revenue bill is passed ought to be equal in its operations. I say there ought not to be a revenue bill which makes a producer of the raw material buy in a protected market and makes him sell in a free market.

Mr. VEST. If my friend will permit me, has he not just stated that he would not pass any tariff bill and that there was not any need for revenue?

Mr. BACON. Very well, and I am not going to assist in the passage of this bill. Most undoubtedly I will not. Has the Senator ever had any doubt upon that subject?

Mr. VEST. No; I hope not.

Mr. BACON. I am not going to assist in the passage of this bill; but when this measure is before the Senate it is just the same as any other measure that is pending in this body where amendments are being offered. Many Senators who are opposed to a measure offer amendments to it, because, if it has got to pass, they want it to be in such shape that it will be the least harmful; and that is what I mean to do here. I am endeavoring to see to it that the people in my section who produce raw material, and who have to pay the protective prices put upon all they consume which this bill proposes to put upon them, shall have their products put on the revenue list and not on the protected list.

The Senator speaks about my bringing up the dissensions of the Democratic party. I appeal to the Senate, who did it? The Senator said he offered these various amendments as to the duty upon agricultural products because he knew that I and four others on this side would do so and so, whereas the truth is, five amendments imposing ad valorem duties on agricultural products had been offered by the Senator before my amendment was offered, so that the Senator could not have been influenced by what I did.

Mr. President, since that time I have sat in my seat while the Senator has time and again by open and covert allusion referred to me and those with whom I have acted, and I have been silent. I have been silent even when I had a disposition to speak; but when on yesterday the Senator pressed this question about this compensatory duty, and when there was an evident exultation manifested that these Republican Senators had done what Democrats had said they would do, that they had done that which they had urged as a reason why a tariff of 20 per cent upon raw cotton should not be adopted—I say when that was done (and many things were said in the brief discussion yesterday afternoon after I came into the Senate, evidently in allusion to Senators with whom I had acted), I felt it was proper that I should speak. I did not design to make an attack upon the Senator, because I have no such idea; he is not an antagonist to be lightly taken hold of, and there is no man I know of that I would more carefully avoid an unnecessary contest with; but I can not sit here day after day and have allusions made by the Senator to myself and to my associates and still be dumb.

Mr. President, when I offered an amendment for a duty of 20 per cent upon cotton, I offered it in a very unobtrusive, quiet manner. But what led to the debate? Was it not the attack of the Senator from Missouri? I have not desired it. But I do say that it has been my duty, and I still recognize it as my duty, so far as I am able in the making of this tariff bill, to have it rest as equally as possible. I shall be glad to see it defeated altogether; but if it has got to be passed, I want it framed so that it will rest with as little burden as possible upon my people, and that whatever benefits may result from it, they may have their due share, not in the way a Senator suggested to me, not in the way of taking that which nobody ought to take. I will not vote for any protective duty which can be offered if its effect will be prohibitive upon any article which is raised in my State. I will say that to the Senator, although perhaps I have not the public spirit which he claims for himself.

Mr. TILLMAN. I should like to call the attention of these Democratic brethren of ours who are attacking our loyalty to the Chicago platform and to Democratic principles to the duties levied by themselves in the Wilson law:

Buckwheat, corn or maize, corn meal, oats, rye, rye flour, wheat, and wheat flour, 20 per cent ad valorem.

Now, they declare here, as we all know, that these articles are articles of export and that any pretense of protection is a humbug and a fraud; and yet they themselves are only disputing with their Republican brethren over there as to the amount of fraud—whether the duty shall be 20 per cent ad valorem or 25 cents a bushel on wheat, and so on through. Now, let us have a clean record on this business. I stand here myself and announce that if we are to have this stealing from the people by protected interests, I want my share for South Carolina, and I am not ashamed to say it. [Laughter.]

Mr. BACON. Mr. President, I do not agree with my distinguished friend from South Carolina in that particular.

Mr. TILLMAN. But the people of Georgia will agree with me.

Mr. BACON. I do not represent them if they do. I do not think, however, that that is the opinion of the people. I do not think the people desire that there should be an improper tariff upon any article. I do not think the people desire that there should be an advantage given at the public expense to any particular class or section, and I do not think they wish to participate in anything of the kind. I certainly do not. My position is this: I am not in favor of a protective duty on anything, but I am in favor of a revenue duty on almost everything except on some very few articles, like salt. That is my creed.

Mr. President, if I had the drawing of a tariff bill, it would not be 6 inches long. I would simply put all those articles under a certain duty, let it cut where it would. That is the only revenue law you can have which will be stable. I would put a 20 or 25 per cent tax upon articles coming into this country. There are some articles, however, which ought to be free now which we could then afford to pay a duty on under such a tariff by reason of the advantages we would have in the general lowering of rates.

Mr. President, until you have something of that kind you will never have a stable tariff law. As long as you have a tariff law changing with every change of Administration you will have parties interested in this article or that article coming to Congress and each contending that it shall have the advantage over others; you will have an unstable tariff law, and you will never have a stable tariff law upon which the business of this country can rest in safety until you lay down the law that you are going to have a certain rate, and that whenever that rate is not sufficient to yield sufficient revenue for the support of the Government it must be so changed as to yield that revenue, whether that change be in raising it or in lowering it, so that all may come in together upon a common level.

I had no expectation when I rose to do more than suggest the reason why this compensatory duty should not be put on the manufactures of cotton, and further to suggest the argument I have made upon the subject of duties on free raw material. I certainly had no expectation of antagonizing the Senator from Missouri. There is no man I have a higher respect and regard for than he, and if I have, in the heat of the debate, said anything which is unkind to him, I most cheerfully and gladly retract it. I had no such intention.

I recognize him as the foremost—I will not make any invidious comparisons—I will say that I recognize him as one of the foremost men not only on this side of the Chamber, but in the Senate, and that is putting him among the foremost men of the highest deliberative body of all the world. But I said I had no idea of antagonizing him, of doing what he says has been done for the delectation of Republicans. I simply desired to put the case right. We are not here for the purpose of asking protection for any article. We are not here for the purpose of participating in any grab game. We are simply desirous that there shall be equality of burdens and equality of benefits.

Mr. President, I have only one single additional word to say. The Senator from Texas [Mr. MILLS] spoke of "the forgotten man," and that has been reechoed here. Certainly "the forgotten man" is the man to be remembered; but who is he? According to the contention of the Senator from Texas—I am delighted to see that the Senator has come back to the Chamber, because I want to give him a criticism to think about—according to the Senator's contention, "the forgotten man" is the consumer; but in that he is very much mistaken. All consumers are not "forgotten men." All "forgotten men" are consumers. But there are a great many consumers who are not "forgotten men." All these protected classes are consumers; all these men who are to realize this great wealth out of the provisions of this and former tariff bills are consumers, but they are not "the forgotten men."

Who are "the forgotten men," Mr. President? "The forgotten men" are the producers of raw material, who at the same time are consumers; "the forgotten men" are those who have to sell what they make cheap and to buy what they consume very dear, and there is nothing which contributes to the swelling of this crowd of "forgotten men" like the extension of the free list among those who are the producers of raw material out of which those men not forgotten make their great wealth in the finished product.

Mr. BERRY. Mr. President, I had hoped that the lesson given by the Republicans yesterday evening, when they imposed an additional duty of 10 per cent on cotton goods to compensate for the 20 per cent duty on raw cotton, would prove a warning to my countrymen of the South not to engage in this game of grab and steal, as the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. TILLMAN] calls it. In the first place, Mr. President, even if it were honest to do that, I tell our friends from the South now that they can not compete with Iowa and New England in that kind of a game. The people of New England have been playing this game for a great many years, and if the Senators who come here from the South think or hope or expect that they can play even with these experts, I tell them they will find themselves mistaken.

I did think it showed some ingratitude on the part of our Republican friends when the Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON] introduced his amendment. Only a few days ago, when five Southern Senators showed their great liberality by voting for a tax upon the white-pine lumber grown in Michigan and Wisconsin and Minnesota, the Republicans on the other side of the Chamber were delighted, and they hastened over here to congratulate and thank our friend from Georgia [Mr. BACON] who has just spoken; and yet yesterday, coolly, deliberately, after that, the Senator from Iowa introduced an amendment here to impose 10 per cent additional tax on manufactured cotton goods as compensatory for that which had been imposed upon raw cotton of 20 per cent.

Mr. President, I say to the Senator from South Carolina that even if it were right, even if it were just, to join in this grab game, wherever he would get one dollar for the South under a tariff bill, our friends from New England and the Northern part of this Republic would get at least two dollars more out of his constituents and mine for every dollar that they pretend to give in the way of tariff protection.

Mr. TILLMAN. Will the Senator allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. BERRY. Certainly.

Mr. TILLMAN. How much did the South get under the Wilson law?

Mr. BERRY. Well, Mr. President, we did not get much. The Senator from South Carolina was not here then. But the whole country knows the conditions which then surrounded us; the whole country knows that for twenty years the Democratic party had promised when it came into power that it would pass a tariff bill. The country knows that when it came here with only 1 majority, there were men inside the Democratic ranks who, having the same idea which has been advocated here recently, forced taxes on articles contrary to the Democratic faith, and compelled the great majority of Democrats to take that measure or no bill at all.

Mr. TILLMAN. And yet you did not get sufficient revenue from it.

Mr. BERRY. No; but if we had had a Supreme Court which would decide as it had always decided in the past, we should have had sufficient revenue. As a distinguished gentleman said upon a noted occasion, we could not figure upon the fact that a justice of the Supreme Court would change his mind.

Mr. President, I want to say—and I say it in all kindness to the Senator from Georgia who has just spoken, and I want to tell him and the Senator from South Carolina—that since the time the Constitution was formed, since the day that Jefferson laid broad and deep the foundations of liberty and of equality as the Democratic faith, it has been the pride and the glory of the South that the Southern people and the Southern representatives have held honor and principle and equality and justice high above every money consideration. It has been their pride that their Senators stood by principle, and said there should be equality of each citizen before the law; that it was unfair and unjust by legislation to take

money from the pocket of one American citizen and put it into the pocket of another; and yet to-day we are told that this was all wrong; that by standing by principle the South has grown poor and New England has grown rich.

A few men from the South say it was all a mistake; that the highest object and purpose in this life—that is the argument, if not the words—are to get money; get it honestly if you can; get it under the guise of a revenue tariff if possible; but at all events get money—that that is the contention now. Mr. President, I do not subscribe to that idea, and I do not believe that the people of the South subscribe to any such idea. I do not believe that that people which endured hardships such as no others have, who have held truth and honor above money for so many years, will step forth to-day and say, "This is a grab, a steal, a robbery, but we want our part of it." If it is a steal and a robbery, I for one stand here to say that I want no part and parcel in it. If it is wrong, it is wrong. If we are right when we say that it is a robbery to put a tax upon cotton ties and cotton bagging, then it can not be a virtue to put a tax upon lumber or upon raw cotton. These are the ideas that I have in regard to this bill, and I do not agree either with the Senator from Georgia or the Senator from South Carolina.

The Senator from Georgia, while protesting again and again that he was not a protectionist, that he did not believe in levying taxes for purposes of protection, yet used the same argument here when he argued that there were only 15,000 citizens engaged in raising this particular kind of cotton, and he said, "Would it not be better that they should receive this benefit to be contributed by the consumers all over this land?" The few men engaged in the manufacture of cotton bagging and those manufacturing cotton ties say and argue that inasmuch as this tax is distributed among so many people, and it is but very little to them, "Is it not better that we should have this?" The same argument which is used in regard to free cotton applies with equal force to cotton-bagging and cotton ties.

I am not here to enter into any contest. As the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST] said, no man has regretted more than I have the divisions which have arisen on this side of the Chamber on this tariff bill. I had hoped and believed that whatever else we might differ about, there could have been no Democratic Senator from the South who would have been in favor of voting a tax for the sake of protection.

I had intended when I rose to speak in regard to cotton bagging, and while I have the floor I will now say what I have to say. The Senator from Iowa states that the committee is deliberating about the matter, but he declined to inform me whether or not they contemplated equalizing conditions by putting cotton bagging and cotton ties on the free list along with binding twine, or whether they intended to put binding twine upon the tax list. The Senator from Georgia says that all he wants is that the tax shall be equalized. I want to say to the Senator from Iowa that that will not satisfy the people of my State.

Mr. BACON. Will the Senator pardon me?

Mr. BERRY. Certainly.

Mr. BACON. If any such expression as that escaped me, it was inconsistent with what I have said here more than once. I thought cotton bagging and cotton ties ought to be free, and I think so to-day. They ought to be free because the general crop of cotton is one which can not in any manner be benefited by the tariff. All of the articles which the cotton planters produce are raised in price by reason of the tariff, and therefore the things which may be necessary in the harvesting or the marketing of their crops ought to be free.

Mr. BERRY. I am glad to hear the Senator say so. I certainly understood the Senator to say that all he wanted was to equalize things, and I understood him to say in the last remarks he made that if he had the making of a tariff bill he would put a tax upon everything except salt. That is my recollection of what he said.

Mr. BACON. So far as the latter statement is concerned, that is true; but I qualified that by stating that if the great mass of articles should be put upon a revenue basis we could afford to have upon the tariff list things which otherwise ought to be free. I know the Senator does not desire to misrepresent me in any way.

Mr. BERRY. Certainly not.

Mr. BACON. And there have been several occasions on which I have expressed the opinion and the wish that cotton bagging and cotton ties should be free, and have given that as a reason for it, although I am ordinarily opposed to a free list.

Mr. BERRY. Of all the mean things in this very mean bill, I think the worst is this tax upon cotton bagging. I think there is less excuse for putting a tax upon cotton bagging than any other article in this bill from beginning to end. It is an absolute necessity for every cotton raiser in the South. It is an article which every man who raises a single bale of cotton is compelled to purchase. It is an article without which he can not place his cotton upon the market. It is an article differing from almost all others, as the tax comes out of the producer and not out of the consumer, because it is not consumed except in transporting the cotton to market whether in the United States or in the foreign market.

It is a direct and specific tax upon each man who raises a bale of cotton to the amount of the tax; and by what reason and how the committee have arrived at the decision that it is just and fair to put binding twine, which is used in Iowa, Minnesota, and the other Northwestern States, upon the free list and this article of cotton bagging, which the farmers of the South are compelled to have, upon the tax list, I can not conceive.

But, Mr. President, I want it understood that if the Senator from Iowa chooses to equalize this by putting binding twine upon the tax list, then I do not agree with him, and will not vote with him. If you wish to impose this tax upon the Southern planter, you have the power to do it; but it is unjust, it is unfair, it is an outrage upon decency in every possible way; and although it is done by Senators from the Northwest, even then, Mr. President, I will not cast a vote to place binding twine upon the dutiable list. No wrong that you can impose upon the people of the South will induce me to do a wrong to the farmers of the Northwest.

I believe that binding twine, as well as cotton bagging, should be absolutely free, and I trust that when the committee have duly deliberated they will conclude that these articles, binding twine, cotton ties, and cotton bagging, which are of absolute necessity to the farmers of the country, the farmers whom the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. DAVIS] this morning told us he was anxious to protect—I say I trust it may be equalized by placing all of them on the free list and none on the dutiable list.

As I said a while ago, I have no desire to enter into controversy with any Senator upon this side of the Chamber, but I repeat that I do not believe the people of the South, although injustice may have been done them, although they receive great injustice in this bill—I do not believe that any great number of them desire to stand before the country saying that "It is all wrong, it is all unjust, it is dishonest, as the Democratic convention said in 1892, but we want our part of it." I will not vote for it. I refused the other day to vote to tax lumber, when the lumber interest of my State is the largest perhaps of any State in the South, except one, it may be, and I do not know which is the larger of the two. I said then that I did not believe in a tax for the purpose of protection. I will not vote for it to protect an article in my State and say that it is a robbery to protect an article produced in another State, because I believe such a position is unjustifiable and inexcusable, and one that no man upon this floor should ever occupy.

Mr. HAWLEY. And yet, Mr. President, the Senator has twice voted for protection in Presidential elections. With the sincere desire to promote harmony here, I present a platform upon which I presume the whole Senate can agree. The Democratic party has twice agreed to it, and I am sure it will quite well satisfy the Republicans. I read from the Democratic platform of 1884, upon which Mr. Cleveland ran for President and was elected, and the next platform, upon which he also ran:

> Knowing full well, however, that legislation affecting the operations of the people should be cautious and conservative in method, not in advance of public opinion, but responsive to its demands, the Democratic party is pledged to revise the tariff in a spirit of fairness to all interests. But in making reduction in taxes it is not proposed to injure any domestic industries, but rather to promote—
>
> To promote—
>
> their healthy growth. From the foundation of this Government taxes collected at the custom-house have been the chief source of Federal revenue. Such they must continue to be. Moreover, many industries have come to rely upon legislation for successful continuance, so that any change of law must be at every step regardful of the labor and capital thus involved. The process of the reform must be subject in the execution to this plain dictate of justice—all taxation shall be limited to the requirements of economical government. The necessary reduction and taxation can and must be effected without depriving American labor of the ability to compete successfully with foreign labor and without imposing lower rates of duty than will be ample to cover any increased cost of production which may exist in consequence of the higher rate of wages prevailing in this country.

Now for the platform of 1888; candidates, Grover Cleveland and Allen G. Thurman:

> Our established domestic industries and enterprises should not and need not be endangered by the reduction and correction of the burdens of taxation. On the contrary, a fair and careful revision of our tax laws, with due allowance for the difference between the wages of American and foreign labor, must promote and encourage every branch of such industries and enterprises by giving them assurance of an extended market and steady and continuous operations.

Under that platform the country was prosperous.

Mr. BERRY. If the Senator from Connecticut will be kind enough to read the Democratic platform of 1892 on the tariff question, I will say to him that it is the one which expresses my views entirely.

Mr. HAWLEY. I thought it was the pride of the Democracy that it has not changed since the time of Thomas Jefferson, and he was a good protectionist and an antislavery man.

Mr. BERRY. There is where I differ with the Senator from Connecticut. With regard to the antislavery question, I do not take issue with him. I deny that Thomas Jefferson ever was a protectionist in any way whatever. If there was any man in this country who was not a protectionist, it was Thomas Jefferson.

I wish to say to the Senator that I remember the platforms of 1884 and 1888; but further, the platform of 1892, upon which Mr. Cleveland was elected the last time, proposes and embodies entirely my views on the question. There it is said that every dollar that is taken except for purposes of revenue is unconstitutional and a robbery. I believed it then, and I believe it yet.

Mr. CHANDLER. Will the Senator from Arkansas who has just taken his seat allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. BERRY. Certainly.

Mr. CHANDLER. It is not about ancient platforms, but one that was laid down here yesterday by the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. JONES]:

> Mr. President, there is no question that whenever a tariff duty is imposed on a raw material which enters into a manufacture there must be a compensation allowed to the manufacturer for the increased prices he must pay for his raw material. There can be no question about it. It is plain, simple, common sense.

Mr. President, I present that as a platform for this immediate exigency upon which we on this side of the Chamber can certainly agree. Does the Senator from Arkansas agree to that platform?

Mr. BERRY. I would not presume to answer for my colleague in his presence, because he can certainly do it far better than I can.

Mr. CHANDLER. I ask the Senator himself.

Mr. BERRY. I will say to the Senator from New Hampshire that as he has construed it and read it, I believe in it in no way and in no sense. I do not believe that you can impose a tax for the purpose of increasing the price of any article in any way for protective purposes without being guilty of a great wrong to the people of the United States, and I care not whether it comes upon raw material, a compensatory duty, or in any other way. If the object and purpose behind it is to increase the price of that article, then I say, in the language of the Democratic platform of 1892, it is none the less a robbery, to quote the language of Mr. Justice Miller, of the United States Supreme Court, because it is done under the forms of law.

Mr. CHANDLER. The junior Senator from Arkansas says "no." Now, will the Senator from Georgia [Mr. BACON] kindly allow me to ask him the same question? Does he agree to the doctrine as laid down by the senior Senator from Arkansas yesterday?

Mr. BERRY. I yield to the Senator from Georgia.

Mr. CHANDLER. And if he says yes or no, or after he defines his position, then I shall take the liberty, if I may do so without giving offense, to ask the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. TILLMAN] whether he agrees to it, because I think, without regard to these old, musty, inconsistent platforms which the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. HAWLEY] has read, we may possibly be able to agree upon a principle that will settle the precise issue which the Senator from Georgia raised this morning. Will the Senator from Georgia tell us whether he agrees to what the senior Senator from Arkansas said yesterday?

Mr. BACON. I wish to congratulate the Senator from New Hampshire upon the successful manner in which he plays the rôle of schoolmaster. I will gratify him by saying that I do not believe in it. I believe in uniform duties on everything.

Mr. CHANDLER. Two Senators have dissented, and, if I can be kindly tolerated, I will ask the Senator from South Carolina the same question. I should like his answer.

Mr. TILLMAN. The Senator from New Hampshire had better sit down. He might get tired before I get through.

Mr. CHANDLER. With pleasure.

Mr. TILLMAN. Mr. President, this washing of Democratic dirty linen is nothing new to me. I have been doing it for some years now, and I have been trying to get the Senate to do some of it, but thus far the committee has not reported, and we do not know whether or not we will get the opportunity.

I do not propose to be misrepresented here in the attitude which I have assumed in the broad light of day as an American Senator, responsible only to the people of South Carolina and enlightened public opinion throughout the country. If it comes to the question of protection for protection's sake, I am not a protectionist, unless it be to this extent: I announced the general doctrine the other day that it is for the best interests of the American people, taken as a whole, judged from the standpoint of statesmanship, to produce what we consume.

If there be any industry in this country which, by reason of foreign competition, can not live and give diversified labor or more employment to our people, and which by a small tariff can be protected to the extent that it can get on its feet, I say it would be wisdom to give it. The only trouble is that when you have started your infant by giving him first milk and then bread and raising him up to be a man, you continue to protect him until he begins to feel the effect of competition, and then he forms a combination or trust and marches abroad in the open light of day a robber, to take from every household in this land tribute levied through the forms of law by Congress under the system of protection. There is where I draw the line. I say you ought not to allow a single trust or combination to come in here and get a duty on anything, because you levy unjust tribute on the American people whenever you do it.

Let us go back for a moment to look at the Democratic party's record. After thirty years or more of exile from government—that is, any controlling power in the Government; for while we at times had possession of the Senate and of the House, the Republicans had the President and the veto power, and there never was a time until 1892 that the people gave us full control of all branches of the Government—we came here on a platform that year demanding a tariff for revenue only.

I led the South Carolina delegation in casting its solid vote in the Chicago convention in 1892 to kick out the spurious bastard that had been brought there by Mr. Cleveland's representative as the declaration of the party on the question of tariff. We cast 18 solid votes from South Carolina in favor of that platform, and I believed in it. I believe in it now. We elected the House, we elected the Senate, we elected the President. They came here charged with carrying out the party pledges. What did they give us? A tariff for revenue only? Oh, no! The Wilson Act, the framers of which, sitting in this Chamber, will not deny that it is a protective tariff from end to end.

Mr. VEST. I deny it. I deny that any tariff is protective from end to end that has in it free salt, free lumber, and free wool, and also the income tax.

Mr. TILLMAN. The income tax is not a tariff.

Mr. VEST. I know that; but I am speaking of the act as a whole.

Mr. TILLMAN. The exception does but prove the rule, and the schedules, taking them throughout, are protective.

Mr. VEST. No.

Mr. TILLMAN. It is said that you passed that tariff under duress, constrained to do so by traitors in the party, who held you by the throat and forced you to accept what you had proclaimed as a fraud and a robbery. You were recreant to Democratic principles and betrayed the party, and the people kicked you out, as you deserved to be kicked out. The Democratic majority in the House of 140 was reversed in the next election, giving the Republicans an equally large majority.

Let us consider for a moment the question of expediency under which the tariff was passed as the best that could be had under the circumstances—the Senate holding the House down and forcing it to accept the sugar differential and everything else; the bill voted for by the Democratic caucus, and forced through the Senate was forced through the House with the knowledge that if the House rejected it the tariff bill would fail. Suppose it had failed. Suppose the Democratic Senators here had stood by the Democratic platform of 1892 and said, "If we can not carry out that platform, we will have nothing," and had put the responsibility where it belonged. Where would our Republican friends be to day? Could they have bamboozled and deceived the people of America last November into the belief that the Wilson free-trade tariff has brought disaster upon this country?

Departure from rectitude and solemn pledges is never permissible. I do not claim that it is. You yourselves set the example when you gave the country a bastard Democratic tariff under Democratic auspices. You voted for it because you could not get anything better, just as I am voting to-day to get what little I can from the Republican party for my own section. I know I can not prevent the passage of the measure, no matter how I vote. Every man here and anywhere else knows I have not trafficked with you Republicans. I have not bargained with you, I have not begged you, I have not interceded for any industry or interest in South Carolina. I simply voted as I have because I felt if we were to have this infamy it was best for South Carolina to get what little it could, and the people of South Carolina will hold me responsible or not as they see proper, and I am ready to rise or fall by their decision.

The Democratic party when it came into power in 1893 did not carry out its pledges. The same platform which you have exploited here to-day as the essence of Democracy demanded the free coinage of silver upon certain conditions, leaving it to Congress to fix the ratio. The President, by his patronage, bought enough Representatives at the other end of the Capitol to get through a measure for the repeal of the Sherman Act, and when it came here he bought enough Senators to get it through. The party betrayed, disgusted, and almost disbanded. But for the fact that there has been a new leadership, a turning down and turning out of old fossils and traitors, we would to-day be hopeless, instead of being

buoyant with hope, determined and aggressive, and progressive, the last the most hopeful sign of all.

We are face to face with conditions and not theories. We must realize that we have to fight the Republicans with fire, on the doctrine that you must fight the devil with fire. I propose, if an amendment is offered here putting binding twine on the dutiable list, to vote for it, because I want your wheat farmers to be on an equality with ours who grow cotton, and that is as near the poorhouse as we know how to get.

I want you to press home on them the love you have for the agriculturist, and not to feed him on this soft corn of 25 cents a bushel tariff on wheat and everything else, which you know does not give him any protection, while you refuse him a bounty. You do not give him any absolute or actual help at all, but you simply offer him specious generalities and pretenses, humbuggery and falsehood. I want to get him to understand that Republican professions, like Democratic professions in the past, are only lip deep when they come to deal with the agricultural interests.

I hope to go into the West some day and meet some of you gentlemen among your own constituents and tell them how you stood here and had an opportunity to offer some little modicum, a small percentage in return of what you had taken, which would have been in absolute accord with your professions of protection—trying to protect everything American, and with the doctrine of America for Americans carried out in good faith I will tell them how you stood here and voted "no," just as the gentlemen on this side, proclaiming the doctrine of equality, equal rights to all and special privileges to none, voted "no," too, and refused to give back to their people that which they claim will be stolen from them by forms of law.

If anybody wants to know where I stand, I think he understands it now. I am not ashamed of the position. I claim to be as good a Democrat as ever walked in shoe leather, as I understand the principles of Democracy; that is, equality, equality, equality; equality of opportunity, equality of burden. That is the fundamental doctrine of Democracy. If we of the South can not get equality under a Republican tariff and under Republican administration, then I want just as much of it as possible, and I will not thank you whether you give it to me or not, and I will not submit to criticism from Democrats who differ with me without striking back.

Mr. HAWLEY. Mr. President, I think I must justify myself in saying that Thomas Jefferson adhered to the protective doctrine, and I mildly protest against the Senator from New Hampshire when he referred to some late Democratic platforms as musty. It is the pride and boast of that party that it never gets musty; that it is eternal and unchangeable. I said Thomas Jefferson was a protectionist. In his second annual message he described as a prominent duty of Congress—

> To protect the manufactures adapted to our circumstances.

The first revenue act of the Government, the tariff act of 1789, distinctly avowed that it was not only for the purpose of revenue, but to protect our manufactures. Now, that succeeded. It did raise revenue. There was likelihood of a surplus, and Mr. Jefferson, speaking of the best method of disposing of the surplus, said:

> Shall we suppress the imposts (duties) and give that advantage to foreign over our domestic manufactures? On a few articles of more general and necessary use the suppression in due season will doubtless be right; but the great mass of the articles on which imposts are laid are foreign luxuries, purchased by those only who are rich enough to afford themselves the use of them.

Again he wrote, and this is more specific:

> The general inquiry now is, Shall we make our own comforts or go without them at the will of a foreign nation?

Note this, please:

> He, therefore, who is now against domestic manufactures must be for reducing us either to a dependence upon that nation or to be clothed in skins and live like beasts in caves and dens. I am proud to say I am not one of these. Experience has taught me that manufactures are now as necessary to our independence as to our comforts.

Again he said:

> The prohibiting duties we lay on all articles of foreign manufacture which prudence requires us to establish at home, with the patriotic determination of every good citizen to use no foreign article which can be made within ourselves, without regard to difference of price, secures us against a relapse into foreign dependency.

Again, in 1817, he said:

> The history of the last twenty years has been a significant lesson for us all to depend for necessaries on ourselves alone; and I hope twenty years more will place the American hemisphere under a system of its own, essentially peaceable and industrious and not needing to extract its comforts out of the eternal fires raging in the Old World.

That is not musty.

Mr. BURROWS. Mr. President, recurring to the subject which is immediately before the Senate, namely, the question of flax and the amendment proposed by the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. JONES], I will state that the State of Michigan is so much interested in the industry that I would feel myself recreant in duty if I did not present a petition signed by people in the city of Yale engaged in this industry. They say:

YALE, MICH., *January 27, 1897.*

Hon. Nelson Dingley, Jr., chairman,
And members of the Ways and Means Committee.

GENTLEMEN: I desire to call your attention to the following situation regarding the flax industry in Michigan and elsewhere.

We established our first flax mill here at Yale in 1887. Since that time we have established scutching mills at Fargo, St. Clair County; Brown City, Crosswell, and Deckerville, in Sanilac County, and Berne, in Huron County.

The entire product of these mills is handled from this place, where we have shops and appliances for hackling the same. At the time we established the plant the McKinley bill was in force, and under its provisions we felt warranted in making the necessary investment, and believed that the industry could be successfully established and built up in this country.

It is our practice to furnish seed for the farmers in the vicinity of each of these mills, and when delivered we pay them by the ton for their product. Prices have averaged about $10 per ton. By this means we have paid out to farmers tens of thousands of dollars annually, and at a time of year when they have little else to sell.

We find that there is much territory in this State where a first-class fiber can be produced. The soil and climate are suitable, and farmers are anxious to continue the culture, but find that it is simply impossible for us to continue the business under existing conditions, for the following reasons:

The industry is but recently established and must be encouraged in order to get farmers interested in the culture of flax. The labor paid for scutching and hackling in European countries is but one-half of that paid for the same work by our firm. The following is a fair approximate statement of the first cost of the product of 100 tons of green flax:

Price paid to farmers	$1,000
Paid for scutching, thrashing, handling, and hackling	1,400
Approximate total cost at mills	2,400

You will notice that of this total, five-twelfths is the raw product of the farmer, wholly unprotected under the provisions of the Wilson bill, while seven-twelfths of the amount is paid out for labor, as above stated.

We find that for the labor paid for thrashing, scutching, etc., we pay one-third more than is paid in Europe, while for hackling we pay twice as much as is paid there, upon which point we refer you to the attached affidavit of George Anderson, who has worked in the mills of that country and many years at the same work at various places in this country.

In order to place the American farmer, and also the American who scutches and dresses flax for the market, on an equal footing with like classes in Europe, it is absolutely necessary that there be a sufficient protective tariff placed on both to cover at least the difference in labor paid here and abroad.

We have taken pains to have a large number of native-born Americans, principally young men, taught the various branches of our business; and it is impossible for them to exist upon such wages as are paid abroad.

In this connection you will observe that a large percentage of the $10 per ton paid to the farmer is his labor, while at least from 60 to 75 per cent of the total amount received by us for our product is again paid out for labor here. All of this labor is thus brought in direct competition with the cheap labor of Europe.

To afford a sufficient protection to enable us to continue the business and fully establish the industry here, we suggest the following rates:

On hackled flax, 3 cents per pound.
On unhackled flax, 1½ cents per pound.
On hackled and flax tow, 1 cent per pound.
On all other flax tows, 1 cent per pound.
On upholstering tow, one-half cent per pound.
Paper-stock tow, free.

We desire to also call your attention to the fact that we are compelled to import seed from Holland every second year for distribution among farmers. This seed does not come in competition with the product of American farmers, as seed must be changed in order to improve the fiber. Therefore we suggest that seed for the purpose of sowing should be imported duty free. We respectfully refer you to the findings of Special Agent Charles Richards Dodge upon this point.

Undoubtedly the spinners who appear before your committee will urge that unhackled flax and tow should be admitted duty free, because of the claim made by them that it is raw material. But we wish to call your attention to the fact that these are the finished products of the farmer and of the American mills, and unless these be protected the industry can never be established in this country.

Most respectfully submitted.

JAS. LIVINGSTON & CO.

STATE OF MICHIGAN, *County of St. Clair, ss:*

George Anderson, being first duly sworn, deposes and says that he is a resident of Yale, St. Clair County, Mich.; that he is a flax dresser by trade, and is now engaged in that business; that he was born in Scotland, and moved from that country to Andover, Mass., about seventeen years ago; that previous to that time he had been engaged in dressing flax at his home town in Scotland; that for a full week's labor, working by the piece, and consisting of six full days of ten hours per day, this deponent was enabled to earn on the average from £1 sterling to £1 5s., or its equivalent of from $5 to $6 per week; that he has been constantly engaged in said work of dressing flax since his arrival in this country, and that his earnings for the same class of work for a week of six days of ten hours per day, working by the piece, averages from $10 to $11.50 per week.

This deponent further says that he meets fellow-workmen who have come to this country from Scotland, Ireland, and England at various times since he arrived here, and has learned from them the state of the work and the amount paid for labor there; that from direct information thus obtained this deponent states that the workmen engaged in this work are enabled to earn, on the average, twice as much in wages for the same character and amount of labor in this country as in the said foreign countries above named.

GEORGE ANDERSON.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 19th day of January, 1897.

HARVEY TAPPAN,
Notary Public, St. Clair County.

I have also a letter from a gentleman who, I think, is the largest producer of flax in the United States. He is largely interested in the industry, and, as it is a very short letter, I will read it:

YALE, MICH., *May 25, 1897.*

DEAR SIR: We are in receipt of yours of the 14th instant, and fully note contents. We are very much pleased to learn that you will use your influence, when the proper time comes, to further the interest of the flax industry. The schedule as passed by the House, although not what the Western

flax men ask for, would be fairly satisfactory to us, or, in other words, the McKinley rates restored as they were previous to the Wilson bill. The great cry of the spinners has been that we could not raise flax for fiber purposes in this country, but we have demonstrated to the Ways and Means Committee beyond a doubt that at least in Michigan we can grow just as good flax as can be grown anywhere in Canada or Europe. As a matter of fact, we have imported hundreds of tons of Canadian flax and hackled it here, then sold it as American flax, and the spinners could not tell where it was grown.

We have this spring sowed nearly 4,000 acres for fiber purposes, and an industry of this vast importance to the farmers ought to at least have a reasonable amount of protection to cover at least the difference in cost of labor. The spinners claim it is their raw material, but forget it is the farmers' and flax merchants' manufactured product. They have had from 35 to 50 per cent duty on their manufactured goods to enable them to compete with the cheap foreign labor of Europe, and strongly object to the farmers and flax merchants having 10 per cent; and we have to compete with the same field of labor and pay the same wages. This is certainly an injustice, and the industry must go down unless a reasonable amount of protection is afforded them. We are the largest growers of flax for fiber in the United States, and will be very much pleased to furnish you any information you may desire on the subject. We also inclose you copy of memorial submitted to the Ways and Means Committee. We would like to send you samples of our flax, which might be submitted to an expert without their knowing where it was grown. We feel safe in saying there is no better for spinning purposes; in fact, all the spinners have been using it for years. And why allow the foreigner to produce all our flax?

Yours, very truly,

JAS. LIVINGSTON & CO.

Hon. J. C. BURROWS,
Washington, D. C.

I ask to have inserted in the RECORD a statement by the president of the Minnesota Flax Company, which covers the whole question.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. CHANDLER in the chair). In the absence of objection, the paper will be printed in the RECORD.

The paper is as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April 13, 1897.*

GENTLEMEN: I wish to call your attention to the inadequacy of the rates proposed by the House tariff bill, now being considered by you, upon at least two of the items in Schedule J, pertaining to flax, but particularly "Flax, not hackled or dressed, 1 cent per pound," and "Tow of flax, rotted, 1 cent per pound."

As a preface to my remarks, I will state that after centuries of culture, production, and use of flax and its textile, linen, throughout almost the whole of the known world, especially by the more enlightened nations, by whom it has ever been honored and esteemed, the United States has dishonored flax, and, by its failure or absolute refusal to encourage its growth and production, this country has been not only negligent of enterprising development, but wasteful to a degree beyond conception. Without going into the subject of the oft-proven suitability of soil and climate of this country, I will state that in the face of every possible discouragement this industry has been established upon commercial bases in the States of Michigan and Minnesota, the former having in operation six mills, by Messrs. James Livingston & Co., with headquarters at Yale, Mich., and the latter two mills, one at Northfield, Minn., operated by the Minnesota Flax Company, Minneapolis, and the other at Rochester, operated by Messrs. Furlow & Co. There are, besides these, one fully equipped with machinery at Sioux City, Iowa (the Floyd Valley Flax Fiber Company, Capt. T. P. Gere), which has been idle for several years, and one is about starting in Oregon, Mrs. Governor William P. Lord being associated with its establishment. Many others would have been (or will soon be) in operation were there any encouragement offered by protection to equalise the cost of labor here with that of countries abroad where flax is produced.

That you may partially appreciate the true status of this industry as it exists now, and particularly as demonstrating its almost limitless possibilities for this country in the near future, I will say that the Minnesota Flax Company, Minneapolis, Minn., are now working up only their second crop of flax, and that it is suitable for use of Belfast spinners, where the finest class of spinning is done. They have now in process of practical test in Belfast and Lisburn, Ireland, about 3,000 pounds, and have received encouraging reports, notwithstanding the market is more depressed than ever before known. This, too, in the absence here of thoroughly trained or "expert" labor. The fact is also established that the foreign market affords us a better price than the American. This is no doubt owing to the vastly greater variety of spinning and weaving done abroad and to the inability of the American spinners to pay beyond a certain price for their flax, because their spinning and weaving are as yet only of the coarsest grade.

With reference to my claim that the rates as named in the schedule of the House Ways and Means Committee are inadequate and inequitable for flax, I beg to offer the following: Take as a basis flax, unhackled, at 1 cent per pound, and retted flax tow, at 1 cent per pound. Unhackled flax (water-retted) is worth 9 cents to 10 cents per pound. This makes the duty equal to 11 per cent. Unhackled flax (dew retted) is worth 7 cents per pound. The 1 cent per pound duty is equal to 14¼ per cent ad valorem. Retted flax tow is also worth now about 7 cents per pound. This makes the duty equal to 14¼ per cent ad valorem. Now, the hemp schedule is assuredly none too high; yet compare the flax rates, as above, with them: "Hemp, hackled, known as 'line of hemp,' or 'dressed line,' $50 per ton;" this is equal to 33⅓ per cent, as the market price is $150 per ton. Hemp, $25 per ton (1½ cents pound); market price for this April 1 was $75 to $95 per ton, or 3¾ cents to 4¾ cents per pound; the ad valorem upon this is 33⅓ per cent to 25 per cent, according to price, or, we will say, an average of 29 per cent. Tow of hemp, not carded, 1 cent per pound; price, 3½ cents, equal to 29¼ per cent.

RECAPITULATION:

	Per cent.
Flax:	
Hackled, 3 cents per pound (dew retted)	21¼
Unhackled, 1 cent per pound (water retted)	11
Unhackled, 1 cent per pound (dew retted)	14¼
Retted tow, 1 cent per pound	14¼
Hemp:	
Hackled, 2½ cents per pound	33⅓
Unhackled, 1½ cents per pound, average	29
Tow, 1 cent per pound	29¼

Without taking into consideration the greater amount of expert labor required to produce unhackled or scutched flax, as compared with unhackled hemp, it will be seen that an injustice has been done to flax, and I beg that you will amend the flax schedule to read:

323. Flax, not hackled or dressed, 2 cents per pound.
324. Flax, hackled, known as "dressed line," 4 cents per pound.
325. XXX tow of retted flax, 2 cents per pound.

If these rates are adopted, the percentages would then only be, using as basis the prices heretofore mentioned:

	Per cent.
Flax:	
Hackled, known as "dressed line"	28½
Unhackled (water retted)	22
Unhackled (dew retted)	28½
Retted tow	28½

These rates would be practically the same as hemp, and would fairly equalise them, as well as being a step in the direction toward aiding us to continue to pay the scale of wages we now do, this scale being from 100 per cent to 300 per cent higher than are paid in foreign flax-raising countries. As another reason for asking you to advance the rates upon unhackled flax and retted flax tows, is to prevent the repetition of fraudulent undervaluations and efforts to import "roughed" or only partly hackled flax as "scutched" or unhackled flax, which I am credibly informed has been done. I could furnish other arguments, if necessary, but I trust those I have enumerated will be sufficient. But you must also be impressed with the meagerness of even the highest rates I have named as affording only slight protection to our industry.

Earnestly soliciting your favorable consideration of and action upon my petition, I beg to subscribe myself,

Very truly, yours,

S. H. WARDEN,
President Minnesota Flax Company, Minneapolis, Minn.

The COMMITTEE ON FINANCE,
United States Senate.

Mr. STEWART. Mr. President, since there has been so much comment on platforms and so much criticism of votes, which produce the same result, but spring from different motives, I think it well to call attention to the Chicago platform of last year, 1893, the last declaration of the Democratic party. I think it is in exact point upon the question whether a tariff should be equally distributed and protection should be extended to all. I read from the platform:

We hold that the tariff duties should be levied for purposes of revenue, such duties to be so adjusted as to operate equally throughout the country and not discriminate between class or section, and that taxation should be limited by the needs of the Government honestly and economically administered.

When I am told that a duty on woolen cloth with wool on the free list is in accordance with that platform, I must say that if such a declaration is true, my knowledge of the English language is very defective. That would certainly discriminate against the people engaged in agriculture and those engaged in manufactures. It would discriminate between classes and between sections. Manufacturers are a class and farmers are a class. The labor of one is entitled to as much protection as the other. There is nothing peculiarly sacred about the labor in the manufacturing cities of the East which would cause it to be protected while the labor upon a farm is not protected, but is on the free list. I say a tax that will protect the labor engaged in the manufacturing of woolen cloth and refuse to protect the labor engaged in the raising of sheep and producing wool is an unjust discrimination; it is unfair. So I might say with regard to many other articles.

I care not for a man's motives, whether he votes for a protective tariff to produce revenue or whether he votes for the same protective tariff to produce protection. If it results in the same thing, I take his vote, if it is according to my way of thinking, no matter what his motive may be. It is all nonsense to talk about motives in regard to this bill. It is like the idea of a man committing murder with his eyes open, shooting a man and saying that his motive is to save his soul, or something of that kind, and another one's motive is that his soul may be damned. I think the moral folly in each case would be about the same. I do not think there is much difference.

It is established beyond controversy, agreed by all parties, that there shall be a tariff, and that the tariff shall be levied in the main upon competitive articles, because Democrats and Republicans from time immemorial have as a rule put on the free list those articles which we do not produce in this country and on the protective list those that we do produce in competition with other countries. That has been the rule. Sometimes the Republicans have put on the free list articles that ought to be on the protective list, and they have made an unjust discrimination, and the Democrats have done the same; but I speak of the general rule. It is the consensus of opinion that we shall have a protective tariff.

The Wilson Act was a protective tariff measure. It has been suggested that it was defective, because it made a discrimination against wool and did not protect everything that ought to have been protected. That was a defect in it; but it did not go to the general theory and general framework of the bill as a protective measure. The discussion during the long hot days of the summer session in which that bill was passed was as to how much the article would bear, what degree of protection was necessary. The whole discussion was as to whether the protection would be sufficient and how it would be effective. And the discussion on this bill has been, from beginning to end, how the particular tariff would affect the production of the article, whether it would be a monopoly, whether it would be wrong, whether it would be excessive, whether it would be prohibitory, or whether it would be protective and still allow competition and raise revenue.

I believe the general theory, according to the discussions on both sides of the Chamber, is the same. Both sides want protection, and neither will say that they want prohibition. None of them want a prohibitory tariff. In other words, they say they do not want to build a Chinese wall around this country, but they want commerce, and consequently they must levy a tariff so that there can be some competition. That is agreed to by both sides, and they go on discussing the question upon the particular article.

I say that so long as the theory is assented to that we shall have a protective tariff, and so long as the parties act upon that theory, it is absurd to bring in the free-trade theory and propose to put some article on the free list and thus discriminate against the section of the country where that article is produced. When my friend from South Carolina wanted a tariff on cotton for the purpose of reaching the Egyptian staple cotton that is competing with it, he was representing his section properly and rightfully, and when we ask in the West for a tax on those articles that are peculiar to our section of the country, we are simply seeking to have the principles of the Chicago platform carried out and asking that there shall be no discrimination against class or section.

It is not worth while to try to make an issue between the two parties on the tariff. There is no issue between them, and has not been since the theory of free trade was given up. Every effort that is made to place upon the free list an article that is produced in this country in competition with other countries is made in favor of discrimination and against the Chicago platform. If we could levy a tariff that could reach all competitive articles and be such as to produce revenue and make foreign trade, it would stand; every section would agree to it. The difficulty about our tariffs is that they are unjust. Take the matter of hides. All farmers raise some cattle and produce hides. That is done with American labor. But, it is said, there is some theory that must be followed, and you shall not protect that class of American labor. I want to know why it is not just as beneficial to the Government of the United States to have laborers in the fields as it is to have them in the cities?

It is a violation of the principle of equality which makes tariffs distasteful. You have agreed all around to have a protective tariff. Now make it honest and protect all sections alike, as declared in the Chicago platform, and your tariff will stand. It is idle to attempt to make a national issue on the protective question when there is no issue between the parties. I know that there is a temptation to grab, to get undue protection on some articles, and to make discriminations. The legitimate fight here is upon discriminations, and both parties profess to be against discrimination. You can not make a national issue out of the tariff any more since free trade was abandoned; the planks are substantially the same, and all attempts to make them different by using different language to mean the same thing are futile.

The great issue is whether the people of the United States shall have money with which to do business and with which to buy, so that they can buy the products of the manufacturers and the products of the farms and prosper again, or whether a corner on the money of the world shall be continued and civilization mercilessly destroyed—whether a few men organized in London with a branch in the city of New York shall take from the people their circulating medium and make slaves of them. That is the issue. That is the issue in the Chicago platform, and that issue can not be superseded. Six and a half million people declared that that was the issue, and they meant it; and it has been reenforced by hundreds of thousands since, and they mean it.

The Chicago platform is the platform of a party marching on. It declares for an honest tariff without discrimination. I am in favor of such a tariff, levied to protect all interests alike, and a tariff which shall produce revenue. The labor in one section is as much entitled to protection as in another. I am in favor of that kind of a tariff, and I hope that we shall get it. But whether we get it or not, when this bill passes the tariff as an issue will be a thing of the past. The question has been agitated for a hundred years. We have had good times and bad times under high tariffs and low tariffs. There may be great injustice in the tariffs in the way of discriminations, but it can not be sufficient to mark the line between prosperity and universal depression.

In every instance when we had universal depression in this country we had a contraction of the money volume. Every panic has been produced by a contraction of the money volume. There never has been prosperity under contraction in any country on earth. When prices are falling, business is necessarily stagnant, hope is removed, opportunities are lost. When prices are firm, prosperity universally follows, and the world is full of hope. Give that hope, let prices rise, let the people again have opportunities, and they will produce wealth. They will make this country prosperous, and happy, and wealthy under any tariff.

With continually falling prices, decay is inevitable. History marks that. Trace the history of every country, and it will show that the period of its decay was the period of contraction of the money volume and falling prices. The period of growth and prosperity of every country has been a period of expansion and rising prices. The difference between bad times and good times is marked by the line of falling prices on the one hand and rising prices on the other. With rising prices, labor can be converted into money by producing property and selling it for money and by selling the labor direct. When prices are falling, the production of property by labor is idle. Effort will not pay, and consequently effort ceases and man starves.

The great issue stands out before us in bold relief. The country is divided on it, the platform is formed, and the people have placed themselves in array of battle. They now understand what ails them, and they are marching into line. Any issue that you can form, like the tariff, that will make A or B rich or poor, but can not effect a general result, will be ignored in the grand struggle.

Let this tariff bill pass, and let the country see how impotent it is to restore prosperity while the iron grasp of contraction is paralyzing the enterprise of the country. I am in favor of its speedy passage, and I am in favor of having it in about any shape that the Republicans want it, so as to take from them the last particle of excuse. Do not let them tell us that they did not have a chance to produce prosperity. They will have the chance; they have the votes; they have the responsibility, and let them, if they can, redeem their pledges by tinkering with the tariff. It will be idle. That is my view about the bill. Having said this much, I think I am properly understood.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Mr. President, I believe the matter under consideration in the Senate is whether we shall have a tax of 1¼ cents or 3 cents upon paragraph 322 of the flax schedule. There are a few propositions which have been presented by different Senators, however, during the progress of this debate that I think I must take a minute or two to reply to.

The Senator from Nevada [Mr. STEWART] who has just taken his seat declares that he is in favor of protection; that he wants it uniform and wants everybody to have an equal benefit. Now, my understanding is that if by protection given to an individual he sells his product in the market at a better price than he would get otherwise, he gets an advantage by it.

I think that a protective tariff to be of any benefit whatever must necessarily and essentially be unfair. It must be for the benefit of certain people and against the interests of the masses. Whenever the Senator should succeed in having an ideal protective tariff, such as he would like to have, and makes it operate equally on everybody, then no one on the face of the earth would care anything about it, because nobody would get any benefit of it. The reason why it is advocated now is because somebody gets a benefit.

I am opposed to a protective tariff because I do not believe that there is any power vested constitutionally in Congress or anywhere else to levy a tax upon the people of this country except for public purposes alone. I believe that Justice Miller, in an often-quoted sentence, used in a case that is well known to everybody, spoke the literal and exact truth of the constitutional power, and, as it deserves to live in the minds of the American people everywhere, I will read the quotation. Judge Miller said:

> To lay with one hand the power of the Government on the property of the citizen and with the other bestow it on private individuals to aid private enterprises and build up private fortunes is none the less robbery because it is done under the forms of law and is called taxation. This is not legislation; it is a decree under legislative forms.

In more literal and exact truth a great principle was never enunciated by a great Republican judge. I believe that that is the truth, and hence I am opposed to protective tariffs everywhere.

The Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. CHANDLER] a few minutes ago catechised several Senators as to whether they believe a statement of mine made on yesterday is correct. I will read my expression:

> Mr. President, there is no question that whenever a tariff duty is imposed on a raw material which enters into a manufacture there must be a compensation allowed to the manufacturer for the increased prices he must pay for his raw material.

Of course, if we expect that manufacturer to stand on an even footing with other manufacturers, if our American manufacturer is not to be handicapped, if we are not to impose any hardships and burdens upon him, we must compensate him for whatever burdens we put upon the material he uses. If it is right and proper that burdens shall be imposed upon manufacturers, and that our manufacturers shall be handicapped and rendered unable to compete with other manufacturers in the world, if that is the purpose of Congress, then, of course, it is proper enough that there shall be no compensation for a tax levied upon them by a tariff of that sort.

I used that expression, Mr. President, to show that I am opposed to the levy of a tax upon raw materials. You can not handicap our manufacturers by levying taxes of that sort without compensating them equally somewhere else. It is, as I said yesterday, a plain matter of common sense, as it seems to me.

While I am unalterably opposed to a protective tariff, I do not believe in revolution. I believe that these old moss-grown iniquities ought to be removed, but they must be removed one by one. You can not take down a brick wall with safety by beginning at the bottom. You must take the bricks off the top. You must remove the taxes upon the raw materials first and lower the taxes on the manufactured products step by step, degree by degree, until you have been able to take away the whole of the system. It can not be done otherwise.

I am not in favor of destroying any interest. I have said that again and again. When a system has been in vogue for thirty years, when we have been maintaining it, and have encouraged people to invest money in manufactures that have been kept up and that have grown up under high protection, I do not believe it is right that we should revolutionize the whole of that thing in an hour. I believe that time ought to be given for American interests to adjust themselves to changes in the law. Hence I am in favor, and earnestly in favor, of having raw materials free. I think it is a simple impossibility to talk about beginning your system of taxation by taxing raw materials that enter into everything.

Mr. CHANDLER. May I ask the Senator a question there?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Certainly.

Mr. CHANDLER. Referring to his figure of taking down the tariff edifice by beginning at the top, brick by brick, until it is all gone, I wish to ask the Senator whether he believes that that can be accomplished in this country without reducing the wages of labor in all branches of industry down to the rates that prevail in foreign countries?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. All of this, Mr. President, do I most devoutly believe. There is no sort of question in my mind that the American laborers can hold their own against any labor on the face of the green earth. On account of the intelligence, the superior manhood, the greater tact, the superior energy, the high-paid, high-fed American laborer can hold his own against the laborer anywhere.

Mr. CHANDLER. Now, if the Senator——

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Let me finish answering this question before the Senator starts another. If the Senator had done me the honor yesterday to have looked at some tables I put in the RECORD—I think it was yesterday—showing the enormous increase in industrial enterprise in this country as compared with Great Britain and Germany for the last twenty or thirty years, he would have seen the reasons for my belief. He would have understood that, while our manufacturers pay a man $3 per day in this country, whereas on the other side of the water he is paid $1.50, perhaps, in some countries, and 75 cents in others, the product of the American's labor is so much greater than the product of the labor of any ignorant, narrow-minded, half-fed, and half-clothed foreigner with whom he competes that it exceeds the product of the foreigner in a much larger ratio than his wages exceed the ratio of wages paid to the man on the other side. Hence the labor cost of the particular fabric in this country is less than it is on the other side.

This is not the case in every single instance, but it is the case as a rule, as I believe. I do not believe the American laborers are any more in danger of being overrun or driven out of their business because there is not some unjust system of taxation to enable their employers to take money unjustly and unfairly out of the pockets of other people than I believe the moon is made of green cheese.

Mr. CHANDLER. Then, Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. PASCO in the chair). Does the Senator from Arkansas yield to the Senator from New Hampshire?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Certainly.

Mr. CHANDLER. I understand the Senator to maintain that the whole fabric of protection as it has existed can be abandoned, and yet our manufacturers, capitalists, and laborers can continue to prosper with a rate of wages of labor in this country substantially twice what it is in European countries. That is the Senator's faith and belief, is it?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. That is my belief. The wages in England to-day, after they have been on a free-trade basis for half a century, are higher than they are anywhere on the Continent, where they have had protection all the time. I believe protection can be abandoned and yet the high wages maintained. The reason why the wages have been maintained in spite of your high taxes is because of the labor organizations. The effort has been made again and again to drive down the prices of labor. They are being notified to-day by members of the Senate that the prices of labor must go down; and yet you are proposing to raise tariffs higher than ever known before on the face of the earth. I venture the prediction now, if the bill passes (as it seems likely to do, looking at the solid phalanx that the Republican caucus has been able to organize for its support), and if the conference committee on the part of the Senate practically yield all the amendments that they have made and restore the outrageous rates, as it seems to me, that were in the Dingley bill, that the bill itself will absolutely destroy protection as a system. But I am not in favor of doing evil that good may come.

Mr. HAWLEY. I wish to ask the Senator a question.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Certainly.

Mr. HAWLEY. I appreciate his high compliment to the ingenuity and effective industry of the American workingmen, but I should like to know whether a man at $2 a day will shovel twice as much coal as a man at $1 a day. That is the essence of the Senator's philosophy.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. There is not as much difference as the Senator thinks, but I accept his illustration. I have seen that, Mr. President, more times than one in my life, and I have been in many positions in life. Any man who feels that it is a square thing and that he has a fair share in what he is doing, works with a better will, with more force, vim, and energy, than a man who believes that his labor is being forced out of him by unjust laws and by advantage being taken of him by the man for whom he works. Men do better labor, they do more efficient labor, even when handling coal, when they believe they are fairly and well paid than when they believe they are not well paid; and this is especially the case where they are well fed, as against the men who are not well fed and who are not well clad.

Mr. HAWLEY. There is no sort of doubt that the American workman is, and always will be, the best workman in the world; but where the foreigner tends six and eight machines, no American workman, however skillful, can attend twice that many, no matter what his rate of wages might be, even if he should receive twenty-five times as much.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The truth is, the man who gets a dollar a day does not attend as many machines as the other man. I am glad of the Senator's suggestion, and before we get through with this debate I will present a comparative statement I have, showing the number of spindles that are attended by a spinner in Great Britain in comparison with those attended by the spinners in the Senator's own State. The comparison is one to make any man proud of his American citizenship, of the American system, and of the practice in American institutions.

It will show that the American superintends almost twice as many spindles in many industries as the spinner does in England, while the American does not get twice the wages. If a tariff is going to raise the wages of the laboring people, why has it not raised the rate of wages in France, in Austria, and in Germany, where they have had high taxes from time immemorial? Why is it that in free-trade England, where they have had no tariff for half a century, the wages of labor are twice as high as are paid on the Continent? This shows plainly and distinctly that the rate of wages does not come from the tariff. The rate of wages paid in this country comes from the efficiency of labor and comes from the superiority of the American laborer, who simply understands his rights and will not be imposed upon to an unreasonable extent. He will not have his wages driven down to too low a point.

There is a point beyond which American labor can not be driven. You can herd European laborers, and by armed forces and parks of artillery you can compel them to submit to exactions that the American artisan will not submit to. He would prefer to pour out his blood like water, and leave his wife and children to struggle with what is to come hereafter, rather than to submit to exactions that go beyond the limitation of his endurance. Men who are not so well fed, men who have not the high aspirations and the manliness and dignity that Americans have, may submit to such wrongs, but Americans will not submit to them.

There is one thing I want to say just here. The Senator from Georgia [Mr. BACON] a short time ago, in the course of a speech, spoke of the constant reference to compensatory duties as being an attack upon him. I have not looked upon it in that light, and I want to say that in my discussion as to compensatory duties I am not attacking that Senator. It is a feature of this economic subject that we can not avoid discussing; it is bound to be discussed, and I propose to discuss it somewhat now; but I want the Senator from Georgia to understand that when I discuss it I am not discussing him or alluding to him or making any attack upon him.

When, the day that this proposition was made to put a 20 per cent tax on cotton, the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST] gave a number of reasons why it should not be adopted, and after he got through I took the floor and, after making a number of statements, I used this language:

But, Mr. President, in my opinion there is another substantial reason why the gentlemen who are advocating these high rates of tax will be in favor of a tariff on cotton. They know perfectly well that it will not increase the price of cotton one iota. While they make a pretense of protecting American cotton growers, they know they will get no benefit from it whatever; that when this tax is put on cotton and when an American mill is asking here for the protection necessary to enable it to make its business profitable, this committee, before we get through with the cotton schedule, will propose to increase the rates on cotton goods to compensate for the tax put on the raw material. Where will the argument proceed against it? We will answer

that no benefit whatever comes to the people of this country who raise cotton; that it will not raise the price. Here is the answer: But there is a provision for a tariff of 20 per cent, or so much a pound, which is to increase the cost of the raw material to the spinners, and therefore they must have the rate of taxation increased by just so much above what was necessary for them to have before the tariff was put on. They get a substantial benefit in that respect.

Mr. President, we know that the whole system of protection is based upon the idea that you must put a tax on the raw material, and then a compensatory tax on the very first thing that is manufactured out of the raw material. When the second commodity is used as a raw material in another enterprise, there must be another compensating tax upon that. So it runs from the bottom to the top, clear through the whole system. They are interlaced with each other from top to bottom, from the beginning to the end, without a single exception.

We know that this is so. We know that it has been the practice of Senators on the other side—and I gave that as a reason why we on this side ought not to vote for these taxes on raw material, because we knew this thing would be done. I say frankly, as I said at that time, the other side know that this 20 per cent tax on cotton is not going to handicap their manufacturers a particle; it is not going to raise the price of cotton a bit; the price of cotton will be the same in Liverpool as before; but they will make a pretext of it; they will avail themselves of the pretense that there is an increased cost of the raw material to put an increased tax on the manufactured product. The result will be, as I undertook to show, that our people will get no benefit from the tax on cotton, but they will carry a burden to compensate for what is claimed to be for their benefit. On yesterday, when another question was before the Senate, I illustrated that by calling attention to the condition of the wool trade and the wool tariff.

The Senator from Nevada [Mr. STEWART] a short time ago said that the wool schedule in the present law was in no sense a compliance with the Democratic platform adopted four years before. Perhaps it was not; but there can be no denying the fact that 40 per cent tax on woolen goods is a better and more equitable tax than a tax of 35 cents a pound specific and 50 per cent ad valorem in addition thereto, and a tax ranging from 40 to 100 and 120 per cent, and in some instances to 150 per cent, is a tax less to be endured than a tax of 40 per cent. I would not vote, if I had the making of a tariff bill, for a tax of 40 per cent upon woolens; but I would rather have a tax of 40 per cent than a tax of 100 per cent.

To reply to another point made by the Senator from Georgia, while I might be in favor of absolute free trade on some particular things that might be proposed here, I would rather have a tax of one-half of what is proposed by the bill than to take the whole rate proposed by the bill.

Mr. President, I agree very decidedly with the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. DAVIS] when he said some time since that there is no industry in this country so much depressed as agriculture. He was making an appeal for a higher tax upon flax, the very ground work, the very raw material, out of which a number of things are manufactured which are absolutely necessary in the domestic life of our people. If that were done, what would be the result? There would be a few flax manufacturers here and there who would be able to sell their flax at a higher price than they can sell it now; but, following the course always followed by the Republican party, there would be a compensating tax, compensating over and over again. Whatever protection was put on raw flax would be compensated for once, twice, thrice, and possibly four times before the product went to the individual user. So, after all, it is a shrewd device, a cunningly concocted scheme, to levy taxes upon the masses for the benefit of the few.

I have in my hand a sworn statement, made by a reputable business man in New York, and I have some quotations from a statement made by him, published in the Journal of Commerce. Here is his affidavit:

Joseph L. Frame, being duly sworn, deposes and says: I have been continuously engaged in the business of buying, selling, and handling linens for thirty-five years, and am perfectly familiar with the character and kinds of such goods which are most largely in use in this country. The foregoing statement is made from calculations based on goods which are only articles of common daily use; the items are not selected specially, but are a true and fair exhibit of consecutive qualities of goods of the same class, and this statement does not contain any items or articles which are of only small or occasional consumption.

JOSEPH L. FRAME.

Sworn to before me this 21 day of June, 1897.
[SEAL.] WALTER R. JONES,
Notary Public, Kings County.

Certificate filed in New York County.

This statement is interesting, Mr. President. It is headed, "Statement showing the equivalent ad valorem rates of duty on linen goods in common use under the proposed Senate bill of compound specific and ad valorem duties; also comparative rates under House bill."

This is a comparison between the House bill and the Senate bill. It is not a comparison with the present law; it is not a comparison with what is fair and right, but a comparison between the bill as it came from the House and the Senate bill as it stands here now. It is as follows:

	Ad valorem House bill.	Senate rate, 1½ cents per sq. yd. and 30 per cent.	3 cents per sq. yd. and 30 per cent.	7 cents per sq. yd. and 30 per cent.
Ordinary cream linen for sheeting and pillowcases, butcher and apron linen:	*Per cent.*	*Per cent.*	*Per cent.*	*Per cent.*
No. 1	40		71½	
2	40		70	
3	42		66½	
4	50		56½	
5	50			88
Tailor's duck for lining coats and clothing uses:				
No. 1	50		58½	
2	50			85
3	50		56½	
Brown hollands for staying and lining in clothing, trunk linings, and similar use:				
No. 1	31		69½	
2	50		62½	
3	50		58½	
4	50			99½
5	50			84
Black and colored canvas used for lining ladies' dresses:				
No. 1	40	56		
2	40	55		
4	34		69	
5	35		66	
6	36		64	
Tailor's padding for lining coats, standard goods	60		68	
Ladies' dress linen and costume linen:				
No. 1	30		70	
2	50		67½	
3	50		67	
4	50		64½	
5	50			99
6	50			93

These items of taxation in many of the linens of the cheaper sort, the kind which enters into general use among the people of the country, are increased more than 100 per cent, showing that the Senate committee has already increased the rates enormously. There is nothing which so well illustrates that as the sample the Senator from Delaware [Mr. GRAY] a few minutes ago exhibited to the Senate, an article of table damask, which would carry a tax of over 109 per cent—an enormous increase over the present law.

I hold in my hand a letter written by W. B. Cunningham, an importer, who says:

309 BROADWAY, NEW YORK, *June 1, 1897.*

Senator JAMES K. JONES,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Regarding Schedule J in the proposed tariff bill:

Jute carpeting.—The duties proposed are extraordinarily high—far higher than even the McKinley-bill rate of 6 cents per square yard—

This is a cheap class of carpeting—

which was prohibitory on certain grades of jute carpeting, viz, low grades. The proposed rates, viz, 5 cents per square yard and 35 per cent ad valorem on goods costing 15 cents per square yard and under, and 10 cents per square yard and 35 per cent ad valorem on goods costing over 15 cents per square yard, would be prohibitory on all grades of jute carpeting. I trust, therefore, you will succeed in reducing the proposed rates to not over the McKinley rate of 6 cents per square yard.

I inclose a comparative statement of duties on a shipment of jute carpeting I received here lately.

This is the part of the statement to which I desire to call special attention:

The net invoice cost of the goods was £499 9s. 5d., $2,431, on which I paid 20 per cent duty, $486.20.

Some of these goods could not have been imported under the McKinley rate of 6 cents per square yard, as the duty would have been so high, nearly double. Importations of all such goods would be stopped under the proposed Senate rates, which, as the statement shows, are extraordinarily high, viz, 275 per cent higher than present rate of duty and 162½ per cent higher than the McKinley rate.

I shall not read the whole of the letter, but will have it printed in the RECORD with my remarks.

The remainder of the letter is as follows:

In the hearings and statements submitted to the Ways and Means Committee, as published in Schedule J, the Lamond & Robertson Company (manufacturers of jute carpeting at Paterson, N. J.) state in the postscript of their letter: "The McKinley tariff rate, 6 cents per square yard on manufactured carpet, would suit us much better than what we have asked for." According to that, 6 cents per square yard would be ample protection, and that carpet manufacturing concern would be pleased and satisfied with the McKinley rate. Lamond & Robertson also stated, "6 cents per square yard would be really a protection of about 50 per cent ad valorem," and "4 cents per square yard would be, at least, a protection of about 34 per cent ad valorem," which is surely a high enough rate of duty to charge on a poor man's carpet; yet the new rates proposed are very much higher—far higher than the American manufacturers of jute carpeting asked for.

Yours, very truly,

WM. B. CUNNINGHAM.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I will now read the statement which accompanies the letter. It is as follows:

Statement showing present rate of duty on jute carpeting, McKinley rate, and proposed Senate rates.

Shipment per steamship *Douro* from Hull to New York, imported by William B. Cunningham, New York, marked "B. Co. No. 204—315. Net invoice cost, £499 9s. 5d. = $2,431."

Square yards, 13,579.

Duty as at present (paid on above), 20 per cent ad valorem	$486.20
McKinley rate, 6 cents per square yard, on 13,579 square yards	814.74

As against $486.20 at this time; and yet some of the Senators who have been making speeches here to-day seem to think it would have been the wisest thing possible for us not to have disturbed the McKinley law, but to let it stand on the statute book, and not to have passed the Wilson law, because, forsooth, it did not give them all they wanted.

The statement continues as follows:

Proposed new (Senate) rates.

Square yards.	Net value.	
7,623	$613, at 5 cents per square yard and 35 per cent	$1,827.60
5,956	1,818, at 10 cents per square yard and 35 per cent	
13,579	2,431	

Equals 275 per cent higher than present rate of duty; and equals 162½ per cent higher than McKinley rate of duty.

Above shipment contained a good average, of various grades, of jute carpeting. If a statement were made up solely on the lowest priced goods, under the proposed rates, the percentage of duty would be very much higher, but even the above shows that the rates proposed on jute carpeting are prohibitory.

WM. B. CUNNINGHAM.

I have here another letter from the same firm, which I will print with my remarks, so that Senators may see the statement made by these gentlemen who are engaged in this trade and who know what they are talking about.

The letter referred to is as follows:

309 BROADWAY, *New York.*

DEAR SIR: Regarding Schedule J in the proposed tariff bill:

Jute burlaps (paragraph 339, plain woven fabrics of single jute yarns) in the proposed bill are entered for a high rate of duty, viz, three-fourths of a cent per pound and 15 per cent ad valorem, equal to about 30 per cent ad valorem. At present such goods are on the free list, and as they are largely used for agricultural products (wheat, corn, oats, flour, bran, peanuts, etc.), it would be a boon to the agriculturists if such goods were continued on the free list, or only a small duty, say one-half cent per pound, imposed for revenue.

A very small quantity of burlaps are produced at two places in California, viz, a jail and a private manufacturing concern, which, I am informed, employs Chinese laborers. It seems absurd to impose a high duty to protect convict and Chinese labor.

The amount of burlaps produced in California is very small compared with the requirements of the Pacific Coast. The bulk of the goods used there are imported from abroad, while all the burlaps used by bag manufacturers in the East, South, Middle, and Northwestern States are imported from abroad. There is no trust or combination among the bag manufacturers, and nothing of the sort among burlap importers—nothing but keenest competition among bag manufacturers and burlap importers—so any reduction or abolition of the proposed rate of duty would be clear gain to the consumers.

Yours, very truly,

WM. B. CUNNINGHAM.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I have also a long article taken from the Journal of Commerce and Commercial Bulletin of New York, being a discussion of this schedule. It is carefully analyzed and considered maturely, and shows the iniquities of this proposition clearly and strongly. I shall not ask the Senate to listen to me whilst I read it, but I shall insert it in my remarks in the RECORD, so that Senators who desire to do so may examine it at their leisure.

The article referred to is as follows:

EXCESSIVE DUTIES ON LINENS—IMPORTERS CONCERNED REGARDING THE EFFECTS ON THEIR BUSINESS—THE PROPOSED RATES, WHICH RUN IN SOME INSTANCES BEYOND 100 PER CENT, ARE, IT IS CLAIMED, PROHIBITORY, AND ARE UNNECESSARY, SINCE THERE IS NO LINEN INDUSTRY TO PROTECT AND NO PROBABILITY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF ONE.

Importers of linens are much concerned regarding the effects on their business should the duties proposed by the Senate Finance Committee be adopted. The present duty on linens is the uniform one of 35 per cent, while under the compound duties proposed in the Senate bill (30 per cent ad valorem and an additional charge varying from 1½ cents to 10 cents per square yard, according to count) duties on ordinary importations, it is figured, range (with the exception of fine shirting linens, which remain at 35 per cent) from the equivalent of 50 per cent to 99 per cent, and in the instance of common cream damask to 109 per cent.

The importers claim that these rates are prohibitive and unnecessary, since, with the exception of cheap crash toweling and the crash for bicycle and similar suitings, for which a sudden demand sprang up last season, there is, they assert, no linen manufacturing industry to protect. No recent official figures are available to show the extent of the linen industry in this country. The census of 1890 places the number of linen manufacturing establishments at three, comparing with five in 1880; their combined capital at $908,589, comparing with $406,800; and the value of the yearly product at $547,273, against $602,451 in 1880.

Mr. J. L. Frame, of the Brookfield Linen Company, and secretary of the Linen Association of New York, said when questioned yesterday by a representative of this journal regarding the effects of the proposed duties:

"We object to the extraordinary rates on goods which are in common use and such as comprise the largest part of the importation of the trade, and because the increased cost is so great it would be impossible to work our prices up to it within any reasonable time. The effect of the proposed rates, in consequence of the sudden change from one rate of specific duty to another nearly two and a half times more, is to raise the price so suddenly as to throw the articles affected out of consumption, and would necessitate the business being done in fewer fabrics, specially selected as being the least affected by those rates. We feel it would curtail our business and cause increased competition in those fabrics which it might still be possible to import.

"In the proposed Senate bill on the goods that are over 120 threads there is an advance from 3 cents per square yard to 7 cents per square yard, being almost two and a half times as much. The result is that on the ordinary goods taken in the consecutive lines the price is raised from 58 per cent of duty to 99 per cent of duty.

"The percentage of increased cost to the consumer on such linens as are in ordinary household use and are used as raw materials by makers of clothing and in ladies' costumes will run from 18 per cent to 49 per cent, and in the majority of instances closely approaches the entire duty now paid under the present Wilson bill.

"COMPARATIVE PRICES OF ORDINARY IMPORTATIONS.

"The following table shows the comparative prices of ordinary linen goods, such as are articles of common use in the household and as raw materials for makers of men's clothing and ladies' costumes, under the present tariff rate of 35 per cent and the proposed new tariff rate of 30 per cent plus a square-yard duty of 1½ cents to 10 cents a square yard, and showing also the equivalent rate per cent of the new duties and the percentage of advance caused thereby:

	Present price at 35 per cent duty.	Price under new tariff.	Rate, new tariff.	Increased cost to consumer.
	Cents.	*Cents.*	*Per cent.*	*Per cent.*
Bleached heavy linen, used for aprons and linings	17	20	60	18
	20	24	57½	20
Cream heavy linen, for butchers' aprons and used as pillow linen and sheeting in hospitals and infirmaries	14	17½	71½	25
	20	24	60	20
	25	33	88	32
Pillow linen, ordinary medium quality	45	55	70	22
Tailors' duck, for lining in coats and general clothing purposes	12½	15	60	20
	14	19½	93	36
Brown holland, for lining and staying in men's clothing	13	17½	70	32½
	19	23	61	21
The next quality, by reason of slightly finer count and paying a higher square-yard rate, and all above it would be prohibited from use	20	28½	99	42½
Clothiers' padding for interlining in men's clothing	9	11½	70	25
	9	11½	70	35
Black canvas, for ladies' skirt lining	10	12	66	20
	11	12½	65	20
Brown linen, for ladies' shirt waists and costumes	9	11½	70	25
	11	13½	67	20
	16	22½	99½	40
Glass-cloth toweling and kitchen toweling	7½	9½	67½	21
	8½	10	60	19
	7	8½	66	20
	10	11½	60	17
Cream damask and bleached damask of qualities in common household use	19½	20	109	49
	37½	42½	57	14
	50	63	83	32
	75	92½	70	23½
	100	120	65	20

"The above are fair examples of goods in common everyday use. It will be noticed that the increased cost to the consumer in many cases is equal to a large part of all the former duty of 35 per cent, and in some instances this increase is more than the entire duty under the present tariff.

"In the foregoing statement the items have not been selected because they are excessive; representative prices out of each entire line are given. For instance, in brown lines for ladies' shirt waists and costumes, the following table will show the entire line, while above will be found the selections from this entire line:

Number.	Proposed duty.	Number.	Proposed duty.
	Per cent.		*Per cent.*
8	70	13	67
9	67½	14	64½
10	67	15	99½
11	67	16	99
12	69		

"MANUFACTURERS ASK ONLY 50 PER CENT.

"We have been told that the people interested in the manufacture of linens in this country would be satisfied with a duty of about 50 per cent, but in the schedule the compound duties proposed in the Senate bill, probably from want of information as to the real working on the goods generally imported by the trade, they have proposed a schedule of compound duties which will produce rates far in excess of anything they have anticipated.

"There are no linens produced in this country with the exception of common crashes, which have been made ever since the days when duties were 15 per cent, and they have been successfully made for the last thirty years under a duty of 35 per cent. In addition to these crashes, there has been made in the last year what is called homespuns for bicycle suits. These homespuns are made of cotton in the warp with the common linen weft, and are essentially a cotton and not a linen manufacture.

"It is not generally understood in this country that probably not more than 1 per cent of linen fabrics are imported in the state in which they were originally woven, but have been 'converted' by various finishing processes into an article entirely different from what it was when it came out of the loom. If the finishing were done in this country, it would require the erection of a large and extensive plant, which would be available for no other purpose. Such a plant has never been attempted in this country."

Mr. Richard H. Ewart, of William Ewart & Son, Limited, put the matter in this form:

"A great deal of interest is being taken at present in regard to the proposed tariff on linens, as it threatens very seriously all those who are engaged in importing and dealing in this necessary article; and, as it is universally

admitted that there is no justification for any change, the confusion and disturbance which has been produced is all the more vexatious.

"Many very deliberate and careful attempts have been made to manufacture linens in this country, and a great deal of money has been sunk by those who made the attempts, as, owing to climatic and other difficulties known only to practical manufacturers of flax fabrics, linens can not be manufactured successfully here. This fact has been so universally recognized that for many years the rate remained at 15 per cent ad valorem, thus securing a revenue from an article which could not be manufactured here and which had to be largely used by the people. During the urgent necessities of the war the rate was advanced to 35 per cent, at which point it remained for many years, during which time many trials to manufacture linens were made, always ending in failure.

"Under positive promises to make this a successful manufacturing enterprise, and also develop a new industry for the farmer, that of growing flax for these American manufacturers, the McKinley bill advanced the rate on some linens to 50 per cent ad valorem, but no Administration has ever attempted to tax them at a higher rate than 50 per cent ad valorem. Less than ten months' experience was sufficient to cause the failure of the company, which said (we refer to Record Hearings, 1889-90, page 523): 'We promise an established industry of great magnitude;' and up to the present time the Minnesota Flax Company, which made strong professions of ability to develop the flax-growing industry, has only exported 2 tons of flax to the North of Ireland, and the report on these is that the quality is very inferior; so, practically, no development of this flax-growing industry has occurred.

"To-day the Senate bill, by a specious system of compound duties, proposes to levy a duty which would be absolutely prohibitive and is thoroughly needless, as it amounts in some instances to an equivalent of 109 per cent ad valorem, and on a great portion of the goods from 65 to 85 per cent ad valorem. It carefully exempts from this high duty, however, all fine shirting linens used by the Troy manufacturers and keeps them at 35 per cent ad valorem, although these shirting linens are no more strictly raw material than are the coarser goods, taxed at twice that amount, which are used by manufacturers of clothing, suits, trunks, etc.; and the still higher rates apply to common-grade damasks, used by the masses, and which should be admitted at a low rate of duty.

"It is a strange fact that this great linen industry should be convulsed by the threat of such prohibitive duties, when the would-be manufacturers of New England are willing (as they claim to be) to acquiesce with the suggestion that no linens shall be taxed above the equivalent of 50 per cent ad valorem if they—the manufacturers—can import their linen yarn at 35 per cent ad valorem, which is the rate at the present moment. It is understood that there is only one difficulty in the way of obtaining this concession on yarns. It comes in the opposition of some linen-thread manufacturers, who insist upon inordinately high protection on their flax thread, as the proposed change advances the rate on linen threads from 35 per cent ad valorem to as much as 66 per cent ad valorem; although at the lower rate of 35 per cent the business was so profitable that large fortunes were made in it.

"It is scarcely possible that the American public will submit meekly to the demands of this outside interest and willingly pay the enormous increase in the cost of millions of importations; so it is sincerely hoped that the Senate may make a modification in the rates and leave them at a point not exceeding 50 per cent ad valorem, which is all the linen manufacturers ask for and which is the highest rate ever before imposed on linen fabrics."

Mr. E. R. Biddle, the president of the Linen Association, said: "In the first place, I may say I am a Republican in politics and I am in favor of the principles and the policy of protection, which I believe is the basis of prosperity. I believe in doing everything we can to encourage the manufacture of everything in this country that can be manufactured. But I don't believe in prohibitive rates. Any industry that can not sustain itself after a prolonged moderate degree of protection ought to be abandoned.

"In the matter of duty on linens at the time the Wilson bill was being framed the advisability was considered of making the duty on linen goods 20 per cent ad valorem. I opposed it because I did not believe it was just to the country, for the reduction in duty would not in a perceptible degree cheapen the cost of the goods to the consumer, as the distributers would naturally keep the difference themselves. On the other hand, I do not believe that the rates should run over 35 per cent, which I believe is the highest rate the goods will bear without curtailing the production, as the higher the rate the greater the cost, and the greater the cost the less the consumption that will result.

THE PROPOSED RATES EXCESSIVE.

"The rates in the present bill are excessive. The weight rates fixed by the House bill made the ad valorem equivalent in some instances to as high as 112 per cent; and the ad valorem equivalent of the compound rates of the Senate bill is equally as high. The people can not stand any such increase in the cost of linens as these rates would necessitate. They would lead to substitutes being used for linens, and from a revenue standpoint the Government would be in receipt, in my opinion, of a considerably reduced amount from what it now receives at the present rates, namely, 35 per cent ad valorem."

Mr. J. D. Weir, a linen importer, said: "The linen trade, in my estimation, has been 'held up' in the interests of one or two men who do not manufacture cloth and are only interested in yarns and flax."

A member of one of the largest linen-importing firms in the city yesterday outlined the situation from the standpoint of the importer as follows:

"Before the war the duty on linen goods was 15 to 25 per cent. As a war measure, in order to obtain revenue, the duty was increased to 30 to 35 per cent. Afterwards, under the tariff commission, the rate was made 15 to 25 per cent all around. During this period the Stevens Crash Company, the only linen-manufacturing concern in the United States, were perfectly satisfied with these rates, and seemed to make money. At the same time the only thing they ever made or could see any money in making was a common crash or roller toweling, to retail at about 8 to 10 cents per yard.

"When President Harrison was elected and the McKinley bill was sprung upon the American people, Schedule J, or manufactures of flax, was for the first time attacked on false representations that all kinds of linen goods could be advantageously manufactured in this country; whereas, the experience of several hundred years has gone to show that such goods are only capable of production in a very few small districts of Europe, where very cheap labor can be procured. The manufacture of this article, from the growth of the flax up to the finished product, is one of extreme care and very careful detail, and the total output is a very infinitesimal factor of the general dry goods trade.

LIMITED MARKET FOR THE AMERICAN MANUFACTURERS.

"The European manufacturer has the whole world before him for a market, but the American manufacturer, even if he were able to produce the goods with the extreme protective rates now proposed, would only have the home market to supply; and even if one manufacturer were able to do this it would only be a very small business.

"The proposed rates of the Senate Finance Committee, when reduced to ad valorem equivalents, run all the way from 50 per cent to 109 per cent, the higher rates in every instance being on the cheaper class of goods; and the extreme rate, namely, 109 per cent, being charged on an article used on the workingman's table, namely, a cream damask, 58 inches wide, costing, in the European market, about 13½ cents. The injustice of this is the more apparent when we consider the fact that the millionaire Troy shirt and collar manufacturers are enabled to bring in their finest quality of shirting linen at 35 per cent ad valorem against 109 per cent for the workingman's table.

"I would also draw attention to the fact that thread suitable for the manufacture of shoes, clothing, carpet sewing, bookbinding, etc., had heretofore never been higher than 40 per cent ad valorem until the McKinley bill made it 45 per cent, but the present proposed measure runs all the way from 45 to 67½ per cent, the bulk of the importation being represented by the latter figure. Where is the justice of this protective measure, bringing in fine linens for the Troy trade at 35 per cent and charging the New York clothier, the Massachusetts shoemaker, and the bookbinders generally a rate of, maximum, 67½ per cent and, minimum, 45 per cent?

"Handkerchiefs are another item which comes under this schedule. Previous to the McKinley bill they were all admitted at 35 per cent, and at that rate a large domestic industry was built up. Under the McKinley bill the rates were raised to 50 to 60 per cent. The Wilson bill reduced the rates to 40 to 50 per cent. Now it is proposed to force them back to 55 to 60 per cent, with several ambiguous clauses pertaining to them that may mean even more than these rates. At the same time I believe I am correct in stating that the wages paid for the hemstitching and making up of the handkerchiefs in this country to-day are in many cases less than the wages paid to the so-called pauper labor of Europe for the same work.

"As far as home manufacturers are concerned, there have been practically no linen goods produced on this side outside the Stevens Crash Company up to the present time until a few months ago, when a sudden demand sprang up for what is called in the trade 'homespun' or batistes, which is a fabric composed either of all linen or linen and cotton, suitable for ladies' bicycle and seaside apparel. These goods were inquired for last year, the demand having been brought about by some fashionable tailors who made up a few suits out of common Russian crash (which any housekeeper will recognize as roller toweling). This created quite a demand for such goods, and the importer not being able to supply the same, the domestic manufacturers thought it was a very large item of the linen business, and as it was an article that could be easily manufactured, they imported a large quantity of European flax yarns. The consequence is that to-day these domestic manufacturers, I am credibly informed, have a surplus stock of 2,000 cases of these goods."

CIRCULARS ISSUED BY THE LINEN TRADE.

Following is a circular that linen importers have prepared:

"The Senate amendments to the Dingley bill assess flax twine and flax threads 12 cents per pound; if made from yarns finer than 5 lea or number, three-fourths of 1 cent per pound additional for each lea or number or part of a lea or number in excess of five.

"This proposal makes on the three established grades a duty of 67½ per cent on 'F' quality, instead of 35 per cent under present law; 54 per cent on 'A' quality, instead of 35 per cent under present law; 45 per cent on 'best' quality, instead of 35 per cent under present law.

"As the bulk used is 'F' and 'A' qualities, it will be seen that the proposed rate is very excessive and hurtful to American manufacturers of shoes, clothing, carpet sewers, bookbinders, and other consumers, besides being a blow to the American fishermen, who make their nets from linen thread, using them on the Great Lakes and other places, and whose outfit will thus cost them so much more than their competitive neighbors across the border."

Another circular that is being distributed follows:

"The Senate amendments to the Dingley bill assess linen goods 30 per cent ad valorem and an additional charge varying from 1½ to 10 cents per square yard, according to count.' The following are a few specimens of the result:

	Present import price.	Present duty.	Price under Senate bill at rates above noted.	Rate of new duty.
	Per yard.	*Per cent.*	*Per yard.*	*Per cent.*
18-inch crash for roller towels	$0.08	35	$0.09½	52½
54-inch cream union damask	.19½	35	.22½	65
24-inch canvas for dress lining and clothing	.08½	35	.10½	69
34-inch blouse linen for summer clothing	.16	35	.22½	99
40-inch linen for butcher aprons	.19½	35	.22½	65
18-36 huck towels for medium trade, per dozen	1.37½	35	1.51	50

"These rates which it is proposed to levy on the American consumer can not be defended on the ground of protection to American labor. Even supposing that the labor costs double in this country to what it does abroad, inasmuch as the labor is only a small percentage in the value of the finished article, it is quite apparent that duties from 50 per cent to 99 per cent have long passed the point of legitimate protection and would become purely a tax on the users of the goods.

"The rates on long lines of linen goods will vary from 50 per cent to the rates noted above.

"In many cases these rates are prohibitive, so that the revenues of the Government will be diminished instead of increased.

"Those who have tried say that all linen goods above the grade of brown crashes can not be made here, but a loosely woven fabric, composed of linen and cotton, has been made. The yarns for such goods are to be assessed 40 per cent and the finer kinds 15 per cent. Even allowing for the heavy duty on low yarns there is a great margin between them and the woven fabric.

"Linen goods are used largely as raw material in clothing and other purposes, and such rates will greatly increase the cost of living.

"Such an excessive stimulant must lead to a reaction. The importing trade after a struggle may be crowded to the wall, but the domestic manufacturer, laborer, and dealer will suffer in the end."

Following is in part a statement of facts in support of protests against the increased duties, prepared by Britton & Gray, attorneys for importers:

"Customs revenues from flax manufactures have always been large. During past six years, the total value of such importations has averaged $25,000,000 annually. From eleven to fourteen millions of dollars represents the annual importations of manufactured linens. Prior to the war, the duty on manufactured linens was 15 per cent ad valorem. Necessity for increased revenue then caused an increase of duty to 35 per cent. It there remained until the act of 1890 increased the duty on coarse goods counting below 100 threads to the square inch to 50 per cent, leaving the goods above that quality at 35 per cent until January 1, 1894.

"This increase was given upon the assurance of the Flax and Hemp Spinners and Growers' Association that under such protective rates 'we promise an established industry of great magnitude.' (Record Hearings 1889-90, page 521.)

"The promise was never redeemed. Congress, by act of March 3, 1893, unanimously extended to January 1, 1895, the increase to 50 per cent on fine linens proposed by the act of 1890, it being well understood that in the meantime the tariff would be again revised, as was done by the act of August, 1894, and the former rate of 35 per cent on all linens then reenacted. At the hearing before the present Ways and Means Committee (pages 1329-1333) the same association or interests, under the name of the Flax, Hemp, and Jute Manufacturers of the United States, presented demand for duties on dressed flax, yarns, and threads, twine, and manufactured cloth, which have been substantially accorded in the pending bill. Therein duty was asked of 50 per cent ad valorem on manufactured linens. Notwithstanding this public record, the rates of duty given by the Senate amendment (paragraph 344) exhibit an enormous advance beyond what was asked. They are both compound and specific, thus:

"Thirty per cent ad valorem on all goods, adding following specific duties: Sixty threads or under, 1½ cents per square yard; from over 60 to 120 threads, 3 cents per square yard; from over 120 to 180 threads, 7 cents per square yard; over 180 threads, 10 cents per square yard: *Provided*, That none of the foregoing shall pay less than 50 per cent ad valorem. On fine goods weighing less than 4 ounces per square yard and containing more than 100 threads to the square inch, including shirting cloth, the present rate of 35 per cent is retained.

"The enormous increase proposed beyond what was asked by the promising American manufacturers, is illustrated by the following examples:

	Act 1890.	Act 1894.	Finance Committee, proposed tariff.
	Per cent.	*Per cent.*	*Per cent.*
Table damask	35	35	100½ ad valorem.
Do	35	35	74½ ad valorem.
Do	50	35	62½ ad valorem.
Duck for clothing	50	35	73 ad valorem.
Lining	50	35	60⅛ ad valorem.

"These proposed rates are plainly prohibitive. They are so intended. Even on the goods increased to 50 per cent by the act of 1890, and with no resulting manufacture here, importations fell from $5,000,000 in 1891 to three and one-half millions of dollars in 1893 (Senate Tariff Report 334, Fifty-third Congress, second session, pages 278, 280), with consequent large loss of needed revenue. The enormous increase over 50 per cent now proposed will correspondingly further reduce both importations and revenue.

"If manufacture of these goods were possible here, such exorbitant rates of duty would not be justified, (1) because wholly beyond any legitimate protection which is even asked by the promising manufacturers, and (2) because neither American flax nor American manufacture has been developed here under protective conditions, except coarse crash, which flourishes now, as heretofore, at the 35 per cent rate.

"But such manufacture promised under the act of 1890 resulted in complete failure. No change in essential conditions, climatic or otherwise, has since occurred, and after ninety years of continuous duty upon linens no domestic manufacture, except of cheap crash and possible recent small production of mixed cotton and linen fabric, has yet appeared. The goods are all imported. The revenues from 1890 to 1894 suffered from these unredeemed promises, and yet the same interests now give the same renewed assurances, with no possible change in conditions whereby they can be fulfilled. The people are asked to submit to this enormous increase in taxation upon such a record. Prohibitive rates are proposed, and the common people are to be made to suffer to accord a few individuals more "protection" than they even ask.

"Flax is grown in this country only for the seed. Even for such purpose the supply does not equal the demand, for in 1896 661,533 bushels of seed were imported. (House Tariff Comparison 1897, page 60.)

"That flax is not produced for fiber is admitted. The attached letter demonstrates it.

"Surely under such conditions the rates on manufactured linens of 50 per cent and 35 per cent, as provided by the act of 1890, and now asked by the promising domestic manufacturers, should not be increased, to the destruction of revenue, the discomfort of the people, and without possibility of benefit to any industry, actual or possible."

Following is a protest forwarded by Marshall Field & Co. to the Finance Committee:

"DEAR SIRS: We are in receipt of the Finance Committee amendments to the Dingley tariff bill, and beg respectfully but firmly to protest against the excessive and unnecessary rates in paragraph 344 on linens (woven fabrics and articles). The manufacture of these goods has often been attempted and each time proved a failure. Climatic and other conditions necessary for their successful manufacture do not exist in this country, and as there is no linen industry to protect and no reasonable belief that one will ever be created, there is positively no excuse for such extravagant duties.

"We desire also to call your attention to the rates on flax or linen threads, advanced from 35 per cent to specific rates equivalent to 50 and 60 per cent. About two-thirds of the threads imported would, under the proposed rates, pay 60 per cent ad valorem. Why is this advance made in the face of the well-known fact that the manufacture of linen thread has prospered immensely under the present rate of 35 per cent?

"Such excessive rates as you have fixed on linens and many other articles will prove so burdensome and unpopular with the people that a reaction to lower duties is sure to follow."

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. With all this, the Senator from Iowa, in speaking a short time ago of the particular paragraph we have now under consideration, assured the Senate that the rate was very low. I have in my hand an article relating to the cotton-yarn schedule as passed by the Senate yesterday, and in view of what occurred between the Senator from Connecticut and myself a few minutes ago, I shall insert that in the RECORD in order that it may be printed. The statement is made by the gentleman who handed it to me, and I believe it to be correct.

Mr. HAWLEY. May I ask the Senator what the statement is about?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. It is about the relative cost of manufacturing cotton yarn in the United States and in England—a comparative statement of different places.

Mr. HAWLEY. Which cost the more?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. On some grades it costs more on this side and on some grades more on the other side.

The paper referred to is as follows:

COTTON-YARN SCHEDULE PROPOSED BY THE SENATE COMMITTEE.

The cotton-yarn schedule of the tariff bill now before the Senate is not only full of the most absurd inconsistencies, but must also become absolutely prohibitive in effect.

It either displays complete ignorance of the subject, or it is a direct stultification of Senator ALDRICH's remarks in introducing the measure:

"Industrial conditions in this country, with very few exceptions, do not demand a return to the rates imposed by the act of 1890;" and, "the rates suggested by the committee's amendments are considerably below those imposed by the House bill, and, in most instances, below those contained in the act of 1890."

The clear inference is that no commodities are to be taxed in excess of the duties imposed by the McKinley Act.

How ludicrously actual fact confutes Senator ALDRICH, and proves either that he does not understand the cotton-yarn schedule at all, or that he has been deceived by false representations, the following comparative table will show:

*Cotton-yarn tariff inconsistencies proposed by Senate committee.**

Description.	English price per pound.	Present duties, with percentage on value.	McKinley duties as compared with present duties.	Proposed duties as compared with McKinley duties.
Carded single yarns:	*Pence.*			
60-1	10	8 cts. or 40 per cent.	10 cts. or 25 per cent more.	15 cts. or 50 per cent more.
70-1	11	8 cts. or 36 per cent.	10 cts. or 25 per cent more.	17½ cts. or 75 per cent more.
80-1	12	8 cts. or 33 per cent.	10 cts. or 25 per cent more.	20 cts. or 100 per cent more.
90-1	13½	15 cts. or 55 per cent.	18 cts. or 20 per cent more.	22½ cts. or 25 per cent more.
100-1	15	15 cts. or 50 per cent.	18 cts. or 20 per cent more.	25 cts. or 39 per cent more.
Average		43 per cent.	23 per ct. more.	58 per ct. more.
Combed single yarns:				
60-1	11½	8 cts. or 35 per cent.	10 cts. or 25 per cent more.	18 cts. or 80 per cent more.
70-1	12½	15 cts. or 60 per cent.	18 cts. or 20 per cent more.	21 cts. or 17 per cent more.
75-1	13½	15 cts. or 57 per cent.	18 cts. or 20 per cent more.	22½ cts. or 25 per cent more.
79-1	12½	15 cts. or 55 per cent.	18 cts. or 20 per cent more.	23.7 cts. or 31 per cent more.
Average				38 per ct. more.
80-1	14	15 cts. or 53 per cent.	18 cts. or 20 per cent more.	14 cts. or 22 per cent less.
90-1	15½	15 cts. or 48 per cent.	18 cts. or 20 per cent more.	15½ cts. or 14 per cent less.
100-1	17	15 cts. or 44 per cent.	18 cts. or 20 per cent more.	17 cts. or 5 per cent less.
Average		50 per cent.	21 per ct. more.	14 per ct. less.

*It will be observed that the highest duties are on the cheapest goods, which require least labor for their production.

The McKinley rates, generally, were excessive, and restricted importation, as shown by the loss of over $100,000,000 of revenue while they were in operation.

Senator ALDRICH admits that they are no longer necessary, in fact, that they ought not to be reimposed in the majority of cases; yet it will be observed that, while the rates on cotton yarns under the act of 1890 averaged 23 per cent more than the present tariff, the proposed duties will mean a further average advance, in the main, of 48 per cent over the McKinley dues, though it is admitted by the Republican mouthpiece that little justification can now be found for the latter. This is remedial legislation with a vengeance, and protection assumes a new phase, becoming prohibition, since for anyone to assume that such an advance in the values of cotton yarn is possible, solely from duty increases, as to permit of the continuance of importation, necessarily involves some curious aberration of the intellect.

The principal object of the tariff measure now under review is stated by its authors and exponents to be the obtainment of more money for governmental purposes. So far as cotton yarns are concerned, its effect must be to destroy this source of revenue entirely.

Common sense dictates that cotton spinners, who keep abreast of the times in point of efficiency have much less need of protection at the present time than in 1890; yet the proposed new schedule out-Herods Herod, and throws the McKinley duties quite into the shade. The subject can not have been properly investigated, since it seems past comprehension that men of any commercial standing whatever can be found to make such a flagrant confession either of their incapacity or of their greed as is involved in this claim for a protection averaging over 80 per cent on English values of a commodity in such general use as cotton yarn.

The great masses of the people will be the sufferers while domestic producers are feathering their nests in this barefaced manner.

Apart from the loss to the revenue of the country, the stoppage of cotton-yarn importations would have a detrimental effect on various branches of industry by the removal of the stimulus of a healthy and progressive competition.

There are certain kinds of cotton yarn, such as gassed two-ply and bleached two-ply, which, for reasons principally climatic, can not be made here of the same excellence as in England; and, if importation be stopped, the finished goods for which they are requisite must be thereby rendered proportionately inferior to foreign competitive marks.

Cotton yarn must necessarily be the raw material to manufacturers who have no spinning machinery, and a large amount of capital is invested in various parts of the United States in concerns of this kind.

To put such a duty on cotton yarn as to practically stop importation is to restrict the buying facilities of firms thus situated and to place them at the mercy of home spinners.

Nothing could be more antagonistic to labor interests than the incidence of the proposed duties as regards cotton yarns and the goods made from them, since the imported manufactured article would pay a lower rate by over 30 per cent ad valorem than the raw material which is needed for its production.

It can not be gainsaid that foreign competition is both desirable and necessary for the maintenance of our industries in the highest possible state of efficiency.

The basis of dealings in cotton yarns is the ratio which length bears to weight.

For instance, forties single have 40 hanks of 840 yards each to the pound, and other numbers in proportion.

In two-ply, where two threads are put together, forties would have 20 hanks of 840 yards each to the pound.

The excision of the ad valorem principle and the substitution of rates varying with length and weight solely can not be either politic or equitable, since there are such great variations in quality and value of the same number. The difference between the highest and the lowest grades is frequently in the neighborhood of 100 per cent, and to tax both extremes at the same rate would be a manifest absurdity. A yarn in general and regular use is No. 60. There are reliable English marks for which to-day's quotations stand: Egyptian, 9¼ pence; sea island, 17½ pence.

Can it be seriously argued that both values should be treated on a parity for fiscal purposes?

With such variations of quality, common sense dictates that protective imposts should be regulated by the commercial value of the articles on which they are levied.

The change in the proposed duties from specific to ad valorem is attended by results which would be ludicrous if it were not for their gravity, and which indicates either gross carelessness or lamentable incapacity. The difference in values between 79-1 and 80-1 combed Egyptian filling twist in England is practically inestimable, and could not exceed one-fourth pence or one-half cent per pound, whereas the difference in duty would be 9.7 cents per pound.

The proposed duty on 80-1 combed Egyptian filling twist, the value of which is 14 pence per pound in England, would be 6 cents less per pound than on 80-1 carded Egyptian filling twist, worth only 12 pence per pound in England.

It is contemplated to make the rate on two-ply yarns the same as on combed single yarns. Hence 80-2 extra-combed and gassed Egyptian warp twist worth 18½ pence per pound in England would carry a duty of 18½ cents per pound, while 80-1 carded Egyptian filling twist, worth only 12 pence per pound in England, would be penalized to the tune of 20 cents per pound.

Such grotesque legislative blunders are surely without parallel.

This protest was handed to Senator ALDRICH before the consultative committee to which he belonged had finished their labors and made their report.

It appears to have been utterly ignored.

The importance of the document is clear, from the fact that its signatories control a capital of many millions of dollars, and employ many thousands of work people.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I submitted a statement yesterday which showed that the labor cost in yarns above No. 100 was less in this country than in England, and in yarns below No. 100 it was less in England than in this country. One of the points made by the Senator from Iowa this morning was that this cotton schedule was not like the Wilson schedule; that where it differed from it was in the fact that it allowed a higher tariff on the high grade of cotton. The Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH], when he opened this debate, stated to us that this schedule, as I remember, was in fact very much the same as that in the Wilson law. So it is in most points, and so it is in almost every specification, but there are limitations in the Wilson law which are left out of the pending bill; and taking those limitations out, allows a high rate of taxes on the high-numbered yarns which did not exist under the Wilson law.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. We have reduced the rates below those fixed by the House of Representatives.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. That may be, and yet not be much of a virtue. There are rates in this bill as it came from the House that are simply monstrous, and I confess that I was gratified, after looking over the bill as it came from the Senate committee, to find that the rates had been lowered in as many cases as they had been. True, on many of the most important and material items the taxes have not been lowered, but have been raised. I was, however, expecting but little.

I was somewhat in the condition of the preacher to whom the Senator from Missouri referred, who said, "Blessed are those who expect nothing, for they shall not be disappointed." I had not expected much, but when the bill was returned to the Senate with reductions in a great many instances, I confess I was very much gratified. I have, however, been sadly disappointed, as we reach amendment after amendment where the Senate committee had proposed to reduce the House rates, to find the Senator in charge of the bill, the Senator from Iowa, in that bland, suave way of his, rising and saying he hopes the committee amendment will not be agreed to. So it seems we are to be disappointed in our expectations, and I confess that I have not much hope of the items of reduction ahead of this in the bill retaining their places.

Mr. President, I had not intended saying anything at this time on this feature of the bill, but as this discussion has taken a somewhat wide range, and as many of these questions have been raised, I thought I might as well discuss these items now as to wait until the particular paragraph in the bill should be reached to which they especially relate.

If you put taxes upon the raw material, according to my theory, and according to the practice of the Republican party, they will put a higher tax on the manufactured article, higher, I think, in many cases, than is justifiable. Still I believe that when taxes are put on the raw material there should be an equivalent given to the manufacturers to compensate them for the weight they have to carry in the shape of a tax upon the raw material. I may be wrong, but that is what I believe.

The New York Times some weeks ago contained this paragraph:

THE HEAVY TAX ON LINENS.

A large importer of linens said there was not yet much "stocking up" on this line of goods.

"The proposed rates," he said, "would seem to make such a course desirable. On table linen the rate will be advanced from the present duty of 35 per cent to 100 per cent. Under the McKinley bill it was never higher than 50 per cent. The only rate that is moderate is the one laid on shirtings that are used by the Troy trust to make collars and cuffs. This duty is 35 per cent. The rate is cunningly devised to deceive the people. At present we have an ad valorem duty of 35 per cent. The proposed rate is 30 per cent ad valorem and a specific rate per square yard, which makes the compound duty figure up from 65 to 100 per cent. The uninitiated do not understand a compound duty. The duty on flax straw is $5 a ton, on flax not dressed $15 a ton, and on "hackled" or dressed flax it is $25 a ton. The gross injustice of these duties can be appreciated when it is remembered that, owing to climatic conditions, flax can not be grown nor linen manufactured successfully in this country, and when it is further remembered that the kind of linen taxed is the kind that is used by the poorest classes, while a much lower duty is put on the finer grades.

This is the unvarying practice of the Republican high protectionists. They always put the highest taxes on the lowest class of goods, and the lowest taxes on the highest class of goods. The purpose of the whole system is to levy blackmail on the poor. It is for the benefit of the rich; it is to lighten the burdens of those who are most able to pay, and to increase the burdens of those who are least able to pay.

The article continues:

The duty on linens and flax is made to protect one thread manufacturer—the Barbour Bros., of Paterson, N. J.—and one or two manufacturers of cycling suits, made of half linen and half cotton. That the present duty of 35 per cent was adequate is shown by the enormous fortunes that have been made by manufacturers protected by it. The only linen manufactured in this country is a species of crash. This is made of foreign-spun yarns.

Linens are all made in Ireland and Scotland, with a small quantity on the Continent. They can not be manufactured here, and a tax on them is a direct tax levied upon the consumers, and falls heaviest upon the poor.—*New York Times*, May 18, 1897.

I have a table here, Mr. President, which has been prepared carefully, as I am advised, by a man familiar with this trade, showing the rates of taxation, which I shall insert in the RECORD in connection with what I have said.

The table referred to is as follows:

Table showing the comparative prices of ordinary linen goods, such as all articles of common use in the household, and as raw materials for the makers of men's clothing and ladies' costumes, under the present tariff rate of 35 per cent and the proposed new tariff rates of 30 per cent, plus a specific duty of 1.75 to 10 cents a square yard, according to count, and showing also the equivalent rate per cent of the new duties and the percentage of advance caused thereby.

	Present price at 35 per cent duty.	Price under new tariff.	Rate, new tariff.	Increased cost to consumer.
	Cents.	*Cents.*	*Per cent.*	*Per cent.*
Bleached heavy linen, used for aprons and linings	17	20	57½	18
	20	24	60	20
Creamed heavy linen, for butchers' aprons and uses as pillow linens and sheetings in hospitals and infirmaries	14	17½	71¼	25
	20	24	66	20
	25	33	88	32
Pillow linen, ordinary medium quality	45	55	70	22
Tailors' duck, for lining coats and general clothing purposes	12½	15	60	20
	14	19½	90	36
Brown holland, for lining and staying in men's clothing	13	17½	70	32½
	19	23	61	21
The next quality, by reason of slightly finer count and paying a higher square-yard rate, and all above it would be prohibited from use	20	28½	99	42½
Clothiers' padding, for interlining in men's clothing	9	11½	70	25
Black canvas, for ladies' skirt lining	9	11½	70	25
	10	12	66	20
	11	13½	65	20
Brown linen, for ladies' shirt waists and costumes	9	11½	70	25
	11	13½	67	20
	16	22½	99½	40
Glass-cloth toweling and kitchen toweling	7½	9½	67½	21
	8½	10	60	19
	7	8½	66	20
	10	11½	60	17
	19½	29	10	49
Cream damask and bleached damask of qualities in common household use	37½	42½	80	14
	50	66	83	32
	75	92½	70	23½
	100	130	65	30

The above are fair samples of goods in common everyday use. It will be noticed that the increased cost to the consumer in many cases is equal to a large part of all the present duty of 35 per cent, and in some instances this increase is more than the entire duty under the present tariff.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. We can not by any possibility succeed in reducing these taxes at all. Still, I believe it is wise for us to propose moderate reductions to the present committee bill, and to try, if possible, to get the Senate to accept them. If they will not, there is nothing left for us to do but to put ourselves on

record as being opposed to these monstrous exactions that are now being levied on the masses.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the amendment proposed by the Senator from Arkansas, to amend the committee amendment in paragraph 322 by inserting "one and one-half" instead of "three" cents per pound on "flax, hackled, known as 'dressed line,'" on which the yeas and nays have been ordered.

The Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. GEAR (when his name was called). I transfer my pair with the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH] to the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE], and vote "nay."

Mr. HARRIS of Kansas (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. CLARK].

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. PASCO. I wish to announce that the Senator from Illinois [Mr. MASON] is paired on this vote with the Senator from Virginia [Mr. MARTIN].

Mr. CLAY. I rise to announce that my pair with the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] has been transferred to the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH]. That arrangement will stand for the day.

Mr. BATE (after having voted in the affirmative). I desire to inquire if the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. DEBOE] has voted?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. He has not voted.

Mr. BATE. I withdraw my vote, being paired with that Senator.

Mr. WETMORE (after having voted in the negative). Has the senior Senator from Georgia [Mr. BACON] voted?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Georgia has not voted.

Mr. WETMORE. I withdraw my vote, being paired with that Senator.

The result was announced—yeas 24, nays 37; as follows:

YEAS—24.

Berry,	Jones, Ark.	Morgan,	Tillman,
Butler,	Kenney,	Murphy,	Turner,
Chilton,	McLaurin,	Pasco,	Turpie,
Clay,	Mallory,	Pettus,	Vest,
Cockrell,	Mills,	Rawlins,	Walthall,
Gray,	Mitchell,	Roach,	White.

NAYS—37.

Allison,	Frye,	Nelson,	Shoup,
Baker,	Gallinger,	Penrose,	Spooner,
Burrows,	Gear,	Perkins,	Teller,
Carter,	Hale,	Pettigrew,	Thurston,
Chandler,	Hanna,	Platt, Conn.	Warren,
Cullom,	Hawley,	Platt, N. Y.	Wellington,
Davis,	Hoar,	Pritchard,	Wilson.
Elkins,	Kyle,	Proctor,	
Fairbanks,	McBride,	Quay,	
Foraker,	McEnery,	Sewell,	

NOT VOTING—28.

Aldrich,	Daniel,	Harris, Tenn.	Martin,
Allen,	Deboe,	Heitfeld,	Mason,
Bacon,	Faulkner,	Jones, Nev.	Morrill,
Bate,	George,	Lindsay,	Smith,
Caffery,	Gorman,	Lodge,	Stewart,
Cannon,	Hansbrough,	McMillan,	Wetmore,
Clark,	Harris, Kans.	Mantle,	Wolcott.

So the amendment was rejected.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question recurs on agreeing to the amendment of the committee, which will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In line 6, page 104, it is proposed to strike out "three" and insert "two and one-half;" so as to read:

322. Flax, hackled, known as "dressed line," 2½ cents per pound.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask the Senate to disagree to the amendment.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment reported by the Committee on Finance.

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. PETTIGREW. I now move to amend paragraph 322 by striking out "three" and inserting "four."

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In line 6, page 104, paragraph 322, it is proposed to strike out "three" and insert "four;" so as to read:

322. Flax, hackled, known as "dressed line," 4 cents per pound.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from South Dakota.

The amendment was rejected.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 323, after the word "flax," to strike out "not retted;" and in line 9, after the word "pound," to strike out "tow of flax, retted, 1 cent per pound;" so as to make the paragraph read:

323. Tow of flax, one-half of 1 cent per pound.

Mr. ALLISON. I propose a modification of the amendment by striking out all after the word "flax," in line 8, and inserting "$20 per ton."

The SECRETARY. After the word "flax," in line 8, it is proposed to strike out the remainder of the paragraph and insert "$20 per ton;" so that the paragraph will read:

323. Tow of flax, $20 per ton.

Mr. PETTIGREW. This provision puts retted and unretted tow of flax on the same footing. In other words, it gives a protection of 100 per cent on unretted tow of flax and about 10 per cent on retted tow of flax. No such discrimination would certainly ever be made by the committee if they understood the facts. They put 100 per cent on common upholsterer's tow, made of flax unretted, and 10 per cent on the retted flax, which is used in spinning, and so on. Therefore, it is an exceedingly unscientific duty, and I believe the committee pride themselves on producing a very scientific bill.

A duty of $20 per ton on unretted tow of flax is abundant—100 per cent. It will do very well. I shall ask to have the paragraph separated and the House provision in regard to the retted tow of flax retained and the duty increased to 2 cents a pound, which will make a duty of about 25 per cent ad valorem.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Will the Senator from South Dakota restate his amendment as he would like to have it submitted to the Senate?

Mr. PETTIGREW. Perhaps I had better let the amendment go over and let the committee amendment be disposed of, and then I will offer an additional subdivision.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Will that be satisfactory to the Senator from Iowa?

Mr. ALLISON. It will be.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the committee amendment as modified.

The amendment as modified was agreed to.

Mr. PETTIGREW. I offer as a substitute for the paragraph the following:

323. Tow of flax, not retted, $20 per ton; tow of flax, retted, 2 cents per pound.

Mr. VEST. I wish to call attention to the fact that under the McKinley Act this duty was one-half cent per pound. On the bill as it came to us from the House, the Dingley bill, the duty on tow of flax not retted was one-half of 1 cent per pound; on tow of flax retted it was 1 cent per pound. As I understand the amendment, it will increase one of the classifications 1½ cents a pound over the McKinley Act. Is that the fact?

Mr. PETTIGREW. I do not know what the McKinley Act rate was, neither do I care. It has always been customary for manufacturers, who have always got up the tariff bills, to put a sum equal to what two or three duties ought to be on the manufactured articles and nothing on the raw material, and then try to make our people believe we were interested in the tariff. I want to remedy that. That is what I am trying to do in this bill. I therefore propose practically to double the rate in this paragraph. The compensatory duties have been doubled under the bill on all manufactured linens.

Mr. VEST. I am not accustomed to defend the McKinley Act, as the world knows, but it is not amenable to the charge made by the Senator from South Dakota that the highest duty was put upon the raw materials. Under that act tow of flax not retted paid a duty of one-half cent a pound. After being retted, which might be called the finished product, the duty was 1 cent a pound.

What I object to is the violation of the statement made by the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH] in opening this discussion, and which I have understood to be the basis of this legislation by our Republican friends, that they would not go above the McKinley rates. We were told some two weeks ago that there were not a half dozen instances in this bill where they have gone above them. This is an enormous increase, 1½ cents upon one classification and 1 cent on the other. On that I shall call for the yeas and nays, because the tax is excessive.

Mr. WHITE. If I understand the situation of this matter, the Senator from Iowa proposed to make practically a substitute for the provision as it stood in the House bill, putting the whole material at $20 a ton. Then the Senator from South Dakota offered an amendment by which he proposed to place 1 cent on one class and 2 cents on the other—the retted at 2 cents and the not retted at 1 cent.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from South Dakota, on which the yeas and nays are demanded.

The yeas and nays were not ordered.

The amendment was rejected.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 324, page 104, line 10, after the word "hemp," to insert "and tow of hemp;" in line 10, before the word "dollars," to strike out "twenty-five" and insert "twenty;" so as to read:

Hemp, and tow of hemp, $20 per ton.

Mr. VEST. I understand the amendment to strike out $25 a ton is not withdrawn?

Mr. ALLISON. The amendment is not withdrawn.

Mr. VEST. As it reads now, it would be, "Hemp, and tow of hemp, $20 per ton."

I wish to make a single remark about this matter. The State of Kentucky is the only State in the Union interested in the matter of hemp. The State of Missouri, prior to the war, was the largest raiser of hemp among the States of the Union; but as soon as compulsory labor was dispensed with, by reason of the emancipation of the slaves, the culture of hemp in my State ceased. It is absolutely impossible by any sort of temptation in the way of money to induce white men to go into the culture of hemp. While there have been great improvements in all sorts of machinery, there has never been anything amounting to what might be called an improvement in the old-fashioned, rude hemp-break, which was absolutely destructive to human health and life. To give an illustration of how destructive it was, after the war, when our negroes were being hired out in Missouri upon hemp farms in the rich bottom lands on the Missouri River, where hemp culture mostly obtained, a negro man hired for $250 to $300 a year, while on the grain farms in the interior he was worth only $125 to $150. No humane master ever allowed his slaves to go the second time upon a hemp farm.

It was found by actual experience that in the first place it developed what is called by the doctors Cachexia africana, I believe, what a plain man would call negro consumption, because the operation of the hemp break was very injurious to the chest, and the inhaling of the lint from the fiber always or nearly always diseased the lungs. Therefore, when coercive labor was dispensed with as a result of the war, it was impossible to hire white men, and the culture of hemp in the State of Missouri has ceased. From being the largest hemp-raising State in the Union, it now produces comparatively nothing; I think a few hundred tons. On the other hand, if Senators have an interest in this matter, and will read the testimony of Mr. Leslie Coombs, a son of Gen. Leslie Coombs, of Kentucky, a prominent Republican from Fayette County, Ky., they will find a very interesting history of hemp culture in that State. In his testimony he affirms, and doubtless it is true, that the negro population being so much larger in Kentucky than in Missouri in proportion to the whites, the negroes through mere necessity were compelled to continue in the hemp fields and with the hemp-break, and he appealed to the Ways and Means Committee to put up the duty, I think to $40 per ton.

The hemp of Kentucky comes into competition with jute. The few raisers of hemp in Kentucky—and there are only a few thousand tons of it raised—do not fear competition from manila or sisal, but from jute alone, and a Kentuckian of considerable prominence said to me the other day, "There are two things in which my State is interested, and I appeal to you as a native Kentuckian to stand by it. Those two things are whisky and hemp." I said, "It is a very significant partnership." He said, "We do not fear sisal and we do not fear manila, but we do fear jute. Therefore we want the highest possible exclusive duty upon jute."

I have some very fond memories from my native State. I am proud of her reputation, of her great statesmen in the past and her great statesmen to-day. I think I know Kentucky as well as any man living, but I can not vote for an increased duty upon hemp or jute even to please them. Hemp is used to-day in cord, and the increased duty upon hemp simply enables the hemp manufacturers of Kentucky to charge more for their rope and for the common hemp garment used by the very poorest class of population, and in the summer time especially, by negroes.

With my views in regard to the tariff, I think it is class legislation to put on an additional duty in order to enhance the price of this article. Why should we put $20 a ton upon this hemp, when its only effect is to enable the hemp manufacturers to add that much more to their finished product? I do not think that that should be the object of a tariff. There is no pretense that hemp from abroad comes into ruinous competition with the hemp of Kentucky. I would say what I am saying now if the State of Missouri raised what she used to raise—more hemp than any other State in the Union.

We have heard a great deal to-day about equality. I believe in equality. I believe that, within the limits of a tariff for revenue, there ought to be no discrimination in favor of any section. Needed revenue, always within the limit of a tariff for revenue, should be equitably and properly adjusted, always considering the nature of the articles to be taxed, whether a luxury or a necessity, and never putting the burden or the benefit on one section at the expense of another. This is simply class legislation, because it is legislating in favor of a local interest, in behalf of a very few farmers. It is not pretended that the hemp is raised all over the State of Kentucky.

It is raised in three or four counties in the State, in one of which I happened to be born—in Fayette, in Woodford, in Bourbon, in Boyle, in Mercer, and nowhere else—and yet we are called upon now to tax the large mass of consumers throughout the country and the people who use the common rope necessary for bagging, necessary in towing, necessary in farming, the plow line being made of it, all sorts of cord being made of it, for the benefit of a few hemp manufacturers in a few counties of one State. I move to strike out "$20 per ton" and insert "$10 per ton." I should like to see hemp upon the free list.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment to the amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In line 10 it is proposed to amend the committee amendment by striking out the word "twenty" and inserting "ten;" so as to read, "$10 per ton."

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Missouri to the amendment of the committee.

The amendment to the amendment was rejected.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question recurs on agreeing to the amendment of the committee.

The amendment was agreed to.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 324, line 11, page 104, after the word "ton," to strike out "tow of hemp, not carded, 1 cent per pound; tow of hemp, carded, 1½ cents per pound;" and in line 13, after the word "hemp," to strike out "or 'dressed line' fifty" and insert "forty;" so as to read:

Hemp, hackled, known as "line of hemp," $40 per ton.

Mr. VEST. Under existing law it is $22.40 per ton. This is nearly 100 per cent increase over existing law. I move to strike out "$40" and insert "$22.40."

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment to the amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In line 14 it is proposed to amend the committee amendment by striking out "$40" and inserting "$22.40;" so as to read:

Hemp, hackled, known as "line of hemp," $22.40 per ton.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Missouri to the amendment.

The amendment to the amendment was rejected.

The amendment as amended was agreed to.

The reading of the bill was resumed, as follows:

325. Yarn, made of jute, 1 cent per pound and 10 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. VEST. I move to strike out "1 cent per pound and 10 per cent" and insert "30 per cent;" so as to read:

325. Yarn, made of jute, 30 per cent ad valorem.

I wish to call the attention of the Senate to some testimony taken before the Ways and Means Committee.

Mr. ALLISON. I have an amendment which I wish to offer.

Mr. VEST. I beg pardon.

Mr. ALLISON. I move to strike out the paragraph and to insert in lieu thereof what I send to the desk.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to strike out paragraph 325 and insert in lieu thereof the following:

325. Single yarns, made of jute, not finer than 5 lea or number, 1 cent per pound and 10 per cent ad valorem; if finer than 5 lea or number, 35 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. WHITE. I will inquire if this is not only a new section to the pending bill, but a section not to be found in existing law or in the McKinley Act? It is an entirely new classification.

Mr. ALLISON. It is a new adjustment of the rate on single jute yarns.

Mr. VEST. I move to strike out the rate proposed in the amendment and to insert "30 per cent ad valorem."

Mr. MILLS. On both classes?

Mr. VEST. Yes.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to strike out "1 cent per pound and 10 per cent ad valorem" and "35 per cent ad valorem" where they occur in the amendment and insert in lieu thereof "30 per cent ad valorem."

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Missouri to the amendment.

The amendment to the amendment was rejected.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question recurs on agreeing to the amendment of the committee.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 326, page 104, line 17, after the word "Cables," to strike out the comma and insert "and;" and in the same line, after the word "cordage," to strike out "and twine, not specially provided for in this act" and insert "composed of istle, Tampico fiber, manila, sisal grass or sunn, or a mixture of these or any of them;" so as to make the paragraph read:

326. Cables and cordage, composed of istle, Tampico fiber, manila, sisal grass or sunn, or a mixture of these or any of them, 1 cent per pound; cables and cordage made of hemp, tarred or untarred, 2 cents per pound.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. WHITE. In lieu of and as a substitute for the paragraph just read, I move to insert paragraph 268 of the present law.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read the proposed amendment.

The SECRETARY. In lieu of paragraph 326 it is proposed to insert:

Cables, cordage, and twine (except binding twine), composed in whole or in part of New Zealand hemp, istle or Tampico fiber, manila, sisal grass, or sunn, 10 per cent ad valorem.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from California [Mr. WHITE].

The amendment was rejected.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 327, page 105, line 1, after the word "number," to strike out "five-eighths" and insert "three-fourths;" so as to make the paragraph read:

327. Threads, twines, or cords, made from yarn not finer than 5 lea or number, composed of flax, hemp, or ramie, or of which these substances or either of them is the component material of chief value, 12 cents per pound; if made from yarn finer than 5 lea or number, three-fourths of 1 cent per pound additional for each lea or number, or part of a lea or number, in excess of 5.

Mr. ALLISON. I desire to modify the amendment in lines 1 and 2 by inserting "seven-eighths" instead of "three-fourths."

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to amend the committee amendment in paragraph 327 by striking out "three-fourths" and inserting "seven-eighths" in lines 1 and 2, page 105.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Without objection, the amendment as modified will be agreed to.

Mr. WHITE. Let the question be put. This appears to be a rise not only over the committee amendment, but ahead of the House rate, the House rate being five-eighths of a cent and the Senate rate three-fourths.

Mr. ALLISON. That is accounted for by the change in the raw material, in line 22.

Mr. WHITE. This is a compensatory duty?

Mr. ALLISON. It is a compensatory duty.

Mr. WHITE. On Kentucky hemp?

Mr. ALLISON. Not only on Kentucky hemp, but on flax. It is a duty that is deemed essential in order to enable our own people to manufacture this thread.

Mr. WHITE. I should like to inquire of the Senator from Iowa whether the putting of a duty upon flax straw, of which there have been several dollars' worth imported in several years, has anything to do with the compensatory duty?

Mr. ALLISON. I think nothing whatever.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Without further objection, the amendment is agreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. I also move, in line 25——

Mr. MORGAN. Before the paragraph is passed over, I offer an amendment to it.

Mr. ALLISON. If the Senator will allow me a moment; in line 25——

Mr. MORGAN. My amendment relates to the compensatory duty just referred to.

Mr. ALLISON. In line 25, page 104, paragraph 327, I move to strike out "twelve," before "cents," and insert "fourteen;" so as to read:

Threads, twines, or cords, made from yarn not finer than 5 lea or number, composed of flax, hemp, or ramie, or of which these substances or either of them is the component material of chief value, 14 cents per pound.

Mr. MORGAN. I want to offer my amendment to the compensatory duty upon flax.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Alabama desire to offer his amendment now?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes; I offer it now as an amendment before the vote is taken on the compensatory duty upon flax.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair did not understand the Senator from Alabama. Is the amendment to be proposed now, or when the paragraph is perfected?

Mr. MORGAN. I wish to offer it as an amendment to the amendment proposed by the committee for a compensatory duty on flax.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. At the end of paragraph 327, page 105, line 3, it is proposed to insert——

Mr. ALLISON. Will not the Senator allow me to perfect the paragraph first?

Mr. MORGAN. But I am trying to perfect it. That is what I am trying to do.

Mr. ALLISON. I know the Senator is, but I understand the Senator proposes to perfect it by adding matter at the end. I desire to have an amendment disposed of in line 25, page 104, striking out "twelve" and inserting "fourteen." Then his amendment will, of course, come in.

Mr. MORGAN. My amendment is so worded that it comes in naturally and properly——

Mr. ALLISON. At any time?

Mr. MORGAN. No.

Mr. ALLISON. Will the Senator allow me to perfect the text?

Mr. MORGAN. If the Senator will allow me first to perfect his amendment, I will.

Mr. ALLISON. Certainly, I yield to the Senator.

Mr. MORGAN. My amendment will come in at the end of the amendment which has just been formally voted on, and which I ask may be reconsidered for the purpose of letting in my amendment.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read the amendment proposed by the Senator from Alabama.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to add to paragraph 327:

And a duty of 10 per cent ad valorem on all articles on the free list in section 2 of this act, except those described in paragraphs 474, 475, 484½, 486, 486a, 486b, 486c, 486d, 486e, 492, 496, 510, 528, 547, 563, 597, 598, 600, 606½, 611, 612½, 619½, 621, 628, 635, 639, 640, 648, 657, 662, 666, 670, 670½, all of which articles are exempt from duty.

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. President, I intended to offer this amendment to the compensatory duty on cotton twine yesterday afternoon, but happened to be out of the Chamber at the time that subject was passed upon. I offer it now for the purpose of bringing up the question which was suggested by the Senator from Georgia [Mr. BACON], and in which I fully concur with him, that justice requires, and it is a sound method of legislation, to take from the free list nearly all of the articles that are found upon it and place them under the low ad valorem duty of 10 per cent.

The articles that I do not put under that duty are mentioned in the paragraphs which are there enumerated. I will refer to some of them for the purpose of indicating what they are and in order to show the principle upon which I am acting in this matter.

For instance, in paragraph 611:

Personal effects, not merchandise, of citizens of the United States dying in foreign countries.

Paragraph 612½:

Philosophical and scientific apparatus, utensils, instruments, and preparations, including bottles and boxes containing the same, specially imported in good faith for the use or by order of any society or institution incorporated or established solely for religious, philosophical, educational, scientific, or literary purposes, or for the encouragement of the fine arts, or for the use or by order of any college, academy, school, or seminary of learning in the United States, or any State or public library, and not for sale, subject to such regulations as the Secretary of the Treasury shall prescribe.

Paragraph 621:

Quinia, sulphate of, and all alkaloids or salts of cinchona bark.

Paragraph 628. Seeds: Anise, beet, canary, caraway, cardamom, cauliflower, etc.

Paragraph 635. Silkworm's eggs.

Paragraph 639. Specimens of natural history.

Paragraph 640. Spices, etc.

Paragraph 648. Tamarinds.

Paragraph 662. Vaccine virus.

Those are mere samples selected from the list of enumerated paragraphs to show that my purpose is to make exemptions and put on the free list only those things that relate to the absolute necessities of life in the United States and are not produced in this country to any great extent. That would include salt, it includes gold and silver bullion, and a number of articles. The principle I contend for is that all imports ought to bear a duty if any imports bear a duty, except those that are necessary for the maintenance of human life, and for shelter, and for food in its simplest possible form.

We have had a great deal of disquisition during the debate on this tariff bill about the proper theory, the proper doctrine to apply to tariff legislation. I have heard the discussion in this Chamber of four tariffs during the twenty years I have been here, and I have never yet failed to listen to a great deal of pretty acrimonious debate as to the consistency of Senators in the application of their doctrines to tariff enactment.

I have come to the conclusion that there is no one principle that will run through every act of tariff legislation and secure justice except that every article that is imported shall bear its fair equivalent of duty; of course, that the object of taxation shall be solely and exclusively the raising of revenue for the support of the Government, and that it shall not be a distinctive part of any tariff legislation that bounty, misnamed protection, shall be given to any class of producers or manufacturers in the United States.

My conceptions of the tariffs that we have a right to enact under the Constitution of the country are that they are solely intended for the purpose of raising revenue, and that they were not intended by the framers of the Constitution in any sense at all as a means of conferring bounty upon any class of American citizenship, because we can not confer bounty upon any class of Americans without discriminating against some other class, giving special and peculiar advantages to one citizen over another, which I understand to be contrary to the spirit of our Government.

I find in my examination of all these tariff laws that there is hidden away in the free list the most unjustifiable of all the bounties that we confer upon special classes. They are concealed there, and it is done purposely. When an article that is manufactured in the United States consists of elements which must be exported from some foreign country, those elements ought to bear taxation along with all other objects of taxation that we seek to impose duties upon.

I do not agree at all that raw material, as it is called, ought to be free. There are subjects that ought to be free, but they are not what we call raw material in respect to the processes of manufacture. The admission of the raw material of the manufacturers free of duty is that much bounty conferred upon them. Particularly is that the case when the consumer has to pay for the manufactured goods when they are imported, or when they are made here, the additional price that is made necessary by the incident of taxation upon the article when it comes from abroad.

We can not put any article upon the free list without violating that principle. We can not possibly put any article upon the free list without giving that much advantage to the manufacturer or the producer in this country who makes the same article, or one that is equivalent to it in its general purposes and uses.

Now, we are told that one of the objects of this law is to raise revenue. Another object declared in the title of the act, and frequently avowed on the floor, is to encourage American manufactures or American production. There are two objects, then, presented. The first is the legitimate object, and the other is not a legitimate object, unless it is a mere incident to the exercise of the taxing power. But in this bill it is put forward not as an incident of the taxing power, but as an independent exercise of the power, upon the ground that we have the right to confer bounties upon a portion of our citizens at the expense of other citizens of the United States.

There I separate from all that class of legislators who believe that they have the right by using the powers of taxation to confer bounties and benefits upon one class, to the oppression and disadvatage of another class. We separate there in our conclusions and in our opinions about the proper and legitimate use of the taxing power.

Of all the powers that we have under the Constitution of the United States the power of taxation is the least restrained, and therefore it is the most dangerous. There is no court in this Government that has the right, in any form of action or procedure, to restrain the collection of a tax, no matter how enormous it may be, upon the ground that it is excessive.

There is no lawyer who can frame a case and present it to a court and invoke its jurisdiction to the extent of getting an injunction or any other repressive act upon the part of a court because the tax that we may choose to levy is excessive. That can not be said of any other human act or any other act performed by the Congress of the United States. There is no exercise of power in the United States that is, after all, absolutely discretionary as to the extent of its exercise besides the taxing power. It is, therefore, the most dangerous power that exists in our reach under the Constitution of the United States.

For that very reason, Mr. President, a cautious and considerate and sincere legislator will refrain from laying his hand upon that power for the purpose of using the instrumentality of taxation to confer bounties upon certain classes that he thinks ought to be rewarded and to discriminate against certain men whom he thinks ought to be punished. The taxing power, of all powers of the Government, is the most sacred in its trust. It operates distinctly and directly upon the conscience of every man who legislates. When a man finds himself in the possession of unlimited power and chooses to exercise it for the benefit of his friends or to the disadvantage of other sections where his friends do not reside (I speak of his political friends), that man is standing on the brink of a terrible precipice; it will be only through God's providence if he does not go over it.

Therefore, when I approach the consideration of a tariff bill, I am bound to ask myself the question whether the particular measure that is brought to my attention, and upon which I am required to vote, is a measure intended and designed for the purpose of raising revenue or whether it is a departure from that and goes into the domain of bounty, called protection. If it goes to that extent, even to a slight degree, and I am conscious of it, I can not reconcile it to my conscience to vote for any such measure.

Then, to take the converse of the proposition as to the duty of imposing taxes, we are not relieved from that duty in a conscientious discharge of our functions as legislators in respect of any matter that is imported into the United States if we tax any of them at all, and if we propose to have any reference to equality in the adjustment of the burdens of taxation. So I feel entirely justified, and indeed, sir, I feel called upon, as I have heretofore been called upon, to vote against placing many articles upon the free list that I believe are the legitimate subjects of taxation.

Now, you may take this free list here, and, according to the information that I possess from others—because I have made no calculations upon it myself—an equal, if not a larger, number of articles are imported free of duty into the United States than those which have the burden of taxation; and when you come to values, the value of the imported articles that come in under the free list is larger than the value of those that are put on the dutiable list.

We ask ourselves, therefore, the question, Why is it that more than one-half of the importations into the United States come in free of duty? The man who is burdened with enormous duties upon articles of necessity must turn to the free list and ask himself the question, Why is this large number of articles permitted to come in here free of duty? The answer is a patent one. It does not require any keen discrimination to make the answer perfectly satisfactory. The answer is, these articles are omitted from the dutiable list and are let in free because they increase the profit of certain men who are engaged in certain classes of business in the United States.

Well, Mr. President, that is taxation under the color of a false pretense. We say to ourselves, we are very liberal in taxation; we are free traders; and to prove it we have an enormous free list, both as to the value and number of the articles that are imported. We are free traders; we want to take the burdens off of the people. We turn to the other side, to the first section of the same bill, and we find enormous impositions of taxes, very much higher than we have indulged in since the war, and even higher now than many of them were during the period of the civil war.

It is perfectly obvious that the object of this enormous free list is simply to smuggle in protection under the name of free trade. We are accused here, in a rather sneering way, of being free traders. I never myself have felt any reproach at being called a free trader, because when I look over the forty-five States of the American Union I find that there are no taxes imposed on the articles that pass from one State to another on neither the imports nor exports from any State. I find that very much the larger part and the more valuable part of the commerce of the people of the United States that they provide through their productions and manufactures and in every way is entirely free trade between the States.

If we had the power to do it, as we had under the Articles of Confederation, who in any State, or in the Congress of the United States, would undertake to impose upon this vast mass of interstate commerce duties of export or duties of import? Why, nobody. Nobody dreams of such a thing. All the commerce between these forty-five States is free trade; it is nothing else. If our Government had been established with reference to its support by direct taxation rather than by import duties upon foreign articles imported into the country, I think that we would have prospered very much more than we have done under the tariff systems that we have levied, beginning with the foundation of the Government.

But our Government was not framed for that purpose entirely. The two systems were combined, the system of direct taxation and the system of duty upon imports, from which we should derive revenue. Therefore it is perfectly legitimate to impose tariffs, customs duties, upon articles imported into the United States. But, Mr. President, the wisdom of it is a different thing. In a commercial sense, the wisdom of it is a very different thing.

There is no wiser system of commercial intercourse anywhere in this world than that which exists between these forty-five sovereign States of the American Union. They are separated from each other as distinctively, in a great many respects, as Great Britain is separated from the United States.

There are imaginary lines that run between them—sometimes river boundaries—and imaginary lines run between us and Canada, some of them drawn through the middle of the lakes, where it is impossible to effect any demarcation of the lines. You pass across one of those lakes going from the United States into Canada without being conscious of such a line, and yet we impose duties upon articles coming from the other side of that line.

If it could be true that the whole world could operate its business as these forty-five States do, the whole world would be very much richer, very much freer, and very much happier than the world is now. It is the selfishness of nations which try to prey upon each other and get rich at the expense of each other that gives preference to imposts or customs duties when commodities pass from border to border.

Mr. CHANDLER. May I ask whether, if that blissful state should come to pass, wages would not necessarily be the same all over the world?

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. President, I do not know whether that would be so or not, but I think the Senator from New Hampshire probably will concur with me that if all the gold and silver mines in the world were freely opened to the production of gold and silver, and there was uniformity of coinage and of value accorded to these two great metals which God has given us, wages would be alike in all the countries of the world, depending, in some instances, as a matter of course, upon the density of population, and in others upon their capacity for physical and mental labor.

Mr. CHANDLER. Oh, no; the Senator must not fasten that admission upon me. I do not think that would be the case. I am opposed to having that the case. I am in favor of higher wages in the United States than those which prevail in any other country, and for that reason I am in favor of the American system of protection. The difference between me and the Senator is that the Senator is not only for the free coinage of silver and of gold all

the world over, but I am afraid he is in favor of the equalization of wages all the world over, and I am not.

Mr. MORGAN. The equalization of wages will always take place the world over when there is absolute freedom of trade, and I therefore am in favor of an equalization of wages all the world over, if it does not starve anybody, if it does nobody any harm. I am not at all unwilling to see a subject of the British Empire, whether he is in one of the islands of the sea or whether in the "little tight island" called the United Kingdom, there prosper and enjoy himself and grow strong, and all that, for I think that is one of the benevolences that the Almighty has intended for man in any part of the world, and I am not envious of his prosperity, and do not desire to cripple or destroy him at all; on the contrary, I would give him advantages, if I could do it, not over our own people, but over his own people—his rulers and Government, who keep him under foot to prevent him from rising. I would remove those difficulties if I could do so; but I do not expect to enter upon an undertaking of that kind, for I am not a universal reformer.

I acknowledge that there is an incident of protection, as we call it, an incident of bounty, in every impost we impose upon goods brought from abroad. I am not inveighing against that at all, but under the pretense of giving our laborers higher wages I am not in favor of increasing the profits and magnifying the wealth of the employer when the wages of the laborer really are not enhanced, or, if they are enhanced, the compensatory losses, or rather the losses that derogate from his nominal profits as a wage earner, are imposed upon him in the very high prices of that for which he has to pay, which at last equalizes this matter and produces an equation between the situations here and the situations abroad in all the countries of the world.

Mr. CHANDLER. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. PASCO in the chair). Does the Senator from Alabama yield to the Senator from New Hampshire?

Mr. MORGAN. I do.

Mr. CHANDLER. As I have interrupted the Senator by his kind permission once, I venture to do it again, if he will allow me.

The Senator has offered an amendment to put upon the dutiable list nearly all the articles in this bill which are upon the free list. He has seemingly joined the Senator from Georgia [Mr. BACON] in the proposition that the free list ought to be wiped out and everything have a duty placed upon it. We endeavor to be practical now as the heat of the summer is coming upon us; we ought to be practical certainly, and try to pass this bill and go home.

Why does the Senator from Alabama [Mr. MORGAN], why does the Senator from Georgia, expect that we can possibly take this free list and convert it into a dutiable list, in view of the fact that when the Democratic party controlled this Chamber and the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. JONES]—who I see is listening to the Senator from Alabama [laughter]—was making a tariff bill here, there was a free list just as broad as the present free list which has been reported by the Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON]?

I will ask the Senator, with all due respect, is it not folly to waste our time upon a proposition to destroy the free list, which our party does not intend to do, and which his party did not dare to try to do?

Mr. MORGAN. I do not know, Mr. President, what my party dares to try to do. I hope it always dares to try to do what is right. I know they do dare to try to prevent the piling up of enormous bounties in favor of certain sections and certain people in this country. They have been laboring diligently and assiduously at that task for several days, and in the midst of their labors I have seen the Senator from Iowa rise several times and offer an ad valorem duty upon certain goods imported into the United States to compensate for an increase of protection—to increase the protection, rather, because certain articles which had heretofore been imported free were put upon the dutiable list—and he used in those cases the ordinary process of an ad valorem duty of 10 per cent, just as I do in this amendment. So I have a very high precedent in the conduct of this very bill for what I am attempting to do in a little more general way.

The Senator from New Hampshire objects to the consumption of time that is required. It requires very little time to take a vote, Mr. President, placing a duty of 10 per cent ad valorem upon certain articles on the free list and excepting certain others.

Mr. CHANDLER. Right there will the Senator explain why he excepts the items he names in his amendment? If we are going to have a duty on everything, why except anything? The Senator from Georgia [Mr. BACON] could not advocate a duty on everything without excepting three or four things, and now the Senator from Alabama excepts a dozen. Will the Senator tell us what those exceptions are, and why he makes any exception at all if we are to have a tariff upon everything?

The Senator will excuse me for saying these things, because the platform of 1892 of the Democratic party bound the party, of which Grover Cleveland was then the head and the Senator from Alabama a distinguished member, to put "a tariff for revenue only" upon everything; and if the pledges of the platform had been carried out, there would have been on, say, eight hundred millions or a thousand millions of importations a duty of 20 or 25 per cent imposed, which would have brought us in two hundred or two hundred and fifty million dollars of revenue, and then the thing would have been done, and Democratic principles would have been triumphant for once in this country. It was not done in the tariff of 1894, and the Senator knows we can not do it now. Then why does the Senator make an attempt to do it now?

Mr. MORGAN. All the exceptions in the amendment I propose are exceptions in favor of humanity, and only that—absolute necessities—and they relate to articles which are not produced in this country, except bullion, gold and silver, which of course ought to be admitted free, because they relate to the supply of money to the people.

But the Senator will find by looking over the list that I propose—and it is easy enough to trace it up by casting his eye on the bill—that the exceptions I felt authorized to make relate entirely to the duties we owe to the common wants and the sympathies of human nature. They do not relate in the slightest degree to the advantage of any man engaged in manufactures or production. In most instances they relate to articles not produced here at all.

As to the declaration of the different party platforms on this subject, parties, Mr. President, have been fixing up platforms and laying down rules for tariff legislation since we first commenced having party conventions and caucuses to bind the whole people of the country; and I suppose there are as great variations in those platforms, taking either of the parties, as you can find in almost any other declarations that ever have been advanced by human thought and action. Sometimes we almost go to the verge of free trade, and then we come and put in a little protection. When the McKinley tariff bill was under discussion here, both parties were committed to the doctrine of protection to this extent, that we would place upon articles manufactured in the United States a sufficient duty to compensate for what the Senator from New Hampshire calls the difference between the price of labor in the United States and abroad.

What is that but protection? What is that but bounty? It gives to the American manufacturer that amount of additional duty which would cover, or is supposed to cover, the difference between the cost of labor in the United States and the cost of labor abroad. Of course that is the doctrine of protection, which both parties agreed to, so far as parties are concerned.

But, Mr. President, I have lived long enough and have had enough of public experience to understand that no political party in a great national convention can lay down a rule to which the membership of that party will accede and which they will carry out in their legislation. They have never accomplished it yet, and they never will.

Look at the Republican party in this Chamber. Up to this meeting of Congress and until this bill had been quite a long time under consideration, free speech and free voting amongst the Republicans upon the items of the tariff was something that was entirely established amongst the precedents of that party. Now there is not a Senator on that side who dares to break away from the line of demarcation as prescribed by the Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON]. The Senator from Iowa votes this tariff all the time; he indicates what he wants. He is a wise man, a most patriotic citizen, and a very able Senator; and they do well to trust him; but I have never yet seen a child 2 years old that had as much confidence in its mother and followed the advice of that mother as unhesitatingly as these grave, gray-headed, splendid men who are on the other side of this Chamber follow the Senator from Iowa.

Mr. CHANDLER. The Senator says we "do not dare to do." The Senator is mistaken. We do not want to do. We are united on this side of the Chamber; we are not broken all to pieces, as the Senator's party is, and we gladly vote with the Senator from Iowa because he is wise and right.

Mr. MORGAN. I have no doubt the Republican Senators in this Chamber very much enjoy the confession on the part of the Senator from New Hampshire that he is entirely willing to do what they require of him, because it has seemed to me that the Senator from New Hampshire was trying to break the fence all the time, and that he has been almost dying under the restraints that have been imposed upon him by the caucus. [Laughter.] I do not think that I have witnessed any mental suffering in a long time that was as keen and as excruciating and as exhausting as that which the caucus has imposed upon the Senator from New Hampshire. [Laughter.]

But he is not alone. There are a number of Senators on that side of the Chamber who rebel at this bill as they go along, and who are thinking now about the excuses they will be able to give

to their constituency when they get home for casting these votes; and the only excuse they can give is that of caucus rule. Therefore, this tariff is a party-caucus decree. Whatever other decrees we may rebel against in this country, we do not rebel against party decrees, except it be on the Democratic side of the Chamber, when Georgians and South Carolinians, and occasionally an Alabamian, gets up and speaks his sentiments and votes according to his own convictions.

I am very proud now to say that up to this time, at least, the Democratic party have not imposed this gag upon their members. They could not do it. If you want to break up a Democratic caucus in this body, just come in there and propose that every man shall be required to adhere to what the majority shall ordain in that caucus, and they will disseminate themselves rapidly to their respective places of abode and not go back any more until that rule is not insisted upon. There is free speech, free thought, and free action left on the part of the Democracy. That being so, the people of the United States can trust that party to take care of their rights and interests without the dictation of party managers at a national convention.

I am very sorry that the conviction of the people in regard to the action of the Republican party is being confirmed every day by all that is done here, and that is, that the present project or tariff as it is being engineered through this Senate and as it was engineered through the House of Representatives is a mere distribution of rewards for political service. We do not understand that you are doing anything else except paying your political debts. We do not begin to understand, nor do the people, that you are doing anything for them, that their interests are consulted, that their rights are respected.

We understand that the men who receive the benefits of this tariff in these various phases of protection have demanded of the Republican party that they shall get their reward in this bill, and the caucus have taken those demands altogether, have averaged them up, and they have said wool shall get so much, hides so much, sugar so much, and so cotton and woolen manufactures, and iron and steel, and the like of that, shall get so much; and they have divided it all up; and the men in the United States who are interested now in these industries can take a pencil and piece of paper and sit down and tell you very closely the amounts of money they are going to make out of this bill; but the consumers—those who are not benefited in this way—can not calculate their losses, for the reason that when you get a man on a sort of toboggan slide down in the direction of distress and poverty, that man has very hard work to take up and face the other way.

There is a class of people in the United States who are going to be benefited by this tariff. They will be prosperous—yes, they will be overprosperous. I do not know that they are going to be suddenly prosperous, but enormously so when the scheme that is now being voted under the gag law of the caucus upon the other side is put upon the statute book.

When the Republican party has passed its decree into a statute, then the men who are to receive the benefits and who are perfectly well known and described in this bill, will grow prosperous, and, for the time being, there will be a whir of wheels, perhaps, and the loading of ducats into their treasury; but after a while, Mr. President, this thing is going to stop, because the other people who are not provided for, the great industrial masses of this country, will not be able to earn enough to pay these bounties, and depression and calamity will take place in the country; panic will appear in the commercial and financial marts, and this bill will produce it. Causes now exist sufficient to produce it, but this bill will aggravate it; and after this bill has had its first reviving effect upon these so-called industries of manufacturing, etc., when the reaction comes in this country, there is no man, I think, who has bestowed his thoughts sedately upon questions of prosperity and adversity, who will not certainly forecast in his mind that this country, by virtue of this political tariff, designed by a political party, is bound to suffer panic, disorder, and distress.

The Senator from New Hampshire says that we ought to be in a hurry about this, and he laments the waste of time. Well, Mr. President, if I am permitted to speak about any other institution in the world except this, I will refer to a legislative body that used to assemble in this Capitol about 200 feet from here. I will not call the name of it for fear somebody will call me to order; I will not allude to it in any more specific terms, lest I might violate the constitutional right of somebody on this floor, or at least his sense of delicacy, decency, and propriety. I notice, however, that that legislative body—and it is a very great body, composed of many splendid men, many of whom have national and world-wide reputations for ability and integrity, for experience and for courage—seem to have so much leisure that they do not meet but twice a week; and indeed they have forbidden themselves to meet more than twice a week.

There is a statute upon that book in that House which is called a rule, just as obligatory as any law, criminal or civil, on the statute book is obligatory upon a citizen of the United States—a rule derived by a single step from the Constitution of the United States, a rule enacted in obedience to an imperative demand of the Constitution of the United States; and that rule, contrary to the Constitution, requires that that House shall not meet except on Monday and Thursday.

I suppose that it is the first time that any negative, pregnant legislation has ever occurred in the United States, where either House has passed a resolution or a rule that it should not meet except on certain days, so that if some sudden calamity or some sudden emergency were to come upon the people of the United States, and the Speaker of the House should go there, and a number of members of the House should assemble there sufficient to constitute a quorum to do business, and the Speaker should undertake to ascend to his desk and take up his gavel, one of the pages would have the right to inquire of him what he was doing there, what business he had in that Chamber to mount upon that desk, with that piece of timber in his hand, at a time when the resolution of the House was that he should not be there—forbidden to be there by positive law, by a law that the House alone can make and that nobody but the House can undo or repeal, forbidden to be there at all in the capacity of a legislator or Speaker—and is found at that desk on Tuesday, or on Friday, or on Saturday. He is not there on Tuesday, or Wednesday, or Friday, or Saturday, or possibly on Sunday, which is not dies non juridicus; not at all.

A House having that much leisure, having nothing to do, nobody to serve, no constitutional duties to exercise, certainly can not complain if we allow them to enjoy their elegant leisure, loitering in the shades of this beautiful city, while we are engaged in the laborious effort of trying to put through a tariff bill which they have never read, that they were not permitted to read. It was carried in there and brought out, but it was never read or permitted to be read. The membership of the House knew nothing about the merits of the bill when it came here, and yet, according to the Constitution, they must originate all bills for revenue. That does not merely mean that they must dig them up from the foundations of their wisdom and expose them undigested and unscanned to the balance of the world. It means that they shall present those bills after due consideration.

The bill came to this body, and the committee of the Senate took it and kept it for a long time. I am almost afraid to say how long for fear they might suppose I was impeaching them for want of diligence, but I suppose no committee ever worked harder upon a bill than our Finance Committee has worked upon this measure; so hard, indeed, that one of the most eminent and able of the members of the committee has been driven to his home by sickness, as we understand, from the great labor he had to perform in the investigation of the measure.

The bill has come to us in a new form almost every day. We have very little conception of what we have to vote upon. The committee have not settled down upon anything, as far as I understand, because they change their report every half hour in the day, and we do not know how to prepare to vote upon the measure which they have had printed and laid before us. So on both sides great leisure is being taken and Senators only get in haste and complain of the want of time when they find themselves in contact with questions where they have not the ability to answer the demand that is presented for their vote. The Senator from New Hampshire sees that the Senator from Iowa has, on frequent occasions, put on a compensatory duty of 10 per cent to the manufacturer or the producer in the United States because a duty was laid upon the raw material.

Day after day we are having these exhibitions, if I may call them such, and when I come and specify in my amendment the particular articles excepted, and say that as to all the balance on the free list there shall be an ad valorem duty of 10 per cent, then the Senator from New Hampshire rises and wants to know of me how long it would take to adjust that tariff. It will take no longer to adjust that provision than merely the time necessary to cast a vote. Everybody can understand it. Ten per cent ad valorem upon those articles that are contained in the free list outside of the exceptions which I state in the amendment. That is simple enough.

What would be the effect of it? Sir, as the saying goes in the country, we would have money to burn arising out of the tariff act, and nobody would be any the worse for it, nobody would suffer. The people of the United States would be delighted to pay 10 per cent upon articles that are imported now free of duty if in doing so they could get revenue enough to keep them from putting a tax upon sugar and upon tea, and upon beer and upon salt and such articles. If we will adopt the amendment which I propose now, we can take off all those taxes and have money enough here to support the Government without any doubt at all, because 10 per cent upon the value of the imports that now come in

free will supply all the revenue we want in this country. We could take off, if we chose to do it, not only the tax upon sugar and upon salt and upon tea and upon beer and upon tobacco, which is suggested here, but we could take 10 per cent ad valorem off all the duties that are imposed upon articles in the dutiable list of the tariff and still have money to burn.

The people of the United States are amply able to pay all the necessary expenses of this Government, enlarging as it is from year to year, necessarily; and to tell the truth, sir, I am grateful to find that the expenditures of the United States are enlarging, because it indicates that this country is growing steadily. There is not much money provided in the appropriation acts that is not absolutely necessary. They are scrutinized very closely. There is not a government in this world which spends less money foolishly than the Government of the United States, and there is less corruption in public expenditures here than there is in any other government that exists or ever has existed in the world. That is a boast which is perfectly justified by the facts. So when our list of expenditures is increasing and our people are satisfied that we are not wasting their money on vain and improper objects, they are entirely content, because they feel that that is a proof to them, as it is to the outside world, that the growth of this nation is compensating for all the expenditures we are putting upon it.

It is our growth and not the wickedness of legislation that invites these expenditures, and so I am not prone to quarrel about that. I am rather disposed to be thankful that we can bear the burden without feeling it. Where we find a burden grievous and unbearable is where the bonus or bounty is taken out of the hands of industry on the pretense and guise, false as it is, of protection, and is put into the pockets of rich men who are able to live without it.

So I find nothing in the situation to alarm me about the adoption of this amendment. I do not know that the amendment will get a single vote in the Senate. I have not asked anybody whether he is going to vote for it or not. I rely for votes in support of the amendment upon the intrinsic merit of the proposition itself, which is, that the free list can bear an ad valorem tax of 10 per cent without distressing any manufacturer, any producer, or any consumer in the United States, and here are these vast resources for revenue that we leave untouched, first, because we do not want in any respect at all to reduce the amount of bounty that certain classes get under the pending bill, and, in the second place, because the weather is warm and it is inconvenient now for us to turn these pages over and attend to our business. That is the argument of the Senator from New Hampshire—it is inconvenient; the weather is too warm; time is pressing on us; everything conspires to force us into hasty action.

Mr. President, I grant you there are some things which do look as if they had conspired together to force us into hasty action. Here are politicians standing around us almost with clubs drawn over our heads telling us to push the tariff bill through. It is the only thing we are permitted to do at all. A Senator might introduce any bill he pleased, no matter what merit there might be in it, and unless it happened to be a matter of absolute necessity, unequivocal necessity, he could not pass it through the Senate now to the displacement of the pending bill.

We have our orders to pass the bill, and to pass it in the shape decreed by the Republican caucus, and the Republican caucus has contented itself with taking it in the shape that it may be proposed from moment to moment by the Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON]. We are now enacting into statutes of the United States, at least so far as concerns our part of it, the will of the Senator from Iowa, who is followed so obediently by all of his political friends, the majority in this Chamber. That is what we are doing, according to the dictates of the Republican party, agreed to in caucus and expressed by the Senator from Iowa.

If I could persuade the Senator from Iowa to adopt this proposition, there would not be a man on the other side of the Chamber who would dare get up and object to it—not one. Let me see if I can invite some Senator on the other side—if the Senator from Iowa would rise in his place and say, "Mr. MORGAN, I accept your amendment; I hope it will be passed by the Senate"—to rise up now and say——

Mr. SPOONER. Get the Senator from Iowa first.

Mr. MORGAN. Let me see if there is anyone who would rise up and say, "I will not vote for it." There is not one. There is no duty he proposes that does not go down, and if I could only be so fortunate as to get his assent to my amendment, it would whirl through the Senate like a cyclone. There would be nothing left for me to do then except to rejoice in the returning spirit of justice and to rejoice also that the power of the Prince of Darkness has been checked, his wings clipped, so that he could not lord it over the Senate and over the people, and demand at the hands of the people of the United States to stand and deliver what is proposed to be put through in the pending bill.

The Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST], the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. JONES], the Senator from California [Mr. WHITE], and the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. WALTHALL], who have had particular charge of the bill on our side, have taken a great deal of time about it, and they have taken it up and emphasized and explained the points in many particulars where the bill operates harshly and unjustly, and while I sympathize with them in the labor it has imposed upon them when they knew they would fail at the end of every vote on any motion they proposed—they knew it—they are performing a work which, if it does not result immediately to their advantage, will immortalize them when they have gone hence and are no more, for the reason that they point out to the people of the United States the egregious wrong that is being done here deliberately and from moment to moment in the imposition of burdens unheard of before and utterly unjustified, either by the necessities of the Treasury or the condition of the people.

Sir, the Treasury of the United States does not need what is being imposed in the pending bill. More than that, the Treasury of the United States is not going to get the revenue out of the bill to meet the alleged deficiencies. More than that, sir, it is admitted on the other side of the Chamber, and I here announce it in the presence of the world, that as a revenue producer the bill is a failure. A confessed failure as a revenue producer, it stands here merely as a burning wrong against the industries of this country, intended to roast out of the people enough fat to feed the rich and the manufacturers.

That is the bill upon which we are acting. I am trying to modify it. I am trying to get some revenue into the Treasury of the United States, so that we will not have to borrow any more money. We ought never to have borrowed a cent anyhow, Mr. President. The borrowing of money, or the apparent necessity for it, which is now said to be the cause of the filling up of the Treasury with as much perhaps as $180,000,000 surplus revenue to-day, is a Republican measure. I do not mean that the Republicans borrowed the money, but they created the necessity and the temptation under which it was borrowed. They are responsible for the whole of it. They are responsible for their refusal to pay our contracts according to the face thereof; and with the Treasury redundant in money, they refused to use it because it did not suit the creditor.

They have created the apparent necessity of our going into debt and increasing our national debt instead of reducing it, as we have been perfectly able to do all the time, borrowing money for the purpose of keeping up a gold reserve in the Treasury of the United States which has not the sanction of law, even in color. There is no sanction of law for it at all. A mere naked usurpation of a power on the part of a Secretary of the Treasury in the first place has been kept up, and there it stands, a sort of jack pot, over which the men of Wall street and Lombard street and other places in the world are shuffling their cards and dealing for a winning. That is what they are doing with it. That is the whole of it.

The American people, innocent and good and confiding as they are, will not believe me when I tell them there is no shadow of a foundation in law for the $100,000,000 of gold which has been treasured up there now for sixteen or seventeen years, on which interest has been paid regularly by the United States at 4 per cent, when the $100,000,000 has been withdrawn from circulation and locked up in the caverns of the Treasury. Suppose it had been in circulation during the sixteen or seventeen years; what difference would it have made in the prosperity of these people? Instead of going around like an abject set of poverty-stricken mendicants, our men who now tramp the world, at first for employment and now to escape the burdens of life, the men who tramp the length and breadth of this great Republic, would be to-day the masters of honest and pleasant homes, and they would be controlling a profitable business for men in their condition and degree in life.

The party on the other side of the Chamber has imposed upon the country all this wrong, and the wrong and difficulty have come to that degree now when all confess that there is no prosperity in the land. There is depression and suffering and woe and unhappiness. They all admit it. They do not deny it, and they say the way to make a people in our condition happy and prosperous is just to double the burden of taxation. I can not see the logic of that. I am not alert enough and wise enough and learned enough to argue to such a conclusion, that prosperity of a substantial sort can possibly come to a people who are already in the depths of adversity by increasing the burden we put upon them by taxation.

Now I recur to my first proposition, that the abuse of a taxing law, and especially when that abuse results in the poverty of the masses, of the poor, is the worst crime that a legislature can perpetrate. It is the most terrible breach of faith that humanity can be guilty of when a Constitution confides to your sincere honesty and mine perfect discretion as to the amount of taxation, and you, in the exercise of that discretion, impose enormous burdens upon

a people whose burdens are already so thick that they can not bear them and stand aloft. Then I feel that the time has arrived for doing or trying to do something to alleviate their wrongs. So I want to impose upon the manufacturers—these gentlemen who get bounties under the proposed law—an ad valorem duty of 10 per cent on all that they bring in here and all that everybody brings in here, in order that they may have at least a portion of the burden to bear which weighs upon us.

Mr. President, there is another thing about the proposed law which I like. I like it very much. I admire the wisdom and the sagacity of the Republican side of the Chamber in leaving unrepealed the income-tax provision. The bill is so framed that the income tax remains unrepealed upon the statute books. There has been a great deal said upon the stump about the income tax, and a number of gentlemen have essayed to express very forcible opinions against the validity, or the propriety, or the decency, you may say, of an income tax. We spread an income tax upon the statute book in the Wilson law, and these gentlemen have the power to repeal it. There is no doubt that if the Senator from Iowa were to say "I move to amend the bill by repealing the income-tax provision in the Wilson Act," everybody on the other side would vote for it.

Why not do it? Ah, sir, it is because the people expect that the time will come when even the Supreme Court of the United States will find it convenient to rectify an opinion that nobody scarcely believes is the law, and this law will then stand there to receive the benefit of it. Why, then, is a Democratic law, enacted by a Democratic Congress, which a Democratic President refused to sign, because, I suppose, it was not good enough for him, left on the statute books? No better chance has ever been presented than for the Republicans, now that they have the power, to move a repeal of that Democratic law. Instead of doing so, they leave it on the statute book in the hope that some time or other a Supreme Court will be found to reverse the opinion which was created by a bare majority, and that one turned over in a night, against the constitutionality of the law.

I am obliged to them for that. It may turn out in the providence of God—for judges of the Supreme Courts do disappear and reappear—that we will find some person who has the capacity to feel the weight of one hundred years of precedent and who will yield his judgment in favor of the constitutionality of the law. And if he does, then we will have more revenue than we will know what to do with. Then we can take the tax off beer, and off tobacco, and off tea, and off salt, and off sugar, and that happy, beautiful breakfast table about which the senior Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE] used to speak here so eloquently will be spread with luxuries for the poor. Then a man can have a little sweetening to put into his coffee, and he will consider it a great blessing from on high. The American people will permit him to have a little sugar to put into his coffee.

When Democratic measures have fair play, when the wisdom of that grand old party is voted and enunciated through the action of its representatives in this day and generation, and in the days and generations that have passed and in all that are to come, then the people of the United States will stand upon a safe and firm foundation. Then we will not be quarreling about these little differences as to nonessentials, which seem sometimes to get up such a furore in the body amongst ourselves about the tax on pine lumber and the tax on long-staple cotton, etc. We will agree as sensible men in the Democratic party, like sensible men in the church find their strongest bond of union in the fact that they pass over their differences on nonessentials and fortify themselves by their cohesion upon the great, leading doctrines and tenets of the creed.

It does not require, in order that a man shall be a Democrat, that he shall vote for a duty on cotton, or pine timber, or iron ore, or anything else, or that he should not. That is no test of his Democracy. The test of his Democracy on a tariff means simply this: "Do you want to impose this tax for the purpose of conferring a bounty upon a particular class of men?" "No; I will not do it." "Then you are all right. If you believe it is a good revenue measure, vote according to your judgment."

But I repeat, Mr. President (and I wish the Republican side of this Chamber and the country would understand it), that while we have apparent discrepancies about these small, I will not say trifling, matters, but differences of opinion upon subjects that are not essential to the creed of the Democracy, we stand in a proud attitude when we face a party of great and powerful men who are choked to their knees by a caucus, and do not dare to rise and advocate anything that their consciences prompt them to do.

Mr. NELSON. I ask unanimous consent to offer an amendment, and I ask that it be printed and lie on the table.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The Chair hears none. The amendment will be printed and lie on the table.

Mr. MANTLE. I wish to offer an amendment. I ask that it be printed and lie on the table.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered. The question is on the adoption of the amendment offered by the Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON]. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In line 25, page 104, paragraph 327, before the word "cents," it is proposed to strike out "twelve" and insert "fourteen."

Mr. MORGAN. For the present I withdraw the amendment I have just been debating. I ask that it may be printed and lie on the table. I shall offer it later.

Mr. ALLISON. Allow me to make a suggestion to the Senator from Alabama. As the amendment relates wholly to what is now on the free list, I trust he will not offer his amendment until just before we reach the free list.

Mr. MORGAN. Very good. I may select that time.

Mr. ALLISON. I hope the Senator will give that notice in regard to the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Alabama asks that the amendment proposed by him be printed. It will be so ordered.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask that it be inserted at the place I designated, before the free list.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair understands that it has not yet been formally offered. The Senator from Alabama proposes to offer it when that point in the bill is reached.

Mr. ALLISON. Very well.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the adoption of the amendment of the Senator from Iowa.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Let the amendment be stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be again read.

The SECRETARY. On page 104, line 25, paragraph 327, it is proposed to strike out "twelve," before "cents," and insert "fourteen;" so as to read:

327. Threads, twines, or cords, made from yarn not finer than 5 lea or number, composed of flax, hemp, or ramie, or of which these substances or either of them is the component material of chief value, 14 cents per pound.

Mr. VEST. I ask the Senator from Iowa to let that go over until morning. I desire to submit some observations in regard to it.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. It is 5 o'clock.

Mr. VEST. It is now within a fraction of 5 o'clock. We have been here since 11 o'clock.

Mr. ALLISON. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After seven minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened, and (at 5 o'clock and 5 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Saturday, June 19, 1897, at 11 o'clock a. m.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate June 18, 1897.

MARSHAL.

Walter H. Johnson, of Georgia, to be marshal of the United States for the northern district of Georgia, vice Samuel C. Dunlap, to be removed.

COLLECTOR OF CUSTOMS.

Freeland H. Oaks, of Maine, to be collector of customs for the district of Saco, in the State of Maine, to succeed Harry A. McNealley, resigned.

COLLECTORS OF INTERNAL REVENUE.

Harmon L. Remmel, of Arkansas, to be collector of internal revenue for the district of Arkansas, in place of Robert T. Cook, removed.

Frank W. Howbert, of Colorado, to be collector of internal revenue for the district of Colorado, in place of Albert L. New, removed.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate June 18, 1897.

AUDITOR FOR NAVY DEPARTMENT.

Frank H. Morris, of Ohio, to be Auditor for the Navy Department.

PROMOTIONS IN THE ARMY.

General officer.

Col. Anson Mills, Third Cavalry, to be brigadier-general.

Quartermaster's Department.

Maj. John Simpson, quartermaster, to be deputy quartermaster-general.

Capt. James Worden Pope, assistant quartermaster, to be quartermaster.

First Lieut. Andrew Gregg Curtin Quay, Third Cavalry, to be assistant quartermaster.

Cavalry arm.

First Lieut. Thomas Jefferson Lewis, Second Cavalry, to be captain.

Artillery arm.

Capt. James Chester, Third Artillery, to be major.

First Lieut. John Deane Charles Hoskins, Third Artillery, to be captain.

Second Lieut. Archibald Campbell, Third Artillery, to be first lieutenant.

AGENT AT SALMON FISHERIES OF ALASKA.

Howard M. Kutchin, of California, to be agent at the salmon fisheries of Alaska.

ASSISTANT AGENT AT SALMON FISHERIES OF ALASKA.

James C. Boatman, of California, to be assistant agent at the salmon fisheries of Alaska.

SURVEYOR OF CUSTOMS.

John R. Puryear, of Kentucky, to be surveyor of customs for the port of Paducah, in the State of Kentucky.

RECEIVER OF PUBLIC MONEYS.

John W. Miller, of Woodward, Okla., to be receiver of public moneys at Woodward, Okla.

SENATE.

SATURDAY, *June 19, 1897.*

The Senate met at 11 o'clock a. m.

Prayer by Rev. HUGH JOHNSTON, D. D., of the city of Washington.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. FRYE presented memorials of R. C. Pingree and 52 other citizens, of A. L. Templeton and 52 other citizens, and of M. F. Ricker and 52 other citizens, all in the State of Maine, remonstrating against the enactment of legislation intended to destroy the present system of ticket brokerage; which were referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

Mr. McENERY presented the memorial of Marr Bros. and 945 other citizens of Louisiana, remonstrating against the enactment of legislation intended to destroy the present system of ticket brokerage; which was referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

Mr. PLATT of New York presented sundry petitions of citizens of Albany, Buffalo, Utica, Lansingburg, Louisville, Fulton, Wegatchie, Newburg, Hudson, and Chase Mills, all in the State of New York, praying for the early passage of a protective-tariff law; which were ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented memorials of sundry citizens of Brooklyn, Orange County, Richmond, and New York City, all in the State of New York, remonstrating against the proposed increase of the tax on beer; which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. COCKRELL. I present one of those stereotyped petitions that have been sent out all over the country to get signatures. It is signed by citizens of Springfield, Mo., and speaks about industry being paralyzed and the importance of early action on a protective-tariff measure. I move that the petition lie on the table.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. HOAR presented a memorial of sundry citizens of Massachusetts, remonstrating against any increase in the present rate of duty on tanned skins for morocco or a duty on raw goatskins; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. GALLINGER presented the memorial of H. S. Collins, of South Danville, N. H., and a memorial of Spaulding & Swett, of Wolfboro, N. H., remonstrating against an increase in the present rate of duty on tanned skins for morocco or a duty on raw goatskins; which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. ELKINS presented sundry petitions of citizens of Middleway, Charleston, New Milton, and Huntington, all in the State of West Virginia, praying for the early passage of the pending tariff bill; which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. NELSON presented a petition of Cigar Makers' Local Union No. 77, of Minneapolis, Minn., praying for the retention of the present rate of duty on tobacco; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented the petition of J. R. Wright and sundry other citizens of Hills, Minn., praying for the early passage of the pending tariff bill; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. MANTLE presented a petition of 210 citizens of Missoula County, Mont., praying for the enactment of legislation for a more rigid restriction of immigration; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. CHILTON presented a memorial of the San Antonio Beer Brewers' Union, of San Antonio, Tex., remonstrating against the proposed increase in the tax on beer; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented the memorial of John L. Henry and sundry other citizens of Dallas, Tex., and the memorial of A. G. McIlwaine and sundry other citizens of Tyler, Tex., remonstrating against the repeal of the present civil-service law; which were referred to the Committee on Civil Service and Retrenchment.

He also presented the petition of H. H. Kirkpatrick and sundry other citizens of Texas, and the petition of John N. Simpson and sundry other citizens of Texas, praying for the appointment of an international monetary commission; which were referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. HAWLEY presented the petition of Henry A. Spafard and 40 other citizens of Connecticut, praying for the early enactment of a protective-tariff law; which was ordered to lie on the table.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

Mr. HALE, from the Committee on Printing, reported an amendment intended to be proposed to the general deficiency appropriation bill; which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations, and ordered to be printed.

Mr. HAWLEY, from the Committee on Military Affairs, to whom was referred the bill (S. 1141) to reimburse the States of California, Oregon, and Nevada for moneys by them expended in the suppression of the rebellion, moved that the committee be discharged from its further consideration, and that it be referred to the Committee on Claims; which was agreed to.

BILL INTRODUCED.

Mr. BERRY introduced a bill (S. 2203) for the relief of Edward A. Scott, of Crawford County, Ark.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

AMENDMENT TO DEFICIENCY APPROPRIATION BILL.

Mr. GALLINGER (for Mr. McMILLAN) submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to the general deficiency appropriation bill; which was ordered to be printed, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

REPORT ON THE NICARAGUA CANAL.

Mr. MORGAN submitted the following resolution; which was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to:

Resolved, That the report of the Committee on the Nicaraguan Canal, made to the Senate at the last session of the Fifty-fourth Congress, be reprinted for the use of the Senate.

PRESIDENTIAL APPROVALS.

A message from the President of the United States, by Mr. O. L. PRUDEN, one of his secretaries, announced that the President had on the 18th instant approved and signed the following acts and joint resolution:

An act (S. 956) to amend an act entitled "An act to authorize the construction of a steel bridge over the St. Louis River between the States of Wisconsin and Minnesota," approved April 24, 1894, as amended by an act approved August 4, 1894, entitled "An act to amend an act to authorize the construction of a steel bridge over the St. Louis River between the States of Minnesota and Wisconsin;"

An act (S. 1979) to authorize the construction of a bridge across Pearl River, in the State of Mississippi; and

A joint resolution (S. R. 40) authorizing the Secretary of War to receive for instruction at the Military Academy at West Point Cárlos Gutierrez, of Salvador.

THE TARIFF BILL.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Morning business appears to be closed.

Mr. ALLISON. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of House bill 379.

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 379) to provide revenue for the Government and to encourage the industries of the United States.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The pending question is on the amendment of the Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON], which will be stated.

The SECRETARY. On page 104, line 25, paragraph 327, it is proposed to strike out "twelve," before "cents," and insert "fourteen;" so as to read:

327. Threads, twines, or cords, made from yarn not finer than 5 lea or number, composed of flax, hemp, or ramie, or of which these substances or either of them is the component material of chief value, 14 cents per pound.

Mr. VEST. Mr. President, upon yesterday, while we were considering the pending schedule in regard to threads, twines, cables, etc., made of flax and hemp, I was interested in observing the absolute uniformity between the recommendations of the flax, hemp, and jute manufacturers of the United States and the duties imposed by the pending bill. By referring to the testimony taken before the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives, page 1330, it will be seen that the chairman of that association appeared before the committee and furnished a schedule of tariff duties, in which he stated that the National Hemp, Jute, and Flax Manufacturing Association of the United States employed many thousands of men, women, and children, and—

By a meeting held in New York on December 30, 1896, I am authorized, as chairman of the said meeting, to submit the request which we make herein to your honorable body.

He then proceeds to state the duties that that association wants upon flax and hemp, hackled, yarn made of jute, and yarn composed of flax and twine, upon all the manufactured goods, which he specifies, and the duty is made by the committee exactly the same as requested by the manufacturers. On the raw material the committee put a larger duty than was recommended by the manufacturers, their obvious interest being to put the raw material as low as possible and to put the highest duty possible upon the manufactured product.

What I distinctly wish to call the attention of the Senate to is the rate upon "threads, twines, or cords, made from yarn not finer than 5 lea or number, composed of flax, hemp, or ramie, etc., 12 cents per pound." That was the recommendation of the committee, giving these manufacturers all they wanted. Now the Senator from Iowa comes in and gives them 2 cents more than they asked. He proposes to increase the duty from 12 to 14 cents a pound, and that in the face of the fact that the comparative statement shows that in 1896 we exported of hemp twine $727,585 worth and of all other twines $341,862 worth, and imported of hemp twine $139,000 worth and of all other twines $131,000 worth, making $260,000 worth imported, against over a million dollars' worth of these articles exported.

It seems to me that it ought to be sufficient to give these manufacturers what they ask. Why should we impose upon the consumers in the United States of these twines, which are an article of absolute necessity, 2 cents more than the manufacturers ask for protection? This is the point to which I call the attention of the Senate. I shall ask for the yeas and nays upon the amendment.

Mr. ALLISON. Mr. President, just one word. The Senator from Missouri reads from the projected schedule found in the Committee on Ways and Means hearings, from which it will appear that they based their duty upon the fine threads and upon the basis of a cent and a half a pound for dressed line, which is their raw material. The Senate yesterday put a duty of 3 cents a pound on dressed line instead of a cent and a half.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. And doubled the proposed House rate.

Mr. ALLISON. No; the House put a duty of 3 cents a pound upon dressed line.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Who was it that wanted a cent and a half, the manufacturers or the growers of dressed line?

Mr. ALLISON. I allude to the schedule read by the Senator from Missouri, which fixes 12 cents a pound upon the fine thread on the basis of a cent and a half a pound upon dressed line. The House doubled that duty and we assented to it yesterday. So it is absolutely necessary, if this thread is to be at all manufactured in our country, that there should be a slight rise in order to enable them to continue the manufacture and to pay this price for dressed line. That is all there is of it.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I do not understand the Senator's statement. Paragraph 325 of the bill as it came from the House had dressed line at 3 cents.

Mr. ALLISON. Yes, sir.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Now, with 3 cents on dressed line, the House proposed 12 cents in paragraph 327. Yet I understand the Senator to say that the 12 cents was put in paragraph 327 because a cent and a half was in contemplation by the House committee at the time as the tax on dressed line.

Mr. ALLISON. No; the Senator misunderstands me. The Senator from Missouri states that the association would be satisfied with 12 cents a pound upon this thread. My reply to him is that that was a part of their scheme, which included a cent and a half a pound on dressed line. Now, the House placed 3 cents a pound upon dressed line and only 12 cents a pound upon the thread, which is not a proper relative duty. That is all I say.

The Senate Committee on Finance reduced the duty upon dressed line to 2½ cents a pound, and therefore did not change the 12 cents a pound, but as the Senate yesterday increased the duty on dressed line from the amendment proposed by the committee to 3 cents, we find that a proper relation of the thread to the dressed line, this raw material, requires a small addition in line 25. That is all there is of it.

Mr. VEST. Let me ask the Senator one question. If he did it for that reason, why did he not increase it on the other articles embraced in this schedule which he has left at the same duty?

Mr. ALLISON. We do propose to increase it on line 2, page 105, making it seven-eighths instead of three-fourths.

Mr. WHITE. The Senate did that yesterday.

Mr. ALLISON. That was done yesterday.

Mr. VEST. How about yarns?

Mr. ALLISON. I shall propose a duty at the proper time, in line 10, to increase from six to seven. These amendments are made necessary by the amendment which was offered yesterday as respects dressed line. That is all there is to it.

Mr. VEST. I apologize for having said anything about it. At this rate we will increase it 100 per cent all along the line.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. In this connection, I desire to call the attention of the Senator from Iowa and other members of the Senate to a statement made by Messrs. Britton & Gray, who sign themselves as attorneys for importers of linens. There are some very striking statements of fact, and as it will take but a minute or two, I would be glad to have the attention of the Senate to it. They say:

Customs revenues from flax manufactures have always been large. During past six years the total value of such importations has averaged $25,000,000 annually. From eleven to fourteen millions of dollars represent the annual importations of manufactured linens. Prior to the war the duty on manufactured linens was 15 per cent ad valorem. Necessity for increased revenue then caused an increase of duty to 35 per cent. It there remained until the act of 1890 increased the duty on coarse goods counting below 100 threads to the square inch to 50 per cent, leaving the goods above that quality at 35 per cent until January 1, 1894.

This increase was given upon the assurance of the Flax and Hemp Spinners and Growers' Association that under such protective rates—

And they quote the language—

"we promise an established industry of great magnitude." (Record Hearings, 1889-90, page 523.)

The promise was never redeemed. Congress by act of March 3, 1893, unanimously extended to January 1, 1895, the increase to 50 per cent on fine linens proposed by the act of 1890, it being well understood that in the meantime the tariff would be again revised, as was done by the act of August, 1894, and the former rate of 35 per cent on all linens then reenacted. At the hearing before the present Ways and Means Committee (pages 1329-1333) the same association or interests, under the name of the Flax, Hemp, and Jute Manufacturers of the United States, presented demands for duties on dressed flax, yarns and threads, twine, and manufactured cloth, which have been substantially accorded in the pending bill. Therein duty was asked of 50 per cent ad valorem on manufactured linens.

Notwithstanding this public record, the rates of duty given by the Senate amendment (paragraph 344) exhibit an enormous advance beyond what was thus asked. They are both compound and specific, thus:

Thirty per cent ad valorem on all goods, adding following specific duties:
Sixty threads or under, 1½ cents per square yard.
From over 60 to 120 threads, 3 cents per square yard.
From over 120 to 180 threads, 7 cents per square yard.
Over 180 threads, 10 cents per square yard.
Provided, That none of foregoing shall pay less than 50 per cent ad valorem.
On fine goods weighing less than 4 ounces per square yard—

Mr. President, the statement is made that the manufacturers' association representing this interest asked for a tax of 50 per cent instead of the 35 that was in existence then. The Senate committee make a rate which provides that it shall not be less than 50 per cent, no matter how much higher. They go beyond what the manufacturers themselves ask for. You provide that the highest rate that they suggest shall be the lowest rate admissible under the schedule:

On fine goods weighing less than 4 ounces per square yard, and containing more than 100 threads to the square inch, including shirting cloth, the present rate of 35 per cent is retained.

The enormous increase proposed beyond what was asked by the promising American manufacturers is illustrated by the following examples:

	Act 1890.	Act 1894.	Finance Committee proposed tariff (ad valorem).
	Per cent.	*Per cent.*	*Per cent.*
Table damask	35	35	109½
Do	35	35	74½
Do	50	35	62½
Duck for clothing	50	35	73
Lining	50	35	60½

Mr. GRAY. The highest increase, as is usual, is on the lowest priced goods.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. As suggested by the Senator from Delaware, as usual with a Republican tariff everywhere, the highest rates of taxation are on the lowest priced goods. There is here no deviation from the rule, but it is carrying out the same old plan of taking away from him who has little what little he has. Here is a specimen of the cheapest class of domestic linen with a tax of 109½ per cent as the rate of taxation paid by it, and

that when the manufacturers themselves going before the Ways and Means Committee ask for a tax of 50 per cent.

These proposed rates—

Say these attorneys—

are plainly prohibitive. They are so intended. Even on the goods increased to 50 per cent by the act of 1890, and with no resulting manufacture here, importations fell from $5,000,000 in 1891 to $3,500,000 in 1893 (Senate Tariff Report 334, Fifty-third Congress, second session, pages 278, 280), with consequent large loss of needed revenue. The enormous increase over 50 per cent now proposed will correspondingly further reduce both importations and revenue.

If manufacture of these goods were possible here, such exorbitant rates of duty would not be justified, (1) because wholly beyond any legitimate protection which is even asked by the promising manufacturers, and (2) because neither American flax nor American manufacture has been developed here under protective conditions, except coarse crash, which flourishes now, as heretofore, at the 35 per cent rate.

But such manufacture promised under the act of 1890 resulted in complete failure. No change in essential conditions, climatic or otherwise, has since occurred, and after ninety years of continuous duty upon linens, no domestic manufacture, except of cheap crash and possible recent small production of mixed cotton and linen fabric, has yet appeared. The goods are all imported. The revenues from 1890 to 1894 suffered from these unredeemed promises, and yet the same interests now give the same renewed assurances, with no possible change in conditions whereby they can be fulfilled. The people are asked to submit to this enormous increase in taxation upon such a record. Prohibitive rates are proposed and the common people are to be made to suffer to accord a few individuals more "protection" than they even ask.

Flax is grown in this country only for the seed. Even for such purpose the supply does not equal the demand, for in 1896 661,533 bushels of seed were imported. (House Tariff Comparison, 1897, page 60.)

That flax is not produced for fiber is admitted. The attached letter demonstrates it.

Surely under such conditions the rates on manufactured linens of 50 per cent and 35 per cent, as provided by the act of 1890, and now asked by the promising domestic manufacturers, should not be increased to the destruction of revenue, the discomfort of the people, and without possibility of benefit to any industry, actual or possible. On the contrary, the rates proposed by the Linen Trade Association of New York afford ample protection to any prospective industry and yet preserve needed revenue. These sufficient and conservative rates are as follows:

	Unions and low grades linens (ad valorem).	Medium grades linens (ad valorem).	Fine grades linens (ad valorem).
Counting to square inch 100 threads and under, 30 per cent plus one-half cent per square yard equals	*Per cent.* 40½	*Per cent.* 37½	*Per cent.* ----------
Counting 101-150 threads, 30 per cent plus 1 cent per square yard equals	45	39½	34½
Counting 151-200 threads, 30 per cent plus 1½ cents per square yard equals	43½	40½	34½
Counting 201-250 threads, 30 per cent plus 2 cents per square yard equals	45½	39	34½

BRITTON & GRAY,
Attorneys for Importers.

Mr. President, the Senator from Iowa knows that the rates of taxation imposed in this schedule will absolutely prohibit importation. He further knows that there is no manufacture to supply these goods in this country. The practical effect of this schedule is simply to put a prohibitive tariff on this grade of goods, to compel the poorer people of the country to buy and use cotton goods in lieu of linen, and provide that they can not use and have linen at all. It is to enable the manufacturers of imitations and frauds in the shape of linen out of cotton to be sold to build up and create a market for that kind of goods. But the price is to be increased for the consumers of the country. It can have no other effect. The plain common sense of the situation leads to that. It can have no other meaning.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Iowa, upon which the Chair understands the Senator from Missouri to demand the yeas and nays.

Mr. VEST. Let us have the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CLAY (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE].

Mr. MORRILL (when his name was called). I am paired with the senior Senator from Tennessee [Mr. HARRIS], and therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. RAWLINS (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Ohio [Mr. HANNA], and therefore withhold my vote.

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. WELLINGTON. I inquire if the junior Senator from North Carolina [Mr. BUTLER] has voted?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. He has not voted.

Mr. WELLINGTON. I withhold my vote, being paired with that Senator.

Mr. GEAR. I am paired with the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH]. I transfer that pair to the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE], and vote "yea."

Mr. CLAY. Upon the statement of the Senator from Iowa [Mr. GEAR], I vote "nay."

Mr. WELLINGTON. I transfer my pair with the junior Senator from North Carolina [Mr. BUTLER] to the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MCBRIDE], and vote "yea."

Mr. HARRIS of Kansas. I am paired with the junior Senator from Wyoming [Mr. CLARK]. If he were present, I should vote "nay."

Mr. SPOONER. I am paired with the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. WALTHALL].

Mr. GALLINGER (after having voted in the affirmative). I am informed that the Senator from Texas [Mr. MILLS], with whom I have a general pair, has not voted. I will therefore withdraw my vote.

The Secretary recapitulated the vote.

Mr. GALLINGER. With the understanding that my vote is necessary to make a quorum, I will allow it to stand in the affirmative, notwithstanding my pair.

The result was announced—yeas 27, nays 19; as follows:

YEAS—27.

Allison,	Elkins,	Hawley,	Platt, N. Y.
Burrows,	Fairbanks,	Hoar,	Pritchard,
Carter,	Foraker,	McEnery,	Proctor,
Chandler,	Frye,	Nelson,	Sewell,
Cullom,	Gallinger,	Penrose,	Shoup,
Davis,	Gear,	Perkins,	Wellington.
Deboe,	Hale,	Platt, Conn.	

NAYS—19.

Bate,	Gray,	Mitchell,	Tillman,
Berry,	Heitfeld,	Murphy,	Turpie,
Chilton,	Jones, Ark.	Pettigrew,	Vest,
Clay,	McLaurin,	Pettus,	White.
Cockrell,	Mallory,	Roach,	

NOT VOTING—43.

Aldrich,	Gorman,	McMillan,	Spooner,
Allen,	Hanna,	Mantle,	Stewart,
Bacon,	Hansbrough,	Martin,	Teller,
Baker,	Harris, Kans.	Mason,	Thurston,
Butler,	Harris, Tenn.	Mills,	Turner,
Caffery,	Jones, Nev.	Morgan,	Walthall,
Cannon,	Kenney,	Morrill,	Warren,
Clark,	Kyle,	Pasco,	Wetmore,
Daniel,	Lindsay,	Quay,	Wilson.
Faulkner,	Lodge,	Rawlins,	Wolcott.
George,	McBride,	Smith,	

So the amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, on page 105, to strike out the following paragraph:

328. Single yarns made of flax tow, 8 lea and finer, 35 per cent ad valorem; single yarns composed of flax line, hemp, or ramie, valued at 13 cents or less per pound, 6 cents per pound; valued at more than 13 cents per pound, 45 per cent ad valorem.

And in lieu thereof to insert:

328. Single yarns in the gray, made of flax, hemp, or ramie, not finer than 8 lea or number, 6 cents per pound; finer than 8 lea or number and not finer than 80 lea or number, 40 per cent ad valorem; finer than 80 lea or number, 15 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. ALLISON. I wish to modify the paragraph by inserting, in line 10, before "cents," "seven" instead of "six;" and in line 12, by inserting "five" after "forty;" so as to read, "45 per cent ad valorem."

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Iowa will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In line 10, page 105, strike out "six" and insert "seven" before "cents;" and in line 12, after "forty," insert "five;" so as to make the paragraph read:

328. Single yarns in the gray, made of flax, hemp, or ramie, not finer than 8 lea or number, 7 cents per pound; finer than 8 lea or number and not finer than 80 lea or number, 45 per cent ad valorem; finer than 80 lea or number, 15 per cent ad valorem.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Iowa to the amendment of the Committee on Finance.

Mr. GRAY. Mr. President, we are all conscious, even those who are not expert in the nomenclature of linen-thread manufacture, that somehow or other the people of this country are having a very onerous burden placed upon them. I feel so, at any rate. I know it is going to be done, but I think it is right that we should have some light upon the way in which it is being done.

Therefore I would ask the Senator from Iowa, in good faith, for information to myself at least, what this means in the paragraph: "Single yarns in the gray, made of flax, hemp, or ramie, not finer than 8 lea or number." Will he explain that, please? What is 8 lea or number? Nobody can estimate what the amount of the tax is unless he understands these terms.

Mr. ALLISON. A lea or number is 300 feet in length.

Mr. GRAY. Do you know what the equivalent ad valorem of that would be?

Mr. ALLISON. It is estimated by experts that it would range from 38 to 44 per cent at the rate we originally had. This increase would add somewhat to it.

Mr. GRAY. Then it is nearly 100 per cent at least in the two rates, specific and ad valorem.

Mr. ALLISON. No; the specific is in the first bracket, 7 cents a pound.

Mr. GRAY. That is true; 7 cents a pound.

Mr. ALLISON. The next bracket is 45 per cent ad valorem, and the third bracket is 15 per cent.

Mr. GRAY. And it is not a compound rate, I see.

Mr. ALLISON. No; it is not compound.

Mr. GRAY. Then the rate would be between 40 and 50 per cent ad valorem, equivalent to the rate now proposed, 7 cents a pound?

Mr. ALLISON. At 7 cents.

Mr. VEST. Will the Senator from Delaware permit me to ask the Senator from Iowa a question?

Mr. GRAY. Certainly.

Mr. VEST. Is the print correct in line 13, "finer than 80 lea or number, 15 per cent ad valorem?"

Mr. ALLISON. Yes; 15 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. VEST. Finer than 80 lea or number?

Mr. ALLISON. Finer than 80 lea or number, 15 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. VEST. That is the finest quality?

Mr. ALLISON. The very finest.

Mr. VEST. Upon that you have 15 per cent, and upon the other you have 40 per cent.

Mr. ALLISON. These fine yarns are not spun in this country, but they are used in fabricating articles. They are to the manufacturers of these fine goods just what dressed line is to the goods that are spun.

Mr. GRAY. Now, to understand this more thoroughly, paragraph 327, where the tax has just been raised from 12 cents to 14 cents a pound, is upon a lower grade of thread?

Mr. ALLISON. It is upon a lower grade of thread.

Mr. GRAY. Can the Senator give the Senate the equivalent ad valorem on that?

Mr. ALLISON. It is about as in paragraph 328. With the addition of 2 cents a pound, it is probably 47 or 48 per cent. Under 327, as stated by the experts, the ad valorem runs from 38 to 44 per cent, as originally proposed. With the addition of 2 cents per pound, it of course increases it to that extent.

Mr. GRAY. I notice, if I may interrupt the Senator for a moment, that there is no equivalent ad valorem given in the comparative statement, and that is the reason why I made the inquiry.

Mr. ALLISON. According to recent reports from the United States treasury at New York and other reliable data, these rates will range from an ad valorem equivalent of about 38 per cent to 47 per cent. Of course they have been increased now somewhat by these additions. There will be an average of about 44 per cent.

Mr. GRAY. Of course this is a matter that we have got to gather information on as we go along, and we can not always be sure that we have it. I have a letter here that seems to be written by an intelligent man. I have no personal acquaintance with him, but he is in business in New York. It is a letter in which there are some statements that have prompted this line of inquiry.

There is this significant fact stated by him, that the linen manufacturers would be quite willing to have a more moderate rate of duty than is proposed either by the House or Senate if the thread manufacturers of the United States, which manufacture is largely monopolized by one or two firms, were willing that that should be so, and that the linen-thread manufacturers, who seem to have an interest in this whole schedule for some purpose which is probably a selfish one (naturally a selfish one, I will say), have interfered and demanded a higher rate all along the flax schedule on the manufactured article and maintain a very high rate upon their thread. But let me read. I am seeking for information. I will just read what I have here.

Mr. ALLISON. Before the Senator reads the letter, let me call his attention to the fact that the thread manufacturers are willing to have a much lower rate provided they can get dressed line in at a low rate. But when they pay 3 cents a pound for dressed line they say they must have an opportunity to be compensated for the increased duty. We are all familiar with the situation.

Mr. GRAY. In this babel of conflicting interests, in which everybody is clamoring for himself, let me read one statement that may add to the confusion perhaps, but it is entitled to go in, from this letter addressed to me from the gentleman of whom I have spoken, and with whom I have no personal acquaintance.

Of this manufacturer the writer says:

> He is also largely interested in keeping up the tariff to the highest point possible on his flax or linen threads, and he readily sees that this can be more easily accomplished if the rate on other flax goods is likewise advanced. At the present time linen threads are subject to a 35 per cent ad valorem rate of duty, and under the proposed bill a very large portion of the imports would have to pay the equivalent of 66 per cent, thus further increasing at the public expense the profits of this powerful interest, which is known to have made great fortunes here. Although he is not a manufacturer of linens, he holds such a peculiar position at the present time that those interested in the linen business have tried to get his cooperation, with a view to having the rate on linen yarns, which he says he does not spin now, or expect to spin, put at a lower rate, so as to permit of a reduction in the rate on linen fabrics. He has been assured that if he will "consent" to have linen yarns left at the present rate of 35 per cent ad valorem the New England interests will agree that the rate on linens (that is, woven fabrics) shall not exceed 50 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. ALLISON. Will the Senator give the name of the writer?

Mr. GRAY. Certainly I will give the name. I have been put under no injunction about the name.

Mr. ALLISON. I only want to know who wrote the letter.

Mr. GRAY. If I can read it. As I make it out, the name is Richard H. Ewarts.

Mr. ALLISON. Is he a manufacturer?

Mr. GRAY. I presume not. I do not know.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Is not his name in print at the top of the letter?

Mr. GRAY. No. I will have to decipher his name. It is dated in New York. Probably he belongs to that proscribed class of importers.

Mr. ALLISON. I only wanted to know the name. This writer seems to think there is a conflict between the thread spinners and the linen manufacturers, and of course his explanation would be more accurate if he were one of the manufacturers.

Mr. GRAY. I do not know Mr. Ewarts. All I want to point out is, that in this clamor of conflicting interests, where all the pigs are getting their feet into the trough at the same time, these "forgotten people," of whom we have heard something since the Senator from Texas [Mr. MILLS] spoke, have a right to know what is going on, if they can, and if there is noise and clamor of these people who are making our tariff rates, they have a right to find out just what the burden is and what the motives are.

I do not know whether the statements in this letter are so or not; but this man states over his own name that the gentlemen who are engaged in the thread manufacture are practically dictating this linen schedule, and are not willing that the rates on their own linens should be left as they are in the present law at 35 per cent ad valorem, but demand a rate which is equivalent to an ad valorem, in some cases, of 66 per cent; and therefore the compensating policy coming in again—the necessary policy of the tax—the schedule has to go up. That is all I can make of it. Perhaps the Senator from Iowa can explain something about it that will put it in a better light, for that is not a very good light to leave it in.

Mr. President, it seems to me that no person can with any propriety come to Washington and, in the Finance Committee room or anywhere else, apart from the open debate in this Senate, fix the rate of taxation upon this important and necessary article for the comfort and decent living of the masses of the people. It is not right; it is not just; it does not comport with anything that ought to characterize legislation of this kind, that we should not have a full explanation of why it is necessary that this tax should be raised.

I assume, if what this writer states is true, that thread manufacturers are not poor men struggling for a living. They have been conducting successfully and honestly and honorably, no doubt, a great business, from which I suppose profits, great or small, have been achieved. Why, then, should we have in their interest, or in the interest of the linen manufacturers, these high rates of duty imposed, unless we have an explanation? It will not do for our Republican friends to say the policy is to sit still and let the Democrats talk, and object, and protest; "We have got the votes, and we will pass all these increases." You ought to take the people of the country into your confidence and tell them why this thing is to be done. We want to know why it is to be done. I want to know, as one of the humble representatives on this floor of the American people, why this should be done.

Mr. SEWELL. Will the Senator allow me to interrupt him there?

Mr. GRAY. Certainly.

Mr. SEWELL. I can probably answer the Senator's question. I wish to state that Mr. Barbour is one of the largest manufacturers in New Jersey. There is another large establishment in my State employing, probably, between six and seven thousand men.

Mr. GRAY. I can not hear the Senator.

Mr. SEWELL. I say there is another establishment besides that of Mr. Barbour in my State, employing between six and seven thousand men. The basis of this schedule was prepared on investigation by the House committee, but the rate has now been increased at the instance of our Western friends.

Mr. GRAY. That is what we want to know—where it comes from.

Mr. SEWELL. The increase in the schedule amounts to from 12 to 14 per cent upon this paragraph, and is absolutely necessary by reason of the increased duty placed upon the raw material. That is where it is.

Mr. GRAY. That is some light, and we have not had that much before. Let us go on and hear more about the matter.

Mr. SEWELL. That is all.

Mr. GRAY. That is something; that is more than has been deigned to be given to us before.

Mr. SEWELL. There is a difference between the thread manufacturers and the manufacturers of linen. The thread manufac-

ture has been established here for thirty or forty years, long before it was thought of making linen out of the flax of this country.

Mr. GRAY. But the thread manufacturers have an increase of duty under this bill in the way of protection.

Mr. SEWELL. I beg your pardon. Nothing has been given but what was absolutely necessary on account of the duty placed on the raw material in the United States. The duty was about 40 per cent, and it is increased about one-sixth, making the duty about 47½ per cent. That is all there is to it.

Mr. GRAY. What I want to know, if the Senator from New Jersey will pardon me, is, do not the thread manufacturers have an increase by the bill as it came from the House over the rates in the present law?

Mr. SEWELL. The rate in the law of 1894 is 35 per cent, and the rate of duty prescribed in paragraph 327 on the same articles is 12 cents.

Mr. GRAY. Specific?

Mr. SEWELL. Specific.

Mr. GRAY. There is no equivalent ad valorem in this table that I can find, and I have been depending on these tables, and there is no light upon that. It may be 50 per cent or it may be 100 per cent ad valorem for all I know. I am not an expert, and we have a right to know about this.

Mr. ALLISON. If the Senator from Delaware will pardon me—of course I do not know that he has listened to anything I have said——

Mr. GRAY. I listen to everything the Senator says that I can hear.

Mr. ALLISON. I have twice said that this additional duty would be equivalent to the duty on the raw material, and I have at least once said that without this additional duty the average rate of duty upon the articles in paragraph 327 is from 38 to 44 per cent. So, if the Senator will listen, he will get some information.

Mr. GRAY. I am listening. The Senator from Iowa must not be impatient.

Mr. ALLISON. I am not impatient.

Mr. GRAY. I may be very slow of apprehension, but still I stand here to know for the people of the country, some of whom are slow of apprehension, some of them poor people, and some of them do not know as much as the Senator from Iowa; and I want to know, in my imperfect way, it may be, something about this complicated bill before it gets through.

Mr. ALLISON. That is right.

Mr. GRAY. If there is a good reason for it, I will not keep back that reason when I have occasion to speak about it to my people. When they want to know why it is that this important fabric of linen cloth, their sheets, and table damasks are increased so materially in price, what the justification is, I want to be able to tell them.

Now, I understand the increase, so far as the Senate is responsible for that increase over the bill as it came from the House, is that the Western people, from Minnesota and Iowa I suppose, have demanded a tax on the raw material. So far so good. That is a reason for the action the Senate proposes, and it is a reason for putting an increased tax on cotton goods by reason of the tax on the raw material placed upon it the other day. But then that does not explain this. If I may be permitted to be so presumptuous as to go a step further, why was the increase made at all on these low grades of linen fabrics? Why were they increased from 35 per cent to something over 100 per cent?

These factories have been in existence and they have flourished in the State of the distinguished Senator from New Jersey, for he says so, and he says they have been there for generations, and they have employed thousands of men and provide for them a most honorable and useful industry. Why, then, do they demand more protection? Why demand a larger tax to be imposed on the consumers?

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. If the Senator will permit me, I think I can give a very good reason.

Mr. GRAY. I am waiting to hear a good reason.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Under the McKinley law the rate was 45 per cent, and under the Wilson law 35 per cent. The result has been since the passage of the Wilson law that these factories have not been successful; they have not declared any dividends or made any money.

Mr. SEWELL. I want to supplement what the Senator from Connecticut has just said by saying that while the establishment to which I have referred is the largest in the United States, it has not for four years, since the passage of the Wilson law, paid a dividend.

Mr. GRAY. I do not know anything about the dividends they have paid, or how many they paid before the Wilson law was passed. The Senator from Connecticut says there was a small reduction, from 45 to 35 per cent, when that law went into operation. I do not know whether they pay any dividends now, or what may be the amount. Will the Senator from New Jersey state whether they paid dividends before the Wilson law went into effect?

Mr. SEWELL. Yes; they paid the ordinary dividends.

Mr. GRAY. What were they?

Mr. SEWELL. Six or 7 per cent.

Mr. GRAY. Not more than that?

Mr. SEWELL. I do not think so.

Mr. GRAY. And yet they have not closed their doors since the passage of the Wilson law.

Mr. SEWELL. No.

Mr. GRAY. I understood the Senator to say they were in operation and employing six or seven thousand men. I think we ought to have some detailed statement about this matter. I want to be conservative in this matter of vested interests, vested even under protective legislation so outrageous as this. Still money has been invested on the faith of it, and we are not destroying but trying to preserve. We want to take down this brick wall a brick at a time. But I should like to know if they have been here demanding and stating to the Finance Committee of the Senate or the Ways and Means Committee of the other House that they need this additional protection in order to exist as an industry?

Mr. ALLISON. If the Senator will allow me just one moment, these manufacturers have not been here to make any demands as respects the changes I have referred to this morning.

Mr. GRAY. Is that so?

Mr. ALLISON. But they have made representations to the committee, and I can see no possible objection to that.

Mr. GRAY. Not the slightest. I only want to know what their representations were.

Mr. ALLISON. They made representations to the committee when this schedule was under consideration that with the rates we had provided for their raw material the amount of the duty here would be acceptable to them. We then took the only source of information that is absolutely open to us, and that is the source which we find in the officers of the United States—the expert appraisers, the General Appraisers, and other appraisers in New York. From these expert appraisers, and not from manufacturers, we derived the information that as to this linen schedule, under the ad valorem the Senator speaks of, there were large undervaluations, and that it was wiser and better, in cases where it could be done, to make specific duties instead of ad valorem. We were careful to make such inquiry as we could to ascertain whether these specific duties were higher than the ad valorem, and the Senator perfectly well knows that in making specific duties there is not the elasticity there is in ad valorem rates.

Mr. GRAY. I thought there were none.

Mr. ALLISON. There may be in certain lines. The equivalent ad valorem for the duties under paragraphs 327 and 328 that we have made specific was supposed to be equal to an average of about 44 per cent, as I stated a while ago. I do not know that; I only know what the experts, whose duty it is to make the computations, and who have an expert knowledge, tell me and tell the committee; and that is what they said. That is all the information, not in detail, but in brief, that I think we can desire about this matter. Certainly I agree with the Senator from Delaware that we want to be conservative. We do not wish to give the manufacturers a larger duty than is necessary to place themselves in fair competition with other manufacturers in these products. That is all there is about it.

Mr. GRAY. I am very much obliged to the Senator from Iowa, so far as I am concerned, for the light he has given me and perhaps given a good many other people in the country. He has stated these facts. So now we know that these increased rates of duties upon these important articles have not been made upon the demand of the manufacturers themselves or upon the demands of the linen manufacturers, but have been such as the committee in their wisdom thought were right and necessary and proper to give to this important industry, and that Mr. Barbour or no one has ever made any representations to the committee that such increases in the duty on his fabrics was necessary.

Mr. ALLISON. No, Mr. President, I did not say so. I think Mr. Barbour was before the committee, and other linen manufacturers were before the committee; that is, they presented documents and papers. I do not say they are here now, but they are all at hand and can be produced if the Senator desires.

I do not wish to be understood that the people who are interested in these provisions have not made representations or statements to the committee as to what they believe to be absolutely necessary in order that they might conduct their business at all. The Senator from New Jersey tells us there are 7,000 men employed in a single factory in his State. Under our theory on this side of the Chamber it is our purpose to so provide rates of duty in this bill as will not throw those men out of employment and have these articles fabricated in Europe or elsewhere. That is the general purpose we have. Having that purpose, we gather light from all sources with respect to details; and that is all we have done.

Mr. GRAY. One word more.

Mr. WHITE. If the Senator from Delaware will permit me, on page 1331, on Schedule J, in the hearings before the Committee on Ways and Means of the House of Representatives, there is quite an elaborate schedule prepared by numerous firms, with the reasons assigned, and there is a statement on page 1331 that "at 13 cents per pound or less, 6 cents per pound; more than 13 cents, 45 per cent ad valorem," with the accompanying statement that the average is 60 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. GRAY. That corresponds with the information I have.

Mr. WHITE. This is a statement made before the Ways and Means Committee.

Mr. GRAY. We see how important it is for those who are not experts to ask questions about these specific duties. Whatever advantage there may be in specifics over ad valorems, there is a paramount defect that it does conceal the amount of tax from the consumer. When you tell him the tax is 12 cents he does not know what proportion of the price of the article the tax is, and what proportion the real value is. If you tell him that it is 14 cents a pound, it may be 10 per cent protection or 100 per cent protection, as the case may be, in the particular industry, and so you deceive the people.

The Senator from Iowa says, sincerely of course, as he says everything sincerely, that this specific is equivalent to about from 38 to 40 per cent.

Mr. ALLISON. An average of 44 per cent.

Mr. GRAY. The letter from which I read states:

At the present time linen threads are subject to a 35 per cent ad valorem rate of duty, and under the proposed bill a very large portion of the imports would have to pay the equivalent of 66 per cent.

I suppose this gentleman's statement is worth about as much consideration as that of an interested manufacturer, and it seems to be borne out to a large extent by the statements of other people before the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives.

Mr. SEWELL. Will the Senator from Delaware allow me right there?

Mr. GRAY. Certainly.

Mr. SEWELL. I ask the Senator who wrote that letter?

Mr. GRAY. I can not make the name out fully, but I will send the letter to the Senator and see if he can make out the name. The writer is vouched for as a very respectable person.

Mr. SEWELL. Is it Ewart?

Mr. GRAY. The Senator from New Jersey may be able to decipher the name.

Mr. SEWELL. If the writer is, as I suppose, Mr. Ewart, he is a foreign manufacturer, and manufactures on the other side entirely.

Mr. GRAY. What is the name?

Mr. SEWELL. Ewart.

Mr. FRYE. It is Ewart.

Mr. SEWELL. He is a manufacturer on the other side.

Mr. GRAY. What does the Senator mean by "the other side?"

Mr. SEWELL. In England.

Mr. GRAY. He dates this letter from New York.

Mr. SEWELL. He may be in New York.

Mr. GRAY. He is an importer of New York.

Mr. SEWELL. He never manufactured a thread in this country.

Mr. GRAY. Brand him as you please, here is his statement.

Mr. SEWELL. I do not think his advice is very good to the American Senate.

Mr. GRAY. Brand him as you please, here is his statement, over his own name, that the equivalent ad valorem duty on linen thread in this bill is 66 per cent. Now, the Senator from Iowa says himself he can not tell just what the ad valorem tariff is always going to be; and I think perhaps that Mr. Ewart's statement is as reliable as that of an interested manufacturer.

Mr. SEWELL. But the committee has been governed, as I understand, by the information furnished by the experts of the Treasury Department, of long standing, and in whom the committee have confidence, and they say it is only 43½ per cent.

Mr. GRAY. I did not understand that that was the statement of the experts of the Treasury Department. It is the statement of the manufacturers.

Mr. ALLISON. The average is 44 per cent, according to the expert statement.

Mr. GRAY. I shall not detain the Senate any longer, except to say that nothing more conclusively proves the vice of this whole protective system, and nothing could more clearly show what is the true Democratic policy, which, if it has not root, ought to have root. It is the principle of free raw material; for here we have this monstrous tax placed upon these important necessaries of life on the ground and justified by the fact that the raw material has been taxed. We have nearly the whole cotton schedule raised because of the tax of 20 per cent on raw cotton, and we have the whole of the linen schedule raised because of the tax on Minnesota flax.

Mr. SPOONER. Will the Senator state what is his definition of "free raw material"?

Mr. GRAY. I will discuss that question with the Senator from Wisconsin when I have more time, for I am as anxious to get through with this tariff bill as he is.

The raw material that comes into this country enables the workingmen of this country to employ their industry to the largest extent, and will not prevent, but will build up a thousand industries where this protective system will only serve to paralyze them.

Mr. President, I hope there will be some mercy in the Finance Committee of the Senate, and that they will allow something to be abated from this exaction.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Mr. President, there seems to be a very wide difference in structure of the paragraph which the Senate committee propose to strike out and the one which they propose to insert. The paragraph to be stricken out reads:

328. Single yarns made of flax tow, 8 lea and finer, 35 per cent ad valorem; single yarns composed of flax line, hemp, or ramie, valued at 13 cents or less per pound, 6 cents per pound; valued at more than 13 cents per pound, 45 per cent ad valorem.

The substitute reads:

328. Single yarns in the gray, made of flax, hemp, or ramie, not finer than 8 lea or number, 6 cents per pound; finer than 8 lea or number and not finer than 80 lea or number, 40 per cent ad valorem; finer than 80 lea or number, 15 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. President, I do not know, of course, what is the value of the unit. The Senator from Iowa tells us that this will give an average of about 44 per cent. If 6 cents per pound is 44 per cent of the value, it is about 14 cents in value for threads not finer than 8 lea. I do not know, of course, what the higher class of threads between 8 lea and 80 lea cost, but the Senator from Iowa proposes a rate of taxation on all threads between 8 and 80 lea at 40 per cent, and on all threads above 80 lea at 15 per cent.

Now, let me assume, for the sake of illustration, that the value of this thread is the same; that is, 14 cents. Then take thread 79 lea, if there is such a thing possible, and the tax would be 5½ cents per pound. If there was 81 lea, two numbers finer, the tax would be 2 cents per pound. I should be glad to have the Senator explain to the Senate on what theory it is that the committee propose to have a tax upon the coarser article three times as high in the aggregate as the tax on the finer article? What can be the excuse? What can be the reason for it? It seems to me there should certainly be some reason for so marked and radical a change in the progress of the rate of taxation on these different articles, 15 per cent above 80 and 40 per cent below.

Mr. ALLISON. I will state to the Senator that the only excuse for it is that above 80 lea these yarns are not spun at all in this country, and are not likely to be, and that it enables our weavers of linen fabrics to use these yarns.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Then, this means that 15 per cent is what the Senator understands to be a proper revenue tax on these articles not made in this country, and he proposes to put a tax of 40 per cent—25 per cent more—on the articles made in this country, 15 per cent being for revenue and 25 per cent for the purpose of advancing the price of the American manufactures to the American consumers, without any benefit to the Government. It seems to me that that is the unavoidable conclusion.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the two amendments proposed by the Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON] to paragraph 328.

The amendments were agreed to.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question now is upon the amendment of the committee inserting the new paragraph numbered 328.

The amendment was agreed to.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was to strike out paragraph 329, on page 105, beginning in line 14, as follows:

329. Flax gill netting, nets, webs, and seines, when the thread or twine of which they are composed is made of yarn not finer than 12 lea or number, 15 cents per pound and 15 per cent ad valorem; when the thread or twine of which they are composed is made of yarn finer than 12 lea or number and not finer than 25 lea or number, 24 cents per pound and 15 per cent ad valorem; when the thread or twine of which they are composed is made of yarn finer than 25 lea or number and not finer than 40 lea or number, 35 cents per pound and 15 per cent ad valorem; when the thread or twine of which they are composed is made of yarn finer than 40 lea or number and not finer than 50 lea or number, 40 cents per pound and 20 per cent ad valorem; when the thread or twine of which they are composed is made of yarn finer than 50 lea or number and not finer than 60 lea or number, 48 cents per pound and 20 per cent ad valorem; when the thread or twine of which they are composed is made of yarn finer than 60 lea or number, 50 per cent ad valorem.

And in lieu thereof to insert:

329. Flax gill netting, nets, webs, and seines shall pay the same duty per pound as is imposed in this schedule upon the thread, twine, or cord of which they are made, and in addition thereto 20 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in paragraph 330, on page 106, line 14, after the word "mattings," to strike out "plain, fancy, or

figured;" and in line 18, before the word "cents," to strike out "eight" and insert "four;" so as to read:

Floor mattings, manufactured from straw, round or split, or other vegetable substances not otherwise provided for, including what are commonly known as Chinese, Japanese, and India straw mattings, valued at not exceeding 10 cents per square yard, 4 cents per square yard.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. In line 21, after the word "thereto," I move to strike out "if," in the committee amendment, and insert "on all the articles in this paragraph, when."

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated as a part of the amendment of the committee.

The SECRETARY. In paragraph 330, line 20, after the word "yard," it is proposed to strike out "and 25 per cent ad valorem" and insert "and in addition thereto, on all articles in this paragraph, when manufactured with a warp composed of flax, cotton, or other vegetable fiber, 25 per cent ad valorem."

Mr. VEST. Mr. President, the effect of that last amendment is that when the warp is even of straw this additional duty of 25 per cent is added. Under the McKinley law and the Wilson law, which is the existing law, these articles, floor matting, etc., specified down to line 18 of this paragraph, were upon the free list. It is proposed now to put 4 cents a square yard duty upon them, and to put this additional duty of 25 per cent.

The effect of this increased tax is that on the first classification the rate is not less than 40 per cent on any of these articles, instead of being free, and on the next classification it is from 105 per cent down. My colleague on the committee [Mr. JONES of Arkansas] says they are as high as 200 per cent. I make the duty 105 per cent, but it is possible I overlooked some of the calculations.

Mr. President, what is the meaning of this enormous increase upon an article of absolute necessity, which is used by all the poorer classes of people throughout the country? Take the poor mechanic or laborer, who is not able to buy carpet, and he wants ordinary straw matting to put down upon his floor, especially in the summer time, and, instead of being allowed to buy it at the lowest rates, not competing with any particular article in this country, in the interest of the manufacturers of the lower grades of carpets this enormous duty is put on to force the people of the United States to buy these domestic carpets, no matter whether they want them or not. That is the whole of it.

Even when the Republican party was in the zenith of protection, in 1890, it put these articles upon the free list. I move to strike out this paragraph in order that these articles may go upon the free list again.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I wish to call attention, in addition to what the Senator from Missouri has said, to the fact that the tax on these articles in the tariff of 1874 was 30 per cent and in the tariff of 1883, 20 per cent. By the McKinley Act they were made free, and they are free now; and these exorbitant rates have never had their equal and never have been proposed before, reaching from 40 to 200 per cent.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Was the last amendment agreed to?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. It is pending.

Mr. VEST. I ask for the yeas and nays on the amendment which I propose.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. If there is no objection on the part of the Senator from Missouri, the Chair will put the question first on agreeing to the amendment, so as to perfect the paragraph. Without objection, the amendment will be considered as agreed to. The Senator from Missouri moves to strike out the whole of paragraph 330.

Mr. PETTIGREW. Mr. President, I suppose this paragraph is intended to place the rate of duty upon Japanese floor matting, which has been imported very largely into this country during the last few years. It is a trade that has grown up recently. The material is not made in our country. We will not produce it if the paragraph is adopted. We will not produce it in this country if you double the rates of duty provided for in the paragraph. The purpose of levying this duty upon matting, which is a clean, cool, and beautiful covering for the floor, then, is to compel our people to buy a trust product made in this country. The Japanese matting comes into competition with cheap carpet. It comes into competition with oilcloth and floor material made by the oilcloth and linoleum trust. There are four firms engaged in producing linoleum in this country. They have formed a combination. The capital is $4,477,000. They employ about 2,000 people. They pay total wages of about $1,000,000. They use materials costing between three and four millions, and when it is converted it is worth between five and six million dollars, and they sell it for all they can get. It is a complete and perfect trust, ironclad in every particular.

They have formed a combination, as I said, and have an agent. They sell at a price fixed by the combination, and any factory can run or not, just as it chooses. If it does not run it is entitled to its percentage of the profits of the whole combination the same as if it did run. Yet this provision is placed here to prevent our people from buying what they want to buy—this beautiful, clean, and cool matting which comes from Japan—and to compel them to buy the material manufactured by the linoleum combination. As I say, there are four firms engaged in manufacturing linoleum, and the proprietors are classed among the millionaires of this country. It is not an infant industry. It has been running for seventy years. I think the motion of the Senator from Missouri, to strike out the entire paragraph and allow this article, which we do not produce and can not produce and will not produce, to come in absolutely free, so that the poor people of this country can have the benefit of it, should prevail.

Further than that, the rates placed upon this article are prohibitive, as I am informed by the Japanese minister. They are 100 per cent, for this matting is exceedingly cheap. I see no good reason why we should go out of our way and hunt up this excellent article of floor covering and exclude it from this country because it hinders in a measure the operation of a combination of men who have organized for the purpose of charging exorbitant prices.

Mr. WHITE. I have here a statement showing the trade effects of the attempted enforcement of this extravagant provision, which I will send to the desk, and, as it is not very long, will ask to have it read. It comes from a very reliable firm in Baltimore.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read as follows:

Shipments of straw mattings from Hongkong to Atlantic coast ports of the United States during the shipping season, from May 1 to January 1, 1897, were 417,775 rolls, or about 60,000 tons, on which the average freight rate paid was $4 United States gold per ton.

This quantity was transported as follows:

1 Hawaiian ship, about 2½ per cent, or 1,000 tons, earning about	$6,000
12 British steamers, about 17½ per cent, or 10,500 tons, earning about	42,000
23 American ships, about 80 per cent, or 48,000 tons, earning about	192,000

The above figures approximately represent also the business done in the same article from Kobe and Nagasaki, Japan, to Atlantic ports, the entire business from both countries amounting to about 800,000 rolls, in round numbers, equal to fully 95,000 tons of 40 cubic feet.

As is well known, the China and Japan trade is now about the only thing left for the old guard of American deep-water ships, who look to straw mattings for at least two-thirds of their homeward cargo, some ships loading nothing else.

A prohibitive tariff on straw mattings would sacrifice this fleet to the greed of American manufacturers of cheap carpets. And this, too, at a time when we are looking about for ways and means of upbuilding our commercial marine, instead of destroying it, as this contemplated legislation will surely do.

Mr. WHITE. I am informed that the effect of the legislation designed in this paragraph will be to destroy absolutely the shipping interest referred to in the communication.

I have another document, of which I will ask the Secretary to read the first page, and then the whole of it may be inserted in the RECORD. It is in the line of the argument of the Senator from South Dakota.

The Secretary read as requested. The entire document is as follows:

OFFICE OF FLOOD & CO., 445 BROOME STREET.
New York, April 1, 1897.

DEAR SIR: We beg to address you regarding the proposed duty on straw matting, as contained in the Dingley bill, now before you, i. e., 8 cents per square yard on all goods costing below 10 cents per yard, and 8 cents per yard and 25 per cent ad valorem on all goods costing 10 cents and over.

The importation the past year amounted to 850,000 rolls of 40 yards each, costing in Japan and China from 5 cents to 30 cents per yard gold, 80 per cent of the importation being in goods costing less than 10 cents per yard.

The levying of a duty as proposed would exclude the entire importation of low-grade goods under 10 cents per yard, and would not earn a revenue for the Government, whereas a duty of 2 to 3 cents per square yard would not decrease the importation, and at the same time would bring us a good revenue.

Mattings are not manufactured in this country, nor can they be, and do not come into competition with cheap ingrain carpets, as stated by the ingrain manufacturers. They are sold because they are a cheap floor covering, which can not be replaced by any carpet, as there is nothing that can be made in America that can reach the people who are unable to pay more than 10 to 12½ cents per yard. Such an increase of the price of these goods as proposed in the Dingley bill simply means that the poor people now using cheap goods would have to deny themselves the use of any floor covering whatever, and consequently would not increase the manufacture of ingrain carpets to any great extent.

The interest which claims protection is much smaller than one would suppose. We give here below the figures of the manufacture of ingrain carpets, taken from Eleventh Census of the United States—Manufacturing Industries (Department of Interior, Washington D. C.):

Total number of square yards of ingrain carpet produced in the United States	36,723,540
Total number of square yards of ingrain carpet produced in the State of Pennsylvania	30,186,219
Total number of looms employed in the manufacture of all carpets in the State of Pennsylvania	6,936
Number of looms (hand and power) employed on ingrain carpets exclusively	3,859
Number of looms employed on all other carpets than ingrains	3,077
Percentage of looms employed on ingrain carpets	55.6
Average number of people employed in the manufacture of all carpets in the State of Pennsylvania (male and female)	12,674
Average number of people employed on ingrain carpets only	7,046
Wages earned in the manufacture of all carpets in the State of Pennsylvania	$5,509,805
Wages earned in the manufacture of ingrain carpets only	$3,063,451

If this interest were increased, say, 30 per cent (which could not be), you can readily see what little additional employment it would give, and the very small amount of money put into circulation. It can not be compared with the amount which would be put into circulation by the amount of revenue which would be earned by the Government on a 2 to 3-cent per yard duty, the freight earned by our ships, and the money earned in the handling of the 140,000 tons of cargo by our stevedores, truckmen, and warehouses, as well as our local steamships and railroads, who would carry the freight, which would otherwise be lost, if excluded.

A prohibitory duty on matting (as now contained in the Dingley bill) could not increase the ingrain manufacturing business 30 per cent, or an equivalent in wages earned	$919,005
A moderate duty of 3 cents per square yard would earn the Government in revenue	1,020,000
Earnings in freight by American ships, 140,000 tons (approximate)	700,000
Labor in handling on arrival and warehousing (approximated)	280,000
	2,000,000

Other earnings of railroads and local steamships not estimated.

A moderate duty of 3 cents per square yard would serve to earn more money and do more good to both Government and labor than the increase of the manufacture of ingrain carpets 30 per cent, besides giving the poor people all over the United States, at a low price, a clean floor covering that can not be duplicated in price from a sanitary and attractive point of view.

Since the Eleventh Census was taken, there had been comparatively no change in the production of ingrain carpets.

We quote the production of the State of Pennsylvania, as that State produces nearly all the cheap ingrain carpets made.

Trusting that you will find the above of interest to you, and that you will give the same the proper consideration, we beg to remain,

Very respectfully, yours,

FLOOD & CO.

Hon. STEPHEN M. WHITE,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

Mr. WHITE. I have also received a letter from Boston, from the firm of Charles Brewer & Co., which I will read:

BOSTON, U. S. A., *April 2, 1897.*

DEAR SIR: We propose sending to-day to Senator HOAR a petition signed by shipowners and others in this vicinity in opposition to the proposed duty on straw mattings as imported from China and Japan.

Section J, paragraph 532, of the tariff bill, as reported by the Committee of Ways and Means, provides for 8 cents per square yard on matting costing 10 cents per yard or less, 8 cents and 25 per cent ad valorem on all costing over 10 cents.

It is represented to us on good authority that the invoice cost of these mattings ranges from 4 cents to 25 cents per square yard; that fully 80 per cent of all imported cost less than 10 cents, a large proportion costing as low as 5 cents per square yard.

The effect of these proposed duties would probably be to practically prohibit the importation of the lower grades, thereby depriving American shipping of a trade from which it has derived very considerable employment in the past five or six years—employment of a nature especially adapted for the old wooden sailing vessels which constitute so large a proportion of the American mercantile marine of the present day. These vessels can carry safely light cargoes of matting, when they would not be available for heavy cargoes, such as grain or sugar.

Shipments from China and Japan to Atlantic ports in the United States aggregated, in 1896, 800,000 rolls, equivalent to 140,000 tons of 40 cubic feet. There were 58 sailing vessels loaded at those ports for the United States, of which about 90 per cent were American ships. Matting constituted about 37 per cent of their cargoes. About 80 per cent of the shipments from China alone were made by American sailing vessels.

We do not wish to be understood as objecting to a duty for revenue, say 2 to 3 cents per square yard. Any rate in excess of this will, we fear, inflict serious injury on our shipping interests.

Furthermore, in proportion as return cargoes from the East are diminished in bulk, by whatever cause, will the cost of transporting our products and manufactures to those countries be enhanced.

We take the liberty of addressing you directly on this important matter, and asking your very careful consideration of the same.

We remain, respectfully, yours,

CHAS. BREWER & CO.

Hon. STEPHEN M. WHITE,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

There are a number of other communications of the same character, all going to make the same argument, and so far as I know nothing is adduced on the other side.

Mr. ALLISON. All these communications are addressed to the provision in the bill as it came from the House. We have reduced the rate on the lower grade from 8 cents to 4 cents.

Mr. TELLER. I should like to ask the Senator who has the bill in charge whether it is a fact that we do not manufacture any of this material in the United States?

Mr. WHITE. We can not.

Mr. ALLISON. I do not think we manufacture the low grades, the grades valued at 10 cents or less. They are manufactured from straw, and they come to this country, and the proposed rate is a revenue duty, as I understand it.

Mr. TELLER. That is what I want to learn, whether this is a protective duty or a revenue duty. I understand the Senator from Iowa says it is a revenue duty.

Mr. ALLISON. On the low grades. On the higher grades, where they use cotton or other vegetable fiber, of course it is both a revenue and protective duty.

Mr. TELLER. That absolves me from a duty to vote for the provision as presented by the committee, because I am voting for a protective duty.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I have a criticism cut from the Baltimore News, which is directed to the Senate provision, and not to the House provision. It is, I believe, very strongly put, and I will ask the indulgence of the Senate for a moment to read it. It says:

A BURDEN ON POOR PEOPLE.

One of the many bad and inequitable features of the Dingley bill in its present shape is that which imposes a high specific duty on mattings. As reported to the Senate, the duty on matting is fixed as follows:

"Floor mattings manufactured from straw, round or split, or other vegetable substances not otherwise provided for, including what are commonly known as Chinese, Japanese, and Indian straw mattings, valued at not exceeding 10 cents per square yard, 4 cents per square yard; valued at exceeding 10 cents per square yard, 8 cents per square yard; and in addition thereto, if manufactured with a warp composed of flax, cotton, or other vegetable fiber, 25 per cent ad valorem."

This duty is equivalent to a tax of about 100 per cent on the cheapest grades of matting, since these grades are now sold in China or Japan, packed ready for shipment, at about 4 cents per square yard. There is at present no duty upon them, and, what is more remarkable, they were also upon the free list in the McKinley Act. The cheap grades of matting are sold here at retail at prices ranging from 6¼ cents upward, and the result of the placing of this duty upon them would be to nearly double their cost to the consumer. In the expensive grades the percentage of increase would not be so great, though it would still be very heavy; and in the case of mattings which now sell for about 15 cents a yard, the retail price would still be nearly twice as high under the proposed duty as it is at present.

The cheap grades of matting are very extensively used now in this country, about 800,000 rolls, or over 30,000,000 square yards, of matting having been imported in 1896, of which far the greater part was of the cheap varieties. To make it more difficult for poor people to supply their homes with this inexpensive means of tidiness and comfort is a gross perversion of the taxing power. The proposed duty is expected to be almost prohibitory, so far as the cheaper grades are concerned, and is instigated by the carpet manufacturers, who can have no possible interest in the matter except that of cutting down the use of matting and compelling people to buy carpets instead. A moderate ad valorem duty is all that ought to be permitted in this matter of interest to every household in the land in moderate circumstances.

An ad valorem duty falls with the same proportional weight upon cheap goods and dear goods, while a specific duty carries an inordinate percentage on cheap goods in comparison with dear, and thus throws its burden, with oppressive discrimination, upon the poor. As to the plea that ad valorem duties lead to undervaluation, such a plea, whatever may be true of other cases, can not be set up in defense of a double-barreled specific duty like that proposed on mattings. The sudden jump in the duty from 4 cents to 8 cents at the 10-cent grade of mattings constitutes a temptation to represent goods as below that grade when they are above it, which is vastly stronger than any temptation to misrepresentation under an ad valorem duty. There is no excuse for the imposing of this burdensome tax upon an article whose use contributes to the comfort and happiness of millions of households, which was left untaxed by the McKinley Act, and which paid a tax of only 20 per cent ad valorem under the act of 1883.

I think that clipping clearly states the case, and, so far as I am concerned, I am willing to rest it on that statement.

Mr. MANTLE. Mr. President, there is a phase of this question relating to the imposition of duties upon straw mattings which has impressed me. I do not know, having come into the Chamber late, whether or not it has been referred to.

I believe it is generally conceded among the protectionists of this body that everything possible ought to be done in the framing of a tariff law that will in any way aid and encourage the agricultural interests of this country. At first glance there does not seem to be any very intimate connection between the duty upon straw mattings and the agricultural interest, but there is in this particular item a very close relation.

During the past few years there has been built up with Japan, and it is now being extended to China, a great flour shipping industry. The flour comes from the wheat products of the Pacific Coast States, notably those of California, Washington, Oregon, and Idaho. It is a trade which has been made possible only by reason of the fact that the ships engaged in it are enabled to bring back a return cargo at rates which justify them in carrying flour to Japan and China at a very low rate of freight. By reason of this condition of affairs the farmers of that section of the country have been immensely benefited, and notably during the last year, when some 28,000,000 bushels of wheat from those States was converted into flour and shipped to Japan and China.

Mr. GEAR. May I ask the Senator from Montana a question?

Mr. MANTLE. Certainly.

Mr. GEAR. Is it not a fact that the large demand for wheat products in Japan and perhaps in China has grown out of the enterprise of Mr. Hill, the president of the Great Northern system, and the additional fact that wheat products were cheaper to those people than rice?

Mr. MANTLE. It has unquestionably grown very largely out of the enterprise and energy and courage of Mr. Hill, the president of the Great Northern Railway, but all of his enterprise and industry and energy in the matter would have availed nothing but for the fact that these vessels were enabled to bring back cargoes from those countries to the United States.

Mr. GEAR. And the fact that our products were cheaper than the products of those countries.

Mr. MANTLE. By reason of the fact that they could secure these cargoes, largely consisting of the mattings now under discussion, thus enabling them to carry flour back upon the return voyage at a rate which made it possible to ship it to those countries. This trade would not be possible, they could not have secured this market, they could not have created this demand for

American flour, were it not for the fact that they secured these low rates of transportation.

Bearing directly upon this point, and showing its importance, I desire to have read a letter which was addressed to the senior Senator from North Dakota [Mr. HANSBROUGH] some weeks ago by Mr. Hill himself. It contains some very valuable information applying directly to this question. I should like to have it read, and then I wish to add a few words in connection with it.

The Secretary read as follows:

[From the Washington Evening Star.]

TARIFF SUGGESTIONS—TRADE WITH CHINA AND JAPAN SHOULD NOT BE CUT OFF BY DUTIES—TWENTY PER CENT OF THE NORTHWESTERN CROP GOES TO THOSE COUNTRIES AND PRICES HAVE GREATLY INCREASED.

James J. Hill, of St. Paul, president of the Great Northern road, and who also is interested largely in transportation to the Orient, has written a letter to one of the North Dakota Senators, in which he points out the possibilities of trade in China and Japan, and suggests that tariff duties be so adjusted as not to prevent or cut off trade with the countries across the Pacific.

He says: "The Asiatic trade is of the greatest importance to this country, and particularly such portions of it as are interested in raising wheat," and continues: "A year ago last fall wheat sold for from 18 to 22 cents per bushel in the Palouse country, south of Spokane Falls, and this year it has sold for from 65 to 70 cents. About three years ago I sent an agent to China and Japan to investigate thoroughly what steps could be taken to introduce the general use of wheat flour in those countries as against their own rice, and found that it was simply a matter of price. I then took up the consideration of building large steamers for that trade, designed to carry cargoes of flour or grain at low rates.

HIGH WAGES PREVENTED.

"I found that we could build the ships, but that, owing to the sailors' union fixing the wages of sailors at $30 a month and engineers and other ship employees at about twice the wages paid by European steamers, it would be impossible for us to compete with the English, German, Italian, and Scandinavian ships already on the Pacific Ocean. After the war with China the Japanese appropriated a large amount of their war indemnity for a subsidy to their merchant marine, and we opened negotiations with the General Steamship Company of Japan, which is owned by the leading men of the Empire. We found that their subsidy was about equal to the cost of their coal and the wages of their sailors. They pay their sailors $5 a month, Mexican, or $2.50 in gold, enabling them to hire twelve good sailors for the wages of one American sailor. After some protracted and difficult negotiations we concluded a contract with them for a line of steamers between Chinese and Japanese ports and Seattle, on condition that they would carry flour from Puget Sound to the Asiatic ports at $3 a ton, as against from $7 to $8 a ton formerly charged from west coast ports in the United States.

A NEW MARKET.

"This low rate fixed the rate for all other lines between the Pacific coast and Asia, and has resulted in carrying out about 28,000,000 bushels of wheat or its equivalent in flour from the last crop. There is left, I understand, about 5,000,000 bushels to be moved between now and the next harvest. Thus you will see we have been able to find new mouths which have never before used wheaten bread to take the entire California, Oregon, and Washington wheat crop out of the European markets. This will reduce the amount going to Europe about 20 per cent, and in bushels about 30,000,000—three times the quantity shipped to Europe from the Argentine during the past crop year. The prices of wheat this year, as compared with last, are about 20 to 25 cents higher, and I think it may be said that from 15 to 18 cents of this rise is clearly due to the withdrawal of all the Pacific wheat from the European markets. I see in this morning's market reports a telegram stating that European ships are loading with barley, rye, and merchandise from San Francisco to Europe, after waiting four months for cargoes of wheat, and that no more wheat will go to Europe from the Pacific coast.

RETURN CARGOES SECURED.

"The only way we could bring about this great reduction in the cost of transportation of flour to Asia was by diverting the tea and matting business, which has heretofore gone mainly on English ships from Asia direct to New York, and bringing these commodities to the Pacific coast by a low rate of transportation inland by rail to distribute the commodities to points between Minnesota and New York. I have given you the details so that you will understand the situation and be able to see that, unless these ships can bring their main cargoes of merchandise to the Pacific ports at rates that will compensate them for the traffic, the business must go as heretofore to New York, and the rates on flour to Asiatic ports will be again at the old figure or an advance of about 50 cents a barrel, which would, in my judgment, destroy the business that has just begun to be built up with that country.

MORE MOUTHS TO FEED.

"The province of Amoy alone, which is near the coast, contains over 80,000,000 people, and at 20 pounds of flour per capita per annum would consume the product of 40,000,000 bushels of wheat. The large districts of Tien-Tsin and Shanghai, both easily accessible from the sea, would consume about as much more, as soon as the trade can be fully opened. It is not outside the range of possibility that we could ship wheat from Devils Lake to the Pacific coast for this trade. We certainly could at 55 cents a bushel cost for the wheat at Devils Lake or points west as long as the demand for flour continues to grow as it has for the past six months."

Mr. MANTLE. The letter presents the case very clearly and very forcibly. It shows what has already been done, and it goes on to state that if nothing is done by legislation to interfere with this carrying trade, an additional market can be created in one district, the district of Amoy alone, for 40,000,000 bushels additional of American wheat; but he states further that he can go as far east as North Dakota for the surplus wheat of that State and convert it into flour and transport it to those countries at a price which will afford a profit to the farmers of that State.

I should not for one moment think of antagonizing this duty did I believe that any American industry would be injured by so doing, or that any considerable number of American laborers would be deprived of employment. The fact is that this matting is not manufactured in the United States at all, and can not be. It is used by the poor people of the country mainly, and with them it will be a question of having this or having no carpeting at all. On the other hand, the imposition of these duties is very likely to work a great injury to a great many of the farmers of the Pacific Coast, and I can not help but feel that under the circumstances it is unwise and unjust to levy this duty. The article was admitted free under the McKinley law, and there is certainly no reason existing at this moment why it should not be put upon the free list in the pending bill.

I have a letter which I will not ask to have read, as it bears largely upon the same phase of the question, but it contains a good deal of valuable data with respect to shipments, and especially as to flour, the number of ships engaged in this trade, etc., which I think ought to be printed.

The letter referred to is as follows:

FLOOD & Co., 445 BROOME STREET,
New York, April 7, 1897.

DEAR SIR: We beg to thank you for your favor of even date, anent the importation of straw matting and the exportation of flour from and to the Orient. At the moment we are unable to give you the amount of flour exported from America to China and Japan, but will look into the matter, and hope to report to you in a few days.

What we do know is that steamers sailing from San Francisco, Tacoma, Seattle, Portland, and Vancouver, British Columbia, which amount to about 100 steamships per year, distributed from the above ports as follows (approximate): San Francisco, 37; Tacoma, 24; Portland, 12; Seattle, 12; Vancouver, 15, are dependent upon flour for the greater part of their outward cargo. The great trouble that the steamship companies have had to contend with was to secure an outward cargo, and the only way they were successful was by offering a very low rate to the shippers of flour.

There has never been any trouble to get homeward cargoes from the East, and this trade would be much more developed if it were not for the trouble that they have had to secure freight outward to China and Japan.

Our flour to-day is exported from the mills around San Francisco, Portland, Seattle, Tacoma, Spokane, and other Western cities, and is getting to be a great factor in the Eastern trade, and has been during the past years developed to an enormous business.

We inclose you herewith a Hongkong market letter, dated December 10, which will give you some idea of how our flour is quoted in Hongkong and how many of our mills are represented. The price quoted in the circular is in Mexican dollars, which are equal to about 50 per cent of our money. You can compare the price at which our flour is sold in China as against what it is sold for in America, and you will readily see that the margin for freight is very little, and the only reason our goods are sold in China and Japan at such low figures is due to the low freight across the Pacific. There is nothing imported into China and Japan that can compete with it.

You will bear in mind that the ships quoted in this report, the *Empress of Japan* and *Victoria*, had already discharged part of their cargo in Yokohama, Kobe, and Shanghai before arriving at Hongkong, and you can not reckon on the amount of sacks carried into Hongkong as a full cargo. Our mills are all represented, both in Japan and China, and our flour is taking a great hold in the far East.

The writer when in Hongkong last October, when in conversation with the gentleman who represents some of the largest mills in America, was informed that he had just closed a very large contract for flour to be shipped to Vladivostock, Siberia, being transshipped from Nagasaki, Japan. The Russians are now making Vladivostock a rendezvous for their men-of-war and troops, and have, we are told, at least 100,000 men there now. This trade is being reached to-day by America and excluding from Russian territory its own flour, which can not be shipped to eastern Siberia at a rate that can compete with ours.

Both the Chinese and Japanese, especially since the war, have taken greatly to the use of flour, and from all reports from people who are authorities on the matter, they claim that the increase of our flour into both Japan and China the following year will far exceed anything previous.

The success of American flour in China and Japan is due solely to the low rate of freight at which our steamships are carrying the cargo. We would say that 50 per cent of the outward cargo to China and Japan consists of flour.

Within the past year or two our American cotton has been taking a great hold in Japan, and a great deal has been shipped from the Southern States, and would make up the greater proportion of the remaining 20 per cent of cargo allotted to other merchandise than flour.

The cotton shipped to Japan is taken at a low rate of freight, as well as flour; otherwise this article could not be imported into Japan to compete with the China, Bombay, and Egyptian products. This cotton industry promises to be one of the most important exports to China and Japan from America in the coming years if properly taken care of; but to insure this business they must have a low rate of freight to compete with the many steamers and direct communications from Japan to the other oriental cotton-producing countries.

The profit to our transpacific steamship lines is made by their homeward cargoes, which are paying good rates of freight. The cargo capacity of the ships is limited, on account of the steamship companies not wishing to put any more steamers on than they are capable of filling on the outward voyage.

We hope to be able to give you the figures showing the amount of flour exported to the far East in a few days. We will forward to you just as soon as we have secured the same.

Thanking you for your kind favor, we beg to remain,
Very respectfully, yours,

FLOOD & CO.

Hon. LEE MANTLE,
Washington, D. C.

I quote you from the market letter referred to above the following in regard to flour:

Flour: There is a steady demand for both extras and superfines, and prices are steadily advancing. Arrivals have been: *Empress of Japan*, 11,000 quarter sacks from Vancouver, and *Victoria*, 23,600 quarter sacks from Takoma.

Sperry's XXX	$2.43	Blue Ribbon	$2.00
Crown Mills	2.35	Gold Drop	2.10
Buckeye	2.30	West End	1.80
Pioneer	2.26	Crescent	1.85
Green Girl Portland	2.10	Yuba	1.82
Dayton	2.23	Orient	1.74
C. & C. Mills	2.18	Golden State	1.80
Pride of the West	1.85	Franklin	1.74
Gold and Silver	2.18		

Mr. MANTLE. I do not know what motion is under discussion, as I was not present when it was made.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The motion pending is that of the Senator from Missouri to strike out paragraph 330.

Mr. MANTLE. And put the articles upon the free list?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. And put the articles upon the free list.

Mr. MANTLE. I believe that every consideration of equity and justice to the wheat producers of the country, the great agricultural classes, requires that the motion in this particular case ought to prevail. If the duty is levied purely for revenue, then I suggest that there are many other articles upon which revenue may be raised. The duty of 4 cents of itself amounts to nearly 100 per cent upon 60 or 80 per cent of the importation of these mattings, as the great bulk of them are of the cheaper class, costing from 3 to 6 or 7 cents per yard.

I sincerely hope that in this view of the matter, in view of the fact that it can do no good to any American industry, that it must enhance the cost of this necessary article to the poor people of our country, that it must result in injuring the wheat growers of the Pacific States, and that it may result disastrously to the enormous flour trade now being built up between this country and Japan and China—for these reasons the motion to restore these mattings to the free list will prevail.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I regret the absence of the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. DAVIS] from the Senate Chamber. Yesterday he said:

Mr. President, in regard to the statement that Minnesota can not produce and does not produce flax fiber fit for weaving and making linen, I hold in my hand a specimen of Minnesota flax [exhibiting], prepared entirely at Northfield, in that State. Three thousand pounds of this were sent, by way of experiment and demonstration, to Belfast, Ireland, early this year in this shape. I have seen a letter from a Belfast gentleman, who undertook to weave it and did weave it, stating that for length of fiber and tensile strength it exceeded their own. There is some difference owing to their superior inherited skill in the manipulation, and perhaps in the color, something easily to be overcome.

Here is a towel made at Belfast from that same flax [exhibiting], apparently of good substance, and the inexpert eye would not probably be able to discern the source from which the flax came out of which this towel was made.

I hold in my hand the samples woven in Belfast from this same consignment of flax which I have mentioned, of various degrees of fineness of linen down to the coarse articles, such as are sometimes made into garments. The samples are many, and they can be seen by Senators, from the exceedingly coarse article up through all the degrees to the finer article of as white linen as one ever saw.

I was anxious to have the Senator from Minnesota present, as I wanted to inquire of him a little more particularly if he knew personally anything of the facts regarding the articles that were exhibited here yesterday. Two letters have come into my possession this morning that throw light on this question, and while I have no doubt of the perfect good faith of the Senator from Minnesota in using the articles he used here yesterday, these letters create a question in my mind as to whether they are in any sense Minnesota flax.

As the articles were exhibited in the Senate to demonstrate the fact that Minnesota flax could be woven into linen which is desirable, I think it is due to a correct understanding of this question that the letters I now have shall be read to the Senate. The Senator from Minnesota had an engagement which keeps him away from the Chamber, and I regret that he can not be here. I sent him word that I might bring some matter up in the Senate in which he would be interested. The letter that I will read first is signed by F. Herdmen, managing director. It seems to have been written from Belfast. I have the original letters in my hand, but as the handwriting is somewhat difficult to read, I will read a typewritten copy.

[Memorandum from Brookfield Linen Company, Limited, to Mr. Prame, New York.]

BELFAST, *April 9, 1897.*

DEAR SIR: In reply to yours of 30th ultimo, about 5 tons of flax shipped by the Minnesota Flax Company arrived here in the steamship *Lord Charlemont* a few weeks ago, consigned to Messrs. John Preston & Co., J. Johnson & Co., and William Barbour & Sons, Limited. The bulk is still in store, and is of poor quality, equal to a medium mark of Russian flax, say H. D. Pernau, value somewhere £28 to £30 sterling per ton in Belfast. There has not been time to spin the flax, much less weave it, but when the Minnesota Flax Company first wrote Prestons they asked their firm to send them samples of the class of cloth the flax would likely make. Mr. Cooke, of Prestons, went to the County Down Linen Company and procured from them some sample books of linens, which he forwarded to the flax company and which we suppose are now being shown as made from American flax, which is a palpable falsehood, as inclosed letter will prove.

Yours, truly,

F. HERDMEN,

Managing Director (for the Company).

The letter inclosed is as follows:

JOHN PRESTON & CO., BELFAST, *April 9, 1897.*

DEAR SIR: Referring to our conversation of this morning, I find on going back upon it that the patterns in question were sent to the Minnesota Flax Company in February, whilst their flax did not arrive here until March 23. The patterns consisted of old pattern books of canvas and drills, obtained from one of the warehouses here, and did not pretend to be made from their flax. Actually not a pound of the Minnesota flax has yet been spun here; it is now only in process of dressing.

Yours, very truly,

A. COOKE.

FREDK. HERDMAN, Esq., *Brookfield Linen Co.*

Both of these letters are dated Belfast, April 9, 1897. I simply present the letters so that if there has been any effort made by people who are not dealing frankly with the Senate to exhibit samples of goods alleged to have been woven from a product in Minnesota, and it was not so, the fraud can be exposed. If it is true, and these charges are not correct, they can defend themselves and make it clear.

Mr. PETTIGREW. Mr. President, it appears, according to the letters presented here by the Senator from Arkansas, that the Belfast company took the linen fiber forwarded from Minnesota and returned such linen as they believed they could spin from that fiber. Of course the Senator from Minnesota did not know of that fact, and yet the misrepresentation is absolutely immaterial. Those men know as well when they examine the fiber what it will make as they know after they have made it. There is no question about it at all. They are absolute experts.

The letter says that the fiber sent to Belfast was of inferior quality and is not yet spun. I read a letter yesterday from Belfast, stating that it was almost equal to the Irish product, that it was of almost equal fineness and of greater length, and they accounted for it by the fact of the strong virgin soil of Minnesota.

I exhibited the flax that was produced in Minnesota, and it was produced in Minnesota, and is of excellent quality. I do not care what experts examined it, it is almost equal to the best flax produced in the world. It is almost equal to the Courtray flax, which is noted throughout the world as being the finest in the world and producing the finest linen. There is no question but that we can produce in that country a flax fiber that will make the best linen used by the people of the United States. I do not care what letters may be read with respect to the matter. Let any expert go and examine the 253 tons produced in Minnesota last year, I do not care where he comes from, he will say at once that it will make the very items of linen goods exhibited here yesterday.

I do not know how we got back to this linen schedule again. The rates are too low, compared with the linen goods. The rates on the raw material are 11½ per cent, and on linen goods in this flax schedule the rates are from 52 to 109 per cent.

Of course I admit that it is the same sort of treatment the people of the West have received in almost every tariff bill that has been constructed. They first put a very slight duty on the raw material, and then double it and triple it and make it four times as much on the manufactured product that they sell us, and so take away what little protection we had in whatever purchases we make of the manufactured article. Yet in spite of that fact we return again to a discussion of this little item of a duty upon the raw material.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST] to strike out paragraph 330 as amended.

Mr. VEST. On that I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CLAY (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE].

Mr. GRAY (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Illinois [Mr. CULLOM]. I do not see him in his seat, and therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. HARRIS of Kansas (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Wyoming [Mr. CLARK]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. MORRILL (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. HARRIS], and therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. PENROSE (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Delaware [Mr. KENNEY]. If he were present, I should vote "nay."

Mr. RAWLINS (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Ohio [Mr. HANNA].

Mr. SEWELL (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. MITCHELL]. If he were present, I should vote "nay."

Mr. SPOONER (when his name was called). I am paired generally with the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. WALTHALL], who is necessarily absent from the Chamber to-day. I announce the pair to apply to all votes on the bill during the day.

Mr. WELLINGTON (when his name was called). I announce my pair with the junior Senator from North Carolina [Mr. BUTLER]. If he were present, I should vote "nay."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. GRAY. I will transfer my pair with the senior Senator from Illinois [Mr. CULLOM] to the junior Senator from Virginia [Mr. MARTIN], and vote. I vote "yea."

Mr. PENROSE. I will transfer my pair with the junior Senator from Georgia [Mr. CLAY] to the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE], so that he will stand paired with the junior Senator from Delaware [Mr. KENNEY], and the junior Senator from Georgia [Mr. CLAY] and myself can vote. I vote "nay."

Mr. CLAY. On the statement of the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. PENROSE] I vote "yea."

Mr. HANSBROUGH. I was requested to announce a pair between the Senator from Missouri [Mr. COCKRELL] and the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE].

Mr. MANTLE. I should like to inquire if the Senator from Utah [Mr. CANNON] is paired in any way?

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. I have understood that the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH] and the Senator from Utah [Mr. CANNON] are paired.

Mr. PASCO. I am paired with the Senator from Washington [Mr. WILSON]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

The result was announced—yeas 25, nays 22; as follows:

YEAS—25.

Bacon,	Gray,	Murphy,	Turner,
Bate,	Hansbrough,	Pettigrew,	Turpie,
Berry,	Heitfeld,	Pettus,	Vest,
Carter,	Jones, Ark.	Roach,	White.
Chilton,	McLaurin,	Smith,	
Clay,	Mallory,	Teller,	
Daniel,	Mantle,	Tillman,	

NAYS—22.

Allison,	Hawley,	Perkins,	Stewart,
Burrows,	Hoar,	Platt, Conn.	Thurston,
Deboe,	McBride,	Platt, N. Y.	Warren,
Fairbanks,	Mason,	Pritchard,	Wetmore.
Foraker,	Nelson,	Proctor,	
Gear,	Penrose,	Shoup,	

NOT VOTING—42.

Aldrich,	Elkins,	Kenney,	Pasco,
Allen,	Faulkner,	Kyle,	Quay,
Baker,	Frye,	Lindsay,	Rawlins,
Butler,	Gallinger,	Lodge,	Sewell,
Caffery,	George,	McEnery,	Spooner,
Cannon,	Gorman,	McMillan,	Walthall,
Chandler,	Hale,	Martin,	Wellington,
Clark,	Hanna,	Mills,	Wilson,
Cockrell,	Harris, Kans.	Mitchell,	Wolcott.
Cullom,	Harris, Tenn.	Morgan,	
Davis,	Jones, Nev.	Morrill,	

So Mr. VEST's motion to strike out paragraph 330 was agreed to.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 331, page 106, line 25, after the word "fiber," to insert "(except cotton);" in line 1, page 107, after the word "exceeding," to strike out "thirty" and insert "fifteen;" in the same line, after the word "yard," to strike out "six" and insert "five;" in line 3, after the word "above," to strike out "thirty" and insert "fifteen;" in the same line, after the word "yard," to strike out "twelve" and insert "ten;" and in line 4, after the word "and," to strike out "forty" and insert "thirty-five;" so as to make the paragraph read:

331. Carpets, carpeting, mats, and rugs made of flax, hemp, jute, or other vegetable fiber (except cotton), valued at not exceeding 15 cents per square yard, 5 cents per square yard and 35 per cent ad valorem; valued above 15 cents per square yard, 10 cents per square yard and 35 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I move to strike out all after the word "fiber," in the second line of the paragraph, and insert "20 per cent ad valorem."

The SECRETARY. In line 25, after the word "fiber," strike out the remainder of the paragraph and insert "20 per cent ad valorem;" so as to read:

Carpets, carpeting, mats, and rugs made of flax, hemp, jute, or other vegetable fiber, 20 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment was rejected.

The next paragraph was read, as follows:

332. Hydraulic hose, made in whole or in part of flax, hemp, ramie, or jute, 20 cents per pound.

Mr. PETTIGREW. I see that a duty of 20 cents per pound is placed on hydraulic hose by this paragraph. Are there other paragraphs in the bill which place an additional duty upon that item?

Mr. ALLISON. I know of none. If there are I shall be glad to have them pointed out, and I will see that they are struck from the bill.

Mr. PETTIGREW. I have an impression that there is a duty of 35 per cent ad valorem. I will look it up, however. I can not turn to the exact paragraph at the present time.

Mr. ALLISON. It is intended that there shall be a duty of 20 cents a pound on hydraulic hose made of this material. If there is any other duty applying to hydraulic hose other than india rubber, I should be glad to have it stricken out of the bill.

The Secretary read the next paragraph, as follows:

333. Tapes composed wholly or in part of flax, woven with or without metal threads, on reels, spools, or otherwise, and designed expressly for use in the manufacture of measuring tapes, 40 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I move to strike out "forty" and insert "twenty-five" before the words "per centum."

The amendment was rejected.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 334, page 107, line 15, before the word "cents," to strike out "ten" and insert "eight;" and in line 16, after the word "carpets," to strike out "twenty" and insert "fifteen;" so as to make the paragraph read:

334. Oilcloth for floors, stamped, painted, or printed, including linoleum or corticene, figured or plain, and all other oilcloth (except silk oilcloth) not specially provided for herein, 8 cents per square yard and 15 per cent ad valorem; inlaid linoleum or corticene, and cork carpets, 15 cents per square yard and 20 per cent ad valorem; waterproof cloth, composed of cotton or other vegetable fiber, whether composed in part of india rubber or otherwise, 10 cents per square yard and 20 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. What is the first proposition of the committee?

Mr. ALLISON. To strike out "ten" and insert "eight." It is a reduction of 2 cents. The Senator, I suppose, will not object to it.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the first amendment of the committee in paragraph 334.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask the Senate to disagree to the amendment in line 16, striking out, after the word "carpets," "twenty" and inserting "fifteen."

Mr. VEST. That will go back to 20 cents per square yard.

Mr. ALLISON. It goes back to 20 cents.

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. ALLISON. I offer a further amendment to the paragraph. On page 107, paragraph 334, line 14, after the words "(except silk oilcloth)," I move to insert the words "under 12 feet in width;" and in line 16 of the same paragraph, after the words "ad valorem," to insert the words "oilcloth for floors and linoleum or corticene, 12 feet and over in width."

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I move to strike out paragraph 334 and insert what I send to the desk, which is the paragraph on this subject in the Wilson Act.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. Strike out all of paragraph 334 and insert:

Oilcloth for floors, stamped, painted, or printed, including linoleum, corticene, cork carpets, figured or plain, and all other oilcloth (except silk oilcloth), and waterproof cloth, not specially provided for in this act, valued at 25 cents or less per square yard, 25 per cent ad valorem; valued above 25 cents per square yard, 40 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The duties on the cheaper grades of oilcloth under the act of 1874 were 35 per cent; under the act of 1883, 40 per cent; under the McKinley Act, 40 per cent; under the Wilson Act, 25 per cent, and under the pending bill as it passed the House, 73.8 per cent. As reported by the Senate committee, the rate was 62.1 per cent, and on the motion of the Senator from Iowa the Senate has receded from that amendment and, I understand, proposes to stand by the rate recommended by the House.

I will not detain the Senate by entering into any discussion of this matter. It has been very fully discussed and is thoroughly understood. I, however, feel very much like reading a clipping from the Journal of Commerce of the date of April 8, 1897.

[From the Journal of Commerce and Commercial Bulletin, April 8, 1897.]

TAXATION OF RAW MATERIALS.

The proposed increase of duty on floor oilcloths recalls some important testimony on this subject that was taken by the tariff commission fifteen years ago. Mr. William M. Brasher, of Brooklyn, appeared for the manufacturers and submitted a statement of the increased taxation of materials between 1857 and 1882. In 1857 the duties on all the materials were 15 per cent; in 1882 they were at the following ad valorem rates or their equivalents: Canvas 40, linseed oil 79, dry white lead 77, red lead and litharge 82, whiting 236, and ocher 66 per cent. In consequence of the high duties on their materials the manufacturers asked that the duties on their produce be increased from 35 and 45 to 50 and 60 per cent, and that the duty should be taken off canvas. "Our protection," said Mr. Brasher, "on the average is 30 per cent; sometimes 35 to 40, depending on the value of the floor oilcloth. But give us free trade in competition with all foreigners. * * * If we can have the same plane to work on that the English manufacturer has, this country can export millions of dollars' worth of these goods.

"We are only shut out of the Chinese market by about 10 cents a yard and out of the Australian market by about 12 cents a yard. Sweden would consume, and does take from Great Britain at the present time, over a million dollars' worth of these goods annually, and they ask us nearly every day to send them our goods, as our styles are superior and they will be used there. The Government receives to-day a duty of 40 per cent on $50,000 worth of goods, but at the same time shuts us out of an export trade which would amount to $2,000,000."

"If you will give us free trade," continued Mr. Brasher, "we can send our goods to any part of the world and do an enormous business." He was asked whether he would prefer free raw materials or a higher duty on the product, and he replied: "We are willing to accept either. With free trade I think we could export, and our business would increase so that there would be $5,000,000 worth of these goods shipped out of this country annually." It was estimated that this would employ 2,500 persons. He was further pressed as to the value of free raw materials to the trade he represented: "Without any duty on the raw material or any protective duty on your goods, could you compete in this market (the United States) with the European goods?" and he replied, "Yes, sir; we could compete in the markets of the world."

John P. Lapsley, manufacturer of floor cloths, appeared before the commission to protest against the taxation of the raw materials, which enhanced the cost of the domestic as well as the imported article. "If we could get free raw materials, or anything approaching it," he said, "we could compete with other nations in supplying the markets of the world." Floor oilcloths were a great item of export to South America, and England controlled the trade. Taste for American styles had given the American makers some foreign trade, "but we are shut out from those markets now by the higher price we are compelled to charge, and one reason why we are compelled to ask a higher price has already been stated—that is, we are handicapped by these very high duties on the raw material."

When the McKinley bill was in process of preparation, Mr. George W. Blabon, a large manufacturer, said: "If I get my raw material free, and if you let me import my labor, I do not ask any favor," but immediately added, "I can get along even if our labor is not quite so low as theirs (London and Kirkcaldy), for we have better machinery." After speaking further of the

superiority of American machinery, he said: "I think we can do more work per hand than they can. We generally work our men on piecework."

The present tariff reduced the duties from those of the McKinley law, and the Dingley bill proposes to raise them again. There has been some increase of importation, but it is a small percentage of the consumption according to statements made before Mr. Dingley's committee in opposition to the increase. In this protest it was urged that burlaps and cork are duty free; the ocher, rosins, gums, petroleum, and pine-tree products used in this manufacture are as cheap here or cheaper than abroad; that the best ocher for linoleum making is mined in Georgia, and much of it is exported to the foreign manufacturers of floor cloths; that linseed oil, on which the duty is 20 cents a gallon, has recently been as low as 25 cents in Chicago, lower than the foreign price; that glue and starch are exported, and are about as low here as abroad; that the colors are used only on the surface in relatively small quantities, and there is no great difference between the domestic and the foreign price; that the manufacture is mostly by machinery, and the labor cost per yard is extremely small, and that there are in the United States only 4 makers of linoleums, 11 of floor oilcloths, and 10 of table oilcloths; that they are mostly family concerns, have made immense profits, and they maintain a combination that gives them the control of the market.

The statements of the manufacturers themselves show that whatever difference there is between the wages here and in England is offset by the freer use of machinery here, so that whatever disadvantage the American manufacturer is under is simply the duties collected on the materials he uses. At a time when the materials were a good deal more expensive here than abroad these duties on materials alone kept us out of a foreign trade estimated at from two to five million dollars a year. If the statements now made in opposition to increased protection for the manufacturers are accurate, the domestic prices of materials have, in the past few years, fallen to near or quite the level of like articles abroad, so that the existing duties on the product need no increase, and, on the contrary, foreign markets ought to be within reach of the American manufacturers. But it is quite conceivable that the manufacturers would rather have complete possession of the domestic market, with the opportunity higher duties would afford them of advancing their prices, than to get into the markets of South America, Australia, China, and Sweden, upon which they were casting longing eyes in 1892. If the American manufacturers had a less absolute possession of the home market than they have, they would be compelled to seek foreign outlets, and they have themselves told us what drove them out of foreign markets years ago, and long kept them out. The Dingley bill proposes to raise the duties on the materials of this industry.

Mr. President, it seems to me that that is a clear statement of all that is involved in this matter. The rates to which these articles are proposed to be raised are simply enormous. I have a number of specimens of floor oilcloth furnished to me by a reputable house in Baltimore, giving the duty and showing the equivalent ad valorem duty. The proposed rates under the bill are from 65 to 95 per cent on these floor oilcloths, and on linoleum it is about 62.1 per cent. I have a number of pieces, showing the goods, the price, the cost, and their general appearance. I also have samples of table oilcloth, waterproof cloth, on which the proposed duty equals 145 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. President, when it is recollected that the rates of duty on these articles were in years past under the tariff of 1874 but 35 per cent, under the tariff of 1883, 40 per cent under the McKinley Act itself only 40 per cent, it seems to me it is unreasonable and indefensible to talk about now putting a tariff of 145 per cent on them.

Mr. VEST. Mr. President, we are confronted with another conspicuous illustration of the effect of enormous and excessive prohibitory tariff duties. About one year ago to-day an announcement was made in the New York papers, in the Carpet and Upholstery Trade Review, published at 335 Broadway, New York, dated June 15, 1896, that a new oilcloth trust had been formed, the terms of which I will proceed to read:

THE NEW LIGHT OILCLOTH AGREEMENT.

As noted in our issue of the 1st instant, a new agreement has been made between the table oilcloth manufacturers, and those concerned in the arrangement seem certain that it will be more successful than any previous plans that have been made in this direction. One strong reason for this belief is that the new arrangement is supported by all but two of the manufacturing concerns in the trade.

An important feature of this new plan, and one never adopted in previous schemes for the same end, is the formation of a clearing house, through which all the business of the combination, except manufacturing and its needful provisions and actual selling, is to be transacted.

The various firms have a percentage standing in the clearing house, and the proceeds of their aggregate business are to be divided among them pro rata.

There are no restrictions upon manufacturers as to the extent of their output nor upon individual enterprise, neither would a manufacturer, should he deem it prudent to shut down his works, forfeit his right to his percentage of any profits the others might have made. The clearing house is in Boston. Its president is George Hughes, of Atha & Hughes, and its vice-president A. M. Cole, of the Western Linoleum Company, Akron, Ohio.

As shown by the list of prices, 5-4 marbles and fancies are advanced 10 cents, and on 6-4 15 cents above the old list.

In the face of a fact that a trust combination formed a year ago controls the prices, we are now to put on the enormous duties which have been read by my colleague, the Senator from Arkansas.

Mr. PETTIGREW. Mr. President, most of these floor cloths are sold at less than 25 cents a yard. I hold in my hand four samples of different thicknesses of floor cloths, valued at from 10 to 16½ cents per square yard. Upon these the duty in the House bill is placed at 10 cents a yard and 15 per cent ad valorem, which amounts to from 65 to 95 per cent ad valorem on these articles. I have also six other thicknesses of linoleum, valued at from 15 to 22 cents per square yard, upon which the duty is equal to 62.1 per cent ad valorem.

In view of the fact that the articles are manufactured exclusively by four firms, who are in a combination by which, whether they run or not, they have their share in the percentage of the profits awarded to them by the combination, it is not at all strange that this enormous duty is placed upon the articles, because it would be an invidious distinction if this trust were not protected as high as all other trusts are in the bill. Every trust affected by the bill is excessively and inordinately protected. Somebody has had to do with the bill apparently who knew what articles were in a trust, and upon those the duty is heaped over and over again.

We knew in the last political contest that the trusts were all on one side. We know they all supported the Republican ticket. It was reported that vast sums of money were collected, and it is exceedingly significant, under these circumstances, that every single trust has protection running from 50 per cent up to 150 per cent in this bill. Whether it is for the contributions of the last campaign or in the interest of contributions for the next campaign, I know not; but no political party can go before the people of this country on schedules like these.

It is further fortunate that you should have a caucus agreement, by which every man, no matter where he is from, if he belongs to the Republican party, is bound to vote for these infamous increases.

Mr. WHITE. I would suggest to the Senator from South Dakota that the duty to which he now refers, in view of the political situation in the country, is probably a compensatory duty.

Mr. PETTIGREW. There is no doubt of it, Mr. President. I said there might be some doubt about it being compensatory, but it is anticipatory, to provide for future campaigns.

Where a political campaign is carried on and men are furnished free transportation from all over the United States to cast their votes, it is expensive. In the case of every man who ever lived in a close State, even two years after moving away, no matter where he went, his expenses were paid and he was brought back to vote the Republican ticket, as was done in Dakota. I say it is fortunate that an ironclad agreement holds their votes and no explanations are required. No defense is made of these excessive, outrageous, plundering rates of duty placed upon articles produced by a trust.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. GRAY in the chair). The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Arkansas.

Mr. PETTIGREW. On that I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MORGAN (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. QUAY].

Mr. MORRILL (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. HARRIS], and therefore withhold my vote. I will not again mention the fact during the day.

Mr. PENROSE (when his name was called). I am authorized to transfer my pair with the junior Senator from Delaware [Mr. KENNEY] to the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE]. I will therefore vote. I vote "nay."

Mr. RAWLINS (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Ohio [Mr. HANNA]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. GORMAN. I desire to inquire if the Senator from Maine [Mr. FRYE] has voted?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. He has not voted.

Mr. GORMAN. I am paired with the Senator from Maine on this and all other questions, and therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. CLAY. I am paired with the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE]. The pair has been transferred to the junior Senator from Delaware [Mr. KENNEY], and I will vote. I vote "yea."

Mr. PASCO. I announce the pair of the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. LINDSAY], who is absent from the city, with the Senator from Michigan [Mr. MCMILLAN].

Mr. MORGAN. I transfer my pair with the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. QUAY] to the Senator from Virginia [Mr. MARTIN], and will vote. I vote "yea."

Mr. TURPIE (after having voted in the affirmative). I am paired with the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. DAVIS], and therefore withdraw my vote.

The result was announced—yeas 22, nays 27; as follows:

YEAS—22.

Bacon,	Heitfeld,	Pasco,	Tillman,
Berry,	Jones, Ark.	Pettigrew,	Turner,
Chilton,	McLaurin,	Pettus,	Vest,
Clay,	Mallory,	Roach,	White.
Daniel,	Mills,	Smith,	
Gray,	Morgan,	Teller,	

NAYS—27.

Allison,	Gear,	Mason,	Sewell,
Burrows,	Hansbrough,	Penrose,	Shoup,
Carter,	Hawley,	Perkins,	Thurston,
Cullom,	Hoar,	Platt, Conn.	Warren,
Deboe,	McBride,	Platt, N. Y.	Wetmore,
Fairbanks,	McEnery,	Pritchard,	Wilson.
Foraker,	Mantle,	Proctor,	

NOT VOTING—40.

Aldrich,	Davis,	Harris, Tenn.	Murphy,
Allen,	Elkins,	Jones, Nev.	Nelson,
Baker,	Faulkner,	Kenney,	Quay,
Bate,	Frye,	Kyle,	Rawlins,
Butler,	Gallinger,	Lindsay,	Spooner,
Caffery,	George,	Lodge,	Stewart,
Cannon,	Gorman,	McMillan,	Turpie,
Chandler,	Hale,	Martin,	Walthall,
Clark,	Hanna,	Mitchell,	Wellington,
Cockrell,	Harris, Kans.	Morrill,	Wolcott.

So the amendment of Mr. JONES of Arkansas was rejected.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, on page 107, paragraph 335, line 21, after the word "cuffs," to strike out "composed entirely of cotton, 45 cents per dozen pieces and 15 per cent ad valorem;" in line 23, before the word "cents," to strike out "fifty" and insert "forty;" and in line 24, after the word "ad valorem," to strike out "shirts and other articles of wearing apparel, other than knit, composed in whole or in part of linen, made up or manufactured wholly or in part by the tailor, seamstress, or manufacturer, not specially provided for in this act, 50 per cent ad valorem;" so as to make the paragraph read:

335. Shirt collars and cuffs, composed in whole or in part of linen, 40 cents per dozen and 20 per cent ad valorem.

The next amendment was to strike out paragraph 336 and to insert in lieu thereof the following:

336. Laces: lace window curtains, tidies, pillow shams, napkins, bed sets, insertings, flouncings, and other lace articles; handkerchiefs, wearing apparel, and other articles made wholly or in part of lace, or in imitation of lace; nets or nettings, veils and veilings, etamines, vitrages, neck rufflings, ruchings, tuckings, flutings, and quillings; embroideries and all trimmings, including edgings, insertings, flouncings, galloons, and bands; wearing apparel, handkerchiefs, and other articles or fabrics embroidered in any manner by hand or machinery, whether with a letter, monogram, or otherwise; tamboured or appliquéed articles, fabrics or wearing apparel; hemstitched or tucked flouncings or skirtings, and articles made wholly or in part of rufflings, tuckings, or ruchings; all of the foregoing, composed wholly or in chief value of flax, cotton, or other vegetable fiber, and not elsewhere specially provided for in this act, whether composed in part of india rubber or otherwise, 60 per cent ad valorem: *Provided*, That no wearing apparel or other article or textile fabric, when embroidered by hand or machinery, shall pay duty at a less rate than that imposed in any schedule of this act upon any embroideries of the materials of which such embroidery is composed.

Mr. ALLISON. I move to transpose the word "napkins" from line 25, page 108, to line 1, page 109.

The SECRETARY. In line 25, paragraph 336, page 108, it is proposed to strike out the word "napkins;" and insert the word "napkins" after the word "handkerchiefs," in line 1, on page 109; so as to read:

Laces: lace window curtains, tidies, pillow shams, bed sets, insertings, flouncings, and other lace articles; handkerchiefs, napkins, wearing apparel, etc.

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. In the same paragraph, line 5, page 109, after the word "including," I move to insert "braid;" so as to read:

Embroideries and all trimmings, including braid, edgings, etc.

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. In line 6, after the word "galloons," I move to insert the word "gorings;" so as to read:

Insertings, flouncings, galloons, gorings, and bands; wearing apparel, handkerchiefs, and other articles or fabrics embroidered in any manner by hand or machinery.

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

The amendment as amended was agreed to.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I should like to ask the Senator from Iowa what would be the effect of inserting the words "cords, webs, and webbing" in this paragraph, and taking them out of paragraph 317? I will state to him very frankly that in asking the question I know nothing about it, but an administrative officer in the custom-house at New York said to me that those words being in paragraph 317 would, in his opinion, involve difficulties of construction, and that they should be transposed to this paragraph. I do not know what the difference is in the rate, but I would suggest that probably it might be well for the Senator to leave the matter open, and the words I suggest might go into the bill in the paragraph indicated to be considered later. They can then go out of whichever paragraph it is deemed best.

Mr. ALLISON. We have already taken out of paragraph 317, I believe, by an amendment which I offered, braids and gorings.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Yes; that is correct.

Mr. ALLISON. And we have now inserted them here in lieu of having them in paragraph 317. It may be that cords ought also to be so transferred, but of course it will be open later on if we find it is necessary.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. It will not be unless we put into this paragraph "cords, webs, and webbing." If it is inserted in this paragraph, leaving it in the bill in the other paragraph also, it can on careful examination be abandoned in whichever paragraph the Senator chooses.

Mr. ALLISON. I mean to say that later on, if we find that the Senator from Arkansas is right, we can insert the words in this paragraph by going back to it.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. If the Senator does not forget it.

Mr. ALLISON. What words does the Senator from Arkansas suggest ought to be inserted?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. In connection with braids, I would make it read "including braids, cords, edgings, webs, and webbing." I would insert all three right there. Then, whenever the question is examined, an amendment can be made by dropping the words out of the first paragraph, or out of this one, as the Senator sees fit.

Mr. ALLISON. I am afraid we will forget both. I will assure the Senator from Arkansas that on Monday morning I will call attention to the matter and we will dispose of it then. I wish to say that this paragraph, as well as paragraph 317, are in the nature of technical descriptions, and experts must be consulted.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. My suggestion comes from an expert in the New York custom-house. Personally I know nothing about it.

Mr. WHITE. I move to strike out paragraph 336 as now amended on motion of the committee and insert in lieu thereof what I send to the desk, being section 276 of the present law.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to strike out paragraph 336 as amended and insert in lieu thereof the following:

336. Laces, edgings, nettings and veilings, embroideries, insertings, neck rufflings, ruchings, trimmings, tuckings, lace window curtains, tamboured articles, and articles embroidered by hand or machinery, embroidered handkerchiefs, and articles made wholly or in part of lace, rufflings, tuckings, or ruchings, all of the above-named articles, composed of flax, jute, cotton, or other vegetable fiber, or of which these substances or either of them or a mixture of any of them is the component material of chief value, not specially provided for in this act, 50 per cent ad valorem.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from California.

The question being put, there were on a division—ayes 10, noes 10; no quorum voting.

Mr. PRITCHARD. I desire to announce that I am paired, and do not know whether I can vote.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask for a call of the roll.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Allison,	Foraker,	Morrill,	Stewart,
Bacon,	Gear,	Nelson,	Teller,
Bate,	Gray,	Pasco,	Thurston,
Berry,	Hanna,	Penrose,	Tillman,
Burrows,	Hansbrough,	Pettus,	Turner,
Carter,	Hawley,	Platt, Conn.	Turpie,
Chilton,	Hoar,	Platt, N. Y.	Vest,
Clay,	Jones, Ark.	Pritchard,	Warren,
Cockrell,	McBride,	Proctor,	Wellington,
Cullom,	McEnery,	Rawlins,	Wetmore,
Deboe,	Mason,	Roach,	White,
Elkins,	Mills,	Sewell,	Wilson.
Fairbanks,	Morgan,	Shoup,	

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Fifty-one Senators have answered to their names. A quorum is present. The question recurs on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from California.

The amendment was rejected.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 337, page 110, line 5, before the word "per cent," to strike out "fifteen" and insert "twenty;" so as to read:

337. Lace window curtains, pillow shams, bed sets, and other articles, finished or unfinished, made on the Nottingham lace-curtain machine or on the Nottingham warp machine, and composed of cotton or other vegetable fiber, when counting 5 points or spaces between the warp threads to the inch, 1 cent per square yard; when counting more than 5 such points or spaces to the inch, one-half of 1 cent per square yard in addition for each such point or space to the inch in excess of 5; and in addition thereto, on all the foregoing articles in this paragraph, 20 per cent ad valorem: *Provided*, That none of the above-named articles shall pay a less rate of duty that 50 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. ALLISON. On page 109, line 21, after the word "shams," I move to insert the word "and;" and to strike out the word "and," in the same line where it last occurs, and insert "or."

The SECRETARY. After the word "shams," in line 21, page 109, it is proposed to insert the word "and;" and after the word "sets," in the same line, strike out the word "and" and insert the word "or;" so as to read:

Lace window curtains, pillow shams and bed sets, or other articles, finished or unfinished, made on the Nottingham lace-curtain machine or on the Nottingham warp machine, and composed of cotton or other vegetable fiber, etc.

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

The amendment as amended was agreed to.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was to strike out paragraph 338, as follows:

338. Embroideries, including embroidered edgings, insertings, flouncings, galloons, bands, and other trimmings, whether embroidered by hand or machinery, composed of cotton or other vegetable fiber, or of which cotton or other vegetable fiber is the component material of chief value, 50 cents per pound and 25 per cent ad valorem: *Provided*, That none of the articles named shall pay a less rate of duty than 60 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in paragraph 339, page 110, line 17, after the word "known," to strike out "not exceeding 60 inches

in width;" and in line 20, before the word "of," to strike out "seven-eighths" and insert "three-fourths;" so as to make the paragraph read:

339. Plain woven fabrics of single jute yarns, by whatever name known, weighing not less than 6 ounces per square yard and not exceeding 30 threads to the square inch, counting the warp and filling, three-fourths of 1 cent per pound and 15 per cent ad valorem; if exceeding 30 and not exceeding 55 threads to the square inch, counting the warp and filling, 1 cent per pound and 15 per cent ad valorem: *Provided*, That any of the above, having more than 3 per cent of the number of warp and weft threads bleached, dyed, colored, stained, painted, or printed, shall pay a duty of 1 cent per pound and 20 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. VEST. This paragraph includes burlaps, which are free under existing law.

Mr. ALLISON. I wish to offer an amendment to the amendment.

Mr. VEST. I beg pardon.

Mr. ALLISON. In line 25, page 110, I move to strike out "and" and insert "or."

The SECRETARY. In line 25, it is proposed to strike out the word "and" and insert "or;" so as to read:

Provided, That any of the above, having more than 3 per cent of the number of warp or weft threads bleached, dyed, colored, stained, painted, or printed, shall pay a duty of 1 cent per pound and 20 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

The amendment as amended was agreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask unanimous consent to return to paragraph 337. I find we have made a mistake in the amendment there.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If there be no objection, the Senate will recur to paragraph 337.

Mr. ALLISON. In line 21, paragraph 337, I move to strike out "or other articles."

The SECRETARY. In line 21, paragraph 337, it is proposed to strike out "or other articles;" so as to read:

Lace window curtains, pillow shams, and bed sets, finished or unfinished, made on the Nottingham lace-curtain machine or on the Nottingham warp machine, and composed of cotton or other vegetable fiber, etc.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. WHITE. Is that the last amendment which the Senator from Iowa desires to propose to paragraph 337?

Mr. ALLISON. In paragraph 339 I wish to move an amendment. I wish to add at the end of paragraph 339——

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Before leaving paragraph 337, I should like to make a motion, as I was out of the Chamber when it was called up just now.

Mr. ALLISON. I move to strike out all after the word "fiber," in line 24, paragraph 337, on page 109, and insert the words "50 per cent ad valorem."

The SECRETARY. After the word "fiber," in line 24, paragraph 337, page 109, it is proposed to strike out the remaining portion of the paragraph and insert "50 per cent ad valorem;" so as to make the paragraph read:

337. Lace window curtains, pillow shams, and bed sets, finished or unfinished, made on the Nottingham lace-curtain machine or on the Nottingham warp machine, and composed of cotton or other vegetable fiber, 50 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. WHITE. The following statement is made to me by an expert perfectly familiar with the subject. He says:

I do not think that a specific duty can be allowed on the endless variety of goods that are made on the Nottingham lace machine without doing rank injustice to the poorer classes who buy these cheap imitation lace goods in the way of window curtains, trimmings, and personal ornaments. The rate of duty in some cases will exceed 200 per cent.

Mr. ALLISON. I call the attention of the Senator from California to the fact that we have stricken out "or other articles." So paragraph 337 simply applies to articles well known, lace window curtains, pillow shams, etc.

Mr. WHITE. The amendment is limited to those articles?

Mr. ALLISON. To those articles.

Mr. WHITE. It seems to be an improvement, but it is bad enough.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I should like to have a vote on my amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Arkansas.

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. ALLISON. In line 3, page 111, paragraph 339, after the words "ad valorem," I move to strike out the period and to insert a semicolon, and the words "if stiffened, and whether known as buckram or otherwise, 1¼ cents per pound."

The SECRETARY. It is proposed, at the end of paragraph 339, after the words "ad valorem," to strike out the period and insert a semicolon, and the words "if stiffened, and whether known as buckram or otherwise, 1¼ cents per pound."

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. That is all.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was to strike out paragraph 340, as follows:

340. All pile fabrics of which flax is the component material of chief value, 60 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. WHITE. I suggest that the next two paragraphs, 341 and 342, might be read by unanimous consent, as both refer to the same material—gunny or bags, sacks, jute yarns, and so on. I desire to make a few comments upon these paragraphs, and I suggest that we will probably get along faster if the two paragraphs are read and perfected, if the Senator from Iowa desires to amend them.

Mr. PETTUS. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from California yield to the Senator from Alabama?

Mr. WHITE. Certainly.

Mr. PETTUS. I desire to make a motion, or, rather, two motions. I wish to move to strike out paragraph 341, and another motion to strike out paragraph 342, for the purpose of putting those articles on the free list.

Mr. WHITE. That is my design also.

Mr. PETTUS. They embrace the sacks and bags used by the farmers for sending their produce to market.

Mr. HOAR. I understood the Senator from California to ask unanimous consent, in substance, that these two paragraphs may be treated as one, and that will accomplish the purpose of the Senator from Alabama.

Mr. WHITE. That is my idea, that the Senator from Iowa should perfect them according to his intention, and then any motion that might be desirable could be made after that time.

Mr. ALLISON. Very well.

Mr. WHITE. As these paragraphs treat of kindred subjects, they may be read and considered together.

Mr. ALLISON. That is all right.

Mr. PETTUS. I should rather they were taken separately, however.

These are articles of prime necessity to the farmers all over the United States. They are the very things used in sending a large portion of their products to market. The bagging for cotton ought not to be taxed. I say there is scarcely any decency in the tax; and the same reason applies to farmers who put their wheat and their oats and their potatoes, and all the other farm products that go to market, in these bags. I hope the Senators upon the other side will consent to allow the farmers to escape that much of the taxation at least.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 341, page 111, line 9, after the word "filling," to strike out "one and one-eighth of;" so as to make the paragraph read:

341. Bags or sacks made from plain woven fabrics, of single jute yarns, not dyed, colored, stained, painted, printed, or bleached, and not exceeding 30 threads to the square inch, counting the warp and filling, 1 cent per pound and 15 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment was agreed to.

The reading of the bill was resumed; and the next paragraph was read, as follows:

342. Bagging for cotton, gunny cloth, and similar fabrics, suitable for covering cotton, composed of single yarns made of jute, jute butts, or hemp, not bleached, dyed, colored, stained, painted, or printed, not exceeding 16 threads to the square inch, counting the warp and filling, and weighing not less than 15 ounces per square yard, one-half of 1 cent per square yard and 15 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. WHITE. Do I understand that the committee adheres to the amendment found in paragraph 341? As the bill is printed, the committee propose to strike out "one and one-eighth of," so that the duty shall be 1 cent a pound and 15 per cent ad valorem, instead of 1 and one-eighth of 1 cent. Does the committee adhere to it?

Mr. ALLISON. We adhere to everything we do not abandon.

Mr. WHITE. I do not understand that the committee amendment has been adopted.

Mr. ALLISON. I think it has been.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The committee amendment has been agreed to, the Chair will suggest to the Senator from California.

Mr. WHITE. The Senator from Alabama, I understand, has moved to strike out both of these paragraphs.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Alabama has given notice that he would make such a motion.

Mr. PETTUS. I now move to strike out paragraph 341.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from California has the floor. Does he yield to the Senator from Alabama?

Mr. WHITE. I will yield if the Senator from Alabama desires to make that motion. It is immaterial to me who makes it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Alabama to strike out paragraphs 341 and 342.

Mr. PETTUS. I move to strike out paragraph 341. I will make a motion to strike out paragraph 342 also.

Mr. BERRY. I understood the Senator from Iowa yesterday to intimate that he contemplated making some changes in this paragraph, or at least the committee were deliberating. I should like to ask him whether they intend to make any change in the way of equalizing these bags with some other articles which are not

taxed? I ask the Senator if the committee have got through deliberating and have examined the question, and whether or not they will propose to make any change in regard to the matter?

Mr. ALLISON. We have not had time since yesterday to take up the matter, I will say to the Senator from Arkansas. We have been occupied with other matters.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President, the Wilson Act placed jute bags upon the free list, in deference to the wishes of the producers in the farming communities of the country. I have here a statement regarding the subject as far as it relates to the Pacific Coast. I think it ought to prove interesting and highly instructive to the committee:

The annual consumption of grain bags on the Pacific Coast, including California, Washington, Oregon, Nevada, and Arizona, is 35,000,000 to 40,000,000 bags. The only grain bags now manufactured on this coast are made at the California State prison, San Quentin, capacity about 4,000,000 bags every twelve months, and the State prison at Walla Walla, Wash., capacity about 3,000,000 bags every twelve months.

Prior to the enactment of the Wilson bill placing grain bags upon the free list, the California Jute Mill Company was operated at Oakland, Cal., capacity about 3,000,000 bags every twelve months, and they employed less than 300 hands, including Chinamen. This is the only private enterprise on the entire Pacific Coast that ever engaged in the manufacture of jute into grain bags, although for a period of twenty-five years protection was afforded by tariffs in force prior to 1894. Even the State prison, at San Quentin, Cal., during the period prior to 1894, while imported grain bags were subject to duty and while not paying any wages for labor, was operated at a loss, according to the statements published by the directors at various times.

Under the old McKinley tariff, the duty on grain bags was 2 cents per pound, equal to $15 per thousand bags, and this tax took out of the pockets of the farmers on the Pacific Coast annually about $500,000. No other section of the United States handles grain bags in this manner, all of the crops east of the Rocky Mountains being handled in bulk upon cars and by elevators; hence, sacks are not required; but upon the Pacific Coast, whence the grain is shipped to Europe by sailing vessels only, it is absolutely necessary to sack the grain before exporting it, and as all grain exported from this coast is sold in Europe in competition with grain from the Atlantic Seaboard, the farmers can not recover the cost of the sack in the price at which the grain is sold. The tariff, therefore, on grain bags is a special taxation upon the farmers of this coast, without any opportunity for them to recoup when selling their grain; no farmers in any other section of this country have this additional tax to pay.

The only country in the world where jute is raised is India. Very large jute factories have been established there during the past twenty-five years, employing cooly labor at wages of 10 to 15 cents per diem. No class of labor in the United States can compete with such labor as is obtainable in India; hence, notwithstanding that for some twenty years prior to the passage of the Wilson bill a protective duty of 1½ cents or more per bag was levied upon imported sacks, this protection did not offer sufficient encouragement for factories to be established on the Pacific Coast for the manufacture of such bags, and the farmers, during all that period of time, were obliged to pay this excessive tax, which had to come out of the price at which they could sell their grain to Europe, while other farmers east of the Rocky Mountains and shipping their grain from the Atlantic Seaboard escaped any such tax.

Prices for bags have ranged as follows:
In 1890, with duty added, 6½ cents to 7 cents each.
In 1892, with duty added, 7½ cents to 8 cents each.
In 1891, with duty added, 7 cents to 7½ cents each.
In 1893, when bags were free, 4½ cents to 4¾ cents each.
In 1895, when bags were free, 4½ cents to 5 cents each.
In 1894, when bags were free, 4 cents to 4½ cents each.

After allowing for fluctuations in the foreign market, there remains this excess of about $15 per 1,000 bags, paid by the Pacific Coast farmer in 1891, 1892, and 1893 (and previously for twenty years), when bags were subject to duty, as against prices paid in 1894, 1895, and 1896, when bags were admitted free.

A tax of $15 per thousand on grain bags will not offer protection to any class of free labor on the Pacific Coast now employed in manufacturing grain bags, and it will take about $500,000 out of the pockets of the farmers on this coast, which they have no opportunity whatever of recovering, for it makes the marketing of grain cost them just that much more, and no allowance is made by foreign buyers for the additional cost paid for sacks.

R. M. TURNER.

We put a duty upon wheat, an absurd duty, absurd because in no aspect can it be of the slightest benefit to anybody. The wheat raised upon the Pacific Coast—and there is a vast amount produced there, as shown by the report of the Department of Agriculture; it is one of the chief wheat-producing sections of the United States—is shipped in grain bags. None of it is shipped in bulk. It goes around Cape Horn to Liverpool, and of course the price of the wheat is regulated by the Liverpool market, and we do not sell anywhere else. If the tariff were $10 a pound, it would not be of the slightest benefit to us. On the contrary, it would be an injury, because there are occasions when we wish to import seed for purposes of change, and we would then have to pay a tariff upon it.

The tariff on bags is a fraud, a delusion. It is not much of a snare, however, because the people in that section of the country understand it pretty thoroughly. Here comes an opportunity when some substantial advantage might be accorded to the farmer, because, if given free bags, he would be relieved to that extent of taxation, and the same gentlemen who are advocating a tax upon wheat for his alleged benefit when they come in contact with something that may be of use to him fail to respond affirmatively.

I have before me a statement of a gentleman who testified before the Ways and Means Committee, Mr. Rutherford, of Oakland, Cal., who has a cotton mill and formerly had a jute mill which he said he had to close in consequence of free bags. He refers to the character of the grain bags made and used by us as follows:

Under the competition of home-made goods, bags were gradually reduced in price until in 1875 the price fell to 12 cents each, in 1880 to 10 cents, in 1890 to 7 cents, in 1892 to 6 cents and under. The standard grain bag of the Pacific Coast is well known in all the jute markets of the world. It is 36 inches long, 22 inches wide, weighs 12½ ounces, and holds 130 pounds, or 2 bushels, of wheat. The quantity used annually often exceeds 40,000,000.

In this particular instance, if it were conceded that we might establish a jute mill or half a dozen of them upon the Pacific Coast or elsewhere to supply our farmers, I should say, even upon the theory of protection, we would not be justified in doing it. Everyone concedes that the farming community is taxed and taxed and taxed, and that it is almost impossible to levy any duty whatever upon any products or thing which is of the slightest value to that suffering and respectable portion of the citizens of the United States. Hence the only opportunity afforded in this bill of doing any substantial good to the farmers is by giving them something of this kind upon the free list; and even if I were compelled to sacrifice the factory of this one individual (the only factory established on the Coast outside of the two penitentiaries referred to, notwithstanding the protection of twenty years), if it is to be the result of placing this article upon the free list that the factory can not be operated, I say let it close. The farming community have more right to be considered than any small institution of that kind, or any manufacturing institution at all, under present circumstances.

Mr. BUTLER. Will the Senator from California state how much he thinks this duty would increase the price of such bags?

Mr. WHITE. About $15 a thousand.

Mr. ALLISON. It will increase it?

Mr. WHITE. Yes.

Mr. BUTLER. It increases the cost?

Mr. WHITE. Yes, sir.

Mr. BUTLER. To the farmer who buys his fertilizers?

Mr. WHITE. Yes, sir.

Mr. BUTLER. As well as to the farmer who has to ship his grain in sacks?

Mr. WHITE. Certainly.

Mr. BUTLER. My State uses about 180,000 tons of guano a year. At that rate it would cost the farmers of North Carolina $36.000 a year to pay this duty.

Mr. WHITE. Undoubtedly.

Mr. BUTLER. It would cost Georgia practically the same; it would cost South Carolina between $10,000 and $15,000, and so on in every Southern State, on fertilizer bags alone.

Mr. WHITE. I will say to the Senator from North Carolina that I have quite an interesting statement here which I will ask the Secretary to read. It refers to the very matter which the Senator has in mind.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read as follows:

FREE BURLAP FOR GRAIN, FLOUR, AND FERTILIZER SACKS.

Burlap cloth, made of jute and not over 40 inches in width, used for grain, flour, and fertilizer sacks, should be admitted free for the following reasons:

This class of burlap is not made in this country, a protective tariff for twenty-five years having utterly failed to establish its manufacture here,* and, although very large consumers of the article, we have never been offered a single yard of bag burlap cloth of American manufacture.

This burlap is imported exclusively from Dundee and Calcutta, where enormous capital is invested in these mills. Even Dundee is already hard pushed by Calcutta competition, and most of her mills are running on a 3 per cent dividend basis or less. In fact, India controls absolutely the situation, because she alone produces the raw material (jute) and has the cheapest labor in the world. If any competition should trouble her, she would surely put an export duty on jute (this policy has already been agitated) against countries imposing a duty on her burlap, which would prove disastrous to many industries in this country which use jute for other purposes.

It is conclusive that this industry can not be established in this country without an exorbitant duty, which would take many millions of dollars from the pockets of our farmers without any compensating return to any other class of our people. Our farmers are none too prosperous, and they derive small advantages from our protective system compared with our manufacturers. They need, therefore, to have their burdens lightened rather than increased. Any duty on bag burlap will directly increase the cost of their fertilizers and decrease the net returns of their principal crops.

The American representatives of Dundee and Calcutta manufacturers are not wholly opposed to a duty on burlap, for the very apparent reason that they do not fear its creating any American competition, while a duty will increase their commissions through the additional price of the goods, and at the same time protect them from competitors whose capital is insufficient to handle the business with the duty added.

Bradley Fertilizer Company, Boston (by Robt. S. Bradley, president); Armour & Co., Chicago; Pillsbury-Washburn Flour Mills Company, Limited, Minneapolis (by Chas. A. Pillsbury, managing director); Virginia-Carolina Chemical Company, Richmond (by S. T. Morgan, president); Swift & Co., Chicago; Lazaretto Guano Company, Baltimore (by W. H. Grafflin, president); Detrick Fertilizer and Chemical Company, Baltimore (by Louis F. Detrick, president); Williams & Clark Fertilizer Company, New York (by H. L. Dudley, vice-president); Baugh & Sons' Company, Philadelphia; Cumberland Bone Phosphate Company, Boothbay, Me. (by F. L. Ellis, president); Cleveland Dryer Company, Cleveland, Ohio (by W. Prescott, vice-president); Ashepoo Phosphate Company, Charleston, S. C. (by Jos. R. Robertson, president).

Mr. STEWART. I wish to inquire of the Senator from California if he knows the number of persons on the Pacific Coast engaged in the manufacture of jute bags. Is it not merely nominal?

*See House testimony, Schedule J, page 1258.

Mr. WHITE. Certainly.

Mr. STEWART. It protects nobody practically, as only a few hands are engaged in the manufacture.

Mr. WHITE. And half of them are Chinamen.

Mr. STEWART. They are mostly Chinamen. It amounts to nothing so far as increasing the business on the Coast is concerned. I have some personal experience in the matter. I should like to know if the Senator has any information as to these factories in other sections of the country—whether it is a great industry or a small industry?

Mr. WHITE. As far as the manufacture of bags, to which I am referring, is concerned, it is confined entirely on the Coast to the special bags which are made only for that trade.

Mr. STEWART. It will cover all jute bags.

Mr. WHITE. It will cover all burlaps and jute bags.

Mr. STEWART. I should like information as to the extent of the industry outside of the Pacific Coast. It amounts to very little there.

Mr. ALLISON. There are only about eleven or twelve million bags manufactured in the United States, mostly in the South, I think.

Mr. WHITE. That is cotton bagging.

Mr. ALLISON. I wish to ask the Senator how he makes up the additional cost of $15 per thousand bags?

Mr. WHITE. I will show the Senator in a moment. I have calculated the duty at 50 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. ALLISON. But I find that under the McKinley law, which the Senator referred to a moment ago, with a duty of 2 cents a pound it was only six one-hundredths of a cent a yard higher in 1893 than in 1896, under the act of 1894. So I do not see how the Senator can add $15 to the cost of a thousand bags.

Mr. WHITE. The duty amounts to exactly that on each bag. I gave the figures of the prices of the California bag in the market to-day at 4 cents, and 4¼ to 4½ in 1896, as against 7 to 7½ cents in 1891.

Mr. ALLISON. I have here a statement of the price in New York. I find that in 1893 the price was 5.04 cents.

Mr. WHITE. The Senator is looking at a different bracket than that to which I am referring.

Mr. ALLISON. I am looking at a very good bracket here for prices. I find that in 1896——

Mr. WHITE. It is probably a good bracket for that sort of argument.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. There is more difference in the price of grain bags than that stated by the Senator from California, I think.

Mr. WHITE. I am speaking of the market price in the State of California, and comparing the price at the dates named.

Mr. ALLISON. I only wanted to find out how the Senator made his calculation of $15 a thousand.

Mr. WHITE. Now, I want to call attention further to something in the discussion of the gentleman whom I have already quoted. He ran a jute mill, and there was considerable fuss made about his establishment during the political campaign in California not very long ago, when the legislature, which was Republican, passed a resolution instructing the legislators to vote for free grain bags. At the same time I may say, and it may probably discredit its action on the other side of the Chamber, that the same legislature passed a resolution in favor of the free and unlimited coinage of silver at 16 to 1. Since that time the platform of the party has been silent on grain bags and reversed on the free-coinage proposition. But at the time the discussion which I now mention was on it was shown that this very gentleman employed a large portion of Chinese in his jute mill, although he was complaining of having to compete with the cooly labor of India. However, that feature of the case I do not care to allude to particularly, because my argument does not depend upon it. The Senator from Arkansas desires to make a statement.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. In reply to the statement made just now by the Senator from Iowa, I have a letter from a gentleman in Oregon, with whom I have been acquainted for a long while. He makes the statement that wheat sacks have just advanced from 4.9 cents per sack to 7 cents as the result of the understanding that this tariff is to go into effect.

Mr. ALLISON. What is the date of the letter?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. April 7, 1897, when this rate was reported, and when it was understood that this tariff was to go on the article. This gentleman, who is himself very much interested in the question, says that the sacks have gone from 4.9 cents to 7 cents. The Senator quoted the price of the sacks correctly at that time, but as soon as this report came in they went up.

Mr. WHITE. It was the advance guard of prosperity.

I have another document from the Bradley Fertilizer Company, of Boston, Mass., which I will put in the RECORD. It refers to the same subject which was mentioned by the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. BUTLER].

The paper referred to is as follows:

REASONS WHY BURLAP SHOULD REMAIN ON FREE LIST.

We protest against restoring any duty upon burlap (made from jute) under 60 inches in width, and used for bagging grain and fertilizers, for the following reasons:

No burlap of this description is made in this country (as was shown at House committee hearing on this schedule), except in two prisons, in California and Washington, to keep the convicts employed and not as a commercial enterprise.

Burlap is imported almost exclusively from Dundee and Calcutta, while the jute from which it is made is raised wholly in India, and the Calcutta mills are rapidly gaining ground in the manufacture of burlap in competition with the Dundee mills, which latter are now running their plants upon the smallest possible margin. This country can never hope to cope with either in the manufacture of burlap; certainly not with India, which alone produces the raw material, and where labor receives the lowest compensation in the world.

Thus it is that the American representatives of Dundee and Calcutta burlap houses do not object to a duty being levied on burlap, as this will only add to their profits through increased commissions, without danger of American competition.

India is in a position to control the market on this class of burlaps, such as are used for making bags. In August, 1895, there were ready for operation in India 11,490 looms, and it is estimated that by the middle of 1897 there will be ready 13,465 looms. It can not be expected that India will allow the raw material to be exported to this country to be used in the manufacture of burlaps under a tariff here which would cause a large proportion of her looms to remain idle. Her policy under such a course would be a prohibitory export duty on the raw material; in fact, this course is already agitated, as is shown by the following extract, which is taken from the principal commercial review of India, the Capital (see issue of October 7, 1896):

"The subject of customs duties has again raised some discussion in private circles as to the propriety of imposing an export duty on jute shipped to foreign countries, either as supplementary to or in substitution or reduction of other taxes.

"The reasons why England continues to refrain from export duties do not in any way affect India. In England export is confined to manufactures and to articles freely supplied by neighboring countries. In the case of jute, India has a monopoly of the production."

The total exports of burlap from Calcutta for the year 1896 to all countries were 151,879,498 yards, of which nearly 100,000,000 yards came to the United States. It is hardly possible that India would allow her exports of burlap to be reduced two-thirds without retaliating by placing an export duty upon the raw material and thus again placing herself on more than an equality with any American manufacturer. A duty sufficient to foster or protect the industry in this country would have to be wholly exorbitant, and would not, in our opinion, invite capital, as such a duty could not, we believe, be long maintained directly at the expense of our great agricultural interests.

Under such conditions capital will hardly look with much favor on such an investment in this country.

Our business brings us in close contact with the farmers, and we can state from our own knowledge that they are anything but prosperous, and need to have their expenses reduced rather than increased. The prosperity of our country depends upon our agricultural interests, and we believe it is the true policy of our Government to encourage these interests, rather than to place burdens upon them. In other words, give the farmers protection on their farm products, and relieve them from any unnecessary taxation, and they will again begin to prosper, and with their prosperity will come good times for all. Without prosperity in agriculture we can not expect prosperity in business. We therefore most earnestly urge upon your favorable consideration the maintenance of burlap upon the free list, at least all of the article that is required for grain and fertilizer sacks, which could be covered by confining it to burlaps of a width under 60 inches.

BRADLEY FERTILIZER COMPANY,
Boston, Mass.

Mr. WHITE. We find in the comparative statement prepared for us under the auspices of the majority of the committee, on pages 174 and 175, under paragraph 311:

Bags or sacks made from plain woven fabrics, of single jute yarns, not dyed, colored, stained, painted, printed, or bleached, and not exceeding thirty threads to the square inch, counting the warp and filling.

The House rate is 1½ cents per pound and 15 per cent; the Senate rate is 1 cent per pound and 15 per cent. No attempt is made to carry out the ad valorem. This omission is observable in many other cases in this comparative statement where to carry out the ad valorem would be to discredit the proposed duty by showing that it was too high.

I have myself taken the trouble to make a computation, basing it upon the statement made by Mr. Rutherford, the gentleman to whom I referred, found upon pages 1247 and 1248 of the hearings before the Ways and Means Committee on Schedule J. Mr. Rutherford there takes a burlap of a slightly different size, but it will do for the purposes of comparison. In the tables submitted by Mr. Rutherford he gives the "cost of manufacturing 100,000 yards 10½-ounce 40-inch burlaps in the United States," and gives the items of expense. I will ask that this table be inserted. He makes the total cost $4,244.

The table referred to is as follows:

Cost of manufacturing 100,000 yards 10½-ounce 40-inch burlaps in the United States.

To make 100,000 yards of 10½-ounce 40-inch burlaps would require 66,500 pounds of raw jute, 33¼ tons, and the labor of 142 persons working ten days, ten hours each day.

33¼ tons raw jute, at $60 per ton		$1,995.00
Help (per day each):		
2 batchers men, at $2	$40.00	
2 softeners, at $1.75	35.00	
8 carders, at $1	80.00	
12 drawers, at $1	120.00	
2 rovers, at $1	20.00	
2 helpers, at 75 cents	15.00	
12 spinners, at $1.25	150.00	
12 doffers, at 60 cents	72.00	

Help (per day each)—Continued.		
8 spoolers, at $1	$80.00	
1 band sewer, at $1	10.00	
1 oiler, at $1.25	12.00	
2 truck boys, at 75 cents	15.00	
1 machinist, at $3	30.00	
1 spinner, at $3	30.00	
1 second hand, at $1.50	15.00	
1 watchman, at $2.25	22.50	
9 copers, at $1.17	105.00	
3 beamers, at $2	60.00	
3 warpers, at $1.25	37.50	
46 weavers, at $1.25	575.00	
3 loom fixers, at $2.25	67.50	
2 finishers, at $2	40.00	
1 measurer, at $2	20.00	
2 folders, at $2.25	45.00	
2 packers, at $2.25	45.00	
1 stamping and shipping clerk, at $4	40.00	
1 oiler, at $1.75	17.50	
1 foreman, at $3	30.00	
		1,839.00
Power, oil, forces, insurances, depreciation of plant, and other price charges		420.00
Total cost		4,244.00

Cost of 100,000 yards in California, $4,244, or 4.24 cents per yard.

As a yard weighs 10½ ounces and costs 4.24 cents per yard, 16 ounces would cost 6.46 cents. Six and forty-six one-hundredths cents is the net cost of 1 pound of manufactured burlaps in the United States.

On page 1248 Mr. Rutherford gives the cost in Calcutta. I submit that table to be incorporated in the RECORD.

The table referred to is as follows:

Cost of manufacturing 100,000 yards of 10½-ounce 40-inch burlap in Calcutta and laying same down in California.

Requiring 231 persons in Calcutta working ten days, ten hours each day.

	Rupees.	Anna.
33½ tons raw jute, at 150 rupees per ton	4,987	8
Help (per day each):		
4 men batching, at 1 rupee	40	
4 helpers, at 12 anna	30	
12 card tenders, at 12 anna	90	
18 card framers, at 12 anna	135	
4 roving hands, at 12 anna	30	
20 spinners, at 12 anna	150	
16 doffers, at 8 anna	80	
12 spoolers, at 12 anna	90	
12 cop hands, at 12 anna	90	
2 oilers, at 1 rupee	20	
2 spare hands, at 12 anna	15	
1 skilled machinist, at 8 rupees	80	
1 skilled helper, at 2 rupees	20	
1 spinning overseer, at 6 rupees	80	
1 skilled helper, at 2 rupees	20	
1 messenger, at 1 rupee	10	
4 warpers, at 14 anna	35	
3 warp helpers, at 12 anna	22	
90 weavers, at 14 anna	787	
4 loom fixers, at 1 rupee 2 anna	45	
3 finishers, at 1 rupee	30	
2 measurers, at 1 rupee	20	
3 folders, at 1 rupee	30	
3 packers, at 1 rupee	30	
1 oiler, at 1 rupee	10	
1 band sewer, at 1 rupee	10	
1 skilled machinist, at 8 rupees	80	
1 foreman, at 8 rupees	80	
1 second hand, at 4 rupees	40	
1 bookkeeper, at 6 rupees	60	
1 pay clerk, at 8 rupees	80	
1 engineer, at 8 rupees	80	
	2,419	
Power, oil, insurance, interest, repairs, depreciation, and other fixed charges	1,190	
Freight, commission, insurance, brokerage, from Calcutta to San Francisco	1,220	
Total cost	9,816	8

Counting the rupee equal to 31 cents United States money, that would make total cost of 100,000 yards, $3,043.11.

As a yard weighs 10½ ounces and costs 3.04 cents per yard, 16 ounces would cost 4.63 landed in the United States.

Comparison of costs.

	Cents.
Cost of manufacturing 1 pound of burlap in the United States	6.46
Cost of manufacturing 1 pound of burlap in Calcutta, British India	4.63
Cost in the United States greater than that in India	1.83

Mr. WHITE. The raw material according to Mr. Rutherford's figures of foreign cost would be in rupees, 4,987; the labor, etc., 2,419; depreciation, insurance, etc., 1,190; total, 8,596. Then, taking the value of the rupees as he gives it, at 31 cents, it would make the foreign cost 2.66 and something further; taking 15 per cent ad valorem of 2.66 and adding 1 to it, we have a duty of 1.39, or practically 1.40, and the foreign cost being 2.66, it gives an ad valorem under the Senate schedule of 52.

So we have 52 per cent tax placed upon this article of vital and necessary interest to the farmer, without which he can not ship one single bag of grain abroad, and we have it imposed upon the theory that the farmer can not have the benefit of cheap sacks, which are so important to reduce, I might say, the losses to which he is subjected every day. If there were any provision in this bill on which the farmer could realize anything by way of exactions from the other parts of the United States, if he were in a position to assess against some other industry or set of men some of the benefits which they have derived from him, then the theory of protection would undoubtedly justify the imposing of this burden. But it is all one-sided.

In the Wilson Act we had a straight provision of bags for grain on the free list, and when the time comes, if we do not incorporate all of this matter in the free list, I intend to move to put bags for grain upon the free list.

I have quite an amount of literature in this connection, but I suppose it is useless to elaborate further, and I do not wish to detain the Senate. I am as anxious as anyone to get through with the bill.

Mr. BUTLER. Before the Senator from California concludes, I should like to ask him if he has made any calculation covering the increased cost this duty would impose upon the farmer on wheat sacks, guano sacks, and cotton bagging added together?

Mr. WHITE. I have not. I have simply made the computation as I stated. On 40,000,000 grain bags, with a difference in cost of one and three-fourths of a cent, the calculation can be readily made. I have not carried it out as suggested by the Senator, though it would no doubt be very instructive to do so.

Mr. BUTLER. It puts a tax on the farmer when he buys fertilizers to make his product, and then puts a tax on him when he buys jute to ship it to the market. It is not done on the principle of protection, because he has no interest which amounts to anything to protect. This burden is imposed upon the farmer, who gets no protection in any shape.

Mr. WHITE. He has not even the compensation of a free breakfast table.

Mr. BUTLER. Mr. President, I have a number of letters, documents, and statements relating to the question, but the matter has been covered so concisely and clearly by the Senator from California that I will take the time of the Senate simply to read one letter. It is from the president of the Virginia-Carolina Chemical Company, a company which manufactures the guano that is sold in the South, especially in Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and over the whole South. He says:

> The question of putting burlaps on the dutiable list is a serious one to the South and the West. The schedule proposed by the Dingley bill will cause 2 cents advance in the price of the fertilizer bag. This makes 20 cents per ton on each ton of fertilizer. North Carolina consumes about 180,000 tons of fertilizer per year. This would be a direct tax upon the farmers of that State of something like $36,000. It would be equally as much in Virginia; about $10,000 more in South Carolina, and $20,000 more in Georgia.
>
> There is no industry to be protected by this item of tariff, and it simply results in a direct tax upon the agricultural classes.
>
> * * * * * * *
>
> The bill bears equally as hard on the Western grain shippers.

He discusses how it affects the West, and how it affects the cotton farmer, showing the increased price, but does not figure out the increased cost in detail. That is why I asked the Senator from California if he had figured it out and added it up. It certainly will make a very large total. It will be an enormous total. Anyone can see that if the increased price on fertilizer bags alone in North Carolina is $36,000, there must be an enormous total on fertilizer bags over the country. Then add to it the wheat sacks, then add to it the increased price for bagging to cover the cotton, and you have an enormous total which is a direct tax upon the farmer. It is a revenue tax. There is no protection behind it, and if there was it would be inexcusable, because the farmer gets no benefit from the protective tariff.

There is no way to protect the farmer except by giving him an export bounty, and both sides of the Chamber refuse to do that. Every sense of fairness, common justice, and decency would show that this tax should not be placed upon the farmer, as he alone of all the American laborers and American industries is left to compete with the cheap foreign pauper labor. We are turned loose to compete. We are competing to-day with as deadly competition as our manufacturing friends would compete with if we were under free trade.

Mr. President, what is fair for one of these great industries is fair for the other. If the farmer must endure free trade and foreign competition, why can not the manufacturers of the country do it? If the manufacturers are to be protected, why, then, should not the farmers be protected? The Senate has refused to protect the farmer. Then, in God's name, do not tax him after you have refused him protection and left him to struggle with free trade.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. President, the argument of my friend from North Carolina is ingenious, if not specious. There is, I venture to say, not a sack of guano put up in a new sack. It is sacked, I know, on the western side of the continent in second-hand sacks, and they are permitted to come into this country free of any duty. On the western coast, in California and Oregon, we are deeply interested in the grain-bag business, probably more so than in any other half dozen States combined, as we have none of the grain elevator and car transportation service in bulk, as they have in the Middle, Western, and Atlantic Coast States.

Three years since, when this question was up for consideration, I voted with my colleague to place grain bags, burlap sacks, upon

the free list. I did so in response to a joint resolution of the legislature of California passed instructing their Senators and requesting their Representatives in Congress to do so, and I voted accordingly. At the last session of the legislature I received various communications upon the subject-matter, especially from the farmers, from the different granges of our State.

I want to say, parenthetically speaking, that there is no interest in this country with which I am more deeply in sympathy than with the agricultural and the horticultural and the viticultural interests of the country. As an evidence of that fact, during the past two weeks, while discussing the agricultural sections of the bill, I have not cast one vote that I did not believe to be in the interest of the agriculturists of our State, and I would not vote for this duty did I believe that it would cost the farmer for his grain bags one-tenth of a cent more than he is now paying.

But as a matter of fact, Mr. President, there is no trust more powerful than the grain-bag trust of the world, not of the United States, not of Scotland alone, but of India. They control all the manufacture of burlaps in the world to-day. On the western coast, in Oregon and California, the broker, the dealer in grain bags, gives his order one year or eighteen months, and sometimes two years, in advance for the product of the loom of some particular manufacturer of grain bags. Like all other combinations of capital, for there is nothing more powerful than $1,000,000 except it be $2,000,000, they buy the product of those looms and it is brought in by speculators, by a trust, a combination, and they control the grain market according to the supply and demand.

Years ago in California I have seen the price of grain bags go from 5 to 9 cents, and I have bought them by the million, for I dealt in them for many years, having been engaged in the milling and shipping business. The price went from 5 cents to 9 cents, just as my friend from Arkansas read a letter to show that the price had advanced in Oregon. It is not because of the tariff. There are millions of bags in Oregon and California to-day, but they are controlled by a combination, a trust, and they will extort from the farmer, as any other monopolist will, the last farthing.

The problem was discussed in our State and a solution was sought. When I had the honor of occupying the chair of chief executive of the State we adopted a new constitution which prohibited the working of convicts in the manufacture of any article that came into competition with any established manufactory in the State. It was a serious question what we should do to find employment for our convicts in the prisons, numbering 3,000 or more. Finally, after consulting with representative farmers and manufacturers in the State, we resolved and determined that we would establish in our State prison a large manufactory of jute bags, and we did so, and it is in successful operation to-day, giving employment to 1,500 or 2,000 convicts.

That has done more to break up the trust in bags and done more to make an equitable price to the farmer than all the tariff bills we have ever enacted in the history of the country. The board of prison directors in California will not sell to any monopolist or to any special broker beyond a limited number of bags, but they will sell to the farmer five or ten thousand bags, such as the necessities of his crop may require and demand. The result is that we have kept the prices down, and it has been the safety valve which has protected our people from the monopolists and from the combinations.

Three years ago, when I was voting for free bags, my friend from Connecticut said to me, "You will not get your grain bags for your farmers any cheaper by that vote;" and I believed he was right. At all events, while the price has been lowered, it has been simply because the speculators had purchased them in large quantities and controlled them, until finally the advances had been so great that they were obliged to sell them in the market to make good the advances which the banks and moneyed institutions had given them.

We have in the Wilson law, and I think in the pending bill, a provision for a drawback upon grain bags, the same as we have upon tin and some other articles that are imported into this country. Now, on the millions of tons of grain that California sends to Europe in grain bags, a rebate is given, and the farmers get the benefit of that drawback of the duty which has been paid; but the second-hand bags, as I said before, have been sent into this country and are coming here daily by the tens and hundreds of thousands, and coming in free, and my friend and his constituents in North Carolina pay no duty upon those bags that bring the fertilizers to their doors.

Mr. President, I repel the imputation that Republicans are not the friends of the agriculturists of this country. They realize and recognize that agriculture is the true source of wealth to the yeomanry of our country. The boys and girls who grow up and are reared upon the farm make the best citizens, and that man is untrue to his pledge, untrue to his duty as a representative of the people, if he casts his vote for any measure which tends to depress agriculture, horticulture, viticulture, or the pursuits of any of the yeomanry who are cultivating the soil.

What we want to do is to pass laws, if we can do so, which will prevent capital from buying up and controlling any one article that the people demand. The only way to do that is by competition. There is not a merchant in this country, I care not how philanthropic he may be, if he has all the grain bags in any community, who will not make the man who wants those bags pay a good, liberal price for them, even if on the following Sunday he makes a contribution to the poor in a public manner, that he may win some applause from it.

To-day we are at the mercy of the great bag-manufacturing trust of Calcutta and of Bombay. What we ought to do is just what California has done in her State prison—manufacture the bags from the free jute that comes into this country and sell the bags to the farmers at such a price as will prevent men from speculating in and buying up the product of any one factory.

For these reasons I justify my vote in standing by the report of the Finance Committee upon this schedule.

Mr. TILLMAN. Did I understand the Senator from California to say that his object in voting for this duty is to protect the convicts of California? Is that the kind of labor you are trying to protect?

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. President, my friend the Senator from South Carolina was the honored chief executive of his great State and discharged the duties of that office with great credit and honor to himself, as well as to the satisfaction of the people, but I do not believe while in occupying that seat, during his administration, or since then, that he has favored convicts remaining idle in their cells or in the prison yard, and the yeomanry, the farmers of the country, working to support them in their idleness.

No, Mr. President; I believe in true, honest American citizenship. I believe in the honest man having a chance to work and earn sufficient to support himself and family, and I believe in erecting a barrier which will prevent the cooly and peon labor of the East Indies and China coming into competition with him.

Mr. TILLMAN. I am obliged to my friend the Senator from California for the complimentary manner in which he has been pleased to speak of my administration as governor of South Carolina; but I really thought, from the professions and protestations, and the oaths, almost, that we have heard here in regard to protecting American labor, that we are at least protecting the honest worker and not the criminal.

Now, in regard to the question of fertilizers and guanos, I will say that our State consumes 250,000 tons of commercial manures, and the character of the bulk or a large portion of this is such that it has to be made with sulphuric acid to render the phosphates soluble; and it is impossible to use any but the very best material, otherwise the bags would be rotted and eaten up almost before you could get the fertilizer on the farm. Commencing in January and February, it is sent out from the factories in new burlaps and distributed into the furrows for the cotton crop.

Mr. WHITE. The Senator from South Carolina will allow me to call his attention to paragraph 470, which is the drawback paragraph of this bill. The committee in charge of the measure have eliminated the drawback feature, so that there is no drawback, and they get an advantage of the farmer to the extent of 100 per cent in this case.

Mr. TILLMAN. They always get the advantage of the farmer a hundred per cent or 200 per cent or as many per cent as they can. He is "the forgotten man" who is never cared for in your legislation. It is not the ordinary taxpayer, but the farmer, who is not considered as worthy of attention on the part of the United States Senate.

Mr. BUTLER. May I ask the Senator how many second-hand guano sacks he has ever seen used in his State?

Mr. TILLMAN. A man who should undertake to send into South Carolina fertilizers in anything but brand-new burlap sacks would be considered an idiot, because the product would be spilled in the cars and on the floors of the depots and the platforms, and could not reach the farmer at all.

Mr. BUTLER. That is correct. I never in my life saw a second-hand bag used for fertilizers.

Mr. TILLMAN. It simply means, if the Senator will permit me, that the people of my State are to pay at least 15 cents a ton additional to some monopoly or to the convicts of California under the pretense of protecting American labor.

Mr. BUTLER. Twenty cents.

Mr. PERKINS. I only want to say one word in reply to my friend from South Carolina. The grain in bags is shipped to Liverpool, and those bags are returned free and are frequently reshipped. I do not know how the climate of North Carolina or South Carolina may affect the bags, but with us in California we send guano to the Sandwich Islands and we send it all over the State with fertilizer we get from Alaska.

Mr. TILLMAN. What kind of fertilizer—the natural or the artificial?

Mr. PERKINS. Some of it is artificially and chemically prepared from fish, and some otherwise prepared. We sent to the

Hawaiian Islands last year somewhere from five to eight thousand tons of the natural guano which came from Alaska, and also a large quantity that was manufactured from fish and otherwise chemically prepared, similar to that which is used in North and South Carolina.

Mr. TILLMAN. I understand the proportion of fertilizers that are manufactured in California is a mere bagatelle compared to what we of the South who raise cotton are forced to use. The State of North Carolina uses as much fertilizer as we do; the State of Georgia uses a third or a half more than we do, and so on until you reach the lowlands of Mississippi. This tax simply means that the million or more tons of commercial manures that are used in the South must pay from 15 to 20 cents a ton additional to some trust or to the convict labor of California.

Mr. STEWART. Mr. President, I have never been able to appreciate any compensating advantages to anybody by the tariff on jute bagging. The question has often been up and discussed in this body. The number engaged in the industry is comparatively very small. The industry is not of any special benefit to the country; but this is a direct tax upon the farmer. I do not think we ought to levy this tax, and I shall feel compelled to vote, as I did before, for free bagging. I think it is a duty that we ought not to levy unless for good and sufficient reasons. If there are any such, I should like to hear them. If there is any great industry subserved by this tax, I should like to know it, because it is imposed upon a class of people who do not receive any special benefit or any equal share in the benefits of the tariff.

Since the duty has been taken off, they have been manufacturing it in the penitentiaries, I believe, in California and in Washington.

Mr. TILLMAN. The big monopoly is in Brooklyn.

Mr. STEWART. That monopoly can go into something else. That monopoly did no good. The great mass of the employees in that industry, as I recollect, upon investigation were shown to be Chinamen, and there is no particular advantage from it. The industry is of no particular benefit to the Pacific Coast. Still it is a tax upon the farming industry. I think this is a case where we might leave off this duty and relieve the farmer of a substantial burden. I believe it will popularize the tariff, and it will be a good thing to do.

My friend from California [Mr. PERKINS] says that the Republican party is the friend of the farmer in imposing tariffs, and that they intend to give a tariff on wool and on hides. He says the Republican party intends to favor the farmer in raising these articles. The farmers in nearly every State raise cattle, and they are as much deserving of protection as the laborer in the States where they raise other articles on which protection is given.

Mr. PERKINS. I think the Republican party will do something for wool in this tariff.

Mr. STEWART. I hope they will.

Mr. PERKINS. That will help my friend from Nevada.

Mr. STEWART. I hope they will do something for wool, and I hope they will do something for hides.

Mr. BUTLER. If the Senator from Nevada will pardon me a moment, I should like to ask the Senator from California, if the wool raisers are so industrious as to raise enough wool to supply this country and export their surplus, whether the Republican party in this bill should not give them an export bounty?

Mr. PERKINS. In answer to my friend, I will say that the Republican party has always been equal to every emergency; and the brightest pages in the history of this nation record what the Republican party has done for the people of our country.

Mr. BUTLER. The farmer is obliged to pay an enhanced price on everything he needs by reason of your duties on imports, and on account of the mere fact that he is obliged to export his cotton, you punish him for raising enough cotton to turn the balance of trade in favor of your country.

Mr. PERKINS. I will say to my friend that we are building factories in South Carolina and Georgia and employing the people there in manufacturing our cloth, and the manufacturers, the yeomanry, and the workingmen of the country are buying that cloth and paying you splendid prices for it; and that, as the Senator says, goes to make up the surplus that puts so much ready cash in the locker.

Mr. BUTLER. We are paying a splendid price for the cotton cloth we buy under this protective system, but the farmer sells his cotton for the use of the factory at the same price he has to sell it for in Liverpool and other competing free-trade markets of the world; and sells it for just the same price as if you were to bring in the pauper labor of India and set it down by the door of the American laborer, whom you do not protect.

Mr. PERKINS. We are trying to protect him, and if the Senator will extend the right hand of help to us, I think we can do something for North Carolina. I certainly want to see cotton sell for a good price. I want to see the farmer receive a remunerative reward for his service in tilling the soil, and I will vote with the Senator for any measure of that kind he may propose. The other day I proposed to vote with him for an export bounty if he would consent that articles on which bounty was given should be sent in American vessels, built by American mechanics, and manned by American citizens; but my friend would not vote with me on that proposition. He wanted to give this export bounty to foreigners—to Englishmen and Germans and Japanese. I am not in favor of that.

Mr. STEWART. I have given way a long while, and have heard a very extravagant eulogy of the Republican party.

Mr. BUTLER. Will the Senator from California reply to the statement that I made in regard to the way in which the price of cotton in the South is regulated?

Mr. STEWART. Oh, no; he will not reply to that.

Mr. BUTLER. Well, will you reply to it?

Mr. PERKINS. I will say to my friend——

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BERRY in the chair). The Senator from Nevada [Mr. STEWART] is entitled to the floor. Does the Senator yield?

Mr. STEWART. No; I do not care about that; that is an outside question.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Nevada is entitled to the floor.

Mr. STEWART. The Senator from California [Mr. PERKINS] has taken occasion to glorify the Republican party and to say that its record was bright. I do not want the Senator to leave now, because if the Republican party has a splendid record and if the record is all right——

Mr. PERKINS. I am always with you. I am like the principles of the Republican party—not for a day, but for all time.

Mr. STEWART. Are you for the free and unlimited coinage of silver by the United States alone, as you were formerly, or have you changed? [Laughter.]

Mr. PERKINS. I will say when silver is worth $1.20 an ounce, then I shall be in favor of the free and unlimited coinage of silver at 16 to 1; but when it is only worth 60 cents an ounce, I must do the same as my friend from Nevada did when he was the judge of a court, take the question under advisement.

Mr. STEWART. Have you not been several times in the last few years in favor of the free and unlimited coinage of silver at 16 to 1?

Mr. PERKINS. That was when I was short on silver. [Laughter.]

Mr. STEWART. Well, then, if the record of the Republican party is glorious, you must have some blots on your record. [Laughter.]

Mr. PERKINS. I am like my friend from Nevada, not infallible. He was here prior to me. I tried to imitate his example in 1874, when he was here and participated in the passage of the law which demonetized silver.

Mr. STEWART. My friend is mistaken. He never has imitated that example until recently. He is now a goldbug. What he sets, however, is a false example, I never set it. I never advocated the gold standard as against silver. The whole thing is a bald falsehood.

Mr. PERKINS. Did my friend vote against the measure at that time?

Mr. STEWART. Against what?

Mr. PERKINS. Against demonetizing silver.

Mr. STEWART. I had no opportunity.

Mr. PERKINS. My friend was a member of the Senate at that time, and I was not.

Mr. STEWART. But you knew as much about it in California as the Senators did here. If demonetization was in the bill they did not know it. How it got there nobody has ever explained. That it was put there clandestinely there can be no doubt. During the whole discussion in the Senate, for days and months, back and forth, with regard to the codification of the mint laws, never was one word said or intimated to the effect that silver was to be demonetized or that the coinage laws were to be changed. It was never mentioned in the Senate, and nobody knew of it until years after.

Do not charge me with ever having been for the demonetization of silver or with having voted for it. There was no yea-and-nay vote taken. It was passed viva voce, and nobody knew anything about it. But more recently, if I am not mistaken, the Senator has become a convert to the gold doctrine. I have understood the Senator from California was at some time a silver man, as some other Senators have been, and I now understand he is a gold man.

Mr. PERKINS. No; I believe in gold and silver.

Mr. STEWART. I can not allow anybody to state on this floor that the Republican party has a glorious record without a blot. I was forced to leave that party on account of its joining the enemies of the country to destroy silver.

Mr. CHANDLER. May I ask the Senator whether the Republican party was without a blot up to the time he left it? [Laughter.]

Mr. STEWART. No; that blot was on it and I had to leave it. It got to be the party of the enemies of the country when it joined

the English syndicates. It pretended to be for silver, but it went back on its pledges. I was with it in the convention of 1888, and was on the committee on platform, with Mr. McKinley, now President of the United States, and I drew the plank, which was unanimously adopted, that the Republican party was in favor of the use of both gold and silver as money, and that it condemned the action of the Democratic Administration in its efforts to demonetize silver. After that was done and the President was elected on that platform, the Republican party followed in the track of the Administration which had been condemned, and made every effort that it could to destroy silver as a money metal. The President, it is true, signed the Sherman Act. They got the McKinley bill with the understanding that the act should be executed.

Mr. CHANDLER. The Wilson bill.

Mr. STEWART. No; the McKinley bill was what he wanted—I refer to Mr. Harrison—to get through, with the understanding that it should be executed; but they never executed it in good faith for one hour. In the first place, they formed a syndicate—the Director of the Mint did it—to put down the price of silver. All the silver-buying countries in the world selected a London agent, and he cooperated with the Director of the Mint to fix the price of silver and put it down. The Executive "beared" the price of silver all the while, and then, contrary to the pledge that they would use silver as money, in 1891, after that act was passed and after it had been in force a year, the question arose whether he was to obey it or whether he would give an option to the creditor to demand gold. The law itself gave the option to the Government to redeem its obligations, its Treasury notes, in gold or silver. That option had been maintained in every act.

The question arose under Harrison's Administration whether we should exercise that option for the benefit of the Government and use silver as money. The Secretary of the Treasury went to New York on the 17th of November, 1891, and at the bankers' dinner, in reply to a question, said that the option to take gold would be accorded to the creditors of the Government. The President, in his annual message thereafter, said that this assurance had done much to sustain the business of the country, and that the power of the Government would be used to the utmost extent to carry it out, thus repudiating silver, and repudiating the platform upon which he was elected.

When I found that the Republican party would not act in good faith, would not stand by its solemn pledges, that it indorsed the infamous crime by which silver was demonetized, joined with the enemies of the country, and was bringing ruin to every household, I could not, as an honest man, stay with it.

Finally, the issue has been drawn broad and deep between the Republican party and the people. The Republican party has been perfidious to the people on this great question. The people themselves were forced to draw the line between the old parties, and they drew it at the Chicago convention. The English toadies and bank syndicates of London and of New York were kicked out, and a platform promulgated which was another declaration of independence, and which will be ratified ultimately by the American people.

The Democrats did that. The silver Republicans flocked to them and the Populists flocked to them and joined in the grand fight that was made, and but for money, but for coercion, and but for unfair dealing, they would have won the election by an overwhelming majority. While they had no money on the side of the people, the other side had what? They had, it was variously estimated, from eighteen to forty million dollars, and after the election was over the press of the East glorified themselves in having secured nearly the solid foreign vote—the votes of men who had not been here long enough to understand our institutions, who had come into the cities. The foreigners do not have the opportunity they formerly had, when they used to settle in farming communities, of becoming Americanized.

When they settle in the cities, they become dependent upon capital, and they can be herded and used as they were herded and used in the last campaign. Without this vote, without intimidation, and without fraud the Republican party would have been overthrown, not on account of its former record, not for the glorious deeds connected with that party, not for its patriotism in the past—for it started as the party of the people and it made a glorious record—but for its subsequent misdeeds and for collusion with the enemies of the country. I say the Republican party has not a good record now, and it can not justify itself in doing wrong by pleading former good character. Good character may be sacrificed by anyone by the commission of crime; but when the Republican party joined hands with the conspirators who struck down silver, enhanced the price of money, depreciated the price of property, and enslaved mankind, it became the slave party and not the friend of liberty.

The Republican party, with all its glorious record for liberty, has done more for slavery than it has done for liberty. It has done more for slavery in the last twenty years than it ever did for liberty before that. Only 4,000,000 slaves in the South were liberated; but the Republican party was the first party in this country to join England to enslave the world. By its influence other nations have been brought in, until almost the whole human race is groaning under the fetters that the Republican party was mostly instrumental in forming and forging.

There is less of hope, less of freedom, less of spirit in this world to-day than there has been for the last one hundred years. Wages in the Old World are at starvation prices; whole continents are enslaved; there are 350,000,000 slaves in India. Egypt has been enslaved for the last fifteen years by this same despotic power, and the same power is vindicating the right of the Turks to trample upon the Christians and upholding barbarities which are protested against by the whole Christian world. The same party, with such a record, is fighting to have slavery everywhere.

It is the party that has taken from the youth of this land the opportunities they enjoyed from the first discovery of America, until now there is not a vocation open to a young man to make a home for his family. Every avenue is closed; all opportunities are gone by reason of falling prices created by the destruction of one-half of the supply of standard money. The Republican party stand by that—stand by it why? They will stand by it so long as England will, and everybody knows that England will stand by it so long as she is the greatest creditor nation in the world.

Look at her vast dominion; see the effect of it; look at the condition of this country now, compare it with what it was twenty years ago, and tell me of any other cause of the present condition except that the Republican party has destroyed the money of the Constitution. What has done it? What has produced this universal distress? What has placed the world on the highroad to slavery again but the cooperation of the Republican party with an alien syndicate in London to impoverish the world and enslave mankind? I do not like that record. I regret more than anybody else that it has been made. I wanted to live and die in the Republican party, for the Republican party was very dear to me; but I could not stand by and see these wrongs perpetrated and stay with it without a protest, and I will protest while I live against the wrongs perpetrated by the Republican party, no matter what its former record may have been.

Mr. PETTUS. Mr. President, I propose that we now return to bagging and burlaps and bags. I have a matter of quarrel with the Senator from California [Mr. PERKINS]. I do not know what was his object in bringing this red rag into this discussion. I really think he would have treated us more fairly if he had stuck to his penitentiary and his imported burlaps.

Just here it would be a very interesting thing to know—though I do not feel at liberty to inquire—whether the legislature of California which instructed its Senators to vote for free bags has ever changed that instruction. The distinguished and venerable Senator from Nevada [Mr. STEWART], as well as I, had some acquaintance with that country several years ago. We found many hard-headed, clear-headed, iron-willed people there; and I suppose that when they gave those instructions they expected their Senators to comply with them; and if they gave them, just as sure as you live they gave them with a continuando, and not for to-day or to-morrow.

Mr. President, let us come back to bags and cotton bagging. I am not going to make any assault on the Republican party this evening. I am perfectly willing to put off the free coinage of silver until to-morrow morning after breakfast, if we can only get our Republican friends to do one modicum of justice toward those farmers—I just want a modicum. There is no pretense that the motion to strike out this paragraph in any way conflicts with this delightful doctrine of protection. I would not presume to ask Senators on the other side to allow this motion to be agreed to if it did. I would know in advance that they would not do it.

I do not want to assault the Republican party this evening, because I want to persuade Senators that, as this motion does in no way conflict with their favored doctrine of protecting manufactures, they should allow it to pass. The retention of the paragraph can not possibly do their party any good; it can not possibly tend to popularize the tariff bill which they are enacting to put this tax on the farming interest. It can not possibly do so; and really, when I made the motion, I had hoped that the distinguished Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON], with his clear head, would have proposed to us to adjourn this matter over until he could consult with those for whom he is acting, and I should have joined him at once.

Really, with his clear head as to political effects, and his undoubted knowledge of what is good for his party, I had hoped that he would say, "Well, let us consult about it in our private consultation room." I should have been delighted to have heard him say that, because it would then have given me some hope that there was this little particle of justice—not protection—but this small degree of justice toward the mass of the people of the United States, who would have been protected by his consent; but when the

Senator from California [Mr. PERKINS] came into the lists, I saw that he wanted protection for his penitentiary, that he wanted protection against this cooly labor for his penitentiary labor.

Mr. President, I am in serious thought about this matter. I am not jesting about an important matter of this sort. I hope yet the Senators who have the absolute control here will consider this question seriously and see how it affects every farmer in the country. You have been told of the wheat which is put in these bags. Well, I suppose the wheat has to be done up in clean bags; I am willing that it should be. I am willing that California should make its wheat bags in its own penitentiary. We all know that there are thousands of other uses by farmers, besides the bagging of wheat and sending it to market, for those bags.

You have been told by the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. TILLMAN] that they use it in bagging their fertilizers in that State. Yes, they use it in bagging their fertilizers in all the other Southern States, at least, and it costs them just that much more. It is a tax that you propose to put on the farmers in the West who also use bagging. All wheat is not shipped in bulk, even in the West. You gentlemen who live in the cities may think that unless the wheat goes to your cities and so on to the nations of the world there is none used. There is hardly a farmer in the country who does not use these bags, and a number of them, for his domestic purposes on his plantation. Did you never hear of a man by the name of Henry Clay, who rode to the mill on a meal bag?

Mr. HOAR. May I inquire if it is the eminent protectionist of that name to whom the Senator refers?

Mr. PETTUS. I have heard that he was a protectionist incidentally.

Mr. HOAR. We have heard of him.

Mr. PETTUS. But I never did hear that he was a protectionist for the sake of protection. I never heard that. But he rode on a meal bag; he carried his wheat to mill, and I tell you, sir, there are thousands of others carrying their wheat to mill the same way to-day in the agricultural regions of this country.

These bags are used also for the bagging of cotton seed and of cotton-seed meal. It is never shipped in bulk, but is shipped in sacks, and a vast number of sacks are used in that way, and they are used in every one of the cotton States. It is a vast industry. You are taxing the farmer on that.

Now, I want to ask the Senators upon the other side of the Chamber to try in this one instance to give the farmer some slight degree of relief from the oppressive taxes which are put upon him. If you will do that, every farmer in the land will thank you for that, whatever they may say about you in reference to other things.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the amendment of the Senator from Alabama [Mr. PETTUS], to strike out paragraphs 341 and 342.

Mr. PETTUS. On that amendment I call for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CLAY (when his name was called). I transfer my pair with the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] to the Senator from Delaware [Mr. KENNEY], and vote "yea."

Mr. DANIEL (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. HANSBROUGH]; otherwise I should vote "yea."

Mr. JONES of Arkansas (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE], but I transfer that pair to the Senator from Missouri [Mr. COCKRELL], both Senators being absent.

Mr. FRYE. The Senator from Missouri [Mr. COCKRELL] and my colleague [Mr. HALE] are engaged in committee on the deficiency bill.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Those Senators are paired for the day, and therefore I am at liberty to vote, and vote "yea."

Mr. MALLORY (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROCTOR]. If he were here, I should vote "yea."

Mr. PENROSE (when his name was called). My pair with the Senator from Delaware [Mr. KENNEY] having been transferred to the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE], I am at liberty to vote, and vote "nay."

Mr. SEWELL (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. MITCHELL]. If he were here, I should vote "nay."

Mr. BERRY (when Mr. WALTHALL'S name was called). The Senator from Mississippi [Mr. WALTHALL] is unavoidably absent to-day, and is paired with the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. SPOONER]. If the Senator from Mississippi were here, he would vote "yea."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. ELKINS (after having voted in the negative). I voted inadvertently. I am paired with my colleague [Mr. FAULKNER], who is not present; and therefore I withdraw my vote.

Mr. BATE. I wish to announce that my colleague [Mr. HARRIS] is unavoidably absent. He is paired with the Senator from Vermont [Mr. MORRILL]. If my colleague were here, he would vote "yea."

Mr. HARRIS of Kansas (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Wyoming [Mr. CLARK], but I transfer that pair to the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. ALLEN], and vote "yea."

Mr. DANIEL. I transfer my pair with the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. HANSBROUGH] to my colleague [Mr. MARTIN], and vote "yea."

Mr. MORGAN. I am paired with the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. QUAY]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. CHANDLER (after having voted in the affirmative). Would it be in order, Mr. President, for me to ask what the question is upon which we are voting?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Upon the motion to strike out paragraphs 341 and 342.

Mr. CHANDLER. Who made the motion?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Alabama [Mr. PETTUS].

Mr. CHANDLER. I wish to withdraw my vote in the affirmative. I vote "nay."

Mr. PASCO. I suggest to the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. ELKINS], who is paired with his colleague [Mr. FAULKNER], that we transfer our pairs, so that his colleague will stand paired with the Senator from Washington [Mr. WILSON], with whom I am paired.

Mr. ELKINS. That is agreeable to me, and I vote "nay."

Mr. PASCO. I vote "yea."

The result was announced—yeas 31, nays 28; as follows:

YEAS—31.

Bacon,	Gray,	Mills,	Stewart,
Bate,	Harris, Kans.	Murphy,	Teller,
Berry,	Heitfeld,	Pasco,	Tillman,
Butler,	Jones, Ark.	Pettigrew,	Turner,
Chilton,	Kyle,	Pettus,	Turpie,
Clay,	McEnery,	Rawlins,	Vest,
Daniel,	McLaurin,	Roach,	White.
Gorman,	Mantle,	Smith,	

NAYS—28.

Allison,	Fairbanks,	Hoar,	Platt, N. Y.
Burrows,	Foraker,	McBride,	Pritchard,
Chandler,	Frye,	Mason,	Shoup,
Cullom,	Gallinger,	Nelson,	Thurston,
Davis,	Gear,	Penrose,	Warren,
Deboe,	Hanna,	Perkins,	Wellington,
Elkins,	Hawley,	Platt, Conn.	Wetmore.

NOT VOTING—30.

Aldrich,	Faulkner,	Lodge,	Quay,
Allen,	George,	McMillan,	Sewell,
Baker,	Hale,	Mallory,	Spooner,
Caffery,	Hansbrough,	Martin,	Walthall,
Cannon,	Harris, Tenn.	Mitchell,	Wilson,
Carter,	Jones, Nev.	Morgan,	Wolcott.
Clark,	Kenney,	Morrill,	
Cockrell,	Lindsay,	Proctor,	

So the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. My impression was that paragraph 339 was included in the motion to strike out, but I understand it was not so put by the Chair. I move to strike out paragraph 339.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Arkansas to strike out paragraph 339.

Mr. WHITE. Was paragraph 342 included in the motion to strike out?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair understands that paragraphs 341 and 342 were included in the motion.

Mr. BUTLER. I submitted an amendment to the tariff bill to strike out paragraphs 339, 341, and 342, of which I gave notice some weeks ago. I called the attention of several Senators to the fact that the motion made by the Senator from Alabama did not cover one of the paragraphs which affects jute bagging; and it was suggested to me to let the motion stand as it had been made, and to make a motion covering paragraph 339 later. I see the Senator from Arkansas has now made that motion. The three paragraphs should share the same fate

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. There can be no objection, the other two paragraphs having been stricken out, to striking out paragraph 339.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the amendment proposed by the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. JONES] to strike out paragraph 339.

Mr. ALLISON. I call for the yeas and nays.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Very well; let us have the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. BUTLER. I want to state that it is very unfortunate that paragraph 339 was not included with paragraphs 341 and 342; for if the Senate now refuses to strike out paragraph 339, it would destroy practically the advantage gained by striking out para-

graphs 341 and 342, because jute would be imported under paragraph 339 instead of under paragraphs 341 and 342, and it would be a very easy matter to have most of it classed under paragraph 339. Therefore, unless this paragraph is stricken out, we practically lose whatever benefit would come from striking out paragraphs 341 and 342.

Mr. PETTUS. Paragraphs 341 and 342 were stricken out with the view that the articles embraced therein should be put on the free list. That was the express declaration at the time.

Mr. BERRY and Mr. WHITE. That will come up later.

The Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. HARRIS of Kansas (when his name was called). I transfer my pair with the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. CLARK] to the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. ALLEN], and vote "yea."

Mr. MORGAN (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. QUAY].

Mr. PASCO (when his name was called). I make the same statement as before. I have exchanged pairs with the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. ELKINS], and I vote "yea."

Mr. TURNER (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. WARREN]. I do not see him in the Chamber, and withhold my vote. If he were here, I should vote "yea."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. HANSBROUGH. I am paired with the senior Senator from Virginia [Mr. DANIEL].

Mr. BURROWS (after having voted in the negative). I desire to announce that I have a permanent pair with the senior Senator from Louisiana [Mr. CAFFERY], but I have transferred my pair to the Senator from Nevada [Mr. JONES], and I have voted.

Mr. CULLOM (after having voted in the negative). I am paired with the senior Senator from Delaware [Mr. GRAY]. I understand that the Senator from Montana [Mr. CARTER] is absent without a pair, and I will therefore take the liberty of transferring my pair with the Senator from Delaware to him, and let my vote stand.

Mr. TURNER. I transfer my pair with the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. WARREN] to the Senator from Virginia [Mr. MARTIN], and I vote "yea."

Mr. HANSBROUGH. I will transfer my pair with the Senator from Virginia [Mr. DANIEL] to the senior Senator from Montana [Mr. CARTER].

Mr. WHITE. A transfer has already been made.

Mr. BERRY. The Senator from Illinois [Mr. CULLOM] has just transferred his pair with the Senator from Delaware [Mr. GRAY] to the Senator from Montana [Mr. CARTER].

Mr. HANSBROUGH. Very well; I will let my pair stand.

Mr. PENROSE (after having voted in the negative). I ought to state that I voted under the same arrangement already stated as to my pair.

Mr. CLAY (after having voted in the affirmative). As I understand the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] will stand paired with the Senator from Delaware [Mr. KENNEY], I will let my vote stand.

Mr. WARREN. I vote "nay."

Mr. TURNER. I announced my pair with the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. WARREN], and later on transferred my pair to the Senator from Virginia [Mr. MARTIN] and voted.

Mr. WARREN (after having voted in the negative). If my pair has been transferred, I will withdraw my vote, of course. I came in the Chamber, and seeing the Senator from Washington [Mr. TURNER] I presumed that I was at liberty to vote.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Wyoming withdraws his vote.

The Secretary recapitulated the vote.

Mr. WARREN. With permission, I will transfer the pair arranged between the Senator from Virginia [Mr. MARTIN] and myself, and let the Senator from Virginia [Mr. MARTIN] stand paired with the Senator from Kansas [Mr. BAKER]. I vote "nay."

Mr. PETTUS. To whom was the Senator's pair transferred?

Mr. BERRY. To the Senator from Kansas [Mr. BAKER].

The result was announced—yeas 29, nays 28; as follows:

YEAS—29.

Bacon,	Heitfeld,	Pasco,	Tillman,
Bate,	Jones, Ark.	Pettigrew,	Turner,
Berry,	McEnery,	Pettus,	Turpie,
Butler,	McLaurin,	Rawlins,	Vest,
Chilton,	Mallory,	Roach,	White.
Clay,	Mantle,	Smith,	
Gorman,	Mills,	Stewart,	
Harris, Kans.	Murphy,	Teller,	

NAYS—28.

Allison,	Fairbanks,	Hoar,	Platt, N. Y.
Burrows,	Foraker,	McBride,	Pritchard,
Chandler,	Frye,	Mason,	Proctor,
Cullom,	Gallinger,	Nelson,	Shoup,
Davis,	Gear,	Penrose,	Thurston,
Deboe,	Hanna,	Perkins,	Warren,
Elkins,	Hawley,	Platt, Conn.	Wetmore.

NOT VOTING—32.

Aldrich,	Daniel,	Kenney,	Morrill,
Allen,	Faulkner,	Kyle,	Quay,
Baker,	George,	Lindsay,	Sewell,
Caffery,	Gray,	Lodge,	Spooner,
Cannon,	Hale,	McMillan,	Walthall,
Carter,	Hansbrough,	Martin,	Wellington,
Clark,	Harris, Tenn.	Mitchell,	Wilson,
Cockrell,	Jones, Nev.	Morgan,	Wolcott.

So the motion of Mr. JONES of Arkansas to strike out paragraph 339 was agreed to.

Mr. PETTUS. I now move that the articles embraced in paragraphs 341 and 342 be placed on the free list.

Mr. WHITE. I suggest that that motion will be in order later on, not now.

Mr. ALLISON. I suggest to the Senator from Alabama that that motion is not in order now.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. We have not yet reached the free list.

Mr. ALLISON. It will be in order later on.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, on page 111, to strike out the following paragraph:

343. Handkerchiefs, composed of flax, hemp, ramie, or other vegetable fiber, except cotton, whether in the piece or otherwise, and whether wholly or partly finished, if not hemmed, or hemmed only, 50 per cent ad valorem; if hemstitched or imitation hemstitched, or revered, or have drawn threads, but not embroidered, 55 per cent ad valorem.

And in lieu thereof to insert:

343. Handkerchiefs composed of flax, hemp, or ramie, or of which these substances, or either of them, is the component material of chief value, whether in the piece or otherwise, and whether finished or unfinished, not hemmed or hemmed only, 50 per cent ad valorem; if hemstitched, or imitation hemstitched, or revered, or with drawn threads, but not embroidered or initialed, 55 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I move to strike out "fifty" and insert "forty" in the committee amendment, line 4; and in line 6 I move to strike out "fifty-five" and insert "forty."

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the amendment of the Senator from Arkansas to the amendment of the committee.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. In this connection, without asking the Senate to hear it read, I will insert in the RECORD an extract which I have taken from the New York Journal of Commerce. I ask that it may go in the RECORD.

The matter referred to is as follows:

[New York Journal of Commerce and Commercial Bulletin, May 29, 1897.]

OPPOSING THE SENATE TARIFF—HANDKERCHIEF IMPORTERS SAY PROPOSED RATES ARE EXCESSIVE—THE IMPOSITION OF 55 PER CENT ON LINEN HANDKERCHIEFS WOULD, THEY SAY, DISORGANIZE THE TRADE.

The imposition of 55 per cent on linen handkerchiefs would, they say, disorganize the trade.

A detailed statement of the position of the linen trade on the duties proposed by the Senate Finance Committee appeared in these columns yesterday. Importers of linen handkerchiefs are quite as bitter against the proposed rates as any other branch of the linen trade. The chairman of the handkerchief committee of the Linen Trade Association said yesterday:

"I think that 50 per cent on embroidered and 40 per cent on plain linen handkerchiefs is a high revenue tariff and can be collected. Even those rates are dangerous and there is more or less undervaluation, but when you increase the rates to 55 and 60 per cent you are putting a premium upon undervaluation, and honest merchants will not be able to do business in competition with the undervaluers.

"In view of the fact that the manufacture of linen handkerchiefs is not and, in the nature of things, is not likely to become an industry in the United States, the linen-handkerchief importers would respectfully ask that the rates of duty to be assessed on them be made in accordance with the statement submitted by the representatives of the Linen Association of New York to the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives on January 11, 1897.

"The chief item in the linen-handkerchief trade is, of course, plain white hemmed and hemstitched handkerchiefs in various sizes, for men, women, and children, and taxed, under present law, at 40 per cent ad valorem. These goods are not in any sense luxuries, but necessities of the people, and as they enter in no way into competition with any domestic industry, and such industry can not be fostered by the imposition of even double the duty, we think a higher rate unnecessary. The bill now proposed puts the duty on these goods at 50 per cent for hemmed and 55 per cent on hemstitched—the latter being by far the more important line. By the McKinley tariff hemstitched linen handkerchiefs were assessed 50 per cent, and we claim that even this is an excessive rate, unless for protective purposes, which does not enter into this question at all.

"The imposition of 55 per cent on linen handkerchiefs will disorganize the entire trade, will heavily increase the cost of one of the people's necessities, and be certain to be magnified by the enemies of protection far beyond its real importance, to the injury of the party now endeavoring to foster and protect American industries.

"If it is deemed essential that a higher rate than now obtains shall be levied for revenue purposes, we would respectfully recommend that an advance to 45 per cent would be ample, with this advantage to the people, that it would cause very trifling, if any, changes in the prices of goods, while it would fairly assess for the increased needs of the Government.

"We also urge very earnestly that initial handkerchiefs be put at same rate as linen handkerchiefs, where value of initial does not exceed one-half the value of the handkerchief it is made on. The great mass of initials are little more than marks on handkerchiefs, and of far less than above relative value to handkerchief. They are not known to the trade as, nor in any sense are, embroidered handkerchiefs, and should not be classed as such.

"On embroidered linen handkerchiefs we urge that no higher duty than 50 per cent be assessed. It is a pure matter of revenue, and assessing 60 per cent, as the Dingley bill proposes, is simply offering a premium to dishonesty. Protection does not enter into the question in the least degree, the goods neither being made nor makable in this country.

"We think the rates proposed in the Dingley bill are unwise and impolitic. They are sure to cause reaction in public sentiment, now unmistakably in

favor of reasonable protection wherever needed, and invite changes and reductions as soon as power changes hands. The country demands stable and settled conditions, as their absence prevents the return of the good times of 1892 and previous. And if moderate views prevail, and the present or a small revenue rate over the present rates prevail, no interest will suffer, either nationally or private, and the resulting settled conditions will inure to the common good."

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Arkansas to the amendment of the committee.

The amendment to the amendment was rejected.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question recurs on agreeing to the amendment of the committee.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, on page 112, to strike out the following paragraph:

344. Woven fabrics of flax, hemp, or ramie, or of which these substances, or either of them, is the component material of chief value, and containing more than 50 and not more than 100 threads to the square inch (counting both warp and filling) 9 cents per pound; containing not more than 59 threads to the square inch, 8 cents per pound; bleached shirting cloth, composed of flax, hemp, or ramie, or of which these substances, or either of them, is the component material of chief value, measuring not less than 35 nor more than 37 inches in width and containing more than 100 threads to the square inch (counting both warp and filling), 35 per cent ad valorem.

And in lieu thereof to insert:

344. Woven fabrics or articles not specially provided for in this act, composed of flax, hemp, or ramie, or of which these substances or either of them is the component material of chief value, weighing 4 ounces or more per square yard, when containing not more than 60 threads to the square inch, counting the warp and filling, 1½ cents per square yard; containing more than 60 and not more than 120 threads to the square inch, 3 cents per square yard; containing more than 120 and not more than 180 threads to the square inch, 7 cents per square yard; containing more than 180 threads to the square inch, 10 cents per square yard, and in addition thereto, on all the foregoing, 30 per cent ad valorem: *Provided*, That none of the foregoing articles in this paragraph shall pay a less rate of duty than 50 per cent ad valorem. Woven fabrics of flax, hemp, or ramie, or of which these substances or either of them is the component material of chief value, including such as is known as shirting cloth, weighing less than 4 ounces per square yard and containing more than 100 threads to the square inch, counting the warp and filling, 35 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. ALLISON. I wish to modify the amendment of the committee in line 2, page 113, by striking out "three," before "cents," and inserting "two and three-fourths;" in line 4, by striking out "seven," before "cents," and inserting "six;" and in line 6, by striking out "ten," before "cents," and inserting "nine;" so as to read:

Woven fabrics or articles not specially provided for in this act, composed of flax, hemp, or ramie, or of which these substances or either of them is the component material of chief value, weighing 4 ounces or more per square yard, when containing not more than 60 threads to the square inch, counting the warp and filling, 1½ cents per square yard; containing more than 60 and not more than 120 threads to the square inch, 2½ cents per square yard; containing more than 120 and not more than 180 threads to the square inch, 6 cents per square yard; containing more than 180 threads to the square inch, 9 cents per square yard, and in addition thereto, on all the foregoing, 30 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. VEST. I wish to call attention to one fact in connection with this paragraph. Under the Wilson Act—the existing law—the duty was 35 per cent ad valorem upon the articles mentioned in the paragraph. Under the amendment proposed by the majority of the committee, the duty is increased upon all the articles to 50 per cent; that is, it shall not be less than 50 per cent on all the articles mentioned in the paragraph, except shirting, upon which the tax is 35 per cent. Why is that distinction made?

Mr. ALLISON. All the other articles are more expensive than plain articles inserted in the last bracket of the paragraph.

Mr. VEST. That can not be. They can not be more expensive because some of them do not cost as much. Some of the shirtings are very fine goods, very expensive goods. I move to strike out of the paragraph, in line 2, the words "3 cents per square yard."

Mr. ALLISON. I have already had it amended by making the rate 2½ cents per square yard.

Mr. VEST. I move then to strike out "2½ cents per square yard;" in lines 4 and 5, to strike out "6 cents per square yard," and also in lines 6 and 7, to strike out "9 cents per square yard, and in addition thereto, on all the foregoing, 30 per cent ad valorem: *Provided*, That none of the foregoing articles in this paragraph shall pay a less rate of duty than 50 per cent ad valorem." It will then read: "Woven fabrics of flax, hemp, or ramie, or of which these substances," etc., down to the conclusion of the paragraph, "35 per centum ad valorem." My object is to put the existing rates of duty upon all these articles.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Will the Senator from Missouri allow me to suggest that I think if he will move to strike out all after the word "value," in line 22, page 112, and insert the words "35 per cent ad valorem," he will reach his purpose? In the remainder of the paragraph there are simply subdivisions as to figures. His intention is to make the rate of 35 per cent applicable to everything that follows in the paragraph, and the general language will cover it. If he will change the motion, it occurs to me he can more readily accomplish his purpose.

Mr. VEST. My recollection is—I have not looked at the law recently—that in the Wilson Act there was a special provision as to shirtings. I may be mistaken.

Mr. ALLISON. The Senator will bear in mind that in the last provision the phraseology is, "Woven fabrics of flax, hemp, or ramie, or of which these substances, or either of them, is the component material of chief value." All the other fabrics included in paragraph 344 must be either of flax, hemp, or ramie, or a mixture of them, whereas in the last paragraph there may be a mixture of cotton and flax, hemp, or ramie, or ramie may be a very small portion of the fabric.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The first lines of the paragraph cover that: "Woven fabrics, or articles not specially provided for in this act, composed of flax, hemp, or ramie, or of which these substances, or either of them, is the component material of chief value."

Mr. ALLISON. That means that they must be composed of these substances, or of either of them.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The same language is in the last part of the paragraph: "Woven fabrics of flax, hemp, or ramie, or of which these substances, or either of them, is the component material of chief value."

Mr. ALLISON. That is right.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. It is exactly the same language.

Mr. ALLISON. It is the intention to cover only fabrics made of these articles, or of which some of them are substances of chief value. We will take the vote on the amendment of the Senator from Missouri.

Mr. VEST. I would just as soon have the vote taken on the suggestion of the Senator from Arkansas, to put in the Wilson Act, which would include shirtings.

Mr. ALLISON. The substance of the Senator's amendment is to make all these articles 35 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. VEST. Thirty-five per cent ad valorem, including shirtings.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I suggested that the Senator could meet his purpose by moving to strike out all after the word "value," in line 22, on page 112, and inserting "35 per cent ad valorem." That would embrace all the subdivisions.

Mr. VEST. Very well.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. After the word "value," in line 22, page 112, it is proposed to strike out the remaining portion of the paragraph and to insert the words "35 per cent ad valorem;" so as to read:

Woven fabrics or articles not specially provided for in this act, composed of flax, hemp, or ramie, or of which these substances or either of them is the component material of chief value, 35 per cent ad valorem.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Missouri to the amendment of the committee.

The amendment to the amendment was rejected.

Mr. MILLS. I move to strike out the word "less," in the tenth line, page 113, and substitute the word "greater;" so as to read:

Provided, That none of the foregoing articles in this paragraph shall pay a greater rate of duty than 50 per cent ad valorem.

Fifty per cent is enough.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. If the Senator from Texas will withhold his amendment, the Chair will first put the question on agreeing to the amendment of the committee, to strike out paragraph 344 and insert a new paragraph as amended.

The amendment was agreed to.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Texas moves to strike out the word "less," in the tenth line, page 113, and insert "greater."

The amendment was rejected.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 345, page 113, line 17, after the word "hemp," to strike out "or;" in the same line, after the word "or," to insert "other vegetable fiber, or;" and in line 20, after the word "act," to strike out "fifty" and insert "forty-five;" so as to make the paragraph read:

345. All manufactures of flax, hemp, ramie, or other vegetable fiber, or of which these substances, or either of them, is the component material of chief value, not specially provided for in this act, 45 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I move to amend the paragraph by striking out "forty-five" and inserting "thirty-five," which is the present law.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the amendment of the Senator from Arkansas to the amendment of the committee.

The amendment to the amendment was rejected.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question recurs on the amendment of the committee.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, on page 113, to strike out paragraph 346, in the following words:

346. All manufactures of jute or other vegetable fiber, except flax, hemp, ramie, or cotton, or of which jute or other vegetable fiber, except flax, hemp, ramie, or cotton is the component material of chief value, not specially provided for in this act, 40 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment was agreed to.

The reading of the bill was resumed, as follows:

Schedule K.—Wool and manufactures of wool.

Mr. VEST. We do not want to go on later this evening.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Does the Senator from Iowa propose to proceed further this afternoon?

Mr. ALLISON. Being Saturday afternoon, and having completed Schedule J, I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

Mr. MANTLE. I ask the Senator from Iowa to yield to me for the purpose of asking the present consideration of Senate bill 164.

Mr. ALLISON. I will withhold the motion for a moment.

PUBLIC BUILDING AT BUTTE CITY, MONT.

Mr. MANTLE. I ask the Senate to proceed to the consideration of the bill (S. 164) to provide for the construction of a public building at Butte City, Mont.

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill. It directs the Secretary of the Treasury to purchase, acquire by condemnation, or otherwise provide a site, and cause to be erected thereon a suitable, commodious, and substantial building, including fireproof vaults, heating and ventilating apparatus, elevators, and approaches, for the use and accommodation of the United States post-office, internal revenue and other Government offices, in the city of Butte and State of Montana; the cost of the site and the building, including fireproof vaults, heating and ventilating apparatus, elevators, and approaches, complete, not to exceed $300,000.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. ALLISON. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After eight minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened, and (at 4 o'clock and 10 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until Monday, June 21, 1897, at 11 o'clock a. m.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate June 19, 1897.

CONSULS-GENERAL.

Hector de Castro, of New York, to be consul-general of the United States at Rome, Italy, vice Wallace S. Jones, resigned.

Charles L. Cole, of Pennsylvania, to be consul-general of the United States at Dresden, Saxony, vice William S. Carroll, resigned.

Charles E. Turner, of Connecticut, to be consul-general of the United States at Ottawa, Canada, vice John B. Riley, resigned.

CONSULS.

Hilary S. Brunot, of Pennsylvania, to be consul of the United States at St. Etienne, France, vice Charles W. Whiley, jr., resigned.

George F. Lincoln, of Connecticut, to be consul of the United States at Antwerp, Belgium, vice Harvey Johnson, resigned.

Walter Schumann, of New York, to be consul of the United States at Mayence, Germany, vice Perry Bartholow, resigned.

COLLECTOR OF INTERNAL REVENUE.

Albert B. White, of West Virginia, to be collector of internal revenue for the district of West Virginia, to succeed Edwin M. Gilkeson, resigned.

MARSHAL.

Addison Davis James, of Kentucky, to be marshal of the United States for the district of Kentucky, vice James Blackburn, whose term expired April 2, 1897.

REGISTER OF LAND OFFICE.

Thomas A. Roseberry, of Susanville, Cal., to be register of the land office at Susanville, Cal., vice Frank F. Peck, removed.

RECEIVER OF PUBLIC MONEYS.

Alfred H. Taylor, of Cedarville, Cal., to be receiver of public moneys at Susanville, Cal., vice James Wylie, resigned.

COMMISSIONER FOR ALASKA.

Philip Gallinger, of New Whatcom, Wash., to be a commissioner in and for the District of Alaska, to reside at Kadiak, vice Alphonso C. Edwards, resigned.

PROMOTION IN THE NAVY.

Ensign Edward Moale, jr., to be a lieutenant (junior grade) in the Navy, from the 4th day of June, 1897, vice Lieut. (Junior Grade) Lewis J. Clark, promoted.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate June 19, 1897.

ENVOY EXTRAORDINARY AND MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY.

Stewart L. Woodford, of New York, to be envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States to Spain.

APPOINTMENT IN THE NAVY.

Raymond Spear, a citizen of Pennsylvania, to be an assistant surgeon.

PROMOTIONS IN THE NAVY.

Lieut. (Junior Grade) John F. Luby, to be a lieutenant.

Ensign George W. Logan, to be a lieutenant (junior grade).

Lieut. Commander Eugene de Forrest Heald, to be a commander.

Lieut. George P. Colvocoresses, to be a lieutenant-commander.

Lieut. (Junior Grade) Lewis J. Clark, to be a lieutenant.

SOLICITOR OF THE TREASURY.

Maurice D. O'Connell, to be Solicitor of the Treasury.

DEPUTY AUDITOR FOR WAR DEPARTMENT.

Daniel A. Grosvenor, of Maryland, to be deputy auditor for the War Department.

COMMISSIONERS.

Caldwell W. Tuttle, of Columbia City, Ind., to be a commissioner in and for the District of Alaska, to reside at Sitka.

Clinton A. Snowden, of Tacoma, Wash., to be commissioner for lands of the Puyallup Indian Reservation in Washington.

Clarence L. Chaffee, of Omaha, Nebr., to be a member of the Missouri River Commission, provided for by the act of Congress approved July 5, 1884, entitled "An act making appropriations for the construction, repair, and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors, and for other purposes."

COLLECTOR OF CUSTOMS.

Levi M. Willcutts, of Minnesota, to be collector of customs for the district of Duluth, in the State of Minnesota.

SENATE.

MONDAY, *June 21, 1897.*

The Senate met at 11 o'clock a. m.

Prayer by Rev. JOHN F. GOUCHER, D. D., of Baltimore, Md.

The Journal of the proceedings of Saturday last was read and approved.

MISSISSIPPI RIVER COMMISSION CONTRACTS.

The VICE-PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the Secretary of War, transmitting a letter from the president of the Mississippi River Commission, Col. G. L. Gillespie, Corps of Engineers, United States Army, calling attention to an error in the statement of that commission published in Senate Document No. 144, Fifty-fifth Congress, first session; which, with the accompanying paper, was referred to the Committee on Commerce, and ordered to be printed.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. ALLEN presented a petition of the Commercial Club, of Omaha, Nebr., praying for the enactment of legislation to stimulate and re-create our merchant-marine interests; which was referred to the Committee on Commerce.

He also presented a petition of sundry citizens of Battlecreek, Nebr., praying for the early enactment of a protective-tariff law; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a petition of the Nebraska Beet Sugar Association, praying for the adoption of the proposed sugar schedule in the pending tariff bill; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented sundry papers to accompany the bill (S. 2094) setting apart Fort Omaha, in the county of Douglas and State of Nebraska, for a school to be used for the education of Indian youth, and for other purposes; which were referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

Mr. HALE presented memorials of the Pray-Small Company, of Auburn; of Wise & Cooper, of Auburn; of the Johnson Bros. Shoe Manufacturing Company, of Hallowell; of C. A. Allen & Co., of Portland; Foss, Packard & Co., of Auburn; the Hodson Shoe Company, of Yarmouthville; E. G. Sprigg, of Auburn; the C. A. Cushing Shoe Company, of Freeport; the Bloomfield Shoe Company, of Skowhegan; Lynn, Ashe & Noyes, of Auburn; the American Shoe Manufacturing Company, of Auburn; the Brunnel-Higgins Shoe Company, of Portland; the Shaw-Godding Shoe Company, of Springvale; G. H. Barr & Co., of Wilton; Butler & Clark, of Springvale, and of H. E. Pinkham, of Portland, all in the State of Maine, remonstrating against any increase in the present rate of duty on tanned skins for morocco or a duty on raw goatskins; which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. PLATT of New York presented a petition of sundry citizens of Corfu, N. Y., praying for the early enactment of a protective-tariff law; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented sundry memorials of citizens of New York City, Long Island, and Wappinger Falls, all in the State of New York, remonstrating against the proposed increase of the tax on beer; which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. HOAR presented a memorial of sundry citizens of Massachusetts, remonstrating against an increase in the present rate of duty on tanned skins for morocco or a duty on raw goatskins; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. CHILTON presented memorials of Pat O'Keefe and sundry other citizens, of R. E. L. Knight and sundry other citizens, of R. B. Allen and sundry other citizens, and of Charles Fred Tucker and sundry other citizens, all of Dallas, in the State of Texas, remonstrating against the enactment of legislation intended to destroy the present system of ticket brokerage; which were referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

Mr. PRITCHARD presented sundry petitions of citizens of Point Caswell, Dallas, Cherryville, West Durham, and Lincolnton, all in the State of North Carolina, and a petition of sundry citizens of Portsmouth, Va., praying for the early passage of the pending tariff bill; which were ordered to lie on the table.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

Mr. HALE, from the Committee on Naval Affairs, reported an amendment intended to be proposed to the general deficiency appropriation bill; which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

Mr. HANSBROUGH, from the Committee on Public Lands, to whom was referred the bill (S. 1446) for the relief of William H. Tibbits, reported it with an amendment, and submitted a report thereon.

Mr. PASCO, from the Committee on Public Lands, to whom was referred the bill (S. 1990) to require patents to be issued to land actually settled under the act entitled "An act to provide for the armed occupation and settlement of the unsettled part of the peninsula of Florida," approved August 4, 1842, reported it without amendment, and submitted a report thereon.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Mr. WHITE introduced a bill (S. 2204) to increase the limit of cost for the erection of a public building in Stockton, Cal., and appropriating money therefor; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Mr. TELLER introduced the following bills; which were severally read twice by their titles, and referred to the Committee on Pensions:

A bill (S. 2205) granting a pension to John F. Kline;

A bill (S. 2206) granting a pension to E. W. Hershe, of Fairplay, Colo.;

A bill (S. 2207) granting an increase of pension to George W. Blake;

A bill (S. 2208) granting an increase of pension to Richard A. Cornell;

A bill (S. 2209) granting an increase of pension to Samantha Barnes;

A bill (S. 2210) granting an increase of pension to Helen L. Dent;

A bill (S. 2211) granting a pension to Mary P. Scovel;

A bill (S. 2212) granting a pension to A. S. Elwood;

A bill (S. 2213) granting an increase of pension to Mrs. Cornelia I. Skiles;

A bill (S. 2214) granting an increase of pension to Mrs. Kate Ezekiel;

A bill (S. 2215) granting a pension to T. R. Le Tellier;

A bill (S. 2216) to increase the pension of Graham McClossen;

A bill (S. 2217) granting a pension to Aaron B. Page;

A bill (S. 2218) granting a pension to Robert N. Pollock;

A bill (S. 2219) granting a pension to Thomas Madden;

A bill (S. 2220) granting an increase of pension to Charles F. Holly;

A bill (S. 2221) granting a pension to Cyrus A. Bowers;

A bill (S. 2222) granting a pension to Elliott H. Benton;

A bill (S. 2223) granting a pension to Maria L. Meserve;

A bill (S. 2224) granting a pension to James Byrne;

A bill (S. 2225) granting a pension to John G. B. Masters;

A bill (S. 2226) granting a pension to Henry Wagner;

A bill (S. 2227) granting a pension to Andrew J. McWade;

A bill (S. 2228) granting a pension to James G. Hartzell;

A bill (S. 2229) granting a pension to Thomas B. Hanoum;

A bill (S. 2230) increasing the pension of Jackson J. Lane;

A bill (S. 2231) granting an increase of pension to William Wells;

A bill (S. 2232) granting a pension to John C. Fitnam;

A bill (S. 2233) granting a pension to Jacob D. Walter;

A bill (S. 2234) granting an increase of pension to Baley Bison;

A bill (S. 2235) granting an increase of pension to Henry Hatch;

A bill (S. 2236) granting a pension to Lewis W. Goddard;

A bill (S. 2237) granting a pension to Henry Stutsman;

A bill (S. 2238) increasing the pension of Mrs. Hulda Shaw;

A bill (S. 2239) granting a pension to Aaron Wood;

A bill (S. 2240) granting a pension to Mrs. Mary L. Daniels;

A bill (S. 2241) restoring the pension of Theron Johnson;

A bill (S. 2242) restoring the pension of Alexander W. Browning;

A bill (S. 2243) granting an increase of pension to Fordyce M. Keith;

A bill (S. 2244) for the relief of Henry A. F. Worth;

A bill (S. 2245) granting a pension to Rafael Chacon;

A bill (S. 2246) granting a pension to John Burns;

A bill (S. 2247) granting a pension to Charles E. Mann;

A bill (S. 2248) granting a pension to Charles A. Hutchings;

A bill (S. 2249) for the relief of Henry Hegwer, of Denver, Colo. (with accompanying papers); and

A bill (S. 2250) directing the Secretary of the Interior to pay to Andrew Bevins Read, administrator of the estate of Phineas W. Read, deceased, the accrued pension on certificate No. 183178.

Mr. DANIEL introduced a bill (S. 2251) to authorize the Falls Church and Potomac Railway Company of Virginia to extend its line into and within the District of Columbia, and for other purposes; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

Mr. FORAKER introduced a bill (S. 2252) to correct and amend the military record of Harrison Wagner; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

NORTHERN LIBERTY MARKET CLAIMS.

Mr. COCKRELL submitted the following resolution; which was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to:

Resolved, That the Commissioners of the District of Columbia be, and hereby are, directed to report to the Senate all action and proceedings taken by the auditor of the supreme court of the District of Columbia and the said Commissioners under the act of Congress entitled "An act to provide for the payment of certain claims against the District of Columbia by drawback certificates," approved January 28, 1897, specifically stating the number and amount of all claims filed under said law, the name of each claimant, the amount and character of each claim, the amount allowed thereon by the said auditor, and the amount approved by the Commissioners, giving separately in each claim the amount allowed and approved for property taken, injured, or destroyed by reason of the destruction or removal of the Northern Liberty Market in the city of Washington, D. C., in September, 1872, and the amount allowed and approved for the payments of claims made for the purchase, rent, or use of any stall or privileges in said market house and for license for conducting the business therein to the extent of the unexpired term of said purchase, rent, use, or license, and what amount, if any, has been allowed in each case as consequential damages; and also the number and amount of drawback certificates issued, and to whom issued, and in what amount. And are also directed to transmit to the Senate with their answer hereto copies of all correspondence between the Commissioners and the said auditor in respect to this act and the proceedings thereunder, and also copies of any and all opinions and suggestions of the attorney for the District in relation to said act and proceedings thereunder.

SALE OF POISONS IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Mr. GALLINGER. At the request of the Senator from Michigan [Mr. MCMILLAN], the chairman of the Committee on the District of Columbia, I move to recommit the bill (S. 470) to regulate the sale of poisons in the District of Columbia to the Committee on the District of Columbia for further consideration.

The motion was agreed to.

ENROLLED BILL SIGNED.

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. W. J. BROWNING, its Chief Clerk, announced that the Speaker of the House had signed the enrolled bill (S. 2150) to amend an act entitled "An act to provide for the entry of lands in Greer County, Okla., to give preference rights to settlers, and for other purposes," approved January 18, 1897, and it was thereupon signed by the Vice-President.

THE TARIFF BILL.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Morning business appears to be closed.

Mr. ALLISON. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of House bill 379.

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 379) to provide revenue for the Government and to encourage the industries of the United States.

Mr. ALLISON. It was the purpose of the committee and it was understood on Saturday that Schedule K, "wool and manufactures of wool," would be taken up this morning. Owing to the absence of some Senators who are interested in the schedule and who would like to be present when it is considered, I ask consent that it may be passed over until to-morrow morning and that we go on to-day with Schedule M, relating to pulp, papers, and books, and return to wool and woolens to-morrow morning. I ask our friends on the other side if that course will be satisfactory to them.

Mr. VEST. Certainly.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Without objection, Schedule K, "wool and manufactures of wool," and Schedule L, "silks and silk goods," will be passed over, and Schedule M will be taken up, the wool schedule to be taken up to-morrow morning.

The Secretary resumed the reading of the bill at page 135, line 8, "Schedule M.—Pulp, papers, and books." The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 390, page 135, line 10, after the word "pulp," to strike out "one-twelfth of

1 cent per pound" and insert "7½ cents per 100 pounds;" so as to read:

Mechanically ground wood pulp, 7½ cents per 100 pounds, dry weight; chemical wood pulp, unbleached, one-sixth of 1 cent per pound, dry weight; bleached, one-fourth of 1 cent per pound, dry weight.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was to add at the end of paragraph 390 the following:

Provided, That if any country or dependency shall impose an export duty on pulp wood, the amount of such export duty shall be added, as an additional duty, to the duties herein imposed upon wood pulp, when imported from such country or dependency.

Mr. VEST. I simply desire to call attention to the fact that the price of these articles is increased to the consumer in the United States on account of an import duty, not a bounty, but a duty imposed by a foreign country. I wish again to express my dissent from the justice of this proposition. I can understand why, if a bounty is given, this country might add to the tariff duty to the extent of that bounty for the purpose of equalizing the taxation, and I do not always approve of that; but here, because a foreign country puts on an export duty, this country doubles it, and it is all to come out of the consumer or purchaser of the article after it reaches the United States. I shall not call for the yeas and nays, but I ask for a viva voce vote on the amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next paragraph was read, as follows:

391. Sheathing paper and roofing felt, 10 per cent ad valorem.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was to insert the following as a new paragraph on page 135, after line 23:

391½. Filter masse or filter stock, composed wholly or in part of wood pulp, wood flour, cotton or other vegetable fiber, 1½ cents per pound and 15 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment was agreed to.

The Secretary read the next paragraph, as follows:

392. Printing paper, unsized, sized, or glued, suitable only for books and newspapers, 15 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. ALLISON. I move to insert at the end of paragraph 392, after "ad valorem," in line 5, page 136, the following proviso:

Provided, That no such paper shall pay a less rate of duty than three-tenths of 1 cent per pound.

Mr. VEST. What is the equivalent ad valorem?

Mr. ALLISON. It is the equivalent of 15 per cent. It is a little less generally.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, on page 136, to strike out the following paragraph:

393. Papers known commercially as copying paper, stereotype paper, Japanese tissue paper, pottery paper, and all other thin papers, white, printed, or colored, weighing not over 6 pounds to a standard ream of 480 sheets, on a basis of 20 by 30 inches, made up in reams or any other form, 8 cents per pound, and in addition thereto 15 per cent ad valorem; and all papers in same form as above, weighing over 6 pounds, and not exceeding 10 pounds to the standard ream of 20 by 30, and letter-copying books, whether wholly or partially manufactured, 6 cents per pound, and in addition thereto 10 per cent ad valorem; albumenized or sensitized paper, 30 per cent ad valorem; crepe paper weighing not less than 6 pounds and not exceeding 10 pounds to the standard ream of 480 sheets on a basis of 15 by 20 inches, 6 cents per pound and 10 per cent ad valorem.

And in lieu thereof to insert:

393. Papers commonly known as copying paper, stereotype paper, tissue paper, pottery paper, and all similar papers, white, colored, or printed, weighing not over 6 pounds to the ream of 480 sheets, on a basis of 20 by 30 inches, and whether in reams or any other form, 6 cents per pound and 15 per cent ad valorem; if weighing over 6 pounds and not over 10 pounds to the ream, and letter-copying books, whether wholly or partly manufactured, 4 cents per pound and 15 per cent ad valorem; crepe paper and filtering paper, 5 cents per pound and 15 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. ALLISON. After the words "pottery paper," in line 4, page 137, I move to insert "paper known as bibulous paper," after a comma.

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. VEST. I simply desire to call attention to the fact that this is a large increase in these articles over the existing rate. The taxation imposed by the existing law is 35 per cent ad valorem. This compound duty amounts to 51.28 per cent ad valorem, which is a very considerable increase, as will be seen at once, and upon articles of prime necessity, without which business can not be conducted in this or any other country.

The amendment as amended was agreed to.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut subsequently said: I was out when paragraph 393 was passed. I wish to ask the Senator from Iowa whether the amendment which was reported by the committee was inserted in that paragraph?

Mr. ALLISON. It was not. My attention was not called to it at the moment.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. There was one amendment adopted to paragraph 393.

Mr. ALLISON. If there is no objection, I should be glad to go back to that paragraph.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The additional amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In line 12, page 137, paragraph 393, before "cents," insert "five" instead of "four;" so as to read:

If weighing over 6 pounds and not over 10 pounds to the ream, and letter-copying books, whether wholly or partly manufactured, 5 cents per pound and 15 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. That was one of the amendments which was reported.

Mr. ALLISON. And printed.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Without objection, the amendment is agreed to.

Mr. VEST. I object.

Mr. ALLISON. It is a little increase there.

Mr. VEST. I thought that paragraph was passed over.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Three hundred and ninety-four was passed over.

Mr. ALLISON. Paragraph 394 was passed over.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was to strike out the following paragraph:

394. Surface-coated papers, plain, embossed, or marbled, 3 cents per pound and 10 per cent ad valorem; if printed, or covered with metal or its solutions, or with gelatin or flock, 3 cents per pound and 20 per cent ad valorem; parchment papers, and plain basic photographic papers for albumenizing, sensitizing, or barita coating, 2 cents per pound and 10 per cent ad valorem; manufactures of surface-coated or parchment papers, 10 per cent ad valorem in addition to the foregoing rates on the same papers; lithographic prints from stone, zinc, aluminium, or other material, bound or unbound (except cigar labels and bands, lettered or blank, music, and illustrations when forming a part of a periodical or newspaper and accompanying the same, or if bound in or forming part of printed books), on paper or other material not exceeding eight one-thousandths of an inch in thickness, 25 cents per pound; on paper or other material exceeding eight one-thousandths of an inch and not exceeding twenty one-thousandths of an inch in thickness, and exceeding 35 square inches cutting size in dimensions, 12 cents per pound; prints exceeding eight one-thousandths of an inch and not exceeding twenty one-thousandths of an inch in thickness, and not exceeding 35 square inches cutting size in dimensions, 10 cents per pound; lithographic prints from stone, zinc, aluminium, or other material, on cardboard or other material, exceeding twenty one-thousandths of an inch in thickness, 9 cents per pound; lithographic cigar labels and bands, lettered or blank, printed from stone, zinc, aluminium, or other material, if printed in less than ten colors, but not including labels printed in whole or in part in bronze or metal leaf, 20 cents per pound; if printed in ten or more colors, and including labels printed in whole or in part in bronze, but not including labels printed in whole or in part in metal leaf, 25 cents per pound; if printed in whole or in part in metal leaf, 40 cents per pound.

And in lieu to insert:

394. Surface-coated papers not specially provided for in this act, 2½ cents per pound and 15 per cent ad valorem; if printed; or wholly or partly covered with metal or its solutions, or with gelatin or flock, 3 cents per pound and 20 per cent ad valorem; parchment papers and plain basic photographic papers for albumenizing, sensitizing, or baryta coating, 2 cents per pound and 10 per cent ad valorem; albumenized or sensitized paper or paper otherwise surface coated for photographic purposes, 30 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask that paragraph 394 may be passed over.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection? No objection being made, paragraph 394 is passed over.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, on page 139, after line 22, to strike out the following:

Manufactures of paper:

395. Paper envelopes, plain, 20 per cent ad valorem; if bordered, embossed, printed, tinted, or decorated, 30 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 140, after line 2, to insert the following paragraph:

395a. Lithographic prints from stone, zinc, aluminium, or other material, bound or unbound (except cigar labels and bands, music, and illustrations when forming part of a periodical or newspaper and accompanying the same, or if bound in or forming part of printed books, not specially provided for in this act), on paper or other material not exceeding eight one-thousandths of an inch in thickness, 25 cents per pound; on paper or other material exceeding eight one-thousandths of an inch and not exceeding twenty one-thousandths of an inch in thickness, and exceeding 35 square inches cutting size in dimensions, 12 cents per pound; prints exceeding eight one-thousandths of an inch and not exceeding twenty one-thousandths of an inch in thickness, and not exceeding 35 square inches cutting size in dimensions, 10 cents per pound; lithographic prints from stone, zinc, aluminium, or other material, on cardboard or other material, exceeding twenty one-thousandths of an inch in thickness, 9 cents per pound; lithographic cigar labels, flaps, and bands, lettered or otherwise, printed from stone, zinc, aluminium, or other material, if printed in less than ten colors, but not including labels printed in whole or in part in bronze or metal leaf, 20 cents per pound; if printed in ten or more colors, and including labels printed in whole or in part in bronze, but not including labels printed in whole or in part in metal leaf, 25 cents per pound; if printed in whole or in part in metal leaf, 35 cents per pound. Books, booklets, and periodicals of paper or other material, of which lithographic prints are the component part of chief value, 8 cents per pound and 15 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. VEST. I wish to call attention to the effect of the amendment in paragraph 395. On the first classification the duty is raised 4 cents over the Wilson Act. Under the next classification the rise is 5 cents, and under the next the rise is 3 cents; so that upon all three of these classifications there is a large increase of duty over existing law.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, on page 141, after line 15, to insert the following paragraph:

395b. Writing, letter, note, hand-made, drawing, ledger, bond, record, tablet, and typewriter paper, weighing not less than 10 pounds and not more than 15 pounds to the ream, 2 cents per pound and 10 per cent ad valorem; weighing more than 15 pounds to the ream, 3½ cents per pound and 15 per cent ad valorem; but if any such paper is ruled, bordered, embossed, printed,

or decorated in any manner, it shall pay 10 per cent ad valorem in addition to the foregoing rates: *Provided*, That in computing the duty on such paper every 180,000 square inches shall be taken to be a ream.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. VEST. I move to strike out the duty imposed in lines 19 and 20, page 141, and insert the existing rate—25 per cent ad valorem.

The SECRETARY. In lines 19 and 20 strike out the words "2 cents per pound and 10 per cent ad valorem" and insert in lieu thereof the words "25 per cent ad valorem."

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. VEST. In lines 21 and 22 I move to strike out "3½ cents per pound and 15 per cent ad valorem" and insert in lieu thereof "35 per cent ad valorem."

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. VEST. Now I want to call attention to the condition of this trade and the absolute certainty that there is no necessity for these increases. The comparative statement shows that in 1896 we exported from this country $108,117 worth of writing paper, and of all other papers $2,521,901 worth. We imported into the United States $146,000 worth. This is a mathematical demonstration of the fact that the paper manufacturers of the United States control the domestic market and send a large portion of their product abroad.

There is another change from the existing law which is a most significant and important one. Heretofore reams have been counted by quires. This changes the system from quires to inches. I am told by experts that it has the effect of increasing the duty. It is a radical departure. In every tariff bill I have ever known anything about we have assumed and stated in the bill that so many quires of paper made a ream. Here is a change to so many inches.

Mr. WHITE. I desire to call attention to a proposition with which we are now somewhat familiar, that in many of the schedules there is in the comparative statement absolutely no data upon which anyone save a trade expert or specialist in the business can find out what the actual percentage of the duty is. In regard to 395a, for instance, on page 210 of the comparative statement, where the Senate rates are from 25 cents to 8 cents a pound upon various articles therein set forth, there is nothing to show, there is no calculation, no estimate as to the percentage, no data furnished, by which it is possible for anyone to make a computation to ascertain whether the rates are very large or not. Obviously the paragraphs were drawn by some one familiar with the business, and it is safe to say that the duties are so high that it would not be safe to disclose them on the face of the document.

Mr. ALLISON. Mr. President, just a word in reply to the Senator from California.

Of course these paragraphs are intended to make the duty on paper specific rather than ad valorem. The same difficulty arises under paper that arises under a good many of the schedules where only an ad valorem duty is provided for. The experts who have examined this matter carefully, I will say, agree (at least so far as I know they agree) that under 395a and 395b the tariff duty is about 35 per cent. Of course it will be a little less on some and a little more on others.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, on page 142, after line 4, to insert the following paragraph:

395c. Paper hangings and paper for screens or fireboards, and all other paper not specially provided for in this act, 25 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 142, after line 8, to insert the following:

Manufactures of paper:

395d. Books of all kinds, including blank books and pamphlets, and engravings bound or unbound, photographs, etchings, maps, charts, music in books or sheets, and printed matter, all the foregoing not specially provided for in this act, 25 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. ALLEN. I have been looking through this schedule with a view of finding out if any provision is made for books, maps, and charts imported for strictly educational purposes. I should like to ask the Senator from Iowa if such a provision is made. I have been unable to find it thus far.

Mr. ALLISON. They are provided for later in the bill, and put upon the free list.

Mr. VEST. I wish to call attention to a gratifying fact to every American, that this country, comparatively a new one, exported in 1896 of books, maps, engravings, pamphlets, etc., to foreign countries $2,338,723 worth and imported about one-half that amount, or $1,361,165 worth. It seems to have been the general impression in a good many quarters that we are dependent for a large amount of our literature upon Europe. These official data show that instead of the balance of trade being against us as to these articles it is largely in our favor.

I make no motion in regard to the rate, because it is the same with the existing law, but I thought it was proper to call attention to this instance of the progress made in the United States as to education and literary culture.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 142, after line 15, to insert the following paragraph:

395e. Paper envelopes, plain, 25 per cent ad valorem; if bordered, embossed, printed, tinted, or decorated, 30 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. ALLISON. On behalf of the majority of the committee, I move to add to paragraph 395e:

If made from tissue, parchment, or imitation parchment paper, 35 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

The amendment as amended was agreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. I move to add a new paragraph, to be called 395f, which was reported in our printed amendment some weeks ago.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to insert as a new paragraph the following:

395f. Photograph, autograph, and scrap albums, wholly or partly manufactured, 35 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, on page 142, after line 18, to strike out the following paragraph:

396. Paper hangings and paper for screens or fire boards, and all other paper not specially provided for in this act, 25 per cent ad valorem; writing, note, letter, hand made, drawing, ledger, bond, record, tablet and typewriter paper, weighing not less than 10 pounds and not more than 15 pounds to the ream, 2½ cents per pound and 10 per cent ad valorem; weighing more than 15 pounds to the ream, 6 cents per pound and 10 per cent ad valorem; but if any such paper is ruled, bordered, embossed, printed or decorated in any manner, it shall pay 10 per cent ad valorem in addition to the foregoing rates: *Provided*, That in computing the duty on such paper every 180,000 square inches shall be taken to be a ream, without regard to the number of sheets contained therein.

The next amendment was, on page 143, after line 11, to strike out the following paragraph:

397. Blank books of all kinds, books, including pamphlets and engravings, bound or unbound, photographs, etchings, maps, music, charts, and all printed matter not specially provided for in this act, 25 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 143, after line 16, to strike out the following paragraph:

398. Playing cards, in packs not exceeding 54 cards and at a like rate for any number in excess, 10 cents per pack and 50 per cent ad valorem.

And in lieu thereof to insert:

398. Playing cards, in packs not exceeding 54 cards and at a like rate for any number in excess, 20 cents per pack and 20 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. VEST. I suppose playing cards have no friends in this Chamber; but I want to call attention to the enormous increase of duty, and I think as a revenue matter it is a mistake. This amendment raises the duty from 140 per cent, which is an enormous one, under the present law, to 200 per cent. I suppose if a motion were made to increase it to 500 per cent, there would be no objection to it, because it is just one of those subjects with which morality and religion are arrayed upon one side and the ungodly on the other. But, as a matter of collecting revenue, I do not believe that these enormous duties are successful. I think that 140 per cent is enough and will collect more revenue than 200 per cent. As a matter of protection, it is not needed at all.

Mr. MILLS. What is the unit of value?

Mr. WHITE. Eleven cents. The rate proposed is 200 per cent.

Mr. MILLS. And there is an internal-revenue tax of 3 cents.

Mr. VEST. Yes.

Mr. MILLS. Why make an increase to 200 per cent?

Mr. VEST. That is just the question I am asking. I think it is a mistake.

Mr. MILLS. Of course it is.

Mr. VEST. I think it will cause a decrease in the revenue. We had great doubts in enacting the law of 1894 as to making the duty so high as it is, and I believe by reference to the comparative statement it will be seen that it did not increase the revenue.

Mr. WHITE. I call the attention of the Senator from Missouri to the fact that the revenue for 1896 upon this article was $1,459.75; so that the present rate will be absolutely prohibitive.

Mr. VEST. That is the intention of the act. It is to exclude all foreign importations. As a matter of course, it will decrease the revenue.

The amendment was agreed to.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, under the heading "Schedule N.—Sundries," on page 144, after line 5, to strike out the following paragraph:

400. Beads of all kinds, not strung, 35 per cent ad valorem; trimmings and ornaments, including such as are known as bead, beaded, or jet trimmings or ornaments, not specially provided for in this act, composed wholly or in part of glass or paste, gelatin or metal, 50 per cent ad valorem.

And to insert in lieu:

400. Beads of all kinds, not threaded or strung, 35 per cent ad valorem; fabrics, nets or nettings, laces, embroideries, galloons, wearing apparel, ornaments, trimmings, and other articles not specially provided for in this act, composed wholly or in part of beads or spangles made of glass or paste, gelatin, metal, or other material, but not composed in part of wool, 60 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in paragraph 401, page 144, line 22, after the word "stained," to strike out "twenty-five" and insert "twenty;" so as to make the paragraph read:

401. Braids, plaits, laces, and willow sheets or squares, composed wholly of straw, chip, grass, palm leaf, willow, osier, or rattan, suitable for making or ornamenting hats, bonnets, or hoods, not bleached, dyed, colored or stained, 15 per cent ad valorem; if bleached, dyed, colored or stained, 20 per cent ad valorem; hats, bonnets, and hoods, composed of straw, chip, grass, palm leaf, willow, osier, or rattan, whether wholly or partly manufactured, but not trimmed, 35 per cent ad valorem; if trimmed, 50 per cent ad valorem. But the terms "grass" and "straw" shall be understood to mean these substances in their natural form and structure, and not the separated fiber thereof.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in paragraph 402, page 145, line 5, after the word "Brushes," to strike out "for the hair, nails, or teeth, and all other brushes, and;" in line 6, after the word "brooms," to strike out the comma; and in line 8, after the words "ad valorem," to strike out the comma and the words "bristles, bunched or prepared, 7½ cents per pound;" so as to make the paragraph read:

402. Brushes, brooms and feather dusters of all kinds, and hair pencils, in quills or otherwise, 40 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. VEST. In line 7, page 145, paragraph 402, I move to strike out "forty" and insert "thirty-five," which is the existing law. I call attention to the fact that by the comparative statement in 1896 we exported from this country $180,183 worth of brooms and we imported but $12,660 worth, showing that we absolutely control the domestic market and export largely abroad.

The amendment was rejected.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, on page 145, after line 9, to insert the following paragraph:

402½. Bristles, sorted, bunched or prepared, 7½ cents per pound.

The amendment was agreed to.

The reading of the bill was resumed at line 12, page 145, as follows:

Buttons and button forms.

Mr. ALLISON. I move to insert immediately after the words "Buttons and button forms:"

Trousers buckles made wholly or partly of iron or steel, or parts thereof, valued at not more than 15 cents per hundred, 5 cents per hundred; valued at more than 15 cents per hundred and not more than 50 cents per hundred, 10 cents per hundred; valued at more than 50 cents per hundred, 15 cents per hundred; and in addition thereto on each and all of the above buckles or parts of buckles, 15 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was to strike out paragraph 404, as follows:

404. Buttons, whether wholly or partly manufactured, parts of buttons and button molds or blanks, shall pay duty at the following rates, the line button measure being one-fortieth of 1 inch, namely: Buttons known commercially as agate buttons, one-half of 1 cent per line per great gross; buttons of bone, one-fourth of 1 cent per line per gross; buttons of pearl or shell, 1½ cents per line per gross; buttons of ivory, vegetable ivory, horn, glass, or metal, three-fourths of 1 cent per line per gross; and in addition thereto, on all the foregoing articles in this paragraph, 15 per cent ad valorem; shoe buttons, made of paper, board, papier mâché, pulp, or other similar material not specially provided for in this act, valued at not exceeding 3 cents per gross, 1 cent per gross; buttons not specially provided for in this act, 50 per cent ad valorem.

And in lieu thereof to insert:

404. Buttons or parts of buttons and button molds or blanks, finished or unfinished, shall pay duty at the following rates, the line button measure being one-fortieth of 1 inch, namely: Buttons known commercially as agate buttons, metal trousers buttons, and nickel bar buttons, one-twelfth of 1 cent per line per gross; buttons of bone, one-fourth of 1 cent per line per gross; buttons of pearl or shell, 1½ cents per line per gross; buttons of horn, vegetable ivory, glass, or metal, not specially provided for in this act, three-fourths of 1 cent per line per gross, and in addition thereto, on all the foregoing articles in this paragraph, 15 per cent ad valorem; shoe buttons made of paper, board, papier mache, pulp or other similar material, not specially provided for in this act, valued at not exceeding 3 cents per gross, 1 cent per gross; buttons not specially provided for in this act, and all collar or cuff buttons and studs, 50 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. ALLISON. In line 18 of the amended paragraph, after the word "buttons," where it first occurs in the line, I move to insert "except steel;" and in line 19, after the word "bone," to insert the words "and steel trousers buttons."

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment submitted by the Senator from Iowa will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In the amended paragraph proposed to be inserted by the committee as a substitute for the original paragraph 404, in line 18, after the word "buttons" where it first occurs, it is proposed to insert "except steel;" and in line 19, after the word "bone," to insert "and steel trousers buttons;" so as to read:

Buttons known commercially as agate buttons, metal trousers buttons, except steel, and nickel bar buttons, one-twelfth of 1 cent per line per gross; buttons of bone and steel trousers buttons, one-fourth of 1 cent per line per gross.

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question recurs on the amendment as amended, striking out the original paragraph 404 and inserting in lieu thereof the new paragraph 404 as it has been amended on the motion of the Senator from Iowa.

The amendment as amended was agreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask that paragraph 405, relating to coal, may be passed over for the present.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the request to pass over paragraph 405? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

The reading of the bill was resumed; and paragraph 406 was read, as follows:

406. Cork bark, cut into squares or cubes, 8 cents per pound; manufactured corks over one-half inch in diameter measured at larger end, 15 cents per pound; one-half inch and less in diameter, measured at larger end, 25 cents per pound; cork, artificial, or cork substitutes, manufactured from cork waste and not otherwise provided for, 8 cents per pound.

Mr. ALLISON. In line 20, before the word "inch," I move to strike out "one-half" and insert "three-fourths of an."

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Iowa will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In paragraph 406, line 20, page 147, before the word "inch," it is proposed to strike out "one-half" and insert three-fourths of an;" so as to read:

Manufactured corks over three-fourths of an inch in diameter, measured at the larger end, 15 cents per pound.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. Before the word "inch," at the beginning of line 22, I move to strike out "one-half" and insert "three-fourths of an."

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Iowa will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In paragraph 406, page 147, before the word "inch," at the beginning of line 22, it is proposed to strike out "one-half" and insert "three-fourths of an;" so as to read:

Three-fourths of an inch and less in diameter, measured at the larger end, 25 cents per pound.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. VEST. I call attention to the fact that this increase of duty in line 23 is above the McKinley rate, which was 15 cents per pound, and the amendment makes it 25 cents per pound. I move to strike out "25 cents" and insert the existing rate, "10 cents."

Mr. WHITE. With the Senator's permission, I wish to offer a substitute.

Mr. VEST. My colleague on the committee wishes to propose a substitute for the whole paragraph, and so I will withhold my amendment.

Mr. WHITE. With the permission of the Senator from Missouri, I will move to strike out paragraph 406, as reported by the committee, and in lieu thereof to insert the following:

Corks, whole or partially manufactured, 10 cents per pound—

Which is the present law.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Missouri accept the substitute proposed by the Senator from California?

Mr. VEST. Certainly.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from California moves an amendment to paragraph 406 in the nature of a substitute, which will be stated.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to strike out paragraph 406 and in lieu thereof to insert:

Corks, wholly or partially manufactured, 10 cents per pound.

The amendment was rejected.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 409, page 148, line 10, after the words "emery wheels," to strike out the comma and the word "and;" and in line 11, after the word "files," to insert "and manufactures of which emery is the component material of chief value;" so as to make the paragraph read:

409. Emery grains, and emery manufactured, ground, pulverized, or refined, 1 cent per pound; emery wheels emery files, and manufactures of which emery is the component material of chief value, 25 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. VEST. I call attention to the fact that emery wheels for the first time are now put on the dutiable list; and I am at a loss to know, even with the enormous increases found all through this bill, why this should have been done. We exported, in 1896, $48,762 worth of emery wheels, and we imported none. So there can be no object here of protecting the American manufacture, for there is not a single dollar's worth of these articles brought to this country, while last year we exported nearly $50,000 worth. While it is a comparatively small matter, yet I think this increased taxation is arbitrary and not necessary.

Mr. ALLISON. I inquire what was done in the case of the comma, which was proposed to be stricken out by the committee, after the words "emery wheels," in line 10?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. It was stricken out.

Mr. ALLISON. The comma ought to remain, and I ask that it may be restored.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Without objection, the comma after the words "emery wheels" will be restored, the amendment of the committee proposing to strike it out being disagreed to.

The reading of the bill was resumed at line 14, on page 148, "Explosive substances." The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 410, page 148, line 15, before the word "cents," to strike out "eight" and insert "six;" so as to make the paragraph read:

410. Firecrackers of all kinds, 6 cents per pound, the weight to include all coverings, wrappings, and packing material.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in paragraph 412, page 148, line 24, before the word "cents," to strike out "five" and insert "four;" in line 1, on page 149, before the word "cents," to strike out "eight" and insert "six;" and after the word "pound," at the end of the same line, to strike out "smokeless powder, 12 cents per pound;" so as to make the paragraph read:

412. Gunpowder, and all explosive substances used for mining, blasting, artillery, or sporting purposes, when valued at 20 cents or less per pound, 4 cents per pound; valued above 20 cents per pound, 6 cents per pound.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in paragraph 413, page 149, line 3, after the word "descriptions," to strike out "per gross of 144 boxes, containing not more than 100 matches per box, 10 cents per gross; when imported otherwise than in boxes containing not more than 100 matches each, 1 cent per 1,000 matches" and insert "20 per cent ad valorem;" so as to make the paragraph read:

413. Matches, friction or lucifer, of all descriptions, 20 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. ALLISON. I wish to modify the amendment proposed by the Committee on Finance by striking out "20 per cent ad valorem," and amending the text of the bill as it came from the House by striking out "ten," in line 6, before the word "cents," and inserting "eight;" and in line 8, by striking out "one," before the word "cent," and inserting "three-fourths of a."

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The committee amendment having been withdrawn, the amendment proposed by the Senator from Iowa will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In paragraph 413, line 6, before the word "cents," it is proposed to strike out "ten" and insert "eight;" and in line 8, before the word "cent," to strike out "one" and insert "three-fourths of a;" so as to make the paragraph read:

413. Matches, friction or lucifer, of all descriptions, per gross of 144, containing not more than 100 matches per box, 8 cents per gross; when imported otherwise than in boxes containing not more than 100 matches each, three-fourths of a cent per 1,000 matches.

Mr. WHITE. I call attention to the fact that the Senate committee having this matter in charge, after investigation, so amended paragraph 413 as to make it accord exactly with the Wilson law, and now the committee propose to recede from the position thus taken and adopts a much higher rate. That is the real gist of the question now before the Senate.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question before the Senate is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Iowa on behalf of the Committee on Finance.

Mr. VEST. I call for the yeas and nays.

Mr. GRAY. Let us have just a word of explanation, please. I think we are entitled to it.

Mr. ALLISON. The committee originally recommended 20 per cent ad valorem in lieu of the specific rates provided for in the bill as it came to us from the House of Representatives. On further examination, we are led to believe that these matches should have a specific duty. There are large importations from Japan and other countries, and it is said there are great undervaluations; and especially are there undervaluations in importations from across the border. Therefore, we propose, in lieu of 20 per cent ad valorem, to make a specific duty which is substantially 20 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. WHITE. I inquire of the Senator, taking 8 cents per gross, which he now indicates as the proper amount, what is the corresponding ad valorem percentage? The comparative statement affords no information whatever either as to 10 cents per gross or 8 cents per gross.

Mr. ALLISON. From the best information I can secure, I think on many of the matches it will be a little less than 20 per cent and on others it will be a little over that.

Mr. WHITE. I am told it is over 50 per cent.

Mr. ALLISON. That may be so on some of the very small varieties of matches.

Mr. WHITE. No; on the general description.

Mr. ALLISON. Also on some of the high-priced matches.

Mr. GRAY. Mr. President, the match industry in this country has grown to be one of very great importance and of very great proportions. Match manufacturers have been enabled, it seems to me, to prosecute very successfully their business. All great businesses, which appeal in their product to the masses of the country for consumption, if properly managed, are immensely profitable; that is, the scale of consumption is immense. I can very readily understand why those who are engaged in the manufacture of things which are used by the million demand higher duties than those who make a comparatively small line of articles that are used by the very wealthy. A man who gets an eighth of a cent on every tin cup that is used by 70,000,000 people is better off than the man who gets $1 on every silk dress. So it is, we observe, on all the manufactures which go into general consumption and which are used in every cabin in this country, in every home, however humble, they being necessities of life, that the persons who control those industries demand a high ad valorem rate of duty, and they demand it under the guise always of a specific duty, because that serves to conceal the ad valorem, and answers their purpose better in preventing importations and interfering with access to the cheaper products of the world.

Mr. President, I know something about the match industry. It has been a very large industry in my own State; in fact, the modern match industry started in the State of Delaware, and the Diamond Match Company took its name from the Diamond State, which I in part represent. Now, I should like to know why it is that this industry, which I know has been successfully carried on and is being successfully carried on to-day, demands the levy of a tribute upon every man, woman, and child in the country to make that business more profitable? Where does the information come from? It is ex parte. It could not have come here through investigation, for the Senator does not state that there has been an investigation. He states that they have been informed. Informed by match manufacturers? We know there is a great syndicate, a match trust, out in the Western country, and some very able and wealthy people are interested in it. I do not understand why the comparatively moderate 20 per cent ad valorem, which the Senate committee were quite willing to report here, should be changed and upon whose demand it is changed.

Mr. ALLISON. I will say a word in response to the Senator from Delaware. Those who have the administration of this law, the experts of the Treasury, say to us that this duty should be specific and not ad valorem, in order that whatever duties are levied may be collected. That being true, we found in this paragraph a specific duty of 10 cents per gross and 1 cent per thousand for matches in bulk; and, as near as we could ascertain, taking all the matches by and large, 8 cents a gross, I frankly say to the Senator, I think will work out a slight increase on the present duty, if honestly administered; but as it is now administered under the ad valorem duty, these matches come in, especially from Japan and from other countries, at a mere nominal valuation, for they are valued in the country whence they come.

Mr. GRAY. I want to know right there, is there anything in the demand made by these match manufacturers that is based upon the compensation necessary by reason of the duty on lumber?

Mr. ALLISON. They make the contention—and I suppose there is something in it—that there is an increased duty on lumber. There is also an increased duty on phosphorus in this bill. The present duty on phosphorus, I believe, is 15 cents per pound.

Mr. GRAY. Which is proposed to be raised.

Mr. ALLISON. The House of Representatives fixed the rate on phosphorus at 20 cents per pound, and we have reduced it to 10 cents.

Mr. GRAY. That is below the present duty.

Mr. ALLISON. Below the present duty. But the paragraph has been passed over because it has been demonstrated to us that 10 cents a pound is absolutely necessary. There is also an increased duty in this bill placed upon glue, which is a very important element in this manufacture. So the duty on their raw materials has been increased.

Mr. GRAY. That is what I am after—the basis for the demand of the increase on the manufactured product.

Mr. ALLISON. The manufacturers make that demand.

Mr. GRAY. That illustrates what we have had demonstrated before, the far-reaching effect of a duty on the raw material.

Mr. ALLISON. It does.

Mr. GRAY. You can not tell where it is going to strike.

Mr. ALLISON. All these things are far reaching.

Mr. GRAY. So we go. That shows that the basic principle of raw material is worth considering.

Mr. ALLISON. I want to say a word about the manufacture of matches. There are about thirty or thirty-five of these match factories in the United States all told. They are in California, in Oregon, in Indiana, in Michigan, in Illinois, in Wisconsin, in New York, in Pennsylvania, in New Jersey, and in West Virginia, I believe. They are scattered all over the country. The Diamond Match Company, which, I believe, had its origin in the State of Delaware, is one of the large manufacturers of matches, and I understand manufactures about 50 per cent of all the matches consumed in the United States. They have recently, as I have been told—I do not know how true it is—purchased large interests in a factory, or have erected a factory in Liverpool, in which they have a large interest, though I am told they are not the exclusive owners.

Possibly it may be very agreeable and pleasant for them to have a low duty on matches, so as to secure our market for their product; I do not know what their view is, but certainly to be ready for any contingency as to the production of matches. The twenty-five or thirty match factories outside of the Diamond Match Company are not, however, able to do this. Therefore if this industry is to remain in our country it is necessary that there should be a duty imposed, and the duty here is specific, and is not largely above the duty in the present law. That is all there is to this question.

Mr. SMITH. I am glad to hear the Senator from Iowa say this request is made by the match manufacturers, because there happens to be a very large concern located in the State of New Jersey, and they have written me to the effect that they do not require and do not want any protection; that the bill as it came from the House was made up entirely in the interest of what is known as the Diamond match trust, and that as individual manufacturers they do not need it and do not want it. The letter to which I have referred is signed by Mr. Gould, who owns a large match concern at Camden, N. J. So there seems to be some difference of opinion amongst match manufacturers as to whether they need protection or not in this instance.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the original amendment proposed by the Committee on Finance, not including, however, the amendments to the text.

Mr. VEST. I asked for the yeas and nays.

Mr. ALLISON. I now desire that the committee amendment be disagreed to.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair will decide that, in the absence of objection, the original amendments are disagreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. I now move, in line 6, to insert "eight" instead of "ten," and in line 8 "three-fourths of 1 cent per pound" instead of "1 cent."

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the amendment proposed by the Senator from Iowa.

Mr. ALLISON. Now I wish to read a brief statement which I find in the report of the House hearings on matches. I do this for the benefit of our friend the Senator from New Jersey.

Mr. WHITE. From what page does the Senator propose to read?

Mr. ALLISON. Page 1869:

> Our city of Camden has four large match factories, employing more than 500 hands, with an aggregate capital of $450,000. To-day but one plant is running, and that one is losing money, and all because foreign matches are being imported into the United States at a cost of 20 cents per gross from Japan, when it costs us 40 cents per gross to produce them here. I speak of the most salable size—the small box containing 60 matches to the box.
>
> The Diamond Match Company has erected at Liverpool a large plant costing $1,000,000, and they are satisfied to have the present Wilson tariff. We are not connected in any manner with trusts or pools, but we can not compete with the pauper labor of Europe.
>
> H. B. HAMELL,
> *Vice-President New Jersey Match Company.*

I regret to see that New Jersey seems to be divided on this question. The match companies in New Jersey, outside of the one alluded to by the Senator from New Jersey who has just spoken, all say that it is impossible for them to get on without a duty on matches, and they want it specific, as the experts of the Treasury want it specific. That is all I think there is about the match question.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Without objection, the amendments proposed by the committee are agreed to. The Senator from Missouri moves to restore 20 per cent ad valorem, the Chair thinks.

Mr. VEST. Yes, sir.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. What is the motion?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. To restore 20 per cent ad valorem. The Chair does not know in what shape the amendment is proposed.

Mr. WHITE. If I understand it, it is to insert paragraph 326 of the present law.

Mr. VEST. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITE. That paragraph reads as follows:

> Matches, friction or lucifer, of all descriptions, 20 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. ALLISON. What is the motion?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The motion is to strike out paragraph 413 and insert the provision of the Wilson law.

Mr. ALLISON. Very well.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Upon the amendment the yeas and nays are demanded by the Senator from Missouri.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CLAY (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE]. Were he present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. FAULKNER (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. ELKINS]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. MITCHELL (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SEWELL]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. MORGAN (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. QUAY].

Mr. MORRILL (when his name was called). I am paired with the senior Senator from Tennessee [Mr. HARRIS], and therefore withhold my vote on this question, as I shall do for the rest of the day.

Mr. PENROSE (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Delaware [Mr. KENNEY], and therefore do not vote.

Mr. RAWLINS (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Ohio [Mr. HANNA]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. WHITE (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Idaho [Mr. SHOUP]. Were he present, I should vote "yea."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. CANNON. I am paired with the senior Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. HANSBROUGH. I am paired with the senior Senator from Virginia [Mr. DANIEL].

Mr. HAWLEY. I am paired with the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. BATE]. If he were present, I should vote "nay."

Mr. CLAY. I transfer my pair with the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] to the Senator from Virginia [Mr. MARTIN], and will vote. I vote "yea."

Mr. TILLMAN (after having voted in the affirmative). I am paired with the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. THURSTON]. I did not notice that he was absent. I therefore withdraw my vote.

Mr. WARREN. I desire to announce that my colleague [Mr. CLARK], who is unavoidably absent, is paired with the junior Senator from Kansas [Mr. HARRIS], who is also absent.

The result was announced—yeas 20, nays 26; as follows:

YEAS—20.

Bacon,	Gray,	Murphy,	Smith,
Berry,	Heitfeld,	Pasco,	Turner,
Chilton,	McLaurin,	Pettigrew,	Turpie,
Clay,	Mallory,	Pettus,	Vest,
Cockrell,	Mills,	Roach,	Walthall.

NAYS—26.

Allison,	Foraker,	McEnery,	Spooner,
Burrows,	Frye,	Nelson,	Stewart,
Carter,	Gallinger,	Perkins,	Warren,
Chandler,	Gear,	Platt, Conn.	Wetmore,
Cullom,	Hale,	Platt, N. Y.	Wilson.
Deboe,	Hoar,	Pritchard,	
Fairbanks,	McBride,	Proctor,	

NOT VOTING—43.

Aldrich,	Faulkner,	Kyle,	Quay,
Allen,	George,	Lindsay,	Rawlins,
Baker,	Gorman,	Lodge,	Sewell,
Bate,	Hanna,	McMillan,	Shoup,
Butler,	Hansbrough,	Mantle,	Telier,
Caffery,	Harris, Kans.	Martin,	Thurston,
Cannon,	Harris, Tenn.	Mason,	Tillman,
Clark,	Hawley,	Mitchell,	Wellington,
Daniel,	Jones, Ark.	Morgan,	White,
Davis,	Jones, Nev.	Morrill,	Wolcott.
Elkins,	Kenney,	Penrose,	

So Mr. VEST's amendment was rejected.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask the Secretary to read the paragraph as it stands.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read as follows:

> 413. Matches, friction or lucifer, of all descriptions, per gross of 144 boxes, containing not more than 100 matches per box, 8 cents per gross; when imported otherwise than in boxes containing not more than 100 matches each, three-fourths of 1 cent per 1,000 matches.

Mr. ALLISON. That is all right.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 414, page 149, line 13, after the word "caps," to strike out:

> And 10 per cent ad valorem; safety fuse, covered in part or wholly with yarns, tape, or gutta-percha, 45 per cent ad valorem.

So as to make the paragraph read:

> 414. Percussion caps, 30 per cent ad valorem; cartridges, 35 per cent ad valorem; blasting caps, $2.36 per 1,000 caps.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. VEST. I wish to call the attention of Senators from the mining States to this very large increase upon blasting caps. In the Wilson Act we put the duty at $2.07 a thousand caps. Very great complaint was then made from the mining States because so large a duty was imposed. Now it is proposed to make it $2.36 and 10 per cent ad valorem, I believe, or 15 per cent.

Mr. FRYE. The ad valorem duty is stricken out.

Mr. VEST. Very well. It is proposed to make it $2.36 a thousand, an increase from $2.07 to $2.36. I move to strike out "$2.36" and insert "$2.07," to which I call the attention of Senators from the mining States, who understand the matter much better than I do.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Missouri.

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. PETTIGREW. I see the committee have stricken out the provision which placed the duty at 45 per cent ad valorem upon blasting or safety fuse, used in mining operations. I should like to ask what the duty will be on safety fuse with this provision stricken out of the bill?

Mr. ALLISON. It will come under paragraph 411, page 148, 30 per cent. or if covered with gutta-percha it will be 35 per cent.

Mr. PETTIGREW. It will be 35 per cent if covered with gutta-percha?

Mr. ALLISON. Yes, sir; the rates will be 35 and 30 per cent.

Mr. PETTIGREW. Then the rate will be according to what composes the principal part of the fuse. Suppose it is formed of linen; the rate would be under the blanket clause in regard to linen?

Mr. ALLISON. None of it will pay over 45 per cent under any basket clause.

Mr. PETTIGREW. Under the basket clauses the duty would vary, according to what the article is made of?

Mr. ALLISON. Yes, sir; 30, 35, and 40.

Mr. PETTIGREW. I move to add, at the end of paragraph 414, just what the committee have stricken out, amending it by striking out "forty-five" and inserting "ten," so that the duty on safety fuse will be 10 per cent ad valorem. It will then read:

Safety fuse, covered in part or wholly with yarns, tape, or gutta-percha, 10 per cent ad valorem.

This is the fuse used in the mining regions of our country. Four firms manufacture it. Two years ago they sold it for $2.80 a thousand feet. To-day they sell it for $4.95 per thousand feet. They have formed a combination by which they sell to the powder dealers only and compel them to charge the price fixed by the combination. The combination is formed upon the plan of the sugar trust and the other trusts in this country. Last year certain persons started to build a factory in Chicago. The combination thereupon put down the price to a low figure, $1.50 a thousand below what they are now charging, and discouraged those people so that they went out of business, and immediately the price was raised back to $4.95. I am credibly informed that they propose to increase the price from $4.95 to $5.50 a thousand in case they can get the duties provided in this bill.

Under these circumstances, and owing to the fact that the law of competition is completely overturned, the theory upon which we levy protective duties, it seems to me the rates should be placed at a point where competition can operate, so that the mining industry of the country will not be subject to this burden. There are but few people engaged in the industry; in fact, only three or four families, perhaps not more than a dozen people in all, and the work is done by machinery, scarcely any labor being employed.

I ask the Secretary to read a letter which I have received in regard to this trust.

The Secretary read as follows:

DENVER, COLO., *May 21, 1897.*

DEAR SIR: The most satisfactory way to convince those interested that a trust is in existence among the fuse manufacturers of this country is to relate my own business experience.

Some six years ago I was appointed commission agent for this district of the Judson Dynamite and Powder Company, of San Francisco. This company handled exclusively the product of the Western Fuse Company. At that period, and for some time subsequently, there was no uniformity in the price, but the average cost for double-tape fuse delivered at Colorado common points was about $5.50 per thousand feet. Several sales, however, were made by me at less figures, and out of which I received a commission of $1 per case, or about 17 cents per thousand feet. In open competition on one occasion I was authorized by E. G. Lukens, president of the Judson Dynamite and Powder Company, to offer Western fuse in carload lots as low as $2.80 per thousand feet delivered in Colorado, provided I waive my commission, which is prima facie evidence that the cost at the factory could not exceed $2.25.

Later on, not making sufficient profit in the business, the manufacturers held a meeting, a compact was formed, the price (at this point) of fuse from the East as well as West was advanced to $5.15, and the Judson Company officially informed me that a combination of the fuse manufacturers had been effected and that the prices named by them must be maintained at all hazards or a heavy penalty would be inflicted. Under these arrangements the powder companies received a commission of 10 per cent on all sales, and the total amount of the monthly purchases made by them, less the commission, was paid into the San Francisco Fuse Association on the 1st of the following month and distributed thereafter among the fuse companies, the latter on their part agreeing to sell only to the powder companies.

A year or so ago, as stated in my last letter, a Chicago factory was contemplated, but did not materialize, because the trust immediately reduced the price to $4.50. As soon, however, as the new concern was sufficiently frightened to drop the proposed scheme up went the price to $4.95, and it is intended to give it a further boost if the 45 per cent duty of the Dingley bill becomes a law.

I may furthermore say, for your guidance, that nearly all the fuse used in this State comes from California, and is supplied to the trade in the following manner:

Judson Dynamite and Powder Company furnishes Western fuse.
California Powder Company furnishes Eva fuse.
Giant Powder Company furnishes Ensign, Bickford & Co. fuse.

This, in brief, is the history of the fuse combination, and will, I trust, assist you in accomplishing the object we all have in view.

Yours, respectfully,

J. FITZ. BRIND.

Senator PETTIGREW, *Washington, D. C.*

Mr. PETTIGREW. I have further information with regard to this trust which I also desire to have read and placed in the RECORD. It appears that the combination of fuse makers not only have fixed the price arbitrarily at more than 100 per cent profit, but they have also divided the country between them and said what portion of it should be plundered by one member of the combination and what portion of it should be plundered by another. If we are passing a tariff bill for the purpose of making the rate so that these combinations can go to the limit of the tariff in the price they charge, it is well for the people of this country to understand it. We will have the issue well defined. We will have it distinctly presented that the purpose of the bill is to give the trust a chance to charge the limit of the tariff, not to furnish competition, so as to provide cheaper goods to our own people, but to prevent competition, overthrowing the laws of trade and declaring that competition is killing. I ask the Secretary to read the article which I send to the desk.

The Secretary read as follows:

The fuse is made entirely by machine, made by four firms, all of which are close corporations—Ensign, Bickford & Co., controlled by a single family, Ensign being a son-in-law of Bickford; the Climax Fuse Company, composed of two or three stockholders, both located at Simsbury, Conn.; the Western Fuse Company and the Eva Fuse Company, of San Francisco. Ensign, Bickford & Co. also have a branch in San Francisco. Two associations have been formed, the three concerns doing business in San Francisco and the two located in Connecticut. These two associations work in the most absolute harmony. The price at which fuse is to be sold is fixed by the Western association, selling as far as Colorado, which is the common point for both associations. The fuse is sold to powder companies only, which make their settlements monthly with an agent of each association, the proceeds of sales being divided between the different fuse companies by the agent. The price of fuse in this market before the combination was formed was about $3.50 per 1,000 feet in carload lots. Since the formation of these associations the price has been gradually raised, until now the price paid by the powder companies is $4.95 per 1,000 feet in carload lots or less.

The fuse is made entirely by machinery and, though a very important industry, does not require the employment of a large number of men. The combination is one of the most compact in the United States. The powder company is required to report every sale of fuse made, and the settlements are made upon these reports. The tariff rate has been uniformly 35 per cent ad valorem since the passage of the McKinley bill, no change having been made in the Wilson bill, and the same rate is imposed by the Dingley bill as it came from the House.

Representations have been made to our Senators that the effect of the maintenance of this rate has been to raise the price of fuse in this market, and that a 10 per cent duty is sufficient for protection, and action will doubtless be taken in the Senate committee.

Mr. PETTIGREW. It seems a new way to secure prosperity, that we should select these trusts and combinations and place an excessive rate upon what they produce in order to facilitate that which they are already doing, combining and charging the highest possible price for their products. This fuse is used in the mining States. I propose to put upon record, by the yeas and nays, the Senators from those States, and see whether a caucus combination is strong enough to compel them to vote to make the miner pay this bonus to the combination of fuse makers.

Mr. WILSON. May I ask the Senator from South Dakota a question? Do the miners pay for the fuse?

Mr. PETTIGREW. Most certainly they pay for it.

Mr. WILSON. Do not the owners of the great mines have to pay for it?

Mr. PETTIGREW. All over that mining country, all over the State represented in part by the Senator from Washington, are thousands of men prospecting. The great mines are few, but the prospectors and the miners are many. Thousands of men in his State and my State are out through those mountains prospecting for mines, sinking shafts, running tunnels, developing their property. They are buying the fuse for that purpose. Their number, compared with the number of men connected with great mines who buy it, is twenty to one. Most certainly the miners buy the fuse, and they pay for it. Most certainly it is a tax upon every toiler and producer in that country.

Mr. WILSON. When I sunk a shaft I bought my own fuse. The miners did not buy it.

Mr. PETTIGREW. Yes; that is true. The Senator from Washington hired men and bought the fuse for them, no doubt; but, aside from the fact that he furnished the money and employed the men, as I said before, there are thousands of men all through the mountains in his State who themselves are purchasing the fuse and working and developing their own property.

The men I refer to are the pioneers of the mining industry and are entitled to our special care. They were buying fuse for $3.50 per 1,000 feet, and in a week it rose to $6.50 per 1,000 feet. They know this was done by a combination of producers, and they have not forgotten and will not forget or forgive the men who put this unjust and dishonest burden upon them. These men are the very bone and sinew of our mining industries. They are industrious, honest, persistent. To them we owe a debt of gratitude which will never be paid. Are Senators going to vote to leave them where this greedy combination of rich firms can contrive to plunder them and grow richer at their expense?

Mr. TELLER. Mr. President, the mining in this country is largely carried on by the individual efforts of poor men, and while

the Senator from Washington may be sufficiently strong in his capital to pay for the fuse without noticing the loss, it is not true of a great many men who are producing gold and silver in the United States.

Mr. WILSON. May I interrupt the Senator from Colorado?

Mr. TELLER. Certainly.

Mr. WILSON. This question has been brought up simply by the interrogatory I made. I did purchase the fuse, but I "got broke" in the business.

Mr. TELLER. The Senator was like a good many other men who have attempted to mine in the Western country. He "got broke." I think the majority of those who have mined have "gone broke" at some time. It is the exception when a man gets rich at mining. And one hears about the exceptions and never hears about the broken people. In many parts of the West probably 75 per cent of the output comes from men who do their own labor and own their own mines, or if they are not the owners of the mines they are lessees. That is the class of men who are taxed by the imposition of duties upon fuse.

I challenge the committee to show that anybody has given them any evidence whatever that they can justify themselves in saying that there is a condition in the United States touching the fuse business that requires an additional tariff on fuse. If there has been anybody before the committee, it is the trust, the combination of which the Senator from South Dakota has spoken—a combination that has added very materially to the cost of fuse within the last two years, and a combination which proposes, if this additional duty is put on, to add again to the burdens upon the miners.

Mr. President, I do not know upon what theory this bill goes. I do not know whether it is the theory of the committee and party that are backing the pending bill that it is a bill upon protective principles or a bill for revenue, or whether it is a bill for both purposes. I do know, though, that, whether it is a bill for protection or revenue, there is no justification for an increase of duty at this time upon this article. If it is a bill for revenue, the revenue derived from the article is trifling and small, and it is not a subject-matter upon which the Government of the United States ought to be attempting to get revenue. If it is for protection, I challenge the committee to show that there is any reason on the face of the earth why there should be an additional duty put upon it unless it is that it may assist and support this trust with other trusts.

The mining industry of the country is one to be encouraged, whether it be the mining of iron, coal, copper, silver, or gold, and it can not be encouraged by putting an additional duty, as the committee have done, upon fuse, and an extra duty upon cyanide and other things that are calculated to burden the mining interests. As one in favor of protection, I would be willing that there should be a fair duty upon every article that enters into the mining industry necessary for the protection of those engaged in the industry of producing fuse, cyanide, or anything else. I am willing that the mining industry shall bear its share in supporting the protective system, because it has been the protective theory (and the protective theory is good for nothing unless it is true) that eventually, when we have built up the enterprises and industries in this country, the men who paid the additional price and bore the additional burdens should then be benefited.

Mr. President, if the committee can show on this or any other article that there is a necessity for an increased duty in order that they may procure for the American manufacturer and the American producer a market that will equalize the labor in this country and the labor in some other country where the article is produced, I am willing that an industry that is so large in my State shall bear its proportion of the burden. I am not one of those who believe that the people who import goods into this country bear the entire burden of an import duty. I know they do not. But I am not willing, for the sake of building up and strengthening a trust already burdensome to the people who are mining, we should add to the burdens they are already bearing. It is a little matter, and yet it is a great matter to the man who goes out upon the mountain side, with nothing but his pick and shovel, perhaps, in the way of capital and his strength, that he must pay an additional duty upon these articles that are essential and necessary in order that he may develop the interests of the country and secure a paying mine.

If any member of the committee will simply rise here and say that they have some evidence which shows that this is an industry that needs more protection, I am willing to sit down. I want to know upon what theory the bill is being presented and advocated and supported. If the Senators who compose the committee show that they want this duty for revenue, then I protest that they shall not put an additional burden upon the miner for the sake of revenue. There are a hundred things untouched out of which revenue can be had without imposing a burden upon any industry in this country, and this is the imposition of a duty upon an industry.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Mr. President, this is the most remarkable tempest in a teapot that I have ever known. If any one wants to get a thing without a duty, all he has to do is to read a newspaper article and say that there is a trust in it. Now, whether there is a trust in this matter or not I do not know, for I do not know what the trust is, nor do I know what the facts are with relation to the parties engaged in the manufacture of it. I do know that there are more manufacturers of it in the United States than the number stated in the article which was read saying that there are but four. There are at least seven.

It is said that we have increased the duty on this article. It happens to be, so far as I know, the only thing in the bill in which the duty on every article of which it is composed is as high or higher than the duty on the finished product. I do not know but that we have done some wicked things in this matter, but the duty upon every article of which safety fuse is composed is as high or higher as an ad valorem duty than the duty which is imposed in the bill. If that is wickedness, why, vote it down.

Mr. TELLER. Mr. President, it is fair to presume that the bill is being presented here and pushed upon some theory. I do not suppose any member of the committee will rise here and say that where they have raised the duty upon any article they have done so without any examination as to why it should be put on. I want the committee to tell me why they have raised the duty on fuse?

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. We have not.

Mr. TELLER. And I shall ask them to tell me why they have raised the duty on some other things before we get through.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. The duty on fuse made of guttapercha, and that is quite a large proportion of the fuse, has not been raised by the bill. It is the same that it is now. If that covered by linen and jute yarns or tape would come in under the basket clause, it would be 45 per cent instead of 35 per cent as it is now, because the basket clause has been raised from 35 per cent to 45 per cent. If it comes in as the Senator from Iowa, who has charge of the bill, thinks, under paragraph 111, instead of raising the duty we have lowered it. That is all there is to this matter.

Mr. WHITE. Perhaps the Senator from Connecticut will inform us from whence the application came to increase the duty, or to fix the duty, as the committee seems to be unaware of the proposition as to whether it raises or lowers it. Is it possible to inform the Senate from whence the application came to make the alteration? It seems to have adopted new phraseology.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the amendment of the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. PETTIGREW].

Mr. PETTIGREW and Mr. WHITE called for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CANNON (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH]. If he were here, I should vote "yea."

Mr. CLAY (when his name was called). I transfer my pair with the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] to the Senator from Virginia [Mr. MARTIN], and vote "yea."

Mr. MITCHELL (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SEWELL]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. MORGAN (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. QUAY].

Mr. PENROSE (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Delaware [Mr. KENNEY]. If he were present, I should vote "nay."

Mr. RAWLINS (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Ohio [Mr. HANNA]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. SMITH (when his name was called). I ask if the junior Senator from Iowa [Mr. GEAR] has voted?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. He has not voted.

Mr. SMITH. I withhold my vote, as I am paired with that Senator.

Mr. TILLMAN (when his named was called). I again announce my pair with the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. THURSTON]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. TURPIE (when his name was called). I inquire if the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. DAVIS] has voted?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Minnesota [Mr. DAVIS] has not voted.

Mr. TURPIE. I withhold my vote, being paired with that Senator.

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. GRAY (after having voted in the affirmative). I ask if the senior Senator from Illinois [Mr. CULLOM] has voted?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. He has not voted.

Mr. GRAY. I have a general pair with the senior Senator from Illinois, but I understand that the senior Senator from Arkansas [Mr. JONES] is absent on committee business, and I will transfer my pair with the senior Senator from Illinois to the senior Senator from Arkansas and let my vote stand.

Mr. HAWLEY (after having voted in the negative). I inadvertently voted. I am paired with the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. BATE], and withdraw my vote.

Mr. DANIEL. I am paired with the senior Senator from North Dakota [Mr. HANSBROUGH]. Otherwise I should vote "yea."

Mr. HAWLEY. I am informed that I can transfer my pair to the Senator from Illinois [Mr. MASON], and I do so. I vote "nay."

The result was announced—yeas 24, nays 24; as follows:

YEAS—24.

Allen,	Gray,	Mills,	Stewart,
Bacon,	Heitfeld,	Murphy,	Teller,
Berry,	Kyle,	Pasco,	Turner,
Butler,	McLaurin,	Pettigrew,	Vest,
Chilton,	Mallory,	Pettus,	Walthall,
Clay,	Mantle,	Roach,	White.

NAYS—24.

Allison,	Foraker,	Nelson,	Shoup,
Burrows,	Frye,	Perkins,	Spooner,
Carter,	Gallinger,	Platt, Conn.	Warren,
Chandler,	Hawley,	Platt, N. Y.	Wellington,
Deboe,	Hoar,	Pritchard,	Wetmore,
Fairbanks,	McBride,	Proctor,	Wilson.

NOT VOTING—41.

Aldrich,	Faulkner,	Kenney,	Quay,
Baker,	Gear,	Lindsay,	Rawlins,
Bate,	George,	Lodge,	Sewell,
Caffery,	Gorman,	McEnery,	Smith,
Cannon,	Hale,	McMillan,	Thurston,
Clark,	Hanna,	Martin,	Tillman,
Cockrell,	Hansbrough,	Mason,	Turpie,
Cullom,	Harris, Kans.	Mitchell,	Wolcott.
Daniel,	Harris, Tenn.	Morgan,	
Davis,	Jones, Ark.	Morrill,	
Elkins,	Jones, Nev.	Penrose,	

So Mr. PETTIGREW's amendment was rejected.

The Secretary read the next paragraph, as follows:

415. Feathers and downs of all kinds, including bird skins or parts thereof with the feathers on, crude or not dressed, colored, or otherwise advanced or manufactured in any manner, not specially provided for in this act, 15 per cent ad valorem: when dressed, colored, or otherwise advanced or manufactured in any manner, including quills of down and other manufactures of down, and also dressed and finished birds suitable for millinery ornaments, and artificial or ornamental feathers, fruits, grains, leaves, flowers, and stems or parts thereof, of whatever material composed, not specially provided for in this act, 50 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask that that paragraph may be passed over.

Mr. WHITE. It is to be passed over, I understand.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there any objection? The Chair hears none, and paragraph 415 is passed over.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 416, page 150, line 5, before the word "twenty," to insert "including fur skins carroted;" so as to make the paragraph read:

416. Furs, dressed on the skin but not made up into articles, and furs not on the skin, prepared for hatters' use, including fur skins carroted, 20 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment was agreed to.

The reading of the bill was continued to line 13 on page 150, the last paragraph read being as follows:

420. Hair, curled, suitable for beds or mattresses, 10 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. ALLISON. I move to strike out paragraph 420 and insert what I send to the desk. It is a modification of the paragraph.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment will be read.

The SECRETARY. Strike out paragraph 420 and insert in lieu thereof the following:

420. Hair curled, suitable for beds or mattresses, and hair drawn or cleaned, 15 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. GRAY. I will ask the Senator from Iowa if that is not a restoration of the rate in the law of 1890?

Mr. ALLISON. I believe it is.

Mr. GRAY. It is an abandonment of the reduction proposed by the Senate committee and a restoration of the McKinley rate. I merely want to remark that here is another illustration of the abandonment of the reductions that were heralded to be made in the bill by the Senate committee and the restoration of high rates.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the amendment of the Senator from Iowa.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 421, page 150, line 15, after the words "hair seating," to insert "and hair press cloth;" so as to make the paragraph read:

421. Haircloth, known as "crinoline" cloth, 10 cents per square yard; haircloth, known as "hair seating," and hair press cloth, 20 cents per square yard.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. WHITE. I move to strike out the paragraph as amended and to insert in lieu thereof paragraph 333 of the present law, which fixes the rate at 6 cents per square yard.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. Insert, instead of paragraph 421 as modified, the following:

421. Haircloth, known as "crinoline cloth," 6 cents per square yard.

Mr. VEST. Before the vote is taken I want to call attention to the fact that here is another increase over the McKinley rate. In the Wilson Act—the existing law—the duty is 6 cents per square yard, and under the McKinley Act it was 8 cents a square yard. Now it is put up to 10 cents a square yard, and yet we were told by the Senator from Rhode Island that none of the rates would go above the McKinley rates, and a great many of them were below the existing law.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the amendment proposed by the Senator from California.

The amendment was rejected.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 423, page 151, line 4, after the word "ware," to strike out—

per gross of 144 boxes, containing not more than 100 matches per box, 10 cents per gross; when imported otherwise than in boxes containing not more than 100 matches each, 1 cent per 1,000 matches—

and insert "manufactures of wood or other pulp;" so as to make the paragraph read:

423. Indurated fiber ware and manufactures of wood or other pulp, 35 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. ALLISON. In line 9, after the word "pulp," I move to insert "not specially provided for."

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

The amendment as amended was agreed to.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, on page 151, under the heading of "Jewelry and precious stones," paragraph 424, line 13, after the word "thereof," to insert "finished or unfinished;" in line 15, after the word "set," to strike out "or strung;" and in line 16, before the words "per cent," to strike out "fifty" and insert "sixty;" so as to make the paragraph read:

424. Articles commonly known as jewelry, and parts thereof, finished or unfinished, not specially provided for in this act, including precious stones set, pearls set, and cameos in frames, 60 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. VEST. I call attention to the fact that there is another increase over the McKinley Act, it being an increase from 50 per cent to 60 per cent. Under the existing law the rate is 35 per cent.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BURROWS in the chair). The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the committee.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in paragraph 425, page 151, line 20, after the word "set," to strike out "15 per cent ad valorem;" and in line 1, page 152, after the word "set," to strike out "twenty" and insert "all the foregoing, ten;" so as to make the paragraph read:

Diamonds and other precious stones advanced in condition or value from their natural state by cleaving, splitting, cutting, or other process, and not set; imitations of diamonds or other precious stones, composed of glass or paste, not exceeding an inch in dimensions, not engraved, painted, or otherwise ornamented or decorated, and not mounted or set, all the foregoing, 10 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask that paragraph 425 may be passed over.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If there be no objection, paragraph 425 will be passed over.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 426, page 152, line 3, after the word "state," to strike out "not strung or set" and insert "pearls strung on silk or cotton threads and not set;" so as to read:

426. Pearls in their natural state and pearls strung on silk or cotton threads and not set, 10 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. ALLISON. After the word "state," in line 3, I move to insert "half pearls."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Iowa to the amendment proposed by the committee will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In paragraph 426, page 152, line 3, after the word "state," it is proposed to insert the words "half pearls."

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

The amendment as amended was agreed to.

The Secretary resumed the reading of the bill, beginning at line 6, on page 152, under the head of "Leather and manufactures of," paragraph 426½.

Mr. ALLISON. That is a paragraph proposed to be inserted by the committee in relation to hides, and I ask that it may be passed over for the present.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The paragraph will be passed over, without objection.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was to strike out paragraph 427, as follows:

427. Band or belting leather, sole leather and skins for morocco, tanned but unfinished, 10 per cent ad valorem; calfskins, kangaroo skins, and sheep and goat skins, including lamb and kid skins, tanned or tanned and dressed and finished, chamois and other skins, and dressed upper and other leather, not specially provided for in this act, 20 per cent ad valorem; pianoforte leather and pianoforte-action leather, 35 per cent ad valorem; patent, japanned, varnished, and enameled leather, weighing not over 10 pounds per dozen hides or skins, 30 cents per pound and 20 per cent ad valorem; weighing over 10

pounds per dozen and not over 25 pounds per dozen, 30 cents per pound and 10 per cent ad valorem; weighing over 25 pounds per dozen, 20 cents per pound and 10 per cent ad valorem; leather shoe laces, wholly or partially manufactured, 36 inches or less in length, 55 cents per gross pairs and 20 per cent ad valorem; exceeding 36 inches in length, 60 cents per gross pairs and 25 per cent ad valorem; boots, shoes, and slippers made of leather, 20 per cent ad valorem: *Provided*, That leather cut into boot, shoe, or slipper patterns, uppers or vamps, or other forms suitable for conversion into manufactured articles, shall pay a duty of 15 per cent ad valorem in addition to the duty herein imposed on leather of the same character as that from which they are cut.

And in lieu thereof to insert:

427. Band or belting leather and sole leather, 20 per cent ad valorem; calfskins, tanned, or tanned and dressed, dressed upper leather, including patent, enameled, and japanned leather, dressed or undressed, and finished, and other leather; chamois or other skins not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, 20 per cent ad valorem; bookbinders' calfskins, kangaroo, sheep, and goat skins, including lamb and kid skins, dressed and finished, 20 per cent ad valorem; skins for morocco, tanned but unfinished, 10 per cent ad valorem; pianoforte leather and pianoforte-action leather, 20 per cent ad valorem; boots and shoes, made of leather, 25 per cent ad valorem: *Provided*, That leather cut into shoe uppers or vamps, or other forms, suitable for conversion into manufactured articles, shall be classified as manufactures of leather, and pay duty accordingly.

Mr. ALLISON. On page 153, line 21, after the word "leather" where it occurs the second time, I move to insert the words "and all other leather not otherwise specially provided for."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Iowa will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In paragraph 427, on page 153, line 21, after the word "leather" where it occurs the second time, it is proposed to insert "and all other leather not otherwise specially provided for;" so as to read:

Band or belting leather and sole leather, and all other leather not otherwise specially provided for, 20 per cent ad valorem, etc.

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. I now move to strike out, at the beginning of line 2, on page 154, the words "and other leather," those words being part of the amendment already inserted.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment to the amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In paragraph 427, on page 154, line 2, before the word "chamois," it is proposed to amend the amendment of the committee by striking out the words "and other leather."

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. VEST. I want to make a suggestion to the Senator from Iowa, which is that we should ascertain whether hides are to be put upon the free list before we go on with this paragraph. I take it for granted, if the Senate determine to put hides upon the free list, or to retain them there, that that will very materially affect the tax upon leather, the finished product.

Mr. SMITH. I ask that the paragraph relating to hides may go over until to-morrow.

Mr. ALLISON. I have no objection to that.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If there be no objection, paragraph 427 will be passed over until to-morrow, and the next paragraph will be read.

Mr. ALLEN. Before that is done, I should like to ask the Senator from Iowa if the committee has agreed as to the policy to be pursued respecting hides?

Mr. ALLISON. I will say frankly to the Senator that the only object I have in agreeing that the paragraph in relation to hides be passed over is to ascertain whether or not we can make a specific duty on hides which will be just in its application. I think it is possible we shall be obliged to make the duty on hides ad valorem rather than specific.

Mr. ALLEN. I have no objection to that.

Mr. ALLISON. I will say to the Senator that so far as I know the committee intend to ask the Senate to retain the duty on hides, either specific or ad valorem.

Mr. ALLEN. That is satisfactory.

Mr. STEWART. I hope there will be a sufficient duty to be appreciable and that will amount to something.

Mr. ALLISON. I hope so, too.

Mr. STEWART. I do not believe the duty now proposed in the amendment of the committee will amount to very much. I think there ought to be a larger duty.

Mr. ALLEN. If the Senator will permit me, I think it would be altogether improper for us to go on with this schedule and to cast our votes on certain items which will come up, on the supposition that an attempt will be made to put hides upon the dutiable list, and at the eleventh hour to find out that the committee is against it.

Mr. ALLISON. I think I can assure the Senator from Nebraska that if there should be an eleventh hour about this matter the committee will stand upon the question where it has stood all the time. I say this, of course, speaking merely for myself.

Mr. ALLEN. Thank you.

The reading of the bill was resumed at page 154, on line 17, under the heading "Gloves," paragraph 428.

Mr. ALLISON. Several Senators have asked that the glove schedule, covering paragraphs 428 to 435, inclusive, may be passed over. I hope there will be no objection to that course.

Mr. WHITE. I suggest that paragraph 436 ought to be included also.

Mr. ALLISON. No; I trust paragraph 436 will be considered now.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Chair understand that paragraph 436 has been passed over?

Mr. ALLISON. No; I proposed to pass over paragraphs 428 to 435, inclusive.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If there be no objection, the paragraphs named will be passed over.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, on page 157, line 20, to strike out the subhead "Harness and saddlery."

The amendment was agreed to.

Paragraph 436 was read, as follows:

436. Harness, saddles and saddlery, or parts of either, in sets or in parts, finished or unfinished, 45 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. WHITE. I inquire of the Senator from Iowa whether this paragraph is not also affected by the same proposition regarding free hides?

Mr. ALLISON. Not at all.

Mr. WHITE. I presume there is some compensatory duty. There should be no compensation if there is no tax on hides.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. No amendment is made in that paragraph, the House rates having been adopted by the Senate Committee on Finance.

Mr. VEST. I want to call attention to the fact that the duty proposed in paragraph 436 is an increase over the McKinley rate. The McKinley rate was 35 per cent, the Wilson rate 30 per cent, and this is 45 per cent.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The reading of the bill will be resumed.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, under the head of "Miscellaneous manufactures," in paragraph 437, page 157, line 25, after the word "amber," to strike out "asbestus" and insert "asbestos," and in line 26, before the word "catgut," to strike out "coral;" so as to read:

Manufactures of amber, asbestos, bladders, catgut or whip gut or worm gut, etc.

Mr. WHITE. So far as coral is concerned, I observe that the importations in 1893 furnished revenue amounting to $657, and in 1896 to $758, and this amendment, so far as coral is concerned, is an increase of 100 per cent, a rise from the law of 1894 of 50 per cent, instead of 25 per cent. It was quite prohibitory as it stood.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in the same paragraph, line 26, after the words "worm gut," to strike out "spar."

Mr. ALLISON. I ask that that amendment may be disagreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If there be no objection, the amendment will be disagreed to. The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. ALLISON. I also ask that the word "cork" may be inserted after the word "bladders," in line 25.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In paragraph 437, line 25, after the word "bladders," it is proposed to insert "cork;" so as make the paragraph read:

437. Manufactures of amber, asbestos, bladders, cork, catgut or whip gut or worm gut, spar, or wax, or of which these substances or either of them is the component material of chief value, not specially provided for in this act, 25 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment was agreed to.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 442, page 159, line 6, after the word "metronomes," to strike out "35 per cent ad valorem;" and in line 8, after the word "metal," to insert "all the foregoing;" so as to make the paragraph read:

442. Musical instruments or parts thereof, pianoforte actions and parts thereof, strings for musical instruments not otherwise enumerated, cases for musical instruments, pitch pipes, tuning forks, tuning hammers, and metronomes; strings for musical instruments, composed wholly or in part of steel or other metal, all the foregoing, 45 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. WHITE. I move to strike out paragraph 442 as amended and insert in lieu thereof paragraph 326½ of the present law.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment proposed by the Senator from California will be stated.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to strike out paragraph 442 as amended and in lieu thereof to insert:

Musical instruments or parts thereof (except pianoforte actions and parts thereof), strings for musical instruments not otherwise enumerated, cases for musical instruments, pitch pipes, tuning forks, tuning hammers, and metronomes, 25 per cent ad valorem.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the amendment of the Senator from California [Mr. WHITE], being a substitute for paragraph 442, which has been read.

The amendment was rejected.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was to strike out paragraphs 443 and 444, as follows:

443. Paintings in oil or water colors, pastels, pen-and-ink drawings, and statuary, not specially provided for in this act, 25 per cent ad valorem; but the term "statuary" as used in this act shall be understood to include only such statuary as is cut, carved, or otherwise wrought by hand from a solid block or mass of marble, stone, or alabaster, or from metal, and as is the professional production of a statuary or sculptor only.

444. Peat moss, $1 per ton.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask that those two paragraphs may be passed over.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Paragraphs 443 and 444 will be passed over, in the absence of objection.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 445, on page 159, line 19, before the word "wood," to insert the words "paper or;" in line 20, before the word "cents," to strike out "fifty" and insert "forty;" in line 21, before the words "per cent," to strike out "thirty" and insert "twenty;" and in the same line, after the words "slate pencils," to strike out "4 cents per 100," and insert "covered with wood, 35 per cent ad valorem; all other slate pencils, 3 cents per 100;" so as to make the paragraph read:

445. Pencils of paper or wood filled with lead or other material, and pencils of lead, 40 cents per gross and 20 per cent ad valorem; slate pencils covered with wood, 35 per cent ad valorem; all other slate pencils, 3 cents per 100.

Mr. FORAKER. I ask that that paragraph may be passed over.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The paragraph will be passed over, in the absence of objection.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was to strike out paragraph 448, in the following language:

448. Pipes, pipe bowls, of all materials, and all smokers' articles whatsoever, not specially provided for in this act, including cigarette books, cigarette-book covers, pouches for smoking or chewing tobacco, and cigarette paper in all forms, 70 per cent ad valorem; all common tobacco pipes of clay, 15 cents per gross.

And in lieu thereof to insert:

448. Pipes and smokers' articles: Common tobacco pipes and pipe bowls made wholly of clay, valued at not more than 40 cents per gross, 15 cents per gross; other tobacco pipes and pipe bowls of clay, 50 cents per gross and 25 per cent ad valorem; other pipes and pipe bowls of whatever material composed, and all smokers' articles whatsoever, not specially provided for in this act, including cigarette books, cigarette-book covers, pouches for smoking or chewing tobacco, and cigarette paper in all forms, 60 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. VEST. I want to call attention to the fact that here is an increase of duty on the common clay pipe. I do not know any necessity for any such increase. The increase here is from 3 to 5 cents a gross. If there is any occasion, any reason for this, I should like to know it. It is an article used by the poorer class of people, and there is no necessity for putting up the duty either for protection or for revenue.

Mr. WHITE. I move to strike out paragraph 448 and to insert the provision of the present law, being paragraph 359 thereof.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment proposed by the Senator from California will be stated.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to strike out paragraph 448 and in lieu thereof to insert:

Pipes, pipe bowls, of all materials, and all smokers' articles whatsoever, not specially provided for in this act, including cigarette books, cigarette-book covers, pouches for smoking or chewing tobacco, and cigarette paper in all forms, 50 per cent ad valorem; all common tobacco pipes and pipe bowls made wholly of clay, valued at not more than 50 cents per gross, 10 per cent ad valorem.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the amendment proposed by the Senator from California [Mr. WHITE].

The amendment was rejected.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, on page 160, after line 18, to insert as a new paragraph the following:

448½. Plows, tooth and disk harrows, harvesters, reapers, agricultural drills, and planters, mowers, horserakes, cultivators, threshing machines, and cotton gins, 20 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. VEST. Mr. President, I want to call attention to the exports and imports for 1896 of these articles. We exported of mowers and reapers in that year $3,212,423 worth; of plows and cultivators, $746,604 worth, and of all others, $217,740 worth; of agricultural machines, $5,176,775 worth was the aggregate. We imported $6,532 worth free, and $1,992 dutiable.

These articles are exported largely, as this report shows, and it is a notorious fact that the United States is without any competition as to all sorts of metal production, and especially as to agricultural implements. I had occasion some years ago to read upon this floor the Export Journal, published in New York, which showed that the manufacturers of these implements were selling to foreigners at a third less than they were selling to the citizens of the United States.

The only explanation or defense of that which was made upon this floor was that they manufactured so largely that they had a surplus, which they were compelled to send to the foreign market and get what they could for it. They are doing that to-day. You may take the Export Journal to-day, and you will find these concerns delivering in South America and in Europe agricultural implements from one-fourth to one-third less than they sell them to the people of the United States. Anybody can see in Germany the agricultural implements of the United States, exported from this country and sold there in the German market, and underselling the German manufacturers, with all their cheap labor, of which we hear so much complaint.

Mr. WHITE. I can not imagine upon what theory this particular provision of the proposed law is constructed. Surely those who manufacture agricultural implements in the United States do not need protection. The statements made by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST] are absolutely correct. In my own State we have an agricultural manufacturing establishment for agricultural machinery, where the combined harvester is made, and the machine has been exported to Argentina, to Odessa, and to other parts of the world. The reaping machines of the United States have not only taken precedence of all others everywhere else, but the actual primary inventions, those from which have been developed the present perfect machinery, have been due to the genius of the American inventor. The American plow, the American reaper, and the American thrashing machine are superior to anything in the world, and are sold all over the world where advanced agriculture has obtained any foothold.

I think the object of this amendment is to profess to extend some protective influence to the farmer just like that which the duty upon wheat has in it—the same profession and the same hypocrisy. It can not amount to anything in fact, unless, possibly, it may afford an opportunity to raise the price to the domestic consumer; but even that, I imagine, can not be done, because there is no place on the face of the world where agricultural machinery can be manufactured to the perfection attained here. Were it otherwise, were it possible to find any other place in the world where agricultural machinery could be produced of a better character than that which is enjoyed here, I should be in favor of a discrimination in favor of the farming community to enable them to obtain such machinery at the smallest cost possible. But, as a matter of fact, our agriculturists depend upon local machinery, and, as was well said by the Senator from Missouri, our local machinery is now being sold in every agricultural region of the world where civilization has been permitted to penetrate to any degree, not only in preference to their domestic productions, but to the exclusion of all other productions.

Some time ago, when our present minister in China was endeavoring to obtain access to China for machinery manufactured in California of an agricultural character, he had a conversation with the celebrated Li Hung Chang, in which, acting upon the suggestion of American manufacturers, he told him the character of our machinery. The distinguished Chinaman responded by saying that they could not permit that machinery to come into his country; that the Chinese had always been a people of inventive genius, and early in the history of the Chinese people they had displayed their aptitude in that direction; that their aspirations and genius had been stifled because the Empire had always acted upon the theory that the furnishing of employment to the millions was a necessity, and that labor-saving machinery could not be tolerated. We were therefore kept out of that market. But this paragraph must be introduced for joking purposes, it seems to me.

Mr. ALLISON. Unless this amendment is agreed to, agricultural implements will stand in the bill as it came to us from the other House, at 45 per cent ad valorem. It was with a view to reducing the duty that the Senate committee inserted this paragraph.

I remember perfectly well the old discussion here between the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST] and other Senators as to the price of agricultural implements in foreign countries, compared with their price in our own. I think—of course the Senator from Missouri will differ with me—it was conclusively demonstrated in that debate that the statement that agricultural implements were sold in other countries at a less price than they sold for here was a mistake. I know the Senator will not agree with me, as I say, in that suggestion; but I know the judgment of this side of the Chamber at that time was that the Senator from Missouri failed to make his case; and I am not aware that there has been any change in the condition of things since that debate took place.

I know perfectly well, as the Senator has already stated, that we export largely these agricultural implements, and I have no doubt we shall continue to do so; but they are upon the dutiable list as other things are upon the dutiable list of which we export largely and, as the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. PLATT] intimates to me, therefore it can do no possible harm and may do some good. This rate is far below the rate of the raw material from which these agricultural implements are made.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President, I should consider myself enlightened if the Senator from Iowa would point out to me a single

instance where, except for purposes of exhibition, a harvester or thrashing machine has ever been imported into this country for the last twenty years, and not only as to that particular implement or instrument of husbandry, but taking the whole section through. Is it for the purpose of protecting the farmer, let me ask the Senator from Iowa, that this paragraph is put in here? Ostensibly it is to reduce the duty, as we are now informed by the Senator.

Mr. GRAY. To reduce the duty from the House bill.

Mr. WHITE. Yes; to reduce the duty. That it will do no harm is one sort of argument; but it is certainly a poor defense for an affirmative proposition to say that, if enacted into a law, it would be harmless. Harmlessness is urged in its defense. Why not eliminate it? Why insert in this bill the hypocrisy contained in that declaration, that pretense, that the farmer is being benefited, when in reality it does not benefit him at all? I do not believe it will do any very serious injury; I have not said so; but that is because of the circumstances and facts detailed here, that the American has the market in this country and everywhere else. We are therefore simply encumbering the bill with idle provisions and furnishing an argument to somebody to assert before some audiences that the farmer is being taken care of.

Mr. ALLISON. I do not think the audience would be very much deceived by such an argument.

Mr. WHITE. I should hope not.

Mr. GRAY. Two grounds are being urged here, and only two can reasonably be urged, for any imposition in this bill. One is for revenue and the other is for protection. It seems to me there is no ground for revenue in making this imposition of 20 per cent on agricultural machinery, because no revenue is produced, according to the statement made by the Senator from Missouri, and the Senator from Iowa confesses that there is no necessity on the ground of protection. So there is really no reason why the bill should be encumbered, as the Senator from California has said.

Mr. ALLISON. That is not quite my statement. I said there were large exportations, as stated by the Senator from Missouri. Our people are able to compete successfully, but there may be reasons why there should be a duty notwithstanding. Those reasons can be found in the proximity of other people who are engaged in the same manufacture.

Mr. GRAY. It has been demonstrated that we supply not only the domestic market, but a large part of the foreign market, and that no agricultural machinery can compete or has competed in the last fifty years with American machinery of this kind. Therefore it seems to me there ought not to be this defensive wall put up which may, the Senator says—although he can not point out how—at some day or in some manner not known raise the price of this machinery to the American farmer 20 per cent. That is all there is of it. It may not do much harm, but it is only put in there in order that it may some day serve as protection to the agricultural machinery makers in this country, and it can only serve as protection to them by raising the price to the American farmer. I ask for the yeas and nays on the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the committee inserting paragraph 448½.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. VEST. I move to strike out the paragraph as perfected, for the purpose of putting it on the free list, where it is under the existing law.

I wish to make one remark in reply to the Senator from Iowa. He makes the astonishing statement that it was demonstrated in 1890 that what I then asserted was being done—the sales of these articles cheaper abroad than in this country—has been absolutely done away with. I have those Export Journals to-day in my committee room, and they show discounts to foreigners of 25 to 40 per cent upon these articles. There never was any answer in this Chamber to it.

Mr. ALLISON. Does not the Senator remember that the same discount was given to domestic dealers, as stated here on the floor by various Senators, who produced letters and telegrams to show it?

Mr. VEST. I never knew more than one letter to be produced, and that was from a great manufacturing establishment at Ann Arbor, which was produced by a Senator no longer a member of this body. That was the only pretense ever made in this Chamber that that was not true, and I say it is true to-day. An American will go to one of these establishments and buy a plow or a reaper or a mower, and pay 25 or 35 or 40 per cent more than the price at which the manufacturer furnishes it to the foreigner, and the only answer ever made to those export journals, which I have now, was that after supplying the American market they had a surplus which they had to get rid of.

I do not know that they ask for protection, and it is absurd to talk about it. Everybody who goes abroad and sees these agricultural implements everywhere for sale, underbidding the foreigner, knows it. Go all through the comparative statement, and wherever you find any of the metal products, any article in the manufacture of which enters steel or iron, you will find that we export enormously and import nothing. We got out of these imports $1,992 in duty for a whole year, that of 1896, and we exported nearly $6,000,000 worth for that year. What sort of logic can be brought here to show that this is anything but a spectacular fraud? I move to strike out the paragraph as perfected, in order to put it upon the free list.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Missouri moves to strike out paragraph 448½.

Mr. VEST. On that I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CLAY (when his name was called). I transfer my pair with the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] to the Senator from Virginia [Mr. MARTIN], and vote "yea."

Mr. MITCHELL (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SEWELL].

Mr. RAWLINS (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Ohio [Mr. HANNA]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. TURNER (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. WARREN]. I do not see him in the Chamber. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. GRAY. I have a general pair with the senior Senator from Illinois [Mr. CULLOM]. I will transfer my pair to the senior Senator from Arkansas [Mr. JONES], and vote. I vote "yea."

Mr. MORGAN. I am paired with the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. QUAY].

Mr. FAULKNER. I am paired with the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. ELKINS]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. HAWLEY. I again announce my pair with the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. BATE].

Mr. CULLOM. I have a general pair with the Senator from Delaware [Mr. GRAY].

Mr. WALTHALL. I think the Senator from Delaware transferred his pair to the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. JONES].

Mr. CULLOM. If he has done so, I will vote. I vote "nay."

Mr. DANIEL. I am paired with the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. HANSBROUGH]. I transfer my pair to the Senator from Montana [Mr. MANTLE], and vote. I vote "yea."

Mr. TILLMAN. Has the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. THURSTON] voted?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair is informed that the Senator from Nebraska has not voted.

Mr. TILLMAN. I am paired with that Senator, and therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. HAWLEY. I transfer my pair with the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. BATE] to the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. HANSBROUGH], and vote "nay."

The Secretary recapitulated the vote.

Mr. GALLINGER. At my suggestion, the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. HAWLEY] transferred his pair to the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. HANSBROUGH]. I understand that a transfer of pairs had previously been arranged by which the Senator from North Dakota is paired. In behalf of the Senator from Connecticut, I will withdraw his vote.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The vote of the Senator from Connecticut is withdrawn.

The result was announced—yeas 24, nays 29; as follows:

YEAS—24.

Allen,	Cockrell,	Mallory,	Roach,
Bacon,	Daniel,	Mills,	Smith,
Berry,	Gray,	Murphy,	Turpie,
Butler,	Harris, Kans.	Pasco,	Vest,
Chilton,	Heitfeld,	Pettigrew,	Walthall,
Clay,	McLaurin,	Pettus,	White.

NAYS—29.

Allison,	Fairbanks,	McEnery,	Shoup,
Burrows,	Foraker,	Mason,	Spooner,
Carter,	Frye,	Nelson,	Wellington,
Chandler,	Gallinger,	Perkins,	Wetmore,
Clark,	Gear,	Platt, Conn.	Wilson.
Cullom,	Hale,	Platt, N. Y.	
Davis,	Hoar,	Pritchard,	
Deboe,	McBride,	Proctor,	

NOT VOTING—33.

Aldrich,	Hanna,	Lodge,	Rawlins,
Baker,	Hansbrough,	McMillan,	Sewell,
Bate,	Harris, Tenn.	Mantle,	Stewart,
Caffery,	Hawley,	Martin,	Teller,
Cannon,	Jones, Ark.	Mitchell,	Thurston,
Elkins,	Jones, Nev.	Morgan,	Tillman,
Faulkner,	Kenney,	Morrill,	Turner,
George,	Kyle,	Penrose,	Warren,
Gorman,	Lindsay,	Quay,	Wolcott.

So the amendment was rejected.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 449, page 160, line 25, after the words "ad valorem," to strike out:

; bolting cloths composed of silk, imported expressly for milling purposes and not suitable for the manufacture of articles of wearing apparel, 25 per cent ad valorem.

So as to make the paragraph read:

449. Plush, black, known commercially as hatters' plush, composed of silk, or of silk and cotton, such as is used exclusively for making men's hats, 10 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. VEST. I move to strike out paragraph 449, so as to put these articles upon the free list, where they are now.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Missouri, to strike out paragraph 449 as amended.

The amendment was rejected.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 450, page 161, line 5, to strike out:

, valued at not exceeding $3 each, 25 cents each and 45 per cent ad valorem; valued above $3 each, 50 cents each and.

And in line 10, before the words "per centum," to strike out "forty-five" and insert "forty;" so as to make the paragraph read:

450. Umbrellas, parasols, and sunshades covered with material other than paper, 50 per cent ad valorem. Sticks for umbrellas, parasols, or sunshades, and walking canes, finished or unfinished, 40 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. WHITE. I now move to strike out paragraph 450 and insert in lieu thereof the provision of the Wilson Act.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to strike out paragraph 450 as amended and insert in lieu thereof the following:

Umbrellas, parasols, and sunshades, if plain or carved, finished or unfinished, 30 per cent ad valorem.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from California.

The amendment was rejected.

The reading of the bill was resumed and continued to the words "Free list." line 13, page 161.

Mr. BACON. As we have now reached the free list, I submit an amendment, to be known as paragraph 517½, placing cotton ties of iron or steel on the free list. I will offer it at the proper time when we reach that part of the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair understands the Senator from Georgia to submit the amendment to be offered at the proper time.

Mr. WHITE. I wish to suggest to the Senator from Iowa that we have reached the free list, and we are now met with this difficulty: There are quite a large number of paragraphs in the bill which have been passed over. This morning we supposed we would be able to take up the wool schedule, upon which the Senator from Arkansas is especially prepared, but we were unable to do so. The tobacco schedule has not been taken up, and it is quite impossible to go through the free list finally, determinatively, while it is undecided whether certain articles which are still in the bill, and which we hope to have eliminated from the dutiable list, are in fact to be so eliminated.

I fear we are going to find that there will be confusion hereafter and much difficulty unless we can proceed methodically. Hereafter, certainly so far as I am concerned, I shall feel it my duty to object to any irregular consideration of the bill. There are Senators here who have matters to which they desire to direct special attention, and they are absent, no doubt, because of the idea that we would proceed in the usual course. Those Senators have a right to be heard, and they will be disappointed if they find that we have progressed in a manner which will virtually deny them a hearing. I suggest that we ought to be advised from this time forward what is coming up. It is especially necessary to those who have any particular matter they wish to present to the Senate. The plan that we are now adopting, while it has been satisfactory enough, or comparatively so heretofore, will be encompassed with numerous difficulties hereafter.

There are Senators upon the floor who would dislike to go on with the free list at all to-day, but I suggest that if we do it should be understood that its consideration is not final, and that anyone desiring to go back to any specific paragraph may make any motion he may wish with reference to it.

Mr. CHANDLER. I suggest to the Senator from California to let the free list be disposed of in the same way.

Mr. WHITE. I am talking about the free list.

Mr. CHANDLER. Go on and let the whole of it be adopted nem. con., subject to such motions as Senators may wish to make later. That will be very satisfactory.

Mr. ALLISON. I agree with the Senator from California that it is wise to proceed with regularity in the consideration of the bill, so far as we can; but we are all interested, I have no doubt, in proceeding with it as rapidly as we can consistent with fair consideration. Senators are aware, for reasons stated by me and by others, that it was impracticable to go on with the wool schedule this morning. So we have gone to other schedules.

I think there will be no difficulty in treating the free list as is suggested by the Senator from California. If, after consideration, we find paragraphs upon the dutiable list which we have also retained in the free list, they can be changed, but I think as a rule I will be able to point out to Senators the paragraphs which have been passed over, and the corresponding paragraphs will either be passed over or struck from the free list as we go along. I hope with that understanding we may go on with the free list to-day, and if any Senator desires to have a particular paragraph passed over, I will cheerfully consent, so far as I am concerned, to its being done.

Mr. WHITE. I do not wish to confine it as sharply as indicated by the Senator from Iowa, and for this reason: I presume that, outside of Senators who are now in the Chamber, no members of the body expected that we would take up the free list to-day. Therefore there may be paragraphs which some Senator would care to go back to.

Mr. ALLISON. Very well.

Mr. WHITE. There ought to be the widest latitude in that direction.

Mr. ALLISON. I agree to that. If there is any Senator who is absent and who desires to go back to any part of the free list, I shall make no objection.

Mr. MORGAN. I desire to make a parliamentary inquiry as to what is the proper progress of this bill under the rules of the Senate. Is it to consider it paragraph by paragraph as we reach them, unless the consideration is disposed of by unanimous consent? Is that the rule of the Senate?

Mr. ALLISON. When the consideration of the bill was first begun in the Senate, it was agreed that we should take up the bill and dispose of it paragraph by paragraph, considering each paragraph as it was reached. Then I think it was understood that if for any reason we were not ready to consider a paragraph, it might be passed over. In other words, we have been going on in an irregular way with respect to the paragraphs, passing over a good many of them simply because Senators either upon this side or the other desired further time to consider them or to prepare amendments.

Mr. MORGAN. Then the regular order of the bill under the rule and understanding, as I gather it from the Senator from Iowa, is that the bill shall be disposed of as each paragraph is reached, unless by unanimous consent a paragraph be laid over for further consideration?

Mr. ALLISON. I think that is the situation.

Mr. MORGAN. I object to taking up the free list until the paragraphs which have been passed over are taken up and disposed of.

Mr. ALLISON. I suggest to the Senator that we have already reached the free list under the rule.

Mr. MORGAN. No; we have not reached the free list under the rule, because paragraphs that precede it have not been disposed of.

Mr. CULLOM. We passed them over by unanimous consent.

Mr. MORGAN. For how long? For what time?

Mr. CULLOM. Until we got through the bill.

Mr. MORGAN. Not until we went through the bill. There was no agreement of that kind.

I am not doing this to obstruct the business of the Senate at all, but to try to get it in some shape where Senators can understand what is coming up, what time their attention will be directed to particular parts of the bill in which they are directly interested. It is the fair thing to do, and any other course is extremely embarrassing.

Now, at this moment I am called out of the Chamber by order of this body to execute one of its commands, and I have an amendment which I want to offer applicable to the entire free list. I can not offer that amendment at all until I know what articles are to be put upon the dutiable list and what articles are to be put upon the free list. The Senator from California just stated that he has propositions to put articles on the free list which have not yet been considered and preceding these in the bill. We ought to know exactly what the free list is before we undertake to deal with it. We do not know and can not know what it is in the present situation of the legislation upon this bill. It is very convenient, I know, for Senators on the committee—I wish to give them every indulgence in the world that is possible—to have these articles go over until they can prepare for the discussion or until they can get the action of a caucus upon particular measures that are proposed, so that the Senator from Iowa will be standing here as the faithful recorder not of his own will, but of the will of the caucus.

Mr. President, I feel very much embarrassed in making this suggestion and objection, because I know, from all appearances at least, that the Senator from Iowa has had a great deal of suffering in the conduct of the bill. He has been frequently compelled to get up and move amendments to it, change his programme, and put it in different attitudes and phases and shapes and conditions, not to meet his own will, not to carry out his own judgment, but because he has been compelled to do it. The Senator has my profound sympathy on this occasion, where he is recording the decree of the caucus, and it is the first time that either a Democratic or Republican Senator in charge of a bill has ever been required to do such a thing.

This is a new proceeding in the Senate, quite strange indeed,

and very embarrassing to all concerned, as well to the Senator from Iowa as to all his friends on this floor who admire him so much.

In the parliamentary sense, I understand I have the right to make the objection, and I will venture to do it, exercising my rights as a Senator, if I possess them, to compel the consideration of the paragraphs in the bill which precede the free list, so that when we get through the paragraphs that precede it in the order of the bill, we will know what articles are then on the free list.

My proposition will be to put all the articles on the free list, with certain exceptions, some of which I have already stated in the amendment which I have proposed, under an ad valorem tax of 10 per cent for the purpose of getting revenue, so as to enable us to abstain from the internal taxation of the country, in reference to tobacco and beer and sugar and several of the other essential elements of life and progress.

Now, how can I offer that amendment, how can I make the exception, unless I know what is on the free list and what is not; and why should the Senate undertake to compel me to guess at what is going on the free list and what is not going on the free list so as to control the exceptions that I propose to make?

I do not know whether the amendment has any strength in this body or not. I know there are some Senators here who would like to vote for it, but in offering it I know that I am running counter to the theories of some of the leading gentlemen of the party to which I have the honor to belong. Nevertheless, I am thoroughly convinced that the amendment is not only a good one, but is a necessary one, and it is conspicuously so when in casting our eyes over the bill we see that perhaps one-half in value and one-half in number or quantity of the articles imported into the United States come in under the free list.

Now, why they should come in under the free list is more than a man could tell if he were to take from now until next Christmas to describe the condition and contingencies and circumstances that seem to justify putting the articles on the free list. I say that seem to justify it. They do not. These articles are not justified in going on the free list. There can not be any justification for exempting any article imported into the United States from its proper burden under a tariff law except by way of indulgence to the plain, simple, elementary laws of humanity and benevolence, or for the purpose of executing some general public policy such as would attach or relate to the importation of bullion, for instance, for the purpose of coinage in our mints.

The other day I went over this ground to some extent, and I do not propose now to undertake to argue the question fully. But there are Senators here who desire to argue it. They desire to look at it at least, and examine it; and it is impossible for us to do it with any intelligence at all until we know what articles are put upon the dutiable list. As long as the articles proposed by the bill to be taxed and placed upon the dutiable list are not agreed upon, are not passed upon by the Senate, no man can say whether they are going upon the dutiable list or whether they are going upon the free list. We may make some very clear or accurate conjectures about this business, but we do not know.

In the consideration and disposal of a tariff bill it is absolutely necessary for the sake of justice and the propriety of legislation that the dutiable list should be made up first, for whatever is not on the dutiable list necessarily is on the free list. I therefore insist, if I have the parliamentary right to do it, that the Senate shall go back and take up the undisposed-of articles and pass upon them, so that we may know when we get to the free list again what is on the free list and what is not. I would venture to suggest that this will be, perhaps, the quickest way to get through with the free list.

Mr. ALLISON. If the Senator from Alabama will indulge me a moment, I think the way we are proceeding is really the regular and orderly way to secure the fullest consideration of the bill in every phase and every paragraph of it. After we have passed through the free list and every paragraph in the bill, it is in order, under our rules, as I understand them (if not, it was the understanding), that any and every paragraph shall still be open to amendment. That I understand to be the rule. So paragraph No. 20 or paragraph No. 50 can be dealt with upon the motion of any Senator on this floor until the bill is completed, and we never will know what is on the free list and on the dutiable list until the bill passes out of the Committee of the Whole and passes to its third reading. It will be in order for the Senator from Alabama to renew the motion he made or gave notice of the other day at any stage of the bill short of the third reading, as I understand it.

I suggest to the Senator from Alabama that the best way for him to facilitate his own amendment is for us now to take up the free list and deal with it so far as the committee have dealt with it. Then, if at a later stage of the proceeding something else is added to the free list, so be it; it will then be taken from the dutiable list. So far as we have progressed with the bill to this moment, there are probably not half a dozen articles that anyone proposes to transfer from the dutiable to the free list; and in each and every case where that has been done notice has been given. The Senator from Missouri a while ago moved to strike out a new paragraph that was inserted reducing the duty on certain articles as appeared in the House bill, giving notice that he would move to place those articles upon the free list.

I submit to the Senator from Alabama that the best way to facilitate the consideration of the bill and secure the fullest consideration of it is to go on with the free list this afternoon. By an arrangement made before the Senator from Alabama came in, by unanimous consent, it was agreed that to-morrow morning we would take up the wool schedule. So we have been progressing in this way, and I think we are making intelligent and rapid progress by the processes we have adopted. I trust that there will be no objection to continuing the methods we have hitherto pursued, and going on with the free list. I think if I were to make a point of order, that would be held to be the rule, because we have reached the free list now in the regular order, and we have passed over nothing except by unanimous consent.

Mr. FRYE. Will the Senator allow me a moment?

Mr. ALLISON. Certainly.

Mr. FRYE. I call the Senator's attention to the original agreement when the bill was taken up. I think I was in the chair at the time. It was that the committee amendments in each paragraph should first be taken up and acted upon, and then any amendments might be proposed from the floor to that paragraph. Now, all that is necessary in this case is to treat the free list as a schedule; then, by unanimous consent, after the committee amendments are completed to a paragraph on the free list, it is open to amendments on the floor proposed by anyone.

Mr. MORGAN. I have noticed that Senators would introduce amendments as we have been going along without regard to the fact of the committee advancing them or proposing them at all.

Mr. FRYE. But let me make one other suggestion to the Senator. After the free list is entirely completed as in Committee of the Whole, and it is in the Senate, it is still open to any amendment the Senator may desire to offer.

Mr. MORGAN. When the bill passes from the Committee of the Whole into the Senate, then in the Senate the first question is on concurring in the amendments which have been adopted as in Committee of the Whole.

Mr. FRYE. No; the announcement will be made, "The bill is now in the Senate and is still open to amendment;" and after that announcement the Senator is at liberty to offer any amendment he pleases, as is any other Senator.

Mr. ALLISON. To any paragraph.

Mr. FRYE. To any paragraph in the bill.

Mr. MORGAN. Then this bill differs from all other bills in that particular. I am surprised to hear that statement made, because, notwithstanding the bill is open to amendment in the Senate, the first question after we get out of Committee of the Whole and get into the Senate is whether the Senate will concur in the amendments made as in Committee of the Whole. That is the first question.

Mr. ALLISON. That is the first question.

Mr. MORGAN. And after that comes the right of amendment.

Mr. ALLISON. When the question is on concurring in the amendments made as in Committee of the Whole, I understand that any Senator can ask for a separate vote on any amendment that has been made in Committee of the Whole, and can move to concur in it with an amendment or ask the Senate to disagree to it. So the whole bill, under the rules as I understand them, is open.

Mr. FRYE. Just as much as in Committee of the Whole.

Mr. ALLISON. Just as much as in Committee of the Whole, and it is open to the very end. I will say to Senators that it is within the power of the Senate to go on indefinitely under our rules as respects the bill. I think we all have the same purpose, and that is to facilitate the consideration of the bill as rapidly as possible consistent with a full and intelligent examination. We ask for nothing else on this side of the Chamber; so that every matter can be disposed of according to the convenience and judgment of the Senate.

Mr. ALLEN. Will not the Senator have to reserve his amendment as in Committee of the Whole before it can be offered in the Senate?

Mr. FRYE. Oh, no.

Mr. FAULKNER. Oh, no; there is the same power in the Senate that there is as in Committee of the Whole.

Mr. ALLEN. I think that has been the custom heretofore.

Mr. ALLISON. It does not have to be reserved as in Committee of the Whole, because it requires unanimous consent to have the question put on concurring in the amendments in bulk. When the question is on concurring in the amendments made as in Committee of the Whole, any Senator can demand a separate vote upon each and every amendment in the bill. So there is no difficulty about the fullest consideration in the Senate.

Mr. MORGAN. With that understanding, Mr. President, and

according to the explanation now given by the Senator from Iowa, I withdraw the objection.

Mr. ALLISON. I am very much obliged to the Senator, and I am sure he will have the fullest opportunity.

The Secretary resumed the reading of the bill at line 13, page 161, under the heading of "Free list."

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in section 2, page 161, line 14, after the word "of," to strike out "May" and insert "July;" so as to read:

SEC. 2. That on and after the 1st day of July, 1897, unless otherwise specially provided for in this act, the following articles when imported shall be exempt from duty.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask that the amendment may be modified in section 2, line 14, by striking out "May" and "July" and leaving a blank for the present.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Without objection, the amendment is agreed to as modified, leaving the blank to be filled.

The next amendment was, in paragraph 452, page 161, line 18, after the word "arsenious," to insert "benzoic, carbolic;" in line 19, after the word "nitric," to insert "oxalic;" in line 20, after the word "silicic," to insert "salicylic, and valerianic," and to strike out "when chemically pure or in condition for use for medicinal, chemical, or manufacturing purposes, without further preparation or treatment;" so as to make the paragraph read:

452. Acids: Arsenic or arsenious, benzoic, carbolic, fluoric, hydrochloric or muriatic, nitric, oxalic, phosphoric, picric or nitro-picric, prussic, and silicic, salicylic, and valerianic.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask that the amendment inserting the words "salicylic and valerianic" may be disagreed to.

Mr. VEST. I should like to have some reason given for striking out those words.

Mr. ALLISON. We have not yet considered those acids on the dutiable list.

Mr. WHITE. I ask the Senator from Iowa to allow the paragraph to be passed over for the present.

Mr. ALLISON. Very well.

Mr. WHITE. I desire to investigate it.

Mr. ALLISON. That is right.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there any objection to the first amendment, inserting the words "benzoic, carbolic," and "oxalic?"

Mr. WHITE. My request is that the entire paragraph be passed over temporarily.

Mr. ALLISON. I have no objection to that course.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. There being no objection, the paragraph will be passed over.

The reading of the bill was continued to line 3, on page 162, the last paragraph read being as follows:

455½. Albumen.

Mr. ALLISON. After "albumen" I move to insert "not specially provided for in this act."

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 456, page 162, line 5, after the word "anthracin," to strike out "including naphthazarin black" and insert "and all fast-black coal-tar dyes;" so as to make the paragraph read:

456. Alizarin, natural or artificial, and dyes derived from alizarin or from anthracin, and all fast-black coal-tar dyes.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask that paragraph 456 be passed over.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Without objection, it will be so ordered.

The reading of the bill was continued to paragraph 459, page 162, line 10.

Mr. WHITE. At this point, if the Senator from Iowa will permit me, I should like to suggest an article that ought to go into the free list, and I think the committee will have no objection to it. It is the article known as antitoxin. The Board of General Appraisers ruled that this article was admissible under the designation of vaccine virus, but the United States court, after an examination of the subject, decided otherwise, and that very valuable medicinal preparation is therefore dutiable by that decision under the provisions of the first schedule of the bill. I suggest that "459½. Antitoxin" be inserted as a new paragraph. There can be no objection, it appears to me, to the amendment.

Mr. ALLISON. I do not know that there is; but I ask the Senator to allow it to be passed over.

Mr. WHITE. I can refer the Senator to the decision which I mentioned, and the General Appraisers will agree with me.

Mr. ALLISON. I shall not object to its being inserted at a later stage.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair does not hear the agreement made between the Senators.

Mr. WHITE. Does the Senator from Iowa object to the amendment?

Mr. ALLISON. The Senator from California moves, I understand, to insert "antitoxin."

Mr. WHITE. Yes, sir; as paragraph 459½.

Mr. ALLISON. It should go in after paragraph 463, line 16, page 163. It should be a new paragraph numbered 463½.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is the Senator from California content with that suggestion?

Mr. WHITE. Yes; let it come in as paragraph 463½.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and paragraph "463½. Antitoxin," is inserted at the proper place on page 163.

The reading of the bill was resumed, as follows:

460. Any animal imported specially for breeding purposes shall be admitted free: *Provided*, That no such animal shall be admitted free unless pure bred of a recognized breed, and duly registered in the book of record established for that breed: *And provided further*, That certificate of such record and of the pedigree of such animal shall be produced and submitted to the customs officer, duly authenticated by the proper custodian of such book of record, together with the affidavit of the owner, agent, or importer that such animal is the identical animal described in said certificate of record and pedigree. The Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe such additional regulations as may be required for the strict enforcement of this provision.

Mr. CHILTON. I ask the Senator from Iowa if he does not think it would be advisable to adopt an amendment to that paragraph, not as a matter of any political importance at all, but to continue the efficiency of the exemption concerning animals? I find that the Agricultural appropriation acts have carried a clause like the following:

That the Secretary of Agriculture shall determine and certify to the Secretary of the Treasury what are recognized breeds and pure-bred animals, under the provisions of paragraph 373 of the tariff act of 1894.

That clause was contained in the Agricultural appropriation act which we passed a short time ago, and it occurs to me that it would be well to provide a like method to be applied to the new tariff law. I have prepared an amendment, which I offer.

Mr. ALLISON. I am much obliged to the Senator. That is a very important suggestion. If the Senator has a suitable amendment, I ask that it may be inserted.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will state the amendment offered by the Senator from Texas to paragraph 460.

The SECRETARY. Insert after the word "pedigree," in line 21, on page 162:

That the Secretary of Agriculture shall determine and certify to the Secretary of the Treasury what are recognized breeds and pure-bred animals under the provisons of this paragraph.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there any objection to the amendment?

Mr. HOAR. The words "*Provided further*" should be inserted at the beginning of the clause.

Mr. CHILTON. It does not make any difference, because it is an independent clause. I accept the suggestion, if the Senator from Massachusetts thinks it desirable.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Texas as modified.

The amendment as modified was agreed to.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 461, page 163, line 4, after the word "also," to strike out the comma and the words "household furniture and cooking utensils not exceeding in value $100 and;" so as to make the paragraph read:

461. Animals brought into the United States temporarily for a period not exceeding six months, for the purpose of exhibition or competition for prizes offered by any agricultural or racing association; but a bond shall be given in accordance with regulations prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury; also teams of animals, including their harness and tackle and the wagons or other vehicles actually owned by persons emigrating from foreign countries to the United States with their families, and in actual use for the purpose of such emigration under such regulations as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe; and wild animals intended for exhibition in zoological collections for scientific and educational purposes, and not for sale or profit.

The amendment was agreed to.

The reading of the bill was continued to line 16, page 163, paragraph 463.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. At this point a new paragraph has been inserted.

The Secretary read as follows:

463½. Antitoxin.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was to insert after line 17, on page 163:

464½. Argols, or crude tartars, and lees crystals.

Mr. ALLISON. I move to modify the amendment by striking out the word "or" after the word "argols," in line 18, and adding at the end of the line "not specially provided for;" so as to read:

Argols, crude tartars, and lees crystals, not specially provided for.

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

The amendment as amended was agreed to.

The Secretary resumed the reading of the bill. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 470, page 164, line 4, after the words "United States," to insert "(except articles upon which an internal-revenue tax is levied);" in line 7, after the word "means," to strike out "casks, barrels, carboys, bags, and other vessels of American manufacture exported filled with American products, or exported empty and returned filled

with foreign products, including shooks when returned as barrels or boxes; also quicksilver flasks or bottles, of either domestic or foreign manufacture, which shall have been actually exported from the United States;" in line 16, after the word "Treasury," to strike out, "but the exemption of bags from duty shall apply only to such domestic bags as may be imported by the exporter thereof, and if any such articles are subject to internal tax at the time of exportation, such tax shall be proved to have been paid before exportation and not refunded;" in line 22, after the word "made," to strike out "the reimportation of which is hereby prohibited except upon payment of duties equal to the drawbacks allowed;" and on page 165, line 1, after the word "law," to strike out the colon and the words:

And provided further, That when manufactured tobacco which has been exported without payment of internal-revenue tax shall be reimported, it shall be retained in the custody of the collector of customs until internal-revenue stamps in payment of the legal duties shall be placed thereon.

So as to make the paragraph read:

470. Articles the growth, produce, and manufacture of the United States (except articles upon which an internal-revenue tax is levied), when returned after having been exported, without having been advanced in value or improved in condition by any process of manufacture or other means; but proof of the identity of such articles shall be made, under general regulations to be prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury: *Provided*, That this paragraph shall not apply to any article upon which an allowance of drawback has been made, or to any article manufactured in bonded warehouse and exported under any provision of law.

Mr. ALLISON. There are some modifications that I think should be made to paragraph 470, and therefore I ask that the paragraph be passed over for the present.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 471, page 165, line 6, to strike out "Asbestus" and insert "Asbestos;" so as to read:

471. Asbestos, unmanufactured.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I was out of the Chamber when paragraph 460 was taken up a few minutes ago, to which I wanted to move an amendment, which I hope will be accepted by the Senator from Iowa.

At the end of the corresponding paragraph in the Wilson law there was this provision, which seems to me ought to be in this bill:

Cattle, horses, sheep, or other domestic animals which have strayed across the boundary line into any foreign country, or have been or may be driven across such boundary line by the owner for pasturage purposes, together with their increase, may be brought back to the United States free of duty under regulations to be prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury.

There is considerable stock, as I understand, along the border of Mexico and the United States driven across for pasturage purposes. There has never been any complaint made regarding it so far as I know, and the regulations prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury have been ample to prevent any abuse. It seems to me that the present bill ought to accord the same privileges which are allowed under the present law, and I hope there will be no objection to the insertion of the words I have read as an amendment to paragraph 460.

Mr. MILLS. I will state to the Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON] that the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. QUAY] is in favor of this as much as I am. We have talked about it.

Mr. ALLISON. I am familiar with it, and I do not know that I shall object to the amendment; but let it be passed over until to-morrow morning, by which time we may arrive at some understanding about it.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Then I will offer the amendment, so that it will be pending and not be overlooked.

Mr. ALLISON. Very well.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I propose to insert, at the end of paragraph 460, the following:

Cattle, horses, sheep, or other domestic animals which have strayed across the boundary line into any foreign country, or have been or may be driven across such boundary line by the owner for pasturage purposes, together with their increase, may be brought back to the United States free of duty under regulations to be prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. If there be no objection, the amendment proposed by the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. JONES] will be passed over for the present.

Mr. ALLISON. There should be some modification of that paragraph; but I am willing that it be passed over.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I offer the amendment to the pending bill so that it will not be overlooked.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, after line 12, on page 165, to insert as a new paragraph:

476½. Bauxite or beauxite, crude, not refined or otherwise advanced in condition.

Mr. CLAY. The House, as I understand, placed a duty of $1 per ton on bauxite in paragraph 88 of the bill, which the Senate committee reported to strike out. I ask the Senator from Iowa to let the new paragraph which has just been read go over until that question can be considered in connection with paragraph 88.

Mr. ALLISON. Very well.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. There being no objection, the paragraph will be passed over for the present.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 478, page 165, line 19, after the word "pound," to strike out the comma and insert "and manila twine, measuring 600 feet to the pound;" so as to read:

478. Binding twine: All binding twine manufactured in whole or in part from New Zealand hemp, istle or Tampico fiber, sisal grass, or sunn, of single ply and measuring not exceeding 600 feet to the pound and manila twine, measuring 600 feet to the pound.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in the same paragraph, in line 22, before the word "articles," to strike out "like" and insert "the same;" so as to read:

Provided, That articles mentioned in this paragraph if imported from a country which lays an import duty on the same articles imported from the United States shall be subject to a duty of one-half of 1 cent per pound.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I ask consent of the Senate to recur to paragraph 473 for the purpose of offering an amendment between that and paragraph 474, as I think it will come more properly at that point. I propose to move an amendment there adding a new paragraph:

Bagging for cotton, gunny cloth, and all similar material suitable for covering cotton, composed in whole or in part of hemp, flax, jute, or jute butts.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask the Senator to allow that to be passed over for the present.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I will offer the amendment now, and then it may go over.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Arkansas will be stated.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to insert as a new paragraph:

473½. Bagging for cotton, gunny cloth, and all similar material suitable for covering cotton, composed in whole or in part of hemp, flax, jute, or jute butts.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. By unanimous consent, the amendment will lie over for the present.

Mr. ALLISON. Before passing from paragraph 478, in line 17 I move to strike out the words "in whole or in part."

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Iowa will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In paragraph 478, page 165, line 17, after the word "manufactured," it is proposed to strike out "in whole or in part;" so as to read:

478. Binding twine: All binding twine manufactured from New Zealand hemp, istle or Tampico fiber, sisal grass, or sunn, etc.

Mr. NELSON. I hope that will not be done.

Mr. ALLISON. I will ask the Senator what objection he has to the amendment.

Mr. NELSON. I object to it because we have a good deal of twine of mixed material; we have a good deal of twine that is not made wholly of one of these substances; we have a good deal that is made of manila and sisal grass, mixed.

Mr. ALLISON. The Senator will observe the object I have in making the suggestion is to give some little protection to the flax industry, which we are caring for. Under the provision as it stands now, twine might have in it a single line of New Zealand hemp, istle or tampico fiber, and so on, and all the rest be flax. I suggest to the Senator that we should say "from New Zealand hemp, istle or tampico fiber, sisal grass, or sunn, or a mixture of either of them."

Mr. NELSON. If the amendment is put in that form, I shall have no objection to it.

Mr. ALLISON. If not put in that form, it would be all wrong, unless we strike out the words which I have proposed to strike out.

Mr. NELSON. If the Senator will put in the words he proposes to strike out, then it will be all right.

Mr. ALLISON. I can not allow the Senator to say it would be all right to strike out those words if I did not put anything in. We strike out those words in order that we may not have imported binding twine manufactured in whole or in part from New Zealand hemp, instead of flax.

Mr. NELSON. No binding twine is made of flax. It is all made of hemp.

Mr. ALLISON. The Senator does not comprehend what I mean. The object of my moving to strike out that provision was to protect the flax industry from what might happen under this provision if it were not stricken out. I want the Senator to see that the objection he makes is one not in the interest of the industry he seeks to protect, and that my amendment is in that interest.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the amendment in line 17, to strike out the words "in whole or in part."

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. Now, I move, in the same paragraph, in line 18, after the word "sunn," to insert "or a mixture of either of them."

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. WHITE. Do I understand the paragraph is perfected according to the theory of the other side?

Mr. ALLISON. I think it is fully perfected.

Mr. WHITE. I move to strike out the paragraph as amended and insert in lieu thereof paragraph 399 of the present law. I think the effect of the numerous amendments reported by the Committee on Finance has been to deprive the law of its beneficial effect. It is so limited in operation that the free list is the appropriate place for the provision.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment proposed by the Senator from California will be stated.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to strike out paragraph 478 and in lieu thereof to insert:

All binding twine manufactured in whole or in part from New Zealand hemp, istle or Tampico fiber, sisal grass, or sunn, of single ply and measuring not exceeding 600 feet to the pound, and manila twine not exceeding 650 feet to the pound.

Mr. ALLISON. The suggestion of the Senator from California calls to my attention a matter which I had overlooked. The provision as to manila twine should read "measuring 650 feet," instead of "600 feet." I think the language as it stands is a misprint, and that it should be as I suggest. I move the insertion of the words "and fifty," after the word "hundred," in line 20; so as to read, "and manila twine, measuring 650 feet to the pound."

Mr. WHITE. If I understand the effect of the amendment, then, manila twine measuring 649 feet would not be admitted free.

Mr. ALLISON. That is the provision of the Wilson law. I think the provision should be "not exceeding 650 feet." The object is to exclude very fine twine.

Mr. WHITE. The Wilson law states "not exceeding 650 feet."

Mr. ALLISON. Very well; that ought to be the provision here—"not exceeding 650 feet."

Mr. WHITE. Now, Mr. President, if the paragraph is perfected, I wish to offer my amendment.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the amendment offered by the Senator from Iowa.

Mr. WHITE. It appears to me that the phrase "or a mixture of either of them" is not a very good expression.

Mr. ALLISON. That is in the Wilson law.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. If the Senator from California will withhold his amendment for a moment, the Chair will put the question on the amendments of the committee.

Mr. WHITE. I withdraw the amendment temporarily.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Without objection, the other two amendments proposed by the Senator from Iowa on behalf of the committee will be agreed to.

Mr. WHITE. I think the expression "or the mixture of either of them" is a little inaccurate there. I will, however, now move to substitute paragraph 399 of the Wilson law for the pending paragraph.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the amendment proposed by the Senator from California [Mr. WHITE], which has heretofore been read.

The amendment was rejected.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair calls the attention of the Senator from Iowa to the comma at the end of line 19, after the word "manila," and asks if he desires to have that retained?

Mr. ALLISON. Yes; it should be retained.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Without objection, the comma will be retained.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask that the paragraph be read as it now stands.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The paragraph will be read as amended.

The Secretary read as follows:

478. Binding twine: All binding twine manufactured from New Zealand hemp, istle or Tampico fiber, sisal grass, or sunn, or a mixture of either of them, of single ply and measuring not exceeding 600 feet to the pound, and manila twine, measuring not exceeding 650 feet to the pound: *Provided*, That articles mentioned in this paragraph, if imported from a country which lays an import duty on the same articles imported from the United States, shall be subject to a duty of one-half of 1 cent per pound.

Mr. ALLISON. The amendment of the committee in line 22, before the word "articles," to strike out "like" and insert "the same," should be disagreed to; so that it will read:

From a country which lays an import duty on like articles imported from the United States, etc.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Without objection, the amendment will be disagreed to. The Chair hears none, and it is disagreed to.

Mr. WHITE. Now I recall the motion which I have made to strike out the whole of paragraph 478 as amended and insert in lieu thereof paragraph 399 of the present law, which has been already read.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair understands that that amendment has just been rejected by a vote of the Senate.

Mr. WHITE. It seems when my motion was made the paragraph had not reached that state of perfection which was the ultimate aspiration of the Senator from Iowa, but now that it is in a thoroughly dressed-up condition I wish to renew the motion, so as to again present the question.

Mr. ALLISON. I have no objection to the Senator presenting his amendment. The paragraph is in a condition of absolute perfection now, as I understand it, without the suggestion of the Senator to strike it out.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the amendment proposed by the Senator from California [Mr. WHITE], which has been read.

Mr. TURPIE. Mr. President, as to the amendment being in a state of absolute perfection, I will say to the honorable and learned Senator from Iowa that I do not think you can mix "either" of several different things. "Either" applies to one of two things. The proposition should be "a mixture of any two or more." That I think would be an improvement of the phraseology.

Mr. ALLISON. I think I shall accept the modification suggested by the Senator from Indiana, although I call his attention to the fact that we were imitating the fabricators of the Wilson law when we inserted those words.

Mr. WHITE. A fabrication may be used, but a refabrication never.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Will the Senator from Indiana state the amendment he suggests?

Mr. TURPIE. In paragraph 478, line 18, after the words "mixture of," I move to strike out "either" and to insert "any two or more."

Mr. ALLISON. I think that is better phraseology than that in the paragraph, and I thank the Senator for the suggestion.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to amend the committee amendment, after the words "mixture of," in line 18, by striking out "either" and inserting "any two or more."

The amendment was agreed to.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The text will stand in that way in place of the amendment heretofore adopted. The question before the Senate is on the motion of the Senator from California to strike out paragraph 478 and insert a new paragraph, which has been heretofore read.

The amendment of Mr. WHITE was rejected.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, on page 166, after line 9, to insert the following as a new paragraph:

484½. Bolting cloths composed of silk, imported expressly for milling purposes, and so permanently marked as not to be suitable for any other use.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. In paragraph 484, line 9, after the word "dried," I move to insert the words "not specially provided for."

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Iowa will be stated.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to amend paragraph 484, in line 9, page 166, so as to read:

484. Blood, dried, not specially provided for.

The amendment was agreed to.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, on page 166, after line 18, to insert as a new paragraph the following:

486a. Books, maps, music, engravings, photographs, etchings, bound or unbound, and charts, which shall have been printed more than twenty years at the date of importation, and all hydrographic charts, and scientific books and periodicals devoted to original scientific research, and publications issued for their subscribers by scientific and literary associations or academies, or publications of individuals for gratuitous private circulation, and public documents issued by foreign governments.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 167, after line 2, to insert as a new paragraph the following:

486b. Books and pamphlets printed exclusively in languages other than English; also books and music, in raised print, used exclusively by the blind.

Mr. VEST. Is not that a repetition of another paragraph?

Mr. ALLISON. That is a repetition of another paragraph, and paragraph 486 should be stricken out.

Mr. GRAY. 486c, you mean.

Mr. ALLISON. No; paragraph 486 should be stricken out. It was the intention of the committee to run these various paragraphs right along.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON] will be stated.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to strike out paragraph 486, beginning in line 16, on page 166, as follows:

486. Books, engravings, photographs, etchings, bound or unbound, maps and charts imported by authority or for the use of the United States or for the use of the Library of Congress.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. VEST. I should like to understand that. It seems to me that paragraph 486c is the same as paragraph 486, except that

paragraph 486c includes music. I understand the Senator to move to strike out paragraph 486.

Mr. ALLISON. Yes; the proposition is to strike out paragraph 486 and insert 486c, so as to have these provisions in regular order. The provision of paragraph 486 is enlarged a little in paragraph 486c.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Paragraph 486c is next in order, and will be read.

The SECRETARY. The Committee on Finance propose to insert as a new paragraph, after line 5, on page 167, the following:

486c. Books, maps, music, engravings, photographs, etchings, bound or unbound, and charts imported by authority or for the use of the United States or for the use of the Library of Congress.

Mr. VEST. The only difference I see is that this paragraph includes music, whilst paragraph 486 does not.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. This includes the phonograph.

Mr. ALLISON. I understand that paragraph 486 has been stricken out.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. That amendment has been agreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. In line 24, of paragraph 486a, page 166, after the word "subscribers," I move to insert the words "or exchanges."

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Iowa will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In paragraph 486a, on page 166, line 24, after the word "subscribers," it is proposed to insert "or exchanges;" so as to read:

And publications issued for their subscribers or exchanges by scientific and literary associations or academies, etc.

The amendment was agreed to.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, after line 9, on page 167, to insert as a new paragraph the following:

486d. Books, maps, music, photographs, etchings, lithographic prints, and charts, specially imported, not more than two copies in any one invoice, in good faith, for the use or by order of any society or institution incorporated or established solely for religious, philosophical, educational, scientific, or literary purposes, or for the encouragement of the fine arts, or for the use or by order of any college, academy, school, or seminary of learning in the United States, or any State or public library, and not for sale, subject to such regulations as the Secretary of the Treasury shall prescribe.

Mr. VEST. What is the change made?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. That is a new paragraph reported by the Senate committee as it appears in the print.

Mr. ALLISON. There is no change made in paragraph 486d.

The amendment was agreed to.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, on page 167, after line 19, to insert as a new paragraph the following:

486e. Books, libraries, usual and reasonable furniture, and similar household effects of persons or families from foreign countries, if actually used abroad by them not less than one year, and not intended for any other person or persons, nor for sale.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, at the top of page 168, to insert as a new paragraph the following:

486f. Brass, old brass, clippings from brass or Dutch metal, all the foregoing, fit only for remanufacture.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was to insert a new paragraph as follows:

489½. Bromine.

The amendment was agreed to.

The reading of the bill was resumed, and continued to the end of paragraph 493.

Mr. WHITE. After paragraph 493, I move to insert as a new paragraph:

493½. Burlaps and bags for grain, made of burlaps.

A similar question will be involved here to that suggested in the motion of the Senator form Arkansas. I merely give notice of the amendment at present, and will allow it to stand over.

Mr. ALLISON. Let it be passed over.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. By unanimous consent, it will be passed over.

Mr. PETTUS. I suggest to the Senator from California to add "cotton bagging, or bagging for cotton."

Mr. WHITE. I will say to the Senator from Alabama that the Senator from Arkansas has already made such a motion in reference to another paragraph of the bill, so that the motion referred to by the Senator from Alabama is pending at this time.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 496, line 13, page 168, after the word "crude," to strike out the comma and insert "and crude liquid camphor of not less than 980 degrees specific gravity;" so as to make the paragraph read:

496. Camphor, crude and crude liquid camphor of not less than 980 degrees specific gravity.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. GRAY. After paragraph 493½ I think I should like to call attention to bleaching powder, about which something was said the other day when it was passed over. I should like to propose an amendment inserting bleaching powder. Let it be stated.

Mr. ALLISON. There will be no objection to that.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to add as a new paragraph after 493½:

Bleaching powder.

Mr. BURROWS. The Senator offers that to be considered as pending?

Mr. ALLISON. That is all.

Mr. WHITE. I notice that in this part of the bill there is no mention made of paragraph 426 of the Wilson Act—old coins, medals, etc. I desire to inquire of the Senator from Iowa whether it is the design of the committee to take the articles embraced in paragraph 426 off the free list?

The present law reads:

Old coins and medals and other antiquities, but the term "antiquities," as used in this act, shall include only such articles as are suitable for souvenirs or cabinet collections, and which shall have been produced at any period prior to the year 1700.

Of course we can probably produce something prior to the year 1700 by new processes, but that is not an infant industry.

Mr. ALLISON. That was purposely omitted in the bill as it came from the House. In the Senate the committee is preparing a modification of that provision, to see if it is not possible to get in these old coins and antiquities without being obliged to get in also under that name new coins and new imitations. We will have that under consideration later on.

Mr. WHITE. The present law provides:

Which have been produced at any period prior to the year 1700.

There are, in the progress of scientific inquiry, various processes giving an ancient appearance to manufactured articles, and I do not know whether it is designed to promote a domestic industry.

Mr. GRAY. It occurs to me that this, like some other industries, may deserve protection. I recollect seeing the answer of a witness on the stand in a court in New York. He was asked what his business was, and he said his business was to make wormholes in furniture, so that it might be sold as antique furniture. If that is worthy of consideration——

Mr. ALLISON. It is a new industry. [Laughter.]

Mr. HOAR. I think the Senator from Delaware ought to state, in justice to his own country, that that answer was made in England and not here.

Mr. GRAY. In England?

Mr. HOAR. Yes.

Mr. GRAY. Still it might be brought into this country if it were not kept out by a tariff.

Mr. ALLISON. I assure the Senator that later on we will propose some provision in regard to the question of antiquities.

Mr. WHITE. I observe immediately prior to antiquities in the present law "cabbages." The relation between the two is not apparent. I will inquire whether they are excluded from the free list by design.

Mr. ALLISON. They are on the dutiable list at 3 cents each, I think.

Mr. WHITE. I will now move to insert the phraseology of paragraph 426 of the present law immediately before paragraph 495 of the proposed law. The amendment may be considered as pending, subject to the paragraph which the Senator from Iowa informs us the committee has now in process of preparation.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 498, page 168, line 16, after the word "unmanufactured," to strike out the comma and insert "or not further manufactured than in strings or cords;" so as to make the paragraph read:

498. Catgut, whip gut, or worm gut, unmanufactured, or not further manufactured than in strings or cords.

Mr. ALLISON. On further consideration, the committee instruct me to ask the Senate to disagree to the amendment.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment reported by the Committee on Finance.

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. WHITE. I understand the Senator asks the Senate to disagree to the amendment and to insert in paragraph 498 the words in italics.

Mr. ALLISON. Yes, sir; that has already been done.

Mr. WHITE. That is satisfactory.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was to insert as a new paragraph the following:

500a. Charcoal.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask that the paragraph may be passed over.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The paragraph will be passed over.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was to insert as a new paragraph:

500b. Chicory root, raw, dried or undried, but unground.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask that the amendment may be rejected. We have already put chicory root on the dutiable list.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Committee on Finance.

The amendment was rejected.

The reading of the bill was resumed, The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 504, page 169, line 3, after the word "coal," to strike out "anthracite, and coal;" and in line 4, after the word "be," to strike out "unloaded" and insert "unladen or discharged;" so as to make the paragraph read:

504. Coal stores of American vessels; but none shall be unladen or discharged.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask that paragraphs 504 and 505, down to the end of line 16, shall be passed over.

Mr. WHITE. Including line 16?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Including line 16. The paragraphs will be passed over.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was to insert as a new section the following:

512½. Copper in plates, bars, ingots, or pigs, and other forms, not manufactured or specially provided for in this act.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. STEWART. I desire to offer an amendment to come in at the proper place along here, wherever it will suit the committee best, reading: "Yellow prussiate of potash, cyanide of potassium." Is it the proper time to offer it now?

Mr. ALLISON. I do not know of any place where I desire the Senator to offer the amendment, but I think it had better come in a little later, under the potash paragraph, which will appear soon. We have potash in paragraph 619, page 181.

Mr. STEWART. I will wait until we reach that point.

Mr. ALLISON. We have a great number of articles of potash on the free list.

The reading of the bill was resumed and continued to the end of paragraph 517, on page 170, which is as follows:

517. Cotton, and cotton waste or flocks.

Mr. McLAURIN. I move to amend the paragraph so as to conform with the amendment heretofore adopted putting cotton on the dutiable list. I move to strike out the words "Cotton, and."

The SECRETARY. In paragraph 517, line 12, it is proposed to strike out the words "Cotton, and;" so as to make the paragraph read:

Cotton waste or flocks.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. BACON. The amendment which I submitted is now in order. The point has been reached where it will be inserted, if adopted. The amendment, to be known as paragraph 517½, puts cotton ties on the free list. The amendment is in writing at the desk.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to insert as a new paragraph:

517½. Cotton ties of iron and steel, of any thickness, for baling cotton, cut to lengths, punched or not punched, with or without buckles.

Mr. ALLISON. The Senator gives notice of the amendment, which is to be passed over.

Mr. BACON. Not unless the Senator desires.

Mr. ALLISON. I do not.

Mr. SPOONER and Mr. WHITE. Let the amendment be read again.

The Secretary again read the amendment.

Mr. WHITE. It should be "iron or steel."

Mr. BACON. It is "or," is it not? I intended it to be "or." I make that modification.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment will be modified so as to read "Cotton ties, of iron or steel."

Mr. BACON. Mr. President, I do not know what is the disposition of the Senator from Iowa and those who are acting with him as to this particular amendment. If there is any intention to antagonize it, it has been suggested that possibly it might go over.

I desire, however, to call the attention of the Senator and the Senate to the fact that a few days since, when this matter was incidentally mentioned in connection with another, the Senator from Iowa, representing the committee, stated that it was certainly the intention of the committee and of those with whom he acted to put cotton ties and binding twine upon an exact equality.

Mr. ALLISON. I shall be very glad to have the Senator read any observation of mine to that effect. I shall be glad to have the RECORD produced showing that I suggested that they be put on an equality. I said we would endeavor to deal justly with all these matters connected with this paragraph as respects the free list. If cotton ties and binding twine stand exactly upon the same relation, it is a question whether one or two of them should be on the free list or dutiable list.

Mr. BACON. I fear the Senator from Iowa forgets the occasion to which I allude.

Mr. ALLISON. Perhaps I do. I should be glad to have the Senator read just what I did say. That is to say, if I am to be judged by any observation I made hitherto respecting cotton ties, I should be glad to have it read at the desk or by the Senator.

Mr. BACON. The Senator will recall that I suggested Friday last, I think it was, that the Senator and those with whom he was acting were more sensitive as to the rights claimed by certain interests than they were as to others. I was speaking of the fact that they had so promptly recommended the placing of a compensatory duty upon cotton manufactures. The Senator asked me to specify in what instance they had failed to be equally considerate of the interests of the farmers of the North and the interests of the farmers of the South. I stated the fact that in the pending bill bagging and ties were upon the dutiable list, while grain sacks and binding twine were on the free list. The Senator from California [Mr. WHITE] called attention to the fact that I was mistaken as to grain sacks, and the matter stood as being true so far as related to binding twine being on the free list and bagging and ties being on the dutiable list.

Relating to those particular items, the Senator from Iowa then made the statement which I now suggest is correctly represented by me. The Senator from Arkansas [Mr. BERRY] rose and asked whether or not the Senator intended to produce the equality which was promised by him by bringing binding twine on to the dutiable list, so that it should be on an equality with bagging and ties, or whether he proposed to put bagging and ties on the free list, and thus get them to a plane of equality. The Senator from Iowa at that time declined to say which he would do, but gave the assurance that they would be treated on an exact equality, and said the committee was considering it.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask the Senator to read what I said.

Mr. BACON. I do not pretend to have given the exact language of the Senator from Iowa, but I do not think I have misrepresented him in substance.

Mr. WHITE. I suggest to the Senator from Georgia that a fair defense could be made upon either theory.

Mr. BACON. A defense by whom?

Mr. WHITE. By either party.

Mr. BACON. The Senator's remark is rather vague. I do not know to what he alludes.

Mr. ALLISON. I do not regard this as of any moment, so far as I am personally concerned, but as the Senator quoted my language, I wanted to see if he was making a correct quotation.

Mr. BACON. The Senator does me an injustice by saying that I endeavored to quote his language.

Mr. WHITE. If my memory serves me rightly, it was a more general expression of good will in which the Senator from Georgia acquiesced, taking it rather too literally, and making perhaps too close an application.

Mr. ALLISON. If it will suit the convenience of the Senator from Georgia, I will ask that the amendment may be passed over and be regarded as pending, and then we can discuss the whole question later on.

Mr. BACON. I was looking in the wrong copy of the RECORD. I will get the correct number and call the attention of the Senator from Iowa to it.

Mr. ALLISON. It is not a material matter.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment will be considered as pending and will be passed over.

Mr. ALLISON. Will the Senator from Georgia allow it to be passed over?

Mr. BACON. I had the wrong number of the RECORD.

Mr. PETTUS. Why not act on the amendment now?

Mr. STEWART. I do not see any objection to acting on it now.

Mr. PETTUS. I should like to know why the amendment should be passed over. Why not act on it?

Mr. BACON. Simply because the Senator from Iowa desires that the RECORD shall be produced to see whether we have labored under an impression erroneously.

Mr. PETTUS. If the Senator will allow me, it is not what the Senator from Iowa said last week. He has a right to change his mind if he chooses. I do not think he said that, because my distinct impression is that he gave an answer which you could not put a hook into. [Laughter.] What we need most is the concurrence of the Senator from Iowa now.

The reading of the bill was resumed.

Mr. PETTUS. One moment. I wish to understand why the amendment is to be passed over?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. With the assent of the Senator from Georgia, it was laid over.

Mr. BACON. It has been passed over in accordance with the suggestion of the Senator from Iowa and in accordance with the suggestion of several Senators who sit around me that possibly it is in the interest of the amendment which I seek to have incorporated in the bill and for which I have very deep solicitude.

Mr. PETTUS. I am very anxious that the Senator from Iowa shall not prove that he is correct, and therefore I should like to have the amendment acted on now.

Mr. ALLISON. I would suggest to the Senator from Alabama that personally it is immaterial to me whether or not it is now acted on; but there are four or five amendments which, in a sense, are correlated, and I think we might as well some time, when we have the inclination and when all the records can be produced, take up all those amendments and dispose of them.

Mr. PETTUS. Then the only favor I ask is that the Senator from Georgia will leave the other discussion out of the case and try to persuade those Senators to agree to the amendment.

Mr. BACON. Unless there is urgency on the part of some one, I will agree to the suggestion of the Senator from Iowa that the amendment be passed over.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. With the assent of the mover of the amendment, it will be passed over for the present.

The reading of the bill was resumed and continued to the end of paragraph 525, line 25, page 170.

Mr. ALLISON. In line 24, before the word "glaziers'," I move to insert the word "miners'."

The SECRETARY. In line 24, it is proposed to insert the word "miners';" so as to make the paragraph read:

525. Diamonds and other precious stones, rough or uncut, and not advanced in condition or value from their natural state by cleaving, splitting, cutting, or other process, including miners', glaziers', and engravers' diamonds not set, and diamond dust or bort.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. VEST. I should like to ask the Senator from Iowa whether intentionally the provision of existing law was left out in regard to jewels used in the manufacture of clocks and watches. It was in the McKinley Act and is in the Wilson Act.

Mr. ALLISON. The Senator will remember that the bill as it comes from the House provides for a duty of 15 per cent ad valorem on jewels for watches. The Senate committee recommend striking out "fifteen" and inserting "ten." My impression is we will recommend later on, if we can reach an agreement on the subject, that these jewels shall be placed upon the free list.

Mr. CULLOM. I thought that had already been agreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. It has not been agreed to.

Mr. CULLOM. I hope it will be.

Mr. ALLISON. The Senator from Illinois speaks with great promptness in support of a proposition which the Senator from Missouri is about to make. It has not been agreed to.

Mr. VEST. I move, after the word "set," in line 24, page 170, paragraph 525, to insert "and jewels to be used in the manufacture of clocks and watches."

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. CHANDLER in the chair). The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. After the word "set," in line 24, page 170, paragraph 525, it is proposed to insert "and jewels to be used in the manufacture of clocks and watches;" so as to make the paragraph read:

525. Diamonds and other precious stones, rough or uncut, and not advanced in condition or value from their natural state by cleaving, splitting, cutting, or other process, including miners', glaziers', and engravers' diamonds not set, and jewels to be used in the manufacture of clocks and watches, and diamond dust or bort.

Mr. ALLISON. I hope the Senator from Missouri will allow the amendment to be passed over. The subject is pending in the dutiable list and has been passed over there. I am rather in sympathy with him about it, but we had better deal with that when we take up the whole question of watch movements, which has also been passed over.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the amendment will be passed over.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 528, page 171, line 4, after the word "excrescences," to strike out "such as nutgalls;" in line 6, after the word "nuts," to insert "nutgalls;" in line 9, after the word "are," to insert "drugs and;" and in line 11, after the word "process," to insert "of manufacture;" so as to make the paragraph read:

528. Drugs, such as barks, beans, berries, balsams, buds, bulbs, and bulbous roots, excrescences, fruits, flowers, dried fibers, and dried insects, grains, gums, and gum resin, herbs, leaves, lichens, mosses, nuts, nutgalls, roots, and stems, spices, vegetables, seeds aromatic, and seeds of morbid growth, weeds, and woods used expressly for dyeing; any of the foregoing which are drugs and not edible and are in a crude state, and not advanced in value or condition by refining or grinding, or by other process of manufacture, and not specially provided for in this act.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in paragraph 529, page 171, line 16, after the word "collections," to strike out the comma and insert "nor fish roe preserved for food purposes;" so as to make the paragraph read:

529. Eggs of birds, fish, and insects: *Provided, however*, That this shall not be held to include the eggs of game birds the importation of which is prohibited except specimens for scientific collections nor fish roe preserved for food purposes.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next paragraph was read, as follows:

530. Emery ore.

Mr. PRITCHARD. I ask that emery ore may be passed over.

Mr. ALLISON. It is understood that all ores are passed over.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, paragraph 530, emery ore, will be passed over.

Mr. ALLISON. I wish to offer an amendment in line 14, page 171, paragraph 529. After the word "birds," in line 14, I wish to insert an amendment. I have not the amendment here. It has been mislaid, and I may want to change it later.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Let it be passed over, and the Senator from Iowa can amend it when we again take up the paragraph.

Mr. ALLISON. After the word "birds," in line 14, I move to insert "or the eggs of birds not used for food."

Mr. WHITE. Do I understand the object to be to permit all eggs that are used for food to be imported?

Mr. ALLISON. This was not to be held to include the eggs of game birds, or eggs not used for food. The amendment has been for the moment mislaid, but that is the idea.

Mr. WHITE. I suggest to the Senator from Iowa that the paragraph be passed over.

Mr. ALLISON. I think it is a good amendment and ought to be made.

Mr. FRYE. It is all right.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Iowa will please state the amendment.

Mr. HOAR. The insertion of the amendment of the Senator from Iowa, I understand, brings the eggs of song birds, eggs that are merely included as ornaments, within the prohibition that follows. Their importation is prohibited, and it has the effect, therefore, to prevent the wholesale destruction of the song birds of this continent which is going on for the mere purposes of fancy or pleasure.

Mr. ALLISON. If the Senator from Massachusetts, as it was his original amendment suggested to me, which I have mislaid, will suggest the language that he thinks ought to be inserted there, I will accept it.

Mr. HOAR. I think the Senator has proposed sufficient language.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be passed over, without objection.

Mr. FRYE. Oh, no.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Let it be read as now proposed.

The SECRETARY. Insert, after the word "birds," in line 14, page 171, paragraph 528, the words "or eggs not used for food."

Mr. PETTUS. I propose to try my hand at the amendment. I suggest the phrase "nor eggs of birds used for food."

Mr. HOAR. That clause would prohibit the importation of eggs used for food, which are already admissible under a duty. The object of the provision, as I understand it, is to bring the eggs of song birds—birds which have no value in use—under the provision of line 15, the importation of which is prohibited. It is a well-known fact that the destruction of the song birds of this continent by the sale of their eggs for mere fanciful purposes is going on at a wholesale rate, and it is so in Europe. It is said that even the nightingales are being totally destroyed in Italy. Of course these birds fly across the Canada line and across the Mexican line.

Mr. PETTUS. If the Senator will allow me, the first line puts these things on the free list. "Eggs of birds" come in free. The Senator who offered the amendment proposes to exclude those eggs which are used for food. Therefore it has no connection with the first part of the paragraph, but is in the second, and it ought to come in in the last part of the paragraph simply eggs of birds, used for food.

Mr. HOAR. The language of the amendment, as I understand it, is this, and leaves the paragraph in this way:

Eggs of birds, fish, and insects—

Those are on the free list—

Provided, however—

It goes on to say that "the eggs of game birds or the eggs of birds not used for food" shall not be imported at all. The eggs of birds used for food are provided for in a separate provision.

That this shall not be held to include the eggs of game birds—

In other words, they shall not come in free—

or the eggs of birds not used for food—

Song birds and birds generally.

Mr. GRAY. The birds or the eggs?

Mr. HOAR. The birds and the eggs. Then it goes on—

the importation of which is prohibited except specimens for scientific collections.

It seems to me that is as clear as can be.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair will state that there is no question before the Senate. The Secretary will proceed with the reading of the bill.

Mr. HOAR. The amendment has been adopted, I understand.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment has not been

stated from the desk. The Chair is unaware what amendment is moved, and the reading will proceed unless some amendment is offered.

Mr. HOAR. The Senator from Iowa offered an amendment which has been stated three times at least.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair did not hear it. The Secretary will read the amendment proposed by the Senator from Iowa.

The SECRETARY. After the word "birds," at the end of line 14, it is proposed to insert the words "or the eggs of birds not used for food."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If there be no objection, the amendment will be agreed to. The amendment is agreed to. The reading of the bill will proceed.

The Secretary resumed the reading of the bill. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, on page 171, after line 21, to insert the following:

532a. Farina.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask that that paragraph be passed over.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The paragraph will be passed over.

The next amendment was, on page 171, after line 22, to insert:

532b. Fashion plates, engraved on steel or copper or on wood, colored or plain.

The amendment was agreed to.

The Secretary read the next paragraphs, as follows:

533. Feldspar.
534. Felt, adhesive, for sheathing vessels.

Mr. ALLISON. Having struck fence posts from the dutiable list, I move, by direction of the committee, to insert fence posts as paragraph 533½. If there is no obection, I will allow that amendment to be pending and passed over.

Mr. WHITE. What is the amendment?

Mr. ALLISON. To insert fence posts. They have been struck from the dutiable list.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be agreed to, if there be no objection.

Mr. BURROWS. No; I do not understand that it is agreed to. It is pending and passed over, I understand.

Mr. FRYE. The Senate struck fence posts from the dutiable list.

Mr. BURROWS. I do not want the amendment to go in until we see about it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to insert as a new paragraph:

534½. Fence posts.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The paragraph will be passed over, without objection.

Mr. FRYE. Why pass the paragraph over?

Mr. BURROWS. Because I want to look into it.

The next amendment was, on page 172, after line 2, to insert:

535½. Fish, fresh, frozen, or packed in ice (except salmon), caught in the Great Lakes, or other fresh waters by or for American fishermen or citizens of the United States.

Mr. SPOONER. I ask that that paragraph be passed over.

Mr. ALLISON. Let it be passed over.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The paragraph will be passed over.

The next amendment was, in paragraph 537, page 172, line 7, after the word "and," to strike out "ground;" and in the same line, after the word "stones," to strike out the comma and insert "unground;" so as to make the paragraph read:

537. Flint, flints, and flint stones unground.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in paragraph 539, page 172, line 9, after the word "Fruits," to insert "or berries;" and in line 10, after the word "act," to strike out the comma and insert "and fruits in brine;" so as to make the paragraph read:

539. Fruits or berries, green, ripe, or dried, not specially provided for in this act and fruits in brine.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 172, after line 10, to insert:

539½. Fruit plants, tropical and semitropical, for the purpose of propagation or cultivation.

Mr. ALLISON. There should be a hyphen between "Fruit" and "plants;" so as to read, "Fruit-plants."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. A hyphen will be inserted between the words "Fruit" and "plants" as suggested. The question is on agreeing to the amendment as modified.

The amendment as modified was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 172, after line 15, to insert the following:

542½. Glass enamel, white, for watch and clock dials.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in paragraph 544, page 172, line 25, after the word "not," to strike out "dressed or;" and on page 173, line 1, after the word "manufactured," to insert "or dressed;" so as to make the paragraph read:

544. Grasses and fibers: Istle or Tampico fiber, jute, jute butts, manila, sisal grass, sunn, and all other textile grasses or fibrous vegetable substances, not manufactured or dressed in any manner, and not specially provided for in this act.

Mr. WHITE. I desire to suggest that this matter be passed over. We have already settled the question temporarily as to certain jute manufactures, and I think this paragraph had better be considered in that connection. The elimination of the words "dressed or" has some bearing, I suppose, upon the amendment already adopted.

Mr. ALLISON. I do not object to its being passed over.

Mr. WHITE. I think it had better be passed over.

Mr. ALLISON. It all relates to raw jute. It does not relate to any manufactured jute.

Mr. WHITE. The words "or dressed" are proposed to be inserted.

Mr. ALLISON. "Grasses and fibers." It is all raw material.

Mr. WHITE. I withdraw my suggestion. The Senator from Iowa is right.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the committee.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. VEST. I move to insert:

Floor mattings, manufactured from round or split straw, including what is commonly known as Chinese matting.

It has already been taken from the dutiable list, and I gave notice that I would move to put it upon the free list at the proper time. I have taken the language of the existing law, but I am quite willing to go back and take the language of the pending bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. Insert as a new paragraph:

537½. Floor mattings, manufactured from round or split straw, including what is commonly known as Chinese matting.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the amendment which has been read by the Secretary as a new paragraph.

Mr. ALLISON. Does the Senator from Missouri desire action upon the amendment now? That is one of the contested points.

Mr. VEST. Does the Senator want to have it go over?

Mr. ALLISON. I think it might as well go over.

Mr. VEST. Very well.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Missouri will be passed over, if there is no objection. The reading of the bill will be proceeded with.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 546, page 173, line 6, after the word "uses," to insert "and;" and in line 7, after the word "for," to insert "by name;" so as to make the paragraph read:

546. Grease and oils, such as are commonly used in soap making or in wire drawing, or for stuffing or dressing leather, and which are fit only for such uses, and not specially provided for by name in this act.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. I move to insert after the word "oils," in line 4, the words, "excepting fish oil." It is already on the dutiable list.

Mr. WHITE. I was about to call attention to the fact that paragraph 499 of the present law——

Mr. ALLISON. The amendment which I suggest should go in parentheses—"(excepting fish oil)."

The SECRETARY. In line 4, after the word "oils," insert the words "(excepting fish oil)."

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. WHITE. I merely wished to call attention to the phraseology of the present law. It is as follows:

Grease and oils, including cod oil, such as are commonly used in soap making, etc.

As I understand the amendment as now adopted, cod oil is no longer upon the free list. That is the effect of it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The reading of the bill will be proceeded with.

Mr. WHITE. I suggest that paragraph 546, which has just been considered, be passed over in connection with another paragraph which was passed over in the dutiable list regarding cocoanut oil and cocoanut-oil compounds. It will be necessary to harmonize those paragraphs in some way, and I suggest that 546 go over.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If there be no objection, paragraph 546, having been amended as proposed, will be passed over.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 547, page 173, line 8, after the word "substances," to strike out "expressly;" and in line 9, before the word "for," to insert "only;" so as to make the paragraph read:

547. Guano, manures, and all substances used only for manure.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. WHITE. I move the insertion, immediately after paragraph 547, of the following:

Gunny bags and gunny cloths, old or refuse, fit only for remanufacture.

I observe that this paragraph has been omitted in the pending bill; I do not know whether by design or not. If there is to be any discussion about it, it may go over and be considered with other matters of kindred character.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Paragraph 547 being disposed of, the Senator from California moves to insert a new paragraph, which will be read:

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to insert the following as a new paragraph:

547½. Gunny bags and gunny cloths, old or refuse, fit only for remanufacture.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The paragraph will be passed over, if there be no objection.

Mr. ALLISON. I call the attention of the Senator from California to the fact that that is already covered by paragraph 608—"waste rope and waste bagging, fit only to be converted into paper."

Mr. WHITE. I had not observed that fact. I was following the items of the old law and the present bill.

Mr. ALLISON. If the Senator will just turn to paragraph 608, on page 179, he will see—

Waste rope and waste bagging fit only to be converted into paper.

We have not reached that paragraph yet.

Mr. FRYE. It is the same thing.

Mr. WHITE. I am somewhat doubtful whether the phraseology is broad enough to cover it. Let it be passed over for the present.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The paragraph will be passed over, without objection.

The reading of the bill was continued to line 14, on page 173, the last paragraph read being as follows:

549. Hair of horse, cattle, and other animals, cleaned or uncleaned, drawn or undrawn, but unmanufactured, not specially provided for in this act; and human hair, raw, uncleaned, and not drawn.

Mr. ALLISON. I propose to amend the paragraph in line 11 by striking out the words "cleaned or;" in line 12 by striking out the words "drawn or," and in the same line by striking out the word "but" and inserting "and." I offer that as one amendment.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed, after the word "animals," in line 11, to strike out the words "cleaned or;" in line 12, after the word "uncleaned," to strike out the words "drawn or," and after the word "undrawn," in the same line, to strike out the word "but" and insert the word "and;" so as to read:

Hair of horse, cattle, and other animals, uncleaned, undrawn, and unmanufactured, not specially provided for in this act, etc.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, on page 173, after line 14, to strike out the following paragraph:

550. Hides, raw or uncured, whether dry, salted, or pickled; Angora goatskins, raw, without the wool, unmanufactured; asses' skins, raw or unmanufactured; and skins, except sheepskins with the wool on.

Mr. ALLISON. That paragraph should be passed over.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Paragraph 550 will be passed over.

The next amendment was, on page 173, after line 23, to insert the following:

552½. Hones and whetstones.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in paragraph 555, page 174, line 1, after the word "of," to strike out "not cut, sawed, or otherwise manufactured, and" and insert "unmanufactured, including;" so as to make the paragraph read:

555. Horns and parts of, unmanufactured, including horn strips and tips.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in paragraph 558, page 174, line 8, after the word "Indigo," to strike out the comma and insert "whether natural or artificially prepared;" so as to read:

558. Indigo whether natural or artificially prepared.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask that that paragraph may be passed over. It has very close relation with the whole question of colors, which is not disposed of either on the dutiable or the free list.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator desire to have the amendment agreed to?

Mr. ALLISON. I desire to have it passed over.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The paragraph will be passed over without action on the amendment, if there be no objection.

The next paragraph was read, as follows:

559. Iodine, crude.

Mr. WHITE. I call the attention of the Senator from Iowa to the item with reference to iodine and desire to ask him a question concerning it. In the proposed bill it is "Iodine, crude." In the present law it is "Iodine, crude, and resublimed." What is the reason of the omission of the words "and resublimed"?

Mr. ALLISON. I could not hear the Senator distinctly.

Mr. WHITE. The present law reads:

Iodine, crude, and resublimed.

I notice that the bill as it now stands is "Iodine, crude." It leaves out the words "and resublimed." I presume nothing has been reserved on the dutiable list which requires the omission.

Mr. ALLISON. It has been reserved in the dutiable list at 20 cents a pound. It is a very high grade of manufacture. I think it includes alcohol.

Mr. WHITE. It must be a high grade.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 562, page 174, line 12, after the word "tusks," to strike out "sawed vertically" and insert "in their natural state or cut;" in line 13, after the word "grain," to insert "only;" and in the same line, after the word "with," to strike out "cuts not less than 4 inches apart, and not otherwise cut or manufactured or advanced in value from the natural state, and vegetable ivory" and insert "the bark left intact;" so as to make the paragraph read:

562. Ivory tusks in their natural state or cut across the grain only, with the bark left intact.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. In line 16, after the word "intact," I move to strike out the period and insert a comma and add the words "and vegetable ivory."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. At the end of the paragraph, after the word "intact," it is proposed to add "and vegetable ivory."

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. WHITE. I move to substitute for paragraph 562 the following:

Ivory, sawed or cut into logs, but not otherwise manufactured, and vegetable ivory.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to strike out paragraph 562 as amended and insert:

Ivory, sawed or cut into logs, but not otherwise manufactured, and vegetable ivory.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the adoption of the amendment proposed by the Senator from California to strike out and insert.

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. VEST. I ask the Senate to go back for a minute to paragraph 561. My attention was called away at the time it was considered. I desire to insert a new paragraph after paragraph 561, to be paragraph 561½. "Iron ore."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Missouri will be stated.

The SECRETARY. On page 174, line 11, it is proposed to insert as a new paragraph:

561½. Iron ore.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the amendment proposed by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST].

Mr. ALLISON. I am perfectly willing to have the vote taken on that amendment at this time if the Senator desires it; but we have already put iron ore on the dutiable list, and perhaps he had better allow the amendment to go over, and it can be taken up later. I ask that it be passed over.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. In the absence of objection, the amendment proposed by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST] will be passed over.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, on page 175, after line 4, to insert as a new paragraph the following:

574½. Lemon juice, lime juice, and sour-orange juice.

The amendment was agreed to.

The reading of the bill was continued to the end of paragraph 578.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask that paragraph 578, being line 11, on page 175, may be passed over. It has not been disposed of on the dutiable list.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Paragraph 578, "Lime, chloride of, or bleaching powder," will be passed over if there be no objection. The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, on page 175, after line 13, to insert as a new paragraph:

580½. Loadstones.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in paragraph 582, page 175, line 17, after the word "Magnesite," to strike out "or native mineral carbonate of magnesia, all not medicinal" and insert "crude or calcined, not purified;" so as to make the paragraph read:

582. Magnesite, crude or calcined, not purified.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. WHITE. I notice that the present law includes "magnesia, sulphate of, or Epsom salts." Is it designed to make Epsom salts dutiable, I will ask the Senator?

Mr. ALLISON. I should think they would be dutiable under the phraseology here, and they are made dutiable specifically by paragraph 29.

Mr. WHITE. I move to insert as paragraph 581½, the following:

581½. Magnesia, sulphate of, or epsom salts.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask that that may be passed over for the time being.

Mr. WHITE. Very well.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment proposed by the Senator from California will, without objection, be passed over.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 583, page 175, line 19, after the word "Magnesium," to strike out the comma and to insert "not made up into articles;" so as to read:

583. Magnesium not made up into articles.

The amendment was agreed to.

Paragraph 584 was read, as follows:

584. Manganese, oxide, and ore of.

Mr. PRITCHARD. I ask that paragraph 584 may be passed over for the present.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. It will be passed over, if there be no objection.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, on page 176, after line 7, to strike out paragraph 592, as follows:

592. Mineral salts obtained by evaporation from mineral waters, when accompanied by a duly authenticated certificate and satisfactory proof, showing that they are in no way artificially prepared, and are only the product of a designated mineral spring.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 176, line 21, paragraph 596, to strike out "Myrobolan" and insert "Myrobolans;" so as to read:

596. Myrobolans.

The amendment was agreed to:

The next amendment was, in paragraph 598, page 176, line 25, after the word "publications," to insert "issued within six months of the time of entry;" so as to make the paragraph read:

598. Newspapers and periodicals; but the term "periodicals" as herein used shall be understood to embrace only unbound or paper-covered publications, issued within six months of the time of entry, containing current literature of the day and issued regularly at stated periods, as weekly, monthly, or quarterly.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 177, after line 10, to strike out paragraph 603, as follows:

603. Oils: Amber, crude or rectified, ambergris, anise or anise seed, aniline, cajeput, caraway, cedrat, chamomile, civet, cocoanut, enfleurage grease, fennel, jasmine or jasimine, juglandium, juniper, mace, neroli, or orange flower, nut oil or oil of nuts not specially provided for in this act, olive oil or olive-oil foots imported expressly for manufacturing or mechanical purposes and fit only for such use, palm, thyme, origanum red or white, valerian; and also spermaceti, whale and other fish oils of American fisheries, and fish and all other articles the products of such fisheries; petroleum, crude or refined: *Provided*, That if there be imported into the United States crude petroleum, or the products of crude petroleum produced in any country which imposes a duty on petroleum or its products exported from the United States, there shall be levied, paid, and collected upon said crude petroleum or its products so imported 40 per cent ad valorem.

And in lieu thereof to insert:

603. Oils: Almond, amber, crude and rectified ambergris, anise or anise seed, aniline, aspic or spike lavender, bergamot, cajeput, caraway, cassia, cinnamon, cedrat, chamomile, citronella or lemon grass, civet, fennel, jasmine or jasimine, juglandium, juniper, lavender, lemon, limes, mace, neroli or orange flower, enfleurage grease, nut oil or oil of nuts not otherwise specially provided for in this act, orange oil, olive oil for manufacturing or mechanical purposes fit only for such use and valued at not more than 60 cents per gallon, ottar of roses, palm and cocoanut, rosemary or anthoss, sesame or sesamum seed or bean, thyme, origanum red or white, valerian; and also spermaceti, whale, and other fish oils of American fisheries, and all fish and other products of such fisheries; petroleum, crude or refined: *Provided*, That if there be imported into the United States crude petroleum, or the products of crude petroleum produced in any country which imposes a duty on petroleum or its products exported from the United States, there shall in such cases be levied, paid, and collected a duty upon said crude petroleum or its products so imported equal to the duty imposed by such country.

Mr. WHITE. I desire to have that paragraph passed over. I call the attention of the Senator from Iowa to the proposed amendment of the committee as to that paragraph. I am making some investigations concerning that question, and I should like to have it passed over.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. In the absence of objection, the paragraph will be passed over.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I should like to ask the Senator from Iowa why the provision which is paragraph 557½ of the Wilson law is left out of the free list? The provision in the existing law is:

Molasses testing not above 40 degrees polariscope test, and containing 20 per cent or less of moisture.

It is a very low grade of molasses, which, I understand, is only used for purposes of distillation, and it is shipped in tanks and called "blackstrap." It comes from Cuba and is used in Brooklyn to some considerable extent for the purpose of making alcohol. I presume any tax put upon it would prevent its importation.

Mr. ALLISON. If the provision which the Senator has read is left out, of course the article will have to pay, according to its value, 10 per cent, I presume.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I presume that any tax upon this article will prevent its importation. The transportation is as high a cost as it will bear, and I suggest to the Senator that the matter go over for the purpose of investigation.

Mr. ALLISON. I assure the Senator we shall investigate it. I think if the article is not specially provided for in the sugar schedule——

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. It is not.

Mr. ALLISON. Then it would go into the basket clause at 10 or 20 per cent. Certainly it is an unmanufactured article.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I do not know exactly where it would go, but I feel very sure that it ought to be on the free list.

Mr. ALLISON. It would go into the basket clause at either 10 or 20 per cent. However, I shall look into the matter.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The fact is that this article can not be imported with any sort of a tax, and it is only used for purposes of distilling by a very few persons. I do not think very much of it comes in, but I think it ought to be allowed to come in.

Mr. ALLISON. I believe this article was free under the act of 1890, as well as under the act of 1894.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I think so, though I am not sure about that.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The reading of the bill will proceed.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, on page 178, after line 23, to insert as a new paragraph the following:

603½. Orange and lemon peel, not preserved, candied, or otherwise prepared.

The amendment was agreed to.

Paragraphs 604 and 605 were read, as follows:

604. Orchil, or orchil liquid.

605. Ores of gold, silver, copper, or nickel, and nickel matte; sweepings of gold and silver.

Mr. PETTIGREW. I should like to have paragraph 605, making nickel and nickel matte free, passed over.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Paragraph 605 will be passed over, in the absence of objection.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, on page 179, after line 4, to insert as a new paragraph the following:

606½. Paintings, in oil or water colors, original drawings and sketches, and artists' proofs of etchings and engravings, and statuary, not otherwise provided for in this act; but the term "statuary" as used in this act shall be understood to include only professional productions, whether round or in relief, in marble, stone, alabaster, wood, or metal, of a statuary or sculptor, and the word "painting" as used in this act shall not be understood to include such as are made wholly or in part by stenciling or any other mechanical process, nor any article of utility.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask that that paragraph may be passed over.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. In the absence of objection, the paragraph will be passed over.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 608, page 179, line 18, after the word "rope," to insert "and;" and in line 19, after the word "bagging," to strike out "and poplar or other woods;" so as to make the paragraph read:

608. Paper stock, crude, of every description, including all grasses, fibers, rags (other than wool), waste, shavings, clippings, old paper, rope ends, waste rope, and waste bagging, fit only to be converted into paper.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. I move to insert after the word "waste," in line 17, the words "including jute waste."

Mr. WHITE. I suggest to the Senator from Iowa right at that point the question I raised a few moments ago, that he should use the phraseology of the present law, and say "including gunny bags or gunny cloth, old or refused, fit only for remanufacture" after the word "waste."

Mr. ALLISON. If they are fit only for remanufacturing, they are waste bagging under this phraseology. The trouble with the paragraph proposed by the Senator, as I understand, is that there is difficulty in the custom-house owing to the phraseology of the existing law on this subject.

Mr. WHITE. How can that trouble be alleviated by using the words "waste bagging," for then the real question to be determined is, What is waste bagging? So whether the article is fit for remanufacture or not must depend alike on a knowledge of whether it is really waste or whether it is something more useful and more valuable. I am afraid the phrase "waste bagging" does not include "gunny bags and gunny cloth."

Mr. ALLISON. Then I am perfectly willing to insert the words "gunny bags and gunny cloth."

Mr. WHITE. That will do.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. On page 179, paragraph 608, after the word "waste," in line 17, it is proposed to insert "including jute waste;" and after the word "bagging," in line 19, to insert "including gunny cloth and gunny bags."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the amendment proposed by the Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON.]

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I did not have the opportunity to offer a new paragraph, as I intended, just before this paragraph, to be 607½. I move to insert:

607½. Paris green and london purple.

I have no objection to the amendment going over.

Mr. ALLISON. Let it go over.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Arkansas will be passed over, if there be no objection.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I should like to ask the Senator from Iowa what was done with paragraph 441, in Schedule N, which was disposed of while I was out of the Senate? If it has been acted on, I should be glad to have that reconsidered and leave it open, as I wish to investigate it. It relates to matting made of cocoa fiber or rattan.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair will state that that paragraph was not amended, and that it is subject to amendment, as the Chair understands, by agreement, at any time.

Mr. ALLISON. I do not quite understand what the Senator from Arkansas proposes.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I wanted that paragraph passed over in order to allow me to examine it. I thought possibly I might want to move an amendment to it.

Mr. ALLISON. Very well.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair understands that paragraph 441, in relation to cocoa matting, is subject to amendment at any time.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. That it may be reconsidered if it has been passed; and I wish to have it passed over.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. It simply remains in the bill, not having been amended. It was merely read, and is subject to amendment at any time.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Very well.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, on page 179, after line 20, to insert the following as a new paragraph:

608½. Paraffin.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 180, after line 4, to insert paragraph 612½, in the following language:

612½. Philosophical and scientific apparatus, utensils, instruments, and preparations, including bottles and boxes containing the same, specially imported in good faith for the use or by order of any society or institution incorporated or established solely for religious, philosophical, educational, scientific, or literary purposes, or for the encouragement of the fine arts, or for the use or by order of any college, academy, school, or seminary of learning in the United States, or any State or public library, and not for sale, subject to such regulations as the Secretary of the Treasury shall prescribe.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 180, line 16, paragraph 613, after the word "crude," to strike out "or native;" so as to make the paragraph read:

613. Phosphates, crude.

The amendment was agreed to.

The Secretary read paragraph 614, as follows:

614. Plants, trees, shrubs, roots, seed cane, and seeds, imported by the Department of Agriculture or the United States Botanic Garden.

Mr. ALLISON. I wish to give notice now to Senators that the committee may offer an amendment to that paragraph, allowing this exemption to extend to agricultural experiment stations. I am not sure that such an amendment will be offered, but I think it could properly be offered. In line 17 the words "seed" and "cane" should be connected by hyphen, so as to read "seed-cane." I will move that amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. That amendment will be made, in the absence of objection. The Chair hears none.

The reading of the bill was resumed, and paragraph 615 was read, as follows:

615. Plaster rock, or gypsum, and terra alba, crude and not calcined, ground or otherwise advanced from the natural state.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask that that paragraph may be passed over. I may have an amendment to offer to it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. In the absence of objection, the paragraph will be passed over.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, on page 181, paragraph 619, line 4, after the word "potash," to strike out "carbonate of" and insert "crude, or 'black salts;' carbonate of potash, crude or refined; hydrate of, or caustic potash, not including refined in sticks or rolls;" so as to make the paragraph read:

619. Potash, crude, or "black salts;" carbonate of potash, crude or refined; hydrate of, or caustic potash, not including refined in sticks or rolls; nitrate of potash or saltpeter, crude; sulphate of potash, crude or refined, and muriate of potash.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. STEWART. I move to insert at the end of the paragraph the amendment which I send to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to add at the end of paragraph 619 "and cyanide of potassium."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the amendment submitted by the Senator from Nevada [Mr. STEWART].

Mr. SEWELL. I ask the Senator from Iowa if that matter was not passed over for further consideration in the dutiable paragraph?

Mr. ALLISON. I was about to state that could I have caught the ear of the Chair. Therefore I ask the Senator from Nevada to let this amendment lie over until we settle the question in a former paragraph.

Mr. STEWART. We did settle the question as to cyanide. We had a vote on that and we struck out the amendment.

Mr. ALLISON. Not at all; but if the Senator wants to have a vote on the amendment I shall not object.

Mr. SEWELL. I want this matter to go over for further consideration.

Mr. STEWART. I am willing that it should lie over, but, if the Senator will indulge me, I ask to have read a letter from one of the leading miners of the United States engaged in gold mining in regard to this particular matter.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The letter presented by the Senator from Nevada will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH, *February 26, 1897.*

DEAR SIR: The mining men of the West are apprised of the fact that the firm of Roessler & Hasslacher Company, of New York City, manufacturers of cyanide of potassium, are exerting themselves to a considerable extent to have the duty on that article increased, which is a move almost solely in the interests of one or two manufacturers. As it is constitutional and customary to legislate in favor of the greater number, and in the interest of the General Government as well, I desire to submit the following remarks:

Throughout the Western country there are billions of tons of very low grade gold ores, containing $2 and $3 per ton, which gross value may all be extracted by fine grinding and leaching with cyanide of potassium, and under favorable conditions give a profit to the producer, but under all conditions raise the production of gold in the United States to an enormous extent (as it is a fact that it costs more to produce the precious metals than the amount of bullion produced), which would absolutely place our Government beyond the necessity of importing gold by the sale of bonds whenever the balance of trade is against us and the reserves of the Treasury of the United States require replenishing.

If cyanide of potassium was as cheap as common salt, I predict, with my knowledge of the vast empire of low-grade gold ores in the United States, that our annual production of gold would double in six to eight years.

An ad valorem duty of 25 per cent now prohibits Europe from landing any cyanide. While for the last twelve months some small imports have been made, since the firm of Roessler & Hasslacher have been manufacturing cyanide of potassium from salt brine from wells, piped some 12 miles to Niagara Falls and there decomposed by electricity produced by water power, they have reduced their price to 28 cents per pound, carload lots, while I am informed by chemists who are in a position to know that the actual cost of production is not over 9 cents per pound. I know of but two manufacturers in the United States who produce this article, viz, the Roessler & Hasslacher Chemical Company, of New York, and Maas & Waldstein, of Newark, N. J., which latter firm stopped producing, or at least competing, more than a year ago, by an understanding with the former firm.

Thus the question is simply whether it is good legislation to continue and even raise the duty on this article and enrich one or two manufacturers, thus retarding the treatment of low-grade ores, which always have and always will produce the bulk of all the bullion produced, or to foster the production of gold by putting this article on the free list.

I personally have purchased during the last twelve months from the Roessler & Hasslacher Chemical Company not less than 144 tons of cyanide, costing about $30,640, f. o. b., New York City, with an additional cost for freight to the mines, and could have used four times as much, and consequently produced more than double the amount of bullion from low-grade ores now left standing in the mines, were not the price of cyanide of potassium, with its high freight charges, against us.

Trusting that these facts will induce your committee to give the low-grade ores a show by putting cyanide on the free list, and thus largely increase the output of gold, which would go far toward settling the silver question as well,

I am, yours, very respectfully,

J. R. DE LA MAR.

Hon. NELSON DINGLEY, Jr.,
Chairman Committee on Ways and Means,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

Mr. WHITE. I call the attention of the Senator from Iowa to the fact that the provision of the bill treats of this subject. It is under the head of "Potash," and it does not go, I believe, under the head of "Medicinal preparations." It comes under the head of "Potash," and was there made dutiable at 6 cents per pound.

Mr. STEWART. That was stricken out.

Mr. WHITE. The committee proposed to strike it out. A discussion arose concerning it, and the matter, I understand, was passed over, to be finally determined when we reached the free list.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair will state that the amendment was agreed to, striking out "cyanide, 6 cents per pound."

Mr. STEWART. It was agreed to.

Mr. SEWELL. That is not my understanding. I objected to it, and the matter went over.

Mr. WHITE. The matter had to go over, necessarily.

Mr. ALLISON. My recollection agrees with that of the Senator from New Jersey.

Mr. SEWELL. That is my understanding.

Mr. ALLISON. It is immaterial, I take it, because it is understood——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair will state that the record at the Clerk's desk shows that the amendment was adopted.

Mr. ALLISON. That is undoubtedly correct. We can not dispute the record.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. How is it proposed to leave the paragraph now?

Mr. ALLISON. The Senator from Nevada proposes to put it on the free list by inserting it here. Now, I ask him to allow it to be passed over until it can be considered further on the dutiable list or until we may look into it a little more. The Senator from New Jersey especially desires the matter to be reconsidered. I did not know that the amendment had been agreed to.

Mr. WHITE. I will suggest that, as it is rather late, it would not be well, perhaps, to precipitate a discussion of the matter or to have any roll call this evening, anyway. Why not concur in the suggestion of the Senator from Iowa, that the matter had better be permitted to rest?

Mr. ALLISON. Passed over.

Mr. STEWART. To come up later.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Paragraph 619, with the committee amendment adopted, will be passed over, subject to the motion of the Senator from Nevada, unless there be objection. The Chair hears none, and that will be the order.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was to insert as a new paragraph the following:

619½. Professional books, implements, instruments, and tools of trade, occupation, or employment, in the actual possession at the time, of persons arriving in the United States; but this exemption shall not be construed to include machinery or other articles imported for use in any manufacturing establishment, or for any other person or persons, or for sale, nor shall it be construed to include theatrical scenery, properties, and apparel; but such articles brought by proprietors or managers of theatrical exhibitions arriving from abroad, for temporary use by them in such exhibitions, and not for any other person, and not for sale, and which have been used by them abroad, shall be admitted free of duty under such regulations as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe; but bonds shall be given for the payment to the United States of such duties as may be imposed by law upon any and all such articles as shall not be exported within six months after such importations: *Provided*, That the Secretary of the Treasury may in his discretion extend such period for a further term of six months in case application shall be made therefor.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was to insert a new paragraph as follows:

622½. Regalia and gems, statues, statuary, and specimens or casts of marble, bronze, alabaster, or plaster of paris, where specially imported in good faith for the use of any society incorporated or established solely for religious, philosophical, educational, scientific, or literary purposes, or for the encouragement of the fine arts, or for the use or by order of any college, academy, school, or seminary of learning in the United States, or any State or public library, and not for sale; but the term "regalia" as herein used shall be held to embrace only such insignia of rank or office or emblems as may be worn upon the person or borne in the hand during public exercises of the society or institution, and shall not include articles of furniture or fixtures, or of regular wearing apparel, nor personal property of individuals.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask that paragraph 622½ may be passed over, as amendments are suggested which I have not before me.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The paragraph has been read and will be passed over. The amendment will be considered as agreed to.

Mr. HOAR. What was the announcement of the Chair about the last paragraph?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. In paragraph 622½ the committee amendment is agreed to, and the paragraph is passed over.

Mr. ALLISON. My request was that the paragraph should be passed over after being read.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The paragraph will be passed over without action.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 626, line 1, page 183, to strike out "salep, or saloup;" so as to read:

626. Salacin.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, after paragraph 626, to insert as a new paragraph:

626a. Salep, or salop.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was to insert after the amendment just adopted:

626b. Sauerkraut.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in paragraph 627, page 183, line 4, after the word "sausages," to insert "bologna;" so as to read:

627. Sausages, bologna.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in paragraph 628, page 183, line 5, after the word "Anise," to insert "beet, canary;" in line 6, before the word "cotton," to insert "cauliflower, coriander;" in line 7, after the word "hoarhound," to insert "mangel-wurzel;" in the same line, after the word "mustard," to insert "radish;" in line 8, after the word "or," to strike out "bene" and insert "bean;" in the same line, before the word "mangel-wurzel," to strike out "sugar beet" and insert "spinach;" and in line 9, after the word "seed," to strike out the comma and the word "and" and the semicolon and insert "bulbs and bulbous roots, not edible;" so as to make the paragraph read:

628. Seeds: Anise, beet, canary, caraway, cardamom, cauliflower, coriander, cotton, cummin, fennel, fenugreek, hemp, hoarhound, mangel-wurzel, mustard, radish, rape, St. John's bread or bean, spinach; sorghum or sugar cane for seed bulbs and bulbous roots, not edible; all flower and grass seeds; all the foregoing not specially provided for in this act.

Mr. SEWELL. As the paragraph in the dutiable list relating to the same subject has gone over for further consideration, I should like to have this accompany it.

Mr. ALLISON. It may be passed over.

Mr. SEWELL. It puts flower and grass seed on the free list. If there is anything that costs money in the agricultural line, it is the raising of flower seed. It requires a high state of cultivation, more men, more money. It ought not to be on the free list.

Mr. ALLISON. I will say to the Senator that some days ago we placed upon the dutiable list a number of these flower and grass seed, and of course the free list only includes those not specially provided for. But I am perfectly willing that the whole matter shall go over. I think it ought to.

Mr. SEWELL. I should like to have both considered together.

Mr. ALLISON. That is right. There is no objection to it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Paragraph 628, without the adoption of the committee amendment, will be passed over.

Mr. TURPIE. I wish to offer an amendment to paragraph 628. I understand the effect of the paragraph will be to place the seeds mentioned on the free list, no matter for what purpose imported.

I wish to move an amendment providing that all seeds and grain not imported for sale, to be used by the person or persons importing the same for planting purposes, shall be free. I do not think the Senate wishes to charge anything on seeds or grain imported for the purpose of seed and for the purpose of planting. I offer the amendment, and ask that it may be printed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Indiana will be received and printed, and the paragraph will be passed over, subject to motions to amend.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was to strike out paragraph 629, as follows:

629. Scientific apparatus, instruments, chemicals, books, maps and charts, such as are not made or published in the United States, when expressly imported in good faith by and for the use of any regularly established or incorporated university, college, academy, scientific society for the promotion of knowledge, school, seminary of learning, or public library, and not intended for sale; and the Secretary of the Treasury shall make suitable regulations to carry out the intent of this paragraph.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was to strike out paragraph 630, as follows:

630. Sheep dip.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in paragraph 631, page 183, line 22, after the word "barrels," to insert "in single tubes;" so as to make the paragraph read:

631. Shotgun barrels, in single tubes, forged, rough bored.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was to insert as a new paragraph the following:

636½. Skins of all kinds, raw (except sheepskins with the wool on), and hides not specially provided for in this act.

Mr. HOAR. Is that intended to be agreed to as it stands?

Mr. ALLISON. I think it had better be passed over.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment will be passed over.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 637, page 184, line 8, after the word "nitrate," to strike out "and chlorate of;" so as to make the paragraph read:

637. Soda, nitrate of, or cubic nitrate.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in paragraph 639, page 184, line 11, after the word "cabinets," to strike out "or as objects of science" and insert "or for scientific collections;" so as to make the paragraph read:

639. Specimens of natural history, botany, and mineralogy, when imported for cabinets or for scientific collections, and not for sale.

Mr. HOAR. I should like to ask the Senator what the phrase "for cabinets" means as distinguished from the phrase he has now?

Mr. ALLISON. "For cabinets," I take it, means for public places—libraries.

Mr. HOAR. The words "for cabinets" might be subject to great play for private purposes. If the Senator puts in the words

which he now proposes, why should not the words "for cabinets" be stricken out?

Mr. ALLISON. Every man who would import after that would import for scientific collections.

Mr. HOAR. Certainly; I understand.

Mr. ALLISON. That is the language of the present law, I believe.

Mr. HOAR. I will not make a point on it, if the Senator from Iowa does not; but it seems to me it is an exceedingly vague and inexact description all around. The phrase should be like that used for a great many other purposes, as to books and apparatus for public collections, natural-history societies, etc.

Mr. ALLISON. I agree with the Senator, and I will say for "public scientific collections."

Mr. HOAR. Strike out "for cabinets."

Mr. ALLISON. The language in the bill is the phraseology heretofore used. It has been used for a great many years.

Mr. HOAR. I know it has, but it is very bad.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. What is the suggestion of the Senator from Massachusetts?

Mr. HOAR. To strike out the words "for cabinets" and insert "public" after "scientific."

Mr. ALLISON. I think that is a very good suggestion.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In line 11 it is proposed to strike out "for cabinets," and after the word "scientific" to insert the word "public."

Mr. HOAR. The word "or" should come out.

Mr. ALLISON. The word "or" should come out.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read the paragraph as proposed to be amended.

The Secretary read as follows:

639. Specimens of natural history, botany, and mineralogy, when imported for scientific public collections, and not for sale.

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

The amendment as amended was agreed to.

The reading of the bill was resumed and continued to the end of paragraph 646, on page 185, which is as follows:

646. Sulphur, lac or precipitated, and sulphur or brimstone, crude, in bulk, sulphur ore as pyrites, or sulphuret of iron in its natural state, containing in excess of 25 per cent of sulphur, and sulphur not otherwise provided for.

Mr. PENROSE. I ask that the paragraph may be passed over.

Mr. ALLISON. I do not object.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The paragraph will be passed over.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 647, page 185, line 14, after the word "acid," to strike out "exported" and insert "imported into such country;" so as to make the paragraph read:

647. Sulphuric acid which at the temperature of 60 degrees Fahrenheit does not exceed the specific gravity of one and three hundred and eighty thousandths, for use in manufacturing superphosphate of lime or artificial manures of any kind, or for any agricultural purposes: *Provided*, That upon all sulphuric acid imported from any country, whether independent or a dependency, which imposes a duty upon sulphuric acid imported into such country from the United States, there shall be levied and collected a duty of one-fourth of 1 cent per pound.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was to insert as a new paragraph the following:

648½. Tapioca, cassava or cassady.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in paragraph 650, page 185, line 20, after the word "Tea," to strike out "and tea;" so as to make the paragraph read:

650. Tea plants.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I call the attention of the Senator from Iowa to this paragraph. It occurs to me it should be passed over.

Mr. ALLISON. I do not object to its being passed over.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. It embraces tea, and, as I understand it, the committee has tea under consideration.

Mr. FRYE. It relates only to tea plants.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The paragraph as it was proposed read, "Tea and tea plants," and the committee propose to strike out "and tea," so as to make it apply only to tea plants. It would take tea off the free list. If tea is not retained on the dutiable list (that has been the idea of the committee, I believe, which has not yet been abandoned), it ought to remain where it is now. Therefore the paragraph ought to be passed over.

Mr. ALLISON. The Senator is right about it.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The paragraph will be passed over.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, on page 186, line 8, to strike out paragraph 661, as follows:

661. Uranium, oxide and salts of.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was to strike out paragraph 666, as follows:

666. Wearing apparel, articles of personal adornment, toilet articles, and similar personal effects of persons arriving in the United States; but this exemption shall only include such articles as actually accompany and are in the use of and as are necessary and appropriate for the wear and use of such persons for the immediate purposes of the journey and present comfort and convenience, and shall not be held to apply to merchandise or articles intended for other persons or for sale; and in case the persons thus arriving are citizens or residents of the United States, the articles exempted shall not exceed $100 in value, nor shall the exemption apply to residents of other countries entering the United States more than once in each year: *Provided, however*, That all the wearing apparel and other personal effects of residents of the United States, so returning, as may have been taken by them out of the United States to foreign countries, and which have not been advanced in value or improved in condition by any process of labor or manufacture in such countries, shall be admitted free of duty, without regard to their value, upon their identity being established under appropriate rules and regulations to be prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury.

And to insert in lieu thereof:

666. Wearing apparel, articles of personal adornment, toilet articles, and similar personal effects of persons arriving in the United States; but this exemption shall only include such articles as actually accompany and are in the use of, and as are necessary and appropriate for the wear and use of such persons, for the immediate purposes of the journey and present comfort and convenience, and shall not be held to apply to merchandise or articles intended for other persons or for sale.

Mr. ALLISON. I desire to have paragraph 666 passed over, including the House provision and the Senate amendment.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Without objection, it will be passed over.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 668, page 187, line 21, after the word "including," to strike out "pulp-wood" and insert "poplar and other pulp-woods;" in line 22, after the word "shingle-bolts," to insert "heading-bolts, stave-bolts;" in line 23, after the word "sawed," to insert "or planed on one side;" and in line 24, after the word "fence-posts," to insert "railroad ties;" so as to make the paragraph read:

668. Wood: Logs and round unmanufactured timber, including poplar and other pulp-woods, firewood, handle-bolts, shingle-bolts, heading-bolts, stave-bolts, gun-blocks for gunstocks, rough-hewn or sawed or planed on one side, hop-poles, fence-posts, railroad ties, ship-timber and ship-planking; all the foregoing not specially provided for in this act.

Mr. PETTIGREW. I ask to have the paragraph passed over, as I desire to offer an amendment to it.

Mr. ALLISON. Let the paragraph be passed over.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. No objection being made, the paragraph will be passed over.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 669, page 188, line 1, after the word "Woods" to strike out the comma and the word "namely;" so as to make the paragraph read:

669. Woods: Cedar, lignum-vitæ, lancewood, ebony, box, granadilla, mahogany, rosewood, satinwood, and all forms of cabinet woods, in the log, rough, or hewn only; briar root or briar wood and similar wood unmanufactured, or not further advanced than cut into blocks suitable for the articles into which they are intended to be converted; bamboo, rattan, reeds, India malacca joints, and sticks of partridge, hair wood, pimento, orange, myrtle, and other woods not specially provided for in this act, in the rough, or not further advanced than cut into lengths suitable for sticks for umbrellas, parasols, sunshades, whips, fishing rods, or walking-canes.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. In line 7, after the word "rattan," I move to strike out the word "reeds."

Mr. GRAY. Why?

Mr. ALLISON. Reeds are already dutiable in another part of the bill at 10 per cent.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, on page 188, after line 12, to strike out the following paragraph:

670. Works of art: Artistic paintings, statuary, and specimens of sculpture, the professional productions of a statuary or sculptor only, etchings, drawings, engravings, photographic pictures, artistic works in terra cotta, parian, bisque, or porcelain, antiquities, or artistic copies thereof in metal, marble, or other material; any of the foregoing imported for a municipal corporation, or for public exhibition and free of charge for at least one-sixth of the time the same are on exhibition, at a fixed place by any association established in good faith and duly authorized under the laws of the United States, or of any State, expressly and solely for the promotion and encouragement of science, art, or industry, and not intended for sale, shall be admitted free of duty under such regulations as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe, but bond shall be given to the United States for the payment of lawful duty which may accrue if any of the articles aforesaid be sold, transferred or otherwise used contrary to any of the provisions in this paragraph, and such articles shall be subject at any time to examination and inspection by the proper officers of the customs: *Provided*, That the privileges of this paragraph shall not be allowed to associations, corporations, firms or individuals engaged in or connected with business of a private or commercial character.

And to insert in lieu thereof:

670. Works of art, drawings, engravings, photographic pictures, and philosophical and scientific apparatus brought by professional artists, lecturers, or scientists arriving from abroad for use by them temporarily for exhibition and in illustration, promotion, and encouragement of art, science, or industry in the United States, and not for sale, shall be admitted free of duty, under such regulations as the Secretary of the Treasury shall prescribe; but bonds shall be given for the payment to the United States of such duties as may be imposed by law upon any and all such articles as shall not be exported within six months after such importation: *Provided*, That the Secretary of the Treasury may, in his discretion, extend such period for a further term of six months in cases where applications therefor shall be made.

Mr. ALLEN. Is that the paragraph to which I called the attention of the Senator some time ago? I understood that there was a paragraph admitting free all works of art, books, etchings, etc., that are to be used in colleges and schools exclusively.

Mr. ALLISON. This is a part of those provisions.

Mr. ALLEN. The language just read would not accomplish that end.

Mr. GALLINGER. The next paragraph does.

Mr. ALLISON. There is another paragraph following the one just read.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, on page 189, after line 23, to insert the following as a new paragraph:

670½. Works of art, collections in illustration of the progress of the arts, sciences, or manufactures, photographs, works in terra cotta, parian, pottery, or porcelain, antiquities and artistic copies thereof in metal or other material, imported in good faith for permanent exhibition at a fixed place by any society or institution established for the encouragement of the arts, science, or education, or for a municipal corporation, and all like articles imported in good faith by any society or association, or for a municipal corporation for the purpose of erecting a public monument, and not intended for sale, nor for any other purpose than herein expressed; but bonds shall be given under such rules and regulations as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe, for the payment of lawful duties which may accrue should any of the articles aforesaid be sold, transferred, or used contrary to this provision, and such articles shall be subject, at any time, to examination and inspection by the proper officers of the customs: *Provided*, That the privileges of this and the preceding section shall not be allowed to associations or corporations engaged in or connected with business of a private or commercial character.

Mr. HOAR. I suggest to the Senator from Iowa whether in line 4, after "place," he should not insert the words "by any State or;" so as to read "by any State or by any society." The normal school in my State certainly is conducted by the State itself, and purchases are made in its behalf.

Mr. ALLISON. Let the amendment to the amendment be stated.

The SECRETARY. After the word "place," in line 4, insert the words "by any State or;" so as to read:

670½. Works of art, collections in illustration of the progress of the arts, sciences, or manufactures, photographs, works in terra cotta, parian, pottery, or porcelain, antiquities and artistic copies thereof in metal or other material, imported in good faith for permanent exhibition at a fixed place by any State or by any society or institution established for the encouragement of the arts, science, or education, etc.

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

The amendment as amended was agreed to.

The reading of the bill was resumed and continued to the end of section 2, line 21, page 190.

Mr. ALLISON. If the Senate will indulge me one moment more, in order that I may get rid of an amendment which I have on my desk, I will then move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business. I move to insert as a new paragraph what I send to the desk.

The Secretary read as follows:

449½. Textile designs, on line paper, sketch paper, or on Jacquard cards, or parts of such designs or cards, finished or unfinished, 30 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. WHITE. I suppose it is understood that to-morrow we shall take up the wool schedule.

Mr. ALLISON. It is the understanding that to-morrow we shall take up the schedule on wool and woolens.

Mr. FRYE. And complete it in the course of two hours.

Mr. ALLISON. And complete it at the earliest moment practicable.

PACIFIC RAILROADS.

Mr. ALLEN. I ask leave to submit a concurrent resolution.

The concurrent resolution was read, as follows:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That a master's, marshal, or any other judicial or execution sale of the properties of the Union Pacific and Kansas Pacific Railroad companies, or either of them, without additional legislation by Congress, would not be binding on the Government of the United States, or conclude it of any legal or equitable right therein now possessed, unless such sale should be subsequently ratified by Congressional action.

Mr. ALLEN. I ask that the resolution be referred to the Committee on Pacific Railroads.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there any objection to the reference?

Mr. ALLISON. That is the resolution just read?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The one just read.

Mr. ALLISON. I have no objection.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair hears no objection, and it will be so referred.

Mr. ALLEN submitted the following resolution; which was read:

Resolved, That the Committee on Pacific Railroads be, and they are hereby, instructed to inquire and report to the Senate whether the executive department has, by existing law, authority to foreclose the Government mortgage or lien on the Union Pacific and Kansas Pacific railroads, or either of them, and sell the property and assets thereof, without additional legislation; and inquire and report what authority, if any, the President of the United States or the Attorney-General may possess to contract with any person or persons, in advance of a foreclosure and sale of such property or any part thereof, respecting the amount that shall be bid by contemplated purchasers, and whether it is not the duty of the President, under existing law, before causing a foreclosure of such mortgage or lien, to direct the Secretary of the Treasury to "redeem or otherwise clear off all the paramount liens, mortgages, or incumbrances upon such property by paying the sums lawfully due in respect thereof out of the Treasury;" and that in the meantime, and pending the report of the Committee on Pacific Railroads, the Attorney-General be, and he is hereby, directed to refrain from entering into any further or additional stipulations or agreements respecting the sale of said property, or any portion thereof, or any fund arising therefrom or in any manner belonging thereto or connected therewith.

Mr. ALLEN. Let this resolution go to the same committee.

Mr. ALLISON. What does the Senator desire?

Mr. ALLEN. Let the resolution go to the same committee, the Committee on Pacific Railroads.

Mr. ALLISON. That is to say, the resolution is referred to the committee?

Mr. ALLEN. Yes, sir.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. If no objection is made, that will be the order. The resolution is so referred.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. ALLISON. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After fifteen minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened, and (at 5 o'clock and 20 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Tuesday, June 22, 1897, at 11 o'clock a. m.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate June 21, 1897.

CONSUL-GENERAL.

John G. Foster, of Vermont, heretofore named for the consulate at Sherbrooke, Quebec, to be consul-general of the United States at Halifax, Nova Scotia, vice Darius H. Ingraham, resigned. His nomination as consul at Sherbrooke is hereby withdrawn.

CONSUL.

William B. Dickey, of Louisiana, to be consul of the United States at Callao, Peru, vice Leon Jastremski, resigned.

COLLECTOR OF CUSTOMS.

Joseph W. Ivey, of Oregon, to be collector of customs for the District of Alaska, in the Territory of Alaska, to succeed Benjamin P. Moore, whose term of office has expired by limitation.

ASSISTANT SURGEON.

Howard C. Russell, of Connecticut, to be an assistant surgeon in the Marine-Hospital Service of the United States.

MEMBER OF CALIFORNIA DÉBRIS COMMISSION.

First Lieut. Herbert Deakyne, Corps of Engineers, United States Army, under the provisions of the act of Congress approved March 1, 1893, entitled "An act to create the California Débris Commission and regulate hydraulic mining in the State of California," a member of the commission, vice Capt. Cassius E. Gillette, Corps of Engineers, relieved.

APPOINTMENTS IN THE ARMY.

The following-named cadets, graduates of the Military Academy, for appointment in the Army of the United States, to date from June 11, 1897:

To be additional second lieutenants.

CORPS OF ENGINEERS.

1. Cadet William Durward Connor.
2. Cadet John Calvin Oakes.
3. Cadet Louis Casper Wolf.
4. Cadet Henry Sims Morgan.
5. Cadet Sherwood Alfred Cheney.
6. Cadet Frederick William Altstaetter.
7. Cadet Harley Bascom Ferguson.

ARTILLERY ARM.

9. Cadet Robert Swepston Abernethy.
12. Cadet Edwin Oliver Sarratt.
13. Cadet Albert Jesse Bowley.
15. Cadet Bertram Charles Gilbert.
16. Cadet Lawrence Sprague Miller.
18. Cadet Winfield Scott Overton, jr.
20. Cadet Mervyn Chandos Buckey.

CAVALRY ARM.

11. Cadet Francis Horton Pope.
14. Cadet Matthew Elting Hanna.
17. Cadet George Edward Mitchell.
19. Cadet Pierce Ambrose Murphy.
21. Cadet Frederick Theodore Arnold.
24. Cadet James Noble Munro.
26. Cadet Earle D'Arcy Pearce.
27. Cadet William Stanley Valentine.
29. Cadet Henry Carpenter Smither.
30. Cadet Roy Beveridge Harper.
32. Cadet Thomas Arnett Roberts.
33. Cadet Edgar Alexander Sirmyer.
34. Cadet Frank Ross McCoy.
36. Cadet Chalmers Gaither Hall.
44. Cadet Clarence Richmond Day.
47. Cadet Willard Herman McCornack.
50. Cadet Seth Mellen Milliken.
52. Cadet John Carrington Raymond.

INFANTRY ARM.

8. Cadet Charles Duval Roberts.
10. Cadet John Kirkpatrick Moore.
22. Cadet Frederick Edgar Johnston.
23. Cadet Claude Hamilton Miller.
25. Cadet Harold Benjamin Fiske.
28. Cadet Arthur Stewart Conklin.
31. Cadet John Hendricken Hughes.
35. Cadet George Willis Helms.
37. Cadet Rufus Estes Longan.
38. Cadet Frank Marion Savage.
39. Cadet Thomas Taylor Frissell.
40. Cadet Edward Anthony Roche.
41. Cadet William Mason Fassett.
42. Cadet Henry Magdeburg Dichmann.
43. Cadet Halstead Dorey.
45. Cadet George Franklin Baltzell.
46. Cadet Benjamin Martin Koehler.
48. Cadet James Francis Brady.
49. Cadet Hugh La Fayette Applewhite.
51. Cadet Edgar Thomas Conley.
53. Cadet Roderick Leland Carmichael.
54. Cadet Harry Gore Bishop.
55. Cadet Henry Abbot.
56. Cadet Andrew Moses.
57. Cadet Edgar Thomas Collins.
58. Cadet Fred Anderson Pearce.
59. Cadet Seaborn Green Chiles.
60. Cadet Lyman Mowry Welch.
61. Cadet Thomas Quinn Ashburn.
62. Cadet Sam Frank Bottoms.
63. Cadet Warren Sumner Barlow.
64. Cadet John Girardin Workizer.
65. Cadet Willard Douglas Newbill.
66. Cadet Charles Higbee Bridges.
67. Cadet Harold Edward Cloke.

PROMOTION IN THE NAVY.

Commodore Edmund O. Matthews, to be a rear-admiral in the Navy, from the 19th day of June, 1897, vice Rear-Admiral George Brown, retired.

PROMOTIONS IN THE MARINE CORPS.

Richard S. Collum, captain and assistant quartermaster, United States Marine Corps, to be major and quartermaster in said Corps, from the 20th day of June, 1897, vice Horatio B. Lowry, major and quartermaster, retired.

First Lieut. Thomas C. Prince, United States Marine Corps, to be captain and assistant quartermaster in said Corps, from the 20th day of June, 1897, vice Richard S. Collum, captain and assistant quartermaster, promoted.

COMMISSIONERS.

Albert C. Thompson, of Ohio; Alexander C. Botkin, of Montana, and David B. Culberson, of Texas, to be the commissioners to revise and codify the criminal and penal laws of the United States, as provided for by the act of Congress approved June 4, 1897.

POSTMASTERS.

Wilfred W. Montague, to be postmaster at San Francisco, in the county of San Francisco and State of California, in the place of Frank McCoppin, deceased.

Walter S. Clark, to be postmaster at Aspen, in the county of Pitkin and State of Colorado, in the place of John C. Allan, removed.

Benjamin F. Boyd, to be postmaster at Hillsboro, in the county of Montgomery and State of Illinois, in the place of J. E. Y. Rice, resigned. C. H. Rolston, who was nominated and confirmed, not having been commissioned.

Robert N. Chapman, to be postmaster at Charleston, in the county of Coles and State of Illinois, in the place of John B. Briscoe, removed.

Frank C. Davidson, to be postmaster at Clinton, in the county of Dewitt and State of Illinois, in the place of Perry Hughes, removed.

Clarence A. Murray, to be postmaster at Waukegan, in the county of Lake and State of Illinois, in the place of E. B. McClanahan, removed. W. A. Melody, who was appointed and commissioned, not having been confirmed.

Lou Black, to be postmaster at Orleans, in the county of Orange and State of Indiana, in the place of James A. Frost, jr., removed.

Charles V. Hoffman, to be postmaster at Oskaloosa, in the county of Mahaska and State of Iowa, in the place of G. B. McFall, removed.

Charles W. Farrow, to be postmaster at Snowhill, in the county of Worcester and State of Maryland, in the place of John L. Nock, removed.

Clarence E. Closser, to be postmaster at Munising, in the county of Alger and State of Michigan, the appointment of a postmaster for the said office having, by law, become vested in the President on and after July 1, 1897.

Seymour Foster, to be postmaster at Lansing, in the county of Ingham and State of Michigan, in the place of Louis E. Rowley, whose commission expired March 23, 1897.

William Jenney, to be postmaster at Mount Clemens, in the county of Macomb and State of Michigan, in the place of Joseph F. Upleger, whose commission expired April 14, 1897.

Harry H. Mitchell, to be postmaster at Clinton, in the county of Henry and State of Missouri, in the place of Fountain R. Piper, removed.

Frederick W. Clemons, to be postmaster at Palmyra, in the county of Wayne and State of New York, in the place of Alexander P. Milne, deceased.

James Blanning, to be postmaster at Williamstown, in the county of Dauphin and State of Pennsylvania, in the place of Benjamin A. Waters, deceased.

James M. Henderson, to be postmaster at Etna, in the county of Allegheny and State of Pennsylvania, the appointment of a postmaster for the said office having, by law, become vested in the President on and after January 1, 1897, George Huhn, who was nominated and confirmed, not having been commissioned.

Ezra H. Ripple, to be postmaster at Scranton, in the county of Lackawanna and State of Pennsylvania, in the place of Frank M. Vandling, resigned.

Joshua F. Ensor, to be postmaster at Columbia, in the county of Richland and State of South Carolina, in the place of William Wallace, removed.

Charles H. Stilwill, to be postmaster at Tyndall, in the county of Bonhomme and State of South Dakota, in the place of Henry A. Pike, removed.

Charles J. Lewis, to be postmaster at Clarendon, in the county of Donley and State of Texas, the appointment of a postmaster for the said office having, by law, become vested in the President on and after July 1, 1897.

Jacob W. Dudley, to be postmaster at East Radford, in the county of Montgomery and State of Virginia, in the place of Robert J. Noell, removed.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate June 21, 1897.

GOVERNOR OF ALASKA.

John G. Brady, of Sitka, Alaska, to be governor of the District of Alaska.

COMMISSIONERS.

John U. Smith, of Portland, Oreg., to be a commissioner in and for the District of Alaska.

William J. Jones, of Port Townsend, Wash., to be a commissioner in and for the District of Alaska.

COLLECTORS OF INTERNAL REVENUE.

Frank W. Howbert, of Colorado, to be collector of internal revenue for the district of Colorado.

Harmon L. Remmel, of Arkansas, to be collector of internal revenue for the district of Arkansas.

Jacob E. Houtz, of Nebraska, to be collector of internal revenue for the district of Nebraska.

COLLECTOR OF CUSTOMS.

Freeland H. Oaks, of Maine, to be collector of customs for the district of Saco, in the State of Maine.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

MONDAY, *June 21, 1897.*

The House met at 12 o'clock m., and was called to order by the Speaker.

Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. HENRY N. COUDEN.

The Journal of the proceedings of Thursday, June 17, was read.

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, on the first roll call on Thursday last, on the motion to table the appeal from the ruling of the Chair, I am recorded among the names of those present and not voting. I desire to say that I voted "no," and I desire to be so recorded.

The SPEAKER. The change will be made.

Mr. SETTLE. Mr. Speaker, I understood the Clerk to read that the House, on motion of the gentleman from Maine [Mr. DINGLEY], adjourned "until Monday next." I do not think that correctly recites the fact. The House merely voted to adjourn, and the Speaker thereupon, in pursuance of the rule that had been previously adopted, declared the House adjourned until Monday next. I do not think that the Journal ought to show that the House voted to adjourn until Monday, for it did not so vote.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will examine and see what has been the Journal entry in like cases.

Mr. BURKE. On the second roll call on Thursday last the Clerk has recorded me as not voting. I wish to state that I voted on that roll call, and voted "no."

The SPEAKER. The correction will be made.

Mr. GRIGGS. Mr. Speaker, on the same roll call I am recorded as having voted "aye." I voted "no," and desire to be so recorded.

The SPEAKER. The change will be made.

The Chair desires to call the attention of the House to a statement made at the last session in regard to the amendment of the Journal. According to the RECORD, the Chair stated that a motion to approve the Journal takes precedence of a motion to amend it. Of course that statement was made simply with reference to the case which was in hand, and, to be accurate for general purposes, there ought to be added "if that motion is first made."

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Mr. HENDERSON. Mr. Speaker, I offer the following privileged report——

The SPEAKER. The gentleman offers a privileged report.

Mr. HENDERSON. And upon that I ask the previous question.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

The Committee on Rules, to whom was referred House resolution No. 51, beg leave to recommend that said resolution do pass.

"*Resolved*, That immediately upon the adoption of this resolution the House shall proceed to consider House joint resolution No. 61, entitled 'Joint resolution to provide for the immediate repair of Dry Dock No. 3, at the New York Navy-Yard.'"

Mr. HENDERSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask for the previous question.

The previous question was ordered.

The resolution was agreed to.

NEW YORK DRY DOCK.

Mr. HENDERSON. Mr. Speaker, I will yield to the gentleman from California [Mr. HILBORN] to take charge of the bill referred to in the resolution.

Mr. HILBORN. Mr. Speaker——

Mr. BAILEY. May I inquire if the gentleman from Iowa intends to yield the floor, or does he yield so much of the hour to which he is entitled.

Mr. HENDERSON. I am yielding the floor entirely to the gentleman from California, who has charge of the original resolution. I have only kept the floor for the purpose of the adoption of the resolution reported from the Committee on Rules. That has been adopted, and now, on the consideration of the dry-dock resolution, I yield to the gentleman from California to take charge of it.

Mr. HILBORN. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Maine [Mr. BOUTELLE] being present, I yield the floor to him.

Mr. BOUTELLE. Mr. Speaker, perhaps the most practical manner in which the attention of the House can be called to this exigency that has arisen will be by reading a very brief letter of the Secretary of the Navy, dated May 13, to myself, transmitting a copy of a letter to the Speaker of the House, calling attention to a very serious condition that had arisen in the city of New York at the navy-yard by the discovery of a serious leak in the new dry dock there, which subsequently overflowed both of the docks and has placed them in a condition that immediate repairs are absolutely necessary, and any delay will be extremely damaging to every interest of the Government.

NAVY DEPARTMENT, *Washington, May 13, 1897.*

SIR: I have the honor to inclose herewith, for your information, a copy of a letter which I have this day addressed to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, relative to extensive leaks which have appeared in wooden Dry Docks Nos. 2 and 3, at the Brooklyn Navy-Yard, which threaten the undermining and collapse of the docks, and urging that an appropriation of $100,000 be granted by joint resolution, and made immediately available, for the purpose of meeting the emergency.

I respectfully request your earnest cooperation in the matter.

Very respectfully,

JOHN D. LONG, *Secretary.*

Hon. C. A. BOUTELLE,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

The letter to the Speaker was as follows:

NAVY DEPARTMENT, *Washington, May 13, 1897.*

SIR: The following communication has just been received from the Chief of the Bureau of Yards and Docks:

"On the morning of the 8th instant extensive leaks appeared on the east side of wooden Dry Dock No. 3, at the navy-yard, Brooklyn, N. Y. The next morning the leaks appeared on the westerly side of the same dock, and this morning comes a telegram stating that last evening wooden Dry Dock No. 2 began leaking all along its eastern side.

"Whilst Dry Dock No. 2 was under construction, a quicksand was encountered at the southeast corner.

"It would appear from this that there is a subterranean 'quick' connection between these two docks. Energetic measures must be taken at once to prevent the undermining and collapse of these docks.

"As we have but about $9,000 available, I have the honor to suggest that Congress may be asked to grant by joint resolution the sum of $100,000, or so much thereof as may be needed, to be immediately available for this purpose."

To meet the emergency above stated, I have the honor to request that an appropriation of $100,000, or so much thereof as may be needed for the purpose, be granted by joint resolution, and that it may be made immediately available.

A similar letter to the above has been addressed to the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, United States Senate.

Very respectfully,

JOHN D. LONG, *Secretary.*

THE SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

On the 15th of June the Assistant Secretary of the Navy reenforces this request by the following letter:

NAVY DEPARTMENT, *Washington, June 15, 1897.*

SIR: 1. Dry Dock No. 3, at the navy-yard, Brooklyn, the only dock on the Atlantic coast in which it is safe to dock a battle ship of the *Indiana* class, is now disabled, and an appropriation of $100,000 has been asked in order to enable the Department to repair it.

2. The *Indiana* has not been in dock for fourteen months, and should be docked as soon as possible to clean and repaint, to prevent pitting of plates. Should anything happen to the *Massachusetts* or *Iowa*, we have no dock available for them.

3. The dock at Port Royal, S. C., can not be depended upon, as the tides are very uncertain. It may take weeks waiting for a tide sufficient to take the *Indiana* in, and the same to get her out, and then there is a great risk attending it, even with the most skillful management. The *Iowa* and *Massachusetts* can not be docked there at all.

I can not therefore too strongly urge the importance of an immediate appropriation for the repairs of the one large dock on the Atlantic coast, and have the honor to ask that action on joint resolution No. 61, H. R., introduced on June 1, may be taken as soon as possible.

Respectfully,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT,
Assistant Secretary of the Navy.

Hon. T. B. REED,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Mr. SAYERS. Mr. Speaker——

Mr. BOUTELLE. If the gentleman will permit me to complete my statement, I will then be glad to answer any question.

On the 12th of May the Chief of the Bureau of Yards and Docks appointed a board, of which Civil Engineer Peter C. Asserson was the senior member, with the following instructions:

NAVY DEPARTMENT, *Washington, May 11, 1897.*

SIR: A board, consisting of yourself, as senior member; Civil Engineer Mordecai T. Endicott, U. S. N., and Civil Engineer Anecito G. Menocal, U. S. N., as members, is hereby appointed, to convene at the navy-yard, New York, N. Y., on the 13th instant, at 10 a. m., for the purpose of examining and reporting upon the present condition of Dry Dock No. 3, together with plans and estimates for remedying defects in said dock, and you will proceed to New York, N. Y., and report to the commandant of the navy-yard at that place, and assemble the board on the date specified.

The members of the board have been directed to report to you for this duty.

Upon the completion of this duty, return to Norfolk, Va., and resume your present duties.

Respectfully,

JOHN D. LONG, *Secretary.*

Civil Engineer PETER C. ASSERSON, U. S. N.,
Navy-Yard, Norfolk, Va.

If it is desired, I will have this report read, or make a brief statement of its substance.

Mr. SAYERS. Mr. Speaker, I should like to know from the gentleman whether or not that appropriation is needed for the dry dock last completed?

Mr. BOUTELLE. The dry dock last completed is the dock in front of that in which this leak has manifested itself. The leak has now joined itself to the other dry dock, the one previously made. The difficulty in the case seems to be that the protection along the Wallabout Channel, out of which these docks have been excavated, consisted of what is known as sheet piling, heavy piling of timber that is matched, tongued, and grooved to keep the water out, has been in some way disturbed, either broken by dredging, by some accident in the use of powerful dredgers in this channel, or it may be that some of the vessels, in docking there, by their prows had disturbed this sheet piling.

There has been a fracture in the water protection in the front of these docks, beneath the apron, beneath the gate, which has allowed the water from the channel to flow through this piling in

front of the dock, and the water has so percolated through the inside coping as to fill the dry dock, and also, by some connection inside the wall, has flowed across and filled the other dry dock at the New York yard.

Mr. SAYERS. Can the gentleman inform the House when this dock was completed?

Mr. BOUTELLE. The dock was completed during this year.

Mr. SAYERS. And now it is asked that $100,000 additional be appropriated for its repair?

Mr. BOUTELLE. In reply to that, I will state that the board of engineers, after examining the situation, reported that in their belief, by the employment of divers, repairs might be made in front of this dock for $29,000 or $30,000, which would probably suffice to enable the dock to be used; but upon further consideration of the question by the Department, consideration given partly, I believe, upon suggestions made by my colleague, Mr. HILBORN, and myself, that it would be poor policy, and would not be economy, to try to patch up a work of that kind without a thorough overhauling of the work so as to ascertain the exact character and extent of the damage, the Department recommended that at the outset a cofferdam be built in front of the dock, in order that the full extent and nature of the damage might be ascertained.

Gentlemen know that this is the largest dry dock that we have on the Atlantic coast. It is adapted to take in the largest of our battle ships, and it is the only dry dock on this coast that can take them in. The enormous weight of those vessels and their great value render it absolutely essential that there should be no question as to the stability of this dock, and in my opinion and in the judgment of the Department it would be absolutely impossible, without the construction of a cofferdam, to make such a careful and thorough examination as would enable us to ascertain with the degree of accuracy that should be had in a case of this kind the actual extent of the damage and the kind and character of the repairs that are required to insure against future trouble.

Mr. SAYERS. Can the gentleman inform the House who built this dock?

Mr. BOUTELLE. I think my friend and former colleague on the Committee on Naval Affairs, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. SAYERS], is aware that under the terms of the proposals requiring that the contract should be given to some one familiar with the building of docks—a requirement presumably intended to mean familiar with the building of dry docks—the contract for this dry dock was, in the first instance, awarded to parties who were familiar with the building of wharves and docks of that description, but who were not familiar with the construction of dry docks. Then, after long delay and a great many difficulties, there was, I think, a final default on the part of the first contractors and the work was turned over for completion to a new set of contractors.

I ought to say here, however, Mr. Speaker, that the existing trouble with this dock does not necessarily constitute a ground for criticism upon the work of the contractors or upon the character of the structure. As the result of an accident, the origin of which is not absolutely determined, the "pilot" which was intended to exclude the water from the front of the dock became fractured, some of the planks were torn out, which enabled the pressure from the channel to force the water in underneath, thus rendering it impossible to make further use of the dock in its present condition. I understand that while the flowage exhibited itself unmistakably in the other dock—the test being made by the use of coloring matter—yet the damage to the previously built dock, No. 2, is by no means so serious as the damage to Dock No. 3, so that possibly No. 2 may be utilized. That, however, is not so large as the other, and the immediate necessity for these repairs is based not only upon the need for the use of the dock, but also upon the fact that this extensive and important work is incurring additional damage every hour that it is left in its present condition.

Mr. SAYERS. In the construction of this work the Government was, of course, represented by an engineer officer?

Mr. BOUTELLE. My impression is that the dock was constructed under the supervision of the civil engineers of the Navy.

Mr. SAYERS. Can the gentleman give the House the name of the engineer who supervised the construction?

Mr. BOUTELLE. I am not positive as to which one had charge of the building of this dock. I think that different engineers were assigned to the work at different times, but the work was constructed under the supervision of the engineers of the Navy Department. The board appointed to examine the present condition of the dock having reported in favor of an appropriation of $29,000 for temporary repairs—such repairs as could be made by divers without the building of a cofferdam—the Department, after carefully examining the whole subject, decided to recommend that this joint resolution appropriate $100,000, or so much thereof as may be found necessary for the purpose.

Mr. SAYERS. I understood the gentleman to say a while ago that it was upon the recommendation of the gentleman from California [Mr. HILBORN] that the amount was proposed to be increased to $100,000.

Mr. BOUTELLE. I said that the Department, in reviewing the report of the board recommending an appropriation for temporary repairs, acting, perhaps, somewhat upon suggestions made by myself and by my colleague, the gentleman from California [Mr. HILBORN], as members of the House of Representatives, having some familiarity with such matters, had determined that they would recommend a more thorough examination than would be possible if the plan of making temporary repairs were adopted, and, in accordance with the recommendation of the Chief of the Bureau, this joint resolution provides an appropriation of $100,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary, to be expended upon these items:

Constructing cofferdam and removing same	$48,000
Repairs recommended by board	30,000
Contingencies	22,000

Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas. I ask the gentleman to read the whole of the report. I am in hopes that the reading of the report will throw some light upon the question why we need $100,000 to stop a leak in a dry dock. It appears to me that the money heretofore appropriated for the construction of this work has "leaked" away, and I would like some assurance that this additional $100,000 will not leak out somewhere.

Mr. BOUTELLE. If the gentleman had given me the honor of his attention——

Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas. I would like to have the whole report read.

Mr. BOUTELLE. There is not the slightest objection, Mr. Speaker, to the reading of the whole of the report, but I wish to explain the reasons which actuated the Department in recommending, instead of the temporary repairs, which could not possibly give assurance of meeting the difficulty, the building of a cofferdam, which is an expensive operation and which will cost $48,000 or $50,000.

I fully concur in the idea of the Department, that the wise thing to do is to put a cofferdam in front of this dock, in order to ascertain absolutely the character and the extent of the damages and the nature of the repairs which should be made.

Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas. May I ask the gentleman whether the Committee on Naval Affairs has made a thorough investigation of this matter?

Mr. BOUTELLE. There being no Committee on Naval Affairs appointed——

Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas. Ah!

Mr. BOUTELLE. They have not.

Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas. Does not the gentleman think we ought to have such a committee appointed?

Mr. BOUTELLE. The Committee on Rules, which is composed of a very distinguished body of gentlemen, has given the matter very careful and thoughtful attention——

Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas. The Committee on Rules, which comprises the Speaker of this House, has given the matter careful investigation!

Mr. BOUTELLE. Having the advantage of the valuable suggestions and information of the gentleman from California [Mr. HILBORN] and my humble self.

Mr. GAINES. If the gentleman will permit me——

The SPEAKER. Perhaps it might serve to enlighten the House if the resolution, the reading of which was omitted by inadvertence, should be now read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Joint resolution (H. Res. 61) to provide for the immediate repair of Dry Dock No. 3, at the New York Navy-Yard.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the sum of $100,000 be, and the same is hereby, appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, and to be immediately available, to enable the Secretary of the Navy to execute pressingly needed repairs upon Dry Dock No. 3, at the New York Navy-Yard, as follows: For constructing and removing cofferdam, $48,000; for repairs to dock as recommended by board of survey, $30,000; for contingencies, $22,000: and the Secretary of the Navy is hereby authorized to expend said sums or so much thereof as may be needed for the purposes indicated in this resolution.

Mr. BOUTELLE. I will say to the gentleman from Kansas that I have not the slightest objection to the reading of the report; but it relates simply to matters of detail and comes to the conclusion that probably by the expenditure of the sum of $29,000 this leak might be stopped. The question before the House is whether it is advisable to do that or to repair this dock in such a way as will insure its safety and usefulness hereafter.

The gentleman is aware that this is an enormous dock into which we put these great battle ships. It seems to me, as it does to the Department, that the simple stopping of the leak when it may be found, without ascertaining to what extent the leak may have damaged the dock, would be incurring a risk that we ought not to incur. There is no possible way of ascertaining accurately the amount of damage the dock has sustained except by building a cofferdam in front of it and thoroughly examining the condition of the whole dock.

Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas. Would the gentleman have any objection to this matter going over till next Thursday, so as to give us an opportunity to examine the report?

Mr. BOUTELLE. The resolution ought to pass to-day, because those docks are receiving damage in increasing ratio by reason of every hour of delay. There is no question as to their condition; there is no question that they must be repaired. The only question is how soon we can get to work to do it. We certainly can trust the Navy Department to do this work under a resolution of this kind, appropriating a certain sum, or so much thereof as may be needed. We are obliged to trust the Navy Department, and can do so with perfect safety, to expend only so much of the amount appropriated as may be needed for the purposes contemplated.

Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas. I observe that the report is short; we are not hurried here at present; we have not very much legislation to attend to, and I think we can at least attend to this measure in a businesslike way.

Mr. BOUTELLE. I will have the report printed in the RECORD if the gentleman so desires.

Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas. I prefer to have it read.

Mr. BOUTELLE. It will not give the gentleman much light.

Mr. McMILLIN. If the report is simply to be printed in the RECORD, I hope the gentleman from Maine will give us further information, if he has it, as to the origin and extent of this damage. That is a very essential point in reference to the making of this appropriation. Thus far the gentleman has not developed, in the first place, what was the origin of this trouble, or, secondly, the extent of it. It seems that the first dry dock has been impaired in its efficiency by this leak, and that this has carried damage to the second.

Mr. BOUTELLE. The gentleman is mistaken about that.

Mr. McMILLIN. I so understood the gentleman's statement. There was some confusion, however, and I may not have been able to catch exactly what he intended to say. I hope, however, that all the information in his possession may be given as to the character and extent of this damage.

Mr. BOUTELLE. The extent of the damage is a leak in front of this dock sufficient to render it impossible to make use of the dock. The leak is necessarily under water.

Mr. McMILLIN. Has the gentleman any information as to whether the orifice through which the leak comes is enlarging by the ebb and flow of the water?

Mr. BOUTELLE. I will say to the gentleman that the question is not so much as to whether the orifice may be enlarging as it is how far the flow of water through it is increasing the damage by the undermining of the dock. These docks are based upon a pile foundation. Piles are driven 5 feet from center to center, and then there is a floor of cement—about 5 feet of solid cement—resting upon the soil. How far the water may have undermined the soil underneath this cement is something that can not be ascertained by the use of a diving bell. The water must be shut off from the dock in order to enable a thorough examination to be made. I am simply advocating that the Government shall do just what any private corporation or individual would do in a similar case—adopt the only possible measure to ascertain the full extent and character of the damage.

Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas. Has the gentleman any information as to the original cost of this dock?

Mr. BOUTELLE. It was built upon an appropriation and upon advertisement for proposals.

Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas. Does the gentleman know the original cost?

Mr. BOUTELLE. Those docks cost all the way from $500,000 to $600,000 or $700,000.

Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas. The gentleman does not know what this particular dock cost?

Mr. BOUTELLE. I think about $600,000.

Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas. My object was to ascertain whether $100,000, with a little more money added to it, would not build a new dock—a much better one.

Mr. BOUTELLE. Oh, no.

Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas. Sometimes it is easier to make a new vessel than to stop the leaks in an old one.

Mr. BOUTELLE. I do not think the gentleman could quite convince himself on that line.

Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas. If we are to have many more leaks costing $100,000 each to stop, it seems to me it would be better to build a new dock at once.

Mr. BOUTELLE. But I am asking the gentleman to assist us in stopping this leak. If we can only stop the leak in the gentleman's oratory, we may make some progress.

Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas. I would like to know whether what I have suggested is not a good business proposition. Mr. Speaker, I shall have to insist on having the report read. I want all the light we can get on the subject.

Mr. BOUTELLE. I do not think the gentleman can have the report read as a matter of right. If he desires to read it as part of his remarks I will yield him the time for that purpose.

Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas. I should like to have the Clerk read it.

Mr. GAINES. I should like to know why the gentleman from Maine is in such a hurry to push this resolution through this morning. He introduced the resolution on the "31st of May," and it seems that since that time nothing has been done with it except to have it referred to the "Committee on Naval Affairs." Now, why should the gentleman be in such a hurry here to-day for its passage? And why has not the "Committee on Naval Affairs" reported on the resolution?

Mr. BOUTELLE. The resolution was referred to the Committee on Rules, and has been under investigation by them.

Mr. GAINES. It was also referred by you to the Committee on Naval Affairs, and the printed resolution so reads, though the Clerk omitted to read that part of the resolution now in my hand.

Mr. BOUTELLE. Referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs, when appointed.

Mr. McMILLIN. The gentleman from Maine is in error in his statement that the resolution making this appropriation has been referred to the Committee on Rules.

Mr. BOUTELLE. But the resolution asking for a rule for the consideration of the matter has been before that committee.

Mr. McMILLIN. The other would not properly go to the Committee on Rules.

Mr. BOUTELLE. If there is to be any discussion upon the question whether the resolution is in order now for consideration by the House, I shall let the discussion be carried on by some one else. I have no doubt about the question myself. The rule has been reported here, and the House has adopted it. There is no question now pending as to how the matter got here or why it was not brought here in some other way. The question is whether we will make this appropriation or not.

Mr. GAINES. Has the distinguished gentleman from Maine requested the Speaker to appoint the Committee on Naval Affairs since the 31st of May, when this resolution was ordered to be referred to that committee?

Mr. BOUTELLE. Have I requested the Speaker? I do not understand the gentleman.

Mr. GAINES. I say has the gentleman requested——

The SPEAKER. The Chair will state that the gentleman from Maine has not done so. [Laughter.]

Mr. GAINES. I desire to get the information from the gentleman himself.

Mr. BOUTELLE. The gentleman has asked me whether I have requested the Speaker to appoint the Committee on Naval Affairs. I answer, No, sir.

Mr. GAINES. This resolution was referred to that committee on the 31st of May; and I want to know whether the gentleman since that time has requested that the Committee on Naval Affairs be appointed. The gentleman introduced this resolution on the 31st of May and referred it to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Mr. BOUTELLE. I did not.

Mr. GAINES. That is what the report states.

Mr. BOUTELLE. I did not do anything of the kind.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Let us have the regular order.

Mr. GAINES. Regular order and the regular thing, too, is what I want.

The SPEAKER. This seems to be the regular order.

Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas. Has the gentleman from Maine any objection to the reference of this resolution to the appropriate committee?

Mr. BOUTELLE. None, except that it would make unnecessary delay. There is not a gentleman in this House, including even the gentleman from Kansas, who does not know that I have stated all the substantial facts in the case. If that gentleman or any other member wishes to know the details as to the manner in which this board ascertained that there is a leak and the character of it, I will have the report read. But when I make a statement, based upon the statement of the Department, that there is a leak; that this board has ascertained that it is a serious leak; that it disables the dock; that the board has recommended a temporary repair which would cost a certain sum, and that the Department thinks it better to carry on the operation in such a manner as will enable it to find out the exact character and extent of the damage and to make the repairs complete and thorough, I think the House understands the question.

Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas. If the gentleman from Maine is going to ask the votes of members of Congress for an appropriation of $100,000, I think we are entitled, and our constituents are entitled, to the information contained in this report.

Mr. BOUTELLE. I yield five minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. CUMMINGS].

Mr. CUMMINGS. Mr. Speaker, gentlemen should not lose sight of the fact that this New York dock is the only dock on the Atlantic coast where our battle ships can be promptly docked. It is now out of repair. Our foreign relations are none too rosy. It would be well, it seems to me, to put in perfect order the only dock that can be used to repair battle ships, if it takes night work to do so. I presume one trouble with this dock is the fact that it is a timber dock and not a stone dock. There appear to be in the Navy Department two sets of officers—one favoring timber docks,

and the other favoring stone docks. I have seen in the newspapers a statement that if this dock had been a stone dock the leak would not have occurred.

Now, Mr. Speaker, it seems to me that it is time for Congress to be turning its attention toward this dock question. With half a dozen battle ships in commission and on the stocks, and no docks in which to repair them, it may become good policy to stop building battle ships and go to building docks. In Portsmouth, England, they have twenty-one stone docks side by side, and in Italy and France as many more, while we on the eastern coast of the Atlantic have only two large docks, both of timber. Only one of these can be used to repair at once our largest war vessels. On the western coast there is only one dock, and that a timber dock, at Port Orchard, that can be used to dock our battle ships.

Mr. KING. Will the gentleman permit a question?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Yes.

Mr. KING. Is it not a waste of money, in view of what the gentleman has stated, to make an appropriation for a timber dock, when it is apparent that a timber dock is wholly inadequate?

Mr. CUMMINGS. But you have your timber dock already built. There is a leak in it, and you can repair the leak and put the ship into the dock inside of two weeks at least with this $100,000. Without it, you may not be able to dock the *Indiana* for five months, unless we solicit the courtesy of Great Britain at Halifax or the Bermudas.

Mr. KING. Another question: Has not that dock frequently leaked before, and have not these repairs been necessary frequently?

Mr. CUMMINGS. No. This is a new dock. It was finished last year. A leak has occurred in front of the dock. Some vessel ran into a dock near it, knocking the gates down. This may have created a leak near the new dock. It is said again that the leak is due to quicksand. Others agree with my friend from Maine [Mr. BOUTELLE], that there is something wrong about the underpinning, causing the leak. But whatever it is, the leak is there. It is absolutely necessary for the safety of the country that it should be repaired as soon as possible.

Mr. KING. Have calculations been made as to the amount which is required; and if so, why is it necessary to add $20,000 for contingencies?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Why, the calculation has been made by a board of officers appointed by the Secretary of the Navy to investigate the leak and ascertain how much is necessary to be expended in repairing it.

Mr. HANDY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. CUMMINGS. With pleasure.

Mr. HANDY. Is it necessary to have an act of Congress to enable the Navy Department to stop a leak in a dock?

Mr. CUMMINGS. It is necessary, when there is no appropriation from which the money can be used in making the repairs.

Mr. HANDY. In view of the fact that there may be other leaks in the future, ought we not to do more at this time than the resolution provides? Ought we not to put the Department in such shape that after we adjourn—and it is possible we may adjourn after a while—that the Department can keep this dock in repair without a special act of Congress? Think of the condition of that dock requiring a special session of Congress!

Mr. CUMMINGS. I do not think it necessary. This board of officers of the Navy certainly know what is necessary to be done to repair that dock. You may be sure that they have asked for all that will be required.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from New York has expired.

Mr. BOUTELLE. I yield three minutes to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON].

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, I believe this appropriation ought to be made, but before it is made, if such is the sense of the House, I want to make a remark. This is a new dock, which the gentleman from Maine [Mr. BOUTELLE] says cost in the neighborhood of $600,000 to complete but a few months ago. It now requires this appropriation to repair it. In my judgment, there is a fault somewhere, either with the contractors or with the engineers in the Navy who superintended its construction.

I believe that fault ought to be located. I believe it will be located when the fault is thoroughly ascertained. The Government that educated its officials is entitled to an efficiency that on a great work of this kind would not require repairs within a very short time after it has been constructed. Now, then, I am not prepared to accuse anybody; I am not prepared to censure anybody; but I want to make this remark, so that later on, when it is ascertained where the fault is, that the blame may be placed, that such steps amy be taken as will place it, and, if necessary, discipline the officer who has been short in his duties.

One other word——

Mr. McMILLIN. Before the gentleman goes from that point, I should like to ask him the question whether this work or any part of it was done by contract?

Mr. CANNON. I understand that it has all been done by conract.

Mr. McMILLIN. Was there not a bond given to indemnify the Government and requiring a faithful performance of contract?

Mr. CANNON. Possibly.

Mr. CUMMINGS. I will state to the gentleman that there were two contracts. The first contractor failed and lost $200,000, and the second contractor seems to have done his work poorly.

Mr. BOUTELLE. I will say to the gentleman from Tennessee that there seems to be no allegation that the condition that exists to-day is due in any way to bad work.

Mr. McMILLIN. The dock has been accepted by the Government, and this difficulty has occurred; and so far as we can see, there is no knowledge as to the cause of the original leak.

Mr. BOUTELLE. I fear the gentleman did not hear my statement. I said that the sheet piling, which is the protection against the flow of water in front of the dock, had been ruptured.

Mr. McMILLIN. I understand that.

Mr. BOUTELLE. And that let the water in. There is no allegation of any fault in the performance of the contract; but in some way the sheet-piling protection was disturbed. The supposition is that it may have been done by dredging, and the supposition further is that it may have been done by the projecting prows of some of the vessels being docked.

Mr. McMILLIN. But I want it understood that while it may not be possible that recovery can be had on that bond, steps should be taken to fix the responsibility and ascertain whether the bonds cover the case.

Mr. CANNON. Will the gentleman yield me a little additional time, as I have lost the floor, and I want to make a remark in closing?

Mr. McMILLIN. I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman's time may be extended, inasmuch as he has been interrupted.

Mr. BOUTELLE. I will yield to the gentleman such time as he wants.

Mr. CANNON. I only want a minute or two.

Now, so much for the dock at New York. I do not know what the trouble is. It may be an accident, for which nobody is to blame. I suspect that somewhere it is want of proper knowledge, where proper knowledge should have abounded, or carelessness. If so, I want to see it located and the blame placed; and it can not be done without this appropriation. So that for two purposes—in the first place to fix the blame, and in the second place to repair the dock and make it what it ought to have been in the beginning—the appropriation is necessary.

Now, one other remark. We are informed by the gentleman from Maine that there is this dock and one other, namely, at Port Royal, for the docking of battle ships. There seems to be a dock at Port Royal that would take in the *Indiana;* but it is like unto the mill site in Kansas. You recollect that familiar old story, where the man said there was no mill at the dam site, and there was no dam—you recollect the remainder of the story. [Laughter.]

Mr. BOUTELLE. Is not the trouble with my friend that he did not get his story right by a dam site? [Laughter.]

Mr. CANNON. That is so. I do not want to make the quotation, but I discover that the seed fell upon fruitful soil, so that everybody understands it. [Renewed laughter.]

Now, there seems to have been a large amount of money expended at Port Royal. Whether it was a fault in legislation or administration I do not know; but at a great expenditure the dock is there, and it can not be practically reached. We need more docks. I hope that in the future they will be located where there is water in the first place, and that they will be made so as to keep the water out when we want to keep it out, in the second place.

Mr. BOUTELLE. I desire to say, in regard to the last remark of my friend from Illinois, that whatever responsibility there may be for any degree of inefficiency as to the dry dock at Port Royal that rests on the legislative department of the Government. That dock was legislated into existence, and against my earnest efforts and protest. I ask for the previous question, Mr. Speaker.

The previous question was ordered, and under the operation thereof the joint resolution was ordered to a third reading; and it was accordingly read the third time.

The question was taken on the passage of the resolution; and the Speaker announced that the ayes seemed to have it.

Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas. Division, Mr. Speaker.

The House divided; and there were—ayes 114, noes 12.

So the joint resolution was passed.

On motion of Mr. BOUTELLE, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the joint resolution was passed was laid on the table.

REGULATION OF COMMERCE BETWEEN THE SEVERAL STATES AND FOREIGN COUNTRIES IN CERTAIN CASES.

Mr. LATIMER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill H. R. 3495.

The Clerk read as follows:

A bill (H. R. 3495) to limit the effect of the regulation of commerce between the several States and with foreign countries in certain cases.

Be it enacted, etc., That all fermented, distilled, or other intoxicating liquors or liquids transported into any State or Territory, or remaining

therein for use, consumption, sale, or storage therein shall upon arrival within the limits of said State or Territory be subject to the operation and effect of the laws of such State or Territory to the same extent and in the same manner as though such liquors or liquids had been produced in such State or Territory, and shall not be exempt therefrom by reason of being introduced therein in original packages for private use or otherwise, and such States shall have absolute control of such liquors or liquids within their borders, by whomsoever produced and for whatever use imported: *Provided*, That nothing herein contained shall be construed as affecting the internal-revenue laws of the United States or of liquors in transit through a State or Territory.

Amend the title so as to read: "A bill to limit the effect of the regulations of commerce between the several States and with foreign countries in certain cases."

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. WILLIAM A. STONE. Reserving the right to object, I should like to ask the gentleman a question. As I understand, this grows out of the legal controversy in the State of South Carolina in which the courts have recently held that the local laws there with reference to the sale of intoxicating liquors by the State are unconstitutional.

Mr. LATIMER. It does arise out of that controversy. The courts did not hold that the laws were unconstitutional, but——

Mr. WILLIAM A. STONE. Mr. Speaker, I do not think that we ought to legislate by unanimous consent on a matter affecting the commerce between the States, and therefore I object to the present consideration of the bill.

Mr. LATIMER. I trust the gentleman will withdraw his objection.

Mr. WILLIAM A. STONE. I can not withdraw the objection, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. Objection is made.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. PLATT, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed bills of the following titles; in which the concurrence of the House was requested:

A bill (S. 164) to provide for the construction of a public building at Butte City, Mont.;

A bill (S. 1056) to provide for a public building at Cleveland, Ohio; and

A bill (S 1272) to provide for the erection of a public building at McKeesport, Pa.

SENATE BILLS REFERRED.

Under clause 2 of Rule XXIV, bills of the following titles were taken from the Speaker's table and referred to their appropriate committees, as indicated below:

A bill (S. 164) to provide for the construction of a public building at Butte City, Mont.—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, when appointed.

A bill (S. 1056) to provide for a public building at Cleveland, Ohio—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, when appointed.

A bill (S. 1272) to provide for the erection of a public building at McKeesport, Pa.—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, when appointed.

ENROLLED BILL SIGNED.

The Speaker announced his signature to enrolled bill of the following title:

A bill (S. 2150) to amend an act entitled "An act to provide for the entry of lands in Greer County, Okla., to give preference right to settlers, and for other purposes," approved January 18, 1897.

OMAHA INTERNATIONAL EXPOSITION.

Mr. DINGLEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of a report from the Committee on Ways and Means upon Senate resolution No. 50. This resolution was brought up at the last meeting of the House, and was referred to the Committee on Ways and Means. The committee have considered it, and they report it this morning with amendments. Under the rule it could not be taken up until the next meeting of the House; but there is an earnest desire upon the part of friends of the Omaha Exposition to have the resolution passed without delay, and therefore I ask unanimous consent. The committee have unanimously reported the joint resolution with three amendments.

The joint resolution was read, as follows:

Joint resolution authorizing foreign exhibitors at the Transmississippi and International Exposition, to be held in the city of Omaha, in the State of Nebraska, during the year 1898, to bring to the United States foreign laborers from their countries, respectively, for the purpose of preparing for and making exhibits.

Whereas the Transmississippi and International Exposition Company, of Omaha, Nebr., has extended invitations to various foreign nations to make exhibits at the Transmississippi and International Exposition to be held at said city A. D. 1898, which invitations have been accepted and space for installing foreign exhibits have been applied for and duly awarded, and concessions and privileges have been granted by the exposition management to the citizens and subjects of foreign nations; and

Whereas, for the purpose of securing the production on the exposition grounds of scenes illustrative of the architecture, dress, habits, and modes of life, occupation, industries, means of locomotion and transportation, amusements, entertainments, and the like, of the peoples of foreign countries, it has become necessary for the Transmississippi and International Exposition Company to grant concessions and privileges to certain firms and corporations of the right to make such productions: Therefore,

Be it resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the act of Congress approved February 26, A. D. 1885, prohibiting the importation into the United States of foreigners under contract to perform labor and the various acts of Congress prohibiting the coming or bringing of Chinese persons into the United States, and all acts of Congress amendatory of said act or acts shall not be construed to prohibit the bringing into the United States, under contract to labor, such mechanics, artisans, agents, or other employees or persons, natives of their respective foreign countries, as may be or may be deemed necessary for the purpose of making preparation for installing or conducting foreign exhibits, or preparing for installing or conducting any business authorized or permitted by virtue of any concession or privilege which may have been or may hereafter be granted by the Transmississippi and International Exposition Company of Omaha, Nebr., in connection with such exposition. Nor shall any such act or acts of Congress operate to prevent, hinder, or in any manner restrict any foreign exhibitor, representative, or citizen of a foreign nation, or holder of a concession or privilege from the Transmississippi and International Exposition Company, from bringing into the United States under contract any such mechanic, artisan, agent, or other employee deemed necessary or proper for the purpose of making preparations for installing or conducting foreign exhibits, or preparing for installing or conducting any business authorized or permitted under, or by virtue of, or pertaining to a concession or privilege which may have been or may be granted by the said Transmisisissippi and International Exposition Company in connection with such exposition: *Provided, however*, That no alien shall, by virtue of this resolution, be permitted to enter the United States to perform labor therein, except by express permission, naming such alien, and then not for a longer time than one year after the close of the Transmisisissippi and International Exposition; and thereafter such person shall be subject to all the processes and penalties applicable to aliens coming into the United States in violation of any act of Congress prohibiting alien contract labor from being brought or coming into the United States.

SEC. 2. That all articles and property of any kind that may be brought to the United States from any foreign country to be placed on exhibition at such Transmisisissippi and International Exposition, as well as all tools and implements necessary or proper to be used in preparing for an exhibition and the equipment and paraphernalia of the exhibitors, artisans, laborers, and the like shall be admitted to the ports of the United States free of duty, under such rules and regulations as may be prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury: *Provided, however*, That said articles shall be removed from the United States within six months after the close of said exposition. If not so removed, and the same shall be sold or disposed of in the United States, they shall be subject to the customs laws thereof: *Provided further*, That the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized and directed to make such rules and regulations as may be necessary, in his judgment, to carry into execution the provisions hereof and to prohibit the infraction of existing statutes, except as the same may be temporarily modified and changed by this resolution.

The report (by Mr. DINGLEY) is as follows:

The Committee on Ways and Means having had under consideration the joint resolution (S. R. 50) authorizing foreign exhibitors at the Transmisisippi and International Exposition, to be held in the city of Omaha, in the State of Nebraska, during the year 1898, to bring to the United States foreign laborers from their countries, respectively, for the purpose of preparing for and making exhibits, report it with a recommendation that it do pass with amendments, as follows:

Amend line 25 by striking out the words "or proper" and inserting instead the words "by the Secretary of the Treasury."

Amend line 12 by striking out the words "as may be or may be deemed" and inserting instead the words "as the Secretary of the Treasury may deem."

Amend lines 35 and 36 by striking out the words "one year" and inserting instead the words "three months."

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of this joint resolution?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the amendments recommended by the committee.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, as I understand it, this joint resolution is merely intended to permit the importation of goods, as has been usual in such cases.

Mr. DINGLEY. Not only that, but also to allow the admission of such persons as may be required to care for any exhibits that may be made at this exposition by foreign countries—the admission of Chinese, for instance, in connection with the exhibit that may be made by China.

Mr. CANNON. It carries no appropriation, as I understand?

Mr. DINGLEY. It carries no appropriation. It is the same provision that has been inserted in all the other laws relating to these international expositions, except that the Committee on Ways and Means have reported amendments to obviate certain abuses which the Secretary of the Treasury reports have arisen under previous legislation of this character.

One of the amendments provides that the number of persons to be admited shall be determined by the Secretary of the Treasury and not by the managers of the exposition. Another is that persons who may be admitted in this way for these special purposes shall leave the country within three months after the close of the exposition, instead of within one year, as provided in the original resolution. The amendments are unanimously recommended by the committee.

The amendments were adopted.

The joint resolution as amended was ordered to a third reading; and it was accordingly read the third time, and passed.

On motion of Mr. DINGLEY, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the joint resolution was passed was laid on the table.

Mr. DINGLEY. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The question being taken on the motion to adjourn, the Speaker declared that the ayes seemed to have it.

Mr. BAILEY. I ask for a division.

The House divided; and there were—ayes 74, noes 64.
So the motion was agreed to.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

Pending the announcement of the vote, by unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted as follows:

To Mr. SIMS, indefinitely, on account of important business.

To Mr. MCCORMICK, indefinitely, on account of sickness.

To Mr. COWHERD, for two weeks, on account of important business.

To Mr. CASTLE, indefinitely, on account of sickness in family.

The House then (at 1 o'clock and 5 minutes p. m.) adjourned until Thursday next at 12 o'clock m.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS.

Under clause 2 of Rule XXIV, the following executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting, with a letter from the Chief of Engineers, report of examination and survey of Buffalo entrance to Erie Basin and Black Rock Harbor, New York—to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, and ordered to be printed.

A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting, with a letter from the Chief of Engineers, report of examination and survey of Kootenai River, Montana—to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, and ordered to be printed.

A letter from the Assistant Secretary of the Navy, urging the importance of an immediate appropriation for the repair of a dry dock at the Brooklyn Navy-Yard—to the Committee on Naval Affairs, and ordered to be printed.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 2 of Rule XIII, Mr. DINGLEY, from the Committee on Ways and Means, to which was referred the joint resolution of the Senate (S. R. 50) authorizing foreign exhibitors at the Transmississippi and International Exposition, to be held in the city of Omaha, in the State of Nebraska, during the year 1898, to bring to the United States foreign laborers from their countries, respectively, for the purpose of preparing for and making exhibits, reported the same with amendments, accompanied by a report (No. 11); which said bill and report were referred to the House Calendar.

PUBLIC BILLS, RESOLUTIONS, AND MEMORIALS INTRODUCED.

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, bills, resolutions, and memorials of the following titles were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. STOKES: A bill (H. R. 3494) to reduce the expenditures of the Government and equalize the burden of an appreciating money standard—to the Committee on Appropriations.

By Mr. LATIMER: A bill (H. R. 3495) to limit the effect of the regulation of commerce between the several States and with foreign countries in certain cases—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. DE VRIES: A bill (H. R. 3496) to create a commission to locate a roadway between Mono Lake and Yosemite Valley, State of California, and appropriating money therefor—to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3497) to increase the limit of cost for the erection of a public building in Stockton, Cal., and appropriating money therefor—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. VINCENT: A bill (H. R. 3498) extending provisions of an act granting pensions to soldiers and sailors, approved June 27, 1890, to the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Regiments of Kansas Cavalry Volunteers—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. BARLOW (by request): A bill (H. R. 3499) to provide for the collection of an income tax, also an inheritance tax, and for the organization of the unemployed into an industrial army of the United States—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. PITNEY: A joint resolution (H. Res. 67) to authorize the Secretary of War to immediately expend the sum of $75,000 for construction of a sea wall at Sandy Hook, New Jersey, pursuant to the appropriation contained in the fortifications appropriation act, March 3, 1897—to the Committee on Appropriations.

By Mr. SHAFROTH: A joint resolution (H. Res. 68) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. LATIMER: A resolution (House Res. No. 59) relative to the consideration of House bill No. 3495, to limit the effect of the regulation of commerce between the several States and with foreign countries in certain cases—to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. PITNEY: A resolution (House Res. No. 60) providing for the immediate consideration of the joint resolution H. Res. 67—to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. LEWIS of Washington: A resolution (House Res. No. 61) for investigation as to imprisonment of sailors—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. LEWIS of Washington: A memorial of the legislature of Washington, in regard to a national soldiers' home at Fort Sherman, Idaho—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a memorial of the legislature of Washington, in relation to survivors of Indian war, 1855 and 1856, in the Territory (now State) of Washington—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a memorial of the legislature of Washington, for the revocation of the order prohibiting moving on certain reservations in Washington State, etc.—to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, a memorial of the legislature of Washington, according to William A. Newell the honor of originating and carrying into successful operation the Life-Saving Service of the United States—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, a memorial of the legislature of the State of Washington, for the establishment of a life-saving station on the coast of Washington at a point between Grays Harbor and the promontory known as Point Granville, etc.—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS INTRODUCED.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions of the following titles were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BABCOCK: A bill (H. R. 3500) granting a pension to Sarah A. Walton—to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. DOCKERY: A bill (H. R. 3501) granting a pension to Thomas J. Reid—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. HAY: A bill (H. R. 3502) for the relief of Peter Myers, of Shenandoah County, Va.—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. JENKINS: A bill (H. R. 3503) to remove the charge of desertion from the record of Michael I. Tobin—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. KITCHIN: A bill (H. R. 3504) granting a pension to John T. Hopson—to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. LACEY: A bill (H. R. 3505) granting a pension to Sarah Beck, formerly Sarah Kutch—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. PACKER of Pennsylvania: A bill (H. R. 3506) authorizing the restoration of the name of Charles H. Vail, late a first lieutenant in First United States Cavalry, to the rolls of the Army, and providing that he be placed on the list of retired officers—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. RAY of New York: A bill (H. R. 3507) granting an increase of pension to Jennie E. Baldwin—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. RIXEY (by request): A bill (H. R. 3508) for the relief of the heirs of the late Mrs. Mary Ann Randolph Custis Lee, of Fairfax County, Va.—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3509) for the relief of the estate of Catharine Crittenden, deceased, late of Culpeper County, Va.—to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. SLAYDEN: A bill (H. R. 3510) granting an increase of pension to Lafayette Nichols—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. VINCENT: A bill (H. R. 3511) granting a pension to J. Creager—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3512) to remove the charge of desertion from the military record of John Marx—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. YOST: A bill (H. R. 3513) for the relief of the legal representative of Paul McNeel, deceased, of Pocahontas County, W. Va.—to the Committee on War Claims.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, the following petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

By Mr. CLARKE of New Hampshire: Petition of A. M. French and other citizens of Gilsum, N. H., favoring a more rigid restriction of immigration—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. ERMENTROUT: Protest of shoe manufacturers of Pennsylvania, against any increased duty on tanned skins for morocco or a duty on raw goatskins—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, resolution of the select and common council of the city of Philadelphia, requesting the immediate passage of the tariff bill—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. HENDERSON: Resolution of the Iowa Pharmaceutical Association, of Waterloo, Iowa, representing 1,800 pharmacists in Iowa, opposing a revenue-stamp tax on bank checks—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. HILBORN: Resolution of the board of supervisors of San Francisco, Cal., favoring the treaty relations now existing between the United States and Hawaii—to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. HOWELL: Petitions of 52 citizens of Seaside, 23 citizens of Seabright, and 28 citizens of South Amboy, in the State of New

Jersey, urging the enactment of legislation restricting immigration—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. JENKINS: Petition of W. L. Morris and 20 other manufacturers of Glenwood, Wis., praying for a duty of $1 per 1,000 on imported flour-barrel staves—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, resolutions of the Department of Wisconsin, Grand Army of the Republic, indorsing the bill to establish a national military park in commemoration of the siege and defense of Vicksburg—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. KIRKPATRICK: Petition of H. T. Smawley and 44 others; also petition of James M. E. Klotz and 32 others, citizens of Weissport, Pa., favoring a more rigid restriction of immigration—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. LACEY: Petition of sundry citizens of Greer County, Okla., for extension of time to file their claims for homestead rights—to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, paper to accompany House bill granting a pension to Sarah Beck—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana: Petition of S. Freiburger and other citizens of Fort Wayne, Ind., in favor of placing hides on the free list—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. STEWART of New Jersey: Petition of citizens of Little Falls, N. J., in favor of the passage of a more rigid immigration bill—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. YOUNG of Pennsylvania: Petition of letter carriers of Philadelphia, Pa., relating to section 607 of the postal laws, and suggesting an amendment—to the Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads.

Also, petitions of Graff, Son & Co. and Laird, Schober & Co., of the city of Philadelphia, Pa., remonstrating against any increase in the present rate of duty on tanned skins for morocco or a duty on raw goatskins—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. ZENOR: Papers to accompany House bill No. 3119, for the relief of Capt. Andrew P. Batson—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

SENATE.

TUESDAY, *June 22, 1897.*

The Senate met at 11 o'clock a. m.

Prayer by Rev. HUGH JOHNSTON, D. D., of the city of Washington.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. FRYE presented the memorial of A. B. Nealey and 29 other citizens of Lewiston, Me., and the memorial of Nealey & Miller and 29 other citizens of Lewiston, Me., remonstrating against the enactment of legislation intended to destroy the present system of ticket brokerage; which were referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

Mr. HARRIS of Kansas presented a petition of the Free Silver Club of Solomon, Kans., praying for the printing of certain prior acts of Congress in relation to the national credit and honor; which was referred to the Committee on Finance, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Memorial to Congress for the passage of an act for the printing of certain prior acts of Congress in relation to the national credit and honor.

To the honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled:

The memorial of the Free Silver Club of Solomon, Dickinson County, State of Kansas, respectfully represents:

Whereas the people of the United States have been and are still very much abused by false statement of history in reference to the currency, national bonds, and their payments. The latest falsification has been practiced on your honorable House by a memorial presented to your honorable House, signed on behalf of the legislature of the State of Wisconsin, printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD June 5, 1897, page 1821, wherein—

"Your memorialists respectfully ask that a Congressional declaration be passed, to be approved by the President of the United States, so as to have the force of law in the form and in the spirit of the declaration of March 18, 1869, which was similarly made to meet a similar emergency, after a similar popular decision pledging the faith, credit, and honor of the United States to the payment on demand of all its obligations issued to circulate as money, and all of its other obligations as they mature, in gold or silver coin of the present legal weight and fineness, at the option of the respective holders of such obligations."

Whereas the declaration of March 18, 1869, referred to by the memorialist does not give the holders of Government obligations "the option" to demand either gold or silver coin. The words are "payment in coin" of all the obligations of the United States.

Your memorialist would respectfully ask your honorable House to have printed for the use of legislatures and the people the above act of March 18, 1869; also an act to authorize the refunding of the national debt of July 14, 1870; also the exact wording of the bonds itself, issued under that law, together with the declaration or resolution, with the ayes and nays, which passed the United States Senate January 25, 1878, and the House of Representatives January 28, 1878, by a vote of 42 to 20 in the Senate and 189 to 79 in the House; and all of the above documents will disprove the inference drawn by the memorial of the legislature of Wisconsin, for it is upon those documents we demand the free coinage of the silver dollar containing 412½ grains each of standard silver and the payment of all the obligations of the Government in coin according to the law.

Resolved, That the Senators and Members of Congress from this State be, and they are hereby, requested to use all honorable means to secure the prayer of this memorial and that a copy of this memorial and this resolution be transmitted to each of our Senators and Representatives in Congress.

W. T. HARRIS, *President.*
E. Z. BUTCHER, *Secretary.*

JUNE 18, 1897.

Mr. FAIRBANKS presented petitions of E. F. Poor and 45 other citizens of Fort Wayne, of Harry H. Freers and 57 other citizens of Terre Haute, of David S. Redelsheimer and 10 other citizens of Monroeville, of John E. Pillers and 52 other citizens of Monroeville, and of H. M. Ordcutt and 30 other citizens of Atwood, all in the State of Indiana, praying for the enactment of protective-tariff legislation, at the earliest possible date, such as will adequately secure American industrial products against the competition of foreign labor; which were ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented the petition of J. Oppenheimer and 25 other citizens of Lafayette, Ind., praying for the enactment of legislation authorizing the President to appoint a commission as proposed by the Indianapolis (Ind.) monetary convention; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. CARTER presented a petition of 208 citizens of Missoula, Mont., praying for the enactment of legislation for a more rigid restriction of immigration; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. PENROSE presented petitions of the State Council of Pennsylvania, Order of United American Mechanics, of Philadelphia, of 37 citizens of Philadelphia, and of 88 citizens of Lehighton, all in the State of Pennsylvania, praying for the enactment of legislation for a more rigid restriction of immigration; which were ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a petition of 13 citizens of Gladdens, Pa., praying for the early passage of the pending tariff bill; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a petition of the Letter Carriers' Association of Philadelphia Pa., praying that section 607 of the United States postal laws and regulations be amended; which was referred to the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads.

Mr. TURPIE presented a petition of sundry citizens of Brazil, Ind., praying for the early enactment of a protective-tariff law; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a memorial of S. Freiburger & Bro., of Fort Wayne, Ind., and a memorial of sundry citizens of Indiana, remonstrating against the proposed increase in the duty on hides; which were ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a petition of a special committee of citizens of Terre Haute, Ind., praying that an appropriation be made to secure proper recognition of American interests at the Paris Exposition in 1900; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented the petition of E. L. Snyder, president of the National Wholesale Liquor Dealers' Association, praying that the bonded period on liquors be reduced to three years; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a memorial of the Charles Beck Paper Company, of Philadelphia, Pa., remonstrating against the proposed increase in the duty on paper; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. ALLEN presented memorials of H. T. Aukeny and 52 other citizens, of O. A. Robinson and 19 other citizens, of L. T. Cochran and 52 other citizens, of E. R. Gutrin and 52 other citizens, and of J. V. Wolf and 15 other citizens, all in the State of Nebraska, remonstrating against the enactment of legislation intended to destroy the present system of ticket brokerage; which were referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

Mr. VEST presented sundry memorials of citizens of Missouri, remonstrating against the enactment of legislation intended to destroy the present system of ticket brokerage; which were referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

Mr. SMITH presented a memorial of 1,500 citizens of New Jersey, remonstrating against the proposed increase in the tax on beer; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. PETTUS presented sundry memorials of citizens of Alabama, remonstrating against the enactment of legislation intended to destroy the present system of ticket brokerage; which were referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

Mr. ELKINS presented a petition of sundry citizens of Shoals, W. Va., and a petition of sundry citizens of Matville, W. Va., praying for the early passage of the pending tariff bill; which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. MORGAN presented sundry memorials of citizens of Alabama, remonstrating against the enactment of legislation intended to destroy the present system of ticket brokerage; which were referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

Mr. FAIRBANKS, from the Committee on Claims, to whom was referred the bill (S. 1945) for the relief of Mary A. Coulson, executrix of Sewell Coulson, deceased, reported it without amendment, and submitted a report thereon.

Mr. HALE. I am directed by the Committee on Appropriations, to whom was referred the bill (H. R. 13) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in the appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1897, and for prior years, and for other purposes, to report it with amendments, and I submit a report thereon. I give notice that I shall call the bill up at as early a date as is practicable.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The bill will be placed on the Calendar.

Mr. PROCTOR, from the Committee on Military Affairs, to whom was referred the bill (S. 473) for the relief of David O. Burleigh, reported it without amendment, and submitted a report thereon.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Mr. PERKINS introduced a bill (S. 2253) authorizing the appointment of a nonpartisan commission to collate information and to consider and recommend legislation to meet the problems presented by labor, agriculture, and capital; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

He also introduced a bill (S. 2254) to grant a pension to Louisa E. Linn; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also introduced a bill (S. 2255) for the relief of Morgan Everts; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 2256) for the relief of John Williams, of California; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 2257) for the relief of Chester B. Sweet, of California; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

Mr. TURPIE introduced a bill (S. 2258) granting a pension to Joshua Parker; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also introduced a bill (S. 2259) to remove the charge of desertion from William A. Graham; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. GRAY (by request) introduced a bill (S. 2260) granting pensions to soldiers, sailors, and marines who served ninety days or more during the war of the rebellion, at any time from March 4, 1861, to July 1, 1865, and providing pensions to widows and minor children of such; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. SMITH introduced a bill (S. 2261) to provide for the reimbursement of naval officers losing property on the United States steamship *Yantic;* which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

AMENDMENT TO DEFICIENCY APPROPRIATION BILL.

Mr. TELLER submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the general deficiency appropriation bill; which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, and ordered to be printed.

THE INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM.

Mr. BUTLER submitted the following resolution; which was read:

Resolved, That the Committee on Privileges and Elections be, and is hereby, instructed to inquire into the feasibility of applying the principle of direct legislation, through the initiative and referendum, to the legislation of the Federal Government, and report to the Senate at the opening of the regular session of Congress in December, or as soon thereafter as practicable, by bill or otherwise, the result of said inquiry.

Mr. BUTLER. I ask that the resolution may be printed and go over.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will be printed and lie over.

Mr. BUTLER. I present sundry papers, which I ask be printed as a Senate document. They contain all the published reports from our consuls on the nature and operation of postal savings banks in foreign countries. The State Department has not yet given the information which was called for about a month ago in a resolution asking for the original reports made by our consuls in reply to the circular letter sent out by Secretary Blaine in 1881. Those reports were never printed. I have gathered all that have been printed from various consular reports and put them together in convenient form. When the other information comes, I shall ask to have it printed as a document with these reports added to it and bound together. I ask that 2,000 extra copies of this document be printed for the use of the Senate.

Mr. CHANDLER. I will state to the Senator that the information he desires has come in. I now have it; and the order may be made now to print the whole matter which he desires to have printed, including the last information, if there be no objection.

Mr. BUTLER. I ask the permission of the Senate to have this matter go over until to-morrow morning, so that I can examine it.

Mr. CHANDLER. That course is entirely satisfactory.

Mr. ALLEN. I can not hear what is being said on the other side of the Chamber. Is it in reference to the resolution the Senator from North Carolina introduced a moment ago, charging the Committee on Privileges and Elections with an inquiry?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair will state that the application in behalf of the Senator from North Carolina is to have printed as a document certain consular reports on the question of postal savings banks.

Mr. ALLEN. I was going to suggest to the Senator from North Carolina the propriety of sending the resolution to the Committee on Privileges and Elections immediately, so that it may be taken up and considered at the present session of Congress. Why not let the resolution itself go without any debate now to the Committee on Privileges and Elections, that the committee may consider it and report it back one way or the other for consideration?

Mr. BUTLER. I will say to the Senator from Nebraska——

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Will the Senator withhold a moment until the present matter is closed?

Mr. BUTLER. The Senator from Nebraska is, I think, referring to the resolution I offered this morning.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Undoubtedly.

Mr. BUTLER. I asked that the resolution go over until to-morrow, and I shall submit a few remarks to-morrow morning with the permission of the Senate upon it. I now withdraw the request for this morning in regard to the consular reports, and to-morrow morning I will present the matter in proper form to be printed.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The request is withdrawn.

PAY OF STENOGRAPHER.

Mr. CULLOM submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That the stenographer employed to report the hearing before the Interstate Commerce Committee on the anti-scalping bill, Thursday, June 17, 1897, be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. W. J. BROWNING, its Chief Clerk, announced that the House had passed the joint resolution (S. R. 50) authorizing foreign exhibitors at the Transmississippi and International Exposition, to be held in the city of Omaha, in the State of Nebraska, during the year 1898, to bring to the United States foreign la orers from their countries, respectively, for the purpose of preparing for and mak ng exhibits, with amendments in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

The message also announced that the House had passed a joint resolution (H. Res. 61) to provide for the immediate repair of Dry Dock No. 3 at the New York Navy-Yard; in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

THE TARIFF BILL.

Mr. ALLISON. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of House bill 379.

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 379) to provide revenue for the Government and to encourage the industries of the United States.

The Secretary resumed the reading of the bill on page 114, line 3, "Schedule K.—Wool and manufactures of wool," and read paragraph 347.

Mr. MANTLE. Mr. President, before proceeding further with Schedule K, I desire to offer an amendment submitted by me some time ago, prepared by the National Wool Growers' Association of the United States. It is a substitute for the entire schedule as relates to wool. I think it appropriate to come in at this time, before we proceed to a discussion in detail of the proposed schedule. I offer the amendment, and ask that it be read.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read the amendment proposed by the Senator from Montana.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to strike out paragraphs 347 to 361, inclusive, and to insert the following paragraphs:

347. All wools, hair of the camel, goat, alpaca, llama, and other like animals, shall be divided, for the purpose of fixing the duties to be charged thereon, into the following classes:

348. Class 1, that is to say, merino, mestiza, metz, or metis wools, and including all other wools having any admixture of Merino blood, immediate or remote. Down clothing wools, and wools of similar character with any of the preceding. Also Leicester, Cotswold, Lincolnshire, Down combing wools, Canada long wools, or other combing wools having any admixture of English blood, immediate or remote, or of similar character. Also all hair of the camel, goat, alpaca, llama, and other like animals. Also Bagdad, Mossoul, Aleppo, Karadi, Awassi, Thibet, Smyrna, Egypt, Iceland, Oorfa or Orfa, and all similar wools, wherever grown. Also all wool and hair wherever grown, not hereinafter described, designated, and made dutiable.

349. Class 2, that is to say, the wool of the native sheep unimproved by breeding, grown in South America, Mexico, Turkey in Asia, Greece, Asia Minor, Syria, and wools of the same character from such native sheep known as Donskoi, Valparaiso, and Smyrna, and Russian camel's hair, excepting improved wools hereinafter provided for, and not including any wools hereinbefore mentioned. But no wool shall be deemed of this class because imported from the places named.

350. From the standard samples of all wools and hair which are now or may be hereafter deposited in the principal custom-houses of the United States, under the authority of the Secretary of the Treasury, shall be selected under his direction the standards for the classification of wools under this act, and he shall have the authority to renew these standards and to make such additions to them from time to time as may be required, and he shall cause to be deposited like standards in other custom-houses of the United States when they may be needed.

351. Whenever wools of class 2 shall have been improved by the admixture of Merino or English or other blood, or by domestication or breeding, from their original native character, such improved wools shall be classified for duty as class 1, as the case may be.

352. The duty on all wools and hair which shall be imported washed or otherwise cleansed shall be twice the amount of the duty to which they would be subjected if imported unwashed; and the duty on all wools and hair which shall be imported scoured shall be three times the duty to which they would be subjected if imported unwashed.

353. Unwashed wools shall be considered such as shall have been shorn from the sheep without any cleansing; that is, in their natural condition as grown. Washed wools shall be considered such as have been washed with cold water on the sheep's back. Wool washed or cleansed in any other manner than on the sheep's back as aforesaid shall be considered as scoured wool.

And all wools having less than 12 per cent of grease, yolk, dirt, or other foreign matter shall be deemed scoured; and wools having any admixture of Merino blood, immediate or remote, and having less than 60 per cent of grease, yolk, dirt, or other foreign matter, shall be deemed washed, and all other wools having less than 25 per cent of grease, yolk, dirt, or other foreign matter shall be deemed washed.

354. The duty upon wool of the sheep or hair of the camel, goat, llama, alpaca, and other like animals, which shall be imported in any other than ordinary condition, or which shall be changed in its character or condition for the purpose of evading the duty, or which has been sorted, or otherwise increased in value, shall be twice the duty to which it would be otherwise subject.

355. The duty upon all wools and hair of the first class shall be 12 cents per pound, and upon all wools or hair of the second class, 8 cents per pound, with an additional duty of 4 cents per pound on all skirted wools of all said classes, and double this additional rate if washed, scoured, or otherwise cleansed, and 3 cents per pound additional on Australasian wools and wools of similar light shrinkage, wherever grown, in scouring, having any admixture of Merino blood, immediate or remote, and double this additional rate if washed, scoured, or otherwise cleansed, and 3 cents additional on wools having any admixture of Saxony blood, immediate or remote, with double this additional rate if washed, scoured, or otherwise cleansed, and 3 cents per pound additional on crossbred wools having any admixture of Merino blood, immediate or remote, and 4 cents per pound additional on all Australasian lamb's wool.

All wools and hairs shall be deemed skirted which are not imported in their natural condition of whole fleeces without the removal or rejection of any part thereof.

356. If any bale or package of wool or hair specified in this act imported as of any specified class, or claimed by the importer to be dutiable as of any specified class, shall contain any wool or hair subject to a higher rate of duty than the class so specified, the whole bale or package shall be subject to the highest rate of duty chargeable on wool or hair of the class subject to such higher rate of duty. If any bale or package be claimed by the importer to be shoddy, mungo, flocks, wool, hair, or other material of any class or kind specified in this act, and such bale contain any admixture of any one or more of said materials, or of any other material, the whole bale or package shall be subject to duty at the highest rate imposed upon any article in said bale or package.

If any bale or package containing wool or hair be imported as of class 2 in this act, or be claimed by the importer to be class 2, when in fact it be of class 1;

Or if any such bale or package containing wool or hair be imported as not skirted, or not sorted, or as not having any part of the original fleece rejected, or be so claimed by the importer, but shall in fact be skirted or sorted, or having any part of the original fleece rejected;

Or if any such bale or package containing wool or hair which has been changed in its character or condition for the purpose of evading the duty thereon;

Or if any such bale or package contain wool or hair imported as of a kind subject to a lower rate of duty, or be claimed by the importer to be subject to a lower rate of duty, when the same is in fact subject to a higher rate of duty;

Or if any such bale or package contain wool or hair imported as unwashed, or claimed by the importer to be unwashed, when in fact it has been washed or otherwise cleansed;

Or if any such bale or package be imported as washed, or claimed by the importer to be washed, when in fact it has been scoured or otherwise cleansed equally with scouring;

In all such cases all wools and hair so imported shall be forfeited to the United States, and shall be held by the proper customs officer to be proceeded against for forfeiture accordingly, and shall be subject to such forfeiture whether so held or not, or the United States may proceed by action to recover the value of such wool or hair against the importer or consignee, or both.

The Secretary of the Treasury may, in his discretion, for sufficient reasons, remit the forfeiture on such terms as he may deem proper, and may make reasonable compensation for the detection of all evasions of or frauds on the provisions as to wool or hair in this schedule.

357. Wools and hair on the skin shall pay the same rate as other wools and hair, the quantity and value to be ascertained under such rules as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe, but the quantity shall include all, without reference to the length of the staple.

358. Wools and hair of the camel, llama, alpaca, or other like animals, and of goats of all classes and varieties and from their crosses with any animal, and all forms of wool and hair, in the form of roping, roving, or tops, and all such wools and hairs which have been advanced in any manner or by any process of manufacture beyond the washed or scoured condition, not specially provided for in this act, shall be subject to the same duties as are imposed upon manufactures of wool not specially provided for in this act, but not less than 40 cents per pound.

358½. On noils, shoddy, mungo, flocks, and rags composed wholly or in part of wool, on top waste, broken tops, laps, burr waste, slubbing waste, carded waste, roving waste, ring waste, yarn waste, garnetted waste, and all other wastes composed wholly or in part of wool or hair of any kind, and on carbonized wools and on clippings and other pieces of textile fabrics composed wholly or in part of wool, and on pieces or parts of knit cloths or other goods, the duty shall be 40 cents per pound.

359. On cattle and calf hair and other animal fibers not herein nor elsewhere specified the duty shall be 15 cents per pound.

359½. On the wool and hair of the Angora goat, and of all other goats in any respect similar thereto, and on all other animal fibers in any respect similar thereto, and on the fibers of animals being crosses of any such goats or animals, either with any other, or with any other animal, the duty shall be 25 cents per pound.

360. There shall be levied and collected duties on Peruvian cotton, otherwise called vegetable wool, 15 cents per pound, and on other raw cottons, 2 cents per pound.

361. In the construction of this schedule as to unmanufactured wools or hairs of any class or variety in any form, no dutiable article shall be exempted from the payment of duty, nor shall the duty thereon be at a lower rate because it has or may acquire a commercial name different from that generally known in common use, and the provisions of this schedule relating to animal or vegetable fibers in any form shall be liberally construed in aid of protective duties thereon.

Mr. MANTLE. I understand that it is not in order to press the substitute at this time, but that the committee amendments will first be acted upon. I will therefore withhold the presentation of the amendment at this time. I will reserve the right, however, to present it after the wool schedule shall have been concluded.

Mr. ALLISON. I do not hear the Senator from Montana.

Mr. MANTLE. I stated that I understand it is not quite in order to present the substitute at this time, but that the committee amendments ought first to be considered.

Mr. ALLISON. The Senator can offer his amendment and have it pending as a substitute.

Mr. WHITE. It is impossible to hear the discussion, owing to the confusion in the Chamber.

Mr. MANTLE. I want to proceed in order, and I do not wish to run counter to any rule.

Mr. ALLISON. The Senator from Montana can offer the amendment now and have it pending. Of course it is not in order to vote upon it until the text is perfected. Or he can withhold the amendment for the present and offer it later.

Mr. MANTLE. I wish to submit a few remarks touching this particular amendment. I can do so now or wait until the committee amendments are disposed of.

Mr. ALLISON. The Senator can use his pleasure in that respect. He can speak now or later.

Mr. MANTLE. Then, Mr. President, I desire to say briefly——

Mr. WHITE. If the Senator from Montana will excuse me a moment, I wish to ask the Senator from Iowa whether the committee have prepared and have ready for presentation to the Senate any amendments affecting the wool schedule. If so, I think it would be fair to the Senate to submit them now, that we may examine them as the debate progresses. I should like very much indeed to inspect the amendments. I suggest to the Senator from Montana that if the Senator from Iowa is to present such amendments at this time it might be well to file them for the benefit of the Senate, especially of those members who have not been within the caucus precincts.

Mr. ALLISON. Any amendments that I shall offer have been prepared by the majority of the Committee on Finance. Does the Senator wish to have all the amendments presented as respects this schedule?

Mr. WHITE. Yes, sir. I will state to the Senator from Iowa that it would be an accommodation, I think, to many Senators on this side if all the amendments were presented now, so that we would be able to examine them as the debate progresses, without asking for time.

Mr. ALLISON. I will present them in a few minutes. If the Senator from Montana desires to speak now, after he shall have concluded I will present the amendments that will be proposed.

Mr. MANTLE. I will yield to the Senator from Iowa at this time for that purpose.

Mr. ALLISON. All the amendments are not ready, but they will be ready soon.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Montana will proceed. The Senator from Iowa is not ready to present the amendments referred to.

Mr. ALLISON. They will be ready in a few moments.

Mr. MANTLE. Mr. President, I have but a few words to say touching the substitute which I have presented. The substitute is one that has been prepared with great care by representatives of the National Wool Growers' Association, men who have spent their lives in the business of wool growing, and who are more familiar with it, I think, than anyone else can possibly be.

I desire to say further that the proposed amendment has been considered by almost every woolgrowers' association in the country, and that generally they have given to it their unqualified indorsement. I shall not detain the Senate by stopping to read the resolutions adopted by the several State associations. I will, however, read the concluding clause of the proceedings had here in Washington by the National Wool Growers' Association on April 14 last. They say:

> We, the undersigned committee of the National Wool Growers' Association, concurring in the foregoing memorial and the draft of a tariff bill thereto appended, appointed to present this to the Senate of the United States, now perform that duty.

It is signed by eight or ten very prominent woolgrowers of national reputation among woolgrowers.

I shall also take the liberty of reading just a word from the

proceedings of the Wool Growers' Association of my own State, as that has been, among others, one of the causes of my action in presenting the amendment:

At a meeting of the Wool Growers' Association of Montana, convened in special session at the city of Helena on the 15th day of February, 1897, it was unanimously

Resolved, That we heartily indorse the schedule of duties proposed by the National Wool Growers' Association, of which the Hon. William Lawrence is president, at their conference with the manufacturers on the 9th, 10th, and 11th of February last, with one exception, viz: We urgently request that all skirted and sorted wools shall be subject to the same duties as washed wools.

I will omit the reading of the resolutions in full. The last resolution is as follows:

Resolved, That the association requests and confidently expects that the Montana Senators and Representative in Congress will do all in their power to secure for us this measure of protection at the earliest possible moment, and will insist that the act take effect immediately upon its passage and approval; and further, that they seek the cooperation of Senators and Representatives of other States similarly situated and interested to resist the passage of any tariff act that discriminates against our interests unjustly.

CORNELIUS HEDGES,
H. H. NELSON,
L. H. HAMILTON,
B. PERCY CLARK,
D. E. FOLSOM,
Committee.

Official copy.

BARNARD BROWN,
Secretary Montana Wool Growers' Association.

Those are the declarations of the Montana State Wool Growers' Association. They are directly in line and in accord with the overwhelming sentiment existing among the woolgrowers of the country.

Mr. President, other interests concerned in the pending bill do not hesitate to come to Congress and present their claims and demands. I observe in reading the morning papers even this morning that an amendment was sent to the desk and read yesterday that was written upon the official paper of the manufacturer engaged in the particular industry affected, and that the amendment was written by him, and was adopted. It is well known that the great manufacturing industries of the country are securing just about what they ask in the present tariff bill; and I submit that the woolgrowers of the United States, constituting from one to two million citizens, are the best judges of what is best for them.

They have given their lives to the business of woolgrowing. They understand it in all its details, in all its intricacies. They know better than anyone else what is their interest. They have presented this measure after long and careful deliberation, and I insist that their demands ought to be heard. I assert that the amendment which they present is far more perfect in every detail than the schedule as it appears in the proposed act, and that unless this measure of theirs is adopted the wool schedule will be imperfect, and will fail to render them the justice which is due them.

I have had something to say before upon this question, and I have pointed out in detail the imperfections of former laws and what I conceived to be the inequalities and the imperfections of the bill now pending. I will say that the substitute which I have offered will cover these defects. It will give protection, in fact, to the woolgrowers, and it will stimulate the woolgrowing interests to such a point that within a very few years we shall be able to produce all the wool that this country requires.

I assert, Mr. President, that there is no object sought to be attained by the bill under discussion so desirable, so essential to national prosperity and national independence, as the ability to grow all the wool necessary to clothe the citizens of this Republic.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 350, page 114, line 24, after the word "and," to strike out "including" and insert "all such;" and in the same line, after the word "character," to strike out "such;" so as to make the paragraph read:

350. Class 3, that is to say, Donskoi, native South American, Cordova, Valparaiso, native Smyrna, Russian camel's hair, and all such wools of like character as have been heretofore usually imported into the United States from Turkey, Greece, Syria, and elsewhere, excepting improved wools hereinafter provided for.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. McLAURIN. I have an amendment which I should like to introduce, so as to get it before the Senate and have it be considered as pending.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read the amendment.

The Secretary read as follows:

Amend Schedule K, wool and manufactures of wool, by a horizontal reduction of 33½ per cent of all the rates of duty provided in said schedule.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment will be considered as pending.

Mr. ALLISON. The amendment will properly come in at the end of the schedule, I suggest to the Senator from South Carolina.

Mr. McLAURIN. Yes, sir; I just want to let it be considered as pending.

Mr. MANTLE. I understood a moment ago that the committee would submit their amendments, so that we could see what they are. I desire to state that I have amendments to offer which cover almost every paragraph in detail of the wool schedule, and after speaking with the Senator in charge of the bill, I prefer to wait until we have gone through with the committee amendments, and then I shall go back and offer my amendments.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment was, in the proviso of paragraph 355, page 116, line 12, after the word "wools," to strike out "as imported in 1890 and prior thereto;" so as to read:

355. The duty upon wool of the sheep or hair of the camel, Angora goat, alpaca, and other like animals, of class 1 and class 2, which shall be imported in any other than ordinary condition, or which has been sorted or increased in value by the rejection of any part of the original fleece, shall be twice the duty to which it would be otherwise subject: *Provided*, That skirted wools are hereby excepted, etc.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask that that amendment may be disagreed to.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the amendment which has been stated.

The amendment was rejected.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in the same paragraph, line 13, after the word "excepted," to insert:

But skirted wools of the first class as imported in 1890 and prior thereto shall pay 1 cent per pound in addition to the rates imposed by this act on unwashed wools of class 1.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask that that amendment may be disagreed to.

Mr. VEST. I wish to understand this matter, Mr. President. Do I understand that the effect of disagreeing to the amendment in lines 13, 14, 15, 16, and 17 strikes out skirted wool?

Mr. ALLISON. It does.

Mr. GRAY. So that skirted wools do not receive the additional protection proposed by the amendment?

Mr. ALLISON. The effect of disagreeing to this amendment would be that skirted wools would come in with other wools.

Mr. GRAY. Without discrimination?

Mr. ALLISON. Without discrimination.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the amendment inserting the words from line 13 to line 17, as reported by the committee.

The amendment was rejected.

The next amendment was, in the same paragraph, on page 117, line 1, after the word "unwashed," to strike out "it" and insert "the duty;" and in line 2, before the word "being," to strike out "its" and insert "the wool;" so as to read:

When the duty assessed upon any wool equals three times or more that which would be assessed if said wool was imported unwashed, the duty shall not be doubled on account of the wool being sorted.

The amendment was agreed to.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 356, page 117, line 17, before the word "cents," to strike out "eleven" and insert "eight;" and in line 18, before the word "cents," to strike out "twelve" and insert "nine;" so as to make the paragraph read:

356. The duty upon all wools and hair of the first class shall be 8 cents per pound, and upon all wools or hair of the second class, 9 cents per pound.

Mr. ALLISON. I am instructed by the majority of the Committee on Finance to modify the two amendments to this paragraph, in line 17, by striking out "eleven" and inserting "ten;" and in line 18 by striking out "twelve" and inserting "eleven;" so as to make the rates 10 and 11 cents per pound, instead of 8 and 9, as originally proposed by the committee.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Iowa will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In paragraph 356, line 17, before the word "cents," it is proposed to modify the amendment of the committee by striking out "eight" and inserting "ten;" and in line 18, before the word "cents," by striking out "nine" and inserting "eleven;" so as to read:

The duty upon all wools and hair of the first class shall be 10 cents per pound, and upon all wools or hair of the second class, 11 cents per pound.

Mr. GRAY. I wish to ask the Senator from Iowa a question, so as to understand this. To what class do skirted wools belong?

Mr. ALLISON. Class No. 1.

Mr. STEWART. The amendment now proposed by the Senator from Iowa reduces the rate as fixed by the House of Representatives.

Mr. ALLISON. It reduces the rate in each case 1 cent per pound below the House rate.

Mr. WHITE. That is, this amendment is compensatory with reference to the other amendment, which has been withdrawn.

Mr. ALLISON. This is in lieu of that, or a substitute for it.

Mr. STEWART. I do not think there ought to be a reduction below the House rate. The House rate is low enough on the first and second classes. Of course, on the third class the House rate is practically no protection. I should like to see the House rate adopted on the first and second class wools and the amendment of the Senate committee on the third-class wools. That is not all the protection we ought to have, but it would be a pretty good bill if we could get it in that shape. I do not see the philosophy of

cutting down the rate 1 cent per pound as now proposed. I do not see the reason for it. I think even the House rate is too low.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the adoption of the amendment proposed by the Senator from Iowa in behalf of the committee to strike out and insert.

Mr. STEWART. I am opposed to reducing the rates below those fixed by the House on first and second class wools; and I ask for the yeas and nays on the amendment.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. VEST. As I understand the effect of this action of the committee, it is to reduce these duties. I shall vote for the reductions, and then vote against the whole schedule.

Mr. GRAY. May I ask in what form the question is put before the Senate, whether it is to agree or to disagree to the amendment of the Senate committee?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. To agree to the Senate committee amendment.

Mr. ALLISON. The form of the amendment is to strike out "eleven" and insert "ten," in line 17, and to strike out "twelve" and insert "eleven," in line 18.

Mr. GRAY. What becomes of the original amendment of the committee?

Mr. ALLISON. I modify that amendment in the form now proposed.

Mr. GRAY. Then I should like to understand if the Senator has withdrawn the committee amendment?

Mr. ALLISON. Yes. The vote will be taken on striking out "ten" and inserting "eleven," in line 17, and on striking out "twelve" and inserting "eleven," in line 18.

Mr. STEWART. They are both in the same paragraph.

Mr. MILLS. I ask if there is a corresponding reduction in the finished goods? Does the committee contemplate that also?

Mr. ALLISON. That is the understanding.

Mr. MANTLE. Mr. President——

Mr. ALLISON. If the Senator will allow me, the real essence of this question is to substitute "10 cents per pound" on first-class wools for "eight," as originally proposed by the committee, and "11 cents" on second-class wools in place of "nine," as originally proposed by the committee.

Mr. WHITE. It appears to me to be difficult to intelligently vote upon this proposition unless we have the committee amendments before the Senate. I understood the Senator from Iowa to state that the amendments have been practically prepared, but have not yet been presented, I believe. It is very difficult to tell what effect an amendment proposed in this way may have upon the entire schedule when all the amendments proposed by the Senator from Iowa are presented to the Senate. It appears to me we ought to have the whole subject before us. Each one of these paragraphs is intimately related to the other.

Mr. ALLISON. I will state to the Senator that the amendments will be prepared in a few minutes, and I may state that the pending amendment makes the bill substantially as the committee propose.

Mr. WHITE. I should be glad to have the statement made as to the amendments the committee intend to offer.

Mr. ALLISON. In the next paragraph, 357, the committee propose no change from the recommendation already made; and the same is true as to paragraph 358. For paragraph 359 we intend to substitute a paragraph providing that wools on the skin shall pay 1 cent less than would be paid on wools of like description.

Mr. WHITE. One cent less?

Mr. ALLISON. One cent less.

There is a modification of paragraph 360 by making three classes really. Top waste and the higher classes of waste mentioned there we propose to make dutiable at 30 cents a pound, shoddy at 25 cents, and other wastes at 20 cents. There is no change to be proposed to paragraph 361; that is to say, the committee propose that the paragraph shall remain as it was originally recommended.

In paragraph 362 the committee do not modify their amendment, nor do they modify the amendment in paragraph 363.

Mr. WHITE. Does the proposed modification on page 121 stand?

Mr. ALLISON. That stands. In paragraph 364 we propose to strike out the word "skirted" where it occurs in two places, retaining the amendment otherwise.

Mr. WHITE. That is to say, all of the amendment on page 122 is retained, with the elimination of the word "skirted."

Mr. ALLISON. With the elimination of the word "skirted." In paragraph 365, line 25, we propose to strike out the word "plain," and disagree to the amendment proposed by the Senate committee on the same line and retain the House provision "for underwear." In line 2, page 123, the committee propose to strike out "1¼ pounds" and insert "2 pounds;" in line 20, to strike out "and all flannels other than plain;" on page 124, line 6, to strike out "five" and insert "six;" so as to read "6½ cents per square yard;" in line 8, to insert "seven and one-quarter" instead of "six and a half." In paragraph 367 we propose to retain the amendments of the committee, except on line 8, to insert "ten and a half" instead of "nine."

In paragraph 368, line 10, we propose to strike out "one-half," so that it will read:

The duty per pound shall be four times the duty imposed by this act.

In line 12 we propose to strike out "sixty" and insert "fifty" five." In line 24 of paragraph 369 we propose to strike out "sixty-and insert "fifty-five."

In paragraph 371 we propose to insert "sixty-two" instead of "sixty" in line 6. In line 9, paragraph 372, we propose to insert "forty-five" instead of "forty-four." In line 13, paragraph 373, we propose to insert "forty-one" instead of "forty;" and in line 17, paragraph 374, to insert "twenty-nine" instead of "twenty-eight."

The committee propose to strike out paragraph 376½, relative to "Oriental, Berlin, and similar rugs and carpets woven whole for rooms" and in lieu thereof to insert:

Oriental, Berlin, Aubusson, Axminster, and similar rugs, and carpets woven whole for rooms, 10 cents per square foot and 40 per cent ad valorem.

Those are the amendments which the committee will propose.

Mr. VEST. I want to call attention, for the benefit of my friends on this side of the Chamber who, I hope, agree with me in regard to this whole schedule, to the difficulty which presents itself to us in voting upon the question on which the Senator from Nevada [Mr. STEWART] has called for the yeas and nays.

It is true that the proposition made now by the majority of the Finance Committee is a reduction of 1 cent per pound on the House rate, but it is an increase of 2 cents upon the amendment which has been pending before us as recommended by the majority of the Finance Committee.

In regard to the next classification, whilst it is a reduction of 1 cent on the House rate, it is an increase of 2 cents on the 9-cent rate which was proposed heretofore by the committee.

With my views upon this whole woolen schedule, as a matter of course, I shall vote against the proposition of the committee, because it is an increase, although I propose, at the proper time, to vote to put the whole schedule upon the free list, where it now is. Our vote on this side, therefore, as the question now stands, will be "nay."

Mr. MILLS. What is the pending amendment? I want a separate vote on each amendment.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Texas, of course, may have a separate vote if he so desires.

Mr. MILLS. I want a separate vote.

Mr. FORAKER. I ask that the amendment upon which the roll is to be called may be stated.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Texas [Mr. MILLS] requests a separate vote on each amendment. He is entitled to have it. The amendment before the Senate is to strike out "eleven" and to insert "ten."

Mr. PETTUS. I desire to know whether we can not vote on the motion to strike out and then on the motion to insert?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair answers that that is not possible under the rule. The motion of the committee is to strike out and insert.

Mr. MILLS. Let us vote on that question now.

Mr. TELLER. I want to ask the acting chairman of the Committee on Finance, as to this duty, whether there has been a corresponding reduction in the duty on the manufactured goods also? The Senator reads to us what he proposes, but it is utterly impossible to follow him and keep advised of what he is going to do. I want to know whether that has been done upon principle or whether it is simply an arbitrary reduction?

Mr. ALLISON. I will answer the Senator that it is a reduction, and a large reduction, from the House duty, and that there is also a corresponding reduction from the House duty as to compensatory duties. It is a corresponding increase from the amendments originally proposed by the Senate Finance Committee, and it is done upon an exact arrangement as respects the increase per pound on wools.

Mr. TELLER. Then do I understand from the Senator from Iowa that the committee in making these changes have not pursued an arbitrary course, but that the reductions and compensatory duties correspond?

Mr. ALLISON. Yes.

Mr. WHITE. I rise to a parliamentary inquiry to ascertain the status of this matter. Has the amendment of the committee inserting "eight" instead of "eleven" cents been adopted?

Mr. MILLS. That is the very question I wish to ask.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. It has not.

Mr. WHITE. Then it is manifest that there can be no motion to strike out "eight" and insert "ten."

Mr. MILLS. I understand the committee have withdrawn their amendment for "eight," and in lieu of it they now offer "ten" instead of "eleven."

Mr. ALLISON. That is the purpose, and we want to do it in a parliamentary way.

Mr. TELLER. The committee can not do that.

Mr. MILLS. No; "eight" has been stricken out. Therefore the motion now is to insert "ten" instead of "eleven." I wish the Senator from Iowa would make the motion that way.

Mr. ALLISON. Very well. I withdraw the amendment to strike out "eight" and insert "ten."

Mr. MILLS. Very well.

Mr. TELLER. Withdraw the amendment for "nine."

Mr. MILLS. The Senator proposes to strike out "eleven" and to insert "ten."

Mr. ALLISON. I wish to get at the result I seek. I am not particular how it is done.

Mr. MILLS. I am.

Mr. WHITE. It appears to me plain enough that the word "eight" has never been inserted. It was proposed by the committee, but not acted upon. Now the committee does not desire action upon it.

Mr. MILLS. They withdraw it.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. That is withdrawn, and the motion made by the Senator from Iowa, as the Chair now understands, is to strike out "eleven" and insert "ten."

Mr. MILLS. That is it. Now, we on this side vote "yea."

Mr. MANTLE. Mr. President, I rise to a parliamentary inquiry. It is very difficult to distinguish what is being said on this side of the Chamber. I am very much interested in this debate, and I have scarcely been able to hear a word of what has been said on my left. I wish to inquire if it is in order to amend the suggestion of the committee—that is to say, is it in order to move that "eleven" be substituted in place of "ten," as proposed by the committee?

Mr. MILLS. That is already in the bill.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. That is already in the bill, and the Senator will get at what he desires by voting "nay" on the motion of the committee.

Mr. GRAY. That is right.

The Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MORRILL (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. HARRIS], and therefore withhold my vote. I shall not announce this pair again to-day.

Mr. PENROSE (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Delaware [Mr. KENNEY]. Were he present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. RAWLINS (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Ohio [Mr. HANNA].

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. PENROSE. I am informed that the junior Senator from Delaware [Mr. KENNEY], were he present, would vote "yea." Therefore I vote "yea."

Mr. BURROWS. I am paired with the senior Senator from Louisiana [Mr. CAFFERY].

The result was announced—yeas 55, nays 13; as follows:

YEAS—55.

Allen,	Faulkner,	Mason,	Roach,
Allison,	Frye,	Mills,	Sewell,
Bacon,	Gallinger,	Mitchell,	Smith,
Baker,	Gear,	Morgan,	Spooner,
Berry,	Gorman,	Murphy,	Thurston,
Chandler,	Gray,	Pasco,	Tillman,
Chilton,	Hale,	Penrose,	Turpie,
Clay,	Harris, Kans.	Perkins,	Vest,
Cockrell,	Hoar,	Pettus,	Walthall,
Cullom,	Lodge,	Platt, Conn.	Wellington,
Davis,	McEnery,	Platt, N. Y.	Wetmore,
Deboe,	McLaurin,	Pritchard,	White,
Elkins,	Mallory,	Proctor,	Wilson.
Fairbanks,	Martin,	Quay,	

NAYS—13.

Butler,	Heitfeld,	Shoup,	Warren.
Carter,	McBride,	Stewart,	
Clark,	Mantle,	Teller,	
Foraker,	Pettigrew,	Turner,	

NOT VOTING—21.

Aldrich,	George,	Jones, Nev.	Nelson,
Bate,	Hanna,	Kenney,	Rawlins,
Burrows,	Hansbrough,	Kyle,	Wolcott.
Caffery,	Harris, Tenn.	Lindsay,	
Cannon,	Hawley,	McMillan,	
Daniel.	Jones, Ark.	Morrill,	

So the amendment was agreed to.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question now is on the amendment proposed by the Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON], which will be stated.

The SECRETARY. On page 117, paragraph 356, line 18, before the word "cents," it is proposed to strike out "twelve" and insert "eleven;" so as to read:

Upon all wools or hair of the second class, 11 cents per pound.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. CARTER. Mr. President, this vote registers a signal triumph for a reduction of duties on the woolen schedule. It will be noted with some concern, I take it, that the votes combined for this reduction will not combine to pass the bill. It is obvious that a reckoning is necessary relative to the woolen schedule, and I therefore request that its further consideration at this time be discontinued, and that all matters in the bill relating to the woolen schedule be for the time being passed over.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the request made by the Senator from Montana?

Mr. GRAY. I rise to a parliamentary inquiry. I should like to understand precisely what is the motion of the Senator from Montana.

Mr. CARTER. The Senator from Montana has not made a motion. He has preferred a request——

Mr. GRAY. Oh!

Mr. CARTER. To the committee in charge of the bill to pass over this portion of the bill for the time being.

Mr. ALLISON. Mr. President——

Mr. MILLS. Before leaving this paragraph, I desire to make a motion in connection with it.

Mr. ALLISON. In response to the Senator from Montana, I will say that by unanimous consent this schedule was to be taken up to-day. I should be very glad to proceed with it. Is there any special reason why it should be passed over?

Mr. FORAKER. If the Senator from Iowa will allow me, I will say that when the unanimous consent was given that the woolen schedule should be taken up to-day it was understood by some of us that we had an agreement as to what would be the rates reported by the committee. I do not understand now that we have any agreement, as I learned to my surprise after I came into the Senate Chamber to-day. We desire that the matter may be passed over, in order that we may have an agreement. That is all, and unless we can have an agreement, each Senator will have to act for himself with regard to this schedule.

Mr. ALLISON. Each Senator seems to have done that already.

Mr. FORAKER. The Senator from Ohio has done it.

Mr. ALLISON. I supposed we had not an agreement but an understanding as respects this schedule, and if the Senator——

Mr. FORAKER. There can be no question about the agreement had. The agreement which I agreed to was put in writing by notations in the bill, and not until I came into the Chamber this morning did I know there was any dissent as to any proposition involved in those proposed amendments, and I do not propose to be bound by an agreement that is not an agreement from the beginning to the end of it.

Mr. ALLISON. If there was any agreement in writing, I never saw it.

Mr. FORAKER. I say by notations in the bill.

Mr. ALLISON. And if the Senator imputes to the committee or any member of the committee a disposition to violate any understanding, of course I resent it in mild terms.

Mr. FORAKER. I do not impute anything to anybody, but I state a fact, and I want to state it with enough distinctness to be understood.

Mr. ALLISON. I wish to state also with sufficient distinctness that any amendment which I have offered thus far to the bill has been offered in accordance with the unanimous agreement of the majority of the Committee on Finance, and with the approval, as I understood, of the Senators on this side of the Chamber. If I propose any amendment which has not been substantially agreed to, I am willing to pass it over, and I am also willing for myself to pass over the entire schedule. If I have any purpose personally, or if the committee has any, it is to facilitate the consideration of the bill, and to consider it fairly and justly.

Mr. FORAKER. It is true, as the Senator from Iowa states, that each amendment he has so far offered has been in accordance with the understanding we had, but it is also true, with respect to third-class wools, that an important amendment that I supposed was agreed to has not been offered, and a new feature has been developed since we came into the Chamber this morning which I never heard of before, and which the Senator from Iowa, if he will allow me, in view of what he has himself said, must never have heard of before. I am not imputing bad faith to anybody. I am simply saying to him now, in open Senate, as I said to him a while ago at his desk, that until this matter is settled I can not agree to the schedule. It may be that what is proposed in that respect is all right, but I want to know about so important a matter as this before I proceed with it to conclusive action, and everybody concerned should know just what the facts are.

Mr. BURROWS. I desire to ask the Senator from Ohio whether there has been any change in regard to third-class wools from what was practically agreed to?

Mr. FORAKER. Yes, sir; in this respect, if the Senator wants me to specify it here.

Mr. BURROWS. I should be glad if the Senator would do so, because I am not aware of any.

Mr. FORAKER. We understood that if third-class wools were given a specific duty, then the scoured third-class wools should

have the triple duty just as first and second class wools have a triple duty when they come in scoured. We did not suppose there was any dissent from that. Everybody acquiesced in it who was consulted in regard to it, and our agreement as to rates was made with that distinct understanding. Now, for the first time, after the schedule is entered upon, we are notified that there is objection to it; and we appeal for an opportunity to investigate and see if the objection be well taken. If it be something we should concede, we will do so. But we do not want to be driven to do this until we know what we are doing.

Mr. ALLISON. The Senate Chamber is not the place where people are driven.

Mr. FORAKER. That is the reason why I will not be driven.

Mr. ALLISON. The Senator from Ohio will allow me to say a word in response to that suggestion. If the Senator from Montana had not risen in his place and said there was a combination of people who favored this amendment who would not favor the passage of the bill, I should have risen in my place and asked that the two next paragraphs be postponed in order that we might have an opportunity to meet the difficulty which is suggested by the Senator from Ohio. But that is a very different thing.

Now, it was suggested to the committee that inasmuch as we had proposed a specific duty upon third-class wools, third-class wools scoured should pay a triple duty. For the moment, I said to the Senator from Ohio a day or two ago—it was two days ago, I think—that that seemed to me to be a fair thing to do; but I was not aware until I examined it later on that as respects third-class wools, on pages 115 and 116, there are definitions of what are known as washed, unwashed, and scoured wools:

> Unwashed wools shall be considered such as shall have been shorn from the sheep without any cleansing; that is, in their natural condition. Washed wools shall be considered such as have been washed with water only on the sheep's back or on the skin. Wool washed in any other manner than on the sheep's back or on the skin shall be considered as scoured wool.

Now, it is perfectly well known to those who have investigated it that at least one-half of these carpet wools or third-class wools come in in a condition other than that described here as washed wool. In other words, as to Donskoi wools and other wools of the East, the India wools, the Scotch highlands, and so on, the sheep is shorn, and then the wools are put into the rivers, little rivers in the mountain side, and they are washed there and come in in that condition.

This definition of wool washed in any other manner than on the sheep's back would make these scoured wools pay 21 cents instead of 7 cents a pound, which would be an absolutely prohibitory duty. Therefore it was that with these definitions I was not willing, I will say frankly to the Senator from Ohio, to consent that the wools known as third-class wools should have that triple duty imposed upon them. I was not willing to do so when the duty that we have already put upon third-class wools is a much higher duty than that imposed by the House, and a much higher duty than has ever been imposed upon this class of wools in our history.

Mr. WARREN. Will the Senator from Iowa allow me?

Mr. ALLISON. Certainly.

Mr. WARREN. The Senator probably overlooks the fact that the rate proposed is a lower one upon third-class wools of certain grades, although higher upon others. The statement would be somewhat hasty and inaccurate to say that it is a higher rate upon all third-class wools than the McKinley rate, because upon certain classes it is lower.

Mr. ALLISON. If we are to get in a contest about this question, I wish to say to the Senator from Wyoming that, with rare exceptions, the third-class wools are higher in the pending bill than in the House bill, and they are higher than under the McKinley law. Then, when it was proposed, in the face of the definitions here, that we should triple the duty upon these wools, I objected to it, but I was willing that the matter should be passed over—I intended to make such a motion—until every Senator on this floor, and on both sides, should have knowledge upon this subject, and until an amendment could be prepared which would cover the difficulty suggested to me by the Senator from Ohio, and an amendment is now being prepared by experts.

But we are thrown into a condition of excitement here because, forsooth, some of us have voted—and I need not say why or how—to reduce the first and second class wools 1 cent below the House rate and increase them 2 cents per pound above the rate which the Finance Committee fixed upon those wools after pretty full deliberation and consideration. Therefore it is that I am not to be driven for one from those positions by any threats from anybody. It is said, simply because we were not prepared to put the word "scoured" in these two paragraphs and allow them to be passed over for purposes of consideration, that we are a combination here with a view to secure lower rates, and that this combination will not vote for the bill in the end. I am for the bill as it shall be framed in the end by a majority of our associates in this Chamber and on both sides, but I do not wish to be charged as a member of the Finance Committee, either directly or covertly, with dealing with this question in any other than in an open, straightforward way, justly and fairly as I understand it with respect to all the various schedules.

Mr. FORAKER. Mr. President, if there be anybody here excited, we have only to look about the Chamber and listen to those who speak to discover who the excited individuals are. I have not cast any imputations upon anybody, and I have not made use of any language that I am aware of to which anyone has a right to take exception. I have simply stated the fact, Mr. President, that we did have an agreement, and that a new feature was imported into the question this morning. It may be that the Senator from Iowa is right in the view he takes of the matter. What I said to him was that I was not prepared to discuss it. I had not been given time even to look at the bill in that particular.

All I asked was that we might know before we take action what we ought to do in regard to it, and therefore when the Senator from Montana asked that the consideration of third-class wools be postponed, his request met with my approval, not only because I want to investigate it, but because others want to investigate it.

Mr. ALLISON. That was not the request of the Senator from Montana. It was that the wool schedule in every part should be passed over.

Mr. FORAKER. Is not that proper enough? The Senator from Iowa has already stated that he is having prepared now an amendment to the bill in regard to the language which should be employed as to third-class wools, whether or not they should be brought in under a triple duty when scoured.

Mr. ALLISON. Yes, sir.

Mr. FORAKER. And if we are to go back and consider that—for it has already been passed over—it is necessary to consider, if we are to have a caucus, the whole wool schedule.

The fact that the Senator from Montana used the word "combination" should not, I submit, induce the Senator from Iowa to deny to us that which we had recognized the justice of and said here now he had proposed in his own mind to give us, but of which he had not told me or any other Senator who is acting here with me that he would grant to us.

Mr. STEWART. I apprehend there must be some difficulty in ascertaining what is wool washed on the sheep's back and what is washed wool in the stream. I do not know whether that is easily ascertainable. There must be some obscurity about the whole question in making the classification. It seems to me, having regard to the subsequent woolen schedule, that the duty on wool ought to be fixed before the schedule on woolens can be taken up intelligently.

Mr. FORAKER. I had only one other remark which I intended to make when the Senator from Nevada interrupted me. That is, that we agreed to 10 and 11 cents on first and second class wools and 4 and 7 cents on third-class wools, upon the distinct understanding that scoured third-class wools were to come in with triple duty.

Mr. QUAY. May I ask the Senator from Ohio a question?

Mr. FORAKER. Certainly.

Mr. QUAY. To what agreement does the Senator from Ohio allude?

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President, it is impossible to hear what is going on.

Mr. QUAY. Who were the parties to the agreement?

Mr. FORAKER. It was an informal agreement. Those representing the woolgrowing States, as they are called, had a meeting. The Senator from Pennsylvania was invited to attend the meeting, and I believe he was present.

Mr. QUAY. I was not.

Mr. FORAKER. My recollection is that the Senator was present. We met for the purpose of determining what rates could be agreed upon, and we agreed upon that particular feature of it at that time. I remember stating that to the Senator from Pennsylvania, and he assented to it, as I remember it. At any rate, that was our distinct understanding. We went before the Finance Committee and they agreed to that proposition. I did not know there was any dissent until now. It may be that the Senator from Iowa is entirely right about it, but I want to know about it before I am required to vote.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. I desire to say, as one member of the Finance Committee, that I never heard this proposition at all suggested by anyone to the Finahce Committee or any members of the committee.

Mr. FORAKER. I will say to the Senator from Connecticut that he did hear it—he has forgotten about it—unless he was absent from the meeting of the Finance Committee the evening after the agreement was arrived at, for I carried it into the Finance Committee's room, and I read each and every one of these amendments. The Senator from Connecticut—I remember now—was present, and the Senator from Connecticut, with a blue pencil, wrote down in the copy of the bill which he had before him the very identical amendment about which I am speaking.

If he will find that copy of the bill, he will see that that is true, for this was gone over in detail.

Every Senator who was present—and there were twenty, probably, in the room—will remember that every item of the agreement was gone over carefully. It was no light matter. This has been the subject of a great deal of controversy, and that point, as well as every other, was not only commented upon, but it was placed in writing in the Senator's bill, and in the bill of the Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON] also. The Senator from Connecticut, now that his recollection is refreshed, will be able to recall it.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. If I said I never was present at a meeting of the Finance Committee when the matter was talked of or presented, I ought to qualify the statement. There was a meeting in which certain suggestions as to what was wanted by certain Senators were presented to the Finance Committee, and these among a great many others. The suggestions have not been adopted; they have not been recommended. What I intended to say was that I had never been present at a meeting of the Finance Committee where it was assented to. I am told I used the words "at a meeting where it was presented."

Mr. FORAKER. Let me refresh the Senator's memory. I do not know what he calls an agreement on the part of the Finance Committee. This occurred, and it has already been adverted to by the Senator from Iowa: When I commented upon that point, and had the notations made in the several bills, the Senator from Iowa, whom I was addressing as the chairman of the committee, said that of course if third-class wools were to be given a specific duty, third-class wools scoured should have a triple duty, and everyone there assented to that, and I supposed that amounted to an agreement. When the chairman of the committee so expresses himself, and his associate members of the committee sit by and apparently acquiesce, I think I have a right to say an agreement was arrived at. That is precisely what occurred.

Mr. PENROSE. Will the Senator from Ohio permit me to interrupt him?

Mr. FORAKER. Certainly.

Mr. PENROSE. I will remind the Senator of the fact that he and I sat up until a very late hour last night, and the Finance Committee kindly waited on us until nearly midnight, pending the endeavor of all interests involved in this schedule to come to a conclusion, and that they were utterly unable to come to such conclusion.

Mr. FORAKER. That was on a different point, the Senator will allow me to remind him. There was no question at all at issue last evening upon the matter of scoured third-class wools.

So I submit that I am justified in all I have said as to what occurred and as to the understanding I had. But, however all that may be, I have not been imputing any improper motive to anybody, but simply stating the fact about a most important matter. I have been entirely taken by surprise in finding I have no agreement when I supposed I had one, and I think it is but reasonable that we should have a right to reconsider the matter in the manner proposed by the Senator from Montana, in order to arrive at conclusions upon all these propositions.

Mr. HALE. It is pretty apparent to me, and perhaps to the Senate, that the Senators are not really very far apart in this matter and that there is no real cause for difference between them. The Senator from Iowa has shown very clearly by his reference to the descriptive clauses that certain matters considered before that clause was examined were varied, and ought to be varied, by the construction given to that clause. I do not believe that Senators who appear to be at odds now upon these two paragraphs will be found having any differences when they consider the descriptive classification which has been referred to by the Senator from Iowa.

I would ask the Senator from Ohio and the Senator from Iowa whether there is any objection, under these conditions and the likelihood of coming to a plain accord without trouble, to letting the paragraphs be passed over for the present? Does the Senator from Iowa object to that?

Mr. ALLISON. It was my purpose to ask that they be passed over for the reason that we have these apparent misunderstandings. I have no intention, so far as concerns the Senators who state that they did not understand this matter as I understood it, of forcing them into a consideration of the question of third-class wools, and therefore——

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. We can not hear any of the caucus debate.

Mr. ALLISON. When the Senator from Montana rose I was about to rise and ask that the paragraphs be passed over.

Mr. HALE. Now I ask whether the Senator objects to their being passed over?

Mr. ALLISON. Certainly not.

Mr. HALE. The Senator from Ohio asks that they be passed over.

Mr. FORAKER. I have asked for it, and that is all I have asked, and I have learned for the first time, in his answer to the Senator from Maine, that the Senator from Iowa is willing to have them passed over.

Mr. HALE. It seems to me I stand equally distant physically between the parties, and am in fair condition to say that when the Senator from Ohio asks that these two paragraphs be passed over, and the Senator from Iowa says he is willing they shall be passed over, there is not really any difference which ought to embarrass us or take up any more time. I hope that by unanimous consent it will be ordered that these two clauses be passed over, and then we may make such disposition as is necessary with respect to the rest of the bill. But there is no real subject of controversy here.

Mr. CARTER. It is and has been far from my purpose in any manner, directly or indirectly, to increase the burdens of the Finance Committee. We have all witnessed here from day to day the laborious struggle in which they have been engaged. However, the statement made by me was not the beginning of this matter, involving the passage of these items for the day. Before they were reached, members of the committee will recall that earnest efforts were made, privately, it is true, but nevertheless earnestly, that these matters be passed over until some arrangement could be reached satisfactory or with reasonable satisfaction to all the contending elements. It was suggested to us that to pass them over for this day was an impossibility; that the passage of the paragraphs would involve an adjournment of the Senate.

Under these circumstances, upon the disclosure of certain conditions by the vote, it seemed to me the current of events had added admonition to the suggestions previously made, and that the propriety of passing them over could no longer be questioned. I requested that all the paragraphs relative to wool and woolens be passed over. That request I am perfectly willing to modify to the extent the case will justify. It must be borne in mind that connected with the third-class wools are certain compensatory duties that can not in the nature of things be intelligibly or properly considered until the basis upon which the figuring is to be done shall have been fully determined. I therefore request that, in addition to paragraphs 356, 357, and 358, all paragraphs dependent upon or relating to those paragraphs directly or indirectly, concerning carpets or their manufacture and the compensatory duties incident thereto, be likewise passed over. I limit the request to that extent.

Mr. ALLISON. That is quite agreeable to me, if it is to other Senators; and that will include passing over paragraphs 370 to 376, inclusive. Those are the only paragraphs that are affected by third-class wools.

Mr. GRAY. Just state them again, if you please.

Mr. ALLISON. Paragraphs 370 to 376.

Mr. HALE. The first one is 357.

Mr. ALLISON. Paragraphs 357, 358, and probably 359. I will ask that the latter be passed over also, although it is not directly connected.

Mr. HALE. Now the other three.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there any objection to the request of the Senator from Montana?

Mr. WHITE and Mr. VEST. I object.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Objection is made.

Mr. VEST. Mr. President, I have had a novel experience today. I have been enabled to hear the debates of a Republican caucus. It is the first time in my life that that privilege has ever been accorded to me, and I have been somewhat amused——

Mr. ALLISON. Will the Senator allow me to interrupt him for a moment?

Mr. VEST. Certainly.

Mr. ALLISON. I will say that the subject of wool has never been discussed in a Republican caucus.

Mr. GRAY. Until to-day.

Mr. ALLISON. Until this morning. [Laughter.]

Mr. TELLER. I suggest that that is what is now the difficulty.

Mr. VEST. That is the trouble. I heard the Senator from Ohio [Mr. FORAKER] say, unless my hearing has entirely disappeared, that at a convention or conference or caucus, to use the last word, where some twenty Senators were present, this agreement was come to, which he says was in writing; and the junior Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. PENROSE] supplemented it——

Mr. FORAKER. I said in writing, by notations made in the bill, not in the shape of a formal agreement.

Mr. GALLINGER. Not in caucus?

Mr. FORAKER. No; in the committee room.

Mr. VEST. At any rate, as one of my colleagues suggests, the statute of frauds could be pleaded against it. It was in writing.

Mr. FORAKER. It did not seem to be signed by the party to be charged.

Mr. VEST. That seems to be the trouble on the other side, as to who was charged and who was discharged. I understood the junior Senator from Pennsylvania to supplement the testimony

of the Senator from Ohio by stating that the members of the Finance Committee and others were wrestling with this proposition until midnight, until "the wee sma' hours ayant the twal'."

The great pacificator from Maine assures us that there is no trouble about this matter on the other side, but peace reigns supreme. I have heard that Senator so often declare here in mellifluous tones that there was peace in Cuba that I am disposed to doubt his judgment in that assertion. [Laughter.]

We are asked now to do what? This great wool schedule has been twice postponed at the instance of our friends upon the other side in order that they might bring about the state of peace of which we have heard so much. Now, when prosperity is returning to this country, when the prostrate manufacture and agriculture and commerce of the country are pleading with us to pass this tariff bill and let the sunshine again illumine the land, we are asked to stop until the Republican caucus can adjust their little party differences.

I insist, Mr. President, that we shall go on with the public business. If our friends upon the other side can not adjust their differences upon this floor, let them take a recess or an adjournment and retire to the privacy of their council rooms and come together, if it be possible. Do not let us have the example of all the business of this country stopped ostensibly by Democrats (as we read every day in the protection organs) who are holding up the Senate and refusing prosperity to the people. Do not let that be said when in truth all the difficulty comes from the fact that our friends upon the other side can not reconcile the question as to who shall have the largest part of the swag.

Mr. TELLER. Mr. President, I rose to object to the postponement of this schedule when the Senator from Missouri objected. I did not do that because I wanted to continue the condition that was prevalent here a few moments since, but it seemed to me that if we were to do anything with this bill in accordance with the public demand we ought to proceed.

The bill was reported to the Senate on the 1st day of April. It went into the Committee on Finance and remained there until the 4th day of May. I admit that the bill had no proper consideration where it should have had it. I admit that it came here in a very crude and unsatisfactory manner. I do not know that I intend now to criticise the Committee on Finance for the delay in presenting it to the Senate on the 4th of May.

But it has been a month and twenty days since the bill came to the Senate. I believe after it reached the Senate the first two weeks it was, by common consent, laid aside. I was not present at the time; but it seemed to me that if the bill was about to bring to the country the great blessings that its advocates and supporters supposed, it was very nearly criminal to postpone it for two weeks. I should not have minded that very much if I had not found that a large proportion of the Senate—not a majority, but a large number—have been daily caricatured and abused by the Republican press of the country because of their opposition to and delay of the bill.

Called away from the Senate myself and at a distance, where I could look on, it seemed to me that if there was any unnecessary delay it was not to be charged to the Democratic portion of the Senate nor to those who heretofore had acted with the Republican party, nor the representatives of the People's Party in this Chamber. If there was any unnecessary delay, which I do not mean to say there has been, it should have been charged to the Republicans in charge of the bill; and it does seem that, after the Senate had had the bill from the 1st of April down to the 22d of June, questions of the kind that are presented this morning ought to have been decided upon.

Contrary to the usual custom, I believe the Republican caucus determined that every member of the organization here should follow the committee. I do not know, not having been present at the caucus and not being entitled to its secrets, whether the committee was to submit these questions to the caucus or not; but I supposed by the newspaper reports that the Republican members of the body had surrendered their judgment to the Finance Committee, and that they would arrange a tariff bill that would get the united support of every Republican in the Chamber. It was apparent to everybody in the United States that unless they could secure the unanimous and united action of all the Republicans in the Senate and in addition some Democrat, some Populist, or some silver Republican, the bill could not pass the body. They either must secure the support of some man who is in opposition to the Administration, or they must at least secure his acquiescence to a degree that he shall not vote against it, or else it can not become a law.

Mr. President, we have heard from a great number of the Republican members of this body through the public press. I do not say all, but I think three-quarters of the Republican members have been quoted in the public press, in which they have predicted that the only thing necessary to bring about the era of prosperity, the sunshine of good times the Senator from Missouri speaks about, was the passage of this bill. The President of the United States, in Philadelphia the other night, told us and told the country that you are making great progress; you have a new house started; you can not move out of the old house into the new until the new house is completed, but it will be soon completed in the shape of a tariff bill, and when that is accomplished prosperity will come in every portion of our land.

I hope the President of the United States is a prophet. I hope he is correct. I can not say that I hope it, because that means expectation, but I wish he were a prophet. I wish that statement were true. I do not myself believe it. Yet, Mr. President, those who assert that all that the country is now suffering from is a want of more taxation, is a want of more revenue, ought not to stand here and ask us in the middle of June to postpone any bill of this character when they are complaining that fair discussion can not be had of it, when every speech that is made in opposition to the bill is declared to be for the purpose of delay and to retard and hinder the glorious prosperity which they predict is about to come.

Mr. MASON. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. TELLER. I will.

Mr. MASON. Do you not know, as well as every other Senator here, that the mere passing over of one schedule does not delay the work on the bill, and that the proposition made by the Senator from Montana is to continue our work on the bill, but to pass over these paragraphs only temporarily?

Mr. TELLER. I know nothing of the kind. I do not allow the Senator from Illinois to assume that such is the fact and put words in my mouth. I challenge that statement. This wool schedule has been known by the committee to be a difficult one to deal with. They have been told by certain Senators from the West that unless they arranged the schedule satisfactorily to them they would not vote for the bill. I doubt very much myself whether the Senators who made that threat will carry it out.

In my opinion, they will yield their judgment to the caucus of Republicans and vote for the bill. But everyone has known that this is a delicate and difficult question. We have been told here that Senators have been sitting up nights and have been consulting with the committee for a long time about the bill. If you have not been able to settle it either in caucus or in committee, then the place to settle it is here in the Senate.

I am opposed, Mr. President, to any further delay. I believe that this bill should have fair discussion. But I understood from some member of the Senate it was stated by members of the committee this morning that if this schedule could not be taken up it would be practically impossible to proceed with the bill to-day, and that we would have to take a recess or adjourn.

I am anxious that the bill shall pass. I do not expect to vote for the bill unless it shall be very materially amended. Unless certain objectionable features are taken out of it, it will not secure my vote, and yet I am anxious to see it passed. I know that a great number of people in the United States have been led to believe that there is nothing needed or required but the passage of the bill, and they are waiting and looking with interest for its passage to bring about that restoration of confidence, that return of prosperity of which we heard so much a year ago, after the St. Louis convention.

I want to see the bill perfected; I want to see it as perfect a bill as can be made, but I am particularly anxious that the bill shall be such a bill as the Administration says it wants. I shall not interfere in any way to embarrass the Administration in securing a bill in accordance with its ideas. If it is not in accordance with mine, I can reserve my right either to vote against it or to refrain from voting. The people of the State I represent are particularly interested in the wool schedule, as are all the Western people. It is about the only thing we have in the bill that touches or affects our interests. We have had free wool, and we have had cheap wool and cheap sheep, and the people in the Western country attribute somewhat their present embarrassed condition to a failure to receive the old price for wool and the old price for sheep.

I want the bill to become a law. I do not believe myself that the wool schedule as proposed by the committee is a fair one, and I doubt very much, after looking over the schedule of woolen goods, whether the reduction made by the committee this morning, as I understand it, is a proper reduction, if they reduce the rate proposed by the House on wool. But I am just as ready to meet that question now as later. I am not to be consulted, of course, in caucus. I am to present my objections to the bill here, and if the Senators who represent wool States, who differ with me in political views as to some things, can not do that, they can retire to the secrecy of the conference room, or somewhere, and arrange it, while the rest of us are trying to perfect the bill. When the bill is perfected, when I know what the bill is, I shall take a short time to express my views upon the measure, and state what I regard as some of the defects of the bill.

Mr. MANTLE. As gentlemen are discussing the proposed amendment, I wish now to say that I shall offer no objection myself to the passing over of the wool schedule, especially if such

action shall hold out the slightest possibility of a greater degree of justice being done to the woolgrowers of the country. I have given this matter of the wool schedule a good deal of consideration, and I am one of those who believe it is full of loopholes, designedly put there for purposes of fraud and evasion. I believe that it is full of snares for the unwary feet of the woolgrowers of the country. I do not believe that there is another schedule in the bill bearing upon any subject that is so weak in its construction, so careless of the interests of the people nominally intended to be benefited, as the wool schedule. I think if I were to search through the whole domain of poetry and prose I could not find anything that more fitly characterizes the pending bill than those famous lines from Bret Harte:

Yet the cards they were stocked
In a way that I grieve,
And my feelings were shocked
At the state of Nye's sleeve,
Which was stuffed full of aces and bowers,
And the same with intent to deceive.

I think the bill, in so far as it relates to the woolgrowers, is "stocked with aces and bowers" with the full purpose and intent of deceiving the woolgrowers of the country.

If the proposition to postpone is insisted upon, I shall favor it, with the hope that something better may come out of a postponement.

Mr. TURNER. Mr. President, I have been edified, as I have no doubt everybody else in the Chamber has, by the beautiful state of concord and harmony which has prevailed heretofore in the discussion and consideration of the bill on the other side of the Chamber. That condition arose, I have no doubt, because hitherto we have been considering schedules in which Massachusetts, Connecticut, Maine, New Hampshire, and other New England States are specially interested, and it was really pleasant to watch our Western Republican Senators rally with a look of patience on their faces the other day, pursuant to the agreement which we had heard about, and vote against the proposition to put grain bags on the free list.

Now that we have reached these schedules that involve the interests of the West, I am not surprised to find a want of agreement and a want of harmony among our Republican friends. I am quite certain if they could get our recalcitrant Western Republican Senators into the caucus they could whip them into line again, as they did on grain bags and as they propose to do on lead, leather, and other questions which have been reserved for consideration here. I am certain it would be much more pleasant to have that done, because we could again have the beautiful state of concord which has edified us all so much.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The reading of the bill will be resumed.

The SECRETARY. Paragraph 360——

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. What became of paragraph 357?

Mr. VEST. Paragraphs 357, 358, and 359 were not passed over. I objected.

Mr. CULLOM. No; they were not passed over.

Mr. VEST. There has been no such action as that taken by the Senate.

Mr. CULLOM. The clerks made a mistake.

Mr. VEST. I objected specifically.

Mr. ALLISON. Has paragraph 353 been read?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Paragraph 356 was the last one read.

Mr. ALLISON. I offer an amendment, to come in line 23, page 115, paragraph 353, after the word "unwashed."

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Before that amendment is offered, I should like to have paragraph 356 read as amended. It was passed over.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read as follows:

356. The duty upon all wools and hair of the first class shall be 10 cents; upon all wools or hair of the second class, 11 cents per pound.

Mr. ALLISON. Now I ask that the amendment I send to the desk to paragraph 353 be read.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read the amendment to paragraph 353.

The SECRETARY. Amend paragraph 353, in line 23, page 115, after the word "unwashed," by inserting the following:

The duty on wools of the third class, if imported in condition for use in carding or spinning into yarns, or which shall not contain more than 8 per cent of dirt or other foreign substance, shall be three times the duty to which they would otherwise be subjected.

Mr. GRAY. May I ask the Senator from Iowa a question?

Mr. ALLISON. Certainly.

Mr. GRAY. I understood a while ago that the discrimination against what are called skirted wools had been abandoned by the committee. Does not this, in a measure, restore what was aimed at by that discrimination?

Mr. ALLISON. It does not, I will say to the Senator. I read in the hearing of the Senate the definition of scoured wool. This is intended to be a definition of scoured wool of the third class and eliminates from the definition all the wools that I have described as being washed in the rivers of Russia and other countries.

Mr. GRAY. Then I understand that the amendment proposed by the Senator from Iowa raises the duty on certain wools of the third class which come to this country in a better condition than the ordinary wools of that class?

Mr. ALLISON. If they come into this country in a condition fit for carding or spinning, or if they contain 8 per cent or less of impurities, they shall pay three times the duty—in other words, they shall pay the duty upon scoured wool.

Mr. GRAY. Now, why not say if they come in a condition to be carded, spun, or woven they shall pay the higher duty, and not use language which will only prohibit a certain class of cheap wools from coming in because they happen to be in a little better shape than the dirtiest and most slovenly prepared wool?

Mr. ALLISON. Of course I am not an expert as to the way in which these wools come in. I am told that none of them come in unless they contain at least from 12 to 20 per cent of dirt. The Senator from Wyoming [Mr. WARREN] is more familiar with that subject than I am, but I understand that to be the fact.

Mr. GRAY. I understand from an article here——

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Will the Senator from Delaware allow the amendment to be read again? I do not understand the exact point.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. GALLINGER in the chair). The amendment submitted by the Senator from Iowa will be stated by the Secretary.

The SECRETARY. Add at the end of paragraph 353, line 23, page 115, the following:

The duty on wools of the third class, if imported in condition for use in carding or spinning into yarns, or which shall not contain more than 8 per cent of dirt or other foreign substance, shall be three times the duty to which they would be otherwise subjected.

Mr. GRAY. I understand that the amendment proposed by the Senator from Iowa is as I stated, that the wools which contain the greater percentage of dirt are to be so far favored by the tariff that they will come in at a less rate of duty, but when they come in with less than 8 per cent of dirt, they are to be excluded with reference to their being fit for spinning or carding.

Mr. ALLISON. No; that is not precisely it. There is a specific duty of 7 cents a pound on these wools.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Four and 7.

Mr. ALLISON. Four and 7. If they should come in a scoured condition fit for use in carding or spinning, of course their value is added to, and the duty is increased accordingly. It is to cover the difficulty suggested by Senators this morning who criticised the committee's report. I think the amendment will cover the difficulty without in any way impairing the importation of wools of this class.

Mr. GRAY. I find here a statement made by the carpet manufacturers, who are entitled to be heard, I think, on this occasion. It is to this effect:

Nearly one-half of the present supplies of carpet wool reach the market in the washed condition, or they have at least gone through some manipulation which might compel appraising officers to classify them as washed, under any reenactment of the definition of washed wools contained in paragraph 382 of the act of 1890. A double duty—

Thus imposed—

upon these wools would at once absolutely shut us—

That is, the carpet manufacturers—

off from their use.

While that is not the exact language of the amendment proposed by the Senator from Iowa, it seems to me that it is going to accomplish measurably that effect.

Mr. ALLISON. It does not.

Mr. GRAY. The amendment reads thus:

The duty on wools of the third class—

That is the duty the carpet people are speaking of, is it not?—

if imported in condition for use in carding or spinning into yarns—

That is one branch—

or which shall not contain more than 8 per cent of dirt or other foreign substance—

Thereby putting a premium on dirt, so to speak—

shall be three times the duty to which they would be otherwise subjected.

So that any manipulation, whether washing or otherwise, no matter what it is, that reduces the amount of dirt below 8 per cent or to 8 per cent, that reduces it to 7 per cent, imposes a duty of three times the duty to which the wools would otherwise be subjected. If they had 9 per cent of dirt, they would come in at one duty; if they had 7 per cent of dirt, they would come it at three times that duty. That is what I understand the carpet manufacturers object to in substance, although that suggestion was not before them when this protest of theirs was printed; but they say in reference to the proposition which was made that—

A double duty upon these wools would at once absolutely shut us off from their use. As many of them are manipulated, the duty might be construed to be three times the single duty, thus placing a tax of 24 cents a pound upon wools which are often not worth 10 cents a pound in European markets.

Mr. WARREN. Mr. President, the proposition under discussion is no new departure in the matter of wools. When there was an ad valorem duty on carpet wools, it of course regulated the amount of duty imposed, whether washed or unwashed, according to price. Wools as they are grown shrink all the way from 20 to 90 per cent.

Mr. GRAY. If they shrink 90 per cent, they would shrink a good deal. You do not mean to say that they would shrink 100 per cent, do you?

Mr. WARREN. I presume the Senator does not doubt the statement that a shrinkage of 90 per cent might occur in some particular fleece.

Mr. GRAY. With entire respect to my friend, I doubt the statement that they shrink 90 per cent.

Mr. WARREN. I have seen a fleece taken off that weighed nearly 50 pounds. Does not the Senator suppose that a fleece weighing nearly 50 pounds would shrink 90 per cent, producing far less than 10 pounds by the removal of the impurities in the wool?

Mr. GRAY. That would not be 90 per cent.

Mr. WARREN. But when I say to the Senator that the wools of the United States, taken all together, shrink an average of 66⅔ per cent in scouring, my statement is not so extravagant that in extreme cases a fleece may shrink even 90 per cent. I will say to the Senator, if he doubts my statement, I can telegraph and before to-night get a reply giving returns from clips where upon the whole clip from some one owner there has been a shrinkage in scouring of about 80 per cent. Upon carpet wools that are washed there is in this bill no more duty imposed than upon those that are brought in in the grease; but where they are scoured, and scoured so clean that there is but about 8 per cent of impurities left, then they take this triple duty. But when that is done, all the labor has been performed. It has always been the policy, as I understand it, in importing wool, to provide so as to bring it here in the state that gives the most opportunity for labor in preparing the wool, so it is preferable to have it come in grease. No wool was ever known to be so light as to bear a shrinkage of only 8 per cent, unless it had been scoured with soap and chemicals in an expensive and elaborate way.

Mr. GRAY. Of course I defer to the Senator from Wyoming in regard to all these matters which concern the expert in husbandry, but there are certain things that even the uninitiated may be expected to understand. We are not talking about the condition in which the American shepherds send their fleeces to market. If they choose to send them in a slovenly condition, that is one thing; that is pretty hard perhaps on those who have to deal with them, and I suppose the price is made to adjust itself to the conditions; but we are talking about the fleeces that come into the country; and because the woolgrowers of the United States, under protection, or expected protection, have fallen so far behind the industry in other parts of the world as to think that they are able to send their fleeces in this exceedingly slovenly and improper condition to market is no reason why we should put a premium on the dirt in the fleeces that come from abroad; not at all. You invite, then, the dirty fleeces from Australia and from the Argentine Republic, and put, as I said, a premium upon dirt, because you get protection on the dirt and because you get a duty on the dirt.

I was going on to read, when the Senator interrupted me, what this Wool Manufacturers' Association say. They say:

> We can conceive no circumstances—

These men are writing as protectionists, so they say—

> under which such taxation upon a raw material can be justified. In the present instance it could have but one object and but one result, viz, to embarrass, hamper, and partially destroy a home industry. We do not conceive this to be among the purposes you have in view in framing a new tariff law.

Mr. WARREN. Will the Senator permit me a moment there?

Mr. GRAY. Certainly.

Mr. WARREN. That is shooting over the subject now before the Senate. There is no proposition now to change washed-wool rates and no proposition to impose any more duty upon washed than unwashed as to third-class wools.

Mr. GRAY. There is that very proposition in this amendment, unless I totally misunderstand it.

Mr. WARREN. The Senator does misunderstand it.

Mr. GRAY. I think I will show the Senator that I do not misunderstand it.

Mr. WARREN. Very well.

Mr. GRAY. Here is a proposition to put a tax of three times the duty to which they would otherwise be subjected upon all wools which shall not contain more than 8 per cent of dirt or other foreign substance. Is not that an attempt to raise the duty upon the wools as they come from South America or from whatever part of the world they come, where the cheaper wools are shorn from the backs of the sheep, and to put a higher duty upon such wool as has had a portion of the dirt taken out so as to reduce it to 8 per cent?

Mr. WARREN. Not at all.

Mr. GRAY. Why not?

Mr. WARREN. The manufacturers of carpet do not make that statement. They show by their statement that they desire to import wools in the dirt or washed, as they may prefer.

Mr. GRAY. No; they desire to import wools as clean as they can get them, but not to be punished by a tax.

Mr. WARREN. How would the Senator prevent that except by the imposition of a specific tax that would be just and at the same time prevent fraud?

Mr. GRAY. I do not, in the first place, believe that the Senator is quite accurate about the extent of the shrinkage. Of course he believes it.

Mr. WARREN. I desire to state to the Senator that I can furnish indisputable evidence as to the correctness of my statement.

Mr. GRAY. I am talking about the shrinkage of foreign wool.

Mr. WARREN. Furthermore, the Senator is in error when he assumes that washed wool and scoured wool mean the same. In wool circles, and amongst those who handle wool, the word "washed" and the word "scoured" are as different in their meaning almost as the difference between the colors white and black. The Senator would probably say that scouring his face and scouring mine would be washing, or that to wash would be to scour, in a way, but the terms, as technically applied to wools, are absolutely and entirely different. They mean two different things.

Mr. GRAY. Mr. President, without going into the technical meaning of "scoured" and "washed," all I want to say is that I do understand, I think, and after listening to the Senator from Wyoming I am sure that I understand, the amendment and the object and effect of the amendment offered by the Senator from Iowa. It is to raise the price of these carpet wools to the carpet manufacturer, and it does that by providing that all wool imported which shall not contain more than 8 per cent of dirt or other foreign substance shall have three times the duty imposed upon it to which it would otherwise be subjected.

Mr. MILLS. Instead of twice the amount.

Mr. GRAY. Instead of twice the amount. If that does not raise the price of the raw material to the carpet manufacturer and is not intended to raise it, I should like to ask the Senator from Wyoming what it is intended to do?

Mr. WARREN. No, it is intended to have the carpet men bring it in unscoured, either in green or washed, as heretofore.

Mr. GRAY. Then this is a great fraud upon the carpet manufacturers.

Mr. WARREN. Not at all.

Mr. GRAY. It is certainly a fraud upon the carpet manufacturers, and in order to subsidize one industry you are going to paralyze numberless industries.

Mr. President, this brings me to make one remark, and I shall not interrupt the quiet progress of this bill further, and that is, that as constructed now it seems to me it is full of pitfalls for the manufacturers and for the consumers of wool and the woolen goods in this country. Its inevitable effect is to enormously raise the price of manufactured woolen goods to the consumer. You can not get away from that. It must do it. It must double the price to the consumer of the necessary commodities made of wool.

If you are going to put any duty upon wool at all in which you can be fair and can avoid all these covert steals, which are made under the cover of classification and of such amendments as have just been proposed, the proper way would be to place a duty upon the scoured wools, and let us know how much duty a pound of scoured wool would pay, for all wool must be scoured before it is fit for spinning and weaving. Let us place it so; and then we shall know where we are, and we shall be relieved from all this cloud of obscurity which now hangs around the whole subject of classifications or amendments such as are now before the Senate.

Mr. MANTLE. Mr. President, there can be no doubt whatever but that the Senator from Delaware [Mr. GRAY] is right in many of the propositions that he lays down. This amendment will increase the cost of clean wool; it will increase its cost to the manufacturer of carpets. The value of all wool depends upon the amount of clean wool which can be gotten from a pound of wool in the grease. It is well known that the wools of this country, on an average, shrink about 66⅔ per cent; that is, after being scoured they yield about 33⅓ per cent of clean wool.

It was with that knowledge, and understanding of the situation, knowing full well what the character of the wool grown in this country was, that the law of 1867 was enacted, which placed a specific duty upon wool in the grease; that is, upon unwashed wool. Taking into account the condition of the wool industry in this country, with a knowledge of this shrinkage, and desiring to protect the American woolgrower upon this basis, a duty of whatever it may have been—I think 10 or 12 cents—was levied upon that character of wool, and it was intended that the American

woolgrower should derive that protection upon his unwashed wool. That was the purpose, the object, and the aim of the law, looked at from the protective standpoint.

Mr. President, in respect to third-class wools, they were always subject to a triple duty for scoured wools until the enactment of what is known as the McKinley law, the law of 1890. When that law was passed, an ad valorem duty was substituted for the specific rates upon third-class wools. Hence there was no necessity of placing a triple duty upon scoured wools of the third class, because the duty depended entirely upon their value, whether they might be washed or unwashed or scoured. This bill, however, proposes to return to specific rates; and therefore it becomes necessary, keeping in mind all the time the protective idea—the Senator from Delaware, of course, is talking from the other standpoint altogether, and I am talking from the protective standpoint—keeping in mind that idea, it becomes necessary from this change in the character of the duty that an additional duty, a higher duty, should be placed upon scoured wools.

Mr. GRAY. May I interrupt the Senator for a moment?

Mr. MANTLE. Certainly.

Mr. GRAY. The passages that I read from this association of carpet manufacturers are written from the protective standpoint. The members of that association are all protectionists.

Mr. MANTLE. But what they stated was from the manufacturers' standpoint.

Mr. GRAY. Yes; certainly. And the manufacturer ought to have something to say, ought he not?

Mr. MANTLE. Certainly; but it is an entirely different standpoint from that of the woolgrower.

Mr. GRAY. Of course; but the manufacturers ought to be heard, ought they not?

Mr. MANTLE. Certainly; and justice ought to be done.

Mr. GRAY. While I am on my feet, let me ask the Senator what objection is there to laying all the duty, so far as raw wool is concerned, upon the basis of so much a pound on the clean wool?

Mr. MANTLE. If that could be done, it would be by far the most satisfactory method of levying the duties upon wool. I agree entirely with the Senator from Delaware in that. But we find this bill arranged upon a different basis, making these classifications and distinctions upon blood lines and upon geographical lines, and hence it becomes a very difficult task, and at this moment a hopeless one, to attempt to remodel this whole structure, so far as the wool schedule is concerned.

All that the Senator from Delaware has said about putting a premium upon dirt really has no weight in this discussion, I say, with all respect and deference to the Senator, because we are levying these duties upon the conditions as they exist with relation to the domestic wool. Therefore, starting in with the unwashed wool, bearing in mind its known shrinkage and fixing a specific rate upon that, it becomes necessary, in order to carry out the idea of protection, to increase the duty upon washed wool, because washed wool shrinks so much less; and if it were to come in at the same rate of duty it would naturally destroy a large part of the protective benefit intended to be conveyed by a duty upon unwashed wool.

Mr. GRAY. Why, then, not have an ad valorem duty to solve all this difficulty, and have the duty based upon a pound of clean wool?

Mr. MANTLE. If an ad valorem duty could be honestly enforced with respect to wool, or with respect to anything else, it would be the very best method of arriving at and determining the duty, if we could but do away with the fraud and undervaluation which exists under the ad valorem system, and especially with reference to wool, which is always availed of, as the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. SPOONER] suggests to me. It is indisputable, from investigation of the statistics of imports and valuations under the ad valorem duty upon third-class wools under the McKinley law, that that provision immediately resulted in wholesale fraud and undervaluation, and the price of wool immediately ran down—that is, at the custom-houses of the country.

The prices did not run down in the markets abroad, in the countries whence the wool came. The reduction in price was simply stimulated and brought about by these ad valorem duties, and especially upon the price of third-class wool, which began to decline under the operation of the ad valorem duty of the McKinley law. It is necessary to create these distinctions; it is necessary to put an additional duty on washed wool; it is necessary to put an additional duty on scoured wool; it is necessary to continue adding to the duty upon wool which has passed beyond the scoured point into the manufactured condition if it is our purpose to carry out the protective idea and to give it effect in practice. This idea constitutes the burden of the complaint which I have made here upon the part of the woolgrowers. Looking at it always from the protective point of view, the bill is so framed that, while it nominally gives to the woolgrower a specific rate upon the different classes of wool produced in this country, yet it is so worded, and there are so many loopholes for evasion of the actual purpose and intent of the law, that as a result the woolgrower does not get in practice 50 per cent of the benefit which the law nominally gives to him.

It is for this purpose that I have striven to amend this bill so that the woolgrower might get what he is justly entitled to, that he might no longer say that the wool schedule as it was in the McKinley law and as it is now proposed to be enacted here is a legislative lie upon its face, for that is exactly what the woolgrowers of the country say. They say that heretofore it has resulted in defrauding them of the protective benefit intended to be given them and the protective benefit with which the woolgrower has been charged, but which he has never received.

Mr. STEWART. The worst of it is that it is made an excuse for raising the duty on woolen manufactures and putting larger duties on woolens, while the woolgrower gets nothing.

Mr. MANTLE. Yes, Mr. President, that view of the case, of course, presents itself. I think that the suggestion of the Senator from Nevada is quite correct, that the manufacturer gets his compensatory duty based upon the nominal duty given to the woolgrower upon unwashed wool, whereas I have shown, and it is a fact, that the woolgrower does not receive more than 50 per cent of that nominal duty, while the compensatory duty of the manufacturer is based upon the nominal duty, and therefore he gets the benefit of that duty, while the woolgrower, who is charged with it, in effect and in practice only gets one-half of it or less.

In Document No. 36, presented by myself on April 14, being the memorial of the National Wool Growers' Association, there is a table prepared by Mauger & Avery, wool merchants in New York, in which it is shown—and their showing is sustained and borne out by statements from the Treasury Department—that the actual benefit accorded to the woolgrowers of Ohio upon XX fine washed Ohio wool was only 6¼ cents per pound, while it should have been three times that much.

That illustrates, Mr. President, the operation of the law as it is now framed. There should be unquestionably an added duty for scoured wool of the third class if we are to carry out the protective purpose and intent of this law. It will add to the cost of the wool to the wool manufacturer, undoubtedly; but you can not build up the woolgrowing industry in this country without adding to the cost that the manufacturer must pay for his wool until we have reached that period of protection upon wool when we shall be able to produce all the wool we require for our own use.

The cost of this third-class wool is found upon page 70 of this Senate Document No. 36, in the London market, and from this it appears that the prices of these higher grades of third-class wools run all the way from 14 cents up to 21 cents a pound in the London market. These are the finer grades, such as Russian Donskoi and East India wools. They are used, I believe, in the manufacture of the finer grades of carpet.

Therefore, viewing the matter from the protective standpoint, there is no reason in the world why these wools should not pay an additional duty. The higher grades of carpets approximate what might be called a luxury; and even from the revenue standpoint, laying aside the question of protection, there is no good reason why they should not be subject to a higher rate of duty.

Not only that, Mr. President, but the third-class wools do come in competition with wools of a similar character that can be used for largely the same purposes grown in our own country.

I am one of those who believe that if an adequate protective rate of duty was placed upon third-class wools it would stimulate the growth of that class of wools in this country, and would probably result after a while in the production of a great amount of that class of wool by our own woolgrowers. We have a great deal of territory especially adapted to the growth of this character of wool.

I am not in favor of the amendment proposed by the committee. I believe that it allows too much latitude, that it gives away too much to the manufacturer as between him and the woolgrower. There ought to be a simple proposition such as is contained in the law of 1867 and the law of 1883, placing a triple duty upon third-class wools.

There is a wide distinction between washed and scoured wool, and there is no difficulty whatever in determining what is washed and what is scoured wool. The distinction ought to be made, and the line ought to be drawn, as has always been done, between washed and scoured wools. It can be done by a simple amendment, providing that wools of all classes in their scoured condition shall be subject to a triple duty.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is upon the amendment submitted by the Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON] in behalf of the committee.

Mr. TURPIE. Mr. President, this is a very important discussion, and I think a quorum of the Senate should be here during the consideration of this subject. I therefore suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Indiana suggests the absence of a quorum. The Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Allen,	Gallinger,	Morrill,	Shoup,
Allison,	Gray,	Murphy,	Spooner,
Bacon,	Hale,	Nelson,	Stewart,
Berry,	Hansbrough,	Pasco,	Teller,
Burrows,	Hoar,	Penrose,	Thurston,
Butler,	Jones, Ark.	Perkins,	Turpie,
Carter,	Lodge,	Pettigrew,	Vest,
Clay,	McBride,	Pettus,	Walthall,
Cockrell,	McEnery,	Platt, Conn.	Warren,
Cullom,	McLaurin,	Platt, N. Y.	Wellington,
Davis,	Mallory,	Pritchard,	Wetmore,
Elkins,	Mantle,	Proctor,	White,
Fairbanks,	Mason,	Quay,	Wilson.
Faulkner,	Mills	Rawlins,	
Foraker,	Mitchell,	Roach,	
Frye,	Morgan,	Sewell.	

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Sixty-one Senators have answered to their names. A quorum of the Senate is present. The question is upon the amendment proposed by the Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON] in behalf of the committee.

Mr. MANTLE. Would an amendment to the amendment be in order?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair would so rule.

Mr. MANTLE. I suggest an amendment to the amendment of the committee. In lieu of the committee amendment, in line 21, after the word "second," insert "and third" and strike out the word "and;" so that it would read:

And the duty on wools of the first, second, and third classes which shall be imported scoured shall be three times, etc.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair would suggest to the Senator from Montana that that is not properly an amendment to the amendment proposed by the committee, the committee amendment being simply an addition to the paragraph.

Mr. MANTLE. The purpose of the committee amendment is to put a treble duty upon scoured wools of the third class, provided they contain less than 8 per cent of dirt. The amendment I propose strikes out the qualification as to the per cent of dirt.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Is that in order?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair would rule that it is not in order, and would venture to suggest to the Senator from Montana that if the committee amendment should be adopted he might then move a substitute for the paragraph so as to embrace his view. But the Chair would rule that his amendment to the amendment is not now in order.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. What is the proposition of the Senator from Montana?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Montana will be stated.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed, in line 21, page 115, paragraph 353, to insert the pending amendment, and after the word "first" strike out "and," and after the word "second," in the same line, to insert the words "and third;" so that it shall read:

On wools of the first, second, and third classes which shall be imported scoured shall be three times the duty, etc.

Mr. BURROWS. What is the difference between that and the amendment which has been offered? Does it not accomplish the same thing?

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. There is a very great deal of difference.

Mr. BURROWS. I asked to ascertain the difference.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. The difference is that if the same definition of scoured wools in the bill is applied to the third class that is applied to the first and second, it will prevent the importation of a single pound of third-class wool. The bill provides that wool washed in any other manner than on the sheep's back or on the skin shall be considered as scoured wool. Now, all or most of the wools of the third class come in now having been subjected to some degree of washing other than on the sheep's back or on the skin. If no amendment were offered, and they were subject to a triple duty, they would all come in under the definition given to scoured wools in paragraph 354; and to impose a triple duty upon these wools in the condition in which they are now imported would be simply to prohibit their importation and to shut up every carpet factory in the United States.

The Senator from Montana can not wish to do that, certainly. The object of the committee is to make a definition for scoured wool of the third class which will prevent those wools from being thoroughly scoured and cleaned abroad and so imported at the 4 and 7 cent rates of specific duty. I trust I have made myself clear.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. But if the Senator from Connecticut will permit me, does not the amendment of the committee propose to levy the same tax on these wools not thoroughly scoured that would be imposed on them if thoroughly scoured, under the succeeding section?

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. No, sir. The amendment of the committee does not propose to subject them to the triple duty unless they shall be so far scoured that they are suitable for carding and spinning or unless they shall have been so far scoured that they do not contain over 8 per cent of impurity.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Under the succeeding paragraph they would not be subjected to the triple duty unless they had been scoured.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. The committee proposes to amend the next paragraph so that in line 3 it will read:

Wools of the first and second class washed in any other manner than on the sheep's back or on the skin shall be considered as scoured wool.

It does not propose to change the definition of scoured wools as to first and second class wools, but only with regard to third class.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Then, if I understand the purpose of the committee, it is, with the amendment proposed to be made hereafter, to define as scoured wools wools which have not been scoured.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. It is to define wools of the third class which have been commercially scoured so that they are fit for use.

Mr. STEWART. The operation of that would be to allow wools which were scoured, approximately, much cleaner than the ordinary unwashed wools, to come in on the same level with the other.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. I do not think any woolgrower, if he agrees to the rate of 4 and 7 cents a pound upon third-class wools, objects to the importation of wools as they are now imported of the third class at that rate, but the fear is that if we do not impose some provision whereby if scoured commercially they shall pay an additional duty, a triple duty, they will come in as scoured wools, commercially scoured, very greatly increased in value and practically ready for use, and only pay 4 and 7 cents a pound, as imposed in this bill. It is to obviate that, to make sure that hereafter there shall not be such a change in these wools in the state in which they are imported that they shall evade the duty which we put in the bill of 4 and 7 cents a pound.

Mr. MANTLE. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Arkansas is entitled to the floor. Does he yield to the Senator from Montana?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Certainly.

Mr. MANTLE. I will say to the Senator from Connecticut that I have no desire to close up the carpet manufactories, nor have I the slightest apprehension that the operation of my amendment would bring about that result. The slight additional cost which would result to them upon a certain line of carpet certainly could not have any such wholesale and disastrous effect as to close up their business. The provision which I propose to insert is that of the law of 1868 and 1883, and which was superseded by the ad valorem duties in the McKinley law. The great bulk of carpet wools until 1890 came in under those provisions with triple duties upon scoured wools, and they came in at a valuation below 12 cents a pound. The valuation, in fact, was 10.1 on third-class wool from 1884 to 1890; that is, for the great bulk of them. A very small amount came in above 12 cents a pound with a specific rate of duty of 5 cents a pound.

During the three years of the McKinley law 90 per cent of all the carpet wools imported, and they have grown enormously in amount, came in at the valuation of 8½ cents per pound without any restriction as to scouring or washing, under a straight ad valorem duty. Ninety per cent of them came in at the valuation of 8½ cents per pound. There can be nothing which could indicate more clearly what the effect of this would be in operation. Under the provision submitted by the committee of a fine of value of 10 cents, it is absolutely certain, in the light of past experience, that the great bulk of third-class wools of all kinds will come in at an average value of less than 10 cents per pound. They have come in before, and they will come in again.

Now, if it is possible to save any part of that fraud, for it is a fraud, as the value of a great many of them is more than that in the market in which they are bought, by imposing a straight duty of three times upon scoured wool of the third class, it certainly ought to be done. There is an element of the protective policy in this proposition, although it is denied by the wool manufacturers. As a matter of fact, there is a good deal of carpet wool grown in this country, and if the protective theory is extended to this class of wool there can be a great deal more of it produced. In any event these third-class wools, and especially those of the higher grade, supplant to a very great extent the use of domestic-grown wool, and that is another good reason why the duty should be increased. As a matter of fact, with the amendment just submitted by the committee, I venture to assert that there will be scarcely any, perhaps no third-class wool which will come within the scope of that provision. In other words, the shrinkage of all the third-class wool which comes to this country will be more than 8 per cent.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Mr. President, if I understand the

amendment, it seems to make a very radical departure from what has ever been the law heretofore as to carpet wools, third-class wools.

The duty on wools of the third class, if imported in condition for use in carding or spinning into yarn, or which shall not contain more than 8 per cent of dirt or other foreign substance, shall be three times the duty to which they would otherwise be subjected.

The theory upon which the compensating duties are levied in the tariff is certainly that a larger amount of raw wool is consumed in the manufacture of the fabric than is bought. That is to say, when a compensating duty equivalent to 2 pounds of raw wool is provided, it certainly is done on the theory that it requires 2 pounds of raw wool to make 1 pound of wool in the condition in which it is used. This is the only ground upon which any defense of the compensating duties can be placed. The theory must be, and it is constantly reiterated, that it requires 3 pounds of unwashed wool to make a pound of scoured wool—of wool in condition to go into the fabric. If, as a matter of fact, it does not require 3 pounds of the one to make one of the other, there is no justification for placing the compensatory duty of three to one in the bill. If it does not take two to one, there is no justification for a compensatory duty of two to one.

The very terms of the amendment preclude the possibility of its taking 2 pounds of this wool to make 1 of fine wool, because it specially provides that if there is more than 8 per cent of foreign substance in it, then there shall be a tax of three times the tax which would otherwise be levied. So when a hundred pounds of this wool comes in, if there are 92 pounds of wool and 8 pounds of dirt, then the amendment will allow of the charging of three times the rate of taxation levied on ordinary raw wool, to compensate for the degree of fineness at which the wool has arrived when imported. It is impossible that it shall take a pound and a half of wool in this condition to make a pound of fine wool, and yet the proposition is to charge three times as much for the importation of the wool, on the theory, of course, that it would require three pounds of this wool to make a pound of that wool.

Mr. President, there are some criticisms in the Bulletin of the National Association of Wool Manufacturers, from which my friend the Senator from Delaware read a few moments ago, on the question of skirting wools, which apply specifically and expressly to this very question. This is written by an expert in the woolen business, and of course what he says will be accepted by the Committee on Finance as being absolutely true. He is a trusted friend of theirs. They rely on him in all these matters. They follow his judgment in all these questions. Here is what he says about the question of skirting wools, and it applies with equal force to the question of compensatory duties:

It has been stated before your committee that the skirting of Australian wools is a fraud, resorted to for the purpose of evading the American tariff. Nothing could be farther from the truth. Skirting marks a distinct advance in the preparation of wool for the markets of the world, and has been done for many years in response to the demand of manufacturers in England and on the continent of Europe. Practically all Australian wools are now skirted before shipment. Progress in methods of preparing wools for the market is no more to be prevented or deprecated than progress in the mechanical methods of their manufacture. The objection of the American woolgrower to skirting springs primarily from his unwillingness to put up his clip in proper marketable condition. In this particular he has made no advance in thirty years. On the contrary, his wools, as marketed, grow heavier and dirtier. Fifteen years ago our fine washed wools lost in scouring 48 per cent, and sometimes less. The average present loss in Ohio and Michigan wools is nearer 55 per cent. They are so poorly washed that they shrink as much as Australian wools, unwashed and unskirted.

Mr. WARREN. Will the Senator from Arkansas allow me for a moment?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Certainly.

Mr. WARREN. The writer from whom you quote states that fifteen years ago our fine washed wools lost in scouring 48 per cent. For the benefit of the Senator from Delaware [Mr. GRAY] and in reference to his remarks a few moments ago, I wish to make a note of that to show the difference between washed wool and scoured wool. I will say further, while I am on my feet, that in carpet wools the compensatory duty is based, I assume, just as it is upon first and second class wool, i. e., upon wool in the grease. They have taken wool in grease as the unit of value, so to speak. The three times duty is based upon wool in the grease, and not scoured.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The reason why you charge twice for washed wool what you charge for wool in the grease is upon the theory that it takes 2 pounds of one to make a pound of the other; that there is 50 per cent of foreign substance in the wool which has to be washed out of it; and the theory upon which you charge three times the rate on scoured wool that you do upon wool in the grease is that it consumes 3 pounds of greasy wool to make a pound of scoured wool. But when I show that there is absolutely no foundation for this theory, that it does not take 3 pounds to make 1 pound of scoured wool, that it does not take a pound and a half to make a pound of scoured wool, that it does not take a pound and a quarter to make a pound of scoured wool, under this provision what justification can there be for tripling the rate of tax on the raw wool?

Mr. WARREN. The Senator has not shown that.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The amendment itself shows it. The amendment provides that where wool is in a condition so that it does not contain more than 8 per cent of grease, 8 per cent of dirt or foreign substance, then the rate shall be triple what it is in the grease.

Mr. MANTLE. Will the Senator from Arkansas permit me?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Certainly.

Mr. MANTLE. I desire to state that in my own opinion there is no just or proper relation between the duties upon washed and unwashed wool. I do not believe that the washing of wools increases their value double. Just why that provision was originally included in the law I do not know. However, there is no second-class wool imported in unwashed condition. So it is practically a dead letter upon the books. The second-class wool all comes in in washed condition, because of the strange and inconsistent fact in the law that there is no additional duty upon washed wool of the second class, which there ought to be.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I think the Senator from Montana is right when he says there is no practical relation between the conditions existing and the theory on which the law seems to have been framed. What could have been the justification for providing for a double tax on washed wool except on the theory that it takes 2 pounds of unwashed wool to make a pound of washed wool? There could be no reason for it except that. The belief must have existed when that provision was made that that was the fact. It may have been the fact at the time, but it certainly is not true now, and if it is not true there is no justification for doubling the tax because wool has been washed.

The very same argument applies to scoured wool. The only theory which will justify the imposition on scoured wool of three times the duty on greasy wool is that it takes 3 pounds of wool in the grease to make a pound of scoured wool. We know it is not a fact; that it does not do it.

Mr. MANTLE. I will have to differ with my friend the Senator from Arkansas on the proposition of scoured wool. It is generally conceded that wools of the Merino breed in this country shrink 66⅔ per cent. Many of them shrink much more. Montana merino shrinks more. Generally the far Western wools of that character shrink more. Combing wools there produced shrink less. It is a fact that the general average of merino wools shrink about 66⅔ per cent, which would give 33⅓ per cent of scoured wool. Therefore it would take exactly 3 pounds of unwashed, greasy wool to make 1 pound of scoured wool. So I think the proposition of three times is correct, but I do not think that the same relation is true between unwashed and washed wools.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. If we were to import the wools that come from Arizona and Montana and New Mexico, what the Senator from Montana says would be true, but we do not import those wools; they are grown in this country; and we import no such wools from abroad. The wool generally imported here, the class of merino that comes to this country, is Port Phillip wool, from Australia. It is very much the larger part of the wool that comes in. It is the same wool which enters into consumption all over this country, and that wool shrinks 50 per cent. It is a recognized fact everywhere, and I presume it will not be denied by anybody who knows anything about this trade, that the shrinkage of Port Phillip wool is two for one, and not three to one, from grease to scoured.

Mr. MANTLE. Will the Senator permit me?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Certainly.

Mr. MANTLE. The Senator is absolutely correct in that proposition, and it sustains the argument I made for a correction of the law. Of course I am looking at this matter from a protective standpoint and the Senator from Arkansas is looking at it from an entirely different point of view. The protective duty is levied upon the shrinkage of domestic wool, and of course when the importer brings in a wool which shrinks less than 66⅔ per cent in competition with class 1 wools raised in this country, he becomes the beneficiary of the difference, because by bringing in a lighter wool he evades the payment of that much duty. Thereby, according to my contention and my point of view, the American producer is injured and deprived of his protective benefit to the extent of one-third to one-half. The Australian wools shrink, in their skirted and what is oftentimes practically sorted condition, 50 per cent. Many of them shrink less than that, as low as 44 and 46 per cent.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. If the Senator is correct in stating that it is the theory of protection that the compensation should be made in proportion to the shrinkage of American wools, then protection has another iniquity with which I never charged it heretofore. My impression has always been that whenever there was provision made for a tax upon any grade of wool in the grease and a provision that there should be a double tax on washed wool of that variety, it was because of the theory that it took 2 pounds of wool in the grease to make 1 pound of washed wool,

and when there was a threefold duty placed upon scoured wool, it was on the theory that it took 3 pounds of wool in the grease to make 1 of scoured wool.

There can be no justification in common sense that does not rest upon that theory. Now, when you are providing for the importation of Port Phillip wool, and provide that the proper tax upon it is 8 cents or 10 cents or 11 cents or 15 cents or 24 cents in the grease, the proper tax to levy upon a pound of scoured Port Phillip wool would be twice what the tax would be in the grease, because it takes just 2 pounds of wool in the grease to make 1 pound of scoured.

Mr. STEWART. Will the Senator allow me? I wish to get some information.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Certainly.

Mr. STEWART. Do not scoured wools always shrink more than 8 per cent? Scour any wool, and will not there be a larger shrinkage than that?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. If the wool to be imported under the amendment as in the bill contains less than 8 per cent of foreign substance, to scour it will not decrease it 8 per cent. It depends upon how much foreign substance there is in it.

Mr. STEWART. Does the Senator from Arkansas know of any that will not lose more than 8 per cent?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I do not know of any; that is, wool that has not gone through any process.

Mr. STEWART. The Senator does not know of any?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. No.

Mr. STEWART. That is my difficulty about it. In the first place, the provision in the bill is that it shall be 4 cents a pound if the value is under 10 cents. Of course the value will be under 10. It was before, under the McKinley Act. That is certain. So there will be no third-class wool that will be taxed higher than 4 cents a pound, and then it will be a very high grade of wool, because if it has more than 8 per cent of dirt in it, then it can come in at 4 cents. He can scour it and then have that amount of dirt in it very easily, and it would be very high grade wool and would come in at 4 cents, and it will come in.

Mr. WARREN. The price of scouring is a cent and a quarter a pound under the most favorable conditions.

Mr. STEWART. A cent and a quarter a pound? You get your wool in at 4 cents here and you will practically have scoured wool with only 8 per cent of dirt. That is the trick of this thing. You fix this up, and when you come to put it into practice you will have, as you did under the McKinley Act, really no practical benefit to the sheep growers of the West. I do not expect to get a measure that will be of any practical benefit to the sheep growers of the West. I should like to see some straight work about it. If you put a duty of 7 cents on third-class wool, it might do some good. Now you get only 4 cents. Under the McKinley Act, if you will look at the schedule, look at the prices, you will see that it fell below 10 cents, because they had an ad valorem duty. It came in that way, and the farmers all complained that they got practically no protection under the McKinley Act. It is denounced now by all the farmers of the country as having been of very little use, and the price of wool continued to fall, as everything else did under the McKinley Act.

Mr. GEAR. Wool was 20 cents a pound in Iowa when the Wilson bill passed, and it fell after that time.

Mr. STEWART. Did it not fall under the McKinley Act, and has it not been getting lower?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Mr. President, the question asked me is running at a considerable length.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Arkansas is entitled to the floor.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Will the Senator from Arkansas allow me a moment?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Certainly.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. I wish to say a word in reply to what the Senator from Nevada has said. I do not suppose, when he says this is a trick, that he intends to impute any motives of trickery to anyone who has been engaged in the preparation of the bill.

Mr. STEWART. No; not at all.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. I want to say, in reference to the amendment which the committee has offered, that the object of that amendment is to prevent the introduction of scoured wool under the 4 and 7 cents duty proposed on third-class wool. It had to be prepared in haste this morning, and by persons who are not experts. I assure the Senator from Nevada that the intention to do that is an honest intention, and if this language will not do it, we shall endeavor hereafter to put the amendment in such form as that it will do it.

Mr. STEWART. I simply wish to say that of course I do not reflect upon the Senate committee, but the experts connected with the woolen trade and the manufacturers know how to take care of themselves better than any other class of people who ever lived. They were raised at it, they live by it, and they take care of themselves. The farmers are not here to take care of themselves. The manufacturers can impose upon the committee, they can deceive, and they will generally get language put in which will bring about a different result from what we anticipated. I think that will be the case with the language proposed here by the committee.

I do not reflect on the committee, because they get the very best information they can; but the experts at their elbows, the brightest of all human beings and the sharpest ever born on earth, know how to fix it. A fellow who plays three-card-monte would not begin to stand with them at all. A three-card-monte sharp would not have any show with these fellows who have lived all their lives in this business. They are here, and the farmers are not here. As it turned out before, when the bill was passed, the farmers had the worst of it. I am afraid it will be that way this time. It is not that the committee intends to do it, but the committee will be deceived if it is done.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I will not trouble the Senate to hear it read, but will have printed in the RECORD a table showing the shrinking qualities of the different classes of wool which are generally in use. The first one is, of course, Port Phillip, and all others are made up from trade tables, which I believe are reliable, and which show the condition of this theory.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the table will be printed in the RECORD.

The table referred to is as follows:

Statement of the average prices of the different classes of foreign greasy wools entered at the port of New York, with the average percentage of shrinkage in scouring, their equivalent price in the scoured state, and the number of pounds of greasy wool necessary to make 1 pound of scoured wool.

Description of wools.	Price per pound grease.	Shrinkage in scouring.	Equivalent price scoured.	Pounds of greasy to pound scoured.
Merino wools—class 1:	*Cents.*	*Per cent.*	*Cents.*	*Pounds.*
Port Phillip	18	50	36	2
Sydney	16½	52	34.4	2.083
Adelaide	14	55	31	2.20
New Zealand	16	53	34	2.125
Cape of Good Hope	11½	57	26.75	2.32
Montevideo	10½	58	25	2.38
River Plate and mestiza	8½	65	24.3	2.86
Crossbreds—class 1:				
Port Phillip	18½	40	30	1.66
New Zealand	18	37	28.6	1.59
Montevideo	14½	47	27.4	1.88
Carpet wools—class 3:				
Donskoi	9	55	20	2.20
Valparaiso and Cardova	10	52	20.8	2.083
White Highland	12	40	20	1.66
Oporto	7	65	20	2.86
Syria	8	55	17.8	2.2
China	8	45	14.6	1.82
Smyrna	9	52	18.75	2.083

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. When Judge Lawrence appeared before the Ways and Means Committee of the House, he said that we in this country grow the best wool in the world. It is a recognized fact everywhere that the wool which comes in competition with our wool is the Australia wool. That wool has to come half around the globe and incur the risks in transportation of storm and fire, and the expenses necessarily connected with such transportation.

Mr. GEAR. Can the Senator state what it costs to bring foreign wool from Australia to New York City?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Whatever it may cost, it has to be brought from Australia to this country before it can enter into competition with what Judge Lawrence assures us is the best wool in the world. If his statements are true, then there can be but one or two reasons why that wool shall come here and go into this market at all. One is, that there is not a sufficient amount of wool grown in this country for the consumers. The other is, that the Australians are willing to sell their wool, after paying the expenses of transportation, incurring the risks of transportation and delivering it in our market, for less money than we have to pay our own woolgrowers for their wool, and it must be sufficiently under the price of American wools to make up for the difference in the quality of the wools or else it would find no market at all.

With the natural protection we have, it seems to me that it ought not to require a very exorbitant rate of taxation to prevent the importation of this class of wool; and yet the tax which this committee proposes, the tax which the House proposes, is 100 per cent on this article, on this raw material, which must be handled by our manufacturers before it can enter into this class of manufacture at all.

Mr. WARREN. May I ask the Senator a question?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Certainly.

Mr. WARREN. To what natural protection does the Senator allude?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The natural protection of bringing wool half around the globe, of preparing it for shipment, of baling

and packing it so that it can be transported. It must be packed in hydraulic presses which require a considerable amount of labor and power. It must be loaded on shipboard, and it must be brought half around the globe. It must be discharged and presented in the American market before the American buyers will want it.

Mr. WARREN. Owing to the cheapness of ocean transportation, all that is done at a cost of but a fraction of what it costs to freight wool by rail from the interior of the United States to the manufacturers of wool in this country.

Insurance, railroad transportation, pressing and handling, etc., cost in this country two or three or even four times as much as to transport by sea from foreign ports. So there is no natural protection, but it is quite the reverse.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I presume the Senator would have some argument to prove that the transportation of Canadian wools would also cost very much less than would the transportation of our own wools. Whatever points of this sort are made, a shrewd and ingenious man will be able to find out some causes for the difficulty with which he has to contend.

But, Mr. President, the naked fact stares us in the face that we are proposing a tax of 100 per cent on a raw material which must enter into the manufacture of a class of goods which must be used by all of the 70,000,000 of our population. It is an absolute necessary of life. From the cradle to the grave it has to be used, all classes of people everywhere must have it, and you can not increase the cost of the raw material that enters into the manufacture without proportionately increasing the cost of the manufacture. So you are levying a tax, you are putting a burden upon the masses of the people of the country, men, women, and children, old and young, and for what purpose?

The chairman of the Ways and Means Committee of the House, in making a statement about the effect of the bill as he proposed it, stated that roughly the amount of revenue to be raised from the tariff on wool and woolens would be $67,813,013. He estimated that $87,000,000 would go into the Treasury as the result of the tax on raw wool and the manufactures of wool. Here is an enormous amount of money to be raised on an absolute necessary of life. What is the purpose in levying that tax of $67,000,000? Is it for the purpose of raising revenue? Judge Lawrence, the man who stood for the woolgrowers in insisting on this tax being levied, said plainly and distinctly that it was his purpose to exclude wools, to prevent them from coming into the country; that it was not for the purpose of revenue at all; that he had no such intention. I presume when the committee, although they did not follow his wishes to the full extent, levied a tax amounting to 100 per cent, their purpose was not one of revenue, but it was one of protection.

Mr. WARREN. Mr. President——

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. If the Senator will pardon me until I finish this statement, I wish to call the attention of the Senate to the fact that when we propose to levy a tax on wool and woolens of $67,000,000, Judge Lawrence himself stated that the value of all the sheep in the United States at this time is a fraction over $61,000,000. Yet we are to have an annual tax levied upon the men, women, and children of this country amounting to $67,000,000 for the purpose of protecting $61,000,000 worth of sheep all over the country, in the sagebrush deserts of the West——

Mr. GEAR. I wish to suggest one fact to the Senator from Arkansas. When the so-called Wilson bill was passed we had 47,000,000 sheep in this country, worth $125,000,000. At the present time that number has declined to 38,000,000 sheep, worth $61,000,000.

Mr. MILLS. And the very next year after the Wilson bill was passed, as is shown in the official report, 309,000,000 pounds of wool were sheared from sheep in the United States—the most wool that ever had been sheared in the United States.

Mr. GEAR. And at the same time we imported 47½ per cent of our wool, wool that should have been grown in America.

Mr. MILLS. It was all used up by our manufacturers, and gave employment to our people in the United States.

Mr. WARREN. I ask the Senator from Arkansas to yield but a moment. I assume the Senator does not want to make an untruthful or unfair statement. He has made a statement here that the carpet wools under this bill are to be taxed 100 per cent. Is that correct?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Yes.

Mr. WARREN. I have in my hand the current market rates of wool for Saturday, June 19, and I ask that they may be read at the desk.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I do not want a newspaper article read in my speech. I am willing to yield to any reasonable interruption, but I object to having a newspaper article injected and read at the desk. The Senator can have his own time when I get through, and read as many of those things as he chooses.

Mr. WARREN. I will not embarrass the Senator further. Facts are stubborn things to get around, and the Senator is in a close place, I admit.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. You provide yourself for a tax of 4 cents on carpet wool, and I have stated what the tax on carpet wool would be.

Now, Mr. President, before the Senators interrupted me I was endeavoring to call attention to the fact that we were providing, according to Mr. DINGLEY's statement, for the levy of $67,000,000, levied every year, which was intended to go into the Treasury, and which was to protect $61,000,000 worth of sheep, and that the wool clip from those sheep each year was worth $20,800,000. So the American people are to be saddled with a burden of $67,000,000 a year to increase the price of $20,000,000 worth of wool owned by a handful of American citizens.

Mr. MILLS. And the capital was yielding 33 per cent.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. And, as my friend the Senator from Texas states, the capital yielding nearly 30 per cent. In view of this statement, will anybody doubt the truth of Judge Lawrence's statement when he said more than once before that committee, "It is protection that we are after?" He certainly meant what he said when he declared that it was protection the woolgrowers are after.

When the taxes are levied upon raw wool and the $17,500,000 which Mr. DINGLEY estimated would be put into the Treasury yearly on raw wool is paid by the manufacturers, everybody in the Senate and in this country knows that when the manufacturers spin that wool into fabrics, the price of those fabrics must be increased by this amount of money at least in addition to the profit in the business which must come into the account. They will at once, and without any hesitation, add the total amount of the tariff paid, and nobody will question the right of the men in a business way to add to the price of the fabric the cost of the material. The $17,500,000 is a part of the cost of the raw material; they have to pay it: they are out that much money, and when they make their goods, it must increase the price of the goods. And when this additional tax increases the value of American wool in the same proportion, you begin to see to what point the tax goes and how Judge Lawrence was gratified in being after protection.

About two-fifths of the wool consumed in the United States, on an average, is imported; about three-fifths is domestic wool. Whatever the tariff may be on wool is intended to increase the price of wool by just so much as the tariff puts on. If the price of foreign wool is increased to the manufacturers by $17,500,000, if two-fifths of the wool consumed costs the manufacturers $17,500,000 more than it would cost before the passage of the bill, then there must be the three-fifths costing between $25,000,000 and $26,000,000 more. So here is the tariff, a tax put upon the manufacturers and charged on the product, to be ultimately paid by the people—$17,000,000 going on the raw wool that comes from abroad, and $25,000,000 to $26,000,000 being paid upon the domestic wool; $17,000,000 going into the Treasury, and between $25,000,000 and $26,000,000 going into the pockets of the woolgrowers—a tax levied for a private purpose, a tax levied by the power of the Government on the consumers all over the country to swell the private fortune of the men engaged in this industry; an exercise of power which this Congress has not; an exercise of power that was never intended to be given to any Congress and which can not be rightfully exercised here now.

Here is an incidental tax of $26,000,000 upon raw wool, while raising $17,000,000 for the Treasury. But that is the raw-wool feature of it, and that alone. We manufacture, according to the census of 1890, about $380,000,000 worth, I believe—possibly it is $320,000,000—of woolen goods in the United States. All these goods have to be increased in price by the increased price of raw wool that the manufacturers consume. When we were proposing to put wool on the free list, I remember that I had a careful estimate made at the time to show how much the burden upon the people would be lightened by putting raw wool on the free list and allowing the tax of 40 per cent on woolen goods instead of the rates that prevailed before. There was then an average of about 45 per cent on the woolen goods. Under the McKinley bill it was 98 to 100 per cent, and the estimate that we made at the time was that there would be a saving to the people of the country of $150,000,000 in the aggregate on woolen goods by the reduction in the amount of the tariff that we paid then.

Mr. GRAY. Every year.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Every year. Now we propose to reimpose these high rates, and make them higher than they ever were before in the history of this country. We are to impose the most infamous burden of taxation ever conceived for the purpose of burdening the masses of the people. I have not had the time to go into a full calculation, but I have shown a reasonable inference that the incidental taxation, the taxation for private benefit which goes on the raw wool, will amount to $25,000,000 or $26,000,000 a

year. The increased tax on woolen goods will be infinitely more; I believe it will be $150,000,000 a year, conservatively stated.

Mr. President, when a short time ago we had under discussion Schedule E of the bill and were proposing to raise something like $50,000,000 on sugar, facts and arguments adduced in this Chamber showed that certain interests in this country would receive an incidental benefit by the passage of that schedule which amounted to five or ten million dollars, and that excited the indignation of men everywhere. It was constantly reiterated here that if we did thus and so it would increase the profits of the sugar refiners and the sugar producers one, two, three, four, or five million dollars, they perhaps getting from five to ten million dollars incidental benefit by the levying of $50,000,000 taxes on the people. But here we have a proposition in this woolen tax, $67,000,000 according to Mr. DINGLEY's account, which will result in a tax on the people, which does not not go into the Treasury, of not less than $150,000,000 a year. And yet Senators sit quietly in their seats. The feeling of indignation that one should feel would naturally stir men's hearts, but it seems to make no impression on those who contemplate these enormous taxes.

All through this tariff bill there run provisions which are called compensatory duties which it is proposed to levy. We have not reached that part of the bill, but its iniquities are so completely interwoven with each other that they may as well be taken up one after another. Yes, it is in that part of the bill we are on. Paragraph 353 provides that—

> The duty on wools of the first class which shall be imported washed shall be twice the amount of the duty to which they would be subjected if imported unwashed; and the duty on wools of the first and second classes which shall be imported scoured shall be three times the duty to which they would be subjected if imported unwashed.

That runs through the bill everywhere. It can only be done on the theory that it will take 2 pounds of unwashed wool, as I have already said, to make a pound of washed wool; and that it will take 3 pounds of unwashed wool or wool in the grease to make a pound of scoured wool. If it does not require that quantity to do it, there can be no justification for this increase of taxation.

I have just sent to the desk to have printed in the RECORD a table which shows that the Port Phillip wool, the wool which all the wool men admit constitutes three-fourths of all the wool we import, shrinks only 2 for 1; that is, 2 pounds of Port Phillip wool in the grease will make 1 pound of scoured wool. Yet we are constantly providing for three times the duty on scoured wool that will be levied on the wool in the grease. Where is the justification for it? Where can any man say it is right? Nobody will deny that 2 pounds of Port Phillip wool in the grease will make a pound of scoured wool. That being the case, if there is any excuse on earth for compensation, the tariff ought to be doubled on scoured wool instead of being made three times what it is on the other.

When we get further along we find that this system continues to climb up. When we go to the item of yarns we find that they provide that the tariff on 1 pound of yarns shall be three and one-half times the tariff on the raw wool of which it is made. On what theory? Two pounds of the raw wool make the yarn. Why do you put a tariff of three and a half times the tax on the raw wool? When we get to the cloth we find that instead of being 2 to 1 or 3 to 1, as it was before, it climbs up higher and higher, increasing the burden of taxation as it goes, and they provide for four times the tax on raw wool for every pound of woolen cloth, on the theory, it must be, that it takes 4 pounds of unwashed wool to make a pound of wool in the cloth. This statement will show, as I have said again and again, that 2 pounds of wool will make 1. But that is not all.

Following it down to ready-made clothing, making it from the cloth into clothing, a man would think there was some great loss in wool somewhere, for the bill provides that there shall be on clothing a tariff for each pound of four and one-half times what the tariff was on 1 pound of unwashed wool. That is not the whole tariff. If it was, there might be some reason for it; but in addition to this, a tariff is put on, as you call it, for compensation, and then in addition to that you levy a tax of 50 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. President, there can be no doubt what all this results in. I have taken the trouble to send and have prepared by a competent man samples of ladies' dress goods, giving their cost in England. The one I hold in my hand [exhibiting] is numbered 1. It is 27 inches wide, it is black luster Orleans, used for making men's summer coats. It is cotton warp and worsted weft. It costs 3⅞ pence per running yard; it weighs under 4 ounces to the square yard. The present duty would be 2.70 cents. Under the Senate bill it will be increased before we get through with it. We have already raised the tax on raw wool 25 per cent above what the Senate committee solemnly told us only a few weeks ago it ought to be.

We have raised it 25 per cent this morning. But taking the same article in the bill, the specific duty is 4.13 cents a yard instead of a total of 2.70 cents under the present law, and in addition to that there is a tariff of 50 per cent, which is 3.37 cents, making a total tax of 7.50 cents instead of 2.50 cents as the difference between the present law and the bill as proposed by the Senate committee. That is the tax, without counting the price.

I hold in my hand a sample of similar goods [exhibiting], cotton warp and worsted weft, costing 3¼ pence per running yard, weighing under 4 ounces to the square yard. Under the present tariff the duty is 3.10 cents; under the bill of the Senate committee the specific duty is 4.13 cents per square yard, and the ad valorem is 50 per cent, or 3.87 cents; making 8 cents tax instead of 3.10 cents per yard on these goods.

I shall not detain the Senate by going over all of these, and Senators who have a desire to look at them may see them here. They are, it seems to me, very instructive.

Then, Mr. President, I have samples of goods used for making men's clothes. The best class of goods of which I have samples here cost $2.90 a yard. It is valued at 12s. 6d. abroad. Under the Senate bill as it at present stands the total tax would be $2.18 on a cost of $2.90, or 75 per cent tax on these high-grade goods.

Then another specimen I have here costs $2.36 a yard, and the total tax is $1.71, making 72 per cent tax on these high-grade goods. But I have frequently called attention to the fact that every Republican tariff always provides for the lowest rate of taxation on the highest priced goods and the highest rate of taxation on the lowest priced goods.

Here are two articles [exhibiting] that cost $2.90 and $2.36, respectively, which are taxed at 72 and 75 per cent. When we come to the lower class of goods, here is an article [exhibiting] that costs 46 cents a yard—a nice grade of goods, but cheaper than the others—and the tax on that is 111 per cent. I have another here that costs 50 cents a yard, and the tax on that is 110 per cent. When we get to one that costs 32 cents a yard, the tax runs up to 128 per cent. Here is another [exhibiting], costing 66 cents a yard, and the tax is 132 per cent. When we get down to an article that costs 22 cents a yard, the tariff changes to 159 per cent; on an article that costs 31 cents a yard, the tariff is 185 per cent.

Mr. GRAY. That is $185 of tax on $100 worth of goods.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Yes; $185 of tax upon what costs $100.

Mr. President, three years ago the Congress of the United States in lowering taxation put these goods on the free list. I had printed in the RECORD the other day a table which showed the steadily increasing volume of wool in this country and the number of pounds of wool produced here and retained for home consumption. In 1890 there was produced $275,000,000 worth, and we imported $105,000,000 worth. In 1895, instead of $105,000,000 worth, there was imported $305,000,000 worth, and during that time we produced of the home clip $206,000,000 worth instead of $275,000,000. This shows the change in the amount of wool produced and brought in from abroad.

I have in my hand a table showing the importations, by months, of all-wool woolens and worsted cloths fit for men's wear, the heavier class of woolen goods, which is carefully made up. I desire the attention of the Senate to what this statement shows. In January, 1895, the month that free wool began, there was imported from the United Kingdom $1,666,345.70 worth of these goods. In January, 1896, one year afterwards, there was imported $1,321,766.30 worth, a decrease of nearly $300,000. In January, 1897, there was imported $542,286.01, a steady decrease in the volume of these all-wool woolens and worsted cloths. I will print the table in the RECORD, and I am satisfied that all gentlemen who are interested in this question will be very much impressed in seeing the steady decrease in the volume of these goods imported into this country from England, Germany, France, Belgium, and Austria.

The table referred to is as follows:

Importations of all-wool woolens and worsteds (cloths) entered at the port of New York from January 1, 1895, to May 1, 1897.

Period.	United Kingdom.	Germany.	France, Belgium, and Austria.
1895.			
January	$1,666,345.70	$358,023.18	$133,529.92
February	1,279,270.29	144,523.71	95,171.93
March	1,213,045.83	151,563.12	55,085.05
April	891,951.58	116,410.83	56,534.48
May	891,050.12	95,728.62	30,662.40
June	1,064,807.92	213,954.56	85,719.19
July	1,283,203.11	257,293.33	84,870.41
August	1,235,994.27	194,446.88	63,283.36
September	883,633.40	149,224.64	64,474.31
October	1,303,129.81	100,882.61	38,329.91
November	885,023.05	149,418.36	41,026.50
December	1,036,899.11	226,536.67	73,180.37
Total	13,534,354.19	2,158,006.51	827,867.74

Importations of all-wool woolens and worsteds (cloths), etc.—Continued.

Period.	United Kingdom.	Germany.	France, Belgium, and Austria.
1896.			
January	$1,321,706.30	$235,019.03	$95,856.29
February	873,171.23	147,840.00	67,641.01
March	669,479.27	109,177.96	40,520.97
April	414,788.15	33,260.58	14,916.82
May	306,041.67	47,564.80	10,873.21
June	371,668.59	161,431.08	35,727.71
July	642,337.12	182,123.18	41,997.64
August	415,419.56	146,975.88	26,926.03
September	137,806.81	85,606.83	14,131.79
October	193,580.52	51,813.56	9,518.68
November	186,981.92	45,702.78	13,565.99
December	282,181.66	149,218.76	49,100.88
Total	5,815,222.80	1,395,824.44	430,777.02
1897.			
January	542,286.01	97,780.83	19,314.47
February	487,215.34	61,706.95	8,899.62
March	712,882.20	147,005.43	45,895.68
April	1,242,409.26	266,959.36	84,140.88
May	981,409.87	216,031.86	54,431.05

Wool consumed in United States:

1894	346,712,000
1895	509,159,000
1896	538,989,000

Mr. ALLEN. Will the Senator permit me a question at that point?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Certainly.

Mr. ALLEN. Does not the Senator believe that the constant decrease in the importation of wool and woolen products during the last two or three years is due largely, if not wholly, to the fact that money has been so scarce, its volume so small, and prices so low in this country that there has been practically no market for goods of that character?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I fully believe that that accounts very largely for the shrinkage of the volume of goods consumed in this country, and, although the prices were low, although the prices had come down to a level the like of which never had been seen before for such goods, the financial condition of the people was such that they were utterly unable to buy and use and consume these goods. I believe when you succeed in raising the prices of these goods, as it is the intention to do by the passage of this bill, that the result will be a still greater decrease in the quantity of these goods consumed by our people. You can not make the people rich by taxing them, and you can not make them prosperous by making them pay higher prices for what they have to buy without giving them increased facilities for doing so.

Mr. ALLEN. It is said, if the Senator will permit me, that after this bill is disposed of, and next winter we are to revise our currency laws, retire the greenbacks and legal-tender notes and have an inflated national-bank currency, a very large expansion of national-bank issues, and that therefore we shall have more money to purchase goods and the prices will come back.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. We have been promised prosperity in more ways than one. We have been assured that it was coming, and we have been told that it had come. The information that prosperity had arrived has even gone into the pages of the RECORD of this body since we have been in session, but the people are not deceived by that sort of thing. I am one of those who believe that the people of this country are capable of self-government. I believe that they have sense enough and patriotism enough to know what their rights are, and that they have nerve enough as men to assert those rights, and I believe that the solution of all these questions will come in God's own good time. I believe that all these things have to be gone into and examined as they arise, one by one, and when they have been fully and fairly understood, I believe there will be no doubt about the people of this country doing what they ought to do.

Mr. ALLEN rose.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. If the Senator will permit me to finish this sentence, one of the strongest characteristics of the Anglo-Saxon people everywhere is conservatism. I believe that the great body of the American people are moved by the same feeling that inspired Davy Crockett when he said, "Be sure you are right, and then go ahead." I believe what our people first want to know is that there is no mistake about the course they ought to pursue, that it is the proper thing, that it is right, and then I believe they have manhood enough to carry it out.

Let them try this bill, if the friends of the measure of high protection are sufficiently strong in this body to put it upon the statute book, but when it has become the law of the land and the promised prosperity fails to come, as I am sure it will fail to come, then the question will be asked at once of these gentlemen, "You promised us prosperity by the passage of the tariff bill, and what do you propose to do now? How do you propose to give us prosperity now?" The people will be doubtful in their belief of what is promised them because of the failure at this time.

Mr. ALLEN. With the permission of the Senator, I should like to make this suggestion, that our Republican friends propose to bring about prosperity by international bimetallism, and they have already started by appointing a commission to go to Europe to negotiate. What does the Senator say as to the probability of that being a means of bringing prosperity?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Mr. President, I am a firm believer in bimetallism. I believe that prosperity will follow its adoption, and I look forward with pleasure to its coming from any source it may. If the efforts made by the present Administration are sufficient to bring it about, I will be thankful when it shall come. I confess that I have no faith that it will come in that way. I believe that Great Britain will stand like a lion in the path. We have been told again and again that it is to the interest of Great Britain to have payments made in gold. We know that when the interest upon the debts that we owe to Great Britain and when the interest upon the debts that are due to Great Britain from Australia, from South America, and from the Capes is paid that it will require twice as much of the fruit of the labor of those men to pay a given amount of interest as it did when the debts were contracted.

A narrow, selfish view would be that this would be beneficial to her. She shuts her eyes to the fact that the man who killed the goose that laid the golden egg did not advance his own interest. When the failure of the Argentine Republic to meet its obligations absolutely wrecked it financially, the losses that were entailed upon British capitalists were such as to shake her financial system to its foundations. If she continues to press the advantage she has in this country and in Australia until prices are lowered so that the same thing takes place here, the result will be that, instead of paying tribute of all we possess, of turning over all that the labor of these people is able to make to liquidate her debts, there will be destruction of the principal as well as of the interest, brought about by her own rapacity.

Mr. President, we have recently witnessed a spectacle in the East that ought to satisfy all of what we are to expect. We have seen Christians in arms struggling for life and liberty and for the right to govern themselves against the infidel Turks, and we have seen Great Britain, in defiance of public sentiment, in utter disregard of the traditions and history of her own people, standing on the side of tyranny and oppression and wrong rather than on the side of Christianity and right. It shows her course was inspired by the reason that was given in this very aisle by the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] when he said that the value of the Ottoman bonds would determine the course of Great Britain in that struggle. Great Britain will look after her own selfish interests; she will do as she has done in the past, until the time shall come when the American people are ready to say, "We are willing to do right, and we intend to do right; we shall be glad to have Germany, France, and Great Britain join us in an effort to do right; but whether they go or not in the right direction, we appeal to high Heaven and the sense of right which inspired our fathers a century ago, and we will go forward and do what the best interests of this country and of mankind require."

I have in my hand a table of the imports of manufactures of wool and cotton, goat hair and cotton, and other mixed goods, showing the quantity imported each month since the woolen schedule under the Wilson law went into effect down to last month. It makes an astonishing showing. I shall not detain the Senate by reading it now, but I shall insert it in the RECORD as showing what the effect of the lower rate of taxation on woolen goods has been.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the table will be inserted in the RECORD.

The table referred to is as follows:

Importations of manufactures of wool and cotton, goat hair and cotton, etc. (cloths), entered at the port of New York from January 1, 1895, to May 30, 1897.

Period.	United Kingdom.	Germany.	France, Belgium, and Austria.
1895.			
January	$216,797.88	$32,055.89	$30,520.80
February	171,700.57	20,518.20	24,998.32
March	251,552.74	24,169.75	25,205.95
April	283,853.56	18,415.34	11,835.59
May	312,925.19	15,910.27	3,524.13
June	296,788.48	13,878.33	4,050.64
July	465,794.90	21,216.65	7,250.45
August	516,285.87	35,308.86	1,732.09
September	615,836.16	25,544.04	3,690.36
October	723,234.53	16,676.26	2,012.96
November	509,296.76	22,124.80	
December	240,456.94	11,884.98	1,513.92
Total	4,584,512.58	257,700.42	116,281.24

Importations of manufactures of wool and cotton, etc.—Continued.

Period.	United Kingdom.	Germany.	France, Belgium, and Austria.
1896.			
January	$543,591.48	$6,412.77	
February	471,068.17	5,573.05	$1,134.47
March	648,353.61	7,302.06	
April	417,676.13	9,448.79	2,429.79
May	368,126.78	4,502.76	1,674.44
June	200,020.59	22,511.06	11,639.63
July	250,223.82	55,077.95	41,837.05
August	193,944.47	76,364.20	17,818.92
September	248,089.35	47,930.97	17,875.21
October	220,441.88	29,777.31	32,509.46
November	230,060.88	30,096.03	14,423.34
December	133,220.71	54,273.02	32,552.87
Total	3,990,817.87	348,579.97	173,930.17
1897.			
January	115,385.44	43,343.40	34,947.44
February	158,304.92	53,369.50	25,431.92
March	269,451.62	67,752.97	44,306.12
April	909,084.99	102,382.84	93,915.96
May	665,775.27	133,014.88	74,101.31

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I also have a table showing the value of woolen dress goods, women's and children's, imported into the United States for the three years 1895, 1896, and 1897, which is equally interesting with the other, and which I am sure Senators will find interest and profit in carefully examining.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the table referred to will be inserted in the RECORD.

The table referred to is as follows:

Imports of dress goods, women's and children's (wool), into the United States.

Month.	1895.	1896.	1897.
January	$2,918,548	$2,406,971	$1,452,946
February	2,022,933	2,367,229	1,007,535
March	1,851,647	1,334,572	1,109,040
April	1,249,350	557,894	2,214,633
May	789,499	267,453	
June	1,424,055	702,353	
July	3,245,413	1,951,702	
August	2,814,849	1,584,983	
September	1,902,802	613,711	
October	1,248,895	232,824	
November	1,106,804	263,074	
December	1,914,630	750,681	
Total	22,540,485	13,059,447	

Imports of raw wools, May, 1897.

Class I	26,865,080
Class II	4,778,323
Class III	12,300,282

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Mr. President, the wrongs I have pointed out in this bill and in the system it proposes are not all that are proposed, and while I am summing up some of the iniquities of this bill I will call attention to some others. As a sample, I will read the first few lines of paragraph 365:

365. On blankets, and plain flannels, composed wholly or in part of wool, valued at not more than 40 cents per pound, the duty per pound shall be the same as the duty imposed by this act on 1¼ pounds of unwashed wool of the first class, etc.

I desire to call especial attention to the fact that I have pointed out to the Senate already that whenever there is a pound of goods made in each process there shall be a tax of four or four and one-half times the tax on the raw wool that enters into the goods, on the theory, of course, that it takes 4½ pounds of raw wool to make a pound of cloth. I have shown you how monstrous that was. I have shown that 2 pounds of unwashed wool will make a pound of scoured wool, and that will go through the balance of the operations of manufacture practically without loss, and that these provisions for the imposition of three, and four, and four and one-half times the tax on scoured wool as compensation for the manufactured product is an effort to compensate people for money they do not pay out, and it is not just or fair.

But there is another thing you will notice. Go to the flax schedule, for instance, and you will find a provision levying a tax on articles composed wholly of jute or of flax, or of which these are or either of them is the component material of chief value, so that if jute or flax shall constitute less than one-half the value of the article, they shall pay the tax on the other article and not on the jute and flax. Our friends on the other side do not propose to levy the taxes in the woolen schedule in that way. They do not propose to levy these compensatory duties in proportion to the amount of wool absolutely entering into the manufacture of cloth; but they provide:

365. On blankets, and plain flannels, composed wholly or in part of wool, valued at not more than 40 cents per pound, the duty per pound shall be the same as the duty imposed by this act on 1¼ pounds of unwashed wool of the first class, and in addition thereto 30 per cent ad valorem.

These goods may be composed of nine-tenths cotton and one-tenth wool, and yet the compensatory duty is three times the tax on 1 pound of the wool that is used in the manufacture of the fabric—not in proportion to the wool that is in the fabric, but three times its whole weight, whether it is flax or silk or cotton or what not, it makes no difference. When that paragraph is reached, I propose to offer an amendment to provide that this wool compensation shall be in proportion to the wool that enters into the composition of the fabric; that if it is one-half wool, the compensation shall be made for the wool that is in it; if it is all wool, that they shall have twice as much compensation; but if it is one-fourth wool, they shall have compensation for the amount of wool actually in it, and not compensation for the pound of cotton that is put in each pound of wool, and then charge three times the amount levied upon the wool as compensation for this tariff.

In this connection, Mr. President, it may be well to call attention to another thing. I mentioned in the Senate some days ago, when I made some remarks on this subject, that here is a provision to levy these taxes of two, three, four, and four and a half times the rate on the raw wool to compensate the manufacturer. This is upon the theory that the wool has paid the tariff; that, for instance, on a suit of ready-made clothing, for each pound that has been used in the manufacture of it, 4½ pounds of raw wool have been used, and that the tax has been paid upon that 4½ pounds of raw wool.

I wish to call attention to the fact that there is undoubtedly at this time in this country, already imported, wool enough to run our woolen mills for the next twelve months. There is no justice and no fairness in allowing a compensation to woolen manufacturers for a tariff on wool which has come in without paying any tariff at all.

In 1893, when we were undertaking to frame a tariff bill, the woolen manufacturers came before the Committee on Ways and Means of the House of Representatives, and I distinctly remember that one man stated: "I have $400,000 worth of woolen goods piled up in my warehouses; it has been impossible for me to sell it; I have paid the tariff required by the McKinley law on the wool that enters into this fabric, and I ought not to be compelled to sell these goods in competition with goods woven with free wool."

It seemed right and fair that there should be an opportunity for men so situated to sell their goods before the provision of the law making wool free went into effect; and hence a provision went into the bill, by the consent of everybody, I think, that the woolen schedule should take effect on the 1st day of January following the passage of the bill. The wool came in free, and the tariff on the woolen goods went into effect at a subsequent time; so that the market was left to these people.

Now, this same class of manufacturers, these same men, are here. They are wanting this tariff bill to be framed justly and equitably for them, but the conditions are exactly reversed. They have a supply of free wool on hand, which they have brought in without paying tariff duties. There is no justice or sense in allowing them a compensatory duty of one, two, three, or four, or four and one-half times the amount of the duty upon wool upon which they have not paid a cent of tariff. There ought to be in this bill—and I propose to move an amendment to that effect before we get through with it—a provision that the specific rates provided for in this bill shall not go into effect until twelve months after the bill has passed.

There has been a great deal said, Mr. President, about the relative rates of taxation under the present law, under the pending bill, and under the McKinley law. The McKinley law proposed a tax of 11 cents a pound on wool of the first class. I have a statement from a London dealer giving the value of the average wool from the provinces in the London market for a number of years past, and the price of a bale of 400 pounds of wool was given as £14¼ for the year 1890. This would give a price of 18 cents a pound in the London market for the average provincial wools. In 1895 the same authority gives the value of a bale of 400 pounds of wool at £11, and in 1896 at £12.

A tax of 11 cents a pound, as proposed by the Dingley bill, would be the same amount of money specific that 11 cents a pound was in the McKinley law. But the 11-cent-a-pound tariff is a protection against wool worth 13.4 cents, and would be a much higher rate of taxation than the 11-cent tax on wool worth 18 cents. The rate under the McKinley law was 61 per cent; the rate under the Dingley bill, assuming the value of wool to be 13.4, would be 89 per cent, or nearly 50 per cent higher, although the apparent tax is exactly the same; or if a tax of 8 per cent was levied on that at 13.4 cents, it would make 59 per cent, almost the same ad valorem rate that was levied by the McKinley law.

When Judge Lawrence was here before the committee as the special representative of these people, he insisted on a tax of 24 cents on Australian wool, and stated that it was necessary to have that protection. That tax, if he could have had it, would have amounted to 274 per cent.

Mr. President, I do not think I have seen the iniquities of this

bill anywhere better stated than they are in this Bulletin of the National Wool Growers' Association. The statements are made by competent men, by wool men whose word certainly the majority of the Senate committee ought to accept as being authority. I read from the June number, page 122. They state:

The wool duties of 1890 were, in a large degree, a departure from the principle laid down in 1867, and they were the subject of severe and proper public criticism in consequence. They were fixed so high in relation to the then prices of wool that they necessitated duties on woolen goods equivalent to about 98 per cent ad valorem on the actual importations. Thus the wool and woolen schedule of that tariff became the central point of attack, and was largely responsible for the political revolution which resulted in the repeal of the tariff of 1890 and the passage of a law placing wool on the free list.

Mr. President, if this warning of the woolen manufacturers is true to-day; if their criticisms of the McKinley Act and the reasons they give for its appeal are true, I ask in the name of common sense how can the friends of this measure hope that it can remain on the statute books for any length of time, for the rate of woolen tax is not only as high as under the McKinley Act but higher. It is higher on the raw wool, higher on the manufactured wool, and higher clear through.

Mr. HOAR. What is the date of the article from which the Senator has read?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. June, 1897.

Mr. HOAR. Who is the author of it?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I think the expert of the Finance Committee on the Republican side, Mr. North, is the editor. It is an editorial, and I presume he wrote it. It seems to be good authority, and I hope that Senators will heed it. If they do not, they will hear from it later, I am sure.

That legislation has been followed by a decline in the prices of domestic wools to a level with the world's prices, a decline practically equivalent to the former duty, resulting in a slaughter of sheep and a loss to the woolgrowers which the manufacturers deprecate and are anxious to see remedied.

But if it was a political blunder for the Democratic party to transfer this industry suddenly from high protection to free wool, it would be an equal blunder, and, in an economic sense, a greater blunder, for the Republican party, with equal suddenness, to impose upon this necessary raw material duties much higher than have ever before been fixed, higher than are asked or expected upon any form of manufactured product, and avowedly intended to be prohibitory in their operation.

Mr. WARREN. I suggest to the Senator, in justice to himself, that the observations which he is reading refer to a bill that is not before the Senate and one which was very much higher. The strictures he is reading are directed to a bill that has never been before the Senate or the House, but was one proposed by a society of woolgrowers. I say that in justice to the Senator.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. My impression was that it was a criticism of the House bill. The Senator may be right. I am not positive about it. It seems to be a memorial addressed to the Ways and Means Committee. But I will continue to read it. The observations are right striking, and this is about the McKinley Act and its effect and the rate of taxation, 100 per cent. It is certainly applicable now, because the rate under the proposition, as you are going back to the House bill, will certainly be higher than under the McKinley Act:

The enactment of these rates of duty would exclude us from foreign wools of a character grown only to a limited and constantly diminishing extent in the United States, and absolutely necessary at the present stage of manufacturing development to enable us to maintain competition with foreign fabrics.

They are asked in the expectation that in the course of time, by the process of exclusion, we shall come to grow all these varieties of wool in the United States. We are justified by the world's experience and by the universal judgment of wool experts in saying that it is impossible that legislation based upon such expectation would be purely chimerical. In pursuit of this chimera you are asked to shut out foreign wools at a time when our domestic wool clip supplies less than one-half our actual requirements in the way of clothing for our people. If more moderate duties on wool, such as will add, say, 50 per cent, to the present domestic price—

Mr. Lawrence, who appeared before the committee here, gave 8 cents as the price of American wool, and we have put on 10. That exceeds 50 per cent on the American price—

will not encourage efforts to make up this enormous deficiency, it is clear that from an economic point of view the whole policy of taxing wool is a national blunder.

That the proposed duties are prohibitory, and intended to be prohibitory, was frankly admitted by Judge Lawrence before your committee; but it remains to demonstrate this fact by a detailed analysis of them, in their application to the world's wools. To this end we submit herewith (Appendix B) a statement that covers practically the whole range of prices of the world's wools of Classes I and II.

Mr. MANTLE. Would it interrupt the Senator from Arkansas for me to make a suggestion?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Not at all.

Mr. MANTLE. The writer talks about the present duty being prohibitory. I offer the suggestion that it is impossible to put a prohibitory duty upon wool, because we do not raise half as much as we consume. We must import the wool at any event.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I do not agree with the Senator that it is impossible to prohibit the importation of wool.

Mr. MANTLE. We can not prohibit its importation by duties.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I believe the financial distress of the people, with even the extremely low prices on woolen goods, has made it impossible for them to consume anything like the normal quantities of woolen goods, and that when the duties are increased the consumption will be decreased, and the higher you increase the prices the more and more you decrease the consumption until you can absolutely make it impossible for the people to buy woolen goods.

Mr. GRAY. Then, if I understand the Senator from Montana, the suggestion is that the woolgrowers have the consumers of the country in a measure at their mercy. They can not take refuge in prohibition—that is, refraining from importing at all—but are bound to stand the tax and pay the exaction that the woolgrowers choose to place upon them. They are bound to do it or freeze.

Mr. MANTLE. I do not look at it in that light at all. We are discussing the proposition of a protective tariff. I think it may be fairly said that the country has passed upon that question and has decided that there shall be a protective system. Of course the suggestion of the Senator from Delaware would go to everything else upon which we impose a duty with the ultimate purpose in view of producing the article at home.

The same objection would lie. There is no industry in which all the people of this country are engaged. We must protect them and foster them, if we are going to do it at all, one at a time as we come to them, by sufficient rates of duty to do it.

Of course the suggestion of the Senator from Delaware brings up the whole question of a protective tariff, or a tariff for revenue, or free trade, as the case may be. Whatever I may say I say from the standpoint of a protectionist. Looking at it purely from that point of view, I believe we can stimulate the production of wool in this country by proper protective rates of duty. Of course the other part of the argument, as to the wisdom and justice of a protective-tariff policy, has been gone over and over and over again.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut rose.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Arkansas yield to the Senator from Connecticut?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Certainly.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. I simply wish to ask the Senator if he would not before he closes state in what respect the duties in the House bill and in the Senate bill are higher than those under the McKinley Act?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I have just endeavored to state that.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. The rates per pound on wool are not higher on first and second class in the House bill and are lower in the Senate bill than they were in the McKinley Act.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. They are 1 cent lower, I believe, than the McKinley Act, but wool is decidedly cheaper now than it was then.

Mr. WARREN. Under the Wilson Act.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The ad valorem tax equivalent to 11 cents duty under the McKinley Act is less than the ad valorem tax equivalent to 10 cents under the pending bill. So the rate of taxation is higher in this bill than under the other. That a tax of 11 cents levied on wool that is comparatively high is not a lower rate than one of 10 cents levied on lower priced wools can not be defended for a moment.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Then, if the effect of the proposed law should be to get rid of the lower prices which have prevailed under the Wilson Act and carry the price of wool back to its price under the McKinley law, the duty would not be higher.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. This authority says that was not the effect of the McKinley law; that the effect of the McKinley law was that the price kept going down. That is the fact, as the Senator knows.

Mr. MANTLE. May I call the attention of the Senator from Arkansas to one fact?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Certainly.

Mr. MANTLE. It is in respect to the price of Port Phillip wool. I have learned from tables which I have just received from Mr. Justice that the price of Port Phillip wool—Australian wool—which is the character of wool most largely imported into this country under a protective tariff——

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Or any other.

Mr. MANTLE. A great deal more of other kinds of wool were imported under free wool. It has been South American wool, Cape wool, more of what we call the heavier shrinking wools than the light shrinking wools.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. A larger proportion, but the Port Phillip wool is the largest.

Mr. MANTLE. I agree with the Senator, but still much more of other kinds of wool came in.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. That is true. There is no doubt about it.

Mr. MANTLE. The price of Port Phillip wool, according to that statement, in eleven years has not varied more than two-tenths of a cent.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Mr. Lawrence, before the Ways and Means Committee, gave the price of Australian wool at 9 cents a pound.

Mr. MANTLE. In Australia.
Mr. JONES of Arkansas. In Australia.
Mr. MANTLE. At Melbourne.
Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The tax is levied on the value of the article in the principal market from which it comes. So the tax is levied on the Australian price of the wool.
Mr. MANTLE. I am simply stating what I find in Mr. Justice's table, received by me the other day, in which he states that the price of Australian (Port Phillip) wool has varied less than two-tenths of a cent in the last eleven years.
Mr. JONES of Arkansas. It is very remarkable that Port Phillip wool should have maintained its value all this time. The general average of wool prices has not been maintained. If the peculiar character of Port Phillip wool is such as to have maintained its price notwithstanding the general decline, I am not aware of the fact. Mr. Justice, however, is doubtless an expert in this matter, and his statement may be true, but there is nothing in my hands that has led me to think so.
Replying to the former position taken by the Senator when he and the Senator from Delaware had their colloquy, I should like to read some comments in the same article from which I was reading a few minutes ago. It says:

The proposed duties, then, would double, or more than double, the average cost of our raw materials. In this way they would enormously restrict the consumption of all kinds of wool fabrics.

Here, from this wool expert, is the consequence of the proposed high rate of taxation. He says:

The poorer people of the United States will not wear woolen clothing if its cost is carried by such legislation so far beyond the cost of cotton clothing.
It is apparently not understood by the woolgrowers to what an extent cotton fabrics have superseded woolens in men's wear, and correspondingly affected the prices of their product. There are certain goods—corduroys, Bedford cords, cottonades, Camelot jeans, and cotton cassimeres—which are used chiefly for these purposes, and which are remarkably good substitutes for woolens, being durable, warm, sightly, and hardly distinguishable from woolen when worked into garments. The striking advance in the manufacture of this class of cotton cloths has been somewhat checked during the past three years by the cheapness of woolens. But it is clear that you will give it a tremendous stimulus if you attach a duty of 15 cents a pound to wool at a time when cotton is selling for 7¼ cents, and thus make necessary a compensatory tax of 60 cents a pound upon woolen cloths, when these competing cotton cloths can be made and sold for 20 to 25 cents a pound.

It will not materially affect the proposition to say that wool is worth 10 cents and not 15 cents, and that the compensatory duties are 40 cents instead of 60 cents. Forty cents a pound would as much render impossible the use of these goods when you can buy the cotton substitutes for 20 and 25 cents a pound as would 60 cents.
Mr. MANTLE. May I inquire what the Senator from Arkansas is reading from?
Mr. JONES of Arkansas. From the same article in the Bulletin of the National Association of Wool Manufacturers of June, 1897.
Mr. MANTLE. If the Senator will permit me, I will say that it is pretty generally understood, I think, that the manufacturers are universally agreed that it is much better for them that they should have free wool; that it gives them a wider range to select from, and, of course, gives cheaper raw material. But it must be manifest that we can not have a protective system that does not protect all interests.
Mr. JONES of Arkansas. All except the 70,000,000 consumers.
Mr. MANTLE. They are part of the 70,000,000 consumers.
Mr. JONES of Arkansas. They are the foraging ground for the favored few.
Mr. HOAR. May I ask the Senator a question?
Mr. JONES of Arkansas. One at a time. I would prefer that the Senator from Montana should get through, and then I will hear what the Senator from Massachusetts has to say. I am a slow man.
Mr. HOAR. I wish to ask only one question.
Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I can not keep up with two at a time.
Mr. HOAR. I wish to ask only one question.
Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Oh, go ahead.
The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Montana yield to the Senator from Massachusetts?
Mr. MANTLE. I always yield to the Senator from Massachusetts.
Mr. HOAR. I desire to ask the Senator where he finds in this country those 70,000,000 consumers who do not produce anything.
Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I have not said there are 70,000,000 people who do not produce anything. On the contrary, the 70,000,000 consumers have produced what by unjust and unfair legislation has been taken away from them and put into the hands of a favored few, who have grown to be bloated millionaires, men having millions which they never worked for; men who have pocketed the gains of the laboring millions by and under the forms of law, not just; men who have pocketed what ought to belong to the masses of men, and it would make millions of homes now if the wealth of this country were distributed and put into the hands of the men who have made it.
Mr. HOAR. May I ask the Senator one more question?
Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Certainly.
Mr. HOAR. Has the Senator any particular reason for saying or affirming that the class of men he describes are manufacturers to any extent? Is it not true that for the last ten or fifteen years the average earnings of the manufacturers of this country, in the protected industries, have been about 4½ per cent?
Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I have no doubt that a great many manufacturers who have not been especially provided for in tariff bills and who have had no special representatives looking after their interests here whenever tariff bills were under consideration have had difficulty in getting along.
Mr. HOAR. May I ask the Senator a question?
Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Let me answer one question before the Senator asks another. They have had some difficulty in getting along. I will admit all that. But the men who have had special advantages under the legislation of the country have grown enormously rich, whether they are manufacturers or whether engaged in other business.
Mr. HOAR. I should like to ask the Senator in reference to the particular matter he is talking about, to wit, the woolen manufacturers of this country, whether it is not true that none of them are to be found among the list of persons who have become rich in this way, and whether for the last fifteen years their earnings have averaged more than 4½ per cent? Further—I will put all of the question in at once and let the Senator answer it—whether it is not true that the large majority of these bloated men of wealth are Democrats and free traders?
Mr. JONES of Arkansas. If the woolen manufacturers are making 4½ per cent now on their capital, when no other class of large investments in this country is making anything like such a profit——
Mr. HOAR. I said for the last fifteen years.
Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Why in the name of high Heaven do they come here and ask Congress to enable them to levy greater tolls on the people of this country to increase their fortunes? They have enough already.
Mr. HOAR. I said in the last fifteen years. Since the Democrats got into power they have not been making any money at all.
Mr. JONES of Arkansas. If they are not making any money at all, they are in about the condition of the balance of the country.
Mr. HOAR. Since the Democrats got into power, I suppose.
Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The men with whom I am familiar and whose condition I know are not only not making money, but they are not holding their own. The great agricultural masses of this country are losing money year by year. I know from personal observation. I was raised on a farm. I was raised among farming neighbors. I know the men now with whom I grew up. I know the homes they live in. I see them now and go amongst them, and I state what I know to be the sober truth when I say their condition is harder than ever before in their lives. I refer to men who have been honest, sober, and industrious; men who are living on the farms which they inherited from their fathers; men who can not be blamed for not doing their duty as good citizens.
They have mortgages on their homes, and they are suffering under incumbrances now as they never have before. Their condition is growing harder and harder all the time, and if the woolen people have not been making any money, I ask in the name of common sense if that is any reason why the policy of the Government should be reversed to enable them to compel the consumers of this country to pay higher prices for woolen goods and to enable the manufacturers to make money when nobody else is making any?
Mr. HOAR. It would seem to me, if the Senator will pardon me, that if what he says is true (and I dare say it is true ever since he got into power and tried his hand at making a tariff bill), it is a very good reason why the policy of the Government should be reversed, in order that all the people may be relieved of this difficulty.
Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The policy of this bill will result in taxing the great masses for benefits to a favored few and to nobody else.
Mr. ALLEN. I should like to call the attention of the Senator from Arkansas to a matter which I think he has overlooked. The Senator from Massachusetts seems to think he has made a point against the Senator from Arkansas upon the statement that the woolen manufacturers have earned only about 4½ per cent upon their capitalization. The woolen manufacturers in this country have been constantly watering their capitalization for thirty years, until the investment of a few thousand dollars has gone up into hundreds of thousands and millions of dollars, and it is upon the latter capitalization that the Senator from Massachusetts bases his estimate.
Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I think the point made by the Senator from Nebraska is a good one, and it is a proper answer to the suggestion of the Senator from Massachusetts.
Mr. HOAR. I desire to put on record my absolute denial of the fact of any such thing.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I wish to call attention to the fact——

Mr. GRAY. Before we leave the subject, I should like to understand the proposition made by the Senator from Massachusetts. If, according to his theory, there are a class of men, to wit, the woolen manufacturers, who for the last fifteen years—I think that was the period he assigned—have not been making over 4½ per cent, it is right and just and in accord with political ethics that they should recoup their losses or retrieve their depressed condition by levying upon the great mass of their fellow-citizens, and compel them by the exaction of a protective tariff to pay something more for the product which the producer has to sell. That is the proposition as I understand it, and that is a proposition upon which I am quite willing to go to the country or to submit to any tribunal whatever.

Mr. HOAR. I have made no such proposition. The woolen manufacturers——

Mr. GRAY. I did not say that the Senator verbally made it; but it seemed to me that was the proposition when it was reduced to its last analysis.

Mr. HOAR. It does not seem so to me at all. The woolen manufacturers, as can be shown by abundant statistics for the last fifteen years, down to the time of the passage of the Wilson Act, the fifteen years preceding that, did not make a profit averaging more than 4½ per cent on their capital. Since that law went into effect, most of them have made substantially nothing. But during that time in which the independence of the woolen manufacture of this country was achieved largely, its independence in the matter of manufacture and raising of wool, they were able to give support at good wages to thousands upon thousands of American citizens, who otherwise would have been compelled to remain idle or in squalid homes, and to purchase and use up the materials produced by thousands and thousands of American woolgrowers. And the policy which enabled them to do that was a policy which also was constantly lightening the burden of the price of their product to the American people.

The Senator from Delaware has been repeating over and over and over again the old familiar fallacy which is involved in this statement. It has been argued before the American people. They have been led to try the experiment. It was found to be a bitter, costly, and reckless experience, and it is hardly worth while now to be constantly answering that old argument, when the American people have answered it, after trying the experiment practically, after hearing it discussed theoretically in the campaign of 1896, and when the doctrine of protection has got so far into his own party that there are hardly three original free traders left in it.

Mr. GRAY. I never claimed any patent for originality in the statement I just made, but such as it was, and imperfect as it was, it was only in answer to the argument which has been repeated over and over and over again by the Senator from Massachusetts, until we have heard it so often repeated that we began to think there might be some merit in it. Therefore I produced, perhaps, the reply which has been repeated over and over again. That is all. The only point is that whatever that class may be—the wool manufacturers in this case—for whom the Senator is speaking, and the men they employ in their factories, they are infinitely small in comparison with the great body of the people upon whom they levy their exactions.

Mr. CHILTON. Some allusion has been made to the effect of the much-abused Wilson Act on the manufacture of woolens in this country. I am reminded of a statement made by Representative COCHRAN of Missouri, which I noted among others, in which he said that one of the largest woolen factories in the United States, located in the city of St. Joseph, Mo., was at work during the entire year 1896 for the first time in eight years. So the Wilson Act can hardly be claimed to have had a very destructive effect upon that industry.

Mr. GALLINGER. If the Senator from Texas will permit me, I will state that almost every woolen manufactory in the State of New Hampshire has been absolutely closed during the last two years.

Mr. GRAY. The woolen manufacturers here have filed a protest with the Senate of the United States against the proposed duties that are said to be made in their favor.

Mr. GALLINGER. I think not.

Mr. WARREN. The protest is not against the bill before the Senate or the bill as it came from the House, but a bogy man's bill to which they refer as being one presented by an association.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I do not propose to engage in any general discussion of the matter, but I desire to call attention to what seems to be a singular construction of a paragraph which I believe has already been read. I am not sure about it. Paragraph 355 says:

> The duty upon wool of the sheep or hair of the camel, Angora goat, alpaca, and other like animals, of class 1 and class 2, which shall be imported in any other than ordinary condition, or which has been sorted or increased in value by the rejection of any part of the original fleece, shall be twice the duty to which it would be otherwise subject.

I read to the Senate a few moments ago the comment of the manufacturers about the slovenly method of American woolgrowers in putting up their fleeces. It seems that the policy of the pending bill is not only to prevent improvement, but to make it a crime to improve the condition. You propose to visit a penalty by doubling the tax upon anybody who undertakes to bring wool into this market in a little more decent shape than it would otherwise come. I will read it again:

> In this particular—

Speaking of the dirty condition of American wools, the manufacturers say—

> he has made no advance in thirty years. On the contrary, his wools, as marketed, grow heavier and dirtier. Fifteen years ago our fine washed wools lost in scouring 48 per cent, and sometimes less. The average present loss in Ohio and Michigan wools is nearer 55 per cent. They are so poorly washed that they shrink as much as Australian wools, unwashed and unskirted.

And yet it would seem that the intention of the bill is to make the preparation of the wool in a somewhat more merchantable condition a crime, and double the tax for bringing wools in in any other than the ordinary condition.

Mr. President, there are a number of other provisions in the bill which are equally objectionable, but I shall not detain the Senate by discussing them at this time. I may have something more to say on the subject as we go further into the bill.

Mr. WARREN obtained the floor.

Mr. HALE. Will the Senator from Wyoming yield to me for a moment?

Mr. WARREN. Certainly.

DRY DOCK AT NEW YORK NAVY-YARD.

Mr. HALE. I ask the Chair to lay before the Senate a joint resolution which was received from the House of Representatives.

The joint resolution (H. Res. 61) to provide for the immediate repair of Dry Dock No. 3, at the New York Navy-Yard, was read the first time by its title and the second time at length, as follows:

> *Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled*, That the sum of $100,000 be, and the same is hereby, appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, and to be immediately available, to enable the Secretary of the Navy to execute pressingly needed repairs upon Dry Dock No. 3, at the New York Navy-Yard, as follows: For constructing and removing cofferdam, $48,000; for repairs to dock as recommended by board of survey, $30,000; for contingencies, $22,000; and the Secretary of the Navy is hereby authorized to expend said sums or so much thereof as may be needed for the purposes indicated in this resolution.

Mr. HALE. I ask for the present consideration of the joint resolution.

There being no objection, the joint resolution was considered as in Committee of the Whole.

The joint resolution was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

TRANSMISSISSIPPI AND INTERNATIONAL EXPOSITION.

Mr. ALLEN. I ask the Chair to lay before the Senate the joint resolution which has been returned from the House with amendments.

The VICE-PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the amendments of the House of Representatives to the joint resolution (S. R. 50) authorizing foreign exhibitors at the Transmississippi and International Exposition, to be held in the city of Omaha, in the State of Nebraska, during the year 1898, to bring to the United States foreign laborers from their countries, respectively, for the purpose of preparing for and making exhibits.

The amendments of the House of Representatives were:

On page 2, line 12, strike out "as may be or may be deemed" and insert "as the Secretary of the Treasury may deem."

On page 3, line 25, strike out "or proper" and insert "by the Secretary of the Treasury."

On page 3, lines 35 and 36, strike out "one year" and insert "three months."

Mr. ALLEN. I move that the Senate concur in the amendments of the House of Representatives.

Mr. CHANDLER. I do not think I shall oppose the motion, but I should like to have the joint resolution read in full as it will read if amended.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. If there be no objection, the Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read the joint resolution as proposed to be amended by the House of Representatives, as follows:

> Whereas the Transmississippi and International Exposition Company, of Omaha, Nebr., has extended invitations to various foreign nations to make exhibits at the Transmississippi and International Exposition to be held at said city A. D. 1898, which invitations have been accepted and space for installing foreign exhibits has been applied for and duly awarded, and concessions and privileges have been granted by the exposition management to the citizens and subjects of foreign nations; and
>
> Whereas for the purpose of securing the production on the exposition grounds of scenes illustrative of the architecture, dress, habits, and modes of

life, occupation, industries, means of locomotion and transportation, amusements, entertainments, and the like, of the peoples of foreign countries, it has become necessary for the Transmississippi and International Exposition Company to grant concessions and privileges to certain firms and corporations of the right to make such productions: Therefore,

Be it resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the act of Congress approved February 26, A. D. 1885, prohibiting the importation into the United States of foreigners under contract to perform labor and the various acts of Congress prohibiting the coming or bringing of Chinese persons into the United States, and all acts of Congress amendatory of said act or acts, shall not be construed to prohibit the bringing into the United States, under contract to labor, such mechanics, artisans, agents, or other employees or persons, natives of their respective foreign countries, as the Secretary of the Treasury may deem necessary for the purpose of making preparation for installing or conducting foreign exhibits, or preparing for installing or conducting any business authorized or permitted by virtue of any concession or privilege which may have been or may hereafter be granted by the Transmississippi and International Exposition Company of Omaha, Nebr., in connection with such exposition. Nor shall any such act or acts of Congress operate to prevent, hinder, or in any manner restrict any foreign exhibitor, representative, or citizen of a foreign nation, or holder of a concession or privilege from the Transmississippi and International Exposition Company, from bringing into the United States under contract any such mechanic, artisan, agent, or other employee deemed necessary by the Secretary of the Treasury for the purpose of making preparations for installing or conducting foreign exhibits, or preparing for installing or conducting any business authorized or permitted under, or by virtue of, or pertaining to a concession or privilege which may have been or may be granted by the said Transmississippi and International Exposition Company in connection with such exposition: *Provided, however*, That no alien shall, by virtue of this resolution, be permitted to enter the United States to perform labor therein, except by express permission, naming such alien, and then not for a longer time than three months after the close of the Transmississippi and International Exposition; and thereafter such person shall be subject to all the processes and penalties applicable to aliens coming into the United States in violation of any act of Congress prohibiting alien contract labor from being brought or coming into the United States.

SEC. 2. That all articles and property of any kind that may be brought to the United States from any foreign country to be placed on exhibition at such Transmississippi and International Exposition, as well as all tools and implements necessary or proper to be used in preparing for an exhibition and the equipment and paraphernalia of the exhibitors, artisans, laborers, and the like, shall be admitted to the ports of the United States free of duty, under such rules and regulations as may be prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury: *Provided, however*, That said articles shall be removed from the United States within six months after the close of said exposition. If not so removed, and the same shall be sold or disposed of in the United States, they shall be subject to the customs laws thereof: *Provided further*, That the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized and directed to make such rules and regulations as may be necessary, in his judgment, to carry into execution the provisions hereof and to prohibit the infraction of existing statutes, except as the same may be temporarily modified and changed by this resolution.

Mr. CHANDLER. The joint resolution seems to be sufficiently well guarded and it ought to pass.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on concurring in the amendments of the House of Representatives.

The amendments were concurred in.

RELIEF SUPPLIES FOR INDIA.

The VICE-PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the Acting Secretary of the Navy; which was read, ordered to be printed, and referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs, as follows:

NAVY DEPARTMENT, *Washington, June 21, 1897.*

SIR: Referring to public resolution No. 8, "Authorizing the Secretary of the Navy to transport contributions for the relief of the suffering poor in India," approved April 7, 1897, and to public resolution No. 12, amending the same, approved on the 1st instant, I have the honor to submit the following statement:

Immediately upon the passage of the amendment above referred to, this Department entered into negotiations for the charter of two steamers for the transportation of supplies from New York to India. On the 4th instant, however, a telegram was received from Mr. Louis Klopsch, proprietor of the Christian Herald, New York City, who was one of the parties most instrumental in collecting contributions of grain from various parts of the country, in which he stated that information had been received from three authoritative sources in India, declaring that it was now too late to send grain without great risk, and advising that the cargo be sold and money contributed instead. In view of this information, Mr. Klopsch asked that no further action be taken in the matter of chartering vessels.

On the 5th instant the Department addressed a communication to the collector of customs at the port of New York, who was, under the terms of public resolution No. 8, charged with certain duty in connection with the transporting of supplies, and asked for his views regarding the matters mentioned in the telegram of Mr. Klopsch. A letter has been received from the special deputy collector at New York, in which, acting for the collector, he concurs in the wisdom of sending money to India instead of chartering vessels for the transporting of grain.

I deem it proper to inform the Senate that, in view of the foregoing, this Department has abandoned its efforts to charter a vessel or vessels under the authority conferred by the resolution and amendment hereinbefore referred to.

Very respectfully, T. ROOSEVELT,
Acting Secretary.

The PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES SENATE.

THE TARIFF BILL.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 379) to provide revenue for the Government and to encourage the industries of the United States, the pending question being on the amendment of Mr. ALLISON, to add to paragraph 353:

The duty on wools of the third class, if imported in condition for use in carding or spinning into yarns, or which shall not contain more than 8 per cent of dirt or other foreign substance, shall be three times the duty to which they would otherwise be subjected.

Mr. WARREN. Mr. President, I do not intend to consume the time of the Senate with any extended speech. I intend only to take up a few of the most glaring misstatements, conscientiously made, no doubt, by the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. JONES] who has just closed his remarks.

It is said, and I think truthfully, that a chain is only as strong as its weakest link, and I conclude that an argument is only strong as it is truthful; that an argument based upon statistics and figures misquoted is wrong in just the percentage that the figures are wrong. If the figures are not correct, it is fair to presume that the opinions expressed are also incorrect.

The Senator from Arkansas has stated, and I think the RECORD will show that he repeated it, that the proposed duty on carpet wools is 100 per cent or more. I have here, first, a witness from the Finance Committee on the Democratic side. I have in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of May 26 a statement introduced by the Senator from California [Mr. WHITE]. He states:

At this point I desire to insert in the RECORD certain tables regarding the pending bill which have been prepared under the direction of the minority of the committee.

Composed, I assume, of the Senator from Arkansas as one of its members. He says:

I think, in view of the information which they contain, it would be well to insert them here.

Passing along through the table submitted, we find that certain articles are quoted as those upon which the proposed duty is from 50 to 75 per cent; we find those from 75 to 100 per cent, those paying more than 100 per cent, and those that are higher than the McKinley Act. There certainly was room enough under those various tables submitted by the minority of the Finance Committee to have introduced wool in all its phases and to have stated whether higher or lower. Wool of the first class is not introduced in this table at all, which, inferentially, proves that it is less than the McKinley Act, and also less than 50 per cent ad valorem, the minimum which the Senator establishes in his table. Turning, however, to wools of the second and third class, we read the following:

Wool.

	Per cent.
356. Class 2, camel's hair	51.40
358. Hair of the goat, alpaca, etc	50.43

So it seems that the minority of the Finance Committee, of which the Senator from Arkansas is one, only claimed that third-class wool was taxed a trifle over 50 per cent ad valorem, while upon the floor to-day it is stated that it is taxed more than 100 per cent.

I have here the Commercial Bulletin, of Boston, dated Saturday, June 19, in which are given the market values of wools. I think the Senators upon both sides of the Chamber will admit that the Commercial Bulletin, of Boston, is a reliable sheet, and has the most reliable quotations of wool that are obtainable. I send to the desk and ask to have read the current prices upon wools.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read as follows:

[From the Commercial Bulletin, Boston, Saturday, June 19, 1897.]

MARKET QUOTATIONS.

DOMESTIC WOOLS.

	Cents.
Ohio and Pennsylvania:	
XXX	24
XX and above	22 @23
X	20
No. 1	22 @23
No. 2	22 @23
Fine unwashed	16
Unmerchantable	16½@17
Ohio delaine	22 @23
Michigan:	
X and above	18
No. 1	21 @22
No. 2	22
Fine unwashed	14½@15
Unmerchantable	16
Michigan delaine	20 @21
Kentucky, Indiana, and Missouri:	
Combing—	
Three-eighths blood	18½@19
One-fourth blood	18½@19
Braid	18½
Clothing—	
Three-eighths blood	18 @18½
One-fourth blood	18 @18½
Coarse	18
Texas (scoured basis):	
Spring—	
Fine, 12 months	38 @39
Fine, 6 to 8 months	35 @36
Medium, 12 months	34 @35
Medium, 6 to 8 months	33 @34
Fall, fine	31
California (scoured basis):	
Spring—	
Northern, free, 8 and 12 months	37 @38
Northern, free, 6 to 8 months	35 @36
Southern—	
12 months	35 @36
6 to 8 months	33 @35
California (scoured basis)—Continued.	
Fall—	
Free	29 @30
Defective	25 @27
Oregon (scoured basis):	
Eastern—	
No. 1	34 @36
No. 2	33 @34
Valley—	
No. 1	32 @34
No. 2	30 @32
No. 3	29 @30
Territory staple (scoured basis):	
Fine	39 @40
Fine medium	38 @39
Medium	35 @36
Territory ordinary (scoured basis):	
Fine	37 @38
Fine medium	36 @37
Medium	34 @35
Colorado and New Mexico:	
Improved	12 @15
Coarse and carp	12 @14
Georgia and Southern	18 @19
Pulled wools (scoured basis):	
Fine A	35 @38
A supers	33 @35
B supers	31 @33
C supers	26 @28
Fine combing	35 @37
Combing	31 @33
California—	
Finest	37 @38
Second	36 @37
Western—	
Extra	33 @35
Super	30 @33
Low	24 @27

MARKET QUOTATIONS—Continued.

FOREIGN WOOLS.

Clothing and combing.

	Cents.		Cents.
Australian:		Merino	16 @16½
Port Philip combing	22 @27	Canadian combing	24 @25
Port Philip clothing	20 @24	English and Irish:	
Adelaide combing	20 @21	Irish hogs	23 @23½
New Zealand clothing	20 @24	Irish wethers	22 @22½
Fine crossbred	23 @26	Shropshire hogs	23 @23½
Cape clothing	15 @16	Shropshire tegs	22 @23
Cape combing	16 @18	Sussex tegs	25 @26
Mont. Primera	17 @17½		

Carpet wools.

Aleppo	10 @10½	Georgian:	
Angora	11 @11½	B O	13 @14
Bagdad:		B	11 @12
Black	16 @17	B S	10 @11
Fawns	17 @18	Kandahar	19 @20
Whites	18 @19	Karadi:	
Bokhara:		Choice	16
Colors	12 @12½	Ordinary	14 @15
White	13½@14	Joria and Vicaneer	21
Camel's hair, Russian	10½@11	Khorassan:	
China:		Colors	12 @13
Ordinary	9 @10	White	17 @18
Combing	10 @13	Mohair, Turkish	32 @35
Cordova	11½@12	Mosul:	
Donskoi:		Washed	16 @17
Autumns	13 @14	Unwashed	11
Combing	18 @20	Oporto	19
Colors	14 @15	Salonica	12 @13
Lambs	13 @14	Scotch	12½@13
East India filling:		Valparaiso	10 @11
Choice	12 @13		
Low	10 @12		

Mr. MILLS. I notice by the statement of imports here that 96,661,663 pounds were imported into the United States last year, worth 9.6 cents a pound.

Mr. WARREN. That was last year. We are legislating and debating to-day upon the market prices of to-day. I am introducing the market prices of the 19th of June.

Mr. MILLS. This is the market price on imported wool, which we have in our tables here, and which is taken as the basis of the action of the majority in framing the bill.

Mr. WARREN. If I have computed correctly the percentage proposed by the Senate committee's bill upon carpet wools, according to the Bulletin table just submitted, it does not exceed in a single particular on a single wool in any grade of the carpet-wool class 44.4 per cent ad valorem, while, on the other hand, it goes as low as 20 per cent ad valorem. So, when the Senator from Arkansas makes the statement that the rate proposed on carpet wools is 100 per cent or more ad valorem, he states a proposition or figure five times as high as the truth upon some classes of wool, as the market of to-day shows, and nearly two and one-half times upon other classes.

Mr. President, the American people are not at this time accepting vehemence, emphasis, and assertion. They accepted that in 1894. They accepted the statement that free wool would raise the value of wools to the woolgrower and reduce the cost of the finished product to the wearer. But the people to-day are looking for facts.

As I said in opening, I do not propose to consume the time of the Senate to comment upon any of the argument that is based upon figures so distorted as those that have been introduced. I simply submit the figures and let them go in the RECORD, and the American people of to-day will take the figures and facts rather than unproven assertions.

Mr. CHILTON. I offer an amendment to the pending bill, which will be presented at the proper time.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment will be printed. The pending question is on the amendment proposed by the Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON]. The amendment will be read.

The SECRETARY. Insert at the end of paragraph 353 the following:

The duty on wools of the third class, if imported in condition for use in carding or spinning into yarns, or which shall not contain more than 8 per cent of dirt or other foreign substance, shall be three times the duty to which they would otherwise be subjected.

Mr. MANTLE. I ask for the yeas and nays on the amendment.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. PENROSE (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Delaware [Mr. KENNEY]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. PROCTOR (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Florida [Mr. MALLORY].

Mr. RAWLINS (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Ohio [Mr. HANNA].

Mr. TILLMAN (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. THURSTON]. In his absence I withhold my vote.

Mr. WELLINGTON (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the junior Senator from North Carolina [Mr. BUTLER], and therefore withhold my vote.

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. PLATT of New York. I am paired with my colleague [Mr. MURPHY], and therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. BURROWS. I am paired with the senior Senator from Louisiana [Mr. CAFFERY]. I transfer my pair to the Senator from Nevada [Mr. JONES], and vote "yea."

Mr. PENROSE. I transfer my pair with the Senator from Delaware [Mr. KENNEY] to the junior Senator from Illinois [Mr. MASON], and vote "yea."

Mr. PASCO. I wish to announce that the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. BATE] is necessarily absent from the city, and that he stands paired with the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. HAWLEY].

The result was announced—yeas 29, nays 26; as follows:

YEAS—29.

Allison,	Fairbanks,	McBride,	Shoup,
Burrows,	Foraker,	Nelson,	Spooner,
Carter,	Frye,	Penrose,	Warren,
Chandler,	Gallinger,	Perkins,	Wetmore,
Clark,	Gear,	Platt, Conn.	Wilson.
Cullom,	Hale,	Pritchard,	
Davis,	Hoar,	Quay,	
Elkins,	Lodge,	Sewell,	

NAYS—26.

Bacon,	Harris, Kans.	Morgan,	Teller,
Berry,	Jones, Ark.	Pasco,	Turpie,
Chilton,	McLaurin,	Pettigrew,	Vest,
Clay,	Mantle,	Pettus,	Walthall,
Cockrell,	Martin,	Roach,	White.
Gorman,	Mills,	Smith,	
Gray,	Mitchell,	Stewart,	

NOT VOTING—34.

Aldrich,	Faulkner,	Kyle,	Proctor,
Allen,	George,	Lindsay,	Rawlins,
Baker,	Hanna,	McEnery,	Thurston,
Bate,	Hansbrough,	McMillan,	Tillman,
Butler,	Harris, Tenn.	Mallory,	Turner,
Caffery,	Hawley,	Mason,	Wellington,
Cannon,	Heitfeld,	Morrill,	Wolcott.
Daniel,	Jones, Nev.	Murphy,	
Deboe,	Kenney,	Platt, N. Y.	

So Mr. ALLISON's amendment was agreed to.

Mr. MANTLE. I desire to submit a substitute for paragraph 353, with some little changes in my amendment as heretofore stated. I ask that it be read.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Montana will be stated.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to strike out paragraph 353, and in lieu thereof to insert:

The duty on wools of the first and second class which shall be imported washed shall be twice the amount of the duty to which they would be subjected if imported unwashed; and the duty on wools of the first, second, and third classes which shall be imported scoured shall be three times the duty to which they would be subjected if imported unwashed.

Mr. MANTLE. Mr. President, the amendment which I have just submitted proposes to double the duties upon washed wools of the second class as well as upon those of the first class, and to treble the duties upon all classes of wools.

I regret that the friends of the woolgrowers here should have accepted the amendment which has just been adopted. In my judgment, it will do absolutely no good whatever, so far as the exclusion of third-class scoured wools is concerned, for I believe there will be none, or scarcely any, scoured wools of the third class coming into this country which will not contain more than 8 per cent of impurities. So the amendment heretofore adopted, if I am correct, simply amounts to nothing. The scoured wools will come in without the payment of additional duty.

So far as second-class wools are concerned, there was a reason when the law of 1867 was passed for the admission of those wools without the imposition of an additional duty. Those reasons are stated in the woolgrowers' memorial briefly, as follows:

The acts of 1867 and 1883 imposed less duties on combing wools—

That is, wools of the second class—

than on clothing wools, especially less in view of the lighter shrinkage in scouring of the former than of the latter. There were reasons for this at the time the act of 1867 was passed:

(1) The world's production of the long wools of the mutton breeds of sheep—the combing wools—was relatively small, so small in this country that they are not found in the price quotations until 1869. (Tariff Hearings, 1449.)

(2) The worsted manufacturing industry, then in its infancy in this country and requiring these wools—unable then to use merino wools—needed encouragement.

(3) The demand for large protection came chiefly from those engaged in the production of merino—

That is, wools of the first class—

the principal clothing wools—and

(4) Hence the relatively low duties on the long wools were adopted. But all these reasons and conditions have ceased to exist. All these wools are now clothing wools; all can be carded, all can be combed.

(1) The worsted manufacturing industry now can and does use the improved grades of merino wool equally with the long wools of the mutton breeds;

(2) This branch of manufacturing is as firmly established as any other.

This is shown by statistics which I shall not stop to quote.

There is absolutely no reason which can be advanced here in support of the proposition for permitting second-class washed wools to come in without the payment of additional duty, just as in the case of wools of the first class.

In the first place, in their unwashed condition they shrink much less than wools of the first class, which gives them a decided advantage to begin with; that is to say, they produce so much more clean wool to the pound of unwashed wool that it makes the duty relatively small in their unwashed condition as compared with the duty on the first-class wool. As they now come in, they shrink from 15 to 25 per cent, as compared with domestic wool of the same character, which shrinks from 50 to 55 per cent. So in this way it will be readily seen that the growers of the second-class or combing wools in this country have their protection practically cut in two by the admission of those wools in their unwashed condition without the payment of additional duty.

It was well enough, it was wise enough, when this law was originally framed making these classifications, that this discrimination was made in favor of the combing wools; but, as is well stated in this memorial, the necessity for that discrimination no longer exists. All wools can now be combed, no matter how short the staple may be. The improvement in machinery is of such a character that the necessity for these distinctions no longer exists, and I have yet to hear a single good reason offered for permitting this part of the law to remain in this condition. The duty on second-class washed wools ought to be doubled just as it is upon wools of the first class.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Mr. President, when the Senator from Montana [Mr. MANTLE] was speaking before the last vote was taken, he alluded to the fact that in the act of 1883 scoured wools of the third class were included, as if that were a reason why they should be included in this bill at triple duties. That, as stated, was true, but it is not an argument why they should go into this bill, for the reason that then there was no such definition in the act of 1883 of scoured wools as is contained in the McKinley law and in this bill. Scoured wools had no definition in the act of 1883, and great troubles arose in administering the law as to what scoured wools were, and then in 1890, for the first time, scoured wools received a definition.

> Wool washed in any other manner than on the sheep's back shall be considered as scoured wool.

And that has been carried into the pending bill, so that the wool that is washed at all in any way, except on the sheep's back, is now considered as scoured wool in the pending bill and under the McKinley law. That was not so in 1883. Therefore the fact that scoured wools of the third class—indeed, of all classes in the act of 1883—were subject to a triple duty is no reason why, with this new definition which has been introduced, the scoured wools of the third class should pay the triple duty.

Mr. MANTLE. Mr. President, the necessity for that change in the law undoubtedly grew out of the fact that washed wools and scoured wools under the old definition were being brought into this country in practically a scoured condition, because no limitation was placed upon them. You can scour wool upon a sheep's back almost as well as after the wool is taken off. So it became necessary to put some definition, some limitation, to the point at which washed wool should be admitted—that is, as to what shall constitute washed wool. As I say, wool can be sufficiently scoured upon a sheep's back, and without this limitation, without this definition, the scoured wool would have come in under the washed-wool clause. But it seems to me that the rate proposed in the bill is low enough, so far as third-class wool is concerned, without making this additional concession.

As I have before stated, 98 per cent of all the carded wools which came in under the operation of the McKinley law came in at the valuation of 8½ cents per pound, notwithstanding the much higher prices which we have heard read and which the Senate has placed in the RECORD, from the Boston Commercial Advertiser, I believe it is. That is the dividing line, and the great bulk of those third-class wools will come in at the valuation of 10 cents or less. That has been the operation of that law heretofore, and unquestionably the same practice will be indulged in in the future. So the imposition of a triple duty upon scoured wools of the third class is absolutely necessary, if there is to be any further protection at all in respect to this class of wools.

Mr. CARTER. Let the amendment be again stated, Mr. President.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment will be read.

The Secretary read the amendment proposed by Mr. MANTLE as a substitute for paragraph 353.

Mr. CARTER. My colleague [Mr. MANTLE] will observe that the latter part of the amendment has been disposed of practically by the amendment previously adopted, that amendment being the sense of the Senate relative to third-class wools in an improved condition. I therefore suggest the propriety of a subdivision of the amendment, to the end that the Senate may vote directly on the question as to the insertion of the words "and second class," in line 18, after the word "first." If this separation can be made, I shall then ask the committee to accept the amendment.

Mr. MANTLE. In deference to the wishes of my colleague, I am willing to divide the proposition and take a vote upon either question, upon imposing a double duty upon washed wools, the second class, and next on, including all the classes in the treble duty on scoured wool.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. What is the proposition of the Senator from Montana?

Mr. CARTER. My proposition is that the amendment proposed be divided, to the end that we may vote separately upon the proposition to add "and second class" after the word "first," in line 18, page 115, and subsequently vote upon the question as to the triple duty on the third class of wool.

With reference to this treble duty, it is alleged as a fact that the imposition of three times the duty would absolutely annihilate the carpet industry of the country. I am sure it is not the disposition of anyone to involve this bill in any such inconsistency as that, nor am I prepared at this moment to say that such an unfortunate result would not be the necessary consequence of trebling the duty. It is admitted that these third-class wools shrink much less than the first and second class wools, and it is doubtless true that the amount of duty to be imposed upon scoured wools of the third class should be less proportionately than the amount of duty imposed upon first and second class scoured wools.

In reference, however, to the proposition that the duty should be doubled on second-class wools when washed, as well as upon first-class, it seems to me there can be little or no debate. In view of the separation of the amendment, I ask the committee to accept the amendment proposed, to wit, that the words "and second" be added after the word "first," in line 18, paragraph 353, page 115.

Mr. ALLISON. Mr. President, I appreciate the suggestion made by the Senator from Montana [Mr. CARTER]. My understanding is, as to wools of the second class, that they are generally washed on the sheep's back. There has been a very small importation of those wools from year to year, even under the free-wool provision. There were only 9,000,000 pounds imported last year. Under the law of 1890 there were only imported about 5,000,000 pounds of those wools. For the purpose of further examination, I am willing myself—and so far as I have been able to consult the members of the committee, they are willing—to insert tentatively the amendment suggested by the Senator from Montana who has just taken his seat, but I want to be more sure of the ground upon which we stand later on in the consideration of the bill. I am willing to accept it for the present in order that we may make progress with the bill.

Mr. QUAY. It seems to me there are differences of opinion in regard to paragraphs 353, 357, and 358 which, upon a little examination and consultation, may probably be adjusted. I think those paragraphs had better go over until to-morrow morning.

Mr. ALLISON. I will suggest to the Senator from Pennsylvania that so far as those paragraphs are concerned there is no difference, as I understand, respecting them.

Mr. QUAY. I understand there exists quite a difference of opinion between the two Senators.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. How would the paragraph read if agreed to as proposed to be amended by the Senator from Montana, whose amendment, as I understand, has been accepted by the Senator from Iowa?

Mr. CARTER. It would read as follows:

> The duty on wools of the first and second class which shall be imported washed shall be twice the amount of the duty to which they would be subjected if imported unwashed.

Otherwise the paragraph would remain unchanged. The words "and second" are the only addition.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I thought there was some proposition to change the remaining words in the paragraph.

Mr. CARTER. My colleague has an amendment pending to treble the duties.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I should like to have the paragraph read as it will stand if the amendment proposed by the Senator from Montana and accepted by the Senator from Iowa be adopted.

Mr. ALLISON. I will read it as it is proposed:

> The duty on wools of the first and second class which shall be imported washed shall be twice the amount of the duty to which they would be subjected if imported unwashed.

Then the remainder of the paragraph would stand as it is in the text, except the addition which has already been imported into it by a vote of the Senate.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. It would read:

> And the duty on wools of the first and second class which shall be imported scoured shall be three times the duty to which they would be subjected if imported unwashed.

Is not that a repetition of what is in the first part of the paragraph?

Mr. CARTER. One part relates to washed and the other to scoured wools.

Mr. ALLISON. I am willing that the words suggested by the Senator from Montana may be inserted for the purposes of more careful examination, and if it is found that I am mistaken in what I believe, which is that these wools are all now imported in a washed condition, we can recur to it.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Montana [Mr. MANTLE] accept the suggestion of his colleague [Mr. CARTER] as to the modification of his amendment?

Mr. MANTLE. I am perfectly willing to withdraw the amendment.

Mr. ALLISON. I understand the Senator from Montana farthest from me [Mr. MANTLE] withdraws his amendment.

Mr. CARTER. He accepts the amendment made with reference to second-class wools, and leaves the remainder of the amendment pending.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Let the paragraph be read as it will stand if this amendment is agreed to.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator desire to have read the clause as it will stand as modified by the Senator from Montana, who moves to strike out and insert a new paragraph?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. No, sir. I meant the amendment proposed by the Senator from Montana. If that amendment be accepted by the Senator from Iowa, then how will the entire paragraph read?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read as follows:

353. The duty on wools of the first and second class which shall be imported washed shall be twice the amount of the duty to which they would be subjected if imported unwashed; and the duty on wools of the first and second classes which shall be imported scoured shall be three times the duty to which they would be subjected if imported unwashed; and the duty on wools of the third class, if imported in condition for use in carding or spinning into yarns, or which shall not contain more than 8 per cent of dirt or other foreign substance, shall be three times the duty to which they would otherwise be subjected.

Mr. CARTER. I suggest that the word "class" should be made plural in line 18.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the amendment proposed by the Senator from Montana, inserting the words "and second" after the word "first," in paragraph 353, line 18, and to strike out the word "class" and insert "classes." Is there objection? There being no objection, the amendment is agreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. Now I propose on page 116, line 3, to make the text correspond with the amendment voted in some time ago. In line 3, after the word "wool," I move to add an "s," so as to read "wools," and then to insert "of the first and second classes;" so that it will read:

Wools of the first and second classes washed in any other manner than on the sheep's back or on the skin shall be considered as scoured wool.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. MANTLE. I wish to offer an amendment to paragraph 355. I move to strike out the words "Angora goat," in line 7, and insert after the word "animals," in the same line, the words:

And goats of all varieties and their crosses, other than the common goat.

Mr. ALLISON. I will ask the Senator from Montana if it would not suit his convenience to offer the amendment to the substitute for the entire paragraph? These are the amendments which are involved in the substitute which is already pending.

Mr. MANTLE. The substitute I offered this morning was, as I stated, prepared by the Wool Growers' Association. It covers everything and is a complete change. It covers all the clauses relating to wool. The amendment which I now propose is a slight amendment to the paragraph.

Mr. ALLISON. Let it be stated.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to strike out the words "Angora goat," in line 7, paragraph 355, page 116; and after the word "animals," in the same line, to insert the words "and goats of all varieties and their crosses other than the common goat;" so as to read:

The duty upon wool of the sheep or hair of the camel, alpaca, and other like animals, and goats of all varieties and their crosses other than the common goat, of class 1 and class 2, which shall be imported in any other than ordinary condition, or which has been sorted or increased in value by the rejection of any part of the original fleece, shall be twice the duty to which it would be otherwise subject.

Mr. MANTLE. I desire to say briefly in support of the amendment that I learn from parties well informed upon this matter that there are a number of other classes of goats which are grown in the same locality as is the Angora goat. They are not exactly Angora goats, but are crosses of that goat. As the language now stands in the paragraph, the belief is that by specifically mentioning the Angora goat the other grades and classes of goats belonging in the same variety will inferentially be excluded and will be included in the third class. This is the judgment of those who have given the matter considerable consideration, and in order to cover that, to the end that goats of like character, the same variety of goats, producing nearly as good hair, shall be included in that paragraph and subject to the duties of the second class, the amendment is proposed.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Montana.

The amendment was rejected.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 367, page 117, line 20, before the word "cents," to strike out "thirteen" and insert "ten;" in line 21, after the word "pound," to strike out "including charges, and on common goat hair;" and in line 22, after the word "be," to strike out "32 per cent ad valorem" and insert "4 cents per pound;" so as to make the paragraph read:

On wools of the third class and on camel's hair of the third class, the value whereof shall be 10 cents or less per pound, the duty shall be 4 cents per pound.

Mr. QUAY. I now renew my request that this and the succeeding paragraph may go over until to-morrow morning. They are very important to my constituents, and I do not care to proceed to their consideration this evening. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After fourteen minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened, and (at 4 o'clock and 50 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Wednesday, June 23, 1897, at 11 o'clock a. m.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate June 22, 1897.

CONSUL-GENERAL.

John Goodnow, of Minnesota, to be consul-general of the United States at Shanghai, China, vice Thomas R. Jernigan, resigned.

CONSULS.

L. Edwin Dudley, of Massachusetts, to be consul of the United States at Vancouver, British Columbia, vice William F. Peterson, resigned.

William Jarvis, of New Hampshire, to be consul of the United States at Milan, Italy, vice Diovol B. Spagnoli, resigned.

Horace W. Metcalf, of Maine, to be consul of the United States at Newcastle-on-Tyne, England, vice William S. Campbell, resigned.

ATTORNEY.

J. Otis Humphrey, of Illinois, to be attorney of the United States for the southern district of Illinois, vice William E. Shutt, resigned.

MARSHALS.

James M. Shoup, of Idaho, to be marshal of the United States for the District of Alaska, vice Louis L. Williams, to be removed.

Charles P. Hitch, of Illinois, to be marshal of the United States for the southern district of Illinois, vice William B. Brinton, resigned.

COLLECTOR OF INTERNAL REVENUE.

Richard Yates, of Illinois, to be collector of internal revenue for the eighth district of Illinois, in place of Joseph L. Wilcox, removed.

COMMISSIONER FOR ALASKA.

Philip Gallaher, of New Whatcom, Wash., to be a commissioner in and for the district of Alaska, to reside at Kadiak, vice Alphonso C. Edwards, resigned. The nomination of Philip Gallinger for said office, which was sent to the Senate on the 19th instant, is withdrawn.

JUSTICE OF THE PEACE.

Robert E. L. White, of the District of Columbia, to be justice of the peace in the District of Columbia (to be assigned to Brightwood), vice Robert W. Best, deceased.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate June 22, 1897.

CONSUL-GENERAL.

Charles E. Turner, of Connecticut, to be consul-general of the United States at Ottawa, Canada.

CONSUL.

George F. Lincoln, of Connecticut, to be consul of the United States at Antwerp, Belgium.

PROMOTION IN THE NAVY.

Ensign Edward Moale, jr., to be a lieutenant (junior grade).

COLLECTOR OF INTERNAL REVENUE.

Albert B. White, of West Virginia, to be collector of internal revenue for the district of West Virginia.

COLLECTOR OF CUSTOMS.

Joseph W. Ivey, of Oregon, to be collector of customs for the District of Alaska, in the Territory of Alaska.

POSTMASTERS.

Charles V. Hoffman, to be postmaster at Oskaloosa, in the county of Mahaska and State of Iowa.

Moses N. Harshaw, to be postmaster at Lenoir, in the county of Caldwell and State of North Carolina.

John M. Long, to be postmaster at Clay City, in the county of Clay and State of Indiana.

Charles W. Warner, to be postmaster at Hoopeston, in the county of Vermilion and State of Illinois.

Leroy L. Brinkley, to be postmaster at Edenton, in the county Chowan and State of North Carolina.

A. M. Lee, to be postmaster at Huntingdon, in the county of Carroll and State of Tennessee.

Lewis Signs, to be postmaster at North Manchester, in the county of Wabash and State of Indiana.

SENATE.

WEDNESDAY, *June 23, 1897.*

The Senate met at 11 o'clock a. m.

Prayer by Rev. HUGH JOHNSTON, D. D., of the city of Washington.

The Secretary proceeded to read the Journal of yesterday's proceedings, when, on motion of Mr. TELLER, and by unanimous consent, the further reading was dispensed with.

PACIFIC RAILROADS.

The VICE-PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the following message from the President of the United States; which was read, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Pacific Railroads, and ordered to be printed:

To the Senate of the United States:

Senate resolutions dated May 17 and 25 ultimo, requesting information concerning the Union Pacific and Central Pacific railroads, having been referred by me to the Attorney-General, I transmit herewith his replies thereto, dated the 19th instant.

WILLIAM McKINLEY.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, *June 23, 1897.*

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. HOAR presented a memorial of sundry citizens of Massachusetts, remonstrating against any increase in the present rate of duty on tanned skins for morocco, or a duty on raw goatskins; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. SEWELL presented memorials of Dodge, Bliss & Co., of Jersey City; of Chandley & Maps, of Long Branch, and of George Spottswood & Co., of Orange, all in the State of New Jersey, remonstrating against the imposition of a duty of $2 per thousand feet upon lumber; which were ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented memorials of G. & L. Becht, of Newark; of William Dorsett & Sons, E. E. Hogan, the Miller & Oler Shoe Company, Thomas Cart & Co., Harry Chandler, Johnston & Merchon, and John R. Potts, all shoe manufacturers in the State of New Jersey, remonstrating against an increase in the duty on tanned skins for morocco, or a duty on raw goatskins; which were ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented the petition of Thomas A. Kirkman and 26 other citizens of Trenton, N. J., and the petition of Linda M. Elmer and 23 other citizens of Seabright, N. J., praying for the enactment of legislation for a more rigid restriction of immigration; which were ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented the petition of Walter Rice and 8 other citizens of Bloomfield, N. J., and the petition of J. W. Eller and 48 other citizens of East Orange, N. J., praying for the early passage of the pending tariff bill; which were ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented memorials of Charles Smith and 1,240 other citizens of Newark, of sundry citizens of Jersey City and Bayonne, of John Ganty and 739 other citizens of Newark, of Robert Simonson and 24 other citizens of Newark, A. W. Snyder and 24 other citizens of South Orange, John Lambert and 24 other citizens of Newark, Neil O'Donnell and 408 other citizens of Bayonne, Frederick Gebhart and 11 other citizens of Elizabeth, and of M. J. Kohler and 68 other citizens of Newark, all in the State of New Jersey, remonstrating against an increase of the tax on beer; which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. FAIRBANKS presented memorials of W. S. Webb and 51 other citizens, of H. C. Clark and 21 other citizens, of C. B. Smith and 51 other citizens, H. E. Kirsel and 51 other citizens, N. A. Gordon and 51 other citizens, M. Engleman and 52 other citizens, W. Schoppenhorst and 51 other citizens, Holtzman & Leathers and 52 other citizens, I. J. Brown and 51 other citizens, X. Feibel and 51 other citizens, and of W. Furbush and 52 other citizens, all in the State of Indiana, remonstrating against the enactment of legislation intended to destroy the present system of ticket brokerage; which were referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

Mr. QUAY presented a petition of Branch No. 451, National Association of Letter Carriers, of Johnstown, Pa., praying that an appropriation be made for the payment of the judgment rendered by the Court of Claims in favor of letter carriers; which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

Mr. THURSTON presented sundry memorials of citizens of Nebraska, remonstrating against the enactment of legislation intended to destroy the present system of ticket brokerage; which were referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

Mr. MILLS presented the memorial of A. C. Mills and 52 other citizens of Texas, remonstrating against the enactment of legislation intended to destroy the present system of ticket brokerage; which was referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

Mr. BURROWS presented sundry memorials of citizens of Michigan, remonstrating against the enactment of legislation intended to destroy the present system of ticket brokerage; which were referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

Mr. CHILTON presented sundry memorials of citizens of Texas, remonstrating against the enactment of legislation intended to destroy the present system of ticket brokerage; which were referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

Mr. VEST presented sundry memorials of citizens of Missouri, remonstrating against the enactment of legislation intended to destroy the present system of ticket brokerage; which were referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

Mr. GORMAN presented sundry memorials of citizens of Maryland, remonstrating against the enactment of legislation intended to destroy the present system of ticket brokerage; which were referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

Mr. McENERY presented sundry memorials of citizens of Louisiana, remonstrating against the enactment of legislation intended to destroy the present system of ticket brokerage; which were referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

Mr. FORAKER presented sundry memorials of citizens of Ohio, remonstrating against the enactment of legislation intended to destroy the present system of ticket brokerage; which were referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

He also presented sundry papers to accompany the bill (S. 1064) for the relief of Harry S. Kellogg, administrator of the estate of Lyman M. Kellogg; which were referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

REPORTS OF A COMMITTEE.

Mr. TELLER, from the Committee on Claims, to whom were referred the following bills, reported them severally without amendment, and submitted reports thereon:

A bill (S. 1067) for the relief of the estates of Daniel Woodson and of Ely Moore;

A bill (S. 2177) for the relief of Mrs. Julia A. Humphries; and

A bill (S. 1166) for the relief of John L. Rhea, executor of Samuel Rhea, deceased, and John Anderson, administrator of Joseph R. Anderson, deceased.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Mr. FAIRBANKS introduced a bill (S. 2262) for the relief of Thomas F. Ryan; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. MORGAN introduced a bill (S. 2263) to provide for and to regulate the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands as a Territory of the United States; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. COCKRELL introduced a bill (S. 2264) to authorize W. W. Wheeler to prosecute a claim; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. COCKRELL. In the early part of the session I introduced a bill (S. 254) for the relief of W. W. Wheeler. I move that the Committee on Claims be discharged from the further consideration of the bill and that it be indefinitely postponed.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. GORMAN introduced a bill (S. 2265) for the relief of the legal representatives of Thomas H. Whaland, deceased; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

AMENDMENTS TO DEFICIENCY APPROPRIATION BILL.

Mr. CHANDLER submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the general deficiency appropriation bill; which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs, and ordered to be printed.

Mr. MORGAN submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the general deficiency appropriation bill; which was referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs, and ordered to be printed.

Mr. KENNEY submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the general deficiency appropriation bill; which was referred to the Committee on Commerce, and ordered to be printed.

CLAIM OF CHICKASAW NATION.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. I present two documents relating to the claim of the Chickasaw Nation with reference to the freedmen. One is the statement of a member of the Chickasaw Nation, and the other a statement in behalf of the freedmen. I move they be printed as a document for the use of the Senate.

The motion was agreed to.

INTERNATIONAL BIMETALLISM.

Mr. CHANDLER. I move to have printed as a document for the use of the Senate the report of the meeting of the French National Bimetallic League at Paris, May 28, 1897, and the report of the meeting of the English National Bimetallic League at Manchester, June 2, 1897.

The motion was agreed to.

THOMAS WILLIAMS.

Mr. TELLER submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Senate be, and he hereby is, authorized and directed to pay to Thomas Williams the sum of $1,500 for injuries received while in the discharge of his duties as an employee of the Senate in the year 1892, the same to be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate.

INVESTIGATIONS BY COMMITTEE ON INDIAN AFFAIRS.

Mr. PETTIGREW submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs:

Resolved, That the Committee on Indian Affairs be instructed, as now constituted, either by full committee or such subcommittee or committees as may be appointed by the chairman thereof, with the full power of such committee to continue during the coming recess of Congress the investigations authorized by the resolutions of May 13, 1890, and February 27, 1891, with the authority and in the manner and to the extent provided in said resolutions, and in the pursuance of such investigations to visit the several Indian reservations, Indian schools supported in whole or in part by the Government, and the Five Nations in the Indian Territory, or any reservation where, in the opinion of said committee, it may be necessary to extend their investigations.

Second. That said committee or subcommittee shall have power to send for persons and papers, to administer oaths, and to examine witnesses under oath touching the matters which they are hereby empowered to investigate, and may hold their sessions during the recess of the Senate at such place or places as they may determine; and the necessary and proper expense incurred in the execution of this order shall be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate, upon vouchers approved by the chairman of said committee.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION.

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. President, in yesterday morning's Washington Post I observed the following press dispatch sent from Lewiston, Me.:

BATEMAN'S SHOT AT BRYAN—HE DECLARES THE RECENT CANDIDATE GUILTY OF BRIBERY AND FORGERY.

LEWISTON, ME., *June 21.*

Prof. I. C. Bateman, of Auburn, who was the candidate of the People's Party of Maine for governor last year, and who is a leader of the middle-of-the-road forces in this State, to-day published an attack on William J. Bryan. Professor Bateman says that Populist Congressman FREEMAN KNOWLES, of South Dakota, while on his recent trip to his old home in Skowhegan, Me., gave out the information that Mr. Bryan's recent gift of $1,500 to the Populist national committee was made with the distinct understanding that no action against fusion should be taken by the People's Party before the next national convention.

This, Professor Bateman says, is nothing more nor less than direct bribery. Professor Bateman also says that Bryan has appended his (Bateman's) name to Senator ALLEN's letter of notification given out last September. Bateman was secretary of the notification committee, but did not sign the letter in question. He says that Bryan's action in printing his name on the letter in his new book is an act of political forgery. Professor Bateman is a delegate to the middle-of-the-road national conference at Nashville, Tenn., July 4. He says he will bring these matters before that body.

Perhaps I should not notice the contents of this dispatch in a public way, and I would not but for the fact that a distinct charge is made that Hon. William Jennings Bryan, of Nebraska, late a candidate for the Presidency of the United States, is charged by an irresponsible individual with having given me $1,500, "with the distinct understanding that no action against fusion should be taken by the People's Party before the next national convention." Bateman is also reported as having said that "Mr. Bryan appended his (Bateman's) name to Senator ALLEN's letter of notification given out last September." Each of these charges is false.

Some months ago Mr. Bryan conceived the idea that it was his duty to divide the royalty of his recently published book, The First Battle, to be used in support of the cause of bimetallism, and in doing so he allotted $1,500 to the Populist party. I did not desire that this money should be accepted by the party, and so advised the national chairman, who, I am informed, declined to receive it. Before I knew, however, of his declination, I received a dispatch from Mr. Bryan saying that a draft had been sent me for $1,500. The draft reached me almost concurrently with the message. I did not think it good manners to peremptorily return it, and I immediately notified him that I would hold it until he came to Washington. When he did come, which was within a few days, I undertook to persuade him that the money belonging to him should be kept by him, but this he declined.

In the conversation with me, however, Mr. Bryan said that as a friend and, to some extent, a representative of the Populist party, I ought to hold the money and use it at the proper time and under proper circumstances to promote the cause of bimetallism. I finally consented to do so on the condition that before it should be used he should say the intended use was a proper one, and that I would disburse the money only when he consented. Under the circumstances I asked the Hon. R. B. Nixon, financial clerk of the United States Senate, to invest the money in interest-bearing convertible securities, to the end that the money might accumulate and be used at a time when some great emergency in the cause of bimetallism should arise. That I did so is manifest from the following letter from Mr. Nixon, which I will read:

UNITED STATES SENATE, OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, June 22, 1897.

SIR: In answer to your verbal inquiry of this date, I have to say that the sum of $1,500, placed in your hands by Hon. W. J. Bryan some time ago, was at his and your request invested by me in interest-bearing, convertible securities, and they are now in my steel chest for safety. From a conversation had with me at the time, I understood that it was your purpose to hold these securities and the accumulating interest until some emergency in the cause of bimetallism might make its use desirable and necessary.

Respectfully,

R. B. NIXON.

Hon. W. V. ALLEN,
United States Senator.

Bateman's statement that there is or ever has been the slightest conversation or communication, direct or indirect, between Mr. Bryan and myself, or any other person or persons, for that matter, on the subject of fusion of the Populist and Democratic parties, is an absolute and unqualified falsehood. No conversation, agreement, or understanding has ever been had with me on the subject, nor has there ever been, to my knowledge, an attempt to fuse the parties, either nationally or locally.

The statement of Bateman that Mr. Bryan forged his name to the list of names appended to the letter of notification issued by me as chairman of the committee on notification is equally false. The committee consisted of a member from every State and Territory of the Union. It was a cumbersome affair at best and impossible to get together. It became apparent to me that it could not be done, and the precedents of the party in this respect being to notify the candidate by letter and not in person. I took it on myself, at the suggestion of several prominent members of the committee, to write the letter of notification. I wrote each member of the committee for his consent to issue the letter, and I asked for his advice as to the tenor and drift the letter of notification should take. I received, I think, letters from all, or substantially all.

I received several from Bateman, who was perniciously conspicuous in the affair, although he was not secretary of the notification committee as he asserts. I have never known of the letter being condemned by anyone except by Bateman, and possibly one or two others whose action he can control. I signed Bateman's name to the letter of notification at his express request.

Perhaps I ought to stop here with this bare statement of facts, but I may be permitted, without trespassing on the time of the Senate, to express my utter contempt for a rabid, irrational person, occupying no place of consequence in the party, who rushes into print and makes charges the truthfulness of which he knows nothing, thus creating the impression that something is radically and inextricably wrong in Populist circles. To put it mildly and admit that he is a good citizen, which I presume he is, as a politician he would wreck any party of which he was a member if his advice were to be followed. Impulsive to a high degree, irrational, excitable, and inconsiderate, he crazily seeks self-notoriety by assailing a man whom the people love. He has made himself conspicuous only in the small segment of the party to be found in Maine.

This assault on Mr. Bryan is inexcusable. There are no circumstances under which any honorable man could make it, for, whatever may be said of him and the cause he advocates, he is a superior man in every conceivable respect, and one acting from a high and lofty sense of public duty, and not from a selfish motive or a motive of self-aggrandizement.

I may also say within the bounds of propriety that I am not

afflicted in the slightest degree with Bateman's kind of Populism. If his opinions, policies, and "isms" were adopted and acted on by the party, I would find it necessary myself to retire from active connection with the organization. The Batemans, irrational, impracticable, and inconsiderate dreamers and fanatics, are the men who cling to the skirts of a new party like a night moth to a lighted taper, and becoming disappointed because they can not shape its course, desert it usually for its good.

Mr. President, the cause of bimetallism is the cause of the people, and the cause of the people is the cause of God; and no treachery in the ranks of the party will check its growth or mar the good name of its greatest advocate and leader.

Mr. BUTLER. Inasmuch as the matter referred to by the Senator from Nebraska has been brought before the Senate—a matter, however, which I think is hardly of sufficient consequence to have been brought before the Senate, if the Senator will pardon me—it is probably proper for me to say that the statement made by the Senator from Nebraska that this money was offered to me as national chairman to be used in the cause of financial reform is correct, and that I felt impelled to refuse to accept it. However, I thoroughly appreciated the motives that prompted Mr. Bryan to make the offer. It was not offered with any condition or proviso either express or implied, and I should have felt free to have accepted it and used it as the national People's Party committee might direct had it not been that such an act would be liable to be misconstrued.

In view of that fact and also the fact that the cooperative movement between the Populists and Democrats was only for that campaign and that future conduct would be guided by circumstances, upon the whole it was deemed best, not only for the People's Party, but also for the cause of reform, not to accept the contribution. When I declined, Mr. Bryan was put in an awkward attitude, he having publicly announced that he would distribute the money, and he therefore asked Mr. ALLEN to take it in trust for the present at least. He could not keep it without being criticised. I wish to say that I fully appreciate Mr. Bryan's motives and action in this matter, and think that he pursued the honorable and proper course.

THE INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate, as a part of the morning business, the resolution submitted yesterday by the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. BUTLER].

The resolution was read, as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on Privileges and Elections be, and is hereby, instructed to inquire into the feasibility of applying the principle of direct legislation, through the initiative and referendum, to the legislation of the Federal Government, and report to the Senate at the opening of the regular session of Congress in December, or as soon thereafter as practicable, by bill or otherwise, the result of said inquiry.

Mr. BUTLER. I had intended to speak at some length this morning upon the resolution, and to show that direct legislation is the essence of democracy and that our representative form of government might be improved and brought nearer the people by the application of the methods of direct legislation known as the initiative and referendum to Federal legislation. I intended to show how the ancient right of petition could be made effective by the initiative—how a given per cent of the voters could by petition command Congress or the legislature to heed their petition. I intended to show how through the referendum a certain per cent of the voters could demand that a law passed by Congress or the legislature deemed to be oppressive or grossly unjust be submitted to a popular vote.

I intended to enumerate a number of laws passed by Congress and the various State legislatures which the people would now repudiate and repeal if they had the opportunity to pass upon them. I intended to show how the referendum would destroy the pernicious influence and effects of the trust and monopoly lobby that infests legislative halls and too often influences the people's representatives to vote for measures against the public welfare. I intended to show how the system works in the Swiss Republic, and how in a modified way it is now employed to a greater or less extent in nearly every State in this country. And finally I had intended to show that the principle of the initiative and referendum could not be opposed by any Democrat who indorses the declaration of Jefferson that the people are capable of self-government, nor could it be opposed by any Republican who holds to Lincoln's idea that this should be a government of the people, by the people, and for the people.

However, I shall not take the time of the Senate this morning to discuss these matters, but will be content that the resolution be adopted and go to the Committee on Privileges and Elections. I will reserve my remarks until the regular session next December, when the committee named in this resolution makes its report. I do this, in view of the discussion on yesterday about efforts being made to delay the tariff bill, in order that the People's Party may not be responsible in the least for such delay. I am anxious for the Republicans to pass their tariff bill and have an opportunity to start up that promised wave of prosperity.

I ask that the resolution be acted upon now.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from North Carolina move that the resolution be referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections?

Mr. BUTLER. No, Mr. President. The resolution instructs the committee to inquire and report how far the principle of direct legislation can practically be applied to Federal legislation. The Senate must pass the resolution in order to instruct the committee to do this work. I ask that the resolution be now adopted by the Senate instructing the committee to make the report.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is, Will the Senate agree to the resolution?

The resolution was agreed to.

POSTAL SAVINGS BANKS.

Mr. BUTLER. I submit the papers on postal savings banks, which I had selected from consular reports, and also the papers to which the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. CHANDLER] referred yesterday morning as having been sent to the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads, and move that they be printed as a document.

The motion was agreed to.

THE TARIFF BILL.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The morning business appears to be closed. It is closed.

Mr. ALLISON. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of House bill 379.

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 379) to provide revenue for the Government and to encourage the industries of the United States.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The pending amendment of the Committee on Finance will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In paragraph 357, page 117, line 20, before the word "cents," strike out "thirteen" and insert "ten;" so as to read:

On wools of the third class and on camel's hair of the third class the value whereof shall be 10 cents or less per pound, etc.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Without objection, the amendment is agreed to.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 357, page 117, line 21, after the word "pound," to strike out "including charges, and on common goat hair;" and in line 22, after the word "be," to strike out "32 per cent ad valorem" and insert "4 cents per pound;" so as to make the paragraph read:

357. On wools of the third class and on camel's hair of the third class the value whereof shall be 10 cents or less per pound, the duty shall be 4 cents per pound.

Mr. QUAY. Do I understand that the first amendment, in line 20, was adopted?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The first amendment was agreed to.

Mr. QUAY. Then I move to reconsider the vote. My attention was distracted at the time it was passed.

Mr. ALLISON. By unanimous consent it may be reconsidered.

Mr. QUAY. I propose to move to lay all the committee amendments on the table. If there is to be discussion, I will postpone the motion until it is over. As I propose to call for the yeas and nays on the amendments, probably they had better be voted upon together.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to all the amendments of the committee to the paragraph.

Mr. VEST. Mr. President, I have no disposition to enter into the controversy between the woolen manufacturers and the woolgrowers. It is an old quarrel. It was patched up in 1867 and then broke out again in 1883, and it has been raging to a certain extent ever since.

I have before me this morning a copy of the Cotton and Wool Reporter, published in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, containing a letter from Mr. Lawrence, the shepherd king of Ohio and president of the Wool Growers' Association of the United States, in which he criticises very severely the position of the woolen manufacturers and the last amendments proposed by the majority of the Committee on Finance.

I do not propose to insert this communication in the RECORD, nor to read it, but I will state that the effect of it is what Mr. Lawrence has repeatedly said for the last five years in regard to the wool duties. In Executive Document No. 17, printed by the Senate, will be found the statements of Mr. Lawrence to the effect that the McKinley Act was a failure so far as the interests of the woolgrowers were concerned. As a matter of course he denounced the Wilson Act, which puts wools upon the free list, and he states that it caused an enormous decline in the price of wool, which is not the truth, as shown by the official report. He now reiterates his statement that the proposed duties will not benefit

to any great extent the woolgrowers of the United States, and demands still higher duties than any that have been proposed.

Upon the other hand, Justice, Bateman & Co. declare that this increase upon third-class wools amounts to nothing; that there are virtually no carpet wools raised in the United States; that there are only 15,000,000 pounds of these low-grade wools used in the manufacture of clothing, which, compared with the large amount of wool used in the United States, is almost infinitesimal. They also assert that one month's delay in the passage of this tariff bill will work more injury to the woolen manufacturers and the woolgrowers than a double increase of the amount proposed as an increase by the Finance Committee upon the third or low class wools.

This is a very remarkable communication. I do not know why it was sent to me; my views are very well known on the subject of wool; but I will ask the attention of the Senate to it. I do not think it is a waste of time to learn what these representatives of the woolen manufacturers of the United States, this great firm of Justice, Bateman & Co., think in regard to this very important question. I ask the Secretary to read it.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read as follows:

Hon. GEORGE G. VEST,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: There is a vast amount of misapprehension as to the influence of third-class or so-called carpet wools upon the American wool industry, which has evidently led to the increase of 1½ cents per pound by the Finance Committee in the duties on third-class wools (which grade or quality constitutes not over 1 per cent of the domestic production) as a suitable compensation or equivalent for a decrease of 3 cents a pound in the duties on wools of the first and second classes (which constitute 99 per cent of the wools produced in this country).

By the following table of class 3 wools (valued at 13 cents and under, imported during the only three full fiscal years of the McKinley law, dutiable at 32 per cent, and constituting 98 per cent of the total imports of this class), you will observe that the entire imports of this division during that period were 254,138,004 pounds. The average value was 8¼ cents. The average specific equivalent of the ad valorem duty of 32 per cent collected was 2½ cents.

The duty of 4 cents on these wools proposed by the amendments of the Finance Committee provides for an increase of 1½ cents above the old McKinley rates in the House bill on about the only kinds of third-class wools that were extensively imported when wools were dutiable, as will be seen by the following table:

Importations under the McKinley law of class 3, or carpet wools.

[Wools valued at 13 cents and under and dutiable at 32 per cent ad valorem.]

Year.	Pounds.	Per cent of all.	Average value per pound.	Duty per pound.
			Cents.	*Cents.*
1892	88,326,823	97½	9½	3
1893	130,145,464	97½	7½	2½
1894	35,665,717	98	9½	3
Total	254,138,004	98	8¼	*2½

*Average.

	Cents.
Duty proposed by the Senate amendments to the Dingley tariff bill, per pound	4
Duty in the bill (McKinley rates) as it passed the House...per pound	2½
Increase in duty by Senate amendments on wools costing 13 cents and under.....per pound..	1½

Since the McKinley law was passed in October, 1890, the average value in foreign markets of such third-class wools as were at that time valued above 13 cents has declined nearly 3 cents, and the average value of such wools imported during the three fiscal years, shown in the above table, was only 8¼ cents, proving that the lowering of the dividing line by the Finance Committee to 10 cents from the House value of 13 cents places consumers on the same basis as that existing in October, 1890, and that in no way will importers and manufacturers of third-class wools be embarrassed by this change. This increase in the duty proposed by this amendment is less than the periodical market fluctuations often taking place in the brief period of a few months, fluctuations which never disturb the business of the manufacturer, proving that this increase in the rate is a matter of no importance to him.

Therefore the average increase of 1½ cents per pound in the duties on the bulk of the carpet wools likely to be imported is a matter of such insignificance as to be of no appreciable benefit to the woolgrower nor serious inconvenience to the carpet manufacturer. It is a matter of far less importance to the domestic wool industry or to the carpet manufacturer than the injury that both will sustain by only one month's delay in the final enactment of the bill, especially since the retroactive clause has been expunged. So long as that feature remained in the bill, it was equivalent in practical effect to the actual enactment of the law on April 1. Since it has been eliminated, our ports have been thrown open to the unrestricted competition of foreign wools, which are 10 per cent cheaper than they were before the Senate amendments were reported.

So much importance has been given to third-class wools by astute friends of the woolgrowers with but limited knowledge of the actual practical workings of a tariff bill that the Finance Committee have evidently been convinced that an increase of 1½ cents per pound in the duties on the kinds of wool not produced in the United States would be a "quid pro quo" for the lopping off of over 25 per cent of the old McKinley rates which Mr. Dingley's committee had reestablished in the House bill, a change not likely to be of much benefit to domestic sheep husbandry, as the increase in the protective benefits of 1½ cents is not sufficient to encourage the woolgrower to reestablish the now almost extinct industry of producing third-class or carpet wools.

The importations of third-class wools during the six fiscal years 1891 to 1896, inclusive, were 588,799,080 pounds; about 15 per cent of this quantity, or 88,319,862 pounds, is the estimated quantity used for purposes other than carpets, making the annual use for clothing purposes of imported third-class wools about 14,719,997 pounds. While it is true that this class of wool is not grown to any important extent in the United States (and owing to the low cost of foreign carpet wool never will be), the annual consumption of 14,719,997 pounds for purposes other than carpets displaced to that extent a like quantity of the common grades of domestic wool.

If it were the intention of the Finance Committee to protect the American woolgrower by the increase in the duties on third-class wools, that would be indirectly accomplished to a limited extent, and therefore the Senate Finance Committee amendments to the House bill in this unimportant particular are better for the grower than were those of the old McKinley law; but the gain is so trifling as to make it a matter of indifference to him whether the Senate or the House rates on wools of the third class ultimately prevail, especially if any controversy is thereby brought up on this issue that may postpone the final passage of the bill or cause its defeat. The failure to make a new tariff now would shock the business and agricultural communities to their foundations. The effect upon the industries involved in the trifling changes in third-class duties is not worth fighting for. The interests of the American woolgrower are almost entirely limited to the protective benefits arising from the duties upon wool of the first and second classes, as they are about the only kinds of wool produced here.

As stated above, only 1 per cent of the American clip, or, say, 2,720,000 pounds, is used for carpet purposes, and it is even doubtful if any of it is any longer so used, for the roughest and coarsest wools produced here are capable of being used in the manufacture of the now fashionable rough goods.

The National Association of Woolen Manufacturers estimate the yield in clean scoured wool of the domestic clip at 115,000,000 pounds, and 1 per cent of this quantity would be 1,150,000 pounds, which is just about the amount of scoured wool that 2,720,000 pounds of the commonest of the American clip would produce in the fleece condition in which it is marketed by the farmer, with an estimated shrinkage in the process of scouring of 57½ per cent.

Importations under the McKinley law of class 3, or carpet wools.

[Wools valued at over 13 cents and dutiable at 50 per cent.]

Year.	Pounds.	Per cent of all.	Average value per pound.	Duty per pound.
			Cents.	*Cents.*
1892	2,233,262	2.5	14.5	7.5
1893	3,052,117	2.5	15	7.5
1894	264,867	.75	15	7.5
Total	5,550,186	2	15	*7.5
Duty proposed by Senate amendments to Dingley tariff bill				7
Decrease in duty by Senate amendments on wools costing over 13 cents				.5

*Average.

From the above table it will be seen that during the three full fiscal years of the McKinley law only 5,550,186 pounds of the finer grades of third-class or carpet wools costing over 13 cents were imported, which is an annual average of 1,850,000 pounds. The average importations of the wool dutiable at 50 per cent was only 2 per cent of all of the third class, the average value being 15 cents. The specific equivalent of the 50 per cent duty collected upon this wool was 7½ cents per pound, or half a cent more than the new duties of the Senate bill. These wools of the third class that cost over 13 cents under the McKinley law probably entered almost entirely into the manufacture of textiles other than carpet and came into more direct competition with the common grades of domestic wool than the third class wools that cost under 10 cents, and yet the committee has reduced the duties below the House rates on these finer grades of carpet wools, which we can produce, and increased them on the coarser grades, which we never did and never will produce.

The motive that actuated or the principle that guided the committee in reducing the duty below the House rates on the only kinds of carpet wools that America can produce, while consistent with their reduction of 3 cents a pound in the duties upon wools of the first and second classes, is incomprehensible, either from the standpoint of a tariff for revenue with incidental protection, or a tariff for protection to American industries, for all the wools of the first and second classes are those which directly displace American wools, and are those upon which the duties have been reduced; and those third-class wools, which take the place of the common domestic grades only and to the smallest extent, are those upon which the duties have been increased.

We commend to your respectful consideration the exposition of the facts of this unaccountable change from the excellent House bill. Viewed from the standpoint of a tariff for revenue only, or from the standpoint of a tariff for protection, there is no logical defense for the amendments made by the Finance Committee of the Senate. They are a direct stab at the American wool industry, the one which suffered the most severely at the hands of the last Administration. The unimportant changes made in the third-class wools from the House bill (such as the lowering of the dividing line from 13 to 10 cents, and the changing of the character of the duties from ad valorem to specific rates) are changes which to a limited extent will help the American woolgrower, and which will be of no inconvenience to the carpet manufacturer, as shown above; therefore, these changes should be retained.

The restoration of the McKinley rates upon wools of the first and second classes as passed by the House are the vital points, however, to the domestic industry. The interests of the growers are limited to the protective benefits arising from these alone. There will be no more nor no less foreign wool imported at the reduced duty of 8 cents than if the old McKinley rate of 11 cents that was in the House bill had been retained. Every Republican Senator and Representative for the past several years has upheld the excellence of the wool schedules of the McKinley law. It has not only been defended as a model, but has been upheld because under it both woolgrowers and manufacturers were prosperous. The McKinley rates on wools of the first and second classes were no experiment, and for this reason should be restored.

Very respectfully,

JUSTICE, BATEMAN & CO.

Mr. VEST. Mr. President——

Mr. QUAY. Before the Senator from Missouri proceeds, I wish to state that I have not seen the letter of Mr. Justice which he has just had read at the desk, but I should be glad to have, as a supplement to the letter of Mr. Justice, an extract read, which I

take from the Washington Post of this morning. It is in support of his statement as to the importance of the early passage of this tariff bill. If the consignees have been made aware of what was passing in the Senate on last Saturday, on Monday, and yesterday, they need not have expedited the departure of their vessels.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. In the absence of objection, the Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read as follows:

BIG CARGOES HURRYING TO 'FRISCO.

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., *June 22.*

The expectation of a new tariff law in early operation has resulted in the rushing of cargoes of oriental goods to this port. The British freight steamers *Glenavon*, *Hupeh*, and *Cluden* have arrived, and the *Glenshiel* is under way. These four steamers have a joint capacity of nearly 20,000 tons.

Mr. VEST. Mr. President, if anyone will take the trouble to read the communication of Justice, Bateman & Co., representing the woolen manufacturers, and then this long and elaborate statement made by Judge Lawrence, the president of the Wool Growers' Association of the United States, it will be easily seen how difficult it is for a layman to arrive at the truth in regard to this controversy. It is the old story of interested parties seeking their own interests, without the slightest regard to the consumers of the country. Justice, Bateman & Co., the highest authority upon the wool manufacturers' side in the United States, emphatically assert that there is a very small portion—fourteen million seven hundred and seventy-odd thousand pounds—of these low-grade wools brought in as carpet wools and used in the manufacture of clothing.

Here is Mr. Lawrence's statement that at least one-half of all the so-called carpet wools brought into this country are used in the manufacture of cloths. What are we to believe about this? Justice, Bateman & Co. assert that we never can produce in the United States carpet wools to compete with the foreign carpet wools; that the foreigners will be always able to undersell us under any tariff. Mr. Lawrence asserts over and over again that if the woolgrowers obtain their tariff, as he calls it—the woolgrowers' tariff—they will soon in a very few years produce all the wool of all three classes which is necessary for consumption in the United States.

But let either party prevail, and what will be the result? An increase in the price of woolen goods to the people of the United States, an article of prime necessity, an article absolutely needed from climatic conditions. No matter which prevails, whether we listen to our friends who declare that we can soon produce all these low-grade wools or to Justice, Bateman & Co. and the manufacturers of Philadelphia, in either event there will be an enormous increase in the price, and the people of the United States must pay the cost created by this advance.

Mr. President, as I said, it is not my purpose to enter into this controversy, because I say "a plague on both your houses." I believe in free wool, and intend at the proper time to move to strike out all these paragraphs and insert a provision for free wool, no matter what may be the result of the vote in the Senate; and I think I can prove by official data that the decline in the price of wool was never stopped for one instant until the passage of the so-called Wilson law in 1894, and that every high tariff you have put upon wool has resulted in a decline in the price of domestic wool.

Mr. RAWLINS. Will the Senator from Missouri yield for a question?

Mr. VEST. Certainly.

Mr. RAWLINS. I understand the Senator to be in favor of free wool?

Mr. VEST. Yes.

Mr. RAWLINS. The inquiry I wish to propound to the Senator is simply to get his position upon the question—because he is our leader on this side—in respect to protection to the manufacturer of woolen goods. Does the Senator favor high duties upon the manufactures of wool in order to give a monopoly to the woolen manufacturers and increase the cost of those goods to the consumer? I propound the question because I do not think the Senator does favor that policy, but I want an expression from him on that subject, if he will be kind enough to give it.

Mr. VEST. Everything I have said and done since I have been in the Senate would go for nothing if I could not answer that question in the negative. I am opposed to high duties. My reason for opposing this tax upon wool is because it does not increase the price of wool to the woolgrower, even if that were the object in view; and, in the second place—and that with me is an unanswerable argument—I want free wool, because when you put a duty on wool you immediately furnish an excuse for what they call compensatory duties to the manufacturer.

Mr. RAWLINS. Now, do I understand the Senator to concede the right to compensation in the shape of taxation upon articles to the consumers of those articles other than such compensation as results in the administration of the Government and the protection afforded alike to all citizens? In other words, does the Senator favor a specific compensation, giving increased power to charge higher prices to the people because an article is composed of a raw material upon which a duty is placed?

Mr. VEST. Mr. President, I favor free raw material; I favor the lowest possible revenue duty upon manufactured products. That is my position. I do not believe in this new doctrine that when the Government does not need revenue you are still to equalize taxation, whether it is necessary or not. I say the first inquiry that should be made is, How much money does the Government need in order that it may be conducted economically?

Mr. RAWLINS. I simply want to understand the Senator's position correctly, so that my people may understand it. He favors exempting from taxation what he calls raw material, such as wool, iron and lead ore, and coal, and things of that description.

Mr. VEST. Yes.

Mr. RAWLINS. That is, exempting them from taxation to the consumer of these articles. Is that right?

Mr. VEST. Certainly; that is my opinion.

Mr. RAWLINS. To impose a revenue duty upon the finished product of which these materials are the ingredients, so as to enable the producers of those articles to charge higher prices to the consumer.

Mr. VEST. Oh, no.

Mr. RAWLINS. In that way it operates as a protection, does it not?

Mr. VEST. No, Mr. President. I beg the Senator not to put me in the position of saying that I want an increase of cost on anything to the consumer.

Mr. RAWLINS. Very well.

Mr. VEST. The tariff I would impose would be a tariff from necessity to raise revenue. If it happens to effect an increase of cost to the consumer, that is something I can not avoid. I would put the higher duties on luxuries.

Mr. RAWLINS. The Senator will pardon me one moment further. If the necessary effect of a tariff is to increase the burden upon the consumer, including the producer of the raw material, and that benefits only the manufacturer of those products, do you not thereby destroy the uniformity of taxation?

Mr. VEST. Is the Senator through?

Mr. RAWLINS. I am.

Mr. VEST. I have stated my position upon these questions so often that I hardly feel like taking up the time of the Senate by going into an abstract discussion of the tariff.

The Democratic party, as I understand its position, holds to a tariff for revenue only. If there is protection provided, it is because we can not help it; but we do not want to put direct taxes upon the people of this country. If we are compelled to go to import duties in order to collect money to carry on the Government, I would say, impose those duties so as to make them just and equitable, and so as to bear as lightly as possible upon the poorer classes of the people of this country. All this is a matter of adjustment; all these matters must be attended to as each paragraph comes up. One Senator may hold that it is unjust to leave out articles in his State while others are being protected, as it is called, and another may hold that certain articles in his State should be exempt. All these questions must be determined in the adjustment and formation of the different schedules in the paragraphs of a tariff bill.

In so far as I can do so, without regard to my own State or my own people, I shall vote for a tariff for revenue only, so adjusted as to bear as lightly as possible upon the poorer classes of people in the country. I would not impose a tariff for protection; and if anybody gets protection, he gets it because I can not help it, for I am not seeking to give it to him. I would not put one dollar of taxation upon any man, woman, or child in the United States unless the Government of the United States needed it.

Mr. President, I had this communication from Justice, Bateman & Co. read because it shows the position of the wool manufacturer. Upon the other hand, Judge Lawrence holds that the statements made by Justice, Bateman & Co., whom he severely criticises in his last communication to the Woolen and Cotton Reporter, are absolutely unfounded, and he declares that any except higher duties than those imposed in the McKinley Act will not avail the woolgrowers of the United States.

What are we to do? Who are we to believe? Who is right in regard to this matter—this great house of Justice, Bateman & Co. or the shepherd king of Ohio? For myself, I prefer to follow the light of experience, and I do not propose by any vote of mine to put higher duties upon wools or upon woolen fabrics, and I believe I can prove mathematically that the high duties of the past have not resulted in benefiting the woolgrower nor the woolen manufacturer.

Mr. MANTLE. Mr. President, I have heretofore read the letter which the Senator from Missouri has just had read from Justice, Bateman & Co., and while I concede that they know a great deal about the wool business from the wool merchant's point of view, yet I think that there is much connected with the business of woolgrowing from the practical standpoint that Mr. Justice is not familiar with and upon which he is not to be regarded as first-class authority. Many of the propositions which he suggests in his letter, notably those wherein he quotes from statistics relating to the importations of wool, valuations of importations, etc., are absolutely correct and in themselves have a direct application, and a most important application, in the discussion of this measure. There are others, however, when he approaches the realm of conjecture, where, in my judgment, he makes a great mistake, and especially in reference to the amount of what is termed carpet wool which is grown in this country. He puts it at 1 per cent in his letter.

There is plenty of proof, Mr. President, to show that there is a great deal more of that character of wool grown in this country than is estimated by Mr. Justice. It is asserted by men familiar with the business—woolgrowing men, who are very familiar with the character of sheep grown in this country and the character of wool they produce—that of what are known as the mutton breeds of sheep, the sheep growing the long wools, at least one-eighth of every fleece is of a character which would be designated as coarse carpet wool. That is Judge Lawrence's estimate, and that is the estimate of very many other practical woolgrowers with whom I have talked upon this particular phase of the question. This would mean that out of every hundred sheep of that character, eight were producing a wool which would come into competition or which would be brought into competition with these imported third-class carpet wools.

I believe it is estimated that nearly 50 per cent of the sheep of this country are cross-bred sheep—that is, they produce a combing wool not of the same quality as that which is imported from Canada and Great Britain, but still largely of the same character, and therefore there must come from this number of sheep a great deal of wool with which this third-class wool would naturally come into competition.

Mr. President, I prefer to accept the statements of practical woolgrowers, men who have given their lives to this business, rather than to take the statement of Mr. Justice, well informed and intelligent as he undoubtedly is, upon that phase of the wool business with which he is familiar and directly in contact—the business of buying and dealing in wool. I think I may say, however, that he lacks in practical knowledge and information, which can only come by association and by years devoted to the business of woolgrowing. Therefore Mr. Justice is not competent to speak for the woolgrowers upon that particular view of the subject.

The question of how much of these carpet wools enter into the manufacture of clothing and of textiles other than carpets is a very important question to be considered in this connection, because if any considerable quantity of them do go into the manufacture of clothing and of textiles other than carpets, then, if we view the matter from the protective standpoint, it becomes essential, in order to carry out the protective idea and to do justice to the woolgrowers of the country, that a sufficiently protective duty should be levied upon those wools to encourage and protect the growth of the same wools by our own people. I think that proposition can not be denied.

The question is, How much of these wools go into the manufacture of clothing and textiles other than carpets, and this is a most difficult question to determine. The manufacturers themselves can not, of course, be expected to surrender any information they may have, as they would be working against their own interests, if it be true, as I assume and as I believe, that a very large percentage of this character of wool is so used.

There has been some investigation of this matter. I have talked with a great many wool merchants, and I have endeavored to ascertain from them, believing that their information, based upon their dealing with the woolen manufacturer, would indicate more or less clearly and definitely what proportion of wools was so used. I discovered, however, a great reluctance upon their part to give information bearing upon this question; but I have gathered knowledge from different sources. There are gentlemen living in Philadelphia, and others interested in the subject, who have tried to find out something bearing directly upon this point. I have found some information in Mr. North's Wool Book—Mr. North is the secretary of the National Wool Growers' Association—a publication which was read from very extensively here yesterday, representing the manufacturers' side of the controversy as to what is a just and proper duty upon wool.

Mr. North's Wool Book for 1892 gives the total amount of wool, noils, and camel's hair which was used in the manufacture of carpets for that year as 58,426,635 pounds. The total running yards of carpet manufactured in 1890, as I discover from the statement contained in the tariff hearings, was 74,770,910.

This would give about three-fourths of a pound of wool to each running yard of carpet manufactured. The average annual importation of third-class wools from 1891 to 1896 was 92,000,000 pounds, with an average value of about 9 cents per pound.

Allowing three-fourths of a pound of wool to each running yard of carpet, and assuming that all the third-class wool imported went into the manufacture of carpets, we should have had an annual manufacture of carpets of 115,000,000 yards, which is a great deal more than the capacity of our looms to turn out.

It is estimated that the carpet looms of Pennsylvania have a capacity of about 45,000,000 yards, of which more than two-thirds is of the cheapest grade, known as ingrain carpets. The capacity of the rest of the country is about 27,000,000 yards, making a total of about 72,000,000 yards, of which it is safe to say that fully two-thirds is devoted to the manufacture of the cheaper grades, consuming the least quantity of wool.

Thus if the carpet looms had been working at their full capacity from 1891 to 1896 they could have turned out but 432,000,000 yards. Allowing three-fourths of a pound of wool to each running yard would give 324,000,000 pounds of wool consumed in the manufacture of carpets during the period named, leaving 228,000,000 pounds of imported carpet wool which must have gone into the manufacture of clothing and textiles aside from carpets.

But in this connection it must be borne in mind that many of the carpet looms of Pennsylvania and of the country at large have been idle a great portion of the time during the past four years, or running on reduced time, so that their output has not averaged more than two-thirds their normal capacity, thus again lessening the amount of wool consumed.

It should also be kept in mind, in this connection, that a great deal of material other than wool is used in the manufacture of the cheaper grades of carpets—such as cotton, cattle hair, shoddy, rags, and cheap camel's hair, all of which are cheaper than most wools. It is therefore safe to assume that for the past six years fully 40 per cent of the cheap third-class wools brought to this country have been used outside the manufacture of carpets, and when it is recalled that these wools are mainly imported in a washed and scoured condition, thus reducing their shrinkage to a minimum, it becomes apparent to what an enormous extent they have supplanted wools of the first and second class, taking away the demand and lowering their price, to the direct injury of the American woolgrower.

Mr. President, if we make a still more liberal allowance for the amount of wool which goes into each yard of carpet, it still leaves an enormous discrepancy between the carpet manufactured and the amount of third-class wool imported.

There can be no question, in the light of these figures, but that an enormous amount of these so-called carpet wools have been imported at these extremely low rates of duty, and have been imported in a washed and scoured condition, at a valuation of 10 cents or less per pound, and have entered into direct competition with the domestic wools produced by the American woolgrower.

I have another statement here from the Philadelphia American bearing upon the same question, going into the matter very fully. I shall ask to have it printed as a part of my remarks. I shall not stop to read it, as it embraces very largely the same matters of which I have spoken.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The paper referred to will be inserted, in the absence of objection.

The paper referred to is as follows:

A gentleman living in Philadelphia, probably the highest authority, says that 164 pounds of dyed yarn are used in each piece of 133 yards of extra super carpet, divided as follows:

	Pounds.
Worsted	38
Double reel	86
Gray yarn	40
Total	164

In carpets known as "union carpets" probably less than 1 pound of wool is used in each yard of carpet. How the rates of duties proposed in the Senate tariff bill could increase the cost (as Mr. Dornan says) of ingrain carpet by 20 cents a yard, we are, in view of the fact that not more than 1 pound of wool goes into a yard of carpet, on the average, and that the proposed rate of duty on carpet wools is but 4 cents per pound, unable to understand.

The extent of the present use of carpet wools in the manufacture of clothing and upholstery will be made clear by a perusal of the following bald facts. They need no comment.

When looms of all kinds in Pennsylvania are run to full capacity, the annual production of carpets of all kind is about 43,000,000 yards, and in the rest of the country about 27,000,000 yards, a total of 70,000,000.

Imports of class 3 wools (carpet wools) for the fiscal year ending June 30 were as follows:

	Pounds.		Pounds.
1891	90,405,699	1895	105,405,649
1892	92,581,282	1896	97,921,715
1893	122,386,072		
1894	42,918,594	Total	551,618,992

Here we have a total amount of carpet wool imported in six years of 551,618,992 pounds, an average of 91,936,499 pounds. Now, if it takes but a pound

of wool on the average to make a yard of carpet, our carpet mills running full time would consume but 70,000,000 pounds of carpet wool, or nearly 22,000,000 pounds less than the average importation. But the carpet looms have not been running anything like full time, and the wool used in the past two years for making carpets probably did not exceed two-thirds of the normal, say 47,000,000 pounds. Therefore, of the annual importations of wools classified as carpet wools and averaging 91,936,499 pounds, an average of more than 44,000,000 pounds must have been used during the past two years for other purposes, to wit, clothing and upholstery, or have remained unused.

Mr. MANTLE. As to some other matters contained in Mr. Justice's statement, I do not believe that the Senate amendment raising the duty upon third-class wools averaging 10 cents or below in value to 4 cents per pound will amount to an increase of 1½ cents per pound, as stated by Mr. Justice. It is true that the average import value of third-class wool during the McKinley period was only 8½ cents. That low valuation was induced very largely by the system of ad valorem duties under which fraudulent undervaluations were made, and hence the real value of the wool was not shown. However, last year under free wool the importations of third-class wool came in at a valuation of 9.6 cents. This would give something over 3 cents a pound, reduced to a specific basis. So that the increase made by the Senate committee is less than 1 cent per pound on third-class wools of the value of 10 cents or less, and not a cent and a quarter, as stated by Mr. Justice.

I do agree with Mr. Justice, however, in this, that placing a duty of 4 cents upon wools valued at 10 cents or less and placing a duty of 7 cents per pound on wools valued at over 10 cents will certainly result in all of these wools, or practically all of them, coming in at a valuation of 10 cents or less in order to escape the additional duty of 3 cents per pound.

In my judgment, Mr. President, that is an unwise method of levying the duty, because the sudden jump after reaching 10 cents in value, from 4 cents to 7 cents duty, must inevitably and necessarily lead to fraudulent undervaluations. The result will be, as it has been in the past, that the great bulk of these wools will come in and they will pay but 4 cents per pound duty. That is certain to be the result.

Mr. GRAY. May I ask the Senator a question at that point?

Mr. MANTLE. Certainly.

Mr. GRAY. Is the Senator's proposition in regard to the specific tax to be laid upon these carpet wools to abolish the classification of price as the dividing line, 10 cents or 13 cents a pound, and make a uniform specific duty upon all?

Mr. MANTLE. Whose proposition?

Mr. GRAY. The Senator's proposition.

Mr. MANTLE. I think, Mr. President, that by far the most equitable proposition would be to levy a specific rate upon all carpet wools.

Mr. GRAY. Without distinction as to price?

Mr. MANTLE. To levy a specific duty upon all of the carpet wools.

Mr. GRAY. Without distinction as to price?

Mr. MANTLE. Without any distinction, because I believe when you introduce the ad valorem system, by making a dividing line of value, you will induce undervaluations.

Mr. GRAY. Then what does the Senator think would be the proper specific duty?

Mr. MANTLE. The woolgrowers themselves have agreed that the duty should be 7 cents per pound, and they believe that the same advances should be made with reference to third-class wools as are made with reference to first and second class wools; that is, that there should be an added duty for washed wools and a trebled duty for scoured wools. I believe that any other system, under all the circumstances and with the other classifications, than a single specific rate must necessarily lead to fraud.

In connection with this particular class of wools, so far as the duty of 7 cents upon third-class wools valued at over 10 cents per pound is concerned, I agree with Mr. Justice that the recommendation of the committee is a lowering instead of a raising of the duty, because what few wools of the third class came in heretofore at the higher rate of valuation averaged 7½ cents per pound. So that 7 cents is practically a lowering of one-half cent a pound upon the better grades of carpet wool. However, this is a very small matter; it is almost insignificant, because only 2 per cent of all the importations of third-class wools come in at the higher rate of duty.

So far as the McKinley law is concerned, the woolgrowers of the country, notwithstanding Mr. Justice's statement to the contrary, were not satisfied with the measure. It did not give them in practice the protective benefit which they had anticipated from it, because of these faults in the act itself, these failures properly to guard the classification, these loopholes, such as admitting second-class wools without an additional duty and permitting skirted wools to come in without additional duty. Through these faults and failures the woolgrowers of the country assert, and they prove it absolutely, that they were deprived of the protective benefit which was intended to be given them by the McKinley law. The protective benefit was cut down, as I said before, from 50 to 40 and in some instances 30 per cent.

Mr. GRAY. Let me ask the Senator, for he is familiar with these matters, what was the protective duty given the woolgrowers under the McKinley Act and what was its character, as to whether it was specific or ad valorem?

Mr. MANTLE. The McKinley law gave on wools of class 1—clothing wools—11 cents per pound, double on washed, and triple on scoured; on wool of the second class, known as combing wool, 12 cents on unwashed and washed and triple duty on scoured; and on third-class wool it gave an ad valorem duty of 32 per cent on a valuation of 13 cents or less and 50 per cent above 13 cents in value, with no distinction as to washed or scoured, because under the ad valorem duty it was unnecessary to make that distinction.

Mr. GRAY. I understand, if the Senator from Montana will pardon me, that he says under the duty the woolgrowers did not receive the benefit they expected to receive.

Mr. MANTLE. They certainly did not. That is their contention.

Mr. GRAY. That means that the price of the wool grown in this country was not raised in the proportion they supposed it would be raised.

Mr. MANTLE. That is one reason. Of course it is well known that the price of wool all over the world went down during those years. There was panic everywhere and general depression. It began, I believe, in Argentina, at the time of the failure of the Baring Bros. That country went all to pieces and wool went away down, and it did not recover and has not recovered yet, and I believe the shock then suffered by the woolgrowing interest has never been recovered from. It brought down the prices of wool the world over.

Mr. GRAY. The McKinley Act was not an equivalent for that reduction?

Mr. MANTLE. It was not an equivalent.

Mr. GRAY. It did not raise the price of wool.

Mr. MANTLE. It did not make the difference. That is generally acknowledged by all who have written on the subject. Mr. Justice himself, in the very elaborate tables he has prepared, shows that the protective duty of 11 cents as applied to the higher class wools resulted in a protective benefit of only about 8 cents, while on far Western wools it resulted in a protective benefit of only 5 or 6 cents. Of course, when we take into consideration the enormous distance our wools have to be transported to get it into market and consider upon the other hand the low rate of freight obtainable by ocean transportation for the Australian and South American wools, we begin to see to what extent the protective benefit to the domestic woolgrower was reduced.

I wish to offer a substitute for this paragraph whenever we arrive at the proper time for offering it.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. President, it has always been an incomprehensible thing to me why it is that our woolgrowing people will persistently demand a tax on wool, when the whole record for more than two generations shows that wool under all tariffs has been constantly falling. It is one of the articles that can not be protected any more than cotton can be protected. Cotton can not be protected because its price is fixed in England, and because we export largely infinitely more than we import. The tariff can not affect cotton in the United States. We do import largely of wool, but wool for forty or fifty years has been abnormally high. It was high because its production was not in keeping with the demand for it.

The growth of wool has been stimulated all over the world for the last forty years. It has been increasing in amount vastly disproportionate to the demand for it for consumption, and in addition to that the fact that wool was so much higher than the substitutes which could be used in lieu of it has stimulated the ingenuity of manufacturers all over the world to use in place of wool other things which are cheaper than wool. The use of cotton is largely increasing in the manufacture of wool. The use of shoddy and rags and hair is increasing, and as substitutes for wool articles worth 7 and 8 and 9 cents a pound and cotton at 5 cents a pound have been put into the manufacture of wool and have displaced a pound of wool, and wool has been falling and falling for forty years.

I have the tables before me, and I have examined them from 1860 down. I have here the tables from 1890, and I wish to give to the Senate the price of XX Ohio wool, a standard by which we examine the prices of wool in the United States, in order to see what effect the tariff has had on wool. The McKinley Act went into operation in October, 1890, and XX Ohio wool was worth in the Philadelphia market 32 to 34 cents a pound. Let us see what it was in 1894, when the act was repealed. In August, 1894, it was worth 20 to 23 cents a pound. It had fallen from 32–34 to 20–23 cents a pound with a protective tariff of 11 cents a pound to prevent it from falling, and to make it rise. In August, 1894,

when wool was put on the free list, this Ohio wool was worth from 20 to 23 cents a pound. Then I will give what it is at the present time. In May last (the quotations are not brought down further), it was 21 to 23 cents a pound. With no protection it has risen since it was put on the free list. What do these facts show? Incontestably that the tariff can not affect the price of wool.

Now, let us look at the Texas wool, because I am interested in the Texas woolgrowers, and they are interested in me, making their interest manifest on all proper occasions. Texas wool, "coarse, six and eight months," in October, 1890, when it was protected by a duty of 11 cents a pound, was worth in the Philadelphia markets from 14 to 17 cents a pound. In August, 1894, when it was put on the free list, it was worth 10 to 11 cents a pound. It is now worth 11 to 13 cents a pound. It, too, has increased. The Montana wool has increased. All the wool in the United States has increased since it was put on the free list—not much, but little. It has not fallen.

If the tariff had protected it to the extent of 11 cents a pound, when that 11 cents was subtracted from it the wool would not have been worth 1 cent a pound.

Mr. WARREN. Will it disturb the Senator from Texas if I ask him a question?

Mr. MILLS. Oh, no.

Mr. WARREN. I notice the Senator dates his prices of wool from the time the law went into effect making wools free. Is not the Senator willing to admit that the effect of the Wilson law was discounted before its actual passage and as soon as it was known that the law would be passed, and does he not know that prices had fallen while there was yet a tariff upon wool, because it was known that before the wool could be manufactured and disposed of there would probably be free wool? In taking the later rate he quotes, I presume the Senator will admit that the prospect of a tariff on wool has raised the price in the same way, before we actually have protection and while we are yet under free wool, in the same way that prices for wool were reduced in price by the prospect of free wool.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. President, how is it that the wool has been falling from 1860, 1870, 1880, straight down from 40 to 50 cents a pound, and has got down to the point I mentioned, in 1890, when the McKinley bill was enacted, and has continued with unbroken current right downhill?

Mr. WARREN. It falls in spite of the tariff, but not because of the tariff.

Mr. MILLS. That is precisely what I said, that it was in spite of the tariff, and I certainly have been unfortunate in the use of the English language if I do not convey that idea to the mind of my friend the Senator from Wyoming.

Mr. MANTLE. May I interrupt the Senator from Texas?

Mr. MILLS. Certainly.

Mr. MANTLE. The Senator from Texas will not deny, however, that generally the imposition of a tariff upon wool has raised the price to the American woolgrower.

Mr. MILLS. I have never been able to discover it anywhere.

Mr. HOAR. Then what harm does it do?

Mr. MANTLE. I am prepared to make the statement direct and very emphatic that, so far as the woolgrowers of Montana are concerned, a protective tariff, when in force, generally did enhance the price of their wool. I think it is susceptible of proof beyond contradiction.

Mr. VEST. What tariff?

Mr. MANTLE. Up to the enactment of the McKinley law, and even under the McKinley law, for a portion of the time the price of the domestic product was higher than the price of wool in the foreign market. I do not think there is any disputing that proposition.

Mr. MILLS. I believe it is a principle of the law of evidence that verbal testimony shall not be admitted to vary, add to, contradict, or explain a record. I am speaking from the official record, and not from anybody's memory in the States. Here is the official report made to the Government by an officer of the Government. I take his figures. The price of wool in the Philadelphia and Boston markets, and in the New York market, and in all the manufacturing markets in the United States is precisely the same that it is at the sheep ranch, with the addition of the cost of transportation and handling between the producer and the consumer.

Now, I have shown from these figures that wool has been falling and falling, in spite of the tariff, and not by reason of the tariff. I never said that the tariff led to the fall. I think the tariff may have had some incidental effect in helping the fall of wool, but I started out by saying that it was the increased production of wool all over the world and the increased consumption of cheaper substitutes for wool, taking the place of wool in all the manufactures of the world, such as cotton and shoddy and rags and hair. That is what I said. Here are the figures, and I am going to have them put into the RECORD, so that everyone can examine them. They are sent from the Treasury Department to us. They show that wool since it has been free has risen from 1 cent to 2 cents a pound.

Now, Mr. President, why is that? Not only has wool risen, but we have had the most remarkable increase in the importation of foreign wools into this country that we have ever known. Two hundred million pounds and over last year, and nearly 200,000,000 pounds the year before, far in excess of what we had with the tariff. All this wool has been wrought up by American labor, and our people have consumed it, or very nearly all of it, very little woolen goods being exported from the United States. The price of wool has gone up with that enormous increase of importation.

Why is it? Because the decreased cost of woolen goods from 100 per cent by the McKinley tariff down to 40 per cent increased the amount of their consumption and increased the demand for them, and it carries out the argument which we on this side have been making and which our predecessors have been making for the last half century, that in proportion as you decrease the cost of an article the consumption is increased and there is an increased demand for the things that make both work and material. This increased importation of wool has been a blessing to the workmen of this country, and it has been a blessing to the people who buy the woolen goods.

Who, then, gets the benefit of the duties on wool? The people who pay the taxes have the taxes to pay that you put on wool, not to the woolgrower, but they pay them to the wool manufacturer. Look at your schedules in the bill, look at them in the McKinley Act, and you see a compensatory duty of 11 cents a pound on every pound of wool. Notwithstanding that the pound of wool has not been increased but decreased, the manufacturer gets that 11 cents, and our tariff bills are constructed upon the hypothesis that 3 pounds of wool in the grease make 1 pound of clean cloth. So the manufacturer gets 33 cents a pound for every pound of scoured wool that goes into the cloth, and the sheep grower gets nothing. He has never got anything. Never one solitary cent has he ever received by reason of the tariff.

How much does it amount to? Let us look at the census report of 1890, and this is made by a wool manufacturer. It shows that we consumed, in the manufactures in 1890, 197,763,698 pounds of scoured wool, 7,684,804 pounds of camel's hair, 2,136,244 pounds of mohair, 42,996,248 pounds of cotton, and 73,678,066 pounds of shoddy and alpaca, making altogether 324,259,060 pounds, on every pound of which he got the compensatory duty of 33 cents for what he alleges he pays by reason of the increased tariff on 1 pound of scoured wool, but not one cent did he ever pay on one pound of scoured wool produced in the United States. He did pay on the wool imported into this country, but he never paid it on the wool produced in the United States.

How much does it amount to? I have figured a little on this. On 197,763,698 pounds, at 33 cents (some of this is at three and a half times and some at four times, but I have made a calculation at three times), it amounts to $65,262,020, which we pay to the woolen manufacturers in the United States upon the assumption that they have paid it in addition to the domestic price of their wool. But I have shown when the tariff was taken from wool it did not take 11 cents a pound from the pound of grease wool, but it has increased in value. Not only did they get the compensation for that on wool, but they got, on 42,996,248 pounds of cotton in 1890, for which they paid 7 or 8 cents a pound, 11 cents a pound, as though it had been in the grease, and they got 33 cents a pound when it was scoured and combed and ready to go into the cloth. But the cotton grower did not get anything and the woolgrower did not get anything. The manufacturers got it, and then they got for 73,678,066 pounds of shoddy, at the same rate, $24,000,000. Here is $104,000,000 specific duties, compensatory duties, compensation for what the woolgrower thinks he gets, but what the manufacturer *knows he* gets.

The whole duty in the woolen schedule goes to the manufacturer, nothing goes to the woolgrower, and hence we have been trying to put wool upon the free list, not that we want to discriminate in the bestowal of bounties between the woolgrower and the wool manufacturer, but because in a reduction of the taxes on wool we are enabled to reduce the taxes on woolen goods, and that was the argument made when, in the House, we passed the bill of 1888. It was stated in that report:

> The repeal of all duties on wool enables us to reduce the duties on the manufactures of wool $12,332,211.65. The largest reduction we have made is in the woolen schedule, and this reduction was only made possible by placing wool on the free list.

This has been our argument, and this is the reason why we now ask to put wool on the free list instead of piling up duties on wool for the benefit of the woolen manufacturer.

I ask to have these tables printed as an appendix to my remarks.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. If there be no objection, the tables will be printed in the RECORD.

The tables referred to are as follows:

Philadelphia quotations of prices of wool.

[Reported by Coates Bros.]

1890.

Kinds of wool.	January.	February.	March.	April.	May.	June.	July.	August.	September.	October.	November.	December.
OHIO, PENNSYLVANIA, AND WEST VIRGINIA FLEECE, WASHED.	Cents.	Cents.	Cents.	Cents.	Cents.	Cents.	Cents.	Cents.	Cents.	Cents.	Cents.	Cents.
XX and above	32-35	32-35	32-35	33-34	32-34	33-35	33-35	32-33	32-33	32-34	33-35	32-35
X	31-32	31-32	31-32	31-32	31-32	31-33	31-33	30-32	30-32	31-32	32-33	31-32
Medium	37-38	37-38	37-38	37-38	36-38	37-39	37-39	36-37	36-37	36-38	37-39	37-39
Quarter blood	35-36	35-36	35-36	35-36	34-35	35-36	36-37	34-35	34-35	35-36	36-38	36-38
Common and cotted	28-30	28-30	28-30	28-30	28-30	28-30	28-30	28-30	28-30	30-32	32-34	30-33
NEW YORK, MICHIGAN, INDIANA, AND WISCONSIN FLEECE, WASHED.												
XX	30-31	30-31	30-31	30-31	30-31	30-32	30-32	29-30	29-30	29-30	30-31	30-31
X	28-30	28-30	28-30	28-30	28-29	29-30	29-30	28-30	28-30	28-30	29-30	29-30
Medium	36-37	36-37	36-37	36-37	35-37	36-37	36-38	35-36	35-36	35-37	37-38	37-38
Quarter blood	35-36	35-36	35-36	35-36	34-35	35-36	36-37	33-35	33-35	34-35	36-37	36-37
Common and cotted	28-30	28-30	28-30	28-30	28-30	28-30	28-30	28-30	28-30	30-32	30-33	30-33
COMBING AND DELAINE FLEECE.												
Washed, fine delaine	33-36	33-36	33-36	33-36	33-36	35-37	35-37	33-36	33-36	34-36	35-38	35-37
Washed, medium	38-40	38-40	38-40	38-40	38-40	38-41	38-41	38-39	38-39	38-40	40-43	40-43
Washed, low	36-38	36-38	36-38	36-38	36-38	36-38	36-38	35-36	35-36	36-37	37-39	37-38
Washed, coarse	32-34	32-34	32-33	32-33	32-33	32-33	32-33	30-33	30-33	32-34	34-36	34-36
Unwashed, medium	28-30	28-30	28-30	28-30	28-30	29-32	30-32	28-30	28-30	28-30	30-33	30-32
Unwashed, low and coarse	25-27	25-27	25-27	25-27	25-27	25-27	25-27	25-26	25-26	25-26	26-29	26-28
Unwashed, braid											23-25	23-25
UNWASHED.												
Light and bright.												
Fine	20-22	20-22	20-22	20-22	19-21	20-24	20-23	19-22	19-22	20-22	21-23	20-23
Medium	26-29	26-29	26-29	26-29	26-28	27-29	27-30	26-28	26-28	27-28	28-30	27-29
Low medium	25-27	25-27	25-27	25-27	25-26	25-27	25-27	24-26	24-26	24-26	26-28	25-27
Coarse or burry	20-25	20-25	20-25	20-25	20-23	20-21	20-23	20-22	20-22	20-22	20-24	20-23
Dark colored.												
Light, fine	14-16	14-16	14-16	14-16	14-16	17-20	17-20	16-18	16-18	16-18	18-19	17-19
Heavy, fine	17-20	17-20	17-20	17-20	17-19	14-16	14-16	13-15	13-15	13-15	15-17	14-16
Medium	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-20	23-24	22-24	20-22	21-22	21-22	21-24	21-23
Fine medium	20-22	20-22	20-22	20-22	20-24	20-22	18-22	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-20
Coarse	16-18	16-18	16-18	16-18	16-18	16-18	16-18	16-18	16-18	16-18	18-22	18-22
COLORADO.												
Medium and fine, choice	22-25	22-25	22-24	23-24	22-24	22-25	22-25	21-24	21-24	21-24	23-25	22-25
Medium and fine, heavy	16-20	16-20	16-20	16-20	16-20	16-20	16-20	15-18	15-18	15-18	17-20	16-20
Common and quarter blood	19-20	18-19	18-19	18-19	18-19	18-19	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-20	20-22	20-21
Coarse, carpet	16-17	16-17	16-17	16-17	16-17	16-17	16-17	16-17	16-17	16-17	18-20	18-20
NEW MEXICAN.												
Choice improved	21-24	21-23	21-23	21-23	21-23	22-24	22-24	20-23	20-23	20-23	22-24	21-23
Partly improved	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-20	19-21	19-21	18-20	18-20	18-20	20-22	20-21
Coarse, carpet, light	16-17	16-17	16-17	16-17	16-17	16-17	16-17	16-17	16-17	16-17	19-20	18-20
Coarse, carpet, heavy or sandy	14-16	14-16	14-16	14-16	14-16	14-16	14-16	14-16	14-16	14-16	16-18	16-18
Black	15-17	15-17	15-17	15-17	15-17	15-17	15-17	14-16	14-16	14-16	15-17	15-17
TEXAS.												
Fine, 12 months	20-23	20-23	20-23	20-23	20-22	20-22	20-22	19-21	19-21	19-21	20-24	20-23
Medium, 12 months	23-26	23-26	23-26	23-26	23-26	23-26	24-26	22-24	22-24	22-24	22-26	22-24
Coarse, 12 months	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-20	17-20	17-20	17-20	17-20	17-20
Fine, 6 and 8 months	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-20	17-19	17-20	17-20	16-20	16-20	16-20	18-22	18-20
Medium, 6 and 8 months	20-22	18-22	18-22	18-22	18-23	18-24	18-24	18-22	18-22	18-22	18-24	18-22
Coarse, 6 and 8 months	15-18	15-18	15-18	15-18	15-18	15-18	15-18	14-17	14-17	14-17	14-17	14-17
MONTANA.												
Unwashed, fine, bright	19-22	18-22	18-22	18-22	18-22	18-22	20-22	18-20	18-20	18-20	19-21	19-21
Unwashed, medium, bright	22-24	21-24	21-24	21-24	21-24	22-25	24-26	22-24	22-24	22-24	22-25	22-24
Unwashed, coarse, bright	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-20	17-20	17-20	17-20	17-20	17-20
Unwashed, dark colored, heavy, or short	16-20	16-20	16-20	16-20	16-20	16-20	16-20	14-18	14-18	14-18	16-20	16-20
UTAH AND WYOMING.												
Unwashed, light, fine	18-21	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-20
Unwashed, heavy, fine	15-18	15-18	15-18	15-18	15-18	15-18	14-16	14-16	14-16	14-16	15-18	14-16
Unwashed, fine medium	18-22	18-22	18-22	18-20	18-20	18-21	18-21	17-20	17-20	18-20	19-22	18-21
Unwashed, selected medium	22-24	21-23	21-23	20-22	20-22	21-24	21-24	20-22	20-22	20-23	22-24	21-23
Unwashed, low	20-22	19-21	19-21	19-21	19-21	19-21	19-21	17-20	17-20	17-20	18-20	18-20
TUB WASHED.												
Choice, selected	38-40	38-40	37-40	37-40	37-40	37-40	37-40	37-38	37-38	37-38	38-40	38-40
Fair, ordinary	36-38	36-38	35-37	35-37	35-37	35-37	35-37	34-36	34-36	34-36	35-38	35-38
Coarse	33-36	33-36	32-35	32-35	32-35	32-35	32-35	30-33	30-33	30-33	32-35	32-35
PULLED.												
City merino	27-30	27-30	25-28	25-28	25-28	28-30	28-30	27-30	27-30	27-30	28-30	28-30
City super and lambs	32-34	32-34	30-33	30-33	30-33	30-34	30-34	30-32	30-32	30-32	32-35	32-35
Western super and lambs	26-30	25-28	25-28	25-28	25-28	28-28	27-30	25-28	25-28	25-28	28-32	28-32
Short merino and shearlings	18-25	18-25	18-22	18-22	18-22	18-22	18-22	18-22	18-22	18-22	20-22	20-22

1891.

OHIO, PENNSYLVANIA, AND WEST VIRGINIA FLEECE, WASHED.												
XX and above	32-34	32-34	32-34	32-34	32-34	32-34	31-33	30-32	30-32	30-32	30-32	30-32
X	31-32	30-32	30-32	30-32	30-32	30-32	29-31	29-30	29-30	29-30	29-30	28-30
Medium	37-38	37-38	37-38	37-38	37-38	37-38	36-37	35-36	35-36	35-36	35-36	35-36
Quarter blood	36-37	36-37	36-37	36-37	36-37	36-37	34-35	33-34	33-34	33-34	34-35	34-35
Common and cotted	30-33	30-33	30-33	30-33	30-33	30-33	28-31	28-29	29-31	30-32	30-32	30-32

Philadelphia quotations of prices of wool—Continued.

1891—Continued.

Kinds of wool.	January.	February.	March.	April.	May.	June.	July.	August.	September.	October.	November.	December.
NEW YORK, MICHIGAN, INDIANA, AND WISCONSIN FLEECE, WASHED.	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*
XX	29-30	29-30	29-30	29-30	29-30	29-31	29-30	28-29	28-29	28-29	28-30	28-30
X	28-29	28-29	28-29	28-29	28-29	28-30	27-29	27-28	27-28	27-28	27-28	27-28
Medium	36-38	36-38	36-38	36-38	36-36	36-37	35-36	34-35	34-35	34-35	34-35	34-35
Quarter blood	35-36	35-36	35-36	35-36	35-36	35-36	33-35	32-34	32-34	32-34	33-34	33-34
Common and cotted	30-32	30-32	30-32	30-32	30-32	30-32	28-30	27-29	28-30	29-31	30-31	30-31
COMBING AND DELAINE FLEECE.												
Washed, fine delaine	34-37	34-37	35-37	35-37	35-37	35-37	34-36	33-35	33-35	33-35	34-35	33-35
Washed, medium	39-41	40-42	40-42	40-42	40-42	38-40	38-39	37-39	37-39	37-39	38-39	37-39
Washed, low	36-38	36-38	37-38	37-38	37-38	36-38	35-37	35-36	35-36	35-36	35-36	34-36
Washed, coarse	34-35	34-35	34-35	34-35	34-35	33-35	32-35	32-35	32-35	32-35	32-35	32-34
Unwashed, medium	30-32	30-32	30-32	30-32	30-32	30-32	30-31	29-30	29-30	29-30	29-30	28-30
Unwashed, low and coarse	26-28	26-28	26-28	26-28	26-28	26-28	25-27	25-26	25-26	25-26	25-26	25-26
Unwashed, braid	22-24	22-24	22-24	22-24	22-24	22-24	21-23	21-23	21-23	21-23	22-23	22-23
UNWASHED.												
Light and bright.												
Fine	20-22	20-22	20-22	20-22	20-22	20-22	19-21	19-21	19-22	19-22	19-22	19-21
Medium	27-29	27-29	27-29	27-29	27-29	28-30	26-29	25-27	25-27	25-27	26-28	26-28
Low medium	25-27	25-27	25-27	25-27	25-27	25-27	24-25	23-25	23-25	23-25	24-25	24-26
Coarse or burry	20-23	20-23	20-23	20-23	20-23	20-23	18-22	18-21	18-21	18-21	18-21	18-21
Dark colored.												
Light, fine	17-19	17-19	17-19	17-19	17-19	17-19	16-18	16-18	16-18	16-18	16-18	16-18
Heavy, fine	14-16	14-16	14-16	14-16	14-16	14-16	14-16	14-16	14-16	14-16	14-16	14-15
Medium	21-23	21-23	21-23	21-23	21-23	20-23	20-22	20-22	20-22	20-22	20-22	19-21
Fine medium	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-20	17-19	17-19	17-19	17-19	17-19	17-18
Coarse	18-22	18-22	18-22	18-22	18-22	18-22	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-20	17-20
COLORADO.												
Medium and fine, choice	22-25	22-25	22-25	22-25	22-25	22-25	22-24	22-24	22-25	22-25	22-25	21-24
Medium and fine, heavy	16-20	16-20	16-18	16-18	16-18	16-18	15-18	15-18	15-18	15-18	15-18	15-18
Common and quarter blood	20-21	20-21	20-21	20-21	20-21	19-20	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-20
Coarse, carpet	17-19	17-19	17-18	17-18	17-18	17-18	16-17	16-17	16-17	16-17	16-17	16-17
NEW MEXICAN.												
Choice improved	21-23	21-23	21-23	21-23	21-23	21-23	20-22	20-22	21-24	21-24	21-24	21-23
Partly improved	20-21	20-21	20-21	20-21	20-21	19-20	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-20	17-20
Coarse, carpet, light	17-19	17-19	16-18	16-18	17-18	16-17	16-17	16-17	16-17	16-17	16-17	15-16
Coarse, carpet, heavy or sandy	15-17	15-17	15-16	15-16	15-16	15-16	14-16	14-16	14-16	14-16	14-16	14-15
Black	15-17	15-17	15-17	15-17	15-17	15-17	14-16	14-16	14-16	14-16	14-16	14-16
TEXAS.												
Fine, 12 months	20-23	20-24	20-23	20-23	20-23	20-23	20-22	20-22	20-22	20-22	20-22	20-22
Medium, 12 months	22-24	22-26	23-25	23-25	23-25	23-25	23-24	23-24	23-24	23-24	23-24	22-24
Coarse, 12 months	17-20	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-20	17-19	17-19	17-19	17-19	17-19	17-19
Fine, 6 and 8 months	18-20	18-22	17-20	17-20	17-20	17-20	17-20	17-20	17-20	17-20	17-20	16-20
Medium, 6 and 8 months	18-22	20-23	20-22	20-22	21-22	20-22	20-21	20-21	20-21	20-21	20-21	18-20
Coarse, 6 and 8 months	14-17	14-18	15-18	15-18	15-18	15-18	15-17	15-17	15-17	15-17	15-17	15-17
MONTANA.												
Unwashed, fine, bright	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-22	18-22	17-21	17-21	17-21	17-21	17-21	17-20
Unwashed, medium, bright	21-23	21-23	21-23	21-23	21-24	21-24	21-24	21-24	21-24	21-24	21-24	21-23
Unwashed, coarse, bright	17-20	17-20	17-20	17-20	18-22	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-20	17-20
Unwashed, dark colored, heavy or short	16-20	16-20	16-20	16-20	16-20	16-20	16-20	16-20	16-20	16-20	16-20	16-20
UTAH AND WYOMING.												
Unwashed, light, fine	17-19	17-19	17-19	17-19	18-20	18-20	17-20	17-20	17-20	17-20	17-20	17-20
Unwashed, heavy, fine	14-16	14-16	14-16	14-16	14-16	14-16	14-16	14-16	14-16	14-16	14-16	14-16
Unwashed, fine medium	18-20	16-20	16-20	16-20	18-22	18-22	18-21	18-21	18-21	18-21	18-21	18-21
Unwashed, selected medium	20-22	20-22	20-22	20-22	22-24	22-24	22-24	22-24	22-24	22-24	22-24	21-23
Unwashed, low	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-22	18-22	18-21	18-21	18-21	18-21	18-21	18-20
TUB WASHED.												
Choice, selected	38-40	38-42	38-42	38-42	38-42	38-42	37-40	37-40	37-40	37-40	37-40	36-38
Fair, ordinary	35-38	36-38	36-38	36-38	36-38	36-38	34-37	34-37	34-37	34-37	34-37	33-36
Coarse	32-35	32-35	32-35	32-35	32-35	32-35	32-34	32-34	32-34	32-34	32-34	31-33
PULLED.												
City merino	28-30	28-30	28-30	28-30	28-30	28-30	26-28	26-28	26-28	26-28	26-28	25-28
City super and lambs	32-34	32-34	32-35	32-35	32-35	30-33	30-33	30-33	30-33	30-33	30-33	28-32
Western super and lambs	28-30	28-30	28-32	28-32	28-32	27-30	25-30	25-30	25-30	25-30	25-30	25-28
Short merino and shearlings	20-22	20-22	20-22	20-22	20-22	16-20	18-21	18-21	19-22	19-22	19-22	19-22

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OHIO, PENNSYLVANIA, AND WEST VIRGINIA FLEECE, WASHED.												
XX and above	30-32	29-32	29-31	28-30	27-30	28-30	28-30	28-30	28-30	28-30	29-30	28-30
X	28-30	28-29	28-29	27-28	27-28	27-28	27-28	27-28	27-28	27-28	28-29	27-28
Medium	35-36	35-36	34-35	34-35	33-34	33-35	33-35	33-35	33-34	33-34	33-34	33-34
Quarter blood	34-35	34-35	33-34	33-34	32-33	33-34	33-34	33-34	32-33	32-33	33-34	33-34
Common and cotted	30-32	30-32	30-32	30-32	30-32	30-32	28-31	28-31	28-30	28-30	28-30	28-30
NEW YORK, MICHIGAN, INDIANA, AND WISCONSIN FLEECE, WASHED.												
XX	28-30	28-30	28-29	27-28	26-27	27-28	27-28	27-28	27-28	27-28	27-28	26-28
X	27-28	27-28	26-28	26-27	25-26	25-27	25-27	25-27	25-27	25-27	26-28	25-27
Medium	34-35	34-35	33-34	33-34	32-33	33-34	33-34	33-34	32-33	32-33	32-34	32-34
Quarter blood	33-34	33-34	32-33	32-33	32-33	32-33	32-33	32-33	32-33	32-33	32-33	32-33
Common and cotted	30-31	30-31	30-31	30-31	30-31	30-31	28-30	28-30	28-30	28-30	28-30	28-30

Philadelphia quotations of prices of wool—Continued.

1892—Continued.

Kinds of wool.	January.	February.	March.	April.	May.	June.	July.	August.	September.	October.	November.	December.
COMBING AND DELAINE FLEECE.	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*
Washed, fine delaine	33-35	33-35	33-34	32-34	31-33	31-33	31-33	31-33	30-32	30-32	30-32	30-33
Washed, medium	37-39	37-38	36-38	35-38	34-37	35-37	35-37	35-37	34-35	34-35	34-36	34-36
Washed, low	34-36	34-36	34-36	34-36	33-35	34-35	34-35	34-35	33-34	33-34	33-35	33-35
Washed, coarse	32-34	32-34	32-34	32-33	31-33	30-33	30-33	30-33	30-32	30-32	30-32	30-32
Unwashed, medium	28-30	27-29	27-28	27-28	26-27	26-28	26-28	26-28	26-27	26-27	26-28	26-28
Unwashed, low and coarse	25-26	25-26	25-26	25-26	25-26	26-27	26-27	26-27	25-26	25-26	25-27	25-27
Unwashed, braid	22-23	22-23	22-23	22-23	21-23	21-23	21-23	21-23	20-22	21-23	22-24	21-23
UNWASHED.												
Light and bright.												
Fine	19-21	19-21	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-20	19-21	19-21	19-21	19-21	19-21
Medium	26-28	26-27	25-26	25-26	25-26	25-27	25-27	25-27	25-26	25-26	25-27	25-27
Low medium	24-26	24-26	24-25	24-25	24-25	25-26	24-26	24-26	23-25	23-25	24-26	24-26
Coarse or burry	18-21	18-22	18-22	18-22	18-22	18-22	18-22	18-22	18-21	18-21	18-21	18-21
Dark colored.												
Light, fine	16-18	16-18	16-18	16-18	16-18	16-18	16-18	16-18	16-18	16-18	16-18	16-18
Heavy, fine	14-15	14-15	14-15	14-15	14-15	14-15	14-15	14-15	14-15	14-15	14-15	14-15
Medium	19-21	19-21	19-21	19-21	19-21	19-22	19-22	19-22	19-22	19-22	20-22	20-22
Fine medium	17-18	16-18	16-18	16-18	16-18	16-18	16-18	16-18	16-18	16-18	17-19	17-19
Coarse	17-20	17-20	17-20	17-20	17-20	17-20	17-20	17-20	17-20	17-20	18-20	18-20
COLORADO.												
Medium and fine, choice	21-24	21-23	21-23	21-23	21-23	21-23	21-23	21-23	21-23	21-23	21-23	21-23
Medium and fine, heavy	15-18	15-17	15-17	15-17	15-17	15-17	15-17	15-17	15-17	15-17	15-17	15-17
Common and quarter blood	18-20	18-20	17-19	17-19	17-19	17-19	17-19	17-19	17-19	17-19	17-19	17-19
Coarse, carpet	16-17	16-17	16-17	16-17	16-17	16-17	16-17	16-17	16-18	16-18	16-18	16-17
NEW MEXICAN.												
Choice improved	21-23	21-23	21-22	21-22	21-22	21-22	21-22	21-22	21-22	21-22	21-22	21-22
Partly improved	17-20	17-19	17-19	17-19	17-19	17-19	17-19	17-19	17-19	17-19	17-19	17-19
Coarse, carpet, light	15-16	15-16	15-16	15-16	15-16	15-16	15-16	15-16	16-17	16-17	16-17	16-17
Coarse, carpet, heavy or sandy	14-15	14-15	14-15	13-15	13-15	13-15	13-15	13-15	14-16	14-16	14-16	14-16
Black	14-16	13-15	13-15	13-15	13-15	13-15	12-15	12-15	13-15	13-15	13-15	13-15
TEXAS.												
Fine, 12 months	20-22	20-21	20-21	20-21	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-20
Medium, 12 months	22-24	22-24	22-24	22-24	20-23	20-23	20-24	20-24	20-23	20-23	20-23	20-23
Coarse, 12 months	17-19	17-19	17-19	17-19	17-19	17-19	17-19	17-19	16-18	16-18	16-18	16-18
Fine, 6 and 8 months	16-20	16-20	16-20	16-20	14-18	14-18	14-18	14-18	14-18	14-18	14-18	14-18
Medium, 6 and 8 months	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-20
Coarse, 6 and 8 months	15-17	15-17	15-17	15-17	15-17	15-17	15-17	15-17	15-16	15-16	15-16	15-16
MONTANA.												
Unwashed, fine, bright	17-20	17-20	17-20	17-20	17-18	17-20	17-20	17-20	17-20	17-20	17-20	17-20
Unwashed, medium, bright	21-23	21-23	21-23	21-23	20-23	20-24	20-24	20-24	20-23	20-23	20-23	20-23
Unwashed, coarse, bright	17-20	17-20	17-20	17-20	17-20	17-20	17-20	17-20	17-20	17-20	17-20	17-20
Unwashed, dark-colored, heavy or short	16-20	15-18	15-18	15-18	15-18	15-18	15-18	15-18	15-18	15-18	15-18	15-18
UTAH AND WYOMING.												
Unwashed, light, fine	17-20	17-20	17-20	17-20	17-20	17-20	17-20	17-20	16-18	16-18	16-18	16-18
Unwashed, heavy, fine	14-16	14-16	14-16	14-16	14-16	14-16	14-16	14-16	14-16	14-16	14-16	14-16
Unwashed, fine medium	18-21	18-21	18-21	18-21	17-20	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-20
Unwashed, selected medium	21-23	21-23	21-23	21-23	20-23	22-24	22-24	22-24	21-22	21-22	21-22	21-22
Unwashed, low	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-20
TUB WASHED.												
Choice, selected	36-38	35-36	35-36	35-36	35-36	35-36	35-36	35-36	34-35	34-35	34-35	34-35
Fair, ordinary	33-36	33-35	33-35	33-35	33-35	33-35	33-35	33-35	32-33	32-33	32-33	32-33
Coarse	31-33	31-33	31-33	31-33	31-33	31-33	31-33	31-33	30-32	30-32	30-32	30-32
PULLED.												
City merino	25-28	25-27	25-27	25-27	25-27	25-27	25-27	25-27	23-25	23-25	23-25	23-25
City super and lambs	28-32	28-30	28-30	28-30	28-30	28-31	28-31	28-31	30-33	30-33	30-33	30-33
Western super and lambs	25-28	25-28	25-28	25-28	25-28	26-29	26-29	26-29	26-29	26-29	26-29	26-29
Short merino and shearlings	19-22	19-22	19-22	19-22	19-22	19-22	19-22	16-20	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-20

1893.

OHIO, PENNSYLVANIA, AND WEST VIRGINIA FLEECE, WASHED.												
XX and above	28-30	29-30	31-32	31-32	30-31	27-29	25-26	24-25	23-25	22-25	22-25	22-25
X	27-28	28-29	29-30	29-30	28-30	26-27	24-25	23-24	22-23	21-22	21-22	21-22
Medium	33-34	34-36	35-36	35-36	34-35	31-32	27-28	26-26	25-26	24-25	24-25	24-25
Quarter blood	33-34	34-35	34-35	34-35	33-34	30-32	26-27	25-26	24-25	24-25	24-25	24-25
Common and cotted	28-30	30-32	30-32	30-32	29-30	26-28	24-25	23-24	20-22	20-22	20-22	20-22
NEW YORK, MICHIGAN, INDIANA, AND WISCONSIN FLEECE, WASHED.												
XX	26-28	27-29	28-30	28-30	27-29	26-27	23-25	23-24	21-23	21-22	21-22	21-22
X	25-27	26-28	27-28	27-28	26-28	25-26	22-23	21-23	20-22	19-21	19-21	19-21
Medium	32-34	33-35	34-35	34-35	33-34	30-32	26-27	26-27	24-25	23-25	23-24	23-24
Quarter blood	32-33	33-34	33-34	33-34	32-33	30-31	25-26	25-26	23-24	23-24	23-24	23-24
Common and cotted	28-30	30-32	30-32	30-33	29-30	26-28	24-25	22-24	18-22	18-22	18-22	18-23
COMBING AND DELAINE FLEECE.												
Washed, fine delaine	30-32	31-33	31-33	31-33	30-32	28-30	25-27	24-26	24-25	24-25	24-25	24-25
Washed, medium	34-36	35-37	35-37	35-37	35-36	32-34	28-30	27-28	26-28	25-26	25-26	25-26
Washed, low	33-35	35-36	35-36	35-36	34-35	31-32	27-28	26-27	25-25	24-26	24-25	24-25
Washed, coarse	30-32	32-33	32-33	32-33	31-32	30-31	25-26	23-25	22-24	22-24	22-24	22-24
Unwashed, medium	26-28	27-28	27-29	27-29	27-28	24-25	21-23	21-22	20-21	20-21	20-21	20-21
Unwashed, low medium	25-27	26-27	26-27	26-27	25-26	23-24	20-21	20-21	19-20	19-20	19-20	19-20
Unwashed, braid	21-23	22-24	22-24	22-24	21-23	20-21	18-20	17-19	15-17	15-17	15-17	15-17

Philadelphia quotations of prices of wool—Continued.

1893—Continued.

Kinds of wool.	January.	February.	March.	April.	May.	June.	July.	August.	September.	October.	November.	December.
UNWASHED.												
Light and bright.	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*
Fine	19-21	20-22	20-22	20-22	18-21	16-19	15-18	15-17	14-16	13-16	13-16	13-16
Medium	25-27	26-27	26-27	26-27	25-26	23-24	20-22	19-21	18-20	18-20	18-20	19-20
Low medium	24-26	25-26	25-26	25-26	24-25	22-24	19-20	18-20	17-19	17-19	17-19	18-19
Coarse or burry	18-21	18-22	18-22	18-22	18-20	15-17	17-18	15-17	14-16	13-15	13-15	14-16
Dark colored.												
Light, fine	16-18	17-19	17-19	17-19	17-18	15-17	13-15	12-14	12-13	10-12	10-12	10-12
Heavy, fine	14-15	15-16	15-16	15-16	14-16	12-15	11-12	8-12	8-10	8-10	8-10	8-10
Medium	20-22	20-23	20-23	20-23	20-22	18-22	16-18	15-17	15-16	14-16	14-16	14-16
Fine medium	17-19	18-20	18-20	18-20	17-20	16-18	14-16	13-15	13-15	12-14	12-14	12-14
Coarse	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-20	17-20	15-18	14-17	14-16	14-15	12-14	12-14	12-14
COLORADO.												
Medium and fine, choice	21-23	21-23	21-23	21-23	20-23	19 21	16-19	16-18	15-18	14-17	14-17	14-17
Medium and fine, heavy	15-17	15-17	15-17	15-17	15-17	13-15	12-14	10-12	8-12	8-12	8-12	8-12
Common and quarter blood	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-20	17-20	16-18	14-16	14-15	14-15	13-15	13-15	13-15
Coarse, carpet	16-17	16-17	16-17	16-17	15-16	14-15	13-14	12-13	12-13	12-13	12-13	12-13
NEW MEXICAN.												
Choice improved	21-22	21-22	21-22	21-22	20-21	18-20	15-18	15-17	15-17	14-16	14-16	14-16
Partly improved	17-19	17-19	17-19	17-19	17-19	16-17	14-15	13-15	13-15	13-14	12-14	12-14
Coarse, carpet, light	16-17	16-17	16-17	16-17	14-16	14-15	12-13	12-13	12-13	12-13	11-13	11-12
Coarse, carpet, sandy or burry	14-16	14-16	14-16	14-16	13-15	13-14	11-12	8-10	8-10	8-10	8-10	8-10
Black	13-15	12-14	12-14	12-14	12-13	12-13	10-12	10-11	10-11	9-10	9-10	9-10
TEXAS.												
Fine, 12 months	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-20	16-18	15-17	14-16	14-16	12-14	11-13	11-13
Medium, 12 months	20-23	20-23	20-23	20-23	20-23	19-21	17-20	16-18	15-18	14-16	13-15	13-15
Coarse, 12 months	16-18	16-18	16-18	16-18	16-18	14-16	13-15	12-14	12-13	12-13	10-12	10-12
Fine, 6 and 8 months	14-18	14-18	14-18	14-18	14-18	14-16	13-15	10-13	10-13	10-12	8-10	8-10
Medium, 6 and 8 months	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-20	16-18	15-17	14-17	14-16	12-14	11-13	11-13
Coarse, 6 and 8 months	15-16	15-16	15-16	15-16	15-16	13-15	12-13	10-13	10-12	10-12	8-10	8-10
MONTANA.												
Unwashed, fine, bright	17-20	17-20	17-20	17-20	17-20	16-18	14-16	13-15	12-14	10-12	10-12	10-12
Unwashed, medium, bright	20-23	20-23	20-23	20-23	20-23	19-21	17-20	16-18	15-17	13-15	13-15	13-15
Unwashed, coarse, bright	17-20	17-20	17-20	17-20	17-20	16-18	15-17	14-16	13-15	12-15	12-15	12-15
Unwashed, dark colored, heavy or short	15-18	15-18	15-18	15-18	15-18	14-16	12-14	8-12	8-12	8-12	8-12	8-12
UTAH AND WYOMING.												
Unwashed, light, fine	16-18	16-18	16-18	16-18	16-18	15-17	12-14	12-13	11-13	10-12	10-12	10-12
Unwashed, heavy, fine	14-16	14-16	14-16	14-16	14-16	12-14	10-12	8-12	8-10	8-10	8-10	8-10
Unwashed, fine medium	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-20	17-19	16-18	14-15	12-15	12-14	11-13	11-13	11-13
Unwashed, selected medium	21-22	21-22	21-22	21-22	20-22	19-21	16-18	15-17	14-15	13-15	13-15	13-15
Unwashed, low	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-20	16-18	14-16	13-15	12-15	12-14	12-14	12-14
TUB WASHED.												
Choice, selected	34-35	35-37	35-37	35-37	34-36	32-34	30-32	27-30	26-28	25-27	25-27	25-27
Fair, ordinary	32-33	33-35	33-35	33-35	32-34	30-32	27-30	25-27	24-26	24-25	24-25	24-25
Coarse	30-32	30-32	30-32	30-32	30-32	28-30	25-27	22-25	20-24	20-23	20-23	20-23
PULLED.												
City merino	25-27	26-28	26-28	26-28	26-28	24-26	22-24	16-20	16-20	16-20	16-20	16-20
City super and lambs	30-33	30-33	30-33	30-33	30-33	27-30	26-29	23-25	23-25	20-25	20-23	20-23
Western super and lambs	26-29	26-29	26-29	26-29	25-28	24-27	22-25	20-23	20-23	18-22	18-20	18-20
Short merino and shearlings	18-22	18-22	18-22	18-22	16-19	15-18	15-18	10-14	10-14	10-13	8-12	8-12

1894.

OHIO, PENNSYLVANIA, AND WEST VIRGINIA FLEECE, WASHED.												
XX and above	22-25	22-25	22-23	21-23	22-23	21-22	20-21	20-23	20-22	19-20	18-20	18-19
X	21-22	21-22	20-21	20-21	21-22	20-21	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-19	17-18	16-18
Medium	24-25	24-25	23-25	22-24	23-24	23-24	20-22	21-22	21-23	20-22	20-22	20-21
Quarter blood	24-25	23-24	23-24	23-25	24-25	24-25	20-23	22-23	21-23	20-22	20-22	21-22
Common and cotted	20-22	20-21	20-21	20-21	20-21	19-20	18-19	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-20
NEW YORK, MICHIGAN, INDIANA, AND WISCONSIN FLEECE, WASHED.												
XX	21-22	20-22	20-21	19-20	20-21	19-20	18-20	18-20	17-19	17-18	16-18	16-17
X	19-21	19-20	18-20	18-19	19-20	18-19	16-18	17-18	17-18	16-17	16-17	15-16
Medium	23-24	23-24	23-24	22-23	22-23	22-23	20-21	20-21	20-22	20-21	20-21	19-20
Quarter blood	23-24	23-24	23-24	23-24	23-24	23-24	20-22	21-22	20-22	20-21	20-21	20-21
Common and cotted	18-22	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-19	18-19	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-19
COMBING AND DELAINE FLEECE.												
Washed, fine delaine	24-25	24-25	23-25	22-24	23-25	22-24	20-22	21-23	21-22	21-22	19-20	18-20
Washed, medium	25-26	24-25	24-25	24-25	24-25	24-25	21-23	22-23	22-24	22-23	22-23	21-22
Washed, low	24-25	24-25	24-25	24-25	24-25	24-25	22-23	22-23	22-24	22-23	22-23	22-23
Washed, coarse	22-24	22-24	22-24	22-24	22-24	22-24	20-21	21-21	20-22	20-22	20-22	20-21
Unwashed, medium	20-21	19-20	19-20	18-20	18-20	18-19	17-18	18-19	18-19	18-19	17-18	16-17
Unwashed, low medium	19-20	19-20	19-20	19-21	19-21	19-20	17-19	18-20	18-19	18-18	18-19	17-18
Unwashed, braid	15-17	15-18	15-18	15-18	17-18	17-18	16-17	17-18	17-18	17-18	17-18	16-17
UNWASHED.												
Light and bright.												
Fine	13-15	13-15	12-15	12-15	12-15	12-15	10-13	11-13	12-14	12-13	11-13	11-12
Medium	18-20	18-19	17-19	16-19	17-19	16-18	14-16	15-17	17-18	15-17	15-17	15-16
Low medium	18-19	18-19	17-19	17-19	18-20	18-19	15-17	16-18	17-18	16-18	16-18	16-17
Coarse	14-16	14-16	14-16	14-16	15-17	15-17	14-16	15-16	16-17	16-17	16-17	15-16

Philadelphia quotations of prices of wool—Continued.

1894—Continued.

Kinds of wool.	January.	February.	March.	April.	May.	June.	July.	August.	September.	October.	November.	December.
UNWASHED—continued.												
Dark colored.	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*
Light, fine	10-12	10-11	10-11	10-11	10-11	10-11	8-18	8-10	9-10	9-10	9-10	9-10
Heavy, fine	8-10	8-10	8-10	8-10	8-10	7-10	6- 8	7- 8	6- 8	6- 8	6- 8	6- 8
Medium	13-15	12-14	12-14	12-14	12-14	12-14	11-13	11-13	12-14	12-14	12-14	12-13
Fine medium	12-13	11-12	11-12	11-12	11-12	11-12	10-12	10-12	11-12	11-12	11-12	11-12
Coarse	12-14	12-13	12-13	12-13	12-13	12-13	11-12	11-12	11-12	11-12	11-12	12-13
COLORADO.												
Medium and fine, choice	14-16	12-15	12-15	12-15	12-15	12-14	11-13	11-13	11-14	11-14	11-14	11-13
Medium and fine, heavy	8-12	8-11	8-11	8-11	8-11	8-11	7-10	8-10	8-10	8-10	8-10	8-10
Common and quarter blood	12-14	12-13	12-13	12-13	12-13	12-13	12-13	12-13	12-14	12-14	12-14	12-13
Coarse, carpet	11-12	11-12	11-12	11-12	11-12	11-12	11-12	11-12	11-12	11-12	11-12	11-12
NEW MEXICAN.												
Choice improved	14-15	13-15	13-15	13-15	13-15	13-14	12-13	12-13	12-14	12-14	12-14	12-13
Partly improved	12-14	12-13	12-13	12-13	12-13	12-13	11-12	11-13	11-13	11-13	11-13	11-12
Coarse, carpet, light	11-12	11-12	11-12	11-12	11-12	10-12	10-12	11-12	11-12	11-12	11-12	11-12
Coarse, carpet, sandy or burry	8-10	8-10	8-10	8-10	8-10	8-10	8-10	8-10	8-10	8-10	8-10	8-10
Black	9-10	9-10	9-10	9-10	9-10	9-10	9-10	9-10	9-10	9-10	9-10	9-10
TEXAS.												
Fine, fall	9-11	9-11	9-11	9-11	9-11	9-11	7-10	7-10	7-10	8-11	8-11	8-10
Medium, fall	11-13	11-13	11-13	11-13	11-13	11-13	10-11	10-11	10-11	10-12	10-12	10-12
Coarse, fall	9-10	9-10	9-10	9-10	9-10	9-10	9-10	9-10	9-10	9-11	9-11	9-11
Fine, spring	11-13	13-11	11-13	11-13	11-13	11-13	10-12	10-12	10-12	10-12	10-12	10-11
Medium, spring	13-15	13-14	13-14	13-14	13-14	13-14	11-13	11-13	11-13	11-13	11-13	11-13
Coarse, spring	10-12	10-12	10-12	10-12	10-12	10-12	10-11	10-11	10-11	10-11	10-11	10-11
MONTANA.												
Unwashed, fine, bright	10-12	10-11	10-11	10-11	10-11	10-11	8-10	8-10	9-10	9-10	9-10	9-10
Unwashed, medium, bright	13-15	12-14	12-14	12-13	12-13	12-13	10-12	11-13	12-14	12-14	12-14	11-13
Unwashed, coarse, bright	12-15	11-12	11-12	11-12	11-12	11-12	10-12	10-12	11-12	11-12	11-12	10-12
Unwashed, dark colored, heavy or short	8-12	8-10	8-10	8-10	8-10	8-10	6- 8	6- 8	7- 9	7- 9	7- 9	7- 9
UTAH AND WYOMING.												
Unwashed, light, fine	10-12	10-11	10-11	10-11	10-11	10-11	7- 9	8- 9	8-10	8-10	8-10	8-10
Unwashed, heavy, fine	8-10	8-10	8-10	8-10	8-10	7-10	6- 8	7- 8	7- 9	7- 9	7- 9	7- 9
Unwashed, fine medium	11-13	11-12	11-12	11-12	10-12	10-12	8-10	9-11	10-12	10-12	10-12	10-11
Unwashed, selected medium	13-15	12-13	12-13	12-13	12-13	12-13	10-12	12-13	12-14	12-14	12-14	11-13
Unwashed, low	12-14	11-12	11-12	11-12	11-12	11-12	10-12	10-12	10-12	10-12	10-12	10-11
TUB WASHED (CANADA).												
Choice, selected	24-26	24-25	24-25	24-25	24-25	24-25	22-23	22-23	23-24	23-25	23-25	23-24
Fair, ordinary	23-24	23-24	23-24	22-24	22-24	22-24	20-22	20-22	21-22	22-23	22-23	22-23
Coarse	20-23	20-23	20-23	20-22	20-22	20-22	16-20	16-20	18-20	20-21	20-21	20-21
PULLED.												
City merino	16-18	15-17	15-17	15-17	15-17	15-17	15-17	15-17	16-18	16-18	14-15	14-15
City super and lambs	20-22	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-20	17-20	17-20	18-22	18-22	17-20	17-20
Western super and lambs	16-20	15-20	15-20	15-18	15-18	15-18	15-17	15-17	16-18	16-18	15-17	15-17
Short merino and shearlings	8-12	8-12	8-12	8-12	8-12	8-12	8-10	8-10	8-12	8-12	8-12	8-12

1895.

OHIO, PENNSYLVANIA, AND WEST VIRGINIA FLEECE, WASHED.												
XX and above	17-19	17-18	17-18	17-18	16-18	16-18	17-19	18-20	18-20	18-20	19-20	19-21
X	16-17	16-17	16-17	16-17	16-17	16-17	16-17	17-18	17-18	17-18	17-18	17-18
Medium	20-21	20-21	20-21	20-21	19-20	18-19	19-20	20-22	20-22	20-22	21-22	21-22
Quarter blood	21-22	21-22	21-22	21-22	20-21	19-20	21-22	21-23	21-23	21-23	21-23	21-23
Common and cotted	18-20	18-19	18-19	18-19	18-19	17-18	18-19	20-21	19-20	19-20	19-20	19-20
NEW YORK, MICHIGAN, INDIANA, AND WISCONSIN FLEECE, WASHED.												
XX	16-17	16-17	16-17	16-17	15-16	15-16	16-17	16-18	16-18	16-18	16-18	16-18
X	15-16	15-16	15-16	15-16	14-15	14-15	15-16	16-17	16-17	16-17	16-17	16-17
Medium	19-20	19-20	19-20	19-20	18-20	17-19	18-20	20-21	20-21	20-21	20-21	20-21
Quarter blood	21-22	20-21	20-21	20-21	20-21	18-20	20-22	21-22	21-23	21-22	21-22	21-22
Common and cotted	18-19	17-18	17-18	17-18	17-18	16-18	17-18	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-20
COMBING AND DELAINE FLEECE.												
Washed, fine delaine	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-19	17-19	18-20	19-20	19-21	19-21	19-22	20-21
Washed, medium	20-21	21-22	21-22	20-21	20-22	19-21	20-22	22-23	22-23	22-23	22-23	22-23
Washed, low	22-23	22-23	22-23	22-23	21-22	20-21	22-23	23-25	23-24	23-24	22-23	22-23
Washed, coarse	20-21	20-21	20-21	20-21	20-21	18-19	19-20	22-23	22-23	22-23	21-22	21-22
Unwashed, medium	16-17	16-17	16-17	16-17	16-17	15-16	16-18	17-19	17-18	17-18	17-18	17-19
Unwashed, low medium	17-18	17-18	17-18	17-18	17-18	16-17	17-19	18-20	18-19	18-19	18-19	18-18
Unwashed, braid	16-17	16-17	16-17	16-17	16-17	15-16	16-17	17-19	17-18	17-18	17-18	17-18
UNWASHED.												
Light and bright.												
Fine	11-12	11-12	11-12	11-12	11-12	11-12	11-13	13-14	12-13	12-13	12-14	12-14
Medium	15-16	15-16	15-16	15-16	15-16	14-16	15-17	16-18	16-17	16-17	16-17	16-17
Low medium	16-17	16-17	16-17	16-17	16-17	15-16	16-18	17-19	17-18	17-18	17-18	17-18
Coarse	15-16	15-16	15-16	15-16	15-16	14-15	15-16	17-18	16-17	16-17	16-17	16-17
Dark colored.												
Light, fine	9-10	9-10	9-10	9-10	9-10	9-10	9-10	9-11	9-11	9-11	9-11	9-11
Heavy, fine	6- 8	6- 8	6- 8	6- 8	6- 8	6- 8	6- 8	8- 9	8- 9	8- 9	8- 9	8- 9
Medium	12-13	12-13	12-13	12-13	12-13	12-13	12-13	12-14	12-14	12-14	12-14	12-14
Fine medium	11-12	11-12	11-12	11-12	11-12	10-12	10-12	11-12	10-13	11-13	11-13	11-13
Coarse	11-12	11-12	11-12	11-12	11-12	11-12	11-12	12-14	12-14	12-14	12-14	12-14

Philadelphia quotations of prices of wool—Continued.

1895—Continued.

Kinds of wool.	January.	February.	March.	April.	May.	June.	July.	August.	September.	October.	November.	December.
COLORADO.	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*
Medium and fine, choice	11-13	11-13	11-13	11-13	11-13	11-13	11-13	12-15	12-15	12-15	12-15	12-15
Medium and fine, heavy	8-10	8-10	8-10	8-10	8-10	7-10	8-10	10-12	10-12	10-12	10-12	10-12
Common and quarter blood	12-13	12-13	12-13	12-13	12-13	10-12	10-12	11-13	11-13	11-13	11-13	11-13
Coarse, carpet	11-12	10-12	10-12	10-12	10-12	10-11	10-11	10-12	10-12	10-12	10-12	10-12
NEW MEXICAN.												
Choice improved	12-13	12-13	12-13	12-13	12-13	12-13	12-13	13-15	13-15	13-15	13-15	13-15
Partly improved	10-12	10-12	10-12	10-12	10-12	10-12	11-12	12-14	12-14	12-14	12-14	12-14
Coarse, carpet, light	10-12	10-12	10-12	10-12	10-11	10-11	9-10	10-11	10-11	10-11	10-11	10-11
Coarse, carpet, sandy or burry	8-10	7- 9	7- 9	7- 9	7- 9	7- 9	8- 9	8-10	8-10	8-10	8-10	8-10
Black	9-10	8-10	8-10	8-10	8-10	8-10	8-10	9-11	9-11	9-11	9-11	9-11
TEXAS.												
Fine, fall	8-10	8-10	8-10	8-10	8-10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	9-11	9-11
Medium, fall	10-12	10-12	10-12	10-12	10-12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	11-13	11-13
Coarse, fall	9-11	9-11	9-11	9-11	9-11	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	9-10	9-10
Fine, spring	10-11	10-11	10-11	10-11	10-11	10-11	10-12	10-12	10-12	10-12	10-12	10-12
Medium, spring	11-13	11-13	11-13	11-13	11-13	11-13	12-14	12-15	12-14	12-14	12-14	12-14
Coarse, spring	10-11	10-11	10-11	10-11	10-11	10-11	10-12	12-12	10-12	10-12	10-12	10-12
MONTANA.												
Unwashed, fine, bright	9-10	9-10	9-10	9-10	9-10	9-10	9-11	10-12	10-12	10-12	10-12	10-12
Unwashed, medium, bright	11-13	11-13	11-13	11-13	11-13	11-13	11-14	12-15	12-14	12-14	12-14	12-14
Unwashed, coarse, bright	10-12	10-12	10-12	10-12	10-12	10-12	11-13	12-14	12-13	12-13	12-13	12-13
Unwashed, dark colored, heavy or short	7- 9	7- 9	7- 9	7- 9	7- 9	7- 9	8-10	8-12	8-12	8-12	8-12	8-12
UTAH AND WYOMING.												
Unwashed, light, fine	8-10	8-10	8-10	8-10	8-10	8-10	9-10	10-11	10-11	10-11	10-11	10-11
Unwashed, heavy, fine	7- 9	7- 9	7- 9	7- 9	7- 9	7- 8	8- 9	9-10	9-10	9-10	9-10	9-10
Unwashed, fine medium	10-11	10-11	10-11	10-11	10-11	9-11	10-12	11-13	10-12	10-12	10-12	10-12
Unwashed, selected medium	11-13	11-13	11-13	11-13	11-13	11-13	12-14	12-15	12-14	12-14	12-14	12-14
Unwashed, low	10-11	10-11	10-11	10-11	10-11	10-11	10-12	11-13	11-13	11-13	11-13	11-13
TUB WASHED (CANADA).												
Choice, selected	23-24	23-24	23-24	23-24	22-23	22-23	23-24	24-26	24-26	24-26	24-26	24-26
Fair, ordinary	22-23	22-23	22-23	22-23	21-22	20-22	21-23	22-24	22-24	22-24	22-24	22-24
Coarse	20-21	20-21	20-21	20-21	20-21	19-20	20-21	20-22	20-22	20-22	20-22	20-22
PULLED.												
City merino	14-15	14-15	14-15	13-14	13-14	12-14	12-14	14-16	14-16	14-16	14-16	14-16
City super and lambs	17-20	17-20	17-20	17-18	17-18	16-18	17-19	18-22	18-22	18-22	18-22	18-22
Western super and lambs	15-17	15-17	15-17	15-16	15-16	14-16	15-17	16-20	16-20	16-20	16-20	16-20
Short merino and shearlings	8-12	8-12	8-12	8-12	8-12	8-12	8-12	10-12	10-12	10-12	10-12	10-12

Kinds of wool.	1896.												1897.				
	January.	February.	March.	April.	May.	June.	July.	August.	September.	October.	November.	December.	January.	February.	March.	April.	May.
OHIO, PENNSYLVANIA, AND WEST VIRGINIA FLEECE, WASHED.	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*
XX and above	19-21	19-21	19-20	18-20	18-19	17-19	17-19	17-18	17-18	17-19	18-19	20-21	19-21	19-21	20-21	20-23	21-23
X	17-18	18-19	18-19	17-18	17-18	16-17	16-17	16-17	16-17	16-17	16-18	18-19	18-19	18-19	18-19	19-20	20-21
Medium	21-22	21-22	21-22	20-21	19-20	18-19	18-19	18-19	18-19	18-19	19-20	20-21	20-21	20-21	21-22	22-23	23-24
Quarter blood	21-23	21-23	21-22	20-21	22-21	18-19	18-19	18-19	18-19	18-19	19-20	20-21	20-21	20-21	21-22	22-23	23-24
Common and cotted	19-20	19-20	18-20	17-19	17-19	17-18	17-18	17-18	17-18	17-18	18-19	19-20	18-20	18-20	20-21	19-21	20-22
NEW YORK, MICHIGAN, INDIANA, AND WISCONSIN FLEECE, WASHED.																	
XX	17-18	17-18	17-18	16-18	16-18	16-17	16-17	15-16	15-16	15-16	15-17	17-18	17-18	17-18	17-18	19-20	18-20
X	16-17	16-17	16-17	16-17	15-16	15-16	15-16	14-15	14-15	14-15	14-15	16-17	16-17	16-17	16-17	17-18	18-19
Medium	20-21	20-21	20-21	19-21	18-20	17-19	17-19	17-18	17-18	17-18	18-19	19-20	19-20	19-20	19-20	20-22	22-23
Quarter blood	21-22	21-22	20-21	19-20	19-20	17-19	17-19	17-18	17-18	17-18	18-19	19-20	19-20	19-20	20-21	21-22	22-23
Common and cotted	18-20	18-20	18-20	17-18	17-18	16-18	16-18	16-17	16-17	16-17	17-18	18-19	18-19	18-19	18-20	19-20	20-21
COMBING AND DELAINE FLEECE.																	
Washed, fine delaine	20-22	20-22	20-22	19-21	19-21	18-20	18-20	17-19	17-19	18-20	19-20	20-21	20-21	20-21	21-22	21-23	22-23
Washed, medium	22-23	22-23	22-23	21-22	20-22	19-20	19-20	19-20	19-20	19-20	20-21	21-22	21-22	21-22	22-23	23-24	24-25
Washed, low	22-23	22-23	22-23	21-22	21-22	19-20	19-20	19-20	19-20	19-20	20-21	21-22	21-22	21-22	22-23	23-24	24-25
Washed, coarse	21-22	21-22	21-22	19-20	19-20	18-19	18-19	18-19	18-19	18-19	19-20	20-21	20-21	20-21	20-22	21-22	22-23
Unwashed, medium	17-18	17-18	17-18	16-17	16-17	15-16	15-16	15-16	14-15	15-16	16-17	16-17	16-17	16-17	16-18	18-20	19-20
Unwashed, low medium	18-19	18-19	17-18	16-17	16-17	15-16	15-16	15-16	14-15	15-16	16-17	16-17	16-17	16-17	17-18	19-20	20-21
Unwashed, braid	17-18	17-18	16-17	15-16	15-16	14-15	14-15	14-15	13-14	14-15	15-16	16-17	16-17	16-17	16-17	18-19	19-20
UNWASHED.																	
Light and bright.																	
Fine	12-14	12-14	12-14	11-13	11-12	10-12	10-12	10-12	10-12	10-12	11-13	12-14	12-14	12-14	13-14	15-15	13-15
Medium	16-17	16-17	16-17	15-16	14-16	14-15	14-15	14-15	13-14	14-15	15-16	15-16	14-16	15-16	15-16	17-18	18-19
Low medium	17-18	17-18	16-17	15-16	14-16	14-15	14-15	14-15	13-14	14-15	15-16	15-16	14-16	15-16	15-16	17-19	19-20
Coarse	16-17	16-17	15-16	14-15	14-15	13-14	13-14	13-14	12-13	13-14	14-15	14-16	14-15	14-15	14-15	16-17	18-19
Dark colored.																	
Light, fine	9-11	9-11	9-11	9-10	9-10	8-10	8-10	7- 9	7- 9	7- 9	8-10	8-10	8-10	8-10	9-11	10-12	11-12
Heavy, fine	8- 9	8- 9	8- 9	7- 9	7- 9	6- 8	6- 8	5- 7	5- 7	5- 7	6- 8	6- 8	6- 8	6- 8	7- 9	8-10	10-11
Medium	12-14	12-14	12-14	12-13	12-13	11-13	11-13	10-12	10-12	10-12	10-13	10-13	10-13	10-13	12-14	13-15	14-16
Fine medium	11-13	11-13	11-13	11-12	11-12	10-12	10-12	9-11	9-11	9-11	10-11	10-11	10-11	10-11	11-13	12-15	13-15
Coarse	12-14	12-14	12-14	12-13	12-13	11-13	11-13	10-12	10-12	10-12	10-12	10-12	10-12	10-12	11-13	12-14	13-15
COLORADO.																	
Medium and fine, choice	12-15	12-15	12-14	12-13	12-13	11-13	11-13	10-12	9-11	9-11	10-12	10-13	10-13	10-13	10-13	11-14	12-15
Medium and fine, heavy	10-12	10-12	9-11	8-10	8-10	8-10	8-10	7- 9	6- 8	6- 8	6- 8	8-10	8-10	8-10	8-10	9-11	9-11
Common and quarter blood	11-13	11-13	11-13	11-12	11-12	10-12	10-12	10-11	10-11	10-12	10-12	10-13	10-13	10-13	10-13	11-14	12-15
Coarse, carpet	10-12	10-12	10-11	10-11	10-11	10-11	10-11	9-10	9-10	9-10	10-11	10-12	10-12	10-12	10-12	10-13	10-13

Philadelphia quotations of prices of wool—Continued.

Kinds of wool	1890.												1897.				
	January.	February.	March.	April.	May.	June.	July.	August.	September.	October.	November.	December.	January.	February.	March.	April.	May.
NEW MEXICAN.	Cents.	Cents.	Cents.	Cents.	Cents.	Cents.	Cents.	Cents.	Cents.	Cents.	Cents.	Cents.	Cents.	Cents.	Cents.	Cents.	Cents.
Choice improved	13-15	13-15	12-14	12-13	12-13	11-13	11-13	10-12	10-12	10-12	11-12	11-13	11-13	11-13	11-13	12-14	13-15
Partly improved	12-14	12-14	12-13	11-12	11-12	10-12	10-12	9-11	9-11	9-11	10-11	10-12	10-12	10-12	10-12	11-13	12-14
Coarse carpet, light	10-12	10-12	10-11	10-11	10-11	10-11	10-11	9-10	8-10	8-10	9-10	10-12	10-12	10-12	10-12	10-12	11-13
Coarse carpet, sandy or burry	8-10	8-10	8-10	7- 9	7- 9	7- 9	7- 9	7- 8	6- 7	6- 7	6- 8	8-10	8-10	8-10	8-10	9-11	9-11
Black	9-11	9-11	9-10	7- 9	7- 9	7- 9	7- 9	7- 8	7- 8	7- 8	8- 9	8-10	8-10	8-10	8-10	9-12	10-12
TEXAS.																	
Fine, fall	9-11	9-11	9-11	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Medium, fall	11-13	11-13	11-12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Coarse, fall	8-10	9-10	9-10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Fine, spring	10-12	10-12	10-12	10-11	10-11	9-11	9-11	8-10	8-10	8-10	8-10	9-12	9-10	9-10	9-10	10-12	11-13
Medium, spring	12-14	12-14	12-13	11-12	11-12	11-12	11-12	10-12	10-12	10-12	10-12	10-13	10-12	10-12	10-12	10-13	12-14
Coarse, spring	10-12	10-12	10-11	10-11	10-11	10-11	10-11	9-10	9-10	9-10	9-10	10-12	10-11	10-11	10-11	10-12	11-13
MONTANA.																	
Unwashed, fine, bright	10-12	10-12	10-11	9-10	9-10	8-10	8-10	7- 9	7- 9	7- 9	8- 9	9-10	9-10	9-10	9-10	10-12	11-13
Unwashed, medium, bright	12-14	12-14	11-13	10-12	10-12	10-12	10-12	10-11	9-11	10-12	10-13	10-13	10-13	10-13	10-13	12-14	13-15
Unwashed, coarse, bright	12-13	12-13	11-12	10-11	10-11	9-10	9-10	9-10	8-10	10-11	10-12	10-12	10-12	10-12	10-12	10-12	12-14
Unwashed, dark colored, heavy or short	8-12	8-12	8-10	7- 9	7- 9	6- 8	6- 8	6- 7	6- 7	6- 7	6- 8	7- 9	7- 9	7- 9	7- 9	8-10	9-11
UTAH AND WYOMING.																	
Unwashed, light, fine	10-11	10-11	10-11	8-10	8-10	8-10	8-10	8- 9	8- 9	8- 9	8- 9	8- 9	8- 9	8- 9	8- 9	9-11	11-12
Unwashed, heavy, fine	9-10	9-10	8-10	7- 8	7- 8	6- 8	6- 8	6- 7	6- 7	6- 7	6- 7	7- 8	7- 8	7- 8	7- 8	8- 9	9-10
Unwashed, fine medium	10-12	10-12	10-12	10-11	10-11	9-11	9-11	9-10	9-10	9-10	9-10	9-10	9-10	9-10	9-10	10-12	12-14
Unwashed, selected medium	12-14	12-14	12-14	12-13	12-13	11-13	11-13	10-12	10-12	10-12	10-12	11-13	11-13	11-13	11-13	12-14	13-15
Unwashed, low	11-13	11-13	10-12	10-11	10-11	9-10	9-10	9-10	8-10	8-10	8-10	9-11	9-11	9-11	9-11	10-12	12-13
TUB WASHED (CANADA).																	
Choice, selected	24-26	24-26	23-25	22-24	22-24	21-23	21-23	20-22	20-21	20-21	21-22	23-24	23-24	24-26	24-26	25-28	25-28
Fair, ordinary	22-24	22-24	21-23	20-22	20-22	20-21	20-21	19-20	18-20	18-20	20-21	22-23	21-22	22-24	22-24	24-25	24-25
Coarse	20-22	20-22	20-21	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-20	18-19	17-19	17-19	18-20	20-21	20-21	20-22	20-22	22-24	22-24
PULLED.																	
City merino	14-16	14-16	12-16	12-15	12-15	12-15	12-15	11-14	10-14	10-14	12-15	13-16	13-16	13-16	15-18	16-19	16-19
City super and lambs	18-22	18-22	18-22	17-20	17-20	16-20	16-20	15-16	14-18	14-18	16-19	17-20	17-20	17-20	18-22	19-23	19-23
Western super and lambs	16-20	16-20	16-18	14-17	14-17	14-17	14-17	13-14	12-16	12-16	14-15	15-18	15-18	15-18	16-18	17-19	17-19
Short merino and yearlings	10-12	10-12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

Mr. CARTER. Mr. President, the Senator from Texas properly called attention to the fact that the number of sheep in the State of Montana had increased during late years. That fact can not be controverted. The increase, however, did not occur because of the decrease in the price of wool. The increase of sheep in that State arose from the fact that the increase of the various flocks could not be sold at any price whatever. They would not pay the freight to the seaboard for export purposes. There was no one in the interior of the country foolish enough to purchase stock upon which the loss was continuous, and therefore the increase occurred naturally and inevitably, not adding, however, to the wealth of the persons who owned the flocks, but rather increasing their burdens and cares.

I care not what the figures collected from New York may show. The fact known of all men and disputed by none conversant with the case is that in the State of Montana during the last two years we have been receiving about 6 cents per pound for wool, whereas under the much-berated McKinley Act we received from 14 to 20 cents per pound. The difference between 14 cents and 6 cents is the difference between destruction and prosperity.

Mr. MILLS. Will my friend permit me? Montana wool, unwashed fine, by this official statement sent from the Treasury Department, was worth from 18 to 20 cents in October, 1890, when the McKinley bill was passed, and it was worth from 8 to 10 cents in August, 1894, when the act was repealed.

Mr. CARTER. That was in contemplation of the free importation of wool under the tariff bill then under consideration, precisely as is the case to-day.

Mr. MILLS. Then in October, 1895, it was 10 to 12 cents; in October, 1896, 7 to 9 cents, and now it is from 11 to 13 cents.

Mr. HOAR. When did it get up in price?

Mr. CARTER. Permit me to explain to the Senator that after the election of 1892, the triumph in both branches of the legislative assembly of a party pledged to free wool and the election of a candidate to the Presidency whose cardinal principle of faith hung around this particular item, importers, manufacturers, persons interested in purchasing wool at the lowest possible price, discontinued their purchases in the protective market, contemplating the purchase of wool under a free-trade tariff at a much lower rate than that which they had been compelled to pay under the protective system.

Mr. GRAY. They did not get a much lower rate.

Mr. CARTER. Again, it is suggested by the Senator from Texas that the price has recently been increasing; and why? Because it is believed that the present Congress will place a protective tariff upon wool, and that the free-wool markets of the world will ere many days be shut off from the purchasers in the United States.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Mr. President, in confirmation of the position taken by the Senator from Texas, and as clearly demonstrating, as it seems to me, the absolute correctness of his position, I wish to present a paper prepared for me on the question of the condition of the wool trade of the world, which I will ask to have go into the RECORD.

The statement shows that the increase of sheep in Australia from 1860 to 1895 was from 20,000,000 sheep in 1860 to 119,000,000 in 1895; that the wool shipments from that country were 187,000 bales in 1860, and in 1895, 1,835,000 bales of wool, weighing 400 pounds on the average; that while the flocks had increased sixfold in number, the wool shipments had increased tenfold. The improvements in the sheep, the improvements in the wool on the sheep, had been such as to bring about that result.

While there were 16,000,000 sheep in Argentina in 1860, there were 80,000,000 in 1895, and while there were 40,000,000 pounds of wool shipped from Argentina in 1860, there were 495,000,000 pounds shipped in 1895; that while the sheep had increased fivefold, the wool shipments had increased twelvefold. This is the case as to the Capes and every other locality where, with almost unlimited pasturage, with a climate admirably adapted to sheep growing, sheep increase in number and increase in productiveness of wool at such a rate as to produce enormous quantities of wool from year to year. It has sent down the price of wool, and this can not be arrested, in my opinion, by tariff laws in any country.

The paper referred to is as follows:

The great changes that, since the outbreak of our civil war, have taken place in the wool situation of the world, and in manufacturing conditions likewise, have been nothing short of a revolution.

I wish to call attention to some facts that have a most important bearing upon the conditions as they present themselves to us now, and briefly to illustrate the influence which the wool situation has on the manufacturing conditions by directing the demand for goods. In 1860 the supply of wool for manufacturing purposes was still largely covered by the home production of the different countries. Combing wools were produced mainly by England and Canada. These wools were, however, and are to the present day, principally of the coarser and lustrous kind. Since then Australasia, South America, and the Cape to a smaller extent, have been extending sheep farming at a rate of almost overpowering dimensions, and it can not be predicted where the limit of growth may set in.

In 1860 the number of sheep raised in Australasia was about 20,000,000 and the exports were 187,000 bales of wool, at 400 pounds to the bale. By 1892 the number of sheep had grown to 119,000,000 and the exports to 1,835,000 bales. Argentina in 1860 had 16,000,000 sheep and in 1895 the number stands at 80,000,000.

For 1895 the Statesman's Yearbook of 1897 reports the exports of wool as 201,000 tons and of sheepskins as 33,000 tons. Adding the wool on the skins at the rate of computation adopted at this office as 75 per cent of the weight of the sheep skin and say 225,000 tons for the total of wool and wool exported on the skin, we have 495,000,000 pounds of wool. This is an extra large product. But it was overtopped in 1895 by fully 7½ per cent. This is more than a twelvefold increase in the wool production over 1860, when it was 40,000,000 pounds.

Nearly the same ratio of increase is found in the Cape Colonies. But not alone is the number of sheep increased as stated, but the sheep themselves have been improved and carry far more wool on their backs than they did in the sixties. Australia shows for 1860 3.74 pounds of wool per sheep, and in 1892 6.16 pounds. Nearly the same increase is visible in almost all the flocks of the different countries that supply most of the clothing and combing wools of the day; otherwise the proportion of increase in wool supply could not have been greater than the proportion of the increase in sheep. The wool supply of Australasia has grown tenfold, while the number of sheep has only increased sixfold. The same holds good, as shown in the above computation, for Argentina. The English sheep at the beginning of the period here under review average about 4½ pounds of wool, while now the average is over 6 pounds.

But the peculiar feature affecting the situation in manufacturing is that almost all the vast supplies of wool coming from the Antipodes are fit for combing, although they are entirely merino wools, which, under former classifications, prior to the war, were not used for combing purposes. All this tremendous supply of extra-European wools necessarily dominates the wool situation and determines the materials that are to be manufactured from it. Demand does not here dominate the raw material, but the raw material dominates the demand, and dictates as well as follows a complete change in manufacturing. The wonderful improvements that have been made in combing machinery, by which even very short staples can be used for combing purposes, have made it possible to make use of these new opportunities, and enable the trade to manufacture a variety of materials which formerly were all but unknown in the wool-manufacturing industries. Soft-wool effects are produced in worsteds now, and all wool-worsted articles are put on the market at a cost far below anything formerly produced in carded woolen goods.

Cheapness and durability of fabric has been given the consumer as the result of the invention and this change in wool production. This, more than anything else, has made a great deal of mill property of the old type obsolete. A limited supply of combing wools formerly gave to England a monopoly of all the trade that existed in worsteds and stuff goods for which English wools were particularly adapted. The inventions of the last twenty years and the new supplies of soft wools fit for combing have extended worsted manufacturing over all manufacturing countries. England, however, with its great start and historical position in wool manufacturing, and peculiarly aided by its own excellent breeds, leads the world easily in worsteds and stuff goods, and in any goods where the harder textures are a pronounced feature. Germany and France also largely employ combing machinery in the softer manufactures for which Australasian and South American fleeces are so well adapted, and have produced remarkable effects at prices which make goods accessible to the slenderest purse which formerly could be reached by the wealthiest classes only. The question arises how the United States in their breeds are able to supply wools to answer the demand of fashion so largely directed by the world's supply of wool. It is well known that the sheep east of the Mississippi have been decreasing since 1870 under all wool tariffs.

I append tables of the number of sheep in the principal sheep-raising States east of the Mississippi that were raising in about 1870 most of the wools of the United States. I also give in separate tables statements for the transmississippi States and for Western Territories that have lately become the chief woolraising States. Starting with Table No. 1, the aggregate of sheep raised in 1868 in the northern group of States east of the Mississippi was 28,564,000, according to the report of the Bureau of Agriculture, from whose reports, and later on from the reports of the Department of Agriculture, all these figures relating to wool in the United States are taken. Eighteen hundred and seventy-one shows a very large decrease. This decrease may be partly due to a system of collecting data not entirely free from doubt, but still the decrease from the high state of sheep cultivation of the preceding years is a noted fact, supported by the evidence in the outfall of the wool production.

According to the Bureau of Statistics of the Treasury Department in its report on wool and manufactures of wool (1887), the product for 1863 was 123,000,000 pounds; in 1864, 142,000,000 pounds, and from then on it reaches its highest point in 1868, when it amounts to 180,000,000 pounds. From then it decreases rapidly. It falls to 162,000,000 pounds in 1869, to 160,000,000 in 1870, and 150,000,000 in 1871.

Although the years down to 1894 were favored with very high protective duties, still the decline from 1871 on is a continuous one, and shows in 1891 that the sheep in these States had fallen in number to less than one-half of the figures quoted for 1868 and nearly one-third below the smaller figures of 1871. In the southern group of old States east of the Mississippi River the rate of production has changed but very little in the twenty-five years from 1870 to 1895. It is shown that the change in the tariff from a protective tariff to free wool has little altered the state of sheep farming. This would prove that here the sheep are considered a by-product of agriculture and not considered in the light of a wool-raising industry.

Table 3, comprising the States of Missouri, Texas, and California, points out at least in the last two mentioned States a very rapid rise and an almost equally sudden decline. This phenomenon can not possibly be ascribed to tariff changes because the great falling away took place within the years of high-tariff protection, when free wool was not at all considered a possible contingency. The decline in the older Northwestern States, which I call group No. 4, shows in equal force the same phenomenon of a rapid decline within certain years, marking a certain phase of development, and also at a time equally unmenaced by any change in the fiscal law. On the other hand, group 5 comprises the far Western States, the Territories up to late years, which, with the exception of Nebraska and Oregon, show a most remarkable increase in sheep raising. In 1880 this vast stretch of land harbored 5,456,000 sheep, and in 1896-97, 17,860,000, or more than a threefold increase. What makes this most impressive is the fact that the abolition of the tariff on wool did not stem the tide of increase.

In 1895 the number of sheep over 1891 was increased by about 10 per cent, and the year 1896 to 1897 shows an increase of 5 per cent over the preceding year, and this in the face of the fact that 1896 was perhaps the most depressed year in price of wool, a year in which considerable shipments of wool were made to Europe and sold in the English market at better prices than could be obtained in America. The conclusion is irresistible that wool production in these new States—Territorial grounds in 1870 and 1880—can not be an unprofitable occupation under more favorable conditions, when it shows such records as here appended under the lowest prices for the staple on the free-wool basis and under otherwise most forbidding trade conditions. This, however, is nothing more than the experience of the world from the days of mythical antiquity to the time of Russian, Australian, and Argentine experience. The wool-raising center is moving, in obedience to an unalterable law, to regions of most favorable conditions.

In times when population is sparsely distributed over vast territories, the shepherd alone can find profitable occupation, and the only marketable commodities are wool and the skin. They alone bear transportation where roads are deficient and communication with the outer markets must consume considerable time. Unless employed by the shepherd or the herdsman, the land would lie waste and barren. When population becomes dense, the agriculturist encroaches on these precursors of civilization and drives them to their inevitable doom. No laws, no resolves, can change the inevitable logic of events.

But what is the effect of all these facts and of the shifting of the wool-raising center of 1870 to the center of 1890 on the wool supply for manufacturing purposes of the United States? It is well known that even of the fleeces raised in the old sheep-raising States, only a part classified in table 1 are able to compete with Australian and South American wools which go into our worsted and dress-goods mills. Experts tell me that hardly more than one-half of these wools could be used for combing purposes in competition with Australian and South American wools.

We are therefore reduced to a supply of fifty to sixty million pounds of wool, on a liberal estimate, that could possibly compete with the twelve to fourteen million pounds that are raised in the Southern Hemisphere, which supplies chiefly the raw materials for the outer garments of the Western nations of Europe and the people of North America. The people of the United States certainly are the largest consumers, proportionately, of these wools, either in ladies' dress goods and cloths or in wool. How this change in the character of the raw material and the variations of fashion subsequent thereto and consequent thereon have dominated the trade of the United States can be seen by an examination of the importations of wool of class No. 1 from the year 1885 to 1895:

Imports of wools of class 1 in the years 1885 to 1895.

Year.	Pounds.	Year.	Pounds.
1885	13,472,000	1891	32,230,000
1886	23,320,000	1892	50,262,000
1888	23,039,000	1893*	30,778 000
1889	29,224,000	1894*	32,533,000
1890	16,649,000	1895*	125,435,000

* Calendar year.

A steady increase in importation took place under highest rates of wool duty. The year 1892 shows an increase of 27,000,000 pounds over the 23,000,000 pounds imported but five years before, although the numbers of sheep in the United States had increased between 1888 and 1893 from 43,500,000 to 47,000,000. The years 1893 and 1894 show a decline. The panic would be sufficient to explain the decline for 1893, and the pending changes in the tariff in 1894 suffice to explain the falling off in 1894. But the importations for 1895 equal the amount of the total importations of five years, 1886 and 1888 to 1891, and aggregating 124,000,000 pounds, and show plainly the appreciation which our manufacturers give to these foreign wools. They have undoubtedly learned that these wools are a necessary ingredient of the materials for clothing which they must be able to supply if they wish to keep abreast with the demand.

The wools raised in America, outside of what limited quantity is serviceable for combing purposes in the competition with wools of class 1, are serviceable only for blankets, flannels, cheviots, kerseys, cassimeres, overcoatings, knit goods, and the great variety of cloths and ladies' dress goods made of carded wools in all-wool and in cotton and wool fabrics. But, as said before, the large demand heretofore existing for outer clothing of men and women has been seriously cut into. Even the former large demand for flannels has decreased on account of the remarkable development of the American knit-goods industry, due to great improvements in manufacturing processes and the application of inventions of a more intense character than found in any other country in the world.

But this increase does not fully compensate for the decreasing consumption of wool in the flannel line on account of the large amount of cotton and of wool substitutes entering into the composition of the materials for knit underwear. The greater limitation of applicability set to our wools for the States named in Table 1 by recent industrial development might easily disappoint expectations if a high wool tariff were to effect a large increase in our flocks, without due regard to breeds, answering present industrial demands.

Wool, however, is a product of the soil upon which the sheep feeds, as it takes the characteristics imparted to it by the nature of the soil and the climate. It is a well-known fact that the best breeds of fine wool change in a short time on sheep transplanted to Western soil, chiefly the old Territories recently made into States. These wools, it must be borne in mind, are as different from carpet wools as Botany wool is from English wool. The carpet maker wants, of course, a fleece that fills out, and can not be served with the fleeces that are grown in the Territories, as can be easily demonstrated by an examination of samples of wools from the different countries and from our own growths under different classifications, viz, clothing, combing, and carpet wools.

J. SCHOENHOF,
Assistant Appraiser, Sixth Division, New York.

Mr. GRAY. Mr. President, if I had ever been a believer in the protection doctrine, I should, I think, have been cured of that belief by my experience since I have been a member of this body, and notably at this very session. The impossibility of arranging the business of the country and a large part of the business of the world by the wisdom of 300 or more gentlemen who assemble here from all parts of the country better than the people who have that business in hand can manage it for themselves I think has been here perfectly demonstrated. We have seen, in the course of the discussion on the wool tariff in the last two days, no agreement between the parties who represent the great controlling interests, the producers of wool and the manufacturers of woolen goods. They are as much at outs now as they were in the beginning, and I do not know whether there is any hope of reconciling them. Their statements as to facts upon which agreement could be had are entirely different. They do not agree upon any of the essential propositions which should govern a wise settlement of this question by legislation.

Now, how much better to leave all this to the commercial activities of a free, intelligent, and enterprising people? Let them

settle it for themselves, and do not put the interfering hand of the Government into that business in order to disturb the relations that naturally would grow up, and have grown up under natural and normal conditions.

I only rose for the purpose of bringing that conflict out with a little more distinctness, a natural conflict, to-day exploited on this floor, between the carpet manufacturers and the woolgrowers as to what the proper adjustment of this legislative partnership in their business ought to be.

We are told by the statement that was read from Justice, Bateman & Co., who have been known to most members of the Senate for many years as advocates of high protection, that it is impossible to grow in this country the raw material for carpet manufacture. That is what I understood to be the purport of his statement; I could not hear it all. We are told by no less respectable authority, both Senators from Montana, that if you will give them legislative protection, if you will make the Government a partner in their business to a sufficient extent, the woolgrowers will be able at some time to produce all the carpet wools that this country needs for the supply of its domestic manufacture.

Mr. CARTER. Mr. President, will the Senator from Delaware yield at this point for one moment?

Mr. GRAY. Certainly.

Mr. CARTER. I understand the contention to be relative to third-class wools upon this state of facts. Certain portions of the wools imported as third class under reduced rates of duty have been diverted from the purpose originally intended for use as carpets, and instead of being applied to the legitimate use intended, they are used in the manufacture of clothing, thus displacing to a great extent wools that we do produce and can produce ultimately in unlimited quantities to supply our own market.

The fact is that the growth of the so-called carpet wools can be continued in this country indefinitely. But the question of profit in the matter of production intervenes. It is more profitable upon the average to produce the better grades of wool, and we therefore undertake the production of the better grades. What we do object to is the importation of wool as third class under a low rate of duty, displacing the wools we grow, without paying the proper rates of duty as contemplated by the law.

Mr. GRAY. I think I understand the Senator, and I want to say to him that upon that very proposition there is as much difference as there has been exhibited in every other statement of facts here in regard to what should be the basis for imposing these protective duties.

I was about to say, when the Senator rose, that in the circular of Justice, Bateman & Co., Judge Lawrence is quoted as saying what I attributed to the Senators from Montana, that with what he calls a woolgrowers' tariff we can soon produce all the carpet wool needed in this country.

What does that mean, Mr. President? Now, just think of it for a moment. We are told that the carpet wools are so much feared by the woolgrowers of the West because they are the cheaper sorts of wool that it is not profitable to raise in this country and they come from abroad. They come from those countries where the sheep are not cultivated, not crossed, not blooded, but roam over great areas of wild and uncultivated land and are herded by men of a low stage of civilization, and that they come in here and are useful—indeed, necessary—for the coarse texture of our carpets.

The carpet manufacturers can not use the high-priced wools. And yet Judge Lawrence tells us that if you will only give him a woolgrower's tariff they will develop, not a higher industry, not a better and more skillful production of wool, but they will produce an inferior article; and that this nursing of a protective tariff is not, as we usually hear on this floor, to succor and foster an infant industry up into higher and more efficient grades of production, but to bring them down from the profitable production of fine wools to the production of the coarse wools that are now relegated to the inferior countries of the world and those in a lower stage of civilization.

Is that what gentlemen on the other side want to produce by this high protective tariff, and nursing this infant industry of production of inferior carpet wools? Mr. President, the obvious interest of this country, of all its people, is that we should avail ourselves of what the world offers in the low-priced wools and the coarser fabrics produced by inferior civilizations, in order that we may make them, not into luxuries, but into the very necessaries of life for all our people.

Mr. President, I said that there is a difference of opinion, a very decided difference of opinion, as to the proposition made by the Senator from Montana who last spoke; and what they complain of is not that these inferior wools should come in for carpet purposes, but that under that name there would be imported a large quantity of so-called third-class carpet wools that go into the manufacture of clothing and other fabrics. That is what I understood him to say.

Now, high as his authority is, I produce here the statement made by the woolen manufacturers this month, or in the magazine published this month, a magazine called the Bulletin of the National Association of Wool Manufacturers, who have a right to be heard as opposed to the National Association of Wool Growers. What they say in regard to this very proposition is as follows:

Nevertheless, the impression—

That is, the impression that a large part of these carpet wools come into this country and are used in the manufacture of clothing and other articles finer than carpets—

Nevertheless, the impression is profoundly mistaken; and we have taken the pains, in order that your committee may act with the fullest information, to ascertain the real facts in the case, which we present to you herewith in such form that no question can arise as to their authenticity.

The affidavits—

This was addressed to the Ways and Means Committee—

The affidavits submitted are transcripts from the private books of the principal importers of Class III wools, and are therefore of a nature that forbids their publication. They are given confidentially to your committee for your information and investigation. These returns enable us to trace over 70,000,000 pounds—

I should like to have the attention of the Senator from Montana to this statement, for whatever it is worth:

These returns enable us to trace over 70,000,000 pounds of the carpet wools imported into this country in the calendar year ending December 31, 1896. The total imports of that year were 74,325,529 pounds, according to the official statistics of the Treasury Department. There is no reason whatever to doubt that what was true of 70,000,000 pounds was true of the small remainder, 2,679,722 pounds.

These affidavits justify the statement that not to exceed 5 per cent of the importations of the last calendar year went to other uses than carpets. The actual requirements of the carpet mills are so well known to us, through our knowledge of their products, that we are warranted in saying that 95 per cent of the imports of carpet wools of the last six years have gone into carpets.

Mr. CARTER. If the Senator will permit me at this point, I should like to explain that the period over which this experience extended is largely a time when wools of all classes are admitted free of duty, when first and second class wools come in without the imposition of duty, and third-class wools as well. There exists no motive whatever to attempt to pervert from the natural channel the wools of any particular class. When, however, the duty on second-class wool is 10 cents and on third-class wool only 4 cents a pound, a powerful motive is shown for the introduction of all the wool possible at the lower rate of duty. It is a fact statistically sustained that upon the passage of the McKinley law the importations of third-class wools promptly and greatly increased.

Mr. GRAY. I could not hear the Senator. When was it that the importations greatly increased?

Mr. CARTER. After the passage of the tariff act of 1890; and a corresponding decrease occurred in a comparative sense in the importation of first and second class wools. The deficiency in the importation of first and second class wools was made up by the increase in the importations of wools of the third class under the lower or ad valorem rates of duty.

Mr. GRAY. I want always to understand accurately the proposition made by so able a disputant as the Senator from Montana. In reply to this statement of the wool manufacturers in regard to the proportion in the importations of 1896 of the carpet wools that went into other than carpet manufactures, I understand the Senator's statement to be that owing to wool being free a careful classification was not made of third-class from first and second class wools, and therefore I can not depend so properly upon the returns for that year; that where first and second class as well as third-class were brought in free there was no motive to carefully distinguish the classes. That is a statement that is worth considering.

I think we have a test of the accuracy of these returns for 1896, stated to be 74,000,000, of which two million and a half were used for other purposes than carpet manufacture. To test the accuracy of that statement, the report goes on to say that by the returns of the Eleventh Census—the census made in 1890, the year the McKinley Act was in operation, but of course before it went into operation—the "returns show that the actual consumption of third-class imported wools in the census year, by carpet mills and carpet worsted spinners, was 75,853,832 pounds," very nearly the same amount which was stated to have been the importation of 1896.

That was a year in which there was a tax upon and a classification of wools. It was a year in which there was a motive to distinguish the carpet wools, the third-class wools, from the others. We find, in the first place, that the carpet wools imported in that year agree remarkably in the amount of importation with those given as the importation of 1896. The importation by the carpet mills was 75,000,000 pounds, without reading the odd thousands, and the total imports of these wools were 80,851,000 pounds.

Mr. MANTLE. What year was that?

Mr. GRAY. That was the year 1890, when there was a classification of wool, when there was a necessity and a motive for distinguishing between the different classes. So this statement, which seems to be a careful one, of the carpet manufacturers is supported by the returns of the census, and gives me the greater

confidence in asking the attention of the Senate to other statements that they make, for it appears to be a careful and an honestly drawn paper. If this be so, and I am inclined to think that notwithstanding the statements of the Senators from Montana, whose information upon this subject I very cheerfully admit, and whose conscientious desire to represent the interests of their State in woolgrowing I respect——

Mr. MANTLE. Does the statement from which the Senator has been reading give the amount of carpet manufactured?

Mr. GRAY. Yes.

Mr. MANTLE. The number of yards for 1896?

Mr. GRAY. No.

Mr. MANTLE. It does not give that anywhere?

Mr. GRAY. I do not think it does. I can not tell now. It is a long statement. But it shows that for 1896 there were 74,000,000 pounds in round numbers imported of carpet wools and not over 5 per cent was used for other purposes than carpet manufacture. It is a quantity, this writer says, too insignificant to have any influence whatever upon the price or the consumption of domestic wool or one that will make it necessary to legislate against.

Mr. MANTLE. If the Senator will permit me, I want to call attention to at least one inaccuracy in that statement. I find by a reference to the comparative statement, and it is borne out by the other Treasury statistics bearing upon this matter, that the imports of third-class wool for 1896, instead of being 72,000,000 pounds, as stated in that communication, were 96,661,663 pounds, an apparent discrepancy of something over 24,000,000 pounds, which is quite an item in the consideration of this subject.

Mr. GRAY. That is another illustration showing how hard it is to get at the proper basis of facts.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. May I inquire of the Senator from Delaware whether the figures are not the amount withdrawn for consumption rather than the amount of entry?

Mr. GRAY. It may be the amount withdrawn for consumption, but here is the statement made by this intelligent and worthy class of our people, to wit, the carpet manufacturers, many of whom live very close to my own home. In the city of Philadelphia I think one-half the carpet manufacturers of the country are found.

Mr. MANTLE. Nearly two-thirds in Pennsylvania.

Mr. GRAY. Nearly two-thirds, the Senator from Montana says, and they are greatly interested to gather, and employ those who can skillfully gather, accurate statistics of this matter. I present them for what they are worth; and I think they are worth a great deal. I think they are entitled to great consideration as against the ex parte statements of the National Association of Wool Growers, of which Judge Lawrence is the distinguished president.

Mr. MANTLE. May I suggest to the Senator that that is an ex parte statement?

Mr. GRAY. Certainly, I say it is an ex parte statement, and I read it for what it is worth. I think it is worth a great deal, and I think it ought to be taken in connection with what Judge Lawrence says in behalf of these people. What I am trying to do now is not to support either side, for I do not know how to support either side, but I want to show the absolute futility of attempting in the Senate or in the Congress of the United States to legislate wisely upon this subject when we can not ascertain with certainty a proper basis of facts, when the statements upon which we are called to legislate differ so widely, as I have shown these statements differ as to the statistics that have been cited here and produced and which are necessary to be considered before we can wisely legislate.

Mr. President, I differ, of course, in my point of view from that of my friend from Montana, as stated the other day. He approaches it from the protectionist point of view, and so does Judge Lawrence. There ought to be some curb even upon the appetite of a protectionist. I think Judge Lawrence and the woolgrowers ought to get upon higher ground and get a wider horizon. They ought to take a broader view of this subject than they do, even from the protectionists' standpoint. I do not believe that even all protectionists would indorse the extreme and extravagant demands made by this gentleman and the statements of what he calls the principles of protection. He says in one place in his statement before the Ways and Means Committee, in speaking of the Wilson Act, in regard to free wool:

> There has never been such a cruel blow inflicted upon any industry in the American Republic from its foundation up to this time.

And yet the statistics read by the Senator from Missouri and the Senator from Texas just now show that the price of wool coming to the woolgrower has not been materially affected by the passage of the Wilson Act and the substitution of free wool for highly taxed wool. I will not pause now. There is a reason for that. I understand that a tax adds to the cost of the material where it is not all produced in the country. There is a reason given for that which is, it seems to me, not only a plausible one, but an absolutely conclusive one. With free raw material and with free wool the manufacturers of wool were so stimulated in this country, and they were so encouraged, that the amount of production and the amount of wool manufactured were such that of course the quantity of domestic wool and imported wool consumed was increased.

Furthermore, there is a fact that ought to be taken into consideration, and is stated by those who are expert in these matters. There are certain foreign wools which are necessarily imported in order to mix with domestic wool. There are certain grades of domestic wool or certain portions of domestic wool that can not be used profitably unless they are mixed with the foreign wool; and the free importation of foreign wools will enable a larger consumption of domestic wool. But that is aside from my purpose. I merely refer, in passing, to that which has been often stated and is very well known by Senators.

I do not think the American people will consider that a very cruel blow that has been struck at this industry after they understand the case, even though Judge Lawrence does say so. He says further:

> In view of all these and other considerations, woolgrowers may justly ask—

What?—

> "indemnity for the past and security for the future"—

What does that mean, Mr. President? We have been told that the woolgrowers must fix the tariff to suit themselves and afterwards the manufacturers will claim their very generous cooperation to help them. And they are to do it upon that principle, not only to raise the price to a profitable point "for the future," but they say they justly ask "indemnity for the past"—

> and that, too, in a measure so full—

Says Judge Lawrence—

> as to inspire confidence that they will be safe from the attacks of open enemies or the stabs of professed friends, even acting honestly, but with erring judgment.

When you once give way to the proposition that any man or set of men or class of men have a right to use the taxing power of this Government for their own benefit, see what sort of men it breeds. Otherwise honest and intelligent men come to think that they have a privilege, and that they are a privileged class and have a right to levy exactions upon the whole of the rest of the people.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. A vested right.

Mr. GRAY. A vested right, as Judge Lawrence says somewhere else. They think that it may be used for their benefit and that no one has a right to complain. What a perversion of all just ideas of social economy and of social life or civilized life anywhere!

Mr. MANTLE. I wish to suggest to the Senator that in the light of the experience for the last three or four years every industry which has been the beneficiary of the protective tariff is here to-day in exactly the same attitude as the woolgrowers, asking indemnity for the past and security for the future.

Mr. GRAY. I am inclined to think that the Senator is right, but the woolgrowing industry is one of such wide importance that the tariff on wool is sometimes called the key to the whole protective system, and it assumes an importance on that account, on account of its magnitude and on account of its relation to the comfort and well-being of all the people of this country. It may be selected as the sample tyrant of them all.

Now, look at what language they get accustomed to use, without thinking, perhaps, so easily do power and privilege pervert the heart and mind.

> And that, too—

He says—

> in a measure—

That is, indemnity for the tariff—

> so full as to inspire confidence that they will be safe from the attacks of open enemies or the stabs of professed friends.

He uses the terms of warfare. The whole thing, the business of this country and the whole interference of legislation, is here a part of warfare of classes, and here, instead of enjoying the natural opportunities that this country gives of that peaceful trading which means the upbuilding of the commonwealth, he puts himself in the attitude of hostility to large classes of his fellow-citizens and wants to be put by legislation in a place where he can make bare his right arm and smite hip and thigh those whom he regards as the enemies of the woolen industry.

Mr. President, there are no enemies of the wool industry so dangerous and insidious as these friends who demand these unreasonable exactions from the American people. There must be a revolt. If the rest of the people, or a large portion of them, are to be considered enemies by the Wool Growers' Association, they will take the position of enemies, and they will not be lacking in resources to make their hostility felt and their opposition to these extortionate demands effective.

It is rather interesting to observe some of the things said by

this representative of the Wool Growers' Association. Here is what they demand in conclusion, as stated by Judge Lawrence:

We now approach the question—

Says he to the Ways and Means Committee—

What is the most ample protection for the wool industry? It is not difficult to define. It can be given only by such protective duties as will secure the most ample protective benefits.

Two results.—It is that protection which will bring two results:

1. Secure to American woolgrowers the most ample prices for their wools, and

2. Whenever they are able to supply all needed for American consumption, then such duties as will exclude the import of all foreign wools so long as American wools command no more than the most ample prices to reward capital invested and services rendered in wool production.

Mr. President, it is hard to conceive that an intelligent man, as Judge Lawrence is known to be, can bring himself, can gain his own consent, to utter such a proposition as that; that, in the first place, the measure of protection is to be the most ample price for the wools; and second, when they are enabled to supply the domestic markets, the exclusion of "all foreign wools so long as American wools command no more than the most ample prices to reward capital and services rendered in wool production."

Mr. President, that leaves out of sight all other interests in this broad land of ours. It leaves out of sight everything but the woolgrowing industry. I know that he makes a mistake. I know he will find that this result will not follow this law; but that is what he holds out to those he represents with an amazing and a brutal unconcern for the masses of the people, who are to be taxed in order to produce these "most ample prices" for the benefit of the woolgrower.

Wool products, woolen cloths, blankets, flannels, and all that go to make up not the luxuries, but the necessaries of our modern life do not come from the sky like manna. They come out of the pockets of the people, and what comes out of the pockets of the people is the result of their labor. It means that a man must labor a little harder, that he must work a little longer, two days or a day and a half instead of one, to buy the necessary woolen cloth or woolen blanket that are the absolute essentials of the poorest citizen of this country.

Mr. President, that is not right, and you can not defend it upon any ground of fairness and justice between man and man. There is no reason why the labor of the great consuming masses of this country should not be protected by making that labor as remunerative as possible, by making that labor mean to the man who toils as much as possible in all the comforts and necessaries of life; translate his wages into woolen cloth, woolen blankets, flannels, and woolen shawls, and the other articles that go so far to make up the comforts of life; let those wages mean as much as possible; but at all events do not try with the interfering hand of legislation to reduce those wages by diminishing their power to supply the comforts and to promote the well-being of the man who earns them.

Mr. President, carpets are no longer a luxury. Advancing civilization has made a great many changes in the lives of the people of the world, and perhaps in none more conspicuously than in the abundant and diffused use of the manufactures of wool in their multiform character. Carpets are now a necessity; and there is no man who labors with his hands so poor as not to be entitled to buy them without exaction and without unnecessary toll being paid to his fellow-man in order that he may enjoy this necessary of life. There is no reason why the thousands and hundreds of thousands of men who toil for their daily bread in this and the other greater cities of the land should have to pay toll to the woolgrowers of Montana, respectable and worthy as they may be as a class, in order that they may turn their hard-earned wages into these comforts of daily existence; none at all. There can not be any reason for it.

This bill was brought in here, and we were called in extra session to enact it into law. Why? The one reason that justified the President in issuing his proclamation was that there was a deficiency in the Treasury, that the receipts were less each day than the expenditures; and we were called here to properly perform the duty of creating a larger revenue.

Mr. President, it is infamous, it seems to me, that in order to take revenue from the pockets of the people—and which they are willing to pay, hard as it may be, if it honestly goes into the Treasury—I say it is nothing less than infamous that before the revenue can be raised certain favored classes in this country must levy toll upon every dollar that goes into the Treasury two or three times the amount.

You say practically to us, when we say we are here to cooperate with you in this worthy act of producing an adequate revenue, adequate for the wants of the Government, "You shall not raise a dollar of that needed revenue until you have paid tribute to the protected manufacturers of this country, and it is only after having paid that unjust exaction of many, many millions that you will be allowed to place the comparatively few millions necessary to make up the chasm between the receipts and expenditures of this Government."

Now, you can not raise this tax on raw wool without raising the tax or making a pretext for raising the tax on the manufactures of wool. You can not increase the duty on carpet wools without raising or creating the pretext for raising the duty on carpets and thus raising the price of carpets.

I think it was said a while ago—perhaps by one of my friends from Montana—that a large proportion of these carpet wools were made into ingrain carpets; but such is the fact, at any rate. I think that two-thirds, perhaps, of the carpet wools that are imported, those very wools we are talking about, are made into the cheap ingrain carpets, those that are used now by the poorest man who labors with his hands, to cover his floors, and thus make decent and comfortable habitations for himself and his family. He has to pay this stipend to the woolgrowers of Montana; he is asked to do it.

Now, what is the condition of those people that justifies such a request on their part from the great mass of the poor people of this country? Grant that they are worthy, grant that they are honest and good citizens, yet they are no more worthy and their industry is entitled to no more consideration than that of the numerous millions upon whom they ask to make this levy.

Let me read just a few lines from the Philadelphia Ledger, published in the chief seat of the carpet industry of this country, and a very fair-minded paper, not of Democratic or free-trade tendencies that I was ever able to discover. The Philadelphia Ledger published an interview with Robert Dornan, the great carpet manufacturer. Of course the Senator from Montana will say that this is an ex parte statement. Of course it is; but if he knows Mr. Dornan by reputation as well as I do, he will think it worthy of consideration; at least as worthy of consideration as the ex parte statement of Judge Lawrence on the subject:

The Philadelphia Ledger publishes an interview with Robert Dornan, the great carpet manufacturer of that city, on the subject of the Senate committee's report on carpet wool. The mischief of the change made from the Dingley rates consists in fixing 10 cents as the dividing line between low-grade and high-grade wools. Under the Senate committee's rates all wools costing between 10 cents and 13 cents per pound will bear the highest rate of duty—that is, 7 cents per pound. "In a normal year," says Mr. Dornan, "the importation of carpet wools amounts to $10,000,000 in value. Under the Dingley bill the duty would have amounted to about 3 cents a pound, but under the Senate bill it will average 6 cents. The difference of about $3,000,000 would have to be borne by the purchasers of the carpets; woolgrowers would not be affected in any way. It would amount to a direct tax of that amount principally on the users of ingrain carpets. The tax would increase the cost 20 cents a yard. Such carpets sell to-day for 40 cents a yard. Half the carpet wool imported goes into ingrain carpets." The effect of raising the cost of ingrain carpets 20 cents per yard would be to increase the demand for straw mattings.

And there we go. Here comes the selfishness of the carpet manufacturer. He says raising the price of carpets is going to increase the importation of straw mattings; and we tried to hedge that off by putting a protective or a prohibitory duty on straw mattings, which happily the good sense of the Senate has seen fit to discard. But just look at what the attempt was. They seemed to be pursuing the unhappy consumer, who represents the millions in this country, and when you have raised the duty on the carpet so that he can not afford to buy it, and turns to the cheaper matting, you raise the duty on matting, or attempt to do it, and drive him back to carpet. So you go, until after a while you will exhaust this source of bounty, and you will perhaps make men so poor that they can buy neither carpet nor matting.

Mr. MANTLE. I just want to make a comment upon the communication just read from Mr. Dornan.

Mr. GRAY. If it is not too long, I shall be glad to hear the Senator.

Mr. MANTLE. Mr. President, I want to call attention to the evident inaccuracy in the statement of Mr. Dornan that it will raise the price to 6 cents. I have just stated from the statistics that 98 per cent of all those carpet wools came in at a valuation of less than 10 cents for the years beginning 1891 and running down to 1896. It is therefore impossible that the duty proposed by the Senate Finance Committee could raise the duty to 6 cents per pound; it is simply impossible, in view of our past experience.

Mr. GRAY. There is just what I started out to comment upon, the absolute impossibility of ever arriving at an agreed state of facts upon which we can wisely legislate. Here is Mr. Dornan, who is engaged in carpet manufacturing, and he tells us that the average duty, taking the two classes together, will be 6 cents a pound, and it will add $3,000,000 to the price of low-grade carpets, the ingrain carpets, which are one-half of the carpets consumed composed of these low grades of wool.

Mr. MANTLE. I say that, in the light of the record and of all the facts and all the statistics bearing upon importations, that statement is manifestly inaccurate.

Mr. GRAY. Of course when the Senator from Montana makes a statement of that kind, I am bound to treat it with respect, and I do; but I only want to say that I am in the position of a judge and of a sworn judge in this matter, and with all the evidence before me it is impossible for me to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion in reference to it, and I do not believe any person here can

arrive at a satisfactory conclusion in regard to it, so as to make a safe basis for legislating these high protective duties. What the Senator states may be true, but let us hear what Mr. Dornan says:

The carpet manufacturers thought that they had erected a Chinese wall against Chinese mattings in the Dingley bill, but they find that this is a bill that two can play at, Judge Lawrence being the other member of the duet. The whole quarrel over wool duties resolves itself into a question of nerve. If the manufacturers are willing to fight à outrance, as the wool-growers evidently intend to, they will win the game. If not, they will lose it and their money besides.

Mr. President, I confess that it is somewhat shocking to me to hear in the halls of legislation of the Congress of these United States these unseemly contests going on. Instead of having their representatives here fighting over an advantage on this item or that item of a tariff bill, tell them to go home, tell them to return to their business, and seek to build up the prosperity of this country whilst we hold the great power of taxation so high that it can not be reached by the greedy and avaricious hand of the privileged classes. Keep the great powers of Government for public purposes, and do not prostitute them for private gain or for private purposes, and you will produce a contentment and harmony and agreement among all these great enterprising business classes of this country which will never be produced by the attempt to go into a Government partnership with any of them by tariff legislation.

Mr. President, I had something more that I wanted to read from the Bulletin of the National Woolen Manufacturers, if I could lay my hand upon it, but I do not know that I ought to consume more of the time of the Senate, which I am anxious to economize in order that we may get through with this bill. I want to read nothing that I find here, taken from the Boston Herald, bearing upon this very subject of carpet manufactures, and then I shall leave this subject:

[From the Boston Herald, April 21, 1897.]

KEEPING UP PRICES.

The difficulty in the way of coming to a compromise with the woolgrowers in the matter of the tariff tax is found in the theory entertained by some of them, of which the following is an authoritative statement:

When Mr. McKinley reported his bill, April 16, 1890, it proposed a duty on the better grades, third-class wool, of 8 cents per pound specific; no ad valorem duty. In view of the decline in the world's price of wool since 1890, higher duties are now required.

It ought to be noted in passing that the lowering of the world's price of wool has made this specific duty a much higher ad valorem duty than it was when the McKinley law was passed.

This formulates a notion of Government function that is so entirely at variance with the past conceptions of even the protectionists that it is not at all singular that a good many of our Eastern manufacturers are dismayed when brought face to face with the logical conclusions which must be the outcome of its application. The idea is this, if we assume, for purposes of illustration, what may be a somewhat exaggerated statement of conditions, as in this way the point at issue can best be brought out: Carpet wools, let us say, for the purposes of this argument, were selling abroad in 1890 at 10 cents a pound, and it was considered at that time by the framers of the tariff that an 8-cents-a-pound duty was the proper thing. This would carry the American price up to 18 cents.

Since then, still assuming the price in the world's market, for carpet wool has gone down to 5 cents a pound, and the argument made by the woolgrowers, who are now largely controlling action in Congress, is that the duty upon this carpet wool should be 13 cents a pound, so as to still maintain the American price at the old figure of 18 cents a pound. In other words, when, in consequence of better methods of transportation and cheaper methods of production, reductions in price take place in wool, these should be offset by advances in the rate of duty, so that the American consumers of wool should never be allowed to obtain any of the advantages which modern discovery and the use of improved methods bring about.

The underlying theory of this notion is that it is the duty of the Government to put in a peg, as it were, to prevent a reduction in prices from any cause whatsoever. If the Western farmer can thus force the Government to keep the price of carpet wools at 18 cents, he can also, on the same ground, compel Congress to take such action as will keep the price of wheat at $1 a bushel, or compensate the raiser of it for any deficiency. This assumption, which seems to underlie probable tariff action, starts our country on a scheme of socialistic change which can not fail to revolutionize what have been considered in the past to be the principles of our Government.

Mr. President, it seems to me that is a thoughtful and correct statement of some of the heresies which underlie this whole proposition. We want at every turn to deny to our people and to the consumers of this country the benefits of the great improvements which civilization and progress have wrought in the world. If there are better methods of transportation, if there are larger areas of production on the world's surface, which bring down the prices of these commodities, such as wool, an absolute necessary of life, why should not our people avail themselves of them?

Why should not the millions of people who toil, who rise up early and go to bed late, and do not eat the bread of idleness, avail themselves of the bounties of nature that have been developed by the progress of the world in enterprise and in civilization? Why, as soon as some great boon is discovered, should we want to erect a wall between the people of this country and the enjoyment of that boon? What right have we to do it? The world is none too big. You would make it smaller. You say that it would be better if there were no other land except that comprised between the lakes and the Gulf and the two oceans, and if all the rest of the earth's surface were a wild waste of waters.

That is the ultimate logic of the protective theory, that the United States would be better off, and the people who live in it would be better off, if north of the Canadian line was a frozen zone, uninhabitable and unproductive. Should we be better off? No. We enjoy the benefits that God has given by this variety of climate and the variety of races on the face of the earth. We aer better off, and those on the other side of the Canadian line are better off, for the association, and every profitable trade we make with them benefits not only them, but also benefits those on this side of the line who are thus associated with them.

No, Mr. President, the world was given to man to be enjoyed, and all its products and all its fruits should be made available for all the people in this country, and at least no legislative obstruction ought to be placed between them and that enjoyment.

Mr. MANTLE. Mr. President, I have listened with a great deal of pleasure to the very able and eloquent speech of the Senator from Delaware [Mr. GRAY], as I have listened upon many other occasions. Of course he and I differ radically upon the basic principle involved in this discussion, and that is the question of protection versus what we usually term free trade. I believe in the principle of protection, but even if I were a believer in the policy of a tariff for revenue only, I think that all fairness and equity would require that I should insist that even a tariff for revenue should be imposed as equally as it could possibly be imposed, for you can not levy a tariff for revenue even upon manufactured products which will not bring with it some incidental protection to the manufacturer and to the disadvantage of the producer of the raw material.

I do not think this proposition can be denied; and hence I think my distinguished friends upon that side who talk so eloquently in favor of free wool and other free raw material are somewhat inconsistent from my point of view.

If there is to be any benefit derived by any class of our people engaged in any industry from the imposition of any sort of a duty it ought to be made general and uniform, and ought to bear equally upon all the people and all classes and all interests and all industries. That is my idea of it, even looking at it from a revenue point of view.

One would suppose, to listen to these discussions and arguments made in behalf of cheapness by the advocates of a revenue tariff, that the sole end and aim and purpose of existence was cheapness; to secure everything cheap. Mr. President, I do not agree with that view. I do not believe that it is the part of wisdom, of statesmanship, or of common sense to place the people of this country upon equal terms of competition with the people of every other country in the world. I do not believe that it is wise to do it, and hence I am a believer in the protective principle. I do not believe that the woolgrowers of this country ought to be placed in competition with the cheap and degraded labor of other countries. The cheapest lands in the world are the countries whose people are the most degraded, where they are the least advanced in civilization. China is the cheapest country upon the face of the earth, but I do not believe that we want to emulate the conditions which exists in China. Cheapness is not the sole end and aim and purpose of human existence.

What the people of this country want to make them happy and prosperous and contented is work. They want something to do; they want employment; and I believe we had better devote our energies and our legislation, in so far as it can be done, to providing means for sustaining and aiding and encouraging them in doing their own work, in producing the things that they need for themselves to eat and to wear, rather than to adopt a system which will encourage their production in countries outside of our own.

Mr. President, this briefly is my opinion with respect to a protective duty. I think Daniel Webster once said something bearing directly upon this point. Speaking of this idea of giving the people employment, he said it was the great purpose and idea to be constantly borne in mind, to give the people work, to give them something to do. He said if they have employment for their hands they will have employment for their teeth, and when men have employment for both hands and teeth, then they will be happy, contented, and prosperous. That I concede to be true theory from my way of looking at it. The aim and purpose and general intent of the protective system is to give to the laboring men of this country the work to do at home in prefereuce to having it done abroad.

Mr. President, I concede that under a protective system injustice is liable to creep in. It has crept in. I believe that certain sections of our country have in the past been somewhat favored, overfavored, in the arrangement of protective tariffs; and that is why I am here to-day raising my voice in behalf of the producers of what is called raw material, because I believe that in former tariffs their interests have been neglected, and I believe their interests are entitled to just as much consideration in the framing of this tariff as are the interests of the manufacturers who have so many here to speak for them so ably and so eloquently. I do not believe there is the slightest danger of the manufacturers being illtreated or unfairly treated in the framing of this tariff bill. They have never been in the past, and they will not be at this time.

I must beg leave to differ with my honorable friend from Texas [Mr. MILLS] as to what has been the effect of the tariff laws with relation to wool. I think, and I say it with all due respect, that the opinion of the woolgrowers themselves carries, naturally, more weight than the quotation of any statistics or any figures given; and they are united, so far as I know, in the agreement that under the tariff of 1867 the wool industry of this country did prosper beyond doubt, and the number of sheep increased greatly.

I have before me a table, which I find in the tariff hearings, in which it is shown that from 1873 to 1884, the period during which the law of 1867 was in effect, the increase of sheep and of wool in the United States was greater than in any other country, and the increase was very large in Australia, in Africa, and in Argentina; but the percentage of growth in the United States was greater than it was in any of these countries, showing conclusively the benefit which had been derived from the duty upon wool.

Speaking, Mr. President, with reference to the communication read by the Senator from Delaware contained in the Wool Book, the organ of the National Association of Wool Manufacturers, I agree entirely with my colleague [Mr. CARTER] in his comment and criticism. The year 1893 is not a good year for comparison. We were under free wool during that year, and, as my colleague has said, there was no inducement to bring in wools at a lower valuation; there was no duty, and hence other wools could be secured—the wools from South America, where wool is very cheap, but it is of a coarse, heavy, shrinking character, and there is a great deal of it there that never reaches the United States under a tariff, and never will; but with free wool it is brought in largely.

I suggest, too, that the statements of these manufacturers ought to be taken with many grains of allowance, just as well as the statements of the woolgrowers.

The woolen manufacturers are very expert in figures, and I should have been disposed to have attached much more importance and to have given a more respectful hearing to their statement had they given us all the details with reference to carpet manufacturing. It would have helped us very much in the solution of this question of how much carpet wool goes into the manufacture of clothing had they given the number of yards of carpet made each year. Surely this information was in their reach, and it would have helped us very much in arriving at a correct understanding; but for reasons best known to themselves did not do it.

I believe, Mr. President—and I have seen no reason to change my mind—that a very large proportion of these wools do go into the manufacture of textiles other than carpets. There has been nothing adduced to show that there has been a corresponding amount of carpet manufactured in the United States to consume the enormous amounts of third-class wools which have been imported. In 1893, under the operation of the McKinley law, there was imported nearly 130,000,000 pounds of third-class wools. Under the low ad valorem duty in that year, the value of third-class wool had been reduced to 7.6 cents per pound.

During all the years from 1883 to 1890 the average value had been 10.1 cents, but under the ad valorem clause in the McKinley law, with its opportunities for undervaluation, the value of these wools immediately began to go down, so that, as I have said, in 1893 they were brought down to 7.6 cents per pound. No sooner had we free wool than the value of these wools immediately began to rise, because there was no inducement for undervaluation, and for 1896 the imports of third-class wools came in at a value of 9.6 cents per pound, being 2 cents per pound more than in 1893 under the McKinley law.

There has been nothing produced by any of the manufacturers to show that the 130,000,000 pounds of third-class wool imported in 1893 went into the manufacture of carpet. It can not be shown. We have not to-day, so far as my information goes, the capacity to use and manufacture that much carpet wool.

Mr. GRAY. Will the Senator from Montana allow me?

Mr. MANTLE. Certainly.

Mr. GRAY. It does appear here from what I read that in 1896 the manufacturers were able to trace out of eighty-odd million pounds——

Mr. MANTLE. Seventy-two million pounds, the Senator read for 1896.

Mr. GRAY. No; 80,000,000 pounds. I have not the book here at present. It is 80,000,000 pounds. However, I am subject to correction. They were able to account for 70,500,000 pounds of wool used in the carpet industry, leaving the difference unaccounted for.

Mr. MANTLE. Seventy million pounds the Senator read and 2,000,000 pounds unaccounted for that went into something else.

Mr. GRAY. They go on to say—I do not know whether I read it—that they are able to show that the percentage not used in carpet manufacture was largely used in the manufacture of such fabrics as coarse and cheap horse blankets, such as sell for a very low price and that everybody can buy, and which are very necessary, of course, to the farmers and others who can not afford to buy high-priced blankets, and also into the wool tops of shoes; that a large number of gaiters are made with wool tops, and those wool tops are made out of these coarse third-class wools. They account very largely for that difference in that way. I have now the book at hand, and I want to verify the statement. I will not interrupt the Senator longer.

Mr. MANTLE. My recollection is that the Senator read seventy-two million and some-odd thousand pounds, and that 70,000,000 pounds——

Mr. GRAY. The Senator from Montana may be right.

Mr. MANTLE. Went into the manufacture of carpets, and that 2,000,000 pounds went into something else. So we have the discrepancy between the amount quoted and the amount given in the comparative statement, 97,000,000 pounds imported in 1896.

Mr. GRAY. Neither of us is quite right. The total imports in the year were 74,325,529 pounds, and the proportion that did not go into the carpet industry was 2,679,722 pounds. Those are the figures I used.

Mr. MANTLE. I have just a word more to say in connection with this matter. In my humble judgment, the woolgrowers of the country are entitled to all the consideration that any manufacturing industry is entitled to. The whole protective theory is based upon the idea that we shall enact a protective law that will fully protect every interest to which it applies. The aim and object and purpose of a protective tariff are to encourage and foster the industry at which it is directed to the point that it will become self-sustaining.

Looking at it in this light, with the purpose and intent of so encouraging the industry as to make it self-supplying for this country, I say the proposition presented by the woolgrowers, although I know there is not the slightest possibility of its being adopted here, is entirely defensible upon protective grounds.

So far as the language of Judge Lawrence is concerned, he is "amply" justified in using that language, because he finds it in the national Republican platform, where "ample protection" is promised the woolgrowing industry in this country. Therefore no criticism can lie against Judge Lawrence for having used that term.

I find here a few reasons, very tersely and briefly set forth, why there should be a sufficient protective duty upon wool. I get it out of the Tariff Hearings, from the statement made by Mr. Wallace. It is as follows:

[From a statement by Hon. George H. Wallace, Tariff Hearings, page 1602.]

WHY THE WOOLGROWER WANTS PROTECTION.

The woolgrower asks for protection for reasons which are generally understood, but may be briefly summarized as follows, viz:

First. The climatic conditions in the United States are not as favorable to the industry as in other lands.

Second. Our civilization places many burdens upon him which his foreign competitor does not bear.

Third. Land transportation, which he is compelled to pay, is a great deal higher than ocean freight, which his foreign rival has to pay.

Fourth. The labor he employs costs very much more than similar labor in other countries.

Fifth. This is the only means of meeting or of offsetting the governmental aid given woolgrowers in other lands.

Sixth. It is unjust to tax him for the support of other industries while he is left to struggle unaided against these adverse circumstances and conditions.

Seventh. He needs protection that he may be encouraged to utilize rough, mountainous sections and arid portions of our country which could not otherwise be made of service.

Eighth. That the industries of our country may be diversified, to the end that all may be employed, and competition—degrading, grinding competition—may be lessened.

Ninth. Because patriotism demands a domestic supply of wool, to clothe our soldiers in time of war and our citizens in time of peace.

Tenth. Past legislation has invited his efforts in this direction, promising him rewards for his investments of capital, time, labor, and study, and it would be wrong to repudiate the contract.

Those seem to me to be very good reasons to advance from the protective standpoint in support of adequate, equitable, and just rates of duty for the woolgrowers of this country.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Mr. President, several Senators have already called attention to the very great difficulty in getting the facts about these contested points. The Senator from Montana [Mr. MANTLE] who has just taken his seat stated that he believed a very large part of the wools imported into this country as carpet wools were used for other purposes. I have in my hand a statement from a man who I believe is as competent to speak about it as anybody in the United States; a man who has no interest in it, a man disconnected with it, but whose position is such as certainly to make him as competent to judge, in my opinion, as anybody, and he states that he does not believe 2 per cent of the wools imported as carpet wools are used for any other purpose. Of course I can not tell whether that is true or not, but it is to be considered, and it impresses me as strikingly as anything else. I am sure the Senator believes firmly what he says and that he has arrived at his conclusion after the best investigation he can make.

There is one other point to which I wish to call attention. It is a striking one. The Senator from Delaware [Mr. GRAY] called attention to the fact that, according to the statement of a gentleman who is a large manufacturer, and who, it seems to me, would

not be willing to make a statement of that sort to go to the public unless it was borne out by the facts, the prices of ingrain carpet would be increased 20 cents a yard by the imposition of these provisions in the tariff—that is, the compensatory duty. It will increase the cost of ingrain carpet to the consumers just that much, I understood him to say. If that be the case, it does seem to me that the Senate ought to hesitate before imposing such a tax.

The price of ingrain carpet now is about 40 cents a yard, and an increase of 20 cents a yard means what? Ingrain carpets do not find their way into the homes of the rich. They are the carpets of the poor; and carpets, as stated by the Senator from Delaware, are no longer a luxury. The laboring men of this country believe that they are entitled to carpets to add to the comfort of themselves and their families.

Now, as the law stands, a man proposing to put a carpet on a floor containing, say, 30 square yards, would pay $12 for it. When the bill goes into effect, the price of that carpet, if the manufacturer's statement is true, instead of being $12 will be $18. That man must do $6 worth more of work; there must be $6 more of his perspiration coined and turned over to somebody before he can have the privilege of putting a carpet on one of his floors.

If he has five rooms in his house, there is a tribute of $30 that he is compelled to pay to somebody in the increased cost of a necessary of life to make somebody's business more profitable. Is there any natural right, is there any legal or constitutional right vested in Congress to take any part of that man's labor for the benefit of some other class of men? It seems to me to be entirely monstrous; a naked, unmitigated outrage.

Judge Lawrence, when appearing before the Ways and Means Committee, in discussing this question, used the language read by the Senator from Delaware. When Congress saw fit to take off this very burden that is proposed now to be imposed, when we proposed to lighten the burdens that rest upon the shoulders of the poor to the extent of $6 on an ingrain carpet for a room, when we proposed to remove the burdens which had been imposed upon the poor for years past by the legislation as it stood there on the statute books, that relieving of the masses, that taking off of these burdens, simply because it took from some favored classes in this country the right to impose these burdens on the masses, was denounced by Judge Lawrence in this language:

> There has never been such a cruel blow inflicted upon any industry in the American Republic from its foundation up to this time.

A cruel blow in taking away from the manufacturer the power to levy this tribute on the homes of the poor! A cruel blow that the hand of taxation levied for private purposes should be taken off by operation of law! That is considered by this man an outrage, while we believe it was a blessing that went to all the poor everywhere.

Mr. President, one would think, from hearing a statement made by him, that Judge Lawrence would be opposed to anything being allowed to come free into this country, and I presume he would be if the importation was to be of any benefit to the masses of the people, if there was to be any benefit to the rank and file, to all the men, women, and children of the country; but when Judge Lawrence prepared a bill and went before the Ways and Means Committee and wanted it enacted into law, here is one of the provisions that appeared in it:

> *Provided also*, That for a period of two years from and after the passage of this act native Mexican ewes shall be admitted free into this country.

So that the woolgrowers would be able to produce coarse carpet wools that are unfit for any purpose except manufacturing carpets. When he said if you would give them proper protection they will produce all the low-grade, inferior sheep and comparatively worthless wools that the markets can consume, in order to enable them to begin to levy this tribute as rapidly as possible and to carry it out, he invoked free trade in Mexican ewes, for the purpose of enabling the woolgrowers to increase the burden on the people as rapidly as possible.

Such inconsistency illustrates clearly the purpose of this whole business. I believe the great body of the people are of very much more consequence than the interest of any few manufacturers; but beyond and above all that, I do not believe Congress has the right to levy any tax, no matter how small, that is not levied for the purpose of putting revenue into the Treasury, and that taxes levied to make one business profitable at the expense of the great masses of the people are absolutely undemocratic. They are un-American; they are in violation of all principles of civilization and enlightenment.

Mr. STEWART. Mr. President, I can not understand these arguments. When we are considering a protective tariff, as all tariffs are protective, I do not appreciate an argument that is in favor of discrimination between the labor producing one article and the labor producing another. I can not appreciate an argument in favor of protecting labor in the cities, which produces manufactured cloth, and not protecting the labor on the farms raising sheep. If we are to have a protective tariff upon competitive articles, it seems to me we ought to follow the Democratic platform of 1896 and have no discrimination in favor of one kind of labor or one set of laborers against another set of laborers. It should be fairly distributed.

If gentlemen were free traders and proposed to raise the revenue by direct taxation, if that were the position taken, I could understand the plea to put articles on the free list similar to those which are produced by American labor, but I see no argument in favor of putting an article of one kind produced by American labor on the free list and an article produced by American labor in another place upon the protective list. If woolen manufacturers had cloth on the free list, there would be less argument in favor of putting wool on the protected list. But if we are to raise revenue on competitive articles, which is the established policy of all parties, it should be, according to the Democratic platform of 1896, equally distributed. There should be no discrimination. That is all I ask.

Now, I undertake to say that the woolgrowing interest is very important. There are a very large number of people engaged in it. There is a vast region of country capable of raising sheep. Certainly there is enough for that purpose to raise all we want in the United States, and if we are to have revenue raised on competitive articles, there is no article upon which it can be more equitably levied than wool, because there are a large number of people engaged in it and the benefits are more generally distributed. There are ten times, perhaps a hundred times, more people engaged in producing wool than there are in manufacturing cloth. They are out in the country, and I undertake to say that the country population is much more desirable than the city population.

If we are to pursue the course of giving the manufacturer a free-trade market in which to buy, and destroy our rural population, you will do very much to sap the foundation of our institutions. It seems to me the rural population is absolutely essential to the preservation of our Government. Cities are not the homes of the Republic. It was one of the questions seriously discussed in the formation of our Government, whether we would ever have large cities which would disturb the Republic. The Republic could not live without the aid of the country. Can you say that those in the country shall work in competition with the cooly labor of Asia or the miserably paid labor of Mexico and South America, while those in the city are protected?

In regard to third-class wool, whatever may be the real fact, there is a general belief among all woolgrowers that a vast amount of the third-class wools are used in manufacturing cloth and for other purposes than carpet manufacture. That is the general belief, and any tariff that does not provide against the possibility of importing wool for carpet purposes and using it for manufacturing cloth will be very unsatisfactory and will be very unpopular. The reason why tariff agitations are so easily got up is on account of the sense of injustice which exists. If a tariff could be equitably adjusted, it would hardly ever be disturbed. Consequently, the importance of having a sense of justice. Woolgrowers think that under the ad valorem provision in the McKinley law third-class wool got in and was used for other purposes and came in competition with the home product; that it was unfair; and they have complained of it, and if you do not remedy it in this tariff bill you will not satisfy them. Of course it is very easy to remedy it now.

Under the amendment the tariff on carpet wool, a large part of which will be used as it has been before for other purposes, will be but 4 cents. It is not enough. It is more than it was under the McKinley Act, but not enough. It will all come in at 4 cents because it will all come in under a rating of 10 cents. There is no doubt about that. Everybody understands it will be that way. It was so rated under the McKinley Act, and it will be so rated again in the custom-house, and it will come in at 4 cents. Then the provisions which will make it possible to get in practically scoured wool will create a great temptation to import and use that wool for clothing purposes, because 8 per cent of dirt is a very small percentage. Scoured wool, I am told, often shrinks that amount. It will practically bring in scoured wool. You can have a little dirt with it, 8 per cent of dirt, and it will be much finer than the ordinary wool, which shrinks sometimes two-thirds.

Take merino wools. It will enable them to bring in really a higher grade wool than formerly. It will get in as third-class wool, and it will be a severe competitor of the American wool. I hope it will be remedied so as to meet that condition of things. Let us have as fair a tariff as it is possible, at least. If we are going to have it on the protective list—and it is unanimous on both sides that we are going to have a protective tariff; no suggestions to have any other kind of a tariff have come from this side or the other side—let us have one that is as nearly equitable as you can make it.

You will see in the schedules, if I am not very much mistaken, that carpets are very highly protected. There is a large protection to carpets. Let it go around. Do not make your blanket so short that it will not reach around and will not cover the whole family. I appeal to the committee to correct it and fix it so that the carpet

wool shall not come in and be used for other purposes, and that it shall pay a fair duty. Then put your tariff on carpets to equalize the thing and have it equitable. I do not think the Senate amendment is quite the thing. I am not satisfied with it, and I am sure the woolgrowers will not be.

Mr. QUAY. I insist upon my motion.

Mr. MANTLE. I wish to say merely a word.

Mr. QUAY. Very well; I yield.

Mr. MANTLE. I rise to reply briefly to the last statement made by the Senator from Arkansas. He quoted, I think, from Mr. Dornan, a very large carpet manufacturer of Philadelphia, a statement that if the duty as recommended by the Finance Committee of the Senate should be adopted it will increase the cost of ingrain carpet 20 cents per yard. A good deal has been said here to-day and yesterday about inaccuracies of statement and about the inability to understand it upon the part of the advocates of a protective duty on wool. I venture to say that there has been nothing so absurd mentioned in this debate as the statement of Mr. Dornan that the difference proposed by the Senate committee will increase the cost of ingrain carpet 20 cents per yard. If I believed that this proposition would increase the cost of a carpet ordinarily costing 40 cents a yard 20 cents, I would not favor it myself.

Let us examine the statement for a moment. The House bill provides a duty of 32 per cent ad valorem upon wools of a value of 13 cents or less. That is modified by the Senate amendment to a specific rate of 4 cents per pound on a value of 10 cents or less. Assuming that the wools would come in at a value of 10 cents, an ad valorem duty of 32 per cent would be 3.20 cents per pound. Increasing it to 4 cents would simply be increasing it eight-tenths of 1 cent per pound. I have already read a statement here showing that it is estimated that it takes three-quarters of a pound of wool to make a running yard of ingrain carpet. Assuming that it takes a pound of wool to each yard of ingrain carpet, the increase proposed by the Senate committee would only be eight-tenths of 1 cent, and here again I repeat that 98 per cent of all third-class wools imported for the past six years have come in at a valuation of 10 cents or less per pound.

Now, how it is possible for this slight increase of eight-tenths of a cent on a pound of carpet wool to increase the cost of a yard of ingrain carpet in which it is used 20 cents is certainly beyond my comprehension, and I should like very much to have the method explained by which that conclusion is reached. I know the Senator from Arkansas can not show it. Neither can any other Senator upon this floor. I think if the objections of the carpet manufacturers generally possess no more merit than the one in question, they are entitled to very little consideration at the hands of the Senate of the United States.

Mr. HOAR. Will the Senator from Pennsylvania allow me to make one or two observations very briefly before the question is put?

Mr. QUAY. Certainly.

Mr. HOAR. I can not myself disregard the judgment of the carpet manufacturers, some of whom I know personally, those in my own city and State, men of very large business experience and of unquestionable integrity. They have been building up their carpet establishments, and have sacrificed, under the varying policies which have prevailed in this country, an amount in interest and in principal more than the entire capital. I suppose the persons who now own the carpet establishments at Clinton, Worcester, and other places in Massachusetts have sunk, in the endeavor to establish a carpet manufacture in this country, more than the entire value of their present plants. So when they tell me that the arrangement now proposed by the committee is inadequate for their protection and that it will compel them either to go out of business or to continue their business hereafter at a loss, hoping for future correction of this inequality, I believe them. At the same time, believing them, I expect to vote with the committee.

I can not disregard existing conditions in regard to this bill. There is a necessity for a protective tariff in this country. A necessity for other arrangements for raising revenue is admitted by all parties in the country, and a large majority of the American people demand that that shall be done by a discriminating tariff which shall revive again the American manufactures. We have not a majority in the Senate of that way of thinking. There is a majority composed either of Democrats who profess to be opposed to the protective principle unless so far as it affects rice, or cotton, or lumber, or sugar, and gentlemen like the Senator from Montana who has just addressed the Senate, who, whatever may be their theoretical opinions on this subject, have within the last six months voted to make protection on wool in this country impossible by voting for a candidate for the Presidency who would veto such a policy; and I suppose if they get a chance they mean to do the same thing again hereafter.

Mr. MANTLE. May I interrupt the Senator? I know of no proposition of that character. I did not know that the candidate of the Silver party was pledged to veto a protective-tariff bill.

Mr. HOAR. If the candidate of the Silver party did not pledge himself by his speech in the House of Representatives in March or April, 1892, to that policy, I do not know what human language means.

Mr. MANTLE. There was certainly nothing in the platform, if the Senator will permit me, upon which he ran that pledged him to any such policy, nor was it ever my intention in supporting him.

Mr. HOAR. He was supported by nearly all the free traders in the country, and if the platform did not pledge the candidate the candidate pledged the party, as I understand it. But let that pass.

Mr. MANTLE. However that may be, I have never surrendered my views upon the protective theory.

Mr. HOAR. I understand.

Mr. MANTLE. I gave my support to that candidate believing that the money question was the paramount issue.

Mr. HOAR. I do not question that the Senator gave his support to that candidate honestly and conscientiously. I did not make the observation except to point out to the gentlemen who think with me that we can not get any tariff bill at all without the help of the gentlemen who were of that way of thinking, as I understand it, a few months ago, and who expect to stick to that policy with their votes in the future, so far as I understand them. So we must get the best we can now.

Mr. MANTLE. I will say to the Senator from Massachusetts that it never has been my intention, even holding the views I do upon the financial question, to lay any obstacle in the pathway of this protective-tariff measure. I am as anxious as is the Senator to see it enacted into a law.

Mr. HOAR. Except the obstacle of a President who would veto it; that is all.

Mr. MANTLE. That is not the question now. What I am trying to do now is to make the bill equitable so far as I can do it.

Mr. HOAR. That is what the Senator is trying to do, and I am very grateful that he is trying to do it. He is trying to do it honestly and sincerely. The point of my remarks is that it seems to me quite desirable to take advantage of what seems to be a lucid interval in my honorable friend's position and that of the gentlemen who act with him to get a tariff bill if possible before they get back where they will vote, if they do not get one now, for a President who I suppose would veto it. That is my point.

No carpet manufacturer or any other manufacturer can be prosperous unless this country becomes prosperous enough to buy their manufactures, and that will not happen within the next two years, in my judgment, unless we get through a measure of general protection, even if it has a good many defects, which will revive the manufacturing industries of the country, which will revive the industry of agriculture, and the industry of raising wool as well, and lumber, and all the other industries which depend upon protection for their new life, and in that way give a people able to buy the products of the mills.

The Senator from Delaware just now talked about the burden on the American purchasers of the carpets and carpet wools. He reminded me of something which happened three or four years ago in my own State, which I had from the mouth of a man who was a party to the dialogue. An Englishman was over here, and he undertook to preach his doctrine of free trade to an old neighbor of his, I think from Bradford, in Yorkshire, who was established as a workingman, I think the foreman of a room in a factory in Massachusetts. He was telling this workingman, who had been a near neighbor of his (I believe he was a brother, at any rate a relative), how these protected manufacturers oppressed the workingmen. "Why," said he, "you have to pay a very large per cent more to these men for all the things you have in your room here than you did at home." The man asked what things. "Well," said he, "brother," looking around the room, "the sewing machine, the carpet, the piano." The naturalized American replied, "We did not have them in England." Now, that is the whole answer to the Senator from Delaware in a nutshell.

Mr. President, dealing with the amendments of the committee is but one step toward a result which is to be matured in the Senate. There will be another vote on everything; and if the committee find a more just and equitable provision, they will propose it before the bill is over. If there is found a common ground which, giving our friends who raise wool all they desire, will still save the carpet manufacturing industry, that will be proposed. If even that is not accomplished to the entire satisfaction of either party in this body, there will be still an opportunity to compare views by the wisest and most experienced men in both Houses of Congress, who have the interests of both of these classes absolutely at heart.

So I think I would embarrass very seriously the accomplishment of what I want, both for this particular class of manufacturers and for all the people of the country, by undertaking to

antagonize the committee at this point. Therefore, although I agree with my honorable friend from Pennsylvania in thinking that this particular clause as it now stands is defective, I shall give my vote with the committee.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BURROWS in the chair). The question is on the motion of the Senator from Pennsylvania to lay on the table the amendments of the Committee on Finance to paragraph 357.

Mr. QUAY. On that motion I call for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. President, I think it is my duty to correct the remarks of the senior Senator from Massachusetts made a moment ago respecting the attitude of the late silver candidate for the Presidency. I do not profess to utter his views upon the subject further than to say that there was nothing and is nothing in what he has said that would lead anybody to the conclusion that he would veto a tariff bill.

Mr. HOAR. For protection?

Mr. ALLEN. I presume if a bill was originated for the exclusive purpose of protection and not for the raising of revenue a bill that would be properly denominated a bill for confiscation——

Mr. HOAR. May I read two sentences from his speech in the other House?

Mr. ALLEN. I presume that gentleman would have vetoed it, as any other President ought to veto it. But for the Senator from Massachusetts to say that Mr. Bryan was pledged to veto a tariff bill for any particular reason is going further than the fact will warrant. There was nothing said by him during the late campaign to that effect. There was nothing in any platform that called for any action of that kind upon his part in the event of his election.

What Mr. Bryan may have said while in the House of Representatives I do not know, nor do I care. I presume the honorable Senator from Massachusetts does not want to be held responsible to-day for all of his public utterances.

Mr. HOAR. I do. I expect to be.

Mr. ALLEN. Very well; if the Senator were held responsible for all his public utterances, I think a search of the RECORD would find a great many contradictions in what he has said.

I may be permitted to say that I believe if Mr. Bryan had been seated in the White House, he would have held to the doctrine that it was his duty under the Constitution to permit Congress to legislate, and either to approve or disapprove their legislation. I do not believe he would have undertaken, as has been the practice since I have been here, to reach his arm into the Senate Chamber or into either branch of Congress and undertake to influence its action in advance of the time when he should properly act.

I believe, and I think the late candidate for the Presidency upon the Populist ticket believes that the Constitution charges Congress with the duty and responsibility of legislating, and that it charges the Executive with the duty of examining the legislation after it is presented to him and either approving or disapproving it, as his judgment may dictate. So I think the Senator from Massachusetts is going a little too far when he says that anything has been said or done by Mr. Bryan that would lead to the conclusion that he was pledged to veto a tariff act.

My attention is called to the Chicago platform, from which I read the following:

> We hold that the tariff duties should be levied for purposes of revenue, such duties to be so adjusted as to operate equally throughout the country and not discriminate between class or section, and that taxation should be limited by the needs of the Government honestly and economically administered. We denounce as disturbing to business the Republican threat to restore the McKinley law, which has been twice condemned by the people in national elections, and which, enacted under the false plea of protection to home industry, proved a prolific breeder of trusts and monopolies, enriched the few at the expense of the many, restricted trade, and deprived the producers of the great American staples of access to their natural markets.

That is the position, I understand, of the late candidate for the Presidency, usually denominated the fusion candidate, and I think nothing can be found in any public utterance of his in the other branch of Congress or elsewhere to the contrary.

There are two distinct parties in this country upon the question of tariff, the party which believes that you have a right under the Constitution to confiscate the property of one class of citizens for the benefit of another class under the guise of taxation, and who call that kind of taxation a protective tariff, who seem to believe that there is no limit to the power of taxation that may be rightfully imposed upon the people of the country; and the class who hold to the doctrine that a tariff should be levied for the purpose of revenue and for no other purpose.

Mr. President, permit me to say that in my humble judgment there is no difference between robbery committed upon the highway and that kind of tariff legislation which takes out of the pockets of the citizens of this country their hard earnings for the exclusive and sole purpose of turning those earnings over to a select class.

Mr. HOAR. Mr. President, the Senator from Nebraska answers what I said in passing merely by what seems to me can have no other meaning than to say that Mr. Bryan was not responsible for his public utterances. I do not know that the Senator exactly used the phrase in that connection, but he said that I would not like to be held responsible for all my public utterances, and he did not know what Mr. Bryan might have said in the House of Representatives. Now, what Mr. Bryan did in the House of Representatives was to vote for the Wilson bill putting wool on the free list. What he further did was to help carry out bodily and in triumph the Democratic speaker, Mr. Wilson, of West Virginia, who had denounced protection as a robbery and unconstitutional. What he further did was to make a speech in which he denounced it as unconstitutional himself. I have before me now his statement:

> Protection has been our cannibal tree, and as one after another of our farmers has been driven by the force of circumstances upon that tree and has been crushed within its folds his companions have stood around and shouted, "Great is protection!"

Another proposition in the speech which I have before me is the following:

> The Democratic party, so far from being hostile to the home industries—

The party which was pledged in its platform, on which he had stood, to the doctrine that it was unconstitutional and a robbery—

> is the only champion, unless our friends here, the independents, will join with us, of the real home industry of this country.

And the Senator himself reads from the Democratic platform at Chicago, with all these other gentlemen denouncing the doctrine, the Senator from Texas, the Senator from Missouri, and the Senator from Arkansas.

Mr. ALLEN. If the Senator from Massachusetts will permit me, let me ask what is there in the statement he has just quoted that would lead him to the conclusion that Mr. Bryan would have vetoed a tariff act——

Mr. HOAR. For the protection of wool.

Mr. ALLEN. Simply because he voted for free wool?

Mr. HOAR. Simply because he voted for it and helped to carry out the man who denounced its protection as robbery, and because he supported the platform and the party that were committed to that doctrine.

Mr. President, I have a good deal of respect for Mr. Bryan. He is a man whose nature and behavior have impressed me very agreeably. I have never joined in anything which would be personally disrespectful to him, as far as I know. But this I have to say: That if Mr. Bryan, having said what he said in the House of Representatives and stood on the platform and supported the party he acted with, would not as President veto a bill for the protection of wool, I should cease to have any respect for him in the future, and especially if he put it on the ground that he was not responsible for his public utterances.

Mr. STEWART. Mr. President, I think that the criticism which has been made on Mr. Bryan is very unjust. I can give an illustration of its injustice. When the Bland Act was under consideration in 1878 in the House of Representatives in its original form, it was a free-coinage act pure and simple, and it passed the House by an overwhelming majority, without any qualification, before the Allison amendment was attached to it. Mr. McKinley voted for free coinage pure and simple by the United States alone, independent of other nations, without any qualification whatever. After the Bland Act came to the Senate and was amended, he voted for it as amended. Then it was vetoed, and he voted to pass the Bland-Allison Act over the veto of the President. He voted for it on every vote. During that contest he voted with the most radical silver men. Further, since 1890 he made a speech at Toledo, Ohio, which I have not before me, in which he denounced President Cleveland for discriminating between the two metals. He denounced President Cleveland's policy.

In the Republican convention of 1888, the last Republican convention I ever attended, I was upon the committee on resolutions. Mr. McKinley was chairman of that committee. After a whole night's discussion, we adopted unanimously an amendment which I drew and proposed, Mr. McKinley voting for it, the amendment declaring that the Republican party is in favor of the use of both gold and silver as money and condemns the action of the Democratic Administration for its effort to demonetize silver. He stood on that plank. Then when the St. Louis convention met and he became a candidate, he accepted the nomination on a very different platform, one declaring that the Republican party will adhere to the present gold standard until we can get an international agreement.

Upon the theory of the Senator from Massachusetts, if Mr. McKinley follows the logic of his former position, he would sign a free-coinage bill, and he would aid in its passage so far as giving it his general approval. He would be as good a free-coinage man as he was in 1878, and as good a free-coinage man as I am. He was as radical in his votes and actions then as I am to-day or my friend from Missouri or anybody else.

If that is the principle, if free coinage once it is free coinage always; if it is impossible to be a backslider from that doctrine, then it may be impossible that there shall be backsliders from extreme free-trade doctrine. There are many men of extreme free-trade notions and they may believe it yet, but they have been forced to modify their opinions, because we are obliged to have a tariff to put the products of our labor in a condition to compete with foreign articles.

Mr. ALLEN. Will the Senator permit me to ask him if it is a fact that the present President of the United States advocated and voted for the passage of the Sherman Act?

Mr. STEWART. He did; and he afterwards referred to and boasted of it in a speech.

Mr. TELLER. He voted for the Sherman law.

Mr. ALLEN. The Sherman law of 1890?

Mr. STEWART. Yes; he voted for the Sherman law and the Bland-Allison Act.

Mr. ALLEN. As I recollect from reading his speech, he advocated strongly the passage of that act in the other branch of Congress.

Mr. STEWART. He advocated the passage of that act in Congress, and spoke of it and denounced Mr. Cleveland when he was President for the position he occupied on the money question, as late as 1891 or 1892. I read a great deal of his speech the other day, and if anyone doubts my statement I can bring it in and read it again, to show how very denunciatory Mr. McKinley was of Mr. Cleveland's gold policy. Now it is claimed by our Republican friends that he is par excellence. These changes do occur.

So far as Mr. Bryan is concerned, he made speeches on the tariff when he was in the other House. But his party declared that the silver question, the money question, was paramount. He was, however, in favor of a tariff which did not discriminate. He accepted the platform of his party and went before the country, and if any man can find in his speeches anywhere one sentence in conflict with the principles laid down in the Chicago platform upon the tariff and money questions, I should like him to present it. It can not be found.

If we are to get men who are perfect during all their career, from their infancy up, who do not grow by circumstances, we shall have to take very young men to be Presidents, younger than Mr. Bryan and younger than Mr. McKinley. After they perform one public act, they may find it necessary to diverge from it the next day. You can not find men who are perfect, if you study their political history.

It seems to me there is nothing in the question. It is not strange, however, that Mr. Bryan should be criticised, because it is very well known that he is going to be the next President of the United States [laughter], and, of course, the opposition have commenced to criticise him.

Mr. HOAR. Then had we not better hurry and get the tariff now?

Mr. STEWART. Yes; you had better hurry and get the tariff now, and you had better make it a good and honest tariff, or the people will want it changed. You had better have it honest and fair if you want to have it stand.

Mr. HALE. If the Senator is through, I rise to a question of order. I inquire what is before the Senate?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question before the Senate is on the motion made by the Senator from Pennsylvania, on which the yeas and nays have been ordered.

Mr. CHILTON. I want to know what the motion is. I do not understand it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. QUAY] to lay on the table the amendments proposed by the Committee on Finance to paragraph 357.

Mr. TELLER. Will the Chair have the amendments read?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Secretary will state the amendments.

Mr. QUAY. The effect of the motion is to reinstate the House provision in paragraph 357.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendments will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In paragraph 357, page 117, line 20, before the word "cents," the Committee on Finance propose to strike out "thirteen" and insert "ten;" in line 21, after the word "pound," to strike out "including charges, and on common goat hair;" and in line 22, after the word "be," to strike out "32 per cent ad valorem" and insert "4 cents per pound;" so as to make the paragraph read:

357. On wools of the third class and on camel's hair of the third class the value whereof shall be 10 cents or less per pound, the duty shall be 4 cents per pound.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Secretary will call the roll on the motion of the Senator from Pennsylvania.

The Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. HANSBROUGH (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Virginia [Mr. DANIEL], but will transfer that pair to the junior Senator from Ohio [Mr. HANNA], and vote "nay."

Mr. McLAURIN (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. PRITCHARD], and therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. PASCO (when Mr. MARTIN'S name was called). The Senator from Virginia [Mr. MARTIN] is paired on this question with the Senator from Illinois [Mr. MASON].

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. GRAY (after having voted in the affirmative). I ask whether the senior Senator from Illinois [Mr. CULLOM] has voted?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. He has not voted, the Chair is informed.

Mr. GRAY. I have a general pair with that Senator, and therefore withdraw my vote.

Mr. MORRILL. I am paired with the senior Senator from Tennessee [Mr. HARRIS], and therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. My colleague [Mr. BERRY] is detained from the Senate. He is paired with the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. NELSON], as I understand. If he were present, my colleague would vote "yea."

Mr. NELSON. I have transferred that pair to the Senator from Illinois [Mr. MASON], and voted "nay."

Mr. ELKINS (after having voted in the negative). I have a general pair with my colleague [Mr. FAULKNER]. I think he would vote "yea" on this question if present, but I am not certain, and therefore withdraw my vote.

Mr. NELSON (after having voted in the negative). I understand from the Senators who have the matter of pairs in charge that the Senator from Illinois [Mr. MASON] is paired with the Senator from Virginia [Mr. MARTIN]. Under those circumstances I will withdraw my vote and stand paired with the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. BERRY].

The result was announced—yeas 19, nays 41; as follows:

YEAS—19.

Bacon,	Kenney,	Murphy,	Smith,
Chilton,	Mallory,	Pasco,	Turpie,
Cockrell,	Mills,	Penrose,	Vest,
Gorman,	Mitchell,	Pettus,	Walthall.
Jones, Ark.	Morgan,	Quay,	

NAYS—41.

Allen,	Frye,	Perkins,	Thurston,
Allison,	Gallinger,	Platt, Conn.	Tillman,
Burrows,	Gear,	Platt, N. Y.	Turner,
Butler,	Hale,	Proctor,	Warren,
Carter,	Hansbrough,	Rawlins,	Wellington,
Chandler,	Heitfeld,	Roach,	Wetmore,
Clark,	Hoar,	Sewell,	White,
Davis,	Lodge,	Shoup,	Wilson.
Deboe,	McBride,	Spooner,	
Fairbanks,	McEnery,	Stewart,	
Foraker,	Mantle,	Teller,	

NOT VOTING—29.

Aldrich,	Daniel,	Hawley,	Morrill,
Baker,	Elkins,	Jones, Nev.	Nelson,
Bate,	Faulkner,	Kyle,	Pettigrew,
Berry,	George,	Lindsay,	Pritchard,
Caffery,	Gray,	McLaurin,	Wolcott.
Cannon,	Hanna,	McMillan,	
Clay,	Harris, Kans.	Martin,	
Cullom,	Harris, Tenn.	Mason,	

So the Senate refused to lay on the table the amendments of the Committee on Finance to paragraph 357.

Mr. TELLER. Mr. President, I do not believe it will help us in determining what should be the tariff on wool to determine the question raised by the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] as to how the recent Democratic candidate for the Presidency would have treated it if he had been elected provided we had sent such a bill to him. It seems to me that that is a subject which is hardly worthy of our attention at this time. The fact that Mr. Bryan did not think that there ought to be a duty on wool, at least a protective duty on wool, does not seem to me to sustain the assertion of the Senator that he would have vetoed a bill containing such a duty. He might have concluded that it was a proper subject of revenue, as we have heard that sugar is a proper subject of revenue, and he might have thought it was not a duty for protection, and therefore was not objectionable.

Mr. President, the temptation is very great when the Senator from Massachusetts introduces in this discussion a political feature and political questions——

Mr. HOAR. Will the Senator pardon me one moment?

Mr. TELLER. Yes.

Mr. HOAR. What I said was not in the least intended as a temptation to the Senator from Colorado or any other Senator. I wished to state, for the information of certain persons in my State who are interested in this question, the reasons for my vote; and I stated that we were at this time making a tariff under great difficulties, for there is no Republican majority in the Senate, and that we had to depend for our majority upon the votes of Senators who, whatever might be their own opinion on protection, thought other matters of so much more importance that they

voted for a free-trade candidate for the Presidency, and, I suppose, desire to repeat that three years hence.

I did not make the remark for the purpose of stirring up anybody or offending anybody, but simply for the purpose of pointing out, in a single sentence or two, why I felt bound to follow the committee, although in this particular I thought the committee were in error.

Mr. TELLER. I am not complaining of the Senator. He had a right to make that statement. What I was complaining of and what I intend to complain of was of another thing.

Mr. ALLEN. Will the Senator permit me to suggest right there, in the same connection, that the Senator from Massachusetts said that, according to the utterances of the late candidate for the Presidency, he would have vetoed a protective measure?

Mr. HOAR. I said that I believed so. I do not know how he could honestly do otherwise.

Mr. GRAY. I hope so, if he calls himself a Democrat.

Mr. TELLER. Whether he would or not would be a moot question. Whatever may be the opinion of the Senator from Massachusetts, my opinion is quite different. Other Senators may differ with me, but I do not propose to discuss that question.

What I want to complain of is that the Senator introduces what is calculated to bring on a political discussion here. He challenges—for that is what it is—our position because we voted for a candidate who was not in full accord with all of us upon all economic questions. We believed there were other and greater questions. The Senator challenges our consistency, and he intended to do that, of course, because he must be presumed to have so intended.

Mr. HOAR. I utterly deny that.

Mr. TELLER. The Senator must be presumed to have expected that a challenge of that kind would be resented. Thereupon, when that is done, before we have any opportunity to reply, a motion is made to table.

What I got up to say is this, and I mean to say it with emphasis, so that it will be understood: I want this bill passed. I do not believe that this bill will bring the relief that the Senator from Massachusetts professes he believes it will and does undoubtedly believe. I am here to see, if I can, that it is a decent bill. I am not here to cause any delay. I want the bill to pass as speedily as possible, and if there is relief to come to the distressed business of this country, I want it to come at once.

I want to say to the Senator from Massachusetts, and to every other Senator who sits on the Republican side of the Chamber and who believes with him, that if they want to delay this tariff bill by bringing up political questions now, we shall be delighted to put the burden upon them, and then the discussion can go on ad infinitum, but they can not discuss their view of the bill and then deny to us the same right upon the theory that we are protracting and delaying this promised relief to the country.

Mr. President, I repeat I do not believe that this bill will bring to the country any relief whatever, and yet I know a great number of people in the country, and good people, too, who believe that it will. I believe that the Republican party, having come into power with the promise to bring prosperity, are entitled to pass this bill. I think myself that they might have passed it thirty days ago if they had been in earnest. I do not believe that the Republican party in this Chamber or anywhere else believe that the bill will bring prosperity. Neither do I believe that the leaders of the Republican party are anxious to pass this bill speedily and summarily, because, when it is passed, if prosperity does not come, they will have to hunt for some other excuse, as they have been hunting excuses for the last year, why prosperity has not come.

They told us through the press that when Mr. McKinley was nominated at St. Louis on the gold-standard platform prosperity would come at once; that it was not to wait for his election; and the great Republican papers proclaimed that in every issue, both before the nomination and after. When it was discovered that there was a contest to be made and not a walk-over, then the Republican papers said, "Only wait until Mr. McKinley is elected, and the minute he is elected prosperity will come; business will revive, and the industries that are now depressed will be on the high road to success." Prosperity did not come when he was elected. Then they said prosperity would come as soon as he was inaugurated. He has been inaugurated three months, and it has not come yet.

Now they tell us it will come when you pass this bill. Why do you not pass it? Why did you keep it six weeks in committee? You are following your committee. The committee did not have the Democratic members present to antagonize them; and they might have made as good a bill as this is in six days, if not in six hours. You have taken plenty of time; and why is it that every time a Senator rises to speak on the Democratic side of the Chamber, or a Senator who is not in full accord with this Administration, he is charged with delaying the prosperity you have promised?

If the Republican party in this Chamber, now in control of the executive department of the Government and of the other House, are honest in believing that prosperity is to come from the enactment of this bill, it is absolutely criminal for them to delay an hour more than is necessary; and they ought to know, when they challenge those of us who have not been in accord with them upon the question as to who should be the Chief Executive of this nation, and charge us with inconsistency, that we are very likely to resent it and very likely to insist that our people are quite as patriotic and quite as intelligent as theirs.

I have only said this, Mr. President, because I feel if this debate is to go on in the way it has been going on for a little while, that I shall be justified in taking two or three hours, and my colleagues will be justified in doing likewise, and we should be recreant to our duty to ourselves and our constituents if we did not do so.

With this notice to the Senators who are conducting this bill, I shall wait to see what the developments may be.

Mr. QUAY. Mr. President, the Finance Committee seems to have pulled itself together since yesterday into something like its pristine vigor, and therefore, with some trepidation, I submit to the Senator in charge of the bill an amendment which I propose to offer to paragraph 357, which, it seems to me, ought to meet the approbation of the Finance Committee, and which would certainly be a fair adjustment of the question in controversy; that is, in line 20, to strike out the word "ten" and insert the word "twelve," making the dividing line 12 cents instead of 13 cents.

I suggest to the Senator from Iowa in charge of the bill that I do not think there can be any practical opposition to that amendment amongst those who are supporters of the woolgrowers. If it meets his approbation, I shall be very glad to have the proposition submitted to the Senate.

Mr. ALLISON. I regret that I can not accept the suggestion of the Senator from Pennsylvania. The whole paragraph is in conference now. If we have made a mistake, that mistake can be easily corrected. I hope we shall make progress now with the other paragraphs of this schedule, and that whatever political discussions there may be will be postponed at least for this day.

Mr. QUAY. I will, then, pro forma and without the intention of calling for the yeas and nays, make the motion to amend the committee amendment by striking out "ten," as reported by the committee, and inserting "twelve."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Pennsylvania will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In paragraph 357, on page 117, line 20, before the word "cents," it is proposed to amend the committee amendment by striking out "ten" and inserting "twelve;" so as to read:

357. On wools of the third class and on camel's hair of the third class the value whereof shall be 12 cents, etc.

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. MANTLE. I desire to offer an amendment. I propose to strike out paragraph 357 and insert in lieu thereof what I send to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If the Senator from Montana will pardon the Chair for a moment, the amendments proposed by the Senate committee to paragraph 357 will first be acted upon. In the absence of objection, the amendments will be agreed to.

Mr. MANTLE. Will my amendment then be in order?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Certainly.

Mr. MANTLE. I was met yesterday, after accepting a similar statement of the case, with the suggestion after the committee amendments had been adopted, that the matter had been disposed of, and therefore there was some question as to whether my amendment was in order.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair understands the amendment proposed by the Senator from Montana to be a substitute, which is in order.

Mr. ALLISON. I inquire of the Chair if the amendments of the committee to paragraph 357 have been agreed to?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. In the absence of objection, the amendments were agreed to. The Senator from Montana proposes to amend the paragraph by inserting a substitute, which will be read.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to substitute for paragraph 357 the following:

On wools of the third class, and on camel's hair of the third class, the current value whereof in the last seaport whence exported to the United States shall be 10 cents or less per pound, the duty shall be 5 cents per pound; and on wools of the third class, and on camel's hair of the third class, the current value whereof in the last seaport whence exported to the United States shall exceed 10 cents per pound, there shall be an additional duty of one-half of 1 cent per pound for each increase of 1 cent per pound in the value thereof.

Mr. MANTLE. In support of that amendment, I desire to state that the only change in the rate is in increasing the Senate committee's amendment from 4 to 5 cents, which would be equivalent to a 50 per cent ad valorem duty upon that class of wools.

I regard the language "the value whereof in the last seaport whence exported to the United States" as being the most important part of the amendment.

I do not know definitely what the rule is, but I am told that in estimating the values of these wools, the invoices are frequently made in the interior of the country, possibly in the interior of Africa, or Asia, or China, and that no allowance is made for the cost of exporting or carrying those wools to the last seaport whence exported to the United States.

The matter, therefore, is in a chaotic condition, and it is impossible to know whether or not the valuation is correct under these circumstances, because there is no definite point at which they can be located, there is no definite point to start from, and this phase of the case, perhaps, is most responsible for the fraudulent undervaluations which have been practiced in respect to the importation of these wools, because of the fact that they are imported from countries that are only half civilized, and they come from remote points, where the value is practically unknown and can not be determined.

If my amendment is adopted, it will fix a definite point, fix a place where the value of these wools is known, where the invoices will be made, and it will have the effect of rendering much less frequent, if not impossible, the fraudulent practices which have heretofore obtained, and of which the woolgrowers largely complain.

I think, Mr. President, in all justice, those who desire an honest administration of the laws, and really want honest valuations, and who do not desire that the law shall be evaded, ought to vote for this amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the amendment proposed by the Senator from Montana [Mr. MANTLE], in the nature of a substitute for paragraph 357.

The amendment was rejected.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 358, on page 117, line 25, after the word "exceed," to strike out "thirteen" and insert "ten;" in line 1, on page 118, to strike out "including charges," and in the same line, after the words "shall be," to strike out the words "fifty per cent ad valorem" and insert "7 cents per pound;" so as to make the paragraph read:

358. On wools of the third class, and on camel's hair of the third class, the value whereof shall exceed 10 cents per pound, the duty shall be 7 cents per pound.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. MANTLE. I desire to offer a paragraph, following paragraph 358, to be known as paragraph 358½, which is the paragraph in the amendment I sent up a while ago referring to cattle hair. I ask that it be read.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the amendment proposed by the Senator from Montana, to insert a new paragraph to follow paragraph 358, which will be read:

The Secretary read as follows:

On cattle hair and calf hair and other animal fibers not herein nor elsewhere specified, the duty shall be 5 cents per pound.

Mr. MANTLE. In support of the amendment, I desire to say that there is a great deal of hair imported on which no duty is collected. I think last year there were about 1,000,000 pounds—I have forgotten just the exact amount—aggregating a half million dollars in value, which came in free. It enters largely into the manufacture of cheap carpets and blankets and articles of that sort, and is used practically for the same purposes that much of the cheaper grades of third-class wools are, and there ought to be a duty levied upon it for revenue purposes, if for nothing more.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Montana.

The amendment was rejected.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to strike out paragraph 359 and insert in lieu thereof the following:

359. The duty on wools on the skin shall be 1 cent less per pound than is imposed in this schedule on other wools of the same class and condition, the quantity and value to be ascertained under such rules as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. VEST. I move to strike out all of the schedule from the beginning down to paragraph 360, in order hereafter to move——

Mr. ALLISON. I ask the Senator to wait until the amendments are adopted.

Mr. VEST. I thought the amendment had been adopted.

Mr. ALLISON. There are one or two other amendments.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The next amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to strike out paragraph 360 and insert in lieu thereof:

360. Top waste, slubbing waste, roving waste, ring waste, and garnetted waste, 30 cents per pound.

The amendment was agreed to.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to insert a new paragraph, as follows:

360½. Shoddy, 25 cents per pound; noils, yarn waste, thread waste, and all other wastes composed wholly or in part of wool and not specially provided for in this act, 20 cents per pound.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. VEST. I now renew my motion to strike out all down to paragraph 360, for the purpose of moving hereafter, if that motion prevails, to put the articles embraced in these paragraphs upon the free list, as they are in the existing law.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. From what paragraph, the Chair inquires?

Mr. VEST. Commencing at the beginning of the schedule, from paragraph 347 and extending down to 360. I wish it understood that it does not include shoddy, which is in another paragraph.

I move to strike out all down to paragraph 360, for the purpose of moving to put the articles on the free list.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to strike out all of the paragraphs from 347 to 359, both inclusive.

Mr. VEST. This motion places face to face free wool and protected wool, and without entering into any general discussion as to the tariff for protection, I desire to present facts from official sources, and none of them from the party to which I belong, showing that the high protective duties upon raw wool and the enormous duties that we have heretofore placed under tariff laws upon manufactures of wool benefit neither the woolgrower nor the woolen manufacturer.

I make the distinctive statement as emphatically as I can make it, and I challenge contradiction and discussion, that high duties upon raw wool have not increased the price to the woolgrower in the United States, but, on the contrary, have diminished prices. The Wilson Act, so called, the existing law, it is hardly fair to take as an illustration of the effect of free wool, because it has been in existence for so short a time and under such peculiar and adverse circumstances. That law took effect in October, 1894, and as a matter of course has been in existence but a very few years and under financial and business depression such as has never before been seen in this country.

I shall not stop to go into a discussion of when this depression commenced, but I take it that the testimony of the President of the United States, Mr. McKinley, will be accepted by our political opponents as conclusive upon that subject. In 1890, in his report upon the tariff bill which bears his name, he spoke then, as I had occasion to read at the beginning of this debate, of the existing depression, and especially of the depression resting upon the agriculture of the country, which he and his colleagues proposed by the tariff bill to remove. I admit that it is hardly fair to take the McKinley Act as an illustration of the effect of high duties upon wool and woolen manufactures, because that act was in existence only a very few years before it was superseded by the Wilson Act, which took its place.

But the act of 1867, which went into effect on May 2 of that year, was in operation for sixteen years, and I submit in all candor that if high duties upon wool would have increased the price and benefited the wool producer, that result ought to have been obtained in those sixteen years. In 1866 commenced the contest between the woolen manufacturers and the woolgrowers of the United States which exists to-day. It was attempted then, as it has been attempted now, outside of this Chamber and inside of it, to reconcile the conflicting interests represented by the woolen manufacturers and the woolgrowers. I have alluded to-day to the statements of Mr. Lawrence on behalf of the woolgrowers, and of Justice, Bateman & Co. on behalf of the woolen manufacturers, absolutely irreconcilable, so antagonistic that there can be no sort of question that one party or the other is egregiously mistaken or perverting the facts.

In 1866 this contest was raging, and the friends of protection brought forward the representative men of the two interests. They met in caucus or convention or conference, or whatever you please to term it, and framed the act of 1867. They agreed upon the rates to be imposed upon wool and then the compensatory duties upon manufactured woolen goods. They brought the bill to Congress as a compromise necessary to the safety of the Republican party. With the exception of the duty upon dress goods for women and children and of men's wearing apparel, that compromise was adopted, word for word and letter for letter, as brought by the conflicting and warring factions to the Capitol. It imposed from 10 to 12 cents per pound upon the raw wool, with an additional duty of 12 per cent ad valorem. David A. Wells, who two years afterwards was the Commissioner of Revenue, stated the effect of the act of 1867 as follows: "That the duty on raw or unwashed wools and hair other than wools adapted for carpets should be fixed at rates varying from 10 to 12 cents per pound and from 10 to 11 per cent ad valorem. In order, then, to compensate the manufacturer for such a prospective enhancement of the price of his raw material, it was agreed, in consideration of the fact that 4 pounds of the cheapest imported wool, paying an aggregate duty of 46 cents, were sometimes employed in the fabrication of a pound of finished cloth," to compensate the manufacturer by giving him the increased duties mentioned in the act upon his manufactured product. After this compensatory duty, it was agreed to give to the manufacturer 10 per cent in addition, in order to meet the tax

upon the chemicals that went into his manufacture and to pay for transportation if any expense in that regard should be incurred; and in addition over all, 25 per cent ad valorem for the difference in labor here and abroad.

Those were the duties solemnly elected to be placed upon raw wool and manufactured goods by the raisers of the raw wool and the manufacturers of woolen goods. It was their own bill. It was given to them by Congress. It is held up to-day as the ideal of the woolen interests of this country both as to the production of wool and the manufacture of goods. Mr. Lawrence alludes to it as the great act of 1867 for the protection of the woolgrowers and the woolen manufacturers. Justice, Bateman & Co. allude to it in the same way. The act of 1867 applied to nothing but wools and woolen manufactures, no other article being included in it.

It remained upon the statute books sixteen years. I submit it is a fair test of the system to which I adhere and the system to which our opponents adhere, as to whether one or the other is correct. If I show by the official reports of the manufacturers themselves that wool went down in price during those sixteen years; if I show that the manufacturers languished; if I show from their own months that their own bill, putting these enormous duties upon raw wool and manufactured goods, did not bring prosperity, but adversity, I take it the case is conclusively made out in favor of free wool and against the protection that is sought to be put upon it.

I have before me a bulletin issued by the National Association of Woolen Manufacturers in December, 1890, upon pages 362 and following giving the result of the act of 1867 from the time of its enactment down to the day of its repeal. It is a record, with the exception of 1871 and 1872, of falling prices, depressed manufactures, complaints from year to year of their own act. In 1871 there was phenomenal and abnormal speculation in wool. It lasted eighteen months, and then, as is always the case, there came a reaction and prices resumed their downward tendency. Any Senator who will take the trouble to look at this record—which I shall not endeavor to read in detail—will find all through it such entries as "lower prices," "lower prices," "enlarging consumption of manufactured product," "depression in manufacture." In 1869, two years succeeding, "failures in the woolen trade."

In 1872, for instance, there was "wild speculation." Then comes the next year, 1873: "February—overproduction of goods; market overstocked with wools; manufacturers lessen production. March—continued depression; money scarce. October—panic in the money market," etc.

In June, 1874, we find there were "numerous failures in England in the worsted and iron industries, the result of overproduction; partial recovery in general business;" and in the year 1875, "manufacturing of woolens in England unprofitable;" depression in business, and so on, down to the enactment of the act of 1883. I shall not exhaust my strength nor weary the patience by reading all these pages, but here is the record, made out by the woolen manufacturers themselves from month to month and year to year, showing that the increased duties in 1867 did not put up the price of wool nor bring prosperity to the manufacturers.

What was the result of the enactment of 1883, which slightly reduced the duty upon wools and woolen goods? The first effect of it was to increase the price of wool, but the increase lasted only a very short time, and then the decline began again. Wool continued to decline till 1890, when the demand became universal on the part of the woolgrowers and the wool manufacturers for the reenactment of higher duties upon raw material and the finished product. What has been the result of the act of 1890?

I hold before me—and I said I would quote only those opposed to me, those on the other side—a table embraced in the testimony of Mr. Lawrence, the president of the Wool Growers' Association, the most persistent and determined of all the advocates of a high duty upon wool. It is found on page 1483 of the hearings before the Ways and Means Committee of the House, and it is the official record of the prices of wool in the Philadelphia market from 1890 to 1896. I take it for granted this will be accepted by our opponents upon the other side, because it comes from the very head and front of the party that advocates the high duty upon wool. What is that record under the increased duties imposed by the act of 1890? I will take XX Ohio, as was done by the Senator from Texas [Mr. MILLS], admitted to be the test grade of wool.

The equivalent of it abroad is the Port Phillip wool, an Australian fleece, which is nearer the XX Ohio wool than any other foreign product. In December, 1891, XX Ohio wool was worth, in the Philadelphia market, 30 to 32 cents a pound. In 1892, after the enactment of the McKinley Act, it fell to 26–28 cents, a fall of 4 cents a pound. In December, 1893, it fell from 26–28 to 22–25. In October, 1894, in which month the Wilson bill was enacted, it fell from 22–25 to 18–19. If high duties would stop the decline in the price of wool, why was it not done in the three years of the operation of the McKinley Act? What was the result of the enactment of the Wilson law, putting wool upon the free list? In 1895 it rose from 18–19 to 19–21; in 1896, from 19–21 to 20–21. On June 17, 1897, which is the last official report, it sold from 21 to 22 cents.

But we are met with the statement that the Port Phillip wool, which is the equivalent of this amongst foreign wools, went up in value or did not keep pace in price with the XX Ohio wool in this country. Therefore they say that the tariff imposed here has nothing to do with it. I hold in my hand the gold prices of Ohio XX wool and of Port Phillip fleece, its equivalent, commencing in 1866 and running to 1891, and it shows that these wools ran almost together. For instance, in March, 1879, XX Ohio was worth in our markets 35 cents a pound and Port Phillip was worth 40. In the next month XX Ohio was 34, Port Phillip 42; in the next, XX Ohio 38, Port Phillip 40; in the next, 43 and 43. In February, 1880, Ohio XX wool was 54 and Port Phillip 46, and then 48 and 43. First one wool would advance a few cents above the other, and then it would recede and the other would advance. But there was no such difference in price as could furnish any argument against my assertion that the tariff taxes in the United States do not serve to put up the price of our domestic wools. I will put this table in the RECORD without reading it, to show the truth of what I have stated.

Average price in Boston of Ohio medium wool and average price in London of Port Phillip fleece, in American currency, 1866 to 1890—both washed wools.

[London quotations from Windeler & Co. American prices from Mauger & Avery, Boston.]

Year.	Month.	Ohio medium (currency).	Ohio medium (gold).*	Port Phillip fleece (gold).	Year.	Month.	Ohio medium (gold).	Port Phillip fleece (gold).
		Cents.	*Cents.*	*Cents.*			*Cents.*	*Cents.*
1866	Mar	.65	.50	.52	1879	Mar	.35	.40
	June	.60	.40	.44		June	.34	.42
	Sept	.67	.46	.48		Sept	.38	.40
	Dec	.60	.44	.45		Dec	.43	.43
1867	Mar	.53	.39	.44	1880	Feb	.54	.46
	June	.55	.40	.44		Apr	.49	.49
	Sept	.49	.34	.43		June	.48	.43
	Dec	.46	.34	.42		Sept	.48	.44
1868	Mar	.43	.31	.42		Dec	.48	.44
	June	.48	.34	.42	1881	Mar	.49	.40
	Sept	.45	.31	.38		June	.44	.41
	Dec	.48	.36	.40		Aug	.44	.41
1869	Mar	.50	.38	.36		Sept	.46	.41
	June	.50	.36	.32		Dec	.46	.42
	Sept	.48	.35	.34	1882	Feb	.46	.43
	Dec	.48	.40	.34		May	.45	.44
1870	Feb	.46	.39	.36		Aug	.45	.44
	May	.47	.41	.36		Sept	.45	.44
	July	.45	.39	.34		Dec	.45	.43
	Sept	.48	.42	.32	1883	Mar	.43	.43
	Dec	.48	.43	.33		June	.44	.43
1871	Feb	.46	.41	.35		Sept	.41	.41
	May	.52	.47	.39		Oct	.40	.41
	July	.60	.53	.43		Dec	.40	.42
	Oct	.62	.55	.46	1884	Feb	.40	.40
	Dec	.62	.57	.48		May	.38	.39
1872	Feb	.72	.65	.54		June	.34	.39
	May	.80	.70	.47		July	.34	.40
	July	.70	.61	.50		Nov	.34	.39
	Sept	.60	.53	.53	1885	Jan	.33	.38
	Dec	.60	.53	.55		Apr	.32	.37
1873	Feb	.68	.60	.50		July	.31	.36
	May	.53	.45	.52		Sept	.35	.33
	July	.48	.41	.53		Dec	.35	.33
	Oct	.53	.49	.55	1886	Feb	.36	.32
	Dec	.53	.48	.51		Apr	.34	.29
1874	Feb	.54	.48	.51		July	.35	.34
	May	.56	.50	.50		Sept	.38	.37
	June	.53	.48	.52		Dec	.38	.33
	Aug	.54	.49	.53	1887	Feb	.38	.34
	Dec	.54	.48	.52		Apr	.37	.34
1875	Feb	.56	.49	.49		July	.37	.32
	May	.52	.45	.50		Sept	.36	.30
	June	.49	.42	.48		Dec	.36	.31
	Aug	.50	.44	.46	1888	Feb	.35	.31
	Dec	.50	.44	.47		Apr	.34	.31
1876	Feb	.52	.46	.45		July	.33	.32
	May	.49	.44	.42		Sept	.34	.33
	June	.35	.31	.37		Dec	.34	.34
	Aug	.40	.36	.40	1889	Feb	.38	.33
	Dec	.40	.37	.45		Apr	.37	.34
1877	Feb	.43	.41	.42		July	.39	.36
	May	.40	.37	.39		Sept	.37	.38
	June	.44	.42	.43		Dec	.37	.40
	Aug	.44	.42	.42	1890	Feb	.37	.37
	Dec	.44	.43	.43		May	.36	.34
1878	Mar	.45	.44	.43		July	.37	.32
	May	.43	.43	.42		Oct	.37	.34
	July	.36	.36	.44		Dec	.37	.39
	Sept	.37	.37	.42				
	Dec	.37	.37	.40				

*The prices reduced to a gold basis were calculated upon the value of currency at the dates indicated as given in the quarterly report of the Chief of the Bureau of Statistics of the Treasury Department for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1879.

S. N. D. NORTH,
Secretary National Association of Wool Manufacturers, Boston, Mass.

Before coming to 1893, I wish to read a remarkable piece of the history of the wool question. In 1885, after the enactment of the

tariff law of 1883, Mr. Manning, of New York, was Secretary of the Treasury, and he issued an official circular to all the wool manufacturers and wool producers in the United States, asking them to give their views as to the effect of free wool and as to the propriety of changing the existing tariff. In reply to this circular of Mr. Manning I have before me the answer of the Wool Manufacturers' Association, of which Mr. William Whitman was then the president, and I call the attention of Senators to the remarkable statement then made by the same association which framed or partly framed the act of 1867:

We are aware—

Says the Manufacturers' Association—

We are aware that there is a difference of opinion among wool manufacturers as to the desirableness of a duty upon wool. Waiving that question, as we have in the response to Secretary Manning, and assuming that the continuance of a wool duty for the present is a political necessity, we presume that every intelligent wool manufacturer in the country will admit that the principle of the existing woolen tariff—a compensatory duty for the raw material and a further protective duty—is the best system that can be devised.

What does Mr. Whitman mean by a political necessity? Why did he make that statement to the Secretary of the Treasury? He meant that in order to get votes and to save the Republican party it was a political necessity to put a duty on wool and to give a compensatory duty to the manufacturer. He meant that it was necessary to do what is attempted now in this Chamber, to bring together the two interests and tie them with a ligament of greed which could not be broken.

Who ever before heard from a trade organization the open and avowed and stupendous proposition that a political necessity should dictate the taxes of the people of the United States?

That is not all. Mr. Whitman then proceeded to argue the question of free wool, and although he admitted that this political necessity existed, he goes on to show that free wool is absolutely necessary to the manufacturers of the United States. He makes an argument which I shall insert in my remarks, unanswerable, it seems to me, in behalf of the position that those of us have assumed in favor of free raw material. He says it is absolutely impossible to make a tariff to enable the manufacturers of this country to compete with foreign manufacturers who have free wool, although, as a Republican, he admits the political necessity exists for feeing the 1,000,000 voters represented by Mr. Lawrence with a duty upon wool, bad as it is and wrong as it is, in order to bring them to the polls in solid phalanx for the Republican organization. There it is. Anyone can read it.

The letter referred to is as follows:

[Circular letter of William Whitman, president of the National Association of Wool Manufacturers, dated Boston, Mass., October 28, 1885.]

THE WOOL TARIFF A POLITICAL NECESSITY.

We are aware that there is a difference of opinion among wool manufacturers as to the desirableness of a duty upon wool. Waiving that question, as we have in the response of Secretary Manning, and assuming that the continuance of a wool duty for the present is a political necessity, we presume that every intelligent wool manufacturer in the country will admit that the principle of the existing woolen tariff—a compensatory duty for the raw material and a further protective duty—is the best system that can be devised.

This system is now in deadly peril. Nothing can save it but the individual efforts of the manufacturers whose interests are imperiled.

We ought to be able to present to Congress at least a thousand individual protests against a change of the existing system.

Foreign manufacturers' advantages from free wool.—It is necessary for us to enlarge somewhat upon a peculiarity of our manufacture before alluded to, namely, its subjection, upon grounds of public policy, to a high duty on the raw material. The American manufacturer is engaged in a perpetual struggle with the manufacturers of Europe for the possession of the markets of this country. As before said, the advantages of our competitors are our obstacles. In this strife the European manufacturer possesses the advantage—which would be overwhelming if not counteracted by special legislation—of having the raw material of his manufacture free from duty, no duties on wool existing in Great Britain, France, Belgium, and the Netherlands, and very slight duties, if any, in other manufacturing nations.

Our European competitors are exempt from the direct enhancement by a duty of the cost of wool, thus requiring less capital to supply their mills and no cost of interest on the duty required in carrying their stocks of wool and goods. They are free from the apprehension of changes in the value of wool, such as have taken place in this country in consequence of no less than seventeen changes in the tariff on wools within the memory of living manufacturers. They are exempt from the duties on wool substitutes so usefully employed to mix with wool in the manufacture of the cheaper and heavier cloths—duties which with us are absolutely prohibitory. They are able, from the lower cost of their raw material, to relieve themselves from overproduction by consigning their surplus stocks at comparatively slight sacrifice to foreign markets, to which their cheapness has already introduced them. They are not compelled, as we are, to discriminate in their choice of wool to avoid the effect of the duty, and are able to select their wools in any condition, whether unwashed, washed, or scoured, with reference only to their desirable qualities.

Through freedom of importation they have near markets, as at London, Havre, Antwerp, and Berlin, offering vast assortments and a steady supply of all kinds of wool—advantages especially favorable to the small manufacturer. This exemption from all restrictions in the selection of raw material, together with the facilities for supply and the certainty that values will not be disturbed by legislation, is believed to be the chief cause of a characteristic of the European woolen industry, namely, that the manufacturer abroad obtains success by adhering with steady attention to the special fabrics he has undertaken to make, and in which he has acquired excellence; while diversification of manufactures, so necessary to prevent overproduction, is encouraged by the equal availability of all varieties and conditions of raw material. The effect of this policy upon the agricultural interests and labor of the countries which adopt it we are not at present called upon to consider.

Domestic manufacturers' disadvantages.—On the other hand, the protection to wool adopted in this country upon grounds of public policy involves disadvantages to the domestic manufacturer, which would be insuperable if not neutralized by the compensation to be hereafter referred to. In making a comparison with European manufacturers it is not sufficient to consider the rates of duty only, but the expenses attending the importation of wool from the great wool markets of the world, from which the foreign manufacturer is exempt, and which constitute an additional protection to the woolgrower.

In order that the existing duties of wool may be thoroughly understood, we append a table prepared in 1884 by wool experts in whom we have entire confidence, exhibiting the prices at which wools of all classes could then be bought in some of the world's markets—and the conditions are not now materially changed—the existing duty upon them, the cost of importation (including commissions) from the port of shipment to Boston, the total cost at Boston, the percentage of duty upon their cost, and the percentage of duty and cost of importation upon their cost. Selecting class 1, clothing wools, as an illustration, an examination of this table will show that on class 1, unwashed wool, the duty ranges from 34.48 per cent to 100 per cent on the cost, and that the duty and cost of importation range from 48.45 per cent to 117.80 per cent on the cost.

PAYING DUTY ON GREASE AND DIRT.

This high duty is not the only difficulty with which our manufacturers requiring foreign wools have to contend. It is held that complete protection to the most important branch of our woolgrowing industry, the Merino sheep husbandry, requires that washed wools in class 1 should be subject to double the duty of unwashed wool, and the duty on scoured wool should be three times the amount upon the unwashed wools—an arrangement which compels the importations of class 1 wools to be in the greasy state, necessitating the transportation charges on from 2½ to 3 pounds of grease and dirt in the wool required for a pound of cloth.

The effect of the compulsion to buy greasy wool and pay a heavy specific duty on its impurities is that the American manufacturer is thereby obliged to give undue preference to light condition over fineness and the other valuable qualities of wools offering in foreign markets. Our manufacturers, moreover, are obliged by this restriction to concentrate their competition in foreign markets upon the always small proportion of the lightest unwashed wools; while our foreign competitors, having to pay duty neither upon wool nor upon grease and dirt, can buy the heavy wools in the market to much better advantage.

DIFFICULTIES INCREASING.

To these considerations it should be added that the high specific duty on clothing wools, a duty irrespective of the cost, practically excludes the cheap and abundant clothing wools of South America, and, by freeing them from our competition for their purchase, makes them much cheaper than they would otherwise be to the manufacturers of France, Belgium, and Germany, who work them up into cloths and stuffs by the cheapest labor in Europe.

Another matter, though comparatively of less importance, should not be omitted. The classification of wools under each class, indispensable as it is for the objects aimed at in the wool tariff, is subject to the difficulty of excluding the doubtful classes of wool, or those on the uncertain line of division between two classes, however desirable and valuable they may be, the importer being unwilling to incur the risk of such wools being subjected to the duty of the higher class. This is another considerable restriction in our selection of imported wools, and has been a source of serious loss and inconvenience to our importing manufacturers.

Necessity for counteracting disadvantages.—It will be seen from the above that we are subjected, in consequence of wool duties deemed necessary for the protection of the domestic wool industry, not only to an enhancement of the cost of our raw material, but to stringent limitations in choosing the best sources of supply for our various wants—disadvantages from which our foreign competitors are wholly exempt, and to which no other branch of domestic industry is subjected to any material extent. We dwell upon these restrictions and limitations, not with the object of urging their removal, for we have already expressed our assent to the system by which they are retained, but because a frank statement of these difficulties is required to show the indispensable necessity of neutralizing them, if the woolen industry is to be preserved in this country together with the protection to wool, which public policy seems to require and the supremacy of agricultural constituencies makes imperative.

These conditions require to be fully stated, because they are not generally appreciated. It needs to be better known that the admittedly high duties, and, on a cursory view, unduly high duties, on woolens are made necessary by the assumed necessity of protecting the domestic woolgrowers and providing for them a profitable home market; and that the manufacturers, exempted from the wool duties, would be amply content with the much lower range of duties provided for other branches of the textile industry.

Necessity for importations of wool.—It may be said that a remedy for these difficulties is to be found in the exclusive use of the domestic wools, which will be abundantly supplied under due protection. To this we reply that neither our own country nor any other in the world does or can produce to advantage wools of all kinds and grades. Experience under high protection of wool in this country for over thirty years has demonstrated that our domestic woolgrowers find it to their advantage to produce only the staple wools required for the ordinary range of woolen fabrics; and as these fabrics will always be in demand, they build up their flocks, a work of time, for the production only of the fleeces which will be profitable for a long series of years.

This system, although providing admirable raw material for common goods, is incompatible with the variety required for the diversified and highly advanced manufacture which should be our aim. The American manufacturer, to compete with the fabrics of other nations in the endless variety demanded by our times, must have the power of selecting a portion of his raw material from all the world's sources of supply. The sudden and exceptional demand for more or new raw material must be supplied by importations.

Mr. VEST. My friend from Delaware spoke of class interests dictating to Congress at the expense of the consumer; but this goes beyond all that was ever before known in American politics. This tax, they say, upon the people of this country is dictated by political necessity, although it is a wrong and an outrage and should not be tolerated for any other reason.

Now, what has been the result as to the woolen manufacturers? I have spoken of the woolgrowers as hurriedly as possible, because I did not want to impede the prosperity which is coming, and

which our Acting Chaplain told us the other day God should be thanked for sending upon the country.

What has been the result as to these duties upon wool as to the woolen manufacturer? Some one has said here that the woolen schedule is the citadel of protection. It is. Under the McKinley Act, to show its practical operation, we imported into this country, in 1893, $36,943,700 worth of woolen goods, appraised at the custom-house. We paid in duties at the custom-houses upon these goods $36,457,582, within half a million dollars of the value of the goods. In other words, if I have on a coat that is worth $10, it costs me $20, because there is a duty of $10 paid upon it. Under the McKinley law, upon some articles of wearing apparel for men and dress goods for women and children the duty is 225 per cent. The average duty under the woolen schedule in the McKinley Act is 91.61. Under the act of 1867 it was 61.37, showing an enormous increase. Look at the increase proposed now. It is largely in excess of the McKinley Act.

Under paragraph 362, wool and hair which have been advanced in any degree in manufacture, even to the extent of 1 cent, have a duty of 113 per cent ad valorem.

Under paragraph 363, the next paragraph, yarn is increased from 40 per cent under the existing law to 90 per cent.

Under paragraph 364, on cloths, knit goods, etc., when not over 50 cents per pound in value, the duty is 154 per cent; when it is less than 50 cents per pound, the duty is 94.45 per cent.

Under paragraph 365, on blankets and shawls the duty is 71.75 per cent. On those worth from 30 to 40 cents a pound the duty is 63.48 per cent; above 50 cents per pound, 84 per cent. On blankets 3 yards wide the duty is 125 per cent.

Mr. GRAY. By this bill?

Mr. VEST. Yes, sir; by this bill, under paragraph 365.

Mr. GRAY. I did not carry it out accurately. It is 125 per cent?

Mr. VEST. Yes; 125 per cent.

Mr. GRAY. On every hundred dollars' worth of blankets there is to be a tax of $125?

Mr. VEST. Of course, 125 per cent; that is just what it means; and 3 yards wide. If a man undertakes to cover himself all over or any portion of his family, he pays 125 per cent.

In paragraph 367, on women's and children's dress goods, the duty is 135 per cent. On shawls valued at not more than 40 cents a pound the duty is 171 per cent. On knit fabrics valued at not more than 40 cents a pound the duty is 140 per cent. On hats valued at not more than 40 cents a pound the duty is only 203.48 per cent.

In paragraph 369, on webbings and gorings, etc., the duty is 80 per cent.

In paragraph 371, on carpets, the duty ranges from 69.67 to 80.22 per cent; and they have put the duty so high upon Turkish and oriental rugs and carpeting that the American citizen is compelled to do without them and to take the carpets manufactured in this country at the prices I have named.

Mr. WHITE. If the Senator from Missouri will permit me, as to the item of oriental rugs, I will state that the duty is so high that it has brought here a very vigorous and well-worded protest from the most extensive dealers in carpets in the United States.

Mr. VEST. Mr. President, these are only a few of the enormous duties that are imposed under the woolen schedule. The point I make in this whole discussion is that, under the sixteen years of the act of 1867, with the duties selected by the woolgrowers and the wool manufacturers, according to their own official report kept from day to day and published in one of their bulletins, there was no increase in the price of wool to the American raiser and no prosperity came to the manufacturer.

Now, what was the result upon the manufacturer of the enactment of the Wilson bill, so often and so much derided? I had occasion some time ago in this Chamber to produce the statements made by the Cotton and Wool Reporter, a paper that does not belong to my political faith, in regard to the effect of free wool upon the woolen manufacturing establishments in the United States. I ask leave to insert in my remarks extracts from this paper. I will endeavor to give a synopsis of the result of one year of the enactment of the Wilson law with free wool.

In 1895, under a year of the Wilson law, there were constructed in the United States 61 woolen mills, against 45 in the last year of the McKinley law. This paper goes on to state that it has been a year of unexampled prosperity to woolen manufacturers and enormous quantities of foreign wool have been brought into this country. What was done with it? Were all those pounds of wool for spectacular purposes? Could they have been eaten up? Were they burned? Or were they manufactured by these mills into cloths that were sold to the consumers of the United States? The price of domestic wool went up because it was necessarily mixed with the foreign wool in making cloths to be bought and worn by our people. Here are the statements made by this paper, the organ of the cotton and woolen manufacturers of the United States, showing that in the first year after the enactment of the Wilson law the price of wool not only remained steady from the beginning of the time when that law was enacted, but increased:

BOSTON, *December 24, 1895.*

The American Wool and Cotton Reporter will say, December 26, of the wool trade:

"The year which five days hence will have rounded out its course has been, on the whole, a signally eventful one. In the volume of sales it has broken all previous records. The amount of foreign and domestic wool disposed of in the three principal markets up to December 12, 1895, amounted to 347,060,105 pounds, as compared with 261,667,229 pounds December 13, 1892. It will be also memorable for an unprecedented development of the worsted industry and for the lead which combed yarn fabrics have held in the woolen dry goods trade, notably in cloths for men's wear. And, finally, it has seen some tardy recovery in values of the staple from the depression of two years ago.

"Some idea of the recovery in values of domestic wool during the year may be obtained by a comparison of prices December 21, 1895, with rates January 1. At the earlier date, Ohio XX and above was quoted at 17 to 18 cents; at the latter, 19 to 20 cents, a XXX selling at 21 cents; Ohio and Michigan X, in January, 15 to 17 cents; in December, 16 to 18 cents; No. 1 wools, at the commencement of the year, 18 to 20 cents; at the close, 20 to 22 cents; one-half and three-eighths unwashed combing, 15 to 16 cents in January; 16 to 18 cents in December; three-eighths and one-fourth blood combing, 16 to 17 cents early in the year; 17 to 19 cents at the close. Fine medium Wyoming and Utah, in January, 10 to 12 cents; in December, 12 to 13 cents; eastern Oregon, in January, 11½ to 12 cents; in December, 12 to 13½ cents. Stocks of domestic wool December 21, 1895, in the three principal markets, amount in toto to 53,726,588 pounds.

"Stocks of foreign wool at the same points aggregate 27,241,200 pounds.

"The total supply of domestic wool in all the markets of the country, together with unreported lots, will amount to 101,725,248 pounds, which, combined with the quantity of foreign wool in the three great seaboard markets, will make the grand total (about) 129,937,438 pounds."

I challenge any Senator upon the other side to show me where the price of wool ever stopped after the enactment of the McKinley law, or under the law of 1867, except for the two years 1871 and 1872, when there was abnormal and phenomenal speculation. There may have been two or three or four months when there was what they call a spurt in the market as to wool, but the grade was downward from the enactment of the law, except in 1871 and 1872, and always downward from the enactment of the McKinley law in 1890.

I repeat, that the Wilson law came into existence under the most disastrous and gloomy circumstances. A great panic was upon the country. The people were demanding relief, and it could not be given to them by any legislation of Congress. There were causes at work beyond our control. Every interest besides wool was depressed. Yet under the Wilson Act the fall in the price of wool stopped. From 18 to 19 cents, when the law was enacted, it went up to 20, and then 21, and to-day it is quoted in the market at from 21 to 22 cents for XX Ohio wool. Who can answer these figures except by denunciation and ridicule and the statement that the Democratic party promised prosperity to the country and did not bring it?

Mr. President, coming events sometimes cast their shadows before. Our Republican friends propose now to put back the high duties upon wool and upon woolen goods. When the people of this country find that experience in the past has been verified as to results in the future, when they know that these promises have been kept to the ear and broken to the hope, there will come a day of reckoning. The Republican party, mark it, will come back to this Capitol broken and shattered with the irresistible logic of having made promises which they have not kept.

I ask for the yeas and nays on my motion.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Missouri asks for the yeas and nays on his motion to strike out the paragraphs named.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. WARREN. Mr. President, the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST] seems to believe, and I credit him with sincerity in the belief, that free wool is alike a boon to sheep growers, to wool manufacturers, and to the consumers. I want the RECORD to-day to again give him credit for his statement of a year ago on this subject. I have in my hand a speech made by him January 7, 1896, in which he said:

Mr. President, I believed then, and can prove now, that free wool has done more for the woolgrowers of the country and for the woolen mills of the country than any legislation that the Republican party has ever enacted.

And in the same speech, in referring to the manufacturers, he said:

I say that the woolen mills are prosperous, and that they have had a year's prosperity such as they never had before, notwithstanding the statement made the other day by the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. GALLINGER] that the mills of New England were on the verge of bankruptcy.

I submit to that great jury, the public, the statements he then made, together with his views on the same subject to-day, and I am willing to accept the verdict of the people. The woolgrower knows, and so does the manufacturer, whether free wool has been a boon and a blessing.

In discussing the prices of wool there is one fact of which I challenge contradiction. There never was a time until the second election of Mr. Cleveland, and the woolgrowers were in consequence threatened with free wool, when first-class Ohio washed wool brought less than 60 cents a pound scoured. There might have been a day at a time when it had descended to 58 cents, 57 cents, etc., but except for a few days at a time it never went lower than 60

cents, and I am not certain that it ever went lower for even a day. Since the passage of the Wilson law, and until later elections demonstrated that there was a change of sentiment and that there would probably be a change in legislation, there never was a day when scoured wool reached 40 cents a pound.

Now, it is all very fine to say that wool is higher and to undertake to figure out that wool is higher, etc., but I challenge a contradiction of the statement I make that 60 cents, or about 60 cents, was as low as scoured Ohio wool ranged, averaged, or ever reached, excepting perhaps for a few days at a time, until the wool industry was threatened by a Democratic President and Congress; and furthermore that since the passage of the Wilson law it never reached 40 cents until, as I said before, there had been an election which showed that the Republicans were again to be in power.

Mr. VEST. At what date does the Senator fix his 60-cent rate? Prior to 1893?

Mr. WARREN. I bring it down to 1892.

Mr. VEST. Does he say that was the price of XX Ohio wool?

Mr. WARREN. I said scoured wool. I have the Senator's own figures—given in his former speech—if he wishes to see them, which show the truth of the statement I make.

Mr. VEST. I was talking about XX Ohio wool. I took that as a test.

Mr. WARREN. You can talk about wool and you can make figures, perhaps, to prove any kind of a statement, if the figurer is right slick with his figures, but the cold fact remains that under a tariff scoured wool was 60 cents per pound and above, and that under free wool, or threatened free wool, it has been 40 cents. I do not think it ever reached 40 cents under free-wool conditions.

I wish to say, in this connection, that no wool is used, to my knowledge, in the manufacture of cloth or any other fabric that is not first scoured. The whole basis of wool prices, so far as its use in manufacturing is concerned, is upon the scoured condition and value of this commodity. Therefore the price of scoured wool is the price by which we must judge whether it is high or low. It is the only real test.

There has been a great deal of talk about the consumer and how much it was going to cost him. This is right and proper, of course. The Senator from Delaware [Mr. GRAY] grew eloquent and pathetic over the wearer of woolens. I take the speech of the distinguished Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST], his speech of January 7, 1896, and read again. He undertook to prove that the manufacturers of woolens were never as prosperous as under the Wilson law, and in endeavoring to prove this, he said:

> The official reports show—and I have a volume of them—that we have consumed, in 1895, 540,000,000 pounds of wool, more than was ever consumed in the most prosperous wool year in the history of this country.

I well remember how he raised himself upon his tiptoes and what emphasis he put upon 540,000,000 pounds of wool as a total that had been consumed in this country in 1895. Now, if the Senator will take 540,000,000 pounds of wool and divide it by 70,000,000 people, he will find that the per capita consumption of wool is slightly over 7 pounds and is less than 8. Therefore, for all uses to which wool is put, not only for clothing, but for carpets, for cushions in carriages, for draperies at home, for the coverings of furniture, and for all other uses, the American people used in that year, which he says was a remarkably prosperous year, less than 8 pounds of wool in grease per capita.

How much does that amount to upon a tariff similar to that in the McKinley bill, where the rates ranged from 1 cent per pound on cheapest carpet wools up to and not exceeding 12 cents per pound on the best wool? What does it amount to under the bill that is now proposed? A simple matter of forty-odd cents to 75 cents per capita as the highest possible tax that you could prove, by figures or by argument, could fall upon the consumer of wool because of the tariff, even if we allow that the consumer pays the tariff, which I do not admit.

Is there a man in the Senate, is there a man in the State of Missouri, the State of Wyoming, or any other State who would not pay 40 cents or 75 cents per annum to build up an industry that would employ a million American people, that would save the payment of one to two hundred millions of gold to other countries from this country for a product we can as well produce ourselves? If so, he will vote probably for free wool and he will probably be a Democrat. A great hullabaloo is made here upon this floor now and always about the consumer of wool and the vast amount that it is costing him. There is not a man within the sound of my voice who has upon his back in a suit of clothes 5 pounds of wool.

Mr. GRAY. You will not have that much if we pass this bill.

Mr. WARREN. Possibly not. I presume I could safely say that upon the Senator's back there is not now, in his clothing, to exceed 3 pounds of wool. Would the Senator decline to pay 6 cents or even 10 cents a pound upon these 3 pounds of wool if he could thereby maintain an industry that could employ a million men and women and that would absorb and pay fair returns upon many hundreds of million dollars of capital and save one to two hundred million dollars a year in gold that would otherwise go out for wool?

Mr. GRAY. If the Senator will allow me, let me point out to him, without at all subscribing to his very delusive figures about the per capita taxation, that even admitting the fact, he must remember that he has divided the amount by the whole population of the United States. I suppose, to get that per capita, he takes 70,000,000 people, and he says it would not amount to more at the outset than 75 cents per capita. But he must recollect that the person who pays a per capita pays on an average, according to the census, for about five head. So each man who pays—the real taxpayer—pays the per capita for his wife and children, and pays five times 75 cents, even if that were true.

Mr. WARREN. Mr. President, I take it that every patriotic person expects to support the government of which he is a citizen. To support the government means to pay a tax. I presume that the Senator from Delaware, like myself, would feel more comfortable if he had no taxes to pay, but in some form taxes must be paid, either by ourselves or by those who come in to enjoy this market. I claim that we do not pay these impost duties, but they are paid by those foreign nations who wish to come in and enjoy our market.

Mr. GRAY. Nobody objects to paying the tax, even though it may be a heavy tax, if it all goes into the Treasury; but I think a great many people object to paying taxes, not into the Treasury, but into the pockets of a class of people who claim that use of the taxing power for their own benefit. That is what I object to.

Mr. WARREN. I suppose the Senator from Delaware feels like the man who writes the following, over in a country where they have free trade:

> Birth is taxed, marriage is taxed, death is taxed. Commodities are taxed, manufactures are taxed, trades are taxed, houses are taxed, incomes are taxed. We are taxed for our butler, if we are prosperous enough to keep one. We are taxed for our footman, groom, and gardener. The carriage we keep is taxed, the omnibus we take is taxed, the cab we hire is taxed, the railway train we travel in is taxed. The house dog is taxed, and so also is the heraldic device on our note paper.
>
> Everything we drink is taxed—beer, spirits, wine, tea, coffee—and even for the water we drink there is the water rate. Light is taxed through the medium of the gas rate. The land we walk upon is taxed, the tobacco we smoke is taxed, the gold or silver jewelry we wear, the eau de cologne perfuming our handkerchiefs, the figs we eat on Palm Sunday, the Christmas plum pudding, these are all taxed. Even our antibilious pills are not free.

There is the plaint of an Englishman who lives in a country which floats the banner of monometallism, Cobdenism, and free trade.

Mr. President, I did not rise to enter into any extended discussion or to unduly occupy the time of the Senate, but I want to repeat, that the statement so often made here that wool has been higher under free trade than under a protective tariff, or as high, is absolutely untrue in every particular and absurd as well, as proven by the prices of scoured wool, which is the only reliable standard of prices and always gives exactly the true price of wool ready for manufacturing.

Mr. VEST. No such statement has been made, and the Senator has no right to say that it has been.

Mr. WARREN. I am alluding to what has been said here in debate.

Mr. VEST. I never said that in my speech. I said then, and I repeat it—and the Senator can not disprove it—that under the Wilson law, for the first time, the fall in wool stopped; that is, the XX Ohio wool, which is the grade taken in all markets as the best grade. I did not speak about scoured wool, but the XX washed wool, which is equivalent to the Port Phillip wool of Australia; and the two are always compared together in the market. I say that after the enactment of the Wilson law, for the first time, the fall of that wool stopped, though it had been going down under the law of 1867 and under the McKinley law.

Mr. WARREN. It stopped falling just as a man falling from the top of a building stops when he strikes the ground. He can fall no farther, and his brains are dashed out by the force of his last fall.

Mr. VEST. Commencing at 18 cents and going up to 21 and 22 is not dashing its brains out.

Mr. WARREN. But the statement is made that he believes that he can prove now that free wool has done more for the wool-growers of the country than a tariff. I deny the statement, if the Senator means that that has made them more prosperous, and I ask how he has made them prosperous by lower prices for their product?

Mr. VEST. It stopped falling in price.

Mr. WARREN. If that has made them more prosperous, in what way has it made them more prosperous? When there has been a reduction in the price of their product of nearly 100 per cent, has that made their condition better?

Mr. GRAY. A reduction of 100 per cent?

Mr. WARREN. A reduction of one-half, I should have said.

Now, Mr. President, I assume that the Senator from Missouri is one of those who supported and voted for the Wilson bill, and I suppose that those who supported the Wilson bill based their arguments then, as they do now, on the ground that they were trying to protect the wearers of woolen goods. How did they protect them? They made a tariff that increased the importation of that unclean, contemptible article, shoddy, and they made a tariff under which shoddy could come into this country more freely and delude the poor who bought that character of clothing. Shoddy importations increased 1,700 per cent, if my figures are right, in ten months after the passage of that law. That is what the Wilson law did. Under it old rags from all countries, hair and refuse, were brought over here and worked into clothing, because, under the operations of the Wilson law, the workingmen of this country were made too poor to buy decent clothing, and they sought to buy the cheapest thing they could get. The Wilson law had opened the door to that adulterant, just as it opened the door to every other adulterant and fraud from abroad.

Mr. GRAY. Only one moment. I do not want the ingenious speech of the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. WARREN] in regard to this per capita taxation to go out without a single word of comment, for that is one of the most delusive forms of putting a tax to tax-ridden people.

I said a moment ago that, even according to the statement of 75 cents, dividing the whole population into the value of the wool imported would not give that result, because there are not 70,000,000 taxpayers. We have got to divide that number by five at least in order to get the number of taxpayers.

If we take the head of a family—the man who pays the tax—he represents about five others. But let that go; that is small. All that tax goes into the Treasury; that is the tax actually paid at the custom-house; but that does not represent the tax that is paid by the American people by reason of this imposition. The tax you are voting is not the tax that goes into the Treasury of the United States, but the tax that goes into the pockets of the people who are seeking to frame this tariff law in their own interests.

Mr. WARREN. What becomes of the duty we impose?

Mr. GRAY. That goes into the Treasury, so far as it is collected at the custom-house; but the other is a tax on the people, and it is a much larger tax than the tax that goes into the Treasury.

I have in my hand a communication which was published in the New York Journal of Commerce during this month. It is long, and I only intend to read a single line from it. It is from a wool manufacturer:

Prices of woolen fabrics—

Says he—

are 40 per cent less than those current in 1892, and the conditions of the retail trade throughout the country, as well as that of wholesalers, have been readjusted to this new scale of values.

"Forty per cent less?" What does that mean? It means 40 per cent off of the burden on the head of a family. However poor, he has to buy blankets and dresses for his wife and children and woolen clothes and woolen hats for himself. How much is that? Suppose a man buys only $100 worth of fabrics, including blankets and carpets and clothing, for himself and children, there is $40 right off that he has been relieved from paying by the Wilson law of 1894; and you propose to reimpose that $40 on that $100 of expenditure, and how much more has not yet been calculated.

Here was one article that was spoken of by the Senator from Missouri, blankets, which are taxed in this bill 125 per cent. He has reduced—I have not—the specific tax to an ad valorem. That means $125 of tax for every $100 worth of blankets that are bought. And you call that a per capita of 75 cents, so small that nobody but a very mean man would consider it.

Mr. President, those who impose this tax know that it can not go into the pockets of the beneficiaries of the tax unless it comes out of the pockets of somebody else, whether that per capita be what the Senator says or what I have said.

Mr. WARREN. I should like to ask the Senator whether he has experienced a fall of 40 per cent in the purchase of his wardrobe, in buying clothing, etc.?

Mr. GRAY. Yes; certainly I have.

Mr. WARREN. That is not my experience.

Mr. GRAY. That is my experience; but I do not buy, perhaps, such expensive clothes as the Senator from Montana. People who are expecting such large rewards should live upon a scale that is commensurate with these levies upon the people at large, and perhaps buy better clothes than I do. But the clothes that the millions wear are more than 40 per cent cheaper than they were prior to 1894; and those who have bought blankets, the wives of the men of this country who shop for their families, will tell you a different story if you ask them about their weekly and monthly expenditures.

Mr. WARREN. I presume the Senator will allow me to state that I do not subscribe to the assertion that clothing is 40 per cent lower under the Wilson bill than ever before.

Mr. GRAY. Oh, yes.

Mr. WARREN. Mr. President——

Mr. GRAY. One word more, Mr. President, and then I will yield the floor to the Senator.

Mr. WARREN. I do not care to have the floor.

Mr. GRAY. Go ahead.

Mr. WARREN. What I want to say to the Senator is this, that even though there had been a shrinkage of 40 per cent—which is not true—and even though there had been one of 50 per cent, there has been no time when the workingmen of the United States could so well afford to pay even 50 cents for an article under the Wilson law as they could afford to pay a dollar before the passage of that law, because you took away from them, by that bill, their employment at remunerative wages.

Mr. GRAY. That is a confession and avoidance, and that is an argument I have often heard before.

One word about this matter of clothing, and then I think I shall have nothing more to say that will obstruct the passage of this bill, which is going through to its inevitable conclusion, I know.

The Senator has spoken about the introduction of shoddy and of adulterants in clothing. There is this to be said about it, that under the condition of comparative freedom of trade, or greater freedom of trade, a citizen of this country, however poor or whatever his condition may be as to wealth, has the choice between a cheap woolen suit and perhaps a still cheaper shoddy adulterant, and you take away that choice and compel him to buy, if he is a poor man, the cheap adulterated article and shut him out entirely from the wholesome and satisfactory woolen fabric which he otherwise could buy.

I do not know so much as the Senator from Wyoming does about the technicalities of this bill or about the art of sheep raising or about the business of wool producing, but I understood the Senator from Missouri to be speaking of a grade that came from the farmers of washed wool, and not of scoured wool. I do not understand that the producer of wool scours it at all. I may be wrong about that. He is not a scourer of wool, and we are talking about the benefit to the farmer, and the prices that have been given by the Senator from Missouri were as to washed wool and not at all as to scoured wool.

Mr. WARREN. All kinds of wool are based on scoured wool.

Mr. GRAY. One moment, and I will be through, and give the Senator the floor.

As to scoured wool I do not know, but when it goes into the hands of those who scour it, the manufacturers or whoever they may be, who put it in condition to be put into the spindle or the loom, there may be and undoubtedly have been improvements in the process; undoubtedly the art has advanced, and it may be more cheaply done, and that may account for a good deal of the difference between 40 and 50 per cent. I do not know, but if there is that difference I do not understand why the people of this country should not be allowed to enjoy it.

Mr. WHITE. There is one feature of this matter to which I desire to very briefly direct the attention of the Senate. It has been suggested by several arguments which have been recently made on the other side of the Chamber. What is the purpose of this wool schedule? To benefit the wool producer; yet the expert representing the wool producers declared to us that this bill is no good for that purpose, that it is absolutely valueless, that it is a fraud, and, to use the expression of the day, "it is a fake."

Mr. Lawrence, who has often been quoted here, says of the act of 1883:

(2) In the midst of prosperity, the wool industry in the house of its professed friends—

And we have the authority of the Senator from Montana—and I think he is right—for the statement that those who to-day are suggesting this bill are simply the professed friends of the wool industry—

received a cruel, unjust, unnecessary, ruinous blow in the reduced wool tariff of March 3, 1883.

Now, listen, Senators, to this statement. You declare that the enactment of this bill will arrest the declination of the sheep industry; listen to this:

Under it—

To wit, the act of 1883—

Under it sheep declined in number from 50,626,626 in 1884, with a wool clip of 308,000,000 pounds, to only 43,431,136 in 1891, producing 285,000,000 pounds.

Witness that tremendous decline. Then Mr. Lawrence continues:

(3) Then came the McKinley Act of October 1, 1890, moderately protective as it came from the hands of its author, but (1) by the introduction of the so-called "skirting clause," and (2) ad valorem duties on third-class wools, and in part (3) by conditions arising after its passage—the decline in the world's prices of wools—it became ineffectual to afford adequate protection. Under it wool prices went down and down until they would no longer repay the cost of production; and even in Texas, where the expenses of caring for sheep were less than in most States, sheep declined in numbers and value. (As to Texas, see Senate Document No. 17, 1895, pages 181, 209-211; as to wool prices, see Senate Document No. 17, pages 25, 134-142, 164, and appendix hereto.)

There is the statement, Mr. President, that the McKinley tariff, because, among other things, it contained the provision in regard to skirted wools which is incorporated in this bill and which you propose to enact again, the same provision which Mr. Lawrence points out as detracting from the merits of that bill, and in fact invalidated it as a protective measure, is here retained, ostensibly for the benefit of the wool producer.

Now, we have the testimony of Mr. Wallace, a sheep man of experience—George H. Wallace, of Sante Fe, N. Mex.—a statement made before the Committee on Ways and Means of the House of Representatives, to the same purport. He says, on page 1605 of the Tariff Hearings:

Third. That the act of 1890 afforded no protection, although at first appearing to do so, because it was found not to maintain the relative value of domestic scoured wool. This invites a glance at the acts of 1883 and 1890. In the first of these there was really but little change from the previous law. In the first and second classes the dividing line was lowered from 32 to 30 cents, but this was offset by dropping the ad valorem rates. In the third class the duties were lowered 16½ per cent. But the most remarkable change was the addition of the words "excluding charges in such port," which had the effect of placing nearly all wools under the dividing line in their class and thus materially reducing duties; but, as before stated, there is little in the law to explain why it was ineffective.

The act of 1890 contains much new matter and some new paragraphs which were intended to make the law explicit and effectual, but the most noticeable and extraordinary addition is the proviso, in paragraph 353, excepting both skirted wool and scoured sorted wool from the penal clause. This alone is enough to account for the failure of the act. It appeared there in this manner: The writer was one of a committee of woolgrowers which met a committee of manufacturers in conference on this bill in the Ebbitt House, at the city of Washington, in 1890, in which meeting the manufacturers insisted upon the insertion of this proviso. The woolgrowers would not consent, but the manufacturers stubbornly insisted, and finally their chairman asserted, "Such has been the practice heretofore," and demanded its insertion as the price of their support of the bill.

The witness gives the detailed reasons, which appeared conclusive to the woolgrowers, that under no circumstances can an act framed upon the principles of the law of 1890 be of any substantial benefit to the woolgrowers.

Mr. Catron, a former Delegate in Congress from New Mexico, and also a sheep grower, testifies likewise before the committee, and gives his views to the same purport. They can be found on page 1583 of the Tariff Hearings. We have also a statement of Mr. Smith, late of Utah, on page 1585, in which he says the woolgrowers of Utah think if they can get 15 cents a pound for their wool they can get along and improve their flocks.

So, whatever theory you may adopt, this tariff, like the tariff upon wheat and other things, is inserted in this bill for the purpose of deluding and deceiving all those who believe they are going to get what they call protection from it. From the standpoint of one who believes in free wool it is not justified, of course, upon its face; from the standpoint of one who believes he is going to afford so-called protection to an American industry, so as to enable those who follow it to build it up, it is ineffectual.

For the reasons I have given, I am opposed to the amendment of the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. QUAY], because I believe if this schedule is to be adopted at all, it ought to be as nearly as possible uniform in its operation. I was unwilling to take part in an attempt to reduce to a minimum the tariff on the third-class wools and leaving it high upon a class of wools which least needed protection. For that reason I voted against the provision, and so I expect to vote for the amendment of the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST].

Mr. WARREN. I have in my hand a publication of the 19th of June, called Textile America, a nonpartisan business sheet, and it happens to give a knowledge which seems to be lacking here in the Senate, certainly as to a number of Senators, the technology of wool. It is a very short article, and will occupy but about a column or column and a half in the RECORD. I ask consent that it may be printed in the RECORD without reading.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. In the absence of objection, it will be so ordered.

The article referred to is as follows:

TECHNOLOGY OF WOOL.

FOURTH AND FIFTH ARTICLES.

On account of the press of matter relating to the Fall River Industrial Exhibition the fourth article on the "Technology of wool" was omitted last week. To make up for its omission the fourth and fifth articles are printed in this issue. The series will be continued as usual every other week until finished. Subsequent articles will be on "Dy ing and drying," "Picking and carding," "Combing and drawing," "Spinning," "Dressing and weaving," "Designing and finishing." They are written by Edward F. Whitmore, superintendent of the Putnam Woolen Company, Putnam, Conn.

SCOURING.

Wool as it comes from the sheep contains many foreign substances, and before it can be used in manufacture these must be completely removed. Fast and even colors can be obtained only on clean fiber, and it is impossible to properly card, spin, weave or finish a fabric made from imperfectly cleansed wool.

These impurities consist of matter adhering to the fiber, such as dirt, sand, leaves, grass, and the like. The natural grease or yolk of the wool also impregnates or covers the fibers, and this, too, must be removed in the scouring process.

The value of wool is based upon the shrinkage or percentage of loss in weight which the wool sustains in the scouring process.

Wool yolk.

Wool yolk consists of two substances: First, the wool perspiration. This is soluble in water, is partly removed by the first washing of the sheep and is mainly composed of potassium compounds of fatty acids. Second, the wool fat. This is insoluble in water, is composed of fat-like bodies and acids, and can only be removed by alkaline solutions. The potash salts or carbonates, which are component parts of the wool yolk, are of material aid in cleansing the fiber. These salts are sometimes found in the wash water to the amount of 4 per cent of the weight of the raw wool, and constitute one-half of the yolk.

The shrinkage of wools.

The shrinkage of different wools will vary, being from 40 to 80 per cent, according to the amount of dirt and richness of yolk. The percentage of yolk is from 10 to 30 or 40 in heavy fleeces of full-blood sheep, and the percentage of dirt varies from 10 to 50. A high authority gives the following as the composition of merino wool: Earthy matter, 28 per cent; yolk, 41 per cent; clean wool, 31 per cent.

In some cases the wool is passed through a dusting machine to remove the loose dirt and open out the locks preparatory to the operation of scouring. It is tossed and shaken by the projecting spikes on the cone-shaped cylinder of the duster as it rapidly revolves.

Chemicals used in scouring.

To get the best results in scouring, it is necessary that the nature and amount of alkali used be carefully considered. Not only is it important that the wool be freed from impurities, but the scouring process must not be carried too far or the fiber itself injured and sustain loss from using too powerful or too highly concentrated scouring agents or at too high a temperature.

The chemicals most generally used as detergents in scouring wool are carbonates of sodium, potassium, and ammonium, salt and soda, or potash soaps. These, when used in diluted solutions at the proper temperature, will not act injuriously upon the fiber. Caustic alkalies, either soda or potash, are dangerous even in small quantities, and a strong, hot solution will entirely dissolve the wool.

Sodium carbonate is much used in various forms, as soda ash of 36, 48, and 58 degrees (the last known as pure alkali), containing, respectively, 61.5, 82, and 91.1 per cent of sodium carbonate. Lower grades contain many impurities, with more or less caustic soda.

Sal soda is crystallized carbonate, and as the water of crystallization is evaporated, it crumbles to a white powder, is very pure, free from caustic, and easily soluble in water. Soda ash is produced by the old Leblanc process, which consists essentially of treating common salt with oil of vitriol, heating with coal and limestone, and the product purified, crystallized and dried. It is also produced by the later ammonia process, by which salt is acted upon by ammonia and carbolic acid gas; such soda ash is quite pure and free from caustic soda. Silicate of soda, soluble glass, so called, is sometimes made use of.

Potassium carbonate has about the same effect on the wool as the soda salt, but is more expensive and has the disadvantage of absorbing moisture from the air, thereby changing its nature. It acts in harmony with the natural yolk of the wool.

Ammonium carbonate has a mild effect on wool and leaves it in a nice, soft condition, but its high cost prevents it being largely used.

Ammonia is used in small quantities with other chemicals, but its cost also hinders its free use. Sal ammoniac is often employed in connection with carbonate of soda or with common salt. While neither are alkaline salts, both have a cleansing action on the wool.

Use of soaps in scouring.

Soap used as a scouring agent gives excellent results. It should be neutral or slightly alkaline and free from caustic alkali. Two classes of soap are known in trade—hard, or soda soap, and soft, or potash soap. The last is preferred, as it leaves the wool white, soft, and lofty, while soda is inclined to make it harsh, brittle, and turn it yellow.

Chemically speaking, soap consists of one or more fatty acids, combined with soda or potash salts, the fatty part being supplied by grease, lard, tallow, or a vegetable oil, as cotton seed, olive, palm, or linseed.

Soap has a much milder action upon the fiber than the carbonate of soda or potash used alone, but has the disadvantage of being decomposed by hard water, containing the salts of lime and magnesia. An insoluble, sticky paste is thus formed which adheres to the fiber and is very difficult to remove. If the water is hard, it is necessary to neutralize the mineral salts by the addition of an alkali, and thus soften the water.

Scouring by hand.

Opinions differ as to the best method of scouring wool and the best mechanical means to employ. We shall describe the two principal processes in use. The hand process, which is the simplest and the oldest, consists of soaking the wool in a large box or tub containing the alkaline scouring liquor and having a perforated false bottom that prevents the dirt and settlings from becoming mixed with the wool.

The strength and temperature of the solution is varied according to the quality and condition of the wool; 100° to 140° of heat is the usual temperature.

The wool is moved about so as to become thoroughly saturated, and is allowed to remain in the liquor until the yolk and dirt have been acted upon and completely dissolved or neutralized. It is then lifted out upon a rack and passed between heavy rollers to squeeze out the surplus fluid, or it may be piled on slats and drained. After being partially dried it is thrown into a rinse box and washed in a strong current of clean water. The water enters the box at the bottom of one end and gives a rotary motion to the whole mass, thereby rinsing and cleansing the wool. After this process it is lifted out and allowed to drain, and is then dried upon a rack or by being passed between steam pipes upon an endless apron.

Machine scouring.

The method of scouring by machinery consists of passing the wool through successive bowls containing the alkaline solution in decreasing strength. The wool is moved about automatically by rakes or forks, or is carried along by a current of water. It is then rinsed in clean water and partially dried by being run through squeeze rolls.

Some forms of scouring machines are from 30 to 50 feet in length and shaped like a trough. They are made of cast iron and have various appliances to handle the wool and regulate the temperature. In some cases the soaking tank is first used and the rake system in the latter part of the process. Both systems have their advantages, and some use a combination of the two, or parts of each. In whatever way the desired result is brought about, the wool should be light and lofty after scouring; not rolled or felted. It should have a soft, clean feel, and the fiber should be uninjured. The less motion and pressure used to attain this end, the more satisfactory the result.

Utilizing the grease.

The liquor used in scouring is generally allowed to run to waste. From the wool raised in this country alone there is about 80,000,000 pounds of grease and oil thrown into the rivers annually. Experiments have been made in Europe to utilize this waste. By running it into cisterns, treating with acid,

and precipitating the grease, a marketable product can be obtained. The oil may also be squeezed out and used in making soap, or the matter pressed into cakes and used as fuel. It is not a paying process, but it is a convenient way of getting rid of the waste, and gives a return for the time and labor expended.

CARBONIZING AND BLEACHING.

Carbonizing.

Wool from some localities is so full of burrs, seeds, and other vegetable impurities, adhering with such tenacity that it is impossible to remove them by ordinary means without injuring the fiber. The process of carbonizing is consequently resorted to. By this agency the vegetable matter in the loose wool or manufactured goods is burned by acid. This process is founded upon the fact that dilute acids have little influence upon the wool fiber, while they act forcibly upon vegetable substances if allowed to dry upon them.

Method of procedure.

The wool is soaked in a weak solution of acid, usually sulphuric or muriatic. The acid absorbs the water from the vegetable substances, decomposing the vegetable fiber. After drying, the burrs and other vegetable matter, reduced to dust, may be beaten or shaken from the wool. Besides acids, acid vapors or gases are used, as are also the chlorides of aluminium and magnesium.

The details of the process and mechanical means used may be varied to suit the stock and conditions. The whole process requires extreme care, as wool is liable to lose something of its softness and curliness and its capacity for felting when carbonized.

The separation of wool from cotton in rags is effected by carbonizing, and the resulting product is known as "wool extract."

Mr. MILLS. Mr. President, I understood the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. WARREN] a few minutes ago to state that free wool had stimulated the importation of a large amount of shoddy into this country. Am I correct in that?

Mr. WARREN. I stated that in the first ten months after the passage of the Wilson law there were seventeen times as much shoddy imported as in the same months of the year preceding.

Mr. MILLS. But you do not know how much that was.

Mr. WARREN. I can give it to you in a moment. The importation increased during those ten months from 1,081,441 pounds the ten months before to 17,824,008 pounds.

Mr. MILLS. I have the official report here before me, which shows that in 1893 there were 35 pounds of shoddy imported into the United States. Of course that was under the McKinley law; but in 1896 there were 139,931 pounds of shoddy imported into the United States. So that if there was a large importation beginning after the enactment of the Wilson law, it has fallen enormously; and under the McKinley law the importation was cut off entirely, but with the domestic production being protected by the McKinley law it grew most enormously in this country.

If my friend is so much opposed to the introduction of shoddy into the woolen manufactures of the United States, let me direct his attention to the fact that I stated to him this morning that there were 73,678,066 pounds of shoddy in the alpaca manufactured in the United States in 1890, the domestic production in this country. Here is an enormous amount which that protective tariff has brought into requisition and brought into consumption in this country, displacing an equal amount of wool.

Mr. WARREN. If it has to be manufactured, I suppose the Senator would as soon have it manufactured in this country as to have it manufactured abroad.

Mr. MILLS. This is manufactured here in America, in this country.

Mr. WARREN. If it has got to be manufactured, it might as well be manufactured in this country as abroad.

Mr. MILLS. Then you do not object to shoddy?

Mr. WARREN. I do object to it, but I prefer, if such an article is to be used in manufactures at all, that it should be manufactured in this country, and thereby furnish employment to American laborers.

Mr. MILLS. Then the protective tariff is no protection to wool as against shoddy. We find the shoddy made here in the United States out of old rags picked up all around over the country and manufactured over and over again. I heard a shoddy manufacturer say some years ago that he manufactured the same old rags that he had manufactured before, and that he put a mark upon them so as to be able to identify them again, just to gratify his curiosity and to see how long the old rags could be knocked to pieces and still be put together again and put in for wool.

The Wilson law has not stimulated the importation of shoddy. It is American ingenuity that has stimulated its use in our manufactures, because it is cheaper than wool, and the manufacturers can put shoddy over the eyes of our woolgrowers instead of wool and fool them with the argument they make here, and make them believe that they are getting the benefit of it.

Mr. WHITE. Is it not necessarily true that the high price of wool is a great incentive to the manufacturer to use shoddy, whether domestic or foreign shoddy?

Mr. MILLS. Precisely; and I made that same argument here this morning, that the reason of the 73,000,000 pounds of shoddy and 42,000,000 pounds of cotton being incorporated into woolen manufactures is because it was cheaper than the wool, and the men who manufacture it had the ingenuity to mix it in with the wool and make it appear like wool, and we had to buy it and pay the compensatory duty to the manufacturer, for which the woolgrowers get no benefit, although they are made to believe that they do. That is all there is in regard to it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the amendment proposed by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST] to strike out paragraphs 347 to 359, inclusive, on which the yeas and nays have been ordered.

The Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. DEBOE (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. ALLEN], and therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. GRAY (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the senior Senator from Illinois [Mr. CULLOM]. I see he is not present, and therefore I withhold my vote. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. TILLMAN (when Mr. MCLAURIN'S name was called). My colleague [Mr. MCLAURIN] is absent from the Chamber. He requested me to state that he is paired with the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. PRITCHARD].

Mr. FAULKNER (when Mr. MURPHY'S name was called). I was requested by the Senator from New York [Mr. MURPHY] to state that he is paired with his colleague [Mr. PLATT]. The senior Senator from New York is necessarily absent from the Chamber.

Mr. NELSON (when his name was called). I am now informed that the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. BERRY] is paired with the Senator from Illinois [Mr. MASON], and so I will vote. I vote "nay."

Mr. TILLMAN (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. THURSTON]. He being absent, I withhold my vote.

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. GRAY. As I stated before, I have a pair with the Senator from Illinois [Mr. CULLOM]. I transfer my pair to the Senator from Virginia [Mr. MARTIN] and will vote. I vote "yea."

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. My colleague [Mr. BERRY] is absent from the Chamber on public business. He is paired with the Senator from Illinois [Mr. MASON]. If my colleague were present, he would vote "yea."

Mr. GEAR (after having voted in the negative). I desire to inquire if the senior Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH] has voted?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. He has not voted.

Mr. GEAR. I have a general pair with that Senator, and therefore withdraw my vote.

Mr. KENNEY (after having voted in the affirmative). I inquire whether the junior Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. PENROSE] has voted?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. He has not voted.

Mr. KENNEY. Then I withdraw my vote, being paired with him.

Mr. PASCO. I wish to announce that the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. BATE] is absent from the Chamber and stands paired with the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. HAWLEY].

Mr. HANSBROUGH. I suggest to the Senator from Delaware that we transfer our pairs, if it is agreeable to him. I am paired with the Senator from Virginia [Mr. DANIEL].

Mr. KENNEY. Very well.

Mr. HANSBROUGH. Then I vote "nay."

Mr. KENNEY. I vote "yea."

Mr. CLAY. My colleague [Mr. BACON] is paired with the junior Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. WETMORE]. If my colleague were present, he would vote "yea."

The result was announced—yeas 19, nays 33; as follows:

YEAS—19.

Chilton,	Harris, Kans.	Mitchell,	Turpie,
Clay,	Jones, Ark.	Morgan,	Vest.
Cockrell,	Kenney,	Pasco,	Walthall,
Faulkner,	Mallory,	Pettus,	White.
Gray,	Mills,	Roach,	

NAYS—33.

Allison,	Foraker,	Mantle,	Spooner,
Burrows,	Frye,	Nelson,	Stewart,
Butler,	Gallinger,	Perkins,	Teller,
Carter,	Hale,	Pettigrew,	Warren,
Chandler,	Hansbrough,	Platt, Conn.	Wellington,
Clark,	Hoar,	Proctor,	Wilson.
Davis,	Lodge,	Quay,	
Elkins,	McBride,	Sewell,	
Fairbanks,	McEnery,	Shoup,	

NOT VOTING—37.

Aldrich,	Deboe,	Lindsay,	Rawlins,
Allen,	Gear,	McLaurin,	Smith,
Bacon,	George,	McMillan,	Thurston,
Baker,	Gorman,	Martin,	Tillman,
Bate,	Hanna,	Mason,	Turner,
Berry,	Harris, Tenn.	Morrill,	Wetmore,
Caffery	Hawley,	Murphy,	Wolcott.
Cannon,	Heitfeld,	Penrose,	
Cullom,	Jones, Nev.	Platt, N. Y.	
Daniel,	Kyle,	Pritchard,	

So the amendment was rejected.

Mr. MANTLE. I have taken up a good deal of the time in the Senate in the discussion of the wool tariff, because from my investigation of the subject I have felt profoundly impressed with what I conceive to be the injustice done the woolgrowers by the bill under consideration in the rates fixed upon their product. I have already proposed some amendments which have been defeated. I know that the amendments which I have yet to propose will not meet with the approval of the protectionists of this body. Still I feel that it is my duty, undertaking as I have to some extent, the responsibility of trying to reach a conclusion in this matter which would be satisfactory to the wool producers, to present at least two other amendments.

I regret that I have not been able to convince enough of my protectionist colleagues of the correctness of my view upon these matters and to secure their active cooperation and assistance in getting for the woolgrowers what I conceive to be fair and adequate rates of protection. We are now at the end of the paragraphs relating directly to wool. I will therefore ask to go back to paragraph 355 for the purpose of submitting an amendment touching the matter of the importation of skirted wools. If there is no objection, I will offer the amendment now, and we will dispose of the amendment at this point, and I shall have nothing further to say respecting woolen manufactures.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. After the word "excepted," in line 13, paragraph 355, page 116, it is proposed to insert:

But such skirted wools shall pay 3 cents per pound in addition to the rates imposed by this act on unwashed wools: *Provided further*, That all wools shall be deemed skirted which are not imported in their natural condition of whole fleeces, without the removal or the rejection of any part thereof.

Mr. MANTLE. It is not necessary for me to renew or reiterate the argument I have already made here respecting the injury done the American woolgrower by the importation of these skirted wools, wools which, because of being skirted, are practically sorted wools.

The woolgrowers contend that this is a violation of every element or principle of fairness, and that its effect is to deprive them very largely of the benefit intended to be conveyed by the protective duty given to them. The effect of it is to bring wools in which are very light in shrinkage in order to avoid the payment of duty, and by doing this it necessarily results in lowering the protection which the woolgrower gets. I have already dwelt upon this phase of the question very largely, and it is unnecessary for me to repeat what I have heretofore said. On this amendment I shall be glad to have the yeas and nays, if enough Senators will second the demand.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Montana, on which the yeas and nays are demanded.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CLARK (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Kansas [Mr. HARRIS]. As he is not present, I withhold my vote.

Mr. MCLAURIN (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. PRITCHARD].

Mr. NELSON (when his name was called). The junior Senator from Arkansas [Mr. BERRY] stands paired with the junior Senator from Illinois [Mr. MASON] on this question, and I will vote. I vote "nay."

Mr. TILLMAN (when his name was called). I again announce my pair with the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. THURSTON].

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. PETTIGREW. The Senator from Utah [Mr. CANNON] is paired with the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH]. If the Senator from Utah were present, he would vote "yea."

Mr. PASCO. I am paired with the Senator from Washington [Mr. WILSON]. If he were present, I should vote "nay."

Mr. DEBOE. I am paired with the senior Senator from Nebraska [Mr. ALLEN], and therefore withhold my vote.

The result was announced—yeas 7, nays 41; as follows:

YEAS—7.

Butler,	Mallory,	Pettigrew,	Teller.
Carter,	Mantle,	Stewart,	

NAYS—41.

Allison,	Frye,	McEnery,	Sewell,
Burrows,	Gallinger,	Mills,	Shoup,
Chandler,	Gear,	Mitchell,	Spooner,
Chilton,	Gray,	Morgan,	Turpie,
Clay,	Hale,	Nelson,	Vest,
Cockrell,	Hansbrough,	Perkins,	Walthall,
Davis,	Hoar,	Pettus,	Wellington,
Elkins,	Jones, Ark.	Platt, Conn.	White.
Fairbanks,	Kenney,	Proctor,	
Faulkner,	Lodge,	Quay,	
Foraker,	McBride,	Roach,	

NOT VOTING—41.

Aldrich,	Deboe,	McLaurin,	Smith,
Allen,	George,	McMillan,	Thurston,
Bacon,	Gorman,	Martin,	Tillman,
Baker,	Hanna,	Mason,	Turner,
Bate,	Harris, Kans.	Morrill,	Warren,
Berry,	Harris, Tenn.	Murphy,	Wetmore,
Caffery,	Hawley,	Pasco,	Wilson,
Cannon,	Heitfeld,	Penrose,	Wolcott.
Clark,	Jones, Nev.	Platt, N. Y.	
Cullom,	Kyle,	Pritchard,	
Daniel,	Lindsay,	Rawlins,	

So Mr. MANTLE'S amendment was rejected.

Mr. MANTLE. I will now call up the amendment proposed by me at the beginning of the discussion upon this schedule. It is an amendment which embraces the bill drawn by the National Wool Growers' Association. It has already been read, so it will not be necessary to read it again, and neither do I desire the yeas and nays. I do desire, however, to repeat that this measure has the indorsement of every woolgrowers' association in every State of the Union, so far as they have met and discussed it, and is presented here as a measure desired by the woolgrowers of the United States.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Does this relate only to the wool schedule?

Mr. MANTLE. The amendment is a substitute for the paragraphs relating to wool, and does not relate to manufactured wools.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The wool schedule?

Mr. MANTLE. The wool schedule.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Montana, to strike out fifteen paragraphs of the present schedule and insert as an amendment that which has heretofore been read.

The amendment was rejected.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 361, page 118, line 10, before the word "rags," to strike out "On woolen" and insert "Woolen," and in the same line, after the word "flocks," to strike out "the duty shall be;" so as to make the paragraph read:

361. Woolen rags, mungo, and flocks, 10 cents per pound.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was to strike out paragraph 362, in the following words:

362. On tops made wholly or in part of wool, valued at not more than 24 cents per pound, the duty per pound shall be two and one-half times the duty imposed by this act on 1 pound of unwashed wool of the first class, and in addition thereto 6 cents per pound; valued at more than 24 cents per pound the duty per pound shall be three and one-third times the duty on 1 pound of wool of the first class, and in addition thereto 8 cents per pound; if dyed, on all the above, 5 cents per pound additional; wools and hair of the camel, goat, alpaca, or other like animals, which have been advanced in any manner or by any process of manufacture beyond the washed or scoured condition, not specially provided for in this act, shall be subject to the same duties as are imposed upon manufactures of wool not specially provided for in this act.

And in lieu thereof to insert:

362. Wool and hair which have been advanced in any manner or by any process of manufacture beyond the washed or scoured condition, not specially provided for in this act, shall be subject to the same duties as are imposed upon manufactures of wool not specially provided for in this act.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was to strike out paragraph 363, in the following words:

363. On rovings, ropings, and yarns made wholly or in part of wool, valued at not more than 30 cents per pound, the duty per pound shall be two and one-half times the duty imposed by this act on 1 pound of unwashed wool of the first class; valued at more than 30 cents and not more than 40 cents per pound, the duty per pound shall be three times the duty imposed by this act on 1 p und of unwashed wool of the first class; valued at more than 40 cents per pound, the duty per pound shall be three and one-half times the duty imposed by this act on 1 pound of unwashed wool of the first class, and upon all the above additional duties shall be imposed as follows: On rovings, ropings, and yarns, made wholly or in part of wool, and not advanced beyond the condition of single yarn by grouping or twisting two or more single rovings, ropings, strands, or yarns together, the duty shall be 15 cents per pound on on all numbers up to and including No. 30; on all numbers finer than No. 30, the duty shall be 15 cents per pound, and in addition thereto three-tenths of 1 cent for each number in excess of No. 30; if advanced beyond the condition of single yarn by grouping or twisting two or more single rovings, ropings, strands, or yarns together, the additional duty shall be 18 cents per pound on all numbers up to and including No. 30; on all numbers finer than No. 30 and not finer than No. 50 the additional duty shall be 18 cents per pound, and in addition thereto three-tenths of 1 cent per pound for each number in excess of No. 30; on all numbers finer than No. 50, the additional duty shall be 18 cents per pound, and in addition thereto four-tenths of 1 cent per number for each number exceeding No. 50: *Provided*, That on all rovings, ropings, and yarns that may be genapped, bleached, colored, stained, or printed, in whole or in part, a duty of 5 cents per pound shall be imposed in addition to the foregoing duties: *And provided further*, That on all genapped yarns that may be bleached, colored, stained, or printed, in whole or in part, a duty of 5 cents per pound shall be imposed in addition to all the foregoing duties.

The numbers of rovings, ropings, and yarns shall be determined by the number of hanks of 560 yards each of a single yarn or strand which are contained in 1 pound.

And in lieu thereof to insert:

363. On yarns made wholly or in part of wool, valued at not more than 35 cents per pound, the duty per pound shall be two and one-half times the duty imposed by this act on 1 pound of unwashed wool of the first class; valued

at more than 35 cents per pound, the duty per pound shall be three and one-half times the duty imposed by this act on 1 pound of unwashed wool of the first class, and in addition thereto, upon all the foregoing, 40 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I move to amend the amendment by inserting the following:

Provided, That the specific rates provided for in this paragraph shall not become operative until twelve months after the passage of this act.

The first part of the paragraph provides that "on yarns made wholly or in part of wool, valued at not more than 35 cents per pound, the duty per pound shall be two and a half times the duty imposed by this act on 1 pound of unwashed wool of the first class." This, of course, is on the assumption that the manufacturer who makes the yarn out of the raw wool has paid the tariff on the raw wool from which the yarns are made.

The argument is easily understood, that if the manufacturer has paid a tariff on the raw wool, there ought to be a compensating duty on the yarns for the tariff paid on the raw wool. If 2½ pounds of raw wool enter into the manufacture of a pound of yarn, and the tariff has been paid upon the raw wool, a compensating specific duty on the pound of yarn equivalent to the tax paid by the manufacturer on the wool would be just as reasonable, if he has paid the tariff on wool.

But as is known to every member of the Senate now, there is a full supply, a twelve months' supply, of wool in the United States; and when any manufacturer makes a pound of yarn now he makes it out of wool on which he has paid nothing, and there is no fairness and no honesty in giving him a compensatory duty for tariff he has not paid and will not pay. Hence I move the amendment to the committee amendment, and on it I ask for the yeas and nays.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Arkansas to the amendment of the committee, on which the yeas and nays are demanded.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. DEBOE (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. ALLEN].

Mr. GALLINGER (when his name was called). I am paired with the senior Senator from Texas [Mr. MILLS]. If he were present, I should vote "nay."

Mr. GEAR (when his name was called). I am paired with the senior Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH]. If he were present, I should vote "nay."

Mr. TILLMAN (when his name was called). I again announce my pair with the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. THURSTON].

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. PASCO. I am paired with the Senator from Washington [Mr. WILSON]. I suggest to the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. GALLINGER], who is paired with the Senator from Texas [Mr. MILLS], that we exchange our pairs, so that we both can vote.

Mr. GALLINGER. That will be agreeable to me.

Mr. PASCO. I vote "yea."

Mr. GALLINGER. I vote "nay."

The result was announced—yeas 19, nays 27; as follows:

YEAS—19.

Chilton,	Gray,	Mitchell,	Turpie,
Clay,	Harris, Kans.	Morgan,	Vest,
Cockrell,	Jones, Ark.	Pasco,	Walthall,
Faulkner,	Kenney,	Pettus,	White.
Gorman,	Mallory,	Roach,	

NAYS—27.

Allison,	Foraker,	McEnery,	Shoup,
Burrows,	Frye,	Nelson,	Spooner,
Carter,	Gallinger,	Perkins,	Stewart,
Chandler,	Hale,	Platt, Conn.	Teller,
Clark,	Hoar,	Proctor,	Warren,
Elkins,	Lodge,	Quay,	Wellington.
Fairbanks,	McBride,	Sewell,	

NOT VOTING—43.

Aldrich,	Davis,	Lindsay,	Platt, N. Y.
Allen,	Deboe,	McLaurin,	Pritchard,
Bacon,	Gear,	McMillan,	Rawlins,
Baker,	George,	Mantle,	Smith,
Bate,	Hanna,	Martin,	Thurston,
Berry,	Hansbrough,	Mason,	Tillman,
Butler,	Harris, Tenn.	Mills,	Turner,
Caffery,	Hawley,	Morrill,	Wetmore.
Cannon,	Heitfeld,	Murphy,	Wilson,
Cullom,	Jones, Nev.	Penrose,	Wolcott.
Daniel,	Kyle,	Pettigrew,	

So the amendment to the amendment was rejected.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question recurs on the amendment of the committee, to strike out paragraph 363 and insert a substitute.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, on page 121, after line 9, to strike out the following paragraph:

364. On cloths, knit fabrics not especially provided for in this act, and on all manufactures of every description made wholly or in part of wool, not specially provided for in this act, valued at not more than 30 cents per pound, the duty per pound shall be three times the duty imposed by this act on 1 pound of unwashed wool of the first class; valued at more than 30 cents and not more than 40 cents per pound, the duty per pound shall be three and one-half times the duty imposed by this act upon 1 pound of unwashed wool of the first class; valued at more than 40 cents per pound, the duty per pound shall be four times the duty imposed by this act upon 1 pound of unwashed wool of the first class; and in addition on all the foregoing there shall be imposed the following duties: Valued at not more than 30 cents per pound, 6 cents per pound; valued at more than 30 cents and not more than 40 cents per pound, 8 cents per pound; valued at more than 40 cents per pound and not more than 50 cents per pound, 15 cents per pound; valued at more than 50 cents per pound and not more than 70 cents per pound, 21 cents per pound; valued at more than 70 cents per pound, 21 cents per pound, and in addition thereto 8 cents per pound for each and every 20 cents per pound of value or fractional part thereof in excess of 70 cents per pound; and in addition to the foregoing duties there shall be imposed on all the articles mentioned in this paragraph a duty of 20 per cent ad valorem.

And to insert the following:

364. On cloths, knit fabrics, and all manufactures of every description made wholly or in part of wool, not specially provided for in this act, valued at not more than 40 cents per pound, the duty per pound shall be three times the duty imposed by this act on a pound of unwashed wool of the first class; valued at above 40 cents per pound and not above 70 cents per pound, the duty per pound shall be four times the duty imposed by this act on 1 pound of unwashed skirted wool of the first class, and in addition thereto, upon all the foregoing, 50 per cent ad valorem; valued at over 70 cents per pound, the duty per pound shall be four times the duty imposed by this act on 1 pound of unwashed skirted wool of the first class and 55 per cent ad valorem.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Iowa, on behalf of the committee, proposes an amendment to the amendment, which will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In line 19, after the word "unwashed," strike out the word "skirted," and in line 23, after the word "unwashed," strike out the word "skirted;" so as to make the paragraph read:

364. On cloths, knit fabrics, and all manufactures of every description made wholly or in part of wool, not specially provided for in this act, valued at not more than 40 cents per pound, the duty per pound shall be three times the duty imposed by this act on a pound of unwashed wool of the first class; valued at above 40 cents per pound and not above 70 cents per pound, the duty per pound shall be four times the duty imposed by this act on 1 pound of unwashed wool of the first class, and in addition thereto, upon all the foregoing, 50 per cent ad valorem; valued at over 70 cents per pound, the duty per pound shall be four times the duty imposed by this act on 1 pound of unwashed wool of the first class and 55 per cent ad valorem.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the amendment to the amendment? Without objection, it is agreed to.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I move to amend the committee amendment in line 13 by striking out the words "or in part" and inserting in the same line, after the word "wool," the words "or of which wool is the component material of chief value."

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment to the amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. Page 122, line 13, paragraph 364, after the word "wholly," strike out "or in part;" and in the same line, after "wool," insert "or of which wool is the component material of chief value;" so as to read:

On cloths, knit fabrics, and all manufactures of every description made wholly of wool, or of which wool is the component material of chief value, not specially provided for in this act, valued at not more than 40 cents per pound, etc.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Mr. President, the purpose of this amendment is obvious. The amendment as proposed by the committee is that "on cloths, knit fabrics, and all manufactures of every description made wholly or in part of wool, not specially provided for in this act, valued at not more than 40 cents per pound, the duty per pound shall be three times the duty imposed by this act on a pound of unwashed wool of the first class."

If a fabric is made composed three-fourths of cotton and one-fourth of wool, when a pound of that fabric is taken into consideration, there is one-quarter of a pound of wool, and not a pound of wool. It is proposed to impose a tariff equal to three times the tariff on a pound of unwashed wool to compensate for the supposed pound of wool that is in the fabric, but when three-quarters of the fabric is cotton and only one-fourth is wool, if we allow three times the tariff on the raw wool we are giving twelve times the amount of tariff on the wool for every particle of wool there is in the fabric. This is not just, it is not fair, and I can not see how the committee could for one moment have consented that such should be the case.

Now, Mr. President, look back to page 112 of the bill. Lines 19 to 22, in the flax schedule, are as follows:

Woven fabrics or articles not specially provided for in this act, composed of flax, hemp, or ramie, or of which these substances or either of them is the component material of chief value.

Then take page 113, in lines 11 and 12:

Woven fabrics of flax, hemp, or ramie, or of which these substances or either of them is the component material of chief value.

Take page 130, in the silk schedule:

383. Velvets, velvet ribbons, chenilles, or other pile fabrics, cut or uncut, composed of silk, or of which silk is the component material of chief value, not specially provided for in this act.

All through the bill whenever a mixed fabric has been under consideration the committee has provided every time that the component material of chief value shall determine whether it is a fabric belonging to that class or not. Why should not this be the same case here?

If we are dealing with a fabric that is three-fourths cotton and one-fourth wool, it should be considered a cotton fabric; it should be dealt with as a cotton fabric. Suppose it is nine-tenths cotton and one-tenth wool, the result is, if you are proposing to give a compensatory duty by allowing three times the tax on wool for every pound in it, when there is only one-tenth wool and nine-tenths cotton, you are making thirty times the tariff on wool as the tariff on this particular article. The injustice and unfairness of it is absolutely apparent. It can not be denied by anybody, and I can not see how the committee can refuse to accept this as an amendment.

There is one more suggestion which I wish to make in this connection. When the Wilson bill was being considered, the manufacturers came before the committee, as is well known to Senators here, and stated that they had fabrics made of wool upon which they had paid the high rates of duty then prevailing, and insisted that it was not right that they should be compelled to go into the market and sell the fabrics they had made of taxed wool in competition with fabrics to be made of untaxed wool. That was recognized by the Senate, and as the result of it a provision went into the Wilson bill, at the request of the manufacturers and as a matter of justice to them, that—

The reduction of rates herein provided for manufactures of wool shall not take effect until January, 1895.

This provision was manifestly just; no one could complain of it as not being right. But now when these same men propose to make fabrics out of wool which have not paid a tax, I insist that there should be no compensatory duty to them for tariffs they have not paid. That question was involved in the amendment that was made just now. It is not so relevant to the amendment as proposed at this time, but there can be no fairness and no justice in taking a pound of a fabric one-tenth of which is wool and nine-tenths of which is cotton, and putting a tariff on it amounting to as much as three times the tariff on the raw wool, on the theory that it is to compensate for three times the weight of the fabric in wool. I can not believe that gentlemen on the other side will insist that this shall remain as the committee proposes it, and I ask for the yeas and nays on my amendment to the amendment of the committee.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. GRAY. I hope, before the vote is taken, that the Senator from Iowa who is in charge of the bill, or some other Senator who is equally interested, will give us some explanation as to why the difference is made in the bill as read by the Senator from Arkansas. Where a mixed fabric of linen and any other substance is imported, a tax is adjusted by the rate upon the component part of chief value. That is found in two places in the linen schedule, as read by the Senator from Arkansas.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. And in the silk schedule.

Mr. GRAY. And in the silk schedule there is the same provision. Now, his amendment is that the same provision shall be applied to the wool schedule. I can not for the life of me see why this discrimination should be made in the wool schedule, and why an article with one-tenth wool and nine-tenths cotton should be charged three times the duty that is imposed upon a pound of unwashed wool.

Mr. ALLISON. The Senator from Arkansas alludes to the linen schedule.

Mr. GRAY. And the silk schedule.

Mr. ALLISON. And also the silk schedule. The linen schedule is the schedule of articles composed of flax, hemp, or ramie. They are of about the same value, and therefore a mixture of the raw materials in those articles would be of no special value.

Mr. GRAY. Oh, no; it is quite possible to mix the linen with cotton. There is a cotton and linen mixture.

Mr. ALLISON. No; that is not in the flax schedule. It is flax, hemp, or ramie.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Will the Senator allow me a moment?

Mr. ALLISON. Certainly.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Paragraph 344 in the flax schedule provides that—

Woven fabrics or articles not specially provided for in this act, composed of flax, hemp, or ramie, or of which these substances or either of them is the component material of chief value, etc.

Showing that a mixed fabric, in which neither flax, hemp, nor ramie was the article of chief value, would not come under this paragraph, and if they composed one-fourth only, and three-fourths of it was cotton, it would be considered as a cotton fabric.

Mr. ALLISON. Undoubtedly; and that is the case here. As respects silk, it of course is a very valuable raw material. It is the object of paragraph 364, by providing for three times the duty imposed by this act upon a pound of unwashed wool, to include what is known as mixed fabrics of wool and cotton, being, perhaps, anywhere from 75 to 90 per cent of wool.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Suppose it contains only 10 per cent of wool?

Mr. ALLISON. Nine-tenths or three-fourths. Therefore the compensatory duty is fixed at three. Now, when you reach down to fabrics of a finer character, where they are all wool, the compensatory duty is four times, and so on.

I will say, further, that this is phraseology taken from every law that has been passed as respects wool and woolens since 1867 where there was a duty on wool; of course it does not include the free-wool schedule of 1894; and there has not been the slightest difficulty in administering it, as there would be a very great difficulty if the amendment suggested by the Senator from Arkansas were inserted in the bill making it the component part of chief value.

That is all there is about it. We followed in our amendment, as in the original text of the House bill, what has been the law since 1867 and every wool tariff, under which there has never been the slightest difficulty in administration.

Mr. GRAY. There may be no difficulty in administering the law, but there will be great injustice in administering it. That is plain, it seems to me, to any man's common sense.

Mr. ALLISON. It has never been shown.

Mr. GRAY. There are fabrics of wool and cotton in which the component part of chief value is cotton and not wool, and in that case three times the rate of a pound of unwashed wool is to be imposed upon the whole article.

Mr. ALLISON. I do not know that there is any such instance. I have never heard of any special instance of that character, at least. It is perfectly well known that for thirty years this exact phraseology has been used, and this is the first time I have heard it criticised. There has been no complaint from anybody.

Mr. GRAY. Why should it be any different from the linen schedule and the silk schedule in this respect? If the possibility of injustice exists, although there may have been no complaint of the law in twenty or thirty years, why should it not be corrected now?

Mr. ALLISON. I have never heard of anyone protesting against it.

Mr. GRAY. There may be protests.

Mr. ALLISON. I have never heard of an importer who made a protest against it; and it is only as respects a compensatory duty that this particular phraseology is required.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. That seems to be the exact purpose of it. I should like to ask the Senator from Iowa if there is any difficulty in administering the law under the flax schedule, which provides that woven fabrics or flax, hemp, or ramie, or of which these substances or either of them is the component material of chief value, etc.? Is there any difficulty in the administration of that paragraph?

Mr. ALLISON. Not the slightest, because there is no compensatory duty there.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Exactly.

Mr. ALLISON. We have here a provision as respects the compensation for wool.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. There is no difficulty in determining if the component material of chief value is flax or cotton. Then there can be no difficulty in determining whether the component material of a mixed woolen fabric is cotton or wool. If nine-tenths of the fabric is cotton and not wool, there can be no justice in allowing three times the rate of tax on raw wool as a specific compensation on every pound of that mixed fabric because there is cotton in it. There can be no pretense that wool has been used to any extent in the manufacture of the fabric.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Will the Senator from Arkansas allow me?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Certainly.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. How does he suppose that in a yard of mixed fabric, cotton and wool, which will weigh a pound, it is to be determined in the custom-house how much wool enters into that pound?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Just as they do in the linen and in the silk schedules.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. They can not do it at all.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Just as they do in the linen and silk schedules. Any man can tell who chooses to examine it. Everybody knows whether the fabric brought in is cotton warp and wool filling, whether it is cotton warp and mixed cotton and wool filling, what amount of wool there is in the fabric, and how much is cotton. You levy this tariff on the pretense that every pound of goods has had consumed 3 pounds of wool in the manufacture, when you know that nine-tenths of it is cotton and only one-tenth of it is wool. You are consciously giving thirty times the tariff on the wool as compensation under a pretense that you believe it is 3 to 1 when you know that it is no such thing, that it does not enter into it.

It is simply a means of levying greater tariff on the people of the country for the purpose of giving rewards to the manufacturers that they have not earned. It can not mean anything else, and the statement of the Senator from Iowa that it has been the practice for thirty years does not justify it. An evil and a wrong because it is hoary headed has no more respect that if it was

young. If it is not right in itself, it can be no more defended now than it could have been defended when it was first started. There can be no justification for it. There can be no apology or excuse for it any more than there is in your allowing three times the tariff on wool for goods manufactured of wool where you know the manufacturers have paid not one cent of the tariff, as you propose to do by your report in a recent paragraph.

Mr. President, it is quarter past 5 o'clock, and I think the Senator in charge of the bill ought to allow us to adjourn.

Mr. ALLISON. The Senator does not seem to apprehend the point I am trying to make. Here we have a compensatory duty for the wool. As a matter of fact, the compensatory duty in a certain sense must be arbitrary—that is to say, you can not get it with absolute exactness. If the Senator will turn to the next page——

Mr. GRAY. Is there any duty on flax, the raw material?

Mr. ALLISON. Certainly there is. If the Senator will turn to the next page—line 2, page 123—he will see the duty imposed by this act on 1½ pounds of unwashed wool of the first class. That is intended to include fabrics where the warp is cotton. There never has been the slightest difficulty as respects this compensatory duty except that in a case of these goods, if it shall take only 2½ pounds of wool to make a fabric that is mentioned here, then there shall be a slight addition to the ad valorem duty. But suppose it turns out that it takes 3½ pounds to make the fabric, then, as a matter of fact, the manufacturer would lose in such a fabric.

Mr. President, the Senator says if this is a wrong it should be corrected. The experience of thirty years has shown that it has not been a wrong except in the case which I have named, where three times the duty upon washed wool is too much or too little. That is all there is to it. This is a criticism that I have never heard before in all my life as respects this question of compensatory duty. Manufacturers may here and there get some advantage—I have no doubt they do—in the pound duty, and they may sustain losses.

Mr. WHITE. Will the Senator from Iowa yield for a motion to adjourn?

Mr. FRYE. Let us have an executive session.

Mr. ALLISON. I would be very glad to have a vote taken on the amendment of the Senator from Arkansas to the amendment of the committee.

Mr. WHITE. I myself wish to make a few remarks on the amendment to the amendment.

Mr. ALLISON. If the Senator wishes to make some observations, I will consent to an adjournment, making myself the motion to proceed to the consideration of executive business.

Mr. WHITE. Very well.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Iowa moves that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After ten minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened, and (at 5 o'clock and 30 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Thursday, June 24, 1897, at 11 o'clock a. m.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate June 23, 1897.

SECRETARY OF LEGATION.

Thomas C. Dawson, of Iowa, to be secretary of the legation of the United States at Rio de Janeiro, vice William Crichton, resigned.

CONSULS.

Walter J. Hoffman, of the District of Columbia, to be consul of the United States at Mannheim, Baden, vice Max Goldfinger, resigned.

Brainard H. Warner, jr., of Maryland, to be consul of the United States at Leipsic, Germany, vice Otto Doederlein, resigned.

Albert W. Swalm, of Iowa, to be consul of the United States at Montevideo, Uruguay, vice Edgar Schramm, resigned.

Edward H. Thompson, of Massachusetts, to be consul of the United States at Progreso, Mexico, an office created in lieu of Merida by the diplomatic and consular appropriation act for the year commencing July 1, 1897.

DEPUTY AUDITOR.

Edward McKitterick, of Iowa, to be deputy auditor for the Treasury Department, to succeed Robert M. Cousar, resigned.

REGISTER OF LAND OFFICE.

Charles Kingston, of Grover, Wyo., to be register of the land office at Evanston, Wyo., vice William A. Hocker, removed.

RECEIVER OF PUBLIC MONEYS.

Frank M. Foote, of Evanston, Wyo., to be receiver of public moneys at Evanston, Wyo., vice Frank Mills, removed.

POSTMASTERS.

Joseph W. Dale, to be postmaster at Mitchell, in the county of Lawrence and State of Indiana, in the place of Joseph T. Dilley, removed.

Henry A. Pease, to be postmaster at Edgartown, in the county of Dukes and State of Massachusetts, the appointment of a postmaster for the said office having, by law, become vested in the President on and after July 1, 1897.

Moses Emery, to be postmaster at Caledonia, in the county of Houston and State of Minnesota, in the place of Arthur J. Flynn, removed.

James W. Mills, to be postmaster at Versailles, in the county of Morgan and State of Missouri, in the place of John D. Bohling, resigned.

Charles L. Porter, to be postmaster at Plattsburg, in the county of Clinton and State of Missouri, in the place of Samuel Lowry, resigned.

Thomas L. Dunham, to be postmaster at Lestershire, in the county of Broome and State of New York, the appointment of a postmaster for the said office having, by law, become vested in the President on and after April 1, 1897.

James F. Wray, to be postmaster at Reidsville, in the county of Rockingham and State of North Carolina, in the place of Alexander H. Galloway, resigned.

John R. Wolfe, to be postmaster at Shelby, in the county of Richland and State of Ohio, in the place of Frank C. Schiffer, resigned.

Victor N. Wilson, to be postmaster at Britton, in the county of Marshall and State of South Dakota, in the place of Henry C. Hamilton, resigned.

Edward Blanchard, to be postmaster at San Angelo, in the county of Tom Green and State of Texas, in the place of James L. Phelan, resigned.

Fred. Read, to be postmaster at Newport News, in the county of Warwick and State of Virginia, in the place of Irwin Tucker, whose commission expired April 11, 1897.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate June 23, 1897.

CONSUL-GENERAL.

John G. Foster, of Vermont, to be consul-general of the United States at Halifax, Nova Scotia.

CONSULS.

Walter Schumann, of New York, to be consul of the United States at Mayence, Germany.

Hilary S. Brunot, of Pennsylvania, to be consul of the United States at St. Etienne, France.

William B. Dickey, of Louisiana, to be consul of the United States at Callao, Peru.

APPOINTMENT IN THE MARINE-HOSPITAL SERVICE.

Howard C. Russell, of Connecticut, to be an assistant surgeon.

PROMOTIONS IN THE NAVY.

Commodore Edmunp O. Matthews to be a rear-admiral.

Richard S. Collum, captain and assistant quartermaster, United States Marine Corps, to be major and quartermaster.

First Lieut. Thomas C. Prince, United States Marine Corps, to be captain and assistant quartermaster.

COMMISSIONER.

Philip Gallaher, of New Whatcom, Wash., to be a commissioner in and for the District of Alaska, to reside at Kadiak.

POSTMASTERS.

Charles H. Stilwill, to be postmaster at Tyndall, in the county of Bonhomme and State of South Dakota.

Ezra H. Ripple, to be postmaster at Scranton, in the county of Lackawanna and State of Pennsylvania.

James M. Henderson, to be postmaster at Etna, in the county of Allegheny and State of Pennsylvania.

James Blanning, to be postmaster at Williamstown, in the county of Dauphin and State of Pennsylvania.

Frederick W. Clemons, to be postmaster at Palmyra, in the county of Wayne and State of New York.

Benjamin F. Boyd, to be postmaster at Hillsboro, in the county of Montgomery and State of Illinois.

Walter S. Clark, to be postmaster at Aspen, in the county of Pitkin and State of Colorado.

Arthur B. Gibson, to be postmaster at Mercur, in the county of Tooele and State of Utah.

Wilfred W. Montague, to be postmaster at San Francisco, in the county of San Francisco and State of California.

Clarence A. Murray, to be postmaster at Waukegan, in the county of Lake and State of Illinois.

Frank C. Davidson, to be postmaster at Clinton, in the county of Dewitt and State of Illinois.

Robert N. Chapman, to be postmaster at Charleston, in the county of Coles and State of Illinois.

SENATE.

THURSDAY, *June 24, 1897.*

The Senate met at 11 o'clock a. m.

Prayer by Rev. HUGH JOHNSTON, D. D., of the city of Washington.

The Secretary proceeded to read the Journal of yesterday's proceedings, when, on motion of Mr. CHILTON, and by unanimous consent, the further reading was dispensed with.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. CHANDLER presented the memorial of H. A. Jandt and 51 other citizens of Iowa, of E. R. Spaulding and 50 other citizens of Iowa, of J. Commody and 52 other citizens of New Mexico, of B. J. Lohman and 52 other citizens of New Mexico, and of E. G. Ross and 52 other citizens of New Mexico, remonstrating against the enactment of legislation intended to destroy the present system of ticket brokerage; which were referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

Mr. ELKINS presented sundry memorials of citizens of West Virginia, remonstrating against the enactment of legislation intended to destroy the present system of ticket brokerage; which were referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

Mr. PLATT of New York. I present a petition of the Manufacturers' Association of Kings and Queens Counties, N. Y., in reference to the tariff bill. I should like to have the body of the petition read.

Mr. ALLEN. Is it proposed to place the petition in the RECORD?

Mr. PLATT of New York. It is very short; it will take but a moment.

Mr. ALLEN. I shall object to its going into the RECORD, unless it be a communication from some legislative body or an executive communication. It is contrary to the rule.

Mr. PLATT of New York. It is a petition urging the prompt passage of the tariff bill.

Mr. ALLEN. But it is contrary to the rule of the Senate to incorporate petitions and memorials of such a character in the RECORD.

Mr. GALLINGER. The Senator from New York can state the substance of it and get it into the RECORD in that way.

Mr. ALLEN. The Senator can of course make a brief statement of the petition, but he has no right to read it himself.

Mr. PLATT of New York. Mr. President, the legislative committee of the Manufacturers' Association of Kings and Queens Counties, N. Y., respectfully beg to call the attention of the Senate to the fact that the business interests of that community are seriously crippled by the uncertainty and delay in the enactment of a tariff law. They earnestly request that immediate and effective action be taken by the Senate, in order that the present uncertainty be removed and that the business of the country be permitted to revive.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The petition will lie on the table.

Mr. PLATT of New York presented sundry memorials of citizens of New York, remonstrating against the enactment of legislation intended to destroy the present system of ticket brokerage; which were referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

Mr. FAIRBANKS presented the petition of L. W. Vance and 80 other citizens of New Albany, Ind., praying for the enactment of protective-tariff legislation at the earliest possible date, such as will adequately secure American industrial products against the competition of foreign labor; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. SMITH presented sundry petitions of citizens of Elizabeth, Hoboken, Jersey City, Newark, Kearney, Passaic, Rahway, and Hudson County, all in the State of New Jersey, remonstrating against the proposed increase of the tax on beer; which were ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented petitions of sundry citizens of Wareton, Seabright, Seaside, Paulsboro, and South Amboy, all in the State of New Jersey, praying for the enactment of legislation for a more rigid restriction of immigration; which were ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented memorials of John R. Potts, Johnson & Murphy, of Newark; the Middlesex Shoe Company, of New Brunswick; Harry Chandler, of Vineland; G. & L. Becht, of Newark, and the A. Lenz Company, all in the State of New Jersey, remonstrating against any increase in the present rate of duty on tanned skins for morocco or a duty on raw goatskins; which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. MURPHY presented a petition of 37 citizens of New York City, and the petition of 16 citizens of New York City, praying for the early passage of the pending tariff bill; which were ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented the memorial of Peter A. Wilkinson and 7 other citizens of New York, and the memorial of F. W. Collom and 19 other citizens of New York, remonstrating against the enactment of legislation intended to destroy the present system of ticket brokerage; which were referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

Mr. TURPIE presented a petition of sundry citizens of Kempton, Ind., praying for the enactment of protective-tariff legislation, at the earliest possible date, such as will adequately secure American industrial products against the competition of foreign labor; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. TELLER presented the memorial of S. R. Crawford and 51 other citizens of Colorado, remonstrating against the enactment of legislation intended to destroy the present system of ticket brokerage; which was referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

Mr. SPOONER. The Senator from Illinois [Mr. CULLOM] is absent, ill. I have just received a note from him asking me to present to the Senate, for him and on his behalf, a number of memorials, one of which I send to the desk, and the others are at the end of the desk, bearing the names of 103,079 citizens of Illinois, remonstrating against the proposed increase of the tax upon beer. I move that the memorials lie on the table.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. LODGE presented a petition of sundry manufacturers of Massachusetts, praying for a continuance of the Hawaiian reciprocity treaty; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also presented memorials of the United Shoe Company and 52 other manufacturing firms of Massachusetts; of P. S. Wentworth and 52 other citizens of Massachusetts, and of 101 citizens of Massachusetts, remonstrating against the enactment of legislation intended to destroy the present system of ticket brokerage; which were referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

Mr. WELLINGTON presented the memorial of S. B. Smith and 52 other citizens of Maryland, remonstrating against the enactment of legislation intended to destroy the present system of ticket brokerage; which was referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Mr. ELKINS introduced a bill (S. 2266) for the relief of Elijah M. Hart; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. FAIRBANKS introduced a bill (S. 2267) removing the charge of desertion from the name of Pollard Anderson, of Burney, Decatur County, Ind., who served as a private in Company H, Nineteenth Indiana Infantry Volunteers, and also as a private in Company B, Tenth Kansas Infantry Volunteers; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 2268) granting a pension to Israel P. Hill; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. ALLEN. I introduce a bill and ask that it may be read at length and referred to the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads.

The bill (S. 2269) to further regulate the postal service of the United States, and for other purposes, was read the first time by its title and the second time at length, and referred to the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That beginning with the fiscal year A. D. 1897, it shall be the duty of the Postmaster-General to furnish all post-offices and subpost-offices in the United States with the necessary boxes, tables, chairs, and other furniture proper and convenient for the transaction of the business of such post-office or subpost-office, at the expense of the Government, and in doing so he is hereby authorized and directed to have appraised all such boxes, tables, chairs, and other furniture now in use in said offices, respectively, and purchase the same, if in condition suitable for use, at a fair price, for continued use.

Mr. CAFFERY (by request) introduced the following bills; which were severally read twice by their titles, and referred to the Committee on Claims:

A bill (S. 2270) for the relief of the estate of Samuel N. White, deceased, late of West Feliciana Parish, La.;

A bill (S. 2271) for the relief of Lemuel Tanner, of Lafourche Parish, La.;

A bill (S. 2272) for the relief of the estate of F. O. Darly, late of Vermilion Parish, La.;

A bill (S. 2273) for the relief of Mrs. E. R. Allen, of West Carroll Parish, La.;

A bill (S. 2274) for the relief of Belote Auguste Donato;

A bill (S. 2275) for the relief of the estate of Jean Delille, late of Winn Parish, La.;

A bill (S. 2276) for relief of heirs of Auguste Donato;

A bill (S. 2277) for the relief of Mary C. Daigre, East Baton Rouge, La.; and

A bill (S. 2278) for the relief of the estate of Hypolite Chretien, deceased, late of New Orleans, La.

Mr. VEST introduced a bill (S. 2279) to increase the pension of

Mary B. Morgan; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. BAKER introduced a bill (S. 2280) granting a pension to Andrew M. Callaham; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. KENNEY introduced a bill (S. 2281) to remove the charge of desertion from the record of John R. Scaggs; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. LODGE (by request) introduced a bill (S. 2282) for the retirement of Government employees in the classified civil service; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Civil Service and Retrenchment.

He also introduced a bill (S. 2283) granting a pension to Theophile A. Dauphin; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

AMENDMENTS TO DEFICIENCY APPROPRIATION BILL.

Mr. ALLEN, from the Committee on Privileges and Elections, reported an amendment intended to be proposed to the general deficiency appropriation bill; which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations, and ordered to be printed.

Mr. MORGAN submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the general deficiency appropriation bill; which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

PRIVILEGES OF THE FLOOR.

Mr. HALE. I present a notice proposing an amendment to Rule XXXIII, relating to the privileges of the floor of the Senate, which I ask may be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

Notice is hereby given that the following amendment will be proposed to Rule XXXIII of the Senate, relating to the privilege of the floor, to wit: In that clause of said rule which admits certain persons to the floor of the Senate while in session, relating to ex Senators and Senators-elect, after the word "ex-Senators," to insert the following:

"Who are not interested in any claim or in the prosecution of the same, or directly in any bill pending before Congress."

The purpose of the proposed amendment is to prevent ex-Senators from enjoying the privileges of the floor of the Senate for the purpose of urging or opposing claims or bills in which they are employed as attorneys.

Mr. HALE. Mr. President, it has always been a matter touching the dignity and reputation of this body that ex-Senators, who are entitled to the privileges of the floor, should not use that privilege for the purpose of advocating or opposing measures before the Senate, or, in other words, lobbying on the floor with members of the body. It has never been necessary until now to invoke any rule such as I have indicated, or any extension or limitation of the rule. The House of Representatives has had for years such a rule as I comprehend in the amendment which I propose, and I have embodied its features substantially in the amendment which has been stated.

It is a matter of satisfaction, as Senators know, to renew the acquaintance and association of those who have been members of this body; and such acquaintance and association have been a great charm in the life and in the intercourse of this body; but I do not think that it is compatible with the self-respect and the dignity of this body that the privileges of the floor should be used for the purpose of urging or opposing the passage of measures before the Senate by gentlemen who have been members of the body. If there are none such, then the amendment will apply to no one, and will do no harm, but I am afraid the time has come when such a rule is needed.

I ask that the proposed amendment go over one day, in accordance with the provision of Rule XL.

Mr. HAWLEY. May I make a suggestion before the matter goes over? I am not very much pleased at the direct pointing out of ex-Senators as being so employed. Suppose that, after defining the persons entitled to the privileges of the floor, the rule should provide that it shall be suspended as to any person who may be employed, etc.

Mr. HALE. I do not propose in any exact form to settle how it shall be done, or, indeed, that it shall be done, but I think I have seen enough to justify me in calling the attention of the Senate to it. All I shall ask to-morrow—it must go over a day—is that it be referred to the Committee on Rules.

Mr. TELLER. Let that be done now.

Mr. HALE. The provision of Rule XL is very specific that one day's notice must be given before any amendment to the rule shall be in order, and that the purpose of the amendment shall be stated in the notice. Under that rule it is clear that it must go over one day, and then I shall ask that it be referred.

Mr. ALLEN. I should like to ask the Senator what has taken place recently to call for this proposed amendment?

Mr. HALE. I hope the Senator will not ask me to particularize.

Mr. ALLEN. I do not desire to have the Senator point out any particular individual, but, if he will permit me, I will state that in my judgment lobbying is not going on to any greater extent around the Senate Chamber at this moment than it has been for the last four years.

Three years ago I introduced a bill and had it referred to the Committee on the Judiciary making it a crime punishable by imprisonment in the penitentiary for any man to come upon the Capitol Grounds for the purpose of plying the vocation of a lobbyist. Lobbying was going on then. At that time there was pending before this body a measure known as the pooling bill and other measures that called forth lobbyists from all sections of the country. It could not have escaped the attention of the Senator from Maine that lobbying of that character was going on. Why, not only amend the rule, but introduce a bill here and pass it making it a crime for any human being that is compos mentis to come upon these grounds and importune Senators or Representatives respecting the discharge of their duties.

Mr. HALE. I do not know that I would object to that. I am not seeking any such drastic measure. I have more in view the calling of the attention of the Senate to this subject than anything else. I do not say that I would oppose such a measure as the Senator suggests; or anything that will relieve us of the importunities of the lobby. I think it should be guarded.

I may say, and I think I may say with some confidence that I will be borne out by Senators, that the intervention, the solicitation, and the importunities of the lobby, whether on this floor or elsewhere, are of no avail to the interests that they claim to represent. The Senator himself knows that if a constituent of his has a measure here in which he is interested, the Senator will attend to it faithfully, early and late, and that that constituent is not in any way benefited, but is rather harmed, by the employment of an attorney to represent his case.

Mr. WHITE. Will the Senator from Maine allow me to ask him a question? Will it not be found in practice very difficult to limit the character of the conversation of ex-Senators who come upon this floor? If they are inhibited from talking about current business, I presume they will avoid it, but it seems to me that practically it will be rather difficult to limit the character of the conversation of an ex-Senator when he comes upon the floor, and in practice I fear that the rule will not be found very efficacious. The practice is no doubt reprehensible, but I fear that it can not be overcome by legislative methods.

Mr. HALE. All that will be left to the Committee on Rules to consider. I do not know that they will think it advisable to report anything, but I think it must be offensive to all Senators to see those who have been members of the Senate bring their docket into this Chamber and seek to influence Senators upon subjects-matter where they have been employed as attorneys. It ought not to be done.

Mr. ALLEN. I have never seen anything of the kind myself.

Mr. HALE. I do not know that that is so.

Mr. ALLEN. It occurs to me that the proposed amendment is rather an imputation upon the integrity of all ex-Senators who desire to visit the Chamber and renew their acquaintance, and that it puts them in an attitude where they can not possibly, as a matter of self-respect, come back, however innocent their motives may be.

Mr. HALE. I do not think that ex-Senators should feel sensitive on that point, as I should not after leaving this body, if I came here in a social way, or to discuss generally subjects of national interest. I do not think we should either of us feel sensitive if a rule of this kind, that was not intended to apply to us and never would apply, was in the list of our rules.

Mr. ALLEN. Why does not the Senator's proposed amendment go further and strike at the root of this evil? We can not go out into one of these corridors at any time when the Senate is in session without running up against an army of lobbyists who are besieging Senators and Representatives upon different measures. They inhabit these galleries as crows inhabit the tops of trees. They are here sending in cards and communications upon different subjects. Why not exclude the whole army of them, not only from the Capitol building but from the Capitol Grounds, except when they come here for legitimate purposes?

Mr. HALE. I ask that my amendment shall go over.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The proposed amendment will lie over.

COST OF PRODUCTION IN LEADING INDUSTRIES.

Mr. CAFFERY. I submit a resolution and ask unanimous consent for its present consideration.

The resolution was read, as follows:

Resolved, That the Commissioner of Labor be, and is hereby, directed to collect from official sources, or otherwise, if necessary, information relating to the total cost and labor cost of production in fifteen of the leading industries common to this country, Great Britain, France, Belgium, and Germany and report the results of his inquiries to the Senate as soon after the meeting of the second session of the Fifty-fifth Congress as possible: *Provided*, That the inquiries hereby authorized shall be carried on under the regular appropriations made for the Department of Labor.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

Mr. CHANDLER. I ask that the resolution may go over.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will go over, under the rule.

EXPENDITURES OF CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION.

Mr. GALLINGER. I submit a resolution for which I ask immediate consideration.

The resolution was read, as follows:

Resolved, That the Civil Service Commission is hereby directed to furnish the Senate a detailed account, by years, of the expenditures of said commission from its organization to the present time, each item of expenditure (such as salaries, traveling expenses, examinations, printing, etc.) to be separately stated.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

Mr. GRAY. Let it go over.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will lie over.

Mr. GALLINGER. As I shall be absent from the Senate for three or four days, I ask that the resolution may lie on the table subject to my call, if that course is agreeable to the Senator from Delaware.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Unless there is objection, that will be the order. The Chair hears none.

THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS.

Mr. WHITE. Some days ago I suggested and there was ordered printed a report of the Committee on Finance in reference to the Hawaiian Islands matter. Since that time my attention has been called to a report made in the Forty-ninth Congress, first session, by Mr. MILLS, from the Committee on Ways and Means of the House of Representatives. The report is practically out of print, and as it is a matter of great importance, to be considered later on, I suggest that it be reprinted as a document.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the request of the Senator to reprint the report of Mr. MILLS in the Forty-ninth Congress, from the Committee on Ways and Means of the House of Representatives, on the Hawaiian matter? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. WHITE. In this connection, I desire to insert in the RECORD, from page 584 of the Consular Reports, the census of the Hawaiian Islands. It is but a third of a page in length. I ask that it be printed as a part of my remarks.

The matter referred to is as follows:

[Consular Reports, April, 1897.]

CENSUS OF THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS.

Consul-General Mills, of Honolulu, sends, under date of February 8, 1897, the official figures showing the result of the census of the Hawaiian Islands, which has just been completed. The statement is as follows:

The Hawaiians head the list with a total of 31,019. The Japanese colonization comes next, with the Chinese a close third. The official table, as prepared at the census office, is:

Nationality.	Males.	Females.	Total.
Hawaiians	16,399	14,620	31,019
Part Hawaiians	4,249	4,236	8,485
Americans	1,975	1,111	3,086
British	1,406	844	2,250
Germans	866	566	1,432
French	56	45	101
Norwegian	216	162	378
Portuguese	8,202	6,989	15,191
Japanese	19,212	5,195	24,407
Chinese	19,167	2,449	21,616
South Sea Islanders	321	134	455
Other nationalities	448	152	600
Total	72,517	36,503	109,020

PRESIDENTIAL APPROVAL.

A message from the President of the United States, by Mr. O. L. PRUDEN, one of his secretaries, announced that the President had on the 23d instant approved and signed the act (S. 2150) to amend an act entitled "An act to provide for the entry of lands in Greer County, Okla., to give preference rights to settlers, and for other purposes," approved January 18, 1897.

THE TARIFF BILL.

Mr. ALLISON. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of House bill 379.

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 379) to provide revenue for the Government and to encourage the industries of the United States.

Mr. VEST. I should like to have the attention of the Senator from Iowa. For the convenience of those of us upon this side who are taking part in the debate on the tariff bill, we would be very much obliged to the Senator from Iowa if he would indicate the order in which the schedules that have been passed over will be taken up after we have finished the wool schedule. It will facilitate matters very much, and we will then know exactly what to expect in the future, and prepare our papers and information accordingly.

Mr. ALLISON. It is the purpose of the committee having charge of the bill, as I understand it, to go on and complete the wool and woolen schedule, then to take up the silk schedule, and then the tobacco schedule. When that has been done, all the schedules will have been passed over once.

Mr. VEST. No; lead was passed over.

Mr. ALLISON. Lead is in Schedule C.

Mr. VEST. I know; but we have not taken it up.

Mr. ALLISON. It is a paragraph in the metal schedule and a paragraph in the chemical schedule.

Mr. GRAY. It is a paragraph, and not a schedule.

Mr. ALLISON. Several paragraphs. After we shall have completed these schedules it is our purpose to begin with the chemical schedule and take up the paragraphs passed over and complete that schedule, and then go on successively with the other schedules, taking the passed-over schedules in their order. If this will suit the convenience of Senators on the other side, that, I think, is the wisest and best way to deal with the bill.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The first item passed over, as appears by the recent print of the committee, is in the first clause of the bill, and is not a part of the chemical schedule, fixing the date at which the bill shall go into effect.

Mr. ALLISON. That is a mere formal matter. That of course will have to go over until after the whole bill is disposed of.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Then it is the intention of the Senator not to take up that amendment until the last thing.

Mr. HOAR. I suppose, practically, the operative date will have to be settled by the conference committee. It can not well be settled in any other way.

Mr. ALLISON. I have stated the purpose of the committee. I hope it will be satisfactory to Senators on the other side.

Mr. SMITH. I ask the Senator in charge of the bill whether it will be convenient for him to take up the hide and leather schedule, which was passed over at my request, after we get through with the wool schedule?

Mr. ALLISON. The paragraphs in relation to leather perhaps may be considered then, if it suits the convenience of Senators; but I think the best way after we have completed this schedule is to go back and take up, in their order, the paragraphs passed over, and dispose of them as we go along.

Mr. SMITH. I make a special request on that point because I am interested in the schedule, and I shall be obliged to be absent for a few days. If it can be so arranged, I hope the Senator in charge of the bill will pursue that course.

Mr. ALLISON. I will consult the Senator's convenience later in the day.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The point made by the Senator from Missouri is, I think, a correct one, that it is due to the Senate that we should know the order in which these matters are coming up. They ought not to be passed over irregularly without any sort of system. I think the Senator from Iowa should give notice to the Senate as to the order in which he intends to proceed. So far as I am concerned, I am perfectly willing for the convenience of any Senator that any item passed over may be taken up at any time. It is a matter of indifference to me, but I think the Senate ought to know. If it is the intention of the Senator from Iowa to take up hides after the wool schedule and before we proceed with silk, the Senate ought to know it at the earliest moment, so that we can be ready, and if not, then the Senator should indicate at what time he will be willing to take it up.

Mr. WHITE. I suggest to the Senator from Arkansas that there is a fact which has just come to my notice which has relieved me from a great deal of solicitude, and I have no doubt that it will relieve the Senator when I read it to him. We are assured by very high authority that Congress is passing a law that will be the most scientific and the best balanced tariff law ever enacted. I have had some doubt about this matter heretofore, but I now rest in peace.

Mr. ALLISON. I am glad the Senator from California is reassured upon that point.

Mr. CAFFERY. Mr. President, before entering on a discussion of the paragraph of the wool schedule under consideration, concerning which our friends on the other side appear to have some trouble, I propose to make some general remarks upon the pending bill.

Mr. WELLINGTON. As I have no doubt what the Senator is about to say will be of interest to the Senate, I suggest that he speak so that he may be heard on this side of the Chamber.

Mr. CAFFERY. I shall attempt to elevate my voice so that

the Senator from Maryland can have a chance to hear some good Democratic doctrines.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Louisiana will proceed.

Mr. CAFFERY. Mr. President, the formative period of the basis on which, and the purpose for which, tariff taxes should be imposed was between the adoption of the Constitution and the revenue act of 1828.

Gradually, by an evolution, resulting from the divergent views of government held by the followers of Jefferson and the followers of Hamilton, the great principle of "tariff for revenue only" and the opposite principle of "tariff for protection" were formed and crystallized.

Hamilton looked backward to the restrictive policy then prevailing in England. Jefferson looked forward to the application of the liberty-founded principles of the Republic of the United States. Hamilton was influenced by the smell of royalty which clung to his republican garments; Jefferson, by the awakened sense of broader liberty and clearer perception of economic truth, obtained from the teachings of Adam Smith and the French economists and our own Constitution.

The immortal author of the declaration that "all men are born free" and of that other declaration that "equal rights are for all and special privileges for none" could not have been a protectionist in the sense the term is now employed.

Sir, arguing from general principles, the conclusion irresistibly flows that protection is restriction of natural right, and therefore undemocratic; that protection is paternalism, and therefore undemocratic; that protection is larcenous, and therefore undemocratic.

The democratic theory of government may be traced to the Declaration of Independence and Magna Charta.

Life, liberty, property, and the pursuit of happiness are the inalienable right of men; liberty in all things, save when the public weal requires its restriction. Whoever advocates restriction must show its necessity. The burden of proof is on the protectionists to show that the freedom of contract is not necessary for the benefit of the social system. Primarily, the right to exchange with whosoever wishes to give another commodity for yours is perfect, free, and unrestricted. It flows from the right of the individual freeman to do as he chooses with his own, sell it where he can, for what he can, and with whomsoever he can, without burden or taxation on either or both parties to the exchange.

Among the ancients trade was spoliation and war was slavery. To impoverish a nation by trade and to enslave its population by war was the ideal of excellence. The idea survived the fall of the greatest and last of ancient civilizations, and descended by a chain of barbaric title to the nations of mediæval Europe. Exports were frequently prohibited and imports were always highly taxed, and as light penetrated the darkness of those ages the barbarism of modified slavery lingered, and still lingers in the idea of spoliation by one nation of another and by the classes of the masses. Just prior to the writings of Smith in England, and of Condillac in France, the then world, stimulated into intellectual activity by the Reformation and the rise of the school of economists, began to throw off some of the shackles descended from ancient ignorance and greed, and the doctrine of free trade gained a foothold in the thinking world. This doctrine was then accompanied with the twin errors that all wealth emanated from the soil, and that exchange was exactly equivalent, neither party making by it.

But mankind is selfish, and the battle commenced in the eighteenth century against protection is not yet finished, nor will it be until the intelligent masses of the world strike down the hand of governmental favor and privilege. To own human beings has been a strong propensity of the race. To own a part of man's labor is the last desperate effort of the selfish few against the toiling many. Humanity and enlightenment freed the slaves; humanity and enlightenment will free the toiling millions from tributes to the protected.

The devil is never so dangerous as when he quotes Scripture. Protection is never so insidious as when preaching in behalf of its victims.

> In law, what plea so tainted and corrupt but, being seasoned with a gracious voice, obscures the show of evil?
> In religion, what damned error but some sober brow will bless it and approve it with a text?

And so the protectionist plunders humanity in the name of humanity, exacts alms in the name of charity, and beseeches aid in the name of the needy. Truth is always plain, error is always complex. When the proposition is laid down that protection does not protect the masses, the answer is ready, "Why, we give you a larger home market; we give better prices to our employees; we give employment to the baker, the butcher, the carpenter, and the mason; and so everybody is benefited." The poor fellow who is answered thus finds that his co-toiler in the same line of industry in a neighboring State or district is getting more or less, according to the supply of laborers there; he finds that toilers in industries not protected get as much and frequently more than he does, and yet somehow he is half muddled by the specious argument of the oily factory owner.

He knows that the duty on sugar or woolen goods makes him pay more for his sugar or his clothes; the duty on white pine, more for his lumber; the duty on soap, more for his soap, and yet he is somehow puzzled about the matter. He finds a duty on wheat and cotton, and yet the price is not raised at home; he finds a duty on borax and hemp, and the price is raised at home. He finds a duty on nails and steel rails, and the price at home is higher than on the same article when shipped abroad and sold. What he does know is that the sugar refiner and the soap maker, the woolen manufacturer and the wheat and cotton grower, do not pay a farthing more for labor than they are compelled to. He finds trusts and pools controlling the price of things necessary to the consumer, and he commences to think, and he is now thinking, that the best way out of this perplexity is to place every tub on its own bottom, break up trusts and pools, and let every industry stand on its own merits.

He hears the clamor of the mill owner and the mine owner that they must be protected. He concludes that they are weak and want somebody to help them. His argument commences with himself. Who is going to protect me? If the well-fed, prosperous, rich mine owner is in danger of being destroyed, why am not I? Am I weaker, less able to work, than the half-fed Russian, or the starved Italian, or the lazy peon, or the stolid German, or the ignorant Portuguese? All of them come over here. I hold my place at higher wages than they get. They get more than they did at home. He finds the same man, clamoring for protection against the world, ready to employ a foreigner at less wages than he gets, provided the foreigner can do the work he does. He finds free trade in labor, and he concludes free trade ought to go all around. He is right.

He finds, when the whole subject is reviewed by him, that the corn grower, the wheat grower, the cotton grower, the rail and nail manufacturer, the bicycle manufacturer, the cotton manufacturer, and a host of manufacturers and produce raisers are not only supplying the home market, but the markets of the world. He finds that the home price of these articles is the foreign price, less freight, insurance, and commissions, in all exports not controlled by a trust, and he finds trusts mostly where the duty on the competing foreign article is too high to allow it to come in. He does not find a trust in wheat, cotton, or corn, because the foreigner has no competing article and trusts are impossible.

He finds that all the workers said to be included in the beneficent circle of protection—the carpenter, the blacksmith, the baker, the lawyer, the doctor, the merchant—get their pay according to their deserts, the demand for their services, and the supply of the human material. He finds the protective theory intricate and the application a sham, a delusion, invented to make him pay a quota of his hard-earned wages to swell the gains of the protected "weakling." He finds that the money levied out of his scant store does not go into the Treasury to "pay the debts of the United States, promote the general welfare, and provide for the common defense," but into the pockets of the "weaklings."

He is sorry for the poor, sickly things that ride in splendid carriages, give costly dinners, visit foreign shores, hobnob with nobility, come before the committees of Congress with piteous tales of woe, infest the corridors of the Capitol, have paid lobbyists to lay siege to Senators and Representatives, and make the air doleful with their begging requests for more and more and melancholy predictions of the untimely end of the benefactors of the race should largess and bounty, subsidy and tariff, be denied them. Yes, his honest soul melts with sympathy. "Was ever so much disinterested humanity!" he thinks to himself.

Truly the world is better! Human nature nobler and higher! Not for themselves do the weaklings make these efforts! Perish the thought that it is their own nests they are feathering!

The weaklings have achieved their purpose. Their demands have been granted. Their salt, their lumber, their woolens, their cotton, their coal and iron, and their hemp have all been protected. The fat was fried in season, and the reward comes in due time. All things work together for good for fat friers and good protectionists. Of such is the kingdom of protection.

But the poor fellow who has been holding this colloquy, thinking that the blessings to reach him by filtration from the weaklings—the vicarious system of benefaction—will percolate down to him from the principle of tariff gravitation, hears nothing more of the promised blessings. But behold! the heathen Chinese, or the fiery Jap, or the pauper German, or the horrid Englishman will dump his goods over the tariff wall; or the foolish home consumers cease to buy from the weaklings because they can not; or the jingoes will disturb trade by war talk; or the silverite by inflation talk, and a cut of 10 per cent in the poor fellow's wages is made.

He looks at his good wife, wearied by household cares; his blooming daughter, so close to his heart and hopes, deprived of the means to make a good appearance in society; his son, just ready to gain the education now denied to him, and his soul and brain rise in revolt against a system which has ever kept, and ever will keep, the word of promise to the ear, but break it to the hope.

Out of the curse denounced against the transgression of our first parents has come all the blessings of civilization. Human sweat, human toil, have built up the vast structure of modern advancement. Human brain and human muscle have transformed the Western Hemisphere into the most peaceful, the most enlightened, and the happiest abode for the toiling millions in its borders that Providence has ever given to man.

But the Old Adam lingers in the human breast. Centuries of labor will make it none the less a pain to labor, and the ordinary man is always altruistic when it comes to making his brother man do his work for him. In this happy land the grip of the law makes the poor pay tribute to the rich. Says the greatest economist that this century has produced (I quote from Frederick Bastiat):

Self-preservation and development are the common aspiration of all men, in such a way that if everyone enjoyed the free exercise of his faculties and the free distribution of the fruit of his labor, social progress would be incessant, uninterrupted, inevitable. But there is another disposition which is common to them. This is to live and develop at the expense of another. This is no rash imputation, emanating from a gloomy, uncharitable spirit. History bears witness to the truth of it by the incessant wars, migration of races, the universality of slavery, sacerdotal oppressions, the frauds in trade, and the monopolies with which its annals abound. This unfortunate disposition has its origin in the very constitution of man—in that primitive and universal and invincible sentiment which urges it toward its well-being and makes it seek to escape pain. Man can only maintain life and obtain enjoyments from a perpetual search and appropriation; that is, from a perpetual application of his faculties to objects, or from labor. This is the origin of property.

But yet he may live and enjoy by seizing and appropriating the productions of his fellow-men. This is the origin of plunder.

Now, labor, being in itself a pain, a man being naturally inclined to avoid pain, it follows, and history proves it, that wherever plunder is less burdensome than labor, it prevails; and neither religion nor morality can prevent it, in this case, from prevailing. * * * It is the nature of man to rise against the injustice of which he is the victim. When, therefore, plunder is organized by law, for the benefit of those who profit by it, all plundered classes tend, either by peaceful or revolutionary means, to enter in some way into the business of manufacturing laws.

These classes, according to the degree of enlightenment at which they have arrived, may propose to themselves two very different ends. When they thus attempt the attainment of their political rights, either they may wish to put an end to lawful plunder, or they may desire to take part in it. Woe to the nation when the latter thought prevails among the masses at the moment when they, in turn, seize upon the legislative power.

This long quotation, Mr. President, is justified by its application to the present condition of our country. From legislation in favor of special classes, the idea is fast gaining ground that legislation must be in favor of all classes. From the perversion of law, whereby a few favored individuals are made prosperous, the whole mass is seeking prosperity from legislation.

From paternalism for a few, paternalism is sought by the many. The transition from McKinleyism to Debsism is easy. The imposition of indirect taxes to make manufacturers rich justifies the imposition of direct taxes to make the farmer rich. The proposition of the Senator from Utah [Mr. CANNON] to place an export bounty on corn and wheat and oats is more logical and more justifiable than a bounty on imported sugar for the benefit of the greedy sugar trust.

A bounty for the man who has, from the foundation of the Government, been bled for the weaklings, is a just retribution on those who have fattened on his substance and fed from his table.

Governments were never instituted among men to make them rich. The province of government is limited to "protecting" each individual in his life and property. The province of government is to allow full play to individual energy and to protect individuals in all their gains and acquisitions. Governments were never instituted to restrain or hamper or embarrass individuals in any of their natural rights. Rather, Mr. President, to preserve, protect, and defend all natural rights. These rights existed before governments; and will survive their fall, if such a calamity should befall the race.

And now, sir, we are confronted with the condition that Bastiat deplored. Instead of putting an end to the plunder of the masses by the classes, the masses are keen to try their hand at the plundering. Then, sir, let universal plunder come! Then the revelation will follow that everybody will plunder everybody else, and the whole wretched system of spoliation will fall to pieces. Then the great money-making machine called government will be found empty handed and bankrupt; then the secret will be fully disclosed that the toilers are the bottom rounds of the ladder up which the fat friers and the fat friers have mounted to opulence and wealth.

When the Pilgrim and the Cavalier landed on the shores of the Western Hemisphere to attack and to conquer the obstacles of nature and to wrench wealth from her bosom, they did not dream of governmental help or aid. Strong, sturdy, and self-reliant, they toiled and they prospered. They were full of the spirit of liberty and individual independence. They knew that society was made to protect natural rights and not to foster individual interests. They knew that men followed those callings and pursued those industries which their talents and their surroundings indicated as profitable. They pleaded no baby act. There was no voice crying in the wilderness for aid, for help, for permission under the law to deprive any hardy inhabitant of a part of his gains to bestow upon some other.

No, sir; one of the causes assigned by the author of the immortal Declaration of Independence for separation from the mother country was the tyranny of George III, "for cutting off our trade with all parts of the world." And long before, at Runnymede, the ancestors of the hardy pioneers of England, of Virginia, of North and South Carolina, of Georgia, of New York, of New Jersey, and Pennsylvania wrung from reluctant John the concessions contained in the forerunner of our Declaration of Independence—the great Magna Charta of England—that "all merchants may safely and without molestation depart from England and come to England, as well by land as by water, to buy and to sell, free from all evil duties, in accord with our ancient and just usages."

Sir, the proposition has been boldly stated that Washington, and Hamilton, and Clay, and Jackson, and Madison were protectionists—such protectionists as we have to-day. I deny that the protection of to-day was ever advocated by any of the fathers, and I deny that it ever took form and shape until the act of 1890. The modern doctrine is not to encourage new industries, but to intrench and casemate the old ones; not to protect the infant, but to fatten the giant; not to help the weak, but to aid the strong. Sir, it is literally "to take from him that hath not and give to him that hath." Let us go, sir, to the great father, Washington, who, in his letter to Lafayette in 1796, wrote as follows:

As a member of an infant empire, as a philanthropist by character and, if I may be allowed the expression, as a citizen of the great republic at large, I can not avoid reflecting with pleasure on the probable influence that commerce may hereafter have on human manners and society in general. On these occasions I consider how mankind may be connected like one great family in fraternal ties. I indulge a fond, perhaps an enthusiastic, idea that as the world is evidently much less barbarous than it has been, its melioration must be progressive; that nations are becoming more and more humanized in their policy, and in fine that the period is not very remote when the benefits of a liberal and free commerce will pretty generally succeed to the devastations and horrors of war.

This does not sound like Chinese-wall principles. It has the ring of free trade. The great founder of the nation could not have entertained the narrow views, born of broad greed, that characterizes this bill. He poured forth his soul in this communication to him whom he loved; that chivalric, peerless, unselfish son of France, whose noble spirit drew kindred spirits to him as the magnet draws the needle. Washington was a free trader.

What says Jefferson, the philosopher and statesman, the founder of Democracy, the author of the democratic creed of government, the great apostle of individual liberty and natural rights, the exponent of the widest liberties of the citizen consistent with the great powers of a republican government. While Vice-President, in a letter to Elbridge Gerry, he said:

In confutation of these and all future calumnies, by way of anticipation, I shall make to you a profession of my political faith, in confidence that you will consider every future imputation on me of a contrary complexion as bearing on its front the work of falsehood and calumny. * * * I am for free commerce with all nations.

After the tariff of 1824, he wrote to Governor Giles, December 26, 1825:

Under power to regulate commerce they assume indefinitely that (power) over agriculture and manufactures, and call it regulation to take the earnings of one of these branches of industry, and that, too, the most depressed, and put them in the pockets of the other, the most flourishing of all.

Is it possible, sir, that protection run mad can, in the face of these declarations, class Washington and Jefferson as modern protectionists?

What was Hamilton's position? He was an advocate for centralism and prerogative, but not a protectionist of to-day. In his report on manufactures in 1791 he says:

If the system of perfect liberty to industry and commerce were the prevailing systems of the nations, it will not be affirmed that they might not be permitted, with very few exceptions, to serve as a rule of national conduct. If one nation were in a condition to supply manufactured articles on better terms than another, that other might find an abundant indemnification in a superior capacity to furnish the produce of the soil. And a free exchange, mutually beneficial, of the commodities which each was able to supply, on the best terms, might be carried on between them, supporting, in full vigor, the industry of each.

The continuance of bounties on manufactures long established must almost always be a questionable policy, because a presumption would arise in every such case that there were natural and inherent impediments to success.

The exemption of the materials of manufactures from duty. The policy of that exemption as a general rule, particularly in reference to new establishments, is obvious. It can hardly ever be advisable to add the obstruction of fiscal burdens to the difficulties which naturally embarrass a new manufacture; and when it is matured and in condition to become an object of revenue, it is, generally speaking, better that the fabric than the material should be subject to taxation.

It appears that Hamilton would have been an out-and-out free trader could he have disabused his mind of the idea that all must be free traders in order that the system should work. This was an error which his powerful intellect would have soon discarded. Whatever embarrasses or impedes free exchange hurts both parties to it. Trade is the exchange of product for product, or product for services, or services for services. Now, if an Englishman exports a commodity to America, he is met by a heavy import duty. He pays the duty and adds it to the price of the commodity. The consumer in America, who, in order to buy, must sell some of his produce or render some service, is handicapped precisely to the extent of the duty. This duty causes him to sell more produce and to render more service than he otherwise would. This hurts the American. The Englishman is hurt by the diminished exchangeable or purchasing power of the American consumer.

But in balancing the losses the American is hurt the most, for the Englishman may not only sell somewhere else, but at most he is only deprived of a gain which may or may not be large; but the American is subjected to a positive and irretrievable loss. It is evident that Hamilton had not outgrown the mercantile idea of trade, which meant to sell everything and buy nothing; to ruin your cotrader to your benefit. This doctrine is repugnant to sound economy and to the wise dispensation of Providence, whereby men are incited to exchange what each offers to the other, cheaper than either can produce. If they could each produce his cotrader's commodity as cheaply as he, there would be no exchange. If exchange were not equally beneficial, none would take place.

But what have our friends, the protectionists, to say of Hamilton's views about raw materials? Can the lumber, salt, hides, borax, chemicals, cotton, iron, and coal taxers say that Hamilton favored such taxes?

Mr. President, recklessness of assertion must stand rebuked before the utterances of this prophet of the creed of protection. Were Hamilton alive, and the wool and hides and lumber and salt interests were to ask him to help strangle our manufacturing interests and pile up a mountain of tariff, all to come out of the consumer, he would scorn the name of protectionist, and would rally to the Democratic bugle call of "tariff for revenue only," or further still, for unlimited free trade. His powerful mind and masterful patriotism would sweep away the barriers of protection, so that the articles and commodities hampered by them once would feel their strangling and deadening hand no more, forever!

And Old Hickory! what of him? In one of his messages he expressly declared that he was in favor of protection only on articles needed in war. He said as follows:

It is certainly our duty to diminish as far as we can the burdens of taxation and to regard all restrictions which are imposed on the trade and navigation of our citizens as evils which we shall mitigate whenever we are not prevented by the adverse legislation and policy of foreign nations or those duties which the defense and independence of our country enjoin upon us. * * * Those who take an enlarged view of the condition of our country must be satisfied that the policy of protection must ultimately be limited to those articles of domestic manufacture which are indispensable in time of war. Within this scope, on a reasonable scale, it is recommended by every consideration of patriotism and duty, which will doubtless always secure it liberal support. But beyond this we have seen the operation of the system productive of discontent.

And Madison is paraded as a protectionist. Listen to him:

In the first place, I own myself the friend to a very free system of commerce, and hold it as a truth that commercial shackles are generally unjust, oppressive, and impolitic; it is also a truth that if industry and labor are left to take their own course, they would generally be directed to those objects which are the most productive, and this in a more certain and direct manner than the wisdom of a most enlightened legislature could point out. Nor do I think that the national interest is more promoted by such obstruction than the interest of individuals would be promoted by legislative interference directing the particular application of industry. * * * The case is the same between the exercise of arts and agriculture, between the city and the country, and between the city and the town, each capable of making particular articles in abundance to supply the other; thus all are benefited by the exchange, and the less this exchange is cramped by the Government the greater the proportion of the benefit to each. The same argument holds good between nation and nation, and between parts of the same nation.

Why, Mr. President, Madison was a free trader!

I come now to the author of the American system, who is quoted as sanctioning the late monstrosity of tariff legislation. Listen to Henry Clay:

At present I would only say that I, too, am a friend to free trade, but it must be free trade of perfect reciprocity. * * * Now, give us time and cease all fluctuations and agitations for nine years, and the manufacturers in every branch will sustain themselves against foreign competition.

Clay believed in encouraging infant industries, but he gave his infants nine years to put off the baby garments and wear trousers. He never believed in taxing raw materials. A modern protectionist would call him a free trader.

But there appeared about that time a giant in intellect, a contemporary of Clay. When Mr. Clay was urging the claims of the infants, listen to the great Webster, who stood forth for the yeomanry of the land, and spake as man rarely ever spake:

And allow me, sir, in the first place, to state my regret, if indeed I ought not to express a warmer sentiment, at the names or designations which Mr. Speaker [Mr. Clay] has seen fit to adopt for the purpose of describing the advocates and the opposers of the present bill. It is a question, he says, between the friends of an "American policy" and those of a "foreign policy." This, sir, is an assumption which I take the liberty to deny. Mr. Speaker certainly intended nothing invidious or derogatory to any part of the House by this mode of denominating friends and enemies. But there is a power in names, and this manner of distinguishing those who favor and those who oppose particular measures may lead to inferences to which no member of the House can submit.

It may imply that there is a more exclusive and peculiar regard to American interests in one class of opinions than in another. Such an implication is to be resisted and repelled. Every member has a right to the presumption that he pursues what he believes to be the interest of his country with as sincere a zeal as any other member. I claim this in my own case, and while I shall not for any purpose of description or convenient arrangement use terms which may imply any disrespect to other men's opinions, much less any imputations upon other men's motives, it is my duty to take care that the use of such terms by others be not, against the will of those who adopt them, made to produce a false impression.

Indeed, sir, it is a little astonishing, if it seemed convenient to Mr. Speaker, for the purpose of distinction, to make use of the terms "American policy" and "foreign policy," that he should not have applied them in a manner precisely the reverse of that in which he has in fact used them. If names are thought necessary it would be well enough, one would think, that the name should be in some measure descriptive of the thing; and since Mr. Speaker denominates the policy which he recommends "a new policy in this country," since he speaks of the present measure as a new era in our legislation, since he professes to invite us to depart from our accustomed course, to instruct ourselves by the wisdom of others, and to adopt the policy of the most distinguished foreign states, one is a little curious to know with what propriety of speech this imitation of other nations is denominated an "American policy," while, on the contrary, a preference for our own established system, as it now actually exists and always has existed, is called a "foreign policy."

This favorite American policy is what America has never tried, and this odious foreign policy is what as we are told, foreign states have never pursued. Sir, that is the truest American policy which shall most usefully employ American capital and American labor and best sustain the whole population. With me it is a fundamental axiom, it is interwoven with all my opinions, that the great interests of the country are united and inseparable; that agriculture, commerce, and manufactures will prosper together or languish together, and that all legislation is dangerous which proposes to benefit one of these without looking to consequences which may fall on the others. * * *

Protection, when carried to the point which is now recommended, that is, to entire prohibition, seems to me destructive of all commercial intercourse between nations. We are urged to adopt the system upon general principles; and what would be the consequence of the universal application of such a general principle but that the nations would abstain entirely from all intercourse with one another? I do not admit the general principle; on the contrary, I think freedom of trade to be the general principle and restriction the exception. And it is for every state, taking into view its own condition, to judge of the propriety in any case of making an exception, constantly preferring, as I think all wise governments will, not to depart without urgent reason from the general rule.

Webster was a free trader. The reason that he gave for changing to protection, such limited protection as it was, was that his people had been induced to quit commerce by high tariff and go into manufacturing, and he had to go with them. But he never repudiated the reasoning in the speech quoted from. His great mind could not lower itself to stultification. The reasoning will ever remain as the legacy of a great man to posterity. The apostasy will stand as a memorial of the power of local interest to cause a great soul to humiliate itself. Thus, Mr. President, was the free-trade "falcon, towering in his pride of place," by the mousing owl of protection "hawked at and killed."

When Webster advocated free trade in the House, Calhoun was just commencing to see his way clear to the true Democratic doctrine, which he ever afterwards advocated. But it is futile to call the acts of 1792 and 1816 protection acts. The rates were low—from about 5 per cent in 1792 to about 20 per cent in 1816. The duties were levied for revenue, and although the manufacturing interests had been asking for protection, they received none of any consequence until 1828.

Professor Taussig says:

Much has been said in the course of the protective controversy about the views of the fathers of the Republic. But for nearly twenty years after the formation of the Union other subjects so absorbed the attention of public men that no distinct opinion appears in their utterances for or against protective duties. Considering the state of economic knowledge in those days, the example set by European countries, and the application of the colonial system before the days of independence, we can not be surprised that some disposition was shown to impose protective duties. It is curious that in the first session of Congress these were advocated most earnestly by the representatives from Pennsylvania, who took their stand from the first as unflinching advocates of a protective policy. On the other hand, the current toward more liberal views, which had set in so strongly after the writings of the French economists and the publication of the Wealth of Nations, had made its way to the United States.

One might expect to find its influence most strong among the followers of Jefferson, whose political philosophy led them in general to oppose Government interference. But both Federalists and Republicans were influenced in their attitude to the question of protection, most of all by its bearing on the other more prominent questions on which parties began to be divided.

Some signs of the gradual growth of a protective feeling appeared before the close of the war. It was natural that the patriotic fervor which the events of the period of restriction and war called out for the first time in our history should bring with it a disposition to encourage the production at home of a number of manufactured articles, of which the sudden interruption in the foreign supply caused great inconvenience. * * *

For some time after the close of the war and the enactment of the tariff of 1816 there was no pressure for a more vigorous application of protective principles. The general expectation was that the country would fall back into much the same state of things as that which had existed before 1808; that agriculture and commerce would again be as profitable as during the previous

period, and would as exclusively be the occupation of the people. Such an expectation could not in the nature of things be entirely fulfilled, but for a time it was encouraged by several accidental circumstances. The harvests in Europe for several seasons were bad and caused a stronger demand and higher price for the staple food products. The demand for cotton was large and the price high. Most important of all, the currency was in a state of complete disarrangement and concealed and supported an unsound economic condition.

Under cover of the excessive issues of practically irredeemable bank notes, the prices of all commodities were high, as were the general rates of wages and rents. The price of breadstuffs and provisions, the staples of the North, and of cotton and tobacco, the staples of the South, were high, not only absolutely, but relatively, and encouraged continued large production of these articles. The prices of most manufactured goods were comparatively low. After the war the imports of these from England were heavy. The long pent-up stream of merchandise from England may be said to have flooded the world at the close of the Napoleonic wars.

In this country, as in others, imports were carried beyond the capacity for consumption, and the price fell much below the normal rates. The strain of this oversupply and fall of prices bore hard on the domestic manufacturers, especially on those who had begun and carried on operations during the restrictive period, and many of them were compelled to cease production and abandon their works.

This abnormal period, which had its counterpart of feverish excitement and speculation in Europe, came to an end in 1818-19. The civilized world then settled down to recover slowly from the effects of a generation of war and destruction. In the United States the currency bubble was pricked in the latter part of 1818.

The country was practically on a free-trade basis up to the war of 1812. Prior to that our exports of breadstuffs to Europe to feed the armies contending for the mastery of the world made us prosperous, agriculturally and commercially. The embargo and war of 1812 dried up this prosperity. People turned to Government, as they always do in time of depression, for aid, and the poison of governmental interference in affairs lying outside of its functions was gradually injected into the blood of our industries. The struggle of manufacturers to get a part of the earnings of the balance of the community culminated in their triumph in 1828. From that period the protective principle languished and finally died in 1846.

From 1846 until the war the Democratic principle of tariff for revenue only prevailed. The Whigs were thoroughly vanquished. The nation accepted Democracy, and the testimony of men and figures is that from 1846 to 1861 the country went forward in prosperity with leaps and bounds. Mr. Blaine says in his book, Twenty Years in Congress, that the country had accepted the principle of Democratic tariff taxation. In 1840, 1844, 1848, 1852, and 1856 Democratic platforms rung out clearly the doctrine that the trend of Democracy was toward free trade.

No halting ground, no equivocal or partial utterances, no limitations whatever, but the bold declaration was written in the platform of 1848 that the country was to be congratulated—on what, sir? On a tariff for revenue only? No, sir! "On the fulfillment of the hopes of the Democracy of the Union in the noble impulse given to the cause of free trade by the repeal of the tariff of 1842 and the creation of the more equal, honest, and protective tariff of 1846."

In 1852 the platform announced that "the time had come for the people of the United States to declare themselves in favor of free seas and progressive free trade throughout the world."

In other words, sir, the Democracy of that day advocated the doctrine of free trade pure and simple; but it must be a progressive free trade, not a sudden, instantaneous free trade, but arrived at by due progress and due regard to existing conditions. They progressed rapidly, and in 1857 lowered the rates generally from 30 per cent to 24 per cent, and, as the Senator from Texas [Mr. MILLS] stated in his speech delivered on the 12th instant, placed a large number of articles on the free list.

Again came war. Debts were incurred. The nation was strained to the uttermost. War rouses patriotism to its highest pitch; it develops the lowest and meanest traits of humanity. It causes the patriot to peril his life and his property for his country; it stimulates human vampires to suck their fellows' blood.

War came, and with it came the cry for power to plunder. The Democratic organization was gone. A new party, flushed with victory, based on the absorbing principle of human freedom, cared little for tariffs except to get the sinews of war. The greedy, the unscrupulous, invaded the Capitol, and gradually, remorselessly, from the germ of the infant-industry idea, has been developed the Colossus of protection.

Sir, we hear Senators on this floor belonging to the Democratic party stating four propositions:

First. The doctrine of free raw material is not Democratic.

Second. That if one article is dutied, all ought to be.

Third. That if protection is going the rounds, Democrats might as well get the benefit of it by asking to be protected in home industries.

Fourth. That there is no principle involved in a tariff bill, but it is a mere question of schedules.

The first proposition may be answered by the declaration of the platform of 1892 declaring expressly for tariff for revenue only, the declaration of every platform from 1846 to 1892 declaring that the hopes and views of the party were for free trade. But casting aside precedent, we have the proposition that, conceding that it is wrong to protect manufacturers, and manufacturers are nevertheless protected, it is right to protect or to tax the raw materials used by them.

This proposition is doubly fallacious; fallacious from a logical standpoint and fallacious from a revenue standpoint. It is admitted that protection to manufactures is wrong. If this be so, it is a further wrong to inflict another unjustifiable tax upon the people. Can one wrong be remedied by perpetrating another? Can Democrats go before the country and complain of the exactions placed on the citizen by law, and then add to those exactions by further legislation?

It is fallacious from another standpoint. We want an export trade to give room for additional employment to our people and larger development to our industries. Conceding that the tax on manufactures is wrong, and legislation can not be procured to remove it at once, why cripple the manufacturer with such rates as will raise the home price so high as to be more burdensome on the people and prevent him from competing with foreigners in the outside markets? No enlightened nation on the globe taxes raw material used in manufactures. If revenue is sought, why seek it through a channel that cripples the manufacturing industry, prevents expansion, and denies labor an opportunity to work?

If revenue is wanted and not protection by a tax on manufactured articles, is it not absurd to tax the raw materials out of which they are made? Either the raw materials must be imported or they are produced at home. In the first case a compensating duty is necessary or you discriminate against the manufacturer by the amount of the duty on the raw material, and in the second the duty is useless.

A Democrat ought not to sustain a tax on raw material. If on the ground of protection, he violates his party creed; if for revenue, he doubles the tax on the people. The true theory is to tax neither the competing foreign manufactured article nor the raw material of the home manufacture. But if the selection is to be made for revenue purposes between a tax on the raw material of the home manufacturer and the competing foreign article, clearly the latter is to be taken. If the raw material is taxed, you must place an equivalent duty on the finished product or you unjustly discriminate against the home manufacturer.

If both the raw material and the finished product are taxed, and the principle is carried out all along the line, the burdens on the people are doubled, and in the name of revenue a wall of protection is built up around the country.

If the object is to bottle up the industries of the United States in our own borders, a tax on raw materials, added to a compensating duty, accomplishes it. Placing a duty on raw materials handicaps our manufacturers in foreign markets, even when a compensating duty is levied.

To recoup he must add the duty on the raw material to the selling price of the manufactured article. This he can not do in a foreign market, against a foreign competitor who has free raw materials. You place him on an equality with the foreigner in the home market by a compensating duty, and you destroy him in the foreign market. You invite competition at home, and you destroy his chance of competing abroad.

The propositions that duties must be levied all along the line; that if plundering is the order of the day we must join the gang; that no principle is involved in the tariff issue, but it is a mere question of arranging schedules, would seem to be refuted by their statement.

Sir, precedent and principle alike refute these propositions. Veteran Democrats who were born and will die with true Democratic faith in their minds and hearts repudiate them.

They look upon them as an attempt to crucify their creed. And like the Christian who embraces the image of his crucified Saviour as the last hour of mortality approaches, so will they embrace and cling to, with a love and fervor and faith which no sophistry can destroy and no temptation betray, the ancient doctrine of tariff for revenue only as the nearest approach to that free trade hoped for by the Democrats of old.

Sir, is it possible that we denounce plunder only to join the plunderers; that we point to the straight and honest path of Democratic duty and then tread the primrose path of Republican wickedness; that we abhor the sin and join the sinners?

Democracy may be wrong in political economy, but Democrats can not do conscious wrong in matters of public and private morality. Men have been burnt at the stake for conscience' sake. It is not a question, so far as individual action is concerned, of the verity of our political creed. The question to govern our conduct as citizens and individuals and members of a political organization is whether we conscientiously believe that protection leads to legal robbery. If we do—and I know I do—then under no circumstances will I, by my vote, rob one of my fellow-citizens.

Sir, not only is "tariff for revenue only" a Democratic tenet of the first magnitude, but it is grounded in human nature as deep as is the Decalogue.

Democratic doctrine, as contained in tariff policy, is that a man's property is his own; that while it is necessary to contribute a part of his gains to support the contrivance of government, in compensation for the protection it affords him in his person and property, and pursuits, anything beyond that is extortion and robbery. That doctrine is, that under the specious guise of protection the substance of the masses is taken and handed over to the classes.

Is not the robbery effected by arrangement of schedules? When the woolen schedule places 90 per cent on the wearer of a hat or a coat more than he should pay, and when more than half of this amount goes to the woolgrower and the woolen manufacturer, is it not a robbery?

When a poor man has to pay 50 to 110 per cent on the pane of glass in his humble windows, and all of it goes to the glass maker, is it not a robbery?

When a poor woman, God fearing, righteous, and industrious, wishes to adorn her cottage with a damask tablecloth and has to pay 90 per cent more than she would, and none of it goes to the Government, is it not robbery?

If, sir, the great and glorious principle that no man is of right bound to pay tribute to another is taken from Democracy, then Democracy is and has been a sham—an empty sound without significance or substance.

It is the essential principle of liberty.

It will survive parties and platforms.

It is engraved in the minds of freemen all over the world. It will survive when the Capitol itself is in ruins. It will be in the future, as in the past, the beacon of light to guide the path of patriots to honest government.

It will some time in the near future, I hope, be firmly installed as the prevailing governmental policy—the only policy that will give scope to enterprise, health to industry, employment to labor, contentment to the masses, and stability to our institutions.

Sir, I have dwelt thus long on the elementary principles of our creed because their truth has been questioned and their application denied.

Every Senator follows the dictates of his judgment and conscience. I surely will follow mine. I believe I am under the drippings of the sanctuary. I have sat in vain at the feet of the prophets of our faith, if I now err.

It has been charged that the panics of 1837, 1857, and 1873 were caused by low tariffs. Presidents Polk and Buchanan are quoted as stating that prosperous times existed under high tariffs and panics ensued immediately on the adoption of low tariffs. Mr. President, we have had panics under low tariffs, and we have likewise had them under high tariffs. But we had unexampled prosperity under the Walker tariff of 1846, the lowest since 1792, up to the panic of 1857. We had prosperity up to 1837 under the lower tariff, commencing in 1833. But what of the panic in 1893?

Sir, tariffs have not much to do with commercial crises. They come from causes lying in trade conditions. It is true that agitation of the question as to whether duty shall be kept high or low affects trade. If the proposed rates are lower than the prevailing ones, importations will be withheld, in order to come in under the lower rates. If the proposed rates are higher, importations will be rushed in to evade high duties. It may be successfully argued on general principles that high duties, preventing importations, which will eventually curtail and destroy exportation, as we must sell in order to buy, incite panics more than low duties.

A paralysis of trade is entirely distinct from overtrading. Overtrading, speculation, is the potent cause of panics. Values are boomed, enterprise is overstimulated, the drafts of the present on the future are too heavy, and when the day of liquidation comes, a collapse ensues; bankruptcy and ruin are the results.

The panics of the past have been largely caused by inflation of the currency. That of 1893 had its birth in the fear of repudiation and had no connection with the high tariff of 1890.

But, sir, we have an authority on this subject which can not be disputed.

I quote from the Hon. Hugh McCulloch, Secretary of the Treasury under three Administrations, and a financier of acknowledged ability. He says:

Of the reverses of 1837, I made the following remarks in my report as Secretary of the Treasury in 1865: "The great expansion of 1835 and 1836, ending with the terrible financial collapse of 1837, from the effects of which the country did not rally for years, was the consequence of excessive bank circulation and discounts and an abuse of the credit system, stimulated in the first place by Government deposits with the State banks, and swelled by currency and credits until, under the wild spirit of speculation which pervaded the country, labor and production decreased to such an extent that the country, which should have been the great food-producing country of the world, became an importer of breadstuffs.

"The balance of trade had been for a long time favorable to Europe and against the United States, and also in favor of the commercial cities of the seaboard and against the interior, but a vicious system of credits prevented the prompt settlement of balances. The importers established large credits abroad, by means of which they were enabled to give favorable terms to the jobbers. The jobbers in turn were thus, and by liberal accommodations from the banks, able to give their own time to country merchants, who in turn sold to their customers on indefinite credit. It then seemed to be more reputable to borrow money than to earn it, and pleasanter and apparently more profitable to speculate than to work. And so the people ran headlong into debt, labor decreased, production fell off, and ruin followed."

This was, of course, a panic sharp and terrific, but it was of short duration. It was soon followed by a lethargy under which all the springs of enterprise and hopefulness were dried up. To prevent the sacrifice of property under judicial decrees, stay laws and appraisement laws were enacted by many of the States, which only aggravated the trouble. For long, weary years the lethargy continued. There was no demand for anything except the necessaries of life, and all these, except clothing, were sold for scarcely enough, and in some cases not enough, to pay the expenses of taking them to market. I witnessed a sale in 1839, to the keeper of a hotel in Indianapolis, of oats at 10 cents a bushel and fine chickens at 50 cents a dozen. The same year I saw thousands of barrels of flour under the sheds of Suydam, Sage & Co., in New York, which they were offering at $3.50 a barrel.

Fat cattle were selling at so low a price—$10 and $12 a head—that my brother thought that he would pack a few barrels of beef at Fort Wayne for the New York market. He did so, and was drawn upon by his consignees for a part of the expenses of transportation not covered by the sales. From 1837 to 1841 there was nothing to break the stagnation but the political campaign of 1840, in which everybody became enlisted for want of something else to do. In the fall of 1841 a reaction began to appear. This became decided in 1842, before the tariff of that year went into operation, and in 1845 the country, chastened by adversity, was in the full tide of healthy and well-producing industry and enterprise. This continued until credit became again unwisely expanded and speculation became rife.

In 1857 I was the president of a bank in the State of Indiana, and this is a part of what I said about the financial troubles of that year in the report from which I have quoted:

"The financial crisis of 1857 was the result of a similar cause to that of 1837, namely, the unhealthy extension of the various forms of credit. But as in this case the evil had not been long at work, and productive industry had not been seriously diminished, the reaction, though sharp and destructive, was not general, nor were the embarrassments resulting from it protracted.

"Now, in both instances the expansion occurred while the business of the country was upon a specie basis, but it was nominally so. A false system of credits had intervened under which payments were deferred, and specie, as a measure of value and a regulator of trade, was practically ignored. Everything moved smoothly and apparently prosperously as long as credit could be established and continued; but as soon as payments were demanded and specie was in requisition distrust commenced and collapse ensued. In these instances the expansions preceded and contraction followed the suspension; but it will be recollected that while the waves were rising specie ceased to be a regulator, by reason of a credit system which prevented the use of it."

Now, with all due respect to Mr. Blaine, I expressed the opinion that the apparent prosperity which preceded the revulsion of 1857 and the real prosperity which preceded the crisis of 1857 were not caused by the tariff, and that the reverses which followed were not attributable to its reduction. If the tariff was in any measure instrumental in producing the changes, it was in stimulating the expansion which terminated in disaster. In 1857 I was a believer in the tariff, and it never entered my head to attribute the financial troubles of that year to the changes to which it had been subjected.

The most pressing duty which I had to perform when I became Secretary of the Treasury in 1865 was to provide the means to pay the soldiers, and to meet other pressing demands upon the Treasury. This was done in the only way it could be done, by the sale of temporary obligations which had proved to be attractive to investors. After this had been accomplished, the work of funding these obligations was commenced and carried successfully on until the whole amount—some thirteen hundred millions of dollars—was converted into bonds. While this work was going on, I was under constant apprehension of a financial crisis before it could be completed.

My apprehension was unfounded, but only as to time. The crisis was postponed, and for so long a period that the opinion generally prevailed that the vitality and productive power of the country were so great that the most expensive war that had ever been waged could be concluded, and great expansion of credit could be checked and abridged without financial disturbances. I have to confess that this was my own opinion, but the same causes which produced the crisis of 1857 were at work, and, as had always been the case, the revulsion came when least expected.

When I left London, in September, 1873, to come to the United States, the financial skies, if not cloudless, were not threatening. The letters which were received by the London firm from its New York partners were encouraging, and I had no reason to expect anything but a pleasant visit to my old home and a return to London under auspicious circumstances. But on the arrival of the steamship in the outer harbor, I was met by the stunning intelligence that my American partners and correspondents of the Fort Wayne banking house in which I was interested had failed; that all the banks except the Chemical Bank, which had weathered all storms, had suspended, and that one of the wildest panics which had ever occurred was raging throughout the country.

The crisis was a terrible one. Although it came unexpectedly, it was only the consummation of influences which had long been at work beneath the financial horizon. In extent, fierceness, and disaster it resembled the revulsion of 1857. It was not, as Mr. Blaine states, brought about by the losses sustained in the civil war, which had been terminated eight years before, nor by the destructive fires in Chicago and Boston. Great losses may bring about what are called hard times—not panics. It was produced by an expansion of currency and of credit, which fostered speculation, which rarely fails to terminate in financial troubles.

Even in the orderly march of trade there are times of activity and times of depression. If prices are high and industry and capital and labor are more remunerative in certain lines of production than in others, more capital and more labor rush into the best paying business. This brings about a reaction. Greater production occasions lower prices, and production is consequently lessened. The boom is gone, but no bad results flow if credit has not been strained and the industry or enterprise has a solid basis.

Not so in wild schemes or unprofitable industries where credit is lavishly given and recklessly used. Panics and tariffs do not go hand in hand, nor are they correlated to the extent of cause and effect. Slow or depressed or unprofitable trade is not cyclonic industrial disturbance, as panics are.

Mr. President, I turn now to the speech of the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH] in opening this debate. He said:

The legitimate result of a protective policy is to give the American market to the American producers. When this becomes an accomplished fact, the revenue growing out of protective duties disappears. It must be evident, therefore, that we must look for other sources of revenue. Whether it shall always be along the line of an increase of internal taxes, such as we have suggested, or whether some other source of revenue should be sought, it is not necessary now to determine.

Here, sir, is a statement of three facts:

First. The legitimate result of protection is to dry up revenue;

Second. That that result has come; and

Third. That protectionists must look to some other line of revenue—internal revenue or some other.

McKinleyism has shouted itself hoarse over the revenue-producing bill which bears the name of our President. That bill actually produced a deficit, as I will show. And here is the ablest and most ingenuous of protectionists declaring that protection is a failure as a revenue measure. He says we must look somewhere else for money to run the Government.

Constitutionally, Congress can only lay duties on imports for the purpose of paying the debts of the United States, promoting the general welfare, and providing for the common defense. When protection ceases to bring in money to pay the debts, etc., it must fall. Otherwise the Constitution must be rewritten thus: "Congress shall have power to lay duties on imports to enable one class of citizens to live off the labor and at the expense of other classes of citizens."

Then, sir, the Senator from Rhode Island makes a bold plunge for sugar, tea, beer, and increased taxes on tobacco.

Under the free breakfast table cry, raised in 1890 by the Republican party, sugar, though it is a favorite article for Democratic revenue, was denied a tariff. The Republicans now want a revenue to stave off silver and advance beets, and not to protect sugar in Louisiana. It was especially declared by Senator ALLISON, in charge of this bill in the absence of Senator ALDRICH, that it was to protect beet sugar and not cane sugar that the duty is imposed. In point of fact, it was more to raise revenue than to protect beet sugar that the tax is in the bill. When the time comes, if it ever comes, when protection of sugar fails to produce revenue, what will become of the sugar interest? Will it be corralled like the manufacturers of the country, surrounded by a wall of protection, or will the free breakfast table cry be renewed?

Ah, sir, the Democratic Mede may besiege the Babylon of protection. The sugar barons, iron barons, wool barons, and all other barons may feast for a while in the royal chamber of the Belshazzar of protection. But, sir, is not the confession of the Senator from Rhode Island, that protection is dead for anything but protection, that of an unwilling Daniel, who sees the handwriting on the wall?

Sir, under the McKinley bill imports fell off from $830,150,318 in 1893 to $603,865,896 in 1894, a decline of upward of 27 per cent. This tendency was shown in the preceding year, when the imports fell off from $887,280,798 to $830,150,318. There was a steady decline in the imports during the last two years of the operation of the McKinley law.

Besides, there was in the Treasury when Mr. Harrison came in $230,348,916.12. When Mr. Cleveland came in there was $62,450,575.18. These balances were exclusive of the gold reserve. In order to create the above balance of $62,450,575.18 there was covered into the Treasury $54,007,975.75, a sum held in trust as a fund for the redemption of the national-bank notes.

As pointed out in the excerpt from Treasury Circular No. 128, herein inserted (Appendix No. 1), if the expenses of the year 1893, under the Cleveland Administration, had not been $15,952,674 less than the preceding year of the Harrison Administration, the receipts and expenditures would have been nearly equal. The Wilson law went into effect on the 28th of August, 1894. The receipts and expenditures that year, receipts being under the McKinley bill, were as follows:

Expenditures	$442,605,759
Receipts	372,802,498
Excess of expenditures over receipts	69,803,261

Besides, Mr. President, exports showed the same decline as the imports during the last years of the McKinley law. Exports in 1892 dropped from $998,226,775 to $876,332,434 in 1893, and from the last figure to $790,706,509 in 1894.

So, Mr. President, the Senator from Rhode Island is amply justified in saying that protection is a failure as a revenue producer. Will not candor go further when it has gone so far, and proclaim that not only is it a failure as a revenue producer, but as a prosperity breeder?

Does not the Senator know, do his enlightened colleagues not know, that the barrier to keep out imports will likewise bar our exports? Great Britain, the great purchaser and consumer of our cereals and a large portion of our manufactured products, may find other countries with which she can drive more profitable bargains than she can with us. Argentina, India, and Russia might supply her wheat and her cotton, and take in turn her manufactured product. The interiors of the countries named are being penetrated by railroads. Their productive capacity is enormous, and if we drive away our best customer by prohibitory tariffs we may find ourselves cabined, cribbed, confined; we may find ourselves without foreign markets for the exports of our cereals and raw materials, and with the keenest competition for our exported manufactures, handicapped by prohibitory rates on the raw material necessary in their fabrication.

The McKinley bill would have produced a deficit on the basis of the importation of the last two years of its operation. It is well known that Mr. Foster, Secretary of the Treasury under Mr. Harrison, had gone so far as to have the plates made on which to engrave bonds to provide for the deficit.

Though the Wilson bill was shorn of its principal revenue feature by the decision of the Supreme Court nullifying the income tax, the deficit will be less in its last year than that under the McKinley bill during its last year. The deficit this year from the daily Treasury statement of the 21st instant is $26,711,102.48. It can not much exceed this in the few remaining days of this fiscal year. The deficit under the McKinley bill was for its last year $69,803,261, exceeding that under the Wilson bill by $43,092,658.52.

The Treasury statement referred to shows $232,748,525.45, including the gold reserve of $100,000,000, now in the Treasury. The free gold and currency in the Treasury, amounting to $132,748,525.45, with the same expenditures and receipts as this fiscal year, would run the Government for four years. The great haste on the Republican side and the impatience on this side for the early passage of this bill shows that at least one of the parties does not think tariff is the burning issue. The Republican party is deceiving itself. "Conditions have changed since 1890," says Senator ALDRICH.

The ceaseless activity of the human mind in inventing new and applying old devices to every species of work multiplies production at diminished cost. Decreased cost of transportation follows the cheapening of production. New countries are being filled with the eager and pushing population of the Old World. The seas are literally bridged with moving iron. The primeval forests and plains of hitherto inaccessible regions are penetrated by the locomotive and united with the world by the telegraph. The dominion of man over nature was never so extensive or so secure.

Increased and increasing production creates more demands and desires, "which grow with that upon which they do feed." There is ceaseless energy and unrest. Though better and more cheaply fed and clothed and housed than ever before in the history of the race, the toilers, with more desires and demands and wants, engendered by intense activity in every department of human industry, are yet unhappy and discontented.

Disparity in wealth is inevitable where brain, not muscle, is the great motor of civilization. Disparity in intellect, in industry, in all natural conditions, is quite sufficient to create great gaps in the condition of men. The toiling masses, where equality of opportunity is offered them, have no envy of those who by superior intellect, or industry, or thrift have acquired more of this world's goods than they. But they do rebel when they think that law adds to the burdens of the poor and lessens those of the rich. Discontent and resentment against prevailing conditions arise.

Not having the time and the patience to analyze the complex condition of modern civilization, it is not to be wondered that whoever offers to solve the problem by a simple remedy is eagerly listened to. I will not, Mr. President, enter into any discussion of the monetary question. It is not germane to the tariff. My views on that question are well known, and I have no disposition to air them on this occasion. I allude to it only to draw attention to the fact that the application of the money cure to present conditions is evidence of an ailment or disease somewhere in the social body.

An article by Mr. Horace V. White in one of the popular magazines recently attracted my attention. The writer stated that it was not true that the French masses were in want or in a distressed condition at the outbreak of the French Revolution of 1789. On the contrary, they were never so well off. But society was profoundly stirred at the bottom from a sense of injustice and resentment against the privileges and oppression of the nobility. While the masses were well off materially, they could not brook the invidious distinctions created by law where nature had created none. Tyranny, insolence, and oppression followed in the wake of legal distinctions and favors.

So, Mr. President, a discontent of the mind is greater than the suffering of the body to work great social revolutions. We do know that protection creates privileges and monopolies and wealth. We do know that while our toilers, from their wonderful activity and industry, enjoy more of material blessing than their co-toilers throughout the globe, yet their minds and hearts are resentful of some wrong laid upon them by the law.

When we have a patent wrong, a known wrong, one recognized by Democracy from the time of its full and perfect organization, prudence would dictate its remedy first of all.

Rather let us remedy those wrongs we all do know than fly to the redress of others not so known of all of us.

I attribute the evils from which the social body suffers in this country to the unequal and unjust workings of tariff legislation. Strikes, lockouts, and tramps have their origin mostly in that legislation. In Europe, socialism is the result of class privilege and partial legislation.

In this country, in striking out for a remedy for ills that are felt, but the origin of which is not clearly seen, our people are looking to what Bastiat calls "universal spoliation as a remedy for partial spoliation." They are looking to socialistic remedies in various forms. But, sir, the tariff issue has been tendered by the Republican party. While I deprecate thrusting that issue on the country, knowing that another and a greater issue is ever present and can not be set aside by the Republican device of tariff, we must accept it.

Sir, "conditions have changed since 1890." The great intermountain States, where settlers from the East and immigrants from Europe obtained freeholds as a gift, have been settled up. Outside of Government reservations, nearly all the fertile lands in the United States are occupied. Rapidity and cheapness of communication over the seas and over the land bring the products of all lands to the consumers of the world. Keen competition in every branch of industry exists everywhere. Labor-saving inventions in every human industry multiply production at lower prices.

The United States can no longer claim supremacy as an agricultural nation. Though relatively the greatest of all producers of grain and meat, yet rivals are in the field and her supremacy is threatened. In the conditions of the world, and in view of the fact of the constant trend of prices to a lower level, where or how will the American wheat or cotton grower get higher prices for his product? All the great staples of agriculture must be cheap, with a tendency to lower prices. As an offset, everything that a farmer buys is cheaper and the purchasing power of his product rises in the inverse ratio of its decline in price.

The only commodity that does not decline and will not decline is human labor. It can not decline in view of its greater potency and efficiency. Just in proportion to the larger output of labor will wages rise. This is at once the wonder and the blessing of the age. The talk of cutting the price of labor, in view of its increasing productive capacity, is, in my opinion, ill considered and unfounded. Its greater production is met by greater and ever-increasing demand and desire. The masses of to-day are better clothed and fed, with more comforts generally, than the far-off royal progenitors and predecessors of that noble Queen whose loyal subjects of Great Britain, its colonies and dependencies, are now sending up prayers of gratitude to God for her long and prosperous and glorious reign.

Sir, the Senator from Rhode Island, in his opening speech, said:

> It was, I believe, thoroughly understood throughout the country in the last political campaign that if the Republican party should again be intrusted with power, no extreme tariff legislation should follow. It was believed that in the changed conditions of the country a return to the duties imposed by the act of 1890 would not be necessary, even from a protective standpoint. * * * Nothing could be so conducive to real prosperity in this country as the well-grounded belief that there was to be no violent changes in our revenue policy for some years to come. The true friends of a protective policy do not insist upon extreme rates or any that are not necessary to equalize conditions. * * * Without relinquishing one particle of our devotion to the cause of protection, we feel that we have the right to ask that the cause shall not be burdened by the imposition of duties which are unnecessary and excessive.

The Senator then goes on to say that with the proposed new duties on beer, tobacco, and tea a surplus of $2,725,028.72 might be looked for in the next two years, and without them a deficit of $29,175,000 would arise, which "would certainly be fatal to the hopes of future success of any political party responsible for such legislation."

So, sir, we have from this high authority the following statements:

First. If the Republican party was intrusted with power, no extreme tariff measure would be adopted.

Second. That the act of 1890 was to be discarded and its rates not retained.

Mr. President, the inference to be drawn from the prayerful appeal of the Senator to deliver his party from excessive rates is that there was a hungry set in his midst clamoring for excessive rates. My experience with clamorers is that nothing but the earth and its fullness will satisfy their craving. When Solomon typified the breed of importunates by the daughters of the horse-leech, the great republic beyond the seas, with its thousands yelling, "Give, give, or we perish!" had not come into being. May the Lord deliver the Senator from Rhode Island from the rush of them who thirst after their neighbors' contribution as the hart panteth for the water brooks.

Sir, it is difficult to tell what an excessive rate is, from a Republican standpoint. "It was believed," the Senator said, "that in the changed condition of the country a return to the duties imposed by the act of 1890 would not be necessary, even from a protective standpoint." We have here, by irresistible inference, that the rates of 1890 were excessive, as it was believed that a return to them, even from a protective standpoint, was not necessary.

The distinguished Senator, who is a sincere protectionist and a man of extraordinary ability in all matters concerning duties on imports from a Republican standpoint, must have been mistaken to a great extent by the effect of the partial reductions on the lines chosen and adopted by his committee. It is clear, however, from the action of the Senate in disagreeing to a number of amendments proposed by the Finance Committee, that the rates of the House bill will be practically adopted.

I have caused to be prepared a statement, the correctness of which I vouch for, showing "Duties collected on leading articles in the year 1892-93 under the tariff law then in force; also duties that would have been collected on same had House and Senate bills of 1897 been applied in ad valorem rates."

Only articles imported in 1892-93 exceeding $1,000,000 in value are embraced in the statement. I do not think that this exclusion will appreciably affect the result of the calculations. The ad valorem rates are those used by Mr. Worthington C. Ford in the comparative statement made by him for the Finance Committee and the Senate, showing the ad valorem rates of 1890 and 1894 and those of the House bill and Senate amended bill.

It appears from the statement, which I incorporate in my remarks as a part of the same (Appendix No. 2), that the rates of duty under the act of 1890, omitting sugar, are 30.34 per cent; including sugar, 36.28 per cent. The rate of duty under the House bill, omitting sugar, is 52.60 per cent; including sugar, 58.02 per cent. The rates of duty under Senate amendments to the House bill, omitting sugar, are 48.47 per cent; including sugar, 55.88 per cent.

So, sir, instead of avoiding the excessive rates of the McKinley bill, the House bill, without sugar, exceeds them, and the Senate amendments come near equaling them. With sugar, both the House bill and the Senate amendments exceed the rates of the McKinley bill averaged all around. Is this, sir, the moderate tariff which the Senator promised us? Was he, like Lord Clive, so surrounded by the precious gems of protection glittering before his eyes and inviting the fatherly hand of government to take them for its own to distribute among the wards of the government, infants and adults, that he was astonished at his moderation?

Sir, the Republican party went to defeat under the high tariff of 1890. That was but a skirmish compared to the battle that is to be in 1900. Then will come the Waterloo of Republicanism. The Napoleon of the tariff can then meditate on the ingratitude of the Republic and the blindness of them who fail to see the blessings of paying somebody else a part of their money to make them rich.

But, sir, the alleged reductions are illusory. They are made where either no duty is necessary to keep out imports or where lowering them slightly would not let them in.

Here are some examples showing the incorrectness of the statement that any material reduction has been, in point of fact, made from the McKinley rates.

The table herein inserted (Appendix No. 3) shows that the exports of pig iron in 1894 were worth $370,243; in 1895, $227,066; in 1896, $471,803. Duty in 1890, 26.66 per cent; in 1894, 15.87 per cent; proposed duty, 15.87 per cent. Now, when we are exporting pig iron to the extent of $471,803 per annum, and when we can manufacture it and sell it abroad cheaper than any other nation, is it not absurd to claim merit for reduction of duties on it? So with regard to bar iron, structural iron and steel, castings, unbleached cotton goods, cables and cordage, boots and shoes. There is either a pretended and delusive reduction of rates on these articles, or the old duties are retained.

Did time permit, it could easily be shown by a more extended examination of the schedules that no real reduction has been made in any one of them where the burdens of the people would be lightened.

The examples given show that the American is ready to take the field against all comers. He is ready to fight Europe on its own ground. Give him a chance. Do not destroy the export of shoes by a tax on hides.

An industry that has nearly doubled its exports in two years is worth your attention, gentlemen of the other side. If, by reason of a wholly unjust and unjustifiable tax on hides, the shoe manufacturers are unable to compete with foreigners in foreign markets, their enterprise will be dwarfed, their workmen thrown out of employment. The New England shoemaker may learn a lesson from this which he would not heed coming from a Democratic source.

Sir, look at these manufacturing industries of ours. The iron, cotton, and wool industries were established in colonial days. They all prospered. Wool, when the country ceased to be pastoral and became agricultural, commenced to languish. The others have grown and prospered much less than if they had been put upon their mettle. But natural advantages have at last worked out these results, and to protect them now is a sin against sense and justice. But what of wool?

Says Mr. Worthington C. Ford, in his report on wool and manufactures of, published in 1894, and ordered by joint resolution of Congress:

If there is any fact demonstrated by the experience of the United States in the sheep industry, it is the independence, in the long run, of this interest of artificial encouragement. It has survived the restrictions of the mother country in colonial times, the penalties and discouragements of hostile legislation, as well as the progressive settlement of the country. It has followed economic law, in spite of restrictions, bounties, and financial errors, and it is to-day still pursuing its natural course, regardless of low prices, destructive foreign competition, and unprofitable returns. (Appendix No. 4.)

Below is a table showing the relative production and consumption of wool in the United States from 1860 to 1892, during which period there was a high tariff on wool.

It appears from this table that the increase of production from 1860 to 1892 was 378.84 per cent, and the increased consumption during the same period was 414.98 per cent. (Appendix No. 5.)

Also a table showing the number of sheep in the United States from 1867 to 1896, and the number of pounds of wool. It will be seen that the sheep have about held to the same number as there were in 1867, and the wool has increased from 112,000,000 pounds to 309,000,000 pounds, according to the estimate of the Department of Agriculture.

Half of our wool must be imported. We can grow neither the coarse carpet wools nor the fine Australian wool.

Tariffs have failed because nature has failed. The sheep industry has drifted from the old to the new States with extensive ranches. Sheep are raised for mutton in the old States, and the fleece is secondary.

Turn from this table to the sheep of Australia. In 1854 there were 8,144,119 sheep in New South Wales; in 1892 there were 55,445,289. In Victoria there were, in 1854, 5,332,007 sheep; in 1892 there were 12,965,306. In South Australia there were 1,768,724 sheep in 1854; in 1892 there were 7,152,047. In Western Australia there were 173,243 in 1854; in 1892 there were 1,685,500. In New Zealand there were 990,985 in 1856, and in 1892 there were 18,520,752. In Queensland there were, in 1860, 3,449,350 sheep, and in 1892 there were 23,708,310. In the Argentine Republic there were, in 1857, 15,989,405 sheep; in 1892 there were 86,800,195.

There is no use going any further. The same law that has driven wheat from the old lands of the East to the new lands of the West has driven sheep culture from the old to the new countries. Not only is the climate better in the East and parts of the Argentine Republic, but the wool is of a superior quality in the East.

Sheep need pastures for woolgrowing. They can not grow and multiply on tariff bills. The American people are called on to pay tribute of millions—some estimate the amount at $25,000,000 annually—to support 85,000 persons. The ranch kings get free pasturage on the vast plains of the Northwest, New Mexico, and Arizona.

This industry is an object lesson of the futility of trying by legislation to override nature and economic law. It were infinitely better to place wool on the free list, without any duty on the manufactured product. The woolen manufacturers of the East and North ought to see that they will lose the home market by the folly of protection. The intermountain States, with the powerful aid of Ohio, are throttling the manufacturing interests by the enormous tariff they demand on raw wool—about 60 per cent on raw to over 100 per cent on the finished product. Our manufacturers are compelled to import the fine Australian fleece and the coarse carpet wools of China and South America. In spite of tariff, our sheep will not grow them.

Never was there so conspicuous a failure of protection. Never have a patient people borne a wrong so long.

I insert a table (Appendix No. 6), with comparative scale of prices, showing the tariff changes, with the market price of fine fleece wool for each year from 1847 to 1897. This table shows conclusively that during the low tariff of 1847 to 1855 and from 1855 to 1861, under practical free trade, wool was higher than under the high tariffs of 1867 and 1890.

It will be seen that the tariff from 1861 to 1867 was almost nothing, and that, excluding the years from 1872 to 1875, when there was a wool famine, the prices under practically free wool were higher than under highly protected wool from 1867 down to 1894. These tables ought to convince anybody that the tariff on wool is an abomination.

Sir, the industries that have flourished in the United States are those grounded on natural advantages. Our wheat and cotton and corn never needed and can not prosper under a tariff. It is so of the leading manufacturing industries—iron, cotton, wool, and wood.

There is no country on the globe comparable to ours in the extent and variety of its resources. We have more coal and iron, copper and lead, and lime, and cotton, and wood, than any other advanced nation. We have abundant and cheaper transportation. We have large cities on the seaboard and in the interior. We have the most industrious and most inventive population on the globe. Heretofore lands have been so cheap and so plentiful, notwithstanding the tributes paid by the farmers to the manufacturers, that they could pay tribute and still prosper. But agriculture, in the natural order of progress, is declining, and manufacturing increasing.

From the following excerpts from the Statistical Abstract of 1896 it will be seen that the value of our agricultural exports increased from $256,560,972 in 1860, to $569,879,297 in 1896. In 1860 they were 81.13 per cent of our total exports, and in 1896, 66.02 per cent. In 1860 our exports of domestic manufactures were $40,345,893, in 1896 they were $228,571,178. It is estimated that they will exceed $300,000,000 at the end of the fiscal year. The percentage to our total exports was 12.76 per cent in 1860, and in 1896, 26.48 per cent. In mining, other than the precious metals, the increase is more pronounced. In 1860 the value of the coal, etc., mined was $999,465, which was 31 per cent. In 1896 the value was $20,045,654, constituting 2.32 per cent of our domestic exports.

It is estimated that the value of domestic manufactures this year will be in the neighborhood of 30 per cent of the total export. It is therefore apparent that manufacturing is in the upward movement and agriculture in the downward. Mulhall says:

Nearly all American manufactures are produced by machinery, while in Europe more than half is hand work. The result is that the output per hand is much greater, namely:

Country.	Value.	Number of hands.	Pounds per hand.
United Kingdom	£876,000,000	8,125,000	107
France	596,000,000	4,480,000	133
Germany	600,000,000	8,830,000	79
Austria	328,000,000	4,470,000	73
Other States	1,076,000,000	12,435,000	86
Total	3,566,000,000	38,400,000	383
United States	1,952,000,000	5,400,000	360

If the American laborer turns out £360 sterling and the Englishman £107 sterling of work per annum, who is the cheaper man? Pauper labor may be able, by hand methods, to compete with intelligent American labor, which I do not concede, but can not contend against American machinery, run by American brains and skill.

Notwithstanding the fact that we are exporting coal, iron and products of iron, cotton fabrics, wood and wooden fabrics, and other manufactures to the extent of about $300,000,000 per annum, after supplying home demands, we are called upon to place heavy duties on all these articles. When driven to admit, from the comparative statement containing importations for 1893-1896, that the duties are prohibitory, the other side are either dumb or evasive.

Sir, the end of protection is at hand. The energy and industry, capital, and labor of this country must seek an outlet for their surplus product. We are shipping pig iron to England, our cotton fabrics to the East, our agricultural implements to the four quarters of the globe. Iron is king. Cotton has been dethroned. Our supply of that great material which transforms the earth, conquers the sea, and invades the secret places of the air is inexhaustible; so is our coal and lime and fiber. We are the masters of the trade of the world. In spite of tariffs our industries have overleaped their walls and by natural force are challenging all competitors on even terms.

Let everybody come to our shores with their wares and their produce and exchange them with our people in such terms as they may choose.

Sir, this bill will soon be a law. There have been brave words spoken of the coming prosperity. Prosperity does not come from wishes or from prophecy. Prosperity comes from the trade which the other side are trying to destroy.

Sir, lately a treaty of arbitration between Great Britain and the United States was pending before this body. The unhappy fate of that treaty is not yet forgotten by the nation. But, sir, as broader trade relations engender good will and mutual esteem among the nations of the earth, may we not indulge the hope that, after this saturnalia of paternalism is over, the silken tie of commerce will bind this with all the nations in profitable, healthy, independent, free intercourse, more potent to prevent bloody conflicts than the parchment obligations which while recognizing the danger of seek to defer the resort to arms?

Such, sir, is the hope that encourages me—springing eternal from a Democratic breast.

To sum up my position:

I believe in a tariff on luxuries.

I believe in excise taxes.

I believe in an income tax.

I believe in a tariff on imports placed so as to put money in the coffers of the Government and not in the pockets of individuals.

I do not believe in protection save for the purpose of protecting each citizen in the enjoyment of legal, constitutional, and natural rights.

APPENDIX No. 1.

MEMORANDA FROM THE RECORDS OF THE TREASURY DEPARTMENT.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, D. C., September 1, 1896.

During the fiscal year 1888—ended June 30, 1888—the revenues of the Government were $111,341,273 in excess of its expenditures.

During the fiscal year 1889—ended June 30, 1889—the revenues were $87,761,080 in excess of the expenditures.

During the fiscal year 1890—ended June 30, 1890—the revenues were $85,040,271 in excess of the expenditures.

The so-called McKinley tariff act took effect on the 6th day of October, 1890, and during the fiscal year 1891—ended June 30, 1891—the revenues were $26,538,541 in excess of the expenditures.

During the fiscal year 1892—ended June 30, 1892—the revenues were $9,914,453 in excess of the expenditures.

During the fiscal year 1893—ended June 30, 1893—the revenues were $2,341,674 in excess of the expenditures.

During the fiscal year 1894—ended June 30, 1894—the expenditures exceeded the revenues to the amount of $69,803,260.58, notwithstanding the fact that the expenditures of the Government were $15,952,674 less than in the preceding year. The McKinley bill was in force during the whole of the fiscal year 1894.

The so-called Wilson tariff act took effect on the 28th day of August, 1894, and the revenues for the fiscal year 1895—ended June 30, 1895—were $42,805,223.18 less than the expenditures; and during the fiscal year 1896—ended June 30, 1896—the revenues were $25,203,245.70 less than the expenditures.

Receipts from customs and total receipts from all sources.

UNDER M'KINLEY ACT.

Period.	Customs.	All sources.
Twelve months ending September 30, 1891	$196,794,357.80	$371,932,536.81
Twelve months ending September 30, 1892	185,838,859.19	364,847,501.72
Twelve months ending September 30, 1893	189,182,905.46	385,534,609.55
Eleven months ending August 31, 1894	112,590,939.77	292,078,342.91

UNDER WILSON ACT.

Twelve months ending August 31, 1895	$161,301,169.35	$295,061,022.16
Twelve months ending August 31, 1896	154,218,813.94	321,720,319.37

CONDITION OF THE TREASURY MARCH 1, 1889, AND MARCH 1, 1893.

On the 1st day of March, 1889, the beginning of President Harrison's Administration, the available funds in the Treasury, exclusive of the $100,000,000 gold reserve, were as follows:

Agency account	$64,502,445.02
Net balance in Treasury	165,846,471.10
Total	230,348,916.12

On the 1st day of March, 1893, the beginning of the present Administration, the available funds in the Treasury, exclusive of the $100,000,000 gold reserve, were as follows:

Agency account	$58,365,832.90
Net balance in Treasury	24,084,742.28
Total	82,450,575.18

In addition to the ordinary revenues received during President Harrison's Administration, there was covered into the Treasury $54,207,975.75, which had been held in trust under the law as a fund for the redemption of national-bank notes. This proceeding was authorized by the act of July 14, 1890, commonly known as the Sherman Act.

PUBLIC DEBT PAID BY THE TWO ADMINISTRATIONS.

From the 1st day of March, 1885, the beginning of Mr. Cleveland's first Administration, to March 1, 1889, the public debt was reduced $341,448,449.20; and from March 1, 1889, the beginning of Mr. Harrison's Administration, to March 1, 1893, the reduction of the public debt was $230,527,666.10.

The amount of free gold in the Treasury on the 7th day of March, 1893, when the present Secretary took charge of the Department, was $100,982,410.

Values of imports and exports of merchandise.

UNDER M'KINLEY ACT.

Period.	Imports.	Exports, domestic and foreign.
October 1, 1890, to September 30, 1891	$824,716,842	$923,362,015
October 1, 1891, to September 30, 1892	837,280,798	908,226,775
October 1, 1892, to September 30, 1893	830,150,318	875,332,434
October 1, 1893, to August 31, 1894*	603,865,806	700,706,509

*Eleven months.

UNDER WILSON ACT.

September 1, 1894, to August 31, 1895	$759,108,416	$806,670,050
September 1, 1895, to July 31, 1896	667,695,637	837,902,519

Excess of exports of merchandise alone and of merchandise and silver.

UNDER M'KINLEY ACT.

Period.	Merchandise.	Merchandise and silver.
October 1, 1890, to September 30, 1891	$98,645,173	$103,537,310
October 1, 1891, to September 30, 1892	160,945,977	175,091,707
October 1, 1892, to September 30, 1893	46,182,116	68,072,811
October 1, 1893, to August 31, 1894	186,840,613	219,546,927

UNDER WILSON ACT.

September 1, 1894, to August 31, 1895	$47,561,634	$86,960,538
September 1, 1895, to July 31, 1896	150,106,882	194,435,730

Annual average excess of exports of merchandise alone.

Under McKinley Act of 1890	$123,153,470
Under Wilson Act of 1894	98,834,258

Annual average excess of exports of merchandise and silver.

Under McKinley Act of 1890	$141,712,189
Under Wilson Act of 1894	140,698,134

APPENDIX No. 2.

Duties collected on leading articles in the year 1893-'93 under the tariff then in force, also duties that would have been collected on same had House and Senate bills of 1897 been applied, in ad valorem rates.

Article.	Ad valorem duty rate. Law 1890.	House.	Senate.	Paragraph.	Value of import.
	Per cent.	*Per cent.*	*Per cent.*		
Sugar not above 16, cane	F.	72	75	206	$1,019,514.31
Sugar not above 16, beet	F.	72	75	206	128,449.66
	.....	72	75	.....	1,147,963.97
Woolen dress goods, total	103.5	101.3	93.8	367	178,215.74
Tin plates, lighter than 63 pounds	78.4	53.5	49.9	130	166,917.65
All other manufactures of flax, etc., n. s. p.	38.5	50	45	345	150,493.43
	74.98	69.60	64.20	.....	495,626.82
Precious stones, etc., not set	10	15	10	425	147,409.30
Tea	F.	F.	(64.2)	286½	.....
Laces, etc., of cotton, n. s. p.	60	60	60	358	128,130.98
Woolen cloth, total	100	102.5	95.7	364	128,069.22
All other manufactures of silk, n. s. p.	50	50	50	388	119,346.28
	53.42	55.33	52.38	.....	522,904.78
Wool, raw, class 3	32	32	52.9	357	95,044.03
Silk, dress and piece goods	50	50	50	384	91,929.63
Leaf tobacco, other, not stemmed	81.9	152.2	81.9	211	69,723.39
China, etc., decorated	60	60	50	89	68,210.93
Burlaps	30.1	30.6	28.3	339	67,305.89
Wool, class 1, unwashed	59.6	59.6	43.4	356	65,161.23
Boards, etc., hemlock, etc., not planed	8.3	8.3	8.3	193	61,830.30
	45.97	55.47	46.21	.....	519,205.38
Stockings, etc. (four items)	69.1	70.4	70.4	314	56,946.43
Articles n. s. p.; metals, n. e. s.	45	45	45	191	50,252.04
Lemons, etc	13.2	(?)	(?)	265	.....
Laces and embroideries, silk	60	60	60	387	49,317.57
Soda ash	20	20	30	74½	48,807.88
Furs, dressed, not made	20	20	20	416	41,742.30
Skins for morocco, tanned	10	10	10	427	38,225.91
Cement, hydraulic	24.1	24.1	24.1	84	37,636.91
Bituminous coal	22.7	22.7	22.7	405	35,900.38
Articles n. s. p.; machinery	45	45	45	191	32,216.25
Velvets, etc., less than 75 per cent silk	72.6	72.6	72.6	383	30,012.93
Champagne, more than pints	55.2	55.2	55.2	294	28,712.21
Dolls, etc	35	35	35	408	28,270.44
	40.32	40.48	41.50	.....	477,931.24
Gloves, ladies', plain	50	50	50	429	27,775.33
Cigars and cheroots	125.4	125.4	114.2	214	27,529.28
Laces, etc., of flax, etc., n. s. p.	60	60	60	335	25,649.01
Still wines, in casks	69.4	83.3	52.2	295	24,802.03
Argols or crude tartar	F.	18.4	F.	464½	23,415.75
Coal-tar colors, n. s. p.	35	35	25	14	23,222.58
Braids, etc., of straw, etc., n. s. p.	F.	(?)	(?)	401	.....
Champagne, pints or less	52.6	52.6	52.6	294	22,237.12
Bleaching powder	F.	F.	13.6	7½	22,126.06
Ribbons	50	50	60	388	22,030.96
All other cotton manufactures, n. s. p.	40	40	45	319	21,714.40
China, etc., plain	55	55	45	90	21,108.56
Paintings and drawings	15	25	F.	606½	20,867.65
Potatoes	82	82	41.6	250	20,667.83
Wood pulp, unbleached	12.4	7.8	7.8	390	20,662.58
Molasses	F.	23.4	31.1	200	19,923.59

Duties collected on leading articles in the year 1892-93, etc.—Continued.

Article.	Ad valorem duty rate.			Paragraph.	Value of import.
	Law 1890.	House.	Senate.		
	Per cent.	*Per cent.*	*Per cent.*		
Leaf tobacco, for wrappers	236.7	388.7	179	210	$19,796.57
Skins, n. s. p	20	20	20	427	19,365.62
Furs, prepared	20	20	20	416	18,876.12
Still wines, in bottles, quarts	20	50.2	20	225	18,759.46
Surface-coated papers, cardboards, etc	35	(?)	(?)	303	
Books, pamphlets, etc., n. s. p	25	25	25	397	17,983.31
All other glass, n. s. p	60	45	45	108	17,398.71
Matting for floors, straw	F.	50	50	330	16,651.06
	47.37	51.72	44.92		472,539.50
Wire rods, valued 3½ cents or less	34	22.7	22.7	122	16,508.07
Artificial feathers and flowers, n. s. p	50	50	50	415	16,373.67
Plushes, etc., dyed, etc	60.3	60.3	59.5	312	16,138.11
Carpets and carpeting, total	62.2	62.2	62.4	379	15,853.11
Sheep, less than 1 year	22	22	22	218	15,191.76
Bristles	10.7	8	8	402	15,081.15
Silk, ready-made clothing, n. e. s	60	60	60	387	14,830.27
Woolen knit fabrics	94	90.8	84.7	364	14,564.22
Sawed lumber, n. s. p., not planed	21.4	21.4	21.4	193	14,402.03
Watches	25	40	40	189	14,230.38
Cheese and substitutes	43	43	43	235	14,116.49
All other wood manufactures, n. s. p	35	35	35	205	13,971.55
Handkerchiefs, silk	60	60	60	385	13,845.14
Spun silk, skeins	35	32	32	382	13,388.52
Rice flour, etc	14.1	28.2	14.1	229	13,164.56
Cotton cloth, dyed, etc., valued over 12 cents	45	40	40	300	13,010.91
Cylinder glass, polished, above 16 by 24	28.7	37.3	37.3	102	13,019.03
Caustic soda	42.8	21.4	32.1	73	12,990.23
Cotton, other wearing apparel, n. s. p	50	50	50	311	12,881.05
Spiegeleisen	25.9	15.4	15.4	119	12,734.63
Sugar above 16	12.9	48.2	64.8	206	12,482.74
Wool, class 2, unscoured	56.2	56.2	42.2	356	12,251.65
Beans	40.6	50.8	40.6	238	12,066.89
Grain bags of burlaps	44.7	40.2	37.4	340	11,998.04
Ale, etc., in bottles	41.6	41.6	41.6	226	11,932.15
Lead in silver ore	75.4	50.2	75.4	179	11,904.62
All other iron ore	42.7	22.8	22.8	118	11,896.36
Currants	F.	56	56	41	11,855.32
Crude opium	F.	62	52	263	11,782.05
Horses, valued less than $150	31.5	31.5	31.5	217	11,644.84
Herring, pickled	14.2	28.3	14.2	257	11,511.12
Sheets of iron, etc., thinner	70.5	101.1	(?)	137	
Articles n. s. p., iron and steel	45	45	45	191	11,351.17
Raisins	52.4	52.4	41.9	263	11,255.23
Hops	36.2	36.2	20	246	11,008.78
Anchovies, etc., quarter boxes	31	31	31	254	10,838.24
Plums, etc	44.2	55.3	44.2	263	10,498.96
Oranges, etc	19.2	(?)	(?)	265	
	39.00	41.74	40.71		472,607.04
All articles, omitting sugar not above 16	50.34	52.60	48.47		2,960,874.76
All articles, including sugar not above 16	50.28	56.02	55.88		4,108,838.73

APPENDIX No. 3.

Statement showing increased exports of certain leading articles and corresponding decline of tariff rates.

Article.	Exports (fiscal years).			Duty.		
	1894.	1895.	1896.	Act of 1890.	Act of 1894.	Senate bill.
				Per ct.	*Per ct.*	*Per ct.*
Pig iron	$370,243	$377,060	$471,803	26.66	15.87	15.87
Bar iron	130,783	143,221	170,080	(26.39 to 61.77)		(27.23 to 59.32
Structural iron and steel:*						
Classified as "ingots, bars, and rods of steel"	29,294	95,471	125,151	74.64	45.44	41.47
Classified as "all other manufactures of iron and steel"	4,968,583	5,700,669	7,048,893			

* There is such a decided falling off in the imports of structural iron and steel as to indicate that the control of the trade is in the hands of the domestic producers. The imports for the fiscal year 1893 were $135,546, and for the fiscal year 1896, $14,036 (see page 52, Ford's Comparison), showing that the control of the trade is in the hands of the domestic producers.

Statement showing increased exports of certain leading articles and corresponding decline of tariff rates—Continued.

Article.	Exports (fiscal years).			Duty.		
	1894.	1895.	1896.	Act of 1890.	Act of 1894.	Senate bill.
				Per ct.	*Per ct.*	*Per ct.*
Castings	$491,928	$562,988	$794,314	19.81	8.24	8.79
Pipe				26.97	27.63	17.98
Vessels, etc				35.33	24.90	23.57
Hollow ware, etc						
Cotton, manufactures of:*						
Cloth, unbleached	7,039,851	7,084,678	9,539,199	(*)	(*)	(*)
Cables and cordage	6,225,063	6,585,328	8,556,333	(17.00 to 32.00	10.00 to 35.00	17.45 to 20.72
Boots and shoes†	777,354	1,010,228	1,436,626	25	20	25

* Duties in the main remain the same in the Senate bill as under the present law, and less than in the McKinley Act.

† It will be observed here that the Senate bill has not reduced the tariff rate in this case. The rate, however, is not an advance over the McKinley Act, and is a very small rate and evidently not intended to be protective. The imports in this line are very small, and there can be no dispute, I believe, but that we control the market in this line of goods.

APPENDIX No. 4.

Quantities of wool produced and consumed, by decades, from 1860 to 1890, and from 1890 to 1892—Per cent of increase.

Years.	Production.	Consumption.
1860 ..... pounds	60,264,913	85,334,876
1870 ..... do	162,000,000	209,367,254
Increase ..... do	101,735,087	124,032,378
Per cent	168.81	145.35
1880 ..... pounds	292,500,000	356,791,676
Increase ..... do	70,500,000	147,424,422
Per cent	43.52	70.41
1890 ..... pounds	276,000,000	377,911,776
Increase ..... do	43,500,000	21,120,100
Per cent	18.71	5.92
1892 ..... pounds	294,000,000	439,460,633
Increase ..... do	18,000,000	61,548,857
Per cent	6.52	16.29
Increase from 1860 to 1892 ..... pounds	233,735,087	354,125,757
Per cent	387.84	414.98

APPENDIX No. 5.

Statistics of the woolgrowing industry for thirty years, beginning with the tariff year 1867.

Year.	Number of sheep.	Estimates by Department of Agriculture.	Estimates by New England Association Wool Manufacturers.
		Pounds.	*Pounds.*
1867	39,385,386		160,000,000
1868			177,000,000
1869			162,250,000
1870	40,853,000	162,000,000	163,000,000
1871	31,851,000	140,000,000	146,000,000
1872	31,679,000	150,000,000	160,000,000
1873	33,002,400	158,000,000	174,709,000
1874	33,938,240	170,000,000	178,000,000
1875	33,782,000	181,000,000	195,000,000
1876	35,935,300	192,000,000	198,250,000
1877	35,804,200	200,000,000	208,250,000
1878	35,740,500	208,250,000	211,000,000
1879	38,123,800	211,000,000	232,500,000
1880	40,765,000	232,500,000	264,000,000
1881	43,576,899	240,000,000	290,000,000
1882	45,016,224	272,000,000	300,000,000
1883	49,237,291	290,000,000	320,000,000
1884	50,623,626	300,000,000	337,500,000
1885	50,360,243	308,000,000	329,600,000
1886	48,322,331	302,000,000	323,031,026
1887	44,759,314	285,000,000	302,169,950
1888	43,544,755	269,000,000	301,876,121
1889	42,599,079	265,000,000	295,799,479
1890	44,336,572	276,000,000	309,474,856
1891	43,431,136	285,000,000	307,101,507
1892	44,938,365	294,000,000	333,018,405
1893	47,273,553	303,151,055	348,538,138
1894	45,048,017	287,105,930	325,210,712
1895	42,294,004	309,748,000	294,206,726
1896	38,298,783		272,474,708

APPENDIX No. 6.

Showing the tariff changes, with the market price of fine fleece wool, for each year during fifty years, from 1847 to 1897.

[For convenience of comparison the specific tariff rates have been changed to ad valorem by assuming a probable value for wools imported. The market price is that given by James Lynch and George William Bond, up to and including 1883. Subsequent to that date, the prices are those quoted by Mauger & Avery, of New York. The currency values for period when gold was at a premium are reduced to gold.]

Year.	Duty.	Comparative scale of duties.-	Comparative scale of prices.	Price.
				Cents.
1847	30 per cent.			.47
1848	do			.40
1849	do			.39
1850	do			.45
1851	do			.47
1852	do			.45
1853	do			.59
1854	do			.49
1855	do			.46
1856	Canada free. do			.55
1857 *	Free, costing not over 20 cents, and all Canada free.			.53
1858				.45
1859	do			.59
1860	do			.54
1861	5 per cent, costing not over 18 cents.			.44
1862 †	15 per cent, costing 18 to 24 cents.			.47
1863	Canada free.			.52
1864	25 to 30 per cent, Canada not free.			.45
1865	do			.46
1866	do			.47
1867	50 to 60 per cent.			.46
1868	do			.43
1869	do			.48
1870	do			.51
1871	do			.58
1872	45 to 55 per cent.			.60
1873	do			.50
1874	do			.50
1875	do			.52
1876	do			.44
1877	do			.47
1878	do			.39
1879	do			.37
1880	do			.49
1881	do			.43
1882	do			.43
1883	40 to 50 per cent.			.43
1884	do			.37
1885	do			.32½
1886	do			.34
1887	do			.33
1888	do			.30½
1889	do			.33½
1890	50 to 60 per cent, 11 cents and 12 cents per pound.			.33
1891				.31½
1892	do			.29
1893	do			.28½
1894	Free			.20½
1895	do			.17½
1896	do			.19
1897	do			.22

* This tariff admitted nearly all the fine wools of South America and Cape of Good Hope, and many of those grown in Australia, free. Wool costing over 20 cents was taxed 24 per cent ad valorem.

† Wool costing over 24 cents, 9 cents per pound. As under this clause only very high cost scoured wools would be selected, the duty might be less than 20 per cent.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. CARTER in the chair). The pending question is on the amendment of the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. JONES] to the amendment of the committee, which will be stated.

The SECRETARY. On page 122, line 13, paragraph 364, after the word "wholly," strike out "or in part;" and in the same line, after "wool," insert "or of which wool is the component material of chief value;" so as to make the paragraph read:

364. On cloths, knit fabrics, and all manufactures of every description made wholly of wool, or of which wool is the component material of chief value, not specially provided for in this act, valued at not more than 40 cents per pound, the duty per pound shall be three times the duty imposed by this act on a pound of unwashed wool of the first class; valued at above 40 cents per pound and not above 70 cents per pound, the duty per pound shall be four times the duty imposed by this act on 1 pound of unwashed wool of the first class, and in addition thereto, upon all the foregoing, 50 per cent ad valorem; valued at over 70 cents per pound, the duty per pound shall be four times the duty imposed by this act on 1 pound of unwashed wool of the first class and 55 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. WHITE. I desire to inquire of the Senator from Iowa, who is no doubt well informed on this subject, whether it is his opinion that there is now on hand in this country a supply of raw wool sufficient to meet the manufacturing demand for the coming year. That assertion has been made several times on the other side of the Chamber. I inquire of the Senator from Iowa if he has any information in relation to that matter?

Mr. ALLISON. I have no special information, and can speak only in a general way. I have seen several letters from Mr. Justice, who is a large wool dealer in Philadelphia, and I have seen other letters, stating that there is probably now or will very soon be a year's supply, or nearly a year's supply, of raw wool.

Mr. WHITE. I am inquiring for information. If that be true, upon what ground can any compensatory duty for the next twelve months be justified? Compensation is given upon the theory, as was stated by the Senator from Arkansas very clearly yesterday, that the tariff tax will result in higher rates, and that therefore it is but just to give the manufacturers compensation; but if it be true that wool has been imported and is now here, and that no duty is to be paid upon it, is it not plain that an amendment such as the one suggested by the Senator from Arkansas, providing that this compensatory duty shall not go into effect for a year, is absolutely just? I can not see any argument to the contrary.

Mr. ALLISON. I was under the impression that that amendment was voted down yesterday.

Mr. WHITE. Exactly; but that does not prevent a renewal of the proposition upon other sections, and it is scarcely an answer to the interrogatory to say that the question was voted on yesterday. I am looking for light on the subject.

Mr. ALLISON. That is scarcely an answer, but another answer is as to what would be done at the end of twelve months. Of course there will be a constant supply of wool on hand, and there will be the same supply, probably, at the end of twelve months that there is now. That is the only answer I know of.

Mr. WHITE. That, I respectfully submit, is not an answer at all, because the wool is now in the country and has not paid duty; of course it will not pay it; but the wool brought in here twelve months hence must pay duty if this bill becomes a law.

Mr. HOAR. The price will be raised by the tariff before the manufacturer gets the wool.

Mr. WHITE. But the wool is already here. Presumably the

manufacturers, who look out for this enactment, have brought it here and have it now in stock. We have been informed in the Senate by Senators on the other side of the Chamber that the warehouses of the country are full of a stock of wool that was imported for manufacturing purposes. It was admitted at the time the statement was made that no duty would be paid upon that wool, but it was said that was one of the unfortunate circumstances which must always attend a revision of the tariff. But that is no answer, because here is a plain, adequate remedy in sight, the substitution of a few words in this paragraph.

Now, Mr. President, there is another point upon which I desire information. I desire to inquire of the Senator from Iowa whether the rates provided in paragraph 363 are not greater than in the McKinley Act? As I read the McKinley Act, the rates here are greater. Instead of 40, the rate of the McKinley Act was 35, and instead of 35 it was 30. The duty upon wool is not greater, and why should the compensatory duty be greater? Is it a fact that under the McKinley law the manufacturers were not treated fairly, and that it is necessary now to add something? I have the McKinley law here. The language is not absolutely identical, but very nearly so. Paragraph 391 of the McKinley Act, which, I take it, refers to the same subject, is as follows:

On woolen and worsted yarns made wholly or in part of wool, worsted, the hair of the camel, goat, alpaca, or other animals, valued at not more than 30 cents per pound, the duty per pound shall be two and one-half times the duty imposed by this act on a pound of unwashed wool of the first class, and in addition thereto, 35 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. ALLISON. That is the duty on yarns. This duty is on fabrics.

Mr. WHITE. No; I am referring now to paragraph 363 of the bill under consideration.

Mr. ALLISON. What is the paragraph of the McKinley Act?

Mr. WHITE. It is the paragraph on yarns made wholly or in part of wool.

Mr. ALLISON. What is the paragraph in the act?

Mr. WHITE. Paragraph 363 of the bill under consideration and paragraph 391 of the McKinley Act. The phraseology is not the same, but there is a difference in the rate in this, that the proposed bill provides a larger rate than the McKinley Act, and it can not be justified, because the rate on wool is, if anything, less than in the McKinley Act, while the suffering manufacturer is here compensated for something in addition to that which he received under the McKinley Act. I am inquiring as to the reason for it. The duty on wool under the McKinley Act was 11 cents a pound and here it is 10 cents.

Mr. ALLISON. The paragraph the Senator quotes from is paragraph 391 of the McKinley Act?

Mr. WHITE. Yes, sir.

Mr. ALLISON. Which provides that—

On woolen and worsted yarns made wholly or in part of wool * * * valued at not more than 30 cents per pound, the duty per pound shall be two and one-half times the duty imposed by this act on a pound of unwashed wool of the first class.

Mr. WHITE. The valuation here is 35 cents per pound.

Mr. ALLISON. Certainly it is a higher bracket than 30; instead of 30 cents, it is 35 in this bill; which shows that the rate is much lower.

Mr. WHITE. It has been stated to me that the rate is higher. The Senator may be better informed about it than I.

Mr. ALLISON. The Senator will see that it is on woolen and worsted yarns "valued at not more than 30 cents per pound, the duty per pound shall be two and one-half times the duty imposed by this act on a pound of unwashed wool * * * valued at not more than 35 cents per pound, two and one-half times." So that the rate is much lower.

Mr. WHITE. The Senator will observe that the ad valorem duty in paragraph 391 of the McKinley law on woolen and worsted yarns is 45 per cent, and here it is 40 per cent on all.

Mr. ALLISON. Very well. Then "valued at more than 30 cents and not more than 40 cents per pound, the duty per pound shall be three times the duty imposed by this act on a pound of the unwashed wool of the first class; and in addition thereto 35 per cent ad valorem."

Mr. WHITE. Yes.

Mr. ALLISON. Then it continues:

Valued at more than 40 cents per pound, the duty per pound shall be three and one-half times the duty imposed by this act on a pound of unwashed wool of the first class, and in addition thereto 40 per cent ad valorem.

The ad valorem is an increase of 5 per cent, and in the specific duty there is a reduction.

Mr. WHITE. The duty on wool is less.

Mr. ALLISON. The specific duty is less and the compensatory duty is less.

Mr. WHITE. I presume the dollar will have the same appearance, no matter what it comes in under. It is a decrease.

Mr. ALLISON. I do not think it is.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The immediate amendment under consideration is the proposition to insert, in line 13, the words "or of which wool is the component material of chief value," in paragraph 364; and after the word "wholly," in the same line, to strike out the words "or in part."

Mr. President, attention was called to the fact on yesterday that when the flax schedule was constructed, in every instance it was said as to certain fabrics of flax, hemp, or ramie, where the material of chief value in the mixed fabric of flax and cotton was cotton, that it should pay as a cotton fabric, and should not have the tariff that was intended to be put on the flax fabric. That is also the case in the silk schedule. Where there is a mixture of silk and cotton or other material, in every instance the paragraph provides that where a fabric is composed of silk or partly of silk, in which silk is the component material of chief value, then the rate of taxation put on the silk fabric shall stand; but if the component material of chief value is cotton, the material is not treated as a silk fabric at all, and the rates are put upon it as a cotton fabric.

In this wool schedule it seems to me that there is a singular disregard of the facts that enter into this schedule. When an American manufacturer manufactures a piece of cloth which weighs 10 pounds, Congress fixes a rate of protection on that, and this law proposes to give the manufacturer a tariff of 50 per cent to protect him in the manufacture of these woolen cloths. Fifty per cent goes into the manufacturer's tariff as the manufacturer's protection clear through this bill. If an American manufacturer manufactures a piece of cloth which weighs 10 pounds, he is satisfied, as we understand this bill, and its friends are satisfied, that he shall have a manufacturer's protection of 50 per cent; but when he has manufactured 10 pounds of cloth he says, "I manufactured this cloth, and while I am content with the 50 per cent protection I get as a manufacturer, yet I have been handicapped by being compelled to pay a tariff on my raw material, which I ought to be indemnified for."

Then you go about ascertaining what he is entitled to. His statement is that it requires 3 pounds of wool in the grease to make 1 pound of wool scoured or in the cloth, and that for every 10 pounds of cloth the manufacturer requires he has to buy 30 pounds of wool in the grease. That is under the paragraph as you propose it. If that be true, there must be 10 cents a pound paid upon the wool in the grease, and the manufacturer must have paid tariff on the amount of wool used in the manufacture of 10 pounds of cloth at 10 cents per pound on 30 pounds of wool, making $3, which he has paid as the tariff on his raw material. If these 10 pounds of goods are worth $10, 50 cents protection will be a protection of $5 as the manufacturer's protection. But he says he must have that without having it decreased by the $3 taken to pay the tariff on the raw wool. Hence he must have, in addition to the tariff, an ad valorem equivalent to the amount of tariff he has been compelled to pay on his raw material.

You say that, having used 30 pounds of wool in the grease to make 10 pounds of cloth, the 10 cents a pound paid by the manufacturer as a tariff on the wool in the grease must be allowed him. So we fix the tariff that for every pound of cloth in the manufacture there shall be a tariff amounting to three times the amount of the tariff that was paid upon a pound of raw wool. So there is a tariff of 30 cents a pound on the cloth, 10 pounds making $3, and the tariff is $3 specific, in addition to the 50 per cent tariff to compensate for the $3 paid on the raw wool when the manufacturer buys his wool.

Mr. President, if this were true, if the manufacturer actually used 30 pounds of raw wool in making 10 pounds of woven wool, the argument would be all right, and, from the standpoint of Senators on the other side, be just and fair; but suppose, as a matter of fact, that in that 10 pounds of cloth, instead of having 10 pounds of wool he only has 5 pounds of wool and 5 pounds of cotton, where, then, can be the justification of giving him $3 protection for a tariff when he pays but $1.50, all he has used being 5 pounds of wool in his manufacture of cloth—one-half wool and one-half cotton. There are 5 pounds of wool and 5 pounds of cotton in that 10 pounds of cloth, and the tariff he paid for the material he used in making the 5 pounds of cotton cloth and that he used in making 5 pounds of woolen cloth, one-half of the woolen fabric, would take, instead of 30 pounds of wool in the grease, but 15 pounds of wool in the grease; and when you propose to give him a compensation of $3 where he has paid but $1.50, you are treating the American public unjustly and unfairly, and increasing his protective tariff beyond what he himself says is necessary for him to have.

The argument is stronger still if there is but one-tenth of wool, and yet under the terms of this bill you propose that if there is one-tenth wool you shall pay the full amount as if the whole of it was composed of wool.

Mr. President, I submit that in a fabric where there is but one-tenth wool it is not fair that it should be treated in the same way as if it were composed wholly of wool; and that where wool is the material of least value, that that fabric should be considered as a

cotton fabric and treated as such, and these wool tariffs ought not to go on it. Take the 50 per cent, if you choose; but you have no right to give him a compensation for ten times as much wool as he puts into his fabric, or four times as much, or twice as much.

I respectfully submit that these facts can not be gainsaid or denied, and you can not get away from them. You are under the guise, under the pretense, of giving a compensatory duty to the manufacturer to compensate him for the wool he puts in his material, giving him ten times the amount of wool in some cases on which a tariff has been paid to the Government. In this particular case to-day you are passing this bill; and whenever it becomes a law the American manufacturer takes his 30 pounds of wool, upon which he has not paid one cent of duty, and yet you propose to put a tariff upon the fabric in addition to the 50 per cent that he says is all he wants, in addition to the 50 per cent which is all that the manufacturers claim they are entitled to.

In addition to that, you propose to put a specific duty, under the pretense of compensating him for the tariff he has paid upon wool, which he has not paid, and which you know he has not paid, and which you have admitted on the floor of the Senate that he has not paid, and yet you levy this tax upon the people to make woolen manufacture more profitable, and instead of giving him 50 per cent, you propose to give him 80 or 90 per cent.

The plain matter of fact in this case can not be evaded; it can not be dodged. If the words I have proposed, "or of which wool is the material of chief value," be inserted, and then these rates go into effect, they will be much less unjust and unfair than the terms of the bill as proposed by the committee.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. CARTER in the chair). The yeas and nays having been ordered on the amendment proposed by the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. JONES] to the amendment of the committee, the Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CHILTON (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MCBRIDE].

Mr. HAWLEY (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. BATE]. I believe he is still absent, and so I shall not vote. If he were here, I should vote "nay."

Mr. RAWLINS (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Ohio [Mr. HANNA].

Mr. WELLINGTON (when his name was called). I inquire if the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. BUTLER] has voted?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. He has not voted.

Mr. WELLINGTON. Then I withhold my vote, as I am paired with that Senator.

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. My colleague [Mr. BERRY] is detained from the Senate Chamber by public business. If he were present, he would vote "yea." He is paired with the Senator from Illinois [Mr. MASON].

Mr. GEAR. I inquire if the senior Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH] has voted?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. He has not voted.

Mr. GEAR. Then I withhold my vote, as I am paired with that Senator. If he were present, I should vote "nay."

Mr. MURPHY. I am paired with the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. CHANDLER], and therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. MORRILL. I am paired with the senior Senator from Tennessee [Mr. HARRIS], and therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. HANSBROUGH. I transfer my pair with the senior Senator from Virginia [Mr. DANIEL] to the Senator from Nevada [Mr. JONES], and vote "nay."

Mr. PASCO. I wish to announce that the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. LINDSAY] is necessarily absent from the city. He is paired with the senior Senator from Michigan [Mr. MCMILLAN].

Mr. SEWELL (after having voted in the negative). I inquire if the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. MITCHELL] has voted?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. He has not voted.

Mr. SEWELL. Then I withdraw my vote, as I am paired with that Senator.

The result was announced—yeas 23, nays 32; as follows:

YEAS—23.

Allen,	Gorman,	Martin,	Tillman,
Bacon,	Harris, Kans.	Mills,	Turpie,
Caffery,	Jones, Ark.	Morgan,	Vest,
Clay,	Kenney,	Pasco,	Walthall,
Cockrell,	McLaurin,	Pettus,	White.
Faulkner,	Mallory,	Roach,	

NAYS—32.

Allison,	Foraker,	Nelson,	Shoup,
Burrows,	Frye,	Penrose,	Spooner,
Carter,	Gallinger,	Perkins,	Teller,
Clark,	Hale,	Platt, Conn.	Thurston,
Davis,	Hansbrough,	Platt, N. Y.	Turner,
Deboe,	Hoar,	Pritchard,	Warren,
Elkins,	Lodge,	Proctor,	Wetmore,
Fairbanks,	Mantle,	Quay,	Wilson.

NOT VOTING—34.

Aldrich,	Daniel,	Kyle,	Pettigrew,
Baker,	Gear,	Lindsay,	Rawlins,
Bate,	George,	McBride,	Sewell,
Berry,	Gray,	McEnery,	Smith,
Butler,	Hanna,	McMillan,	Stewart,
Cannon,	Harris, Tenn.	Mason,	Wellington,
Chandler,	Hawley,	Mitchell,	Wolcott.
Chilton,	Heitfeld,	Morrill,	
Cullom,	Jones, Nev.	Murphy,	

So the amendment of Mr. JONES of Arkansas to the amendment of the committee was rejected.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question recurs on the adoption of the amendment of the committee.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I move to amend the amendment, in line 17, after the word "class," by inserting "for each pound of wool contained in said fabric;" after the word "class," in line 20, by inserting the same words; and after the word "class," in line 24, by inserting the same words.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Arkansas will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In paragraph 364, page 122, line 17, after the word "class," it is proposed to insert "for each pound of wool contained in said fabric:" in line 20, after the word "class," to insert "for each pound of wool contained in said fabric;" and in line 24, after the word "class," to insert "for each pound of wool contained in said fabric."

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Mr. President, the first paragraph will read, if my amendment is adopted, as follows:

364. On cloths, knit fabrics, and all manufactures of every description made wholly or in part of wool, not specially provided for in this act, valued at not more than 40 cents per pound, the duty per pound shall be three times the duty imposed by this act on a pound of unwashed wool of the first class for each pound of wool contained in said fabric.

I feel absolutely confident the Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON] is so perfectly fair and just that he will accept this amendment. He does not want to give the manufacturers compensation for tariffs on wools which they do not pay. I am sure he is too fair a man to desire any such thing. When a fabric is made wholly of wool, then in 3 pounds of it there will be compensation for three times the tariff on a pound of unwashed wool; but if a fabric is made one-half of wool and one-half of cotton, then they will have a tariff on a pound of the mixed fabric for three times the amount of wool that is in the fabric; and the public will then pay the compensatory duty of 3 for 1 on every ounce of wool that goes into the fabric, and will pay a compensatory duty on wool for cotton that goes into the fabric, which would be 6 to 1 if it was half and half, and which would be 10 to 1 if it were nine-tenths cotton and only one-tenth wool under the bill as it stands at this time.

Mr. President, as I have pointed out already, and it was admitted by Senators upon the other side, it only takes 2 pounds of unwashed wool to make a pound of scoured wool; and nobody denies it. The wool that is imported in the largest quantity and which is consumed by the manufacturers does not take 3 pounds to make 1 pound of scoured wool; it only takes 2 pounds to make 1 pound of scoured wool, and the manufacturer pays a tariff on only 2 pounds of wool—that is, when he gets all wool in the fabric. This proposition will not even get rid of that evil, and it will let the manufacturer get 3 for 1, although he only pays 2 for 1 for every ounce of wool or for every pound of wool that enters into his fabric; and certainly nothing more ought to be asked.

Mr. ALLISON. How do you ascertain that?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. You ascertain it like you ascertain anything else. There is not the slightest difficulty in figuring out the proportion of wool in the fabric. There is no trouble in ascertaining the amount of wool and the amount of cotton that is contained in the fabric, and the experienced custom-house officers can tell without difficulty the proportion of each.

The idea runs through the bill in numberless other instances, and the provision appears again and again. How can you determine about the value unless by weight? You put in the silk schedule everywhere and the flax schedule everywhere that if flax or silk is the component material of chief value—which is a question that is much more difficult to determine than to determine the question of weight—then the tax shall be governed by that. In this case you have only to determine as to the weight to determine the tax, which is a less complicated and difficult question than to determine the value. If in mixtures of flax or silk with other materials their values can be ascertained, how much easier would it be to ascertain the weight of wool that goes into a fabric.

Mr. ALLISON. Mr. President, I wish to say but a word respecting the amendments proposed by the Senator from Arkansas. The Senator from Arkansas calls attention to the amendment which has just been defeated, because he says the woolen manufacturer will receive an unjust compensatory duty, as we have provided here for three times the duty, although nine-tenths or three-fourths of the material may be of cotton. I do not intend to go into that this morning, having spoken briefly on the question last night; but the difficulty of dealing with that method as respects

woolen fabrics lies in the fact that if wool is not the chief component or measure of value these fabrics, if they contain a greater value of cotton, will be thrown over into the cotton schedule.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. That, as the Senator suggests, has been disposed of, but the question now is one of weight and not of value.

Mr. ALLISON. Very well; and I am disposing of this question now. That was objectionable for the reason that then it would be a cotton fabric and come in at 45 per cent ad valorem, and those who manufacture such goods abroad would bring in in the form of free wool under the cotton classification and under the cotton schedule probably half the fabrics that are used, because all they would have to do would be to provide for 50½ per cent of cotton as the component material of chief value, and then they would bring in 49½ per cent of wool free of duty, and in that way use the foreign wool that we are trying in this bill to protect our farmers against.

It so happens that in this schedule at least the manufacturers and the farmers are united in interest, for the reason that unless our farmers who produce wool can find a market for it with our own manufacturers they will have practically no market at all. Therefore, if they are to produce wool in this country under the protective system, they must have it practically manufactured in this country under the protective system as against free wool abroad. I know that is not the purpose of our friends upon the other side. If we are to have a duty upon wool and woolens, we must correlate those duties so that our woolen manufacturers will be protected against the inundation of free wools from abroad under the guise of cotton fabrics.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I merely want to suggest that, admitting for the sake of argument—which I do not—the Senator's position to be exactly correct, then he can have no objection to this proposition, because this proposition is to make the compensation on the wool actually contained in the goods whether it be much or little.

Mr. ALLISON. The Senator proposes that this compensatory duty shall be upon the wool in a mixed fabric, and upon the weight of the wool. I should like to know by what method any expert or any appraiser can take a piece of goods with cotton warp, if you please, and know how much the wool in the fabric will weigh, and how much the cotton will weigh, unless he unravels it all. So it seems to me here is another indirect method whereby it is attempted to evade or avoid the very question in which our wool producers and woolen manufacturers are interested in common as respects these duties.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Will the Senator from Iowa permit me to ask him a question at this point? Paragraph 344 says:

> Woven fabrics or articles not specially provided for in this act, composed of flax, hemp, or ramie, or of which these substances or either of them is the component material of chief value, weighing 4 ounces, etc.

How is the custom-house officer to determine which is the component material of chief value? Say, for instance, the warp is cotton, the filling linen, or the warp half cotton and the filling mixed linen and cotton. How is the custom-house officer to tell which is the component material of chief value? If he can not tell how the woolen fabric is made, he can not tell how the flax fabric is made, and he can not tell how the silk fabric is made; and yet the Senator has brought propositions here which require him to do that in the silk schedule, and in the flax schedule, and if he is competent to do that in those cases, what is to prevent him from doing it in the woolen schedule? I should be glad to have the Senator explain how he can do it in the one and not in the other.

Mr. ALLISON. The Senator is mistaken wholly as to what is to be done. It is one thing to ascertain the component material of chief value, and another thing to ascertain how much the wool in a fabric weighs. The component material of chief value can easily be ascertained; but suppose he was required to ascertain whether ten threads of cotton in the fabric weighed an ounce or the fraction of an ounce, and the other material three-quarters or a whole ounce.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Must he not first ascertain how much flax there is in the fabric before he determines what is the component material of chief value?

Mr. ALLISON. No, sir; certainly not.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. How does he find the value?

Mr. ALLISON. Because the flax is worth a great deal more than a cotton fabric.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. But it is a question of the component material of chief value and not the fabric. It is the component material that makes the value.

Mr. ALLISON. Certainly; which is flax.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The flax thread. Then he has to find how many flax threads there are in the material and measure their value by the value of the flax, and determine whether it is the component material of chief value. So in silks. You are bound to analyze it. You must first find the weight, and then compare it with the whole, and it is easier to get the weight than the value, because the question of value is to be determined after you find the weight, and it is more a matter of opinion than is the weight. The weight can be determined by scales. The value is a matter of opinion, to some extent, and in a constantly fluctuating market it is much more difficult to determine what is the value of a thing after you find the weight than it is to find the weight. But you can not find the value until you first find the weight, either in flax or silk.

Mr. ALLISON. The Senator from Arkansas differs with all other experts on the subject. That is all I have to say.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I am not an expert. I think that is the plain common-sense view of the situation.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Arkansas to the amendment of the committee.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. On that I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CHILTON (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MCBRIDE].

Mr. CLARK (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Kansas [Mr. HARRIS]. I do not see him in the Chamber, and therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. GEAR (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH].

Mr. HANSBROUGH (when his name was called). I again announce the transfer of my pair with the senior Senator from Virginia [Mr. DANIEL] to the Senator from Nevada [Mr. JONES], and I will vote. I vote "nay."

Mr. HAWLEY (when his name was called). I announce for the day my pair with the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. BATE].

Mr. MURPHY (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. CHANDLER].

Mr. RAWLINS (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Ohio [Mr. HANNA].

Mr. WARREN (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Washington [Mr. TURNER]. If he were present, I should vote "nay."

Mr. WELLINGTON (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. BUTLER]. As he is absent, I withhold my vote.

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. KENNEY. I inquire whether the junior Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. PENROSE] has voted?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. He has not voted.

Mr. KENNEY. Being paired with that Senator, I withhold my vote.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I again announce the pair of my colleague [Mr. BERRY] with the Senator from Illinois [Mr. MASON]. If my colleague were present, he would vote "yea."

The result was announced—yeas 22, nays 28; as follows:

YEAS—22.

Allen,	Heitfeld,	Mitchell,	Turpie,
Bacon,	Jones, Ark.	Morgan,	Vest,
Caffery,	McLaurin,	Pasco,	Walthall,
Clay,	Mallory,	Pettus,	White.
Cockrell,	Martin,	Roach,	
Faulkner,	Mills,	Tillman,	

NAYS—28.

Allison,	Frye,	Mantle,	Sewell,
Burrows,	Gallinger,	Perkins,	Shoup,
Carter,	Hale,	Platt, Conn.	Spooner,
Davis,	Hansbrough,	Platt, N. Y.	Teller,
Elkins,	Hoar,	Pritchard,	Thurston,
Fairbanks,	Lodge,	Proctor,	Wetmore,
Foraker,	McEnery,	Quay,	Wilson.

NOT VOTING—30.

Aldrich,	Daniel,	Jones, Nev.	Penrose,
Baker,	Deboe,	Kenney,	Pettigrew,
Bate,	Gear,	Kyle,	Rawlins,
Berry,	George,	Lindsay,	Smith,
Butler,	Gorman,	McBride,	Stewart,
Cannon,	Gray,	McMillan,	Turner,
Chandler,	Hanna,	Mason,	Warren,
Chilton,	Harris, Kans.	Morrill,	Wellington,
Clark,	Harris, Tenn.	Murphy,	Wolcott.
Cullom,	Hawley,	Nelson,	

So the amendment of Mr. JONES of Arkansas to the amendment of the committee was rejected.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I now offer, to come in at the end of the paragraph, the following proviso:

> *Provided*, That the specific duties provided for in this paragraph shall not become operative until twelve months after the passage of this act.

I shall ask for the yeas and nays on the amendment, and I hope the Senate will adopt it.

The Senator from Iowa has this morning distinctly admitted to the Senate that there is a twelve-months supply of wool now in the country; that it has been imported, and no tariff has been paid upon it. The specific duties provided for in this paragraph

are intended, or it is pretended that they are intended, as compensatory to the manufacturers for the tariff they pay on the wool they import.

Whenever, after this bill becomes operative, the manufacturer imports wool, he must pay the tariff of 10 cents a pound. When he imports enough to make a pound of cloth, upon the assumption on the other side, he must pay 30 cents, or 10 cents on each of the 3 pounds of wool out of which to make 1 pound of cloth. In addition, the 50 per cent—25 per cent more than has been the law since the Wilson bill was passed—which has been considered ample to protect the manufacturers, is already provided for in the bill, and it is not right that compensation should be allowed to them for tariff they have not paid. When a twelve-months supply, by the admission of the Senator from Iowa, has been imported into the country without paying any duty, there is no justice, there is no fairness, in allowing a compensation of 30 cents on every pound of manufactured cloth made out of this wool as compensation for tariff they have not paid.

As the Senator from Iowa has admitted that there is a year's supply of wool in the country, and as the manufacturers will use raw wool for twelve months upon which they have paid no duty, the amendment ought to be adopted, so that the people will not be compelled to pay the manufacturers an increased price because of duties they have not paid. I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. COCKRELL. Let the amendment be stated.

The SECRETARY. At the end of paragraph 364 it is proposed to insert the following proviso:

Provided, That the duties provided for in this paragraph shall not become operative until twelve months after the passage of this act.

Mr. WHITE. I simply desire to call attention to the fact that the ad valorem duty in the paragraph is higher than under the McKinley Act.

Mr. VEST. In paragraph 364 the duties upon goods valued at not above 50 cents per pound amount to 154.30 per cent, and upon goods above 50 cents per pound, 94.45 per cent. It always happens that the higher duty is upon the cheap goods and the smaller duty upon the dear goods.

The statements of my colleague, the Senator from Arkansas, in regard to the injustice of this paragraph are unanswerable, absolutely so. We were told by the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH], when he made his opening speech in this debate, that on account of the immense amount of wool which would be brought into this country, especially under free wool—to use his expression, which would be rushed into the country before the bill became a law—it would be absolutely necessary to find revenue for the immediate wants of the Government somewhere else, and for that reason our Republican friends propose to put a duty on beer and on tea, abandoning as to tea the time-honored arguments of the Republican party against any such duty, because that is a simple revenue duty, all of which goes into the Treasury without any protection to the individual manufacturer at all.

Yet with that very argument made here, it is now proposed, besides these enormous duties which I have named, to give to the manufacturers a simple, naked gratuity, out of the tax money of the people. It is nothing else. There is no pretense that they are entitled to the duties which are now proposed on the ground that they use this taxed wool. They have already got the wool. I saw a statement in a woolen journal yesterday that they had a two-years supply. Even if they have a one year supply, what is it but naked robbery, under the forms of law, to give them this enormous duty, when there is no basis in the world for it?

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. What is the contention; that there is a year's supply of wool in the hands of the manufacturers?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. There has been a year's supply of wool imported into this country, according to the statements of all wool men. It amounts to a full year's consumption. The Senator from Iowa admitted a while ago that such is the fact. Now, they have that wool without paying any tariff on it, and yet you propose to put compensatory duties in this paragraph to compensate them for tariffs never paid.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Not that the manufacturers have got it. If it is in the hands of speculators, being held to charge the manufacturers the price to which it will be raised by the duty, then the manufacturers derive no advantage from it.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I presume the men who want the wool imported it, and the Senator from Rhode Island stated in his opening speech, as referred to by the Senator from Missouri, that this was being done and that the practical effect of it was to deprive the Treasury of the revenue, and to compensate for that failure and so that the Treasury might get the revenue that ought to have come from it, you propose to put a tax on beer and tea.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. I merely rose for the purpose of saying that as I understand the situation a very small proportion of this wool has been imported by the manufacturers, but it has been imported largely by people with the idea of speculating upon it. I do not like that, but at the same time I do not think their sins ought to be visited upon the manufacturers.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. When the Wilson bill was being framed, the manufacturers came here and insisted that as they had paid tariff on the raw materials which they used in manufacturing their goods it was not right for them to be compelled to sell their fabrics in open market in competition with fabrics made from free wool, as we proposed to make it free. Recognizing the justice of that claim, the Wilson Act provided that the wool tariff should not go into effect as to woolen fabrics until January, 1895, to give them a market in which to sell the goods which they had made out of taxed wool, to compensate them for what they had done.

Now the same men are here, and they propose to manufacture goods out of free wool, and when we propose that they shall not be allowed to saddle the people with an expense they have not incurred, they forget the sense of duty which animated us then, and I am ashamed to say that the Senate seems not to appreciate the gravity of the situation.

Mr. WHITE. I merely desire to say that if the manufacturers of woolen goods have not imported the wool, and do not now possess it, they have displayed in that regard far less ability and attention to their business than has been manifested with reference to the preparation of the proposed act.

Mr. CAFFERY. I call the attention of the Senator from Connecticut to the fact that the Senator from Rhode Island, in his opening speech, stated that no considerable revenue could be expected for two years from the duty on wool, and he made his calculations of a surplus something over $2,000,000 only for the next two years, and limited the duration of the tea tax and the tax on beer to that period. Under any circumstances this tax is utterly indefensible, for if the wool has been imported by importers and not by manufacturers, and they ask a high price for it, the manufacturers can import wool without the payment of duty. It occurs to me, however, that it is an evasion to say that the parties interested in the importations were mere speculators, who might be crushed by the failure of the manufacturers to buy their imported articles.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. I did not say and do not say that there have not been, perhaps, unusual importations of wool by manufacturers, but the great bulk of it is in the hands of the wool merchants. The manufacturers buy in advance, of course.

Mr. CAFFERY. Who are the wool merchants?

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. There may have been importations. I am only speaking of what I have been advised. I do not know how it may be.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. They buy on commission, as a rule?

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. I presume so.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. When they buy on commission, they buy for their principals. Seventy million pounds of wool came in month before last.

Mr. WHITE. It is wholly unlikely that these people have not attended to their interests, and it is not at all probable that they are walking around, not knowing what to do, while other people are importing wool. I suppose the wool manufacturers have a vague idea that a wool schedule will probably be adopted some day, and they doubtless had such an idea soon after the last election.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Senators on the other side seem to suppose—and I know that nothing I can say will change their opinion about it—that every wool manufacturer in the United States is a very rich man, who can buy a year's stock of wool in advance and carry it. The contrary is the fact. Most of the woolen manufacturers of the United States are not wealthy, and have no surplus cash on hand to invest in a year's supply of wool.

Mr. RAWLINS. Will the Senator from Connecticut yield to me for a question? I will ask the Senator if it is not the theory of the Republican party, frequently expressed by its leaders, including the President of the United States, that the foreigner pays the import duty, the tax; and if that is true, upon what theory does the Republican party justify the imposition of compensatory duties to make good the domestic manufacturer on account of the supposed increased cost of his raw materials?

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. I must ask to be excused from entering into a discussion of the principles upon which the protective system is based. Unfortunately, the Senators who would like to explain it fully and at great length, and answer the very remarkable and wonderful statements which have been made on the other side for the last three or four weeks, are compelled to sit silent in order to secure the passage of the pending bill within any time that will satisfy the country.

Mr. MILLS. I think it is a creation of fancy on the part of the Senator from Connecticut that wool is imported into this country by speculators and then sold to the woolen manufacturers. The woolen manufacturers could not carry on their business in that way. They have to have experts to buy their wool. The wool is bought for a particular purpose, and a particular kind of wool is bought and a particularly skillful person is appointed to do the

work. I remember a few years ago being in New England and in one of the largest woolen manufacturing establishments, and they pointed me to a gentleman whom they said they paid $10,000 a year to purchase their wool for them, and they said he could shut his eyes and stick his hand into a bag of wool and tell what sort of wool it was. They have to have a high-priced man to do that business. They are importing wool for themselves.

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. President, I have been very highly edified for the last three days in listening to the discussion of the question whether there is 1 pound of pure wool in 3 pounds of wool in the grease, or whether there is 1 pound of pure wool in 4 pounds of wool in the grease. I think that is a subject which has been discussed largely and extensively here during the entire week.

This question assumes a greater range than the mere discussion of schedules or the arrangement of details. It involves the discussion of principles, it involves the discussion of consequences, and it occurs to me that the thing which ought to present itself most strongly to the mind of every Senator is whether the seventy-odd million people in the United States are to bear the burden of an enormous taxation upon woolen articles necessary to their life and their comfort.

I do not suppose there is a sheep in the United States to every inhabitant, and yet the question of wool, the question of sheep, has occupied the attention of the Senate now for the last week. It is a mere spectacular performance before the country. There is nothing else to it. Upon the one hand stand a few sheep growers and a few wool owners who have contributed largely to the campaign funds in the past and who are now demanding their compensation in the form of a prohibitory statute, and on the other hand stand the millions of lambs in this country to be shorn by the tax.

What difference does it make so far as the particular item now under discussion is concerned? The whole purpose and scope of the bill are not only to lay upon the backs of the people of this country additional burdens in the form of taxation, but it has a deeper significance, as expressed by the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives, and therein lies one of its secret and hidden purposes, and that is to create a fund so great, a surplus so great, that it can be used as a means of retiring the greenbacks and the legal-tender notes and the other forms of money which have been issued by this Government.

It is the first step in that direction. If the bill passes and produces, as I believe it will not, a surplus revenue, then the jackals and the cormorants who profit by it will hold up their hands and elevate their sanctified noses and demand at the hands of Congress legislation that will retire the greenbacks and legal-tender notes. Then, when that is accomplished, as doubtless it will be accomplished if things are to go on in the future as they have gone in the past few years, we will be informed that we have not sufficient money, which we all now know. We will have committed then the suicidal policy of retiring the greenbacks and legal-tender notes that are so dear and sacred to the common people of this country, and then we will be informed that the only remedy the people have, the only relief we can give them, will be relief in the form of an extension of the powers of national banks.

Then this country will have passed into the hands of the manufacturers, the national banks, and the great railway transportation lines of the country, and the people will be absolutely and unqualifiedly at their mercy. These consequences can not be escaped. Yet dignified Senators stand here and argue like boys at school upon the grave and solemn question whether there are 2 pounds of grease to 1 pound of pure wool or whether there are 3.

Mr. President, I want to see the bill pass. I want to see it pass as speedily as possible. In my judgment it will be the gigantic failure of the age. It will fall short of producing revenue. Although its purpose is as I said, I want to see the great body of honest American citizens who believe there is something in the tariff issue to learn by bitter experience, if they can not learn otherwise, that the tariff is a delusion and a snare, and that the only question for the American people to decide—the great question which they must decide correctly if the Government is to survive—is the question of the volume and character of our money.

I am perfectly willing, so far as I am concerned, to walk into this Chamber occasionally and vote upon these schedules. I do not say that I will or will not vote upon the measure as a whole when it is submitted. I do not know what course I shall pursue then, but I believe, and I believe the American people are becoming daily convinced, that the bill will be a failure the moment it is adopted. But if they want tariff, if nothing but tariff will do, if our Republican friends say the settlement of the tariff question will settle the question of prosperity, then let us have tariff, and let us have it speedily, and let it be high, Mr. President.

Let it be as high as it is possible for our friends on the other side to make it. Let it prohibit the importation of hundreds of articles. Then what will be the result? Where will prosperity come from? Oh, the mills will open, so say our friends; men will be set at work in the different departments of industry and in manufacturing. But there must be a market for the articles that are manufactured before you can set your mills to work. Where is that market to be found? It can not be found in the United States, because the people are too poor to purchase the articles manufactured. No man is going to manufacture an article without first knowing he is going to have a market for it. It is rot and nonsense to sit here day after day and discuss this simple question.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will call the roll on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. JONES] to the amendment of the committee.

The Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CHILTON (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MCBRIDE].

Mr. GEAR (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH].

Mr. KENNEY (when his name was called). I announce my pair with the junior Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. PENROSE], and withhold my vote.

Mr. MCLAURIN (when his name was called). I announce my pair with the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. PRITCHARD].

Mr. RAWLINS (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Ohio [Mr. HANNA].

Mr. WARREN (when his name was called). I again announce my pair with the junior Senator from Washington [Mr. TURNER].

Mr. WELLINGTON (when his name was called). I again announce my pair with the junior Senator from North Carolina [Mr. BUTLER], and in his absence withhold my vote.

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. TILLMAN. Has the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. THURSTON] voted?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. He has not voted.

Mr. TILLMAN. I am paired with that Senator, and therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. MALLORY. I am paired with the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROCTOR]. If he were here, I should vote "yea."

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I again announce the absence of my colleague [Mr. BERRY]. If he were present, he would vote "yea." He is paired with the Senator from Illinois [Mr. MASON].

Mr. HARRIS of Kansas. I am paired with the junior Senator from Wyoming [Mr. CLARK]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. MARTIN. I am paired with the senior Senator from Montana [Mr. MANTLE]. I should vote "yea" if he were present.

Mr. GRAY. I ask if the senior Senator from Illinois [Mr. CULLOM] has voted?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. He has not voted.

Mr. GRAY. I am paired with that Senator, and withhold my vote.

Mr. WARREN. By an arrangement with the Senator from Kansas [Mr. HARRIS], I transfer my pair with the Senator from Washington [Mr. TURNER] to my colleague [Mr. CLARK], so that the Senator from Kansas and myself can vote. I vote "nay."

Mr. HARRIS of Kansas. I vote "yea."

The result was announced—yeas 18, nays 27; as follows:

YEAS—18.

Allen,	Faulkner,	Morgan,	Vest,
Bacon,	Harris, Kans.	Murphy,	Walthall,
Caffery,	Jones, Ark.	Pasco,	White.
Clay,	Mills,	Pettus,	
Cockrell,	Mitchell,	Roach,	

NAYS—27.

Allison,	Foraker,	Nelson,	Spooner,
Burrows,	Frye,	Perkins,	Stewart,
Carter,	Gallinger,	Platt, Conn.	Teller,
Chandler,	Hale,	Platt, N. Y.	Warren,
Deboe,	Hoar,	Quay,	Wetmore,
Elkins,	Lodge,	Sewell,	Wilson.
Fairbanks,	McEnery,	Shoup,	

NOT VOTING—44.

Aldrich,	Gear,	Kyle,	Pettigrew,
Baker,	George,	Lindsay,	Pritchard,
Bate,	Gorman,	McBride,	Proctor,
Berry,	Gray,	McLaurin,	Rawlins,
Butler,	Hanna,	McMillan,	Smith,
Cannon,	Hansbrough,	Mallory,	Thurston,
Chilton,	Harris, Tenn.	Mantle,	Tillman,
Clark,	Hawley,	Martin,	Turner,
Cullom,	Heit'feld,	Mason,	Turpie,
Daniel,	Jones, Nev.	Morrill,	Wellington,
Davis,	Kenney,	Penrose,	Wolcott.

So the amendment to the amendment was rejected.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I move, in line 15, paragraph 364, to strike out the words "three times" and insert "twice;" so that the compensatory duty upon the manufactured material, instead of being three times the cost of a pound of unwashed wool, shall be twice the cost of a pound of unwashed wool. It was admitted yesterday in debate a number of times that Port Phillip wool, which, as nobody will deny, is the wool mainly imported and used by the manufacturers, shrinks at the rate of about 50 per cent,

or that 2 pounds of unwashed wool will make a pound of scoured wool. There is no reason for making larger the increases in favor of manufactures. They go exactly in the line of the other outrages we have been speaking about. I hope the Senate will adopt this amendment.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the amendment of the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. JONES] to the amendment of the committee.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I ask for the yeas and nays on the amendment to the amendment.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CHILTON (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MCBRIDE].

Mr. GEAR (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH].

Mr. GRAY (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Illinois [Mr. CULLOM] on this question. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. KENNEY (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. PENROSE].

Mr. MCLAURIN (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. PRITCHARD].

Mr. MALLORY (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROCTOR]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. RAWLINS (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Ohio [Mr. HANNA].

Mr. WARREN (when his name was called). By the same arrangement that was heretofore made I transfer my pair with the junior Senator from Washington [Mr. TURNER] to my colleague [Mr. CLARK], so that the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. CLARK] will stand paired with the Senator from Washington [Mr. TURNER], and thus relieve the Senator from Kansas [Mr. HARRIS] and myself. I vote "nay."

Mr. WELLINGTON (when his name was called). I again announce my pair with the junior Senator from North Carolina [Mr. BUTLER].

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. HARRIS of Kansas. Under the arrangement stated by the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. WARREN] I am at liberty to vote. I vote "yea."

Mr. MARTIN. I desire to announce my pair with the senior Senator from Montana [Mr. MANTLE]. I should vote "yea" if he were present.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I announce for the day the pair between my colleague [Mr. BERRY], who is detained from the Chamber by public duties, and the Senator from Illinois [Mr. MASON]. If my colleague were present, he would vote "yea."

The result was announced—yeas 19, nays 26; as follows:

YEAS—19.

Allen,	Faulkner,	Morgan,	Tillman,
Bacon,	Harris, Kans.	Murphy,	Vest,
Caffery,	Jones, Ark.	Pasco,	Walthall,
Clay,	Mills,	Pettigrew,	White.
Cockrell,	Mitchell,	Pettus,	

NAYS—26.

Allison,	Foraker,	Perkins,	Teller,
Burrows,	Frye,	Platt, Conn.	Thurston,
Carter,	Gallinger,	Platt, N. Y.	Warren,
Chandler,	Hale,	Quay,	Wetmore,
Deboe,	Hoar,	Sewell,	Wilson.
Elkins,	Lodge,	Shoup,	
Fairbanks,	McEnery,	Spooner,	

NOT VOTING—44.

Aldrich,	Gear,	Kyle,	Penrose,
Baker,	George,	Lindsay,	Pritchard,
Bate,	Gorman,	McBride,	Proctor,
Berry,	Gray,	McLaurin,	Rawlins,
Butler,	Hanna,	McMillan,	Roach,
Cannon,	Hansbrough,	Mallory,	Smith,
Chilton,	Harris, Tenn.	Mantle,	Stewart,
Clark,	Hawley,	Martin,	Turner,
Cullom,	Heitfeld,	Mason,	Turpie,
Daniel,	Jones, Nev.	Morrill,	Wellington,
Davis,	Kenney,	Nelson,	Wolcott.

So the amendment to the amendment was rejected.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question now is on agreeing to the paragraph as amended.

The paragraph as amended was agreed to.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, on page 122, line 25, paragraph 365, after the word "blankets," to strike out the comma; in the same line, before "flannels," to insert "plain;" and in the same line, after the word "flannels," to strike out the comma and the words "for underwear."

Mr. ALLISON. I ask that the two amendments changing the text be disagreed to, so that the clause may stand as it came from the other House.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Does the Senator refer to the amendments striking out the commas, or the changes in the text?

Mr. ALLISON. The commas should remain.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. There are four proposed amendments in line 25.

Mr. ALLISON. I wish the amendments of the committee inserting the word "plain" and striking out the words "for underwear" to be disagreed to.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the amendments of the committee which have been stated.

The amendments were rejected.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, on page 122, line 26, paragraph 365, before the word "cents," to strike out "thirty" and insert "forty;" so as to read:

On blankets, and flannels for underwear composed wholly or in part of wool, valued at not more than 40 cents per pound, the duty per pound shall be the same as the duty imposed by this act on 1 pound and one-half of unwashed wool of the first class.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 123, paragraph 365, line 2, after the word "on," to strike out "1 pound and one-half" and insert "2 pounds;" so as to read:

The duty per pound shall be the same as the duty imposed by this act on 2 pounds of unwashed wool of the first class.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. When was that amendment offered, Mr. President?

Mr. ALLISON. It is an amendment which I sent to the Secretary's desk.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. It is an amendment submitted by the Senator from Iowa.

Mr. ALLISON. Is the amendment agreed to, Mr. President?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Without objection, the amendment will be considered as agreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. In line 3 of the same paragraph I move to strike out the words "5 cents per pound and fifteen" and insert "thirty."

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. On page 123, paragraph 365, line 3, after the word "thereto," it is proposed to strike out "5 cents per pound and fifteen" and insert "thirty;" so as to read:

And in addition thereto, 30 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment was agreed to.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, on page 123, paragraph 365, line 4, after the words "ad valorem," to strike out "valued at more than 30 and not more than 40 cents per pound, the duty per pound shall be twice the duty imposed by this act on 1 pound of unwashed wool of the first class, and in addition thereto 8 cents per pound and 20 per cent ad valorem;" in line 10, after the words "shall be," to strike out "three" and insert "two and one-half;" in line 13, before the words "per centum," to strike out "ten cents per pound and twenty" and insert "thirty-five;" in line 16, before the word "times," to strike out "and one-half;" and in line 18, before the words "per centum," to strike out "fifteen cents per pound and twenty" and insert "forty;" so as to read:

Valued at more than 40 cents and not more than 50 cents per pound, the duty per pound shall be two and one-half times the duty imposed by this act on 1 pound of unwashed wool of the first class, and in addition thereto 35 per cent ad valorem. On blankets composed wholly or in part of wool, valued at more than 50 cents per pound, the duty per pound shall be three times the duty imposed by this act on 1 pound of unwashed wool of the first class, and in addition thereto 40 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 123, paragraph 365, line 20, after the word "pound," to insert "and all flannels other than plain;" so as to read:

Flannels composed wholly or in part of wool, valued at above 50 cents per pound, and all flannels other than plain, shall be classified and pay the same duty as women's and children's dress goods, etc.

Mr. ALLISON. I hope that amendment will be disagreed to.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the amendment proposed by the Committee on Finance, which has just been stated.

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. On page 123, line 3 of the paragraph just read, after the word "class," I move to insert the words "for each pound of wool contained in said article."

This raises the same question that was presented by a similar amendment in a previous paragraph, that there shall be compensation allowed for the wool actually contained in the article, and not for the entire article, without regard to whether it be wool or cotton. There is no use to argue it any further.

There is another thing I wish to state that I had overlooked. I had printed in the RECORD day before yesterday, while I was discussing this paragraph, a statement which was published in the Bulletin of the National Association of Wool Manufacturers, and I had read this paragraph referring to the McKinley tariff:

The wool duties of 1890 were, in a large degree, a departure from the principle laid down in 1867, and they were the subject of severe and proper public criticism in consequence. They were fixed so high in relation to the then prices of wool that they necessitated duties on woolen goods equivalent

to about 98 per cent ad valorem on the actual importations. Thus the wool and woolen schedule of that tariff became the central point of attack, and was largely responsible for the political revolution which resulted in the repeal of the tariff of 1890 and the passage of a law placing wool on the free list.

I was calling the attention of Republican Senators to this fact, and undertaking to show them that the rates under the present bill would be higher on an average than the rates under the McKinley law. The Senator from Wyoming [Mr. WARREN] asked me a question as to whether I thought the tariff on carpet wools would be 100 per cent, and the RECORD shows that I replied "yes." My attention was directed to the wool schedule and not especially to this other matter. I know of course that the rate on the carpet wools under the McKinley law was only 50 per cent, and the increase under this bill can not reach 100 per cent. The point I proposed to make was that the rates on wool generally in the schedule would average 100 per cent. I had just exhibited specimens of manufactures that would carry a tax of 100 per cent in connection with others that would carry a tax of 185 per cent. I state this in justice to myself. It was an inadvertence when I said the tax on carpet wools would be 100 per cent.

I ask for the yeas and nays on the amendment.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CHILTON (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MCBRIDE].

Mr. GEAR (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH].

Mr. GRAY (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Illinois [Mr. CULLOM].

Mr. KENNEY (when his name was called). I again announce my pair with the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. PENROSE], and withhold my vote.

Mr. MCLAURIN (when his name was called). I announce my pair with the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. PRITCHARD].

Mr. MALLORY (when his name was called). I announce my pair with the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROCTOR]. If he were here, I should vote "yea."

Mr. MORRILL (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. HARRIS], and so withhold my vote.

Mr. WARREN (when his name was called). I again announce my pair with the junior Senator from Washington [Mr. TURNER]. If he were here, I should vote "nay."

Mr. WELLINGTON (when his name was called). I announce my pair with the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. BUTLER].

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. HAWLEY. The Senator from Delaware [Mr. KENNEY] announced a pair with the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. PENROSE]. We have agreed to transfer our pairs, so that we may both vote. I vote "nay."

Mr. KENNEY. I vote "yea."

Mr. TURPIE. The Senator from Minnesota [Mr. DAVIS], with whom I am paired, is temporarily absent from the Chamber, and I therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. NELSON. I am paired with the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. BERRY], but that pair has been transferred to the Senator from Illinois [Mr. MASON], and so I am at liberty to vote. The Senator from Arkansas and the Senator from Illinois will stand paired until the return of the Senator from Illinois. I vote "nay."

Mr. THURSTON (after having voted in the negative). I am paired with the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. TILLMAN], and inquire if he has voted?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. He has not voted.

Mr. THURSTON. Then I withdraw my vote.

The result was announced—yeas 22, nays 28; as follows:

YEAS—22.

Allen,	Harris, Kans.	Mitchell,	Roach,
Bacon,	Heitfeld,	Morgan,	Vest,
Caffery,	Jones, Ark.	Murphy,	Walthall,
Clay,	Kenney,	Pasco,	White.
Cockrell,	Martin,	Pettigrew,	
Faulkner,	Mills,	Pettus,	

NAYS—28.

Allison,	Fairbanks,	McEnery,	Sewell,
Burrows,	Foraker,	Mantle,	Shoup,
Carter,	Frye,	Nelson,	Spooner,
Chandler,	Gallinger,	Perkins,	Stewart,
Clark,	Hale,	Platt, Conn.	Teller,
Deboe,	Hawley,	Platt, N. Y.	Wetmore,
Elkins,	Lodge,	Quay,	Wilson.

NOT VOTING—39.

Aldrich,	Gear,	Lindsay,	Rawlins,
Baker,	George,	McBride,	Smith,
Bate,	Gorman,	McLaurin,	Thurston,
Berry,	Gray,	McMillan,	Tillman,
Butler,	Hanna,	Mallory,	Turner,
Cannon,	Hansbrough,	Mason,	Turpie,
Chilton,	Harris, Tenn.	Morrill,	Warren,
Cullom,	Hoar,	Penrose,	Wellington,
Daniel,	Jones, Nev.	Pritchard,	Wolcott.
Davis,	Kyle,	Proctor,	

So the amendment of Mr. JONES of Arkansas was rejected.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I now move to insert after the word "class," in line 12, "for each pound of wool contained in said article;" and to insert the same words after the word "class," in line 17. This I do for the purpose of keeping the record straight, and without any hope of making an impression upon Ephraim, who seems to be joined to his idol.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Arkansas will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In paragraph 365, line 12, after the word "class," it is proposed to insert "for each pound of wool contained in said article;" and in line 17, after the word "class," to insert "for each pound of wool contained in said article."

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the amendment submitted by the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. JONES].

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President, I only wish to call attention to the very high ad valorems indicated upon the comparison before us upon this schedule. On pages 188 and 189 of the comparative statement it appears that the ad valorem rates range all the way from 63.48 to 125 per cent.

I desire to call the attention of the Senators from the manufacturing States, who have got, it seems to me, a discriminating duty in this bill, to the comments made by a very able and respected protectionist, formerly a member of this body and now Secretary of State. I refer to his comments—very brief, but pointed—upon the acts of 1883 and upon the McKinley law, and have no doubt, if he writes the obituary of the present bill, that he will similarly comment.

The real struggle—

Says Mr. Sherman in his Recollections—

The real struggle in tariff legislation is one of sections, or, as General Hancock truly said, it is "a local question." The Republican party affirms that it is for a protective tariff. The Democratic party declares that it is for a tariff for revenue only; but generally, when Republicans and Democrats together are framing a tariff, each Member or Senator consults the interest of his "deestrict" or State. It so happens that by the constitutional organization of the Senate two sections have an unequal allotment of Senators in proportion to population. The New England States have twelve able and experienced Senators, with a population, according to the census of 1890, of 4,700,745, or one Senator for less than 400,000 inhabitants.

The nine States west of the Missouri, commonly classified as the silver or Western States, have eighteen Senators, with a population of 2,814,490, or one Senator for less than 160,000 inhabitants. This representation in the Senate gives these groups of States a very decided advantage in tariff legislation. The average of Senators to the whole population is one for 712,000 inhabitants. This inequality of representation can not be avoided. It was especially manifest in framing the tariff of 1883, when New England carried a measure that was condemned by public opinion from the date of its passage.

Speaking of the McKinley law, the same author comments thus:

With respect to the principles that underlie the policy of protection, I have already stated my opinions in commenting upon the Morrill tariff law. No general tariff bill has passed during my service in Congress that met my entire approval. It is easy to formulate general principles, but when we come to apply them to the great number of articles named on the tariff list we find that the interests of their constituents control the action of Senators and Members. The McKinley tariff bill was not improved in the Senate. The compact and influential delegation from New England made its influence felt in support of industries pursued in that section, while the delegations from other sections were divided on party lines.

And thus does history repeat itself.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question before the Senate is on the amendment proposed by the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. JONES].

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. VEST. Mr. President, in addition to the general statement as to these rates made by the Senator from California [Mr. WHITE], I want to call attention to them specifically. These are the duties on blankets and flannels, articles of absolute and prime necessity, and I want to emphasize that fact.

Under the amended duties the duty on blankets and flannels—the word "plain" having been stricken out, it applies to them all—is, upon such articles valued at less than 30 cents per pound, 71.75 per cent, nearly two-thirds of the appraised value of the article. Upon such articles valued at from 30 to 40 cents, the duty is 63.48 per cent; valued at from 40 to 50 cents, the duty is 83 per cent; and upon flannels 3 yards in length, the duty is 125 per cent.

I move to strike out this paragraph 365, "Flannels and blankets," and insert the provision in the existing law, which is paragraph 282 of the Wilson Act. I should like to have them all put on the free list.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST] will be stated.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to strike out paragraph 365 and in lieu thereof to insert:

On blankets, hats of wool, and flannels for underwear and felt for printing machines, composed wholly or in part of wool, the hair of the camel, goat, alpaca, or other animals, valued at not more than 30 cents per pound (1), 25 per cent ad valorem; valued at more than 30 and not more than 40 cents per pound (2), 30 per cent ad valorem; valued at more than 40 cents per pound (3), 35 per cent ad valorem: *Provided*, That on blankets over 3 yards in length the same duties shall be paid as on woolen and worsted cloths, and on flannels weighing over 4 ounces per square yard, the same duties as on dress goods.

Mr. VEST. I ask for the yeas and nays on that amendment.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CHILTON (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MCBRIDE].

Mr. GEAR (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH].

Mr. HAWLEY (when his name was called). The Senator from Delaware [Mr. KENNEY] has authorized me again to announce the transfer of our pairs; so that the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. BATE] will stand paired with the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. PENROSE], and that will enable the Senator from Delaware and myself to vote. I announce that for the afternoon. I vote "nay."

Mr. KENNEY. Under that arrangement, I am at liberty to vote, and I vote "yea."

Mr. MCLAURIN (when his name was called). I again announce my pair with the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. PRITCHARD].

Mr. MALLORY (when his name was called). I again announce my pair with the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROCTOR]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. RAWLINS (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Ohio [Mr. HANNA], and therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. WARREN (when his name was called). I again announce my pair with the Senator from Washington [Mr. TURNER].

Mr. WELLINGTON (when his name was called). I again announce my pair with the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. BUTLER]. If he were present, I should vote "nay."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. WARREN. By arrangement, with the Senator from Utah [Mr. RAWLINS], I transfer my pair with the Senator from Washington [Mr. TURNER] to the Senator from Ohio [Mr. HANNA]; so that the Senator from Utah and I will be at liberty to vote. I vote "nay."

Mr. RAWLINS. Under that arrangement I am at liberty to vote, and I vote "yea."

The result was announced—yeas 24, nays 30; as follows:

YEAS—24.

Allen,	Gorman,	Morgan,	Roach,
Bacon,	Harris, Kans.	Murphy,	Tillman,
Caffery,	Jones, Ark.	Pasco,	Turpie,
Clay,	Kenney,	Pettigrew,	Vest,
Cockrell,	Martin,	Pettus,	Walthall,
Faulkner,	Mills,	Rawlins,	White.

NAYS—30.

Allison,	Fairbanks,	McEnery,	Stewart,
Burrows,	Foraker,	Perkins,	Teller,
Carter,	Frye,	Platt, Conn.	Thurston,
Chandler,	Gallinger,	Platt, N. Y.	Warren,
Clark,	Hale,	Quay,	Wetmore,
Davis,	Hawley,	Sewell,	Wilson.
Debse,	Hoar,	Shoup,	
Elkins,	Lodge,	Spooner,	

NOT VOTING—35.

Aldrich,	Gear,	Lindsay,	Nelson,
Baker,	George,	McBride,	Penrose,
Bate,	Gray,	McLaurin,	Pritchard,
Berry,	Hanna,	McMillan,	Proctor,
Butler,	Hansbrough,	Mallory,	Smith,
Cannon,	Harris, Tenn.	Mantle,	Turner,
Chilton,	Heitfeld,	Mason,	Wellington,
Cullom,	Jones, Nev.	Mitchell,	Wolcott.
Daniel,	Kyle,	Morrill,	

So the amendment of Mr. VEST was rejected.

Mr. PETTIGREW. I desire at this time to offer an amendment to the bill which I ask to have read and printed, and give notice that I shall offer it later.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment intended to be proposed by the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. PETTIGREW] will be stated.

The Secretary read the proposed amendment, as follows:

Every contract, combination in the form of a trust, or association or corporation whose effect is to restrict the quantity of production or increase the price of any article, or any conspiracy in restraint of trade shall be deemed a trust within the provisions of this act.

There shall be levied, collected, and paid a tax of 10 per cent upon the value of all articles manufactured by a trust, as above described.

The Secretary of the Treasury shall make all the necessary rules and regulations to carry out the provisions of this act, and the tax shall be collected by the Secretary of the Treasury; and any person connected with or in the employ of any trust, as herein described, who shall sell any article, the property of said trust, upon which the tax has not been paid, shall be fined not less than $1,000 or more than $5,000, and be imprisoned for not less than one or more than five years.

And all goods sold without the payment of tax as herein provided shall be seized and sold and the proceeds of such sale turned into the Treasury of the United States.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment intended to be proposed by the Senator from South Dakota will be printed and lie over.

Mr. CHILTON. Some time ago I gave notice of an amendment to the free list of the pending bill, to be known as paragraph 536½, adding flannels, blankets, shawls, knit fabrics, women's and children's dress goods, and cloths, made wholly or in part of wool, and valued at not over 70 cents a pound. This covers the coarser woolen fabrics, which I thought and still think ought to go upon the free list. In passing over the bill and taking up its paragraphs I desire to reserve the right, if my amendment shall be subsequently adopted, to return so as to make the necessary corrections in the dutiable paragraphs.

From the demonstration which the frequent roll calls have afforded, I think future changes very doubtful and improbable. Nevertheless I make the reservation, so that I may be right on the record.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair will take notice of the statement of the Senator from Texas.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 366, line 1, page 124, after the word "similar," to insert "description and;" in line 2, after the word character," to strike out "and description;" in line 5, after the word "yard," to strike out "the duty shall be seven" and insert "six and one-half;" in line 7, to strike out "the duty shall be eight" and insert "seven and one-fourth;" and in line 8, after the word "addition," to strike out:

To the foregoing duties there shall be imposed on such goods valued at not exceeding 10 cents per square yard 2 cents per square yard; valued at more than 10 cents per square yard and not exceeding 12½ cents per square yard, 3½ cents per square yard; valued at more than 12½ cents per square yard and not exceeding 17½ cents per square yard, 5½ cents per square yard; valued at more than 17½ cents per square yard and not more than 22½ cents per square yard, 7½ cents per square yard; valued at more than 22½ cents per square yard, 7½ cents per square yard, and in addition thereto 2 cents per square yard for each and every 5 cents per square yard of value or fractional part thereof in excess of 22½ cents per square yard; and in addition to all the foregoing duties there shall be imposed on all the articles mentioned in this paragraph a duty of 20 per cent ad valorem.

And insert "thereto on all the foregoing, 50 per cent ad valorem;" so as to make the paragraph read:

366. On women's and children's dress goods, coat linings, Italian cloths, and goods of similar description and character of which the warp consists wholly of cotton or other vegetable material with the remainder of the fabric composed wholly or in part of wool, valued at not exceeding 15 cents per square yard, 6½ cents per square yard; valued at more than 15 cents per square yard, 7½ cents per square yard; and in addition thereto on all the foregoing, 50 per cent ad valorem: *Provided*, That on all the foregoing weighing over 4 ounces per square yard the duty shall be the same as imposed by this schedule on cloths.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I should like to ask the Senator from Iowa what is the effect of the proviso at the end of the paragraph—

Provided, That on all the foregoing weighing over 4 ounces per square yard the duty shall be the same as imposed by this schedule on cloths?

Mr. ALLISON. They go in the above schedule instead of this schedule.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The purpose is to take everything out of the paragraph that weighs over 4 ounces a yard?

Mr. ALLISON. Four ounces to the square yard.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. It takes out everything and practically abolishes the paragraph.

Mr. ALLISON. Oh, no. We take a few things out. Some of them may weigh more than 4 ounces to the square yard. These ladies' dress goods generally weigh less than 4 ounces to the square yard. That is the paragraph in the McKinley law, and it is all right.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the committee was, in paragraph 367, page 125, line 8, after the word "act," to strike out "the duty shall be eleven" and insert "ten and one-half;" and after the word "addition," in line 9, to strike out:

To the foregoing duty on such goods valued at not exceeding 12½ cents per square yard, 3½ cents per square yard; valued at more than 12½ cents per square yard and not exceeding 17½ cents per square yard, the duty shall be 5½ cents per square yard; valued at more than 17½ cents per square yard and not more than 22½ cents per square yard, 7½ cents per square yard; valued at more than 22½ cents per square yard, 7½ cents per square yard, and in addition thereto 2 cents per square yard for each and every 5 cents per square yard of value or fractional part thereof in excess of 22½ cents per square yard; and in addition to all the foregoing duties there shall be imposed on all the articles mentioned in this paragraph a duty of 20 per cent ad valorem.

And insert "thereto on all the foregoing 50 per cent ad valorem;" so as to make the paragraph read:

367. On women's and children's dress goods, coat linings, Italian cloths, bunting, and goods of similar description or character, composed wholly or in part of wool, and not specially provided for in this act, 9 cents per square yard; and in addition thereto on all the foregoing 50 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. VEST. Does that conclude the amendments of the committee?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. It concludes the amendments of the committee.

Mr. VEST. I wish to call attention to the duties imposed by the amendments to paragraphs 366 and 367. I have not been able to tell exactly what the duties are, but I can safely assert that they amount to between 80 and 100 per cent on all the goods mentioned. These are Italian cloths, women's and children's dress

goods, and the duties amount to from 80 to 100 per cent. Under paragraph 367 the duties range from 80 to 135 per cent. I move to strike out paragraphs 366 and 367 and insert paragraph 283 of the existing law, which covers all the articles named in the two paragraphs.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to strike out paragraphs 366 and 367 and insert in lieu thereof the following:

On women's and children's dress goods, coat linings, Italian cloth, bunting, or goods of similar description or character, and on all manufactures composed wholly or in part of wool, worsted, the hair of the camel, goat, alpaca, or other animals, including such as have India rubber as a component material, and not specially provided for in this act, valued at not over 50 cents per pound, 40 per cent ad valorem; valued at more than 50 cents per pound, 50 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. GRAY. Mr. President, I do not think these very great increases ought to be passed without a word of explanation as to why they are made and how they are made and what the effect of them is to be. I have not before me the comparative tables which show the importations heretofore made of these particular goods under the present rate of duty, so as to ascertain whether this is purely a revenue tariff or is a tariff levied upon the demand of the manufacturers of these goods for protection to them, or a combination of both.

Mr. ALLISON. These duties are made necessary of course first by the duty on wool——

Mr. VEST. A compensatory duty.

Mr. GRAY. A compensatory duty.

Mr. ALLISON. And second to enable our home manufacturers to compete successfully with people who are manufacturing abroad the same class of goods; and in that respect it is a protective tariff with a view to revenue.

Mr. GRAY. Incidental revenue?

Mr. ALLISON. No; the reverse of that. The whole bill is a revenue bill.

Mr. GRAY. Oh!

Mr. ALLISON. And it is arranged so as to discriminate in favor of our own people against people in other countries. That is the theory of the bill, and I am not surprised that the Senator from Delaware has not ascertained that fact before this time. That is the general theory of it.

Mr. GRAY. I had not ascertained it. I am glad to get the information, and any information I can get, because we do not get a great deal of light from the other side. Of course we understand the reason. It is because of the determination to vote and to make no speeches.

Nevertheless, I think seriously that it is not a matter that ought to be passed—I do not say without debate, for I am not prepared thoroughly to discuss the reason and the mode of taxation and the rate proposed, but I do want to call attention to what it really is. We are raising taxes on the people of this country to a very large extent, I think a very onerous extent, one that will prove and be thought outrageous by a large class of very worthy people, and people whose interest we ought to regard as well as that of the manufacturers. We are to compensate the manufacturer for the increase on the price of raw wool caused by the duty, but there is no compensation, it appears, for the consumer. When you come to the consumer, then the compensation ends and the compensatory system seems to fail entirely.

Now, what does this really mean? It is on women's and children's dress goods, coat linings, Italian cloths, buntings, and goods of similar description. There is hardly a family in the land that will not have its yearly expenses increased by reason of this item. There is no head of a family, there is no wife or mother who goes shopping for her children, or for those for whom she must provide, who will not feel the pinch of this paragraph. I know Senators say it is trifling; as the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. WARREN] said yesterday, it is only so much a head; but this scheme of herding the great home market at so much a head does not commend itself to me as either benevolent or exactly in accord with those ideas of humanity which treat people in a different fashion than by the head. I do not like it. But, taking his statement, it would be a very serious per capita tax.

I have had sent to me at my request, and I have hardly had time to look at them, some samples of the goods that are to be taxed, and which being taxed means a graver burden to the people of this country. It means a little harder struggle for those who by their daily toil have to make their daily bread. Here [exhibiting] appears a sample of French cassimere, rather a modest article, but after all we all recognize it—those of us who have families—as something we have seen and something very necessary. The present rate is 50 per cent. The present price is 18½ cents. Fifty per cent added is a very good tax one would think. The proposed Senate rate of duty is 50 per cent and 10½ cents per square yard. Under the proposed duty the price per yard is 28½ cents. That is only very little per head, but 28½ cents per yard is 10 cents a yard more than the present price; and in buying a sufficient quantity for a dress—I do not know how many yards it takes; the Senator from Arkansas can tell me how many are necessary——

Mr. FAULKNER. Ten yards and over.

Mr. GRAY. The Senator from West Virginia knows. He says 10 yards and over. Suppose it takes 10 and over. That is more than a dollar tax on the article.

Here is another article [exhibiting] called German henrietta, whatever that may be. It is an article of women's dress goods. The present price per yard is 25 cents, and the price under the proposed duty will be 57 cents. That is a very onerous tax, and we ought not to be called upon to levy it unless there is some good reason for it, and it ought to be, as the Senator from Arkansas suggests to me, a public reason. We see here now the iniquity of commencing on the scheme of raising tariff taxes by raising the taxes on raw material.

The Senator from Iowa says it is largely compensatory; that it is made necessary in order that the manufacturers may not suffer because of the increased cost of their raw material. They are compensated, but who is going to compensate the woman who buys the dress? Nobody, I take it; and out of her pocket or that of her husband comes at last this enormous premium that is levied in the name of taxation, not to go into the Treasury of the United States, as the Senator from Iowa confesses—in that event we might bear the burden with some equanimity—but to go into the pockets of other citizens of the United States who claim that they have the privilege of using the taxing power for their benefit.

Mr. ALLISON. The present law is 60 per cent ad valorem upon that class of goods. The wool that enters into that class of goods is now free. Therefore it is conceded on both sides of the question that the manufacturers need 50 per cent ad valorem in order that they may successfully compete with people abroad making the same goods.

It must be evident that if we put a duty upon the raw material which enters into the manufacture of these fabrics, our manufacturers can not compete. I am sure the Senator from Delaware does not desire that all our woolen manufactories shall be closed and that all these goods shall be imported from other countries.

We propose a duty upon wool in order that we may produce our own wool in this country as soon as practicable. I believe that ancient Democrat, President Jackson, said that that was one of the essential things which ought to have a tariff, so that we might provide clothing for our soldiers, and so on. That is all there is to it. The duties we have proposed here in addition to the duty imposed in the act of 1894 are duties that will enable our manufacturers to compete with foreigners who manufacture these articles.

Mr. GRAY. As I said, the Senator from Iowa says this is by way of compensation to the manufacturer, and so it seems it is not necessary to say anything else at this stage of the debate. Having put the tax on raw wool, then everything else is plain sailing—go on and place compensatory taxes, without thought as to what is to be the effect of them or who is to pay the piper for this dismal dance.

At all events, although the Senator from Iowa says that is all of it, I think it is not all of it until the people in some way understand what it means. If this is the necessary consequence of putting a tax on raw wool, let us know it. Then the farmers and the farmers' wives, who have a hundred sheep, and who will get about 17 cents benefit out of protection, will know that they are to pay several dollars more on every dress pattern they buy to present a better appearance at church or at market or anywhere else they want to go.

A Senator from North Carolina once said if it was big enough to steal it was big enough to keep. I do not believe in stealing it, if you please, from those who have earned it and paying it to those who have not earned it. All I can do now is to call attention to what the tax really is. I shall not consume more time than is necessary to do that.

Here [exhibiting] is another sample, what is called French serge. I have no doubt the Senator from Iowa knows a great deal more about such things than I do. It is a thing no doubt very valuable and very much sought after as a dress goods. I do not see why the women, young and old, who want these goods should be fined for gratifying that want; why they should be punished for wanting something that will be dressy and as much of an adornment as it is. I should be very sorry to see them put in a position where they could not so adorn themselves.

Mr. WHITE. I hope the Senator from Delaware will not display that red garment to the other side. It may break up the caucus.

Mr. GRAY. What is the tax on this article? The present price is 28 cents, and under the proposed duty it will be 41 cents. Of course that is so much a yard. It would be a dollar or two on a dress pattern or a cloak pattern or whatever else you want; but when you come to multiply it in the course of a year by the number of times you want to buy it, and consider the many other articles

advanced in price in the same way, it is a considerable item, and it should not be imposed upon the people without due thought and without considering whether it is a just burden which they are called upon to bear.

Then here [exhibiting] is another article, called French check, which is now worth 30 cents a yard. Here it is. [Exhibiting.] We all recognize these things. We do not want to abolish them, and we ought not to make it harder for the people to get them. That is what the manufacturers want to do—to make it a little harder for the people to get those things, in order that they may charge an enhanced price for their product. The price of it is 30 cents, and you propose by your duty to make it 41 cents.

Here [exhibiting] is another, a German serge, which now costs 33 cents. You will make it 46 cents. There [exhibiting] is another, a German cheviot, which is 42 cents, and you propose to make it 72 cents, if this table is right. There [exhibiting] is another, a German cotton warp, fancy. It costs 24½ cents, and you propose by your duty to make it 31½ cents.

I only call attention to these in passing, that it may not be said that Senators who are in favor of the bill do not know what will be the real practical effect upon the masses of the people who pay the indirect tax—indirect, but nevertheless real.

You can not compensate illegally or unduly or unfairly one class of people without taking it from some others. Therefore, as I said in the beginning, we see what effect a naughty deed once indulged in produces. You have put these exorbitant taxes upon raw materials which ought to come in to give employment to American labor and stimulate their ingenuity in making these fabrics in competition with the whole world and increasing our export trade; you have shut them out practically, and you have enabled the manufacturers, in order to compensate them, to charge these increased prices to all the people of this country. That is the way this concealed tax, this masked burden and exaction is imposed upon the people.

Mr. WARREN. May I ask the Senator from Delaware a question?

Mr. GRAY. Yes.

Mr. WARREN. I should like to ask the Senator from Delaware if he is not one of those who voted for a tariff on woolen fabrics in the Wilson bill?

Mr. GRAY. I voted for a revenue tariff in the Wilson bill.

Mr. WARREN. Purely a revenue tariff?

Mr. GRAY. No; I will not say it was purely for revenue. That is what I wanted, but could not get.

I will tell the Senator what I did. I voted for the lowest tax I could get, because I recognized it as a practical question then. As has been said here before, the system of tariff protection had been in vogue for very many years; the poison of that false policy had got into the blood of the American people; and it had produced its legitimate effects.

Capital had gone into the protected industries, and while I and most of my associates were in favor of free trade and wanted to turn our faces in that direction, we still did not want to strike a disastrous blow to those who in good faith had embarked upon enterprises which were fed to some extent by protection taxes. So we proposed to go slowly. As the Senator from Arkansas said the other day, we proposed to take the edifice down by taking down one brick at a time from the top, and not by destroying it by dynamite or blowing it up from the foundation. That is the reason.

Mr. WARREN. May I ask the Senator from Delaware another question? If that is the case, and if he desired to take it down brick by brick, I will ask the Senator why, when he imposed taxes as revenue taxes or protective taxes or tariff, he put them all upon manufactures of woolens and none on wool? Was that taking off the protection from wool brick by brick?

Mr. GRAY. I think I have answered the Senator. Enough has been said here about free raw material. We proposed that the manufacturers of our country and the labor of our country should not be kept away from the raw materials of industry and enterprise wherewith to work. We did not propose to debar them from the opportunities that free raw material gave. We did not disregard the interests of the manufacturers and the men who labor in a protected mill, but we wanted to conserve them, and we desired to conserve them by giving them free raw materials wherewith to work.

Mr. WARREN. I should like to ask the Senator another question. Why is cloth a manufactured article and wool not? And why does he not protect and foster the laborer engaged in wool-growing as well as in cloth weaving?

Mr. GRAY. I am not a catechumen.

Mr. WARREN. I assumed that the Senator from Delaware would not answer the question, because he can make no answer. The man who produces wool produces the manufactured product of the farmer. The man who produces cloth produces the manufactured product of the cloth maker. They are both raw materials or they are both manufactured articles. There is no way around it. I challenge any man on this floor or anywhere else to show the American people why the farmer's product of wool, when it is sheared and delivered, is not as much a manufactured product as cloth is when it leaves the loom. The Senator does not wear the wool as it comes from the sheep, nor does he wear the cloth as it comes from the factory. You might just as well say that the only manufacturer is the tailor who takes the cloth and makes the clothes.

Now, then, there is another theory the Senator advances. He assumes that the tariff imposed upon articles manufactured abroad must make similar manufactured articles made in this country that much higher to the consumer in this country. Yet that Senator knows, and I know, that there have been articles made and sold in this country continually upon the market at a price much lower than the amount of tariff alone imposed upon similar articles when imported.

In the manufacture of woolen goods it does not matter if we should vote here five times the compensatory duties that are really necessary, it would not cost the consumer one penny more for one yard of cloth, unless it was some novelty sprung upon the market quick and sold for a short time before some competitor could make the same fabric.

Mr. GRAY. The Senator from Iowa says it would.

Mr. WARREN. So far as cloth making is concerned, there is not a piece shown by the Senator but that can be made in this country. The Senator knows just as well as I do that with the Yankee ingenuity that he sometimes alludes to, and with the capital in this country, just so soon as one manufacturer is making an article upon which the net profits are more than the proper interest of to-day, another manufacturer starts in to make the same article. So while we want to give every manufacturer an opportunity to make his goods by keeping out foreign goods of the kind, as a matter of fact the competition between manufacturers will protect the wearer of woolens, as it will every other article of consumption, where there is not an unlawful, illegal combination, or some trust that succeeds in cornering the market, to put up or put down the price of some product at will.

Regarding the commerce in wool and woolens, there has never been a suspicion of the manipulations of a trust or combination that I ever heard of. There has never been a time when wool or woolens have been sold upon futures and sold short and sold long. There has never been a time when they have been cornered or when any combination or any trust has controlled the product. So woolen goods, like wire nails and a great many other articles made of iron, may be sold, as those articles have been sold, at the lowest figure at which they can be manufactured here in this country and pay the workmen their price and pay a legitimate return upon the money invested.

So I say that while my constituency may not be interested directly in the manufacture of a single woolen article, yet I am ready to stand here and vote now and always to put a compensatory duty upon each and every article sufficient in the judgment of those who know—the manufacturers themselves if necessary—to exclude, to prohibit if necessary, if you will, foreign manufactures of the same kind, so as to afford employment at good wages to every American citizen desiring occupation.

Now, we do not propose to prohibit the import of wool. Until we raise enough, we have got to import it. We ask for no prohibitory duty. We should resent and repudiate any duty of that kind. But when it comes to a duty upon such manufactures as can be successfully produced here, so far as I am concerned, I am ready to vote a prohibitive duty, if you please, because I know that as a consumer I am protected by the laws of trade and competition here as between one manufacturer and another.

As to the duty that is required upon wool by woolgrowers, we have a long history to look back over. It has been demonstrated by the rise and fall in the number of sheep over and over again that on any duty less than the duty proposed in this bill the number of sheep and the value thereof have rapidly decreased in this country, and whenever there has been a duty of more or about what is proposed here there has been an increase in the number and value of sheep.

Before the Wilson bill was passed the statistics of the United States showed that the sheep in this country were worth over $125,000,000, or nearly $126,000,000. The same statistics show that after two years of the action of the Wilson bill, which the Senator from Delaware voted for, and which refused the woolgrowers a cent of protection, and refused to take revenue even from foreign wool that came in—preferring the foreign woolgrower to his own countrymen—sheep had decreased in price to a little over $66,000,000 in value, lacking but a few dollars of a loss of one-half in the value of sheep in two short years of Democratic misrule.

Thus we have shown, and the records show, and it takes no argument, and it need take no time to show that it is necessary in order to continue that industry to have a duty about such as is

proposed here, or perhaps a larger one. That has been demonstrated.

Now, sir, as to the duty upon goods, I repeat that the price of manufactured goods in this country has never been controlled for any length of time by the amount of duty that was levied on manufactured goods of like character. It has been regulated by the laws of trade and competition within our own land.

Mr. GRAY. Mr. President, I am very loath to occupy time, but really we ought to stop long enough just to know what we are doing and what this tax provision amounts to. The Senator from Wyoming has said that the number of sheep has very much decreased under the Wilson bill, I think. Was it not?

Mr. WARREN. Yes, sir.

Mr. GRAY. If the people of the United States submit to these outrageous exactions without protest and without a fight against them——

Mr. WARREN. The people expressed themselves on that question at the last election.

Mr. GRAY. We will find out that there are more sheep in the United States than I imagined.

Mr. WARREN. The people have expressed themselves.

Mr. GRAY. There are more sheep in the United States than I imagined. I do not believe there are that many.

Mr. President, I do not propose to go into the intricate subject (intricate only on the part of those who believe as the distinguished Senator from Wyoming) of free raw material or its philosophy, but what I do want to say, and I repeat, is that the number of sheep under the tariff act of 1867, as was stated by the Senator from Missouri the other day, steadily decreased, and the number of sheep under the McKinley tariff act steadily decreased, unless the Senator from Missouri is altogether mistaken.

Mr. WARREN. You must have misunderstood him.

Mr. GRAY. Unless I am mistaken in the source of his statement——

Mr. WARREN. If the Senator will allow me——

Mr. GRAY. I may be mistaken.

Mr. WARREN. I can not allow the Senator from Delaware to malign the Senator from Missouri in his absence in that manner. I do not think the Senator from Missouri stated anything of the kind, because it would be untrue if he did state it so.

Mr. GRAY. Whether it be the number of sheep or the price of wool, there was a steady decline. So the intimate relation between a tariff on this raw material, which I insist upon calling it, and its price is, it seems to me, demonstrated to be different from what the Senator from Wyoming thinks it. If we are to be taxed upon everything that grows from the ground, whether it be lumber, or cotton, or wheat, or the wool on a sheep's back, and then upon everything that is manufactured from them, of course we get into a very vicious circle, and I do not know that anybody is very much protected. The Senator has gone around that circle of protective argument until he has arrived at his starting point, and yet I do not see exactly how he is any better off than when he began.

What I insist upon is that we would be better off if we had no taxes—tariff or other—except those that are imposed for public revenue, and that no dollar be taken from the American people and that no industry be compelled to pay tribute except to defray the necessary expenses of the Government economically administered, and that not one cent of taxation ought to be allowed for other than public purposes.

I suppose the Senator understands that that is the position that we occupy, or many of us, on this side of the Chamber. It is very different from the one occupied by the Senator from Wyoming, who believes that even the primitive industry, the oldest in the history of the world, that of raising flocks and clipping the fleece, needs to rest upon the paternal support of legislation. I do not believe that a Government partnership in this very primitive and crude industry is necessary from any point of view. I would have, if I could, not a cent of protective tariff in any of these schedules, and then I would leave the manufacturers in this country, whose prosperity I desire and whose enterprise I am proud of, with the great advantage that you are taking from them, and that is, the advantage of access to the free raw materials upon which labor and ingenuity and skill can be exercised for the uplifting and the benefit of the whole human family.

That is the condition for which I am contending, and which I will approach; and if I am content to approach it gradually on account of the scare made by those who have lived so long on Government subsidy, I am not to be reproached for inconsistency because I have been somewhat influenced by the piteous appeals of those who think that they can not carry on the natural industries of the world without calling upon help from their neighbors and from the Government taxation.

Mr. WARREN. Will the Senator from Delaware indulge me a moment? I take that to be a sort of apology for insisting upon protection to manufacturers but no protection to the rural people, the agriculturists. I take it that his vote on the Wilson bill, which gave 50 per cent to the woolen manufacturers and nothing to the woolgrowers, shows very plainly, followed as it is by his observations, that he acknowledges an apology is due.

Mr. GRAY. Mr. President, the people who raise wool and the people who raise cotton do not need protection from the Government, and they have never asked it in any way that would indicate that they did. They are content by their industry to develop the resources of nature and trust to that sense of fairness and justice which ought to be found in a legislative assembly to prevent them from being unfairly burdened by taxation for the benefit of other industries no more worthy than their own.

But, Mr. President, the Senator says if they will give him what Judge Lawrence calls this ample protection, this indemnity for the past and security for the future—terms which a foreign enemy, if they had captured the capital, would use if they were turning around to loot it—indemnity for the past and security for the future, considering the rest——

Mr. WARREN. Mr. President——

Mr. GRAY. One moment. Considering the rest of the people of the United States as their enemies and speaking of the hostility that is developed against this great and new industry of raising wool. If that is to be the line of conduct, then we are to understand from the Senator that he is willing, as a largess to the manufacturer, whose raw material he has made more expensive and harder to get, that they shall levy also an additional subsidy out of the same people, out of the same home market, which means all the people of the United States who wear woolen clothes. He is willing to give them, from the pockets of these same people, a bounty which shall be as large as they demand, and then he says there will be no very great injury done by it, because, forsooth, the competition that takes place inside of the tariff wall is going to bring down the price of these commodities to a fair and reasonable rate.

Well, if that be so, when are we to expect it? When was it ever known that a protected interest was willing that the tariff wall should be lowered? When was it ever known that they came forward and said, "Now this industry in its struggling state has been nursed into strength and into manhood and we are willing to take a less exaction and to lower this protective wall?" Can the Senator cite me any interest in which that has been done? Has the wool interest? Has the wool interest, that has been protected for these many years, ever arrived at a state when it was willing to lower the rate on the clip?

Mr. WARREN. It has been lowered.

Mr. GRAY. Has it ever been done with the consent of the woolgrower? Does the Senator from Wyoming know of a single instance where they have come into the Halls of Congress and said, "After these long years and generations of protection, we are willing now, because our industry is established and the number of our flocks has increased, that this should come down in the interest of the poor people who have been paying us this subsidy all these years?" I pause for a reply, if the Senator has any reply to make to that question categorically. Has there ever been a time?

Mr. WARREN. Will the Senator repeat his question?

Mr. GRAY. I am sorry the Senator was not listening to me; I can not repeat it.

Now, Mr. President, the Senator says it will not increase very much the price of these goods—that is what I understood him to say—by reason of this competition. I should like to know how the manufacturers are going to be protected if they do not get an increased price. How are they going to be compensated for the increased price of the raw wool? Do you not expect the woolgrower to get more for his wool by reason of this tariff tax, I ask the Senator from Wyoming?

Mr. WARREN. As the Senator insists upon asking the question——

Mr. GRAY. I ask him a civil and respectful question, I hope.

Mr. WARREN. I ask the Senator not to put words in my mouth, but to quote me correctly.

Mr. GRAY. I have not quoted you. I have asked the question, and I desire an answer. If the Senator will answer my question, I will be obliged to him.

Mr. WARREN. What is the question?

Mr. GRAY. My question was whether he does not expect that the price of wool will be increased to the woolgrower by reason of this tariff.

Mr. WARREN. Yes.

Mr. GRAY. Well, that is all now. If the price is increased to the woolgrower by reason of the tariff, and the manufacturer is compensated by an increased tax on the manufactured article, then the consumer must pay an increased price, and nobody compensates the consumer, as I have said before.

Mr. WARREN. Now, will the Senator permit me to finish my answer?

Mr. GRAY. Oh, certainly.

Mr. WARREN. It is unquestionably true that the woolgrower will receive more by the tariff on wool, because we do not raise enough to supply the home market, and because there is not, and

without protection can not be, sufficient competition at home. As regards woolen goods, I stated then and repeat now, it does not matter in the protection against foreign importations whether you have placed your compensatory duty too high or just high enough, because the consumer gets the benefit of all the competition in manufacturing at home, and that regulates the price. We have in this country manufacturers enough. The case is quite different in regard to sheep.

Now, while I am on my feet, if the Senator will allow me——

Mr. GRAY. Please excuse me. I am very indulgent and I have great respect for the Senator from Wyoming, but I do not want him to put anything of his own in my speech, but just to reply in his own time.

Mr. WARREN. I should say——

Mr. GRAY. You have your own time, sir. Of course I do not want the Senator to put in my argument what he has to say. I asked him a question and I certainly have given him abundant scope for an answer, and now I propose to proceed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. GALLINGER in the chair). Does the Senator from Delaware yield to the Senator from Wyoming?

Mr. WARREN. The Senator declines to yield.

Mr. GRAY. No, sir; I do not decline to yield. I have yielded. The Senator knows I did not decline.

Mr. WARREN. I wanted to finish the question he had asked me.

Mr. GRAY. If I have——

Mr. WARREN. I will not embarrass him further. He knows he is traveling in close quarters.

Mr. GRAY. No, no.

Mr. WARREN. And it is getting closer.

Mr. GRAY. That is an old trick that the Senator may use on the stump in Wyoming, but you do not embarrass me, and never have, by any such argument.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Delaware is entitled to the floor and will proceed.

Mr. GRAY. Here we have it again, that there is competition which is to counteract the effect of the tariff. The tariff is to raise the price and competition is to lower it. I should like to ask how the manufacturer is to get this proposed benefit that is promised him in compensation for the high price that he has to pay for his tariff-taxed wool. It is very obvious that the tariff to the manufacturer creates with him precisely in principle what is created by a trust, those great institutions which are so much talked about now and so much denounced, and have been the theme of so much vituperative eloquence on this floor. The tariff creates a trust for the manufacturer just as surely as the combination of the manufacturers of sugar created a trust in the name of the American Sugar Refining Company. It does not differ in principle.

The Government of the United States is asked to stand and will stand guard along all the shores of this continent and keep off foreign competition and tell the manufacturers on the inside of those sacred precincts they may work their sweet will so far as they are concerned upon the American consumer. That is just what the trust does. That they are identical in principle, that manufacturers who have taken the Government into partnership in this way stand upon precisely the same ground that a trust stands, has been recently declared judicially by the supreme court of Germany, as stated in a paragraph that I noticed the other day in the New York Journal of Commerce.

From the Berliner Tageblatt of June 3 we translate the following:

"The supreme court of the German Empire, Leipsic, has rendered the following important decision concerning combines and trusts, which will be of great interest to other nations, and especially to the United States, where trusts play such a prominent part in commercial and industrial affairs. The above-mentioned court has distinctly declared that trusts and similar combines are perfectly legal. The motives given for this decision are as follows: When in certain industrial branches the prices of such products are sinking too low, thereby making impossible or endangering a successful business thereof, the crisis which necessarily follows is not only pernicious to the individual but also to political economy in general. It is therefor in the interest of the whole community that inadequate low prices shall not prevail too long in any industrial branch."

Just what the high-tariff protectionists claim that this Government ought to say.

"In accordance with this principle the legislative bodies have repeatedly and quite recently undertaken to bring about higher prices for certain products by establishing protective duties. It can, therefore, not be deemed absolutely and generally obnoxious to the interests of the community when the manufacturers of certain articles form a combination for the purpose of preventing ruinous competition and to mitigate the downward tendency of prices for their products. On the contrary, such combinations can be regarded not only as a warranted manifestation of the impetus of self-preservation, but also as a measure for the interest of the whole community, in cases where prices are so low that the manufacturers of them are threatened with financial ruin. For this reason the formation of syndicates and trusts has been designated by several authorities as a means which, when properly adapted, would prove remarkably expedient to prevent extravagant and detrimental overproduction."

Mr. President, I should like to ask what else the tariff is expected to do except to enter into a combination, in this case, for instance, with all the woolen manufacturers, and say, "We, by our legislation, by our fiat, by our supreme power and authority, will enable you to charge the American consumer more than you would otherwise be able to receive if it were not for that combination." It is to protect these manufacturers from any competition except that which is within the charmed circle of the protective tariff; and precisely that thing is done when you form a trust. So this is a great tariff trust. It is a trust of the sheep grower of Wyoming, and it is a trust of the woolen manufacturer, sanctioned by law, protected by law, encouraged by law, approved by the legislation of the Congress of the United States. Now, what are we to do? Competition inside of this circle is to produce these wonderful results and neutralize all that is promised these very people.

Mr. President, I can understand why the wool industry of the United States has developed out of its original and primitive state. The seat of sheep husbandry has gone beyond the Mississippi River. I know that in the great State of the Senator from Wyoming there is an enormous opportunity for that husbandry that does not exist in my State, that does not exist in the Atlantic States, and that is ceasing to exist in the States of Ohio, Illinois, and Indiana, in comparison with what is growing up in those far Western regions. Who is to protect the Ohio sheep husbandman from the competition of the Wyoming sheep husbandman, where you have a range over land never paid for, over the free land of the United States—those great sheep ranges and cattle ranges?

Can a man who lives in the State of Ohio or in Indiana or Illinois, and who pays anywhere from fifty to one hundred dollars an acre for his land, compete in the sheep-growing industry, with these natural developments which have been seized upon, the opportunities which have been afforded by nature and by the law of the United States in opening these great reservations? How are you going to compete with them? And yet the Senator from Wyoming, who has this great natural advantage, who lives in a country where these great flocks of sheep can range at the will of the owner over hundreds of thousands of acres, wants a protective tariff from all his less favored fellow-citizens in the East and in the Middle West in order that he and his people may have an increased advantage and an increased profit over what nature and opportunity have so abundantly given them.

Mr. President, if there is anything fair in that, if there is anything just in that, I want to hear some one explain what the fairness and what the justice is. We know that for years the farmers of the East and on the Atlantic Coast have been suffering from the competition of the West. There is no protective tariff that can help them. They have to submit to it. Then I should like to know how it is, and by what justice those who have captured this great industry, and who now control it with such remarkable advantages, come here and demand from the millions of the consuming public in the East, who must wear woolen clothes and work at some other industry just as worthy as theirs in order to get the wherewithal to buy them, and demand from them tribute to increase the price of the wool of the Wyoming sheep grower?

Mr. WARREN. Mr. President, only a moment. I do not desire to continue the argument with the able and courteous Senator from Delaware [Mr. GRAY], because official figures are stronger than argument, no matter how worthily made or by whom given.

I will just notice in passing that the Senator's estimate of the returns to the woolgrowers from the tariff on sheep and the consequent expense to the consumer is at the rate of 17 cents to 100 sheep. He already has that on record. I noted it in passing, and now I will ask consent to have printed in the RECORD the official figures of the United States from 1872 to 1895 as to the number and value of sheep in the United States.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the table referred to will be printed in the RECORD.

The table referred to is as follows:

January 1—	Sheep.		January 1—	Sheep.	
	Number.	Value.		Number.	Value.
1872	31,679,300	$88,771,197	1884	50,626,620	$119,902,706
1873	33,002,400	97,922,350	1885	50,300,243	107,960,650
1874	33,928,200	88,690,509	1886	48,322,331	92,443,867
1875	35,783,600	94,320,652	1887	44,759,314	89,872,830
1876	35,935,300	93,646,318	1888	43,544,755	89,279,926
1877	35,804,200	89,892,693	1889	42,560,079	90,640,369
1878	35,740,500	89,605,062	1890	44,336,072	100,659,761
1879	38,123,800	79,023,984	1891	43,431,136	108,397,447
1880	40,765,900	90,230,537	1892	44,938,305	116,121,200
1881	43,576,890	104,070,750	1893	47,273,553	125,909,264
1882	45,016,224	106,594,954	1894	45,048,017	89,186,110
1883	49,237,291	124,305,855	1895	42,294,064	66,685,787

Mr. CHANDLER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the vote may be taken on the pending motion.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Mr. President, in confirmation of what has just been said by the Senator from Delaware [Mr. GRAY], I wish to call attention to the distribution of sheep through the United States. I have a table made up in numbers by thousands,

giving the number of sheep in the different States and different sections of the Union from 1865 to 1896–97, from which it will appear that in 1865 there were 24,799,000 sheep in certain Eastern States—Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, and West Virginia—and that that number had decreased to 7,709,000 in 1896–97; that in the Southern States—Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee, and Kentucky—there were in 1865, 2,297,000 sheep, and there were 2,807,000 sheep in 1896–97; that in Missouri, Texas, and California there were in 1868, 4,404,000 sheep, and in 1896–97 there were 6,063,000 that in Kansas, Iowa, Wisconsin, and Minnesota there were 2,351,000 sheep in 1865, and 1,890,000 in 1896; and that in the Western States, which are favored by the natural advantages so distinctly pointed out by the Senator from Delaware, there were in 1880, 5,456,000 sheep, and in 1896–97 there were 17,860,000, showing the movement of the sheep toward the localities with the best natural advantages, and of their falling off in the more settled parts of the Union, where the price is higher and the land more costly.

I will insert these tables in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it will be so ordered.

The tables referred to are as follows:

I.—*Number of sheep in the sheep-raising States east of the Mississippi River and north of Virginia in the different years given below.*

State.	1865.	1868.	1871.	1876.	1881.	1886.	1891.	1895.	1896–97.
Maine	905,000	752,000	415,000	525,000	630,000	537,000	548,000	284,000	230,000
New Hampshire	655,000	530,000	220,000	242,000	246,000	195,000	183,000	108,000	77,000
Vermont	1,252,000	1,042,000	548,000	490,000	508,000	378,000	351,000	227,000	158,000
Massachusetts	202,000	175,000	72,000	76,000	65,000	64,000	56,000	50,000	42,000
New York	4,576,000	4,997,000	2,080,000	1,936,000	2,338,000	1,596,000	1,394,000	1,035,000	809,000
New Jersey	175,000	194,000	150,000	130,000	127,000	107,000	100,000	50,000	41,000
Pennsylvania	2,871,000	3,422,000	1,762,000	1,640,000	1,633,000	1,189,000	1,040,000	1,179,000	799,000
Maryland	250,000	276,000	135,000	141,000	153,000	169,000	157,000	148,000	125,000
Ohio	5,795,000	6,730,000	4,641,000	4,547,000	4,243,000	4,753,000	4,061,000	3,577,000	2,369,000
Michigan	3,020,000	3,948,000	3,078,000	3,451,000	1,930,000	2,269,000	2,263,000	1,982,000	1,342,000
Indiana	2,456,000	2,882,000	2,100,000	1,250,000	1,029,000	1,088,000	1,150,000	896,000	655,000
Illinois	2,062,000	2,736,000	1,424,000	1,311,000	1,155,000	1,005,000	771,000	867,000	604,000
West Virginia	*580,000	880,000	563,000	544,000	660,000	625,000	519,000	635,000	458,000
Total	24,799,000	28,564,000	17,198,000	16,283,000	14,717,000	13,975,000	12,593,000	10,897,000	7,709,000

*Estimated.

II.—*Number of sheep in the principal sheep-raising States south of Maryland.*

State.	1865.	1868.	1871.	1876.	1881.	1886.	1891.	1895.	1896–97.
Virginia	458,000	658,000	295,000	356,000	447,000	463,000	444,000	449,000	392,000
North Carolina	226,000	326,000	315,000	284,000	386,000	469,000	308,000	357,000	319,000
South Carolina	150,000	180,000	157,000	143,000	187,000	113,000	99,000	78,000	73,000
Georgia	250,000	346,000	269,000	371,000	378,000	501,000	383,000	403,000	345,000
Alabama	175,000	257,000	200,000	186,000	225,000	337,000	275,000	326,000	252,000
Mississippi	150,000	193,000	200,000	152,000	202,000	276,000	225,000	291,000	306,000
Tennessee	175,000	264,000	400,000	342,000	858,000	604,000	511,000	404,000	392,000
Kentucky	813,000	896,000	904,000	684,000	1,021,000	903,000	766,000	1,046,000	738,000
Total	2,297,000	3,120,000	2,840,000	2,518,000	3,704,000	3,666,000	3,111,000	3,544,000	2,807,000

III.—*Number of sheep in the below-mentioned States in the Southwest.*

State.	1865.	1868.	1871.	1876.	1881.	1886.	1891.	1895.	1896–97.
Missouri	809,000	1,377,000	1,578,000	1,284,000	1,619,000	1,285,000	899,000	860,000	697,000
Texas	----------	827,000	1,137,000	1,691,000	6,023,000	6,802,000	4,900,000	3,738,000	2,789,000
California	----------	2,200,000	3,636,000	6,750,000	7,493,000	6,069,000	3,712,000	3,526,000	2,577,000
Total	----------	4,404,000	6,351,000	9,725,000	15,135,000	14,156,000	9,601,000	8,124,000	6,063,000

IV.—*Number of sheep in the older Northwestern States in the years given below.*

State.	1865.	1868.	1871.	1876.	1881.	1886.	1891.	1895.	1896.
Kansas	60,000	102,000	115,000	124,000	450,000	1,190,000	447,000	271,000	222,000
Iowa	1,466,000	2,591,000	1,822,000	1,664,000	463,000	468,000	452,000	628,000	554,000
Wisconsin	970,000	1,881,000	1,056,000	1,165,000	1,329,000	1,219,000	890,000	895,000	709,000
Minnesota	65,000	129,000	140,000	190,000	314,000	278,000	331,000	489,000	405,000
Total	2,561,000	4,703,000	3,133,000	3,141,000	2,556,000	3,155,000	2,120,000	2,287,000	1,890,000

V.—*Numbers of sheep in the new far Western States.*

State.	1870.	1880.	1883.	1891.	1891.	1895.	1896–97.
Nebraska	22,000	172,000	324,000	448,000	234,000	183,000	188,000
South Dakota			140,000	254,000	270,000	323,000	336,000
North Dakota			140,000	254,000	320,000	367,000	356,000
Montana			405,000	719,000	2,089,000	2,808,000	3,122,000
Wyoming			520,000	518,000	1,119,000	1,282,000	1,672,000
Colorado			1,212,000	1,126,000	1,819,000	1,305,000	1,411,000
New Mexico	2,120,000	4,019,000	3,000,000	4,328,000	3,123,000	3,000,000	2,083,000
Arizona			602,000	896,000	594,000	745,000	829,000
Utah			513,000	651,000	2,055,000	2,039,000	1,988,000
Nevada			367,000	661,000	504,000	544,000	544,000
Idaho			125,000	210,000	502,000	919,000	1,376,000
Washington			390,000	545,000	673,000	748,000	741,000
Oregon	500,000	1,265,000	2,403,000	2,469,000	2,431,000	2,530,000	2,604,000
Total	2,642,000	5,456,000	10,961,000	12,825,000	15,733,000	17,141,000	17,860,000

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Mr. President, I was very much interested in the part of the remarks of the Senator from Delaware relating to the cost of goods and the illustrations which he gave to the Senate. I have a number of similar samples. I have in my hand a fabric, "cotton warp worsted," the cost of which abroad is 32 cents a yard. Under the Wilson law the tariff on this article would be 12.8 per yard—less than 13 cents a yard. The tariff under the present proposed measure would be 25 cents specific and 50 per cent ad valorem, which would be equivalent to 16 cents. The foreign cost is 32 cents, and 50 per cent, the manufacturer's tariff provided in this bill, would be 16 cents, and the compensatory tariff for the next twelve months, to be given to the manufacturer for no consideration whatever, will be 25 cents on an article costing 32 cents.

I have already pointed out to the Senate that there is no tariff paid upon the wool out of which these goods will be manufactured and that we are giving a compensatory tariff for tariffs which are not paid and will not be paid for the next twelve months on this article costing 32 cents. We are paying 25 cents compensatory tariff, together with an ad valorem equivalent to 16 cents, to the manufacturers to protect them in their manufacture. This illustrates the outrage of giving a compensation, against which we have protested and against which we have again and again to-day voted. It shows the wrong in this matter, and it is not by any means a small matter.

I have here samples of another fabric, costing 21 cents abroad, on which the tariff under the present law is 8.4 cents per yard. The tariff under this bill would be 50 per cent ad valorem, equivalent to 10½ cents on a cost of 21 cents; and the compensatory specific tax intended to compensate for the tariff upon wool which has not paid is 21.6 cents a yard on an article that cost 21 cents. The specific compensatory tax paid on that fabric is more than 100 per cent of the foreign cost; and in addition to that there is a tariff of 50 per cent that is given to the manufacturer for protection.

This manifestly shows how this compensatory tax for a tariff never paid operates on the people of this country. When we buy abroad $100 worth of this article, we must pay not only the $50 for the manufacturer's protection, but we must pay more than $100 as a tax to compensate the manufacturers for tariffs they have not paid—a plain, naked robbery. There can be no more polite or civil word used in connection with such legislation.

I have another sample here of wool and cotton suitings, which cost 66 cents a yard abroad. The tariff under the present law is 26.4 cents. The ad valorem tariff of 50 per cent under the pending bill would be, of course, 33 cents a yard, and the compensatory tariff paid for the imaginary wool tariff is 54 cents. But it is scarcely necessary to multiply examples of this kind. I have here samples of another and lighter character of goods which cost 22 cents a yard abroad. Under the present law the duty is 40 per cent, which would be 8.8 cents, a little less than 9 cents. Under the Senate bill there is a duty of 50 per cent ad valorem, which, of course, would be 11 cents, the foreign cost being 22 cents; a d the compensatory tax, the specific tax placed on the fabric to pay the manufacturer for the tariff that he has not paid on this article costing 22 cents, is 24 cents—more than 100 per cent, in addition to the entire 50 per cent, which the manufacturers claim is all the protection they ask.

The manufacturers have lived under the general tax of 40 per cent in the Wilson law when they have had free wool; and now when you propose to tax the wool by a protective tariff of 50 per cent ad valorem, a rise of 25 per cent on the tariff theretofore existing, and in addition to that a specific tax of 24 cents a pound, under the false pretense of indemnifying them for tariffs that they have paid on the raw wool, when they have never paid one cent, you are putting a tax of more than 100 per cent on the goods which are used by our people. What is the use of saying that the purpose of this thing is not to raise the price of these articles to the people? If it does not mean that, why do you want this protection? Why would these people come here asking for these taxes if they did not believe that they would increase the cost?

It is a matter well known to all of us that it does increase and raise these prices by these amounts; and if they do not, the men who are asking for the passage of this bill will be worse fooled than anybody else.

Mr. President, I had not intended to detain the Senate longer, but my associates around me say, "Give us another sample." I have laid aside a number of these. Here [exhibiting] is a sample of heavy, coarse cloth used for the purpose of making coarse, cheap overcoats. It costs 31 cents a yard, and the duty on this under the present law is 12.4 cents a yard, making it cost 43.4 cents when brought in here. Under the present tariff it would be 15½ cents a yard. The compensatory tariff paid upon this article for wool upon which no tariff has ever been paid, while the fabric costs 31 cents, is 42 cents a yard, more than 125 per cent tariff upon this fabric to protect the manufacturers for a tariff not one solitary cent of which they have ever paid, but the whole of which is paid by the people

I have a number of pieces of these goods on my desk, and I shall not go over all of them. They include ladies' dress goods and goods for men's wear. I shall insert in the RECORD the statements accompanying these samples, so that Senators who are interested in the subject may examine them.

The statements referred to are as follows:

27-inch black luster orlean for men's summer coats, cotton warp and worsted weft, costing 3½ pence per running yard, weighing under 4 ounces to the square yard:

	Cents.
Present duty, 40 per cent	2.70
Under Senate bill the duty will be—	
5½ cents per square yard	4.13
And 50 per cent	3.37
Total	7.50

which, if entirely ad valorem, would be 111 per cent duty.

27 inch black luster orlean for men's summer coats, cotton warp and worsted weft, costing 4½ pence per running yard, weighing under 4 ounces to the square yard:

	Cents.
Present duty, 50 per cent	4.13
Under Senate bill the duty will be—	
5½ cents per square yard	4.13
And 50 per cent	4.13
Total	8.26

which, if entirely ad valorem, would be 100 per cent duty.

27-inch black luster sicilian for men's summer coats, cotton warp and worsted weft, costing 3½ pence per running yard, weighing under 4 ounces to the square yard:

	Cents.
Present duty, 40 per cent	3.10
Under Senate bill the duty will be—	
5½ cents per square yard	4.13
And 50 per cent	3.87
Total	8.00

which, if entirely ad valorem, would be 103 per cent duty.

32-inch colored italian lining, cotton warp and wool weft, costing 6½ pence per running yard, weighing under 4 ounces per square yard:

	Cents.
Present duty, 50 per cent	6.50
Under Senate bill the duty will be—	
5½ cents per square yard	4.88
And 50 per cent	6.50
Total	11.38

which, if entirely ad valorem, would be 87 per cent duty.

32-inch black italian lining, cotton warp and wool weft, costing 7½ pence per running yard, weighing 4½ ounces per square yard:

	Cents.
Present duty, 50 per cent	7.62
Under Senate bill the duty will be—	
32 cents per pound	7.50
And 50 per cent	7.62
Total	15.18

which, if entirely ad valorem, would be 99 per cent duty.

27-inch black cashmere for men's summer coats, cotton warp and wool weft, costing 7 pence per running yard, weighing under 4 ounces per square yard:

	Cents.
Present duty, 50 per cent	7.00
Under Senate bill the duty will be—	
6½ cents per square yard	4.87
And 50 per cent	7.00
Total	11.87

which, if entirely ad valorem, would be 84 per cent duty.

27-inch black cashmere for men's summer coats, cotton warp and wool weft, costing 8½ pence per running yard, weighing 4½ ounces per square yard:

	Cents
Present duty, 50 per cent	8.75
Under Senate bill the duty will be—	
32 cents per pound	6.37
And 50 per cent	8.75
Total	15.12

which, if entirely ad valorem, would be 86 per cent duty.

38-inch black mohair brilliantine dress goods, for women's wear, cotton warp and mohair weft, costing 9 pence per running yard, weighing under 4 ounces per square yard:

	Cents.
Present duty, 50 per cent	9.00
Under Senate bill the duty will be—	
6½ cents per square yard	6.86
And 50 per cent	9.00
Total	15.86

which, if entirely ad valorem, would be 88 per cent duty.

Cotton and wool (shoddy) melton, 54 inches wide, 14½ ounces weight; value, 11 pence; dutiable value, 21 cents:

	Cents.
Present duty, 40 per cent	8.4
Under Senate bill the duty will be—	
24 cents per pound	21.6
And 50 per cent ad valorem	10.5
Total	32.0

which, if entirely ad valorem, would be 150 per cent.

Union twill, cotton, wool, and shoddy, 56 inches wide, 16 ounces weight; value, 11 pence; dutiable value, 22 cents.

	Cents.
Present duty, 40 per cent	8.8
Under Senate bill the duty will be—	
24 cents per pound	24
And 50 per cent ad valorem	11
Total	35

which, if entirely ad valorem, would be 159 per cent.

56-inch mixture worsted coating for men's suits, worsted warp and weft, costing 27 pence per running yard, weighing 12 ounces per running yard:

	Cents.
Present duty, 50 per cent	27
Under Senate bill the duty will be—	
32 cents per pound	24
And 50 per cent ad valorem	27
Total	51

which, if entirely ad valorem, would be 94 per cent.

Cloakings, cotton warp, wool and shoddy filling, 54 inches wide, 22½ ounces weight; value, 1s. 4d.; dutiable value, 31 cents:

	Cents.
Present duty, 40 per cent	12.4
Under Senate bill the duty will be—	
24 cents per pound	42
And 50 per cent ad valorem	15½
Total	57½

which, if entirely ad valorem, would be 185 per cent.

Cotton warp worsted, 56 inches wide, 11 ounces weight; value, 1s. 4½d.; dutiable value, 32 cents:

	Cents.
Present duty, 40 per cent	1.28
Under Senate bill the duty will be—	
36 cents per pound	25
And 50 per cent ad valorem	16
Total	41

which, if entirely ad valorem, would be 128 per cent.

German cloaking, cotton and wool, 59 inches wide, 10½ ounces weight; value, 1.80 marks; dutiable value, 34.5 cents:

	Cents.
Present duty, 50 per cent	17.3
Under Senate bill the duty will be—	
36 cents per pound	24
And 55 per cent ad valorem	19
Total	43

which, if entirely ad valorem, would be 125 per cent.

Fancy worsteds, 29 inches wide, 12½ ounces weight; value, 2 shillings; dutiable value, 46 cents:

	Cents.
Present duty, 50 per cent	23
Under Senate bill the duty will be—	
36 cents per pound	28
And 50 per cent ad valorem	23
Total	51

which, if entirely ad valorem, would be 111 per cent.

Worsted trouserings, 29 inches wide, 8 ounces weight; value, 2 shillings; dutiable value, 46.5 cents:

	Cents.
Present duty, 50 per cent	23.3
Under Senate bill the duty would be—	
36 cents per pound	18
And 55 per cent ad valorem	25.6
Total	43.6

which, if entirely ad valorem, would be 94 per cent.

German cloakings, cotton and wool, 50 inches wide, 14 ounces. weight; value, 2.25 marks; dutiable value, 52 cents:

	Cents.
Present duty, 50 per cent	26
Under Senate bill the duty will be—	
36 cents per pound	31.5
And 50 per cent ad valorem	26
Total	57.5

which, if entirely ad valorem, would be 110 per cent.

Wool and cotton suitings, 27 inches wide, 12 ounces weight; value, 2s. 6d.; dutiable value, 59 cents:

	Cents.
Present duty, 50 per cent	29.5
Under Senate bill the duty will be—	
36 cents per pound	27
And 50 per cent ad valorem	29.5
Total	56.5

which, if entirely ad valorem, would be 95 per cent.

Wool and cotton suitings, 54 inches wide, 24 ounces weight; value, 2s. 10d.; dutiable value, 66 cents:

	Cents.
Present duty, 40 per cent	26.4
Under Senate bill the duty will be—	
36 cents per pound	54
And 50 per cent ad valorem	33
Total	87

which, if entirely ad valorem, would be 132 per cent.

Cheviot, all wool, 58 inches wide, 30 ounces weight; value, 4s. 6d.; dutiable value, $1:

Present duty, 50 per cent	$0.50
Under Senate bill the duty will be—	
36 cents per pound	.67½
And 50 per cent ad valorem	.50
Total	1.17½

which, if entirely ad valorem, would be 117½ per cent.

Covert cloth, 54 inches wide, 32 ounces weight; value, 9 shillings; dutiable value, $2.08.

Present duty, 50 per cent	$1.04
Under Senate bill the duty will be—	
36 cents per pound	.72
And 55 per cent ad valorem	1.14
Total	1.86

which, if entirely ad valorem, would be 89½ per cent.

Wool suitings, 56 inches wide, 18-19 ounces weight; value, 10s. 3d.; dutiable value, $2.36:

Present duty, 50 per cent	$1.18
Under Senate bill the duty will be—	
36 cents per pound	.41
And 55 per cent ad valorem	1.30
Total	1.71

which, if entirely ad valorem, would be 72 per cent.

Clay worsted coatings, 56 inches wide, 20 ounces weight; value, 12s. 6d.; dutiable value, $2.90:

Present duty, 50 per cent	$1.45
Under Senate bill the duty will be—	
36 cents per pound	.585
And 55 per cent ad valorem	1.595
Total	2.18

which, if entirely ad valorem, would be 75 per cent.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. We have by our votes to-day undertaken again and again to remove this proposition to tax goods to compensate manufacturers for tariffs which they have not paid, but we have been met by a solid vote on the other side without regard to the facts, without regard to right. You have insisted on imposing these enormous taxes on the people to compel the masses of the people to pay this compensation for money that has not been invested in raw material by the manufacturers. We are powerless; we can not help ourselves.

Mr. President, the development of the United States in an industrial way is something remarkable. I presented some tables here the other day which showed that the people of this country consume to-day more raw cotton in manufactures than any other country on the globe; that we use more raw wool than any country in the world; that we are the largest producers of pig iron on the earth, and, indeed, in this great manufacture we have taken the lead of all the nations of the earth. There is no longer any room for the pretense that we are an infant; there is no longer any excuse for asking for the benefactions of the Government or to be asking Congress for protection against competition with the balance of the world.

I will put into the RECORD a statement which I have had made up by a very competent man, Jacob Schoenhof, a careful, painstaking, patriotic, intelligent man, a man who has no prejudices for or against any of these questions, and who looks at them, I believe, with absolute impartiality. The statement shows the industrial progress of the United States for the last ten years, as compared with Great Britain and Germany. I will insert it as a part of my remarks, and I commend it to the attention of Senators.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the paper referred to by the Senator from Arkansas will be printed in the RECORD.

The paper referred to is as follows:

INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES FOR THE TEN YEARS PAST COMPARED WITH THE PROGRESS MADE IN GERMANY AND GREAT BRITAIN.

I start my comparison with a showing of the exports of manufactures of metals, chiefly those whereof iron and steel are the component materials, and articles in which the labor cost is vastly in excess of the cost of the material, even if we take the material as advanced in manufacture to the state of finished iron and steel. The totals of these highest finished articles of manufacture, chiefly machinery, implements, and apparatus, exported in 1886 amounted to $22,618,000; in 1891 to $40,618,000, and in 1896 to $63,516,000. This is an increase of eighteen millions, or 79.6 per cent, in the five years closing with 1891, and of $22,898,000, or fully 25 per cent, over the increase of the five years preceding the five years closing with 1896.

I.—*Value of exports of finished articles of manufactures of iron and steel progressed above the crude and half-manufactured state, and of other manufactures of similar character where metals are the component material of chief value, in 1896, 1891, and 1896.*

Article.	Fiscal year—		Calendar year 1896.
	1886.	1891.	
Agricultural implements:			
Mowers and reapers	$1,288,000	$1,567,000	$2,889,000
Plows and cultivators	322,000	597,000	680,000
All other, and parts of	757,000	1,035,000	1,075,000
Total	2,367,000	3,219,000	4,644,000
Brass, and manufactures of	150,000	297,000	1,026,000
Carriages, cars, and parts	1,928,000	4,911,000	2,747,000
Clocks and watches	1,386,000	1,580,000	1,859,000
Copper manufactures	109,000	190,000	819,000
Cycles, and parts of	----------	----------	3,796,000
Instruments and apparatus for scientific purposes	490,000	1,576,000	2,717,000
Iron and steel manufactures:			
Cutlery	112,000	146,000	188,000
Firearms	1,779,000	859,000	734,000
Builders' hardware, etc	2,466,000	3,858,000	6,140,000
Sewing machinery	2,585,000	2,899,000	3,051,000
Other machinery	4,469,000	13,425,000	22,513,000
Nails	294,000	440,000	821,000
Scales and balances	281,000	318,000	377,000
Stoves and ranges	196,000	248,000	304,000
Wire	335,000	899,000	1,788,000
All other	2,284,000	3,987,000	8,193,000
Total	14,801,000	27,010,000	44,109,000
Lamps, chandeliers, etc	546,000	909,000	730,000
Musical instruments	871,000	1,326,000	1,269,000
Total	22,618,000	40,618,000	63,516,000

The wages paid in the census year in the principal industries contributing to these exports amounted to $189,646,000, which was distributed among 326,500 hands, making an average for each employee in these industries of $580. If we divide the year into 50 working weeks, which is certainly a liberal allowance in view of the idle time that runs in under the name of holidays or other causes of stoppage in the working year, this is equal to nearly $13 a week wages.

Counting German wages, at a liberal allowance, as 20 marks per week in these trades on the same computation of time for all employed in similar industries, which takes in minors and adults all at the same rate of pay, this gives near three times as high a rate of wages in the United States as is paid in Germany in the same occupations, if we take wages by the time.

It will be interesting to see now what one of the modern, progressive countries of Europe, availing itself of the scientific inventions of the time, and, besides, being benefited by a low rate of wages in these industries, as of 1 to 3 against the United States, has to show in progress and development when it comes to compete in the neutral markets of the world with the product of the mills of America, paying, under all considerations, the highest wages in existence.

I exclude from this comparison all articles of crude manufacture, such as common castings, bar iron, steel rails, wire, etc.

Exports of the special trade of Germany in manufactures of metals other than crude articles mentioned above as exempted from the tables relating to American exports, but other than machinery, instruments, and apparatus: 1886, $36,190,000; 1891, $48,218,800; 1895, $48,575,800.

Against this we set the following articles of American manufacture, taken out of the list of Table I:

Article.	Fiscal year—		Calendar year 1896.
	1886.	1891.	
Brass, and manufactures of	$150,000	$297,000	$1,026,000
Copper manufactures	109,000	190,000	819,000
Iron and steel manufactures:			
Cutlery	112,000	146,000	188,000
Firearms	1,779,000	859,000	734,000
Builders' hardware, etc	2,466,000	3,858,000	6,140,000
Nails	293,000	440,000	821,000
Stoves and ranges	196,000	248,000	304,000
All other	2,284,000	3,987,000	8,193,000
Lamps, chandeliers, etc	546,000	909,000	730,000
Total	7,940,000	10,534,000	18,955,000
Increase over preceding figures	----------	2,594,000	8,421,000
Increase ..... per cent.	----------	33.93	80

It will be seen that in these manufactures the German increase in the five years closing with 1895 was very small. Based on the average of the five years from 1886 to 1890, inclusive, they show smaller progress yet. The total increase of the average of 1891 to 1895 over the increase of the five years of 1886 to 1891 is but 7,000,000 marks, or $1,666,000, an increase of barely 3 per cent. The American increase in the exports of these manufactures has been prodigious. It is an increase of 82 per cent over 1891, i. e., $18,955,000 in 1896 against $10,534,000 in the former year. Germany shows no advance over the figures of the year 1891.

The German exports of clocks and watches and parts of watches, gold, silver, or any other material, amounted in 1886 to $1,808,800, in 1891 to $2,689,000, and in 1895 to $1,737,000.

The American exports in these, while lower in 1891 by $1,000,000 than those of Germany, in 1896 were but about $100,000 behind the exports of Germany for 1895, the last year accessible for full information upon German trade. America shows a progressive export, while Germany falls behind the exports of 1891 by nearly $1,000,000.

Carriages and cars and parts of cars have gone back from the figures of 1891 by over $2,000,000, but are still considerably ahead of the exports of Germany.

Eliminating these here-named articles from the general list counted up in Table I, we have machinery of all kinds, agricultural implements, instruments, and apparatus of all kinds left to set against German exportations classified under the heading of machines, instruments, and apparatus of all kinds. The amounts for these exported in 1886 is $27,203,000; for 1891, $36,509,000; for 1895, $47,147,000.

The American exports in the same lines present the following figures:

Article.	Fiscal year—		
	1886.	1891.	1896.
Agricultural implements	$2,367,000	$3,219,000	$4,644,000
Cycles, and parts of	----------	----------	3,796,000
Instruments and apparatus for scientific purposes	490,000	1,576,000	2,717,000
Sewing machines	2,505,000	2,899,000	3,051,000
Other machinery	4,469,000	13,425,000	22,513,000
Scales and balances	281,000	319,000	377,000
Musical instruments	871,000	1,326,000	1,269,000
Total	11,053,000	22,733,000	38,367,000
Increase over figures of preceding five years	----------	11,680,000	14,634,000
Increase ..... per cent.	----------	105	64.4

While 1891 shows yet a difference of $14,000,000 and of 38 per cent below the exports of Germany, the year 1896, but five years later, shows only $9,000,000 and 18½ per cent below the export figures of Germany, considerable as has been the increase in exports in Germany in these lines of goods. We have certainly reached in 1895 beyond the exports of Germany for 1891, and even for 1894, when they were only 4,000,000 marks more than in 1891, as a great increase over any of the preceding figures has taken place in German exports of this class in 1895.

An equal showing of industrial progress of the decade for the closing of which, to wit, 1895, comparative data are at hand from the United Kingdom and Germany, can be made by reference to the output of coal and pig iron.

II.—*Number of tons of coal and of pig iron produced in the United States, the United Kingdom, and Germany in the ten years from 1886 to 1895, inclusive.*

[2,240 pounds for the United States and United Kingdom, and metric tons of 2,200 pounds for Germany.]

Years.	United States.				United Kingdom.				Germany.			
	Coal.		Pig iron.		Coal.		Pig iron.		Coal.		Pig iron.	
	Tons.	Per cent.	Tons.	Per cent.	Tons.	Per cent.	Tons.	Per cent.	Tons.	Per cent.	Tons.	Per cent.
1885	----------	----------	4,044,526	----------	150,351,418	----------	7,415,409	----------	73,675,590	----------	3,687,400	----------
1886	96,144,829	----------	5,683,329	40	157,518,483	— 1.2	7,009,754	5.5	73,682,600	.01	3,528,700	— 4.3
1887	110,727,906	15	6,417,148	13	162,119,812	2.9	7,559,518	7.8	76,232,600	3.4	4,024,000	14
1888	128,819,406	14	6,489,738	1	169,965,219	.5	7,998,960	5.8	81,900,100	7.5	4,337,100	7.8
1889	128,097,780	.6	7,603,642	17	176,916,724	4.1	8,322,824	4	84,973,200	3.6	4,524,600	4.3
1890	140,882,729	11.7	9,202,703	21	181,614,288	2.6	7,904,214	5	89,290,800	5	4,658,500	3
1891	150,505,954	6.8	8,279,870	—10	185,479,120	2.1	7,406,064	—6.3	94,232,300	5.5	4,641,200	— 4
1892	160,115,242	6.3	9,157,000	10.6	181,786,871	— 2	6,709,235	—9.4	92,544,100	—2	4,937,500	6.4
1893	162,814,977	1.7	7,124,502	—22.2	164,325,795	— 9.6	6,975,900	4	95,425,100	3	4,986,000	1
1894	152,447,791	— 6.4	6,657,388	— 6.5	188,277,525	14	7,427,342	6.5	98,805,700	3.5	5,380,000	7.9
1895	172,426,366	13	9,446,308	4.2	189,661,362	7	7,703,459	3.7	----------	----------	----------	----------
1886–1895	----------	79	----------	*133	----------	*19	----------	*3.9	----------	†34	----------	†45.8

*1885 to 1895. †1885 to 1894.

For Germany the output of coal takes in coal proper and lignites, a species of coal not made use of in the United States or the United Kingdom as extensively as in Germany, so far as I know.

A somewhat more marked and steady progress is shown from the German accounts from 1888 on, but still the progress is left away behind by the progress made by the United States.

A similar result do we get by a comparison of the quantities of raw materials consumed by the three countries in those textile industries which give the most employment to human labor—the cotton and wool industries.

I submit comparative tables of the number of pounds of cotton consumed in the mills of the United States, the United Kingdom, and Germany. This takes in all the cottons consumed for the United States, whether of American growth or foreign.

The comparison, starting with 1886, shows for the United States an increase of 39 per cent over 1886, Great Britain of only 2.4 per cent, and Germany of 65.9 per cent. But as Germany's start was from a base of 354,000,000 pounds, that of England from 1,517,000,000 pounds, and of the United States from 1,128,000,000 pounds, it is natural that a percentage increase is very much larger for Germany, although the increase in the pounds is not much over one-half of that of the United States.

Equally impressive are the figures relating to the number of pounds of wool produced and retained for home consumption, and the pounds of imported wools retained for home consumption by the three countries.

III.—*Quantity of cotton consumed in the United States, the United Kingdom, and Germany in each of the ten years from 1886 to 1895.*

Year.	United States.	Per cent of increase.	United Kingdom.	Per cent of increase.	Germany.	Per cent of increase.
1886	1,128,063,588		1,517,186,720		354,127,400	
1887	991,129,273	—12	1,498,822,304	—12	434,931,200	22.8
1888	1,180,345,185	11.8	1,456,915,936	— 2.8	393,888,000	8.5
1889	1,062,503,210	— 9.	1,659,859,936	14	493,904,400	25.3
1890	1,163,924,275	9.5	1,578,853,360	— 5	498,605,800	.9
1891	1,429,146,210	23	1,812,877,248	14.8	522,141,400	4.6
1892	1,599,887,165	11.8	1,542,332,400	—14.4	481,914,400	7.7
1893	1,183,550,452	—26	1,192,158,576	22.7	498,401,200	3.4
1894	1,112,775,166	— 6	1,548,221,808	30	559,528,200	12.3
1895	1,567,991,708	40	1,553,758,080	.3	587,534,200	4.9
Increase for decade	490,928,120	99	36,571,360	2.4	233,406,800	65.9

IV.—*Number of pounds of wool produced and retained for home consumption and number of pounds of wool imported and retained for home consumption by the United States, the United Kingdom, and Germany in each of the ten years from 1886 to 1895, inclusive.*

Year.	United States.			United Kingdom.			Germany.		
	Wool produced and retained for consumption.	Net imports and retained for consumption.	Total retained for consumption.	Wool produced and retained.	Wool imports retained for consumption.	Total retained for consumption.	Wool produced and retained for consumption.	Net imports.	Total retained for consumption.
1886	301,853,000	122,984,000	424,404,000	151,505,000	284,464,000	435,969,000	102,000,000	246,312,000	348,312,000
1887	284,742,000	114,038,000	392,051,000	156,825,000	258,721,000	415,546,000	99,000,000	252,804,000	351,804,000
1888	268,977,000	113,558,000	378,176,000	150,040,000	300,192,000	450,232,000	96,000,000	295,024,000	391,024,000
1889	264,858,000	126,487,000	388,083,000	155,142,000	337,256,000	492,308,000	93,000,000	319,761,000	412,761,000
1890	275,768,000	105,431,000	377,911,000	170,507,000	292,315,000	462,822,000	90,000,000	260,500,000	350,500,000
1891	284,708,000	129,303,000	411,373,000	184,471,000	335,789,000	520,260,000	87,000,000	311,130,000	398,130,000
1892	293,797,000	148,670,000	439,460,000	183,924,000	312,217,000	496,141,000	84,000,000	333,566,000	437,366,000
1893	303,061,000	172,433,000	471,276,000	174,601,000	331,578,000	506,179,000	81,000,000	291,604,000	372,604,000
1894	297,353,000	55,152,000	348,712,000	167,274,000	359,541,000	526,815,000	80,000,000	349,905,000	429,905,000
1895	305,468,000	206,033,000	509,159,000						
1895*	290,000,000	248,989,000	538,989,000	156,977,000	370,443,000	527,420,000	80,000,000	397,647,000	477,647,000

*Calendar year.

The data for this and the preceding comparative tables I have taken for the United States from the Statistical Abstract of the United States for the year 1896, for the United Kingdom from the Statistical Abstract for the United Kingdom for the year 1896, and for Germany from Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich für 1896. For the United Kingdom and Germany I could not take the pounds of wool produced and retained for home consumption that were of domestic growth. The figures are not given in these compilations. But I took the nearest approach to correctness, by taking the number of sheep which is published in the abstracts for Great Britain for each year, and multiplied the number by 6, which is about the average of wool per sheep. This is not absolutely correct, and may be somewhere above the actual yield. It is below the yield for the United States per sheep, but it must be borne in mind that while in Great Britain the wool is washed on the sheep's back before shearing, American wool is mostly sold in the grease.

From these figures I deducted the number of pounds of wool of domestic growth exported, and so got the net result of wool retained at home for manufacturing purposes.

For Germany I had to make a similar estimate. Here, however, I had not the years specially given. The census of sheep and of all live stock is taken every ten years only. Now, it is not at all peculiar, though it is noteworthy, that though all other live stock has increased from the days of the sixties in Germany, sheep have decreased by more than 50 per cent. The sheep in the sixties for the territory that now comprises the German Empire were 28,000,000; in 1873 the first census of live stock shows sheep numbered 25,000,000, or, strictly speaking, 24,999,400. By 1883 they had fallen to 19,189,700, and by 1893, the census having been taken on December 1, 1892, the number showed 13,589,600.

Now, taking 1892 as my base, I found in the ten years a decline of 5,600,000, and figuring backward, I reduced for each year following 1892 the number by 500,000, and increased the number for the years back of 1892 to that extent.

For Germany I also included the net amount of wool tops imported, making due allowance for the difference in weight for tops to make them equal to the greasy wool that has been consumed in their production. For the United Kingdom this was not necessary, as the wool tops imported would be nearly balanced by the exports, and the United States do not figure in exports or imports of tops to any extent.

For the United States I have given the fiscal year ending with June 30, while in the United Kingdom and Germany the year ends with December 31. For 1895 I have taken, besides the fiscal year for the United States, an account of the calendar year ending December 31 in the wool tables. This, besides making the year equal to that of the two countries named, is necessary for another reason, because 1895 was the full year of twelve months within which the tariff of 1894 was operative in woolen goods and free wool.

I have the account of the wool produced and retained for consumption for the fiscal year in the Statistical Abstract, but for the calendar year I had no account, and I took into consideration the decrease of sheep reported for the year 1896 below that of 1895; and as that decrease was about 10 per cent, I reduced the wool produced and retained for consumption about 5 per cent, as 5 per cent would cover the six months that are not part of the fiscal year 8195.

It is shown from the tabulation that 1895, the calendar year, consumed more wool in the United States than was consumed in the United Kingdom or Germany, although the prosperity of the woolen trade in the United Kingdom in 1895 was of such a nature as had barely been seen within the memory of this generation in the Yorkshire district.

The saving clause has, however, to be borne in mind all the time, that these wool statements are all for the wools as marketed, and not as they yield in manufacturing. It is, therefore, impossible to make the comparison as correct as in cotton. A safer base would be, perhaps, to add to the domestic wool retained for home consumption for Germany and England a proportionate amount per sheep to bring the comparison to the American wool, but if we were to add, to bring it to that ratio, say, 1 pound per sheep, this would give an addition of 30,000,000, and allowing for the exports of domestic wools, an addition of about 25,000,000 to the amount would perhaps cover that difference. Even then the approach of the United States to the wool consumption of Great Britain is very close, making the excess of consumption of wool of the United Kingdom but 15,000,000 pounds over that of the United States.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the amendment proposed by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST], to strike out paragraphs 366 and 367 and insert paragraph 283 of the existing law, which has been heretofore read.

Mr. VEST. On that I call for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. DEBOE (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. ALLEN].

Mr. GEAR (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH]. If he were present, I should vote "nay."

Mr. HAWLEY (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. BATE].

Mr. McLAURIN (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. PRITCHARD].

Mr. RAWLINS (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Ohio [Mr. HANNA], and therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. TILLMAN (when his name was called). I again announce my pair with the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. THURSTON].

Mr. WARREN (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Washington [Mr. TURNER]. I see he is not in the Chamber, and I therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. WELLINGTON (when his name was called). I again announce my pair with the junior Senator from North Carolina [Mr. BUTLER].

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. HAWLEY. The Senator from South Carolina [Mr. McLAURIN] and I have agreed to transfer our pairs. He is paired with the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. PRITCHARD], and I am paired with the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. BATE]. This leaves the Senator from South Carolina and me at liberty to vote. I vote "nay."

Mr. McLAURIN. Under that arrangement I am at liberty to vote, and vote "yea."

Mr. PASCO (after having voted in the affirmative). I notice that the Senator from Washington [Mr. WILSON] with whom I am paired has not voted, and I therefore withdraw my vote.

The result was announced—yeas 22, nays 30; as follows:

YEAS—22.

Bacon,	Gorman,	Mallory,	Turpie,
Caffery,	Gray,	Martin,	Vest,
Chilton,	Harris, Kans.	Mills,	Walthall,
Clay,	Jones, Ark.	Morgan,	White.
Cockrell,	Kenney,	Pettus,	
Faulkner,	McLaurin,	Roach,	

NAYS—30.

Allison,	Foraker,	McEnery,	Sewell,
Burrows,	Frye,	Mantle,	Shoup,
Carter,	Gallinger,	Penrose,	Spooner,
Chandler,	Hale,	Perkins,	Stewart,
Clark,	Hawley,	Platt, Conn.	Teller,
Davis,	Hoar,	Platt, N. Y.	Wetmore.
Elkins,	Lodge,	Proctor,	
Fairbanks,	McBride,	Quay,	

NOT VOTING—37.

Aldrich,	Gear,	Mason,	Thurston,
Allen,	George,	Mitchell,	Tillman,
Baker,	Hanna,	Morrill,	Turner,
Bate,	Hansbrough,	Murphy,	Warren,
Berry,	Harris, Tenn.	Nelson,	Wellington,
Butler,	Heitfeld,	Pasco,	Wilson,
Cannon,	Jones, Nev.	Pettigrew,	Wolcott.
Cullom,	Kyle,	Pritchard,	
Daniel,	Lindsay,	Rawlins,	
Deboe,	McMillan,	Smith,	

So Mr. VEST's amendment was rejected.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, on page 126, paragraph 368, line 5, after the word "shawls," to strike out the comma; and in line 6, after the word "knitted," to strike out "underwear" and insert "articles;" so as to read:

368. On clothing, ready-made, and articles of wearing apparel of every description, including shawls whether knitted or woven, and knitted articles of every description, made up or manufactured wholly or in part, etc.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 126, paragraph 368, line 7, after the word "part," to strike out "felts not woven and not specially provided for in this act."

Mr. ALLISON. I ask that that amendment may be disagreed to.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. What will be the effect of that?

Mr. ALLISON. To put those articles in the basket clause.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. At what rate? Forty-five per cent?

Mr. ALLISON. At 45 per cent, I think.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the amendment will be disagreed to. The Chair hears none, and it is disagreed to.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, on page 126, paragraph 368, line 11, before the word "pound," to strike out "a" and insert "one;" and in line 12, before the words "per centum," to strike out "sixty" and insert "fifty-five;" so as to make the paragraph read:

368. On clothing, ready-made, and articles of wearing apparel of every description, including shawls, whether knitted or woven, and knitted articles of every description, made up or manufactured wholly or in part, felts not woven and not specially provided for in this act, composed wholly or in part of wool, the duty per pound shall be four and one-half times the duty imposed by this act on 1 pound of unwashed wool of the first class, and in addition thereto 55 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. VEST. Mr. President, I want to call attention to the effect of this amendment in paragraph 368. In the first classification on clothing, ready-made, and articles of wearing apparel of every description, valued at not over 40 cents per pound, the duty is 171.15 per cent; on the next classification, of knit fabrics, valued at not over 40 cents per pound, the duty is 140 per cent; and upon the last specification, upon hats, valued at not over 30 cents per pound, the duty is 203.48 per cent; in other words, if a hat costs $2 abroad and comes into this country, it is taxed $4.50, making it cost the American citizen, who wants to cover his head from the weather, $6.50 on a foreign article worth $2. It is 203.48 per cent upon an ordinary, common hat which can be bought abroad at $2, and that is a very good hat abroad. The duty would be within 2 cents of $4.50. I move to strike out the paragraph and to insert paragraph 284 of the existing law.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to strike out paragraph 368 and to insert in lieu thereof:

On clothing, ready-made, and articles of wearing apparel of every description, made up or manufactured wholly or in part, not specially provided for in this act, felts not specially provided for in this act, all the foregoing composed wholly or in part of wool, worsted, the hair of the camel, goat, alpaca, or other animals, including those having india rubber as a component material, valued at above $1.50 per pound, 50 per cent ad valorem; valued at less than $1.50 per pound, 45 per cent ad valorem.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Missouri.

Mr. VEST. On that I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. DEBOE (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. ALLEN].

Mr. GRAY (when his name was called). I am paired with the senior Senator from Illinois [Mr. CULLOM].

Mr. PASCO (when his name was called). I again announce my pair with the Senator from Washington [Mr. WILSON]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. RAWLINS (when his name was called). The Senator from Iowa [Mr. GEAR] will transfer his pair with the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH] to the Senator from Ohio [Mr. HANNA], with whom I am paired, and the Senator from Iowa and I will vote. I vote "yea."

Mr. TILLMAN (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. THURSTON].

Mr. WARREN (when his name was called). I again announce my pair with the junior Senator from Washington [Mr. TURNER].

Mr. WELLINGTON (when his name was called). I again announce my pair with the junior Senator from North Carolina [Mr. BUTLER].

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. DAVIS. I desire to inquire if the Senator from Indiana [Mr. TURPIE] has voted?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. He has not voted, the Chair is informed.

Mr. DAVIS. Being paired with that Senator, I withhold my vote.

Mr. GEAR. I transfer my pair with the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH] to the Senator from Ohio [Mr. HANNA], and will vote. I vote "nay."

The result was announced—yeas 20, nays 28; as follows:

YEAS—20.

Bacon,	Faulkner,	McLaurin,	Rawlins,
Caffery,	Harris, Kans.	Mallory,	Roach,
Chilton,	Heitfeld,	Martin,	Vest,
Clay,	Jones, Ark.	Mills,	Walthall,
Cockrell,	Kenney,	Pettus,	White.

NAYS—28.

Allison,	Foraker,	McEnery,	Quay,
Burrows,	Frye,	Mantle,	Sewell,
Carter,	Gallinger,	Penrose,	Shoup,
Chandler,	Gear,	Perkins,	Spooner,
Clark,	Hawley,	Platt, Conn.	Stewart,
Elkins,	Lodge,	Platt, N. Y.	Teller,
Fairbanks,	McBride,	Proctor,	Wetmore.

NOT VOTING—41.

Aldrich,	George,	McMillan,	Thurston,
Allen,	Gorman,	Mason,	Tillman,
Baker,	Gray,	Mitchell,	Turner,
Bate,	Hale,	Morgan,	Turpie,
Berry,	Hanna,	Morrill,	Warren,
Butler,	Hansbrough,	Murphy,	Wellington,
Cannon,	Harris, Tenn.	Nelson,	Wilson,
Cullom,	Hoar,	Pasco,	Wolcott.
Daniel,	Jones, Nev.	Pettigrew,	
Davis,	Kyle,	Pritchard,	
Deboe,	Lindsay,	Smith,	

So Mr. VEST's amendment was rejected.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 369, page 126, line 23, before the word "cents," to strike out "sixty" and insert "forty;" so as to make the paragraph read:

369. Webbings, gorings, suspenders, braces, bandings, beltings, bindings, braids, galloons, edgings, insertings, flouncings, fringes, gimps, cords, cords and tassels, laces and other trimmings and articles made wholly or in part of lace, embroideries and articles embroidered by hand or machinery, head nets, netting, buttons or barrel buttons or buttons of other forms for tassels or ornaments, and manufactures of wool ornamented with beads or spangles of whatever material composed, any of the foregoing made of wool or of which wool is a component material, whether composed in part of india rubber or otherwise, 40 cents per pound and 60 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. ALLISON. In line 23 I move to amend the committee amendment by striking out "forty" and inserting "fifty;" and in line 24 by striking out "sixty" and inserting "fifty-five;" so as to read:

Fifty cents per pound and 55 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

The amendment as amended was agreed to.

Mr. VEST. Without the amendment just adopted, as proposed by the Senator from Iowa, the duty upon the articles named in paragraph 369 is 80 per cent ad valorem. With the addition he has made of 10 cents it would be 100 per cent.

Mr. ALLISON. The committee reduced the ad valorem in line 24 to 55 per cent. The Senator from Missouri should take that into account.

Mr. VEST. I did not notice that. I did not catch the last amendment. The ad valorem is reduced from 60 to 55 per cent.

For the sake of argument, I will take it at the rate of 80 per cent ad valorem, which it unquestionably is. What is the practical result of this sort of taxation? This paragraph includes suspenders. I will take that because it is an article of ordinary use

by the male sex. For a pair of suspenders appraised at 50 cents the price is increased to 90 cents at 80 per cent. It would cost a poor man who wants to buy a pair of suspenders worth 50 cents 90 cents instead of 50. Of course the American manufacturer, because this is a protective duty—and unless it increases the price, there is no protection in the paragraph—goes just inside the tariff line and charges 85 cents, so that at the very lowest calculation the consumer pays 35 cents more by reason of the proposed legislation upon this article of ordinary and prime necessity.

I move to strike out paragraph 369 and insert paragraph 286 of the existing law; and upon that I call for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Missouri will be stated.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to strike out paragraph 369 and insert in lieu thereof the following:

On webbings, gorings, suspenders, braces, beltings, bindings, braids, galloons, fringes, gimps, cords, cords and tassels, dress trimmings, laces, embroideries, head nets, nettings and veilings, buttons, or barrel buttons, or buttons of other forms, for tassels or ornaments, any of the foregoing which are elastic or nonelastic, made of wool, worsted, the hair of the camel, goat, alpaca, or other animals, or of which wool, worsted, the hair of the camel, goat, alpaca, or other animals is a component material, 50 per cent ad valorem.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Missouri, on which the yeas and nays have been demanded.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. GEAR (when his name was called). I again transfer my pair with the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH] to the Senator from Ohio [Mr. HANNA], and will vote. I vote "nay."

Mr. GRAY (when his name was called). I am paired with the senior Senator from Illinois [Mr. CULLOM]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. PLATT of New York (when his name was called). I am paired with the senior Senator from New York [Mr. MURPHY], and therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. RAWLINS (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Ohio [Mr. HANNA], but my pair has been transferred to the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH], and I will vote. I vote "yea."

Mr. SEWELL (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. MITCHELL].

Mr. WARREN (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Washington [Mr. TURNER].

Mr. WELLINGTON (when his name was called). I again announce my pair with the junior Senator from North Carolina [Mr. BUTLER]. If he were present, I should vote "nay."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. TILLMAN. I have a pair with the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. THURSTON].

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I am paired with the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE], and therefore withhold my vote.

The result was announced—yeas 23, nays 27; as follows:

YEAS—23.

Bacon,	Gorman,	Martin,	Roach,
Caffery,	Harris, Kans.	Mills,	Turpie,
Chilton,	Heitfeld,	Morgan,	Vest,
Clay,	Kenney,	Pasco,	Walthall,
Cockrell,	McLaurin,	Pettus,	White.
Faulkner,	Mallory,	Rawlins,	

NAYS—27.

Allison,	Foraker,	McBride,	Shoup,
Burrows,	Frye,	McEnery,	Spooner,
Carter,	Gallinger,	Penrose,	Stewart,
Chandler,	Gear,	Perkins,	Teller,
Davis,	Hawley,	Platt, Conn.	Wetmore,
Elkins,	Hoar,	Proctor,	Wilson.
Fairbanks,	Lodge,	Quay,	

NOT VOTING—39.

Aldrich,	Deboe,	Lindsay,	Pritchard,
Allen,	George,	McMillan,	Sewell,
Baker,	Gray,	Mantle,	Smith,
Bate,	Hale,	Mason,	Thurston,
Berry,	Hanna,	Mitchell,	Tillman,
Butler,	Hansbrough,	Morrill,	Turner,
Cannon,	Harris, Tenn.	Murphy,	Warren,
Clark,	Jones, Ark.	Nelson,	Wellington,
Cullom,	Jones, Nev.	Pettigrew,	Wolcott.
Daniel,	Kyle,	Platt, N. Y.	

So Mr. VEST's amendment was rejected.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 370, page 126, line 26, after the word "plain," to strike out "carpets woven whole for rooms;" and in line 1, page 127, after the word "description," to strike out "and oriental, Berlin, and other similar rugs;" so as to make the paragraph read:

370. Aubusson, Axminster, moquette, and chenille carpets, figured or plain, and all carpets or carpeting of like character or description, 60 cents per square yard, and in addition thereto 40 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. ALLISON. In line 2, page 127, after the word "sixty," I move to insert "two and a half;" so as to read, "62½ cents a square yard."

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

The amendment as amended was agreed to.

Mr. VEST. I desire to call attention to the fact that without the 2½ cents just added by the amendment of the Senator from Iowa the duty in this paragraph is 64.40 per cent. That is increased by 2½ cents under the amendment now proposed. I move to strike out "62½ cents per square yard, and in addition thereto," so as to leave the duty as it is under existing law, 40 per cent ad valorem; and on that I call for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Missouri will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In paragraph 370, line 2, it is proposed to strike out "62½ cents per square yard, and in addition thereto;" so as to read:

Forty per cent ad valorem.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST].

Mr. VEST. On that I call for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. WHITE. Can the Senator from Iowa state why 2½ cents is added? It seems that the amount in the McKinley law is somewhat less than that fixed in the present bill. Two and a half cents, I presume, has been placed in the bill as some kind of a compensatory duty. I do not know whether the Senator from Iowa is able to state just how the figures are made.

Mr. GRAY. I suggest that it sounds better, if there is no other reason for it.

Mr. WHITE. "Two and a half" sounds better than "three?" Perhaps the demand was for 5 cents, and there was a compromise. The words "and oriental, Berlin, and other similar rugs" are eliminated for the purpose of inserting the same in a separate paragraph, known in this bill as 376½.

I have here a letter from a very extensive and respectable establishment in San Francisco—the firm of W. & J. Sloane & Co. It is addressed to me, and is as follows:

SAN FRANCISCO, *May 14, 1897.*

We desire to call your attention to the proposed schedule on oriental, Berlin, and Axminster carpets (in one piece) introduced by the Finance Committee of the United States Senate, and we wish to enter our strong protest against such outrageous rates.

We are perfectly in sympathy with the tariff that will shut out a large amount of the cheap oriental stuff that has been flooding this country at the expense of the manufacturers and weavers of this country, but there is a large amount of oriental goods imported which does not interfere with anything made here, and therefore should be taxed no higher rate than other grades of carpet imported into this country.

We claim that the McKinley rate of 40 per cent ad valorem and 60 cents per square yard is adequate protection against all importations of cheap oriental stuff, and is a fair rate on Berlin and Axminster carpets.

We, here on the Pacific Coast, as dealers and consumers, have much at stake, and do not see why a prohibitory duty should be put on these goods, for that is what it would amount to were the proposed schedule adopted.

Trusting you will see to it and do all in your power to prevent the adoption of such unreasonable rates of tariff,

We remain, with much respect, W. & J. SLOANE & CO.

Mr. ALLISON. I will say to the Senator from California that I shall propose a substitute for the oriental rug paragraph which he is now discussing.

Mr. WHITE. I desire to ask the Senator from Iowa whether the substitute prepared by him will reduce the rates proposed in paragraph 376½, so that they will not be greater than the rates prescribed in paragraph 370?

Mr. ALLISON. Some of them will be a little greater, and I think some of them will be less.

Mr. WHITE. The average, I assume, is greater, or the Senator would not propose to make a separate paragraph of it. It is not for the purpose of lowering the tariff that the Senate suggests a separate paragraph.

Mr. ALLISON. I will state that the rates will be much lower than in the present paragraph as proposed originally by the committee.

Mr. WHITE. Yes, sir.

Mr. ALLISON. On the lower grades of oriental rugs I do not think the rates will be any higher, if as high, as they are in the paragraph. On the higher grades they will be higher.

Mr. WHITE. On the higher grades the duty will be higher.

Mr. ALLISON. Yes, sir; for the reason that the paragraph which I will propose later on provides really for 90 cents a square yard and 40 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. WHITE. I will defer further discussion of this matter until I hear the amendment which the committee propose to suggest. I will not say anything further upon this paragraph. The matter may be discussed when we reach that paragraph.

Mr. ALLISON. I will answer the former question of the Senator from California. The reason why we propose 2½ cents additional here is to adjust the matter with respect to the additional duty proposed upon wool of the third class.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Missouri, on which the yeas and nays have been ordered.

The Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CLARK (when his name was called). I desire to announce my pair with the Senator from Kansas [Mr. HARRIS]. He is not present, and I withhold my vote.

Mr. DEBOE (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. ALLEN].

Mr. GEAR (when his name was called). I transfer my pair with the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH] to the Senator from Ohio [Mr. HANNA], and vote "nay."

Mr. PLATT of New York (when his name was called). I desire to announce that upon this particular vote and for all other votes to-day I am paired with the senior Senator from New York [Mr. MURPHY].

Mr. RAWLINS (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Ohio [Mr. HANNA]. That pair has been transferred to the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH], with whom the Senator from Iowa [Mr. GEAR] is paired, and I am at liberty to vote. I vote "yea."

Mr. WARREN (when his name was called). I again announce my pair with the junior Senator from Washington [Mr. TURNER].

Mr. WELLINGTON (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the junior Senator from North Carolina [Mr. BUTLER]. I will transfer that pair to the Senator from Nevada [Mr. JONES], and vote. I vote "nay."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. PETTUS (after having voted in the affirmative). The Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] not having voted, I withdraw my vote.

The result was announced—yeas 20, nays 28; as follows:

YEAS—20.

Bacon,	Faulkner,	Mallory,	Roach,
Caffery,	Heitfeld,	Mills,	Turpie,
Chilton,	Jones, Ark.	Morgan,	Vest,
Clay,	Kenney,	Pasco,	Walthall,
Cockrell,	McLaurin,	Rawlins,	White.

NAYS—28.

Allison,	Foraker,	McEnery,	Quay,
Burrows,	Frye,	Nelson,	Shoup,
Carter,	Gallinger,	Penrose,	Spooner,
Chandler,	Gear,	Perkins,	Stewart,
Davis,	Hawley,	Platt, Conn.	Wellington,
Elkins,	Lodge,	Pritchard,	Wetmore,
Fairbanks,	McBride,	Proctor,	Wilson.

NOT VOTING—41.

Aldrich,	George,	Lindsay,	Sewell,
Allen,	Gorman,	McMillan,	Smith,
Baker,	Gray,	Mantle,	Teller,
Bate,	Hale,	Martin,	Thurston,
Berry,	Hanna,	Mason,	Tillman,
Butler,	Hansbrough,	Mitchell	Turner,
Cannon,	Harris, Kans.	Morrill,	Warren,
Clark,	Harris, Tenn.	Murphy,	Wolcott.
Cullom,	Hoar,	Pettigrew,	
Daniel,	Jones, Nev.	Pettus,	
Deboe,	Kyle,	Platt, N. Y.	

So Mr. VEST's amendment was rejected.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED.

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. W. J. BROWNING, its Chief Clerk, announced that the Speaker of the House had signed the following enrolled joint resolutions:

A joint resolution (S. R. 50) authorizing foreign exhibitors at the Transmississippi and International Exposition, to be held in the city of Omaha, in the State of Nebraska, during the year 1898, to bring to the United States foreign laborers from their countries, respectively, for the purpose of preparing for and making exhibits; and

A joint resolution (H. Res. 61) to provide for the immediate repair of Dry Dock No. 3, at the New York Navy-Yard.

DEATH OF REPRESENTATIVE COOKE.

The message also communicated to the Senate the intelligence of the death of EDWARD DEAN COOKE, late a member of the House from the State of Illinois, and transmitted resolutions of the House thereon.

The message further announced that the Speaker of the House had appointed Mr. FOSS, of Illinois; Mr. PRINCE, of Illinois; Mr. BELKNAP, of Illinois; Mr. UPDEGRAFF, of Iowa; Mr. ROYSE, of Indiana; Mr. PLOWMAN, of Alabama; Mr. HUNTER, of Illinois; Mr. DINSMORE, of Arkansas, and Mr. SPALDING, of Michigan, as the committee on the part of the House to take charge of the funeral arrangements.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair lays before the Senate resolutions from the House of Representatives, which will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, *June 24, 1897.*

Resolved, That the House has heard with profound sorrow of the death of Hon. EDWARD DEAN COOKE, late a Representative from the State of Illinois.

Resolved, That a committee of nine members of the House be appointed by the Speaker to act with such Senators as may be selected, to attend the funeral of the deceased; that the Sergeant-at-Arms of the House shall take order for superintending the funeral of the deceased at his home; and that the necessary expenses attending the execution of this order shall be paid out of the contingent fund of the House.

Resolved, That as a mark of respect to his memory the House do now adjourn.

Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate.

Mr. SPOONER. Mr. President, I have been requested by the senior Senator from Illinois [Mr. CULLOM], who is ill at his home, and whose colleague [Mr. MASON] is absent from the city, to state that on a later day he will ask the Senate to pay appropriate tribute to the worth and public services of his deceased colleague. I offer and move the adoption of the resolutions which I send to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The resolutions will be read.

The Secretary read the resolutions, as follows:

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with deep sensibility the announcement of the death of Hon. EDWARD DEAN COOKE, late a Representative from the State of Illinois.

Resolved, That a committee of five Senators be appointed by the Presiding Officer, to join the committee appointed on the part of the House of Representatives, to attend the funeral of the deceased.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the adoption of the resolutions submitted by the Senator from Wisconsin.

The resolutions were unanimously agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the terms of the second resolution, the Presiding Officer will appoint the Senator from Illinois [Mr. MASON], the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. SPOONER], the Senator from Montana [Mr. CARTER], the Senator from Florida [Mr. PASCO], and the Senator from Washington [Mr. TURNER] as the committee on the part of the Senate.

Mr. SPOONER. As a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, I move that the Senate do now adjourn.

The motion was unanimously agreed to; and (at 5 o'clock and 3 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Friday, June 25, 1897, at 11 o'clock a. m.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

THURSDAY, *June 24, 1897.*

The House met at 12 o'clock m. The Chaplain, Rev. HENRY N. COUDEN, offered the following prayer:

Our Father who art in Heaven, we bless Thee for that kind care and protection which has brought us to the light and joy of this another day, and for all those silent yet mighty forces which are ever working for righteousness in our souls. Help us, we beseech Thee, to meet with patience all the sorrows and afflictions of this life and turn them to our good.

We recognize, O Heavenly Father, in the sudden death of one of the members of this House a great calamity; and we pray Thee that all those who are near and dear to him may be comforted by those blessings which are ever coming down from Thee and touching the souls of men. And help us all to learn the lesson that life is precarious and that death may be visited upon any of us at any time. May we be prepared at whatever hour it may come, that we may pass onward and upward to that larger life under the leadership of Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of Monday last was read and approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. PLATT, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed joint resolution (H. Res. 61) to provide for the immediate repair of Dry Dock No. 3, at the New York Navy-Yard; in which the concurrence of the House was requested.

The message also announced that the Senate had agreed to the amendments of the House of Representatives to the joint resolution (S. R. 50) authorizing foreign exhibitors at the Transmississippi and International Exposition, to be held in the city of Omaha, in the State of Nebraska, during the year 1898, to bring to the United States foreign laborers from their countries, respectively, for the purpose of preparing for and making exhibits.

ENROLLED JOINT RESOLUTIONS SIGNED.

The SPEAKER announced his signature to enrolled joint resolutions of the following titles:

Joint resolution (S. R. 50) authorizing foreign exhibitors at the Transmississippi and International Exposition, to be held in the city of Omaha, in the State of Nebraska, during the year 1898, to bring to the United States foreign laborers from their countries, respectively, for the purpose of preparing for and making exhibits; and

Joint resolution (H. Res. 61) to provide for the immediate repair of Dry Dock No. 3, at the New York Navy-Yard.

ARBITRATION.

The SPEAKER. The Chair desires to announce that he has received a communication from the president of the Belgian Chamber of Deputies, inviting such members of the House as may be able to do so to attend the interparliamentary conference in favor of arbitration, which will commence its session on the 6th of August next. The Chair wishes to state that he has been supplied with blank invitations, which he will be glad to fill out and furnish to such gentlemen as desire to attend.

DEATH OF HON. EDWARD DEAN COOKE.

Mr. FOSS. Mr. Speaker, it becomes my sad duty to announce the death of one of the members of this House, the Hon. EDWARD DEAN COOKE, of the State of Illinois. At some future day I shall ask this House to set apart a time when fitting tributes may be paid to his memory. I ask the Clerk to read the resolutions which I send to the desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That the House has heard with profound sorrow of the death of Hon. EDWARD DEAN COOKE, late a Representative from the State of Illinois.

Resolved, That a committee of nine members of the House be appointed by the Speaker to act with such Senators as may be selected to attend the funeral of the deceased; that the Sergeant-at-Arms of the House shall take order for superintending the funeral of the deceased at his home, and that the necessary expenses attending the execution of this order shall be paid out of the contingent fund of the House.

Resolved, That as a mark of respect to his memory the House do now adjourn.

Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate.

Mr. FOSS. Mr. Speaker, I ask that the vote be first taken on the first two resolutions.

The question being taken, the first and second resolutions were unanimously adopted.

The SPEAKER announced the appointment of the following-named committee in pursuance of the second resolution just adopted: Mr. FOSS, of Illinois; Mr. PRINCE, of Illinois; Mr. BELKNAP, of Illinois; Mr. SPALDING, of Michigan; Mr. UPDEGRAFF, of Iowa; Mr. ROYSE, of Indiana; Mr. PLOWMAN, of Alabama; Mr. HUNTER, of Illinois, and Mr. DINSMORE, of Arkansas.

Mr. FOSS. I now ask the adoption of the remaining resolutions.

The question being taken on the last two resolutions, they were unanimously adopted; and in accordance therewith (at 12 o'clock and 10 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned, in pursuance of its previous order, till Monday next, at 12 o'clock m.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATION.

Under clause 2 of Rule XXIV, a letter from the Acting Secretary of the Navy, transmitting the information that it has been decided not to transport contributions of wheat to India, and that the Department has suspended its efforts to charter a vessel, was taken from the Speaker's table, referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs, and ordered to be printed.

PUBLIC BILLS, RESOLUTIONS, AND MEMORIALS INTRODUCED.

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, bills, resolutions, and memorials of the following titles were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. SHAFROTH: A bill (H. R. 3514) to provide for the coinage of gold and silver bullion upon equal terms—to the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures.

By Mr. JOHNSON of North Dakota: A bill (H. R. 3515) to authorize the purchase of a site for a hall of records or other purposes—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. SUTHERLAND: A bill (H. R. 3516) amendatory of section 2 of the act of June 27, 1890, and for other purposes—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. MAXWELL: A bill (H. R. 3517) to fix the term of office of the reporter of the United States Supreme Court and provide an annual salary therefor; second, defining the duties of the reporter, and providing that the copyright of the reports, so far as it applies, shall be in behalf of the United States, and books shall be printed, electrotyped, and bound by the Government; third, the price at retail shall not exceed $1.50 per volume, with a discount to dealers in law books—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. GREENE: A bill (H. R. 3518) to regulate the service and fix the hours of service for persons employed as policemen and officers in the District of Columbia—to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS INTRODUCED.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions of the following titles were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BREWSTER: A bill (H. R. 3519) for the relief of Cyrus Roberts—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. CLARDY: A bill (H. R. 3520) for the relief of the Christian Church of Henderson, Ky.—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. DORR: A bill (H. R. 3521) for the relief of the trustees of the Presbyterian Church, Frenchcreek, Upshur County, W. Va.—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. GREENE: A bill (H. R. 3522) granting a pension to Samuel Smith, of Alliance, Nebr.—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3523) to remove the charge of desertion from the record of Robert Ellison, in the War Department—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3524) granting a pension of $30 a month to Gustavus A. Kindblade—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. HENRY of Mississippi: A bill (H. R. 3525) for the relief of the Mississippi Manufacturing Company, of Wesson, Miss.—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. LAMB: A bill (H. R. 3526) for the relief of Mary Diamond—to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3527) granting an increase of pension to William M. Wallice—to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. PETERS: A bill (H. R. 3528) to remove the charge of desertion against Marion M. Barton—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3529) to remove the charge of desertion against Alfred Rebsamen—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3530) to remove the charge of desertion against Benjamin F. Sauterbin—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3531) to remove the charge of desertion against James Bennett—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3532) granting a pension to Alexander Miller—to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3533) for the relief of John M. Fleming—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3534) granting a pension to James M. Stewart—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3535) granting a pension to William D. Tanner—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. RIXEY (by request): A bill (H. R. 3536) to give the Court of Claims of the United States jurisdiction of the claims of the Alexandria and Washington Railroad Company and others against the United States for compensation for the use and occupation of the railroad of said company by the United States or the military authorities thereof—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana: A bill (H. R. 3537) to remove charge of desertion now standing against James Hennessy on rolls of War Department—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SHOWALTER: A bill (H. R. 3538) authorizing and directing the repayment to Josiah B. Orbison, of Donegal Township, Butler County, Pa., the sum of $300, with interest, that he paid to avoid the draft in 1863—to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas: A bill (H. R. 3539) granting a pension to James K. Wiley—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3540) granting an increase of pension to Oliver S. Coffin—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3541) granting an increase of pension to Peter H. Dougherty—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3542) granting a pension to E. E. Harvey—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3543) to correct the military record of Charles V. Landegent—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SULLOWAY: A bill (H. R. 3544) granting an increase of pension to Stephen W. Berry—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3545) granting an increase of pension to Ezekiel Towle—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SUTHERLAND: A bill (H. R. 3546) to correct the military record of Stephen Rice—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3547) to correct the military record of James H. Foland—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. UNDERWOOD: A bill (H. R. 3548) for the relief of William M. Lindsay—to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. ZENOR: A bill (H. R. 3549) granting a pension to John Hammond, late a pilot on the Government transport *Mellmot*—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3550) granting pension to Martha Brisco, widow of the late Capt. Andrew J. Brisco—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3551) granting a pension to John Stephens, of the city of New Albany, Ind.—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3552) granting a pension to John W. Daugherty, of New Albany, Ind.—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, the following petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

By Mr. BARTLETT: Petition of the Commercial Exchange of

Chicago, Ill., asking for a duty on tea—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, remonstrance of Jackson G. Smith, of Barnesville, Ga., against a tariff on hides—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, petition of the American Rattan and Reed Manufacturing Company, of Brooklyn, N. Y., urging the enactment of a law to prevent manufacturing by convict labor—to the Committee on Labor.

By Mr. BREWSTER: Remonstrances of 16 leading shoe manufacturers of Rochester, N. Y., against an increased duty on tanned skins for morocco—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. CONNELL: Protest of the Scranton Central Labor Union, of Scranton, Pa., against change being made in the present tariff on tobacco—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. DAVIDSON of Wisconsin: Petition of the Grand Army of the Republic, Department of Wisconsin, for the establishment of a military park at Vicksburg—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, petition of the Grand Army of the Republic, Department of Wisconsin, in favor of military instruction in public schools—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. DORR: Evidence to accompany House bill for the relief of the trustees of the Presbyterian church at French Creek, Upshur County, W. Va.—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. EVANS: Petition of John Searcy and other citizens of Louisville, Ky., praying for the repeal of the civil-service law—to the Committee on Reform in the Civil Service.

By Mr. HARMER: Petitions of sundry citizens of Philadelphia, Pa., in favor of the passage of a bill for a more rigid restriction of immigration—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. OLMSTED: Petition of Joseph W. Sheaffer and sundry other citizens of Harrisburg, Pa., praying for the passage of a law to further restrict immigration—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. RUSSELL: Petition of citizens of New London, Conn., favoring a more rigid immigration law—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. ZENOR: Papers to accompany House bill No. 3122, granting a pension to James H. Land—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, papers to accompany House bill No. 3118, granting a pension to Capt. Richard F. Fuller—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, papers to accompany House bill No. 2464, for the relief of James Colvin—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, papers to accompany House bill No. 2768, for the relief of George Peyton—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

SENATE.

FRIDAY, *June 25, 1897.*

The Senate met at 11 o'clock a. m.

Prayer by Rev. HUGH JOHNSTON, D. D., of the city of Washington.

The Secretary proceeded to read the Journal of yesterday's proceedings, when, on motion of Mr. QUAY, and by unanimous consent, the further reading was dispensed with.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED.

The VICE-PRESIDENT announced his signature to the following enrolled joint resolutions; which had previously been signed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives:

A joint resolution (S. R. 50) authorizing foreign exhibitors at the Transmississippi and International Exposition to be held in the city of Omaha, in the State of Nebraska, during the year 1898, to bring to the United States foreign laborers from their countries, respectively, for the purpose of preparing for and making exhibits; and

A joint resolution (H. Res. 61) to provide for the immediate repair of Dry Dock No. 3, at the New York Navy-Yard.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. MALLORY presented the memorial of C. Jackson and 50 other citizens of Florida, and the memorial of E. O. Locke and 51 other citizens of Florida, remonstrating against the enactment of legislation intended to destroy the present system of ticket brokerage; which were referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

Mr. ALLEN presented a petition of sundry citizens of Exeter, Nebr., praying for the early enactment of a protective-tariff law; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. QUAY. I have here a memorial from the Erie Central Labor Union, signed by the secretary of that organization, which he requests me to read in order that it may go into the RECORD. I will accede to his request, by permission of the Senate. He says:

I am instructed by the Erie Central Labor Union to inform you that we are unalterably opposed to House bill No. 30, introduced by Mr. SHERMAN of New York, which is intended to destroy ticket brokerage.

The discussion on this question showed that, while we admit the ticket-brokerage system to be an evil in principle, it is now practically the only avenue by which the public is able to profit by the competition between the railroads.

When the railroads abandon underhand methods, there will be small need for abolishing the "scalper."

Yours, respectfully,

LOUIS F. HEMSE,
Chairman Legislative Committee, Erie Central Labor Union.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The memorial will be referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

Mr. QUAY presented the memorial of W. A. Kresse and 52 other citizens of Pennsylvania, remonstrating against the enactment of legislation intended to destroy the present system of ticket brokerage; which was referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

Mr. CHANDLER. In behalf of the junior Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SEWELL], I present the memorial of sundry coal companies in reference to the duty on coal. The memorialists state that the Dominion of Canada is our best and practically our only foreign market for coal, purchasing from us 4 tons for every ton sold us, the difference increasing to 20 tons purchased of us to 1 ton sold if British Columbia is excluded, the exportation to Canada for the year ending June 30, 1896, being 1,370,856 tons of anthracite of a total exportation of 1,374,331 tons, and 1,675,109 tons of bituminous coal of a total exportation of 2,246,284 tons.

If a duty of 75 cents, or even 60 cents, is placed upon coal, as proposed in the pending tariff bill, it is certain that the Dominion of Canada will adopt a like tariff on American coal, which will largely curtail our export trade on anthracite coal, which is now admitted to Canada free, and greatly reduce our exports of bituminous coal and have a paralyzing effect upon a wide and important range of employment, including the mining and carrying trade.

The memorial gives the number of men and mines interested, set opposite their names. In the computation they aggregate not less than 340,000 men and 1,700,000 people directly and indirectly dependent upon this interest. The point of the petition which the Senator from New Jersey desires to have called especially to the attention of the Senate is the prayer "that a reciprocal clause may be inserted in the pending tariff bill wherein same relates to coal to the effect that whenever the President shall be satisfied that the Parliament of the Dominion of Canada or other competent authority has fixed a rate of duty collectible on bituminous coal produced in and imported from the United States into Canada not exceeding 75 cents nor less than 40 cents per ton, he may make proclamation of the fact, and after the date of such proclamation the duty collectible on all coal imported into the United States from the Dominion of Canada shall not exceed the rate mentioned in said proclamation so long as said rate of duty is maintained by the said Dominion."

I ask that the memorial may be printed and referred to the Committee on Finance. It is possible that a duplicate memorial may have been presented by some other Senator. The Senator from New Jersey, for whom I act, desires that special attention may be called to the facts stated in this petition.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The memorial will be referred to the Committee on Finance and printed, in the absence of objection.

Mr. HOAR presented a memorial of sundry citizens of Massachusetts, remonstrating against any increase in the present rate of duty on tanned skins for morocco, or a duty on raw goatskins; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a petition of 21 citizens of North Adams, Mass., and a petition of sundry citizens of Cumberland, Miss., praying for the enactment of protective-tariff legislation, at the earliest possible date, such as will adequately secure American industrial products against the competition of foreign labor; which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. TELLER presented sundry memorials of citizens of Colorado, remonstrating against the enactment of legislation intended to destroy the present system of ticket brokerage; which were referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

Mr. NELSON presented sundry memorials of citizens of Minnesota, remonstrating against the enactment of legislation intended to destroy the present system of ticket brokerage; which were referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

Mr. FRYE presented the petitions of C. H. Prescott and sundry other citizens, of Robert McArthur and sundry other citizens, of James G. Brackett and 16 other citizens, of Calvin H. Foss and 28 other citizens, and of Burton H. Winslow and 35 other citizens, all of Biddeford, in the State of Maine, praying for the early enactment of a protective-tariff law; which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. ELKINS presented a petition of sundry citizens of New Milton, W. Va., and a petition of sundry citizens of Gladewater, Tex., praying for the early passage of the pending tariff bill; which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. LODGE presented sundry memorials of citizens of Massachusetts, remonstrating against the enactment of legislation intended to destroy the present system of ticket brokerage; which were referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

Mr. FORAKER presented sundry memorials of citizens of Ohio, remonstrating against the enactment of legislation intended to destroy the present system of ticket brokerage; which were referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

Mr. GRAY, from the Committee on Foreign Relations, reported a bill (S. 2284) to authorize Admiral T. O. Selfridge, United States Navy; Capt. G. H. Wadleigh, United States Navy; Lieut. Commander E. H. Gheen, United States Navy; Lieut. Commander Raymond P. Rodgers, United States Navy; Paymaster J. B. Redfield, United States Navy; Lieut. J. J. Hunker, United States Navy; Surg. D. N. Bertolette, United States Navy, and Ensign R. L. Russell, United States Navy, to accept medals presented to them by the Russian Government; which was read twice by its title.

Mr. CHANDLER, from the Committee on Privileges and Elections, reported an amendment intended to be proposed in the general deficiency appropriation bill; which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations, and ordered to be printed.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Mr. MALLORY (by request) introduced a bill (S. 2285) for the relief of Thomas W. Lund; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads.

Mr. PETTIGREW introduced a bill (S. 2286) to incorporate the Washington and University Railroad Company, of the District of Columbia; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

Mr. McLAURIN introduced a joint resolution (S. R. 51) authorizing the Secretary of War to transfer certain papers from the War Department to the United States district court for South Carolina, at Charleston, S. C.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

ACTS AND RESOLUTIONS RELATING TO PACIFIC RAILROADS.

Mr. GEAR. I submit a resolution, and ask for its immediate consideration.

The resolution was read, as follows:

Resolved, That there be printed for the use of the Senate as a document 1,000 copies of all and singular the acts and resolutions of Congress relating to the Union Pacific Railroad Company and the Central Pacific Railroad Company.

Mr. ALLEN. I suggest to my friend from Iowa the propriety of having all these publications in one document.

Mr. GEAR. That is the object of the resolution.

Mr. ALLEN. And to let it embrace also answers to inquiries of the different Departments.

Mr. GEAR. That is not germane, I think, to the resolution. The resolution simply provides that all statutes which have been passed by Congress in regard to these railroads shall be printed, in order that we may have them in a convenient form for the use of the committee and the Senate.

Mr. ALLEN. Why not also embrace the decisions of the various courts, so that we can have a complete history of these roads? It occurs to me that it would be very advisable to have the decisions included.

Mr. HALE. Let the resolution be read again.

The Secretary again read the resolution.

Mr. HALE. It ought to go to the Committee on Printing. That will be a very great work.

Mr. GEAR. Oh, no; it will not make a very large volume.

Mr. STEWART. Five hundred dollars will cover the entire cost.

Mr. GEAR. I have no objection to the reference suggested. Let the resolution be referred to the Committee on Printing.

Mr. ALLEN. Before it goes to the Committee on Printing it ought to be amended.

Mr. DAVIS. I move to amend the resolution by inserting after "Central Pacific Railroad" the words "and the Western Pacific."

Mr. HOAR. Let the resolution be read again.

The Secretary again read the resolution.

Mr. HOAR. I was going to suggest that there be inserted after "resolutions of Congress" the words "or of either House thereof." I think there have been some resolutions passed separately which might well be included.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection to that amendment? The Chair hears none.

Mr. ALLEN. I move to amend the resolution by including also the decisions of the Supreme Court on the different acts herein mentioned.

Mr. MORGAN. That would make it very voluminous. The amendment suggested by the Senator from Nebraska would make it a book of 2,000 pages. There is no occasion to have those opinions reprinted, because a great many of them are not necessary to an understanding of the railroad question so far as the Senate is concerned.

What we want is a compilation of the statutes that bear upon the Union Pacific and the Central Pacific and the branch roads, so that by looking over the statutes we can understand what Congress has done. That is as far as the committee propose to go. Now, to incorporate all the decisions of the Supreme Court would make it so voluminous that it would require an editor to go through to see what was and was not pertinent, and it could not take less than 2,000 pages to include those decisions. Some of those decisions cover 50 pages in the reports. I hope the Senator will not embarrass the resolution with such an amendment, because if we want a book of that kind we can have it printed separately. It is very necessary to have these statutes before the Senate when we are considering any question that comes up about the Pacific railroads.

Mr. ALLEN. I move to amend the resolution by inserting, after the word "Congress," the words "and decisions of the Supreme Court."

Mr. GEAR. I suggest to the Senator from Nebraska, if he is going to move that amendment, that he add, "decisions of the Supreme Court relating thereto."

Mr. ALLEN. Yes, "relating thereto."

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is the amendment accepted? It is accepted, the Chair understands. The Senator from Iowa moves to refer the resolution as amended to the Committee on Printing.

The motion was agreed to.

HARBOR AT PITTSBURG, PA.

Mr. QUAY submitted the following resolution; which was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to:

Resolved, That the Secretary of War is hereby directed to examine as to the means necessary to preserve the harbor at Pittsburg, Pa., from unauthorized encroachment and other damage, for the work of dredging, for marking harbor lines, and patrolling harbor, and the probable expense thereof, and to report to the Senate thereon on or before the first Monday in December next.

PRIVILEGES OF THE FLOOR.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate the notice of an amendment to Rule XXXIII, submitted yesterday by the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE].

Mr. HALE. It was read yesterday. There is no necessity to read it again. Let it be referred to the Committee on Rules.

The proposed amendment was referred to the Committee on Rules, as follows:

Notice is hereby given that the following amendment will be proposed to Rule XXXIII of the Senate, relating to the privilege of the floor, to wit: In that clause of said rule which admits certain persons to the floor of the Senate while in session, relating to ex-Senators and Senators-elect, after the word "ex-Senators," to insert the following:

"Who are not interested in any claim or in the prosecution of the same, or directly in any bill pending before Congress."

The purpose of the proposed amendment is to prevent ex-Senators from enjoying the privileges of the floor of the Senate for the purpose of urging or opposing claims or bills in which they are employed as attorneys.

THE TARIFF BILL.

Mr. ALLISON. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of House bill 379.

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 379) to provide revenue for the Government and to encourage the industries of the United States.

The Secretary resumed the reading of the bill on page 127, line 4, paragraph 371.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 371, page 127, line 6, after the word "sixty," to insert the word "two;" so as to make the paragraph read:

371. Saxony, Wilton, and Tournay velvet carpets, figured or plain, and all carpets or carpeting of like character or description, 62 cents per square yard, and in addition thereto 40 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. VEST. I simply want to call attention to the fact that this amendment is an increase over the rate in the McKinley Act. Before this increase was made, the rate of duty proposed under this paragraph was 80.22 per cent ad valorem upon the articles therein named. I move to strike out "62 cents per square yard, and in addition thereto," so as to leave the duty where it is under existing law, 40 per cent ad valorem, and upon that I call for the yeas and nays.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment of the Senator from Missouri will be stated.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to amend paragraph 371 by striking out, after the word "description," the words "62 cents per square yard, and in addition thereto;" so as to make the paragraph read:

371. Saxony, Wilton, and Tournay velvet carpets, figured or plain, and all carpets or carpeting of like character or description, 40 per cent ad valorem.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Missouri demands the yeas and nays upon agreeing to the amendment.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CLARK (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Kansas [Mr. HARRIS]. In his absence, I withhold my vote.

Mr. GEAR (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH]. If he were present, I should vote "nay."

Mr. GRAY (when his name was called). I am paired with the senior Senator from Illinois [Mr. CULLOM].

Mr. HAWLEY (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. BATE].

Mr. MARTIN (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Montana [Mr. MANTLE]. I should vote "yea" if he were present.

Mr. MITCHELL (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SEWELL]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. MORRILL (when his name was called). I am paired with the senior Senator from Tennessee [Mr. HARRIS], and therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. RAWLINS (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Ohio [Mr. HANNA]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. TILLMAN (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. THURSTON]. He being absent, I withhold my vote.

Mr. WALTHALL (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. SPOONER]. Otherwise I should vote "yea."

Mr. WELLINGTON (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from North Carolina [Mr. BUTLER], and therefore withhold my vote.

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. BURROWS (after having voted in the negative). I have transferred my pair with the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. CAFFERY] to the Senator from Nevada [Mr. JONES]. I will therefore let my vote stand.

Mr. WALTHALL. I am paired with the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. SPOONER]. The Senator from Connecticut [Mr. HAWLEY] is paired with the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. BATE]. By an arrangement with the Senator from Connecticut, we have exchanged our pairs. I vote "yea."

Mr. HAWLEY. Under the arrangement just stated by the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. WALTHALL], I am at liberty to vote. I vote "nay."

Mr. MORRILL. I will transfer my pair with the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. HARRIS] to the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. GALLINGER], and vote "nay."

The Secretary recapitulated the vote.

Mr. VEST. Let the result be announced. We do not want to sit here for half an hour waiting to get a quorum. The country is suffering now for want of this bill.

The result was announced—yeas 17, nays 24; as follows:

YEAS—17.

Allen,	Jones, Ark.	Pettigrew,	Walthall,
Clay,	McLaurin,	Pettus,	White.
Cockrell,	Mallory,	Roach,	
Faulkner,	Mills,	Turpie,	
Heitfeld,	Morgan,	Vest,	

NAYS—24.

Allison,	Fairbanks,	Lodge,	Platt, N. Y.
Burrows,	Foraker,	McBride,	Pritchard,
Carter,	Frye,	Morrill,	Proctor,
Chandler,	Hale,	Nelson,	Quay,
Davis,	Hawley,	Perkins,	Stewart,
Deboe,	Hoar,	Platt, Conn.	Teller.

NOT VOTING—48.

Aldrich,	Elkins,	Kyle,	Sewell,
Bacon,	Gallinger,	Lindsay,	Shoup,
Baker,	Gear,	McEnery,	Smith,
Bate,	George,	McMillan,	Spooner,
Berry,	Gorman,	Mantle,	Thurston,
Butler,	Gray,	Martin,	Tillman,
Caffery,	Hanna,	Mason,	Turner,
Cannon,	Hansbrough,	Mitchell,	Warren,
Chilton,	Harris, Kans.	Murphy,	Wellington,
Clark,	Harris, Tenn.	Pasco,	Wetmore,
Cullom,	Jones, Nev.	Penrose,	Wilson,
Daniel,	Kenney,	Rawlins,	Wolcott.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Forty-one Senators have voted.

Mr. VEST. That discloses the absence of a quorum.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. A quorum not having voted, the roll will be called.

The Secretary called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Allen,	Frye,	Mallory,	Proctor,
Allison,	Gear,	Martin,	Quay,
Burrows,	Gray,	Mills,	Rawlins,
Carter,	Hale,	Mitchell,	Roach,
Chandler,	Hawley,	Morgan,	Stewart,
Clark,	Heitfeld,	Morrill,	Teller,
Clay,	Hoar,	Nelson,	Thurston,
Cockrell,	Jones, Ark.	Perkins,	Tillman,
Davis,	Kyle,	Pettigrew,	Turpie,
Deboe,	Lindsay,	Pettus,	Vest,
Fairbanks,	Lodge,	Platt, Conn.	Walthall,
Faulkner,	McBride,	Platt, N. Y.	Wellington,
Foraker,	McLaurin,	Pritchard,	White.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Fifty-two Senators have answered to their names. A quorum is present. The Secretary will again call the roll on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST].

The Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CLARK (when his name was called). I again announce my pair with the Senator from Kansas [Mr. HARRIS].

Mr. GEAR (when his name was called). I am paired with the senior Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH]. I will transfer that pair, by consent, to the Senator from Ohio [Mr. HANNA], which will leave the Senator from Utah [Mr. RAWLINS] and myself at liberty to vote. I vote "nay."

Mr. GRAY (when his name was called). I am paired with the senior Senator from Illinois [Mr. CULLOM].

Mr. LINDSAY (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the senior Senator from Michigan [Mr. MCMILLAN]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. MARTIN (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Montana [Mr. MANTLE]. I should vote "yea" if he were present.

Mr. MITCHELL (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SEWELL]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. MORRILL (when his name was called). I transfer my pair with the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. HARRIS] to the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. GALLINGER], and vote "nay."

Mr. RAWLINS (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the Senator from Ohio [Mr. HANNA]. That pair has been transferred, so that the Senator from Ohio [Mr. HANNA] will stand paired with the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH]. I vote "yea."

Mr. TURNER (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. WARREN].

Mr. WELLINGTON (when his name was called). I again announce my pair with the junior Senator from North Carolina [Mr. BUTLER], and withhold my vote.

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. WALTHALL. I desire to announce that on this question the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. SPOONER] is paired with the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. BATE].

The result was announced—yeas 21, nays 27; as follows:

YEAS—21.

Allen,	Jones, Ark.	Pettigrew,	Vest,
Clay,	Kyle,	Pettus,	Walthall,
Cockrell,	McLaurin,	Rawlins,	White.
Faulkner,	Mallory,	Roach,	
Gorman,	Mills,	Tillman,	
Heitfeld,	Morgan,	Turpie,	

NAYS—27.

Allison,	Fairbanks,	Lodge,	Pritchard,
Baker,	Foraker,	McBride,	Proctor,
Burrows,	Frye,	Morrill,	Quay,
Carter,	Gear,	Nelson,	Shoup,
Chandler,	Hale,	Perkins,	Stewart,
Davis,	Hawley,	Platt, Conn.	Thurston.
Deboe,	Hoar,	Platt, N. Y.	

NOT VOTING—41.

Aldrich,	Elkins,	McEnery,	Spooner,
Bacon,	Gallinger,	McMillan,	Teller,
Bate,	George,	Mantle,	Turner,
Berry,	Gray,	Martin,	Warren,
Butler,	Hanna,	Mason,	Wellington,
Caffery,	Hansbrough,	Mitchell,	Wetmore,
Cannon,	Harris, Kans.	Murphy,	Wilson,
Chilton,	Harris, Tenn.	Pasco,	Wolcott.
Clark,	Jones, Nev.	Penrose,	
Cullom,	Kenney,	Sewell,	
Daniel,	Lindsay,	Smith,	

So Mr. VEST's amendment was rejected.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 372, page 127, line 9, after the word "description," to strike out "forty-four" and insert "forty-five;" so as to make the paragraph read:

372. Brussels carpets, figured or plain, and all carpets or carpeting of like character or description, 45 cents per square yard, and in addition thereto 40 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. VEST. This is an increase also over the McKinley Act from 44 cents to 45 cents. Without this increase the equivalent ad valorem on the articles embraced in this paragraph is 82.56 per cent. I simply want to say that it is very obvious why these increases are made. Our friends upon the other side have put such duties upon the oriental matting, Japanese and Chinese and cocoa matting, not made in this country, as to practically exclude them. They now propose to put up the duties on the lower grades of carpeting, to exclude competition from abroad as to these articles and force the American people to use the common carpets, the lower grades of carpets. The intent is very plain to anyone who knows anything in regard to tariff legislation.

I move (and it is the only redress that we have upon this side) to strike out the duties proposed by paragraph 372. I move to strike out "45 cents per square yard, and in addition thereto;" so

as to leave the duty as under the existing law, that is, 40 per cent ad valorem, and upon that I call for the yeas and nays.

Mr. ALLISON. I wish to call the attention of the Senator from Missouri to the fact that these specific duties are in the nature of compensatory duties.

Mr. VEST. Oh, yes.

Mr. ALLISON. And have no relation to cocoa matting, which has been stricken out of the bill, I think on the motion of the Senator from Missouri, or some other Senator on the opposite side.

Mr. VEST. No, sir; it has not been stricken out. It has not been voted upon, but is reserved for a vote as to whether it shall go on the free list. I made the motion to strike out oriental, Chinese, and Japanese matting, and that motion was sustained by the Senate, but it is held up by the Senator from Iowa for a vote when we reach the free list. Cocoa matting was passed over at the instance of my colleague on the committee, the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. JONES], in order that the Senate might vote as to whether it should go upon the free list or not.

I repeat my proposition, that the whole object of these increases, after putting a prohibitory duty upon these cheap mattings from the East, is to put a sufficient duty upon the cheap grade of carpets to exclude competition as to them. So there will be no alternative for any man who wants to put a carpet on the floor of his house but to buy the American product.

Mr. ALLISON. I repeat, these duties are put on in compensation for the duty on wool.

Mr. GRAY. Mr. President, we all know that in the last ten or fifteen years Brussels carpets, both imported and domestic, have become articles of very common and widely diffused use. They can scarcely be called a luxury. There is hardly any man who is able to support a family in decency who does not wish to have, and does not have, a Brussels carpet somewhere in his house. It is very well to know as we go along what exactions we are making upon the people who buy these carpets.

All that I rose for is in some measure to expose the tax that is concealed in these combined specific and ad valorem duties, one of the great objections to which is that it does mask the tax so far as the statement of it goes. I have made, or had made, a calculation as to the amount of tax a man will have to pay for a Brussels carpet that is put on a room, say, 16 feet square. I find that upon the unit of value given in the comparative tables before us the tax imposed upon him for carpeting a room 16 feet square under the provisions of this bill is $24.31.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Missouri calls for the yeas and nays on agreeing to his amendment.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas (when Mr. BERRY's name was called). My colleague [Mr. BERRY] is paired with the junior Senator from Illinois [Mr. MASON]. If my colleague were present, he would vote "yea."

Mr. LINDSAY (when his name was called). I am paired with the senior Senator from Michigan [Mr. MCMILLAN]. If he were present, I would vote "yea."

Mr. MITCHELL (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SEWELL]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. MORRILL (when his name was called). I transfer my pair with the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. HARRIS] to the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. GALLINGER], who is temporarily absent, and vote "nay."

Mr. RAWLINS (when his name was called). I transfer my pair with the Senator from Ohio [Mr. HANNA] to the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH], and vote "yea."

Mr. WALTHALL (when his name was called). The Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. SPOONER], with whom I have a general pair, is paired on this question with the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. BATE], and I vote "yea."

Mr. CLARK (when Mr. WARREN's name was called). I desire to announce that my colleague [Mr. WARREN] is paired with the junior Senator from Washington [Mr. TURNER]. If my colleague were present, he would vote "nay."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. GEAR. My pair with the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH] has been transferred to the Senator from Ohio [Mr. HANNA], and I vote "nay."

Mr. PASCO (after having voted in the affirmative). I notice that the Senator from Washington [Mr. WILSON] has not voted, and being paired with him, I withdraw my vote.

The result was announced—yeas 23, nays 28; as follows:

YEAS—23.

Allen,	Heitfeld,	Morgan,	Tillman,
Caffery,	Jones, Ark.	Murphy,	Turpie,
Clay,	Kyle,	Pettigrew,	Vest,
Cockrell,	McLaurin,	Pettus,	Walthall,
Faulkner,	Mallory,	Rawlins,	White.
Gorman,	Mills,	Roach,	

NAYS—28.

Allison,	Fairbanks,	Lodge,	Pritchard,
Baker,	Foraker,	McBride,	Proctor,
Burrows,	Frye,	Morrill,	Quay,
Carter,	Gear,	Nelson,	Shoup,
Chandler,	Hale,	Perkins,	Stewart,
Davis,	Hawley,	Platt, Conn.	Teller,
Deboe,	Hoar,	Platt, N. Y.	Thurston.

NOT VOTING—38.

Aldrich,	Elkins,	Lindsay,	Smith,
Bacon,	Gallinger,	McEnery,	Spooner,
Bate,	George,	McMillan,	Turner,
Berry,	Gray,	Mantle,	Warren,
Butler,	Hanna,	Martin,	Wellington,
Cannon,	Hansbrough,	Mason,	Wetmore,
Chilton,	Harris, Kans.	Mitchell,	Wilson,
Clark,	Harris, Tenn.	Pasco,	Wolcott.
Cullom,	Jones, Nev.	Penrose,	
Daniel,	Kenney,	Sewell,	

So Mr. VEST's amendment was rejected.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, on page 127, paragraph 373, line 13, before the word "cents," to strike out "forty" and insert "forty-one;" so as to make the paragraph read:

373. Velvet and tapestry velvet carpets, figured or plain, printed on the warp or otherwise, and all carpets or carpeting of like character or description, 41 cents per square yard, and in addition thereto 40 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. VEST. I call attention to the fact that this rate is an increase over the McKinley Act. In that law the duties were 40 cents and 40 per cent ad valorem, and this is an increase to 41 cents. The equivalent ad valorem upon the articles named in this paragraph, without this addition of 1 cent, is 69.67 per cent. I move, in line 13 of the paragraph, after the word "description," to strike out "41 cents per square yard, and in addition thereto," so as to leave the duty as under the existing law at 40 per cent ad valorem. Upon that I call for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. TILLMAN. Mr. President, it is with reluctance that I presume to differ with the experienced and eminent Senators in charge of this bill, but it seems to me that we are pursuing a wrong course in putting ourselves on record here interminably on these little minor items, when it is a fact, as apparent as the Capitol itself to every observer outside, that we will be beaten in every one of these votes. It is just simply wasting time. That is all.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CLARK (when his name was called). I again announce my pair with the junior Senator from Kansas [Mr. HARRIS].

Mr. GRAY (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Illinois [Mr. CULLOM].

Mr. HAWLEY (when his name was called). The pair between the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. BATE] and myself has been transferred by agreement with the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. WALTHALL] to the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. SPOONER], and I vote "nay."

Mr. MITCHELL (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SEWELL]; otherwise I should "yea."

Mr. MORRILL (when his name was called). Pairing as before the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. GALLINGER] with the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. HARRIS], with whom I have a general pair, I vote "nay."

Mr. PASCO (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Washington [Mr. WILSON]. In his absence, I withhold my vote. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. CLARK. I desire to transfer the pair with the junior Senator from Kansas [Mr. HARRIS] to the Senator from Nevada [Mr. JONES] and vote. I vote "nay."

I also desire to announce again the pair of my colleague [Mr. WARREN] with the Senator from Washington [Mr. TURNER].

Mr. GEAR. My pair with the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH] has been transferred to the Senator from Ohio [Mr. HANNA], and I vote "nay."

Mr. LINDSAY. I announce for the day my pair with the senior Senator from Michigan [Mr. MCMILLAN]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. BUTLER. I announce my pair with the Senator from Maryland [Mr. WELLINGTON], and therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. HANSBROUGH. I am paired with the senior Senator from Virginia [Mr. DANIEL].

The result was announced—yeas 19, nays 27; as follows:

YEAS—19.

Allen,	Heitfeld,	Morgan,	Turpie,
Caffery,	Jones, Ark.	Murphy,	Vest,
Chilton,	McLaurin,	Pettigrew,	Walthall,
Cockrell,	Mallory,	Pettus,	White.
Faulkner,	Mills,	Roach,	

NAYS—27.

Allison,	Foraker,	McBride,	Proctor,
Burrows,	Frye,	Morrill,	Quay,
Carter,	Gear,	Nelson,	Shoup,
Chandler,	Hale,	Perkins,	Stewart,
Clark,	Hawley,	Platt, Conn.	Teller,
Deboe,	Hoar,	Platt, N. Y.	Thurston.
Fairbanks,	Lodge,	Pritchard,	

NOT VOTING—43.

Aldrich,	Elkins,	Kyle,	Sewell,
Bacon,	Gallinger,	Lindsay,	Smith,
Baker,	George,	McEnery,	Spooner,
Bate,	Gorman,	McMillan,	Tillman,
Berry,	Gray,	Mantle,	Turner,
Butler,	Hanna,	Martin,	Warren,
Cannon,	Hansbrough,	Mason,	Wellington,
Clay,	Harris, Kans.	Mitchell,	Wetmore,
Cullom,	Harris, Tenn.	Pasco,	Wilson,
Daniel,	Jones, Nev.	Penrose,	Wolcott.
Davis,	Kenney,	Rawlins,	

So Mr. VEST's amendment was rejected.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, on page 127, paragraph 374, line 17, before the word "cents," to strike out "twenty-eight" and insert "twenty-nine;" so as to make the paragraph read:

374. Tapestry Brussels carpets, figured or plain, and all carpets or carpeting of like character or description, printed on the warp or otherwise, 29 cents per square yard, and in addition thereto 40 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. VEST. Mr. President——

Mr. ALLISON. If the Senator from Missouri will allow me to make a suggestion to him, I ask why not consider the three remaining paragraphs together as one amendment, if he proposes to have a vote on striking out all of these paragraphs, and taking but one vote, so as to save time? It would be just as impressive.

Mr. VEST. Because there are different rates imposed in these different paragraphs, the increase being greater in some than in others by the committee's amendment. I want to call attention to the fact that under this amendment, as in the preceding paragraph, the Senator from Iowa and the great majority of the Finance Committee have gone above the McKinley Act, making this duty 29 instead of 28 cents. Under the paragraph as it stood, without this increase, the equivalent ad valorem is 79.42 per cent. It is my purpose to move to strike out the words, in lines 17 and 18 of this paragraph, "29 cents per square yard, and in addition thereto," so as to leave the duty at 40 per cent ad valorem, as in the existing law. Upon that I call for the yea and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BUTLER (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Maryland [Mr. WELLINGTON], and therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. CLARK (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Kansas [Mr. HARRIS], but transfer that pair to the Senator from Nevada [Mr. JONES], and vote "nay."

Mr. GEAR (when his name was called). My pair with the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH] has been transferred to the Senator from Ohio [Mr. HANNA], and I vote "nay."

Mr. GRAY (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Illinois [Mr. CULLOM].

Mr. MORRILL (when his name was called). I again transfer my pair with the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. HARRIS] to the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. GALLINGER], and vote "nay."

Mr. PASCO (when his name was called). I again announce my pair with the Senator from Washington [Mr. WILSON]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. TILLMAN (when his name was called). Present.

The Secretary again called the name of Mr. TILLMAN.

Mr. TILLMAN. I am here, sir, and have answered "present."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. WALTHALL. I again announce that my pair with the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. SPOONER] has been transferred to the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. BATE]. I vote "yea."

Mr. KENNEY (after having voted in the affirmative). I notice that the junior Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. PENROSE], with whom I am paired, has not voted. I therefore withdraw my vote.

The result was announced—yeas 19, nays 28; as follows:

YEAS—19.

Allen,	Gorman,	Morgan,	Turpie,
Bacon,	Jones, Ark.	Murphy,	Vest,
Chilton,	McLaurin,	Pettigrew,	Walthall,
Clay,	Mallory,	Pettus,	White.
Cockrell,	Mills,	Roach,	

NAYS—28.

Allison,	Deboe,	Hoar,	Platt, N. Y.
Baker,	Fairbanks,	Lodge,	Pritchard,
Burrows,	Foraker,	McBride,	Proctor,
Carter,	Frye,	Morrill,	Quay,
Chandler,	Gear,	Nelson,	Shoup,
Clark,	Hale,	Perkins,	Teller,
Davis,	Hawley,	Platt, Conn.	Thurston.

NOT VOTING—42.

Aldrich,	Butler,	Cullom,	Faulkner,
Bate,	Caffery,	Daniel,	Gallinger,
Berry,	Cannon,	Elkins,	George,
Gray,	Kyle,	Pasco,	Turner,
Hanna,	Lindsay,	Penrose,	Warren,
Hansbrough,	McEnery,	Rawlins,	Wellington,
Harris, Kans.	McMillan,	Sewell,	Wetmore,
Harris, Tenn.	Mantle,	Smith,	Wilson,
Heitfeld,	Martin,	Spooner,	Wolcott.
Jones, Nev.	Mason,	Stewart,	
Kenney,	Mitchell,	Tillman,	

So the amendment of Mr. VEST was rejected.

Mr. WHITE. I will ask that the next two paragraphs, 375 and 376, may be read in connection, if there be no objection.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. That will be the order, in the absence of objection.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 375, page 127, line 20, before the word "cents," to strike out "nineteen" and insert "twenty-five;" so as to make the paragraph read:

375. Treble ingrain, three-ply, and all chain Venetian carpets, 25 cents per square yard, and in addition thereto 40 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in paragraph 376, page 127, line 22, after the word "carpets," to strike out "fourteen" and insert "twenty;" so as to make the paragraph read:

376. Wool Dutch and two-ply ingrain carpets, 20 cents per square yard, and in addition thereto 40 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. WHITE. Paragraph 404 of the act of 1890, the McKinley Act, provides as follows:

404. Treble ingrain, three-ply, and all chain Venetian carpets, 19 cents per square yard, and in addition thereto 40 per cent ad valorem.

We find that paragraph 375 of the proposed law raises the rate from 19 to 25 cents per square yard. The Senator from Iowa stated that the respective rises of 2½ cents, 2 cents, 1 cent, 1 cent, and 1 cent, respectively, in paragraphs 370, 371, 372, 373, and 374 were made because of the increase in price of carpet wools—that is, the substitution of a specific rate for an ad valorem—but in each of those cases it appears that a very small rate was sufficient. Of course the manufacturer does not wish to lose any point, and so he would have a tax of 1 cent where he could get it; but here we have a rise of 6 cents, from 19 cents per square yard to 25 cents and from 14 cents to 20 cents. That is in paragraphs 375 and 376, which we find to be in the McKinley law as follows:

Wool Dutch and two-ply ingrain carpets, 14 cents per square yard, and in addition thereto 40 per cent ad valorem.

Now, we have a rise made by the committee over the House bill of 6 cents, from 14 to 20 cents. On examining the record to find whether there is any justification for these very material changes we find that so far as paragraph 375 is concerned the unit of value shown by the comparative statement for the year 1896 is 75 cents and the ad valorem rate as prescribed in this amendment is 73.45 per cent, and in paragraph 376 the ad valorem rate is 73.94 per cent.

The importations under paragraph 375 amounted in yards in 1896 to 23,737, and in value to $17,745; and the importations under paragraph 376 amounted in 1896 to 24,853 yards, of the value of $14,645, showing that under the rates prescribed in the Wilson law there was but a very light importation. Indeed, an inspection of the entire carpet schedule will demonstrate the fact that the American manufacturer virtually has the market.

For instance, if we look back to Brussels carpet, we find that the unit of value is $1.03, and yet we know that the American carpet manufacturer undersells any such rate, and the foreign cost is $1.03. Therefore we have absolutely the market.

Mr. GRAY. Right there I wish to state that I read the other day that the carpet manufacturers, those who use these carpet wools, stated that more than one-half of all the carpet wools imported into this country go into ingrain carpets.

Mr. WHITE. In the large pamphlets devoted to tariff hearings before the Ways and Means Committee in the House of Representatives you can not find a solitary word showing any argument or anything which could be called a reason for an increase of these rates. What will the effect be? Necessarily the absolute exclusion of importations. We have practically almost reached that point now.

Here is another of these cases found in the bill where the tariff, already prohibitive, is raised. Why is it raised? No wonder, Mr. President, that the carpet stores all over the country have signs now in their windows announcing that after thirty days the rate on carpets will be increased from 25 to 50 per cent. This is a mere matter of concession really, for the rates might be increased much higher. The tariff wall is constructed so massively and of such lofty proportions that they are able practically to exclude all importations. I deny, whatever may be the theory upon which this bill is framed, that there is any justification for the increases made by the Senate committee of 6 cents in each case upon these low-grade carpets.

It has been shown frequently throughout the debate on this bill that high-priced articles are admitted under lower rates and that low-priced articles are taxed very highly. I suppose, probably, in view of the sentiment expressed by the monk who said to Louis XIV, "Your people perish, but your court is splendid."

Mr. President, I move to strike out paragraphs 375 and 376 and substitute therefor the provisions of the Wilson law contained in paragraphs 293 and 295 of that law. There is no justification for any additional tariff in this instance.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment proposed by the Senator from California will be stated.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to strike out paragraphs 375 and 376 as amended and in lieu thereof to insert:

Wool Dutch and two-ply ingrain carpets, 30 per cent ad valorem.
Carpets and carpeting of wool, flax, or cotton, or composed in part of either, not specially provided for in this act, 30 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. WHITE. I will ask to have the vote taken on the first paragraph read at the desk:

Wool Dutch and two-ply ingrain carpets, 30 per cent ad valorem.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated as now proposed by the Senator from California.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to strike out paragraph 376 and in lieu thereof to insert:

376. Wool Dutch and two-ply ingrain carpets, 30 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. ALLISON. Just a word.

Mr. WHITE. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. ALLISON. The Senator from Delaware [Mr. GRAY] really indicated the reason for the changes in these two paragraphs. Ingrain carpets are made wholly of wool. There is no other fiber except wool in these carpets, whilst in the higher grade carpets there is a portion of hemp or cotton or jute.

Mr. GRAY. Backing.

Mr. ALLISON. But an ingrain carpet is all wool; and one-half of the third-class wool, or nearly so, is used in the manufacture of these carpets. We have increased the duty by this bill on the kind of wool used in the manufacture of ingrain carpets above the McKinley law; and as this is a great industry, especially in Philadelphia and its neighborhood, where large quantities of ingrain carpets are made by people who have not large manufactories, it is necessary to give them a compensation for the increased price of their wool from which they make carpets. The duty upon third-class wool, as compared with the duty provided in the McKinley law and the free wool in the Wilson law, so called——

Mr. GRAY. And the consumer gives it to them, of course.

Mr. ALLISON. I understand there is great competition in the production, and I have no doubt the profits from these carpets made by those who do the weaving are very small.

Mr. WHITE. I desire to ask the Senator from Iowa if it is not true that the present tariff, as well as the McKinley tariff, is practically prohibitive on these goods—substantially so; that the importations bear practically no relation of importance to the consumption? That must be apparent from an inspection of the record before us. I presume there is no denial of that.

Mr. ALLISON. I do not think it is prohibitory. This is rather a domestic industry which has grown up during a good many years in different portions of our country, and I do not think these ingrain carpets are very largely produced abroad. I think this country is rather adapted to their manufacture; there is a sharp competition in the production, and the profits are very small.

Mr. WHITE. If these carpets grow here naturally, and are products of the soil, and are not produced abroad, they do not need protection at all, I presume.

Before proceeding, I desire to call attention to the fact that I believe the Secretary has not read both amendments which I suggested. One is paragraph 292 of the present law, and the other 293, and they read as follows:

Treble ingrain, three-ply, and all chain Venetian carpets, 22½ per cent ad valorem.
Wool Dutch and two-ply ingrain carpets, 22 per cent ad valorem.

Those are the paragraphs I desire to have substituted for the paragraphs in the bill.

It is not necessary for the Senator from Iowa or anyone else to concede that there are practically no importations of carpet goods in any save one or two lines, because the record of 1896 under the Wilson Act demonstrates that fact. I deny that the addition of 6 cents is justified at all by the amendment of the paragraph regarding carpet wools, which simply proposes a specific rate, which we are informed by the committee is substantially the ad valorem rate. This is an instance where the manufacturer is making a profit, and is given an additional and concealed benefit, by reason of the compensatory duty, so called.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. May I ask the Senator from California a question?

Mr. WHITE. Certainly.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. If it be true, as has been stated, that the domestic carpet is sold at a price very much below the foreign carpet, what harm can it do to put on an additional duty?

Mr. GRAY. What is the necessity for it?

Mr. WHITE. The Senator from Connecticut is well advised in regard to these matters. I will ask him if it is not a fact that in all the lines of carpet specified in paragraph 371 now under consideration the domestic carpet is sold cheaper than the foreign article? Is not that the fact? The Senator is well advised as to this industry.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. It was so stated on the other side, and I suppose it is true.

Mr. WHITE. Yes, sir. Then I ask why does the committee engage in the business of raising rates? It is true, as stated by the Senator, that if the act is prohibitive now it can not be made more prohibitive in any event; but manifestly an opportunity is afforded within that prohibition wall to raise by means of trusts and combinations the domestic rates. Certainly upon no theory can a duty be justified which is really prohibitive, and I do not understand that the majority of the committee claim they are introducing here prohibitive measures, though, in fact, we know they are in many cases. But they claim they are simply making such changes in the tariff law as to protect the American manufacturer to the extent of equalizing the labor cost and certain other disadvantages under which perhaps he may labor. This is no such case, however.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. The Senator replies to my question as to what harm it would do by asking me what reason there is for doing it. Perhaps that is a fair way of replying to my question. I understand the fact to be that this industry has grown up in this country and has reached such development and such economies have been introduced in the manufacture that we have most of the trade and that we sell our carpets made in this country at very much less figures than most of the carpets of the same name imported from abroad.

I will answer his question by asking him another. Having put a duty on wool, having raised in the Senate the duty which the House put upon carpet wools, does he not think that if his motion prevails not to allow any compensatory duty whatever, by reason of the fact that the wool has been made dutiable, it would not cripple and destroy the carpet industry in the United States?

Mr. WHITE. I will answer that question no.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. I do.

Mr. WHITE. The Senator objected to the last answer I gave because it was not categorical, though in effect it was. I respond to the first question addressed to me by the Senator from Connecticut by saying that, although the present duty may be prohibitive, and I claim it is, an addition to that prohibitive rate, so to speak, if I may be allowed to phrase it in that way—an additional tariff affords an opportunity for domestic combinations to the disadvantage of the consumer and beyond the necessity of just reward to the manufacturers.

Now, to the other question I respond in this way: I base my negative reply upon the figures which we have here and the admissions which have been made on this floor, that we control the domestic market not only because we exclude the foreign competition by tariff, but because we actually produce and put down the same grade of carpet at 50 per cent the price which it costs in most parts of the world.

For instance, take Brussels carpet, under paragraph 372. The Senator from Connecticut knows that a Brussels carpet the foreign value of which is a little over a dollar can be produced in this country, and is produced, of equal quality for 70 or 80 cents, and there is a protection against which no one can compete. The reason for it may be this or that, but the fact remains, whether for climatic reasons, superiority of machinery or workmanship, or other reason, that we can manufacture the article cheaper in this country than it can be made anywhere else in the world, and where that is the case, no one claims or has heretofore claimed that any protection is necessary. If we have the domestic market, if we can make the article cheaper than it can be made anywhere else in the world, there is an end of it.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. I think the Senator will not claim that in this industry there is any combination or possibility of combination, nor will he claim that any undue profit is made by the manufacturers of carpet in the United States.

Mr. WHITE. Of course I am not familiar with the personal business of the various manufacturers, but I do understand that the prices at which carpets are sold in the United States to-day by the leading factories are regulated by an agreement; probably it is a gentleman's agreement, referred to so frequently in debate.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment to strike out paragraphs 375 and 376 of the bill and insert paragraphs 292 and 293 of the existing law.

The amendment was rejected.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was to insert as a new paragraph the following:

376½. Oriental, Berlin, and similar rugs, and carpets woven whole for rooms, valued at not more than 40 cents per square foot, 20 cents per square foot and 10 per cent ad valorem; valued at more than 40 cents and not more than $1 per square foot, 40 cents per square foot and 20 per cent ad valorem; valued at more than $1 and not more than $2 per square foot, 75 cents per square foot and 25 per cent ad valorem; valued at more than $2 per square foot, 65 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. ALLISON. I propose to modify the amendment by inserting what I send to the desk in lieu of what is printed in the bill.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to modify paragraph 376½ so as to read as follows:

Carpets of every description, woven whole for rooms, and oriental, Berlin, Aubusson, Axminster, and similar rugs, 10 cents per square foot, and in addition thereto 40 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. VEST. Without regard to value?

Mr. WHITE. I stated yesterday, when I read a communication from Messrs. W. & J. Sloane & Co., of San Francisco, that the elimination from paragraph 370 of the provision in regard to oriental, Berlin, and other similar rugs was accomplished for the purpose of so framing a subsequent paragraph as largely to increase the tariff upon those specific articles.

Paragraph 370, which included oriental, Berlin, and other rugs, is to be found in the McKinley Act, and the rate of duty was 60 cents per square yard and 40 per cent ad valorem. The Senator from Iowa added 2½ cents to compensate for the change from the ad valorem to a specific rate in the third-class wool paragraph. But assuming, for the sake of the argument, that addition to have been justified, there is no reason for the exclusion from that paragraph of these rugs. Will the Senator from Iowa tell me that the object he has in view is to reduce taxation upon those articles? Of course not. The object and purpose is to increase taxation upon them and practically to exclude them from the market.

The committee first proposed a higher rate, 20 cents per square foot and 10 per cent ad valorem. Perhaps that is a higher rate. It is a very complex paragraph, and in a moment it is impossible to tell the effect of the amendment now proposed; but, at all events, it is recognized everywhere that paragraph 376½ as first framed by the committee prescribed a rate absolutely prohibitive, and the present rate suggested by the committee is 10 cents a foot, which amounts to 90 cents a yard. The Senator from Arkansas will correct me if I am wrong about that. It amounts to 90 cents a yard, and in addition thereto 40 per cent ad valorem.

I have not before me the unit of value of these particular articles. In the comparative statement given us there is no unit of value and there is no estimate made as to the percentage, but I imagine it is largely over 100 per cent. The committee amendment as first prepared made the rate, as I am informed, over 200 per cent, and this is unquestionably more than 100 per cent, or not far from it. Under the amendment as put in here now—as I said, the phraseology of the original amendment is so complex that it is impossible in the moment to arrive at a rate—it is increased, and it is designed to exclude from the American market rugs which are manufactured abroad and which are not now made here at all. We certainly have a right to object to rates which can not increase the revenue, and will result in excluding an article which is valuable to those who can afford to purchase it, and substituting for a law which has been in existence for years under Republican dominancy, even in the McKinley Act, one which is far more prohibitive. Is this the mild taxation and the conservative rates that we were promised by the opening address of the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH]?

Mr. ALLISON. These oriental and Berlin rugs, so called, are pure luxuries. Some of them sell as high as $5,000 and $10,000 apiece. They are not made in this country at all. If there is anything that can endure a good, stiff revenue duty, it is oriental rugs. Whilst the duty may be higher on some of these rugs, it is not nearly so high as the duty in this bill upon some essentials of life, like oranges and Zante currants, where the duty is very high.

Mr. VEST. I assert that the cheapest carpet that can be used in this country is the article named in this paragraph—the pure oriental rug. Those rugs are never worn out. They are never attacked by the moth. They can be taken up every summer and packed away with entire safety. They have been going down in the market for years, until you can attend an auction here in the city of Washington and furnish your fall house for a third less than you could go to an upholstery establishment and buy American carpets, and I do not think anyone who is at all acquainted with the subject will contradict me when I say that, all in all, they are not articles of luxury.

They can not be made in this country. You put down an American rug made by machinery, and in twenty days it will curl up at every one of the corners and wrinkle, and you may turn and turn it, and still it will curl up, and then the moth will attack it. It is the home of the moth, and in twelve months you are compelled to buy another article of the same kind. You take the oriental rug made by hand, and it is never, as I said, attacked by moths. It will last a generation, and it is by far the cheapest article that can be bought.

The Senator speaks about these rugs being worth $5,000 and $10,000. I believe I have seen one worth $1,200. That is the highest priced one I ever saw. That was used for one of the public buildings in the city of Washington. My constituents do not buy $1,200 rugs or $5,000 rugs, but you can go down to any of these auctions, and they are going on daily, and buy an oriental rug for $5 or $10 or $15, and they are hardly ever over that, which will outlast a carpet worth $25 or $30 years and years; and yet the Senator says it is an article of luxury.

What are the enormous duties imposed by the pending bill, even without the increases proposed by the Senator from Iowa? As I understand the amendment proposed, it takes off the limitations as to value and puts on 10 cents. The bill as we picked it up this morning read "Oriental, Berlin, and similar rugs, and carpets woven whole for rooms, valued at not more than 40 cents per square foot," but that limitation is taken off, and the tax now is to be imposed without regard to any valuation at all. What are the specific duties per yard without the amendment? Upon the first classification it is $1.80 per yard and 10 per cent; upon the next classification it is $3.60 a yard and 20 per cent; upon the next it is $6.76 per yard and 25 per cent; and on the fourth classification it is $2 a foot and 65 per cent, making at least $11.70 a yard. As a matter of course, these are exclusive rates. The goods can not come into this country, and the result, and I suppose the intention, is to exclude them entirely and force the American people to buy the machine-made rugs and carpets which no one will buy if he knows what they are and can avoid buying them.

Our friends upon the other side want to shut out all cheap matting, and they have done that, and all oriental mattings or cocoa mattings. They then propose to shut out all oriental rugs, and as a matter of course their object is to force the American people to take machine-made carpets manufactured in this country, or else to go with bare floors. That is all there is of it. I move to strike out the duties in the paragraph wherever they occur, and insert the existing taxation, 40 per cent ad valorem.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question will first be put on the amendment of the Senator from Iowa.

Mr. WHITE. I am willing that it shall be agreed to first.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Without objection, the amendment as modified will be considered as agreed to.

Mr. WHITE. If it be true, as stated by the Senator from Iowa, that there are articles of necessity in the pending bill taxed at the rate specified in this paragraph, it will bring to the bill that universal and popular condemnation to which we long ago consigned it, and to which it is now being in advance consigned by the American people.

Now, about this paragraph. It must be admitted that neither the Senator from Iowa nor any other member of the committee stated to the Senate the actual ad valorem rate upon any of the classes of rugs described by him, but, after publishing the comparative statement, with blanks left where the information ought to have been, he now appears with an amendment in which he proposes to tax his $10,000 rug the same rate per yard or per foot, so far as the specific rates go, that he proposes to tax rugs which may be worth $1.50. Of course the ad valorem may compensate to some extent, but he makes no discrimination.

When the Senator from Iowa states that these rugs are of extraordinary value and are articles of luxury, he simply shows that he has happily been so placed that he has not come in contact with anything save luxurious surroundings, a condition which is so restricted in the per capita direction that I do not think it a justifiable foundation for any rule. These rugs are put upon the market at very moderate rates, and they are exceedingly useful to the middle classes of the American people, and are to be found in dwellings that are by no means aristocratic and where people are unable to pay the price of admission to look at a $10,000 rug, which I am glad has so often delighted the gaze of my friend the Senator from Iowa and instilled in him the patriotic sentiment which forces him to put a tax of $4,000 on the rug aforesaid, which, however, will not appear in the market, I imagine.

If there are $10,000 rugs bought by rich people in this country, I am perfectly willing to tax them 100 per cent, because the people who indulge in luxuries of that kind can afford to pay for them. But what I object to is that upon the low-grade articles here a new scheme is devised, not found necessary by the Senator from Iowa or those who labored with him in the formation of the McKinley bill, which has never been found necessary, and for which no reasons are assigned to-day by the Senator from Iowa.

Mr. ALLISON. Just one word. I gathered my information as respects the character of these rugs from noticing that under the McKinley law the importations were much larger than under the Wilson law, and I drew the inference that it was because of the prosperity that prevailed immediately after the passage of the McKinley Act—I do not wish to get into that kind of an argument now—as compared with the condition of our country after the passage of the Wilson law. Under the very low rate in the Wilson law the importations were less than under the McKinley law.

Mr. WHITE. Will the Senator from Iowa inform me what were the importations of these rugs under the McKinley law or the Wilson law? The comparative statement does not afford us any information.

Mr. ALLISON. On page 198 of the comparative statement——

Mr. WHITE. Under paragraph 370, the Senator will observe,

are included Aubusson, Axminster, moquette, chenille, and other carpets, and those are not the articles to which I allude.

Mr. ALLISON. It also contains Berlin, oriental, and similar rugs. They are included.

Mr. WHITE. How can the Senator segregate them?

Mr. ALLISON. I do not segregate them.

Mr. VEST. You can not tell.

Mr. ALLISON. I am not able to say what the proportion is, but they are similar in character and all pay the same rate. Now, the Senator will see that in 1896 there were only 105,000 yards imported, of a value of $258,000, against $1,271,000 in 1893. That is the only knowledge I have on the subject. I do not know that I have ever tread upon a ten-thousand-dollar rug. If I have, I had no knowledge of it at the time. My information is that these are very valuable and expensive rugs.

Mr. VEST. It depends upon the size.

Mr. WHITE. It is unfortunate, in view of the alterations and of the changes in phraseology which stood for many years, that no one can give us any reason for it, or afford us any statistics that bear directly upon the subject, and that we have to grope around in the darkness of guesswork.

Mr. VEST. I ask the Secretary to read the amendment again. I did not exactly understand it.

The SECRETARY. The paragraph as amended reads as follows:

Carpets of every description, woven whole for rooms, and oriental, Berlin, Aubusson, Axminster, and similar rugs, 10 cents per square foot, and in addition thereto 40 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. VEST. I move to strike out the specific, so as to leave it at 40 per cent ad valorem; and on that I call for the yeas and nays.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The suggestion made by the Senator from California, that we are compelled to grope around in the dark without understanding what we are doing and wondering why this paragraph is put in the bill, reminds me very strongly of an expression I find used in a speech by the Hon. William Lawrence, who seems to have had a good deal to do with the rates in this schedule. He says:

Something must be done to relieve existing conditions or the Republican party will soon go out of power. The protective policy can not be maintained, and a revolution may come in our monetary policy.

I thought possibly the Senator may have seen something of that sort, and that that accounted for it.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Missouri, on which the yeas and nays are demanded.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. GEAR (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH]. The Senator from Utah [Mr. RAWLINS] is paired with the Senator from Ohio [Mr. HANNA]. I transfer my pair to the Senator from Ohio [Mr. HANNA], which will leave the Senator from Utah [Mr. RAWLINS] and myself at liberty to vote. I vote "nay."

Mr. MITCHELL (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SEWELL]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. MORRILL (when his name was called). I will transfer my pair with the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. HARRIS] to the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. GALLINGER], and vote "nay."

Mr. PASCO (when his name was called). I again announce my pair with the Senator from Washington [Mr. WILSON]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. WALTHALL (when his name was called). I transfer my pair with the junior Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. SPOONER] to the junior Senator from Tennessee [Mr. BATE], and vote "yea."

Mr. WELLINGTON (when his name was called). I again announce my pair with the junior Senator from North Carolina [Mr. BUTLER], and withhold my vote.

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas (after having voted in the affirmative). Has the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE] voted?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. He has not voted.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I withdraw my vote. I am paired with that Senator. My colleague [Mr. BERRY] is paired with the Senator from Illinois [Mr. MASON]. I make this announcement for the day.

Mr. TURPIE (after having voted in the affirmative). The senior Senator from Minnesota [Mr. DAVIS] being absent, I withdraw my vote.

Mr. BACON (after having voted in the affirmative). I have a general pair with the junior Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. WETMORE]. I am informed that he has not voted, and I therefore withdraw my vote.

I take this opportunity to state that I voted upon the former call of the roll, not thinking to inquire whether the junior Senator from Rhode Island had voted. I am now informed by the clerks that he has not been here to-day. My vote, however, did not change the result.

Mr. HANSBROUGH. I suggest to the Senator from Georgia that we exchange our pairs, so that he and I may vote. I am paired with the Senator from Virginia [Mr. DANIEL], and I will transfer my pair to the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. WETMORE].

Mr. BACON. That will be agreeable to me, Mr. President, I vote "yea."

Mr. HANSBROUGH. I vote "nay."

The result was announced—yeas 22, nays 29; as follows:

YEAS—22.

Allen,	Gorman,	Mills,	Tillman,
Bacon,	Harris, Kans.	Morgan,	Vest.
Caffery,	Kenney,	Murphy,	Walthall,
Clay,	McLaurin,	Pettigrew,	White.
Cockrell,	Mallory,	Pettus,	
Faulkner,	Martin,	Roach,	

NAYS—29.

Allison,	Foraker,	Morrill,	Quay,
Baker,	Frye,	Nelson,	Shoup,
Burrows,	Gear,	Penrose,	Stewart,
Carter,	Hansbrough,	Perkins,	Teller,
Clark,	Hawley,	Platt, Conn.	Thurston.
Deboe,	Hoar,	Platt, N. Y.	
Elkins,	Lodge,	Pritchard,	
Fairbanks,	McBride,	Proctor,	

NOT VOTING—38.

Aldrich,	Gallinger,	Lindsay,	Spooner,
Bate,	George,	McEnery,	Turner,
Berry,	Gray,	McMillan,	Turpie,
Butler,	Hale,	Mantle,	Warren,
Cannon,	Hanna,	Mason,	Wellington,
Chandler,	Harris, Tenn.	Mitchell,	Wetmore,
Chilton,	Heitfeld,	Pasco,	Wilson,
Cullom,	Jones, Ark.	Rawlins,	Wolcott.
Daniel,	Jones, Nev.	Sewell,	
Davis,	Kyle,	Smith,	

So Mr. VEST's amendment was rejected.

The Secretary read the next paragraph, as follows:

377. Druggets and bockings, printed, colored, or otherwise, 22 cents per square yard, and in addition thereto 40 per cent ad valorem. Felt carpeting, figured or plain, 11 cents per square yard, and in addition thereto 40 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. ALLISON. I move to strike out the remainder of the paragraph after the words "ad valorem," in line 11.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there any objection to the amendment?

Mr. VEST. I do not understand that. Does that mean that felt carpeting is to be put in the basket clause?

Mr. ALLISON. To take it out of the paragraph.

Mr. VEST. It is not in another paragraph. It is a part of this same paragraph. I want to understand this, because we have here an equivalent ad valorem of 62.57 per cent on felt carpeting.

Mr. WHITE. And 82.22 per cent on druggets.

Mr. VEST. Yes; 82.22 per cent on druggets. I want to know whether the meaning is to put felt carpeting specifically under another paragraph or to put it under the basket clause.

Mr. WHITE. I understand the Senator from Iowa intends to include felt carpeting in paragraph 378.

Mr. ALLISON. No; I do not intend to put it anywhere. I will say frankly to the Senator that I am not quite sure that I am right about it, but as I understand, under this paragraph, a very large amount of felt comes in as carpeting, and it is then cut up for piano covers, and is used for other purposes. If that is true, it ought not to be where it is.

Mr. WHITE. If the Senator from Iowa will kindly indicate to us, when he ascertains the fact, where the article will appear——

Mr. ALLISON. If the Senator will allow it to be stricken out, I will later on make it appear somewhere satisfactory to Senators on the other side.

Mr. VEST. If the amendment is sustained, it will go under paragraph 378.

Mr. ALLISON. That is my understanding.

Mr. VEST. As carpet made of wool, flax, or cotton, not otherwise specially provided for, 50 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. WHITE. The rate is 50 per cent in paragraph 378.

Mr. VEST. It is 50 per cent. I should decidedly favor that, because it is a reduction of 12.57 per cent on the proposed rate.

Mr. ALLISON. That is my understanding about it. If I am mistaken in regard to the matter, I will call attention to it later. I hope it will be stricken out now, because if it is stricken out the paragraph is not susceptible.

Mr. VEST. I have no objection.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Iowa will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In paragraph 377, page 128, line 11, after the words "ad valorem," strike out the remainder of the paragraph in the following words:

Felt carpeting, figured or plain, 11 cents per square yard, and in addition thereto 40 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. VEST. After the word "otherwise," in line 9, I move to strike out the words "22 cents per square yard, and in addition thereto," so as to make the rate 40 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. WHITE. I call attention to the fact that under the Wilson Act the importations under the head of druggets, bockings, etc.,

amounted in quantity to 1,592 square yards and in value to $778.36. If the amendment proposed by the Senator from Missouri is adopted, it appears to me no injury can result to anyone, notwithstanding the fact of the duty on wool, because the present duty is prohibitive and the duty now proposed would result in a slight importation.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Missouri.

The amendment was rejected.

The Secretary continued the reading of the bill, as follows:

378. Carpets and carpeting of wool, flax, or cotton, or composed in part of either, not specially provided for in this act, 50 per cent ad valorem.

379. Mats, rugs, screens, covers, hassocks, bed sides, art squares, and other portions of carpets or carpeting made wholly or in part of wool, and not specially provided for in this act, shall be subjected to the rate of duty herein imposed on carpets or carpetings of like character or description.

Mr. ALLISON. On page 128, line 17, in the first line of paragraph 379, after the word "rugs," I move to insert the words "for floors."

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 380, page 128, line 26, after the word "woolen," to strike out "felt;" and in line 27, before the word "or," to insert "felt;" so as to read:

380. Whenever, in any schedule of this act, the word "wool" is used in connection with a manufactured article of which it is a component material, it shall be held to include wool or hair of the sheep, camel, goat, alpaca, or other animal, whether manufactured by the woolen, worsted, felt, or any other process.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was to add to paragraph 380 the following:

And all articles, fabrics, and manufactures, however described, of which wool is a component material, shall be classified and pay the duties respectively imposed by the several paragraphs of this schedule.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask that that amendment may be disagreed to.

The amendment was rejected.

The Secretary continued the reading of the bill, as follows:

SCHEDULE L.—SILKS AND SILK GOODS.

381. Silk partially manufactured from cocoons or from waste silk, and not further advanced or manufactured than carded or combed silk, 40 cents per pound.

382. Thrown silk, not more advanced than singles, tram, organzine, sewing silk, twist, floss, and silk threads or yarns of every description, except spun silk, 30 per cent ad valorem; spun silk in skeins, cops, warps, or on beams, valued at not exceeding $1 per pound, 20 cents per pound and 15 per cent ad valorem; valued at over $1 per pound and not exceeding $1.50 per pound, 30 cents per pound and 15 per cent ad valorem; valued at over $1.50 per pound and not exceeding $2 per pound, 40 cents per pound and 15 per cent ad valorem; valued at over $2 per pound and not exceeding $2.50 per pound, 50 cents per pound and 15 per cent ad valorem; valued at over $2.50 per pound, 60 cents per pound and 15 per cent ad valorem; but in no case shall the foregoing articles pay a less rate of duty than 35 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. VEST. I move, after the word "pound," in line 12, page 129, paragraph 382, to strike out the duty specified and insert "30 per cent ad valorem." It amounts to 35 per cent under the bill, and I move to make it the existing rate of 30 per cent ad valorem.

The SECRETARY. In line 12, after the word "pound," strike out "20 cents per pound and fifteen," and insert "thirty," so as to read "30 per cent ad valorem."

Mr. ALLISON. May I ask the Senator from Missouri if he intends that to apply to the entire paragraph down to 35 per cent, in the last line?

Mr. VEST. Yes; after line 12. You have 30 per cent before that, to which I do not object, but wherever after that you have 35 per cent, or where the equivalent is 35 per cent ad valorem, except as to the last classification, where it is 39, valued at exceeding $2.50 per pound, I move to strike out the rates here put in and to insert the present duty, which is 30 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. ALLISON. On the whole paragraph?

Mr. VEST. Yes; after line 12. I will put the motion on all together.

Mr. ALLISON. After the words "spun silk in skeins, cops, warps, or on beams valued at not exceeding $1 per pound," the Senator proposes 30 per cent ad valorem?

Mr. VEST. Yes.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to strike out "20 cents per pound, and fifteen," in lines 12 and 13, and to insert "thirty;" so as to read "30 per cent ad valorem."

Mr. ALLISON. I understand the Senator from Missouri desires to take the sense of the Senate on the whole paragraph at 30 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. VEST. Yes; at 30 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. ALLISON. If so, he will move to strike out all after the word "beams" down to and including "thirty-five," and make the rate 30 per cent.

Mr. VEST. I make no attack, of course, upon the lines down to line 12, because there you have 30 per cent ad valorem, to which I make no objection; but after that your rate is 35 per cent ad valorem, although you have it in the shape of a compound duty; for instance, 30 cents per pound and 15 per cent on one classification.

Mr. ALLISON. But the Senator will want to make his motion to strike out, beginning in line 11, after the word "beam," so that the paragraph will include thrown silk, etc., and then spun silk in skeins, cops, warps, or beams, making the rate 30 per cent. That will test the sense of the Senate.

Mr. VEST. That is all right. Let it go that way.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Missouri.

The amendment was rejected.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 383, page 130, line 1, after the word "Velvets," to insert "velvet ribbons;" in line 2, after the word "fabrics," to insert "cut or uncut;" in line 3, after the word "value," to insert "not specially provided for in this act;" and in line 6, after the word "dollar," to strike out "and twenty-five cents;" so as to make the paragraph read:

383. Velvets, velvet ribbons, chenilles, or other pile fabrics, cut or uncut, composed of silk, or of which silk is the component material of chief value, not specially provided for in this act, $1.50 per pound and 15 per cent ad valorem; plushes, composed of silk, or of which silk is the component material of chief value, $1 per pound and 15 per cent ad valorem; but in no case shall the foregoing articles pay a less rate of duty than 50 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. MILLS. In line 8 I move to strike out "less" and insert "greater;" so as to read:

But in no case shall the foregoing articles pay a greater rate of duty than 50 per cent ad valorem.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Texas.

The amendment was rejected.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, on page 130, after line 9, to strike out the following paragraph:

384. Goods in the piece, weighing not less than 1½ ounces per square yard, and not more than 8 ounces per square yard, if in the gum or dyed in the piece and containing not more than 20 per cent in weight of silk, 50 cents per pound; if containing more than 20 per cent and not more than 30 per cent in weight of silk, 65 cents per pound; if dyed in the thread or yarn, and containing not more than 25 per cent in weight of silk, 75 cents per pound; if containing more than 25 and not more than 40 per cent in weight of silk, $1.10 per pound; if containing more than 40 per cent in weight of silk, or if composed wholly of silk, if dyed in the thread or yarn, and weighted in the dyeing, so as to exceed the original weight of the raw silk, if black (except selvedges), $1.50 per pound; if other than black, $2 per pound; if dyed in the thread or yarn, and the weight is not increased by dyeing beyond the original weight of the raw silk, $3 per pound; if in the gum, $2.50 per pound; if boiled off, dyed in the piece, or printed, $3.25 per pound; if weighing less than 1½ ounces per square yard in the gum, $3 per pound; if weighing less than 1 ounce per square yard boiled off, $4 per pound; if weighing not more than one-third of 1 ounce per square yard, $5 per pound; but in no case shall any of the foregoing articles in this paragraph pay a less rate of duty than 50 per cent ad valorem.

And to insert in lieu thereof:

384. Woven fabrics in the piece, not specially provided for in this act, weighing not less than 1½ ounces per square yard and not more than 8 ounces per square yard, and containing not more than 20 per cent in weight of silk, if in the gum, 50 cents per pound, and if dyed in the piece, 60 cents per pound; if containing more than 20 per cent and not more than 30 per cent in weight of silk, if in the gum, 65 cents per pound, and if dyed in the piece, 80 cents per pound; if containing more than 30 per cent and not more than 45 per cent in weight of silk, if in the gum, 90 cents per pound, and if dyed in the piece, $1.10 per pound; if dyed in the thread or yarn and containing not more than 30 per cent in weight of silk, if black (except selvedges), 75 cents per pound, and if other than black, 90 cents per pound; if containing more than 30 and not more than 45 per cent in weight of silk, if black (except selvedges), $1.10 per pound, and if other than black, $1.30 per pound; if containing more than 45 per cent in weight of silk, or if composed wholly of silk, if dyed in the thread or yarn and weighted in the dyeing so as to exceed the original weight of the raw silk, if black (except selvedges), $1.50 per pound, and if other than black, $2 per pound; if dyed in the thread or yarn, and the weight is not increased by dyeing beyond the original weight of the raw silk, $3 per pound; if in the gum, $2.50 per pound; if boiled off or dyed in the piece, or printed, $3 per pound; if weighing less than 1½ ounces and more than one-third of an ounce per square yard, if in the gum, or if dyed in the thread or yarn, $2.50 per pound; if weighing less than 1½ ounces and more than one-third of an ounce per square yard, if boiled off, or if dyed or printed in the piece, $3 per pound; if weighing not more than one-third of an ounce per square yard, $5 per pound; but in no case shall any of the foregoing fabrics in this paragraph pay a less rate of duty than 50 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. ALLISON. I move to amend the amendment in line 11 by inserting after the word "dollars" the words "and fifty cents;" so as to read, "and if other than black, $2.50 per pound."

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. In line 22 I move to strike out the word "or" and insert "$3 per pound," inserting a semicolon before "if dyed or printed in the piece."

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I do not understand that.

Mr. ALLISON. I will read it as I want it to be:

If weighing less than 1½ ounces and more than one-third of an ounce per square yard, if boiled off, $3 per pound.

Then strike out "or," and make it read:

If dyed or printed in the piece, $3.50 per pound.

I wish to make a difference of half a dollar between silk boiled off and silk dyed or printed in the piece. I ask that the amendment be reported.

The SECRETARY. After the words "boiled off" insert "$3 per pound" and a semicolon and strike out the word "or" following the word "off;" and after the word "dollars," in the same line, insert "and fifty cents;" so as to read:

If weighing less than 1½ ounces and more than one-third of an ounce per square yard, if boiled off, $3 per pound; if dyed or printed in the piece, $3.50 per pound.

Mr. ALLISON. That is right, if there is a semicolon in the proper place before the words "if dyed or printed."

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. In line 24 I move to strike out "$5" and insert "$4.50;" so as to read:

If weighing not more than one-third of an ounce per square yard, $4.50 per pound.

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. MILLS. On page 133, line 1, in the last line but one of the paragraph, I move to strike out "less" and insert "greater;" so as to read:

But in no case shall any of the foregoing fabrics in this paragraph pay a greater rate of duty than 50 per cent ad valorem.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Texas to the amendment of the committee.

The amendment to the amendment was rejected.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I move an amendment to the amendment.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. Insert at the end of the committee amendment, in line 2, page 133, the following:

Woven fabrics in the piece, not specially provided for in this act, if made wholly or in part of spun silk, weighing not less than 1 ounce per square yard, if the spun silk therein constitutes not less than 80 per cent of the total weight of the goods, if in the raw, $1.10 per pound, if boiled off or dyed, $1.25 per pound, if printed, $1.40 per pound; if the spun silk therein constitutes less than 80 per cent of the total weight of the goods and not less than 70 per cent thereof, if in the raw, $1.30 per pound, if boiled off or dyed, $1.40 per pound, if printed, $1.60 per pound; if the spun silk therein constitutes less than 70 per cent of the total weight of the goods, if in the raw, $2.25 per pound, if boiled off, dyed, or printed, $2.50 per pound, if weighing not more than 1 ounce per square yard, $2.50 per pound; but in no case shall any of the foregoing fabrics pay a less rate of duty than 50 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Mr. President, I believe the rate of taxes on silk fabrics from 1861 to 1883 was about 60 per cent. From 1883 up to the McKinley Act it was 50 per cent. The McKinley Act continued the rates at 50 per cent. The Wilson bill reduced the rates on silk to about 45 per cent. In 1880, of the entire silk consumption in this country about 70 per cent was imported and about 30 per cent manufactured in the country. In 1890 the conditions were reversed, and of the silk consumption in the country about 70 per cent was manufactured here and about 30 per cent imported, the importation of silks being, as I understand, those of extreme prices, the very high and very low prices. The committee's amendment proposes, as is the practice of the Republicans everywhere and on all occasions, the lowest rates on the highest priced goods and the highest rates on the lowest priced goods.

Before I sit down, if I do not forget it, I shall examine some samples of silk goods here, showing the rates of taxation upon these low grades of goods, embracing Japanese silks, silks made of what are called pierced cocoons, cheap silks, low-grade silks, silks that enter into consumption among the poorer classes of people.

These rates are enormously increased. Instead of being 60 per cent, as they were under the war tariff and up to 1883, or 50 per cent as they were under the McKinley Act, the rate on these goods and these prices average from 75 per cent to 700 per cent.

I have in my hand a copy of a letter addressed to a member of the Senate by his constituents, which very clearly and distinctly states that the imposition of the tariff in the present silk schedule on the majority of the silk products cuts no figure whatever, but there is a material revenue amounting to three or four million dollars coming from the importation of the cheap silks manufactured at Lyons, in France, and in Japan.

The rates here proposed will absolutely prohibit the importation of these silks; it will cut off these importations; will cut off the revenue; will increase the cost of the low-grade silk to the common people of the country, and will enable one or two manufacturers in Connecticut who use spun silk, who never touch reeled silk, to charge for these cheap goods three or four or five times the prices that they can now be bought for. There will be a giving up of revenue from the Treasury of three or four million dollars to enable one or two silk manufacturers to manufacture a cheap class of goods and sell them at exorbitant prices. But I will read this letter:

The undersigned, importers of silks, doing business in New York, desire to invite your attention to the rates provided in the pending tariff bill to be imposed on silk goods. Schedule L as it came from the House imposes duties on many grades of silks imported by us that would be positively prohibitive and would practically destroy our business. We refer to Japanese silk and goods made chiefly of spun silk, known as chappe, made in France and Switzerland. At the same time other European dress silks of the finer grades are to be admitted at reasonable rates, so that they can still be imported.

We have made full representations to such members of the committee having the silk schedule in charge as to these inequalities, and we have made verbal statements to such members, who appeared convinced thereby, but we fear that these facts have been overruled before the full committee owing to the strong influence of a certain Connecticut manufacturer.

We now appeal to you to use your influence with the committee to stay this impending injury to the commerce of New York and to us, your constituents. There is no question as to the facts. The specific rates provided in the bill are equivalent to 90 per cent to 100 per cent ad valorem on Japanese silks and 110 per cent to 150 per cent on chappe silks. On some of the cheaper grades of Chinese pongees the duty will be more than 700 per cent. At the same time, the rates on European dress goods, such as are used by persons of wealth, are equal to from 40 per cent to 70 per cent, the lower rate applying to the most costly goods. These, however, will pay 50 per cent ad valorem if the specific rate falls below that rate.

This schedule is said to have been agreed upon by a committee composed of a Connecticut manufacturer who makes spun-silk goods, a Paterson manufacturer who desires to make the same class of goods, and some importers here who import the finer grades of European silks and also act as agents for American manufacturers of silk goods. Thus the committee has been made to understand that the schedule is the result of an agreement between manufacturers and importers. Between these Connecticut and New Jersey interests that part of the commerce of New York represented by us is to be crushed out.

We indignantly protest against such an outrage, and we ask you to interpose and demand equality and uniformity of treatment by the committee of all grades of silk goods imported. We have no objection to specific rates; we prefer them if they be fairly and equitably arranged. But this bill exhibits such glaring favoritism to the great Connecticut manufacturer, proposing, as it does, to crush out all foreign competition for his benefit, that we confidently appeal to you to use your good offices with the committee and have such amendments made as will avert the disaster which will befall us should the measure pass in its present form.

I have had made a statement showing the importations of reeled silk under the Wilson law. The importation of reeled silk has increased from 1884 down to 1896, and I call the attention of the Senators to it. In 1884 there were imported 3,222,555 pounds of reeled silk to this country. There was a steady and gradual increase year by year, showing that the American manufacturers were gradually taking the market, until 1896, when there was imported 8,015,659 pounds of reeled silk. In 1884 there were imported 616,365 pounds of spun silk, cut silk, short silk, or refuse silk. In 1896 there were imported more than a million pounds of the same silk, giving an increase, as the Senate will see, of two or three to one of the amount imported in 1884, resulting in a very large part of the silk goods now being manufactured here, except these cheap goods. Importations of silk have been steadily going down year by year, and the comparison of these amounts year by year will clearly show the progress of this industry.

The importations of silk goods from Japan in 1893 amounted in all-silk goods to $3,347,746. In the fiscal year 1896 they amounted to $2,804,906. Instead of an increase, a decline of $542,840 is shown here, although the duty has been lowered in the 1894 tariff bill below that of the tariff of 1890, which puts goods from a 50 per cent to a 45 per cent basis.

The effect of the contemplated tariff will be to decrease considerably that importation. The greater part of these goods are imported in white, to be printed in America, and considerable establishments have been constructed for the printing, dyeing, and preparing of these piece goods for the American consumer.

I have a number of pieces of silk here, with the present price, and the rate of taxation that would be imposed under this bill, if it becomes a law, which show what its effect will be. The first sample is a sample of pongee silk. Its value is 56½ francs.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. What material is that?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. This is French material.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Not Japanese?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. No; it is French.

The weight is given at 1.2 ounces. The proposed duty would be $1.25 per pound. Under the Wilson law it was 45 per cent ad valorem. Under this bill the difference would be $1.25, and $3.25 a pound under this——

Mr. MANTLE. What would be the ad valorem?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. One hundred and thirty per cent.

I have here some other samples of Japanese silk. The first sample I hold in my hand is a sample of white pongee silk. It costs 20 cents in Japan. The weight per square yard is 7.6 ounces. The duty under the Senate bill is $3 a pound, which is equivalent to 75 per cent. The rate of duty under the Wilson law is 45 per cent, and the equivalent specific under the present bill would be $1.37½.

Of another sample I have here the foreign cost is 27 cents per running yard, and the rate is 3½ pounds for 50 square yards. The weight per square yard is 1.02 ounces. The rate of duty by the Senate bill is $3, and the equivalent ad valorem rate is 75 per cent. The rate of duty under the Wilson law is 45 per cent, or $1.90, instead of $3.

I shall not detain the Senate by calling attention to many of these, but here is another sample which costs 35 cents per running yard, 50 square yards of which weigh 4 pounds. The weight per square yard is 1.28 ounces. The rate of duty under the Senate bill is $3 per yard, and the equivalent ad valorem is 75 per cent. The rate under the Wilson law is 45 per cent. The specific tax per pound under the present law would be $1.75½ against $3 under the proposed bill, which shows the increase in the rate of taxation.

Another sample I have here costs 16 cents. The weight for 50 yards is 2 pounds, and the weight per square yard is six-tenths of an ounce. The Senate committee rate is $3 per pound, which is equivalent to 75 per cent ad valorem.

Here [exhibiting] is a sample of goods manufactured of what is called wild Japan silk. It is a fabric that can not be produced in this country unless the wild cocoons should be imported from Japan for the purpose. It certainly can not be grown here. This silk costs 8 cents a yard in Japan, and a piece of 8 yards weighs 2½ pounds; per square yard it weighs 4 ounces. The specific rate in the pending bill is $2.50 a pound. The equivalent ad valorem

is 770 per cent. On this yard of goods, which costs in Japan 8 cents, the tariff under this bill would be 62½ cents, or pretty nearly eight times its cost. It is a class of goods used for men's clothing, and also by ladies as an article of cheap dress goods.

I have another sample costing 11 cents, which is an equivalent rate of 325 per cent. So they run all the way through.

Mr. President, my purpose in offering this amendment was to try, if possible, to get the committee to agree that on this class of cheap silks, this class of low-grade silks, many of which are manufactured in Japan and can not by any possibility be manufactured in this country, to put a rate of taxation very much higher than the present rate, but a rate of taxation which will bring some revenue to the Treasury and will not absolutely exclude these silks from importation. They are the cheapest and lowest grade of silks, and I can not imagine any purpose the committee could have in view in placing a tariff of 700 per cent on that class of goods except to absolutely prevent anything like them coming into this country, so that one or two manufacturers in this country who propose to enter into the manufacture of spun-silk goods can have the market to themselves at whatever prices they choose to make.

I have a statement which I shall ask to have printed in the RECORD, showing by numbers the rates of taxation on each of these articles and also some other matters to which I have referred. I shall not detain the Senate by any longer discussion of the proposition.

The statement referred to is as follows:

Growth of the silk industries in the United States from 1884 to 1896.

Year.	Imports.	
	Raw silk reeled from the cocoon.	Waste and noils.
	Pounds.	*Pounds.*
1884	3,222,555	616,365
1885	3,424,059	661,710
1886	4,754,831	1,611,719
1887	4,646,010	838,576
1888	5,174,232	742,314
1889	5,329,646	1,213,831
1890	5,658,947	1,404,842
1891	4,917,688	1,204,636
1892	7,136,555	1,150,198
1893	7,412,422	888,168
1894	4,958,342	774,794
1895	7,964,482	1,046,759
1896	8,015,659	1,084,493

The importations of raw silk have been constantly increasing and have at no time been as high as in the two years succeeding the enactment of the Wilson tariff.

(See table of imports of manufactured silk annexed.)

The importations of manufactures of silk have been declining in about the same ratio in which the importations of raw silk have been increasing, and this in nearly all lines, as shown by the accompanying statement drawn from the Treasury Reports on Commerce and Navigation.

It is necessary, in order to bring true meaning into comparisons of this kind, to take years of equal business conditions. Comparing years of depression and years of marked prosperity would give visionary results. If we take the year 1884, the year immediately following the enactment of the tariff of 1883 (the year preceding the panic of 1884), as an exceptionally prosperous year, we find in 1890, which was also a remarkable year of prosperity, the total of imports to be about the same in height.

Under the tariff of 1890 we find the importations in 1891 and 1893 to be of nearly that same amount. The years 1895 and 1896, after the enactment of the Wilson tariff, after a reduction in the tariff, show a considerable decline from the figures of the years from 1890 to 1893.

Comparison for 1894 is excluded, for the reasons stated above.

Laces and embroideries and ready-made clothing and other wearing apparel show very little change from the high figures, as they are goods which are imported only to satisfy the taste and fashion of the wealthier classes, and would be imported whatever the tariff might be.

The decrease in importations from the figures following the enactment of the tariff of 1890, down to 1894, is chiefly in dress goods, handkerchiefs, ribbons, and velvets.

The importations of silk goods from Japan for 1893 amounted, in all silk goods, to $3,347,746. In the fiscal year 1896 they amounted to $2,804,906. Instead of an increase, a decline of $542,840 is shown here, although the duty has been lowered in the 1894 tariff bill below that of the tariff of 1890, which puts goods from 50 per cent to a 45 per cent basis.

The effect of the contemplated tariff will be to decrease considerably that importation. The greater part of these goods are imported in white to be printed in America, and considerable establishments have been constructed for the printing, dyeing, and preparing of these piece goods for the American consumer. The exclusion will be a fatal blow to these works.

The proposed duty will also be aimed against Lyons, where considerable quantities of the silks from Japan are imported and printed and shipped as French goods to America. A comparison of prices and rates of duties proposed and figured on the equivalent they would pay if on an entirely ad valorem basis will show this.

Sample.	White Japanese silk.	Foreign cost per square yard.	Weight per square yard.	Duty per square yard.*	Equivalent ad valorem duty.
		Cents.	*Ounces.*	*Cents.*	*Per cent.*
1	36-inch Japanese habutai silk	20	0.768	14.4	75
2	do	23.5	.890	16.8	75
3	do	27	1	18.8	75
4	do	30	1.15	21.6	75
5	do	35	1.28	23.7	75
6	do	16.8	.64	11.8	75

* Rate of duty, $3 per pound (18¾ cents per ounce).

Another line of goods which will be excluded are Japanese Shantung pongees. They are made of Tussore silk—the wild silk of India. They are used very largely for summer coatings and cheap waists, and are bought extensively by the working classes. They can not possibly be made here. The rates of duty are as follows:

Sample.	Article.	Foreign cost per square yard.	Weight per square yard.	Duty per square yard.*	Equivalent ad valorem duty.
		Cents.	*Ounces.*	*Cents.*	*Per cent.*
9	18-inch Shantung pongee	8	4	62.5	770
10	do	11	2.30	36.5	325
11	do	15.5	2.4	37.5	241
12	do	18¼	2.9	46.5	246

* Rate of duty, $2.50 per pound (15½ cents per ounce).

Another class of goods that is discriminated against are goods made of chappe silk, wholly or in part. Under the amended Senate bill, under the different rates applying to plain, in the gum, boiled, or dyed in the piece, or printed, the rates will be as follows:

Sample.	Silks.	Foreign cost per square yard.	Weight per square yard.	Duty per square yard.	Equivalent ad valorem duty.	Rate of duty per pound.
	24-inch surah:	*Cents.*	*Ounces.*	*Cents.*	*Per cent.*	
1	Raw or in the gum	19.5	1.35	30.8	105	$2.50
2	Dyed in the piece	21	1.35	25	119	3.00
3	Printed	23.6	1.35	25	119	3.00
4	31-inch pongee, in the raw	14.5	1.2	18.7	129	2.50
5	30-inch pongee, piece dyed	17	1.2	22.5	132	3.00
6	20-inch pongee, printed	20.5	1.2	22.5	109	3.00
7	19-inch surah, dyed in the piece	19	1.12	21	110	3.00
8	21-inch pongee	18.5	1.2	22.5	122	3.00

The rates of duty on these cheap silks, used for summer dresses, in the highest rates are nearly 200 per cent above the present duty, and 133 per cent in the lowest duty rate above the present tariff. The higher valued goods from Lyons and Zurich on the specific basis of the amended tariff bill would pay duties as low as 40 per cent but for the proviso that in no case shall any of the aforesaid fabrics pay a less rate of duty than 50 per cent ad valorem.

Cotton-back satins, however, in which the cotton, of course, presents the chief weight, pay rates as high as 72½ per cent.

Amount of importations of manufactured silk goods from 1884 to 1896.

Classification.	1884.	1885.	1886.	1887.	1888.	1889.	1890.	1891.	1892.	1893.	1894.	1895.	1896.
Braids, etc	$967,000	$715,000	$714,000	$432,000	$680,000	$670,000	$337,000	(*)					
Buttons	137,000	63,000	56,000	31,000	78,000	42,000	25,000	$18,000	$9,000	$2,000	$1,000	$1,000	$2,000
Dress piece goods	22,433,000	15,930,000	14,414,000	13,962,000	10,936,000	7,623,000	10,740,000	10,451,000	7,528,000	9,193,000	7,572,000	7,444,000	5,324,000
Handkerchiefs	157,000	237,000	295,000	616,000	598,000	336,000	210,000	557,000	1,343,000	1,385,000	751,000	421,000	785,000
Laces and embroideries	2,609,000	1,730,000	2,008,000	2,383,000	2,629,000	3,405,000	3,815,000	3,159,000	4,366,000	4,932,000	2,354,000	3,837,000	2,005,000
Pongees	12,000	43,000	70,000	50,000	151,000	84,000	28,000						
Ribbons	2,511,000	1,112,000	1,381,000	1,971,000	2,289,000	1,746,000	2,053,000	1,794,000	1,744,000	2,204,000	1,004,000	1,125,000	1,129,000
Velvets, etc	3,962,000	3,422,000	4,172,000	6,343,000	6,231,000	5,408,000	5,070,000	4,565,000	2,811,000	3,735,000	2,464,000	3,090,000	3,101,000
Knit goods	1,182,000	1,015,000	949,000	970,000	725,000	496,000	518,000	696,000	838,000	924,000	495,000	416,000	340,000
Ready-made clothing and other wearing apparel	861,000	611,000	562,000	634,000	680,000	640,000	668,000	1,754,000	1,338,000	1,485,000	965,000	1,337,000	2,619,000
Shawls	19,000	11,000	14,000	15,000	25,000	13,000	47,000	7,000					
Webbings, etc. †								722,000	623,000	723,000	353,000	400,000	320,000
All other not specially provided for	2,880,000	2,959,000	2,973,000	3,413,000	7,281,000	13,869,000	13,827,000	11,696,000	9,819,000	11,935,000	7,457,000	10,912,000	9,607,000
Totals	37,750,000	27,848,000	27,608,000	30,830,000	32,343,000	34,278,000	37,358,000	35,419,000	30,329,000	36,518,000	23,416,000	28,983,000	25,292,000

* From 1891 included in "Webbings, etc."

† Up to 1891 included in "Braids, etc."

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. What does the Senator think the equivalent ad valorem of the specific rate proposed in his amendment would be?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. It would be something about 100 per cent.

I propose, if my amendment is voted down—which I presume will be done—to offer an amendment at the end of this paragraph, where the committee provides that there shall be no duty of less than 50 per cent, to insert "nor more than 60 per cent."

Sixty per cent is the highest rate ever imposed in the history of this country upon this class of goods. That was the rate imposed by the war tariff, and that was the rate prior to the tariff of 1883. Fifty per cent was the rate under the law of 1890. Sixty per cent is the highest rate ever known; and when you limit the tariff that none of these articles shall go below 50 per cent, it seems to me reasonable to add an amendment that none of them shall go beyond 60 per cent. If this amendment is not adopted, I shall move that as my next amendment.

Mr. MANTLE. Mr. President, I am not very familiar with the silk schedule. I have listened with a good deal of interest, however, to what has just been said by the Senator from Arkansas. I am in entire sympathy with him in his opposition to these enormous rates of duty proposed against these Japanese and Chinese silks. There certainly can be no excuse, no reason in fairness and justice, for any such rate of duty as is proposed by the committee, if the Senator from Arkansas is right. I shall oppose it upon the same line and for somewhat the same reason that I favored the putting of straw matting upon the free list.

I do not believe we can overcome this oriental competition in this way. To my way of thinking, there is another proposition which we shall have to adopt before we can equalize the conditions which exist in oriental countries and the conditions, industrially speaking, which obtain in our own country. But I certainly never could give my vote or countenance to the proposition to levy a rate of duty of 300 or 500 or 700 per cent upon a class of fabrics which are needed and which are used by the poorer people in this country.

I am not opposed to a good, stiff protective tariff, if I may use that expression, upon those manufactured commodities which can be produced in this country, but I certainly can not bring myself to vote to absolutely prohibit the importation of this character of goods. We need them in the country; the poorer class of people need them. If they can be produced here, I am perfectly willing to vote for a good protective tariff, a reasonable one, 75 per cent, if necessary, or 100 per cent, if necessary, but I want to vote in favor of the proposition advanced by the Senator from Arkansas—to limit this rate of duty upon this particular class of goods. I know myself that they are a character of goods which have come into use very largely in the last few years and have become a necessity where formerly they were a luxury, and the very fact that we have been able to get them cheaply has made them a necessity, and I do not want to exclude them.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Mr. President, it is only a short time ago that there was a very decided sentiment in what might be called the Western or intermountain States against Japanese competition, and we had very plaintive appeals from the Pacific Coast with reference to Japanese competition in manufactured articles.

This Japanese competition is a pretty serious question, and in this bill the rates upon the class of goods which are imported from Japan are high so far as the equivalent ad valorem is concerned if we take the entered value of the goods at the custom-house. I undertake to say that in my judgment there has not been an honest valuation in the custom-house, or scarcely an honest valuation, of Japanese silk goods, but that they are undervalued worse than any other goods are undervalued, and when a high rate of equivalent ad valorem duty, like 100 or 200 per cent, is figured out, it is figured out upon a Japanese undervaluation of the goods at our custom-house.

Wherever you figure 100 per cent ad valorem as the equivalent for the specific rate, it is safe to say that the rate is 50 per cent on an honest valuation of the goods. There are no 200 or 300 or 400 or 700 per cent equivalent ad valorem rates in this paragraph. There are no spun silk or spun-silk goods that come from Japan, as I understand. This is very largely—I will not say misrepresentation, but a misunderstanding of the facts.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. If the Senator will allow me to interrupt him, he has just made a broad statement there that seems to involve either the good faith or the intelligence of myself or of the man who furnished me these samples. The man who furnished me the samples is a reputable New York silk importer. He is said to be a gentleman, and I believe he is. He gave me the samples, and he assured me that they were taken without prejudice from his stock, without picking or selecting them for a special purpose, but that he took them as they came.

Here is a sample [exhibiting] which he says costs 8 cents a yard, and on that class of goods the Senator himself will not deny that the tax will be 62½ cents on the yard; and if that does not make a tax of more than 700 per cent, I do not understand the commonest arithmetic. Either the statements made by this importer or by me are untrue or here is an instance in which the tax is more than 700 per cent.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Is that the wild silk?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The wild Indian silk.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. It is possible, though I do not believe it.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I do believe it; so that makes us even.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. But it is not an article of silk that is much imported or much used in this country, as I understand.

It is quite easy sometimes for importers to discover a particular article not much used, not much imported, entered at a very low valuation, very much undervalued, and then, in going over a specific schedule, to point out a high equivalent ad valorem on that particular article, as if that were the ad valorem rate which was imposed by the specific duties in the paragraph.

I think I am correct in saying that the duties in this paragraph will not average 75 per cent; and most of them will be very much less than that. On the contrary, I think that the amendment proposed by the Senator from Arkansas—though I have not had time to carefully analyze it—might be classed in simpler language in this way: "All spun-silk fabrics imported into the United States shall not pay more than 35 per cent ad valorem." That is the practical effect of the amendment proposed by the Senator from Arkansas, as I could catch it and analyze it offhand.

Mr. GRAY. Thirty-five per cent?

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. I do not think the amendment proposed by the Senator from Arkansas would average over 35 per cent ad valorem on these goods.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Then the Senator and I differ widely on that point. I have not made the calculation as to what the rates would amount to, but I think they will average over 100 per cent.

Mr. GRAY. I do not believe there was ever a tax of 100 per cent on a necessary of life that was not an outrage. I do not believe that 100 per cent on any article of common necessity and of universal use could be justified on any ground at all.

Mr. HOAR. Will the Senator from Delaware allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. GRAY. Certainly.

Mr. HOAR. I wish to ask the Senator whether he opposes this as a Democratic outrage or as a Republican outrage?

Mr. GRAY. I do not care which; it is an outrage, no matter where it comes from.

I was speaking to the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. JONES]. As a matter of fact, these high rates of taxation are tyrannies, simple and pure, and in favor of individuals.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. As a matter of justice to myself, I wish to say that the Senate understands, of course, that I did not offer this amendment because I desired it, but because I think 100 per cent is better than 700 per cent. I agree with the Senator from Delaware that a 100 per cent tax is an outrage.

Mr. GRAY. These are tyrannies, and they are acts of despotism in favor of a class of people who claim the right to use the taxing power of the United States for their own private benefit. It has been said somewhere, I think, of Russia, or of some other government of the world, that it was a despotism tempered by assassination. These high duties are only tempered by smuggling and every evasion that the ingenuity of the human mind can resort to. Where you establish tyranny, you are bound to induce resistance. High duties are tyranny tempered by smuggling and fraud.

Mr. MANTLE. Mr. President, replying just in a word to the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. PLATT], who spoke of the plaintive cry that has been set up by the Western people for protection against this oriental industrial invasion, I wish to say the Western people have plead for protection, but they have asked for a different remedy than a 700 per cent protective tariff, or even a 500, a 400, a 300, or a 200 per cent tariff. They believe that this competition has been stimulated by the difference in the financial conditions existing in the two countries; they believe a restoration of the old system of money, which obtained prior to 1873, will do more toward protecting those industries of this country, which are now suffering by competition from the Orient, than any reasonable tariff which can be placed upon their products.

I am in favor, I repeat, Mr. President, of a reasonable protective duty, but I assert, with my understanding of the conditions which exist in those countries and the conditions which exist in ours, that it is simply a matter of impossibility to equalize these conditions by the levying of any reasonable protective duty. We can equalize the conditions arising out of the difference in the standards of living, the rates of wages, and that sort of thing, which exist between these countries, by a protective tariff; but we can not equalize the difference which arises out of the divergence between the value of gold and silver by a protective tariff. It is

simply impossible. They enjoy an advantage by reason of their financial systems, and it is simply useless, in the light of experience, to attempt to correct the evil by a protective-tariff law. It can not be done.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Mr. President, if I understand the amendment offered by the Senator from Arkansas, it does not refer to Japanese silks at all; it does not include Japanese silks. Japanese silks are not spun silks, that is, to any considerable extent, and they are not made from spun silk, but they are made almost entirely out of other kinds of silk. This provision applies entirely to spun silk, and is not aimed to correct any extravagant rate as applying to Japanese silk.

With regard to the very cheap prices upon specimens of silk goods, such as have been exhibited here, and the calculation of the equivalent ad valorem upon them, I will say that the manufacture of silk goods is peculiar. On a fabric of silk goods which costs a dollar a yard, if it does not happen to strike the taste and the fashion, there is no sale for it, and next year it may be sold at 20 cents a yard, or 10 cents a yard. So that these calculations, which are made upon fabrics which are said to have been purchased for 10 cents or 20 cents a yard, are entirely misleading.

The goods may have cost 20 cents or 40 cents or 100 cents when they were made. If the style changes, they go into the list of discarded silks, and are sold at the prices of discarded silks. It is in this way that it is attempted to convey the idea that the rates in this paragraph are extravagant. I undertake to say that the rates upon silk in this paragraph will not average over 75 per cent.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. There is no doubt in my mind that my honorable friend from Connecticut is mistaken in his criticism of the amendment offered by me. The spun-silk goods are cheap goods, whether they come from France or Japan.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. They do not come from Japan.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The spun silk is used in Japan just as well as the reeled silk.

Cocoons are pierced in Japan as well as in France, and spun silk or cheap silk makes the cheap silk fabrics of Japan as well as of France. You can not make these cheap goods of real silk, because the real silk in the cocoons is worth more than that, and it can be sent to the French market and sold for a higher price than when used in these fabrics. So the amendment is intended to apply to spun silk and chappe silk and silk which is injured in the cocoon; silk that is cut in two; that does not have the long, almost endless fiber. Silk from the short cocoons, as everybody understands, is known as spun silk. Yarn from spun silk sells in this country for $1.30 a pound, while yarn from real silk sells for $5 a pound. The cutting of the fiber in two in piercing the cocoon injures it, almost destroys its value, and for a long time it was considered worthless.

The Senator from Connecticut has a constituent who began years ago the process of spinning silk in this country. I believe he began the process of spinning silk in the United States. He has spun silk, and, in fact, his competitors in the silk-weaving business complain that he will not sell a pound of spun-silk yarn to any other manufacturer. He wants to keep it in his own hands.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. I think, since the statement has been made, I should say that I understand there is no truth in it; that he is very glad to sell spun-silk yarn.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I know nothing about the truth. I have been told that that is so. I do not know whether it is true. Anyhow, he was the pioneer in spinning silk. He knows, as well as any man alive, the difference in the value between real silk and spun silk—between the silk that comes off in the form in which it was put on the cocoon by the silkworm and the silk with the fiber cut in two, practically destroyed.

The amendment which I propose applies only to spun-silk fabrics. Where cheap silks have been made—where the cheap goods, the pierced cocoons are used for the manufacture of goods, and a cheap class of goods made—then I propose that the lower rates shall apply.

I desire to say, since the Senator has raised the question as to the ad valorem rate, that I am inclined to think his criticism is in some measure correct. I do not believe the rate will be under 35 per cent in any instance, and I am willing to limit it, if he chooses to do so, to 50 per cent—that it shall not go below 50 per cent. I am entirely willing to leave that provision in it. I think then the rate will be about 70 or 75 per cent instead of 100 per cent, as I stated at first.

Mr. WHITE. I have a couple of brief communications which I desire to present to the Senate.

We, the undersigned, dealers and importers of silk goods, manufactured in Japan, beg to call your attention to the proposed duty of $3 per pound and to hand you herewith a statement showing the cost of such goods, ranging in weight from seventy-seven one hundredths of an ounce per square yard to 1.28 ounces per square yard, and from which you will see that this proposed duty of $3 per pound is equivalent to 75 per cent ad valorem, which is absolutely prohibitory.

These qualities of goods can not be manufactured in this country, as the class of silk from which they are made is of inferior grade and can not be worked upon power looms, on account of the tension, and must be made on hand looms only, and therefore these Japanese silks can not fairly be said to compete with American silks.

On the contrary, the large and growing industry established in this country for dyeing, printing, and finishing of Japanese silks is largely dependent upon the importation of these goods, and the proposed prohibitory rates would injure this industry, which at present is employing several thousands of working people at Paterson, Lodi, Hawthorne, and Passaic, in New Jersey; Lexington, in Massachusetts; Middletown, in New York, and in other places.

We further beg to state that the value of these goods imported at this port under the McKinley tariff amounted to over $5,000,000 annually, while under the present Wilson tariff, owing to the general stagnation in all lines, it has dwindled down to about $3,000,000, exclusive of receipts of other ports, and that the revenue therefrom exceeds $1,500,000 annually, of which, under the proposed prohibitory rates, the Government would be practically deprived.

We further submit that since the percentage of American silks consumed in the United States has risen from 30 per cent in 1890 to 70 per cent in 1896, under a tariff of 50 per cent ad valorem up to 1894, and since then of 45 per cent ad valorem, with raw silk free, it does not appear that the depression of that industry in common with all other branches of commerce, should be attributed entirely to the tariff, but may be accounted for by the general depression and domestic competition.

We now appeal to you to use your influence with the committee to stay this impending injury to the commerce of New York and to us, your constituents. There is no question as to the facts. The specific rates provided in the bill are equivalent to 75 per cent to 80 per cent ad valorem on Japanese silks. On some of the cheaper grades of Chinese pongees the duty will be more than 700 per cent. At the same time, the rates on European dress goods, such as are used by persons of wealth, are equal to from 40 per cent to 70 per cent, the lower rates applying to the most costly goods. These, however, will pay 50 per cent ad valorem if the specific rate falls below that rate.

We further call your attention to the fact that as these goods are made nowhere but in Japan, the imposition of a prohibitory rate would be tantamount to a discrimination against a country with whom we are in especially friendly relations, and must affect seriously our large and growing exports to Japan.

Silks manufactured in Japan enter largely into consumption amongst the masses by reason of their low prices, and are no longer a luxury used by the rich only.

We respectfully submit that a specific duty of $2.50 per pound on all boiled-off silks, weighing not less than five-eighths of an ounce per square yard, with a saving clause that such duty shall be in no case less than 60 per cent, an increase of 33⅓ per cent in the present rate would work no injury to any established American industry.

Certainly an increase of 33¼ per cent over the present rates of duty, made specific so as to preclude undervaluation, should afford all the legislative relief that can be fairly demanded.

It is believed that such a rate would not result in stopping importations, although it might diminish them to some extent, and the Government would receive as much or more revenue from this source than under the existing rate.

J. R. SIMON & CO.	MENDELSON BROS.
A. S. ROSENTHAL & CO.	Z. HORIKOSHI & CO.
E. T. MASON & CO.	LIN FONG & CO.
KAHN & KAHN.	R. ISAACS & BRO.
KOBBE & SANDS.	POLLOCK BROS.

I ask that the tabulated statement which accompanies the document may be printed in the RECORD without being read:

Sample.	Silks.	Weight per square yard.	Cost per yard.	Present duty.	Rate of duty per pound.	Equivalent ad valorem duty.
		Ounces.	*Cents.*	*Per cent.*		*Per cent.*
6	Momme quality	0.77	20	45	$2.50 3.00	62.5 75
7	do	.90	22-28	45	2.50 3.00	62.5 75.7
7½	do	.96	23-87	45	2.50 3.00	62.5 75.4
8	do	1.02	25-50	45	2.50 3.00	62.5 75
9	do	1.15	30	45	2.50 3.00	62.5 75
10	do	1.28	31-82	45	2.50 3.00	62.5 75.7

Handkerchiefs.

36 by 36, hemstitched, weighing 23 ounces per dozen:

First cost	$2.00
Present duty	3.00

At $2.50 per pound, with 10 per cent ad valorem, equals 70 per cent.
At $3 per pound, with 10 per cent ad valorem, equals 80 per cent.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Will the Senator from California permit me right here? I am inclined to thank him for the introduction of that statement prepared by the importers of San Francisco, for it bears me out in my statement that the rates in this paragraph upon Japanese silks would not average over 75 per cent. I do not think they will average so much, but that is the statement of the importers, and it sets at rest all this talk about two, three, four, and five hundred per cent.

Mr. WHITE. If the Senator had noticed the communication throughout he would have found that the statement is that on the low-grade pongees the rate runs up to 700 per cent. The Senator from Connecticut shakes his head. He may shake his head, but he can not eliminate this typewritten document by doing so.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. I understood it to say that on the low grades it is from 75 to 80 per cent, and in particular cases, referring to this discarded wild silk, it would be as much as 700 per cent.

Mr. WHITE. They say:

On some of the cheaper kind of pongees the duty will be more than 700 per cent.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. I understand that.

Mr. WHITE. I have here a tabulated statement showing practically the same matters referred to by the Senator from Arkansas.

Speaking of silk as a luxury, this article calls attention to the fact that, by reason of the pursuit of the industry in Japan, articles numerous in number and excellent in fabric have been placed within the reach of the poorer classes of the American people. The object of my distinguished friends on the other side of the Chamber is to compel this article to retain its character as a luxury, and by keeping up the price to prevent its being an article of common use and necessity. In other words, if there is an article used by the people which has hitherto been expensive, and which gradually has been reduced in rate until it has been placed within the reach of all, then immediately a tariff is to be imposed which will again increase the price and deprive it further of its status as a subject of general consumption and universal utility.

We have put upon these cheap articles an enormous tariff. We have, as stated by the New York importers, not the San Francisco importers, whose statement I read, a declaration that the tariff is between 70 and 100 per cent, which they say is absolutely prohibitive. The Wilson bill fixed 45 per cent. The Senator from Arkansas alluded to a very prominent manufacturer in Connecticut, to whom also the Senator from Connecticut referred. I do not think the Senator from Connecticut will say that that gentleman, who is represented to be worth seven or eight million dollars, made legitimately in the pursuit of his business under favoring laws, is suffering at 45 per cent ad valorem. I do not suppose the Senator from Connecticut will say there is any general demand among the silk manufacturers in this country for anything more than a 50 per cent rate.

Indeed, I was told day before yesterday by a silk manufacturer that the vast majority—I think he said 90 per cent—of those interested in the business at Paterson, N. J., had agreed upon a 50 per cent rate; and if to this bill the committee would report an amendment providing for a 60 per cent rate, and that in no event should it be below 50 per cent, I would willingly vote for it as a substitute for the measure here proposed. But it will be observed that the provision of the bill is that in no event shall the rate be less than 50 per cent, while there is no maximum fixed.

Now, if the Senator from Connecticut is right, that the rates fixed by the bill are about 75 per cent, let us, if we can not get anything better, have an amendment fixing the maximum rate at 75 per cent. I shall propose such an amendment a little later on, and then we can test the sense of the Senate on it.

I have before me a copy of a letter from Mr. Tingle, of this city, who I suppose was examining the subject for interested parties, but it contains a very clear review of the situation. It is a copy of a letter addressed to the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH], who was chairman of the subcommittee of the Committee on Finance. It is as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April 6, 1897.*

DEAR SIR: I respectfully ask your examination and consideration of the accompanying samples and tables relating to the rates of duty proposed on silk goods by the tariff bill (H. R. 379) pending in the Committee on Finance. These samples embrace a large variety of piece goods covered by Schedule L, including Japanese and Chinese pure silks, printed pongees, chappe silks, Swiss marcellines, and Lyons dress silks and satins.

The ad valorem equivalents of the specific rates proposed on Japanese and Chinese silk goods range from 95 per cent on Japanese habutai to 770 per cent on the lowest grade of Chinese pongees, while the rates on Lyons silks and Swiss marcellines, the latter comparing closely with Japanese habutai, at the specific rates proposed, would be from 40 per cent to 70 per cent ad valorem. As you are aware, the Lyons silks, paying the lowest rates of duty under the bill, are the most expensive and are used by persons of liberal means, while the Chinese and Japanese silks and French chappe are bought by the masses because of their cheapness.

I wish also to call attention to the fact that the bill makes no distinction between the inferior goods known commercially as chappe, made chiefly of spun silk, and silk goods proper made entirely of silk reeled from the cocoon. It should be noted that the chappe yarns in these goods cost $1.35 per pound and the small proportion of thrown silk therein $3 per pound. The proposed duty, as applied to the yarns in the piece, would be 150 per cent on the chappe and only 16 per cent on the silk.

It is obvious that the rates proposed on chappe, Japanese, and Chinese silks are prohibitory, and, should this become a law, the entire revenue now derived from this source would be lost to the Government, while at the same time a large business carried on by many firms in the United States would be entirely sacrificed, and our trade relations with the countries producing these goods disturbed.

Not only would the firms engaged in importing these goods lose their business, but the great number of persons employed in printing and dyeing Japanese and Chinese silks and Lyons chappe goods would be thrown out of employment, it being the practice to import these goods in the gray and print and dye them here, the art of printing and dyeing having been brought to great perfection in this country.

You have no doubt already observed the inequalities of this schedule, but it occurred to me that the presentation of the samples, by way of illustration, would emphasize its unfairness and perhaps aid you to some extent in arriving at fair and uniform rates which should be acceptable both to importers and domestic manufacturers.

I should be glad, if given an opportunity, to make a brief verbal statement of the matter in connection with the samples.

Very respectfully,

A. K. TINGLE.

HON. NELSON W. ALDRICH,
Chairman Subcommittee on Finance, United States Senate.

I have also before me copies of two short letters, written to the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MCBRIDE], from Portland. One is dated March 27 of the present year, and is as follows:

PORTLAND, OREG., *March 27, 1897.*

Hon. G. W. MCBRIDE,
United States Senator, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: We respectfully call your attention to the Dingley bill as at present before the House of Representatives, and as we are doing an extensive business with the oriental countries, we would respectfully call your attention to objections that we find in this bill, not, be it understood, solely from an importer's standpoint, but what is far more important to the Pacific Coast, an exporter's.

Our correspondents in Japan, who are probably the largest house in that country, are so closely identified with the Government there that they know whereof they speak, and we have been advised by them that the Japanese people, on account of the increase on tariff on their exports, such as curios, silks, mattings, etc., and which advance, if put into effect, would not increase the revenue of this Government to any great extent, are at the present time turning their attention for flour and wheat to the Canadian side.

You are probably well aware of the vast flour business that has been done with the Orient from the States of Washington, Oregon, and California, and it would appear to us that we are endangering an export business that is bringing us in more than tenfold of what we are paying for goods we get from them.

I will not read the statement which follows, as it does not bear directly upon this point. The letter is signed by T. M. Stevens & Co.

There is also a letter written by the same party, T. M. Stevens & Co., to the same Senator, as follows:

PORTLAND, OREG., *May 18, 1897.*

DEAR SIR: Having very carefully perused the Dingley bill as amended by the Senate Finance Committee, we beg to call your special attention to the silk schedule. Having thoroughly studied this, we find that the cheaper grade goods are in every case made to pay a higher rate than the better class and in some cases, such duty will amount to nearly 100 per cent ad valorem.

As we understand it, the bill was originally proposed as a revenue measure, yet it is our opinion, as well as that of a large number of importers and dry-goods merchants in this country, that the prohibitive duties as imposed by this bill will restrict importations to such an extent that the revenue derived from this class of goods will be less than it has been under the Wilson bill.

Our understanding is that New Jersey silk manufacturers suggested a straight 50 per cent ad valorem duty as being ample protection to them, but as a substitute for such ad valorem duties, and which has been taken advantage of by some unscrupulous importers, we suggest the imposing of a duty of from $1.80 per pound on the light goods to $2.50 on the heavy goods, where made in the piece, and 60 per cent ad valorem on handkerchiefs, whether plain or embroidered.

Duties of this kind, while an increase of from 10 to 20 per cent over the present duty, will still admit of business being done, while with the duties as mentioned in the present measure the trade must be largely curtailed.

Trusting you will give this matter consideration, we are,

Yours, very truly,

T. M. STEVENS & CO., INCORPORATED.

Hon. GEO. W. MCBRIDE,
United States Senator, Washington, D. C.

Mr. President, I have searched the tariff hearings in vain for a reason for these great raises, and, as I stated in the early portion of my remarks, if it be true that the present peculiar, mystified, complicated, and scientific schedule means really not over 75 per cent ad valorem, let us so declare. It is easy to make an amendment of that character. The fact of the matter is that it is desired by the manufacturers, as I have said before, to continue silk, whether of the most valuable character or not, as an article of luxury, and now that there is an opportunity of its more general use, now that it is getting into the pockets of everybody and is of quite general consumption, we have a movement upon the part of the Republican party to abandon a tariff which they themselves have indorsed from war days to this hour, and we have presented to us a schedule which for complicated peculiarity is the most remarkable in the whole of this wonderful bill. That is the only remark I care to make now. Later on I will propose an amendment to test the sincerity of some of the manufacturing people of this country.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Arkansas, which has been stated.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. On that I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. TELLER. Let the amendment be read.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Before that is done, we might as well have a call of the Senate.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Allison,	Foraker,	Mallory,	Proctor,
Bacon,	Frye,	Mantle,	Quay,
Bate,	Gear,	Mills,	Rawlins,
Burrows,	Gorman,	Mitchell,	Roach,
Butler,	Gray,	Morgan,	Shoup,
Caffery,	Harris, Kans.	Nelson,	Stewart,
Carter,	Hawley,	Pasco,	Teller,
Chandler,	Heitfeld,	Penrose,	Tillman,
Chilton,	Jones, Ark.	Perkins,	Vest,
Clark,	Jones, Nev.	Pettigrew,	Walthall,
Clay,	Kenney,	Pettus,	Wellington,
Cockrell,	Lodge,	Platt, Conn.	Wetmore,
Elkins,	McBride,	Platt, N. Y.	White,
Fairbanks,	McLaurin,	Pritchard,	Wilson.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Fifty-six Senators have answered to their names. A quorum is present.

Mr. TELLER. Mr. President, I regret that we can not determine exactly what the duty is on the articles found in the paragraph. The Senator from Arkansas is sure that it is a very large duty. The Senator from Connecticut is sure that it is not, but he does not seem to be sure what the duty is. It seems to me the committee ought to be able to tell us very nearly at least what is the ad valorem duty. It is utterly impossible for those of us who are not skilled in these things to determine for ourselves.

I am willing to vote for a fair, reasonable duty on any of these articles. I am not willing to vote for a 700 per cent duty on anything unless I vote for it distinctly for the purpose of keeping it out of the imports of the United States. I do not know whether or not this paragraph includes Japanese silks. I do not know enough about the question to determine that, and I do not seem to be able to get any information from the committee on the subject. I do know something about the use of Japanese silk and the growth of its use in this country in the last few years. My attention has been called to it.

I know that dress goods made in Japan have been sold in the United States at retail within the last few years at a rate at which I do not believe it is possible for any American silk manufacturer to sell at wholesale. Dress goods made of Japanese silk have sold at retail in the State of Colorado within the last two years for 19 cents a yard. I do not know how good they are for wear, but they are reputable in looks at least, and are bought, as I understand, to a very large extent.

The Japanese have increased their manufacture of these textiles very rapidly. I have before me now the last publication of the Statesman's Year-Book, a work of authority, and I find that in 1894 the exports of silks and silk materials from Japan amounted to 55,513,197 yen or, in round numbers, 55,000,000 yen. The next year the exports were nearly 67,000,000 yen.

Mr. FRYE. What is a yen?

Mr. TELLER. A yen is practically an American dollar, or was until the recent change in the system. It was about ninety-eight cents and a fraction. We have always treated it as practically an American dollar. There is an increase in one year of over 12,000,000 yen, which, when you look at it, is a very large increase in percentage. These goods are brought here and sold at a rate that is astonishingly low because of the low price of wages in Japan and because the rates of exchange have been equivalent to a bonus of about 100 per cent in favor of Japan. That bonus will continue, notwithstanding Japan has nominally gone to the gold standard.

Our gold-standard friends have been very much elated of late over the statement that Japan has gone to the gold standard. She has gone to the gold standard in this way: She has cut her yen in two. She has recognized the appreciation in gold, which we have been contending for, and she has said the gold that heretofore made 1 yen shall now make 2, and that yen shall be legal tender for all debts in Japan just as it has been when it had twice as much gold in it. That enables her to continue the advantage she has because of the appreciation of gold or the depreciation of silver, if you choose to put it the other way.

It will be utterly impossible for us, unless with some such duty as is now proposed, to compete with Japan in the manufacture of silks or anything else that she can manufacture, and I do not know anything she can not manufacture that we can. I find by consulting some silk men in my State who are interested not in the manufacture of silk, but in its sale, that they do not make in Japan as fine an article of silk as we make in this country or as they make in France or Germany.

The silk for wear, I understand, is, much of it, quite as good, but it is not quite so brilliant and the finish is not as satisfactory to the American purchaser. I find also the fact to be that they are exporting silk to Germany and there having it finished and then reexport it from Germany to the United States, and it is sold here as German or French silk. I do not suppose it will take very long before the Japanese manufacturers will find out how to put the gloss on it that the purchaser desires. A few months, at least, I think, will enable them to do that.

Mr. President, it is not possible for us to meet this by any reasonable duty, as stated by the Senator from Montana. We can not defend here a duty of 700 per cent, unless we are willing to take the position that we intend absolutely to exclude it. If that is our intention, it would be twice as decent for us to say that hereafter we will exclude all Japanese silk. That we know we can not do without a violation of our treaties, and that we know the American people will not submit to. And yet, if the Senator from Arkansas is correct, we are practically doing that to-day if we put these immense duties upon Japanese silk.

The Senator from Connecticut says that it does not apply to Japanese silk. Then, if it does not apply to Japanese silk it is still more indefensible, in my judgment. If it does not apply to German silk and French silk, what silk does it apply to?

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. If it applies to any, it applies to China.

Mr. TELLER. I am not up in the technical knowledge that a man ought to have to discuss the question as to what it does apply to; I do not know that we shall know when we get through and vote on it; but I am not willing to vote for any duty, I do not care whether it is against Chinese silk, Japanese silk, or any other, that approximates 700 per cent, or 500 per cent, or 400 per cent.

The Senator from Connecticut repeats in his seat what he has before said, that it does not, but he does not tell us what it is. We are entitled to know, approximately at least, how much duty we are voting on this class of silk. Unless I can be assured that it is a reasonable duty, I shall change my conduct in this matter and vote for the amendment of the Senator from Arkansas.

I have voted for a number of things here that did not meet my judgment, but, as I said the other day, I want this tariff bill to be what our Republican friends will call, when they get through, a Republican tariff bill. I think myself that the Wilson Act is a pretty good protective measure except in a few items. I think it affords more protection to American manufacturers than some tariff acts we have had labeled Republican tariffs. I think it is ample in very many things.

I know the duties are now being raised. I do not know whether they are being raised above the McKinley Act or not, but I judge some of them are. I have been quite inclined to vote and have voted for the raising of duties upon the theory that I wanted the bill to be satisfactory to the men who have promised that the bill shall bring prosperity. But I can not quite go 700 per cent, and unless the committee can assure me in some way that this is a reasonable duty, I shall be compelled to vote for the amendment of the Senator from Arkansas.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Mr. President, the way in which the changes are rung upon the statement that here is an article on which the duty would be 700 per cent, to indicate that in this paragraph there is a duty of 700 per cent upon silk goods, is an illustration of the way the arguments are always made against specific duties. I call the attention of the Senator from Colorado to the fact that the Senator from California [Mr. WHITE] put into the RECORD a statement made by the importers of San Francisco——

Mr. WHITE. Of New York.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Of New York, who can not be expected to understate the ad valorem equivalents, in which they put the ad valorem equivalent on Japanese silks in one instance at 75 per cent and in the other at from 75 to 80 per cent as the outside rate. I call attention to the fact that those are the importers of New York, an association of them, and that all they claim is that the duties on Japanese silks are from 75 to 80 per cent. That is the extreme claim. There has been a piece of wild silk goods, as it is called, from China brought in here which is not an article of commerce, on which it is said that there is a 700 per cent duty, and so Senators seem to think that there is a 700 per cent duty on everything.

Mr. STEWART. Can the Senator give the official figures?

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. I was going to state that I take the figures of the appraiser at the port of New York. According to a recent report of the United States appraiser at New York the ad valorem equivalents of the specific rates in this paragraph 384 are as follows—and I am going to depart from my custom and take a little time to read what he says on the subject:

	Per cent.
Weighing not less than 1¼ nor more than 8 ounces per square yard:	
Containing not more than 20 per cent in weight of silk—	
If in the gum (50 cents per pound)	27 to 40
If dyed in the piece (60 cents per pound)	41 to 52
Containing over 20 and not over 30 per cent weight of silk—	
If in the gum (65 cents per pound)	22 to 43
If dyed in the piece (80 cents per pound)	27 to 43
Containing over 30 and not over 45 per cent weight of silk—	
If in the gum (90 cents per pound)	42 to 50
If dyed in the piece ($1.10 per pound)	30 to 46
If dyed in the thread or yarn and containing not over 30 per cent in weight of silk—	
If black (75 cents per pound)	36 to 46
If other than black (90 cents per pound)	37 to 58
Containing over 30 and not over 45 per cent weight of silk—	
If black ($1.10 per pound)	39 to 46
If other than black ($1.30 per pound)	40 to 48
Containing more than 45 per cent in weight of silk, or if composed wholly of silk, if dyed in the thread or yarn and weighted in dyeing so as to exceed the original weight of the raw silk—	
If black ($1.50 per pound)	25 to 56
If other than black ($2 per pound)	32 to 54
If dyed in the thread or yarn—	
And here is the spot where the contention is made—	
and the weight is not increased by dyeing beyond the original weight of the raw silk ($3 per pound)	30 to 50
If in the gum ($2.50 per pound)	30 to 55
If boiled off or dyed in the piece or printed ($3 per pound)	45 to 80
Here is the highest point—	
Weighing less than 1½ ounces and more than one-third of 1 ounce, if boiled off, or if dyed or printed in the piece ($3 per pound)	48 to 90
Weighing not more than one-third of 1 ounce per square yard ($5 per pound)	50 to 75

We have reduced that from $5 to $4.50, so that there is a reduction in the ad valorem rate. Now, I put against all this talk of the importers the appraiser at New York as to the equivalent ad valorems.

Mr. TELLER. Who is he?

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Mr. Bunn.

Mr. MILLS. Is the Senator reading the equivalent ad valorems of the goods imported?

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. On the importations at the port of New York of these goods.

Mr. MILLS. But you do not touch the equivalent ad valorem on goods not imported and that are prohibited from importation. That is the point.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. I do not understand that anyone claims that anything is prohibited now.

Mr. MILLS. I take it that if your tariff of 700 per cent is imposed, it is prohibitive.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. There it is again. We never shall be able to answer that.

Mr. MILLS. Very well. The specific system is adopted for the purpose of prohibiting importation. It is a protective measure.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. This is the report of the appraiser at New York as to what the equivalent ad valorems would be upon the specific rates on the importations of last year.

Mr. MILLS. Precisely; I so understand it. Now, then, I mean to say that there are cheaper goods which are always kept from importation by these very specific rates, and that is what the specific tariff is adopted for by protectionists. It is to keep goods from coming in in order that the American manufacturer may have the market at his own price. That is the very object of it, and the figures given by the Senator from Arkansas are correct.

Mr. President, if there are goods in China that are taxed 700 per cent and prohibited from coming here, cheap silk goods that could come and be exchanged for cotton goods, so that our people who are working in the cotton fields and making not $200 a year might be able to wear those goods, why should Congress exercise the legislative power to prohibit our people from buying and wearing those goods and compel them to buy goods and pay even 80 or 90 per cent on them?

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President, I have here a statement prepared by one of the leading experts of the country, which I will read:

The specific rate—

He says—

provided in this paragraph, in a very large proportion of goods imported into the United States, would be covered by the proviso of the bill that they should not pay less than 50 per cent ad valorem. Goods of very light texture, however, such as chiffon imported from France and which is used in the manufacture of bows or ties and ornaments, and also the lighter silks from China and Japan—

I wish to direct the attention of the Senator from Colorado to this subject—

and also the lighter silks from China and Japan, known as habutai, surah, and kaikais, will have imposed thereon in many cases a duty in excess of 100 per cent, whereas articles made from these silks in this country would be protected with not more than 60 per cent—a discrimination that is not only unfair, but will disturb seriously the industries in a good many States in this country. I would much prefer seeing a duty on silks weighing less than 1½ ounces, and on manufactures thereof, at 75 per cent ad valorem than the mixed duties provided in this bill.

I wish to say to the Senator from Connecticut that I intend offering an amendment that in no case shall any of the foregoing fabrics in this paragraph pay a less duty than 50 per cent ad valorem or a greater duty than 60 per cent. If that is voted down, I shall propose another amendment fixing the maximum at 75 per cent, and I will then, I think, test his faith in his own calculation at a maximum rate of 75 per cent.

I call attention to the condition of the McKinley Act in this regard. There is no such provision contained in that act. The complications of paragraph 384, the mystifications of that paragraph, are wholly unknown in the original McKinley Act. The rate prescribed in the McKinley Act was less than the rate prescribed here. As I have stated already, if the calculations upon which we have relied are inaccurate and the rate is as low as the Senator from Connecticut contends, we will test his faith by a vote upon it.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will call the roll on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. JONES] to the amendment of the committee.

The Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. GEAR (when his name was called). I transfer my pair with the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH] to the Senator from Ohio [Mr. HANNA], and vote "nay."

Mr. MITCHELL (when his name was called). I will announce for the day my pair with the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SEWELL].

Mr. MORRILL (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. HARRIS], and therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. MURPHY (when his name was called). I am paired with my colleague [Mr. PLATT of New York].

Mr. PETTUS (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR].

Mr. RAWLINS (when his name was called). I transfer my pair with the junior Senator from Ohio [Mr. HANNA] to the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH], and vote "yea."

Mr. TILLMAN (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. THURSTON]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. WALTHALL (when his name was called). I transfer my pair with the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. SPOONER] to the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. BATE], and vote "yea."

Mr. WARREN (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Washington [Mr. TURNER]. He is not in the Chamber, and I therefore withhold my vote.

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. BUTLER (after having voted in the affirmative). The junior Senator from Maryland [Mr. WELLINGTON] has not voted. I am paired with that Senator, and therefore withdraw my vote.

Mr. WALTHALL. The Senator from Delaware [Mr. GRAY] is paired with the Senator from Illinois [Mr. CULLOM]. The Senator from Arkansas [Mr. JONES] is paired with the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE].

The result was announced—yeas 23, nays 26; as follows:

YEAS—23.

Bacon,	Harris, Kans.	Mills,	Teller,
Caffery,	Kenney,	Morgan,	Turpie,
Clay,	McLaurin,	Pasco,	Vest,
Cockrell,	Mallory,	Pettigrew,	Walthall,
Faulkner,	Mantle,	Rawlins,	White.
Gorman,	Martin,	Roach,	

NAYS—26.

Allison,	Elkins,	Lodge,	Quay,
Baker,	Fairbanks,	McBride,	Shoup,
Burrows,	Foraker,	Nelson,	Stewart,
Carter,	Frye,	Penrose,	Wetmore,
Chandler,	Gear,	Perkins,	Wilson.
Clark,	Hawley,	Platt, Conn.	
Davis,	Jones, Nev.	Proctor,	

NOT VOTING—40.

Aldrich,	Gallinger,	Kyle,	Pritchard,
Allen,	George,	Lindsay,	Sewell,
Bate,	Gray,	McEnery,	Smith,
Berry,	Hale,	McMillan,	Spooner,
Butler,	Hanna,	Mason,	Thurston,
Cannon,	Hansbrough,	Mitchell,	Tillman,
Chilton,	Harris, Tenn.	Morrill,	Turner,
Cullom,	Heitfeld,	Murphy,	Warren,
Daniel,	Hoar,	Pettus,	Wellington,
Deboe,	Jones, Ark.	Platt, N. Y.	Wolcott.

So the amendment to the amendment was rejected.

Mr. WHITE. I move to amend the committee amendment on page 133, line 2, by inserting after the word "fifty" the words "or a greater rate of duty than sixty;" so as to make the paragraph read:

But in no case shall any of the foregoing fabrics in this paragraph pay a less rate of duty than 50 or a greater rate of duty than 60 per cent ad valorem.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from California to the amendment of the committee.

The amendment to the amendment was rejected.

Mr. WHITE. I move to amend by substituting, in the same place, page 133, in line 2, "or a greater rate of duty than 75 per cent;" so that it will read:

But in no case shall any of the foregoing fabrics in this paragraph pay a less rate of duty than 50 or a greater rate of duty than 75 per cent.

Surely the committee will not object to this amendment, since, according to the statement of the committee, this is practically the maximum duty fixed in the bill. Upon my amendment to the amendment I call for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. GEAR (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH], but by arrangement with the Senator from Utah [Mr. RAWLINS], who is paired with the Senator from Ohio [Mr. HANNA], we have arranged to transfer our pairs, so that the Senator from Ohio will stand paired with the Senator from New Jersey, and the Senator from Utah and myself are at liberty to vote. I vote "nay."

Mr. MORRILL (when his name was called). I announce for the day that I am paired with the senior Senator from Tennessee [Mr. HARRIS], and therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. PETTUS (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR], and therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. TILLMAN (when his name was called). I again announce my pair with the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. THURSTON].

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I am paired with the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. WALTHALL. I desire to announce that the Senator from Delaware [Mr. GRAY] is paired with the Senator from Illinois [Mr. CULLOM], and that the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. SPOONER] is paired with the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. BATE].

Mr. KENNEY (after having voted in the affirmative). I am advised that the junior Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. PENROSE] has not voted. Being paired with that Senator, I withdraw my vote.

Mr. BURROWS. I am paired with the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. CAFFERY], and therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. PASCO. I wish to announce that on this vote the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MCBRIDE] is paired with the Senator from Idaho [Mr. HEITFELD]. The Senator from Oregon, if present, would vote "nay."

Mr. MALLORY (after having voted in the affirmative). I am paired with the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROCTOR], whom I do not see in the Chamber, and therefore I withdraw my vote.

Mr. WARREN. By arrangement with the Senator from Alabama [Mr. PETTUS], we have agreed to transfer our pairs, so that the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] will stand paired with the Senator from Washington [Mr. TURNER], thus relieving the Senator from Alabama and myself. I vote "nay."

Mr. PETTUS. Under that arrangement I am at liberty to vote, and I vote "yea."

The result was announced—yeas 22, nays 24; as follows:

YEAS—22.

Bacon,	Harris, Kans.	Pasco,	Turpie,
Butler,	McLaurin,	Pettigrew,	Vest,
Clay,	Mantle,	Pettus,	Walthall,
Cockrell,	Martin,	Rawlins,	White.
Faulkner,	Mills,	Roach,	
Gorman,	Morgan,	Teller,	

NAYS—24.

Allison,	Elkins,	Jones, Nev.	Shoup,
Baker,	Fairbanks,	Lodge,	Stewart,
Carter,	Foraker,	Perkins,	Warren,
Chandler,	Frye,	Platt, Conn.	Wellington,
Clark,	Gear,	Pritchard,	Wetmore,
Davis,	Hawley,	Quay,	Wilson.

NOT VOTING—43.

Aldrich,	Gallinger,	Kyle,	Penrose,
Allen,	George,	Lindsay,	Platt, N. Y.
Bate,	Gray,	McBride,	Proctor,
Berry,	Hale,	McEnery,	Sewell,
Burrows,	Hanna,	McMillan,	Smith,
Caffery,	Hansbrough,	Mallory,	Spooner,
Cannon,	Harris, Tenn.	Mason,	Thurston,
Chilton,	Heitfeld,	Mitchell,	Tillman,
Cullom,	Hoar,	Morrill,	Turner,
Daniel,	Jones, Ark.	Murphy,	Wolcott.
Deboe,	Kenney,	Nelson,	

So the amendment of Mr. WHITE to the amendment of the Committee on Finance was rejected.

Mr. WHITE. I now move, in the new paragraph 384, reported by the committee, in line 2 on page 133, after the word "fifty," to insert "or a greater rate or duty than 100 per cent ad valorem."

In this connection, Mr. President, I desire to insert in the RECORD—I shall not detain the Senate by reading it—a comparative statement of the value of exports of the United States to Japan in the fiscal years 1893 and 1896. In this period, when the majority of the Senate are striving with such earnestness to bring about trade reciprocity with the world, the figures which I have asked to insert in the RECORD will be significant, taken in connection with the tariff proposed upon this article.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The statement referred to by the Senator from California will be inserted in the RECORD, in the absence of objection.

The statement referred to is as follows:

Value of the exports of the United States to Japan, fiscal years 1893 and 1896.

Article.	1893.	1896.
Wheat, flour, etc	$393,000	$298,000
Chemicals, etc	19,990	28,000
Clocks, watches, and parts	115,295	99,000
Copper manufactures	2,368	10,676
Cotton	68,423	1,481,000
Cotton manufactures	52,501	105,000
Cycles		27,000
Cordage and flax manufactures	3,185	4,670
Cartridges	3,272	7,500
India-rubber goods	27,984	28,000
Iron and steel manufactures	225,855	908,398
Lamps	3,065	3,596
Manufactures of lead	636	1,035
Leather	149,096	404,092
Leather manufactures	4,475	9,000
Naval stores	5,800	8,000
Turpentine		4,400
Mineral oil	1,710,480	3,000,000
Lubricating oil		88,700
Paint	1,731	4,033
Paper	4,755	10,016
Plated ware	538	2,383
Meat products	46,427	55,000

Value of the exports of the United States to Japan, etc.—Continued.

Article.	1893.	1896.
Butter	$11,402	$18,000
Cheese	3,955	3,600
Milk	8,666	45,395
Soap	2,615	5,900
Stationery	14,174	17,760
Refined sugar	7,173	2,044
Tobacco and manufactures	232,662	273,000
Varnish	4,477	6,108
Wine	15,478	20,000
Timber		3,000
Lumber	4,560	29,386
Manufactures of wood	21,048	25,000
Total	2,974,811	7,202,692

The exports for the nine months ending March, 1897, can only be known from the Monthly Summaries, where they are not given separately for Japan, but are included in "Other Asia and Oceanica." The chief items of export mentioned for Japan for the year 1896 have grown considerably in proportion in these months.

The excess of exports over the exports for the same period of 1896 may be taken with safety to have gone almost in its entirety to Japan, as in the Summaries the chief other Asiatic countries, China and British East India, are separately mentioned.

I give below the exports contained in "Other Asia and Oceanica" for the nine months ending March, 1896 and 1897, in parallel columns, from which the continuous growth of exports of the United States to Japan can be estimated:

Article.	Nine months ending—	
	March, 1896.	March, 1897.
Agricultural implements	$12,283	$24,483
Bread stuffs	2,278,489	4,352,424
Carriages	33,300	36,801
Cotton	1,246,429	2,022,842
Cotton manufactures	408,171	1,421,813
Cycles	30,780	66,185
Fruits and nuts	80,786	87,904
Iron and manufactures	701,829	1,910,993
Leather and manufactures	387,982	169,578
Naval stores	57,617	84,958
Mineral oils	3,986,626	5,778,198
Meat products	218,887	218,552
Tobacco, and manufactures of	342,011	492,738
Lumber and manufactures of wood	347,124	477,577
Total	10,121,205	17,145,046

These exports are composed in a very large proportion of manufactured goods. This rapidly growing trade is being jeopardized by the excessive duties proposed on a few million dollars' worth of Japanese silks, necessarily the product of hand looms on account of the flimsy character of the silks used in their production.

Steel rails are not separately given, as the points of destination are not specified. The exports for 1896 were 130,682 and for 1897 1,859,081 to all countries, and a large proportion of these may be taken as having gone to Japan.

Mr. MANTLE. Mr. President, if the amendment of the Senator from California just proposed be adopted, the bill will then stand that in no case shall the duty upon these materials be less than 50 per cent ad valorem nor greater than 100 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. WHITE. That is correct; that is the exact matter.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the amendment proposed by the Senator from California [Mr. WHITE].

Mr. WHITE. Upon that proposition I call for the yeas and nays. In view of the statement made by the committee, I think it is my duty to put them upon the record.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. GEAR (when his name was called). By arrangement with the Senator from Utah [Mr. RAWLINS] we have arranged for a transfer of pairs, so that the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH], with whom I am paired, will stand paired with the Senator from Ohio [Mr. HANNA], with whom the Senator from Utah is paired. I vote "nay."

Mr. HANSBROUGH (when his name was called). I am paired with the senior Senator from Virginia [Mr. DANIEL].

Mr. JONES of Arkansas (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE].

Mr. MALLORY (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROCTOR]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. MURPHY (when his name was called). I announce for the day that I am paired with my colleague [Mr. PLATT of New York].

Mr. PETTUS (when his name was called). Under the arrangement announced on the last vote by the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. WARREN], I am at liberty to vote, and I vote "yea."

Mr. RAWLINS (when his name was called). I transfer my pair with the Senator from Ohio [Mr. HANNA] to the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH], and vote "yea."

Mr. TILLMAN (when his name was called). I again announce my pair with the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. THURSTON].

Mr. WALTHALL (when his name was called). I transfer my pair with the junior Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. SPOONER] to the junior Senator from Tennessee [Mr. BATE], and vote "yea."

Mr. WARREN (when his name was called). Under an arrangement with the Senator from Alabama [Mr. PETTUS], our pairs have been transferred, so that the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR], who is paired with the Senator from Alabama, will stand paired with the Senator from Washington [Mr. TURNER], thus relieving the Senator from Alabama and myself. I vote "nay."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. GRAY. I announce my pair with the Senator from Illinois [Mr. CULLOM]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

The result was announced—yeas 25, nays 28; as follows:

YEAS—25.

Bacon,	Gorman,	Morgan,	Turpie,
Butler,	Harris, Kans.	Pasco,	Vest,
Caffery,	Heitfeld,	Pettigrew,	Walthall,
Chilton,	Kenney,	Pettus,	White.
Clay,	McLaurin,	Rawlins,	
Cockrell,	Mantle,	Roach,	
Faulkner,	Martin,	Teller,	

NAYS—28.

Allison,	Elkins,	Lodge,	Quay,
Baker,	Fairbanks,	McBride,	Shoup,
Burrows,	Foraker,	Nelson,	Stewart,
Carter,	Frye,	Penrose,	Warren,
Chandler,	Gear,	Perkins,	Wellington,
Clark,	Hawley,	Platt, Conn.	Wetmore,
Davis,	Jones, Nev.	Pritchard,	Wilson.

NOT VOTING—36.

Aldrich,	George,	Lindsay,	Platt, N. Y.
Allen,	Gray,	McEnery,	Proctor,
Bate,	Hale,	McMillan,	Sewell,
Berry,	Hanna,	Mallory,	Smith,
Cannon,	Hansbrough,	Mason,	Spooner,
Cullom,	Harris, Tenn.	Mills,	Thurston,
Daniel,	Hoar,	Mitchell,	Tillman,
Deboe,	Jones, Ark.	Morrill,	Turner,
Gallinger,	Kyle,	Murphy,	Wolcott.

So the amendment of Mr. WHITE to the amendment of the Committee on Finance was rejected.

Mr. WHITE. The Senate has just voted down an amendment fixing the maximum tariff upon this particular paragraph at 100 per cent. I will now offer one more amendment. I move, in paragraph 384, as reported by the committee, on page 133, line 2, after the word "fifty," to insert "or a greater rate of duty than 200 per cent."

Mr. MILLS. Let us have the yeas and nays on that.

Mr. MANTLE. Mr. President, I have already stated that I am in favor of adequate protection for this industry. So much has been said here with reference to what the ad valorem rate under the provision reported by the committee will be, and so much difference of opinion exists, that there must be a doubt in the minds of most of the Senators here as to what this specific duty will really amount to reduced to an ad valorem basis.

It has been asserted, and not successfully contradicted, that some of these duties will run from 200 to as high as 700 per cent; and I for one am not willing to vote for any such rate of duty as that, or anything approximating it. It does seem to me, in the light of the indefiniteness which surrounds this schedule, that my protectionist friends themselves ought certainly to be willing to accept the proposition now offered, definitely fixing the point which this duty shall not exceed at 200 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. President, there can be no interest in this schedule but what ought to be satisfied with a protective rate amounting to 200 per cent ad valorem. I wish the chairman of the committee would accept that amendment, so that we might put an end to the mystery which surrounds this paragraph, and at least know, those of us who desire to be satisfied upon this point, that there is no possibility of this duty exceeding 200 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. I did not suppose that the mover of this amendment moved it in any other sense than for the purpose of embarrassing the entire bill. If a provision of this kind were a satisfactory and proper and usual provision to incorporate in a tariff bill, namely, that the specific rates should not be less than a certain ad valorem nor higher than a certain ad valorem, I should have been willing to have accepted the first amendment and certainly the second amendment offered by the Senator from California.

Nobody supposes that any rate upon any goods imported under this paragraph is going to be 200 per cent or 150 per cent or 100 per cent; but the difficulty about it is that this is introducing language and a feature which have never been introduced in a tariff bill since the beginning of our legislation on the subject of the tariff, so far as I know; and the moment it is introduced with regard to this clause it will be proposed by amendment with reference to every other clause in this bill where it is said that a specific rate of duty shall not be less than a certain ad valorem, and then the effort will be made to narrow the limits within which the specific duty shall work.

When the principle has once been admitted, it is as easy to move that the rate shall not be less than 50 nor more than 55 per cent as to move that it shall not be less than 50 nor more than 200 per cent.

The only reason why I object to this amendment is because I do not think it is a proper way of proceeding in a tariff bill.

Mr. MANTLE. May I ask the Senator a question there?

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Certainly.

Mr. MANTLE. Has not this element of limitation, so far as the minimum rates to be levied are concerned, already been placed in the bill originally, or at least by the committee?

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. It has been in every tariff bill where there have been specific duties that the specific duties contained in the paragraphs should not be less than a certain percentage ad valorem, but never has there been a clause introduced, so far as I know, that they shall not be less than a certain per cent ad valorem nor more than a certain per cent ad valorem.

Mr. GRAY. If less, why not more?

Mr. MANTLE. That is the question I was about to ask. It seems to me the principle has already been recognized in the bill, in the interest of the industry protected, that the duty shall not be less than a given amount, and it would seem, in all fairness, and in view of the fact that there seems to be some vagueness connected with this particular schedule, to be proper—although I admit that it has not been the practice, and perhaps it would not be wise generally to put in this limitation—but because of the fact that there is a doubt here, an honest doubt, as to what these duties will amount to in ad valorem terms, it would seem to be proper, in this particular connection, to put a limitation, so that those of us who are anxious to vote for a protective duty, but do not want to vote for an outrageous duty, may be satisfied upon that point.

Mr. ALLISON. Just one word, Mr. President. If I believed that this duty was 200 per cent or anything approaching it, I would have some sympathy with these suggestions; but there is no reason why this limitation should be applied to silk any more than to any other article in this bill, or to any other schedule in this bill. We have heard here in these debates over and over again the statement that the duties upon wool are 90 per cent; that the duties upon woolen goods are 150 per cent and 175 per cent; whereas those who have advocated this bill and who have examined it do not believe there are any such duties in the bill or in the wool and woolen schedule; and yet if we apply this principle to one schedule, we must apply it to all; and we shall be told that the duty on wool and woolens shall not be less than 40 per cent nor more than 100 per cent, nor more than 75 per cent, nor more than 50 or 60 per cent.

Mr. MORGAN. Nor more than a thousand per cent.

Mr. ALLISON. So, if we introduce this new principle into this entire bill, which has never been in any bill before——

Mr. GRAY. May I ask the Senator from Iowa why there is inserted in the bill a minimum ad valorem, that no duty shall be less than a certain ad valorem?

Mr. ALLISON. There is a very good reason for that in the minds of those who frame these bills, and that is, that a certain per cent of ad valorem is necessary for the protection of these industries. Therefore that element has been drawn into them, though I think that of itself is a vicious element.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Would it not be equally meritorious to have a maximum put in for the protection of the people?

Mr. ALLISON. Perhaps it would. If we adopt that principle, let us adopt it as to all the schedules.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. We shall be delighted to do so.

Mr. ALLISON. If that is to be an element, we might just as well provide in one schedule that the duty on wool shall not be less than 50 per cent nor more than 75.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Why not?

Mr. ALLISON. Certainly; I ask why not? If the principle be adopted that the duty on woolen goods shall not be less than 60 per cent nor more than 100 per cent, and so on, running through all the schedules of this bill, it will be unnecessary to have specific duties at all.

Mr. MANTLE. So far as wool is concerned, I should be very glad indeed if there could be a minimum ad valorem rate fixed, so that the woolgrowers might at least know that they were getting a certain amount of protection. That has not been put into the wool schedule, I apprehend.

Mr. ALLISON. It has never been put into any schedule of any tariff bill ever made.

Mr. MANTLE. Because it was not necessary. I presume it was not understood to be necessary in connection with wool, because the wool business is pretty well understood and its values are much better known. But here is a schedule wherein it seems there is not a thorough understanding as to what the value of the article is. Hence, in order to cover any doubts, in order "to make

assurance double sure," if I may use the term, a minimum rate is fixed, so that the persons interested are sure to have a protective benefit of 50 per cent.

It does seem to me, in carrying out that idea and recognizing the fact that this element of doubt exists, and must have existed in the minds of the framers of this bill, otherwise the clause would not have been framed, in order to make these limitations just all around, that, so far as this schedule is concerned, there ought to be a limitation fixed as the amount of protection which these industries shall receive. I admit that it is not necessary in many industries; it is not necessary, I think, in the wool industry.

Mr. GRAY. May I ask the Senator from Montana what is the limitation proposed in the amendment, the upward limit, the maximum limit?

Mr. WHITE. Two hundred per cent.

Mr. MANTLE. The bill makes the minimum 50 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. GRAY. The amendment proposed by the Senator from California is that it shall not be more than 200 per cent?

Mr. WHITE. Perhaps the Senator from Delaware was not in the Chamber at the time these amendments were offered. I will state that the first amendment offered proposed to fix the maximum of 75 per cent, it being the opinion of the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. PLATT] that that was substantially the maximum provided by these peculiar specific rates. That, of course, it is needless to say, was voted down. Then I offered another amendment making the rate 100 per cent, and that shared the same fate. Now I have proposed another amendment fixing the maximum at 200 per cent. That is objected to on the ground that it is unusual.

Mr. President, the proposition laid down by the Senator from Montana [Mr. MANTLE] admits of no answer, that if we can put into this bill a minimum rate, we must upon the same principle be prepared and can with equal propriety interpose a maximum rate, and there is a particular reason why it should be done in this case. Here is a paragraph formed upon entirely new lines, in utter disregard not only of the Wilson law, which perhaps might be disregarded, as it was enacted through the agency of another political organization, but in absolute disregard of the provisions of the act of 1890, and framed upon lines of most peculiar technicality. We have had amendments put in this section to-day by the Committee on Finance increasing the rates, and there is no one in this Chamber who has given to the Senate anything like a semilucid statement of the new rates provided for in this bill since it was amended by the committee.

If there is any faith upon the other side in the proposition that the maximum tariff proposed does not exceed 100 per cent, why this fear of the proposition of an amendment limiting it to 200 per cent, unless it be that the statement made by the Senator from Arkansas is true, and that there are in this bill provisions which will impose duties of 230, 240, 260, and even in one paragraph of 700 per cent?

But it is useless to proceed. We might as well have a vote; and I call for the yeas and nays upon the proposition.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. President——

The Secretary proceeded to call the roll, and Mr. ALLISON responded to his name.

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. President, this is a very peculiar presentation of the doctrine of protection.

Mr. CHANDLER. I hope the Senator will not go on. He can speak on a new motion just as well. I dislike to have the rule of the Senate violated.

Mr. MORGAN. What is the rule?

Mr. CHANDLER. That after the roll call has commenced debate is not in order.

Mr. MORGAN. I had addressed the Chair two or three times before the Senator from Iowa responded to his name.

Mr. CHANDLER. The roll call had begun and there had been a response. I should be glad to have the Senator speak, but the rule is imperative.

Mr. MORGAN. I am in order. The Chair knows—at least if the Chair does not know, I know—that I addressed the Chair two or three times distinctly before the name of the Senator from Iowa was called.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair did not hear the Senator.

Mr. MORGAN. I know that, but I am still on the floor and not violating any rule of the Senate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair recognizes the Senator.

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. President, I think it is unfortunate that this peculiar debate and this peculiar exposition of the doctrines which pervade this bill should have occurred upon a question which concerns the Empire of Japan, and upon productions of that new and industrious nation, so far as its entering into commerce is concerned. Here, now, it is proposed to put a duty upon goods that come principally, if not entirely, from Japan, and that duty is attempted by the Senate to be confined, first, to 75 and then to 100 per cent, and now to 200 per cent ad valorem, and the Senators in charge of this bill refuse to signify by their votes, or refuse to allow us to signify, because we are in the minority, our unwillingness to tax these Japanese productions exceeding 100 per cent and now exceeding 200 per cent ad valorem.

The history of Japan in regard to tariff taxation is one that has appealed to our sympathy and to our sense of justice, and we have now a treaty with Japan, which goes into effect in 1900, that takes off a prohibition imposed upon her by the United States, in conjunction with all European powers, against her right to levy duties upon imports into that country exceeding, I think, 5 per cent. Japan has been trammeled now by that treaty, which was forced upon her really at the point of a bayonet, for a number of years—nearly thirty years—and she has always complained of it, and justly complained of it. Russia started out with the relaxation of the treaty, and the United States followed, and Japan is now making efforts with the Netherlands and with France and Great Britain to have that restriction taken off which was imposed upon her at the close of our civil war. Japan has looked to the United States as her foster mother in this line of liberty and sovereignty against the treaty arrangement of which she has complained, and justly, as I have observed, and which we have consented to let loose.

Now, it comes to pass when we have other possible troubles with Japan, and when her jealousy is excited against us about matters where I confess she has no possible ground of complaint, we are engaged in imposing duties upon one of her chief products, which the Senate of the United States refuses to say shall not exceed 200 per cent ad valorem. I think we ought to have a care that we will not outrage the feelings of that nation; for, after all, her trade with us is a matter of very great importance. She is willing to accommodate herself so as to give American merchants and manufacturers real advantages over those of any other part of the world.

Japan is now having a great war ship built in the harbor of San Francisco, to cost, I think, nearly $5,000,000. The contracts are all completed, the keel is being laid now, and the work is going on. She gave another ship to Great Britain, which is being constructed there, dividing her patronage between the United States and Great Britain. In every way that country has manifested toward us a very earnest desire to have fair commerce; but what are we doing in this bill, what are we doing in this particular item of the bill? We are making war upon the commerce of the world for the purpose of dividing out amongst politicians and political retinues in the United States those benefits which come from political action in a recent Presidential election. We are fastening down upon the commerce of the world burdens which it can not stand, which will necessarily cripple our commercial relations with foreign nations, and there is not a nation in the world to-day, from Mexico to Turkey, which does not understand that the tariff bill which we are now enacting is a war upon the commerce of the world.

I am expecting, perhaps, that the committee may devise some relief upon that old plan of Mr. Blaine's, of reciprocity, which means free trade in disguise, provided the other countries that are concerned with us will pay for it. That is all it means, and I hope some such relief as that may after a while be incorporated into the bill. But the attitude of the Senate of the United States and the House of Representatives and the administration of the Government to-day is one of clear, unrelenting, bitter war upon the commerce of the world. We may be able to stand it for a while here. We are a very powerful, a very energetic people. We grow rapidly. We develop resources that nobody anticipates, and we scarcely have ever yet met any difficulty, in fact we have not met any difficulty in our history, which the natural growth, increase of power, and production in this country have not been able to outlive and survive.

But, Mr. President, there is an end to that. There is also an end to the friendship of nations, upon which commercial intercourse must necessarily be predicated. We can not have unlimited commerce or valuable commerce with the nations of this world when our action is a mere declaration of war against commerce and against their interests. They will retaliate upon us. Japan has it in her power to retaliate upon us, and doubtless she will do so. We have taught her the lesson that she is not bound to wear the trammels of treaty obligations forever, such as we imposed upon her at the close of our civil war, when we had a war with her, or virtually a war.

When we put that restriction upon her, we lamented it, deplored it, and have done all we could from that time to this to relieve her from it, but unfortunately we made a joint agreement with four European powers, which none of us can get rid of without the consent of the five powers concerned, that we would restrain Japan in her power of taxation upon imports down to a point where it has been impossible for her to collect from import duties anything like enough to sustain the Government. She has been

compelled to resort to enormous internal taxes in order to maintain her Government.

Having taught her this example, having taught her the injustice of making this kind of war upon commerce, having invited her to make her exchange of commerce with us, now we come to an article here which she manufactures, and which, it seems, she alone can manufacture with success, which she can put in our markets at very low prices, and we prohibit her by a duty that we are unwilling to restrict even to 200 per cent. I think we have been very unfortunate to select this particular article, manufactured by this particular nation, and at this particular time, to illustrate the ferocity of the tariff bill. It will not be very long until the people of the United States, interpreting this bill by schedules like the one we are now passing upon, and items like that in relation to what is called wild silk, will condemn it out and out.

I have to abide my time along with my colleagues on this side of the Chamber until the day of relief shall come. I remember that there is no resurrection until after death. So far as I am concerned, looking forward to the time when the people of the United States will again be restored to their resurrectionary powers, to something like a reasonable interpretation of the Constitution, I stand here ready to invite the death. Let it come; but when we are destroying our own people and their happiness and prosperity by the exaggeration and outrages of the tariff, do not let us aim our shafts at a country like Japan, which has done so much to try to assist in her civilization and her rise and progress amongst the nations of the earth.

Mr. ALLISON. One word. The Japanese silks come in under the provision beginning in line 23, "if weighing not more than one-third of an ounce per square yard." There the bill, as it came to us from the House, read "$5 per pound." By an amendment offered by me this morning it was reduced to $4.50. I do not believe the duty on the Japanese silks under the bill will amount to 75 per cent ad valorem. I would just as lief vote for 100 per cent as 200 per cent. That is the only question about this matter.

Mr. WHITE. That is not much of a question, in view of the fact that the Senator from Iowa declined to vote for 100 per cent.

Mr. ALLISON. Certainly.

Mr. WHITE. I wish to call the attention of the Senate to paragraph 250 of the Wilson Act, the present law, where there is this proviso:

Provided, however, That in no case shall the duty levied exceed 8 cents per pound on yarns, etc.

That shows it is not unknown to the law for a maximum to be prescribed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from California to the committee amendment, on which the yeas and nays have been ordered.

The Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. GEAR (when his name was called). I am paired with the senior Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH]. I transfer my pair to the Senator from Ohio [Mr. HANNA], and will vote. I vote "nay."

Mr. GRAY (when his name was called). I am paired with the senior Senator from Illinois [Mr. CULLOM]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. MALLORY (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROCTOR]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. TILLMAN (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. THURSTON]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. WALTHALL (when his name was called). I transfer my pair with the junior Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. SPOONER] to the junior Senator from Tennessee [Mr. BATE], and will vote. I vote "yea."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. RAWLINS. My pair with the Senator from Ohio [Mr. HANNA] has been transferred to the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH]. I will therefore vote. I vote "yea."

The result was announced—yeas 23, nays 28; as follows:

YEAS—23.

Bacon,	Gorman,	Mills,	Teller,
Butler,	Harris, Kans.	Morgan,	Turpie,
Caffery,	Kenney,	Pasco,	Vest,
Chilton,	McLaurin,	Pettigrew,	Walthall,
Clay,	Mantle,	Pettus,	White.
Cockrell,	Martin,	Rawlins,	

NAYS—28.

Allison,	Elkins,	Jones, Nev.	Pritchard,
Burrows,	Fairbanks,	Lodge,	Quay,
Carter,	Foraker,	McBride,	Shoup,
Chandler,	Frye,	Nelson,	Stewart,
Clark,	Gear,	Penrose,	Wellington,
Davis,	Hawley,	Perkins,	Wetmore,
Deboe,	Hoar,	Platt, Conn.	Wilson.

NOT VOTING—38.

Aldrich,	George,	McEnery,	Sewell,
Allen,	Gray,	McMillan,	Smith,
Baker,	Hale,	Mallory,	Spooner,
Bate,	Hanna,	Mason,	Thurston,
Berry,	Hansbrough,	Mitchell,	Tillman,
Cannon,	Harris, Tenn.	Morrill,	Turner,
Cullom,	Heitfeld,	Murphy,	Warren,
Daniel,	Jones, Ark.	Platt, N. Y.	Wolcott.
Faulkner,	Kyle,	Proctor,	
Gallinger,	Lindsay,	Roach,	

So Mr. WHITE's amendment to the amendment of the committee was rejected.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the committee.

The amendment was agreed to.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 386, page 133, line 21, before the word "cords," to strike out the word "braids;" in the same line, after the word "tassels," to strike out "fringes;" in line 23, before the word "whether," to insert "and;" and in line 24, after the word "embroidered," to insert "in any manner;" so as to make the paragraph read:

386. Bandings, beltings, bindings, bone casings, braces, cords, cords and tassels, garters, gorings, suspenders, tubings, and webs and webbings, composed wholly or in part of silk, and whether composed in part of india-rubber or otherwise, if not embroidered in any manner by hand or machinery, 50 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. ALLISON. I move to amend the committee amendment by inserting, after the word "Bandings," in line 20, the words "including hat bands;" after the word "bindings," in the same line, by inserting the word "beltings," instead of where it now appears, before the word "bindings;" and in line 21, by restoring the word "braids."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment to the amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In line 20, after the word "Bandings," it is proposed to insert the words "including hat bands;" in the same line, before the word "bindings," to strike out "beltings," and after the word "bindings" to insert "beltings;" and in line 21, to restore the word "braids;" so as to read:

Bandings, including hat bands, bindings, beltings, bone casings, braces, braids, cords, cords and tassels, garters, gorings, suspenders, tubings, and webs and webbings, composed wholly or in part of silk.

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

The amendment as amended was agreed to.

Mr. VEST. In line 25, I move to strike out "fifty" and insert "forty-five," the ad valorem duty under the existing law.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Before the question is put upon the amendment of the Senator from Missouri, I wish to have the paragraph read as it stands.

The Secretary read as follows:

386. Bandings, including hat bands, bindings, beltings, bone casings, braces, braids, cords, cords and tassels, garters, gorings, suspenders, tubings, and webs and webbings, composed wholly or in part of silk, and whether composed in part of india rubber or otherwise, if not embroidered in any manner by hand or machinery, 50 per cent ad valorem.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Missouri, to strike out "fifty" and insert "forty-five."

The amendment was rejected.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 387, page 134, line 3, after the word "ruchings," to insert "braids, fringes, ribbons;" in line 4, after the word "embroideries," to strike out the comma and the word "and," and after the word "articles," in the same line, to insert "and fabrics;" in line 5, after the word "machinery," to insert "or;" in line 6, after the word "appliqued," to strike out "articles," and in line 17, after the word "of," to strike out "3 cents per ounce, and in addition thereto;" so as to make the paragraph read:

387. Laces, and articles made wholly or in part of lace, edgings, insertings, galloons, chiffon, or other flouncings, nets or nettings and veilings, neck rufflings, ruchings, braids, fringes, ribbons, trimmings, embroideries, and articles and fabrics, embroidered by hand or machinery, or tamboured or appliqued, clothing ready made, and articles of wearing apparel of every description, including knit goods, made up or manufactured in whole or in part by the tailor, seamstress, or manufacturer; all of the above-named articles made of silk, or of which silk is the component material of chief value, not specially provided for in this act, and silk goods ornamented with beads or spangles, of whatever material composed, 60 per cent ad valorem: *Provided*, That any wearing apparel or other articles provided for in this paragraph (except gloves) when composed in part of india rubber, shall be subject to a duty of 60 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. ALLISON. I wish to modify the amendment by striking out the word "braids," in line 3, and the word "ribbons," in line 4; in the same line 4, by restoring the comma and the word "and;" and by striking out the words "and fabrics," after the word "articles," in that line 4. I think an article is a fabric. There is no need of those words.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment to the amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to amend the amendment of the committee by striking out, in line 3, the word "braids" and in line 4 the word "ribbons;" in the same line, after the word "embroideries," by restoring the comma and the word "and;" and in the same line, after the word "articles," by striking out the words "and fabrics;" so as to read:

Laces, and articles made wholly or in part of lace, edgings, insertings, galloons, chiffon, or other flouncings, nets or nettings and veilings, neck ruffings, ruchings, fringes, ribbons, trimmings, embroideries, and articles, etc.

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

The amendment as amended was agreed to.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 388, line 22, page 134, after the word "act," to insert "and all Jacquard figured goods of which silk is the component material of chief value;" in line 24, before the word "manufactures," to strike out "such;" and in the same line, after the word "manufactures," to insert "or fabrics;" so as to make the paragraph read:

388. All manufactures of silk, or of which silk is the component material of chief value, including such as have india-rubber as a component material, not specially provided for in this act, and all Jacquard figured goods of which silk is the component material of chief value, 50 per cent ad valorem: *Provided*, That all manufactures or fabrics, of which wool is a component material, shall be classified and assessed for duty as manufactures of wool.

Mr. ALLISON. After the word "goods," in line 22, I move to amend the committee amendment by inserting "in the piece," and by striking out the words "or fabrics," after the word "manufactures," in line 24.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to amend the committee amendment by inserting in line 22, after the word "goods," the words "in the piece;" and in line 24, after the word "manufactures," by striking out "or fabrics;" so as to make the paragraph read:

388. All manufactures of silk, or of which silk is the component material of chief value, including such as have india-rubber as a component material, not specially provided for in this act, and all Jacquard figured goods in the piece of which silk is the component material of chief value, 50 per cent ad valorem: *Provided*, That all manufactures of which wool is a component material shall be classified and assessed for duty as manufactures of wool.

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

The amendment as amended was agreed to.

Mr. VEST. In line 1, page 135, I move to insert after the word "material" the words "of chief value."

The SECRETARY. After the word "material," in line 1, page 135, it is proposed to insert the words "of chief value;" so as to read "of which wool is a component material of chief value."

Mr. VEST. I call attention to the fact that in three places upon the preceding page, 134, the committee deliberately inserted the words "the component material of chief value," but when they come to an article in which wool is found, they strike out "of chief value," and the amendment will therefore amount to this, that if there is one single thread of wool in any article, then the wool duties are imposed upon it. Why this distinction? It is a very significant one.

When we talk about silk, look at line 11, page 134, and we find the provision that as to all articles "of which silk is the component material of chief value;" and again in line 20 all articles "of which silk is the component material of chief value;" and in line 23 we have the same provision, "figured goods in which silk is the component material of chief value." Yet upon the beginning of the next page it reads any manufactures "of which wool is a component material," etc. If there is one single thread or shred of wool, then the wool duties immediately attach. I move the amendment I have offered in order to equalize this paragraph and to make it just and right. There is no reason why this discrimination should be made.

Mr. HOAR. Will the Senator from Missouri allow the proviso to be read as it now stands before his amendment is acted upon?

Mr. VEST. Certainly.

The Secretary read as follows:

Provided, That all manufactures of which wool is a component material shall be classified and assessed for duty as manufactures of wool.

Mr. HOAR. I should like to have the Senator's amendment read from the desk.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed, after the word "material," in line 1, page 135, to insert the words "of chief value;" so as to read:

Provided, That all manufactures of which wool is a component material of chief value shall be classified and assessed for duty as manufactures of wool.

Mr. HOAR. I should like to ask the Senator from Iowa whether, as the language of the proviso now reads, there are not manufactures, various ornamental or other special manufactures, that have a larger duty than is placed on manufactures of wool, which would be reduced in value by weaving a very little of wool into them? Are there no such cases?

Mr. ALLISON. I do not think there are. If there are, of course it would reduce the duty. The wool duties are higher than the silk duties.

Mr. HOAR. Yes; higher than the silk duties.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Missouri.

Mr. VEST and Mr. MILLS called for the yeas and nays; and they were ordered.

The Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. GEAR (when his name was called). I will transfer my pair with the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH] to the Senator from Ohio [Mr. HANNA], and vote "nay."

Mr. GRAY (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the senior Senator from Illinois [Mr. CULLOM]. I will transfer that pair to the Senator from Missouri [Mr. COCKRELL] who is paired with the Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON], and the Senator from Iowa and I will vote. I vote "yea."

Mr. MALLORY (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROCTOR]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. RAWLINS (when his name was called). I transfer my pair with the Senator from Ohio [Mr. HANNA] to the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH], and vote "yea."

Mr. TILLMAN (when his name was called). I again announce my pair with the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. THURSTON].

Mr. WALTHALL (when his name was called). I again transfer my pair as on the last roll call, and vote "yea."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas (after having voted in the affirmative). I am paired with the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE], and withdraw my vote.

Mr. ALLISON (after having voted in the negative). I should state that I have a pair with the Senator from Missouri [Mr. COCKRELL], but I have transferred it to the Senator from Illinois [Mr. CULLOM], as already stated by the Senator from Delaware [Mr. GRAY].

The result was announced—yeas 21, nays 29; as follows:

YEAS—21.

Bacon,	Harris, Kans.	Pasco,	Vest,
Caffery,	Kenney,	Pettigrew,	Walthall,
Chilton,	McLaurin,	Pettus,	White.
Clay,	Martin,	Rawlins,	
Daniel,	Mills,	Roach,	
Gray,	Morgan,	Turpie,	

NAYS—29.

Allison,	Frye,	McEnery,	Shoup,
Burrows,	Gear,	Mantle,	Stewart,
Carter,	Hansbrough,	Nelson,	Teller,
Chandler,	Hawley,	Penrose,	Wellington,
Clark,	Hoar,	Perkins,	Wilson.
Davis,	Jones, Nev.	Platt, Conn.	
Fairbanks,	Lodge,	Pritchard,	
Foraker,	McBride,	Quay,	

NOT VOTING—39.

Aldrich,	Elkins,	Kyle,	Sewell,
Allen,	Faulkner,	Lindsay,	Smith,
Baker,	Gallinger,	McMillan,	Spooner,
Bate,	George,	Mallory,	Thurston,
Berry,	Gorman,	Mason,	Tillman,
Butler,	Hale,	Mitchell,	Turner,
Cannon,	Hanna,	Morrill,	Warren,
Cockrell,	Harris, Tenn.	Murphy,	Wetmore,
Cullom,	Heitfeld,	Platt, N. Y.	Wolcott.
Deboe,	Jones, Ark.	Proctor,	

So Mr. VEST's amendment was rejected.

The reading of Schedule N was concluded.

Mr. ALLISON. Before passing from this schedule, I omitted to call attention to line 2, page 134, where there is a comma after "chiffon." I desire that comma to be stricken out, so as to read "chiffon or other flouncings," etc.

The amendment was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair would call the attention of the Senator from Iowa to page 132, at the end of line 15. Should not the comma after "boiled" be stricken out? It reads, "if boiled, off or dyed in the piece."

Mr. ALLISON. It should be out. The comma should come in on line 16, after "off," so as to read, "if boiled off," etc.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. That amendment will be agreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask that the Senate return to Schedule F, on page 66.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in Schedule F, "Tobacco, and manufactures of," paragraph 210, page 66, after line 16, to strike out the following paragraph:

210. Leaf tobacco suitable for cigar wrappers, if not stemmed, $2 per pound; if stemmed, $2.75 per pound: *Provided*, That if any tobacco imported in any bale, box, or package, or in bulk, shall be the growth of different countries or shall contain exceeding 15 per cent thereof of leaves suitable for cigar wrappers, the entire quantity of tobacco contained in such bale, box, or package, or in bulk, shall be dutiable, if not stemmed, at $2 per pound; if stemmed, at $2.75 per pound.

And to insert in lieu thereof:

210. Wrapper tobacco, and filler tobacco when mixed or packed with more than 5 per cent (in weight) of wrapper tobacco, and all leaf tobacco the product of two or more countries or dependencies when mixed or packed together, if unstemmed, $1.50 per pound; if stemmed, $2.25 per pound; filler tobacco not specially provided for in this act, if unstemmed, 35 cents per pound; if stemmed, 50 cents per pound.

Mr. ALLISON. I move to modify the committee amendment first in line 4, by striking out "five" and inserting "fifteen," and also by striking out the words in parentheses "(in weight)." I will state the whole modification. Also in line 7 I move to insert "seventy-five" instead of "fifty," and in line 8 "fifty" instead of "twenty-five." I propose all those as a single modification of the amendment.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to amend the paragraph so as to read:

210. Wrapper tobacco, and filler tobacco when mixed or packed with more than 15 per cent of wrapper tobacco, and all leaf tobacco the product of two or more countries or dependencies when mixed or packed together, if unstemmed, $1.75 per pound; if stemmed, $2.50 per pound; filler tobacco not specially provided for in this act, if unstemmed, 75 cents per pounds; if stemmed, 50 cents per pound.

Mr. PASCO. I ask the Senator from Iowa if that does not restore the provision of the Wilson bill as to weight?

Mr. ALLISON. As to weight.

Mr. PASCO. That is satisfactory.

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the committee as modified.

Mr. VEST. Mr. President, I was very much in hopes that our friends upon the other side would allow these rates to remain as they were reported from the committee. They were, both as to wrapper tobacco and as to filler tobacco, identical in fact with the rates imposed in the existing law. Now there is an increase of 25 cents upon both these classes of tobacco.

Mr. HAWLEY. I can not hear the Senator.

Mr. VEST. I say there is an increase of 25 cents upon each of these classifications. I simply want to call the attention of the Senate to the condition of the tobacco business commercially, as shown by the comparative statement. We exported in 1896 of leaf tobacco $24,405,245 worth. We imported during the same year of wrapper unstemmed tobacco $5,057,833 worth, and of stemmed leaf tobacco $5,934,938 worth, and of stemmed smoking tobacco $497,314 worth. So it will be seen that the balance of trade, as it is generally termed, in regard to tobacco is enormously in favor of the United States against the world.

We have here in this bill, as we have always had, the same old controversy between the wrapper tobacco of Connecticut and the Sumatra tobacco, and the same thing is attempted here as in all conflicts between domestic and foreign interests wherever they are found in tariff legislation. It is proposed by this increase upon wrapper tobacco to shut out, if possible, or handicap by a larger tax, the Sumatra tobacco, so as to compel the tobacco manufacturers of the United States to use larger quantities of the American wrapper tobacco.

If Senators feel any interest in this matter, I ask them to turn to the testimony taken by the Committee on Ways and Means. I have not the slightest interest locally, because in my State no wrapper tobacco of any consequence is produced. All the tobaccos from Missouri are the heavy bottom tobaccos used for chewing and for the inferior grades of smoking tobacco. But those Senators who feel any interest in the matter and who have large tobacco manufactories in their States will find an interesting discussion of this question in the testimony before the Ways and Means Committee.

The sum and substance of that testimony I will state as succinctly as possible. I will not say the unanimous opinion, but the general consensus of opinion, according to the testimony of the people who gave their evidence before the Ways and Means Committee, is that for some reason the Sumatra wrapper is preferred by manufacturers and smokers. One gentleman, Mr. Van Duzer, who is very much opposed to the Sumatra tobacco, accounts for this state of things both in Europe and the United States by saying that it is a fad; that it is because of the foolishness of the American people in thinking that a thing because it is imported is necessarily better. But Mr. Van Duzer himself said upon cross-examination that this Sumatra tobacco is of a brighter color and smoother, and that it gives an attractive appearance to the cigar, which causes the smokers to prefer the Sumatra wrapper to any other.

Mr. Van Duzer was asked what duty he thought ought to be imposed in order to exclude Sumatra tobacco from this country, and he stated it very frankly; and I am glad to find one protectionist who is not at all terrified by the result of his principles.

You want it—

Said General WHEELER—

300 per cent above the McKinley rate?

Referring to Sumatra tobacco. His answer was:

I do not care what per cent you have. If we are going to have protection—if it takes 300, or 400, or 500, or 1,000 per cent, it is all right, for there is that much difference between our labor and Chinese labor.

There is a gentleman whose courage I admire. He is willing to follow out to the legitimate result the principles that he professes. He is not frightened at a thousand per cent. I commend his testimony to my friend from Iowa, who did not want the limit of 100 per cent, nor 200 per cent, but clung to the minimum per cent in the legislation that he reported from the committee. But here is a gentleman who brutally says—no, I will not use that word, for I respect him—who says frankly and boldly, "If it takes 1,000 per cent, I am for it, to shut out the Sumatra tobacco." And that is the whole of this controversy.

As a matter of course, the raisers of tobacco in Connecticut want the market themselves. I believe possibly there is some of this wrapper tobacco produced in Florida, but I do not know to what extent it has influenced the political convictions of the Florida people. I hope they still adhere to their old doctrine, as I have no doubt the Senators from Florida do. But the controversy is absolutely between the Connecticut wrapper tobacco and the Sumatra tobacco, and because a large number of the people of this country are foolish enough to want the Sumatra tobacco, Congress is asked to intervene by large taxation and change their taste and reform their wicked proclivities toward a foreign article, and they must be made indirectly to use the cigars that are wrapped in the Connecticut tobacco and eschew, or, rather, not use, those that are wrapped in the Sumatra tobacco.

There is only a raise here of 25 cents, and a test vote upon the amendment of the committee will settle the conclusion of the Senate. For one I shall vote against the amendment increasing these duties 25 cents.

Mr. HAWLEY. Mr. President, the Senator from Missouri is usually accurate, but he is mistaken in some things to-day. In the first place, nobody dreams of excluding Sumatra entirely. I doubt if a five-dollar duty would do it.

In the next place, incidentally, he uses the term "Connecticut tobacco," as if the article were confined to one State. There are ten States that raise wrappers. There is some in the lower part, I think, of New Hampshire, in a limited region; some in Massachusetts, and some fine fields of it in Connecticut, where it is a very large and important crop. In New York, in Pennsylvania, in Ohio, I believe, certainly in Wisconsin, it is quite a large product.

Sumatra tobacco is not understood, or is understood by a few. If a cigar were made entirely of Sumatra tobacco, the smoker would probably be ill. It is not fit for any use but wrappers. It is exceedingly thin, quite smooth, and gives the cigar a pleasing appearance. By reason of its thinness and the small quantity of it on the cigar, the smoker does not get much of the bitterness and venom that are in that tobacco naturally. So it will always sell for wrappers.

The Connecticut wrapper, that portion selected for wrapper tobacco, is of a very much better quality. A passable cigar made entirely of it can be manufactured. It is very smooth, and makes a handsome cigar, as everybody can easily ascertain, and it brings spare cash to some counties in our State. Perhaps we feel quite as much interested as any other State. We have more than most in proportion to our area. The proceeds of the tobacco crop sometimes go into the millions in Connecticut.

The Sumatra tobacco is raised in the Dutch Possessions, where they pay about 10 cents a day for labor. I do not know, but I make a good guess when I say that the tobacco does not stand the Dutchman more than 15 cents a pound, and he sells it over here at from 80 cents to $1.20.

I have already alluded to the exceeding thinness of its leaf. It is a fact that 1 pound of it will wrap as much as 3 or 4 pounds of the comparatively thin Connecticut wrapper. So, you see, it is a very great competitor. Our people do not expect to keep it out, but they think that, having found a profitable crop in their own very superior tobacco, they might have a reasonable degree of protection. Two dollars a pound duty sounds large, but it does not begin to compensate for the difference due to lightness and thinness. We do not think it unreasonable to appeal, without demagogism, to the desire to give the farmer something of protection.

My people at home were very much determined, very anxious to secure a duty of $2 a pound. They know perfectly well that the tobacco will come in at $3 or $4, but if you put the rate high—suppose we put it at $2, as was done by the McKinley Act—the result is that the Dutchman, having an abundant supply cheaply produced, immediately drops his price to 80 cents or so. He would like to get $1.20, but he can make money at 50 cents. If you reduce the duty he ranges his prices between 84 cents and $1.20. Exactly that was done under the McKinley and Wilson acts. You can not escape it. He will put his tobacco down and it will come in under any duty. There is no doubt about that.

As science and the ingenuity of the country have progressed, and as great fertile lands have come into the possession of the people of the West for a nominal price and in immense areas for nothing, under the homestead act, the agriculture of the East has been very sorely afflicted. Those whom I know best and love best in this country depend upon the soil for their living. I used to see in my boyhood in Connecticut quite a number of cattle upon every farm of any considerable size. I do not see them now. I used to

see upon my grandfather's farm always a flock of sheep. They disappeared many years ago.

We compete with none of the products of that description. We could raise a very fair crop of wheat per acre, 30 bushels, perhaps. Nobody tries to raise wheat against the enormous prairies of the West, with those monstrous gang plows and the great machines that go cutting and binding, and I believe thrashing also, moving like batteries in echelon through square miles of fields. We can not compete with them in raising wheat. We raise oats enough for our own horses and some rye and occasionally some buckwheat for home consumption.

Mr. GRAY. No fertilizers are required on those Western fields.

Mr. HAWLEY. No fertilizers; you can find a slimy black soil 6 or 8 feet deep of eternal richness. And transportation has descended from 3 or 4 cents per ton per mile to 5 or 4 or 3 mills per mile. Competition is hopeless. So we fall back upon the dairies, and send good milk, good butter, and eggs, and what is commonly called garden truck to the towns and cities. And we raise some tobacco with which we try to make a little money. Some of our people raise large quantities of garden seeds, but we encounter the competition of dirty and adulterated stuff from Europe against which the Senate committee offers us no fair protection.

The short of it is, that agriculture is very greatly limited among us. There is only one single product that is really one of comparative profit. In 1892 Connecticut, Massachusetts, Vermont, and New Hampshire raised 65,748 cases of tobacco, of 350 pounds to the case, against 53,962 in 1895, a reduction of nearly 12,000. In 1892 New York raised 43,381 cases of tobacco, against 20,764 in 1895; Pennsylvania, in 1892, raised 85,714 cases, against 55,528 in 1895, a reduction of over 30,000 pounds; Wisconsin, in 1892, raised 51,428 cases, which was reduced to 22,762 in 1895; Ohio, in 1892, raised 58,600 cases under the McKinley law, and it went down to 38,751 under the Wilson law. The prices were more remarkable.

The average price of the New England crop in 1892 was a fraction over 25 cents a pound; in 1895 it went down to 9 cents per pound. It might have been an unfavorable season, but the reduction was greatly owing to legislation. The average in the other States named was 11¼ cents as against 5¼ cents, and this in the face of the fact that the manufacture of cigars is increasing at the rate of 75,000,000 per year.

Of the 4,200,000,000 cigars made in the United States last year, more than 2,000,000,000 were wrapped with Sumatra leaf, and will continue so to be under any ordinary duty.

I think—I appeal to my Republican friends particularly—that I am asking but a very modest and reasonable degree of protection for the highest form of all industries—that of agriculture—when I advocate $2 a pound duty on Sumatra, but vote for the $1.75, or all that is offered us.

Mr. PASCO. Mr. President, the amendment in which I feel the most interest is that proposed by the committee to the 5 per cent clause. Paragraph 210 reads as follows:

210. Wrapper tobacco, and filler tobacco when mixed or packed with more than 5 per cent (in weight) of wrapper tobacco, and all leaf tobacco the product of two or more countries or dependencies when mixed or packed together, if unstemmed, $1.50 per pound, etc.

I wish to give a brief history of this particular subject, so that the amendment may receive the consideration which its importance deserves.

When leaf tobacco was imported from Cuba into the State which I have the honor in part to represent, under the terms of the McKinley law an entire bale was subject to wrapper rates if a single leaf in the bale was suitable for wrapper purposes. This was the clause in the McKinley law:

242. Leaf tobacco suitable for cigar wrappers, if not stemmed, $2 per pound; if stemmed, $2.75 per pound: *Provided*, That if any portion of any tobacco imported in any bale, box, or package, or in bulk, shall be suitable for cigar wrappers, the entire quantity of tobacco contained in such bale, box, or package or bulk shall be dutiable; if not stemmed, at $2 per pound; if stemmed, at $2.75 per pound.

It was found that this worked a great hardship, to such an extent that if the law had been enforced in strict accordance with its apparent meaning it would have practically excluded the importation of wrapper tobacco from the Island of Cuba. The question was finally carried to the Board of Appraisers in New York as to how this clause should be interpreted, and they decided that only the class of leaf tobacco commercially known as wrapper should pay the higher rate of duty, and if less than 15 per cent of the tobacco in a bale was suitable for wrapper purposes, then that the entire bale might be admitted as filler tobacco. That was the decision of the appraisers, which modified the severity of the law, though it does not seem to have been in exact harmony with its language. The question was carefully considered when the Wilson bill was pending here, and this 15 per cent clause was regarded as wise and judicious, and it was incorporated as a part of the Wilson law. It reads as follows:

Provided further, That if any bale, box, package, or bulk of leaf tobacco of uniform quality contains exceeding 15 per cent thereof of leaves suitable in color, fineness of texture, and size for wrappers for cigars, then the entire contents of such bale, box, package, or bulk shall be subject to the same duty as wrapper tobacco.

This carried into the law practically the decision of the Board of Appraisers, and that has been the rule which has controlled the matter up to the present time. It was carried into the House bill as appears on page 66:

Provided, That if any tobacco imported in any bale, box, or package, or in bulk, shall be the growth of different countries or shall contain exceeding 15 per cent thereof of leaves suitable for cigar wrappers, the entire quantity of tobacco contained in such bale, box, or package, or in bulk, shall be dutiable, if not stemmed, at $2 per pound; if stemmed, at $2.75 per pound.

When the bill first came from the Senate committee, the 5 per cent clause was substituted for the 15 per cent clause, and the effect of the amendment now offered by the Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON] who has charge of the bill will restore this item at the same rate that appears in the Wilson law, the same rate fixed by the decision of the Board of Appraisers, and it is a just and proper and fair amendment.

If the 5 per cent clause should be adopted as part of the law, and this amendment should fail, it would practically keep out of the country the Habana tobacco which has been heretofore imported, for the Cubans put up their tobacco there without separating the tobacco suitable for wrappers from the fillers, and it is impossible to determine the quality of an entire bale of tobacco without opening each bale and examining each leaf separately, which is not practicable. It is not imported in this way with the intention of defrauding the revenue of the Government, but that is the practice over in Cuba, and the people who use the tobacco in this country have no way of changing the Cuban mode of baling tobacco. So it is the proper and just thing to make this allowance, and to impose the wrapper duty only in case there should be more than 15 per cent of tobacco in the bale that can be used for that purpose.

We have presented this matter to the committee, and I am glad to say that they have accepted this modification of their amendment. They have restored the House features, and in this respect it is in harmony with the Wilson law.

So far as the rates of duty are concerned, the people in my State are interested not only as cigar manufacturers, but as tobacco raisers. A very fine quality of tobacco is raised in Florida, and the farmers and planters who raise tobacco believe that it can be used successfully instead of the Habana tobacco for a wrapper. This fine quality of tobacco is raised in several of the counties in my State, and in Polk County it is claimed that a grade of leaf is raised that can hardly be distinguished from the real Habana. This subject is of particular importance to our people, as many Cubans have come over to Florida and manufactories have been established at Tampa, Key West, and other places, and a most valuable manufacturing interest has been built up, which interest will be destroyed if this 5 per cent clause should be insisted upon.

The farmers and tobacco raisers of the State are specially interested in the rate of duty upon leaf tobacco, which, as I have already said, is grown in many of the counties. A number of communities are endeavoring to raise this tobacco. Both political parties have decided that tobacco is a proper subject for a high rate of duty. In the McKinley Act, as I have shown, the duty on wrapper tobacco was fixed at $2.75 a pound, in the Wilson law at $1.50 a pound, in the bill as it came from the House at $2 a pound, and in the bill as reported by the committee at $1.50 a pound. The proposition now offered with reference to the rate is a compromise between the House action and the original Senate committee action, and fixes the rate at $1.75 a pound, halfway between the two propositions.

Both political parties, as I have said, have recognized tobacco as a proper subject for a high rate of tariff duty; and the only question is between the rate of $2 a pound and $1.50 a pound. The committee, as I understand, after considering all the facts which have been presented to them, have reached this compromise rate of $1.75 a pound. I am disposed to stand by the action of the committee in that regard as well as in the other, believing that this is a proper subject for revenue, and believing as did those who framed the Wilson law and as did those who have framed this bill, that this is a proper subject from which a large revenue can properly be raised. For these reasons I shall vote for the amendments as offered by the Senator from Iowa to the amendment which originally came from the Senate Committee on Finance.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. President, the smoking of a good cigar by an ordinary Democrat in the United States is one of the lost arts [laughter], and it is the result of the taxation which has been placed upon tobacco and upon cigars. We have duties levied—we have had them all the time, and I do not expect that they will be changed by anything that I shall say—in the interest of tobacco growers that are enormous and unconscionable, and they can not be justified in any court of conscience or before any tribunal which recognizes the obligation of moral law.

I do not, Mr. President, recognize the right of Congress to pass

a law imposing high taxes upon anything except for the purpose of raising revenue for the support of the Government. It was an old doctrine of our fathers that luxuries should be taxed high and necessaries low, but they understood by luxuries the things wealthy people would buy, because they would then bear their proportional part of the taxes necessary to support the Government when their wealth was beyond the reach of direct taxation. But the idea of saying that a pipeful of tobacco is a luxury, or that a fairly good cigar is a luxury, that has got to be taxed to prohibition, and thus smite the lowliest, the humblest, and the poorest class of our population, is a perversion of that doctrine.

I have cast up some figures on this tobacco business, which show that the people of this country are completely in the hands of the manufacturers of cigars. Our Internal Revenue Commissioner reports to us that the annual make of cigars in this country is about four thousand millions. He gives us the number of pounds of tobacco used in the making of those four thousand million cigars, which shows that there are about 20 pounds of tobacco in a thousand cigars.

I have taken the export price of our American tobacco, and it is far beyond the reach of the home price of our ordinary tobacco. I have taken it at 12 cents a pound, where our good tobacco where I was raised in Kentucky, in one of the best tobacco districts in that State, is not now worth 5 cents a pound, and yet I have taken it at 12 cents. Twenty pounds of American tobacco at 12 cents a pound gives $2.40; labor, 82 cents, and the internal revenue on that tobacco $3 on a thousand cigars, which make them cost $6.22.

If the manufacturer imports 20 pounds of tobacco and makes a thousand cigars, his tobacco costs him 40 cents a pound, and that is $8; the labor cost is $2.76; the customs tax on that tobacco, at 35 cents a pound, is $7; and the internal-revenue tax on cigars is $3 a thousand, making the total cost $20.70 a thousand. A cigar dealer told me that the low-grade cigars, which cost six dollars and something on the thousand, are sold at from $25 to $35 a thousand by the wholesale dealer, by the manufacturer; that these cost, if made from imported tobacco, $20, and they are sold at from $40 to $50 a thousand. How is it possible for them to impose this high price upon the American people?

When you look at the cost of imported cigars you find the duty about 100 per cent. Twenty pounds of cigars cost $4.50 a pound, which makes $90; the specific tax is $4 a pound, which makes $80; the ad valorem tax is 25 per cent, which makes $22.50, and the internal-revenue tax is $3, making a thousand cigars of the best quality imported cost, laid down in the United States, $195.50.

The ordinary good tobacco is prohibited from coming by the high rates of duty, just as we saw a few moments ago that the ordinary silk goods are kept out by specific rates amounting to from 100 to 700 per cent. The result is that the exceedingly wealthy people can smoke cigars that cost by the thousand 20 cents apiece, but an ordinary Democrat can not smoke cigars at that price. What has he got to do? He can not have good tobacco; so he has to take cigars made out of what we called in Kentucky "lugs," the 5-cent cigars.

The tobacco manufacturers are protected from without by your tariff duties and protected against competition within by your internal-revenue system. A poor man can not make cigars and sell them; a man of small means can not engage in the business. It takes much capital. Hence, the cigar-making business of the United States is in the hands of a few monumental cigar dealers, millionaires; and if they are not millionaires when they go into the business, they soon get to be. Any man who has the profits which are given by this law to this business soon gets to be a millionaire and a multimillionaire.

I want the tobacco smokers, as well as the tobacco producers, as well as the tobacco importers, and as well as the tobacco manufacturers—I want the millions who smoke, and have a right to smoke, to smoke good cigars. It is a right that is in abeyance; it is a right that has been confiscated; but it is a right nevertheless; and in imposing taxes to raise revenue for the Government, we ought to regard the smoking of tobacco as one of the necessaries of life, and not a luxury, for we find it in every family all over our country, North, South, East, and West, in the lowliest cabin of the laborer; and we see the laborer on the highway with his pipe or cigar in his mouth. If nobody else moves to decrease the rate of duty in the pending tariff bill, I shall move to do it. I move, Mr. President, to strike out paragraph 210 and substitute in lieu of it:

Leaf tobacco of all kinds, 30 per cent ad valorem.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BURROWS in the chair). The Senator from Texas proposes an amendment, which will be stated.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to strike out paragraph 210 as amended and in lieu thereof to insert:

Leaf tobacco of all kinds, 30 per cent ad valorem.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the amendment proposed by the Senator from Texas [Mr. MILLS].

Mr. PASCO. I merely wish to add to what I have said before a statement as to the duties collected on importations of leaf tobacco of these different varieties under the Wilson law. Of leaf tobacco suitable for cigar wrappers, in 1896, at the rate of $1.50 a pound, the rate fixed by the Wilson law, the duties collected on importations were $6,286,523.09. The amount collected at the custom-houses upon leaf and other unmanufactured tobacco, not stemmed, was $5,555,548.93, in the same year, at the rate of 35 cents a pound; on stemmed tobacco, at the rate of 50 cents a pound, the amount collected was $522,881.23, making the total amount of revenue on leaf tobacco during the year 1896, under the operation of the Wilson law, $12,364,953.25.

Mr. BACON. There are two rates of duty specified in the pending paragraph, one for wrappers and the other for fillers, and in the case of stemmed and unstemmed there is a variation. I desire to ask the senior Senator from Florida [Mr. PASCO] if he can state approximately what is the ad valorem which these specific duties will give upon this kind of tobacco?

Mr. PASCO. The Senator from Texas [Mr. MILLS] has made a calculation upon that subject, and can probably answer the question of the Senator from Georgia better than I can.

Mr. BACON. Can not the Senator from Florida state what it is, approximately? He is doubtless familiar with the subject.

Mr. MILLS. I will state that it is somewhere from 124 to 129 per cent.

Mr. BACON. I understood the Senator from Florida to say that that duty is acceptable and desired by the people of Florida. Am I correct in that?

Mr. PASCO. I have stated, Mr. President, that it is simply a question of 25 cents between the rate fixed by the laws heretofore passed by the Congresses sitting in 1890 and 1894, representing the two great political parties, one known as the McKinley law and the other as the Wilson law. The rate offered by the amendment is a compromise between the two rates, meeting them halfway. The higher rates would be most acceptable to the tobacco raisers of Florida, but to the cigar manufacturers the lower rates would be acceptable. That is the way my people regard it.

Mr. BACON. I desire to know from the Senator from Florida why it is that the higher rate is desired by the people of Florida?

Mr. PASCO. The tobacco growers prefer the higher rates because they think they will get a larger price for the tobacco, and the cigar manufacturers prefer the lower rates because they think they will get the tobacco used in manufacturing cigars at a lower rate.

Mr. BACON. I understand the Senator to say that the tobacco growers desire a high rate because by reason of it the price of their product will be increased.

Mr. PASCO. That is their expectation.

Mr. MILLS. To satisfy my friend the Senator from Georgia [Mr. BACON], I will say that on leaf tobacco suitable for cigar wrappers the equivalent ad valorem is 124.29 per cent. On another class of leaf tobacco it is 93.60 per cent; on another class, 105.14 per cent; another, 222.22 per cent; another, 238.11 per cent; another, 110.80 per cent; another, 112.69 per cent; another, 133.62 per cent. If those duties were reduced there would be large importations, and we would get more revenue and better cigars.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the amendment proposed by the Senator from Texas.

The amendment was rejected.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the committee as amended on the motion of the Senator from Iowa.

The amendment as amended was agreed to.

Mr. PETTIGREW. Mr. President, I like the House provision better than that of the Senate in regard to tobacco, for the reason that it places a higher duty upon fillers than the Senate committee have placed upon it. I do not know that the duty upon wrappers is any too high, but under the paragraph as it now stands we will receive no revenue whatever from tobacco that will come in from Cuba or Mexico as wrapper. It will all come in as filler and be used as wrapper, thus defrauding the Government out of a very large sum of money. It does not seem to me that that is just or fair or that it furnishes that measure of protection to the producers of wrapper in this country that ought to be afforded.

It is a fact that last year there was imported into this country but 28,000 pounds of Cuban wrappers, so called, which paid duty at $1.50, and yet there were made in this country 300,000,000 Cuban cigars, 160,000,000 of them being made in Florida. They were wrapped in Cuban tobacco—tobacco that came in as filler and paid 35 cents a pound.

The revenue collected was about thirty-eight or forty thousand dollars. The revenue which ought to have been collected is $2,250,000. I know it is useless to talk to the committee, for after the caucus meet and they agree, the most nefarious and infamous provision can be put through here without the squirming of anybody's conscience. While I know it is useless, I am going to put into the RECORD these facts in regard to the matter, in the hope

that they will have some influence on the conference. I ask the Secretary to read the statement which I present.

The Secretary read as follows:

There were imported into the United States during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1895, 25,688,261 pounds, of which 5,104,495 pounds were Sumatra and paid duty of $1.50 per pound.

	Pounds.
Cuba tobacco, which paid duty of $1.50 per pound	28,133
Imported into the port of Tampa	3,818
Imported into the port of Key West	2,683
	6,501
Leaves a balance of	21,632

coming under the head of Habana wrappers, constituting the entire importation of the United States, outside of Tampa and Key West. During the same year there were manufactured in the State of Florida 147,802,909 cigars. Probably 90 per cent belonged to Tampa and Key West, and were known as Habana-wrapped cigars.

There were imported into the United States tobacco for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1895, 32,924,966 pounds. Sumatra suitable for wrappers and paying duty of $1.50 per pound, 4,428,448 pounds.

	Pounds.
Imported from Cuba	22,406
Into Key West, Fla	3,881
Into Tampa, Fla	2,563
	5,844
Leaves a balance of	16,562

constituting the importation of wrappers at all other ports of the United States paying a duty of $1.50 per pound. In this year of 1895 there was manufactured in the State of Florida 161,084,191 cigars, and again I presume that 90 per cent were made at Tampa and Key West and constitute cigars wrapped with Habana tobacco. So taking the two years together (1895 and 1896) there were manufactured at Tampa and Key West about 250,000,000 cigars covered with Habana wrappers; and taking a fair estimate of 5 pounds to a thousand, it would seem in that case to require 1,250,000 pounds of wrappers to cover these particular cigars, and the duty that the Government has affixed ($1.50) would amount to $1,875,000.

The duty actually received for wrappers at Tampa and Key West for two years was $18,517.50, and deducting this from the amount that the Government should have received, the following is the result, a loss to the Government and a present to the manufacturers of Tampa and Key West of $1,856,482.50.

We go a little further and take the total quantity of tobacco other than Sumatra which has paid duty of $1.50, and which comes under the head of Cuba wrappers, for two years, and take the entire country including Tampa and Key West; there were imported as wrappers from Cuba, paying a duty of $1.50 in the year 1895, 28,133 pounds; in the year 1896, 22,406 pounds; making a total of 50,539 pounds; at $1.50 per pound would be $75,808.50.

It is generally believed that the production of Habana wrapped cigars is about 300,000,000 per annum throughout the United States, including Tampa and Key West. Now, taking this to be nearly correct, it would seem that 600,000,000 cigars had been made and covered with Habana wrappers during the years of 1895 and 1896, and if it requires 5 pounds of wrappers to cover a thousand cigars, the duty which the Government should have received would amount to	$4,500,000.00
The duty which the Government actually received on the importation of Habana wrappers amounted to	75,808.50
Loss to the Government and a present to the manufacturers in two years of	4,424,191.50
During the same period, 1895 and 1896, there was imported into the United States of Sumatra tobacco about 10,000,000 pounds, paying a duty to the Government of	15,000,000.00

Mark you, this is in two years, and these figures are here given simply as a key to show that during the two years referred to, the higher-priced cigars have paid a duty for their wrappers of $75,808.50, while the lower-priced cigars, and largely constituting the smoke of the masses, have paid a duty of $15,000,000 to the Government for their wrappers. It is unnecessary to make any further argument—figures will speak for themselves—except that I will show it to you in another way. If it takes about 2½ pounds of Sumatra wrapper to cover the outside of a thousand cigars, now then, whosoever smokes these cigars—and some of them are as cheap as $20 per thousand—pays the Government import duty on the wrapper of $3.75. If Habana manufacturers have virtually paid 35 cents duty on tobacco which they have used on the outside of their cigars, and presuming that instead of using 2½ pounds they use 5 pounds, thus you will see that the higher-priced cigars, running anywhere from $50 to $120 per thousand, pay a Government duty on the wrappers of $1.75 per thousand, whereas the cheaper article, as already stated, pays, by the working of the law, $3.75 per thousand.

Mr. PETTIGREW. It seems from this statement that wrappers for high-priced cigars come in as fillers. I have been informed that tobacco which was sent to the port of New York and rejected has gone to Florida and there has been admitted and used for this purpose. Therefore the cigars which the more wealthy people smoke pay a duty of $1.75 a thousand on the wrapper, while the cigars that the poor people smoke, covered with Sumatra wrapper, pay a duty of $7.50 a thousand on the wrapper. It seems to me it is unjust and unwise. I supposed the committee would look into the matter and correct the defect. There is no good reason why the Cuban wrapper should come in for nothing.

There is no good reason why it should not pay the duty required of other wrappers. Only 28,000 pounds of Cuban wrapper paid a duty of $1.50 last year, and yet we made 300,000,000 Cuban cigars. They ought to have paid a duty of $2,250,000. Therefore I think the House provision should prevail, and the duty on all fillers should be 65 cents, instead of 35 cents.

I wish also to have placed in the RECORD a statement by Mr. Storme, who is one of the largest cigar makers in this country, if not in the world.

The Secretary read as follows:

Let me say to you that there is no man on earth who can positively define what constitutes a wrapper in tobacco such as comes from Cuba or Mexico; and while the McKinley law was very explicit and stated that where any portion of a bale consisted of wrappers the whole was to pay the wrapper duty, yet in spite of this the Habana and Mexican tobacco continued to pour into the United States at 35 cents duty, whereas the duty on recognized wrappers, such as Sumatra, was $2 a pound; and this thing grew worse under the Wilson bill. In fact, there is no law for Tampa or Key West tobacco, which had been refused admittance in New York, had been shipped to Tampa and Key West, and there readily admitted. This is a ridiculous farce. Inasmuch as it seems utterly impossible to get a uniform duty, as pointed out in my argument, we must do the next best thing, and hence I advocated a duty of $3 on wrappers and $1 on fillers, and the following would have been the result: If manufacturers of cigars use 2½ pounds of Sumatra for wrappers, then the duty that these cigars paid the Government for their wrappers would be $7.50.

The Habana manufacturers claim that they use 5 pounds. Good; we admit that. If they paid $1 a pound, their duty for the wrappers would be $5 per thousand, but they would also pay more duty for the filling of the work than the people who use the Sumatra wrapper. To put it different: The Habana cigars consume about 20 pounds of tobacco to a thousand. If it is all Habana tobacco, and paid $1 per pound, the duty on that thousand cigars would be $20. That represents the better class of cigars and selling anywhere from $50 to $120 per thousand. The other cigars, on which Sumatra tobacco is used in connection with Habana, sell anywhere from $30 to $50 per thousand, and the duty they would pay would be about as follows: Twelve pounds of fillers at $1 per pound duty would be $12. Two and a half pounds of wrappers at $3 per pound duty would be $7.50, making a total of $19.50.

So you see I have this pretty carefully worked out. All other cigars in which there was no imported tobacco, either for wrappers or fillers, would pay no import duty at all to the Government, and these would constitute the smoke of the masses, and thus the broad principle would be carried out, that those who smoke the better class of cigars would pay the higher duty, and that is correct and as it should be.

Now, then, the Dingley schedule finally fixed the duty on wrappers at $2 per pound, and on fillers at 65 cents. If you take the same rule as above, then the following will be the result: Twelve pounds of fillers at 65 cents duty would be $7.80, and 2½ pounds of Sumatra wrappers at $2 per pound duty would be $5, making a total of $12.80. The Habana cigars consume about 20 pounds of tobacco to a thousand—if it is all Habana tobacco—and pay 65 cents per pound duty. Then the duty on that thousand cigars would be $13; and this Dingley bill under the circumstances is quite correct, excepting that the 15 per cent clause, which was crammed in by the Tampa people, should be stricken out and the language of the bill be precisely as it was under the McKinley Act.

Now, these people who have been making the clear Habana cigars have had such enormous advantages that they do not care what the duty is on wrappers as long as they would be permitted to continue their illicit practice, and this will be accomplished if the duty on fillers is allowed to remain at 35 cents; in fact, the duty on fillers should be $1. The principle is correct that whatever the duty on wrappers is, the duty on fillers should be one-half. As already stated, the Dingley law will answer, and I believe under it the American growers and manufacturers of tobacco would be benefited as never before, and the wrong which has crept into the operation of the previous law would be corrected, and what we consider the American manufacturer would not be driven out of business.

Again, why should the people of Connecticut and Massachusetts who produce the wrappers—why should these alone be considered, whereas the greater number of tobacco growers in New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio (who raise exclusively fillers), Wisconsin, Georgia, Florida, and even California to a small extent are all interested in fillers? And therefore I say, let us have the Dingley bill, pure and simple, with the 15 per cent clause stricken out, $2 on wrappers, and not less than 65 cents on fillers.

Mr. PETTIGREW. I move that the duty be increased so that it will read as follows:

Filler tobacco, not specially provided for in this act, if unstemmed, 65 cents per pound; if stemmed, 80 cents per pound.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from South Dakota.

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. PETTIGREW. I thought I would call for the yeas and nays on the question of agreeing to the amendment, but concluded that I would not, because I knew it would be absolutely useless, and I did not care to take up the time of the Senate.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, on page 67, to strike out paragraph 211, as follows:

211. All other tobacco in leaf, unmanufactured and not stemmed, 65 cents per pound; if stemmed, 80 cents per pound.

And to insert in lieu thereof the following:

211. The term wrapper tobacco as used in this act means that quality of leaf tobacco which is suitable for cigar wrappers, and the term filler tobacco means all other leaf tobacco. Collectors of customs shall not permit entry to be made, except under regulations to be prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury, of any leaf tobacco, unless the invoices of the same shall specify in detail the character of such tobacco, whether wrapper or filler, its origin and quality. In the examination for classification of any imported leaf tobacco, at least one bale, box, or package in every ten, and at least one in every invoice, shall be examined by the appraiser or person authorized by law to make such examination, and at least ten hands shall be examined in each examined bale, box, or package.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in paragraph 212, page 68, line 4, before the word "not," to strike out "Tobacco manufactured, of all descriptions," and insert "All other tobacco, manufactured or unmanufactured," and in line 5, before the word "cents," to strike out "sixty-five" and insert "forty;" so as to make the paragraph read:

212. All other tobacco, manufactured or unmanufactured, not specially provided for in this act, 40 cents per pound.

Mr. ALLISON. I wish to offer an amendment modifying the committee amendment by inserting "fifty-five" instead of "forty."

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to modify the amendment of the committee by striking out "forty" and inserting "fifty-five;" so as to read "55 cents per pound."

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

The amendment as amended was agreed to.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 213, page 68, line 8, before the word "cents," to strike out "sixty-five" and insert "forty;" so as to make the paragraph read:

213. Snuff and snuff flour, manufactured of tobacco, ground dry, or damp, and pickled, scented, or otherwise, of all descriptions, 40 cents per pound.

Mr. ALLISON. I move to amend the amendment of the committee by striking out "forty" and inserting "fifty-five."

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to amend the amendment of the committee by striking out "forty" and inserting "fifty-five;" so as to read "55 cents per pound."

Mr. WHITE. I call attention to the fact that the rate now proposed by the committee is higher than that in the McKinley Act; 5 cents, I believe.

Mr. ALLISON. In this it is 5 cents and in the former paragraph 15 cents.

I will say to the Senator that a lot of our Virginia friends and others in that neighborhood feel that there should be an additional duty provided for manufactured tobacco.

Mr. WHITE. I did not suppose the Senator was advised as to the desires of that part of the country. I notice that the Senators from that section of the country are absent. I presume they will reply hereafter to any statement made by the Senator from Iowa.

Mr. ALLISON. I assure the Senator from California that it is agreeable to our friends on both sides.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Iowa to the amendment of the committee.

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

The amendment as amended was agreed to.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 214, line 9, after the word "dollars," to strike out "and fifty cents;" so as to read:

Cigars, cigarettes, cheroots of all kinds, $4 per pound and 25 per cent ad valorem; and paper cigars and cigarettes, including wrappers, shall be subject to the same duties as are herein imposed upon cigars.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in paragraph 214, line 13, after the word "cigars," to insert the following proviso:

Provided, That cigarettes of all kinds weighing less than 4 pounds per thousand shall pay a duty of $3 per pound.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask that that amendment be disagreed to.

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. PETTIGREW. I believe this completes the tobacco schedule.

Mr. WHITE. If the Senator from South Dakota will allow me, I have a few letters here which I wish to put in the RECORD in connection with this schedule.

Mr. PETTIGREW. I wish to make a very brief statement in connection with the schedule, and then I will yield to the Senator from California.

I wish to call attention to the fact that the cigars which are smoked by the masses of the people of this country are those that are either wrapped by American tobacco or by Sumatra tobacco, and that the high-priced Cuban cigars that are smoked by the rich people of the country are wrapped in Cuban wrappers that come in with a duty imposed of 35 cents a pound, and come in as fillers. It is undisputed that they come in fraudulently, that they come in so as to defraud the revenue, and that they come in for the benefit and advantage of the people who smoke the high-priced cigars.

I placed in the RECORD a statement made in a speech at the Ocala convention, and also a statement of Mr. Storme, with regard to this matter. Mr. Storme is one of the largest manufacturers in this country. It is undisputed, it is unchallenged, and it shows conclusively that in the last two years the revenues were defrauded four and a half million dollars by admitting Mexican and Cuban wrappers as fillers. I simply want to call attention to that fact, and let it go before the country.

Mr. ALLISON. I wish also to say one word in respect to this subject. If that be true, it is the fault of the administration of the law. The law taxes Cuban wrappers the same as it taxes Sumatra wrappers; and if the people of Florida who make cigars are defrauding the revenue, it is the business of our Government to see that it is not defrauded. The remedy proposed by Mr. Storme is that we shall reduce all tobacco to 65 cents a pound.

Mr. PETTIGREW. Not at all; it is to increase the duty on filler tobacco to 65 cents and leave the wrapper as you have it. That is my amendment.

Mr. ALLISON. I did not speak of the Senator's amendment. I spoke of Mr. Storme's letter.

Mr. PETTIGREW. Mr. Storme's letter is in, and he also proposes to put the duty on wrappers at $2 and the duty on fillers at 65 cents.

Mr. MALLORY. In reference to the remarks of the Senator from South Dakota, I should like to inquire of him whether he will be able to correct the evil of which he is now complaining except simply to put a higher penalty upon certain individuals who are engaged in the cigar-making industry? That does not remove the difficulty which is presented to the attention of the Senate by the Senator's remarks, that difficulty arising out of the fact that you can not always tell what are suitable for wrappers and what are suitable for fillers.

It seems to me that the source of trouble in the Senator's mind arises from the inability of the inspectors to determine what tobacco is suitable for wrappers and what tobacco is not. Some tobacco may be used as wrapper tobacco, but it is not necessarily wrapper tobacco. I do not think it is any fraud on the Government if an inspector in one place decides that certain tobacco is suitable for wrappers when another inspector in another place holds that the same tobacco is not suitable for wrappers. That may have occurred, but it arises out of the fallibility of human judgment.

But the proposition which the Senator has made will not get rid of that difficulty. I should like to know how we can get around the objection he has urged here as to the letting in of tobacco as filler tobacco when in fact it is wrapper tobacco.

Mr. PETTIGREW. I take it for granted that it is impossible to enforce the law. It is admitted, then, on all sides that the law is avoided, that the Habana wrappers come in as fillers, and that we reap no revenue whatever from that source. That seems to be conceded. For some reason it is impossible to tell the difference between a Habana filler and a Habana wrapper, and therefore we can not enforce the law. And in the face of these admitted facts it is proposed to continue these provisions.

Now I will answer the Senator from Florida. If the duty is now 35 cents and the manufacturers of high-priced cigars do not pay their fair share of the burden, if you increase the duty to 65 cents a pound, they will be obliged to pay their fair share of the burden or else use American tobacco. If they avoid the law, so as to bring in as fillers wrappers upon which the duty is $2 a pound and pay only 65 cents a pound, then, if you can not distinguish between wrapper and filler, can you not remedy the evil by increasing the duty on the whole imports?

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Mr. President, this subject is a somewhat difficult one, but the remedy is not, I think, the remedy proposed by the Senator from South Dakota. There are about 4,000,000,000 cigars made in the United States. About half of that number, about 2,000,000,000, are made from domestic tobacco. There are imported about 4,000,000 cigars. Perhaps I am not correct as to the amount of cigars imported, but only about 1 per cent of the cigars consumed in the United States are imported.

So here are nearly 2,000,000,000 cigars that are made with more or less Habana filler in them and made in the United States. Now, to raise the filler from 35 to 65 cents a pound increases very largely the cost of the 2,000,000,000 cigars which are made in the United States, either wholly from Habana filler or Habana filler mixed with domestic tobacco; and those are cigars smoked by the common people just as much as the cigars which the Senator from South Dakota says are smoked by the common people. His remedy proposes to advance the cost of cigars which are smoked by at least half the people of the United States to punish the rich people, who smoke 1 per cent of the cigars which are consumed in the United States. That is the difficulty of the situation.

Mr. PETTUS. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

Mr. WHITE. Will the Senator from Alabama withdraw the motion simply to permit me to have printed in the RECORD some communications?

Mr. PETTUS. Certainly.

Mr. WHITE. I have in my hand a number of letters referring to this matter. I ask that the first be printed in full, and as to the others that the names and addresses of the parties be inserted in the RECORD.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. There being no objection, that will be the order.

The matter referred to is as follows:

LOS ANGELES, CAL., *April 15, 1897.*

DEAR SIR: The council desires to call your attention to the cigar makers of this city and county, who are threatened with a disastrous future in their trade if the Dingley bill passes your honorable body. This business, which employs at present over 100,000 persons in the United States, would be thrown into involuntary strikes and their attendant miseries. We therefore petition you to oppose any increase of tariff on imported filler and wrappers, as mentioned on page 52 of the House bill, and to have the tariff remain as it is to-day, i. e., 30 cents dutyon imported filler and $1.50 on imported wrappers.

We find that the cigar manufacturers already pay a tax of about $12.50 on every 1,000 cigars made, and the proposed increase means an additional tax of $7 per 1,000, which is a direct tax on the people employed in this trade. These are the conditions now confronting the cigar makers in this country. We further request you to aid Messrs. Gompers and Tracy to secure a hearing before the Committee on Finance and present their grievance.

Hoping you will do all in your power to avert disastor from the cigar makers,

We remain, yours, respectfully,

L. A. COUNTY COUNCIL OF LABOR,
H. E. DEWEY, *President.*
A. VINETTE, *Secretary.*

Hon. STEPHEN M. WHITE,
United States Senator.

A letter from M. P. Kohlberg & Co., importers of and dealers in leaf tobacco and cigars, of San Francisco, Cal.;
A letter from William Rehker, secretary of the Cigar Makers' Local Union No. 248, of San Francisco, Cal.;
A telegram of The. Feeny, secretary, of Oakland, Cal.;
A letter of M. A. Roberts, secretary of the Alameda County Federation of Trades, of Oakland, Cal.;
A letter from G. W. Perkins, president of the Cigar Makers' International Union of America, of Chicago, Ill.;
A letter of Harry Marks, recording secretary of the Cigar Makers' Local Union No. 228, of San Francisco, Cal.;
A letter of H. E. Dewey, president, and A. Vinette, secretary of the Los Angeles County Council of Labor, of Los Angeles, Cal.;
A letter of F. J. Hepp, secretary of the Cigar Makers' Local Union No. 291, of San Jose, Cal.;
A letter of F. C. Ferris, secretary of the Cigar Makers' Local Union No. 332, of San Diego, Cal.;
Two letters of H. E. Martens, secretary of the Cigar Makers' Local Union No. 225, of Los Angeles, Cal.;
A letter of G. W. Perkins, international president of Cigar Makers' International Union of America, of Chicago, Ill.; and
A letter of G. S. Nicholas, of New York City.

Mr. CHILTON. I propose an amendment to the pending bill, and ask that it be printed.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. It will be so ordered.

Mr. PETTUS. I renew my motion that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After seventeen minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened, and (at 5 o'clock and 20 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Saturday, June 26, 1897, at 11 o'clock a. m.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate June 25, 1897.

DEPUTY AUDITOR.

George W. Esterly, of Minnesota, to be deputy auditor for the State and other Departments, to succeed James J. Willie, removed.

COMMISSIONER OF IMMIGRATION.

George B. Billings, of Massachusetts, to be commissioner of immigration for the port of Boston, in the State of Massachusetts, to succeed Thomas F. Delhanty, resigned.

COMMISSIONERS TO EXAMINE AND CLASSIFY LANDS.

George A. Black, of Fairhaven, Wash., to be a commissioner to examine and classify lands within the land-grant and indemnity land-grant limits of the Northern Pacific Railroad Company in the Cœur d'Alene land district in Idaho, vice John E. McManus, removed.

Thomas A. Davis, of Malad, Idaho, to be a commissioner to examine and classify lands within the land-grant and indemnity land-grant limits of the Northern Pacific Railroad Company in the Cœur d'Alene land district in Idaho, vice Joseph T. Scott, removed.

William Ryan, of Rathdrum, Idaho, to be a commissioner to examine and classify lands within the land-grant and indemnity land-grant limits of the Northern Pacific Railroad Company in the Cœur d'Alene land district in Idaho, vice John B. Goode, removed.

PROMOTION IN THE MARINE CORPS.

Second Lieut. William N. McKelvy, United States Marine Corps, to be a first lieutentant in said corps from the 20th day of June, 1897 (subject to the examinations required by law), vice First Lieut. Thomas C. Prince, promoted.

ENVOY EXTRAORDINARY AND MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY.

Irving B. Dudley, of California, to be envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States to Peru, vice James A. McKenzie, resigned.

CONSULS.

Frank C. Denison, of Vermont, to be consul of the United States at Woodstock, New Brunswick, vice Grenville James, resigned.

Frank Dillingham, of California, to be consul of the United States at Auckland, New Zealand, vice John Darcy Connolly, resigned.

PROMOTIONS IN THE NAVY.

Capt. George C. Remey, to be a commodore in the Navy, from the 19th day of June, 1897, vice Commodore Edmund O. Matthews, promoted.

Commander William H. Whiting, to be a captain in the Navy, from the 19th day of June, 1897, vice Capt. George C. Remey, promoted.

Lieut. Commander Frederick M. Symonds, to be a commander in the Navy, from the 19th day of June, 1897 (subject to the examinations required by law), vice Commander William H. Whiting, promoted.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate June 25, 1897.

CONSULS.

Edward H. Thompson, of Massachusetts, to be consul of the United States at Progreso, Mexico.

Horace W. Metcalf, of Maine, to be consul of the United States at Newcastle-on-Tyne, England.

William Jarvis, of New Hampshire, to be consul of the United States at Milan, Italy.

UNITED STATES DISTRICT ATTORNEY.

J. Otis Humphrey, of Illinois, to be attorney of the United States for the southern district of Illinois.

MARSHALS.

Addison Davis James, of Kentucky, to be marshal of the United States for the district of Kentucky.

Charles P. Hitch, of Illinois, to be marshal of the United States for the southern district of Illinois.

Walter H. Johnson, of Georgia, to be marshal of the United States for the northern district of Georgia.

COMMISSIONERS.

Albert C. Thompson, of Ohio; Alexander C. Botkin, of Montana, and David B. Culberson, of Texas, to be the commissioners to revise and codify the criminal and penal laws of the United States.

REGISTER OF THE LAND OFFICE.

Charles Kingston, of Grover, Wyo., to be register of the land office at Evanston, Wyo.

RECEIVER OF PUBLIC MONEYS.

Frank M. Foote, of Evanston, Wyo., to be receiver of public moneys at Evanston, Wyo.

COLLECTOR OF INTERNAL REVENUE.

Richard Yates, of Illinois, to be collector of internal revenue for the eighth district of Illinois.

POSTMASTER.

George E. Smith, to be postmaster at Laurel, in the county of Sussex and State of Delaware.

SENATE.

SATURDAY, *June 26, 1897.*

The Senate met at 11 o'clock a. m.

Prayer by Rev. HUGH JOHNSTON, D. D., of the city of Washington.

The Secretary proceeded to read the Journal of yesterday's proceedings, when, on motion of Mr. TELLER, and by unanimous consent, the further reading was dispensed with.

DRAWBACK ALLOWANCES.

The VICE-PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting, in response to a resolution of the 17th instant, copies of the evidence or statements on which the drawback allowances contained in Circular No. 102, of June 25, 1896, division of customs, were based; which was read.

Mr. VEST. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The absence of a quorum being suggested, the Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Allen,	Hawley,	Morrill,	Teller,
Allison,	Heitfeld,	Pasco,	Turner,
Berry,	Hoar,	Pettigrew,	Turpie,
Burrows,	Jones, Ark.	Pettus,	Vest,
Carter,	Lodge,	Platt, Conn.	Walthall,
Chandler,	McLaurin,	Platt, N. Y.	Wetmore,
Clay,	Mallory,	Proctor,	White.
Fairbanks,	Mills,	Rawlins,	
Frye,	Mitchell,	Sewell,	
Harris, Kans.	Morgan,	Stewart.	

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Thirty-seven Senators have answered to their names. There is not a quorum present.

Mr. VEST. I move that the Sergeant-at-Arms be directed to request the attendance of absent Senators.

The motion was agreed to.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Sergeant-at-Arms will execute the order of the Senate.

After some little delay, Mr. DEBOE, Mr. PRITCHARD, Mr. ELKINS, Mr. KENNEY, Mr. PERKINS, Mr. GRAY, Mr. WELLINGTON, and Mr. MURPHY entered the Chamber and answered to their names.

The VICE-PRESIDENT (at 11 o'clock and 20 minutes a. m.). Forty-five Senators have answered to their names. A quorum is present.

Mr. ELKINS. I move that further proceedings under the call be suspended.

The motion was agreed to.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The communication from the Secretary of the Treasury which was laid before the Senate will be printed, with the accompanying papers, and referred to the Committee on Finance.

CHINESE EXCLUSION.

The VICE-PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting, in response to a resolution of the 17th ultimo, certain reports, etc., relating to the alleged illegal entry into the United States of Chinese persons; which was read.

Mr. PROCTOR. I move that the report and accompanying documents be referred, without printing, to the Committee on Printing. This course is taken by an arrangement with the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. ELKINS] who introduced the resolution.

The motion was agreed to.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. HOAR presented a petition of sundry citizens of Somerville, Mass., praying for the enactment of legislation prohibiting the transmission by mail or interstate commerce of pictures and descriptions of prize fights; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. TELLER presented sundry memorials of citizens of Colorado, remonstrating against the enactment of legislation intended to destroy the present system of ticket brokerage; which were referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

Mr. CLAY presented sundry memorials of citizens of Georgia, remonstrating against the enactment of legislation intended to destroy the present system of ticket brokerage; which were referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

Mr. HARRIS of Kansas presented sundry memorials of citizens of Kansas, remonstrating against the enactment of legislation intended to destroy the present system of ticket brokerage; which were referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

Mr. BACON presented sundry memorials of citizens of Georgia, remonstrating against the enactment of legislation intended to destroy the present system of ticket brokerage; which were referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

Mr. PLATT of New York presented sundry memorials of citizens of New York, remonstrating against the enactment of legislation intended to destroy the present system of ticket brokerage; which were referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

Mr. LODGE presented sundry memorials of citizens of Massachusetts, remonstrating against the enactment of legislation intended to destroy the present system of ticket brokerage; which were referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

Mr. SPOONER presented the memorial of E. G. Mills and 45 other citizens of Superior, Wis., remonstrating against the enactment of legislation intended to destroy the present system of ticket brokerage; which was referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

He also presented the petition of Joseph Pettit and 59 other citizens of La Pointe, Wis., and the petition of C. F. Pierson and 24 other citizens of Florida, praying for the early passage of the pending tariff bill; which were ordered to lie on the table.

UNION PACIFIC RAILROAD.

Mr. HARRIS of Kansas. From the Committee on Pacific Railroads I report back with amendments the resolution submitted by me and referred to that committee. I desire to submit a brief statement in regard to the views of some members of the committee, which I shall ask leave to have printed.

Mr. MORGAN. Let the resolution be first read.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read the resolution as proposed to be amended.

The Secretary read as follows:

Whereas by an act of Congress entitled "An act authorizing an investigation of the books, accounts, and methods of railroads which have received aid from the United States, and for other purposes," approved March 3, 1887, it is provided:

"SEC. 4. That whenever, in the opinion of the President, it shall be deemed necessary to the protection of the interests and preservation of the security of the United States in respect of its lien, mortgage, or other interest in any of the property of any or all of the several companies upon which a lien, mortgage, or other incumbrance paramount to the right, title, or interest of the United States for the same property, or any part of the same, may exist and be then lawfully liable to be enforced, the Secretary of the Treasury shall, under the direction of the President, redeem or otherwise clear off such paramount lien, mortgage, or other incumbrance by paying the sums lawfully due in respect thereof out of the Treasury; and the United States shall thereupon become and be subrogated to all rights and securities heretofore pertaining to the debt, mortgage, lien, or other incumbrance in respect of which such payment shall have been made. It shall be the duty of the Attorney-General, under the direction of the President, to take all such steps and proceedings, in the courts and otherwise, as shall be needful to redeem such lien, mortgage, or other incumbrance, and to protect and defend the rights and interests of the United States in respect of the matters in this section mentioned, and to take steps to foreclose any mortgage or lien of the United States on any such railroad property.

"SEC. 5. That the sinking funds which are or may be held in the Treasury for the security of the indebtedness of either or all of said railroad companies may, in addition to the investments now authorized by law, be invested in any bonds of the United States heretofore issued for the benefit of either or all of said companies, or in any of the first-mortgage bonds of either of said companies which have been issued under the authority of any law of the United States and secured by mortgages of their roads and franchises, which by any law of the United States have been made prior and paramount to the mortgage, lien, or other security of the United States in respect of its advances to either of said companies as provided by law;" and

Whereas certain first-mortgage bonds on the said Union Pacific Railroad Company have matured, and the holders thereof have instituted foreclosure proceedings in several of the United States circuit courts to foreclose the liens created thereby and sell said railroad and all other properties and rights belonging thereto, and said foreclosure proceedings may, unless prevented by the President, proceed to final decrees and a final sale of all of said properties be made: Therefore,

Resolved by the Senate of the United States, That it is the sense of the Senate that the President should, in strict accordance with the above-quoted statute, direct the Secretary of the Treasury to carry out the provisions of said act by redeeming or otherwise clearing off the paramount liens, mortgages, and incumbrances on said railroad by paying the sums lawfully due in respect thereof out of the Treasury to the holders of prior liens, and that the President should direct the Attorney-General to take such steps and proceedings in the courts and otherwise as shall be needful to redeem such property from any prior mortgage, lien, or incumbrance necessary and proper to defend the interests of the United States in respect to the matters in said act of Congress mentioned, and to take steps to foreclose any mortgage or lien of the United States on any of said railroad property. And that the President is requested to suspend proceedings to carry into effect the agreement alleged to have been made to sell the interest of the United States in the Union Pacific Railroad, and in the sinking fund, until the further action of Congress is had in reference thereto.

Mr. HARRIS of Kansas. Mr. President, the statement which I submit represents the views of myself, the Senator from Alabama [Mr. MORGAN], and the Senator from Utah [Mr. RAWLINS].

[Senate Document No. 161, Fifty-fifth Congress, first session.]

UNION PACIFIC RAILROAD.

Mr. HARRIS of Kansas, from the Committee on Pacific Railroads, presented the following views of Mr. HARRIS of Kansas, concurred in by Mr. RAWLINS and Mr. MORGAN, on Senate resolution No. 125, reported from the Committee on Pacific Railroads, with amendments:

The most casual examination of the acts of Congress relating to the Pacific railroads fully establishes the fact that these roads were intended by Congress, as a national policy, to constitute one great continuous national highway from the Missouri River to the Pacific Ocean, and while, for the sake of expedition, the work of construction was intrusted to several companies, the practical and effective unity of the line was constantly and carefully kept in view, and all possibility of interference with that object was strictly guarded.

The possible danger of insolvency or failure of any one of the companies, or of all of them, was provided for by the provisions of this act of March 3, 1887, quoted in the resolution, and ample power was conferred upon the Executive to use money in the Treasury or in the sinking fund to prevent the possible action of any creditors of the company to in any way interfere with the action and operation of the roads as a great instrumentality of the Government. When, therefore, the executive department of the Government consents to an arrangement by which this fundamental object of the law is absolutely and forever defeated, and the great line so highly prized is to be divided up among warring and conflicting interests, it is time for an earnest and emphatic protest on the part of Congress; and when, further, it is found that the Executive not only permits but actually participates and aids in the execution of this destruction, as is shown by the correspondence as given by the letters from the Attorney-General in response to the Senate resolutions of January 23 and of March 26, 1897, and hereto attached, and actually proposes to consent to a surrender of the sinking fund, and the enormous sacrifice of the pecuniary interests of the Government, it would seem beyond the power of the most able of corporation agencies to satisfactorily explain such action. This correspondence shows letters from various Government directors highly approving this unlawful proceeding. If we are to believe the current news of the day, some of these directors are largely interested in the proposed new organization, and history seems about to repeat itself, and the practices of the Crédit Mobilier and the construction companies of the past to be once more revived and put in operation.

No information has come to the committee as to the plan of reorganization which is proposed as a sequel to the purchase of the interests of the United States in the Union Pacific Railroad and the sinking fund except statements in the newspapers which have not been contradicted. There are appended extracts of recent date from journals published in New York, which are of importance in the absence of more authentic statements.

If the Government has knowledge of this plan of reorganization, it has not been communicated to Congress; and the haste in the sale of the property under the existing agreement with the former Executive, which is evidently a part of the plan, requires the active intervention of Congress in demanding a full knowledge of the plan in course of execution.

According to estimates made as of January 1, 1897, the total debt of the Union Pacific Company is $92,285,344.36. The bond and interest account credits to March 1, 1896, are $20,146,889.33; further credits on account of transportation services to January 1, 1897, $1,000,000, leaving a balance of indebtedness of $70,538,455. As the sinking fund is not to be deducted from this sum, but is to be turned over to the reorganized company on the payment of $45,754,059.99, the actual loss in money to the Government will be $24,784,396. In addition to this there will undoubtedly be great losses sustained by other creditors of the company, because this is intended, apparently, to be a complete transfer of all the rights, property, and franchises of the existing company to a new company in virtue of a decree of the court and by its assistance in the execution of a contract that Congress alone can ratify.

The undersigned append a statement of a newspaper representing a complaint of the minor shareholders and giving some idea of the injury which would result to that class of creditors of the company.

But there is another class of creditors who have furnished the money with which these roads have been built, by payment of double price for Government land and by exorbitant rates of freight and fare, who have a right to claim every possible consideration at the hands of Congress.

The people living along these lines of road and throughout the West are the burden bearers and real creditors above all others whose claims must be considered. Congress has in its hands a sacred trust to perform in seeing to it that all the property and facilities which have been created at the expense of these people shall be preserved intact, and that no syndicates of bankers, bondholders, or others shall be allowed to step in and dismember the great

agency which is sacredly and forever to be preserved to the people, and it is for their benefit and interest that the committee recommend earnest and effective action.

The provisions of the Thurman Act so clearly and specifically state for what purpose the sinking fund shall be used that it is almost impossible to conceive of such an unlawful and improper action being taken in the face of law so full and comprehensive.

The power to sell that fund is not given to the President by any law.

In section 11 of that act the duty of the Attorney-General is specifically stated. It is not a matter of choice with him, but it is most absolutely and imperatively his duty.

"SEC. 11. That if either of said railroad companies shall fail to perform all and singular the requirements of this act and of the acts hereinbefore mentioned, and of any other act relating to said company, to be by it performed, for the period of six months next after such performance may be due, such failure shall operate as a forfeiture of all the rights, privileges, grants, and franchises derived or obtained by it from the United States; and it shall be the duty of the Attorney-General to cause such forfeiture to be judicially enforced."

The undersigned herewith submit various decisions of the Supreme Court bearing directly upon this action and can not hesitate to recommend the immediate passage by the Senate of the resolution now before the committee.

W. A. HARRIS.
JNO. T. MORGAN.
J. L. RAWLINS.

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[99 U. S., 724-725. Sinking-fund cases. Union Pacific Railroad Company *vs.* United States. Central Pacific Railroad Company *vs.* Gallatin.]

The United States occupy toward this corporation a twofold relation—that of sovereign and that of creditor. (United States *vs.* Union Pacific Railroad Co., 98 U. S., 569.) Their rights as sovereign are not crippled because they are creditors, and their privileges as creditors are not enlarged by the charter because of their sovereignty. They can not, as creditors, demand payment of what is due them before the time limited by the contract. Neither can they, as sovereign or creditors, require the company to pay the other debts it owes before they mature.

But out of regard to the rights of the subsequent lien holders and stockholders, it is not only their right but their duty as sovereign to see to it that the current stockholders do not, in the administration of the affairs of the corporation, appropriate to their own use that which in equity belongs to others. A legislative regulation which does no more than require them to submit to their just contribution toward the payment of a bonded debt can not in any sense be said to deprive them of their property without due process of law.

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[103 U. S., 651. Wardell *vs.* Railroad Company.]

1. The directors of a corporation are subject to the obligations which the law imposes upon trustees and agents. They can not, therefore, with respect to the same matters, act for themselves and for it, nor occupy a position in conflict with its interests.

2. Hence, a court will refuse to give effect to arrangements by directors of a railroad company to secure, at its expense, undue advantages to themselves, by forming, as an auxiliary to it, a new company, with the understanding that they or some of them shall become stockholders in it and then that valuable contracts shall be given to it by the railroad company, in the profits of which they, as such stockholders, shall share.

3. The contract entered into July 16, 1868, by the Union Pacific Railroad Company by direction of the executive committee of the board of directors, with Godfrey and Wardell (infra, page 652), which the latter assigned, without consideration, to a new company, in which a majority of the stock was taken by six directors of the old company, declared to be fraudulent and void.

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[134 U. S., 287. Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railway Company *vs.* Third National Bank of Chicago.]

The properties of a corporation constitute a trust fund for the payment of its debts; and when there is a misappropriation of the funds of a corporation, equity, on behalf of the creditors of such a corporation, will follow the funds so diverted. The Milwaukee Company, from securities on the property of the Pacific Company, received nearly $3,000,000; part it used for the benefit of the lessor company, and part it appropriated to its own benefit. Can it do this, and let the lessor company's debt go unpaid? Equity answers this question in the negative, and such was the ruling of the circuit judge. (28 Fed. Rep., 820.)

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[91 U. S. United States *vs.* Union Pacific Railroad Company.]

The bonds in question were issued in pursuance of a scheme to aid in the construction of a great national highway. (Page 79.)

The enterprise was viewed as a national undertaking for national purposes; and the public mind was directed to the end in view, rather than to the particular means of securing it. (Page 80.)

The project of building the road was not conceived for private ends; and the prevalent opinion was that it could not be worked out by private capital alone. It was a national work, originating in national necessities and requiring national assistance. (Page 81.)

It is true the scheme contemplated profit to individuals, for without a reasonable expectation of this, capital could not be obtained, nor the requisite skill and enterprise. But this consideration does not in itself change the relation of the parties to this suit. This might have been so if the Government had incorporated a company to advance private interests, and agreed to aid it on account of the supposed incidental advantages which the public would derive from the completion of the projected railway. But the primary object of the Government was to advance its own interests, and it endeavored to engage individual cooperation as a means to an end—the securing a road which could be used for its own purposes. (Page 81.)

Indeed, the whole act contains unmistakable evidence that if Congress was put to the necessity of carrying on a great public enterprise by the instrumentality of private corporations, it took care that there should be no misunderstanding about the objects to be attained or the motives which influenced its action. (Page 82.)

The failure to perform that condition is a cause of forfeiture. If the natural meaning of the words be adopted as the true meaning, there can be no forfeiture until the bonds themselves have matured. On the contrary, if the construction contended for be allowed, the grant is subject to forfeiture on each occasion that six months' interest falls due and is not met by the corporation. (Page 86.)

If the road were a success, in addition to the benefits it would confer on the United States, the corporation would be in a situation to repay the advances for interest and the principal when due. If, on the contrary, it proved to be a failure, subjecting the private persons who invested their capital in it to a total loss, there would be left the entire property of the corporation, of which immediate possession could be taken by the Government on a declaration of forfeiture. (Page 89.)

[Senate Document No. 83, Fifty-fourth Congress, second session.]

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE, *Washington, D. C., January 23, 1897.*

SIR: I have the honor, pursuant to the Senate resolution of this date, to say that an agreement has been made with what is commonly known as the reorganization committee of the Union Pacific Railway Company respecting the foreclosure of the Government lien on property of said company. I transmit herewith a copy of the letter of the President of the United States, under authority of which the agreement was made and foreclosure proceedings have been commenced, and copies of the correspondence which embodies the agreement.

The names of the gentlemen who comprise the reorganization committee are as follows: Louis Fitzgerald, chairman; Jacob H. Schiff, T. Jefferson Coolidge, jr., Chauncey M. Depew, Marvin Hughitt, Oliver Ames, 2d.

These papers set forth all the information called for by the resolution.

After the closing of the agreement I designated the United States Trust Company of New York as the depositary, and thereupon, upon the 21st instant, the sum of $4,500,000 was deposited therein in conformity with the terms of the agreement. The certificate representing such deposits is now in the hands of the Secretary of the Treasury.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, your obedient servant,

JUDSON HARMON, *Attorney-General.*

The PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE.

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EXECUTIVE MANSION, *Washington, January 12, 1897.*

DEAR SIR: The bill which has been for some time pending before the Congress, providing for the adjustment and extension of the indebtedness of the Pacific railroads to the Government of the United States, has been defeated in the House of Representatives.

In the case of the Union Pacific Railroad and the Kansas Pacific Railroad, a default in the payment of their indebtedness having occurred, and suits having been commenced for the foreclosure of the lien upon said roads which is paramount to the lien and security of the United States, you are hereby directed, pursuant to the provisions of an act of Congress passed March 3, 1887, after taking such precautions and perfecting such arrangements as are possible to assure as far as practicable the payment of their indebtedness to the Government as a result of the suits now pending or others to be instituted, to take such proceedings in the courts as shall be needful to protect and defend the rights and interests of the United States in respect of such indebtedness, and to take steps to foreclose the mortgages or liens of the United States upon the property of these railroad companies.

In the case of the other aided Pacific railroads as to which no foreclosure suits are pending, a different situation is presented, which requires further consideration before deciding the course to be taken by the Government.

Yours, truly,

GROVER CLEVELAND.

Hon. JUDSON HARMON,
Attorney-General of the United States.

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DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE, *Washington, D. C., January 18, 1897.*

SIR: Hon. George Hoadly, special assistant to the Attorney-General, has sent me your letter to him of the 15th instant, making a proposition on behalf of your committee for a guaranteed minimum bid for the property of the Union Pacific and Kansas Pacific railway companies and the Union Pacific sinking fund as a basis for the Government's proceeding to foreclose its lien thereon. I am authorized by the President to commence foreclosure proceedings, as suggested in your proposal, provided it is modified in the following particulars:

(1) In order to preserve the basis of the original informal negotiations, which took place in the absence of an accurate statement of the sinking fund, your offer should be modified so that the amount of the guarantied bid therein named will be $45,754,059.99, instead of the sum of $45,000,000.

(2) That the following clause of your proposal be eliminated, viz, "and that, to the extent to which the Government may determine the terms of decree, an equal deposit to be made within a reasonable time before sale shall be required as a qualification of any other bidder." While I have no doubt that the court will follow the uniform practice in railway foreclosures of requiring a deposit of all bidders as a guaranty of good faith and security for performance, and while the Government will obviously have the same interest as other parties in having such condition imposed, I do not wish to make a stipulation on that point as a condition of our arrangement.

(3) That your proposal is understood to mean that in case the property mentioned should not be sold as a unit, minimum bids for the separate portions thereof are to be made which in the aggregate will produce to the Government the net sum above mentioned. In case of separate sales the deposit named by you may of course be used for qualification of bidders representing you at each, in such proportions as may be required under the terms of sale.

(4) Your guaranty applies to such sale or sales as shall become effective. The sale of the sinking fund may be judicial or otherwise.

Your acceptance of the above modifications of your proposal will close the arrangement, and I will proceed to institute foreclosure proceedings on behalf of the Government as soon as the deposit named by you is made, for which, upon receipt of your acceptance, I will designate the depositary.

Very respectfully,

——— ———, *Attorney-General.*

LOUIS FITZGERALD, Esq.,
Chairman Reorganization Committee, Union Pacific Rwy. Co.
No. 120 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

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REORGANIZATION COMMITTEE,
UNION PACIFIC RAILWAY COMPANY,
New York, January 20, 1897.

SIR: I have your favor of 18th instant, written in reply to my letter of 15th instant to Hon. George Hoadly, special assistant to the Attorney-General.

On behalf of the reorganization committee of the Union Pacific Railway Company, I have the honor to accept the modifications proposed in your letter of January 18, 1897, to the proposal made in my letter to Hon. George Hoadly dated on the 15th instant.

I am, very respectfully,

LOUIS FITZGERALD,
Chairman Union Pacific Reorganization Committee.

Hon. JUDSON HARMON,
Attorney-General, Washington, D. C.

—

NEW YORK, *January 15, 1897.*

DEAR SIR: Replying on behalf of the Union Pacific reorganization committee to your favor of the 14th instant, in which you request from this committee such proposition as it may be willing to make fixing a guaranty bid at foreclosure and sale for the interest of the United States in the Union Pacific Railway and for the Union Pacific sinking fund, I am authorized to

submit to you, and through you to the executive department of the Government, the following:

In the event that the Government shall at once take proceedings in the pending foreclosure suits, or by independent bills, for the enforcement of its lien upon the railroad and property of the Union Pacific Railway (which includes the Kansas Pacific line) by sale thereof, and for the sale of the sinking fund in the hands of the Secretary of the Treasury relating to the Union Pacific Railway Company, the reorganization committee is prepared to guarantee a minimum bid for the Union and Kansas Pacific lines of railroad and property embraced within the lien of the Government, and for the cash and securities in the United States Union Pacific sinking fund, taken at par, which shall produce to the Government, over and above any prior liens and charges upon the railways and sinking fund, the net sum of $45,000,000.

The committee is prepared to furnish adequate security for the due performance of the above offer. As such security, it will deposit with such national depositary in New York City as may be selected by the proper officers of the Government the sum of $4,500,000 in cash (namely, 10 per cent of the guaranteed bid), subject to the condition that this deposit may be used, under the terms of the foreclosure decree, as a deposit to qualify such bidders as may act on behalf of the reorganization committee, and that to the extent to which the Government may determine the terms of decree, an equal deposit, to be made within a reasonable time before sale, shall be required as a qualification of any other bidder. Should the Government desire to liquidate the sinking fund in advance of sale of the railway property, the reorganization committee will be prepared to anticipate this feature of its offer by an earlier purchase of the sinking fund at par of the cash and securities therein contained.

As the provision proposed is one of very considerable magnitude, and as the proposition is based upon conditions which now exist, it will be obvious that the reorganization committee must reserve, and it desires to be understood as reserving, the right to withdraw this offer at any time previous to its acceptance by the Government.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, yours,

LOUIS FITZGERALD,
Chairman of the Reorganization Committee of the Union Pacific Railway Company.

Hon. GEORGE HOADLY,
Special Assistant to Attorney-General,
No. 22 William Street, New York City.

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[Senate Document No. 27, Fifty-fifth Congress, first session.]

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE, *Washington, D. C., April 3, 1897.*

The Senate of the United States:

In response to your resolution of the 29th ultimo, purporting to direct the Attorney-General to inform the Senate whether any and what agreement, if any, had been entered into by the President or any of the Executive Departments relating to the future disposal of the Union Pacific Railway by sale or otherwise, and that he send to the Senate all papers on file in the Department of Justice relating to said agreement, I have to say—

(1) That on the 23d of January last the Attorney-General, in answer to a similar resolution, sent to the Senate several papers relating to an agreement between him and Mr. Louis Fitzgerald.

(2) That inquiry at the Treasury Department and the Department of the Interior fails to disclose any other agreements of the kind inquired about.

(3) That I know of no other agreement entered into by the President or Attorney-General.

(4) I transmit copies of a few additional papers concerning the agreement reported upon the 23d of January last.

Respectfully,

JOSEPH MCKENNA,
Attorney-General.

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[Telegram.]

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE, *Washington, D. C., January 16, 1897.*

Hon. GEO. HOADLY,
22 William Street, New York, N. Y.:

Please submit copy of proposal to Government directors, and ask them to please advise me in writing whether they think it should be accepted.

HARMON.

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NEW YORK, *January 16, 1897.*

DEAR SIR: I have examined the proposal of the Union Pacific reorganization committee to Mr. Hoadly, by which the sum of $45,000,000, secured by a deposit of $4,500,000, is to be bid for the property, including the sinking fund, over and above all liens prior to the lien of the United States. In my judgment, this proposition ought to be accepted.

Yours, very truly,

E. ELLERY ANDERSON,
Government Director.

Hon. JUDSON HARMON,
Attorney-General.

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[Telegram.]

OMAHA, NEBR., *January 17, 1897.*

Gen. JUDSON HARMON,
Attorney-General, Washington, D. C.:

Governor George Hoadly, special assistant attorney of Union Pacific matters, telegraphs me as follows:

"Reorganization committee Union Pacific Railway offer in writing to bid at foreclosure of Government lien for railroad and sinking fund, subject to first mortgage, $45,000,000 cash, and to secure bid by $4,500,000 cash deposited immediately. No restriction on competition of others. Highest and best bid to take property. Please wire Attorney-General Judson Harmon, Washington, at once whether you advise the acceptance of this proposition and the immediate beginning of foreclosure proceedings on behalf of the Government. This refers to Union Pacific and Kansas Pacific only."

Without opportunity to consult with the other directors, and supposing that these are the best terms that can be had for the Government individually, I advise the acceptance of this proposition.

J. N. H. PATRICK,
Government Director.

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DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE,
Washington, D. C., January 16, 1897.

SIR: I have just received your letter of the 15th instant, with inclosures. The letter of Mr. Louis Fitzgerald, chairman of the reorganization committee of the Union Pacific Railroad Company, to you, making a formal proposal of terms for the Government proceeding to foreclose its liens, of course received my first attention. I will look at the proposed bill later.

The Secretary of the Treasury and myself have carefully gone over Mr. Fitzgerald's proposal. We find two things in it to which we wish you to call the committee's attention, with a view, if possible, of having them changed before I take final action:

First. I do not like the clause "that to the extent to which the Government may determine the terms of the decree, an equal deposit, to be made within a reasonable time before sale, shall be required as a qualification of any other bidder."

This is a new feature which has never been mentioned in any of the informal discussions of the subject. While the court will doubtless, in the decree for sale, follow the usual custom of requiring a deposit of some sort from the bidders, this is a matter for the court and not for the parties to determine. While ordinarily counsel for the parties, in presenting their proposed decree, suggest this, among other terms, and while whoever may represent the Government in the suit at the time the decree shall be entered will agree to any reasonable suggestions in this regard, I do not want to agree in advance on the subject.

My reason is this: One of the strongest features of the proposed arrangement is that it secures the Government against the sacrifice of its claim by assuring at least a certain sum, and also saves to the Government whatever advantage there may be in a public sale at which all may compete. If I should now agree to any provision which might be construed as a restriction upon other bidders, I can see how embarrassment might ensue, in view of the public character in which I am acting and of the general situation.

It must be remembered, too, that this deposit, as between the Government and the committee, is not a condition of the bidding, as the deposit which may be required by the decree will be, but is an entirely different thing, namely, a security to the Government that the minimum bid will be made. This amount, therefore, bears no necessary relation to the deposit which should be required of the other bidders.

Second. I have always understood, in referring to the sinking fund—in fact, I think it has always been so expressed—that the sinking fund as it stood on January 1, 1897, was meant. While, of course, the Government will be bound if it accepts the proposal not to diminish the sinking fund or change it by any act of its own, yet in the time which may ensue between the making of the agreement and the actual sale of the property the amount of cash is likely to be increased. I should just suggest, therefore, that the proposal be amended so as to specify a date as of which the sinking fund is to be taken, so that there will be no possibility of misunderstanding.

I shall be glad if the committee, in such form as they shall deem best, will amend the proposal in these two particulars before I lay it before the President. You will please explain to the committee that there was some mistake or misunderstanding on the part of the Treasury accounting officers who prepared the statement of the present condition of the sinking fund, which I send you, which, as the Secretary tells me, made the amount of cash on hand considerably greater than it should be. I wish to remove any ground for possible misapprehension that there may be on this point.

Kindly also assure the committee that I recognize their right to a prompt reply to their proposal, and will act accordingly.

Very respectfully,

JUDSON HARMON,
Attorney-General.

Hon. GEORGE HOADLY,
No. 22 William Street, New York, N. Y.

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[Telegram.]

CHICAGO, ILL., *January 17, 1897.*

Attorney-General JUDSON HARMON,
Washington, D. C.:

I am now informed that the Union Pacific Railway reorganization committee are ready to make the same offer, substantially, that Mr. Coudert and myself so strongly recommended to President Cleveland last June, and that they are now able to establish their bid upon a strong footing by a sufficient deposit of cash to warrant the Administration in taking immediate steps to secure an exceptionally good offer for the Government, which I have the honor to represent.

J. W. DOANE.

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[Telegram.]

NEW YORK, *January 22, 1897.*

Hon. JUDSON HARMON,
Attorney-General, Washington, D. C.:

Government directors met to-day and adjourned to 1 o'clock to-morrow. They ask us to furnish copy of all correspondence with you relating to committee's guaranty, with copy of trust company's receipts of the earnest money, for purpose of embodying in formal report to President. Shall I furnish, as requested? This is sent after consultation with Governor Hoadly.

A. W. KRECH,
Secretary Reorganization Committee, 120 Broadway.

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[Telegram.]

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE, *Washington, D. C., January 22, 1897.*

A. W. KRECH,
Secretary Reorganization Committee,
120 Broadway, New York, N. Y.:

No objections to furnishing directors copy of all correspondence.

HARMON, *Attorney-General.*

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[Press dispatch.]

UNION PACIFIC REORGANIZATION—THE COMMITTEE HAS PREPARED PLANS SATISFACTORY TO THE GOVERNMENT.

BOSTON, *June 15.*

Within a short time the reorganization committee of the Union Pacific Railway Company is expected to make public its plan for the reorganization of the road, and assurances have been received that the plan will be acceptable to the representatives of the Government. It is expected that a new company will secure possession. The time for the actual sale of the road to the new company under the foreclosure proceedings was set for the first week in July, but owing to necessary legal formalities it is not expected that the great system will be operated by the new company much before October of this year.

The new plan is said to provide for the securing of the road by the reorganization committee for the actual net sum of $28,691,336, although the minimum bid was fixed at $45,754,000. The difference is made up in the form of deductions in the way of sinking funds, etc. The people who are active in the new company have already secured the sum needed, and with the $4,500,000 deposited with the United States Trust Company (10 per cent of the amount guaranteed the Government), are said to be ready to take the road as soon as the foreclosure sale is ordered. The allotment of first-mortgage 4 per cent

bonds which, under the original plan, was to be $100,000,000, is to be reduced under the new plan to $75,000,000, and there is to be an increase in the allotment of preferred stocks to the Union Pacific sinking fund 8s and the Kansas Pacific consols.

The Oregon Short Line, in which the Union Pacific has an equity, has reorganized on its own account since the original plan for reorganization was broached, and the Kansas City and Omaha and the St. Joseph and Grand Island being separately organized pass out of the Union Pacific system. The Denver, Lincoln and Gulf, and some of the smaller roads in Kansas and Nebraska, which are unprofitable properties, are not to be included in the reorganization plan, and are to shift for themselves.

Among the men mentioned as the members of the new corporation and its probable officers are Oliver W. Mink, of Boston; John W. Doane, of Chicago; Frederic R. Coudert, of New York; John F. Dillon, of New York; Alex. Millar, of Boston; Edwin F. Atkins, of Boston; Russell Sage, of New York; George J. Gould, of New York; George Q. Cannon, of Salt Lake City; Henry B. Hyde, of New York; Collis P. Huntington, and William R. Hearst, of New York.

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UNION PACIFIC OPPOSITION—MANY ENGLISH SHAREHOLDERS THINK THAT THE REORGANIZATION PLAN IS TOO DRASTIC.

The stockholders' movement abroad, in opposition to the reorganization of the Union Pacific Railway, has received the support of some influential foreign banking firms and promises to bear fruit.

Mr. H. W. Rosenbaum, who went to Europe last April in the interest of some of the dissatisfied shareholders, returned yesterday. He said that he was more successful than he even hoped for when he started.

"I fully realize," he said, "the great difficulty of opposing the powerful syndicate which is engaged now in a so-called reorganization of the Union Pacific Company. Some prominent houses, however, have enlisted themselves on our side, although for the present they wish to have their names withheld until the opposition is more crystallized.

"The company can be easily reorganized without the necessity of creating $75,000,000 of preferred stock. I think $50,000,000 can be easily saved to the shareholders. Of course all Union Pacific reorganization plans are dependent on being able to effect a settlement of the Government debt on about the basis which the present reorganization committee contemplates, but if such a settlement can be obtained the creation of this mass of preferred stock is absolutely unnecessary and wasteful. There are still hopes, however, that Congress might be induced to grant an extension on the debt on a fair basis. With a sinking fund, the whole Government debt could be discharged within a reasonable time, and there is no necessity for the Government to lose one dollar.

"The Union Pacific, not counting the payments into the collateral trust sinking funds, and some extraordinary items, such as losses on investments which will not occur again, earned last year a surplus of $886,000 over and above payments to the Government of $1,244,000, and after having charged the full interest on all its direct indebtedness, except the various collateral loans, which are, however, nearly self-supporting. There is not the slightest doubt that the interest on about $37,500,000 first-mortgage bonds can be reduced from 6 per cent to 4 per cent without the necessity of giving the first-mortgage bonds millions in preferred stock as a bonus.

"This alone would save to the company about $750,000 a year, and would have enabled the company to apply last year $2,000,000 toward the payment of the Government debt. Of course all financial men realize that if the Government wants to sell out its claim and receive cash therefor, it would be quite impossible to raise the full sum of about $53,000,000, which is now owing to the Government, and the Government would have to accept a heavy sacrifice. Any benefit arising from this sacrifice should, however, in all justice and fairness go to the stockholders, and anything that is left, after having made a settlement with the bondholders, by right and equity must revert to the present shareholders."

"How can you overcome the fact that 95 per cent of the shareholders have accepted the reorganization plan?" I asked.

"We are quite aware of this fact," he said, "but we shall demonstrate at the proper time how some of the very largest shareholders have been induced by special privileges and participation in the syndicate to deposit their shares, and that they make up in a measure thereby what they lose on the other hand. The small shareholders, however, have been coerced into the acceptance of this plan by threatened penalties, and are not at all placed on the same footing as the large shareholders."

TRUSTEES FOR THE SHAREHOLDERS.

"The committee does not seem to realize that by asking for deposit of shares as well as bonds, and by allowing themselves compensation for their services, they become trustees for the shareholders as well as for the bondholders, and as such were bound to guard the interests of all the shareholders without any preference, and to obtain the best possible terms for them. If even at one time a diverse financial and business condition led the committee to honestly believe that the heavy sacrifices of the present plan were necessary, circumstances have now so changed as to make such sacrifices unnecessary.

"This obligation remains upon both the directors and the committee until a good and valid title shall have been irrevocably passed into other hands. Probably with this object in view the committee has especially reserved the right to alter and even to entirely abandon the plan, either before or after being declared operative. Any other interpretation of the power thus reserved would be doing injustice to the gentlemen of the committee, and the shareholders have every right to expect them to voluntarily propose material modifications. This is all we want.

"In trying to obtain this the shareholders could undoubtedly reckon upon the support of the public, the press, and probably also of Congress and the courts."

Mr. HARRIS of Kansas. I ask that the statement be printed.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. It will be so ordered. The resolution will take its place on the Calendar.

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. President, the resolution read is the unanimous report of the committee. Three Senators have chosen, I being of the number, to state the specific grounds upon which we rest our position in support of the report. I do not know that there is any contradiction or contrariety of opinion in the committee on the propositions that are here stated. I do not well see how there could be. The resolution as amended is agreed to by the entire committee.

I wish to say to the Senate separately, as a part of my report connected with this matter, that the agreement which has been made by the Executive of the former Administration is in process of execution and will very soon be consummated if the court before whom the bill is pending will feel itself warranted in giving any importance or any value to that agreement.

The three members of the committee point out in the report which the Senator from Kansas has just read that the agreement of the President of the United States for the disposal of the property of the Union Pacific Railroad Company and of the sinking fund is ultra vires. This position is the basis of the resolution. We might go further than that if we chose to do so, and say that it is a plain, palpable breach and violation of the statute. There is no authority for that agreement found in the laws of the United States. Nevertheless we understand the weight of Executive power and Executive influence in courts and in Congress and amongst the people. It is not a light matter. Many people yield to it without inquiry or objection.

It is necessary that the Senate of the United States should express its views upon this subject at the earliest possible date in order that the court may understand whether we expect to abide by and perform that agreement, or whether we expect to retain and reserve for the United States all the rights of the Government and the people against an agreement which sells a property that to-day is perfectly solvent and perfectly able to pay every debt that it owes for the paltry sum of $26,000,000.

I now give notice, inasmuch as this matter goes to the Calendar, that on next Monday at the conclusion of the morning business—and I desire the Senator from Iowa to notice this—that on next Monday morning, at the close of the morning business, I shall move the Senate to proceed to the consideration of the resolution. I think very likely it will not lead to much debate. I want the Senate, in the meantime, to have an opportunity to look over the report of the Senator from Kansas. It is compact, complete, brief, and to the point, and in my judgment there is no possible way of proceeding except by adopting a resolution of the Senate that we disagree to the action of the Executive and repudiate it, and that, so far as we are concerned, we do not expect to be bound by it.

Perhaps if both Houses were in the regular course of action, with committees provided, etc., we would have made this a concurrent or a joint resolution; but in the present attitude of affairs, running as we are on one wheel, and as we have to transact the business of the Government, as far as we can, for the preservation of the rights of the United States and of the people through the solitary action of the Senate of the United States, the committee have thought it best to present a Senate resolution. That is perhaps as far as we can go; but I take it, sir, that neither the courts nor any other of the departments or functionaries of the Government will undertake to venture, in the presence of the report that has now been made of facts that are absolutely indisputable, to sacrifice the great property of the Union Pacific Railroad for $26,000,000 under a void contract.

I feel inclined to go further with my statement, but I shall not do so at present. Whenever the resolution is taken up, I shall seek an opportunity to show not only that this agreement is contrary to the statute, that it violates it abruptly and decisively, but to show, Mr. President, that when the receivers of the road and the Government directors of the road are engaged in this contract for the purpose of throwing the Union Pacific Railroad away, the situation is, as is characterized in that report, as bad as if not worse than the Credit Mobilier and the Contract Company's engagement with the Central Pacific Railroad Company. The facts as disclosed in the reports of the Attorney-General sent to the Senate will not admit of delay or neglect in counteracting this dangerous exploit.

Mr. ALLISON. I am not familiar with this matter or the necessity for immediate consideration. My colleague [Mr. GEAR], who is chairman of the Committee on Pacific Railroads, is not present this morning, and I hope the Senator from Alabama will allow the matter to rest for the present without fixing a time. Certainly it is of the utmost importance that the bill now under consideration should be got into conference before any other measure is taken up. I shall feel compelled to resist, at least so far as I can, the taking up of any new business outside of the tariff question until that is disposed of.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Mr. CAFFERY (by request) introduced a bill (S. 2287) for the relief of Arther Taylor, of Lafayette Parish, La.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. WELLINGTON introduced a bill (S. 2288) for the purchase of the Geracchi bust of Benjamin Franklin; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the Library.

Mr. SPOONER introduced a bill (S. 2289) for the relief of Rev. Corydon Millard; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

AMENDMENT TO DEFICIENCY APPROPRIATION BILL.

Mr. ALLEN submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the general deficiency appropriation bill; which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations, and ordered to be printed.

HARRIS P. HURST.

Mr. WALTHALL submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Claims:

Resolved, That the Committee on Claims be instructed to investigate and report upon the claim of Harris P. Hurst against the Government of the United States for compensation for making, or causing to be made, certain ordnance inventions authorized in the act entitled "An act making appropriations for the naval service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1893," approved July 19, 1892, a contract having been entered into under said act between the said Hurst and the Secretary of the Navy, and report whether the Government of the United States has made or caused to be made any wire-wound or other guns, high-explosive shells, or other ordnance devices covered by any of the applications for patent filed by the said Harris P. Hurst in the United States Patent Office, for which the said Hurst claims compensation, and whether said inventions were embraced in his application for patents, or were devised by officers of the United States in public or private employ, and also whether said Hurst is entitled to any compensation therefor, and if so, how much.

COST OF PRODUCTION IN LEADING INDUSTRIES.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate the resolution of the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. CAFFERY], coming over from a previous day.

The resolution submitted on the 24th instant by Mr. CAFFERY was read, as follows:

Resolved, That the Commissioner of Labor be, and is hereby, directed to collect from official sources, or otherwise, if necessary, information relating to the total cost and labor cost of production in fifteen of the leading industries common to this country, Great Britain, France, Belgium, and Germany, and report the results of his inquiries to the Senate as soon after the meeting of the second session of the Fifty-fifth Congress as possible: *Provided*, That the inquiries hereby authorized shall be carried on under the regular appropriations made for the Department of Labor.

Mr. CHANDLER. I submitted to the Senator from Louisiana yesterday one or two amendments to the resolution, and if they can be agreed to, I shall have no objection to a resolution. I do object to it in its present form.

Mr. CAFFERY. Will the Senator state the nature of his amendments? I have not seen the amendments. Perhaps I might consent to them.

Mr. CHANDLER. If the Senator will allow the resolution to go over for a few moments, I will submit the amendments to him. I hope the resolution may be passed over for the present.

Mr. CAFFERY. I should like to have the resolution considered this morning, if possible.

Mr. CHANDLER. I shall prepare my amendments during the day, and will suggest them to the Senator.

Mr. CAFFERY. Very well.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. There being no objection, the resolution will lie over until an agreement is reached between the Senator from Louisiana and the Senator from New Hampshire.

Mr. CAFFERY subsequently said: The Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. CHANDLER] has decided not to offer the amendments which he intended to propose to the resolution that I offered, and which, as I understood the Chair, was laid temporarily aside in order that the Senator from New Hampshire might have an opportunity to perfect his amendments. I now ask that the resolution be taken up and considered.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the immediate consideration of the resolution offered by the Senator from Louisiana on the 24th instant, which came up under the order of morning business this morning?

Mr. ALLISON. If it leads to no debate, I shall not object.

Mr. CAFFERY. It will lead to no debate.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the consideration at this time of the resolution submitted by the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. CAFFERY], which has been read? The Chair hears no objection, and the question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to.

TRANSMISSISSIPPI AND INTERNATIONAL EXPOSITION.

Mr. ALLEN. I offer a resolution, which I ask to have read and lie over until Monday morning.

The resolution was read, as follows:

Resolved, That the President be, and he is hereby, respectfully requested, if in his judgment it would not be incompatible with the public policy, to invite by proclamation, or in such other manner as he may deem most proper, foreign nations to make exhibits at the Transmississippi and International Exposition, to be held at the city of Omaha, in the State of Nebraska, between June 1 and November 1, A. D. 1898.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BURROWS in the chair). The resolution will lie over at the request of the Senator from Nebraska.

THE TARIFF BILL.

Mr. ALLISON. I now move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of House bill 379.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 379) to provide revenue for the Government and to encourage the industries of the United States.

Mr. ALLISON. On Thursday there was an understanding with the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH] and Senators on the other side that as soon as the schedule relating to tobacco had been disposed of we should take up the matters passed over relating to leather. I should be glad this morning to have that question taken up, but I learn that the Senator from New Jersey desires to be present when that schedule is considered, and that he is unwell to-day; so I suppose we shall be obliged to put it over. I ask what is the view of Senators on the other side?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. We have no objection to its going over. I have just received a telephonic message from the Senator from New Jersey that he is too ill to be present to-day, but that he will be here on Monday morning. It may be just as convenient to other Senators to take it up on Monday as to take it up to-day.

Mr. ALLISON. It may be necessary for us to pass over some other matters which I wanted to take up to-day; otherwise an early adjournment may possibly be necessitated.

Mr. CHANDLER. I desire to have printed an amendment, which I submit by request to the pending bill, providing a schedule of duties on spices, which I ask may be printed and laid upon the table.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. That order will be made, in the absence of objection.

Mr. CHANDLER. I also ask that an unsigned memorandum which has been handed to me, stating the reasons why duties upon spices should be imposed, may be printed as a document for the use of the Senate.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there any objection to the request? The Chair hears none, and that order will be made.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask now that we proceed to the consideration of the paragraphs which have been passed over.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Without objection, that will be the order; and the first paragraph passed over will be stated.

The SECRETARY. The first amendment passed over was, on page 1, line 3, of the bill, to change the operative date on which the proposed law shall take effect by striking out the word "May" and inserting "July;" so as to read:

That on and after the 1st day of July, 1897, etc.

Mr. ALLISON. From necessity, that will have to be left blank for the present.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The next item which was passed over will be stated.

The SECRETARY. The next item passed over was, under the heading "Schedule A.—Chemicals, oils, and paints," in paragraph 1, on page 2, line 3, after the word "pound," to strike out "salicylic acid, 10 cents per pound."

Mr. ALLISON. I ask the Presiding Officer what was done with the amendment, in lines 6 and 7 of the first clause of the bill, after the word "countries," to strike out "or withdrawn for consumption?" Were those words stricken out?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair understands from the Secretary that the amendment striking out those words has been agreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. All right. Then the next item passed over is on page 2, line 3, which has been read by the Secretary.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment will be again stated.

The SECRETARY. In paragraph 1, page 2, line 3, after the word "pound," the amendment proposed by the Committee on Finance was passed over, striking out the words "salicylic acid, 10 cents per pound."

Mr. ALLISON. On behalf of the majority of the Committee on Finance, I ask that that amendment may be disagreed to.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection? Without objection, the amendment striking out the words which have been read is disagreed to.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. What were the words the committee originally reported to strike out in paragraph 1?

Mr. ALLISON. There was one item in that paragraph passed over, "salicylic acid, 10 cents per pound." The committee originally recommended that that item should be stricken out here and "salicylic" inserted in the free list.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. That is agreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. The committee amendment has been disagreed to; but it has not yet been stricken from the free list.

Mr. VEST. That is, you put it back on the dutiable list?

Mr. ALLISON. It is put back on the dutiable list.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The next paragraph passed over will be stated.

Mr. ALLISON. Before proceeding to that, I ask that in paragraph 452, which is in the free list, the word "salicylic," in line 20, may be stricken out; so that the entire matter may be disposed of now.

The SECRETARY. In paragraph 452, line 20, after the word "salicic," it is proposed to strike out "salicylic."

Mr. VEST. I should like to know the cause of this change of mind on the part of our friends on the other side. They have heretofore put this article on the free list, and it must have been

done after examination. I think this article came from the House on the dutiable list, and the Committee on Finance struck it out and put it on the free list. We are entitled to know the mental process by which our friends have concluded to put it back upon the dutiable list. I have a number of communications in favor of salicylic acid going upon the free list; but I have contented myself with the result of the examination on the part of the majority of the committee, and was very glad to know that they had put it upon the free list. Now, however, it is put back on the dutiable list.

Mr. ALLISON. This acid is largely manufactured in this country, and it is an important acid. The duty of 10 cents a pound is about 25 per cent ad valorem, the rate provided as to a great many other acids of a kindred character, and on further examination the committee thought it was a proper subject of duty.

Mr. VEST. The Senator from Iowa knows that the American manufacturers control the market for this article, and why should we now put a duty upon it? What manufacturer has been here and represented that it is to his interest that this thing should be done? The Senator knows that we manufacture almost all of this article that is used here. It was free under the McKinley Act, it was free under the Wilson Act, and it was made free by the first report of the majority of the Finance Committee. I think the weight of authority is altogether in favor of this article remaining on the free list.

Mr. ALLISON. It is very largely manufactured in St. Louis and in various other parts of our country. It is manufactured chiefly from coal tar, and also from wintergreen.

Mr. VEST. Of course.

Mr. ALLISON. It is a very important manufacture, and now sells at about 40 cents a pound.

Mr. VEST. I have not heard a single argument why it should not go on the free list. The Senator does not pretend to say that we do not control the market. We largely manufacture it.

Mr. ALLISON. We do not control the entire market; it is imported as well.

Mr. VEST. Not to anything like the amount of consumption.

Mr. SEWELL. I will state for the information of the Senator from Missouri that this is an article of large consumption and manufacture in this country, and that it has heretofore been protected by patents which have expired, and that is the reason that some protection is now wanted against the imported article. It is largely manufactured in my State and in Pennsylvania. I ask to have read a letter from a Pennsylvania manufacturer showing the actual cost of wages paid in the manufacture of the article.

Mr. VEST. I understand, as well as I can hear the Senator from New Jersey, his statement to be that this article hitherto was protected by a patent, but the patent has expired, and now they want to put a protective duty on it.

Mr. SEWELL. Is not that a very good reason? I will ask the Senator from Missouri why a duty should not be imposed to protect the American manufacturer against the German and English chemists and manufacturers?

Mr. VEST. I have no doubt that from the protective standpoint that is an ample and sufficient argument, but not from mine.

Mr. SEWELL. I will ask the Senator if it is not a good protective argument that this article is used in the manufacture of beer, against the deterioration of which the people of this country ought to be protected?

Mr. STEWART. Does the Senator say it is used in the manufacture of beer?

Mr. SEWELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. STEWART. Then it had better be put upon the free list at once. The article ought not to be used at all.

Mr. SEWELL. It is used for the deterioration of beer, and the beer people are asking to have it put upon the free list.

Mr. STEWART. The Senator is suggesting a very important subject. The use of foreign rice and acids in the making of beer is most injurious to the people. It is, according to the physicians with whom I have talked, poisonous, and it is creating almost universally diseases of the kidneys amongst beer drinkers. They would not be allowed to manufacture this kind of beer in Europe.

Mr. VEST. No; but if it is a poison, as I understand now from the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SEWELL], then we ought not to protect it. I should like to know if we protect it and enable the domestic manufacturers to make more and sell more, if it will not still be used to poison beer and destroy the stomachs and lives of our Teutonic citizens? It seems to me, instead of protecting it, we ought to take away all protection from it.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Is that any reason why the article should be placed upon the free list?

Mr. VEST. We ought to prohibit it entirely from coming into the country or being manufactured here. Why should we give to our own people greater facilities for poisoning the beer of the country?

I have received communications from the proprietors of a great chemical establishment in St. Louis, asking for a duty upon this article. I replied to them, as I reply now to all such applications, I am utterly opposed to it. The exports and imports show that we control the market.

Salicylic acid may be used, though I never heard of that before, for the deterioration of beer, the poisoning of beer; but it is largely used for a great many other purposes. It is an important chemical product. It is most astonishing that the tariff framers in 1890 and 1894, upon both sides of the Chamber, put this article upon the free list, and that our friends, so acute and learned in tariff examinations, deliberately changed the Dingley bill, as it was called, the House bill—took this article from the dutiable list and put it upon the free list, and the Senate indorsed it; and now it is to be taken off the free list and put upon the dutiable list upon the statements that are made here.

Mr. GRAY. Because the patent has expired.

Mr. VEST. Well, Mr. President, we will take the yeas and nays on it, anyhow.

Mr. SEWELL. I should like to have the communication read to which I have referred.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The communication referred to by the Senator from New Jersey will be read, in the absence of objection.

The Secretary read as follows:

POTTSTOWN, PA., *June 9, 1897.*

DEAR SIR: I am a manufacturer of salicylic acid, and have just been informed by Congressman IRVING P. WANGER that it was through your efforts that the consideration of the amendment to strike out the duty was postponed. For this, please accept my thanks.

When I commenced business two years ago, salicylic acid was selling for $1.25 per pound. At present 33 to 35 cents per pound is the price. Then the German makers were in a combination and without opposition here and maintained the price. When opposition developed, the price fell from $1.25 to 50 cents per pound at once, and the decline has since been gradual to the basis of 33 cents.

I give you the cost of making a pound of salicylic acid here:

Carbolic	$0.18
Caustic soda	.0225
Carbonic acid	.0225
Sulphuric acid	.005
Wages	.053
Coal	.0105
Interest on plant	.0201
Selling	.033
Total	.3466

I simply can not live and pay the wages I do and compete with the labor of Germany. My wages average $1.50 per man. In Germany 1 mark per day is paid. I asked for 25 per cent ad valorem before the Committee on Ways and Means. They gave 10 cents, which is better. If you can have this retained, you will help out a struggling manufacturer.

Yours, respectfully,

W. S. MCFARLAND.

Senator SEWELL, *United States Senate.*

Mr. SEWELL. I do not care to take up the time of the Senate any longer on the subject, Mr. President.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair will inquire of the Senator from Iowa whether his motion was simply to strike out the committee amendment as to the word "salicylic" alone, in paragraph 452?

Mr. ALLISON. I wish to restore, in paragraph 1, line 3, the words "salicylic acid, 10 cents per pound."

The VICE-PRESIDENT. That has been agreed to. The Chair is referring to paragraph 452.

Mr. ALLISON. There I desire to strike out merely the word "salicylic."

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Iowa moves to strike out the amendment heretofore proposed by the committee, in paragraph 452, inserting the word "salicylic," in line 20, on page 161, on the free list. The Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST] calls for the yeas and nays upon that amendment.

Mr. VEST. Let us understand this, Mr. President. What was said to have been agreed to in the first paragraph?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The paragraph under discussion is paragraph 452, on page 161.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. But that was in connection with paragraph 1. The proposition was to disagree to the amendment of the committee striking out the words "salicylic acid, 10 cents per pound," in paragraph 1, and in the same connection the paragraph in the free list was taken up. The two ought to be acted upon together. The vote may as well be taken on disagreeing to the amendment in paragraph 1 and on disagreeing to the committee amendment inserting "salicylic" in the free list.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The first amendment of the committee, striking out the words "salicylic acid, 10 cents per pound," in paragraph 1, was rejected, and the Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON] now asks that the amendment proposed by the committee, in line 20, paragraph 452, page 161, putting salicylic acid on the free list, may be disagreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. That is the situation now. If Senators, however, desire to test the sense of the Senate by taking the yeas and nays upon both questions, I have no objection.

Mr. VEST. Let the vote be taken on both propositions together.

Mr. ALLISON. Very well; let it be taken on both propositions,

disagreeing to the amendment of the committee in line 4, on page 2, paragraph 1, and also disagreeing to the amendment of the committee in paragraph 452, relating to salicylic acid.

Mr. BERRY. As I understand, the question then is on agreeing to the amendments reported by the committee, to strike out "salicylic acid" from the House bill.

Mr. MILLS. Thereby placing it on the dutiable list.

Mr. BERRY. It is already on the dutiable list in the House bill, and the committee reported in favor of striking it out, thereby putting it on the free list. Those who want it on the free list will then vote "yea," in favor of the committee amendment.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. On this question the yeas and nays have been demanded.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. PETTUS. We do not understand the question. As I understand it, the Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON] moves to strike out "salicylic acid, 10 cents per pound," in paragraph 1, so as to restore the duty, and then moves to strike "salicylic acid" from the free list. That is what it amounts to.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. If I may be permitted a word of explanation, as the Senator from Alabama [Mr. PETTUS] raises the question, the committee amendment was to strike out the words "salicylic acid, 10 cents per pound," in paragraph 1. The committee propose to withdraw the amendment striking out those words, and also to withdraw the amendment inserting "salicylic acid" on the free list.

The Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. GEAR (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH], but I transfer that pair to the Senator from Illinois [Mr. MASON], and vote "nay."

Mr. GRAY (when his name was called). I am paired with the senior Senator from Illinois [Mr. CULLOM]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. LINDSAY (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the senior Senator from Michigan [Mr. MCMILLAN]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. MALLORY (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROCTOR]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. MORGAN (when his name was called). I am paired with the senior Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. QUAY]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. MORRILL (when his name was called). I am paired with the senior Senator from Tennessee [Mr. HARRIS], and therefore withhold my vote. I make this announcement for the day.

Mr. WELLINGTON (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. BUTLER]. In his absence, I withhold my vote.

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. CLARK (after having voted in the negative). I am paired with the Senator from Kansas [Mr. HARRIS], and voted without noting his absence from the Chamber. I transfer that pair to the Senator from Nevada [Mr. JONES], and will allow my vote to stand.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Nevada has voted.

Mr. CLARK. Then I withdraw my vote.

Mr. PENROSE (after having voted in the negative). I am informed that the junior Senator from Delaware [Mr. KENNEY], with whom I am paired, is absent, and I therefore withdraw my vote.

Mr. ALLISON (after having voted in the negative). I voted inadvertently, being paired with the Senator from Missouri [Mr. COCKRELL]. I suggest to the Senator from Delaware [Mr. GRAY] that we transfer our pairs, so that the Senator from Missouri [Mr. COCKRELL] will stand paired with the Senator from Illinois [Mr. CULLOM], which will allow the Senator from Delaware and myself to vote, and I will allow my vote to stand.

Mr. GRAY. Under that arrangement I vote "yea."

Mr. MILLS. I am paired with the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. GALLINGER]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. TURNER. I am paired with the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. WARREN]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. COCKRELL. I vote "yea."

Mr. BERRY. The Senator's pair has been transferred.

Mr. ALLISON. I have transferred my pair with the Senator from Missouri [Mr. COCKRELL] to the Senator from Illinois [Mr. CULLOM].

Mr. COCKRELL. Very well. Then I withdraw my vote. I should vote "yea" if not paired.

The result was announced—yeas 20, nays 30; as follows:

YEAS—20.

Allen,	Clay,	Mitchell,	Tillman,
Bacon,	Gray,	Murphy,	Turpie,
Berry,	Heitfeld,	Pasco,	Vest,
Caffery,	Jones, Ark.	Pettus,	Walthall,
Chilton,	McLaurin,	Roach,	White.

NAYS—30.

Allison,	Foraker,	McEnery,	Spooner,
Baker,	Frye,	Nelson,	Stewart,
Burrows,	Gear,	Perkins,	Teller,
Carter,	Hawley,	Platt, Conn.	Thurston,
Chandler,	Hoar,	Platt, N. Y.	Wetmore,
Dubois,	Jones, Nev.	Pritchard,	Wilson.
Elkins,	Lodge,	Sewell,	
Fairbanks,	McBride,	Shoup,	

NOT VOTING—39.

Aldrich,	Gallinger,	Lindsay,	Pettigrew,
Bate,	George,	McMillan,	Proctor,
Butler,	Gorman,	Mallory,	Quay,
Cannon,	Hale,	Mantle,	Rawlins,
Clark,	Hanna,	Martin,	Smith,
Cockrell,	Hansbrough,	Mason,	Turner,
Cullom,	Harris, Kans.	Mills,	Warren,
Daniel,	Harris, Tenn.	Morgan,	Wellington,
Davis,	Kenney,	Morrill,	Wolcott.
Faulkner,	Kyle,	Penrose,	

So the amendments of the committee in paragraphs 1 and 452 were rejected.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The effect of the vote is to leave salicylic acid dutiable at 10 cents a pound, as prescribed in the first paragraph.

Mr. ALLISON. Is it understood that the effect of the vote just taken carries with it the striking out of the word "salicylic" in the free list? I understood that to be the effect of it.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. That is correct. At the suggestion of the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. JONES] and the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST], the two votes were taken together; and both the amendments of the committee have been disagreed to.

Mr. CAFFERY. On the 17th of this month I offered a resolution calling on the Secretary of the Treasury to furnish the Senate the evidence and information on which drawback allowances on sugar contained in Circular No. 102, of June 25, 1896, division of customs, were based. I had been informed that the work required some considerable time. I did not think when I offered the resolution that it would require more than two or three days to take copies of all the evidence and the written information or to gather whatever verbal information they could, but I have been disappointed in that matter, and I propose now to make a statement of the information which I have gathered.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Will the Senator from Louisiana permit the Chair to interrupt him? A communication was laid before the Senate this morning from the Secretary of the Treasury covering the subject referred to by the Senator from Louisiana, and was referred to the Committee on Finance, and ordered to be printed.

Mr. CAFFERY. Then I will state the information which I gathered from the parties as well as information gathered by Mr. Holt, who first informed me that in his opinion the Treasury statement was erroneous.

Mr. ALLISON. I suggest if it would not be well for the Senator from Louisiana to see the statement in print before he makes his remarks. Does the Senator desire to go on this morning?

Mr. CAFFERY. I simply desire to state what I gathered myself. I have not seen the statement. So long as I have started on the work and as it will not take me long, I propose to finish it.

The Treasury statement is based upon information derived mostly from refiners. Among those refiners are members of the sugar trust. It is safe to say that nearly all the refiners, with perhaps rare exceptions, are either of the trust or under the trust. Therefore I take it that any statement emanating from the refiners is practically a trust statement.

It was stated to me by Mr. Buynitzky in the customs division of the Treasury Department——

Mr. LINDSAY. I will ask the Senator from Louisiana if I understand him correctly that the Treasury statements were based upon information received from refiners?

Mr. CAFFERY. Yes, sir.

Mr. LINDSAY. I ventured to express that opinion while the sugar schedule was under consideration, and the Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON] characterized my statement as absurd. I suppose the Senator must be mistaken about it.

Mr. CAFFERY. I think the Senator from Iowa is mistaken.

Mr. ALLISON. My attention was diverted for a moment. I did not hear what the Senator from Louisiana said. Indeed, I did not know that the sugar schedule was up.

Mr. LINDSAY. It is always up.

Mr. CAFFERY. Drawbacks are up, and drawbacks have something to do with raw sugar, and it is near enough for Senatorial discussion.

Mr. ALLISON. If I knew what the Senator from Louisiana had stated, I might be able to answer the Senator from Kentucky.

Mr. LINDSAY. Will the Senator from Louisiana please repeat what he stated?

Mr. CAFFERY. I stated that I learned at the Treasury Department that the statements in the Treasury drawback circular as to the number of pounds of raw sugar it took to make a pound

of refined at a certain degree or any degree were practically obtained from the sugar refiners, and among those refiners were members of the sugar trust, especially Mr. Havemeyer.

Mr. ALLISON. One can go into the Treasury Department and ascertain almost anything, I suppose. I should be glad to know from what authority the Senator acquired that information.

Mr. CAFFERY. I obtained the information from Mr. Buynitzky.

Mr. ALLISON. Is he an employee of the Treasury Department?

Mr. CAFFERY. He is; and I was told that he has been there over twenty-nine years.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. He is an expert there.

Mr. CAFFERY. He is a sugar expert, and he had a great deal to do with the matter of fixing the number of pounds on which the trust was entitled to a drawback when it exported sugar.

Mr. ALLISON. If the Senator will allow me to interrupt him for a moment, I will state that the substance of what I said—or what I meant to say—was that this matter was disposed of by the then Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Carlisle, and that I had no doubt he procured the information from proper sources. I have no doubt now that that is true. If Mr. Buynitzky knows differently, of course that is another matter.

Mr. WHITE. For information, I should like to inquire of the Senator from Iowa whether he thinks refiners would constitute a proper or improper source?

Mr. ALLISON. Will the Senator from Louisiana allow me?

Mr. CAFFERY. Certainly.

Mr. ALLISON. I will answer the Senator from California with great pleasure. If I were endeavoring to ascertain correctly the number of pounds of raw sugar required to make a pound of refined, I would procure that information from every available source. I suppose a refiner would know something about it, but I would not rely upon the refiner for my information.

Mr. LINDSAY. With the permission of the Senator from Louisiana, the point I wish to make is that when the Senator from Iowa disputed my figures and exhibited figures in opposition thereto, he said they came from the Treasury Department, over which my friend the then Secretary of the Treasury presided, and I expressed the opinion that those figures were based upon facts furnished by the sugar refiners, and my friend said that my opinion was absurd.

Now, it turns out that at least one expert in the Treasury Department states that the facts were furnished by the sugar refiners. I do not pretend to say he is right. I only wish to vindicate myself against having expressed an opinion that might be characterized as an absurdity.

Mr. ALLISON. I was trying to defend the Secretary of the Treasury from the imputation that he would rely solely and only upon sugar refiners for his information.

Mr. CAFFERY. Will the Senator permit me?

Mr. ALLISON. In one moment. My information is that the experts of the New York custom-house, who certainly ought to know something about this matter, and the chemists connected with the Government there, provided the basis upon which the calculation was made. I may be mistaken, but I trust I will relieve the Secretary of the Treasury from the imputation which the Senator from Kentucky and the Senator from Louisiana now cast upon him——

Mr. CAFFERY. Wait until I get through my statement.

Mr. ALLISON. That he did not rely upon his own experts' information, but relied on outside parties.

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. President——

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Louisiana is entitled to the floor. Does he yield to the Senator from Kentucky?

Mr. CAFFERY. I think it perhaps better that I should state what I wish to say in this connection, for I had not finished my statement. I had got up to the sugar refiners. Then after I make the full statement I will yield to the Senator from Kentucky.

I had stated that this expert had told me that this information was derived from sugar refiners, but that sugar refiners had not been exclusively the source of the information; that the inquiry was conducted, so far as he knew, by Mr. Ayre, and that Mr. Ayre was in New York, and that he was told that he went in a refinery and made an examination there.

Mr. ALLISON. It was a great crime for him to go to a refinery when engaged in an important investigation of this sort.

Mr. CAFFERY. If the Senator from Iowa is of the opinion that I am attempting to cast any aspersion whatever upon the method of the examination, he is entirely mistaken. I am reciting the bare facts. I do not say that the Treasury officials acted improperly or acted in any other manner than they were justified in acting. I think before I get through my statement he will perceive that it was proper for them to get this information from refiners, as they could give correct information if they wanted to.

After making as full a statement of the facts as he knew how, Mr. Buynitzky told me that the result of 92 pounds from 96-test sugar was derived by an averaging of the different statements of the refiners. Some said 92 pounds; some put it as high as 94 pounds, and the party, he said, who put it at 94 pounds was a Mr. Cunningham, of Texas, a refiner in that State, and the only independent refiner I know of. Mr. Cunningham was quoted as stating that out of 100 pounds of sugar testing 96 degrees in saccharine strength he made 94 pounds of sugar, or that was his estimate. There were various estimates given by refiners, and I think anybody who knows anything about sugar knows that the statements coming from the refiners as to the number of pounds to make a pound of refined are to be considered, as they know the business, and can, if they will, give correct results.

This gentleman showed me by a calculation in my presence that taking 92 pounds of refined sugar as the basis of the result, or the output of 100 pounds of raw sugar of 96 test, it took 108.7 pounds of raw sugar to make 100 pounds of refined sugar at 96 test. I then asked him what became of the residue. He said it was lost; it went into sirup. Right at that point is the fatal defect of the Treasury statement. In 100 pounds of sugar testing 96 degrees of sugar there are 96 pounds of sugar. If it takes 108.7 pounds of that sort of sugar to make 100 pounds of refined at 96 degrees, then there are about 4½ pounds of sugar to account for. There are 4½ pounds of sugar not sirup, and there is only a pound and a fraction of that sugar allowed for in the Treasury circular. When you take 108 pounds of sugar at 96 degrees as the gross number of pounds necessary to make 100 pounds of refined, you will perceive that the Treasury circular has credited the Government with 1.23 pounds; that is, as the difference between 108.7 and 107.47.

That statement is erroneous upon its face. It does not require an expert to know it. I do not know much about polariscopes, if anything; I never looked through one in my life; it is a mere mechanical machine; but I know that there are more than 92 pounds of sugar in 100 pounds of centrifugal sugar at 96 test. That is the sort of sugar I make. It is a good sugar to eat. There are not 4 pounds of loss in it. There are 4 pounds of sirup and sugar in it, but it is not dirt.

Mr. President, from this statement it appears that the Treasury circular is made up purely from the evidence of refiners and some other sources not known by me. I do not know how they could get any evidence from other sources. A pure theoretical calculation as to the amount of loss in pounds below and above 96 is made by the Department. Take it from 96 degrees down. You will see that there is an allowance of 1.89, 1.86, and 1.87 between degrees. This is a theoretical calculation, and so Mr. Buynitzky told me.

He said the whole investigation was made upon 96 test. There was no investigation made of any other test—none whatever. It is evident that they made this sort of a calculation: They divided the loss of 4 pounds among these different degrees, above 96 to 100, and gave each one 1.87, 1.87, 1.86, and so on; and it runs all the way down. Everybody knows that the loss in a lower degree of sugar is much greater than in a higher degree, and so it is perceived that that is a pure theoretical calculation not based upon any evidence whatever.

Mr. President, take the other statement. Mr. ALDRICH says that a pound of raw German sugar, at a certain test, will cost within 1 mill of the refined sugar. In other words, at the test he takes, the number of pounds of raw sugar required to make a pound of refined costs 2.29 cents and the refined costs 2.30. Is not that statement absurd upon its face? Is a refiner going to buy raw sugar within 1 mill a pound of the refined when it costs about fifty one-hundredths of a cent to refine it, and there is only a difference of one point—not a cent, but one point; the difference between 2.29 and 2.30—and he says that is the basis upon which he makes the calculation.

It is absolutely absurd. He says in his own statement before the Senate that the refiner was confronted with the condition of affairs where the raw sugar that it took to make a pound of refined sugar was within one point of the value of the refined, and yet he says that it costs fifty points to refine that sugar. What refiner or anybody else on earth engaged in the sugar business would buy raw sugar at any such figure? He would lose forty-nine one-hundredths of a cent on every pound he refined.

This whole circular is based upon those erroneous statements. There is not any accounting for the sugar in the 96 test. He accounts for the waste, taking 4 pounds off. When you go down to 96 pounds of crystallizable sugar in a hundred pounds of sugar, that is as far as you can go with the loss. The balance is sugar. They make 92 pounds, and they call the balance invert sugar. They say it is only equal to one pound and a fraction of sugar. Of course the amount of differential goes up in favor of the trust according as the degrees decline.

I wish to offer an affidavit made by Mr. Holt of his interview with Mr. Buynitzky, and to have it incorporated in the RECORD as a part of my remarks.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Without objection, the affidavit will be printed in the RECORD.

The affidavit is as follows:

CITY AND COUNTY OF NEW YORK, *ss:*

Byron W. Holt, being duly sworn, says:

I am 39 years of age and reside at 128 West One hundred and thirty-seventh street, New York, N. Y. I have lately had occasion to inquire as to the basis on which drawbacks are allowed on refined sugar exported from this country, and as a result of my investigation I submit the following statement:

On June 16, 1897, between the hours of 9 and 11 o'clock a. m., I visited the United States Treasury building at Washington, D. C. I called upon the customs division and asked for and obtained four copies of Department Circular No. 102, entitled "Drawback on sugar and sirup." I made inquiry as to the reports of commissions concerning frauds perpetrated upon our Government by means of discoloring and in other ways preparing sugars for export to our country, so that they could pass through our custom-house upon payment of a smaller amount of duty than is proper.

Mr. Comstock, of the customs division, directed me to the special-agency department. Being unable to obtain the reports desired, I again called upon Mr. Comstock, of the customs division, to make inquiry in regard to the way in which the tables of Treasury allowances for drawbacks upon sugar were made. Mr. Comstock told me that they were made very carefully by a number of experts, who spent several months' time in getting statements from refiners and others, and who secured special permission to visit certain refineries and observe the process of refining sugar. Mr. Comstock did not hesitate to say that the tables were extremely accurate. I continued to ask questions until Mr. Comstock said: "Well, now, if you want to know all about sugar, I will have to turn you over to Mr. Buynitzky." Before introducing me to Mr. Buynitzky, Mr. Comstock said: "He will tell you all about sugar in six months."

I accompanied Mr. Buynitzky to his desk. He began to explain to me the way the tables of allowances were made. He said that the number of pounds of raw sugar allowed in the first table of Department Circular No. 102 did not represent the exact number of pounds used to make 100 pounds of hard refined sugar, but was intended to give the number of pounds which would represent in value the amount of raw sugar actually used in making 100 pounds of hard refined sugar, after deducting an allowance for the value of the sugar in the sirup. He then did some figuring on a slip of paper (which I retained) to show me how the allowance was made for the refined sugars made from raw sugars testing 96 degrees. He said that from 100 pounds of raw sugar testing 96 degrees there were made 92 pounds of hard refined sugar, and that there was left over one-half gallon of sirup. He divided 10,000 by 92 to find how much raw sugar was required in practice to make 100 pounds of refined sugar.

This he found to be 108.7 pounds. He then said that as there were 4 pounds of sugar in a gallon of sirup, there were 2 pounds in one-half gallon. He subtracted 2 from 108.7, leaving 106.7 pounds. He said as these 2 pounds of sugar were mixed in the sirup, they did not have the full value of crystallized sugar. He first said that the sugar in the sirup was estimated to have only half as much value as crystallized sugar. He therefore started to add 1 to 106.7, but, observing that this would not give him the Treasury allowance, said that it was not exactly one-half of the value which was lost, because the sugar was mixed in the molasses, but a little more than one-half. He said: "We have forg tten just now the exact proportion of the value which was deducted, but it must have been a little more than one-half the value." He then added seventy-seven one-hundredths to 106.7, which made 107.47 pounds. He said they must have concluded that seventy-seven one-hundredths of a pound was the proper amount to add to obtain the correct allowance.

Mr. Buynitzky said that the tables were prepared by a commission of experts, of which Col. Ira Ayre was the most important member. He said Mr. Chance and Mr. Leary were also members of this committee, and that he (Mr. Buynitzky) was secretary. After reflection he said: "I have been with so many committees that I am not certain but that I was a member of this committee; perhaps I was; yes, I think you can put me down as a member of this committee. I think I signed the report as a member of the committee." He further said that Mr. John C. Sage was what might be called an "advisory member" of the committee. He said that Mr. Sage in fact advised the committee in the capacity of a sugar expert. He said he believed that Colonel Ayres visited a refinery, but made no definite statement as to whether or not any other members of the committee visited refineries. He said that he thought that Mr. Ayres did not get much information in the refinery of assistance in making up the Treasury tables. He said that the committee obtained sworn statements from eight different refiners as to the number of pounds of raw required to make a certain amount of refined, as to the kind of sugar used by each refinery, and as to the proportions in which the different grades and different kinds of sugar were mixed together in each refinery to produce the refined sugar. He said that one of these statements was made by Mr. Havemeyer.

I asked Mr. Buynitzky if those eight statements could be made public. He said, "No; they are not public papers. Some of them were obtained only upon the pledge of secrecy." Mr. Buynitzky said that the 92 pounds of hard refined sugar made from 100 pounds of raw sugar testing 96 degrees represented the average of the eight statements, and that the commission, after considering the eight statements, fixed upon 92 pounds as the average amount of refined sugar made from 100 pounds of 96-degree raw sugar. He said that he did not think it was the proper figure, and that when he was making estimates for his own personal information he always took 93 instead of 92 pounds as the amount of hard refined sugar made from 100 pounds of 96-degree sugar. He said that possibly the correct figure was somewhere between 92 and 93, but that he was never convinced that it should be 92. He said the statements made by the refiners were all made under oath, and the Government having no other sufficient information and no way of disproving the statements had to accept them. He said: "Of course, if the refiners prevaricated, that concerns their consciences. We have simply done the best we could."

I asked Mr. Buynitzky how the Government could tell, when it was paying drawback duties upon refined sugars, what grade of raw sugars were used in making the refined sugar, and how, if there should be an advantage in claiming that the refined sugar was made from low-grade raw sugars, the Government could prevent the exporting refiner from claiming that the refined sugar which he was exporting was made from low-grade raw sugars. Mr. Buynitzky said that the refiner had to make statements under oath, and that if his statements were consistent there was no way of preventing such frauds. He said, however, that records were kept of all grades and value of sugar imported by refiners, and that if a refiner made a statement which did not agree with these records, he could be found out. He said of course if he remembers the kind of sugars which he imported he would have no trouble in making the Government accept a false statement. I suggested to Mr. Buynitzky that a refiner might keep a record of all the kinds of sugar and amounts imported of each kind and their value, and that then he would have no trouble in making consistent statements when he wanted to export sugar. Mr. Buynitzky said that they would have to keep a separate set of books for that purpose.

Mr. Buynitzky appeared to be getting nervous at the kind of questions which he was called upon to answer. He at last asked me for what purpose I wished this information, and if I was going to write it up. I told him I was not on any newspaper, but that I might make some use of the information. I told him that Senator ALLISON had stated that the sugar schedule was based upon the Treasury Department figures, and that therefore it was necessary to make sure that these figures were accurate. I said that fifty or sixty million dollars a year was at stake, and that a small inaccuracy in these figures might make a difference of several millions of dollars to the Government and to the refiners. Mr. Buynitzky thought that the tables were not accurate enough to serve as a basis for a sugar schedule. He said that the commission had received very little information concerning amounts of low-grade sugars required to make 100 pounds of raw sugar, and that the allowances made for low-grade sugars were based upon the allowance for 96-degree sugar, which was the most important sugar, and upon which the commission had most information. He thought that 106.7 pounds, rather than 107.47, should serve as a basis upon which to construct a sugar schedule. This, he said, was about eight-tenths of 1 per cent less than the allowance made by the Government.

Before leaving I told Mr. Buynitzky that I was not in favor of giving any differential to the sugar trust, and that I was making inquiry in regard to the Treasury tables because I thought that, based upon these tables, the proposed sugar schedule would give the sugar refiners even more of a differential than most protectionists were willing to allow. Mr. Buynitzky expressed surprise that I was not in favor of allowing any differential to refiners, and asked me if I did not believe in protection. I told him that I did not, but that even if I did I should not believe in giving the refiners a higher differential than was intended. He said that he believed in giving the refiners a substantial differential and that he believed in protection. He said: "This is a protection Administration and the high man, over all of us, Mr. McKinley, is a protectionist."

I told him that I presumed that he and the other members of the commission had made the tables as nearly accurate as they could from the information at hand, but that I did not believe the statements of the refiners. He again said that he did not fully believe the tables, but that they were the only statements which the Government had, and that the sugar refiners kept their secrets.

I thanked him for the information which he had given me and started to leave the room. He walked with me to the desk of Mr. Comstock. Mr. Comstock asked if I now knew all about sugar. I told him that I had received considerable information from Mr. Buynitzky in considerably less than six months' time.

BYRON W. HOLT.

Sworn to before me this 22d day of June, 1897.

JOHN SPRUNT HILL,
Notary Public, New York County.

Mr. CAFFERY. I also offer a statement in connection with this affidavit. I have looked over this affidavit very carefully, and in every particular it agrees with my recollection of what Mr. Buynitzky told me. I may not have stated everything that Mr. Buynitzky told me, but the whole of his conversation with me in regard to this matter is contained substantially in the affidavit of Mr. Holt, which I corroborate and say it is the statement that Mr. Buynitzky made.

Mr. Holt is the gentleman who has been here in behalf of the Reform Club, taking an interest in the tariff.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Without objection, the statement will be printed in the RECORD.

The statement is as follows.

THE SUGAR DRAWBACK FRAUDS.

All calculations as to the differential or amount of protection to sugar refiners in all of the sugar schedules thus far proposed by the present Congress are based upon Department Circular No. 102, issued by the customs division of the Treasury Department in 1893. This circular is entitled "Drawback on sugar and sirup," and fixes the number of pounds of raw sugar of different degrees allowed by the Treasury Department in the payment of drawback duties to make 100 pounds of refined sugar.

Senator NELSON W. ALDRICH said in the Senate on May 25, 1897:

"As a basis for the calculation of the number of pounds of sugar of each polariscope test required to make 100 pounds of refined sugar, I have taken the statement of the Treasury Department promulgated June 25, 1893, Department Circular No. 102. I assume that there will be no question as to its accuracy. The computations have been confirmed by various statements furnished by the appraiser's office in New York."

Senator WILLIAM B. ALLISON said in the Senate on June 14, 1897:

"I was about to state that I arrived at these figures by taking the number of pounds of raw sugar which are required to produce a given number of pounds of refined sugar, * * * according to the absolutely accurate test made by Secretary Carlisle as Secretary of the Treasury, and produced by him, as I have been told, after the most accurate calculations of the best chemists and experts obtainable on the sugar question."

The accuracy of the Treasury tables of allowances thus becomes of great importance. If they are incorrect to any considerable extent, millions of dollars may by the new tariff law be unintentionally taken from the sugar consumers and given to the sugar refiners, or vice versa. If, after careful investigation, it seems probable that the tables are very far from accurate, it would then appear that all three of the proposed sugar schedules should be discarded.

We will first examine the circular itself. Here is the first table, to which is added a column showing the estimate of allowance for each degree decrease in strength:

Test of raw sugar used.

Degrees.	Allowance for—		Degrees.	Allowance for—	
	100 pounds hard refined.	Waste.		100 pounds hard refined.	Waste.
	Pounds.	*Pounds.*		*Pounds.*	*Pounds.*
99	101.87	1.87	86	126.14	1.87
98	103.73	1.86	85	128.01	1.87
97	105.60	1.87	84	129.88	1.87
96	107.47	1.87	83	131.74	1.86
95	109.34	1.87	82	133.61	1.87
94	111.20	1.86	81	135.48	1.87
93	113.07	1.87	80	137.35	1.87
92	114.94	1.87	79	139.21	1.86
91	116.81	1.87	78	141.08	1.87
90	118.67	1.86	77	142.95	1.87
89	120.54	1.87	76	144.82	1.87
88	122.41	1.87	75	146.68	1.86
87	124.27	1.86			

We observe first that, beginning at the top of the second column, either 1.67 or 1.86 pounds have been added to each allowance to get the allowance for the next lower degree. It would not appear that these figures were made "after the most accurate calculations of the best chemists and experts obtainable on the sugar question," for one does not need to know much about sugar to know that there is generally far more waste material between each 2 degrees of low-grade than between each 2 degrees of high-grade sugars. When raw sugars test 97 or 98, they usually contain a little water and invert sugar (glucose), but very little ash or dirt. Practically all of the crystallizable sugar can be easily obtained. When raw sugars test below 90, they usually contain considerable ash and dirt, and it is not easy to get out anything like the full amount of crystallizable or hard sugar known to be there.

We next observe that drawback duties are also allowed on "soft refined" sugars and on sirups. As soft refined sugars and sirups are usually made from the waste or by-products of the hard refining process, it would appear from this circular that it is possible for a refiner to get back, when he exports hard refined sugar, 99 per cent of all the duty paid on the raw material used, and to get back, when he exports the soft refined sugar and the sirup made from these same raw materials, an additional amount of duty. It seems probable that the total drawback duty received in this way might greatly exceed the full duty paid on the raw materials used.

Again we observe that, calculated from this Treasury circular, the cost of a sufficient quantity of raw sugars to make 100 pounds of refined sugar is the same as the cost of the 100 pounds of refined sugar—leaving nothing for the cost of refining. This was the result reached by Appraiser Sharretts, whose statement appears in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of June 11, 1897. He found that on June 9, 100 pounds of German granulated sugar was worth in New York in bond $2.30; and that 120.54 pounds of raw sugar testing 89 degrees was then worth $2.29. We were at that time importing both of these sugars.

What fools we must be to import raw sugar when we can import refined at practically the same price! Senator ALDRICH undoubtedly had these Treasury tables in mind when he on May 25 made the absurd statement that "for months raw beet sugar and German granulated have sold on an absolute parity of value, taking only into account the percentages of pure sugar contained in each." How kind it is of the German refiners to sell refined sugar at the same price which they pay for raw. It is perhaps as a reward for this kindness that the German Government gives them a net bounty of 7 or 8 cents on every 100 pounds of refined sugar exported, this being, according to Senator ALDRICH and our Treasury tables, all the German refiner gets for work which Senator ALDRICH estimates to cost 50 cents.

From the above observations it is clear that on its face something is wrong with the Treasury Department circular. It appears to have been constructed not by experts, but roughly and carelessly, and without regard to consistency or to facts.

We shall now look outside of it for evidence of its accuracy. Senator ALDRICH claims to have substantiated the accuracy of these tables by two chemical tests. He said on May 25:

"For illustration, I will take an analysis of sugar testing 88 degrees, made by the chemist in charge of the sugar laboratory in New York. This sugar contained seventy-four one-hundredths of 1 per cent of ash, 4.13 per cent of invert sugar, and an outturn of 81.85 per cent of crystallizable sugar.

"Of this sugar it would take 122.17 pounds to make 100 pounds of refined sugar. The Treasury estimate is 122.41 for this test. It will be noticed that this sugar contained 4.13 per cent of invert sugar. This invert sugar becomes sirup in the process of refining, and is worth from one-half to three-fourths of a cent per pound. The result in this case would probably be a fair estimate of the average result of the value of the residuum of invert sugar contained in all cane sugars testing in the neighborhood of 89 degrees. The value of this sirup would not appreciably affect differentials.

"The same chemist made at the same time a test of 94-degree centrifugals, which showed forty-two one-hundredths of 1 per cent of ash and 2.47 per cent of invert sugar and an out-turn of 90.27 per cent of refined sugar. In this case the amount of 94-degree test sugar required to make 100 pounds of refined would be 110.77, as against 111.20, the amount named in the table, with 2¼ pounds of sirup.

"It must be evident from these examples that the Treasury statement shows the entire amount of crystallizable sugar that can be obtained in each case from 100 pounds of raw."

In his first sample the sugar tested 88 degrees. That means that 88 per cent of this sample was crystallizable sugar. His chemist got out only 81.85 per cent of crystallizable sugar. As neither the ash nor the invert sugar was a part of the 88 per cent, this chemist loses, apparently without observing it, 6.15 per cent of his crystallizable sugar. In the second sample 3.73 per cent was lost in the same way. If his chemist informed him that these amounts of crystallizable sugar disappeared in some mysterious manner, Senator ALDRICH is not to blame for saying that the value of the sirup made from the invert sugar would not appreciably affect differentials. If, however, his chemist made no mention of the loss, it seems strange that Mr. ALDRICH himself did not discover this oversight before he used the figures. What kind of a chemist did he employ anyway? Of what sugar laboratory is he in charge?

Considerable information has been obtained in regard to these Treasury tables from recent interviews with Mr. S. M. Buynitzky. Mr. Buynitzky is the sugar expert of the Treasury Department, and was one of the four or five on the committee which made the Treasury tables. Mr. Buynitzky says:

(1) That the Treasury tables do not represent the full number of pounds of raw sugar required to make 100 pounds of hard refined. He says that they allow something for the value of the residuum.

(2) That eight refiners submitted statements to the committee, and that the tables were constructed by taking an average of these eight statements.

(3) That these statements related almost entirely to 96-degree sugar.

(4) That the allowance for other degrees are based upon that for 96-degree sugar.

(5) That according to the eight statements submitted 92 pounds of hard refined sugar could be made from 100 pounds of raw sugar testing 96 degrees.

(6) That the statements varied from less than 92 to over 94 pounds.

(7) That the statement containing over 94 pounds came from Cunningham, of Texas.

(8) That he never believed the refiners' statements, and that he always estimated that 93 to 93½ pounds of hard refined could be made from 100 pounds of 96-degree sugar.

(9) That the principal member of the committee, Mr. Ira Ayer, was permitted to visit a refinery and watch the process of refining, but that he probably got no valuable information there for use in making up the table of allowances.

(10) That the sugar refiners keep their secrets.

(11) That though their statements were made under oath he does not believe them.

(12) That it is easy for sugar refiners to make false statements when exporting refined sugar as to the kind or kinds of raw used in making such refined sugar, and that the Government has no certain way of detecting the falsity of these statements.

(13) That the Treasury tables are unfit to serve as a basis for a tariff bill.

These statements of Mr. Buynitzky make interesting reading for those who have been swearing by these Treasury tables. It is evident from these statements—

First. That the Treasury tables are inaccurate, unreliable, inconsistent, and unscientific.

Second. That the principal table of allowances, and the one upon which both Senators ALDRICH and ALLISON base all of their calculations, is not what it appears upon its face to be.

Third. That the sugar trust, as stated by Senator LINDSAY, practically made its own drawback-allowance tables for the 96-degree sugar.

Fourth. That the special committee fixed the allowances for sugars testing above or below 96 degrees in a crude and unscientific way. In other words, the committee, having no data for other degrees, fixed up a table as best they could. It seems probable that they did it by dividing the number of pounds over 100 required of 96-degree sugar, as the trust represented, to make 100 pounds of hard refined by 4, the number of degrees between 96 and 100, and then added this quotient (1.86¼) to the allowance for each degree to obtain the allowance for the next lower degree.

Fifth. That the big refineries of the sugar trust—ten to twenty times as large as Cunningham's—do not get as much hard refined out of 96-degree raw sugar as does Cunningham's little refinery.

Sixth. That Cunningham, being as nearly out of the trust as any refiner in this country, did not have an understanding with the trust refiners as to the kind of statements which were to be submitted, and that therefore his statements were probably more nearly truthful than were the others.

Seventh. That it was unfair to the Government, if some refiners could make over 94 pounds of hard refined from 96-degree raw sugar, while others claimed to make less than 92 pounds, to take an average of the statements. By so doing, it is clear that the refiners who get the greater amounts of refined from the raw sugar can and do get back from the Government more duty than was paid upon the raw sugar used.

Eighth. That as no expert can tell, when he sees refined granulated sugar from what particular grade of raw sugar it was made, it is easy for exporting refiners to deceive the customs officials on this point, and if there is any object in so doing to claim that the refined was made from 84 or 85 degree sugar, when, in fact, 96 or 97 degree sugar was used.

There are many other reasons for believing that the Treasury allowances are grossly inaccurate. Since the formation of the sugar trust in 1887 no Government official or outsider has been permitted to see the trust's books or to obtain information as to the cost of refining or the amount of absolute waste in different kinds and grades of sugar.

When the New York senate committee was investigating the sugar trust in 1888, the officers refused to produce the books and said that they did not know where they were at that time, but that they were probably in New Jersey. Other investigating committees met with the same fate. The officers refused to give census statistics to the Census Department, and baffled the efforts of the Attorney-General to obtain access to the books until Carroll D. Wright advised the Attorney-General to give up the fight, as it was too late to make use of the statistics even if they should be obtained.

The officers of the trust do not defy State and national laws and risk their personal freedom in their attempt to guard secrets which are considered of little value or importance.

Trust refiners, when they have appeared before the Ways and Means Committee or the Senate Finance Committee to ask for protection, have carefully refrained from making statements as to the loss in refining. In 1890 Mr. E. C. Knight, of Philadelphia, appeared somewhat unexpectedly before the Ways and Means Committee. He was not then in the trust, and inadvertently made some statements which do not substantiate the Treasury figures. Here is the first part of his statement:

"Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I came here in the capacity of a listener, not to say anything myself; but as I see nobody else prepared to speak in the interest of sugar refiners, I will say a few words to the committee.

"I have had no conversation with other sugar refiners, and am expressing entirely my own ideas, from my own knowledge of the business, having been at it a good many years.

"I am going to assume as a basis that our house manufactures 5 per cent of all the refined sugar made in this country. I do not think that we come quite up to that, but I will take that as a basis. On that basis, if we melt 500,000 pounds a day, costing 5 cents a pound, the raw sugar costs us $25,000 a day, and on that 500,000 pounds we pay 2 cents a pound duty to the Government. In refining that raw sugar there is 4 per cent of impurity, a sample of which I have here. [Exhibiting it to the committee.] This 4 per cent of impurities costs us $1,000 a day, and, assuming that we work three hundred days in the year, it costs us $300,000 a year. Now, if we have but one-twentieth of the entire refining business of the country, the total loss to refiners from this source is $6,000,000 a year.

"Mr. GEAR. You say that the loss from impurities is 4 per cent?

"Mr. KNIGHT. Yes; 4 per cent. That would be on a grade of good 90-degree sugar. If we were to manufacture the centrifugal sugars polarizing 96 degrees, the loss would not be so great."

Gen. J. Hale Sypher expressed the opinion before the Ways and Means Committee on December 30, 1896, that the total cost of refining sugar by the American Sugar Refining Company does not exceed one-fourth of a cent per pound. He said that this one-fourth cent covers waste and everything. If his statement is true, there can not be nearly as much waste as allowed by the Treasury Department.

Many sugar importers and brokers in New York and other sugar-refining cities do not hesitate to say that 105 pounds of 96-degree sugar is all that is required for 100 pounds of hard refined sugar—in addition to somewhat of sirups and soft sugars. Some of these men have friends in the refining business in this or other countries. Some of them claim to have positive information on this point. They, however, will neither state it nor permit themselves to be quoted.

In view of the above facts and statements, it appears to be certain that the Treasury tables of drawback allowances on sugar are far from accurate, and that they should not serve as a basis for a sugar tariff schedule.

Mr. CAFFERY. Mr. President, the material question to be determined in regard to the sugar schedule is, first, the number of pounds of sugar at a certain test required to make a pound of refined, and the differential allowed under the bill. When you have those two factors, as I have stated before, the price of the raw is immaterial. Protection stands out right square from the absolute differentials given in the bill, but the material point of a correct starting place, in my opinion, is first to be settled. There have been more pounds of raw sugar allowed to make a pound of refined than is actually required, and just in proportion to the extra amount of raw allowed under the bill to make a pound of refined, just in that proportion is the differential greater between the raw and the refined under the bill.

So it is with the drawback allowance. If the sugar trust

exports sugar, and gets a drawback allowance on 140 pounds of raws, as required to make the number of pounds of refined exported, when in point of fact it took only 130 pounds, the Senate will perceive the benefit given to the trust. It is not unlikely, under the operations of the pending bill, that the sugar trust will export sugar. I have made the statement, and I reiterate it, that they control the price of raw sugars made out of cane throughout the world, and the consequence of that is that they can dictate to their patrons everywhere whatever degree of sugar they want the raw sugar to be at. They can require it to be made as well at 90 as at 96, and the lower you go down in degree the higher the differential is and the more the protection to the trust.

Of course I know that what I shall say has no weight. I do not know what cast-iron arrangement has been arrived at as to a conference report, but I do know, so far as my information goes, that the essential basis of the number of pounds of raw sugar to make a pound of refined is erroneous, and upon that basis this whole schedule of protection is predicated. So far as I am concerned, I want the Senate and the country to know the enormous amount of protection in this bill to the sugar trust. I have no hope whatever of making any impression upon our friends on the other side or on the conference committee. They appear to be drilled with the rigor and discipline of janizaries, and they are bound to enact this bill at all hazards. But right at this point of the sugar trust it appears to me they ought to call a halt; they ought to investigate the matter; they ought not to give this trust more power than it already possesses, for it possesses much.

It is a dreadful power; it is a dangerous power. There is not a wholesale grocer in the United States who is not a slave to the trust, who does not sell his sugar at their command and dictation. There is not a consumer in the United States who is not in their complete power. They can raise the price of his sugar at will; and after the testimony has been adduced before the Senate that they can make sugar and defy the competition of the world, after they have been given a compensating duty upon refined of more than they pay upon the raw, I want to know why it is that after all that is done this clear twenty-hundredths of a cent a pound, with the concealed advantages in this schedule, shall be added to their already enormous advantages.

Mr. WHITE. I desire to say to the Senator from Iowa that when the item relating to coal comes up I shall make an effort to reinstate the provision of the act of March 3, 1883, which provides for a drawback upon coal imported and used as fuel on board vessels propelled by steam engaged in the coasting and foreign trade, and so on. It is impossible to frame the amendment now, as I am not aware of the rates which the committee intend to report. I call the attention of the committee to the fact that it was supposed generally that that provision was retained by the act of 1890, and it was so decided by the district court and the circuit court of appeals of the ninth circuit, but afterwards the Supreme Court of the United States, one of the judges dissenting, held that by implication the act of 1890 repealed it. I simply call attention to the matter now.

Mr. ALLISON. I will say to the Senator from California that we have that very matter under consideration, and expect in some form to allow those drawbacks. I will be very much obliged to the Senator if he will turn his attention to the preparation of a suitable provision.

Mr. WHITE. I shall do so. The decision to which I refer is 168 United States, 500. I will prepare the amendment and submit it to the Senator as soon as the rate is fixed.

Mr. ALLISON. The coal matter will not come up to-day.

Mr. SPOONER. I wish to ask the Senator in charge of the bill to allow the item regarding bleaching powder to go over for to-day. I am not satisfied myself as to the wisdom of the amendment, and I wish to have an opportunity to examine it further.

Mr. ALLISON. There is no objection to that course.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair hears no objection, and that paragraph will be passed over.

Mr. WHITE. I desire also to suggest to the committee the advisability of examining the decision to which I have referred in another view. There are a great many provisions retained in the administrative portions of the bill which were proposed to be eliminated by the majority of the Committee on Finance upon the theory that their elimination from the bill would interfere with the operation of some section that is contained in existing law. But I fear that the rule of construction adopted by the Supreme Court of the United States in the case referred to might result in a repeal by implication, which would not be desired here.

Mr. ALLISON. I will say to the Senator that since our original report was made we have examined with great care the sections to which he alludes, and it is our purpose, both for convenience and for certainty as respects the construction of the law, to restore in some form those sections when we reach them, modifying one or two of them.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The next amendment passed over will be stated.

The SECRETARY. Paragraph 14, page 4——

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. What has become of paragraph 7½?

Mr. ALLISON. The Senator from Wisconsin desired that that should go over.

Mr. SPOONER. I asked to have it passed over.

The Committee on Finance reported an amendment to paragraph 14, page 4, line 22, after the word "colors," to strike out "thirty-five" and insert "not specially provided for in this act, twenty-five;" in line 24, after the word "products," to strike out "or preparations;" in the same line, after the word "tar," to insert "not medicinal;" in the same line, after the word "medicinal," to strike out "by whatever name known;" and in line 26, before the word "per," to strike out "twenty-five" and insert "fifteen;" so as to make the paragraph read:

14. Coal-tar dyes or colors, not specially provided for in this act, 25 per cent ad valorem; all other products of coal tar, not medicinal, not specially provided for in this act, 15 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. ALLISON. The committee propose a modification of paragraph 14, which I send to the desk.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The modification will be stated.

The SECRETARY. Paragraph 14, page 4, line 23, strike out "twenty-five" and insert "thirty;" in line 24, after the words "coal tar," insert the words "not colors or dyes and;" and in line 26 strike out the word "fifteen" and insert the word "twenty."

Mr. ALLISON. I should be glad to have the paragraph read as it will read when amended. I will read it:

Coal-tar dyes or colors, not specially provided for in this act, 30 per cent ad valorem; all other products of coal tar not colors or dyes and not medicinal, not specially provided for in this act, 20 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. SEWELL. I presented an argument to the committee, and I thought they had adopted my suggestion to leave in the words "or preparations."

Mr. ALLISON. I have no objection to leaving in those words. We supposed them to be surplusage.

Mr. SEWELL. No; it covers a number of preparations that have been adjusted already in the custom-house. I ask that the words "or preparations" be left in.

Mr. ALLISON. There is no objection to it, although the word "products" will certainly cover preparations.

Mr. SEWELL. It is a technical term that has practically become established.

Mr. ALLISON. I want to assure the Senator from New Jersey that we took expert advice on the subject before making this amendment. But I have no objection to the insertion of the words if the Senator insists upon it.

Mr. SEWELL. I prefer to have the words "or preparations" in.

Mr. ALLISON. It is a matter of no moment.

Mr. SEWELL. Let that language be included in the amendment of the committee.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment will be so modified, in the absence of objection.

Mr. SEWELL. I also ask the Senator in charge of the bill whether, in changing the rate from 15 to 20 per cent, in line 26, the duty on the raw products of coal-tar dyes will not be increased, and if in that view it would not be very much better to have the rate 15 instead of 20 per cent.

Mr. ALLISON. A great many of the raw products of coal-tar dyes are on the free list unless we strike them off. Nearly all the raw products are on.

Mr. SEWELL. I am aware that a good deal come under this enumeration, so that the people who make coal-tar dyes would have to pay 20 per cent instead of 15. I will not, of course, make any contest on the subject.

Mr. ALLISON. If we make any mistake about it, I shall be glad to rectify it later on.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I know nothing personally about this matter, but I am told by experts and by persons connected with the custom-house in New York that practically all coal-tar dyes or colors that come into this country come in the form of coal-tar products; that they must necessarily be mixed with other things before they become dyes; that there must be some mordant or some other mixture before they can be used; that the structure of this clause will result only in litigation and difficulty of construction, and that in the paragraph there ought to be one rate for the entire product.

Mr. ALLISON. The Senator may be right, although there are a few manufacturers in our country who make some of these coal-tar dyes and colors, and it was thought wise by the committee to give them fair protection.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I understand that they import the coal-tar products, and by a very simple process produce the coal-tar dyes by mixing them with other things. It hardly rises to the dignity of manufacture, as I understand the facts. I do not know that I am right about it, but that is my information and my impression. I believe there ought to be one rate for all these articles.

Mr. GRAY. I should like to ask the Senator from Iowa a question in regard to this matter. Would the duty that is here imposed be excluded from everything that is medicinal by the language "not medicinal?"

Mr. ALLISON. Yes.

Mr. GRAY. Then I should like to ask whether it would exclude such an article as thymo-cresol, which is sometimes called sheep dip. I understand from a manufacturer of the article that that is used as a disinfectant or insecticide—

It can absolutely be used—

I read from a communication of his—

for no other purpose. It is used to a certain extent in hospitals, but is used chiefly by farmers and stockmen as a sheep dip, cattle wash, etc. For this purpose it is used and recommended by the leading breeders and veterinarians throughout the world. It is known to commerce as a "sheep dip." It is at present on the free list.

Mr. WHITE. It has been stricken from the free list.

Mr. ALLISON. It w ll be on the free list.

Mr. GRAY. It will be on the free list?

Mr. ALLISON. That is, not in that form, but sheep dip and all that class are provided for in the free list. I will find the provision.

Mr. GRAY. I suggest to the Senator some such language as this, as proposed by these people, to put on the free list "products or preparations of coal tar used only as insecticides and disinfectants." That would cover the articles that are mentioned and prevent this tax from being placed upon this article that is becoming every day more and more essential to the health of the stock of the country.

Mr. WHITE. There are parts of the country in which sheep are produced where frequently there is a disease of the skin and it is necessary in its treatment to make a solution in which the whole sheep, except the head, is sometimes immersed.

Mr. GRAY. This is it.

Mr. ALLISON. It is not the intention, I will assure the Senator, to make sheep dip dutiable under any clause in this paragraph.

Mr. GRAY. Would it be in order for me to move to put upon the free list now "products or preparations of coal tar used only as insecticides and disinfectants?"

Mr. ALLISON. If the Senator will give notice of that amendment, I will say that the committee will look into the matter. I think in some form it ought to be done.

Mr. WHITE. Paragraph 630 of the proposed bill as originally framed contains sheep dip, but the line passed through the paragraph indicates that the committee intended to eliminate it.

Mr. ALLISON. My impression is that it is provided for in some other part, but I can not turn to it at the moment. I assure the Senator it will be dealt with.

Mr. GRAY. All right.

Mr. MANTLE. I should like to inquire of the Senator from Iowa at this point if the committee has decided to permit sheep dip to remain upon the free list?

Mr. ALLISON. Sheep dip is a very indefinite term, and is made up of two or three hundred things that are called sheep dip. It was our purpose to cover, and I think we have some provision here which covers, what would be called sheep dip. If the Senator will look at paragraph 505, I think he will find it.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Iowa to the amendment of the committee.

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

The amendment as amended was agreed to.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, on page 5, after line 1, to strike out paragraph 16, in the following words:

16. Collodion, and all compounds of pyroxyline, by whatever name known, and whether rolled or in sheets, but not made up into articles, 50 cents per pound; if in finished or partly finished articles, including such as are commonly called celluloid articles, 75 cents per pound and 30 per cent ad valorem.

And in lieu thereof to insert:

16. Collodion and all compounds of pyroxylin, whether known as celluloid or by any other name, rolled or in sheets or otherwise, but not made up into articles, 50 cents per pound; if in finished or partly finished articles, 60 cents per pound and 25 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. ALLISON. The committee propose a modification of that paragraph which I send to the desk.

The SECRETARY. Strike out paragraph 16 and insert:

Collodion and all compounds of pyroxylin, whether known as celluloid or by any other name, 50 cents per pound; rolled or in sheets, unpolished and not made up into articles, 60 cents per pound; if in finished or partly finished articles, 65 cents per pound and 25 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. VEST. That is a considerable increase and a change of classification so as to put up these duties enormously. Why are these changes made? That paragraph seems to have been deliberately framed and reported by the committee. Here is a new classification in the first part of it and 5 cents duty added to the latter part. I should like to know, for it is little enough to ask, why this is done.

Mr. ALLISON. I call the attention of the Senator from Missouri to the law of 1894. We have practically taken the phraseology of that law, making another bracket, as it were, covering collodion and all compounds, etc., at 50 cents a pound, and then when rolled in sheets, which is another process——

Mr. VEST. Making it 60 cents.

Mr. ALLISON. Making it 60 cents. Then when made up in finished articles or partly finished, 65 cents and 25 per cent ad valorem. The present law is "collodion and all compounds of pyroxylin, by whatever name known, 40 cents a pound." Where the law now provides 40 cents we provide 50 cents. On rolled or in sheets, but not made up into articles, it is 50 cents per pound in the present law, and we make it 60 cents. If in finished or partly finished articles, it is 45 per cent ad valorem, and we have made it partly specific in the last bracket.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. What is the proposed rate in the last bracket of the amendment?

Mr. ALLISON. Sixty-five cents and 25 per cent.

Mr. VEST. The 65 cents is an increase. I was very glad, when this amendment was originally made, to see that it was a reduction from the Wilson Act. The Senator does not pretend to say that it now is the equivalent of the Wilson Act with the change of classification?

Mr. ALLISON. It is the classification of the Wilson Act practically.

Mr. VEST. Yes; but the rates are not the same.

Mr. ALLISON. The rates are increased over the Wilson Act.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is upon agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Iowa to the amendment of the committee.

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

The amendment as amended was agreed to.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 22, page 6, line 17, after the word "above," to strike out "ten" and insert "seven;" in line 18, after the word "pound," to strike out "two" and insert "one;" and in line 19, after the word "above," to strike out "ten" and insert "seven;" so as to read:

Gelatin, glue, isinglass or fish glue, and prepared fish bladders or fish sounds, valued at not above 7 cents per pound, 1½ cents per pound; valued at above 7 cents per pound, etc.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask that that amendment be disagreed to.

The amendment was rejected.

The next amendment was, in line 19, after the word "above," to strike out "twenty-five" and insert "thirty-five;" in line 20, after the word "pound," to strike out "three cents per pound and fifteen" and insert "twenty-five;" in line 21, after the words "ad valorem," to strike out "valued above 25 cents and not above 40 cents per pound, 5 cents per pound and 15 per centum ad valorem;" in line 23, after the word "above," to strike out "forty" and insert "thirty-five;" in line 24, after the word "pound," to strike out "twenty" and insert "fifteen;" and in line 25, before the words "per centum," to strike out "fifteen" and insert "twenty;" so as to make the paragraph read:

22. Gelatin, glue, isinglass or fish glue, and prepared fish bladders or fish sounds, valued at not above 10 cents per pound, 2½ cents per pound; valued at above 10 cents per pound and not above 35 cents per pound, 25 per cent ad valorem; valued above 35 cents per pound, 15 cents per pound and 20 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. ALLISON. That should be agreed to.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I should be glad if the Senator from Iowa would explain the effect of the paragraph as he proposes it in comparison with the present law. The comparative statement submitted to the Senate gives no information whatever. It seems as if the experts in the Treasury were completely paralyzed and bewildered by the proposed changes in this paragraph, and there is nothing in the comparative statement from which any opinion can be formed as to the effect of the proposed changes.

Mr. ALLISON. The appraisers in New York have recently reported that the rate on gelatin, under the paragraph as we have amended it, would run from 21 to 25 per cent ad valorem, and on glue, 4 per cent to 21 per cent; on isinglass or fish glue, fish bladders, etc., from 4 to 6 per cent. There is no great change. We reduced the rates, as the Senator will see, on the lower grades.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I must accept the Senator's statement because I have no idea what is the effect of the changes made. It appears to me as if the rates are increased in some respects. I may be mistaken in that. I would be very much gratified to find that there is a reduction by which the committee stands.

Mr. ALLISON. On the lower grades, of course, there is a little increase; on the higher grades there is a reduction.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The next amendment passed over will be stated.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, on page 8, line 17, paragraph 38, before the word "cents," to strike out

"fifty" and insert "thirty-five;" so as to make the paragraph read:

38. Olive oil, not specially provided for in this act, 35 cents per gallon.

Mr. ALLISON. I have a modification to present in that paragraph, which I will send to the desk.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment to the amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In paragraph 38, page 8, line 17, before "cents," strike out "thirty-five" and insert "forty;" and at the end of the paragraph insert a semicolon and the words:

If packed in bottles, jars, tins, or similar packages, 50 cents per gallon.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I can not imagine what excuse there can be for increasing the rate on olive oil above the rate in the McKinley Act. It was 35 cents a gallon in the McKinley Act. It is 35 cents under the present law. Certainly the production of olive oil is not an infant industry in this country. The importations were increased in 1896 over 1893. If the purpose is to get revenue it would seem that we are at the revenue point at 35 cents a gallon. I can not understand why the rate should be increased beyond 35 cents; and I should be very glad to have the Senator state some reason why it should be done. If there is not some satisfactory reason given, I should like to have a vote of the Senate by yeas and nays, to know whether the Senate will agree to this increase.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. President, there are two good reasons. The first reason is that of revenue to be gained by increasing the rate from 35 to 50 cents. The second reason, which to my mind is far more important than the other, is because it provides that we shall have pure olive oil. The people of the western side of this continent are demonstrating the fact that we have olive orchards that are equal to those of Spain or any other country. We have several hundred thousand olive trees now in full bearing in California, and we are producing the only pure olive oil that is produced upon this continent, while, as a historical fact, we are shipping out of the United States cotton-seed oil that is sent to Spain and other European countries and put up in bottles there, labeled, and returned to this country and sold to the consumer as pure olive oil, when seven-tenths of it is cotton-seed oil.

I wish to say one word more. I do not wish to take up time. We have hundreds of thousands of olive trees that will come into bearing within the next few years. The olive grows upon the foothills and elevations of from 500 to 2,000 feet above the level of the sea. The trees grow most luxuriantly in California, and among the old nations there are olive trees more than 100 years old that have been yielding all that time. I want to say to my friend from Arkansas that there is no industry more worthy of his support and recognition than the cultivation of olives in this country. We have demonstrated the fact that we can give you pure olive oil, and you will get it from no other place in the world imported into this country.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I understand that there is a large quantity of pure olive oil in this country made from cotton seed, and I suppose it is necessary under the circumstances to have some protection.

Mr. VEST. If the Senator from California had just put one or two words more in his remarks I could have subscribed to them with great cheerfulness—pure olive oil and cheap olive oil. There is the point in this discussion. The increase of taxation will not make the oil any purer. The whole object is to make us buy at a higher rate the olive oil that is raised and produced in California. If I were to stand here and demand an additional duty upon an article produced in Missouri in order to make the people of California pay more for it I would be doing exactly what the Senator from California is doing now.

Here is an article necessary to comfort and health, because the best physicians tell us that olive oil should be used in salads and that it is absolutely necessary to health in the large cities and in the springtime. In France it is used to a very large extent, because no Frenchman thinks that his dinner is complete and entirely healthful without a salad. The people of the United States at large use this article. Why should we be made to pay tribute to one State? What sort of justice is there in that? Here is something that comes from the soil. No immense amount of labor is used in the production of olive oil. We want it pure; there is no objection to that; but we want it cheap. Here is an increase in the rate of taxation for the single purpose, pure and simple, of making my constituents pay a larger price for something that is raised in the State of California. That is the tariff.

Mr. PERKINS. I will say to my friend the Senator from Missouri that, having in view the word "cheap," we prevailed upon the committee to place adulterated olive oil upon the free list. It is there; and therefore he will have a choice. He can take the pure California olive oil which we will give him or he may at a very low figure take the cheap adulterated oil.

Mr. VEST. Does the Senator say that adulterated olive oil is on the free list?

Mr. PERKINS. For lubricating and other purposes.

Mr. VEST. Olive oil?

Mr. PERKINS. Olive oil for lubricating and other purposes is on the free list. It comes here in barrels and is bottled.

Mr. VEST. That is not edible oil?

Mr. ALLISON. It is in paragraph 603.

Mr. VEST. Is that edible oil, used for salads to put in people's stomachs?

Mr. PERKINS. I am inclined to think a great many of our friends use it for that purpose.

Mr. VEST. I suppose not, if they know it.

Mr. PERKINS. No; they do not know it.

Mr. VEST. And disarrange their internal organization and bring about disease? I never heard of a man lubricating his stomach with adulterated olive oil. [Laughter.]

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the amendment of the Senator from Iowa to the amendment of the committee.

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

The amendment as amended was agreed to.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The next amendment passed over will be read.

The Secretary read paragraph 43, on page 9, as follows:

43. Blues, such as Berlin, Prussian, Chinese, and all others, containing ferrocyanide of iron, dry or ground in or mixed with oil, 8 cents per pound; and in pulp or mixed with water, 8 cents per pound on the material contained therein when dry.

Mr. ALLISON. The committee propose to modify the amendment, in line 15, by striking out "six" and inserting "eight," restoring the rate provided for in the bill as it came from the House of Representatives.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment proposed by the Committee on Finance will first be stated.

The SECRETARY. On page 9, paragraph 43, line 14, after the word "iron," it is proposed to insert "in pulp;" and in line 15, after the word "oil," to insert "or water;" so as to read:

43. Blues, such as Berlin, Prussian, Chinese, and all others, containing ferrocyanide of iron, in pulp, dry or ground in or mixed with oil or water, etc.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 9, paragraph 43, line 15, after the word "water," to strike out "eight" and insert "six;" so as to read "6 cents per pound."

Mr. ALLISON. The committee desire that amendment to be disagreed to.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Committee on Finance, which has just been stated.

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. VEST. I want to call attention to the fact, just in a historical way, although it does no good, that this is an increase over the McKinley rate from 6 to 8 cents; yet we were assured by the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH] that wherever the committee went over the McKinley rate it would be phenomenal and abnormal. There are 132 instances which have been already counted where the committee have gone over the McKinley rates.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, on page 9, paragraph 43, line 16, after the word "pound," to strike out:

And in pulp or mixed with water, 8 cents per pound on the material contained therein when dry.

The amendment was agreed to.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance which was passed over will be stated.

The SECRETARY. On page 10, paragraph 47, line 10, after the word "act," the Committee on Finance propose to strike out "crude" and insert "dry;" and in line 11, after the word "pound," to strike out the words "dried or powdered, one-half of 1 cent per pound."

Mr. ALLISON. The Committee on Finance instruct me to present a modification of this amendment, and I move to strike out the paragraph and insert in lieu thereof what I send to the Secretary's desk.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. On page 10 it is proposed to strike out paragraph 47 and insert:

47. Ocher and ochery earths, sienna and sienna earths, and umber and umber earths, when crude or not powdered, washed, or pulverized, one-eighth of 1 cent per pound; if powdered, washed, or pulverized, three-eighths of 1 cent per pound; if ground in oil or water, 1½ cents per pound.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the amendment of the committee as proposed to be modified.

Mr. ALLISON. I want to modify the amendment further. After the word "earths" where it last occurs I move to insert "not specially provided for."

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The modification to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Iowa will be stated.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to modify the amendment by inserting after the word "earths" where it last occurs the words "not specially provided for."

Mr. ALLISON. Now I ask the Secretary to read the paragraph as it is proposed to be amended.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to strike out paragraph 47 and in lieu thereof to insert:

47. Ocher and ochery earths, sienna and sienna earths, and umber and umber earths, not specially provided for, when crude or not powdered, washed, or pulverized, one-eighth of 1 cent per pound; if powdered, washed, or pulverized, three-eighths of 1 cent per pound; if ground in oil or water, 1½ cents per pound.

The amendment as modified was agreed to.

The next paragraph passed over was paragraph 50, on page 10, which the Committee on Finance proposed to amend, in line 17, after the word "blue," by striking out "and other ultramarine colors;" so as to read:

50. Ultramarine blue, whether dry, in pulp, or mixed with water, and wash blue containing ultramarine, etc.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in line 19 of the same paragraph, before the word "cents," to strike out "four" and insert "three."

Mr. ALLISON. I wish to modify that amendment by inserting the words "and one-half" after "three."

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment to the amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to amend the amendment of the committee, in line 19, paragraph 50, page 10, before the word "cents," by inserting the words "and one-half;" so as to make the paragraph read:

50. Ultramarine blue, whether dry, in pulp, or mixed with water, and wash blue containing ultramarine, 3½ cents per pound.

The amendment was agreed to.

The amendment as amended was agreed to.

The next paragraph passed over was paragraph 58, on page 12, line 12, which the Committee on Finance proposed to amend, before the word "cents," by striking out "twenty" and inserting "ten;" so as to make the paragraph read:

Phosphorus, 10 cents per pound.

Mr. ALLISON. I propose to modify the committee amendment by inserting "fifteen" instead of "ten;" so as to read:

Phosphorus, 15 cents per pound.

The amendment as modified was agreed to.

The next item passed over was the amendment reported by the Committee on Finance, on page 14, after line 22, to insert as a new paragraph:

74½. Soda ash, three-eighths of 1 cent per pound.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. In the absence of objection, the amendment will be considered as agreed to.

Mr. VEST. Let us understand that, Mr. President.

Mr. ALLISON. Has paragraph 74½ been agreed to?

Mr. VEST. No; I want to understand it.

Mr. ALLISON. I move to amend that paragraph by placing a semicolon after the word "pound," in line 23, and inserting what I send to the desk.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Iowa on behalf of the committee will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In line 23, after the word "pound," it is proposed to strike out the period and insert a semicolon; and to add "arseniate of soda, 1½ cents per pound."

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. SEWELL. Representing as I do immediately a State in which there is an industry that consumes a large amount of soda ash, whilst I do not wish to make any contest with the committee on this amendment, I ask to have published in the RECORD, as a part of my remarks, the statement which I send to the desk.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. If there be no objection, it will be so ordered.

The statement referred to is as follows:

SODA ASH.

The bill reported by the Finance Committee of the United States Senate increases the duty on soda ash, reported in the House bill at one-fourth cent per pound, to three-eighths cent per pound.

The present cost of soda ash for importation is about one-fifth cent per pound, f. o. b. Liverpool, so that a duty of three-eighths cent per pound is equivalent to fully 185 per cent protection.

At the present rate of duty, one-fourth cent per pound, which is also the duty of the McKinley bill, there is imported into this country about 120,000 tons per annum, yielding to the Government about $672,000 annually as revenue.

The soda ash imported into this country is principally consumed on the seaboard, as the foreign makers can not compete with the American makers where they are obliged to pay much freight. A duty of three-eighths of a cent per pound would therefore be prohibitive and prevent any further revenue from importations, and in addition would place all the industries consuming soda ash at the mercy of three manufacturing companies in the United States. (There are but three makers of soda ash in this country, all of whom are large corporations.) The glass, soap, paper, and pulp industries are all large consumers of soda ash; to place an increased duty on soda ash, already protected by a duty of over 100 per cent, means a very severe injury and loss to all these large industries, none of which are protected in their manufacture to the extent already given and conceded to the soda-ash makers.

A protective duty of 185 per cent on an article so largely consumed by four great industries, and necessary to them as raw material, is imposing upon them a burden almost destructive.

It is entirely unnecessary as a protective measure, and would entirely defeat its object as a revenue measure, being prohibitory.

Mr. VEST. Let me ask the Senator from Iowa what the present duty is on arseniate of soda?

Mr. ALLISON. Twenty-five per cent ad valorem.

Mr. VEST. What do you propose to make it?

Mr. ALLISON. One and one-fourth cents per pound.

Mr. VEST. What is the equivalent ad valorem?

Mr. ALLISON. About 25 per cent, I think.

Mr. VEST. I want to call attention to the fact that the increase proposed by the committee upon soda ash, which is an article of very great importance, is above the McKinley rate, it is above the Wilson rate, and it is above the rate in the House bill.

Mr. ALLISON. That is all right.

Mr. VEST. Will the Senator tell us now why he proposes to make that increase? We are certainly entitled to know the reasons for it. I suppose every Senator has received many communications in regard to this article. The soap manufacturers are very much interested in it, for it is an article of large consumption and of absolute necessity to the soap manufacturers of the United States, and they have petitioned for a decrease of duty. Not satisfied with the McKinley rate—leaving out the Wilson rate, which of course is not to be considered by our friends on the other side—and not satisfied with the Dingley rate, they now propose to put up the price of this commodity one-eighth of a cent, making it a 48 per cent ad valorem duty. I hope our friend from Iowa will tell us why this is done.

Mr. STEWART. I will state for the information of the Senator from Missouri that this article is largely manufactured in many places. Competition will undoubtedly keep the price down to where it ought to be. This duty is imposed upon the principle that such articles should be protected. Certainly it is a product of our own country, and competition has resulted largely in the reduction of the price of it, and we want this duty.

Mr. VEST. The Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON] does not answer, but the Senator from Nevada [Mr. STEWART] does, which is proof positive that Nevada and the Western country is interested in soda ash.

Mr. STEWART. Suppose they are, is that a crime?

Mr. VEST. "Hinc illæ lachrymæ" is the old Latin quotation—"hence those tears."

Mr. STEWART. Do not be afraid of Nevada getting too much, or Missouri either.

Mr. VEST. I do not care whether it is Missouri or Nevada or anywhere else, I am opposed to this class legislation—putting up the price of an article of necessity in favor of certain manufacturers. I do not ask it for Missouri. I shall vote against any increase upon an article of prime necessity in my State, and take my chances as a public man. When it comes to lead, I shall vote to put that on the free list; when it comes to lumber, I shall vote to put that on the free list, and salt on the free list, and wool on the free list: and if they want a Senator here to do otherwise, let them send somebody else here. These duties ought to be just and equal, and they should be imposed with reference to the consumers of the country, the millions upon millions of people who are not represented here by any lobby or any moneyed interest at all.

Here is soda ash, which is put into soap, an article of absolute necessity, a cheap article, used by everybody. It is said that the Democratic party does not use it as a rule, though I believe they are as much addicted to bathing as any other class in the community. An ex-President, of whom I was a great friend, at a dinner party in New York spoke of soap as a great political instrumentality during the previous election. [Laughter.] Here is soap, the component or principal article composing which is soda ash, made dearer; though our friend from Nevada tells us he thinks that the competition in this country will keep the price of soda ash down.

Mr. STEWART. Certainly.

Mr. VEST. Well, then, what is the use of shutting out the foreign manufacturer, when our experience is that whenever you shut out foreign competition, the domestic manufacturers arrange the price for their own benefit, and you have what is generally called a combine or a trust? One manufacturer says to another, "Here, Smith, you and myself are cutting each other's throats. You own a factory over there, and I have a factory over here. Why let these haymakers get this article cheap at our expense? Let you and I get together and coolly fix the price for our own benefit, and make money." "Put money in thy purse," Roderigo; "put money in thy purse." That is all there is in it.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Mr. President, the manufacture of soda ash in this country comes in direct competition with the manufacture of soda ash by the United Alkali Company, of Great Britain, the most powerful trust or combination in the world. What our friends on the other side seem to wish to do is to destroy the manufacture of soda ash in this country in order that it may

be entirely monopolized by the United Alkali Company, of London, which, as I said, is a trust with $20,000,000 of capital, and probably the closest and most grinding monopoly on the face of the earth.

Mr. LINDSAY. I call the attention of the Senator from Connecticut to the fact that the importation of soda ash between the years 1893 and 1896 has declined 33½ per cent. The Americans seem to be able to take care of that British trust.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. To-day there are, as I understand, three soda-ash manufactories in the United States, perhaps more. When they commenced the manufacture of soda ash, there was at the then prevailing price perhaps an opportunity of a living profit. To crush out this manufacture here the foreign monopoly reduced the price to a point where there was no profit in the American manufacture. Just the moment that they can succeed in crushing the American manufacturers, who are not in combination, this foreign combination and trust will raise the price higher than it was before. That is the old story.

I think that the people who use soda ash in this country will get their soda ash much cheaper by a duty upon it which will allow its manufacture in the United States than by putting it on the free list, thus crushing out the manufacture in the United States and putting the whole business in the hands of this monopoly.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Is it on the free list now?

Mr. LINDSAY. It has never been on the free list.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. It is not on the free list.

Mr. LINDSAY. It was on the dutiable list in the McKinley law.

Mr. VEST. We only desire to have the McKinley rate.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The same rate is on this now that was under the McKinley law, and there was an increase as originally proposed by the committee of an eighth of a cent over the bill as it came from the House. The importations amounted in 1893 to $4,880,787.77 and they fell off in 1896 to $1,970,975.31. So it seems that a quarter of a cent gives ample protection. The importation was not one-half in 1896 what it was in 1893.

What is the occasion for raising the tax any higher? We have been told all the time that it was not proposed to have any extravagant rate of taxation, and yet the rate under the McKinley law and the rate under the present law is proposed to be raised 50 per cent, when the House of Representatives itself proposed only a quarter of a cent, and the Committee on Ways and Means were satisfied with the present rate and satisfied with the rate which was in the McKinley law. This increase, the like of which has not been heard of in any article of necessity anywhere, has been put on by the Senate committee, when we were assured in the beginning of the debate that all these taxes were going to be kept down to a marvelously low level.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the adoption of the amendment proposed by the committee as amended.

Mr. VEST. I call for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. GEAR (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH], but I transfer that pair to the Senator from Illinois [Mr. MASON], and vote "yea."

Mr. LINDSAY (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the senior Senator from Michigan [Mr. MCMILLAN]. If he were present, I should vote "nay."

Mr. MILLS (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. GALLINGER]. If he were present, I should vote "nay."

Mr. MORGAN (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. QUAY].

Mr. PENROSE (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the junior Senator from Delaware [Mr. KENNEY]. Were he present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. TILLMAN (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. THURSTON], and therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. WARREN (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Washington [Mr. TURNER]. If he were here, I should vote "yea."

Mr. WELLINGTON (when his name was called). I again announce my pair with the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. BUTLER]. In his absence, I withhold my vote.

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. THURSTON. I inquire if the senior Senator from South Carolina [Mr. TILLMAN] has voted?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. He has not voted.

Mr. THURSTON. I again announce my pair with that Senator, and withhold my vote. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. WARREN. I am informed that the Senator from Colorado [Mr. TELLER] would, if he were here, vote on the side of this question that I would. I transfer my pair with the Senator from Washington [Mr. TURNER] to the Senator from Colorado [Mr. TELLER], and vote "yea."

Mr. JONES of Arkansas (after voting in the negative). I am paired with the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE], and therefore withdraw my vote.

Mr. SHOUP. I have a general pair with the Senator from California [Mr. WHITE], but I reserved the right to vote on this question, and will therefore allow my vote in the affirmative to stand.

Mr. GEAR. I have been transferring pairs with the Senator from Utah [Mr. RAWLINS], who is not now here; but, by his permission, I will transfer his pair to the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH]. I want to protect the vote of the Senator from New Jersey. They would both vote the same way. I will let my vote in the affirmative stand.

Mr. PENROSE. I transfer my pair with the junior Senator from Delaware [Mr. KENNEY] to the junior Senator from Illinois [Mr. MASON], and vote "yea."

The result was announced—yeas 30, nays 20; as follows:

YEAS—30.

Allison,	Frye,	McEnery,	Shoup,
Baker,	Gear,	Penrose,	Spooner,
Burrows,	Hansbrough,	Perkins,	Stewart,
Carter,	Hawley,	Platt, Conn.	Warren,
Chandler,	Hoar,	Platt, N. Y.	Wetmore,
Deboe,	Jones, Nev.	Pritchard,	Wilson.
Fairbanks,	Lodge,	Proctor,	
Foraker,	McBride,	Sewell,	

NAYS—20.

Allen,	Clay,	Mallory,	Pettus,
Bacon,	Cockrell,	Mitchell,	Roach,
Berry,	Gorman,	Murphy,	Turpie,
Caffery,	Heitfeld,	Pasco,	Vest,
Chilton,	McLaurin,	Pettigrew,	Walthall.

NOT VOTING—30.

Aldrich,	Gallinger,	Lindsay,	Rawlins,
Bate,	George,	McMillan,	Smith,
Butler,	Gray,	Mantle,	Teller,
Cannon,	Hale,	Martin,	Thurston,
Clark,	Hanna,	Mason,	Tillman,
Cullom,	Harris, Kans.	Mills,	Turner,
Daniel,	Harris, Tenn.	Morgan,	Wellington,
Davis,	Jones, Ark.	Morrill,	White,
Elkins,	Kenney,	Nelson,	Wolcott.
Faulkner,	Kyle,	Quay,	

So the amendment of the committee as amended was agreed to.

The next paragraph which was passed over was paragraph 81, beginning in line 14, on page 15, which the Committee on Finance proposed to amend, after the word "Vanillin," by striking out "70 cents per ounce" and inserting "50 per cent ad valorem."

Mr. ALLISON. I move to amend the amendment by striking out the amendment heretofore proposed by the committee, "50 per cent ad valorem," and also striking out "70 cents per ounce," and inserting "80 cents per ounce;" so as to read:

81. Vanillin, 80 cents per ounce.

Mr. VEST. There is nothing in the comparative statement showing that any of this article comes into the country.

Mr. ALLISON. I have a very full statement from the appraiser's office respecting it.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. There ought to be some reason given for some of these increases. Let the statement of the Senator be read.

Mr. VEST. We can not find out anything about this article.

Mr. ALLISON. I have a statement regarding vanillin, which has been heretofore classified as a chemical compound at 25 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. VEST. What is the unit of value?

Mr. ALLISON. About $50 a pound. It has ranged within the last few years from $35—$35 being exceptionally low, and only for a short time—to $50 and to as high as $80 a pound. This duty of 80 cents an ounce would be equivalent to about 25 per cent ad valorem.

Under the present rate of duty the people abroad, as I understand, fix the price to suit themselves. There are, I think, only two or three manufactories abroad, and only one in this country. The object is to get a specific duty.

Mr. VEST. How many of these manufactories are there in this country?

Mr. ALLISON. Just one. The object is to secure a specific duty of about 25 per cent ad valorem, which is 80 cents an ounce.

Mr. VEST. I understand this article is an extract of the vanilla bean. Is that so?

Mr. ALLISON. It is what is called a synthetic product. It is an efficient substitute for vanilla made from the vanilla bean, and is a highly concentrated article, used for flavoring ices, ice creams, confectionery, etc., and also in making perfumery. It is made from coal tar and various other things.

Mr. VEST. Is it a coal-tar product?

Mr. ALLISON. Not a coal-tar product entirely.

Mr. VEST. Then of what is it made?

Mr. ALLISON. Coal tar is one of the elements which enter into its composition.

Mr. VEST. There is but one factory in this country, and none of the article comes in, according to the comparative statement.

Mr. ALLISON. I have a statement here, and perhaps I had better briefly give the contents of it.

Mr. VEST. Let us have something, for we are in the dark about it.

Mr. ALLISON. It is a proprietary article, made and controlled abroad under patent, and it is understood that it is consigned for sale on foreign owners' account to but two or three firms in this country.

It is a white crystalline powder, chemically pure, made from coniferine, a glucoside contained in the cambrium layer (under the bark) of the pine tree; also from guiacol, or the resin of the lignum-vitæ tree, as well as from a body found in oil of cloves. Its market value has been a matter of serious dispute, it having been the subject of frequent advances and of reappraisement. The latest appraised value is about $50 per pound. It was formerly invoiced considerably higher, and lately by one concern as low as $35 per pound; but, as before stated, it was advanced. In consequence of the disputes respecting its value and the repeated attempts at undervaluation, it is of the highest importance that the rate upon the article be specific. Seventy-five cents an ounce would be substantially the equivalent of 25 per cent ad valorem, the rate to which the article is now subject.

Mr. VEST. What is it used for?

Mr. ALLISON. For perfumery, and, of course, in confections and as a substitute for the vanilla bean.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Without objection, the amendment will be considered as agreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. Before leaving this subject, I wish to insert—I think it is better to make it a new paragraph called 80½, although I intended to make it a part of this paragraph—as a separate paragraph what I send to the desk.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to insert as a new paragraph the following:

80½. Tonquin, tonqua, or tonka beans, 50 cents per pound; vanilla beans, $2 per pound; vanilla beans, commercially known as cuts, $1 per pound.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. What is the rate now?

Mr. VEST. What is the present duty?

Mr. ALLISON. Both of the articles are on the free list. Tonqua beans are on the free list.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The intention of this is to give effect to the tariff just put on. As these things would probably come in competition with vanillin, an increased rate on that article would not be very effective unless this article is taken off the free list.

Mr. ALLISON. I will say to the Senator from Arkansas that they bear no relation to each other.

Mr. VEST. Did I understand the Senator to say vanillin is used as a substitute for the vanilla bean?

Mr. ALLISON. I did say so.

Mr. VEST. How can the Senator say they have no relation to each other?

Mr. ALLISON. What I meant to say was that the action of the committee had no reference to that.

Mr. VEST. We are discussing the effect of the action of the committee. The Senator has just put a duty of 80 cents an ounce upon vanillin, which is a substitute, as he says, for the vanilla bean. He then proceeds to take the vanilla bean off the free list and put a duty on it. Now, the meaning of that is first to protect the vanillin, of which there is just one manufacturer in this country, and none brought in, and then to exclude the competing product by putting a duty upon it. In other words, put the vanilla bean upon the dutiable list, shut out the vanilla bean in the interest of the vanillin manufacturer in the United States, who gets 80 cents an ounce, and none of it comes in. If that is not a tariff combine, there never was one made.

Mr. ALLISON. The tonqua bean is a very high-priced article, and it is imported to this country at a high price, and it will undoubtedly maintain that price under the duty we propose, which is purely a revenue duty.

As to the effect it may have upon vanillin, I do not suppose it would be appreciable. The vanillin is a highly-concentrated product, and is used as a substitute for the vanilla bean in the way I have stated, and both of these articles will yield from a half million to seven hundred thousand dollars, as I am informed by Treasury experts. I think we need the revenue, especially if we are not to put a tax upon beer and tobacco and some other articles that are now embraced in the bill. I submit the amendment to the Senate, and if they wish to vote it down, they can do so.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment submitted by the committee.

Mr. VEST. I call for a division of the question.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the first part of the amendment, which will be stated.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to insert:

Tonquin, tonqua, or tonka beans, 50 cents per pound.

The amendment was agreed to.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The remaining portion of the paragraph will now be stated.

The SECRETARY. Vanilla beans, $2 per pound; vanilla beans, commercially known as cuts, $1 per pound.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment which has been stated.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask that paragraph 86, the next in order, may be passed over for the moment.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. It will be passed over. The next amendment which has been passed over will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In paragraph 88, line 21, after the word "ton," to strike out "bauxite or beauxite, crude, not refined or otherwise advanced in condition from its natural state, $1 per ton;" so as to make the paragraph read:

88. Clays or earths, unwrought or unmanufactured, not specially provided for in this act, $1 per ton; wrought or manufactured, not specially provided for in this act, $2 per ton; china clay or kaolin, $2 per ton; asphaltum and bitumen, crude, if not dried or otherwise advanced in any manner, $1.50 per ton; if dried or otherwise advanced in any manner, $3 per ton.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask that the amendment be disagreed to.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Committee on Finance.

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. CHILTON. I suggest to the Senator from Iowa that the Senator from Georgia who wished to be heard upon this question is not present in the Chamber.

Mr. ALLISON. In line 17, before the word "dollars," I move to strike out "two" and insert "three."

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to amend the paragraph by striking out, in line 17, the word "two" and inserting "three;" so as to read:

China clay or kaolin, $3 per ton.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I should like the Senator from Iowa to state what the present rate is on china clay or kaolin.

Mr. ALLISON. Two dollars a ton. That is my recollection.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Iowa.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. I should like to have the paragraph read as it now stands.

The Secretary read as follows:

88. Clays or earths, unwrought or unmanufactured, not specially provided for in this act, $1 per ton; wrought or manufactured, not specially provided for in this act, $2 per ton; china clay or kaolin, $3 per ton; asphaltum and bitumen, crude, if not dried, or otherwise advanced in any manner, $1.50 per ton; if dried or otherwise advanced in any manner, $3 per ton.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. I thought there had been an amendment previously adopted placing limestone rock asphalt on the dutiable list. It is so printed.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary informs the Chair that that is the pending amendment, which has not been agreed to.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. The Secretary did not read the rest of the paragraph, as I understand it to remain.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read.

The Secretary read as follows:

Bauxite, or beauxite, crude, not refined or otherwise advanced in condition from its natural state, $1 per ton.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Now, there is an amendment pending in regard to rock asphalt.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. After the word "ton," in line 17, it is proposed to insert:

Limestone rock asphalt containing not more than 15 per cent bitumen, 50 cents per ton.

And in line 20, after the word "bitumen," to insert "not specially provided for in this act;" so as to read:

Limestone rock asphalt containing not more than 15 per cent of bitumen, 50 cents per ton; asphaltum and bitumen, not specially provided for in this act, crude, if not dried or otherwise advanced in any manner, $1.50 per ton.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the committee.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. VEST. I wish to call attention, in the line of historical allusion simply, to the fact that asphalt, under the McKinley law and the existing law, whether crude or advanced in manufacture, was free. Here it is put upon the dutiable list. The equivalent ad valorem for $3 per ton upon asphalt is 100 per cent. Of course the argument will be made, when anything is said against a tax on asphaltum, that the principal supply of this country to-day comes from an island in the West Indies that belongs to Great Britain. It is said that Great Britain charges so much royalty for the bitumen or asphaltum which is taken out of the lake on that island. My information is that an American company has purchased either the whole of that lake or an interest in it, and that the asphalt we have to-day upon the streets of the city of Washington—Washington has more asphaltum pavement than any other city in the United States—came from that lake, and the government of

the District of Columbia paid an enormous price, about three and a half times what is now the commercial value of the asphalt used on streets.

We have lately discovered immense deposits of asphalt or gilsonite in the United States, and every Senator will recollect the struggle we had here in regard to the Uncompahgre Reservation, about opening it. That legislation was defeated; but of course the asphaltum or gilsonite beds remain there. There is a company in the city of St. Louis that have gilsonite or asphaltum deposits outside of that reservation, and they are furnishing now to the city of St. Louis and to Kansas City, in my State, asphaltum or gilsonite paving at about one-third what it costs the Commissioners of the District of Columbia and the United States Government to pave with asphaltum the streets of this city.

I do not know why this duty is put upon the article now and why the article is taken off the free list. It seems to me that with the immense natural deposits in the United States we are able to compete with any country in the world and absolutely to control this very necessary article for municipal purposes. The gilsonite found in the Uncompahgre Reservation is used not only for paving, but roofing and other purposes, and why this large duty should be imposed, unless it be, as I suppose will be said, as an attack upon the English company who own the lake in the West Indies, I am unable to see. The result when this duty is imposed is that the article of asphaltum will be made higher to every municipality in the United States that wants to use it upon its streets, and it is hardly necessary to say that in a great many noncommercial cities it is the very best article that can be used for the purpose.

Mr. CHILTON. Mr. President, there is a further observation which might be made in regard to the asphaltum business. I believe the California asphalt, which is noted all over the world, contains a much larger quantity of bitumen than the Trinidad asphalt, and has an advantage in the market on that account. It will make many more square yards of pavement to the ton than Trinidad asphaltum. It seems to me this is a case where the American industry is clearly able to stand alone and compete with all the world. It needs no protection. Asphaltum is not only used in city pavements, but it is used in livery stables and other lines of business, and the tax imposed will constitute a charge on a large number of American people.

The question of transportation largely controls the market for asphaltum. The California product is largely shut out of New York and extreme Eastern cities on account of the high rates of transportation. It is practically impossible to transport it to New York so as to come in active competition with the Trinidad article. Therefore it seems, sir, that in so far as transportation does not offer difficulties to the American production of asphaltum it is now completely on its feet. The imposition of this tariff will add a tax for asphaltum in the Eastern section of the United States which the Western asphaltum can not reach on account of the enormous transportation charges to which I have referred.

I know, as has been frequently said, that it is useless to offer any reasons against proposed amendments, but it occurs to me that this is an unnecessary charge upon the taxpayers of a large section of this country and can do no possible good. The product is one which can not be locally developed by a protective duty, and being so largely used in the work of municipalities, it is not an appropriate subject for a revenue duty.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. If we listened to and heeded the arguments which are made whenever an item in this bill is under consideration, the Government would have no revenue whatever, for every item is objected to. Now, this, as I understand it, is purely a revenue duty, and the necessity for revenue seems to be very apparent.

With reference to increasing the cost of street paving, I think myself there is profit enough in the asphaltum business between the lake at Trinidad and the laying of the pavement in cities so that that pavement can be afforded at the same rate at which it is now laid.

I desire to amend the paragraph further by adding the provision which I send to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BURROWS in the chair). The amendment proposed by the Senator from Connecticut will be stated.

The SECRETARY. On page 17, after line 23, it is proposed to add to paragraph 88 the following:

Fuller's earth, wrought or manufactured, $3 per ton.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. What is the rate now?

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Two dollars.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Connecticut.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. QUAY. I have just entered the Chamber, and I find the Senate occupied with paragraph 88, in which I am very much interested, and on which I had understood the committee in charge of the bill was to give me a hearing before action was taken by the Senate.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. In relation to what?

Mr. QUAY. Paragraph 88.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Which article?

Mr. QUAY. First as to crude asphalt, which I desire to have placed on the free list; second, as to gypsum, and third, as to feldspar, which I desire to have placed on the dutiable list. I will be very glad if the Senator from Connecticut will allow the paragraph to be passed over. My understanding was distinct with the Senator in charge of the bill that I should have a hearing on the paragraph before action by the Senate.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. I wish the Senator from Pennsylvania would let the action of the Senate stand until the Senator from Iowa returns, which will be in a few minutes.

Mr. QUAY. I enter a motion to reconsider and will let it stand.

Mr. PETTIGREW. I move to amend the paragraph by adding:

Fuller's earth, unwrought or unmanufactured, $2 per ton.

I offer that to follow the amendment already agreed to proposed by the Senator from Connecticut.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment proposed by the Senator from South Dakota will be stated.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to add to the words already adopted:

Fuller's earth, unwrought or unmanufactured, $2 per ton.

Mr. PETTIGREW. Mr. President, up to two years ago all the fuller's earth used in this country was imported from England. They had a complete monopoly of the American market. Some of it was imported unmanufactured and some ground and prepared for use. The price was from nineteen to thirty dollars per ton. About three years ago fuller's earth was discovered in Georgia and Florida and Virginia and South Dakota. We began the production of this article. Last year we produced in this country about 20,000 tons. We consume about 50,000 tons, and nearly all of that which we produced and placed upon the market last year came from Florida, where the deposits are unlimited in extent and inexhaustible. The veins are 8 feet thick—from 4 to 8 feet—and the clay is of superior quality, fully equal to the best imported from Great Britain. One firm is producing 1,000 tons a month at the present time.

We can supply the American market, but the rate of transportation on fuller's earth from Florida to New York is about $5 per ton, while often, for the purpose of getting loads for ballast, vessels will carry clay from England for $1 per ton laid down in New York. Therefore the duty on the raw earth should be increased so as to protect the production of the article by the American producer.

This earth is used for various purposes. It was formerly used for cleansing furs and clothes. It is now used for clarifying oil, and the market is constantly increasing and widening. The deposit in my own State contains several million tons. The vein is 8 feet in thickness and covers a thousand acres of ground. It is very pure and of excellent quality, but owing to the difference in the freight rates and the difference in the cost of labor we can not compete without this protection.

I notice some rather remarkable things in connection with this paragraph. In the first place, the House provided that the duty on unwrought and unmanufactured clays or earths should be $1 per ton, and on wrought or manufactured, not specially provided for in this bill, $2 per ton. This included fuller's earth. There is a little factory in Connecticut, and Connecticut is represented on the committee, and therefore the committee bring in an amendment to increase the rate on wrought or manufactured fuller's earth to $3 a ton, but they leave the unwrought or unmanufactured article still at the same rate imposed by the House.

My amendment proposes to increase the duty on unwrought or unmanufactured earth the same as we have increased it on the wrought or manufactured earth. No attention is paid to the interest of the producer of the article in this country, but the little mill that grinds English stock must be specially taken care of, because it is represented on the committee. Therefore, without any opposition whatever, the duty is increased to $3 on the ground and prepared earth. Nothing is done for the producer, nothing is done for the men who discovered the article and reduced the price to the consumer from $19—$30 per ton down to $12 a ton. This little machine was running in Connecticut when they charged $30 a ton for the article. It did not reduce the price to the American consumer one penny, but when Americans discovered this article in Florida and Georgia, and Virginia and South Dakota, and began to put it upon the market, the price went down. Who is rewarded? The mill that kept up the price. The duty is increased for them to $3 a ton, because they are represented on the committee. I wonder if there is an institution at any crossroads in Connecticut that is not thoroughly taken care of by this bill. If there

is one that is not taken care of, it is an oversight. There is no question about that.

Furthermore, the committee brought in an amendment to increase the duty on china clay from $2 to $3 per ton. That is found in Pennsylvania and New Jersey. If an article is discovered anywhere outside of the excessively protected States, who have had the special favor of the Government in every respect for years, it can shift for itself; but if it is found in a State where every industry is protected 4 feet deep, then it gets additional favors.

For whosoever hath, to him shall be given, and he shall have more abundance: but whosoever hath not, from him shall be taken away even that he hath.

The committee bring in the amendment for $3 a ton on china clay because, I suppose, the foreign importer can land it by water in Pennsylvania, or is it because the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. QUAY] has 4 bushels of manuscript which he has told the committee he would bring in and read for a week, and has thereby obtained these concessions? The rest of us had better get 4 bushels of manuscript.

Mr. QUAY. The Senator from Pennsylvania must disclaim any intention to bulldoze this committee.

Mr. PETTIGREW. The Senator from Pennsylvania says he must disclaim any intention to bulldoze this committee. It is unnecessary, doubtless. He had to bulldoze the committee that prepared the last tariff bill, and his manuscript is saved until when we get into power.

Fuller's earth in the State of South Dakota, for instance, is dug from beds not very deep under ground. It is then ground into powder and dried either in the sun or dried by artificial means, and then it is ground and screened and prepared for use. We make the duty $1 on the unwrought or unmanufactured, although the freight rate from the beds of clay in the United States to New York is more than twice what it is from the beds of clay in England, and then we impose a duty of $2 more for the benefit of the little machine in Connecticut.

All they have to do after the earth comes in is to dry it, grind it, and screen it to make it fit for use, and yet they are to have $3 a ton. They will not grind one single pound of American clay, and they do not propose to. They want the duty of $3 so that they can grind English clay, although the quantity in this country is unlimited. If they are so anxious to help the laboring man, it seems to me they ought to be willing to employ American clay, mined by American miners, and then pay the freight, instead of paying it to British ships, to American railroads, if we have any American railroads. Senators talk about wanting to encourage our own commerce, and yet whenever a single thing in this bill can be secured cheaper abroad for the use of the Eastern manufacturers, they are anxious to get it in foreign bottoms and pay the freight to foreign shipowners.

I sometimes think that the only real political principle which agitates the representatives of New England on this floor is that of enlightened self-interest. I know it is enlightened, because it is always in the interest of New England, and everybody else can go.

I know, Mr. President, it is no use to contend against the committee. I understand full well the arrangement and understanding, and I know, of course, that this increase will be given to the clay of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and this increase will be given to the mill that grinds the fuller's earth in Connecticut. I propose to have the people understand just what is going on. I propose to have it understood what this bill is gotten up for and in whose interest it is manipulated, and that is all I expect to accomplish.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Mr. President, it is true that the business of grinding fuller's earth is carried on in Connecticut. It is also true, I suppose, that there has been a bed of fuller's earth found in Florida. What I understand the Senator from South Dakota wants—who is not a protectionist except in spots, when he has some particular thing that he desires to have protected—is that the Connecticut mill shall be obliged to buy the fuller's earth, which it is said has been found in Dakota, in its raw state, and transport it by rail to Connecticut and grind it there, and then send it back to Dakota for use, or as far back as it can find purchasers. Now, I do not think there is very much inconsistency in that.

Mr. PETTIGREW. Mr. President, the deposit of fuller's earth in South Dakota would not go to Connecticut to be ground, nor to the Eastern market. It would go, however, into the markets of the West, to Kansas City, where it would be used to clarify lard oil, cotton-seed oil, etc. But the clays of Florida can come into the New York market if you give them a chance to do it, and there is no reason why they should not be allowed to come. There is no argument, except an effort to create a prejudice in the mind of somebody, why the Connecticut mills should not buy the Florida earth and grind it, and be obliged to buy it or else go unprotected themselves.

Further, Mr. President, I do not know that I care to disclaim or admit the charge as to whether I am a protectionist or not. I believe that the nation should do its own work. I believe that a varied industry is necessary to the development of the best traits of character and the highest civilization among any people. I believe that it is the nation's duty to encourage that varied industry which will enable every talent among its people to be developed to its fullest extent.

Because I refused to vote for 185 per cent duty on woolen goods, the Senator from Connecticut stands up here to say that I am a protectionist only in spots. Because I refused to vote for 700 per cent duty on the lower grades of silk, used by the poor people of this country, the Senator from Connecticut says I am a protectionist only in spots.

Well, if to be a protectionist all over a man must vote for 700 per cent duty on the cheaper articles and for 10 per cent on the higher priced articles that are used by the rich, I am only a protectionist in spots. If to be a protectionist I must vote for an extra duty on sugar purely and absolutely in the interest of the most corrupt and demoralizing trust ever organized in this country, at the behest and dictation of a political caucus, then I am a protectionist only in spots. If I must vote for every trust, if I must vote for every combination, vote special privileges to the few, high rates of duty, differential duty, in order that they may be encouraged in their raids upon the people of this country, then, Mr. President, I am not a protectionist all over.

Is the Republican party a protection party? Why, Mr. President, the issue of protection has departed from our politics. When New England made her trade with the cotton Democrats of the South for the purpose of putting a duty on cotton, thinking to break up the solid South, she abandoned the only principle, the only issue, that gave the party character, and it has left you nothing with which to fight the next campaign. All the Republican party stands for to-day, inasmuch as protection is no longer an issue and the South is broken up, is as the champion of the trusts and the gold standard, as the special representative of the classes against the masses.

Mr. PASCO. Some very valuable deposits of this fuller's earth are found in the State which I have the honor in part to represent, and they have been developed and are being developed to a very considerable extent. The most valuable deposits are in Gadsden County, near the town of Quincy, and I have received some communications from the general manager of the company that is developing them that I shall ask to have read at the desk. This is the first one, which I ask the Secretary to read.

The Secretary read as follows:

QUINCY, FLA., *January 25, 1897.*

DEAR SIR: As you are probably aware, we have been mining and shipping fuller's earth from this section for the past two years, and our shipments from Quincy for the year 1896 represented 6,000 tons. Our Florida product is used in competition with the finest grades of English fuller's earth, and owing to the competition of the American product the shippers of English fuller's earth have reduced their prices very materially for the past year. Nearly all of our consumers report that as satisfactory results can be obtained with the American article as with the imported, but owing to the very low ocean freight rates and the desire on the part of the English people to hold the market, they can only hold the trade by reducing the price and driving the American product out of the market.

Under the McKinley law the rate on clay imported was $3 per ton on the ground and prepared article and $1.50 on the crude. Under the Wilson bill the rates were reduced to $2 on the finished material and $1 on the crude. The fuller's earth industry in this State promises to become very important, and in order to protect and build up the industry we are anxious to have the rates restored as they were under the McKinley law. This would certainly aid in building up the industry in Florida, and as the discovery of fuller's earth in the United States is so recent we feel fully justified in asking for protection.

I would also say that contracts can be made with the English people to ship fuller's earth from Liverpool to Chicago and other Western points at a much lower rate of freight than prevails in our own country, owing to the low proportion charged by the Atlantic steamers.

I would ask you to give this matter your consideration, and, if consistent with your views, extend your aid in supporting a new Florida industry.

With best respects, I am, yours, very truly,

WM. M. CORRY, *General Manager.*

Hon. SAMUEL PASCO,
Senate Chamber, Washington, D. C.

Mr. PASCO. I ask also that extracts from the following letter may be read at the desk as marked.

The Secretary read as follows:

QUINCY, FLA., *April 17, 1897.*

DEAR SIR: As you are doubtless aware, fuller's earth of the finest quality was discovered in Florida a little over two years ago, and I am general manager for a firm that will ship over 12,000 tons out of the State this year. In order to introduce fuller's earth to the trade successfully, we must first overcome a deep-seated prejudice that exists on the part of consumers in favor of the imported fuller's earth, and the introduction and general use of the American article is surrounded by some difficulties. The importers of English fuller's earth have been working strenuously to prevent an increase on the duty, and in order to shut out American competition have formed a combination, and have been steadily reducing prices for the last two years.

The freight rates on Florida fuller's earth to New York is $4 per ton, while the rate from Liverpool to New York and other American ports has been made as low as $2 per ton, and in many cases the material has even been carried as ballast at a nominal price. English fuller's earth has been known commercially for the past three hundred years, and producers and shippers of the article have amassed fortunes in the business. All of this competition must be met in order to introduce successfully the Florida product, and where the Florida earth has been given a fair trial the consumers admit that it is fully equal in many branches of the business to that which is imported.

Under the McKinley bill the rates on fuller's earth were fixed at $2 on the crude and $3 on the ground and milled article per ton. Later on the Wilson bill reduced these rates to $1 and $2 per ton on the two grades, respectively. We have asked that the McKinley rates be restored in order to encourage the consumption of the American product, which even at the time of the passage of the Wilson bill was an unknown commodity. We understood that the Ways and Means Committee of the House would report favorably on the advance in the rates, restoring the McKinley figures, but the bill as passed by the House shows no change from the rates provided for in the Wilson bill.

* * * * * * *

The discovery of fuller's earth in this country caused a great deal of uneasiness on the part of those engaged in mining fuller's earth in England, and as soon as the American article was placed upon the market the price of the imported article was reduced, and the figures have been lowered at frequent intervals since we have been shipping the Florida product. Therefore the advance in the rate of $1 per ton would still give the consumers a very marked advantage as compared with the prices paid in years gone by, and they would have no ground on which to base a complaint. The Florida product has cheapened the cost of the imported article to all consumers, but the foreigners have the advantage of the freight rates, years of experience in the business, and with large accumulations of wealth are trying to drown out this new industry in our own country.

I think our demands are reasonable, and trust you will use your influence in behalf of the American fuller's earth.

Yours, very truly,

WM. M. CORRY, *General Manager.*

Hon. SAMUEL PASCO,
Senate Chamber, Washington, D. C.

Mr. PASCO. Mr. President, many of the people who compose this company live in other States. Some of them have moved into Florida. They have brought there a large amount of capital, and they have developed this and other industries since they came there.

I have thought it proper that they should be heard upon this subject. For this reason I have had these letters read, so that they may be considered by the Senate and by the committee. I have felt that my duty toward these gentlemen would be discharged by bringing this matter to the attention of the committee, and I have done so; but the committee have not been convinced that the duty upon fuller's earth in its unwrought or unmanufactured state should be increased. This company is not directly interested in the manufactured article, but the committee has seen fit to favor a much higher duty upon the article in its wrought state, and propose to raise that, but leave the duty on the unmanufactured article where it was under the Wilson Act.

So far as I am personally concerned, I have been disposed to accept the action of my party friends when they made the Wilson Act, and I have not asked, and do not ask, for any increase, but I do not think that the committee should raise the duty upon the manufactured product and still leave the duty on the unwrought article where it is left in the Wilson Act.

I wish to state now, so that there may be no misunderstanding as to my own position, that I shall not vote for this increase, and I do not myself ask for any increase. The responsibility must rest with the committee, who have all the facts before them and the reasons urged by my correspondents for a higher rate of duty on the unwrought article.

Mr. HOAR. I should like to inquire of the Senator what, in his judgment, should the duty on the crude article be?

Mr. PASCO. The duty on the unmanufactured article was placed in the Wilson Act at $1 a ton, exactly where it is placed in the present bill. So that I presume the Senator from Massachusetts and the committee agree that the Wilson law was correct in that respect. These gentlemen whose letters have been read differ with the committee and they differ with the committee that made up the Wilson Act, and they ask for the higher rate, the same rate that is moved by the Senator from South Dakota. That proposition I have presented to the committee. They still adhere to the idea that the Wilson Act put a sufficiently high duty upon unwrought fuller's earth, and they have left it where the Wilson Act did leave it. But when you come to the manufactured article, which is manufactured in a Northern State, the committee has seen fit to put on a much higher rate of duty.

I think myself if the committee had been disposed to treat the article with entire fairness they would have carried out the wishes of these people who are interested in this matter in my State by increasing the duty on the raw material also; but I have not made that motion, and I do not expect to. I have felt that my duty in the matter was discharged by bringing the views of these gentlemen to the attention of the committee and of the Senate, and I know very well that if I should make a motion myself to increase the duty on the unwrought article it would have no effect. I understand that the duty is fixed and settled by the action of the committee and the action of the Republican caucus, but I deem it proper to present the views of these gentlemen and spread them upon the record, so that they may have a hearing, and the friends of the bill can act as they deem best upon their request. They will understand that the reason why the relief which they desire has not been granted to them is because the committee which framed the bill and those who support them politically do not think the higher rate of duty should be granted, and it is only through them that favorable action can be secured.

Mr. HAWLEY. Mr. President, there have been some misapprehensions here, especially on the part of the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. PETTIGREW]. The manufacturers of the advanced article were greatly pleased to find that this crude earth had been discovered in the United States. When the business began the manufactured article sold at $28. An American firm contracted with the producers of the earth abroad and entered upon the business here of advancing the crude earth. It went on for about three years, and then the British company declined to renew and continue it any further. The American company was obliged to resort to other parties not so convenient, I think, in England, to get the earth and continue the business. Then they found to their great pleasure that the crude article had been discovered in South Dakota and in Florida, which to some extent emancipated them from the trammels of the English quarrymen or miners, whatever you may call them. So there should be no controversy between the Senator and me on that point.

He is altogether mistaken when he says that Connecticut and our New England people are selfish about this matter, that if we get the duty we want we do not care about anybody else. That is a most tremendous mistake. If anybody on earth has studied the tariff it is the New England manufacturers, and they know that it can not be confined to any one locality. I repeat what I have before stated, that in my experience of now sixteen years here and some years in the other House besides I have had but one letter from Connecticut asking me to advocate free wool, and yet you know we are largely engaged in the higher classes of woolen manufacture there, and that letter was from what is sometimes called a Bourbon Democrat who was engaged in the woolen business. He wanted to have wool free. He is not the ideal New Englander that the Senator sets forth. He is the exception, the sole exception, I might say, in my dealing of sixteen years with the subject.

We know very well that a tariff can not be made up in that way. Nobody knows it better. The New England men hasten to do whatever is generous and just—I leave out the word generous—they hasten to do what is just by our friends all over the country. We desire, in the substantial language of the Democratic platform of 1884 and 1888, to have the difference in wages between the United States and other countries considered in all adjustments of the tariff. That is first-rate Republican doctrine, and that we aim at in this measure. I want to have all the American labor that is concerned in this business have a fair chance at protection; and we rejoice in the discovery of fuller's earth in this country by reason of the fact that it emancipates us from those men abroad.

Mr. PASCO. I suggest to the Senator from Connecticut that there is a very simple way of satisfying these gentlemen who are interested in these deposits in Florida that they are going to be treated with exactly the same degree of fairness that the citizens of his own State are treated, and that is by persuading his colleague, who is a member of the committee which has charge of the bill, and who has an influential voice in their deliberations, to raise the duty upon the unwrought material as well as upon the manufactured article.

But when we see the duty upon the manufactured article largely raised, while the duty upon the unmanufactured article is left where it was before, the people will not be satisfied that they are treated with that exact fairness and justice that the Senator from Connecticut says he is disposed to treat the people of all sections of the Union.

But this seems to be another case similar to the cotton ties, of the bagging and other articles used in my section of the country which have a duty imposed upon them, while similar articles used by the Western farmers are not subjected to these high rates.

Mr. HAWLEY. Perhaps it is a case like that of Bessemer steel. The price went down from $150 a ton to $20 or $21. Perhaps it is a case like tin plate, which, it was said, could not be manufactured in this country, but it is successfully being done under the influence of the protective doctrine.

I never heard anything said—nothing was ever said to me—about putting a duty of $2 upon this crude earth. I know that friends of mine who are engaged in the business wanted the duty on the manufactured earth to be $3, that it might compensate for the difference between the labor of the men who get 60 or 75 cents over there, while the same classes of men, comparatively, get a dollar and a half or two dollars here.

I only say that if the Committee on Finance can adjust this thing more fairly, if they think it would be better for American labor and American capital to make any change in the bill, I shall be perfectly willing to consent to it. But as for the influence over my colleague which the Senator refers to, I have not found it avail much during the consideration of the bill. I think that he stands so erect that sometimes, to show his independence, he does not do exactly what I want. But I find no fault with him, as a general rule, about anything. He has done in the bill exactly what he thought would be right and what I believe I thought right at the time.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask that paragraph 88 with all the pending amendments may be passed over.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Iowa asks that paragraph 88 with the pending amendments may be passed over.

Mr. ALLEN. Is that the paragraph under discussion?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. It is.

Mr. ALLEN. To be passed over until when?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. To be passed over for the day. If there be no objection, it will be so ordered.

Mr. ALLISON. If it suits the convenience of Senators, I ask that we now go to page 59.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment which was passed over on page 59 will be stated.

The SECRETARY. The Committee on Finance propose to strike out, beginning in line 6, on page 59, paragraph 189, as follows:

189. Watch movements having not more than 7 jewels, 35 cents each; if having more than 7 jewels and not more than 11 jewels, 50 cents each; if having more than 11 jewels and not more than 15 jewels, 75 cents each; if having more than 15 jewels and not more than 17 jewels, $1.25 each; if having more than 17 jewels, $3 each, and in addition thereto, on all the foregoing, 25 per cent ad valorem; watches, watch cases, and parts of watches, including watch dials, chronometers, box or ship, and parts thereof, clocks and parts thereof, not otherwise provided for in this act, whether separately packed or otherwise, 40 per cent ad valorem; all jewels for use in the manufacture of watches or clocks, 15 per cent ad valorem.

And in lieu thereof to insert:

189. Watches, clocks, and chronometers, and parts thereof, finished or unfinished, whether separately packed or otherwise, and not specially provided for in this act, 40 per cent ad valorem; jewels for use in the manufacture of watches or clocks, 10 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. ALLISON. The majority of the committee instruct me to offer a modification to this paragraph, in line 6, after the word "movements," by inserting "whether imported in cases or not, if," or I will say, "whether or not imported in cases, if," and then by inserting a comma after the word "cases."

Mr. TURPIE. I suggest that it should read "whether imported in cases or not."

Mr. ALLISON. Does the Senator from Indiana think that that phraseology would be better?

Mr. TURPIE. I do.

Mr. ALLISON. Very well. That is what I had originally proposed, and therefore I accept the suggestion of the Senator from Indiana.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON] on behalf of the committee will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In line 6, after the word "movements," it is proposed to insert "whether imported in cases or not, if;" so as to read:

Watch movements, whether imported in cases or not, if having not more than 7 jewels, 35 cents each.

Mr. ALLISON. That is right.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Iowa will be considered as agreed to, in the absence of objection.

Mr. ALLISON. In line 14, after the words "ad valorem," I move to strike out the word "watches" and the comma following it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Iowa will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In paragraph 189, line 14, page 59, after the words "ad valorem," it is proposed to strike out the word "watches" and the comma.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. In line 18 I move to strike out all after the words "ad valorem" down to and including the words "ad valorem," in line 20.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Iowa will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In line 18, after the words "ad valorem," it is proposed to strike out the semicolon and the words "all jewels for use in the manufacture of watches or clocks, 15 per cent ad valorem."

The amendment was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If there be no objection, the paragraph as amended will be considered as agreed to.

Mr. VEST. Let us first hear it read, Mr. President.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Secretary will read the paragraph as amended.

The Secretary read as follows:

189. Watch movements, whether imported in cases or not, if having not more than 7 jewels, 35 cents each; if having more than 7 jewels and not more than 11 jewels, 50 cents each; if having more than 11 jewels and not more than 15 jewels, 75 cents each; if having more than 15 jewels and not more than 17 jewels, $1.25 each; if having more than 17 jewels, $3 each, and in addition thereto, on all the foregoing, 25 per cent ad valorem; watch cases and parts of watches, including watch dials, chronometers, box or ship, and parts thereof, clocks and parts thereof, not otherwise provided for in this act, whether separately packed or otherwise, 40 per cent ad valorem.

The paragraph as amended was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair understands that the new paragraph 189, originally proposed by the committee as a substitute for paragraph 189 of the bill as it came from the House, is intended to be disagreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. Yes, that is intended to be disagreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. That will be the order, in the absence of objection.

The Secretary proceeded to read paragraph 109, which the Committee on Finance propose to amend, in line 8, after the word "painted," by striking out "window glass and stained or painted;" in line 9, after the word "windows," by inserting "or parts thereof;" and in line 12, after the word "manufactures," by inserting "of glass or paste, or;" so as to make the paragraph read:

109. Stained or painted glass windows, or parts thereof, mirrors, not exceeding in size 144 square inches, with or without frames or cases, and all glass or manufactures of glass or paste, or of which glass or paste is the component material of chief value, not specially provided for in this act, 45 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. ALLISON. We are not prepared to deal with these matters in this and the succeeding paragraphs, it having been the expectation of the committee that the leather schedule would have been taken up to-day; but owing to the illness of a Senator we have been obliged to forego its consideration. I think, Mr. President, this being Saturday, and not being prepared with the leather schedule, which has gone over until Monday, I shall suggest an adjournment or an executive session.

Mr. WHITE. If the Senator will pardon me a moment, I have a statement which has been furnished me with reference to the methods utilized in perpetrating frauds on the Government in the sugar trade. I have had it examined by gentlemen who have expert knowledge on the subject, and they think the information contained in the statement is of value. I send it to the desk and ask that it may be inserted in the RECORD as a part of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it will be so ordered.

The statement referred to is as follows:

RAW-SUGAR FRAUDS.

MALDEN, MASS., *June 7, 1897.*

The determination of custom duties levied by the United States Government upon imported sugars is effected by two standards, viz: Color, and the polariscope test.

Under the provision of the McKinley tariff law the duty imposed was specific, all sugars darker than a certain color being free of duty, and all sugars lighter than the said color being subject to a duty of one-half cent per pound. The polariscope test was not required.

Under the provisions of the Wilson tariff law the duty imposed is both specific and ad valorem. Hence the polariscope test, which determines the percentage of refinable sugar present in the raw sugar, and upon which its value of course depends, is again in use, in addition to the color test.

It is manifest that any means of artificial discoloration, or of vitiation of the polariscope indication, which can be quickly and cheaply removed at the refinery, is to the financial advantage of the importer.

I propose to demonstrate that by an inferential collusion between the American Refinery Company, commonly known as the sugar trust, on the one hand, and the producers of raw sugars on the other hand, the United States Government has, during the past several years, been defrauded of immense sums of money through the above-indicated means.

It is true that both the above-mentioned laws provided extra duty for discolored or adulterated sugars. It is equally true that the law on this point was and is a dead letter. It may be stated that appraisers recognize this fact, and while not at liberty to quote individual testimony, I may add that each one feels that he "is not big enough to fight the trust."

In order to intelligently demonstrate where and how fraud is practiced, it is necessary, first, to explicate in detail the nature and use of the standards; second, to sketch in outline the beginning, and in some detail the end, of raw-sugar production; third, to explain the inception of the refining process.

Standards—As to color, the so-called "Dutch standards" are used. A certain firm in Holland each year prepares with great care, and seals in white glass bottles, fifteen samples of raw sugar, numbered from No. 6, in color a dark brown, and ranging to No. 20, in color almost white.

These samples serve as standards for the ensuing twelve months, when they are renewed. Appraisers are provided with sets of these samples, and the grading of the raw sugar is effected by placing a sample of the latter beside the former and "matching." It will be seen that the result will depend upon individual expertness.

As to the polariscope test.—If a ray of polarized white light be examined after passing through a solution of crystallizable sugar, it will be found to have become colored. If the polarizing apparatus be rotated to the right, a series of changes of color will ensue in the ascending order of the Newton scale, viz, from red through orange, etc., to violet.

If a noncrystallizable sugar solution be substituted, similar phenomena will be observed. But with this difference, to produce the same sequence of changes of color the rotation must be to the left. Hence crystallizable sugars are classified by the chemist as dextrogyrate, or right-handed, and noncrystallizable sugars as levogyrate, or left-handed.

If, now, a solution containing both crystallizable and noncrystallizable sugar be substituted, the direction and degree of rotation required to produce a particular result will be determined by the relative proportion of the sugars present in the solution.

Advantage has been taken of the principle involved in the above facts, and a most perfect optical instrument, known as the saccharometer, or, more commonly, simply as a polariscope, has been devised and is in universal use for the testing and grading of sugar.

In this instrument when the index is at 0 degree and nothing intercepting the light, the field of view, which is circular, is of a uniform gray tint. Upon interposing a solution of sugar, one-half of the circle becomes darker than the other, and an adjusting screw must be operated to compensate for the rotation due to the sugar solution and restore a uniformity of tint. The extent of adjustment required to produce this result is indicated by an index upon a scale so graduated that 1 degree of displacement corresponds to .2048 gram of cane sugar dissolved in 100 cubic centimeters of water and viewed through a tube 200 millimeters in length. Given a sample of sugar

to be analyzed, 26.048 grams are weighed out and dissolved in the above quantity of water. If chemically pure and anhydrous, the scale will read 100 degrees of displacement, or 100 per cent of sugar; and if impure, correspondingly less.

In the application of polariscope analysis to sugar two cases may arise: (a) When no other optically active substance is present, and (b) when invert sugar is also present.

It should be stated at this point that crystallizable sugar, from whatever source, has come to be known as "cane" sugar (sucrose), and noncrystallizable sugar as "invert" sugar (glucose), and by these terms will be referred to in the balance of this article. Note also that cane sugar is readily inverted, but that the action can not be reversed, and that the cane sugar is the commercially valuable article.

Referring now to (a), the sample is weighed and dissolved as above, certain necessary precautions being taken to insure exactness. The tube of the polariscope is filled with the solution and placed in the instrument. The adjusting screw is turned until uniformity of tint in the two halves of the field is restored, when the number of degrees (or percentage of cane sugar in the sample) is read off the scale.

(b) When this condition obtains, the reading will be vitiated. A correction is made by the method of inversion. The direct reading is taken in the usual way. The solution is then subjected to the action of an acid, which has the effect of changing the cane sugar present to invert sugar, the invert sugar originally present not being altered. A second reading is now taken, and the two readings form the basis for a calculation which will give the percentage of cane sugar originally present.

Passing to a consideration of the production of raw sugar from the crop of beet, cane, or sorghum, as the case may be, it will be sufficient if attention is confined to the sugar cane.

The older and simpler process of sugar production on the plantation is, in brief, as follows: The ripened cane having been cut and transported to the mill, is subjected to pressure between massive rolls. The water in the expressed juice is removed by boiling in a series of open pans set in a furnace, and known as the "copper wall" or battery. The high temperature at once darkens the sugar and inverts a large percentage of the cane sugar originally present in the juice. After boiling, the thickened juice or "masse-cuite" is "struck out" into shallow tanks, there to cool and complete the crystallizing process which began during the boiling, and is then placed in perforated receptacles, from which the invert sirup (molasses) in part drains, carrying with it much of the grain. The resulting mass is variously known as melada, muscovado, etc., and is a legitimately dark-colored, low-grade, and low-priced raw sugar, comprising a soft grain, a large percentage of invert sugar and débris, and giving rightly a low reading with the polariscope or by the Dutch-color test.

This sugar was the product of the "good old time" when "niggers" were cheap and a vacuum pan an unknown adjunct.

The above-outlined process was very wasteful, and reclaimed but a small part of the cane sugar present in the expressed juice. According to Lock and Newland, it is still practiced in some backwoods countries, but is pretty well obsolete in the English and French colonies, and its manufacture is decreasing rapidly in Louisiana. Modern business requirements demand improved methods, and these consist in improved means of extracting the juice from the cane, evaporation under more favorable conditions, and a more thorough separation of the sirup from the sugar. A part of the second condition consists in the use of the vacuum pan for the final boiling, the resulting thickened juice or "massecuite" comprising a hard grain in a high-grade sirup, which is worked in and reboiled with fresh lots of juice. The separation of the sirup is effected by the use of the centrifugal machine, displacing the gravity drainage methods of the older systems. The result is a high-grade, hard-grained sugar, polarizing at 92 degrees to 97½ degrees.

It is at this point that the fraud is accomplished. If the raw sugar produced as described were shipped to the United States it would be subjected to a high duty by either the color or polariscope test. To escape this result two methods are available. The simplest and most practiced is as follows:

When the boiling in the vacuum pan is completed, and before discharging to the centrifugal machines a charge of very low grade sirup is introduced into the pan, which at once forms a coat over each grain of sugar. A little extra heat is given to fix the coat and then the pan is discharged to the centrifugals, in which the sugar is purged gently of any surplus sirup. The result is a reduction in the polariscope grading of 2 to 6 degrees. That is, a raw sugar entered at the custom-house as 88 degrees should be 92 degrees to 94 degrees, and at 95 degrees should be 97 degrees or even 97½ degrees. A rough test consists in putting raw sugar in a bottle with water enough to just cover, shaking, and pouring off the water. The sugar crystals will then appear about the color of rock salt.

The second method requires a more detailed description of the manner of using the centrifugals. The massecuite unadulterated is discharged from the pan into a reservoir termed a "mixer," below which are located the centrifugals, which are baskets of wire gauze revolved horizontally at a high rate of speed within a metal guard or curb. A charge of massecuite is drawn into a centrifugal through a gate in the reservoir. The machine is set in motion, the charge tiles to the circumference, and the sirup leaves the crystals through the meshes of the basket, is caught by the curb, drains to a gutter and thence to a tank to be reworked. Next a spray of water is directed to the interior of the basket and against the sugar. The centrifugal force drives it violently through the sugar, washing away the last vestige of high-grade sirup and leaving a hard, light-colored, and nearly pure grain, as above described. The sugar while still in motion is sprayed with a low-grade, dark-colored, sticky invert sirup. Each grain receives an intimate coating. The centrifugal is then discharged, the result being as above.

We are now to consider the raw sugar as having been received at the refinery after successfully passing the appraiser as a low-grade sugar. By the older methods the sugar was at once melted, bag filtered, char-filtered, boiled, dried, and barreled. Not so to-day. This raw sugar is first placed in a centrifugal, a stream of water turned upon it, washing away the film of sticky, dark-colored sirup, and behold the high-grade sugar concealed within.

To give an idea of the trifling expense attendant upon the washing of sugar, it may be stated that 10 men at $10 per week can wash in six days nearly 10,000,000 pounds of sugar. This is about 1 cent per 1,000 pounds.

This fraud was first practiced with German beet sugar, and a specific instance will best illustrate the growth and present extent.

The Standard Refinery of South Boston has a capacity of 800 to 1,000 tons of sugar per day. Four, now six, years ago (1891) six small centrifugals were devoted to washing 75 to 100 tons beet sugar per day. This plant was at once increased 50 per cent, which was to the extent of space then available. Shortly after the construction of a washhouse was undertaken. This house is 50 feet wide, 70 feet long, and comprises six stories and a melting pit. To-day practically all the sugar received is washed.

Mr. CHILTON. I offer an amendment to the pending bill, which I ask to have read and printed in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment intended to be proposed by the Senator from Texas will be stated.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to amend the bill by adding at the end of section 24 the following:

Provided, That in allowing the drawback on sugar hereunder it shall be calculated that refined sugar has been produced in the process of refining in an amount equal to the percentage or number of degrees of pure sugar shown by the polariscopic test at the time of the original importation.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment intended to be proposed by the Senator from Texas will be printed and lie over.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I was out of the Chamber for a few minutes, and I understand that in my absence the paragraph in regard to watches and watch movements was taken up and acted upon. I wish to have that go over until the next meeting of the Senate.

Mr. ALLISON. Why not go on with it now?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I did not expect that paragraph to be reached to-day. Quite a number of paragraphs seem to have been passed over to get at it. I was out of the Senate Chamber for a few minutes. If I had known that the paragraph was likely to be reached, I should have been ready; but I prefer that it should be allowed to remain open until Monday.

Mr. ALLISON. Very well, let the paragraph go over until Monday.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. That will be the order, in the absence of objection.

Mr. CAFFERY. I ask to introduce a brief giving some reasons why the tax on cigarettes should not be placed at $1 a thousand. I was not here when the cigarette schedule was taken up, and I offer the protest in the hope that it may have due weight with the conference committee.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The paper referred to by the Senator from Louisiana will be received and lie on the table.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After eighteen minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened, and (at 3 o'clock and 10 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until Monday, June 28, 1897, at 11 o'clock a. m.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate June 26, 1897.

CHIEF JUSTICE OF ARIZONA.

Hiram C. Truesdale, of Arizona, to be chief justice of the supreme court of the Territory of Arizona, vice Albert C. Baker, to be removed.

ASSOCIATE JUSTICES OF ARIZONA.

George R. Davis, of Arizona Territory, to be associate justice of the supreme court of the Territory of Arizona, vice Joseph D. Bethune, to be removed.

Fletcher M. Doan, of Arizona Territory, to be associate justice of the supreme court of the Territory of Arizona, vice Owen T. Rouse, to be removed.

Richard E. Sloan, of Arizona, to be associate justice of the supreme court of the Territory of Arizona, vice John J. Hawkins, whose term expired April 14, 1897.

COLLECTORS OF INTERNAL REVENUE.

Herschel S. Harkins, of North Carolina, to be collector of internal revenue for the fifth district of North Carolina, to succeed Samuel L. Rogers, resigned.

Michael W. Sutton, of Kansas, to be collector of internal revenue for the district of Kansas, to succeed Richard B. Morris, resigned.

SURVEYOR-GENERAL OF MONTANA.

Edward W. Beattie, of Helena, Mont., to be surveyor-general of Montana, vice John S. M. Neill, removed.

PROMOTION IN THE ARMY.

General officer.

Col. Caleb Henry Carlton, Eighth Cavalry, to be brigadier-general, vice Mills, retired from active service.

ASSISTANT ENGINEERS IN THE NAVY.

The following-named naval cadets, graduates of the Naval Academy, to be assistant engineers in the Navy, from the 1st day of July, 1897, to fill vacancies existing in that grade, namely:

Thomas M. Dick, of South Carolina.
Charles K. Mallory, of Tennessee.
Newton Mansfield, of Ohio.
James P. Morton, of Missouri.
Daniel M. Garrison, of New Jersey.
Franklin D. Karns, of Ohio.
Frederick N. Freeman, of Indiana.
John F. Marshall, jr., of Texas.

Darwin R. Merritt, of Iowa.
Ernest F. Eckhardt, of Wisconsin.
Edward H. Dunn, of Connecticut.

ENSIGNS IN THE NAVY.

The following-named naval cadets, graduates of the Naval Academy, to be ensigns in the Navy, from the 1st day of July, 1897, to fill vacancies existing in that grade, namely:
Frank H. Brumby, of Georgia.
Frank P. Baldwin, of New Jersey.
William C. Davidson, of South Dakota.
Harris Laning, of Illinois.
David W. Todd, of California.
John V. Klemann, of New York.
William R. Cushman, of New York.
Henry V. Butler, jr., of New York.
Walter R. Gherardi, at large.
John R. Monaghan, of Washington.
James J. Raby, of Michigan.
James E. Walker, of North Carolina.
William H. Standley, of California.
Arthur T. Chester, at large.
Cassius B. Barnes, of Oklahoma.
Joseph C. Breckinridge, of Kentucky.
Albion J. Wadhams, of New York.
Kenneth M. Bennett, of New Jersey.
Edward H. Watson, of Kentucky.
Worth Bagley, of North Carolina.
Orlo S. Knepper, of Pennsylvania.
Michael J. McCormack, of Michigan.
Rufus Z. Johnston, jr., of North Carolina.

SECOND LIEUTENANTS IN THE MARINE CORPS.

The following-named naval cadets, graduates of the Naval Academy, to be second lieutenants in the Marine Corps, from the 1st day of July, 1897, to fill vacancies existing in that grade, namely:
Philip M. Bannon, of Maryland.
Newt H. Hall, of Texas.

POSTMASTERS.

W. W. James, to be postmaster at Monterey, in the county of Monterey and State of California, in the place of Fannie Ingram, resigned.

William A. Price, to be postmaster at Delaware City, in the county of Newcastle and State of Delaware, the appointment of a postmaster for the said office having, by law, become vested in the President on and after July 1, 1897.

Lenny C. Gilbert, to be postmaster at Oakland, in the county of Coles and State of Illinois, in the place of William Hunt, resigned.

Theodore Bailey, to be postmaster at Portland, in the county of Jay and State of Indiana, in the place of William W. Timmonds, resigned.

William A. Stevens, to be postmaster at Columbus, in the county of Bartholomew and State of Indiana, in the place of Thomas A. Rush, resigned.

Elias E. Wesseler, to be postmaster at Rockport, in the county of Spencer and State of Indiana, in the place of Charles Lieb, resigned.

Edward Hall, to be postmaster at Havre de Grace, in the county of Harford and State of Maryland, in the place of Edward Hall, whose commission expired February 16, 1896.

Francis Norwood, to be postmaster at Beverly, in the county of Essex and State of Massachusetts, in the place of Josiah Woodbury, removed.

C. E. Gross, to be postmaster at Boonville, in the county of Cooper and State of Missouri, in the place of John F. Rogers, resigned.

Theodore E. McCrary, to be postmaster at Lexington, in the county of Davidson and State of North Carolina, in the place of Lewis C. Hanes, removed.

A. S. Ellingson, to be postmaster at Northwood, in the county of Grand Forks and State of North Dakota, the appointment of a postmaster for the said office having, by law, become vested in the President on and after October 1, 1896, John F. Hogan, appointed by the President and by him nominated to the Senate, not having been confirmed.

S. W. Willey, to be postmaster at Hinton, in the county of Summers and State of West Virginia, in the place of George W. Warren, resigned.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate June 26, 1897.

SURVEYOR-GENERAL.

Edward W. Beattie, of Helena, Mont., to be surveyor-general for Montana.

CONSUL.

Albert W. Swalm, of Iowa, to be consul of the United States at Montevideo, Uruguay.

COMMISSIONER OF IMMIGRATION.

George B. Billings, of Massachusetts, to be commissioner of immigration for the port of Boston, in the State of Massachusetts.

DEPUTY AUDITORS.

George W. Esterly, of Minnesota, to be deputy auditor for the State and other Departments.

Edward McKitterick, of Iowa, to be deputy auditor for the Treasury Department.

INDIAN INSPECTOR.

Charles F. Nesler, of Newark, N. J., to be an Indian inspector.

INDIAN AGENT.

Henry J. Cleveland, of Arizola, Ariz., to be agent for the Indians of the Pima Agency in Arizona.

MARSHAL.

James M. Shoup, of Idaho, to be marshal of the United States for the District of Alaska.

POSTMASTERS.

Thomas L. Dunham, to be postmaster at Lestershire, in the county of Broome and State of New York.

Henry A. Pease, to be postmaster at Edgartown, in the county of Dukes and State of Massachusetts.

Joshua F. Ensor, to be postmaster at Columbia, in the county of Richland and State of South Carolina.

Charles L. Porter, to be postmaster at Plattsburg, in the county of Clinton and State of Missouri.

James W. Mills, to be postmaster at Versailles, in the county of Morgan and State of Missouri.

SENATE.

MONDAY, *June 28, 1897.*

The Senate met at 11 o'clock a. m.

Prayer by Rev. HUGH JOHNSTON, D. D., of the city of Washington.

The Secretary proceeded to read the Journal of the proceedings of Saturday last, when, on motion of Mr. QUAY, and by unanimous consent, the further reading was dispensed with.

LAWS OF ARIZONA.

The VICE-PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the secretary of the Territory of Arizona, transmitting copies of the Supplement of the Revised Statutes of Arizona for 1887; which, with the accompanying documents, was referred to the Committee on Territories.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. HARRIS of Kansas presented a petition of 11 citizens of Graham County, Kans., praying for the enactment of legislation granting the Fort Hays Military Reservation to the State of Kansas for the purpose of establishing thereon a western branch of the Agricultural College and Normal School; which was referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

Mr. BERRY presented a memorial of George R. M. Browne and 125 other citizens of Arkansas, remonstrating against the enactment of legislation intended to destroy the present system of ticket brokerage; which was referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

Mr. TELLER presented the memorial of R. B. De Masters and 13 other citizens of Colorado, remonstrating against the enactment of legislation intended to destroy the present system of ticket brokerage; which was referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

Mr. FORAKER presented the memorial of William Lawrence and 530 other citizens of Ohio, remonstrating against the enactment of legislation intended to destroy the present system of ticket brokerage; which was referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

Mr. CARTER presented a petition of 24 citizens of Castle, Mont., praying for the early passage of the pending tariff bill; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. TURPIE presented a memorial of Local Union No. 77, National Union of the United Brewery Workmen, of Indianapolis, Ind., remonstrating against the proposed increase of the tax on beer; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented the memorial of G. W. H. Kemper, ex-president of the Indiana State Medical Society, and sundry other citizens of Indiana, remonstrating against the passage of Senate bill No. 1063, for the further prevention of cruelty to animals in the District of Columbia; which was ordered to lie on the table.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

Mr. BURROWS, from the Committee on Finance, to whom was referred the bill (S. 1311) to refund certain import duties, asked to be discharged from its further consideration and that it be referred to the Committee on Claims; which was agreed to.

Mr. RAWLINS, from the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, to whom was referred the bill (S. 2048) for the erection of a public building at Fergus Falls, Minn., reported it without amendment.

Mr. QUAY, from the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, to whom was referred the bill (S. 2074) providing for the erection of an addition to the public building at Los Angeles, Cal., and appropriating money therefor, reported it without amendment.

Mr. DAVIS, from the Committee on Foreign Relations, reported an amendment intended to be proposed to the general deficiency appropriation bill; which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations, and ordered to be printed.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Mr. HARRIS of Kansas introduced a bill (S. 2290) granting a pension to Mrs. Lucy Pratt Estabrook, of Lawrence, Kans.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also introduced a bill (S. 2291) granting an increase of pension to Elijah A. Gilbert; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also introduced a bill (S. 2292) removing the charge of desertion from the name of Benjamin Walker, of Ottawa, Kans.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 2293) authorizing the Secretary of War to grant an honorable discharge to Michael McGrath, of Salina, Kans.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. PASCO introduced a bill (S. 2294) to provide an American register for the steamer *Jacksonville;* which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Commerce.

He also introduced a bill (S. 2295) for the relief of the legal representatives of Joseph Sierra, deceased; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

AMENDMENT TO THE TARIFF BILL.

Mr. CLARK submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill (H. R. 379) to provide revenue for the Government and to encourage the industries of the United States; which was referred to the Committee on Finance, and ordered to be printed.

AMENDMENT TO DEFICIENCY APPROPRIATION BILL.

Mr. GRAY submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the general deficiency appropriation bill; which was ordered to be printed, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

TRANSMISSISSIPPI AND INTERNATIONAL EXPOSITION.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate the resolution submitted by the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. ALLEN], which comes over as a part of the morning business. The Chair observes that the Senator from Nebraska is not in his seat.

Mr. BACON. I suggest that the resolution lie over, as the Senator from Nebraska is not present.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. At the suggestion of the Senator from Georgia, the resolution will lie over until the Senator from Nebraska returns.

Mr. ALLEN subsequently said: I ask the consent of the Senator from Iowa to call up a resolution that was laid over a few moments ago owing to my absence.

Mr. ALLISON. I yield to the Senator from Nebraska, if the resolution will not lead to debate.

Mr. ALLEN. I think it will not. It is a formal resolution.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair lays the resolution before the Senate.

The resolution was read, and agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That the President be, and he is hereby, respectfully requested if in his judgment it would not be incompatible with the public policy, to invite by proclamation, or in such other manner as he may deem most proper, foreign nations to make exhibits at the Transmississippi and International Exposition, to be held at the city of Omaha, in the State of Nebraska, between June 1 and November 1, A. D. 1898.

THE TARIFF BILL.

Mr. ALLISON. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of House bill 379.

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 379) to provide revenue for the Government and to encourage the industries of the United States.

Mr. WHITE. If the Senator from Iowa will give me his attention for a moment, will it be convenient to him to state about what course the Senate will pursue to-day in the consideration of the bill? I mention it as a matter of convenience.

Mr. ALLISON. It was our purpose this morning to take up the leather schedule, which it was understood would go over until Monday. I do not know whether the other side are ready.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I asked that it might go over on account of the absence and illness of the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH]. I have not heard this morning what his condition is, and I do not know whether he will be here or not.

Mr. WHITE. I presume the Senator from New Jersey will likely be here in a short time. Of course, from the absence of Senators in this Chamber, we can not assume illness, or perhaps infirmity would be quite general, judging by the appearance of the Chamber.

Mr. ALLISON. We might take up some other matters then.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I understood the other day that it was the purpose of the Senator from Iowa to proceed regularly with the items passed over. Of course I understand that there is now and then a case where the circumstances are such as to require that a paragraph shall go over, but I suppose that in proceeding with the bill we should be as near regular in the matters we take up as possible, and not go about from place to place without any sort of regularity.

Mr. ALLISON. The suggestion made by the Senator is the very process that I recommend. The reason why I called up the matter of leather this morning was because it was postponed until to-day. The next paragraph in order passed over is paragraph 118.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Was paragraph 109 disposed of?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Paragraph 109 is the next.

Mr. ALLISON. Paragraph 109 is the next one.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The last one disposed of when I was in the Chamber, according to my recollection, was paragraph 81, vanillin; possibly 86, gypsum. I think gypsum was up, but I do not know that paragraph 88, bauxite, was taken up. Possibly it was.

Mr. ALLISON. We were in the consideration of bauxite when the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. PETTIGREW] was taken ill, and the paragraph was passed over.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Then was paragraph 109 taken up? I was not in the Chamber at the conclusion of the proceedings.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary informs the Chair that there is an amendment pending to paragraph 88, which was offered by the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. PETTIGREW].

Mr. ALLISON. There is an amendment pending to paragraph 88, but I think perhaps it would be wise to pass it over for the present.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I have no objection.

Mr. QUAY. Then paragraph 88 is to be passed over?

Mr. ALLISON. For the present it will be passed over. Paragraph 86 I would be glad to have passed over to-day, if the Senator from Arkansas will allow that to be done.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I have no objection on my part.

Mr. ALLISON. Then the next is paragraph 109, the basket clause of the glass schedule. The committee recommend no change in the amendment there.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I understood the Senator to propose that that should be passed over.

Mr. ALLISON. No; I am willing that it shall be considered now.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read paragraph 109.

The Committee on Finance reported to amend paragraph 109, on page 29, in line 8, after the word "painted," by striking out "window glass and stained or painted;" in line 9, after the word "windows," to insert "or parts thereof;" and in line 12, after the word "manufactures," to insert "of glass or paste, or;" so as to make the paragraph read:

109. Stained or painted glass windows, or parts thereof, mirrors, not exceeding in size 144 square inches, with or without frames or cases, and all glass or manufactures of glass or paste, or of which glass or paste is the component material of chief value, not specially provided for in this act, 45 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. TURPIE. I ask the honorable and learned Senator from Iowa what is the force and meaning of the term "mirrors"—if there is such a thing as stained or painted mirrors? The last word in line 9.

Mr. ALLISON. Mirrors?

Mr. TURPIE. Yes, sir; mirrors or parts thereof.

Mr. ALLISON. It is the ordinary meaning of the term.

Mr. TURPIE. I am not aware of stained or painted mirrors. That is what is referred to here if "mirrors" is used.

Mr. ALLISON. I think it would cover stained or painted glass windows and mirrors.

Mr. TURPIE. No; "Stained or painted glass windows, or parts thereof, mirrors."

Mr. ALLISON. It would not include stained mirrors. It means ordinary mirrors.

Mr. TURPIE. Then "stained or painted" ought to be eliminated.

Mr. ALLISON. It is the phraseology that exists in the law of 1890 and also in the law of 1894. It is the present law.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. In the present phraseology the words "and all" come before "mirrors," so as to read "and all mirrors."

Mr. ALLISON. I am willing that those words shall be inserted.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In line 9, before the word "mirrors," insert the words "and all:" so as to read, "and all mirrors."

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. VEST. I wish to call attention to the fact that this paragraph makes an increase of 10 per cent over the rates in the existing law. But that is not by any means, from my standpoint, the worst part of it. The effect of the amendment is to put all broken and old glass and rough-cut or uncut class, which is now on the free list, on the dutiable list at 45 per cent. This is a great change over existing legislation. I suppose it was deliberately intended by our friends upon the other side. I ask the Senator from Iowa if it is the intention to put a duty on broken and old glass, which is now on the free list, and on glass rough cut or uncut, which is on the free list?

Mr. ALLISON. I do not think it is. It is the phraseology of existing law.

Mr. VEST. I think not. My friend from Arkansas has the existing law before him.

Mr. ALLISON. It is practically the phraseology. We do not change it in that respect.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. For the purpose of determining that point, if my colleague will note the bill, I will read the present law:

All stained or painted glass windows, or parts thereof, and all mirrors not exceeding in size 144 square inches, with or without frames or cases, and all manufactures of glass, or of which glass is the component of chief value, not specially provided for in this act, 35 per cent ad valorem.

"Or parts thereof," inserted in italics, which is the amendment of the committee, seems to suggest that broken and waste pieces will be included in paragraph 109, and they are certainly not included in the law as it stands.

Mr. VEST. Then in this provision are the words "and all glass," all broken glass.

Mr. ALLISON. There is no intention, certainly, to include broken glass.

Mr. VEST. That phrase would include it, of course—"all glass," "or parts thereof." That is obviously the meaning of the provision.

Mr. ALLISON. I do not think so.

Mr. VEST. Then will the Senator agree to insert "not including old or broken glass or rough or uncut glass"?

Mr. ALLISON. I am perfectly willing to insert "not including all old or broken glass." But rough or uncut glass is a very different thing.

Mr. VEST. Then you mean to include rough or uncut glass?

Mr. ALLISON. Unless it is provided for elsewhere, as I think it is.

Mr. VEST. I do not know where it is. But if the Senator from Iowa will agree to that much, we will except old or broken glass.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. Insert after "mirrors," in line 9, paragraph 109, the words "not including old or broken glass."

Mr. ALLISON. I do not know quite what old glass is.

Mr. VEST. It is broken glass; glass that is not fit for manufacture.

Mr. ALLISON. I think I would say "not including broken glass." Then we can deal with it later on if it is necessary.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Why not leave out the committee amendment, "or parts thereof?"

Mr. ALLISON. That is parts of glass windows, "stained or painted glass windows, or parts thereof."

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Are glass windows imported in parts?

Mr. ALLISON. They are, undoubtedly.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I do not see how that is possible. It must either be glass or windows—"stained or painted window glass and stained or painted glass windows." If they are imported as panes of glass, they will come in under the first paragraph; but if as windows, they will come in under the second, and the words "or parts thereof" seem to me to be clearly surplusage if it is the intention to confine it either to panes of glass or the completed window.

Mr. ALLISON. We have struck out the words "window glass and stained or painted" and substituted "or parts thereof" for window glass. So the paragraph now reads, "stained or painted glass windows, or parts thereof."

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. You intend to exclude "window glass and stained or painted?"

Mr. ALLISON. Yes, sir; that phraseology is stricken out by our amendment.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Where are they provided for?

Mr. ALLISON. They are provided for right here; "stained or painted glass windows, or parts thereof," which would be stained window glass.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The other phraseology, it seems to me, would be very much more desirable and would get rid of the difficulty raised by the Senator from Missouri—that is, to let it stand "stained or painted window glass and stained or painted glass windows."

Mr. ALLISON. The truth is we were following the act of 1894, prepared by our good friends, and we were trying to get as near to that as possible.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Then you were following it without reading the law.

Mr. ALLISON. Let us see whether we were.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. "All stained or painted glass windows."

Mr. ALLISON. "Or parts thereof."

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I will admit that the Senator was right and I was wrong. I am glad to see the Senator following a good example, and I shall withdraw any further objection.

Mr. ALLISON. I assure the Senator we are doing as well as we can.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I only want to say that I am very sorry you began so late in life.

Mr. VEST. I move to insert after the word "glass" the words "broken glass."

Mr. ALLISON. I agree to that amendment.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In line 12, after the word "glass," insert "except broken glass."

Mr. ALLISON. Put the words "except broken glass" in parentheses.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Without objection, the amendment will be agreed to, and the words "except broken glass" will be put in parentheses. It is agreed to.

The next paragraph passed over was paragraph 118, on page 31, which the Committee on Finance propose to amend, in line 24, after the word "ore," by striking out "and" and inserting "also;" so as to make the paragraph read:

118. Iron ore, including manganiferous iron ore, also the dross or residuum from burnt pyrites, 40 cents per ton: *Provided*, That in levying and collecting the duty on iron ore no deduction shall be made from the weight of the ore on account of moisture which may be chemically or physically combined therewith.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. On page 31, line 25, after the word "ton," I move to strike out the colon and insert a semicolon and what I send to the desk. I ask the Secretary to read all of the amendment suggested.

The SECRETARY. On page 31, paragraph 118, line 25, after the word "ton," strike out the colon and insert a semicolon and the following:

Manganese ore, $1 per ton.

In the same paragraph, page 32, line 1, strike out the words "iron ore" and in lieu thereof insert the words "such ores;" and in line 4, after the word "therewith," insert a semicolon and the words "basic slag, ground or unground, $1 per ton."

Mr. ALLISON. Those are all the amendments we propose to the paragraph.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Let it be read as proposed to be amended.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read the paragraph as it will stand when amended.

The Secretary read as follows:

118. Iron ore, including manganiferous iron ore, also the dross or residuum from burnt pyrites, 40 cents per ton; manganese ore, $1 per ton: *Provided*, That in levying and collecting the duty on such ores no deduction shall be made from the weight of the ore on account of moisture which may be chemically or physically combined therewith; basic slag, ground or unground, $1 per ton.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I should like to call the attention of the Senator from Iowa to what seems to me likely to lead to confusion resulting from the amendment. The paragraph now reads:

Iron ore, including manganiferous iron ore, also the dross or residuum from burnt pyrites, 40 cents per ton.

Now, you propose that manganese shall carry a dollar a ton. What is the difference between manganese ore and manganiferous iron ore?

Mr. HOAR. I understand (of course I have nothing except the information that comes to me) that there are in some parts of the country very large deposits of manganese ore which is of a peculiar value and is of a variety much more valuable than the ordinary iron ore and should have a corresponding protection. There is a large deposit of it in Arkansas, the Senator's own State.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Yes, sir; there is a very large manganese deposit in Arkansas, but the question with me was whether it is not always combined with iron ore.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Not at all. If I am correctly informed, the manganese in Arkansas and the Blue Ridge is an ore

by itself. Manganese is sometimes found blended or combined with iron ore.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I knew that, and I thought it was always combined with iron ore.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. But the mine in the Senator's State has no iron connected with it at all; it is purely manganese ore, and is used in making steel and other articles.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I knew it was used for that purpose, and my impression was that it is found in combination with iron at all times.

Mr. ALLISON. I do not think there will be any trouble about it.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Without objection, the three amendments to paragraph 118 proposed by the Senator from Iowa will be agreed to. They are agreed to.

The next paragraph passed over was paragraph 142, on page 43, which was read, as follows:

142. Card-clothing manufactured from tempered steel wire, 45 cents per square foot; all other, 20 cents per square foot.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. If no amendment be proposed to this paragraph, the next paragraph passed over will be read.

Mr. PETTUS. I desire to know what disposition was made of paragraph 125.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. It was agreed to on the 2d day of June.

Mr. ALLISON. That paragraph was disposed of some days ago.

Mr. PETTUS. There was a motion made to put cotton ties on the free list.

Mr. ALLISON. Later, when we reach the free list, that will be in order, and of course if cotton ties are put on the free list——

Mr. PETTUS. The motion was to strike out a part of this paragraph.

Mr. ALLISON. It is now a part of the paragraph, but if cotton ties should be put on the free list, of course it will be stricken out here.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair understands that the amendment is pending, and that when the free list is reached it will be in order to move it.

Mr. PETTUS. It was not my amendment, but that of the Senator from Georgia [Mr. BACON].

Mr. BACON. The Senator is right. It is the amendment proposed by myself.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment is pending.

Mr. BACON. I think Senators on both sides agree as to the proper course to be pursued.

Mr. ALLISON. There is no expectation that we shall not deal with it.

Mr. BACON. I understand.

The next paragraph passed over was paragraph 164, on page 52, which the Committee on Finance proposed to amend, in line 1, after the word "act," by striking out "forty" and inserting "thirty;" so as to read:

164. Crosscut saws, 6 cents per linear foot; mill saws, 10 cents per linear foot; pit, and drag saws, 8 cents per linear foot; circular saws, 25 per cent ad valorem; hand, back, and all other saws, not specially provided for in this act, thirty per cent ad valorem.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. In paragraph 164, page 51, line 25, after the word "ad valorem," I move to insert:

Steel band saws, finished or unfinished, 10 cents per pound and 20 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. May I make an inquiry? What became of paragraph 142?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. It was passed.

Mr. ALLISON. It was agreed to.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. It was adopted?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. No amendments were proposed to that paragraph. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Iowa to paragraph 164.

Mr. VEST. In line 2, on page 52, I notice there is an increase over the existing law in the ad valorem rate. I want to call attention to the condition of the trade in regard to these articles. We exported, in 1896, $2,197,450 worth of saws and tools. We imported $27,000 worth of saws of all kinds. It is a notorious fact that the American manufacturers absolutely control the market, and that the Disston saws of Philadelphia are accepted as the best article in the world that is manufactured. They are sold all over Europe and in South America. There is no necessity whatever to put up the ad valorem duty. I think with regard to my assertion there can not be the slightest doubt, and the exports and imports show that to increase the duty upon an article of this kind is absolutely useless, and not only useless, but, with great respect, absurd.

Mr. ALLISON. These band saws are a very high grade of saws, and the amendment proposed does not increase the duty above 30 per cent.

Mr. VEST. It increases it 5 per cent over existing law. The existing law is 25 per cent ad valorem, and the committee propose to make it 30 per cent. I am afraid to make any motion for fear the Senator will move to make it 40 per cent.

Mr. WHITE. I presume the Senator refers to band saws, because they are being substituted very largely for circular saws. The waste resulting from the process of sawing lumber by means of band saws is far less than that which results from the use of the common circular saws, and in all the large mills throughout the United States, especially where there are logs of any size, the band saws are being utilized at present, and coming into use and becoming more necessary, and the tariff is therefore raised on them.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Iowa to paragraph 164.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. In this connection, I ask consent of the Senate to go back to paragraph 137, page 43, for a moment. The Senate committee amendment was disagreed to. I desire to move to insert in line 1 "three-fourths of," after the word "paid;" and in line 4 to strike out "three-fourths" and insert "one-half;" so as to make the paragraph read:

137. On all iron or steel bars or rods of whatever shape or section which are cold rolled, cold drawn, cold hammered, or polished in any way in addition to the ordinary process of hot rolling or hammering, there shall be paid one-fourth of 1 cent per pound in addition to the rates provided in this act on bars or rods of whatever section or shape which are hot rolled; and on all strips, plates, or sheets of iron or steel of whatever shape, other than the polished, planished, or glanced sheet iron or sheet steel hereinbefore provided for, which are cold rolled, cold hammered, blued, brightened, tempered, or polished by any process to such perfected surface finish or polish better than the grade of cold rolled, smoothed only, hereinbefore provided for, there shall be paid three-fourths of 1 cent per pound in addition to the rates provided in this act upon plates, strips, or sheets of iron or steel of common or black finish; and on steel circular-saw plates there shall be paid one-half of 1 cent per pound in addition to the rate provided in this act for steel saw plates.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next paragraph passed over was paragraph 169, on page 54, which the Committee on Finance proposed to amend, in line 11, after the word "aluminum," by striking out the comma and the words "in crude form" and inserting "and;" in line 13, by inserting at the beginning of the line the words "in crude form;" in the same line, before the word "cents," by striking out "ten" and inserting "five;" in the same line, before the word "plates," by inserting the word "in;" and in line 14, after the word "rods," by striking out "of aluminum, of any kind, in which aluminum is the component material of chief value, fifteen," and striking out the comma and inserting "ten;" so as to make the paragraph read:

169. Aluminum, and alloys of any kind in which aluminum is the component material of chief value, in crude form, 5 cents per pound; in plates, sheets, bars, and rods, 10 cents per pound.

Mr. ALLISON. In line 13, I move to insert "seven" instead of "five," and in line 15, to insert "twelve" instead of "ten." I propose to modify the amendment by inserting "seven" instead of "five" and "twelve" instead of "ten." I ask that the paragraph may be read as now proposed to be amended.

The Secretary read as follows:

169. Aluminum, and alloys of any kind in which aluminum is the component material of chief value, in crude form, 7 cents per pound; in plates, sheets, bars, and rods, 12 cents per pound.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Iowa to the amendment of the committee.

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

The amendment as amended was agreed to.

The next paragraph passed over was paragraph 170, page 54, which the Committee on Finance proposed to strike out, as follows:

170. Manufactured articles or wares of aluminum of any kind, in which aluminum is the component material of chief value, and whether partially or wholly manufactured, 45 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. ALLISON. That paragraph is to be stricken out. It is already provided for in paragraph 191, page 60.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the committee striking out the paragraph.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next paragraph passed over was paragraph 174, on page 55, which the Committee on Finance proposed to amend, in line 5, after the word "leaf," by striking out "four" and inserting "five;" so as to read:

174. Bronze powder, 12 cents per pound; bronze or Dutch-metal or aluminum, in leaf, 5 cents per package of 100 leaves.

Mr. ALLISON. The committee recommend that 8 cents be substituted for 5 cents in that paragraph in line 5.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to modify the committee amendment by striking out "five," in line 5, and inserting "eight."

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The House proposition was 4 cents. The Senate committee raised it to 5 cents, and now the Senator proposes to raise it to what?

Mr. ALLISON. To 8 cents. I think that is a pretty high duty.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. We agree that it is a pretty high duty.

Mr. ALLISON. But there are very strong reasons for it. The reason why we propose 8 cents is not only because we think it is

right, but also because we want to get it into conference with the House between 4 cents and 8 cents. We understand under the rules governing conference committees that the conferees could not raise a rate beyond what one or the other House had provided for. So I hope the Senator will allow that amendment to be made.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The present law is 40 per cent, and 5 cents was proposed by the Senate committee. Four cents, as proposed by the House, is 49 per cent. Five cents, as proposed by the Senate committee, is 61 per cent, and 8 cents, I presume, would be somewhere in the neighborhood of 100 or 125 per cent, as against 40 per cent.

Mr. ALLISON. That depends upon the point of view upon which you make your calculation.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. That is what the comparative statement of the committee shows.

Mr. ALLISON. The 40 per cent ad valorem is of course a nominal percentage. It comes in valued at whatever price they may put upon it in Nuremberg and other German cities where it is manufactured.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. None comes to this country.

Mr. ALLISON. It is stated that this duty of 8 cents a pound is absolutely necessary to enable our people to produce these leaves, the industry having been destroyed by the act of 1894.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Only $153 of revenue came in under the 40 per cent rate. That is near enough to being an exclusive rate, it seems to me.

Mr. HOAR. I should like to ask the Senator from Iowa a question publicly in reference to a statement he has just made. He has just stated that no conference committee would raise a duty higher than the point which was agreed to by the Senate when the Senate increases a rate over that fixed by the House.

Mr. ALLISON. It is a mooted question whether a conference committee can raise a duty above what one or the other House provided.

Mr. HOAR. I dare say that may be sound policy whether it is strict law or not, but I suppose it would not prevent the substitution of ad valorem for specific rates or specifics for ad valorems.

Mr. ALLISON. Certainly not.

Mr. SEWELL. I will ask the Senator in charge of the bill if the Senator from Arkansas has not made a mistake. The duty on bronze or Dutch metal was 8 cents per bag under the McKinley Act, and the duties collected were $179,865, showing a large importation of it. I know myself from familiarity with it that it is entirely labor. It is a pounding out of metal into leaves, and the skilled workmen who are engaged in it to-day make only $8 a week by reason of the lack of protection under the Wilson Act.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I was looking at the wrong subdivision when I made the statement that the importations were only $153. That was in a subsequent subdivision of aluminum and not under bronze. Under bronze the importations under the 40 per cent rate were $55,000 a year.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Iowa to the amendment of the committee.

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

The amendment as amended was agreed to.

The next paragraph passed over was paragraph 178½, which was proposed by the Committee on Finance to be inserted as a new paragraph, as follows:

178½. Hooks and eyes, metallic, whether loose, carded, or otherwise, including weight of cards, cartons, and immediate wrappings and labels, 5½ cents per pound and 15 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. QUAY. Mr. President, I suppose paragraph 179 will create some discussion, and before passing to that I should be glad if the Senator from Iowa would return to paragraph 137. There, as the paragraph was, in passing, the Senator moved, in line 1, on page 43, to strike out "1 cent" and insert "three-fourths of a cent." I think he will admit that he was in error in proposing that amendment, and that the vote by which it was agreed to should be reconsidered.

Mr. ALLISON. I found a memorandum here upon my table respecting that paragraph, and then I found it struck out. I merely moved to insert it for the purpose of looking into it further; but I am willing that it shall go out.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there any objection to the reconsideration of the vote by which the amendment was adopted?

Mr. VEST. We can not understand what the question is on this side. We can not hear the Senators.

Mr. QUAY. I refer to paragraph 137.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will state the amendment which was adopted and which it is desired to have reconsidered.

The SECRETARY. In paragraph 137, on page 43, line 1, the committee amendment was to insert, after the word "paid," the words "three-fourths of;" so as to read, "there shall be paid three-fourths of 1 cent per pound."

Mr. QUAY. That was adopted instead of 1 cent, and I ask the Senator from Iowa to correct it.

Mr. VEST. Do I understand that the Senator from Iowa made an error about that?

Mr. ALLISON. It was a reduction.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. And therefore an error.

Mr. VEST. We could not understand it over here when the amendment was made.

Mr. ALLISON. The Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. QUAY] has explained it.

Mr. QUAY. The next amendment occurs in line 4 of paragraph 137, where, on motion of the Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON], the word "three-fourths" was stricken out and the word "one-half" substituted. That is also a reduction; but that reduction is to stand.

Mr. VEST. That is another error, I suppose.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. In the absence of objection, the vote by which the Senate agreed to the amendment, in line 1, page 43, paragraph 137, striking out "1 cent" and inserting "three-fourths of" will be regarded as reconsidered, and the amendment is disagreed to; so that the articles named shall pay a duty of 1 cent per pound. The Chair hears no objection, and that is the order. The next paragraph which was passed over will be stated.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Has paragraph 178 been agreed to?

Mr. ALLISON. That has been agreed to.

The Secretary read paragraph 179, beginning in line 12, on page 56, as follows:

179. Lead-bearing ore of all kinds, 1 cent per pound on the lead contained therein: *Provided*, That on all importations of lead-bearing ores the duties shall be estimated at the port of entry, and a bond given in double the amount of such estimated duties for the transportation of the ores by common carriers bonded for the transportation of appraised or unappraised merchandise to properly equipped sampling or smelting establishments. On the arrival of the ores at such establishments they shall be sampled according to commercial methods under the supervision of Government officers, who shall be stationed at such establishments, and who shall submit the samples thus obtained to a Government assayer, designated by the Secretary of the Treasury, who shall make a proper assay of the sample, and upon his report of the lead contents of the ore the import entries shall be liquidated thereon. And the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized to make all necessary regulations to enforce the provisions of this paragraph.

The first amendment reported to the paragraph by the Committee on Finance was, on page 56, line 12, after the words "one cent," to insert "and one-half;" so as to read:

Lead-bearing ore of all kinds, 1 cent and one-half per pound on the lead contained therein.

Mr. ALLEN. I should like to ask the Senator from Iowa if it is intended to insist upon the committee amendments in paragraph 179?

Mr. ALLISON. It is proposed to adhere to the amendments as made in these paragraphs, except that we propose to insert, in line 18, on page 57, "2¼ cents" on pig lead.

Mr. ALLEN. I suggest the propriety of letting this paragraph pass over until to-morrow. I desire to discuss it somewhat fully, but I find upon my arrival in the Chamber that I have not the documents and papers with me which I desire to use, and which I thought I had.

Mr. VEST. That refers to lead ore?

Mr. ALLEN. Yes, sir.

Mr. ALLISON. The only trouble, I will state to the Senator from Nebraska, is that unless we take up some one of these items we do not know when we shall get through. I had expected to take up leather and the products of leather this morning, but in the absence of the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH]——

Mr. SMITH entered the Chamber.

Mr. ALLISON. I see that the Senator from New Jersey is now present, and I presume we can go on with the leather schedule.

Mr. ALLEN. Then let the paragraph in relation to lead ore be passed over.

Mr. ALLISON. If the Senator from New Jersey is ready to proceed on the leather schedule, we can take that up now, and proceed with lead ore a little later in the day.

Mr. SMITH. I desire to say that I have been absent from the Chamber on account of illness. I am hardly strong enough to go on to day, but rather than incommode the committee in any way I shall make the effort to proceed.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair understands that paragraph 179 is temporarily passed over.

Mr. ALLISON. Passed over until the leather schedule is completed.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. That will be the order, in the absence of objection. Paragraph 426½ will be read.

The SECRETARY. The Committee on Finance propose to insert as a new paragraph, under the head of "Leather, and manufactures of," on page 152, after line 6, the following:

426½. Hides of cattle, raw or uncured, whether dry, salted, or pickled, 1½ cents per pound: *Provided*, That upon all leather exported, made from imported hides, there shall be allowed a drawback equal to the amount of duty paid on such hides, to be paid under such regulations as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe.

Mr. ALLISON. The committee recommend a modification of this amendment by striking out "1½ cents per pound" and inserting "20 per cent ad valorem;" and the committee also recommend that the proviso be stricken out.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Iowa on behalf of the committee will be stated.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to amend the amendment, in line 8, after the word "pickled," by striking out "1½ cents per pound" and inserting "20 per cent ad valorem;" and after the word "pound," in line 9, by striking out:

Provided, That upon all leather exported, made from imported hides, there shall be allowed a drawback equal to the amount of duty paid on such hides, to be paid under such regulations as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe.

So as to make the paragraph read:

426½. Hides of cattle, raw or uncured, whether dry, salted, or pickled, 20 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. President, do I understand that in the proposed amendment the same rate of duty is applied to dry hides as to salted hides?

Mr. ALLISON. Twenty per cent ad valorem, the same ad valorem rate upon dry hides as upon raw or uncured hides.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The proposition is to strike out "1½ cents per pound" and insert "20 per cent ad valorem."

Mr. ALLISON. Yes.

Mr. WHITE. Has the Senator from Iowa any information as to the unit of value or the average value of hides in the South American markets?

Mr. SMITH. I can give the Senator the information.

Mr. ALLISON. I have a statement on the subject.

Mr. WHITE. Will the Senator from New Jersey state how much dry hides are worth?

Mr. SMITH. They average about $4.50.

Mr. WHITE. Will the Senator state what is the average weight?

Mr. SMITH. Green hides average on the other side from 90 to 100 pounds each, and they are sold now from 10½ to 11½ cents a pound.

Mr. ALLEN. That is, as I understand, the market price after they reach a central market.

Mr. SMITH. That is the price at which the hide dealer sells to the manufacturer.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. I telegraphed to the custom-house in New York to-day and had a telegraphic reply from the appraiser. I have it not with me, but I can get it in a moment. I know, however, what it is. It is to the effect that during the last eleven months the importation of hides has been 70,000,000 pounds, of the value of $7,000,000, of fresh, green hides, and the average is about 10 cents per pound. That is the telegram. The hides varied from 3 to 8 cents a pound, and the average is about 5. I thought there was a little inconsistency between the prices given and the completed account, but that was the statement.

Mr. WHITE. Has the Senator a statement as to what the average price would be?

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. It would average about 10 cents.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Green hides?

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Yes, green hides, 10 cents.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. What about dry hides?

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. The price of dry hides is from 3 to 8 cents a pound.

Mr. WHITE. Evidently there is a mistake in the figures somewhere.

Mr. SMITH. If Senators will allow me, I can explain to them the figures. This apparent inconsistency arises from the fact of the classification of hides under our custom-house rules, which vary, and which are changed from time to time. For instance, the classification of what are known as hides includes goatskins, kangaroo skins, etc. I have the classification here. I think cattle hides are now included in the same category as sheepskins, Angora goat skins, salted sheepskins, and kangaroo skins. So that would make what would appear from the imports to be a very large quantity of imported hides coming into this country, and would make it appear as if they were at a very low price from the fact that these skins are included as cattle hides.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. What I telegraphed for was as to the importation of cattle hides. I have sent for the dispatch. I do not quite understand it, but it came from the appraisers, and I should like to present it to the Senate.

Mr. SMITH. If the committee were familiar with the subject, it seems to me that the proposition of placing raw hides and salted hides at the same ad valorem would not appear to be just. For instance, the rate of duty on salted hides on this basis at the present price of selling would be about $2 per hide. If it be a cent and a half, it would amount to a little less than a dollar and a half a hide. Therefore the rate of duty of 20 per cent ad valorem would be much higher than a cent and a half a pound.

But, Mr. President, before proceeding further I should like to know what disposition the committee have made of goatskins—whether they have placed any duty on goatskins. I ask the question for the reason that I am not in favor of a duty upon them, for goatskins come more particularly in competition with American hides, or quite as much so, as do the tanned hides, and more than do the salted hides, because the only salted hides brought to this country are hides of a larger size than those of this country, as a rule. Those hides are clearer on the grain; that is, they are better fitted to be used for certain, particular, specific purposes of a character which we do not raise or produce here, because between the branding of our cattle, the barbed-wire fences, and so on, our hides become imperfect on the grain. Therefore, if you allow goatskins to come in free of duty, which practically come in competition with your American hides, and tax your salted hides $2 a hide, which practically do not come in competition, it does not seem to me to be entirely fair, just, or right.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Before the Senator proceeds further, I desire to get this matter clear in my mind. I should like to ask him about what is the average value of dry cattle hides?

Mr. SMITH. About four dollars and a half.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. By weight per pound?

Mr. SMITH. On the basis of about 25 pounds.

Mr. ALLEN. Twenty-five pounds of hide?

Mr. SMITH. Twenty-two pounds would be a fair average, so far as the dry hides are concerned.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. That would make 20 cents a pound?

Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Twenty per cent on 20 cents a pound would be 4 cents a pound tariff.

Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Against the first proposition of a cent and a half?

Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. So it is an increase of between 200 and 300 per cent over the original proposition. Now, what is the value of salted hides per pound?

Mr. SMITH. The price to-day is about 11 cents per pound.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Eleven cents?

Mr. SMITH. On the average to about 100 pounds of hide.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. That would make about $2.20.

Mr. SMITH. Under the former duty of 1½ cents a pound it would be $1.50.

Mr. ALLEN. I understand the Senator from Arkansas and the Senator from New Jersey have figured out the ad valorem duty as greater than the specific duty?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas and Mr. SMITH. Yes.

Mr. ALLEN. Is that satisfactory to the Senator from New Jersey?

Mr. SMITH. No, sir. I propose, if I can, to show to the Senator from Nebraska and to the gentlemen of the Senate that the duty on hides is not only unnecessary, unfair, and unjust, but that it does not protect anybody in this country that I believe the Senate desire to protect. On the contrary, it will prove a great injury to the American people, whether they be farmers or manufacturers or merchants or professional men.

Mr. ALLEN. Will it interrupt the Senator if I ask him a question?

Mr. SMITH. Not at all. I shall be glad to hear the Senator.

Mr. ALLEN. If protection is a good thing, ought it not to go all around, and should not everybody have a little of it?

Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir.

Mr. ALLEN. And if it is a good thing as to any imported article, ought it not to result in benefit to the farmers as to hides, and would not the imposition of a sufficient duty upon hides correspondingly raise the price of hides in this country?

Mr. SMITH. No, sir. I say in answer to the Senator from Nebraska that if I believed a tax on hides would benefit the farmers of this country I would not stand here in my place in the Senate and oppose it; but I hope, before this argument is completed, to be able to show to the members of the Senate, who, I believe, want to be informed about this matter, that there is only one class of people who can in any way be helped by the imposition of this duty, and they are the people who need the least help, and to whom I am satisfied, notwithstanding the fact that a great many of the general public believe otherwise, the Senate does not want to extend protection beyond what is fair and right and reasonable, and that is the great American beef trust of this country, who will be the only beneficiaries of this tax.

I wish to say at the outset, Mr. President, that when what is known as the Dingley bill was passed by the House of Representatives I did not intend nor did I expect to address this body on any question connected with it. I believed then, as I believe now, that the bill was formulated by the Republican party in accordance with one of the principles laid down in their platform, and that they had a right to formulate the bill in such way as in their best judgment carried out their views.

I believed, Mr. President, when that bill was framed that it was much more objectionable than was the McKinley law, and I believed that nothing would sooner relegate the party now in power into oblivion than the quick passage of the Dingley bill.

But, Mr. President, I can not believe, and do not believe, that the canvass which brought into power the present Administration was ever fought—certainly not in the State which I have the honor in part to represent—on any theory that the tariff question or the reenactment of the McKinley law was to be the first act of the new Administration. I am frank to say that, in my judgment, the 45,000 Democrats of New Jersey who went to the polls on election day and cast their votes for the ticket with the names of Mr. McKinley and Mr. Hobart upon it did not do so simply for the purpose of saying that they wanted a reenactment of the McKinley law.

While I am willing to admit that very many of them voted as they did through State pride, and as a matter of courtesy and for the purpose of showing their esteem for the gentleman who represented the Republican party on that ticket as the candidate for Vice-President of the United States, still I must say that they were not impelled in that action by that motive alone.

When it is considered that this extra session was called at a season of the year when most gentlemen would be more pleasantly situated at other places than here in order to bring about the enactment of a law which no Senator on this floor will stand up and say——

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I rise to a question of order, Mr. President.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Arkansas will state his point of order.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The Senator from New Jersey is not well, and I submit that audible conversation, which can be distinctly heard all over the Chamber, ought not to go on while the Senator from New Jersey is making a speech.

Mr. SPOONER. Or while anybody else is making a speech.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Yes; and I think the Senator from New Jersey ought to take his seat and refuse to proceed until the Senate is in order.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair will ask Senators to suspend their conversation and preserve order. The Senator from New Jersey will not proceed until there is order on the floor of the Senate. [A pause.] The Senator from New Jersey.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. President, I only desire to say that I do not believe that the necessities or the conditions of this country from a financial point of view necessitated the calling together of this extra session. The business of this country might have been restored and might have gone on and improved just as well, or better, if this subject had been postponed until the regular session of Congress.

The great question which was submitted to the American people in the last Presidential election, as I supposed, was one of finance. On that the people of this country voted, and not on the question of the tariff. The tariff was simply a side issue. If it had been made the principal question, I am afraid, Mr. President—whilst it would have been pleasing to me—that the result of that election would have been different from what it was. We are here, however, confronted with the tariff question, ignoring the great question upon which the battle was fought; we are confronted with a bill which is the most peculiar, to say the least of it, of any which has ever yet been framed by any committee of either House of Congress.

We are confronted to-day by a spectacle unheard of and unknown in the history of this country.

When we stop to consider for a moment that the national Republican platform, the national Democratic platform, and the State platform recently adopted in the State of Ohio declared in glowing language and in strong terms the great wrongs which Spain is perpetrating on poor Cuba, where her men, women, and children are being murdered by thousands, and with all these pretensions Senators leave this Chamber and go home to their States and renounciate the platform adopted by the national Republican convention, and call on the people of the United States to see that justice shall be done to those people—in the face of all this, Mr. President, has this country ever withessed, under such circumstances, such a spectacle, when the Congress of the United States is in session, and when this body by a two-thirds vote passed a resolution of belligerency and sent it to the tomb of the Capulets, to be laid away by a Republican House at the dictates of a Republican Speaker, and according to intimations we have heard, it is done at the dictation of a Republican President?

If the people of this country have not changed their minds and their views from what I believe them to be, this question will ring through this country, and when the Congressional elections next take place, leaving out the question of gold and silver, leaving out the question of high or low tariff, but simply the insult to the American people by that House, the protest of the people will be so strong and so overwhelming that there will be no Republican majority in that House of Congress to respond to the roll call for many years to come.

Now, Mr. President, I will take up the particular part of the subject upon which I have risen to address the Senate. I would ask, in speaking upon this question, particular attention, so far as possible. I do not want to inflict upon Senators anything that I may have to say upon this question, but I have now come to the point which I desire to discuss for the benefit of the Committee on Finance, because I believe they want to do what is fair in regard to this matter.

I ask to have the subject go over for the present. I may be able to resume in five minutes.

Mr. WHITE. I suggest to the Senator from Iowa to pass to some other item.

Mr. VEST. I will take the floor on this subject. The Senator from New Jersey says he can go on in five or ten minutes, and I can say what I have to say now.

Mr. President, up to 1872 there was a small duty upon hides. In that year our Republican friends put hides upon the free list. It is interesting to note the effect of this action of our Republican friends in 1872, because it illustrates the difference between the two systems as to raw materials, whether they shall be taxed or placed upon the free list.

In the last year (1872) when hides were taxed we exported from this country abroad of leather and leather manufactures $3,648,029 worth. I ask Senators interested in the matter to note these figures. In 1872 the duty was taken off of hides, and it has remained off ever since under both Republican and Democratic Administrations. Now, what is the result? We exported in 1896 of leather and leather manufactures $20,242,756 worth. We send all over the world our leather manufactures—boots, shoes, belting, harness, and everything else that is made from leather. There can be no more conspicuous or significant illustration of the propriety of putting raw materials on the free list and then enabling the manufacturers of the United States to compete upon equal terms with the manufacturers of all other countries. Three million six hundred and forty-eight thousand and twenty-nine dollars in 1872; $20,242,756 in 1896.

Mr. President, there are some singular features in the history of the question of the duty upon hides. In 1890, when the McKinley Act, that great exemplar of protection, was enacted, there was a fierce attempt made in the House of Representatives to put a duty upon hides. It came from the same quarter that it comes from to-day, from the great cattle-producing region of the West. I want to say here, without thrusting my personal position upon the Senate, which I always refrain from doing, if possible, but in order to emphasize the brief argument I shall make in favor of free hides, that I come from a State which is one of the largest agricultural and cattle-producing States—I mean of fine cattle—in the Union, and if I had any local interest actuating me in this matter, I will say that the appeals made to me by certain classes in Missouri have been frequent and earnest that I should vote for a duty upon hides, because they have been by certain people made to understand that a duty upon hides is in the interest of the cattle producers of the country. I have had occasion to examine very thoroughly this question and what I say is based upon no abstract, theoretical view, but on actual, absolute, and earnest investigation, because I have been placed as a public man between two interests, those of my constituents who believe with me in free raw materials, and those who are anxious to put a duty upon hides, believing it will increase the price of their cattle.

In 1890, as I have said, the same assault was made upon free hides that is made here to-day, and by the same people, and Mr. McKinley, now President of the United States, was induced, with his committee, of which Governor DINGLEY was a conspicuous member, to yield to the appeal, and he did put a duty upon hides. In a single night that determination was changed, and it was not for months afterwards that the exact reasons for the change became public. The singular fact presented now in the history of hides is that in the report made by President McKinley in 1890 accompanying the bill that bears his name he boasts of the fact that in order to get more revenue the committee had placed a duty upon hides. When the perfected bill came before the House, it was found that the bill did not agree with the report, that hides had been put back upon the free list. By an oversight the distinguished author of the bill had not changed his report, and the record stands to-day as I have named it, with the report boasting of the duty upon hides and the bill itself putting hides upon the free list.

It was stated that a distinguished member of this body, then a prominent member of the House of Representatives from Massachusetts, was very active in securing this change on that fateful night when hides went back to the free list, that in the name of the boot and shoe manufacturers of Massachusetts he informed Mr. McKinley—the margin of votes in the House being rather precarious—that if he persisted in putting a duty upon hides he could look for no political support for his bill from Massachusetts.

Whether that be true or not, I desire to contribute to this remarkable history a letter which has come to light and which was published in a New Hampshire paper. I ask the Secretary to read the letter of Mr. Blaine.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read as follows:

WASHINGTON, *April 10, 1890.*

DEAR MR. MCKINLEY: It is a great mistake to take hides from the free list, where they have been for so many years. It is a slap in the face to the South Americans with whom we are trying to enlarge our trade. It will benefit the farmer by adding 5 to 8 per cent to the price of his children's shoes. It will yield a profit to the butcher only—the last man that needs it. The movement is injudicious from beginning to end, in every form and phase. Pray stop it before it sees light. Such movements as this for protection will protect the Republican party into a speedy retirement.

Yours, hastily,

JAMES G. BLAINE.

Hon. WILLIAM MCKINLEY,
Chairman Ways and Means.

Mr. VEST. That letter came to light after this remarkable record was made in 1890 in regard to hides, and it will be noticed that Mr. Blaine makes the statement emphatically, with which I entirely agree, that the duty upon hides would simply add to the cost of shoes used by the poor man and his family and would inure alone to the benefit of the butcher. He would have been more accurate in his language if he stated to the great beef trust of Chicago.

In 1881 a special committee was organized by this body to examine into the transportation and sale of meat products, and the Senate did me the honor to make me chairman of the committee. I endeavored faithfully and earnestly to discharge my duty. We went to Chicago, the headquarters of this great beef combine, composed of four large houses, and subpœnaed before our committee the heads of those houses and their purchasing agents. They refused to appear.

After consultation, the committee adjourned to the city of Washington, because we had doubts in regard to the question of the power of the Senate to summon recalcitrant witnesses and punish them, which has since been decided by the Supreme Court in a recent decision, in order to avail ourselves of the statute in regard to witnesses who refuse to appear before committees in the District. We again subpœnaed Mr. Philip D. Armour, the great head of the great house of Armour & Co., and under the advice of counsel he appeared and gave his testimony.

Mr. SPOONER. Will the Senator from Missouri kindly give me the number of the document?

Mr. VEST. With great pleasure. It is Senate Report No. 829, first session Fifty-first Congress. I will say to the Senator from Wisconsin that the report has long since been exhausted, and I do not know whether he will be able to obtain a copy. I have this copy by special favor of the document room to use in the debate.

As I was proceeding to say, Mr. Armour, under advice of counsel, appeared before the committee in the District of Columbia, and in his testimony he made this significant statement:

Hides have steadily declined in value since 1886 and prior to that time. The figures to-day show a loss upon every hide of from $1.25 to $1.60.

Mr. HOAR. What does that mean—a loss from $1.25 to $1.60?

Mr. VEST. Loss upon each hide; lowering in value.

Mr. HOAR. Compared with former times?

Mr. VEST. Yes, sir.

During the last five years imports of foreign hides have amounted to over 4,000,000 hides a year, and the class of foreign hides which more directly compete with our salted hides here, viz, Montevideo and Buenos Ayres, have declined in price from 25 cents per pound to 14½ and 15 cents. The decline in the price of these hides, together with their large importation, has undoubtedly had a depressing effect upon the American hide market.

As a Senator from a large cattle-producing State, this testimony on the part of Mr. Armour gave me very serious concern, and I made it my special duty, as did the other members of the committee, because Governor Coke, of Texas, was upon the committee, representing possibly the largest cattle-producing State in the Union—we made it our duty, to speak more properly, to examine very closely and thoroughly this statement of Mr. Armour. I will ask my friend the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. JONES], who reads better than I do, to give to the Senate the result of our examination and our report upon the statement of Mr. Armour.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas read as follows:

The object of Mr. Armour in this statement is to create the impression that the free importation of hides has the effect of reducing the price of American hides and thereby lowers the price paid for cattle to the producer.

One of the largest leather manufacturers in the Middle States, whose name can be given if Mr. Armour requests it, writes the chairman of the committee as follows, on December 1, 1888:

"We use 50,000 hides yearly and are obliged to pay whatever the Chicago syndicate want to ask for their hides, notwithstanding low price of cattle, Armour getting more to-day for his December hides. Inclose an offer received from Armour to-day."

The offer referred to is a telegram from Armour & Co., dated December 1, 1888, as follows:

"If unsold, we can give you two cars heavy native steers, 60 and up, 10½ prompt delivery."

In his printed statement, Mr. Armour submits the following list of prices for American hides:

Average price of hides in—	Texas steers.	Native steers.
	Cents.	Cents.
1886	10½	10½
1887	9½	9½
1888	8½	9

Average hide values in—	All kinds of cattle.
1870	$6.00
1880	5.50
1885	5.00
1888	4.50

It will be noticed from this table that the average price of American hides in 1888 is put by Mr. Armour at 8½ cents per pound for Texas steers, and 9 cents for native steers; but his telegram asks 10½ cents for the latter grade of hides on December 1, 1888.

It will be noticed that the table of prices produced by Mr. Armour begins with the price of hides per pound in 1886, but in order to ascertain the effect of placing hides upon the free list it is necessary to go back to the market prior of 1872, when the duty of 10 per cent was removed.

In 1869 American hides, salted for tanners' use, sold at 11½ to 11¾ cents per pound.

Mr. GEAR. I suggest to the Senator that the price of hides was based upon the price of currency, and currency was at 40 per cent discount at that time.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas read as follows:

In 1870, at 11½ to 11¾; in 1871, at 11½. On August 1, 1879, Chicago, Texas, and native hides sold at 9½ to 9¾.

August 1—	Cents.	August 1—	Cents.
1880	11½	1885	10 -10½
1881	12 -12½	1886	11½
1882	12½-12¾	1887	9 -10½
1883	11 -11½	1888	8 – 9
1884	10 -10½	1889	8½- 9

These prices are taken from the Shoe and Leather Reporter of August 1, 1889; but we have not been able to get from any quarter the exact prices from 1871 to 1879, although we are informed that they remained at about the figures quoted for 1871, with slight fluctuations.

It will be noticed from this table that after the removal of the duty on hides in 1872, and from 1880 to 1887, the price of Chicago hides remained about the same as in 1871, the year before they were placed on the free list.

In 1880 the price was 11½ cents, and in 1886, 11½ cents.

The price of hides commenced falling in 1887, a year after the marked decline began in beef cattle.

We are authorized from these figures to conclude that the removal of the tariff duty in 1872 did not cause a decline in American hides, for it was fifteen years after hides were put on the free list before the fall in prices occured.

Nor can we accept Mr. Armour's statement that the foreign hides imported come into competition with our domestic product and cause a decline in prices.

In a hearing before the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representative of recent date, a committee from the shoe and leather trade made the following statement:

"Nearly all hides imported are dry and dry-salted hides, while the production of domestic hides is nearly all of green-salted. Dry hides are used entirely for sweat stock, and nearly all domestic green-salted hides for limed stock. These two kinds of leather are entirely different, and do not compete with each other to any great extent."

It is our opinion that the putting back a tariff duty upon hides will not increase the price paid the producer for his cattle.

The same causes which control the prices of cattle now would continue to operate, and until these are removed like results will follow.

From the New York Tribune of March 24, 1889, we make the following extract, which is worthy the serious attention of those who entertain the opinion that a tariff duty on hides will benefit the cattle producer:

"The duty on hides was taken off by a Republican Congress in 1872. The imports have scarcely increased at all since that time. At this port, where most of the hides arrive, the imports last year were hardly 10 per cent larger than they were in 1871, before the duty was removed. This seems conclusive evidence that the home producer does not suffer from foreign competition, and the supply of American hides actually marketed has increased during the same period 12½ per cent, judging from the number of "oxen and other cattle" reported. It can hardly be believed that the home producer can be benefited under such circumstances by the imposition of a duty which would apparently help nobody so much as the rich combination of beef packers at the West, while it would seriously affect the cost of the materials for leather and boot and shoe establishments near the seaboard, which use foreign hides largely and export a considerable part of their products."

Mr. GEAR. Let me suggest to the Senator from Arkansas that exports——

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. If the Senator from Iowa will allow me, I am not making a speech. The Senator from Missouri is the speaker.

Mr. GEAR. I wish to reply to what the Senator from Arkansas was reading. I do not want to reply to the speech of the Senator from Missouri.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I merely read for the Senator from Missouri.

Mr. GEAR. May I reply to the Senator from Missouri?

Mr. VEST. Certainly.

Mr. GEAR. Our manufactures of boots and shoes aggregate $234,000,000 per year, and there was exported about a million and a half. So it can not interfere with exports materially.

Mr. VEST. I do not understand the Senator from Iowa. Does he say that the exports of leather manufactures amount to only a

million and a half? In 1896 they amounted to over $20,000,000, according to the comparative statement.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. That is right. They have increased.

Mr. GEAR. I am talking about shoes. I know all about the export of leather. There is a drawback on the export of leather provided in the bill.

Mr. VEST. In discussing this question we are not confined to boots and shoes.

Mr. GEAR. The report rather suggested it was an interference with the export of boots and shoes. I simply call attention to the fact that out of $234,000,000 manufactured in this country only about a million and a half is exported. There is an export duty on leather provided for in the rebate.

Mr. VEST. The significant fact is that the exports of leather and leather manufactures of the United States have increased since 1872, the last year when hides were on the dutiable list at 10 per cent, from $3,000,000 to $20,000,000 in 1896, hides having been on the free list ever since 1872.

Mr. ALLEN. Does the Senator from Missouri pretend to say that that is composed wholly from hides produced in this country?

Mr. VEST. No, sir; produced also from foreign hides, and the committee of the leather manufacturers, boot and shoe men, who appeared before the Ways and Means Committee, and whose statement has been read by the Senator from Arkansas, stated that the foreign hides do not come into competition with the domestic hides.

Mr. ALLEN. Why not?

Mr. VEST. He gave the reasons for it. It is a different sort of leather, used for different purposes, and they so state emphatically and distinctly. I am not an expert.

Mr. ALLEN. I do not want to interrupt the Senator unnecessarily, but I desire to say to him that the tanners of the United States say that foreign hides do come in competition.

Mr. VEST. I have given the statement of this committee.

Mr. ALLEN. Any man upon the face of the earth knows that if you bring in a foreign hide here and manufacture it into leather which otherwise would be manufactured from a hide produced in this country, it comes into competition with the domestic production. It is just as broad and clear as that the day follows night, and no man can testify it away.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Mr. President, here is an extract which the Senator from Missouri asks me to read:

> In a hearing before the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives of recent date a committee from the shoe and leather trade made the following statement:
>
> "Nearly all hides imported are dry and dry-salted hides, while the production of domestic hides is nearly all of green-salted. Dry hides are used entirely for sweat stock, and nearly all domestic green-salted hides for limed stock. These two kinds of leather are entirely different, and do not compete with each other to any great extent."

Mr. ALLEN. But one can be used in place of the other.

Mr. VEST. I am not an expert. I simply quote here what the people engaged in the trade testified to before the Ways and Means Committee. But my opposition to the duty upon hides is based upon entirely different and other grounds. I point to the significant fact that our exports of leather and leather manufactures have enormously increased since hides have been put upon the free list, and, in addition to that, I hold, and think I can prove mathematically almost, that to put a duty upon hides will not increase one single cent the price paid for cattle to the producers of the West.

Mr. ALLEN. In consequence of the beef trust?

Mr. VEST. Yes, that, and because the hide is a by-product, which is not considered at all in the price of the beef.

Mr. ALLEN. Oh, I beg pardon.

Mr. VEST. I beg the Senator's pardon. I examined this question for a year, and went to the very bottom, if it could be done by human agency. The price of beef cattle is fixed in the Chicago market by four houses. If that is not true, it is not true that I am addressing the Senate. I prove in this report, which of course is too voluminous to be read in the Senate, that these men are combined and confederated through all their business. We never could get one of their purchasing agents before the committee. They ran them off to Canada and Europe, and we have not been able to this day, although I sent officers of the Senate to search Chicago, with the aid of detectives, from end to end, to get one of their purchasing agents.

Mr. Armour swore he made no combination. Of course not. His purchasing agent would go into the stock yards in the morning and meet the purchasing agents of Nelson Morris & Co., of Swift & Co., of Hammond & Co., and they would fix in a corner the amount of beef cattle that each house wanted, having entire control of the market, and then the cattle producer of my State or Nebraska, with his bunch of 50 or 100 cattle, was approached by one of these buyers and asked how much he would take for them. "Five cents." "I will give you four and a half." "No; I will not take it." And in an hour another man would come to him from one of the other houses. "How much will you take for your cattle?" "Five cents." "I will give you four and a quarter," and the next one four and an eighth. His cattle in the meantime were held there at large expense, paying enormous prices to these same people for feed, for water, and for stalling, and he would be compelled to let his cattle go at the price. We had dozens of dealers come to us privately and tell us, "We are coerced here; we have to take what we can get." I said, "I will put you on the stand." "Oh, no. I will take the next train out of Chicago. If I testified against the beef trust, I never could sell another steer in this market." They came before the committee at last in Kansas City, Mo.

Mr. L. Leonard, one of the most distinguished farmers in the State, and the candidate for governor of the party to which the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. ALLEN] belongs, testified before the committee at St. Louis that he had 150 head of cattle and that he was boycotted and refused any price at all in Chicago from either of these great houses.

Mr. President, when the price of the cattle is fixed, the price is fixed on the hide. The hide is a by-product. Take these prices from year to year which are found in this report, and you will find that the price of hides was one thing when Mr. Armour and Mr. Swift and Hammond & Co. undertook to sell their hides, but it was a very different thing when they came to buy cattle.

Mr. GEAR. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. CARTER in the chair). Does the Senator from Missouri yield to the Senator from Iowa?

Mr. VEST. Certainly.

Mr. GEAR. The Senator from Missouri claims, I understand, that in Chicago the Big Four, as they are commonly called, absolutely control the price of cattle.

Mr. VEST. I do.

Mr. GEAR. He claims that they have conspired to put down the price all the time.

Mr. VEST. To put it down or put it up. They put the price down, as the evidence here shows.

Mr. GEAR. In view of what the Senator says, I should like to state that the price of cattle has gone up a cent and a cent and a quarter in the last forty days.

Mr. VEST. I can explain it, and I will.

Mr. GEAR. I should be glad to have an explanation of that fact.

Mr. VEST. It depends on the question whether the Big Four houses want any cattle or not. When they want to put down the price of cattle, they do that, and they put it down until the farmers and cattle raisers are afraid to ship. Then they let up the gate, fill up the stalls again in their enormous houses, and buy the cattle at their own price.

Mr. GEAR. I had a different opinion. I had supposed there was a scarcity of cattle this year, and that, notwithstanding the very low price of corn and other products, the scarcity of cattle caused the advance of a cent and a cent and a quarter.

Mr. VEST. The prices fluctuate as the trust propose they shall fluctuate. I have not observed the cattle market recently, but if they did put them up——

Mr. SMITH. If the Senator will allow me, I will state that the price of native steers April 15 was $81; on May 15, $80.25; June 15, $78.75, and June 25, $76.75—a drop of about $5 in a little over two months.

Mr. VEST. I had not examined that point, for I am not interested in the matter; but I know the price ought to go up, because there has been a large decrease in the supply of cattle. The number of cattle in the country has decreased, and therefore the price ought to have gone up. But you will find in this testimony that these big houses in Chicago put up the price or put it down. Not only that, but they forced the butchers of the country, who undertook to kill their own cattle, to buy their dressed beef or go out of the business.

I produced, and it will be found in this testimony, a telegram from Mr. Armour's principal to a man in Freeland, Pa., to the agent of Mr. Armour, saying, in regard to a certain butcher there named Schwabe, "You must make Schwabe buy our dressed beef or go out of the business." I brought Mr. Schwabe there and put him upon the stand. I confronted Mr. Armour with his telegram, which he admitted to be correct, and he said he had told the man who sent it that he was imprudent in sending such a telegram. Said I, "Did you discharge him?" "No," he said, "he is still in my employment." This butcher Schwabe was notified that he must stop killing cattle and buy the dressed beef. He refused to do it, and they boycotted him. He could not ship on the railroads his cattle to be butchered at Freeland, and he was forced to go out of business. He was an obstinate, hard-headed German, worth about $40,000, and he spent it all in the unequal conflict with this tremendous trust.

Mr. Armour admitted that at Akron, Ohio, he put up shops upon either side of a butcher who refused to buy his dressed beef, and that he put down the price of dressed beef until the man was compelled to become his agent, and he explained it by stating that he believed it was absolutely impossible for a man to kill his beef and

at the same time to sell dressed beef; that he must do one thing or the other.

Mr. ALLEN. The evidence here would seem to be strong enough to indict Mr. Armour and these other conspirators. Why have they not been indicted and prosecuted?

Mr. VEST. I am not an officer of a United States court. I did my duty.

Mr. ALLEN. I know, but both political parties have for years been declaring for a law against trusts. We have a law against trusts. Such a combination is itself indictable at common law. Why has not either the Republican or Democratic Administration, both of which have been in power during the time, set the law officers at work to indict and prosecute these persons for a violation of the law? If we can not do anything, we might as well lie down and let the beef trust run the Government.

Mr. HOAR. I should like to ask the Senator from Missouri what was the business of the man whose business, he says, was affected by Mr. Armour's methods? Was it interstate business or local business?

Mr. VEST. He was a local butcher at a little town in Pennsylvania.

Mr. HOAR. Then the answer to the Senator——

Mr. ALLEN. No; there is no answer at all. Armour & Co. were engaged in interstate traffic, and they were violating the laws of the nation.

Mr. HOAR. I thought the Senator from Missouri yielded to me.

Mr. ALLEN. They were violating the law of the nation, and they were indictable for that offense and subject to prosecution in the Federal courts.

Mr. HOAR. The Senator from Missouri yielded to me. I had got as far in my sentence as to say "the answer is," when the Senator from Nebraska springs to his feet and says that is no answer at all. He has not heard what I was about to say.

Mr. ALLEN. The Senator from Massachusetts said it was indictable in the State courts.

Mr. HOAR. I did not say any such thing. That is what I was going to say, perhaps.

Mr. ALLEN. That is my understanding of what the Senator from Massachusetts said.

Mr. HOAR. Very well; but will the Senator be good enough, in his great zeal, to wait until I have said something before he assumes a prophecy? The Senator is a very able man, but prophecy is not an exact science, and the Senator is certainly not so distinguished as a prophet as he is in other departments of usefulness.

Mr. ALLEN. I must assume, upon the other hand, that the Senator from Massachusetts is not only a distinguished prophet, but in all my life I have never seen a man who knew so much.

Mr. HOAR. I did not hear what the Senator said, and I am glad I did not. [Laughter.]

If the Senator from Missouri will indulge me a little further, I understand the Senator to say that this particular butcher was engaged in a local business.

Mr. VEST. Yes, sir.

Mr. HOAR. And that he was driven out of that local business by the establishment on both sides of him of a concern, also to do local business, who underbid him and drove him out. So it seems to me the answer to what the Senator from Nebraska said is that the State of Pennsylvania has failed to supplement the act of Congress by sufficient and vigorous State legislation, and that we never can trample out the great evil, of which there is such just complaint, by national methods alone. We can not punish a man by depriving him of his rights as an importer or as a shipper from State to State because he conducts in an oppressive manner local and State commerce. We must have either an amendment to the Constitution or the cooperation of the State in order to make any remedy against these large trusts complete and effectual.

Mr. ALLEN. Will the Senator from Missouri permit me at this point?

Mr. VEST. Certainly.

Mr. ALLEN. In reply to the Senator from Massachusetts, if I may be permitted to reply to him, when Mr. Armour sent his agent into Pennsylvania, pursuant to a conspiracy between himself and other meat producers in the city of Chicago who were carrying on an interstate business and therefore amenable to the laws of Congress, he violated the laws of the United States and was indictable as a conspirator. That act itself was not only a crime against the laws of the State of Pennsylvania, if they have any law on the subject, but it was a distinct and separate offense against the laws of the United States and might be prosecuted under our present statute, or it might be prosecuted as a common-law conspiracy. Therefore I repeat that with all the knowledge of the Senator from Massachusetts he has not answered the question.

Mr. VEST. Mr. President, all this is hardly germane to the point I was discussing when interrupted. I must frankly state that I agree very largely with the Senator from Massachusetts as to the legal difficulties around this subject. I was a member of the Committee on the Judiciary with him when the antitrust law was framed and reported by the chairman of the committee, Mr. Edmunds. The Senator from Massachusetts, the Senator from Vermont, and myself all three worked upon that bill, and we encountered all the time the constitutional difficulty that the jurisdiction of Congress was limited to commerce among the States and with foreign nations.

When Armour sent his instructions to his agent in the State of Pennsylvania, it did not affect interstate commerce. When he put his shops to sell dressed beef on each side of a butcher in Akron, Ohio, it did not affect interstate commerce, and I do not think it would come under the provision of the antitrust law.

Mr. ALLEN. Will the Senator permit me? Suppose he sent his agent to Pennsylvania pursuant to a conspiracy formed between himself and Morris, Hammond, and others, and that it was carrying out one branch of the conspiracy, will the Senator from Missouri say that he was not indictable under the statutes of the United States for that act?

Mr. VEST. There are two very great difficulties which are made apparent in the case of the United States *vs.* The Knight Sugar Company, reported in 156 United States Reports. In the first place, you must prove the conspiracy, or trust, or combination. In the second place——

Mr. HOAR. Armour did this without binding anybody else? He did it personally?

Mr. VEST. Yes; he did it himself. And you must prove besides that the product of that syndicate or trust or combination went into commerce among the States or with foreign nations. That is the substance of that decision.

But whatever may be the law in regard to it, and it is a very difficult question, as I think the Senator from Nebraska will admit when he comes to examine it in detail, one thing is very certain, and that is, that such a combination exists in Chicago. They have attempted over and over again, by bringing in foreign capital, to break it up, but without success.

Mr. President, we might as well be frank upon this subject. When you find a man or a collection of men who control from three to five hundred million dollars, it is the most serious question in the world how you can prevent the influence and operation of that money from working. When you come to competition with that much capital, nothing but the aggregate power of the national banks or the Treasury of the United States can do it. They have repeatedly started rival establishments in the city of Chicago. The Englishmen tried it and they went down before Armour, Swift & Co., Morris & Co., and Hammond & Co., whose capital is so enormous that it is impossible to compete with them when it comes to putting up dollar against dollar.

Mr. CAFFERY. Will the Senator yield that I may ask him a question?

Mr. VEST. Certainly.

Mr. CAFFERY. If there is found to be a combination of manufacturers, is the case not reached by the decision of the transmissouri case, and why can not the Attorney-General or the district attorney institute proceedings and bring them under the penalties of the statute?

Mr. VEST. It is possible that it might be done. I hope that it can be done. I should be glad to contribute anything in my power to have it done. But if the Senator from New Jersey is now able to proceed, I will simply conclude my desultory remarks by saying that this report was made with very great labor and care, and if any Senator interested will look at the testimony, I think he will be satisfied, after even a cursory examination, that the cattle raisers of the country will not be benefited one cent by putting a duty upon hides.

Mr. HOAR. Before the Senator from New Jersey proceeds, I desire to ask the Senator from Missouri if he stated that the copies of that report are exhausted?

Mr. VEST. Yes, sir.

Mr. HOAR. I ask unanimous consent to have it reprinted for the use of the Senate.

Mr. VEST. I think that is a good suggestion. I receive many applications for it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Massachusetts asks unanimous consent that the report referred to by the Senator from Missouri be reprinted.

Mr. COCKRELL. The copy my colleague has is from the folding room.

Mr. VEST. Yes; but you can not get any more there.

Mr. COCKRELL. I know that copies can not be had in the document room.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Will the Senator designate the number to be printed?

Mr. HOAR. I think the motion implies a certain regular number, whatever the number is.

Mr. COCKRELL. The regular number would be distributed and go to libraries and places where it already is. The number that we want printed is for distribution among Senators, and I

suggest that the Senator offer a separate resolution ordering the printing of a certain number of the document for the use of Senators. That would be the better way. A Senator would get only three or four copies if it is printed simply for the use of the Senate.

Mr. HOAR. Very well. Is there anything in the statute which provides a limitation of the number reprinted to be distributed among Senators?

Mr. COCKRELL. It can not be printed for the use of the Senate without a concurrent resolution if the amount involved is over $500.

Mr. HOAR. Would the amount exceed $500 for 1,500 copies?

Mr. COCKRELL. I could not tell about that. We can print for the use of the Senate anything that does not cost over $500.

Mr. HOAR. So I understand. My question is whether there is anything in the statute which prohibits a resolution directing this reprint to be distributed amongst Senators which they may send to libraries and elsewhere?

Mr. COCKRELL. Nothing at all.

Mr. HOAR. Very well, then. My resolution is that 1,500 copies of the document be printed for the use of the Senate, to be distributed exclusively to Senators.

There being no objection, the resolution was reduced to writing, and agreed to, as follows:

Ordered, That 1,500 copies of Senate Report No. 829, with the testimony, Fifty-first Congress, first session, be printed for the use of the Senate, and to be distributed exclusively to Senators.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from New Jersey will proceed.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. President, I think it is but right and fair for me to state the reason why I have selected particularly this question of hides to speak on in regard to the tariff increases. It is owing to the fact that in the State which I have the honor in part to represent 95 per cent, I should say, of the French salted hides are manufactured into leather; that in that State 95 per cent of the patent leather used in this country is made, and that practically all the furniture leather of this country is made there, and nearly all the enameled leather of this country. Consequently, while that State is in favor of fair protection to any industry and to every industry, I believe, as my people there believe, that this duty on hides would bring destruction to the interests there.

Mr. President, the placing of a duty on hides can not be considered as a protection to any industry of the United States against foreign competition, and can only be of material benefit to the beef trusts, who to-day control almost absolutely the price of hides used by American manufacturers of leather and the commodities made therefrom. And it will remove the only check, slight as it may be, that prevents them from advancing at will the price of hides, the result of which would be to cut off the placing of our surplus leather and its products in the markets of the world. How important the export trade in the products of hides is can best be determined by a study of the value of exports in leather and its products and the relationship of such exports to the unit of business done by leather producers.

Hides were placed on the free list in June, 1872, and have remained undisturbed throughout every subsequent revision of the tariff. The total amount of leather and its products exported during the year 1872, the last year in which a duty was imposed, was $3,648,029, while in 1896 the exports amounted to $20,242,756. The law of supply and demand has regulated the price current of hides during all those years, the American producer being able at all times to purchase domestic and other hides as cheap as his foreign competitors, and consequently has been in a position not only to hold the home market against all comers, but to meet competition at least to the extent of placing his surplus in the home markets of his foreign competitors.

In this connection, it is a noticeable fact that the importation of hides into the United States, taking an average of any five years since they were placed on the free list, has steadily decreased.

The following table shows the value of hides and skins other than fur skins imported each year from 1872 to 1896, inclusive, according to the Statistical Abstract of the United States:

IMPORTS OF HIDES AND SKINS OTHER THAN GOATSKINS AND FUR SKINS.

1872	$11,346,984	1885	$16,389,067
1873	15,109,509	1886	21,049,320
1874	13,534,733	1887	18,370,973
1875	15,452,707	1888	17,569,928
1876	10,242,874	1889	17,459,278
1877	11,795,029	1890	12,775,804
1878	13,672,701	1891	16,497,014
1879	12,847,622	1892	15,392,251
1880	24,235,814	1893	15,503,651
1881	22,861,778	1894	8,302,986
1882	23,026,402	1895	15,108,115
1883	22,401,815	1896	20,215,782
1884	17,193,708		

Owing to the difference in classification, the value of imports of hides and skins, as stated in the table taken from the Statistical Abstract, is very misleading in so far as cattle hides are concerned, viz:

ACT OF MARCH 2, 1867.

The classification at the New York custom-house, under the heading of "Hides and skins," included in valuation:

Cattle hides.

Sheepskins, wool on same classified as wool, not included in valuation.

Angora goat, wool on same classified as wool, not included in valuation.

Salted sheep and skivers, deerskins, and various other skins.

Kangaroo skins, no imports.

Import valuation of "hides and skins" in 1871, as given by Bureau of Statistics, $14,892,987.

ACT OF OCTOBER 1, 1890.

Hides and skins included, as follows:

Sheepskins, wool on same, classified as hides and skins, included in valuation.

Angora goat, wool on same, classified as hides and skins, included in valuation.

Kangaroo skins, about 800,000 imported in 1896.

Salted sheep and skivers, large increase in imports in 1896 over 1871. Imports about 450,000 dozen in 1896.

Deerskins and various other skins.

Imports of "hides and skins" in 1896, as given in Statistical Abstract, $20,215,782.

I submit that a classification that is called a hide classification, which includes so many skins of various sorts and of so great a value, and which is subject to so many changes, and including at one time that which is not included at another, should not be used in making a comparison of the value of imports of hides, or as showing their value.

The best information obtainable as to the actual imports of hides is that furnished by the Shoe and Leather Reporter, of New York.

I want to call attention particularly to this table. It shows that in 1872, when hides were placed on the free list, we imported $15,719,000, and that in 1896 the imports amount to $9,160,000. In other words, there are $6,000,000 worth less of cattle hides imported in 1896 than prior to the placing of hides upon the free list.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Can the Senator state the quantities imported in those years?

Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir.

These figures are taken from the ships' manifests at New York and Boston, and for various other ports of the country they are estimated. An estimate of the value of hides has also been made by the above-named paper. This valuation is substantially correct, although possibly not absolutely so. This table is for calendar years, while that of the Statistical Abstract is for fiscal years.

Value of imports of hides from 1872 to 1896.

[Compiled by Shoe and Leather Reporter.]

Year.	Receipts of hides.				Value, currency.	
	Ships' manifests.		At San Francisco and other ports (estimated).	Total number.	Per pound.	Total.
	New York.	Boston.				
					Cents.	
1872	1,632,145	667,810	100,000	2,399,955	29½	$15,719,705
1873	1,107,683	844,445	100,000	2,052,128	29½	13,441,438
1874	1,908,677	769,275	100,000	2,772,952	29	17,091,443
1875	1,404,733	728,562	100,000	2,233,295	25½	12,394,787
1876	1,235,538	925,828	100,000	2,261,366	21½	10,854,556
1877	1,960,515	1,249,978	100,000	3,310,493	23½	17,115,248
1878	1,732,944	752,268	100,000	2,586,212	20½	11,793,126
1879	2,159,278	993,748	100,000	3,253,026	21	15,028,980
1880	3,047,052	1,168,701	100,000	4,315,753	24	22,787,175
1881	2,921,869	1,431,223	100,000	4,453,092	23½	23,022,485
1882	2,209,846	1,377,650	160,000	3,787,496	24½	20,452,478
1883	1,882,036	1,132,841	100,000	3,114,877	23½	16,103,914
1884	2,188,705	1,003,603	100,000	3,292,308	23½	17,186,160
1885	2,205,521	1,135,007	100,000	3,440,528	22½	17,202,640
1886	3,023,856	1,716,058	100,000	4,839,914	23	22,360,702
1887	2,451,287	1,483,805	100,000	4,035,092	19	16,866,682
1888	2,806,713	1,410,753	100,000	4,317,466	17	16,147,322
1889	2,443,278	1,204,949	100,000	3,748,227	16	13,193,759
1890	2,642,996	1,397,888	100,000	4,140,884	14	12,753,922
1891	2,163,300	1,187,558	100,000	3,450,918	13½	10,042,171
1892	1,971,165	1,221,053	100,000	3,292,218	12½	9,218,210
1893	1,748,284	861,233	100,000	2,709,517	11½	6,855,078
1894	2,518,734	484,769	100,000	3,103,503	11	7,510,477
1895	3,963,995	1,178,387	100,000	5,242,382	16½	19,921,965
1896	2,079,128	423,346	100,000	2,602,474	16	9,160,708

Average imports for twenty-nine years.

	Hides.
New York	*2,203,060
Boston	*981,590
San Francisco, etc	†100,000
Total	3,284,650

*Actual. †Estimated.

Average imports, 1867 to 1896, inclusive.

	Hides.
1867 to 1870, inclusive (four years)	2,624,678
1871 to 1879, inclusive (nine years)	2,318,825
1880 to 1889, inclusive (ten years)	3,934,481
1890 to 1896, inclusive (seven years)	3,505,985

I would also call attention to the fact that the values given in the table from the Shoe and Leather Reporter are currency values, while those in the Statistical Abstract are gold values; thus accounting for the difference in values from 1872 to 1879.

The table just read shows the value of hides imported in 1896 to have been $6,558,997 less than those imported in 1872.

Mr. MANTLE. May I interrupt the Senator from New Jersey?

Mr. SMITH. Certainly.

Mr. MANTLE. I should like to inquire if the statistics just read indicate that there has been a fall in the value of hides, that is, in the price of hides?

Mr. SMITH. Both in volume and price. The table just read shows the value of hides imported in 1896 to have been $6,558,997 less than those imported in 1872, while, on the other hand, a study of the following table giving the exports of leather and its products during the same period, which I will ask to have embodied in my remarks, shows an increase of $16,558,727.

The table referred to is as follows:

Exports of leather, shoes, and harness, saddlery, etc., for twenty-five years.

[From United States Government Statistical Abstract.]

Year.	Leather.	Shoes.	Harness and saddlery.	All other leather manufactures.	Total.
1872	$3,018,702	$502,689	$65,599	$96,979	$3,684,029
1873	4,612,885	421,548	101,943	169,118	5,305,494
1874	4,173,334	383,417	98,132	131,635	4,876,518
1875	6,621,489	429,363	74,102	199,848	7,324,790
1876	9,343,500	308,693	87,730	209,062	10,008,985
1877	7,236,598	414,630	94,085	361,988	8,107,301
1878	7,082,120	408,436	127,000	391,574	8,080,030
1879	6,800,010	402,557	131,699	433,743	7,769,009
1880	5,744,360	441,069	133,705	441,052	6,760,186
1881	7,133,714	374,343	148,567	431,821	8,088,445
1882	7,747,544	488,815	200,454	563,114	8,999,927
1883	6,423,922	539,957	209,907	749,876	7,923,662
1884	7,023,570	602,925	215,750	463,534	8,305,779
1885	8,539,379	598,151	178,411	376,467	9,692,408
1886	7,652,534	648,069	190,894	346,185	8,737,682
1887	9,169,519	732,517	193,153	340,949	10,436,138
1888	8,423,045	654,896	195,527	309,940	9,583,411
1889	9,515,077	585,902	245,943	400,788	10,747,710
1890	11,175,151	662,974	238,952	361,770	12,438,847
1891	12,023,445	651,343	200,233	343,823	13,278,847
1892	10,518,363	914,974	251,269	400,175	12,084,781
1893	10,695,284	590,754	182,546	448,570	11,912,154
1894	12,778,452	777,354	198,047	529,083	14,282,936
1895	13,640,553	1,010,382	196,078	767,608	15,614,407
1896	17,704,985	1,436,686	229,165	811,920	20,242,756

Mr. SMITH. It will readily be seen that with hides on the free list not only have our producers been able to defy competition in the home markets, thereby placing their products at the lowest possible figures in the hands of the farmer and the mechanic, and, in fact, every individual within the territory of the United States, but they have laid the foundation for an immense trade in the markets of the world, out of which, if not interfered with, as intended by this bill, will grow new and varied channels for the employment of American labor.

I contend, sir, that the placing of a duty on hides will bring disaster upon the leather interests of the country, as it will undoubtedly place them, at least to the extent of the discrimination permitted in this bill, in the hands of the great aggregations of capital, in whose sole interest the proposed duty is to be levied, notwithstanding the fact that it is said to be for the purpose of revenue for the United States and, incidentally, for the protection of the ranchmen, the farmers, and the butchers of the country.

This may seem a very broad assertion to make, but not so when it is considered that these great companies control 90 per cent of the trade in the cattle and hides of the country, and have by their efforts crushed the ordinary butcher out of competition; and should you add to their power a discrimination of 20 per cent as against the foreign hide, you will benefit them alone, to the injury of the manufacturers of leather, the wage earners employed in leather industries, and of the consumers as well.

In support of these conclusions, I desire to call attention to the following extract from the Shoe and Leather Review, of Chicago, under date of May 26, 1897, and to other extracts, giving the opinion of the British press:

THEY WANT THE DUTY.

It may be interesting to note what the English trade papers have to say about the tariff on hides. The very fact that the English writers favor the duty should argue loudly against it. The London Boot and Shoe Trades Journal of May 15 says:

"The tanning industry in America is in fear and trembling lest the proposed duty on hides imported into the United States should come into operation, whilst little, if any, less alarm is felt by boot manufacturers at such a probable contingency. On this side of the Atlantic the interest in the question is in no quarter very great, for whatever happens we shall have to put up with it, and it is not good philosophy to whine about what we can not avoid: but where any opinion is expressed the wish is, as may be expected, that the duty will be imposed.

"This fact alone ought to be sufficient inducement for the American Government to put hides on the free list, for we fear the common policy lately followed in America is to do nothing calculated to benefit this country, yet it frequently happens that in the pursuance of this doctrine more good is often done to those to whom the least is intended. The effect of a duty on imported hides would be to seriously injure the tanning industry of America. The first result would be that of forcing up hides, which are now altogether too high and quite out of harmony with the prevailing price of leather. Leather values might go up also, and the American boot manufacturer who is anxious to build up an export trade would find himself handicapped by yet another difficulty. He already encounters more of these than his British confrère, but withal he is eating his way into our colonial trade. The little addition which a duty on hides would make on his productions might, however, prove sufficient to put him out of competition, whilst some check might be given to the exports of tanned leather. On purely economic grounds the suggested duty is wrong in principle, tending to hamper the external and possibly the internal trade of America."

[London Shoe and Leather Record.]

It will be interesting to see whether the American Senate succeeds in forcing through the proposed duty of about 20 per cent on imported dry and dry-salted hides and about 30 per cent on green salted to the United States. Should this project succeed, the extra cost of producing leather is reported to be about 12½ per cent. Such a tariff can scarcely stand a chance, so it would be futile to raise the hopes of English and Australian tanners. If it should by any means be forced through, then for the time being the home and antipodean tanners will be in clover. In the first place, hides must come down in Europe and Australia, simply because of the absence of Yankee competition. In the second, leather would become a fraction dearer owing to the withdrawal of supplies to be pitted against it. The strong agitation which is being carried on over there against the proposal can scarcely fail to be successful in defeating the allied forces of hide packers, dealers, and politicians, who are in the main its only supporters.

[Leather Trade Circular and Review, London.]

Speaking generally of tanning material, one thing is certain, that English tanners were never better off than now in working their business at the present reduced values of all tanning materials, which rule at values from 20 to 25 per cent lower than they were five years ago, and we do not believe any country is so favored. If hides were to come down to a lower level, tanners would again be well remunerated, and be able to compete favorably with the foreigner. It is anticipated by some that we are in a position not only to meet all the requirements of the home trade, but to export to America, from which market we have received such large supplies the last few years. The present duty, 10 per cent on rough leather is not prohibitory, as our cost of tanning is certainly as much as that below their cost.

Is it not humiliating to have to listen to language such as has just been read, emanating from some of the trade journals of a nation which dislikes to see material advancement made by the manufacturers of this country, where such advancement must militate against that of her own manufacturers?

And in the same vein I quote from the London Leather Trade Circular and Review the following:

It seems contrary to common sense that the Senate should pass the bill, but it is, perhaps, early as yet to arrive at a decision either way. One thing is certain, in the event of it being passed the English leather trade will feel the benefit of it. It will keep the Americans out of the European markets, thus reducing the prices of hides while enhancing the price of leather.

Further, while on this division of the subject, I desire to have read the following, taken from the Shoe and Leather Reporter and extracts from various leading journals of the country.

The Secretary read as follows:

[Shoe and Leather Reporter, June 3, 1897.]

GENUINE PROTECTION WANTED.

The representatives of the leather and shoe trade, who are at the national capital endeavoring to protect their industry in accordance with the best principles of protection, are bringing to bear such weighty reasons why the imposition of a duty on hides would be a colossal blunder alike from the economic and the commercial point of view that we can not see how it is possible that there can be a majority of the members of both Houses, or of either, to inflict this burden upon a highly important industry. One of the latest contributions of sound arguments on the subject is the following from the pen of a tanner of lifelong experience in Boston:

"The hide is less than one-tenth the value of the animal of which it forms a part.

"Taking a 50-pound hide as a basis, the proposed duty of 1½ cents per pound would amount to 75 cents.

"The animal from which it is taken is worth at Chicago $40. The hide is worth $4.

"Seventy-five cents is nearly 19 per cent of the value of the hide, and it is 11 per cent of the hide, after adding the cost of tanning and finishing; 75 cents is less than 2 per cent of the value of the animal.

"If the duty increased the value of domestic hides, the producer of hides, who is the butcher, would probably get the whole benefit.

"If the duty should add to the value of the animal 1½ cents per pound of the weight of its hide, it would be less than 2 per cent, and would not be protection to the cattle producer at all adequate to the burden it would be upon the tanner.

"It would be taxing the leather industry 19 per cent on its raw material, or 11 per cent on its finished product, to benefit the cattle raiser 2 per cent, which is unjust and out of proportion.

"This tax on leather would make a difference in shoes of 6 per cent or more, which would appear either in advanced prices or poorer qualities at the same prices, and as the shoe business is done at an average profit to the manufacturer of less than 2 per cent, it would be felt by every consumer. It would also be felt in the same way in the harness trade.

"The production of leather in this country exceeds the consumption. More than 10 per cent is exported.

"Of sole leather exported, about 40 per cent is made from imported and 60 per cent from domestic hides.

"Of upper leather exported, 5 per cent is from imported and 95 per cent from domestic hides.

"Manufactured leather, excepting shoes, is all, or nearly all, from domestic hides.

"Of shoes exported, 60 per cent of the value is leather, mostly from domestic hides.

"It is argued that the duty would not injure the foreign trade in leather and shoes, because a drawback could be had of the amount of duty paid upon the hides.

"In the case of sole leather, this might be true to the extent of 40 per cent of the quantity exported, but the other 60 per cent made from domestic hides could have no drawback, because no duty would be paid.

"The upper-leather tanner would be at a much greater disadvantage; 95 per cent of his export leather being made from domestic hides, and the other 5 per cent from certain parts of foreign hides, not the whole of any one hide, it would be difficult and practically impossible to identify the imported hide in the exported upper leather. The drawback provision would be useless to the exporter of upper leather.

"What is said about upper leather is true with regard to manufactures of leather and shoes.

"It might be argued that the cost of domestic hides would not be increased. If this is true, the whole object of the proposed duty is defeated, and it would be folly to run the risk of so great harm for the mere possibility of so little good.

"The export trade in leather from imported hides is barely holding its own.

"The duty would give control of the hide market to the small number of large packers, less than a dozen, and would, in certain conditions of the market, enable them to dictate prices, regardless alike of the interests of the cattle producer and the tanner.

"In considering a duty on hides it should be remembered that Canada has free hides, abundance of bark, and would gladly build more tanneries if by so doing it could secure the American export trade in leather.

"Canada is now a large exporter of leather, and is in a position to take immediate advantage of any mistake we may make.

"The West and South are as much interested in having cheap leather and cheap shoes as the East.

"Not more than one-quarter of the production of leather is made in New England. Not more than one-third the shoes.

"About one-half the leather is made in the Middle and Southern States; a full quarter in the Western States, including California.

"Oregon and Washington have large bark forests, and are likely to become great tanning States in the future.

"Texas, Colorado, Wyoming, and Montana, and the other grazing States produce cattle whose hides go largely into export sole leather.

"It can not be said that the tanning, shoe, and harness interests are confined to any section.

"They are among the most widely spread industries of the country."

[Shoe and Leather Review, Chicago, April 21, 1897.]

THE TARIFF ON HIDES.

The proposal to tax hides had its inception in a desire to foster the cattle industry of the country, and especially of the Western States. It is admitted that the raising of cattle has become less remunerative in recent years and that the slaughter of cattle at Chicago and the packing houses on the Missouri River is less than it was in 1890, 1891, and 1892.

In view of these facts it becomes necessary to inquire what are the causes that have brought about the stagnation of stock breeding, and whether a tariff on hides would prove a remedy or would work an aggravation of the existing stagnation.

We believe that the depression in the cattle industry was caused by overproduction. Eastern capital prior to 1890 was freely invested in the stock-raising sections of the West, and the business soon became overstimulated. In the natural course of events there came a rebound. Eastern capital was withdrawn, and the tremendous influx of cattle to the stock yards of Chicago, Kansas City, South Omaha, and East St. Louis during 1890-1892 was largely caused by the forced sales resulting from the desire of Eastern investors to get out of an unremunerative business. Already the recuperative forces are at work. Cattle are in shorter supply, prices are higher, and stock raisers are feeling more hopeful of the future, and are sending their steers to market and withholding their bulls and cows for breeding purposes. Last summer there was a large entry of Mexican cattle over the Rio Grande because enough Texas cattle were not obtainable. Hide quotations are phenomenally high at the present time—higher on an average than for forty years; but beef was slower to respond because of the tremendous increase in the kill of sheep. The official statement printed by the stock yards companies will demonstrate that during the years that the slaughter of cattle decreased the kill of sheep increased. Beef cattle are emerging from the depression, and under the prospect of proper economic conditions with respect to wool there has been a corresponding advance in cattle prices this year.

A tax on foreign hides is not the proper economic remedy for depression in the cattle industry, for the reason that the average steer, when brought to market, represents a relative value of 92.44 per cent of beef and only 7.56 per cent of hide; and these percentages are based upon the present high price of hides and moderate price of beef. While admitting that the stockman gets too little for his cattle, it is nevertheless easily demonstrated that hides are bringing fully as much as they can be made to bring without destroying the export trade in leather tanned from domestic hides, and that any improvement in net results to the cattle raiser can only be brought about by still further increasing the consumption of beef, and thereby advancing the price of it.

The principle of protection can not be made to apply to hides, because the making of hides is not an industry. If a cheap substitute for leather should be invented, made from, say, vegetable fiber, the production of hides would go on just the same, and if something should happen to double the demand and price of hides, the supply would not be increased in any degree. Hides are a by-product contingent upon the kill of cattle, and the ordinary law of supply and demand does not apply to them at all.

While there is no way in which foreign hides can be taxed to stimulate the production of domestic hides, there is a way by which the annual take-off of hides in this country could be increased in value many millions of dollars. Branded hides bring 1 cent per pound less than free-of-brand hides, but all efforts to introduce reforms in branding have failed, for the reason that stockmen have never yet been able to secure any better prices for free-of-brand animals than they obtain for those carrying several large brands. Grub holes, sores, and the bruises caused by drovers' prods, and horn scratches and gores, induced by overloading cattle into railroad cars, result in causing a large proportion of the hides offered for sale to be classed as No. 2's and sold for 1 cent per pound less than the price for No. 1's. For years the tanners of the United States have endeavored to institute methods that would conserve the value of hides, but without avail. Stockmen have claimed, and no doubt with absolute correctness, that they were paid so much per 100 pounds for their cattle, without any regard to the value of the hides.

The fluctuations of hide prices bear no relation to the changes in cattle prices. In a printed table that may be found elsewhere in this paper it is shown that Texas cattle brought $4.10 per 100 pounds at the Chicago Stock Yards in April, 1896, and the hides taken off of them brought 6 cents per pound, while in October of the same year Texas cattle brought only $3.50 per 100 pounds, when the hides were selling for 9½ cents per pound. Our trade statistics show that with one exception during a period of twenty-six years the market prices of cattle and hides have run in reverse directions. Hides advanced as cattle declined, and declined as cattle advanced. This is easily explained by the increasing and decreasing supplies, and demonstrates that whatever impost may be placed on hides will inure to the owner of the hide when marketed, and the price obtained will bear no relation to the rates obtained for animals on the hoof.

For certain purposes absolutely clear-grained hides are required, and the tanners are compelled to import them, as, owing to crude methods of branding and the injury from barbed-wire fences, clear hides of domestic origin can not be obtained in sufficient quantities.

[Times, Philadelphia, Pa. No date.]

To impose a tax of 2 cents a pound on hides would be to levy a tax upon the whole people of the country, and wholly for the benefit of the great cattle trust that has made the nation pay tribute to it for the last decade.

[Union, Bridgeport, Conn., April 14, 1897.]

If the representations of the leather men are correct, there seems to be little excuse for putting a tariff upon hides. They show that since hides were put upon the free list in 1871 there has been built up a very large export trade in leather goods. Shoe men can now export shoes to South America, manufacturers of leather belting can now sell their goods in almost every country on the globe, and a large export trade in other kinds of leather can be developed.

[Inter Ocean, Chicago, May 7, 1897.]

The proposed tariff bill provides for a drawback on goods manufactured from foreign hides. Along this line the statement made by William B. Rice, president of the New England Shoe and Leather Association, in a recent interview in this city, is to the point. He said: "You ask about the drawback. Have you ever tried to get it? I have. How is it possible to prove that any part of a given shoe was made of foreign hides that paid a duty? How could you prove that part of the $7,000,000 of upper leather that was sent abroad last year was made from foreign hides?"

[Inter Ocean, Chicago, Ill., May 7, 1897.]

The evident contempt in which the cattlemen hold the subject of hides is shown by the manner in which they brand their stock. They have been repeatedly urged to make their brands smaller and not spoil such a large portion of a side of leather from each beef. They have invariably replied that they raise stock for beef and not hides. * * * Stock raisers have never received pay for the hides on their animals, and for that reason projected reforms in branding have always failed.

[People and Patriot, Concord, N. H., May 6, 1897.]

The truth is, not one farmer in a hundred, in this State or the country at large, who fattens an animal for the market slaughters it himself. They are substantially all sold to the drovers and butchers in the East, none of whom will pay the farmer a cent more for his cattle on account of this duty, while at the West, where the great bulk of all our cattle are raised, they substantially all go into the hands of the great combination known as the cattle or beef trust, who reap practically all the benefit arising from this tariff imposition, and for whose benefit, and that alone, it was imposed. * * * The farmers, along with the great body of the people, are simply to be compelled by this provision, if it is finally embodied in the law, which is likely to be the case, to pay heavy tribute in increased cost of boots and shoes for themselves and their families, while no benefit of any kind accrues to themselves.

Mr. SMITH. It is contended that the value of hides enters into the price of the meat product. The best authorities are against such contention, and I doubt if anywhere in this or any other country you can find a farmer or stock raiser who raises cattle for the hides. The beef is and ever has been the only consideration, and the supply must be regulated to the demands for beef. A tariff can not increase or diminish the domestic product by one hide. The value of the various products of cattle, such as fat, hides, blood, bone, etc., is not considered until long after the beeves are marketed.

In this connection, the Chicago Stock Yards official quotations for export steers, which I quote, as follows, will be found of interest. I want the Senators who were looking for this information a few minutes ago to receive it now. This is an official statement for the years 1893, 1894, 1895, and 1896.

Top prices for native cattle on the hoof and green salted hides at Chicago, monthly, for the years 1893, 1894, 1895, and 1896.

[From official report of secretary Union Stock Yards.]

Month.	Native steers.		Native hides.	
	1,300-1,500 pounds.	1,500-1,800 pounds.		
1893.				
January	$6.00	$6.00	9 @	9
February	6.05	6.15	8¾	9
March	6.00	6.15	8	8¾
April	6.00	6.00	7¾	8
May	5.95	6.35	6¾	7¾
June	6.00	6.00	6¾	6¾
July	5.40	5.60	6¼	6¼
August	5.25	5.35	6¼	6¼
September	5.50	5.70	6	6¼
October	5.80	5.90	7¼	7¼
November	5.90	6.35	6¼	7¼
December	6.50	6.75	6¼	7
Averages	5.86	6.02	7.15	7.56
Average	$5.94		7.36	

Top prices for native cattle on the hoof and green salted hides at Chicago, monthly, for the years 1893, 1894, 1895, and 1896—Continued.

[From official report of secretary Union Stock Yards.]

Month.	Native steers.		Native hides.	
	1,200-1,500 pounds.	1,500-1,800 pounds.		
1894.				
January	$5.60	$5.65	6½ @	6¾
February	4.85	5.20	6	6¼
March	4.90	5.00	5¾	6
April	4.85	4.90	5½	5¾
May	4.75	4.75	5	5¼
June	5.10	5.00	5	5¼
July	4.90	5.05	5¼	6
August	5.75	5.85	5¾	6½
September	6.40	6.45	7¼	7¾
October	6.35	6.30	7¼	7¾
November	6.25	6.45	7¼	7¾
December	6.40	6.60	7¾	8
Averages	5.51	5.60	6.23	6.56
Average	$5.56		6.30	
1895.				
January	5.80	5.45	7½ @	7¾
February	5.75	5.80	7	7¼
March	6.60	6.40	7¾	8½
April	6.40	6.30	8¼	9¼
May	6.25	6.15	10	12½
June	6.00	6.00	12½	13
July	6.00	5.85	12¾	13½
August	6.00	5.95	12¼	12
September	5.85	6.00	11	12
October	5.60	5.50	9	11½
November	5.00	4.90	8¼	9
December	5.50	5.50	8	8½
Averages	5.89	5.81	9.58	10.42
Average	$5.85		10.00	
1896.				
January	5.00	4.90	8¼ @	8¾
February	4.75	4.70	8½	8¾
March	4.75	4.70	7	8½
April	4.75	4.75	6¾	6¾
May	4.55	4.50	7	8¼
June	4.50	4.65	8½	8¾
July	4.50	4.60	8¾	9
August	4.85	4.90	6¾	7½
September	5.25	5.30	8¼	8¾
October	5.15	5.30	9	10½
November	5.35	5.45	9¼	10½
December	6.50	6.25	9	9½
Averages	4.98	5.00	8.15	8.75
Average	$4.99		8.45	

The following are quotations just received from Chicago:

Chicago quotations—cattle and hides.

Date.	Native steers per pound.	Native hides.	Texas steers per pound.	Texas hides.
1897.	Cents.	Cents.	Cents.	Cents.
April 15	5.40	9	4.40	8½
May 15	5.35	9	4.25	8½
June 15	5.25	9½	4.25	9½
June 25	5.10	10	4.30	9½

Below is given value of cattle and hides during this period:

NATIVE STEERS.

Date.	Estimated average weights.	Per pound.	Per steer.	Average hides.	Price.	Per hide.
1897.	Pounds.	Cents.		Pounds.	Cents.	
April 15	1,500	5.40	$81.00	78	9	$7.02
May 15	1,500	5.35	80.25	78	9	7.02
June 15	1,500	5.25	78.75	78	9½	7.60
June 25	1,500	5.10	76.50	78	10	7.80

TEXAS STEERS.

April 15	1,000	4.40	$44.00	58	8½	$4.78
May 15	1,000	4.45	44.50	58	8½	5.03
June 15	1,000	4.25	42.50	58	9½	5.36
June 25	1,000	4.30	43.00	58	9½	5.51

Taking the price of cattle and hides April 15 as a basis, we have:

NATIVE STEERS.

Date.	Price.	Increase.	Decrease.	Price per hide.	Increase.	Decrease.
April 15	$81.00			$7.02		
May 15	80.25		$0.75	7.02		
June 15	78.75		2.25	7.60	$0.58	
June 25	76.75		4.25	7.80	.78	

TEXAS STEERS.

Date.	Price.	Increase.	Decrease.	Price per hide.	Increase.	Decrease.
April 15	$44.00			$4.78		
May 15	44.50	$0.50		5.03	$0.25	
June 15	42.50		$1.50	5.36	.58	
June 25	43.00		1.00	5.51	.73	

Query: If an advance of three-fourths of a cent per pound on native steer hides between April 15 and June 15, 1897, reduces the value of native cattle $2.25 each, and an advance of 1 cent per pound on Texas steer hides reduces values of Texas cattle $1.50 each, what will the reduction be on same provided a tax of 1¼ cents per pound on hides is imposed?

Receipts, slaughter, and prices of cattle, and the quotations of hides, for each week in 1896.

Fifty-two weeks of 1896.	Cattle at the stock yards.		Top price per 100 pounds for cattle on the hoof for each week.			Packers' native steers.	Packers' Texas steers.	Packers' Colorado steers.	Packers' heavy butt-branded steers.	Packers' heavy native cows.	Packers' light native cows.	Packers' branded cows.	No. 1 country buffs.	No. 1 country extreme light hides.	No. 1 country calf-skins.
	Receipts.	Slaughter.	Native steers.	Texas steers.	Cows and heifers.										
						Cents.	Cents.	Cents.	Cents.	Cents.	Cents.	Cents.	Cents.	Cents.	Cents.
January 1 to 4	22,062	8,267	$4.75	$4.75	$3.75	8½	7½	6½	7½	7½	7½	6½	7½	8	9½
Week ending—															
January 11	56,789	40,537	5.00	4.30	4.00	8½	7½	6½	7½	7½	8	6½	7	7½	9
January 18	62,025	44,617	4.85	4.25	3.75	8½	7½	6½	7	7½	8	6½	7	7½	9
January 25	50,606	33,923	4.80	4.13	4.10	8½	7	6½	7	7½	7½	6½	6½	7	9
February 1	47,675	32,272	4.70	3.85	4.00	8	7	6	7	7½	7½	6	6½	6½	9
February 8	39,475	28,387	4.75	4.00	4.00	8½	7	6½	7	7½	7½	6½	6½	7	8½
February 15	50,532	30,832	4.65	3.95	3.85	8½	6½	6½	7	7½	8	6½	7	7½	8½
February 22	56,778	37,340	4.50	3.90	3.85	8½	6½	6½	7	8	8	6½	6½	7	8½
February 29	44,908	28,305	4.65	3.75	3.80	8½	6½	6	7	8	8	6½	6½	7	8½
March 7	44,116	26,802	4.75	4.10	3.80	8½	6½	5½	6½	7½	7½	6½	6½	6½	8
March 14	43,413	28,215	4.70	4.15	3.85	7½	6½	5½	6½	7	7½	6½	6½	6½	8
March 21	55,565	37,250	4.70	4.40	3.85	7	6	5½	6	6½	6½	6	6	6½	9
March 28	46,143	26,923	4.50	4.00	3.85	6½	6	5½	5½	6½	6½	6	6	6½	8
April 4	28,883	13,307	4.50	3.95	3.95	6½	6	5½	5½	6½	6½	6	6	6½	7½
April 11	43,026	27,741	4.75	4.00	3.80	6½	6	5½	5½	6½	6½	6	6	6½	7½
April 18	44,536	28,811	4.75	4.10	3.95	6½	6	5½	6	6½	6½	6	6	6½	7½
April 25	50,309	32,643	4.20	3.80	4.00	6½	6½	5½	6	6½	6½	6	6	6½	7½
May 2	39,913	19,892	4.25	3.55	3.90	7	6½	5½	6½	6½	6½	6½	6½	6½	7½
May 9	56,202	36,702	4.55	4.10	4.10	7½	6½	5½	6½	6½	6½	6½	6½	6½	8
May 16	43,310	30,573	4.40	4.15	3.90	8	8	6½	7	7	7	6½	6½	7	8½
May 23	47,492	31,827	4.30	3.90	4.10	8½	8	7	7½	7½	7	7	6½	7½	8½
May 30	52,803	41,381	4.40	4.25	4.25	8½	8	7	8	7½	7½	7	6½	7½	9
June 6	47,428	33,663	4.50	3.85	4.00	8½	8	7	8	7½	7½	7	6½	7½	8½
June 13	44,396	31,951	4.45	3.85	4.00	8½	8	7	8	7½	7½	7½	6½	7½	8½
June 20	48,963	30,782	4.50	3.75	4.00	8½	8½	7½	8	7	7½	7½	6½	7	8½
June 27	45,947	34,365	4.55	4.05	4.10	8½	8½	7½	8½	7½	7½	7½	6½	7½	8½

Receipts, slaughter, and prices of cattle, and the quotations of hides, for each week in 1896—Continued.

Fifty-two weeks of 1896.	Cattle at the stock yards.		Top price per 100 pounds for cattle on the hoof for each week.			Packers' native steers.	Packers' Texas steers.	Packers' Colorado steers.	Packers' heavy butt-branded steers.	Packers' heavy native cows.	Packers' light native cows.	Packers' branded cows.	No. 1 country buffs.	No. 1 country extreme light hides.	No. 1 country calfskins.
	Receipts.	Slaughter.	Native steers.	Texas steers.	Cows and heifers.										
						Cents.	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*
Week ending—															
July 4	48,719	32,884	$4.65	$4.10	$4.10	8½	8½	7½	8½	7½	7½	7½	6½	7½	8½
July 11	43,915	31,659	4.50	3.75	4.35	9	8½	7½	8½	7½	7½	7½	6½	7½	8½
July 18	51,994	37,247	4.55	3.50	4.00	8½	8½	7½	8½	7½	7½	7½	6½	7½	8½
July 25	53,442	30,131	4.45	3.50	3.90	8	8	7	7½	7	7	7	6½	7½	8½
August 1	46,542	31,827	4.60	3.15	4.25	7	7	6	6½	7	7	6	6½	7	9
August 8	51,411	36,336	4.65	3.25	4.15	7	7	5½	6½	7	6½	5½	5½	7	9
August 15	52,339	36,671	4.75	3.15	4.25	6½	6½	5½	6	6½	6½	5½	5½	7	9
August 22	57,469	40,986	4.85	3.60	3.90	6½	6½	5½	5½	6	6	5	5½	6½	8½
August 29	56,002	39,005	4.90	3.50	4.25	7½	6½	5½	6	6½	6½	5½	5½	6½	7½
September 5	63,079	42,902	5.00	3.25	3.60	8½	6½	6½	7	7½	7½	6½	6½	7½	7½
September 12	59,233	40,040	5.30	3.05	3.85	8½	7½	6½	7½	7½	7½	6½	7	7½	8
September 19	61,000	40,357	5.10	3.00	3.25	8½	7½	6½	7½	8	8	6½	7	7½	8½
September 26	44,980	28,991	5.10	3.00	3.50	8½	7	6½	7½	8	8	6½	7½	8	9½
October 3	57,683	41,282	5.10	3.30	4.05	9	7½	6½	7½	8½	8½	7	7½	8	9½
October 10	55,883	38,413	5.15	3.10	3.70	9	8	7	8	8½	8½	7	8	8½	10
October 17	57,883	39,919	5.25	3.15	4.25	9½	7½	8	9	9	9	7½	8	8½	10½
October 24	55,608	39,350	5.15	4.10	3.35	9½	8½	7½	8½	9	8½	7½	8	8½	9½
October 31	42,714	29,848	5.15	3.50	3.30	10½	9½	8½	9½	10	10	8½	9½	9½	10½
November 7	36,857	27,440	5.25	3.95	3.85	10½	8½	8	8½	9½	9½	8	8½	9½	11
November 14	53,876	40,576	5.35	4.50	3.85	10½	9	8	9	9½	9½	8	9	9½	10½
November 21	62,061	43,859	5.10	4.25	3.85	10½	8½	8	8½	9½	9½	8	9	9½	11½
November 28	42,390	28,936	5.35	4.25	3.90	9½	8½	7½	9	8½	8½	7½	8½	8½	11
December 5	54,950	38,637	5.60	4.40	3.75	9½	8½	7½	8½	8½	8½	7½	8	8½	10½
December 12	55,950	40,187	5.90	4.25	3.70	9	8	7	8	8½	8½	7½	7½	8	10½
December 19	42,156	26,774	5.85	4.95	4.15	9	8	7	7½	8½	8½	7½	7½	8½	10½
December 26	35,432	23,311	5.50	4.25	4.00	9½	8½	7½	8½	9	9	8	8	8½	10½
December 26 to 31, 1896	41,354	27,622	5.35	4.15	3.80	9½	8½	7½	8½	9	9½	8	8	8½	10½

NOTE.—Total receipts for 1896, 2,600,746; slaughtered, 1,782,420. Total receipts for 1895, 2,588,558; slaughtered, 1,803,466.

Showing that during all these years, 1893, 1894, 1895, 1896, and on to the present time, at no time did the question of the price of hides enter into the sale or the price of the cattle. These figures are not those of a day, a week, or a month, but of year after year; and at no time did the question of the value of the hides enter into the question of what the farmer received for his cattle.

Before leaving this contention, I will frankly admit that there may have been a time in the United States when a tariff such as is proposed might be found to be of material benefit to the farmer and the butcher of our country. But, sir, that time has long since passed. The farmer and the butcher of this country are not to-day independent sellers of their products, and enabled as such to take into consideration every part of the cattle in the making up of its value. They have long since given up their every right in this respect to the aggregated capital of the great companies of this country interested in cattle, who are, beyond question, like all other trusts, the legal offspring and fostered children of excessive protection.

Before they came into active life the ranchman, the farmer, and the butcher of this country were ranked among the best and most independent of our citizens, but since this overprotected power came into being the lands of the farmer and the ranchman, together with the stocks upon them, both vegetable and animal, have become encumbered; in fact, are bartered away to the controlling capitalists before they are in marketable condition. The interested companies buy the cattle at their own price, and no legislation that you can enact in this bill will alter that condition of affairs. With this immense power, then, controlling 90 per cent of the cattle and hides of the country, is it reasonable to suppose that because you impose upon foreign hides a tax of 20 per cent the controllers of the interested trusts will give the benefit of any of that 20 per cent to those from whom they are buying cattle on the hoof under the conditions that now prevail?

On the other hand, is it not more reasonable to conclude that the farmer or the roadside butcher will receive no material benefit, but that the manufacturer and the producer of leather and its products will have to pay above the current price up to the percentage of the discrimination you are placing against the foreign product? To my mind, sir, there is and can be but one conclusion deducted from the proposed duty on hides, and that is, that all that is said regarding such imposition being of benefit to the ranchmen, the farmers, and the butchers of this country is the grossest misrepresentation, and that the material benefits derived from such taxation will be entirely for and in the interest of those great controlling trusts who are crushing out every semblance of the independence of the farmer and the butcher.

Mr. WARREN. May I ask the Senator from New Jersey a question?

Mr. SMITH. Certainly.

Mr. WARREN. I merely desire to ask the Senator at that point, as he has complained quite often of the cattle trust, if there is or is not a trust in this country known as the leather trust?

Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir; there is a leather trust; and under this bill I want to say to you here and now that they will be the only people who will be benefited by it if it shall become a law—they and the beef trust—because you grant a drawback, which can be traced on sole leather and can not be on any other grade of leather that can be exported.

Mr. WARREN. The Senator will pardon me for one more question?

Mr. SMITH. Certainly.

Mr. WARREN. Noticing that the Senator thinks the leather trust, and it only, will be benefited by a duty on hides, may I ask, Does the Senator from New Jersey understand that the leather trust is asking for a tariff on hides or is opposing a tariff on hides?

Mr. SMITH. I would say that very naturally they would oppose a tariff on hides. I should suppose they would; and in that connection, Mr. President, I would further intimate to the Senator who has just taken his seat, who has been one of the Senators who has been advocating a duty on hides, as I understand——

Mr. WARREN. Yes.

Mr. SMITH. In that connection, I ask the Senator from Delaware to be good enough to read this letter.

Mr. GRAY read as follows:

BECKWITH, QUINN & CO., INCORPORATED, STOCK GROWERS,
Cokeville, Wyo., June 12, 1897.

DEAR SIR: In response to your request that we give you our opinion of the probable effect of a duty of 1½ per cent a pound on cattle hides, will say that in our belief the benefit would accrue to the butcher or packer and not to the cattlemen. The bill, as we understand it, raises the duty on cattle on the hoof 10 per cent, and this we heartily approve of, as it will tend to prevent the importation of cattle from Mexico.

We receive no direct revenue from hides and are indifferent upon the subject of taxing them, except as we assume that in a general way the harness leather, saddles, and boots and shoes we consume are likely to be raised in price by reason of the imposition of such a tax.

Yours, truly,

BECKWITH, QUINN & CO.
B. R. WELLS, *President.*

CHAS. A. SCHIEREN, Esq.,
Chairman Executive Committee National Association Shoe and Leather Manufacturers, Washington, D. C.

Mr. WARREN. Since the Senator from New Jersey has introduced a letter purporting to come here from those who live in the State which I have the honor in part to represent, perhaps he will allow me to say that the name Beckwith, Quinn & Co., Incorporated, which appears in that letter, is the old name of a concern now existing as a corporation, as it purports, but Mr. Beckwith is long since dead, and Mr. Quinn long since became a citizen of another State or Territory. The majority of the stock of the Beckwith-Quinn Company is now held by certain boot and shoe and leather manufacturers. The Mr. B. R. Wells who signs the letter as president is of the great Wells boot and shoe house of Chicago, Ill. I simply say this in answer to the letter which the Senator has had read.

Mr. SMITH. It is a corporation. There may be some men who own factories who are interested in the Quinn corporation, but I do not know of any boot and shoe manufacturers or anybody engaged in the leather business who are engaged in the business of raising cattle in order to secure their hides.

When this special session of Congress was called, it was asserted that its action would prove one of the adjuncts of the prosperity so lavishly promised to the people of the United States by the new Administration. It was claimed that the first thing necessary to prosperity was a remodeling of the tariff laws of the country, and that in such remodeling every interest of commercial enterprise would be fostered and promoted. The people were led to believe that the power of capital, and the wishes of individuals and private interests, would give way to the general good.

The fidelity with which this Congress is carrying out these laudable promises is placed before us in the bill under consideration. It is unnecessary for me to go through its long schedules, but if all of them bear the same impress as does the item relating to hides, then I have no hesitation in saying that the bill is not in the interest of the whole people, is not to foster and promote the industries of the country and to place them in such position that they may be able to compete in the markets of the world, but is for the purpose of increasing the power of the gigantic trusts of the country that have already crushed the laudable ambition of every American workman to become a master in his art, which, above all else, made the prosperity of the past.

When trusts did not control every avenue of trade in our country it was the pride of the American workman to compete in all its branches. Then it was a fight between Americans, and out of it grew not so much a race for wealth as that for preference in the different lines of usefulness, and his inventive genius, together with his untiring energy, gave birth to American mechanism, which has become celebrated throughout civilization. When one looks at the trade and commerce of the different nations and asks of competitors everywhere, "In what does the American excel?" he will be informed that he excels particularly in his improved machinery, the result of his inventive genius, and in the beauty and regularity of the designs of articles produced thereby.

I submit, sir, that the most important product of hides are the boots and shoes of American manufacture, which, like her machinery, possess a world-wide reputation for superiority in material, design, and finish, as well as in price. And, further, that the proposed duty on hides can only result in removing the boot and shoe industry from the enviable position which it has won and now occupies in the markets of the world. Even our friends of Great Britain, who rarely praise the work of others, while saying that their own are more durable, admit that the productions of the United States are more beautiful, more attractive, and hence more commendable to the buyer and consumer.

You will find American shoes in England, Germany, and France, and in the Orient. But the margin of profit which permits the extension of this industry, which gives so many of our citizens employment, is small indeed, and will not stand any diminution, such as would result from the imposition of a duty on the principal article from which they are produced. Why, sir, while all the energy and tact of the legislators of the United States have been in the past devoted to the enactment of laws in behalf of the protection of the iron interests of the country, in boots and shoes—products of hides—you will find an interest nearly if not quite equal to that of iron, cotton, and wool.

I send now to the Clerk's desk extracts from unprejudiced sources, and, in addition, a dispatch of Ambassador Bayard to the Department of State, dated March 27, 1894, relating to the growing foreign trade in these products, which I ask to be read as a part of my remarks:

The Secretary read as follows:

[Letter from an Australian manufacturer in the Boot and Shoe Trades Journal, England.]

* * * The real competition for external trade in boots and shoes now lies between English and American manufacturers. The former have been for many years almost in possession of the trade, the latter having only given their attention to it within the last few years. I have been making inquiries amongst the buyers of boots in the colony, and the opinion is general that the American manufacturers will secure a large, increasing share of the business. * * *

American manufacturers have a splendid factory system, by which they combine cheapness of production with satisfactory results to the actual wage earner. Their workmen are well paid and highly intelligent. Their styles are attractive, the fitting of their lasts admirable, and their goods are lower in price than English lines.

The leading retail establishments in the Australian capitals, particularly in Sydney and Melbourne, are making a specialty of advertising "ladies' and gentlemen's fine footwear of American manufacture." The goods give satisfaction in wear as a whole, and repeat orders are being given freely. A week or two ago one retail firm in Sydney gave a £1,700 order to a representative of American firms. * * * The officer appointed by one government to interview the boot and shoe importers was most struck with the opinions expressed as to the growing trade with American houses, and reference to this will, I have no doubt, be found in the report to be made to the Secretary of State.

The American manufacturers enjoy one great advantage over their English competitors through the great enterprise displayed by the leather trade of the United States. The development of the manufacture of upper leather in that country is marvelous, and it furnishes an object lesson to the leather trade of the United Kingdom. * * *

The main object in writing this paper is to seek to arouse the trade in England to the significance of these figures. American boot manufacturers may be said to be only commencing to push trade with the southern colonies of Great Britain. They seem now disposed to take up the business in earnest. It is incumbent, therefore, on our English friends to bestir themselves, especially the producers of leather. Leather is the raw material of the boot manufacturers, and no one can handle American boots without observing that the shoe manufacturers there have been greatly assisted by the manufacturer of upper leathers in that country. They have shot far ahead of their English competitors. If this paper calls attention to the subject, it will not have been published in vain. * * *

[Boston Post, May 28, 1897.]

HOW FAR WILL HE GO?

Senator LODGE urged upon the Republican caucus the inadvisability of removing hides from the free list, where they have remained for twenty-five years. This was right as far as it went. But how much further is Senator LODGE ready to go in the defense of this great Massachusetts industry?

The effect of Mr. LODGE's opposition to the proposed tariff tax on hides was to draw out threats from some of the cheap Western Senators, declaring that if hides were left on the free list they would retaliate by taking off the duty from articles which New England wants to see "protected." These are bulldozing tactics. Will the Massachusetts Senators meet them with firmness, or will they cringe and yield?

When the last United States census was taken, seven years ago, there were 1,057 boot and shoe factories in Massachusetts, in which $44,567,702 was invested. These factories gave employment to 69,934 persons, who earned $34,949,689 a year in wages, and produced goods to the value of $118,500,000. In the same year the total value of all the hides in all the United States, according to the census, was $14,705,486. Is there any comparison to be made between these two industries as regards their relative importance?

Senator LODGE can properly go so far as to refuse to vote for a tariff bill that aims a blow at Massachusetts industry by levying a duty on hides. Neither he nor Senator HOAR can do their duty toward the State which they represent if they stop short of this point.

The large number of factories here given conclusively proves that no grasping trusts have as yet absorbed the boot and shoe industry of the United States, as in the case of the cattle we raise and the meat we eat.

AMERICAN BOOTS AND SHOES IN ENGLAND.

[Consular Reports, May, 1895.]

In a dispatch to the Department, dated London, March 27, Ambassador Bayard says: "As of interest to those engaged in the preparation of leather and in the manufacture of boots and shoes in the United States, I have the honor to inclose herewith an extract from the Times of this date, which discloses the effect of the present conflict now waging in the boot and shoe trade of this country, as a consequence of which American productions are enabled to establish their superiority in the market, and owing to the admission of raw hides and skins free of duty, and to untrammeled resort to labor-aiding machinery, the enterprise and industry of our citizens engaged in the preparation of leather and the manufacture of boots and shoes in the United States are finding profitable remuneration in foreign markets as well as at home."

THE BOOT-TRADE DISPUTE.

[From the Times, Wednesday, March 27, 1895.]

The question of American competition enters so largely into the merits of the present conflict that I availed myself yesterday of an opportunity to inspect some of the goods that have just arrived from the United States. The American manufacturers seriously challenged the English home trade last spring. The fact that a part of the colonial trade had been attracted by American manufacturers gave them confidence that some of the English home trade could be secured as well. A large variety of American-made boots and shoes was shown at the boot and shoe trades' exhibition at the Agricultural Hall, London, but it then became apparent that, although the productions of Vienna and Paris were readily salable in England, the peculiar style of the American goods did not commend them to the English market. This failure, however, only led to the adoption of new methods. English-made boots and shoes were secured, together with all the necessary designs and patterns, and goods made from these designs, to all outward appearance English made, are now being imported into this country.

I have had an interview with a manufacturer, employing over 1,000 hands, who had a consignment of these goods sent over. He stated that the goods were delivered free at his own warehouse door at a lower cost than that at which he could produce them in his own factory. He could sell ten times as many of that class of goods as of any other, and customers would not know them from goods of English make. If the English manufacturers could not beat the Americans in price, the latter would now take a strong hold of the English market. He added that three-fourths of the leather used in the Leicester trade was of American tanning. Questioned as to the cost of manufacture, he stated that boots of the class imported from America would cost in making in Leicester 1s. to 1s. 1d. per pair. In America they would get the same boot made up for 8d. per pair. This saving alone would give the American manufacturers more than a working profit and enable them to compete with English manufacturers.

As to the settlement of the present disastrous conflict, the view expressed by the manufacturer was that it was possible, and ought to be arranged before work was resumed, to have a piecework statement or scale of pay for machine work based on the American principle. Such a statement should embrace but two qualities—a best and a common—and it ought to be in the power of the manufacturer to have the work finished as best or common, at his option. This would enable a manufacturer to have medium or common goods well finished, provided he paid the operative for the extra work done. The operative should be remunerated according to the amount of work he did, and not according to the value of the material to which that work was applied, or the quality of the design, or the cost of the upper.

He then proceeded to sketch a scheme for increasing the number of men engaged. The operatives, he explained, wanted to spread out the work and find something for the unemployed. That increased the cost of production and drove the British manufacturer out of the markets, both home and foreign, and, instead of increasing the work to be done, it would send the trade to America, Germany, and Austria, where there was the keenest competition. His view was that it would be much better in the interests of both employer and employed if the workmen would work only five hours per day, the manufacturers working two shifts His firm had laid down £6,000 in American machinery, but if the machines had been worked up to their full capacity they would have had to spend only £4,000.

The extra driving power required in this case added between £300 and £400 to the cost, besides increased warehouse room, wear and tear, etc. He was satisfied that if the men made the best use of their time they could do the amount of work they had been turning out in six hours instead of spreading it over ten hours. The union, however, would not sanction such a scheme at present.

The view quoted as to the value of American goods, I ought to add, was fully confirmed by one of the largest wholesale buyers in this country, and he added that he was so satisfied with the samples that he had placed large orders with American firms.

Mr. SMITH. I desire to say a few words more. I think, from any impartial standpoint, the statistical and other facts I have

given go to prove beyond any question of doubt that at no time within the last ten years at least has the question of the price of cattle been governed in any degree by the price of hides; that there can be no fair and honest contention that the advancement of the duty on raw hides will benefit anyone except the beef trust; that, on the contrary, on the basis of exports of leather manufactures and boots and shoes, the amount of at least $5,000,000 will be taken away from the laborers, mechanics, and wage earners in leather and leather products. I am not willing to believe that the Senate is prepared now, in the present condition of this country, to take away from the working people $5,000,000, when it will only benefit the great beef trust, which does not need it.

In conclusion, I desire to present the following letter, written by an American statesman, who was ever on the alert to protect American interests. I refer to the following:

WASHINGTON, *April 10, 1890.*

DEAR MR. MCKINLEY: It is a great mistake to take hides from the free list, where they have been for so many years. It is a slap in the face to the South Americans with whom we are trying to enlarge our trade. It will benefit the farmer by adding 5 to 8 per cent to the price of his children's shoes. It will yield a profit to the butcher only—the last man that needs it.

If he were writing now, he would say "the trust" instead of "the butcher."

The movement is injudicious from beginning to end—in every form and phase. Pray stop it before it sees light. Such movements as this for protection will protect the Republican party into a speedy retirement.

Yours, hastily,

JAMES G. BLAINE.

Hon. WILLIAM MCKINLEY,
Chairman Ways and Means Committee.

Such, Mr. President, is the handwriting on the wall!

Mr. STEWART. Mr. President, a marvelous amount of contradictory argument is used in the Senate whenever any question arises. There is no question presented here as to which the arguments of yesterday are not refuted by those of to-day. Men get up here and show beyond controversy that a shrinking volume of money necessarily produces falling prices; and it is conceded by nearly everybody that the demonetization of silver reduced prices 50 per cent. This is conceded by the great statistician, Giffen, to whom all refer and upon whom all rely.

Now, we have Senators reading price lists when there was a tariff, or when there was not a tariff twenty years ago, and making comparisons of the prices of to-day with those of the past, claiming that the tariff was the principal factor. A great many causes enter into the rise and fall of prices, but there is nothing more effective to put down prices than absolute stagnation in business. If enterprise is destroyed, prices must go down; price of labor and of everything else. That is the present condition of the country. Prices are very low, but I should like to hear an argument or a reason why, if there is a tariff on leather and a tariff on shoes and boots, there should not be a tariff on hides. Hides are produced by American labor on the farm. Leather is taxed, and boots and shoes are made principally by foreign labor in the cities.

The newcomers who perform that kind of labor are foreigners, whereas the labor that produces hides is American. I understand the theory of protection is to protect American labor. I have heard no man state why American labor in the fields is not just as much entitled to protection as is foreign labor in the shops. That has not been explained to me.

They say, furthermore, that the farmer should not be protected because there is a beef trust. It so happens, however, that the beef trust does not kill all the beef. I do not believe it can be shown that the beef trust kills 25 per cent of the beef killed in the United States; certainly not 50 per cent.

Then, besides, the beef trust is the result of another trust, and not the result of protection, except the protection to gold gambling. The great trust that breeds all other trusts is the money trust. Competition is the only thing that can destroy a trust. Associations of men to do business is one of the necessities of civilization. Every partnership is a trust. Every kind of an association, every cooperation between men, is a trust to a certain extent, and it is very difficult to draw the line between one organization for industrial purposes and another.

The only remedy for a trust is other trusts. Under laws under which new combinations, new enterprises, are possible the old trusts will go to pieces. You have in this country a large number of trusts. You have the leather trust, and all your other trusts. Why do you have them? Because prices are falling, and men combine to protect themselves. You have driven every kind of business into trusts, because prices are falling. A, B, and C are engaged in a business. It does not pay; they say, "Let us get together and not run against one another. Nobody else can start if we get together and let some of our mills stand. We have perfect security against opposition if we get together, because prices are falling and nobody dares to start while our machines are lying idle." So you fill the country with trusts.

Then you go on and rail against trusts. Trusts are fed on falling prices. Falling prices are produced by a shrinking volume of money, and while the volume of money shrinks men must go into trusts or into bankruptcy. They can not compete. With a large number of factories standing idle, with three or four million laborers idle in the country, talk about competing against trusts! Nobody dares go into business when the loanable value of money has fallen nearly 75 per cent. Why is that? There are three or four hundred million dollars in your banks which can not be loaned. Why? Because it can not be used profitably. Because if it is put into business, the business must fail.

It can not be used profitably. Enterprising men dare not borrow, and men who have money dare not loan, because property is depreciating. Let business revive, and the loanable value of money will more than double. The loanable value of money on good security is not more than 2½ per cent to-day, perhaps less on gilt-edged security, because there is so little gilt-edged security. You can not put your hand on anything that is not escaping from you all the while. There is little good security. The competition for gilt-edged security to make loans upon is so great that people will take 2½ to 3 per cent, whereas if business were prosperous, the money could be profitably used. If they borrowed money, they could pay it back. There would be plenty of security, and interest would run from 6 to 7 per cent.

But money will not earn anything in business. It is true that there are certain classes of people who can profit by falling prices. They are the wreckers. For example, these bond manufacturing institutions in New York and London, which wreck a railroad, bond it, and sell the stock, and then wreck it again, and do the same, and keep doing it. The courts have held that the current expenses have a prior lien upon roads. All they have to do is to let a little debt accumulate against it, and then they have ready cash and can say who can come in and who shall not. The property of the balance is confiscated. In the last five years not less than $5,000,000,000 of stocks and bonds in the United States have gone to the bad, and those who invested in them have been robbed by inside manipulators. If they can keep prices falling, keep on wrecking business, the wreckers will make money, if they do not get caught themselves. The loaner of money takes desperate chances, because he can not get good securities. They are losing as much as any other class.

We talk about trusts when there must be trusts. The only people who thrive are those in trusts. The balance go into bankruptcy. Let us have competition, and those trusts will melt away like dew before the sun, because they have large establishments, encumbered with a great many deadhead concerns. Just as soon as enterprise starts they will fall to pieces. Take the sugar trust. It could not live a year if you had an abundant supply of money. They have a whole lot of concerns lying idle, and they are at enormous expense in carrying out their plans, in lobbying, and doing everything. If business were lively and prices were rising, small capital could go into the manufacture of sugar. It could manufacture sugar cheaper, and the trust would melt away.

But people rail against trusts and insist upon a condition of things under which trusts must exist or universal bankruptcy must prevail. Trusts are as inevitable and as necessary with falling prices as the air we breathe. Those who are not in them have gone to the bad all over the country. The only people who have been saved from the bad in the last few years of falling prices are those engaged in trusts, limiting production. Do you want to deprive the people of their only house of refuge when you make competition impossible? And I say competition is impossible when 3,000,000 laborers are idle, when business is stagnant. It is impossible. But there are plenty of people who would go into enterprises if there were opportunity. Can any man of enterprise and industry make a competence and establish a home for himself in this country?

Opportunities are gone. That is why our European friends who are monarchists are in favor of contracting the currency. They very properly say if you expand the currency and let prices rise, industry will prosper and you will have democracy. But contract the currency, destroy enterprise, and capital must rule. Capital is conservative. Capital will maintain the established institutions. Capital will maintain monarchies. Capital will wreck republics. That is what they want.

This is a world-wide combination. It is a great trust for the purpose of destroying democracy and building up aristocracy. It is ruining and impoverishing the people. While the great money trust rules the civilized world, Egypt will have the English lash on the back of the poor people. You will have Christians in Greece and in Turkey begging for protection when there is none. You will have a united Christendom joining the Turk to maintain his right to kill Christians. You will have all these things while the money trust controls.

How did the English acquire possession in Egypt? The Rothschilds had a fraudulent lot of bonds that everybody laughed at when they were issued, amounting to $500,000,000. To collect the interest on those bonds England took possession of that country

and applied the lash to the Egyptians. Look at the rapacity of this gold trust. It has confiscated $1,700,000,000, it is estimated, of the property of the poor Hindoo by demonetizing silver, and they are starving to death to-day by the millions, with no money with which to buy food. It is the money trust that is doing this. While that trust exists it is idle to talk about trusts. While it exists it will breed other trusts, and it will breed faster than you can kill them. Legislation can not reach the trusts. Legislation to reach trusts would reach the business relations, the associations necessary in order to civilize and progress. There never was a time when business was good and money was plentiful that trusts thrived. New, vigorous organizations can create establishments and manufacture cheaper than old, decayed trusts.

I hear the papers talking about trusts. So far as this is concerned, they say because there is a trust in beef that the farmer should not be protected on hides. If there is a trust in leather, why protect the manufacturer of leather? "Give us a foreign market; let us export." How? By making the farmer bear the burden. Does he not carry burdens enough? It is because you can get cheap hides from Mexico and South America that you can export. The reason why you can export is because the farmer in this country is put in competition with the lowest paid labor—labor that gets nothing. Our people can manufacture for export if you can avail yourself of that.

What you want is a free-trade market in which to buy and a protected market in which to sell, and then say we will have a surplus. If you are going to have a free-trade market in which to buy, you ought to have a free-trade market in which to sell. You should treat both sides equally. The idea of giving the manufacturer of leather and shoes a free-trade market in which to buy and a protected market in which to sell is an outrage, and it rests upon no principle whatever. The talk about what has been the relative price of this article under protection and not under protection is no test. You can not test it by that rule, because prices have fluctuated, as I have said, for other reasons than that of the tariff.

This is a very small protection, 20 per cent. It ought to be 50; it ought to be 100, if necessary, so that the hides produced in this country would all be used before others were bought, if you are going to carry out the principle of protection. I apprehend that even my friend the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH], who is a very fair-minded man, would hardly consent that the tariff should be taken off of leather and shoes and boots. They have a tariff on those articles, and New Jersey Democrats, and I find that New England Democrats, like that kind of a tariff. I know there is no difference between the Democrats and Republicans——

Mr. SMITH. I will say for the benefit of the Senator from Nevada that if hides and all the articles that go into the manufacture of leather—I know something about the manufacture of leather myself—were put on the free list, I would be entirely willing to put it on the free list, and no American manufacturer would lose anything by it.

Mr. STEWART. I am glad to hear the Senator from New Jersey say that. It is a very honest, fair expression. I wish it could prevail generally. I wish, when it is claimed that free raw material, as they call it, because it is produced by American labor, should go on the free list, they would say, "We will put our materials which are produced in the shops on the free list." That is a very fair proposition. It is impractical, I will tell my friend, and he can not get any friends to go with him on that.

What I am pleading for is equality, and there ought to be no discrimination. I believe in the principle of the Chicago platform of 1896, when Democracy took a new departure, when it took a departure for the people against the trusts and the combinations and the money power which is enslaving them. It then declared in favor of making it equal, without discrimination against any interest, without discriminating against any class of labor or any class of men or any section of this country.

I say that to have a tariff on leather, a tariff on boots and shoes, and no tariff on hides is a discrimination against which the Chicago platform pronounced affirmatively. I am for the Chicago platform of 1896 on this question and all other questions. It is an American platform. It is the platform of equal rights. It is not a platform to put protection on what is produced in my State and leave what is made in yours on the free list. That is not the platform of the Democratic party. I know something about that platform. I have read it a good many times, and I like it.

Now, I say that putting any article on the free list and then putting the manufactured result of it on the protected list is a discrimination against the first producer. Raw material! What a farce that is! Raw material upon which labor has been expended! It is nonsense. Every article goes through many different processes, but the first process requires labor and changes it from the raw material, and the labor cost is what we want to equalize. It is true we have a beef trust and a very bad one, but I undertake to say we can never deal with that trust until the farmers have better times. They can not now get anything for their products. The farmer has to pay for everything you buy abroad. He pays for all you import. He pays for the luxuries you buy abroad. He pays for the interest on the debt you have accumulated under the gold-standard arrangement.

What he exports bears the entire burden. He has the whole thing loaded upon him, and to say you will not help to take that off where you can do it with the same kind of legislation that you ask for yourself, that you will not share with him any of the benefits of protection, that he shall be driven in every article into competition with cooly and slave labor abroad, is unjust.

You can not protect wheat unless you give it an export bounty, which you ought to do, because we produce a surplus of wheat and send it abroad to buy what we import and to pay our debts. The same is true of cotton. You can only protect that by an export bounty. But the same farmers who are engaged in producing wheat and cotton are engaged in raising some stock, and you can do a little for them in this way—a very little. This is 20 per cent. If that was in a manufacturing concern and in a combination of manufacturing influences, it would be 100 per cent.

I am astonished at my Democratic friends protesting against their constituents having a little of the benefits of a protective system which they are going to vote for. They voted for the Wilson bill, the same system. This bill is on the same plan as the Wilson Act. There is no difference. No man has had the audacity to introduce a free-trade tariff bill for the last thirty years. Nobody does that. They are all on protective lines. While you were voting for protection, when you gave the New England manufacturers a tariff on leather and on boots and shoes, why did you not, in the Wilson bill, give a little protection on the articles the farmers produce, which go into the same production—into boots and shoes?

Why discriminate? The Democrats are not free from this. They did it the same way, and some of them now will vote to put this very article on the free list. On what principle, I should like to know? Why should the people of Missouri or Kansas work for the people of Massachusetts or any other State? I should like to get at it. I should like to know what it is. If we are going to have protection, why are not the people of Missouri and my State as much entitled to it as anybody else? The proposition is, to treat what is produced by one section on the free-trade theory, to enable the manufacturers to sell in a protected market and buy in a free-trade market. All the letters that come in are on that basis. They just look at home—at what they can produce. They do not look at the effect on their neighbor at all.

If an honest tariff were levied, if it could be levied, there would be no objection to the tariff. The only difficulty is in adjusting it. When there is a plain principle, as plain as this, it seems to me the man who will vote for any kind of a tariff that will operate as protection, and will not vote for a tariff on hides and wool and things of that kind, does not understand the principle of protection, or is very much down on the South and the West, which produce those articles. He is either very greatly prejudiced or very stupid. I say that with all due respect to those who differ with me. My friend the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. TILLMAN], while he did not give protection a very complimentary name—I believe he called it a steal or a swindle or something of that kind—said if it was going around he wanted to have his share.

Mr. GRAY. That is the principle.

Mr. STEWART. I say it is the principle; and if the others are going to have it, no matter how you please to call it, while your constituents stand the burden and have none of the benefits, it is all wrong. It is on the principle that a man who will not provide for his own household is worse than an infidel. If you were here voting against all tariff, if your Wilson bill had been a free-trade measure, if there is anything in the record of the Democratic party showing that it is a free-trade party and not going to protect, then there would be some excuse for it; but as long as they are for protection there is no excuse for discrimination in favor of one section against another.

That is one of the reasons why I like the Chicago platform of 1896, which took such a glorious position in favor of the American people and against the combinations and usurers and wreckers and monarchs attempting to enslave mankind, who hold the lash over the Egyptians, starving and trampling and enslaving 350,000,000 Hindoos, marching their armies to crush out republican institutions in South Africa, menacing free institutions everywhere, and who have brought ruin to this country by producing stagnation and hard times.

Why should we have hard times now? Does twenty-five years of peace and abundant harvests in this country, with unlimited resources, necessarily produce hard times? Everybody knows that that is not the cause. Everybody knows that a want of a sufficient money supply upon which to do business and falling prices are the cause of hard times. It is want of money. Everybody knows it who knows anything at all. That being the case, times being so bad—and they are going to be worse—why should a few

men be saved while the great mass of them are ruined? Why not save the farmers as well as you can while you make rich the manufacturers? There is no reason, and the time will come when the sentiment of the Chicago platform, which repudiates discrimination against sections or individuals or individual interests and wants, and honest tariff, which will bear equally upon all industries, will be universal in the United States.

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. President, I have announced myself so frequently as being opposed to a distinctively protective tariff levied for the sole and exclusive purpose of protection that I suppose it is neither necessary nor proper for me to restate my position upon that question at this time. But I am very forcibly impressed with the argument made by the Senator from Nevada [Mr. STEWART], as I am always impressed with what he says. If we are to have a protective bill that levies taxes upon protective lines exclusively or principally, it is preeminently proper that protection should extend to all sections of the Union alike and to all articles that may be protected.

There is nothing in the bill thus far that is of benefit to the farmer. The man who produces grain and who raises stock for a livelihood has not one penny of benefit in the bill, either direct or indirect. Here is a little item of a tax upon hides which might be made of some benefit to him if Congress were disposed to take into consideration his condition and his wants and wishes, and the moment it is mentioned that moment it meets with opposition. In other words, everybody is to be protected in all the various lines of industry and trade except the man who is engaged in the primary occupation, the occupation of all occupations, that of farming.

We have been told, and I presume will be told again, that a protective tariff upon hides is of no value. My distinguished friend the senior Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH] takes that position. The junior Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST] takes that position, and yet, as strange as it may seem, in New Jersey and Missouri we find the heaviest boot and shoe manufacturing establishments of the United States. I think the city of St. Louis makes more boots and shoes than any other city in the United States of America. So it is not an unmixed question in New Jersey and Missouri. There are the boot and shoe makers upon the one hand contending for benefit to their interest, and there are the farmers of those States upon the other hand contending, I suppose, for benefit to their interest. But in the State which I have the honor to represent in part in this Chamber we have no great boot and shoe manufactories, no great institutions like that to overcome and overbalance the interest and the wishes of the farming classes. We have a due proportion of manufacturing, it is true, for a new State, but our manufacturing is limited as compared with the output of hides in the State.

Mr. President, if there be any truth in the theory that as you protect an article or exclude a foreign article from the market you correspondingly raise the price of the domestic article—I believe that is the gravamen of the Republican argument upon this question—then the State of Nebraska produces a million of hides a year, in round numbers, upon which her farmers ought to receive under the bill as it was first amended by the Senate committee a cent and a half a pound.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. They get fully that now, I think.

Mr. ALLEN. I do not know. It strikes me that hides are on the free list now.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. No; I mean under the amendment as now proposed fixing the rate at 20 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. ALLEN. I do not know. I was about to ask the Senator from Connecticut why the rate was changed from a specific to an ad valorem duty.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. It was thought that a specific duty of a cent and a half a pound would not work equally. Dry hides weigh very little compared with green hides, and the duty would not be as much on the dry hides as on green hides. It was thought that it would be more equitable to make an ad valorem duty. In my judgment, an ad valorem duty on green hides of 20 per cent would be nearer 2 cents a pound than 1½ cents.

Mr. ALLEN. That depends altogether upon how green the hide is. There is a marked difference between a dry hide and a green hide.

But passing that over, the people of the State of Nebraska produce, in round numbers, as I said, 1,000,000 hides a year. Now, this little sum of a cent and a half a pound would be of some benefit to them, if the protective theory is correct. If it is not correct, then the insertion of this tax in the bill would be a work of supererogation; and if, as is claimed by the Senator from Missouri and the Senator from New Jersey, the great beef trust of the country eats up the value of the hides to the farmers, then it would be equally a work of supererogation.

In this connection, as throwing some light upon the product of hides, their weight, and value, I will read a portion of a letter from the Cudahy Packing Company, of South Omaha, Nebr., to me. This is written by Mr. Edward A. Cudahy, vice-president and general manager of the company, and is dated South Omaha, Nebr., April 10, 1897:

It is difficult to furnish very accurate statistics as to the annual hide output of Nebraska, but the information given below will, I think, be sufficiently correct for your purposes. The Department of Agriculture returns show that the State of Nebraska contained on—

	Cattle.		Cattle.
January 1, 1893	2,100,000	January 1, 1895	1,750,000
January 1, 1894	2,150,000	January 1, 1896	1,600,000

The number of cattle slaughtered at South Omaha were:

In 1893	546,000	In 1895	312,000
In 1894	501,000	In 1896	302,000

The average for each year being about one-fourth the number of animals in the State. We think that 250,000 to 300,000 head are killed annually throughout the State for local consumption, thus making the entire annual output of the State from 600,000 to 700,000 hides.

I may be permitted to say that, in my judgment, this is too low.

The present market prices of hides in South Omaha are, per pound, native steers, 8½ cents; butt-branded steers, 8 cents; Texas steers, 8 cents; Colorado steers, 7½ cents; branded cows, 8 cents; native cows, 8½ cents; native bulls, 7½ cents; and this is not very far from the average prices during the past year. As the hides will weigh about 60 pounds each, the average value is about $5 per hide, or a total of from $3,000,000 to $4,000,000 per annum.

Statistics show that during 1896 the value of hides imported into the United States was about $20,000,000, and that during the same period about $16,000,000 worth of leather was exported, about one-half of which consisted of sole leather made largely from imported hides. It is claimed by leather men that if a duty was placed on hides sufficient to prevent their importation, that it would correspondingly decrease our exports of leather, and thus keep out of employment a number of persons engaged in the tanning and leather industries, without benefiting the market on home-produced hides. My own idea is that a slight duty would not seriously interfere with the importation of hides, and at the same time would be considered very favorably by the cattle risers of the United States.

This comes from a practical man, one whose whole life has been devoted to the packing industry, and it shows that the imposition of a slight tariff upon hides would be of some benefit to the farmer. What is true as respects Nebraska is true as respects every other State in the Union. I am taking it, of course, for granted that the cardinal argument of the Republican party is true, and for the purposes of this argument I assume that it is true.

Now, why should there be any discrimination? If an interest in Maine is the subject of protection, the like interest in the State of Nebraska or in the States of Texas or California ought to receive the same protection. If we are to enter upon an era of tariff taxation which will drive from our shores much of the commerce of the world and turn over our domestic commerce to trusts and corporations, let us give the farmers some slight benefit that may be derived from the imposition of a tax of this kind.

I can see no reason why a specific duty of a cent and a half a pound should be converted into an ad valorem duty. But I pass from this to another branch of the question, which seems to me to be of more importance than the mere question of imposing a tax upon hides at this time.

The Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST] has told us, and he has been reenforced by the distinguished senior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR], that this Government is powerless in the hands of a great trust that controls the beef output and fixes the price of hides and all kinds of meat. We are told that under the laws of the United States this trust has the power to put down and raise prices at its will; that it can say "Thumbs up!" and up they go, and "Down!" and down they go; and that the whole Government, from the Chief Executive of the nation down to the most obscure judiciary of the land, is powerless to relieve us from its grasp.

The senior Senator from Massachusetts, who knows everything upon legal propositions excepting what few crumbs he allows a few of us to pick up occasionally here and there in spots, tells us that our remedy is to go to the courts of Pennsylvania in the instance cited by the junior Senator from Missouri. Mr. President, I say that it is primary law, capable of demonstration here or elsewhere, that whenever these interests combine to put up the price of an article of consumption to the American people they are guilty of a criminal conspiracy under the laws of this nation, and may be indicted and prosecuted and punished for the crime. Why, sir, they are guilty at common law. Whoever at common law conspired to increase the price of food to the people was guilty of a crime and was subject to indictment, and the Supreme Court of the United States, in 156 Reports, have not changed that rule in the slightest degree.

Mr. PETTUS. Will the Senator from Nebraska allow me?

Mr. ALLEN. Certainly.

Mr. PETTUS. Is there any United States criminal law outside of the statutes?

Mr. ALLEN. The Senator's question is foreign to anything I am discussing. I repeat what I said a moment ago, that at the common law a conspiracy to raise the price of food was a crime. Does the Senator deny it?

Mr. PETTUS. I do deny that it is a crime against the United States.

Mr. ALLEN. I am not talking about the United States now. I say that we have in the statute book a law which reenacts the

common law of England on the subject of a conspiracy between parties to raise the price of articles of consumption. We have supplemented that law. That which came to us as an inheritance from England, and which is found in every State of this Union, was made the law of the nation by the act of 1890, and not only by the positive words of the act of 1890, but by the evident policy and spirit and purpose of that act. Possibly, while the Senator from Alabama is putting questions, I may put one to him. Does not every State of the Union inherit the common law of England as it existed at the period the Union was formed?

Mr. PETTUS. That is the general rule, with one or two exceptions, I believe.

Mr. ALLEN. I am glad to know that I am right. Now let me read the act of July 2, 1890. It is short, and I will read it entire:

Be it enacted, etc.:

SECTION 1. Every contract, combination in the form of trust or otherwise, or conspiracy in restraint of trade or commerce among the several States, or with foreign nations, is hereby declared to be illegal. Every person who shall make any such contract or engage in any such combination or conspiracy shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and on conviction thereof shall be punished by fine not exceeding $5,000, or by imprisonment not exceeding one year, or by both said punishments, in the discretion of the court.

SEC. 2. Every person who shall monopolize, or attempt to monopolize, or combine or conspire with any other person or persons to monopolize, any part of the trade or commerce among the several States, or with foreign nations, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and on conviction thereof shall be punished by fine not exceeding $5,000, or by imprisonment not exceeding one year, or by both said punishments, in the discretion of the court.

SEC. 3. Every contract, combination in form of trust or otherwise, or conspiracy, in restraint of trade or commerce in any Territory of the United States or of the District of Columbia, or in restraint of trade or commerce between any such Territory and another, or between any such Territory or Territories and any State or States or the District of Columbia, or with foreign nations, or between the District of Columbia and any State or States or foreign nations, is hereby declared illegal. Every person who shall make any such contract or engage in any such combination or conspiracy shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and on conviction thereof shall be punished by fine not exceeding $5,000, or by imprisonment not exceeding one year, or by both said punishments, in the discretion of the court.

SEC. 4. The several circuit courts of the United States are hereby invested with jurisdiction to prevent and restrain violations of this act; and it shall be the duty of the several district attorneys of the United States in their respective districts, under the direction of the Attorney-General, to institute proceedings in equity to prevent and restrain such violations. Such proceedings may be by way of petition setting forth the case and praying that such violation shall be enjoined or otherwise prohibited. When the parties complained of shall have been duly notified of such petition, the court shall proceed, as soon as may be, to the hearing and determination of the case; and pending such petition and before final decree the court may at any time make such temporary restraining order or prohibition as shall be deemed just in the premises.

SEC. 5. Whenever it shall appear to the court before which any proceeding under section 4 of this act may be pending that the ends of justice require that other parties should be brought before the court, the court may cause them to be summoned, whether they reside in the district in which the court is held or not; and subpœnas to that end may be served in any district by the marshal thereof.

SEC. 6. Any property owned under any contract or by any combination, or pursuant to any conspiracy (and being the subject thereof) mentioned in section 1 of this act, and being in the course of transportation from one State to another, or to a foreign country, shall be forfeited to the United States, and may be seized and condemned by like proceedings as those provided by law for the forfeiture, seizure, and condemnation of property imported into the United States contrary to law.

SEC. 7. Any person who shall be injured in his business or property by any other person or corporation by reason of anything forbidden or declared to be unlawful by this act may sue therefor in any circuit court of the United States in the district in which the defendant resides or is found, without respect to the amount in controversy, and shall recover threefold the damages by him sustained, and the costs of suit, including a reasonable attorney's fee.

SEC. 8. That the word "person" or "persons," wherever used in this act, shall be deemed to include corporations and associations existing under or authorized by the laws of either the United States, the laws of any of the Territories, the laws of any State, or the laws of any foreign country.

That is the entire act. Mr. President, the act of 1890 revives the common law of conspiracy with reference to matters of food, and in fact revives it almost as completely as, if not more completely than, it formerly existed, or I should say, perhaps, that it enlarges the common law.

There are two courses which can be pursued by the United States as respects one of these conspiracies. The first is to indict and punish for the crime of conspiracy. The second is the softer and the easier way for the conspirator, and that is to sue out a writ of injunction.

Mr. VEST. Will my friend permit me to ask him, as a lawyer, this question: Does he hold that under the act which he has just read the United States court could take cognizance of a conspiracy, if you please to term it so, inside of a State, which affected only articles sold between the citizens of some State?

Mr. ALLEN. Oh, no, Mr. President; I have not said anything of the kind. But I do not know; I am pretty nearly prepared to say it, and I may say it after a time.

Mr. VEST. Will the Senator let me make a suggestion? If he will read the act carefully, he will see that as to those sort of transactions it confines the jurisdiction of the United States courts to the Territories and the District of Columbia, over which we have the same power as a State legislature. As to the States, the United States courts have no right to make an application of the statute to the transactions between citizens of the same State, but it must be an unlawful combination in restraint of trade as to commerce between the States or with foreign nations. All three of the sections have that limitation on them.

Mr. ALLEN. I do not think there is any difference between the Senator from Missouri and myself.

Mr. VEST. If the Senator will permit me—and I will not interrupt him again—he will find in the existing tariff law a much more comprehensive provision; he will find what is known as the Morgan amendment.

Mr. ALLEN. Yes, I remember that provision.

Mr. VEST. I think there are some five sections of it. I have always thought that that went much further than what is known as the antitrust law.

Mr. WHITE. If the Senator from Nebraska will permit me, I will call his attention to a very brief statement made by the author of the trust law and published in this morning's New York World, which ought to be a matter of interest. I refer to the statement made by Secretary Sherman. According to the interview, he stated:

> The present national trust law (the Sherman law) is not strong enough. I framed it myself, and the Senate Committee on Judiciary made changes in it which materially weakened its effect. I favor making unlawful in the most direct manner all combinations in restraint of trade. They put all industries in the control of a few men. The people have a right to open competition in all industries and trades.
>
> Restraint of trusts can be made effective when we get the proper kind of a law. The Supreme Court has upheld the present trust law, but has pointed out its defects. I think that those defects can and will be remedied.

The rest of the article refers to the fact that there are no bosses in Ohio, and contains other information not pertinent to this discussion.

Mr. ALLEN. I accord the Secretary of State much credit as a statesman of renown and large experience, but I will say in all frankness in this public manner that I prefer to follow my own judgment of the law rather than to follow his.

Mr. President, there is no real distinction between the Senator from Missouri and myself, whatever there may be between the Senator from Massachusetts and myself upon this question, and we never can agree upon any question that I have ever yet discovered. Commerce between the States does not mean commerce between the States as legal entities. That was merely figurative language. There was no such thing when the Union was formed as commerce between the States in a technical sense, or, if there was, it was very limited, and therefore the courts have held—and it is true—that the expression in the commerce clause of the Constitution, of commerce between the States, means that commerce which is carried on between citizens of two or more States.

Mr. HOAR. The language is "among the several States."

Mr. ALLEN. I find the language is "to regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes."

That means, Mr. President [the Vice-President in the chair], that when you as a citizen of New Jersey engage in traffic with me as a citizen of Nebraska, you will ship an article from New Jersey to Nebraska, or vice versa; that is interstate commerce, and can be regulated by Congress. Sir, suppose two or more persons enter into a conspiracy that in shipping their articles from one State to another, as a result of their agreement, they will, by certain means, drive another person or certain other persons out of trade in the State of Pennsylvania. I want to know if my distinguished friend from Missouri will claim that that is not indictable under the law of 1890 and under the present Wilson law? Is not that interstate commerce?

Mr. PETTUS. Without a doubt.

Mr. ALLEN. Without a doubt, my friend from Alabama says. That is what I mean, and when the Senator from Massachusetts says that a conspiracy set on foot in Chicago, by which articles are to be controlled in Pennsylvania, and the controlling of those articles in the State of Pennsylvania, and the driving out of citizens there from trade as the result, is not indictable under the law of the United States, as much as he knows about those laws, I must be permitted to enter my dissent. It would be a direct violation of that portion of this act which makes a conspiracy criminal. It was to protect the man in Pennsylvania and to protect men all over the United States from the result of these conspiracies that the conspiracies themselves were made indictable.

True it is that the courts of Pennsylvania would have concurrent jurisdiction and might indict and prosecute for conspiracy; but that would not prohibit the courts of the United States from doing likewise. And there is nothing in the case of Knight, in 156 Supreme Court Reports, in conflict with the position I have taken.

Mr. HOAR. Mr. President, I do not propose to go into the discussion of this question at this time. I think it likely that there will be an amendment proposed to the pending bill intended to perfect the provisions, or at any rate to continue the provisions on this subject of the tariff law of 1894, and an amendment which will declare that those provisions are not repealed by the present act. Such an amendment has been prepared by the honorable Senator from Alabama [Mr. PETTUS]. Unless some

new view of the matter should occur to me before it comes up for action, I expect to vote for that amendment. If it shall come up—and I suppose it will, as the Senator from Alabama has given notice and has had his amendment printed—that would seem to be the proper time to discuss it, and not now. So I do not propose to go into the general question.

I propose, however, to point out two or three difficulties in dealing with this problem which trouble me. They do not seem to trouble the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. ALLEN]. The Senator from Nebraska seems to think that if anybody else is troubled by them, or, at any rate, if I am troubled by them, it furnishes some reason for some objurgatory expressions on his part. But I must do my duty as well as I can, without being too much disturbed with the disapprobation of that Senator, although I do not like to incur the disapprobation of so intelligent a gentleman as the Senator from Nebraska.

Mr. President, the trouble is this: State commerce, that is, manufacturing articles within a State and the selling of articles within a State where the manufacture and the contract of bargain and sale are both completed and executed, is within the domain exclusively of State legislation; and the conspiracy to do anything in the way of manufacture within a State, or in the way of bargain and sale where the contract of bargain and sale is to be completed and executed within the State, to affect the price of any article favorably or unfavorably, to depress or to raise it, is also a matter solely within State jurisdiction, as I understand it. The power of Congress begins when the article is transported from one State to another, or when the process of bargain and sale is carried on between citizens of different States, or the sale is made in one State to be executed in another. There are the two fields.

I understand the question has been presented to the Supreme Court of the United States whether, if an article be manufactured and the process completed within the limits of one State, or if it be sold and the transaction completed and executed and the delivery take place within the limits of one State, anything criminal, either in the way of conspiracy or forestalling or increasing or diminishing or monopolizing, or whatever may be the description of the crime at which we wish to strike in regard to that article, can be punished by United States authority because the article is expected afterwards to be the subject of interstate commerce, either by being transported from one State to another or to be sold by the local buyer to another buyer in another State; and I understand the Supreme Court, in the case cited by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST]—one of the justices only dissenting, to wit, Mr. Justice Harlan—to have held that we can not deal with a conspiracy to raise or lower the price of an article to be sold, the transaction being completed within the State, or with a conspiracy to affect the price of the article in its process of manufacture, or in any other way, merely because the article may be a subject of interstate or international commerce afterwards, and is expected to be, either by being transported from one State to another or sold by the seller in one State to a buyer in another State.

There is the difficulty, if I correctly understand it. That is the difficulty which troubles me; and I do not find that the Senator from Nebraska so far has helped me out of it, though I am anxious to join with him in attacking the evil if I can, and getting around that difficulty.

Another proposition also, I suppose, follows, though I do not know that it has been expressly decided; and that is, if a citizen of one State enter into local commerce in another—the commonest case in the world—where a man who does business in New York lives in New Jersey and comes into his place of business in the city of New York, I do not understand the mere fact that he is a citizen of a State where he does not carry on that particular business makes a purely local business carried on by him subject to national authority; and I suppose that to be true even if, dwelling in one State, he carry on local business in another, or if, dwelling in one State, he carries on local business in forty-four others, or in every other State in the Union.

One of our great troubles in this matter is the influence, as the Senator from Missouri or the Senator from Nevada, or both of them, said, of enormous aggregations of wealth. A man who has come to be worth $100,000,000 can, if he chooses, affect State legislation and national legislation powerfully by influences in a hundred ways which can not be touched by the criminal law—at any rate, by any criminal laws we have now got; but you can not help that thing on a tariff bill, if you can by any national legislation.

Whether you can help it at all, is one of the profoundest and most difficult questions with which we have to deal; and I think—though other gentlemen differ with me, and I do not want to go into a discussion of that question now—that those great aggregations of wealth are not the result of manufacturing industries or protected industries in this country as a rule, though there may be some exceptions. Some have come from patents, some have come from dealings with great railroads. They came in the old generation from the business carried on by importing merchants. They have come in later generations from investments in real estate in the neighborhood of growing cities; they have come to some extent, I suppose, in the past, from great mining enterprises. I do not think, therefore, we can deal with them in a tariff bill.

Now, suppose—to come back to what I was saying, and to illustrate—suppose the Standard Oil Company, wishing to get a monopoly of the business in this country—and it makes no difference whether the Standard Oil Company is a corporation composed of three or four or thirty or forty men, or is an individual like Mr. Armour or Mr. Swift or anybody else—suppose they say: "We mean to manufacture and supply every citizen of this country with all the oil which is to be consumed; we will reduce the price to the people by the economies which can be practiced by a vast business."

It is very clear that so far that is a beneficial thing to the people and that you can not help it. When they have got so that they can do that, then they largely monopolize the business in that innocent and harmless and, indeed, beneficial way. But still, there they are, a great menace to legislation; there they are, controlling this vast amount of wealth, liable to be perverted in the next generation, if not in this, to bad uses; and we have got to prevent that by some remedies, as I said, which do not come in a tariff bill, if it can be prevented by legislation at all.

Next, having got as far as that, having got along in their business, they say that if anywhere in the United States a small dealer sets up in the business of dealing in oil, they will plant two establishments next door, or close by him, in the same village or town, or ten establishments, the necessary number, and simply undersell him, until he loses all his customers and goes out of business. They do not do it by anything which is an instrumentality of their interstate commerce under the decision of the Supreme Court. They send their oil from the place where they manufacture it to the town where it is to be sold; they retain the property in it themselves.

The mere transporting it from one State to another, of course, is to that extent interstate commerce—they do it by rail—but that has nothing to do with the illegal part of the transaction. So far the man or the company in the West, in Chicago, or in Cincinnati, or wherever the headquarters of their business may be, have taken their own property to Connecticut or to Massachusetts, or wherever they expect to sell it, and put it into a warehouse of their own. When they have done that, that company have done nothing more on a vast scale than the man does on a small scale who travels from one State to another with his personal baggage in a carpet bag in his hand. Their offense, therefore, is the offense simply of dealing in the local business, all the interstate part of their business having been absolutely innocent, something you can not touch in a way to break down their local business. I am afraid that has got to be dealt with and must be dealt with solely by State authority.

One suggestion has been made in regard to the great sugar trust, as it is called, which, if the ruling of the Supreme Court in the Knight case may be taken as stating the whole story, is not literally and technically a trust, for a reason which I shall state presently. You can probably to some extent, as the Senator from Alabama has tried to do, and as the old tariff act of 1894 tried to do, punish them by striking at their imports, if they undertake to import any articles from abroad for the purpose of getting a monopoly in pursuance of a conspiracy against the freedom of trade, of interstate or international trade; but I do not see how you can say, as has been proposed and as was proposed in the amendment of the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. PETTIGREW] the other day, that if a man violate the law by importing for this illegal purpose, you can punish him not only by confiscating the article imported, but by prohibiting him from exercising the right of importing for the future. In other words, I do not see how you can make as a punishment for a single offense a deprivation of a right to engage hereafter in commerce as other citizens do in their transactions, which are innocent and not unlawful. That certainly would be an unusual punishment, which is expressly prohibited by the Constitution of the United States.

I understand a trust—of course, it is a word that is popularly used, and used sometimes in both Houses of Congress, as representing any great combination or aggregation of capital which gets an advantage or a monopoly in manufacturing or trade—but I understand that a trust, technically and legally, means the case of having one or more persons commit to others, or to a combination of others, their business, or the control of their business, or the management of some portion of their business, such as the selling portion or the fixing the price or the hiring of labor, with the understanding that those powers are to be exercised by the corporation or combination to whom it is committed in a manner to operate for the benefit of the persons committing to them that power, ordinarily by the depression or putting up of prices. So the Standard Oil Company, as I have just described it, or the Sugar

Refining Company, as its business was proved to be carried on in that case, is not a trust, and I am afraid if we make a law which strikes at trusts simply we shall fall very far short of meeting and dealing with this evil.

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. President——

Mr. HOAR. I wish my honorable friend from Nebraska would believe me when I assure him that I should be glad to find a constitutional method to uproot these great evils. I have no interest in them; I have no friends or kinsmen or acquaintances who have an interest in them. I think they are a menace to the Republic itself. But it certainly does not indicate a true desire to reform evil to go at it recklessly, without studying the difficulties, especially when we have this complicated division of powers between the nation and the States. If the Senator from Nebraska will help us out by finding a mode which will accomplish this end, and which will stand the scrutiny of any judicial tribunal, and which would stand his own scrutiny if, instead of being a Senator, he were a judge, I should be very glad to go with him to accomplish the result.

Now, I will listen to the Senator from Kentucky, if he desires to be heard.

Mr. LINDSAY. I was going to make this suggestion, that the sugar-refining arrangement prior to 1890 was, as I understand, in the nature of a trust; that fifteen or twenty corporations, which otherwise would have been in competition, did arrange to combine all their business, and that they should have a common management, but in the suit in New York it was decided that it was a trust.

Mr. HOAR. And that put a stop to it.

Mr. LINDSAY. And that put a stop to it. Then they took out letters of authority, organized a corporation in the State of New Jersey, and these same corporations put their property in at an agreed valuation.

Mr. HOAR. And abandoned their old organization?

Mr. LINDSAY. Yes; they abandoned their prior arrangement and took stock in lieu. Then it was none the less a monopoly after that because it ceased to be a trust.

Mr. HOAR. So I understand; and that made it much harder to deal with.

Mr. LINDSAY. Yes; and now what we are attempting to do, so far as the sugar-refining business is concerned, is to reach a monopoly rather than a trust. That brings in, as I conceive, an additional difficulty.

Mr. HOAR. Now there comes in, if the Senator will pardon me, the difficulty which grows out of the question, as I understand it, that has been settled by the Supreme Court of the United States.

Mr. LINDSAY. I want to suggest another thing.

Mr. HOAR. Let me finish my sentence.

There comes in the precise difficulty in the Knight case; that is, that the court has said, if I understand it, that the fact that they propose to sell their sugar, or that the buyer of their sugar is going to sell it as an article of interstate commerce, does not put the manufacture of their sugar or its sale to a buyer in a State where the buyer and they both dwell under the authority of national regulation.

Mr. LINDSAY. I see that difficulty in the case. Then my theory was—I may have been mistaken, but the theory advocated by the present Secretary of State was—that, being a confessed monopoly (because it is a confessed monopoly), no act of Congress ought to be passed in the way of raising revenue which gives assistance to that enemy of the public good. I doubt whether we shall ever be able to frame a statute that will reach it through the Federal courts.

Mr. HOAR. Then comes up the question, which I will put to the Senator, What constitutes a monopoly in the legal and technical sense of the word? Does he mean that there must be some of these illegal practices to make a monopoly? A monopoly strictly in the English law was a grant by the Government of exclusive powers, as the Senator knows very well.

Mr. LINDSAY. Certainly; but I do not mean that.

Mr. HOAR. The evil of monopoly was an evil created by the sovereign power of the state itself.

Mr. LINDSAY. I understand that.

Mr. HOAR. But suppose this sugar refiners' association does none of the illegal things which lower or raise the price, but merely crushes out its competitors by economy in doing its business, which its great size and wealth enables it to practice, or simply as local seller in various places proceeds to undersell its competitors in all parts of the Union until it has driven them out and then puts up prices—that is one of the things which it does—I do not at present exactly see how to hit it. The State can say that no corporation shall have a capital of more than a million dollars or a hundred thousand dollars, and stop it in that way, but I do not see how we can hit it.

Then, of course, there is another way in which it acts, and that is, where it says it will refuse to sell its product to anybody who will not submit to its terms in regard to the matter of selling, but that, according to the Knight decision, is still matter of local commerce and not of interstate commerce.

Now, therefore, the only way——

Mr. CAFFERY. Will the Senator allow me?

Mr. HOAR. I am answering the question of the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. LINDSAY], and I desire to finish that.

The only way in which we can hit it which has been suggested anywhere is to say, "So long as you have got this vast aggregate of wealth and drive your competitors out of business by underselling them, just as the English manufacturers did here in the olden times, or impose these conditions or make a discrimination in the persons to whom you sell, you shall not import, or you shall not have any duty on the articles you import during a certain period, or you shall not have a duty on the articles you make," as the Senator suggests. That is what you have got to do.

Mr. BERRY. Why not do that?

Mr. LINDSAY. That is where I think we can strike a fatal blow at this business.

Mr. HOAR. That may be.

Mr. CAFFERY. Will the Senator allow me now?

Mr. HOAR. I am trying to answer the question of the Senator from Kentucky, if the Senator from Louisiana will pardon me.

That is the trouble I have just stated. You have got to convict a person, because this thing would be applicable to one individual, Mr. Rockefeller or Mr. Armour or anybody else, as well as to a corporation. That makes no difference. You have got to convict a man first of the described method of violating the law or of doing the act which you wish to make illegal. Can you prescribe as the punishment, on conviction of such an offense, a future incapacity to import, or a future regulation that the man shall import under certain conditions? I do not think you can, because that is a very unusual punishment, altogether out of all the lines and precedents.

Then take the other alternative; that is to say——

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. President——

Mr. HOAR. I want to answer the Senator's question.

Mr. LINDSAY. Very well. I shall not interrupt the Senator. I thought he had finished.

Mr. HOAR. I can not answer such a question in ten words. I will answer the Senator as well as I know how.

Mr. LINDSAY. I thought the Senator had finished. I beg his pardon.

Mr. HOAR. The other alternative, if the Senator will pardon me, is to say, "Very well, if your business is done in that way, the article in which you deal shall be free." The difficulty with that is that, if you undertake to go into the general policy of legislation on that principle, you are always putting the manufacturers or business men of any kind in this country who have grown up a business which depends for its prosperity or its life on the protection which you have established at the mercy of any three or four scoundrels who choose to commit an offense for the mere purpose, perhaps, of overthrowing the tariff, and you would put the revenues of the Government, if the proposition which was voted for the other day, as I understand it, had been enacted into law, in the power of any three Englishmen or Dutchmen or Frenchmen who could come here to this country and could, in succession, establish some little business, violate this law, and overthrow and destroy the entire protective system of this country. That is the difficulty.

Now I will hear the Senator from Kentucky.

Mr. LINDSAY. The difficulty stated by my friend in regard to the first point seems to be well-nigh fatal to the amendment offered by the junior Senator from Alabama, and that is, that in the application of the penalty you have first to take the conviction. Now, his objection to the second proposition I admit to be well taken. A general law which provides for punishing trusts throughout the great domain of trade may encourage conspiracies to bring about punishment for the advancement of some other interest, but the point I want to make is as to the sugar trust. We have the president of the trust admitting that through their combination of capital they have rendered it a practical monopoly; that they control 80 per cent of all the refined sugars sold in the United States; that they do not admit of competition, and that they fix their rates so as to exclude all foreign competition. Now, I say, we have a case here that did not need any trial and did not need any conviction.

Mr. HOAR. What are you going to do with the other 20 per cent?

Mr. LINDSAY. The other 20 per cent is interested in this very sugar monopoly, in that the American Refining Company owns one-half of the stock of the Western American Refining Company, and the independent sugar refining companies in Boston own stock in the American Refining Company, and while they avoid technically having a common interest, they are in point of fact so

connected together that there is no competition between them and no competition intended to be between them.

I say that when we have a confessed case of that sort and we are legislating to raise revenue, when we reach the point of taxation that benefits this sugar monopoly, we ought to refuse to give it anything in the way of protection, and we ought to act upon Mr. Sherman's theory of opening our markets to the competition of the world until this unholy monopoly shall be broken down, and then will be time enough to consider the question of giving protection to the domestic sugar refiners.

Mr. HOAR. I do not wish to take up much time, for I have taken up too much already; but the answer to that seems to be this: We have come to the conclusion that it is desirable to have a revenue from refined sugar, and that it is also desirable that the business of refining sugar shall be prosecuted in this country to so large an extent as to have at least competition here with the foreign refiner, and that if we do not do that we shall be at the mercy of the foreigners, who very often are a much bigger and worse trust than the sugar trust, bad as it may be.

I do not myself think there is any more hostile, dangerous trust in any business than a great foreign government endeavoring to manage and control the American market and paying out its bounties to its own manufacturers or its own exporters in order to enable them to break down the American business. They are doing everything they can to break down competition here in that way, with greater power than the men in this country whose processes have just been described.

I think we want to hesitate a little, and see if we can not provide some other way to regulate and control this thing. Simply because a fox, or a jackal, if you choose to say so, preys on our garden or on our coops, I think there is some better remedy than giving it over to a foreign wolf or foreign lion.

Now, in regard to the amendment of the Senator from Alabama, I think I can show the Senator from Kentucky that it is not liable to the objection which I have been stating, but I should rather undertake that at the time when it comes up for consideration.

Mr. LINDSAY. The Senator may be able to do that.

Mr. CAFFERY. Mr. President, if I understand the Senator from Massachusetts correctly, his proposition is that the Supreme Court having decided in the case against the sugar trust that the question of monopoly is one for the States to deal with exclusively, any Federal legislation would be inoperative as to any such monopoly. That is the way I understand it.

Mr. HOAR. I did not say that. I do not know why it is that when Senators state the difficulties which they encounter they are charged with having expressed an opinion. I did not express any opinion on the subject. I said I had been studying the subject as well as I could, and I encountered those difficulties.

Mr. CAFFERY. I quite agree with the Senator that the question of monopoly is one for State jurisdiction, and I hardly think an attack upon monopoly can come through the instrumentality of a Federal statute. The question of a State monopoly is one thing, and the question of a contract in restraint of trade by that monopoly when the trade has reference to other States is quite another thing.

The decision in the case referred to—I suppose it is that of the Government against Knight—does not go to the extent of holding that the product of the monopolized manufacture could not come within the inhibition of the Federal statute against trusts. The pleadings in that case were to the effect that the monopoly trust should be broken up, the certificates returned, and the institution abolished, and the opinion contains a very strong hint that if the suit had been brought to bring the trust within the penalties of the statute for violation of the antitrust law prohibiting combinations in restraint of trade it might have been maintained.

I quite concur with the Senator from Nebraska that the present law is perfectly adapted to reach unlawful combinations or conspiracies in restraint of trade, if the restraint affects interstate trade and comes within the domain of commerce between the States. The difficulties conjured up in the mind of the Senator from Massachusetts, in my opinion, are purely speculative. I can not see their practical working. In my opinion, the decision which was lately rendered by the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of the Transmissouri Traffic Association meets the case of every trust located in any State the product or manufacture of which is designed and does get into interstate commerce.

I do not recollect exactly that decision, but the facts were that there was a combination or conspiracy between the railroads or the freight associations whereby no amount less than that fixed upon for the transportation of freight should be charged, and we have the undoubted testimony and proof that the contracts between the sugar trust and its patrons, the wholesale grocers, come directly within the scope of that decision. Those contracts are substantially that the trust sells to its patrons so much sugar free on board at such a price, and to every shipment is attached a coupon which the consignee shall sign and return that he obligates himself not to sell below the price fixed in the invoice.

That is a contract directly in restraint of trade, and comes directly within the inhibition and penalties of the statute quoted by the Senator from Nebraska. I think it is time to call the attention of the Attorney-General and the district attorneys throughout the United States to these flagrant and constant and repeated violations of the law on the part of the sugar trust. There may be aggregations of capital to such an extent as to control the prices of necessary commodities, and they may be legitimate and lawful in certain cases; but whenever an aggregation of capital, or even individual capital, undertakes to couple with its contracts anything in restraint of trade, then it violates the law. Then it remains no longer legitimate, whether it is an aggregation of capital or whether it is not.

Mr. LINDSAY. It must be interstate.

Mr. CAFFERY. Of course. Before the Federal statute could reach a case of that sort the trade must be interstate. You can not affect its contracts in a State, confined to the State, not intended to go outside of the State.

Mr. ALLEN. There is no controversy as to that point. The whole question has been confined to interstate commerce.

Mr. CAFFERY. Interstate commerce.

Mr. ALLEN. Except in so far as the Senator from Massachusetts interjected into the discussion State commerce.

Mr. CAFFERY. The Transmissouri decision went so far as to hold that whether it was a reasonable regulation of trade or not, just so that it was a binding contract not to transport freight at a lower price, it was a violation of the Federal statute.

The Senator from Massachusetts has stated what to me appears to be another speculative matter, entirely outside of any practical operation or effect, when he said that two or three persons may get together—and this is in reference to the operation of the amendment offered by the Senator from South Dakota—and make a trumped-up combination or contract in restraint of trade, then that contract would have the effect of breaking down all legitimate enterprises in the same line of business. There is nothing in that, because the amendment proposed by the Senator from South Dakota only contemplated contracts the effect of which and the intendment of which was to restrain trade. No other contracts can be considered. So these imaginary contracts are of no moment. Such fraudulent devices would not effect any purpose at all.

The other point was made that because trust contracts were made by citizens in a State, localized in a State, entirely to affect their business in a State, therefore the Federal statute could not reach them. That is a non sequitur. In the first place, the import duty placed upon an article imported into the United States is not put there by way of reward, and the taking off of the import duty would not be done in the way of punishment.

That argument would seem to imply that whenever an import duty is laid upon a foreign article competing with one made in the United States, the taking off of the import duty would be a punishment on somebody somewhere. That idea is born of the protective theory. It seems to contemplate protection as a reward for great benefactions to the human race—the charging of three or four or five or six times as much as they ought to pay. Whenever Congress impose a duty they can take it off, and they ought to do so whenever the duty upholds trusts, local or otherwise.

Mr. President, in a pamphlet which I have there is a very interesting history of the operations of the sugar trust. As the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. LINDSAY] said some time ago, sugar is always up, and sugar is very much connected with this present discussion. The discussion relates to trusts, and the sugar trust is the most powerful trust in the world; it is the most tyrannical trust in the world; it is the most arrogant trust in the world; it is the most iniquitous trust in the world, and the least deserving of any favor from the Congress of the United States.

This pamphlet recites the manner in which the American sugar trust took in the innocent wholesale grocers. The sugar trust made it appear, about the time the sugar interests were consolidated, that it was necessary, in order that it and the wholesale grocers, distributers of its product, should both enjoy large benefits and advantages from the trade, for those grocers to help it procure certain tariff legislation. The grocers helped.

Congress was besieged in 1890 and 1894 by telegrams coming thick to almost every member of the House and Senate from wholesale grocers to place a tariff upon refined sugar. They did not care very much about raw sugar. The trust was interested in refined. The help was given in pursuance of the idea that the sugar trust would take the wholesale grocers in its circle and would distribute its sugar through the National Wholesale Grocers' Association.

The sugar trust got its legislation; it got protection against foreign competition; and the very moment it did so it threw aside

the wholesale grocers, preferring to deal with individuals, preferring to deal with those who could not break down its monopoly, rather than with a powerful organization which might break down its monopoly if there were any cause to justify it.

I will read one of the delectable contracts which the sugar trust makes with its agents.

Mr. ALLEN. Let me suggest to the Senator that we should all like to have the benefit of the entire document he has. I suggest to the Senator to attach it to his remarks.

Mr. CAFFERY. I am going to do so. I simply now wish to read this so as to draw attention to it. Here is what they send with their invoices:

> We inclose herewith invoice of sugar of even date on which a commission of one-eighth of a cent per pound has been deducted in addition to our usual terms of 1 per cent cash in seven days and 1 per cent trade discount on 100-barrel lots, the understanding being that with your remittance the certificate below is to be returned, duly signed by you as a voucher.
>
> THE AMERICAN SUGAR REFINING COMPANY.

Here is the certificate which the poor lamb has to sign:

> We hereby certify that we have not sold, nor will sell, nor has any employee, salesman, or agent of ours sold, either directly or indirectly, any of the sugars for which we are now remitting, for less than your daily quotations, with freight added from refining point to point of sale (as per equality rate book), in any of the territory specified on the back of this certificate, nor on more liberal terms as to credit or cash discounts.

Here is the indorsement of the territory in which the party agrees not to sell the sugar below the quoted invoice price. Of course they run all over the United States, but this takes in a small block of the United States:

Maine,	Rhode Island,	Maryland,	Ohio,
New Hampshire,	New York,	Virginia,	Tennessee,
Vermont,	New Jersey,	West Virginia,	District of Columbia.
Massachusetts,	Pennsylvania,	North Carolina,	
Connecticut,	Delaware,	South Carolina,	

Now, then, when they ship a consignment to some other consignee in a territory not covered by this certificate, they put it in. The States of Nebraska, Arkansas, Louisiana, Alabama, Mississippi, Kentucky, perhaps are in another. Now, in between the lines of this contract this is written: "If you sell any part of your sugar below this price, then you are out; but if you do not buy it from us exclusively, you can not ever get another shipment of our sugar."

That is between the lines. That is the practical operation of it. That is what has been done as to the Louisiana sugar planters who wanted to sell sugar in Omaha. That is what is being done every day. They control the whole market of the United States by reason of the tariff upon the refined product, and therefore it is that no sales can be effected anywhere except by and through the trust.

I offer the whole of this pamphlet to be inserted in the RECORD, commencing with the words "Sugar distribution combine," down to the end of it. It was prepared by the Hon. John De Witt Warner, former member of the House, a man of ability and integrity, and I believe his statements. He copies the contracts of the trust, and he gives a succinct and picturesque history of the whole business, of the formation of the distribution combine, which took effect shortly after the formation of the sugar trust itself.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. There being no objection, the document will be printed in the RECORD.

Mr. ALLISON. I trust the Senator will be content with having that printed as a document. It seems to be a long one.

Mr. CAFFERY. I should like to have it printed in connection with my remarks. It is not very long.

(See appendix.)

Mr. CAFFERY. I want to call the attention of the Senate to another point in the sugar business which gives the sugar trust unlimited sway over the sugar market of the United States. The Senator from Arkansas introduced some samples the other day of certain soft sugars which polarize below 85 degrees of saccharine strength. These sugars under the operation of the schedule on sugar would come in at the highest tax on refined sugars. Now, these sugars are absolutely necessary (and I call the attention of the Senator from Iowa to this matter) to a very important industry in the United States, that is, the bakery business and the biscuit business.

I received some letters from some parties (I have them not here with me now, for I did not intend to address the Senate this morning) on this question, stating that this low-grade refined sugar is necessary in the business referred to, and it is necessary to the ordinary consumer of the United States. The same tax is imposed upon this sugar testing 83 and 85 as is imposed upon sugar testing 100 degrees. In other words, there is more tariff upon the raw centrifugal sugar of 96 degrees saccharine strength than there is upon this class of inferior refined sugar.

That class of sugar is largely consumed by the poor, and in some respects it is a better sugar, for there is no more impurity in it than the higher grade sugars. It has the capacity of much more rapid solution. It dissolves quicker in any liquid in which you put it. The ordinary man in putting a spoonful of this hard granulated sugar into a cup of coffee does not wait long for it to perfectly dissolve.

Everybody is aware of that fact from the amount of sediment or undissolved sugar that is found at the bottom of the cup; but this cheap sugar, being already liquefied to some extent, dissolves immediately and effects its purpose much more quickly. Therefore this cheap sugar or this low-grade sugar that comes in between 83 and 85 degrees is very much more purchased by the poor; and the sugar trust to-day, I am told, is making that sort of sugar in Brooklyn, where is located one of its largest refineries.

That sugar comes in and is tariffed as much as the hard granulated and cut loaf sugar. It comes in under a tariff higher than you propose upon raw sugar, and it gives the sugar trust too much swing. What prevents the sugar trust from making that kind of sugar, when by the operation of the tariff law you exclude all foreign competition? What prevents the sugar trust from deriving a benefit of the tariff upon the higher grades and making the lower for ordinary consumption in the United States? Nothing in the world.

What prevents the sugar trust from exporting that sugar? I tried to show the other day to the Senator from Iowa, but I could not convince him, that the Treasury statement itself was erroneous in its predicate of the number of pounds of raw sugar it took to make a number of refined. What is to prevent the sugar trust, under these conditions, from making an enormous amount of money in the export of these sugars?

Mr. President, as long as the question of trusts is up, I do not see how argument or reason can be better employed than to the annihilation of the sugar trust. As to the aggregations of capital of a legitimate character, they have no connection with this illegitimate organization. As was well put by the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. LINDSAY], there is no speculation as to the character of the sugar trust. Its character is an established fact by testimony coming out of its own mouth. Its character is an established fact in the decision in the case of the Government against Knight, where the Supreme Court stated that about 10 per cent of the whole business of refining in the United States was merged into this vast trust corporation.

APPENDIX.

SUGAR-DISTRIBUTION COMBINE.

[John De Witt Warner.]

THE GENERAL SITUATION.

On January 23, 1894, the House of Representatives decided to refuse all protection to the sugar trust, leaving it without either favor or obstruction of law to earn its own living. On February 1 the tariff bill, with this and other amendments, was to be reported back to the House for final action. On January 30 there began a sprinkle, which by the next day had grown into a shower and on February 1 had become a deluge, of telegrams from all parts of the country, urging Congressmen to kill the amendment by which the sugar trust was denied subsidy.

The telegrams, which had been heretofore arriving largely at the residences and hotels of members, now came showering about the floor until the matter became one of amusing comment—some favored members having a perfect sheaf of the yellow favors; and the curious interest with which at first members had compared similar suggestions from widely differing quarters of the country having turned into a simple nod and "I have got another;" which was heard on every side, as the pages continued to deliver the messages. These were busy days, and telegrams on a variety of subjects were not so rare as to be curiosities; but the most easy-going member was roused by the extent to which the whole country seemed suddenly clamoring for higher priced sugar, and as it developed that these messages came almost exclusively from wholesale grocers, somewhat of curious interest was aroused.

Older members, however, simply smiled and shook their heads as they recalled similar, though not so extreme, experiences when the McKinley bill was pending, and, except that in that case the Southwest seemed to be most stirred while on this latter occasion Illinois seemed the storm center, they remarked nothing noteworthy except that the sugar combine seemed to be working better than ever.

The interest which then and since has been shown in the distribution combine, by which an overwhelming majority of the grocers of the United States are acting as special agents of the trust, under special written contract, upon an agreement for definite commissions, and the importance of the subject, involving, as the one item of sugar does, probably about one-third of the total groceries trade of the United States, has seemed to me to justify what by some may be regarded as an exposé, but what to others will be merely a commonplace summary of facts. They have been long known, to anyone who cared to inquire, as constituting a system so flagrant as long since to have been pilloried and crushed, except for the all-pervading influence of the sugar trust and the extent to which the moral sense of the American people has been deadened by the daily mess of horrors that protection has served up.

In the autumn of 1887 a reorganization was commenced of the whole business of sugar refining and sugar distribution for the United States. For several years the conservative business methods of former times had been demoralized by the extent to which cheapening transportation and the utilization of enormous capitals had turned what had been simple individual rivalry between conservative men, willing to do a safe business upon a small capital, into a veritable "battle of the giants," the leading wholesale grocers and refiners, each of whom, both against his rivals in his own business, and in combination with them against those engaged in the other, aimed to extend his field of operations and profit. Each, in his way, was striving to outdo others in cheaply serving the public and compelling others to do so.

The margin of expense and profit, both in the refining and in the distribution of sugar, was less than ever before or since, the difference between the cost at which the refiner purchased his centrifugals, raw sugars, and the price at which the retail dealer received from the jobber his standard refined granulated being frequently not more than three-fourths of a cent per pound. From such conditions has grown the combine, by which, as direct employees of the trust in the majority of cases, the wholesale grocers of the United States—that trade upon which more than upon any other our people are dependent for their food supply—have combined with the sugar trust to control the most important item of their supply, to limit production, raise prices, double, treble, and quadruple profits, and boycott and drive from the business any dealer who dares attempt to serve the public more cheaply.

At this date (August 1, 1894), in spite of the extraordinary cheapening of transport during the last few years, and the great cheapening in the cost of raw sugars, which would make the old margin an exorbitant one now, the difference east of the Rocky Mountains between the price paid by the refiner for 96-degree centrifugals and that paid by the retailer to the jobber for standard granulated is 1¼ cents per pound in addition to freights and charges, and a much higher figure westward to the Pacific coast, while this margin is no longer offset, as at the earlier period was frequently the case, by special discounts offered by competing jobbers, the larger profit now being as rigidly, as invariably, and as successfully exacted as the similar profit at the earlier date was frequently reduced.

Leaving these last out of the question, however, as the result of excessive rivalry, the net gain through the combine in the extent to which its normal profits have been increased is equivalent to at least seven-sixteenth cent, making, upon the present basis of consumption, at least $17,500,000 in addition to what in those former years was a normal business profit and what to-day, with the narrowing margins of all business, would be a most liberal margin. Of this somewhat less than one-third is extra bonus received by the grocers as the result of the combine, and the remainder is the "lion's share" exacted by the trust as its prerogative. This in addition to the greatly increased profits which, by its enterprise in other directions and cheapened processes, it would be in any case able to realize from the old margin.

And, once for all, it is noted here, in answer to those who figure out the low per cent margin upon which the sugar business is done, that this trade is conducted in such a systematic way and so largely as a "cash" business that thirty days would be an extraordinary length of time to estimate as the average period during which the funds involved in any one transaction are held idle, while the discounts for cash and for large orders, not noted above but universally allowed jobbers, are such as, if they chose to do a short credit business with the retailer, amply to pay average expenses and insure against average losses as well as reimburse current interest.

To charge against sugar sales any considerable proportion of general expenses is unfair, for the reason that such general expenses are incurred on behalf of matters other than sugar, and that under the "equality plan" now so generally in vogue the most of the general expense which might otherwise have been taken into account is done away with: and with a comparative small storehouse, a clerk, and a bookkeeper, a large wholesale business in sugar can be done. The bulk of general expenses is directly or indirectly necessitated by attempts to realize large margins on other goods, to which they should be charged.

The plea, therefore, now so frequently made, that the arrangement with the trust insures the grocers only 4 or 5 per cent net profit on sugars (which is not far from correct if these trade and cash discounts are omitted from the calculation) is really equal to an admission of net profits of from 40 to 60 per cent per annum on the capital used in handling them.

ORIGIN OF THE DISTRIBUTION COMBINE.

In this line, as in most others, there had been little organization prior to 1885. In New England an association of wholesale grocers, originally organized at Boston, had existed since 1875, which, though it had not attempted materially to raise prices, had practically put an end to the "wild-cat" rivalry involved in selling any goods at a loss in order to attract custom for others, and had secured such adjustment of freight rates in that territory for the benefit of the whole trade as to relieve its members from the alternative of attempting special arrangements or being outrivaled by some one who did so. With its headquarters in Boston, its executive committee took advantage of the normal competition then existing between the Revere Refinery and the Boston Refinery to secure profitable working arrangements with each, not merely insuring greater certainty and promptness in settlement of accounts and greater simplicity in doing business, thus enabling all parties to secure more profit on less margin and relieving each of sundry expenses and unpleasant contingencies, to which the irregular methods had formerly exposed him, but including a contract with the Boston refiners by which they agreed not to sell in lots of less than 20 barrels, except at one-eighth cent per pound higher than the wholesale price.

At New York the great grocery houses, while not carrying their rivalry to the extent practiced by their more enterprising or more foolhardy brethren of the West, were selling sugars at as low a margin as was consistent with safety, while the several refiners were competing to supply them upon similar terms. The situation was similar at Philadelphia, Baltimore, New Orleans, and San Francisco, while in the West and Southwest sugar prices were too frequently used as an advertising card, and profits sacrificed in consequence. About 1885, however, new conditions arose. At New York the new Havemeyers & Elder Refinery, and at Philadelphia the Franklin Refinery, built upon a scale not before attempted, steadily enlarging their capacity, utilizing new processes, mechanical and otherwise, were marketing increasing quantities of their sugars at prices which were driving others from the field.

Older firms stood aghast as the Havemeyers repeatedly increased the size of their plant and signalized their lead, not only of America, but of the world, by marketing abroad increasing quantities of their best product, selling at a profit for export during the last year before the formation of the trust at least 100,000 tons of standard granulated sugars. At Philadelphia Claus Spreckels had selected the site and was planning the buildings for an enormous refining plant, built expressly to compete with the Havemeyers, the only existing refinery he seemed to consider of any consequence whatever as a possible rival. It was evident that the American people were in actual danger of having cheap sugar, that the owners of antiquated refining plants might in a few years be compelled to charge them to profit and loss, and that unless something was done even the Havemeyers would soon be obliged to content themselves with such returns from capital as in fair competition with an equally enterprising refiner they and he might fix. And though the success of the New England association and the conditions at New York and the other great grocery centers were likely to insure to the grocery trade a moderate profit in sugar, there was no immediate prospect of any bonanza in handling it.

With McKinleyism in the air and shortly in control of Government, this state of things called for a remedy, and the genius of the sugar trust supplied it.

So far as concerns the mutual relations of the refiners themselves, the story is a well-known one. After consultation between the Havemeyers, who were even then making large profits and rapidly extending their trade, and the other refiners, who saw their old plants becoming worthless, there was little trouble in coming to an agreement to pool their issues, and the original sugar trust was formed, practically controlling the supply for New England, New York and vicinity, and, from New Orleans, the lower Mississippi Valley, competing on even terms with the Philadelphia refiners for the middle West and Northwest, while Spreckels was left undisturbed from the Missouri River to the Pacific coast, the trust controlling about 70 per cent of the total United States markets. There was but little trouble as to the basis of combine.

The owners of the old refineries which had become no longer profitable were gratified by the receipt of "preferred" certificates in the new association equal to the total cost of their plants. The new refiners received in preferred certificates an amount as many times the investment in their plants as, on account of the fact that they were worth something, it was calculated they were more valuable than the antiquated ones. And then as a douceur to everybody and sort of speculative flyer an additional number of certificates, representing nothing but water, were issued to each associate equal to those that he already had, and the most congenial combine in the world was thus pleasantly born, and the only drawback being the great number of worthless plants that must promptly be closed and left to rot and rust, and the more than Senatorial courtesy that made it inevitable to give fat contracts for the furnishing of supplies, cooperage, etc., to the former owners and present associates, who had invariably taken the precaution to put into the common stock only the bare refining plant, retaining the necessary adjuncts as their individual property. These arrangements pleasantly occupied the latter months of 1887, and by January, 1888, sugar brokers and purchasing grocers found themselves entirely relieved of the trouble of ascertaining where they could buy sugar most cheaply, prices being higher on every hand, and each refinery charging the same and showing an utter indifference to orders.

It may have been the increasing closeness in competition and margins which are the natural source of rising prices, or it may have been the slow development in organization in the grocery trade that made the grocers of the United States just at this time so easy a field to exploit, and it needs no explanation to understand how desirable it was for the sugar trust to organize such an alliance as, controlling the greatest amount of territory possible, should extend the markets for its sugars, exclude rival sugars from its territory, and, by further refinement of system, cheapen the cost of its business and relieve it entirely of the greater part of its expense for agents. Mr. Howard W. Spurr, of Boston, and Messrs. G. Waldo Smith and H. H. Holly, of New York, concurred in the suggestion that this sugar matter ought so to be arranged that everyone concerned could secure sure and liberal profits without superfluous worry and cost, and their correspondence was most enthusiastically welcomed by such gentlemen as Mr. Dymond, of Cincinnati, and Mr. Inbusch, of Milwaukee, the latter of whom, with a genius for organization, had already planned such an association between the grocers of the Mississippi Valley as should relieve the trade of the cutthroat competition that was then so prevalent in that section.

THE WHOLESALE GROCERS' NATIONAL ASSOCIATION.

As a result, a national association of wholesale grocers was gotten together in New York in June, 1888. It had not been thought desirable to call the whole matter a sugar deal, and many of those who attended had actually in mind the numerous other objects which had been kept prominent in correspondence. When Mr. Holly, however, who was elected chairman, took the chair, he, as the press reports it, "at once took up the sugar question and said that competition was such that grocers were selling sugars at a ruinous loss and were compelled to raise the price on other articles to meet it," and that the trouble was "close competition and also adulteration." Thereupon a committee, consisting of Mr. W. J. Johnson, of Richmond; Mr. H. W. Spurr, of Boston; Mr. G. Waldo Smith, of New York; Mr. F. W. Inbusch, of Milwaukee, and Mr. Richard Dymond, of Cincinnati, was appointed to consult with the sugar refiners, which meant Mr. Havemeyer, with whom it had long before been arranged to be ready to meet the committee when appointed.

In the pleasurable excitement that followed this step the rest of the business of the convention was forgotten, except that some of the leaders "were positive in their statements that there was no idea of forming a grocers' sugar trust, but that the plan was by association to prevent trade abuses and secure the selling of pure and wholesome goods." As the press reports of that date indicate, "the retail grocers watched the convention with interest, as they would like to make a little profit on sugar, too." It adjourned so promptly, however, that the retail grocers did not see much, and are still in the dark.

At the adjourned meeting on June 26, the committee appointed to confer with the refiners reported "that the refiners in this city were very willing to enter into any reasonable agreement that might be proposed by the Wholesale Grocers' Association, but that it would be impossible for them to enter upon any agreement as to prices of sugars unless all refiners in various parts of the country should join in the movement. After a brief discussion as to the amount of profit the wholesalers should realize on sugar," a discussion which, as given out to the reporters, developed an apprehension that any mistake "would enable English refiners to flood the market"—though why the wholesale grocers should not have been glad to have the English refiners in the market is unaccountable—the convention adjourned.

What had really happened was this: The committee had seen Mr. Havemeyer, was assured by him that the great aim of the sugar trust was to see to it that everyone concerned got fair profits, and especially that sugars were kept wholesome and pure. To effect these aims, however, he pointed out, as the result of long consideration, that it would be necessary to keep out the adulterated British and other depraved sugars, and, indeed, to limit the production in this country—as otherwise the temptation of grasping refiners to broaden their markets would be a perpetual menace to the liberal and friendly arrangements he had in mind. The committee were at first surprised. They had been talking about pure and wholesome groceries, but, until Mr. Havemeyer brought them down to a practical basis, they had not worried about the importation of adulterated sugars; and then, too, while they did want a friendly arrangement that should assure them of profits and rid them of trouble, it had not occurred to them that they needed to have sugar production limited; and, so far as they had thought about it, they had taken it for granted that the more sugar there was produced, the easier it would be to make large sales at comparatively low prices coincide with liberal profits.

Indeed, as they explained, it was not so much the size of the margin that they were anxious about, as that some margin, however slight, should be assured. Mr. Havemeyer, however, showed them how mistaken they were, and had little trouble in convincing them that in addition to trade and interest discounts the wholesale grocer ought to have a good liberal margin, say a quarter of a cent per pound, which it would be easy to arrange if only the Philadelphia people were reasonable. The committee were more than pleased with Mr. Havemeyer, and explaining to him that they could control three-fourths of the sugar trade of this country, and that, whatever the Philadelphia men might do, the National Association was the fast friend of the trust, reported to their convention and started for Philadelphia. Meanwhile Mr. Havemeyer felt that the trust's position had been strengthened

and thoughtfully put out a notice that on and after July 1 commissions would be refused to sugar brokers who handled sugars of refiners outside of the trust, or who dealt with other brokers who did handle such sugars.

At Philadelphia the committee found the refiners most cynical and businesslike. At the suggestion that they limit their production, the refiners smiled, and seemed even more pleased when assured that Mr. Havemeyer thought it would be a good plan. Concerning adulterated foreign sugars, they were not worried at all, and as to commissions to wholesale grocers, while not objecting to Mr. Havemeyer's liberal ideas, seemed to think there might be danger of going too far, and that the more sugar there was produced the better, so long as it could be sold. They politely assured the committee, however, that if all the rest of the refiners in the United States assented to their proposition, they would too, provided no law would be violated by the arrangement. The committee then went to Boston, but apparently made no history there, though it may doubtless be assumed that somebody gave them a dinner at the Parker House, as the contrary is not stated.

The wholesale grocers had not secured their rebate arrangements, but they had formed a very pleasant acquaintance with Mr. Havemeyer and Mr. Searles, and were greatly encouraged. The sugar trust, on the other hand, had secured a practical boycott over a majority of the United States of Philadelphia sugars, while they regretted very much that the threatened and soon pending suits in New York made it imprudent for them to enter into arrangements with the wholesale grocers by which they (the sugar trust) could be held.

Sympathizing with the trust in this affliction, which, however, was vastly more damaging to the grocers, Mr. Inbusch, the now secretary and practical factotum of the National Grocers' Association, started out to visit the wholesale grocers in the different sections of the United States, to persuade them to join his association and, by conferring with the refiners and outside parties, to agree on some plan which would not interfere with the antitrust laws of the different States, and under which the trust could bind itself by a definite agreement which would insure liberal profits to the wholesale grocers, and which Mr. Havemeyer and Mr. Searles seemed anxious to consummate.

Col. Jay Torrey, a distinguished lawyer of St. Louis, who had since earned fame in connection with the bankruptcy bill, was called in, and under his counsel were drawn first contracts providing for "equality" plan as to prices, a commission or rebate payable on the 10th of each month by the trusts to each obedient grocer of one-fourth cent a pound on all the sugar he had paid for during the month preceding, and an allowance to the secretary of the National Grocers' Association for expenses, etc., in attending to certain of working details, and second, for mutual papers to be exchanged between the refiners and their customers, which have become historic as the originals from which were developed the forms now used, and are therefore quoted here:

"Mr. ——— ———,

———— ————:

"We inclose herewith invoice of sugars of even date.

"Upon your execution and return of the affidavit herewith, but not otherwise, you may deduct from the invoice one-fourth of a cent per pound less one-fiftieth of 1 cent per pound in addition to the rebates already made.

"(Name.)

"[Affidavit.]

"STATE OF ———, *County of* ———; *ss:*

"———— ———— (insert the name of the person making this affidavit), upon being duly sworn, says that the sugars for which a remittance is made herewith, nor any sugars referred to in any previous affidavit, have not been sold, directly or indirectly, by ———— ———— (insert the name of the seller of the sugars) for less than the daily price furnished by Frederick W. Inbusch, and not on longer time than thirty days, nor with a greater discount than one-half of 1 per cent for cash in ten days."

With these papers in his pocket, Mr. Inbusch started eastward. Philadelphia was on his way, and though he had not much hope from such cynical people, who indeed referred him to their attorneys, he was pleased with their businesslike promptness in acquiescing on being advised that they would not thereby get into legal complications. Mr. Inbusch and Judge Torrey hastened to New York to report their success to Mr. Havemeyer and to close arrangements. Mr. Havemeyer was only less pleased than they at the plan proposed, and most anxious to enter upon it, but thought it rash to do so just at the time that the McKinley bill was pending, and afterwards concluded that though the proposed contract was legal, yet that it would be better to wait until determination of proceedings which had been commenced in New York State courts. It was suggested to Mr. Inbusch, however, that the wholesale grocers could help their friends, the refiners, make sure of such a margin upon refined sugar as should leave ample room for liberal commission to the grocers, and that the time might well be spent in properly influencing legislation.

THE SUGAR TRUST'S CATSPAW.

An opportunity soon arose. This was in 1889 and on the eve of the assembling of the McKinley Congress, and about August 1, 1889, there was introduced by Mr. Seabury, of St. Paul, into a meeting of the board of directors of the National Grocers' Association the following resolution:

"Whereas the wholesale and retail grocers of the United States distribute sugar at a loss when the interest on capital employed and losses from bad debts are considered; and

"Whereas these losses are greatly enhanced by the high price of sugar, and this is due largely to the heavy import duty now imposed, which amounts on the average to about 2½ cents per pound; and

"Whereas the revenue derived from this source is not needed, and the duty on sugar constitutes a heavy burden alike upon consumers and distributers of sugar; and

"Whereas a free breakfast table has been a desiderstum recognized by all parties, and tea and coffee have long since been placed upon the list of articles free of duty:

"*Resolved*, That the officers of this association be, and are hereby, instructed to prepare a petition to Congress that sugar be added also to the list of articles free of duty, and that said petition be circulated throughout the United States by the salesmen and customers of the members of this association."

This resolution was referred to the executive committee of the board, which met on the 2d or 3d of August. The vote was close, and it was tabled by a majority of 1. Some of those present were surprised to learn afterwards that the sugar trust was kept fully informed from the inside of all that was pending or done at either the board or committee meetings of the wholesale grocers; and no one was more puzzled by this than was Mr. Inbusch, the secretary, who naturally thought that his own friendly feeling for the trust made entirely uncalled for any attempt on its part to have him watched.

So far, however, there was no rift in the lute. In January the refiners camped in Washington, and in public and private did what they could to acquaint Congress with their wishes. But as March waned and April dawned and the bill was perfected for report, they were not satisfied with the situation; and through the National Grocers' Association they sent out a Macedonian cry. There was promptly sent to each member of the association this preamble and resolution in blank ready to be filled out and signed:

"Whereas the present tariff on sugar affords protection to American sugar refiners of more than 1 cent per pound between the rate of duty on raw and refined grades; and

"Whereas the tariff bill as proposed by the present Committee on Ways and Means destroys nearly the whole of this protection, changing the duty from a specific to an ad valorem basis at the rate of 35 per cent on raw sugar up to No. 16 Dutch standard, and only 40 per cent on higher grades; and

"Whereas this margin of 5 per cent is insufficient and would break down our entire refining industry, including the refiners outside of the sugar trust, as well as those which are in the trust;

"*Resolved*, That in the opinion of the wholesale grocers of ——— it would be unjust and unadvisable to thus cripple a leading industry, and that while the margin afforded by the present tariff is too large, that the one proposed is too small, and that in order to equalize the difference in the cost of labor and materials between American and foreign refineries the rate of duty on sugar above No. 16 Dutch standard should be at least 50 per cent instead of 40 per cent, as proposed in the McKinley bill."

These began to snow down upon the Ways and Means Committee; but their effect was sadly broken by Governor GEAR, of Iowa, who, on April 16, 1890, produced in the House a copy of the blank in question, and at the same time sent to the Clerk's desk to be read the following letter, in which the experience of later years has disclosed a depth of meaning then unsuspected:

WHOLESALE GROCERS' NATIONAL ASSOCIATION,
MERCANTILE EXCHANGE,
New York, April 7, 1890.

DEAR SIR: We have to-day seen the sugar trust people. They are very friendly and will do all they can to secure grocers a reasonable profit for distributing sugar as long as they have any profit themselves, but they are despondent on the tariff question; say that if the McKinley bill goes through with only 5 per cent difference between high and low grades, they can not live under it, owing to the higher cost of labor and other expenses of refining here as compared with Europe; that European refined will be dumped on this market, and there can be no regulation of prices in the interest of the grocers, as contemplated, and that everybody will be forced to work for nothing.

Now, this is undoubtedly true, and it will upset all your long labor and all of our efforts to get a living margin for grocers to distribute sugars on.

There is nothing to be gained by the United States in breaking down the refining interests, though they have doubtless had things too much their own way in the past; but a difference in the duty of, say, 15 per cent between raw and refined would permit them to live and give grocers a quarter of a cent distributing margin, and this they are willing to do.

Governor GEAR, of Iowa, who is now in Congress, has been the most prominent in urging a policy which would cripple the refiners in order to punish them for the sins of the trust; but you know the trust has been blamed for all the great advance in raw sugars last year, when in reality they were not in fault more than one-third or one-quarter of it. And if the present proposition is to go through, Spreckels, Harrison, Frazier & Co., Nash, Spaulding & Co., and the other small refiners outside of the trust will be punished as badly as the trust people.

Now, can not you get the Iowa jobbers, who, I believe, have an association, at once to communicate with Governor GEAR, if possible by a delegate, or pass resolutions deprecating any change which would break down our sugar refining interests, and also get the St. Louis and Chicago people to do the same thing?

We can get Boston, New York, and Philadelphia to protest against the present proposition, and ask that the margin between raw and refined be raised from 5 to 15 per cent, which would make grades above No. 16 standard (Dutch) pay 50 per cent ad valorem, and No. 16 and below, 35, as at present proposed. This is a reasonable change and we can defend it with reason.

See what you can do and communicate with us at once. Perhaps you can get your Milwaukee wholesale grocers to act first and pass a resolution somewhat like the one I inclose.

F. B. THURBER.
J. E. NICHOLS.

F. W. INBUSCH, Esq., *Milwaukee, Wis.*

And as it passed the House even the McKinley bill was unsatisfactory to the trust.

The reserves were called out. Each member of the Wholesale Grocers' Association was requested to correspond with his Representative at Washington, urging that a higher duty be put on refined sugars. Those who were supposed to be most influential were asked to go to Washington, where Mr. Inbusch marshaled them for action, and, as was triumphantly announced, they "there met Senator ALLISON, SPOONER, and McKinley, and put the matter before these gentlemen, as well as perhaps 50 other Representatives, and we finally succeeded in having the change made to one-half and three-fifths cents per pound." The net result is thus told by a reminiscent grocer under date of August 16, 1894:

"The trust, after we had carried our point for one-half cent, refused point-blank to give the trade a share of this, and up to date has pocketed every cent of it themselves."

This gentleman, however, is probably misled by his emotions, for the trust carefully avoided refusing "point-blank," or doing anything else point-blank.

Up to date the wholesale grocers had netted nothing except a mutual acquaintance with each other and the pleasure of association with Mr. Havemeyer and Mr. Searles. The trust, however, was doing fairly well. It was selling the wholesale grocers its sugars about as exclusively as though it had had a hard and fast agreement, the grocers had given it most valuable assistance in securing it the 60 cents per 1,000 pounds protection accorded it by the McKinley bill, and there now seemed to be no reason why the agreement which it professed to be in such a hurry to consummate, and which everybody's lawyers had said was legal, should not be entered into at once.

Mr. Inbusch went to New York and, congratulating Mr. Havemeyer upon the passage of the McKinley bill and upon the happy ending of the New York litigation and reorganization of the trust already arranged for, hinted that the grocers were now ready to close arrangements. Mr. Searles and Mr. Havemeyer, however, felt that it would be "well to wait and see what the Philadelphia refiners would do," as they were a very unreliable lot and might disagree with each other and perhaps make trouble in keeping the proposed agreement with the Wholesale Grocers' National Association. Mr. Inbusch did not understand this, but had so much faith in Mr. Havemeyer that he said, "All right," and waited.

In the autumn of 1891 the representative of the National Grocers' Association was more than pleased at the news that Mr. Havemeyer had been so successful as to have procured the Philadelphia refiners, Spreckels, Harrison, Frazier & Co., et al., to be incorporated into the new trust, and wrote Mr. Havemeyer as to closing arrangements with the grocers—the way being now so happily cleared of the last obstacle. Mr. Havemeyer seemed eager to close the agreement, but advised a preliminary meeting of the representatives of the grocery trade from the sections east of the Rocky Mountains. This made

Mr. Inbusch tired; but he was a patient man, and hearing that Mr. Searles would be at St. Louis, he arranged with Mr. Schweppe and Mr. Scudder, leaders of the wholesale grocery trade of that city, to call upon Mr. Searles for the purpose of finding out whether there were to be any more hitches in store for the grocers after they met.

Mr. Schweppe and Mr. Scudder had a very satisfactory interview with Mr. Searles about May 5, 1892. The wholesale grocers' meeting had been arranged for some date in May. Mr. Searles advised that this might have a bad effect on Congress, which, as Mr. Searles may have known, though he did not so state to Mr. Schweppe, had been considering in the Ways and Means Committee of the House a bill which was successfully smothered, to repeal the duty on refined sugar. As Mr. Schweppe stated:

"My own deductions from the interview are that the sugar trust needs the hearty cooperation of the wholesale grocers, and they are willing to promise almost anything to get the work done at the present time. I told him that I had heard him (Searles) talk just the same way once before, and that when the proper time for action came we did not get the benefit; to which he replied that 'it was on account of the Philadelphia refiners,' and suggested that he is willing to do anything or adopt any plan the grocers will unite upon."

USING OLD FRIENDS BEFORE TRADING THEM FOR NEW ONES.

While Mr. Searles was entertaining Messrs. Schweppe and Scudder at St. Louis, Mr. Havemeyer was in receipt of startling news. The Wholesale Grocers' Association of New Orleans had appointed a committee to go to Washington and agitate for a "free breakfast table," or, in other words, free refined sugar, and the committee was actually at Washington. Mr. Inbusch was appealed to, and the telegraph wires were hot between New York, Milwaukee, New Orleans, and Washington, as the New Orleans people were appealed to to withdraw their committee unless they wanted "to injure our cause." Mr. Inbusch finally succeeded in "calling them down," and all breathed freely again.

Meanwhile Mr. Martin, of Memphis, the president of the Southern Wholesale Grocers' Association, had been corresponding with Mr. Havemeyer, who, on May 9, had written him: "While we feel disposed to cooperate with the wholesale trade in the direction of securing for them a fair remuneration for their services in distributing our product, any plan looking to this end must originate with them and be the result of their mutual agreement as to what is best for their interests." It was doubtless through information derived in this correspondence with the president of the sugar trust that Mr. Martin, in his encyclical of May 17, 1894, to the Southern Wholesale Grocers' Association—extending from Missouri southward and from Virginia to Texas—wrote each member for his "opinion as to the question now being agitated for the removal of the import duty on sugar," and added, "it appears to us that a removal of the import duty on sugar would throw the control of that article into the hands of foreign refiners, unsettle values, and demoralize the trade generally, defeating every hope of a uniform price," which opinions, duly reaching Congress, doubtless had much to do in putting finally to rest the bill for the repeal of the duty on refined sugar that was then nearing its last gasp in the Springer committee.

In consultation with his new friends—gradually becoming old ones—of the trust, Mr. Inbusch had worked out an "equality" basis for the sugar business, and a meeting of the national association was called for June 8, at the Mercantile Exchange, New York City. "Our meeting with the refiners on the next day, June 9. It is important that a strong delegation be present." The meeting was held, and was most enthusiastic and representative. Mr. Inbusch's plan, involving at least one-fourth cent rebate to the wholesale grocer, the return-coupon agreement to be signed by the purchaser as drafted by him and Colonel Torrey, and the "equality" scheme, and also that "the expense of its operation shall be borne by the sugar trust," was adopted by the overwhelming vote of 150 to 1, and a committee appointed to call upon the heads of the sugar trust and close matters. They were most cordially received, but astonishment is a weak word to describe their surprise when they were told that "unless we (the grocers) could make it unanimous, they (the sugar trust) would not make the arrangement."

In their haste some of them came to a conclusion similar to that of Solomon when he was in a hurry, and, in addition to painful suggestions as to the veracity of the sugar trust representatives, asserted that a well-known grocer of Chicago, the one gentleman who had not agreed with the others, had been procured by the trust to go to New York to vote against anything that was brought up, and that "the grocers were fooled once more," while "the sugar trust had the full advantage of the duty according to the McKinley law;" and Mr. Inbusch became a sadder and wiser man, putting two and two together, as he rubbed his startled eyes and read and reread this from the issue for June 2, 1892, of the sugar trust organ:

"The grocers' national convention, which meets in New York next week, promises to be a very important event to the trade. In the meantime the Wholesale Grocers' Association of New York and vicinity, which worked so satisfactorily, has been extended to cover New Jersey, and will no doubt prove acceptable to the entire convention without the interference of any individual plan. Query: Are the grocers who attend the convention at the invitation of Mr. Inbusch liable to the claim of 5 cents per barrel?"

The Wholesale Grocers' National Association was dead.

THE LOCAL ORGANIZATION PLAN.

Laboring under the impression that the trust meant business, Mr. Inbusch had entered zealously into the work of introducing the "equality" plan which he had devised. By 1890 he had so overcome doubt and conservatism that the New England grocers, who had at first laughed at him, were enthusiastic; and before his eyes were opened, in 1892, he had gotten the New York grocers well into line. From the standpoint of the trust, however, there was one serious difficulty about Mr. Inbusch's plan which Mr. Havemeyer and Mr. Searles appreciated none the less, though (probably in deference to his feelings) they had not mentioned it to Mr. Inbusch.

It left the grocers as one organization to deal with the trust as another; whereas the trust preferred to deal directly with individuals and local associations, thus preventing them from combining, and holding each at its mercy. Quietly working on this plan, by the time it was ready to drop the national-association idea it had practically arranged its business throughout the Northeast as far south as the Potomac, and westward as far as and including Ohio. There was yet, however, more or less of unpleasant variety of practice in the several localities, though these were being rapidly brought into accord; so that, on September 12, 1892, as an important step toward perfect harmony, and as conclusive evidence that it bore no grudge against Mr. Inbusch, the trust, adapting the document which he had drawn, caused the following notice to be sent out:

"NOTICE TO SALESMEN FROM JOBBERS.

"On and after this date the American Sugar Refining Company will attach to every invoice of sugar sold by them to any part of the United States a certificate as follows, which the buyer must sign in order to obtain a rebate of one-eighth of a cent per pound:

"CERTIFICATE OF AGREEMENT.

"We hereby certify that we have not sold, nor will we sell, nor has any employee, salesman, or agent of ours sold, either directly or indirectly, any of the sugars for which we are now remitting for less than your daily quotations, nor on more liberal terms as to credit or cash discount."

And now, striving to forget the gentleman whose suspicions had done Mr. Havemeyer and Mr. Searles such injustice, the trust proceeded to extend over the whole country the system which it had succeeded in arranging in the East, the new plan being a much less onerous one to itself than the one which, on account of the unfortunate opposition of Mr. Stuart, it had not felt at liberty to close with the national association.

When the trust started out to perfect its connections with the grocers, whom it had now at its mercy, it changed radically the plans it had allowed itself to indorse when it was seeking their aid to cut out Spreckels and to get the McKinley bill fixed. Including in its combination Spreckels and Harrison, Frazier & Co., in whose behalf Messrs. Thurber and Nichols had so touchingly pleaded, it came to a working arrangement with the other "independents," except Cunningham, of Texas, so satisfactory on all hands that sugar-trust stock became a favorite investment among "independent" refiners; and working in perfect harmony, as one correspondent puts it, "all refiners slept in the same bed, one end of which rested upon sugar producers and the other upon sugar consumers," even Cunningham observing, from what he claimed to be free choice, the same course as did others whose movements were dictated by the trust.

The former problem in organization of the grocery trade had been to settle upon what was best for the grocers. The later one became, "What is best for the sugar trust?" The former plan had involved a strong organization of the grocery trade. The latter was best answered by a series of local associations of grocers, each of which should deal directly with the trust, and, indeed, serve mainly as an instrument to corral their individual members. For this work Mr. L. P. Lyon, of New York, seems to have been selected, and he has certainly worked with noteworthy enthusiasm, energy, and success. In New England Yankee enterprise and Mr. Inbusch's good work had too far completed organization to make it unsafe to trifle with its matters, which were already about in the shape the trust preferred.

So Mr. Lyon took up first the organization of the wholesale grocery trade of New York and vicinity, which, largely on Mr. Inbusch's plan, he soon got into working order. From New York as a center he has extended his work, taking in local organizations where they were too strong to be ignored, encouraging the formation of new ones on the trust's plans in other States, until, as outlined below, the whole country is now fairly well covered. In this he has been aided by the trust, which has what may be called general offices, not merely at Boston, New York, Philadelphia, New Orleans, and San Francisco, but also at Chicago and St. Louis, with confidential agents everywhere, all worked in perfect unison by telegraph from the main office at No. 117 Wall street, New York City.

In perfecting his occupation of the field and in "working out" local differences there will, however, be work for Mr. Lyon for years to come, and meanwhile some one has held up before him the vision of a national organization of the wholesale grocery trade, of which he shall be the author and finisher. Between him and the trust there exists mutual admiration and confidence, and though Mr. Inbusch's name is rarely mentioned, no better tribute could be paid to his memory than the firm conviction of Mr. Lyon, that no local organization is complete till it has adopted the "equality" plan, and he, too, as well as Mr. Havemeyer, would be shocked if anyone suggested that there could be anything more beneficent or legal than the invoice notice and return coupon which they have adapted from Mr. Inbusch's draft, and which even "independent" refiners use, without thinking to remind their printers that it is not necessary to copy the special indorsements used by trust concerns.

In its working the new system has proved a success—for the trust; and in the crisis of January last, when the trust called on its grocer henchmen to bombard their Congressmen with protests against free sugar, the response was so prompt and hearty as to demonstrate that the "direct" method was far more effective than that of handling them through any executive committee of themselves.

THE PRESENT STATUS.

The general situation may perhaps be better appreciated by first grouping its details.

BOSTON.

New England is practically covered by the "Executive Association of the Wholesale Grocers of New England," with headquarters at 200 State street, Boston. Of its confederated associations—those of Boston, Providence, Portland, and southern (more properly southwestern) New England—that at Boston, whose membership is open to any firm in New England, is the leader and admitted dictator. It is a close organization, admitting new members by ballot, five black balls not merely rejecting the applicant, but preventing a reconsideration of his name for six months afterwards; and, as will be seen from the quotations below (which constitute about two-thirds in volume of its laws, etc.), is mainly engrossed in sugar.

"ARTICLE XI.

"There shall be a negotiating committee of three members, which shall have authority to secure rebates and arrange with the manufacturers and sugar refiners as to what quality of their goods shall constitute a 'quantity purchase' and a 'retailer's purchase.' It may make all proper and legal agreements and contracts with the same for regulating the sale of their products, and it shall have the right to call on any other members of the association for advice and assistance whenever it shall be deemed necessary.

"ARTICLE XIII.

"There shall be an investigating committee of three members, who shall investigate all charges of the cutting of any and all prices as limited by the manufacture of sugar or recommended under Article XIV. Pending investigation, information thereof shall be given to the manufacturer or refiner, in order that they may withhold any rebate, if they shall see fit. If the charge is proven to the satisfaction of the committee, notice shall be given to the manufacturer or refiner, and to each member of the association. An appeal, however, from the decision of this committee may be made to the arbitration committee, and its decision in the matter shall be final, and shall be notified in like manner.

"ARTICLE XIV.

"There shall be a committee of three members elected at the annual meeting, and every three months thereafter, to serve for three months or until its successors are elected, whose duty it shall be every day to ascertain and name for the following day the price for which granulated sugar is to be sold by the manufacturer or refiner at wholesale or by quantity; and it shall be its duty to notify every member of this association of such price in any manner it may think best.

"ARTICLE XV.

"Any firm belonging to this association which shall sell granulated sugar or allow it to be sold for less than the price so notified by the committee and recommended as above shall be reported to the investigating committee, and

upon conviction to the satisfaction of that committee said firm may be expelled from the association by a majority of the votes at any regular or special meeting called for the purpose and a vote of censure placed upon the records, its name posted in a conspicuous place in the rooms of the association and reported to all refiners, and it shall relinquish and lose all claim upon the funds of which the association may be possessed.

"ARTICLE XVI.

"The firms belonging to this association agree each with the others that they will in no case themselves, nor will they allow their salesmen in any manner, to make prices in advance for any granulated sugars away from their jobbing location, but that all orders for any granulated sugars sent to them shall be filled by the house, at the prices fixed by the house for the day on which such orders are received; and it is understood and agreed that offering granulated sugars by letter, circular, telegraph, or in any other way at fixed prices, to be ordered on the next day or any subsequent day, is a violation of this article; and any firm violating these agreements shall be treated as in Article XV of these by-laws.

"ARTICLE XVII.

"That on all sales of granulated sugar at the card price it is understood that no greater discount shall be allowed for cash within seven days than 1 per cent for quantities of less than 25 barrels. That members of this association may sell granulated sugar to each other at such prices and on such terms as they may elect without becoming liable under Article XV.

"ARTICLE XVIII.

"It shall be the duty of every member of this association who has reason to believe that any article limited as herein provided has been sold, either by members of this association or others, for less than the price so limited, to report the same to the investigating committee, together with the facts in the case that have come to his knowledge; and in case its said committee shall be satisfied that any retail dealer purchasing granulated sugar from any member of the association or otherwise has sold the same below the price so limited, they shall report the same to each member of the association."

The omission of penalties in a code otherwise so complete is understood to be supplied by proper treatment by the refiners of the wholesale dealer, and by the wholesalers of the retailer that dares to exact less profit on sugar than do his neighbors. The cause of omission to mention this in printed circulars is too obvious to need explanation.

As to sugar supply, while all can, and western New England largely does, order from New York, the rest are supplied from Boston, where the trust fills orders, using invoice notice and return coupon as follows:

[The American Sugar Refining Company. H. O. Havemeyer, president; Jno. E. Searles, jr., secretary and treasurer. P. O. box 5313.]

BOSTON, ——, *1894*.

M—— ——:

We inclose herewith invoice of sugar of even date, on which a commission of one-eighth of a cent per pound has been deducted in addition to our usual terms of 1 per cent cash in seven days and 1 per cent trade discount on 100-barrel lots. The understanding being that with your remittance the certificate below is to be returned, duly signed by you, as a voucher.

THE AMERICAN SUGAR REFINING COMPANY.

——.

No. ——.

To the American Sugar Refining Company:

We hereby certify that we have not sold, nor will we sell, nor has any employee, salesman, or agent of ours so'd, either directly or indirectly, any of the sugars for which we are now remitting for less than your daily quotations, with freight added from refining point to point of sale (as per equality-rate book), in any of the territory specified on the back of this certificate, nor on more liberal terms as to credit or cash discounts.

(Indorsement on back of notice.)

Maine,	Connecticut,	Delaware,	South Carolina,
New Hampshire,	Rhode Island,	Maryland,	Ohio,
Vermont	New Jersey,	West Virginia,	District of Columbia.
Massachusetts,	Pennsylvania,	North Carolina,	

(Indorsement on coupon identical with that on notice.)

This, however, is not all. There is an "independent" refinery at Boston, and the situation is so typical there as to merit notice. Though New York has come to be the show conservatory, New England has been, in a sense, the forcing bed of this sugar-distribution combine. Long before the formation of the trust the Boston Grocers' Association, dating from 1875, had pooled issues with the Boston refiners, and while in the rest of the country competition in handling sugars was free, in New England it had already been so restricted as to insure liberal profits, though not at present rates. And when the trust was formed, not merely the so-called "independent" refiners, but wholesale grocers as well, invested largely in its stock, which, largely on account of the faith that knowledge of the New England combine had inspired, became a favorite for Boston capitalists. As a result there is to-day probably held in New England, mainly in and about Boston and Providence, more sugar trust stock than in any other part of the country, the estimate given to the Senate investigating committee by Mr. Reed being that there were in New England 4,500 stockholders, owning $30,000,000 of sugar trust stock.

Prominent among these are Nash, Spaulding & Co., the owners of the so-called "independent" Revere Refinery, whose investments in trust stock have been very large ever since the trust was organized; so large, indeed, that one of its partners declined, on examination by the Senate committee, to swear that they were below $2,000,000 or $3,000,000, and understood to be far more than the amount invested in their own refineries. It might, therefore, be expected, as is the case, that the prices of the Revere are always the same as those of the trust, except that it sometimes charges a higher price for certain grades and makes a specialty of supplying direct old customers among the retailers. The use of the Revere, therefore, seems to be to preserve the "good will," which enables a portion of the sugars sold in New England to be marketed to old customers at higher prices than the trust in its own name could fix for the same grades, this without technically breaking the obligation of the trust to wholesalers, by which sales direct to retailers are discouraged.

Accounts are made up as follows: The trust refinery gives the wholesaler not merely the one-eighth of a cent provided for by the contract quoted above and the 1 per cent, and 1 per cent trade discounts for quantities and cash, but an extra allowance of one-sixteenth of a cent per pound, so that the trust commission is generally mentioned as the "three-sixteenths of a cent discount." The original discount was but one-eighth of a cent, in strict accord with the contract quoted. When, however, the extra one-sixteenth of a cent was conceded, it was thought useless unduly to excite the retailers by letting them know it, so the printed forms were left as before, with mention of the one-eighth of a cent only. A typical bill would be:

BOSTON, —— ——, 1894.

M—— ——

Bought of THE AMERICAN SUGAR REFINING CO.

Terms: Cash seven days Boston or New York funds, check to order of the company.

100 bbls.	Granulated sugar (——) 4.25		$1,453.05
	Less rebate under agreement ¼ cent per pound		42.73
			1,410.32
	Less allowance 1/16 cent per pound		21.37
			1,388.95
	Less trade discount 1 per cent		13.89
			1,375.06
	Less cash discount 1 per cent		13.75
			$1,361.31

The Revere bills its sugars net, that is, at three-sixteenths of a cent per pound below the prices quoted by the trust and subject only to trade and cash discounts.

It may be noted here that the effect of $30,000,000 sugar-trust holdings upon a thrifty population of 4,700,000—a concentration in less than one-fifteenth of the United States of two-fifths of the total sugar-trust interest—has so thoroughly soaked that section with its influence, that, though the masses of the population and the leaders among the newspapers are outspoken in denunciation of its extortions and methods, its influence is practically irresistible in financial, social, and political circles.

NEW YORK.

The New York territory includes New York, northern New Jersey, and a great part of the trade of Vermont and western Massachusetts and Connecticut. The trust refineries sell through the trust's main offices, at 117 Wall street, New York City, rendering bills upon the same basis as that from Boston above quoted, and using notice of invoice and return coupon of precisely the same form as does the Boston office of the trust, except as to heading and indorsements, which are as follows, respectfully:

[The American Sugar Refining Company. H. O. Havemeyer, president; Jno. E. Searles, jr., secretary and treasurer. P. O. box 2663.]

NEW YORK, ——, —.

(Notice and coupon the same as under Boston above.)

[Indorsement on notice:]

Maine,	Michigan,	Pennsylvania,	West Virginia,
New Hampshire,	Connecticut,	Delaware,	North Carolina,
Vermont,	Rhode Island,	Maryland,	Ohio,
Massachusetts,	New York,	Virginia,	District of Columbia.
Kentucky (on and east of the main line L. & N. R. R.),	New Jersey,	Tennessee,	

(Indorsement on coupon identical with that on notice.)

It will be noted that the indorsement here differs but slightly from that used by the Boston refineries, and, indeed, this difference is in practice mainly made by erasure and interlineation.

No special significance seems to be given to this; and the indorsement itself is understood to be a "survival" from the time when, commencing with New England, the trust began systematically to extend its own propaganda (as distinguished from that of the National Grocers' Association) in organizing local concerns—the indorsements on the Boston documents representing the extent to which this had been effected at the time when the plan was first formally recognized, and the New York forms representing the status at a somewhat later stage.

In general, however, for sales outside of the States named in the indorsement last noted above, even New York offices use a different form for its return coupon, bearing no indorsement, and reading as follows:

[The American Sugar Refining Company. H. O. Havemeyer, president; Jno. E. Searles, jr., secretary and treasurer. P. O. box 2663.]

NEW YORK, ——, 1894.

M—— ——

We inclose herewith invoice of sugar of even date on which a commission of one-eighth of a cent per pound has been deducted in addition to our usual terms of 1 per cent cash in seven days and 1 per cent trade discount on 100-barrel lots, the understanding being that with your remittance the certificate below is to be returned, duly signed by you as a voucher.

THE AMERICAN SUGAR REFINING COMPANY.

——.

"*To the American Sugar Refining Company:*

"We hereby certify that we have not sold, nor will we sell, nor has any employee, salesman, or agent of ours sold, either directly or indirectly, any of the sugars for which we are now remitting for less than your daily quotations nor on more liberal terms as to credit or cash discount.

"—— ——."

As noted below, the New York "independent" refiners, and some of the Philadelphia refiners, seem to use these indorsements more as a matter of habit with their printers than from any intelligible motive.

The relations of the "independent" refiners at New York with the trust seem to be as close as at Boston, and even more identical so far as the public is concerned.

The Mollenhauer and National refineries do their business exclusively through B. H. Howell, Son & Co., of No. — Wall street, New York City, and send out with each invoice to be returned with remittance a printed memorandum, of which the following is a copy:

To B. H. HOWELL, SON & CO.:

We hereby agree that in consideration of a commission of one-eighth of a cent per pound (⅛) deducted from invoice of even date, in addition to the usual terms of 1 per cent trade discount on all 100-barrel lots, and 1 per cent cash in seven days, that we will not sell, nor will any employee, salesman, or agent of ours sell, either directly or indirectly, any of the sugars for less than your daily quotations, with freight added from refining point to point of sale (as per Equality Rate Book) in any of the territory specified on the back of this certificate, nor on more liberal terms as to credit or cash discounts.

The understanding being that with our remittance this certificate is to be returned, duly signed by us as a voucher.

Invoice dated ——— —, 189—

——— ——— barrels sugar. ——— ———.

[Indorsed as follows:]

Maine,	Connecticut,	Pennsylvania,	West Virginia,
New Hampshire,	Rhode Island,	Delaware,	North Carolina,
Vermont,	New York,	Maryland,	South Carolina,
Massachusetts,	New Jersey,	Virginia,	Ohio,
Kentucky (on and east of the main line L. and N. R. R),		Tennessee,	District of Columbia.

The utility of the New York "independent" refineries in sugar trust policy appears to be somewhat the same as that of the Revere at Boston, to which, it is stated, is added the use of the so-called "independents" to make special shadings in prices on "off" grades of sugar whenever a surplus of these accumulates.

PHILADELPHIA.

At Philadelphia the situation is apparently more complicated—actually more simple. The trust refineries there are the Spreckels and the Franklin (the Knight refinery being run in combination with the latter), while the "independent" is in this case the McCahan Sugar Refining Company.

So close are mutual relations between the trust and the "independents" that the babies are here delightfully mixed up, the McCahan using the full trust form with its indorsements, as per copy below, while the Spreckels and Franklin refineries, which are owned by the trust, keep up an appearance of separation by the use of separate invoice notices and return coupons in the trust's short form, noted above, as sometimes used at New York. McCahan's relations here to the trust refineries are understood to be similar to those of the Mollenhauer and National at New York.

(1) [The Franklin Sugar Refining Company, P. O. box 1630.]

PHILADELPHIA, ——— ———.

(Notice and coupon identical with the trust's shorter form used at New York.)

(2) The Spreckels notice and coupon have no date head, and in form are copied from the trust's shorter form used at New York.

(3) [The W. J. McCahan Sugar Refining Co., 147 South Front street.]

PHILADELPHIA, ——— ———

(Invoice notice and return coupon the same as the trust's full form used at Boston, as noted above, with precisely the same indorsement, which, however, is on the back of the coupon alone. There is also added to the coupon the words: "Covering invoice ———.")

The bills rendered are all upon the same basis, though differing slightly in wording, and identical prices are quoted at the trust and independent concerns. The following are examples from the Franklin and McCahan, respectively:

PHILADELPHIA, *July —, 1894.*

Messrs. ——— ———

Bought of THE FRANKLIN SUGAR REFINING COMPANY.

Terms, 30 days, or cash less 1 per cent.
7 days in Phil. or N. Y. funds. Due in Phil., Aug. —, 1894.

100 lbs.	Fine No. 4, 31,091 lbs., 4.61c	$1,474.79
	Less ¼c. as per agreement, and $\frac{1}{16}$c. additional allowance	59.98
		1,414.81
	Less 1 per cent	14.14
		1,400.67
	Less 1 per cent (for cash)	14.00
		1,386.67

PHILADELPHIA, ———, 1894.

Messrs. ——— ———

To the W. J. MCCAHAN SUGAR REFINING CO., Dr.

Terms, cash in 7 days, less 1 per cent.
Payable in Phil. or N. Y. funds.

Bags.	Barrels.		Net.	Price.	
20		Fine grade	6,525	4¼c.	$277.31
		Less a commission of ¼c. and $\frac{1}{16}$c			12.24
					265.07
		Less 1 per cent (for cash)			2.65
					262.42

NEW ORLEANS.

At New Orleans the trust refineries use the trust's short form:

[The American Sugar Refining Company. P. O. box 341.]

24 N. PETERS ST., *New Orleans*, ——— ———.

(Invoice notice, short form.)
(Return coupon, short form.)

The Henderson "independent" refinery seems to run as a tender to the trust in the same manner as do its brother "independents" in the North, and its net prices are the same as those of the trust. Its bills rendered are also on the same net basis, though figured in a different way. Below are samples, respectively, of each:

NEW ORLEANS, ——— ———, 1894,

M. ——— ———

Bought of WM. HENDERSON.

Hend. St. Gran. Sugar,	100 bbls.	34,124.	4$\frac{4}{8}$	$1,471.60
Less $\frac{4}{8}$				63.97
				1,407.63
Trade discount, 1 per cent				14.08
				1,393.55

(Subject to discount for cash.)

NEW ORLEANS, ——— ———, 1894.

M ——— ———

Bought of AMERICAN SUGAR REFINING CO.,

Office and salesroom, No. 24 North Peters st., cor. Custom-House.

S/D Terms Cash.
S/D B/L. Attached.

25 bbls. Standard Granulated. 8,670 lbs. 4$\frac{4}{8}$		$368.48
Less rebate under agreement ¼c. per lb		10.84
		357.64
Less allowance, $\frac{1}{16}$c. per lb		5.42
		352.22
Less trade discount (for less than 100 bbls.), ½ per cent		1.76
		350.46
		3.57
Less cash discount, 1 per cent		346.95

Conditions at New Orleans are somewhat complicated by the extent to which "plantation granulated" and other unrefined sugars are sold for direct consumption. This, however, practically applies only to Louisiana and a small section of Mississippi, and as a matter of fact, though probably over three-fourths of the raw centrifugals produced in Louisiana are above No. 16 Dutch standard, yet the greater part of them are actually sold to the refiner to be worked as raws, so thoroughly does the trust control sugar distribution.

SAN FRANCISCO.

At San Francisco Mr. Spreckels is decidedly in evidence. Free sugar under the McKinley bill destroyed a part of his extra profits on Hawaiian sugar, but he largely recouped by the arrangements into which he forced the trust as a condition of quieting his competition at Philadelphia. In the first place, he carefully preserved his personal control of the beet-sugar interests of California. In the next place, he retained the controlling interest in the Western Sugar Refinery (the trust concern at San Francisco), selling to the trust a part of his Western stock and the whole of his Philadelphia plant for several times what they cost him, and reserving his right to his own peculiar arrangements on the Pacific Coast, through which, however, the trust nets a greater profit than it could hope to obtain were its old method adopted.

Nothing short of a summary description can do justice to the peculiarly irresponsible control by which Mr. Spreckles made the performances of his Eastern partners seem philanthropic in comparison. The following is from a trustworthy correspondent:

"The arrangement between the jobbers and the refinery here is substantially as follows:

"The arrangement as originally made was for the purpose of securing to the Western Sugar Refining Company the trade of the Pacific Coast, as against any importations of foreign refined sugars; and further, to secure to the jobbers who are handling this product some profit, which heretofore had been very small. This profit is given to the jobbers in the shape of a rebate payable quarterly, and is left entirely to the Western Sugar Refining Company to make up and distribute.

"There is no jobber who knows what his exact percentage is, and it is this very doubt as to what each one's proportion is that has prevented, since this system was adopted, the cutting on this article which had before been practiced. As a basis for a division of those profits, a pool is made of the entire amount of sugar distributed by the refinery to the Pacific Coast territory; a sum equal to one-fourth of a cent per pound is transferred by them to the credit of the jobbers' fund and distributed according to the purchases made by each in the year 1891, and is so distributed yearly. This appears to be yet satisfactory to all concerned. Some perhaps may receive a little more than one-fourth, others a little less; but as the amount so received for rebate is much in excess of any profit realized before this arrangement went into effect, no one is anxious to disturb the relations now existing.

"You may, therefore, set the arrangement down as this: The jobbers collectively are entitled to one-fourth of a cent per pound rebate, which they distribute among themselves on an agreed basis. There are no copies and forms of accounts. The bills are made out at their regular quotations, under which no jobber is allowed to quote. Payment is made five days after delivery, net cash, no discount, and billed at prices ruling on date of purchase. Large purchases of 1,000 barrels or more are payable seven days after purchase, net, no discount."

Which is reenforced by the sugar-trust statisticians themselves:

"Wild statements" about San Francisco. * * * Assuming the quotation of granulated in San Francisco is as stated, 5¼ cents, it is necessary to deduct from this one-half cent per pound, which is given San Francisco grocers for rebate, reducing the price to 4.75 net to grocers. Contracts exist with the Pacific Coast great canning industry for a further rebate from this price, making the net price on all still less.

The total production of refined sugar on the Pacific Coast is not 150,000 tons. In 1893 it was 128,000 tons, and in 1892 it was 122,000 tons. This refined sugar is not all consumed in San Francisco nor on the Pacific Coast, but a large part of it is sent over the Rocky Mountains for a market. A letter received by us March 19, from Kansas City, Mo., reads as follows:

"The business in granulated and other refined sugars by the San Francisco refineries throughout all the States and Territories between the Pacific and the Missouri River, and at times reaching as far east as St. Louis and as far north as Chicago and as far south as Texas, shuts out of this immense territory for nine months in each year all other refining interests in the United States."

The San Francisco refineries are selling granulated in Kansas City and other Missouri River points at 4.52 cents net cash, on which they pay freight from San Francisco of 85 cents, leaving net to refiner of 3.67 cents per pound.

WILLET & GRAY,
Sugar Statisticians.

MARCH 20, 1894.

But this is not all. The arrangement just noted is in force throughout California, Washington, and Oregon, but the territory supplied at least in part from San Francisco extends eastward to the Missouri River. With perfect coolness Mr. Spreckels makes the price of sugar, delivered at different parts of the territory supplied by him, not greater in proportion to the distance from San Francisco upon which freight must be paid, but greater in proportion to the distance from New Orleans, Philadelphia, or New York, from which competition can be had—that is, the jobber nearest the refinery pays the highest gross price, the freight being counted against him rather than in his favor.

If there is any other noteworthy instance of this practice, the writer has not heard of it. Its toleration can only be accounted for on the ground that by too long contemplation of the Chinese the Californians have developed an excessive amount of patience. All along the Pacific coast Chinese sugars are

imported, but sold only to retailers and direct consumers, as no jobber dare touch them.

No attempt is made at the task of untangling the relations of the several Spreckels with each other and with the organizations they control.

TEXAS.

The only remaining substantial supply point is Sugar Lands, Tex., where Cunningham & Miller have a refinery with a capacity of 600 barrels a day, easy to be doubled. It is not known that this refinery has any contract relations whatever with the trust, and its position seems to be one of armed neutrality. It practically supplies the whole of the Texas trade, and competes as far off as Denver, Omaha, and Kansas City, its agents, however, always selling at trust quotations for each locality, and its bills, of which the below is a specimen, being made out upon the same net basis, though arrived at by a slightly different calculation, the three-sixteenths being first deducted from the price per pound and other charges added.

M ——— ———

Bought of CUNNINGHAM & MILLER,
SUGAR LANDS, TEX., *June —, 1894.*

100 bbls. st. gran. sugar,	32,027 lbs. @ 4.09½c		$1,325.26
10 " cubes,	2,000 lbs. @ 4.34½c		86.84
10 " powdered,	2,664 lbs. @ 4.34½c		115.68
		1,537.78	
Less 1 per cent + 1 per cent		31.60	
		1,506.18	

Freight prepaid.

DIVISION OF TERRITORY.

Generally speaking the source of supply is indicated by the neighborhood of any locality to the several refining centers. Boston, Philadelphia, and New York form one group, which supplies the whole North and the Central West and Northwest to and including Minnesota, as well as a portion of the Southeast, especially that reached by seaboard, even as far south as Florida.

The New Orleans refineries supply Mississippi and Louisiana and Alabama, and in part South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, and Arkansas, and both sides of the Mississippi River as far north as St. Louis and Little Rock, where they meet the competition from the Northeast. With the exception of Texas, which, as noted, seems to belong to Cunningham & Miller, the Territories and new States east of the Rockies buy where they please—from Spreckels, the Northeast, New Orleans; or, south of Dakota, from Cunningham & Miller—at prices, however, fixed by the sugar trust's Eastern quotations.

The Eastern trust refineries give their maximum discounts on lots of not less than 100 barrels, while Spreckels (trust) from San Francisco delivers on equally advantageous terms in lots of 75 barrels, and makes such concessions to large direct consumers, canners, confectioners, etc., as he thinks necessary to hold the market against Chinese sugars. The trust refineries are also comparatively uniform in practice as to freights and special charges, while the so-called "independent" refiners, to some extent, probably, from their larger dealings with the retail trade, have a tendency to lump everything together, thus making their bills on a more widely differing apparent basis as to the net price of sugar than is actually the case.

As to the return coupons, it is found that in New England, New York, Philadelphia, and vicinity they are not merely generally signed and returned, but the greatest anxiety manifested by individual grocers to be sure that this is invariably and promptly done. In the South and West, however, the practice varies to an extent almost comical when the correspondence from near-by cities or neighboring grocers of the same city is compared, one being sure that these coupons are invariably signed and returned, while another contemptuously asserts that he does not propose to do anything of the kind and incloses an assortment which he has rescued from his waste-paper basket.

On the whole, however, they are probably signed in nine-tenths of the cases, and even the few who decline to do so are not sufficiently known to each other to make most of them feel other than uneasy whenever there is a rumor of strictness on the part of the trust. Some of the local associations punish their own members for violation of sugar agreements; others call in the assistance of the trust; and in other cases the trust seems to be nosing about for a chance to volunteer its disciplinary assistance.

MISCELLANEOUS DATA.

Below are quoted characteristic fragments of an extended correspondence and numerous interviews:

* * * "The long and short of the whole story is that the grocers thought that the sugar refiners were acting in good faith with them, and we later found that they were only making use of our influence in the first place for having the output of sugar limited, and then for the purpose of getting good protection from our Government. The first they did not get (they now have it), and in the second they were certainly successful. I will add that if the United States Senate and the House are not exceedingly careful, the sugar trust will work out even more protection than they have had." * * *

* * * "The agreement as to selling prices applies to all sugar wherever purchased, and as far as I know the certificates are identical in substance if not in words. Before the sugar trust was formed, all New England grocers had an agreement, similar in form, which established a minimum profit." * * *

"We are simply enabled to make a very small profit on a staple article, and to control, if need be, any house that starts a ruinous competition on prices." * * *

OHIO—SUGAR AND COFFEE FREIGHT RATES—INSTRUCTIONS TO SALESMEN.

(Equality plan:) For instance, if a grocer in Bucyrus buys in Toledo when the price of granulated in New York is 5.18 he will pay 5.18 plus 29 cents per hundred (rate of freight from New York to Bucyrus), making 5.47 per hundred delivered in Bucyrus. The local rate of freight from Toledo to Bucyrus is 9 cents per hundred, which the Toledo jobber credits on the invoice of the Bucyrus grocer. If he buys in Mansfield he pays the same price (5.47 delivered), but as the local rate from Bucyrus to Mansfield is only 7 cents per hundred he will have credit on his invoice of 7 cents per hundred; so the Bucyrus customer will pay the same for his sugars wherever he buys. In other words, the retail merchant pays the same, delivered, no matter what market he buys from, but the profit of the wholesalers varies slightly, according to their geographical situation. The same principle governs all jobbing points.

* * * As soon as the trust (three years ago) got its rebate system adopted, it changed its quotation from a "net" price to a "list" price basis. Moreover, by virtue of its power, it compelled its brokers—that is, all brokers—and agents to telegraph none other than list prices. * * *

* * * We purchase all of our sugar from the trust refineries, but the wholesale grocers of Ohio do purchase some from Mollenhauer, National, and McCahan refineries, who claim that they are not in the trust, but their terms are the same as the trust refineries, and all purchasers are required to sign the agreement herewith inclosed.

About two years ago the wholesale grocers of Ohio organized an association called the Wholesale Grocers' Association of Ohio, in order to sell sugar on the equality plan, but their association would be of no account unless they were sustained by the refiner. They agreed with Mr. Havemeyer that if 95 per cent of the dealers in Ohio would sign the agreement to sell sugar on the equality plan he (Mr. Havemeyer) would not sell any outsiders who would not come into the association and sign the agreement.

In sugar? It's heaven now compared with formerly. We have made more on sugar in the last two years than for ten years before. Sugar rates used to be cut so that we never could count on anything and were always in trouble. Now we do our business in peace, and in addition to usual discounts for cash and for large purchases we get three-sixteenths of a cent commission per pound, or, say, 60 cents a barrel. Yes, I know our contract calls for only one-eighth; but the trust people give an extra one-sixteenth. This is the way the bills are made out. [Shows bill for purchase June 9, 1894.] You see that from the gross price are deducted not merely the one-eighth cent, "according to contract," but one-sixteenth; then 1 per cent for cash; then 1 per cent more on account of the purchase being over 100 barrels. It is not that the present commission is so large—though we do not object to that—but because we have peace now, that I like the present plan. As to commission, it may not be kept so high. I had rather have free trade in sugar, so that we would not be at the mercy of the trust.

Then, too, the lower the price of sugar the more pounds will we sell and the bigger will be our profits in proportion to capital invested even at the same rate per pound, and it is no advantage to try to keep prices at too high a rate. It won't stay. So long as there is the least tariff that discriminates in favor of refined sugars the trust has us. If we import, it can sell in our territory at only, say, one-half the tariff rate above free-trade prices, and thus ruin us while it continues to make money by those very sales. I have no grievance against the trust, but I know very well that I would have if I sold sugar for less than they tell me to. What would they do? They would shut me out of my commission, probably, possibly of my discounts, and if necessary I would be cut off from supply of sugar. Directly? Well, I don't know; but I am sure that if the trust did not want me to get sugar I would not get it—not at rates or in time to do me any good. There would be delays and obstructions—as many as were necessary. Independent refiners? Oh, they are all in with the trust; they have an arrangement—at least it is so understood.

* * * The American Sugar Refining Company bill their sugar at card prices less one-eighth cent under agreement, and one-sixteenth allowance and 1 per cent trade discount, and 1 per cent for cash.

We inclose you Cunningham's quotation sheet, which is three-sixteenth cent less than American Sugar Refining Company's quotations, but they do not allow the one-eighth and one-sixteenth, cent rebates, which makes their prices the same.

* * * I have no circular of these associations, but their aim is about as follows:

They agree not to buy from any manufacturer or dealer who sells the retail trade direct and not to make prices on certain articles less at any one place than another, thus giving each town in which there is a member of the association the trade of its own territory. * * *

* * * We purchase our sugars in San Francisco from the Western Sugar Refining Company, which is a branch of the American Sugar Refining Company. According to our contract with these parties, we are not allowed to sell any sugars outside of their products, therefore we do not handle any Chinese sugar. * * *

* * * The wholesale grocers of the Pacific Coast obtain all their sugar from the Western Sugar Refining Company, of San Francisco. This is the Spreckels refinery operated in connection with the trust. The wholesale grocers, properly speaking, do not buy any sugar imported from China. There is, however, quite a business done in China sugar, granulated, by the larger retail stores, who buy in lots of 1,000 pounds and upward. Parties manipulating China sugar maintain a price of one-eighth cent lower than that asked by the Western Sugar Refining Company. All of the wholesale grocers of California, Oregon, and Washington enter into an agreement with the refinery to sell no other sugar but theirs, and to refuse to sell it at less price than it is billed to them by the refinery plus freight from San Francisco to destination. In consideration of this agreement being carried out, the refinery allows the wholesale grocers a rebate every three months, which approximates one-fourth cent per pound.

There has been an advance during the last thirty days of one-half cent in consequence of the nonarrival of any granulated from China owing to the strike among the refineries of China. The present selling price of granulated sugar is 5¼ cents net. * * *

Arkansas Wholesale Grocers' Association constitution and by-laws.

PREAMBLE.

* * * Whereas increased facilities of production and distribution have resulted in the extreme development of the law of competition, * * * the manufacturers and the importers ignoring the jobbers, and selling their surplus product direct to the retailers, regardless of the interest of their first and best customers, the jobber; * * *

Whereas * * * no article of trade should be sold without a small margin of profit to all parties handling it, and no one class of dealers, be they manufacturers, importers, jobbers, or retailers, is entitled to all profits that are made on an article before it reaches the consumer. * * *

* * * The penalty for not adhering to sugar trust, if found out, is a fine of $100 for each offense. If parties withdrew from their State associations, we understand the trust would decline to sell them. The regular rate from New York and Philadelphia is 22 cents per 100 pounds; for nearly a year we have been allowed a drawback of 6 cents per 100 pounds. Sugars are charged to us at 22 cents rate of freight and we deduct difference in remitting. * * *

* * * McCahan, of Philadelphia, confines his operations principally to the smaller country buyers. Have never heard of them making a sale in our city or any other point where there is a jobbing business done. We inclose also a copy of the agreement which the Wholesale Grocers' Association made with the refiners. This was sent us with other printed matter when urging us to become members of the association. We regret exceedingly that we can not give you fuller information in regard to the situation. We beg to state, however, that we have no trade secrets and no sympathy with any combination of business men who have. We wish you every success in your efforts to deal with this big monopoly, and feel that the time has come when our Congress should take notice of others. One of the most complete monopolies that * * *

* * * had been reported at once to the trust as having kicked out of the traces and * * * received a quiet summons from the American Sugar Refining Company to take * * * place back in the ranks. * * * Hold the telegrams and letters. * * *

* * * The American Sugar Refining Company has an extremely arbitrary manner of doing their business, compelling a detailed statement from all of their customers, even when purchasing for sharp cash. Our payments are always made within seven days of the date of invoice, and in hardly a

single instance do we receive a bill of lading, and are, in fact, completely at the mercy of the sugar refining company. * * *

* * * As to Henderson, his prices have been the same as the refinery prices for some months past. Previous to that time they used frequently to quote different prices, but are evidently working under an agreement now. Henderson does not require any contract, but gives the same prices as the American Refining Company and the same discount, according to the size of the lot. It is safe, therefore, to state that Henderson now uniformly sells at the American Sugar Refineries Companies' listed price. * * *

* * * Terms on sugar from refiners to jobbers, to responsible parties, are as follows: Western of San Francisco, Spreckels of Philadelphia, Cunningham & Miller of Texas are list less ½ and 1/10, 1 per cent and 1 per cent. Cash, ten days. Oxnard of Nebraska, same, except cash seven days. American Sugar Refining Company, ½ and 1/10 and 1 per cent, forty days, or an extra 1 per cent if cash seven days. Henderson, same, except thirty days instead of forty. * * * These prices and terms apply only on car quantities of 100 barrels; if bought in less amount, costs ¼ per cent more. * * *

* * * The refiners' selling plan on the Pacific Coast is not similar to the plan in vogue in the East, as explained in your letter. There is no agreement between the refinery and the wholesale grocer as to equality of price. The selling system here itself regulates the price. We are sorry to say that we can not consistently send you any documents showing our Coast plan in detail, but we will explain it in a general way, which will probably be sufficient for your purpose. The wholesale grocer makes as much on the sugar whether he sells a pound or 10,000 pounds of sugar, as profits are not proportional to the current sales under the system. You can readily understand that no wholesale grocer would cut the price, as there would be absolutely no object in it. * * *

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SECOND ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE MICHIGAN WHOLESALE GROCERS' ASSOCIATION, GRAND RAPIDS, MAY 15, 1891.

* * * President R. O. Wheeler read the following address:

* * * As you are well aware, our main trouble has arisen from the competition of dealers in States which were unorganized, and we see already fulfilled the prediction, made by your presiding officer in Chicago in January, 1893, that the equality plan would not pause until it embraced all the States east of the Missouri River. In much less time than was anticipated this result has been attained; the four States of Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota have entered the combination within the past thirty days, while Indiana has completed her organization. * * *

William Widdicomb, chairman, presented the report of the executive committee, as follows: * * *

As chairman of your committee, I made the following trips in the interest of the association and to further its business:

To Chicago, eleven trips.
To Toledo, three trips.
To Washington, one trip.
To New York, three trips.
To Indianapolis, one trip.

* * * My trip to Washington was somewhat extended, and, I trust, did not fail to accomplish what may prove of much value to the association. The other trips were all to secure equality in sugar, which we now have as our reward. * * *

Mr. REED. You probably all have before you fresh in your minds the experiences that you have passed through with the Standard Oil Company. The time is not long ago when you were all selling oil and making money on it. Who sells the oil to-day? Who has superseded you after you have built up the trade with the retailers, and taken the oil business out of your hands? I want to say to you that unless the Western States, beginning with Ohio and going West as fast as they adopt equality, are in perfect harmony and accord, your sugar business will soon be in the condition that the Standard Oil Company has placed you in. This is a matter of fact and a matter of record. Now, can such a firm as Edgar & Sons, who have spent time and money in building up their business, afford to have the American Sugar Refining Company come in and take their trade away from them? Can any jobber in this room, working under equality, afford to compete or try to compete with the American Sugar Refining Company? * * * Now, I am authorized to say, as was said to those gentlemen who produced the figures, and we have the pledge of not only the American Sugar Refining Company, but the other sugar refiners in this country, that if the seven States are in harmony and in perfect accord upon the equality plan, they will not interfere. Now, then, you can sift that down to as fine a point as you please and figure out whether it means anything or whether it does not. * * *

Mr. WIDDICOMB. * * * Mr. Reed has given you the warning, gentlemen, and I think the executive committee is entitled to a rising vote. * * *

The CHAIRMAN. Those in favor of the adoption of rule 5 will please rise; opposed by the same sign. It is carried. [Great applause.]

THE SUGAR-TRUST AUTOCRACY.

The sugar-distribution combine has just passed successfully a most trying crisis. The trust naturally took advantage of the few months before the Wilson bill went into effect so to rush importation and refining as to accumulate great stocks of refined sugar, to market which it offered every inducement to the wholesale grocers. The result was that during September and October the sugar market was so glutted that there ensued throughout the trade an eagerness to sell which, for the time being, broke all combinations and forced refined sugars to a lower price in comparison with raws than before of late years. But by shutting down the refineries until after election, the trust at once posed as a martyr and "corrected" the market, and now, with diminished stocks and rising prices, is again in command of the situation.

With the Spreckels in control of Hawaii, and the Havemeyers extending their plantations in Cuba, the trust dictates to every branch of sugar production and distribution in the United States, taking under its wing every one concerned—except those who consume sugar. From its office at 117 Wall street cable messages fly daily to its agents in Cuba, fixing the price of raw sugars there; to San Francisco announcing "Cuban parity," at which arriving Hawaiian sugars are to be valued; to Louisiana, telling her planters what—in view of Cuban and Hawaiian prices—the trust condescends to offer for American sugar; and to its representatives all over the world giving the limit—based on Cuban parity—at which they can pick up Austrian, Javan, Philippine, Brazilian, and other sugars, when these are temporarily depressed in price.

In an adjoining room the quotations at or above which the subservient dealers throughout the country are permitted to sell sugars are daily settled, and through the four great sugar brokers who stand nearest the throne these are passed to the forty others who await the sugar trust's nod at New York and telegraphed to the waiting hundreds in the other cities of the land. These, in turn, so promptly notify their patrons, the thousands of wholesale grocers of the country, that before their doors are opened all danger of any purchaser getting his sugar below trust prices is over for the day. By discount from his bill, or periodical remittance, as the case may be, each faithful wholesaler is promptly and liberally paid for his loyalty; and whenever, in the crisis of legislation, he hears the bugle call of the trust, he instantly steps into line, ready to bombard his Congressman with telegrams or fight him with ballots at short range until the sugar trust cause is triumphant.

Not merely this, but all along our borders he keeps tireless vigil lest foreign sugars enter. For he concurs in Mr. Havemeyer's forcible statement to the Senate committee that "every pound of foreign sugar consumed in this country is at the expense of the American Sugar Refining Company," and stands ready to protect against any such disaster his guide, philosopher, and friend.

Such is the grandest trade organization the world has ever seen.

The sugar trust dictates the tribute that shall be rendered it by the American people.

The wholesale grocers are rewarded by whatever of largess the trust thinks necessary to insure their loyalty.

And the public? "The public be damned;" and it is.

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. President, this discussion seems to have drifted from dry hides to sugar within a very short time. I think possibly it is due in a large measure to the fact that the senior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] has floated around upon the sea of logic without rudder and without compass, and has finally landed the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. CAFFERY] on the sugar question.

The question before the Senate now is whether a specific duty of a cent and a half a pound shall be put upon hides, or whether we shall have 20 per cent ad valorem. In discussing this question, the junior Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST], who is always very felicitous and usually sound, told us that it is useless to put hides upon the dutiable list, because there is a gigantic trust, composed of Morris, Swift, Armour, and Hammond, who control the entire meat output of the world and the hides and the price of everything in that line, and therefore the tariff would not be of any benefit to the farmer and those who raise the cattle.

I took occasion, in replying to that, to call attention to the existing laws of Congress and to read one act at length for the purpose of putting the question why some Administration in the last seven years had not put the existing law in force and by means of that law indicted the combination which was in violation of the statute and prosecuted it before some one of the courts of the country having jurisdiction of the subject-matter and of the parties. No man has yet answered that question, and no man will ever answer it. The discussion will drift upon sugar or drift upon something else before the question is answered.

Thereupon the Senator from Massachusetts undertook to take my attention or the attention possibly of the Senate away from the question under discussion by differing with me, very properly, I presume, as he always does, upon the question of law that is presented. Mr. President, I do sincerely have a great deal of respect for the legal knowledge of my honorable friend from Massachusetts, but I lived pretty nearly fifty years without knowing him. I have come from boyhood to my present manhood—whatever that may be, perfect or imperfect—without knowing him; and I have always relied upon my own judgment in doing so. I can not be expected now, when I am at an age where my hair is turning almost as white as his, to abandon my own conclusions and my own method of making deductions to accept his in all respects.

Now, what did that Senator say? He did not dispute, except in a roundabout way, the proposition of law that I made. He said that an article made in a State to be sold in a State is local commerce. Nobody ever disputed that that I ever heard, and it was not disputed by me. He said that in the case of an article made in a State to be sold in a State, and which might become an article of interstate commerce, a conspiracy to control the price is not indictable and punishable under the laws of the United States. I never heard any man say it was.

But, Mr. President, the Senator from Massachusetts did not dispute, except in smothered words, the prominent fact that an article sold in one State to be delivered in another State is interstate commerce under the Constitution of the United States and under the rulings of all the courts of the United States.

Nor did he dispute the further fact that a combination made in Chicago or elsewhere in the United States between two or more persons to control one of the great staple products of the United States and to lower or raise the prices of that product at their will, when that article became an article of interstate commerce, pursuant to the agreement or conspiracy between these parties, and passed the boundaries of the State where the conspiracy was formed into another State, and a part of the conspiracy, the agreement, was to follow the article into another State and use it to crush out industries there, is not also indictable. If the Senator from Massachusetts, with his great ability and his experience, can prove to the American people that that proposition is not right, I am perfectly willing that he should do so.

Why, sir, that is the very gravamen and essence of interstate commerce. The Supreme Court in the Brown case, along in the early history of this country, declared that as long as an article was an article of interstate commerce the law of Congress would follow it and protect it, and would punish a violation of the rights of the lawful owner. That was determined in the Gibbon case and in the Brown case early in the history of this country. So I assert upon the authority of those cases and upon the authority of the language of the Constitution itself that if the four persons named by the junior Senator from Missouri enter into a conspiracy

to control the price of meat throughout this country, and pursuant to that conspiracy send their agent to Pennsylvania and begin the work of controlling the prices by undertaking to destroy the business of some man there located in legitimate business, it comes clearly within the purview of the statute of 1890 prohibiting criminal conspiracies and combinations among dealers.

What was wrong about that? Simply because it does not meet the approval of the Senator from Massachusetts; that is all. It does not bear his stamp or his brand. Whatever that Senator may say with reference to me or my capacity to understand these questions, that question has been settled by more than one hundred decisions of American courts of last resort. There can be no question about it.

Then we come back to the simple proposition whether Congress shall refuse to put a tax upon hides simply because this Government is so paralyzed in its executive, its judicial, and its legislative branches that a great meat trust controls the Government and these parties can not be prosecuted and convicted of crime. Mr. President, the country is rotten from one end to another with these trusts. A hundred trusts to-day control all the staple products of this country. Everything we eat, everything we wear, everything upon the roof under which we live, upon the floor on which we stand, is controlled by a trust. Here stands Congress, the highest legislative body, and the executive and the judiciary, all paralyzed, impotent, and powerless to protect the people.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the amendment of the committee to insert a new paragraph as paragraph 426½, as amended.

Mr. WHITE. Is House bill No. 379 in order? I inquire of the Senator from Iowa whether it has been laid aside.

Mr. ALLISON. I hope the bill is still under consideration. I am not quite clear about it.

Mr. MANTLE. Is it in order to offer an amendment to the proposed committee amendment?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair so understands.

Mr. MANTLE. I desire to offer an amendment.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. Amend the committee amendment by inserting, after the word "pickled," in line 8, page 152, paragraph 426½, the following:

Skins of animals, generally called hair sheep, or half-breeds, or cabretta or Angora sheep, raw or uncured, with the hair or hair and wool on, goatskins, kangaroo skins, and the hides or skins of all other animals (not tanned), and not specially provided for. Sheepskins (except sheepskins with the wool on), raw or uncured, whether dry, salted, or pickled.

Mr. MANTLE. Mr. President, the purpose of the amendment is to include with hides, as provided by the committee, all other raw skins which come into competition with cattle hides and which it is proposed in the pending amendment to leave upon the free list. In my opinion, if the matter is permitted to go as it now stands, levying a duty upon cattle hides only, the real object and purpose of the amendment will fail; that is to say, the protection which it is intended by the amendment to give to the domestic producers of hides will not be realized, because there will be left a vast amount both in number and value of other hides to come in free, which will come into competition with the cattle hides.

I have talked with a number of tanners and manufacturers upon this subject, and I find quite a good many of them are not opposed to a duty upon hides. They are entirely willing that a duty shall be levied, but they object to this discrimination, in permitting a vast amount of other hides used largely for the same purposes to come in duty free in competition with the articles they produce.

I have here a document presented by the senior Senator from Massachusetts, a memorial of George H. Maddock, who is the president of the Boston Upper Leather Tanners' Club, in which he sets forth many facts that are applicable to the case in point, and presents the matter very clearly. I think the document ought really to go into the RECORD for the benefit of those who desire to understand this matter thoroughly. This document gives the number of hides which are imported and which are produced in this country. It goes on to say that about 12,000,000 are taken off in the United States annually, and an average of from 3,000,000 to 6,000,000 are brought in.

He states that there are also imported into this country yearly about 7,000,000 sheepskins; and here I may say that I have been informed by manufacturers that these sheepskins when tanned can scarcely be distinguished, and certainly not by a layman, from the cowhide leather. They are also used largely for the same purposes that cattle hides are used, and people are actually deceived in their purchase; that is to say, they buy sheepskin while believing they are buying cowhide or cattle-hide leather.

This memorial shows also that there are about 50,000,000 raw goatskins, kangaroo skins, hair sheep, and Angora sheepskins imported annually into the country, the goatskins weighing about as many pounds and valued at about $10,300,000. It shows further that there was a total last year of about $33,500,000 worth of hides of all kinds imported into the country. Of this about $10,500,000 were of goatskins, and of hides other than goat and fur skins about $20,000,000, and it shows that if the matter is left as now recommended by the committee there will be $13,500,000 in value of other classes of hides, of raw goatskins, sheepskins, etc., which will come in duty free, the great body of which will compete more or less with cattle hides

So it seems to me that this provision will be incomplete, that it will fail of its object and purpose in giving protection to the producers of cattle hides, and to manufacturers and tanners as well, unless it is made to cover all of these raw skins, and I certainly think that my amendment ought to prevail in this case, in order to complete the purpose which the committee have in view.

Mr. President, I have listened to the speech made by the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH] this afternoon in opposition to a duty upon hides. The burden of his discourse was that the only ones who will be benefited by the duty on hides is the great beef trust of Chicago. If I believed that that was true, I certainly would not favor the imposition of this duty. In these matters, however, I am far more ready to accept the statements of people who are engaged in the industry, such as the people who are raising and selling cattle throughout the country, than I am to accept abstract theories and propositions made and stated here without, as I regard it, sufficient foundation.

Now, it is a fact that the cattle growers of the country, and the great body of farmers of the country who are raising cattle and selling them, are desirous of having a duty imposed upon hides. To my mind that is sufficient. That carries far more weight with me than any statement of the character to which I have alluded. At least two-thirds of all the hides which are produced in this country are produced by the small farmers and small cattle growers and the small independent butchers. About one third, it is estimated, are produced by the cattle trust. So the great mass of the producers of this country will be benefited by the imposition of a duty.

I am very much pleased with the recommendation of the committee to change this duty on hides from a cent and a half a pound specific to 20 per cent ad valorem, because I believe in this particular case, considering the condition in which the hides are imported, an ad valorem duty perhaps will come nearer reaching the object had in view.

Without stopping to take up the time of the Senate further, I desire to present a communication, which I will not stop to read, because I rather apprehend that my suggestion, not having emanated from the committee, will carry no weight here, and will not be adopted.

That, however, does not prevent me from presenting the matter and pointing out what I conceive to be the inconsistency of the proposition now advocated, to put a duty upon cattle hides and leave the great bulk of other hides to come in free. I desire to say that this communication is from a citizen of Texas, a Republican, a most ardent protectionist, and a gentleman who has given a great deal of study and investigation to the subject of goat raising and sheep raising and of wool and all the matters which are related to those subjects.

The communication referred to is as follows:

PEARSALL, TEX., *June 20, 1897.*

MY DEAR SENATOR: * * * The hair of the Angora and Cashmere goat should no more be scheduled with wool when formulating a tariff bill than silk should be. The bill now under consideration recommends that raw silk pay an import duty of 50 cents per pound. This, I infer, is considered a revenue rate of import duty, as I do not infer that it is expected that such rate of import duty will ever tend to develop the business of producing raw silk in this country. The fabrics made from the hair of the Angora and Cashmere goat are worn by the same class of people that wear silk fabrics—people receiving good salaries or having good incomes—consequently they should be required to contribute to the revenues needed by the Government.

The fabrics made from the skin of the goat are also worn by the same class of people; therefore the same policy should apply when considering the question of restoring goatskins to the dutiable list. You are well aware that in applying the principles of the protective-tariff policy all luxurious commodities imported and used by the extravagant, wealthy, and people of well-to-do circumstances should be required to bear largely the burdens of taxation, in order that the laboring masses may be relieved, as largely as is consistent with good government, from taxes necessary to be levied and collected to meet the current expenses of the Government.

This view of the case being accepted as the correct policy, the question arises as to the amount of import duty that should be justly levied on mohair. As the tariff bill now under consideration recommends that 50 cents per pound be levied on raw silk as a revenue duty, it seems to me right and proper that mohair should pay the same rate of import duty that silk is to pay, and in addition to the 50 cents per pound as the revenue duty, it should pay 25 cents per pound import duty as an additional protection to the industry, which can be made to meet the demands of the people within a reasonable number of years if adequate protection be given same.

The hide of the goat, being used exclusively in the manufacture of luxurious commodities, should pay an import duty of 40 cents or more per pound. Forty cents per pound import duty levied on the dry flint hide would have enabled the Government to collect more than $20,000,000 per annum on the more than 50,000,000 pounds of dry flint goatskins that have annually been imported into the United States during each of the last six or eight years, except the year closing June 30, 1894. Aside from this quantity imported as dry flint hides, there has also been imported a considerable quantity of goatskins in a half-dressed condition for the manufacture of morocco leather. The tanners of goatskins will need to be given proper rates of compensatory duties to protect them against competition offered by foreign tanners.

An examination of the Treasury Department reports will show that the consumption of goatskins by the people of the United States, as imported in

the raw and half-dressed condition and as imported in gloves, is enormous, costing the people of this nation (computing the probable quantity of raw goatskins used in the manufacture of gloves imported) annually less than an average of $13,000,000 during the last eight years, every pound of which can and would be produced by the people of this country if given adequate protection against foreign competition; and the same records go to prove that during the last fifteen years the annual importations of goatskins have very greatly increased.

I herewith insert statement taken from the records of the Treasury Department showing importations of goat products:

Import of goatskins and mohair and manufactures of goatskins.

[See United States Treasury Department reports.]

Year.	Pounds, free.	Value.	Cost per pound.	Dutiable under section 3, act of October 1, 1890.		Goatskins, tanned, but not dressed, for morocco purposes.	Kid gloves, value of.	Mohair.	Value per pound.
				Quantity.	Value.				
			Cents.	*Pounds.*				*Pounds.*	*Cents.*
1887		$5,848,128				$2,401,530	$4,159,112		
1888		6,309,411				3,450,571	4,437,287		
1889		7,668,472				3,415,935	4,523,600		
1890		9,106,082				3,644,695	5,501,336		
1891		11,443,745				3,474,735	5,627,984		
1892		11,509,127		240,493	$48,840	3,497,879	5,830,380		
1893		12,414,988		1,927,965	420,257	4,137,435	6,925,876		
1894		8,170,563		1,780,183	412,603	2,484,740	4,412,597		
1895	53,968,385	10,894,845	20.3	272,107	50,982	3,728,225	6,4 3,822		
1896	46,747,029	10,304,395	22.06			3,145,939	6,765,082	1,806,071	41

The facts set forth in the records of the Treasury Department, added to the further fact that the United States possesses all the conditions requisite to enable the people of this nation to produce every pound of goatskin and mohair needed, renders this subject worthy the careful and earnest consideration of Congress, while considering ways and means by which the Government can be supplied with the necessary amount of revenue, and at the same time induce the people to make this country self-supplying in all commodities needful that we are now importing but that we can successfully produce.

Further consideration of this subject will enable you to ascertain the facts that highlands of all Southern States, nearly all of Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona, a large portion of California, and some portions of the Pacific Coast north of California are well adapted to raising the Angora goat, and that middle and west Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona not only have room to successfully graze and care for many millions of goats (besides carrying at the same time large stocks of sheep), but the three sections of country last named have been proven to be the natural home of the goat in North America, and are spoken of by men of experience in other countries as comparing favorably with any part of the world for goat-raising purposes.

Concerning the number of goats now in the United States, I have to advise you that, while the reports of the Department of Agriculture at Washington show but 45,000 goats in North America, such report is misleading, from the fact that a reference to the office of comptroller of Texas shows that the assessors of this State returned to that office for assessment last year (1896) 251,585 goats, and a reference to the comptroller's records for the State of California and the Territories of New Mexico and Arizona will show that in those districts there are also considerable numbers of goats, a good portion of which, in all these different States and Territories named, are of the Angora breed.

While discussing the feasibility of obtaining stock for the building up of a sufficient stock of goats to enable the United States to become self supplying, I have to further advise you that while we have no official reports concerning the number of goats in Mexico, yet my personal knowledge of the number of goats in that country leads me to believe that there are at least three or four millions of goats in that country, a good portion of which the people of the United States would be likely to come in possession of in comparatively few years by purchase and removal of same to the United States if sufficient rate of protection is given the industry by Congress to justify the people in purchasing and bringing same into the United States.

It is a well-known fact that the goat is the most hardy and prolific animal of any of the wool-bearing species; consequently it is reasonable to conclude that the addition of a considerable portion of the goat stock of Mexico to the present stock of goats in the United States would, in comparatively few years, enable the people of this country to become self-supplying in both goatskins and mohair, thereby enabling the nation to keep at home the $15,000,000 to $17,000,000 in gold that is now being sent abroad in payment for goatskins and mohair that we are annually importing, and which amount of importations is rapidly increasing, and at the same time the building up of this industry would give profitable employment to tens of thousands of people and make valuable millions of acres of nonagricultural lands located in the arid districts of the United States.

Most respectfully,

B. L. CROUCH.

Hon. LEE MANTLE,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

Mr. MANTLE. It will be seen that this gentleman has gone into the matter most thoroughly, has investigated all the statistics bearing upon it, and has tabulated a statement giving his views, and from the protective standpoint there is no disputing the proposition that a higher rate of duty ought to be levied upon these skins and hairs for the purpose of encouraging their production in our own country. His judgment and belief is—and he states the case very clearly and logically—that with a protective duty sufficiently high we can supply these articles very largely ourselves.

I desire to have the memorial of Mr. Maddock, to which I have referred, printed in the RECORD in connection with my remarks.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. That order will be made, in the absence of objection.

The memorial referred to is as follows:

[Senate Document No. 150, Fifty-fifth Congress, first session.]

MEMORIAL OF GEORGE H. MADDOCK.

Mr. HOAR presented the following memorial of George H. Maddock, president of the Boston Upper Leather Tanners' Club, containing statistics in regard to tariff on hides:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *June 10, 1897.*

The Senate of the United States:

The following in regard to a tariff on hides and leather is most respectfully presented:

According to the census of 1890, the amount of capital employed in the various branches of the manufactures of boots, shoes, and leather amounted to $200,000,000, and the value of the manufactured product was $622,000,000; the number of people employed, 295,000, and the amount of wages paid was $130,000,000.

The industry has increased to a very large extent since that time, and the capital employed is much larger.

The number of cattle hides taken off annually in the United States for the past five years has been from 12,000,000 to 15,000,000, and the number imported has been from 3,000,000 to 6,000,000. The largest importations were in 1895, when the price of hides in this country was much higher than in any part of the world, and large numbers came here from nearly all the hide-producing countries. The imports of cattle hides in 1895 were nearly 6,000,000.

The domestic take-off of cattle hides in the United States in 1896 was about 12,000,000; about one-third of this number were taken off by the large and small packers, and the other two-thirds by the small butchers and farmers.

There are also very large numbers of calfskins taken off in this country every year, but it is difficult to estimate the number.

About 5,000,000 sheep and lambs are slaughtered in the United States yearly, and most of the skins are used in making leather.

There are also imported into this country yearly about 600,000 dozen, or 7,000,000, sheepskins, used mostly for making leather.

There are also imported yearly a large number of goatskins, kangaroo skins, hair sheep and Angora sheepskins.

The definite number can not be determined, but conservative estimates place the number as in the vicinity of 40,000,0 0 to 50,000,000 skins. According to the reports of imports of merchandise for 1896, there were 45,715,000 pounds of goatskins, raw or uncured, imported into the United States, valued at $10,300,359. These goatskins came principally from India, China, Germany, France, Russia, Turkey, Mexico, Argentina, Brazil, Africa, and United Kingdom. The supply of these foreign goat and sheep skins seems to be unlimited.

As the shoe and leather industry is so large and important an industry, great care should be taken in the adjustment of the new tariff that as little disturbance as possible should be made in the long-established conditions of the trade, and it would be very detrimental to the industry to have excessive or unequal duties imposed on raw materials; but without doubt the industry could very readily adapt itself to a reasonable duty.

On account of our extensive forests of oak and hemlock, and the easy access to them by our railroads, and on account of the enterprise and push of our American tanners, we are able to produce leather (in the making of which oak or hemlock bark is required) at a less price than similar leather can be produced in other parts of the world, and for this reason we have been able to establish a large foreign trade for our leather, amounting to nearly $30,000,000 a year.

This leather goes to nearly all the important leather markets of Europe, and American leather has become almost a necessity to the English shoe manufacturers. The shoe and leather trade seems to seek a few principal centers in each country. Boston is now the great shoe and leather center of the world, and London is the next place of importance.

Owing to the skill and enterprise and close attention to the business by the American tanner and shoe manufacturer, the competition has become very close and the profits are reduced to the minimum, so that many of our large shoe factories are willing to run for a profit of 1 to 2 cents per pair on the cheaper grades of shoes, costing $1.25 per pair or less, and a profit of 5 cents per pair is an unusual thing, except on the medium and better grades of shoes, and the tanners of cattle hides for the past three years have not averaged over 20 to 25 cents per hide profit.

In spite of the inroad upon this narrow margin of profit which would be made by the proposed duty on hides, less harm would result if the duty on cattle hides was properly classified, and if the hides and skins of other animals were also put on the dutiable list at an equitable rate. Such a duty on skins would give more real protection to cattle hides than the proposed duty in the Senate bill; it would give more revenue, and it would be a more popular measure.

It is proposed in the tariff bill as reported to the Senate May 4, 1897, to take cattle hides from the free list, where they have been since 1872, and place a duty on them of 1¼ cents per pound. (See p. S. B. 152, No. 4254.)

In the same bill it is proposed to leave the raw skins of all other animals on the free list (page 184, No. 636½), and also leave the duty on tanned skins at 10 per cent ad valorem, the same as they have been, hides on the free list (No. 427, page 154, lines 7, 8, and 9).

These imported raw skins produce leather that is used extensively in place of similar leather made from cattle hides, displaces so much cattle-hide leather, and helps to reduce the price of hide leather and of cattle hides. A duty should be placed on these raw skins if a duty is to be placed on hides.

The tanned skins imported under No. 427, lines 7, 8, and 9, compete very seriously with leathers made from domestic hides, as can readily be shown, and a duty of 30 per cent on this article would not be excessive, and would afford much better protection to our domestic hides than would a duty on cattle hides.

It requires, on the average, over two months' time to manufacture leather from cattle hides, and a large amount of raw material, such as bark, etc., is used. This gives constant employment to labor for over two months for a hide, and employs a large amount of labor in gathering and preparing the materials used, such as bark, etc., while on the average it takes only about

two weeks to prepare leather from the imported skins, for the reason that most of the skins are tanned by a quick chemical process, such as a chrome-tanning process, or by some other similar process, which have not as yet been found to be succe-sfully applicable to tanning a hide. Very little material is required in tanning or finishing these skins, and it requires only a few days to finish leather from the imported tanned skins, and only a very small amount of material.

It will thus appear that the manufacture of leather from cattle hides employs labor at least four times as long as the manufacture of leather from these imported skins, and also uses a much larger amount of domestic material in the manufacture of hide leather.

It is difficult to give the amount of imports of the raw skins that compete with leather made from cattle hides. They are not properly classified in the Government reports, as they have been on the free list.

The importation of goatskins, raw, in 1895 amounted to $10,955,000; in 1896 to $10,305,000. A portion of these skins would produce leather that would compete with cattle hides.

Under the term "Skins for morocco, tanned," the imports in 1895 were $3,730,000, and in 1896, $5,150,000. These paid a duty of 10 per cent, but probably valued at the extreme low price at which they were brought (chiefly in India), the leather from a large portion of these tanned skins competes very seriously with leather made from cattle hides. The duty on these skins has been 10 per cent, which is not enough for protection. It should be 30 per cent, as before stated.

The value of cattle hides imported can not be definitely stated, as they are not classified separately, having been on the free list.

A careful estimate of the imports of cattle hides gives the number imported in 1896 as 3,500,000. A fair estimate of the weight would be 71,000,000 pounds; a fair estimate of the value would be $13,000,000.

The imports of raw goatskins in 1896 were 45,715,000 pounds, valued at $10,300,000. These were free of duty.

The importations of hides and skins for 1896 are as follows:

Imports of goatskins, not tanned	$10,300,000
Imports of hides and skins other than goat and fur skins	20,216,000
Imports of tanned skins for morocco, meaning principally East India tanned goat, sheep, and kip skins	3,150,000
Total	33,666,000
Less estimated value of cattle hides	13,000,000
Total	20,666,000
Less tanned skins, taxed at 10 per cent	3,150,000
Leaving total value of	13,516,000

Being the value of hides and skins other than cattle hides that it is proposed to leave on the free list. This certainly does not give the desired protection to cattle hides.

GEO. H. MADDOCK,
President Boston Upper Leather Tanners' Club.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the amendment proposed by the Senator from Montana [Mr. MANTLE] to the amendment proposed by the committee, which has been read.

The amendment to the amendment was rejected.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question recurs on the adoption of the amendment proposed by the committee inserting a new paragraph.

Mr. VEST. Let us have the yeas and nays on that, Mr. President.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. COCKRELL. Let the amendment be stated.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to amend the amendment of the committee in paragraph 426½, in line 8, page 152, after the word "pickled," to strike out "1¼ cents per pound" and insert 20 per cent ad valorem;" and after the word "pound," in line 9, to strike out:

Provided, That upon all leather exported, made from imported hides, there shall be allowed a drawback equal to the amount of duty paid on such hides, to be paid under such regulations as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe.

So as to make the paragraph read:

426½. Hides of cattle, raw or uncured, whether dry, salted, or pickled, 20 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. WHITE. I inquire if we are now to vote upon the amendment proposed by the committee to the amendment of the committee?

Mr. VEST. I understood that 20 per cent had been already accepted.

Mr. ALLISON. We have substituted for the original amendment another amendment, and we are now voting upon the amendment as amended as a substitute.

Mr. WHITE. From the statement made from the desk, it would seem to be a substitution of 20 per cent for 1¼ cents per pound, and striking out the proviso. It ought to be read as if 20 per cent had already been inserted.

Mr. ALLISON. That is correct.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the insertion of the new paragraph 426½ as it has been amended on the motion of the Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON]. The Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. DANIEL (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. HANSBROUGH], and therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. DEBOE (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. PETTIGREW], and therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. GEAR (when his name was called). I am paired with the senior Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH]. If he were present, he would vote "nay" and I should vote "yea."

Mr. LINDSAY (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the senior Senator from Michigan [Mr. MCMILLAN]. If he were present, I should vote "nay."

Mr. MILLS (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. GALLINGER], and therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. TELLER (when Mr. PETTIGREW'S name was called). The Senator from South Dakota [Mr. PETTIGREW] is paired with the Senator from California [Mr. WHITE]. The Senator from South Dakota would vote "yea" if present.

Mr. WARREN (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Washington [Mr. TURNER], but as he would vote upon this question in the affirmative, if he were present, as I shall do, I ask to record my vote. I vote "yea."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. BATE. I desire to state that my colleague [Mr. HARRIS] is absent on account of ill health, and that he is paired with the Senator from Vermont [Mr. MORRILL] who is also absent.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas (after having voted in the negative). I am paired with the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE], and voted inadvertently. I withdraw my vote.

Mr. GEAR. I have announced my pair with the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH], but I transfer that pair to the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH], and vote "yea."

Mr. CLARK (after having voted in the affirmative). I inquire of the Chair whether the junior Senator from Kansas [Mr. HARRIS] has voted?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator has not voted.

Mr. CLARK. Then I withdraw my vote, as I am paired with that Senator.

Mr. BUTLER. I am paired with the Senator from Maryland [Mr. WELLINGTON], but understanding, if he were present, that he would vote the same way on this question as I do, I vote "yea."

Mr. CLARK. I transfer my pair with the junior Senator from Kansas [Mr. HARRIS] to the junior Senator from Illinois [Mr. MASON], and vote "yea."

Mr. DEBOE. I transfer my pair with the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. PETTIGREW] to the Senator from Nevada [Mr. JONES], and vote "yea."

Mr. PENROSE. I am authorized to transfer my pair with the junior Senator from Delaware [Mr. KENNEY], so that he will be paired with the Senator from Utah [Mr. CANNON]. Therefore I am at liberty to vote, and vote "yea."

Mr. WHITE. On this question I am paired with the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. PETTIGREW], and withhold my vote. If he were present, he would vote "yea" and I should vote "nay."

Mr. MARTIN. I wish to announce that I am paired with the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MCBRIDE], and therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. BACON (after having voted in the negative). I inquire of the Chair if the junior Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. WETMORE] has voted?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Rhode Island has not voted.

Mr. BACON. Then I withdraw my vote, as I have a general pair with that Senator.

Mr. MANTLE. I desire to inquire if any arrangement has been made respecting the pair of the Senator from Utah [Mr. CANNON]?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The pair of the Senator from Utah [Mr. CANNON] has been transferred to the Senator from Delaware [Mr. KENNEY], as announced by the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. PENROSE].

The result was announced—yeas 39, nays 20; as follows:

YEAS—39.

Allen,	Deboe,	Jones, Nev.	Rawlins,
Allison,	Elkins,	Lodge,	Sewell,
Baker,	Fairbanks,	Mantle,	Shoup,
Burrows,	Foraker,	Nelson,	Spooner,
Butler,	Frye,	Penrose,	Stewart,
Carter,	Gear,	Perkins,	Teller,
Chandler,	Hanna,	Platt, Conn.	Thurston,
Clark,	Hawley,	Pritchard,	Warren,
Cullom,	Heitfeld,	Proctor,	Wilson.
Davis,	Hoar,	Quay,	

NAYS—20.

Bate,	Cockrell,	Mallory,	Roach,
Berry,	Faulkner,	Mitchell,	Tillman,
Caffery,	Gorman,	Morgan,	Turpie,
Chilton,	Gray,	Pasco,	Vest.
Clay,	McLaurin,	Pettus,	Walthall.

NOT VOTING—30.

Aldrich,	Harris, Kans.	McMillan,	Smith,
Bacon,	Harris, Tenn.	Martin,	Turner,
Cannon,	Jones, Ark.	Mason,	Wellington,
Daniel,	Kenney,	Mills,	Wetmore,
Gallinger,	Kyle,	Morrill,	White,
George,	Lindsay,	Murphy,	Wolcott.
Hale,	McBride,	Pettigrew,	
Hansbrough,	McEnery,	Platt, N. Y.	

So the amendment to insert as a new paragraph paragraph 426½ as amended was agreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. I offer, on behalf of the majority of the

Committee on Finance, a new paragraph in lieu of paragraph 427 as originally proposed to be inserted by the committee.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Iowa on behalf of the committee will be stated.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to insert, as a substitute for paragraph 427 as originally reported, the following:

427. Band or belting leather, sole leather, dressed upper, and all other leather, calfskins, tanned, or tanned and dressed, kangaroo, sheep and goat skins (including lamb and kid skins), dressed and finished, chamois, and other skins, and bookbinders' calfskins, all the foregoing not specially provided for in this act, 20 per cent ad valorem; skins for morocco, tanned, but unfinished, 10 per cent ad valorem; skins of sheep origin, dressed, with the grain on, $1.50 per dozen skins; skins of goat origin, dressed, with the grain on, 22 per dozen skins; skins dressed as suede or with the exterior grain surface removed, whether known as mocha or otherwise, $2.50 per dozen skins; patent, japanned, varnished, or enameled leather, weighing not over 10 pounds per dozen hides or skins, 30 cents per pound and 20 per cent ad valorem; if weighing over 10 pounds and not over 25 pounds per dozen, 30 cents per pound and 10 per cent ad valorem; if weighing over 25 pounds per dozen, 20 cents per pound and 10 per cent ad valorem; pianoforte leather and pianoforte action leather, 35 per cent ad valorem; leather shoe laces, finished or unfinished, 50 cents per gross and 30 per cent ad valorem; boots and shoes made of leather, 25 per cent ad valorem: *Provided*, That leather cut into shoe uppers or vamps or other forms, suitable for conversion into manufactured articles, shall be classified as manufactures of leather and pay duty accordingly.

Mr. WHITE. This amendment is very lengthy and seems to need a little clarification. I will inquire of the Senator from Iowa as to whether the effect of it is to increase the duty over the amendment heretofore proposed by the committee or over the bill as it came from the House; I speak of it generally. It is mysteriously concocted.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. How great an increase is proposed by the amendment?

Mr. ALLISON. This amendment was very carefully prepared by an expert of the Treasury Department. It does somewhat increase the duties upon japanned leather above those heretofore provided, but otherwise I do not think there is any material advance.

Mr. WHITE. Will the Senator state the object of the committee in framing this complicated amendment? Will he state the object to be gained by it? What was the difficulty with the former amendment?

Mr. ALLISON. If the Senator had noticed carefully the reading of the amendment, he would have observed that all the leathers bearing 20 per cent ad valorem have been thrown together. This is more scientific, if I may use that term, than the paragraph formerly proposed by the committee.

Mr. WHITE. This is more scientific than the other?

Mr. ALLISON. That is to say, it carries all the leathers that have a 20 per cent ad valorem duty together. Then it classifies other leathers, some of them being made specific instead of ad valorem, without increasing the ad valorem. Perhaps I should have said the amendment now proposed is more symmetrical than the former one.

Mr. VEST. Under the amendment as originally proposed by the committee the duty upon japanned leather was 20 per cent ad valorem. Can the Senator now tell us what is the ad valorem rate upon japanned leather under the amendment as amended?

Mr. ALLISON. About 10 per cent.

Mr. VEST. All these "band or belting leathers, * * * calfskins tanned, or tanned and dressed, dressed upper leather, including patent, enameled, and japanned leather, dressed or undressed," etc., were placed at 20 per cent ad valorem. What does the Senator say is now the increase over 20 per cent?

Mr. ALLISON. The increase is about 10 per cent, making it 30.

Mr. LINDSAY. Instead of 20?

Mr. ALLISON. Instead af 20.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. On all of those?

Mr. ALLISON. On all that class of leather.

Mr. WHITE. Is there any compensating duty in this? Was this framed with a view to prepare a compensating duty?

Mr. ALLISON. It was framed in view of the fact of the 20 per cent duty on hides.

Mr. WHITE. Then the increase is due to the fact that a tariff duty has been placed on hides?

Mr. ALLISON. On that class of leather. I believe the proposed amendment is satisfactory to those who voted to impose a duty on hides.

Mr. GRAY. I should like to ask what the committee propose to substitute for lines 7, 8, and 9, which read:

Skins for morocco, tanned, but unfinished, 10 per cent ad valorem;

Mr. ALLISON. That is included in the substitute as stated. The duty on morocco is not increased.

Mr. GRAY. How is it as to "skins for morocco, tanned, but unfinished?"

Mr. ALLISON. They are not included, and stand at 10 per cent, as in the former amendment.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Was the tax too high as proposed before the 20 per cent was put on?

Mr. ALLISON. On skins for morocco?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Yes.

Mr. ALLISON. I think so.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I understood the Senator to say these duties were raised in this paragraph to compensate for the 20 per cent which has just been added on hides?

Mr. ALLISON. Ten per cent as to japanned leather.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Was it not raised as to anything else?

Mr. ALLISON. Not as to anything else, I believe.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Then the addition of 10 per cent does not, in the opinion of the Senator, change the necessity for protection on these articles?

Mr. ALLISON. Only as I have stated.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. From which I infer that the Senator thinks that the rates were too high in this paragraph before the addition of the 20 per cent duty on hides?

Mr. ALLISON. They were high enough.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Yes.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the adoption of the amendment of the committee.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. There ought to be a yea-and-nay vote of the Senate on that proposition, and I ask that the vote be taken in that way.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. WHITE. If the Senator from Iowa has the information convenient, I should like to know the ad valorem rate on shoe strings.

Mr. GRAY. Are shoe strings on the dutiable list?

Mr. WHITE. Yes; under this amendment.

Mr. GRAY. Could they not escape?

Mr. WHITE. No; it seems not.

Mr. ALLISON. The rate is about 20 per cent, I think.

The Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. DANIEL (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. HANSBROUGH].

Mr. GEAR (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the senior Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. LINDSAY (when his name was called). I am paired with the senior Senator from Michigan [Mr. MCMILLAN]. If he were present, I should vote "nay."

Mr. MARTIN (when his name was called). I am paired on this question with the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MCBRIDE].

Mr. MILLS (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. GALLINGER]. If he were present, I should vote "nay."

Mr. PENROSE (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Delaware [Mr. KENNEY]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. WARREN (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Washington [Mr. TURNER], but for this vote I transfer my pair to the Senator from Illinois [Mr. MASON], and I will vote. I vote "yea."

Mr. WHITE (when his name was called). Upon this vote I am paired with the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. PETTIGREW]. Were he present, he would vote "yea" and I should vote "nay."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. BERRY. I was requested by the senior Senator from New York [Mr. MURPHY] to announce that on all these questions he is paired with his colleague [Mr. PLATT]. If the senior Senator from New York were present, he would vote "nay."

Mr. VEST. I am paired with the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. NELSON]. If he were present, I should vote "nay" and he would vote "yea."

Mr. JONES of Arkansas (after having voted in the negative). I am paired with the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE], and voted inadvertently. I withdraw my vote.

Mr. BACON (after having voted in the negative). The junior Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. WETMORE] not having voted, I withdraw my vote, as I have a general pair with him.

The result was announced—yeas 30, nays 19; as follows:

YEAS—30.

Allison,	Elkins,	Lodge,	Spooner,
Burrows,	Fairbanks,	Perkins,	Stewart,
Carter,	Foraker,	Platt, Conn.	Teller,
Chandler,	Frye,	Pritchard,	Thurston,
Clarke,	Hanna,	Proctor,	Warren,
Cullom,	Hawley,	Quay,	Wilson.
Davis,	Hoar,	Sewell,	
Deboe,	Jones, Nev.	Shoup,	

NAYS—19.

Allen,	Cockrell,	Mitchell,	Roach,
Bate,	Faulkner,	Morgan,	Tillman,
Berry,	Gray,	Pasco,	Turpie,
Caffery,	Harris, Kans.	Pettus,	Walthall.
Chilton,	Mallory,	Rawlins,	

NOT VOTING—40.

Aldrich,	Gorman,	McEnery,	Penrose,
Bacon,	Hale,	McLaurin,	Pettigrew,
Baker,	Hansbrough,	McMillan,	Platt, N. Y.
Butler,	Harris, Tenn.	Mantle,	Smith,
Cannon,	Heitfeld,	Martin,	Turner,
Clay,	Jones, Ark.	Mason,	Vest,
Daniel,	Kenney,	Mills,	Wellington,
Gallinger,	Kyle,	Morrill,	Wetmore,
Gear,	Lindsay,	Murphy,	White,
George,	McBride,	Nelson,	Wolcott.

So the amendment of the committee was agreed to.

Mr. CAFFERY. I offer a table prepared by Mr. Byron W. Holt, in connection with the sugar schedule, and ask that it may be printed in the RECORD and as a separate document.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. If there be no objection, that order will be made.

The table referred to is as follows:

Table showing differential or net protection on 100 pounds of hard refined sugar; protection concealed in error of Treasury table; total concealed protection, over the 20 cents per 100 pounds intended; and net protection, or differential (including countervailing duty of 38 cents) on 100 pounds hard refined sugar.

Raw "test" degree.	Pounds raw required to make 100 pounds refined sugar.*			Duty per pound.	Amount of duty on raw sugar required to make 100 pounds of hard refined sugar.			Amount duty of on 100 pounds refined.	Differential on 100 pounds hard refined sugar based on †—			Protection concealed in Treasury table error.	Total concealed protection, all over 20 cents per 100 pounds.	Differential, or net protection (including countervailing duty), on 100 pounds hard refined sugar.‡
	Theoretical.	Treasury.	Actual.		Theoretical allowance.	Treasury allowance.	Actual pounds.		Theoretical allowance.	Treasury allowance.	Actual pounds.			
				Cents.					*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*
100	100	100	100	1.75	$1.7500	$1.7500	$1.7500	$1.95	20	20	20			58
99	101.01	101.87	101.2	1.73	1.7374	1.7522	1.7406	1.95	21.26	19.78	20.94	1.16	0.94	58.94
98	102.04	103.73	102.4	1.69	1.7245	1.7530	1.7305	1.95	22.55	19.70	21.95	2.25	1.95	59.95
97	103.09	105.60	103.7	1.66	1.7113	1.7530	1.7214	1.95	23.87	19.70	22.86	3.16	2.86	60.86
96	104.17	107.47	105.0	1.63	1.6980	1.7518	1.7115	1.95	25.20	19.82	23.85	4.03	3.85	61.85
95	105.26	109.34	106.4	1.60	1.6842	1.7494	1.7024	1.95	26.58	20.06	24.76	4.70	4.76	62.76
94	106.38	111.20	107.8	1.57	1.6702	1.7458	1.6925	1.95	27.98	20.42	25.76	5.34	5.76	63.76
93	107.53	113.07	109.3	1.54	1.6560	1.7413	1.6832	1.95	29.40	20.87	26.68	5.81	6.68	64.68
92	108.69	114.94	110.8	1.51	1.6412	1.7356	1.6731	1.95	30.88	21.44	27.69	6.45	7.69	65.69
91	109.89	116.81	112.3	1.48	1.6264	1.7288	1.6630	1.95	32.36	22.12	28.80	6.68	8.80	66.80
90	111.11	118.67	113.9	1.45	1.6111	1.7207	1.6515	1.95	33.89	22.93	29.85	6.92	9.85	67.85
89	112.36	120.54	115.5	1.42	1.5955	1.7117	1.6401	1.95	35.45	23.83	30.99	7.16	10.99	68.99
88	113.64	122.41	117.1	1.39	1.5796	1.7015	1.6277	1.95	37.04	24.85	32.23	7.38	12.23	70.23
87	114.94	124.27	118.7	1.36	1.4482	1.5658	1.4956	1.95	50.58	38.42	45.44	7.02	25.44	83.44
86	116.28	126.14	120.3	1.33	1.4302	1.5515	1.4797	1.95	51.98	39.85	47.03	7.18	27.03	85.03
85	117.65	128.01	122.0	1.30	1.4118	1.5361	1.4640	1.95	53.82	41.39	48.60	7.21	28.60	86.60
84	119.09	129.88	123.7	1.17	1.3934	1.5198	1.4472	1.95	55.66	43.04	50.28	7.24	30.28	88.28

*The column headed "Theoretical" shows the number of pounds of raw sugar of each grade which would be required to make 100 pounds of crystallized or hard refined sugar, providing all of the crystallizable sugar was extracted. It is not practicable to extract all. In the column headed "Actual" the allowance is sufficient to yield in practice 100 pounds of hard refined sugar. If refiners do not get out 100 pounds of hard refined from these allowances, it is usually because they can give a greater value to their products by turning out less hard and more soft refined sugars. Of course the unextracted crystallizable sugar can be made into soft refined—almost as valuable as hard refined sugars. Besides these sugars there is more or less of invert sugar, which goes into sirup.

†In the column headed "Theoretical allowance" the differential is based upon the supposition that all the crystallizable sugar is gotten out of the raw sugar. The small amount that is lost in practice is saved in the form of soft refined sugars. The differential shown in this column is therefore probably nearer correct than is that in the column headed "Actual pounds." In the latter column no account is taken of the increased value of the soft refined sugars due to the duty on them.

‡These differentials do not include the duty on the soft sugars made from the residue of the first refining process, all of which duty is clear profit to refiners. Neither do they show the full protection given to the low-grade refined sugars. Under the proposed schedule these sugars, though often testing less than 90 degrees, enjoy the same protection as hard refined sugars testing 99+. The protection on these sugars is therefore about 10 per cent more than on hard refined sugar. It will thus prohibit the importation of low-grade refined sugars.

Mr. ALLISON. I desire to have the attention of the Senator from California for a moment. In the original paragraph 427 I find that leather shoe laces were partly specific and partly ad valorem. The rate proposed by the amendment just adopted is less than the rate proposed by the House.

The reading of the bill was resumed, beginning with line 17, page 154, and continued to the end of paragraph 430, which is as follows:

430. Women's or children's "glacé" finish, lamb or sheep, not over 14 inches in length, $2.50 per dozen pairs; over 14 and not over 17 inches in length, $3.50 per dozen pairs; over 17 inches in length, $4.50 per dozen pairs; men's "glacé" finish, lamb or sheep, $4 per dozen pairs.

Mr. GRAY. I should like to ask the Senator from Iowa how paragraph 430 compares with the McKinley law on gloves?

Mr. ALLISON. I think it is an increase.

Mr. GRAY. Can the Senator from Arkansas state the increase, unless the Senator from Iowa has the figures?

Mr. ALLISON. It is 25 cents a dozen on the first bracket.

Mr. GRAY. That is what I make it out. The classification is different from that of the McKinley law. We in this paragraph have adopted the classification of the law of 1894.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. On 14-inch gloves it is $1.75 a dozen under the present law, and $2.50 under the Senate bill; over 14 inches and not over 17 inches, $2.75 under the present law, and $3.50 under the pending bill—75 cents difference.

Mr. GRAY. Seventy-five cents difference?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Seventy-five cents. Over 14 inches and not over 17 inches, unlined, it is $2.75 under the present law and $3.50 under the pending bill; over 14 and not over 17 inches in length, lined, $3.75 under the present law and $4.50 under this bill; over 17 inches in length, unlined, $3.75 under the present law and $4.50 under the pending bill.

Mr. ALLISON. On the next item it is the same—$4.

The reading of passed-over paragraphs was resumed, and paragraph 431 was read, as follows:

431. Women's or children's "glacé" finish, goat, kid, or other leather than of sheep origin, not over 14 inches in length, $3 per dozen pairs; over 14 and not over 17 inches in length, $3.75 per dozen pairs; over 17 inches in length, $4.75 per dozen pairs; men's "glacé" finish, kid, goat, or other leather than of sheep origin, $4 per dozen pairs.

Mr. GRAY. Will the Senator from Iowa tell us in regard to the last item in paragraph 431? It is the same description as in paragraph 431, men's "glacé" finish. What kind of a glove is it? It is a tremendous tax, it seems to me. Is that a fine glove or a coarse glove?

Mr. LODGE. A smooth glove.

Mr. ALLISON. It is a smooth finish.

Mr. GRAY. They are taxed $4 a dozen pairs. It is a very high tax, and I wish to know whether it is an ordinary leather glove or a fine leather glove.

Mr. ALLISON. They are all fine gloves—"glacé finish, kid, goat, or other leather than that of sheep origin."

Mr. VEST. The "glacé" is the finer glove.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The tax is about 50 per cent.

Mr. GRAY. How do they differ, I should like to ask the Senator from Iowa, from the last classification in paragraph 430 "men's glacé finish, lamb or sheep, $4 per dozen pairs." Is the lamb or sheep a coarse, heavy glove?

Mr. ALLISON. They are heavier gloves. These are the kids, and other than of sheep origin.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was to strike out paragraph 434, in the following words:

434. In addition to the foregoing rates there shall be paid the following cumulative duties: On all leather gloves, when lined, $1 per dozen pairs; on all pique or prix seam gloves, 50 cents per dozen pairs; on all gloves stitched or embroidered, with more than three single strands or cords, 50 cents per dozen pairs: *Provided*, That all gloves represented to be of a kind or grade below their actual kind or grade shall pay an additional duty of $3 per dozen pairs: *And provided further*, That no gloves shall be classed as children's gloves that are larger than size 6, glove measurement.

And to insert in lieu thereof:

434. In addition to the foregoing rates, there shall be paid on leather gloves, when lined, $1 per dozen pairs. On all leather gloves imported without fasteners of any kind for closing the wrist openings there shall be a reduction of 25 cents per dozen pairs from the rates in the preceding paragraphs.

Mr. ALLISON. I offer what I send to the desk as a substitute for the committee amendment.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to amend the amendment of the committee by inserting as a substitute therefor the following:

434. In addition to the foregoing rates there shall be paid on leather gloves, when lined, $1 per dozen pairs; on all pique or prix seam gloves, 25 cents per dozen pairs; on all gloves stitched or embroidered with more than three single strands or cords, 25 cents per dozen pairs. On all leather gloves with wrist openings, imported without fasteners, or parts thereof, of any kind, there shall be a reduction of 25 cents per dozen pairs from the rates in the preceding paragraphs.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. As well as I could hear, there has been an increase in the rate of duty on gloves of 75 cents a dozen in these paragraphs. The amendment now offered, if I understand it correctly, increases it $1 in addition to the 75 cents.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. No.

Mr. ALLISON. It increases it $1 on lined gloves.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. That is above the 75 cents already on; more than 100 per cent on the first recommendation of the committee.

Mr. ALLISON. Oh, no.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Then I do not understand it.

Mr. ALLISON. Paragraph 434 provided that "in addition to the foregoing rates, there shall be paid on leather gloves, when lined, $1 per dozen pairs."

Now, in addition to that we have provided for 25 cents additional per dozen pairs on all pique or prix seam gloves, instead of 50 cents a dozen, as in the House scheme, and also upon embroidered gloves the same rate, 25 cents a dozen additional, the House having put on 50 cents a dozen, and we omit from the amendment the last two provisos found in the House text.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I do not understand the meaning of the amendment. I should be glad to have it read again from the desk.

Mr. ALLISON. I hope the Senator will also look at the House text.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment will again be read.

The Secretary again read the amendment.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. This is a substitute for the House provision.

Mr. ALLISON. It is a substitute for the House provision and the Senate amendment.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I did not so understand it when it was first read.

Mr. WHITE. I do not exactly understand the last sentence of the paragraph, which provides that in certain cases there shall be a reduction of 25 cents per dozen pairs. This seems to be amenable to the criticism made by the Senator from Iowa the other day when he spoke deprecatingly of a provision that the duty should not go above a certain figure. I note with apprehension that he is injecting into the bill that very dangerous element, for he provides here that on certain lines of goods a reduction shall be made. I think, perhaps, the amendment is better phrased than the House paragraph, which provides for cumulative duties. I have heard of cumulative penalties in certain cases. The change, as I understand it, is a considerable raise over previous law, but the classification is so different that it is impossible to figure it out, and I see it is a task for which the mathematician who prepared the comparative statement found himself inadequate, for I observe there is no computation here as to paragraph 434, either as it came from the House or as it is now in the bill.

Mr. GRAY. Then, if I understand it, it means that on leather-lined gloves the duty shall be $5 per dozen.

Mr. ALLISON. If they are lined.

Mr. GRAY. If they are lined. So if they are lined, I presume that takes them out of the category of ordinary kid gloves which may be worn for fashion or for some other purpose, perhaps for dress rather than for warmth; but a lined glove is only worn as a necessity, and the leather-lined gloves are the necessary hand apparel of everybody who is out in the open air, and especially those who work in the air. This is a very large tax, it seems to me, to be placed upon a necessary of life—$5 a dozen.

Mr. ALLISON. The people who make gloves complain very much that we allow only $1. It is said that the cost of lining many of these gloves is four or five dollars a dozen.

Mr. GRAY. The people who wear gloves will complain.

Mr. ALLISON. I have not heard of any complaint from them.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The remark of the Senator from Iowa, that the people who make the gloves complain, reminds me of the complaint I remember to have read once of an old conveyancer in England, who complained that a deed for land was not required to be exactly the same size as the land, so that the conveyancer, who was paid by the hundred words, would receive something like a respectable fee for conveying the land. I do not think anybody ever believed he was right.

Mr. WHITE. I notice there is one reason which ought to be controlling, and no doubt has been in the matter of the increase of this duty. The importation of men's lined gloves in 1896 was 10 dozen, and the duty paid $38; and in view of that fact, I should think there would be no objection to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Iowa.

Mr. ALLISON. It is a revenue duty.

Mr. VEST. I wish to make one observation about the glove schedule. On all the cheaper grades of women's and children's gloves there is a heavy increase of 75 cents on the dozen pairs. When it comes to higher priced gloves for men, other than of sheep origin, it is $4 in the existing law, and no increase in this amendment. In other words, the increases are upon the lower grades and the cheaper grades, while the higher valued goods escape the increase entirely.

Mr. ALLISON. I think the Senator must be mistaken. There seems to be a regular gradation here and increase in duties. Of course it is true that in each of these paragraphs men's gloves of lamb or sheep are $4 a dozen.

Mr. VEST. That is existing law.

Mr. ALLISON. And men's gloves, other than of sheep origin, $4 a dozen. The other gloves here are graded up according to their degree of finish. There will be no trouble about that.

Mr. WHITE. Perhaps it would further justify the report of the committee as to paragraph 434 to call attention to the comparative statement, on page 232, from which it appears that of women's or children's gloves, glacé finish, goat, and so on, over 14 and under 17 inches in length, lined, there were imported in 1896 30.26 dozens, and a duty paid of $201. That importation was not equaled by the bracket over 17 inches in length, lined, for it appears there the importation was 4.8 dozens, and the amount of duty collected the munificent sum of $35.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment in the nature of a substitute proposed by the committee.

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

The amendment as amended was agreed to.

The reading of passed-over paragraphs was resumed and continued to the end of line 19, on page 157.

Mr. ALLISON. That completes the leather schedule. I ask that we return to paragraph 189. The Senator from Nebraska and one or two other Senators ask that we do not take up the lead schedule to-night, and, inasmuch as it will take some little time, I suggest that we take up paragraph 189, which was partially considered a few days ago.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I do not understand why it seems to be the purpose to take up paragraph 189 just about the time for adjournment each afternoon.

Mr. ALLISON. I do not quite see any special reason for it myself, except that it is more convenient than to take up the lead schedule. I do not think the Senator from Arkansas will find any great difficulty in the paragraph.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Relating to watches?

Mr. ALLISON. Yes; to watches.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I think there will be considerable difficulty with it, from my observation. It is a proposition to raise the tax from 25 per cent, as it stood for years and never was raised since the war, to 65 per cent, and it seems to me there ought to be some reason given for it in the Senate when that is done.

Mr. TURPIE. I ask the honorable Senator from Iowa whether he will give way to an executive session if I move one?

Mr. ALLISON. I will in a moment. The Senator from Arkansas desires that we shall not take up the paragraph relating to watches to-night.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I think we had better go on in the regular way. So far as I am concerned, I shall have but little to say about the watch business. I have no doubt the question has already been settled by the Republican caucus, and that whatever they have decreed will be adopted; that it is useless to call attention to the outrage, if I may be allowed to say so in a polite way, in this paragraph. Still, I propose to do it. I do not think it will take more than a few minutes, but I should rather not begin when we are all exhausted and the time has come really for an adjournment, and I think the suggestion of the Senator from Indiana had best be acted on.

Mr. ALLISON. Then allow me to take up a matter which I think will not lead to any debate, and that is paragraph 215—cattle. I believe it is a matter which will not lead to any debate.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. What does the Senator from Iowa propose?

Mr. ALLISON. I should like to propose an amendment. If there is any serious objection to it——

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. We shall be glad to have it proposed, so that we may know what it is.

Mr. ALLISON. It will take but a few minutes to dispose of it.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. What is the proposition?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will state the amendment proposed to paragraph 215.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to strike out paragraph 215 and insert:

215. Cattle, if less than 1 year old, $2 per head; all other cattle, if valued at not more than $14 per head, $3.50 per head; if valued at more than $14 per head and not more than $25 per head, 25 per cent ad valorem; if valued at more than $25 per head, 30 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. How does that differ from the present law?

Mr. ALLISON. The rate is a little higher than the present law.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Let the amendment be read again.

The Secretary again read the amendment.

Mr. ALLISON. It is much less than the House provision, but it is, of course, an increase over the present law, which is 20 per cent ad valorem. It is lower than the House rate.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. If the Senator would make the last

bracket 20 per cent, I would not have any serious objection to the proposition.

Mr. ALLISON. I think this is the desire among the agricultural people, and perhaps of those who import cattle from other countries.

Mr. WHITE. Does the protection given on hides make any difference in the tariff on cattle, I will ask?

Mr. ALLISON. This provision relates to live cattle.

Mr. WHITE. As long as hides are protected raw, perhaps it might affect the rate.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Iowa.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. CHILTON. Let us understand the question a little better. What is the proposition?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The proposition is to strike out paragraph 215 and insert a new paragraph, which has been read.

Mr. CHILTON. Let it be read again.

The Secretary again read the amendment.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair will again put the question. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Iowa.

Mr. VEST. Of course it is useless to make any opposition to this increase, but I want to call attention to the fact that in 1896 we exported $34,560,672 worth of cattle and we imported $1,497,622 worth. I could say a great deal were it not for the lateness of the hour and the utter uselessness of making any contest against the amendment. I suppose that the object of the amendment is to exclude entirely from the country Mexican cattle and the Canadian cattle.

Mr. ALLISON. I will say to the Senator that it is not the object. The object is to get a duty if they are imported, as they will be undoubtedly, from Mexico.

Mr. VEST. These rates are absolutely prohibitory on young cattle. From the way they have been rating heretofore in price—they have gone up a little lately—it is absolutely impossible to bring into the country any of the cheap Mexican cattle, which are bred in Texas and Nebraska and in the western portion of Missouri. It is not true that they come in competition with our cattle in the Chicago market. There never have been more than two small bunches of those cattle carried to Chicago, and they were immediately bought by the canners, and not sold in competition with the grass-fed or corn-fed cattle of the Western States. But I suppose the amendment is to be adopted. I simply wanted to enter my dissent from it and to state that I am against it.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. Now I yield to the Senator from Indiana.

Mr. MORGAN. I desire to offer an amendment to the pending bill, which I ask to have printed.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. It will be so ordered.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. TURPIE. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After forty-five minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened, and (at 5 o'clock and 47 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Tuesday, June 29, 1897, at 11 o'clock a. m.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate June 28, 1897.

MARSHAL.

Clarence W. Ide, of Washington, to be marshal of the United States for the district of Washington, vice James C. Drake, to be removed.

COLLECTOR OF INTERNAL REVENUE.

Henry Fink, of Wisconsin, to be collector of internal revenue for the first district of Wisconsin, to succeed James W. Murphy, removed.

CONSUL.

Soren Listoe, of Minnesota, to be consul of the United States at Rotterdam, Netherlands, vice Lars S. Reque, resigned.

PROMOTIONS IN THE NAVY.

Naval Cadets Stuart F. Smith, of Pennsylvania, and William G. Groesbeck, of Ohio, to be assistant naval constructors in the Navy from the 1st day of July, 1897.

Asst. Engineer John H. Rowen, to be a passed assistant engineer in the Navy from the 28th day of May, 1897, vice Passed Asst. Engineer Edgar T. Warburton, promoted.

PROMOTIONS IN THE MARINE CORPS.

Frank L. Denny, captain and assistant quartermaster, United States Marine Corps, to be quartermaster of said corps, with the rank of major, from the 27th day of June, 1897, vice Richard S. Collum, major and quartermaster, retired.

Charles Laurie McCawley, to be an assistant quartermaster in the United States Marine Corps, with the rank of captain, from the 27th day of June, 1897, vice Frank L. Denny, promoted.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate June 28, 1897.

ENVOY EXTRAORDINARY AND MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY.

Irving B. Dudley, of California, to be envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States to Peru.

CONSUL-GENERAL.

Hector de Castro, of New York, to be consul-general of the United States at Rome, Italy.

CONSULS.

Frank Dillingham, of California, to be consul of the United States at Auckland, New Zealand.

Frank C. Denison, of Vermont, to be consul of the United States at Woodstock, New Brunswick.

SECRETARY OF LEGATION.

Thomas C. Dawson, of Iowa, to be secretary of the legation of the United States at Rio de Janeiro.

PROMOTION IN THE ARMY.

General officer.

Col. Caleb Henry Carlton, Eighth Cavalry, to be brigadier-general.

PROMOTIONS IN THE NAVY.

Capt. George C. Remey, to be a commodore.

Commander William H. Whiting, to be a captain.

Lieut. Commander Frederick M. Symonds, to be a commander.

PROMOTION IN THE MARINE CORPS.

Second Lieut. William N. McKelvy, United States Marine Corps, to be a first lieutenant.

MEMBER OF CALIFORNIA DÉBRIS COMMISSION.

First Lieut. Herbert Deakyne, Corps of Engineers, United States Army, to be a member of the California Débris Commission, vice Capt. Cassius E. Gillette, Corps of Engineers, relieved.

COLLECTORS OF INTERNAL REVENUE.

Michael W. Sutton, of Kansas, to be collector of internal revenue for the district of Kansas.

Henry Fink, of Wisconsin, to be collector of internal revenue for the first district of Wisconsin.

Herschel S. Harkins, of North Carolina, to be collector of internal revenue for the fifth district of North Carolina.

POSTMASTERS.

William Jenney, to be postmaster at Mount Clemens, in the county of Macomb and State of Michigan.

Seymour Foster, to be postmaster at Lansing, in the county of Ingham and State of Michigan.

Clarence E. Closser, to be postmaster at Munising, in the county of Alger and State of Michigan.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

MONDAY, *June 28, 1897.*

The House met at 12 o'clock m. Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. HENRY N. COUDEN.

The Journal of the proceedings of Thursday last was read and approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. PLATT, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with deep sensibility the announcement of the death of Hon. EDWARD DEAN COOKE, late a Representative from the State of Illinois.

Resolved, That a committee of five Senators be appointed by the Presiding Officer, to join the committee appointed on the part of the House of Representatives, to attend the funeral of the deceased.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives.

And that in compliance with the foregoing the Presiding Officer of the Senate had appointed as the committee Mr. MASON, Mr. SPOONER, Mr. CARTER, Mr. PASCO, and Mr. TURNER.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Mr. DINGLEY. Mr. Speaker, I am not aware that there are any matters requiring the attention of the House to-day——

Mr. BAILEY. It is impossible for us to hear what the gentleman says.

Mr. DINGLEY. I say that I am not aware that there are any matters claiming the attention of the House to-day. I move, therefore, that the House do now adjourn.

Mr. BAILEY. As the gentleman from Maine has suggested

there is no business claiming the attention of the House, I take the liberty of saying I know there is. We have the bankruptcy bill and the Cuban resolution, both of which ought to be considered.

The SPEAKER (having put the question on the motion of Mr. DINGLEY). On this question the ayes are 85, the noes 86. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. DINGLEY. I call for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 97, nays 88, answered "present" 14, not voting 153; as follows:

YEAS—97.

Adams,	Davison, Ky.	Jenkins,	Shannon,
Alexander,	Dingley,	Johnson, Ind.	Shattuc,
Babcock,	Dolliver,	Johnson, N. Dak.	Simpkins,
Baker, Md.	Dorr,	Kirkpatrick,	Smith, Ill.
Barber,	Eddy,	Lacey,	Snover,
Barham,	Ellis,	Landis,	Southwick,
Bartholdt,	Evans,	Linney,	Sperry,
Bishop,	Fenton,	Littauer,	Steele,
Boose,	Fletcher,	Low,	Stevens, Minn.
Boutelle,	Fowler, N. J.	McDonald,	Stone, C. W.
Bromwell,	Gardner,	McIntire,	Stone, W. A.
Brosius,	Graff,	Mercer,	Sturtevant,
Brown,	Griffin,	Mesick,	Sulloway,
Brownlow,	Grosvenor,	Miller,	Tawney,
Butler,	Harmer,	Mudd,	Tayler, Ohio
Cannon,	Hawley,	Northway,	Updegraff,
Cochrane, N. Y.	Henry, Conn.	Olmsted,	Van Voorhis,
Cousins,	Hepburn,	Overstreet,	Wanger,
Crump,	Hilborn,	Payne,	Warner,
Crumpacker,	Hill,	Pearce, Mo.	White, N. C.
Curtis, Kans.	Hitt,	Pearson,	Williams, Pa.
Dalzell,	Hopkins,	Perkins,	Yost.
Danford,	Howell,	Pitney,	
Davenport,	Hull,	Robbins,	
Davidson, Wis.	Hurley,	Russell,	

NAYS—88.

Adamson,	Davis,	Lamb,	Sayers,
Allen,	De Graffenreid,	Lanham,	Settle,
Bailey,	De Vries,	Latimer,	Shafroth,
Baird,	Epes,	Lewis, Ga.	Shuford,
Baker, Ill.	Fitzpatrick,	Lewis, Wash.	Simpson,
Ball,	Fleming,	Livingston,	Sims,
Barlow,	Fowler, N. C.	Lloyd,	Smith, Ky.
Bartlett,	Fox,	Love,	Stark,
Bell,	Griggs,	McAleer,	Stephens, Tex.
Bodine,	Gunn,	McClellan,	Stokes,
Brewer,	Handy,	McCulloch,	Strait,
Brousard,	Hay,	McRae,	Sullivan,
Brucker,	Henry, Miss.	Maddox,	Sutherland,
Brundidge,	Henry, Tex.	Marshall,	Talbert,
Burke,	Hinrichsen,	Maxwell,	Tate,
Clardy,	Howard, Ala.	Meekison,	Terry,
Clark, Mo.	Hunter,	Moon,	Underwood,
Cochran, Mo.	Jones, Wash.	Ogden,	Vandiver,
Cooney,	King,	Osborne,	Vincent,
Cooper, Tex.	Kitchin,	Pierce, Tenn.	Williams, Miss.
Cranford,	Kleberg,	Ridgely,	Young, Va.
Cummings,	Knowles,	Robinson, Ind.	Zenor.

ANSWERED "PRESENT"—14.

Benner, Pa.	Henry, Ind.	Richardson,	Wheeler, Ky.
Carmack,	Minor,	Southard,	Wilson, S. C.
Cooper, Wis.	Otey,	Weaver,	
Gaines,	Rhea,	Wheeler, Ala.	

NOT VOTING—153.

Acheson,	Curtis, Iowa	Lester,	Rixey,
Arnold,	Davey,	Little,	Robb,
Bankhead,	Dayton,	Lorimer,	Robertson, La.
Barney,	De Armond,	Loud,	Royse,
Barrett,	Dinsmore,	Loudenslager,	Sauerhering,
Barrows,	Dockery,	Lovering,	Shelden,
Beach,	Dovener,	Lybrand,	Sherman,
Belden,	Elliott,	McCall,	Showalter,
Belford,	Ermentrout,	McCleary,	Skinner,
Belknap,	Faris,	McCormick,	Slayden,
Bennett,	Fischer,	McDowell,	Smith, S. W.
Benton,	Fitzgerald,	McEwan,	Smith, Wm. Alden
Berry,	Foote,	McMillin,	Spalding,
Bingham,	Foss,	Maguire,	Sparkman,
Bland,	Gibson,	Mahany,	Sprague,
Botkin,	Gillet, N. Y.	Mahon,	Stallings,
Bradley,	Gillett, Mass.	Mann,	Stewart, N. J.
Brantley,	Greene,	Marsh,	Stewart, Wis.
Brenner, Ohio	Grout,	Martin,	Strode, Nebr.
Brewster,	Grow,	Meyer, La.	Strowd, N. C.
Broderick,	Hager,	Miers, Ind.	Sulzer,
Brumm,	Hamilton,	Mills,	Swanson,
Bull,	Hartman,	Mitchell,	Taylor, Ala.
Burton,	Heatwole,	Moody,	Todd,
Campbell,	Hemenway,	Morris,	Tongue,
Capron,	Henderson,	Newlands,	Vehslage,
Castle,	Hicks,	Norton,	Wadsworth,
Catchings,	Hooker,	Odell,	Walker, Mass.
Chickering,	Howard, Ga.	Otjen,	Walker, Va.
Clark, Iowa	Howe,	Packer, Pa.	Ward,
Clarke, N. H.	Jett,	Parker, N. J.	Weymouth,
Clayton,	Jones, Va.	Peters,	White, Ill.
Codding,	Joy,	Plowman,	Wilber,
Colson,	Kelley,	Powers,	Wilson, N. Y.
Connell,	Kerr,	Prince,	Wright,
Connolly,	Ketcham,	Pugh,	Young, Pa.
Corliss,	Knox,	Quigg,	
Cowherd,	Kulp,	Ray,	
Cox,	Lentz,	Reeves,	

So the motion to adjourn was agreed to.

The following pairs were announced:

Until further notice:

Mr. HENRY of Indiana with Mr. MIERS of Indiana.

Mr. PUGH with Mr. RHEA of Kentucky.

Mr. HEMENWAY with Mr. ROBERTSON of Louisiana.

Mr. BROSIUS with Mr. ERMENTROUT.

Mr. KERR with Mr. ROBB.

Mr. KULP with Mr. STALLINGS.

Mr. WHITE of Illinois with Mr. BRENNER of Ohio.

Mr. GROW with Mr. RICHARDSON.

Mr. SAUERHERING with Mr. COWHERD.

Mr. WEYMOUTH with Mr. TAYLOR of Alabama.

Mr. STEWART of Wisconsin with Mr. LITTLE.

Mr. WILLIAM A. STONE with Mr. MCCLELLAN.

Mr. LYBRAND with Mr. LENTZ.

Mr. LOVERING with Mr. WHEELER of Alabama.

Mr. BRUMM with Mr. COX.

Mr. CHICKERING with Mr. BRADLEY.

Mr. FOOTE with Mr. CASTLE.

Mr. HICKS with Mr. OTEY.

Mr. GROUT with Mr. BERRY.

Mr. JOY with Mr. CARMACK.

Mr. HOOKER with Mr. CATCHINGS.

Mr. WRIGHT with Mr. DOCKERY.

Mr. YOUNG of Pennsylvania with Mr. BENTON.

Mr. BARRETT with Mr. FITZGERALD.

Mr. BARROWS with Mr. JETT.

Mr. BELDEN with Mr. SULZER.

Mr. HAWLEY with Mr. SWANSON.

Mr. ACHESON with Mr. WILSON of South Carolina.

Mr. HEATWOLE with Mr. DINSMORE.

Mr. MCCALL with Mr. JONES of Virginia.

Mr. MCEWAN with Mr. VEHSLAGE.

Mr. MILLS with Mr. HOWARD of Georgia.

Mr. MINOR with Mr. SPARKMAN.

Mr. SOUTHARD with Mr. NORTON.

Mr. QUIGG with Mr. BLAND.

Mr. POWERS with Mr. GAINES.

Mr. OTJEN with Mr. LESTER.

Mr. SPALDING with Mr. CLAYTON.

Mr. DE ARMOND with Mr. GILLETT of Massachusetts.

Mr. MCCLEARY with Mr. BANKHEAD.

For this day:

Mr. CLARKE of New Hampshire with Mr. RIXEY.

Mr. BARNEY with Mr. TODD.

Mr. FARIS with Mr. MAGUIRE.

Mr. BINGHAM with Mr. DAVEY.

Mr. HENDERSON with Mr. MCMILLIN.

Mr. ODELL with Mr. BRANTLEY.

Mr. REEVES with Mr. SLAYDEN.

Mr. PARKER with Mr. ELLIOTT.

Mr. TATE. Mr. Speaker, I ask indefinite leave of absence for my colleague from Georgia, Mr. HOWARD, who is now and has been for some time necessarily absent on account of sickness in his family.

There being no objection, leave was granted.

Mr. GAINES. I am paired with the gentleman from Vermont, Judge POWERS. I desire to withdraw my vote and be recorded as present.

Mr. RHEA of Kentucky. I am paired with my colleague, Mr. PUGH. I desire to withdraw my vote and be marked present.

Mr. CARMACK. I wish to know, Mr. Speaker, whether I am recorded as voting.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman is recorded in the negative.

Mr. CARMACK. I desire to withdraw my vote, as I am paired with the gentleman from Missouri, Mr. JOY.

Mr. HENRY of Indiana. I am paired with my colleague, Mr. MIERS. I wish to withdraw my vote, and answer "present."

Mr. RICHARDSON. I am paired with the gentleman from Pennsylvania, Mr. GROW. I voted inadvertently. I desire to withdraw my vote.

EULOGIES ON HON. W. S. HOLMAN.

Pending the announcement of the result of the vote on the motion to adjourn,

Mr. STEELE, by unanimous consent, submitted the following resolution:

Resolved, That Thursday, the 8th day of July, 1897, be set apart for paying a tribute to the memory of Hon. W. S. Holman, late a member of the House of Representatives from the State of Indiana.

The SPEAKER. The Chair desires to say that if this resolution should be adopted, any action of the Committee on Rules will be given precedence. The Chair makes this statement in order that the House may understand the matter now.

The resolution was adopted.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted as follows:

To Mr. GREENE, indefinitely, on account of important business.

To Mr. HAMILTON, for ten days, on account of important business.

To Mr. MORRIS, for ten days, on account of important business.

To Mr. FERGUSSON, for two weeks, on account of important business.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

Accordingly (at 12 o'clock and 42 minutes p. m.) the House, in pursuance of the order heretofore adopted, adjourned until Thursday next, at 12 o'clock m.

PUBLIC BILLS, RESOLUTIONS, AND MEMORIALS INTRODUCED.

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, bills, resolutions, and memorials of the following titles were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. CRUMPACKER: A bill (H. R. 3553) to limit the scope of the civil-service act—to the Committee on Reform in the Civil Service.

By Mr. SHAFROTH: A bill (H. R. 3554) to encourage the economical administration of the Government—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. HENRY of Mississippi: A bill (H. R. 3555) for improving the Homochitto River, from mouth to Yazoo and Mississippi Railroad, in Mississippi—to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. HAWLEY: A bill (H. R. 3556) to fix the salary of the collector of customs of the district of Galveston, Tex.—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. DAVIS: A bill (H. R. 3557) to provide an American register for the steamer *Jacksonville*—to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. KING: A bill (H. R. 3558) to provide for and to regulate the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands as a Territory of the United States—to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. CRUMPACKER: A joint resolution (H. Res. 69) proposing an amendment to the Constitution respecting the annexation of territory—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HAWLEY: A joint resolution (H. Res. 70) providing for estimate of cost of certain improvements at the mouth of Double Bayou and Galveston Bay, Texas—to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS INTRODUCED.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions of the following titles were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. CANNON: A bill (H. R. 3559) for the relief of Jacob A. Henry—to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. CUMMINGS: A bill (H. R. 3560) for the relief of James M. Willbur—to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. DOLLIVER: A bill (H. R. 3561) granting a pension to Margaret Newcomb—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. FENTON: A bill (H. R. 3562) for the relief of William Davis, of Omega, Ohio—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3563) for the relief of Andrew J. Duncan, jr., of Mount Joy, Ohio—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. FISCHER: A bill (H. R. 3564) to remove the charge of desertion from the military record of Simon Nager—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. HAWLEY: A bill (H. R. 3565) to pension Theresa Bonnaveau—to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. LACEY: A bill (H. R. 3566) granting a pension to Sarah E. Ward—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3567) to remove the charge of desertion against Gardner Dodge—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. McDONALD: A bill (H. R. 3568) to carry out the findings of the Court of Claims in the case of Joseph M. Middlekauff—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. RIDGELY: A bill (H. R. 3569) to remove the charge of desertion against E. A. Brown—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3570) for the relief of Emanuel Klauser—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3571) granting a pension to John Loudabarger—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3572) granting a pension to Marcus D. Watson—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3573) granting a pension to George Diehl—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3574) granting a pension to William A. Williford—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3575) to remove the charge of desertion against William T. Grady—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3576) granting a pension to John Heniff—to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. SMITH of Kentucky: A bill (H. R. 3577) to remove the charge of desertion against John B. Perkins—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3578) granting a pension to James I. McLain—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3579) for the relief of Mary L. Piatt—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3580) granting a pension to Thomas J. Daniel—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3581) granting a pension to Cynthia A. Middleton—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SAMUEL W. SMITH: A bill (H. R. 3582) granting a pension to Alvin D. Hubbard—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SNOVER: A bill (H. R. 3583) for the relief of David Laufier—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3584) for the relief of Darius Covey—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. WEYMOUTH: A bill (H. R. 3585) to restore William F. Peck to the rolls of the Navy, and to grant him an honorable discharge—to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. ZENOR: A bill (H. R. 3586) granting a pension to Henry Graybrook, of the city of New Albany, Ind.—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, the following petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

By Mr. ACHESON: Sundry petitions of Henry G. Sargent, Harvey Crumrine, and other citizens of Fredericktown, Pa., and vicinity; Solomon Lipsley and others, of Connellsville, Pa.; W. H. Lynn and others, of Vanderbilt, Pa.; S. E. Williams and others, of Moyer, Pa., praying for the passage of an act to further restrict immigration—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. ADAMS: Petition of sundry tea merchants of the city of Philadelphia, Pa., favoring a specific duty on tea—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. DOLLIVER: Paper to accompany House bill granting a pension to Margaret Newcomb—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. FISCHER: Paper to accompany House bill to remove the charge of desertion standing against Simon Nager—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. HENRY of Indiana: Resolutions adopted by the Winter Wheat Millers' League, favoring a reciprocity treaty for the extension of trade; also requesting that burlaps, burlap bags, and bolting cloth be placed on the free list—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. HITT: Resolutions adopted at the Thirty-first Annual Encampment of the Department of Illinois, Grand Army of the Republic, held at Galesburg, Ill., May 5 and 6, 1897, indorsing the bill to establish a national military park to commemorate the campaign, siege, and defense of Vicksburg—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, resolution of the Thirty-first Annual Encampment, Department of Illinois, Grand Army of the Republic, praying for an amendment of the invalid pension laws, so that it shall not be required of the widow and children of a deceased soldier to prove that he died of a disability contracted in the service and line of duty—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. HOWELL: Petition of 33 citizens of New Brunswick, N. J., in relation to the restriction of immigration—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. KNOX: Petition of Frank C. Adams and 72 other citizens of Lowell, Mass., praying for protective-tariff legislation at the earliest possible date—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. LACEY: Paper to accompany House bill No. 9878, granting a pension to Sarah C. Ward—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. McALEER: Petition of officers and members of 46 labor organizations in the lithographic trade, praying for protection against foreign competition—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, petition of the Philadelphia Tobacco Board of Trade, protesting against the tariff schedule on leaf tobacco—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, petition of the Tobacco Board of Trade of Baltimore, Md., on behalf of 300,000 people, protesting against the tobacco schedule of the Dingley tariff bill—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, petition of Vetterlein Bros., of Philadelphia, Pa., remonstrating against that portion of Schedule F in the Dingley bill

relating to imported tobacco used for cigar purposes—to the Committee on Ways and Means

Also, protest of Cigar Makers' International Union, against the enactments of the Dingley bill increasing the duty on cigar fillers and wrappers—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, a petition of Frank Teller & Co., of Philadelphia, Pa., protesting against a duty in the Dingley bill of $2 per pound on cigar wrappers and 70 cents per pound on Habana fillers—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, protests of A. Newman & Co., Frank D. Weylman & Co., National Morocco Association, and George H. West & Sons, against a duty on goatskins and morocco—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, petition of E. Clinton & Co., asking that the duty on dressed bristles remain as at present—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, petition of E. Wilkinson & Co., of Philadelphia, remonstrating against an increased duty on onions—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, petition of Elder Jenkins, of Philadelphia, protesting against the omission of bristles from Schedule N in the proposed tariff bill—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, remonstrance of Lawford Bros., of Baltimore, Md., against a duty on sheep dip—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, petition of A. G. Elliott & Co., of Philadelphia, asking for reduction of duty on paper—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, petition of hop merchants of the city of New York, protesting against increase of duty on hops—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, protest of Reeves, Parvin & Co., of Philadelphia, against the discontinuance of rebate on canned goods—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, resolution of the Board of Managers of the Trades League of the city of Philadelphia, comprising 2,000 members, protesting against the repeal of the act of Congress of 1883 known as the civil-service law—to the Committee on Reform in the Civil Service.

Also, protest of the Merchant Tailors' Exchange of Pittsburg, Pa., against the allowance of $100 to tourists in their purchase of goods abroad—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, petition of tea merchants of Philadelphia, favoring a specific duty on tea—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, protest of Frank H. Fleer & Co., of Philadelphia, against increasing the duty on gum chicle—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, petition of Russell Thayer, of Philadelphia, favoring increased duty on high-grade machinery—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, petition of Thomas Sparks & Co., of Philadelphia, in favor of a higher duty on shot—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, petition of Robert Latimer & Co., of Philadelphia, protesting against any change in the duty on bolting cloth for millers' purposes—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, petition of Charles F. Heizel, on behalf of the Fruit Importers' Union of New York, protesting against prohibitory duty on oranges, lemons, etc., as set forth in Schedule G—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, remonstrance of Francis D. Moulton & Co., salt manufacturers, of New York City, against a duty on salt—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, remonstrance of E. R. Warrington & Co., of Philadelphia, against an increase of duty on muriate of ammonia or sal ammoniac—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. MERCER: Resolutions of the Nebraska Beet Sugar Association, in favor of the passage of the Dingley tariff bill—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, resolution of the Commercial Club of Omaha, Nebr., favoring the passage of Senate bill No. 1, relating to American merchant marine—to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. SHUFORD: Petition of T. H. Hathcock, mayor of Norwood, N. C., and 579 other citizens of Norwood and vicinity, favoring the passage of Senate resolution giving belligerent rights to suffering Cuba—to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. ZENOR: Papers to accompany House bill No. 1034, for the relief of William H. Byrum—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, papers to accompany House bill No. 3119, for the relief of Capt. Andrew P. Batson—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, papers to accompany House bill No. 3549, granting a pension to John Hammond—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, paper to accompany House bill No. 3550, granting a pension to Martha Brisco, widow of late Capt. Andrew J. Brisco—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, papers to accompany House bill No. 3552, granting a pension to John W. Daugherty—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

SENATE.

TUESDAY, *June 29, 1897.*

The Senate met at 11 o'clock a. m.

Prayer by Rev. HUGH JOHNSTON, D. D., of the city of Washington.

The Secretary proceeded to read the Journal of yesterday's proceedings, when, on motion of Mr. QUAY, and by unanimous consent, the further reading was dispensed with.

PORT OF FERNANDINA, FLA.

The VICE-PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the Secretary of War, transmitting, in response to concurrent resolution of May 26, 1897, a letter from the Chief of Engineers, together with a report of Capt. O. M. Carter, Corps of Engineers, relative to the present condition of the harbor of Cumberland Sound, and the action necessary to protect the entrance from being closed against the commerce usually entering the port of Fernandina; which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on Commerce, and ordered to be printed.

NORTHERN LIBERTY MARKET CLAIMS.

The VICE-PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the Commissioners of the District of Columbia, transmitting, in response to a resolution of the 21st instant, certain information relative to the payment of certain claims against the District of Columbia by drawback certificates; which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia, and ordered to be printed.

Mr. COCKRELL. I ask that a special order be made for the immediate printing of that communication.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. That order will be made, in the absence of objection.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. BURROWS presented petitions of C. W. Martin and 43 other citizens of Gratiot County, of S. W. Howard and 140 other citizens of Belding, of H. J. Milbourn and 33 other citizens of Eaton Rapids, I. L. H. Dodd and 12 other citizens of Buchanan, William Sickles and 23 other citizens of Sickles, and of E. A. Winton and 45 other citizens of Ithaca, all in the State of Michigan, praying for the early passage of the pending tariff bill; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. BURROWS. I present sundry memorials signed by the presidents and secretaries of various labor organizations in the State of Michigan, remonstrating against the passage of Senate bill No. 1575, or any similar measure, aimed to prevent ticket brokerage or the disposing of railway tickets by anyone except the duly authorized agents of the railways. I move that the memorials be referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

Mr. CHANDLER. I should like to ask the Senator from Michigan a question. To what extent have the labor organizations of his State united in these memorials?

Mr. BURROWS. Running over the list, I should judge that pretty generally the entire labor organizations of the State remonstrate against the passage of the bill.

Mr. CHANDLER. Can the Senator state about how many?

Mr. BURROWS. I have not the number now in mind. I think the papers disclose the fact.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The memorials will be referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

Mr. FAIRBANKS presented a petition of sundry citizens of Indianapolis, Ind., and a petition of George Searing and 25 other citizens of Lima, Ind., praying for the enactment of protective-tariff legislation, at the earliest possible date, such as will adequately secure American industrial products against the competition of foreign labor; which were ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented sundry memorials of citizens of Indiana, remonstrating against the enactment of legislation intended to destroy the present system of ticket brokerage; which were referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

Mr. MALLORY presented a memorial of Cigar Makers' Union No. 29, of Jacksonville, Fla., remonstrating against the adoption of the tobacco schedule in the pending tariff bill; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. WETMORE presented a petition of the Episcopal clergy of Rhode Island, praying for the ratification of an arbitration treaty between the United States and Great Britain; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also presented petitions of 1,000 citizens of Providence, R. I., praying for the early passage of the pending tariff bill; which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. CULLOM presented a petition of the Department of Illinois, Grand Army of the Republic, of Galesburg, Ill., praying for the establishment of a national military park to commemorate the

siege and defense of Vicksburg; which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also presented a petition of the Department of Illinois, Grand Army of the Republic, of Galesburg, Ill., praying for the adoption of certain amendments to the invalid pension law; which was referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. MORRILL presented a memorial numerously signed by citizens of Hartford, Vt., remonstrating against the enactment of legislation intended to destroy the present system of ticket brokerage; which was referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

Mr. CHILTON presented a petition of sundry citizens of Rockport, Tex., praying for the early passage of the pending tariff bill; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. McMILLAN presented a memorial of the Trades and Labor Council, of Kalamazoo, Mich., remonstrating against the enactment of legislation intended to destroy the present system of ticket brokerage; which was referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

He also presented a petition of the common council of Detroit, Mich., praying for the early passage of the so-called Cullom bill for the regulation of the Interstate Commerce Commission; which was referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

Mr. TURPIE presented a memorial of Local Union No. 308, Cigar Makers' International Union of America, of Muncie, Ind., remonstrating against the proposed increase of the tax on cigars and tobacco; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. QUAY presented a petition of the general assembly of Pennsylvania, praying that an appropriation be made providing for an exhibit by the United States to the Paris Exposition in 1900; which was read, and ordered to lie on the table, as follows:

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, *June 16, 1897.*

"Whereas the Republic of France more than two years ago invited the people of the United States to officially participate in the Paris Exposition of 1900; and

"Whereas the French Republic has at great expense been officially represented at the two international expositions heretofore held in the United States, the first of which was the centennial celebration of the independence of this nation, and was held in and under the auspices of the State of Pennsylvania: Therefore,

"*Resolved (if the senate concur)*, That the Senators and Representatives in Congress from the State of Pennsylvania are respectfully requested to aid, by their votes and influence, an appropriation sufficient to insure a dignified and creditable exhibit of the industries and resources of the United States at the Paris Exposition of 1900."

Extract from the journal.

JERE B. REX,
Chief Clerk of the House of Representatives.

In the senate, June 16, 1897.

E. W. SMILEY,
Chief Clerk of the Senate.

Approved the 19th day of June, A. D. 1897.

DANIEL H. HASTINGS.

Mr. BAKER presented the affidavit of Charles A. Craig, to accompany the bill (S. 1930) granting a pension to C. A. Craig, of Smith Center, Kans.; which was referred to the Committee on Pensions.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

Mr. GALLINGER, from the Committee on Pensions, to whom was referred the bill (S. 1297) for the relief of John P. Leitzell, asked to be discharged from its further consideration and that it be referred to the Committee on Military Affairs; which was agreed to.

Mr. GALLINGER. I am directed by the Committee on Pensions, to whom were referred sundry bills, to report them adversely.

Mr. ALLEN. I think the name of the Senator introducing the bill should be stated, so that we may know who introduced the bills as they are read by title.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The suggestion of the Senator from Nebraska will be adopted.

Mr. GALLINGER. What is the suggestion?

Mr. ALLEN. That the names of the introducers of the bills be stated as the titles are read at the desk, so that we may be notified.

Mr. GALLINGER. Oh, certainly.

On the following bills, Mr. GALLINGER submitted adverse reports, which were agreed to, and the bills were postponed indefinitely:

A bill (S. 1420) granting a pension to Frederick A. Driscol (introduced by Mr. WOLCOTT);

A bill (S. 755) granting an increase of pension to Adelaide Morris (introduced by Mr. GRAY);

A bill (S. 905) granting a pension to Hans Johnson (introduced by Mr. DAVIS);

A bill (S. 888) to grant a pension to Charlotte O. Van Cleve, widow of Gen. Horatio P. Van Cleve (introduced by Mr. DAVIS);

A bill (S. 572) granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth D. Marthon, widow of Lieut. Commander Joseph Marthon (introduced by Mr. HOAR);

A bill (S. 894) granting a pension to William Brown (introduced by Mr. DAVIS);

A bill (S. 188) granting an increase of pension to Mary E. Hazlip (introduced by Mr. THURSTON);

A bill (S. 597) to pension Frances E. Wickware (introduced by Mr. GEAR);

A bill (S. 900) granting a pension to Neil McNeil (introduced by Mr. DAVIS); and

A bill (S. 899) granting a pension to Sarah E. Boyd (introduced by Mr. DAVIS).

Mr. GALLINGER. I have a large number of favorable reports from the same committee, and I desire to make a very brief statement before presenting them.

The Committee on Pensions had its first meeting this morning, and it was decided to report back favorably all bills that had had affirmative action either by the committee or by one or both Houses of Congress at some former session, but which had not become laws; and the reports which I shall now present, and that other members of the committee will present this morning, are of that nature; they have been favorably acted upon previously either by the Committee on Pensions of the Senate or by one or both Houses of Congress.

I desire to state to Senators that the committee have decided not to take up at the present session any new bills, but to allow those to go over until the regular session in December next.

First, I present favorable reports on three general pension bills which have formerly been favorably acted upon.

The following bills Mr. GALLINGER reported severally without amendment, and submitted reports thereon:

A bill (S. 503) to amend section 3 of an act entitled "An act granting pensions to soldiers and sailors who are incapacitated for the performance of manual labor, and providing for pensions to widows, minor children, and dependent parents," approved June 27, 1890;

A bill (S. 494) to supplement the act of June 27, 1890, as to pensions; and

A bill (S. 488) defining and regulating proof in certain pension cases.

Mr. GALLINGER. From the same committee I report back favorably the private pension bills which I send to the desk to be read by title.

Mr. HOAR. To read the titles is to read a mere list of names of the beneficiaries of bills which have been acted on favorably. I suggest that they take their proper disposition without reading.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and that will be the order.

Mr. MITCHELL. I have sundry reports to present from the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. HOAR. I make the same request as to those bills.

Mr. GALLINGER. While I consented in private conversation to the suggestion of the Senator from Massachusetts, I desire to call his attention to the fact that having the reports placed on the Calendar without the titles being read may lead to confusion. I understand that the Reporters find it impossible to keep their records correct, and perhaps the clerks to keep theirs with accuracy, unless the titles are read at the desk. Although it will take a little time, I think it would be better not to deviate from our usual custom, and that the titles of the bills should be stated. I think the Senator from Massachusetts will concur in that suggestion.

Mr. HOAR. I withdraw the request, Mr. President.

The following bills Mr. GALLINGER reported severally without amendment, and submitted reports thereon:

A bill (S. 1462) granting a pension to Enoch G. Adams;

A bill (S. 1702) granting an increase of pension to Nancy G. Allabach;

A bill (S. 1581) granting a pension to Mary W. C. Burgess;

A bill (S. 485) granting a pension to Mrs. Martha Frank;

A bill (S. 501) granting an increase of pension to Charles D. Hanscom;

A bill (S. 487) granting a pension to Delia Gilman;

A bill (S. 499) granting a pension to Sarah R. Frary;

A bill (S. 496) granting a pension to Simpson Everett Stilwell;

A bill (S. 482) to increase the pension of Margaret Custer Calhoun;

A bill (S. 492) granting a pension to Ella D. Cross;

A bill (S. 483) granting an increase of pension to Caroline B. Bradford;

A bill (S. 489) granting an increase of pension to William A. Beckford;

A bill (S. 497) granting an increase of pension to Betsey B. Olin;

A bill (S. 500) granting a pension to Francis H. Staples;

A bill (S. 1890) granting an increase of pension to Benjamin F. Tuck;
A bill (S. 505) granting an increase of pension to Edward F. Adams;
A bill (S. 1111) granting an increase of pension to Joseph V. Bowie;
A bill (S. 493) granting a pension to Mary A. Wise;
A bill (S. 506) granting an increase of pension to Daniel G. George;
A bill (S. 942) granting a pension to Louise Van Atter;
A bill (S. 502) granting a pension to Rebecca P. Quint;
A bill (S. 2100) granting a pension to Hepza Hobson Werden;
A bill (S. 619) to increase the pension of William N. Wells;
A bill (S. 1110) granting an increase of pension to Samuel E. Liscom;
A bill (S. 486) granting a pension to Mary M. Macauley, widow of the late Brig. Gen. Daniel Macauley, United States Volunteers;
A bill (S. 491) to pension Thomas F. Leahy;
A bill (S. 495) granting a pension to Plumy E. Marden;
A bill (S. 1704) to increase the pension of Mrs. Helen A. De Russy;
A bill (S. 670) granting a pension to Mrs. Marietta Hayes;
A bill (S. 1320) granting a pension to Sophia J. Chilcott;
A bill (S. 1317) to increase the pension of Arabella V. Washburn;
A bill (S. 1318) granting a pension to Celesthia A. Whitney;
A bill (S. 1321) granting a pension to Emily E. Atherton; and
A bill (S. 1023) granting a pension to Jane L. Buckingham.

Mr. GALLINGER, from the Committee on Pensions, to whom were referred the following bills, reported them severally with an amendment, and submitted reports thereon:
A bill (S. 943) granting a pension to Jane B. Johnston;
A bill (S. 504) granting an increase of pension to Mrs. Christine C. Barnard;
A bill (S. 508) granting an increase of pension to John H. Sanborn;
A bill (S. 484) granting an increase of pension to Carlton W. Muzzy;
A bill (S. 618) granting a pension to Philip T. Greely;
A bill (S. 116) granting a pension to W. L. Faxon;
A bill (S. 1118) granting an increase of pension to Mary E. Chamberlin;
A bill (S. 1751) granting a pension to Moses M. Crants; and
A bill (S. 666) granting an increase of pension to William H. Morgan.

Mr. GALLINGER, from the Committee on Pensions, to whom were referred the following bills, reported them severally with amendments, and submitted reports thereon:
A bill (S. 941) granting a pension to Mary Stewart Lasselle; and
A bill (S. 507) restoring to the pension roll the name of Lucia A. Hynes.

Mr. MITCHELL, from the Committee on Pensions, to whom was referred the bill (S. 1090) to pension Mrs. Susan M. Sessford, reported it with an amendment, and submitted a report thereon.

He also, from the same committee, to whom were referred the following bills, reported them severally without amendment, and submitted reports thereon:
A bill (S. 1089) granting a pension to Harriet Clarissa Mercur, widow of James Mercur, late professor of civil and military engineering in the United States Military Academy at West Point, N. Y.;
A bill (S. 1088) granting a pension to Mrs. Frances C. De Russy;
A bill (S. 1087) to increase the pension of Mrs. Elizabeth S. Roberts, widow of the late Gen. Benjamin S. Roberts, United States Army;
A bill (S. 1887) granting an increase of pension to Russell R. King;
A bill (S. 959) to increase the pension of Capt. Isaac D. Toll;
A bill (S. 1453) granting an increase of pension to Henry Wilson; and
A bill (S. 1733) granting a pension to Frances M. Roberts.

Mr. BAKER, from the Committee on Pensions, to whom were referred the following bills, reported them severally without amendment, and submitted reports thereon:
A bill (S. 732) granting an increase of pension to William H. H. Wright, of McPherson, Kans.;
A bill (S. 1075) granting an increase of pension to Edward Stanley;
A bill (S. 734) granting an increase of pension to Jackson Osborn;
A bill (S. 733) granting an increase of pension to Jacob Saladin;
A bill (S. 1361) granting an increase of pension to John N. Landon, of Leavenworth, Kans.;
A bill (S. 731) granting a pension to Elender Herring, of Elsmore, Kans.;
A bill (S. 728) granting a pension to John F. Hathaway;
A bill (S. 1209) granting an increase of pension to Maj. John H Gearkee;
A bill (S. 1363) granting an increase of pension to Alvah A. Eaton;
A bill (S. 730) granting an increase of pension to John N. Corgan, of McPherson, Kans.;
A bill (S. 1362) granting a pension to Charles Williamson;
A bill (S. 1076) granting an increase of pension to Allen Buckner, of Baldwin, Kans.;
A bill (S. 2280) granting a pension to Andrew M. Callaham;
A bill (S. 301) to increase the pension of Edmund Woog;
A bill (S. 304) granting a pension to Henry Farmer;
A bill (S. 948) granting a pension to Joseph M. Waddell;
A bill (S. 302) granting a pension to Ambrose J. Vanarsdel;
A bill (S. 310) granting a pension to Johnson Hays;
A bill (S. 949) granting a pension to Levi R. Long; and
A bill (S. 950) granting a pension to Ann King, widow of Samuel King, deceased.

Mr. BAKER, from the Committee on Pensions, to whom was referred the bill (S. 294) granting increase of pension to John J. Boatwright, reported it with an amendment, and submitted a report thereon.

He also, from the same committee, to whom was referred the bill (S. 769) to increase the pension of Clark W. Harrington, late sergeant of Company I, Ninety-third New York Infantry, reported it with amendments, and submitted a report thereon.

Mr. SHOUP, from the Committee on Pensions, to whom were referred the following bills, reported them severally with an amendment, and submitted reports thereon:
A bill (S. 126) granting an increase of pension to Henry B. Conway;
A bill (S. 637) granting an increase of pension to Oliver P. Silvey;
A bill (S. 859) granting a pension to Josephine I. Offley; and
A bill (S. 862) granting a pension to Mary A. Benjamin.

Mr. SHOUP, from the Committee on Pensions, to whom was referred the bill (S. 858) granting a pension to Cornelia De Peyster Black, reported it with amendments, and submitted a report thereon.

He also, from the same committee, to whom were referred the following bills, reported them severally without amendment, and submitted reports thereon:
A bill (S. 856) granting a pension to Margaret Rowsell;
A bill (S. 125) granting an increase of pension to George W. Palmer; and
A bill (S. 638) granting a pension to Nellie L. Groshon.

Mr. PRITCHARD, from the Committee on Pensions, to whom were referred the following bills, reported them severally with an amendment, and submitted reports thereon:
A bill (S. 1836) granting an increase of pension to John McGrath;
A bill (S. 1518) to increase the pension of Martha M. McCall, widow of William Wallace McCall, a soldier of the Mexican war;
A bill (S. 1829) granting an increase of pension to James H. Kile; and
A bill (S. 1826) granting an increase of pension to Mrs. Jane L. Fagg, widow of Col. John A. Fagg.

Mr. PRITCHARD, from the Committee on Pensions, to whom were referred the following bills, reported them severally without amendment, and submitted reports thereon:
A bill (S. 934) granting an increase of pension to Napoleon B. Breedlove;
A bill (S. 522) granting an increase of pension to John S. Hall;
A bill (S. 1837) granting a pension to Sarah E. Cotton;
A bill (S. 1822) granting a pension to Silas B. Hensley; and
A bill (S. 1825) granting an increase of pension to Robert P. Wild.

Mr. KENNEY, from the Committee on Pensions, to whom was referred the bill (S. 655) granting a pension to Harriet R. Matlack, reported it with an amendment, and submitted a report thereon.

He also, from the same committee, to whom were referred the following bills, reported them severally without amendment, and submitted reports thereon:
A bill (S. 654) granting an increase of pension to Caleb M. Wright;
A bill (S. 651) for the relief of Eugenia Wood;
A bill (S. 657) to increase the pension of George W. Smith, late a captain, Seventh Regiment New Jersey Infantry Volunteers;
A bill (S. 649) to grant a pension to Emeline C. Sewell, widow of Chief Engineer George Sewell, United States Navy;
A bill (S. 449) granting an increase of pension to Mrs. Christine C. Barnard;
A bill (S. 1200) granting a pension to Miss Mary Hayne;
A bill (S. 1866) granting a pension to Mrs. Martha L. Bohannon, of Lynchburg, Va.; and
A bill (S. 1202) to increase the pension of Emily M. Tyler.

Mr. ROACH, from the Committee on Pensions, to whom were

referred the following bills, reported them severally with an amendment, and submitted reports thereon:

A bill (S. 76) granting a pension to Alice V. Cook, of St. Paul, Nebr., invalid daughter of John Y. Cook, deceased, late of Company D, Eighth Regiment Kansas Volunteer Infantry; and

A bill (S. 73) granting a pension to William L. Grigsby, of Belvidere, in the county of Thayer, Nebr.

Mr. ROACH, from the Committee on Pensions, to whom were referred the following bills, reported them severally without amendment, and submitted reports thereon:

A bill (S. 963) granting a pension to Nathan Mitchell;

A bill (S. 962) granting a pension to Riley W. Pierce;

A bill (S. 692) for the relief of Abner Abercrombie;

A bill (S. 1466) granting an increase of pension to Ransom S. Angell, late private of Company G, First Regiment Wisconsin Cavalry;

A bill (S. 1465) granting an increase of pension to Daniel Phillips;

A bill (S. 342) granting an increase of pension to Jerusha Sturgis, widow of Brig. Gen. Samuel D. Sturgis;

A bill (S. 71) granting a pension to Alfred Bigelow, of Norfolk, in the State of Nebraska;

A bill (S. 180) increasing the pension of Celia A. Jeffers to the sum of $30 per month;

A bill (S. 179) granting a pension to Mary F. Hawley;

A bill (S. 184) granting a pension to Catherine E. O'Brien;

A bill (S. 178) granting a pension to Susan A. Paddock;

A bill (S. 186) granting an increase of pension to Franklin C. Plantz;

A bill (S. 169) granting an increase of pension to James M. Simeral;

A bill (S. 181) granting a pension to Mrs. Hattie E. Redfield, of Omaha, Nebr.;

A bill (S. 166) granting an increase of pension to Samuel A. Smith;

A bill (S. 1521) granting a pension to Sarah M. Spyker; and

A bill (S. 182) granting a pension to Hiram H. Palmer.

Mr. SHOUP (for Mr. CANNON), from the Committee on Pensions, to whom were referred the following bills, reported them severally without amendment, and submitted reports thereon:

A bill (S. 151) granting an increase of pension to George W. Walton;

A bill (S. 152) to increase the pension of Esther Brown;

A bill (S. 1869) granting a pension to Catherine A. Bradley;

A bill (S. 1375) granting a pension to James W. Whitney;

A bill (S. 1422) granting an increase of pension to Abraham Rhodes;

A bill (S. 1384) granting a pension to Jackson Lucas;

A bill (S. 1379) granting a pension to Simon D. Kohl;

A bill (S. 1373) granting an increase of pension to Jacob P. Fletcher;

A bill (S. 1417) granting an increase of pension to Sarah L. Hivey;

A bill (S. 1378) granting a pension to William F. Gowdy;

A bill (S. 1387) to increase the pension of Michael Carron;

A bill (S. 709) to increase the pension of Wesley C. Sawyer;

A bill (S. 1237) granting an increase of pension to Mrs. Arethusa Wright, of Sheridan, Oreg.;

A bill (S. 1238) granting a pension to Catherine L. Nixon;

A bill (S. 1115) for the relief of Margaret C. McKay, widow of the late Dr. William C. McKay, of Oregon;

A bill (S. 1154) for the relief of George Hughes, of Portland, Oreg.;

A bill (S. 104) to increase the pension of Lucretia C. Waring;

A bill (S. 2209) granting an increase of pension to Samantha Barnes;

A bill (S. 2225) granting a pension to John G. B. Masters;

A bill (S. 2224) granting a pension to James Byrne;

A bill (S. 2228) granting a pension to James G. Hartzell; and

A bill (S. 2219) granting a pension to Thomas Madden.

Mr. SHOUP (for Mr. CANNON), from the Committee on Pensions, to whom were referred the following bills, reported them severally with an amendment, and submitted reports thereon:

A bill (S. 2214) granting an increase of pension to Mrs. Kate Ezekiel;

A bill (S. 1372) granting a pension to George D. Noble;

A bill (S. 1424) granting a pension to Richard T. Seltzer;

A bill (S. 2220) granting an increase of pension to Charles F. Holly;

A bill (S. 2213) granting an increase of pension to Mrs. Cornelia I. Skiles;

A bill (S. 2210) granting an increase of pension to Helen L. Dent;

A bill (S. 2248) granting a pension to Charles A. Hutchings; and

A bill (S. 2247) granting a pension to Charles E. Mann.

Mr. SHOUP (for Mr. CANNON), from the Committee on Pensions, to whom were referred the following bills, reported them severally with amendments, and submitted reports thereon:

A bill (S. 1155) granting a pension to P. F. Castleman, of Oregon;

A bill (S. 1430) granting a pension to George E. Tuttle; and

A bill (S. 2217) granting a pension to Aaron B. Page.

Mr. SHOUP (for Mr HANSBROUGH), from the Committee on Pensions, to whom were referred the following bills, reported them severally without amendment, and submitted reports thereon:

A bill (S. 1450) granting a pension to Catherine Leary;

A bill (S. 1476) granting a pension to Louise M. Rice, widow of Bvt. Maj. Gen. Samuel A. Rice;

A bill (S. 1474) granting a pension to John G. Powers;

A bill (S. 1473) granting a pension to Oscar A. Palmer;

A bill (S. 1477) granting a pension to Joseph Porter;

A bill (S. 897) granting a pension to Julia D. Richardson;

A bill (S. 603) granting a pension to Clarissa E. Hobbs; and

A bill (S. 157) to increase the pension of Gen. James W. McMillan.

Mr. SHOUP (for Mr. HANSBROUGH), from the Committee on Pensions, to whom was referred the bill (S. 1475) granting a pension to Elijah N. Parkhurst, reported it with an amendment, and submitted a report thereon.

Mr. LINDSAY, from the Committee on Pensions, to whom was referred the bill (S. 1119) granting a pension to Cassius M. Clay, sr., a citizen of Kentucky and a major-general in the Army of the United States in the war of the rebellion, reported it with an amendment, and submitted a report thereon.

He also, from the same committee, to whom were referred the following bills, reported them severally without amendments, and submitted reports thereon:

A bill (S. 383) granting an increase of pension to William W. Tumblin, of Bradford County, Fla.;

A bill (S. 1034) for the relief of James Eganson, of Henderson, Ky.;

A bill (S. 1334) granting a pension to William J. Murray; and

A bill (S. 385) granting a pension to Mrs. Selena McKay, of Suwanee County, Fla.

Mr. MORGAN. I desire to make an inquiry about the reports which have just been made. There seems to be a flood of pension bills coming on the Senate this morning. I have no doubt that they are all meritorious and that the beneficiaries must be very much in need of what the Government owes them for services rendered to the country in great extremity. We are here engaged in trying to prepare a bill that the gentlemen on the other side of the Chamber say is going to make a large redundancy of money so that we can pay them off. That bill will probably pass the Senate during the present week and pass Congress during the coming week, and we shall have money in the Treasury, and money to burn, for that matter.

I have been considering, as I heard this great array of reports presented to the Senate and read, whether there was any possibility of getting legislation on the subject at the present session of Congress. I would be perfectly willing to stay here and pass those pension bills, but the Congress of the United States is not in a condition to pass the bills, and these men must go without these rewards until somebody consents that the Congress of the United States may proceed in regular order.

I therefore move that the consideration of these bills be postponed until the Wednesday after the first Monday in December next, and that they be made a special order for that day, in view of the fact that they can not possibly get any action before that time.

Mr. GALLINGER. If the Senator will permit me, I will state that I made a statement before he entered the Chamber to the effect that these bills, which have been reported favorably, are bills that had affirmative action by the Senate, or at least by the Committee on Pensions of the Senate, in some former Congress, but failed to become laws for one reason or other. Many of them were acted upon by the Senate and not by the House; some were acted upon by both branches of Congress affirmatively, and the President did not veto them nor did he give them his approval.

I trust the Senator will not insist upon that motion. The Committee on Pensions will not urge the consideration of these bills. It was desirable that they should go on the Calendar at some time, and the committee are quite content to have them remain on the Calendar, if any individual Senator so desires, until the regular meeting of Congress in December next.

Mr. MORGAN. I have no doubt that the committee, very vigilant, very active, and very patriotic, are willing and anxious to keep up appearances about this matter, and they make these reports here as if Congress now had the opportunity or the liberty of passing one of the bills. We know that Congress has neither the opportunity nor the liberty to pass one of the bills. Congress is not actually in session now. The lawyers of this country will look up the subject, and they will present it to the courts, and there is going to be a great deal of trouble over the question as to whether Congress is actually in session. In order to smooth the

way for the consideration of these demands upon the Government of this patriotic character, I think it is my duty to insist on the motion that we shall not consider the bills at the present session of Congress.

Mr. GALLINGER. I make the point of order, first, that the Senator from Alabama can not make a motion to postpone the consideration of a bill until it is before the Senate for consideration; and secondly, that the Senator can not make a motion to postpone a large number of bills without individualizing them and making his motion touching each of them.

Mr. MORGAN. Allow me to say, Mr. President, that I expected, if my motion was ruled to be in order, to divide it up and make the motion applicable to each one of these measures as it has been reported here, I do not know how many there are—fifty-odd, I suppose. But I would even take the time out of the consideration of the tariff bill to do that in order to give these men some satisfaction by learning that we were doing something more than merely mocking them by reporting bills which we knew could not pass.

I believe that the point of order made by the Senator from New Hampshire as to my right at this moment to move to postpone consideration is well taken. It did not occur to me at the time, because I was anxious to do it. But I shall take occasion again at some proper opportunity which involves the question of order and progress in business to bring this subject back to the attention of the Senate.

Mr. FAULKNER, from the Committee on the District of Columbia, to whom was referred the bill (S. 916) in relation to taxes and tax sales in the District of Columbia, reported it with an amendment.

Mr. WARREN, from the Committee on Claims, to whom was referred the bill (S. 1311) to refund certain import duties, reported it without amendment, and submitted a report thereon.

Mr. CLARK, from the Committee on the Judiciary, to whom was referred the bill (S. 162) to amend an act entitled "An act to provide for holding terms of court in the district of Montana," approved July 20, 1892, reported it with amendments.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Mr. McMILLAN introduced a bill (S. 2296) concerning land titles in the District of Columbia; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

Mr. FORAKER introduced a bill (S. 2297) for the relief of Henry Halteman; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 2298) for the relief of L. O. Maddux, doing business as Maddux, Hobart & Co.; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also introduced the following bills; which were severally read twice by their titles, and referred to the Committee on Pensions:

A bill (S. 2299) granting a pension to Caroline A. Slocum;

A bill (S. 2300) granting a pension to James W. Miller;

A bill (S. 2301) granting an increase of pension to Andrew T. Bovard;

A bill (S. 2302) granting a pension to Mrs. Augusta E. Kellogg; and

A bill (S. 2303) granting a pension to Martha M. Harrier.

Mr. ALLEN introduced a bill (S. 2304) granting an increase of pension to Granville R. Turner, of Bluesprings, Nebr.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. BURROWS introduced a bill (S. 2305) granting a pension to Maria Somerlat, widow of Valentine Somerlat; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying paper, referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also introduced a bill (S. 2306) granting an increase of pension to Elvira Ellen Baxter; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. BAKER introduced a bill (S. 2307) for the relief of William H. Wilson; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying paper, referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. GRAY introduced a bill (S. 2308) to assist in the development of the Territory of Alaska, and to secure better transportation for mails therein; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Territories.

GRAND ARMY ENCAMPMENT AT LEAVENWORTH, KANS.

Mr. BAKER. I introduce a joint resolution and request its immediate consideration.

The joint resolution (S. R. 53) directing the Secretary of War to issue tents for the use of the Grand Army Encampment, at Leavenworth, Kans., was read the first time by its title and the second time at length, as follows:

Joint resolution directing the Secretary of War to issue tents for the use of the Grand Army encampment at Leavenworth, Kans.

Resolved, That the Secretary of War be, and he is hereby, directed to issue, for the use of the Grand Army encampment for the State of Kansas, to be held at Fort Leavenworth and Leavenworth City, in said State, from October 11 to October 16, 1897, both days inclusive, 1,000 tents, or so many thereof as may be necessary for such purpose.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Kansas asks for the immediate consideration of the joint resolution.

There being no objection, the joint resolution was considered as in Committee of the Whole.

Mr. HAWLEY. I suggest that the joint resolution should lie over, unless the Senator can state that he has consulted with the Quartermaster-General.

Mr. BAKER. I have consulted with the Quartermaster-General and the Secretary of War. Both of them are anxious to grant this request, but they claim that it would be a technical violation of the law unless permission is given in this way.

Mr. GALLINGER. I suggest that the word "directed" be inserted in place of the word "requested."

Mr. BAKER. Very well; I will modify the joint resolution accordingly.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Kansas accepts the modification suggested by the Senator from New Hampshire.

The joint resolution was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

JUDGMENTS OF THE COURT OF CLAIMS.

Mr. WELLINGTON submitted the following resolution; which was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Treasury be directed to report to the Senate immediately all judgments of the Court of Claims rendered since the date of the last report up to and including the date of the adjournment of the court on June 24.

IMMIGRATION BUILDINGS AT ELLIS ISLAND, NEW YORK.

Mr. CHANDLER submitted the following resolution; which was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Treasury be directed to transmit to the Senate, as soon as possible, a statement of the general plan for the reconstruction of the immigration buildings at Ellis Island, New York Harbor.

EXPENDITURES OF CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate as a part of the morning business a resolution submitted by the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. GALLINGER], coming over from a previous day. The resolution will be read.

The Secretary read the resolution submitted by Mr. GALLINGER on the 24th instant, as follows:

Resolved, That the Civil Service Commission is hereby directed to furnish the Senate a detailed account, by years, of the expenditures of said commission from its organization to the present time, each item of expenditure (such as salaries, traveling expenses, examinations, printing, etc.) to be separately stated.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to.

THE TARIFF BILL.

Mr. ALLISON. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of House bill 379.

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 379) to provide revenue for the Government and to encourage the industries of the United States.

Mr. ALLISON. At the adjournment last night we were on paragraph 189. I hope we will take up that paragraph this morning and conclude it.

The Secretary read paragraph 189, on page 50, as amended, as follows:

189. Watch movements, whether imported in cases or not, if having not more than 7 jewels, 35 cents each; if having more than 7 jewels and not more than 11 jewels, 50 cents each; if having more than 11 jewels and not more than 15 jewels, 75 cents each; if having more than 15 jewels and not more than 17 jewels, $1.25 each; if having more than 17 jewels, $3 each, and in addition thereto, on all the foregoing, 25 per cent ad valorem; watch cases and parts of watches, including watch dials, chronometers, box or ship, and parts thereof, clocks and parts thereof, not otherwise provided for in this act, whether separately packed or otherwise, 40 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. ALLISON. The words after the words "ad valorem," in line 18, being "all jewels for use in the manufacture of watches or clocks, 15 per cent ad valorem," were struck out.

I move a further amendment to the paragraph, which I send to the Secretary's desk.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Has the committee withdrawn its amendment, or does it propose to stand by the amendment?

Mr. ALLISON. When this paragraph was up for consideration on Saturday last, the committee amendment which was proposed as a substitute for paragraph 189 was voted down, which restored the text of the bill as it came from the House.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. On the motion of the committee?

Mr. ALLISON. On the motion of the committee. Now I am trying, if I can, to propose an amendment which will perfect the text. I will call the attention of the Senator to the changes we have made in the text after the proposed amendment is read.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Iowa in behalf of the Committee on Finance will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In paragraph 189, line 18, after the word "otherwise," it is proposed to insert "not composed wholly or in chief value of china, porcelain, parian, bisque, or earthenware."

Mr. ALLISON. The other changes made in the text, I will say to the Senator from Arkansas, are in line 6, after the word "movements," where we have already inserted the words "whether imported in cases or not, if;" in line 14 the Senate has already struck out the word "watches;" and in lines 18, 19, and 20 we have struck out "all jewels for use in the manufacture of watches or clocks, 15 per cent ad valorem."

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Where did the Senator say the word "watches" was stricken out?

Mr. ALLISON. In line 14 the word "watches" was stricken out before the words "watch cases;" so as to read:

Watch cases and parts of watches, including watch dials, etc.

Mr. VEST. I should like to ask the Senator from Iowa what, in his judgment, is the effect of this amendment as to putting in the number of jewels in watches? I know that, like myself, he is not an expert in watches and clocks, but I have taken some little interest in the matter and have consulted an expert, who tells me that the increase of duty is large. What is the information of the Senator from Iowa upon that subject?

The whole structure of the paragraph has been altered. It was a very simple arrangement until the last amendment of the committee was adopted. It read as first proposed:

189. Watches, clocks, and chronometers, and parts thereof, finished or unfinished, whether separately packed or otherwise, and not specially provided for in this act, 40 per cent ad valorem.

It is now proposed to make an increase over the McKinley rate and over the rate in the Wilson law, the rate in both of those laws being 25 per cent. It is an increase of 15 per cent ad valorem. Then the jewels for use in the manufacture of watches or clocks, 10 per cent ad valorem. That portion, however, I understand has been stricken out. I made a motion when the paragraph was first before the Senate to strike that out, and the clause went over. I understand now that the majority of the committee have stricken that out.

Mr. ALLISON. On jewels?

Mr. VEST. Yes; but it is the remainder of the paragraph about which I am inquiring, where the whole structure has been changed and duties imposed according to the number of jewels in the watch. As a matter of course, nobody but an expert can know exactly what will be the effect of that change. An expert tells me that it will be a large increase of duty—over 40 per cent.

Mr. ALLISON. There is some little difference among experts, I know, as to the facility with which watches can be examined; but the committee satisfied itself that there will be no difficulty in examining watches with a view of ascertaining the number of jewels contained in them. So far as the specific rate upon jewels is concerned, as I understand, it is the rate of the present law, which is in the neighborhood of 40 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. VEST. I am informed that it is 65 per cent at least under this new paragraph, an increase of 25 per cent over the 40 per cent. I simply want to understand it. I do not want to take up the time of the Senate.

These are articles of prime necessity. That remark, at first blush, may seem to be exaggerated, but it is the truth. Watches and clocks are articles of prime necessity. They can only be made articles of luxury when there is an exuberance of ornamentation and of jewels. When a timepiece is constructed in the shape of a watch or clock as a timepiece, without regard to any ornamentation, it is an article of prime necessity in every household and to every business man and mechanic.

Mr. President, I want to make another statement, which may possibly sound a little exaggerated or unfounded, but it is the truth. To show the inventive genius of the American people, I was astonished when abroad two years ago to find American watches, New England watches, for sale in Europe, successfully competing with those made in Switzerland and Germany. The official report shows that we are not dependent upon foreigners. In 1896 we exported from this country, in clocks and parts of clocks, $929,395 worth, and we exported in the same year in watches $530,980 worth. After sales in the domestic market, we were enabled, through, I say, our superior inventive and mechanical genius, to send abroad this large amount to compete with foreigners.

If it be true, as I am informed by this expert, whom I have always found to be exceedingly reliable, that this is an increase of 25 per cent, I protest against it. There is no necessity for it, and it can only have one effect, and that is to increase the price of clocks and watches to the consumers in the United States, and, I repeat, the price of an article of prime necessity.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. In addition to what the Senator from Missouri has already said, the comparative statement furnished by the committee to the Senate shows that on the subdivision of "chronometers, boxed or shipped, and parts thereof" the rate under the McKinley law was 10 per cent; the rate under the present law is 10 per cent, and it is increased in this bill to 40 per cent—400 per cent over the McKinley rate; four times the McKinley rate.

Under the head of watches, the rate under the law of 1890, the McKinley law, was 25 per cent; under the present law the rate is 25 per cent; and the Senate committee proposes to increase that to 40 per cent; and so on through the bill.

Mr. President, I am somewhat confused by the amendments recently made on the motion of the Senator from Iowa; and I should like to ask under what subdivision or what part of this paragraph watches are to be taxed? As I understand, as the paragraph is amended in the first line so as to read "watch movements, whether imported in cases or not," the movements will be taxed, and not the watch. Then the word "watches" was stricken out in line 14. I do not understand from a hasty reading of the paragraph where watches will go and at what rate they will be taxed.

It seems to me that there is no provision for taxing watches in this paragraph; and, if there is not, I should like to ask the committee to be kind enough to allow the Senate to know what provision is to be made for levying a tariff on watches at all?

Mr. ALLISON. What is the inquiry?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I have been undertaking to say to the Senate and to the Senator that—although I do not know that I understand the paragraph as proposed to be amended—it seems to me there is no provision for levying a tariff on watches in this paragraph.

Mr. ALLISON. In paragraph 189 the words "watch movements, whether imported in cases or not," would cover watches.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. How can those words possibly cover watches when the provision in specific terms proposes to tax watch movements, whether in cases or not, and whether they come in watches or in boxes?

Mr. LODGE. If the Senator from Arkansas will allow me, watch movements are made dutiable under the first clause of the paragraph.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Certainly.

Mr. LODGE. Whether imported in cases or not.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Yes.

Mr. LODGE. Then the case is made dutiable below.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. That is the point. I did not catch that. Will the Senator be kind enough to state where cases are provided for?

Mr. LODGE. After the word "watches," in line 14, which was stricken out.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. "Watch cases and parts of watches, including watch dials, chronometers," etc. Then they would be covered separately. I think that covers that objection.

Watch cases themselves are taxed at 40 per cent. A very large part of the value of a gold watch case, for instance, is the metal that is in the case. In a great number of instances there is nothing added to the value, or very little added to the value, of the gold by the labor or the expense of manufacture; and it seems to me that that is an unreasonable rate of taxation. It seems to me that 10 per cent is as high a tax as ought to be placed on watch cases. They are made by machinery, I understand, in a great many instances. The principal value of a plain watch case, made of either gold or silver, consists of the metal of which it is made, and I can see no justification for putting a tax of 40 per cent on gold. The Senators on the other side of the Chamber, who are particularly anxious to have gold come into the country, ought not to be discriminating against gold in that kind of way.

Mr. STEWART. They do not want gold to come.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Mr. President, I know but little, of course, about this paragraph, but the tax on this class of goods has been, I think, for thirty years, or more than thirty years, 25 per cent. This is a proposition to increase the tariff from 25 per cent to 65 per cent. Thirty years ago, when a tariff of 35 per cent was put on watches, the watch industry was new in this country. It had just begun. Watches are now being made by

machinery, and the industry has been developed until now we export large quantities of watches and import no watches of the class made by machinery in this country.

Mr. HOAR. Oh, yes; we do.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Well, then, my understanding is certainly that no large number of foreign watches are sold here in competition with the Waltham and Elgin watches and watches of that character. The importations would seem to indicate that; and I understand, as a matter of fact, that that is the case. What excuse can there be for more than doubling the tariff, which was considered sufficient protection to the manufacturers of watches when the industry was just beginning? Now that the country has absolute control of the trade, when we are sending watches abroad and selling them by the thousands in open competition with the watchmakers of the balance of the world, why there can be any excuse for more than doubling this tax on watches is beyond my comprehension.

Mr. President, I have a statement which has been furnished me, a sort of brief, which was submitted to the Committee on Finance by Messrs. Tiffany & Co., Theodore B. Starr, and Benedict Bros., of New York, in which they set out the reasons why this tax is unreasonable and will practically destroy certain branches of this trade. There are certain parts of watches imported by watch manufacturers. As I understand, the policy is to allow those parts of watches which the manufacturers use to come in at as low a rate as possible; but when a man proposes to import a watch of a quality he can not buy in this country, he would be practically excluded by putting a tax of 40 per cent on the gold that enters into the manufacture of the case, which is, to my mind, a perfect absurdity.

It is a well-known fact—so this brief says—that American watches are exported and sold abroad at a lower price than they are sold to American consumers; while our manufacturers have been protected sufficiently to build up such a trade as that, they can and do ship abroad and sell profitably watches at prices at which they will not sell to American citizens. What sort of justification can there be for our putting a higher tariff on these watches, and attempting to exclude the importation of any other watches to give more power to them, and to enable them possibly to sell watches higher in the United States than they are now selling them? I do not believe that is right.

I will insert as a part of my remarks, without taking up the time of the Senate by reading it, the brief statement which the gentlemen I have named made to the Finance Committee. It will by this means go to the country, and I hope the case will be fully understood.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The paper referred to by the Senator from Arkansas will be printed in the RECORD, in the absence of objection.

The paper referred to is as follows:

[Copy of brief submitted to the Committee on Finance.]

To the Senate of the United States:

Your petitioners respectfully offer the following statements and facts as evidence of the evil of the proposed advance in duty on watches, watch movements, watch cases, and parts of watches.

The measure being prohibitory, the result would be:

First. Curtailment of imports of a class of watches not made here, consequently not interfering with the domestic goods, and which is an important factor in the business of the American retail watch dealer and jeweler.

Second. Resultant reduction in this branch of revenue for the Government.

WATCH MOVEMENTS.

The present rate of 25 per cent duty, having been in existence thirty-six years, was considered by the Senate Committee on Finance in 1888, and said rate was then maintained and confirmed in the law of 1890, having been proven more than sufficient protection to the domestic industry.

Even during and after the late war, when the Government most required revenue, duties on watches were not increased, notwithstanding that the domestic industry was then in its infancy.

The continued success of the American watch companies shows that they have flourished under said protection.

Their successful introduction and constantly increasing production resulted in the almost complete exclusion of that class of foreign watches which competed with the domestic article.

Statistics of the last six years, recording a constant decrease in the imports of watches (at present about 50 per cent of the amount imported six years since), are referred to as evidence.

Value of importation of watches and parts of watches.

1891	$1,704,007	1894	$940,066
1892	1,500,221	1895	825,925
1893	1,497,070	1896	908,009

This includes materials and parts of watches largely used by the American watch factories.

Besides, the large dividends declared by the American watch factories, even at present, in spite of stagnant business, and notwithstanding unnecessary reductions in selling prices, prove the success achieved by them without the aid of a prohibitory tariff.

American factories sell movements on this market 20 per cent cheaper than the cheapest foreign watch can be imported for, as can be seen daily in press advertisements.

While the importations of watches has steadily decreased, statistics show that the American exports of watches to foreign countries have doubled in the same space of time. Even in foreign markets the American watch competes readily with goods of similar grade.

Exports of American watches and parts of watches.

1891	$275,707	1894	$283,279
1892	308,743	1895	357,329
1893	341,758	1896	590,080

It is a known fact that American watches are exported at much lower prices than they can be purchased here for home consumption, thus showing that they can withstand any competition.

The foregoing shows conclusively that the American watch industry is not in need of any further protection.

Specific duties as proposed on watch movements are absolutely impossible of execution and unpractical, the diversity of styles and great variety of quality making a correct classification impossible. Moreover, combined with the 25 per cent additional duty, the proposed tariff would be equivalent to from 55 to 75 per cent ad valorem duty, which would effectually stop the importation of watches, and thereby affect the revenue of the Government.

The proposition to grade these specific duties according to number of jewels can not justly be applied, for an equal number of jewels exists in movements of very extreme grades. Thus the same specific duty is applied to a movement costing 16 francs and one costing 40 francs, thereby making them rank and taxing them equally, whereas the difference in value is over 100 per cent.

WATCH CASES.

The present rate of 25 per cent does not admit the importation of watch cases.

American cases are, on the contrary, exported all over the world.

The only watch cases imported to-day are such as the class of movements they inclose make this casing imperative.

The rate of 25 per cent duty was thoroughly canvassed by the Senate Committee on Finance in 1888, and the then proposed duty of 40 per cent was, in the law of 1890, put back to 25 per cent, it being shown that an increase would not only fail to produce additional revenue, but would effect a reduction and be of no benefit to domestic manufacturers.

The cost of the raw material constitutes almost the entire cost of a gold watch case, the labor involved in the manufacture being an inconsiderable element. The present tariff of 25 per cent not only more than covers the difference in cost of production here and abroad, but is almost the double of labor cost in the United States, because the present duty imposes a tax on the gold composing the case in addition to the cost of making.

The following comparison between an American-made 14-carat gold watch case and the same article made abroad proves the aforesaid statement:

American-made sells for $24.30; foreign-made costs, with 25 per cent duty, $29.48.

The same ratio of difference exists in the following:

American-made sells for $18.43; foreign-made costs, with 25 per cent duty, $22.40.

The protection being absolute, an increase in rate is unnecessary and detrimental to the revenue of the Government and the interests of the retail watch dealers and jewelers.

The only demand for an increase comes from the powerful trust-like watch companies, for their own benefit, and regardless of the interests of the dealers and the public, and unsupported by them.

Being domestic manufacturers, backed by vast means to introduce their products, foreign competition is impossible, as they can produce much larger quantities of a kind, and thereby reduce the cost of their manufacture to a minimum.

In the face of these advantages, and the fact that foreign competition can not exist, any increase in duty would be superfluous; and the direct effect of such increase being loss to the revenue, owing to curtailment of imports, the measure should not be sanctioned.

An advance in duties would greatly stimulate smuggling, and would invite an increase of purchases of watches in Europe and Canada, to the detriment of retail jewelers and watch dealers throughout the country.

The whole retail jewelry trade, selling both domestic and imported watches, unite in opposition to the proposed change in duty, and by their signatures, liberally granted wherever approached, express their desire that the present rate be maintained.

Attention is called to the appended list of American watch-case manufacturers, who, by their signatures, approve and concur in the above.

Signed by the committee.

TIFFANY & CO.
THEO. B. STARR.
BENEDICT BROS.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, I merely desire to say a few words in answer to what has been said by the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. JONES].

The whole watch industry in this country was revolutionized by American inventions in machinery, making machine-made watches. We make them so much better and so much cheaper that no handmade watch can compete with those made here. The industry was built up in that way. We were able to get into European markets and to all the markets owing to the fact that we had this immense advantage in our machine-made watches over the handmade watches.

The American watchmakers asked for no protection in the various tariff bills which have gone through; they have never asked for an increase over the original amount proposed to be given them. Since then the Swiss watchmakers in the last few years have bought up and set up American watch machinery, and they are making enormous quantities of watches by our machinery, with labor necessarily of a very much cheaper kind.

The competition we have to meet is not an equal competition, even with that lower labor cost. They bring their watches into this country with a valuation so small as to amount practically to nothing, with an ad valorem duty.

Most of the large Swiss exporters do not export watches to American dealers, but send to their own agents, who reside in New York; and they export the lower grades of watches at merely nominal prices. I speak of watch movements now. They invoice many of the watch movements at 15 cents apiece. But that is not the worst result of the ad valorem. I have in my committee room, and can bring here if it is desired, what they do after they get the watches over here. In order to meet the law, they stamp in letters

which can only be detected with the microscope, the word "Swiss" somewhere on the edge of the watch movements. On the face and on the back or on the box in which the movements come they stamp in large letters the name of an American company, the Waltham Watch Company, the Marvin Watch Company of Springfield, or the New Haven Watch Company. In other words, they put an absolute fraud on the market. They do not sell them at lower rates than ours, but they force an inferior watch upon our market under the pretense that it is an American watch.

With competition of that kind, and with the lower labor cost behind it, it is absolutely impossible to compete without a duty that shall be honestly collected. An ad valorem duty practically amounts to nothing. The chief general appraiser tells me that the specific duties which we have here will average about the ad valorem which the Senate proposes, about 40 to 41 or 42 per cent. Some of them are higher and some of them are lower.

When we come to parts of watches and other portions of watches which come here, they are all dutiable at 40 per cent.

Mr. VEST. Before the Senator leaves the other branch of his statement, I want to ask him this question: I understand him to say that these foreign watchmakers, the Swiss exporters, put in microscopic letters the word "Swiss," and then put in large, conspicuous letters the name of some American manufacturer. If that is done, I want to ask the Senator why the domestic manufacturer does not avail himself of the provisions of the existing law, the law of 1890, and of the present bill, and confiscate that article? I am just looking for the section which imposes severe penalties where an article is brought into this country and it is fraudulently attempted to put on it one of our trade-marks. That is a plain, absolute, and palpable fraud upon the revenue laws of the United States, and in violation of common honesty, and it is not a creditable reflection upon the intelligence of the watchmakers of Massachusetts to have permitted themselves to be swindled after that fashion.

Mr. LODGE. The Senator knows very well that that leads to endless litigation. Where it is stopped in one place it goes on in another. It is a fraud which it is almost impossible to meet. For instance, I have got a watch movement made to imitate the Waltham watch. The foreign watch company have put on their watch a monogram that looks exactly like the monogram of the American Waltham Watch Company, but they leave out the cross on the "A," a little change that nobody would notice; but it would protect them if they were taken into court. They have got in microscopic characters on the edge the word "Swiss."

Mr. GRAY. May I ask the Senator a question, because this is a matter which interests me?

Mr. LODGE. Certainly.

Mr. GRAY. Why do the Swiss people put the Waltham name on their watches?

Mr. LODGE. Because they think they can get into the American market that much better, as the American watch is preferred.

Mr. GRAY. Is not that a very gratifying proof that the American watch commands the market?

Mr. LODGE. The American watch is the better watch, and will command the market if we have a fair chance.

Mr. GRAY. Then do we not want a more strenuous enforcement of the law we now have to prevent fraud on American trade-marks and some new provision that will more effectually guard the superior American watch against the Swiss imitations?

If the Senator will pardon me, it is to me a very gratifying evidence of the superiority of the American watch and that it does not need any protection; but it, of course, does need protection against a fraud of the kind the Senator mentions, and I am willing to vote for anything that will prevent that.

Mr. LODGE. We have laws that ought to prevent it, but as a matter of fact they do not. For instance, I hold in my hand a watch. There is the box [exhibiting] marked "Marvin Watch Company," and on the outside is "Marvin Watch Company of Springfield." That company has gone out of business; that is, it has been transferred to the State of Ohio, and its name is no longer in business. That is a Swiss watch. Senators can look at it for themselves, and see if they can find the word "Swiss."

Mr. VEST. If the Senator from Massachusetts will permit me, I wish to read that section to which I alluded, which is section 8 of the pending bill, and a similar provision was contained in the Wilson law and in the McKinley Act:

SEC. 8. That no article of imported merchandise which shall copy or simulate the name or trade-mark of any domestic manufacture or manufacturer shall be admitted to entry at any custom-house of the United States. And in order to aid the officers of the customs in enforcing this prohibition, any domestic manufacturer who has adopted trade-marks may require his name and residence and a description of his trade-marks to be recorded in books which shall be kept for that purpose in the Department of the Treasury, under such regulations as the Secretary of the Treasury shall prescribe, and may furnish to the Department facsimiles of such trade-marks; and thereupon the Secretary of the Treasury shall cause one or more copies of the same to be transmitted to each collector or other proper officer of the customs.

Mr. LODGE. I am aware of that law; and it was drawn strongly, and ought to give ample protection, but it does not. In the very case of the watch I have just shown they put on the name of an extinct company, a company which is doing business now under a name which has been transferred to the State of Ohio, and they have taken that extinct name and put it on.

Here [exhibiting] is a Swiss watch made to counterfeit the Waltham watch. Anybody looking at it carelessly would think it bore the Waltham monogram and trade-mark, but the cross on the "A" is left out; and it is impossible by law to meet such a case.

Now, with the undervaluations and the frauds, the use of American machinery, and the very greatly lower labor cost in Switzerland, they are enabled to run into our country with an inferior watch, which they sell as an American watch, and replace ours in many cases. There is no danger of the price of watches being raised. The domestic comoetition is altogether too severe for that.

I should say as to watch movements, on which a specific duty is levied, there is very little fluctuation, and the telling of the number of jewels is an ordinary commercial method of grading watch movements.

When you come to cases, on which the value of the watch largely depends, of course if you have a gold case, it seems to me that it is a fit subject for a revenue duty, and all watches are to a certain extent articles of voluntary use at least, and the expensive ones are certainly fair subjects of a revenue duty. But it is on the watch movements that the great frauds occur, and it is for that reason that the specific duties have been adopted.

I believe the Senator is mistaken about the parts of watches. None of those come in free. The only thing that is supposed to come in free are the jewels, and if the Senator from Arkansas has examined that question, as I have no doubt he has, he will know that it is absolutely impossible practically to collect a duty on watch jewels, the result being that the honest manufacturer has to pay a heavy duty, whilst the dishonest man buys watch jewels from the smuggler. You can put $4,000 worth of watch jewels in an ounce vial. They are so small that it is perfectly easy to bring them in.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I have only one suggestion to make to the honorable Senator from Massachusetts. The burden of his complaint seems to be that the European watchmakers have procured American machinery and are making watches practically by our own methods, those that we have developed. It seems to me we are not in a condition to complain of that.

The other day when the item of vanillin was under consideration, I remember it was stated on the other side of the Senate Chamber that this was a product that was covered by a patent abroad. It seems that an American manufacturer had stolen the idea of the patentee on the other side, that he was industriously producing the product on this side, and was not willing to enter into open competition with the man who owned the patent, but wanted a high protection, the enormous protection of 80 cents or a dollar an ounce, or something of that kind, to protect him against the man from whom he had gotten the idea.

Mr. ALLISON. I hope the Senator from Arkansas will not mingle vanillin with watches.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Not at all; only to illustrate the policy of the other side by a reference to what we have already done.

Mr. ALLISON. The Senator can illustrate it in that way, but he should keep close to the facts in the case.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Certainly.

Mr. ALLISON. Those who manufacture vanillin synthetically in the United States do it by a different process from the patented process that is used abroad, and it has been so decided in our courts. So far from this being the ingenious Americans following in the footsteps or pathway of the inventors of Europe, they have an invention of their own, which is distinct from that of Europe.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Is that patented?

Mr. ALLISON. It is not patented, because they do not propose to expose their secret.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. It is a secret process?

Mr. ALLISON. A secret process. So we have disposed of vanillin.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. My understanding was that the process was practically the same, and I was illustrating the policy of the other side by reference to that article. However that may be, I can conceive of no justification for the enormous increase in the tax on these goods. If you have developed and built up a system which makes watches better and cheaper than they are made anywhere else in the world, commands the market of the world, and has done it under a tax of 25 per cent, where is the excuse for the increase in taxation to what experts tell me is about 65 per cent instead of 25 per cent? How that can be justified is beyond comprehension to me.

Mr. LODGE. I made the remark I did in regard to the introduction of American machinery in Switzerland simply to show that conditions have changed since the time when the Senator

said we had only handmade watches to compete with. They have got onto an equality with us, with the aid of our own machinery. I do not complain of that. I say conditions have changed. They are now working machinery with labor of much lower cost. I think we ought to give sufficient protection to make that difference, and I think we ought also to make a difference in order to protect our people against undervaluations and frauds.

These are great industries, employing the very highest class of mechanics. Of course I allow for the effect of bad times, but even then their sales have been so cut down by the Swiss competition, watches brought in at these undervaluations and in these fraudulent forms, taking the place of American watches and sold at exactly the same rate, that they have had to reduce their running time to four days in the week. I think when we have reduced the price of watches as we have by our own ingenuity to the whole world, when we get them at the lowest possible price and give a better article to our own people at lower prices than anybody else can do, that we are entitled to protection against a cheap labor, which is also aided by undervaluations and by fraud.

Mr. GRAY. Mr. President, as I said a moment ago, I am very much interested in what the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] has said in regard to the development of the watch industry in this country and largely in the State which he so ably represents in part, but while it is gratifying to know that this industry has not only been established, but has grown and developed and commands the market of the United States and largely of the world by reason of the superiority of its manufacture, surely it is no reason to tax the people of the United States to a greater extent than they are already taxed on these articles, no longer a luxury, but I might say a necessity. What were the luxuries of a generation ago are becoming the necessities of the present one. We all know that. The world advances and civilization advances, and its progress is not more surely marked than by the diffusion of these things in common use which comparatively a few years ago were used only by the rich and were classed as luxuries.

Watches have become a necessity. There is no reason that I can conceive of, from the statement made by the Senator from Massachusetts as to the state of this industry, why, in order to prevent these frauds or compensate the American manufacturer for the effect of these frauds, we should impose this burden upon the American people. We must not punish the boy or girl who buys a watch or the poor man who buys a watch because the Swiss fraudulently imitate the trade-mark of the Massachusetts watchmaker. I am willing to go to any length that is reasonable in defining and punishing the crime of the simulation of an American trade-mark. Let us punish that and prevent it, and I would propose some such language as I will read, for that is the chief complaint I hear made by the Senator from Massachusetts, and he has made it the justification for an increase of duty. An increased duty will not prevent the simulation of the trade-mark. I suggest some such provision as this:

No watch or clock or part thereof shall be admitted to entry at any custom-house in the United States which shall not have the name of the place and the country from which imported, or where made, printed or engraved conspicuously on the face of the watch or movement or upon the part of the watch imported.

I suggest to the junior Senator from Massachusetts—merely as a suggestion to be perfected—whether some such language would not measurably answer the purpose which the watchmakers have in view. Then add a penal provision which shall punish anyone who attempts it.

Mr. LODGE. We have law enough now.

Mr. GRAY. I think that is an advance of the present law.

Mr. ALLISON. I will say to the Senator from Massachusetts and the Senator from Delaware that the committee have in preparation a modification of one of the sections of the bill, I think section 8, which will more certainly cure the defect.

Mr. GRAY. There is a law, as I understand it, which requires the name of the country to be marked on the goods.

Mr. ALLISON. There is such a law.

Mr. LODGE. They comply with it.

Mr. GRAY. They comply with it in letter, but not in spirit.

Mr. LODGE. Undoubtedly.

Mr. GRAY. I think the law ought to be so made that they would be compelled to engrave the name of the country where it can not be overlooked, on some conspicuous part of the watch.

Mr. LODGE. That would not meet the undervaluation. The specific is the only thing that will correct it.

Mr. GRAY. The Senator does not want a specific larger than the ad valorem.

Mr. LODGE. I do not think on the average it does——

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The tax in this paragraph is an ad valorem.

Mr. LODGE. The Senator means the parts of watches?

Mr. GRAY. Yes.

Mr. LODGE. I think they need as much as that.

Mr. HOAR. Mr. President, I do not wish to prolong the discussion. My colleague has very clearly and concisely covered the whole ground, but I wish to make just one observation. The precise argument which the Senator from Delaware has just made was made when the protective duty, smaller than this a little, but still a protective duty, was placed upon watches in the tariff which originally placed a duty on watches. "Why are you putting this burden on the American people for these few workmen? Why not let the American boy buy his watch where he is a mind to?" and all those arguments which we have heard on the stump, and here.

Mr. GRAY. I did not say that. I said why punish the American consumer, boy or what not, as the case may be, for the frauds of the Swiss manufacturers? That is what I said.

Mr. HOAR. You can call it punishment or say what it is to be done for, but the substance of it is, "Why do you make the American purchaser pay more for his watches to protect the American workmen against this competition, whether it be fraudulent or genuine?" If it were genuine competition, the argument would be still stronger. That argument was made then, and we proceeded to try the experiment, and the American, getting his protection, brought down the prices of watches in some instances to less than 25 per cent of the old prices, and in some instances clear down so that you can get some very decent timekeepers for $1.50 and $2.50, of silver or pinchbeck cases.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Now you want to more than double the tax.

Mr. HOAR. Let me state my proposition, and the Senator can give his answer to it afterwards.

Now, what is the result? That policy, aided by the American ingenuity which was set at work, because the workingmen in the watch establishments are of the very best and of the most intelligent class of American workmen, not only built up the industry here, but reduced the price of watches, in many instances, 75 per cent. But now the foreigners have taken our machinery, the result of our ingenuity and brain, the result of the brain stimulated by the protective policy, and are pressing us hard by these methods. So now our workmen are driven to four days in the week instead of six, as my colleague has said.

I undertake to predict that if you put on the duty which is proposed, and the experiment has a fair trial, the thing will go on; that the American market will be supplied by American workmen; that these poor foreign watches will be in a large measure excluded; that you will have the price of watches still further reduced, so that they will be down to 50 or 60 per cent of what they are now; and I wish to put this expression of opinion on record: This industry, which has so refuted by its past experience all the stock arguments of the free trader, will go on to furnish further and more impressive refutation of the same thing.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Will the Senator from Massachusetts allow me to ask him a question in connection with his prediction? Thirty years ago a tariff of 25 per cent was put on watches, which he says resulted in these marvelous developments, and now a tax of 65 per cent is proposed instead of 25 per cent. Now, I ask, will the great successes which will follow the inauguration of this tax, according to his theory, necessitate a tax of, say, 100 or 150 per cent in the next few years to protect the same artisans?

Mr. HOAR. If we should get the price of a watch down to $1 instead of $3, down to $10 instead of $30, the rate with a tariff of 100 per cent would be really half as much as a tariff of 50 per cent is now.

Mr. VEST. Mr. President, there was one fact stated by the senior Senator from Massachusetts which is a fact, that after supplying the American market and exporting the amount which I named here from the comparative statement, these large New England establishments have regular agents abroad, in England particularly, where they sell the product cheaper to the foreigner than they do in the United States. I was not myself at the Chicago Exposition, but I am permitted by my colleague, the Senator from Georgia, who was there, to state that he saw Waltham watches, or watches made by a large manufacturing company in New England, on exhibition, and he was told by the agent, whom he overheard conversing with an Englishman, after the Englishman had left him, that they were selling the identical watches at 20 to 25 per cent cheaper in England than in the United States.

Mr. HOAR. If the Senator will pardon me, that is true in all commerce everywhere. Unless there be some very peculiar conditions, the exporter sells his goods in his foreign trade, if it is a foreign trade where he has competition, cheaper than in his domestic trade. That is true everywhere the world over, because in the first place they send over their surplus stock at the end of the year, if they have made a surplus at a particular time. I suppose the Senator can not point to an article in all commerce, where there is free competition, where if a foreigner in part supplies the market he does not sell the article a little cheaper abroad than at home.

Mr. VEST. If they can afford to do that, if the American manufacturer can supply the home market and then go abroad and sell the same article from 20 to 25 per cent cheaper in competition with foreigners, where is the necessity for the so-called protection?

Mr. HOAR. That would require stating the argument which has been stated twenty times. As the Senator from Montana [Mr. MANTLE] suggests to me, he sells abroad the things he can not sell at home. He sells abroad his surplus, which he has to sell in a particular condition, when the market is overstocked. All those things apply to the foreign trade.

Mr. VEST. It is always overstocked. The export journals show—and I can produce them at any time in this Chamber, as I have before—that in all the different metallic manufactures our productions are exported abroad and sold for less in the foreign markets. They openly avow that. Of course their answer is a surplus. But that simple fact shows that under the tariff system of the United States the American manufacturers are enabled to supply the home market or a portion of it and then they send abroad and sell for less to the foreigner, and sell at a profit.

Mr. HOAR. The foreigner is doing the same thing to us.

Mr. VEST. As a matter of course, but their people are not taxed as it is proposed to tax the American people by this bill.

Mr. HOAR. That is another point.

Mr. VEST. These enormous taxes are nowhere imposed except in the United States, and they are imposed here upon products where, it is said, it is necessary to protect from foreign competition the manufacturing interests of this country. No, no, Mr. President, as a distinguished colleague of ours from Ohio used to say, "That won't do; that won't do."

I confess I was amused at the statement of the junior Senator from Massachusetts, when he said that the foreigners were enabled to cheat the Massachusetts manufacturers by putting in very small letters "Switzerland," and in very large letters "Waltham Manufacturing Company." Mr. President, what intelligent American citizen in Massachusetts or outside of it will believe that statement? That disparages the intellect of the American to such an extent that I will not stand it; and more than that, if a Massachusetts manufacturer can be cheated after that fashion, what in Heaven's name is to become of a Missourian? [Laughter.] They will steal the plugs out of the teeth and then escape the police. Who believes now that the people of New England can be cheated in that fashion? Mr. President, it is an outrage upon the land of wooden nutmegs to say that any such thing can be done.

Mr. LODGE. I did not say they cheated the New England manufacturers. I said they cheated the custom-house and the Missourians who buy the watches.

Mr. VEST. They cheat the custom-house and the Massachusetts manufacturer, because here is a law, enacted in 1890, which provides that no article simulating an American trade-mark shall be permitted to come into this country at all; and more than that, any domestic manufacturer can file his trade-mark in books provided for that purpose, and then if any attempt is made to introduce an article so marked, it is to be excluded. No, no; that will not do.

I assert that this duty, and it is not to be contradicted, is 65 per cent instead of 40 per cent under the proposed amendment, and 25 per cent under the McKinley Act and under the Wilson Act. For the last thirty years that has been the duty, and we have built up an enormous industry, commanding the domestic market and competing successfully abroad and selling the same products at less prices, and yet this duty is now to be increased in this country 40 per cent, and for no other purpose than to enable the American manufacturer to exclude the foreigner entirely and take possession of the market.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Mr. President, there is one suggestion I wish to make in connection with the admissions made on the other side. Here is the statement broadly made that the watches are sent abroad and sold for 25 per cent less than they are sold to American citizens. The manufacturers must be able to sell those watches at the prices at which they sell them abroad, or they would not so sell them. If they can afford to make and sell those watches abroad at 25 per cent less than they are sold for here, they are selling in American markets, by aid of laws that are thrown around them, goods for 25 per cent more than they are worth. They are enabled to make the American people take goods at a higher price than they ought to pay, because they can and do sell them abroad at the lower prices.

A statement was made by the senior Senator from Massachusetts that this runs through all manufactures. If that is true——

Mr. HOAR. I did not say that.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. If that is true, then the general run of manufacturers are selling goods in this country higher here than they ought to be allowed to sell them, because when they sell them abroad they do not sell them for less than they are worth.

Mr. HOAR. I did not make the statement which the Senator from Arkansas puts in my mouth.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. What statement did the Senator make?

Mr. HOAR. I said it ran through all trade, and that the foreigners do the same thing to this country. I did not say all manufactures.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Perhaps I was mistaken in saying "manufactures" instead of "trade."

Mr. HOAR. The Senator was, and it was a very serious mistake.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. It is a difference between tweedledee and tweedledum. It is the same thing after all.

Mr. HOAR. When I speak of a universal law of all trade, applicable to all nations alike, the Senator undertakes to put in my mouth a phrase limiting it to American manufactures under our protective system, and then when his attention is called to a gross misstatement he says it is the difference between tweedledum and tweedledee.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The Senator from Massachusetts——

Mr. HOAR. No; I ought not to speak so earnestly perhaps. I believe the Senator from Arkansas is a fair and candid man and does not wish to misrepresent me. I think the Senator will see that when I said a certain rule of conduct runs through all trade it is not a fair statement of what I said to limit my statement to American manufactures.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I did not undertake to limit the Senator's statement. I referred to his statement in general terms. I take the statement as he made it, and I am willing for it to stand. It means, as I believe—every member of the Senate will understand that it means—that the American manufacturers can and do sell their products cheaper abroad than they sell them to our own people, and that the Senator justifies this act. I say that whenever the law allows American manufacturers to sell their goods abroad—and they would not sell them abroad unless they could do it at a profit—whenever that is being done, and we throw laws around them to enable them to sell their goods higher to American people than they can sell them profitably abroad, we are guilty of a gross outrage on the American people.

Mr. HOAR. Does not the Senator see that in the case which has been stated the man does not sell at a profit abroad?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Why does he sell there?

Mr. HOAR. Because he has to get rid of his surplus.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. At a loss?

Mr. LODGE. Yes.

Mr. HOAR. Yes; at a loss.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I am slow to believe that shrewd, sharp American manufacturers are going to send drummers abroad to solicit trade at a loss to themselves. They are not quite so liberal.

Mr. HOAR. If the Senator will read Lord Brougham's famous speech on the English relation to the American tariff and manufactures, which has been cited a thousand times in these debates, he will find that the speaker describes that as the precise method of the Englishman. Then, if the capitalist, in addition, possesses capital and influence enough by so disposing of a surplus as to shut up competitors in the foreign country, then he will raise the price and make his gain.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The American manufacturers ought not to be allowed to sell their goods to the American people at such a profit as will justify them in selling their goods abroad at a loss.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. President, I remember some years ago being in a watch factory in New England, at Waterbury, the celebrated Waterbury watch manufactory, and going through all the large establishment. The proprietor told me what number of watches were turned out during a day. It was astonishing to me, and at a cost of two or three dollars to the watch. I asked him, "Where do you find a market for all the immense product which you are turning out?" He said to me, "Name a place on the earth—any place—and I will name the place where you will find a Waterbury watch if you go there." He was exporting watches in legitimate trade all over the whole world, making them by machinery, with the human hand doing nothing but assembling the pieces and putting them together. They were splendid watches. He gave me two of them, which I have yet. His market was all over the world, selling in competition with pauper labor.

Here we are told to-day that you can not compete with this pauper labor without protecting our high-priced machinery—high-priced labor, but it is done by machinery—and yet we are told that we are sending all these manufactures all over the whole world in legitimate trade every day of our existence, and competing with the pauper labor in their own market, paying the cost of transportation to their market, handicapped by that amount, but still holding the markets against all the world. We have two sorts of statements. One that we have to protect our own people at home, within our own boundaries, against the competition of pauper labor, and then we take the same product and go out into

the world and compete with the pauper labor and beat them in their own market.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. We undersell them.

Mr. MILLS. Of course we undersell them, and it is done at a profit. Look at the agricultural implements which we are shipping every year. As has been stated on this floor several times, you can not go to any place on the Continent of Europe where you do not find our sowing machines and reapers, and all the various implements we make in this country. Are we selling them at a loss year by year and still pursuing the business? Look at every department of manufactures. We have been sending a large amount of cotton goods abroad, and increasing it in later years. Are we selling them at a loss? The gentlemen who are carrying on this business certainly do not do that.

There is no necessity for the proposed duty on watches. We can beat the world making watches. We have been beating the world making watches, making them cheaper and making them better than anybody else.

Mr. GEAR. I wish to give the Senator from Arkansas and other Senators a little information about Japanese watches. I hold in my hand the second watch made in the Japanese Empire, which a friend of mine bought in Japan a year ago. This watch is full jeweled, fifteen jewels. It is an Elgin watch. It was made in that country in an establishment which has been recently started, and to-day they are making these watches by the thousand and sending them to the United States. This watch cost in Japan $11 American money. It can be sold at wholesale for a little less than $8; and that watch can not be made in the Elgin factory, of which watches it is a complete duplicate, for less than $17. That is the reason, I imagine, which governed the Finance Committee in proposing the duty on watches. I hope the amendment will prevail.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Then our people do not make the best and cheapest watches in the world, as we were assured a while ago they did?

Mr. GEAR. They do not make a watch equal in cheapness to the watch of the heathen "Chinee," if you please. We make as good a watch as is made anywhere in the world, and possibly the best watch.

Mr. VEST. I should like to ask the Senator from Iowa a question.

Mr. GEAR. I shall be glad to answer it if I can.

Mr. VEST. Was not the watch factory established in Japan by Americans and with American capital?

Mr. GEAR. No, sir. It was started in Japan by American mechanics who went there to teach the Japanese how to make the watches.

Mr. VEST. Have not the Elgin Watch Company a large interest in, possibly the entire ownership of, the plant?

Mr. GEAR. I can not answer the question, but I think not.

Mr. VEST. I understand they have.

Mr. GEAR. American mechanics taught the Japanese how to make the watches.

Mr. VEST. They went there from the Elgin Company, and therefore they make a duplicate of the Elgin watch.

Mr. GEAR. Of course it is an entire duplicate, but I do not think the establishment is owned by the Elgin Company. I know, at least I do not think, that the Elgin Company have a dollar or a dime's interest in the factory. I simply exhibit the watch to show that the duty is required if we are to maintain the industry in the United States, and that applies not only in regard to Elgin, but as to Waltham.

Mr. VEST. I want to have the question taken by yeas and nays upon the substitute as amended.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair will then put the question first upon the amendment proposed to the amendment of the committee.

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question now is on agreeing to paragraph 189 as amended.

Mr. VEST. Upon agreeing to the paragraph as amended, I ask for the yeas and nays.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The question now is on the adoption of the paragraph, I understand.

Mr. ALLISON. I wish to suggest to the Senator that the House text is retained. We do not have to vote upon the House text, as I understand it.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Of course; we have been reading the bill for the purpose of taking a vote on each paragraph.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair understands the pending question to be on agreeing to paragraph 189 as amended and as read at the desk.

Mr. ALLISON. Very well.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. That is, on the adoption of the amendment to the paragraph?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. On the adoption of the amendment to the paragraph.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The question now is on the entire paragraph?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the entire paragraph.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. As amended?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. As amended.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. On that we want the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. HARRIS of Kansas (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. CLARK]. As he is not present, I withhold my vote.

Mr. MORRILL (when his name was called). I will state now for the day that I am paired with the senior Senator from Tennessee [Mr. HARRIS], and therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. PRITCHARD (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from South Carolina [Mr. MCLAURIN]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. WARREN (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Washington [Mr. TURNER]. By an arrangement, I will transfer my pair, so that the Senator from Washington [Mr. TURNER] will stand paired with my colleague [Mr. CLARK], and the Senator from Kansas [Mr. HARRIS] and myself will vote. I vote "yea."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. PRITCHARD. I desire to transfer my pair with the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. MCLAURIN] to the Senator from Illinois [Mr. MASON]. I vote "yea."

Mr. VEST. Has the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. NELSON] voted?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. He has not voted.

Mr. VEST. I withhold my vote. I am paired with that Senator. I would vote "nay" and he would vote "yea" if present.

Mr. GEAR. Has the senior Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH] voted?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. He has not voted.

Mr. GEAR. I withhold my vote. I am paired with that Senator. If he were present, he would vote "yea."

Mr. HARRIS of Kansas. Under the arrangement stated by the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. WARREN], I vote "nay."

Mr. MARTIN. On this question I am paired with the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MCBRIDE], and withhold my vote.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas (after having voted in the negative). I am paired with the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE], but by an agreement with the Senator from Iowa [Mr. GEAR] I transfer my pair to the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH], and the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE] and the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH] will remain paired until otherwise announced. My vote will stand.

Mr. GEAR. I vote "yea."

Mr. WELLINGTON. I desire to inquire whether the junior Senator from North Carolina [Mr. BUTLER] has voted?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. He has not voted.

Mr. WELLINGTON. I am paired with the junior Senator from North Carolina, and therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. MANTLE. I should like to inquire what announcement has been made respecting the pair of the Senator from Utah [Mr CANNON]?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. No announcement has been made.

Mr. MANTLE. I understand that the Senator from Utah [Mr. CANNON] has a general pair with the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH]. If the Senator were present, in this case he would vote to sustain the committee.

The result was announced—yeas 36, nays 26; as follows:

YEAS—36.

Allison,	Foraker,	Lodge,	Sewell,
Burrows,	Frye,	McMillan,	Shoup,
Carter,	Gallinger,	Mantle,	Spooner,
Chandler,	Gear,	Penrose,	Stewart,
Cullom,	Hanna,	Perkins,	Teller,
Davis,	Hansbrough,	Platt, Conn.	Thurston,
Deboe,	Hawley,	Pritchard,	Warren,
Elkins,	Hoar,	Proctor,	Wetmore,
Fairbanks,	Jones, Nev.	Quay,	Wilson.

NAYS—26.

Allen,	Daniel,	Lindsay,	Rawlins,
Bacon,	Faulkner,	Mallory,	Tillman,
Bate,	Gray,	Mills,	Turpie,
Berry,	Harris, Kans.	Mitchell,	Walthall,
Caffery,	Heitfeld,	Morgan,	White.
Clay,	Jones, Ark.	Pasco,	
Cockrell,	Kenney,	Pettus,	

NOT VOTING—27.

Aldrich,	Gorman,	Martin,	Roach,
Baker,	Hale,	Mason,	Smith,
Butler,	Harris, Tenn.	Morrill,	Turner,
Cannon,	Kyle,	Murphy,	Vest,
Chilton,	McBride,	Nelson,	Wellington,
Clark,	McEnery,	Pettigrew,	Wolcott.
George,	McLaurin,	Platt, N. Y.	

So paragraph 189 as amended was agreed to, as follows:

189. Watch movements, whether imported in cases or not, if having not more than 7 jewels, 35 cents each; if having more than 7 jewels and not more than 11 jewels, 50 cents each; if having more than 11 jewels and not more than 15 jewels, 75 cents each; if having more than 15 jewels and not more than 17 jewels, $1.25 each; if having more than 17 jewels, $3 each, and in addition thereto, on all the foregoing, 25 per cent ad valorem; watch cases and parts of watches, including watch dials, chronometers, box or ship, and parts thereof, clocks and parts thereof, not otherwise provided for in this act, whether separately packed or otherwise, not composed wholly or in chief value of china, porcelain, parian, bisque, or earthenware, 40 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. ALLISON. I propose now that we shall consider the lead paragraphs passed over. The first is paragraph 179, but the senior Senator from Nebraska [Mr. ALLEN] has the floor upon that paragraph. He will be here in a few moments. So I ask that it may be temporarily postponed, and that I may put in one or two small amendments. I ask the Senate to consider paragraph 267, one of the postponed amendments.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. If there is no objection, the Secretary will read paragraph 267.

The Secretary read lines 1 and 2, on page 79, as follows:

267. Pineapples, in barrels and other packages, 6 cents per cubic foot; in bulk, $6 per thousand.

Mr. ALLISON. I am instructed by the committee to move to strike out "six," in line 1, on page 79, and insert "seven;" and also to move to strike out "six," in line 2, and insert "seven."

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In line 1, after the word "packages," strike out "six" and insert "seven;" and in line 2, before the word "dollars," strike out "six" and insert "seven;" so as to make the paragraph read:

267. Pineapples, in barrels and other packages, 7 cents per cubic foot; in bulk, $7 per thousand.

Mr. VEST. Mr. President, I wish to call attention to the fact that here is an increase of 1 cent over the bill as passed by the House, and of 7 cents over the McKinley Act. I would just like to know by what sort of ratiocination and what sort of tariff evolution an article which the Republican party thought ought to be free in 1890 is now put under a duty of 7 cents per cubic foot. In the much-abused Wilson Act the rate was 20 per cent ad valorem. I recollect the debate very well upon that paragraph, and I think the Senator from Rhode Island now absent criticised severely our putting 20 per cent upon an innocent, healthful, tropical fruit which was produced only in one or two localities in the United States. Will the Senator from Iowa kindly inform us what climatic conditions, what sanitary objects, have caused him now to take this article off the free list and put it at 7 cents per cubic foot?

Mr. ALLISON. Well, there are both climatic reasons and sanitary reasons for doing so.

Mr. GALLINGER. And revenue reasons.

Mr. VEST. Very good. Then let us have them.

Mr. ALLISON. One is that pineapples are largely produced in Florida and the semitropical regions of our own country, and I understand they are very healthful food. There is great pressure to make this duty specific, and therefore a specific duty has been provided for instead of an ad valorem rate. It is thought that this will be a reasonable duty to protect that great industry in our country.

Mr. VEST. This is the first time I ever heard the fact that pineapples are raised in Florida stated as a sanitary reason for a duty upon that fruit. I have no doubt it is necessary to the political health of the Republican party, but outside of that I disclaim understanding at all how it can be a sanitary reason.

Pineapples are not largely raised in Florida. I was down there recently. They are raised around in a few localities, but it is by no means a large interest. I wish it were larger. I sympathize with the people of Florida in the misfortunes that have overtaken them, but I do not propose to put a duty upon the consumers of the United States out of all reason—7 cents per cubic foot—because there are a few counties in Florida where pineapples are raised. That is the whole of this matter. The sanitary reason consists simply in the fact that there are certain demands made upon the committee which they are bound to heed.

I shall move to strike out "7 cents" as soon as that amendment is adopted and insert the existing rate of 20 per cent ad volorem.

Mr. BACON. Will the Senator from Iowa permit me to inquire from what source the pressure comes to which he has alluded?

Mr. ALLISON. If the Senator from Georgia wishes specifications, I can not very well give them. I will say, however, that the pressure comes from both sides of this Chamber.

Mr. CAFFERY. Mr. President, it is not my province to support the pauper pineapples of the Tropics against the more robust and healthy food of Florida. I did not know until the Senator from Iowa made the statement that it was necessary to fertilize the Florida pineapples with the tariff bill.

I suppose that to help nature we ought to pile up a foot or two of tariff bills around pineapple bushes in Florida. They might grow that much more profusely. But I thought that those tropical plants had growth and sustenance from the natural elements in the countries where they flourish.

But in connection with pineapples I propose, as it relates to a Southern growth, to introduce and have incorporated in the RECORD a letter written to me on June 26 by Col. Albert B. Shepperson, of New York, a noted authority upon cotton. Colonel Shepperson is the author of Cotton Facts, and has a reputation well deserved and universally acknowledged as perfectly equipped and well informed upon all matters concerning cotton. I introduce his letter to me and ask that it may be incorporated in my remarks as containing most valuable information in regard to cotton and the 20 per cent tax thereon.

Mr. CULLOM. Does the Senator want to have it read?

Mr. CAFFERY. I do not care about having it read.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. In the absence of objection, the letter will be printed in the RECORD.

The letter referred to is as follows:

NEW YORK, *June 26, 1897.*

MY DEAR SIR: On 8th instant a letter from Mr. Wilbur F. Wakeman, of New York, in reference to the imports of raw cotton into this country, was read in the Senate. The letter was intended to convey the impression that foreign cotton was being sold in our markets in competition with American cotton, and in order to show that such competition is increasing it states that, "Until recently the importations have been chiefly of Egyptian cotton, but now 'upland' or staple cotton is also being imported to a considerable extent."

The entire letter is misleading, and its statement that "upland" cotton is being imported is absolutely without the slightest foundation in fact.

I have official and private information to substantiate the assertion that not a bale of foreign cotton similar to our "upland cotton" has been imported into this country, and that no foreign cotton except Egyptian cotton has been used in our cotton mills for over thirty years. The importations of cotton for consumption have been, practically, of no other kind but Egyptian and Peruvian. During the past two years a few bales of Chinese, East Indian, and African cotton have been imported to be used by woolen manufacturers as a cheap substitute for Peruvian cotton, the entire quantity being only about 150 bales. A few bales of other growths have been brought to the United States for transshipment to Europe.

Not only have there been no recent importations of "upland" cotton, as alleged by Mr. Wakeman, but the importations of foreign cotton for the nine months from September 1, 1896, to June 1, 1897, were much less than for the corresponding period of the previous season. For nine months ending June 1 the importations of Egyptian cotton were 54,945 bales, against 63,270 bales for nine months ending June 1, 1896. For nine months ending June 1 the importations of Peruvian cotton were 8,494 bales, against 18,932 bales for nine months ending June 1, 1896. The imports of cotton at San Francisco from Oceanica, etc., for nine months ending June 1 were equal in weight to 635 bales of American cotton, against the equivalent of 930 bales for nine months ending June 1, 1896. All of these figures are from custom-house returns in my possession.

All of the Peruvian cotton imported has been of the kind known as "rough Peruvian," and not a single bale of it has ever found its way into a cotton mill. "Rough Peruvian" is a peculiar kind of cotton having such close resemblance to wool that its sole use is for mixing with wool in the manufacture of underwear, hosiery, and cloths which are all sold to retail buyers as being made entirely of wool. The object of its use is to cheapen the cost of the goods. "Rough Peruvian" cotton does not compete in the least possible degree with any description of American cotton in any market in the world. Its price has no relation whatever to the price of other descriptions of cotton, but is influenced by the price of wool and the supply of "rough Peruvian" cotton.

On page 226 of volume 2 of Report of Senate Committee on Agriculture, February 23, 1895, is a statement over my signature giving somewhat in detail the characteristics of Peruvian and Egyptian cotton and the purposes for which these cottons are used. Egyptian cotton has a long, strong, silky staple, from 1¼ to 1½ inches in length, while the staple of what is called our "upland cotton" ranges from three-fourths to 1 inch, and our "sea-island cotton" from 1½ to 2½ inches. It is especially adapted for sewing thread, fine underwear and hosiery (such as "balbriggan," etc.), and for goods requiring smooth finish and high luster. It gives to fabrics a soft finish, like silk, and this character, together with its luster, makes it desirable for mixing with silk in the manufacture of various kinds of silk goods. For such purposes as I have named it is much better than our "upland cotton" and usually sells for about 2 cents a pound more.

For some of the purposes for which Egyptian cotton is used there is no American cotton which would be suitable. The good grades of our sea-island cotton are so much superior in fineness and strength to the best grades of Egyptian cotton that they sell for from 50 to 100 per cent more. The two growths of cotton differ so greatly in their character and value that there is really no competition between them. This view is fully concurred in by the Southern firm which sells more sea-island cotton than any house in the country. Our upland cotton is not good enough to compete with Egyptian cotton for use in the special purposes for which the latter is imported, and our sea-island cotton is too good and too high priced for the uses in which Egyptian cotton is generally employed.

The cotton of our country which most resembles Egyptian cotton is the fancy-stapled varieties known as "Allen," "Peeler," etc., which are grown to a very limited extent (chiefly in the Mississippi Valley). These cottons have a staple ranging from 1½ to 1¾ inches, but as they are ginned by saw gins, the staple lacks uniformity, and is often cut and damaged by the saws of the gin. They do not possess the high luster and silkiness of the Egyptian, and of course lack the brownish color which makes Egyptian cotton indispensable in "balbriggan" underwear and hosiery which are never dyed nor bleached. All Egyptian cotton is ginned by "roller gins," such as are used here only for our "sea-island cotton," and hence the staple is very regular and uniform. The yield of the varieties such as "Allen," "Peeler," etc., is usually much less per acre than the shorter-stapled kinds in general cultivation.

Unless the staple is sufficiently long and uniform to bring a price high enough to compensate for the smaller yield, the cultivation of these cottons is not profitable. There are no statistics upon the subject, but it is well known that the cultivation of these fancy varieties has diminished materially within the last few years. I do not think, however, that the reduction was caused by the importation of Egyptian cotton, but was due to the fact that because of its larger yield and more ready sale it was found more profitable to grow the shorter-stapled variety in common use. It has been represented that the present low prices for sea-island cotton are due to the importation of Egyptian cotton, but the true cause is the overproduction of sea-island

cotton for the past three seasons. The price of sea-island cotton is controlled by supply and demand, just like all other commodities. Being an article of comparatively limited use, an oversupply causes a much greater actual and relative decline than could possibly occur with upland cotton, for which there is so much larger use.

Our sea-island crop of 1892-93 was 45,418 bales. The crop of 1883-84 was 25,490 bales, and the average of the crops for ten years ending with 1893 was 45,000 bales. The crops since 1893 have been as follows: 1893-94, 61,052 bales; 1894-95, 74,628 bales; 1895-96, 93,045 bales. Of the present crop of 1896-97 there have already been received 101,000 bales, and the crop will be about 105,000 bales. It will be seen that the crops of the past three years amount to 273,000 bales, being an average of 91,000 bales, against an average for the ten years to 1893 of only 45,000 bales. It can not be maintained that Egyptian cotton has supplanted sea island cotton with our spinners, because they took 40,062 bales of sea-island cotton in the year ending August 31, 1896 (and are taking somewhat more this season), against only 11,674 bales in the year ending August 31, 1884, and an average of 21,000 bales for the ten years to 1893.

On page 354 of the Report of Senate Committee on Agriculture, to which I have referred, will be found details of the crops, exports, and American consumption of sea-island cotton for each year since 1874. Our spinners use considerably less than one-half of our crops of sea-island cotton, and the remainder is exported to Europe. I take a deep interest in the prosperity of our cotton growers, but it is my deliberate judgment that a duty upon cotton will not benefit them in the slightest degree, while it will doubtless prove a serious injury to manufacturers in New England and New York by increasing the cost of the Egyptian cotton, which they will have to use for such purposes, as they can provide no substitute.

The cotton which comes here from other countries does not, in my opinion, restrict the sale or affect the price of American cotton in any of our markets.

Only about 30 per cent of the American cotton crop is taken by our spinners. The remainder is exported to Europe, in whose chief markets the price is adjusted by the competition of the surplus cotton received from India, Egypt, Brazil, and other countries. The price is regulated by the varying conditions of present and prospective supply and demand. The fact of our placing a duty on cotton could not have any effect upon European markets except that just to the extent that Egyptian shipments to America might be curtailed the supply available for Europe would be increased. The European price necessarily fixes the price of cotton for the American markets, as it would be utterly impossible for the purchasers of only 30 per cent of the crop to govern the price to be paid by the buyers of the other 70 per cent.

The price of our cotton is not fixed by the views of its owners or their commission merchants, but is regulated by what the European spinners are willing to pay for it, and no one can pretend that the imposition by us of a duty on Egyptian cotton will make our cotton any more valuable to European spinners. Very little Egyptian cotton was imported previous to 1884. The annual importations since then have been as follows, for years ending August 31, viz: 1885, 4,553 bales; 1886, 3,815 bales; 1887, 4,700 bales; 1888, 5,702 bales; 1889, 8,430 bales; 1890, 10,470 bales; 1891, 23,730 bales; 1892, 27,739 bales; 1893, 42,475 bales; 1894, 33,606 bales; 1895, 59,418 bales; 1896, 60,220 bales. To May 31 of the year ending August 31, 1897, the imports have been, as already stated, 54,945 bales. The present weight of Egyptian bales is about 724 pounds net, while Peruvian bales weigh about 175 pounds.

The increase in the use of Egyptian cotton here is due to the fact that many descriptions of goods are now made in this country for which we formerly depended entirely upon European manufacturers.

Instead of being of assistance to the cotton growers, I think a duty upon cotton will prove to be, at least for a time, an injury, inasmuch as it will cause the planting of larger crops of sea-island and fancy-stapled cottons, when the present production of these cottons is now so great that prices are below a remunerative point. To increase the supply without a corresponding increase in the demand must inevitably result in lower prices.

I have the honor to remain,

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

ALF. B. SHEPPERSON.

Hon. DONELSON CAFFERY,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

P. S.—The fact that the Senate had voted on 8th instant to impose a duty of 20 per cent on raw cotton was known in every important market in this country and Europe by the next day, and has had no effect whatever upon the price of "sea-island" or any other description of American cotton. If merchants believed that the effect of the duty would be to enhance the value of any kind of cotton, they would buy so freely as to advance prices before the actual enactment of the law. On May 28 the official quotations of "middling upland" cotton were 7¼ cents in New York and 4½ pence in Liverpool, and to-day's quotations are exactly as on that day. The quotations of South Carolina sea-island cotton in Charleston and of Georgia and Florida sea-island cotton in Savannah to-day are precisely the same as on May 28. My latest Liverpool quotations of sea-island cotton are for 17th instant, and while the prices for Georgia and Florida sea-island cotton were the same as on May 27, the prices for some grades of South Carolina sea-island cotton were a little lower.

Our imports of Egyptian cotton are now used in about the following manner: Thirty-five per cent for balbriggan underwear and hosiery; 35 per cent for fine cotton goods requiring a cotton of fine and strong fiber and absolute freedom from "nits" or other imperfections; 30 per cent for sewing cotton and for fine yarns to be used in "silk-and-cotton," and also "worsted-and-cotton" goods. Also, for some other special purposes to a limited extent.

Egyptian cotton is not used for yarns of finer "counts" than 120. For yarns above 120's, our sea-island cotton has to be used here and in Europe, as Egyptian cotton does not possess the requisite fineness and strength.

A. B. S.

Mr. GRAY. Has the committee amendment been adopted?

Mr. ALLISON. It has not been adopted.

Mr. GRAY. I wish to say a single word. I do not wish to interfere with the adoption of the amendment of the committee.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. VEST. I have offered an amendment to the paragraph.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment of the Senator from Missouri is to strike out "7 cents" and insert "20 per cent ad valorem." The question is on agreeing to that amendment.

Mr. GRAY. Mr. President, this may be considered by the Senator from Iowa and others one of those little amendments of which he spoke, but it is an important one nevertheless. It is a proposed tax on an important food product. It is meant to raise the price of this wholesome and pleasant fruit to the great body of American consumers, and as such I believe it to be indefensible. I do not believe that the people of this country, the toiling masses of this country, will submit cheerfully to the imposition of this tax upon this fruit. They have a right to the bounties of the soil of the country certainly, as a right to the bounties of nature everywhere, without legislative interference, and nothing ought to be interposed between the access of the people to the bounties of the soil by legislative enactment.

This fruit, as has already been said, is a luscious and delightful one, and it is an exceedingly wholesome one. There is no foreign fruit that is more recommended by the medical faculty than the pineapple.

I wish to call attention again, in the few words I have to say, to the fact that you can not attempt to raise the price of one article of American produce without interfering with industries that are not suggested and are not often thought of. There is a very important industry in this country that is as worthy as the growing of pineapples, to wit, the preserving industry. It flourishes in the region from which I come, in that State and the neighboring State; and it will be seriously affected and thousands of persons, literally thousands of persons who are employed in that industry, will feel the pinch of increasing the price of this fruit, which is put up, packed, and distributed all over the country and shipped abroad, if the raw material of that industry is thus enhanced in value by the imposition of this tax.

Again, Mr. President, our commerce in fruit, the shipbuilding industry, the shipowning industry, will be affected by it. There are a large number of comparatively small but quick-running vessels, steam and sail, that are engaged in the fruit commerce. They take out the American produce and they bring back these tropical fruits. All of that is interfered with by the imposition of this tax. I think it is unconscionable that those who have the raising of pineapples, that come to them as a gift of nature, of soil and climate, should demand the levy of this tribute not only upon the great mass of American consumers, but upon kindred industries.

Here is an industry as healthy as any, as I have just said, upon which they wish to levy a tribute and to tax in order that the pineapple, which grows abundantly in a small portion of the country, may be increased in value to the owner of the land. Now, I protest against that in the name of the consumers of this country and for the health of the people, and because it will have effects that are not seen and are not stated here upon an important part of our commerce. We have no right to put the interfering hand of the Government into the business of the people in this fashion and obstruct by this tax the natural conditions which have grown up around this industry.

Not only does the substitution of the specific tax for the ad valorem tax increase the burden by the amount that appears upon the face of the bill, but by making it a matter of measurement and count with this delicate article of fruit, that has to be handled carefully and ought not to be handled more than is absolutely necessary, you place an additional burden that can not be computed in dollars and cents upon the importation of this article. If you have to stop to measure them, or if you have to stop to count them, there is another legislative obstacle placed in the way of the importation of this article that is not computed here in dollars or in cents, but nevertheless makes an increased difficulty to the importer and adds to the cost and difficulty with which the fruit is obtained by the consumer.

Mr. MALLORY. I should like to ask the Senator from Delaware if he knows the equivalent ad valorem duty of 7 cents on pineapples as proposed here?

Mr. GRAY. I did know; I looked at it, but I can not state it just now without a reference to some papers I have.

Mr. MILLS. In the table the equivalent ad valorem of 6 cents is 45 per cent.

Mr. GRAY. I would be obliged to the Senator from Florida if he has any information on this point.

Mr. MALLORY. I have not. I will state that the pineapple industry in Florida has increased very much in the last three or four years, owing to the fact that by the construction of a railroad down the eastern coast of the peninsula of Florida a country adapted to the cultivation of the pineapple has been opened. Most of the pineapples that come to this country from the West Indies are cut from the stalk while green and they arrive here green. There is a vast difference in the quality of a pineapple that is cut green and allowed to ripen off the stalk and one that is taken after it has ripened.

By the completion of this line of road, which runs from St. Augustine down to what is known as Miami, some 300 miles, the country adapted to the cultivation of the pineapple has been placed within easy reach of the market, and the people down there engaged in it are making it a prosperous industry. The islands known as Florida Keys are well adapted to the cultivation of the pineapple. I have not had an opportunity to investigate the matter, but I find here in the hearings, Schedule G, on the subject of pineapples, that the Pineapple Growers' Association of Lake

Worth ask for an immense duty as compared with this. They ask for a duty of 25 cents per cubic foot in barrels or packages, or 2 cents a pound in bulk.

It seems to me that the estimate of 45 per cent ad valorem being equivalent to 6 cents on a cubic foot is a rather large one. A cubic foot of space ought in my judgment to hold at least 25 or 30 pineapples of ordinary sizes. I think if figured out it would be found that 45 per cent is rather a large estimate of the ad valorem duty.

The fact that this duty may impose a burden upon the canners in Baltimore and other sections of the country, as stated by the Senator from Delaware, is probably correct, but at the same time is that not a species of protection?

Mr. GRAY. I did not catch the last remark.

Mr. MALLORY. Is it not a species of protection that the Senator himself is asking for his canners? As I understand the Senator's position, he is contending that there should not be any duty above an ad valorem duty of 20 per cent imposed on pineapples, because it may interfere with the canning industry carried on in Delaware.

Mr. GRAY. I say it will interfere, of course.

Mr. MALLORY. In other words, it is a species of protection that the Senator from Delaware is asking for the canners of Delaware and Maryland at the expense of the pineapple growers of Florida.

Mr. GRAY. Mr. President, if to ask that things which grow out of the soil shall come to the hand of man to tempt his labor and feed his enterprise is a species of protection, then I have misconceived altogether the whole principle and theory of protection and of free trade. All that I ask, and all that any free trader asks, is that the hand of man may not be prevented artificially, if I may use the word—that it may not be prevented by legislation from laying hold of the materials that nature gave us in order that man may employ himself profitably, for his own benefit and for the benefit and the health of mankind. We are put in this world with certain conditions surrounding us, and we ought not to be prevented by legislation or by artificial obstacles from using the labor, the ingenuity, the brain that we are endowed with in order that we may profitably avail ourselves of what nature and climate and soil have done for us.

If to ask exemption from those artificial impediments means protection, then I am a protectionist in that sense, and I would to God that I might envelop this country in just such protection.

Mr. President, my distinguished and honorable friend from Florida has just told the Senate what was very interesting to me, and it was something that I heard with a great deal of pleasure and gratification, that down in his favored State, where sunshine and soil so bless the labor of the husbandman, there has been recently opened up an area for the growth of the pineapple—that luscious, wholesome fruit—which has become profitable and prosperous, to use the Senator's own words, by reason of the fact that it has been brought into communication with the great markets of the country by a recently constructed line of railroad—if I understood him properly—that has brought this product up to our doors and brought the market to the doors of the constituents of the honorable Senator, and that, forsooth, is the pretext for taxing the people for that very article. It would have been better to have left those worthy constituents in their primitive simplicity, without the modern access to market that railroads give, if that access is only to be the ground and the justification for the imposition of a tax upon the American people.

Of what good is a railroad to this great market of the American people? Of what advantage to the consumers of pineapples is it that they are grown on an increased and enlarged area there and in greater abundance and prosperously for the people of the State? What advantage is it, I say, to the great body of the people that this railroad has been built—one of the great blessings of civilization—if you are to neutralize the benefit of the railroad by a tax?

Mr. President, it only recalls that illustration given years and years ago by Bastiat, when he illustrated what custom-houses did, by supposing two great and prosperous cities in the Middle Ages, whose names I have forgotten, separated by a chain of mountains, but both inhabited by an enterprising, industrious, and intelligent population. Across that chain of mountains, with great difficulty and much effort and much toil, they had created a pathway over which commerce found its way, and the interchange of the products of the two countries, separated by soil and climate and differing in natural aptitudes, found its way.

After a while, appreciating what this small commerce did, with increasing wealth and increasing enterprise and great labor and toil, as the result of years of labor a great broad highway was leveled across that mountain chain, and into it poured a commerce that was fructifying and enriching to both communities in tremendous proportions. They all had their jubilees on the opening of this highway, congratulated themselves on their advance in civilization and in the well-being of those communities, when, lo and behold, a new school grew up of what now would be called protectionists, and they placed a custom-house at each end of the highway, and thus neutralized all that so much labor and toil had accomplished by placing a legislative obstacle where before there had been a natural one.

Mr. MALLORY. Before the Senator concludes, as bearing on the question, there being an amendment pending, if I am not mistaken, proposing to put a tariff of 10 per cent on all articles on the free list, I ask him if, from his view, he would be justified in voting for that proposition?

Mr. GRAY. Certainly not.

Mr. MALLORY. I also ask the Senator if he is in favor of a tariff on peaches?

Mr. GRAY. I am not.

Mr. MALLORY. The Senator is opposed to a tariff on peaches?

Mr. GRAY. I am.

Mr. MALLORY. Or a tariff on canned goods?

Mr. GRAY. Or a tariff on canned goods for protection. There is a revenue tariff.

Mr. MALLORY. I will state that I am as much opposed to a protective tariff as the Senator from Delaware; and I do not think I shall vote for this proposition to increase the duty simply because I am inclined to think that it is to a certain extent beyond a revenue tariff. I deem it my duty, however, representing my constituents, to call attention to the situation, and as it has been stated here that there was no considerable amount of pineapples raised in this country, I think it proper to state the fact that not only is there a considerable quantity raised now, but there is every prospect that it will amount to a great industry in the State which I have the honor in part to represent.

Mr. GRAY. If the Senator will allow me, I meant to state, on the amendment that is pending, that the present rate of duty is 20 per cent ad valorem, and that the equivalent ad valorem of the proposed duty is about 55 per cent.

Mr. MALLORY. That is, at 7 cents a cubic foot.

Mr. GRAY. Yes.

Mr. PASCO. Mr. President, as my colleague [Mr. MALLORY] has stated, the culture and growth of the pineapple is a very important and valuable industry in the State of Florida. It has been rapidly developed within the past few years. In the Wilson law, for the first time, this fruit was made the subject of tariff taxation. Then a duty of 20 per cent ad valorem was put upon pineapples, which yielded $66,413.51 of revenue in 1896.

In the text of the bill as it was passed by the House of Representatives, the duty on pineapples in barrels was fixed at 6 cents a cubic foot and in bulk at $6 a thousand, and, as I understand, the amendment the committee proposes would raise it to 7 cents a cubic foot and in bulk to $7 a thousand. I propose to show how this compares with the duty on other fruits, as shown by a table which has been recently prepared by the Indian River and Lake Worth Pineapple Growers' Association, of Florida. According to the rate in the bill, apples are taxed at 75 cents a barrel, and in the bill as it came from the House grapes and peaches are taxed at double the rate on apples—that is, at $1.50 a barrel; while the pineapple rate as fixed in the present bill is equal to 30 cents, or one-fifth of the latter amount. The additional 1 cent per cubic foot added by the Senate amendment will increase the amount on pineapples to 35 cents, and even then it will be less than one-half the rate fixed upon the Northern apple and less than one-third the rate fixed upon grapes and other fruits.

This document presents the case of the pineapple growers of Florida, and gives their reasons for asking for an increased duty. It has been printed for the use of the Senate, and has been in the hands of the committee. They have seen fit to recommend an additional duty on this product, but not as large as was asked for. The proposition offered by the Pineapple Growers' Association was to raise the duty to 15 cents per cubic foot and $10 per thousand. This would put the duty on pineapples upon an equality with the duty upon apples, according to the terms of the present bill.

Mr. President, in my judgment, if this bill is to work equally, if all sections of the Union and all parts of the country are to be treated with equality, as we have been assured, then it seems to me those who framed the bill and those who are supporting it on the other side of the Chamber should have fixed the duties on Northern and Southern fruit upon a basis of equality. We were assured the other day that everything was intended to be treated with the same degree of impartiality and fairness in all parts of the Union; but we find that there are very many exceptions, and this is a striking one.

Take the article of cocoanuts. They are also raised in the same section of country where the pineapple grows. They were put in the Wilson law upon the dutiable list, and here they are transferred to the free list.

So far as I am concerned, Mr. President, I deem that I have done my duty sufficiently in laying these facts before the Senate and in presenting them, as I have done, to the members of the Finance Committee and to others who have influence in framing the bill.

I have thought if this bill is to be framed upon lines of equality, fairness, and impartiality, the fruits raised in our section of the country ought to receive the same amount of duty and be placed upon an equality with fruits raised in the Northern section of the country. It does seem to me that there can be no reason why the apples of the North should have high rates imposed upon them, while the Southern semitropical fruits, raised in our section of the country, are treated in a very different manner.

Mr. ALLISON. What does the Senator from Florida propose?

Mr. PASCO. The desire of this Pineapple Growers' Association, whose members live in the section of my State where these fruits are raised, was to put pineapples exactly upon a level with the Northern apple, at 15 cents per cubic foot. That, according to the comparison to which I have called the attention of the Senate, would put pineapples upon an equality with apples, while grapes have a duty upon them doubly as large. Their proposition was to amend paragraph 267 by substituting 15 cents for 6 cents per cubic foot and $10 for $6 in bulk; so that the paragraph would read:

267. Pineapples, in barrels and other packages, 15 cents per cubic foot; in bulk, $10 per thousand.

A large number of settlers who have gone into that section of Florida and have embarked in this industry are from the North. Many of them are Republicans. A gentleman who represented this industry was for some time in this city whilst the bill was in preparation in the House and whilst it was under consideration by the Senate Finance Committee. He was originally from the North and is a Republican, and he thought when the Republican committee and the Republican House were arranging these dut es, that, although he had gone down into a Southern State and made his home there, he and his people should be treated with the same equality that his friends living in his former State were with reference to the fruits they raise.

These matters are now before the Senate, and were before the Senate Finance Committee, but I am well aware that it is useless for me to make any motion to increase the rate beyond what the committee proposes. The framing of the bill depends entirely upon the Republican committee and upon the Republican side of this Chamber, and the responsibility of increasing the rates rests with them.

A few years ago this matter was deemed of sufficient importance by the State legislature of Florida to pass resolutions in favor of a much higher rate of duty upon pineapples and other semitropical fruits, upon the ground that they are luxuries, and therefore proper subjects for revenue, and they instructed their Senators and Representatives to favor such higher rates, and in carrying out those instructions I do not feel that I am abandoning any political principles which I have heretofore entertained and still entertain.

If the people of my State who are engaged in this industry were free from the burdens of tariff taxation, they would, perhaps, feel able to carry on their business with lower rates of duty; but their feeling is that, whilst all these other burdens are placed upon them, they should be treated with some degree of fairness, and that the benefits, if there are any, from this protective measure should not all be given to people residing in other sections of the country.

This is the situation, Mr. President, and I submit it to the Senate. I believe if the committee had acted with that degree of fairness with which they have toward other industries that the rate of duty in this bill would have been fixed at a higher rate.

I favor the action proposed by the committee increasing the rate from 6 to 7 cents per cubic foot, but do not think it goes far enough. I can not support the amendment of the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST].

I ask leave to insert as a part of my remarks the document to which I have referred.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. In the absence of objection, that order will be made.

The document referred to is as follows:

[Senate Document No. 129, Fifty-fifth Congress, first session.]

PINEAPPLES GROWN IN THE UNITED STATES ENTITLED TO A HIGHER DUTY.

Mr. PASCO presented the following statement by the Indian River and Lake Worth Pineapple Growers' Association, incorporated, of the east coast of Florida, of the reasons why pineapples grown in the United States should have a higher duty than that now proposed by the Dingley bill, with figures and information:

The Pineapple Growers' Association of Florida embraces 200 members, and about the same number of nonmembers are also engaged in the growing of this fruit. The association is organized and incorporated under the laws of the State of Florida, and fully officered in accordance with said law. This organization at a recent meeting passed resolutions favoring a specific duty of 20 cents per cubic foot on all pineapples imported into the United States. This would amount to a duty of 1¼ cents apiece on green pineapples.

In the bill as originally reported pineapples were included at 2 cents per pound. This was much higher than asked by the Florida growers and was, as a matter of fact, entirely prohibitory. At the solicitation of the canners of Baltimore, the Committee on Ways and Means in the House saw fit to make a very sweeping reduction in these rates, namely, to $6 per 1,000 in bulk and 6 cents per cubic foot when imported in crates or barrels. This reduction was made without the knowledge of the Florida growers and without affording them an opportunity to be heard or represented before that committee in the House.

The Senate Finance Committee now having under consideration the revision of the so-called Dingley tariff bill, as reported from the House of Representatives, are respectfully asked to consider the following facts in relation to the producer, the importer, the canner, and the American consumer of this fruit.

For the information of the members of your honorable body the following statistical informat on is submitted:

The standard crate contains 2½ cubic feet; the barrel crate contains 5 cubic feet. The average number of fruit in the standard crate is 30; the average number in the barrel crate is 60. Pineapples range in size from 48 to 80 per barrel crate, and the experience of ten years shows that 60 is the average size.

The weight of the fruit in the standard crate of 2½ cubic feet is about 75 pounds, or 150 pounds per barrel crate.

It is not believed by practical growers or importers that the rate per pound is the best way of putting it, the objection being that this compels the weighing of the fruit, which is a slow and destructive process. The better method would seem to be a rate at so much per cubic foot, or number of thousands, when imported in bulk, it being easy to calculate the cubic feet in a vessel or to ascertain the number of thousands contained in a cargo.

The Baltimore canners, when before the Ways and Means Committee in the House, are reported to have represented that Florida pin apples were too large and expensive for canning purposes, and that they range in price from 15 cents to $1 apiece. It is true that occasionally a very large or fine Puerto Rico pineapple will sell at $1. The number of these grown, however, does not amount to one-tenth of 1 per cent of the entire output of the Florida growers. We feel flattered by the high estimate placed upon our fruit by these canners, and only regret that it is not to any extent realized by us. The ordinary red Spanish pineapple, which goes to the Northern, Eastern, and Western markets, nets to the grower not more than 5 cents apiece, or about $3 per barrel crate of 60. The selling price in the market rarely reaches 10 cents apiece, and in a large majority of cases is from 6 to 8 cents apiece.

We do not think that it is a reasonable objection to an advance in the rate of duty that our pineapples are larger, nor is it the occasional price that should fix the standard for the measurement of the entire crop. The Florida growers would be very glad to make contracts with the Baltimore canners at 5 or 6 cents apiece instead of the fabulously high prices that were reported. Further than this, along that line, and as a collateral proposition, we think there should be an increased specific duty on imported canned pineapples, both to protect the Florida canneries, of which there are a few, and also the canneries in Baltimore and elsewhere.

In the revision of the fruit schedule, if your honorable body should favorably consider an increased duty on canned pineapples, it would remove much of the objection of the Baltimore canners and at the same time be an act of justice to the Florida canners. While we do not urge this as an independent proposition, we submit that it is worthy of consideration as being in line with the higher duties imposed on manufactured products. We believe that a specific duty of 40 cents per dozen 2 pound cans would afford protection to our home canners and at the same time produce a revenue for the Treasury.

We desire to call attention to the twofold nature of the bill. In the first instance, it is designed to produce revenue for the Government, and, incidentally, it is also purposed to protect and foster American industries wherever such fostering care is needed. Your honorable body will scarcely ignore the fact that the producers of the raw material are entitled to as much consideration in formulating this tariff schedule as the importer, canner, or manufacturer.

Indeed, we think that more consideration should be given the producers, for the reason that they invest their capital, their toil, devote their time and attention to the original production of the material, without all of which the importer, the canner, and the commission man would not have the opportunity to do business in these products. We submit, further, that the importer or commission man ordinarily invests nothing, handling the material mostly on commission. While we do not deny to the canner the right to secure the raw material at a reasonable figure, we do not think it fair that this material should be so cheap as to offer him protection at the expense of his more unfortunate neighbor.

We ask the attention of your honorable body to the relative cost of production, transportation, and marketing of the Florida crop as compared with Cuba or the Bahamas, from which places the bulk of the foreign pines come. In Florida the items are as follows: Cost of the land, $100 per acre; cost of fertilizers, $40 per acre; cost of labor, $1.25 per day; cost of transportation to market, $1.50 per barrel crate; cost of commission for selling, 10 per cent. In comparison with this the following figures will speak for themselves: In the Bahamas, cost of land, $5 per acre; cost of fertilizers, $15 per acre; cost of labor, 30 cents per day; cost of transportation to market, 50 cents per barrel crate; cost of selling, 5 per cent.

It is also true that in many instances the cost of fertilizing the land in the Bahamas is nothing, and the price of transportation in bulk in foreign vessels is less than the figures just given. Comparing Cuban importations with Florida shipments, a still larger discrepancy is shown in all these items, the cost of fertilization in Cuba being practically nothing and the cost of labor less than in the Bahamas, while the cost of transportation to our great Eastern markets is substantially the same as for the Bahamas. In Florida, therefore, we are handicapped by high land, high labor, heavy cost of fertilizers, and heavy cost of transportation to the markets of the East, North, and West.

The Florida grower does not readily subscribe to the doctrine of reducing our labor to the level of the labor in these tropical countries. We believe that a degraded, poorly paid labor is a detriment and a menace to any country and not in accordance with the genius of American institutions.

We submit, also, that under the increased tariff schedules on manufactured products, of which we are consumers, the expenses of living in tropical America will be largely increased, and that ordinary fairness would dictate such a duty on our products as would not discriminate against us.

Our pineapple growers will be content with such a duty as will put us on a par with the foreign importers of pineapples and enable us to compete with them, all things considered. We believe that the duty should be equal, at least to the difference in transportation between our fields and the markets of this country and the same items from the foreign countries. We are satisfied that the rate of $6 per 1,000 and 6 cents per cubic foot, as now proposed, will not compensate us for these unequal conditions.

Looking at the question from the standpoint of the consumer, we feel certain that a duty of 1 cent apiece on pineapples increases their cost to the consumer to so slight an extent that he will not be found objecting thereto. This will enable us to supply the markets of the country with the most superior pineapple grown in the world in ample abundance to meet the requirements of the trade and at a very moderate cost to the consumer.

The natural increase of the pineapple plantations has been fully 50 per cent per year, and we believe that, under the stimulus of a tariff of $10 per thousand on fruit imported in bulk, and 15 cents per cubic foot when imported in barrels or crates, the increase will be much larger per annum. There are on the east coast of Florida hundreds of thousands of acres of land suitable for

successful pineapple growing. Under the stimulus of the duty asked by us all this land would be developed and the American markets made independent of the growers of foreign pineapples. Assuredly this has been the keynote of American policy for many decades.

Touching the question of our production of this fruit, the affidavit of Mr. E. P. Porcher, general agent of the Indian River and Lake Worth Pineapple Growers' Association, is herewith submitted. This sworn statement will effectually remove the notion that the output from Florida is insignificant, and prove that it is a large quantity, equal to 6,000,000 pineapples, with immense possibilities for expansion:

COCOA, FLA., *January 12, 1897.*

Personally appeared before me E. P. Porcher, general agent of the Indian River and Lake Worth Pineapple Growers' Association, who, upon oath, makes the following statement as to the number of packages of pineapples shipped by the association and through other channels from the east coast section of the State of Florida, commencing with the regular shipping season in May, 1896, and continuing up to the 1st day of January, 1897:

	Packages.
Handled by the association	53,641
Handled by the association, special forwarding	3,600
Shipped direct by growers	5,700
	62,941
Shipped from keys and Biscayne Bay (estimated)	44,000
Total	105,941

This package estimate is based on half crate measuring 10 by 12 by 36 inches. The crop for the coming year is estimated at from 180,000 to 200,000 packages.

E. P. PORCHER, *General Agent.*

Subscribed and sworn to before me the date first above written.
[SEAL.] ALBERT A. TAYLOR,
Notary Public, State of Florida at Large.

Mr. H. E. Hutchinson, a prominent importer of New York, having thirty-two years of experience, makes the statement that before the Cuban war 250,000 barrels of pineapples were imported each year into the American markets, but that the importations for the current year would be somewhat decreased, owing to the war, possibly reaching 150,000 barrel crates. Mr. McCormick, a prominent importer of New York, states that this year 20 cargoes of 80,000 each will be imported from the Bahamas. The delegation of Baltimore canners, when before the Committee on Ways and Means, are reported to have stated that the canners of this country imported 4,000,000 green pineapples from the Bahamas for use in their canneries. It will thus be seen that our markets are glutted with foreign pineapples at the exact time when the fruit from the Florida plantations is coming forward.

The following statistics, taken from the reports of the Treasury Department, are herewith submitted for your earnest consideration:

Year.	Quantity.	Valuation.	Duty.
1896.....barrels..	299,245	$332,069	$66,413
1895.....	Not reported.	314,039	51,564

The valuation being $1.15 per barrel and the duty 22 cents per barrel. This small amount results from the undervaluation possible in the ad valorem system. It affords a reason for the specific duty. By the specific duty as herein proposed at the rates asked for, the revenue for 1896 would have been $217,480 as against $66,413, and this without increasing the price to any appreciable extent.

The Pineapple Growers' Association, through its representative, regrets the necessity of discussing the condition of the people of that State. Your honorable body need scarcely be reminded of the great freeze of two years ago, which prostrated all our industries, and was a severe blow to the energy, the patriotism, the fortitude, and the endurance of the Florida people. The effects of that disaster have not yet been removed, and we submit, as citizens of a common country, that this condition should receive consideration at the hands of those who are intrusted with the vital interests of the people at large and the equalizing of the tariff schedules, so that all alike may experience their benefits and bear their burdens.

With high duties on clothing, hardware, building supplies, and manufactures of every kind of which we are consumers, we think in compensation, therefore, a moderate and stimulating duty should be imposed upon our product in order that fairness and equity might result to our people. The producers of this fruit are fully satisfied that the hasty consideration of this matter in the Committee on Ways and Means has worked an injury upon them. This haste grew, possibly, out of the necessities of the case, but was, in many instances, unfortunate in its results. No time was possible for that careful consideration and readjustment of these fruit schedules which the interests of the producers imperatively demand.

It is the popular impression that your honorable body will proceed with more deliberation, and we trust that, aside from this presentation of our case, we shall be afforded the opportunity to further discuss this matter with the Committee on Finance in your honorable body. It has already been shown that as a revenue producer the duty on pineapples as now incorporated in the schedule is a failure. As a protective measure it certainly does not reach the expectations of all the parties concerned, being only one-tenth of that originally proposed by the Committee on Ways and Means in the House, who at one fell blow reduced it to such a pittance as to be unworthy of the consideration of the public at large and direful in its results to the producers.

In conclusion, your honorable body is respectfully requested to consider the following recommendations: That instead of 5 cents per cubic foot you give 15 cents per cubic foot, which is a trifle over 1 cent apiece on pineapples imported in crates or barrels; that on pineapples imported in bulk you give $10 per thousand instead of $5, which is exactly 1 cent apiece. We would also ask that instead of the present ad valorem duty on canned pineapples you give a specific duty of 40 cents a dozen 2-pound cans, or its equivalent.

This will enable the American canners, both of Baltimore and Florida, to compete with the Nassau and Cuban canners, and at the same time produce revenue for the Government, which is one of the objects of the bill, without materially increasing the cost to the American consumer or doing injury to anyone engaged in this trade.

Respectfully submitted.

C. T. McCARTY,
On behalf of the Indian River and Lake Worth Pineapple Growers' Association.

Comparisons between pineapples and other fruits reduced to same quantities.

SCHEDULE G.—AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS AND PROVISIONS.

COMPARED WITH FRUITS.

Apples	per barrel..	$0.75	Pineapples	per barrel..	$0.30
Grapes	do....	1.50	Do	do....	.30
Peaches	do....	1.50	Do	do....	.30
Oranges	do....	1.50	Do	do....	.30
Lemons	do....	1.12	Do	do....	.30
Limes	do....	1.12	Do	do....	.30
Grape fruit	do....	1.12	Do	do....	.30
Pomelas	do....	1.12	Do	do....	.30

COMPARED WITH GRAINS.

		Cents.			Cent.
Barley	per pound..	¼	Pineapples	per pound..	¼
Corn	do....	⅛	Do	do....	¼
Oats	do....	⅛	Do	do....	¼
Rice	do....	1	Do	do....	¼
Rye	do....	¼	Do	do....	¼
Wheat	do....	⅛	Do	do....	¼

COMPARED WITH DAIRY PRODUCTS.

		Cents.			Cent.
Butter	per pound..	6	Pineapples	per pound..	¼
Do	do....	6	Do	do....	¼
Milk (condensed)	do....	2	Do	do....	¼

COMPARED WITH FARM AND FIELD PRODUCTS.

		Cents.			Cent.
Beans	per pound..	¼	Pineapples	per pound..	¼
Cabbage	each..	3	Do	do....	¼
Hops	per pound..	15	Do	do....	¼
Peas	do....	¼	Do	do....	¼
Onions	do....	¼	Do	do....	¼
Garlic	do....	1	Do	do....	¼
Potatoes	do....	⅛	Do	do....	¼
Seeds (upward)	do....	¼	Do	do....	¼

These figures are taken from the Dingley bill, as now in the Senate Finance Committee, reduced to the same equivalent as to weights and qualities.

As to the inequalities of the schedule, they make a conclusive argument. They also justify the fair and moderate requests of the Florida pineapple growers, which is only one-half cent per pound.

Very respectfully submitted.

C. T. McCARTY,
For the Indian River and Lake Worth Pineapple Growers' Association of Florida.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the amendment proposed by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST].

Mr. PASCO. I ask that the amendment may be stated, so that it may be clearly understood.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The proposed amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. On page 79, paragraph 267, line 1, after the word "packages," it is proposed to strike out "7 cents per cubic foot; in bulk, $7 per thousand" and insert "20 per cent ad valorem."

Mr. SPOONER. I call for the yeas and nays.

Mr. PASCO. I do not understand the amendment. I thought it was to substitute "seven" instead of "six."

The VICE-PRESIDENT. That has been agreed to. Two amendments have been agreed to, substituting "seven" in place of "six" in the first line of paragraph 267, and "seven" in place of "six" in the second line. The Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST] now moves to strike out all after the word "packages" and insert "20 per cent ad valorem."

Mr. VEST. Who called for the yeas and nays?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. SPOONER].

Mr. SPOONER. I withdraw the call.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The call is withdrawn. The pending question is on the amendment proposed by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST].

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. ALLISON. I now ask to go back to paragraph 179, in relation to lead ore.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The paragraph has been heretofore read, and the Chair recognizes the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. ALLEN] as entitled to the floor.

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. President, I am opposed to the proposed change of the Finance Committee to this paragraph because it will have the direct effect of driving many of the smelters of this country into Mexico.

I may be permitted to say that within the last six or seven years something like seven or eight smelters have been built up in Mexico by American capital in consequence of the unfair treatment, as they claim, of tariff taxation. I am informed by those who are in a position to know, and whose testimony I will read in a moment, that smelters in the United States can not afford to pay the tax of a cent and a half a pound upon lead in ore, and that the practical effect of the adoption of this proposed amendment of the committee will be either to close up these smelters or to materially cripple them in the execution of their business.

I want, in this connection, to read, although it is somewhat lengthy, the testimony of Mr. W. H. Alexander, of the Omaha and Grant Smelting Company, before the Committee on Ways and

Means of the House of Representatives on "Schedule C.—Metals and manufactures of." I read from page 407:

SATURDAY, *January 9, 1897.*

Mr. Alexander said:

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I am here to-day in response to your published invitation as the representative of the Omaha and Grant Smelting Company, whose principal smelting and refining works are in Omaha, Nebr., and Denver and Durango, in Colorado. What I shall say concerning tariff matters affecting the interests of this company, and of other great institutions of like character, is the result of thoughtful observation, not only in recent years as an interested party, but as an officer of the Government from 1889 to 1894, when, as surveyor of customs at Omaha, it was my duty to interpret and execute tariff regulations. While making these observations, I have endeavored at all times to consider both sides of disputed questions, and, whether right or wrong, my opinions have been honestly formed.

The act of 1890, commonly known as the McKinley bill, corrected certain items in the then existing schedules relating to lead ores and lead in other ores, which experience had shown to be inequitable, but it contained other and new provisions which, in my own judgment and the judgment of the company which I have the honor to represent, have proved scarcely less objectionable than the ones they were framed to correct. Some of these provisions were embodied in the act of 1894, and are still in force. It is to these particular items, and to the absence from the schedules of another very essential provision, that I desire to call your attention at this time. Paragraph 165 of the so called Wilson bill, relating to lead ores and lead in other ores, is so constructed as to be susceptible of widely differing interpretations, some of which have already resulted in official disagreements and considerable vexatious litigation. As a basis for this discussion, therefore, I beg to submit the following modification of that paragraph, which, it seems to us, will accomplish the full purpose of revenue and be acceptable to all concerned:

"All ores of which lead is a component part shall be dutiable at the rate of three-quarters of 1 cent per pound on the lead contained therein, according to sample and assay at the port of entry: *Provided*, That on ores carrying less than 5 per cent of lead the lead contained therein shall be admitted free. The method of sampling and assaying to be that usually adopted for commercial purposes by public sampling works in the United States."

It will be observed that we have no quarrel with the rate of duty in the existing paragraph, the chief features of the modification being the elimination of the misleading terms "lead ores" and "silver ores," for which elimination there is abundant cause.

I assume at the outset, gentlemen, that Congress desires, so far as may be possible, to deal fairly and justly with all concerned in its proposed revision of the tariff schedules, and that its purpose will be to so frame each provision as to leave the least possible chance for misconstruction. I also assume that when Congress decides to impose a specified duty on crude lead it does not desire to make it possible for customs collectors to so interpret its language as to assess duty upon great quantities of waste material, nor upon other metals associated with the lead which would otherwise be free.

Unfortunately, however, paragraph 165, as it now stands, either permits or requires both of these unjust constructions. This conclusion, with your permission, I will endeavor to substantiate.

The first clause in the paragraph provides that lead ores shall be dutiable at three-fourths of 1 cent per pound. Commercially speaking, any ore containing as much as 5 per cent of lead, provided it carries no other metal more valuable, is known as lead ore. On the other hand, ores carrying 60 or 70 per cent of lead would, under like conditions, be classified as lead ore. Now, for the purpose of illustration, suppose A imports 100 tons of low-grade ores containing 15 per cent of lead. Under paragraph 165 he would be compelled to pay duty on 200,000 pounds of substance, of which 170,000 pounds would be waste, and worse than waste, because of the expense involved in the process of separation. The remaining 30,000 pounds would be compelled to bear the whole burden of duty, amounting to $1,500, equal to 250 per cent ad valorem, or nearly twice as much money as the finished product would sell for in the markets of the East.

Mr. PAYNE. I suppose where there is only 15 per cent of lead there is a large proportion of silver?

Mr. ALEXANDER. Not always.

Now, suppose B imports another hundred tons of ore running 70 per cent lead. He would pay the same amount of duty that A paid, but he would have nearly five times as much lead. It is clearly manifest, so that he who runs may read, that a substance varying so widely in the proportion of its dutiable elements can not, with any sort of justice, be subjected to a single, inflexible rate of duty. Specific duties, to be equitably applied, can only cover the specific and well-defined commodities on which those duties are laid, and should never be permitted to extend to a varying quantity of other and useless material which happens to be associated with them. It is an underlying principle of barter that no man shall give something for nothing, and it should be furthest from the spirit and the letter of a statute to compel a citizen to pay a price and get no equivalent for the outlay. Pig lead is a finished product, and upon this pure and absolute commodity a duty is laid in the present schedule of 1 cent per pound.

An elaborate and costly process is required to separate this pure metal from the crude substances with which it is primarily associated, and in consideration of this required expenditure of labor and money a lower rate of duty is very properly imposed on the metal in crude form. This being the clear and just interpretation of the Government's intent and purpose, there would seem to be no excuse for any sort of provision which can be twisted into authority for the collection of a greater duty on the crude material than is levied on the product when refined. We claim, therefore, to be entirely consistent, and certainly right, in asking for such modification of this particular item as shall provide for the assessment of duty only on the lead contained in ores. Upon this phase of the proposition much more could be said, but having brought the matter before you, we are confident that the equity involved will challenge your careful consideration.

With your permission, gentlemen, I will now take up, very briefly, another and equally important feature of our proposed modification of paragraph 165.

That is paragraph 179 as the bill now stands.

By a peculiar and somewhat strained use of terms, silver-bearing ores in which the value of silver contained therein preponderates are classed as silver ores, though the quantity of silver may be an insignificant number of ounces, while the remaining metals are figured in tons. Ores of this sort are said to contain the lead, which is an exceedingly ridiculous proposition on its face. With equal propriety one might speak of a house being contained in one of its closets. In the case under discussion the injustice of this unique classification is particularly conspicuous. For instance, A imports 100 tons of silver-bearing ore containing 60 tons of lead, nearly 40 tons of waste, and the comparatively insignificant physical item of 4,000 ounces of silver.

This enormous proportion of lead is valued at $2,400. The few ounces of silver, by the same regulation, is valued at $2,600, and, presto, it becomes at once a silver ore, and the importer pays duty only on the 120,000 pounds of lead therein, amounting to $900. B imports another 100 tons of similar ore from the same mine, containing 60 tons of lead, nearly 40 tons of waste, and 3,600 ounces of silver. The lead, as in the previous illustration, is valued at $2,400, while the silver, happening to be 400 ounces less in quantity, is valued at $2,340. Presto, again, and we have lead ore, and duty is assessed and collected on the entire importation of 220,000 pounds. Does it not strike you, gentlemen, as somewhat absurd that a paltry difference of $60 in valuation of the two metals should determine the character of the ore and compel the payment of $900 additional duty on 80,000 pounds of useless substance?

I believe that is all I will read of Mr. Alexander's testimony, although I will ask leave to print the balance as a part of my remarks. That shows conclusively to my mind that there is a great deal of injustice in the administration of a tariff levied upon lead in the ore.

Mr. HOPKINS. That can be corrected by putting the duty both on silver and lead ore?

Mr. ALEXANDER. The paragraph I have the pleasure of presenting this morning is that, instead of saying "lead and silver ore," I want the paragraph so modified as to read, "All ores of which lead is a component part shall be dutiable at the rate of three-quarters of 1 cent per pound on the lead contained therein," etc.

Mr. PAYNE. I see the proviso is this: "*Provided*, That silver ore and all other ores containing lead shall pay a duty of three-fourths of 1 cent per pound on the lead contained therein."

Mr. ALEXANDER. Yes, sir.

Mr. PAYNE. Do you mean to say on that kind of ore they exact three-quarters of a cent on the whole weight of the mass?

Mr. ALEXANDER. If the silver is worth a cent more than the lead in the ore. Now, the lead may be 75 per cent of the whole ore and the silver only a few ounces, but if it is worth more than the whole quantity of lead, why that determines the duty. I think that is an entirely erroneous construction of the law.

Mr. PAYNE. Where the silver is of chief value it comes in free?

Mr. ALEXANDER. Where the silver is of chief value they only collect on the lead in the ore. If the lead in the ore happens to be a little more valuable than the silver, they collect on the whole importation, and there may be 70 per cent of waste material which does not amount to anything.

The CHAIRMAN. That was not the intention of the framers.

Mr. DALZELL. That is not a fair construction under the act.

Mr. HOPKINS. Is not your remedy with the Treasury Department rather than with Congress, a modification of the construction of the statute?

Mr. ALEXANDER. Or the lead contained in the silver ore, I agree to that; but you can see how the method of determining whether or not it is silver ore is unjust, because——

Mr. PAYNE. They interpret that if the silver is of chief value that it is silver ore, and if the lead is of chief value it is lead ore?

Mr. ALEXANDER. Yes, sir; the value determines the weight.

Now as to specific duties. Specific duties can only be laid upon well-defined provisions. You can not make a general application of it; and if you have a duty on ore to-day of 15 per cent and to-morrow 75 per cent, and all classed as the same material, you can see how much better——

Mr. PAYNE. I do not think that was the intention of the law.

Mr. ALEXANDER. I do not think it is the intention of the law.

Mr. HOPKINS. Has the attention of the Treasury Department been called to that construction?

Mr. ALEXANDER. The Treasury Department authorized it. Let me cite a case that comes from one synopsis.

I may cite an actual case in point, in which the collector of customs at St. Louis determined the value of 22,000 pounds of ore to be as follows: Lead, $231.88; silver, $230.42, a difference of only $1.46. This paltry difference of less than $1.50 was held to be the determining factor in the case and duty collected on the whole importation, of which only 30 per cent was a dutiable metal. Had the collector's estimate on lead been $1.47 less, the ore would have been classified as silver ore, and on the difference of a single cent, 70 per cent of the whole importation would have passed the custom-house free.

Appeal was made from the collector's valuation, and the United States General Appraisers discovered that an advisory circular issued by the Department concerning valuations had been construed as mandatory, a course which the appraisers took occasion to condemn, and the entry was ordered to be reliquidated as silver ore containing lead. I have in mind other cases of varying magnitude, but they need not be cited now. I have shown the injustice of two features of the present paragraph, and I can not think that a provision so clearly open to objection, so manifestly inequitable, and so liable to misconstruction and abuse will be permitted to remain in the statutes.

One other item in connection with this paragraph remains to be discussed, and I beg your indulgence for a few moments for that purpose.

The paragraph as it now reads calls for three-fourths of 1 cent per pound on crude lead, and this provision we have no desire to disturb. We believe it to be as equitable an adjustment of that feature of the bill, for all concerned, as is likely to be arrived at. As patriotic citizens, we believe in that measure of protection in the way of tariff which will guarantee to American producers of raw material a reasonable safeguard, without jeopardizing the success and prosperity of other and far greater interests equally entitled to protection. To fix a rate of duty on lead in crude form so high as to make it impossible for American smelters to deal justly with the great producers of other and far more valuable ores, simply for the benefit of a minor interest, would defeat the aim and purpose of true protective principles, and might, with considerable propriety, be termed class legislation.

A duty of three-fourths of 1 cent per pound on lead in ores is equivalent, at average prices, to about 40 per cent ad valorem. This generous discrimination in favor of native lead ought to be sufficient, even if no necessity existed for the importation of foreign ores. But such necessity does exist. I may say in a general way that great quantities of so-called silver-lead and galena ores are absolutely essential to the treatment of dry ores carrying other and more valuable metals. This phase of the question was elaborately argued by able men when the act of 1890 was under consideration, and doubtless again when the Wilson bill was framed. I need not now repeat the arguments then employed, but I may refer to one feature of smelting which has not been touched upon at length, but which is exceedingly important as a factor in this discussion.

Very much has been said concerning the necessity of fluxes, and it has been clearly shown that the ores under discussion are particularly desirable for that purpose. It is true that other substances, under certain conditions, may meet this requirement in part, but for very good reasons neither limestone nor iron fluxes can do more than assist in the smelting of precious metals. It is a fact well known by smelters that bullion can not safely carry more than 400 ounces of gold and silver to the ton. A greater proportion would increase the percentage remaining in slag to such an extent as to necessitate resmelting, which would add very materially to the cost of treatment.

While iron fluxes and limestone go entirely to waste, the greater portion of lead fluxes is retained, and becomes a sort of carrier or collector of the precious metals. An ordinary charge for a furnace might consist of 90 to 95

per cent of other material, to 5 or 10 per cent of lead, but such a proportion would so increase the percentage of valuable metals in the slag as to make the process disastrous. The addition, therefore, of liberal quantities of free melting galena ore, carrying 60 to 70 per cent of lead, would keep the bullion at a proper grade.

There is a sort of affinity between the precious metals and lead, so that its presence in the charge is a pretty sure guaranty that those metals will be carried down into the bullion instead of being left to an unprofitable extent in the slag. I may illustrate this carrying quality by the rain on a window. Drops accumulate on a rainy day until the whole surface is covered by the clinging globules, each too light in itself to move, but by and by a big drop strikes where two or three are staying, and they all start together to zigzag down to the bottom, carrying with them all the weaker drops that lie in the way.

Having shown the necessity for the free use of lead fluxes, it only remains to discuss the matter of supply.

In the year 1892 the Omaha & Grant Company imported into this country from Mexico for use in the Omaha works alone 20,000 tons of lead-bearing ores. In 1893 they imported 21,000 tons, but in 1894 less than 2,000 tons, and since that time none at all. The reason for this remarkable change was two-fold—the high rate of duty imposed by the McKinley bill and the discouraging methods of valuation. The result of these conditions was the building by individuals of this company of extensive smelting works in Mexico which deprived American laborers of that much employment, deprived American railways of large receipts from transportation, and cut off from the revenue a great many thousands of dollars. The reduction of duty by the Wilson bill was something of a relief, for in the meantime great difficulty had been experienced in the purchase of sufficient native ores of similar character to maintain, economically, the great operations of their several plants, and the Mexican ores were being smelted in that country.

Mr. HOPKINS. Do they not get those ores from Idaho and Nevada? That question was raised during the passage of the act of 1890, and as we had some smelters at Aurora, Ill., my attention was called to it.

Mr. ALEXANDER. I remember the circumstance.

Mr. HOPKINS. The opinion I have had is that they have developed mines in Idaho and Nevada, where they got fluxing ores as good as those imported.

Mr. ALEXANDER. Yes, sir; but they do not get them in sufficient quantities. The Cœur d'Alene mines, which are in the northern part of Idaho, use a great deal of that, but for the last two or three years they have had strikes and trouble with the miners which has abridged the production.

Another source of supply was being developed, however, in British Columbia, and American smelters came into sharp competition for those desirable ores. By reference to the 1895 report in the Mineral Industry, we find that while 200,000 tons of lead were produced by American smelters in that year only 150,000 tons came from American ores. I think I state a fact which no well-informed smelter will question when I say that the output of silver-lead ores from American mines has proved to be altogether inadequate for the treatment of so-called dry ores, and that any abridgment of facilities for the importation of foreign silver-lead ores would work an incalculable injury to the whole smelting and mining interests of this country, except the few producers of those particular ores.

Our company imported from British Columbia last year from the Omaha works alone over 5,000 tons of galena ore, and even with this increased supply there were times within the year when it was almost impossible to keep the mixtures up and the furnaces running. Overtures have already been made to this company for the erection of extensive smelting works in British Columbia, but under existing conditions they have not been inclined to accept them.

I may say with considerable confidence, however, that if the conditions of 1892 and 1893 are restored, or a near approximate thereto, the same incentive which took millions of dollars of active American capital into Mexico will take other millions into British Columbia. To handicap the enormous smelting interests of this country, and through them the great producers of precious metals, simply to give an unnecessary protection to a single minor element in our mining industries, would be exceedingly ill advised, if not disastrous. The sharp lesson which a high tariff furnished in connection with Mexican ores is further set forth in the following excerpt from The Mineral Industry, which I ask permission to read. This is in the report for 1894.

"In the Western States, especially in Idaho, the rate of wages and the autocratic rule of miners' unions have interfered so seriously with the working of silver-lead mines that the question has almost reached the point where the existence of the industry is in danger. The steady increase in the output of Missouri and Kansas (nonargentiferous) lead through the lowest markets is a satisfactory demonstration of our ability to compete with any country. Competent experts state that with large, well-designed works Missouri and Kansas can produce with profit down to very near the cost of lead in Spain.

"The heavy decrease of 9,522 tons, or 32.5 per cent, shown in the amount of lead smelted from foreign ores, is the direct result of the short-sighted and mistaken policy of imposing a heavy duty on lead in ores. The result of this has been the establishment of an important smelting industry in Mexico, with American capital, and the heavy importations which should now come to the American smelters from Mexico will not be received, for the industry has become firmly established in that country. This is directly shown by the tables. The lead imported in ore in 1894 was only 19,748 tons, as against 29,270 tons in 1893 and 26,734 tons in 1892.

"On the other hand, the lead imported in foreign bullion for refining increased from 14,149 tons in 1892 to 35,000 tons in 1893 and 40,345 tons in 1894. As the duty on lead in ore was relatively higher than on lead in bullion, a further inducement was offered to Mexican mine owners to do their smelting at home, and the natural result was manifest.

"Nearly all the lead imported in ore and most of that in bullion came to this country from Mexico. Some, however, is imported from Canada, and especially from the Kootenai region, where silver-lead mines are being opened up to a considerable extent."

I beg also to submit another brief excerpt from the same authority for 1895:

"The increase in the quantities of silver especially produced or refined in this country was due largely to the treatment here of base bullion from Mexico. The unwise imposition of a high duty on silver-lead ores some years ago has not only deprived our smelters of a large amount of work which they formerly had, and of a class of ores which were particularly desirable for treatment in connection with our own; it has also built up in Mexico a large and flourishing smelting industry which is now well established and able to hold its own. This is shown in the extraordinary increase in the quantity of bullion obtained by smelting given in the Mexican returns. The greater part of the base bullion made in that country is sent here to be refined, and to this is due the fact that while our own output of silver showed a decrease of 3,515,640 ounces, there was an actual gain of 6,247,485 ounces."

These facts which are now disclosed in connection with Mexican ores, and the transference of great smelting interests from this country to Mexico, are almost sure to be repeated in British Columbia, if an oppressive duty is levied on silver-lead ores.

It is proper to say in this connection that in the production of galena ore in British Columbia, which is the chief source of our present importations, American miners are not pitted against peons, but they are in honorable competition with well-paid, intelligent workmen, chiefly Americans; and the necessity for a prohibitive protective barrier for native mines and miners, which has been urged heretofore, does not in fact exist. For the greater good, therefore, of the greater number, and of the greater interests involved, we respectfully urge your careful consideration of the points I have presented.

LEAD IN BULLION.

In one of the excerpts from The Mineral Industry which I have submitted there is a brief reference to the relative higher duty on lead in ore than on lead in bullion.

The present difference of only one-quarter of a cent per pound between lead in ore and lead in pigs is clearly out of proportion. There is no duty fixed on bullion, or the lead contained therein, and this omission from existing schedules is the important item referred to in the early part of my remarks.

Pig lead and base bullion are entirely distinct commodities, and an elaborate process of separation is necessary to produce the refined product after the ores have been reduced to bullion.

It is our deliberate judgment that if duty on lead in ores is fixed at three-fourths of 1 cent per pound, there should be laid on pig lead a duty of 1¼ cents per pound and on lead in base bullion a duty of 1½ cents per pound.

Under the present tariff act, collectors have been entirely at sea as to the classification of bullion, and as a sort of compromise it has been rated as pig lead. Importers protested vigorously against such classification, and showed to the satisfaction of the United States General Appraisers that in the nature of things they could not be alike. While admitting that base bullion was not pig lead, but a crude metal containing lead, and that duty could only be assessed on the lead so contained, the General Appraisers were unable to find in the tariff schedules a provision under which they could properly rate it, and collectors were instructed to continue the assessment of duty at the pig-lead rate.

It is well understood by smelters of silver-lead ores, in conjunction with other ores carrying precious metals, that base bullion is about half way along from lead in ores to pig lead. It having been officially decided that base bullion is not pig lead, and that the lead contained therein can not be used for commercial purposes until, by a process of melting and refining, it shall have been separated from its associate elements and run into bars or pigs, it is entirely clear that a rate of duty relatively less than that on pig lead and relatively higher than that on lead in ores should be applied.

It also having been decided that duty shall only be assessed on the lead contained in the bullion, the duty of Congress to fix an intermediate rate seems clear. We beg to urge, therefore, that the rates of duty on the three forms of lead imported be fixed as follows: On lead in ores, three-fourths of 1 cent per pound; on lead contained in base bullion, 1¼ cents per pound; and on lead in pigs and bars, 1½ cents per pound. These rates are relatively just, and whatever the initial rate may be, this proportion should be preserved.

We approve the purpose of this committee and of Congress to fix a duty on finished or partly finished products high enough to give ample protection to American labor and to American producers, but we also desire that American capital and American institutions for the conversion of raw material into finished products be also considered. A high duty on crude lead and a relatively low duty on pig lead and bullion would be the most effective means that could be adopted to encourage, if not absolutely force, American smelters to set up works abroad and to injure and make uncertain our American market for finished lead products. Against such adjustment of duties we earnestly and patriotically protest.

This is all I have to say at present, and I thank you, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, for your courtesy and patience.

Mr. President, I am not a miner, and I know very little about mining; in fact, I know nothing about it practically, experimentally; but I do know that this country has been compelled to import lead ore and lead within the last few years for consumption in this country, and I do know there is a species of wet or fluxing ore that is necessary to be imported from Mexico, or possibly from the British Possessions, and essential to the use of the smelters in carrying on their business.

If this tax is placed at 1¼ cents on lead in ore, it will have the practical effect of depriving the American smelters of the opportunity to reach the fluxing ores of Mexico and the British Possessions, and compelling them to purchase the fluxing ores in the Rocky Mountain States, providing the Rocky Mountain States have the capacity to produce the ore necessary, and I am told by a reliable authority, an authority upon which I have a right to rely and believe, that these fluxing ores are not produced there in quantities and quality sufficient to carry on this business.

It occurs to me, Mr. President, under these circumstances, that if a tariff is levied sufficient to protect the interests of the Rocky Mountain miner, who is principally interested in this matter, and at the same time permit the smelters to draw their fluxing ores from such source or such sources as they may see fit and as may be most profitable to them, it is all the Committee on Finance can afford to do, so far as taxation is concerned, and that it is all our friends in the Mountain States have a right to demand at the hands of Congress. That gives them a cent a pound on lead in ore as a protective tariff against like ores in the British Possessions and like ores in Mexico.

The firm of which I am speaking, the Omaha and Grant Smelting Works, one of the largest firms in the United States, has been compelled, as a matter of self-preservation, to go into Mexico within the last four or five years and construct two smelters. I am now taking the theory of the protective tariff and applying it as I understand it is to be applied to cases of this kind. In consequence of the tax imposed upon lead in ore, this company has been compelled to take hundreds of thousands of dollars of American capital down to Mexico and construct smelters, there employing Mexican labor to a very great extent, and by that means depriving the American laborer, the Nebraska laborer, of the right to labor in smelters and earn a livelihood.

The natural tendency would be to drive American capital to Mexico or to the British Possessions, where these ores can be

obtained comparatively free, and where there is no obstruction placed upon capital, and where labor is cheap, so that the smelting works, instead of paying the tariff and paying freight upon ores, can ship the finished product into the United States, paying less freight and not much greater duty, and bring it in competition with the American product. That is the result of it.

If the tariff is fixed so high that the smelters, of which there are several, can not be successfully conducted in this country, they must go somewhere where they can conduct their business with profit to themselves. Mark you, out of every ton of ore that is shipped into this country there is but a small percentage that is lead as compared with the entire mass, and yet the freight rate upon that ore is just as great, and is just as great a draft upon the purse of the smelting company, as it would be if it were pure metal. It comes like anything else, by its weight and its classification.

If that freight rate can be reduced, as it necessarily will be reduced by the establishment of the smelters along the British line and along the Mexican line, where the freight rate will cease as the result of smelting there, then the American smelter who goes to Mexico or British Columbia, or wherever he may go, has nothing in the world to do but pay his freight and tariff upon the finished product, and then it comes in conflict with the American product. It is needless for me to say that the conclusion, if our Republican friends are right, is necessarily that the American laborer and not the American capitalist suffers as the result.

I desire to present some additional evidence upon this question. There is located at Omaha, in the State of Nebraska, the Carter White Lead Company, a very important manufacturing institution, and it bears testimony to the same effect. I will send up the letter and ask to have it read.

The Secretary read as follows:

OMAHA, NEBR., *May 28, 1897.*

DEAR SIR: We have noticed the Senate has made changes in the tariff on lead and its products in passing from the House to the Senate.

The following are the comparative rates, with pig lead at 2 cents per pound, as we understand it:

	House bill.	Senate bill.
	Cents.	*Cents.*
Lead ore	1	1¼
White lead	3	2¼
Litharge	2½	2½
Red lead	3	2½
Orange mineral	3½	3
Nitrate of lead	2¼	1¼
Brown sugar of lead	3	1¼
White sugar of lead	4	2½

We consider and believe that the House bill is a very just and equitable adjustment of the tariff question on lead and its products to the laborer, making a reasonable and fair difference between the prices under the low labor of the old country and the labor wages in our country, and when the laborers are fairly well protected, there is no reason why this country will not be as prosperous as it ever was, in our opinion; but if there is nothing for the laborer to do—foreign goods coming in at a less price than we can make them—there is no hope for this country. We need labor for our country, and plenty of it. Then will we have good times.

We hope and trust that you will see the tariff question on the lead in the same light that our Western people, as a general thing, do, and can see a way to work for the tariff of the House bill instead of the tariff that is adjusted by the Senate amendments, as we believe the former comes much nearer conforming to the wishes of the Western people than the Senate amendments.

Yours, very truly,

CARTER WHITE LEAD COMPANY,
L. CARTER, *President.*

Hon. WILLIAM V. ALLEN,
The Senate, Washington, D. C.

Mr. ALLEN. It is proper for me to say that I only indorse the letter so far as it applies to lead. That portion of it which engages in a general discussion of the tariff I do not indorse.

But it is another evidence that persons engaged in this very lead industry itself are satisfied with the House rate. Here are the Carter White Lead Company holding up to me the beauties of a protective tariff, pointing out to me wherein this country can be prosperous in consequence of the increase of tariff taxation, and I am perfectly willing that as constituents they should do so. It is a harmless sort of amusement upon their part. When that industry itself says it is satisfied with the rate fixed by the House, it seems to me it is inexcusable that the Senate should raise the rate.

We have not heard, and I do not suppose we will hear, from the other side as to why this rate was increased. When the lead industry or those engaged in a kindred industry declare that the rate fixed by the House of Representatives is sufficient to protect the industry, when they say they are satisfied with that rate, it occurs to me there ought to be some strong and persuasive equities before the committee of the Senate would be warranted in changing and raising the rate.

Now, I see my good friend the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. PLATT] sitting here in charge of the bill. If he will be kind enough to inform the Senate why this rate was increased, as one Senator I will be very much obliged to him.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. I do not know that I can give any reason for it except that the majority of the subcommittee thought it ought to be done.

Mr. ALLEN. I know, but why did they think it ought to be done?

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. I think perhaps the other members of the committee might give those reasons a little better than I could.

Mr. ALLEN. It is unfortunate that the other members of the committee are not present.

Mr. LINDSAY. I suggest to the Senator from Nebraska that an increase in the leather schedule was explained yesterday upon the ground that it made the schedule more symmetrical, and I suppose this adds to the symmetry of the lead schedule, which ought to be a satisfactory explanation.

Mr. ALLEN. It is possible that that is as good a reason as can be given, but I beg the Senator——

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. If the Senator from Nebraska will permit me, I will say that miners of lead ores of this character in this country claim that it is absolutely necessary for their business.

Mr. ALLEN. What is the present rate?

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Three-quarters of a cent a pound.

Mr. CARTER. If the Senator from Nebraska will permit me, I think I can cast some light on the subject which seems to be perplexing him now.

The letter written by the representative of the white-lead company indicates displeasure with the Senate amendment and great satisfaction with the House schedule. The fact is that the House schedule as finally passed allowed 4 cents a pound on white lead instead of 2¼ cents a pound, as provided in the Senate amendment. Hence, very naturally, the white-lead company, preferring 4 cents to 2¼, is dissatisfied with the Senate amendment and entirely satisfied with the House schedule.

The protection proposed to the white-lead trust in the bill as it passed the House represents the highest duty ever imposed anywhere in any bill, so far as I am advised, in favor of the white-lead trust. The Senate decreased the amount allowed the trust and increased the amount allowed in the schedules of the House on lead in the ore.

Mr. ALLEN. Why, if the Senator will be kind enough to answer me?

Mr. CARTER. I will explain that upon a basis so clear that the Senator will agree with me that the committee was entirely justified and the Senate will be amply justified in supporting the committee.

First, this lead ore constitutes as a mining proposition the principal labor item in the production of lead. As a general rule, about 8 tons of the average ore as mined from the ground are concentrated into 1 ton of what we know as lead concentrate. It costs about $3 per ton in this country at our rate of wages to mine the raw ore. The $3 paid here is paid in gold. It costs about $1 per ton paid in silver to mine ore in Mexico. Hence it is manifest that in order to make up the difference between the $3 in gold paid in the United States to the miner and the $1 in silver paid to the miner in Mexico a protective tariff must intervene in the interest of the American miner, or the miner must quit his occupation in this country entirely and permit the cheaper-paid labor of Mexico to supply the entire product.

Mr. ALLEN. I should like to ask the Senator from Montana if the lead-ore industry has not been developing right along for the last three or four years and increasing each year?

Mr. CARTER. The statistics furnished by the Bureau known as the Geological Survey furnish the figures in that regard.

Mr. ALLEN. I would rather have the observation of the Senator himself than any statistics.

Mr. CARTER. I will state to the Senate that certain mines producing lead have continued in operation in this country in the hope that by virtue of legislation expected they could continue later on at a profit. Numerous mines, however, have been compelled to suspend because the price of lead was reduced below the cost of production. Others have continued, not reaping profit from the operation, but regarding it as a necessity to avoid having the water fill the mines, until better days might come.

Mr. ALLEN. I should like to ask the Senator if the price of lead has not increased within the last few years?

Mr. CARTER. As the figures will show, the price of lead has steadily decreased in the United States for the last few years, during 1896 reaching the lowest point ever reached in the history of the United States.

Mr. ALLEN. The Senator does not pretend to say that that is due in any degree to tariff legislation? I understand that lead has suffered somewhat as all other articles have suffered in consequence of the depression.

Mr. CARTER. Lead has depreciated in the market from $4.33½ per hundred on the average from the year 1890 to an average of $2.83 per hundred in the New York market in 1896. That is the

history of recent years and under the law which the Senator would have us continue.

Mr. ALLEN. I do not ask for a continuance of the present law. I am perfectly willing to concede one-quarter of a cent per pound more and make it a cent, exactly as the House of Representatives made it.

Now, let me say, in this connection, that the House Committee on Ways and Means made a very thorough investigation of this matter. Whatever may be said about the bill as a whole—and I am inclined to believe that it was rather thrown together without any system—this portion of it was thoroughly investigated by Mr. TAWNEY of Minnesota, who devoted some weeks to acquiring information on the subject of lead by personal observation and by correspondence by mail and telegraph.

When the committee met they deliberated upon this portion of the bill itself, as I am informed, and this schedule was very seriously considered by them, and after looking over all the evidence that was submitted and canvassing all the facts that had been accumulated by this very diligent member of the Committee on Ways and Means, they came to the conclusion, the deliberate conclusion, that 1 cent upon lead in the ore was amply sufficient as a protective tariff upon that article.

The Senator from Montana admits that this industry has increased, but he says it has increased in the hope that there would be increased tariff taxation. I suppose it has lived upon faith, upon confidence. We have been told for the last three or four years that that is the way to live. When we had discussed the financial problem, which has rocked this country from center to circumference, we have been told by our Republican brethren that we want a restoration of confidence in this country, and that we do not need any more money. These gentlemen, it would seem, have been living upon confidence, upon faith, upon the hope that tariff legislation would change in their interest; and yet I submit that the Senator from Montana does not escape from the fact that during all this time they have lived and made a profit, as much as any other person proportionately; they have developed their industries; they have pushed them to a more perfect completion; they have, in a word, demonstrated to the country that they are capable of living under a tariff tax of three-quarters of a cent a pound.

Mr. President, the miner's interest is not the only thing to be considered. In the imposition of tariff taxes the interests of all persons concerned must be considered. The Senator from Kentucky [Mr. LINDSAY] says to me, "Except the consumers." The consumers seem largely to get the worst of it in the framing of a tariff bill. That is true largely, possibly, because they have nobody here looking after their interests particularly. They are not organized. But a tariff bill, in the very nature of things, must be a compromise, if it is based upon principles of equity. Here are the miners, upon the one hand, clamoring for a duty that will force the smelters to go into a market controlled absolutely by them or to go out of business in this country; and here are smelters, upon the other hand, asking the imposition of a duty that will permit them and permit the miners to transact business and make a living out of it and a reasonable profit.

Mr. President, what is the difference between imposing a tax upon an industry so high that you drive the industry out of existence and taking a man by the throat and putting your hand in his pocket and taking his money away from him? None in the world. The first is a species of cowardice; the other requires some degree of brute courage at least.

Mr. RAWLINS. I will ask the Senator whether he is in favor of the tariff schedule with respect to lead as it is found in the House bill?

Mr. ALLEN. I am inclined to think I am. I am not entirely certain about it yet.

Mr. RAWLINS. That fixed a duty of 1 cent on lead in ores and 4 cents on white lead. The Senate proposition reduced the duty from 4 to 2¼ cents. Speaking about consumers, who are the consumers of lead ore?

Mr. ALLEN. The Senator from Kentucky——

Mr. RAWLINS. I am asking the Senator from Nebraska the question.

Mr. ALLEN. I suppose any person who consumes lead in any of its various forms—it has a variety of forms—is a consumer.

Mr. RAWLINS. Are not all the smelters, or what is known as the smelting combination, which constitutes a trust, seeking high protection upon their products and free materials for their use in the manufacture of that product?

Mr. ALLEN. No; I think not. I am not prepared to say, but I think not.

Mr. RAWLINS. In other words, are there not three parties concerned in this schedule—the white-lead trust, a conceded monopoly, fixing the price to the consumers of white lead——

Mr. ALLEN. I think that part of it is true.

Mr. RAWLINS. The smelting combination, cooperating with the white-lead trust, aiding it in the maintenance of its monopoly, cooperating in fixing the price to the consumers, and also cooperating to depress the price to the producers, the miners, throughout the country?

Mr. ALLEN. I think that part of it wrong, and I think I can demonstrate it.

Mr. RAWLINS. I think I can show that the smelting combination, for which the Senator is now speaking, is a conspiracy both against the miner and the consumer—the man who wants this article.

Mr. ALLEN. I think I will confess and avoid part of that, and the other I will deny.

The attitude of the Senator from Utah is a most perfect illustration of the saying of Lord Lytton in one of his novels, that the color of the flower is as much sometimes in the vision as in the petal. It depends a great deal upon how you look at a thing. The Senator from Utah hails from a lead-producing State, and the thing uppermost in his mind is the lead miner and the lead mine, and he wants a duty that will give him a long pull on the whippletree, if I may so express it, as against Mexico and the British Possessions, and I have no particular objection to his having a little advantage; but I do not want him to have the advantage, and I do not want the miners to have the advantage, that they shall be able to smother up and destroy every other industry which depends in the slightest degree upon lead.

Mr. President, I have no doubt about the white-lead trust. It dictates prices. There is no doubt about that. It has dictated prices in the past, and it will dictate prices in the future until this Government becomes strong and vigorous enough in some one or more of its branches to enforce the law as it exists now.

Sir, we were treated to the spectacle here yesterday of being told by Senators in this Chamber upon both sides that, notwithstanding we have laws for the suppression of trusts, we are powerless to suppress them.

We can indict some poor devil for stealing a sack of flour when he is hungry, to feed himself and his family, and send him to jail; or we can indict some shoeless waif who has been compelled to commit some petty crime to sustain life; and yet when it comes to these gigantic corporations, all the legislative and judicial and executive power of the Government is powerless and impotent to enforce the law. If that is true, the Government is gone; there is no use talking about its going; it has gone. But when it comes to an assertion that the smelting companies are a part of the white-lead trust or a part of the lead trust, I do not believe it, and I think I can demonstrate to the Senator from Utah quite conclusively that my position is true.

The total consumption of lead in the United States in 1895 was 280,596 tons. Of this there were imported 38,704 tons, necessary to meet the demands of the market of this country. We were compelled to import 38,704 tons in addition to our production. The United States mines, as I am informed—and the Senator from Utah can correct me if I am incorrect—have never yet been able to produce lead enough to meet the American demand, and are not producing it to-day. Never in the history of lead mining in this country, if I am correctly informed, have we been able to turn out enough lead to meet the demands of our country alone. In 1893 the proportion between lead in ore and base bullion was as follows: Lead in ore, 58,487,319 pounds; lead in bullion, 3,959,781 pounds. Two years afterwards, in 1895, the proportion had changed, and was as follows: Lead in ore, 45,050,674 pounds; lead in bullion, 104,551,082 pounds.

Now, what brought about this wonderful change? It was brought about owing to the fact that the smelting companies were compelled to leave this country and go to Mexico. American capital was compelled to go out of the United States to foreign countries, and there construct smelting works and do their work and ship their leads into this country to supply the market.

While I am not a radical protectionist (nor am I a free trader), while I occupy the middle line—that which I believe to be the true line, namely, the line of levying a tax for revenue with incidental protection—I do not want to see this country go to the extent of driving out either capital or labor, for under the protecting ægis of our flag, under just and humane laws justly and humanely administered, there is ample room for both, and we could not get along without them.

Mr. President, how far the Republican caucus may have decreed that this amendment shall pass, I do not know. I, however, submit the case, so far as I am concerned, with the request that the following brief pamphlet be published as part of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. PASCO in the chair). It will be so ordered, in the absence of objection.

The matter referred to is as follows:

CONCERNING PROPOSED DUTIES UPON LEAD IN ORE AND PIG LEAD.

PROPOSED CHANGE IN RATES.

In the new tariff bill which has recently passed the House of Representatives the duty upon lead in pigs and bars, base bullion, etc., is fixed at 2 cents per pound, and a duty of 1 cent per pound is placed upon the lead contents of all ores.

The Finance Committee of the Senate proposes to amend this by raising

the duty upon lead in ores to 1¼ cents per pound. As the duty upon pig lead and the duty upon lead in silver ores, or so-called fluxing ores, are the only items in which I am interested, I shall confine my discussion entirely to these materials.

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN FLUXING ORES AND DRY ORES.

Silver ore containing lead, or fluxing ore, is a material necessary in the smelting business for use in the smelting of dry ore, or ore containing no lead.

Of the ores produced in the United States from mines containing precious metals, over 75 per cent are those known as dry ores, or such as contain no lead.

SCARCITY OF FLUX ORE IN THE UNITED STATES SHOWN BY HIGH PRICE OF THAT MATERIAL.

That fluxing ore in the United States is not sufficiently abundant is clearly proven by the high price that has been paid for it for a long time past.

It is neither necessary nor proper to burden this statement with affidavits, therefore I consider it sufficient for me to say that I stand ready at any time to prove that the prices commonly paid for fluxing ores in the United States exceed the sum obtainable for the metal contained in these ores after it is extracted, and that smelters are compelled to bear a loss upon every ton of American fluxing ore they purchase.

This loss must be met by an increased charge for smelting dry ores, or the business of public smelting would have to cease.

Prior to 1890 fluxing ores were classified as silver ores and admitted free when the value of the silver contents of the ore was greater than the value of the lead contents of the ore.

I can prove that even during this period the prices obtained for flux ore in the United States involved a distinct loss to the smelter buying them, the reason for this being that the difference in freight costs between them and imported ores caused their prices to continue high, and foreign importations did not seriously affect them.

RATES UNDER LAW OF 1890.

In 1890 a duty of 1¼ cents per pound was placed upon the lead contents of silver ores, and no corresponding advance was made in duty upon pig lead, which was left at 2 cents per pound.

The immediate effect of this duty was to cause the failure of a number of American smelting works, to cripple and embarrass them all, and to encourage an investment, estimated at $10,000,000, in the smelting business in Mexico.

RATES UNDER WILSON BILL.

When the tariff laws were again revised and the so-called Wilson bill became a law, the lead schedule was again changed—this time to impose a duty of 1 cent per pound upon pig lead and three-quarters of 1 cent per pound upon the lead contents of silver ores.

This law simply reduced the rates without changing the ratio between these two materials, while the real difficulty lay not so much in the amount of duty imposed as in the maintenance of a proper difference in the duty between that placed upon pig lead, the finished product, and lead-silver ore, the raw material.

ILLUSTRATION OF ACTUAL WORKINGS OF EXISTING AND PROPOSED DUTIES UPON PIG LEAD AND LEAD ORE.

Perhaps the best way to show the absolute injustice done by our lawmakers in failing to recognize this needed difference is by giving an actual case as an illustration of how it works in practice.

The comparison to be made is between a Mexican smelting works and an American smelting works in reducing 2 tons of Mexican silver-lead ore. I will give to the Mexican works every benefit in this comparison. I will say his freight on the ore from the mines to his works is as great as that paid by the American from the Mexican mine to the American border, although, as a rule, it is a much less distance from the Mexican mine to the Mexican smelter than it is from the Mexican mine to the Mexican border.

I will also say that the American smelter gets the same benefit from the silver contents of the ore as his Mexican rival; but as a matter of fact this is not true, since the Mexican Government imposes an internal-revenue tax on silver, which the American smelter who imports Mexican ore has to pay in full, while nearly one-half of the tax is remitted when the ore is smelted in Mexico.

I will further say that the cost of smelting is the same in Mexico as in the United States, although this is not so, since the wages paid are over three times greater in the United States than in Mexico.

A Mexican smelter buys 2 tons of Mexican silver-lead ore containing 25 per cent lead, or 1,000 pounds in the 2 tons. The average price of lead in ore in Mexico for the last year or so has been 1 cent per pound, and therefore he pays for the lead in this ore $10. These 2 tons are smelted in Mexico and 900 pounds of lead recovered, as 10 per cent is lost in smelting. This 900 pounds of lead is then shipped, say, from the Guggenheim's smelter at Monterey, Mexico, by Tampico and water to Perth Amboy, N. J., at a freight rate of $5 per ton. At Perth Amboy it is either held in bond or offered for entry at the custom-house. If the latter is done, a duty of 1 cent per pound is demanded under the present law, and $9 is paid; and thus the lead contained in 2 tons of Mexican ore is landed in New York (Perth Amboy is only 7 miles away by water) at the following cost to the Mexican smelter:

Freight in Mexico (offset).	
Smelting in Mexico and United States (offset).	
Silver contents (offset).	
Cost of lead in ore in Mexico	$10.00
Freight on 900 pounds to Perth Amboy, at $5 per ton	2.25
Duty, 1 cent per pound, on 900 pounds	9.00
Total cost	21.25

Now, suppose the American smelter imports these 2 tons of Mexican flux ores.

Their purchase costs him $10, the same as the Mexican smelter paid.

When he gets them to the American line he is asked by the United States customs officer to pay three-fourths of 1 cent per pound duty upon the 1,000 pounds of lead contained in the 2 tons of ore, and he pays $7.50.

He now finds that with his 2 tons of Mexican ore just across the border in the United States he has spent $17.50, and that in order to land their contents in New York at $21.25, the sum paid by his Mexican rival, he has only a margin of $3.75 to get it to that point.

Admitting that it costs him no more to smelt this ore in the United States than it does his Mexican rival, he still has to transport his 2 tons of ore, either as ore or concentrated into bullion, by railway via Kansas City to New York, a distance of some 3,000 miles.

A very casual knowledge of railway freights will convince the most skeptical that this can not be done.

These facts will serve to explain the inconsistencies of the lead schedule in the existing tariff, and it can be easily seen that if these rates were made double, or 2 cents per pound upon pig lead, and 1½ cents upon lead in ore, while the amounts would increase, the conditions would remain absolutely the same, and these illogical and unscientific tariff rates would continue to give to the Mexican smelter an absolute advantage over the American smelter in his own home market.

THE CORRECT METHOD OF ARRIVING AT THE PROPER DIFFERENCE THAT EXISTS BETWEEN THE RATE OF DUTY UPON PIG LEAD AND LEAD IN ORE.

In order to arrive at the proper rate of difference that should exist between the duty upon pig lead and the duty upon lead in ore, the values of these two materials in foreign markets should be ascertained, and the same rate of difference that exists between their values should exist between the duties placed upon them.

Reference to the tables will show that foreign pig lead during the year 1896 averaged in value $2.45 per 100 pounds, and that the average value of foreign lead in ore during the same period was $1 per 100 pounds.

It will be found upon further investigation that for a number of years past foreign pig lead has ranged in value from two to two and one-half times more than the value of foreign lead in ore, and it is therefore fair to say that, whatever specific duty it is thought best to place upon lead in ore, a duty of at least from two to two and one-half times greater must be placed upon pig lead in order that the same ad valorem rate be borne by both articles.

RAW MATERIAL SHOULD NOT BEAR THE SAME RATE OF DUTY AS THE FINISHED PRODUCT.

But is it right that the same ad valorem rate should be borne by both these articles?

Pig lead is the finished product of the American smelting works, and fluxing ore is their absolutely necessary raw material.

The great difference in value between these two articles is represented almost entirely by labor.

TARIFF RATES SHOULD BE ADJUSTED IN STRICT RELATION TO THE LABOR REPRESENTED IN THE ARTICLE TAXED.

The theory of all tariff makers is that all duties should be adjusted in strict relation to the amount of labor represented in the articles upon which the duty is placed.

This theory may be carried out in other schedules of the proposed tariff bill, but is certainly not true in the lead schedule.

In this schedule they are not willing to even place the same rate of duty upon the raw material and the finished product, but insist that the raw material shall bear double the rate of duty to that of the finished product, thus prohibiting the use of Mexican fluxing ore by the American smelter, and encouraging the importation into the United States of Mexican bullion.

CERTAIN ARGUMENTS ADVANCED IN FAVOR OF HIGH DUTY ON LEAD IN ORE.

I will mention as many of the arguments as I can recall that are being used by those advocating a high duty upon lead in ore.

M. Guggenheim's Sons, whose interests are almost wholly Mexican, make the following:

SMELTING IMPORTED FLUXING ORES IN BOND.

"The argument of the dry-ore miner is that, in consequence of the scarcity of fluxes or lead ores, the dry-ore miner (whose ores contain no lead) is compelled to pay the smelter an abnormal price for having his ores treated. Section 23 in the proposed Dingley bill permits the smelting and refining of foreign wet or lead ores in bond duty free. As smelters can smelt and refine wet ores in bond duty free, the dry-ore miner's contention is entirely unjustifiable.

"In justice to the dry-ore miner, we will say the existence of section 23 is not generally known to him. In fact, many Senators were not aware of the effects and benefits of this section, and it is only recently that it became generally known to the various smelting companies that they could bond their works to advantage and obtain wet ores as fluxes, duty free, and only within the last few weeks have some of the largest smelting companies completed the operation of bonding their works. Therefore the full effect of having wet ores duty free in bond will be felt only in the future."

Both of these statements are misleading.

The provision for smelting in bond, originated in the tariff bill of 1890, was reenacted in the Wilson bill, and it is proposed to reenact it in the present bill.

It has been continuously in force for over seven years, and has been well known and thoroughly understood by smelters in the United States.

When examined carefully, it will be found that the provisions for smelting in bond are not so great a privilege as one might be led to believe.

I will take for an example an importation in bond of Mexican fluxing ores. These ores contain on an average 25 per cent lead, and it takes, therefore, the contents of 4 tons of ore to make 1 ton of bullion. The provisions for importing in bond are necessarily somewhat complex and much more expensive and burdensome to the importer than direct importations, as will be seen by reading the statute.

In order to smelt and refine the 4 tons of Mexican ore in bond, it is necessary to transport it from the Mexican border by railroad over 1,500 miles to the smelting or refining works, and then transport it again over 1,500 miles to the seacoast, say at New York.

So that this Mexican importation has paid freight either as 4 tons of ore or 1 ton of bullion for over 3,000 miles of railroad transportation, and then must take another trip by water of 3,000 miles to Europe, where it is offered for sale in competition with lead produced by the cheapest labor on earth.

It has borne 3,000 miles of American railway transportation; it has been manufactured by American workmen, and it is then the American smelter's privilege to transport it across the sea and sell it in the open markets of Europe.

Is any better argument needed to show American flux ores are too high and that the duty on foreign flux ores is too high than that American smelters have occasionally smelted foreign imported ores in bond?

It goes without saying that no revenue is produced by importations in bond.

DUTY UPON LEAD IN ORE HAS ONLY AN INDIRECT EFFECT UPON THE AMERICAN PIG LEAD MARKET.

They further state that the price of pig lead in America is equal to the price of pig lead in London, with the American duty on lead in ore added thereto, and that therefore the duty on lead in ore governs the price of pig lead in the United States.

As an argument this is utter foolishness, and as a statement of fact it is entirely untrue.

Below is given a table showing the official prices of pig lead in London and New York since 1880:

Pig lead, London.

Year.	Highest.	Lowest.	Average.
1880	4.10	3.30	3.50
1881	3.35	3.15	3.25
1882	3.25	3.05	3.10
1883	3.20	2.65	2.75
1884	2.70	2.30	2.45
1885	2.70	2.30	2.50
1886	2.90	2.70	2.80
1887	3.30	2.65	2.75
1888	3.20	2.70	2.95
1889	3.05	2.70	2.80
1890	3.50	3.00	3.20
1891	2.70	3.10	3.00
1892	2.45	2.00	2.50
1893	2.35	2.45	2.40
1894	2.35	2.40	2.30
1895	2.30	2.55	2.40
1896	2.40	2.55	2.45

New York prices pig lead.

Year.	Highest.	Lowest.	Average.
1880	5.90	4.50	5.00
1881	5.15	4.35	4.80
1882	5.10	4.60	4.90
1883	4.65	3.60	4.32
1884	4.10	3.60	3.75
1885	4.55	3.65	3.95
1886	4.90	4.30	4.60
1887	4.65	4.25	4.50
1888	5.15	3.60	4.40
1889	4.85	3.70	3.95
Total			44.17
Average price			4.41
1890	5.90	3.85	4.50
1891	4.50	4.10	4.35
1892	4.25	3.80	4.10
1893	4.25	3.25	3.75
1894	3.50	3.10	3.30
1895	3.50	3.10	3.25
1896	3.20	2.70	3.00
Total			26.25
Average price			3.75

The duty upon silver-lead ores from 1890 to 1894 was 1¼ cents per pound of lead contents, and from 1894 to date it was three-quarters of 1 cent per pound.

Prior to 1890, silver-lead ore was always admitted free.

By adding 1¼ cents to the London price of pig lead from 1890 to 1894, and three quarters of 1 cent to it from 1894 to date, and comparing the result with the New York price of pig lead, one can see how accurate these gentlemen are; but how they got along with their computation prior to 1890, when there was no duty to add to the London price, I am quite unable to explain.

Prior to the tariff law of 1890, ores containing silver and lead were classified as silver ores, when the silver content was greater than the lead in value. This classification was decided upon by a Senate committee of which Senator Edmunds was chairman, and was followed by the Secretaries of the Treasury from that time. Prior to 1890, therefore, lead in pigs bore a duty of 2 cents per pound, and silver-lead or fluxing ores were admitted free.

It is fair to say that if the duty upon lead in ores governed the price of pig lead in the United States, the price of pig lead would have certainly been affected when there was no duty at all upon lead in ores; and yet reference to the tables will show that with a duty of 2 cents on pig lead, and silver-lead ores free, the price of pig lead in the United States bore a higher average than it ever has since.

In the tariff law of 1890 a duty of 1¼ cents was put upon the lead contents of silver ores, and while various disastrous results followed this mistaken policy, the price of pig lead in the United States not only did not go up, but, on the contrary, continued to go down.

Your attention is called to the following table of imports and exports of lead into and out of the United States:

Imports and exports in tons.

Year.	Mexican ore.	Mexican bullion.	British Columbia ore.	Pigs.	Total imports.	Pigs exported.	Net imports.
1890	18,000	.....	.....	10,000	28,000	.....	28,000
1891	21,100	2,700	.....	4,600	28,400	2,700	25,700
1892	26,700	12,900	.....	14,100	53,700	12,900	40,800
1893	29,300	35,000	.....	.....	64,300	35,000	29,300
1894	18,000	39,000	1,700	8,200	66,900	29,000	37,900
1895	16,500	54,700	6,000	22,450	99,650	18,000	81,650
1896	15,400	51,800	10,100	2,000	79,300	52,600	26,700

From this table it will be seen that each year since 1890 a large amount of pig lead has been brought into the United States beyond all lead imported in ore, to satisfy the demands of our market.

If the average yearly importations of lead contained in ores are short of the demands of our market, how can a duty on lead ore affect the price of pig lead in the United States?

When fluxing ores were admitted free they did not lower the price of lead in the United States, and when they carried a duty of 1¼ cents they did not raise it. The duty on pig lead governs the price of pig lead in the United States, and the duty on lead ores can have no effect whatever upon the price of lead until the amount of lead imported in ores more than fills the full lead demands of our market.

REAL MOTIVES OF M. GUGGENHEIM'S SONS.

In answering the arguments of M. Guggenheim's Sons I have thus far given them credit for honest though mistaken views upon the subject of lead duties; but when their real motives in advancing specious arguments and making misleading statements about this matter are made clear, they should certainly bear no weight.

When the tariff law of 1890 placed a duty of 1¼ cents upon fluxing ore, it at once became evident that an almost fatal blow had been struck at American smelting interests; and as it seemed the purpose of our Government to prevent the use of Mexican silver-lead ores in the smelting works of the United States, preparations were made to erect smelting works in Mexico, where there was a plentiful supply of both fluxing ores and dry ores, besides cheap labor.

Among the first to invest largely in smelting works in Mexico were M. Guggenheim's Sons, and they own and operate to-day by far the largest smelting business in Mexico; in fact, they have repeatedly claimed that their works in Mexico are capable of smelting the enormous amount of 1,200 tons of ore per day. It is true that they still have interests in this country, but it is perfectly understood among smelters, and the most casual investigation will satisfy anyone, that the vast preponderance of their interests are purely Mexican.

These interests were called into being by the placing of a duty of 1¼ cents upon lead in ore, and what is more natural than that these gentlemen who own this foreign infant industry should wish to have it nourished by a continuance of that duty?

Whatever duty our American Congress places upon fluxing ores renders them that much harder for American smelters to buy in Mexico, and if a prohibitive duty is placed upon this material, they of course can not buy it there at all. In the same degree that the American smelter is excluded from the Mexican flux-ore market, the competition for the purchase of flux ores is lessened, and that material naturally becomes cheaper to the Mexican smelter, and when the American smelter is finally excluded, the Mexican smelter controls the Mexican flux-ore market entirely.

NO FRAUD PRACTICED OR POSSIBLE IN SMELTING IN BOND.

While M. Guggenheim's Sons claim that smelting in bond is of the greatest benefit to American smelters, others argue that it is a means of defrauding the Government of its revenues, and that quantities of lead are admitted duty free to the United States by reason of this method.

When the provisions of the statute for smelting in bond and the regulations of the Treasury Department are carefully read, any fair-minded man will be fully satisfied that fraud is impossible.

The smelters who import ores under these provisions are under heavy bonds to fully comply with all provisions of the law and carry out all the regulations, and while the law has been in force for over seven years there has never been a case where any penalty was asked for a rule broken or infringed upon.

NO COMBINATION AMONG SMELTERS.

It has been stated in Congress that there was a "smelting trust" in the United States, and that this trust was in some way connected with the so-called "lead trust."

There is not only no "trust" among the smelters of the United States, but there is absolutely no understanding or agreement of any kind whatsoever between the twenty or thirty different companies engaged in this business in America; on the contrary, they are entirely independent, and the sharpest kind of competition prevails between them.

NO CONNECTION BETWEEN SMELTERS AND LEAD TRUST.

The American Lead Company, or what is sometimes known as the "lead trust," is a very large manufacturer of white lead, and consequently a very large purchaser of pig lead.

Pig lead is the finished product of the smelter, who naturally wishes its price to be high, but as it is the raw material of the white-lead manufacturer, he quite as naturally wishes its price to be low.

The same harmony of interest, therefore, exists between the smelters and the American Lead Company as is usual between buyer and seller. There is not and can not be any connection between them.

NOT ENOUGH FLUXING ORES PRODUCED IN THE UNITED STATES TO SATISFY DEMANDS.

It is claimed that enough fluxing ore is produced in the United States to supply the wants of all American smelters.

If this claim were true, the price of fluxing ore in the United States would not be so abnormally high as it is.

It is also claimed that a duty of 1¼ cents per pound upon the lead contents of this ore would stimulate its mining, and new flux-ore mines would be developed.

This statement is a fallacy for the following reasons, viz:

HIGH DUTY ON LEAD ORE WILL NOT INCREASE ITS PRODUCTION IN THE UNITED STATES.

Fluxing ore in this country is so scarce, and the smelters are so anxious to get it, that they pay a premium for every ton they buy.

This fact is sufficient to stimulate the mining of this class of ore, and if any new mines could be found in this country they would be developed.

If a high duty upon these ores will develop new mines, why were they not developed when the high duty was on the ores?

A HIGH DUTY ON PIG LEAD THE GREATEST ADVANTAGE TO LEAD MINER.

A duty of 2 cents per pound on pig lead raises the price of lead in the United States, and thereby benefits the lead miners by increasing the value of the lead contents of their ore.

While a moderate duty upon lead in ore would prevent the importation of any larger quantity of that material than was absolutely needed, a high duty would really not be of any benefit to the lead miner. The smelters are paying him now all they can stand, because of the fluxing qualities of his ore, and if foreign fluxing ores are excluded entirely they can pay no more. They are his only customers, and to push them beyond the limit might cause them to combine against him.

FALSITY OF ARGUMENT THAT MINERS NEED PROTECTION AGAINST PAUPER LABOR.

A favorite argument of those who advocate a high duty upon lead in ores is that the miner must be protected; they say the smelting works and the rich mine owner can take care of themselves, but the poor miner must be protected against the peon labor of Mexico, and that the only reason a smelter in the United States has for going out of it to get fluxing ore is because he wants to get the cheap material produced by pauper labor.

It must be remembered that all ores of gold and silver are now and always have been, since the foundation of our Republic, upon the free list; the miners of these ores are now and always have been unprotected; it is only when lead is found in a silver mine that protection is needed from the competition of peons and paupers.

NO HIGHER WAGES PAID IN FLUXING-ORE MINES THAN IN DRY-ORE MINES.

The folly of all these protests will be seen when it is stated that there never was a case in any part of the United States where the miner in a highly protected lead-silver mine received any more wages than those paid to the absolutely unprotected dry-ore miner in the same locality.

CHARACTER OF ORE MAY CHANGE IN A MINE, BUT MINERS' WAGES DO NOT.

Mines containing silver ore with lead in it have been worked until they ceased to carry lead and became dry-ore mines, and later lead was found again, and thus the mines were protected and unprotected as these changes occurred, but the wages of the miners never changed a particle.

This is true of mines in Leadville, Colo., and a case never was heard of where wages were raised because a dry-ore mine changed in a flux-ore mine, as has often happened.

MARKET PRICE OF LEAD, NOT COST OF PRODUCTION, GOVERNS VALUE OF LEAD IN ORE.

The people who claim that American smelters buy fluxing ore in Mexico because it is produced by peon labor forget that the price of pig lead in New York governs the price of lead in ore wherever it may be found on this continent and not what it may cost to produce the ore.

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN LEAD ORE AND SILVER-LEAD ORE.

Lead ore and silver-lead or fluxing ores are two distinctly different commodities. Fluxing ore is a material in which the smelter is vitally interested, and the duty upon it affects his business; while, as he does not and can not with advantage use pure lead ore, he has no wish to import it, and personally does not care what duty is placed upon it.

In order that no confusion shall occur and no misunderstanding be had, a few words about lead ore may be needed.

From 1864 to 1894 lead ores bore a duty of 1¼ cents per pound upon their gross weight, or $30 per ton, whatever their lead contents might be.

This duty was, of course, ridiculous, as an ore which had no silver in it, but carried, say, 100 pounds of lead to the ton, was dutiable to the extent of $30 per ton, or about ten times the value of its lead contents after it was extracted.

Even under the Wilson bill this distinction exists, and three-quarters of a cent per pound duty is charged upon the gross weight of lead ores. As silver smelters can not use to advantage lead ores containing no silver, they have never cared and do not care now what duty is placed upon this material, and have, therefore, never considered it in any discussions upon the tariff in which they have taken part. When, however, the attention of the Ways and Means Committee of the Fifty-fourth Congress was incidentally called to it, they at once saw the absurdity of this provision, and fixed the rate of duty upon "the lead contents of all ores."

Respectfully, JOHN H. MURRAY.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The pending amendment of the Committee on Finance will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In paragraph 179, page 56, line 12, after the word "cent," it is proposed to insert the words "and one-half;" so as to read:

Lead-bearing ore of all kinds, one cent and one-half per pound on the lead contained therein.

Mr. ALLEN. I want a yea-and-nay vote upon agreeing to the amendment.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. MANTLE. Mr. President, I gather from what the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. ALLEN] has just been saying that he desires a low rate of duty upon lead ores for the reason that the smelters of this country require these ores for the purpose of fluxing; that is, for use in smelting dry ores.

I submit, without going into any argument at this time upon the merits of protection or the necessity of protection as applied to the lead miners in this country, that there can be no question upon that score, for if there is a class of men or an industry in the country which requires protection in order that it may flourish it is the lead-mining industry of the United States as against the same industry as carried on in Mexico.

But there is a provision in the existing law, and it is also reenacted in the bill under discussion, which, it seems to me, covers the main objection to the duty upon lead ore. It is a provision under which fluxing ores, these soft ores, as they are called, may be shipped to this country in bond for the purpose of being used as a flux for reducing dry ores. It was placed in the law of 1894 in response to the representations made by the smelting industry of the country, which is the industry asking for free lead ore, or at least for a very low duty upon lead ores.

It was placed there, I believe, at their request and for the purpose of enabling them to secure fluxing ores free of duty, thereby encouraging the production of dry ores in the country by giving them the privilege of shipping ore in bond and setting aside each day an amount of metal equivalent to that contained in the ore as shown by the assay, the resultant product, of course, to be reexported or refined and manufactured in this country for the purpose of export. That provision was incorporated in the law of 1894. It is proposed to reenact it in this law, and I understand it covers every objection of this character, because it enables the smelters to bring in all the lead ore they desire, but it is to be used as a flux.

I have in my hand a letter addressed to my colleague [Mr. CARTER]. It is a letter which has been sent to a number of Senators here. It is from a smelting company, the concern of M. Guggenheim's Sons. I believe that they own the smelters or the smelting capacity in this country to the extent of one-third at least—that is, the smelters engaged in the production of ores in which lead ore fluxes are used. They write a letter bearing upon this question, in which they go into the details and explain the provisions of the bonding clause. I ask, in this connection, that the letter be read, as it seems to me it will throw a good deal of light upon the subject. It shows, too, that there are a great many people engaged in the smelting industry who are asking for this rate of a cent and a half upon lead in ores.

Mr. ALLEN. I ask the Senator from Montana if it is not true that the firm whose letter has been sent out and others of whom he speaks are so situated on tide water here that they can ship their fluxing ores by water from Mexico?

Mr. MANTLE. They can not ship the ores from British Columbia.

Mr. ALLEN. But they get their fluxing ores from Mexico, I understand, and they have water shipment.

Mr. MANTLE. Of course they must pay the rate of duty in any event, whatever it may be.

Mr. ALLEN. I know; but the difference between the rate by water and the rate by rail is very great, as the Senator well knows, and that difference would give this firm a percentage over a firm situated in Nebraska, Colorado, Missouri, or any other interior State.

Mr. MANTLE. At all events, we are to keep in mind in this discussion the prime object, which is to protect the lead miners of the United States. That is what we are trying to accomplish. I think the facts, so far as they have been developed by the discussion here, and so far as our experience has gone in this matter, amply justify—not only justify, but demand—that the rate shall be adopted at the point fixed by the committee if we are to encourage the lead-mining industry of this country.

The writers of this letter are themselves owners of lead mines and of a smelter in Colorado and at other points in the country. They are interested, I believe, in smelters in my own State. I am not certain about that, but I think they are; and I think in their presentation of the matter it will become clear how the provision to which I have alluded can be used by those who desire to import these fluxing ores free of duty. Of course if the product is to be used in this country the duty must be paid; otherwise there would be no advantage whatever derived from the protective duty levied; but they may import the ore used for a flux and reexport the product and not have to pay any duty whatever.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The letter will be read, according to the request of the Senator from Montana, in the absence of objection.

The Secretary read as follows:

NO. 30 BROAD STREET, NEW YORK, *April 3, 1897.*

DEAR SIR: We beg to submit for your careful consideration our views and some data with reference to the proposed tariff legislation on pig lead and lead in ores. We believe it to be for the best interests of the United States to have a duty of 1¼ cents per pound on lead in all kinds of ore and 2 cents per pound duty on pig lead. There are various interests that must be considered in this matter, the most important factor being the miner. The argument of the dry-ore miner is that in consequence of the scarcity of fluxes or lead ores the dry-ore miner (whose ores contain no lead) is compelled to pay the smelter an abnormal price for having his ores treated. Section 23 in the proposed Dingley bill permits the smelting and refining of foreign wet or lead ores in bond duty free. As smelters can smelt and refine wet ores in bond duty free, the dry-ore miners' contention is entirely unjustifiable.

In justice to the dry-ore miner, we will say the existence of section 23 is not generally known to him. In fact, many Senators were not aware of the effects and benefits of this section, and it is only recently that it became generally known to the various smelting companies that they could bond their works to advantage and obtain wet ores as fluxes duty free, and only within the last few weeks have some of the largest smelting companies completed the operation of bonding their works. Therefore the full effect of having wet ores duty free in bond will be felt only in the future.

Another element to appease, in case the duty on lead should be high, is that interest which uses pig lead as a raw material, but this interest has been fully protected and taken care of in the proposed Dingley bill and the amendments thereto.

We find as follows:

	Duty.	
	McKinley law.	Dingley bill.
	Cents.	*Cents.*
White lead.....per pound..	3	3
Red lead.....do....	3	3
Linseed oil.....per gallon..	32	32
Brown acetate.....per pound..	3½	3½
Lead sheets.....do....	2½	2½
Lead pipe.....do....		

The above are the principal items manufactured in this country where pig lead is used in quantities as raw material. It will be seen that the tariff rates in the proposed Dingley bill are the same as they were under the McKinley law; consequently this interest should not take exception to the duties on lead ores and pig lead being the same now as they were under the McKinley law.

Some railroad companies, through their agents, have argued for a low duty on wet ores, believing it would benefit them in obtaining the haul on wet ores from foreign countries. They were not aware of the provisions of

section 23, which would give them the haul on the ore, as it will come into this country in bond duty free.

As regards the source of revenue to the United States Government, a duty of 1¼ cents a pound on lead in ore will very materially increase the revenue, as it has been demonstrated during the past years that in case the United States requires lead in addition to what it produces the parties requiring it will as readily pay 1¼ cents per pound as they will 1 cent per pound duty. It has been represented by parties having mining interests in foreign countries (British Columbia and Mexico) that the duty on pig lead regulates the price of lead in the United States.

This statement will not bear investigation, as it can be proven that the duty on ore regulates entirely the price of lead in the United States. A high duty on pig lead and a low duty on lead in ore will not advance the price of lead in the United States, because you lock and bolt the front door and leave the back door wide open. As the miner is paid for his lead in the ore according to the ruling price of pig lead, everything should be done to advance the price of pig lead, and it can only be done effectually by placing a sufficiently high duty on the lead imported in the ore.

To illustrate that the duty on ore regulates the price of pig lead in New York, you will find upon investigation that the average price for pig lead in New York for the four years of 1890, 1891, 1892, and 1893 was $4.07½ per 100 pounds. The average London price for four years was $2.55 per 100 pounds; adding 1½ cents per pound duty for the lead in the ore, the result would be $4.05 per 100 pounds, which is within 50 cents a ton of the average New York price for those four years; whereas if the duty on pig lead had regulated the New York price of pig lead, the New York price of pig lead should have been $4.55 for the average of those years, or $10 per ton more. As to a comparison of the New York price with the average London price plus duty on ore and duty on pig lead from 1894 to 1896, it is difficult to reach correct conclusions for various reasons.

The differential between the ore duty and the pig-lead duty was only one-quarter cent a pound, consequently it is difficult to estimate what the effect would have been had the duty between the two been, say, one-half cent a pound or more; and, furthermore, conditions of the New York and London markets during the last three years were abnormal, financial conditions and general depression of business in this country having made it so that for many months at a time there was practically no sale for lead here excepting at crisis prices, and the price in London varied materially during the last years because of the immense falling off in the Australian production.

There are in the United States a great many mines and many thousand miners that will be benefited by a high price for lead. We estimate that with 1 cent per pound duty on lead in the ores the ruling price of pig lead in New York would be from $3 to $3.50 per 100 pounds; whereas if the duty should be 1¼ cents per pound, the ruling price for pig lead in New York would probably be $3.50 to $4 per 100 pounds.

We are the owners of a lead mine in the United States having in sight 500,000 tons of lead ore. Should pig lead rule at from $3.50 to $4 per 100 pounds, we can afford to work this mine, but if lead rules from $3 to $3.50 per 100 pounds, we can not.

In Missouri, Montana, Idaho, Colorado, Utah, Arizona, Nevada, and New Mexico and other points there are large quantities of mines that could be worked and many thousands of laborers employed if pig lead ruled in New York at from $3.50 to $4 per 100 pounds, and we are satisfied in the course of time the United States would not be compelled to import any lead, as a sufficient quantity would be mined in this country to provide for home consumption.

The smelting interest of this country should also be considered in framing a tariff, and some of the owners of smelting works who have mines in British Columbia and Mexico have advocated 1 cent per pound duty on wet ores, claiming that there is insufficient flux in the United States to provide for their requirements. They fail, however, to mention in their arguments that they have the privilege of smelting wet ores in bond free of duty. This privilege fully protects them, and should give them all the flux that they require without the payment of any duty whatsoever.

Some of the smelters, having mined in British Columbia and Mexico, have also contended that one-half cent per pound, or $10 per ton, differential between lead ore and pig lead was insufficient to protect their interests in the United States against the growth of smelters in British Columbia and Mexico. As they have the privilege of smelting wet ores in bond duty free, this gives them very cheap fluxes. Besides, there is a differential of one-half cent per pound, or $10 per ton, between the lead ore and pig lead, and a freight rate from Colorado points for shipments to Europe for the resulting product, via Galveston, at $6 per ton, which is a little more than half the cost of freight in case products are brought to the East and then shipped to Europe. Should additional advantages become necessary to prevent the growth of smelting works in foreign countries, there is no legislation that can be enacted by the United States that will prevent the growth of smelters in foreign countries.

We are satisfied that in case a greater differential than one-half cent per pound is made between ore and pig lead, countries like Mexico would retaliate by putting an export duty on lead ore or by discriminating against other importations, corn, etc., from the United States, as they would be dissatisfied with a greater differential than what existed under the McKinley law, and their attention would be specifically called to the object intended in making this differential greater.

Furthermore, should the differential be 1 cent per pound, or $20 per ton as a differential between the duty on ore and pig lead, as is proposed under the Dingley bill, and should the contention be correct that the duty on pig lead and not the duty on ore regulates the price of pig lead in America, the bonus of $20 that the Dingley bill gives the smelter, then this would enable the smelter and refiner on the Atlantic Coast to bring lead ore from Australia, Spain, Greece, South America, in fact, from all over the world, in such enormous quantities that the price of lead in this country would in time fall to a price ruinous to the producers of lead.

We will be pleased to furnish you with any additional information that you may desire, and remain,

Yours, respectfully,

M. GUGGENHEIM'S SONS.

Hon. THOMAS H. CARTER,
United States Senator from Montana, Washington, D. C.

Mr. ALLEN. I should like to state to the Senator from Montana that this firm of M. Guggenheim's Sons own mines in the United States, and those mines produce fluxing ores, I understand. They are therefore interested in a high tariff on fluxing ores.

Mr. MANTLE. They seem to be interested both ways. They own, as I have stated, about 30 to 33⅓ per cent of the smelting capacity of the country, and they say, too, that they own mines. I think they have presented a very good case indeed from a protective side of the question. They have shown, I think, pretty conclusively that it is the duty upon lead ore that regulates the value of lead in this country, and not the duty upon pig lead. I think that they have brought that out very clearly and forcibly by quotations from the market reports both in London and in this country, showing that the difference in the price was the amount of the duty upon lead in ores.

Mr. President, there is just one thing I wish to say in relation to what I have already said respecting the provision of the law permitting these ores to be shipped for the purpose of fluxing in bond duty free. My opinion is that that provision ought to be amended so that a limit would be placed upon the time during which the resultant product of those lead ores might be held in bond in this country; that is to say, there ought to be a time specified at the expiration of which the duty should be paid upon such lead, or else it should be reexported. As the matter now stands, there is no limit placed upon the time during which the resultant product may be kept in bond; and, owing to the looseness with which the law was drawn, it is a fact, I believe, that a great deal of lead resulting from these ores, which have been shipped in bond and set aside, are lost track of. It went somewhere, no one seems to know where, but it was lost; the duty was not paid; and there can be no question but what it entered into use and was sold in this country, and evaded the payment of duty.

There is another phase of that question. Unless some limitation is placed upon the time during which lead resulting from these ores may be held in bond, it is piled up in enormous quantities, thus constituting a menace to the home product, because at any moment, when the market is feeble, the lead ore accumulated and held in bond may be released and thrown upon the market upon the payment of the duty, thereby lowering the price of the home product and greatly injuring, in fact almost destroying, the protective benefit which the lead miner is supposed to receive.

It does seem to me, Mr. President, that that weakness in the law ought to be remedied. I have offered an amendment intended to correct that trouble, and I sincerely hope the Finance Committee will favorably consider it.

As argument has been made by the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. ALLEN] in opposition to the amendment proposed by the committee, and documents have been filed presenting that side of the controversy, I ask that the documents I have here may be printed in the RECORD. I shall not stop to read them. One of them is a memorial of the Lead Miners' Association of Southern New Mexico, and presents their side of the controversy. The other is the statement of the St. Joseph Lead Company, which presents a most comprehensive statement of the entire situation with reference to the production of lead, its importation, its price, its consumption, etc. I ask that these documents may be printed in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

The documents referred to are as follows:

THE TARIFF ON LEAD.

[Memorial of the Lead Miners' Association of Southern New Mexico to the Congress of the United States.]

At a meeting of the Lead Miners' Association of Southern New Mexico, held at Magdalena, N. Mex., February 4, 1897, it was—

"*Resolved*, That a committee of five be appointed to prepare a memorial to the Congress of the United States asking that the rates of duty imposed by the McKinley bill on imported pig lead and lead in ores shall be restored with proper facilities for their determination by commercial sample and assay, that the duties so determined shall be collected in cash at the port of entry, and that the privilege of importing and manufacturing lead in any form 'in bond' shall be abolished."

In accordance with the above resolution the following memorial was prepared and adopted, and it was also—

"*Resolved*, That Hon. W. S. Williams, of Socorro, N. Mex., a member of the committee, be requested to lay this memorial before members of Congress and urge the adoption of the provisions asked."

Attest:

GEO. F. WALKER, *Secretary.*
A. B. FITCH, *President.*

MAGDALENA, N. MEX., *February 4, 1897.*

MEMORIAL.

The lead-mining industry of the United States asks that the rates of duty imposed by the McKinley bill on all imports of lead and lead in ores shall be restored, that these duties shall be collected in cash when the entries are made, and that adequate measures shall be taken to honestly determine and collect the duties so imposed, without allowances or exemptions of any kind whatever.

This country is the largest consumer of white lead and lead pipe (which are the chief uses for pig lead) in the world, because we are building more houses of all kinds, and especially because we build more houses of wood, which must be painted in order to be preserved. Our consumption has always exceeded our production. During a period of great depression we consumed, in 1894, in round numbers, 193,000 short tons and produced only 163,000 short tons. In 1895 we consumed 242,000 short tons and produced only 170,000 short tons.

Our production increased 7,000 tons and our consumption increased 49,000 tons. (See Mineral Resources of the United States, 1895—Lead.)

It would seem that surely here was a legitimate and inviting field for the employment of idle American labor. On the contrary, the lead-mining industry is languishing; prospecting has ceased; the small mines are closed and the large ones are able to work only by reducing wages and a total surrender of profits. In one of the hitherto flourishing camps there is bitter strife against a reduction of wages, with the prospect that that camp will be ruined for many years.

The great smelting plants contend that this country can not supply the

demand and that it is necessary for them to go abroad for lead ores to conduct their operations of reducing our own gold and silver ores. In this kind of smelting the office of the lead is to collect and combine with the gold and silver and carry them safely through the melted slag into the crucible. The proportion of metallic lead used for this service is from 8 to 12 per cent of the furnace charge. The resulting product is base bullion, or pig lead, carrying the precious metals that have been smelted with it. The main object is the recovery of the precious metals.

The pig lead is in the nature of a by-product, though an important one. Its production must go on regardless of the demand or the market price for it as long as this method of recovering the precious metals is continued.

The most desirable lead ore for this service is that with the highest content of lead, so that the necessary quantity takes up the least room in the furnace, and that with the smallest content of sulphur, so that it does not require to be roasted before using. If it also has a high content of silver, that is extracted too, and the lead does its other work equally as well.

No great quantities of high-grade oxidized lead ores, high in silver, are known in this country now, but there is no lack of fair-grade oxidized ore, low in silver, that can not be mined at present prices, or of high-grade galena, good in silver, that is furnishing a considerable portion of the demand now from the mines of Idaho, Utah, Colorado, and New Mexico.

There is also a great quantity of galena, very low in silver, like the Missouri and Kansas ores, that might be used at a small expense for roasting. As a matter of fact, a very considerable amount of galena ore is now used in these furnaces without roasting, depending somewhat on the sulphur content of the ores being smelted with it.

If an American price could be paid for digging them, there is no doubt that this country could furnish all the lead ores necessary to smelt all our own gold and silver ores.

A very large proportion of the world's product of silver is obtained from argentiferous ores of lead. A policy that would encourage the working of our mines would probably enable them to furnish a large part or all the lead consumed in this country, give employment to our own people instead of foreigners, and increase the output of the precious metals in this country rather than that of Mexico or British America.

In old Mexico there are several districts that produce typical high-grade oxidized lead ores that carry a good content of silver. The most important of these is the Sierra Mojada, which has had the reputation of producing ore that ran 30 per cent lead and 30 ounces of silver per ton, year in and year out. It has been a heavy shipper to this country, reaching even as far as the Missouri River smelters and displacing the ores of the Mississippi Valley.

A late discovery, the Sierra del Carmen, in the State of Coahuila, within 15 miles of the Rio Grande, it is thought, will prove richer than the Sierra Mojada. Development of these mines has been prosecuted for two years, and the ore is said to run 40 per cent lead and to carry 40 ounces of silver per ton. That sort of ore can well afford to pay the highest rate of duty we can assess for the privilege of using our markets. Every ton of it will displace 2 tons of our own low-grade ores, the silver contents serving to carry it to the most distant markets.

The product of these rich mines is mainly controlled by Americans. Some of it is brought as ore to this country, displacing domestic ore, and more is brought in the form of base bullion to be refined in bond, the resulting lead being held as a threat to our market, keeping prices below the point of profitable home production.

There was also found in old Mexico such an abundance of cheap labor that the labor cost of mining and smelting these ores was only one-third the same cost in the United States.

It would seem that these Americans should be satisfied to make their fortunes in old Mexico, with all these advantages, but they are not. They want our cheaper coal and coke and, more than all, they want our market for their lead. They would like to have their "raw material" in the shape of ore admitted free of duty. Failing in that, they hope that the present low rate of the Wilson tariff, that has proved so ruinous to American mines, will not be exceeded. They have taken our legitimate work and given it to the Mexicans, who owe no fealty to this Government, leaving us idle. When they return with the products of that cheap labor, to take advantage of our better fuel and market, let them pay such tax on them as will be adequate compensation for our loss.

A practical example will show that it is not adequate now. A ton of 30 per cent Sierra Mojada old Mexico ore, carrying 30 ounces of silver, is worth now, delivered at the Missouri River, for the lead, $9.90; for the silver, $19.50; total, $29.40. The charges are: Freight, $12; American duty on lead, $4.50; Mexican duty on silver, $1; total, $17.50, returning to the miner $11.90 per ton.

A ton of 30 per cent lead ore from New Mexico, carrying 5 ounces of silver, is worth, at the Missouri River, $9.90 for the lead and $3.25 for the silver; total, $13.15. Charges are, for the freight, $7, returning to the miner $6.15, which, with close management, will possibly pay the cost of the digging, dressing and sorting, hauling, and loading on the cars, with nothing left for the mine owners.

The Mexican owner has twice as much returned to him with which to pay only one-third as great a labor cost. Of course it is the difference in the silver content that makes the difference in the amount returned to the miner; but that is the way nature has deposited values in the two localities.

THE SILVER IS THE CULPRIT.

It carries the load when it comes to making a long journey.

It is a pity we do not tax it for bringing that lead into this country, as it could not come except for the silver. It costs no more to dig a ton of lead ore with 30 ounces of silver in it than one with only 5, or none at all; so the example is fair.

If we made the duty 1¼ cents a pound of lead contents and collected another $4.50, the Mexican would still make a greater profit on his work than we could make on ours.

This is supposing that the tariff imposed is carefully and accurately collected. It is not collected so now. It is not possible to do it with the machinery provided by our Government.

At the port of El Paso, Tex., an average of 40 carloads of Mexican ores is received daily. To weigh, sample, and assay these 40 carloads of ores, the United States employs one assayer with one assistant. The assistant is only ornamental, so the assayer has the whole work to do.

On the other hand, the smelting company that uses this ore employs over fifty men to take the sample while unloading the cars and prepare it for the assayer, and they do not think that they do any unnecessary work. The contents of ores from any mine are constantly varying, and it is not possible to determine them for any given quantity without handling the whole of that quantity and sampling it in the regular commercial way.

Is there not a law requiring the proper sampling of imported lead ores? If there is, who is at fault that it has not been enforced?

Mr. Cleveland's Administration, through the framing of a tariff law by Mr. Wilson, sought to put lead ores on the free list as "raw materials."

They did not succeed by law, since half of the former duty was imposed, but if they did not succeed in fact, it was surely not because the door was not left wide open for undervaluations. This is plainly shown by the inadequate provisions for executing the law at El Paso, Tex., where the great bulk of the lead ores imported into the United States is entered.

It comes with ill grace for the great smelting plants to advocate a policy that will result in harm to the lead-mining industry of the United States.

As a rule they are not miners, nor are they interested in mines in this country, though some of them are quite heavily interested in old Mexico. They make contracts for lead ores and pay for them only when received and determined. They do not then pay the going market price, but have a dishonest habit of underquoting it as a sort of insurance that they may make use of the lead purchased and then market it without danger of loss from any decline while it is in their hands. At this writing (February 5, 1897), on a rising market, lead is quoted in New York strong at $3.20 to $3.25 per 100 pounds, and the "smelter quotation" for use in settling with the ore producers is $2.90.

This practice is permitted because the producers are not comb ned and the smelters are. In 1894 the great smelters had a "clearing house" and parceled out the lead mines that each one was permitted to devour. The devouring process was so successful that the clearing house was dissolved and the smelters raised the price of lead ores for their own salvation. (See Mineral Resources of the United States, 1895—Lead.)

Thus the actual decline in the market and more, too, has been borne by the producer, the lead miner. Is it any wonder that he has not kept up with the demand and that the smelters think they are compelled to go abroad for their supply of lead ores?

There is another governmental iniquity that has operated to depress the lead-mining industry. It is the privilege of importing and manufacturing "in bond." Why this privilege should be granted to lead and not to tin or sugar or wool, it is hard to say. It has been shamefully abused, and should be withdrawn.

This privilege makes it easier to import Mexican ores, that already hold a great advantage over those of domestic production. It also permits the "lead trust" to import European pig lead at small cost, to threaten and break down our market, as they did in July, 1894. It also breeds the suspicion that in some way or other the payment of duties, in whole or in part, is finally escaped.

Let those who wish to import lead in any form pay the duty when it enters this country, in cash. They need no assurance that the United States will refund it if the bullion is properly reexported, and when they get cash out of the United States Treasury they will be entitled to it.

The lead miners of this country do not desire the ruin of the smelting interests, but they do want such conditions that it will pay the smelters to favor domestic ores.

The great silver-lead smelters are not the proper exponents of what is best for the lead-mining industry of the United States, since they really have little interest in common with it. They ought to take a friendly interest in the prosperity of so important an ally, but they have not done so.

They have procured legislation that permitted them to bring in ruinous competition the rich ores of old Mexico that were mined by the cheapest labor in the world. They have become large owners in those mines instead of in the mines of their own country. They have no interest in the price of pig lead, on which the miners' price for ore is based, except that it shall not decline in the interval between their purchase of ore and selling of the resulting lead, and they protect themselves against that chance by using a fictitious quotation, lower than the actual market, on which to make those purchases. They must make a large and steady production, regardless of market conditions, which fact is taken advantage of by the "lead trust" to get its "raw materials" at the lowest cost.

Least of all should the "lead trust" presume to speak for the American lead miner. The chief end of its existence is to buy pig lead at the lowest possible price and sell its own products made from it at the highest possible price. With small gratitude for this country, that not only permitted but fostered its existence, it has sought to supplant our lead product with that of cheap labor from other countries, and its corroding plants on the Atlantic coast have been greatly increased in capacity to more conveniently receive that product by water, the cheapest of all transportation.

The domestic product of pig lead must reach this more distant market by rail and enter the competition hampered by greater freight charges. It is difficult to understand why so obnoxious a trust should be especially favored by permitting it to manufacture "in bond" this foreign product of cheap labor and carriage.

Let the taxes on imports of pig lead be high enough to offset these advantages, and let them be paid in cash when the entries are made.

The American lead miner speaks for himself and asks the Congress of the United States to restore the rates of duty imposed by the McKinley bill on all imports of lead and lead in ores, to require that those duties shall be paid in cash when the entries are made, and to provide adequate measures to honestly determine them, without any allowances or exemptions of any kind or degree.

[Statement of the St. Joseph Lead Company (J. Wyman Jones, president; Frederic E. Camp, treasurer; C. B. Parsons, superintendent, and Dwight A. Jones, secretary) and the Doe Run Lead Company (offices—Bryant Building, 55 Liberty street, New York; Laclede Building, Fourth and Olive streets, St. Louis; Bonne Terre, Mo.; mines and works in St. François and Jefferson counties, Mo.) in support of a duty of 1¼ cents on lead-bearing ores.]

Believing that the amendments of the Senate Finance Committee to paragraphs 179 and 180 of Schedule C of House bill 379, entitled "A bl to provide revenue for the Government and to encourage the industries of the United States," and particularly that the amendment which increases the duty on lead-bearing ores to 1¼ cents on their lead contents, are of vital consequence to the miners of this country who are interested in lead ores, as well as to all those who dwell in the lead-mining sections of our country and all who are interested in lead properties, we submit this statement for fair examination.

The above companies were organized in 1864 and 1886, respectively, and are the largest miners of disseminated galena lead ore in the United States. They employ over a thousand men and produce over 20,000 tons of pig lead annually. They have no other metal, in merchantable quantities, in their ore, and are dependent for life upon the American demand for lead in the open market. The industries carried on by them have built up several large towns in southeastern Missouri, have greatly increased the wealth of that section of our country, and have been the means of support of many thousand people.

These companies submitted to the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives at the hearing on January 9, 1897, a statement which is printed in the report of the tariff hearings before that committee asking for the restoration of the duties affecting them to the rates of the tariff of 1890. This request was granted, in a measure, and the duty on pig lead and base bullion was made 2 cents a pound, but the House refused to restore the duty on lead ore, and thereby largely nullified the effect of its favorable action in regard to pig lead and base bullion.

This defect was remedied by the Finance Committee of the Senate after most careful investigation, and the duty on lead-bearing ores was increased by that committee to 1¼ cents a pound, the duty on pig lead and base bullion remaining at 2 cents a pound. We now urge the permanent adoption by the Senate, the conference committee, and the House of Representatives of this

amendment of the Finance Committee increasing the duty on lead in ores, and ask attention to the following statistics of the lead industry:

The production of refined lead in the United States from 1825 to 1896, both inclusive, is shown in the following table taken from the Report of the Secretary of the Interior, volume 4, Part III, 1894-95, page 359:

[Short tons.]

Year.	Total production.	Year.	Total production.	Year.	Total production.
1825	1,500	1843	25,000	1857	15,800
1830	8,000	1844	26,000	1858	15,300
1831	7,500	1845	30,000	1859	16,400
1832	10,000	1846	28,000	1860	15,600
1833	11,000	1847	23,000	1861	14,100
1834	12,000	1848	25,000	1862	14,200
1835	13,000	1849	23,500	1863	14,800
1836	15,000	1850	22,000	1864	15,300
1837	18,500	1851	18,500	1865	14,700
1838	15,000	1852	15,700	1866	16,100
1839	17,500	1853	16,800	1867	15,200
1840	17,000	1854	16,500	1868	16,400
1841	20,500	1855	15,800	1869	17,500
1842	24,000	1856	16,000	1870	17,800

Year.	Total production (includes foreign ores and bullion).	Desilverized lead.	Soft lead (includes all Missouri).	From foreign ores and base bullion.	Net American product.
1871	20,000				
1872	25,880				
1873	42,540	20,159	22,381		
1874	52,080				
1875	59,640	34,909	24,731		
1876	64,070	37,649	26,421		
1877	81,900	50,748	31,153		
1878	91,000	64,290	26,770		
1879	92,780	64,650	28,130		
1880	97,825	70,135	27,690		
1881	117,085	86,315	30,770		
1882	132,890	103,875	29,015		
1883	143,957	122,157	21,800		
1884	139,897	119,965	19,932		
1885	129,412	107,437	21,975		
1886*	135,629	114,829	20,800	5,000	130,629
1887	160,700	135,552	25,148	15,000	145,700
1888	180,555	151,465	29,090	28,636	151,919
1889	182,567	153,709	28,858	26,570	156,397
1890	161,754	130,403	31,351	18,124	143,630
1891	202,406	171,009	31,397	23,852	178,554
1892	213,262	181,584	31,678	39,957	173,305
1893	229,333	196,820	32,513	65,351	163,982
1894	219,090	181,404	37,686	59,739	162,686
1895†	238,579	200,390	38,189	70,642	167,937
1896	245,452	200,838	44,616	72,441	173,011

* First importation of foreign ores.

† The figures for 1895 and 1896 are from statistics prepared by Mr. E. A. Caswell, of New York, who is well known as a lead statistician and whose tables are used in Government publications. (See volume 4, Part III, Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1894-95, pages 363, 369.)

We give, for comparison and for the purpose of showing additional facts relating to the ten years last past, the following table, which has been compiled by us from statistics prepared by Mr. Caswell.

Table of United States lead production and consumption, in short tons, from 1887 to 1897.

Year.	Desilverized lead.	Missouri and soft.	Total from United States mines.	Consumption in United States.	Used from foreign bullion and pig.	Used from foreign ore.	Mexican base bullion refined in bond.	Exported, manufactured and foreign bullion.
1887	117,022	27,958	144,980	164,416	4,312	15,060	.....	1,400
1888	125,800	31,252	157,052	162,490	1,642	27,018	.....	1,250
1889	127,577	27,400	154,977	188,046	283	24,650	.....	1,904
1890	114,546	33,840	148,386	185,037	10,174	14,064	.....	2,345
1891	150,478	29,763	180,241	203,305	3,651	21,575	2,036	2,921
1892	148,080	32,895	180,975	210,330	1,875	26,380	12,000	12,400
1893	126,703	32,859	159,652	191,011	4,424	29,270	34,000	35,935
1894	120,081	38,113	158,194	197,092	20,382	17,466	42,445	21,585
1895	130,748	38,189	167,937	235,356	(27,766) (22,947)	20,254	50,388	24,670
1896	128,305	44,616	173,011	202,876	(5,550) (2,414)	21,901	50,540	46,490

Table showing average price of common pig lead at New York City.

1873	6.30	1886	4.63
1874	6.00	1887	4.40½
1875	5.95	1888	4.41
1876	6.05	1889	5.80½
1877	5.45	1890	4.33½
1878	3.58	1891	4.54½
1879	4.18	1892	4.05
1880	5.05	1893	3.61
1881	4.80	1894	3.12
1882	4.90	1895	3.12
1883	4.32	1896	2.83
1884	3.73½	1897 to June 1*	3.26
1885	3.94½		

* See Engineering and Mining Journal, June 19, 1897, page 647.

Table showing duties, in cents per pound, since the organization of the St. Joseph Lead Company.

	1864.	1875-1882.	1883.	1890.	1894.	House tariff, 1897.	Senate amendments, 1897.
Lead ore	1½	1½	1½	1½	¾	1	1½
Lead in pigs, bars, and base bullion	2	2	2	2	1	2	2
Scrap lead, etc	1½	1½	2	2	1	2	2

We submit that these tables show that this country does not produce enough lead ore to supply the wants of the country; that our home miners are engaged in keen competition with foreign ores and foreign bullion, are receiving lower and lower prices, and are at the point of surrendering their market to foreigners.

It will be observed that the production of lead in this country, owing to the protection given the industry, has grown to a large business, but that it is even yet far below the needs of the country, and that nothing but the protective tariff prevents the absolute surrender of our only market to the prices at which Mexican lead can be sold here at a profit. The disastrous results which followed the importations for consumption in the year 1895, which were 20,254 tons of ore, 27,776 tons of bullion, and 22,947 tons of pig lead, illustrate clearly the effects of a low tariff. Nothing like the demoralization of the American market during the year 1896 has ever been experienced in the country, and the official price of lead during the year touched 2.50 cents per pound in the city of New York.

Mines were closed and abandoned, and the general depression among miners of lead ore and silver-lead ore reached its climax. Had the duties of tariff of 1890 been in force there would not have been such an overwhelming flooding of our market. But the restoration of a part of these rates will not remedy the trouble. If the price at which Mexican base bullion can be sold at a profit in this country is raised by the imposition of a duty of 2 cents a pound, we are still unprotected unless the duty on foreign ores is also raised proportionately. If this duty is kept at 1 cent per pound, all the foreign lead that comes here will come in the shape of ores, and the price will be controlled by the cost of these ores at New York, plus 1 cent a pound duty.

This price is not sufficient to protect our miners or to bring prosperity to the working classes. This country does not export lead made from domestic ores. The exports referred to in the Monthly Summary of Finance and Commerce, under the heading "Exports of domestic merchandise," are exports of foreign bullion, or manufactured lead, this classification covering all foreign articles the form of which has been changed or the value enhanced. (See Commerce and Navigation of the United States, 1896, Volume I, page vii.)

Nothing to-day stands between the American producer and the low prices of the summer of 1896 excepting the higher price of the London market and the prospective increase in our tariff. The London price enables refiners of bullion to make more profit by shipping their product to Europe than by paying duty here and selling it in our market. The importance of making the rate 2 cents on bullion is therefore evident, for without this increase, at the slightest weakness in the London market, this bullion can be put upon our market at destructive prices.

But unless the duty on ores is kept at 1½ cents, we shall still be at the mercy of the Mexican miners, for the difference in the price of labor and the cost of transportation is not covered by 1 cent duty nor even fully by 1½ cents, as was shown during the period while the tariff of 1890 was in force, when Mexican ores came here in large quantities and were able to compete with our domestic ores.

We call attention to the fact that the Government will receive more revenue if the duty on ores remains 1½ cents than it will receive if 1 cent is made the rate, as these ores must come here to supply our deficiency in production.

Under the tariff of 1890 a very large proportion of the foreign lead that came here came in the shape of ores, and this fact gives positive proof that it will come in this way again, as this is the natural result of the high duty on pig lead and bullion. Under the tariff of 1890 the duty on ores was 1½ cents, and the tariff yielded the following revenue from lead-bearing ores:

In 1891	$610,387.21
In 1892	813,739.35
In 1893	877,309.81
Total	2,301,436.37

(See Monthly Summary of Finance and Commerce, March, 1896, pages 1145, 1146.)

Had the duty been 1 cent, as was proposed by the House bill, the revenue collected would only have been:

In 1891	$406,924.78
In 1892	542,492.91
In 1893	584,873.19
Total	1,534,290.88

And the Government would have lost $767,145.49.

This is approximately what the Government will lose in the next three years by making the duty 1 cent instead of 1½ cents. Why should this loss be assumed? These ores have come here continuously since 1887, and are bound to come in the future.

The following number of short tons have been imported and used in American consumption:

In 1887	15,060	In 1892	26,380
In 1888	27,018	In 1893	29,270
In 1889	24,650	In 1894	17,466
In 1890	14,064	In 1895	20,254
In 1891	21,575	In 1896	21,901

During this period, from 1887 to 1896, the Government collected not only the duties on this ore but large amounts were received from pig lead and base bullion. Under the Dingley bill as it passed the House it is fair to assume that the Government will get no income from its high duties on pig lead and base bullion, because dealers will find it to their advantage to bring in the ores at the low rate of duty. If, however, the duty on ores is advanced to 1½ cents, it is reasonable to assume that, in addition to the increased amount of duty collected on the imported ores, considerable duty will be received from pig lead and base bullion, which can then have a chance of coming into the country at a cost that will bear some parity to the value of foreign ore, plus the expense of smelting in the United States.

The tariff of 1890, with its rates of 2 cents on pig lead and 1½ cents on ores, showed excellent results. And there was no such destruction of the home

market and loss of revenue as occurred in 1896. The following amounts have been collected in duties on lead and manufactures of lead:

Fiscal year ending June 30. (See Monthly Summary of Finance and Commerce, October, 1896, page 644.)

1884	$26,015.84	1887	$230,617.78
1885	147,136.01	1888	146,310.25
1886	221,947.37	1889	57,757.11

Calendar year ending December 31. (See Monthly Summary of Finance and Commerce, March, 1893, pages 1145, 1146.)

1890	$558,343.05	1894	$758,662.75
1891	686,864.74	1895	1,385,427.84
1892	867,916.74	1896*	410,871.86
1893	958,760.90		

*From figures furnished by the Bureau of Statistics.

The only opposition to the Senate rate on ores comes from a few smelters who try to obscure the rights of the miners. We assert that the increase of duty on ores does not prevent their purchase for fluxing. They are just as near our borders, just as easily transported when the duty is 1¼ cents as when it is 1 cent.

The lead and silver-lead miners need protection against low prices on these fluxing ores.

The price to the miners is the question with which the mining interests of this country are concerned. They have their ores to sell, and they desire to obtain a fair return for them. Why should the smelters object to this, unless they have interests in foreign mines? The advance in price is made good to them and they lose nothing.

This whole question turns on price. If the duty on ores is kept down to 1 cent, the great smelting establishments alone will secure the benefits of the tariff. They will no doubt advance prices for their products, and get the double benefit in their own profits of the increase in duties on pig lead and of the low price of ores. This is manifestly unjust. They should be willing to allow the price of ores to be sufficiently high to reestablish the mining interests of the country on a prosperous basis, and were it not for probable interest in Mexican and British Columbia mines they would be.

If we admit the claim that they must have lead ores for fluxing, we say: Let them buy American ores at a fair price or buy foreign ores and either pay a fair proportionate duty on them or take advantage of the bonding privilege and use the ores for fluxing and then export them. They are abundantly protected, for the duty on pig lead and on all lead products has been advanced. There is therefore no reason why smelters should stand in the way of the protection of American miners and the development of American mines, and some of them do not.

The contention of a few refiners that transportation and other expenses make three-quarters of a cent, or 1 cent, duty on lead in ore equivalent to 2 cents on pig lead is unsound, for experience and the record show that for the most part the duty on lead in the ore has been the actual margin at which the United States price has ruled above the foreign price, so that this lower duty must be considered as the maximum protection under any tariff.

A duty of 1¼ cents on lead ores means $30 instead of $20 a ton, or $10 a ton nearer a fair price for all lead from silver and other lead-bearing ores.

The duty on ores will, in conjunction with their cost, fix the lowest price at which they can be sold in our country, and the difference between 1 cent duty and 1¼ cents means $10 per ton to the miner. It is intimated that this increase in the price of ores will cause the smelters to charge more for refining dry ores. But this is highly improbable, because—

1. There is a corresponding increase of duty on pig lead, and the smelters have no excuse for charging more for their processes.

2. The amount of imported ores is about one-fifth of all the desilverized lead produced in the country, and therefore the extra cost per ton for fluxing ores, if it were all charged against the lead miners, would be only one-fifth of $10 per ton, which would leave a handsome profit to the miners who sold their ores at an advance of $10 per ton.

3. The competition among the smelters will keep down the cost of smelting.

4. Some of the most influential refiners favor the increase in duty on ores and will prevent injustice.

It may, therefore, be concluded that every section of our country where lead and silver-lead mines exist will be greatly benefited by this increase of duty on ore. Colorado, Montana, Nevada, Utah, Idaho, and Missouri will receive equal benefit; the depression in mining centers will be helped, and the benefits of protection will reach the homes of our mining population.

The benefits of the Senate rate are already appearing.

The nearer the date for the enactment of the tariff law of 1897 as amended by the Senate the better becomes the lead market. It is universally conceded that the price of pig lead, before settling down for the summer, is awaiting the action of Congress. The overthrow of the Senate amendment making the duty 1¼ cents on ores means a decrease in price, a market glutted with foreign ores, and stagnant business at home. These results will prevent the return of prosperity and depress the working classes.

On the other hand, an enactment of the bill with the Senate rate on lead in ores will stimulate the entire lead-mining industry of the country. It will make active work in many localities where it is sorely needed. It will enable employers to do their share toward extending that general prosperity for which we look and will help to spread among workers in this field of labor a firm confidence that Congress favors the encouragement of this home industry and the payment of American wages to American miners.

ST. JOSEPH LEAD COMPANY,
DOE RUN LEAD COMPANY,
By DWIGHT A. JONES.

JUNE 25, 1897.

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. President, this letter, written from No. 30 Broad street, New York, to the Senator from Montana [Mr. CARTER] by Guggenheim's Sons, seems to be a letter prepared for the occasion. I do not know who the firm of Guggenheim's Sons are, except, as I understand, they have a refinery somewhere upon the Atlantic Ocean, or upon the water, so that it can be reached from the ocean, and that their fluxing ores are shipped from Mexico by water, costing them practically nothing. I think I am substantially correct in that statement.

Mr. CARTER. Will the Senator permit an interruption?

Mr. ALLEN. Certainly.

Mr. CARTER. It is true the gentlemen who write the letter referred to by the Senator, and read from the Secretary's desk, are interested in mines and likewise in smelting. They insist upon an adequate duty upon lead ore not upon the basis of shipments made by them from Mexico, or upon the basis of the fact that they own a lead mine, or a number of mines, but upon the substantial ground that the price of lead ore in this country is primarily determined by the duty fixed upon the lead ore imported, and not the duty upon the pig lead. Hence, a low duty on the lead in the ore would fix the price of the lead to the smelters producing it, and a high duty on pig lead would not be available for the purpose of fixing the price.

Mr. ALLEN. In other words, they want to fix the price by statute, and they do not want that price to be affected in consequence of competition or anything else of that kind.

Mr. President, this firm, if they are to be believed—and I presume they are; I know nothing to discredit them—have access to fluxing ores from Mexico by water. They own a large mine, some 500,000 tons of fluxing ores, I think they state, somewhere in the mountain States, I do not know exactly where.

Mr. SHOUP. At Leadville.

Mr. ALLEN. At Leadville. If any person was ever in the position in which the negro advised his boy to set his deadfall when he was teaching him, Guggenheim's Sons are in that position. The negro told his boy to set his deadfall to catch the coon "comin' or gwine," and these fellows have got their deadfall so set as to catch the interests of this country from either direction. They are willing that their fluxing ores should be run as they are run now, providing they can get the advantage of fluxing ores from Mexico along the tide water up here to their smelting works, which I think are in New Jersey, although I will not state that they are.

Mr. CARTER. They are in the State of New Jersey.

Mr. ALLEN. In the State of New Jersey.

Mr. President, they have got every interior smelting mine by the throat under those circumstances. No wonder they throw their hats in the air for high duties on lead in the ore. Every ton of fluxing ore that is shipped from Mexico to Kansas City, or to Omaha, or into some other of the interior States to some of those refineries, must come by rail, where the rate of transportation is—I will not undertake to say how much greater than it is by water, but certainly 100 per cent or more.

Of course they can afford to do this. If the policy advised in the letter written to the honorable senior Senator from Montana by Guggenheim's Sons shall be followed out by Congress in the framing of this bill, every smelter who is not situated upon tide water in the United States will be closed if this bill becomes a law. That firm want the duty high, but, whether it be high or low, they can ship from Mexico; and if it be high, they can ship from their mines in Colorado or wherever their mines may be located.

But I call the attention of the Senate, and I call the Senators from Montana to witness the fact, that nine-tenths, if not 99 per cent, of the smelters of this country are opposed to this duty of a cent and a half a pound on lead in the ore, and have repeatedly so expressed themselves in letters and memorials and telegrams.

Mr. President, I do not want to see anything happen to the lead-mining interest of this country which will imperil it. I should like to see it built up; I should like to see it grow stronger from day to day and from year to year; but I do not want to see it propped up by legislation to the extent of driving the smelting and other important interests of the United States to the British Possessions and to Mexico.

Mr. VEST. Mr. President, in this, as in almost every other case, we are confronted with conflicting interests, each demanding certain protective rates from the Congress of the United States upon their production. In the case before us there are smelters who want the silver ore from Mexico admitted free for fluxing purposes. One of these smelters is within 5 miles of the city in which I live—the Argentina Smelter Company, in the State of Kansas. On the other hand, we find the silver-mine owners of the West, whose mines produce the mixed ores of silver and lead—for they are found together—in favor of the highest possible duty on the foreign ores and upon pig lead from abroad, especially upon those ores, because it is a competing product with that of their mines.

We have in the State of Missouri both interests, because the Argentina Smelter is practically in my State, though about 3 or 4 miles from the State line. Besides these interests, the State of Missouri has the largest galena ore mines in the United States, the St. Joe Mine being the largest I know of anywhere. The capital invested in it is $5,500,000, and there are a number of other mines; the Doe Run Mine, the Central Mine, and others in the immediate vicinity, with investments of from two hundred to three hundred and fifty and four hundred thousand dollars.

Mr. President, in the vote that I shall give, and for which I am responsible, I am actuated alone by what I believe to be the interests of the consumers of the United States. I do not think I am here to represent the lead-mine owners of Missouri or the smelters of Missouri. The question that I am to determine is, What is the effect upon the common people of the United States, the large mass of consumers, who must use the products of lead for the ordinary purposes of life? I very frankly state that I will not vote one cent for protection in order to increase the price of white lead to the poor people of the United States.

We have in this country an immense lead trust; and the superficial observer would be inclined to think that the interest of that trust was to put a low duty upon the imported lead, or to put it upon the free list, because that is their raw material; but I have before me the report of that trust, showing that their interest is entirely in the opposite direction, and that they want a duty upon lead for the simple reason, as they express it, that they have always on hand a large amount of the raw material, and a low duty decreases the value of that material as part of their assets. In this report, the last one made, for the year 1894, the National Lead Company, 1 Exchange place, Jersey City, N. J., makes the following report:

Surplus in December, 1893, $950,355.81. The net earnings during the year 1894 were $1,212,258.47. They paid in dividends on preferred stock March 15, dividend No. 9, $260,820; on June 15, dividend No. 10, $260,820, the same amount; on September 15, dividend No. 11, the same amount, and on December 15, dividend No. 12, the same amount—making $1,043,280—paid every three months during that year. Besides these dividends upon preferred stock, they paid on their common stock July 2, dividend No. 3, $149,054; October 1, dividend No. 4, $149,054, and December 31, dividend No. 5, $149,054.

Mr. President, this institution is in rather a flourishing condition. These dividends are paid quarterly upon the preferred stock, and the dividends I have named were paid upon common stock in a year of great depression, of great commercial calamity. When every interest in this country has been at the lowest ebb, these large amounts have been distributed to the stockholders of the company.

Now permit me to read, for the information of the Senate, their explanation of the position of the trust in regard to the tariff. They go on to state that the year 1894 was a year of great depression and that all values had fallen. Then they say:

Notwithstanding this, it is particularly gratifying to be able to state that this company had a substantial increase in its volume of business in every department except one during the year 1894 as compared with 1893. Profits were not so large, because the purchasing power of consumers having been sadly reduced and propositions for the reduction of the tariff having taken form in the early part of the year, the management decided to promptly meet these conditions by reducing prices to a basis as low as could be anticipated under the new tariff, and which would meet the prevailing necessity for cheaper goods.

I call the attention of the Senate to the fact that this trust, managed in such a fashion as to pay these enormous dividends, is of the opinion that a low tariff decreases prices, while a high tariff puts them up, and therefore they reduce expenses to meet the new conditions which they supposed would be caused by the Wilson Act. They then proceed to say:

It will be borne in mind that the values of substantially all merchandise were lower January 1, 1895, than on January 1, 1894. The tariff on pig lead and all manufactures of lead in which this company is interested was reduced practically one-half, as for instance on pig lead and white lead 1½ cents per pound. It is necessary for the proper and economic conduct of our business to carry an enormous quantity of lead in process of manufacture, and it will not occasion surprise to know that the reduction in the value of our lead products between January 1, 1894, and January 1, 1895, when inventories were taken at current values, amounted to more than $250,000.

Here is a statement clearly and frankly made that upon the lead they had on hand a reduction of from one and one-half to three-fourths of a cent in the Wilson Act caused this trust the loss of $250,000 in that year. What is the logical and irresistible conclusion of this statement coming from men who are able to pay these enormous dividends? It is simply that the price of all lead products with a higher tariff is increased to the consumer, whilst under a lower tariff it is decreased.

This trust manufactures, I am told, more than two-thirds of all the white lead used in the United States. What is white lead? It is the preservative of frame houses, of frame structures of every character. It is as necessary to the poor man who can not build a stone or a brick house as any other commodity that meets the necessary demands of his daily life. They say here emphatically that because we reduced the duty upon lead, the value of white lead, their principal product, was necessarily cut down, and therefore they were compelled to economize and to cut off expenses in order to pay these enormous dividends every three months upon their preferred stock, with three or four dividends besides upon the common stock. How can I hesitate as to my duty in view of these facts?

These statements are made by parties interested for themselves. What do they care for the people of this country except to make money out of them? What is their object except to increase these dividends to their stockholders? How am I to regard this statement except that a high tariff means a higher price for the products of this great trust?

Am I to listen to the Argentina Smelter Company, amongst whose stockholders are some of the dearest friends I have in the world, or am I to listen to these Western mine owners, with whom I have the greatest sympathy, and hundreds of whom are natives of my own State and went from Missouri to the West? I am not here to vote money into the pockets of these smelters or into the pockets of the mine owners. If that is the work to be done, somebody else must take my place. I am opposed to putting up these duties, because this lead trust tells us that that means to increase the price of their products to the common people, as Lincoln called them, of the whole country.

Mr. President, I am not speaking for political effect. My ambition has been fully gratified. I only hope to do my duty as I see it, and I would not give a single vote, if two-thirds of the people of the State of Missouri were here demanding it, if I believed that it violated the great principle of equity and equality which should govern every legislator in the discharge of his duty.

But, Mr. President, the duty proposed in this bill is above what the lead men ask. I have here before me the testimony taken before the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives, and I find here the testimony of Mr. Cantwell, a most intelligent lead-mine owner in Missouri, a man of large capital, representing the Association of Missouri Lead Miners, who testified as the representative of all the lead miners in the State, and he gives their views, and here is his suggestion in conclusion:

All ores—

Here is the clause he submits to be adopted by the committee—

All ores, mattes, and slags containing 8 per cent or more of lead, three-fourths of 1 cent per pound; lead dross, 1½ cents per pound; lead in pigs and bars, in which lead is the chief component in weight, 1½ cents per pound, the duties on the articles mentioned in this section to be levied on the full weight of the mass as offered for importation.

Here is this gentleman, more largely interested, possibly, than any other citizen or any other mine owner in the State of Missouri, saying that this duty should be three-fourths of 1 cent per pound, as it is under the existing law. But we are told now that it must be put up to 1½ cents per pound. For what purpose? The price of lead has gone down. So has the price of everything else except gold. Has the price of the wheat of the farmer gone up, except in the spasmodic gambling in the grain pit at Chicago? Has the price of cattle gone up? Has the price of any commodity gone up in these last five or six years of terrible depression?

But the lead men come to us and ask us to relieve their trust from this depression by doubling these tariff duties; and their only argument is that it will exclude foreign lead from the United States, when the export and import statistics show that we export five or six million pounds of this lead each year, and did in the year 1893. Mr. Cantwell's principal complaint, if Senators feel any interest in the question, seems to be that this clause is found in the existing law and now stands in the present bill, which gives to the importer of silver-lead ores from Mexico the right to import in bond, and after he has gone into the smelting bonded warehouse of the United States and used these mixed ores there and extracted the lead, he can then export the lead abroad under a provision of the law which he claims has been shamefully and recklessly abused.

I will not trespass upon the patience of the Senate, and I have not the strength to do so, but I ask Senators to read the whole of the complaint of Mr. Cantwell, to be found in the Tariff Hearings before the House committee. I have heard it before, and I have no doubt to a large extent it is true.

I submit to our friends who control this bill whether it is not right now to correct that abuse and either to repeal or modify the bonded clause found in the act of 1894, for which I voted, and now found in the proposed act. If Senators have not had their attention called to that remarkable legislation, it amounts to this, that the importer can bring in from Mexico silver-lead ore; he can take it to a bonded warehouse of the United States where there are smelters. He can then take the lead and export it abroad, passing it simply through the United States after the smelting process has been completed. Mr. Cantwell charges that the officers of the United States have performed their duties carelessly and recklessly and have taken the statements of importers as to the amount of lead contained in the ores and the amount of silver without making the assay as was intended in the act of 1894 that it should be.

Under the proposed act our friends on the other side of the Chamber have simply altered this provision so that silver-lead ore from Mexico can be taken to any smelting institution in the United States, whether a bonded warehouse of the Government or not, and there, under the supervision of an assayer of the Government, the metals are to be separated and the amount of lead certified to the custom-house authorities. What will be the operation of this change of the law I am unable to say, but I have very great doubts whether this provision should have been put in the act of 1894 and I have great doubt whether it should remain in the law.

Mr. Cantwell in his testimony states as follows:

This provision—

Referring to the bonded provision—

to be effective should be supplemented by the repeal of all provisions for the smelting and refining of ores and metals, and particularly ores in bond.

Then he goes on to elaborate the proposition and give his reasons, as I have briefly stated them, in opposition to the bonded provision.

At the proper time I shall move to reduce the duty to three-quarters of a cent a pound upon these lead ores, and I should, with a great deal of pleasure, vote to put them upon the free list. I believe that lead should be free, and I am prepared to vote for it and to take my full share of responsibility for that vote, but as the existing law puts the duty at three-quarters of a cent, I am willing to take the present provision.

Mr. MILLS. What is the ad valorem?

Mr. VEST. About 45 per cent. That is all I desire to say.

Mr. RAWLINS. Mr. President, I have listened with interest to the discussion by the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. ALLEN] and also by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST]. On general principles I do not differ so very much from the position which has been stated so forcibly and so eloquently by the distinguished leader upon this question on this side of the Chamber. I think we ought all of us to have regard for the consumers of the country. I perhaps would go further than the Senator from Missouri is prepared to go if I could frame legislation or a revenue system in reference to the principles which I think should be applied upon that subject. But I am compelled to differ with the Senator in some respects as to the details of this legislation. For instance, the question of the duties upon lead in its different forms. Let us apply our principles to the conditions as they confront us, not with reference to a situation as we would desire to make it.

When we came to the duty upon white lead, the Senator from Missouri moved a reduction of the duty upon that article, and I was glad to vote with him upon that question. We were defeated. So it is settled that the duty as fixed in the bill and as proposed by the committee is to prevail. The duty upon white lead under the Wilson law, the act now in force, and the duty as it is provided in the proposed legislation are absolutely prohibitive. We have had no importations into this country of white lead coming in competition with the product of the white-lead trust.

That great combination fixes the prices of the finished product, if we may so call it, to the American consumer, and no reduction in the duty upon other forms of lead will operate in the slightest degree beneficially to the people who build houses and use paint for their preservation. The argument which has been made by the Senator from Missouri has failed to convince me that a reduction in the duty proposed upon lead-bearing ores imported into this country can have the slightest possible effect in diminishing the burden of the great mass of the American consumers.

Next take the other condition. The smelting combination for which the Senator from Nebraska spoke—I do not mean that he spoke in its behalf or in its special interest, but as an interest located in his own State—while it may not technically exist in the form of a trust, is a combination of men whose capital is invested in great smelting concerns in this country, and I am informed they are also interested in the white-lead trust. All those smelters get together at different times and fix the price which they will be willing to pay miners throughout the country for their product. The duty in the existing law upon pig lead, which is the product of the smelting combination, and the duty proposed in this bill are absolutely prohibitive. I find that there are substantially no importations into this country under the Wilson law. So the smelting combination have a complete and perfect monopoly, excluding absolutely those products which come in competition with that which they have to put upon the market. Therefore they can fix to the consumers of pig lead, the consumers generally throughout the country, the price which they must pay. They must submit to the exactions which that combination see fit to make.

Mr. ALLEN. The lead miners have the markets of the world.

Mr. RAWLINS. Wait a moment. I will answer the question. So a reduction of the duty upon lead-bearing ores can not by any possibility benefit the consumers of pig lead or white lead.

Now, although it is a certainty, in accordance with the vote already cast by the Senate, that these high rates of duty giving an absolute monopoly to the white-lead trust and the smelting combination must prevail, it is insisted that the duty must be lowered on lead-bearing ores imported from Mexico and British Columbia. Who can be benefited if this motion should prevail? It can not be the mass of consumers among the American people. The consumers of lead-bearing ores in the United States are the lead-smelting combinations and the white-lead trust, controlling the market in the United States absolutely with respect to the articles they have to sell.

This same combination, this same trust, a conspiracy engaged in a legitimate business, but in an unlawful manner, which ought to be prosecuted and punished, as the Senator from Kentucky well said, ought not to receive legislative encouragement at the expense of the men who toil in the mines. But I doubt very much whether the miners in Utah would receive any resulting benefit from this duty. They have sent me petitions requesting that this modicum of favoritism, if it may be so called, be granted to them. As it can not operate to the injury of anybody except a criminal combination, I am willing to concede it to them. If it fails to prove beneficial to them, they will find out their mistake, and then they may be willing to lend their aid to the correction of this pernicious system which is largely concocted and conceived for the purpose of building up industries by bounties and subsidies, industries which otherwise would be unprofitable except as they receive governmental aid.

This bill is framed for the encouragement of manufactures upon the seaboard. To be more accurate in my statement, it is framed in order to facilitate the concentration of industrial enterprises of that character upon the Atlantic Seaboard. It is framed in accordance with that theory of political economy which maintains that it is to the best interest of the people that they should have materials as cheaply as possible upon which to operate, upon which to labor. All materials used in manufacturing enterprises which are to be made the ingredients of manufactured products, under the various provisions of this bill—that applies also to the schedule in relation to lead—are to be admitted free in bond if manufactured for export. Manufacturers in the interior of the country can not avail themselves of that provision. It has the effect of extending the market for the manufactures established in certain seaboard localities, increasing their power by competition to override manufactures in like lines located in the interior or other parts of the country.

Such establishments ought to seek the most favorable locality, where they can be operated with the greatest possible advantage and obtain the things they need out of which to make their manufactured products as cheaply as possible, thereby enabling them to furnish to the consumers in their respective neighborhoods the articles at the lowest possible cost.

That was the aim and purpose of the inauguration of the protective system as it was understood by Hamilton and as it was proclaimed by Clay—the diversification of our industries—and our friends upon the other side have now departed from that theory. They say the manufacturers along the seaboard must have raw materials free, to be manufactured for export. Some of our friends upon this side say that manufacturers generally must be favored to the extent of being allowed free of all duty, revenue or otherwise, materials which they need out of which to make their manufactured products.

The Senator from Delaware [Mr. GRAY] referred to Bastiat, a distinguished author, recognized as the most able writer in advocacy of the system of commercial and industrial freedom. The Senator from Missouri pointed to France as an example of a country where raw materials are free. It constitutes a part of the French protective system. He points to England. Of course in England all things are free, and as the whole includes the part, materials are free. This author not only exposes the fallacies of protection, leaving protection nothing upon which to stand from a true economic standpoint, but he takes up the policy to which the Senator from Delaware and the Senator from Missouri and some other Senators upon this side seem to be wedded—the policy of free raw materials—and I wish to read briefly what he says upon this subject in chapter 21:

> It is said that no commerce is so advantageous as that in which manufactured articles are exchanged for raw material; because the latter furnishes aliment for national labor.
>
> And it is hence concluded that the best regulation of duties would be to give the greatest possible facilities to the importation of raw material, and at the same time to check that of the finished article.
>
> There is in political economy no more generally accredited sophism than this. It serves for argument not only to the protectionists, but also to the pretended free-trade school, and it is in the latter capacity that its most mischievous tendencies are called into action, for a good cause suffers much less in being attacked than in being badly defended.
>
> Commercial liberty must probably pass through the same ordeal as liberty in every other form. It can only dictate laws after having first taken thorough possession of men's minds. If, then, it be true that a reform, to be firmly established, must be generally understood, it follows that nothing can so much retard it as the misleading of public opinion. And what more calculated to mislead opinion than writings, which, while they proclaim free trade, support the doctrines of monopoly?
>
> It is some years since three great cities of France, viz, Lyons, Bordeaux, and Havre, combined in opposition to the restrictive system. France, all Europe, looked anxiously and suspiciously at this apparent declaration in favor of free trade. Alas, it was still the banner of monopoly which they followed—a monopoly, only a little more sordid, a little more absurd than that of which they seemed to desire the destruction. Thanks to the sophism, which I would now endeavor to deprive of its disguise, the petitioners only reproduced, with an additional incongruity, the old doctrine of protection to national labor. What is, in fact, the prohibitive system?

We will let these petitioners from Bordeaux, the manufacturers, like the petitioners from New England, manufacturers, seeking to have a protective market for all they have to sell and a free-trade market for all they have to buy, settle this in a controversy between themselves, and this author permits them to do it. Now I will read briefly again, without detaining the Senate to read the whole of it:

> The agriculturist does not pretend that he has created the corn—
>
> Speaking of the tariff upon corn—
>
> but he has given it its value. He has by his own labor, and by that of his servants, his laborers, and his reapers, transformed into corn substances which were entirely dissimilar from it. What more is effected by the miller who converts it into flour or by the baker who makes it into bread?

In order that a man may be dressed in cloth, numerous operations are first necessary. Before the intervention of any human labor, the real primary materials of this article are air, water, heat, gas, light, and the various salts which enter into its composition. These are indeed untouched by human labor, for they have no value, and I have never dreamed of their needing protection. But a first labor converts these substances into forage, a second into wool, a third into thread, a fourth into cloth, and a fifth into garments. Who can pretend to say that all these contributions to the work, from the first furrow of the plow to the last stitch of the needle, are not labor?

And because, for the sake of speed and greater perfection in the accomplishment of the final object, these various branches of labor are divided among as many classes of workmen, you, by an arbitrary distinction, determine that the order in which the various branches of labor follow each other shall regulate their importance, so that while the first is not allowed to merit the name of labor, the last shall receive all the favors of protection.

But the answer propounded to me, perhaps, in the minds of gentlemen is this: If you tax the materials upon which the manufacturer operates, he can not compete with the manufacturer of like articles abroad; he must have some special subsidy or compensation. But that ignores a fact of which everybody must take notice, that the sun in its course around the world never finds a spot in which there is no taxation. The manufacturer in France and the manufacturer in Germany and the manufacturer in Great Britain are subject to the burden of taxation, and there is no reason why anybody in the United States should be exempt from a just and equitable share of contribution to support the Government which affords him and his property protection alike with other people. My principle is such that I do not concede the right to any pecuniary compensation by reason of a tax imposed for revenue.

The compensation which a man who is subject to the burden of taxation receives, and the only compensation to which he is entitled, is the governmental benefits which may result to him by reason of the administration of the Government and the equal and just laws which may be enacted, not only for his protection, but for that of all people upon like terms with himself. That is the compensation which any just system of taxation recognizes, and there is no other. When you assume that this burden of taxation must fall upon two-thirds of our population, engaged in the production of the crude materials by the employment of labor, who already bear their share of the burden to maintain the Government and receive no other benefit than the governmental protection to life and liberty and property, and say that the other one-third, who are engaged in no more lawful or meritorious labor, shall be exempt from the burdens of taxation, and that if by any chance taxes be imposed upon them indirectly they must receive a bounty or a subsidy special to them, in disregard of the duty which they owe to the Government in common with their fellow-citizens, it is an injustice to the former class.

There is no better ground upon which a man who believes in commercial and industrial freedom can stand than that of equality as enunciated in the Chicago platform. In the States, if you levy a direct tax upon property, exemptions are never favored. If you exempt certain property, it but increases the burden upon other property. Hence any provisions relating to exemptions are specialized and strictly construed, so that the taxing power may reach every conceivable object, making the burden as light as possible upon all, and making everyone share it alike. We propose, instead of levying taxes direct, to levy them upon consumption.

I start with the proposition announced by the Senator from Missouri, that we shall only raise so much money as is necessary to defray the expenses of the Government economically administered. Are you going to collect that from the consumer by increasing in a measure the cost to him of the articles which he may have to buy, which he needs for his consumption? Every article imported into the country should pay only the smallest possible duty which will yet raise the needed revenue, the burden to be distributed as uniformly as it is possible under the system in which favoritism must to some degree prevail. That was the doctrine of Calhoun, and he had a very clear insight as to the best interests of the great industrial people of this country. It was the doctrine of Walker. It was embodied in the recommendations upon which the Walker tariff was framed. It was recognized and most clearly enunciated by Albert Gallatin. It was the doctrine of the Democratic party down to the moment when Abram S. Hewitt, of New York, a great iron and steel manufacturer, concluded that he wanted free iron ore. He came down to Congress and made the proposition, and it was taken up in the interest of other manufacturers in other sections of the country. Strange to say, the people of the South, the people of the West, surrendered to it. While crying that they would tear down the temple of protection until not one stone would rest upon another, that they would lower the wall of the tariff to the ocean level, they suddenly found themselves prostrate at the feet of the protective idol, making legal tender of favoritism to monopoly in the form of free raw materials.

When we say that taxation should be uniform and equal, we are standing upon a proposition of justice which underlies the framework of our Government, and it is upon that proposition that the great Democratic party, in my judgment, should stand and will stand. It took that position at Chicago, and I do not believe it will retreat from it.

Mr. LINDSAY. I ask the Senator from Utah if he regards the change of phraseology adopted at Chicago as a change of doctrine from the Democratic platform of 1892?

Mr. RAWLINS. The Democratic platform of 1892 declared that Republican protection was a fraud, and said it was in favor of the imposition of duties for the purpose of revenue only. Then it had something to say about free raw material. It is in this last feature, in my judgment, that the platform of 1896 repudiated it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the amendment proposed by the Committee on Finance, which will be again stated.

The SECRETARY. In line 12, page 56, paragraph 179, after the word "cent," insert the words "and one-half;" so as to read:

Lead-bearing ore of all kinds, one cent and one-half per pound on the lead contained therein.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. On this question the yeas and nays have been ordered, and the Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CLARK (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Kansas [Mr. HARRIS]. In his absence, I withhold my vote.

Mr. DAVIS (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Indiana [Mr. TURPIE].

Mr. GEAR (when his name was called). I am paired with the senior Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH]. I transfer that pair to the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE], and vote "yea." The Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH] will stand paired with the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE].

Mr. PETTUS (when Mr. MORGAN'S name was called). The senior Senator from Alabama [Mr. MORGAN] is necessarily absent from the Chamber, and is paired with the senior Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. QUAY].

Mr. BERRY (when Mr. MURPHY'S name was called). I was requested by the Senator from New York [Mr. MURPHY] to state that he is paired with his colleague [Mr. PLATT of New York] on this question. If the Senator from New York [Mr. MURPHY] were here, he would vote "nay."

Mr. TELLER (when Mr. PETTIGREW'S name was called). The Senator from South Dakota [Mr. PETTIGREW] is paired with the junior Senator from Kentucky [Mr. DEBOE]. If the Senator from South Dakota were present, he would vote "nay" and the Senator from Kentucky would vote "yea."

Mr. ROACH (when his name was called). On this question I am paired with the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH], and therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. SEWELL (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. MITCHELL], and withhold my vote.

Mr. WARREN (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Washington [Mr. TURNER], and therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. WELLINGTON (when his name was called). I again announce my pair with the junior Senator from North Carolina [Mr. BUTLER], and in his absence withhold my vote.

Mr. WHITE (when his name was called). I am paired on this vote with the Senator from Utah [Mr. CANNON]. If he were present, I should vote "nay."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. LODGE. Has the Senator from Georgia [Mr. CLAY] voted?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Georgia [Mr. CLAY] has not voted.

Mr. LODGE. I am paired with that Senator, and therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. QUAY. Has the Senator from Alabama [Mr. MORGAN] voted?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Alabama [Mr. MORGAN] has not voted.

Mr. QUAY. Being paired with that Senator, I withhold my vote.

The result was announced—yeas 31, nays 23; as follows:

YEAS—31.

Allison,	Gallinger,	McBride,	Pritchard,
Burrows,	Gear,	McMillan,	Proctor,
Carter,	Hanna,	Mantle,	Shoup,
Chandler,	Hansbrough,	Mason,	Spooner,
Cullom,	Hawley,	Nelson,	Stewart,
Fairbanks,	Heitfeld,	Penrose,	Teller,
Foraker,	Hoar,	Perkins,	Wilson.
Frye.	Jones, Nev.	Platt, Conn.	

NAYS—23.

Allen,	Daniel,	McLaurin,	Rawlins,
Bate,	Faulkner,	Mallory,	Tillman,
Berry,	Gray,	Martin,	Turner,
Caffery,	Jones, Ark.	Mills,	Vest,
Chilton,	Kenney,	Pasco,	Walthall.
Cockrell,	Lindsay,	Pettus,	

NOT VOTING—35.

Aldrich,	Elkins,	Mitchell,	Smith,
Bacon,	George,	Morgan,	Thurston,
Baker,	Gorman,	Morrill,	Turpie,
Butler,	Hale,	Murphy,	Warren,
Cannon,	Harris, Kans.	Pettigrew,	Wellington,
Clark,	Harris, Tenn.	Platt, N. Y.	Wetmore,
Clay,	Kyle,	Quay,	Wolcott,
Davis,	Lodge,	Roach,	White.
Deboe,	McEnery,	Sewell,	

So the amendment of the committee was agreed to.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance to paragraph 179 was, in line 21, page 56, after the word "establishments," to insert a comma and the words "whether designated as bonded warehouses or otherwise;" on page 57, line 5, after the word "and," to strike out "upon his report of the lead contents of the ore" and insert "report the result to the proper customs officers, and;" and in line 8, after the word "thereon," to insert the words "except in case of ores that shall be removed to a bonded warehouse to be refined for exportation as provided in this act;" so as to make the paragraph read:

179. Lead-bearing ore of all kinds, one cent and one-half per pound on the lead contained therein: *Provided*, That on all importations of lead-bearing ores the duties shall be estimated at the port of entry, and a bond given in double the amount of such estimated duties for the transportation of the ores by common carriers bonded for the transportation of appraised or unappraised merchandise to properly equipped sampling or smelting establishments, whether designated as bonded warehouses or otherwise. On the arrival of the ores at such establishments they shall be sampled according to commercial methods under the supervision of Government officers, who shall be stationed at such establishments, and who shall submit the samples thus obtained to a Government assayer, designated by the Secretary of the Treasury, who shall make a proper assay of the sample, and report the result to the proper customs officers, and the import entries shall be liquidated thereon, except in case of ores that shall be removed to a bonded warehouse to be refined for exportation as provided in this act. And the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized to make all necessary regulations to enforce the provisions of this paragraph.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. In line 11, page 57, I move to strike out the words "in this act" and insert "by law;" so as to read, "as provided by law."

The amendment was agreed to.

The next paragraph passed over was paragraph 180, on page 57, which the Committee on Finance proposed to amend, in line 15, after the word "bars," by striking out "and" and inserting "lead in any form not specially provided for in this act;" and in line 18, after the word "remanufactured," by striking out the comma and inserting a semicolon and the words "all the foregoing;" so as to make the paragraph read:

180. Lead dross, lead bullion or base bullion, lead in pigs and bars, lead in any form not specially provided for in this act, old refuse lead run into blocks and bars, and old scrap lead fit only to be remanufactured; all the foregoing, 2 cents per pound; lead in sheets, pipe, shot, glaziers' lead, and lead wire, 2½ cents per pound.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. In line 18, after the word "two," I move to insert "and one-fourth," so as to read:

All the foregoing, 2¼ cents per pound.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask that the clerks may be allowed, in line 12, page 56, after the word "one," to strike out "cent;" and after the words "one-half," in the same line, to insert "cents;" so as to read:

Lead-bearing ore of all kinds, 1¼ cents.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there any objection?

Mr. VEST. What page is that on?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. On page 56, line 12.

Mr. FRYE. It is merely a correction of the phraseology.

Mr. ALLISON. The Senator will see that it reads "1 cent and one-half." The word "cent" is in the wrong place, and it should read "cents."

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Without objection, the clause will be amended so as to read "1¼ cents." It is agreed to.

Mr. VEST. I want to call attention to the fact that this last amendment of the Senator from Iowa, in line 18, on page 57, makes an increase over the McKinley rate. Under the McKinley rate the duty upon the articles specified in paragraph 180 was 2 cents. Under the existing law it is 1 cent. It is now made 2¼ cents, which is above the McKinley rates. I move to strike out "2¼ cents" in line 18 and to insert "1 cent."

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. VEST. In line 20, page 57, I move to strike out the words "two and one-half," after the words "lead wire," and to insert "one and one-fourth," which is the existing law.

The amendment was rejected.

The next paragraph passed over was paragraph 181; which was read, as follows:

181. Metallic mineral substances in a crude state, including monazite sand, and metals unwrought, not specially provided for in this act, 20 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. ALLISON. I move, after the word "state," in line 22, page 57, paragraph 181, to strike out the words "including monazite sand;" and at the end of the paragraph to insert a semicolon and the words "monazite sand and thorite, 6 cents per pound."

Mr. VEST. What is the equivalent ad valorem?

Mr. ALLISON. About 20 per cent. It is not quite that much.

Mr. VEST. You simply insert a specific instead of an ad valorem rate. I have not the unit of value here.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next paragraph passed over was paragraph 182, page 58, which the Committee on Finance proposed to amend, in line 1, after the word "Mica," by striking out:

Two cents per pound on dimensions of 1 square inch or less, and 2 cents per pound additional for each additional square inch: *Provided*, That the maximum rate of duty shall in no case exceed 50 cents per pound.

And inserting "40 per cent ad valorem;" so as to make the paragraph read:

182. Mica, 40 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. ALLISON. I move to strike out paragraph 182 and insert a new paragraph:

182. Mica, unmanufactured, 5 cents per pound and 20 per cent ad valorem; mica, cut or trimmed, 10 cents per pound and 20 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

The amendment as amended was agreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. On page 17, paragraph 86——

Mr. VEST. Before we pass from the mica paragraph, I should like to understand it.

Mr. ALLISON. Very well.

Mr. VEST. Let the Secretary read it the way it stands as amended.

The SECRETARY. As amended the paragraph would read:

182. Mica, unmanufactured, 5 cents per pound and 20 per cent ad valorem; mica, cut or trimmed, 10 cents per pound and 20 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. VEST. Will my friend from Iowa be kind enough to inform us what is the ad valorem duty? I have not been able to make a calculation under this amendment, but under the paragraph as originally reported from the committee it doubled the Wilson rate and was 5 per cent over the McKinley rate. It must be now very largely over the McKinley rate, because "mica, 2 cents per pound on dimensions of 1 square inch or less, and 2 cents per pound additional for each additional square inch: *Provided*, That the maximum rate of duty shall in no case exceed 50 cents per pound." "Fifty cents per pound" was stricken out, and it was put at 40 per cent ad valorem. I should like to know what is the ad valorem now under the amendment just made.

Mr. ALLISON. The nearest ascertainment of the equivalent ad valorem of these specific duties is about 41 per cent. Of course, in an article so variable as mica, it is not possible to have a uniform ad valorem. The uncut mica will probably be less, as a rule, than 40 per cent; cut mica will probably exceed that somewhat; but I should say the average will be about 40 per cent, as stated to us by one of the experts of the Treasury Department who made a thorough examination of the subject.

Mr. VEST. I move to strike out the rate in the amendment and to insert "20 per cent ad valorem," that being the existing law.

Mr. ALLISON. Have the amendments proposed by the committee been agreed to?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The committee amendments to the paragraph have been agreed to.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. A copy of the petition from the electrical manufacturers, addressed to the Committee on Ways and Means of the House of Representatives, has been sent to me. It is in these words:

MARCH, 1897.

To the Committee on Ways and Means of the House of Representatives:

We, the undersigned, manufacturers of electrical machinery and operators of railroads and plants using the same, respectfully petition that in the preparation of the tariff bill to be submitted to the Fifty-fifth Congress the present rate of duty on mica of 20 per cent be retained, for the reason that the quality of mica most largely used for electrical insulation is not found in the United States, and an increase in the duty would, therefore, simply enhance the cost of the material without furnishing any additional protection to the American miners.

This is signed by a large number of these companies. There was a similar petition sent by the manufacturers of stoves to the same committee, dated in March last. It is as follows:

MARCH, 1897.

To the Committee on Ways and Means of the House of Representatives:

We, the undersigned, manufacturers of stoves and ranges, respectfully petition that in arranging the schedule of duties for consideration at the coming session of Congress the present duty on mica of 20 per cent ad valorem be retained, as the imposition of any increased duty would be an additional burden upon the manufacturing interests which we represent.

I have a clipping from the Electrical World which clearly sets out the facts in this case. I am sure, however, that it is absolutely useless to argue with the majority. It is a waste of time to attempt to induce them to change what they have already determined shall be done in this matter. It seems to me to be unjust and not defensible in any way, though there is nothing left for us to do except to appeal to public opinion. I will insert this in the RECORD with my remarks, without any further comment.

The paper referred to is as follows:

[From Electrical World, June 19, 1897.]

DUTY ON MICA.

Reading over the discussion about the tariff on mica in a late number of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, amazement at the want of knowledge upon the subject as a whole on the part of our legislators is the feeling that dominates one who has happened to have a close connection with both the production and consumption of this remarkable article.

The general refrain is that mica is too cheap; if we could only increase the cost of mica three or even five fold, the country would be richer; that if we could stop the importations, profitable mines would be opened up in almost every State in the Union. Is this the truth? From my own experience it is not. The true cause of the low price of mica is owing to the fact that the supply greatly exceeds the demand. And at even the present low rate of prices the material is looked upon as a necessary evil, on account of its cost, by every consumer, and the tendency is to use pieces as small as possible. The smaller the piece used the greater the labor entailed; so in all cases an equilibrium has to be struck, which balances the price of the mica with the subsequent labor. If the price is increased, smaller sizes will be used, and vice versa. If the price is reduced, large sizes can be used, and, what is of greater importance, owing to the oversupply, larger quantities also.

Everyone knows that mica varies greatly in its properties, especially in hardness and transparency. North Carolina and Dakota and mica from other States stands at the head in combining these two properties, excessive hardness and perfect transparency, and this mica has nothing to fear from competition with that of other countries. It will always command a fair price, if the consumption is not interfered with in any way. The mining industry in the States concerned will be in a healthy condition. The consumers of this quality of mica are the stove manufacturers, the makers of lamp chimneys, shades, etc., and to a limited extent the electrical manufacturers.

Although the electrical manufacturers use this kind of mica where its qualities are required, the bulk of their supply happens to come both from Canada and India. Both countries possess mica of exceeding softness, the quality which is absolutely necessary for them, and Canada, with its high-priced labor, successfully competes with India, and so would this country if it only had the proper qualities. This soft mica has not been discovered in this country, and electrical manufacturers must have it at any price, and no electrical engineer in his senses would think of using a hard mica when a soft one was essential. He would rather use a substitute, such as paper or fiber, which may be said to rank as the next best practical insulator.

Paper at 3 cents, mica at 19 cents—a pretty bedfellow, to be sure. Any increase in the price of mica is certain to result in a decreased consumption, and it is to the interest of everyone in the mica business, whether he be a miner or importer, that the price of mica be as low as possible. The increased sales at a low price will more than offset the small sales with a larger profit.

Whatever tax is put upon the mica imported from other countries will not increase the price of mica mined in this country. There is already an overproduction. It would increase the price of the soft mica imported from Canada and India, and there would be a stronger tendency than there is now for the electrical manufacturers to use entirely different substitutes.

It is due to the electrical manufacturer that he has scoured the world over to find a suitable cheap mica for his purpose, and the present duty of 20 per cent is a severe tax upon his business, and the question of using mica at all is always before him. If from any cause the price is greatly increased, a great blow will be struck at the mica business, and the miner, whether he be in Dakota or in India, will equally suffer. It will not only be the miner, but the electrical manufacturer also. There is no business in the country which has brighter prospects of sending their product abroad than the electrical manufacturer.

Only the other day one of them secured contracts in England and Australia entailing an outlay of over $1,000,000. In fact, they are now looking forward to their export business as their chief outlet, and any tax on them when competing with Germany and England—and the one on mica is about the only one—might result in a loss to the foreign business to the amount of millions of dollars.

Mica, by the bye, has played no unimportant part in securing these contracts. Owing to its large use, American insulation stands very high abroad.

This debate about mica in Congress shows a general pressure put upon the various representatives for a higher duty on mica. This pressure has come from those who own a bit of land with mica upon it. They are not in a position to know if a duty would help them or not. I most emphatically say that it would not. The remedy is a greater demand, not a higher price. I may be like one crying aloud in the wilderness, but for the benefit of the miners, the thousands of men and women who are employed in working the mica after it has been mined, and for the mica business generally.

I trust these few words will have a hearing.

MICA INSULATOR COMPANY,
Per CHARLES W. JEFFERSON, *Manager*.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the amendment proposed by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST], in paragraph 182 to strike out the rate proposed by the Committee on Finance, "40 per cent." and insert "20 per cent."

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. ALLISON. Now I ask the Senate to return to paragraph 86.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read paragraph 86.

The Secretary read paragraph 86, which had been reported by the Committee on Finance with an amendment, in line 3, after the word "plaster," to strike out "of paris" and insert "rock;" in line 4, after the word "calcined," to insert "$1.50 per ton;" in line 4, before the word "pearl," to strike out "and:" in line 5, after the word "hardening," to strike out "or artificial sulphate of lime;" at the beginning of line 6, strike out "manufacturers'" and insert "makers';" and in the same line, after the word "use," to strike out "$1.50 per ton" and insert "20 per cent ad valorem;" so as to make the paragraph read:

86. Plaster rock or gypsum, ground or calcined, $1.50 per ton; pearl hardening for paper makers' use, 20 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. ALLISON. Before the printed amendments of the Committee on Finance are adopted, I move the amendments which I send to the desk.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendments proposed by the Senator from Iowa will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In paragraph 86, page 17, line 3, after the word "gypsum," it is proposed to insert "crude, $1 per ton; if;" so as to read, if the amendment of the Committee on Finance should be adopted:

Plaster rock or gypsum, crude, $1 per ton.

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

The amendment of the committee as amended was agreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask the Senate to return to paragraph 278.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Mr. President, I wish to say a word as to paragraph 86.

Mr. ALLISON. I thought that was disposed of.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I did not think so. I have no doubt this matter is all settled without regard to its merits. The fact that this article has been on the free list heretofore and now becomes taxable will not influence the action of Senators on the other side; but as I think it is proper that the arguments shall go to the public, without detaining the Senate by presenting any of them, I send to the desk a protest by the Red Beach Plaster Company, dated February 8, 1897, which I ask may be printed as part of my remarks.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. It will be so ordered, in the absence of objection.

The paper referred to is as follows:

RED BEACH, ME., *February 8, 1897.*

DEAR SIR: A combination of plaster mills in the United States is endeavoring to secure legislation from Congress at this time which will help them to completely control the market for the sale of land plaster and calcined plaster.

To effect this object they wish to impose a duty on raw plaster rock, known as gypsum.

This material has heretofore been brought into the country free of any duty on account of the extensive use to which it has been put, when ground, as a fertilizer.

Land plaster, besides being a fertilizer itself, also acts as a regulator on the price of other fertilizers, and if its cost to the farmers should be increased by placing a duty on the plaster rock out of which it is made, it would tend to increase the cost of other low-grade fertilizers which are now being sold in competition with it.

It is used very largely on the soils of the Southern Atlantic States, but it is also used in other parts of the country more or less, where the peculiarity of the soils and climate requires it.

The owners of the plaster mills and mines in Michigan, Ohio, Iowa, Kansas, Indian Territory, Illinois, New York, South Dakota, Nebraska, and Virginia have united in petitioning the Ways and Means Committee of the present Congress to give them a duty as against this raw plaster rock.

In their brief, addressed to the Ways and Means Committee, in which they ask for protection, the representatives of these mills and mines say:

"As has already been stated, the deposits of gypsum are of such a vast extent in this country it is impossible to form any monopoly of the business. A few thousand dollars is sufficient to erect and equip a plant, and there is no secret about the method of its manufacture. There is no more danger of a combination on this product than there is of a combination on flouring mills, and if the price should be advanced to a figure beyond that which would warrant a legitimate profit to the manufacturer, numerous mills would immediately spring into existence, and thereby thwart the object of the promoters of such an enterprise."

The claim of the combined interests as set forth above, that it is impossible to organize a combination, is best confuted by the attached evidence that such a combination is already in existence in Chicago, and that the factories comprising this combination average the largest output and are at the present time selling their goods through an organization comprised of the various interests, as indicated by the following extract from a commercial agency report descriptive of the "Michigan and Ohio Plaster Company, 401 Pythian Temple, and Chicago, Ill., and Detroit, Mich.; Benjamin W. McCausland,* president, Chicago, Ill.; William McBain, vice-president, Grand Rapids; A. C. Torrey, secretary and treasurer, Grand Rapids.

"This is not a corporation, but a combination of the following concerns in the plaster business: F. Godfrey & Bro., Alabastine Company, Grand Rapids Gypsum Works, Grand Rapids Plaster Company, all of Grand Rapids; Western Plaster Works, Chicago, Ill., Detroit and Alabaster, Mich. Marsh & Co., of Sandusky, Ohio, formerly belonged to this combine, but Mr. A. C. Torrey, secretary and treasurer of this concern, informs us to-day that they have no branch at Sandusky, Ohio; otherwise there is no change.

"The combine is managed by a representative from each concern interested, and elects the above-mentioned officers, who have the same duties as other officers in mercantile corporations."

Here follows names of the representatives.

"The object of the company is to market the product of all the mills interested and divide the profits among them."

The undersigned has been engaged in the manufacture of land plaster and calcined plaster at Red Beach, Me., for over forty years, during which time very large quantities of this cheap fertilizer have been furnished to American farmers.

The raw material has always been obtained free of duty under all tariffs, and if at this late day plaster rock should be taxed by the Government, it would result in the stoppage of the mills and the discharge of the workmen engaged in them.

The interests of the American farmer would also be very injuriously affected, particularly as regards those located on some poor soils, where this fertilizer is specially advantageous, and where the farming interest is already greatly depressed.

Believing that you are opposed to monopoly, and that your interests as well as our own would be adversely affected by the imposition of such a duty in aid of a monopoly, we write to urge upon you the great desirability of immediately communicating with your Senators and Representative in Congress, urging upon them the necessity of immediately protesting before the Ways and Means Committee against such action.

This must be done at once, if at all, as there is little likelihood of changes being made in the minor provisions of the tariff bill after it shall have left the hands of the Ways and Means Committee.

RED BEACH PLASTER CO.,
Per C. H. NEWTON.

* Mr. McCausland's name is signed to the Congressional petition asking for a duty. He represents the "mills in Illinois."

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I also present a newspaper clipping, properly accredited, which I desire to have printed in the RECORD.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. In the absence of objection, it will be so ordered.

The paper referred to is as follows:

[Journal of Commerce, April 21, 1897.]

WANT GYPSUM KEPT ON FREE LIST—EASTERN MANUFACTURERS REPLY TO ARGUMENT OF WESTERN PRODUCERS.

The efforts now being made at Washington to induce the Senate to impose a duty upon plaster rock, or gypsum, which in the House was left on the free list, are exciting much opposition from calcined-plaster manufacturers on the Atlantic Seaboard who use the Canadian rock for raw material.

The agitation for a duty comes from owners of Western quarries, who submitted arguments to the Ways and Means Committee of the House in favor of a duty. A counter-memorial was last night forwarded to the Finance Committee of the Senate by a number of Eastern manufacturers. The protest takes up the arguments of the Western producers in detail. In reply to the claim that the admission of the rock free of duty curtails the employment of labor in this country, as at least four-fifths of the labor involved in the production of plaster is in quarrying it and preparing it for the mill, the memorial of the Eastern manufacturers states that "it is doubtful if one-fifth of the cost of producing plaster can be charged to quarrying."

The memorial also sets forth that, while Western plaster mills are, as a rule, located at the quarries, and consequently not obliged to pay for carriage of the raw material, the Eastern mills using the Canadian rock "are subjected to very heavy charges for transportation, most of which is paid out in the form of labor to American seamen and vessel owners engaged in the coastwise trade." The imposition of a duty, it is argued, would enable the railroad companies and Western quarrymen to make larger profits, but would correspondingly depress the American coastwise trade, while at the same time increasing the cost to the consumer for the benefit of railroads and mine owners.

In the memorial submitted by the Western producers it was held that "it would be impossible to form any monopoly of the business. A few thousand dollars is sufficient to erect and equip a plant. There is no more danger of a combination on this product than there is of a combination of flouring mills, and if the price should be advanced to a figure beyond that which would warrant a legitimate profit to the manufacturer numerous mills would immediately spring into existence." In reply to this the memorial of the Eastern manufacturers sets forth that the Michigan producers "organized themselves as regards the sales of their product into an association to control the price artificially," and that in a report of one of the large commercial agencies it is stated that the Michigan and Ohio Plaster Company is "not a corporation, but a combination," that the "combine is managed by a representative from each concern interested," and that "the object of the company is to market the product of all the mills interested and divide the profits among them."

"Gypsum rock," continues the memorial of the Eastern manufacturers, "constitutes the raw material used as the basis for a very important industry, which has been built up under conditions of free importation and which conditions it would be ruinously unjust to change. When it is considered that gypsum rock used for land-plaster purposes sells for from 50 to 75 cents per ton on board at the Canadian quarries, and calcining rock sells for from 80 cents to $1.25 per ton on board at the same quarries, the injustice of placing a duty upon it becomes at once apparent. The land-plaster industry would be ruined to the great disadvantage of the farmers and small milling interests of the country, and a large part of the calcining business would also be destroyed, to the disadvantage of the owners of the mills and the thousand or more workmen employed in them. By the destruction of the one interest and a radical curtailment of the other, the already greatly depressed coastwise trade of the United States would be most seriously injured.

"It is to be noted that the great proportions to which the plaster business has attained in the West, according to the estimates of the petitioners in favor of a duty on the rock, have been attained under the existing conditions of free importation of Canadian rock, and the fact is patent that they have already, by their creditable enterprise, secured to themselves not only the market for land plaster and ordinary grades of calcined plaster throughout the West, which, a comparatively few years since, were supplied by Eastern manufacturers, but they are also selling their calcined plaster in Eastern markets even as far as the seaboard, where plaster not of the highest quality is required.

"To ask for a duty on the raw material of their Eastern rivals under these circumstances is manifestly unfair.

"First. They already have protection against the Eastern plaster manufacturers by the amount of the freight between Nova Scotia and the American ports (amounting to from $1.30 to $1.50 per ton) and the freight on the manufactured article from the seaboard to the Western cities, which, taken at the lowest rate prevailing during the season of open navigation, when Chicago, Milwaukee, Duluth, etc., can be reached by water routes, is not less than $2 per ton to Chicago, and has averaged for a number of years past even higher than that.

"Therefore the Western manufacturer has already a virtual protection in ocean and inland freights amounting to at least $3.30 per ton. When shipped by rail this protection is increased by $2 per ton additional freight, making $5.30 per ton during the season of closed navigation, which covers about five months of the year.

"There is an absolute loss in weight in the process of calcining plaster rock amounting to at least 25 per cent of the total weight, which fact affords an excess of protection to the Western plaster manufacturers against injury by their Eastern rivals.

"A duty on a pure article for the purpose of enhancing the value of an inferior substitute article and forcing its use upon that large class of consumers in the East that are reached by deep-water navigation is not protection, but amounts to tariff between States."

Mr. BUTLER. I should like to ask the Senator from Arkansas if this plaster is not used as a fertilizer?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Yes; and because it will increase the price of fertilizers is one of the reasons why I oppose it.

Mr. GEAR. I will say to the Senator from North Carolina that not more than 2 per cent of the plaster used in this country is used as a fertilizer.

Mr. BUTLER. In reply to the Senator from Iowa, I should like to know what reason there is for putting on the dutiable list fertilizers, which are certainly used to a great extent in Virginia and North and South Carolina, and in that portion of the country where it is necessary to use fertilizers.

If there is any reason for putting this on the dutiable list, I should like to know it. It has heretofore been on the free list. I have had a number of letters from manufacturers of fertilizers in regard to the imposition of this duty. Plaster is very largely used in the manufacture of fertilizers which are used in my section. I will ask the Senator from Iowa to permit this paragraph to be passed over. My colleague and I are both interested in the paragraph, and my colleague would like to be heard upon it.

Mr. ALLISON. Does the Senator desire to have the paragraph passed over until to-morrow morning?

Mr. BUTLER. Yes, sir.

Mr. ALLISON. I shall not object to the paragraph passing over until to-morrow morning.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair understands that paragraph 86 is to be passed over.

Mr. ALLISON. To be called up to-morrow morning.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. If there be no objection, it will be so ordered.

Mr. ALLISON. On page 80, in paragraph 278, I am instructed by the majority of the Committee on Finance, in line 4, to move to insert "three-fourths of."

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Iowa will be stated.

The SECRETARY. On page 80, paragraph 278, line 4, after the word "tallow," it is proposed to insert "three-fourths of;" so as to read:

278. Tallow, three-fourths of 1 cent per pound; wool grease, including that known commercially as degras or brown wool grease, one-half of 1 cent per pound.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. TILLMAN. Mr. President, some days ago I gave notice of an amendment to the pending bill, and by consent of the Senator in charge of the bill, I wish to have that amendment taken up now and try to dispose of it this evening.

Mr. ALLISON. The Senator from South Carolina has appealed to me privately to allow his amendment to be voted upon this evening, because he is compelled to be absent from the Capitol during the remainder of the time to be devoted to the consideration of the pending bill. I shall not interpose any objection myself to the consideration of the amendment at this time if it be agreeable to the Senate.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. What was done with paragraph 278?

Mr. ALLISON. That was agreed to.

Mr. VEST. We did not get rid of paragraph 278.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Paragraph 278 is still open to amendment.

Mr. VEST. I want to call attention to that paragraph.

I understand that there has been a reduction made of one-fourth of a cent a pound, and whilst I am very grateful on behalf of the consumers for that reduction, still I think it is an enormous tax. This article under the existing law is on the free list. The comparative statement shows that in 1896 we exported $2,323,764 worth of tallow, and we imported in the same year $349,854.36. There is an enormous difference between $2,323,764 and $349,854.36. Why should that duty be put upon this article, an article of prime necessity? We have a great many applications on behalf of the soap manufacturers to allow the law to remain as it is.

I move, with the consent of the Senate, that both these duties, "three-fourths of a cent," in line 4, and "one-half of 1 cent," in line 6, be stricken out; or, rather, I will move that the entire paragraph be stricken out, in order that I may hereafter move to put tallow on the free list, where it is now.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair understands the Senator to move to strike out the entire paragraph.

Mr. VEST. I move to strike out paragraph 278, and I desire to move hereafter to put tallow on the free list.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Missouri to strike out paragraph 278.

The motion was rejected.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment proposed by the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. TILLMAN] will be stated.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to insert as additional sections the following:

SEC. —. That there shall be collected a head tax of $100 on all immigrants coming to the United States by land or water.

SEC. —. That it shall be a misdemeanor, punishable by fine or imprisonment, for any alien who does not intend to become an American citizen, or who retains his citizenship in a foreign country, to enter the United States for the purpose of engaging in any mechanical trade or manual labor within the borders thereof: *Provided*, That this section and the one immediately preceding shall only remain of force until silver shall be admitted to our mints for coinage at the ratio of 16 to 1 on the same conditions with gold.

Mr. TILLMAN. Mr. President, this measure which I propose as an amendment is to some Senators, perhaps to most of them, a startling proposition, entirely foreign or contrary to all their inherited feelings, prejudices, and sentiments. We have a large, expansive country, many hundreds of thousands of square miles which are undeveloped, lands which would afford homes for millions, yea, hundreds of millions, because our territory will in time,

when it is densely populated, come to hold as many people as Europe; and the idea of excluding immigrants from coming to our shores, or of limiting immigration, is one that has always been obnoxious to the American people, and in fact it has never been broached with any seriousness until within the recent past.

The Senate last winter, and also the House of Representatives, passed a bill restricting immigration along the lines of intelligence; that is, forbidding immigrants to come in who could not read or write their own language or the English language, showing that they had been educated to some extent. This amendment offered by me proposes to put a value upon American citizenship, to show how much it is worth to become an American freeman.

Mr. CHANDLER. To sell American citizenship for a hundred dollars.

Mr. TILLMAN. If the Senator, who is so anxious to get into a colloquy, will wait, I will try to accommodate him before I get through.

It is a question whether we will sell or put a value upon it, and let those who are able to pay that value buy it. At all events, it is the essence of protection, and that is what the Senator from New Hampshire claims to be—a protectionist; it is the quintessence of protection to American labor; and you stand here, and the Republican party stands here, as the champion of American labor against the pauper labor of Europe. You erect a barrier against the products of the pauper labor of Europe, and you allow the pauper labor of Europe to come here and compete in our markets until you have to-day perhaps a half million of men tramping the streets of the Northern cities without bread, begging for work.

The question is, Will you carry out your platform in any degree, in any pretense of fairness as to its construction, and give that protection to those who have already come to our shores which alone will enable them to obtain work for the next few years, and that is, by stopping the supply of labor? For every man now tramping the streets you wish to add another man. If you do not do something to stop it, you continue to pour into the supply of labor additional laborers, while you limit and harass and hamper and tie up the conditions which would allow the country to grow and expand in a natural way.

The Republican platform, adopted last year, on this subject reads as follows:

> For the protection of the quality of our American citizenship and of the wages of our workingmen against the fatal competition of low-priced labor, we demand that the immigration laws be thoroughly enforced, and so extended as to exclude from entrance to the United States those who can neither read nor write.

The Democratic platform has this plank in it:

> We hold that the most efficient way of protecting American labor is to prevent the importation of foreign pauper labor to compete with it in the home market, and that the value of the home market to our American farmers and artisans is greatly reduced by a vicious monetary system, which depresses the prices of their products below the cost of production, and thus deprives them of the means of purchasing the products of our home manufactories.
>
> And as labor creates the wealth of a country, we demand the passage of such laws as may be necessary in order to protect it in all its rights.

In the Fifty-third Congress a leading Democratic member of the House of Representatives declared that platforms were made to get into power with, but not to carry out in good faith. I propose to ask that the Senate go on record on this amendment as to whether these two platforms were made to get into office or only made to get votes and deceive the people. The Democrats will perhaps cavil and dispute as to whether this is a correct interpretation of our platform.

What is a pauper? If you go out in the streets of this country in our cities and come across a man with a hundred dollars you will say that he is rich. So he is rich to-day in comparison with the thousands and hundreds of thousands who are out of work; but if you turn a stranger loose in New York City from abroad with only $100 and with no likelihood of getting work unless he pushes some other man out of a job at a reduced price, you can characterize and classify such a man as nothing but a pauper. It is a question of the definition of "pauper."

If an immigrant coming to our shores with only $100 is not a pauper, he soon will be, and if you will listen to the statistics which I shall present to you, you will find that your jails, your asylums, and your penitentiaries are to-day filled with this very class of men who have been admitted to our shores without any practical limitation.

I am simply asking you, my Republican friends, and asking the Democrats, to vote here to give some value to American citizenship, and as you stand here pretending that you value it, that you want to hold it up, that you want to maintain the price for it, that you do not want it to sink to the level of the pauper labor of Europe, it remains to be seen whether you will continue to allow the stream of a quarter of a million annually to pour into the American labor market, competing directly with our own people and with those foreigners who have preceded them for the work that is to be had, when there is no work here under the conditions that exist.

If you are honest protectionists and want to protect labor, you can not help but vote for this measure or something akin to it. The mere pretense that you will restrict immigration to those who can only read and write is not sufficient, and will not go down with American laborers. It is not a question of being able to read and write; it is whether you can handle brick and mortar and whether you can go into a factory or not. Thousands and tens of thousands of these ignorant and degraded foreigners who have come to our shores and debauch our suffrage were the main instrumentality of carrying the last Presidential election. I stood in the city of Chicago on the day of the election, and saw hundreds and thousands of them stand there waiting to be bought. These are the men who have brought this country to the verge of ruin, both from a business standpoint and from a political standpoint.

An examination of the records kept by the Government shows that since 1820 about 18,000,000 foreigners have come to America. These people have helped to develop America and make it what it is. Many of them constitute the very highest class of citizenship which we have. I have nothing against a foreigner because he was born in Europe. All of our ancestors came from Europe at some time, if you go back one century or two, and it is only a question of how long you have been here when you come to test us by that standard. But the question now is, Can we afford to allow this continual inpouring of a corrupt and debased element that is lowering the standard of labor, lowering the standard of wages, debauching the suffrage, and doing everything that is contrary to good order and morals?

Pennsylvania, where perhaps as much misery exists as in any other State in this Union, seems to have been the depot where most of these people have congregated, or at least a large percentage of them. I have been in the coal mines of that State, and I have seen there more misery and less manhood, less opportunity for manhood, than ever existed on a Southern farm before the war when the black slave was sold as a chattel; and to-day's paper brings the report that a strike has been ordered involving the entire coal region of five States, embracing 125,000 men, who are demanding an increase of wages in order to be able to live and give bread to their families.

The Pennsylvania legislature have had this question under consideration and been examining it, and the result of their investigation is a law passed by the last assembly and approved, to go into effect on the 1st of July, by which that Commonwealth levies a tax of 3 cents a day on every alien at work within its borders. I have here a notice clipped from one of the Philadelphia papers giving the details of the legislation and how the tax is to be collected. I will not consume the time of the Senate by having it read. I merely state the substance of it, and nobody will dispute the accuracy of my statement. I therefore send it to the desk and ask to have it incorporated in the RECORD.

THE TAX ON ALIENS TAKES EFFECT JULY 1—FOREIGNERS MUST THEREAFTER PAY 3 CENTS PER DAY TO THE STATE—EMPLOYERS RESPONSIBLE—THEY MUST KEEP AN ACCURATE RECORD, DEDUCT THE TAX FROM THE WAGES, AND ACCOUNT TO THE COUNTY COMMISSIONERS.

Contractors, manufacturers, and officials of corporations throughout this city and State are much exercised over the passage of the bill by the legislature a few days ago which imposes a tax of 3 cents per day on the male aliens employed in all parts of the Commonwealth, such tax being required to be deducted from the salary of such laborers by their employers and turned over to the county treasury. As the bill has been signed by the governor, it has now become a law, and is to go into effect on July 1.

The law makes it compulsory on the part of employers to ascertain whether any of their male employees over 21 years of age are unnaturalized, and to keep a record of the number of days such persons are employed each month, subject to examination by the county commissioners. Such employers must make a quarterly report on the 1st day of January, April, July, and October each year to the county commissioners of the county in which employment is given, and on failure to so report shall be fined from $200 to $1,000. Blanks are to be furnished by the commissioners.

From the statistics available through the reports of the Commissioners of Immigration, the various consuls, and the census for some years back it is estimated that there are more than 100,000 aliens working in Pennsylvania, a large number of whom are to be found in the mills of Kensington, Manayunk, and the other suburban districts of this city. Of course the majority of the alien population of the State is located in the mining regions of the Wyoming, Hazelton, and Schuylkill coal fields, where, it is said, nine-tenths of the miners never become naturalized.

The bill is also to protect the State against such skilled laborers as those coming from England and, after working during the summer months, return to spend the winter at home. These men are bricklayers, painters, carpenters, and others employed out-of-doors. It is estimated that they receive almost as much for one day's work in America at these trades as they would for a week's labor abroad, and can thus afford to go back and forth at will, at the same time saving money and not paying anything for the privilege of carrying on their vocation on this side of the water. Such persons as these will, no doubt, cause the contractors and builders a considerable amount of trouble under the new régime, but as the object of the bill is to favor the employment of American labor, it is thought that many of the foreigners will, on account of the additional bother necessary in rendering a report of their services to the State, be completely frozen out.

Manufacturers are beginning to wonder how they will arrive at the number of aliens in their employ, and are realizing that it will necessitate an outlay which would not be requisite should they restrict the nationality of their laborers to Americans exclusively.

For some time past the city contractors have been compelled, through an

ordinance of councils, to employ only Americans, and are fined $5 for the violation of the act. Director of Public Works Thompson said yesterday afternoon that there are now to his knowledge no aliens at work on city improvements, and added that whenever he heard that such were being employed he at once served notice on the contractors to have such persons discharged at once.

"So far," he continued, "we have had no trouble in enforcing this law, and now that the State has placed a tax on the foreigners, and also provided a fine for the nonaction of their employers in collecting the same, there is little doubt but that the Americans will have a considerably better show."

The tax of 3 cents per day for three hundred days in the year would amount to $9 each head, and would probably yield a million dollars. One-half of the revenue is to go to the schools, and the balance to defray the general expenses of the county.

The federated workers have had the question of immigration under discussion for some years, and after long cogitation, because most of them, or at least a great number of them, are foreigners themselves, and they weigh what they do when they ask that restriction be placed upon immigration—they have within the past week, through a referendum vote in the State of New York, in which upward of 100,000 men participated, by an almost unanimous vote, asked that immigration be restricted absolutely for five years, showing that they realize that the supply of labor exceeds the demand, that the opportunity to get work does not exist under present conditions, and that they see nothing ahead of them but suffering and misery, unless you cut off this continual inpouring of foreign labor to compete with American labor. I will send up this statement and ask that it may be printed in the RECORD. The head lines are as follows:

No immigration for five years—State Federation of Labor's drastic recommendation—Wants Congress to act—Resolutions favoring a long suspension of entry indorsed by 98,000 wage workers.

The resolutions referred to are as follows:

TO SUSPEND IMMIGRATION.

Whereas the repeated abuses of this country's very liberal immigration policy, the regular evasion of laws extending generous privileges and opportunities to the oppressed of all nations, and the increasing degradation and displacement of American workmen by the importation and employment upon our public works of cheap labor from foreign lands, have opened the eyes of our wage earners to the fact that a system of protection which operates merely to exclude a few foreign products, while attracting and admitting hordes of foreign producers, is a curse instead of a blessing to home industry: Therefore,

Be it resolved, By this convention, representing 98,000 trade unionists of New York State—and thus voicing the suppressed appeal of 2,000,000 unemployed but willing workers throughout the United States—that we recommend to Congress the enactment of a Federal law suspending immigration for a period of five years, and until such further time as the domestic demand for labor shall have overtaken the supply.

And be it further resolved, That steps be taken to notify the workers of the world that we believe the interests of international brotherhood demand this action for the good of all concerned.—*Resolutions adopted at the convention of the State board of the American Federation of Labor, and now indorsed by a referendum vote of 98,000 workers.*

Mr. TILLMAN. No doubt three-fourths of them voted the Republican ticket. You promised them protection for American labor by your tariff. Now, incorporate in that tariff a provision which will protect them by keeping their competitors at home in Europe instead of only levying tariff duties on the articles which that labor produces abroad. What is the difference between the pauper labor of Europe transported to America and the pauper labor of Europe in Europe? You are sinking your labor to the level of the labor of Europe by allowing free trade in labor where you demand protection against the products of foreign labor. You can not deny the proposition or the honesty or truth of it.

My friend the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. CHANDLER], who is smiling so complacently and derisively, will undoubtedly controvert some of the positions I take. I want to call his attention to a few facts taken at random from different official reports, some from his own reports, some from the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE], some from the report of the legislative committee of Pennsylvania which recently visited the coal mines of the anthracite region and the coal mines of the bituminous region. Here is what the legislative committee says in its report, just printed:

Sixty per cent and more of miners in the district have been drawn from the lowest ranks of the laboring classes of the Old World, and who come here without any knowledge whatever of our Government, its institutions, or its people. They congregate in these mining communities in such large numbers as to enable them to retain their language, their manners, their customs, and even their laws; they make little attempt to become, and as a rule do not become, Americanized, apparently have no desire to become assimilated with our body politic or life, crowd themselves into miserable dwellings or abodes, in many cases living worse than beasts, and by their practices become a menace to the lives, health, and safety of the community in which they live.

Your committee found the homes or abodes of the miners at many of the mines in a very filthy and untenantable condition, the miners being herded together like cattle and in many cases wallowing in their own filth, breeding disease and affecting not only their own health, but that of the community in which they live, their condition being a rebuke to our civilization and a disgrace to our State, degenerating and debasing American labor and helping to drag it to their own low level, making their condition one of chronic servitude and depravity, and in many cases enabling their employer to pay them but little for their services or whatsoever he feels disposed.

That is in Pennsylvania, thirty years after your boasted emancipation of the black slaves. Here is a statement of the same committee:

The small percentage of American and English-speaking laborers who find employment in the mines as a general rule are an intelligent, industrious, and frugal class of people, willing to work, and as a rule seeking it, but, on account of the large percentage of foreign labor above referred to, are unable to find employment therein or to ameliorate their condition.

Then the committee go on to say that the products of those mines running at full time would be 30,000,000 tons, while the demand is for only 15,000,000 tons, and they state further that therefore those men for years have been able to get only two and a half or three days' work a week, while they are compelled to remain idle the balance of the time; and yet you do not want to protect American labor by keeping out competitors. Perhaps they will keep on voting the Republican ticket; and if they do, so help me God, I hope they will not get relief, for you have only been giving them lip service for years.

Mr. QUAY. I desire to call the attention of the Senator from South Carolina to the fact that the report he is reading from is the report of a Republican committee; that the act of the assembly which he has had incorporated in the RECORD is the act of a Republican legislature, and was signed by a Republican governor.

Mr. TILLMAN. And I am asking a Republican Congress to go a little further and give some actual protection by keeping out their competitors from abroad. Will you do it? Dare you do it? Or will you only give them lip service at 3 cents a day as a tax levied on their competitors?

There are so many iniquities disclosed here as to the methods of the coal barons and the railroads in dealing with these people that it would be good reading to give it all to you, but I can only pick out at random an occasional instance of the infamies that are practiced. I am not dealing with that special subject, however, and prefer to go on and present the facts as to why these people ask you to protect them by restricting immigration and giving the country time to absorb and assimilate this vast inpouring of millions of foreigners who have come here so rapidly that we have not been able to Americanize them or give them work.

The surplus labor in and about the anthracite mines contributes largely to the present condition of affairs. After the strike of 1875 the influx of foreign immigration began and has continued with but little interruption to the present time. While the country has always encouraged foreign immigration, yet since the time mentioned a class of foreigners have been coming in to which particular objection is made on the part of those employed in the anthracite mining regions, namely, the Poles, Hungarians, Italians, and Slavs.

I believe my friend the Senator from Minnesota called that Slav. I will leave off the "e" in the last word I read for his benefit, because I do not want to insult his cultured ear or bring up unpleasant reminiscences or recollections or sentiments in connection with the word "slave."

Mr. NELSON. There is no trouble about "the Senator from Minnesota." He will always take care of himself.

Mr. TILLMAN. I do not doubt that.

At first doubtless they were all employed as laborers, but gradually they became miners, and in many instances the former employer was confronted by his foreign laborer as a rival for his own position. It is claimed that this class of people are un-American in every way, adopting none of our ideas of citizenship and living in a manner unknown to us as a people. In most cases their objects and aims are to secure sufficient to enable them to return to their native lands or to assist in bringing other of their kin to this country. Unless a change is speedily made, the time is not far distant when the miners of the anthracite region will be composed entirely of these people to whom they now strenuously object. Such a condition of affairs is not conducive to safety in the mines. Non-English speaking superintendents and foremen must necessarily produce trouble and render the mine more liable to accidents. The committee has referred to the undesirability of this class of people. Their un-American ideas are further shown by the fact that every month large sums of money, representing their surplus earnings, are sent to their native lands.

Now, here is another extract from one of the Pennsylvania papers, in which Chairman Focht, of the joint legislative committee appointed to investigate the number of aliens in State institutions, presented his report to the house of representatives. It is too long for me to read. The substance of it, however, is that foreign countries make a business of gathering up their paupers and criminals and their other undesirable classes of citizens and shipping them here, and that our laws do not stop them and keep them out; consequently, that the charitable institutions of Pennsylvania today are overburdened to the extent that one-half of their inmates are foreign born, and the American farmers and others are compelled to support those institutions for the benefit of the paupers who have been admitted here under our immigration laws.

I will ask that this clipping be inserted in the RECORD. I do not know that anybody will ever read it, and I do not care whether they do or not. Like a good many other things that go into the RECORD, it may never be read.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. GALLINGER in the chair). Without objection, the article will be printed in the RECORD.

The article is as follows:

UNWELCOME ALIENS—MOVE TO RID THE STATE OF AN INCUMBRANCE—FOREIGNERS TOO PLENTY.

Chairman B. K. Focht, of the joint legislative committee appointed to investigate as to the number of aliens in State institutions, will present his report in the house to-day. This committee has been busy for a year and a half, assisted in its work by the patriotic organizations throughout Pennsylvania. Personal visits have been made to the institutions supported in part

or whole by the State. The cost of the inquiry was about $3,000, which was provided for at the last session.

The committee's report says in part:

"The evils complained of that led to the framing of the resolution authorizing this investigation have grown out of the too liberal immigration laws of the country. In later years they have invited, in many cases, no longer the thrifty European, who at once became self-sustaining and a good citizen, but many of the degraded and ignorant of the Slavonic countries. These have not only been a menace to American workingmen, unbalancing the equilibrium that previously existed between employer and employee, but the burden put upon the taxpayer for the support of these unnaturalized foreigners has become unbearable, and there is need of quick action lest the great charities that have been furnished through the Christian benevolence of the people of Pennsylvania be in large part diverted to the support of a purely alien class, instead of relieving the distress of American citizens and former taxpayers.

"It is a fact, confirmed by statistics, that the extent of immigration to our shores during given years or periods depends upon business prosperity, showing how impossible it is for years of prosperity to extend over long periods, since, as soon as there is a demand for our products, the tide of immigration turns to our country and the demands for labor are quickly filled, wages go down, and then follows complaint of hard times.

"This is particularly hurtful to Pennsylvania and the Eastern States, for, while the West has received many immigrants, who were quickly absorbed on account of the vast stretches of unsettled country, in the East American labor is confronted with the necessity of surrendering a fraction of its employment to the newly arrived immigrants, who have swarmed here like diseased matter from a body politic, or sending them to our public institutions to be supported by the State.

"Foreign countries have made it a business to gather up the mentally and physically weak—those likely to become a public burden—and have shipped them to the United States, paying their ocean passage, and here they quickly become objects of public bounty."

The committee's records are as nearly accurate as such information can be, when it is considered that the work of ascertaining these facts was done among a class who not only in many instances have unpronounceable names, but who speak a foreign tongue. And it is fair to assume that the percentage of burden borne by the State and counties is in excess of the numbers and amount ascertained by the committee.

"Fearing the refusal of admittance, many claimed citizenship who never were naturalized, while, where records were not kept, hundreds were left out, and the extent to which they were a burden upon the public must be approximated. It is the belief of the committee that, while our report shows that the number of inmates exceeds 20,000, necessitating an expenditure of over $1,000,000 per annum, as the sum-total cost to the State and counties for the maintenance, it is our conviction, from observation and investigation, that the amount is in excess of $1,500,000, and is yearly increasing.

"Our correspondence with the officials of every State in the country discloses the fact that everywhere the people are awake to this issue, and are considering means of relief.

"Minnesota has just passed a law providing for the removal of aliens into other States and to other countries where they belong. Massachusetts long ago began to battle with the question, and a law on the statute books enables the authorities to remove alien paupers and alien insane to other States and other countries.

"To meet and remedy the evil which exists in Pennsylvania, and which is universally deplored, we have drawn a bill which is now on the house calendar. It is modeled after the laws of other States where the plan has worked successfully, but so as to entirely conform to not only the constitution of the State but to humanitarian usages. We are confident that if this bill becomes a law the Commonwealth will be saved millions of dollars, the standard of citizenship elevated, our congested public institutions relieved, and a higher incentive to acquire the requisite qualifications of citizenship presented to those who truly and honestly come to our shores to seek freedom and become a law-abiding, industrious part of the body politic."

Mr. TILLMAN. The only thing I am solicitous about getting in the RECORD is how Senators are going to vote on the amendment.

I have a table, copied from a Government publication, the Abstract of Statistics, giving the total immigration by nationalities for the last seventy-six years. I ask that it also may be inserted in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the table will be inserted in the RECORD.

The table is as follows:

No. 1.—*Total immigration to the United States during each fiscal year since 1819.*

Year.	Number of immigrants.	Year.	Number of immigrants.	Year.	Number of immigrants.
1820	8,385	1847	234,968	1874	313,339
1821	9,127	1848	226,527	1875	227,498
1822	6,911	1849	297,024	1876	169,986
1823	6,354	1850	369,980	1877	141,857
1824	7,912	1851	379,466	1878	138,469
1825	10,199	1852	371,603	1879	177,826
1826	10,837	1853	368,645	1880	457,257
1827	18,875	1854	427,833	1881	669,431
1828	27,382	1855	200,887	1882	788,992
1829	22,520	1856	195,857	1883	603,322
1830	23,322	1857	246,945	1884	518,592
1831	22,633	1858	119,501	1885	395,346
1832	60,482	1859	118,616	1886	334,203
1833	58,640	1860	150,237	1887	490,109
1834	65,365	1861	89,724	1888	546,889
1835	45,374	1862	89,007	1889	444,427
1836	76,242	1863	174,524	1890	455,302
1837	79,340	1864	193,195	1891	560,319
1838	38,914	1865	247,453	1892	623,084
1839	68,069	1866	318,494	1893	502,917
1840	84,066	1867	298,967	1894	314,467
1841	80,289	1868	282,189	1895	279,949
1842	104,565	1869	352,768	Jan. 1, 1896	165,932
1843	52,496	1870	387,203		
1844	78,615	1871	321,350		18,022,785
1845	114,371	1872	404,806		
1846	154,416	1873	459,803		

No. 2.—*Table of immigration by nationalities and countries since 1820 up to and including the fiscal year ended June 30, 1895.*

The United Kingdom:		
England	1,809,916	
Ireland	4,065,118	
Scotland	371,430	
Wales	37,133	
Other places	560,420	
		6,814,017
Germany		4,976,036
Scandinavia:		
Norway and Sweden together up to 1870	153,928	
Norway since 1870	332,285	
Sweden since 1870	660,193	
Denmark	173,173	
		1,319,559
British North America up to 1885 (no record since)		1,040,925
Austria-Hungary:		
Bohemia	77,247	
Hungary	236,348	
Other parts of Austria, except Poland	384,276	
		717,871
Italy, including Sicily and Sardinia		682,611
Russia, including Finland, but not Poland:		
Russia	470,626	
Finland	34,222	
		504,848
France		384,490
Switzerland		197,408
Poland		145,843
Netherlands		127,972
Belgium		59,725
Spain		37,506
Portugal		21,797
Turkey in Europe, including Roumania, Bulgaria, Servia, and Montenegro		14,122
Unclassified, including Asiatic and African		978,055
Total		18,022,785

No. 3.—*Immigration classified by races.*

Germanic:		
Germany	4,976,036	
England, exclusive of Ireland, Scotland, and Wales	2,370,336	
Scandinavia	1,319,559	
British North America	1,040,925	
German parts of Austria	384,276	
Netherlands	127,972	
		10,219,104
Germanic-Celtic:		
Ireland	4,065,118	
Scotland	371,430	
Wales	37,133	
		4,443,681
Latin:		
Italy	682,611	
France	384,490	
Spain	37,506	
Portugal	21,797	
		1,126,404
Poles, Slavs, Hungarians, and kindred races:		
Hungary	256,348	
Poland	145,843	
Bohemia	77,247	
Turkey in Europe, including Roumania, Bulgaria, Servia, and Montenegro	14,122	
		493,560
Tartar-Slav-Germanic:		
Russia in Europe, exclusive of Finland and Poland		470,626
Latin-Germanic:		
Switzerland	197,408	
Belgium	59,725	
		257,133
Finnish-Germanic:		
Finland		34,222
Unclassified, including Latin-Indian, negro, and Asiatic		978,055
Total		18,022,785

No. 4.—*Population of the United States in 1890.*

Total population	62,622,250
Native born	53,372,703
Foreign born	9,249,547
Native born, both parents foreign	8,085,019
Native born, one parent foreign	3,418,656
Foreign born and of foreign parentage	20,753,222
Native of foreign parentage	11,503,675
Total immigration, 1820-1895	18,022,785

Mr. TILLMAN. In the report of the Commissioner of Labor for 1894, page 44, it appears that the proportion of those of foreign birth to the total population in the slums in Baltimore was 77 per cent, in Chicago 90 per cent, in New York 95 per cent, and in Philadelphia 91 per cent. It also appears from the same report that of every 100 aliens, 40 were illiterates in the slums of Baltimore, 47 in Chicago, 59 in New York, and 51 in Philadelphia; and that of every 100 of these illiterate aliens there were 67 males of voting age in Baltimore, 77 in Chicago, 78 in New York, and 85 in Philadelphia.

An analysis of the destination of the immigrants for the last three years shows that over one-half of all the immigrants to this

country have settled in the States of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania (North Atlantic division).

In 1895, 65 per cent of our immigration settled in three States, namely, Massachusetts, New York, and Pennsylvania, and 53.40 per cent settled in New York and Pennsylvania.

So you see how you got your big Republican majority last year in the States named, and it is easy to see that there is too much labor being imported, and that something ought to be done.

By the last census, 26 per cent of the white prisoners confined in jails are persons of foreign birth. The total number of convicts in our penitentiaries whose birthplace is known is 28,440, composed of 13,715 native born and 14,725 foreign born, showing more than one-half of all our white convicts to be of foreign birth. Our charitable institutions contained 69,962 inmates, of which 24 per cent was of foreign birth. Our poorhouses contained 53,696, of which number 27,648 were born in foreign countries, or a little over 51 per cent.

In a report made to the House in the second session of the Fiftieth Congress by Mr. Ford, from the Select Committee on Investigation of Foreign Immigration, we find the testimony of Dr. Hoyt, for twenty years connected with the board of charities and corrections in the city of New York. Here is what he said:

> That every charitable institution in the State of New York is now not only filled with occupants, but overflowing, and that the State annually expends in taking care of paupers, insane persons, etc., $20,000,000, and that this condition of affairs is largely due to improper immigration.

Free trade in labor, high protective tariff on the products of labor! I want to know how much longer you Republicans are going to be able to fool these poor devils and get them to vote your way.

Fifteen years ago 90 per cent of the people engaged in the manufacture of cigars in the city of New York were American citizens. To-day over 90 per cent are foreigners. The Americans have been driven out. The wages were then fifteen and twenty dollars a week, and now four and eight dollars per week.

Now I come to the kind of law you have on the statute books, by which you intend or endeavor honestly to keep out undesirable citizens. That is the contract-labor law and the law prohibiting the introduction into our country of paupers and insane persons and others of the lowest and the dirtiest and meanest of men.

What have been the statistics as to these classes? I find from an examination that the number of alien contract laborers returned to the countries whence they came from March 1, 1889, to March 31, 1894, was 2,887, whereas the total number of immigrants from 1889 to 1894 was 2,985,000.

In 1894, when our immigration amounted to 314,467, the following were returned under that law: Contract laborers, 461; those designated as a public charge, 427; convicts, 1, and diseased persons, 2, thus showing a return of only 891.

The percentage of those which our system has been able to catch and return has been so infinitesimal that it is not worth talking about. We have absolutely let in everybody who was shipped here. The laws which we have are not worth the paper on which they are written, so far as restricting and keeping out undesirable immigrants is concerned.

Now, Mr. President, I thank God I can say it, for it is the truth, that to-day in the Southern States the man who wants to get work can find it. There are no hungry people there who can not get something to eat. We are the section which has been robbed by the policy of protection to American labor, but to-day the only place in America where every man can get something to eat, if he is willing to work, is south of Mason and Dixon's line. Therefore there is nothing in this for my section except to purify, elevate, and lift up the general standard of American citizenship, and to give us a voting population in the near future, after they shall have been educated to know the duties and rights of American citizens, so that we can have a better Government and happier country than we have.

We are face to face with conditions that are appalling to every student of history. There are to-day unemployed in these vast aggregations of Northern cities, where the millions "nose each other like flocks of sheep," hundreds of thousands of foreigners and other desperate men who are calculating and thinking and talking sedition. They are wondering how much longer they can endure the pangs of hunger and how much longer they will have to suck the dry husks of protection and gold monometallism as the only means that will give them relief. They voted for it. They do not deserve any pity.

But nevertheless you in honesty ought to reach out your hand and say, "We will give you this protective tariff just as fast as we can, and we are hurrying it as fast as possible, but in the meantime we will protect you in the most effectual way we can by shutting down the floodgate which is letting into this country every month fifteen or twenty thousand competitors, who enter with you into the market and ask for the work which you ought to have when there is not enough work to go round." Instead of the condition of affairs which ought to exist, and which existed until the recent past, in which every man who had a job found it difficult to find a man to take his job, there are two, three, or five men hunting for every job that exists, and if you continue to allow people to be poured in, fail to check the inroad of Goths and Vandals and Huns—to use the simile of those who destroyed the Roman Empire—I tell you that you are laying up a day of wrath when these people will turn and rend and burn you in your own palaces.

It is just as certain as that Paris was burned by a mob of the commune in 1871; it is just as certain as fate, unless you do something to relieve and stop this cancerous ulcer, that the country is to be thrown into the throes of revolution and bloodshed and fire by this very class you have allowed to pour in here.

I have a great many facts here bearing on this question which I will not present. The Senate is impatient to move on in its blindness, in its desire and effort to give protection to American labor by erecting a wall around America and leaving the flood gates open, so that the workmen of foreign countries are perpetually crawling and coming through the door to compete with those who have come in ahead, and to compete with native-born Americans.

I ask, however, leave to insert two letters, with the accompanying tables referred to, as showing the condition of affairs in the anthracite coal region of Pennsylvania. They are from a prominent attorney of Pottsville, who has been a Republican all his life, but who supported the Chicago platform and its nominee in the last campaign:

POTTSVILLE, PA., *June 22, 1897.*

DEAR SENATOR: I inclose you an article headed "Interesting tables." Mr. R. C. Luther, general manager of the Reading Coal and Iron Company, furnished the data for this table under oath before the legislative committee. You will notice 35½ per cent of the employees of the Reading Coal and Iron Company in and around their mines are Poles and Huns for the month of October, 1896. You will further notice that there are only 27 per cent of the employees Poles and Huns in and about their mines in 1892. The Reading employees are 20 per cent of the total number in the anthracite fields.

This is the most definite and accurate information you can get on this subject. The same proportion of Poles and Huns are employed throughout the entire anthracite fields in Pennsylvania, and the average would be the same for the entire number employed in the anthracite fields. Some individual operators employ a larger proportion of Poles and Huns, and some a much smaller proportion, but an average of the whole field would be what is shown in this sworn statement of Mr. Luther.

The legislative committee filed their report on the 14th of June. This extract is from the Pottsville Daily Republican of June 16. I also inclose you an extract from the report of the chairman of the legislative committee to make an investigation of the foreigners in our penal and charitable institutions. I will during the day receive from Mr. Brower a report as to our jail, of which he is warden, and send that. The most astonishing thing in regard to our foreign emigration is the number of them that are getting into our charitable and penal institutions. They crowd our almshouses and our jails. If there was no reason other than that, this hundred-dollar tax should be imposed upon these foreigners.

The work ahead of you may seem beset with almost insurmountable difficulties, but Garretson had to meet more determined and better fortified opposition when he undertook the fight against slavery.

The great majority of our people are getting but a bare existence. It is painful to hear of the poverty and depression. I just had a talk with a traveling man who has spent six weeks in western Ohio, Illinois, and Iowa, and he tells me that a worse condition prevails there than here. It seems hard to realize.

Yours, sincerely,

WM. WILHELM.

Senator B. R. TILLMAN,
Washington, D. C.

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POTTSVILLE, PA., *June 26, 1897.*

DEAR SENATOR: I inclose you a statement received from the warden of our prison. He tells me that the percentage of Poles and Huns that were committed to the prison is much larger than appears according to the inclosed statement, but all young Poles and Huns born in this country are classed as Americans, although, to all intents and purposes, they are not Americans. The Polish and Hungarian population of this county is only 15 per cent of the total population, although you see that the foreign-born Poles and Huns constitute over 44 per cent of the jail commitments for the year 1896. A still larger percentage of these Poles and Huns are found in our poorhouse.

Yours, sincerely,

WM. WILHELM.

Senator B. R. TILLMAN,
Washington, D. C.

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POTTSVILLE, PA., *June 26, 1897.*

DEAR SIR: In regard to your inquiry as to the Poles and Huns committed during the year 1896, I find the record shows the following:

Total commitments to Schuylkill County prison, 1896	1,135
Number of Poles	386
Number of Hungarians	114
Total of Poles and Huns	500

Of the 1,135 committed during the year 1896, there was 42½ per cent American born, 57½ per cent foreign born.

I give you this statement in lieu of any published statement with reference to the Poles and Huns, as at the present time we are not making up any published reports.

Yours, truly,

C. W. BROWER, *Warden.*

WILLIAM WILHELM, Esq.,
Pottsville, Pa.

INTERESTING TABLES CONNECTED WITH THE REPORT OF THE LEGISLATIVE MINING COMMITTEE.

During the month of October, 1896, when the collieries were in full operation, a register of all the employees in the mining department was prepared, and the following is a condensed statement of the same:

Occupation.	Total employees.	Parentage.									Foreign born.	Married.
		American.	English.	Irish.	German.	Scotch.	Welsh.	Polish.	Hungarian.	Italian.		
INSIDE LABOR.												
Foremen	70	7	15	26	10	7	14				42	74
Fire bosses	205	15	34	79	31	10	34	1		1	4,378	5,238
Miners (contract)	7,101	1,018	433	1,378	764	31	286	2,605	309	106	4,378	5,238
Miners, day and chute	921	121	109	347	126	5	61	127	17	8	409	556
Miners' laborers	2,978	447	124	261	206	8	55	1,568	250	50	2,087	846
Other laborers	651	102	41	194	80	3	20	155	41	6	275	224
Timbermen	297	25	21	73	44	2	10	100	22	1	168	183
Repair men	427	94	53	142	75	7	37	14		5	123	130
Road men	212	50	18	81	27	1	16	18	1		93	128
Bottom men	344	110	22	118	30	4	18	26	16		50	91
Plane men	122	29	8	63	15		10	5	2		10	31
Switchmen and car runners	155	36	12	58	16	3	4	14	12		20	20
Fan and door boys	404	115	29	101	25	2	19	84	26	3	67	3
Spraggers and oilers	73	14	9	27	7		2	14			7	1
Engineers	29	9	6	11	1	1	1				3	21
Pump men	69	15	15	19	12		8				10	51
Stablemen	98	32	13	35	14	1	2		1		26	82
Drivers	1,010	284	78	390	69	8	65	126	9	1	98	46
Loader bosses	151	30	14	71	19	1	15	1			23	105
Loaders	1,194	193	54	306	86	5	39	328	180	4	606	237
Total inside labor	16,530	2,725	1,108	3,779	1,657	99	725	5,276	976	185	8,580	8,464
OUTSIDE LABOR.												
Foremen	84	24	15	18	19	2	6				23	78
Machinists	39	13	9	6	8		3				5	35
Masons	45	9	1		24		7		4		14	28
Carpenters	179	68	10	25	67		6	2		1	44	149
Carpenters (improvements and repairs)	178	80	4	6	85	3				1	44	149
Blacksmiths and helpers	178	60	16	34	45	3	9	7	3		33	100
Engineers	677	167	97	164	82	13	48	3		3	98	423
Firemen	421	121	27	123	62	3	11	24	50		111	251
Ash men	121	33	14	22	21		2	17	53		90	78
Plane men	94	21	6	20	9			16	22		39	20
Tip men	139	31	6	25	24		3	23	2		58	38
Platform men	490	42	8	47	46	2		121	223	1	407	248
Rock and dirt men	498	90	14	106	51	1	10	67	149	1	258	173
Chute bosses	261	65	29	90	55		13	4	5		55	145
Slate pickers	5,944	1,413	252	1,086	610	27	122	1,195	1,224	15	2,202	530
Car loaders	251	84	17	73	32	1	4	16	24		50	66
Watchmen	72	13	16	20	18	2	2	1			41	65
Stablemen	62	29	3	10	18		1	1	1		10	51
Teamsters	61	27	3	10	18		1	1	1		8	52
Drivers	114	53	7	28	13		3	3	7		12	4
Timbermen	169	95	9	11	49			2	3		18	113
Repair and road men	97	38	9	19	19		5	2	5		17	58
Topmen	158	60	10	6	16	2	6	9	9		20	48
Switchmen and car runners	58	25	4	10	4	1	1	5	4		6	3
Spraggers and oilers	167	54	14	40	22	2	6	18	11		22	16
Laborers	1,233	350	74	175	118	6	35	83	379	4	561	513
Shippers and operators	100	31	17	28	15	1	8				5	42
Total outside labor	11,830	3,113	691	2,246	1,550	69	312	1,619	2,204	26	4,320	3,484
Total inside labor	16,530	2,725	1,108	3,779	1,657	99	725	5,276	976	185	8,580	8,464
Total outside and inside labor	28,360	5,838	1,799	6,025	3,207	168	1,037	6,895	3,180	211	12,900	11,948
Per cent	100	21	6	21.5	11	0.6	3.7	24.5	11	0.7		
Total employees, 1892	25,665	4,682	2,065	6,908	3,376	219	1,202	5,067	1,928	128		
Per cent	100	18	8.5	27	13	0.8	5	19.7	7.5	0.5		

These letters show most conclusively the necessity for prompt and vigorous action by Congress. In a report presented to the Senate by Mr. CHANDLER, from the Committee on Immigration, at the first session of the Fifty-first Congress, No. 1095, we find that Edmund Stephenson, on April 11, 1890, in the course of his examination, testified as follows:

My experience in Castle Garden is that hundreds and thousands of skilled mechanics, stonecutters, stone-masons, glass blowers, locomotive engineers, come regularly to this country every spring, year after year, and stay here until about November. They pay no taxes for our schools; they perform no jury duty, nor are they liable to; they do not perform any of the duties of citizenship except the protection they get from the city, the State, wherever they reside.

During all the working season they are sending their money back home to their wives, their children, their parents, and at the end of the working season they pack their gripsacks and go back to Europe, spend the winter, and the next year come back here again, and repeat the same thing over and over again. They come into direct competition with American labor. They drive out American labor by their coming here, skilled workmen that they are, and they generally work under the price of American labor. But they earn much more money here, and they can afford to go back there and live a few months until the working season, and then come back here. I regard that, gentlemen, as infinitely worse than contract labor.

Q. (By the chairman.) How would you correct it?

A. I would put a tax upon every man who came here as I would upon every foreign production that is imported into this country. I would collect it like the internal-revenue taxes. I would put every employee under oath, and learn from the employer whether he came here to be a citizen or not. That is the way to do it.

Q. (By Mr. Lehlbach.) Would you tax every man that is not a citizen?

A. That comes in that way, yes, sir. Every man that takes his money back, or sends it back, never brings his family or intends to do that.

The Democratic party stands committed to protect this country against pauper labor by prohibiting its importation. It is a question with my Democratic colleagues whether this condition shall be brought about. The Republican party is committed to the protection of American labor at any and at all times, but especially to protect it by prohibiting the illiterate from coming in. The $100 which I ask you to put here is a very small bonus for a man to pay for the privilege of coming into this great country and becoming a citizen, with the right to have the tender nursing of that mother of American industries, the Republican party. It is a very small amount to charge. The question is, Can you afford not to charge it, under the circumstances?

Now I will let my friend from New Hampshire, who has been enjoying himself in anticipation of the meal he is going to make off of me and my amendment, come in and explain why it is that he will not vote for it.

Mr. CHANDLER. Mr. President, nothing would give me greater pleasure than to devour the incisive and inconsistent Senator from South Carolina. But I am afraid I shall not have the pleasure of making a final meal of him to-day.

The Senator has well stated the evils of indiscriminate immigration into this country. I agree, I am happy to say to him, with every word he has said in reference to those evils. Everything that can be done by law and by good administration to keep out bad, degraded, injurious immigrants should be done. Two very good laws within the last ten years restricting immigration have been placed upon the statute book of this country. They are good laws of administration, and they have been well enforced by officials, Republican and Democratic.

Under the chairmanship of the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] at the last session of Congress, a new restrictive bill was passed which provided that no immigrants should come into this country unless they could read and write either their own language or the English language. That law, as all Senators will remember, passed both Houses of Congress by an overwhelming majority. It would have been of immense service in overcoming the evils which the Senator from South Carolina has described. Will the Senator from South Carolina, who has brought politics into this discussion, kindly tell me why that is not a law upon the statute book to-day?

Mr. TILLMAN. Because a so-called Democratic, but in acts a Republican, President, Grover Cleveland, vetoed it. [Laughter.]

Mr. CHANDLER. If I required a justification for devouring the Senator from South Carolina if I could, I certainly, in the eyes of the whole world, should receive it when he attributes the responsibility of Grover Cleveland to the Republican party.

Mr. President, a Democratic President stopped that bill, a President for whom the Senator from South Carolina voted, and for which may he ask to be forgiven before high Heaven.

Mr. TILLMAN. I hope to be forgiven for what I did. I will never do it any more.

Mr. CHANDLER. But it was the President of the Senator from South Carolina, and not a Republican President, who put the barrier in the way of restriction upon immigration by vetoing the measure that was enacted by the last Congress. Under those circumstances the Senator, before criticising the Republican party for any assumed unwillingness on its part to restrict immigration, should have turned the tines of his pitchfork against Grover Cleveland, who is not yet dead, and should have disemboweled him, if possible, leaving the Republican party to some future day.

Mr. President, so much by way of responding to the genial and gentle badinage of the Senator from South Carolina. A few words as to the merits of the question. I will join, this side of the House will join, the Senator from South Carolina in passing any wise, stringent bill for the restriction of immigration. If this session continues long enough, after passing the tariff bill and the bill allowing the State of South Carolina to do what it pleases with all the spirituous liquor that wicked Northerners and conspiring Southerners may take into the borders of that State, the Senator will have an opportunity to vote to pass over again the bill which President Cleveland vetoed, and which required that foreigners coming to this country should be able to read and write.

That would be a wise law; and if the Senator from South Carolina can discover any other restrictive law that will be beneficial and will preserve the purity of American citizenship, and will preserve American labor for American laborers, no doubt he will find many more Senators on this side of the Chamber willing to vote for it than upon the other side of the Chamber, although in saying that I make no imputation upon the Democratic side of the Chamber, because Democrats and Republicans alike concurred in the overwhelming majorities by which the bill was passed which a Democratic President vetoed.

But, Mr. President, I am obliged to say that I am not in favor of a hundred-dollar head tax as a means of restricting immigration. My point is a simple one. It has been made before in this Chamber. There have been differences of opinion on the subject, but the prevailing opinion I believe to be that which I express, that while it might be wise and proper to impose a head tax to keep out an improper immigrant, it is very unwise to take money out of the pockets of an immigrant who comes here. If we can have a head tax so high that no immigrant can come, in other words, if we can have a prohibitive tax upon immigrants, that is all very well. The direct method——

Mr. TILLMAN. Will the Senator allow me right there?

Mr. CHANDLER. The direct method would be to suspend immigration entirely for a certain period.

Mr. TILLMAN. Do you deny that there are many articles in this tariff bill upon which there is a prohibitive duty and that there will be absolutely no importations under the provisions?

Mr. CHANDLER. I understand that in all the duties in the bill, from the duty on cotton to the duty on cotton ties, it is a revenue measure.

Mr. TILLMAN. The Senator from Missouri, then, has labored in vain in trying to convince us to the contrary.

Mr. CHANDLER. They are all designed to fill up a Treasury that has been emptied under the Administration of the President of the Senator from South Carolina.

Mr. TILLMAN. Will the Senator allow me right there?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from New Hampshire yield to the Senator from South Carolina?

Mr. CHANDLER. I am afraid the Senator will——

Mr. TILLMAN. I insist. I want to put myself straight in regard to Grover Cleveland.

Mr. CHANDLER. The Senator will either——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from New Hampshire yield to the Senator from South Carolina?

Mr. CHANDLER. The Senator will so intimidate or impoverish me that I shall not be able to go on with my remarks.

Mr. TILLMAN. The Senator from New Hampshire knows what it is, because he is a living evidence of it day by day, to bow to the behest of party, to be a party slave, to surrender his independence and his manhood in worshiping a name. I went to Chicago in 1892 at the head of the South Carolina delegation. We had passed before we left home a resolution in our State convention denouncing Grover Cleveland as a prostitute of Democracy——

Mr. CHANDLER. I do not yield to the Senator any longer for that kind of language to be used, Mr. President.

Mr. TILLMAN. I am only giving a little history——

Mr. CHANDLER. I can not consent——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Hampshire declines to yield further.

Mr. CHANDLER. I can not consent to the Senator's speaking in that way of the late President of his party.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Hampshire has the floor.

Mr. TILLMAN. If the Senator will permit me, I will continue——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair will remind the Senator from South Carolina that the Senator from New Hampshire has the floor, and can only be interrupted by his consent.

Mr. CHANDLER. I prefer to go on with the remarks I have to submit, and have this beneficent bill take the place of the bill of perfidy and dishonor which the Senator's late President allowed to become a law because he did not dare to veto it.

Mr. TILLMAN. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair will remind the Senator from South Carolina that under the rules he must through the Chair get permission to interrupt a Senator on the floor.

Mr. TILLMAN. I ask permission from the Senator from New Hampshire to continue my defense of my vote for Grover Cleveland.

Mr. CHANDLER. After I get through, the Senator will have ample opportunity.

Mr. TILLMAN. Please allow me now.

Mr. CHANDLER. If the Senator will speak of the late President Cleveland in the usual terms of respect with which he speaks of everyone, I will yield. [Laughter.]

Mr. TILLMAN. It is pretty hard to do so, but I will endeavor to reach up to the level of Senatorial dignity for once. I say that the South Carolina delegation went to Chicago instructed to oppose Grover Cleveland's nomination, and our convention passed resolutions denouncing his candidacy and his nomination, if made, in the terms I have spoken of.

We voted against him every time. We knew by intuition and by his behavior what was coming. We were four years ahead of our brethren from the South, who were there from nearly every State except ours, clamoring for the great Cleveland to be the leader of Democracy. But after he was nominated, having nowhere else to go, believing that it was dishonorable to go into a party convention and not abide the result, unless we got up and walked out, we went home and carried South Carolina for him by the biggest majority of any Southern State

Now, the blame rests on him and not on us that he prostituted his high office and betrayed his party; and I hope the Senator from New Hampshire in the future will twit those here who have been defending him, rather than me for having been a fool, and such a fool, once. [Laughter.] I have grown broader since then, and become more independent, and will never again while I live vote for a Presidential candidate who does not represent my principles.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Hampshire will proceed.

Mr. CHANDLER. The sad fact remains that considering this subject of immigration, about which the Senator has been lecturing the Senate, a very wise and important bill for which the Senator voted was kept from becoming a law by the veto of President Cleveland. The President undoubtedly, now that the Senator from South Carolina is through with him, is gone and dead indeed; but for his acts, such as they were, good or bad, the Democratic party was responsible, and not a solitary Republican I ever knew or heard of was responsible for one jot or tittle of his deeds.

Now, Mr. President, if I can get the attention of the Senate to a point in connection with the Senator's amendment, it is this: That when an immigrant comes into this country, either a man alone, or a man and woman, or a man and wife with children, who go out on the prairies of the West or down into the now rapidly civilizing South to take a home there and to become a part of the communities to which they migrate, when they are admitted according to the existing laws upon our statute book to the blessings

of our citizenship, the worst thing that we can do when they enter the gates of Castle Garden or Ellis Island is to take $100 apiece from the pockets of each and every one of those immigrants.

The very best thing we could do with $100 of Government money would be to give it to each and every one of those immigrants, with which they may go to the place which they intend to make their homes, and there use this money in building their little houses, in developing their little farms, and in fitting themselves to enjoy the blessings and to perform the duties of American citizenship.

Mr. TILLMAN. Will the Senator from New Hampshire allow me there?

Mr. CHANDLER. If the Senator will ask a question and say nothing about Grover Cleveland——

Mr. TILLMAN. It is a question.

Mr. CHANDLER. Yes.

Mr. TILLMAN. Are there any more public lands left to which this man can go with the hundred dollars and settle on a homestead and build up a home?

Mr. CHANDLER. There are very few, although this country is not overpopulated yet. I have said that I will go as far as the Senator from South Carolina in a law to keep out immigrants——

Mr. TILLMAN. Will you go to——

Mr. CHANDLER. I will vote for this amendment if it would operate, for the time being, as a prohibition. But this is my point, and bright as the Senator is, he understands it; when an immigrant comes in with his family the worst possible tax that you can levy in any bill by Congress is a tax that takes a hundred dollars out of the pockets of the father of that family for every member of the family. He wants that money to prepare and adorn and make comfortable and beautify his home. That is the reason why I have voted and why I shall continue to vote against a large head tax as a method of excluding immigration.

Now, Mr. President, one word more and I am done.

Mr. TILLMAN. Will the Senator, then, join me in amending the amendment so as to prohibit all immigration of any kind?

Mr. CHANDLER. When the prolific Senator gets through his bill, which I am much in favor of, to make South Carolina a temperance State, and brings in a bill for the restriction of immigration, I will help him pass it.

Mr. TILLMAN. But, my dear sir, it ought to go in this tariff bill.

Mr. CHANDLER. Mr. President, there is a distinction between a human being coming into this country and a bale of goods, even if the Senator from South Carolina does not see it.

Mr. TILLMAN. The distinction——

Mr. CHANDLER. I can not yield any further to the Senator from South Carolina——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Hampshire declines to yield further.

Mr. CHANDLER. Until I have made one more point; then I will yield the floor to him entirely.

Mr. President, the Senator's amendment has a tail to it that is very interesting. He has described the horrors of vile immigration; he has described the condition of the poor, miserable, degraded human beings who, he says, delve in the mines of the great mining State of Pennsylvania. Mr. President, there is great truth in the picture, although neither the State of Pennsylvania nor the nation is to blame for that condition of things. It is one that will be ameliorated as time passes.

But as it exists the Senator says that it is a horrible condition, and that it is being added to daily by the rush of immigrants into this country whom he proposes to keep out. And yet the Senator says that if this country will only adopt the free coinage of silver at 16 to 1, then he is willing that any may come in. All the degraded hordes, the horrible immigrants, this damning, degraded addition to our population, may come if the tenet of the party—the one party, the two parties, the three parties for aught I know——

Mr. TILLMAN. Four parties.

Mr. CHANDLER. If the tenet of the four parties that opposed the Republican party in the last Presidential election shall prevail and the free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1 shall become a part of the law of the land. Now, Mr. President, there is a most lame and impotent conclusion for you. Why, the whole picture of the Senator, all the horrors which he described and which he proved, is only the prelude to the lame and impotent and ridiculous conclusion that the immigrants shall only be excluded until the blessed day when free coinage at the ratio of 16 to 1 shall have dawned upon the American people.

Mr. President, I can say no more than this to show, I think, to the Senator himself the absurdity of his amendment, which, in the interest of the speedy passage of this bill, which we all want to get through with as soon as we can, I respectfully ask him to withdraw.

Mr. TILLMAN. Is the Senator through?

Mr. CHANDLER. Yes; I am through now.

Mr. TILLMAN. Mr. President, I shall only have a word to say in regard to the tail of this amendment upon which the venom—that is a bad word—I will say, rather, the incisive wit, the keen, scintillating brilliancy of my friend was exhausted. It seems to me that I recollect reading a speech carefully and elaborately prepared by a certain Senator from New Hampshire in favor of "bimetallism," delivered last spring, in which all of the acumen and wisdom and learning and historical research which he could bring to bear (and there is no man in this Chamber who excels him in these points) had been exhausted. And it seems to me that I recall certain sentences of dire wrong to humanity and a great trouble ahead for the human race unless this great consummation were wrought.

There is nothing in this amendment about how you shall get this coinage of silver at 16 to 1. You are obliged to take it, if you can get it, by international agreement, and I do not care. I will take it that way just as readily as by any other means. I will take it by international agreement, or I will take it by our own action independent of any other nation. But I say that if we had the free coinage of silver to-day, there would be no hungry men in America and no paupers and idle men standing on the streets begging for bread.

I say if we get it in the near future, the stunted, distorted growth which now confronts us, the paralysis of trade, the condition of servitude which exists in labor, would no longer exist, because the American farmer would get a fair price for his product, and he could then buy the products of the factories. The wheels of the machine shops and factories would be set humming, and every man in America would obtain a fair day's wages and not go begging for labor. That is what I meant by putting that tail on there, and the fact that it has stung the Senator from New Hampshire shows that he realizes it. But your party exigency and its platform forbid you to get up and acknowledge it. You know it. You realize that you could not emancipate labor from this thralldom if you would have——

Mr. CHANDLER. Mr. President, I rise to a question of order.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Hampshire will state his question of order.

Mr. CHANDLER. I prefer that the Senator, instead of saying "you," would address his remarks to the Chair. He frightens me more than he is aware of when he speaks to me directly. [Laughter.]

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from South Carolina will proceed in order.

Mr. TILLMAN. Mr. President, as I do not have any pitchfork in sight, I do not see why the Senator has taken refuge behind the manly form of the Presiding Officer in that style. Of course, he is ridiculing me. I understand that, and my shoulders are broad enough to bear it; but he is in a hole—to use a slang phrase—and he knows it. The Republican party is committed to bimetallism. This only contemplates the possibility of getting you out of a dilemma by international agreement, with the certainty of the Democrats giving the country free coinage of silver in 1900, when the American laborer will have had the scales pulled from his eyes and will see that your sham promises of protection by a high tariff are Sodom apples and there is nothing in it for him but to come to starvation.

As long as the country had a bimetallic currency, we prospered. The evils of immigration and glutting the labor market did not cause any trouble. But the case is now different; we can never hope for prosperity until our financial policy is changed. Until it is changed there is danger in allowing a free influx of more European paupers to add to the distress in our cities and threaten the very life of the Republic.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is upon the amendment proposed by the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. TILLMAN].

Mr. TILLMAN. I ask for the yeas and nays on the amendment.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CLARK (when his name was called). I again announce my pair with the junior Senator from Kansas [Mr. HARRIS]. In his absence I withhold my vote.

Mr. CULLOM (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the Senator from Delaware [Mr. GRAY]. In his absence I withhold my vote.

Mr. GEAR (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH].

Mr. BERRY (when the name of Mr. JONES of Arkansas was called). My colleague [Mr. JONES of Arkansas] is paired with the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE]. I will state also that the Senator from New York [Mr. MURPHY] is paired with his colleague [Mr. PLATT of New York].

Mr. MALLORY (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROCTOR]. If he were present, I should vote "nay."

Mr. SEWELL (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. MITCHELL].

Mr. TILLMAN (when his name was called). I do not suppose this is a political question. I have a pair with the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. THURSTON], but I am bound to vote for my own amendment, and so I vote "yea."

Mr. WARREN (when his name was called). I again announce my pair with the junior Senator from Washington [Mr. TURNER]. He is not in the Chamber, and I do not know how he would vote if present. I therefore withhold my vote.

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. SPOONER (after having voted in the negative). I have a general pair with the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. WALTHALL], and I voted in his absence inadvertently. I am assured, however, that he would vote "nay," if he were present. I will allow my vote to stand.

The PRESIDING OFFICER [Mr. GALLINGER] (after having voted in the negative). The present occupant of the chair is paired with the Senator from Texas [Mr. MILLS], and therefore withdraws his vote, the Senator from Texas not having voted.

The result was announced—yeas 3, nays 48; as follows:

YEAS—3.

Butler,	Quay,	Tillman.

NAYS—48.

Allen,	Davis,	Lindsay,	Pettus,
Allison,	Elkins,	Lodge,	Platt, Conn.
Bacon,	Fairbanks,	McBride,	Pritchard,
Bate,	Faulkner,	McEnery,	Shoup,
Berry,	Foraker,	McLaurin,	Spooner,
Burrows,	Frye,	McMillan,	Teller,
Carter,	Hanna,	Mason,	Turpie,
Chandler,	Hansbrough,	Morgan,	Vest,
Chilton,	Hawley,	Nelson,	Wellington,
Clay,	Heitfeld,	Pasco,	Wetmore,
Cockrell,	Hoar,	Penrose,	White,
Daniel,	Kenney,	Perkins,	Wilson.

NOT VOTING—38.

Aldrich,	Gorman,	Martin,	Sewell,
Baker,	Gray,	Mills,	Smith,
Caffery,	Hale,	Mitchell,	Stewart,
Cannon,	Harris, Kans.	Morrill,	Thurston,
Clark,	Harris, Tenn.	Murphy,	Turner,
Cullom,	Jones, Ark.	Pettigrew,	Walthall,
Deboe,	Jones, Nev.	Platt, N. Y.	Warren,
Gallinger,	Kyle,	Proctor,	Wolcott.
Gear,	Mallory,	Rawlins,	
George,	Mantle,	Roach,	

So the amendment of Mr. TILLMAN was rejected.

Mr. WHITE. I desire to have printed an amendment which I intend to propose to the pending bill, with the references which are indorsed thereon.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. That order will be made, in the absence of objection.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask the adoption of the amendment which I send to the desk, on page 150, line 25. It is merely to place jewels for watches on the free list, in accordance with the decision of the Senate to-day.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Iowa will be stated.

The SECRETARY. At the end of line 25, on page 170, after the word "bort," it is proposed to insert a semicolon, and to add:

All jewels for use in the manufacture of watches or clocks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the amendment proposed by the Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON].

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. CHILTON. I offer an amendment to the pending bill, which I desire to have printed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. That order will be made, in the absence of objection.

Mr. KENNEY. I offer an amendment to the pending bill, which I wish to have printed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. It will be so ordered, in the absence of objection.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. ALLISON. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After fifteen minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened, and (at 5 o'clock and 45 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Wednesday, June 30, 1897, at 11 o'clock a. m.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate June 29, 1897.

SECRETARY OF LEGATION.

Charles V. Herdliska, of the District of Columbia, to be secretary of the legation of the United States at Vienna, Austria, vice Lawrence Townsend, appointed envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to Portugal.

CONSULS-GENERAL.

John P. Bray, of North Dakota, to be consul-general of the United States at Melbourne, Australia, vice Daniel W. Maratta, resigned.

Church Howe, of Nebraska, to be consul-general of the United States at Apia and Nukualofa, Tonga, vice William Churchill, resigned.

CONSULS.

Louis A. Dent, of the District of Columbia, to be consul of the United States at Kingston, Jamaica, vice Quincy O. Eckford, resigned.

Hugo Donzelmann, of Wyoming, to be consul of the United States at Prague, Bohemia, vice Carl Bailey Hurst, appointed consul-general at Vienna.

Samuel S. Lyon, of New Jersey, to be consul of the United States at Osaka and Hiogo, Japan, vice James F. Connelly, resigned.

Rounsevelle Wildman, of California, to be consul of the United States at Hongkong, China, vice William E. Hunt, resigned.

SOLICITOR-GENERAL.

John K. Richards, of Ohio, to be Solicitor-General, vice Holmes Conrad, resigned.

PROMOTIONS IN THE ARMY.

Artillery arm.

Second Lieut. John Power Hains, Third Artillery, to be first lieutenant, June 17, 1897, vice Oyster, First Artillery, retired from active service.

Infantry arm.

Lieut. Col. William Henry Powell, Eleventh Infantry, to be colonel, June 27, 1897, vice Lyster, Ninth Infantry, retired from active service.

Maj. Clarence Edmund Bennett, Nineteenth Infantry, to be lieutenant-colonel, June 27, 1897, vice Powell, Eleventh Infantry, promoted.

Capt. Stephen Perry Jocelyn, Twenty-first Infantry, to be major, June 27, 1897, vice Bennett, Nineteenth Infantry, promoted.

First Lieut. Charles Hartwell Bonesteel, Twenty-first Infantry, to be captain, June 27, 1897, vice Jocelyn, Twenty-first Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Edmund Luthur Butts, Twenty-first Infantry, to be first lieutenant, June 27, 1897, vice Bonesteel, Twenty-first Infantry, promoted.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate June 29, 1897.

CONSUL.

Soren Listoe, of Minnesota, to be consul of the United States at Rotterdam, Netherlands.

ASSISTANT ENGINEERS IN THE NAVY.

The following-named naval cadets, graduates of the Naval Academy, to be assistant engineers in the Navy:

Thomas M. Dick, of South Carolina.
Charles K. Mallory, of Tennessee.
Newton Mansfield, of Ohio.
James P. Morton, of Missouri.
Daniel M. Garrison, of New Jersey.
Franklin D. Karns, of Ohio.
Frederick N. Freeman, of Indiana.
John F. Marshall, jr., of Texas.
Darwin R. Merritt, of Iowa.
Ernest F. Eckhardt, of Wisconsin.
Edward H. Dunn, of Connecticut.

ENSIGNS IN THE NAVY.

The following-named naval cadets, graduates of the Naval Academy, to be ensigns in the navy:

Frank H. Brumby, of Georgia.
Frank P. Baldwin, of New Jersey.
William C. Davidson, of South Dakota.
Harris Laning, of Illinois.

David W. Todd, of California.
John V. Klemann, of New York.
William R. Cushman, of New York.
Henry V. Butler, jr., of New York.
Walter R. Gherardi, at large.
John R. Monaghan, of Washington.
James J. Raby, of Michigan.
James E. Walker, of North Carolina.
William H. Standley, of California.
Arthur T. Chester, at large.
Cassius B. Barnes, of Oklahoma.
Joseph C. Breckinridge, of Kentucky.
Albion J. Wadhams, of New York.
Kenneth M. Bennett, of New Jersey.
Edward H. Watson, of Kentucky.
Worth Bagley, of North Carolina.
Orlo S. Knepper, of Pennsylvania.
Michael J. McCormack, of Michigan.
Rufus Z. Johnston, jr., of North Carolina.

APPOINTMENTS IN THE ARMY.

The following-named cadets, graduates of the Military Academy, for appointment in the Army of the United States, to date from June 11, 1897:

To be additional second lieutenants, Corps of Engineers.

1. Cadet William Durward Connor.
2. Cadet John Calvin Oakes.
3. Cadet Louis Casper Wolf.
4. Cadet Henry Sims Morgan.
5. Cadet Sherwood Alfred Cheney.
6. Cadet Frederick William Altstaetter.
7. Cadet Harley Bascom Ferguson.

Artillery arm.

9. Cadet Robert Swepston Abernethy.
12. Cadet Edwin Oliver Sarratt.
13. Cadet Albert Jesse Bowley.
15. Cadet Bertram Charles Gilbert.
16. Cadet Lawrence Sprague Miller.
18. Cadet Winfield Scott Overton, jr.
20. Cadet Mervyn Chandos Buckey.

Cavalry arm.

11. Cadet Francis Horton Pope.
14. Cadet Matthew Elting Hanna.
17. Cadet George Edward Mitchell.
19. Cadet Pierce Ambrose Murphy.
21. Cadet Frederick Theodore Arnold.
24. Cadet James Noble Munro.
26. Cadet Earle D'Arcy Pearce.
27. Cadet William Stanley Valentine.
29. Cadet Henry Carpenter Smither.
30. Cadet Roy Beveridge Harper.
32. Cadet Thomas Arnett Roberts.
33. Cadet Edgar Alexander Sirmyer.
34. Cadet Frank Ross McCoy.
36. Cadet Chalmers Gaither Hall.
44. Cadet Clarence Richmond Day.
47. Cadet Willard Herman McCornack.
50. Cadet Seth Mellen Milliken.
52. Cadet John Carrington Raymond.

Infantry arm.

8. Cadet Charles Duval Roberts.
10. Cadet John Kirkpatrick Moore.
22. Cadet Frederick Edgar Johnston.
23. Cadet Claude Hamilton Miller.
25. Cadet Harold Benjamin Fiske.
28. Cadet Arthur Stewart Conklin.
31. Cadet John Hendricken Hughes.
35. Cadet George Willis Helms.
37. Cadet Rufus Estes Longan.
38. Cadet Frank Marion Savage.
39. Cadet Thomas Taylor Frissell.
40. Cadet Edward Anthony Roche.
41. Cadet William Mason Fassett.
42. Cadet Henry Magdeburg Dichmann.
43. Cadet Halstead Dorey.
45. Cadet George Franklin Baltzell.
46. Cadet Benjamin Martin Koehler.
48. Cadet James Francis Brady.
49. Cadet Hugh La Fayette Applewhite.
51. Cadet Edgar Thomas Conley.
53. Cadet Roderick Leland Carmichael.
54. Cadet Harry Gore Bishop.
55. Cadet Henry Abbot.
56. Cadet Andrew Moses.
57. Cadet Edgar Thomas Collins.
58. Cadet Fred Anderson Pearce.
59. Cadet Seaborn Green Chiles.
60. Cadet Lyman Mowry Welch.
61. Cadet Thomas Quinn Ashburn.
62. Cadet Sam Frank Bottoms.
63. Cadet Warren Sumner Barlow.
64. Cadet John Girardin Workizer.
65. Cadet Willard Douglas Newbill.
66. Cadet Charles Higbee Bridges.
67. Cadet Harold Edward Cloke.

SECOND LIEUTENANTS IN MARINE CORPS.

The following-named naval cadets, graduates of the Naval Academy, to be second lieutenants in the Marine Corps, from the 1st day of July, 1897, to fill vacancies existing in that grade, namely:

Philip M. Bannon, of Maryland.
Newt H. Hall, of Texas.

REGISTER OF THE LAND OFFICE.

Thomas A. Roseberry, of Susanville, Cal., to be register of the land office at Susanville, Cal.

POSTMASTERS.

W. Morton Mills, to be postmaster at Ladoga, in the county of Montgomery and State of Indiana.

S. W. Willey, to be postmaster at Hinton, in the county of Summers and State of West Virginia.

Francis Norwood, to be postmaster at Beverly, in the county of Essex and State of Massachusetts.

Elias E. Wesseler, to be postmaster at Rockport, in the county of Spencer and State of Indiana.

Theodore Bailey, to be postmaster at Portland, in the county of Jay and State of Indiana.

SENATE.

WEDNESDAY, *June 30, 1897.*

The Senate met at 11 o'clock a. m.

Prayer by Rev. HUGH JOHNSTON, D. D., of the city of Washington.

On motion of Mr. ALLEN, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of yesterday's proceedings was dispensed with.

CORRECTION.

Mr. RAWLINS. I find in the RECORD that upon the vote on the lead question yesterday I am recorded as voting in the negative. That vote was cast under a misapprehension of the question, and I simply desire to make that statement.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. GALLINGER presented the memorial A. T. Brown & Co., of Raymond, N. H., remonstrating against an increase in the present rate of duty on tanned skins for morocco, or a duty on raw goatskins; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. ALLISON presented the memorial of James Bolling and 49 other citizens of Iowa, remonstrating against the enactment of legislation intended to destroy the present system of ticket brokerage; which was referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

Mr. PERKINS. I present a petition wired me from the Chamber of Commerce of San Francisco, Cal., praying for the prompt annexation of the Hawaiian Republic. I move that the petition be printed in the RECORD and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

The petition was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., *June 29, 1897.*

Hon. GEORGE C. PERKINS,
United States Senator, Washington, D. C.:

Kindly present following to Senate:

"*To the honorable Senate and House of Representatives, the Fifty-fifth Congress, Washington, D. C.:*

"Your memorialists, citizens of the Pacific Coast of the United States, respectfully but urgently petition your august body for the prompt annexation of the Hawaiian Republic. While it is true that Pacific Coast interests demand it, we respectfully plead for annexation on the broader ground of national policy, prestige, and commercial necessity. We protest against the possibility of the great stronghold in mid-Pacific being permitted occupation by any foreign power as a constant menace to our country.

"Every consideration of patriotism, national safety, and commercial interest demands prompt territorial annexation. If we object to Hawaiian annexation, we should consistently cede Alaska to Great Britain. But we are

confident that every intelligent American unbiased by prejudice or personal interest will support the policy of the Administration in the annexation of this friendly island Republic which has these many years sought to be incorporated with the American nation. As a political and commercial necessity we also pray that the United States Government will aid and facilitate the connection by cable of the Pacific Coast with this splendid new territory.

"Confident in the widsom and patriotism of our countrymen in Congress assembled, we subscribe ourselves,

"Your fellow-citizens,

"THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF SAN FRANCISCO."

HUGH CRAIG, *President.*
WILLIAM M. MERRY, *Secretary-Treasurer.*

Mr. WHITE presented a petition of sundry citizens of California, praying for the enactment of legislation authorizing the President of the United States to appoint a commission as proposed by the Indianapolis (Ind.) monetary convention; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. BACON presented the memorial of B. T. Teague and 51 other citizens of Georgia, and the memorial of C. D. Reamer and 52 other citizens of Georgia, remonstrating against the enactment of legislation intended to destroy the present system of ticket brokerage; which were referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

Mr. TURPIE presented a memorial of the Bradley Fertilizer Company, of Boston, Mass., remonstrating against the imposition of a duty on burlap; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. ROACH (for Mr. MURPHY) presented sundry memorials of citizens of New York, remonstrating against the enactment of legislation intended to destroy the present system of ticket brokerage; which were referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

Mr. NELSON presented the memorial of H. Holbert and 48 other citizens of Minnesota, remonstrating against the enactment of legislation intended to destroy the present system of ticket brokerage; which was referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

Mr. LODGE presented sundry memorials of citizens of Massachusetts, remonstrating against the enactment of legislation intended to destroy the present system of ticket brokerage; which were referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

Mr. FAULKNER. I present the petition of George Hardman and 75 other citizens of Mount Zion, W. Va., praying for the enactment of a law restricting immigration. As a bill on this subject has already been reported from the committee and is now on the Calendar, I move that the petition lie on the table.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. VEST presented sundry memorials of citizens of Missouri, remonstrating against the enactment of legislation intended to destroy the present system of ticket brokerage; which were referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

REPORTS OF A COMMITTEE.

Mr. HANNA, from the Committee on Pensions, to whom was referred the bill (S. 2117) granting an increase of pension to Fannie Kautz, reported it with amendments, and submitted a report thereon.

He also, from the same committee, to whom were referred the following bills, reported them severally without amendment, and submitted reports thereon:

A bill (S. 2112) granting a pension to Jesse O. Davy;
A bill (S. 2115) granting a pension to Milton T. Bedford;
A bill (S. 2114) granting a pension to Rebecca E. Kutz;
A bill (S. 1454) granting an increase of pension to Mary Sprague;
A bill (S. 2258) granting a pension to Joshua Parker;
A bill (S. 141) granting an increase of pension to Capt. John W. Dodd;
A bill (S. 697) granting a pension to Abel S. Chase;
A bill (S. 139) granting an increase of pension to Florence W. Buskirk; and
A bill (S. 1614) granting a pension to John Amrein.

Mr. GALLINGER, from the Committee on Pensions, to whom was referred the bill (S. 1502) for the relief of C. S. Lobdell, of Parkersburg, Iowa, asked to be discharged from its further consideration and that it be referred to the Committee on Claims; which was agreed to.

Mr. SHOUP (for Mr. HANSBROUGH), from the Committee on Pensions, to whom were referred the following bills, reported them severally without amendment, and submitted reports thereon:

A bill (S. 156) to increase the pension of Capt. John H. Mullen;
A bill (S. 1480) granting an increase of pension to Lewis D. Baker;
A bill (S. 408) to restore a pension to Harriet M. Knowlton; and
A bill (S. 158) granting a pension to Peter Daly.

Mr. KYLE, from the Committee on Pensions, to whom were referred the following bills, reported them severally with an amendment, and submitted reports thereon:

A bill (S. 590) granting an increase of pension to Isabella H. Silvey, widow of Lieut. Col. William Silvey, deceased; and
A bill (S. 844) to grant a pension to Eli D. Walker.

Mr. KYLE, from the Committee on Pensions, to whom were referred the following bills, reported them severally without amendment, and submitted reports thereon:

A bill (S. 368) granting a pension to Jennie E. Burch;
A bill (S. 821) to increase the pension of Thomas J. Haughey;
A bill (S. 1534) increasing the pension of Lucivey J. Summers; and
A bill (S. 1532) to increase the pension of Capt. James B. Logan.

ACTS AND RESOLUTIONS RELATING TO PACIFIC RAILROADS.

Mr. LODGE, from the Committee on Printing, to whom was referred the resolution submitted by Mr. GEAR on the 25th instant, reported it with an amendment, and it was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, as follows:

Resolved, That there be printed for the use of the Senate as a document 1,000 copies of all and singular the acts and resolutions of Congress, including the decisions of the Supreme Court relating thereto, relative to the Union Pacific Railroad Company and the Central Pacific Railroad Company and Western Pacific Railroad Company, and that the sum of $100, to be expended under the direction of the Committee on Printing, is hereby appropriated out of the contingent fund of the Senate for the work.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Mr. KYLE introduced a bill (S. 2309) to correct the military record of George W. Sampson; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. MITCHELL introduced a joint resolution (S. R. 53) authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to deliver to the mayor of the city of Milwaukee, for use in ornamenting one of the parks of that city, the Parrott rifled cannon and carriage recently used on the revenue cutter *Andrew Johnson;* which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Commerce.

Mr. HAWLEY introduced a joint resolution (S. R. 54) empowering the Secretary of War to purchase the bronze bust of Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton for the War Department; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the Library.

AMENDMENTS TO DEFICIENCY APPROPRIATION BILL.

Mr. THURSTON submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the general deficiency appropriation bill; which was referred to the Select Committee on International Expositions, and ordered to be printed.

Mr. KYLE submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the general deficiency appropriation bill; which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations, and ordered to be printed.

NORTHERN LIBERTY MARKET CLAIMS.

Mr. COCKRELL submitted the following resolution; which was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to:

Resolved, That the auditor of the supreme court of the District of Columbia and the Commissioners of the District of Columbia be, and they are hereby, requested to suspend further proceedings under the act of Congress "to provide for the payment of certain claims against the District of Columbia by drawback certificates," approved January 26, 1897, known as the Northern Liberty Market claims, until further action of Congress.

THE TARIFF BILL.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The morning business appears to be closed.

Mr. ALLISON. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of House bill 379.

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 379) to provide revenue for the Government and to encourage the industries of the United States.

Mr. QUAY. Before proceeding further with the consideration of the bill, I desire to enter a motion to reconsider the vote by which the amendment to paragraph 118 providing $1 per ton on manganese ore was agreed to. I shall not press the motion now. I desire to consult with the Committee on Finance before the bill passes from the Committee of the Whole.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The motion to reconsider will be entered.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask now to recur to paragraph 7¼.

The SECRETARY. On page 3, after line 16, the Committee on Finance propose to insert as a new paragraph:

7¼. Bleaching powder, or chloride of lime, one-fourth of 1 cent per pound.

Mr. ALLISON. I wish to modify the amendment by inserting "one-fifth" in lieu of "one-fourth."

The SECRETARY. At the end of line 17, page 3, strike out "fourth" and insert "fifth;" so as to read:

7¼. Bleaching powder, or chloride of lime, one-fifth of 1 cent per pound.

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. VEST. What is the duty? Will the Secretary please read the paragraph as it now stands?

The SECRETARY. As modified the paragraph reads:

7½. Bleaching powder, or chloride of lime, one-fifth of 1 cent per pound.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the committee as amended.

The amendment as amended was agreed to.

Mr. VEST. I move to strike out the paragraph, so as to put it on the free list, where it was under the McKinley Act and where it is under existing law.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Missouri.

Mr. GRAY. Mr. President, before the vote is taken, I wish to say a few words on this matter, because it is one, I think, of some importance. It concerns a very widespread industry in this country. This tax on bleach is especially important to those of us who have in our States the industries that are particularly affected by this necessary raw material of their manufacture.

Bleach is used very largely, among other things, for the manufacture of pulp and for the manufacture of paper. That industry is an exceedingly important one and very widely diffused throughout this country. Those who are engaged in these industries view with no little concern the proposition to impose a tax on what has hitherto been free and subject them to a very heavy addition to the cost of producing their wares.

I am told, for example, by a single wood-pulp manufacturer in this country that this tax will mean an increase in expense to them of $20,000 a year. That means a very good profit upon the business. It means a necessary increase in the price of their paper, or a reduction in other directions in order to enable them to meet the increased cost. Bleach has always, or for a long time, been upon the free list, and with it so the industries dependent upon this important article have prospered as we might wish to see them prosper. I do not know that there have been any inordinate profits made, but the American manufacturer of paper, that has come to be one of the most important in modern civilization, controls the market in this country and is doing a large export business.

I understand that by reason of the cheapness of production in this country, which comes from this free raw material largely, more than one of the great London dailies is printed upon paper that is sent from this country, and our manufacturers are largely commanding that trade all over the world. The cheapness of the material from which wood pulp is made and the particular woods that are used for that manufacture are more abundant here than in Europe, and through that and through the modern economies that have come in the manufacture, and with all the raw materials cheap, they have been able to build up this industry to its present proportions. That means the employment of labor, and of skilled labor, and all the innumerable blessings that flow and diffuse themselves from a conservatively conducted and wholesomely growing industry.

I do not believe that in this, any more than in any other case it is right or just that the people who think that they can make the bleach for the United States should, in looking around at these prosperous and thriving industries scattered all over the United States from ocean to ocean, levy a tribute upon them because they are prosperous. It has occurred to some gentlemen that with the use of some English patents, largely controlled by English capital, they can, by a process that has never yet been anything more than an experiment, manufacture this bleach profitably to themselves and compel all the manufacturers of wood pulp and paper to buy from them and pay tribute to this protected industry. I do not think that is right. I do not think there is any justice in it in this case even from the protectionist point of view, because I say here, upon authority which I think is unquestionable, that there is no successfully established manufacture of bleach in this country, and certainly none has ever been made in sufficient quantities for commercial purposes to justify the imposition of a protective tax, and thus burden all the paper makers and pulp makers of the country for the benefit of these patented processes.

Mr. ALLEN. Was there ever any tax imposed on this article before?

Mr. GRAY. Never before. Bleach has always, I believe, been on the free list. I understand there are certain large paper manufacturers, notably in the State of Maine, where they manufacture the liquid chloride, which can not be transported, but can be used for bleaching their own manufacture of wood pulp and paper. There, I am informed, they use the chlorine gas in their own manufactures. Limestone is used merely as the base to carry the chlorine, and when so united I am told it can be used commercially and shipped from one country to another or across the ocean, but it has never been made in this country in a form in which it can be transported from place to place successfully or in quantities other than insignificant.

I think this is a matter too important to go over lightly. The Solvay process that these people have control of is patented in this country and patented abroad. It is protected on every hand in that way, and because they have never yet been able to successfully compete with the manufacture of chloride of lime that comes from abroad, and can not be so successfully made in this country, I do not think that they should be allowed to plunder these various industries in this fashion. You may talk about it on any principle you please, whether of free raw material or on the mere adjustment of a protective tariff; this is one of the arrangements that ought to be made in order to prevent a conspicuous case of hardship being worked by the passage of this bill.

Mr. BACON. Is it a raw material?

Mr. GRAY. Well, it is a raw material in the sense in which it is used in manufacture. I understand, of course, that one man's raw material is another man's finished product. I am not discussing the free raw material of the matter, but I do say that, on whatever ground the tax is placed, it is unfair to burden honest and legitimate industry as necessary as the matter of paper making. I am not now speaking of other industries that rely upon having an abundance of this material brought to them cheaply, but it is not fair that this great industry should be burdened without more justification than has ever been shown to me. I have here a note from a large paper-pulp maker in which he says:

The paper-pulp trades are shipping to-day to all points in the world. A duty on bleach means the abandonment of the foreign market.

Whether that is an extravagant assertion or not, it shows that these people, whom I know and can vouch for as respectable and honest people, are very much concerned about this matter, and though they might be mistaken in saying that it means the abandonment of the foreign market, it means a very onerous tax and a very important interference with their present business.

From this same authority I am informed that during the past five years bleach has been declining in price; that there are not 2 tons of bleach per day produced in the United States, while 175 tons daily are consumed; and that this bleach has been made only within the last three months. The experiment has been recently tried in West Virginia, and it could not in that time have influenced the price, which has come down almost one-half in the last five years, for there has not been a sufficient quantity made even experimentally to affect in the least the markets of this country. I understand there is some bleach made in Michigan. I do not know whether the Senator from Michigan [Mr. BURROWS] who sits opposite to me is interested in this tax or has any information about it. I should be glad to hear from him whether there is any bleach made successfully there for the commerce of this country. If the Senator has no objection to answering that question, I will be obliged to him.

Mr. BURROWS. I am not certain whether any is being made at this time, but I do know that capital is about to invest in the enterprise with a view to making bleach in our State. I know also, I will state, as I am on the floor, that we send annually abroad over $2,000,000 to a foreign syndicate for this bleach. It is stated, and I suppose it is beyond question, that with a slight protection upon this industry we can establish it in the United States at present. As I said, we are sending $2,000,000 abroad every year to the United Alkali Company of Great Britain, which has back of it a capital of $35,000,000, and we are dependent upon this foreign syndicate to furnish us with this very important ingredient in our manufactures. I have letters here showing that the manufacture of bleach can beyond all question be carried on in the United States if we can have a slight protection, and, as is shown by these letters, when they do establish the industry the product will be very much cheaper to the American people than ever before.

Mr. GRAY. Mr. President, that is the old story very skillfully told. It is for the protection of this as yet unborn infant that this tax is asked. We are coolly told now by the Senator from Michigan (and I suppose he sees nothing that is at all abhorrent to his sense of justice in the statement) that though there is no bleach made in this country at this time, yet if you will put this tax upon it and prevent the well-established industries and old industries that have been here for a hundred years, and that now command the market of the United States, from shipping this product from abroad, they will be able successfully to supply the bleach.

Mr. BURROWS. I am sure the Senator must have misunderstood me if he supposes I said none was being made in the United States. I said we have none comparatively manufactured in Michigan. The Senator asked about Michigan. Bleach is being made in the United States, as the Senator himself stated a moment ago.

Mr. GRAY. I understood they were preparing to make it in Michigan, and that was all, and I am confirmed in that statement by what the Senator has just said. I make the statement, on the authority I have mentioned, that there is no bleach successfully made for commercial purposes in the United States to-day; that it is all in preparation in anticipation of this tax, and they will make it if the United States will go into partnership with them and compel by this tax the paper makers and pulp makers and the linen makers and textile manufacturers of the country to pay this

increased price. It is the old story of raising pineapples under glass in Vermont if you give protection enough. Of course if we compel these people to buy their bleach in this way, by imposing this penalty upon them if they do not, you can support almost any industry. But I appeal to my friends on the other side, who believe in what they call a protection principle, whether they are not destroying the groundwork of justice upon which they claim that the system rests?

Mr. GALLINGER. If the Senator will permit me, of course we want accurate information on this point.

Mr. GRAY. Yes.

Mr. GALLINGER. In the establishment in Maine some of the citizens of New Hampshire have large investments. I think the capital stock is now $300,000 paid in, and it has been established some four years. Does the Senator mean to say that that establishment has not made any bleach for commercial purposes?

Mr. GRAY. Is that the Rumford Falls Company?

Mr. GALLINGER. Yes, sir.

Mr. GRAY. I know nothing, of course, of my own knowledge, but I have carefully inquired as to this matter. So far as I know by inquiring of those who are concerned to know, I am informed that they have not made it for commercial purposes in any quantity that justifies calling it a manufacture at all.

Mr. GALLINGER. I will say that that does not correspond with the information I have. But still perhaps the Senator knows better.

Mr. GRAY. I say I know nothing except from information.

Mr. TELLER. Will the Senator allow me to say a word? I understand the concern in Maine of which the Senator from New Hampshire speaks has invested a good deal of money in the attempt to make bleaching powder, but they have not up to the present time made a success of it; that it is a great financial loss, and the powders that they have been able to make have not been such as the people of the country who are using bleaching powders were willing to use. It has neither been a success in the character of material furnished nor in the amount, nor in a financial view, and it is practically a failure, I am advised, by those who know about the matter.

Mr. GALLINGER. I do not accept the statement of the Senator from Colorado, and in due time I shall try in a very few words to make it appear otherwise.

Mr. GRAY. That the Senator may know exactly the statements he has to deal with, I may say, in addition to what the Senator from Colorado has stated, and upon the authority of the letter which I hold in my hand, from a perfectly reliable source, that the Rumford Falls Company do not make commercial chloride of lime. They disintegrate salt by electricity and obtain the chlorine gas, but it can not be transported and is not what is commercially known as bleaching powder. The Niagara Falls plant is not yet in operation. That is the one that is going in under this Solvay process, and is to use the great water power of Niagara Falls. Some one has said that the pauper labor of Niagara Falls ought to be sufficient protection.

Mr. TELLER. The establishment there has a very small capacity.

Mr. GRAY. I do not know what the capacity is, but it has not yet gone into operation.

Mr. GALLINGER. They are going to invest, I understand, $1,500,000 at Niagara. I do not imagine that they would do that unless they had some hopes of success.

Mr. GRAY. Do the Rumford Falls Company make paper or pulp?

Mr. GALLINGER. I do not think they make paper.

Mr. GRAY. They make liquid gas for their own use, I understand, but the liquid gas can not be transported unless it is united with limestone, making chloride of lime, that being, as I said, merely the vehicle of transportation to make it commercially useful. That, I understand, has not been successfully done, for some reason, for climatic reasons, among others, and on the other side there is a character of limestone or facilities that we do not possess.

The Senator from Michigan, in stating just now that there was no successful manufacture of bleach in his State, but only a preparation for one, and the investment of money out of which to make this manufacture, also said that though they did not manufacture bleach there, they sent away some $2,000,000 from this country every year to buy bleach. If they send away $2,000,000 to buy bleach, it is because they can not get the same article in this country, and if they sent away $2,000,000, you propose to say that they must spend $3,000,000 for this article that now costs them only $2,000,000, in order that these nascent industries may try the experiment of levying this tribute upon the manufacturer. That is what it means. Now, is it right that instead of spending $2,000,000 by this increase of tax, as originally intended here, about $3,000,000 shall be levied? Is that a proper way to treat these old and long-established industries?

Mr. ALLISON. Mr. President, this whole matter, it seems to me, is in a nutshell. These bleaching powders are now imported from England, being manufactured by the United Alkali Works of England, having a very large capital. The English manufacturers united about 1883 or 1884 into one corporation and immediately raised the price of bleaching powders from a cent and a half or a cent to two cents and a half or two and a quarter cents. The Senator from Delaware just now stated that bleaching powders have come down in price recently. The average price now, I believe, is about a cent and a half a pound.

We put on here the rate of one-fifth of a cent upon bleaching powders, which is equivalent to 11 per cent ad valorem. If the United Alkali Company could jump the price up and down to the extent of a cent a pound, they will pay this fifth of a cent duty per pound in order to compete, as they are now competing, with our own people. It may be that there is not a large amount of bleaching powder now produced here, but it is produced, and it is being produced in larger quantities every month. There are seven or eight establishments that have the opportunity to produce it. The tax imposed is only 11 per cent.

Mr. TELLER. Will the Senator from Iowa tell us where they are producing this bleach?

Mr. ALLISON. Certainly.

Mr. TELLER. That is what I should like to know.

Mr. ALLISON. The Senator from Delaware has already stated that they are producing it at Saltville, W. Va.

Mr. GRAY. Oh, I beg pardon.

Mr. ALLISON. They are producing it at Syracuse. There are two establishments already completed in Detroit, where they are on a fair road to produce it, with natural facilities for its production. It is proposed to impose only 11 per cent, as a revenue duty, which will be paid by the Alkali Company of Great Britain. We need the revenue, and the Alkali Company of Great Britain ought to pay that duty.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I should like to ask the Senator from Iowa a question in this connection. Does the Senator believe that these people will manufacture this article with a protection of one-fifth of a cent per pound?

Mr. ALLISON. I think they will manufacture it without the protection of one-fifth of a cent.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Without any duty at all they will start to manufacture it?

Mr. ALLISON. I believe they will.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Then it is a pure gratuity?

Mr. ALLISON. No, sir; it is not a pure gratuity. It is to make the alkali company that has the absolute control of the production in Europe pay a little tribute into our Treasury if they want our market. That is all there is about it.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I should like to ask on what the Senator from Iowa bases his opinion that these people should ask for a protection of three-quarters of a cent instead of a fifth? If they can manufacture it without protection, if they can manufacture it successfully with one-fifth of a cent of protection, then the effort to get three-fourths of a cent on their part was reprehensible, and ought to be rebuked.

Mr. ALLISON. I am not responsible for that. The House put the duty at a fourth, and we have put it at a fifth.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. It was three-fourths that they asked for. The House proposed to give them one-fourth, and the Senate committee proposed to reduce it to one-fifth of 1 cent.

Mr. ALLISON. That is all.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. But they wanted three-fourths, and asked for it.

Mr. GRAY. Now, in regard to the manufacture of bleach, undoubtedly it is made across the water. The statement that I have before me says that 65 per cent is of English make and 35 per cent of bleach is made on the Continent.

Mr. TELLER. That is made principally in Germany.

Mr. GRAY. The Senator from Michigan made a statement, to which I called attention a moment ago, to the effect that about $2,000,000 a year is sent out of this country to buy bleach by the thriving pulp makers and paper makers in this country. Now we propose to make them pay a great deal more for that bleach in order that this experiment may be tried. It is not yet demonstrated, nor is there any hopeful outlook that it will be demonstrated, that bleach can be made in this country to compete with foreign bleach, or that it can be made at all without levying a very onerous charge upon the users of it in the various industries that must use it in order to be successful.

The price of bleach, as stated by this manufacturer, was, in 1892, 2¼ cents per pound, and it has steadily fallen in price until to-day it is 1½ cents per pound. There has been no jumping up and down that is deleterious to the market, as the Senator from Michigan stated, in this product. There has been a steady decrease in the price until it has got down to a cent and a half, and I suppose these gentlemen think they can not compete at 1¼ or 1⅛ cents a pound unless the Government gives them the benefit of its partnership. This paper was written in the latter part of May. It

says that "a cargo was shipped free on board from England to-day for 1⅛ cents a pound," less than a cent and a half a pound, and the tax of one-fifth of a cent a pound amounts to a considerable ad valorem. I have not stopped to calculate it.

Mr. ALLISON. It would be something less than 20 per cent at one and three-eighths.

Mr. GRAY. Something less than 20 per cent.

Mr. ALLISON. Fifteen per cent.

Mr. GRAY. When the manufacturers, as we are told, are struggling in order to maintain themselves in this country, when the margin of profits is exceedingly small, when there are certain manufacturers I know, and notably some of these wood-pulp makers, who have within the last few months only kept themselves going in order to keep their hands employed and not scatter the skillful workmen who are necessary to their business, a tax of 20 per cent means a good deal on this very important article. As I said, it amounts to one firm that I know of, a large pulp-making firm, to $20,000.

I know that anything I can say will have very little effect upon those who have made up their minds to push this tax through, but I want to call attention to it and let the country know that this thing is being done against a protest from sources that are worthy, to say the least, and are entitled to be heard. I have a protest from the paper manufacturers of Massachusetts, who say:

We, the undersigned paper manufacturers of Massachusetts, would respectfully represent that the imposing of a duty on bleaching powder would prove a great hardship to the paper industry of Massachusetts and of this country. The paper mills consume about 80 per cent of all the bleaching powder that is imported, and this article has been on the free list for a great many years. There have been as yet no successful attempts to manufacture this article here, and we do not feel that it is for the best interest of the country to tax this article of so much importance and used so extensively by us, and we sincerely trust you will use your best efforts to keep this article on the free list.

The Beebe & Holbrook Company (A. W. Esleeck, treasurer); William Reardon, superintendent Albion Paper Company; The Geo. C. Gill Paper Company (Geo. C. Gill, treasurer); Parsons Paper Company (Edward P. Bagg, treasurer); Nonotuck Paper Company (H. D. Bradburn, manager); Geo. R. Dickinson Paper Company (J. E. Clark, general manager); Linden Paper Company (Henry E. McElwain, treasurer); Newton Paper Company (Geo. A. Clark, treasurer); Excelsior Paper Company (A. W. Hoffman); Riverside Paper Company (W. N. Caldwell, treasurer); Franklin Paper Company (J. M. Ramage, treasurer); Norman Paper Company (James H. Newton, treasurer); Wauregan Paper Company (James H. Newton, president); Hampshire Paper Company (C. H. Southworth, treasurer; Valley Paper Company (C. R. Prescott, treasurer); Carew Manufacturing Company (C. H. Southworth, president); Chapin & Gould; Byron Weston Company; Eaton, Dikeman & Co.; Smith Paper Company (Wellington Smith); Mittineague Paper Company (H. A. Moses, treasurer).

All paper manufacturers of the State of Massachusetts. There are more than a thousand paper manufacturers scattered all over the United States, to say nothing of the wood-pulp manufacturers who supply them with their raw material and the other kindred industries that depend largely upon having these materials as they have had them heretofore. You are going to derange this industry in order to try an experiment. You are going to make them pay the cost of the experiment. We do not pay it. You do not even make the United States distribute the cost among all the people, but you make all these industries pay the cost of the experiment of these English patentees who, I am informed, own largely or are interested in the proposed works at Niagara Falls and in the Syracuse works, where they make it as a by-product out of the manufacture of salt.

Mr. President, as I said a while ago, there is not much practical result coming from these protests, but they ought to be made, nevertheless, in order to show the iniquity, the making of this sort of an experiment at the cost of the industries of this country.

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President, I regret to take a moment's time in the discussion of this matter, and yet some statements made by the Senator from Delaware [Mr. GRAY] can not go unchallenged in view of what I think is an important industry which deserves and should receive recognition by the Congress of the United States.

The Senator from Delaware says that there is no successfully established manufactory of bleach in this country. The Senator may have information that has not been available to the rest of us, but I have here a letter from a very distinguished citizen of my State, a man of the highest possible integrity, connected with our State agricultural college, in which he says that the Rumford Falls Company has a capital of $300,000, and that they are manufacturing bleaching powder under American patents. The Senator from Delaware says they are English patents.

Mr. GRAY. Both countries. Of course nobody undertakes to manufacture a patented article unless he gets a patent on both sides of the ocean.

Mr. GALLINGER. Certainly not. But the Senator from Delaware seemed to lay great stress upon the statement that they are operating under English patents.

Mr. GRAY. I did not intend to lay stress on that point.

Mr. GALLINGER. Then I misunderstood the Senator. My correspondent says they are operating under American patents. He says:

Fair profits seemed certain. Prices, however, greatly declined, and we have lost money almost continuously during the past four years.

My correspondent further calls attention to the fact that under the bill we are now considering the duty on salt, which is their raw material if there is any such thing as raw material, has been very largely increased, and that that is an added burden that they can not possibly stand.

On the point made by the Senator from Delaware, that no bleaching powder is made in this country, this gentleman says that in this one company they have "an output of over 300,000 pounds a month." Mr. President, I am bound to take the statement of Professor Parsons as being the statement of a fact when he says that they have a monthly output of over 300,000 pounds, which beyond a doubt could be very largely increased if sufficient protection is given to enable American manufacturers to compete with the United Alkali Company of Great Britain, which is a gigantic trust, and which can make prices high or low as it chooses to do. Professor Parsons says he is a very large stockholder in the company, and that he has not drawn a cent in dividends for four years, which I take for granted is an actual fact. The president of that company, a Boston gentleman of high standing, also makes some statements that ought to be put in the RECORD. He says:

We are using American salt at $1.35 per ton of 2,000 pounds at the mine, which with freight at $4 a ton from Livonia, N. Y., to our works made the cost $5.35 per ton of 2,000 pounds delivered at our works at Rumford Falls, Me. With English salt, as it is under Wilson bill, free, costing us $2.44 per ton of 2,240 pounds at Portland, Me., and freight $1.25 per ton or $3.70 delivered at the works, we have been rapidly increasing our output and getting ahead very slowly.

The Dingley bill proposes a duty of 8 cents per 100 pounds on salt, and to offset this we certainly should have a duty on bleach.

This gentleman says:

This is an infant industry—

Our friends on the other side ridicule some industries because they are not "infants." They say it is time to abandon protection in reference to them; but this certainly is an infant industry, and hence entitled to protection, even on the theory of our friends of the Democratic party.

Mr. GRAY. I said it was an unborn infant.

Mr. GALLINGER. Not at all. We do not accept that—

This is an infant industry, and with reasonable protection a few years would see all of the article consumed in the country made here. The trade is an important one and will not be given up by the foreign makers without a struggle, and the duty would not serve so much to increase the price as to protect a severe decline, as increased production here would mean a competition for the trade, which would result in lower prices.

I will not take the time to read the entire letter, but commend what I have read to the attention of the Senate.

The Senator from Delaware says that bleaching powder is raw material. Well, it may be, but I think it is no more a raw material than wood pulp is a raw material. It is raw material for the manufacturer of wood pulp, and wood pulp is raw material for the paper maker, and so on through the list.

The suggestion that the Senator makes, that we can not manufacture this article in the United States, is precisely the same suggestion that we have heard over and over again by equally as honest and equally as sincere friends of so-called tariff reform as the Senator from Delaware. The assertion that was made over and over again in this Chamber that we could not make any tin plate in this country is ringing in our ears now, and yet we have made it, and we do supply the American market, which we could not have done if we had not put a small duty upon it, as we propose to put a small duty upon bleach in this bill.

The Senator says that he knows a great paper concern that will lose $20,000 a year if this duty is imposed. I do not believe it will lose a cent. I do not believe that if we put 11 per cent ad valorem on this product, with this great trust in England with $35,000,000 capital back of it, that it will increase the cost of bleach one single farthing to the American consumer. But even if it does, it should not be forgotten that the Rumford Falls Company, in which concern American capitalists have invested $300,000, is losing $18,000 a year by not receiving any dividends upon their investments; and they ask, and properly ask, that they shall be given a little protection in this bill, which increases very largely the duty on salt, a product that enters into their manufacture. Without protection they will not only be driven to the wall, so far as profits are concerned, but will be absolutely driven out of business, and leave us in the hands of this great English trust, to make prices high or low as may best suit their purposes.

Mr. WHITE. Will the Senator from New Hampshire permit me to ask him a question?

Mr. GALLINGER. Certainly.

Mr. WHITE. I am not clear that I fully understood the letter which the Senator read, as there was some confusion in the Chamber at the time, but my impression is that one of the documents

read by the distinguished Senator from New Hampshire states that under free salt the manufacturer was able to get along fairly well, but the imposition of a tax upon salt, that being a raw material of their manufacture, has made it essential that a compensating duty should be imposed here. Am I correct in that regard?

Mr. GALLINGER. The Senator is right to this extent, that these gentlemen do argue that the imposition of the duty on salt will increase the price, and I presume that is so.

The statement the Senator makes that they have been getting along well is not quite accurate. They have been carrying on their works and employing their hands, but not making any money. They have been simply struggling along hoping for better times.

Mr. WHITE. I understood that they had made some reference to their ability to get along better under the Wilson law in consequence of free salt as an element of that bill. I thought I had heard something of that kind.

Mr. GALLINGER. I am not quite sure as to that. They are getting along poorly anyhow; but if salt is increased in price, and it may be slightly—I am not going to argue that—they will not only fail to make a profit, but they will have still harder times than they have now, and will be compelled to go out of business.

A single word more, Mr. President. I am interested in paper manufacture to the extent that there are very large pulp and paper mills in my own State, and I have been appealed to by these gentlemen to come to their rescue in helping to put bleach on the free list, but I declined to do so for the same reason that had I been here the other day I should have voted to impose a duty on hides, in opposition to the protest of many of the leather and boot and shoe manufacturers of New England.

I claim to be, if I understand the term correctly, a national protectionist; and while I am in favor of protecting one industry I am equally in favor of protecting another industry, whether it be in the East or the West or the South or the North.

The paper manufacturers, for whom the Senator from Delaware appeals, and who protest so earnestly, are asking for increased protection for their product, which we are going to give them, and which they deserve and ought to have. I am in favor of protecting the paper manufacturers, but I am not in favor of protecting them to the detriment and destruction of an American industry which is as promising as the manufacture of bleach in the United States.

That is my attitude on this question, and I trust that this small protection of 11 per cent ad valorem, one of the smallest ad valorem duties that can be found in this entire bill, may not be stricken out by the votes of Senators following the lead of my very courteous and distinguished friend the Senator from Delaware.

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. President, I simply wanted to observe that the doctrine of protection for protection's sake alone has never been more baldly stated than by the Senator from New Hampshire just now——

Mr. GALLINGER. I am in favor of it.

Mr. ALLEN. Except as it was stated the other day by the junior Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SEWELL], who said that a given article ought to be protected because the patents on it had expired. The Senator from New Hampshire puts his argument upon the basis that this industry, while it is getting along fairly well under existing law——

Mr. GALLINGER. If the Senator will permit me, it is not getting along at all.

Mr. GRAY. It does not exist.

Mr. ALLEN. Does it exist under the present law?

Mr. GALLINGER. It does exist.

Mr. GRAY. It does not exist; it is going to exist.

Mr. ALLEN. Very well; it may be brought into existence, if I may put it in that form.

Mr. GALLINGER. I want to be understood in this matter. I insist that we are making a very considerable amount of bleach in this country; 300,000 pounds a month are manufactured in one establishment in Maine, and while they are not making money enough to pay dividends to their stockholders, they are hoping that under this bill they will be sufficiently protected to make their enterprise fairly remunerative.

If the Senator from Nebraska will permit one further observation, which I neglected to make when I was on the floor before, I will say I am a protectionist for the sake of protection, if necessary, but primarily a protectionist for the sake of revenue; and if 11 per cent is put on this product, which now comes from a great foreign trust, and which if it was located in this country would horrify the soul of the Senator from Nebraska, it will give us a little revenue and help to pay the expenses of the Government.

Mr. ALLEN. I will ask the Senator this question: Suppose there were no need of levying a tax for revenue purposes, would the Senator still be in favor of levying a tax for protection alone?

Mr. GALLINGER. I will say that I would for a time, if I believed it would result in establishing an American industry.

Mr. ALLEN. An honest confession is good for the soul, it is said. Here we have a doctrine announced—I assume it is the doctrine of the Republican party, because I have heard it announced before—that Senators are willing to impose a tax upon the people of this country, not for revenue purposes, not because it may be needed for revenue, but because it will have the effect of transferring a portion of the property or money of one class of citizens into the pockets of another. Mr. President, if that is good constitutional law, then, whenever that rule is laid down and acted upon, there is nothing to stand between the citizen, the consumer, and absolute confiscation but the mere caprice of the Congress of the United States.

The Senator says he is in favor of protection for protection's sake alone.

Mr. GALLINGER. Under some circumstances.

Mr. ALLEN. Under some circumstances; and I infer under the circumstances presented here. The Senator is in favor of a protective tariff that will protect certain classes of people; but it strikes me very forcibly that a few days ago, when the senior Senator from Utah [Mr. CANNON] introduced an amendment to this bill which was to protect the farming class of this country, the Senator from New Hampshire voted against that amendment.

The Senator says there are two or three hundred thousand dollars capital invested in this enterprise in the United States somewhere; I do not know where, and it makes no difference for the purposes of this argument.

Mr. GALLINGER. If the Senator wants to know, that amount is invested in one company in the State of Maine.

Mr. ALLEN. In one company; but it makes no difference, for the purposes of this argument, whether it is in one company or a dozen companies. But the Senator did not consider the $17,000,000,000 invested in farms and farm animals and farm equipments a few days ago when he voted against the amendment of the Senator from Utah, nor did he consider——

Mr. GALLINGER. If the Senator will permit me, I take it he does not mean to argue that the proposition made by the Senator from Utah was in the line of tariff legislation, does he?

Mr. ALLEN. I do. Mr. President, I am arguing exactly that; and how convenient it is when you come to one of these unpleasant questions for some gentleman to rise and distinguish it from the particular case under consideration at the time. But what was the amendment of the Senator from Utah but a protective tariff to the farmers of this country?

It was declared by the author of this bill that the purpose of the bill was to raise several million dollars of surplus money, and when the Senator from Utah undertook to take a portion of that money and distribute it among the five or six million farmers of this country, who are largely consumers, the Senator from New Hampshire failed to recollect his teachings and his doctrines at that time, and voted against the amendment.

Everything in the nature of a manufactured article down to the point of a pin must be protected when it is found in the form of aggregated capital, while millions and millions of men and women and little children who are engaged in unprofitable agriculture to-day are driven from the doors of this Chamber and from the Capitol of the United States as though they were aliens and had no right here. Of course, Mr. President, they do not pay election bills; they are not subject to assessments when it comes time to raise a fund to elect United States Senators or a President or anything of that kind. They are the toiling millions, unorganized among themselves, and unprotected, except as they receive some substantial protection at the hands of patriotic men who are in the public service.

If it is a good thing for this bleaching enterprise to be protected, because by legislation we can set it on its feet and make the enterprise profitable to its stockholders, why was it not profitable, why was it not honorable and just, to vote some portion of the surplus taxes arising from this bill to the wheat producers and corn producers and the meat producers and the tobacco and cotton producers of this country, so that some portion of the benefits of the bill, if there are any benefits in it, may go to these classes as well as to other classes? It makes all the difference in the world as to whose ox is gored.

Here stands the Senator from New Hampshire pleading, as only he can plead, for a protective tariff, declaring, as only he can declare, in language that only he can use, in the interest of this little enterprise, while the bended backs of the millions of men engaged in agriculture and the millions of women and children, too, go daily past his sight without provoking even an expression of sympathy.

I ask you, Mr. President, if the principle applied by the Senator from New Hampshire to this chloride enterprise is a good principle, why was it not a good principle in the eyes of the Senator from New Hampshire a few days ago when he had an opportunity to apply it to the agricultural classes of our country?

Mr. GRAY. Mr. President, I owe, of course, an apology to the Senate for consuming even five minutes more of its time, but I can

only say that this proposed tax on bleaching powder is one of great importance to some of my constituents, and is viewed by them as an attack of a very serious character upon the industry in which they are engaged. Therefore I think that statement will justify me in consuming two or three more minutes of the time of the Senate.

The Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. GALLINGER] grounds his appeal for the imposition of this tax upon the fact, as stated by him and as believed by him, that there is an industry which, if not what might be called established, yet is one that will in the near future be so established as to produce, in the language of the Senator from Michigan [Mr. BURROWS] all the bleach that is necessary for the consumption of the paper makers of the United States.

I do not understand that even the statement made by the Senator from New Hampshire controverts what I have said upon the authority of my correspondent. It is true that this Rumford Falls Company manufactures bleach, but it manufactures it for its own use as a wood-pulp maker and a paper maker, and, as I take it, the making of wood pulp and paper is the principal part of their business, occupies the most of their attention, and is the object for which this large capital was mostly invested. So that the experiment of making bleaching powder by this company is a side experiment, so to speak, to their main business. While they make a liquid gas, as I said before, sufficient for their own use, they have not made it successfully for transportation, or, if at all, in such small quantities that it is too insignificant to form a part of the business of the country.

This proposed industry is not one that is to be thrown open to competition in the United States. It does not invite everyone who has either the capacity or the experience or the capital to enter into the business, and thus create a competition which will hereafter lower the price to the users of bleaching powder; but it is an experiment to be made under the protection of patents in England and in this country. It is to be made by those who already have large capital invested in bleaching-powder works.

I have before me now the English prospectus of the Castner-Kellner Company, which proposes to work under the English and American patents, and it says in the course of its long statement of this prospective industry to grow out of this new process which has been patented:

In further evidence of the value of these patents and processes, it may be stated that the Mathieson Alkali Works—

This is an American concern, in Rhode Island, I think—

have erected at their own cost an extensive plant for the working of the Castner process in America—

That is this protected process—

and that an agreement has been entered into between them and the Aluminium Company, Limited—

That is the English concern—

for the purchase of the Castner patents in the United States for the sum of £65,000, payable £30,000 in cash and £35,000 in shares, together with substantial royalties, to be paid upon the completion and satisfactory running of the plant and the production of certain specified results. A syndicate has also been formed in Austria, "The Consortium for Electro-Chemical Industry," for the working of the Kellner process, the works for which are now being erected at Golling, near Salzburg.

So that this process by which they are to establish this new industry is the offspring of an English syndicate, protected by patents across the water and in this country, and they will seek to control the whole of that business, and will control it, if it is established here successfully, whether it be in Michigan or at Niagara Falls, or in West Virginia, where an experiment has been made upon a small scale. So this is not the ordinary case of throwing open by a protective tariff a new industry for the competition of all the people of the United States, but it is to make a subsidy for a great moneyed syndicate, with hundreds of thousands of pounds of capital, to control an industry that is to levy tribute upon the great industries in whose behalf I have been speaking.

Mr. President, I intended when I was on my feet before to have printed the substance of a letter, which I hold in my hand, in regard to this whole matter. I will ask to have it printed in the RECORD, contenting myself with reading only the following paragraph:

The experimental plants for making bleach electrolytically have sprung up from time to time in England and on the Continent, and to a small extent only in this country; but so far none of these plants have demonstrated by actual output their ability to manufacture any considerable quantity commercially. I do not believe that 5 per cent of the bleach produced and consumed in the world is to-day made electrolytically.

And that is the process that they expect to employ if this tariff is put on this manufactured article in the United States.

The electrolytic process, which is now claiming the attention of those interested in the production of chemicals generally, is the Castner-Kellner process. This process is controlled by Brunner, Mond, of England, or Solvay, of Austria, and they have been for some time erecting a plant at Western Point, near Runcorn, England. They expected to have their product on the market a year ago, but so far have only made very insignificant quantities. This is the process which the Mathieson Alkali Company propose to use at Niagara Falls, etc.

I ask to have the entire letter printed in the RECORD.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. It will be so ordered, in the absence of objection.

The letter referred to is as follows:

NEW YORK, *May 23, 1897.*

MY DEAR COLONEL: Replying to your queries of this morning, I beg to advise you that there is between 50,000 and 60,000 tons—about 2,000 pounds each—of bleaching powder imported into the United States during the year, the quantity varying with the prosperity of the country. Probably about 65 per cent of all the bleach consumed in this country is made by the United Alkali Company; the other 35 per cent is divided about equally between the other English and continental makers. The number of paper mills in the United States now in operation is between 800 and 1,000, and they consume about 35 per cent of all the bleaching powder imported into this country. The number of paper mills now in operation in Canada is between 30 and 40 only, and they do not consume over 1,500 to 2,000 tons of bleach annually.

In case a duty is placed on bleaching powder, I wish to suggest the advisability of your securing some of the cheap water power and woodland in Canada; then you can continue your export trade of paper.

The processes under which bleach is now made are the "Weldon," "Deacon," and several electrolytic. In the "Weldon" process, which is the most used, the chlorine is liberated from the hydrochloric acid by mixing it with manganese oxide. In the "Deacon" process, chlorine is liberated from the hydrochloric acid gas at a high temperature by passing this gas over bricks that have been saturated in a solution of copper. In the electrolytic process, the chlorine is liberated directly from the brine by the action of the electric current.

The experimental plants for making bleach electrolytically have sprung up from time to time in England and on the Continent, and to a small extent only in this country; but so far none of these plants has demonstrated by actual output its ability to manufacture any considerable quantity commercially. I do not believe that 5 per cent of the bleach produced and consumed in the world is to-day made electrolytically. The electrolytic process which is now claiming the attention of those interested in the production of chemicals generally is the Castner-Kellner process. This process is controlled by Brunner-Mond, of England, or Solvay, of Austria, and they have been for some time erecting a plant at Western Point, near Runcorn, England. They expected to have their product on the market a year ago, but so far have only made very insignificant quantities.

This is the process which the Mathieson Alkali Company propose to use at Niagara Falls, they having purchased the right for the sole manufacture under this process in this country, and none of that produced by this process abroad to be shipped here, consequently, should this particular electrolytic process prove to be successful, which I consider very doubtful, as they have been trying to make bleach electrolytically since 1858, there will be a greater monopoly in the manufacture of this article than has ever existed or could possibly exist with the United Alkali Company. As you are well aware, this latter company has voluntarily reduced their prices month by month to all their friends with whom they had contracts if the market warranted such reduction, and during the past four or five years of depression in trade the price of this article has been reduced from one-half to five-eighths of a cent per pound.

The fact that only a small percentage of bleach is made outside of England either on the Continent or in this country, should prove conclusively that certain uniform climatic conditions are absolutely necessary for the successful production of a high-grade bleaching powder. Several attempts have been made during the past thirty-five or forty years to manufacture bleaching powder in this country by skilled experts, and if during certain periods, with an incentive of 12 or 14 cents per pound, nothing has been accomplished, I do not expect to see it accomplished now under low-ruling prices for bleaching powder.

THE JESSUP & MOORE PAPER CO.
S. M. SHARP, *Treasurer.*

Col. A. G. PAINE, *New York.*

Mr. GRAY. Mr. President, I am only here to ask that these great and important and old-established industries be not allowed to be preyed upon by this predatory syndicate, who are seeking to establish an industry not naturally, not at their own risk, not as capital ought to come in to improve the condition of mankind and build up industries; but by doing it at the risk of manufactures and industries already long established and no less worthy than themselves.

The paper makers, to whom the Senator from New Hampshire refers as having the benefit of protection in this bill, do not need that protection at all, and are not here in any large numbers asking for increased protection, but I am told by very responsible representatives of that industry that they do not need anything in the way of additional protection; that they can get along without any at all, for they are now sending abroad their product in competition with the paper makers of the world.

Mr. TURPIE. Mr. President, as the time is approaching when the sections of the bill relating to internal revenue are to be considered, in pursuance to previous notice, I shall address the Senate upon the subject of the amendment to the pending bill which I have heretofore offered, and I ask to have the amendment read.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Indiana will be read.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to add to the bill the following as new sections:

SEC. —. That on and after the 1st day of January, 1898, and for five years thereafter, there shall be laid and levied a sum equal to the rate of 2 per cent of the value of every decedent's estate, as an inheritance, whether it be testate or intestate, which shall be paid by the executors, administrators, or trustees thereof, or by the heirs or distributees, devisees or legatees, when the value of such estate as an inheritance is $5,000 and upward, except where legacies or bequests are made to religious, charitable, educational, or other organizations which may by the laws of the State, Territory, or district in which the decedent was residing at the time of his death be exempt from taxation.

SEC. —. That it shall be the duty of the collector of internal revenue of the district wherein the decedent resided at the time of his death, within one year from the time of such death, to ascertain the value of the estate as an inheritance at the time of such death, and to enter and record in a book to be provided for that purpose a list of all estates affected by the foregoing section, and to note therein the name of the decedent, the name of the executor, administrator, trustee, heir, or distributee, legatee, or devisee being in

charge of or having an interest in the same, and to note in each case the value of the estate as an inheritance, and to record therein the amount of the impost levied according to the provisions of the foregoing section in each case.

SEC. —. That as soon as the amount of the impost is ascertained and recorded as in the foregoing section provided the collector shall send, by mail, to the person or persons liable for the payment thereof notice in writing of the amount of the same, with a demand for its payment. Any person aggrieved by the amount of such levy in any such case may, within thirty days after the receipt of the notice aforesaid, bring suit, without regard to the amount in question, in the district court of the United States to have the said levy set aside or reduced. Such suit shall be tried and determined in like manner as other civil causes in said court, and the district attorney of the United States shall appear therein for the Government; and in such suit the court is empowered to enter a judgment against the person who may have brought the same for the amount, if any, of the sum levied against him as may be determined in said cause, together with the interest thereon and penalty thereon, as provided in the section next following.

SEC. —. That if the amount of such levy be paid it shall be credited in the entry of the record aforesaid, and a receipt shall be given by the collector to the person making the payment. In case of the nonpayment of the same, unless the person liable for the same shall have brought suit to set aside or reduce the levy, the collector shall, within ninety days after the time of sending the notice by mail, as heretofore mentioned, notify the district attorney of the United States of the district, who shall, upon the receipt of such notice of nonpayment, bring suit on behalf of the United States in the district court of the United States, without regard to the amount of the same, for the payment thereof, against the person or persons liable under the foregoing provisions for the payment of the same, which suit shall be tried and determined as civil suits in other cases in said court; and upon recovery against the defendant 6 per cent interest shall be collected from the time of the commencement of such suit, together with 10 per cent in damages as a penalty for nonpayment. The lien of the judgment rendered in such case against the real estate of the defendant therein shall relate back to the time of the commencement of the suit, and take effect at such time.

SEC. —. That the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized to make such rules and regulations and prepare such books, forms, and papers as may be necessary to carry into effect the provisions in this enactment, and a sum of money is hereby appropriated, out of any moneys in the Treasury, that may be sufficient to defray the expenses needed for that purpose, the said appropriation to be immediately available upon the passage of this act.

Mr. TURPIE. Mr. President, remonstrance, I think, might justly be made against certain language used by Senators upon the other side of the Chamber with reference to the financial condition of the Government. It has been represented that the Government is in embarrassed circumstances, that it is in a straitened state as to funds, and the words "insolvency" and "bankruptcy" have been used as descriptive of the condition of the public Treasury. Such language is very misleading and extravagant. It is wholly unwarranted and full of mischief. Such expressions destroy confidence; they are not calculated to restore it—confidence, that plant of slow growth, the growth of which all of us are attempting to foster and cherish.

I have here a daily paper issued by the Secretary of the Treasury. It is headed, "Statement of the condition of the United States Treasury and the receipts and expenditures of the Government on the 29th day of June, 1897"—yesterday. I find one column in this paper which reads as follows:

Available cash balance, including gold reserve, $235,506,756.98.

I find a star reference to what is known as the gold reserve, where it is set down at the sum of $100,000,000. Subtracting $100,000,000 from the available cash balance, there is left to-day $135,506,756.98. That is the present cash balance in the Treasury. Certainly the public Treasury, with such an available balance, can not be said to be insolvent or even to be threatened with bankruptcy.

The critic of the fisc, of the present financial condition, admits that there is a large surplus in the Treasury, and that to have an increase of taxation now there ought to be the strongest reasons, the highest possible emergency; but he asks the question, Where did the money come from? The Government may answer that question by saying, "It is wholly irrelevant; this balance is in the Treasury; the money is there; it is lawfully applicable to any requisition, and it is for use every day in paying such debts and demands as may be made upon the Treasury for payment." That is a complete answer to the charge of bankruptcy or insolvency.

The critic of the fisc, without stating his proposition, is still dissatisfied with the present financial condition, and since he has appeared three or four times on the opposite side of the Chamber with this grievance and has not stated it himself, I will state it. His complaint is that there is an annual deficit; that is, that the receipts per year do not equal the expenditures per year, and it is for the purpose of curing this condition that the present bill is introduced. The present bill is a joint product of two parties, one of whom procured the reversion of anticipated authority after the election in November last. This is the party in power. The other assumed the official insignia of office on the 4th of March last. This is the party in office. One of these, the party in power, is altogether mercenary. The other is wholly political. They are in close alliance; indeed a family compact has been made between them with respect to the subject of this bill—the levying of duties upon imports.

The bill now pending is an attempt to arrange the conflicting interests of those two parties. Neither of the two has the slightest anxiety about the financial condition of the Treasury. Neither of the two has the slightest anxiety about the annual deficit, except as it may be an ostensible excuse for the tariff protection movement. They leave to us as Senators the task of gleaning from this vast harvest of prohibitory duties perhaps enough money to meet the expenditures of the Government. We have had annual deficits before. We had one very lately under the operation of the McKinley Act, larger than the deficit of this year, and heretofore at different periods in the history of the Government we have had annual deficits. But we have never had a deficiency of that character which has been puffed into the gigantic proportions of the present deficiency now apparent. Hawaii must wait, Cuba must wait, pensions must wait, every interest of legislation must wait upon this annual deficit.

Now, sir, there are two methods of meeting the annual deficit. One is by decreasing expenditure. The other is by an increase of taxation. There was a Roman senator who had this question before him, chief ruler of the republic, a man skilled to rule, of consular dignity, one who was familiar with large amounts raised by taxation, one who was familiar with lavish expenditures, even more lavish than our own, and in addressing the Roman people and government upon the subject of the reduction of expenditures, he said that a very good source of revenue, a most excellent source of revenue, was to be found in parsimony, in sparing frugality, in economy in the public expenditures. He insisted that a sparing economy in the public expenditures was a real source of revenue, and a real substitute for taxation.

The maxim has been often quoted; it has been often approved; it has been more often approved than followed. I do not know, sir, what attention has been given by the majority of the Finance Committee to this maxim of Cicero. I suspect that very little attention has been given to it. I am of the opinion that if the majority of the Finance Committee had taken the same time, the same trouble, had bestowed the same labor, the same earnest effort, and had made use of the same secluded isolation of the Arlington with reference to the reduction of expenditures and appropriations, we might not have had the trouble of considering this bill at all. The annual deficit would have been made up by paring the excess and excrescences of appropriations.

But, Mr. President, I am free to admit also that even if the honorable and learned majority of the committee had formulated such a measure for the reduction of expenditures, as Congress is at present constituted it could not have become the law, and that is perhaps the reason why the attempt was not made. A habit of lavish expenditure grows like other habits. It grows by what it feeds upon. Looking at the history of appropriations since 1890 and at the future of appropriations for the next eight or ten years, largely controlled by advance engagements and contracts already made by which we are bound, it may be taken as a settled thing that the ordinary expenses of the Government will not be less than $450,000,000 per year. The present appropriation bills carry that amount, if not more. It is a very large sum of money, and as the reduction of expenditures seems to be impracticable, the only way to make both ends meet is by an increase of the revenue by additional taxation.

Now, sir, if it were possible to frame a revenue bill upon the model of the first tariff law passed in 1789, a strictly revenue bill extending the rates to such articles of commerce as had come into the world since that time, we might by such a bill raise revenue sufficient to meet the expenditures; but as the States are now represented in this Chamber and as the people are now represented in the other body it is impossible to frame a tariff bill of this character. It is impracticable to do so. It follows, then, that we must provide, if we would avoid the annual deficit, for raising $450,000,000 per year. That is one of the reasons why we should always have in circulation among the people of this country at least $450,000,000 of Treasury notes as full legal-tender money, based upon the taxing power of the Government of the United States, within the limitation of appropriation and expenditure.

Within that limitation, the four hundred and fifty millions of Treasury notes are based upon the taxing power of the Government, and this taxing power of the Government is itself a thing of value. It is worth more than any mine or mineral or ore. It dominates both gold and silver, as it dominates all other property. The legal dominion of this representative of the taxing power of the Government would have been to-day manifest and apparent if it had been declared and asserted instead of having been abandoned and abdicated by those in charge of the affairs of the Treasury in the last twelve or fifteen years of our history. But let that pass.

I think it extremely doubtful, with the probabilities against the predicate, that under this bill, founded as it is only upon tariff and excises, you can raise $450,000,000 of revenue per year. I do not believe it can be done. With the present depressed state of prices and of values, the problem as presented to us contains an almost insurmountable difficulty. It is very certain that a bill founded as this is upon high protective and prohibitory lines of

tariff will not furnish that aliquot portion of the revenue which, added to the sum from other sources, will produce $450,000,000 a year. I do not care how you arrange or rearrange the tariff on protective lines discarding revenue. I do not care what disposition you make of rates and semirates always at the elevated grade. Unless revenue be made the principal end and object of the tariff bill, you will find forever that the blanket is too short withal, that the blanket is too narrow withal, to cover the *corpus delicti*, the body of the annual deficit.

I am not alone in this view. I listened very closely to the speech of the honorable Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH] when he opened the budget on this occasion, and I expressly noted it with reference to his declarations about how much revenue the bill would raise. He made no statement except with respect to the internal-revenue portion of the bill. He thought the increased rates on tobacco and spirits would bring $35,000,000. He made no estimate of the tariff rate only to say that the tariff rates as they came from the House would not afford sufficient revenue, and that they must be modified in order to furnish the portion necessary. With respect to a declaration founded upon figures or calculated upon any estimates as to how much the tariff portion of the bill would bring into the Treasury, he spoke one hour and a half and said nothing, with great particularity of detail. That is one of my reasons for thinking that the annual deficit is not at all provided for by the anticipated passage of the bill.

I have noticed also very closely the remarks of the learned and honorable Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON], very desultory remarks, speaking six or eight or ten times a day here during the debate, as became his office, as became his duty representing, in the absence of the Senator from Rhode Island, the majority of the committee upon the bill, but I have nowhere noticed in the remarks of the honorable Senator from Iowa any approach, any approximate effort, to estimate the amount that the bill would yield to the Treasury upon the tariff rates. I feel certain that if confidence were on the other side with respect to the amount of the revenue product we would have had some evidence of it, some declaration of it by those in charge of the bill, not only mere verbiage, but a detail of facts and figures from which we might realize that the annual deficiency was to disappear to trouble us no more.

I noticed another evidence in support of the opinion I have announced. I notice that the honorable and learned Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. QUAY] very early in the discussion introduced an amendment to the bill. He is a very conservative, thoughtful member of this body, certainly a friend of protection, certainly in the most complete amity with the majority of the committee in this case. He introduced an amendment to tax all the articles on the free list 10 per cent. Sir, we have had a free list under all the tariff laws of the Government except the first, and there was in that no basket clause, and there was a larger free list than has ever been since. Yet what is the emergency, what is the calamity, what is the exigency which induces the honorable Senator from Pennsylvania to offer an amendment making the free list not free, unless he entertains the opinion, as I do, that the tariff rates in the bill are insufficient for the purpose of the production of revenue?

Besides those special circumstances, I wish to call the attention of the Senate to particular considerations. In the internal-revenue clauses, which we are about approaching, there are two amendments, one for an increased tax on beer, one for an increment of taxation upon tobacco. Mr. President, certainly the increased tax on beer is not a satisfactory exaction. That article is already under heavy taxation, whether it be specific or ad valorem. It is one of the few articles that the war tax has been continued on from the beginning down to this day. It has always been the same. We have had remonstrances against this increase from all sorts and conditions of men and from every section of the Republic.

I do not think it would have been seriously suggested—I do not know what disposition is going to be made of it—I do not dream that it would have been printed as a part of the bill unless the majority of the committee entertained the opinion that the tariff rates would fall short, and that the shortage must be made up by an increased tax upon beer. I might say the same with reference to the unsatisfactoriness of the exaction upon tobacco. Both of those rates are odious. Is it possible that a great political party just come into power would have assumed the responsibility to suggest and to continue the suggestion to this time of an additional tax upon beer and tobacco if the majority of the committee had informed them and were themselves confident that the tariff rates would yield sufficient revenue?

Besides this, the bill proceeds upon the assumption that increasing the rates must increase the revenue, an enormous fallacy, supported by no experience, contradicted, if you will allow me the expression, by common sense. The managers and proprietors of the best show on earth had their day of commencement, their time of beginning. They had the very best opinion of their exhibition, and they may have thought and seriously thought it was worth $5 to admit a man to see it, and they may have tried that price for the first two or three days, but they would not operate long under such a tariff before discovering that to increase revenue they must reduce the rate; before discovering that by charging 50 cents or a dollar for admission they would make more money out of the exhibition than by charging four or five.

What will be the effect of the increase, the excessive increase of taxation upon imports? It must necessarily affect exports. It must necessarily reduce exports. These two act and react upon each other. It must lessen the demand for cotton, for wheat, for corn, for all the cereals, the true surplus of our country. It must lessen and reduce the price of those great commodities of international exchange. It must consequently leave the people less able to pay the rates of taxation than they are at present. I do not think there has been a bill drafted in the history of the Government which commits so large and unprovoked a spoliation upon the commerce of the world as the bill we are to-day considering. The decrease of exports and the failing market for our cereals may be considered the compensatory duties which will follow the passage of this enactment.

I do not mean those compensatory duties so often named by the honorable and learned Senator from Iowa. The honorable and learned Senator from Iowa uses the term "compensatory duties" as a graceful, delicate euphonism by which to conceal the compound larcenies found in almost every section of the bill. What I am speaking of in relation to compensatory duties refers to the great law of retaliation. The bill is a declaration of commercial war against France, Germany, and Italy, and the schedules against the republics of South America and against the trade and traffic with South America are even more severe and more exacting than those against the continent of Europe.

Mr. President, it has been thought to be a singular thing in the history of commerce that for almost a century the great traffic and trade of the republics of South America have been carried on across the South Atlantic with the old monarchies and countries of Europe, and that we of the United States get a meager moiety of it. It is the consequence of high protective-tariff legislation. In this bill we make it almost a penal offense for any man to conduct trade or traffic with the republics of South America. Its schedules are especially aimed at that trade. We talk of liberty of the seas. The seas themselves, the high seas, are tainted with this virus of so-called protection. What is the use of talking about the establishment of commercial fleets? You can invent no motor, steam or electricity, you can invent no such power as will be enabled to overcome the power of domestic avarice. No vessel can navigate against that. These consequences will certainly follow the passage of this enactment.

I call your attention, Mr. President, to the fact that the mere increase of the rates of duties has never increased revenue. Free trade brings no revenue. High prohibitive duties bring no revenue. Here the two extremes meet. The effect is the same. Between these two extremes there is a golden mean, a midway, a middle path. This middle path our country took from 1846 to 1861, fifteen years, an era of unexampled growth and progress in all arts and industries, an era of light taxation and general welfare. When, under the impetus of a great war, an overwhelming emergency, the United States left the policy of low tariff, moderate rates, and adopted the first war tariff, with high rates and excessive duties, did we stop there?

If Congress had simply passed that act and gone no further, had simply passed the war tariff, we would have had no addition to the revenue. The war tariff was accompanied in the same Congress by an act issuing $50,000,000 of Treasury notes, by another issuing $75,000,000 of Treasury notes, by another issuing $150,000,000 of Treasury notes, full legal-tender money, and hundreds of millions of dollars of Treasury notes circulated in the country during the whole period of the war, while they were collecting these taxes under the first high tariff, and it was out of this abundance that the Government gathered its income sufficient to maintain the Army in the field and to prosecute the war to a successful conclusion.

What prospect have we now of an increase in the volume of Treasury notes? Has the party which lately came into power made any such proposition? Is there any measure pending, or has it been mentioned that along with this, the highest tariff ever enacted in the country, there is to be an increase of the volume of money? None whatever. What increase of the volume of money have we to-day? Only that afforded by the free coinage of gold, more than countervailed by the exports of gold coin. The population of this country is increasing every year. The per capita of specie in it must be decreasing annually by the same rule. The per capita is decreasing, getting smaller and smaller every year. More taxes and less money seems to be a very curious programme of preparation for the good time that is said to be coming. Even the planting of the flag in the far Pacific—even that will not afford relief or rescue to our people beset with a sea of troubles and asked only to pay more taxes as a remedy.

The increase of the rates of tariff taxation without a corresponding increase in the volume of legal-tender money, of Treasury notes or coin, will be certain to bring upon us a larger deficiency than that which is now apparent. It will be certain to renew and repeat the annual deficit. It is for these reasons, sir, that the minority of the committee have in good faith presented the amendment just read. We have presented it with the best intentions, in hope perhaps that it may help to eke out that deficiency which is certain to come under a bill framed entirely upon duties and excises, and we offer it specially as a substitute for the increased rates of taxation proposed by this bill against beer and tobacco.

We offer this amendment. It is a tender. It remains with the discretion and judgment of the majority of the committee to accept it or to decline it. I may state, and I have the pleasure of stating to the honorable and learned Senator from Iowa, that this amendment has no reenforcement of expert opinion behind it. I know how much the honorable Senator has been perplexed by the specifics, the ad valorems, the differentials of tariff expert judgment and opinion. He will enjoy the consideration of a measure which has nothing behind it except merit.

The following of the dogma and practice of what is called protection has forced us face to face with the present emergency. It may be that the framers of the Constitution foresaw this emergency and foresaw it as the result of a legitimate policy of protection.

I do not believe that; but however the case may be concerning it, the framers of the Constitution have not confined taxation to duties and excises alone. This bill is constructed simply upon those two methods.

The Constitution of the United States has no pleonasm, it has no tautology, and it abstains from repetition. When two words are used, two things are meant, two distinct, separate, and independent things. It has said:

The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises.

Direct taxes have not often been resorted to, for reasons to be hereafter given; but although they have not been much used, we have the power to lay and collect them. Duties have been resorted to every year of the Government from the first session of Congress down to the present time. Excises have been resorted to more than taxes, but I recollect for years and years when there were no Federal excises, not a dollar of tax on any domestic product, and that was not in what are known as bad times. Imposts were not heard of. They were once used during the war of 1812, and they were used in the late war—taxes upon persons and upon administrators and executors, as provided in the pending amendment. But the fact that either of these methods of raising revenue has fallen into disuse is no forfeiture of the power by Congress. Here is an armory having within it four stores or resources of the taxing power, all of which or either of which Congress may use upon a proper occasion.

Direct taxes have not been often resorted to because they have to be apportioned according to population among the different States under the census. This apportionment as a mathematical problem is not a very difficult one, but as a legislative problem it has been found to be one of extreme difficulty, for the reason that States having the largest population, and therefore having the largest apportionment of taxes for payment, and having the largest delegations in Congress, are always dissatisfied with the apportionment, and there are always a larger number of delegations dissatisfied with the apportionment than are content with it. Therefore, except in the presence of a great emergency—except in the presence of an overwhelming exigency—no direct taxes have ever been laid.

I should have thought from the opinion I find here sometimes expressed about this annual deficit of $28,000,000 for this year that this emergency exceeds everything we ever had, and there would be a proposition here from the majority of the committee to proceed to direct taxation. But in that I have been disappointed. A majority of the committee seem anxious to give a very large political meaning to this yearly deficit, but they diminish its financial significance under their mode of dealing with it to a mere bugbear.

The framers of the Constitution foresaw this obstacle to the collection of revenue. They foresaw the difficulty in the way of the apportionment of direct taxes. They therefore provided three other methods under the rule of uniformity, not of apportionment, in order that the trouble of the taxgatherer might be in some degree alleviated, and that the revenue of the Government might be supplied without resorting to the almost impracticable method of direct taxation.

Now, the rate of imposts fixed by the amendment is not a rate upon property as such. It is not a rate upon estates. It is not a rate upon the value of estates. It is a charge upon persons; a specific charge levied upon particular persons; a specific charge levied upon particular persons related to or having an interest in the function of succession, testate or intestate, incident to death. Two per cent is not laid, but a sum equal to that amount is levied. Thus the rate is made indirect, in the circumstance of the levy as well as in that of the payment. The only use of the per cent upon the value of the estate of inheritance is to afford an instrumentality for ascertaining the equivalent of value by measuring the quantity of the aggregate, the rate, just as an inspector under the excise measures the gallons in the barrel and ascertains the proof of the spirits before him. In this way certitude and uniformity are provided for in the collection of this impost from those liable thereto. Although the amount is not fixed in any particular case, the proportion is fixed in all cases.

We observe all around us every day the working of the rules of succession, and it is a matter of such common observation that we sometimes forget that it is an operation of law, an effect of government—a very marked operation of law a very notable effect of government in the highest degree of civilization. Rules of succession are not made in the natural state. They are not known to savages and uncivilized tribes. They are not known to men in a condition of servitude. The prince in an absolute despotism, upon hearing of the death of a man of substance, takes what he wishes, and leaves what he wishes, if he leaves anything, to the relatives of the decedent.

The great American common law of descent, that children shall take share and share alike, is not a law of nature. It did not come by nature. It is the result of strife for centuries, and it has been wrested from power, from privilege, from prerogative, from feudal tenure and tradition; and we clearly have the moral, the constitutional right to take from the beneficiaries thereof a slight contribution for the support of that government under which these beneficent rules obtain.

It may be said, sir, in objection to this amendment, that it provides for double taxation. Mr. President, there are very few men or things that escape taxation twice. Double or cumulative taxation can not possibly be any valid objection to the method of collecting the revenue. We all pay, in the first place, local taxes to the county, the city, the State of our residence. On that we are taxed once. We all pay federal taxation under bills like that now pending, for our supplies, for food, for shelter, for raiment, and, as in the case of a man engaged in the business of distilling, for example, paying an excise tax upon the same property for which he was formerly taxed, triple taxation. And if he is interested in selling, retail or wholesale, he pays another excise, quadruple taxation. And he pays also an excise to the State and to the county for transacting the same business, and to the city, so that the same man may be taxed seven times, eight times, upon the same property and with reference to the same business.

Neither courts nor legislatures have for the last three centuries listened with any patience to the objection that a mode of raising revenue proposes to make double or cumulative taxes. This is a cumulative tax, and so are all the others except the primary tax imposed by the State or city. It may be said this is a tax upon accumulations; that it is a tax on industry, on skill, on diligence. This is all true. So is every other tax a tax on accumulation; so is every other tax an exaction upon skill, upon diligence, upon industry. Taxes must reach those who have and keep; not those who have not.

But I ask your attention, Mr. President, to the disproportion of taxes at present on accumulation. The great mass of accumulations are very small, small in value, large in the aggregate. Take the day laborer. His accumulations, on which he is taxed and will be taxed under the pending bill, are his household and kitchen furniture, his clothing for his wife and children, his daily wages. Those are his accumulations, and they are taxed. If you go to the large accumulations of thousands and millions accumulated under this protective system, an owner will be found; sometime death will touch some person interested in a trust. Sometime death will divide and distribute the estate of such a possessor. It is such accumulations as this that are reached by a rate on inheritances.

There is no just proportion of the present tax upon accumulations. The poor man pays out of his necessity. Out of his poverty he pays the tariff taxes and others levied. The owner of millions in the way of accumulations pays the same tax, but he pays out of his abundance without a thought, without a fear, without knowing it.

Now, we say, let us impose upon these massive accumulations some just burden in proportion to the benefits that their owners have received under the protection and kindly offices of the Government. I will say nothing now about special legislation, but under the protection and auspices of the Government they have accumulated these fortunes, these vast amounts. Why should they not contribute a trifle at least for the support of the Government under which they live?

No writer upon the subject of taxation has laid down any other maxim than that taxes ought to be apportioned in accordance with the benefits received from the government under which the possessor lives, and all taxes are apportioned and have been laid

agreeably to that opinion. Take the State tax everywhere, take the city tax everywhere, take the county tax everywhere; they are laid in exact proportion to the amount of accumulation, large or small, as they may be. So that this opinion of all authors is reenforced by the practice of mankind, and it enforces the contributions upon accumulations in proportion to the benefits received.

Contrast this rate of inheritance with some of the rates in the pending bill. Contrast it with the high rates levied upon common window glass, cement, white lead, salt, wool, lumber, blankets, flannels, and shawls. Take, for example, window glass taxed in two brackets at from 107 to 115 per cent, prohibitory; intended to be prohibitory.

It may be said, however, that this is an unfair comparison and that a glass tax is a part of the tariff law, while the inheritance rate, if adopted, will belong to the branch of internal revenue. Let us look at that proposition for a few minutes. What is the tariff? It is a tax levied upon goods imported from other countries into ours. This glass tax is nominally levied as a tariff. It is claimed sometimes that the foreigners pay the tariff taxes.

The foreigners certainly will not pay this tariff on common window glass. They do not handle the goods. They do not see the goods. They know nothing about them. What really is this glass tax? It is a tax imposed upon articles of domestic manufacture. It is a tax imposed for the benefit of the owners or manufacturers of common window glass against every man who wishes to use or to buy it. It makes it very much in the nature of an excise, for an excise is a tax upon domestic products.

But, sir, I think I may be allowed to call it a left-handed excise. There is one very great difference between the glass tax and the excise. The excise tax is levied upon spirits, tobacco, and other articles which are subjected to it, and goes directly into the Treasury, less the cost of collection. The tax levied upon glass goes directly to the manufacturer of glass. Not a dollar of it goes into the Treasury. It is a left-handed excise. It is like the awkward ball that never reaches its destination. It is like the ball held in the hand of the pitcher, held fast, which he seems to want to pitch away from him, but his whole movement is a feint, and the ball never reaches the bat.

Now, the Democratic party say that a tax imposed upon any article in such a way as to interfere with the compact between the seller and buyer, to raise the price, except for the sake of revenue, except in the interest of the Treasury, is unjust, is unwarranted. The very reason for a tax law is revenue. When the revenue ceases, when the reason of the law ceases, the law ceases with it. This sort of tax is often called in this Chamber tribute. It is a tribute very near akin to pillage. It is a pillage of the many not rich. It is a pillage of the many not incorporated. It is taking away the crust and crumb from Lazarus that Dives may fare more sumptuously.

There are a great many specimens of left-handed excises in this bill. One of the most extraordinary is in the wool schedule. We all know that enough wool has been imported into the country to answer the manufacturing demand for one year; that it has been imported free of duty under the present law; and yet the taxes on blankets, flannels, shawls, women's and children's dress goods are in this bill laid upon the express assumption that the supply of wool on hand has paid duty at the rate imposed by this bill—10 cents per pound—and that this free wool is not free. So that hundreds of thousands of dollars of taxes will be levied and collected from the people upon this wool, not a penny of which will go into the National Treasury. This whole enormous amount will be handed over in a lump sum and as a mere gratuity to the corporations engaged in the manufacture of woolen fabrics.

I know, sir, it is said that these excessive rates upon woolen goods are proposed for the purpose of improving the woolen industry and improving the breed of sheep, and of increasing the quantity of the wool product in the United States. I do not believe that, but if I did believe it I would prefer the health, the safety, the comfort, the happiness of the women and children of this country to the interest of sheep or shepherd, and especially to any interest of the wolf, the wolf in sheep's clothing, who would use the hand of the taxgatherer to strip from the child in his cradle the mantle or blanket so necessary to its growth and nurture.

We have not, Mr. President, been entirely forgetful of the welfare of the animal kingdom in the United States. We have a branch of administration called the Bureau of Animal Industry. After many years of careful and costly experiment we have succeeded in reaing one kind of animals to absolute perfection. They are the tariff swine—the highly protective prohibitive tariff swine. They are gross feeders, with voracious appetite. They devour our substance with impunity. They think of making no return except a small compensatory duty derived from a slight tax upon the infant industry of bristles.

It is such exactions as these, sir, these gross, unlawful, unwarranted abuses of the taxing power, these clouds without rain, these wells without water, these rates without revenue, which show very clearly that pelf, not patriotism, is the principal component material of the schedules in the pending bill. Such exactions are contrary to the plainest dictates of justice, and will bring down upon their authors the condign punishment due to such offenses.

I appeal to Senators that they may seriously note one of the minor advantages of justice, its commercial value, if they care nothing for its greater attribute. It pays far better than any other quality in the administration of public affairs, as injustice is the most expensive and costly exercise of power. A people grow rich and opulent; how well to do that nation becomes, and all the men and women who inhabit the land, when they feel that the burdens of taxation are fairly distributed and are borne in just proportion.

What vast wealth of affection, age after age, is accumulated for that form of government wherein what is right is deemed always expedient. How selfish, sordid, and ignoble is an appeal to the citizen that offers by law special favors to a part, to any part, of the community which are denied to the whole? What is protection but a bribe, and what have bribes to do with justice? What gains can protection, so called, bring to the few which are not losses to the many?

Consider the effect of this policy upon the elective franchise, upon the vote and the voter. The ballot should be an expression of the conscience and judgment, unbribed and unbought, upon the great public questions submitted to its arbitrament, and especially it should be free from the taint of private interest or personal gain. We require that of a juryman in the ordinary court, and more especially the voter should be free from any motive of personal gain or private interest.

An election controlled by the self-styled policy of protection bids men forego and blot from their memories every consideration of public interest, every thought of national income, impelling them to combine only for the particular advantage of those who may be successful in this debasing conflict. Debauched by this intense temptation, many yield to its allurements. Others are willing to follow the lead of Mammon even up to the dead line of monopoly—the dead line of monopoly, where importations are forbidden, where competition is barred, and where the incorporated protected manufacturer absolutely controls the price of wares and wages.

This power of control is one to which no free man should be subjected, and which no free government should permit or allow. This is not taxation; it is tyranny, it is despotism—the despotism of the trusts, enforced through the imperial reigning dynasty of the yeas and nays.

One of the worst results of this false and vicious system so long embedded in the form of law is that it now assumes the mask and semblance of legitimacy. The public needs and the revenues of the Treasury are wholly subordinated to local and private interest and to corporate gains. The banditti of the syndicates are allowed to impose taxes merely for their own aggrandizement.

We have such a thing as vested rights, and it seems there must needs be vested wrongs. This is one of them—one of the lowest, one of the most degraded of vested wrongs. Of course in a country subjected, permanently subjected, to these conditions, parties must perish; all parties must perish. Factions only will survive. Factions will fight each other as wild beasts for their prey, until there is an end of even the forms of liberty.

Much has been said about differentials in this discussion. The giant differential in the pending bill is protection itself. This differential is begotten by the perversion of the lawmaking power, and it can flourish only in the decay of justice. It is this gross irrational superstition, miscalled protection, which proposes to reverse the maxim of Jefferson so that it shall read: Special privileges to all who can procure them, equal rights to none.

The pretense is made that protection is designed to encourage American industry. Can not industry be cheered to its work save by unjust burdens placed upon others—burdens grievous to be borne, imposed by that sort of skill and craft which prefers a majority on the roll call to justice and fair dealing? The promoters of this measure propose to give by its enactment a certain percentage, a particular advantage, to a corporation engaged in such a manufacture of a particular article, and they propose to give to another corporation a certain other percentage and advantage. They propose to give one trust a subsidy boon or bounty of such a form; to another trust the same; they propose to give the whole unblessed family of trusts, gifts, unwholesome, uncanny gifts, and out of this unclean mass of bribes and gifts they expect to distill the pure waters of life, of long life, health, and prosperity for our people. Vain expectation! You might as well hope to enjoy the pleasures of paradise amidst the burning marl and flaming mansions of the lost.

In offering this amendment, we do not wish to be understood as in the least degree approving the scheme or the policy of the pending bill.

We stand by the ancient landmarks of the Democratic party. We are unwilling to see the landmarks removed. I will not pronounce the malediction. Its recital is needless. We adhere with unfaltering faith to the tenets of our ancient Democratic

creed, founded, as they are, upon the letter of the Constitution and imbued with its potent beneficent spirit.

It is written that Congress is empowered "to lay and collect duties." We believe this is a joint act of power thus granted, not several, or joint and several. Duties are to be laid, and the same duties are to be collected. It is not competent to lay duties which are not to be collected any more than it is lawful to collect duties which are not laid. Laying and collecting can not be dissevered. They must, as they are placed in the Constitution, go hand in hand. To lay duties with the purpose not to collect them, at such rates and in such form as that they shall be and must be uncollectible, is to disregard the first law of the Government and to make private ends superior to the public necessities. It is to invite all those evil consequences which corruption incites, which no sophistry can allay. The people of the United States can not rightfully be taxed save for the benefit of all, and under no circumstances for the benefit of a less number.

When the interests of the public Treasury are alone consulted in laying taxes upon the citizen, what a strong and broad foundation is laid for our well-being!

The ballot is no longer in the market. The voter does not ask, "How shall I gain something for myself by voting?" but "How shall all be best aided by my action?" The franchise is then what our forefathers made it, what the justice of the Constitution intended it should be.

It is restored to its original state of purity, of dignity, and of sovereign independence.

Our fathers thought highly of justice as an element of political life and action. They thought, with the celebrated Burke, that justice was itself a great standing policy, so much so that any departure from it lay under the suspicion of being no policy at all.

They declared in the grand preface to the Constitution that "to establish justice" was one of the objects of the creation of this form of government. We have, it is true, a Department of Justice, but this is only a technical name for that branch of the public service. This by no means implies that every other department is not to be controlled by justice in its action.

The courts in this very Department so named have often decided that the laying of taxes is very much within our discretion. They will not inquire what motives induced the legislature to select particular objects or articles or persons as subjects of taxation; all this is remitted to the Congress—to the Senate as a part of the lawmaking power.

We, as Senators, have thus a very wide province wherein we are ourselves charged with the administration of justice, even in a much larger sense than any judicial tribunal. Our responsibility is yet more grave, the consequences of our errors more far-reaching. The demand upon us in the exercise of this power, for the purest faith and the highest integrity of purpose, is one of the necessities of our position.

FRANCHISE OF THE MINTS.

We are not to content ourselves with even the best revision of the tariff or the most excellent reform of the law of Federal taxation. To establish justice, other and greater reforms are needed.

The highest law of the land declares "that the Congress shall have power to coin money and regulate the value thereof," meaning "the current coin of the United States," as mentioned in a following section. The people of the several colonies and States during the Colonial and Revolutionary periods had this power and exercised it. The States under the Articles of Confederation had this power to coin money of silver and gold and exercised it, and the States did not surrender this power to the General Government until 1789. It was an absolute surrender of such power, not for the purpose of destruction or abatement, but of being further used by a greater power of more extended jurisdiction—the Congress of the United States.

The grant is exclusive, since it is also written:

No State shall coin money or make anything but gold and silver coin a tender for the payment of debts.

It would have been a thing strange and anomalous to form a government for a great nation without giving it the power to coin money and regulate its value, or without the power to declare what should be a legal tender. There is no such defect in our form of government. All these powers are granted, and the kind of money to be coined and valued as the only legal tender is designated "gold and silver coin," "current coin of the United States."

It is yet, therefore, much stranger, more anomalous, that the governments of other nations should in any manner control the coinage, value, or legal tender of the money made under our own act, and more strange than all that we should refuse to exercise the constitutional power so granted to us.

These powers were granted for use and exercise, not to be vitiated or destroyed either as to the two metals to be coined, their legal-tender function, or their value.

Only three years after the organization of the Government the Congress passed a law providing for the free coinage of gold and of silver, providing also that the silver as well as the gold coin in dollars so made, the current coin of the United States, should be a lawful tender in all payments whatsoever. This was interpretation contemporaneous—a necessary, imperative, and primary construction of the organic law. The law is not changed to this day. It will take the votes of three-fourths of the States to change it. How many States of this Union would vote to make gold the only legal tender?

The power thus granted and used to coin money of silver as well as gold, to fix its value and legal-tender quality, is expressed in the same language as to its grant, and is set forth in the same section as the power "to lay and collect taxes, duties, excises, and imposts."

It is not said anywhere that Congress shall coin money; it is not said anywhere that Congress shall lay taxes. The power to do both is given in the same words, and this power devolves the duty upon us to obey the language and the spirit of both these grants. Both powers are of binding obligation, are continuous and perpetual in their operation, and as long and as constantly as we levy taxes and collect them we ought to maintain the free coinage at the mints of both metals.

We have no more power or right to abandon the free coinage of silver than we have to cease the free coinage of gold. We have no more constitutional right to abandon the coinage of both metals at the existing ratio as a lawful tender in all payments than we have to cease the levy and collection of taxes for the support of the Government.

Let us be prepared to do our duty. Let us obey the Constitution and return to the law of our fathers.

It is true that the direst terms of prediction and prophecy, wholly unsupported by fulfillment, have been used to depict the consequence of our obedience—the obedience of Congress to the Constitution of the United States.

But we know to a certainty without consulting prophecy what have been the consequences of disobedience.

The present condition of the country shows that this disobedience has brought death, commercial dearth, and death into our world, and has filled every portion of the Republic with increasing distress and disaster.

Let us reestablish constitutional justice so long overthrown. Let us again restore the franchise of the mint.

The unbought second thought of the people will gladly welcome such a consummation. We may then under that benign policy, even under this tariff act of 1897, with all its faults, possibly gather enough funds to supply the needs of Government. We may not only cure the present deficit, but shall thus have the most certain safeguard against its recurrence.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the amendment proposed by the Senator from Indiana [Mr. TURPIE].

Mr. ALLISON. I understand the Senator from Indiana does not desire to press a vote upon his amendment at this time.

Mr. TURPIE. No; I am willing that it shall be considered hereafter.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST] has moved to strike out paragraph 7½ as amended by the committee. The orderly procedure will be to take the vote on inserting paragraph 7½.

Mr. ALLISON. I hope the vote will be taken in that form. The paragraph is not yet in the bill, I understand.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The paragraph is not yet in the bill.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The question is on the adoption of the amendment, as I understand.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. It is.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The Senators in favor of incorporating paragraph 7½ in the bill will vote "yea?"

Mr. ALLISON. Yes.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. There is no objection to the vote being taken in that way.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair will put the question on the adoption of the committee amendment as it has been amended, which is to insert the new paragraph 7½. Those who are in favor of that motion will vote "yea."

Mr. TELLER. I want to say a word or two on that question. The Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. GALLINGER] rather challenged the statement I made with reference to the output of bleaching powder in the State of Maine from a concern which he mentioned. I am not certain that I was accurate in my statement, but I gave the best authority that I could get for it.

According to the Senator's statement, the establishment referred to is making only enough bleaching powder to supply the market of this country for about twelve days; that is, their yearly output would supply the demand for about twelve days.

I am informed by those who profess to know that there is no successful manufacture of bleaching powder in the United States, and that there never has been a successful one; that is to say, there has never been one that has been commercially successful and which at the same time has produced a good article. The article produced in this country, according to the statements made to me of people who use it very largely—and it is used very largely

in the State of Colorado and in all the other mining States in the reduction of gold ores—is that the American product has never been satisfactory, and that the only product that has been satisfactory was that furnished from either Germany or England. I do not know why this is so, and do not pretend to say, but there is no manufacture of this article that I know of now in the United States which can be called a success.

The Senator from Michigan [Mr. BURROWS] stated that it was in contemplation to start a factory in the State of Michigan. I suppose they have all the ingredients necessary for making bleaching powder in Michigan, and they have had them since the early settlement of the country, and I understand they are about to start a factory at Niagara Falls, which will produce, I think, about 25 tons a day. Of course that would be a pretty large factory compared with any in existence that I know of for the manufacture of this article, but that factory is not yet in existence, and whether it will be a success or not depends upon the question of whether the English patent, which has been referred to by the Senator from Delaware, is a success or not. If that should prove to be a success, then there will be 25 tons a day manufactured. The amount used in the United States, according to my information, is about 150,000 tons.

Mr. President, this article enters not only into the manufacture of paper, as stated by the Senator from Delaware, but it enters into the manufacture of textiles of various kinds and the manufacture of cloths. It is used in several large reduction works of gold ore in the United States; and there is one system of reduction in which it is used very largely. It is very largely used in the State of Colorado, although I am not able to say as to the exact quantity which is used there.

I have here a letter from one of the leading reduction works, and I have also some telegrams from other reduction works in Colorado, protesting against a duty on this material.

As this bill came from the House of Representatives this article was on the free list, in paragraph 578, as follows:

Lime, chloride of, or bleaching powder.

The committee have not given us any reason up to the present time why it should be put upon the dutiable list, except the very unsatisfactory statement that somebody was going to start a factory in Michigan, and that possibly a factory would be established at Niagara Falls. My correspondent from Colorado says:

First. That the use of bleaching powder is such an imperative necessity of an important branch of metallurgical industry in Colorado that the imposition of a duty will work a hardship on established industry in this State, as well as in other Western States.

Second. That there is at present practically no American industry of this sort to protect.

Third. That the price which now obtains in our market is such as to already permit the profitable manufacture of bleaching powder in this country.

Fourth. That it appears the chief object of the proposed duty is to advance the interests of a patent process not yet in practical operation.

That is the process the Senator from Delaware referred to.

Mr. President, I do not intend to take up any time except to say that there has been no reason given why this article should be protected. I am a believer in producing everything in this country that we can produce, and not buying it abroad, but I do not believe that this duty will do anything more than raise the price to the American consumer, though possibly it may encourage the people who have been referred to, who have a patent process which is of a very doubtful character, I am informed, though I am not qualified, perhaps, to speak technically upon that subject.

I speak now upon this subject simply from the intercourse I have had with men in my State who are using this article, and because of the letters I have received

If the committee could assure me that there was a bare possibility that this would become one of the industries of the country, I would not object to putting the article upon the dutiable list; but I understand the effort to make this powder has been going on in this country for a number of years, and, so far as I have been informed, every effort has been a failure, I may say, both commercially and as to the quality of the article produced.

I think, according to the Republican doctrine of protection, we ought not to put a duty upon this article, unless there is some reason to suppose the duty will foster and encourage its production, because it is apparent to everybody that manufactured articles, such as I have mentioned, will be more or less hampered and embarrassed by the raising of the price in consequence of the duty.

If the committee are prepared to show us that there is a fair prospect of properly making this article in this country, I should not object to the proposed duty; but my informant, who is a man qualified to speak upon this subject, assures me that the only articles of this character which have been found satisfactory are those of either German or English production. Our own product has not been satisfactory, and will not be, unless there is a different method of production, which I suppose is now perhaps anticipated by these two patents—I do not know as to that—but unless there is something of that kind the article will not be produced in this country to the satisfaction of the consumer.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on inserting paragraph 7½ as it has been amended.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I call for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. GEAR (when his name was called). I am paired with the senior Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH], but I transfer that pair to the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE], who is paired with the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. JONES], which will leave the Senator from Arkansas and myself at liberty to vote. I vote "yea."

Mr. WARREN (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Washington [Mr. TURNER], and therefore withhold my vote.

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. ALLEN. I inquire if the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. CHANDLER] has voted?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. He has not voted.

Mr. ALLEN. I am paired with that Senator, and therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. SPOONER. I inquire if the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. WALTHALL] has voted?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. He has not voted.

Mr. SPOONER. I have a general pair with that Senator, and therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. HANSBROUGH. I am paired with the senior Senator from Virginia [Mr. DANIEL], and therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. PLATT of New York. I am paired with the senior Senator from New York [Mr. MURPHY]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. PRITCHARD (after having voted in the affirmative). I inquire if the junior Senator from South Carolina [Mr. MCLAURIN] is recorded as having voted?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The junior Senator from South Carolina has not voted.

Mr. PRITCHARD. Then I withdraw my vote, as I am paired with that Senator.

Mr. DEBOE (after having voted in the affirmative). I withdraw my vote, as I am paired with the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. PETTIGREW], who is not present.

Mr. MANTLE. I desire to state that the Senator from Utah [Mr. CANNON] is paired with the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH]. That pair will stand upon this vote, as the Senator from Utah, if here, would vote against the amendment.

Mr. BURROWS (after having voted in the affirmative). I inquire if the senior Senator from Louisiana [Mr. CAFFERY] has voted?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. He has not voted.

Mr. BURROWS. Then I withdraw my vote, as I am paired with that Senator.

Mr. SHOUP (after having voted in the affirmative). I inquire if the senior Senator from California [Mr. WHITE] has voted?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. He has not voted.

Mr. SHOUP. I am paired with that Senator, and withdraw my vote.

The result was announced—yeas 30, nays 27; as follows:

YEAS—30.

Allison,	Gallinger,	McEnery,	Quay,
Carter,	Gear,	McMillan,	Sewell,
Clark,	Hanna,	Mason,	Thurston,
Cullom,	Hawley,	Nelson,	Wellington,
Elkins,	Hoar,	Penrose,	Wetmore,
Fairbanks,	Jones, Nev.	Perkins,	Wilson.
Foraker,	Lodge,	Platt, Conn.	
Frye,	McBride,	Proctor,	

NAYS—27.

Bacon,	Faulkner,	Mallory,	Rawlins,
Bate,	Gray,	Mantle,	Roach,
Berry,	Harris, Kans.	Mills,	Stewart,
Butler,	Heitfeld,	Mitchell,	Teller,
Chilton,	Jones, Ark.	Morgan,	Tillman,
Clay,	Kenney,	Pasco,	Vest.
Cockrell,	Lindsay,	Pettus,	

NOT VOTING—32.

Aldrich,	Davis,	McLaurin,	Smith,
Allen,	Deboe,	Martin,	Spooner,
Baker,	George,	Morrill,	Turner,
Burrows,	Gorman,	Murphy,	Turpie,
Caffery,	Hale,	Pettigrew,	Walthall,
Cannon,	Hansbrough,	Platt, N. Y.	Warren,
Chandler,	Harris, Tenn.	Pritchard,	White,
Daniel,	Kyle,	Shoup,	Wolcott.

So the amendment as amended was agreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask now to return to paragraph 86, passed over last evening.

The SECRETARY. Paragraph 86 as amended reads as follows:

Plaster rock or gypsum, crude, $1 per ton; if ground or calcined, $1.50 per ton; pearl hardening for paper makers' use, 20 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. BUTLER. Mr. President, gypsum is used for fertilizer to no little extent. In Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and other States it is used for top-dressing, especially for grass, pease, potatoes, etc. It is delivered at our seaport towns from Nova Scotia at about $2 per ton. If a duty of $1.50 a ton is placed on it, then, of course, we will be forced to pay $3.50 per ton. Our Western friends ask for this duty because they have deposits in

their States. But they are thoroughly protected by distance. Transportation rates are about 1 cent per ton per mile. Therefore 100 miles distance amounts to a protection of all they ask.

In the South we can never use the land plaster from the Western States on account of these freight rates. If this duty is put on, we will continue to get this fertilizing material from Canada and be forced to pay more for it. The farmer gets nothing out of this tariff bill, and should not thus be taxed for the benefit of a very few. This material is now on the free list. It was on the free list in the McKinley bill; it has been on the free list for over sixty years, and should always stay on the free list.

Mr. President, I move to strike out paragraph 86 and put this article on the free list.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. GALLINGER in the chair). The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from North Carolina to strike out paragraph 86.

Mr. VEST. On that I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. DEBOE (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. PETTIGREW].

Mr. PLATT of New York (when his name was called). I am paired with the senior Senator from New York [Mr. MURPHY].

Mr. PROCTOR (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Florida [Mr. MALLORY].

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. GEAR. I transfer my pair with the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH] to the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE], and will vote. I vote "nay."

Mr. HANNA (after having voted in the negative). Has the junior Senator from Utah [Mr. RAWLINS] voted?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair is informed that he has not voted.

Mr. HANNA. I will withdraw my vote, being paired with that Senator.

Mr. BURROWS (after having voted in the negative). I am paired with the senior Senator from Louisiana [Mr. CAFFERY]. I do not see him in the Chamber, and therefore withdraw my vote.

The result was announced—yeas 24, nays 30; as follows:

YEAS—24.

Bacon,	Faulkner,	Martin,	Teller,
Bate,	Gray,	Mills,	Tillman,
Berry,	Jones, Ark.	Mitchell,	Turpie,
Butler,	Kenney,	Morgan,	Vest,
Clay,	Lindsay,	Pasco,	Walthall,
Cockrell,	McLaurin,	Pettus,	White.

NAYS—30.

Allison,	Gear,	Nelson,	Spooner,
Baker,	Hoar,	Penrose,	Stewart,
Cullom,	Jones, Nev.	Perkins,	Thurston,
Elkins,	Lodge,	Platt, Conn.	Wellington,
Fairbanks,	McBride,	Pritchard,	Wetmore,
Foraker,	McMillan,	Quay,	Wilson.
Frye,	Mantle,	Sewell,	
Gallinger,	Mason,	Shoup,	

NOT VOTING—35.

Aldrich,	Daniel,	Harris, Tenn.	Platt, N. Y.
Allen,	Davis,	Hawley,	Proctor,
Burrows,	Deboe,	Heitfeld,	Rawlins,
Caffery,	George,	Kyle,	Roach,
Cannon,	Gorman,	McEnery,	Smith,
Carter,	Hale,	Mallory,	Turner,
Chandler,	Hanna,	Morrill,	Warren,
Chilton,	Hansbrough,	Murphy,	Wolcott.
Clark,	Harris, Kans.	Pettigrew,	

So the motion was rejected.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Is the paragraph completed?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. It is completed.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. The next paragraph is 88. When this paragraph was under consideration before, ground fuller's earth had been put at $3 a ton, and the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. PETTIGREW] thereupon moved to make unwrought fuller's earth $2 a ton. I have had some conference with the Senator from South Dakota, and I desire that the amendment already adopted may be changed so that it will read as I send it to the desk. I will say that that is satisfactory to the Senator from South Dakota and has the approval of the majority of the Finance Committee.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment as proposed to be modified will be read.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Is this a substitute for the paragraph?

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. No.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to amend the amendment so as to read:

Fuller's earth, unwrought and unmanufactured, $2 per ton; wrought or manufactured, $4 per ton.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the vote by which the amendment was agreed to will be reconsidered, and the question is on agreeing to the amendment to the amendment.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Let us understand where it occurs. I do not know where it comes in.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. At the end of the paragraph.

The SECRETARY. At the end of paragraph 88 it is proposed to insert:

Fuller's earth, unwrought and unmanufactured, $2 per ton; wrought or manufactured, $4 per ton.

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

The amendment as amended was agreed to.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. I desire, on behalf of the committee, to amend paragraph 88, in line 19, by striking out "fifty" and inserting "twenty-five;" and in line 21 by striking out "$3" and inserting "$2.50."

The SECRETARY. In line 19, paragraph 88, it is proposed to strike out "fifty" and insert "twenty-five;" and in line 21 it is proposed to strike out "$3" and insert "$2.50;" so as to read:

Asphaltum and bitumen, crude, if not dried or otherwise advanced in any manner, $1.25 per ton; if dried or otherwise advanced in any manner, $2.50 per ton.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. VEST. I simply wish to call attention to the fact that the last two items, upon which the duty is put at $1.25 and $2.50, were on the free list under the McKinley Act and are there under existing law. Now it is proposed to put this enormous duty upon the articles.

As to fuller's earth, as a matter of course the Senator from South Dakota is satisfied, because it is all he asked. It seems now that a compromise has been effected between the little factory in Connecticut, of which the Senator from South Dakota spoke so eloquently the other day, and the raw material without consulting the consumers of the country at all.

Mr. QUAY. It seems to me that the duty proposed by the committee on asphalt is entirely too high. I suggest to the Senator in charge of the bill, instead of $2.50 a ton, to make it $1.50 per ton.

Mr. ALLISON. The whole matter will be in conference and can be dealt with after more careful examination.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. What is under consideration?

Mr. QUAY. The duty upon asphalt.

Mr. GRAY. What paragraph?

Mr. QUAY. Paragraph 88, lines 21 and 22, crude asphalt. It ought not to be over $1.50 per ton on the crude, and on the dried or otherwise advanced, $1. I think that would be a fair duty and ought to be submitted to, because it is purely a revenue duty. It is a tax upon the streets of every town in the United States that uses asphalt, and no one is protected under it.

Mr. GRAY. They can stand it better than the poor man referred to by the Senator from Delaware [Mr. GRAY].

Mr. QUAY. I trust the Senator from Iowa will see the propriety of reducing the duty.

Mr. ALLISON. I regret I can not.

Mr. QUAY. I suppose I have to submit for the present.

Mr. SEWELL. I call the attention of the Senator from Iowa to the concluding part of the paragraph, bauxite. Was it not the intention to restore that?

Mr. ALLISON. It has been restored.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. The paragraph is now completed, is it not?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair so understands.

Mr. ALLISON. And it has been agreed to?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. It has been agreed to.

Mr. VEST. Has the paragraph been adopted? I should like to take a vote on the paragraph. Let us have the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Missouri move to strike out the paragraph?

Mr. VEST. I ask for the yeas and nays on agreeing to the increases.

Mr. ALLISON. On the adoption of the paragraph?

Mr. VEST. On the adoption of the paragraph.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The yeas and nays are demanded on the adoption of the paragraph as amended.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BURROWS (when his name was called). I am paired with the senior Senator from Louisiana [Mr. CAFFERY].

Mr. CLARK (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Kansas [Mr. HARRIS].

Mr. PLATT of New York (when his name was called). I wish to announce for the day my pair with the senior Senator from New York [Mr. MURPHY].

Mr. TILLMAN (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. THURSTON]. He has voted, which leaves me at liberty to vote, but I have consented to pair with the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. PETTIGREW] who is absent. I therefore withhold my vote.

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. WARREN. I again announce my pair with the junior Senator from Washington [Mr. TURNER].

Mr. WHITE. Upon this vote I am paired with the Senator from Utah [Mr. CANNON]. If he were present, I should vote "nay."

Mr. WELLINGTON. I desire to inquire if the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. BUTLER] has voted?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair is informed he has not voted.

Mr. WELLINGTON. Being paired with that Senator, I withhold my vote.

Mr. GEAR. I transfer my pair with the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH] to the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE], and I will vote. I vote "yea."

Mr. ALLEN. Has the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. CHANDLER] voted?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair is informed that he has not voted.

Mr. ALLEN. Being paired with that Senator, I withhold my vote.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair will take the liberty to announce a pair between the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. PRITCHARD] and the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. MCLAURIN].

The Secretary recapitulated the vote.

Mr. QUAY. I understand the vote just taken is upon the adoption of the paragraph as amended. That vote has not been taken usually with paragraphs during the last week. It is not the usual course.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair has not yet announced the result. That is the question, however.

Mr. QUAY. That is the vote. It seems to me that is not a proper vote at the present. If it is, I would ask the gentlemen in charge of the bill whether it concludes amendment after we have passed out of Committee of the Whole?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair will venture to suggest that in its opinion the motion was not a proper motion to make, although as to two or three former paragraphs in the bill a similar motion was made and entertained. The motion should have been to strike out the paragraph, inasmuch as after the amendments to the House paragraph had been agreed to it was practically completed. Hereafter if the present occupant happens to be in the chair, he will insist upon the motion being made in that form.

Mr. ALLISON. The matter will be open in the Senate, as a matter of course.

The result was announced—yeas 36, nays 22; as follows:

YEAS—36.

Allison,	Frye,	Lodge,	Proctor,
Baker,	Gallinger,	McBride,	Sewell,
Carter,	Gear,	McMillan,	Shoup,
Cullom,	Hanna,	Mantle,	Spooner,
Davis,	Hansbrough,	Mason,	Stewart,
Deboe,	Hawley,	Nelson,	Teller,
Elkins,	Hoar,	Penrose,	Thurston,
Fairbanks,	Jones, Nev.	Perkins,	Wetmore,
Foraker,	Kyle,	Platt, Conn.	Wilson.

NAYS—22.

Bacon,	Daniel,	Mallory,	Roach,
Bate,	Faulkner,	Martin,	Turpie,
Berry,	Gray,	Mills,	Vest,
Chilton,	Jones, Ark.	Mitchell,	Walthall.
Clay,	Kenney,	Morgan,	
Cockrell,	Lindsay,	Pettus,	

NOT VOTING—31.

Aldrich,	George,	Morrill,	Smith,
Allen,	Gorman,	Murphy,	Tillman,
Burrows,	Hale,	Pasco,	Turner,
Butler,	Harris, Kans.	Pettigrew,	Warren,
Caffery,	Harris, Tenn.	Platt, N. Y.	Wellington,
Cannon,	Heitfeld,	Pritchard,	White,
Chandler,	McEnery,	Quay,	Wolcott.
Clark,	McLaurin,	Rawlins,	

So the paragraph as amended was agreed to.

Mr. HOAR. I desire to suggest that the difference is merely as to the mode of statement, and in parliamentary bodies it is sometimes put one way and sometimes the other. For instance, in the House of Commons, if there is a motion to strike out, the question is, Shall the paragraph stand? So it is the same thing as a motion to strike out.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Practically.

Mr. ALLISON. In connection with paragraph 164, amended a few days ago, it is necessary to make some amendments to paragraph 125. Therefore at this time I propose the amendments which I send to the desk, and I wish to call the attention of the Senator from Alabama [Mr. PETTUS] to the fact that this is the paragraph to which he alluded the other day.

The SECRETARY. On page 34, paragraph 125, line 8, after the word "steel," it is proposed to insert "not otherwise provided for in this act;" in the same paragraph, line 24, insert after the word "made" the words "steel bands or strips untempered, suitable for making band saws, 3 cents per pound and 20 per cent ad valorem; if tempered or tempered and polished, 6 cents per pound and 20 per cent ad valorem."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the first amendment to the paragraph will be considered as agreed to.

Mr. PETTUS. There was a motion made by the Senator from Georgia [Mr. BACON]. He was here a moment ago. I desire his presence. He was here and his attention was called to it, and I presume he will be back in a moment. He moved to put cotton ties on the free list, or something to that effect.

Mr. ALLISON. The second amendment offered by the committee has not yet been agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the second amendment will be considered as agreed to. It is agreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. A few days ago the Senator from Alabama called my attention to an amendment which had been proposed, or notice given of its proposal, respecting cotton ties. As we are now at this paragraph, it might be well to consider that question.

Mr. PETTUS. If the Senator will allow me, I desire to postpone it until the Senator from Georgia can be heard from. He made the motion.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask that paragraph 125 may now be read as it stands in the bill, with all the amendments which have been agreed to respecting it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Paragraph 125 will be read as it stands amended.

The Secretary read as follows:

125. Hoop, band, or scroll iron or steel, not otherwise provided for in this act, valued at 3 cents per pound or less, 8 inches or less in width, and less than three-eighths of 1 inch thick, and not thinner than No. 10 wire gauge, five-tenths of 1 cent per pound; thinner than No. 10 wire gauge and not thinner than No. 20 wire gauge, six-tenths of 1 cent per pound; thinner than No. 20 wire gauge, eight-tenths of 1 cent per pound: *Provided*, That hoop or band iron, or hoop or band steel, cut to length, or wholly or partly manufactured into hoops or ties, barrel hoops of iron or steel, and hoop or band iron or hoop or band steel flared, splayed, or punched, with or without buckles or fastenings, shall pay one-tenth of 1 cent per pound more duty than that imposed on the hoop or band iron or steel from which they are made; steel bands or strips untempered, suitable for making band saws, 3 cents per pound and 20 per cent ad valorem; if tempered or tempered and polished, 6 cents per pound and 20 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. PETTUS. I desire to be informed as to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Georgia. It is on record.

Mr. CLAY. My colleague has been called away for a few minutes. I know the Senator from Iowa——

Mr. ALLISON. If the Senator prefers that it should be passed over, we will go on with something else.

Mr. CLAY. I should be glad to have it passed over, because I know my colleague desires to be heard upon his amendment.

Mr. WHITE. If the Senator from Iowa will permit a suggestion, wherever a motion has been made to put an article on the free list, it appears the readier way to determine the whole subject would be to vote directly as to whether the article should or should not go upon the free list, because if we settle the question affirmatively, it will go upon the free list and then its elimination from the rest of the bill is a mere pro forma matter. It can be more readily disposed of in that way than by first taking a vote on the paragraphs and thereafter taking a vote upon placing the article in the free list, as we now have to do with reference to three or four.

We have already stricken three or four articles from the paragraphs in the dutiable list. It would be better to test the sense of the Senate by moving to put articles on the free list when it is reached.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The item of cotton ties has already been stricken out of the bill and a motion is pending to insert them in the free list as paragraph 517½.

Mr. ALLISON. But I had the paragraph read for the purpose of showing the Senator that cotton ties had not been stricken out. I had the paragraph read as it now stands in the bill.

Mr. WHITE. It appears to me the difference is quite immaterial.

Mr. ALLISON. I know it is.

Mr. WHITE. I believe we have made some mistake in procedure in following the policy of eliminating the matter from a certain paragraph, because then in any event we must afterwards have a vote to put it on the free list, whereas if we had voted to put it on the free list directly when that was reached, the other could be considered purely pro forma to eliminate it from the dutiable list. We have several examples of that kind which are hereafter to be reached.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask the Senate to proceed to paragraph 238.

Mr. PETTUS. Before we leave paragraph 125, I desire distinctly to understand what is the condition of the amendment proposed by the Senator from Georgia to put cotton ties on the free list.

Mr. SPOONER. It was passed over.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair is informed that it was passed over.

Mr. PETTUS. Has anything been done to its prejudice? That is what I want to know.

Mr. ALLISON. If that amendment is pending, it will be passed over. If it is not pending, it can be offered later. I hope that will be satisfactory to the Senator from Alabama. I ask that the committee amendment to paragraph 238 be stated.

The SECRETARY. In paragraph 238, page 71, line 8, after the word "Beans," strike out "fifty" and insert "forty;" so as to make the paragraph read:

238. Beans, 40 cents per bushel of 60 pounds.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. GRAY. Has the paragraph as amended been agreed to?

Mr. ALLISON. The Chair rules that it is not necessary to be voted on unless there is a motion to strike out. I now ask the Secretary to turn to paragraph 251.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair will suggest that he is informed that all the amendments of the committee to paragraph 251 were agreed to with the exception of the last amendment, which is now pending.

Mr. ALLISON. Let the amendment be stated.

The SECRETARY. On page 73, line 14, paragraph 251, after the word "act," strike out "forty" and insert "twenty-five;" so as to make the paragraph read:

251. Seeds: Castor beans or seeds, 25 cents per bushel of 50 pounds; flaxseed or linseed and other oil seeds not specially provided for in this act, 25 cents per bushel of 56 pounds; poppy seed, 15 cents per bushel; but no drawback shall be allowed upon oil cake made from imported seed, nor shall any allowance be made for dirt or other impurities in any seed; seeds of all kinds not specially provided for in this act, 25 per cent ad valorem.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the amendment proposed by the committee, which has just been read, to strike out "forty" and insert "twenty-five."

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. The next item is paragraph 206.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Secretary will read the paragraph.

Mr. ALLISON. I understand that paragraph 206 has been agreed to with the exception that when the last proviso was read I stated that the committee might possibly have some amendment to propose. I merely give notice now that we have no amendment to propose and that the paragraph will be disposed of accordingly.

Mr. GRAY. The committee amendment is to strike out that proviso?

Mr. ALLISON. No; we restore it.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The paragraph is not restored, I understand.

Mr. ALLISON. We withdrew, or, rather, the Senate disagreed to, all our amendments proposed as a substitute for that paragraph.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. And then amended the text of paragraph 206 as it came from the House.

Mr. ALLISON. Which left the paragraph to stand as in the original text, and that was amended, as is known, and then the consideration of it was passed over because I gave notice that we might, perhaps, strike out the last proviso.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. And now the proposed action of the committee is to leave the proviso as it came from the House?

Mr. ALLISON. Yes; to leave in that proviso.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I am opposed to the proviso remaining in the bill, and I will state the reason in a very few words.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If the Senator from Arkansas will suspend a moment, the Secretary will read the proviso of paragraph 206 now under consideration.

The SECRETARY. Paragraph 206, page 64, line 12, after the word "produced," the proviso is as follows:

Provided, That nothing herein contained shall be so construed as to abrogate or in any manner impair or affect the provisions of the treaty of commercial reciprocity concluded between the United States and the King of the Hawaiian Islands on the 30th day of January, 1875, or the provisions of any act of Congress heretofore passed for the execution of the same.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. It would be entirely useless for me to make any motion to amend the proviso, but I will state that I believe there should be notice given for the abrogation of the treaty with the Hawaiian Islands. The reason for adopting the treaty, in the first place, was that the people of the United States would by reason of not putting a duty on Hawaiian sugar have sugar somewhat cheaper than it would be with the tariff. The operation of the treaty remits the duties to the amount of millions of dollars.

I understand there is a contract between the sugar producers of the Hawaiian Islands and the sugar refiners in the United States, by which the agreed price to be paid to the producers of Hawaiian sugar by the refiners in the United States is the New York price for sugar less one-quarter of a cent. In other words, sugar is bought abroad and brought into New York and the tariff is paid on the sugar, thereby increasing its value. The price paid to the Hawaiian sugar producers is only one-quarter of a cent under the New York price of duty-paid sugar, so that the sugar producers get the whole amount of the tariff tax less one-quarter of a cent, which goes to the refiners; and the American consumers get none whatever. The millions of dollars which are remitted under the operation of the treaty are divided between the refiners and the Hawaiian sugar producers; and the American people pay just as much for sugar as they would if the full amount of the tax was paid. For that reason I am opposed to the continuance of this system.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the proviso just read.

Mr. WHITE. Although the committee has made no indication of the reasons actuating its members, or rather the majority of the members of the Committee on Finance, yet I assume that the motive for the withdrawal of their proposition is the pendency of the proposed Hawaiian annexation treaty. Am I right in that regard, I will ask the Senator from Iowa?

Mr. ALLISON. As I understand the situation, when the matter was up some days ago I gave notice that we might wish to make an amendment to that paragraph respecting the abrogation of the treaty or its modification in some way. The committee had not then prepared any amendment in that direction. Now, as there is a treaty supposed to be pending, there seems to be an added reason why we should not make any change, and therefore no amendment is to be offered. I submit that unless some amendment is offered the paragraph is already disposed of.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair would so rule, having been informed by the clerks——

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President, if this point is made for the purpose of preventing discussion, I presume I can offer an amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. That would be in order, the Chair would rule.

Mr. ALLISON. I make no question about that.

Mr. WHITE. I do not propose to be foreclosed from making a remark on the matter.

Mr. ALLISON. I hope the Senator does not so regard it. I only intended to ascertain the exact status of the question.

Mr. WHITE. Yes, sir; I have been trying to do so without very much success.

Mr. President, the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH], who has been unfortunately detained from the Chamber, presented the original Senate report, which has been so sadly emasculated and so fearfully treated since his departure. He made an address representing his committee associates, and from which there was no dissent by any one upon the other side of the Chamber. His announcement was to all intents and purposes the official declaration of the Republican majority here. He there said:

The committee will also prepare and present an amendment to the House provisions in regard to the Hawaiian treaty. The existing commercial treaty between the United States and the Government of these islands provides for the free admission of raw sugars, the product of the islands, into the United States. If this treaty should remain in force, it would result in giving a bounty to the Hawaiian sugar producers amounting to more than $8,000,000 per annum. It was not contemplated, when the original treaty was made or when it was extended, that any possible advantage of this kind could ever result from its terms to the people of the Sandwich Islands.

The effect of this bounty would undoubtedly be to stimulate enormously the production of sugar in the Hawaiian Islands. While we can not fairly abrogate a treaty of this kind with a friendly country without notice, we believe that negotiations should at once be entered into looking to such a modification of the treaty as will reduce the bounty to be paid Hawaiian sugar producers to a reasonable sum, and the committee will present an amendment looking in this direction at an early day.

There should be no difficulty in securing through the treaty-making power such modifications of the treaty as will be satisfactory to both countries without injury to either. It certainly can not be expected that the United States will continue for any length of time to pay a bonus of seven or eight millions of dollars per annum as an inducement to any foreign country to trade with us. I assume there will be no difficulty in securing proper modifications of the treaty so that it will not be necessary for the Government of the United States to give the one year's notice of the abrogation of the treaty which is provided for by its terms.

Like many other promises made at that time, and no doubt made in good faith, there has been no realization. On the contrary, the programme has been altered, and the train is proceeding in a contrary direction. Our friends have abandoned their position.

Mr. President, in my judgment it would be utterly unfair in any event to abrogate the Hawaiian treaty without notice; and while I do not believe that the existing treaty is a fair one to the people of the United States, I would be unwilling to disregard it. I agree with the Senator from Arkansas that notice of abrogation should be given, and I would cheerfully vote for a treaty with the Hawaiian Islands of a nature really reciprocal, a treaty giving and taking in fair proportions. But if it is to be the policy, especially of the other side of the Chamber (because we know that Senators there who do not believe in this annexation scheme at all have to some extent given assurance that they will acquiesce as a matter of party policy), that this scheme is to go through in the end, I agree that it would be unwise now to give any attention to the preparation of a new treaty or the abrogation of existing arrangements.

If we are to embark in the business of annexing these islands 2,000 miles from our shores, having a population of 1,900 American men, 1,100 American women, 31,000 full-blood natives, 8,000 half bloods, 24,000 Japanese, 21,000 Chinese, 15,000 Portuguese, etc., altogether aggregating 109,000, and being for the most part nonassimilative—if this is our purpose, if we are to engage in business of this sort, I agree it is utterly futile now to attempt to abrogate or to modify any treaty with Hawaii. While I did intend to urge upon the Senate the necessity of a notice of abrogation, so that there might be a new treaty negotiated that would be fair to all, yet,

under the circumstances prevailing, it appears to me that there is nothing to do but to follow the Senator from Iowa and preserve the present status for the time being.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Paragraph 206 is completed.

Mr. MORGAN. I present an amendment to the pending bill, and ask to have it printed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. That order will be made.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Now, paragraph 394 is, I think, the next.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment of the committee to paragraph 394 will be stated.

Mr. WHITE. Paragraph 281 contains a matter which I called to the attention of the committee, and which the committee promised to investigate. I will mention it now, if the Senator from Connecticut will turn to it, for the consideration of the committee. My attention has been called to it by a member of the Board of General Appraisers of the United States.

It will be observed that cocoa butter or cocoa butterine is upon the dutiable list. If it is the policy to tax cocoa butterine, then cocoanut oil should be included with it, because the experts of the Department (I quote Mr. Sharretts, the president of the General Board of Appraisers) state that it is utterly impossible to distinguish one from the other. They are used for the same purpose; they are practically indistinguishable, and the courts have so held. Some use can be made commercially of the imposition of a tax upon cocoanut oil, because cocoanuts are largely imported into this country, and the oil can be made from them. There is no reason why there should be any discrimination. I call the attention of the Senator from Connecticut to the matter, as I am told by the Treasury experts that it is impossible to draw the distinction. Whatever treatment one receives should be accorded to the other.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. We shall make a memorandum of the matter and it will be considered.

Mr. WHITE. If the Senator will kindly do so.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. We have not considered it. Perhaps cocoanut oil is on the free list under paragraph 603. I would rather the consideration of it might be postponed.

Mr. WHITE. Very well. If the Senator from Connecticut will look into the matter, he will find that an examination will verify the conclusion which I have reached.

The next paragraph passed over was paragraph 394, on page 137, after line 15, which the Committee on Finance proposed to strike out, in the following words:

394. Surface-coated papers, plain, embossed, or marbled, 3 cents per pound and 10 per cent ad valorem; if printed, or covered with metal or its solutions, or with gelatin or flock, 3 cents per pound and 20 per cent ad valorem; parchment papers, and plain basic photographic papers for albumenizing, sensitizing or barita coating, 2 cents per pound and 10 per cent ad valorem; manufactures of surface-coated or parchment papers, 10 per cent ad valorem in addition to the foregoing rates on the same papers; lithographic prints from stone, zinc, aluminum, or other material, bound or unbound (except cigar labels and bands, lettered or blank, music, and illustrations when forming a part of a periodical or newspaper and accompanying the same, or if bound in or forming part of printed books), on paper or other material not exceeding eight one-thousandths of an inch in thickness, 25 cents per pound; on paper or other material exceeding eight one-thousandths of an inch and not exceeding twenty one-thousandths of an inch in thickness, and exceeding 35 square inches cutting size in dimensions, 12 cents per pound; prints exceeding eight one-thousandths of an inch and not exceeding twenty one-thousandths of an inch in thickness and not exceeding 35 square inches cutting size in dimensions, 10 cents per pound; lithographic prints from stone, zinc, aluminum, or other material, on cardboard or other material, exceeding twenty one-thousandths of an inch in thickness, 9 cents per pound; lithographic cigar labels and bands, lettered or blank, printed from stone, zinc, aluminum, or other material, if printed in less than ten colors, but not including labels printed in whole or in part in bronze or metal leaf, 20 cents per pound; if printed in ten or more colors, and including labels printed in whole or in part in bronze, but not including labels printed in whole or in part in metal leaf, 25 cents per pound; if printed in whole or in part in metal leaf, 40 cents per pound.

And to insert in lieu thereof:

394. Surface-coated papers not specially provided for in this act, 2½ cents per pound and 15 per cent ad valorem; if printed, or wholly or partly covered with metal or its solutions, or with gelatin or flock, 3 cents per pound and 20 per cent ad valorem; parchment papers and plain basic photographic papers for albumenizing, sensitizing, or baryta coating, 2 cents per pound and 10 per cent ad valorem; albumenized or sensitized paper or paper otherwise surface coated for photographic purposes, 30 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. On page 13, line 17, the committee propose, after the word "papers," to insert a comma, and strike out the word "and" and insert in lieu thereof "2 cents per pound and 10 per cent ad valorem," and a semicolon; so as to read:

Parchment papers, 2 cents per pound and 10 per cent ad valorem; plain basic photographic papers, etc.

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. In line 19, paragraph 394, after the word "coating," I move to strike out "two" and insert "three;" and in the same line, before the words "per centum," to strike out "ten" and insert "twenty."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Connecticut to the amendment of the committee will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In paragraph 394, page 134, line 19, after the word "coating," it is proposed to strike out "two" and insert "three;" and in the same line, before the words "per centum," to strike out "ten" and insert "twenty;" so as to read:

Plain basic photographic papers for albumenizing, sensitizing, or baryta coating, 3 cents per pound and 20 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. I ask that the vote by which paragraph 395c was agreed to may be reconsidered informally, in order that an amendment may be proposed.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I should like to know the condition of paragraph 394.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is upon agreeing to paragraph 394 as amended.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The committee's amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment of the committee as amended.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I shall not undertake to discuss this proposition, as I know but little about it; but I hold in my hand a letter addressed to the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. FAULKNER] from a person engaged in this business. It seems to present the case very fully, and I will ask that it be inserted in the RECORD as part of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it will be so ordered.

The paper referred to is as follows:

NEW YORK, *June 10, 1897.*

DEAR SIR: In the discussion of Schedule M, paragraph 394, of the tariff bill we wish to draw your valued attention to the following facts:

It has been the custom for the American manufacturers, in their statements to the Committee on Ways and Means, to make assertions for which they had no foundation, undoubtedly relying on the want of knowledge by the committee as to the true facts to help their case. In the letter of a committee of the manufacturers of surface-coated papers is the following: "The consequence of these fraudulent undervaluations has been that more than 25 per cent of our manufacturers have had to close their works, and the rest of them have been working at a loss to themselves and their workmen, all hoping that relief from the present distress might be granted by our representatives."

There has not been one single instance in which a failure or suspension can be traced, either directly or indirectly, to foreign competition. There have been, unfortunately, losses in the paper business, but this one particular branch certainly could not hope for immunity from the general depression or of a divine interposition in their favor as against all others. It is to be regretted that the price of coated paper is as it is to-day, but there are lower prices in every grade of paper to which foreign competition is not a party than there are where it enters. In the case of "friction white," a pound of which is not imported, the price, by reason of domestic competition, has reached a point at which it is admitted that no mill can sell at a profit, and far below what it would be possible for us to make it on the other side. "Enamel book," which is a surface-coated paper and not imported, is virtually in the same state as are the friction papers, showing that instead of being a detriment, foreign competition is virtually a stimulant, since it regulates indirectly the number of operating mills here and prevents the overstocked market.

In support of this contention, Vernon Bros. & Co., in their letter to the Committee on Ways and Means, referring to tissue and copying paper, and their desire to have the duty remain as it now stands, take the same ground, yet are inconsistent enough to advocate the increase of duty on surface-coated papers. If this applies to tissues, it would most certainly apply to other grades. Crocker, Burbank & Co., in their letter to the Committee on Ways and Means, claim that "raw stock" has been cheaper here than in Germany, and as this is one of the principal items and cost of surface-coated papers, it goes far to equalize the so-called difference of "cheap foreign labor." This, however, is not taken into consideration, but we are taxed under the new bill practically 60 per cent on an article of which the base is admitted, by one of our largest and most prominent manufacturers, to be cheaper here than in Germany.

Regarding the contention of undervaluation, for the stoppage of which the specific duty is urged, the only evidence which can possibly be given is that of the said "committee of the manufacturers of surface-coated papers of the United States," whose convincing and overwhelming evidence is in the fact that a foreign mill, for the protection of their accredited agent, or, more properly speaking, firm dealing in their goods, and thereby having the sole selling right for the United States, refused to give direct quotations. Inasmuch as we individually are concerned, we should refuse to have business dealings with a firm who, after we had created a market for their goods, had dispensed with our services and given quotations and sold direct to the consumer. What the abovesaid committee has considered an evidence of undervaluation was simply an evidence of the integrity and honor of the foreign in contradistinction to the domestic mills.

Permit us, on this same point, to give you the views of one of the largest dealers in surface-coated papers in the United States. In speaking of the effect of a high tariff, inasmuch as it concerned the dealer, he said: "I am a protectionist as far as legitimate protection and general interests will allow, but the effect of a prohibitory tariff on papers would ultimately result in wiping out the dealer or 'middleman,' since there is not a good-sized order on which the domestic mills are not willing to quote direct. If they were allowed their own way, they would wipe us entirely out of existence, without any benefit to themselves, and our only safety is in the protection that the foreign market affords." This is the view of a dealer who has suffered by the home competition, and the effect which he fears will be the effect in all lines. Unfortunately, as yet we do not seem to realize that the gradual "getting rid" of the smaller dealer is responsible for the many unemployed, and that the inducement, "direct from the maker to the consumer," is a detriment which no cheapening or lowering of prices can equalize.

Mr. Ethan Allen Doty gave a comparative schedule of duties, as per the present, and the duties proposed by his committee. We give you, as Exhibit A, a copy of his schedule, and as Exhibit B, a schedule of other grades, completing his list, as he, most undoubtedly by an oversight, neglected the cheaper and more commonly used papers, giving simply those which are of little or no demand. As Exhibit C, we give you the schedule as according to the rate of a Senate bill. Schedule M, paragraph 394, and will point out its many, to say the least, peculiarities.

In Bracket A, of which grade probably three-fourths of the importation consists, there is a differenc of 21 per cent in favor of a better grade of paper, giving practically or nearly the same duty as now on a grade of goods which are made in this country, and on the cheaper grade, which are not made in this country, an additional duty of 26 per cent. You will find the same discriminating features in Brackets B and C. In Bracket D the duty upon the same classification ranges from 40 to 70 per cent. In the "White D-D" the foreign price is 4½ cents f. o. b. Hamburg; the domestic price for American goods is 5½ cents f. o. b. almost anywhere. Thus you are asked for an additional 40 per cent protection on an article which even at the present prices and duty the American mills are selling far below the price which any foreign competition would warrant. In Bracket H, the range is from 29 to 50 per cent duty, and this on a grade of goods which are not manufactured in this country and on which there can not be possibly any reason for an increased duty for "protection."

Therefore in the summary you will find that in every instance the discrimination has been against the cheaper grade, that which is used on boxes that go to the "poor American mechanic and laborer" (for G. O. P. campaign purposes only), whom and in whose favor all tariff measures are formed.

If you will compare Exhibit B, or the completion of Mr. Doty's schedule, with the bill as it even now stands, you will find that the discrimination is even still more marked and that the "protection" on the cheaper flints is 81 per cent and the discrimination 41 per cent, and that in Bracket B the discrimination is 58 per cent, with the duty 109 per cent on an article which the freight rate alone would not allow us to compete on, and in Bracket H the discrimination is 33 per cent. It most certainly seems that this could not have been an oversight on the manufacturers' part, for with their knowledge and practical ideas they most undoubtedly could, if they had wished, present a bill that would have given a more even rate of duty and still at the same time have possessed some of the specific features which they claim is not only requisite but absolutely necessary for the protection of the Government.

In conclusion, we wish to draw your attention to parchment paper, on which the proposed duty is 2 cents per pound and 10 per cent ad valorem. We quote from the letter of the Patterson Parchment Paper Company to the Committee on Ways and Means:

"Parchment paper is of two kinds or grades, or paper made in imitation of and possessing the qualities of parchment in greater or less degree.

"First, vegetable parchment paper, or parchment paper, is the result of the action of sulphuric acid on 'unsized' or cotton paper.

"Two processes are involved: (a) Making the waterleaf paper of all cotton rags; (b) parchmentizing the waterleaf in sulphuric acid.

"The double operation, the character and quantity of material required, and the inutility of the waste make this an expensive paper to manufacture.

"Second, parchmine, or No. 2 parchment, is a peculiarly sized paper, made directly upon the paper machine. On account of cheaper labor, the German manufacturers have made a constantly decreasing price in the United States; they maintain prices in Europe at about 10 to 11 cents per pound, which, considering their cheaper labor and materials, is a fair market price for the paper there.

"At present, last prices quoted by their agents and importers here, viz, 9½ cents, f. o. b. New York, less 2 per cent thirty days, the influence of the German competition has been so great that three American manufacturers have been driven out of the business, viz:

"A. G. Elliot & Co. built the mill of the Philadelphia Parchment Company at Rose Glen, near Philadelphia, capable of making 8,000 pounds of paper per day; were obliged to retire from the business in 1892, after having lost, it is reported, $60,000. They have since become the principal importers of German parchment.

"C. A. Rudolph & Co., whose mill was located in Manayunk, Philadelphia, capable of making 4,000 pounds of paper per day, closed up and retired from business in 1893, and lost the value of their plant.

"A parchment-paper company in Ohio, capable of making 2,000 pounds of paper per day, was likewise driven out of business in 1894. All of these parties were forced out of the manufacture by the lowering of prices."

In support of our "contention" we would submit, first, the statement of Crocker, Burbank & Co., one of the most prominent and largest makers of "raw stock" in this country, that raw stock is cheaper here than in Germany, and therefore that as the labor which is required in the mere parchmentizing is of but a proportionately exceedingly small figure, and that, raw stock cheaper, consequently the "American laborer" does not need a "protection" of 40 per cent, but that the real protection would be that given the consumer by reason of an open market and even competition, which he would have under a practically free rate on parchment paper. The inference to be drawn from their statement in regard to foreign prices would be that American mills were selling at above 11 cents, whereas the fact is that American prices in most instances are practically 10 cents, and the only reason foreign goods can find a market at a trifling advance in price is by reason of their superiority.

There can be no comparison as far as competition is concerned between parchmine or No. 2 parchment at 9½ cents and No. 1 parchment, and as for the theory that the firms mentioned were driven out of business by reason of these prices, or rather by reason of the 9½-cent price, it is rather absurd, since this is 1897 and the claim is that those prices given are present prices and that Elliot was "driven" out of business in 1892, Rudolph & Co. in 1893, and the unknown company in 1894. Rudolph & Co., we believe, became tired of the business before they really knew whether they could make an article which was satisfactory and the consuming trade would use.

In regard to the "unknown" the general trade's memory for names is not more retentive than is that of the Paterson Parchment Paper Company and Glen Mills Paper Company. A. G. Elliot & Co. say, "We were not forced out of the business by reason of the prices or losses, but by reason of mismanagement of our mill and because our increasing jobbing interests compelled us to attend to them and did not allow of the time necessary to the successful running and supervision of our mill. The losses in connection therewith were more due to the fact of having to introduce a new article, and in the introduction of which we, as well as the American manufacturers, are now reaping the benefit."

In regard to Mr. Elliot's present position in the matter, attached find Exhibits D and E—D a circular letter, and E a letter to one of his representatives.

In conclusion, herewith we state our belief and contention that the present duties are more than sufficient and requisite for the "protection" of home industry, and that any higher duties will be simply to encourage an unwarranted shutting out of supplies, thereby encouraging unwarranted building of domestic mills, resulting finally in a glutted market and ruinously low prices.

Hoping that you will do all that you can for a just and equitable schedule, we remain, most honorable sir,

Most respectfully, yours,

MANUEL KNAUTH & Co.,
By FRANCIS X. GOVERS.

Hon. CHARLES FAULKNER,
Washington, D. C.

EXHIBIT A.

SCHEDULE SUBMITTED BY MR. ETHAN ALLEN DOTY, MANUFACTURER, NEW YORK CITY.

Mr. Ethan Allen Doty, of Doty & Scrimgeour, of New York City, in transmitting the memorial of the manufacturers of surface-coated papers printed above, inclosed the following schedule and comparison:

Schedule showing difference of duty collected on the various fine grades of surface-coated papers at the present rate of duty, and the rate proposed by the American manufacturers.

Grade of paper.	Cost in Europe per ream.	Dutiable value in United States.	Present rate of duty.	Amount collected at present.	Weight per ream.	Proposed 5 cents per pound.	New duty, 25 per cent ad valorem.	Amount to be collected as proposed.
	Marks.		*Per ct.*		*Lbs.*			
Fancy printed, common	10.00	$2.40	30	$0.72	34	$1.70	$0.60	$2.30
Fancy printed, fine	19.20	4.60	30	1.38	35	1.75	1.15	2.90
Gold paper, ordinary	31.00	7.44	30	2.232	17	.85	1.86	2.71
Gold paper, fine	34.00	8.16	30	2.448	17	.85	2.04	2.89
Silver paper, ordinary	21.00	5.04	30	1.512	14	.70	1.25	1.96
Silver paper, fine	36.00	8.64	30	2.592	21	1.05	2.16	3.21
Gold-vein paper	40.00	9.60	30	2.88	32	1.60	2.40	4.00
Gelatin paper	114.00	27.36	30	8.208	50	2.50	6.84	9.34
Flock paper	*113.00	22.60	30	6.78	51	2.55	5.65	8.20
Total		95.84		28.752				37.51
Average to our ream		10.65		3.19				4.17

*Francs.

Increase of duty per ream, 98 cents, or 9.20 per cent.

EXHIBIT B.

Table of duties on surface-coated papers, as per proposed amendment, at 5 cents per pound.

Description.	Weight per ream.	Price f. o. b. Hamburg.	Duty at 5 cents per pound.	Per cent of duty.	
Flint:	*Pounds.*				
No. K	21	$1.30	$1.05	81	A.
No. M	27	3.40	1.35	40	
Steel blue and flint:					
No. 40	21	1.55	1.05	67	
No. 201	21	2.40	1.05	44	B.
No. 203	29	3.00	1.45	48	
No. 229	28	3.70	1.40	38	
Bronze flint:					
No. 201	21	1.85	1.05	57	C.
No. 501	25	2.35	1.25	53	
White:					
D D	31	1.42	1.55	109	
E B	54	5.25	2.70	51	D.
White chromo:					
No. 201	30	1.85	1.50	80	
No. 505	50	3.90	2.50	64	
Cover paper, B U	40	3.90	2.00	51	
Calico paper:					
4 G	30	4.00	1.50	37	E.
F	39	5.25	1.95	35	
Y	59	7.60	2.95	39	
No. 223	33	4.20	1.65	40	
Cambric:					F.
No. 227	29	2.60	1.45	56	
No. 236	38	5.60	1.90	34	
Skytogen:					G.
No. 1	60	10.00	3.00	30	
No. 11	60	8.50	3.00	36	
Marbles:					
N	27	2.30	1.35	60	
T	26	2.40	1.30	54	H.
R	37	5.25	1.85	35	
4-0	27	5.00	1.35	27	
3-0	34	6.10	1.70	28	
Koffer H H	10	.90	.50	56	
Do	22	2.09	.10	55	

EXHIBIT C.

Table of duties on surface-coated papers, as per Senate bill, at 2½ cents per pound and 15 per cent ad valorem.

Description.	Weight per ream.	Price f. o. b. Hamburg.	Duty at 2½ cents per pound and 15 per cent.	Per cent of duty.	
Flint:	*Pounds.*				
No. K	21	$1.30	$0.73	56	A.
No. M	27	3.40	1.19	35	
Steel blue and flint:					
No. 40	21	1.55	.76	49	
No. 201	21	2.40	.84	35	B.
No. 203	29	3.00	1.18	40	
No. 229	28	3.70	1.28	34	
Bronze flint:					
No. 201	21	1.85	.80	43	C.
No. 501	25	2.35	.98	42	
White:					
D D	31	1.42	.99	70	D.
E B	54	5.25	2.13	40	

Table of duties on surface-coated papers, etc.—Continued.

Description.	Weight per ream.	Price f. o. b. Hamburg.	Duty at 2½ cents per pound and 15 per cent.	Per cent of duty.	
White chromo:	*Pounds.*				
No. 201	10	1.85	1.02	55	D.
No. 505	50	3.90	1.84	47	
Cover paper, B U	40	3.90	1.66	40	
Calico paper:					
4 G	20	4.00	1.35	34	
F	30	5.25	1.86	35	E.
Y	50	7.00	2.62	34	
No. 233	33	4.20	1.46	35	
Cambric:					
No. 227	20	2.60	1.12	43	F.
No. 236	38	5.60	1.69	30	
Skytogen:					
No. 1	60	10.00	3.00	30	G.
No. 11	60	8.50	2.78	33	
Marbles:					
N	27	2.30	1.13	50	
T	26	2.40	1.01	42	
R	37	5.25	1.61	31	H.
4-0	27	5.00	1.53	31	
3-0	34	6.10	1.77	29	
Koffer H H	10	.90	.39	44	
Do	22	2.00	.65	33	

EXHIBIT D.

[A. G. Elliot & Co., paper warehouse, 30, 32, and 34 South Sixth street.]

PHILADELPHIA, ——— —, *1897.*

Hon. ——— ———.

DEAR SIR: We would respectfully ask for a reduction in the clause stating, "Manufactures of paper not otherwise provided for, 35 per cent," to the old and satisfactory rate of 20 per cent that existed prior to and in the Wilson tariff, for the reason that all the principal lines of paper are provided for under special duties, and what few goods may come under the clause "not otherwise provided for" would be barred out, with no advantage to domestic manufacturers and to the injury of the United States Government by want of revenue.

To make the duty prohibitory is to deprive the market of a stimulus that goods of a foreign make always give. We have but to refer to Mexico to see the effect of excessive rates of duty. There the home manufacturer has no incentive to improve his product, as his customers are compelled to take anything his mills produce.

Whilst strongly favoring protective duties, we as strongly deprecate unreasonable prohibitory rates. Under the present and former rates of 20 per cent on "Manufactures of paper not otherwise provided for," few or none objected, and the paper industry has prospered until large quantities of different grades are weekly exported.

To satisfy one or two parties, the rate under the Dingley bill is advanced 75 per cent, an increase uncalled for and exceedingly unjust. We therefore most earnestly protest against this great advance, believing if enacted the reverse of benefit will result to the paper trade and the Government will be deprived of a reasonable revenue.

Just rates, as stated, stimulate our manufacturers and, by encouraging fair quantities to be imported, give revenue to the Government, whilst excessive or prohibitory duties are demoralizing on all sides.

We would further urge that, if it is deemed best, the specific duty on parchment paper be 2 cents per pound, without the additional 10 per cent, but much prefer the present 30 per cent rate, which meets all requirements.

Very truly, yours,

——— ———.

EXHIBIT E.

PHILADELPHIA, *May 10, 1897.*

Hon. ——— ———,

Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Referring to our former protest on the proposed duty on parchment papers, we again respectfully urge that in making the duties specific at 2 cents per pound the extra 10 per cent be omitted.

At this rate, which is equivalent to the ad valorem duty under the McKinley bill, American manufacturers will be protected and the Government have a revenue from those desiring to use foreign papers.

Whilst strongly favoring protective duties, we as strongly deprecate unreasonable prohibitory rates, and trust that the present and former rates of 20 per cent on manufactured paper not otherwise provided for be continued, to which few or none object; and the paper industry has prospered until large quantities of different grades are weekly exported.

At the earnest solicitation of many customers, we would ask that the 2½ cents per pound specific duty on surface-coated papers be continued and the 15 per cent ad valorem stricken out. One of our customers in the South writes:

"The new duty is so excessive and prohibitory that, if enacted, it will compel us to close our establishment on fine goods, while the Government of the United States will be deprived of at least $1,000,000 revenue from imported papers. My people are all Democrats, and not in very good favor with the present Administration, though as gold Democrats they materially helped to elect the Republican President."

Trusting that your valuable aid will be given to the reasonable consideration of this branch of the paper industry, we are, with assurances of respect,

Yours, truly,

——— ———.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the amendment of the committee as amended, inserting a new paragraph as a substitute for paragraph 394.

The amendment as amended was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Connecticut ask to have the vote reconsidered by which paragraph 395c was adopted?

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. I do, in order that the amendment which I send to the desk may be considered.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the vote by which the paragraph was adopted will be regarded as reconsidered, and the amendment proposed by the Senator from Connecticut will be stated.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to add at the end of the committee's amendment inserting paragraph 395c "all Jacquard designs of one-line paper, or parts of such designs, finished or unfinished, 35 per cent ad valorem; all Jacquard designs cut on Jacquard cards, or parts of such designs, finished or unfinished, 35 per cent ad valorem."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the amendment of the Senator from Connecticut to the amendment of the committee.

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question recurs on the adoption of the amendment of the committee inserting paragraph 395c as amended.

The amendment as amended was agreed to.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. I wish also to reconsider the vote by which paragraph 395e was placed in the bill, so that I may present an amendment to it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the vote whereby paragraph 395e was agreed to will be regarded as reconsidered.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. In behalf of the majority of the Committee on Finance, I propose the amendment which I send to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Connecticut to the amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to add at the end of paragraph 395e, already adopted on the report of the Finance Committee, a semicolon, and the following:

Envelopes of parchment, or imitation parchment or tissue paper, for inclosing photographs, 40 cents per 1,000 and 15 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question recurs on the adoption of paragraph 395e as amended.

The paragraph as amended was agreed to.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Now, I move to insert a new paragraph, to be called paragraph 395g.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to insert as a new paragraph the following:

395g. All fancy paper boxes, made of paper, or of which paper is the component material of chief value, or if covered with surface-coated paper, 45 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. Has the paper schedule been disposed of, Mr. President?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. It has been disposed of.

Mr. ALLISON. The next paragraph passed over is paragraph 405, and I ask that that may be now taken up.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. That will be the order, in the absence of objection.

The Secretary read the amendments proposed by the Committee on Finance to paragraph 405; which were, in line 9, after the word "coal," to strike out "bituminous;" in line 13, after the word "bushel," to strike out the semicolon and the word "coke" and insert:

Provided, however, That the duty on coal and shale shall be 60 cents per ton, and on coal slack or culm, 15 cents per ton, when imported from any country, colony, or dependency that does not impose upon coal or coal slack or culm higher rates of duty than those named in this proviso. Coke.

So as to make the paragraph read:

405. Coal and shale, 75 cents per ton of 28 bushels, 80 pounds to the bushel; coal slack or culm, such as will pass through a half-inch screen, 30 cents per ton of 28 bushels, 80 pounds to the bushel: *Provided, however*, That the duty on coal and shale shall be 60 cents per ton, and on coal slack or culm, 15 cents per ton, when imported from any country, colony, or dependency that does not impose upon coal or coal slack or culm higher rates of duty than those named in this proviso. Coke, 20 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. ALLISON. The committee instruct me to modify the amendment by striking out the paragraph and inserting what I send to the Secretary's desk. We propose to strike out the paragraph merely for convenience, so as to get a complete paragraph without including the proviso before recommended by the committee.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Iowa will be stated.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to strike out paragraph 405 and in lieu thereof to insert:

405. Coal, bituminous, and all coals containing less than 92 per cent of fixed carbon, and shale, 67 cents per ton of 28 bushels, 80 pounds to the bushel; coal slack or culm, such as will pass through a half-inch screen, 15 cents per ton of 28 bushels, 80 pounds to the bushel; coke, 20 per cent ad valorem.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the amendment, in the nature of a substitute, submitted by the Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON] in behalf of the committee, for paragraph 405.

Mr. FAULKNER. Mr. President, I do not desire to detain the Senate with reference to this subject, but I desire to have incorporated in the RECORD, as part of my remarks, without reading

it, to show the advantage of the duty imposed by the Wilson law to the coal interests of my State, an editorial from the leading Republican paper of the State, the Wheeling Intelligencer of June 15.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, that order will be made.

The article referred to is as follows:

TRIUMPH OF WEST VIRGINIA COAL.

There are many people in West Virginia who, though they realize the rapid advancement that is being made in the development of the coal industry of the State, and are posted upon the vast extent of the territory, the richness of the coal veins, and the important place the State occupies as a producer, are not wholly aware of the triumphs that are being achieved by our product in the outside world.

As already stated in the Intelligencer, the statistics of coal production in the United States last year showed West Virginia to be third in the list of States, and is hustling Ohio very close for second place. Our production last year was almost 13,000,000 tons, the exact figures being 12,876,296, valued at $8,336,685. This was an increase of a million and a half tons over the previous year, in spite of the general business depression.

So much for our progress in point of production. It is very gratifying to all West Virginians; but in this connection we desire to call attention to a fact which is not generally known outside of the coal trade with regard to the reputation held by certain of our coals abroad, which insures a future enormous market for them, a market which has hitherto been controlled by foreign coals.

It may not, for instance, be known by many that Pocahontas coal, mined in the Pocahontas region in this State, enjoys the unique distinction of being the only coal in the world that has been officially indorsed by the Governments of both Great Britain and the United States as the best steam fuel now mined. Heretofore the Cardiff coal, mined in Wales, has had that distinction, but the rapid exhaustion of the Cardiff fields and the relative cost of Cardiff and American coals have caused the British Government to look into the possibilities of the British coal trade in South America being supplanted by the American product.

The British ambassador at Washington, who has, at the direction of his Government, made a thorough investigation, reported more than two years ago that for steam vessels the West Virginia coals were equal to, if not superior to, the Cardiff product, and in a report made by Mr. Arthur Peel to Sir Julian Pauncefote it was stated that if favorable freight rates could be secured on American coal the foreign (South American) coal markets, held by the English shippers, might soon be flooded with supplies from the fields of Virginia and West Virginia.

This admission promises much for the industry in this State. Added to this testimony as to the quality of these coals is the fact that the Cramp Ship Building Company are using our fine steam coals exclusively on the Government cruisers built by them, and by order of the Secretary of the Navy in 1889 they were used on all trial trips. Since that time they have helped the builders of Government vessels to earn millions of dollars in bonuses for speed exceeding that stipulated in the contracts.

The great markets lying south of us waiting for the entry of our superior coals and the opportunities awaiting our shippers are just now being discussed more than ever in connection with the subject of the upbuilding of our American shipping interests, and the two subjects are almost inseparable.

With a proper protective tariff, which will make it possible for West Virginia coals to meet in competition with foreign coals at the seaboard, and a line of American vessels sailing under our own flag between this country and the countries of South America, the West Virginia coal industry will have opened up to it a great market rich in possibilities. We are practically only at the beginning of a development which means prosperity in the future for all our people.

Mr. ALLEN. I should like to ask the Senator from Iowa what reason there is for taxing coal?

Mr. ALLISON. What is the necessity for that tax?

Mr. ALLEN. What is the necessity for taxing coal?

Mr. ALLISON. The same necessity that there is for a tariff bill, to protect and care for the coal producers of our own country, and to provide revenue from duties on the coal imported. There has, I believe, always been a duty upon coal. This is, with the exception of one or two instances, a lower duty than has generally been imposed upon bituminous coal. The present duty is 40 cents a ton, which is here increased to 67 cents.

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. President, I call the attention of the Senator from Iowa and of the Senate to the fact that the duty on coal does not protect; that is, it does not protect the class of people who are supposed to be protected by a tariff of this kind. There are constant strikes in the coal regions of the United States. I believe there is a strike going on now in Pennsylvania, or at least there is one threatened. There was one in existence last year, and there has been one in existence every year since I can remember anything about the coal regions.

The poorest paid class of people, and the people who live the poorest, who have the poorest accommodations in this country, are those who are engaged as operatives in mining coal. If the report read by the senior Senator from South Carolina [Mr. TILLMAN] yesterday respecting the condition existing in the coal regions of Pennsylvania is to be believed, there is a condition existing there worse than ever existed during the days of chattel slavery in this or in any other country. In fact, all the information which comes to us through the press and through other channels is to the effect that the poorest paid laborer in the United States is the coal laborer; that protection does not protect him in the price of his wages, and whatever benefit there may be in a tariff of this kind inures to the coal baron, rather than to the man who bears the heat and burden of the day in obtaining coal from the mines.

Mr. President, two years ago I left this Chamber on my road home, I think about the 14th of August, stopping for a time at a little town over in Pennsylvania a half hour or more, while the train lay there, and I saw fully five or six hundred men sitting around the depot and depot grounds in entire idleness. On inquiry I found that they were men who were engaged in striking, coal miners who had been on a strike from the 1st day of May of that year until that time. They talked a variety of languages. I do not think that at the Tower of Babel there could have been more languages spoken than were spoken there. They were a class of people who showed absolute poverty and dependence. Upon inquiry I found that these men had been upon a strike, as I say, since the 1st of the preceding May, and the ground of their strike was that they wanted some money for their work. They were receiving, as I understood, from 45 to 50 cents a day for their labor, some of them possibly more; but in the entire year, as I was told by a citizen of that village, not one out of twenty ever received in actual money as much as $5.

His pay came to him entirely through the pluck-me store, that was located near the mines and owned by the mining company, where these poor fellows were compelled to pay 100 per cent more for what they consumed in the form of boots and shoes and clothing and food than that required to be expended by a like class of people at independent stores. That was the bone of their contention, that they should have some money at least for their labor, and not be compelled to take their pay in checks issued upon those stores.

My information went further, Mr. President. It went to the extent that any other store or any other company that honored those checks was boycotted. The checks would not be honored at another store. So the poor, innocent victim of this system of payment, and this system of rapine, was forced by circumstances to go to the company's store and expend his check, and pay whatever they saw fit to charge him for the article he purchased.

My information, Mr. President, went further than that, and I think I am correct, and I think a Senatorial investigation would develop the truth of what I state. They were Huns and Slavs and of various nationalities. They were picked up in the ports of Europe and shipped to this country under a contract to labor, in violation of the statutes of the United States. They were brought from their homes in Europe to the mountains of Pennsylvania for $13 a head, all told—a great deal less than you can ship an American hog from here to Europe, or not any more at least than would be required to ship an American hog to Europe.

When they were placed upon the roll of the company, they were not placed there by name; they had no name so far as the company was concerned; they were simply marked No. 1, No. 2, No. 3, and so on, up into the hundreds, and whenever one of those poor fellows succumbed to disease, or to stress of circumstances, which he could not withstand, and fell by the wayside and died, he was thrown into a hole and roughly covered, and No. 1 or No. 2, as the case might be, was marked off the slate.

Mr. President, an investigation of the coal-mining region of this country will produce exactly that result; and it seems to me the grimmest kind of sarcasm for my distinguished and honorable friend from Iowa to say this tax is imposed for the purpose of protecting the coal miner. There is nothing upon the face of this earth in the nature of law that can protect him, unless there shall be a revolution in the sentiment of the American people.

These men are being brought here every year by the thousands and tens of thousands in open and flagrant defiance of the laws of our country. They are being brought here by contractors, and the American laborer, whom these laws are supposed to protect, or for whose protection they were enacted, is being driven into the street as a tramp because he can not compete with the wages that are received by these mine operatives.

Why, under those circumstances, exclude coal from elsewhere and levy upon the poor people of the Atlantic Seaboard and other portions of the United States a tariff in addition to the original cost of the coal, and compel every fireside in the thirteen million and a half homes of the United States to pay tribute to a few owners of coal mines? There is no sense in it; there is no excuse for it; there is no reason to support it, excepting the bare reason that friends are to be rewarded in a bill of this kind.

Mr. KYLE. I should like to ask the Senator from Nebraska whether or not the transportation question does not cut quite a figure in this matter?

Mr. ALLEN. I think it may cut quite a figure. I do not doubt that at all.

Mr. KYLE. I should like to ask what the mine owner gets out of the coal—in other words, how much is the coal placed on board the cars for?

Mr. ALLEN. The coal miner gets probably all the coal is worth. I understand the miner of anthracite coal in Pennsylvania gets about $1.45 a ton for his coal, put on board of the cars, and that coal, I may say to the Senator from South Dakota, costs his people and my people $10 or $10.50 a ton when we come to consume it. Therefore the transportation question is quite important.

Mr. KYLE. Is it not also further true that the soft coal, the bituminous coal, is placed on board the cars for about 90 cents or $1 a ton at our Eastern mines, and sold in our section of the country at from $7 to $10 a ton?

Mr. ALLEN. I think that is true; but that is simply a part and parcel of the scheme by which the people are to be fleeced. Because the transportation companies overcharge the people living in the interior of the United States for transporting coal is no reason why the man who owns the mine should be awarded a higher price for his coal by reason of tariff taxation under the false pretense that he wants it to protect the man who does the work. We do not protect him at all. There is not a coal miner in the United States to-day who does not become a pauper within thirty days after he quits work. The cheapest labor that can be found, the labor that will take the least for the work performed, is the labor employed in this kind of an enterprise.

The status of the man and his family counts for nothing. He may live in a hovel, he may live in a hole dug in the ground, as many of them do; he may be a veritable beast of burden, as thousands of them are, and yet his condition does not appeal to the sympathy or the manhood of the man who employs him. Yet we are asked to vote a tax—and I presume we shall do it—under these circumstances, with these poor, shivering, hovering human beings, scarcely above an animal, many of them having a bare animal existence, struggling to keep soul and body together—we are asked to vote a tax upon coal to increase the wages of the American laborer in the coal mines over those of the European laborer.

Why not begin at the right place? Why not exclude this class of laborers from the coal mines under the laws of the United States prohibiting the importation of contract labor? At Ellis Island and the other places where the laborers are landed, the laws are not enforced. You might as well take every inspector from Ellis Island and elsewhere. It would be economy upon the part of the Government to do so, for they do not earn their salaries.

The moment they undertake to enforce the law, some influential contractor says to the officer, "Be a little careful, or I will see that your official head comes off." The result is that laborers are permitted to come into the United States in violation of the law and come in contact with legitimate American laborers. Yet my good friend from Iowa says all that is done is done because the coal industry of the United States or the coal laborers of the United States must be protected. God help the laborers and their children from that kind of protection!

Mr. VEST. Mr. President, as I understand this proposed amendment, it makes an entire revolution in the taxation upon coal. It puts anthracite coal upon the dutiable list, although a cursory examination of the paragraph would not leave that impression. I have not the amendment before me, but my recollection of it is that there is a duty of 67 cents upon all bituminous coal and all coal having less than 92 per cent carbon, which would include anthracite coal.

Mr. ALLISON. On coal containing less than 92 per cent of fixed carbon the duty proposed is 67 cents a ton.

Mr. VEST. That puts a duty upon anthracite coal.

Mr. President, I wish to inquire, if I may, respectfully, why this duty is imposed? According to the statistics of imports and exports we exported from this country, in 1896, $5,717,246 worth of anthracite coal, and we imported in all $345,963 worth. We exported in the same year of bituminous coal $4,928,816 worth and imported $3,523,725 worth. I should like to inquire, if we exported from the country nearly $6,000,000 worth of anthracite coal and brought in but $350,000 worth, why we should put this duty upon anthracite coal?

Mr. WHITE. I think I can state to the Senator from Missouri the reason for this programme, of which he is justly making criticism, regarding anthracite coal. Anthracite coal is to some extent brought to the Pacific Coast in ballast by vessels that come for other purposes—procuring wheat, etc. No anthracite coal is produced on the Pacific Coast. It is of course very useful and more useful than bituminous coal for certain purposes; and the design is to exclude the anthracite coal, so that more bituminous coal may be burned. That is the idea.

Mr. VEST. I was about to read from the testimony of Mr. J. W. Harrison, of California, representing, as he states in his testimony, all the coal interests of the Pacific Slope. He states here exactly what the Senator from California has stated upon the floor of the Senate. He says not one bushel of anthracite coal is produced upon the Pacific Slope. He further declares that the bituminous coal produced there is of an inferior quality; and when frankly asked why he proposed to put on this duty—the same duty, as he said, upon anthracite that was imposed upon bituminous coal—he said it was in order to exclude the Welsh coal, not because it competed with any anthracite coal upon the Pacific Slope, but in order to force the people of that coast, the manufacturers and shipowners, to use the inferior coal of California or to do without it altogether.

Mr. STEWART. There is no coal of any account produced in California.

Mr. VEST. Well, all coal, I will say, or at least all the bituminous coal, in Washington and Oregon and some little in California, of an inferior quality; but in order to force the people there, the steam vessel owners and manufacturers, to use this inferior coal we have put this duty now at 67 cents upon anthracite coal, when they have none of that coal on the Pacific Coast at all. Mr. Harrison was asked by Mr. PAYNE, of the Committee on Ways and Means of the House of Representatives, if he had traveled 3,000 miles to protect the anthracite coal of Pennsylvania, and he replied that he was not foolish enough for that.

He knows that Pennsylvania is asking for no such protection. The Senators from Pennsylvania, who are representing that State, will answer for that State and tell you they want no such protection. This whole movement is in perfect harmony with the entire tariff scheme, and that is to exclude a superior foreign product in order to force the American consumer to take an inferior one and put money in somebody's pocket when it ought not to go there. That is the whole of it. If any Senator has any interest in this matter or in the peculiarities of the tariff scheme, let him read the testimony of Mr. Harrison. I do not exaggerate when I say it is the plainest, baldest, most naked attempt to rob the people who are forced to buy coal to make steam in their manufactories and upon their steam vessels upon the Pacific Slope, in order that a few owners of inferior bituminous coal mines may charge what they please because those people are forced to buy that coal or to do without it.

Mr. President, in order to make the matter entirely plain, I will ask my friend the Senator from California to read a communication from his own constituents.

Mr. WHITE read as follows:

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., *March 22, 1897.*

DEAR SIR: For four years we have prayed persistently and courteously to all who might afford us relief to let us make our fight for a living on equal terms with imported coal, but there has not been a word of encouragement offered from any source.

During the past few years the importation of Welsh anthracite coal has been steadily increasing until it is now about 100,000 tons per annum, used almost wholly for steam and water-gas plants. No advocate of Welsh anthracite coal claims that it needs the discrimination of free admission. They do claim, no matter what the price, it will find a ready sale.

We claim that our existence as miners depends upon our having an even chance; therefore if there is a reason why we should not be heard when we ask that the word "bituminous" be eliminated from the tariff, we are entitled, as good Americans, to know that reason. We have petitioned the Ways and Means Committee to give us the relief with all the force we could command.

If we are correctly informed, the proposed bill increases the duty on bituminous coal to 75 cents and leaves anthracite on the free list. This makes the situation worse by offering a further premium to foreign anthracite collieries to come and help themselves.

There are vast fields of anthracite in China, Mexico, and elsewhere, which will eventually displace the Welsh.

We are offering to the world the pitiful spectacle of Americans pleading for the same advantages as are bestowed upon foreigners by the United States Congress. Think of it!

Not one pound of this coal is used by persons in circumstances ordinary or worse. Every pound of it is used by people in circumstances better than ordinary; therefore we are driven to take this view, viz:

We see no way of getting this desired relief except through the kind services of Americans who will interest themselves in our behalf to the extent of asking Representatives from their districts to support the amendment, when it comes up, placing anthracite on an equality with bituminous coal.

Will you help us to the extent of writing to-day to Senators and Representatives from your district, urging them to support the proposed amendment?

Yours, respectfully,

Eureka Coal Company, Empire Coal Company, Pittsburg Coal Mining Company, San Joaquin Valley Coal Mining Company, California Coal Mining Company, Carmello Land and Coal Company, Elsinore Coal Company, of California.

Great Northern Coal Mining and Mineral Company, Black Diamond Coal Mining Company, Cedar River Coal Company, Eureka Coal Company, American Coal Company, Seattle Coal and Iron Company, Green River Coal and Coke Company, John Kangley & Co., Navy Coal and Mining Company, Snoqualmie Coal and Coke Company, Alta Coal Company, Northern Pacific Coal Company, Ellensburg Coal Company, North Leavenworth Coal and Coke Company, Pacific Investment Company, Onimette Coal Company, Reed & Co., South Prairie Coal Company, Tacoma Coal and Coke Company, Wilkeson Coal and Coke Company, Connor Coal and Iron Company, Day Creek Coal Company, Skagit Cumberland Coal Company, Deer Creek Coke and Coal Company, Fairhaven Land Company, Skykomish Consolidated Coal and Iron Company, Northwest Coal and Transportation Company, Blue Canyon Coal and Mining Company, John Thomas, Rocky Ridge Coal Company, of Washington.

Beaver Hill Coal Company, Bandon Block Coal Company, Butte Coal Company, Oregon Coal and Navigation Company, Coquille Coal Company, of Oregon.

And all mines of Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Mexico, North and South Dakota, Utah, Wyoming, and Colorado.

Mr. VEST. I call attention to the fact that nowhere in the communication read by the Senator from California is it asserted that a single bushel or pound of anthracite coal is produced on the Pacific Slope. The petition, for it is not an argument, is to the effect that the anthracite coal shall be excluded from the country, because they say it is of superior quality and used by people more than ordinarily well off. In other words, the people who make gas for the cities of California, Washington, Oregon, and the

consumers of gas in those cities are to be remitted to the inferior bituminous coal that is found there, to be a discomfort by night, in order to put money into the pockets of the people who sent the paper here. They speak of the importation from China, and of a thousand tons coming in from Wales. I have read the official statement, which I have before me. Nearly $350,000 worth of anthracite coal came in in 1896, and we exported nearly $6,000,000 worth. Does that show a necessity for an exclusive tax or for a tax to handicap the importation of this necessary article?

The increase upon coal is a wrong and outrage. Under the 40 cents tax of the Wilson Act the coal interests of this country have prospered as much as any other interest. There has been general depression, and of course the coal interests did not escape, but the fact that the coal miners control the American market and export the enormous amount I have stated is sufficient evidence that there should be no increase in the tax. We now have the pitiful reduction from 75 to 67 cents, an increase of tax upon both bituminous and anthracite, and the addition of anthracite coal to the dutiable list. I ask for the yeas and nays on the amendment.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. President, I desire to say only a word or two in reply to the distinguished Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST], in relation to the desire of the coal dealers, the coal-mine owners of the Pacific Coast, to exclude anthracite coal from importation into the Pacific Coast States because it is of a superior quality. He presents his argument in a very ingenious manner, and I can not permit it to pass without one word of my own personal knowledge which I can offer in testimony, I believe, to refute the logic of his argument.

I will take the State of California alone. Last year it imported about 1,400,000 tons of foreign coal. Of that quantity 150,000 tons of anthracite coal came from Swansea and Wales. Until 1880 it had been admitted as bituminous coal. No one thought of calling coal that came from England and Wales anthracite coal. It was semibituminous. Finally some of our enterprising coal merchants had an analysis of it made. They found it went as high as 82 per cent of fixed carbon; some of it as high as 88 per cent. They appealed it to the courts, and the courts held it was anthracite coal; that any coal that went above 81 per cent of fixed carbon was anthracite coal. Under that ruling the general appraisers issued an order that the coal might be had free of duty.

Now, that anthracite coal was not furnished to the consumer for one shilling a ton less than the bituminous coal. It was the 1,400,000 tons of bituminous that fixed the value in the market, and whether the duty should be 40 cents or 50 cents or 67 cents a ton is an abstract proposition which it is not necessary to consider at this time. But if bituminous pays that duty, then anthracite should pay the duty, otherwise it is a bounty, so to speak, that is given to the shipowner or the mine owner or the mine broker or the merchant who sells the coal. The consumer does not receive the coal for one cent less a ton. Therefore it is only right and just that it should contribute the same duty for revenue purposes to this Government that bituminous coal contributes.

Of the 150,000 tons imported into California last year, 98 per cent came in foreign ships, English-built ships. They received the benefit of the 40 cents a ton last year, and they will have 67 cents a ton under the pending bill. They find it so lucrative an enterprise that already there is afloat more than 160,000 tons of anthracite coal, and in that ratio this year we will receive into our States from Swansea and other ports in Wales at least 350,000 tons of coal which will pay no duty unless the amendment prevails.

Therefore I say to my friend the Senator from Missouri that it is no advantage to the people, but the benefit accrues wholly to the shipowners or the mine owners, and our Government loses the revenue. There is no reason whatever, and I reiterate it again and again, why anthracite coal should not pay the same duty that bituminous coal pays. The committee in their wisdom have said we will fix the rate at 92 per cent carbon; and I desire to say, parenthetically speaking, that all under 92 is really semibituminous. It is not anthracite, and any chemist who makes an analysis of it under all the authorities we have upon the subject-matter will say it is not really anthracite coal as interpreted by those who are familiar with the subject.

Therefore anthracite coal will really come in free if the amendment is adopted, but we claim that it is semibituminous, and yet the courts and appraisers have held that it is anthracite. We bow in submission to the decree of the courts. So the committee have wisely offered the amendment, and I trust my friend the Senator from Missouri will see the justice of it and vote for it and still have anthracite as it will be upon the free list.

Mr. VEST. As to whether coal having 92 degrees of carbon is anthracite, my information comes from the testimony of a constituent of the Senator from California, Mr. Harrison, who states that he is a coal broker and that he has received a cargo of coal from China, anthracite coal, at 91 and 92 per cent of carbon. He calls it anthracite coal, and I have no doubt the committee intended when they put in the limit of 92 per cent of carbon to mean that anthracite coal should be taxed.

The Senator from California who has last spoken complains that British vessels bring the coal and carry a return cargo. Let him blame the system under which that is possible. Let him do away with his present navigation laws, which have brought down the carrying trade of the United States to 10 per cent of our entire commerce. I have not seen the figures lately, because it is not a very gratifying thing for an American citizen to examine, but the last time I saw the Statistical Abstract in regard to the carrying trade I think a little over 10 per cent of the entire commerce of this country was carried in American bottoms.

Mr. ALLEN. Twelve and three-tenths per cent.

Mr. VEST. That is a little higher than I thought it was. Taking the statement of the Senator from Nebraska, we carry 12 per cent of all the commerce of the United States under the American flag because an American citizen is not permitted, under the navigation laws, a relic of barbarism, as they used to say, of slavery, to buy a vessel where he can buy it the cheapest, and then put it under the flag of his country.

I am not responsible for the statement that anthracite coal is superior to that upon the Pacific Coast. Here is Mr. Harrison's statement, who represented all these coal interests. He was asked by the Ways and Means Committee of the other House whether bituminous coal is mined in Washington and Oregon. He answered:

> Yes; but inferior grades.

He then goes on to speak of a manufactured coal that comes in from China, which he said has 88 degrees of carbon in it. The question was then put to him:

> If that is so, why are you not benefited by leaving anthracite coal on the free list?

Said Mr. Harrison:

> Well, it has been a disturbing factor there. [Laughter.] It is going to be a dangerous article.
>
> Mr. DOLLIVER. Do the American coast producers of bituminous coal want the duty on bituminous left as it is?
>
> Mr. HARRISON. I have the name of every man who produces coal in California, Oregon, and Washington here.
>
> Mr. HOPKINS. What do they want on bituminous coal?
>
> Mr. HARRISON. Forty cents a ton.
>
> Mr. DOLLIVER. They are satisfied with the present duty?
>
> Mr. HARRISON. Yes, sir.
>
> Mr. DOLLIVER. Their representatives have made an opposite showing here.
>
> Mr. HARRISON. We are satisfied with 40 cents a ton. Here is a statement of everybody that has a mine that does any business in San Francisco.
>
> Mr. HOPKINS. You represent here, then, do you, the operators of the coal mines of the Pacific Coast?
>
> Mr. HARRISON. Yes, sir.

He then goes on and repeats that they want only 40 cents a ton, and yet the committee gives 67.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. In view of what has been said so well by the Senator from Missouri, I will not detain the Senate by making any argument, but I will ask permission to read only a half page of a remonstrance from a number of coal companies, protesting against any increase in the rates on coal. It is addressed to Senators and Members of the House of Representatives, and is signed by General Hocking Coal Company, by James W. Ellsworth, president; Toledo and Ohio Central Fuel Company, by J. S. Morton, president; Columbus and Hocking Coal and Iron Company, by J. O. Moss, president; M. A. Hanna & Co.; Baltimore and Ohio Coal Company, by F. A. Pendergast, secretary; Pittsburg and Wheeling Coal Company, by W. R. Woodford, president, and many others, thirty or forty in number.

The gentlemen say:

> The Dominion of Canada is our best and practically our only foreign market for coal, purchasing from us 4 tons for every ton sold us, the difference increasing to 20 tons purchased of us to 1 ton sold if British Columbia is excluded, the exportation to Canada for the year ending June 30, 1896, being 1,370,856 tons of anthracite of a total exportation of 1,374,381 tons, and 1,075,109 tons of bituminous coal of a total exportation of 2,246,284 tons.
>
> If a duty of 75 cents, or even 60 cents, is placed upon coal, as proposed in the pending tariff bill, it is certain that the Dominion of Canada will adopt a tariff on American coal which will largely curtail our export trade on anthracite coal, which is now admitted to Canada free, and greatly reduce our exports of bituminous coal, and have a paralyzing effect upon a wide and important range of employment, including the mining and carrying trade.

I will not detain the Senate by reading the remainder of the protest, but I will insert it in the RECORD as a part of my remarks.

The remainder of the protest is as follows:

> If our rate of duty may remain at 40 cents on coal, there is assurance that the Dominion Government will provide for reciprocity in this behalf.
>
> Now, therefore, we, the undersigned coal producers, miners, and carriers, do most emphatically protest against the increase in the tariff rate on coal proposed in the pending bill; but to the end that the Canadian demand for American coal may be increased, and a liberal trade policy fostered, which will waken into activity our industries, we do most urgently petition that a reciprocal clause may be inserted in the pending tariff bill wherein same relates to coal, to the effect that whenever the President shall be satisfied that the Parliament of the Dominion of Canada, or other competent authority, has fixed a rate of duty collectible on bituminous coal produced in and imported from the United States into Canada, not exceeding 75 cents nor less than 40 cents per ton, he may make proclamation of the fact, and after the

date of such proclamation the duty collectible on all coal imported into the United States from the Dominion of Canada shall not exceed the rate mentioned in said proclamation so long as said rate of duty is maintained by the said Dominion.

Very respectfully.

(Original petition signed as follows:)

General Hocking Coal Co. (by James W. Ellsworth, president); Toledo and Ohio Central Fuel Co (by J. S. Morton, president); Columbus and Hocking Coal and Iron Co. (by J. O. Moss, president); M. A. Hanna & Co.; Baltimore and Ohio Coal Co. (by F. A. Pendergast, secretary); Pittsburg and Wheeling Coal Co. (by W. R. Woodford, president); Turney and Jones Company (by T. W. Guthrie, secretary); Wills Creek Coal Co. (by B. F. Berry, vice-president); Columbus, Hocking Valley and Toledo R. R. Co. (by N. Monsarrat, receiver); Toledo and Ohio Central Railroad Company (by Stevenson Burke, president); Columbus, Sandusky and Hocking R. R. Co. (by W. E. Guerin, president); Cleveland, Lorain and Wheeling Rwy. Co. (by W. R. Woodford, general manager); Pennsylvania Company (by James McCrea, vice-president); Black Diamond Coal and Coke Company (by J. H. Earnshaw, general manager); Wheeling and Lake Erie Coal Company (by Myron T. Herrick, president); Pennsylvania Coal and Iron Co. (by —— Zerby, president); Wheeling and Lake Erie Railroad Company (by Myron T. Herrick, receiver); New York and Cleveland Gas Coal Co. (by W. P. D'Armit, president); Osborn, Sager & Co.; The Young & Harrington Coal Company (by T. E. Young, president); W. P. Rend; Pittsburgh, Fairport and Northwestern Dock Co. (by G. E. Tener, vice-president); Pittsburgh and Chicago Gas Coal Company (by D. W. Van Eman, general manager); Pittsburgh Consolidated Coal Company (F. L. Robbins, general manager); Oak Ridge Coal Company, Limited (by G. W. Schlenderberg, treasurer); Erie Railroad Company (by E. B. Thomas, president); Hillside Coal and Iron Company; Blossburg Coal Company; Northwestern Mining and Exchange Co. (by James T. Gardiner, vice-president); Delaware and Hudson Canal Company (by R. M. Oliphant, president); Delaware, Susquehanna and Schuylkill R. R. Co. (by Alfred Walter, president); Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company (by John K. Cowen, receiver); Pennsylvania Coal Company (by M. S. Thorne, vice-president); New York, Ontario and Western Railway Co. (by T. P. Fowler, president); Lehigh and Wilkesbarre Coal Company (by J. R. Maxwell, president); New York, Susquehanna and Western Railway Co. (by A. L. Hopkins, president); Philadelphia and Reading Coal and Iron Company (by Joseph S. Harris, president); Lehigh Coal and Navigation Company (by Lewis T. Rily, president).

The interests whose names are signed hereto represent not less than the number of men and mines set opposite their names, aggregating not less than 840,000 men, and under the regular ratio of 1 to 5 showing 1,700,000 people directly and indirectly dependent upon this interest. This does not include the clerical forces, which aggregate many thousand in addition.

Name.	Mines.	Men.
General Hocking Coal Co	40	15,000
Toledo and Ohio Central Fuel Co	10	5,000
Columbus and Hocking Coal and Iron Co	5	2,500
M. A. Hanna & Co	10	3,000
Baltimore and Ohio Coal Co	20	7,500
Pittsburgh and Wheeling Coal Co	30	10,000
Turney & Jones Co	5	2,500
Wills Creek Coal Co	6	2,500
Columbus, Hocking Valley and Toledo R. R		2,500
Toledo and Ohio Central R. R. Co		2,000
Columbus, Sandusky and Hocking R. R		1,500
Cleveland, Lorain and Wheeling Rwy. Co		2,500
Wheeling and Lake Erie R. R. Co		2,000
Pennsylvania Co		50,000
Black Diamond Coal and Coke Co	5	2,000
Osborn, Sager & Co	3	1,500
Pennsylvania and Ohio Coal Co	3	1,500
Morgan, Moore & Baine Co	3	2,000
Wheeling and Lake Erie Coal Co	20	8,000
Young & Harrington Coal Co	2	1,500
W. P. Rend	6	4,000
New York and Cleveland Gas Coal Co	4	2,000
Pittsburgh, Fairport and Northwestern Dock Co		250
Pittsburgh and Chicago Gas Coal Co	1	800
Pittsburgh Consolidated Coal Co	6	4,000
Oak Ridge Coal Co	1	800
Erie R. R. Co		20,000
Hillside Coal and Iron Co., Blossburg Coal Co., Northwestern Mining and Exchange Co. (representing the mines of the Erie R. R. Co.)		12,000
Delaware and Hudson Canal Co. (representing the railroad and mines)		30,000
New York, Susquehanna and Western R. R. (representing the railroad and mines)		12,000
Baltimore and Ohio R. R. Co. (representing the railroad and all the mines of Eastern Division)		30,000
Pennsylvania Coal Co		10,000
Cuddy Mullen Coal Co	6	2,500
New York, Ontario and Western Rwy. Co. (represents the railroad and all the mining interests)		10,000
Lehigh and Wilkesbarre Coal Co. (representing also the Central R. R. of New Jersey)		20,000
Delaware, Susquehanna and Schuylkill R. R.		5,000
Philadelphia and Reading Coal and Iron Co. (representing also Philadelphia and Reading R. R. Co)		50,000
Lehigh Coal and Navigation Co.		5,000
Lehigh Valley R. R. and Coal Co.		15,000

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. In this connection, I also present a number of extracts from newspapers, some beginning as far back as the first of last year, giving detailed accounts of an organization among the coal companies to handle the output of the coal mines in their own interest, and the subsequent advancement in prices as the result of the "gentlemen's agreements," as they are understood to be. I ask that they may be inserted in the RECORD as a part of my remarks.

The articles referred to are as follows:

[From the New York Press, January 31, 1896.]

THAT COAL CORNER A FACT NOW—ALL MUST HELP PAY FOR THE BLACK DIAMOND WHICH MORGAN ADDS TO HIS CORNER—OUTPUT RESTRICTED—PRICES TO BE RAISED—COAL BARONS BOW BEFORE THE AUTOCRAT OF THE CORNER OFFICE, WHO HAS WORKED HIS WILL.

J. Pierpont Morgan, dealer in corners, now stands in another one, and no one has the power to oust him.

Press readers already know that his gold corner was followed by preparations for one in coal.

He has it now.

Preliminaries to raise the price of coal to every householder who consumes it were completed yesterday at a meeting of the coal presidents. Mr. Morgan wasn't there, but Mr. Morgan's men were.

Naturally the first step was to restrict the output. This was done. In allotting the percentages of production, the railroad for which Mr. Morgan is acting as physician—the Reading—didn't get the worst of it.

Mr. Morgan isn't in the corner office for his health.

This present coal combination is the most gigantic ever formed. By agreement the annual output is restricted to 40,000,000 tons a year.

To-day the sales agents will meet and raise prices. To the masses of the people this means directly more than a corner in gold. It means 50 cents, and perhaps $1, added to the price of every ton of coal they buy.

The coal barons are losing no time. The agreement will take effect to-morrow.

The head of the corner office, where gold corners and coal corners and bankrupt railroads are dealt in, has won another victory from the people.

Now let purses be opened to pay this autocrat the demands which soon will be made to enrich by $4,000,000 his broken-down concern—the Reading Railroad.

WARNING WAS TIMELY.

The readers of the Press have been warned in time, and if they have followed the advice given by it they will be independent of the close corporation of the railroad presidents, which formally has decided to squeeze the public.

The presidents of the railroads and the coal companies which control the coal output of the country met again yesterday in the Central Building in Liberty street to hear the report of the committee of three—the Morgan committee—on the proportion of mining which should be allowed to each road. This idea of determining the output which each coal road shall have is only preliminary to the increase in the price. The coal presidents agreed at the previous meeting that they first should restrict the mining before deciding on an increase.

GOOD BARGAIN FOR MORGAN.

The first meeting of the presidents was an unsatisfactory one, inasmuch as Mr. Harris, spokesman for J. Pierpont Morgan, demanded for the Reading system, of which he is president, considerably more than the other presidents were willing to concede. This demand was merely a piece of diplomacy on the part of Mr. Harris, for the result as shown gives the Reading people more than 1 per cent more output than was allotted to it under the agreement of a year ago.

That agreement was broken by the railroads, which went to work on their own hook and mined as they pleased. The public benefited accordingly, and, as a result, was able to purchase coal at reasonable rates. This was one of the best evidences of what competition will do in the way of reducing prices.

PUBLIC MUST SUBMIT.

The coal presidents always have longed for a close combination which would control both output and values, and make the people, who pay 70 per cent of the coal bills, pay tribute to them. Advantage has been taken of the present hard times and poor business in railroad lines by the Morgan combination to put through the coal deal. Mr. Morgan has on his hands a sick railroad system. This system puts out annually more than one-fifth of the coal mined. Why should it, in his mind, do so without making a large profit? Therefore the combination was made. The public was the easiest and best source of revenue, and therefore the public must pay.

FIGURES OF TWO YEARS.

The railroads lately have been mining as they pleased. Here is a table showing just what each railroad produced in the last two years:

	Tons.
The total output of anthracite coal for 1895 was	46,545,760
Total for 1894	41,391,199
Increase	5,154,561

Summary for 1895, as carried by the various railroads.

	Tons.
Philadelphia and Reading	9,905,059
Lehigh Valley	7,360,454
Central of New Jersey	5,388,194
Delaware, Lackawanna and Western	6,120,260
Delaware and Hudson	4,347,843
Pennsylvania Railroad	5,025,645
Pennsylvania Coal Company	1,746,832
Delaware, Susquehanna and Schuylkill	1,905,784
New York, Lake Erie and Western	1,820,098
New York, Susquehanna and Western	1,492,244
New York, Ontario and Western	1,424,407
Total	46,545,760

Summary for 1894, as carried by the various railroads.

	Tons.
Philadelphia and Reading	8,289,088
Lehigh Valley	6,424,676
Central of New Jersey	4,847,885
Delaware, Lackawanna and Western	5,997,989
Delaware and Hudson	3,997,050
Pennsylvania Railroad	4,727,579
Pennsylvania Coal Company	1,705,197
Delaware, Susquehanna and Schuylkill	1,653,368
New York, Lake Erie and Western	1,660,827
New York, Susquehanna and Western	726,169
New York, Ontario and Western	1,372,365
Total	41,391,199

LIMITING THE OUTPUT.

The agreement which was reached yesterday was merely a ratification of the report of the committee of three. This committee reported that the coal-canal roads should decide to mine only in accordance with the allotment determined by it. This allotment is as follows:

	Per cent.
Delaware, Lackawanna and Western	13.35
Delaware and Hudson	9.60
Pennsylvania Railroad	11.40
Reading	20.50
Lehigh Valley	15.65
Jersey Central	11.70
Pennsylvania Coal Company	4
Erie	4
Ontario and Western	3.10
Delaware, Susquehanna and Schuylkill	3.50
Susquehanna and Western	3.20

It will be seen by this allotment that Mr. Morgan's road gets more than one-fifth of the entire output.

The announcement of the result was received with cheers on the exchange and in the offices of the various bankers. Reading stock immediately began to start upward and all of the coal stocks had a boom.

HOW TO RAISE THE PRICES.

The next thing to be done, after curtailing the output at the basis of 40,000,000 tons, will be to increase the price, and there is a disagreement among the sales agents of the various roads as to whether the selling figure shall be raised 50 cents or $1 a ton. The sales agents are the men who boss the prices, and they generally boss the presidents where coal is concerned. The sales agents will meet to-day, and the result is likely to be that coal will be from 50 cents to $1 a ton higher to-morrow than it now is.

The output agreement begins on Saturday and the higher-price agreement, if it goes through, will begin on the same day.

Great is the corner office!

[From the Iron Age, February 6, 1896.]

THE ANTHRACITE AGREEMENT.

The eleven companies and their allied interests distributing anthracite coal from the mines on January 30 reached an agreement in the matter of civil trade government and an apportionment of tonnage to control their operations for eleven months, beginning February 1, 1896. It is an end that has been in view, and, it may be said, striven for for over a period of a year and a half. It was consummated with very little friction and so suddenly as to create the belief that the banking community at the right moment brought all the influence it possessed to bear.

The agreement is now in force. It apportions outputs as follows: Reading, 20.5; Lehigh Valley, 15.65; Jersey Central, 11.7; Lackawanna, 13.35; Delaware and Hudson, 9.6; Pennsylvania Railroad, 11.4; Pennsylvania Coal, 4; Erie, 4; Ontario and Western, 3.10; Coxe Bros., 3.50, and Susquehanna and Western, 3.20. A permanent board of managers was appointed, as follows: President Maxwell, of the Jersey Central, chairman; Presidents Thomas, of the Erie; Wilbur, of Lehigh Valley; Harris, of the Reading, and Walters, of Coxe Bros.' road, the Delaware, Susquehanna and Schuylkill.

This body is empowered to serve as a check upon the different interests, settle all disputes, and act in an advisory capacity. Among other things, it will have cognizance of tonnage returns, which are to be handled by a new bureau established in New York. It will organize a uniform system of reporting, and among other things it will see that all coal mined and not used at the breaker or not sold for local consumption is accounted for. This lack of uniform returns has enabled the juggling of figures in the past that has prevented one interest from knowing exactly what its competitor was doing. The system of contracts, which never was of any use except to the consumer, will be abolished as far as possible after orders now on the books of the companies are cleaned up. This new departure will prevent much of the demoralization that has been one of the curses of the trade. It is understood that the presidents will leave the question of prices to their sales agents, who, in addition, will fix the tonnage month by month. The theory on which the matter will be handled is, in effect, that if the tonnage allotments are not exceeded, each interest will be forced to sell coal at the market price in order to fare as well as its competitors. It can not offset any loss incurred by underselling through an increase in production.

The sales agents met pursuant to orders on Friday, the day following the agreement, fixed the production for February at 2,500,000 tons, and made a circular of prices, which, on a basis of free burning coal, f. o. b., was as follows: Broken, $3.25; egg, $3.50; stove, $3.75; chestnut, $3.50. The last circular was made on October 24 and was 40 cents higher per ton on domestic sizes and 50 cents per ton higher on broken. Friday's circular was from 20 to 30 cents above the prices current the day previous. Western prices were reaffirmed, as follows: Buffalo, gross tons, broken, $4.15; other sizes, $4.40. Chicago and other Western lake points, net tons, broken, $5.25; other sizes, $5.50.

It is possible that the agreements reached by the presidents may be reduced to writing. If this be the case, there will be no reference to prices. The argument is advanced that the agreement can not be made in form of a contract, owing to the laws on the subject, and that in any other written form it could be broken as easily as if it were verbal.

This leads to the questions as to how it will be enforced and what there is back of it. It is well known that in the midsummer, when all hope of a settlement by arbitration was abandoned through Reading's refusal to arbitrate its difference of about one-half of 1 per cent, and when stove coal was selling at less than $2.80 per ton, the coal stocks were high and strong. This created a belief that a clique of bankers, already largely interested in the properties, were attempting to secure control of the leading companies. In this connection it is suggested that nothing in the way of a settlement was attempted until the success of the Reading reorganization was assured. If there is a power beneath the surface sufficiently great to dictate the anthracite policy, it is reasonably certain that the agreement reached last week will continue in force. On the other hand, if it is based upon the flimsy promise of a number of fickle presidents, it is doomed to failure. The financial community, without knowing anything definite, is inclined to the former theory.

The effect of close cooperation would be to restore the price of coal to a higher figure and keep it there. The average for the year 1895 on stove coal, the chief size, was not far from $3 per ton. This is 60 cents below the average of 1894, and considerably less than $1 below the average of 1893. If coal could be advanced on domestic sizes over $1 per ton, it would about restore prices to the average of previous years. It would enable companies like the Lackawanna, who for the year ended December 31 reported earnings on the stock of 5.17 per cent, to restore their net income to an amount commensurate to the dividends paid. In the year 1894 the Lackawanna earned 6.24 per cent on its stock, and in 1893, 11.1 per cent. To the companies whose financial necessities are more or less pressing it would mean salvation. It would insure the success of the Reading reorganization. In a word, it would mean from 50 cents to $1 per ton more than was realized in 1895 on, say, the production of that year, which was 46,500,000 tons in round numbers.

The demoralized prices of 1895 were not in any sense a boon to the consumer of domestic coal. Actual returns show that with the exception of one or two centers, notably Brooklyn, the consumer paid about as much for his fuel as in previous years. The middlemen and retailers reaped the benefit.

The difference between the percentages allotted for 1896 and the amount returned in 1895 permits of an interesting comparison. Reading lost 0.97; Lehigh Valley, 0.16, and Coxe Bros., 0.61; Jersey Central gained 0.14; Lackawanna, 0.19; Delaware and Hudson, 0.26; Pennsylvania Railroad, 0.61; Pennsylvania Coal, 0.25; Erie, 0.09; Ontario and Western, 0.04, and Susquehanna and Western, 0.18.

[From Bradstreet's, January 2, 1896.]

A SOFT-COAL POOL.

A dispatch to the Philadelphia Ledger says: "Coincident with the movement for the formation of an ironclad agreement among the anthracite-coal companies, a somewhat similar plan is said to be on foot for the combination of the bituminous interests shipping to tide water. It is probable that the new soft-coal pool will go into effect some time in March. The main idea is a central selling agency to handle the total products of the mines. They embrace shippers over the Baltimore and Ohio, Pennsylvania, Norfolk and Western, Chesapeake and Ohio, Beech Creek, and Reading. The new agreement will bind the members not to cut rates in any way whatever. The advance in rates, it is said, will probably not be more than 50 cents a ton, but many curtailments in expenses will be put into effect."

[From the Philadelphia Record, November 12, 1895.]

POOLING SOFT-COAL BUSINESS—BITUMINOUS OPERATORS ARE MUCH INTERESTED IN THE PROPOSED PLAN.

Evidence of the interest which bituminous-coal operators are manifesting with regard to the proposed pooling of their business was furnished by the large number of prominent mine owners who attended the meeting at the Waldorf, in New York, last week. The call for this meeting was sent out by President Walbridge, of the American Coal Company, and the seventy operators who responded included the largest producers of soft coal in Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and West Virginia.

The meeting was merely a preliminary one. The utmost harmony prevailed, and all present recognized the necessity for forming some combination whereby an allotment of the tonnage could be made, production kept within the lines of consumption, and a tariff of prices agreed upon which should be binding upon all, and thus do away with the ruinous competition which has for months characterized the trade.

Such a course has long been suggested and advocated by the various railroads transporting the coal from these and different regions, but it was not until confronted with the probability of a demand from the miners for increased wages at the beginning of the coal year in April next, and also an increased freight rate, that the real seriousness of the situation manifested itself and brought the operators together.

The situation was thoroughly discussed by the meeting, but no action was taken beyond appointing a committee of five to prepare some plan for the future government of the operators which will bring about the results desired. This committee consists of Samuel Castner, representing the Pocahontas region; William D. Kelley, representing the Beech Creek district; C. B. Orcutt, representing the Chesapeake and Ohio region; A. G. Yates, the Rochester and Pittsburg; and E. J. Berwind, the Pennsylvania or Clearfield region. The meeting was purely an operators' meeting, and none of the railroads interested in the transportation of bituminous coal were represented.

[From Bradstreet's, May 2, 1896.]

HIGHER COAL PRICES.

The Philadelphia Press this week says:

"The Philadelphia and Reading Coal and Iron Company yesterday issued a circular announcing that an advance of 25 cents a ton would be made in all sizes of coal on and after this date. The advance has been made at Port Richmond and at Port Liberty. The changes at Port Richmond are:

	Broken.	Egg.	Stove.	Chestnut.
Hard white ash	$3.35	$3.60	$3.75	$3.50
Free white ash	3.25	3.50	3.75	3.50
Shamokin	.....	3.75	4.00	3.60
Schuylkill red ash	.....	3.75	4.15	3.75
Lorberry	.....	3.75	4.15	3.75
Lykens Valley	4.25	4.60	4.75	4.50

"The new prices at Port Liberty are:

	Broken.	Egg.	Stove.	Chestnut.
Hard white ash	$3.60	$3.85	$4.00	$3.75
Free white ash	3.50	3.75	4.00	3.75
Shamokin	.....	4.00	4.25	3.85
Schuylkill red ash	.....	4.00	4.40	4.00
Lorberry	.....	4.00	4.40	4.00
Lykens Valley	4.50	4.85	5.00	4.75

"At about this time every year there is considerable talk afloat about the railroad companies in the East going to secure all the coal needed from Canada. Last week bids were asked from all the bituminous-coal companies, and it appears that the bids from the coal companies of Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and West Virginia were rejected on the ground that the coal could be bought cheaper from the Canadian operators.

"The coal companies of the States mentioned are united, and the business is conducted under the name of the Bituminous Coal Association. This association was organized a few months ago for the protection of the bituminous-coal trade, as for the past few years bituminous coal has been sold at such a price that has not been profitable either for the operator or the miner. This year the price has been advanced, and the operators have so far stuck together.

"The refusal of the bids by the New England roads is not likely to be taken seriously by the operators here, as it is well known that the mines in Nova Scotia have not the facilities at present for supplying any large demand, and if a large lot of coal was ordered from them it would have a tendency to increase water rates, which would, of course, add to the cost of the coal. A number of the bituminous operators were seen yesterday, and they all unite in saying that there is little fear of Nova Scotia coal supplanting ours."

Circulars issued at New York by the Lackawanna and the Lehigh Valley companies intimate the advance in the price of anthracite coal. Each coal-producing company will make a general advance of 25 cents per ton, to take effect May 1. Following is the new schedule: Grate, per ton, $3.50; egg, $3.75;

chestnut, $3.75, and stove, $4. The circulars of the Pennsylvania, Delaware and Hudson, and Erie and other companies were to be out before the end of the week. The aggregate anthracite output for April will reach about 3,000,000 tons, which is about the same as April, 1895, although the output for April last year was, by agreement, restricted to 2,400,000 tons.

[From Bradstreet's, January 11, 1896.]

The bituminous-coal miners of Indiana decided on Wednesday to demand an advance in the mining scale from 60 to 63 cents, to take effect April 1, the date when the Pittsburg district price is to be advanced from 64 to 70 cents. The operators will refuse to grant the advance.

[From the New York Journal, May 5, 1897.]

RIOT MUTTERINGS BY COAL MINERS—TWENTY-FIVE HUNDRED MEN OUT ON STRIKE IN EAST TENNESSEE—OTHERS TO FOLLOW SOON—HEAVY CUTS IN WAGES ALL ALONG THE LINE IS LIKELY TO RESULT IN BLOODSHED—STRIKERS TO BAR OUTSIDERS—AN 18 PER CENT REDUCTION AFFECTS THE REGION FROM CHATTANOOGA TO SOMERSET, AND GRAVE TROUBLE IS EXPECTED.

CHATTANOOGA, TENN., *May 4.*

All signs point to a repetition of the Rock Creek riots of a few years ago, unless the troubles now brewing between miners and coal-mine owners in upper East Tennessee and southern Kentucky are speedily adjusted. Already disheartened by the struggles to live and support their families on the present wages, the diggers of coal have been subjected to another heavy cut.

MEN OUT AND IDLE.

More than 2,500 men are now out at Jellico, Glenmary, Robbins, and Helenwood, and others are expected to follow because of a reduction of 18 per cent in wages. The men say they are being pressed upon and crowded beyond the limit of endurance, and assert that trouble will follow any attempt to replace them with cheap labor. But the mine owners have held meetings recently at Lexington, Louisville, Nashville, and Cincinnati, where a general reduction was agreed upon. The owners also declare that they will stand by the schedule laid down.

The strikers know that the rich deposits of coal in those regions must be taken out, and that if they refuse to do the work outsiders will be brought in to man the mines. Such measures have been tried before in various parts of the country, and, as the strike records show, with always the same result—bloodshed.

The diggers involved in the present trouble are no different from their brothers in other mining districts. They say they will not stand quietly by and see the bread taken from the mouths of their wives and babies. The strike leaders have threatened to make it pleasant for the men who come with the intention of taking their places, and these rough citizens of the mining villages know well how to run these little entertainments. The strikers are holding meetings and laying out the campaign under the direction of able leaders. As yet the owners have not attempted the importation of miners, but the first installment of outsiders is sure to precipitate trouble. Great excitement prevails in the villages, and the feeling is spreading from one end of the region to the other.

The indications are that every mine between Chattanooga and Somerset, Ky., will be abandoned before the end of the week.

[From the Philadelphia Record, April 17, 1897.]

MINERS' STARVATION WAGES—25 CENTS FOR A SEVEN-HOUR DAY—DECEPTIVE SCALES.

PITTSBURG, PA., *April 16.*

"Dante's Inferno is a mild place compared to the homes of the miners in the Pittsburg district," was the expression of a member of the legislative committee after a day's trip among mines on the Pittsburg, McKeesport and Youghiogheny Railroad. Seven grown persons and 3 children were found crowded in a shed 12 by 18 feet, for which the boarding boss was charged $6 a month rent by the firm of Osborn & Saeger. All the miners said they had not made more than 50 cents a day, and had only worked an average of three days a week all winter.

CLEARED 25 CENTS IN SEVEN HOURS.

Miners seen issuing from the mine when asked how much they had earned that day responded that they had worked from 5 o'clock in the morning until noon and had cleared 25 cents.

At Morgan, Moore & Bain's mines the majority employed were foreigners. The shanties, which cost the mining companies about $125 to $150 to build, are rented for $14 a month, which is deducted from the miner's pay. The miners are compelled to buy all their stuff from company stores, where fancy prices are charged, so they seldom received any cash.

ALLOWED 1,100 POUNDS ON 3,000.

At the Banning mine of Morgan, Moore & Bain, Senator Saylor discovered that the scales were wrong. The cars should hold from 2,500 to 3,000 pounds of coal, but instead the men were only credited with 1,100 pounds. The superintendent apologized, and said he had ordered the scales repaired several days ago. "In the meantime you are only giving the miners the weight indicated on the broken scales," interjected the Senator.

Senator Milleisen, of Mechanicsburg, a member of the committee, is quite a double for President McKinley. The foreigners at the mines were told that the President of the United States, in the person of Senator Milleisen, was inquiring into their condition, and they stood about in awe, with their mouths open and hats off, saluting his excellency.

The committee has subpœnaed the mine operators to appear before it next Monday.

[From the New York Times, April 12, 1897.]

AFFECTS 10,000 MINERS—TENNESSEE COAL AND IRON COMPANY PROPOSES TO REDUCE WAGES.

BIRMINGHAM, ALA., *April 11.*

The labor situation in the Birmingham district has become very serious since yesterday morning. Upon invitation, the Tennessee Coal, Iron and Railway Company's coal miners in the Blocton district met the officials of the company in conference at Blocton yesterday 1,000 strong. President Nat Baxter, jr., proposed a reduction in wages of 12½ per cent, giving as his reason that large export coal contracts depended on it.

If the reduction were accepted, the men, he said, would get steady work; if not, such as the company could give in the face of the failure to secure contracts hinging on close margins. Mr. Baxter asked that the reduction become effective June 1 if possible; if not then, by July 1 at least, when the present contract with the miners expires. The miners will decide whether or not to accept the cut and give reply in a day or so. They do not seem to be disposed to accept the cut. Ten thousand miners are affected, the Tennessee Company's wage scale governing the district, and they themselves employing 7,000 miners.

[From the Lexington (Ky.) Herald, May 5, 1897.]

A WAGE CUT OF 10 PER CENT DECIDED UPON BY THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE GLEN MARY MINING COMPANY AT A MEETING HELD YESTERDAY—THE NEW SCALE IS SENT TO THE MINERS, AND IT WILL LIKELY BE ACCEPTED.

As foreshadowed in the Herald, the directors of the Glen Mary Coal Mining Company met here yesterday to take steps regarding the future operation of the mines. The meeting was held in the private office of the Second National Bank immediately after the close of business. Present were Messrs. J. W. Appleton, president of the company; J. P. Shaw, secretary and treasurer; F. P. Clute, general manager; Hiram Shaw, J. T. Slade, and other directors.

The object of the meeting was to form a new wage scale, made necessary by the employment of convicts in other mines operated by the State of Tennessee. After due deliberation the directors issued a proclamation making a reduction of 10 per cent, and setting forth the reasons therefor. This reduction applies to the salaried officers and all employees. The official seal of the company was placed on the proclamation, and it was sent to the miners.

* * * * * * *

If the miners should refuse to accept the new scale, Mr. Clute says the mines will most positively be shut down, as the company would lose money by making contracts according to the old scale of prices. Over 3,000 miners will be affected if it becomes necessary to close down all of the mines.

At the meeting of the board of directors it was decided to deed an acre of ground to the Episcopal church at Glen Mary, for the erection of a house of worship. Quite a number of Lexington people are interested in the company, and the result of the pending negotiations will be watched with interest.

[From the New York Times, March 3, 1897.]

REDUCING ITS EXPENSES—THE LEHIGH AND WILKESBARRE COAL COMPANY CUTTING WAGES.

HAZLETON, PA., *March 2.*

The Lehigh and Wilkesbarre Coal Company to-day inaugurated a system of retrenchment at all of their mines in this vicinity. The reduction affects all inside and outside laborers, foremen, and engineers, and ranges from 8 to 25 per cent. Foremen who were paid $100 are cut to $75, and from this down the reduction ranges until it reaches 8 per cent.

The Lehigh Valley Coal Company has also notified its Southside employes that a reduction in wages would be made, but nothing definite in this direction has yet been done.

[From the Sheboygan (Wis.) Telegram, April 5, 1897.]

STRIKE OF IOWA COAL MINERS.

OTTUMWA, IOWA, *April 5.*

Three leading coal companies cut the price of mining coal from 70 cents to 60 cents. The miners of the Whitebreast Company at Keb and Chisholm, John L. Evans's men at Avery, and the Chicago and Iowa Company's men at Cedar mines, about 600 in number, struck. Other companies paying 70 cents will cut, and probably as many more men go out.

[From the Chicago Chronicle, March 7, 1897.]

BELLE PLAINE, IOWA, *March 6.*

All the miners employed in the coal mines at Boonesboro, a suburb of Boone, went out on a strike last night, refusing to submit to the reduction in the scale from 85 cents to 70 cents. The strike affects about 300 men, but it is not believed the strike will be of long duration. Many men are applying for the positions filled by the strikers, and the company will experience no trouble in procuring plenty of men to start the works Monday morning.

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BRAZIL, IND., *March 6.*

The block coal operators and the miners of this district met here to-day for the purpose of discussing a 5-cent reduction. After a short discussion, the miners accepted the 5 per cent cut, which will bring the scale to 65 cents per ton. This cut is to take effect the 15th of this month and continue until May 1, when the new scale will be made.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President, there are two or three facts connected with this matter which I think ought to be stated. In the first place, it is true that there is no first-class bituminous coal produced in the State of California. There is some bituminous coal produced there, but it is of an inferior quality. Of that there is no doubt, I presume, among those who consume it. It is indeed a notorious proposition. It may perhaps be considered a great misfortune that we have not been able to discover thus far any absolutely good bituminous coal within the confines of the State, although we have a good many coal mines producing an inferior article. There is a large amount of coal imported from Vancouver and Australia, and when this question was before the Senate in 1894 I estimated that out of a total duty of $800,000 paid to the Government of the United States the Pacific Coast paid $600,000. So far as the payment of duty is concerned, it is largely a local levy. It will nearly all come out of that part of the United States.

I observe from an inspection of the hearings before the Ways and Means Committee that placing anthracite upon the dutiable list is not only by any means in the interest of the coal miners of the Pacific Coast, but it is also favored by the coal miners of British Columbia, and the reason of that is obvious. It is rather a ludicrous situation, but nevertheless it is true. The bringing in of anthracite coal, the supply of fuel of that character, naturally does affect the demand for the local product, and to a large extent the product of British Columbia is local. It must pay duty, but is near by, and so it largely becomes the interest of the British Columbia producer as well as the producer in the United States that this coal shall be excluded, and they do not hesitate to say so. Although they are good and loyal citizens of the Queen, still this is one duty and perhaps the only one in the entire bill which will meet with the concurrence of Her Majesty's subjects.

I favored placing coal upon the free list before. I should like to have it upon the free list now, if it were possible. As has

been shown, 40 cents a ton is enough, and I do not see why under this tariff we should go any further. Besides, if the coal that is brought from Europe is of a superior quality, I think our people ought to have the advantages of it in those lines needing superior coal. They may get it, but they must pay a duty upon it. It does not come into conflict with any Eastern interest. Of course no anthracite coal from the East reaches the coast.

Mr. WILSON. When the Wilson bill was passed and reduced the rate on coal from 75 to 40 cents a ton, was there any reduction in the price of coal to the California consumer?

Mr. WHITE. There was.

Mr. WILSON. For how long?

Mr. WHITE. The rates were always quoted lower.

Mr. WILSON. It lasted about four months.

Mr. WHITE. It may be that a combine was made. I do not know. Coal may have gone up for other reasons.

Mr. WILSON. The only advantage was to place in the hands of the British Columbia coal miners the difference in the tariff rates, amounting to about $400,000.

Mr. WHITE. That statement is absolutely inconsistent with the other statement made by the Senator from Washington, because if the price of coal kept up, then of course the local producer had his market. The only injurious effect which the imposition of the duty could have upon the local producer would be the diminution of the price, so that the other coal might get in. If the price was not diminished, there could have been no loss. It is impossible to avoid that conclusion.

If it is true, as stated by the Senator, that there was no falling off in the price, then the status quo was preserved, so far as the trade went, and if there was a cutting down of the price and the local producer was injured, then of course the consumer got the benefit of it.

Mr. WILSON. The difference between 40 and 75 cents was given to the British Columbia coal miner, to the Comax mine and other mines, which work Chinese laborers, as the Senator well knows. We can not compete with them. That is the point.

Mr. WHITE. I recollect that a very short time ago there was an importation of laborers, I believe they were colored laborers, to a mine in the State of Washington, and there was a riot there, which the Senator will remember, or a great disturbance, because of that importation.

Mr. WILSON. We had some riots in the State of Washington. They had some also in the State of California.

Mr. WHITE. Yes; but I am speaking of the coal matter. The Senator is in the business of evasion, evidently. We may have riots anywhere, and I did not make the remark in censure of Washington. Any community is subject to a riot. Whatever there may be as to whether the consumer pays this or whether he does not, I will not attempt to discuss that oft-gone-over argument, but I do say that the state of the record is such as not to justify this imposition, and that it is a peculiar nature of the case that it is an imposition virtually levied upon one community.

I desire to inquire whether the amendments of the committee are now before the Senate, or whether the adoption of the paragraph as amended is the question before the Senate?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair will state to the Senator from California that the committee have proposed a substitute for the entire paragraph, and that is now to be voted upon.

Mr. WHITE. I desire to move an amendment to the substitute.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. On the pending question the yeas and nays have been ordered. The Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. GEAR (when his name was called). I transfer my pair with the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH] to the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE], and vote "yea."

Mr. MALLORY (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROCTOR]. If he were here, I should vote "nay."

Mr. MARTIN (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Montana [Mr. MANTLE]. If he were here, I should vote "nay."

Mr. THURSTON (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the senior Senator from South Carolina [Mr. TILLMAN]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. WALTHALL (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. SPOONER]. Otherwise I should vote "nay."

Mr. WARREN (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Washington [Mr. TURNER]. If he were here, I should vote "yea."

Mr. WHITE (when his name was called). On this vote I am paired with the Senator from Utah [Mr. CANNON]. Were he present, I should vote "nay" and he would vote "yea."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. CLARK. I am paired with the Senator from Kansas [Mr. HARRIS]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. BATE. I desire to state that my colleague [Mr. HARRIS of Tennessee] is unable to be in the Chamber, and is paired with the senior Senator from Vermont [Mr. MORRILL].

Mr. BURROWS. I announce my pair with the senior Senator from Louisiana [Mr. CAFFERY]. I make the announcement for the day.

The result was announced—yeas 31, nays 24; as follows:

YEAS—31.

Allison,	Foraker,	Lodge,	Quay,
Carter,	Frye,	McEnery,	Sewell,
Chandler,	Gallinger,	McMillan,	Shoup,
Cullom,	Gear,	Mantle,	Teller,
Davis,	Hanna,	Nelson,	Wellington,
Deboe,	Hawley,	Perkins,	Wetmore,
Elkins,	Hoar,	Platt, Conn.	Wilson.
Fairbanks,	Jones, Nev.	Pritchard,	

NAYS—24.

Allen,	Clay,	Kenney,	Morgan,
Bacon,	Cockrell,	Kyle,	Pasco,
Bate,	Faulkner,	Lindsay,	Pettus,
Berry,	Gray,	McLaurin,	Rawlins,
Butler,	Heitfeld,	Mills,	Turpie,
Chilton,	Jones, Ark.	Mitchell,	Vest.

NOT VOTING—34.

Aldrich,	Hale,	Murphy,	Thurston,
Baker,	Hansbrough,	Penrose,	Tillman,
Burrows,	Harris, Kans.	Pettigrew,	Turner,
Caffery,	Harris, Tenn.	Platt, N. Y.	Walthall,
Cannon,	McBride,	Proctor,	Warren,
Clark,	Mallory,	Roach,	White,
Daniel,	Martin,	Smith,	Wolcott.
George,	Mason,	Spooner,	
Gorman,	Morrill,	Stewart,	

So the amendment of the committee was agreed to.

Mr. WHITE. I move to strike out "sixty-seven" and insert in lieu thereof "forty."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. Strike out "sixty-seven" where it occurs and insert "forty;" so as to read:

Coal, bituminous, and all coals containing less than 92 per cent of fixed carbon, and shale 40 cents per ton of 28 bushels, etc.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from California.

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. WHITE. I move to add at the end of the paragraph the following proviso:

Provided, That on all coal imported into the United States, which is afterwards used for fuel on board vessels propelled by steam and engaged in the coasting trade or in the trade with foreign countries, and which are registered under the laws of the United States, a drawback shall be allowed equal to the duty imposed by law upon such coal, and shall be paid under such regulations as the Secretary of the Treasury shall prescribe.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from California.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President, the paragraph to which this amendment is proposed is that which deals with the duty on coal. Under the act of 1883, 22 Statutes at Large, 511, there was the following provision:

Coal, bituminous, and shale, 75 cents per ton of 28 bushels, 80 pounds to the bushel. A drawback of 75 cents per ton shall be allowed on all bituminous coal imported into the United States which is afterwards used for fuel on board of vessels propelled by steam which are engaged in the coasting trade of the United States, or in the trade with foreign countries, to be allowed and paid under such regulations as the Secretary of the Treasury shall prescribe.

Afterwards an amendment was incorporated into the law by an act to be found in the statutes of 1885–1887, volume 24, Statutes at Large, as follows:

That the provision of Schedule N of "An act to reduce internal-revenue taxation, and for other purposes," approved March 3, 1883, allowing a drawback on imported bituminous coal used for fuel on vessels propelled by steam, shall be construed to apply only to vessels of the United States.

When the McKinley bill was enacted, there was contained therein a provision in the general drawback clause which it was supposed retained this exemption, and the district court of the United States for the northern district of California in a case brought by the United States so held. That cause was appealed to the circuit court of appeals in the ninth circuit, and the judgment was affirmed. It then went to the Supreme Court of the United States, and in 1896, in an opinion to be found in volume 163 of the United States Reports, page 499, it was determined in United States *vs.* Allen that the McKinley Act by implication repealed this drawback provision, and that the general drawback phraseology of that enactment was not sufficient, notwithstanding the rule against repeals by implication, to maintain the status which had existed before the passage of the McKinley law.

The object of this amendment is to restore to American shipping the benefit of the provisions of the act of 1883, which were supposed to be continued in all subsequent tariff enactments. It is simply to return to the condition which was then adopted with the approval of Congress and with the general approval of the people, and which was disturbed, indirectly and unintentionally,

as I believe everyone familiar with the legislation of that time will admit.

It has been argued that this provision should be placed in the free list in connection with paragraph 504, but that relates to the exemption of ships' stores and has no relation to this clause. If it were operative at all upon coal used for fuel, then there would be no necessity for a drawback clause, because the free list needs no drawback.

I submit this matter. I have already attracted the attention of the various members of the majority of the Committee on Finance to the subject. But if it will embarrass the proceedings this evening to proceed further with reference to it, I will suggest to the Senator having the bill in charge that the subject be carefully examined and taken up, if possible, to-morrow and disposed of.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. What was the paragraph the Senator referred to in the free list?

Mr. WHITE. Paragraph 504 of the free list, page 169. It read, according to the House provision:

Coal, anthracite, and coal stores of American vessels, but none shall be unloaded.

The committee propose to amend it so that it will read:

Coal stores of American vessels, but none shall be unladen or discharged.

Now, it is proposed to put a drawback provision there. It would be manifestly out of place because the original part of the paragraph is operative; everything is on the free list; and hence it should come in at the place indicated by me, to wit, in this paragraph.

Mr. ALLISON. I hope the Senator will allow that to be passed over until to-morrow, to be taken up in the morning.

Mr. WHITE. Very well.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the amendment of the Senator from California will be passed over.

Mr. ALLISON. I desire at this time to offer an amendment to section 3, in order that it may be printed.

Mr. BURROWS and Mr. WHITE. Let the amendment be read.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Secretary will read the proposed amendment.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to strike out section 3 and to insert in lieu thereof the following:

SEC. 3. That whenever the President of the United States, with a view to secure reciprocal trade with foreign countries, shall, within the period of two years from and after the passage of this act, enter into commercial treaty or treaties with any other country or countries concerning the admission into any such country or countries of the goods, wares, and merchandise of the United States and their use and disposition therein, deemed to be for the interests of the United States, and in such treaty or treaties, in consideration of the advantages accruing to the United States therefrom, shall provide for the reduction during a specified period not exceeding five years of the duties imposed by this act, to the extent of not more than 20 per cent thereof upon such goods, wares, or merchandise as may be designated therein of the country or countries with which such treaty or treaties shall be made as in this section provided for, or shall provide for the transfer during such period from the dutiable list of this act to the free list thereof of such goods, wares, and merchandise, being the natural products of such foreign country or countries and not of the United States, or shall provide for the retention upon the free list of this act during a specified period not exceeding five years of such goods, wares, and merchandise now included in said free list as may be designated therein, and when any such treaty shall have been duly ratified and public proclamation made accordingly, then and thereafter the duties which shall be collected by the United States upon any of the designated goods, wares, and merchandise from the foreign country with which such treaty has been made shall, during the period provided for, be the duties specified and provided for in such treaty and none other.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask the Senate to proceed to paragraph 415.

Mr. BACON. I should like to offer an amendment in lieu of the amendment I now have pending. I have an amendment pending to this effect, that there shall be added a clause to be known as paragraph 517½, to put on the free list cotton ties of iron or steel of any thickness for baling cotton, cut to lengths, punched or not punched, with or without buckles. I wish to add to that:

Bags or sacks made from plain woven fabrics suitable for grain sacks and bagging for cotton, gunny cloth, and similar fabrics suitable for covering cotton.

Mr. WHITE. Will the Senator from Georgia please read the last clause again?

Mr. BACON. I propose to add:

Bags or sacks made from plain woven fabrics suitable for grain sacks, and bagging for cotton, gunny cloth, and similar fabrics suitable for covering cotton.

Of course the Senator will offer any suggestion as to the phraseology that he sees proper.

I desire to state that the Senate has already acted upon the matter of bags for grain and bagging for cotton by an amendment offered by the junior Senator from Alabama [Mr. PETTUS], under which they were stricken from the dutiable list, but they have not yet been put upon the free list, and if the matter were to remain as it now is, they would of course go under the basket clause. I offer this in lieu of the original amendment, so that the whole provision may be received as one amendment.

Mr. PETTUS. I suggest to the Senator from Georgia that there was another amendment. I offered the amendment in reference to bagging and bags. The Senator from Arkansas offered another amendment, which carried, and struck out jute and the preparations of jute. It seems to me that they should all go together.

Mr. BACON. I should be very glad to have the suggestion of the Senator incorporated as an amendment to the amendment.

Mr. PETTUS. They were all stricken out on the same day, the last on the motion of the Senator from Arkansas.

Mr. ALLISON. I did not quite hear the suggestion of the Senator from Alabama.

Mr. PETTUS. My suggestion is that jute and jute butts were stricken out of the dutiable list on the motion of the Senator from Arkansas, and they might well be incorporated in this amendment, putting them on the free list along with bags or sacks, etc.

Mr. ALLISON. Jute and jute butts are now on the free list, I will say to my friend. They are not on the dutiable list, and have not been for a good many years. The clauses that have been voted on already would be remitted, of course, to the basket clause of the dutiable list if they are not specifically put upon the free list, and I have no objection to making a basket provision covering all these things, so that the question may be settled by one vote.

Mr. PETTUS. I will ask the Senator from Iowa to consent that they go on the free list. The Senate has already voted on them for that purpose.

Mr. ALLISON. Jute and jute butts are already on the free list.

Mr. PETTUS. I will confine my request to the amendment offered by the Senator from Georgia [Mr. BACON].

Mr. ALLISON. Very well.

Mr. PETTUS. They have already been stricken from the dutiable list. Now I ask the Senator to consent that they be put on the free list.

Mr. ALLISON. I could not do that very well, in view of the close vote, but I will agree that the question may be voted on, as suggested by the Senator from Georgia. Of course there will be no objection to that.

Mr. WHITE. I suggest to the Senator from Alabama that there may have been a caucus ad interim.

Mr. ALLISON. I assure the Senator from California that there has not been.

Mr. PETTUS. I hope there has not been. The Senate voted to strike them off the dutiable list for the purpose of putting them on the free list, as announced at the time the motion was made. That having been decided upon, I hope the Senator from Iowa will consent that they shall go on the free list.

Mr. ALLISON. I have no power to do that, and inasmuch as the vote was a very close one, I think we had better try it over again and see whether they can be put on the free list. I am not permitted to consent to so radical a change as is suggested by the Senator from Alabama.

Mr. BACON. I do not understand that the Senate now has the free list under consideration, and consequently it is not now immediately in order.

Mr. ALLISON. Not now, but we shall reach the free list very soon. There is no objection to the amendment of the Senator from Georgia being offered now and considered when we reach it. I ask the Senate to go to paragraph 415.

The next paragraph passed over was paragraph 415, on page 149, which was read, as follows:

415. Feathers and downs of all kinds, including bird skins or parts thereof with the feathers on, crude or not dressed, colored, or otherwise advanced or manufactured in any manner, not specially provided for in this act, 15 per cent ad valorem; when dressed, colored, or otherwise advanced or manufactured in any manner, including quilts of down and other manufactures of down, and also dressed and finished birds suitable for millinery ornaments, and artificial or ornamental feathers, fruits, grains, leaves, flowers, and stems or parts thereof, of whatever material composed, not specially provided for in this act, 50 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. ALLISON. In line 20, page 149, I move, in behalf of the committee, to strike out "fifteen" and insert "twenty-five;" so as to read:

Feathers and downs of all kinds, including bird skins or parts thereof with the feathers on, crude or not dressed, colored, or otherwise advanced or manufactured in any manner, not specially provided for in this act, 25 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. I will ask if any change has been made in line 25?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. No change has been made.

Mr. ALLISON. Paragraph 425 is the next paragraph passed over.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I ask the Senator to allow that paragraph to go over for the present.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Arkansas refer to paragraph 425?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Yes; I should be glad to have it passed over until to-morrow. [A pause.] I withdraw the request.

The Committee on Finance proposed to amend paragraph 425, on page 151, line 11, after the word "set," by striking out "15 per cent ad valorem;" and on page 152, line 1, after the word "set," by striking out "twenty" and inserting "all the foregoing, ten;" so as to make the paragraph read:

425. Diamonds and other precious stones advanced in condition or value from their natural state by cleaving, splitting, cutting, or other process, and not set, imitations of diamonds or other precious stones, composed of glass or paste, not exceeding an inch in dimensions, not engraved, painted, or otherwise ornamented or decorated, and not mounted or set, all the foregoing, 10 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. ALLISON. In line 20, page 151, I move to insert "10 per cent" instead of "15 per cent."

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to amend the committee amendment by striking out, in line 20, after the word "set," "fifteen" and inserting "ten;" and then to restore the words "per cent ad valorem."

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Unless objection is made, the committee's amendment is disagreed to, and the Senator from Iowa moves to insert "ten" in lieu of "fifteen;" so as to read "10 per cent ad valorem."

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask that the amendment on page 152, line 1, be disagreed to.

The SECRETARY. In line 1, page 152, after the word "set," strike out "twenty" and insert "all the foregoing, ten."

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. ALLISON. There is no further amendment to that paragraph.

The next paragraph passed over was paragraph 443, page 159, which the Committee on Finance proposed to strike out, as follows:

443. Paintings in oil or water colors, pastels, pen and ink drawings, and statuary, not specially provided for in this act, 25 per cent ad valorem; but the term "statuary" as used in this act shall be understood to include only such statuary as is cut, carved, or otherwise wrought by hand from a solid block or mass of marble, stone, or alabaster, or from metal, and as is the professional production of a statuary or sculptor only.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask that the Senate disagree to the amendment striking out that paragraph. When that is done, in behalf of the committee, I will move to insert "thirty" instead of "twenty-five."

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the committee.

The amendment was rejected.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Iowa moves to amend the paragraph. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In line 12, after the word "act," strike out "twenty-five" and insert "thirty;" so as to make the paragraph read:

443. Paintings in oil or water colors, pastels, pen and ink drawings, and statuary, not specially provided for in this act, 30 per cent ad valorem; but the term "statuary," as used in this act, shall be understood to include only such statuary as is cut, carved, or otherwise wrought by hand from a solid block or mass of marble, stone, or alabaster, or from metal, and as is the professional production of a statuary or sculptor only.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I ask the Senator from Iowa if he does not think that that increase in that rate would be more likely to prevent importations than to increase revenue?

Mr. ALLISON. I hope it will increase revenue.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The experience of the Government upon those articles I do not think justifies that hope.

Mr. ALLISON. It may be delusive, but we must find revenue from some source. I move to insert at the end of the paragraph, in line 17, a comma, and the following:

And shall not include the pedestal or structure on which such statuary may be mounted or placed.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. WHITE. I desire to inquire of the Senator from Iowa the reason of that amendment? There seems to be rather an illegitimate separation of the two articles.

Mr. ALLISON. The object is to segregate the pedestal from the work of art.

Mr. WHITE. The amendment has that appearance; but I mean, is there any particular object in connection with the revenue, which the Senator has in view? Is there any particular reason why the work of art should be assessed at that rate and the other article not: in other words, what is the rationale of the amendment, if I may inquire?

Mr. ALLISON. I think the Senator will see the real point in this amendment. It is to segregate from the work of art the pedestal on which it rests, and that will place the pedestal under another clause in the bill at 50 per cent.

Mr. VEST. Let me ask the Senator from Iowa a question. A great many of the finest works of art in marble are in one piece; the pedestal and the statue are cut out of one block. How is the Senator going to make this tax operate in such a case?

Mr. ALLISON. I was not aware of that. I suppose that would be an objection.

Mr. VEST. That is the case.

Mr. ALLISON. Then I would say in the amendment, "where they are separate pieces."

Mr. VEST. That is the case. Many of the finest works of art in Europe are made out of one block. In fact, the first-class sculptors pride themselves upon that fact. I can not see how a custom-house officer could separate the pedestal from the statue.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. They could saw it off. [Laughter.]

Mr. ALLISON. If the Secretary will return the amendment, I think I may be able to modify it so as to cover the point suggested by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST].

Mr. WHITE. I presume, as the Venus of Milo lost her arms, that the separation referred to by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST] can be accomplished. [Laughter.]

Mr. ALLISON. I do not think there will be any great difficulty about the matter. If there is, we can arrange it in conference. I shall not offer any modification at present.

Mr. SEWELL. I suggest to the Senator from Iowa that under the present law the pedestal is taxable, while the work of art itself is free.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The next paragraph which was passed over will be read.

The SECRETARY. The Committee on Finance reported to strike out paragraph 444, on page 159, line 18, as follows:

444. Peat moss, $1 per ton.

Mr. ALLISON. The committee now recommend that that be disagreed to.

Mr. VEST. What became of paragraph 443? Was that passed over?

Mr. ALLISON. It was not passed over. I stated that if there was found to be any difficulty we might arrange it later on or in conference.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Unless objection is made, the report of the committee recommending the striking out of paragraph 444, which has been read, will be disagreed to, and the paragraph will stand as it came from the House of Representatives. The Chair hears no objection, and it is so ordered.

The next paragraph which was passed over was paragraph 445, which the Committee on Finance reported to amend, in line 19, on page 159, after the words "pencils of," to insert "paper or;" so as to read:

Pencils of paper or wood filled with lead or other material, and pencils of lead, 50 cents per gross.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in paragraph 445, line 20, before the word "cents," to strike out "fifty" and insert "forty;" so as to read:

Forty cents per gross.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask to modify that amendment by inserting "forty-five" in lieu of "forty."

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to amend the committee amendment by striking out "fifty" and inserting "forty-five;" so as to read:

Forty-five cents per gross.

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

The amendment as amended was agreed to.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in paragraph 445, line 21, before the words "per centum," to strike out "thirty" and insert "twenty."

Mr. ALLISON. I wish to modify that amendment by striking out "thirty" and inserting "twenty-five."

The SECRETARY. In line 21 of paragraph 445, before the words "per centum," it is proposed to strike out "thirty" and insert "twenty-five;" so as to read:

Pencils of paper or wood filled with lead or other material, and pencils of lead, 45 cents per gross and 25 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment as modified was agreed to.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in the same paragraph, Lne 21, after the words "slate pencils," to strike out "4 cents per 100" and insert "covered with wood, 35 per cent ad valorem; all other slate pencils, 3 cents per 100."

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. Paragraph 452 was passed over, I think, at the request of the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SEWELL], who had some difficulty about salicylic acid. That paragraph, I believe, has already been amended so as to exclude salicylic acid.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. It was passed over at the request of the Senator from California [Mr. WHITE].

Mr. SEWELL. I understand that salicylic acid has been restored to the dutiable list.

Mr. ALLISON. It has been restored to the dutiable list and taken from the free list. That is my recollection of it.

Mr. SEWELL. That is correct.

Mr. WHITE. I did not understand the Senator from Iowa.

Mr. ALLISON. I say that since paragraph 452 was passed over, salicylic acid has been restored to the dutiable list by a specific

vote, and then the word "salicylic" was stricken from paragraph 452 of the free list.

Mr. WHITE. So the idea of the Senator from Iowa is that the vote placing salicylic acid upon the dutiable list renders it unnecessary to take another vote now?

Mr. ALLISON. Yes. We took a separate vote at that time, and thereby arranged the objectionable feature of this paragraph. So, if there is no further amendment to be offered, I hope that the paragraph will stand.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The word "salicylic" comes out of paragraph 452, does it?

Mr. WHITE. Yes.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask that the paragraph be read as it stands.

The Secretary read as follows:

452. Acids: Arsenic or arsenious, benzoic, carbolic, fluoric, hydrochloric or muriatic, nitric, oxalic, phosphoric, picric or nitro-picric, prussic and silicic, and valerianic.

Mr. ALLISON. Is paragraph 452 now disposed of?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. It was disposed of on the 26th instant. Without objection, the amendments to the paragraph are agreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. My attention is called to two "ands" in line 20, and I ask that the first "and" may be stricken out and a comma inserted after the word "prussic."

The VICE-PRESIDENT. That amendment will be made, in the absence of objection.

The next paragraph passed over was paragraph 456, on page 162, where the Committee on Finance, in line 5, after the word "anthracin," reported to strike out the words "including naphthazarin black" and to insert "and all fast black coal-tar dyes;" so as to make the paragraph read:

456. Alizarin, natural or artificial, and dyes derived from alizarin or from anthracin, and all fast-black coal-tar dyes.

Mr. ALLISON. I wish to modify the amendment by striking out all after the word "anthracin;" that is, not only striking out the words the committee originally proposed, but also striking out the words "and all fast black coal-tar dyes."

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Without objection, the amendment will be considered as agreed to, striking out, all after the word "anthracin," in line 5.

Mr. VEST. What does the Senator propose to do with the fast black coal-tar dyes—to put them under the basket clause, or to put a duty upon them?

Mr. ALLISON. They will go to the basket clause with the duty there provided They will go under chemical compounds, and will all be dutiable.

The next paragraph which was passed over was paragraph 460, beginning in line 11, on page 162, as follows:

460. Any animal imported specially for breeding purposes shall be admitted free: *Provided*, That no such animal shall be admitted free unless pure bred of a recognized breed, and duly registered in the book of record established for that breed: *And provided further*, That certificate of such record and of the pedigree of such animal shall be produced and submitted to the customs officer, duly authenticated by the proper custodian of such book of record, together with the affidavit of the owner, agent, or importer that such animal is the identical animal described in said certificate of record and pedigree. The Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe such additional regulations as may be required for the strict enforcement of this provision.

Mr. ALLISON. I call the attention of the Senator from Texas [Mr. CHILTON] to the amendment which he offered to this paragraph some days ago. The committee have considered the amendment, and they think it a wise amendment to adopt.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment referred to by the Senator from Iowa, which was offered by the Senator from Texas [Mr. CHILTON], to insert a proviso in line 21, on page 162, paragraph 460, has already been adopted.

Mr. ALLISON. I did not know that.

Mr. CHILTON. That was agreed to several days ago.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair understands the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. JONES] desires to offer an amendment.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Will the Secretary read paragraph 460 as it stands?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. There is no change made in the paragraph except the amendment proposed by the Senator from Texas. The Secretary does not appear to have the amendment proposed by the Senator from Arkansas.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. My proposition was to insert the provision that was in the Wilson bill on this subject.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. It has not been sent to the Secretary's desk.

Mr. MILLS. It is in this bill. Will the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. QUAY] refer me to the particular paragraph about cattle?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Paragraph 373 of the Wilson law.

Mr. QUAY. I did not understand the remark of the Senator from Texas directed to me a moment ago.

Mr. MILLS. It was with reference to the cattle provision. I was asking in what paragraph of the bill it was to be found, as the Senator is familiar with it.

Mr. QUAY. It is to be found, as the committee have placed it, in the free list. I thought it properly ought to go with the paragraph relating to the duty on cattle; but the committee differ with me. It does not matter, so far as the result is concerned, where it goes.

Mr. MILLS. I want to call it up and have it acted upon now. It reads as follows:

Cattle, horses, sheep, or other domestic animals which have strayed across the boundary line into any foreign country, or have been or may be driven across such boundary line by the owner for temporary pasturage purposes, together with their increase, may be brought back to the United States free of duty under regulations to be prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury.

Mr. QUAY. I understand the committee are ready to adopt the amendment.

Mr. ALLISON. The committee do not recommend its adoption, but they are perfectly willing it shall be voted upon now if the Senator from Texas offers it.

Mr. QUAY. Then let us take the vote upon it.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read the amendment proposed by the Senator from Texas [Mr. MILLS].

The SECRETARY. At the end of paragraph 460 it is proposed to insert:

Cattle, horses, sheep, or other domestic animals which have strayed across the boundary line into any foreign country, or have been or may be driven across such boundary line by the owner for temporary pasturage purposes, together with their increase, may be brought back to the United States free of duty under regulations to be prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury.

Mr. QUAY. I move the adoption of the amendment, Mr. President.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the amendment proposed by the Senator from Texas [Mr. MILLS], which has been read.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The Senator from Iowa inquired of me if this was the exact language of the Wilson law. The word "temporary" is in the amendment as proposed, but it is not in the law now. There is that difference.

Mr. ALLISON. I think the word "temporary" ought to be there.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. That word is in the amendment.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. As the Senator asked me the question, I wanted him to know exactly what is proposed. The word "temporary" weakens the provision.

Mr. ALLISON. I simply stated that the committee did not recommend it. They feared that there might be some confusion under it, unless there were some better regulations than those proposed by the Senator from Texas.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The word "temporary" will cover it. There is no difficulty in the administration of it now, as I understand.

Mr. MILLS. "Temporary" will do.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The paragraph as amended will be agreed to, in the absence of objection.

The Secretary read paragraph 463½, which the Committee on Finance proposed to insert as a new paragraph, as follows:

463½. Antitoxin.

Mr. ALLISON. I hope that amendment will be disagreed to, and I call the attention of the Senator from California to it. On examination the committee, in their judgment, think it is not wise to adopt the amendment.

Mr. WHITE. I should like to understand the reasons for it. Antitoxin is a medicine of great value. It has been found to be most necessary in the treatment of that dire disease, diphtheria. The Board of General Appraisers of the United States, located at New York, held that it was not dutiable, coming under the general designation of vaccine virus; but the United States district court held as the blood of the horse was used in preparing the medicine antitoxin, and as the blood of the horse had nothing to do with vaccine virus, and was not connected with it, that it was a different substance. Both are used for the purpose of counteracting or preventing or curing disease.

It appears to me utterly irrational to exclude from the market such an article as antitoxin, or to place any impediment, indeed, upon its general use in the cheapest way. It does not come under any of the provisions justifying the collection of a duty. If there should be exemptions as to anything, it should be as to an article of that character: but I presume there is some one engaged in the business of making it less easy to cure diphtheria, and such programme needs encouragement.

I certainly will not withdraw the amendment. I stated the facts at the time I made the motion, and the amendment was deliberately incorporated in the bill, and can only be removed, as I have said, at the suggestion of some interest affected.

Mr. ALLISON. Do I understand that it is part of the bill now.

Mr. WHITE. It was adopted.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair understands it was agreed to on the day it was submitted.

Mr. WHITE. Yes, sir; I stated the facts and referred to the

decision of the court, which was rendered by Judge Wheeler, and which I can get in a moment.

Mr. ALLISON. I do not wish to go back to it. I only wish to say that there are a number of manufacturers in this country and there are a great number of boards of health who manufacture antitoxin, who have told the committee that much of what is imported is spurious and imperfect; and that it is much better to have it carefully examined and have a small duty upon it.

Mr. WHITE. If that were so, then it should apply to vaccine virus or any other medicine. If there is any board of health in this country engaged in manufacturing antitoxin, which board of health desires to impose a duty upon it, that board of health ought to be summarily ejected from office and be compelled to pursue their selfish and robbing vocation without drawing a salary from the public.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. I do not understand that this matter was agreed to. Certainly it has been published in the list of paragraphs which were passed over, and it is to be found in that list, on page 47, which was prepared by the Secretary.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair understands the provision was first inserted and then passed over for further action.

Mr. WHITE. Does the Senator desire to refer to the RECORD?

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. I understand "antitoxin" was inserted; that then it was passed over for further action, and now comes up.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. If it was inserted, that is all we want.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. It is like a great many other paragraphs which have been passed over for further consideration.

Mr. WHITE. It was incorporated in the bill at the time, as I remember distinctly.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The next paragraph passed over will be stated.

The Secretary read the amendments proposed by the Committee on Finance to paragraph 470, on page 164, which were, in line 4, after the words "United States," to insert "(except articles upon which an internal-revenue tax is levied);" in line 7, after the word "means," to strike out "casks, barrels, carboys, bags, and other vessels of American manufacture exported filled with American products, or exported empty and returned filled with foreign products, including shooks when returned as barrels or boxes; also quicksilver flasks or bottles, of either domestic or foreign manufacture, which shall have been actually exported from the United States;" in line 16, after the word "Treasury," to strike out "but the exemption of bags from duty shall apply only to such domestic bags as may be imported by the exporter thereof, and if any such articles are subject to internal tax at the time of exportation, such tax shall be proved to have been paid before exportation and not refunded;" in line 22, after the word "made," to strike out "the reimportation of which is hereby prohibited except upon payment of duties equal to the drawbacks allowed;" and in line 1, on page 165, after the word "law," to strike out "*And provided further*, That when manufactured tobacco which has been exported without payment of internal-revenue tax shall be reimported, it shall be retained in the custody of the collector of customs until internal-revenue stamps in payment of the legal duties shall be placed thereon;" so as to make the paragraph read:

470. Articles the growth, produce, and manufacture of the United States (except articles upon which an internal-revenue tax is levied), when returned after having been exported, without having been advanced in value or improved in condition by any process of manufacture or other means; but proof of the identity of such articles shall be made, under general regulations to be prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury: *Provided*, That this paragraph shall not apply to any article upon which an allowance of drawback has been made, or to any article manufactured in bonded warehouse and exported under any provision of law.

Mr. ALLISON. The committee made several recommendations of changes in this paragraph. It is substantially the paragraph of the law of 1890, with a slight modification made in 1894. The general plan of the committee as respects this paragraph was decided upon at an early stage in the consideration of the bill. The committee now propose to withdraw all the amendments to this paragraph and allow it to stand as it stands in the law of 1894, but recommend, in line 11, after the word "shooks," there be inserted the words "and staves."

The VICE-PRESIDENT. In the absence of objection, the amendments heretofore proposed by the committee to the paragraph will be rejected.

Mr. WHITE. If the Senator from Iowa will permit a suggestion, the portion of this paragraph in regard to the drawback upon bags will not read, I think, harmoniously unless the bill is changed in its present appearance in relation to bags. Bags have been removed from the position in the dutiable list in which they were originally placed; and of course, without further action, they will go into the basket clause. Those who believe that they should not be dutiable will, at the proper time, offer an amendment upon that subject; and if they do not change their opinion, of course they will go on the free list, and it will not be necessary to have a drawback upon them.

Mr. ALLISON. That is true; but the bagging paragraph will be reached very soon. I suggest to the Senator that we dispose of this and then modify it.

Mr. MILLS. What is the paragraph?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Paragraph 470. The Senator from Iowa suggests that the amendments of the committee be disagreed to. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and they are disagreed to.

The SECRETARY. After the word "shooks," in line 17, it is proposed to insert "and staves."

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Without objection, the amendment will be considered as agreed to. The paragraph is open to amendment.

Mr. ALLISON. The next paragraph printed in the text is 473¼.

The SECRETARY. The following amendment was passed over:

473¼. Bagging for cotton, gunny cloth, and all similar material suitable for covering cotton, composed in whole or in part of hemp, flax, jute, or jute butts.

Mr. PETTUS. I desire to propose an amendment.

Mr. WHITE. If agreeable to the Senator in charge of the bill, I would personally prefer that the provision regarding bagging should go over until to-morrow. There are some matters in connection with it which I have not at hand at this moment.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Alabama consent?

Mr. WHITE. Of course I am friendly to placing it upon the free list. If the Senator from Iowa has no objection I should like to have it go over.

Mr. ALLISON. I have no objection if it is agreeable to the Senator from Alabama. It is an important amendment.

Mr. WHITE. Very important.

Mr. ALLISON. The revenue is affected to the extent of six or seven million dollars, and we ought to consider it with great care.

Mr. WHITE. It strikes me the Senator from Iowa is unduly alarmed about that.

Mr. ALLISON. I am not alarmed at all.

Mr. WHITE. I retract the statement, for, judging by the bill, I have no reason to assume that the absence of revenue alarms the Senator from Iowa.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The paragraph will go over.

The Secretary read as follows:

476¼. Bauxite or beauxite, crude, not refined or otherwise advanced in condition.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask that the amendment be disagreed to, as the article has already been placed upon the dutiable list.

The amendment was rejected.

The Secretary read as follows:

493¼. Burlaps and bags for grain made of burlaps.

Mr. ALLISON. That is a kindred amendment. It was not reported by the committee, but offered by an individual Senator.

Mr. GRAY. Let it go over with the other paragraph.

Mr. ALLISON. It may go over with the other paragraph.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. There being no objection, that will be the order.

Mr. ALLISON. Paragraph 495¼, bleaching powder, I believe, is an amendment offered by the Senator from Delaware [Mr. GRAY]. Inasmuch as we have already taken a decisive vote upon the question, unless the Senator from Delaware desires a further vote——

Mr. GRAY. Let us vote on it.

Mr. ALLISON. Very well.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will report the amendment.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to insert as a new paragraph:

495¼. Bleaching powder.

The amendment was rejected.

The SECRETARY. The committee report an amendment to insert as a new paragraph:

500a. Charcoal.

The amendment was agreed to.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The next passed-over amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In paragraph 504 the Committee on Finance reported an amendment, to strike out, in line 3, after the word "coal," the comma and the words "anthracite, and coal;" so as to make the paragraph read:

504. Coal stores of American vessels, but none shall be unloaded.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask that the paragraph may be passed over, in order that it may be considered to-morrow morning in connection with the amendment suggested by the Senator from California.

Mr. ALLEN. What has become of paragraph 500b?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. That is an amendment proposed by an individual Senator, and not by the committee

Mr. ALLISON. Paragraph 500b has already been disposed of. It has been struck from the bill.

The SECRETARY. The next passed-over amendment of the committee is to strike out paragraph 505, in the following words:

505. Coal tar, crude, and pitch of coal tar, and dead or creosote oil. Aniline and derivatives, toluidine and derivatives, xylidine, cumidine, binitrotoluole, binitrobenzole, benzidine and derivatives, tolidine and derivatives, dianistidine, naphtole and derivatives, naphtylamine and derivatives, benzaldehyde, benzyl chloride and derivatives, phtalic acid and derivatives, and resorcine. None of the derivatives referred to above, however, shall include any coal-tar dyes or colors.

And to insert in lieu thereof the following:

505. Coal tar, crude, pitch of coal tar, and products of coal tar known as dead or creosote oil, benzol, toluol, naphthaline, xylol, phenol, and cresol.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the committee.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. MILLS. The Senate is not passing regularly over the free list.

Mr. ALLISON. We are simply taking up the passed-over items.

Mr. MILLS. I wish to offer some amendments after the committee get through.

Mr. ALLISON. Very well; that will be in order.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The next amendment is paragraph 517½, proposed by the Senator from Georgia [Mr. BACON].

Mr. BACON. As that is a kindred subject to the one already passed, I suggest to the Senator from Iowa that it also go over until to-morrow morning.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. If there be no objection, it will go over.

Mr. QUAY. Mr. President, I have been absent from the Chamber for a moment. I desire to inquire what was done with paragraph 500a?

Mr. GRAY. It was agreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. It was agreed to.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The paragraph was agreed to.

Mr. QUAY. What was done with paragraph 505?

Mr. ALLISON. It was agreed to.

Mr. QUAY. I have been gravely misinformed with respect to the disposition of the committee as to both of these items. That is all I have to say.

Mr. ALLISON. I do not understand the Senator.

Mr. QUAY. I say I have been very gravely misinformed as to the intention of the committee with respect to both of these items.

Mr. ALLISON. What does the Senator from Pennsylvania desire about them?

Mr. QUAY. My understanding was that charcoal was to go upon the dutiable list, and that paragraph 505 was to be stricken out, and those articles were to go under a revenue duty of 20 per cent.

Mr. ALLISON. If the Senator desires that the paragraphs be passed over, I shall be glad to have it done.

Mr. QUAY. It is not worth while to pass them over if the committee has agreed as to what disposition it will make of them. We all stand confined and imprisoned by the steel pact of the Republican caucus. If you gentlemen know what you are going to do, we might as well dispose of the paragraphs now.

Mr. WHITE. I suggest that this is scarcely a case for obtaining a decree of specific performance.

Mr. QUAY. Let the paragraphs be passed over for the present.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask that they may be passed over.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. They have been agreed to.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The paragraphs will be passed over.

Mr. ALLISON. By unanimous consent they may be considered as passed over. I ask unanimous consent to that effect.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Paragraphs 500a and 505 will be passed over.

Mr. BACON. If the Senator from Iowa will permit me, as the Senator from Alabama [Mr. PETTUS] has introduced a separate amendment covering the question of grain sacks and cotton bagging, I will withdraw that part of the amendment which I offered this afternoon, in order that there may not be two amendments pending at the same time to the same effect. So the amendment which I will consider as pending will be the original amendment, which relates solely to the question of cotton ties, the matter of cotton bagging and of grain sacks being covered by the amendment offered by the Senator from Alabama.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will report the Senator's amendment, which will be laid over.

The Secretary read as follows:

517½. Cotton ties of iron or steel, of any thickness, for baling cotton, cut to lengths, punched or not punched, with or without buckles.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment will be printed.

Mr. ALLISON. It goes over?

Mr. FAULKNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. ALLISON. Paragraph 525 has not been disposed of.

Mr. VEST. I offered an amendment to the paragraph.

Mr. ALLISON. I believe it has not been finally disposed of.

The SECRETARY. Paragraph 525 as amended reads as follows:

Diamonds and other precious stones, rough or uncut, and not advanced in condition or value from their natural state by cleaving, splitting, cutting, or other process, including miners', glaziers', and engravers' diamonds not set, and jewels to be used in the manufacture of clocks and watches, and diamond dust or bort.

Mr. ALLISON. It was my purpose to insert the words "and jewels for use in the manufacture of watches or clocks" at the end of the paragraph, after the word "bort." I think it would be a little more convenient to have it that way, but I do not see any practical objection to its insertion where it is.

Mr. VEST. I ask that the paragraph may again be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

525. Diamonds and other precious stones, rough or uncut, and not advanced in condition or value from their natural state by cleaving, splitting, cutting, or other process, including miners', glaziers', and engravers' diamonds not set, and jewels to be used in the manufacture of clocks and watches, and diamond dust or bort; and jewels for use in the manufacture of watches or clocks.

Mr. VEST. The Secretary has jewels for watches and clocks in twice.

Mr. ALLISON. Jewels for the manufacture of watches and clocks is inserted twice there. I suggest that it be taken out in one place.

Mr. VEST. Why not add it at the end of the paragraph, after the word "bort," as I did in the amendment I offered? Say "and jewels to be used in the manufacture of clocks and watches."

Mr. ALLISON. That is, in line 25?

Mr. VEST. Yes.

Mr. ALLISON. It is in twice now.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to add at the end of the paragraph the words:

And jewels to be used in the manufacture of clocks and watches.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Without objection, the amendment will be considered as agreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. There should be a comma after the word "bort."

Mr. VEST. Strike out the period and put in a comma.

Mr. ALLISON. The amendment which I offered will be stricken from the paragraph.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read the paragraph as it now stands.

The Secretary read as follows:

525. Diamonds and other precious stones, rough or uncut, and not advanced in condition or value from their natural state by cleaving, splitting, cutting, or other process, including miners', glaziers', and engravers' diamonds not set, and diamond dust or bort, and jewels to be used in the manufacture of clocks and watches.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment has been agreed to.

The Secretary read as follows:

530. Emery ore.

Mr. ALLISON. Paragraph 530 stands.

The Secretary read as follows:

532a. Farina.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask that the paragraph may be passed over.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. It will be passed over.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask that 532b, which has been agreed to, may be reconsidered and struck from the free list, as we have already made the article dutiable in another paragraph.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. What is that?

Mr. ALLISON. 532b.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The Secretary read as follows:

532b. Fashion plates, engraved on steel or copper or on wood, colored or plain.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment which has been read.

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. ALLISON. I believe I offered on behalf of the committee paragraph 534½. I withdraw the amendment.

Mr. VEST. What is the amendment?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The Secretary read as follows:

534½. Fence posts.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Without objection, upon suggestion of the committee, paragraph 534½ is withdrawn.

The next passed-over committee amendment was to insert the following as a new paragraph:

535½. Fish, fresh, frozen or packed in ice (except salmon), caught in the Great Lakes or other fresh waters by or for American fishermen or citizens of the United States.

Mr. ALLISON. That paragraph may be agreed to.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next passed-over amendment was to insert the following as a new paragraph:

537½. Floor mattings, manufactured from round or split straw, including what is commonly known as Chinese matting.

Mr. ALLISON. That is an amendment offered by a Senator.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST] offered the amendment.

Mr. ALLISON. We are ready to have it disposed of.

Mr. VEST. We voted to put these articles upon the free list. Does the Senator from Iowa want another vote?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. It was passed over.

Mr. VEST. We voted it out of the dutiable list, for I made the motion and called for the yeas and nays.

Mr. WHITE. It would have been much simpler to have voted directly upon the question of placing the articles upon the free list; but we did not, and hence the necessity of having another vote. I suggest it is too late this evening for a vote, and that the paragraph may be passed over.

Mr. ALLISON. Let it be passed over.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The paragraph will be passed over.

The Secretary read as follows:

546. Grease and oils (excepting fish oils), such as are commonly used in soap making or in wire drawing, or for stuffing or dressing leather, and which are fit only for such uses, and not specially provided for by name in this act.

Mr. ALLISON. In line 4, after the word "oils," I move to insert "excepting fish oils."

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary states that the amendment has already been agreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. It has been agreed to. I ask now that the paragraph may be read as it stands.

The Secretary again read the paragraph.

Mr. ALLISON. Paragraph 547½, gunny bags, will go over.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Paragraph 547½, at the suggestion of the Senator from Iowa, will go over.

Mr. ALLISON. It goes over as a part of a contested amendment. I also ask that paragraph 550 may go over. It must be modified so as to meet the amendment already made with respect to cattle hides.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Without objection, it will be passed over.

The next passed-over amendment of the committee was, in paragraph 558, page 174, line 8, after the word "indigo," to insert "whether natural or artificially prepared;" so as to make the paragraph read:

558. Indigo, whether natural or artificially prepared.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask that the committee amendment may be disagreed to.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the committee.

The amendment was rejected.

The next passed-over amendment was to insert as a new paragraph:

581½. Iron ore.

Mr. ALLISON. That, I believe, has been settled by agreeing to a paragraph in the dutiable list imposing 40 cents a ton. I ask the Senate to disagree to the amendment.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Without objection, the amendment will be rejected.

The Secretary read as follows:

578. Lime, chloride of, or bleaching powder.

Mr. ALLISON. That is to be stricken out.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The line will be stricken from the bill.

The SECRETARY. The next passed-over amendment is one proposed by the Senator from California, as follows:

581½. Magnesia, sulphate of, or Epsom salts.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask that the paragraph may be passed over.

Mr. HOAR. What has become of paragraph 581?

Mr. ALLISON. It was disposed of.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. It has not been disposed of.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask that it may be.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The paragraph will be considered as agreed to.

Mr. VEST. What was the amendment just agreed to?

Mr. ALLISON. I ask that paragraph 581½ may be passed over. I think it is already on the dutiable list.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Paragraph 581½ will be passed over, at the suggestion of the Senator from Iowa.

The Secretary read as follows:

584. Manganese, oxide and ore of.

Mr. ALLISON. That is to be passed over.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. If there be no objection, the paragraph will be passed over.

Mr. ALLISON. Let us go to paragraph 592.

The SECRETARY. The Committee on Finance report an amendment, to strike out paragraph 592, in the following words:

592. Mineral salts obtained by evaporation from mineral waters, when accompanied by a duly authenticated certificate and satisfactory proof, showing that they are in no way artificially prepared, and are only the product of a designated mineral spring.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask that the committee amendment may be disagreed to.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Without objection, the amendment of the committee is disagreed to. It is disagreed to, and paragraph 592 stands.

The next paragraph passed over was paragraph 603, on page 177, which the Committee on Finance proposed to strike out, as follows:

603. Oils: Amber, crude or rectified, ambergris, anise or anise seed, aniline, cajeput, caraway, cedrat, chamomile, civet, cocoanut, enfleurage grease, fennel, jasmine or jasimine, juglandium, juniper, mace, neroli, or orange flower, nut oil or oil of nuts not specially provided for in this act, olive oil or olive oil foots imported expressly for manufacturing or mechanical purposes and fit only for such use, palm, thyme, origanum red or white, valerian; and also spermaceti, whale and other fish oils of American fisheries, and fish and all other articles the products of such fisheries; petroleum, crude or refined: *Provided*, That if there be imported into the United States crude petroleum, or the products of crude petroleum produced in any country which imposes a duty on petroleum or its products exported from the United States, there shall be levied, paid, and collected upon said crude petroleum or its products so imported 40 per cent ad valorem.

And in lieu thereof to insert:

603. Oils: Almond, amber, crude and rectified ambergris, anise or anise seed, aniline, aspic or spike lavender, bergamot, cajeput, caraway, cassia, cinnamon, cedrat, chamomile, citronella or lemon grass, civet, fennel, jasmine or jasimine, juglandium, juniper, lavender, lemon, limes, mace, neroli or orange flower, enfleurage grease, nut oil or oil of nuts not otherwise specially provided for in this act, orange oil, olive oil for manufacturing or mechanical purposes fit only for such use and valued at not more than 60 cents per gallon, ottar of roses, palm and cocoanut, rosemary or anthoss, sesame or sesamum seed or bean, thyme, origanum red or white, valerian; and also spermaceti, whale, and other fish oils of American fisheries, and all fish and other products, of such fisheries; petroleum, crude or refined: *Provided*, That if there be imported into the United States crude petroleum, or the products of crude petroleum produced in any country which imposes a duty on petroleum or its products exported from the United States, there shall in such cases be levied, paid, and collected a duty upon said crude petroleum or its products so imported equal to the duty imposed by such country.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask that paragraph 603 may be passed over. It is an important amendment.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. No objection being made, the paragraph will be passed over.

The next paragraph passed over was paragraph 606½, on page 179, which the Committee on Finance proposed to insert as a new paragraph, as follows:

606½. Paintings, in oil or water colors, original drawings and sketches, and artists' proofs of etchings and engravings, and statuary, not otherwise provided for in this act; but the term "statuary" as used in this act shall be understood to include only professional productions, whether round or in relief, in marble, stone, alabaster, wood, or metal, of a statuary or sculptor, and the word "painting" as used in this act shall not be understood to include such as are made wholly or in part by stenciling or any other mechanical process, nor any article of utility.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask that that amendment may be disagreed to. We have just placed these on the dutiable list.

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. VEST. I could not hear the Senator from Iowa. What did we do with that paragraph?

Mr. ALLISON. I asked that paragraph 606½ might be disagreed to, as we have this day put these articles upon the dutiable list.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Where?

Mr. ALLISON. In paragraph 443.

Mr. VEST. They can not be taken off the free list without a yea-and-nay vote.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair will remind the Senator from Missouri that two amendments were made to paragraph 443.

Mr. ALLISON. Has the amendment inserting paragraph 606½ been disagreed to?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair is waiting for the Senator from Missouri.

Mr. VEST. Let it go over. I want to look at it.

Mr. ALLISON. Let it be passed over.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. It will be so ordered.

Mr. ALLISON. The next paragraph is 607½, the amendment offered by the Senator from Arkansas.

The Secretary read as follows:

607½. Paris green and london purple.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I presume there is no objection to that.

Mr. ALLISON. I will allow it to go in anyway, and we will see what becomes of it later.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Without objection, the amendment is agreed to, and paragraph 607½ is adopted.

The SECRETARY. The next paragraph passed over is on page 180, after line 19, as follows:

615. Plaster rock, or gypsum, and terra alba, crude and not calcined, ground or otherwise advanced from the natural state.

Mr. ALLISON. In line 20 I move to strike out "Plaster rock, or gypsum, and;" and in the same line, after the word "alba," to strike out the words "crude and not calcined, ground or otherwise advanced from the natural state;" so as to read:

615. Terra alba.

The amendment was agreed to.

The SECRETARY. The next paragraph passed over is paragraph 619, on page 181. The Committee on Finance propose to amend, in line 4, after the word "Potash," by striking out "carbonate of" and inserting "crude, or 'black salts;' carbonate of potash, crude or refined; hydrate of, or caustic potash, not including refined in sticks or rolls;" so as to make the paragraph read:

619. Potash, crude, or "black salts;" carbonate of potash, crude or refined; hydrate of, or caustic potash, not including refined in sticks or rolls; nitrate of potash or saltpeter, crude; sulphate of potash, crude or refined, and muriate of potash.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask that this amendment may be agreed to and then the paragraph passed over.

The SECRETARY. At the end of the paragraph insert the words "and cyanide of potassium."

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair understands that the amendments have been agreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. The amendment just read by the Secretary is not an amendment of the committee. It is an amendment offered by some Senator.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. It was offered by the Senator from Nevada [Mr. STEWART].

Mr. ALLISON. I ask that that paragraph be passed over.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. If there be no objection, the amendment of the committee will be agreed to and the paragraph will be passed over.

Mr. MILLS. Is it decided to go on beyond 5 o'clock?

Mr. ALLISON. We will go on just a few moments longer.

The next paragraph passed over was paragraph 622½, on page 182, which the Committee on Finance proposed as a new paragraph, as follows:

622½. Regalia and gems, statues, statuary, and specimens or casts of marble, bronze, alabaster, or plaster of paris, where specially imported in good faith for the use of any society incorporated or established solely for religious, philosophical, educational, scientific, or literary purposes, or for the encouragement of the fine arts, or for the use or by order of any college, academy, school, or seminary of learning in the United States, or any State or public library, and not for sale; but the term "regalia" as herein used shall be held to embrace only such insignia of rank or office or emblems as may be worn upon the person or borne in the hand during public exercises of the society or institution, and shall not include articles of furniture or fixtures, or of regular wearing apparel, nor personal property of individuals.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask that paragraph 622½ may also be passed over for the time being.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. There being no objection, paragraph 622½ will be passed over.

Mr. ALLISON. Paragraph 622½ being passed over, paragraph 628 comes next. I move to amend the amendment of the committee at their request by striking from the amendment the words "beet," "radish," and "spinach."

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will first state the amendment of the committee.

The SECRETARY. The Committee on Finance propose to amend paragraph 628, on page 183, line 5, by inserting after the word "Anise" the words "beet, canary;" in line 6, before the word "cotton," by inserting "cauliflower, coriander;" in line 7, after the word "hoarhound," by inserting "mangel-wurzel;" in the same line, after the word "mustard," by inserting "radish:" in line 8, after the word "or," by striking out "bene" and inserting "bean;" in the same line, after the word "bean," by striking out "sugar beet" and inserting "spinach;" in the same line, after the word "spinach," by striking out "mangel-wurzel;" in line 9, after the word "seed," by striking out the comma and the word "and" and inserting a semicolon and the words "bulbs and bulbous roots, not edible;" so as to make the paragraph read:

628. Seeds: Anise, beet, canary, caraway, cardamom, cauliflower, coriander, cotton, cummin, fennel, fenugreek, hemp, hoarhound, mangel-wurzel, mustard, radish, rape, St. John's bread or bean, spinach; sorghum or sugar cane for seed; bulbs and bulbous roots, not edible; all flower and grass seeds; all the foregoing not specially provided for in this act.

Mr. ALLISON. Now I ask that the word "beet" be struck out from the first amendment.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Beet, radish, and spinach.

Mr. ALLISON. "Beet, canary."

The SECRETARY. After the word "Anise," in line 5, it is proposed to insert "beet, canary."

Mr. ALLISON. That is to be disagreed to.

Mr. WHITE. I should like to inquire of the Senator from Iowa whether it is designed to put a duty on beet seed.

Mr. ALLISON. It is not. This is not sugar-beet seed.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Without objection, the amendment is disagreed to.

The SECRETARY. In line 5, after the word "cardamom," insert "cauliflower, coriander."

Mr. ALLISON. That ought to be agreed to.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Without objection, the amendment is agreed to.

The SECRETARY. In line 7, after the word "hoarhound," insert "mangel-wurzel."

The amendment was agreed to.

The SECRETARY. In line 7, after the word "mustard," insert "radish."

Mr. ALLISON. "Radish" is to be stricken out.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Without objection, the amendment is disagreed to.

The SECRETARY. In line 8, after the word "or," strike out "bene" and insert "bean."

The amendment was agreed to.

The SECRETARY. In line 8, after the word "bean," strike out "sugar beet."

Mr. ALLISON. Let that be disagreed to.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Without objection, the amendment is disagreed to.

Mr. MANTLE. Do I understand that the committee are striking out "sugar beet" from the free list?

Mr. ALLISON. We are putting it on.

Mr. MANTLE. You do not propose to put a duty on it?

Mr. ALLISON. By disagreeing to our amendment it remains on the free list.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. It leaves it on the free list. The amendment is disagreed to.

The SECRETARY. In line 8, after the words "sugar beet," insert the word "spinach."

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. That is to be disagreed to.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Without objection, the amendment is disagreed to.

The SECRETARY. In line 8, after the words "sugar beet," strike out "mangel-wurzel."

Mr. ALLISON. That should be agreed to and left as it came from the House.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. It has once been inserted in line 7.

Mr. ALLISON. Yes; that is above. It should be stricken out here.

The amendment was agreed to.

The SECRETARY. In line 9, after the word "seed," strike out the comma and the word "and" and insert a semicolon and the words "bulbs and bulbous roots, not edible."

Mr. ALLISON. And then add to it "and not otherwise provided for."

The SECRETARY. And in line 10, after the word "edible," it is proposed to insert the words "and not otherwise provided for."

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Without objection, the amendment is agreed to.

Mr. TELLER. Now let the paragraph be read as amended.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read the paragraph as now amended.

The Secretary read as follows:

628. Seeds: Anise, caraway, cardamom, cauliflower, coriander, cotton, cummin, fennel, fenugreek, hemp, hoarhound, mangel-wurzel, mustard, rape, St. John's bread or bean, sugar beet, sorghum or sugar cane for seed; bulbs and bulbous roots, not edible and not otherwise provided for; all flower and grass seeds; all the foregoing not specially provided for in this act.

Mr. ALLISON. That is all right.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The paragraph stands amended as read.

The next paragraph passed over was paragraph 636, on page 184, which the Committee on Finance proposed to insert as a new paragraph, as follows:

636½. Skins of all kinds, raw (except sheepskins with the wool on), and hides not specially provided for in this act.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Committee on Finance.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next paragraph passed over was paragraph 646, on page 185, as follows:

646. Sulphur, lac or precipitated, and sulphur or brimstone, crude, in bulk; sulphur ore as pyrites, or sulphuret of iron in its natural state, containing in excess of 25 per cent of sulphur, and sulphur not otherwise provided for.

Mr. ALLISON. It is the purpose of the committee to recommend that crude sulphur be placed upon the dutiable list at 50 cents a ton. The committee are not quite ready to present that amendment and make this paragraph accord with it. So I ask that it be passed over for the evening.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. There being no objection, paragraph 646 will be passed over.

The Secretary read the next paragraph passed over, paragraph 650, page 185, which the Committee on Finance proposed to amend, in line 20, after the word "tea," by striking out "and tea;" so as to read:

650. Tea plants.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask that that may be passed over, because we have not yet dealt with it on the dutiable list.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The paragraph will be passed over.

The next paragraph passed over was paragraph 666, on page 187, which the Committee on Finance proposed to strike out, as follows:

666. Wearing apparel, articles of personal adornment, toilet articles, and similar personal effects of persons arriving in the United States; but this exemption shall only include such articles as actually accompany and are in the

use of, and as are necessary and appropriate for the wear and use of such persons for the immediate purposes of the journey and present comfort and convenience, and shall not be held to apply to merchandise or articles intended for other persons or for sale; and in case the persons thus arriving are citizens or residents of the United States, the articles exempted shall not exceed $100 in value, nor shall the exemption apply to residents of other countries entering the United States more than once in each year: *Provided, however*, That all the wearing apparel and other personal effects of residents of the United States, so returning, as may have been taken by them out of the United States to foreign countries, and which have not been advanced in value or improved in condition by any process of labor or manufacture in such countries, shall be admitted free of duty, without regard to their value, upon their identity being established under appropriate rules and regulations to be prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury.

And in lieu thereof to insert:

666. Wearing apparel, articles of personal adornment, toilet articles, and similar personal effects of persons arriving in the United States; but this exemption shall only include such articles as actually accompany and are in the use of, and as are necessary and appropriate for the wear and use of such persons, for the immediate purposes of the journey and present comfort and convenience, and shall not be held to apply to merchandise or articles intended for other persons or for sale.

Mr. ALLISON. That paragraph may lead to some debate.

Mr. COCKRELL. It will be very apt to lead to debate.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Without objection, the paragraph will be passed over.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask that paragraph 655, line 2, page 186, be stricken out, those articles having been placed on the dutiable list.

The Secretary read as follows:

655. Tonquin, tonqua, or tonka beans.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Without objection, the amendment striking out paragraph 655 is agreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. In paragraph 668, line 21, page 187, I move to insert, after the words "pulp woods," the words "deal ends," putting deal ends on the free list.

The SECRETARY. Amend the committee amendment in paragraph 668, page 187, line 21, after the words "pulp woods," by inserting the words "deal ends;" so as to read:

Wood: Logs and round unmanufactured timber, including poplar and other pulp woods, deal ends, firewood, etc.

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask that paragraph 668 may be passed over, because we have modified the dutiable list in regard to this subject. There are one or two things here in the paragraph that will have to be looked into. I ask that it may go over until to-morrow.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Paragraph 668 will be passed over, in the absence of objection.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I suggest to the Senator that a paragraph be added numbered 642½, incorporating the paragraph in the present law, as follows:

Stamps: Foreign postage or revenue stamps, canceled or uncanceled.

Mr. ALLISON. Has the Senator his amendment ready?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. That is all there is of it, to insert as paragraph 642½ what I have read. It would be a proper place for it to come in, I think, on page 184, inserting the word "Stamps," then add a colon and the words, "Foreign postage or revenue stamps, canceled or uncanceled."

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. It is the same language as in the present law, I understand.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. It is the same.

Mr. CULLOM. Let it go in.

Mr. ALLISON. All right. I do not object, Mr. President.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Without objection, the amendment is agreed to and the new paragraph is adopted.

Mr. ALLEN. I wish to submit an amendment to paragraph 666.

Mr. LODGE. What became of paragraph 668?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. It was passed over.

Mr. ALLEN. I want to submit an amendment to paragraph 666, that it may go over with the amendment. It is to insert, after the word "convenience," in line 16, the words "not exceeding $100 in value."

Mr. MILLS. That all goes over.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Nebraska proposes an amendment to be considered at the time paragraph 666 is taken up.

Mr. ALLISON. Very well.

Mr. ALLEN. Let it be passed over with the paragraph.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment will be passed over with the paragraph.

Mr. ALLISON. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After eighteen minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened, and (at 5 o'clock and 30 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Thursday, July 1, 1897, at 11 o'clock a. m.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate June 30, 1897.

LIBRARIAN OF CONGRESS.

John Russell Young, of Pennsylvania, to be Librarian of Congress, as provided for by an act of Congress approved February 19, 1897.

SUPERINTENDENT OF LIBRARY BUILDING AND GROUNDS.

Bernard R. Green, of the District of Columbia, to be superintendent of the Library building and grounds, as provided for by an act of Congress approved February 19, 1897.

ENVOY EXTRAORDINARY AND MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY.

Francis B. Loomis, of Ohio, to be envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States to Venezuela, vice Allen Thomas, resigned.

CONSULS.

Henry Bordewich, of Minnesota, to be consul of the United States at Christiania, Norway, vice Gerhard Gade, resigned.

John C. Caldwell, of Kansas, to be consul of the United States at San Jose, Costa Rica, vice Harrison R. Williams, resigned.

Philip C. Hanna, of Iowa, to be consul of the United States at Trinidad, West Indies, vice William C. Foster, resigned.

Louis Lange, jr., of Illinois, now vice and deputy consul of the United States at Annaberg, to be consul of the United States at Bremen, Germany, vice George Keenan, resigned.

Joseph J. Stevens, of Indiana, to be consul of the United States at Plymouth, England, vice Thomas W. Fox, resigned.

JUDGE OF UNITED STATES COURTS IN INDIAN TERRITORY.

John R. Thomas, of Illinois, to be judge of the United States courts in the Indian Territory, as provided for by the act of Congress approved June 7, 1897 (Indian appropriation act).

COLLECTORS OF INTERNAL REVENUE.

Thomas J. Yandell, of Kentucky, to be collector of internal revenue for the second district of Kentucky, to succeed Joshua D. Powers, resigned.

John W. Yerkes, of Kentucky, to be collector of internal revenue for the eighth district of Kentucky, to succeed Charles H. Rodes, removed.

PROMOTION IN THE ARMY.

General officer.

Col. Henry Clay Merriam, Seventh Infantry, to be brigadier-general, June 30, 1897, vice Carlton, retired from active service.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate June 30, 1897.

LIBRARIAN OF CONGRESS.

John Russell Young, of Pennsylvania, to be Librarian of Congress.

SUPERINTENDENT OF LIBRARY BUILDING AND GROUNDS.

Bernard R. Green, of the District of Columbia, to be superintendent of the Library building and grounds.

CONSULS-GENERAL.

John P. Bray, of North Dakota, to be consul-general of the United States at Melbourne, Australia.

Church Howe, of Nebraska, to be consul-general of the United States at Apia and Nukualofa, Tonga.

CONSUL.

Hugo Donzelmann, of Wyoming, to be consul of the United States at Prague, Bohemia.

PROMOTION IN THE MARINE CORPS.

Frank L. Denny, captain and assistant quartermaster, United States Marine Corps, to be quartermaster of said Corps, with the rank of major.

PROMOTIONS IN THE NAVY.

Naval Cadets Stuart F. Smith, of Pennsylvania, and William G. Groesbeck, of Ohio, to be assistant naval constructors.

Asst. Engineer John H. Rowen, to be a passed assistant engineer.

RECEIVER OF PUBLIC MONEYS.

Alfred H. Taylor, of Cedarville, Cal., to be receiver of public moneys at Susanville, Cal.

MARSHAL.

Clarence W. Ide, of Washington, to be marshal of the United States for the district of Washington.

COMMISSIONERS.

William Ryan, of Rathdrum, Idaho, to be a commissioner to examine and classify lands within the land-grant and indemnity land-grant limits of the Northern Pacific Railroad Company, in the Cœur d'Alene land district in Idaho.

Thomas A. Davis, of Malad, Idaho, to be a commissioner to examine and classify lands within the land-grant and indemnity

land-grant limits of the Northern Pacific Railroad Company, in the Cœur d'Alene land district in Idaho.

George A. Black, of Fairhaven, Wash., to be a commissioner to examine and classify lands within the land-grant and indemnity land-grant limits of the Northern Pacific Railroad Company, in the Cœur d'Alene land district in Idaho.

POSTMASTERS.

Edward Hall, to be postmaster at Havre de Grace, in the county of Harford and State of Maryland.

W. W. James, to be postmaster at Monterey, in the county of Monterey and State of California.

C. E. Gross, to be postmaster at Boonville, in the county of Cooper and State of Missouri.

SENATE.

THURSDAY, *July 1, 1897.*

The Senate met at 11 o'clock a. m.

Prayer by Rev. HUGH JOHNSTON, D. D., of the city of Washington.

The Secretary proceeded to read the Journal of yesterday's proceedings, when, on motion of Mr. MITCHELL, and by unanimous consent, the further reading was dispensed with.

IMMIGRATION BUILDINGS AT ELLIS ISLAND, NEW YORK.

The VICE-PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the following communication from the Secretary of the Treasury; which was read, and referred to the Committee on Immigration:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, D. C., June 30, 1897.

SIR: This Department has the honor to acknowledge the receipt of a resolution of the Senate of the United States, dated June 29, 1897, directing the Secretary of the Treasury to transmit to the Senate, as soon as possible, a statement of the general plan for the reconstruction of the immigration buildings at Ellis Island, New York Harbor.

The Department begs to state that no general plan for the reconstruction of said buildings has been formulated by the Department. The matter is under consideration, and as soon as a satisfactory plan shall have been agreed upon the Department will be pleased to comply with the directions contained in the resolution herein referred to.

Respectfully, yours,

L. J. GAGE, *Secretary.*

To the PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE.

JUDGMENTS OF THE COURT OF CLAIMS.

The VICE-PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting, in response to a resolution of the 29th ultimo, a list of judgments of the Court of Claims rendered since the date of the last report up to and including the date of adjournment of the court on June 24, amounting to $56,953.98; which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on Appropriations, and ordered to be printed.

CLAIMS OF WICHITA INDIANS.

The VICE-PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a letter from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs relative to the claims of the Wichita and affiliated bands of Indians; which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs, and ordered to be printed.

NORTHERN LIBERTY MARKET CLAIMS.

The VICE-PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the Commissioners of the District of Columbia, transmitting, in response to a resolution of the 21st ultimo, further information relative to the proceedings taken by the auditor of the supreme court of the District of Columbia and the Commissioners under "An act to provide for the payment of certain claims against the District of Columbia by drawback certificates," approved January 26, 1897; which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia, and ordered to be printed.

MEMORIALS.

Mr. HOAR presented a memorial of sundry citizens of Massachusetts, remonstrating against any increase in the present rate of duty on tanned skins for morocco, or a duty on raw goatskins; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. MORGAN presented the memorial of A. H. Spire and sundry other citizens of Alabama, remonstrating against the enactment of legislation intended to destroy the present system of ticket brokerage; which was referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

Mr. THURSTON, from the Committee on the Judiciary, to whom was referred the bill (S. 2138) to give the consent of Congress to a compact entered into between the States of South Dakota and Nebraska respecting the boundary between said States, reported it without amendment.

Mr. NELSON, from the Committee on Commerce, to whom was referred the joint resolution (S. R. 53) authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to deliver to the mayor of the city of Milwaukee, for use in ornamenting one of the parks of that city, the Parrott rifled cannon and carriage recently used on the revenue cutter *Andrew Johnson*, reported it with an amendment.

CHINESE EXCLUSION.

Mr. LODGE. I report from the Committee on Printing certain papers which were referred to it, together with a letter of the Secretary of the Treasury, in reply to a resolution of the Senate of May 17 relative to the alleged illegal entry into the United States of certain Chinese persons, and ask that they be referred to the Committee on Immigration and be printed.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. That order will be made, in the absence of objection.

CUMBERLAND SOUND IMPROVEMENT.

Mr. PASCO. I am authorized by the Committee on Commerce to report a joint resolution, and I shall ask unanimous consent tomorrow morning that it may be then taken up and considered.

The joint resolution (S. R. 57) making an appropriation of $50,000 for sluicing and dredging at the entrance of Cumberland Sound was read twice by its title.

Mr. PASCO. I shall ask leave also in the morning to file a written report to accompany the joint resolution; and I ask that the joint resolution may be printed in the RECORD as well as separately.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. It will be so ordered, in the absence of objection.

The joint resolution is as follows:

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives, etc., That the sum of $50,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary, be, and the same is hereby, appropriated for sluicing and dredging at the entrance to Cumberland Sound, in accordance with the revised project of improvement of 1895, but nothing herein contained shall be so construed as to increase the limit of cost of such improvement beyond the amount fixed by the act making appropriations for the construction, repair, and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors, and for other purposes, approved June 3, 1896, which authorizes a continuing contract for such work.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Mr. MITCHELL introduced a bill (S. 2310) amendatory of sections 3339 and 3341 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, relative to internal-revenue tax on fermented liquors; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. ALLEN introduced a bill (S. 2311) to provide for the better instruction of the militia, and for other purposes; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. TELLER introduced the following bills; which were severally read twice by their titles, and referred to the Committee on Public Lands:

A bill (S. 2312) to grant a tract of land in the District of Alaska to the Woman's Home Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church;

A bill (S. 2313) to authorize the entry of land for reservoir purposes;

A bill (S. 2314) for the relief of Charles M. Larsh, of Denver, Colo.; and

A bill (S. 2315) for the relief of Mrs. Emma D. Larsh, of Denver, Colo.

Mr. TELLER introduced a bill (S. 2316) to declare the jurisdiction of circuit courts of the United States in certain cases; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. McBRIDE introduced a bill (S. 2317) for relief of M. J. Gilstrap; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also introduced a bill (S. 2318) granting pensions to certain officers and enlisted men of the Life-Saving Service and to their widows and minor children; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. HAWLEY introduced a bill (S. 2319) granting an increase of pension to Edward S. Lyon; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. FORAKER introduced a bill (S. 2320) for the relief of A. J. Sampson; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. ALLEN introduced a joint resolution (S. R. 55) authorizing the Secretary of Agriculture to prepare a report, from the data in the possession of the Department, showing the average fluctuation from year to year in farm prices; which was read twice by its title.

Mr. ALLEN. I ask that the joint resolution may lie on the table, subject to call.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The joint resolution will lie on the table.

Mr. LODGE introduced a joint resolution (S. R. 56) authorizing the printing of 1,000 additional copies of Plates I to LX, inclusive, of the atlas accompanying the Official Records of the War of the Rebellion, for the use of the War Department; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Printing.

PRESIDENTIAL APPROVAL.

A message from the President of the United States, by Mr. O. L. PRUDEN, one of his secretaries, announced that the President had on the 30th ultimo approved and signed the joint resolution (S. R. 50) authorizing foreign exhibitors at the Transmississippi and International Exposition, to be held in the city of Omaha, in the State of Nebraska, during the year 1898, to bring to the United States foreign laborers from their countries, respectively, for the purpose of preparing for and making exhibits.

AMENDMENT TO DEFICIENCY APPROPRIATION BILL.

Mr. WARREN submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the general deficiency appropriation bill; which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations, and ordered to be printed.

IMMIGRATION BUILDINGS AT ELLIS ISLAND, NEW YORK.

The VICE-PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the following message from the President of the United States; which was read, and, on motion of Mr. CULLOM, referred, with the accompanying papers, to the Committee on Appropriations, and ordered to be printed:

To the Congress of the United States:

On the 15th ultimo all the buildings of the immigration station at Ellis Island, New York, excepting the heating plant and lighting apparatus, were destroyed by fire.

I transmit herewith a letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, which states the fact and explains the need of rebuilding.

In order that there may be no delay in this important work, I recommend that an appropriation be made at once of $600,000, the sum estimated by the Secretary of the Treasury as required for this purpose.

WILLIAM MCKINLEY.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, *July 1, 1897.*

THE TARIFF BILL.

Mr. ALLISON. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of House bill 379.

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 379) to provide revenue for the Government, and to promote the industries of the United States.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask the Senate to go back to paragraph 443. I ask unanimous consent to reconsider the vote taken yesterday, and that this paragraph may be stricken out.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Iowa moves to reconsider the action of the Senate yesterday on paragraph 443, page 159, imposing a duty on paintings in oil or water colors, etc.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask unanimous consent to reconsider the vote in order that I may move to strike out the paragraph.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there any objection to a reconsideration? The Chair hears none, and the vote of yesterday is reconsidered.

Mr. ALLISON. I move to strike out the paragraph.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is agreed to.

Mr. TELLER. I desire to make an inquiry of the chairman of the committee. It is quite apparent that we are approaching the conclusion of this bill so far as the Senate is concerned, and we are doing so rather rapidly. If we may rely upon statements in the public press, the committee expect to report here what may be called an antitrust measure.

The report, I do not know how well founded, is that the subject-matter has been referred to the Republican members of the Judiciary Committee by the Republican caucus for the purpose of having a proper amendment formulated. It is a very important subject, and if the committee propose to formulate a measure of that kind and bring it before the Senate, I think, in justice to the Senate, they ought to bring it in at once. They can hardly expect a matter of that kind to be passed over in haste, as we have been going over some portions of the bill. Whether it will be an effective measure and of any value will depend entirely upon how it is drafted. I think the committee should give us that provision in time, that we may have some opportunity to investigate and consider it. I understand that has been done in the case of the reciprocity clause. I do not know whether it has been formally offered or not by the committee.

Mr. WHITE. Yes.

Mr. TELLER. But I saw it in the public press.

Mr. ALLISON. It is in the RECORD this morning.

Mr. TELLER. That is not so difficult a question to deal with as the antitrust question. I should like to inquire of the Senator from Iowa whether we are likely to have that amendment presented before we shall be called upon to vote on it?

Mr. ALLISON. I do not know what condition that particular amendment is in. The Committee on Finance have not prepared any amendment. I understand that such an amendment has been drafted, but by whom I am not prepared to say at this moment.

Mr. TELLER. I understood from the press and from rumors I have heard about the Chamber that the Republican caucus had authorized the preparation of such an amendment, and that the committee would adopt it as theirs and present it to the Senate. I suppose it will come here in some shape. What I wanted to emphasize to the Senator in charge of the bill is that he shall not delay it until the last minute, and then insist that we shall vote upon it, because that can not be done.

Mr. ALLISON. I assure the Senator from Colorado that there is no such purpose. Certainly an amendment of such importance should be fairly and fully considered, and notice of it given. That is the way I consider it.

Mr. WHITE. We are unable to hear the Senator from Iowa.

Mr. ALLISON. The Senator from Colorado is speaking of an antitrust amendment, and states that he does not wish that it shall be considered at the last moment without proper time being given to its consideration, and I agree with him in what he says.

Mr. WHITE. I supposed that the antitrust amendment had been dropped. I understood that there was such an amendment in course of preparation which had been found too drastic to harmonize with the situation, and that the entire matter had been ignored. I suppose, however, that must be left to the future to solve. I understood that to be the case. I think the Senator from Colorado will not be very much disturbed about the antitrust amendment.

Mr. TELLER. The trouble with the Senator from California and myself is that neither of us is a member of the Republican caucus.

Mr. ALLISON. Yes; that is one trouble.

Mr. TELLER. And therefore we are proceeding somewhat in the dark.

Mr. ALLISON. The Senator from California [Mr. WHITE] yesterday offered an amendment to paragraph 405. The committee has considered——

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Before taking up that paragraph, I should like to ask the Senator from Iowa a question. I have marked on my bill that paragraph 441 was passed over. I may perhaps be mistaken about that paragraph.

Mr. ALLISON. That, I think, has been agreed to.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I asked that it might be passed over. I was out of the Chamber when it was taken up, and I asked that it be reconsidered and passed over, and I have so marked it on my bill.

Mr. ALLISON. Very well, if the Senator wishes, it can be reconsidered.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. No; but I think the fact is as I have stated it. At any rate, I shall not detain the Senate by any discussion of the matter.

I hold in my hand a protest sent to the members of the Finance Committee of the Senate by a firm claiming to be the largest manufacturers of this article in the United States, the American Cocoa Matting Company, protesting against any increase in the rate of taxation. Twenty per cent was the rate under the Wilson Act, and this bill, I believe, raises it to 50 per cent or 55 per cent or 60 per cent, or somewhere there. These people, who are the largest manufacturers in the United States, set out at length the reasons why they protest against any increase whatever in the rate. It is useless to undertake to change it—I am perfectly aware of that fact—but I will move to strike out "6 cents per square yard" and insert "20 per cent ad valorem."

The Secretary read as follows:

441. Matting made of cocoa fiber or rattan, 6 cents per square yard; mats made of cocoa fiber or rattan, 4 cents per square foot.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I send the statement made by these parties to be inserted in the RECORD as a part of my remarks, and I ask for a vote upon the amendment.

The statement referred to is as follows:

To the honorable members of the Finance Committee of the Senate of the United States for the Fifty-fifth Congress, Senate Chamber, Washington, D. C.:

A petition by the largest manufacturers of cocoa or coir matting and mats in the United States that the present existing duty of 20 per cent ad valorem upon both the matting and the mats be maintained.

We, the undersigned, are the largest manufacturers of cocoa matting and mats in the United States. We employ more than double the number of employees at our factory than all the other manufacturers of these goods in the United States. We are, therefore, more vitally interested in maintaining the home market than any other person can possibly be.

The McKinley Act, notwithstanding our earnest protest, changed the then existing duty (which the Wilson Act restored) from a 20 per cent ad valorem duty upon the cocoa matting and mats, and imposed for the first time a specific duty, to wit, of 12 cents a square yard upon the matting and 8 cents a square foot upon mats, as proposed in the present bill before Congress.

We were then, as we are now, the largest employers of free labor in the manufacture of cocoa matting and mats in the United States, and if anyone was to suffer, we would suffer most of all if our product manufactured here was not protected against foreign importations.

The present duty of 20 per cent ad valorem is equivalent to a specific duty of 3 cents per square yard upon the matting. England and Germany are both very large manufacturers of matting and mats, and we manufacture here every grade of matting and mats which it is possible to make upon a power loom. In both England and Germany, as here, cocoa yarn made from the husk of the cocoanut, the raw material from which both the mattings and mats are wholly made, is imported free of duty. We therefore, as home manufacturers, are upon the same footing as to raw material as the foreigner, and yet not a single dollar's worth of these goods was imported into this country from any European country under the Wilson Act, proving conclusively that foreign countries could not compete with the home manufacturer in our markets under the Wilson Act.

But, to be absolutely exact in our statements, we give the actual cost of manufacture in our factory in India and in our factory in Brooklyn, N. Y.:

	Cents.
Cost of manufacture in our factory in India.....per square yard...	2.5
Duty paid on last invoice, in September, 1890 .....do....	2.8
	5.3
Cost of manufacture in our Brooklyn factory.....do....	4.75
Leaving a protection margin of .....do....	.55

To this margin (fifty-five hundredths of a cent per square yard) of protection must be added the cost of extra freight, insurance, and the other items of expense incident to a foreign invoice, which further increase the cost of the imported beyond the cost of the domestic goods.

So that the conclusion is irresistible that the American workman and the home market is now, with a 20 per cent ad valorem duty, absolutely protected against the foreign manufacturer.

There is a small amount of high-priced matting imported by us. The importations of this matting are insignificant, the average annual importations for the last six years being only 1,586 rolls. One workman can make 9 rolls per week or 468 rolls per year, so that four men, working full time, would make more than the entire importation. Consequently, even if the imported were substituted by the domestic, the benefit to labor would only be to the extent of four workmen. Even this benefit was not derived during the working of the McKinley bill, for importations continued as usual, as the above figures show, the only difference being that the consumer was obliged to pay advanced prices for the article he wanted, and no one was benefited.

Again, one workman in our Brooklyn (N. Y.) factory makes 9 rolls of matting of 60 yards per roll each week, making 540 yards per week. The actual duty paid on last shipment of 2.8 cents per yard, as appears above, alone amounts to a protection of $15.12 per week upon the labor of one man.

Now, if the present duty of 20 per cent ad valorem be advanced to 12 cents per square yard, as proposed in the bill before Congress, this would amount to a protection of $64.80 per week upon the labor of one workman.

For such an advance or for any advance in the duty there can be no justification or reason.

The revenue derived by the Government upon the small importations is unimportant. The total duty paid last year on the cocoa matting and mats amounted to only $3,167. The question, therefore, is one of protection to the home manufacturers and not of revenue to the Government.

We are the only people importing these goods into the United States, and the small importations, coupled with the fact that we are unable to sell a dollar's worth of imported goods to the large and leading jobbers who handle large quantities of like goods, such as Marshall Field & Co., of Chicago, Samuel Cupples Woodenware Company, and Trorlicht, Duncker & Renard Company, St. Louis, Mo., and many others, demonstrates that the imported goods are not a disturbing factor in the trade. On the contrary, they are higher priced than the domestic. Indeed, if the importations were stopped by a sufficient increase in the tariff, it would not cause the employment of a single additional free workman in the manufacture of these goods, as more than twice as many convict laborers are employed in this country in their manufacture than free workmen.

The product of the prisons would take the place of the imported goods, just as it is now driving the product manufactured by American free workmen out of the market, so that the Government would lose what little revenue is now derived from the importation without employing a single additional free workman, and if any goods were imported, the consumer would be obliged to bear the additional burden of purchasing the goods at an advanced price.

The importation of cocoa mats is so small that it is not worth while taking up your valuable time discussing it, the annual importations for more than ten years last past being only 720 dozen per year.

Cocoa matting does not and can not take the place of carpets.

Cocoa matting is used for certain purposes for which carpets are not adapted and can not successfully and economically be used. It must not be confounded in the mind with Chinese and Japanese mattings, which are made from straw, and with the many beautiful varieties of which we are all familiar. These Chinese and Japanese mattings are used to a very large extent as floor coverings in place of carpets, because they are cheap, clean, cool, and attractive in appearance, while the cocoa matting is hard, coarse, and rough, and can only be used in stores, public places, and vehicles, where great durability is required, and where carpets never have been and never will be used.

In conclusion:

I. The duty as proposed in the so-called Dingley bill, now before Congress, amounts to more than two, and almost three, times the entire cost of manufacturing matting in this country.

II. On mats it amounts to as much as the price at which a large part of the mats made in this country are sold.

III. These goods do not conflict or in any way come in competition with the carpet industry.

IV. England and Germany are both large manufacturers of these goods, and yet neither of these countries for the twenty years last past has sent a dollar's worth of these goods to this country under a 20 per cent ad valorem duty. Therefore the 20 per cent ad valorem duty is sufficient protection.

V. Every roll of matting imported into this country comes from our own factory in India, and we only import the highest-priced goods, the present 20 per cent ad valorem duty being absolutely prohibitive on the medium and low-priced grades.

As shown in the above statement, the present 20 per cent ad valorem duty, equivalent to 2.8 cents per square yard (and this was the actual amount paid by us in last invoice), added to 2.5 cents, the actual cost of making in our foreign factory, is fifty-five one-hundredths of a cent per square yard more than the entire cost of manufacture in the United States. It is therefore impossible for any foreign manufacturer to undersell us in the home market.

As the present 20 per cent ad valorem duty more than covers the difference between the cost of manufacture here and abroad, we respectfully and earnestly urge upon your honorable committee that a higher duty be not imposed upon cocoa mats and matting.

Dated New York City, N. Y., March 17, 1897.

Respectfully submitted.

AMERICAN COCOA MATTING COMPANY,
Per JOS'H WILD & CO.
DARRAGH & SMAIL.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Arkansas to paragraph 441 will be stated.

The SECRETARY. After the word "rattan," page 158, line 26, strike out "6 cents per square yard" and insert "20 per cent ad valorem."

Mr. TELLER. What is the present duty?

Mr. ALLISON. Twenty per cent ad valorem.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Arkansas.

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I move the same amendment as to the second clause, striking out "4 cents per square foot" and inserting "20 per cent ad valorem."

The SECRETARY. After the word "rattan," in line 1, page 159, strike out "4 cents per square foot" and insert "20 per cent ad valorem."

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. ALLISON. Now, I will take the liberty to modify somewhat the amendment of the Senator from California [Mr. WHITE] to paragraph 405. I ask that the modification proposed be read.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Iowa will be stated.

The SECRETARY. Insert, after the word "bushel," in line 13, page 147, paragraph 405, the following proviso:

Provided, That on all coal imported into the United States which is afterwards used for fuel on board vessels propelled by steam and engaged in trade with foreign countries or in trade between the Atlantic and Pacific ports of the United States, and which are registered under the laws of the United States, a drawback shall be allowed equal to the duty imposed by law upon such coal, and shall be paid under such regulations as the Secretary of the Treasury shall prescribe.

Mr. WHITE. The amendment which was suggested by me has been modified by the committee in this respect, that the amendment as originally proposed referred to the coasting trade or trade with foreign countries. The committee has eliminated the coasting trade, but has provided that the provision shall apply to trade between the Pacific and Atlantic seaboards. I understand that to be the situation. The amendment as proposed by me was in effect identical with the law which we assumed was prevailing when the Wilson Act was passed, and which was supposed to be in existence after the McKinley bill had been enacted.

This is a discrimination against coasting trade other than the trade between the Atlantic and Pacific seaboards, and I do not see why it should be thus limited. I prefer to have coal absolutely free, but not being able to get it absolutely free, I am desirous that it shall be made so as far as possible. I wish to inquire of the committee why it is that a discrimination has been made with reference to the coasting trade, thus differentiating the provision from the former law, which was repealed unintentionally and by implication?

Mr. ALLISON. The only reason is that the coasting trade is exclusive as respects our own vessels, and we thought it should stand on a par with all other business interests on the coast. Of course the condition is different as respects foreign trade, and as respects also the trade between the Atlantic and Pacific coasts around the Horn. We thought this was a just and equitable and a fair provision, and I hope the Senator from California will be satisfied with it.

Mr. WHITE. There seems to have been no criticism of the provision as it stood in the old law. It appears to me that this is restricting it greatly. I prefer to take a vote upon the amendment offered by me, and will move to amend the amendment of the committee by including the coasting trade and the trade with foreign countries, in lieu of the phraseology now proposed, referring to the trade between the Atlantic and Pacific ports and trade with foreign countries.

Mr. ALLISON. The Senator must remember that since the law to which he alludes was passed in 1883 very different conditions have arisen as respects the production of coal on the Pacific Coast.

Mr. WHITE. I call the attention of the Senator from Iowa to the fact that that law was amended in 1886 and contained the same provision as amended. It simply was restricted to vessels of the United States. There is no difference in the condition of the coast in regard to coal except that there has been some more taken out of the ground since that date. I offer what I send to the desk as a substitute for the amendment proposed by the Senator from Iowa.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The substitute proposed by the Senator from California will be read.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to substitute the following:

Provided, That on all coal imported into the United States which is afterwards used for fuel on board vessels propelled by steam and engaged in the coasting trade or in the trade with foreign countries, and which are registered under the laws of the United States, a drawback shall be allowed equal to the duty imposed by law upon such coal, and shall be paid under such regulations as the Secretary of the Treasury shall prescribe.

Mr. WHITE. It appears to me that the coal interests, which have succeeded in obtaining what I consider an unjust discrimination in their favor, ought to submit to at least this small provision, which is but a reenactment of the law which so long prevailed. As far as it goes, I think it ought to be adopted.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from California as a substitute for the amendment of the Senator from Iowa.

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. CLARK. I should like to ask the Senator from Iowa if in his judgment the amendment he proposes will not foreclose the American coal producer from supplying vessels flying the American flag plying between this country and other countries, or between the Atlantic and Pacific ports in this country?

Mr. ALLISON. The object of the amendment is to place our shipping on the Pacific coast upon an equality with vessels engaged in foreign trade as respects coal. I do not know that the effect of it would be to give them the use of foreign coal so far as the foreign trade and that trade is concerned.

Mr. CLARK. It applies to the Atlantic coast as well?

Mr. ALLISON. It applies to the Atlantic coast and Pacific coast trade.

Mr. PERKINS. I will state to my friend from Wyoming that, as I understand, the amendment simply applies to steam vessels engaged in the coasting trade between ports on the Atlantic and ports on the Pacific coast, which must necessarily round Cape Horn or pass through the straits of South America, and which are of course in competition in a measure with foreign vessels. The coasting trade proper, as my friend is aware, belongs to vessels of American build or of American register; and they have the exclusive privilege of our coasting trade. It is much more expensive of course to operate them, but yet we have better rates on them than the rates which prevail in the foreign trade. When vessels are engaged in the foreign trade they must compete with foreign-built vessels, vessels that it costs less money to construct, vessels that are operated for a less sum of money by reason of lower wages and lower rates of coal. I think the committee amendment is a very proper and wise one in that respect.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Iowa on behalf of the committee.

Mr. WELLINGTON. I ask the Senator from Iowa to postpone the consideration of this amendment. I do not understand that it is all right, and I should like to have a postponement of it. There has been, I understand, no agreement as to the adoption of the amendment. I consider it a blow at the American coal trade as I understand it now, and until there be some explanation given I shall feel bound to oppose it.

Mr. WHITE. If the Senator from Maryland will permit me, I will suggest that if it is a blow at the American coal trade a much severer blow was directed against that trade by the act of 1883, which is broader than this provision, making it extend to the coasting trade generally. As I had occasion to remark, it was supposed that that law was still in existence until the Supreme Court of the United States reversed the decision below and held that it had been repealed by implication.

Mr. WELLINGTON. I will say to the Senator from California that we propose to make a better bill at this time than the act of 1890.

Mr. WHITE. I may remark that it is too late for the accomplishment of any such roseate view.

Mr. WELLINGTON. I do not so understand it.

Mr. SEWELL. I understand that this proposition was voted down a few moments ago and was so declared by the Chair.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The vote taken was on the substitute of the Senator from California [Mr. WHITE]. The question is now on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON]. The Senator from Maryland asks that the amendment may lie over.

Mr. ALLISON. If the Senator from California does not wish to press it this morning, I am willing that it shall lie over until to-morrow.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. If there is no objection, the amendment will be passed over.

Mr. SEWELL. I desire to call the attention of the Senator from Iowa to another part of the coal schedule which seems to me to be entirely inconsistent. I should like to have that reconsidered and lie over. The rate as fixed for bituminous and other coal in the bill is 67 cents a ton. Under the McKinley Act the rate was 75 cents a ton and 30 cents a ton for culm, which was thought to be the proper proportion. Under the pending bill it is 67 cents for coal and 15 cents for culm, being a 10 per cent reduction from the House bill or from the McKinley Act on the one class of coal and a 50 per cent reduction on the other.

Personally, I was not in favor of the highest rate on coal. I thought 50 cents would do. But I am entirely opposed to reducing the culm to 15 cents. I think it is out of all proportion to the higher rate, and I predict that if it is imposed you will have all the coal imported into the United States from Canada, both on the east and west coasts, as culm. Looking at it from a purely business standpoint, the change can be made from coal to culm, where it does not exist as culm, for 10 cents a ton, and the coal imported into this country, instead of coming in at 67 cents a ton, will all come in at a cost of 25 cents a ton. I think if the Senator would allow this matter to be reconsidered and come up for consideration with the other portion of the paragraph he would see that the proportion of 15 cents to 67 cents is not a business one and ought not to prevail.

Mr. ALLISON. I have seen a good many things in working on this bill one day that have been seen otherwise the next. This matter was disposed of yesterday, as I supposed, finally. But so far as I am concerned, I am perfectly willing that the whole question of coal shall be reconsidered and passed over.

Mr. SEWELL. I ask that that be done.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Without objection——

Mr. VEST. Do I understand the Senator from Iowa to agree that this whole paragraph shall go over? Do I understand the Senator to agree to that suggestion?

Mr. ALLISON. Very well, then. Senators around me object to its postponement. I ask that the paragraph may be disposed of now in all its phases.

Mr. GRAY. That is right.

Mr. VEST. That is right. Mr. President, I was asked several times yesterday and the day before, "When do you Democrats propose to allow us to finish this bill?" Now, we are assisting as much as we can, consistent with a sense of duty, in passing the bill as soon as possible, and here the coal schedule has come up, and this is the fourth time it has been passed over. For one I insist that we shall take it up and dispose of it.

Mr. ALLISON. All right.

Mr. SEWELL. If the Senator from Iowa would allow it to go over for further consideration, I should be very glad, or I will move an amendment in regard to the rate on culm, if he will agree to it. I do not think this matter was properly considered. I do not think that many gentlemen here, after a thorough knowledge of the subject, will agree to it.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair understands that the whole paragraph is open to amendment while it is under consideration. There is one amendment now pending—that offered by the Senator from Iowa—and other Senators may offer such amendments as they see fit.

Mr. FAULKNER. Question!

Mr. ALLEN. Let the amendment of the Senator from Iowa be read.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the amendment of the Senator from Iowa.

Mr. VEST. Let it be read.

The SECRETARY. Add, after the word "bushel," page 147, line 18, the following proviso:

Provided, That on all coal imported into the United States which is afterwards used for fuel on board vessels propelled by steam and engaged in trade with foreign countries or in trade between the Atlantic and Pacific ports of the United States, and which are registered under the laws of the United States, a drawback shall be allowed equal to the duty imposed by law upon such coal, and shall be paid under such regulations as the Secretary of the Treasury shall prescribe.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Iowa.

Mr. WILSON. Do I understand that this amendment is offered by the Senator from Iowa?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. It is, on behalf of the committee.

Mr. WILSON. If it is agreeable to the Senator from Iowa, I should like to have some explanation of it. I was not in when he offered it. I supposed that, after several weeks, we had pretty well settled the question of coal, but it seems to me that we are continually pressing forward to a nonsettlement of the question. If amendments are to be offered on the coal question, in which I am deeply interested, I can not refrain perhaps from offering some amendments that will be beneficial to the particular section of the country from which I come. This matter was brought up suddenly yesterday. I have not had time to consider it and I do not know anything about it. We have had so many changes in the coal schedule that I hardly know where we are going to arrive when we get through with the provision.

Mr. ALLISON. The question of the use of coal by American vessels in the foreign trade and by American vessels in the trade between the Atlantic and the Pacific coasts has been under consideration all the time in this schedule. The phraseology had not been agreed to. It was well known that the law of 1883 and the law of 1890, as well as the law of 1894, allowed this privilege, but by some decision of the Supreme Court in 1896 the privilege was taken away.

The Senator from California on this side of the Chamber [Mr. PERKINS] offered an amendment some time ago which is practically the amendment the committee agreed to present this morning as respects the use of coal in foreign trade and in the trade between the Atlantic and Pacific ports. Yesterday, when the coal schedule was up, the Senator from California on the other side of the Chamber [Mr. WHITE] offered an amendment covering the foreign and coastwise trade. I stated at the time that I thought the provision too broad, and that if the Senator would allow it to lie over until this morning, the committee could examine it and make a report upon it. This morning we have reported the amendment in hac verba proposed by the Senator from California

nearest me [Mr. PERKINS], and I did not for a moment suppose that there was the slightest objection to placing our American vessels engaged in the foreign trade upon an equality with foreign vessels as to the supply of coal. That is all there is to the amendment.

Mr. WILSON. I have no particular objection to placing our own vessels engaged in the foreign trade on an equality. What I am trying to arrive at is that we ought not to give away so much that there will be nothing left of the coal schedule. We have introduced a good many new features, it seems to me, in the way of culm, etc., and I do not want anything adopted if I can help it if it is going to entirely destroy what I think is a necessary or reasonable tariff on coal.

Mr. ALLEN. I wish to offer an amendment to the amendment. I move to insert after the words "United States," in line 5, the words "or which may be used by inhabitants of the United States."

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will state the amendment offered by the Senator from Nebraska to the amendment of the Senator from Iowa.

The SECRETARY. Insert after the words "United States," in line 5 of the amendment, the words "or which may be used by inhabitants of the United States."

Mr. ALLEN. I do not know that the amendment is entirely symmetrical. The purpose of it is, however, to put the vessels and the people of the United States upon terms of exact equality. I will ask the Secretary to read the amendment as it now stands.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read the amendment as it will read if the amendment of the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. ALLEN] be adopted.

The Secretary read as follows:

Provided, That on all coal imported into the United States which is afterwards used for fuel on board vessels propelled by steam and engaged in trade with foreign countries or in trade between the Atlantic and Pacific ports of the United States——

Mr. ALLEN. Right there I think I will move the amendment.

The Secretary continued the reading, as follows:

or which may be used by inhabitants of the United States, and which are registered under the laws of the United States, a drawback shall be allowed equal to the duty imposed by law upon such coal, and shall be paid under such regulations as the Secretary of the Treasury shall prescribe.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Does the Senator mean registered inhabitants or registered vessels?

Mr. ALLEN. The one is in just as bad a position as the other. The coal seems to follow the registration in the first instance; and my amendment is to the effect that the coal brought into this country and used by the people of this country in their private houses shall be as free as the coal used by vessels plying between the different ports of the United States. If the amendment is not satisfactory to the honorable Senator from Connecticut, if he will give me about two minutes, I will put it in form, so that it will be satisfactory.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. I merely suggested that I did not think the amendment came in the right place, that it did not read right.

Mr. ALLEN. That may be true, possibly, but this thing has been rushed so rapidly that I did not have a chance to perfect the amendment. Let the Secretary put it in form.

Mr. CLARK. Will the Senator from Nebraska yield for a question?

Mr. ALLEN. Certainly.

Mr. CLARK. I will ask the Senator from Nebraska if the effect of his amendment means free coal?

Mr. ALLEN. Yes; that is what it means. It means free coal to the people of the United States as well as to the vessels that are plying along the coast; and it occurs to me that there are a great many people in the United States who need free coal much more than these great vessels need it; and if the bill is to be an equitable bill, and distribute a shower of blessings upon the people of the United States, the blessings ought to fall upon the just as well as upon the unjust. The people out in the prairie States and the people who are scattered throughout the length and breadth of this land, many millions of whom are very poor, are entitled to be warmed by free coal, if they can get it, and certainly the equities in their behalf are much stronger than they are in behalf of these great vessels.

I ask that the Secretary now read the amendment in the form in which it has been placed.

The Secretary read the amendment as proposed to be amended, as follows:

Provided, That on all coal imported into the United States which is afterwards used by the inhabitants of the United States, or for fuel on board vessels propelled by steam and engaged in trade with foreign countries, etc.

Mr. ALLEN. That covers it.

Now, I ask the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. PLATT], or the Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON], whoever has this matter in charge, to accept the amendment I have offered. If the Senator from Connecticut says he can not do it, then I should like to know why he can not?

If these great vessels—and I appeal now particularly to the sense of right and propriety of the honorable Senator from Connecticut, whom I know to be a just man—are entitled to free coal, these vessels which are carrying millions and millions of dollars' worth of merchandise, and making millions of profit in the course of a few years—I want to know from the honorable Senator if he does not think the poor inhabitants of the interior of the United States, who are making a struggle for a livelihood, and whose existence is but a bare animal existence, are not entitled to a like advantage and a like right?

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Mr. President, I think the question of whether we shall put our ships, so far as we can, on an equality with foreign ships in the carrying trade is entirely a different question from the question as to whether our people shall have free coal. I think that the coal industry of the United States deserves and should receive the care of Congress, and I have always felt—although, perhaps, in my section there is quite a sentiment in favor of free coal—that the coal industry of this country was entitled to protection, and so I have uniformly voted for a duty on coal. I do not think the amendment which has been offered raises at all the question of free coal. It is simply a question of whether American ships engaged in foreign commerce or in commerce between the Pacific and Atlantic ports shall have the same facilities in this respect that foreign ships have.

Mr. ALLEN. I should like to ask the Senator, as he says the coal industry ought to have some protection, does he not believe that the consumers should receive some protection, too?

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Oh, Mr. President, I believe that where we have to raise revenue the burden of the revenue, if it is a burden, has to be distributed among the people.

Mr. ALLEN. Yes, Mr. President, and there is the ending of the whole argument. The people who are scattered, who are unorganized, the millions, the masses, must be plucked from year to year and from decade to decade to subsidize steamship companies and other great corporations and other forms of aggregate wealth. I have heard the Senator from Connecticut proclaim on this floor repeatedly, dozens of times, that he was in favor of protection because he believed it was the best policy for the American people and because the American people received protection under a proper protective-tariff act, and yet he stands here confessedly willing to place a tax of 67 cents a ton upon all the coal the American people, the American farmers and laborers, use; and he is willing to give that coal absolutely free to a few steamships.

The Senator says he wants to put these ships upon an equality with the ships of other nations. Why not put the American people upon an equality with the people of other nations? England is not charging a tax upon coal to the consumers of that article in that Kingdom or in any of its provinces. Why not give the American people coal free? The truth is, the Senator from Connecticut can not answer the proposition, and does not pretend to answer it. He simply has the power here, the mere machine power, to vote this tax upon the people, and he proposes to do it and take the consequences. It is not a question of justice or injustice. The position can not be justified for a moment, and the honorable Senator from Connecticut understands it can not be justified; and yet he proposes, or his party proposes, to hoodwink these people constantly into the support of a policy of this kind.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. I simply desire to say, without discussing this subject further, that I believe that with a fair protection to all the industries of the United States no consumer will suffer to the extent of one penny.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, before this amendment is voted upon, I desire to call the attention of the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. ALLEN] to the fact that he assumes in all these debates that a protective tariff is of no benefit to the man who actually does the labor.

I desire to call his attention to certain intemperate language which he is inclined at times to use in debate. He made the statement in open Senate yesterday—and I would be glad to have him correct it, because I can not believe he meant it—that there was no coal miner in the United States of America who did not become a pauper within thirty days after his employment ceased. I call his attention to the fact that it must be within his knowledge that hundreds of the good citizens of his own State, not paupers in any sense of the word, are employed winter after winter in the coal mines of my State, where they receive remunerative wages, and they at least believe that there is some benefit to the coal miner in a protective tariff upon American coal.

Mr. ALLEN. Oh, Mr. President, there is nothing whatever in that.

Mr. CLARK. I ask the Senator if he insists upon his statement made yesterday?

Mr. ALLEN. I do.

Mr. CLARK. That there is no coal miner in the United States

but who becomes a pauper within thirty days after he ceases his labor in the mine?

Mr. ALLEN. Yes; I mean to say that is true, and I mean to reaffirm it. I am not speaking, and was not speaking yesterday, about the men who leave their farms in the winter time and go into the coal mines for the purpose of earning a living for their families. I mean the man who, if I may use the expression, is a professional coal miner, whose occupation is that of a coal miner.

Mr. CLARK. I will ask the Senator from Nebraska, when he was talking yesterday as to the wage which the coal miners receive, if he had then, or has now, any definite knowledge of the daily or monthly wage of the ordinary coal miner in the Western mine?

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. President, there is something of an insult in the question and in the manner in which it is put, and I do not think I——

Mr. CLARK. I asked the question because the Senator from Nebraska put a direct brand, a direct insult, upon thousands of good citizens of my own State by his intemperate language yesterday, and I have the right to ask it.

Mr. ALLEN. What is the wage, as the Senator seems to know so much about it?

Mr. CLARK. I ask the Senator, in view of his statement yesterday, whether he made that statement with a knowledge of what the actual wage of the ordinary coal miner really is?

Mr. ALLEN. I was speaking yesterday of what was told me were the wages of a certain class of coal miners in Pennsylvania.

Mr. CLARK. Then I understand the Senator in his remarks yesterday did not mean to apply it in the broad sense that the RECORD gives it—that there was no coal miner in the United States but what became a pauper within thirty days after his employment ceased?

Mr. ALLEN. I do mean to say that there is no professional coal miner of the class of which I was speaking yesterday—that is, contract laborers who are brought from the Slav ports of Europe here——

Mr. CLARK. Does the Senator——

Mr. ALLEN. Let me finish my answer. Do not interrupt me until I invite you to do so.

As to this class of people who are brought here as contract laborers, and who depend from day to day and from year to year upon the coal mining for a livelihood, I did say, and I say now, and I defy any gentleman to dispute it, that they do become paupers within thirty days after they are thrown out of their occupation, and are subjects of public charity.

Mr. CLARK. Then I ask the Senator if he excepts the coal miners of my State and other Western States from the category in which he placed them yesterday?

Mr. ALLEN. I did not think of the Senator nor of his State, and was not speaking with reference to it at all.

Mr. CLARK. I am glad the Senator modifies his statement of yesterday.

Mr. ALLEN. They were the furthest conceivable from my thoughts at that time.

Mr. CLARK. I will call the Senator's attention, however, to the exact language he used. He said:

> There is not a coal miner in the United States to-day who does not become a pauper within thirty days after he quits work.

Mr. ALLEN. Oh, yes; I know what language I used.

Mr. CLARK. I understand now the Senator does not mean that?

Mr. ALLEN. I do not know what the Senator understands. I am not responsible for what he understands.

Mr. CLARK. I ask the Senator whether he adheres to that statement or whether he modifies it?

Mr. ALLEN. As applied to the class of people I was discussing, I do adhere to it.

Mr. CLARK. Then the Senator adheres to the language that all of the coal miners of the United States become paupers within thirty days after they are thrown out of employment?

Mr. ALLEN. I was speaking, as I said yesterday, about a certain class of coal miners who were brought into Pennsylvania and into the Eastern States.

Mr. BUTLER. Will the Senator allow me?

Mr. ALLEN. Just wait a moment.

Mr. BUTLER. Very well.

Mr. ALLEN. I was not talking about the State of the Senator from Wyoming. I was not thinking about it. I was speaking about a certain class of people brought in here as contract laborers from Europe, and in speaking of them I did say—and I reaffirm it—that among that class of coal miners there is not one of them who, when thrown out of his occupation, is not a pauper in every conceivable sense within thirty days after he has left the mines.

Mr. CLARK. That is not what the Senator said yesterday; that is not what is to be inferred from what he said.

Mr. ALLEN. That is what I say now.

Mr. CLARK. I am glad the Senator modifies it.

Mr. ALLEN. I mean to say—and I will say it so loudly that the Senator can hear it if he wants to—I say that in the mines of the State from which the Senator comes they have got a certain class of this kind of labor, too.

Mr. CLARK. I say when the Senator makes that statement he is making a statement which is absolutely without foundation in fact; that there is not one contract laborer, so far as my knowledge goes—and I know every coal mine in the State—not one contract laborer within the State of Wyoming to-day, and there is not one white person in the State of Wyoming to-day mining coal who gets more or less than another mining a like character of coal in a like place.

Mr. ALLEN. It was but a few years ago that we were required to indemnify some Chinese who had been injured out in the Wyoming coal mines.

Mr. CLARK. Yes.

Mr. ALLEN. And they seemed to have occupied those mines to quite an extent. It may be possible that they have gone now—I do not know; but my understanding is that a portion of them are there yet, and that they are contract laborers who were brought there for that specific purpose.

Mr. WILSON. Will the Senator from Nebraska allow me?

Mr. ALLEN. Certainly.

Mr. WILSON. I wish to correct one statement the Senator has made in regard to contract laborers. In the State of Washington the only contract labor we have any knowledge of is that over on the British Columbia side. The Senator perhaps is not aware that the coal miners in British Columbia are principally Chinese, who are employed at a very much less daily rate of wage than coal miners on the American side; and it is those laborers in British Columbia that we are seeking to be protected from.

The Senator, of course, is not in favor of Chinese labor, but he is indirectly, and perhaps unthinkingly, making a very strong defense in behalf of the Chinese producing the coal that is used upon the Pacific Coast.

I have here letters not only from coal companies, but from organizations that are owned by the miners themselves, seeking and asking and demanding protection against this Chinese labor upon the British Columbia side, which is only paid 75 cents and a dollar a day, and I know the Senator would not be in favor of that.

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. President, I will submit——

Mr. BUTLER. If the Senator will allow me, as so much is being said about contract labor in coal mining, I wish to submit a form of contract which the miners in the mines in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and other States are now forced to sign, and ask that it be read.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Nebraska yield for that purpose?

Mr. ALLEN. I yield for the reading of the paper sent up by the Senator from North Carolina.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read as requested, in the absence of objection.

The Secretary read as follows:

Articles of agreement made and entered into this —— day of ——, A. D. 189-, by and between ——, of ——, party of the first part, and the Moon Run Coal Company, party of the second part.

Witnesseth, that for and in consideration of the covenants and agreements made herein by said second party, the said first party hereby agrees to and with said second party as follows, to wit:

That he will enter the employ of said second party as a miner, cutter, driver, or loader of coal at its mine situated in Robinson Township, Allegheny County, Pa., and will continue as such until the expiration of his service as hereafter provided, and that he will well and faithfully perform his duties in conformity with the rules and regulations of said company operating said mine, and that he will mine, cut, drive, or load coal at a rate of wages based upon the rate of — cents per ton of 2,000 pounds for pick mining for coal over a 1¼-inch screen, with nothing to be paid for coal dropping through said screen, until ——, 189-, and thereafter so long as he shall remain in the employ of said coal company, at a rate of wages based upon a charge for pick mining as low as that paid by any other operator at any of their mines in the "thin vein" district of the Pittsburg coal seam.

Should said party of the second part at any time during the term of this contract wish to mine 3-inch coal, then the pay may be computed on the basis of —— cents per ton of 2,000 pounds for coal over a 3-inch screen, with nothing to be paid for coal dropping through said screen; and if "run of mine," then the pay may be computed at the scale now in force at their mine.

And in further consideration as aforesaid, and for the better securing the performance of this contract by me, the party of the first part, I hereby agree that the said Moon Run Coal Company shall and they are hereby authorized and directed to retain any and all moneys which may be due me, if I should quit their employ without giving reasons satisfactory to the superintendent for leaving work, and said sum shall become and be the absolute property of said company as liquidated damages for my failure to perform the terms of my employment, without further claim or demand by me for the payment of the same or any part thereof.

It is mutually understood and agreed between the parties hereto that should any dispute arise between them as to the basis under this agreement the party of the first part will continue work until the basis can be determined by arbitration, as follows: Each party shall elect an arbitrator, and the two, if unable to agree, shall select a third, and the decision of a majority of the three so chosen shall be the basis, and binding upon both parties hereto.

In consideration of the foregoing the Moon Run Coal Company do hereby agree to employ said —— —— at the compensation and upon the terms and conditions above specified from this date as steadily as the conditions of trade, car supply, etc., will permit, until ——, 189-, and thereafter until said second party shall give the said first party two weeks' notice of the termination of this contract.

It is further agreed that all supplies or rent furnished the party of the first part at his request on credit of the party of the second part shall constitute full or part payment, as the case may be.

In witness whereof the said —— —— and the Moon Run Coal Company have hereunto set their hands and seals this — day of ——, 189—.

—— ——. [SEAL.]
—— ——. [SEAL.]

Witness —— ——.
Check No. ——.

Mr. BUTLER. There is a combination between the owners of these mines. They get together and make an agreement that all their operatives shall sign a drastic and unjust contract like that which has been read. They force the operatives to accept lower wages and then force them to allow the mine owners to reserve 10 per cent of their wages, which is forfeited under certain conditions. It is infamous. The poor miner gets no protection under the tariff. He is at the mercy of a combination of mine owners.

Mr. President, here is a special dispatch to the Ohio State Journal from Pittsburg, Pa., taken from a Republican paper, which certainly presents a very strong case for the mine operative.

Mr. ALLEN. I hope the Senator will not take up my time to read that.

Mr. BUTLER. I shall not read the article, but will ask that it may be printed in the RECORD. It is dated Pittsburg, Pa., April 9. It shows the condition of the coal miners and how they have been treated. It shows that when they have taken out from 24,000 to 27,000 pounds of coal, several of the companies have only credited them with fifteen or sixteen thousand pounds, refusing the men the right to have a check weighman on the tipple to keep their accounts. These facts were developed by the investigation in Pennsylvania by the legislature. I ask that the article which I send to the desk may be inserted in the RECORD.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. That order will be made, in the absence of objection.

The article referred to is as follows:

MINERS COMPLAIN—UNFORTUNATE STATE OF AFFAIRS IN PITTSBURG DISTRICT—THOUSANDS OF FAMILIES IN AN ALMOST STARVING CONDITION.

[Special to Ohio State Journal.]

PITTSBURG, PA., *April 9.*

The investigation of the legislative committee into the condition of the miners of the Pittsburg district brought a shocking state of affairs to light to-day. About twenty miners from various parts of the district were heard, and these testified that all sorts of schemes were practiced to beat them out of their miserable pittances. None of them had earned more than $16 a month since the first of the year, and the majority far less. Many testified they were compelled to deal at company's stores, where they were charged more than the market price. Store bills were deducted from their pay, as was the rent, the majority renting shanties from coal operators, who charged them exorbitant rents for hovels costing scarcely $50. The screens at the coal tipples were weak and let coal through, and what fell through the screen they were not paid for, yet the operators sold the same at a fair price.

Coal miners stated that from thirty years' experience in loading cars they knew the cars held from 24,000 to 27,000 pounds, yet several companies only credited them with 15,000 and 16,000 pounds, refusing the men the right to have check weigh men on the tipple to keep their accounts. One witness testified he had earned $15 since Christmas and had nothing to eat that day, yet he had a wife and six children to support. The mines were all crowded with diggers. Where 50 men could work a mine and make fair wages, 150 to 200 are crowded into the pit. Ironclad contracts were offered in evidence, showing the men signed away all rights to secure a job which would pay them less than $15 a month.

Mr. ALLEN. I have but little further to say upon this very important question, for it certainly is important to the consumers of coal in this country.

I want to repeat, and I want to emphasize, and I want to italicize, if I can, the fact that the coal miners of this country are the poorest paid class of laborers we have; and I want to emphasize the further fact that the law of the United States against the importation of contract laborers is absolutely and unqualifiedly set at defiance; that the owners of these coal mines bring from any port of Europe they see fit any class of laborers they see proper; that these laborers come under a contract to labor in this country, and they pass the inspection office by some means—I do not know how—but they come into this country by the thousands and by the hundreds of thousands.

I want, Mr. President, to repeat, that the great body of coal miners in this country—and I am not speaking now of American citizens, but of that class of people who are brought here under a system of contract labor—become paupers within thirty days of the time they are thrown out of their occupation. In fact, not one out of a hundred of them ever leaves his employment with a cent in his pocket, and the very contract, which is the consummation of infamy itself, which was just read here, shows conclusively that it is the policy of those companies to rob their operatives of every dollar they make. Who before ever heard of a contract that said that an employee should not leave the service of his employer without his consent?

Mr. BUTLER. I want to say to the Senator from Nebraska that when that outrageous contract was forced upon the workmen in the mines there was a general reduction of the wages of the miner from 69 to 60 cents.

Mr. ALLEN. I do not doubt that, nor do I doubt that many of these miners—and I speak now from having conversed with them—when they take 2,200 or 2,300 pounds of coal out of the mines, receive credit for but 1,400 or 1,500 pounds, and are robbed in that way. I have been told that repeatedly by miners who have been employed in the Eastern coal mines, and yet they do not dare to protest, or if they do protest, they are turned out of employment and their wives and their children and they themselves must starve. There is a choice, sir, between being a tramp and a subject of public charity, with some slight spark of manhood left, or of being a chattel slave of some one of these coal companies.

Mr. President, this can not always continue. The time will come in the history of this country when the American people will rise up in their might, and they will change this condition; they will change it not only among the American miners, but they will change it among all classes of people. We are simply laying up wrath against the day of judgment. The time will come when those who abuse this power and who oppress and wrong their fellow-beings will be brought to an account for it; the time will come, Mr. President, when those who grant special favors to these great steamship companies and to every organization of that kind, and refuse the same privileges to the poor farmer or laborer, who is compelled to expend the last cent he has got to keep himself and his family warm, will be brought to an account for that, too.

Now, Mr. President, if this be treason, I am perfectly willing that the Senator from Wyoming should make the most of it.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Nebraska to the amendment of the committee.

The amendment to the amendment was rejected.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question recurs on agreeing to the amendment of the committee.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. SPOONER. I send to the desk an amendment which I intend to offer to the bill. I ask that it may be read and printed.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read the amendment intended to be offered by the Senator from Wisconsin.

The Secretary read as follows:

SEC. —. That within —— days after the passage of this act the Secretary of the Treasury shall designate (and may from time to time change said designation) three of the general appraisers appointed or to be appointed under the provisions of section 12 of the act entitled "An act to simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenues," approved June 10, 1890, not more than a majority of the number designated as aforesaid to belong to the same political party, who shall exercise the powers and perform the duties hereinafter prescribed, in addition to those now or from time to time to be devolved upon them by law.

First. They shall thoroughly investigate the condition of the industries of the country upon whose products, manufactured or otherwise, duties are imposed by law, taking a single schedule or a group of cognate or interdependent schedules at a time, to be designated in writing from time to time by the Secretary of the Treasury, and likewise the condition of the industries of other countries manufacturing or producing goods, wares, or merchandise sold in competition with similar products of this country, including especially the difference in labor cost, and other elements or factors entering into and bearing upon the matter of competition, and generally all information which in their judgment should be considered in imposing rates of duty, both with regard to obtaining revenue therefrom and with regard also to equalizing conditions between the competitive products of every kind of this and other countries, and in determining what products of other countries should be admitted to this country free of duty.

Second. They shall also carefully analyze the duties imposed by the various schedules of this act, and of such tariff acts as shall be from time to time enacted, for the purpose of ascertaining and reporting any errors of classification, inequalities of rates imposed upon different elements or articles which enter into manufactured products, and such manufactured products, what duties are necessary by way of compensation for other duties, what duties should be specific, ad valorem, or compound, and generally information in their judgment necessary for the correction of any inequalities, inconsistencies, or other defects of any kind in the schedules so examined.

Third. They shall from time to time make report to the Secretary of the Treasury of the information obtained by such investigation and otherwise, with their recommendations thereon. Each said report shall be signed by all of said designated appraisers who agree to the same; and if any thereof shall dissent from said report, either as to the inferences drawn by the majority from the facts obtained in said investigation or as to its recommendations, wholly or in part, it shall be their duty to make, sign, and transmit to the Secretary of the Treasury a minority report, stating in full the reasons for their dissent, and embodying their own recommendations. They shall also make such further kindred investigations as the Secretary of the Treasury may from time to time direct.

SEC. —. That the general appraisers designated by the Secretary of the Treasury, as hereinbefore provided, may, for the purposes of their investigation, with the approval of said Secretary, visit any part of the United States, and said Secretary may from time to time direct one of their number to visit foreign countries for like purposes.

SEC. —. It shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury, whenever he shall receive from said designated general appraisers reports upon any schedule or group of schedules, as aforesaid, to cause to be printed by the Public Printer 1,000 copies of the same, together with all statistics and evidence submitted therewith, and to furnish two copies of each said report, majority and minority, to each member of the House of Representatives and of the Senate.

It shall also be the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to communicate the same to Congress in the month of December in each year, with his recommendations in the premises.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment will be printed.

Mr. ALLISON. The next amendment undisposed of is paragraph 473½, cotton bagging.

The Secretary read as follows:

473½. Bagging for cotton, gunny cloth, and all similar material suitable for covering cotton, composed in whole or in part of hemp, flax, jute, or jute butts.

Mr. WHITE. I desire to inquire whether it is the intention to bring this matter up separately from bags for grain. I presume if the Senator from Iowa would accept the vote which has already been had, the test vote upon this matter, we might let the clause be incorporated in the bill, for the Senate at least voted with the intention of incorporating it in the free list. Is it the intention of the Senator from Iowa to have another vote upon the proposition, with debate upon it?

Mr. ALLISON. I certainly want a vote. I do not care for the debate. These cognate amendments, three or four in number, involve five or six million dollars of revenue. Therefore it is an important question.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. How do they involve five or six million dollars of revenue? I should be glad to have the Senator from Iowa make an explanation of that. All the cotton bagging used in this country is made here; practically none is imported, and the only effect of the duty is to enable the domestic manufacturers to increase their prices outrageously and unreasonably and to charge exorbitant prices.

Only a few years ago, by an arrangement made among the cotton-bagging manufacturers in the United States, they increased the price from 7 cents to 14 cents a pound in a single season. The manufacturers would quietly refuse to sell their products to cotton planters during the time when it was usual to have the sales made. They would say, "Wait, and we will sell later," and then when the time came when the cotton planters had to have the bagging and it was too late to import it from abroad, suddenly the price went up from 7 to 14 cents a pound, and the cotton planters were robbed of $3,000,000 as a result.

Practically no revenue comes from cotton bagging. It is all made here. The only purpose of putting it on the free list is to compel the American manufacturers to sell it at a fair price, because it can be bought at Dundee and Calcutta and brought here if they do not sell for fair prices.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Was the price less when the article was on the free list?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Practically no less. The price was about the same, from 5 to 6¼ cents a pound, but it has been impossible, with free bagging under the Wilson Act, for them to raise the price from 7 to 14 cents as they did before, and the men who did that came before the committee and frankly told your committee that they had done so and said, "What are you going to do about it?" It was reported to the Senate by a committee. The facts are well known to everybody. The purpose of putting it on the free list is simply to prevent a combination being made by the fourteen or fifteen bagging manufacturers in the United States to charge unreasonable and outrageous prices to the farmers for this product. It is a check that stands all the time against unreasonable prices, because the cotton bagging can be imported from Dundee and Calcutta.

Mr. PETTUS. Mr. President, I have been very anxious to get this amendment out of the contest which divides the Chamber. Those gentlemen have been engaged in this fight so ably and so long that I was in hopes they would not quarrel about this matter. The farmers of the United States ask that two of the articles they use—and they will ask the same right as to cotton ties and other things of that sort—shall be exempt from taxation. The farmers of the United States—I am not speaking particularly for my section; I am speaking for all the farmers—are taxed from the soles of their feet to the top of their head.

The farmer pays a tax on his shoes, and his socks, and his drawers, and his undershirt, and his shirt, and his pants, and his vest, and his coat, and his hat, and if he happen to wear a necktie he pays a tax on it. He pays a tax also on whatever he uses in his household which he does not in fact produce on his farm. He is taxed when he lies down, and he is taxed when he gets up. There is a tax on his sheet and his bedtick. He is taxed on everything that he uses inside of his house—his tin cup and his plate, and his cups and his saucers, and his dishes, and his spoons, whether they be pewter or silver.

Now, the only thing we are going to ask to-day is that you exempt such things as he is absolutely compelled to use in covering the products of his labor, and the Senator from Georgia [Mr. BACON] has proposed that we shall also exempt the cotton ties that go around the production of the South, and I shall insist that that ought also to be allowed. Does it not look like a modest request on the part of the farmer, who pays a tax on everything in the world he uses—his plow, and his reapers, and his hoes, and his chisels, and his screws, his knives, his pocketknife, whether it be a Barlow or a Sheffield razor blade? And if he happens to indulge in the luxury of shaving, he also has to pay a tax on the soap he uses on his face, and the brush which he uses to put it on. He pays a tax on everything.

I ask gentlemen on the other side, who care for shipping and manufactures and for those who produce coal and iron and the like of that, to pause for one moment while they are indulging in their taxing proclivities and their protection theories, and just give us not protection, but exemption in a small degree from this tax. Give us the privilege of putting up our wheat and oats and barley and cotton and cotton-seed cake, and our manure and whatever we use in that direction, so as to carry them to market. You have generously given to the Western farmer some strings with which to tie up his products. We now ask further that you give him the privilege of having an untaxed bag in which to carry his produce to market.

Senators, I desire to call your attention for a moment—I am not going to make a long talk to you—to what you are doing for other people. I have nothing against the manufacturer. He has been a very favored citizen of the United States these years, and I do not want to say anything against him. The fact of the business is I have no war paint on this morning at all. I am asking for votes on the other side of the Chamber, and hope to get them. I will get them if you will only listen and pay some little respect to the reasons. Let us see what you do for the manufacturer. I am not going into details, but whenever a manufacturer wants a thing—sometimes you call it a raw material and sometimes appliances and other things to be used by him in his business—the general rule is that he gets it on the free list. There are exceptions. I do not mean to say it is universal. I will mention a few things.

He needs acids, and those which he needs he gets free. He needs dyes. They come in free. Ashes and bones come in free. Bolting cloths of silk come in free. He needs Brazilian pebbles to make his glasses. He has great use for charcoal and blue clay. He wants them, and he wants copper and cork wood and diamonds. He has very great use for diamonds, and I have no objection to his having them and having them free. It looks a little frightful to put diamonds on the free list, but they are rough diamonds; they have not been cut or polished or worked upon, and they are extremely useful in many respects to the mechanic. He bores with them and he does a great deal of work with them. They constitute a very useful implement. I wish as much consideration had been given to plows, but that is impossible.

So he gets his diamonds free, and his emery ore and his flints and his furs, white enameled glass and glass for optical instruments—in the rough of course—and he gets grasses and vegetable fiber of various sorts, and gold-beater's molds, and gutta-percha, and hair, and horns, and ivory tusks, all for the benefit of the manufacturer, to be worked on. India rubber, indigo, manganese, are all free. I am glad he gets his manganese free, and I am glad that he gets most of the other things free, because I think he needs them free to do his work with. Manganese, I understand, is a very essential article with which to line furnaces. Then he goes into the smoking line, and he gets free meerschaum—not in pipes; and crude minerals, models and patterns of all kinds, provided they can not be used as machines—only the model of the machine. He ought to have them free. There is no doubt of it. He has them, and he has always had them, and I hope he will keep them on the free list.

Then he gets all his paper stock of every sort free, and mother-of-pearl, and shells, and platina, and platinum, and rough shotguns—provided they are single barrel—and raw silk of all sorts, and tin and tin ore, whalebone, and logs of wood; and then he gets all of the foreign woods free generally.

I have named only a few of the articles that the manufacturer gets free, absolutely free, for his use. I am not quarreling with his having them on the free list at all. I am not making any objection to it; but, Mr. President, let us go one step further. Suppose by chance you put a duty on some material that a manufacturer has to use. That is a little shocking to our sensitive system, but we have a plaster for that. We at once turn around and we give him a duty by way of compensation. In other words, we give him a bounty in the shape of an increased tax on the article into which he manufactures the raw material.

We have heard a great deal during the discussion of this bill in reference to compensation to be allowed the manufacturer for any duty that is put on raw material. We have heard a great deal said about the sugar trust, and gentlemen have been ciphering here for weeks to ascertain how much bounty is paid to the sugar trust to induce them to refine the raw sugar imported into the United States. Gentlemen have disputed, saying that it is all the way from 1 cent a pound down to fifty-six one-hundredths of a cent a pound, I think. Nobody has gone under fifty one-hundredths, I believe—that is, one-half of 1 cent per pound—as the compensation which we pay to the manufacturer of sugar.

I am not now debating the question whether these compensations ought to be paid or not. We have had a tax put on for the protection of the cotton of the United States, an infant industry in our country, and straightway—for it was logical, and I did not complain of the Senator from Iowa for putting it on, and he put it on very graciously and very emphatically—a tax of 10 per cent compensation was put on in addition to other duties on

manufactured cotton articles. I am not complaining of that and I am not complaining of any of these acts of compensation which I call bounties.

Gentlemen on the other side contend that it is right. I am not going to quarrel with them on that subject now. I will defer it to a more convenient season. But you do give the manufacturers compensation whenever you tax any part of their raw material, and you do not tax much of it, and when you do tax it you put the tax on lightly.

If you would stop at that, some persons might suppose it was a reasonable kind of a protective tariff, although they do not understand it. There are a great many of us who have never been able to see through it, and I do not expect we ever will. But they do not stop at that. They not only give them the free raw material, or, if you should happen to tax them a little, give them a compensation, which is always fourfold at least the duty on the raw material, except in one or two instances where the bill specifically says it shall be three times as much, for which we are thankful; but after getting through with all that they say, "Well, we are sorry for you; we did tax your raw material somewhat; we compensated you for that, however, by giving you a duty on the manufactured article in addition to your other duties. But if you are at all angry about it, we will give you a 'drawback.'" And you do give drawbacks, and you give them in vast amounts. Gentlemen who have not looked at the subject of drawbacks have little comprehension of the amount of money which goes through that hole. The doctrine of drawbacks had its origin away back in the beginning of our history, and I want to call attention to the amount of drawbacks allowed in the early days. It was 5 cents a quintel, or 5 cents a barrel on salt fish and 5 cents a barrel on salted provisions, and that was all there was of it.

There was no such thing in the early days except the 5 cents on salted fish and 5 cents on salted provisions, which was allowed in the shape of a drawback, and that was because the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST] or one of his ancestors happened to be there and protested against the duty on salt, and they said, "By way of compensating these men for the tax we put on salt, we will give them a drawback of 5 cents a barrel on salt fish and salted provisions."

Well, when you start in a certain road, whether it is protecting or drawing back from the Government, it is a very rapid motion. The next time they spoke on this subject they made it 10 cents. They just doubled it; but they confined it to those two subjects; and it was to compensate the Missourians, I suppose, although they were not known in those days, for having to pay a tax on salt; and they expressly declared it to be so. But from that day to this there has been one continued stream of additions of drawbacks. Why, Mr. President, they first put in all articles that were shipped to the United States and immediately shipped out in the same packages, without breaking the bulk to any degree. They were allowed to draw back their money which they paid the Government when they were going to reship these articles without change of any sort or description. The drawbacks grew and grew and multiplied.

The next form in which they put it was, if you pay a duty on the raw material, manufacture it into goods, certain useful articles, and ship them abroad, you shall have back your money; you shall draw it back. Now, there is no other human being except the manufacturer who is allowed such a privilege as that. No other human being is allowed it.

So the drawbacks went on—I do not want to weary you with my discussion of this subject—and it went on until the date of the Walker tariff in the forties—in 1846; and there they curtailed the thing down again. They cut off all these drawbacks except the specified thing of importing and exporting. Well, it looked as if they had no use for money and they wanted to pay it all out after they had got it into the Treasury.

From that day to this, every time a tariff has been mentioned in Congress, a new drawback has been added. You can not find a tariff bill that does not add a new drawback, and the Democrats have been doing the same sort of thing that the gentlemen on the other side of the Chamber have done.

There is one very peculiar thing about this drawback that I want to call your attention to. Whenever you come to enact a general tariff law, you have a general provision always providing that all drawbacks heretofore allowed are hereby continued in full force, and others are added to it. When you came to enact the McKinley law, which you talked so much about, that general provision was put in it, "all drawbacks heretofore allowed are continued in force."

When you gentlemen on this side of the Chamber considered the Wilson bill, you put into it "all drawbacks heretofore allowed are hereby continued in force," and then you added some more. And here in this bill there is a provision that "all drawbacks heretofore allowed are hereby continued in force," and then you go on to add others, and you have just added another one a few moments ago. When coal is brought in, if it is used for our ships, the duty is not payable; it is to be refunded. Well, I am not quarreling about that particularly; but I will just say to the gentlemen on the other side of the Chamber that of all the inventions that ever were made to defraud the Government of the United States of its revenue according to your own laws that you make, this doctrine of drawbacks stands in the front and has taken more money out of the Treasury of the United States than all the balance of the frauds put together.

Mr. President, here is this matter of iron. You import iron into the United States and you put your duty on it, but the provision is that if that is manufactured into anything else and shipped out of the United States you get back your duty—99 per cent of it under the Wilson law and the McKinley law. I think it is 99 per cent under this bill. But it is about all of it. Now, when our forefathers undertook to give a drawback at all they had a machinery about it that looked like they understood human nature, and I hope they did. At all events, they did know that the Good Book said, "Lead us not into temptation," and therefore they did not lead the importers into temptation.

The goods that were imported into the United States were put into a United States warehouse, and were kept by United States officers and were guarded by a United States officer, and they were not allowed to go an inch out of that warehouse until the duty was paid. Finally, however, they invented an idea of giving bond for the duty. After that was invented, directly contrary to the Bible, the whole people of the United States making importations were invited into this field of temptation. Iron imported into the United States could go into a Government warehouse, into a bonded warehouse, into the manufacturing establishments anywhere, by giving a bond, and when manufactured and shipped the duty was paid back to the extent of 99 per cent. And who knew it was the same article that was imported? How could that be known?

Mr. President, I am going to tell you a little experience. I live away down on the Gulf, but we had an idea down there that we could make nails. A gentleman at Brierfield, in Alabama, undertook to make nails. In the first place, he bought the best nail machine that could be made in the United States. He paid largely for it. It was a fine establishment. I have looked at it many a time, and so has my colleague [Mr. MORGAN]. It was a fine establishment. It was a large mill, and it manufactured the best nails ever made of iron, and it had the best iron to make them of. The iron was so tough that artillery could be made out of it in the pig by simply casting it.

Now, with that sort of iron and that sort of a machine he made the best nails that ever were made of iron, but he could not sell them. He could not sell the nails. The other man undersold him by about half a dollar or more, and he finally got down to where he could not sell at all for any profit, and then he thought there must be something wrong about it. Other nail manufacturers were making money. This was in the olden times, before we got down to as low a pecuniary condition as we are now. So he went to New England, and he went all over the New England States to the nail mills, and wherever he went he tried to get some information about his nails. The gentlemen were very courteous and polite to him, and showed him all about their mills and what they did, and he ascertained that his mill was as good as any of them, and his iron much better, and his nails much better; but he could not sell them. He could not learn the reason.

Finally he went to the center of all knowledge, Wall street, in New York, and applied to a broker who was engaged in the shipment of nails to foreign countries. He agreed to employ him to ship and sell his nails, and he readily undertook the job, the broker not exactly knowing what he was doing. They talked it over, and the commissions were all arranged. He was to have the whole business of the shipment of the nails and the command of it. The owner had failed to make money himself, and he wanted some man who was smart enough to do it. But after they had the contract all written out the broker said, "By the way, sir, where do you get your iron?" Said the owner, "I get it out of the ground; it is the very best iron for making nails there is in the world; it is the softest and the toughest. I get it right out of the ground at my nailery." The broker studied a while, and said, "My friend, I can not undertake your business. I can not sell your nails. You see, nails are made of iron, and iron is imported, and when imported they get a drawback on the export, and they have got just that much advantage of you."

Now, that is the strangest advantage in the world. How could they have any advantage? Mr. President, it was simply because they imported one sort of iron and exported a different sort. That is it. It is a little, small matter of making papers about it, but in that way thousands upon thousands of dollars go improperly out of the Treasury of the United States.

I just speak of this nail business. That is only a sample. It is a mere sample of what can be done in that line in the way of appropriating the revenues of the United States to individual purposes.

Mr. President, the manufacturers not only get the free material,

as a general rule, or, if taxed at all, they get a duty by way of compensation on the finished article. But then they get this enormous drawback. I am not quarreling with them now on that subject; but we just ask you to give us the privilege of putting up in a free bag our crops made at home, that the farmers make, whether it be grain or other farm produce. Give us the chance to put it up in a free bag, and wrap the cotton with free cotton bagging, and to tie our bags with free strings, and our hay and whatever else we choose. You have already given us that, however, and we are asking now for free bags and free bagging. Gentlemen, if you look us straight in the face, you will be bound to say that it is a very modest request.

We are manufacturers ourselves. We manufacture cotton into such a condition that you can spin it, and we manufacture wheat into such a condition that you can grind it. We want nice, clean bags to send you the oats in, and we want nice, clean bags to send the wheat to the mill if we do not choose to ship it in bulk. In other words, we want the wrapping of what we make free from duty; and as we pay a tax on everything we eat, everything we drink, and everything we wear, and all our household plunder, do give us this free wrapping for the produce of our labor.

Mr. MANTLE. I should like to ask the Senator from Arkansas, who, I believe, is pretty well informed upon matters relating to the particular point now under discussion, what the importations have been of the material included in the paragraph we are now speaking of? What revenue has been derived, and what has been the total consumption in the United States?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The revenue derived under the McKinley Act on this item, as shown by the comparative statement on page 175, submitted by the majority of the committee, on bagging worth more than 6 cents per square yard, was $12,970.

Mr. MANTLE. Twelve thousand dollars?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Twelve thousand dollars, the entire amount. The estimate by the committee is that they will get $36,000 from it. That is three times as much as came in under the McKinley law. How they expect to get it, or where they expect to get it, I do not know.

Mr. MANTLE. Now I wish to ask what was the duty under the McKinley law?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. It was 1.6 cents per square yard valued at 6 cents or less, and 1.8 cents per square yard valued above 6 cents.

Mr. MANTLE. How does that rate compare with the proposed duty?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The present rate is half a cent a yard and 15 per cent ad valorem, which is equivalent to 27 per cent. I do not know how it would compare with the other rate.

Mr. MANTLE. Now I should like to ask the Senator, if I am not troubling him too much, what is the value of the total consumption in the country?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. It is about 70,000,000 yards.

Mr. MANTLE. And the value?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. It is about 6 cents a yard. There are 10,000,000 bales of cotton. It takes about 7 running yards of bagging to cover a bale of cotton.

Mr. ALLISON. Four cents is said to be the value, according to the statement.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. That may be the import value, but nobody buys it at that price here.

Mr. ALLISON. In speaking of duties, we always speak of import values.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. That is the import value, perhaps. There is very little imported. There never has been much imported. There are about fifteen bagging mills in the United States.

I will say to the Senator from Montana that about the only effect of putting bags on the free list was to prevent a combination amongst the bagging manufacturers to compel the cotton producers to pay unreasonable prices for bagging. There has been no material reduction in the price of bagging as the result of putting it on the free list; but just before the McKinley Act went into effect, or about that time, there was, on one occasion that I remember, an agreement made between all the bagging manufacturers except one. I have forgotten the name of that one. I would be glad to mention it if I recollected the name. I think it was a Connecticut mill.

A proposition was quietly and secretly made amongst them to agree to put their prices up without its being known publicly. This one mill refused to go into it. The remainder went into the agreement. When parties wanting bagging would write to the mills to make their contracts, as they were in the habit of doing some months before the bagging was used, they would answer that they were not ready then to make contracts. It was quietly put off until the time to begin to pack the cotton, when the price was sprung from an average of 6 or 7 cents to 12 or 14 cents. It was about doubled.

It was impossible then to have bagging manufactured in Calcutta or Dundee and have it brought over, because it is not produced in any quantity except on special orders, and there was no chance to manufacture it and bring it into the country before the cotton season was over, which lasts only about ninety to one hundred and twenty days.

The result was that cotton cloth was woven, for the purpose of wrapping cotton, into bagging. Chambers of commerce refused to receive the bales of cotton as merchantable because they were not wrapped in the ordinary way. There were these desperate efforts made to protect themselves against the schemes of the manufacturers.

The Finance Committee sent for the men who were engaged in this scheme. They brought them into the Finance Committee room here, and the men who organized it said frankly and brutally to the members of the committee, "Yes, we made this organization. We are compelling these people to pay these extra prices. What are you going to do about it?" That was stated here. I quoted the words here in the Senate.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. May I ask the Senator from Arkansas a question?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Certainly.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Does not the Senator think that a combination of that sort could be made just as well with bagging on the free list if the parties were disposed to do it?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. It can not be done. With bagging on the free list it can be brought here cheaper than with taxed bagging. The result of the fact that bagging is on the free list is that people may have bagging made in Calcutta or in Dundee. As a rule, it is not made in Dundee now, but it has been made in Calcutta. A small quantity does come from Calcutta, and on very short notice it can be manufactured in considerable quantities; but the fear of the competition coming from Calcutta keeps the price of bagging at something like a fair rate.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. But if anybody chooses to enter into such an unconscionable contract as to double the price of cotton bagging from 7 cents up to 14, I do not see how the question of a little duty on it affects the matter one way or the other.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. It does affect it. The only effect that the duty can have is to promote this unholy combination to the extent that the tax goes. There can be no apology nor reason for putting a tax on this article. Nobody says it is an infant industry. It has been a profitable business for years. It has had absolute control of the American market for years, and has on one occasion used it for an unholy purpose in this way. I say that people who have so acted are entitled to no consideration, even from the standpoint of a protectionist, at the hands of the Senate of the United States.

Mr. MANTLE. I agree with the Senator, the facts being as he states them, that they are not entitled to protection. I am trying to get some practical information, for I have not had the time nor have I been able to get all the facts myself. I understand that under the McKinley law there was a tariff upon this article.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Yes, sir.

Mr. MANTLE. And under that law the importations were very small indeed in relation to the whole quantity used. I gather that from what the Senator from Arkansas has said. Under the Wilson law bagging was placed upon the free list. Now, I want to inquire how much was imported under the Wilson law when it was upon the free list?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. There were 1,600,000 pounds imported under the Wilson law and there was about 900,000 pounds imported under the McKinley Act.

Mr. MANTLE. So it made very little difference.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The importations were not very largely increased.

Mr. MANTLE. Now, one further question. I understand that the duty proposed under this bill increases the rate over the McKinley law?

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. No; it is lower.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I can not compare the rates. I do not know. This is a rate of 27 per cent. The McKinley law charged a tax of 1.6 cents and 1.8 cents a yard, which was more than 1½ cents. On a valuation of 6 cents a yard it would be somewhere in the neighborhood of 30 per cent, I should say.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. I think that the McKinley rates averaged about 40 per cent.

Mr. MANTLE. The important fact which seems to be brought out is that even after it was placed on the free list the importations increased very slightly and the American manufacturers continued to furnish the article.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. There is no question of that.

Mr. MANTLE. I want to ask the Senator just one other question. What relation does the material referred to in paragraph 473½ bear to burlaps and bags for grain made of burlaps in paragraph 493½?

Mr. WHITE. Right there I was about to suggest that I think the amendment proposed, if it is designed to make it certain and

that no doubt should be entertained that grain bags are included, should have added to it "burlaps and bags for grain made of burlaps," being the language used in the present law.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I do not know what the proposed amendment covers. I sent to the desk to get it, and the language sent to me covers only cotton bagging.

Mr. WHITE. It reads:

Bagging for cotton, gunny cloth, and similar fabrics suitable for covering cotton, composed of single yarns, made of jute, jute butts, or hemp; plain woven fabrics, bags, and sacks of single jute or hemp yarns, by whatever known.

I think it was designed to include grain bags, but in order to make it more certain, if such was the design of the Senator from Alabama offering it, I suggest that there be added to it "burlaps and bags for grain made of burlaps," being the language of the present law. Then there can be no doubt about the inclusion of grain bags.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will report the amendment offered June 21 by the Senator from Arkansas and now before the Senate.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. My understanding was that it is an amendment offered by the Senator from Alabama [Mr. PETTUS].

Mr. WHITE. Offered June 30.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment to insert paragraph 473½ was offered by the Senator from Arkansas, and the Secretary will read it.

The Secretary read as follows:

473½. Bagging for cotton, gunny cloth, and all similar material suitable for covering cotton, composed wholly or in part of hemp, flax, jute, or jute butts.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I offered that amendment, and it is intended to cover and does cover cotton bagging alone; but I understood the Senator from Alabama [Mr. PETTUS] to offer another proposition which was intended to be taken as a substitute for the amendment which I had offered and which was pending.

Mr. WHITE. That is the amendment I have before me and which I have just read.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. If that is the amendment to be considered at this time, I think it ought to be confined to cotton bagging alone, or else the language suggested by the Senator from California should be inserted, because there ought not to be any doubt as to whether it includes burlaps as well as grain bags, if it is intended that they shall be included. The language submitted by me is the language under which cotton bagging alone has been made free all along, and it applies to nothing but cotton bagging.

Mr. MANTLE. I understand the Senator from California proposes to amend it so as to include burlaps and bags for grain. I think the two ought to go together.

Mr. GRAY. Does the Senator from California include in that the word "burlaps?"

Mr. WHITE. I propose to amend the amendment proposed by the Senator from Alabama [Mr. PETTUS] by adding thereto the following language:

Burlaps and bags for grain, made of burlaps.

Which is the language found in the free list in the Wilson law.

Mr. ALLISON. Mr. President, what paragraphs have been voted out of the bill by a vote of the Senate? Were they paragraphs 339, 341, and 342? Am I right in that?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary informs the Chair that that is correct.

Mr. ALLISON. Very well. Now, the amendment pending before the Senate is practically placing in the free list one of those bagging paragraphs, namely, bagging for cotton. I understand the Senator from California [Mr. WHITE] now desires to also place upon the free list paragraph 341, which is "Bags or sacks made from plain woven fabrics, of single jute yarns," etc.

Mr. PETTUS. That is already in the amendment.

Mr. WHITE. If that includes "burlaps and bags for grain, made of burlaps," very well. I do not care to have any doubt about it, and so I have added to the phraseology of the amendment of the Senator from Alabama the words "burlaps and bags for grain, made of burlaps," so that there may be no ambiguity about it. Will the Senator from Alabama accept the amendment?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Let the amendment be reported from the desk, so that we may understand the precise form it is now in.

The Secretary read as follows:

Bagging for cotton, gunny cloth, and similar fabrics, suitable for covering cotton, composed of single yarns, made of jute, jute butts, or hemp; plain woven fabrics, bags, and sacks, of single jute or hemp yarns, by whatever name known; burlaps and bags for grain, made of burlaps.

Mr. WHITE. I think by striking out from the words "single yarns" down to the word "known" perhaps it would read a little better, though the meaning is plain enough.

Mr. MILLS. I understand that paragraph 340 has been voted out as well as paragraphs 339, 341, and 342.

Mr. PETTUS. They were all stricken out.

Mr. MILLS. But the Secretary has read paragraph 342.

Mr. PETTUS. Paragraphs 339, 341, and 342 were put on the free list by the amendment as amended by the Senator from California [Mr. WHITE].

Mr. GRAY. Adding "burlaps," in order that it may certainly be included, as it probably is included in the general language of the insertion.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Mr. President——

Mr. PETTUS. If the Senator will allow me one moment, I want to get the matter understood. I want the Secretary to state which paragraphs have been stricken from the bill.

The SECRETARY. Paragraphs 339, 340, 341, and 342.

Mr. MILLS. Then I was right.

Mr. MANTLE. Bearing directly upon this question, I have a letter here——

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Will the Senator permit me just a moment?

Mr. MANTLE. Certainly.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I think that this amendment should be put in proper shape before we get away from it. The pending amendment is:

Bagging for cotton, gunny cloth, and similar fabrics suitable for covering cotton, composed of single yarns, made of jute, jute butts, or hemp.

That covers bagging. Now it is proposed to include the words:

Plain woven fabrics, bags, and sacks of single jute or hemp yarns, by whatever name known.

Then the Senator from California [Mr. WHITE] proposes the additional words:

Burlaps and bags for grain, made of burlaps.

I think, as thus proposed, the amendment will be in proper shape, and I will agree to accept it as a substitute for the one I have proposed. I suggest to the Senator from Alabama that he accept it in this form, striking out the words "plain woven fabrics, bags, and sacks of single jute yarns, by whatever name known," so as to read:

Bagging for cotton, gunny cloth, and similar fabrics, suitable for covering cotton, composed of single yarns, made of jute, jute butts, or hemp; and burlaps and bags for grain, made of burlaps.

Mr. PETTUS. I do not understand what the Senator asks me to accept.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I propose that there shall be stricken out of the amendment as proposed by the Senator the words:

Plain woven fabrics, bags, and sacks of single jute or hemp yarns, by whatever name known.

And that in lieu of those words there shall be inserted what has been suggested by the Senator from California [Mr. WHITE], the words:

Burlaps and bags for grain, made of burlaps.

Mr. PETTUS. Then paragraph 341 would be still open.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Paragraph 341 is out of the bill. It is not in existence.

Mr. PETTUS. Is it not on the free list?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. No; it is out of the bill. It is not in existence. This is a proposition to put an item on the free list, which will be a substitute for what was taxed in paragraphs 339, 341, and 342.

Mr. MILLS. That is right.

Mr. PETTUS. I want the Senator to understand that I am desirous of protecting the grain bags from this tax, but I am also desirous of protecting the other bags that are used for fertilizers and cotton seed and cotton-seed meal, and all that class of farm bags.

Mr. MANTLE. This amendment will cover that.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Yes; I suppose so.

Mr. MANTLE. Mr. President, bearing directly upon this question, I am in receipt of a letter, which I presume has been addressed to all Senators here, from the Bradley Fertilizer Company, of Boston, Mass. I ask that the Secretary read the letter. It seems to me to the point and to be rather important.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read as requested, in the absence of objection.

The Secretary read as follows:

BOSTON, *June 28, 1897.*

DEAR SIR: We earnestly hope that you will continue the fight for lessening the burdens of our farmers by putting this article on the free list.

We refer to burlap 40 inches wide and under, the duty on which was covered by paragraph 339, Schedule J. Wider widths are used for other than agricultural purposes, and we do not object to a duty on such wider widths if Congress deems that advisable, but we most earnestly hope that you will make no compromise on burlap 40 inches and under. Practically all this class of burlap is used for making sacks for grain, flour, and fertilizers, the amount used for such purposes comprising 30 to 50 per cent of all the burlap used in the country.

Against the argument that the duty is required for revenue purposes, we claim that the farmers can not afford and should not be asked to pay it.

Against the argument that the duty is for protection we state emphatically that there is no industry to protect. The claim for protection comes principally from the Chelsea Jute Mills, of Brooklyn, and the committee has been given to understand that this company has $4,000,000 invested in a plant for the manufacture of burlap, while the assessed value of this entire property, including real estate, buildings, and machinery, is but $300,000.

This company was formed in 1877, and, notwithstanding the existence of a duty upon burlap cloth of about 30 per cent for over twenty years prior to the Wilson bill, they have never succeeded in establishing this industry, and yet the committee were led to believe that the Aldrich tariff, which imposed a duty of less than 30 per cent, would enable this industry to flourish here.

By securing a duty upon both burlap and burlap sacks they propose to make a few thousand seamless sacks, and in order to support this industry they ask Congress to impose a duty upon the farmers of the whole country to the extent of two and one-half million dollars. The proposition is preposterous on the face of it. It would be far better for the Government to pay an annual subsidy to this mill equivalent to the profit that they expect to make on these sacks.

Even were it admitted, for the sake of argument, that any considerable amount of capital were invested in a plant in Brooklyn, or at any other point in the United States, for the manufacture of burlap cloth, we claim that such an investment would be ill-advised and could never prosper in competition with India, which controls the jute of the world and has the cheapest labor on earth. A duty far greater than that given by the Dingley bill will never suffice to maintain this industry here against such odds. India must and will hold our market for her burlap, even if she is driven to placing an export duty upon her jute as an offset against any import duty placed by us upon her burlap. This policy has already been agitated by India.

A duty upon burlap imposes a direct tax upon every farmer in the land who raises a sack of grain or buys a bag of fertilizer, and handicaps our farmers in marketing their products in competition with other agricultural countries in the markets of the world.

Yours, very respectfully,

BRADLEY FERTILIZER COMPANY,
ROB. T. BRADLEY, *President.*

Hon. LEE MANTLE,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

Mr. MANTLE. Mr. President, to my mind that letter very forcibly presents the argument in favor of placing this material upon the free list. I have said here upon more than one occasion during this debate that in my opinion the farmers of the country, from the very nature of the case, are the last ones to receive a direct benefit from a protective tariff. It arises out of their vocation, from the very nature of their occupation. They are benefited in a measure, according to my view as a protectionist, and that benefit grows out of the diversification of the industries of the country, the employment of labor in other branches of industry, and the creation in this way of a local demand for many of the products of the farm. To that extent they derive a benefit.

But when we remember that of the great staple products, notably cotton, wheat, and some others, we produce a surplus, and that the farmers are therefore compelled to seek the open markets of the world, and that the home price of their product is thereby fixed by the world's market, we at once appreciate the inequality which exists with respect to the benefits to be derived from a protective tariff.

After some investigation, Mr. President, I have arrived at this conclusion, and I have felt and I now feel that whenever the opportunity presents in the formation of a tariff for giving some benefit by placing articles which the farmer must of necessity use upon the free list, without injury to any American industry, the opportunity ought to be improved.

It does not appear that by placing this article on the free list we are going to injure any American industry, for it is stated here that under the Wilson law, with this material on the free list, its importation has increased but a trifle over and above the importations under the McKinley law, nor is there any reason to believe that it will. It seems that the home manufacturer, even under free bagging, has supplied the American market.

It must follow, in this view of the case, that if a duty is imposed it will result in enhancing the cost of this material to the consumer, who is the farmer of the United States. Under these circumstances it must so result, although this is not usually the result of a protective tariff.

Mr. WILSON. Has the Senator from Montana any information to show whether, when that article was placed upon the free list under the Wilson law, the farmer received any benefit in the way of a decreased price?

Mr. MANTLE. I did not inquire as to that, but the important fact to be borne in mind is that the importations did not materially increase, that they were infinitesimal in relation to the whole amount of the article consumed.

Mr. ALLISON. The provision referred to only applied to bagging for cotton. It does not apply to all the other articles now mentioned in this amendment. Bagging for cotton has been made in this country for a long time, but there are large importations of other bagging, and there have been under all other tariff laws as well as under the Wilson law.

Mr. MANTLE. The letter just read refers to a factory engaged in this industry which, it is said, is nominally assumed to have $4,000,000 capital invested in this industry, but which the writer of that letter states emphatically has not more than $300,000 invested, and that, notwithstanding a duty of 30 per cent under former laws for twenty years, the industry has not materially grown. In any event, assuming and conceding that what the distinguished chairman of the Finance Committee says is true, I still maintain that if we can in any way fairly favor the great agricultural interests of this country in the framing of this proposed law, we certainly ought to do it.

It is understood that I am not opposed to a protective tariff, but I am profoundly impressed with this idea, that in the very nature of things the great body of the farmers of this country are the least benefited by a protective tariff, and that in framing this bill and adjusting these matters we ought to try to be just to all elements of the country. I know that is the intention of the committee, and I do not mean by anything I say to reflect upon them in any manner. I am sorry to differ with them; but these are my views, and holding these views I feel constrained to vote on these occasions, even though a protectionist, against these particular items, because I believe there is more justice and more equity in voting to put these particular articles upon the free list than there is in making them dutiable.

There are, I respectfully submit, Mr. President, other things upon which this same amount of revenue may be raised. I made a proposition the other day to place other raw skins, aside from cattle hides, upon the dutiable list—goatskins, which are imported annually to the amount of $10,000,000 or $12,000,000 worth. A duty of 20 per cent ad valorem would make up the deficit which would be created by placing these particular items now under discussion upon the free list. Goatskins, when manufactured, enter into the very finest quality of articles in which leather is used, articles which approximate what are termed luxuries, such as kid gloves and the very finest quality of shoes, and things of that sort.

It does seem to me that, as between the item of burlaps and bagging and the item of these high-grade skins to which I have referred, it would be far more equitable and just to exchange the duty and transfer it to this item of raw skins.

Mr. HAWLEY. Does the Senator bear in mind that goatskins are not produced to any extent in this country?

Mr. MANTLE. There are not a great many, although there are a great many more than we find accounted for in the Treasury statistics bearing upon this subject. There are in the State of Texas alone—and I had a communication printed in the RECORD the other day showing that there are accounted for upon the local record over 250,000 goats, while the statistics of the Treasury Department only give about 41,000. So we can not rely upon the Treasury statistics. In any event, by free importation the skins to which I refer, and notably sheepskins, which are thicker and coarser and inferior to goatskins, come directly into competition with cattle hides in the manufacture of shoes. The product is very deceptive, and many people buy it under the impression that they are buying cowhide shoes, not knowing the difference. Therefore those skins come into competition with cattle hides.

I desire again, in this connection, to call the attention of the committee to the fact that leaving these other skins upon the free list is a direct injury to the manufacturer and the tanner engaged in finishing and tanning and the manufacturing of cowhides. It places them at a disadvantage with their competitors in the trade, who are enabled to bring in a vast amount of sheepskins and goatskins which, in a measure, enter into competition with cowhides. There is no reason in the world why these other skins should not be compelled to pay some sort of a duty, a revenue duty, at least, if nothing more. It is a perfectly legitimate item on which to place a revenue duty.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. President, inasmuch as my friend from Montana [Mr. MANTLE] has had read here a letter from a dealer in burlaps and sacking in Boston, who is engaged in selling a fertilizer, and therefore would like to place the profits in bags, if there are any, into his own exchequer, it is only fair that I should offer an antidote for that letter in the form of one which comes from a manufacturer in the State which I have the honor in part to represent.

I want to say, parenthetically, that I believe each Senator upon this floor is in sympathy with the great agricultural interests of this country; that none of us would intentionally cast a vote which would cripple that great industry, which is the source of all wealth. When the farmers of the country do not prosper, there is general depression in every other branch of business in the land. We all have a common object in view. We want a good Government, we want wise laws, and we want those laws honestly and faithfully administered. We want to do that which will bring the greatest good to the greatest number, and we only differ as to the means by which we may arrive at that end.

I believe that placing a moderate duty upon burlaps to cover the difference between the wages paid in this country and in other countries where they are manufactured by peon labor, in Calcutta, and the East Indies, would be the best safeguard for the protection of the farmers of this country; for there is a great trust in burlaps, bags, and sacking, which commenced in free-trade England; in Dundee, Scotland, and then changed its base of operations from that country to India. That trust to-day—and I speak advisedly—in anticipation of what we may do here, placing, as they believe we will, burlaps on the free list, have already entered into a combination whereby the prices of burlaps and grain bags will be advanced to the consumers of this country.

But I shall not weary the Senate. I only ask that the Secretary may read the communication I have here, not from a merchant, not from a broker, or a commission man, but from manufacturers.

Mr. MANTLE. If the Senator from California will pardon me, I wish to say that it is not quite clear to me how the profits on

these bags, if placed on the free list, would find their way into the pockets of the people who deal in fertilizers.

Mr. PERKINS. If my friend will listen to the reading of the communication, he will then learn that there are great trusts in other countries, who have formed a combination whereby the prices of burlaps, grain bags, and fertilizer sacks are advanced to the buyer. Having these factories in this country to give employment to our people will act as a financial safety valve upon these great trusts, and therefore the consumer and the agriculturist will be benefited by having the opportunity of the competition between our manufacturers and those abroad in the production of this article.

Competition is the true test, the true standard whereby prices may be reduced. Competition alone is what will benefit the farmers in this respect. It has been well said there is nothing more powerful than one million dollars, except perhaps it be two million dollars. These great combinations of peon and cooly labor do control the great agricultural and manufacturing interests of this nation, and not only of this nation, but of the whole world.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. In the absence of objection, the Secretary will read the statement referred to by the Senator from California.

The Secretary read as follows:

STATEMENT IN BEHALF OF A PROTECTIVE TARIFF ON JUTE BAGS AND BURLAPS FROM THE JUTE INDUSTRY OF THE PACIFIC COAST.

California was one of the first States of the Union to engage in the manufacture of jute bags and burlap.

Ever since 1869 the mills here have supplied a large percentage of the farmers' requirements of grain and wool bags. In those days the West was far from the East, and supplies of bags difficult to get, and to have our domestic wants supplied by the home mills was an important convenience to the farmers, and helped to keep down prices. There are no grain elevators on the Pacific Coast, and no ships or cars are loaded with grain in bulk for transportation.

When California first began to export wheat and wool, so rapidly did the industry develop in the great valleys of the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers that great difficulty was experienced in getting sufficient bags in which to move the crops. The wheat and wool raisers were at the mercy of importers and foreign manufacturers, who never failed to raise the prices when there was a scarcity, and thus oppress the farmers. So much was this experienced that 20 cents a bag was sometimes charged for the ordinary 2-bushel grain bags weighing about 12 ounces each.

When the home factories entered the field in competition with the imported bags, prices were reduced to a reasonable figure, and for several years past the standard grain bag could be bought at from 6 to 7 cents each. This, without question, was due to the large increase of domestic manufacture, and had it not been for this the bag trade would have been entirely under the control of Calcutta and Dundee importers, and prices would have been much higher and arbitrary.

Since the large extension of the bag and burlap industry on this coast, bags have scarcely ever been higher than 6 cents apiece. Thus in a few years the farmers have been saved hundreds of thousands of dollars, and employment given to our own people, and the money kept at home, thus establishing a remunerative source of employment and aiding the general prosperity.

The San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, representing many farmers and shippers of grain, realize the importance and necessity of protecting the jute bag and burlap industry here. They petitioned the Committee on Ways and Means on January 7 last to restore the McKinley tariff rates for the protection of our home manufactories of bags and burlaps.

In 1872, 100 looms, with all the necessary carding and spinning machinery, were in operation on this coast for making bags and burlaps. In 1880, 300 looms were in operation; in 1889, 500 were in operation, and in 1891 a large jute plant was ordered and a mill built in San Francisco, but, owing to the Wilson bill passing, the machinery has never been taken from the original packages and the mill has never been started. It stands idle at the corner of Eighteenth and Channel streets, San Francisco.

This bill was a great blow to the jute bag and burlap industry, and has completely ruined it. In 1893, 500 looms were in operation in the manufacture of jute bags and burlap in this State, giving employment to 1,100 free white laborers, consuming 21,000 bales of raw jute annually and producing bags and burlap equal to 12,000,000 standard grain sacks. There are also, in addition to the above, prison jute mills on this coast, run entirely by convicts, and they consume 14,000 bales of jute and make 7,000,000 bags annually. So that nearly 50 per cent of the Pacific Coast requirements are now made at home by American labor.

With a fair and just protective tariff, sufficient to admit the payment of reasonable wages to the work people, and a probability of the tariff not being disturbed for some time, this jute bag and burlap industry would undoubtedly rapidly increase, and eventually be sufficient to supply our entire wants of bags and burlaps.

A jute manufacturing plant is expensive and can not be installed to work economically on a small scale. This fact, coupled with the uncertainty for years back of the stability of a reasonable protective tariff, has been the main reason why a larger and more rapid extension of the bag and burlap industry has not taken place.

There is a large capital invested in this State in bag and burlap manufacturing machinery now standing useless, and many work people idle and in sore distress, and it is urgently requested that you pass the House bill and give reasonable protection to our industry, and thus afford us the opportunity of starting the mills again and earning a livelihood.

W. R. THOMAS,
Mayor of the city of Oakland, Cal.
JOHN MORAN,
Foreman Spinner, Jute Works.
WILLIAM KEAY,
Engineer, Jute Works.
JOHN ORCHISON,
Finisher, Jute Works.
JAMES RATTRAY,
Hacklemaker, Jute Works.
JAMES MOIR.
Foreman Weaver, Jute Works.
ROBERT MOLES,
Machinist, Jute Works.
JOHN DOIG,
Starcher, Jute Works.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President, this subject was before the Senate some days ago. On the 19th of last month, when the provisions in paragraphs 341 and 342 regarding this subject were stricken out, I stated that the bags used for grain upon the Pacific Coast were directly consumed by the farming element, and that with a duty such as that designated, which was imposed by the McKinley law, a direct tax was, in fact, levied upon the farming industry. I stated then that there was but one factory outside of the California State Penitentiary in that State open, and confusing that establishment with one which had existed before and which has since closed up, I said that Mr. Rutherford, the proprietor, employed a large number of Chinamen. That was an error. It seems that the Chinamen were employed in another factory.

But I wish to direct particular attention to one fact. The consumption upon the Coast is about 40,000,000 bags. The California farmer and the farmer of Oregon and Washington do not utilize the elevator system. All grain shipped to Europe is shipped in jute bags, which contain from 130 to 140 pounds. It is impossible of course to transmit the grain in bulk around the Horn, and therefore bags are used. The drawback provision of the bill is absolutely useless. It shows upon its face that it amounts to nothing, and in fact it is a mere delusion. The farmer gets a positive benefit from free grain bags; and whatever may be the theory as to other industries, it is certain, as stated by the Senator from Montana, that when the farmer can be benefited, as he derives so little benefit from legislation of this character, we should look kindly toward his interest.

I assert that the statement made in the document read at the desk can not be supported, in so far as there is an intimation that the farmer derives no benefit from putting jute bags and burlaps upon the free list. I can prove it, and I proved it the other day in this way, that the price of bags in California in 1893 with duty was 6½ to 7 cents; in 1892, with duty, 7¼ to 8 cents; in 1891, with duty, 7 to 7½ cents; in 1896, when bags were free, 4¼ to 4½ cents; in 1895, when bags were free, 4½ to 5 cents, and in 1894, when bags were free, 4 to 4¼ cents.

Now, it is impossible that the rate for bags has gone up lately for fear Congress would put them on the free list. On the 19th of June these items were stricken from the dutiable list as far as we then went, and there was not the least reason anterior to that hour to suppose that the Senate or Congress would put anything on the free list unless it was something that would not be of any especial benefit to the farming community. The farmer knew that 25 cents a bushel had been placed as a duty upon his wheat, and he also knew that it was utterly valueless to him, that he exported his wheat, and that the price of his wheat was fixed abroad, and the only effect it could have would be to make him pay a duty on seed which he might wish to bring into this country.

In a letter which I received day before yesterday from a gentleman with whom I am quite well acquainted, Mr. Hoar, of Ventura County, Cal.—and I might say that Mr. Hoar is a nephew of the distinguished senior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR]—he informed me that grain bags were quoted then at 5 cents for Calcutta and 5¼ for the product of the California State prison, showing that the low price can not be due to the product of the prison, since it was quoted higher than the Calcutta importation.

Besides, the total production of the Pacific Coast, including the product of the penitentiary at Walla Walla, was less than 40 per cent of the consumption, in my opinion less than 30 per cent, although the statement says 50 per cent. That is an error. I do not think the California jute mills turn out any such amount as stated in the letter referred to. At all events, experience has proved in the matter of grain bags—the figures I give demonstrate mathematically—that the farmer has derived direct and specific benefit from the placing of these articles in the free list under the Wilson bill. Let us at least incorporate in this provision one paragraph which may do some good to those who are toiling and suffering, and who, as a rule, look in vain to legislation for relief or for their pecuniary advancement. Here is a chance to give the farmer something, no mere formal duty as the wheat duty, but something actually of benefit to him. Let us do it.

A few days ago we voted in such a way as to indicate our intention to be as I have stated. If it is necessary to get more duty, let us obtain it elsewhere. There are other means of imposition of duty and other sources to which we may apply for adequate relief in this regard. If the pending bill is to create a deficiency, it will not be because the farmer has got too much benefit from it. It will be because prohibitory tariff duties have been imposed which have blocked the ordinary channels through which revenue has been in the habit of passing. Let us turn elsewhere if we wish to obtain more revenue, and in this particular instance waive the imposition of a duty in the interest of a class which is suffering more than any other in the United States.

Mr. MANTLE. Just to supplement what I have already said, I have looked at the matter of the importation of grain bags and burlaps, and I find that what I said generally applies to this branch of the subject. I find that in 1893 the importations were one

million one hundred and ninety-nine thousand and some odd dollars, and the unit of value per pound was 4.5 cents. That was under the law of 1890, imposing a duty of 2 cents per pound. In 1896, when they were free, the importations were $1,577,000, having increased less than $400,000, while the unit of value was reduced to 3.8 cents per pound.

Mr. President, this bears out what I said, that while the article was on the free list its importation was not stimulated particularly, but it resulted in lowering the value seven one-thousandths of a cent per pound.

Mr. ALLISON. Where does the Senator from Montana find that information?

Mr. WHITE. On page 174 of the comparative statement.

Mr. MANTLE. I find it in the comparative statement, page 174.

Mr. ALLISON. It was simply reduced seven-tenths, and that is probably not a greater reduction than we have observed in a great many things, if so great.

Mr. MANTLE. I agree with the Senator from Iowa that there has been a reduction in the price of everything.

Mr. WHITE. If the Senator from Montana will excuse me, I might add that if we take Mr. Rutherford's estimate of the value of Calcutta bags, the rate would be 52 per cent ad valorem on grain bags, which is more than it is on anything else in this class of goods.

Mr. BACON. The distinguished Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON] stated that the putting of these several articles which relate to the wheat and cotton crop upon the free list would amount to a loss of from six to seven million dollars to the revenue of the Government.

Mr. ALLISON. I may have stated that in a general way. About $4,000,000 is the real loss apparent. That includes mattings and some other things. It includes those articles which were voted from the dutiable list the other day.

Mr. BACON. If the Senator includes articles which do not relate to cotton or wheat, of course I have nothing to say, but I desire to call the attention of Senators to the fact that the duties upon these particular articles are not of any such large amount or approximately.

Mr. ALLISON. I did not speak of these particular articles.

Mr. BACON. Then I misunderstood the Senator.

Mr. ALLISON. I spoke of the several articles embraced in the various paragraphs which were taken from the dutiable list the other day. Will the Senator from Georgia allow the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. PLATT] to give the estimate?

Mr. BACON. Certainly.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. The estimated revenue to be derived from the articles which were put on the free list by the different votes the other day is as follows:

Cotton ties	$54,630
Mattings	1,388,182
Burlaps:	
Calcutta	569,986
Dundee	1,254,508
Bags for grain	721,199
Bagging for cotton	11,683
Total	4,000,188

Mr. BACON. I think the question under consideration is the amount of duty upon the particular articles which it is now sought to put on the free list; the others are altogether of a different character, and if I am correct in that respect, the consideration is limited to the question, What will be the loss of revenue under the proposed act upon grain sacks and the cloth from which they are made and upon cotton bagging and cotton ties?

I have before me the comparative statement, pages 174 and 175, and I find part of the information just given by the Senator from Connecticut, and I ask Senators who represent States in which grain is produced to mark how this loss of revenue is to be divided. If the amendment is adopted, the loss of revenue, as estimated, from the putting of grain sacks on the free list will be $721,000. The actual revenue heretofore derived under the McKinley Act was $536,644, but the estimated loss, I repeat, is $721,199.

Now, the estimated loss from putting cotton bagging upon the free list is only $11,683. There is that difference between the two. If cotton ties are put upon the free list—and I mention that here because the subject is nearly akin, and I may as well say now what I might have to say otherwise on the subject of cotton ties—there will be a loss to the revenues of the Government under the estimate now before us of only $54,630, and from bagging and ties together it will amount to less than $75,000. The estimated loss of all revenue to be derived from the placing of both bagging and ties upon the free list will be less than $75,000, whereas under the accompanying provision by which grain bags are to be placed upon the free list it will amount to seven hundred and twenty-one thousand and odd dollars.

I do not state that for the purpose of showing that any advantage will be had by the States in which grain is produced, but to show that if there is any advantage given under this bill to the States which produce grain, there certainly ought to be, so far as practicable, a corresponding advantage to the States producing cotton. Binding twine is already on the free list. If binding twine and grain sacks are both put upon the free list, certainly both bagging and ties ought also to be upon the free list.

I do not know whether it would be possible to ask the Senate to consider the two amendments together. Therefore I will defer what I may have to say upon the subject of ties until after this amendment has been acted upon.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair understands the amendment to be the insertion of a new paragraph, to be known as paragraph 473½, and consolidated with that a new paragraph is proposed, 493½, by the Senator from California [Mr. WHITE].

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I accept as a substitute for the amendment I offered the one proposed by the Senator from Alabama [Mr. MORGAN] as amended upon the suggestion of the Senator from California [Mr. WHITE].

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read the amendment as now proposed.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to insert as a new paragraph, on page 165, the following:

473½. Bagging for cotton, gunny cloth, and similar fabrics, suitable for covering cotton, composed of single yarns, made of jute, jute butts, or hemp, and burlaps, and bags for grain made of burlaps.

Mr. ALLEN. I think the amendment ought to be separated.

Mr. BUTLER. I suggest to the Senator from Alabama, the Senator from California, and the Senator from Arkansas——

Mr. ALLEN. Let the amendment be read.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will again read the amendment.

The Secretary again read the amendment.

Mr. ALLEN. I move to strike out the words "jute, jute butts, or."

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will state the amendment proposed by the Senator from Nebraska.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed, in line 3, to strike out the words "jute, jute butts, or;" so as to make the amendment read:

473½. Bagging for cotton, gunny cloth, and similar fabrics, suitable for covering cotton, composed of single yarns, made of hemp, and burlaps, and bags for grain made of burlaps.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. That will exclude all the cotton bagging which can be used here. There is not one solitary ounce of it made of hemp.

Mr. ALLEN. What does the Senator mean by "cotton bagging?"

Mr. BERRY. What you tie up cotton with.

Mr. ALLEN. The Senator does not mean that it will exclude bags made of cotton?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. It will exclude all bags made of jute, and they are all made of jute.

Mr. ALLEN. That is exactly what I want to do to, Mr. President.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Let us take a vote on it.

Mr. ALLEN. I desire to exclude bags made of jute, because I do not want to see shipped in here the Indian jute, which is produced by labor paid 5 cents a day, and to have it come in competition with American hemp. That is the very purpose and object of the motion.

Mr. WHITE. I do not understand that there is any intention to interfere with any hemp industry. The question is simply as to what is known as cotton bagging or jute, and the amendment proposed by the Senator from Nebraska to the amendment would result in a discrimination against cotton bagging.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Nebraska to the amendment.

The amendment to the amendment was rejected.

Mr. BUTLER. Parts of lines 3 and 4 of the amendment as offered by the Senator from Alabama having been stricken out at the suggestion of the Senator from California, I suggest that the amendment be allowed to stand, but that the addition proposed by the Senator from California be inserted at the end, because as it stands you specify cotton bagging and you specify grain sacks. You specify two things, and here are guano sacks and sacks for cotton-seed meal not specified.

Mr. WHITE. As I understand it, the suggestion of the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. JONES] was not adopted, and therefore the proposition of the Senator from Alabama, together with the addition suggested by me, stands.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. That is exactly the condition. I made

the suggestion to strike out certain words, but it was not agreed to by the Senator from Alabama, and I withdrew it.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Then the Secretary did not read the amendment correctly.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I did not understand the reading.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair requests the Secretary to read the amendment offered by the Senator from Alabama. By consent the words "plain woven fabrics, bags, and sacks, of single jute or hemp yarns, by whatever name known," were stricken out. Does the Senator wish to have them restored?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. My suggestion was not agreed to, and I withdrew it.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. It has not been acted upon.

Mr. WHITE. It can be considered as withdrawn.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read the amendment as it stands.

The Secretary read as follows:

473½. Bagging for cotton, gunny cloth, and similar fabrics, suitable for covering cotton, composed of single yarns, made of jute, jute butts, or hemp; plain woven fabrics, bags, and sacks, of single jute or hemp yarns, by whatever name known, and burlaps and bags for grain, made of burlaps.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas and Mr. BUTLER. That is right.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment as stated.

Mr. PETTUS. On that I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. BUTLER. Before the roll call begins, I wish to call the attention of Senators to the fact that a few days ago a majority of Senators, after a full and free discussion, voted to strike these articles from the dutiable list. At that time the Senator from Alabama moved that they go on the free list in the same motion. The point of order was against it, and that makes this motion now necessary.

If every Senator who was impressed with the justice and necessity of putting these articles on the free list, and so voted a few days ago, will now vote the same way, they will be put on the free list. Unless Senators vote now in favor of this motion, the articles will be left in the basket clause, and will still be on the dutiable list. Therefore I ask every Senator who, a few days ago, was convinced that our motion was fair and just now to vote to put these articles on the free list, as they voted then to take them from the dutiable list.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CLAY (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE]. I transfer my pair to the Senator from Washington [Mr. TURNER], and vote "yea."

Mr. DEBOE (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. PETTIGREW]. If he were present, I should vote "nay."

Mr. GEAR (when his name was called). I am paired with the senior Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH]. I transfer my pair to the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE], so that the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. JONES], who is paired with the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE], and I will be at liberty to vote. The Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE] will stand paired with the senior Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH].

Mr. HANSBROUGH (when his name was called). I am paired with the senior Senator from Virginia [Mr. DANIEL].

Mr. HARRIS of Kansas (when his name was called). I am paired with the senior Senator from Wyoming [Mr. CLARK]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. BATE (when the name of Mr. HARRIS of Tennessee was called). My colleague [Mr. HARRIS] is not able to be here. He is paired with the Senator from Vermont [Mr. MORRILL], who is likewise absent.

Mr. MCENERY (when his name was called). I am paired with the senior Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. CHANDLER]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. PLATT of New York (when his name was called). I am paired with the senior Senator from New York [Mr. MURPHY]. If he were present, I should vote "nay."

Mr. SEWELL (when his name was called). I am paired with the senior Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. MITCHELL] on this question. If he were present, I should vote "nay."

Mr. THURSTON (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the senior Senator from South Carolina [Mr. TILLMAN]. If he were present, I should vote "nay."

Mr. TURPIE (when his name was called). I am paired with the senior Senator from Minnesota [Mr. DAVIS]. I transfer my pair to the junior Senator from South Carolina [Mr. MCLAURIN], and will vote. I vote "yea."

Mr. WARREN (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Washington [Mr. TURNER].

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. BERRY. I was requested by the senior Senator from New York [Mr. MURPHY] to state that he is paired with his colleague [Mr. PLATT]. If the senior Senator from New York were present, he would vote "yea."

Mr. MILLS. I am paired with the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. GALLINGER]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. CANNON. I am paired with the senior Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH], who is absent. I transfer my pair to the junior Senator from Nevada [Mr. STEWART], and will vote. I vote "yea."

Mr. TURPIE (after having voted in the affirmative). I understand from the Senator from Florida [Mr. PASCO] that the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. MCLAURIN] stands paired with the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. PRITCHARD]. I therefore withdraw my vote.

Mr. CLARK. I desire to inquire if the junior Senator from Kansas [Mr. HARRIS] has voted?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. He has not voted.

Mr. CLARK. I am paired with that Senator, and therefore withhold my vote.

The result was announced—yeas 30, nays 25; as follows:

YEAS—30.

Allen,	Clay,	Kyle,	Rawlins,
Bacon,	Cockrell,	Lindsay,	Roach,
Bate,	Faulkner,	Mallory,	Teller,
Berry,	Gorman,	Mantle,	Vest,
Butler,	Gray,	Martin,	Walthall,
Caffery,	Heitfeld,	Morgan,	White.
Cannon,	Jones, Ark.	Pasco,	
Chilton,	Kenney,	Pettus,	

NAYS—25.

Allison,	Frye,	McMillan,	Spooner,
Baker,	Gear,	Mason,	Wellington,
Burrows,	Hanna,	Penrose,	Wetmore,
Cullom,	Hawley,	Perkins,	Wilson.
Elkins,	Hoar,	Proctor,	
Fairbanks,	Jones, Nev.	Quay,	
Foraker,	Lodge,	Shoup,	

NOT VOTING—34.

Aldrich,	Hale,	Morrill,	Stewart,
Carter,	Hansbrough,	Murphy,	Thurston,
Chandler,	Harris, Kans.	Nelson,	Tillman,
Clark,	Harris, Tenn.	Pettigrew,	Turner,
Daniel,	McBride,	Platt, Conn.	Turpie,
Davis,	McEnery,	Platt, N. Y.	Warren,
Deboe,	McLaurin,	Pritchard,	Wolcott.
Gallinger,	Mills,	Sewell,	
George,	Mitchell,	Smith,	

So the amendment as amended was agreed to.

Mr. BACON. I ask that the amendment proposed by me as paragraph 517¼ be now taken up, inasmuch as the vote just taken relates directly to that subject.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Georgia will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

517¼. Cotton ties of iron or steel, of any thickness, for baling cotton, cut to length, punched or not punched, with or without buckles.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there any objection to the consideration of this amendment now? The question before the Senate is on the adoption of the new paragraph known as paragraph 517¼, which has just been read by the Secretary.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. I think we will take the question by yeas and nays on agreeing to that amendment.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. QUAY. What is the motion?

Mr. BURROWS. To put cotton ties on the free list.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will call the roll.

Mr. MALLORY. I should like to have the amendment read.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will again read the amendment proposed as paragraph 517¼.

The Secretary again read Mr. BACON's amendment.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will call the roll on agreeing to the amendment.

Mr. BACON. Mr. President, I will say just one word, without detaining the Senate. Under the present bill the estimated amount of revenue from cotton ties will be only $54,000, whereas the estimated revenue from the grain sacks in which wheat will be carried to market, which has just been adopted, was $721,000. Surely if $721,000 can be given to the producers of grain, the amount of $54,000 can be allowed to the producers of cotton.

The Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CANNON (when his name was called). I will transfer my pair with the senior Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH] to the Senator from Nevada [Mr. STEWART], and will vote. I vote "yea."

Mr. CHILTON (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MCBRIDE].

Mr. CLARK (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Kansas [Mr. HARRIS]. In his absence, I withhold my vote.

Mr. DEBOE (when his name was called). I again announce my pair with the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. PETTIGREW]. If he were present, I should vote "nay."

Mr. GEAR (when his name was called). I transfer my pair with the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH] to the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE], and vote "nay."

Mr. MCENERY (when his name was called). I am paired with the senior Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. CHANDLER]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. PLATT of New York (when his name was called). I desire to announce my pair with the senior Senator from New York [Mr. MURPHY].

Mr. PRITCHARD (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from South Carolina [Mr. MCLAURIN].

Mr. SEWELL (when his name was called). I announce my pair with the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. MITCHELL].

Mr. THURSTON (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the senior Senator from South Carolina [Mr. TILLMAN]. If he were present, I should vote "nay."

Mr. WARREN (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Washington [Mr. TURNER].

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. MILLS. I am paired with the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. GALLINGER], but I transfer that pair to the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. KYLE], and vote "yea."

Mr. CHILTON. I am paired with the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MCBRIDE], and so announced, but I transfer that pair to the Senator from Delaware [Mr. KENNEY], as I desire to vote on this question. I vote "yea."

Mr. KENNEY (after having voted in the affirmative). I am paired with the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MCBRIDE]. As he is not present, I desire to withdraw my vote. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. HARRIS of Kansas. I desire to announce my pair with the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. CLARK]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. HANSBROUGH. I transfer my pair with the senior Senator from Virginia [Mr. DANIEL] to the junior Senator from Minnesota [Mr. NELSON], and vote "nay."

Mr. VEST. I vote "yea."

The result was announced—yeas 29, nays 23; as follows:

YEAS—29.

Allen,	Clay,	Mallory,	Roach,
Bacon,	Cockrell,	Mantle,	Teller,
Bate,	Faulkner,	Martin,	Vest,
Berry,	Gorman,	Mills,	Walthall,
Butler,	Gray,	Morgan,	White.
Caffery,	Heitfeld,	Pasco,	
Cannon,	Jones, Ark.	Pettus,	
Chilton,	Lindsay,	Rawlins,	

NAYS—23.

Allison,	Hansbrough,	Mason,	Shoup,
Burrows,	Hawley,	Penrose,	Spooner,
Cullom,	Hoar,	Perkins,	Wellington,
Fairbanks,	Jones, Nev.	Platt, Conn.	Wetmore,
Foraker,	Lodge,	Proctor,	Wilson.
Gear,	McMillan,	Quay,	

NOT VOTING—37.

Aldrich,	Gallinger,	McLaurin,	Stewart,
Baker,	George,	Mitchell,	Thurston,
Carter,	Hale,	Morrill,	Tillman,
Chandler,	Hanna,	Murphy,	Turner,
Clark,	Harris, Kans.	Nelson,	Turpie,
Daniel,	Harris, Tenn.	Pettigrew,	Warren,
Davis,	Kenney,	Platt, N. Y.	Wolcott.
Deboe,	Kyle,	Pritchard,	
Elkins,	McBride,	Sewell,	
Frye,	McEnery,	Smith,	

So the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask the Senate to turn to paragraph 500a, on page 168.

The SECRETARY. On page 168, after line 20, the Committee on Finance propose to insert as a new paragraph:

500a. Charcoal.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask that that may be disagreed to.

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. WHITE. I ask the Senator from Iowa what will be the rate of duty on charcoal?

Mr. ALLISON. It will be 10 per cent, I think.

Mr. LINDSAY. What was done with charcoal?

Mr. BACON. It was put on the dutiable list at 10 per cent.

Mr. ALLISON. It may be 20 per cent.

Mr. WHITE. I understand the Senator from Iowa to state that the duty on charcoal will be 20 per cent.

Mr. ALLISON. I am not quite sure. It is either 10 or 20. I think it will be 10, but those about me think it will be 20 per cent.

Mr. WHITE. At some time before we finish the bill I should like to move to reduce it to 10 per cent, if the Senator from Iowa is right that it is 20 or finds that possibly it is 20. I think the rate is too high and shall move to reduce it. As soon as the Senator looks over the bill and discovers the actual situation of the matter, I would be obliged to him if he would call my attention to it.

Mr. ALLISON. If it is 20 per cent, I will either move to reduce it or allow the Senator to do it. Paragraph 504, relating to coal stores, has been passed over.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will state the amendment to paragraph 504.

The SECRETARY. In paragraph 504, page 169, line 3, after the word "Coal," the Committee on Finance propose to strike out the comma and the words "anthracite, and coal," and in line 4, after the word "be," to strike out "unloaded" and insert "unladen or discharged;" so as to make the paragraph read:

504. Coal stores of American vessels, but none shall be unladen or discharged.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. WHITE. Paragraph 505, to which the Senator from Iowa has just alluded, concerns a subject regarding which I have just received two telegrams, which I wish to read. One is dated Indianapolis, Ind., June 30, addressed to me, and is as follows:

I respectfully protest against any change being made in the coal-tar schedule. Have a large investment in this city, and to conduct it successfully must have coal tar, coal-tar pitch, and dead oil of coal tar entered free of duty. If taxed, will be absolutely crippled. My appeal is a business proposition for fairness, and I respectfully ask that the coal-tar schedule remain as reported to the Senate.

P. C. REILLY.

In addition to Mr. Reilly's telegram I have received another, as follows:

PROVIDENCE, R. I., *July 1, 1897.*

Hon. STEPHEN M. WHITE, *Senate:*

Trust you will help defeat Mr. QUAY's resolution to put crude products of coal tar on dutiable list. This is of vital interest to every consumer and dealer in these products in this country, with the exception of one combination or those interested with it.

J. WM. MOORE.

I understand the Senator from Iowa does not propose to eliminate these matters from the free list.

Mr. QUAY. That paragraph went over at my suggestion yesterday. I should be glad if the Senator from Iowa will allow it to go over until to-morrow, and I think probably the Senator from California will be able to "defeat Mr. QUAY's resolution."

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. We have been lectured so often about the absolute necessity for the prompt passage of this bill, and the necessity to have it passed so as to allow the promised prosperity full sway, that it seems to me we ought not to be putting things off for another day when we are——

Mr. QUAY. I trust the Senator from Arkansas will not object to the paragraph going over until to-morrow. It will occupy to-morrow not more than five minutes in its final disposition.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. We might dispose of the bill to-day. There are not many more matters left undisposed of.

Mr. WHITE. And certainly we should do so to-morrow.

Mr. QUAY. If the Senator from Arkansas is willing to proceed and dispose of the bill to-day, this side of the Chamber is perfectly willing.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I shall not make any objection. The responsibility is with the majority of the committee. They understand the great necessities that are pressing upon the country. I am simply calling attention to it.

Mr. ALLISON. At the urgent request of the Senator from Pennsylvania, unless the bill is to be finished to-day, I will ask the Senate to pass over the paragraph until to-morrow morning and take it up the first thing.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. If there is no objection, paragraph 505 will be passed over. Does the Senator from Arkansas withdraw his objection?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I made no objection. I simply called the attention of the majority to the critical situation of matters.

Mr. ALLISON. Well, they are critical.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The paragraph will be passed over.

Mr. ALLISON. What has been done with paragraph 532a?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read paragraph 532a.

The Secretary read the paragraph reported by the Committee on Finance to be inserted on page 171, after line 21, as follows:

532a. Farina.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask that that amendment be disagreed to.

Mr. WHITE. I desire to inquire of the Senator from Iowa what the duty will be on farina?

Mr. ALLISON. I think it will be the same duty as that on wheat flour.

Mr. GRAY. How much is that?

Mr. ALLISON. Twenty-five per cent, I think, is the duty on wheat flour.

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. ALLISON. I move that paragraph 533, feldspar, be stricken out.

The Secretary read the paragraph, as follows:

533. Feldspar.

Mr. ALLISON. Let that be stricken out.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Without objection, the amendment is agreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. Paragraph 537½ is the next paragraph.

The SECRETARY. On page 172, after line 2, the Committee on Finance propose to insert the following as a new paragraph:

537½. Floor mattings, manufactured from round or split straw, including what is commonly known as Chinese matting.

Mr. ALLISON. I hope that will not be agreed to.

Mr. WHITE. I presume the Senator from Iowa will not wish any vote upon that proposition. It is on the free list, I suppose.

Mr. VEST. It was voted upon with the understanding—I made the motion—that it should go upon the free list. It has been placed on the free list.

Mr. BERRY. And this is a proposition to retain it on the free list?

Mr. VEST. The proposition is to disagree to the paragraph and put it back on the dutiable list. I desire to inquire the status of the paragraph. Has it been adopted and put on the free list?

Mr. ALLISON. I do not understand that it has.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The understanding when we voted on the proposition was that it would go on the free list. We simply waited until we reached the free list, when it was to be inserted as a matter of form, as I understood it at the time. I do not see any use to have another fight over a matter that has been settled.

Mr. ALLISON. I do not want to have another fight over it.

Mr. WHITE. I make a parliamentary inquiry. What is the state of the record?

Mr. COCKRELL. I should like the record to be read in that case. Let us see what the status is.

Mr. VEST. If my colleague will permit me, I can state it exactly. When this item was reached in going through the bill regularly, I moved to strike out the paragraph as to these mattings, stating at the time that it was for the purpose of placing them upon the free list.

Mr. ALLISON. That was the notice the Senator gave.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. That is correct.

Mr. VEST. Some debate was had, and the yeas and nays were taken, and the motion carried.

Mr. COCKRELL. That ends it. The matter is not in the bill for consideration.

Mr. BERRY. It was put on the free list.

Mr. VEST. When the free list was taken up, this new paragraph—that was the construction of the Secretary—was read, placing these articles upon the free list. Does the Senator from Iowa want another vote?

Mr. BERRY. It has already been put on the free list.

Mr. ALLISON. The amendment is pending. Let us take a vote upon it.

Mr. VEST. Well, let us have a vote. I move to put it on the free list.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The paragraph has been read, I believe.

Mr. PETTUS. I will inquire how that amendment came on the free list?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. It was proposed June 21 by the Senator from Missouri to put it upon the free list. It has not yet been acted upon. The question is upon the amendment inserting as a new paragraph 537½.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. The next amendment which was passed over, I think, is paragraph 547½.

The Secretary read paragraph 547½ as amended, as follows:

547½. Gunny bags and gunny cloths, old or refuse, fit only for remanufacture.

Mr. ALLISON. I believe that was the amendment I offered. There is no objection to it, I suppose?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. No objection.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Without objection, the amendment which has been read, inserting a new paragraph, 547½, will be agreed to.

The next item which was passed over was paragraph 550, which the Committee on Finance reported to strike out, in the following language:

550. Hides, raw or uncured, whether dry, salted, or pickled; Angora goatskins, raw, without the wool, unmanufactured; asses' skins, raw or unmanufactured; and skins, except sheepskins with the wool on.

Mr. ALLISON. That should be restored and the amendment proposing to strike it out rejected.

The amendment was rejected.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The paragraph will stand, then, as it came from the House of Representatives.

Mr. ALLISON. At the end of the paragraph I move to insert "all the foregoing not otherwise specially provided for."

The SECRETARY. At the end of paragraph 550 it is proposed to insert "all the foregoing not otherwise specially provided for."

The amendment was agreed to.

The next paragraph which was passed over was the following, which had been inserted on the report of the Committee on Finance:

581½. Magnesia, sulphate of, or Epsom salts.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask that that amendment may be disagreed to.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Without objection, the amendment will be disagreed to. The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

The next paragraph which was passed over was the following:

584. Manganese, oxide and ore of.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask that that may be passed over for a moment.

Mr. WHITE. Did I understand the Senator from Iowa to withdraw paragraph 581½?

Mr. ALLISON. No; that has been disagreed to.

Mr. WHITE. I understood that that paragraph had been voted into the bill.

Mr. ALLISON. I think it was not voted into the bill. It ought to have been voted out anyhow, because it is provided for in the dutiable list at one-fifth of 1 cent per pound.

Mr. WHITE. It is rather severe to deprive us of Epsom salts. [Laughter.]

Mr. ALLISON. The duty imposed will not be a very great deprivation.

I have asked that paragraph 584 should be passed over for the present.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. That order will be made, in the absence of objection.

The next item which was passed over was the amendment proposed by the Committee on Finance, to insert as a new paragraph the following:

603. OILS: Almond, amber, crude and rectified ambergris, anise or anise seed, aniline, aspic or spike lavender, bergamot, cajeput, caraway, cassia, cinnamon, cedrat, chamomile, citronella or lemon grass, civet, fennel, jasmine or jasimine, jugiandium, juniper, lavender, lemon, limes, mace, neroli or orange flower, enfleurage grease, nut oil or oil of nuts not otherwise specially provided for in this act, orange oil, olive oil for manufacturing or mechanical purposes fit only for such use and valued at not more than 60 cents per gallon, ottar of roses, palm and cocoanut, rosemary or anthoss, sesame or sesamum seed or bean, thyme, origanum red or white, valerian; and also spermaceti, whale, and other fish oils of American fisheries, and all fish and other products of such fisheries; petroleum, crude or refined: *Provided*, That if there be imported into the United States crude petroleum, or the products of crude petroleum produced in any country which imposes a duty on petroleum or its products exported from the United States, there shall in such cases be levied, paid, and collected a duty upon said crude petroleum or its products so imported equal to the duty imposed by such country.

Mr. ALLISON. In line 6, after the word "fennel," I move to insert the amendment I have sent to the desk.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. What is the intention of the Senator from Iowa in regard to paragraph 584? I understood him to ask to have that passed over.

Mr. ALLISON. I have an amendment to that paragraph, which I shall offer a little later in the day.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Iowa to the amendment of the committee inserting paragraph 603 will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In paragraph 603, page 178, line 6, after the word "fennel," it is proposed to insert "ichthyol."

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. In line 16 of the amendment, after the word "refined," I move to strike out the remainder of the amendment and insert what I send to the Secretary's desk.

The SECRETARY. In paragraph 603, on page 178, line 16, after the word "refined," it is proposed to strike out the remainder of the paragraph, as follows:

Provided, That if there be imported into the United States crude petroleum, or the products of crude petroleum produced in any country which imposes a duty on petroleum or its products exported from the United States, there shall in such cases be levied, paid, and collected a duty upon said crude petroleum or its products so imported equal to the duty imposed by such country.

And in lieu thereof to insert:

Provided, That if there be imported into the United States crude petroleum or the products of crude petroleum produced in any other country which imposes a duty on petroleum or its products exported from the United States, there shall be levied, paid, and collected upon such crude petroleum or its products so imported 40 per cent ad valorem.

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. WHITE. The clause just read is a retaliatory clause.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. It is the same as the clause in the Wilson law.

Mr. WHITE. Would it not be better to fix the extent of the duty in proportion to the duty levied abroad?

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. We have followed the language of the Wilson law.

Mr. GRAY. That is what they have done in regard to refined sugar in this bill. There is a retaliatory clause, but it is worded so as to make the measure of increased duty correspond to the export duty on sugar; and I think we may run up against the same objection in regard to oil that was urged in regard to sugar.

Mr. ALLISON. As there is some criticism of the proposed

amendment, I will withdraw it and allow the amendment to stand as originally agreed upon. In the retaliatory agreement we inserted the provision of the Wilson law, thinking it perhaps wiser and better than the language we originally used. However, I withdraw the amendment, and will let the paragraph stand.

Mr. VEST. Did we not put on the same duty that was imposed by the foreign country?

Mr. ALLISON. You put on 40 per cent in the Wilson law.

Mr. WHITE. The Wilson law reads as follows:

Provided, That if there be imported into the United States crude petroleum, or the products of crude petroleum produced in any country which imposes a duty on petroleum or its products exported from the United States, there shall be levied, paid, and collected upon said crude petroleum or its products so imported, 40 per cent ad valorem.

Mr. ALLISON. That is the amendment I offered just now, and which has been criticised, and so I withdraw it.

Mr. VEST. I prefer the Senator's amendment.

Mr. ALLISON. I prefer it myself.

Mr. WHITE. Then we have our preference.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. If there be no further amendments proposed, and if there be no objection, paragraph 603 will be regarded as agreed to as it has been amended.

The next item passed over was the amendment reported by the Committee on Finance, to insert as a new paragraph the following:

606½. Paintings, in oil or water colors, original drawings and sketches, and artists' proofs of etchings and engravings, and statuary, not otherwise provided for in this act; but the term "statuary" as used in this act shall be understood to include only professional productions, whether round or in relief, in marble, stone, alabaster, wood, or metal, of a statuary or sculptor, and the word "painting" as used in this act shall not be understood to include such as are made wholly or in part by stenciling or any other mechanical process, nor any article of utility.

Mr. ALLISON. I am instructed to offer the amendment which I send to the desk to the amendment which was reported by the committee.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed in the amendment heretofore reported by the committee, in line 11, paragraph 606½, page 179, after the word "sculptor," to insert the words "and shall not include the pedestal or structure on which such statuary may be mounted or placed."

Mr. VEST. Will the Senator from Iowa add to that "unless the work of art, the statue and pedestal, shall be carved from the same block?"

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Without objection, the amendment proposed by the Senator from Iowa to the amendment will be regarded as agreed to.

Mr. VEST. Now I call the attention of the Senator from Iowa to the suggestion I made. It seems to me the exception ought to be interpolated there, "except where the pedestal and work of art itself shall be carved or sculptured from the same block."

Mr. ALLISON. I will accept that amendment. I think that is right in case the statue and the pedestal should be one piece. I do not see how the statue and the pedestal could be very well separated.

Mr. PROCTOR. I ask to have the communication which I send to the desk printed in the RECORD. It is from a member of the Board of General Appraisers, and relates to the pending matter.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. It will be so ordered, in the absence of objection.

The statement referred to is as follows:

PAR. 443. (Paintings, statuary, etc.) The committee appears to have lost sight of the fact that the primary purpose of this revision of the tariff is to secure needed revenue. Otherwise why transfer to the free list articles of luxury which, according to last year's importations, would, even at the low rate in the House bill, yield about $1,250,000?

Probably no other paragraph in the present tariff act has provoked more disputes and litigation and resulted in more inequalities and annoyance generally at the custom-houses than the one making provision for the free admission of paintings and statuary. This was true in a somewhat less degree in the act of 1890, providing for the nominal duty of 15 per cent on these articles.

It must be assumed that the framers of these provisions believed that they would promote the importation of paintings and statuary of such high order of merit as would serve as educators of our students of art, as would minister to art culture in the country, and elevate the tastes of the people generally. This has not been the case, but quite the contrary; and this is believed to be the consensus of opinion amongst the most competent and observant of our artists and art connoisseurs. Instead of stimulating the importation of fine paintings and choice objects of statuary by eminent art dealers, connoisseurs, and art patrons, the tendency has been in the opposite direction. A new "crop" of art fanciers, dealers, and speculators was brought into existence by these provisions, who straightway proceeded to ransack and rummage not only the ateliers and art stores of the Old World, but also the auction rooms, paint and junk shops, foundries, and marble yards, purchasing recklessly of everything, regardless of quality, in the line either of paintings or statuary.

A large proportion of these have been brought into the country to be sold in the stores and shops at auction and by peddlers, at all manner of prices, and thus the country has become flooded, chiefly with cheap and inferior productions of artists, amateurs, artisans, and mechanics. All this to the great detriment of our own artists, amateurs, and work people, and to the serious demoralization and injury of true art. Much of this trash has had a still further demoralizing tendency, being of the class of so-called advanced, or nude, or erotic art, which has found homes in barrooms, saloons, and other places of questionable resort. Furthermore, all manner of articles of utility, decorated by painting, or of which painting is a significant feature, have secured admission under the provision for "paintings," including thousands of women's fans of all kinds (chiefly imported by Tiffany for sale to his wealthy customers and for use simply for ordinary purposes as fans); also, other innumerable hand-painted articles of utility of every description, including Christmas and holiday cards, valentines, hand mirrors, hair brushes, snuff-boxes, fire screens, and interior wall decorations of every conceivable material and description.

Indeed, paper and common cloth materials from China and Japan, intended for use in making fire screens, banners, window shades and the like, and bearing all kinds of rude and inartistic ornamental figures or characters, daubed on with paint, have been admitted free as "paintings," as have also small, cheap medallions intended to be used as the chief figures in cheap, gaudy breastpins, brooches, and the like. In fact "splasher mats" made of strips of bamboo, with birds, flowers, and other things painted on them in Japanese fashion, intended for use in protecting the walls behind washstands, and valued, all told, at not above 30 cents in our currency, have been held by the courts, on appeal from the decisions of the General Appraisers, to be entitled to admission under the provision for "paintings."

It is confidently believed that not more than 20 per cent of the four and a quarter millions in value of so-called "paintings" admitted free of duty during the fiscal year 1895 had any real artistic merit.

Although the abuses with respect to statuary have not been so extensive as in the case of paintings, they are of the same nature. Everything in the nature of statuary, including the cheapest and most ordinary foundry reproductions in bronze, as well as the output of the marble and alabaster yards of Italy, have been entered for free admission, regardless of price or order of merit. The provision in the act of 1890, limiting "statuary" to such as was "cut, carved, or otherwise wrought by hand," etc., fortunately put some check upon the abues with respect to bronze articles; the United States circuit court of appeals for the Second circuit having held, in effect, that only such statuary fell under the provision as was actually cut, carved, or wrought by hand, by or under the immediate direction of the artist who conceived, designed, and made the original model, fall within the provision.

The Senate committee has, however, adopted the language (in its free-list provision) of the present Wilson-Gorman Democratic Act, which does not contain the restrictive language of the act of 1890, but leaves it open for the admission of all manner of truck and trash in the form or semblance of statuary, which, as ordinarily interpreted, would include plaster casts, common molded figures in plaster of paris or cement, even such as the Italians hawk about the streets—indeed, the images of Indians which incumber our streets as tobacco signs.

There has been utter lack of uniformity on the part of classifying officers of customs with respect to "statuary" under the present act. At some of the ports bronze as well as alabaster and marble articles, without regard to order of merit, have been accorded free entry whenever accompanied by a so-called "artist's certificate," which documents, as a rule, are utterly meaningless and perfunctory, and have been authenticated by the United States consular officers, especially in France and Italy, without inquiry and upon the payment of their fees. In many cases marble and alabaster busts, and bronze objects in the shape of busts, statuettes and groups have been admitted free when of the invoice value of $10 and even less. In fact, it was for a time the rule at some of the ports to admit these articles free of duty when of the value of $20 or more, regardless of size, condition, or order of merit. There are now pending before the general appraisers a vast number of protests against the exaction of duty on foundry reproductions in bronze from old models designed by artists who are long since dead, including, for example, life-sized busts of Napoleon, of a value of less, in many cases, than $10, or but little more than the cost of a mere "pot-metal" casting.

No object of statuary, large or small, of the value of $100 or less, properly belongs to the category of "professional productions of a statuary or sculptor only," or is at all likely to be of such order of merit as to serve as an educator of high art. On the contrary, it may be assumed that it belongs either to the class of commercial bronzes, foundry reproductions, or to the output of a marble yard or alabaster works, or is the product of an apprentice or amateur in a studio of the Old World. Surely there is no reason why such articles should be allowed to come in free of duty, or, indeed, at a low rate of duty. They are such things as our needy work people are prepared to produce, and are producing, in bronze foundries and in marble yards and shops and at studios. They include not only statuary proper, but their adjuncts, such as pedestals and plinths, etc., all of which are generally classified as entireties, and are admitted free by customs officers.

The fine paintings and rare objects of statuary imported by the wealthy, with which to ornament and enrich their luxurious homes, are only seen by comparatively few, rarely by artists or students of art, and never by the masses of the people. Consequently the free admission of these works of art, when so imported, amounts simply to a contribution of the public revenues to the rich, with no compensating benefit to the public. Ample provision was made in paragraph 670 of the House bill for the free admission of all works of art, including paintings, statuary, specimens of sculpture, etchings, drawings, engravings, etc., when imported for a municipal corporation or for public exhibition by any association established in good faith expressly and solely for the promotion and encouragement of science, art, or industry. This would include all such institutions as the Metropolitan Museum of Art at New York, the Corcoran Art Gallery at Washington, the Carnegie Art Galleries at Pittsburg, and others of like character, which are accessible to our art students and patrons and to the public generally.

Legislation which exempts from duty costly paintings and statuary, interior decorations, etc., along with the horses, carriages, household furniture, wearing apparel, jewelry, personal effects, etc., of our people of wealth, has the effect of making the coachmen and gardeners of the Vanderbilts and the Goulds and the Huntingtons pay more tax in the way of duties than their millionaire employers.

If the committee is not inclined to adopt the provision in the House bill for paintings and statuary, and desire to "favor art" by imposing a lower rate of duty on the finer and more artistic than on the cheaper and less meritorious articles, both of paintings and statuary, it is suggested that "paintings" be provided for in one paragraph and "statuary" in another, as follows:

"PAR. —. Paintings in oil or water colors, pastels and pen-and-ink drawings, valued at not more than $100 each, 25 per cent ad valorem; valued at more than $100 each, $10 each and 15 per cent ad valorem; but the term 'paintings' as used in this act shall not be understood to include such as are made wholly or in part by stenciling or any other mechanical process, nor any article of utility.

"PAR. —. Statuary, objects of, not specially provided for in this act, $10 each and 15 per cent ad valorem; but the term 'statuary' as used in this act shall be understood to include only such statuary as is cut, carved, or otherwise wrought by hand from a solid block or mass of marble, stone, or alabaster, or from metal, and as is the professional production of a statuary or sculptor only."

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Will the Senator from Missouri please restate his amendment?

Mr. VEST. I move to insert the words "except where the pedestal and statuary shall be carved from the same block."

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to amend the amendment so as to read:

And shall not include the pedestal or structure on which such statue may be mounted or placed, except where the pedestal and statuary shall be carved from the same block.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BURROWS in the chair). The question is on the amendment proposed by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST] to the amendment of the committee.

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

The amendment as amended was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The paragraph as amended will be regarded as agreed to, in the absence of objection. Paragraph 619 will now be read.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President, with reference to the paragraph just reached, I wish to say that the other day I called the attention of the Senator from Iowa who is in charge of the bill to the fact that cocoa-butterine is not distinguishable, according to the statement made by the Board of General Appraisers, from cocoanut oil. If we are to have cocoanut oil, the other article upon the dutiable list, to come in—but I see this is not the paragraph. I am mistaken as to that, and I will waive it for the present.

Mr. ALLISON. That paragraph was passed. The Senator refers to the oil paragraph.

Mr. WHITE. I do.

Mr. ALLISON. That was passed. If it be true—and I have no doubt the customs officials are familiar with the facts—that butterine can with difficulty be distinguished from cocoanut oil, both ought to be on the free list or the dutiable list, and I propose to have them placed on the dutiable list.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. Sharretts informed me that there was a case—and he referred me to the decision of the court—where it was impossible to distinguish one from the other. I suggest the same disposition should be made of both articles. He has made a written statement with reference to it, and I called the attention of the chairman of the committee to that fact.

Mr. ALLISON. The Senator called my attention to it before, but it escaped my mind. I now call attention to page 81, paragraph 281. After "cocoa-butterine" I move to insert "and cocoanut oil."

The SECRETARY. In paragraph 281, on page 81, line 22, after the word "cocoa-butterine," it is proposed to insert the words "and cocoanut oil;" so as to read:

Cocoa butter or cocoa-butterine and cocoanut oil, 3½ cents per pound.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. I now move to strike out, after the word "palm," the words "and cocoanut oil," in paragraph 603, page 178, line 12.

The amendment was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The next paragraph which was passed over will be stated.

The SECRETARY. All the amendments were agreed to in paragraph 619 except the amendment in line 8, at the end of the paragraph, inserting "cyanide of potassium."

Mr. ALLISON. I ask that paragraph 619 may be passed over for the present. I thought it had been disposed of satisfactorily, but it has not been.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The paragraph will be passed over temporarily. The next paragraph passed over will be stated.

The next paragraph passed over was the following, which the Committee on Finance had reported to insert:

622½. Regalia and gems, statues, statuary, and specimens or casts of marble, bronze, alabaster, or plaster of paris, where specially imported in good faith for the use of any society incorporated or established solely for religious, philosophical, educational, scientific, or literary purposes, or for the encouragement of the fine arts, or for the use or by order of any college, academy, school, or seminary of learning in the United States, or any State or public library, and not for sale; but the term "regalia" as herein used shall be held to embrace only such insignia of rank or office or emblems as may be worn upon the person or borne in the hand during public exercises of the society or institution, and shall not include articles of furniture or fixtures, or of regular wearing apparel nor personal property of individuals.

Mr. ALLISON. I wish to modify the amendment inserting paragraph 622½, and I send the amendment to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Iowa will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In paragraph 622½, page 182, line 8, after the word "gems," it is proposed to strike out the word "statues;" in line 9, after the word "specimens," to strike out "or casts of marble" and insert "of sculpture in," and in the same line, after the words "alabaster or," to strike out "plaster of paris" and insert "wood;" so as to read:

622½. Regalia and gems, statuary, and specimens of sculpture, in bronze, alabaster, or wood, etc.

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

The paragraph as amended was agreed to.

The next passed-over item was, on page 183, line 20, to strike out paragraph 630, as follows:

630. Sheep dip.

Mr. ALLISON. I hope the amendment to strike out that paragraph will be disagreed to.

The amendment was rejected.

The next item passed over was paragraph 638, on page 184, line 9, as follows:

638. Sodium.

Mr. ALLISON. I move to strike out that paragraph.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. CAFFERY. In connection with that paragraph, I present a protest of certain soap makers against the proposed increase of duty, which was handed me by the representative of these protestants, Mr. Eugene M. Taylor, of Brooklyn, N. Y. I hope this protest will have some weight with the conference committee, and that they will strike out the quarter of a cent additional duty placed upon caustic soda. I ask that the protest may be printed in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If there be no objection, it will be so ordered.

The protest referred to is as follows:

CAUSTIC SODA.

The soap makers and other users of caustic soda are satisfied with the rates of duty imposed on this article by the Dingley bill as it passed the House of Representatives, but the changes the Senate Finance Committee propose making, namely, increasing the duty from one-half cent to three-fourths of a cent per pound on caustic soda, are an unnecessary burden upon the great American industry of soap making.

The trade is already suffering greatly on account of keen competition, and any increase in the price of raw material caused by additional duty would be a great hardship.

The soap makers feel that in the proposed tariff legislation their interests are entitled to as much consideration as those of any other American manufacturers, and they are unanimous that there should be no increase in the duty on caustic soda.

In compliance with a petition signed by the entire trade in all parts of the country, the House of Representatives left the duty on caustic soda unchanged.

The American manufacturers of caustic soda do not need any more protection than they now enjoy. Figures taken from the Bureau of Statistics show that they actually exported caustic soda to England, the home of the heavy chemical industry, and they are now shipping regularly to South America in competition with foreign manufacturers.

In a pamphlet issued last year by the Solvay Process Company, of Syracuse, N. Y., who are one of the largest caustic soda manufacturers in the world, and the largest in the United States, they make the following statement:

"The original capital was $300,000 and the output 30 tons of soda per day. During the following fifteen years the business has required constant enlargement until the present capital is $4,000,000 and the works have a capacity of 600 tons per day."

A duty of three-fourths of a cent per pound on caustic soda is equivalent to 50 per cent protection, to say nothing of ocean freight and cost of handling at points of import.

The statistics also show that since the duty was placed at one-half cent a pound on caustic soda the imports have actually been less than they were when the duty was higher. The imports to the United States from all countries, 1895, were 72,019,114 pounds; in 1896, 47,827,247 pounds.

These figures show that the American manufacturers are steadily increasing their plants under present rates of duty. New works are being built and old works extended, planned for some time since, on basis of present duty.

Five-eighths of the caustic soda used in this country is already made here, and the percentage in favor of American maker is increasing daily.

An advance in the rate of duty on caustic soda would be prohibitory, and defeat one of the objects of the tariff measure—that is, revenue.

Mr. ALLISON. I inquire if paragraph 638, "Sodium," has been stricken out?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. It has been stricken out.

The next passed-over item was paragraph 646, on page 185, beginning in line 3, as follows:

646. Sulphur, lac or precipitated, and sulphur or brimstone, crude, in bulk, sulphur ore as pyrites, or sulphuret of iron in its natural state, containing in excess of 25 per cent of sulphur, and sulphur not otherwise provided for.

Mr. ALLISON. I move the amendment which I send to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Iowa will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In paragraph 646, page 185, line 3, after the words "precipitated, and," it is proposed to strike out "sulphur or brimstone, crude, in bulk;" so as to read:

646. Sulphur, lac or precipitated, and sulphur ore as pyrites, or sulphuret of iron in its natural state, containing in excess of 25 per cent of sulphur, and sulphur not otherwise provided for.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. I desire to return now to paragraph 79, on page 15. After the word "sulphur," in line 10, on page 15, I move to insert "brimstone, crude, 50 cents per ton," and a semicolon.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. The next paragraph passed over is paragraph 666, which was inserted on the report of the Committee on Finance. I now offer in behalf of the committee an amendment to be inserted in line 18, on page 187, which I send to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator desire to pass over paragraph "650, tea plants."

Mr. ALLISON. I ask that that may be passed over temporarily.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. It will be so ordered, in the absence of objection. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Iowa will now be stated.

The SECRETARY. On page 187, line 18, at the end of paragraph 666, it is proposed to insert:

Provided, That in case of residents of the United States returning from abroad, all wearing apparel and other personal effects taken by them out of the United States to foreign countries shall be admitted free of duty, without regard to their value, upon their identity being established, under appropriate rules and regulations to be prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury, but no more than $100 in value of articles purchased abroad by such residents of the United States shall be admitted free of duty upon their return.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the amendment proposed by the Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON].

Mr. STEWART. I should like to know upon what principle of justice persons traveling abroad are to be allowed to import clothing or anything else free? The fact that they have sufficient money to travel abroad proves pretty conclusively that they are as well able to pay taxes as any other class of our people. I am informed that the exemptions that are now made under the existing law amount to a very large sum of money annually. I have seen it estimated as high as from twenty-five to thirty million dollars of duties which are not collected from a class of people who are abundantly able to pay them. I do not see why those who remain here and are unable to travel abroad should be compelled to pay duties on everything they buy, whilst those who travel abroad should be allowed to bring in any article free which they buy abroad.

Mr. WHITE. I presume the Senator from Nevada would not object to their immediate wearing apparel, because there would be difficulties attending the confiscation of anything of that kind. [Laughter.] I understand the committee has limited it to wearing apparel in immediate use.

Mr. STEWART. To $100 in value.

Mr. ALLISON. We supposed a great many people might be abroad for three or four or six months, and possibly might have to buy clothing whilst there to the amount of at least a hundred dollars' worth, which they would want to bring in. I think the Senator from Nevada should not complain of the provisions of this bill in relation to wearing apparel.

Mr. STEWART. I understand the $100 exemption was in relation to what they had in actual use.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Oh, no; in addition to what they have when they go abroad. What they take when they go abroad they may bring back, but they may not bring more than $100 worth in addition to that.

Mr. STEWART. Does that include all they are wearing and what they bring with them?

Mr. ALLISON. They can bring back what they took out and $100 worth in addition.

Mr. WHITE. If a man should happen to buy one suit over the value of $100 abroad, and should be wearing it on his return to this country, an attempt to confiscate it might be attended with some complications.

Mr. ALLISON. The duty is imposed on the surplus over $100.

Mr. STEWART. If the provision is limited to wearing apparel in actual use of not over $100 in value, that would get rid of the present difficulty.

Mr. VEST. This limitation ought to be at least $150. I suppose I am alone in opposing this increase at all. I am opposed to this whole principle in legislation. This is gotten up by the American tailors who charge enormous prices in order to compel American citizens who happen to go to Europe, whether they go from necessity or otherwise, to come back and purchase their high-priced clothing; and at the risk of incurring the intense displeasure of those tailors, I have to say that their prices are simply atrocious. In the city of New York a tailor-made suit of clothes can not be obtained from a reputable tailor for less than $75 to $100, and an overcoat for $100.

In the city of Washington, which, compared with New York, is considered rather a provincial town, you pay $60 to $70, and they will charge you more if they can get it. Because an American goes abroad and can buy the same suit of clothes for $20, he is limited to $100 in the amount of goods that he purchases, although he may need underclothing whilst abroad and an overcoat and a hat—possibly two hats, two umbrellas. He must account at the custom-house for all the wearing apparel bought after he leaves our shores until he returns, and if it exceeds $100 he has to pay taxes upon it.

I know when this matter is talked about it opens the flood gates for the abuse of millionaires, who, it is said, go to Europe and spend from seventy-five to a hundred million dollars a year, which in my opinion is all rot—pure, simple rot. No such amount is spent in Europe. If it is spent there, it is spent by people who have the right to do it, who think they can afford to do it. So long as this country lasts, people will go to Europe, and I trust the time will never come when this Chinese and barbarian system will be advocated in the United States, that we should not visit foreign nations and that the people of foreign nations should not visit us. Our country is based upon freedom, and especially social freedom and freedom of locomotion, and if I think it is necessary to my comfort or health to go to Europe and buy European clothing, I ought to have the right to do it, and not have my personal liberty circumscribed by the greed of a few merchant tailors in this country.

I have been besieged by all sorts of circulars abusing millionaires and making absurd statements about the amount of ready-made clothing bought in Europe. A large number of Senators here have been to Europe. Some of them may be ashamed to say so. I am not, and my experience was that I could buy in Europe articles of superior quality for one-third the price; other articles not so good. In certain sorts of clothing the Americans excel all other people, and there are other sorts of clothing in which the foreigners excel us.

The whole meaning of this thing is to put on an enormous tariff and then limit the amount any man may bring in free for the benefit of these merchant tailors. I wish I had some of their circulars here which I received only two days ago. The whole argument is, "The robbery is going on, and we want our portion of it. You have put up the duty upon cloth, why not put up the duty upon ready-made clothing, so as to force the Americans to buy our clothes, whether they like them or not, or whether they fit or not?" I am to be made to go to New York if I want a decent suit of clothes, and to pay $80 or $100 for it. If I am not able to do that, I am to pay right in this town $60 to $75 for a suit of clothes I can buy in Canada or Europe for $20 to $25.

That is not liberty. That is an outrage upon the citizen. It is no crime for me to go to Europe. It is no crime for me to purchase clothing there. If you want to make a law shutting out passage across the Atlantic and make it, as Henry Carey said, an ocean of fire, do it, but do not pass these indirect relics of barbarism which say to a man that he shall not go where he pleases and buy what he pleases and pay what he pleases.

Mr. STEWART. Mr. President, the argument that tailors overcharge might be applied to everything else, and it would be against any protective tariff. The argument that there should be no competitive article taxed because the people of this country charge too high for it would be entirely destructive of every protective duty in the Wilson Act. My position is this: If we are to put a duty upon importations, we should make it bear equally upon all. There should be no discrimination. That is the Chicago platform, that it shall not discriminate between persons or between sections, and I say letting one man bring in his clothing free and charging another man is a discrimination of the rankest and most marked kind, and it is absolutely unjust.

If importations are to pay duty, the importations of rich and poor, of the traveler as well as the stay-at-home, should be taxed alike. There is no justice in allowing one man to import free and taxing another. It can not be justified upon any principle. The argument that tailors charge too much might be made against the manufacturers of steel, the manufacturers of woolens, the manufacturers of cotton, or any other manufacturers. That has been the complaint all the time, that they would charge too high if you allow them to create a monopoly by a prohibitive tariff. That is the reason why both parties declare against a prohibitive tariff, as a rule. The dealers would charge too high. As to a protective duty upon competitive articles, both parties concur. That is the settled policy. It should be equal, and there is no argument that can be made in favor of exempting one man and charging another.

Mr. SEWELL. Mr. President, I am a protectionist, and believe in giving protection to every industry; but I am not willing to let this paragraph go by without stating my views with respect to it.

I do not want to appear before the country in what I call the mean way of examining every man's baggage and every woman's baggage to see whether he or she has more than $100 worth of goods. That system of espionage has never before been proposed in this sense. I call it mean. It is giving way to the demagogue. I shall not make any contest about it, but I wish to express my opinion. There are hundreds and thousands of respectable families to-day who go to Europe who ten, twenty, or thirty years ago could not afford to do it. It is becoming as common as it is to go to the country to spend a few weeks, and many a good woman saves up her hard earnings for the purpose of buying a few new fashions abroad.

Mr. STEWART. Does the Senator from New Jersey know what the Treasury estimate is of the amount of goods brought in free annually and the amount of duty lost? Can he state the amount of goods brought in and the amount of duty lost?

Mr. SEWELL. I have heard it stated at $20,000,000.

Mr. STEWART. Twenty million dollars of duty lost?

Mr. SEWELL. I am myself a business man, and I make my own calculations. I would not inflict what I call this wrong on the American woman and the American man who may go abroad for recreation for any amount of money.

Mr. GALLINGER. Will the Senator from New Jersey permit me?

Mr. SEWELL. Certainly.

Mr. GALLINGER. Is it not inflicted upon every American man and woman who crosses the Canadian border?

Mr. SEWELL. I think not.

Mr. GALLINGER. I think it is.

Mr. SEWELL. I think not.

Mr. GALLINGER. I think it is.

Mr. SEWELL. I have never been stopped at the Canadian border yet.

Mr. GALLINGER. The Senator has had his trunk examined?

Mr. SEWELL. Never.

Mr. GALLINGER. Mine always has been.

Mr. SEWELL. Never. But the custom has been to allow all that is necessary for travel. A family go to Europe and spend three or four months, and they must even of necessity buy more than $100 worth each. The great Government of the United States, with all its sources of revenue, with its great wealth, says to its own citizens, and particularly to the female portion, "If you go abroad, you shall be searched on your return; and if you have over $100 worth of goods, it shall be taken from you or you shall pay duties on it." I submit to the Senate that in these days of American manhood it is too small a business to be engaged in.

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President, I had occasion last summer to take a steamboat trip from Boston to St. John, New Brunswick, and my trunk was examined by the custom-house officer. I did not find any fault. I had occasion two years ago to take a trip to the city of Montreal, and at the line my trunk was examined. I delivered over my key to the officer who came on board, and he examined my trunk to ascertain whether I had any dutiable goods. He did the same when I returned to the United States. I submit that we are a law-abiding people in this country, and if we go to foreign lands, we must submit to the laws that require our baggage to be examined to ascertain whether or not we have any dutiable goods.

Mr. President, what is true when we go into the Provinces, into the Dominion of Canada, certainly ought to be true when we go across the ocean to Europe or some other foreign land. It is absurd, it strikes me, for the Senator from New Jersey to put this on the ground of an outrage against the American people. It is nothing of the kind.

Mr. SEWELL. Will the Senator from New Hampshire allow me to interrupt him? He is stating the case very broadly. Canada is a foreign country. We can not regulate the affairs of a foreign country in its treatment of American citizens, but we can regulate the affairs of our own Government so far as concerns the treatment of our own citizens returning from Europe. They are examined now, but they are allowed whatever is reasonable for their travel. Here you propose to limit it. That is what I object to.

Mr. GALLINGER. The Senator a moment ago stated that his trunk had never been examined.

Mr. SEWELL. My trunk never has been examined in Canada.

Mr. GALLINGER. He seems to have changed his mind.

Mr. SEWELL. It was examined. Never in Canada.

Mr. GALLINGER. The Senator has been one of the favored few, then.

Mr. President, I have no sympathy with the plea in behalf of the rich, and I have no sympathy with the denunciation of the merchant tailors in the United States which we have heard from the distinguished and eloquent Senator from Missouri. I chance to have a very superior tailor in my own town, and he has children in the public schools, and he helps to pay taxes. He has some real estate, and it is taxed. He has a stock of goods, and it is taxed. He helps to support the municipal government and the State government and the National Government, and I submit to the Senate that he has the same rights under our law that anyone else has. He has the right to be protected against men going to Europe and bringing in here millions of dollars' worth of articles every year—$24,000,000, I understand, is the amount of revenue taken from the Government, according to the experts of the Treasury Department, to the disadvantage of these very men who help to sustain our Government and help to sustain our municipalities.

I do not wear very fine clothes, but I have not run across the tailors in the city of Washington who charge $60 and $70 for a suit of clothes. I have not discovered them. I have patronized tailors on F street and Pennsylvania avenue, and I say that in my judgment there is not a city in the United States, and I doubt whether there are very many cities abroad, that furnish people cheaper clothes than are furnished to the people of the city of Washington. I will not venture to say how cheaply I have purchased a tailor-made suit in the city of Washington, because I am afraid it might shock the sensibilities of the distinguished Senator from Missouri. He probably wears a different kind of clothes, and he must patronize a different kind of tailor from those I patronize, either in Washington or in the State of New Hampshire.

I do not think there is any hardship about this matter. I do not think our poor people who are struggling now to get a living making clothes ought to be oppressed, while Mr. Vanderbilt or Mr. Gould or some other millionaire may go to Europe and bring home a thousand or two thousand or three thousand dollars' worth of European clothes without paying any duty upon them, as I understand they are doing from time to time. I am very glad that the committee have restricted the matter; it is fair. I think we will be acting in the interest of the poor people of this country if we stand by the committee in their suggestion concerning this item.

Mr. ALLEN. I desire to add to my motion made yesterday as follows: Strike out the word "actually," in line 13, and insert after the word "the," in line 13, the word "actually;" in line 14, strike out "appropriate," and after the word "the," in the same line, insert "then;" in line 16, strike out "and present comfort and convenience" and insert "not exceeding $100 in value;" so that the amendment when completed will read as follows:

Wearing apparel, articles of personal adornment, toilet articles, and similar personal effects of persons arriving in the United States; but this exemption shall only include such articles as are in the actual use of, and as are necessary for the then wear and use of, such person for the immediate purposes of the journey, not exceeding $100 in value, and shall not be held to apply to merchandise or articles intended for other persons, or for sale.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Has the Senator from Nebraska listened to the amendment which the committee proposes, to follow the amendment as printed in the bill?

Mr. ALLEN. I did not hear the amendment read.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Let it be read.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair will have the modification proposed by the committee read.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to add to paragraph 666 the following proviso:

Provided, That in case of residents of the United States returning from abroad, all wearing apparel and other personal effects taken by them out of the United States to foreign countries shall be admitted free of duty, without regard to their value, upon their identity being established, under appropriate rules and regulations to be prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury, but no more than $100 in value of articles purchased abroad by such residents of the United States shall be admitted free of duty upon their return.

Mr. ALLEN. Do I understand that to mean that it would exclude the bringing in of other articles?

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. It permits the bringing in of only $100 worth of apparel free of duty.

Mr. ALLEN. I am willing to accept the amendment in lieu of the one I made.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Nebraska withdraws his amendment.

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. President, I do not concur with my friend the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SEWELL], who seems to grow indignant at the idea of inspecting trunks and parcels brought from abroad to this country. I think there is nothing in any well-regulated inspection law which should cause any good citizen to feel indignant about its enforcement. There is carried abroad from this country, if the information we get is to be relied upon at all, seventy-five to one hundred million dollars a year in gold or gold equivalent, and that forms one of the strong drafts upon our Treasury.

I have no objection to any person who feels able to do so visiting any portion of the habitable globe where he can put his foot down in safety or even if he runs some risk of danger. But the people who are permitted to enjoy the blessings of the effete East, and who come in contact with monarchies and the softening influences of monarchy, ought not to object to paying a reasonable price for the privileges they enjoy, and they ought not to object to an application of the inspection laws of the United States that are, or should be, applied to every person who lands upon our shores, whether he be a citizen or a foreigner.

If an American citizen, male or female, who has been abroad, comes back to this country with articles that are not contraband, there can be no reasonable objection to an officer making a proper inspection of the baggage. If the articles are contraband and are subject to taxation, then this Government should have no consideration whatever for the feelings of such an individual, male or female. It is a fact current throughout the length and breadth of this country that thousands of people go to Europe annually for the express purpose of there purchasing their supplies, because they can purchase them there cheaper than they can here. They can pay their expenses to Europe and back and purchase their supplies much cheaper than they can purchase the supplies here.

What is wrong, when you come across an individual of that kind, in inspecting his or her baggage and enforcing the laws of the United States and compelling the contraband articles, if I may be permitted so to call them, to pay the proper duty? There is a good deal of namby-pambyism about this European travel. I do not object, as I said, to a man going to the North or South Pole, if he can go there. I have no jealousy or ill feeling toward my honorable friend the Senator from Missouri because he has had the advantages of Eastern travel and contact with Eastern people. I regard it as a matter of his own concern. I would not

deprive him of any right as a citizen because he has done so or because he desires to do so, but I would put a stop, if it were within my power, to the constant drain upon this country which comes from sending our money by millions and hundreds of millions annually to Europe.

Every penniless count in France and in Austria and England and in other European countries is coming here, and they are taking away a certain class of our people annually in marriage and taking hundreds of millions of dollars with them. I am among the number who believe that it is a blessing rather than a curse that they should go, but I believe, at the same time, that this country should enforce its inspection laws against high and low, rich and poor, alike, and no honorable man or woman has a right to complain when that is done in the proper order.

I say nothing about the question where a man should expend his money. I believe very much as my amiable friend the Senator from Missouri believes, that a man ought to be permitted to spend his money when and where and under what circumstances he may see fit. I believe that he should have the entire world to contract in, if he wants it, under proper regulations. I believe if my friend wants to go to Europe or elsewhere to purchase his clothing, he should have that right, but I do not believe that he should bring back in his trunk or trunks four or five thousand dollars' worth of goods that would escape taxation under the guise that they were his personal effects.

There is no reason why a law of this kind should not be adopted and enforced.

Mr. LINDSAY. I will ask the Senator who reported the amendment whether it makes any provision for a foreigner bringing in any wearing apparel free?

Mr. ALLISON. The amendment applies only to residents of the United States.

Mr. GRAY. It does not say so.

Mr. LINDSAY. I desire to inquire whether there is any provision which will admit a foreigner's wearing apparel free of duty, or does he have to pay duty on all of his apparel?

Mr. GRAY. The amendment does not say that it is confined to United States citizens.

Mr. LINDSAY. The amendment in terms confines it to residents of the United States.

Mr. GRAY. Where?

Mr. LINDSAY. In the proviso.

Mr. GRAY. That is not in the printed part of the amendment.

Mr. ALLISON. The first part applies to wearing apparel and articles of personal adornment—personal effects of persons coming into the United States. The proviso applies only to citizens of the United States or residents of the United States.

Mr. LINDSAY. I will ask that the amendment may be reported again.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Let the whole of it be stated.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read the amendment.

The Secretary read as follows:

668. Wearing apparel, articles of personal adornment, toilet articles, and similar personal effects of persons arriving in the United States; but this exemption shall only include such articles as actually accompany and are in the use of, and as are necessary and appropriate for the wear and use of such persons, for the immediate purposes of the journey and present comfort and convenience, and shall not be held to apply to merchandise or articles intended for other persons or for sale: *Provided*, That in case of residents of the United States returning from abroad, all wearing apparel and other personal effects taken by them out of the United States to foreign countries shall be admitted free of duty, without regard to their value, upon their identity being established, under appropriate rules and regulations to be prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury, but no more than $100 in value of articles purchased abroad by such residents of the United States shall be admitted free of duty upon their return.

Mr. LINDSAY. That is satisfactory.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment as modified.

The amendment as modified was agreed to.

The next passed-over amendment of the Committee on Finance was, on page 187, paragraph 668, which the committee proposed to amend in line 21, after the word "including," by striking out "pulp wood" and inserting "poplar and other pulp woods, deal ends;" in line 22, after the words "shingle bolts," to insert "heading bolts, stave bolts;" in line 23, after the word "sawed," to insert "or planed on one side;" and in line 24, after the words "fence posts," to insert "railroad ties;" so as to make the paragraph read:

668. Wood: Logs and round unmanufactured timber, including poplar and other pulp woods, deal ends, firewood, handle bolts, shingle bolts, heading bolts, stave bolts, gun blocks for gunstocks, rough hewn or sawed or planed on one side, hop poles, fence posts, railroad ties, ship timber, and ship planking; all the foregoing not specially provided for in this act.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask that "heading bolts" and "stave bolts," in line 22, and "railroad ties," in line 24, may be stricken from the paragraph, they having been already placed upon the dutiable list under paragraphs 194 and 198.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Iowa to the amendment of the committee.

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

The amendment as amended was agreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. The Senator from Colorado [Mr. TELLER] has an amendment which he wants to offer to this paragraph. I ask him to withhold it for a moment, until I can move to insert as a new paragraph what I send to the desk.

The SECRETARY. On page 190, at the end of paragraph 670½, insert a new paragraph, as follows:

670½. Works of art the production of American artists residing temporarily abroad, or other works of art, including pictorial paintings on glass, imported expressly for presentation to a national institution, or to any State or municipal corporation, or incorporated religious society, college, or other public institution, except stained or painted window glass, or stained or painted glass windows; but such exemption shall be subject to such regulations as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. I now ask the Senate to turn to page 31, paragraph 118.

Mr. LINDSAY. Before we leave the free list, I ask the Senator from Iowa——

Mr. ALLISON. I am not leaving it except for a moment.

The SECRETARY. On page 31, paragraph 118, line 25, after the words "manganese ore," insert the words "containing less than 40 metallic units in dry state;" so as to read:

Manganese ore containing less than 40 metallic units in dry state, $1 per ton.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. Now the Senator from Colorado wants to offer an amendment to the free list.

Mr. LINDSAY. I give way to the Senator from Colorado.

Mr. QUAY. I desire to call the attention of the Senator from Iowa to the fact that manganese ore, on which a duty has just been imposed, is a component of ferro-manganese, and that the duty on that product ought also to be raised.

Mr. ALLISON. If the Senator will allow me, I will propose some amendment to-morrow morning on that subject.

Mr. TELLER. On page 187, paragraph 668, line 25, after the words "ship planking," I move to insert "and rough lumber manufactured of white pine."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Colorado proposes an amendment, which the Secretary will read.

The SECRETARY. After the words "ship planking," in lines 24 and 25 of page 187, paragraph 668, insert the words:

And rough lumber manufactured of white pine.

Mr. LINDSAY. Before we proceed with the consideration of that amendment, I want to make an inquiry of the Senator from Iowa. Does the free list include wood alcohol anywhere? If it does not, I wish to offer an amendment putting wood alcohol on the free list.

Mr. ALLISON. It does not include wood alcohol.

Mr. LINDSAY. Then on page 188, at the conclusion of paragraph 669, I move to amend by inserting as paragraph "669½. Wood alcohol."

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to insert as a new paragraph after line 12, on page 188, the following:

669½. Wood alcohol.

Mr. ALLISON. I hope that will not be done.

Mr. STEWART. What has become of the amendment of the Senator from Colorado?

Mr. TELLER. I supposed the amendment I offered was pending.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The pending question is the amendment proposed by the Senator from Colorado, upon which he is entitled to the floor.

Mr. TELLER. Mr. President, I do not intend to delay the Senate with any lengthy discussion of this question. I understand it has been somewhat discussed heretofore at the proper place. I was not present, and I did not hear the debate.

I understand that under this bill white-pine lumber will bear a duty of $2 per thousand. Under the McKinley Act the duty on white-pine lumber was $1 a thousand. Under the Wilson Act it was on the free list, and it has been on the free list since the Wilson Act was passed. I can not conceive of any reason why it should now be put on the dutiable list at a rate of $2 per thousand unless the committee propose to prohibit the import into the United States of white-pine lumber, and judging from the statement made by one of the parties who were advocating this duty before the Ways and Means Committee, I suppose that is the real purpose, because one of the parties who appeared before the committee in defense of the duty declared that it should be a prohibitory duty, and that $2 was a prohibitory duty.

Mr. President, there is no principle upon which this duty can be defended. It is not to build up any industry. It is not to protect any American industry, but to destroy. The authorities that have already been cited in the brief debate, and which can be cited

again, I think show conclusively that at the rate we are now consuming the white pine of this country not to exceed seven or eight years at most can elapse before the entire white pine of the country will be consumed. Of course it is somewhat difficult to say whether that is the exact time, and yet all the authorities agree that in six or eight years at most the white pine will be exhausted if we continue the present annual cut.

We have been in the habit of putting duties upon products brought from foreign countries, upon the theory that we wanted to equalize the labor in the production of the article. The reports submitted by the officers of the Government, and which have been presented here by the Commissioner of Labor and by the Secretary of Agriculture, show that it costs more to prepare a thousand feet of white-pine lumber in Canada, the only country that is bringing us any white pine, than in the United States. That is accounted for by two reasons. The first is that that country is somewhat rougher than ours, and secondly, they do not have as efficient machinery and they are not as well prepared for the work. I do not care to go into the details to show it; if anybody doubts or disputes it, of course that can be done; but both the Commissioner of Labor and the Secretary of Agriculture have submitted facts here to show that we can produce a thousand feet of pine lumber, stumpage and labor, cheaper than in Canada.

In looking over the RECORD it would appear that an effort was made here the other day to make the Senate believe that the pine lumber of Canada was coming in conflict with the pine lumber of Michigan and Minnesota. But an examination of the imports of lumber and an acquaintance with the business carried on will establish the fact that that is not the case. The imports of lumber from Canada into the United States have gone almost entirely to the New England States.

There is very little imported into Michigan, and some into Ohio; but that which goes into Michigan does not come in contact with Michigan lumber. It has gone to Michigan for distribution, mainly to Ohio, possibly some to Indiana; but the great bulk of it has gone East. I have a statement here that shows the amount which has gone to the New England ports. We have not increased the import of lumber from Canada for several years.

Mr. STEWART. The people have not been able to buy it.

Mr. TELLER. The Senator from Nevada submits that the people have not been able to buy it. That is exactly true. I have no doubt that the falling off in the consumption of lumber in this country has been owing to the poverty of the people more than to the scarcity of lumber.

I am informed by those who know that the white-pine lumber in Canada sells for a higher figure, as a rule, than in the United States.

I desire to read some of the statistics shown by the tables of imports. Here are tables of imports of lumber into the United States from Canada for several years, commencing with 1890, when it was 715,000,000 feet, and ending with 1896, when it was 742,000,000 feet. That includes all classes of lumber. It includes white pine, spruce, and other lumber. I have a table here, which I will not attempt to read, showing where the lumber has gone that came into the United States. There were about 12,000,000 feet of lumber that went to Chicago.

Mr. ELKINS. From where?

Mr. TELLER. From Canada. About the same amount went to Detroit, a little less to Huron, Mich., and to Minnesota, according to the statement here, which I presume is correct, there were less than a quarter million feet. Taking all the imports of lumber into the United States, into the Lake Champlain ports, the quantity was 330,096,000 feet; other New York ports, including Buffalo, 199,592,000 feet; into Michigan and Ohio ports, 48,658,000 feet; into Chicago, Ill., 12,026,000 feet; into Minnesota ports, 236,000 feet, and into Wisconsin ports, none at all.

I read this statement for the purpose of showing that the effort made here to make it appear that the Northwest—Minnesota and Michigan—is being injured by the imports of Canadian lumber is not correct. One of the Senators stated a very pathetic condition, that the mills of Minnesota on one side of a river and Michigan on the other side were standing idle, and a bridge built across that river in the vicinity of those mills was constructed out of Canadian lumber that came in free.

The fact, as shown by the statement of the mayor of the city where the bridge was built and by the contractor of the bridge, is that the engineer who built the bridge insisted that a certain portion of the timber used should be of hemlock, and no hemlock was found in that immediate vicinity on the Minnesota side and none on the Michigan side that was fit for use, and therefore Canadian hemlock had to be used to a very limited degree, and the bridge was built out of Minnesota and Michigan lumber aside from the Canadian hemlock that they were compelled to have.

The people in the Northwest are interested in the lumber business. They do not, in fact, get any of this Canadian lumber in a section of the Northwest or in the prairie country. Take the States of South Dakota and North Dakota. They get practically nothing from Canada. Michigan and Minnesota lumber supplies that market. The Canadian lumber supplies the Eastern market. If there is a duty put upon white-pine lumber, it will come to this, simply, that the Minnesota and Michigan timber region will furnish the timber for the East to the exclusion of Canadian timber, and the price will rise $2 a thousand or more—certainly it will not be less—to every homesteader in the West.

I should like to know from the committee upon what theory this duty is imposed, with the fact staring them in the face, uncontradicted and undisputed, and admitted by them (at least they have never disputed it), that if the present cut continues for, I will say, eight years, the white pine of the United States will be a thing of the past. Upon what theory do they say it is necessary to protect the manufacture of white-pine lumber in the United States when it is proved conclusively that white-pine lumber can be manufactured in Minnesota and in Michigan cheaper than in Canada, and when it is proved that the price of white-pine lumber in Canada is more than in the United States?

Upon what principle do they propose to put upon the people who build houses in the great Northwest an extra tax that will not be $2 a thousand, for that will necessarily be put on because it goes to the Government if the Canadian brings his lumber here, but a tax that the manufacturers of lumber in the State of Minnesota and in the State of Michigan and in the State of Wisconsin may put upon the settlers? If this is a prohibitive tax, as it was declared before the committee $2 a thousand would be, with the high price of manufacture in Canada, with the high price of stumpage in Canada, with the difficulties of transportation, it is the exclusion of all Canadian lumber from the United States, this great market, the greatest in the world for lumber, for the American people consume per capita more lumber than any other people in the world, two to one. Why? Because we are a growing and a building country, because we have thousands of people who are going out upon the public domain to make a home, and if this duty is imposed, every one of them must pay tribute to the timber manufacturers of those three States.

I do not know but the committee will fall back on the oft-repeated statement that this is not a protective duty, but a revenue duty; but if it is, the revenue duty is exceedingly small and will grow smaller and smaller, with the fact that is staring us in the face that there is to be no import of Canadian lumber. Not only will the people of the Northwest be put to an additional burden for every house they build, for every barn, and for every cabin, but so will the people of New England, of Ohio, and of some portions of Pennsylvania and New York.

Mr. President, I am in favor of protection. I would protect every American industry that needs it. But I would not run protection into the ground. I would not abuse it as it is being abused here by simply putting on an arbitrary tax that shall enable the manufacturers of lumber to put their own price without competition upon the lumber, which is not a luxury, but is an absolute necessity, and thus compel every settler in the West to pay tribute to them.

In looking over the RECORD the other day I saw that an appeal was made to the Senate that these people had invested their money in this timber and that they are entitled to the protection given to other industries. You protect other industries to build them up. You protect the manufacture of iron to enable the people of the United States to manufacture iron cheaply. You do not protect this lumber to enable them to give to the people cheaper lumber, but you protect it for the avowed purpose, stated in open declaration here on this floor, to raise the price to the consumer, and that is not a Republican doctrine; it never has been; and even in this day, in my judgment, the Republican party will not stand by that as a protective theory.

It is not to raise the price, but to make articles ultimately cheaper that we have been advocating the protective doctrine here for years. That is the true protective theory. We have said, "Build up your industries; make them strong; and when they are strong, manufactured articles will be cheaper, and in the end a duty which may have created a little burden upon commerce will inure to the benefit of all by producing cheapness." That is the legitimate and proper theory.

Mr. President, there is nothing in this duty on white pine which appeals to any protective theory with which I have been familiar in my public career.

Mr. GRAY. May I interrupt the Senator with a question?

Mr. TELLER. Certainly.

Mr. GRAY. If the Senator knows, I should be glad to have him state the estimate of the white pine standing within the limits of the United States?

Mr. TELLER. It would take a little time to go over that, but I will say to the Senator from Delaware that the Secretary of Agriculture has made a report, No. 70, I think, of this session, and the Commissioner of Labor has made a report, which I think is No.

40, in which they both agree that if the cutting continues, within the next seven or eight years white pine will be a thing of the past in the United States.

Mr. GRAY. Then, as the Senator argues, no protective tariff can increase the growth of white-pine timber?

Mr. TELLER. No protective tariff can increase it, and if a protective tariff excludes from the United States the consumption of the Canadian product, it hastens the time when the white-pine tree will be as scarce in the Northwest as an orange tree is now.

Mr. President, in my boyhood days I lived in the timber country of New York and Pennsylvania. I remember those magnificent forests, which have never had their equal except on the Pacific Coast, and to-day in all that country there is not a white-pine tree left that is fit for lumber. It will be so in Michigan, it will be so in Wisconsin, it will be so in Minnesota, in ten years at the furthest; and those people are not entitled to any special legislation. Every hour that they let their stumpage stand it grows more beneficial to them. If they let it stand ten or fifteen years, they will get more for it than under this forced system of putting on duties and taking toll from the great industries of the country.

I challenge the committee here to make one single showing which will justify a duty upon white-pine lumber which will not justify a duty upon every article of commerce and trade and which will not blot out the free list. Our manufacturers need white-pine lumber for the carrying on of an infinite variety of trade and manufacture and are entitled to have the Canadian market. This duty is to be imposed in the interest of a few men, and only a few men, who own the white pine of this country, not to exceed in number forty or fifty at the most.

I know there may be small holdings, but I am speaking of great holdings. There are upon the farms in some of the Western States a few straggling pines, but the great pine forests are owned by a few capitalists in this country, and it is in their interest, and in their interest alone, at the cost and expense of the settler and at the cost and expense of the manufacturer of every variety and kind in this country, whose interests the committee have professed so great a desire to protect, that this duty is now to be imposed.

If there is a proposition in this bill anywhere—and I think there are a hundred—which is absolutely indefensible, here is one beyond question.

Mr. VEST. I want to offer an amendment to the pending bill for the purpose of having it printed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Missouri offers an amendment and asks that it be printed.

Mr. ALLISON. Let it be read, Mr. President.

Mr. VEST. Let the amendment be read.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be read.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to add to section 13, on page 204, the following:

Provided, That goods arriving at any outer port of entry, which are invoiced or consigned to either of the interior ports of entry specified under act of Congress approved June 10, 1880, may be entered for transportation without appraisement to such port, and there subjected, if entered for immediate consumption, to the rates of duty in force at the time of arrival at the outer port.

Mr. VEST. Mr. President, I simply want to observe that this question of free lumber was considered exhaustively in the absence of the Senator from Colorado [Mr. TELLER], and decided against those of us who believe that no duty at all should be imposed upon that article.

I do not know that the paper I have in my hand throws any light on the subject or adds a single new argument; but it came to me this morning from a reputable citizen of New York, who asked me as a personal favor to lay it before the Senate. He is a practical lumber man, and his letter struck me with a great deal of force. I only regret that it was not here at the time the main subject was disposed of. I ask the Secretary to read it.

The Secretary read as follows:

BUFFALO, N. Y., *June 30, 1897.*

DEAR SIR: In the lumber debate Senator SPOONER said that the lumber men of the Northwest and the lumber men of the Southwest were overrun by Canadian competition, as railroads are bringing Canadian lumber into that country through Superior, Minneapolis, and St. Paul. If you look at the Imports of Merchandise for 1896, No. 3, page 205, you will see that no lumber comes into Wisconsin from Canada, not a board, and that into Minnesota there came during that fiscal year 230,000 feet, valued at $3,105, out of a total importation of over 750,000,000 feet.

None of this lumber comes into the West, into the regions that he states, to compete either with Northern or Southern lumber. It all goes into the East and nearly half of it in Lake Champlain, and nearly 200,000,000 feet comes down the coast from New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. This is spruce.

Senator SPOONER wants to know why we should protect hemlock, "the poor man's lumber," and Southern pine and fir, etc., and not protect the poor pine-land owners in his own State with their white pine.

As a fact, hemlock does not come into this country from Canada, except for large Government or contract work, where it is used for piers and other structures under water, because of its lasting qualities.

It is too cheap a wood to bear transportation; that's the reason it doesn't come in, it being furnished at near-by points to consumers.

As to spruce, that grows in Maine, and that has to be protected because the Maine Senators want it protected, and that settles it.

And besides that, these Senators are going to have some timber they have in northeastern Maine lumbered by Canadians, driven down the St. John River by Canadians, sawed at the mills at Fredericton by Canadian workmen, and shipped to this country in Canadian bottoms, come in free of duty.

It may be said, however, that spruce reproduces, and therefore these forests replenish; but as to Northwestern white pine, once cut, not pine, but other growths appear, and the pine forest utterly perishes.

As to fir on our Western coast, our own people have it in abundance, and the people in British Columbia are permitted Chinese labor; so theirs is a special case.

These gentlemen in the Northwest who want to shut Canada lumber out of its market in the East, where it has been coming so long, are telling how hard up they are and how they have all failed.

There is a committee known as the ways and means committee of this great lumber convention which has an office in Washington; their names fill about a page of the tariff hearings. This is the Winchester & Co. organization.

There are six of them from Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota, and four of the six are to-day rated in Dun's Commercial Agency AAA1, and this means a million and over.

I refer of course to the firms to which they belong, and they are really not among the heavy ones of the Northwest; that is, the heaviest. I have misstated a little, I find on looking it up. One of them is only AA1, poor fellow.

The Republican legislatures of Nebraska and Kansas passed joint resolution after joint resolution calling on their representatives at Washington to vote for free lumber.

They not only want a two-dollar duty but a four-dollar duty. They've got a club in this bill which they pretend is to hit Canada if they put an export duty on logs over there, but they really intend to use that club on the people of the United States.

Canada put that export duty on logs clear down to the time that we reduced the duty on lumber, and the Government over there has just declared that when we put a duty on lumber it will go back on logs, and that's what these millionaires want, just another million or so, by shutting out the Canada lumber.

I could tell you the story about that bridge at Duluth, which Horatius Spooner held so bravely, but the import tables answer him sufficiently.

Now, I want you to take this in behalf of one of the plain people whose business is lumber, and who is about to be ruined if this duty goes on lumber, and give the Senate the benefit of it, for everything here stated as a fact is a fact.

Very respectfully, yours,

GEORGE W. STEVENS.

Hon. GEORGE G. VEST,
United States Senate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the amendment to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Colorado [Mr. TELLER].

Mr. GRAY. What is that amendment, Mr. President? I should like to have it read.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Secretary will state the proposed amendment.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to amend paragraph 668 by inserting after the words "ship planking," in line 24, on page 187, the words:

And rough lumber manufactured of white pine.

Mr. TELLER. On that I shall ask for the yeas and nays.

Mr. GRAY. Mr. President, I should like to ask—I was out when the amendment proposed by the Senator from Colorado [Mr. TELLER] came up—what is the duty which is proposed to be put upon white-pine lumber in this bill?

Mr. TELLER. It will be $2 if this bill passes as it now stands. It was $1 under the McKinley law, and it is free under the Wilson law.

Mr. GRAY. I understand there is, in addition, a retaliatory clause proposed in this bill of $2 a thousand if any country shall place an export duty upon lumber. Is not that so?

Mr. ALLISON. I will say to the Senator that there is a retaliatory clause equivalent to the export duty, whatever it may be.

Mr. TELLER. That is on page 61 of the bill.

Mr. GRAY. So that if Canada shall, in the exercise of her taxing power, conclude to put a duty of $2 or $3—it certainly was $3 for a long time—of export duty upon lumber, then practically the duty upon lumber from Canada will be $4 a thousand. So that I want it understood just what the amount of this burden is going to be. If it be a four-dollar duty, it will be prohibitive, and that will inure entirely to the benefit of those who own the remnant of white-pine timber along the northern tier of States—I do not know what they are—Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota, I think the Senator from Colorado said.

Mr. President, that seems to me to be a very wrongful kind of a tax for such an interest as that for those who own these lands. The Senator from Colorado says there are about forty who own the bulk of them. It is proposed that we should tax in this extravagant way the people of this country and the manufacturing interests of this country, to whom white-pine lumber is so necessary. Four dollars a thousand, it is asserted, as I have said, will be prohibitive. I should like to have read, in fairness to those whose interests seem to be assailed and threatened by this tax, a letter which I hold in my hand from a dealer in and a manufacturer of white-pine lumber, who has been compelled to resort to the forests of Canada in order to obtain the supply for his mills in this country, and is manufacturing largely in this country and supplying the sash and door and building trades with this very needful and necessary article. I send to the Secretary's desk and ask to have it read, in order that we may see at least what are the views of one of the manufacturing industries of this country, the letter to which I refer.

The Secretary read as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *June 29, 1897.*

SIR: I appeal to you—I appeal to the Senate of the United States—against a four-dollar duty on lumber, which is provided for in the pending tariff bill.

I represent a business which has been continued for over fifty years, descending from father to son. The timber in Michigan, which has been always our home, and where our main operations were conducted, is now cut off. Not as much white pine stands in Michigan to-day as has been cut by her sawmills in a single year. We are now operating at Duluth and in Canada, and have established a large lumber yard at Buffalo, where we receive and manipulate and partly manufacture our Canada stock.

We established this connection since the passage of the Wilson bill, making lumber free. We had noted that the McKinley bill reduced the duty on white pine, which is what we handle, to $1 per thousand, and the further reduction by the Wilson bill seemed naturally proper, as the country needed the Canadian supply both of logs and lumber.

The pending bill provides for a two-dollar duty, which is itself prohibitive on this Canada white-pine lumber, and further provides for an additional two-dollar duty if Canada shall impose an export duty on saw logs.

This Canada is going to do and has lately so declared; so as a consequence, there will be a four-dollar duty on the white-pine lumber which we are bringing from Georgian Bay to Buffalo.

By this duty our lumbering operations on Georgian Bay and our yard and planing-mill operations at Buffalo are cut off one from the other absolutely, and both are absolutely ruined.

I have stated my case only as a typical one. At Oswego, at Ogdensburg, at Whitehall, N. Y., at Burlington, Vt., at Toledo, Ohio, are operations similarly situated, to which the same disaster will come.

There is not an operation along this northern border to-day that is making any money, for the reason that the people are too poor to buy their products in volume.

I trust the United States Congress will not now pass a law which will add a duty of $4 per thousand to this lumber, or this two-dollar prohibitive duty, which the people must pay or do without it, as neither producer nor dealer can pay it.

Yours, very truly,

ARTHUR HILL.

Hon. GEORGE GRAY,
United States Senate.

Mr. GRAY. Mr. President, I understand that this retaliatory clause—for such it is—is one of the most important features of this bill. It will undoubtedly double the duty on white-pine lumber. I do not know whether the Senator from Colorado alluded to that, as I was unfortunate enough to be out when he commenced his remarks; but if we pass this duty of $2 on manufactured lumber, the Canadian Government will undoubtedly exercise the power that it has recently had conferred upon it of putting an export duty of $2 upon lumber, as it has been heretofore.

I hold in my hand a dispatch from Ottawa, dated June 18, 1897, to the New York Herald, which says:

OTTAWA, ONTARIO, *June 18, 1897.*

The Dominion Government, in the House of Commons to-day, took power to itself to impose, by order in council, an export duty on logs and pulp wood, and also on Canadian ores. The first resolution provides that on pine, Douglas fir, spruce, fir balsam, cedar, elm, and hemlock logs and pulp wood an export duty not exceeding $3 per thousand feet board measure, and in case of the export of any of the above-mentioned logs or pulp wood in shorter lengths than 9 feet, then a rate per cord may be levied in the same way not greater than the equivalent of the above-mentioned rate per thousand feet board measure, and such export duty shall be chargeable accordingly, after the publication of such proclamation, provided that the Government in council may, by proclamation, published in like manner, from time to time remove and reimpose such export duty. It was passed without debate.

So they are preparing to exert this power in case this tax is imposed. We may say that is all wrong that they should exert that power; that it is bad faith and bad manners to this Government; but, nevertheless, Mr. President, we are exciting by this legislation of ours just such acts of hostility as that, and we are converting the natural relations of these people, which ought to be friendly and amicable, and ought to be such that trade should flow easily and peaceably between them, into conditions that are like the camps of opposing armies, and acts of hostility and acts of retaliation such as are provided for in this bill have come to be the common parlance of our trade relations.

We retaliate, but we retaliate on our own people. Because Canada puts an export duty of $2 on logs, then we tax all the American people. The man who builds a house or the factory that makes sash and doors and window blinds we tax $2. We retaliate, but we suffer for the retaliation.

I recollect when the retaliatory clause of 1890 was up, I think it was the Senator from North Carolina, our late lamented colleague, Mr. Vance, who said retaliation reminded him of the man who, when he was knocked down in the street, went home and retaliated by beating his wife. So when we want to retaliate on Canada for putting a two-dollar export duty upon logs we tax the American people, without hurting Canada, and we make these exactions on all these important trades and lines of business that ought to be more considered.

Mr. MANTLE. Mr. President, I understand the pending amendment to be to strike out the duty as applied to white-pine lumber. The legitimate object and purpose of a protective tariff, as I understand it, is to encourage, to foster, to develop, and to expand the industries of our own country, or such of them as are susceptible to that operation.

The situation with respect to white-pine lumber seems to be, as gathered from all the arguments and statistics bearing upon the subject and the best authority that can be reached, that the white pine of the country is limited in amount, that it is incapable of renewing itself or of being grown or developed by any process, that when once extinguished it can not be revived. There is no way by which its growth can be encouraged or developed or expanded, and its ultimate destruction is absolutely certain.

Again, it is admitted that what there is left in this country is owned by a comparatively few gentlemen—a syndicate; that the duty, if levied, taken in connection with the retaliatory duty which is sure to follow upon the part of Canada, will result in the total prohibition of the importation of any white-pine lumber.

Therefore it is manifest that from a protective standpoint absolutely nothing can be accomplished by the levying of this duty, and that from the revenue standpoint absolutely nothing can be accomplished by the levying of this duty, because it is acknowledged to be prohibitory, taken in connection with the retaliatory duty. Hence we can have absolutely no benefit from a protective point of view; we can gain absolutely nothing from a revenue point of view. Therefore we are flying directly in the face of the protective idea, because we are offering a premium for the extinction and destruction of the white pine of this country; whereas it would seem to be the true policy, the policy of wisdom, to save, in so far as possible, the white pine of the United States, and to draw upon the white pine of Canada for our use just so long as we may.

So it follows again that the only effect of this duty will be to enhance the cost of white pine to the consumers of that character of lumber, located principally in the West and Northwest. I submit, if the facts as stated here in these arguments are correct, the deductions which I make are indisputable.

On the 22d of last February what I have regarded as one of the most infamous orders which ever issued from the executive department of this Government went into effect, taking some 21,000,000 acres of the forest lands of the Rocky Mountain region from public settlement—an order which, had it been permitted to stand, would have resulted in great injury to the people of those localities.

The only excuse given for the issuance of these orders was the desire to preserve the forests of this country, and yet by the terms of the pending bill we are now attempting to pursue a policy which places a premium upon the destruction of the forests of the United States.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I will not delay the debate for more than a moment, but I have been handed a copy of the North-Western Lumberman, which seems to illustrate the purpose of the $2 a thousand tax on lumber. The heading is, "Mr. Winchester's remarks at Memphis." The introduction in the paper is:

A. H. Winchester, of Buckhannon, W. Va., a member of the executive committee of the national lumber convention, and a lumberman of experience, was present at the meeting of the Southern Lumber Manufacturers' Association held at Memphis, Tenn., last week, and in response to an invitation talked tariff to the lumbermen there assembled in an exceedingly forceful and vigorous manner. No better description of his talk can be given than to quote the words of one who was present. Said he: "Winchester's speech was the feature of the Memphis meeting; every story that he told was just as pat as it could be, and invoked laughter and applause every time. He is one of the most convincing speakers I ever listened to; he drives a thing home and clinches it in the back of your neck with a sledge hammer."

In his speech—I will not read the whole of it—Mr. Winchester said:

Now, you take our average cut of the United States, and $1 a thousand advance means what? It means $35,000,000 to the lumbermen of the United States in a year. Now, if we carry out this idea, $1 duty don't take it to that. Lumber in Canada would come down a whole dollar, and it wouldn't help us any. Get it up to about $2, and then it would begin to have its effect.

To illustrate a little further: There were a lot of gentlemen from the Northwest, up Minnesota way, in Washington the other day, and they were sitting in Senator BURROWS's committee room. An interesting incident occurred there. Senator BURROWS is chairman of the committee. The committee hadn't had a meeting for a long time. We happened to be sitting in that room, and one of the gentlemen from Minnesota had an envelope and a lead pencil. He walked around the room and he ciphered out a little bit, and he said: "Mr. BURROWS, do you know what $1 a thousand would mean to this little crowd of men in here?" There were not as many in the room as there are here. He said the advance of $1 a thousand on lumber meant $6,125,000 on last year's product.

Mr. SPOONER. Mr. President, I was not in the Senate when the motion was made or when the debate commenced, and I do not intend now to take many moments of the time of the Senate in discussing the matter. Some days ago the subject was considered, and I thought it was very fully debated. What I have heard from the Senator from Colorado [Mr. TELLER] and what I have heard from the Senator from Montana [Mr. MANTLE], with perfect deference to them, furnishes, so far as I can remember, no new consideration legitimately bearing upon this subject.

I, as a Senator, representing in part one of the States in which the white-pine interest is very great, objected to the proposition to put it upon the free list, not only from the basis of being a protectionist, but also upon the ground that it was an unfair discrimination against the industry of three States lying along the border of Canada.

The Senator from Delaware [Mr. GRAY] talks about the Canadian threat of placing an export duty upon white pine. There is nothing new about that threat. Whenever a tariff bill has been

pending in Congress and there has been a proposition to levy a duty upon any product as to which we compete with Canada, it has been suggested in newspapers and in council to put an export duty upon the article. The Canadians will not put an export duty upon logs, in my opinion, because, as I showed in the short speech which I had the honor to make to the Senate, this is their great market.

They will not attempt to place any export duty upon logs. That threat is only intended to influence this legislation, and if we are to arrange the duties in the pending bill with reference to retaliation possibilities, Mr. President, the attention and action of the Senate ought not to be confined to white pine. There are a great many items in the bill concerning which it might be well to give thought in fixing duties here, if it is to be considered at all, to the matter of retaliation.

The Senator from Montana [Mr. MANTLE] says white pine does not reproduce itself. Neither does iron ore; neither does silver. A great many things upon which duties are levied in the bill do not reproduce themselves.

Mr. MANTLE rose.

Mr. SPOONER. I know there is no duty upon silver.

Mr. MANTLE. If the Senator from Wisconsin will permit me, I see no analogy between the two propositions.

Mr. SPOONER. There is some.

Mr. MANTLE. The quantity of white pine can be measured; we know practically what there is, but no man can tell how much iron ore there is.

Mr. SPOONER. You do not know practically what there is. It was stated upon the floor of the Senate the other day, and a map was exhibited to us to show, that there was a little white pine in Wisconsin and a little in Michigan and a little left in Minnesota, and before the debate terminated it was discovered by the testimony of a Senator from one of the States of the West that one of the very largest bodies of white pine standing to-day in the United States is situated in the State of Idaho.

Mr. MANTLE. If I may interrupt the Senator, I will say that all of it is embraced within the recent forestry-reservation order.

Mr. SPOONER. I agreed with the Senator in his denunciation of the recent forestry-reservation order; but I am not discussing that matter.

Mr. MANTLE. If the Senator will permit me, I think the statement made at that time will bear some investigation. There is white pine in Idaho, but it is not of that excellent quality and character suitable for manufacturing that the other white pine is.

Mr. SPOONER. I have the very best and most reliable evidence any man could ask that there is a great body of white pine in Idaho, and that it is of fine quality. And it was developed in that debate that there is a large body of white pine in North Carolina. I did not know it, I confess, until it was stated by the Senator from North Carolina, who knows about the resources of his own State.

Here is a duty upon iron ore. When you take a ton of iron ore out of the earth, it is never put back. By the same reasoning, applied to iron ore and mica and potash and a great many other items, there should be no duty upon any of these articles.

Mr. GRAY. Coal.

Mr. SPOONER. Coal. The same thing may be said of coal.

I call to the attention of the Senate again, as I did the other day, the absolute indefensibility and injustice of this discrimination. Tell me, some of you Senators, why there should be in a tariff law a duty of $2 a thousand on the spruce lumber of Maine, while the white pine of Minnesota, Michigan, and Wisconsin is placed upon the free list.

Mr. LINDSAY. We voted to take it off the dutiable list.

Mr. SPOONER. You are not proposing to take it off.

Mr. LINDSAY. We did vote to take it off.

Mr. SPOONER. You are not proposing to take it off, and this proposition is not to take it off. This proposition is not to take the two-dollar duty off of the pine of the South—the yellow pine. It is not to take the two-dollar duty off the spruce of the State of Maine. It is not to take the two-dollar duty off the woods of the far West. It is simply to discriminate against the white pine of Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Michigan.

Mr. TELLER. Will the Senator from Wisconsin allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. SPOONER. Certainly.

Mr. TELLER. Will the Senator tell me why a discrimination is made in this bill as follows:

> Sawed boards, planks, deals, and other lumber of whitewood, sycamore, and basswood, $1 per thousand.

Why does not the Senator insist upon putting $2 on the basswood of Missouri and some of the Southwestern States, and the sycamore?

Mr. SPOONER. It is cheaper wood. Besides, that question should have been addressed by the Senator from Colorado to the committee. I have not made these duties. I have voted for all the duties, or nearly all of them.

Mr. TELLER. I have challenged the committee to give a reason. They will probably not do it any more than the Senator from Wisconsin can.

Mr. SPOONER. I am not interested in that question, and I am not a member of the committee, and the only reason which occurs to me is that it is a very much cheaper wood and that $1 may be adequate in one case and not in the other. That may not be a good reason, but it is the only one that occurs to me.

I know there are a great many gentlemen here who would like to see white pine on the free list, and there are a great many things in the pending bill which I should be glad, so far as the mere interest of my State is concerned, to see on the free list. I have voted for a great many duties here, some peculiarly relating to the far West, which did not commend themselves to my judgment as abstract propositions. I have voted for them, notwithstanding the fact that the arguments furnished by the other side against them were very strong, because the Senators from those States, including my friend the Senator from Nevada [Mr. STEWART], who presumably know about the interests of their own States, informed the Senate that in their judgment they were necessary in order to protect and develop the industries in those States.

I say again, if this were a proposition to put lumber on the free list, it would be one thing; but it is a proposition simply to discriminate in a tariff bill against a particular sort of lumber in which the State of Wisconsin and the State of Michigan and the State of Minnesota, lying along the Canadian border, happen to be peculiarly interested. I speak only for my constituents, because, as I have said before, the only selfish interest I have on earth in this question is that white pine should be put upon the free list. I certainly hope the Senate——

Mr. MANTLE rose.

Mr. SPOONER. Does the Senator from Montana desire to interrupt me?

Mr. MANTLE. Would it interrupt the Senator if I asked a question?

Mr. SPOONER. No.

Mr. MANTLE. I am a protectionist. I believe very firmly in protection for this country, and if the Senator from Wisconsin can show me how we can by protection foster the white-pine business by levying this duty, I shall be glad to vote for it.

Mr. SPOONER. There has always been a duty upon white pine, and I suppose it was put there to protect and foster the industry. The Wilson Act made it free.

Mr. MANTLE. Will not the ultimate end of this be to use up and destroy the white-pine industry of the country?

Mr. SPOONER. This proposition is alleged to be in the interest of forest preservation. It is proposed that the men who have invested their money in those States and paid taxes upon the land for a great many years shall hold it and continue to pay taxes upon it, and give our market to the white pine of Canada, until the forests of Canada have been denuded of white pine. In the meantime the fires will have destroyed their timber.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. What the Senator from Wisconsin said a few moments ago would probably create the impression to one not familiar with the facts in the case that Senators on this side had not voted for free lumber; had not voted to make all these things free. So far as I am concerned, I will say frankly that I shall vote for the motion of the Senator from Colorado, but I would prefer to vote for a motion to put all lumber on the free list which we put on the free list. If we can not have the whole of it on the free list, we will take any part of it we can get.

Mr. SPOONER. Why does not the Senator move to amend the motion by including the other articles?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. We have proposed it, and it was voted down. Now we will vote for this proposition. If we can not get a whole loaf, we will take a half loaf.

Mr. SPOONER. This also was voted down.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. So far as I am concerned, I can not be brought into that sort of a movement to defeat this amendment. If there is any chance to put white pine on the free list, I am perfectly willing to do it, so far as I am concerned.

Mr. SPOONER. Of course.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I would prefer to put the whole of it on the free list; but if we can not get all, we will take what we can get.

Mr. SPOONER. I leave the question with the Senate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Colorado [Mr. TELLER], upon which the yeas and nays have been ordered.

The Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MANTLE (when Mr. CANNON's name was called). The Senator from Utah [Mr. CANNON] has a pair, I believe, with the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH]. If the Senator from Utah were here, he would vote for this proposition, and I will try to arrange a pair for him.

Mr. CLARK (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Kansas [Mr. HARRIS].

Mr. DEBOE (when his name was called). I am paired with the senior Senator from South Dakota [Mr. PETTIGREW].

Mr. GEAR (when his name was called). I am paired with the senior Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH]. I will transfer my pair to the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE], and will vote. I vote "nay."

Mr. BERRY (when Mr. MURPHY'S name was called). The senior Senator from New York [Mr. MURPHY] is paired with his colleague [Mr. PLATT]. If the senior Senator from New York were present, he would vote "yea."

Mr. PRITCHARD (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from South Carolina [Mr. MCLAURIN], but inasmuch as we agree on this subject, I take the liberty of voting. I vote "nay."

Mr. TURPIE (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. DAVIS]. I understand that the junior Senator from Kentucky [Mr. DEBOE] is paired with the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. PETTIGREW] on this question. We might transfer pairs so that the senior Senator from Minnesota will stand paired with the Senator from South Dakota, if that is acceptable to the junior Senator from Kentucky.

Mr. DEBOE. It is.

Mr. TURPIE. I vote "yea."

Mr. WARREN (when his name was called). I announce my pair with the junior Senator from Washington [Mr. TURNER].

Mr. MANTLE. I am informed that if the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH] were here, he would vote "nay" and the Senator from Utah [Mr. CANNON] would vote "yea." I will therefore let the pair stand.

The result was announced—yeas 32, nays 33; as follows:

YEAS—32.

Allen,	Cockrell,	Lindsay,	Rawlins,
Baker,	Daniel,	Mallory,	Roach,
Bate,	Gorman,	Mantle,	Stewart,
Berry,	Gray,	Mills,	Teller,
Butler,	Hansbrough,	Morgan,	Turpie,
Caffery,	Jones, Ark.	Pasco,	Vest,
Carter,	Kenney,	Pettus,	Walthall,
Chilton,	Kyle,	Quay,	White.

NAYS—33.

Allison,	Gallinger,	McMillan,	Sewell,
Bacon,	Gear,	Martin,	Shoup,
Burrows,	Hanna,	Mason,	Spooner,
Cullom,	Hawley,	Nelson,	Wellington,
Deboe,	Heitfeld,	Penrose,	Wetmore,
Elkins,	Hoar,	Perkins,	Wilson.
Fairbanks,	Lodge,	Platt, Conn.	
Foraker,	McBride,	Pritchard,	
Frye,	McEnery,	Proctor,	

NOT VOTING—24.

Aldrich,	Faulkner,	McLaurin,	Smith,
Cannon,	George,	Mitchell,	Thurston,
Chandler,	Hale,	Morrill,	Tillman,
Clark,	Harris, Kans.	Murphy,	Turner,
Clay,	Harris, Tenn.	Pettigrew,	Warren,
Davis,	Jones, Nev.	Platt, N. Y.	Wolcott.

So Mr. TELLER'S amendment was rejected.

Mr. MANTLE. I now move that the duty on white pine be reduced to $1, the same as upon other lumber.

Mr. TELLER. I suggest to the Senator if he will move to insert in line 16, page 60, after the word "basswood," the words "and white pine," he will put it under the dollar classification.

Mr. MANTLE. I will accept the suggestion of the Senator from Colorado.

Mr. TELLER. I was about to make that motion myself.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Will the Senator from Colorado restate the motion?

Mr. TELLER. It is to insert after the word "basswood," in line 16, paragraph 193, the words "and white pine." That will make it $1 per thousand on white pine.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. That is as it was under the McKinley law.

Mr. TELLER. I should like to say that that will put the duty where the McKinley bill put it in 1890.

Mr. BURROWS. Except, as I will state to the Senator, that the duty on hemlock has been increased from $1 to $2.

Mr. TELLER. By this bill?

Mr. BURROWS. By the pending bill, which the Senator does not propose to change.

Mr. TELLER. I do not propose to interfere with that. I am like the Senator from Arkansas. If I had my way I would vote for free lumber, because I believe it would be wisdom for us to save the forests of the United States. I can not conceive why the committee in this case saw fit to raise the duty over and above that of the McKinley Act of 1890.

I supposed that all Republicans who are in good standing with the party recognized that as the chief tariff bill that has passed Congress in many years, and as containing the sum of all wisdom of past ages. If it was enough in 1890, when there was a great deal more pine than there is now, it is enough now.

Mr. President, I have not very much hope of securing any reduction of this duty. I understand very well how Senators are voting here. The Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. SPOONER] said that he had been voting for Western interests. I have been delighted to see him occasionally vote for a Western interest, but I have felt all the time, understanding the condition that prevails here, that I was under no obligation to the Senator from Wisconsin. I was under obligation to the Republican caucus that had determined what the votes of Republican members in this Chamber should be.

If the caucus has determined that the duty on white-pine lumber is to be $2, and somebody will say so, as far as I am concerned I will drop the question; I will have nothing further to say about it. I have asked the committee to make some statement to the country to show why they put this duty of $2 upon this article, that has been on the free list for years, and was on the one-dollar list for years before, put there by the Republican party. I want to know why they now double this duty when the price of lumber has been steadily going up, when it is one of the things, perhaps, that has not kept pace with fall in prices, because the supply of this class of lumber is known to be growing less and less. I should be delighted in the interest of the people who are anxious to purchase this material at a fair price, in the interest not only of the settlers, but of the manufacturers who use it to a large extent, to see it put at a dollar a thousand, if it can not be put on the free list.

Mr. MANTLE. Mr. President, I think I have shown pretty conclusively that the doctrine of protection does not apply in this particular, and I think it must be evident to those who have followed this debate that no revenue can accrue to the Government from the levying of this tax. The Treasury can not be benefited. The industry can not possibly be encouraged. The only effect will be to enhance the cost of this particular class of lumber to the consumer. I will read from a hearing before the Committee on Ways and Means of the House of Representatives, which the Senator from Colorado [Mr. TELLER] hands me, as follows:

> Mr. EVANS. What do you think the duty ought to be?
> Mr. WINCHESTER. It ought to be prohibitive.
> Mr. EVANS. Would $2 do that?
> Mr. WINCHESTER. Yes; just about.

That is the purpose, Mr. President, to make it prohibitive. I am not going to detain the Senate any longer, but I want to appeal to my friends on the other side of the Chamber with whom I have found it necessary, according to my idea of what is right in the discussion of this tariff measure, to vote on more than one occasion. I appeal to Senators upon the other side who favor moderate duties, who have shown that they are willing to take into consideration all the equities of the case as they may bear upon the particular items treated of in the bill, to come to the aid of the Western and Northwestern people in this particular and help to reduce this duty to the level at least of the duty imposed upon other kinds of timber.

Mr. SPOONER. Mr. President, I shall only take a moment. I have not intended to vote for a prohibitive duty; but if 19 per cent ad valorem on lumber is a prohibitive duty, I should like to know what the duty on wool is?

Mr. MANTLE. The point has no just relation whatever to the subject under discussion, and I think that is evident to every Senator on this floor. We could not prohibit the importation of wool if we wanted to do so, because we must have it. We do not produce enough, and it is evident that with a just protective tariff levied upon wool we can foster and encourage the woolgrowing industry of this country. That is the judgment of the majority of those who have given the matter study and investigation. But it is simply impossible to encourage and develop the white pine growing industry of this country, and the logical and legitimate effect of this duty must be to hasten its destruction. It is simply putting a premium upon the destruction of the white-pine forests of the country.

Mr. ALLEN. The trouble with the Senator from Montana is that he has run up against the Republican machine. There is the trouble. There is no reason whatever for the imposition of this tax except that the machine has decreed it shall be so.

Mr. MANTLE. I do not know whether I have run up against any machine or not. I am simply differing with many of my protectionist colleagues here upon this occasion as I have upon other occasions.

Mr. SPOONER. It is the same machine that put a duty on hides.

Mr. ALLEN. Yes; you give us crumbs of comfort occasionally. The duty on hides is a mere bagatelle as compared with this tax on lumber.

Mr. SPOONER. I am talking about the machine.

Mr. ALLEN. Of course; the machine has decreed that it shall be otherwise; and the machine is perfectly willing to sit silent and not offer a reason, simply because it has no reason to offer, voting this tax by mere force of numbers and without any excuse whatever.

Mr. President, I took occasion to show as well as I could the

other day that the homes of the Western States are not yet half built. They are not a quarter built. They must be built from this lumber; and to be built from the lumber, under this bill, if it becomes a law, there is to be levied $2 upon every thousand feet that goes into the construction of the homes and into the construction of the fences and the barns, and buildings of that character. There is no more excuse for levying this tax upon the poor people who are struggling to establish their homes than there would be for a highwayman to meet his victim upon the highway and at the point of a gun compel him to surrender his money.

I know that force of numbers can do anything. A brutal majority can sit silent and vote like a mere automaton and accomplish whatever result they desire. But if the reasoning that is ordinarily applied to the imposition of a tariff tax is to be applied in this case, anyone will see in a moment that it falls short. The "protection" of the white-pine forests of our country means their utter destruction. It means their speedy destruction, not their conservation. It means their destruction within the next five or six years. Then the people of the United States, so far as white pine is concerned, will be at the absolute mercy of the owners of white pine in Canada, who will fix their own price to American consumers, and that evidently will be beyond what it is now.

Certainly a revenue of no considerable consequence can be derived from the imposition of a tax of this kind. It was stated before the Ways and Means Committee that it was designed to be prohibitive, that it was designed to force the hands of the few lumber barons of this country into the pockets of the millions and take $2 a thousand feet out of their pockets and transfer it to their own without any equivalent.

Mr. BURROWS. In view of the statement of the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. ALLEN], made also by the Senator from Montana [Mr. MANTLE], that it was said before the Committee on Ways and Means that this duty was intended to be prohibitory, I ought to say, in justice, that the gentleman who made that statement subsequently stated that he had said nothing of the kind; that he alluded to another article entirely. I so stated in the Senate subsequently, and I hardly think that the misrepresentation of that gentleman ought to be continued. He evidently did not allude to white pine at all.

Mr. TELLER. What did he allude to?

Mr. BURROWS. He stated that he alluded to the other items of which he was speaking.

Mr. TELLER. Of what was he speaking?

Mr. BURROWS. He was speaking of the other subjects.

Mr. ALLEN. The Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST] took occasion to show during the discussion that he did allude to white pine.

Mr. BURROWS. I stated at the time that the gentleman himself told me that he did not allude to or mean to be understood as speaking of white pine.

Mr. TELLER. I understood that the gentleman had backed out from what he said. But if he tells the truth, the committee had a very bad reporter. It is utterly impossible to read the report and believe that he did not make the statement that the committee attributes to him. It is a Republican committee that reported it.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Colorado [Mr. TELLER] to put white pine under the dollar classification in line 16, page 60, paragraph 193.

Mr. MANTLE. On that I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CLARK (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Kansas [Mr. HARRIS]. He is absent, and I withhold my vote.

Mr. GEAR (when his name was called). I transfer my pair with the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH] to the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE], and vote "nay."

Mr. HANNA (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Utah [Mr. RAWLINS]. In his absence I withhold my vote.

Mr. PLATT of New York (when his name was called). I am paired with the senior Senator from New York [Mr. MURPHY], and withhold my vote.

Mr. PRITCHARD (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from South Carolina [Mr. MCLAURIN], but inasmuch as he has already voted for a $2 rate on white pine, I think I am at liberty to vote. I vote "nay."

Mr. SEWELL (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. MITCHELL].

Mr. THURSTON (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the senior Senator from South Carolina [Mr. TILLMAN]. I will therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. TURPIE (when his name was called). I stand paired with the senior Senator from Minnesota [Mr. DAVIS]; but by the arrangement already announced, the junior Senator from Kentucky [Mr. DEBOE] being paired with the senior Senator from South Dakota [Mr. PETTIGREW], the pairs are transferred so that the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. DAVIS] and the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. PETTIGREW] will stand paired, and the Senator from Kentucky and I will vote. I vote "yea."

Mr. WARREN (when his name was called). I again announce my pair with the junior Senator from Washington [Mr. TURNER].

The roll call having been concluded, the result was announced—yeas 32, nays 31; as follows:

YEAS—32.

Allen,	Clay,	Kenney,	Pettus,
Baker,	Cockrell,	Kyle,	Roach,
Bate,	Daniel,	Lindsay,	Stewart,
Berry,	Faulkner,	Mallory,	Teller,
Butler,	Gorman,	Mantle,	Turpie,
Caffery,	Gray,	Mills,	Vest,
Carter,	Heitfeld,	Morgan,	Walthall,
Chilton,	Jones, Ark.	Pasco,	White.

NAYS—31.

Allison,	Frye,	McMillan,	Proctor,
Bacon,	Gallinger,	Martin,	Quay,
Burrows,	Gear,	Mason,	Shoup,
Cullom,	Hawley,	Nelson,	Spooner,
Deboe,	Hoar,	Penrose,	Wellington,
Elkins,	Lodge,	Perkins,	Wetmore,
Fairbanks,	McBride,	Platt, Conn.	Wilson.
Foraker,	McEnery,	Pritchard,	

NOT VOTING—26.

Aldrich,	Hanna,	Morrill,	Thurston,
Cannon,	Hansbrough,	Murphy,	Tillman,
Chandler,	Harris, Kans.	Pettigrew,	Turner,
Clark,	Harris, Tenn.	Platt, N. Y.	Warren,
Davis,	Jones, Nev.	Rawlins,	Wolcott.
George,	McLaurin,	Sewell,	
Hale,	Mitchell,	Smith,	

So Mr. TELLER's amendment was agreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. On page 175, paragraph 584——

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Before the Senator from Iowa takes that up, will he permit me to call his attention to the fact that the provision for a tax on cotton ties was not stricken out of paragraph 125, page 34? I ask that that be done by unanimous consent.

Mr. ALLISON. I do not like to have it done by unanimous consent.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The Senate has put it on the free list.

Mr. ALLISON. I am perfectly willing that it shall be done.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I move to strike out, beginning with the word "hoop," after the word "That," in line 16, page 34, and ending with the word "ties," in line 18.

The SECRETARY. After the word "That," in line 16, strike out all of the paragraph down to and including the word "ties," in line 18, as follows:

Hoop or band iron, or hoop or band steel, cut to length, or wholly or partly manufactured into hoops or ties.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The words in line 18, beginning with the word "coated," down to the word "commodity," in line 20, have already been stricken out.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. They have been stricken out. The question is on the amendment of the Senator from Arkansas.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. In paragraph 584 I move to strike out the words "and ore," after the word "oxide;" so as to make the paragraph read:

584. Manganese, oxide of.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. Now I ask the Senate to turn to paragraph 386 for a moment. I call the attention of the Senator from Arkansas to it.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. What is the page?

Mr. ALLISON. Page 133, line 21; the word "braids" remains in the bill, as I understand, although the committee recommended to strike it out.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Yes; the amendment was disagreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. I move to strike out the word "braids" there.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Iowa moves to strike out the word "braids," in line 21, page 133, paragraph 386. Without objection, the amendment is agreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. I move to restore the word "braids" in line 3, page 134. I desire to restore "braids" by unanimous consent.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Iowa moves to insert the word "braids" in line 3, page 134, paragraph 387.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. LINDSAY. With the consent of the Senator from Iowa, I will dispose of the amendment I offered, to put wood alcohol on the free list.

Mr. ALLISON. That has not been disposed of yet, I believe.

Mr. LINDSAY. No, sir. I supposed when I offered the amendment that it would be accepted by the Committee on Finance. I find, however, that it will not be accepted by the committee, and I think I shall direct my attention to wood alcohol in a different line.

Wood alcohol is protected by a duty of $2.25 a gallon and it pays no tax whatever under the internal-revenue laws. The manufacture of wood alcohol is essentially a trust—75 or 80 per cent of it is controlled by one management. Yet it gets $2.25 a gallon in the way of protection and does not pay a cent of revenue to the Federal Government.

This was done, I understand, in order that the manufacturing interests might have alcohol used in the arts and industries of the country at the lowest possible rate. In the Wilson bill a provision was incorporated looking to free alcohol for use in the arts. The Treasury Department held that that provision was not sufficiently specific and that it could not be enforced. A commission was appointed at the last Congress to investigate what steps were necessary in order to secure free alcohol in the arts, and immediately upon the beginning of the discharge of the duties of that commission the wood-alcohol men appeared and opposed any provision looking to free alcohol in the way of spirits distilled from grain, upon the idea that it would break down the industry.

When Mr. Bubb, of the American Charcoal Company, appeared before the committee and presented his side of the case, he said:

Should a free-alcohol law become operative, there is no doubt that it would secure to a limited number of manufacturers of specialties enormous profits; but I ask, with all sincerity, would the general public in any way be the gainers? On the other hand, should such a law become operative it would be the means of destroying entirely the wood-alcohol industry, in which there is a large amount of money invested, and in which business nearly all of the parties interested have every dollar invested that they have in the world. Furthermore, it would throw out of employment from twelve to fifteen thousand men who are engaged directly or indirectly in the preparation and sale of charcoal.

This gentleman before he quit explained the character of the wood-alcohol industry.

Mr. WHITE. Will the Senator from Kentucky inform me whether it is true, as I have heard it alleged, that the by-product in the manufacture of wood alcohol furnishes the wood alcohol without cost, and that the result is that wood alcohol is made without any expenditure at all?

Mr. LINDSAY. The charcoal is a by-product of the wood-alcohol industry or wood alcohol is a by-product of the charcoal industry. From this gentleman's exposition of the subject I am at a loss to tell which is the principal and which is the subsidiary industry.

The CHAIRMAN. You represent the entire charcoal industry in the United States?

Mr. BUBB. The chemical charcoal industry.

The CHAIRMAN. You pretty nearly admit that you have a monopoly? My last friend would not admit that he had a monopoly, because he only controls 75 per cent of the business in the United States.

Mr. BUBB. We control 100 per cent.

They say they have driven the old fashioned charcoal industry out of existence, and while they have only $50,000 of capital, they virtually control the production of wood alcohol.

Senator JONES of Arkansas. Your real business is to make alcohol?

Mr. BUBB. Yes, sir.

Senator JONES of Arkansas. And you call yourselves the charcoal company?

Mr. BUBB. No, sir; we do not call ourselves the charcoal company.

Senator JONES of Arkansas. I thought you said you did—that you called it the American Charcoal Company?

Mr. BUBB. The American Charcoal Company distributes it.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the company of which I asked the capital.

Mr. BUBB. It is $50,000, and that company distributes the chemical charcoal.

Senator JONES of Arkansas. Your real business is that of making alcohol, and you call yourselves the American Charcoal Company?

Mr. BUBB. The seventy manufacturers do. They constitute the American Charcoal Company.

Senator JONES of Arkansas. The American Charcoal Company is a different organization from the one which produces the alcohol?

Mr. BUBB. Yes, sir.

Senator JONES of Arkansas. It is one composed of all the producers?

Mr. BUBB. Yes, sir; as a means of distributing it.

Senator JONES of Arkansas. That seems to tend just a little toward a combination.

Representative RUSSELL. The people who distribute the charcoal—the American Charcoal Company—also produce crude alcohol?

Mr. BUBB. Yes, sir.

Representative RUSSELL. And as the producers of crude alcohol you are associated or combined under another name?

Mr. BUBB. Yes, sir.

Representative RUSSELL. The same people?

Mr. BUBB. As producers of crude alcohol?

Representative RUSSELL. Yes.

Mr. BUBB. No, sir.

Representative RUSSELL. The same concern produces charcoal and crude alcohol?

Mr. BUBB. Yes, sir.

Representative RUSSELL. As producers of charcoal you call yourselves the American Charcoal Company?

Mr. BUBB. Yes, sir.

Representative RUSSELL. What do you call yourselves—the same people—as producers of crude alcohol?

Mr. BUBB. Take my own self, personally; my concern is called the McKean Chemical Company. Then there are the Otto Chemical Company and the Hermance Chemical Company. Those are the three in which I am interested.

Senator JONES of Arkansas. All those belong to the American Charcoal Company for handling the charcoal product?

Mr. BUBB. Yes, sir.

Senator JONES of Arkansas. What do you do with the wood-alcohol product?

Mr. BUBB. We sell it to the Manhattan Spirit Company.

The CHAIRMAN. They are individual companies in that business?

Mr. BUBB. Yes, sir.

And again:

Representative RUSSELL. But you all have the same contract with the Manhattan Spirit Company as to the delivery of crude alcohol?

Mr. BUBB. You are mistaken there. For instance, take Messrs. Baylis & Co., of Binghamton. They are members of the American Charcoal Company, but the Manhattan Spirit Company does not handle their crude. There are quite a number of other cases.

Representative RUSSELL. The majority do have such contracts?

Mr. BUBB. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The Manhattan Company handles 75 per cent?

Mr. BUBB. A majority of it.

Representative RUSSELL. Seventy-five per cent?

Mr. BUBB. Yes, sir.

Then this combination, which pay no taxes whatever on the product and get a percentage at the rate of $2.25 a gallon, say they will be ruined if we put this article on the free list; that Canadian wood alcohol will come across the border and drive these people out; that if we put distilled spirits on the free list to the extent necessary for the promotion of the manufacturing industry, that, too, would break down the wood-alcohol business. If wood alcohol was used for no other purpose than in the arts, there might be some reason why it should be protected by a duty of $2.25 a gallon and required to pay no tax to the Federal Government; but wood alcohol has ceased to be a mere instrumentality of the manufacturing people of the United States.

Another gentleman appeared before this committee who manufactured wood alcohol in two factories in North Carolina. In one of those factories he manufactured the crude wood alcohol, and in the other he refined it. He says:

I believe if we have free alcohol it will stop both of my factories. That is the first thing.

That is the first objection this gentleman stated to having free alcohol for manufacturing purposes.

Another point is that with free alcohol I do not see how any means can be adopted to prevent its being used for drinking purposes, because wood alcohol is made so refined now that when it is mixed with common alcohol the mixture can be used for drinking purposes.

The CHAIRMAN. In what proportion?

Mr. CLARK. In the proportion of about 10 per cent. If you take 50 per cent of grain alcohol and 50 per cent of wood alcohol and dilute it with water down to one-half, it has not a very distasteful effect upon the tongue, and if you take it down to 10 per cent, I believe it may be used for drinking right along.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know that that is done, or is it simply your opinion that it might be done?

Mr. CLARK. It is merely an opinion from the mixtures I have made and have had my men try to see whether they could drink it. I understand that wood alcohol is used to adulterate liquors. That is simply what I have heard. I do not know that it is true. I am firmly convinced that 10 per cent of wood alcohol in grain alcohol could be drank.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not think that wood alcohol ought to be used in any way for drinking purposes without paying a tax?

Mr. CLARK. No; I do not. But if you have free alcohol and methylation, I see nothing to prevent a large amount of methylated spirits from being used for drinking purposes. That is a thing very easily tested. All you have to do is to take a sample of refined wood alcohol and common alcohol and mix them in that proportion and dilute them with water, and almost any man can drink it.

If any Senator has the curiosity to inquire at the Internal Revenue Department, he will find that wood alcohol is being used in combination with distilled spirits for beverage purposes, and it is to get a protection of $2.25 a gallon under this bill; and so far as the Finance Committee on the other side is concerned, this article is to go without paying a single cent of tax to the Federal Government.

Mr. WHITE. Can the Senator from Kentucky inform me whether there is any chemical difference in the properties of these two articles?

Mr. LINDSAY. I would not undertake to say that there is no chemical difference, but the chemical properties are so similar that after the two alcohols have been refined and put into bottles you can not distinguish the one from the other either by its color or by the aroma that comes from it. I understand that neither can you distinguish one from the other by the taste, but of course about that matter I can not speak from experience.

Mr. WHITE. I understand, however, the killing properties of wood alcohol are better than those of the ordinary alcohol. [Laughter.]

Mr. LINDSAY. Wood alcohol probably kills more quickly.

Mr. WHITE. It is stated here that wood alcohol is an absolute poison. I have seen that statement made.

Mr. LINDSAY. I understand that that has been tested, and it has been proved that it is not an absolute poison. It is a poison in the same way that any alcoholic beverage turns out to be a poison in the end, but wood alcohol may operate a little more expeditiously. [Laughter.]

But as Senators on the other side are not willing that the manufacturers shall have competition with the wood-alcohol producers and will not put the article on the free list, I suppose the only resort left to me is to withdraw, which I now do, my proposed amendment, and to give notice that I shall move to amend the bill by having wood alcohol taxed as other spirits are taxed.

Mr. ALLISON. Mr. President, I desire to return for a moment to paragraph 262, on page 77, and then I shall move to proceed to the consideration of executive business. I ask unanimous consent

to modify the amendment inserting paragraph 262, "comfits, sweetmeats," etc., in line 9 and in line 14, by inserting "18 per cent" where "10" is now provided for in the bill.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Iowa will be stated.

The SECRETARY. On page 77, paragraph 262, line 9, before the words "per centum," it is proposed to strike out "ten" and insert "eighteen;" and in line 14, before the words "per centum," to strike out "ten" and insert "eighteen;" so as to read:

If containing over 18 per cent of alcohol and not specially provided for in this act, 35 per cent ad valorem and in addition $2.50 per proof gallon on the alcohol contained therein in excess of 18 per cent.

The amendment was agreed to.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. ALLISON. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After fifteen minutes spent in executive session the doors were opened, and (at 5 o'clock and 50 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Friday, July 2, 1897, at 11 o'clock a. m.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate July 1, 1897.

CONSUL-GENERAL.

John F. Gowey, of Washington, now consul-general at Kanagawa, to be consul-general of the United States at Yokohama, Japan, an office created in lieu of Kanagawa by the diplomatic and consular appropriation act for the year beginning July 1, 1897.

CONSULS.

George N. West, of the District of Columbia, now consul at Pictou, to be consul of the United States at Sydney, Nova Scotia, an office created in lieu of Pictou by the diplomatic and consular appropriation act for the year beginning July 1, 1897.

Ossian Bedell, of New York, to be consul of the United States at Fort Erie, Ontario, vice Ralph Johnson, resigned.

John C. Higgins, of Delaware, to be consul of the United States at Dundee, Scotland, vice John M. Savage, resigned.

COLLECTOR OF CUSTOMS.

George C. Bidwell, of New York, to be collector of customs for the district of New York, in the State of New York, in place of James T. Kilbreth, deceased.

APPRAISER OF MERCHANDISE.

Wilbur F. Wakeman, of New York, to be appraiser of merchandise in the district of New York, in the State of New York, to succeed Walter H. Bunn, removed.

UNITED STATES ATTORNEY.

Emory P. Close, of New York, to be attorney of the United States for the northern district of New York, vice William A. Poucher, to be removed.

RECEIVER OF PUBLIC MONEYS.

C. Sanford Russell, of Ironton, Mo., to be receiver of public moneys at Ironton, Mo., vice Mann Ringo, resigned.

INDIAN AGENT.

Lee Patrick, of Sac and Fox Agency, Okla., to be agent for the Indians of the Sac and Fox Agency, in Oklahoma Territory, vice Edward L. Thomas, resigned.

POSTMASTERS.

Jerome E. Poche, to be postmaster at Washington, in the county of Wilkes and State of Georgia, in the place of John A. Dyson, removed.

Sebastian Anderson, to be postmaster at Jasper, in the county of Dubois and State of Indiana, in the place of Charles Egg, removed.

Abel Landry, to be postmaster at Napoleonville, in the parish of Assumption and State of Louisiana, the appointment of a postmaster for the said office having, by law, become vested in the President on and after July 1, 1897.

Richard J. Bawden, jr., to be postmaster at Bessemer, in the county of Gogebic and State of Michigan, in the place of Levi S. Rice, removed.

Frank L. Gilman, to be postmaster at Laconia, in the county of Belknap and State of New Hampshire, in the place of John O'Loughlin, deceased.

William O. Sides, to be postmaster at Portsmouth, in the county of Rockingham and State of New Hampshire, in the place of John E. Leavitt, whose commission expired April 15, 1897.

William J. Cornell, to be postmaster at Chautauqua, in the county of Chautauqua and State of New York, the appointment of a postmaster for the said office having, by law, become vested in the President on and after July 1, 1897.

Guy O. Frank, to be postmaster at Minot, in the county of Ward and State of North Dakota, in the place of Josiah J. Long, removed.

Albert J. Claney, to be postmaster at Bellevue, in the county of Allegheny and State of Pennsylvania, the appointment of a postmaster for the said office having, by law, become vested in the President on and after July 1, 1897.

William G. Cubberly, to be postmaster at Custer, in the county of Custer and State of South Dakota, in the place of Bertha Wood, resigned.

Fred Arnold, to be postmaster at Bethel, in the county of Windsor and State of Vermont, in the place of George H. Tupper, resigned.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate July 1, 1897.

CONSULS-GENERAL.

John T. Gowey, of Washington, to be consul-general of the United States at Yokohama, Japan.

Charles L. Cole, of Pennsylvania, to be consul-general of the United States at Dresden, Saxony.

CONSULS.

George N. West, of the District of Columbia, to be consul of the United States at Sydney, Nova Scotia.

Walter J. Hoffman, of the District of Columbia, to be consul of the United States at Mannheim, Baden.

Louis A. Dent, of the District of Columbia, to be consul of the United States at Kingston, Jamaica.

Samuel S. Lyon, of New Jersey, to be consul of the United States at Osaka and Hiogo, Japan.

SOLICITOR-GENERAL.

John K. Richards, of Ohio, to be Solicitor-General.

PROMOTION IN THE ARMY.

General officer.

Col. Henry Clay Merriam, Seventh Infantry, to be brigadier-general.

JUDGE OF COURTS IN INDIAN TERRITORY.

John R. Thomas, of Illinois, to be judge of the United States courts in the Indian Territory.

POSTMASTERS.

William W. Woods, to be postmaster at Wabash, in the county of Wabash and State of Indiana.

Theodore E. McCrary, to be postmaster at Lexington, in the county of Davidson and State of North Carolina.

James F. Wray, to be postmaster at Reidsville, in the county of Rockingham and State of North Carolina.

Eli P. Jennings, to be postmaster at New Decatur, in the county of Morgan and State of Alabama.

John B. Vincent, to be postmaster at Hutchinson, in the county of Reno and State of Kansas.

William A. Price, to be postmaster at Delaware City, in the county of Newcastle and State of Delaware.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

THURSDAY, *July 1, 1897.*

The House met at 12 o'clock noon, and was called to order by the Speaker.

Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. HENRY N. COUDEN.

The Journal of the proceedings of Monday last was read.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, the Journal will be considered as approved.

Mr. SETTLE. Mr. Speaker, I desire to amend the Journal. I have an amendment in writing, which I desire to send up to the desk.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. SETTLE] has an amendment to the Journal, which he offers.

Mr. DINGLEY. Mr. Speaker, I move the approval of the Journal.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. SETTLE] offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Strike out the following words, to wit:

"Accordingly (at 12 o'clock and 42 minutes p. m.) the House, in pursuance of the order heretofore adopted, adjourned until Thursday next at 12 o'clock m."

And insert in lieu thereof these words, viz:

"Accordingly (at 12 o'clock and 42 minutes p. m.) the Speaker, in pursuance of the rule adopted May 6, 1897, declared the House adjourned until Thursday next at 12 o'clock m."

Mr. SETTLE. Mr. Speaker, I heard the reading——

The SPEAKER. There is a slight technical difficulty in regard to that amendment, and that is that there are no such words in the Journal.

Mr. SETTLE. I was going to call the Speaker's attention to

the fact that the printed RECORD is supposed to be the Journal of the House, and the amendment was prepared with the printed RECORD before me.

The SPEAKER. By whom is it supposed to be?

Mr. SETTLE. It is furnished to members as the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and is regarded by them and by the country as official.

The SPEAKER. But it is not the Journal of the House.

Mr. SETTLE. Well, then, I desire, if the Chair rules that the Journal as read by the Clerk is the only authoritative and official Journal of the House, to amend my motion by striking out the words which appear in the Journal and inserting those words which have been read in my amendment.

Mr. WILLIAM A. STONE. Mr. Speaker, I desire to make a point of order against this motion, if it is tenable.

Mr. SETTLE. What is the point?

The SPEAKER. The Chair did not quite understand the gentleman from Kentucky.

Mr. SETTLE. I say the amendment was prepared under the idea that the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD laid upon the desks of members was the official record of the proceedings of the House, and so my amendment proposed to strike out the words that appear in the printed RECORD, but which do not appear in idem verbis, although they appear substantially in the Journal as read by the Clerk from the desk just now. Therefore I want to strike out the adjourning words that appear in the Journal as read by the Clerk and to substitute those which I have had read. I desire to offer my amendment to correspond with the Journal as read.

The SPEAKER. The Journal says:

And accordingly (at 12 o'clock and 42 minutes) the House adjourned until Thursday next at 12 o'clock m.

Mr. SETTLE. I move to strike out those words and to substitute in lieu thereof the words that appear in my amendment; and I desire to submit a few remarks, by the permission of the Chair, upon my amendment. Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Kentucky.

Mr. SETTLE. It may appear at first blush that the amendment just reported to the House seeks only to deal with the difference 'twixt tweedledum and tweedledee; but I assure the Chair and I assure the House that it is offered in no technical spirit, nor in any spirit of mere verbal or captious criticism.

I offer the amendment because I think it more clearly recites the actual occurrences of Monday's session than does the Journal as read by the Clerk, and I believe that, actually reciting the occurrences on the floor, every member may vote for it without regard to party ties or any condition of servitude, voluntary or involuntary, previous or now existing. [Laughter.] Now, the Journal as read by the Clerk recites the fact that the House adjourned until this morning, thereby implying that the House voted to adjourn from Monday until to-day.

I deny that that is the actual or real fact in the case. I say that the House voted to adjourn, and thereupon the Speaker, in pursuance of the rule adopted on the 6th of May, declared that the House stood adjourned until this morning.

I can therefore see no reasonable objection that any gentleman, Democrat or Republican, can have to the adoption of that amendment. But we who are upon this side of the Chamber have an additional reason for desiring the amendment adopted, and that is this: We have all along protested against this rule, its adoption in the first place, as not only against public policy, but actually in violation of the Constitution, and we have a right to demand that the record shall show that these unusual adjournments were in pursuance of that rule, which we have all along combated and resisted.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I have my own peculiar views upon this rule that I have never yet been able to express to the House, and I desire, briefly, under the amendment just offered, to state them. It is a remarkable fact, to me at least, that in all the debate that preceded the adoption of this rule by the House not one single objection was urged against it except on the ground of policy. I take the broad position that this rule is in violation of the Constitution of the United States and that the House had no authority under the Constitution to reduce the number of legislative days from the six days provided by the Constitution, except in the manner provided in that instrument. I find, however, that distinguished Democrats differ with me in that position, so I shall not be surprised if my Republican friends also differ with me.

Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas. If the gentleman will permit me, the great constitutional lawyer from Texas differed with him and voted for the adoption of the rule.

Mr. BAILEY. I suggest to the gentleman from Kansas that he go and inform himself, for that is not true. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

The SPEAKER. Gentlemen must not interrupt each other, and must not make unreasonable requests.

Mr. SETTLE. My position is broadly this: That the Constitution regulates the sessions of both Houses of Congress, and that neither House can by any general rule alter the number of legislative days. It is true that the framers of the Constitution recognized that exigencies might arise where it would not be proper to meet every day, and they provided means whereby the House, if it desired to adjourn, might pass over a day or as many as three days; but the House that desired so to pass over a day or over three days must be the House then in session, then about to adjourn. That House might adjourn for three days, but it could not by a general rule blot out four days out of every week, as this rule has done. The blotting-out process must be done by separate and independent vote on each occasion when an adjournment over is desired. The rule now in force makes it possible for a quorumless House to violate the provision of the Constitution; indeed, this has happened several times since we have been acting under it.

Where do we find authority for daily sessions of Congress? Did you ever think where? Not in your rules. Look in your rules. Not in the rules of the Fifty-fifth Congress and not in the rules of the Fifty-fourth Congress. I have not examined any other. You will not find them in the rules of any previous Congress. And if any such rules were ever incorporated in the rules of any previous Congress, they were merely declarative of what is in the Constitution. If we were to adjourn after repealing this rule, we would meet to-morrow, not by virtue of any rule of this House, but by the rule laid down in the Constitution.

There was a resolution adopted at the beginning of this Congress providing not for daily sessions, but that the daily hour of meeting shall be 12 o'clock; referring to the hour of meeting, and recognizing the fact that the sessions of the House were daily, and only determining the hour at which the House should meet. One of the things that has always troubled me, and upon which I have been desirous as a representative of my people to express myself, is, Did the House have the power to single out any two days a week, to the neglect of all the other four remaining days, and say that on those two days only should public business be transacted in the House? I affirm that it has not.

The Constitution is very plain upon the subject of daily sessions. The uniform construction that has been given to it by every Congress that has met since the formation of the Government shows that daily sessions were contemplated by the framers of the Constitution; and this was but reasonable. The framers of the Constitution recognized that Congress was a necessary evil, for they required it to meet at least once in each year. For what purpose? To transact public business. How? As expeditiously as possible, in order that those interests might not suffer and that members might not be detained from their homes an unreasonable length of time. Look at the clause of the Constitution which points to the daily sessions. There are but two things a quorumless House may do. One to adjourn from day to day, and the other to compel the attendance of absent members.

That provision of the Constitution permitting a quorumless House to adjourn from day to day would, I think, have been an unreasonable provision if it had not been the purpose of the Constitution to insure daily sessions. Such an expression would not have been employed if the sessions had been less frequent than daily. Wherever the word "days" is used in the Constitution, it refers manifestly to calendar days. When it is once admitted that the purpose was to insure as speedy dispatch of public business as possible, you can not attach to the word "day" any other than its natural meaning—calendar, not legislative day.

Now, we have undertaken to say that the public business, which the Constitution said should be transacted on six days, shall be transacted on two days. Why, then, I ask you, may not this House have said that the House should meet only on Monday of each week?

Ah, but gentlemen say: "More than three days would then elapse." But when you once concede the power of the House to fix the legislative day, the three-days restriction vanishes. In the Constitution, as I have said, the word "day" obviously means calendar day, and in that instrument legislative day and calendar day refer to the same period of time and are interchangeable terms.

Now, if, by making the legislative day differ from the day referred to in the Constitution in the clause permitting less than a quorum to adjourn from day to day, you thus change the construction of that clause, then you must change the construction of the three-day provision in order to keep pace with the growing construction of the Constitution in the adjournment from day to day clause. If adjournment from day to day now means from legislative day to legislative day, then adjournment for three days means for three legislative days. What follows? You might then say we will meet only on Mondays, and then an adjournment from day to day would mean a three-weeks calendar adjournment. Or you might say that you would meet only on the first Monday of each month, and then an adjournment for three days would mean an adjournment for three calendar months. Gentlemen, that is

a monstrous absurdity, and yet it is a logical result of your reasoning. We are not to suppose that the framers of the Constitution left that gap.

But what did they do? The honorable gentleman from Maine [Mr. DINGLEY], when he advocated the passage of this rule, said: "Why should we meet every Monday and Thursday and go through the performance of adjourning for three days when we can do it by a rule?"—thereby confessing that it was his opinion that the House had a right to reduce the number of legislative days. And this is exactly what you have done. You can take a recess until to-morrow, but you can not adjourn until to-morrow. To-morrow is blotted out of the calendar. By a kind of fiction you can merge to-morrow in this day that has gone before by recess till then, but you will not meet to-morrow. To-morrow will never come, or rather your to-morrow is next Monday. Gentlemen have said to me that they have known one legislative day to run over two or three calendar days. That does not militate against my position, because in that case the calendar day was not wasted; it was utilized, and the House was in session on that calendar day, or on those calendar days.

The proper way to have proceeded, although it would have exercised gentlemen on the other side and put them to some trouble, would have been to have pursued the plan that my friend from Maine deprecated, namely, to have gone to the trouble at every meeting of voting to adjourn for three days. That the House had a right to do, however impolitic it might have been. It was easy for you gentlemen to adopt this rule and put it behind you with no occasion for any further votes to adjourn for three days, but if you had been confronted with the idleness of the House for now practically three months, I very seriously question if a majority could have been found at all times upon the floor of this House to advocate these unusual periods of adjournment.

But, Mr. Speaker, while I pronounce this rule unconstitutional and the most dangerous and revolutionary measure that has ever found its way upon the Journal of the House of Representatives, yet I do not share in the grave apprehensions of some men, who are, perhaps, more learned than I am, that by reason of the House having adopted this rule the present session of Congress has come to a close. I believe that that provision of the Constitution is directory. If I did not think so, I would not stultify myself by appearing here from day to day and assisting in shaping what I believed to be void legislation.

But let me emphasize the thought that a direction of the Constitution addresses itself as strongly to my sense of right, to my conscience, and to my oath as a command of the Constitution. Shall we continue to violate the Constitution merely because the consequences are not so grave as some gentlemen apprehend? I remember that nearly two thousand years ago the great apostle asked an almost similar question: Shall we who believe in present salvation to the believer continue in sin that grace may abound? I answer the first question as he answered the last: God forbid. If we love the Constitution, we will respect the Constitution and will obey its slightest precepts or directions, and not only its mandates or its commands.

If it were true that the House, by the adoption of this rule, had brought this session to a close, then we would accomplish, by violating the Constitution, the very thing that the framers of the Constitution intended to prevent. If that contention was true, then we should never have any legislation at all unless both Houses were in perfect accord. If that contention was true, all that the Senate would have had to do, if it had been unfavorable to the tariff bill, would have been to adjourn for six days without the consent of the House, and thereby have brought the session to a close. No, gentlemen, I can not subscribe to any such doctrine as that. But there was a remedy for this state of affairs, and there always has been a remedy, if the minority party on this side of the Chamber had chosen to avail themselves of it.

That remedy was for the minority to have met here daily and to have enforced the attendance of absent members, and thereby to have brought the question to a practical test. But the minority did not think the game was worth the candle. They did not care to introduce into this Chamber the enactment of scenes that might have brought the blush of shame to our cheeks and unduly inflamed the public mind. There would have been a hot time in the old town if they had, so they contented themselves with protesting against the iniquitous measure, satisfied that the sober judgment of the thinking American people would place the responsibility upon the party that had put it upon the Journal of the House.

You have heard from the people already, gentlemen. Their mutterings have found their way even here to this Capitol. We have been here for three months, operating under a rule the avowed purpose of which was to stop all legislation. The people will not care to take your answer that you were summoned here to enact a tariff bill. They will not accept that as a sufficient explanation of your failure to pass upon measures that have been sent to you by the Senate. Such was the Cuban resolution, and such was the bankruptcy bill. They have begun to doubt the sincerity of the Republican party in all its platform promises made at St. Louis. You promised much to Cuba. Calhoun has gone to Cuba; and Calhoun has returned; and Calhoun has gone home; and Calhoun has been forgotten; and so, alas! has Cuba.

There has not been a day for the last two months when the Democratic side of the House, although they did not regard those as partisan measures, have not been willing to vote upon both of these bills. But you would not. They do not care for the technicalities of the question as to whether there is a civil government or a state of war in Cuba. What they have persuaded themselves to believe is this: That a brave people who can maintain so unequal a struggle as the Cuban patriots have maintained for two years, under the most adverse influences, deserve to be a free and independent people. [Applause.] But, gentlemen, the same indifference that you have manifested toward the unhappy people of the Island of Cuba——

Mr. STEELE. I desire to make a point of order that the gentleman is not discussing any correction of the Journal.

The SPEAKER. The Chair thinks the point of order is well taken.

Mr. SETTLE. I hope the Chair will reserve that decision for a few minutes.

The SPEAKER. The Chair hopes the gentleman will confine himself to the question before the House.

Mr. SETTLE. All right. I will try to proceed in perfect order.

Mr. KELLEY. I rise to a question of personal privilege, which is in order.

Mr. WHEELER of Alabama. I call the gentleman to order. He can not take another member off the floor to raise a question of personal privilege.

Mr. KELLEY. Certainly not, if the gentleman has the floor.

Mr. WHEELER of Alabama. The gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. SETTLE] has the floor.

Mr. SETTLE. Mr. Speaker, I was not aware that I was transgressing the rules of legitimate debate. I am surprised that my friend from Indiana had not discovered it earlier in the proceedings.

The SPEAKER. He might have done so without mentioning it.

Mr. SETTLE. My idea was, Mr. Speaker—I am not intending to debate the point of order decided by the Chair, for I have the greatest respect for the occupant of the chair and for the high dignity with which he conducts himself in his high office; but I would suggest—I think I may do it without impropriety—that the more odious this rule can be made to appear the more reason I have to insist upon the adoption of the amendment which gives the rule prominence, a thing which the Journal as read does not do.

But I will endeavor to proceed in order. I was going to say that the people of the country are wide awake; they have their eyes open and their ears open to all that is going on in this House. They are not uninterested observers, as you may believe them to be, of our proceedings. They know that this House has acted in utter defiance of public sentiment and of the reasonable demands of the public, and that it has outraged every sense of justice and propriety by the adoption of the rule under which we are now operating. And, gentlemen, they are going to hold you to an account for it, and in the great day of the people's wrath you will not be able to stand. They are already weighing you in the balances. I suppose you have heard already from Chicago, and Cincinnati, and Columbus, and Cleveland—yea, from Canton itself.

The SPEAKER. The Chair begs to suggest to the gentleman from Kentucky that his present line of discussion is hardly pertinent to the pending question.

Mr. SETTLE. Well, Mr. Speaker, although it is a mere suggestion from the Chair, I will construe it into a decision of the Chair that I am not allowed to state my reasons for the adoption of this amendment which gives prominence to a rule which I say is so obnoxious that not only should the House reverse it, but the American people themselves by their recent utterances have demanded that it shall now, even at this late day, be wiped from our records.

But I will try to conclude in order. I say, gentlemen, that these elections mean much. They are the avant-couriers and heralds of a better day coming, or to change the figure, they are but the preliminary skirmishes of that great battle that is to be fought in 1898, and of that still greater battle that is to be fought in 1900; that battle which in my judgment will prove to the Republican party both its Armageddon and its Waterloo.

Mr. STEELE. I must insist on my point of order. We are anxious for a vote upon the pending question.

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, I submit that any argument which would tend to discredit the rule, and thus to give an excellent reason why the Journal ought to be corrected, is in order.

Mr. DINGLEY. Does the gentleman think that this line of discussion has anything to do with the question? The question is

whether or not the Journal correctly states what took place in the House. It has nothing to do with the rule.

Mr. BAILEY. Yes; it has something to do with the rule, because, as the gentleman from Kentucky very properly said in the beginning of his remarks, it was the rule itself that prompted him to suggest the amendment.

Mr. DINGLEY. That is a concession that he is not speaking on the question before the House.

Mr. BAILEY. The difference between the statement in the Journal and the amendment which the gentleman from Kentucky offers is not very great, and would not be important at all except in view of the special rule. Now, I submit that it is a proper matter in argument upon the motion to amend, which amendment is only material because of the obnoxious character of the rule itself——

Mr. STEELE. To talk about the election of 1900?

Mr. BAILEY. I imagine it is always right to talk about the public sentiment of the nation.

Mr. DINGLEY. That is the trouble. The gentleman from Kentucky is arguing on political grounds, instead of parliamentary grounds.

Mr. BAILEY. The trouble is that gentlemen on the other side seem neither to understand nor to heed public sentiment; but on this side we always respect it and are always glad to bring it to the attention of gentlemen on the other side for their instruction and guidance.

Mr. DINGLEY. We have been having these performances at every session of the House for three months; it would seem about time that we should get down to something else.

Mr. BAILEY. Well, we are not doing anything else, and it would seem we might as well occupy the time in this way.

The SPEAKER. Certainly the gentleman from Kentucky would not maintain that the battle of Armageddon has anything to do with the present question.

Mr. SETTLE. I do not know about that; the Chair and I look at things somewhat differently.

The SPEAKER. It may be that the gentleman from Kentucky can show a connection?

Mr. SETTLE. Well, that is what I was trying to do.

The SPEAKER. The Chair hopes, however, that the gentleman will act upon his honor in this matter and confine himself to the question before the House, which is the motion to amend the Journal.

Mr. SETTLE. I beg the Chair and the House to believe that, in asking to be allowed to proceed, I am not asking it as a matter of favor, but as a matter of right. I have endeavored, under the latitude of debate, and even without invoking the latitude of debate, to make my remarks pertinent to the issue. It certainly was pertinent to the issue to comment upon the iniquity of this rule and to say to gentlemen on the other side that the people, because of the adoption of this rule, are beginning to repudiate them already, and that their final overthrow will come in two or three years from now. That certainly was a legitimate argument, in my opinion, and I beg the pardon of the House if, in making it, I trespassed upon the rules of debate.

But a remark which escaped my friend from Texas [Mr. BAILEY] has called my attention to another point. It may be asked, Is not the old record of the House under daily sessions tantamount to the record as read this morning? Do not all records under daily sessions show that the House adjourned until the next day? I say that is true; but strictly speaking that was not correct, for even in that case the House did not vote to adjourn until the next day. The House simply voted to adjourn; and the Speaker declared it adjourned until the next day, because of the rule then in force. But in view of the fact that those adjournments were to constitutional and normal periods no complaint was ever made as to the incorrect verbiage. But such a state of the case does not present itself to-day. Now there is complaint; and we object that the Journal should not continue to show that this House adjourned for three days when in fact the House did not do so.

It is true that the House with a quorum did adopt the rule; but it does not follow that everything that the House with a quorum does is lawful. A House with a quorum frequently passes unconstitutional measures. The question to be decided is not whether the House had a quorum, but whether the quorum did what the Constitution authorized it to do.

Now, Mr. Speaker, however improbable it may appear to you that Armageddon shall come or that Waterloo shall come, I undertake to say that in three years the hosts of the unterrified Democracy [derisive laughter on the Republican side]——

The SPEAKER. The House will please be in order.

Mr. SETTLE. The unterrified Democracy propose to take their banner, now trailing in the dust, and give it again into the charge and keeping of that lion-hearted Democrat of Nebraska; and they propose to hold up his hands and cheer his heart during all the thickness of that desperate fight until he shall plant it upon the very topmost heights of victory. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. DINGLEY. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. SETTLE].

The question being taken, the Speaker announced that the noes seemed to have it.

Mr. SETTLE demanded a division.

The House divided. Pending the announcement of the result of the division,

Mr. RIDGELY demanded the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 90, nays 105, answered "present" 25, not voting 132; as follows:

YEAS—90.

Adamson,	Davis,	Lewis, Ga.	Shuford,
Allen,	De Graffenreid,	Lewis, Wash.	Simpson,
Bailey,	Elliott,	Livingston,	Sims,
Baird,	Epes,	Lloyd,	Smith, Ky.
Baker, Ill.	Fitzpatrick,	Love,	Stark,
Ball,	Fleming,	McClellan,	Stephens, Tex.
Barlow,	Fowler, N. C.	McCulloch,	Stokes,
Bell,	Fox,	McRae,	Strait,
Bodine,	Gaines,	Maddox,	Sullivan,
Botkin,	Griggs,	Marshall,	Sutherland,
Brantley,	Gunn,	Martin,	Swanson,
Broussard,	Hay,	Maxwell,	Tate,
Brucker,	Henry, Miss.	Meekison,	Taylor, Ala.
Brundidge,	Hinrichsen,	Moon,	Terry,
Burke,	Howard, Ala.	Ogden,	Underwood,
Campbell,	Howard, Ga.	Osborne,	Vandiver,
Catchings,	Hunter,	Peters,	Vehslage,
Clark, Mo.	Kelley,	Pierce, Tenn.	Vincent,
Cooney,	Kitchin,	Plowman,	Wheeler, Ala.
Cooper, Tex.	Kleberg,	Rhea,	Williams, Miss.
Cox,	Knowles,	Ridgely,	Young, Va.
Cranford,	Lanham,	Robinson, Ind.	
Davey,	Latimer,	Settle,	

NAYS—105.

Alexander,	Dingley,	Knox,	Simpkins,
Arnold,	Dorr,	Lacey,	Smith, Ill.
Babcock,	Dovener,	Landis,	Smith, S. W.
Baker, Md.	Ellis,	Linney,	Snover,
Barham,	Evans,	Littauer,	Southwick,
Bartholdt,	Fenton,	Lovering,	Sperry,
Belford,	Gardner,	McDonald,	Sprague,
Bennett,	Gibson,	McEwan,	Steele,
Bishop,	Graff,	Mercer,	Stone, C. W.
Booze,	Griffin,	Mesick,	Stone, W. A.
Broderick,	Grosvenor,	Miller,	Strode, Nebr.
Bromwell,	Hamilton,	Mudd,	Sturtevant,
Brown,	Hawley,	Northway,	Sulloway,
Brownlow,	Hepburn,	Olmsted,	Tayler, Ohio
Burton,	Hilborn,	Overstreet,	Updegraff,
Butler,	Hill,	Parker, N. J.	Van Voorhis,
Cannon,	Hitt,	Payne,	Walker, Va.
Clark, Iowa	Hooker,	Pearce, Mo.	Wanger,
Codding,	Hopkins,	Pearson,	Warner,
Cousins,	Howe,	Perkins,	Weaver,
Crump,	Howell,	Powers,	White, N. C.
Crumpacker,	Hull,	Pugh,	Williams, Pa.
Curtis, Kans.	Jenkins,	Reeves,	Wright,
Dalzell,	Johnson, Ind.	Royse,	Yost.
Danford,	Johnson, N. Dak.	Russell,	
Davenport,	Ketcham,	Shattuc,	
Davison, Ky.	Kirkpatrick,	Sherman,	

ANSWERED "PRESENT"—25.

Bartlett,	Cooper, Wis.	King,	Sayers,
Belden,	De Vries,	Lybrand,	Southard,
Benner, Pa.	Dinsmore,	McMillin,	Talbert,
Benton,	Dockery,	Minor,	Wheeler, Ky.
Brosius,	Henry, Ind.	Otey,	
Clardy,	Henry, Tex.	Richardson,	
Cochran, Mo.	Jett,	Robb,	

NOT VOTING—132.

Acheson,	Chickering,	Foss,	Lamb,
Adams,	Clarke, N. H.	Fowler, N. J.	Lentz,
Bankhead,	Clayton,	Gillet, N. Y.	Lester,
Barber,	Cochrane, N. Y.	Gillett, Mass.	Little,
Barney,	Colson,	Greene,	Lorimer,
Barrett,	Connell,	Grout,	Loud,
Barrows,	Connolly,	Grow,	Loudenslager,
Beach,	Corliss,	Hager,	Low,
Belknap,	Cowherd,	Handy,	McAleer,
Berry,	Cummings,	Harmer,	McCall,
Bingham,	Curtis, Iowa	Hartman,	McCleary,
Bland,	Davidson, Wis.	Heatwole,	McCormick,
Boutelle,	Dayton,	Hemenway,	McDowell,
Bradley,	De Armond,	Henderson,	McIntire,
Brenner, Ohio	Dolliver,	Henry, Conn.	Maguire,
Brewer,	Eddy,	Hicks,	Mahany,
Brewster,	Ermentrout,	Hurley,	Mahon,
Brumm,	Faris,	Jones, Va.	Mann,
Bull,	Fischer,	Jones, Wash.	Marsh,
Capron,	Fitzgerald,	Joy,	Meyer, La.
Carmack,	Fletcher,	Kerr,	Miers, Ind.
Castle,	Foote,	Kulp,	Mills,

Mitchell,	Ray,	Smith, Wm. Alden	Tongue,
Moody,	Rixey,	Spalding,	Wadsworth,
Morris,	Robbins,	Sparkman,	Walker, Mass.
Newlands,	Robertson, La.	Stallings,	Ward,
Norton,	Sauerhering,	Stevens, Minn.	Weymouth,
Odell,	Shafroth,	Stewart, N. J.	White, Ill.
Otjen,	Shannon,	Stewart, Wis.	Wilber,
Packer, Pa.	Shelden,	Strowd, N. C.	Wilson, N. Y.
Pitney,	Showalter,	Sulzer,	Wilson, S. C.
Prince,	Skinner,	Tawney,	Young, Pa.
Quigg,	Slayden,	Todd,	Zenor.

So the amendment was rejected.

Mr. TALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I desire to withdraw my vote. I am paired with the gentleman from New York, Mr. Low.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman's vote will be withdrawn.

Several members addressed the Chair.

The SPEAKER. The Chair suggests that gentlemen wait until the pairs are announced before making these statements.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

Until further notice:

Mr. ODELL with Mr. BARTLETT.
Mr. BOUTELLE with Mr. LAMB.
Mr. KERR with Mr. ROBB.
Mr. PITNEY with Mr. SAYERS.
Mr. SAUERHERING with Mr. COWHERD.
Mr. STEWART of Wisconsin with Mr. LITTLE.
Mr. WILLIAM A. STONE with Mr. MCCLELLAN.
Mr. QUIGG with Mr. BLAND.
Mr. POWERS with Mr. GAINES.
Mr. LYBRAND with Mr. LENTZ.
Mr. OTJEN with Mr. LESTER.
Mr. LOUD with Mr. DE VRIES.
Mr. SPALDING with Mr. CLAYTON.
Mr. DE ARMOND with Mr. GILLETT of Massachusetts.
Mr. MCCLEARY with Mr. BANKHEAD.
Mr. MCEWAN with Mr. VEHSLAGE.
Mr. MCCALL with Mr. JONES of Virginia.
Mr. HEATWOLE with Mr. DINSMORE.
Mr. ACHESON with Mr. WILSON of South Carolina.
Mr. BELDEN with Mr. SULZER.
Mr. BARRETT with Mr. FITZGERALD.
Mr. KULP with Mr. STALLINGS.
Mr. SOUTHARD with Mr. NORTON.
Mr. MINOR with Mr. SPARKMAN.
Mr. CLARKE of New Hampshire with Mr. KING.
Mr. HENRY of Connecticut with Mr. CLARDY.
Mr. HEMENWAY with Mr. ROBERTSON of Louisiana.
Mr. PUGH with Mr. RHEA of Kentucky.
Mr. HENRY of Indiana with Mr. MIERS of Indiana.
Mr. BROSIUS with Mr. ERMENTROUT.
Mr. CHICKERING with Mr. BRADLEY.
Mr. FOOTE with Mr. CASTLE.
Mr. HICKS with Mr. OTEY.
Mr. GROUT with Mr. BERRY.
Mr. WHITE of Illinois with Mr. BRENNER of Ohio.
Mr. GROW with Mr. RICHARDSON.
Mr. YOUNG of Pennsylvania with Mr. BENTON.
Mr. BARNEY with Mr. TODD.
Mr. BARROWS with Mr. JETT.
Mr. ADAMS with Mr. CUMMINGS.
Mr. JOY with Mr. CARMACK.

For this day:

Mr. DOLLIVER with Mr. COCHRAN of Missouri.
Mr. EDDY with Mr. GREEN.
Mr. FLETCHER with Mr. HENRY of Texas.
Mr. HENDERSON with Mr. MCMILLIN.
Mr. TAWNEY with Mr. SLAYDEN.
Mr. TONGUE with Mr. RIXEY.
Mr. WEYMOUTH with Mr. ZENOR.
Mr. FARIS with Mr. MAGUIRE.
Mr. LOW with Mr. TALBERT.
Mr. BINGHAM with Mr. DOCKERY.
Mr. BRUMM with Mr. MCALEER.

Mr. HENRY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I am paired with the gentleman from Minnesota, Mr. FLETCHER. Having voted in the affirmative on this question, I desire to withdraw my vote and to be recorded present.

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Speaker, I am paired with the gentleman from Connecticut, Mr. HENRY. Having voted in the affirmative on this question, I desire to withdraw my vote and to be recorded present.

Mr. POWERS. I have a general pair with the gentleman from Tennessee, Mr. GAINES, but he is present and voted, and I desire to change my vote from "present" to "no."

Mr. MCMILLIN. I desire to know if I am recorded as voting.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman is recorded in the affirmative.

Mr. MCMILLIN. I desire to withdraw my vote, as I am paired with the gentleman from Iowa, Mr. HENDERSON.

Mr. JETT. Mr. Speaker, I am paired with the gentleman from Massachusetts, Mr. BARROWS. Having voted in the affirmative, I desire to withdraw my vote and to be recorded as present.

Mr. KING. I have a general pair with the gentleman from New Hampshire, Mr. CLARKE. I desire to withdraw my vote and to be recorded as present.

Mr. SAYERS. I am paired with the gentleman from New Jersey, Mr. PITNEY. Having voted in the affirmative on this question, I desire to withdraw my vote and to be marked present.

Mr. WHEELER of Kentucky. I am paired with the gentleman from Iowa, Mr. HAGER. Having voted in the affirmative on this question, I desire to withdraw my vote and to be recorded as present.

Mr. DOCKERY. I am paired with the gentleman from Pennsylvania, Mr. BINGHAM. I desire to be recorded as present.

Mr. ROBB. I am paired with the gentleman from Ohio, Mr. KERR. I desire to withdraw my affirmative vote and to be recorded as present.

Mr. RICHARDSON. I am paired with the gentleman from Pennsylvania, Mr. GROW. I desire to withdraw my affirmative vote and to be recorded as present.

Mr. FLEMING. Mr. Speaker, I voted "no" under the impression that the question submitted to the House was the one first offered by the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. SETTLE], which was to strike out certain words which were supposed to be in the Journal, but which, upon examination, I found were not in the Journal. I am now informed by the gentleman that while I was temporarily engaged otherwise he changed his motion, and simply moved to add to the statement already in the Journal the statement that the adjournment was announced by the Speaker to be for three days, in accordance with the rule. I therefore ask to change my vote from "no" to "aye," as I misunderstood the question.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will call the gentleman's name.

The Clerk called the name of Mr. FLEMING, and he voted "aye."

Mr. WEAVER. I understood that I was paired with the gentleman from Ohio, Mr. BRENNER, but I understand that he is paired with the gentleman from Ohio, Mr. WHITE. Such being the case, I desire to withdraw my answer of "present," and to vote "no."

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the approval of the Journal.

The Journal was approved.

SWEARING IN OF A MEMBER.

The SPEAKER laid before the House the certificate of the election of Hon. Edwin C. Burleigh, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Hon. Seth L. Milliken. The certificate was read.

Mr. DINGLEY. Mr. Speaker, I desire to announce the presence of the Hon. Edwin C. Burleigh, who is ready to take the oath of office.

Mr. Burleigh then came forward, and took the oath prescribed by law.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT.

A message in writing from the President of the United States was communicated to the House of Representatives by Mr. PRUDEN, one of his secretaries, who also announced that the President had approved and signed bill and joint resolutions of the following titles:

On June 7, 1897:

An act (H. R. 15) making appropriations for the current and contingent expenses of the Indian Department and for fulfilling treaty stipulations with various Indian tribes for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1898, and for other purposes.

On June 15, 1897:

Joint resolution (H. Res. 64) relating to the payment of salaries in the consular service; and

Joint resolution (H. Res. 61) to provide for the immediate repair of Dry Dock No. 3, at the New York Navy-Yard.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. PLATT, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed joint resolution of the following title; in which the concurrence of the House was requested:

Joint resolution (S. R. 52) directing the Secretary of War to issue tents for the use of the Grand Army Encampment, at Leavenworth, Kans.

PERSONAL PRIVILEGE.

Mr. KNOWLES. Mr. Speaker, I rise to a question of personal privilege, one involving my good name and my character for truth and veracity. I want to say that if it only involved myself, I would not trouble this House with it. I send to the Clerk's desk a clipping from the Associated Press dispatches of June 22, which was published in the Washington Post of that date, and ask that it be read and printed in the RECORD.

The Clerk read as follows:

BATEMAN'S SHOT AT BRYAN—HE DECLARES THE RECENT CANDIDATE GUILTY OF BRIBERY AND FORGERY.

LEWISTON, ME., *June 21.*

Prof. L. C. Bateman, of Auburn, who was the candidate of the People's Party of Maine for governor last year, and who is a leader of the middle-of-the-road forces in this State, to-day published an attack on William J. Bryan. Professor Bateman says that Populist Congressman FREEMAN KNOWLES, of South Dakota, while on his recent trip to his old home in Skowhegan, Me., gave out the information that Mr. Bryan's recent gift of $1,500 to the Populist national committee was made with the distinct understanding that no action against fusion should be taken by the People's Party before the next national convention.

This, Professor Bateman says, is nothing more nor less than direct bribery.

Mr. DINGLEY. I desire to raise the question as to whether this presents a question of personal privilege. It does not affect the relation of a member to the House, or any conduct in the House.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman has not yet stated his case, but has only made a preliminary statement.

Mr. KNOWLES. Mr. Speaker, I pronounce that statement a willful and malicious falsehood, made out of whole cloth, without the least shadow of truth or foundation.

Mr. DINGLEY. Mr. Speaker, I have no objection to the gentleman making any personal statement, but I do not care to have it taken as a precedent that this raises a question of personal privilege which of right may be made in the House. Certainly the business of the House ought not to be interfered with by matters that have no relation to the business of the House. As to any controversy between the gentleman from South Dakota and Mr. Bryan or Mr. Bateman, of Maine, I do not think it concerns the affairs of this House or its conduct at all. The newspapers or anybody may hire a hall. [Laughter on the Republican side.]

Mr. KNOWLES. You will see, Mr. Speaker, that this raises a direct issue between myself and Mr. Bateman, and between myself as "a member of Congress" and Mr. Bateman; and therefore I think it is nothing but just to myself that I have an opportunity to refute this slander.

The SPEAKER. How is it a matter between the gentleman referred to and "a member of Congress?"

Mr. KNOWLES. Because I am pointed out there as "a member of Congress" and as making that statement, which is as false as hell [laughter]; and I have not been guilty of that statement. I will not detain the House long, but I wish to say that I wrote to Mr. L. B. Talbot, chairman of the Populist committee of Somerset County, Me., for a statement as to the truth or falsity of Mr. Bateman's statement, and I desire to have this letter of mine to him and his letter in reply read and printed in the RECORD.

Mr. DINGLEY. Mr. Speaker, I must object to the RECORD being used for such a purpose. Private controversies having no relation to the conduct of a member of this House ought not to be printed in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will hear the gentleman from South Dakota upon the propriety of this as a question of personal privilege to be disposed of in the House. If the gentleman desires to make a personal explanation, the Chair will submit it to the House for unanimous consent.

Mr. KNOWLES. I should like the House to give me unanimous consent.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from South Dakota asks unanimous consent that he may be allowed to make a personal explanation. Is there objection?

Mr. DINGLEY. Well, Mr. Speaker, I think we should have some limitation upon this.

Mr. GROSVENOR. I should ask the gentleman from Maine, Does not this involve the question of putting campaign material in the RECORD for the purpose of keeping the "middle of the road" Populists off the track of those on the side of the road? If so, I shall object.

Mr. KNOWLES. I say to the gentleman that there is nothing of a campaign character in these letters at all. They are simply private letters which refute the statement of Mr. Bateman and prove the truth of what I have asserted here to-day. There is nothing of a campaign nature in it.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman that he be permitted to make a personal explanation? [After a pause.] The Chair hears no objection.

The Clerk read as follows:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES UNITED STATES,
Washington, D. C., June 23, 1897.

DEAR SIR: The inclosed Associated Press dispatch appeared in the Washington Post this morning. I would like to ask you how such an infamous falsehood could possibly have been circulated? Did I say anything of the kind? On the contrary, did I not say that our committee had refused to accept any portion of the royalty of Mr. Bryan's book? How did it come that my words should be exactly reversed? Did Bateman manufacture this out of whole cloth, or was it reported to him by our enemies who seem so much interested in dividing our forces? It must be a desperate cause which necessitates such tactics. I trust you will not permit me to remain under this slander.

Very respectfully, yours,

FREEMAN KNOWLES.

L. B. TALBOT, Esq.,
Chairman Populist Committee of Somerset County, Skowhegan, Me.

SKOWHEGAN, ME., *June 25, 1897.*

DEAR FRIEND KNOWLES: Yours of the 23d at hand. Words fail to express my surprise, as I read that same dispatch in yesterday's papers.

As soon as I received your note, I at once began to inquire and found out at once how it all came about. You perhaps remember that after you spoke in Coburn Hall I introduced you to a man named George Hapgood, and that he asked you what you proposed to do as a national body. You told him that it was too soon to say anything and that the understanding was that the party "should not commit itself before the next national convention."

Now Hapgood is a friend of years standing with Bateman, and he wrote to him expressing his pleasure at your efforts for us here, and how you had presented our views before the business men. Bateman wanted to know if you had said anything concerning the national policy of the party. From that came in a letter the statement of Hapgood to Bateman that you had not expressed yourself, but had made the statement that the Populists should not commit themselves before the next national convention. Bateman knowingly and maliciously twisted this to make what he did with that statement.

I therefore, after consulting Hapgood and taking down his very words, accuse L. C. Bateman of downright falsehood.

Hapgood is a fine fellow and a true Populist.

With much regret, yours,

L. B. TALBOT.

Mr. KNOWLES. Mr. Speaker, while that letter clears me of the charge and brands Mr. Bateman as a contemptible liar, I want to say that it does not do me justice. What I did say was this. I said: The People's Party was going right along about its business, preaching the doctrine laid down in the St. Louis platform, and that they would continue to do that until the next national convention assembled, which is the only authority competent to change that platform or to decide what the issues shall be upon which the next battle shall be fought. I further stated that Mr. Bryan had tendered to the Populist national committee $1,500 from the proceeds of the sale of his book; that this tender had been made in good faith, absolutely free from all or any conditions except that it was to be used for the propagation of literature upon the financial question, but that the chairman of the national committee, after consulting with the Populist Congressional caucus, had declined to accept the funds thus tendered.

Mr. Bryan had announced that he would distribute one-half his profits from the sale of the book among the committees of the three parties which supported him, in the ratio of the vote cast, and this refusal of the Populist national committee to accept the portion assigned to them left matters in a somewhat awkward position. Mr. Bryan thereupon deposited the money with Senator ALLEN as a citizen of his own State, subject to further order, and there it remains to-day. The national committee did not and has not accepted a dollar of the fund, and I never made any such statement nor thought of any such thing. That is all I have to say.

Mr. TERRY. Mr. Speaker——

Mr. RIDGELY. Mr. Speaker——

IMMIGRATION STATION, ELLIS ISLAND, NEW YORK.

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following message from the President of the United States; which was read, referred to the Committee on Appropriations, and ordered to be printed:

To the Congress of the United States:

On the 15th ultimo all the buildings of the immigration station at Ellis Island, New York, excepting the heating plant and lighting apparatus, were destroyed by fire.

I transmit herewith a letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, which states the fact and explains the need of rebuilding.

In order that there may be no delay in this important work, I recommend that an appropriation be made at once of $300,000, the sum estimated by the Secretary of the Treasury as required for this purpose.

WILLIAM MCKINLEY.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, *July 1, 1897.*

SENATE BILLS REFERRED.

Under clause 2 of Rule XXIV, bills of the following titles were taken from the Speaker's table and referred to their appropriate committees, as indicated below:

A bill (S. 250) for the relief of Charles P. Chouteau, survivor of Chouteau, Harrison & Valle—to the Committee on War Claims, when appointed.

A bill (S. 708) for the relief of Albert E. Redstone—to the Committee on Claims, when appointed.

A bill (S. 977) for the relief of Fanny B. Randolph and Dora L. Stark—to the Committee on War Claims, when appointed.

A bill (S. 936) for the relief of C. B. Bryan & Co.—to the Committee on Claims, when appointed.

A bill (S. 1464) for the relief of Christopher Schmidt—to the Committee on Claims, when appointed.

A bill (S. 1194) for the relief of the estate of Richard Lawson—to the Committee on Claims, when appointed.

A bill (S. 438) for the relief of the estate of Charles M. Roberts, deceased—to the Committee on Claims, when appointed.

Concurrent resolution—

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the President of the United States be, and he is hereby, requested to invite, by proclamation or otherwise, as he may deem most proper, foreign nations to make exhibits at the Transmississippi and International Exposition to be held at the city of Omaha, in the State of Nebraska, from the 1st day of June to the 1st day of November, A. D. 1898—

To the Committee on Foreign Affairs, when appointed.

NEW ENGLAND DISTILLING COMPANY.

Mr. EVANS. Mr. Speaker, I desire to call up for consideration the report of the Committee on Ways and Means on the bill (H. R. 3486) to allow the distillery of the New England Distilling Company and the rectifying house of Mullins & Crigler, both situated in Covington, Ky., to be operated within 600 feet of each other.

The bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the distillery of the New England Distilling Company and the rectifying house of Mullins & Crigler, both situated in Covington, Ky., and having their respective premises separated from each other by a distance of only 548 feet, in a direct line, may, to avoid special hardship to the proprietors of said premises, both continue to be operated as now situated, and in like manner as they have been operated, in the belief that the premises were duly separated according to law, for twelve years past, notwithstanding that the said premises are not distant from each other full 600 feet in a direct line as required by the general statutes in that regard.

Mr. EVANS. Mr. Speaker, it is the unanimous opinion of the committee that this bill ought to pass, and ought to pass speedily. The facts are these: The statute provides that no rectifying establishment shall be constructed or operated nearer to a distillery than 600 feet. Away back in May, 1885, it was supposed that the required distance existed between the distillery and the rectifying establishment mentioned in this bill; but a few days ago it was discovered that the distance between them is only 548 feet. This state of things has continued for twelve years, without any fault on the part of either of the persons interested. By the action of the internal-revenue officers the bonds have been approved each year, and large plants have been constructed and operated there.

Now, if the recent discovery of the fact that the distance between this distillery and this rectifying house is less than the 600 feet prescribed by the statute were to prevent the approval of the bonds of the distillery, the House can see that a great hardship would be inflicted upon the owners of these establishments. The Secretary of the Treasury recommends the passage of this bill. The Commissioner of Internal Revenue has set forth the facts upon which justice demands the passage of the bill, and it is the unanimous opinion of the Committee on Ways and Means that it ought to pass.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time; and it was accordingly read the third time, and passed.

On motion of Mr. EVANS, the motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Mr. DINGLEY. Mr. Speaker——

Mr. TERRY. Mr. Speaker——

Mr. DINGLEY. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, I desire to inquire if there is not a special order setting apart this day——

Mr. DINGLEY (interposing). That order is for a week from to-day.

The question was taken on the motion to adjourn; and the Speaker declared that the ayes seemed to have it.

Mr. BAILEY. I ask for a division.

The House divided; and there were—ayes 105, noes 92.

So the motion was agreed to; and the House accordingly (at 1 o'clock and 28 minutes p. m.), in pursuance of the order heretofore adopted, adjourned until Monday next, at 12 o'clock noon.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS.

Under clause 2 of Rule XXIV, the following executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting, in response to concurrent resolution No. 9, Fifty-fifth Congress, a letter from the Chief of Engineers, with copy of a report on the present condition of Cumberland Sound, and its relation to the commerce of Fernandina—to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, and ordered to be printed.

A letter from the Attorney-General, relating to certain amounts for the payment of outstanding claims in North Dakota, New Mexico, and Idaho—to the Committee on Appropriations, and ordered to be printed.

A letter from the Secretary of War, calling attention to certain desired changes in House Document No. 67, relating to the issue of a certain duplicate check—to the Committee on Claims, and ordered to be printed.

A letter from the Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a copy of a communication from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and accompanying copy of a memorial from the Wichita and affiliated bands of Indians—to the Committee on Indian Affairs, and ordered to be printed.

A message from the President, transmitting a letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, and recommending an appropriation for rebuilding the immigrant station at Ellis Island, New York—to the Committee on Appropriations, and ordered to be printed.

PUBLIC BILLS, RESOLUTIONS, AND MEMORIALS INTRODUCED.

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, bills, resolutions, and memorials of the following titles were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ROBBINS: A bill (H. R. 3587) to make an appropriation for the improvement of the Youghiogheny River in the State of Pennsylvania, and for other purposes—to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. GRAFF: A bill (H. R. 3588) to provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Pekin, in the State of Illinois—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. LACEY: A bill (H. R. 3589) to extend the powers and duties of the Commission of Fish and Fisheries to include game birds and other wild birds useful to man—to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. BRUNDIDGE: A bill (H. R. 3590) to increase the number of officers of the Army to be detailed to colleges—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SHAFROTH: A bill (H. R. 3591) to appropriate $100,000 for sinking artesian wells in the eastern portion of the State of Colorado—to the Committee on Irrigation of Arid Lands.

By Mr. OSBORNE: A bill (H. R. 3592) to provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Evanston, in the State of Wyoming—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. HAWLEY: A bill (H. R. 3593) making appropriation for the improvement of the Brazos River—to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. STARK: A bill (H. R. 3594) to amend an act entitled "An act to regulate commerce," approved February 4, 1887—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. STEPHENS of Texas: A joint resolution (H. Res. 71) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States authorizing the levy of a tax on incomes and inheritances—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. DALZELL: A resolution (House Res. No. 64) providing for consideration of House bill No. 379, "to provide revenue for the Government and to encourage the industries of the United States"—to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. ARNOLD: A memorial of the Pennsylvania legislature, for appropriation for Paris Exposition in 1900—to the Committee on Appropriations.

By Mr. DALZELL: A memorial of the Pennsylvania legislature, for appropriation for Paris Exposition in 1900—to the Committee on Appropriations.

By Mr. ADAMS: A memorial of the legislature of the State of Pennsylvania, relative to the Paris Exposition in 1900—to the Committee on Appropriations.

By Mr. YOUNG of Pennsylvania: A memorial of the legislature of the State of Pennsylvania, relative to the Paris Exposition in 1900—to the Committee on Appropriations.

By Mr. OLMSTED: A memorial of the Pennsylvania legislature, relative to an appropriation for the Paris Exposition in 1900—to the Committee on Appropriations.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS INTRODUCED.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions of the following titles were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ADAMSON: A bill (H. R. 3595) granting a pension to Mrs. Penny F. Stevens—to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3596) granting a pension to Mrs. Bettie Gresham—to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3597) granting a pension to Thomas J. Morman—to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3598) granting a pension to Henrietta Fowler—to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. BELL: A bill (H. R. 3599) for the relief of Joseph B. Presdee—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3600) for the relief of Henry Hinckley—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3601) for the relief of Elizabeth Felton—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3602) for the relief of D. P. Owen—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. BOTKIN: A bill (H. R. 3603) granting a pension to Francis M. Moore—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3604) granting a pension to Oscar Reed—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3605) for the relief of James M. Campbell—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. DE VRIES: A bill (H. R. 3606) for the relief of the citizens of the city of Auburn, Cal., and quieting title to lands therein—to the Committee on Private Land Claims.

By Mr. DOLLIVER: A bill (H. R. 3607) to pension Mrs. Ann Martin—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. KETCHAM: A bill (H. R. 3608) removing the charge of desertion from the record of Sylvester H. Mase, a musician, Fifty-sixth New York Infantry—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. KULP: A bill (H. R. 3609) for the relief of Samuel C. Krickbaum, of Benton, Pa.—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. LACEY: A bill (H. R. 3610) granting a pension to Charles Blitz—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3611) to increase the pension of Jesse R. K. Lamb, Company D, Seventh United States Infantry—to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3612) to increase the pension of Thomas D. Porter—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. MOON: A bill (H. R. 3613) for relief of Hugh J. Brady—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. OSBORNE: A bill (H. R. 3614) granting an increase of pension to John F. Crawford—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SHAFROTH: A bill (H. R. 3615) for the relief of Mrs. Ellen Sexton—to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. SHATTUC: A bill (H. R. 3616) for the relief of Robert A. Young—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SIMS: A bill (H. R. 3617) for the relief of Thomas Cary—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3618) for the relief of William Christenberry—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3619) for the relief of E. A. Clark—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3620) to amend the military record of John K. Skinner—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SULZER: A bill (H. R. 3621) for pension to Mary Ann Sullivan—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. TAYLER of Ohio: A bill (H. R. 3622) granting a pension to Mary A. Benchat—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3623) granting a pension to Elizabeth Mayes—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. BABCOCK: A bill (H. R. 3624) granting a pension to Pauline Robbins, of Sandusky, Sauk County, Wis.—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. GRAFF: A bill (H. R. 3625) to increase the pension of Andrew R. Jones—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3626) granting a pension to Lemuel Shook—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3627) to remove the charge of desertion from the military record of Joseph Moll—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3628) granting a pension to Elizabeth Tinkham—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3629) to remove the charge of desertion from the military record of Robert White—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3630) for the relief of Thomas B. Briggs—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3631) granting a pension to Ellen Miles Brown—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3632) for the relief of William H. Bentley—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3633) to remove the charge of desertion from the military record of John D. Brining, of Canton, Ill.—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3634) to remove the charge of desertion from the military record of Charles R. Bortle—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3635) granting a pension to Stephen Jackson, of Glasford, Ill—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. STURTEVANT: A bill (H. R. 3636) granting a pension to Mrs. Nellie Shaw—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. RIDGELY: A bill (H. R. 3637) for the relief of David Hogan—to the Committee on War Claims.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, the following petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

By Mr. ADAMSON: Resolutions of the Board of Trade of Columbus, Ga., favoring the enlargement and improvement of the United States building at Columbus—to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. BREWSTER: Petition of Mrs. Margaret Roberts, guardian of Cyrus Roberts, to accompany House bill for his relief—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. CAPRON: Petition of Charles Henry and other citizens of North Kingston, R. I., for a more rigid restriction of immigration—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. DALZELL: Resolutions of the Travelers' Protective Association of America, remonstrating against the passage of a bill restricting the sale of railroad tickets—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. DANFORD: Petition of J. W. Hollingsworth and other citizens of St. Clairsville, Ohio, asking for the passage of a bill to further restrict immigration—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. ERMENTROUT: Petitions of tea merchants of Philadelphia, Pa., and Baltimore, Md., asking for a specific duty on tea—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, remonstrance of E. & A. Huyett, of Birdsboro, Pa., against increasing the rate of duty on tanned skins for morocco—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, petition of the wholesale grocers and dealers of Chicago, Ill.; also an indorsement of said petition by the Commercial Exchange of Chicago, asking for a duty on tea—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, petition of Lawford Bros., of Baltimore, Md., asking that sheep dip be placed on the free list—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. HILBORN: Petitions of T. G. Baty, F. M. Gordon, and other citizens of Sacramento, Cal., favoring the passage of a bill for a more rigid restriction of immigration—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. KIRKPATRICK: Petition of Elias Markley and 87 other citizens of Lehighton, Pa., praying for the passage of a bill to restrict immigration—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. LACEY: Petition of Thomas D. Porter, late of Company C, Twenty-fifth Illinois Volunteer Infantry, and Company A, Seventh Illinois Cavalry, for an increase of pension—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. MILLER: Petition of G. W. Hardman and other citizens of Mount Zion, W. Va., praying for the further restriction of immigration—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. OLMSTED: Petitions of Joseph E. Miller and others, L. C. Baker and others, and George A. Saltsman and others, all citizens of Harrisburg, Pa., praying for the passage of a law to further restrict immigration—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. POWERS: Petition of the Congregational State Convention of Vermont, praying for the passage of the bill to prohibit kinetoscopic reproductions of prize fights—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, remonstrance of the C. A. Hibbard Boot and Shoe Company, of Burlington, Vt., against increasing the duty on tanned skins for morocco—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. SHATTUC: Paper to accompany House bill granting an increase of pension to Robert A. Young—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

SENATE.

FRIDAY, *July 2, 1897.*

The Senate met at 11 o'clock a. m.

Prayer by Rev. HUGH JOHNSTON, D. D., of the city of Washington.

The Secretary proceeded to read the Journal of yesterday's proceedings, when, on motion of Mr. QUAY, and by unanimous consent, the further reading was dispensed with.

HARBOR AT BRUNSWICK, GA.

The VICE-PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the Secretary of War, transmitting a report, with accompanying map, of a survey of the outer bar of Brunswick, Ga., made by Lieut. R. G. Peck, United States Navy, assistant, Coast and Geodetic Survey, pursuant to the provisions of the item in the river and harbor act of June 3, 1896; which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on Commerce, and ordered to be printed.

NORTHERN LIBERTY MARKET CLAIMS.

The VICE-PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the following communication from the Commissioners of the District of Columbia; which was read, and referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia:

OFFICE OF COMMISSIONERS OF DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA,
Washington, July 7, 1897.

SIR: The Commissioners of the District of Columbia have the honor to acknowledge receipt of an official copy of the resolution of the Senate, dated the 30th ultimo, requesting them to suspend, until further action of Congress, further proceedings under the act of Congress "to provide for the payment of certain claims against the District of Columbia by drawback certificates," approved January 6, 1897, known as the Northern Liberty Market claims, and will govern themselves accordingly.

Very respectfully, JOHN W. ROSS,
President Board of Commissioners District of Columbia.

Hon. GARRET A. HOBART,
President of the Senate.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. W. J. BROWNING, its Chief Clerk, announced that the House had passed a bill (H. R. 3486) to allow the distillery of the New England Distilling Company and the rectifying house of Mullins & Crigler, both situated in Covington, Ky., to be operated within 600 feet of each other; in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. BERRY presented a memorial of the Arkansas Division, Travelers' Protective Association of America, of Little Rock, Ark., remonstrating against the enactment of legislation intended to destroy the present system of ticket brokerage; which was referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

Mr. GALLINGER presented the petition of Wallace J. Knowles and 51 other citizens of Seabrook, N. H., praying for the enactment of legislation for a more rigid restriction of immigration; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. SEWELL presented the petition of George M. Ballard and 35 other citizens of Newark, N. J., praying for the early passage of the pending tariff bill; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. COCKRELL presented the memorial of F. M. Montgomery and 52 other citizens of Missouri, and the memorial of J. Brownson Wallace and 19 other citizens of Missouri, remonstrating against the enactment of legislation intended to destroy the present system of ticket brokerage; which were referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

Mr. COCKRELL. I present resolutions unanimously adopted at the annual meeting of the American Medical Association in Philadelphia June 2, 1897, remonstrating against the passage of Senate bill No. 1063, for the further prevention of cruelty to animals in the District of Columbia. I ask that the memorial lie on the table and that it be printed as a document.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Without objection, that will be the order.

Mr. GALLINGER. I will inquire as to what is the memorial particularly?

Mr. COCKRELL. They are resolutions opposing the vivisection bill reported by the Senator.

Mr. GALLINGER. Resolutions adopted by a medical association?

Mr. COCKRELL. Adopted by the American Medical Association at Philadelphia.

Mr. GALLINGER. In this connection, I desire to state that I entered a mild protest a while ago against the printing of numerous documents relating to this one bill. We have, I think, four or five different documents already printed. Some of them are in severe and unjust criticism of the committee, stating absolute untruths regarding the action of the committee.

I do not object to the printing of the memorial, and yet it does seem to me rather strange that when a committee has considered a matter carefully, giving a long hearing to both sides, permitting the opponents of the bill to print 300 pages in the report of statements in opposition, that they should then flood the Senate with memorials, resolutions, and protests, and that we should print them at the expense of the Government.

Mr. COCKRELL. This memorial consists of only two or three pages, and it is in appropriate form.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The memorial will be printed as a document, in the absence of objection, and referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

Mr. FAIRBANKS presented sundry memorials of citizens of Indiana, remonstrating against the enactment of legislation intended to destroy the present system of ticket brokerage; which were referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

Mr. PENROSE presented a memorial of 52 citizens of Harrisburg, Pa., and a memorial of 64 citizens of Coatesville, Pa., remonstrating against the enactment of legislation intended to destroy the present system of ticket brokerage; which were referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

He also presented a petition of the legislature of Pennsylvania, praying for the enactment of legislation appropriating a sufficient sum to insure a dignified and creditable exhibit of the industries and resources of the United States at the Paris Exposition in 1900; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. HANNA presented sundry memorials of citizens of Ohio, remonstrating against the enactment of legislation intended to destroy the present system of ticket brokerage; which were referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

Mr. BUTLER presented a petition of the Gulf Coast Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union No. 4030, of Texas, praying for the passage of Senate bill No. 1728, to aid in the construction of a railroad and telephone line from the Missouri River to the Pacific Ocean; which was referred to the Committee on Pacific Railroads, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GALVESTON, TEX., *June 26, 1897.*

[Resolution of Gulf Coast Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union No. 4030, of Texas.]

Whereas Hon. MARION BUTLER, Senator in the United States Senate, has introduced Senate bill 1728, "An act to aid in the construction of a railroad and telephone line from the Missouri River to the Pacific Ocean;" and

Whereas this act will be of enormous benefit to our people and settle the Pacific Railroad muddle: Therefore,

Be it resolved, That we heartily indorse Senator BUTLER'S actions in Congress and indorse his bill No. 1728, and request our Representatives now in Congress to use all honorable means and help to pass said bill, as it is for the best interest of our American people.

F. KEHLER,
T. BOEHL,
National Legislative Committee, G. C. F. All., 4030, of Texas.

Mr. McMILLAN presented memorials of G. E. Hubbon and 267 other citizens; of the Detroit Retail Clerks' Union, No. 168; of the Detroit Iron Molders' Union, No. 244; of the Detroit Iron Molders' Union, No. 31; the Detroit Waiters' Union, No. 21; the Detroit International Brotherhood of Bookbinders, No. 20; the Lansing Trades and Labor Council; the Jackson Miners' Protective Association, No. 6395; the Bay City Journeymen Barbers' Union, No. 18; the Bay City Central Trades Union; the Albion Iron Molders' Union, No. 104; the Grand Rapids (Mich.) Federation of Labor; the Detroit Broom Makers' Union, No. 2; the Detroit Painters and Decorators' Union, No. 37; the Lansing City Lodge, No. 384; the Detroit Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' Local Union, No. 106; the Saginaw Retail Clerks' Union, No. 65; the National Mine, Winthrop Mine Workers' Union, No. 7; the National Longshoremen's Association, No. 44; the Jackson Iron Molders' Union, No. 242; the Iron Mountain Iron Ore Mine Workers' Union, No. 2; the Munising International Longshoremen's Union, No. 62; the Menominee International Longshoremen's Association, No. 69; the Alpena Long Shore Union, No. 7; the Grand Rapids Grocers' Clerks Union; the Flint Federal Labor Union, No. 6803; the Marquette Longshoremen's Union, No. 11; the Marquette International Longshoremen's Association, No 59; the Grand Rapids Salesmen's Union, No. 18; the Ishpeming Mine Workers' Union, No. 8; the Port Huron Cigar Makers' Union, No. 368; the Marquette Retail Clerks' National Protective Association, No. 131; the Tawas City International Longshoremen's Union, No. 14; the Cadillac Cigar Makers' Union, No. 393; the Lansing Typographical Union, No. 72; the Port Huron Typographical Union, No. 300; the Detroit International Association of Machinists; the Port Huron Barbers' Union, No. 188; the Muskegon Trades and Labor Assembly; the Detroit Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, and Brass Workers' Union, No. 1; the Jackson City Lodge, No. 95; the Detroit Cigar Packers' International Union, No. 284; the East Jordan Independent Laborers' Association, No. 24; the Detroit River Lodge, No. 2, American Association of Iron and Steel Workers; the Grand Marias Longshoremen's Association, No. 42; the Grand Rapids Coopers' Union; the Bay City Cigar Makers' Union, No. 184; the Grand Rapids Brewers' Local Union, No. 10; the Grand Rapids Local Union, No. 26; the Escanaba Cigar Makers' Union, No. 268; the Owosso Cigar Makers' Union, No. 167; the Detroit Pattern Makers' Association; the Detroit Machine Wood Workers' Local Union, No. 41; the Grand Rapids Lodge, No. 191, Independent Association of Machinists; the Grand Rapids Bricklayers' Union, No. 1; the Norway Mine Workers' Union; the Detroit Iron Molders' Union, No. 244; the Ludington Vessel Loaders' Union; the Negannee Federal Labor Union, No. 6736; the Detroit Carpenters' Union, No. 19; the Detroit Longshoremen's Union, No. 10; the Port Huron Longshoremen's Association, No. 30; the Muskegon Typographical Union, No. 168; the Bay City Longshoremen's Union, No. 25, and the Detroit Theatrical Protective Union, No. 14, all in the State of Michigan, remonstrating against the enactment of legislation intended to destroy the present system of ticket brokerage; which were referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

Mr. TURPIE presented a petition of Star Lodge, No. 457, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, of Seymour, Ind., praying for the passage of the so-called Foraker bill to amend the act to regulate commerce; which was referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

Mr. ELKINS presented a petition of sundry citizens of Parkersburg, W. Va., and a petition of sundry citizens of Mount Zion,

W. Va., praying for the early passage of the pending tariff bill; which were ordered to lie on the table.

GEOLOGICAL SURVEY REPORTS.

Mr. ELKINS. I ask leave to lay before the Senate and have printed a report by the Director of the United States Geological Survey. I send the document to the desk. It is in reply to the memorial of the legislature of Colorado relative to the earlier publication of the reports of the Geological Survey and the establishment of a bureau of mines. I ask that the report be printed for the information of the Senate.

Mr. FRYE. As a document?

Mr. ELKINS. Yes, as a document.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and that will be the order.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

Mr. HANNA, from the Committee on Pensions, to whom were referred the following bills, reported them severally without amendment, and submitted reports thereon:

A bill (S. 589) to increase the pension of Caroline V. English; and

A bill (S. 481) granting a pension to Mrs. Ann M. Madden.

Mr. BAKER, from the Committee on Pensions, to whom was referred the bill (S. 2291) granting an increase of pension to Elijah A. Gilbert, reported it with an amendment, and submitted a report thereon.

Mr. MCMILLAN, from the Committee on the District of Columbia, to whom was referred the bill (S. 1865) to extend the charter of the Franklin Insurance Company of the city of Washington, reported it without amendment, and submitted a report thereon.

He also, from the same committee, to whom was referred the bill (S. 921) to regulate the use of the public parks and improved reservations in the District of Columbia under the charge of the Chief of Engineers of the United States Army, reported it without amendment, and submitted a report thereon.

He also, from the same committee, to whom was referred the bill (S. 919) to incorporate the East Washington Heights Traction Railway Company of the District of Columbia, reported it without amendment.

He also, from the same committee, reported an amendment intended to be proposed to the general deficiency appropriation bill; which was ordered to be printed, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

CAPE CHARLES HARBOR IMPROVEMENT.

Mr. FRYE, from the Committee on Commerce, to whom was referred the concurrent resolution submitted by Mr. SEWELL on the 16th ultimo, reported it without amendment; and it was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to, as follows:

Resolved by the Senate of the United States (the House of Representatives concurring), That the Secretary of War is hereby directed to prepare and submit plans and estimates for the further improvement of the harbor and approaches at Cape Charles City, Va., by the construction of a stone breakwater on the south side of the cut leading to Cape Charles Harbor similar to the breakwater which has just been completed on the north side; and for sundry dredging near Old Plantation Light in the cut leading to the harbor, thereby enabling vessels to go in and out of the harbor without danger or difficulty.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Mr. ELKINS introduced a bill (S. 2321) for the relief of Daniel K. Shields; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. HOAR introduced a bill (S. 2322) granting a pension to Margaret M. Beardslee; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. FRYE introduced a bill (S. 2323) supplemental to the act of February 9, 1821, incorporating the Columbian College, in the District of Columbia, and the acts amendatory thereof; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

He also introduced a bill (S. 2324) for the relief of the estate of George W. Lawrence; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. CLARK introduced a bill (S. 2325) to lease the Industrial Home of Utah to the Salt Lake Free Kindergarten Association; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

Mr. TELLER introduced a bill (S. 2326) for the relief of persons who have filed declarations of intention to enter desert lands; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

He also introduced a bill (S. 2327) for the relief of Thomas Rosbrugh; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

He also introduced a bill (S. 2328) to aid the State of Colorado to support a school of mines; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

He also introduced a bill (S. 2329) to regulate interstate traffic in wild game; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Forest Reservations and the Protection of Game.

Mr. THURSTON introduced a bill (S. 2330) to prevent the monopolizing or engrossing of trade or commerce of any kind among the several States or with foreign nations, and providing penalties for breach of the provisions hereof and the method of enforcing the same; which was read twice by its title.

Mr. THURSTON. In introducing this bill, I desire to state that I claim no originality for it. It is a bill founded upon the idea first presented to the Senate in the amendment proposed by the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. NELSON]. I have considered the suggestion coming from the Senator from Minnesota to be so far worthy of the most serious consideration of the Senate and of the Committee on the Judiciary, that I have used it as a foundation for a proposed statute which I have carefully prepared, with some assistance; and I hope it will receive the careful attention of the committee and, later, of the Senate.

I move that the bill be referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. ELKINS introduced a joint resolution (S. R. 58) for the prevention of the introduction and spread of contagious and infectious diseases into the United States; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Health and National Quarantine.

Mr. KYLE introduced a joint resolution (S. R. 59) making an appropriation for the continuation and completion of river improvement work at Pierre and Fort Pierre, S. Dak.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Commerce.

PENSION EXAMINERS.

Mr. ALLEN. I submit a resolution for which I ask immediate consideration.

The resolution was read, as follows:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Interior be, and he is hereby, directed to send to the Senate the names and residences and the political affiliations, if known, of the pension examiners in the field who were dismissed or discharged June 30, 1897, and the specific reasons for such action in each case; and also send to the Senate the names and addresses and political affiliations, if known, of such persons as were appointed to succeed them, and those among the latter who have at any time been soldiers in the Union Army.

Mr. GALLINGER. Let the resolution go over under the rule.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Objection is made to its present consideration, and the resolution goes over.

MISSOURI RIVER IMPROVEMENTS.

Mr. KYLE submitted the following resolution; which was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to:

Resolved, That the Secretary of War be directed to furnish the Senate with a copy of the special report of Capt. J. C. Sanford, of the United States Corps of Engineers, bearing date of June 26, 1897, and relating to improvements on the Missouri River at Pierre and Fort Pierre, S. Dak.

CUMBERLAND SOUND IMPROVEMENT.

Mr. PASCO. I reported yesterday, from the Committee on Commerce, the joint resolution (S. R. 57) making an appropriation of $50,000 for sluicing and dredging at the entrance of Cumberland Sound. I stated then that I would ask leave to file a written report this morning, which report I have now ready.

I was instructed by the committee to ask that the joint resolution receive immediate consideration. The necessity for the appropriation is owing to the fact that the old channel is closing up and shoaling, and a new channel is opening which needs immediate assistance. The matter was called to the attention of the War Department by a concurrent resolution of the two Houses, and a report was sent in favoring early action on the part of Congress. That report was last Tuesday referred to the Committee on Commerce. It was taken up yesterday, and the engineer in charge of the work was before the committee. The committee authorized the joint resolution to be reported, and it is important that it be now considered. I do not wish to take up the time of the Senate by entering into the particulars of the work.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Florida asks unanimous consent for the present consideration of the joint resolution indicated by him.

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the joint resolution.

The joint resolution was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

Mr. PASCO. I ask that the report be printed in the RECORD in connection with my remarks.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. That will be the order.

The report this day submitted by Mr. PASCO is as follows:

[Senate Report No. 370, Fifty-fifth Congress, first session.]

HARBOR OF CUMBERLAND SOUND.

Mr. PASCO, from the Committee on Commerce, submitted the following report, to accompany Senate resolution 57:

The Committee on Commerce, to whom was referred a communication from the Secretary of War relating to the present condition of the harbor of Cumberland Sound, between the States of Georgia and Florida, in response to

a concurrent resolution of the two Houses of Congress calling for information as to such harbor and asking whether any action is necessary to protect the entrance from being closed against the commerce which usually enters there, report as follows:

The Secretary transmits a letter from the Chief of Engineers upon the subject, with a report from Capt. O. M. Carter, who has had charge of the work.

This work was placed under the continuing-contract system by the river and harbor appropriation bill of the Fifty-fourth Congress, and the last appropriation that was made under the contract entered into by the Government under this law with the Atlantic Contracting Company of New York is due as the work proceeds and the funds are available to these contractors for building and extending the jetties already commenced, and no funds are at present available for other purposes.

The report shows that there has been a gradual shifting of the channel through the entrance to the Sound and a shoaling which seriously threatens the commerce of the port of Fernandina, which passes through this channel. The remedy proposed is to aid the formation of a new and short route parallel to the north jetty. The erosion of this new channel continues as the jetty is extended and raised, and in time an uninterrupted new north channel will be established, but in the meantime there should be a remedy for the danger which threatens the port by the shoaling and gradual closing of the old channel.

The report recommends an immediate appropriation of $500,000 to continue the jetty work under the existing contract, and an emergent appropriation of $50,000 for sluicing and dredging along the line of the new channel, so as to open it without delay, and afford prompt relief to the commerce, which has already suffered seriously.

The contractors who enter into this class of contracts are generally willing to go on with their work and wait for payment until appropriations are made, according to the provisions of the law and the terms of the contract.

The conduct of those who have entered into this contract leads to the belief that they will continue the work upon the jetties as they have done in the past, and the committee are not disposed to recommend the appropriation at the present time of a large sum which is not according to the terms of the law authorizing the continuing contract under which the work is progressing. But the great and manifest importance of the work justifies an effort to keep the harbor open, and the committee are of the opinion that this can be done by carrying out the recommendation contained in the report of the engineer in charge and of the Chief of Engineers providing a sufficient amount of money to open the new channel by doing the necessary dredging, as stated in the earlier part of this report.

The sum of $50,000 is required for this purpose, according to the engineer's report, and the committee have prepared a joint resolution appropriating this sum, or so much thereof as may be necessary, with the provision that the limit of cost, as already fixed by law, be not changed. This can be done under the present project, which includes an estimate of $150,000 for contingencies, and they recommend that this joint resolution do pass.

The communication from the Secretary of War is hereto attached as a part of this report.

[Senate Document No. 163, Fifty-fifth Congress, first session.]

WAR DEPARTMENT, *Washington, June 26, 1897.*

SIR: In response to concurrent resolution No. 9, Fifty-fifth Congress, first session, dated May 26, 1897, requesting "the Secretary of War to furnish the Congress with such information as he may have in his possession with reference to the present condition of the harbor of Cumberland Sound, and to inform the Congress whether any immediate action is necessary to protect the entrance from being closed against the commerce usually entering the port of Fernandina," I have the honor to transmit herewith a letter from the Chief of Engineers, dated June 25, 1897, together with a copy of a report on the subject from Capt. O. M. Carter, Corps of Engineers, dated June 15, 1897.

Very respectfully,

R. A. ALGER, *Secretary of War.*

The PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES SENATE.

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OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF ENGINEERS,
UNITED STATES ARMY,
Washington, D. C., June 25, 1897.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of concurrent resolution No. 9, passed by the Senate May 26, 1897, and by the House of Representatives June 10, 1897, requesting the Secretary of War "to furnish the Congress with such information as he may have in his possession with reference to the present condition of the harbor of Cumberland Sound, and to inform the Congress whether any immediate action is necessary to protect the entrance from being closed against the commerce usually entering the port of Fernandina."

In answer to the reference of the above resolution to this office for report, I have the honor to submit the accompanying copy of letter of June 15, 1897, with two maps, from Capt. O. M. Carter, Corps of Engineers, on the subject, and beg to invite attention to the views of that officer as expressed in the closing paragraph, as follows:

"In view of the urgency of the situation, and of the manifest advantages to the United States of aiding artificially in opening the new channel now, I am of opinion that the sum of $500,000 should be made available immediately, $50,000 of which should be used for sluicing and dredging, and the balance for raising the north and south jetties under the existing contract, without which work dredging will give no satisfactory or permanent relief."

The concurrent resolution is herewith returned.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

JOHN M. WILSON,
Brig. Gen., Chief of Engineers, U. S. Army.

Hon. R. A. ALGER,
Secretary of War.

—

REPORT OF CAPT. O. M. CARTER, CORPS OF ENGINEERS, ON CONDITION OF THE HARBOR AT CUMBERLAND SOUND.

UNITED STATES ENGINEER OFFICE,
Savannah, Ga., June 15, 1897.

GENERAL: In compliance with your instructions of the 11th instant, and in accordance with the provisions of a concurrent resolution of Congress "that the Secretary of War be requested to furnish the Congress with such information as he may have in his possession with reference to the present condition of the harbor at Cumberland Sound, and to inform the Congress whether any immediate action is necessary to protect the entrance from being closed against the commerce usually entering the port of Fernandina," I have the honor to submit the following report:

The project for improving the entrance to Cumberland Sound, which was submitted by the late Gen. Q. A. Gillmore, Corps of Engineers, in 1879, and which was revised in 1891, and again in 1895, aims at securing a navigable depth across the bar of 19 feet at mean low water. The mean rise and fall of tide is 5.9 feet.

Operations under that project were begun in 1880, but on account of the lack of any system in supplying funds, which have been provided at long intervals and in totally inadequate amounts, it has been impossible to push forward the works with proper energy; hence they have not obtained at any time the desired controlling influence on the most important hydrographic feature, the channel location, and the navigable bar channel has deserted the desired route entirely, the present channel crossing the south jetty about 7,000 feet seaward of its initial point. From the jetty crossing, the sailing range runs about south 78° 50' east, reaching deep water at a distance of somewhat more than a mile and at a point nearly half a mile south of the outer end of the south jetty. The shoalest point on this line is found near its outer end, where the inner and the outer 15-foot curves are separated by a belt from 300 to 500 feet wide, with least mean low-water depths of somewhat less than 13 feet.

A comparison of the various surveys made since 1888 shows, as might be expected under the circumstances, a gradual shifting of the channel to the south. Moreover, the period of increased depths upon which the channel entered in 1893, and which lasted until quite recently, is ended, the shoaling seriously threatening the commerce of the port of Fernandina.

The discharge finds so much resistance in the long, shallow south channel that a new short northern route is opening, its location being nearly parallel to the north jetty and about 1,000 feet from it, thus forming an almost direct continuation of the deep water of Amelia Basin. The erosion of this new channel began in 1895, following the extension of the north jetty, and has advanced so rapidly that the channel now extends more than 3,000 feet into the shoal, with a least width of more than 400 feet between the 12-foot curves. Depths of more than 3 fathoms are now found where a sand shoal, bare at low water, existed a few years ago. Between the extreme easterly end of this 12-foot pocket and the 12-foot curve outside the bar there is still a stretch of about half a mile of lesser depth. This barrier is daily decreasing, and there is reason to believe that sooner or later it will break down altogether and an uninterrupted new north channel be established, when the closing of the gap in the south jetty can be commenced.

The river and harbor act of June 3, 1896, appropriated $5,000 for improving Cumberland Sound, and provided "that contracts may be entered into by the Secretary of War for such material and work as may be necessary to complete the present project, to be paid for as appropriations may from time to time be made by law, not to exceed in the aggregate $2,345,000, exclusive of amount herein and heretofore appropriated."

Under the provisions of that act a contract was entered into on October 8, 1896, with the Atlantic Contracting Company, of New York, for all of the material and labor necessary to complete the work. Operations have been carried on with such vigor by that company that the funds provided by the sundry civil bill of June 4, 1897, will not suffice to pay for what has been done already.

Presumably, however, there is a limit to the readiness and the ability of the company to continue work without payment, and that limit may be reached during this critical period, when the new north channel is in process of formation, when an opportunity is afforded to close the sailing gap in the south jetty to confine the channel between the jetties and increase the scour there, all without interfering with navigation, and when a failure to do this immediately means the loss of an opportunity for quick success, which may not be presented again, and the probable closing of the port of Fernandina against much of its usual commerce.

In view of the urgency of the situation and of the manifest advantages to the United States of aiding artificially in opening the new channel now, I am of opinion that the sum of $500,000 should be made available immediately, $50,000 of which should be used for sluicing and dredging, and the balance for raising the north and south jetties under the existing contract, without which work dredging will give no satisfactory or permanent relief.

Two charts accompany this report.

Respectfully submitted.

O. M. CARTER,
Captain, Corps of Engineers.

Brig. Gen. JOHN M. WILSON,
Chief of Engineers, U. S. A.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION.

Mr. WELLINGTON. Mr. President, I rise to a question of personal privilege. I hold in my hand a copy of the Washington Post of this morning, and upon the front page will be found an article which is so grossly unjust and so utterly untrue that I can not allow it to pass by unchallenged. In it I find an attempt but thinly veiled to injure me with the constituency I have in my State and embroil me unnecessarily with the President of the United States. The article is headed:

MR. WARNER WILL WIN—THE CONSUL TO LEIPSIC IS CERTAIN TO BE CONFIRMED—LIVELY SCENES IN COMMITTEE—MR. WARNER, SR., AND SENATOR WELLINGTON MEET FACE TO FACE—THE SENATOR ATTACKS BOTH FATHER AND SON, AND ALSO VENTS CONSIDERABLE SPLEEN UPON THE PRESIDENT, CRITICISING THE APPOINTMENTS MADE BY THE LATTER—SOME OF THE INSIDE FACTS.

Then they go on in this article to predict that Mr. Warner will be confirmed. They give what purports to be a full history of the meeting of the committee yesterday.

In the first place, according to my idea, a committee which meets to consider a nomination which the Senate itself is later to consider in executive session, certainly meets in executive session itself, and all the proceedings of that committee should be secret and held sacred there. I want to know how this newspaper procured a report of the proceedings of that committee, and why, when that report was made, it was not made truthfully and without coloring. I do not presume for a moment that any officer or member of that committee could have made the report. Who else could have made it? I refused to be interviewed upon the facts in the case. Who could have made it but that other man, the creature who was present yesterday to give testimony before the committee? What is the report here given? Let me read a part of it:

In his intense antagonism Senator WELLINGTON has not only arrayed himself against all of Mr. Warner's friends and against the entire delegation from the State, to say nothing of Governor Lowndes and other influential Maryland Republicans, but he has gone out his way to attack the President in the most bitter terms. The angry scorn with which he mentioned Mr.

McKinley's name in the committee room yesterday was but one of the many interesting features of a very remarkable occasion. Nearly every member of the committee was present.

Then later on they say:

The Democrats had very little to say, although they watched the developments with intense interest. The committee adjourned without action and without even fixing a day upon which to reassemble. It is known, however, that the impression created by Mr. Warner's presentation of his son's case was most favorable, etc.

In the first place, here is a charge made that I have arrayed against myself the entire Maryland delegation. It is a falsehood, without any foundation in fact whatever. The Maryland delegation will stand with me in this fight. They say I have arrayed against me the governor of the State. It is false, false from the bottom up. They say that but yesterday, in the committee room, I attacked the President of the United States. It is false again. I did no such thing. I have criticised the appointments of President McKinley. I am a free man; I am a Senator of the United States, and I reserve to myself that liberty of judgment which will permit me to criticise any appointment made by the President of the United States which in my judgment is an error, or which, for the benefit of the service, should not have been made.

I have criticised the appointments of President McKinley, and should the occasion offer when in my judgment it is necessary I will do so again. But when I did criticise them yesterday, it was in a respectful manner. I did not "vent" any "spleen," and I do not intend that this newspaper shall place me falsely either with the President of the United States or with my constituency.

I have been the friend of the Administration. I was the friend of the present President of the United States before his nomination. I stood by him in the convention. I worked and labored day and night in the State of Maryland to bring that ancient Bourbon State out of the Democratic column and place it among the triumphant States which cast their votes for William McKinley, and we accomplished a work in that State which in my judgment deserves some consideration. We converted a Democratic majority of 30,000 into a Republican majority of three and thirty thousand for William McKinley. That was some of the work we did there.

I have a right to expect the same consideration that is given to other Senators upon the Republican side of the Chamber. I have that same right, but if it is not to be given to me, well and good. The moan will soon be made. I can exist without it.

But, sir, if the price of patronage is to be servile obedience, then I refuse to give it. I am a free man. I stand upon my prerogatives as a Senator of the United States, and I will not be misrepresented. I will not be misjudged by reason of such utterly untrue newspaper reports.

Now, then, going on with this villainous statement, they say:

Mr. WELLINGTON was plainly in angry and ill-natured mood when he appeared before the committee. He began at once with an attack upon the character of young Mr. Warner, although in the same breath almost he admitted having recommended him for the consulship at Southampton. He claimed, however, that he had simply signed a letter which Mr. Warner, sr., had written, and that he had not had the time to make any inquiries, etc.

Then they go on further:

To this letter, Mr. WELLINGTON admitted, the President had paid no attention, not even acknowledging it, but on the very day that it was received sent in Mr. Warner's name to the Senate.

This seemed to be an affront which Mr. WELLINGTON could not brook without feeling the highest degree of resentment. "I want to know," he exclaimed, "whether I am to have control of the Maryland appointments or not? If I am, I want to know it; if not, I wash my hands of the whole thing."

Here is a statement that is utterly untrue. No such words were ever uttered in the committee rooms, and every member of the committee who was there present will say that they were not.

As he continued Mr. WELLINGTON grew more and more excited. He was especially incensed at a report that Mr. Warner had assisted him to be elected Senator. "Why," said he, "Mr. Warner can not vote in Maryland and he can not influence another vote there or anywhere else."

And right here there is just enough of truth to give it some foundation, because that is a fact.

In conclusion, he made an almost piteous appeal to the committee to stand by him and reject the nomination. "I have been badly treated by the President," he complained, "and although the only Republican Senator from my State, I am being ignored." He thought that Senatorial courtesy ought to be invoked in his behalf, and asserted that he had given enough reasons to prevent confirmation. He acknowledged that he knew nothing detrimental to the young man, except through mere hearsay, and that all the rumors and stories went back to college time. He continued to talk very rapidly and very loudly, repeating his former statements, and constantly harping on the fact that he had been affronted and insulted by the President.

Another falsehood, another misstatement, another thing that can only be characterized in its right way if I were to use, with reference to the author, that simple Saxon word which begins with an "l," ends with an "r," and has two little letters between, which the imagination of the Senate will furnish for itself.

Now, then, the article goes on to give a pretended reply of this creature, in which there is very little truth. It goes on further and states what purport to be the inside facts of the case. It is too long to inflict upon the Senate. I do not intend to do so upon this occasion. It was but a half hour before I came here that this infamous article was called to my attention, and as it endeavored to place me in a false position with the President, I could not for a moment hesitate to resent it.

Mr. President, I intend to be placed fairly. I intend to be upon this floor, as I came here, a Republican, standing by Republican principles and voting for a Republican tariff bill in line with the Administration of President McKinley from first to last. But if my Senatorial prerogatives are to be interfered with, then I will make war so far as that is concerned. I did not make a "piteous appeal" to the committee of the Senate. I ask no favors from the committee or from the Senate, but I say to the committee and to the Senate I have a right to have impartial justice, and I have a right to be treated as other Senators have been treated in this body. I have a right to the advantage of Senatorial prerogative, and if that is not given me, then I will know the reason why. I will remain upon the floor of the Senate; there will be no driving me out. I will remain right here. No man ever struck me a blow but that I returned it with interest, and they will find me on deck if the struggle is to begin.

HOUSE BILL REFERRED.

The bill (H. R. 3486) to allow the distillery of the New England Distilling Company and the rectifying house of Mullins & Crigler, both situated in Covington, Ky., to be operated within 600 feet of each other was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Finance.

THE TARIFF BILL.

Mr. ALLISON. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of House bill 379.

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 379) to provide revenue for the Government and to encourage the industries of the United States.

Mr. WHITE. Several Senators this morning, and a number yesterday evening, spoke to members of the Committee on Finance on this side of the Chamber with relation to the proposed amendments to the bill. The situation is such that we ought to have, and if possible this morning, all the amendments which the committee design to propose, especially those of any importance. There may be, no doubt, and will be found, clerical errors in the bill, but I refer to those of a vital character.

We have reached a point where we ought to know the position of the committee with reference to the matter of a duty on tea, and also beer, and likewise the antitrust amendment, and any other matter of a similar important character connected with the legislation. Members of the Senate have a right to see those amendments, and while we have no disposition to press the committee at all, we feel it our duty to those who are not as well informed upon the bill as members of the Republican caucus to make this suggestion. I trust that it will be received not as undue urging at all, but as made in view of the necessities of the situation and the lateness of the hour. We ought to pass the bill to-day or to-morrow if possible.

Mr. PETTUS. At the proper time I will ask that the Senate take under consideration an amendment proposed in reference to the sugar trust. It was offered on the 16th of June.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Alabama sends to the desk an amendment submitted by him on the 16th of June.

Mr. ALLISON. It is the intention of the committee this morning to go on with the bill, beginning on page 190. As suggested by the Senator from California, I think Senators have a right to know as respects important amendments that may be offered hereafter. There is one amendment which has not been offered that probably will be offered some time during the day relating to the increase of revenue. As the sections relating to beer, etc., will be reached in a few moments, I will say to the Senator that it is the intention of the committee to ask that the amendments of the committee be disagreed to. I trust the Senator will allow us a little time to consider the question of tea, which was passed over when reached.

Mr. WHITE. Of course I have no disposition, as the Senator knows, to incommode him in the slightest degree; but I made the suggestion in view of the fact that my attention was called to the matter by many Senators who want to know, and who think that the members of the committee on this side ought to have the information. We have been unable to furnish it. I presume, as to the amendment affecting the revenue to which the Senator alludes, I may judge what it is from the newspapers, which, however, we were told this morning, and it rather surprised me, are unreliable. I observed in the newspapers that there is an amendment being prepared with reference to a stamp tax; and if that is the case I trust the Senator will present it as soon as he possibly can, so that we may examine it.

Mr. ALLISON. That will be done as quickly as we can.

Mr. TELLER. I should like to inquire of the Senator from Iowa if it is correct that the committee are preparing an amendment of the character mentioned—an excise tax?

Mr. ALLISON. Some Senators have under consideration matters relating to stamps upon certain transfers of stock. That is all that I know is in preparation, and it will be submitted to the Senate as soon as possible.

Mr. TELLER. Inasmuch as there seems to be some hunting for revenue by the caucus at least, I do not know whether by the committee or not, I should like to inquire whether the committee or the caucus have considered the suggestions made by the Secretary of the Treasury that we could get more revenue by decreasing the tax on spirits? Is that subject under consideration or is it considered worthy of consideration by the committee or the caucus?

Mr. ALLISON. Of course what is said in caucus is not to be divulged; it is kept secret under the ordinary rules of caucus proceedings. I will say as respects the matter of distilled spirits that the committee have very carefully considered that question and also the recommendation of the Secretary of the Treasury in that regard. For myself, I believe that a lower rate upon distilled spirits in time would produce perhaps a greater revenue, but the committee have had more than a dozen amendments relating to the question of distilled spirits, not only in regard to the reduction of revenue, but as respects all the details and regulations concerning the treatment of the tax. I myself think it is unwise for us on this tariff bill to undertake at this time to revise all the necessary amendments to a matter so important as the collection of the tax upon distilled spirits.

I believe that there are many necessary and essential modifications that should be made to the tax upon distilled spirits, but I think it is manifestly impossible for us now to deal carefully, deliberately, and wisely with a matter that involves nearly $10,000,000 of revenue to the Government. So I think I can say to the Senator from Colorado and to the Senate that it is the belief of the Committee on Finance, or at least of the Republican members of it, who have considered this question, that it ought to be taken up with care and deliberation immediately upon the reassembling of Congress in December, and that the whole question should be gone over at that time as to the true tax upon distilled spirits and the many inequalities and injustices in reference to the transportation of spirits, its method of storing, its use in manufacture, etc.

It is a matter of magnitude, which of course relates to the revenue, but it relates to very many other questions, and I do not think we can deal with it wisely upon the pending bill. Although the Secretary of the Treasury may be right (and I believe he is right in the sense that a lighter tax upon distilled spirits would produce more revenue in the end than the one that we have now), it is manifest to me that it will produce less revenue within the next year, and the next year is the time when we shall need revenue the most. I also believe that the distilled-spirits tax at the high rate which we now have of $1.10 a gallon can be more efficiently enforced than it is now, and I have no doubt, at least I hope there is no doubt, that more efficient measures will be taken to enforce the existing law until such time as we can make changes in it.

Mr. TELLER. If the Senator is correct that a change of tax will necessitate a lowering of the revenue collected on spirits for a time, this is the proper time for him to try his experiment, if any experiment it is, because we have now in the Treasury enough money so that if the revenue should fall off for the next year and a half or two years we would still get along without borrowing any additional money. If that is to be the case, we had better make this movement now instead of waiting until we have exhausted the money in the Treasury and then try the experiment.

If the tax was reduced from $1.10 to 70 cents, it would not necessitate any change in the machinery or in the method of transportation or anything else. The Government would simply collect from the distiller 70 cents where it had been collecting $1.10, and the disposition or temptation on the part of certain people to commit frauds, where the great leak is, would be taken away.

Mr. ALLISON. If the Senator will allow me, I will state that the Secretary of the Treasury in recommending a reduction of the tax does not recommend 70 cents, as I understand him, but he does recommend in connection with that reduction that there shall be a complete change in other sections of the law. So his own recommendation indicates that we must go thoroughly into the whole question of distilled spirits if we are to reduce the tax, and for that reason we are not ready to do it now.

Mr. TELLER. The Secretary of the Treasury says that the revenue-getting point is 70 cents.

Mr. LINDSAY. With the permission of the Senator, I will send to the Secretary's desk and have read a letter which I find in the newspapers, written by the Secretary of the Treasury only a day or two since, which shows that he desires nothing except a reduction of the tax.

Mr. TELLER. I have the letter on my table. I was about to refer to it. Let it be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

WASHINGTON, *June 20.*

Under date of June 19 Secretary Gage addressed the following letter to Senator BURROWS concerning the proposed tax on distilled spirits:

SIR: Your letter of the 17th instant relative to the legislative proposition to secure increased revenue by reducing the rate of tax on distilled spirits has been received.

In reply, you are informed that I do not think it advisable to endanger the passage of this measure by appending to it a provision shortening the period during which the spirits may remain in the bonded warehouses on the distillery premises. The allusion in my letter to which you refer, relating to the shortening of this bonded period, was merely in the nature of a suggestion, and was not intended as a recommendation.

My attention has just been called to this matter, in connection with the proposition to reduce the tax, and I considered it proper that the Congress should have all the facts that were in my possession. The question as to the length of the bonded period is sufficiently complex to be a separate measure. See joint resolution of March 28, 1878 (20 Stat., page 249), and act of May 28, 1880 (21 Stat., page 145), where this question is considered without reference to any rate of tax. See also, on the other hand, the acts of June 6, 1872, (17 Stat., page 238), fixing the rate of tax at 70 cents per gallon, and the act of March 3, 1875 (18 Stat., page 339), establishing the tax rate at 90 cents per gallon. In neither of these last two named acts, which have produced nearly all the revenue derived from distilled spirits, is there any provision modifying the length of the bonded period.

I would state finally that the two questions are separable; that the question of the reduction of the rate of tax is of transcendent importance; and I think that if the introduction of the proposition to change the bonded period, and its consideration in connection with fixing the tax rate, seriously complicates or imperils the needful legislation with reference to the revenue, it should be eliminated from the question.

Respectfully, yours,

L. J. GAGE, *Secretary.*

Hon. J. C. BURROWS, *United States Senate.*

Mr. TELLER. Mr President——

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Alabama [Mr. PETTUS] is entitled to the floor.

Mr. TELLER. I had the floor, I believe, and I did not yield the floor.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair recognized the Senator from Alabama [Mr. PETTUS], and he has been standing on the floor while the Senator from Colorado [Mr. TELLER] and the Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON] were exchanging inquiries and answers.

Mr. TELLER. The custom of the Senate has been that when a Senator was interrupted he might sit down. I do not care about the floor; only I want the traditions and decencies of the Senate preserved. I was taken off the floor, as I could be only with my own consent, to have a paper read. I am entitled to the floor, whether the Chair thinks so or not; but it is a matter of no particular consequence to me whether I have the floor now or whether I have it later on, except I desire, as I repeat, that the traditions and decencies of the Senate be preserved. I yield to the Senator from Alabama.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Alabama desire the floor?

Mr. PETTUS. Mr. President, I surely intended to treat the distinguished Senator from Colorado with the utmost courtesy. My understanding was that I had the floor when he intervened, and I stood until I thought he was through; but if he desires to proceed further, I am entirely willing to yield to him.

Mr. TELLER. Go on.

Mr. TELLER subsequently said: Mr. President, I desire to make a personal explanation.

This morning I was taken off the floor, as it seemed to me, rather summarily. I was not quite certain whether I was taken off the floor by the Senator from Alabama who sits farthest from me [Mr. PETTUS] or by the Chair; but I was disposed to resent it. I supposed I was taken off the floor because I had dropped into my seat while I was listening to the reading of the paper offered by the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. LINDSAY], he having asked me if I would yield to him for that purpose.

I learned afterwards that I was not entitled to the floor at all; that the Senator from Alabama was entitled to the floor, and that therefore the ruling of the Chair was eminently proper in saying that the Senator from Alabama was entitled to the floor, for I had been speaking by the courtesy of that Senator, and in his time—a fact which I did not know. Therefore I was inclined to think that either the Chair or the Senator from Alabama had done me some injustice. I find that I was wrong and the Chair and the Senator from Alabama were right.

Mr. PETTUS. I made a motion, Mr. President, to take up for consideration an amendment to this bill in reference to the sugar trust, as it is called, or rather the importers of sugar, attempting to raise or depress the market value of that article, and I ask that it be taken up for consideration.

Mr. ALLISON. If the Senator from Alabama will excuse me, I think it was the general purpose to go on with the amendments of the committee—I supposed that was the understanding—until they were disposed of; and, if it would suit his convenience, I should prefer to go on with them, at least for a while this morning, and consider the amendments of the committee which have not yet been disposed of.

Mr. PETTUS. To what hour, or to about what hour?

Mr. ALLISON. I hope we shall get through them in the course of two or three hours. The Senator will not lose his opportunity, as he understands, of course, to have his amendment considered.

Mr. PETTUS. Very well, Mr. President, I do not desire to thrust this matter into any improper place.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask to go back to paragraph 183, one of the omitted paragraphs, on page 58.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The paragraph will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

183. Nickel (except nickel matte), nickel oxide, alloy of any kind in which nickel is the component material of chief value, 6 cents per pound.

Mr. TELLER. Mr. President, I do not desire to continue the discussion at this time on the question as to whether a tax on whisky is proper or not. I do not speak for the Administration, and I have no connection with it, except as a member of this body. I understand that the Secretary of the Treasury has sent here two letters, in which he states his desire that there shall be legislation at this session and in this bill upon this question, for the purpose of increasing the revenue. I understand—I do not know whether it is true or not—that in the pocket of a Senator of the Secretary's party there is an amendment prepared at the Treasury Department and sent here to be introduced, to carry out his idea as to what the tax should be upon this article.

I do not want to interfere with the orderly disposition of this bill. I do not propose to put myself in a position to be charged with unnecessary delay, but I want to notify the committee now that before the bill is disposed of I shall discuss the question as to what ought to be the tax upon spirits. I shall attempt to show that the committee are giving away at least $2,000,000 a month of revenue which might be collected, and might be collected without detriment to the public interests or to the interests of the honest producers of spirits. I shall take occasion to do that when the Senator who has the bill in charge indicates that he has gotten through with his proposed amendments.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Mr. President, the receipts for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1895, from the tax on distilled spirits made from materials other than peaches, apples, grapes, etc., were, in round numbers, $73,741,000. The next year, 1896, the receipts were practically the same, $73,743,000. So it is true that the increased tax did not produce additional revenue, but the condition of business was such that I think it will be found that there was not so much whisky or spirits consumed.

But what I wish particularly to say is, that we did collect in 1896 $73,743,000 on spirits at $1.10 a gallon. Upon the same amount, with the tax reduced to 90 cents a gallon, we should collect about $10,000,000 less.

Mr. TELLER. I shall discuss that when the time comes, and shall show the fallacy of that statement.

Mr. ALLISON. Returning to paragraph 183, I move to strike out the paragraph and insert what I send to the Secretary's desk.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Iowa will be stated.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to strike out paragraph 183, and in lieu thereof to insert the following:

Nickel ore, 3 cents per pound on the nickel contained therein; nickel matte, 4 cents per pound on the nickel contained therein; nickel and nickel oxide alloy of any kind, in which nickel is the component material of chief value, 8 cents per pound.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Without objection, the new paragraph will be considered as agreed to.

Mr. VEST. Of course we object, Mr. President, but, as I have said before, we can not help ourselves. But I want to call attention again to the absolute absurdity of this increase. The rate under the existing law on this article is 6 cents, and the House of Representatives put the same rate upon this article. There can be no reason for it, as the comparative statement of the commercial situation shows. We exported from this country, in 1896, $442,795 worth of nickel and we imported $58,000 worth. Why the necessity for putting on this additional duty? It will not increase the revenue. It can not be done for the purpose of protection, because this enormous excess of exports over imports shows that we command the American market and send abroad a large amount of this commodity.

Mr. ALLISON. Has the paragraph been agreed to?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The paragraph has been agreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask to modify paragraph 605, on page 179, to correspond with the amendment just made. I send the amendment I propose to the desk.

The SECRETARY. In paragraph 605, on page 179, line 2, after the word "silver," it is proposed to insert "or;" and after the word "copper," in the same line, to strike out the words "or nickel and nickel matte;" so as to read:

Ores of gold, silver, or copper matte, etc.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. Now I ask that we go on with the bill at page 190.

The SECRETARY. On page 190, beginning in line 22, the Committee on Finance reported to strike out section 3, as follows:

SEC. 3. That for the purpose of equalizing the trade of the United States with foreign countries and their colonies producing and exporting to this country the following articles: Argols, or crude tartar, or wine lees, crude; chicle; brandies, manufactured or distilled from grain or other materials and not specially provided for in this act; champagne and all other sparkling wines; still wines, including ginger wine or ginger cordial, and vermuth; laces made of silk, or of which silk is the component material of chief value; all mineral waters, and all imitations of natural mineral waters, and all artificial mineral waters, not specially provided for in this act; paintings and statuary; sugar, molasses, and other articles provided for in paragraph 208 of Schedule E of this act, or any of them, the President be, and he is hereby, authorized, as soon as may be after the passage of this act, and from time to time thereafter, to enter into negotiations with the governments of those countries exporting to the United States the above-mentioned articles, or any of them, with a view to the arrangement of commercial agreements in which reciprocal and equivalent concessions may be secured in favor of the products and manufactures of the United States; and whenever the government of any country or colony producing and exporting to the United States the above-mentioned articles, or any of them, shall enter into a commercial agreement with the United States, or make concessions in favor of the products or manufactures thereof, which in the judgment of the President shall be reciprocal and equivalent, he shall be, and he is hereby, authorized and empowered to suspend, during the time of such agreement or concession, by proclamation to that effect, the imposition and collection of the duties mentioned in this act on such article or articles so exported to the United States from such country or colony, and thereupon and thereafter the duties levied, collected, and paid upon such article or articles shall be as follows, namely:

Argols, or crude tartar, or wine lees, crude, containing not more than 40 per cent of bitartrate of potash, one-half of 1 cent per pound; containing more than 40 per cent of bitartrate of potash, 1 cent per pound.

Chicle, 7 cents per pound.

Brandies, manufactured or distilled from grain or other materials and not specially provided for in this act, $2 per proof gallon.

Champagne and all other sparkling wines, in bottles containing not more than 1 quart and more than 1 pint, $6 per dozen; containing not more than 1 pint each and more than one-half pint, $3 per dozen; containing one-half pint each or less, $1.50 per dozen; in bottles or other vessels containing more than 1 quart each, in addition to $6 per dozen bottles on the quantities in excess of 1 quart, at the rate of $1.90 per gallon.

Still wines, including ginger wine or ginger cordial and vermuth, in casks, 50 cents per gallon; in bottles or jugs, per case of 1 dozen bottles or jugs containing each not more than 1 quart and more than 1 pint, or 24 bottles or jugs containing each not more than 1 pint, $1.60 per case, and any excess beyond these quantities found in such bottles or jugs shall be subject to a duty of 5 cents per pint or fractional part thereof, but no separate or additional duty shall be assessed upon the bottles or jugs.

Laces made of silk, or of which silk is the component material of chief value, 55 per cent ad valorem.

All mineral waters, and all imitations of natural mineral waters, and all artificial mineral waters, not specially provided for in this act, in green or colored glass bottles containing not more than 1 pint, 20 cents per dozen; if containing more than 1 pint and not more than 1 quart, 28 cents per dozen bottles, but no separate or additional duty shall be assessed upon the bottles; if imported otherwise than in plain green or colored glass bottles, or if imported in such bottles containing more than 1 quart, 20 cents per gallon, and in addition thereto duty shall be collected on the bottles and other coverings at the same rate as would be charged if imported empty or separately.

Paintings in oil or water colors, pastels, pen and ink drawings, and statuary, not specially provided for in this act, 30 per cent ad valorem.

Sugar, molasses, and other articles provided for in paragraph 208 of Schedule E of this act, 92 per cent of the duty imposed thereon in said paragraph 208.

And it is further provided that with a view to secure reciprocal trade with countries producing the following articles, whenever and so often as the President shall be satisfied that the government of any country, or colony of such government, producing and exporting to the United States coffee, tea, and hides, or any of such articles, imposes duties or other exactions upon the agricultural, manufactured, or other products of the United States, which, in view of the free introduction of such coffee, tea, and hides into the United States, he may deem to be reciprocally unequal and unreasonable, he shall have the power and it shall be his duty to suspend, by proclamation to that effect, the provisions of this act relating to the free introduction of such coffee, tea, and hides, raw or uncured, whether dry, salted, or pickled; Angora goatskins, raw, without the wool, unmanufactured; asses' skins, raw or unmanufactured; and skins, except sheepskins with the wool on, of the products of such country or colony, for such time as he shall deem just; and in such case and during such suspension duties shall be levied, collected, and paid upon coffee, tea, and hides, the products or exports from such designated country, as follows:

On coffee, 3 cents per pound.

On tea, 10 cents per pound.

Hides, raw or uncured, whether dry, salted, or pickled; Angora goatskins, raw, without the wool, unmanufactured; asses' skins, raw or unmanufactured; and skins, except sheepskins, with the wool on, 1½ cents per pound.

And in lieu thereof to insert:

SEC. 3. That whenever any country, dependency, or colony shall pay or bestow, directly or indirectly, any bounty or grant upon the exportation of any article or merchandise from such country, dependency, or colony, and such article or merchandise is dutiable under the provisions of this act, then upon the importation of any such article or merchandise into the United States, whether the same shall be imported directly from the country of production or otherwise, and whether such article or merchandise is imported in the same condition as when exported from the country of production or has been changed in condition by remanufacture or otherwise, there shall be levied and paid, in all such cases, in addition to the duties otherwise imposed by this act, an additional duty equal to the net amount of such bounty or grant, however the same be paid or bestowed. The net amount of all such bounties or grants shall be from time to time ascertained, determined, and declared by the Secretary of the Treasury, who shall make all needful regulations for the identification of such articles and merchandise and for the assessment and collection of such additional duties.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the amendment reported by the Committee on Finance.

Mr. GRAY. Mr. President, section 3, on page 195, is important, and I should like to have the attention of the Senator from Iowa a moment in order to ascertain whether there is to be any opportunity for modifying it. It ought to be modified, because there is a somewhat similar provision in the present law; and in my

opinion, after a very careful examination of the documents bearing upon it, it contravenes the treaty obligations of the United States with at least one, and perhaps two, of the great countries of Europe—Prussia and Austria-Hungary. The present law, known as the Wilson law, has a provision, I believe—I quote from memory—that wherever any country, dependency, or colony shall pay an export bounty upon any article, in that case—I do not know that it says sugar, but any article, which includes sugar——

Mr. ALLISON. The provision in the present law relates to sugar.

Mr. GRAY. An export bounty upon sugar.

That in that case there should be an additional duty of 10 per cent upon the sugar of that character, refined sugar imported into the United States.

Mr. ALLISON. One-tenth of a cent a pound.

Mr. GRAY. One-tenth of a cent a pound. I was thinking of the 10 per cent of the committee—one-tenth of a cent a pound; which was supposed to be a compensation to the sugar trust or to the sugar manufacturers of this country for the stimulus given to importations from abroad by the export bounty of the country paying it.

Mr. President, whatever may have been the ground for that additional duty, it certainly resulted in an increased tax to the people of the United States and an increased subsidy to the manufacturers of sugar in this country.

There is under the present law a differential of one-eighth of a cent, I believe, in favor of the sugar refiners of this country, and this one-tenth of a cent a pound added a tenth to the eighth of a cent protection, to the advantage given to the American sugar refiners over those abroad in the countries which pay this export bounty; and that was the case with the countries from which the largest import of sugar was made into the United States. I think practically it was another difficulty, another impediment, placed in the way of the importation of this competing product from the countries which most largely exported it.

A protest has been made by the Government of Germany, by His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Germany, through the proper channel, the State Department, and to the Congress of the United States, protesting against the imposition of this additional duty upon the ground that it is in violation of the treaty stipulations of the United States. After very carefully considering the protest, I am of that opinion, and of the opinion that the United States can not afford, consistently with its honor and with its reputation as a treaty-observing power, to thus put in doubt, even much less openly and clearly violate the treaty—put in doubt its good faith in regard to the obligations it is under to Prussia and Austria-Hungary.

Mr. President, I will have read, because I believe it is a public document, it having been printed, this protest of the German ambassador in behalf of his Government, addressed to the Secretary of State, the proper channel through which such communications should be made, which protest, as I believe, has been sent by the Secretary of State to the Finance Committee, and therefore is properly in the possession of the Senate.

The Secretary read as follows:

[Translation.]

Note of the German ambassador, addressed to the Secretary of State, April 5, 1897, protesting against any additional duty being levied on German sugar on account of export bounties being paid by Germany.

IMPERIAL GERMAN EMBASSY, *Washington, D. C., April 5, 1897.*

MR. SECRETARY OF STATE:

The bill approved by the House of Representatives, now before the Senate of the United States (H. R. 379), provides in Schedule E, No. 206, that sugars, etc., the product of any country which pays, directly or indirectly, a bounty on the export thereof, shall pay, apart from the actual duty set forth in the said No. 206, an additional duty equal to such export bounty so far as this bounty shall be in excess of any (internal) tax collected upon such sugars or upon the raw materials (beet or cane) used in their manufacture.

By instruction of the Imperial Government, I have the honor respectfully to invite your excellency's attention to the fact that this provision can not be reconciled with the right of the most favored nation, which is granted by existing treaty stipulations to German products with respect to the duties to be imposed upon them on entry into the United States. The above provision, should it become a law, would, on the contrary, by imposing upon German sugar a special additional duty and thereby establishing in the aggregate a higher duty than upon sugars from various other countries, seriously damage, in treaty violation, German exports to the United States.

Your excellency is aware that this question was already discussed in the year 1894 between the Imperial Government and the Government of the United States. I may, in especial, refer to the memorandum of this embassy of July 16, 1894, and to the note of August 28, 1894, addressed by my predecessor, Baron Saurma, to the Secretary of State, Mr. W. Q. Gresham, both of which are found printed on pages 234 and 235 of the proper volume of Foreign Relations of 1894.

It appears to me needless, therefore, to repeat here the text of these two documents; but I must say here emphatically that I accept in their entirety as my own the arguments advanced therein on the part of my predecessor in behalf of the opinion held by the Imperial Government. I must state, furthermore, here that the damage which threatens German exports from the provisions of the present bill before Congress is a much heavier one than that which resulted from the tariff law of August 28, 1894, as this law provided only for an additional duty of one-tenth of a cent per pound of German sugar, while the present bill, should it become a law, will entail a much higher additional duty upon German sugar.

As your excellency further knows, the Government of the United States has unreservedly recognized the justice of our protest against any additional duty based on our export bounty upon German sugar. This is clearly expressed in words in the report by Secretary of State W. Q. Gresham to the President of the United States, of October 12, 1894, a copy of which was communicated to this embassy in a note of December 7, 1894, and may be found printed on pages 236 to 239 of the proper volume of foreign relations for the year 1894. The President of the United States explicitly concurred in this view of the Secretary of State by recommending to Congress, in his annual message of December, 1894, the repeal of the additional duty upon German sugar. The Imperial Government may, therefore, entertain the hope that the Government of the United States will exert every endeavor to explain to Congress the importance of the existing treaty obligations between Germany and the United States, and the consequence to be adduced therefrom in order to prevent the proposed provision concerning the adding of the amount of the German export bounty to the duty upon German sugar from becoming a law in violation of treaty obligation.

On this occasion I may invite your excellency's attention to another point which my predecessor in 1894 only touched upon. On August 22, 1891, declarations were exchanged at Saratoga between Mr. Von Mumm, the imperial chargé d'affaires ad interim, and Mr. John W. Foster, specially empowered by the United States, which had on the one part the importation of German sugar into the United States in view, and on the other the importation of American pork into Germany. The United States made as the basis of these declarations the admission, free of duty, of German sugar, pursuant to the tariff act of October 1, 1890. The tariff act of August 28, 1894, had already shifted in an unfavorable way for Germany the premises upon which the exchange of these notes was effected, and they would be changed still more to the disadvantage of Germany if the present bill now before Congress should, without amendment concerning sugar, become a law.

The Imperial Government would in such event be compelled to regard the premises as defective upon which the German declarations had been based in the correspondence exchanged in August, 1891, and it would, moreover, be confronted with the question whether those advantages should be further continued which it had hitherto extended to the United States by applying to the importations from that country, especially with regard to its agricultural products, the minimum tariff established by the customs treaties concluded between the German Empire on the one hand and Austria-Hungary and several other states on the other.

With respect to the advantages which the United States, and especially its agriculture, has been afforded by these reduced duties, I may refer to the note of Mr. Von Mumm, chargé d'affaires ad interim, of December 10, 1891, in the annex to which the duty rates of the general German tariff are contrasted with the treaty tariff. This note will be found printed as an annex to the proclamation of the President of the United States of February 1, 1892.

Accept, etc.,

THIELMANN.

Hon. JOHN SHERMAN,
Secretary of State of the United States.

Mr. GRAY. Mr. President, I have asked that the letter from the German ambassador be read in extenso for the reason that I thought it proper that that protest, made through the proper channel, the Secretary of State, and meant to be brought to the attention of this body and of the House of Representatives, should be treated with proper respect. I think it is a courteous and well-reasoned paper. I do not think, as I said before, that the United States can afford to leave even in doubt its strict adherence to the spirit of any treaty obligation that it has undertaken with other nations. I think that the uberrima fides which ought to attend a great national obligation of that kind ought to be especially the care of the United States Senate to preserve.

Mr. President, the late Secretary of State, Mr. Gresham, to whom a similar protest was made in 1894, when the Wilson bill imposed this discriminating duty upon sugar from countries that gave an export bounty, made a report to the President, which is in print, and I will add it as an appendix to what I say. I shall not trouble the Senate to read it at length now. I think a good many who are here now will recollect its purport, and what I consider the unanswerable argument made by the then Secretary of State to the proposition made in the Wilson bill, and afterwards enacted into law, to enact this one-tenth of a cent differential on sugar coming from Germany, although it did not say Germany or Austria-Hungary, but it said on the sugar coming from any country to this from other countries where an export bounty was paid on sugar brought into the United States.

I do not think we have avoided the objections made to this class of differential duties by leaving out the specific naming of sugar as the article to which it is to be applied and the adopting of language such as is employed in section 3 of the amendment of the committee to the House provision, which says:

That whenever any country, dependency, or colony shall pay or bestow, directly or indirectly, any bounty, etc.—

then there shall be imposed an additional duty by the United States equal to the amount of that bounty upon such article. We all know that this is intended primarily, and perhaps exclusively, to apply to sugar. I do not, of course, mean any disrespect to the committee or to intimate that they were trying to evade a duty or to do indirectly what they would not be willing to do directly.

What is now in this section is undoubtedly what was enacted in the Wilson law, to compensate sugar manufacturers by an additional duty for the cheap sugar that came from bounty-paying countries. I do not believe that this is a just ground for such an imposition. I do not believe, because we can get the benefit of that policy, whether it be wise or unwise to pay a bounty on exports, that the people of this country should be deprived of cheap sugar by the legislative interference of the Congress of the United States. In this section as it is framed a larger protection, a larger differential, is given to the American manufacturer of refined sugar than under the Wilson law. Whereas in the Wilson Act it is one-tenth of a cent per pound on sugar coming from

bounty-paying countries, in this bill there is an additional duty equivalent to the amount of the export bounty, which I am informed in this case amounts on the two classes of sugar to twenty-seven one-hundredths and thirty-eight one-hundredths of a cent, respectively, three times as much on the average as the differential imposed in the Wilson Act. That passes without much discussion.

We have heard a good deal about what differential ought to be given to the sugar manufacturer, and I am not here to deny that the American refiners should be treated fairly and should receive consideration as other manufacturers have received consideration and on the same footing as other manufacturers seeking protection; but here is an additional and concealed protection, a concealed subsidy and bounty, which people do not understand, adding very materially to the cost of sugar in the United States and to the subsidy that is to be given indirectly by the tariff bill to the sugar refiners.

That it contravenes our express obligations assumed with Germany, I will call the attention of such Senators as are interested in the matter to the text of that treaty bearing upon the subject. It is the treaty between the United States and Prussia of May 1, 1828, upon which this provision is based. Article 5 of that treaty provides:

> No higher or other duties shall be imposed on the importation into the United States of any article the produce or manufacture of Prussia, and no higher or other duties shall be imposed on the importation into the Kingdom of Prussia of any article the produce or manufacture of the United States, than are or shall be payable on the like article being the produce or manufacture of any other foreign country.

Article 9 provides:

> If either party shall hereafter grant to any other nation any particular favor in navigation or commerce, it shall immediately become common to the other party, freely, where it is freely granted to such other nation, or on yielding the same compensation, when the grant is conditional.

Mr. President, the stipulations of that treaty are continued to the present time, even through the change of government and the consolidation of the German Empire, so far as Prussia is concerned as a constituent part of that Empire, and their case is properly represented by the protest of the ambassador from His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Germany.

Mr. President, it can not be urged that this bounty is a discrimination made by Germany or any other bounty-paying country against the United States which justifies a departure from the obligations of that treaty. It is a matter, as urged by the German ambassador, of domestic concern with Germany whether they shall pay an export bounty or not, and we have no more right to take cognizance of that export bounty as a matter of domestic policy in Germany than Germany would have a right to take note of the levying of a duty by the United States upon articles coming from Germany to this country, or we would have a right to take notice of the levying of a duty by Germany upon articles going into that country.

In the protest made by the then German ambassador in 1894 against the enactment of this provision of the Wilson bill, to which I have referred, there is this statement, which I think is very clear and conclusive as to the argument to which it addresses itself:

> The United States—
>
> Says the German ambassador in July, 1894—
>
> might, for instance, with the same reason assert that German manufacturers in any particular branch of industry paid lower taxes than elsewhere, and then, in order to bring about a so-called equalization, levy a discriminating duty on the German product concerned on its importation into an American port. It is quite evident that such a view of the case would render the most-favored-nation clause altogether illusory.

So it would, and if we are to treat the payment of bounty by Germany upon the export of German-grown sugar as a matter of which we can properly take cognizance in the framing of our tariff laws and make it the ground for a retaliatory enactment such as this, then the favored-nation clause of the treaty between the United States and Prussia or any other country would, as this gentleman says, be altogether illusory. It could be evaded.

Nations of the standing of the United States and Germany do not seek to find plausible grounds upon which to evade the obligations undertaken by solemn treaty. They seek to live up to the spirit as well as to the letter of treaties, and no other course is consistent with the dignity or the reputation and good name and fame of this great country. It is on behalf of my own country more than on behalf of Germany that I ask the attention of the Senate to this protest of the German ambassador, that we may preserve our own good faith above suspicion, that we may not be put in the category of a nation seeking to avoid it by plausible argument and by fine-spun reasoning which perhaps would be out of place in a magistrate's court.

Mr. President, I think I have said enough, certainly so far as I feel that I am concerned in the matter, to bring it to the attention of the Senate, and to have rehearsed briefly the grounds upon which I think the attention of the Senate is challenged in this matter and the reason why it should be given careful consideration, and why this provision should not be enacted into law without the gravest reason and the clearest exposition of the standing of the United States in regard to it. I do not believe we can do it without making ourselves amenable to the charge of broken faith, and under that, as an American citizen as well as an American Senator, I should be exceedingly restive.

APPENDIX.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, D. C., October 12, 1894.

THE PRESIDENT:

The note of the German ambassador of August 28, 1894, protests against the additional duty of one-tenth of a cent a pound imposed by the tariff act of that date on sugars which are imported from, or are the product of, a country that pays a bounty on the exportation of such sugars.

The protest is based upon "the fact that such a measure could not be reconciled with the most-favored-nation clause which governs the economic relations of the two countries," but that it is "rather a differentiation whereby the exportation of German sugar to the United States" is "more unfavorably treated than that of several other European countries." In this relation the German ambassador says:

"The granting of an export bounty is a domestic affair of Germany. An intent not to fulfill its treaty stipulations based upon the most-favored-nation clause can not therefore be inferred from this by any other country. [He also declares] that the view which has been manifested by the legislative bodies of the United States would render the effects of the most-favored-nation clause illusory, and that it would expose the contracting parties to the adoption of arbitrary duties, which it is the object of treaties containing a most-favored-nation clause to prevent."

By the tariff act of October 1, 1890, an additional duty of one-tenth of a cent a pound was imposed on sugars imported from countries that paid a greater bounty on the exportation of refined sugar than was paid on raw sugar. Against this additional duty it does not appear that the German Government protested. The reason, however, why no such protest was made may perhaps be discovered by a comparison of the provisions of the two acts. By the act of 1890 the additional duty was imposed only on sugars above No. 16 Dutch standard, and on them on the conditions above stated. By the act of 1894 the additional duty is imposed on all sugars, whether above or below that standard.

The value of sugars imported into the United States from the German Empire has been more than $15,000,000 annually. Of this aggregate only $200,000 or $300,000 worth, or about one seventy-fifth, was above No. 16 Dutch standard. The effect, therefore, of the additional duty of one-tenth of a cent under the tariff act of 1890 was comparatively insignificant.

The effect of the additional duty on all sugars under the act of 1894 is most important, since, other things being equal, the importer would not take the more highly dutiable German sugars till other sugars not subject to the additional duty had been absorbed. The additional duty under the act of 1894 affects, therefore, the whole of our large trade in German sugars.

We are now brought to the consideration of the legal aspects of the German ambassador's protest.

The treaty between the United States and Prussia of May 1, 1828, on which the protest is based, contains two stipulations that bear on the present question.

Article 5 provides:

"No higher or other duties shall be imposed on the importation into the United States of any article the produce or manufacture of Prussia, and no higher or other duties shall be imposed on the importation into the Kingdom of Prussia of any article the produce or manufacture of the United States, than are or shall be payable on the like article being the produce or manufacture of any other foreign country."

Article 9 provides:

"If either party shall hereafter grant to any other nation any particular favor in navigation or commerce, it shall immediately become common to the other party, freely, where it is freely granted to such other nation, or on yielding the same compensation, when the grant is conditional."

The stipulations of these two articles place the commercial intercourse of the United States and Prussia, not the entire German Empire, on the most-favored-nation basis; the first, by providing that the duties shall not be higher than "on the like articles being the produce or manufacture of any other foreign country;" the second, by providing that any particular favor granted by either party "to any other nation" shall "immediately become common to the other party."

In other words, these stipulations give either party the right, special engagements of reciprocity being excepted, to take the duties levied by the other on articles the produce or manufacture of any other country, and to demand the same treatment for its own products and manufactures. It is obviously no answer to this to say that certain discriminating duties levied by one party on the products or manufactures of the other are not confined to the latter, or to any country by name, but apply equally to all countries that may happen to fall in a certain category. If there is any other country, or if there are other countries, which either by name or by a general classification are exempt from the duty (special engagements of reciprocity being excepted), the requirements of the treaty are not fulfilled. To say that the discrimination is not specifically and explicitly national, or that it applies to more than one country, is a mere argumentative subterfuge, inconsistent with the clear intention of the treaty.

By the second article of the commercial convention between the United States and Great Britain of July 3, 1815, it is provided, in language almost identical with that in the subsequent treaty with Prussia, that—

"No higher or other duties shall be imposed on the importation into the territories of His Britannic Majesty in Europe, of any articles the growth, produce, or manufacture of the United States, than are or shall be payable on the like articles being the growth, produce, or manufacture of any other foreign country."

By the general customs act of 7 William IV, section 60 (1836), it was provided:

"That the duty upon rice, rough or in the husk, imported from the west coast of Africa, shall be, per quarter, 1 penny."

Under this act the general duty on the same kind of rice, which was commonly called rough rice, or paddy, was 2s. 6d. per bushel. By some members of the British Board of Trade it was argued that the discrimination was not inconsistent with the provisions of the convention, since it gave an advantage, not to the produce of any particular country, but only to articles of commerce shipped from a particular place, and treated the product of all countries alike.

Against this contention the United States protested.

In a note to Lord Palmerston of February 1, 1841, Mr. Stevenson, the minister of the United States in London, said:

"If it be admitted, as it must be, that by the provisions of the existing law all rice, wherever produced (and of course that of Africa), can be imported into British ports at the low duty of a penny per quarter, upon what principle can it be maintained that Africa is not thereby placed upon the footing of

a favord nation, with advantages given to her produce which the treaty intended equally to secure to the United States? Can the stipulations of the treaty be defeated or evaded by Great Britain allowing Africa to import from her coasts not only her own rice but that of other nations?"

The result of this protest was that the British Government equalized the duties on rough rice imported from the United States and from the western coast of Africa. (House Executive Document No. 2, Twenty-seventh Congress, second session, pages 47–57.)

The discrimination in the act of 1894 is even more pointedly at variance with the treaty stipulations in question than was the discrimination in the British act of 1838, since it imposes, expressly, an additional duty on an article as the produce or manufacture, and because it is the produce or manufacture, of a country that may happen to fall within a disfavored category.

It is scarcely necessary to say that the question now under consideration can not be affected by the form in which the discrimination is created—whether it is created by granting a duty lower than the general duty, or by imposing a duty in addition to the general duty. The form in which the discrimination is created is no criterion either of its extent or of its effect. In reality, in the present case, the discrimination, so far as its effect is now ascertained, would fall on Germany and Austria-Hungary alone. If it fell on only one country, or on three or more, the question of treaty construction would remain, so long as there was any other country that was favored.

Another question, however, is yet to be considered. Can the payment by a government of a bounty on the exportation of an article of its produce or manufacture be considered in the light of a discrimination which may warrant another government in laying on the importation of such article an additional or discriminating duty, in spite of a most-favored-nation stipulation?

The answer seems to be plain, that the payment by a country of a bounty on the exportation of an article of its produce or manufacture for the purpose of encouraging a domestic industry can no more be considered as a discrimination than can the imposition of a protective or practically prohibitive duty on the importation of an article the produce or manufacture of a foreign country for the same purpose be so considered. The two measures are the same in principle; the question as to which shall be adopted is a matter of domestic policy. It is a matter in respect of which nations, in stipulating for equality of treatment, have preserved liberty of action. The protective duty on importation and the bounty on exportation are alike intended, whatever may be their effect, to create a national advantage in production or in manufacture. As between the two, the bounty is the more favorable to the inhabitants of foreign countries, since it tends to enable them to get cheaper articles at the expense of the bounty-paying government.

Formerly the Government of the United States paid a bounty on all exported pickled fish that were derived from the fisheries of the United States. (Section 2, act of July 29, 1813, Stat. L., volume 3, page 50.) This act was continued in force in 1816, its duration having originally been limited to the period, whatever it might be, covered by the war with Great Britain and a year thereafter. (Act of February 9, 1816, Stat. L., volume 3, page 254.) It remained in force for many years; it seems still to have been in force in 1845. It probably never was imagined that this act created a discrimination which might expose the United States to retaliatory or discriminating duties at the hands of foreign governments.

In laying protective duties on foreign articles instead of paying bounties on domestic products, the immediate effect, if not the object, of the law is to curtail importations; but so long as the duties imposed are equal on the products or manufactures of all nations, though in practice they may operate most unequally, foreign nations can not object on legal grounds. They can not allege discriminations in the treaty sense. It is understood, when treaties against discriminating duties are made, the governments reserve the right to favor by duties or by bounties their own domestic production or manufacture.

The additional duty, therefore, levied by the act of 1894 on all sugars coming from bounty-paying countries is not responsive to any measure that may be considered as constituting a discrimination by those countries against the production or manufacture of the United States, but is itself a discrimination against the produce or manufacture of such countries. It is an attempt to offset a domestic favor or encouragement to a certain industry by the very means forbidden by the treaty.

I assume that the German Government does not claim the treaty affords any just ground for protest against the additional duty on sugars not shown to be the produce or manufacture of Prussia.

Respectfully submitted.

W. Q. GRESHAM.

Mr. CAFFERY. Mr. President, the argument of the distinguished Senator from Delaware [Mr. GRAY] is correct, that the imposition of a bounty on sugar exported from Germany in favor of its own export trade is a matter of domestic concern to that Empire; but whenever that export bounty touches the interest of the United States or any other country in a way either seriously to impair or destroy that interest, then it becomes a question of vital domestic concern to the country to which the exported article is brought.

The Senator from Delaware perhaps has not taken cognizance of the condition of the sugar culture in Germany. The German sugar makers are protected against the importation of any foreign sugar by a tariff which is entirely prohibitory. No foreign sugar can enter a German port. Then, in addition to that, they give an export bounty on raw sugar of twenty-seven one-hundredths of a cent per pound, and on refined sugar of thirty-eight one-hundredths of a cent per pound. So we have an industry which is walled in against all outside interference, protected against any foreign invasion, with unlimited power to invade other countries and to destroy industries in those countries about upon an even plane with the protected industry of the country which gives the export bounty.

I suppose this case for the consideration of the Senator from Delaware: Suppose the conditions of raising wheat in Delaware and in Germany were about even; that the only advantage Delaware had over Germany was in the matter of transportation and freight across the ocean, the same advantage possessed by Germany over Delaware. Now, if Germany were to give an export bounty of such an amount as to induce the Germans to export their wheat into Delaware and ruin its wheat growers, I want to know whether it would not become a matter of domestic policy to the United States to preserve that industry from destruction?

I think it would. It is one of these retaliatory acts that countries are bound to resort to as a matter of self-defense when the interests of their people are threatened, when the pursuits of its own people are about to be destroyed. It then becomes a little more than a matter of domestic policy. It becomes a matter of self-preservation, and that is the way I look at it.

As a general rule, I am not opposed to taking cheap goods from any quarter of the globe, coming from where they may; but in this particular instance I do not believe it will be proper to allow the Germans to come into the United States with their bountied sugar and destroy the product of the domestic growers. The bounty would be a sufficient inducement for the exportation of their sugar, and is of a sufficient amount to destroy the industry in the United States.

I call the attention of the Senator from Delaware to the fact that the sugar industry of Germany is, in my opinion, a most pernicious example of the bad effects of protection and sugar bounties. Here is an industry which levies upon the people of Germany, according to the reports that Mr. Consul Mason makes, about 3 cents per pound additional to the price of sugar in the United States.

In other words, where the people of the United States are consuming sugar at about 4½ cents per pound, the Germans are consuming it at 7½ cents a pound. That shows the deleterious effect of the system of protection. An artificial industry, built up on props, not able to sustain itself even by high protection, has to resort to the expedient of export bounties in addition to prohibitory duties.

I would inquire whether a system of that sort, artificially supported in every direction by law, ought to be permitted to destroy industries in other countries? In my opinion, it becomes then a question of self-preservation of any country whose industries are threatened by a flood of exports induced by an export bounty.

Mr. President, while I am on my legs, and the question of sugar is up, I propose to say something about the report of the Secretary of the Treasury on the resolution introduced by me in the Senate on the 17th ultimo in regard to the evidence upon which the Treasury drawback allowance was based. It was asserted by my amiable friend the Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON] in charge of the bill on the Republican side that the Treasury statement of drawback allowances was absolutely correct.

Mr. LINDSAY. I will ask the Senator from Louisiana if the report has yet been printed?

Mr. CAFFERY. I procured proof sheets yesterday.

Mr. LINDSAY. Oh, yes.

Mr. CAFFERY. It was stated by the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. LINDSAY] when it was alleged the statement was prepared by the late distinguished Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Carlisle, and therefore correct, that Mr. Carlisle got his information from the sugar trust, and the report of the Treasury Department shows that the information came from the king of the sugar trust, Mr. Havemeyer.

It appears that Mr. Ira Ayer wrote to a number of sugar refiners to get from them a statement of the exact number of pounds of raw sugar required to make a pound of refined sugar of a certain degree, and I have here what he says. I will read from the proof sheets of the report of the Treasury Department:

In seeking the fullest information possible relative to the "yield" of refined products from raw sugars of different kinds and grades, I addressed a letter to the principal refiners of the country dated January 5, 1895, inclosing a tabulated form which each was requested, as far as practicable, to fill out. (See Exhibit B.)

The names of the refiners to whom this letter was addressed are: Nash, Spaulding & Co., Boston, Mass.; H. O. Havemeyer, president of the American Sugar Refining Company, New York, N. Y.; B. H. Howell, Son & Co., New York, N. Y., for Mollenhauer Sugar Refining Company, New York, N. Y., and National Sugar Refining Company, Yonkers, N. Y.; The W. J. McCahan Sugar Refining Company, Philadelphia, Pa.; William Henderson, New Orleans, La.; Cunningham & Miller, Sugarland, Tex.

From Nash, Spaulding & Co. no reply whatever was received, although several urgent letters were sent them, a copy of the last of which, dated March 1, 1895, will be found—Exhibit B.

To my letter of January 5, 1895, the W. J. McCahan Sugar Refining Company and the National Sugar Refining Company replied under dates of January 7, 1895, and March 6, 1895, respectively, stating their inability to furnish the data desired.

So it is seen that two of the refiners failed to make any response whatever to the letter of Mr. Ayer making these inquiries, as stated.

Messrs. Cunningham & Miller replied under date of April 13, 1895, availing themselves partially of the use of the blank form which had been furnished them. (See Exhibit C.) A similar response was received from William Henderson under date of April 18, 1895.

Sworn statements were subsequently received from both of these firms, covering substantially the information which they had first sent as per form furnished. (Exhibit B.)

The Mollenhauer Sugar Refining Company furnished a sworn statement under date of April 22, 1895. (Exhibit B.)

Mr. H. O. Havemeyer, president of the American Sugar Refining Company, furnished information by letters dated, respectively, February 21 and April 15, 1895. (Exhibit B.)

Mr. Havemeyer made no sworn statement whatever. He wrote two letters at different dates, with long intervals between the letters.

Dr. Edward Sherer, sugar expert in charge of the United States laboratory at this port, furnished information by letter through the appraiser, dated April 9, 1895. (Exhibit B.)

In an investigation of the same question made at San Francisco., Cal., in 1886, I obtained the sworn statement of E. L. G. Steele, president and manager of what was then known as the American Sugar Refining Company, of that city, and certain figures taken from that statement (Exhibit A, with my report dated August 24, 1886) are used in this report.

A tabulated statement of the information received from the sources above mentioned, with reference solely to the refined products obtainable from 100 pounds of raw cane centrifugal sugar testing 96 degrees by the polariscope, has been prepared and is submitted herewith, marked "Exhibit D."

It would appear that Mr. Havemeyer made two statements in letters of different dates, from February 21, 1895, to April 8, 1895, and Mr. Sherer furnished his information by letter, through the appraiser, of April 9, and in 1886 a statement was obtained from the president and manager of the American Sugar Refining Company in San Francisco, which is said to be an exhibit appended to the document, but which I can not find. Possibly it may have been overlooked in the printing. His statement was derived in 1886, and is stated from the memory of the investigator.

These are the sources of the information: Mr. Havemeyer, the president of the American Sugar Refining Company in New York; another president of the American Sugar Refining Company in San Francisco, in 1886, and Mr. Mollenhauer under the wing of the sugar trust, embraced within the sugar trust in all likelihood; and the only independent statements in regard to the whole matter of the number of pounds of raw sugar it takes to make a pound of refined are not taken as the basis of the drawback allowances of the Treasury Department.

In Exhibit B is a copy of a letter which Mr. Ira Ayer, special agent of the Treasury, sent to all these refiners; and he says in the letter:

It is usual in these cases to ask for a sworn statement of the manufacturer, and I will thank you therefore to have the statement, when completed, duly sworn to.

It would seem that a manufacturer enjoying so much protection from the Government of the United States and engaged in a business of such proportions as that of manufacturing and refining sugar for the consumption of 72,000,000 people would not treat in an airy and indifferent style a communication such as was addressed to him by Mr. Ayer. Here is what Mr. Havemeyer has to say:

THE AMERICAN SUGAR REFINING COMPANY,
New York, January 14, 1895.

DEAR SIR: Owing to my absence from the office through illness for the past ten days, I am but now in receipt of your communication of the 5th instant, and hope to give the matter my attention at an early date.

Now, he was sick. I hope he does not get monkish at that period, for when health returns, frail man is apt to forget his devout tendencies. The letter is dated January 14. He was going to reply at an early day. He waits until February 21 prayerfully to think over this important matter about which he was addressed, and here is what he says:

DEAR SIR: In response to your letter of February 18, I beg to state that 92 pounds of hard refined sugar and 6 pounds of sirup are obtainable from 100 pounds of first-class centrifugal sugars, polarizing 96 degrees.

Ninety-two pounds of hard refined sugar, he says, are obtainable. How much more is obtainable? Is any more sugar obtainable? There are 96 pounds of sugar in the 100 pounds of raw. Mr. Havemeyer airily says there are 92 pounds of hard granulated sugar. Then he states:

Eighty-eight pounds of hard refined sugar and 10 pounds of sirup are obtainable from first-class raw beet sugars polarizing 94 degrees direct and of 88 degrees net analysis.

It is impracticable to furnish the yields from any other grades of sugar in hard refined and sirup, none being used in their manufacture.

Here is the statement therefore that our granulated sugar is made only from cane sugars testing 96 degrees by the polariscope, and raw beet sugars of 88 net analysis:

The sirup from the beet sugar is of no value; that from the centrifugal cane varies from one-half cent to 1 cent (say three-fourths cent) per pound.

What sort of a statement is that, Mr. President, to give to the United States, whose beneficiary he is? When making millions according to his own testimony by this differential in his favor, he says not one single word about the amount of sugar possible to be made out of the residue, only stating that the sirup was comparatively of no value, one-half to a cent a pound. He says the sirup from the beet is of no value whatever.

Now, Mr. Havemeyer bethought him later that perhaps his statement was not full enough; that he had left out something; that while there were 96 pounds of crystallizable sugar in 100 pounds of raw at 96 test he only accounted for 92 pounds of granulated sugar, and whatever sirup there was was worth about half a cent a pound.

He wrote a letter dated the "American Sugar Refining Company, New York, April 15, 1897," as follows:

DEAR SIR: In response to your communication of April 8—

So therefore between February 1 and the date of this letter Mr. Ayer had written him another communication, as the first one did not give as many facts in relation to this question of drawback allowance, the number of pounds of raws it took to make a pound of refined, as was required—

I beg to say that the sirup valued in my letter to you of February 21 at from one-half cent to 1 cent per pound (or, which is the same thing, 6 to 12 cents per gallon) is table sirup after it has been subjected to the full process of refining, filtering, clarifying, etc. Without such process it is fit only for distilling purposes, and sold, ex package, at 2 to 3 cents per gallon, an average of one-fifth of 1 cent per pound.

The polarization of these sirups averages about 40—

Forty degrees, I suppose, of saccharine strength, but the degree is not mentioned here—

and the weight 12 pounds per gallon, with 20 per cent water.

Mr. President, the Treasury drawback allowances are made upon Mr. Havemeyer's statement, 92 pounds of hard granulated sugar and 6 pounds of sirup.

Mr. Cunningham's statement is as follows:

Possible product of hard refined sugar from imported raw cane sugar, and the products under the ordinary methods of refining now in use in the United States.

Polarization.	Amount of raw sugar used.	Hard refined.	Ex. C.	Sirup.	Loss.
	Pounds.	*Pounds.*	*Pound.*	*Pounds.*	*Pounds.*
96	100	92.16	.92	3.49	3.08
94	100	88.34	.45	4.61	5.33

Loss consists of water, ash, and other impurities. Hard refined tests from 99.8 degrees to 100 degrees; Ex. C, 99 degrees to 94 degrees; sirup, 32.8 degrees to 41 degrees.

Mr. Cunningham's statement gives, as the product of 100 pounds raw, at 96 degrees, as follows: Hard refined, 92.16 pounds. Extra C, ninety-two one-hundredths of a pound. Solid matter in sirup, 3.49 pounds. Loss, 3.08 pounds.

As to the polarization of the above product, I have quoted the sworn statement of the chemist of Mr. Cunningham. He is an honest man; he is not in the sugar trust; he has given a fairly correct statement. He has a small refinery. He turns out 400 or 500 barrels a day at most. Some of the sugar-trust factories turn out 12,000 barrels per diem.

If Mr. Cunningham can get 93 pounds of first-class sugar, hard granulated and extra C, and leave solid matter in the sirup of 3½ pounds, which Mr. Havemeyer has not accounted for, how is it that the Havemeyers, with their enormous works, with their tremendous output, can not make as much? Why was not the Treasury Department statement bottomed upon the statement of Cunningham and Miller? Why was the statement of Mr. Havemeyer taken without any inquiry further than these loose statements? Here is a statement from Mr. Havemeyer not sworn to. Here is a statement from Mr. Cunningham and Mr. Miller, sworn to by their chemist. That statement is disregarded and the statement of Havemeyer taken.

Now, here is the Government chemist, Mr. Sherer. Mr. Sherer made no examination himself. He inquired, he says, but he does not give the particular sources of information. Here is what he says:

UNITED STATES LABORATORY,
OFFICE OF APPRAISER OF MERCHANDISE,
New York, N. Y., April 9, 1895.

SIR: Referring to letter of Special Agent Ira Ayer of April 8, 1895, requesting a statement from me showing the average refined products obtainable from 100 pounds of cane sugar (centrifugal) polarizing 96 degrees, and further requesting the average tests of each refined products and the character of the loss, I have the honor to report as follows:

The average yield from 100 pounds of cane sugar (centrifugal) polarizing 96 degrees, as ascertained from the last available sources of information, is, in my opinion, as follows:

	Pounds.
Hard refined sugar	92.50
Sirup	5
Loss	2.50

The test of hard refined sugar ranges from 99 degrees to 99.9 degrees; of sirup, from 30 degrees to 40 degrees.

I will print the whole of these statements in the RECORD as an appendix.)

Now, Mr. President, we come to the averages of all these statements. I have not read the statement of Mr. Mollenhauer, nor the statement of Mr. Henderson, for Mr. Henderson's statement is based upon 97 degrees sugar, when the investigation was taken on the basis of 96 degrees sugar. Mr. Mollenhauer's statement is so loose as not to form the base of any calculation whatever. He gives 80 pounds of hard refined as the result of a hundred pounds of raw sugar at 96 test, and he gives 15 pounds of soft sugar; but giving so few pounds of hard refined, it was absolutely necessary for him to make up the loss by a great number of pounds of softer sugars.

But here are the statements which are entitled to some consideration, the statement of Mr. Havemeyer, the statement of Messrs.

Cunningham and Miller, and the statement of the Government chemist at the United States laboratory. Both of these statements exceed the estimate of Mr. Havemeyer, and both are disregarded and Havemeyer's taken. The average of all of these statements, according to this Treasury report, is 92.46 pounds, including the statement of Mollenhauer, which gives only 80 pounds.

There are hundreds and thousands and millions of dollars in this matter, and here even is the general average of all these statements disregarded and the statement of Mr. Havemeyer taken literally and exactly as he gave it.

Mr. President, from an analysis of this report, which regulates both the duty upon refined sugar as based upon polariscopic test and the number of pounds of raw which it takes to make a number of pounds of refined, and the drawback allowances on export of sugar, it will be seen that the statements upon which the drawback allowances are based are exceedingly loose, inartificial, and, in my opinion, erroneous and inaccurate.

Messrs. Cunningham and Miller practically in their statement give 94 pounds of sugar. This sirup which Mr. Havemeyer says is worth only half a cent a pound when it is refined is worth much more. During the conversation I had with Mr. Buynitzky, of the Treasury Department, he told me that there was a drawback allowance asked upon sirup valued at 30 cents a pound. Here is the Treasury statement that allows about 1 cent a pound. They can make sirup on an allowance of 2 cents and get a drawback on it of from 5 to 20 and 30 cents. When they export it it is a perfect bonanza to the sugar trust or to anybody else who wants to export sugar or sirup.

Mr. President, it appears we are exporting some sirup. Here is a statement from the Treasury showing that in May, 1897, there was 36,204.36 worth of sirup exported. In April, 1897, there was $3,092.80 exported. But it does not give the allowance of the drawback per gallon. It gives the value of the total product, but it does not appear from this statement, which has been derived unofficially from the Treasury Department, that there has been any valuation of the sirup per gallon. They report in those same months $4,046 of sugar in May, and $4,520.32 in April last, exported. In 1896 they exported refined sugar numbering 9,106,259 pounds, worth $450,750, and sirup, 6,953,307 gallons, worth $737,870.

See what frauds can be perpetrated upon the country in the way of drawback allowance under a Treasury regulation by not giving the accurate number of pounds of refined sugars made out of raw sugars of a certain test and not accurately accounting for the soft sugar and sirup.

I have not any proof to show what this exported sirup and sugar are worth per gallon or pound, and therefore I can not tell what the drawback allowance was upon it.

I will refer to the peculiar clause in this drawback law, if I can lay my hands right on it, in which it is stated that not more than 8 cents per gallon should be allowed for sirup exported unless the Treasury, upon investigation, concluded to give more. That is about the amount of it, but I suppose when the refiner claims it to be worth, say, 30 cents a gallon or 20 cents a gallon, the Treasury is not very hard to convince that it is worth more than the 8-cent limit.

Mr. President, I stated that the present sugar schedule is not upon a proper basis. Given the number of pounds of raw sugar to make a pound of refined and given the differential between raw and refined, it is easy to ascertain the duty levied by polariscopic test. It is manifest, therefore, when they get a larger number of pounds of raw sugar than are necessary to make a pound of refined, they make both in the matter of duty and in the matter of drawbacks upon export. So the statement of the Treasury Department, in my opinion, is incorrect. I never could see how when there were 96 pounds of sugar in a hundred pounds of raw you could throw away 4 pounds of it as practically worthless.

It is true that there is a little ash in the residue, which in the process of refining makes a good deal of invert sugar; but they get that back again in the shape of first-grade sirup, and a large quantity of the sirups said to be made from 4 pounds of sugar will make the second-grade sugar, called extra Cs.

Mr. President, I would inquire seriously of the Senate, what hold has the sugar trust upon the legislative branch of the country that it is necessary to give it the differential carried in this bill? They get a clean differential of 20 cents; they get a countervailing duty of 38 cents a hundred; they get a clean duty of 58 cents according to the schedule itself, without any sort of reference to prices.

Mr. GRAY. You want to give them the countervailing?

Mr. CAFFERY. I am willing to cut off the differential and give them the countervailing, or cut off the countervailing and give them the duty. The countervailing is, under the circumstances, too high.

Not only is this countervailing duty sufficient, but on top of that countervailing duty is added this 20 cents clear, extra, useless tariff. It is fit for nothing but to make this institution, already too strong, doubly strong. Every succeeding Congress has felt the weight of the sugar trust. Its representatives are among the most astute men in the world, and in the formation of every bill the sugar trust works its sweet will and has its own way.

I read the other day statements showing that the wholesale grocers of the United States were virtually slaves of the sugar trust. The consumers are the virtual slaves of the sugar trust. This institution has the hardihood to say and did say, in the investigation before the Lexow committee, that it was of inestimable good to the citizens of the United States, in that it had lowered the price of sugar to the consumer. That statement is absolutely false.

The price of sugar has not been lowered by the sugar trust, and the sugar trust makes as much differential duty under the Wilson Act as it did under the McKinley Act. It makes as much differential between the raws and refined as it did when brown sugar was worth 8 cents a pound, and now, when raw sugar is worth about 2.3 cents per pound, according to the statement of Mr. ALDRICH, the differential in favor of the trust in the open market is about the same, nearing a cent a pound.

I introduced a table some time ago in the discussion of this bill showing that the differential in favor of the trust now was much greater than it was when brown sugar was worth 7 and 8 cents a pound. They have hammered the price down to the producer, and with false pretenses are trying to make capital in their favor by the lower prices of sugar and claiming the gratitude and thanks of the millions who consume their sugar.

The lowering of the price is not due to the sugar trust. It never was due to the sugar trust. It is due to the lowering of the price of the article in the hands of the producer; from the enormous quantities of it made in Germany, and in the Tropics, and all over the world. There is not the slightest ground upon which this differential given in the bill in favor of the trust can be allowed.

It is said—my colleague [Mr. MCENERY] said in his speech—that these thrusts made at the sugar trust would reach the planter. Mr. President, the sugar planters of Louisiana can not lean upon this pillar of the sugar trust. If they do, sooner or later the sugar trust and planter will go down together. It is too powerful and too corrupt an institution upon which any honest set of producers can lean for support. If the producers of Louisiana do not want the sugar trust as a prop, as a pillar, as a support for them, they must get from behind the sugar trust, lest the avenging dagger of the people reach them and transfix them together.

I have heard it said—I believe on this floor—that trusts are good things, first-rate things; that the trend of civilization is toward trusts; that they produce cheaply; that the consuming millions are the beneficiaries of all their evil combinations, of all their contracts in restraint of trade, and just so the producer is benefited; the trusts must be looked upon with at least eyes of leniency. I do not look at it that way. When the argument was attempted to be made in the case of the Transmissouri Traffic Association that there might be a reasonable contract in restraint of trade I think it involved a solecism.

No contract in restraint of trade can be reasonable. It may have a superficial look of reasonableness, but in the nature of things it must be wrong. The common law and our fathers were wiser than we when we take up a new doctrine that contracts in restraint of trade can be reasonable. Such contracts are not only not reasonable, but they are illegal. They have been denounced by the law. They have been denounced ever since civilization began.

It is too late to find apologies and excuses for conspiracies and combinations in restraint of trade on the ground that they may be reasonable, and as such tolerated and legalized. The only reasonable restraints on trade are those recognized in a case where a man engages not to enter in a certain line of business, which he sells to another, for a certain limit of time and in a certain locality. This agreement has no tendency to depress prices or to harm anybody, and is really, in an economic sense, not in restraint of trade.

These enormous aggregations of capital in the nature of things tend to control prices. Do not add to that necessary evil of civilization the power of these gigantic monopolies to enter into contracts to control trade and to depress or elevate prices and to have the whole population at their mercy.

This institution, Mr. President, this great, gigantic trust, is a blot upon the land. The people feel as though they were in the shadow of an enormous power that they can not resist. The individual man is dwarfed, destroyed, and the corporate influence and the power of wealth overshadows the land with its baneful power.

In a few days, Mr. President, this bill will pass, the evil to be wrought by it will be consummated, and the people of the United States will be treated to such a dose of tariff as was never thrust down them before. This bill carries higher rates than the McKinley law. In a time of profound peace we have a bill in comparison with which the Morrill tariff bill of the war pales into utter

insignificance. Here are some of the articles upon which the duties are in excess of 100 per cent:

Common window glass, from 107 per cent to 168 per cent; pocket-knives, 111 per cent; tobacco, from 105 to 298 per cent; rice, 100 per cent; salt in bulk, 114 per cent; woolen cloths, valued at not over 50 cents per pound, 128 per cent; blankets, 125 per cent; flannels from 102 to 119 per cent; shawls, 171 per cent; wool hats, from 117 to 203 per cent; felts, from 104 to 224 per cent; cheap silks, from 200 to 700 per cent.

That is a fine lot of articles carrying over 100 per cent, and nearly every one of them is an article of indispensable and absolute necessity to the ordinary citizens of the United States.

I have some papers which I propose to introduce into the RECORD; but before I do so I want to draw the attention of the Senator from Iowa to what I consider a manifest injustice under the sugar schedule, and that is, that the same rate of duty is allowed by paragraph 202 as to all sugars that have gone through a refining process as is allowed to granulated sugars. I submit to that Senator, who is a man of great considerateness and kindness, that this is a deep cut on the common people of the United States, who largely consume sugar testing by the polariscope from 83 to 85 degrees.

Under the operation of this bill this sugar would be denied to the ordinary consumer, or its price would be raised by the sugar trust, which would absolutely control it under the provisions of this bill. It is not proper, nor is it just to place that character of sugar under the same tariff that you have placed upon the higher grades of sugar, testing by the polariscope from 99 to 100 degrees.

This sugar is very largely used in manufacturing preserves and jellies and making ordinary cakes and articles containing sweets which the people ordinarily eat. I submit that the imposition of this very high rate of duty upon that grade of sugar ought to be taken off in conference. I call the prayerful consideration of the Senator from Iowa, in behalf of the consumers of this country, to this unjust provision of the bill.

I shall introduce this document, which I ask to have incorporated in my remarks, of the distributers and manufacturers dealing in or using refined sugar, protesting against any increase of protection that would make the consumption more difficult and the importation of the foreign article impracticable.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. FAULKNER in the chair). In the absence of objection, the paper referred to by the Senator from Louisiana will be inserted in the RECORD.

The paper referred to is as follows:

To the Senate of the United States, Washington, D. C.:

We, the undersigned, distributers and manufacturers, dealing in or using refined sugar, respectfully protest against any tariff which, by increasing the protection on the article, would make the importation of foreign more difficult, if not impossible.

We further beg that the schedule may be so amended as not to exclude the yellow refined sugar not over No. 16 Dutch standard, which is required by manufacturers and by the poorer classes in this country.

Anderson Preserving Company (O. L. Anderson, treasurer), manufacturers of preserves, jellies, etc., Camden, N. J.; W. H. Keen Company (W. H. Keen, president), bakers and confectioners' supplies, Philadelphia, Pa.; George Miller & Son Company (Chas. B. Miller, president), manufacturers of confectionery, Philadelphia, Pa.; C. McD. Harvey, editor Confectioners' Journal; C. Reichle & Sons (C. Reichle), confectioners; American Preservers' Company (L. J. Link, local manager), 950 Beach street; Croft & Allen Company (E. F. Roberts, secretary), Thirty-third and Market streets; G. W. Coles Candy Company (G. W. Coles, president), 114 Market street; Robt. C. Fest's Son & Co., biscuit manufacturing; Henry Wanklin, biscuit manufacturing; Brandle & Smith, manufacturers confectionery; James Bell, grocer; Wm. J. Strange, grocer; James M. Curdy Son, grocer; The Bakers' Supply Company, 16 North Delaware avenue, Philadelphia, Pa.

Mr. CAFFERY. I also wish to introduce a letter published in the New York Journal of Commerce and Commercial Bulletin, of June 25, by Mr. R. Fleming Crooks, in regard to this duty on sugar, and especially in regard to the high duty upon these low-grade sugars.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If there be no objection, the paper referred to by the Senator from Louisiana will be inserted in the RECORD as part of his remarks.

The paper referred to is as follows:

[New York Journal of Commerce and Commercial Bulletin, June 25, 1897.]

FOREIGN SUGAR COMPETITION—ITS INFLUENCE AS A CHECK UPON THE TRUST'S OPERATIONS—MR. R. FLEMING CROOKS REPLIES TO SENATOR M'ENERY'S STATEMENT IN THE SENATE THAT ROBERT CROOKS & CO. WOULD BE THE EXCLUSIVE BENEFICIARIES OF A PROPOSED AMENDMENT—IMPORTS AMOUNT TO ONLY 4 PER CENT OF THE COUNTRY'S CONSUMPTION—THE SUGAR TRUST'S ADVANTAGES.

In the Senate on the 12th instant Senator MCENERY referred to Robert Crooks & Co. as being, in his opinion, the exclusive prospective beneficiaries of a proposed amendment to the sugar schedule of the tariff. Mr. R. Fleming Crooks, of the firm named, was questioned yesterday regarding the Senator's statement. He said:

In fairness, I must suppose Senator MCENERY entirely misunderstood, for he stated that it was designed to strike down the dividing line between the lower-grade sugars, viz. those below No. 16 D. S., and those above.

Now, the amendment read, "And on sugar above No. 16 Dutch standard in color, which has gone through a process of refining, 1 cent and ninety-five one-hundredths of a cent," purposely excluding refined sugar not above No. 16 Dutch standard, which, under the Senate schedule, is mulcted three-fourths of a cent more than raw of about the same test, as will be seen by the following statement:

Yellow refined, not over No. 16 D. S.		1.95
Raw muscovados, 85 per cent 75 degrees	1.00	
Three one-hundredths for each additional degree	.30	
	1.30	
Less	.10	
		1.20
Margin		.75

To illustrate his point, Senator MCENERY exhibited a trust white sugar over No. 16 Dutch standard, but only polarizing 83.6, which he not incorrectly called a "fraud and a deceit." Such sugar, however, being over No. 16 Dutch standard, would, under the amendment, be subject to the full refined duty of 1.95. While the trust makes such a quality in large quantities, it is not made in Great Britain, and could not be sold there. The lowest test above No. 16 Dutch standard imported polarizes 92 to 94 degrees, and this we were selling on the 10th instant at 3⅞ cents as against the trust's price of 4.00 cents he quoted for the sugar which Senator MCENERY denounces. Even yellow sugar, which would have been admitted by the amendment, polarizes 85 to 87 degrees, and was then sold by us at 3¾ cents; for, being a by-product in refining, it can be sold cheaply, although thoroughly wholesome and sound.

While giving Senator MCENERY full credit for his ignorance, one may criticise his thus speaking against this amendment—which was only lost by his and another vote—particularly as on the previous day his was the one vote which gave the trust the additional advantage of one-tenth of a cent less on low raw sugar and seventy-five one-thousandths of a cent more protection on refined.

It does not seem fair that when it is clearly demonstrated that the Senate bill charges one class of refined 62½ per cent more duty than the same test of raw, that our opponents should shift their ground and ask who is to be benefited by its importation. It is an indisputable fact that the soft sugar made in England and Scotland tests much higher than that refined in America, as is shown in the certificate quoted in CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, page 1963, where we find that out of nine of the lower American samples the highest tests 86.1, whereas the sample of yellow Scotch tests 89, so that Senator MCENERY need not be afraid of the quality of British sugar, and we may not unfairly claim that the consumer will benefit more than the importer by the continued competition in this market of yellow refined.

Its importation, even when admitted on the raw basis, as under the McKinley and Wilson bills, has been a bagatelle, amounting last year to not more than 3,500 tons; but even this drop in the bucket helped to check excessive prices being charged, and that, we suppose, is causing it to be legislated against.

As Mr. John Farr pointed out in a letter printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, page 1980, the American refiners make a heavy tonnage of soft sugar. He contends that they turn out an equal quantity of refined, in granulated and soft (the latter carrying a large percentage of water), to the raws melted, thus thoroughly impeaching the Treasury allowance of 107½ pounds of 96 centrifugals to 100 pounds of refined, on which the pending tariff schedules are based.

In the same letter Mr. Farr states: "Messrs. Willett & Gray are acting as the agents of the refiners in this matter, and, while I have every reason to desire that our refiners should have ample protection, I can not understand why they should find it necessary to resort to misleading and confusing technical statements, which seem to be made up with the idea of tangling people up instead of making the subject clear."

It is amazing that the clever men at Washington should find any insuperable difficulty in the preparation of an equitable tariff, for, as Senator J. K. JONES mentions (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, page 1958), the most obviously simple solution of the matter is to impose the same duty of 1 cent on all sugar—raw and refined—polarizing 75 degrees, with an additional three one-hundredths of a cent for each extra degree, then adding any additional duty on refined above No. 16 that Congress may see fit to give the refiners as protection or gratuity. This, as he said, would plainly let the people of the country understand the amount of margin given the refiners, without any juggling.

If, as Senator HOAR infers (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, page 2045), the gentlemen on either side of the Senate Chamber have no desire except "to settle the difficult problem of a duty on sugar" in the manner which is for the best interests of the country, they surely can readily do it on these lines.

People can not be imposed on by any bland promises of inquiries into the workings of trusts, when it is proposed to give a very largely increased and intentionally prohibitory bonus to a trust whose methods are notorious.

It is almost impossible to arrive at a fair conclusion, if, while assessing an arbitrary duty on refined, the duty on raw be made upon a composite and necessarily theoretical basis, which in the Dingley and Senate schedules allows a very large margin to the refiners.

Even taking the prodigal Treasury differentials for loss in manufacturing, which do not allow for the refiner's profit on resulting low grades, at a very conservative calculation, the protection on 96 per cent centrifugals, as compared with a good grade of German granulated (costing, say, 12s. c. i. f. New York) is as follows:

		Cents.
Wilson bill	per pound	.231
Dingley bill	do	.465
Senate bill	do	.540

To which must be added the extra value of American over the competing German.

This is the minimum protection, and will be largely increased on the lower tests.

As only about 8 per cent of the imports of raw sugar, up to 1895, were beets, centrifugals can be regarded as the refiner's raw material in the United States. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, page 1997.)

Even last year, when the Cuban crop failed, 67 per cent of the imports consisted of centrifugals.

It is difficult to understand on what grounds the American refiners ask for any increased protection, or why they fear being swamped by foreign sugar. Even last year, under the stimulus of advanced prices, caused by the shortness of the Cuban crop, on which America has largely relied, the total importations of refined only amounted to about 77,000 tons, some portion of which was, I understand, brought in by the trust for its own purposes.

This total of 77,000 tons is only about fourteen days' consumption for the country, and could be turned out easily in five days from the trust's largest single house.

Great Britain contributed but about 9,300 tons of the following grades, as

correctly as can be gathered from the British board of trade returns and from figures in our own office:

	Tons.
Yellow, not above No. 16 Dutch standard	3,547
Soft white, above No. 16 Dutch standard	3,653
Granulated	2,103
Total	9,303

The importation of 77,000 tons, including the above 9,303 (and 13,000, or one-sixth of the whole, which were entered at the Pacific Coast), does not amount to 4 per cent of the country's consumption of nearly 2,000,000 tons. As one consideration it might hardly seem wise if, in order to benefit the trust by excluding this insignificant total, only reached under exceptionally favorable circumstances, America should expose her exports to injury from countries which have always proved themselves adepts at commercial retaliation, and which have already given clear warning of their intentions. It must be conceded that under the existing tariff all foreign sugar could readily have been shut out had the trust foregone a little of its great profits.

We are to some extent engaged in the importation of refined sugar, but this might not be a sufficient reason for speaking for publication if our side of the case had any fair chance of presentation; but, as the majority of those who could express an opinion are precluded from stating anything at variance with the wishes of the trust, I avail of the opportunity afforded by Senator McENERY'S remarks.

If it be deliberately decided to hand matters over to the trust without the small check of any foreign competition, the verdict must be accepted, but meantime a little wholesome ventilation, even at the risk of repetition, can do no harm.

Combinations of organized capital are legitimate enough, but this is quite consistent with a belief that the trust as at present operated is the greatest enemy in the country to freedom of contract, and when it or any of its allies calls for fresh favors under false pretenses, and displays such amazing greed and rapacity, no one need apologize for speaking the truth.

Senator ALDRICH, when citing the undoubtedly depressed condition of the British refining industries in consequence of continental competition, overstated it in saying that there were only two refineries now running, for I can give you the names of eleven belonging to separate firms in active operation.

It seems ludicrous, however, to draw any parallel between cisatlantic and transatlantic conditions. Apart from its control of the raw market, its vast capital, its remunerative stock-exchange attachment, its immense profits on inland freights, and the superiority in appearance of its granulated product as compared with the various competing grades with which comparisons are made, the trust has so completely enthralled the distributers that the trade can now truly be called a bondage rather than a business.

A cleverly devised "factor plan" entitles the factor (and most large buyers sooner or later become factors) to a rebate of three-sixteenths cent, which rebate, however, is withheld for a time as a pledge of loyalty, except possibly in the cases of some powerful firms, who may deduct their three-sixteenths cent from each invoice.

The scheme is worked under the guise of State wholesale grocers' associations, the presidents of which are usually salaried, and, as often as not, are mere scouts for the trust, reporting all misdemeanors, such as purchases of foreign sugar. It is not a particularly pleasant thing to tell tales of servitude in a free country, of the watching of carts, and of responsible firms buying in the names of dummies, etc., but the following extract from a letter we received is a sample of how much freedom the American wholesale grocer has:

"A very few days after giving your brokers an order for ——, we were advised that factors representing the American Sugar Refineries were not permitted to handle foreign sugar. We immediately notified Messrs. —— ——— of the facts, which notice reached them at least two weeks before the sugar was shipped. The sugar has arrived, and we do not feel any responsibility for its care under the circumstances. The railroad company have stored it subject to the order of your brokers."

While the trust's orders are generally conveyed very circumspectly, some of the wholesale grocers' associations have issued printed notices forbidding dealings in foreign sugars, but such above-board prohibitions are apparently rather avoided. Such a system breeds plenty of jackals and "heelers" to attend to the details of browbeating and bullying.

The agents of the trust have been very active in Ohio, where every use has been made of the State law which imposes imprisonment or fine for the sale of an article "if it is colored, coated, polished, or powdered, whereby damage or inferiority is concealed; or if, by any means, it is made to appear better or of greater value than it really is; or if it contains any added substance or ingredient which is poisonous or injurious to health."

There is nothing, however, in this law forbidding the sale of sugar containing the usual blue, for nearly all granulated or hard sugar (that made by the trust included) has an infinitesimal quantity of a blue colorant, which is as harmless as the yellow in mustard. But the parties interested in excluding foreign sugar from Ohio have been spreading reports that the food commissioner was looking for foreign sugar offending in this respect, and have thus frightened intending purchasers.

Unfortunately for himself, the commissioner arrested Mr. D. M. McCullough, of Troy, Ohio, for selling some of the very well-known A Z R Lion brand, made by the Austrian sugar refinery at Aussig, and imported through us.

The State employed the speaker of the Ohio house of representatives and two other lawyers—surely rather a strong team to bring against a grocer. Nevertheless they tackled the wrong grocer and the wrong sugar, and have been defeated, as announced in your paper, although every technical point was used against the defendant, such as, we are told, the nonadmission of analysis of samples drawn from the same shipment, but from a different sack from that tested by the inspector. This arraignment of a grocer for selling undoubtedly good sugar which is sold all over the civilized world looks very much like persecution.

At the request of the Austrian Government, the Secretary of State, Mr. Sherman, has, I hear, had full official samples drawn for analysis by the Treasury Department, so that probably the dairy and food commissioner of Ohio may have cause to regret his action in this matter.

APPENDIX.

[Senate Document No. 159, Fifty-fifth Congress, first session.]

CERTAIN DRAWBACK ALLOWANCES.

The Vice-President presented the following letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting, in response to Senate resolution of June 17, 1897, copies of the evidence or statements on which the drawback allowances contained in Circular No. 102, of June 25, 1896, division of customs, were based:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, D. C., June 24, 1897.

SIR: In compliance with the resolution of the Senate of June 17, 1897, I have the honor to transmit herewith copies of the evidence or statements on which the drawback allowances contained in Circular No. 102, of June 25, 1896, division of customs, were based.

The exhibits accompanying the papers show the names and indicate the occupations of the persons making the statements or furnishing the evidence.

The drawback allowances for the different degrees of saccharine strength of sugar were decided upon proof obtained by this Department, through its agents and officers, and were, so far as practicable, verified by theoretical calculations.

I have further to state that it has been necessary to rearrange and modify under each successive tariff the drawback allowed on exported sugars. I send herewith copies of various circulars issued by this Department since the enactment of the drawback law of August 5, 1861 (12 Stat. L., 292). The documents pertaining to these circulars are so numerous and voluminous that it is impracticable for the Department to furnish copies of the same within a reasonable time, nor do they contribute any facts of value in connection with pending legislation.

The papers now transmitted are as follows:

1. Copy of report of Special Agent Ira Ayer, of the Treasury Department, dated June 26, 1895, with Exhibits A, B, C, D, and E and memorandum.
2. Circular of July 10, 1862.
3. Circular of March 20, 1871.
4. Circular of June 26, 1875.
5. Circular of December 17, 1875.
6. Circular of September 6, 1877.
7. Circular of February 13, 1879.
8. Circular of June 3, 1879.
9. Circular of June 5, 1883.
10. Circular of June 9, 1883.
11. Circular of October 3, 1883.
12. Circular of January 7, 1884.
13. Circular of July 23, 1884.
14. Circular of September 28, 1886.
15. Circular of February 3, 1888.
16. Circular of March 23, 1891.
17. Circular of May 7, 1891.
18. Circular of May 27, 1891.
19. Circular of February 1, 1896.
20. Report of committee of Special Agents Chance and Ayer and Drug Examiner Leary, with Exhibits A, B, and C, June 17, 1896.
21. Circular of June 25, 1896.

Respectfully, yours,

L. J. GAGE, *Secretary.*

The PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE.

OFFICE OF SPECIAL AGENT, TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
New York, June 26, 1895.

SIR: I acknowledge receipt of your letter dated November 27, 1894 (R. H. B), with inclosed communication from the Department relative to the establishment of rates of drawback on refined sugars manufactured from imported raw sugars paying duty under the present tariff.

The importance of the subject in its relation to the revenues has called for the collection and consideration of the most full and reliable data obtainable.

The mode of determining the proper allowance of drawback on the refined products of raw sugars being dependent on the mode of assessing duties under the ad valorem system, it is desirable to first consider the subject with reference to the commercial, dutiable, and productive values of such raw sugars.

COMMERCIAL VALUES OF RAW SUGARS.

The commercial values of nearly all raw sugars are determined by trade rules or usages, which are, to a certain extent, arbitrary and crude, but which, nevertheless, are of general application in the markets from which this country receives its supplies.

Formerly the values of raw sugars were fixed by their color and other conditions, ascertained by expert inspection; but more recently resort has been had to the polariscope, by means of which the percentage of crystallizable sugar, or of "purity," is determined with approximate accuracy.

Upon such determinations all raw sugars used by refiners are bought and sold, except a few assorted East India sugars and an occasional sugar of low grade, the character and relative values of which, as compared with other sugars, are well understood.

Until within the past year sales of first-class cane centrifugal sugars were generally made on a basis of 96 degrees test, the terms of the sale providing that to the price fixed for a 96-degree sugar should be added one thirty-second of 1 cent per pound for each degree above such test, and that from such fixed price of a 96-degree sugar should be deducted one-sixteenth of 1 cent per pound for each degree below such test down to 94 degrees; below 94 degrees the allowance to be three thirty-seconds of 1 cent per pound for each degree down, fractional parts of a degree in proportion. Under this rule the reduction of three thirty-seconds of a cent is rarely made, as sugars seldom vary 2 per cent from basis of sale.

During the past year, however, the usage has become quite general to sell Cuba cane centrifugal sugars on a basis of 95 degrees test, the terms being, in brief, one thirty-second of a cent per pound up, or one-sixteenth of a cent per pound down, for each degree above or below the basis, fractions in proportion; below 93 degrees test, three thirty-seconds of a cent per pound for each degree down. (See Exhibit A.)

Some Cuba centrifugals testing near to 94 degrees are sold on the basis of 94 degrees test, with the same rise and fall per degree, above and below basis, as in the case of such sugars of higher test above noted, the three thirty-seconds deduction beginning at 92 degrees. Sales on the 94-degree basis are most generally made near the beginning and toward the close of the sugar season, when sugars, as a rule, test lower than at the height of the season.

Cane centrifugals of still lower grades are sometimes sold on the basis of 91 degrees, 92 degrees, or 93 degrees, with like conditions of rise and fall, but such basis of settlement are exceptional.

In regard to what are known as Java centrifugals, the basis of sale is almost invariably 96 degrees, sugars very near to that test being selected for the American market, the rise and fall per pound for each degree above or below basis being the same as hereinbefore shown in the case of Cuba cane centrifugals sold on the same basis.

Similar rules apply to molasses and muscovado sugars, which are sold generally on the basis of 89 degrees, but lower grades are sometimes sold on lower bases, as, for example, 84 degrees, 86 degrees, and 87 degrees test. As these sugars are not involved in the present discussion, it is not regarded as necessary to refer to them more particularly at this time.

Sales of cane centrifugals on the bases of 94 degrees, 95 degrees, and 96 degrees test, with the conditions of rise and fall above noted, may be regarded as permanent trade usage. As before noted, sales on the bases of 91 degrees, 92 degrees, or 93 degrees are exceptional, and generally grow out of unusual conditions of the sugar, as, for example, such as arise from mishap in manufacture or from damage.

Beet sugars are sold with practically the same conditions of rise and fall on the basis of their "net analysis," which is determined by deducting for each 1 per cent of "ash" found in the sugar 5 degrees of its polarization. The "net analysis" is understood to represent the productive value or "yield" of beet sugars. For example, a beet sugar polarizing 94 degrees and of 88 degrees net analysis will produce 88 pounds of hard refined sugar. (See Exhibit B.)

The reason of the change of basis, hereinbefore mentioned, from 96 degrees to 95 degrees, in the case of Cuba centrifugals, is explained by the statement that Cuban planters have found that it is more advantageous for them to make their first-product centrifugal sugar to test 95 degrees rather than 96 degrees.

It is stated in this connection that a sugar sold on the 95-degree basis, if actually testing 95 degrees, brings only one thirty-second of a cent per pound less than the price of a 96-degree sugar, if sold under the same market conditions, which enables the seller to obtain one thirty-second of a cent per pound more than as though he had sold the same sugar on a basis of 96 degrees test, with one-sixteenth of a cent per pound off for each degree below basis. (See Exhibit A.)

It appears that buyers of sugar are not averse to the various bases of settlement mentioned, for the reason that thereby they are more liable to buy the sugars for what they really are, and hence secure with greater certainty the grades required for advantageous "mixing" in refining, or for "melts" of a character best adapted to the plant, and to the general plan of refining operations.

So much has the character of the sugars to do, under existing conditions, with profitable refining, that some plants are adjusted especially to the refining of raw sugars of low and medium grades, while others, engaged chiefly in the production of hard refined sugars, use raw sugars of a high grade, ranging, say, from 92 degrees to 98 degrees.

The reduction of one-sixteenth of 1 cent per pound, or of three thirty-seconds of a cent, as the case may be, for each degree below the basis of sale, when but one thirty-second of a cent is added for each degree above such basis, is explained in the trade as being in part in the nature of a penalty, so as to insure to buyers (refiners) that sugars shall not fall below the test basis of purchase.

This view of the case seems to be sustained by the fact that the deductions from standard value for each degree below the basis of sale are in all cases double or more than double the additions to standard value for each degree above the test basis.

DUTIABLE VALUES OF RAW SUGARS.

After conference with the local appraising officers, and with the general appraiser having most to do with the reappraisement of sugars, it is found that there is a substantial agreement between their mode of determining dutiable values and the mode of determining commercial values recognized by the trade.

By reference to Exhibit A, the figures of which relate to the valuation of cane centrifugals, it will be seen that 96 degrees test is taken by the examiner as the basis of valuation, one thirty-second of a cent per pound up and one-sixteenth of a cent per pound down to 94 degrees; below 94 degrees, three thirty-seconds of a cent per pound per degree down—fractions in proportion.

Such differences, if any, as may exist between the appraising officers and the trade in the mode of valuing sugars sold and invoiced on a basis of 95 degrees or 94 degrees test must, it is believed, lead to the final and full acceptance of such bases for the determination of actual market values.

PRODUCTIVE VALUES OF RAW SUGARS.

It appears that under existing trade conditions only hard refined sugars are being exported, and refiners state that for the present it will be necessary to provide only for drawback allowance on hard refined sugars made from cane centrifugals testing not lower than 92 degrees by the polariscope, and from first-product raw beet sugars which range near to 94 degrees polarization and are of about 88 degrees "net analysis." (See Exhibit B.)

The determination of drawback allowance on the hard refined product from beet sugars is simple, and can be treated in a few words.

The cane centrifugals, which are now to be specially considered as entering into the production of hard refined sugars, range from 92 degrees to 98 degrees, and are sold on the several bases from 92 degrees to and including 98 degrees test, with rise and fall as before noted.

It is proper to state, in this connection, that in speaking of the rise and fall of one thirty-second of a cent per pound up, or of one-sixteenth of a cent per pound down, for each degree above or below the basis, as established by trade usage, a representative of the refining interest stated that one-sixteenth of a cent per pound was the correct measure of the difference per degree between the productive or intrinsic values of sugar for refining purposes.

As this statement has an important bearing on the subject, it is necessary to give it full consideration and to show that it is not true, in fact.

It has been noted that the trade rules or usages by which the commercial values of nearly all raw sugars are determined are, to a certain extent, arbitrary.

This will be made clear when it is considered that sugars are constantly fluctuating in value, and that the rise and fall from the basis of sale, established by trade usage, being fixed, can not, in the nature of the case, correspond to the changing conditions of the market. This could only be brought about by the use of varying proportionate quantities of increase or decrease after a just measure had been fixed, or by fixed percentages of rise and fall, taken on the basis value.

For example, let it be assumed that the value of a 96-degree cane centrifugal is 2 cents per pound, and that on such valuation one-sixteenth of 1 cent per pound fairly represents the relative difference between the actual or productive values of cane centrifugals testing, respectively, 95 degrees and 96 degrees; it is manifest that when a cane centrifugal testing 96 degrees is worth 4 cents per pound, the one-sixteenth of a cent would not justly represent the increased relative difference between the intrinsic values of the two sugars.

In the case last supposed, the basis price having been doubled, the corresponding relative difference in the value of the sugars testing, respectively, 95 degrees and 96 degrees, should also be doubled, making as the measure of difference in intrinsic values one-eighth of a cent per pound, instead of one sixteenth of a cent, as in the case first supposed. On the same hypothesis a fixed percentage, say 3 per cent of the basis price, added thereto or taken therefrom for each degree above or below basis would give practically the same results.

That the rule of deducting one-sixteenth of 1 cent per pound for each degree below the basis of sale, which was established under former tariffs, includes, incidentally, a penalty consideration under the operation of the present tariff is shown by facts known to all buyers and sellers.

Under existing usage, invoices of sugar are "extended" at prices showing the value of sugar of the test which is made the basis of sale; and when it is found that the test of the sugar falls below the basis test given in the invoice, the appraiser makes no deduction from the basis price, although the seller is obliged to make such deduction under the terms of the contract.

This practice subjects the importer or buyer to the necessity of paying duty on a value in excess of the actual commercial or productive value of the sugar.

For example, suppose a sugar sold on a basis of 96 degrees is invoiced and entered at 2 cents per pound and is found by the appraiser to test but 95 degrees. In such case the appraiser refuses to reduce the entered value, and the importer or buyer is compelled to pay duty on one-sixteenth of a cent per pound more than the actual selling price of the sugar.

Assuming that the one thirty-second of a cent per pound, which buyers and sellers agree to accept as the measure of difference in value for each degree of test above the basis of sale, is the true measure of such difference, it is found that the penalty involved in the one-sixteenth deduction amounts to $\frac{2}{32}-\frac{1}{32}=\frac{1}{32}$ of a cent per pound.

In such case duty is paid on one thirty-second of a cent per pound more than the actual value of the sugar. Forty per cent of one thirty-second equals one-eightieth of 1 cent, which would be the amount that the importer or buyer would be forced to pay on each pound of sugar in excess of the proper duty because the seller invoiced his sugar at a price corresponding to a test 1 degree higher than the true test.

It is true that a pound of crystallizable sugar in a high grade of raw sugar is worth somewhat more than a pound of crystallizable sugar in a raw sugar of lower grade.

One reason for this is that in a low-grade sugar there is greater bulk, with less relative extractable value, which means that the relative cost of packages, of freight, of labor in handling of plant, and of refining materials, as compared with the value of the resultant refined products, is greater in low-grade than in high-grade sugars.

Another reason is that in refining a sugar of low grade there is a greater proportional "inversion" and consequent degradation in value of crystallizable sugar, which in the form of "invert" sugar must appear in the low-grade refined sugars and in the sirup product.

The foregoing considerations have a bearing upon the case not heretofore alluded to, a brief discussion of which would seem proper at this point.

It must be constantly borne in mind that the increased cost of producing refined sugar from a low-grade raw sugar, arising from increased labor, cost of refining materials, etc., is not an element of dutiable value, and can not therefore be properly considered in determining drawback allowance, the only such element being, under the ad valorem system, the relative productive value of the raw material consumed, when compared with a fixed standard of productive value.

The difference in the cost of labor, plant, and refining materials incident to the production of 1 pound of hard refined sugar from a raw sugar testing 90 degrees and such costs incident to the production of 1 pound of hard refined sugar from raw sugars of other tests between 92 degrees and 98 degrees is unascertained, and practically, for the present, unascertainable.

In looking for the measures of this difference it is found that the one thirty-second, which may be accepted as covering all penalty considerations less the one-eightieth before noted, which was considered to cover, incidentally, the penalty arising from error in invoicing, is three one-hundred-and-sixtieths of a cent, which it may be assumed covers all other penalty considerations.

This three one-hundred-and-sixtieths would be less than three-fifths of 1 per cent of the average price of a 96-degree cane centrifugal sugar from September 6, 1894, to April 16, 1895. (See Exhibit D.)

This would amount on 1 barrel of sugar weighing 300 pounds to the drawback on less than 2 pounds of hard refined sugar.

The insignificance of this difference is further and perhaps more clearly illustrated by the following:

The value to the refiner of 1 pound of hard refined sugar produced from a low-grade sugar is exactly the same as the value of 1 pound of such sugar produced from a high-grade raw sugar.

From market reports (see Exhibit E) and from the findings further on in this report that $1\frac{1}{16}$ pounds of raw cane centrifugal sugar testing 90 degrees is used in the production of 1 pound of hard refined sugar, it appears that the cost to the refiner of the pound of sugar refined from a raw sugar testing 90 degrees is made up of:

	Per cent.	
*Raw sugar appearing in the refined sugar as crystal; that totally lost or destroyed in process of refining and loss by degradation of value of crystal "inverted" in such process	95	100 per cent = cost to refiner of 1 pound hard refined sugar.
†All refining expenses, including interest, taxes, insurance, wear and repairs of plant, etc	5	

From the same data, modified by information received from refiners, it appears that such cost, in case of a raw sugar testing 94 degrees, is made up of—

	Per cent.	
Raw sugar as above noted (*), not less than	94¼	100 per cent = cost to refiner of 1 pound hard refined sugar.
All refining expenses as above noted (†), not more than	5¼	

Using the foregoing exhibit as an illustration, it becomes apparent that the differences in cost of material used in producing the pound of hard refined sugar from the different grades of raw sugars covered by this discussion are so trifling that they need not be further considered.

But looking solely at the differences which inhere in the various grades of raw sugars, the existence of which give a greater relative value to the pound of crystal in a high-grade than a low-grade sugar, which differences must be considered separate and apart from the greater cost of refining, it can not be seriously urged from any point of view that the relative difference between the productive value of such sugars for each degree above the basis is one thirty-second of a cent per pound, and at the same time one-sixteenth or three thirty-seconds of a cent per pound, as the case may be, for each degree below the basis.

If by any possible statement of the case it could be made to appear that one-sixteenth of 1 cent per pound does fairly represent the difference in productive or intrinsic value between sugars varying 1 degree in test, the question recurs, why, then, is one thirty-second of 1 cent per pound invariably taken as the measure of such value for each degree above basis?

If it be answered that the difference in bases prices of sugars varying 1 degree in test is but one thirty-second of a cent per pound, the claim that one-sixteenth of a cent per pound is the correct measure of value as between such sugars is effectually disposed of, since in a trade transaction the fixing of the basis price of a sugar fixes the market price for the basis test, the basis price being in no case controlled by any arbitrary trade rule or consideration whatever.

The foregoing considerations may be summed up as follows:

(1) Neither the difference of one thirty-second of a cent per pound per degree above basis nor that of one-sixteenth of a cent per pound per degree below basis can be held to represent, except approximately and in an arbitrary and clumsy manner, the actual differences between the intrinsic or productive values of sugars. It is equally clear that the one-sixteenth of a cent per pound down, occurring at it does throughout the whole gradation of bases prices in contradistinction to one thirty-second of a cent per pound up, represents in part a penalty consideration.

(2) The prices fixed on the several bases of sale constitute for the time being, and for each individual transaction, standards of commercial and intrinsic values.

Giving full weight to these deductions, and notwithstanding the arbitrary rule of rise and fall to and from bases, respectively, fixed by trade usage, it must of necessity be assumed for the purposes of this discussion that the relative commercial values of raw sugars, determined in manner as hereinbefore shown and modified by the penalty consideration of one thirty-second of 1 cent hereinbefore noted, practically represent their several intrinsic or productive values for refining purposes.

To assume otherwise would be to assume that refiners do not know the relative productive values of the several kinds and grades of raw sugars which they refine.

Any form of regulation governing allowance of drawback on refined products of raw sugars subject to an ad valorem rate of duty must be based on this assumption.

The conclusion follows—

That the value of the material consumed in the manufacture of 1 pound of hard refined sugar from a raw sugar of a given test is substantially the same as the value of the material consumed in the manufacture of another pound of hard refined sugar from a raw sugar of a different grade or test, provided only that the bases of value of such raw sugars were fixed on the same market conditions.

It has been seen that buyers and sellers of all grades of raw sugars, by the terms of their contracts, agree that for each degree of polariscope test above the basis of sale one thirty-second of 1 cent per pound shall be added to the price fixed for such basis. Contracts are made constantly recognizing such rule of gradation, and the addition under this rule is certainly free from all taint or suggestion of "penalty" hereinbefore considered.

The fact that the additions for commercial value are invariably one thirty second of 1 cent per pound for each degree of test above the basis, whatever such basis may be and whatever the state of the market, suggests that such additions, although arbitrary and inexact, must necessarily, and may with safety to the Government, be taken as the measure of difference in productive values of raw sugars of different degrees of purity.

If, with raw sugar at a given basis value, the one thirty-second of 1 cent were an accurate measure of the difference per degree in productive values of such raw sugars, its use in determining the value of a 96-degree sugar, under the same market conditions, either by addition in case of sugars below 96 degrees or by subtraction in case of sugars above that test, would lead to accurate results.

If the basis value of the raw sugar were such as to make the measure of one thirty-second too great, then addition would make the price of a 96-degree sugar too high, and subtraction would make it too low.

If the basis value of the raw sugar were such as to make the measure of one thirty-second too small, then addition would make the price of a 96-degree sugar, so found, too low, and subtraction would leave it too high.

It is in the interest of the revenue to make and to leave the 96-degree sugar, which under the plan proposed is taken as the basis of drawback determination, at a low rather than a high valuation, but as has been noted, either too great or too small a measure would work both for and against such interest.

The fact that the use of any measure will work in opposite ways, when used either above or below the 96-degree standard, considered in connection with the fact that nearly all the raw sugars from which hard refined sugars are made range from 94 degrees to 98 degrees, indicates that the variations pointed out will be practically self-correcting.

Such injustice, if any, as the use of this measure of relative values may work to the refiner or exporter in the plan proposed for determining drawback allowance must, it is believed, be held to be solely chargeable to the method of determining the commercial values of raw sugars established by trade usage and recognized by the appraising officers of the Government in determining dutiable values.

"YIELD" OF REFINED PRODUCTS FROM RAW SUGARS.

In seeking the fullest information possible relative to the "yield" of refined products from raw sugars of different kinds and grades, I addressed a letter to the principal refiners of the country, dated January 5, 1895, inclosing a tabulated form which each was requested, as far as practicable, to fill out. (See Exhibit B.)

The names of the refiners to whom this letter was addressed are: Nash, Spaulding & Co., Boston, Mass.; H. O. Havemeyer, president of the American Sugar Refining Company, New York, N. Y.; B. H. Howell, Son & Co., New York, N. Y., for Mollenhauer Sugar Refining Company, New York, N. Y., and National Sugar Refining Company, Yonkers, N. Y.; the W. J. McCahan Sugar Refining Company, Philadelphia, Pa.; William Henderson, New Orleans, La.; Cunningham & Miller, Sugar Land, Tex.

From Nash, Spaulding & Co. no reply whatever was received, although several urgent letters were sent them, a copy of the last of which, dated March 1, 1895, will be found—Exhibit B.

To my letter of January 5, 1895, the W. J. McCahan Sugar Refining Company and the National Sugar Refining Company replied under dates of January 7, 1895, and March 6, 1895, respectively, stating their inability to furnish the data desired (Exhibit B).

Messrs. Cunningham & Miller replied under date of April 13, 1895, availing themselves partially of the use of the blank form which had been furnished them. (See Exhibit C.) A similar response was received from William Henderson, under date of April 18, 1895.

Sworn statements were subsequently received from both of these firms, covering substantially the information which they had first sent as per form furnished. (Exhibit B.)

The Mollenhauer Sugar Refining Company furnished a sworn statement under date of April 22, 1895. (Exhibit B.)

Mr. H. O. Havemeyer, president of the American Sugar Refining Company, furnished information by letters dated, respectively, February 21 and April 15, 1895. (Exhibit B.)

Dr. Edward Sherer, sugar expert in charge of the United States laboratory at this port, furnished information by letter through the appraiser, dated April 9, 1895. (Exhibit B.)

In an investigation of the same question made at San Francisco, Cal., in 1886, I obtained the sworn statement of E. L. G. Steele, president and manager of what was then known as the American Sugar Refining Company, of that city, and certain figures taken from that statement (Exhibit A, with my report dated August 24, 1886) are used in this report.

A tabulated statement of the information received from the sources above mentioned, with reference solely to the refined products obtainable from 100 pounds of raw cane centrifugal sugar testing 96 degrees by the polariscope, has been prepared, and is submitted herewith, marked "Exhibit D."

In reducing the refined products to pounds of crystal, which it was found necessary to do in order to a just comparison of data furnished, hard refined sugars are considered as testing 100 degrees, soft refined 92 degrees, and sirup 40 degrees, unless otherwise reported.

An inspection of the tabulated statement (Exhibit D) shows that the yield reported by H. O. Havemeyer, president of the American Sugar Refining Company, represents a recovery in refining of 94.4 pounds of crystal from 96 pounds of crystal in the raw sugar, or twenty-four one-hundredths of a pound in excess of the average.

After due consideration, it is regarded as just and safe to accept 92 pounds of hard refined sugar and 6 pounds of sirup as the "yield" from 100 pounds of raw cane centrifugal sugar testing 96 degrees by the polariscope.

Upon these quantities calculations are based in determining the proper rate of drawback allowance on such hard refined sugar and sirup made from raw cane centrifugal sugar.

Hard refined sugars of standard test range generally from 95.5 degrees to 99.9 degrees, and such sugars are regarded as testing nominally 100 degrees.

The test of the sirup product, which is understood to average about 40 degrees, is taken at not less than 38 degrees, and its weight at not less than 11½ pounds per gallon.

The average price of raw cane centrifugal sugar testing 96 degrees, from September 1, 1894, to April 18, 1895, duty paid, was 3.277 cents per pound, and of granulated sugar during the same period 3.882 cents per pound.

Investigation shows that 5 cents per gallon is a fair valuation to place upon sirup at this time, in condition as "thrown" from the centrifugal.

From the foregoing data are obtained the following figures:

Value of 22 pounds granulated sugar at 3.882 cents	$3.571
Value of 6 pounds sirup (one-half gallon) at 5 cents	.025
Total value of refined products	3.596

Let it be assumed, for the purpose of finding a formula for the ascertainment of the relative dutiable values of the material used in the manufacture of 1 pound of hard refined sugar and of 1 gallon of sirup, that the dutiable value of 1 pound of raw cane centrifugal sugar testing 96 degrees is 2 cents. Value of 100 pounds at 2 cents = $2.

Then—

Total value of refined products.	Value of material for refined products.	Value of refined sugar.	Value of material for refined sugar.
$3.596	$2	$3.571	$1.985
		Value of refined sirup.	Value of material for sirup.
$3.596	$2	$0.025	$0.0139

$\frac{\$1.986}{92} = \$0.0215$ = dutiable value of material in 1 pound of hard refined sugar.

$\frac{\$0.0139}{5} = \$0.0278$ = dutiable value of material in 1 gallon sirup.

$0.0215 at 40 per cent = $0.0086 = duty on material in 1 pound hard refined sugar.
$0.0278 at 40 per cent = $0.0112 = duty on material in 1 gallon sirup.

Weight of raw material consumed in manufacture of 1 pound hard refined sugar. $= \frac{\$0.0215}{0.02} = 1.075$ pounds $= 1\frac{3}{40}$ pounds.

Weight of raw material consumed equivalent to value of material in 1 gallon sirup. $= \frac{\$0.0278}{0.02} = 1.39$ pounds, say 1½ pounds.

The foregoing figures show that for every pound of hard refined sugar exported there may be properly allowed a drawback of the duty on $1\frac{3}{40}$ pounds of raw cane centrifugal sugar testing 96 degrees, and that for every gallon of the sirup product, valued at 5 cents per gallon, in condition as "thrown" from the centrifugal, there may be allowed a drawback equal to the duty paid on 1½ pounds of such raw sugar.

The conclusion reached in this report in the discussion under the head of "Productive values of raw sugars" indicates that, having established proper bases of allowance for hard refined sugar and sirup made from raw cane centrifugal sugar testing 96 degrees, such grade may be taken as representative of the several grades of raw cane centrifugals testing, say, from 92 degrees to 98 degrees and higher.

From the findings referred to, it follows that when hard refined sugar is made from cane centrifugal sugars testing either above or below 96 degrees, and not below 92 degrees, by the polariscope, the equivalent productive value or corresponding market value of a 96-degree sugar may be found by adding to the dutiable value of the sugars used, for each degree below 96 degrees and not below 92 degrees, one thirty-second of 1 cent per pound, or by subtracting from the dutiable value of the sugars used one thirty-second of 1 cent per pound for each degree above 96 degrees; proportionate parts of the one thirty-second of 1 cent per pound, increase or reduction of value, being added or subtracted for fractions of degrees of test, as above noted.

The corresponding dutiable value per pound of 96-degree sugar being so found, the value of the raw sugar actually used in the manufacture of the hard refined sugar may be determined by allowing the value of $1\frac{3}{40}$ pounds of such 96-degree sugar for each pound of hard refined sugar exported.

In the case of raw-beet sugars, it has been shown that the "net analysis" represents the productive value or "yield" of such sugars.

For example, a raw beet sugar showing a polarization, say, of 94 degrees and of 88 degrees "net analysis," would give a yield of 88 pounds of hard refined sugar.

The resultant sirup product from the refining of raw beet sugars is practically of no commercial value.

It is plain, therefore, that when hard refined sugar is made wholly from imported beet sugars the dutiable value of the material used for each pound of the exported article may be determined by dividing the dutiable value of 1 pound of the material used by the decimal denoting the "net analysis" of such material.

From figures already presented, it has been seen that the value of 1½ pounds of cane centrifugal sugar, testing 96 degrees, may be taken as representing the value of the material entering into the manufacture of 1 gallon of the sirup product resultant from refining such raw sugar, the valuation of such sirup being placed at 5 cents per gallon.

As before shown, the test of such sirup is placed at not less than 38 degrees and its weight at not less than 11½ pounds per gallon.

If the sirup be made from a sugar testing above or below 96 degrees, it is manifest that the dutiable value of the sugar allowance for 1 gallon of sirup should be found in manner as hereinbefore shown in the case of hard refined sugar.

Inasmuch as the value of the sirup greatly fluctuates, the regulation provides that such value be declared by the manufacturer on the export entry, and that such declared value be subject to verification by the collector.

It is further provided that, if the value of the sirup be found to be above or below 5 cents per gallon, the value of the material used in such sirup may be determined by a proportionate increase or reduction in the quantity of sugar (1½ pounds), taken as hereinbefore provided, as the measure of such value.

It may be here remarked that the adjustment of the basis of drawback allowance herein fixed for the sugar and sirup products is such as to provide for a value of the sirup in condition as thrown from the centrifugal as high as 8 cents per gallon without detriment to the Government. As the regulation provides only for sirup in condition as "thrown" from the centrifugal,

without having undergone any filtering or other clarifying process, it will probably not exceed that limit of value.

The drawback on the sugar product is relatively so large, compared with that on the sirup product, that it is obviously unnecessary to provide for a declaration of its value on the export entry.

SUMMARY.

The investigation shows:

1. Under the ad valorem system of collecting duties on raw sugars the mode of determining drawback allowance on refined products must depend primarily on the mode of valuing sugars commercially and for dutiable purposes.

2. Under trade usage raw sugars are generally bought and sold on various bases of test, with a rise of one thirty-second of 1 cent per pound for each degree above basis and a fall of one-sixteenth of 1 cent per pound for each degree below basis, 2 degrees down; for each degree below basis, beginning with the third degree, the fall is three thirty-seconds of 1 cent per pound, fractions of a degree in proportion.

3. These rules, although arbitrary and inexact, are recognized and practically adopted by the appraising officers of the Government in fixing the dutiable value of imported raw sugars.

4. The fall of one-sixteenth or of three thirty-seconds of a cent per pound, as the case may be, for each degree below basis, is found to include in part a penalty consideration.

5. Under the law, only so much of the rise or fall from bases values of raw sugars of various grades as stands for the measures of difference in "yield" or productive value of such sugars can be considered in determining drawback allowance.

6. From considerations presented, it is regarded as necessary and safe to accept the one thirty-second of a cent rise as the measure of difference in productive value for each degree of variation in test in case of raw cane centrifugal sugars testing from 92 degrees to 98 degrees and higher, when bought under the same market conditions.

7. Under present refining and trade conditions it is found necessary to provide only for drawback allowance on hard refined sugars made from raw cane centrifugal sugars testing from 92 degrees to 98 degrees and higher, or from beet sugars. Incidentally, provision has been made for the sirup product resultant from refining such cane centrifugal sugars.

8. From the most reliable sources of information it is found that 92 pounds of hard refined sugar and 6 pounds of sirup are obtainable from 100 pounds of raw cane cetrifugal sugar testing 96 degrees by the polariscope.

9. On an assumed valuation for a raw cane centrifugal sugar testing 96 degrees and ascertained values for hard refined sugar and sirup, it is found further that for every pound of hard refined sugar exported there may be allowed $1\frac{1}{16}$ pounds of such raw sugar and that the value of the material in 1 gallon of sirup, valued at 5 cents per gallon, is equal to the value of $1\frac{1}{4}$ pounds of such raw sugar.

10. It is obvious that when the hard refined sugar is made from 96 degree raw cane centrifugal, the drawback allowance on each pound of the refined product will be the duty paid on $1\frac{1}{16}$ pounds of such raw sugar, as shown by the import entry and invoice, less the legal deduction of 1 per cent; and that such allowance on 1 gallon of the resultant sirup, valued at 5 cents, will be the duty paid on $1\frac{1}{4}$ pounds of such raw sugar, less the same deduction.

11. With respect to raw cane centrifugals testing from 92 degrees to 96 degrees and higher, when sold under the same market conditions, the principle is established that equal values produce results which are so nearly equal that for practical purposes they may be treated as equal.

12. With respect to such sugars and within the limits of test mentioned, bases prices, being controlled by no arbitrary trade rule, represent, for the time being and for each individual transaction, standards of productive and market value.

13. From such standards the dutiable values of such sugars are determined, and whether their ascertained test be above or below 96 degrees, the equivalent productive value, or corresponding dutiable value, of a 96-degree sugar, sold under the same market conditions, may be found by the use of the one thirty-second measure of value, either by addition or subtraction, as hereinbefore pointed out. For fractions of degrees of test, proportionate parts of the one thirty-second measure of value may be used.

14. Since, as has been shown, equal values produce equal results, the value of the 96-degree sugar so found is then taken to represent the value of the raw sugar actually used, and the drawback allowance is based on the use of $1\frac{1}{16}$ pounds of such 96-degree sugar, so valued.

In submitting the form of regulation which follows it is perhaps desirable to state that for reasons herein noted provision is made only—

1. For the establishment of a drawback rate on hard refined sugars made from raw cane centrifugals testing not lower than 93 degrees, and from raw beet sugars.

2. For the establishment of a drawback rate on the sirup resultant from refining the cane centrifugals above noted, in condition as "thrown" from the centrifugal.

"FORM OF REGULATION.

"On the exportation of loaf, cut loaf, cube, granulated, or powdered sugar, refined wholly from imported raw sugars, and 'stove dried' or dried by any other equally effective process, a drawback will be allowed equal in amount to the duties paid on the imported sugars used in such manufacture, less the legal deduction of 1 per cent.

"When such 'hard refined' sugars of standard test are made wholly from cane 'centrifugals' testing 96 degrees by the polariscope, drawback shall be based on a quantity of material used, to be determined by allowing $1\frac{1}{16}$ pounds of such raw sugar for each pound of 'hard refined' sugar exported, and the dutiable value of such material shall be ascertained by reference to liquidated value on the import entry.

"When such hard refined sugars are made from cane centrifugal sugars testing either above or below 96 degrees and not below 92 degrees by the polariscope, the equivalent productive value or corresponding dutiable value of 96-degree sugar shall be found by adding to the dutiable value of the sugars used, for each degree below 96 degrees and not below 92 degrees, one thirty-second of 1 cent per pound, or by subtracting from the dutiable value of the sugars used one thirty-second of 1 cent per pound for each degree above 96 degrees. Proportionate parts of the one thirty-second of 1 cent per pound increase or reduction of value shall be added or subtracted for fractions of degrees of test as above noted.

"The corresponding dutiable value per pound of 96-degree sugar being so found, the value of the raw sugar actually used in the manufacture of the refined sugar shall be determined by allowing the value of $1\frac{1}{16}$ pounds of such 96-degree sugar for each pound of hard refined sugar exported.

"When such refined sugars are made wholly from improved beet sugars, the dutiable value of the material used for each pound of the exported article shall be determined by dividing the dutiable value of 1 pound of the material used by the decimal denoting the 'net analysis' of such material.

"The dutiable value of the material used in the manufacture of the sirup product of the cane sugars above described shall be determined by allowing for each gallon of such sirup in condition as 'thrown' from the centrifugal, testing not less than 36 degrees, weighing not less than $11\frac{1}{2}$ pounds per gallon, and valued at 5 cents per gallon, $1\frac{1}{4}$ pounds of 96 degree sugar, the dutiable value of which material shall be found as hereinbefore provided in the case of hard refined sugars.

"The value of such sirup shall be declared by the manufacturer on the export entry, which declaration shall be verified by the collector; and the value of the material used in sirups valued above or below 5 cents per gallon shall be fixed by increasing or reducing the quantity of sugar above noted to correspond to the increase or reduction above or below the 5 cents per gallon above specified.

"On requisition of collectors, appraising officers shall furnish polariscope tests, 'net analysis,' and other conditions of valuation not recorded on the import invoices, for use in liquidation of drawback entries.

"The quantities of sugar and sirup exported shall be ascertained by United States weighers and gaugers, respectively, and samples shall be taken, as ordered by the collector, to be submitted to the appraiser for report of polariscope test of sugar and sirup, weight of sirup per gallon, and such expert analysis as may be requisite."

Should it become necessary to provide for the same forms of refined products made from other kinds or grades of sugar, or for other forms of the refined products, further investigation and report would be necessary.

I return herewith Department letter dated October 22, 1894, addressed to the collector, also exhibits marked from A to E, inclusive.

Respectfully, yours,

IRA AYER, *Special Agent.*

Hon. JAMES T. KILBRETH,
Collector of Customs, New York, N. Y.

EXHIBIT A.

[Czarnikow, Macdougall & Co., Limited, New York.]

Samples to be drawn mutually by sellers and buyers and polarization of same to be made by two chemists selected, one by sellers and the other by buyers, the results to be averaged for basis of settlement, which is to be made at one thirty-second up or one-sixteenth down per degree above or below basis, fractions in proportion. Polarizations of the samples to be also made by a third chemist, these results to be used in cases where the other two chemists differ over one-half point, when the two nearest of the three will decide the average.

Below 94 degrees test, three thirty-seconds cent per pound per degree down.
Centrifugals basis 96 degrees.
Below 93 degrees test, three thirty-seconds cent per pound per degree down.
Centrifugals basis 95 degrees.
Molasses and musco sugars below 84 degrees test, three thirty-seconds cent per pound per degree down.

THE COLONIAL COL'D., LONDON, *May 9th.*

THE AMERICAN SUGAR REFINING CO., *City:*

Nine hundred and seventeen (917) bags centrifugal sugar, at $2\frac{1}{4}$ cents per pound, basis 92 degrees, and twenty-two hundred and forty-seven (2,247) bags molasses sugar, at $2\frac{1}{8}$ cents per pound, basis 89 degrees, ex. steamship *Prins Fred'k Hendrik*, from Demerara, B. G., and Trinidad, B. W. I. Net cash, payable in ten days' actual time. To be taken at Woodruff's stores, Brooklyn, less lighterage.

Samples to be drawn mutually by sellers and buyers, and polarization of same to be made by two chemists selected, one by the sellers and the other by the buyers, the results to be averaged for basis of settlement, which is to be made at $\frac{1}{32}$ up or $\frac{1}{16}$ down per degree above or below basis, fractions in proportion. Polarizations of samples to be also made by a third chemist; these results to be used in cases where the other two chemists differ over $\frac{1}{2}$ point, when the two nearest of the three will decide the average.

Below 94 degrees test, $\frac{1}{16}$ cent per pound per degree down.
Below 84 degrees test, $\frac{3}{32}$ cent per pound per degree down.

CZARNIKOW, MACDOUGALL & CO.

MAY 5.

Bartram Bros. The American Sugar Rf. Co.

Colon, 700 bgs.	
Quelquiya, 1027.	3,127 bgs. centrifugal sugar, at $3\frac{1}{4}$c.
Quelquiya, two, 495.	495 bgs. molls. sugar, at $2\frac{1}{4}$c.
Base Consulo, 1400.	

At —— per pound basis, 96 & 89 average, $\frac{1}{32}$ up or $\frac{1}{16}$ down, to 94 & 84 test. Any below $\frac{1}{16}$ down from 94 & 84 test. Net cash, ten days delivery, actual tare. Samples and tested as customary to fix price.

Ex. ship schr. *Wandrian* in harbor from San Domingo.

STANNART & TABOUT.

[Contract of sale.]

James Connell to Am. Sugar Refg. Co.

MAY 1ST.

Mr. G. A. E. Irving: Messrs. The American Sugar Rfg. Co.

Say, 200 bags Jamaica muscovado sugar arrived per S. S. *Argonaut*, at $2\frac{1}{4}$ cts. per pound, basis 89° arg. test. Landed weights. Cash in ten days. Sugar to be taken at Woodruff's Stores, Brooklyn, less lighterage. Damaged, if any, to be taken at a fair allowance, to be settled by the undersigned.

JAMES S. CONNELL,
By H. S. CONNELL.

MARK: A.

Samples to be drawn mutually by sellers and buyers, and polarizations of same to be made by two chemists selected, one by the sellers and the other by buyers, the results to be averaged for basis of settlement, which is to be made at $\frac{1}{32}$ up or $\frac{1}{16}$ down per degree above or below basis, fractions in proportion. Polarizations of the samples to be also made by a third chemist, these results to be used in cases where the other two chemists differ over $\frac{1}{2}$ point, when the two nearest of the three will decide the average.

Any mark or marks below 84 degrees to be omitted from the average, and allowance down on such to be at the rate of $\frac{3}{32}$ ct. per pound per degree from 84 degrees.

The invoice value of per pound herein stated is nominal; and, in accordance with the condition of the sale consignment of these goods and of the trade custom, these sugars are to be polarized at the port of landing, and there must be added to said valuation $\frac{1}{16}$ c. per lb. for every degree over 96° polariscope test, in case said goods test more than 96°, and in like manner there must be deducted $\frac{1}{16}$ c. per lb. for every degree under 96°, in order to make the actual cost fair market value of these goods at the time and place of shipment.

[The above stamp is used by J. M. Ceballos & Co. on their invoices.]

Remarks regarding the methods of selling Cuban cane centrifugal sugars.

Supposing 1,000 bags of Cuban cane centrifugals testing 96 degrees and up are sold on the basis of 96 degrees at $2\frac{1}{4}$ cents per pound; if they should test

95 degrees, the price obtained would be only $2\frac{15}{16}$ cents (after deducting the one-sixteenth cent allowance from 96 degrees to 95 degrees). Those same 1,000 bags of sugar sold on the basis of 95 degrees on the same day would obtain $2\frac{1}{2}$ cents. In other words, at the time the sale is effected the difference made between 95 degrees and 96 degrees is only one thirty-second cent, but on sales made basis 96 degrees, if they actually test 95 degrees, the allowance for this 1 degree is one-sixteenth cent. The recognized allowance, as a difference in the price between 95 degrees and 96 degrees in the market to-day, is one thirty-second cent.

Often sugars have sold at $2\frac{7}{32}$ cents for 95 degrees and on the same day $2\frac{1}{2}$ cents for 96 degrees. In these sales the one selling at $2\frac{7}{32}$ cents for 95 degrees has the advantage over the one selling at $2\frac{1}{4}$ cents for 93 degrees, because if the sugars test 96 degrees he always would get $2\frac{1}{2}$ cents by adding one thirty-second cent up for the 1 degree above, while the man that sells at $2\frac{1}{4}$ cents for 96 degrees (should his sugars test 95 degrees) will be only getting $2\frac{7}{16}$ cents after deducting the one-sixteenth cent allowance. In other words, by selling basis 96 degrees, if sugars go down to 95 degrees, the seller gives away one thirty-second cent more than if he sold basis 95 degrees. (Memorandum statement from J. M. Ceballos & Co.)

99.....$\frac{31}{32}$
98.....$\frac{15}{16}$
97.....$\frac{29}{32}$ advance.
96.....Value.
95.....$\frac{1}{32}$
94.....$\frac{1}{16}$
93.....$\frac{3}{32}$
92.....$\frac{1}{8}$
91.....$\frac{5}{32}$
90.....$\frac{3}{16}$

Fraction of $\frac{1}{16}$ or $\frac{1}{32}$ of a cent for fractions of degrees to $\frac{1}{16}$ of a degree.

[Memorandum furnished by Examiner Jacobs, of the sugar division, purporting to show mode of appraisement, or of ascertaining dutiable value of sugars.]

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EXHIBIT B.

OFFICE OF SPECIAL AGENT TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
New York, N. Y., January 5, 1895.

DEAR SIR: In connection with an inquiry which has been ordered by the Department looking to the establishment of a just rate of drawback on the exportation of refined sugars made from imported raw sugars on which duties have been paid, I will thank you to fill out the inclosed form, basing the data furnished on your knowledge and experience as a refiner.

In those cases where, under the ordinary processes of refining pursued in this country, there would be no output of certain of the refined products indicated in the form, please fill in the spaces with a straight horizontal dash, thus —.

It is understood that the largest relative production of hard refined sugars would result from refining the highest grades of raw sugars, and that such relative high production would diminish with the lower grades of raw sugar used.

It is further understood that it would be difficult, and, indeed, impossible, to give results that would be true for each kind or lot of raw sugar used of a given test, but it is hoped that, taking your refining operations in their general results for a given period, say for one year, you will be enabled to furnish data that may be accepted as substantially correct, and which may serve as a basis for drawback allowance that shall prove practically just both to the Government and the refiner.

It is usual in these cases to ask for a sworn statement from the manufacturer, and I will thank you, therefore, to have the statement, when completed, duly sworn to.

In order that this may be done consistently, the space below the tabulated form may be utilized for such explanatory remarks as may be necessary, in order to place the whole subject in a just light.

The oath may be taken by the superintendent of the refinery or by the "refiner," so called, or, indeed, by anyone authorized to represent the refining company in such capacity, and who has knowledge of the facts set forth in the statement.

Bespeaking your earnest attention to the subject, and hoping for a prompt and full response, covering, if possible, all the data required, I am,

Respectfully, yours,

IRA AYER, *Special Agent.*

—

THE W. J. MCCAHAN SUGAR REFINING COMPANY,
Philadelphia, January 7, 1895.

DEAR SIR: Yours of January 5 received. As we have only been refining sugar for a little over a year, and having used considerable domestic molasses and sorghum sugar, it is impossible for us to give you exact results, and could only give you an estimate which would be practically useless regarding our inability to furnish data.

We are, truly, yours,

THE W. J. MCCAHAN SUGAR REFINING CO.,
W. J. MCCAHAN, *President.*

Mr. IRA AYER.

—

NATIONAL SUGAR REFINING COMPANY, *Yonkers, March 6, 1895.*

DEAR SIR: The inquiry of the Treasury Department regarding sugar-refinery products which you have forwarded to us has received careful attention. It would hardly be possible for us to furnish the information requested, for the following reasons:

First. Our refinery has been running but little more than a year, and our work has been necessarily irregular, and to some extent experimental, and our results would be consequently of less value as a basis for calculation of drawback than those of another refinery.

Second. Our refinery is small and has not turned out all grades of sugar, and what data we might give would be incomplete as to the theoretical product of hard refined, that can be ascertained from standard authorities as well as we could give it.

Respectfully, yours,

NATIONAL SUGAR REFINING CO.,
By GEO. R. BUNKER, *Manager.*

Messrs. B. H. HOWELL SON & CO., *New York.*

—

[Cunningham & Miller, producers, manufacturers, and refiners of sugar.]

SUGARLAND, TEX., *April 17, 1895.*

DEAR SIR: We are in receipt of your telegram even date, and herewith find reply. Trusting promptly to hand satisfactory, we remain,

Yours, truly,

CUNNINGHAM & MILLER.

Mr. IRA AYER,
Special Agent, New York, N. Y.

[Cunningham & Miller, producers, manufacturers, and refiners of sugar.]

SUGARLAND, TEX., *April 15, 1895.*

SIR: In reply to the inquiries contained in your letter of ——, I have to state that, from our experience as refiners, 100 pounds of cane sugar polarizing 96 degrees will give in yield as follows:

	Pounds.
Hard refined	92.16
Extra C	.92
Solid matter in sirup	3.49
Loss	3.08
Total	99.65

The polarizations of the above products are as follows:

	Degrees.
Hard refined	99.8 to 100
Extra C	90 to 94
Sirup	32.8 to 41

The sirup is what is known as commercial molasses, and weighs 11.9 pounds per gallon.

We note what you have to say regarding the discrepancy between 100 pounds raw sugar and the final product plus loss, and in explanation will state that this difference (0.35 pound) can be charged to either the molasses or the loss, but it is not possible to say which; consequently we leave it out of the calculations.

The figures given (3.49 pounds) for molasses represent the dry matter of the molasses. In terms of the molasses itself, the figure would be 4.21 pounds.

Respectfully, yours,

L. W. ROBINSON, *Chemist.*

Mr. IRA AYER,
Special Agent, Custom-House, New York.

Signed and sworn to before me, B. H. James, notary public, county of Fort Bend, State of Texas.

B. H. JAMES, *Notary Public.*

—

NEW ORLEANS, *April 18, 1895.*

DEAR SIR: In reply to your inquiry contained in your letter of recent date, I have to say that I have never refined any beet sugar at all, nor any imported sugars, when only they are mixed with Louisiana sugars. I give you the only operation in my refinery from October 14 to November 30, 1894, in which Louisiana sugars only were melted, and the product of which was refined sugar of one grade, namely, "granulated."

In that case the output from 100 pounds of centrifugal sugar polarizing an average of 97 per cent was as follows: Refined granulated, 92.71; sirups, 3.81; loss, 3.48, making 100. The refined polarized 99.5 to 99.9; sirup, about 35. The sirup was a molasses of not particularly good quality or flavor, and we sold it at a very low price, about 3 cents net per gallon—that is, not furnishing the packages. Its weight was about 11½ pounds per gallon.

Yours, truly,

WM. HENDERSON.

Mr. IRA AYER,
Special Agent, Custom-House, New York City.

William Henderson, the above signed, being duly sworn, deposes and says that all facts and allegations contained in the above declaration signed by him are true and correct, to the best of his knowledge, information, and belief.

Sworn to and subscribed before me.

M. T. DUCROS, *Notary.*

NEW ORLEANS, *April 18, 1895.*

—

NEW YORK, *January 11, 1895.*

DEAR SIR: Yours of the 5th was duly received and referred to the refineries we represent, and we hope to be able to furnish you some information concerning the object of your inquiry within a few days.

Yours, very truly,

B. H. HOWELL, SON & CO.

Mr. IRA AYER, *Special Agent, City.*

—

NEW YORK, *January 31, 1895.*

DEAR SIR: In reply to your favor of the 25th instant, we beg to say that the refineries we represent have not as yet been able to make up the statement you desire.

Both the Mollenhauer and National refineries make principally hard sugars, and it will be impossible for them to answer all your questions, or to give any bases which apply to raw and refined sugars of various grades.

Yours, very truly,

B. H. HOWELL, SON & CO.

Mr. IRA L. AYER,
Special Agent, Treasury Department, City.

—

MOLLENHAUER SUGAR REFINING COMPANY,
Brooklyn, N. Y., April 22, 1895.

DEAR SIR: Referring to your various inquiries in regard to the yield of refined sugar from certain grades of raw sugar, we beg to say that we are not able to answer all your questions.

Our refinery uses principally high-grade sugar, and only at rare intervals any beet sugar.

We figure that 100 pounds of centrifugal sugar polarizing 96 degrees should yield 91 pounds of granulated and about 5 pounds of sirup.

The 5 pounds sirup is of a grade that is usually sold for table use or for mixing purposes. It is not of so low a grade as the kind which is used for distilling purposes. The sirup polarizes 38 degrees to 40 degrees, and the average weight is about 12 pounds per gallon.

The following have been the prices ruling since September 1, exclusive of the cost of packages:

	Cents per gallon.
September, 1894	7 to 8
October, 1894	7 to 7½
November, 1894	6½ to 9
December, 1894	7 to 9
January, 1895	8 to 10
February, 1895	6 to 8
March, 1895	8 to 9
April, 1895	8 to 10

Yours, very truly,

MOLLENHAUER SUGAR REFINING CO.
F. D. MOLLENHAUER, *Secretary.*

Sworn to before me this 23d day of April, 1895.

T. M. LAMBERSON, *Notary Public.*

Col. IRA AYER,
Special Agent Treasury Department, City.

THE AMERICAN SUGAR REFINING COMPANY,
New York, January 14, 1895.

DEAR SIR: Owing to my absence from the office, through illness, for the past ten days, I am but now in receipt of your communication of the 5th instant, and hope to give the matter my attention at an early date.

Very respectfully,

H. O. HAVEMEYER.

IRA AYER, Esq.,
Special Agent Treasury Department,
Custom-House, New York, N. Y.

—

THE AMERICAN SUGAR REFINING COMPANY,
New York, February 21, 1895.

DEAR SIR: In response to your letter of February 18, I beg to state that:

Ninety-two pounds of hard refined sugar and 6 pounds of sirup are obtainable from 100 pounds of first-class centrifugal sugars, polarizing 96 degrees.

Eighty-eight pounds of hard refined sugar and 10 pounds of sirup are obtainable from first class raw beet sugars polarizing 94 degrees direct and of 88 degrees net analysis.

It is impracticable to furnish the yields from any other grades of sugar in hard refined and sirup, none being used in their manufacture.

The sirup from the beet sugar is of no value; that from the centrifugal cane varies from one-half cent to 1 cent (say three-fourths cent) per pound.

Yours, truly,

H. O. HAVEMEYER.

IRA AYER, Esq.,
Special Agent, New York City.

—

THE AMERICAN SUGAR REFINING COMPANY,
New York, April 15, 1895.

DEAR SIR: In response to your communication of April 8, I beg to say that the sirup valued in my letter to you of February 21 at from one-half cent to 1 cent per pound (or, which is the same thing, 6 to 12 cents per gallon), is table sirup after it has been subjected to the full process of refining, filtering, clarifying, etc. Without such process it is fit only for distilling purposes, and sold ex package at 2 to 3 cents per gallon, an average of one-fifth of 1 cent per pound.

The polarization of these sirups averages about 40 and the weight 12 pounds per gallon, with 20 per cent water.

I reinclose you my letter of February 21.

Yours, truly,

H. O. HAVEMEYER.

IRA AYER, Esq.,
Special Agent, New York City.

—

UNITED STATES LABORATORY,
OFFICE OF APPRAISER OF MERCHANDISE,
New York, N. Y., April 9, 1895.

SIR: Referring to letter of Special Agent Ira Ayer, of April 8, 1895, requesting a statement from me showing the average refined products obtainable from 100 pounds of cane sugar (centrifugal) polarizing 96 degrees, and further requesting the average tests of each refined product and the character of the loss, I have the honor to report as follows:

The average yield from 100 pounds of cane sugar (centrifugal) polarizing 96 degrees, as ascertained from the last available sources of information, is, in my opinion, as follows:

	Pounds.
Hard refined sugar	92.50
Sirup	5
Loss	2.50

The test of hard refined sugar ranges from 99 degrees to 99.9 degrees; of sirup, from 30 degrees to 40 degrees.

Under the head of loss is given an amount representing water, ash, and other impurities. This must not be understood to represent an absolute loss in the process of refining, as a considerable portion of it may be worked into the sirup and lower grades of sugar when these are made in addition to hard refined, but of course with the result of degrading these products.

Respectfully,

EDWARD SHERER,
Chemist in Charge.

HON. WALTER H. BUNN, *United States Appraiser.*

—

OFFICE OF SPECIAL AGENT, TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
New York, N. Y., March 1, 1895.

GENTLEMEN: Referring to previous correspondence in relation to the establishment of drawback rates on exported refined sugar, I beg to inform you that the time is at hand when it will be necessary to submit a report upon the subject to the Department.

In the preparation of such report it is the desire of the Government that the views of the principal refiners of the country shall be obtained and considered, and I would be particularly glad of such data as your firm may be able to furnish.

As I am up to this date without a response from you to any of my letters, I again write and will thank you to advise me whether or not you have any facts or views pertaining to the questions involved which you desire to submit.

If it is not in your opinion practicable to use the blank transmitted with my letter of January 5, 1895, I will be glad to consider any information that you think proper to submit, which, in your judgment, will aid the Government in reaching just conclusions.

For the reason first herein noted, I will ask you kindly to write on receipt of this, so that I may have your answer on Monday, the 4th instant.

Respectfully, yours,

IRA AYER, *Special Agent.*

Messrs. NASH, SPALDING & CO.,
Boston Mass.

—

EXHIBIT C.

[Cunningham & Miller, producers, manufacturers, and refiners of sugar.]

SUGARLAND, TEX., *January 31, 1895.*

DEAR SIR: As requested in your circular letter of January 5, we inclose herewith statement as requested, as near as we can give it to you. We have never refined any raw beet sugar, our operations being confined to the cane product.

Yours, truly,

CUNNINGHAM & MILLER.

Mr. IRA AYER,
Special Agent Treasury Department,
Custom-House, New York, N. Y.

Possible product of hard refined sugar from imported raw cane sugar, and the products under the ordinary methods of refining now in use in the United States.

Polarization.	Amount of raw sugar used.	Hard refined.	Ex. C 1.	Sirup.	Loss.
	Pounds.	*Pounds.*	*Pounds.*	*Pounds.*	*Pounds.*
96	100	9,216	.92	3.49	3.68
94	100	8,894	.45	4.61	5.33

Loss consists of water, ash, and other impurities. Hard refined tests from 99.8 degrees to 100 degrees; Ex. C 1, 90 degrees to 94 degrees; sirup, 32.8 degrees to 41 degrees. The loss given is the difference between sucrose in raw sugar and sucrose in refined.

—

EXHIBIT D.

Yield of refined products from 100 pounds of raw cane centrifugal sugar testing 96 per cent (see Exhibit B).

Name.	Raw sugar used.	Test of raw sugar used.	Hard refined sugar produced nominal test 100 per cent.	Soft refined sugar produced assumed test 92 per cent.	Sirup produced.	
	Pounds.	*Per ct.*	*Pounds.*	*Pounds.*	*Per ct.*	*Pounds.*
H. O. Havemeyer	100	96	92	----------	40	6
Mollenhauer	100	96	91	----------	40	5
Wm. Henderson*	100	97	92.71	----------	35	3.81
Cunningham & Miller	100	96	92.16	0.92	37	4.21
Dr. Edward Sherer	100	96	92.5	----------	35	5
E. L. G. Steele†	100	96	80	.15	40	2
Average‡	100	96	----------	----------	----------	----------

Name.	Loss.	Crystal recovered in refined sugar.	Crystal recovered in sirup.	Total crystal recovered.	Total crystal used.	Loss of crystal.
	Pounds.	*Pounds.*	*Pounds.*	*Pounds.*	*Pounds.*	*Per ct.*
H. O. Havemeyer	----------	92	2.40	94.40	96	1.66
Mollenhauer	----------	91	2	93	96	3.12
Wm. Henderson*	3.48	92.71	1.33	94	97	3.09
Cunningham & Miller	3.06	93	1.50	94.50	96	1.50
Dr. Edward Sherer	2.50	92.50	1.75	94.25	96	1.82
E. L. G. Steele†	2	93.80	.80	94.60	96	1.46
Average‡	----------	92.46	1.70	94.16	96	1.91

*Louisiana sugars used.
†Test of soft sugars (15 pounds) placed at high estimate.
‡Omitting William Henderson test of raw sugar being 97 per cent.

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EXHIBIT E.

Net cash quotations of 96-degree centrifugals and of hard refined sugar (granulated) from September 6, 1894, to April 18, 1895.

Date.	Centrifugals (96-degree test), per pound.	Hard refined (granulated), per pound.	Date.	Centrifugals (96-degree test), per pound.	Hard refined (granulated), per pound.
1894.	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	1895.	*Cents.*	*Cents.*
Sept. 6	3.75	4.72	Jan. 10	3.00	3.74
13	3.75	4.72	17	3.00	3.74
20	3.75	4.51	24	3.03	3.74
27	3.75	4.41	31	3.00	3.74
Oct. 4	3.75	4.35	Feb. 7	3.125	3.68
11	3.75	4.35	14	3.00	3.68
18	3.50	4.35	21	3.00	3.74
25	3.50	4.35	28	3.00	3.74
Nov. 1	3.50	3.98	Mar. 7	3.00	3.80
8	3.50	4.10	14	3.00	3.86
15	3.50	4.10	21	3.00	3.86
22	3.50	3.98	28	3.00	3.86
29	3.50	3.98	Apr. 4	3.00	3.86
Dec. 6	3.50	3.80	11	3.00	3.86
13	3.25	3.74	18	3.00	3.86
20	3.125	3.74			
27	3.125	3.74	Total	108.155	131.42
1895.			Averages	3.277	3.982
Jan. 3	3.00	3.74			

Average price raw cane centrifugal testing 96 degrees from September 6, 1894, to April 18, 1895, 3.277 cents per pound.

Average granulated sugar during the same period, 3.982 cents per pound; less one-tenth for cost of barrels, 3.882 cents per pound.

—

MEMORANDUM.

In discussing questions of duty and drawback on sugars, four values are to be considered: Commercial value, invoice value, dutiable value, and productive value.

In appraisal of sugars but three values are considered: Commercial value, invoice value, and dutiable value.

In drawback matters but two values are considered: Dutiable value (as fixed by the appraiser) and productive value.

Relative productive values of raw cane centrifugal sugars testing from 99 degrees to 92 degrees, based on a dutiable value of 2 cents per pound for a 96-degree sugar, and with one thirty-second of a cent per pound as the measure of difference in productive value for each degree of test.

Test.			Productive value.		Quantities of raw sugar consumed in producing 1 pound hard refined sugar.	
For 99° add	$\frac{3}{32}$	=	$\frac{96}{32}$	×	1.02686	
98° add	$\frac{2}{32}$	=	$\frac{64}{32}$	×	1.04242	
97° add	$\frac{1}{32}$	=	$\frac{32}{32}$	×	1.05846	Cost of raw material in each pound of hard refined sugar in terms of 96° sugar = 1.075 = $1\frac{3}{32}$ pounds.
96° at 2 cents		=	$\frac{64}{32}$	×	1.075	
95° deduct $\frac{1}{32}$		=	$\frac{63}{32}$	×	1.09206	
94° deduct $\frac{2}{32}$		=	$\frac{62}{32}$	×	1.10967	
93° deduct $\frac{3}{32}$		=	$\frac{61}{32}$	×	1.12786	
92° deduct $\frac{4}{32}$		=	$\frac{60}{32}$	×	1.14666	

Mode of liquidation where raw sugar of one test and value is identified.

	Cents.
$\frac{1}{32}$ cent	0.03125
$\frac{2}{32}$ cent	.0625

1,000 pounds refined sugar exported. 1,000 pounds at $1\frac{3}{32}$ = 1,075 pounds 96-degree sugar used.

Refiners identify 1,200 pounds 94-degree sugar at 1.90. $1.90 + \frac{2}{32} = 1.9625$ for 96-degree sugar.

1,075 pounds × 1.9625 = $21.09, at 40 per cent	$8.43
Less 1 per cent	.08
Drawback on 1,000 pounds exported	8.35

Mode of liquidation where raw sugars of several tests and values are identified.

1,000 pounds refined sugar exported. 1,000 pounds × $1\frac{3}{32}$=1,075 pounds 96° sugar used.

Refiners identify:

300 pounds 94° sugar, at 1.80 cents	$5.40
500 pounds 95° sugar, at 1.90 cents	9.50
400 pounds 97° sugar, at 2.10 cents	8.40

$\frac{1}{32}$ cent=.03125 cent; $\frac{2}{32}$=.0625 cent.
94° at 1.80+.0625 =96° at 1.8625.
95° at 1.90+.03125=96° at 1.93125.
97° at 2.10—.03125=96° at 2.06875.

300 pounds 94° =○= 290 pounds 96° at 1.8625	$5.40
500 pounds 95° =○= 492 pounds 96° at 1.93125	9.50
286 pounds 97° =○= 293 pounds 96° at 2.06875	6.06
1,075	20.96

Drawback on 1,000 pounds refined sugar equals duty paid on 1,075 pounds 96° sugar = $20.96 at 40 per cent = $8.38—1 per cent = $8.30.

Mode of determining quantities of raw-cane centrifugal sugars, ranging from 99 degrees to 92 degrees, consumed in the production of 1 pound of hard refined sugar, the determinations being based on a dutiable value of 2 cents per pound for a 96-degree sugar, with one thirty-second of a cent per pound as the measure of difference in productive value for each degree of test.

Test.			Productive values.		Quantities of raw sugar consumed in production of 1 pound of hard refined sugar.
For 99° add	$\frac{3}{32}$	= $\frac{96}{32}$	67		1.02686
98° add	$\frac{2}{32}$	= $\frac{64}{32}$	66		1.04242
97° add	$\frac{1}{32}$	= $\frac{32}{32}$	65		1.05846
96° at	2c	= $\frac{64}{32}$	64	:64::1.075:	1.075
95° deduct	$\frac{1}{32}$	= $\frac{63}{32}$	63		1.09206
94° deduct	$\frac{2}{32}$	= $\frac{62}{32}$	62		1.10967
93° deduct	$\frac{3}{32}$	= $\frac{61}{32}$	61		1.12786
92° deduct	$\frac{4}{32}$	= $\frac{60}{32}$	60		1.14667

Same result on page 4, but by another method.

Raw sugar identified of one test and value only, viz, 94° at 1.90 cents per pound.

1,000 pounds refined sugar exported.

Allow of 94° sugar 1.10967 pounds for 1 pound hard refined. 1,000 pounds at 1.10967=1,109.67 pounds identified. 1,109.67 at 1.90=$21.08; at 40 per cent=8.43—1 per cent=$8.35=drawback on 1,000 pounds exported.

1,000 pounds refined sugar exported.

300 pounds 94° sugar, at 1.80 cents per pound	$5.40
500 pounds 95° sugar, at 1.90 cents per pound	9.50
286 pounds 97° sugar, at 2.10 cents per pound	6.05
Total value of raw material used	20.9

Drawback on 1,000 pounds hard refined sugar equals duty paid on raw material valued at $20.95, at 40 per cent=$8.38—1 per cent=$8.30.*

Allowance for a 94° raw sugar, 1 pound refined (see p. —):

1.10967)30000000(270 — 270
221934 458
780660
776769 ·38
1,000
38910 272

Allowance for a 95° raw sugar to 1 pound refined (see p. —):

1.09206)50000000(458
436824
631760
548040
857200
873664

Allowance for a 97° raw sugar to 1 pound refined (see p. —):

1.05846
272
211692
740922
211692

Allow, say, 286 pounds 97° sugar.

* Same results as shown on p. —, but by another method.

DRAWBACK.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, *July 10, 1862.*

SIR: I have examined your several reports and those of other collectors of the customs in regard to the proper rates of drawback to be allowed on exportation of articles manufactured of sugar or molasses, on which import duties have been paid, under the act of December 24, 1861, entitled "An act to increase the duties on tea, coffee, and sugar," and have decided to adopt the following rates, which will be allowed by collectors, subject to the rules issued by me on the 23d of January, 1862, viz:

Rates of drawback.—On the products of sugar: Refined sugar, 3.2 cents per pound; soft A, B, C, and lower grades of sugar, 2½ cents per pound; sirup of sugar (sugarhouse molasses), 6 cents per gallon. On the products of molasses (reboiled): Clarified molasses, 6 cents per gallon; New England rum, 6 cents per gallon; sugarhouse molasses, 4½ cents per gallon; clarified sugar, 1 cent per pound.

I am, very respectfully,

S. P. CHASE,
Secretary of the Treasury.

HIRAM BARNEY, Esq.,
Collector, etc., New York.

(809.)

RATES OF DRAWBACK ALLOWED ON THE PRODUCTS OF SUGAR AND MOLASSES.

The following rates of drawback will be allowed on the exportation of the articles hereinafter named, manufactured wholly of materials on which duty was paid under the tariff now in force:

On the products of sugar.—On refined crystalline sugar, 2½ cents per pound; on refined soft B and C, lower grade sugar, 2 cents per pound; on sirup of sugar (sugarhouse molasses), 5 cents per gallon.

On the products of molasses.—On New England rum, 5½ cents per gallon; on sirup from molasses, 4 cents per gallon; on sugar from molasses, 1 cent per pound.

All allowances under the above rates to be subject to the legal deduction of 10 per cent.

Nitrate of soda has been placed upon the free list. No drawback will be allowed on gunpowder manufactured in part from that article in cases where the nitrate of soda was imported since the present tariff went into effect.

No drawback is now allowed on copal varnish, unless manufactured of materials imported under the former tariff. (Letter to collector at New York, N. Y., March 20, 1871.)

(2312.)

DRAWBACK ON SUGAR AND SIRUP.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, *June 26, 1875.*

SIR: On the exportation of sugar and sirup produced from imported melada, paying a duty of 1½ cents per pound and 25 per cent in addition thereto, drawback will be allowed at the following rates:

On sugar, at 2½ cents per pound.

On sirup, at 5½ cents per gallon.

The drawback on sugar to be subject to a retention of 1 per cent, and the drawback on sirup to a retention of 10 per cent.

The rate of 5½ cents per gallon of sirup, representing an addition of 25 per cent to the former rate of 4½ cents per gallon, is adopted provisionally until the question of an increased rate on this product, now pending, is fully considered and finally decided by the Department.

Very respectfully,

B. H. BRISTOW, *Secretary.*

COLLECTOR OF CUSTOMS, *New York.*

(2554.)

DRAWBACK ALLOWANCE ON SUGARS.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, *December 17, 1875.*

SIR: The following rates of drawback on refined sugars and sirup wholly manufactured from imported raw sugar are hereby established in lieu of those heretofore in force:

On loaf, cut loaf, crushed, granulated, and powdered refined sugar, stove dried, or dried by other equally effective process, entirely the product of foreign duty-paid sugar, 3.60 cents per pound.

On refined white coffee sugar, undried, and above No. 20 Dutch standard in color, entirely the product of foreign duty-paid sugar, 3 cents per pound.

On all grades of refined coffee sugar, No. 20 Dutch standard and below in color, entirely the product of foreign duty-paid sugar, 2½ cents per pound.

On sirup resulting entirely from the refining of foreign duty-paid sugar, 6½ cents per gallon.

The allowance on sugars to be subject to the deduction of 1 per cent and the allowance on sirup to the deduction of 10 per cent, as prescribed by law.

Very respectfully,

B. H. BRISTOW, *Secretary.*

COLLECTOR OF CUSTOMS,
Baltimore, Md.

[1877. Department No. 117. Secretary's office.]

CIRCULAR TO COLLECTORS AND OTHER OFFICERS OF THE CUSTOMS.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, D. C., September 6, 1877.

The following rates of drawback on refined sugar and sirup wholly manufactured from imported raw sugar are hereby established, to take effect on and after October 1, 1877:

On loaf, cut loaf, crushed, granulated, and powdered refined sugar, stove dried, or dried by other equally effective process, entirely the product of foreign duty-paid sugar, 3.18 cents per pound.

On refined white coffee sugar, undried and above No. 20 Dutch standard in color, entirely the product of foreign duty-paid sugar, 2.58 cents per pound.

On all grades of refined coffee sugar, No. 20 Dutch standard and below in color, entirely the product of foreign duty-paid sugar, 2.8 cents per pound.

On sirup resulting entirely from the refining of foreign duty-paid sugar, 6½ cents per gallon.

The allowances on sugars will be subject to the deduction of 1 per cent. and the allowances on sirup to the deduction of 10 per cent, as prescribed by law.

Very respectfully,

JOHN SHERMAN, *Secretary.*

[Circular. 1879. Department No. 30. Secretary's office.]

SAMPLING OF SUGAR FOR DRAWBACK.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, *Washington, D. C., February 13, 1879.*

To collectors of customs and others:

The circular instructions of this Department of September 6, 1877, by which the rates of drawback payable on exportations of refined sugar are fixed

according to the grade by the Dutch standard of the exported sugar, are hereby supplemented as follows:

Samples from at least one in every ten packages of sugar entered for exportation with benefit of drawback shall be taken at the place of landing for export by experienced samplers, under the direction of the United States appraiser or officer acting as such, to be by him examined, compared with the Dutch standard for classification, and reported upon to the collector.

JOHN SHERMAN, *Secretary.*

(4037.)

SAMPLING OF SUGAR FOR EXPORT.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, *June 3, 1879.*

Samples from at least one in every ten packages of sugar entered for exportation with benefit of drawback shall be taken by the debenture officer and by him delivered to the United States appraiser for examination and comparison with the Dutch standard for classification.

The samples may be taken either at the place of lading or at the refinery.

The exporter will be required to note on the export entry presented at the custom-house the time when the sugar will be ready for weighing, inspection, and delivery.

Each package when weighed and inspected shall be stenciled across the marked head thereof with the words "weighed" and "inspected," and with the initials of the proper officer.

The merchandise shall be transferred forthwith, under the supervision of the inspecting officer, from the refinery to the export vessel, in bonded lighters or trucks.

The provisions of this Department's circular, dated February 13, 1879, requiring that samples shall be taken exclusively at the place of the lading of such sugars, and under the direction of the appraiser, are modified accordingly.

JOHN SHERMAN, *Secretary.*

COLLECTORS OF CUSTOMS AND OTHERS.

[Circular. 1883. Department No. 73. Secretary's office.]

DRAWBACK ON SIRUP FROM MOLASSES.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, *Washington, D. C., June 5, 1883.*

To collectors of customs and others:

On the exportation of sirup resulting from the refining of imported molasses, upon which the duty of 4 cents per gallon, prescribed by the tariff of March 3, 1883, has been paid, a drawback will be allowed at the rate of 3.2 cents per gallon, less the legal retention of 10 per cent.

H. F. FRENCH, *Acting Secretary.*

[Circular. 1883. Department No. 77. Secretary's office.]

PROVISIONAL RATES OF DRAWBACK ON REFINED SUGAR AND SIRUP.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, *Washington, D. C., June 9, 1883.*

To collectors of customs and others:

Until the 1st day of September, 1883, on the exportation of sugar and sirup, refined wholly from imported sugars, tank bottoms, sirups of cane juice, melada, concentrated melada, or concrete and concentrated molasses, upon which duties shall be paid at the rates prescribed by the tariff of March 3, 1883, drawback will be allowed at the following rates:

1. On refined loaf, cut loaf, crushed, granulated, and powdered sugar, stove dried or dried by other equally effective process, 2.82 cents per pound.

2. On refined white coffee sugar, undried, and above No. 20 Dutch standard in color, 2.28 cents per pound.

3. On all grades of refined coffee sugar, No. 20 Dutch standard and below in color, 1.84 cents per pound.

4. On sirup resulting entirely from the refining of the above-enumerated imported materials, 4 cents per gallon.

The allowance on sugars will be subject to the deduction of 1 per cent, and the allowance on sirup to the deduction of 10 per cent, as prescribed by law.

CHAS. J. FOLGER, *Secretary.*

[Circular. 1883. Department No. 130. Secretary's office.]

RATES OF DRAWBACK ON REFINED SUGAR AND SIRUP.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, *Washington, D. C., October 3, 1883.*

To collectors of customs and others:

The provisional rates of drawback specified in the Department's circular of June 9, 1883, No. 77, will continue in force until January 1, 1884, unless sooner revoked.

CHAS. J. FOLGER, *Secretary.*

[Circular. 1884. Department No. 21. Secretary's office.]

DRAWBACK ON REFINED SUGAR AND SIRUP.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, *Washington, D. C., February 7, 1884.*

To collectors of customs and others:

The following rates of drawback on sugar and its products, established provisionally by the circular of June 9, 1883, are hereby declared to be permanent:

1. On refined loaf, cut loaf, crushed, granulated, and powdered sugar, stove-dried or dried by other equally effective process, 2.82 cents per pound.

2. On refined white coffee sugar, undried, and above No. 20 Dutch standard in color, 2.28 cents per pound.

3. On all grades of refined coffee sugar, No. 20 Dutch standard and below in color, 1.84 cents per pound.

4. On sirup resulting entirely from the refining of the above-enumerated imported materials, 4 cents per gallon.

The allowance on sugars will be subject to the deduction of 1 per cent, and the allowance on sirup to the deduction of 10 per cent, as prescribed by law.

CHAS. J. FOLGER, *Secretary,*

[Circular. 1884. Department No. 121. Secretary's office—(Customs).]

DRAWBACK ON SUGAR FROM MOLASSES.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, *Washington, D. C., July 23, 1884.*

To collectors of customs and others:

On the exportation of sugar refined from imported molasses, upon which the duty of 4 cents per gallon, prescribed by the tariff of March 3, 1883, has been paid, a drawback will be allowed at the rate of fifty-five hundredths of 1 cent per pound, less the legal retention of 1 per cent.

CHAS. E. COON, *Acting Secretary.*

[Circular. 1886. Department No. 134. Division of customs.]

REDUCING RATE OF DRAWBACK ON DRIED REFINED SUGAR.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, D. C., September 23, 1886.

To collectors of customs and others:

On all refined loaf, cut loaf, crushed, granulated, and powdered sugar, stove-dried or dried by other equally effective process, exported on and after November 1, 1886, drawback will be allowed at the rate of 2.60 cents per pound, less the legal retention of 1 per cent.

The above rate is provisionally established in lieu of the existing rate of 2.82 cents per pound, pending an inquiry as to what further reduction may be necessary.

C. S. FAIRCHILD, *Acting Secretary.*

[Circular. 1888. Department No. 20. Division of customs.]

RATE OF DRAWBACK ON DRIED REFINED SUGAR.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, D. C., February 3, 1888.

To collectors of customs and others:

The rate of drawback provisionally established by the circular of September 23, 1886 (Synopsis 7780), on all refined loaf, cut loaf, crushed, granulated, and powdered sugar, stove-dried or dried by other equally effective process, viz, 2.60 cents per pound, less the legal retention of 1 per cent., is hereby declared to be permanent.

C. S. FAIRCHILD, *Secretary.*

[Circular. 1891. Department No. 47. Division of customs.]

DRAWBACK ON REFINED SUGAR EXPORTED ON OR AFTER APRIL 1, 1891.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, D. C., March 23, 1891.

To collectors and other officers of the customs:

To insure necessary identification of refined sugars which may be exported on or after April 1, 1891, for benefit of drawback, the exporter will be required to file preliminary entry before that date, and the sugars covered thereby shall remain in the custody of a customs officer at the expense of the exporter until duly shipped for exportation.

The name of the exporting vessel and date of exportation need not be stated in the preliminary entry, but may be filled in before the time of shipment.

CHARLES FOSTER, *Secretary.*

[Circular. 1891. Department No. 69. Division of customs.]

DISCONTINUING ALLOWANCE OF DRAWBACK ON SUGAR USED IN THE MANUFACTURE OF EXPORTED CONFECTIONERY OR OTHER ARTICLES.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, D. C., May 7, 1891.

To collectors and other officers of the customs:

In view of the fact that raw sugar not above No. 16 Dutch standard in color, as well as other forms of so-called refining sugars (sirups of cane juice, melada, molasses, etc.), imported on or after the 1st day of April, 1891, are exempt from duty, and of the further fact that at the same time sugars refined in bond during the month of March, 1891, from imported raw sugars went into consumption without payment of duty, no drawback will hereafter be allowed on sugar used in the manufacture of confectionery or any other articles exported.

All previous decisions authorizing the allowance of such drawback are hereby revoked.

CHARLES FOSTER, *Secretary.*

[Circular. 1891. Department No. 78. Division of customs.]

RESCINDING CIRCULAR NO. 69, OF MAY 7, 1891, RELATIVE TO DRAWBACK ON SUGAR USED IN THE MANUFACTURE OF CONFECTIONERY AND OTHER ARTICLES.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, D. C., May 27, 1891.

To collectors and other officers of the customs:

The Department being advised that manufacturers of condensed milk, confectionery, and other articles made wholly or in part from sugar have on hand considerable quantities of refined sugar manufactured before March 1, 1891, from duty-paid raw sugar, which was purchased by them with the intention of being used in the manufacture of such articles for exportation with benefit of drawback, Circular No. 69, of May 7, 1891, discontinuing allowances of drawback on sugar used in the manufacture of such articles is hereby rescinded.

In view of the presence in the market of sugars refined from raw sugars in bond, or from raw sugars imported free of duty after April 1, 1891, the most careful scrutiny of the proofs presented with each entry for the identification of the sugar used in the manufacture of articles exported for benefit of drawback is hereby enjoined.

CHARLES FOSTER, *Secretary.*

[1896. Department Circular No. 20. Division of customs.]

DRAWBACK ON SUGAR AND SIRUP.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, D. C., February 1, 1896.

To collectors and other officers of the customs:

On the exportation of refined sugars made wholly from imported raw sugars, and on the exportation of sirups made wholly from imported raw cane sugars, drawback will be allowed equal in amount to the duties paid on the imported sugars so used, less the legal deduction of 1 per cent.

When the exported sugars are "hard refined," of standard test, commercially known as loaf, cut loaf, cube, granulated, crushed, or powdered, and are made wholly from imported raw cane sugars, the amount of drawback shall be determined by allowing for each 100 pounds of the exported article the duties paid on the respective grades and quantities of material used, as indicated in the following schedule:

Test of raw sugar used (degrees).	Allowance for 100 pounds hard refined.	Test of raw sugar used (degrees).	Allowance for 100 pounds hard refined.
	Pounds.		*Pounds.*
100	100.00	87	124.27
99	101.87	86	126.14
98	103.73	85	128.01
97	105.60	84	129.88
96	107.47	83	131.74
95	109.34	82	133.61
94	111.20	81	135.48
93	113.07	80	137.35
92	114.94	79	139.21
91	116.81	78	141.08
90	118.67	77	142.95
89	120.54	76	144.82
88	122.41	75	146.68

When "soft refined" sugars made from imported raw cane sugars are exported, the quantity of "crystallizable sugar" contained therein shall be determined by reference to weight and polariscope test of the exported article, and drawback allowance shall be based on the quantity of "crystallizable sugar" so found, as hereinbefore provided for a like quantity of "hard refined" sugar.

When the "hard refined" sugars hereinbefore described are made wholly from raw beet sugars, the dutiable value of the material used for each pound

of the exported article shall be determined by dividing the dutiable value of 1 pound of the material used by the decimal denoting the "net analysis" of such material.

The amount of drawback which may be allowed on the exported sirup product of raw cane sugars shall be determined by allowing for each gallon of the exported article, valued at 5 cents in condition as "thrown" from the "centrifugal," the duties paid on the respective grades and quantities of material used as indicated in the following schedule:

Test of raw sugar used (degrees).	Allowance for 1 gallon sirup.	Test of raw sugar used (degrees).	Allowance for 1 gallon sirup.
	Pounds.		*Pounds.*
99	1.36	86	1.56
98	1.37	85	1.58
97	1.39	84	1.60
96	1.40	83	1.62
95	1.41	82	1.64
94	1.43	81	1.66
93	1.44	80	1.68
92	1.46	79	1.70
91	1.48	78	1.72
90	1.49	77	1.74
89	1.51	76	1.77
88	1.53	75	1.79
87	1.55		

The value of the sirup in condition as thrown from the centrifugal shall be declared by the manufacturer on the drawback entry, which declaration shall be verified by the collector, and if the declaration so verified shows a value per gallon above or below 5 cents, the allowance shall be determined by increasing or reducing the schedule allowance in proportion to the increase or reduction above or below the 5 cents per gallon, but in no case shall the allowance be based on a value of sirup exceeding 8 cents per gallon without special authority from the Department.

For fractional tests of the raw cane sugar used in the manufacture of either refined sugar or sirup the allowances of quantity of material shall be computed in proportion to the schedule allowances for the degrees next above or below such fractional test.

The quantities of sugar and sirup exported shall be ascertained by United States weighers and gangers, respectively, and samples shall be taken as ordered by the collector, to be submitted to the appraiser for report of polariscope test and such other expert inspection as may be requisite.

On requisition of collectors, appraising officers shall furnish polariscope tests, "net analyses," and other conditions of valuation of raw sugars not found on the import invoice for use in liquidation of drawback entries.

J. G. CARLISLE, *Secretary.*

[1896. Department Circular No. 102. Division of Customs.]

DRAWBACK ON SUGAR AND SIRUP.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, D. C., June 25, 1896.

To collectors and other officers of the customs:

On the exportation of refined sugars and sirups made wholly from imported raw sugars drawback will be allowed equal in amount to the duty paid on the material used, less the legal deduction of 1 per cent.

When the exported sugars are "hard refined," of standard test, commercially known as loaf, cut loaf, cube, granulated, crushed, or powdered, and are made wholly from imported raw cane sugars, the amount of drawback shall be determined by allowing for each 100 pounds of the exported article the duties paid on the respective grades and quantities of materials used, as indicated in the following schedule:

Test of raw sugar used (degrees).	Allowance for 100 pounds hard refined.	Test of raw sugar used (degrees).	Allowance for 100 pounds hard refined.
	Pounds.		*Pounds.*
99	101.87	86	126.14
98	103.73	85	128.01
97	105.60	84	129.88
96	107.47	83	131.74
95	109.34	82	133.61
94	111.20	81	135.48
93	113.07	80	137.35
92	114.94	79	139.21
91	116.81	78	141.08
90	118.67	77	142.95
89	120.54	76	144.82
88	122.41	75	146.68
87	124.27		

When the "hard refined" sugars hereinbefore described are made wholly from imported raw-beet sugars, the duty paid on the material used for each pound of the exported article may be determined by dividing the duty paid on 1 pound of the material by the decimal denoting the "net analysis" of such material and then deducting from the amount so found, as an equivalent of the value of the material for the sirup product, the percentage of that amount corresponding to the polariscope test of the raw sugar used, indicated in the following schedule:

Polariscope test of raw beet sugars used (degrees).	Percentages to be deducted to find duty paid on material for refined sugar.	Polariscope test of raw beet sugars used (degrees).	Percentages to be deducted to find duty paid on material for refined sugar.
"Firsts:"	*Per cent.*	"Seconds:"	*Per cent.*
96	1.2	92	3.7
95	1.5	91	4.5
94	1.9	90	5.4
93	2.4	89	6.4
92	3	88	7.5

When "soft refined" sugars made wholly from imported raw sugars are exported with benefit of drawback, the drawback entry must show the respective values of such soft sugars and of standard granulated sugar on the same market; and the drawback per pound on the "soft refined" sugar shall be such part of the drawback per pound provided for "hard refined" sugar, made from the same kind and grade of material, as the value of such soft sugar is of the value of such granulated sugar.

The rate of drawback on the "soft refined" sugar may be fixed by use of the following proportion: As the value of 1 pound of standard granulated sugar is to the value of 1 pound of the "soft refined" sugar, so is the drawback provided for the pound of granulated sugar to the drawback allowable on the pound of "soft refined" sugar made from like material.

The required values of the refined sugars declared on the drawback entry shall be verified by reference to standard market quotations on date of shipment.

The amount of drawback which may be allowed on the exported sirup products of raw sugars shall be determined by allowing for each gallon of the exported article, valued at 5 cents in condition as "thrown" from the "centrifugal," the duties paid on the respective grades and quantities of material used, as indicated in the following schedule:

Test of raw sugar used (degrees).	Allowance for 1 gallon of sirup.	Test of raw sugar used (degrees).	Allowance for 1 gallon of sirup.
	Pounds.		*Pounds.*
99	1.36	86	1.56
98	1.37	85	1.58
97	1.39	84	1.60
96	1.40	83	1.62
95	1.41	82	1.64
94	1.43	81	1.66
93	1.44	80	1.68
92	1.46	79	1.70
91	1.48	78	1.72
90	1.49	77	1.74
89	1.51	76	1.77
88	1.53	75	1.79
87	1.55		

The value of the sirup, in condition as thrown from the centrifugal, shall be declared by the manufacturer on the drawback entry, which declaration shall be verified by the collector; and if the declaration so verified shows a value per gallon above or below 5 cents, the allowance shall be determined by increasing or reducing the schedule allowance in proportion to the increase or reduction above or below the 5 cents per gallon above specified; but in no case shall the allowance be based on a value of sirup exceeding 8 cents per gallon without special authority from the Department.

When imported raw cane and beet sugars are "blended" or mixed in the process of manufacturing refined sugars and sirups, the manufacturer's declaration must show separately the respective quantities of the different kinds and grades of the sugars so mixed. In liquidating entries covering portions of the products of such mixtures, drawback shall be based on proportionate quantities of material corresponding to the quantities of the different kinds and grades of materials so mixed.

For a fraction of a degree of test of the raw sugar used in the manufacture of either refined sugar or sirup the allowance of quantity of material shall be fixed by a proportionate division of the difference between the schedule allowances for the degrees next above and below such fraction.

The quantities of sugar and sirup exported shall be ascertained by United States weighers and gaugers, respectively; and samples shall be taken as ordered by the collector to be submitted to the appraiser for the report of polariscope test and such other expert inspection as may be requisite.

On requisition of collectors, appraising officers shall furnish polariscope tests, "net analyses," and other conditions of valuation of raw sugars not found on the import invoice for use in liquidation of drawback entries.

Department's Circular No. 20, of February 1, 1896 (synopsis 16738), is hereby superseded.

W. E. CURTIS, *Acting Secretary.*

Mr. GRAY. Mr. President, I am very sorry that the Senator from Louisiana who has just taken his seat has seen fit to give us his very interesting speech on sugar just at this juncture, when I was endeavoring to direct the attention of the Senate to a specific matter of importance, as I conceive, that we had reached in due order, and thus have distracted the attention of the Senate from the particular point that I had in view.

I could not understand from what the Senator first said as to whether he agreed as compared with what he afterwards said in reply to an interlocution of my own, whether he was in favor of the abolition of this differential on the score of the bounty paid by Germany or not. He said latterly, in reply to a question I asked him from my seat, that he was in favor of it, as I understood him.

Mr. CAFFERY. I said that, in my opinion, the countervailing duty, which is from 25 to 28 per cent, is entirely too much, and at whichever end the reduction be made upon, it is immaterial to me, whether taken from the countervailing or from the differential.

Mr. GRAY. I understood that the Senator argued against the proposition that I made, that this is a matter which concerns us to deal with, because there was a suggestion made on very good grounds that we were restrained by our treaty made with Prussia in 1828 from making these discriminations against sugar coming from that country; and I think I showed—although I did it briefly—the reasons for that belief on my part, that here was the express obligation of this treaty made in 1828, which prevented this country from imposing a duty upon articles imported from Prussia higher than those that were imposed upon the most-favored nation.

Unquestionably this section 3 that we have under consideration contravenes the provision and obligation of that treaty. It is no answer to say that no higher duties are specifically or nominally levied on sugars from Prussia than those from other countries, but that your specific higher rate falls upon sugars from all countries

that may happen to fall within a certain classification. If it were so, then we could evade the obligations of a treaty simply by a skillfully drawn classification. For example, we could impose additional duties on all commodities which came from countries where the labor employed in producing them was not paid according to a specific standard of wages. If we could make a domestic law the basis of discrimination or classification, we might forbid the importation or impose higher duties on the importations from such countries as did not establish eight hours as a working day, or as did not forbid work on Sunday, or as were of a monarchical form of government; and Germany might evade her treaty obligations with us in the same way.

The payment of a bounty by Germany on the exportation of sugar to encourage that industry can not be regarded as a discrimination against us. It is as much a matter of domestic concern as a high protective tariff enacted for the same purpose, encouraging home industry.

As I said before, I do not believe it was the intention of the committee—of course it was not the intention of the committee—by the use of this general language to cover up a concealed and direct purpose of evading this treaty obligation; but we do it nevertheless by this language; we do evade it; and I believe that we would have a proper ground of complaint if the case were reversed and Germany enacted a like provision in her tariff laws.

Now, we have a very important matter with Germany, which is alluded to in the letter written by the German ambassador to the Secretary of State. In 1891 there was something like a convention between the two countries, based upon the free sugar of the McKinley law, by which the importation into Germany of American pork and American flour was favored. All that has been very much modified and very much changed by the duty imposed by the Wilson law, which was made a ground of protest then. It will be much more affected by the present provision, which is three times the discrimination of the Wilson law. Where the Wilson law imposed a countervailing duty of one-tenth of a cent, we impose, by this section 3, a countervailing duty of more than one-third of a cent—three times that of the Wilson law.

I am very sorry that the Senator from Louisiana, with whom I thought that I agreed about the general notions that underlie this whole matter of tariff imposition, should have defended, as he seemed to defend, this countervailing duty on grounds which were decidedly protectionist. He supported and, as far as I could understand him, defended the imposition of this countervailing duty on the ground that it was a proper retaliatory measure on the part of the United States against the low productive cost of other countries. If that differs at all from the ordinary protective doctrine, I am unable to perceive it; and, unless I greatly misunderstood the Senator from Louisiana, he took that position.

Mr. President, I have not yet found any reason for abandoning the beliefs that I have in regard to the elementary propositions that lie at the very foundation of this whole matter of protective tariffs and of greater commercial freedom. I do not believe it is a cause for countervailing legislation that there are conditions in other countries by which the necessaries of life can come to our people with less cost than would otherwise obtain but for those conditions. I do not believe that that is a cause, whether artificially produced or naturally produced. Whatever is the cause, I believe that the people of this country, like the people of England, should be entitled to enjoy the cheap sugar that these conditions have given us from Germany.

But it is not upon that ground that I oppose this section, nor did I rise to consume the time of the Senate in discussing it; but it was because we were bound by treaty stipulations that we can not evade, or that it was not honorable to evade and that it is not honorable to evade, and I have that much regard for the faith of this country, and for its good name and fame, that I believe the Senate will take some consideration before they adopt this provision in this bill.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President, I do not intend to consume the time of the Senate, which is, or ought to be, exceedingly precious at this moment, but I wish to call the attention of the Senator from Delaware to the fact that in presenting the opinion of Mr. Gresham upon this topic he made no allusion, so far as I heard, to the opinion rendered by the Attorney-General, Mr. Olney.

Mr. GRAY. I recollect that opinion.

Mr. WHITE. Both opinions are published in Senate Miscellaneous Document No. 52, Fifty-third Congress, third session, and the subject was considered more or less by the Finance Committee in a general way; it has been discussed, and my attention has been several times drawn to it, and I have never been able to bring myself to agree with Secretary Gresham's views regarding this matter. I think the pith of the opinion may be expressed in this very brief extract from Attorney-General, afterwards Secretary, Olney. He says:

In the first place, the "most-favored-nation clauses" of our treaties with foreign powers have, from the foundation of our Government, been invariably construed both as not forbidding any internal regulations necessary for the protection of our home industries and as permitting commercial concessions to a country which are not gratuitous, but are in return for equivalent concessions, and to which no other country is entitled except upon rendering the same equivalents. Thus, Mr. Jefferson, when Secretary of State in 1792, said of treaties exchanging the rights of the most-favored nation that "they leave each party free to make what internal regulations they please and to give what preference they find expedient to native merchants, vessels, and productions."

In 1817 Mr. John Quincy Adams, acting in the same official capacity, took the ground that the "most-favored-nation clause" "only covered gratuitous favors and did not touch concessions for 'equivalents, expressed or implied.'" Mr. Clay, Mr. Livingston, Mr. Evarts, and Mr. Bayard, when at the head of the Department of State, have each given official expression to the same view. It has also received the sanction of the Supreme Court in more than one well-considered decision, while in Bartram *vs.* Robertson (122 U. S., 116) Mr. Justice Field, speaking for the whole court, expounded the stipulations of the "most-favored-nation clause" in this language:

"They were pledges of the two contracting parties, the United States and the King of Denmark, to each other, that, in the imposition of duties on goods imported into one of the countries which were the produce or manufacture of the other, there should be no discrimination against them in favor of goods of like character imported from any other country. They imposed an obligation upon both countries to avoid hostile legislation in that respect."

The interpretation of the "most-favored-nation clause," so clearly established as a doctrine of American law, is believed to accord with the interpretation put upon the clause by foreign powers—certainly by Germany and Great Britain.

Here is a very important feature of this consideration, for the interpretation placed by the parties affected upon a contract is always of importance in construing that contract. The opinion proceeds:

Thus, as the clause permits any internal regulations that a country may find necessary to give a preference to "native merchants, vessels, and productions," the representatives of both Great Britain and Germany expressly declared at the international sugar conference of 1888 that the export sugar bounty of one country might be counteracted by the import sugar duty of another without causing any discrimination which could be deemed a violation of the terms of the "most-favored-nation clause." So both Germany and Great Britain acquiesced in the position of the United States, that our treaty with Hawaii did not entitle those nations to equal privileges, in regard to imports, with those thus obtained by the United States, the privileges granted to the United States being in consideration of concessions by the United States, which Germany and Great Britain not only did not offer to make, but, in the nature of things, could not make.

Mr. President, if the applicability of these statements of fact, made by the distinguished author of this opinion, will be noted when we direct our attention to the proposition that in the very convention—the international sugar conference of 1888—in which this nation participated it was positively agreed, and it was understood and treated as a fact, to use the language of the opinion, that the export sugar bounty of one country might be counteracted by the import sugar duty of another. I might remark that otherwise we would put ourselves in the position of permitting legislation hostile to ourselves under the pretext that equality and uniformity prohibited our defending ourselves by similar legislation, and thus placed us upon a common plane with other nations coming under the most-favored-nation clause.

I have come here entirely unprepared to discuss this question, and we have no time to discuss it. It is a very interesting topic, and one which I should like very much to consider at more length; but I forbear.

The Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. SPOONER] calls my attention to an extract from Lawrence's Wheaton, page 493, as follows:

From excessive caution, the limitation "gratuitous" or kindred limitations are sometimes inserted before "favored nation" in recent treaties. But this does not derogate in any way from the position that privileges transferable under the term "favored nation" are only such privileges as are gratuitous.

Mr. President, our relations with Germany, while of course friendly, nevertheless are such as to disclose to the world at large, and particularly to us, who are the parties affected, a series of discriminations, against which our people have long protested, and usually in vain.

I have before me an article prepared by some of those who have taken an interest in this matter. I have no intention of reading it now, but I shall ask leave to insert it as a part of my remarks, as it is largely historical in character, and calls attention to the discriminations to which I allude.

The paper referred to is as follows:

Mr. De Kay, our consul-general at Berlin, under date of October 5, 1895, explains the situation. He informs us that the forces of agriculture in Prussia are thoroughly organized there as against commerce and manufactures; that chambers of agriculture are organized by law all over Prussia, with banks that advance on crops, rescuing farmers from the rapacity of middle men. This is the radical movement that overrides government check and conservatism. It even asks the abrogation of treaties containing the most forward national clause. It has obtained the exclusion of American cattle and of salt meats, and has secured a 100 per cent increase in the export bounty on sugar. Mr. De Kay says: "The United States must look for a strong effort on the part of all conservative, provincial, and reactionary elements of north Germany to keep out American products."

That this sentiment likewise exists in France and Austria, in fact, all over the Continent, even if in lesser degree, admits of no doubt. And in this we find the kernel contained in recent foreign protests against some one or more of the provisions of our pending tariff bill. Whether these protests are a bold, bold bluff intended to alarm the supersensitive and appeal to our cupidity at the expense of national honor, or whether they contain the seed of commercial warfare, remains to be seen.

And just here comes in the bitter history quite pertinent to the situation—embracing ten to twelve long years of persistent diplomatic effort on the part of the United States to secure from these protesting powers fair treatment for our exports, shut out by some of them by prohibitive edicts of a

discriminating character, founded on false pretext, and rendered more odious by delay and neglect, which have destroyed millions of our export trade. In fact, it forms the opening chapter in the history of these protests, and the burden has fallen on the great West.

As laying a basis for that chapter, we will quote from Acting Secretary of State, Mr. Wharton, Senate Executive Document No. 119, page 24 (June, 1892), Fifty-second Congress, first session:

"For ten years previous to the passage of the tariff act of October 1, 1890, American pork had been the object of the most unjust discrimination in Europe, and on account of the prohibitive or severely restricted laws it has been practically excluded from most of the countries of the Continent. Notwithstanding the earnest and repeated efforts of our diplomatic representatives to secure a repeal or modification of these unjust laws at the date of the passage of the tariff act of 1890, they remained in full force, to the great detriment of our export trade in this important agricultural product."

The following figures, showing the decrease of our exports of bacon, hams, and pork to Germany and France, will fully support the above statement:

Year.	Germany.	France.
1865	$67,106	$20,481
1871	221,862	267,814
1877	2,404,784	2,056,280
1881	3,203,725	4,987,073
1883	1,577,308	40,100
1890	235,572	24,447
1896	854,457	341,806

Ever since 1881 has our State Department and our ministers at Paris, Berlin, Madrid, and Vienna been engaged in persistent efforts to secure a revocation of these commercial edicts which discriminated solely against the products of the United States. The records of Congress and the archives of the State Department are full of correspondence and reports upon this subject.

In May, 1890, President Harrison, in reply to a resolution of the House of Representatives, transmitted a voluminous report from Mr. Blaine, then Secretary of State, in which was set forth the changes in tariff schedules made by certain foreign countries since 1879, and in which was embraced a statement of the edicts issued abroad, prohibiting, obstructing, or interfering with the importation and sale of our products, which clearly showed how the United States were discriminated against. The nations enumerated as having seriously increased their tariff duties on meats and breadstuffs were Austria-Hungary, Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Portugal, Spain, Switzerland, Argentina, Brazil, Canada, and Mexico. (House Executive Document No. 362, Fifty-first Congress, first session.)

That report also stated that our pork and lard had been prohibited by Austria-Hungary since March 10, 1881; that Hungary had prohibited our canned meats in 1884; that France had prohibited our pork February 18, 1881, and our lard was then subject to rigid inspection; that Germany had prohibited our salted pork since June 25, 1880, and our potatoes since 1875. And it appears from the report that February 2, 1883, the Bundesrath prohibited American hog meats of all kinds, which included our hams and bacon; that Italy had prohibited our pork since February 20, 1879; that Spain prohibited our potatoes and had subjected our pork and lard to rigid inspection; that the Ottoman Empire had prohibited our pork since 1881. Mr. Blaine's report embraced several separate and distinct documents which had thereto in some form and at former periods been transmitted to Congress, to wit:

First. An able report from Mr. Scanlan, April 18, 1881, as Chief of the Bureau of Statistics to the State Department, concerning the alleged unwholesomeness of our meat products.

Second. House Executive Document 209, Forty-seventh Congress, first session, embracing the voluminous diplomatic correspondence on our part between August 30, 1880, and March 30, 1882, to obtain a revocation of foreign edicts discriminating against and prohibiting entry of our meat exports.

Third: House Executive Document 70, Forty-eighth Congress, first session, covering like and additional efforts between November, 1882, and October, 1883, to which was attached House Executive Document 106, Forty-eighth Congress, first session, embracing a message of the President and a voluminous and able report of a special commission appointed by the President, September, 1883, to investigate the wholesomeness of our meats.

Fourth. Senate Report 345, Forty-eighth, first, being a report on a bill from Foreign Relations to meet the conditions abroad; and

Fifth. Senate Executive Document 114, Fiftieth Congress, first session.

It having been asserted in some quarters that the present or existing prohibitous edicts, exactions, or regulations in Germany and France—sugar-producing nations—are the result of the one-tenth cent per pound "differential" duty imposed by the United States on sugar from bounty-paying nations, and Germany's recent protest being based upon that, it becomes quite important to show that this is not true, and for the very good reason that the conditions existed abroad long before the sugar differential or even export sugar had become a factor in the German or French commercial calculations.

As far back as 1880 and 1881 there was no differential duty on foreign sugar, but there were the same discriminations or prohibitions against the United States by Germany and France that now exist. Mr. Blaine's report (supra) clearly discloses that for years there was a made-up case for mere industrial advantage and profit.

The excuse or pretext for the action taken by Germany then was that our meats were not wholesome, and while France and other nations at first advanced that as the reason, France at a later period frankly avowed that she was moved by an economic policy to protect her own farms.

To overcome the sanitary objection, which the United States assumed was honestly put forth, our State Department ordered the Scanlan investigation of April 18, 1881, in which the following conclusions of fact were arrived at:

First. That the swine of America were of the best and purest breeds, fattened on the best of material.

Second. That reports set afloat in Europe of disease in our hog-export products were gross exaggerations.

Third. That the percentages of death among American swine were no greater than among European swine from similar and like causes.

Fourth. That American hogs dying of the cholera or from other causes could not by any possibility pass the severe ordeal and inspection to which hogs destined for export were subjected, and that no possible art of the curer could convert such animals into meat that could pass inspection.

Fifth. That merchantable lard could not be produced from diseased dead animals. That such product from diseased hogs was distinctly grouped and classed, and went to soap manufacturers, its odor and color preventing its sale.

Sixth. That trichina was not as prevalent in America as in Europe, and that only 2 deaths in 40,000 had occurred from it, and that they were produced by eating meat raw and uncooked.

In conclusion Mr. Scanlan cited the Belgian minister of the interior of April, 1880, in favor of our export-pork product being wholesome, in which eminent French authorities agreed.

This able, exhaustive, and convincing report was sent abroad and was intended to remove the supposedly honest objection raised to our meat exports. Tedious diplomatic controversy ensued with result, and in February, 1884, the President transmitted another voluminous report—that made by his special commission of five experts, appointed September, 1883, to examine the subject. Among other things, that report stated that trichina had been the reason advanced by foreign nations for discriminations and edicts against our meats; that while other reasons might have been advanced, none had sufficient foundation to merit the test of even a superficial examination; that trichina was as prevalent in Germany, France, and in other nations as in the United States.

The report also stated that in 1881 in Germany the microscopists were not only found notoriously incompetent, but their instruments too filthy for use; that only one case had occurred in France between 1876 and 1881, during which time 200,000,000 pounds of American pork was consumed, and that had proceeded from a French hog. See, in corroboration of this, Mr. Sargent's letter to Secretary Frelinghuysen from Berlin, January 1, 1883. The report likewise pointed out that it was a common practice in European countries for the poorer classes to eat pork raw or uncooked, and that the reports of Drs. Virchow and Hertwig at Berlin had asserted positively that no case of trichina had ever been traced to American pork.

This report was likewise sent abroad as additional and confirmatory evidence of our contention. About this time, 1883-84, there was published in France the views of the French Academy of Medicine to the effect that the importation of foreign pork might safely be "fearlessly authorized." These reports seemed to have caused France, if not Germany, to shift her position, and she thereupon concluded to place her action upon economic ground as a policy favorable to her agriculturists. In other words, the mask was thrown down, her false pretenses were fully revealed; in fact, M. Flourens, a French deputy, frankly avowed later on that European countries did not consider the exclusion of a particular import as unfriendly, but "rather as a domestic question." To same effect see letter of Mr. Sargent to Mr. Frelinghuysen, January 1, 1883, House Executive Document 70, Forty-eighth Congress, first session.

The bad faith of Germany and France had now become so patent to our Congress that in reply to the Senate Anthony resolution of January 22, 1884, the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations reported a bill to meet the conditions. That bill recommended:

First. Inspection of our meats at points of export.

Second. Exclusion by proclamation of the Executive of the products of such foreign nations as discriminated against the United States.

Third. Prohibition of the importation of adulterated food or wines. No action was ever taken on that measure, although there was a very spicy debate in the Senate over the Anthony resolution. It would appear that France, previous to the introduction of this bill, November 27, 1883, had agreed to suspend its edict, but revoked its action in December, offering a bill still later in the Deputies allowing our meats to come in at three ports under certain restrictions, evidently fearing favorable action on our Senate bill of 1884. Our Congress adjourned in July, 1884, without action, and the wily French Deputies adjourned in August following without acting on its bill.

Diplomatic efforts were renewed and were persistently continued down to 1890, France imposing double the duty on arms from the United States that she did on those from England, and double the duty on our alcohol that she did on that product from Germany.

In 1890 the late Secretary Rusk called the attention of Mr. Blaine to the prohibitory restrictions and regulations which continued to be enforced against our meat exports by Germany and France, and also to the quarantine regulations of Great Britain. In the same year we find, from Mr. Reid's Paris letter of July 4, that France, feeling the unstableness of the position she occupied, was taking new ground. She wanted equivalents in return for a revocation of her unjust edict.

The transgressor wanted pay for a violation of the ordinary rules of commercial honesty and fair dealing. Mr. Reid suggested that France desired the United States to put works of art on the free list, lower duties on French fruits, and less stringent requirements concerning Paris invoices. In reply to that Mr. Reid showed that by the McKinley bill the House had removed the 30 per cent duty on pictures and statues, but as France had made no move to meet such a concession, the Senate had reimposed it, and he then pointed out that France was discriminating against the United States and in favor of Germany, France, and Italy, and insisted that the French repeal their edict against our pork "as an act of marked justice too long deferred," and concluded by suggesting that if longer persisted in the United States might retaliate on French wines, and he insisted that it rested with France to take the first step, that she was levying duties to the prohibitive point, while the United States was simply placing high, but neither prohibitive nor discriminating duties, our high duties being no more objectionable than the very high duties of France.

Without some such efficient head as exists in Germany, France, and other European nations over the subject of foreign commerce, it is quite impossible to discover to what extent the products of the United States are discriminated against, nor by what open or, which is the more likely, covert methods. Germany pursues her warfare on the United States in very many instances other than as relates to pork and cattle. To shut out our canned meats they have been classed by a mere technicality as "ironware," and dutied as such at the prohibitive rate of $5.72 per 220 pounds; our shredded codfish in wooden boxes has been classed in the same way as "wooden ware," and dutied very high under that classification; our sugar-cured hams—covered, as here, in linen cloth—have been classed as "fine linen" and subjected to a duty of over $19 per 220 pounds, which is of course prohibitive, while our exportation of brawn—or beef and pork cooked together and salted, making a cheap and wholesome food—was dutied at first at 2 cents a pound in cans, but as our trade increased a duty of 7½ cents was imposed, it being suddenly found to be a "delicacy," and taxed as such. Our insurance companies have been driven from Germany after having been allowed to establish there and invest large sums. Our flour trade decreases because Germany makes a favorable commercial treaty with Russia.

Upon such a record as this Germany files a protest against a proposed differential on her sugar, advanced to meet her somewhat new industrial policy known as export bounties.

But the record is not complete. We have now to state what followed this legislation, and it will open up what may properly be called the second chapter in the history of our commercial relations with Germany. That chapter will bear upon the good faith of Germany, the validity of her protests, the cause of the revocation of her edict against our pork, bacon, and sausages, as it will likewise develop the real object of her recent protest. The American people are entitled to know all the facts, and as it especially concerns the great West, those who represent that section are deeply concerned.

The continued enforcement of the discriminations abroad against our meats, our diplomatic effort to remove the same, and the discussions in this country finally induced our Congress to enact a meat-inspection law, which was approved August 30, 1890, and known as chapter 839 in 26 Stat. L. That

law provides for an inspection by the Secretary of Agriculture of salted pork and bacon intended for export, etc. This was followed by the passage of chapter 555, of 26 Stat L., approved March 3, 1891, which enforces and extends the prior enactment. It provides for an inspection here of live cattle, hogs, and their carcasses, and products for export. These laws have been rigorously enforced. Section 5 of the act of August 30, 1890, is a very important one when enforced against an offending nation which shall violate the laws of commercial comity. It provides that—

"Whenever the President shall be satisfied that unjust discriminations are made by or under the authority of any foreign state against the importation to or sale in such foreign state of any product of the United States, he may direct that such products of such foreign state so discriminating against any product of the United States as he may deem proper shall be excluded from importation to the United States."

That law also contains a section (4) empowering the President to suspend the importation of adulterated products of food or drink deleterious to the public health. The statutes remain in full force.

Then we had what is known as the "free" sugar, bounty, and section 33, or "reciprocity," provisions of the McKinley tariff law of October 1, 1890. By those sugar was made conditionally free, with a duty of five-tenths of a cent on sugar above 16 Dutch standard, and six-tenths of a cent if from any country that paid an export bounty. Germany was paying an export bounty of from 13 to 27 cents per 100 pounds and France and Austria-Hungary equally as much or more. This made a "differential" on refined of one-tenth of a cent—not on sugar from Germany alone, but on such sugar from all bounty-paying nations, and hence it was hardly a discrimination against Germany. It was general and not special, and it left it in the power of nations paying such a bounty to relieve themselves of the "differential" on their sugar at any time by their own voluntary withdrawal of their export bounties. Nor did Germany ever complain of the one-tenth differential on sugar in the McKinley law as discriminating legislation.

Now, mark what followed our legislation. Because of our meat-inspection act, the power of the President to shut out products of nations discriminating against the United States, and because also of his power under section 3 of the McKinley Act to duty sugar and other articles, Germany, France, Austria-Hungary, Spain, Brazil, and other countries hastened to enter into reciprocity agreements with this country. The statutes mentioned clothed this Government with power to do a vast deal more than ten or twelve years of diplomacy.

As early as August 22, 1891, Mumm, the chargé d'affaires of Germany to the United States, addressed a letter at Saratoga to Mr. Foster, our plenipotentiary extraordinary then also at Saratoga, stating that—

"Inasmuch as the inspection of meat intended for interstate commerce in North America and for exportation to foreign countries had been made compulsory by the act of March 3, 1891, * * * there was no longer any cause for maintaining in force the prohibition * * * * of the importation of hogs, pork, and sausages of American origin," etc.

And he desired to be advised when the act, etc., would take effect, promising that Germany would thereupon abolish the prohibition. And he then proceeded to state that his declaration was based upon the supposition that if the German edict was removed, the President of the United States would "no longer have any occasion for the exercise, as regards the German Empire, of the discretionary powers conferred upon him" by section 3 of the McKinley Act nor in section 5 of the meat-inspection law of 1890. And he further stated that Germany had the greater reason for his assumption—

"Since it was prepared to grant to the United States the same reductions in customs duties on agricultural products that have been granted by Germany to Austria-Hungary."

His letter closed with the somewhat anxious desire to ascertain the disposition of the United States in regard to the enforcement of section 3 of the McKinley Act and section 5 of our meat-inspection law.

Mr. Foster answered him the same day to this effect, and we beg that these letters be carefully read. Mr. Foster stated that our meat-inspection law had been in operation several weeks, and he assured him, by direction of the President, that Germany's revocation of its meat edict would remove the occasion for the exercise by the President, as against the German Empire, of the power conferred upon him by section 5 of the meat-inspection law. * * * And he then said that the President accepted the proposition of Germany to grant to our agricultural products the same tariff reductions as Germany granted to Austria, as a due reciprocity for the action of Congress contained in section 3 of the McKinley law; and that when the President should be advised of such reductions, he would give the necessary orders to secure the continued free admission into the United States of the articles mentioned in said section 3.

On the 10th of December following (1891) Mumm addressed Secretary Blaine, inclosing him a table showing the tariff concessions to Austria by Germany, which he said, "in accordance with my declaration made on the occasion of the removal of our decree forbidding the importation of swine, pork, and sausages of American origin, likewise accrue to the United States." And on this basis the proclamation of the President was issued February 1, 1892.

In other words, we got the concession of a reduction in tariff duties on certain specified articles in return for granting Germany the continued admission free of sugar and other articles mentioned in section 3 of the McKinley Act. (See Senate Executive Document 119, Fifty-second Congress, first session, pages 108–110, 111.)

Is there any doubt whatever that there were here two separate and distinct propositions accepted by Germany, the second one being that if the President would not enforce section 5 of our meat-inspection law, Germany would, and because of that inspection act, withdraw its meat prohibition covering our pork, hogs, and sausages? She maintained her own costly inspection service, which was a severe burden on our exporters, as will appear from our diplomatic correspondence on that subject, commencing January 29, 1894; and in addition to which our canned beef was restricted. (House Executive Document 1, part 1, Fifty-third Congress, third session, pages 226–228.)

As Germany had her own inspection, and as trichina had disappeared entirely, our Government sought early in January, 1894, to have Germany dispense with our law, which she refused to do.

And now what followed. The McKinley law (section 3) being repealed, of course Germany might withdraw her tariff reductions; they probably went down without action by the repeal of section 3. Having withdrawn her meat edict, in evident fear that the President would enforce section 5 of the act of August 30, 1890, and because of our inspection of our meats, she had no excuse to again enforce it. Some new device to discriminate became necessary.

Note what followed. Pending the enactment of the Wilson bill, and before its passage, August 28, 1894, and on the 10th of July, 1894, we find Baron Saurma, of the German embassy in Washington, "protesting" (sic) against the proposed differential duty of one-tenth cent on all sugar when from all bounty-paying countries, in the Wilson bill. (Senate Executive Document 58, Fifty-third Congress, third session, page 14; House Executive Document 1, part 1, Fifty-third Congress, third session, page 394.)

His "memorandum" of protest over a month prior to the enactment of the legislation complained of placed the objection on the ground that our proposed legislation was a discrimination against German goods; that it was violative of treaty stipulations between Germany and the United States; that the export bounty paid by Germany on her sugar was a purely domestic affair; that it would drive out German sugar from the American market; that it would fall more heavily on Germany, which proposed to abolish her bounty in 1897, because other nations paid more bounty; that public opinion in Germany understood that it was agreed (Mumm) August 22, 1891, that the United States had guaranteed exemption to Germany from duty on sugar in return for the concession of the conventional duties on American agricultural products and the removal of the restrictions on the importations of "American swine."

He concluded by expressing a doubt whether Germany, if our one-tenth differential was adopted, would be able to withstand the demand for retaliation. In other words, Mumm has conceded, August 22, 1891, that our meat-inspection law, when in force, had removed the further continuation of the German edict against our pork, etc., and hence some new device became necessary; some new scheme must be devised.

Thus matters appear to have rested until August 28, 1894, the day of the final passage of the Wilson bill, on which day Saurma, the German ambassador here, addressed our Secretary of State a formal protest, calling his attention to the memorandum of July 16, 1894, and stating that Germany considered the one-tenth differential on all sugar from all bounty-paying nations as not harmonious with existing stipulations and those tendencies which the exchange of notes August 22, 1891 (from Saratoga), had called forth. He insisted that an export bounty on sugar was "a domestic affair," and that our legislation exposed both nations to the adoption of arbitrary duties.

Mr. Gresham thereupon and on the 12th of October, 1894, addressed Mr. Cleveland a letter on the subject. He sent Germany's protest on the salt tax about this time to the Attorney-General for an opinion, but it seems that he preferred to handle the sugar question himself.

On the 27th of October, 1894, the German chancellor issued his edict prohibiting our living beef cattle and fresh beef upon the sanitary (sic) ground that Texas fever had been discovered. Mr. Gresham cabled our minister, Mr. Runyon, the same day to enter vigorous protest and to say that such action, if continued, would be considered unfriendly and retaliatory. In reply V. Marshall, of the German foreign office, sought to elude Germany's responsibility for the edict by saying that it was issued at the instance of the Prussian minister of agriculture. Further diplomatic correspondence ensued between this country and Germany, running down to October 10, 1896, Mr. Dabney, of our Agricultural Department, and Minister Uhl furnishing unanswerable facts and arguments, August 22 and October 10, 1896, in favor of the revocation of this edict.

Mr. Dabney took the ground that while nations had a perfect right to protect their cattle industry, we had a right to protest against prohibitions not necessary for sanitary purposes, and he proceeded scientifically to point out the difference between Texas fever here and foot-and-mouth disease, pleuro-pneumonia, and rinderpest abroad; that those diseases had been admitted to exist abroad and that we had interdicted the importation of cattle from nations where those diseases admittedly existed; that those diseases did not exist here, were contagious and disastrous; that we had eradicated pleuro-pneumonia in 1892, and no case had existed sinc . He exposed the ignorance of foreign veterinarians most effectually concerning this disease, as he also did in regard to Texas fever. He said there was no evidence existing that Texas fever could be communicated by our cattle to the cattle of Europe or that it would spread from animal to animal even if it were carried abroad.

The experience of this country is altogether against that view. The cattle leaving a Texas-fever-infected district soon lose the power to disseminate it, etc. And he also pointed to the fact that "not one animal in any of the foreign countries to which our cattle have been shipped—and several millions have been exported within recent years—has ever been infected with Texas fever," as sufficient evidence that our regulations and inspection were intelligently conceived and honestly enforced. He further said that it was certainly remarkable for a government to prohibit one of the principle articles of export of a friendly nation on the ground that such action was necessary to prevent the introduction of contagion when the contagion mentioned had never been carried by the prohibited articles either in this or any other country. He likewise pointed to the fact that all our dressed export beef was inspected and certified, and that the United States had no objection to requiring it to be.

Mr. Uhl said that our objection went on the ground of the total exclusion of our cattle and fresh beef, which was not necessary from a sanitary standpoint; that no claim was made that any disease or unhealthy fresh beef had been sent into Germany. And so the case stands to-day.

Fourteen days prior to the issuance of this meat edict (October 27, 1894), to wit, October 12, Mr. Gresham gave Mr. Cleveland his views of the protest of Germany against the one-tenth on sugar. He conceded that Germany had not protested against the one-tenth in the McKinley law, but argued that the probable reason was found in its insignificance, as it then applied only to sugar above 16 Dutch standard, while under the Wilson law the one-tenth applied to all sugars.

On the point as to whether the one-tenth violated treaty rights, i. e., our treaty of 1828 with Prussia, he noted the fact that that treaty was with Prussia only and not with "the entire German Empire." He took the ground that because our legislation ran against all nations paying an export bounty, and not Germany alone, did not relieve it from the objection that it was a discrimination. Then whether, because Germany gave an export bounty, we had a right to meet it with an extra duty, he likewise stood for Germany's contention, to wit, that it was purely a domestic affair. He said:

"The payment by a country of a bounty on the exportation of an article of its produce or manufacture for the purpose of encouraging a domestic industry can no more be considered as a discrimination than can the imposition of a protective or practically prohibitive duty on the importation of an article—the produce or manufacture of a foreign country for the same purpose—be so considered. The two measures are the same in principle. The question as to which shall be adopted is a matter of domestic policy. * * * Both are alike intended, whatever their effect, to create a national advantage."

He concluded that the export bounty of Germany was not a discrimination, and that our one-tenth to meet that bounty was a discrimination. It was a very good defense for the German, and he soon availed himself of it. The only point on which the late Secretary stood with the United States in this matter was that our treaty of 1828 ran to Prussia only, and he therefore assumed that only sugar from Prussia came within the protest. (House Executive Document 1, part 1, pages 236–239, Fifty-third Congress, third session; Senate Executive Document 58, page 19, Fifty-third Congress, third session; Miscellaneous Document 52, Fifty-third Congress, third session.)

October 13, Germany protested against our salt duty, on which our new Secretary's (Mr. Olney) view differs from that of Mr. Gresham. (Senate Miscellaneous Document 52, Fifty-third Congress, third session; House Document 1, Fifty-fourth Congress, second session, pages 208, 209.)

Thus matters rested until October 27, 1894, when the German chancellor,

with Mr. Gresham's letter before him admitting our one-tenth to be a discrimination, selected our live cattle and fresh beef for edict. (House Executive Document 1, part 1, page 231, Fifty-third Congress, third session.) He based this prohibition on sanitary grounds, stating that in two cargoes of our cattle Texas fever had been found. All diplomatic efforts to remove that edict have been fruitless, as were those regarding pork for ten years. Our inspection laws run to all diseases. In 1895 our Secretary of Agriculture said that "Texas fever was the only disease thus far absolutely controlled by stock-yard inspection." And we have that as well as vessel inspection.

This last decree excludes not only all live American beef cattle, without exception, qualification, or discrimination, or reference to condition, but all American fresh beef. It is said to be doubtful whether Texas fever can cross the ocean, and we certainly have very rigid inspection laws. In 1894, the year the edict was issued, the United States exported 363,535 cattle, only 184 being rejected here after inspection, and all those sent abroad certified to be free from disease. (Report of Secretary of Agriculture, 1895, page 7.)

The late Senator Logan's prophecy of 1884 regarding Germany, that she would discriminate regardless of an inspection law, has thus been verified. She disclaims to have retaliated because of the one-tenth on sugar from all bounty-paying nations, but her false pretense is too transparent to deceive anybody.

And thus we find Germany discriminating against our meat products ever since 1881, with very slight interruption during the time the McKinley Act was in force, imposing her restrictions even to-day most rigorously on our live cattle and fresh beef, and in many other ways burdening our products by most frivolous technicalities, impudently filing a protest if we reimpose a "differential" on the sugar of all nations which pay an export bounty. Nothing could more forcibly attest the diplomatic assurance of a nation which put upon the United States millions of loss between 1881 and 1892, when, for fear of an enforcement of our laws and the advantage that would result to other nations at her expense under the reciprocity clause, she hastened to cover.

It may be unfortunate that the United States was blessed with a Secretary of State in October, 1894, whose opinions appear to have furnished Germany ground upon which to temporarily stand, and who so far impressed his views upon Mr. Cleveland as to induce him, in his message of December 3, 1894, to recommend the repeal of the one-tenth differential, because it gave Germany assurance that it had the State Department and the Executive in accord with its contention.

And now what is the real issue in this controversy? Simply this: Germany claims—

First. That we have a treaty under the most-favored-nation clause in which our one-tenth differential on sugar from all bounty-paying nations is a discrimination.

Second. That her export bounty on sugar is a "purely domestic affair."

Third. That the one-tenth will subject her to great loss, drive German sugar out of our market.

The answer to the first objection is, that our treaty runs to Prussia only—not to the whole German Empire; that Prussia having been absorbed by the Empire since 1828, it is by no means clear that the provisions of the treaty are not a dead letter. (See Treaties and Conventions, pages 916, 918, 1234-1236; and Secretary Gresham's letter of October 12, 1893; House Document No. 1, Fifty-fourth Congress, second session, page 209. Olney's letter.

As to the loss anticipated by Germany, the figures are at hand to prove the reverse of her expressed fear on that score.

1895—Beet sugar under 16 Dutch standard from Germany, fiscal year, value	$6,090,293
1896—Beet sugar under 16 Dutch standard from Germany, fiscal year, value	10,404,172

Showing an increase of over 66 per cent.

Congress may as well face the issue involved in this claim and once for all determine what its policy is and ought to be toward sugar-producing nations which by this somewhat new export-bounty policy are seeking foreign markets for their products.

Hence such a bounty is not a "purely domestic affair."

These export bounties have nearly driven sugar production in many of the East and in some of the West Indies to the wall, which shows that these bounties are something more than a domestic affair. First levying prohibitive duties on sugars to keep her own market, Germany, France, and Austria turn about and pay an export bounty to gain ours, as against our own industry, and thus break it down; and they coolly turn to us and say: "Our policy is purely a domestic affair, of which you may not complain and which you may not countervail." This can hardly be called diplomacy; it is impudence, an assault upon ordinary intelligence.

Mr. Gresham evidently confounded a bounty paid to home producers to encourage the upbuilding of a new industry with an export bounty which is paid to force goods into new markets, even though the effect is to reduce protection and strike a sinister blow at a home industry. An export bounty addresses itself to commerce, and that always concerns other nations. If Germany may give 27 to 54 cents per 100 pounds export bounty on her sugar, she can give 2 or 5 cents and thus destroy our sugar industry. It is a somewhat modern industrial commercial scheme in which a principle is at stake. It is a new diplomatic and legislative device to gain an unfair advantage, and great danger exists in conceding its validity.

Besides all this, Germany does not come into court with her protest with clean hands. She has interdicted our cattle and fresh meats, and for too many years she prohibited our pork products.

Her protest not only deserves no consideration whatever, but to countervail her policy we should not only insist on enough differential to meet her double export bounty, but the President should meet her last meat edict with an exercise of the power which he possesses under sections 4 and 5 of the act of August 30, 1890. It is more than time for the United States to act, and in such a manner as to leave no room for doubt as to her future policy. It has become a matter in which commercial honor is involved. Not a pound of German sugar should come into this country until Germany removes her meat edict! And as was suggested by the late Senator Logan, and more recently by Secretary Morton—

"Reciprocal certification of the chemical purity of wines exported from Germany, France, etc., to the United States may some time be demanded from those Governments as a sanitary shield to American consumers, for certainly American meats are as wholesome as foreign wines."—*Report Secretary of Agriculture, 1895*, page 7.

And why not? As the Secretary said in his Year Book for 1894, page 34, which was but a repetition of the remarks of his predecessors:

"If it is wisdom on the part of foreign nations to demand inspection and certificates for sanitary reasons by the American Government of its exports to them, and wise for us to comply with that demand, would it not be equally wise, upon sanitary grounds, for the United States to require governmental inspection and certification of all foreign nations for exports into the United States intended for the consumption of its citizens?"

Mr. WHITE. I do not concur in any view which will deprive this Republic of the power to defend herself from such legislation as she may conceive interferes with the welfare of her citizens. Conceding, as we do, the right of Germany to legislate, we have the right to legislate regarding tariff. If Germany has the right by the imposition of such a bounty or tax, or whatever you may call it, as she has levied in the case of sugar, to place her people in a position of superior advantage to ours, we have a right to so legislate as to equalize, and she can not call it even retaliatory.

I am not talking about the policy of this tax at all. I voted against the sugar-schedule tax, and I shall do it again, but I do not desire to put myself in a position of conceding our inability to do what we may see fit to do if we think that it is wise in any case to retaliate—and whether we think so or not must depend upon the policy of the dominant party—but as to the existence of our right to do it, without criticism as to the morality of the affair, I have but little question.

As part of my remarks, Mr. President, I shall add as an appendix, from the last consular report, No. 201 of the current volume, three short articles, entitled "The beet-sugar crisis in Europe," which illustrate the necessity of such legislation upon the theory of the framing of this bill as that contemplated. I do not wish to take any time or to further discuss this most interesting topic.

APPENDIX.

THE BEET-SUGAR CRISIS IN EUROPE.

PROPOSED LEGISLATION IN BELGIUM.

The Belgian sugar journal, La Sucrerie Belge, publishes in its March number a petition to the Belgian Parliament, signed by all the sugar manufacturers of this country, requesting certain modifications in the legislation now existing relative to the sugar industry. This petition was adopted at a meeting of the trade February 24 last. It presents a review not only of the situation of the sugar interests in Belgium, but also of their general condition in the other European countries of production, and for that reason, with due consideration for its authority, is of considerable importance. A textual translation is as follows:

BRUSSELS, *February 20, 1897.*

To the president and members of the Chamber of Representatives at Brussels:

The undersigned, manufacturers of beet-root sugar, have the honor to set forth to you that the principal European countries producing sugar, according to the importance of their approximate production of this year, rank as follows:

	Tons.		Tons.
Germany	1,850,000	Russia	700,000
Austria	1,000,000	Belgium	300,000
France	750,000	Holland	150,000

From the fifth place, which it occupies in this table, Belgium passes to the first, if we take as basis of estimate the relation between production on the one hand and population, territorial area, and quantity exported; this latter, indeed, exceeding five-sixths of the total quantity produced.

The existence of the Belgian sugar industry therefore depends essentially on the international sugar market, and is much more than any other affected by this latter's variations. The decisive elements of international competition are the agricultural system—factor, the price of raw material; the manufacturing system—factor, the cost of extraction; the legislative system—factor, fiscal favors; these three factors being furthermore closely conjoined by rapid and inevitable reaction.

While, however, the first two factors are capable of but slow development, and can, for this reason, introduce into the fixed equilibrium only gradual modifications, the third can cause sudden and vast disturbances. Recent events have shown the truth of this statement, and the results are so unexpected and serious as to justify the undersigned in setting forth to the public the extent and the causes of the disaster which at this moment is threatening the Belgian sugar industry and Belgian agriculture. The fiscal system applied to sugar factories in force in the various countries mentioned is chiefly established by the following laws: Germany, law of May 31, 1891; Austria, law of May 20, 1888; France, law of July 29, 1884; Russia, law of July 13, 1891; Belgium, law of April 16, 1887; Holland, law of April 15, 1891, and preceding legislation.

Since the dates above mentioned, the basis established in these various countries had undergone only secondary modifications, rather local than international, and generally of a nature to diminish the fiscal favors instead of increasing them. From the point of view of competition among the countries of Europe, a sort of peaceful stability was thus acquired, resulting in a corresponding equilibrium in the interior relations of each country between the rural and industrial systems, as well as between the cultivator and owner.

This situation, slowly established, has, during the last year, suffered the most serious disturbances. Important modifications have been adopted by all our competitors, Russia excepted; the latter, enjoying a special system, suffices almost entirely for itself without having much to export; it is, therefore, not necessary to give it special consideration.

The modifications to which we allude are the following: In Germany the law of May 27, 1896, increased the export bounties in the following proportions: (1) For raw sugar, from 30 cents to 60 cents per 220 pounds; (2) for white sugar, from 41 cents to 72 cents; (3) for refined sugar, from 48 cents to 80 cents. This is not meant to interfere with other measures, notably the imposition of supplementary taxes, and the provision by which a factory, under the penalty of having its proportion of export bounties reduced, is, so to speak, obliged to increase its output or at least to maintain it at the same level, even under the most unfavorable circumstances.

Immediately afterwards Austria, by the law of July 7, 1896, took corresponding protective and defensive measures, especially increasing from about $2,000,000 to $3,000,000 the amount of public funds destined for export bounties.

In France the Chamber of Deputies has just voted export bounties even more important than those of other countries, amounting to—(1) raw sugar, 68 cents per 220 pounds; (2) white sugar, 77 cents; (3) refined sugar, 87 cents. All these export bounties are independent of the interior advantages accorded in Germany and Austria, in various forms less tangible, although not less real, and in France in the form of bonuses upon the manufacture, which, in the official French statistics, appear for sums varying from $1.16 to $1.54½ per 220 pounds, and which may be normally fixed at $1.35 per 220 pounds.

Holland, in turn, has just revised its system, giving from the beginning to its producers a bounty of $1.06½ per 220 pounds on raw sugars.

It is an economic war to the finish between rival nations, each desiring the ruin of the others, which these measures unchain on the sugar interests of Europe.

The effect was, therefore, immediate. The reaction of these new bounties on the international market was extraordinarily strong, surpassing all anticipations. From the time of the announcement of the intention of the German

Government, quotations were on the decline. After the adoption of the law the bounties immediately increased in Austria, and a law of even a more aggravated nature was proposed in France.

All these facts succeeded in disturbing the confidence of holders and merchants, and the scare became such that quotations fell from $6.17 in April, 1896, to below $4.25 in October last per 220 pounds. In the midst of this international conflict, while our competitors are everywhere being provided with new weapons, the situation in Belgium is, by the force of events, becoming modified in an entirely different direction. It is well known that the Belgian fiscal system gives to producers the enjoyment of certain bonuses on manufacture under the form of sugar free from duty. The progress made in the methods of cultivation and manufacture has always compensated the regular increase of the amount taken into account, to such an extent that the quantity of sugar free of taxation may still to-day be estimated at an average of 18 per cent of the legal production. The tax being $8.69 per 220 pounds, the theoretical value of this benefit may be estimated at $1.32 per 220 pounds of sugar produced.

If this protection were real, it would suffice to counterbalance the advantages given by other countries, but the reality is much less than it seems. In fact, by reason of certain circumstances about to be explained, this amount suffers two important reductions:

(1) The premium on duties, according to which the commercial value of the bonuses is fixed, destroys a portion of them. This premium, very variable, remaining quoted in these later years at 10 to 15 per cent, has recently risen much higher. It has reached the quotation of 40 per cent—a point at which it approximately remains at this moment.

(2) The payment to be made to the treasury and which, in the unanimous opinion of those interested, must be made in the future unconditionally. If we consider as the basis on one hand a production of 200,000 tons taken into account, and on the other hand a variation in the payment of $1,158,000, the amount imposed upon manufacturers per 220 pounds of sugar taken into account is 58 cents, or, that is to say, 49 cents for every 220 pounds of the real production.

It must be anticipated, without doubt, that the inauguration of this mode of payment will result in a certain decrease in the rate of the premium on the duties, but the situation of the sugar market for consumption is so burdened that the payment unconditionally would not in itself alone suffice to restore the premium to 10 to 15 per cent. If we adopt as a basis of calculation the quotation of 30 per cent, we still remain below the probable truth. If from $1.32 we deduct 30 per cent, or 40 cents, and also the sum of 49 cents above mentioned, there remains as a fiscal advantage for the Belgian manufacturers the maximum of 47 cents per 220 pounds of sugar produced.

Under these conditions the situation in Belgium is very serious. At the present quotation of sugar for the next year ($4.44 per 220 pounds), it is impossible for the manufacturers to pay the beet growers a sufficiently remunerative price, and a reconciliation of the two great agricultural and manufacturing interests, satisfactory to both, has become unrealizable. The advantage acquired with so much difficulty by Belgium in the international market can not be maintained against the competition fostered by the new bounties of the three great producing countries. Manufacturers, farmers, landowners, the laboring classes, and trade are thus going to lose a resource important for the national wealth and the economy of the agricultural system.

The local causes which graft a domestic crisis on the general crisis are, on the one hand, the gradual increase of production due to the extent of the sowings, to the quality of the beet, and to the improvements in methods of manufacture; on the other hand, the failure of a corresponding increase in consumption and the curtailment of the sources of legal revenue. Foremost in this respect is the competition of saccharine and glucose, as well as the increase of the minimum of revenue to be paid. The bases for the calculation of the bounty have thus decreased, while constantly increasing quantities have come forward to share it.

It remains for the undersigned to recite the measures which might not, indeed, cure the evil, but lessen its seriousness, and, little by little, restore the equilibrium.

The undersigned do not demand export drawbacks or new bounties; they do not request any new sacrifice from the nation or from the treasury; but in view of the gravity of the danger, they have the right to require that the existing system shall afford them the advantages which it is legally intended to produce. The measures which they have the honor to request have, furthermore, as their object the assurance of domestic stability and regularity in the collection of the revenue of the treasury. In demanding the entire benefit of the present fiscal system, a benefit which in the past was always enjoyed, industry and agriculture are not making any demand which can not be accorded them.

In seeking means to suppress the excessive premium or duties, the enormous losses which they cause, and the uncertainty which results therefrom for agriculture, commerce, and industry, the undersigned, according to the declarations of the Government, pursue an object which is praiseworthy and entitled to the consideration of the public authorities. The attainment of this result is necessary to insure the cultivators in all instances the maximum price which the general economic situation may justify. The measures outlined by the undersigned have no other object.

The premium on duties results from a want of the necessary equilibrium between the consumption and the production of sugar. To restore this equilibrium, it is necessary, first, to increase the legal output in order to reduce the production of free sugar (an increase of 5 per cent does not seem excessive); second, to inaugurate the payment of the tax unconditionally, so that the situation may not be aggravated by the freedom from duties of a new quantity of sugar of the same kind, and in order to insure the normal revenue to the Treasury.

Furthermore, contrary to the intention of the legislature, a portion of the revenue from sugar has been misplaced, in the sense that the product of the excise on glucose is not included in the general revenue from sugar. It thus results that the minimum, guarantied by this industry, is in reality increased by the entire sum produced by glucose, which, in consumption, takes the place of sugar.

Saccharine has also contributed and will continue to contribute by certain of its preparations to decrease the consumption of sugar, and in consequence to injure, to the detriment of the responsible sugar industry, the natural revenue of the treasury.

Finally, by recently increasing the minimum amount of this revenue from 6,000,000 francs to 6,500,000 francs ($1,158,000 to $1,254,500), the public powers have increased the burdens of this industry exactly at the moment when on all sides it sees its means of defense in the international struggle lessening.

The restoration of the minimum to its former level, such as was held very recently, is the only concession which the undersigned ask of the State.

It is not possible, however, to be deluded concerning the efficacy of these measures; whatever may be their effect in restoring the destroyed equilibrium, it is certain that during a period of time difficult to estimate, but certainly long, the overabundance of sugar for consumption will maintain the premium on duties to such a point that, although rendered more regular by the preceding measures, it will still remain so high as to reduce proportionately the advantages of the manufacture.

A corrective is therefore necessary, and since the premium is based on the drawback, it would suffice to raise the rate of this latter to neutralize to the same degree the injurious effect of the premium. But, as there is no question of causing by this means an indirect decrease of the legal output, this should be increased likewise in the exact proportion of the increase of drawback. The undersigned propose, therefore, an increase of 15 per cent in the drawback, with a corresponding supplementary tax, and compensated by an equal increase of the legal output.

In this way the present premium would be neutralized to the extent of 15 per cent, leaving out of the 25 or 30 per cent previously mentioned only a normal loss of 10 to 15 per cent on the basis of 45 francs ($8.69) per 220 pounds during preceding years.

The measures prayed by the undersigned are, therefore, the following:

(1) That the payment to the treasury, in case of variation, should be made henceforth unconditionally.

(2) That the legal output taken into consideration should be increased by 20 per cent, with an increase of 15 per cent in the drawback and an equivalent supplementary tax.

(3) That the minimum of revenue, restored to 6,000,000 francs ($1,158,000), includes the sum realized from the excise on glucose.

These measures, which can only be temporary, would not involve any serious sacrifice for the treasury. They will barely permit this industry to gradually free itself from the serious domestic difficulties in which it is struggling.

While it is hoped to thus obtain a better equilibrium in the country itself, it is likewise to be sincerely wished that the exaggeration of the commercial struggle between Germany, Austria, and France may also result, by the greatness of the evil produced, in the return to a more logical and healthy condition.

In this war of premiums the victims are only the producers themselves, the destroyers of their own fortune to the profit of nonproducing countries. Export bounties have no other result than the constant decline of the products to the uttermost limits of the cost price, and even lower than that. Germany and Austria must, at the present time, recognize the error committed by them, and France, in spite of the enormous advantages which she thought she was assuring her producers, will be obliged, in turn, to admit that she does not find in this fatal war any profit for herself.

Of all Europe, Belgium alone will not have export bounties on her sugars, and the undersigned do not wish it. Better than any other nation, it is in a situation to take the initiative in the work of alleviation and pacification.

The undersigned, in expressing the hope that the public powers will decide in favor of their requests, as formulated in the law hereto annexed, also give expression to their desire of seeing the Belgian Government undertake the opportune and necessary labor of pacification at the moment when such serious dangers threaten this cultivation—one of the greatest industries of Europe.

Then follows the law proposed, as already set forth, and the signatures of the petitioners, some seventy in number, including all the principal manufacturers in Belgium.

To understand the proposed change in Belgian legislation relative to sugar, we must know that, under the present system, the Government annually fixes a certain quantity of sugar to be produced, and likewise a certain gross sum of $1,158,000 as the amount of tax to be paid by the manufacturers of sugar. This latter amount is proportionately divided among the various factories according to their pro rata share of production.

These estimates are called "the amount taken into consideration" or charged against the manufacturers (the original French is "prise en charge"). If the amount of revenue to be raised does not enter into the treasury in due course as the result of taxes collected, the balance lacking must be made up by the sugar manufacturers pro rata to the quantities of production charged against them respectively. The quantity to be exported by each firm is, moreover, limited by the quantity of production and of the tax charged against it and to be paid by it, for the drawback, primes, or bounties paid by the Government must not exceed the amount of tax collected—that is, $1,158,000.

The quantity for export therefore being limited, the surplus of sugar manufactured must be sold in Belgium. This surplus has been so large in recent years that the price has fallen to about $1.50 per 100 pounds less than the cost of manufacture. It is to avoid this loss that the manufacturers now propose to pay the sums assessed against them unconditionally—that is, the entire sum of $1,158,000—without the right of recovery in case of smaller production than the estimate for their respective firms, provided that the amount indirectly established by law for export shall be increased—practically indefinitely—and they shall not be obliged to make up any deficiency which may occur in the total tax of $1,158,000 (none could occur if all the pro rata assessments were paid in advance).

The manufacturers would necessarily be out the amounts paid by them as a tax, and which now, in case of deficiency in production, they receive back, but the increase of the export drawback proposed and the larger quantity of sugar permitted to be exported would fully compensate them. Exports being larger, less sugar would be offered for sale in the country, the supply would be more proportionate to the domestic demand, prices would be better, and the profits on domestic sales would surpass the amount of the excess of tax paid; hence the situation of the Belgian sugar manufacturers would be much more favorable than under the existing system.

HENRY C. MORRIS, *Consul.*

GHENT, *April 29, 1897.*

EFFECT OF THE GERMAN SUGAR LAW.

This law, which was greeted as the forerunner of better times for the beet growers, has so far been rather disappointing in its effects. The price of sugar has continued to decline until it has reached to-day 8.70 marks ($2.07) per hundredweight (110.23 pounds) free on board at Hamburg, and this in the face of a largely increased demand from the United States. The lowest figure ever touched before was in the beginning of January, 1895, when raw sugar free on board at Hamburg was sold at 8.50 marks ($2.02) per hundredweight (110.23 pounds). At the end of the "campaign year," 1895-96, there remained in Germany a stock of about 1,800,000 double hundredweights (180,000 metric tons) of raw sugar.

From present appearances, the production of raw sugar during the "campaign year" 1896-97 will amount to about 18,300,000 double hundredweights (1,830,000 metric tons), making a total stock of about 20,100,000 double hundredweights (2,010,000 metric tons) to be disposed of. During the first six months about 7,077,000 double hundredweights (707,700 metric tons) have been used for home consumption and export, and if we assume that an equal amount will be used for the remaining six months, the "campaign year" 1896-97 will close with a stock on hand of about 5,946,600 double hundredweights (594,600 metric tons), or almost one-third of the entire yearly production. Even if the consumption for the remaining six months should be considerably more, a large stock will still be left unsold, and must press heavily upon the market when the new crop comes in.

Under the former law this result, bad as it is, could be somewhat counteracted by a reduction in the area under cultivation, but the new law renders

such a reduction impracticable and inadvisable for the factories, and therefore directly enforces overproduction, instead of preventing the same, as was intended by its promoters. The cause for this is found in a stipulation of the new law, fixing the contingent amount which each factory may produce. (Factories may produce more than their contingent, but must pay a tax on such excess equal to the full export bounty.)

This stipulation says that the contingent amount for larger factories is to be fixed every year, according to the two highest annual productions for the last three years, and for smaller factories the highest annual production for the last five years is to be taken as a basis. It is, at a glance, apparent that unless a sugar factory is willing to work with a smaller contingent, it must at least maintain its present output; but, as in the struggle for supremacy many factories will try to push ahead and obtain a larger contingent at the expense of their rivals, an equal annual production will mean a reduced contingent. Factories are thus forced to increase their production if they desire to avoid being crowded out.

As a revision of the new law, after it has been in effect but a few months, can hardly be expected from the Reichstag, efforts are being made by the majority of the raw-sugar associations to have at least an amendment passed to the effect that the contingent, once assigned to a factory, can not be reduced. Unless this is accomplished, and the cause for enforced production thus in a measure removed, the already dark prospects of the industry will become still gloomier, and the weaker factories can not avoid being driven to the wall.

JULIUS MUTH, *Consul.*

MAGDEBURG, *April 30, 1897.*

SUGAR-BEET PLANTING IN GERMANY.

As was predicted in these reports (Consular Reports No. 190, page 511), the effect of the new sugar export bounty law adopted in Germany in May last year has been to still further increase the acreage of beet cultivation, which had already reached what was generally regarded as the extreme limit of safe expansion.

From an announcement just made by the International Association of Raw-Sugar Manufacturers, it appears that the area of land to be planted with beets in Germany this spring will be 1,062,908 acres, against 1,050,184 acres in 1896 and 930,749 acres in 1895.

This is equivalent to an increase of 1.2 per cent over the already very large acreage of last year, and is regarded with apprehension by economists, who realize that, notwithstanding the practical suspension of the sugar supply from Cuba, the limit of the world's consumption has been fully reached, and that any further increase in the product must react disastrously upon its market value. The increased acreage of beet cultivation is most marked in the provinces of East Prussia, Pomerania, and Mecklenburg.

But in other countries, notably Austria-Hungary, the low sugar prices of last autumn have operated, in the absence of such export bounties as are paid by Germany, to reduce the area of this year's planting, which has declined from 858,425 acres in 1896 to 748,589 acres this season, a loss of about 12.8 per cent. Similar reductions, more or less important, are reported in the plantings of Belgium, Holland, and Sweden. France, so far as appears, has not yet reported what the total acreage of beet culture will be in that country this year, but no important increase is thought to be probable, so that, taking Europe as a whole, the prospect is for a diminished area of cultivation, the increase in Germany's plantings being more than offset by the reductions in other countries.

Such, in brief, is the apparent result of the first year's operation of the new German sugar export-bounty law, sustained as it is by the advanced scientific methods of the Germans in the use of chemical fertilizers and their skillful improvement of the sugar beet itself, through which German agriculturists are enabled to produce 1 unit of sugar from 7.25 units of raw beets, instead of 1 unit to 13, as was the case a few years ago, while the highest average yield yet attained in France is 1 unit of sugar to 8.08 units of beets.

FRANK H. MASON, *Consul-General.*

FRANKFORT, *May 6, 1897.*

Mr. GRAY. Mr. President, I should not say another word at this late stage of this debate but for the fact that the opinion of the late Attorney-General, Mr. Olney, for whom I have the highest respect and for whose abilities I have the highest estimate, has been brought into this debate by the Senator from California [Mr. WHITE]. I recollect very well that opinion, and the fact that it took ground which was directly opposite to that taken by the Secretary of State to whom I have already alluded.

But, Mr. President, I want to say as emphatically as I can that the reasoning and casuistry of this astute lawyer can not change my notions as to the morality of this proposed provision. There is no way, in my opinion, by which the obligation of this express language of the treaty of 1828 can be honorably evaded. It does not use the language "favored nations;" it is not the usual phraseology of the favored-nation clause, but is much more specific. It is this:

> No higher or other duties shall be imposed on the importation into the United States of any article the produce or manufacture of Prussia, and no higher or other duties shall be imposed on the importation into the Kingdom of Prussia of any article the produce or manufacture of the United States, than are or shall be payable on the like article being the produce or manufacture of any other foreign country.

Mr. WHITE. If it will not interrupt the Senator from Delaware, may I ask whether he attaches any importance to the concession which Mr. Olney says was made by the German representatives to the conference referred to in his opinion, and which concession or interpretation of the treaty I do not understand was ever repudiated by the German Government?

Mr. GRAY. I have never seen the original of that conference, and before I could answer, I should like to see the express language in which it is contained. The only information I have about it is what is contained in Mr. Olney's report.

Mr. WHITE. I will call the attention of the Senator to another fact, that this very proposition was contained in the McKinley law, and Judge Gresham differentiated the situation in that regard by saying that it was very small, and was therefore probably not observed; yet it did involve the identical principle of interpretation.

Mr. GRAY. Of course it involved the very principle; and if there was no protest, I suppose it was because the result was so insignificant as not to be thought worth while as a ground of objection.

Mr. WHITE. The principle was there.

Mr. GRAY. Certainly. When the Senator interrupted me, I had just called attention to the express language of article 5. The whole matter, in my opinion, turns upon that. I will read it again, because the Senator has interrupted the continuity of my statement in that respect.

Mr. WHITE. I beg pardon.

Mr. GRAY. I do not object at all. The article reads:

> No higher or other duties shall be imposed on the importation into the United States of any article the produce or manufacture of Prussia, and no higher or other duties shall be imposed on the importation into the Kingdom of Prussia of any article the produce or manufacture of the United States, than are or shall be payable on the like article being the produce or manufacture of any other foreign country.

In section 3 of this bill we undertake to impose a duty of three-tenths of a cent per pound upon sugar coming from Germany more than upon sugar coming from any other country.

Mr. TURPIE. Will the Senator allow me?

Mr. GRAY. Certainly.

Mr. TURPIE. The article the Senator just read is one of reciprocity, and not of favoritism.

Mr. GRAY. One of mutual reciprocity—article 5.

Mr. TURPIE. Which is much stronger than the favored-nation clause.

Mr. GRAY. Certainly; in one sense. I do not know what conclusion the Senator wishes to draw from that.

Mr. TURPIE. I wish to draw the conclusion that it is much stronger than the ordinary favored-nation clause, and that this provision, I think, is plainly and palpably the usual language of a reciprocity treaty, binding on both countries unless abrogated.

Mr. GRAY. So, Mr. President, we have here a contract between this country and Prussia, now represented by the German Empire, and the law of contract is contained within the four corners of this article; and so long as we impose a duty upon sugar coming from Prussia higher than that coming from any other country, or all other countries, then we contravene the law of that contract and violate its provisions. I do not see how you can evade it, or how reference to this conference in 1888, alluded to by the late Attorney-General, Mr. Olney, can in any way modify the opinion that Senators ought to take of a suggested article which affects the good faith of the country they represent.

Mr. Olney, in this paper, says:

> In the first place, the "most-favored-nation clauses" of our treaties—

Which, as the Senator from Indiana [Mr. TURPIE] has just remarked, is not exactly this case and does not exactly apply to this case—

> with foreign powers have, from the foundation of our Government, been invariably construed both as not forbidding any internal regulations necessary for the protection of our home industries.

That is what I say, and it did not therefore forbid Germany from imposing an export duty upon the sugar sent out by German producers, and we had, therefore, no right to regard that as a pretext or ground for retaliatory measures on the part of the United States.

Mr. CAFFERY. I should like to ask the Senator whether our imposition of countervailing duties is not as much of an internal nature, affecting the internal policy of the United States, as is the export bounty given by Germany?

Mr. GRAY. Of course, but when that domestic policy or when that regulation, whatever you choose to call it, contravenes the express obligations which we have entered into with other countries, then it can not be sustained unless it is on the ground that we have a right to break our treaties.

Now, unquestionably the Congress of the United States can repeal a treaty, but they violate a treaty when they repeal it without just cause, and all I want to do is to call the attention of the Senate of the United States to the fact that section 3, proposing this countervailing duty, is in violation of that treaty, and, though we have the power to pass it, we subject ourselves thereby to the just criticism of the other party to the contract, and I do not believe there is anything in the reasoning of Mr. Olney, highly as I respect his ability, which for a moment to my mind successfully refutes the reasoning of the late Secretary of State, Mr. Gresham, in his letter to the President.

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. President, the very able Senator from Indiana [Mr. TURPIE] and the very able Senator from Delaware [Mr. GRAY] seem to have reached a conclusion that this difficulty does not arise out of the favored-nation clause in the treaty, and they seem to have agreed that there is no favored-nation clause in the treaty respecting the matter we have now under discussion; that it is a reciprocity treaty and not a favored-clause treaty. The favored-nation clause in a treaty almost uniformly relates to future conditions, perhaps to unexpected conditions, or rather conditions that can not at the time be definitely anticipated, whereas the

reciprocity clauses in treaties of reciprocity rest upon facts as they exist at the time, either specific facts or a general and agreed policy to which the two nations agree to conform their action.

This being a reciprocity clause and not a clause which has reference to favored-nation provisions that are common in a great many treaties, unfortunately, in the world, it is to be interpreted by the state of facts that existed at the time of its adoption. Now, to illustrate that, and to show that the Government of the United States in passing this measure is not breaking a treaty, is not violating any moral obligation, is not doing anything that it has not a perfect right to do, let us suppose that Prussia at that time projected the policy of encouraging the growth of beet sugar, and had said to the United States, "This proposition is intended to crush out the growth of cane sugar in the United States, in order to make the growth of beet sugar in Germany profitable." It is quite clear that we would not have appreciated that reciprocity provision as being very valuable to our country, and it certainly would never have gone into the treaty in any specific form.

The question arises then, What is the purview of the contract? Did the contract intend to include all methods and all measures that Prussia might thereafter choose to adopt for the purpose of making war upon a specific production in the United States? If it did not, then we are violating that contract. It did not, Mr. President. It did not include it. The contract does not cover the statement of the Senator from Delaware. The question of honor and public duty, about which he seems to be so much concerned, is not involved within the natural and necessary and proper terms of the reciprocity agreement between Prussia in 1828 and the United States in 1897. Conditions have changed. Policies have sprung up that were not then contemplated.

Germany has concluded that it is her duty to her own country, to her own people, to make war upon the production of sugar in the United States, whether from beet or sugar cane. Thereupon she draws upon her treasury for very large bounties for the exportation of sugar to the United States and to other places in the world. Now, when she resorts to that process of commercial antagonism or war against our production, she steps beyond the boundary of the contract and frees us from all obligations to comply with it, and our honor is entirely untouched.

I am quite sure that the Senate, possibly the House of Representatives, too, will sustain this doctrine so well elaborated, so clearly put by Mr. Olney in the view that he expressed in regard to it. I only say a word about it in order to avoid possible censure that might arise in my own mind and conscience, and that of other Senators, upon the declaration so earnestly made by the honorable Senator from Delaware, whose opinions are very well worth being respected on all occasions and on all subjects.

Mr. CAFFERY. The Senator from Delaware states that I am occupying a protection ground because I deprecate the bounty placed by Germany upon the exportation of sugar and advocate a retaliatory duty to counteract its bad influence. I look upon export bounties paid by Germany as an evil thing. I look upon the countervailing duty of the United States as wholly and purely a domestic and defensive matter. The treaty between the United States and Prussia relates to matters external and foreign, within the scope of international trade, without any regard to internal policy.

I submit this as a question of practical consideration. The United States being a great producer of cotton, if England, in order to increase her cotton production, should place a bounty upon cotton exported from India and Egypt into the United States, would it, under such conditions and circumstances, be a matter of internal policy and of self-preservation, or would it be a matter of external relations between us and India or Egypt?

I do not believe that any country is justified in permitting its people to be destroyed by hostile legislation of foreign countries. The only corrective is a retaliatory duty. You may say that the hardship falls upon the people of the country imposing the countervailing duty. So it does, but it is a last resort. You can have no other policy at hand. In order to get cheap cotton from India, cheap cotton from Egypt, would the United States stand by and see the cotton producers of the South destroyed, or the wheat growers of the Northwest, or the producers of any other product, manufactured or other? I think not. It is not a question of foreign policy, in my opinion, as comprehended in the favored-nation clause, but it is a pure question of self-preservation; and I say, therefore, that in the keen competition of the world in the matter of sugar production an export bounty of 38 cents a hundred given by one country to give it superior advantages over another will enable it to destroy the products of its rival in the same line; and that is the ground upon which I put my action. It is not protection ground, nor do I perceive any casuistry in it. I think the position taken by Mr. Olney that the favored-nation clause has no reference whatever to a policy of this character is well taken, well considered, and abundantly supported by original reasoning.

Mr. CHANDLER. Mr. President, it is with extreme regret that I shall vote for this clause, but I feel it to be my duty to do so, because I do not believe that otherwise the American policy of protecting the production of sugar in this country can be effectually carried out. I am told, and I fear it is true, that something like commercial warfare will be commenced by Germany against the United States if this policy is persisted in and this clause is adopted.

I am very reluctant to see any such commercial warfare arise between Germany and the United States. I would make a great personal sacrifice to avoid a controversy of this kind, and I may say further that I would be willing to largely sacrifice what would otherwise be the real interests of the United States in order to prevent any friction between the Empire of Germany and the United States of the character indicated. There are special reasons, which I will not name, special events now transpiring, which make it extremely undesirable that there should be any ill feeling growing out of the enactment of the duties imposed by the pending bill between this country and Germany, France, England, or any other European power.

I trust that in the course of time, as the result of diplomatic negotiation and as the result of reciprocal concessions of one kind and another, we may be able to maintain, by reasonable and just tariffs, the principle of protection to American industries and American labor without at the same time seriously or unjustly injuring the industries of foreign countries or creating any ill feeling on the part of the inhabitants or the governments thereof.

But, Mr. President, although such are my sentiments and strong desire, and although I vote for the amendment with extreme hesitancy, I do not see how we can avoid adopting this clause unless we are prepared to abandon the policy of protecting the sugar-producing industry of the United States, which is an avowed object of the bill.

It is true that I can not see how the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. CAFFERY], if he considers the American duty on sugar to be merely a revenue duty, votes for it as such, desires it as such, and desires it for no other reason and on no other account, can care whether there is an export bounty upon German sugar or not, because if this is merely a revenue duty, the more sugar that comes into the country the better; and if a foreign government chooses to pay a bounty to increase our imports of sugar, then upon any given rate of duty we certainly get more revenue—the more bounty the foreign government pays.

But when we come to the question of protection, the case is different. It is manifest that if protection is to be accomplished by imposing duties in the United States upon foreign products that shall equalize conditions of production to the home producers of any article of merchandise, and a particular duty is imposed for that purpose, or as one of the objects of imposing it, and in any foreign country an export bounty shall be paid upon that article, then the cost to the foreign producer as against the home producer is reduced just so much, and the equalizing of conditions has failed.

Apply the principle in this case. Manifestly if there is an export bounty upon German sugar, then the producer of German sugar has an advantage over every producer of sugar in every other country who wants to send it to the United States. He has the same advantage over the home producer, the producer of sugar in Louisiana or in Nebraska. Our tariff duty as a protective duty is imperfect unless, in the case of products coming from a country which gives an export bounty, we add to the duty which is charged upon such products of other countries a further duty equal to the export bounty so given by the foreign country.

Mr. President, that point is perfectly clear. It is the principle which is embodied in this new section 3. It applies to all countries and all products alike upon which export bounties are given, and its adoption is an inevitable and unavoidable result of the imposition of a duty for protection—one which protectionists can not fail to vote for; one, however, that I am free to concede it may be difficult for those who vote for duties for revenue purposes only to vote for, but which I am glad to see such Senators vote for whatever may be the motives which influence them, or the theoretical or intellectual or casuistical reasons which they give for their conduct.

I will not undertake to discuss the question which has been raised by the Senator from Delaware [Mr. GRAY]—there are opinions both ways—whether as the case stands Germany will have any right to complain because we impose this countervailing duty. I do not believe that Germany will have any just grounds for complaint. It is as surely a domestic question which we are dealing with as the question of an export bounty on German sugar is a domestic question for Germany.

How it can be claimed, when that export bounty is given for the purpose, as everyone knows, of stimulating the exportation of German sugar to the United States, that it is a mere domestic question of Germany in which we have no right to interfere, without at the same time admitting that the question whether we shall put a countervailing duty upon sugar which comes from countries that give export bounties is also only a domestic

question of the United States into which Germany has no right to interpose, I can not conceive.

I believe that in the near future all these controversies will be amicably arranged between the two Governments of Germany and the United States. Moreover, I believe that the policy of reciprocity as to customs duties, which is to be again revived in the United States by the provisions of the pending bill, will result in such negotiations and such commercial treaties with foreign countries that all friction shall disappear and that there may be no commercial warfare between this country and any other country.

Mr. President, I close as I began by saying that there are special reasons why I regret to be obliged to vote for this provision, but they are reasons which must give way in the face of the fact that the protection of American sugar, whether beet sugar or cane sugar or any other kind of sugar, can not be made effectual according to the controlling principle of the bill unless the countervailing duty provided for in the clause so carefully and faithfully and satisfactorily drawn by the Committee on Finance shall be adopted.

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. President, it occurs to me that this countervailing duty is the one undisguised protective feature in the sugar-tax provision. There is no pretense that it is levied for revenue. If it were levied for revenue, then we would ascertain what the highest countervailing duty should be and we would put it on all sugars, but the committee admit, by the framework of their bill, that there is no necessity for imposing upon sugar this additional tax, unless it be to meet the export bounty paid by other governments to their sugar exporters, and thereby to protect the American sugar interest against the cheap sugar which these exporters would bring here and put upon the American market. There is no escape from it.

It is protection pure and simple, and it is resorted to for no other purpose, and can be explained upon no other hypothesis, than that it is to protect the American sugar industry against the unfair competition of the foreign sugar raisers who receive a bounty of 28 or 38 cents a hundred upon the exported sugars.

Mr. CHANDLER. Will the Senator from Kentucky allow me?

Mr. LINDSAY. Certainly.

Mr. CHANDLER. I frankly admit that it is protection, but I insist that it is within the Senator's well-known principle; it is incidental protection in connection with a revenue duty.

Mr. LINDSAY. No; it is not incidental. It is direct. It is intended to protect. This provision is not intended to raise revenue, and would not have been incorporated in the bill except for the fact that foreign governments do pay export bounties. A Senator suggests to me that it is in the law now. I do not say it is not in the law now, but I say it is a protective duty in the law as it stands, pure, simple, undisguised, and unmitigated.

Mr. CHANDLER. I do not care about the adjectives, if the Senator will only put in "incidental." Here is a duty upon sugar of nearly 2 cents a pound, and, incidental to that, we complete the idea of protection by putting on this countervailing duty on German sugar. It is just as clearly within the Senator's principle of incidental protection to American products, which he has laid down so often in this Senate, as any duty there is in the bill. The main duty is voted for by Senators upon the other side of the Chamber as a revenue duty. Now, incidental to that we make the protection complete to the American sugar by putting on the countervailing duty, and I dislike to see the Senator apply his great powers to an attempt to make a point which is too infinitesimally small to be perceived.

Mr. LINDSAY. The incidental-protection idea which the Senator from New Hampshire has so often without warrant imputed to me can be found in this bill up to $1.75 on the 100 pounds. That may be claimed to be a revenue duty, and it also incidentally protects the American sugar raiser, but the 20 cents that follows between the $1.75 and $1.95 is not a revenue duty at all, but a bounty to the sugar refiners, and the provision which we are now discussing is intended to be a protective duty, to protect the American sugar raiser against what is deemed to be unfair competition brought about by the action of the German Government.

When my friend from Louisiana [Mr. CAFFERY] says that it is our duty to protect the American sugar raiser against the action of the German Government in paying this export bounty, he concedes the whole doctrine of protection. What is the doctrine of protection based upon? It is that the pauper labor, resulting from governments maintained on the other side of the water, enables those people to manufacture the things which we desire to use cheaper than we can manufacture them, and that therefore we must protect the American industry against the competition of pauper labor. Suppose Germany, instead of giving an export bounty, had supplied the sugar raisers in Germany with cooly labor from Japan or cooly labor from China. The same argument could be made that the tax must be made higher because the American labor can not compete with the cheap labor thus furnished by the German Government to assist its people in raising cheap sugar.

I had hoped, in view of the fact that nothing could induce the other side to abandon the 20 cents protection to the sugar trust, which is a bounty pure and simple, that by the defeat of this proposition we might at least neutralize the advantage thereby given to the unholy combination, and now I find that Senators on this side say this is a proper duty; that it is a duty which may be maintained from the Democratic standpoint of a tariff for revenue, when nobody pretends that it is proposed for reveuue, but altogether for protection.

The Senator from Alabama [Mr. MORGAN] claims that reciprocity treaties are based upon the conditions existing at the time the treaties are entered into, and that changed conditions relieve the obligations of the governments incurred by such contracts of reciprocity. How far do the conditions have to change before one government is relieved of the obligations it has undertaken with another? All manufacturing and all the avenues of industry are open to improvement each day. Are we to say that the methods by which you produce the article upon which we propose to levy an additional tax have so changed that we are not bound to carry out the contract?

Who is to determine the time when the conditions have so changed that the contract ceases to bind? I say that if we have bound ourselves to admit Prussian articles of commerce upon as low a rate as we admit those of any other country, it does not lie in our mouths to say that Prussian conditions have so improved that she can undersell our own people unless we discriminate against her. If we wish to get rid of the treaty, let us go at it in a straightforward manner. Do not let us disregard the treaty by passing acts of Congress clearly in conflict with it.

It is a domestic question with Germany whether she will pay an export bounty, and it is a domestic question with us whether we will impose a retaliatory duty upon the articles which come from Germany, just as it is a domestic question whether we shall levy a tariff for revenue or a tariff for protection. But if the Constitution forbids our levying a tariff for protection, as the Democrats insist it does, then the treaty forbids us to levy a duty for the purpose of retaliating against a country which we have agreed shall not be retaliated against by imposing duties upon her products higher than those we impose upon the products of other nations.

I can understand why France, a protective-tariff country, will resort to these retaliatory duties. I can understand why gentlemen on the other side who believe in the doctrine of protecting American industries may resort to those retaliatory dutics. But I do not understand how gentlemen who hold to the doctrine that the power to tax is limited by the Constitution to taxing for revenue only and for public purposes alone can justify this attempt to violate the treaty with a sister nation in order that we may meet the advantages which she has secured through her domestic policy.

Mr. GRAY. Before the Senator from Kentucky sits down, I will state that undoubtedly it is within the competence of Congress to pass this legislation. We can repeal the treaty in whole or in part. There is no doubt about that. But it is none the less a violation of express language of the treaty, and it subjects us to the criticism to which any country is subjected that does violate it.

Mr. LINDSAY. Oh, yes; we can violate the treaty just in the way we insist our friends on the other side persistently violate the Constitution. But while we may abrogate, we have no right to violate the treaty any more than we have right to violate the constitutional limitation.

Mr. CAFFERY. Mr. President, it occurs to me that my friend from Kentucky has used a great deal of casuistry to bring a doctrine unconnected with tariff, unconnected with revenue, under his sharp criticism on tariff lines. Even upon the doctrine of absolute free trade the position that I occupy is defensible. Free trade is that natural conditions among men and nations ought not to be interfered with by legislative action; that natural advantages possessed by one country ought not to be offset by artificial aids afforded by another.

On the doctrine of free trade there is a free interchange of commodities, one nation exchanging what it can produce cheaper and better for that which another nation can produce cheaper and better. But in order to disprove and overthrow the principle of self-preservation as against a violation of free trade, against the doctrine of free exchange, the Senator from Kentucky injects the argument and the criticism that whoever sustains the principle of self-preservation is therefore a protectionist.

Mr. LINDSAY. I will ask the Senator, with his permission, whether levying a tax for the preservation of a particular industry is not a tax for the protection of that industry?

Mr. CAFFERY. Not in the sense of protection according to the Republican idea.

Sir, when you oppose, as against England or any country in the

world, the artificial barrier of a protective wall against the interchange of products between England and the United States that would naturally flow between them, then you violate the doctrine of free exchange. But the case is entirely different when free-trade relations are interfered with, and under guise of bounty a trade war is inaugurated. Any nation that will sit down and leave its people to be destroyed, not according to the law of free exchange, but according to the laws of destruction, and in violation of all trade laws, is forgetful of its duties to its own citizens.

When a tax is resorted to, not as a method of building up industries, but as a means to prevent your own industries from being destroyed by a country violating the law of free trade and free exchange, then the tax is, in my opinion, justifiable.

Suppose, for instance, that exchanges can flow between two countries that are on a free-trade basis, and one country gives an export bounty to its produce over that of another, what does that mean? That is not only violative of the law of free exchange, but it is destructive of the country against which the export bounty is leveled. It is not trade; it is war; it is destruction. Free trader as I am, I am not prepared to see the industries of my country destroyed by export bounties given by other countries. When I oppose those doctrines and when I oppose such duties, I uphold the laws of free trade; I put a brake, a barrier, against the violation of the law of free exchange, which is free trade.

The difficulty does not arise in cases where the products on which an export bounty is given are not produced in the country to which they are exported. In that case that country enjoys all the benefits of the mistaken policy. But when there is an equality of production, and sometimes the lines of production verge very near together, is it possible that in violation of all laws of self-defense we are to sit down and permit ourselves to be ruined by export bounties?

We oppose any violation of the correct law of exchange when we place a retaliatory duty upon export bounties which would ruin us. That is my position. It is not grounded upon tariff. It is a law of self-preservation. There is no parallel between giving an artificial aid by government in the shape of a large export bounty and of pretended protection against pauper labor.

Labor conditions are natural conditions; soil conditions, climate conditions, are natural conditions. I contend that you can not equalize these conditions by legislation. But there is an artificial condition created by export bounties, which can only be neutralized by legislation. Here is a bonus paid. Here is a powerful government determined on the destruction of the trade of its neighbor in a production in which they are about on an equality, and I submit that the position I take is sustained not only upon the doctrine of the freest exchange, but precisely in accordance with that doctrine.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the committee.

Mr. BACON. On that I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. GEAR (when his name was called). I am paired with the senior Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH], and withhold my vote. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. PLATT of New York (when his name was called). I am paired with the senior Senator from New York [Mr. MURPHY], and therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. PRITCHARD (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from South Carolina [Mr. MCLAURIN].

Mr. THURSTON (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the senior Senator from South Carolina [Mr. TILLMAN]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. VEST (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. NELSON]. If he were present, I should vote "nay."

Mr. WARREN (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Washington [Mr. TURNER].

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. CHILTON (after having voted in the negative). I voted through inadvertence. I am paired with the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MCBRIDE], and withdraw my vote.

Mr. MILLS (after having voted in the negative). I desire to inquire if the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. GALLINGER] has voted?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. He has not voted.

Mr. MILLS. Then I withdraw my vote. I am paired with that Senator.

Mr. CLARK (after having voted in the affirmative). Has the junior Senator from Kansas [Mr. HARRIS] voted?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. He has not voted.

Mr. CLARK. Being paired with that Senator, I withdraw my vote.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. FAULKNER). The Chair will state that he is paired with the Senator from West Virginia (Mr. ELKINS], and therefore withholds his vote.

Mr. MANTLE. I wish to inquire if it is still understood that the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. PETTIGREW] remains paired with the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. DAVIS], as announced last evening?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair can not give the Senator from Montana any information on the subject.

Mr. WHITE. Has the Senator from Idaho [Mr. SHOUP] voted?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. He has not voted, the Chair is informed.

Mr. WHITE. I am paired with that Senator, and withhold my vote.

Mr. TURPIE. I am paired with the senior Senator from Minnesota [Mr. DAVIS].

Mr. TELLER. That pair has been transferred to the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. PETTIGREW].

Mr. TURPIE. Has the senior Senator from Minnesota voted?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The senior Senator from Minnesota has not voted, the Chair is informed.

Mr. BERRY. My colleague [Mr. JONES of Arkansas] seems to be absent from the Chamber at this time. If he were here, he would vote "nay."

The result was announced—yeas 33, nays 19; as follows:

YEAS—33.

Allen,	Foraker,	Lodge,	Sewell,
Allison,	Frye,	McEnery,	Spooner,
Baker,	Hale,	McMillan,	Stewart,
Burrows,	Hanna,	Morgan,	Wellington,
Caffery,	Hansbrough,	Penrose,	Wetmore,
Carter,	Hawley,	Perkins,	Wilson.
Chandler,	Hoar,	Platt, Conn.	
Cullom,	Jones, Nev.	Proctor,	
Fairbanks,	Kyle,	Quay,	

NAYS—19.

Bacon,	Daniel,	Mantle,	Rawlins,
Bate,	Gray,	Martin,	Roach,
Berry,	Kenney,	Mitchell,	Teller,
Clay,	Lindsay,	Pasco,	Walthall.
Cockrell,	Mallory,	Pettus,	

NOT VOTING—37.

Aldrich,	Gear,	Mills,	Tillman,
Butler,	George,	Morrill,	Turner,
Cannon,	Gorman,	Murphy,	Turpie,
Chilton,	Harris, Kans.	Nelson,	Vest,
Clark,	Harris, Tenn.	Pettigrew,	Warren,
Davis,	Heitfeld,	Platt, N. Y.	White,
Deboe,	Jones, Ark.	Pritchard,	Wolcott.
Elkins,	McBride,	Shoup,	
Faulkner,	McLaurin,	Smith,	
Gallinger,	Mason,	Thurston,	

So the amendment of the committee was agreed to.

Mr. MILLS. I desire to move now to strike that provision from the bill. The amendment of the committee has been adopted in lieu of the text of the bill from the House, and it is now in order to move to strike it from the bill.

Mr. ALLISON. Although that is nominally true, it is not a provision that relates to the subject-matter of the House section. I now intend to propose a section which is to be a substitute for the House provision as respects reciprocal trade with other countries.

Mr. MILLS. But I am after the bounty provision. I want to strike that from the bill.

Mr. GRAY. The countervailing duty.

Mr. ALLISON. Very well. I only suggest to the Senator that if he wishes to strike that from the bill he do so without reference to the text of section 3 as it comes to us from the House.

Mr. MILLS. I want to strike from the bill just what you have had put in the bill.

Mr. ALLISON. I supposed we had just taken a vote on that subject and put it in.

Mr. MILLS. No; we did not. We took a vote on your substitute for the House provision. Under parliamentary law you had a right to perfect the section before a motion to strike it out could be entertained.

Mr. ALLISON. Nominally that is true.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair understands the motion was to strike out and insert, or to insert a new section, and that has been adopted by the Senate. In either case a motion to strike that out would not be in order at this time, but it would be in order in the Senate.

Mr. MILLS. I think it is parliamentary law to permit the friends of a measure to perfect it before you can move to strike it out. It would not have been in order for me to move to strike out the section from the bill until the friends had perfected the section to suit themselves. I think there is no question about that. I have waited for the provision to be perfected.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair will state that the Chair understands this to be an entirely new section. The amendment offered by the committee is a new section.

Mr. MILLS. The motion of the Senator from Iowa was to strike out all of section 3, as has been done, clear down to section 4, and substitute what he sent up, which is now section 3 of the bill.

Mr. ALLISON. That was not my purpose. I may have used that phraseology. It is my purpose to substitute for section 3 of the House bill an amendment which I shall now send to the desk. The section, as respects countervailing duties, is a separate and independent section. If the Senator desires to take another vote on the question, I would rather do it than debate it very long.

Mr. MILLS. I have some remarks to make, but I can reserve them.

Mr. ALLISON. I will offer the amendment if this matter is disposed of.

Mr. WHITE. If the Senator from Iowa will permit me to make a suggestion, I understood the Senator from Texas to say that he wishes to make some remarks in connection with the matter.

Mr. MILLS. Everything is free here. I can do so hereafter.

Mr. WHITE. The Senator can make his remarks in connection with the other matter.

Mr. ALLISON. Certainly; that is all very well. I have no objection to that; or I will yield now if the Senator desires.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If the Senator from Texas has yielded the floor, the amendment offered by the Senator from Iowa will be read.

Mr. ALLISON. It is to be a substitute for the text of section 3, stricken from the bill by the committee. It will be section 2½. We have already adopted the other section.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. It can be made section blank, and the clerks can renumber the sections. The amendment submitted by the Senator from Iowa will be read.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to strike out section 3 of the bill and in lieu thereof to insert:

SEC. —. That whenever the President of the United States, by or with the advice and consent of the Senate, with a view to secure reciprocal trade with foreign countries, shall, within the period of two years from and after the passage of this act, enter into commercial treaty or treaties with any other country or countries concerning the admission into any such country or countries of the goods, wares, and merchandise of the United States and their use and disposition therein, deemed to be for the interests of the United States, and in such treaty or treaties, in consideration of the advantages accruing to the United States therefrom, shall provide for the reduction during a specified period, not exceeding five years, of the duties imposed by this act, to the extent of not more than 20 per cent thereof, upon such goods, wares, or merchandise as may be designated therein of the country or countries with which such treaty or treaties shall be made as in this section provided for; or shall provide for the transfer during such period from the dutiable list of this act to the free list thereof of such goods, wares, and merchandise, being the natural products of such foreign country or countries and not of the United States; or shall provide for the retention upon the free list of this act during a specified period, not exceeding five years, of such goods, wares, and merchandise now included in said free list as may be designated therein; and when any such treaty shall have been duly ratified, and public proclamation made accordingly, then and thereafter the duties which shall be collected by the United States upon any of the designated goods, wares, and merchandise from the foreign country with which such treaty has been made shall, during the period provided for, be the duties specified and provided for in such treaty, and none other.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair will call the attention of the Senator from Iowa to the statement he made in offering the amendment. The Senator said that he understood it to be a substitute for the third section as reported to the bill as it came from the House of Representatives; but the Senator means, as the Chair supposes, to move to strike out section 3 as it appears in the House bill, and then to substitute the section he has offered.

Mr. ALLISON. That is my motion.

Mr STEWART. Mr. President, I have very grave doubt about the propriety of any commercial treaties. I believe the United States would be better off by having a law containing a simple provision authorizing the President to give notice for one year, and then to abrogate all commercial treaties. The proposed course will only embarrass the Administration, and can work no good. We started out in the beginning without commercial treaties; we passed laws which were beneficial to the United States; and some of those laws are still on the statute books. I believe that the leading provision of the first tariff law is still retained in all the tariff statutes. If I recollect, that provision gives a drawback in the way of a rebate on goods carried in American ships. That extended our shipping industry very much.

Under commercial treaties many complications arise, and I believe the time will soon come when we shall repeal all such treaties. A good deal of irritation, in my opinion, will result from giving authority to the President to make these special bargains all along the line. I do not think any good will come of it. I believe the United States should take the high ground that commerce should take care of itself. We should not attempt to pass general laws in relation to the conduct and conditions of other nations. This is a matter which would be governed necessarily by the law of self-interest. Commerce will take care of itself if you do not trammel it with commercial treaties.

That is my best judgment, so far as I have been able to study the subject. Perhaps my judgment is immature on this matter; but the more I study it, the more I am confirmed in my view that we should repeal all commercial treaties and let commerce regulate itself. When the world is sufficiently civilized, they will regulate trade according to the highest interests of all countries. I think the time will come when all commercial treaties will be abrogated and business will be conducted between nations as it is between men, on the basis of self-interest and without regard to special bargains.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment submitted by the Committee on Finance.

Mr. VEST. Mr. President, I never believed that Congress had the right to delegate the treaty-making power to the Executive. I would advance that opinion with some diffidence but for the very high Republican authority and legal authority that sustains me in that position. I have in my hand a pamphlet copy of a speech made by the Hon. William M. Evarts on September 8, 1890, in which I think he proved conclusively—and it has never been successfully controverted—that the Senate of the United States could not abdicate its treaty-making power and give that right exclusively to the President. In the conclusion of this very able address, which is all I shall read of it, Mr. Evarts said:

Mr. President, I have said all that I need to say. We have nothing to do with the question of equivalents by treaty. We have nothing to do with the question of authority to the President to ascertain and act upon events which Congress defines as in the region of shipping. We are saying to the President, "We have taken certain articles out of the duty and revenue scheme and made them free; when you find that other countries, all the countries that come within the purview of hides or sugar or coffee, in all the scheme and range of their tariff system and of ours do not give us a good quid pro quo, then you can reimpose the duties."

Mr. Evarts then goes on to say that he can not subscribe to this doctrine, that he believes that the treaty-making power rests with the Senate of the United States and the President, and that we can not delegate to the President exclusively our discretion as to what treaties shall be made with foreign countries.

Mr. President, I shall not undertake to elaborate this proposition. It is to me self-evident. If we can give to the President the exclusive right to make treaties as to revenue without consulting the Senate, we can do the same thing as to any other question, and the delegation of the Constitution of the United States of the treaty-making power to the President and the Senate is absolutely nullified and goes for nothing.

Mr. ALLISON. Do I understand the Senator from Missouri contends that this confers power upon the President?

Mr. VEST. That is just exactly what this amendment says.

Mr. HOAR. Oh, no.

Mr. ALLISON. It is intended to confer power upon the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, and I have already modified the amendment so as to insert those words.

Mr. WHITE. The power rests there anyhow.

Mr. ALLISON. Undoubtedly it would, under the phraseology of the Constitution, in my judgment.

Mr. VEST. I did not hear any amendment proposed by the Senator from Iowa, and I read from the text of the bill. There is nothing about the advice and consent of the Senate in the print of the amendment I have before me, which reads:

That whenever the President of the United States, with a view to secure reciprocal trade with foreign countries, shall, within the period of two years from and after the passage of this act, enter into commercial treaty, etc.

Mr. ALLISON. I modified the amendment before offering it by inserting in line 2, after the words "United States," the words "by and with the advice and consent of the Senate."

Mr. VEST. I did not hear any such amendment.

Mr. ALLISON. I supposed the Senator understood it.

Mr. CHANDLER. I understand the amendment originally meant the same thing. It says, "When any such treaty shall have been duly ratified," then certain things shall take effect, which undoubtedly meant ratification by the Senate. That was the understanding.

Mr. VEST. There is nothing in the amendment originally presented which says anything about that.

Mr. COCKRELL. Let the amendment be read as proposed.

Mr. CHANDLER. It says "duly ratified."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment as proposed by the Senator from Iowa will be stated.

The Secretary read as follows:

That whenever the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, with a view to secure reciprocal trade with foreign countries, shall, within the period of two years from and after the passage of this act, enter into commercial treaty or treaties with any other country or countries concerning the admission into any such country or countries of the goods, wares, and merchandise of the United States and their use and disposition therein, deemed to be for the interests of the United States, and in such treaty or treaties, in consideration of the advantages accruing to the United States therefrom, shall provide for the reduction during a specified period, not exceeding five years, of the duties imposed by this act, to the extent of not more than 20 per cent thereof, upon such goods, wares, or merchandise as may be designated therein of the country or countries with which such treaty or treaties shall be made as in this section provided for; or shall provide for the transfer during such period from the dutiable list of this act to the free list thereof of such goods, wares, and merchandise, being the natural products of such foreign country or countries and not of the United States; or shall provide for the retention upon the free list of this act during a specified period, not exceeding five years, of such goods, wares, and merchandise now included in said free list as may be designated therein; and when any such treaty shall have been duly ratified, and public proclamation made accordingly, then and thereafter the duties which shall be collected by

the United States upon any of the designated goods, wares, and merchandise from the foreign country with which such treaty has been made shall, during the period provided for, be the duties specified and provided for in such treaty, and none other.

Mr. VEST. The words "by and with the advice and consent of the Senate" have been interpolated since this amendment was printed, and I was out of the Senate at the time it was done.

Mr. MILLS. I desire to say, further, that the President and the Senate can not by treaty contract away the revenues of this Government without the consent of the House of Representatives.

Mr. SPOONER. We do not try to do it by this amendment.

Mr. VEST. As a matter of course, the amendment which the Senator from Iowa has added to the printed amendment answers to some extent the objection which I had made, but the Senator from Texas [Mr. MILLS] states another very serious objection, and that is, can the Senate of the United States, or can Congress, take the taxing power, the power to regulate the revenues of the Government, entirely away from the House of Representatives? Can we by any legislation abolish the revenue power of the House of Representatives? The framers of the Constitution were particularly anxious to preserve the feature that all revenue bills should originate in the popular branch of Congress.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President, if the Senator from Missouri will permit me, this Government in the Hawaiian treaty did that identical thing; and when the matter of abrogation was referred to the Finance Committee of the Senate in 1883, if I recollect aright, in a minority report of the committee, signed by Senators ALDRICH, Voorhees, and MORRILL, the position now taken by the Senator from Missouri was adopted by the gentlemen then constituting the minority of that committee; but the Hawaiian treaty did that very thing. I am not speaking of the policy of it, but simply the practice. I think it is a very poor practice.

Mr. MILLS. The Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives took the same position, and refused to ratify the treaty.

Mr. ALLISON. If the Senator from Missouri will allow me, if he will scrutinize this amendment a little more closely he will see that this is a legislative provision which limits the treaty-making power between 1 and 20 per cent of duties that are levied upon goods.

Mr. WHITE. If I do not interrupt the Senator from Missouri too much, let me suggest to the Senator from Iowa that if the treaty-making power has jurisdiction over this matter at all, it is not subject to legislative limitation.

Mr. ALLISON. But, Mr. President, if the Senator from Missouri will yield to me just a moment more, the criticism the Senator from Missouri now makes is that it is not within the power of the President and the Senate to make treaties which will change the law as to the rates of duty; that that is a legislative power. We can do that certainly at one time as well as at another, and we propose to do that now in this bill, so that when the treaty-making power shall have been exerted, the legislative power gives the authority to provide a change of these duties, which shall become operative when the treaty is operative.

Mr. SPOONER. It provides it itself.

Mr. ALLISON. It provides it itself, and it is a law.

Mr. HOAR. If the Senator from Missouri will allow me to state to him a proposition for his consideration——

Mr. VEST. Yes.

Mr. HOAR. Is not this simply an enactment by the National Legislature that whenever a certain treaty shall have been made a certain law shall take effect and be in force?

Mr. ALLISON. That is well stated by the Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. VEST. I hardly think so, Mr. President.

Mr. LINDSAY. Just the reverse.

Mr. VEST. Here is a proposition, as I understand it, in the first place to exercise the treaty-making power, and, in order to obviate the first objection I made, the Senator from Iowa has amended his amendment so as to put in the ratification of the Senate. That, as a matter of course, is a resort to the treaty-making power. Now it is attempted to go further and to meet the other objection as to the revenue power of the House of Representatives by resorting to the legislative power of Congress, or both Houses conjointly with the approbation of the President. It seems to me that the limitation here as to 20 per cent does not change the argument at all. If the principle which I have announced be a correct one, then it does not matter at all in regard to the amount of revenue that is to be affected.

But, Mr. President, I was proceeding to say, and intended to say, that even if there be no legal, constitutional objection to the exercise of this commercial treaty-making power—for I take it that is what it is, although now the legislative power of the House of Representatives has been interpolated as an auxiliary agent—even if we have the unquestioned power, I believe that it would be absolutely nugatory under existing circumstances.

I do not believe that after a declaration of commercial war, such as we make in the pending bill when we have put duties up to 57 per cent higher than the McKinley rate, higher than any tariff ever enacted in any civilized country—when, in the face of treaties made by Japan, by Germany, and by the South American States, whose trade we have been exceedingly anxious to obtain—when we have done this in the face of their protests, I do not believe that we can wipe it all away by reciprocal treaties.

The principal delegate from the Argentine Republic, in addressing the Board of Commerce at Cincinnati the other day, declared that his country would make no reciprocal treaty with the United States if this tariff bill should be enacted; and he used the words which I used a few minutes ago: "It is a declaration of war. You have put a duty upon wool; you have put a duty upon hides; and you now come to us and want to make a reciprocal treaty in the face of this declaration of commercial war placed upon your statute books." Do you believe that Germany and Japan will make any reciprocal treaty with this country, when we have assailed directly and conspicuously every interest which they have commercially?

Mr. President, we have had a peculiar history in regard to this matter of reciprocity——

Mr. HOAR. May I ask the Senator how this bill assails the Argentine Republic by a duty on hides or wool any more than the bill framed by the Senator three years ago assailed Cuba or Spain by a duty on sugar?

Mr. VEST. I think that bill did—that is my answer to that—and Spain so considered it.

Mr. HOAR. I did not ask how Spain considered it. I asked the honorable Senator to distinguish——

Mr. VEST. I will answer the Senator, in the language of the delegate from Argentina, that their principal interests were in selling to us their wool and their hides, and we have put a duty upon those articles.

Mr. HOAR. The principal interest of Cuba was selling sugar to us, and you put a duty on that article.

Mr. VEST. Nobody who voted for that duty upon sugar pretended that we were then doing anything to secure the good will, commercially, of Spain or of any of her colonies. If, in order to pass the balance of the bill in 1894, we were willing to put the duty upon sugar which was imposed, that was a question of adjustment. We assumed the responsibility and did not shirk from the consequences.

I am now talking not about a theory, but a status, a condition. I am quoting from the representatives of these very countries as to how they look upon this tariff bill and what are the chances now of friendly commercial treaties with those people, all of whose interests we have attacked. Whether we are right in attacking them or not the Republican party will defend before the people of the country hereafter. We shall not evade that issue, but, on the contrary, I am prepared to say that we shall welcome it. I am talking now about a status, a condition, a consequence of what we shall have done when this bill is enacted.

Mr. President, we have had rather a strange history in regard to this reciprocity question. In 1890 Mr. Blaine, who was then Secretary of State, inaugurated a plan for reciprocal relations with all the countries of the American Continent. The senior Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE], who I see before me, introduced into the Senate an amendment to the McKinley bill, which he said at the time was drawn in the State Department by Mr. Blaine, and that provided for reciprocal relations with all the countries, as I have said, of the Western Hemisphere, and of course included Canada.

The very minute that that amendment was introduced the tocsin of war was sounded in New England, and the New England Senators said, "You can not put any such amendment as that in this bill, because it is inimical to the interests of the New England States," or words to that effect. The amendment was referred to the Committee on Finance, of which the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH] now absent was a conspicuous and active member, and he drew what is known as the Aldrich amendment, found in the McKinley Act of 1890. That amendment struck out Canada, and provided that reciprocal relations should be had alone with the American countries south of us. That was the provision of the McKinley Act. This amendment is better in that regard.

Mr. HALE. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Missouri yield to the Senator from Maine?

Mr. VEST. Certainly.

Mr. HALE. I recall the circumstances very plainly, as there was some controversy and considerable newspaper discussion upon the amendment originally introduced by me, which was prepared in the State Department by the then Secretary of State, Mr. Blaine, as being antagonized by the Aldrich amendment. I know that the then Secretary of State was very keenly interested in the passage of the Aldrich amendment; he was in no degree hostile to

it, and was greatly gratified when it passed, although it passed by a close vote in the Senate. The matter was discussed here on the floor. I took some part in the discussion, and stated then that the amendment which I offered was not in any degree considered as perfect.

I may say further, bearing upon what the Senator from Missouri has just stated, that there never was any intention of applying the provisions of the amendment to Canada. I never so intended, and did not consider that its provisions included Canada.

Mr. HOAR. The Senator will allow me to refresh his recollection. I remember very distinctly that he used the phrase, when introducing the amendment, that it was "a skeleton amendment."

Mr. HALE. Yes; it was not intended as much more than what may be called a blazing the way for a reciprocity provision; and when it was considered fully by the committee, and the amendment was reported and passed by almost a tie vote here, it was considered thoroughly satisfactory, both by those who supported the bill and the Secretary of State; and I know that in introducing the amendment I considered that the Aldrich amendment carried out the main proposition which was intended when I originally introduced the amendment. There was no antagonism between the two.

Mr. LINDSAY. Will the Senator permit me to ask him a question?

Mr. HALE. Yes.

Mr. LINDSAY. Why was not that amendment intended to apply to Canada as well as to the South American countries?

Mr. HALE. Mr. President, the conditions that apply, for instance, to southern countries, of producing things which we do not produce, or of our sending to them those things that they do not produce, in no degree apply to Canada. Precisely the reverse condition applies to Canada. She competes with us at our doors, in our very lines of production; and it never was intended, it never was for a moment thought of—I would not for a moment have considered or harbored the idea—that the reciprocity feature was to apply to Canada.

Mr. LINDSAY. I understand this proposed amendment does apply to Canada.

Mr. VEST. Of course; it applies to any country.

Mr. TURPIE. I inquire of the Senator from Maine whether, in relation to Canada, the exclusion of that country was not largely influenced by the fact that we had negotiated a reciprocity treaty with Canada, concluded for twenty years and in operation for five years, which was terminated by notice from the Government of the United States at the end of five years, for the reason that it had been during all the time of its operation a dead loss to the interests of our own country? Was not that one of the reasons why Canada was not included in the reciprocity arrangement of which the Senator from Maine speaks?

Mr. VEST. Mr. President, I will ask the Senator from Maine, if he has no objection, whether the amendment which he brought here in 1890 as coming from the State Department did not authorize the President to make his proclamation of reciprocity with all countries of the Western Hemisphere?

Mr. HALE. But not to all provinces or dependent people in all countries. I never held nor believed that that amendment would apply to Canada. It was to apply to independent countries, and Canada is a dependency. We can make no treaty with Canada. We can make reciprocity treaties with the Argentine Republic, with Brazil, with Guatemala, with Mexico, and other independent countries. The whole theory of the amendment was to make reciprocity treaties with such countries. You can not make a treaty with Canada. It is not a country with which you can make a treaty, and therefore it was not included in the original proposition.

Mr. VEST. Mr. President, I hold in my hand a speech which I made in 1890 upon this question, to which I refer for the purpose of refreshing my memory, and I see that I quote in it the two amendments which were proposed by the Senator as coming from the State Department, and then the Aldrich amendment, as it was known, which is the third section of the McKinley Act. I stated then upon the floor of the Senate:

> The most superficial examination of the two amendments will show the radical and irreconcilable difference.
>
> The original amendment opens the ports of the United States to all products of any nation of the American hemisphere on which no export duties are charged, so long as such nation admits free of all duties the articles of American production and manufacture named in the amendment.
>
> The Aldrich amendment confines reciprocity to countries producing and exporting sugars, molasses, tea, coffee, and hides, and leaves the President to determine whether the duties imposed by such countries, including export duties, are reciprocally unjust and unreasonable.

Now, if it is necessary, these two amendments can be placed in juxtaposition, and they will fully carry out the statement I made then and repeat now. For the first time to-day I have heard from the Senator from Maine that it was not intended to include Canada.

Mr. HALE. Does the Senator remember the language of the proposition?

> And the President of the United States is hereby authorized, without further legislation, to declare the ports of the United States free and open to all products of any nation of the American hemisphere.

Mr. VEST. It is very well known that Canada makes her own tariff laws.

Mr. HALE. You can make no treaty with Canada. She is not a nation, and therefore could not have been included.

Mr. VEST. As a matter of course, while Canada might not in her own name have made a treaty with this country, it is very well known that a request from the Canadian Parliament to the effect that they desired to make such a treaty would be respected and carried out by the mother country. The duties imposed to-day in Canada are just as much imposed upon the mother country as upon the United States or any foreign country.

It seems to me, respectfully, simply an evasion to say that that was the meaning of the first amendment that was brought here in 1890. Mr. Blaine never pretended that he put any other construction upon it but that Canada was included. It is true that he afterwards accepted, if not with alacrity, with composure, the modification made by Mr. ALDRICH, because it was better than nothing. We all remember what occurred here.

Mr. HOAR. Will the Senator allow me to interrupt him a moment?

Mr. VEST. Certainly.

Mr. HOAR. Shortly before that proposition of Mr. Blaine's was presented I visited him at the State Department with a very eminent and intelligent Canadian, and Mr. Blaine took down the old reciprocity treaty, which had been abolished, and took the list of the articles and the amounts thereof which were introduced from Canada into this country under it, and showed how those articles consisted wholly, or nearly wholly, of articles that we produced, so that Canada was our competitor, and in my presence he showed this gentleman how impossible practically reciprocity between this country and Canada was. The gentleman went there to talk on the subject, and that was the answer given in my presence.

Mr. VEST. I have no disposition to question the accuracy of the statement made by the Senator from Massachusetts, but I will ask the Secretary to read a statement made in the Senate in 1890 by the senior Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE], to show his construction then of this matter.

The Secretary read as follows:

> As some attempt has been made to show that the original reciprocity amendment received rude treatment at the hands of the Senate, and that its original authors were not considered in the legislation of Congress, I may state here that, after the changed condition resulting from the repeal of nearly all of the sugar duty, the Aldrich amendment was heartily accepted by the friends of the original amendment in the Senate, by the Secretary of State, and by the President. The basis of the original amendment was the retention of the sugar duty till reciprocal treaties could be negotiated. When that basis was changed and the repeal became a fixed fact, it is difficult to see what other plan than the Aldrich amendment could be devised.

Mr. VEST. It is pertinent, unless there was some special object in making the change to the Aldrich amendment, to inquire why it was done. If the original amendment did not include the countries of the Western Hemisphere, including Canada as a country—if that was not the meaning of it, why was it necessary to make the change to the Aldrich amendment and interpolate that in the bill instead of the original amendment?

Mr. HALE. I remember that at the time there were persons, like the Senator from Missouri now, who raised that question, and in order to make it absolutely certain the Aldrich amendment was drawn and duly considered, which met with no hostility from the projectors of the original amendment, but their hearty and earnest support, and left it entirely clear; as I repeat here with emphasis, it was the intention of the original amendment that Canada should not be included in the reciprocity.

Mr. VEST. Whatever may have been the intention, that was the construction put by the country upon the amendment at the time. That was the charge made in the Senate and in the House of Representatives.

President McKinley was then chairman of the Ways and Means Committee of the House. Mr. Blaine appeared before the committee and urged reciprocity, urged the amendment which he had drawn, and which was afterwards introduced in the Senate by the senior Senator from Maine. The amendment was not received in a friendly or hospitable spirit by the Ways and Means Committee of the House. It was rejected upon the ground principally, alleged by the father of protection in the Senate, the Senator from Vermont [Mr. MORRILL], and by Senator Evarts, of New York, that the new doctrine of reciprocity was an innovation and an attack upon the general high protective system of the country.

We all remember the dramatic scene that occurred in the room of the Committee on Appropriations of the Senate, when Mr. Blaine made his unsuccessful trip to the Ways and Means Committee

room in the House of Representatives and on his way back, filled with disappointment and chagrin at the failure of his mission, stopped in the committee room of the Committee on Appropriations of the Senate. Ex-Senator Blackburn, of Kentucky, was in the committee room at the time, with the Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON] I believe, and there was a dramatic account in the papers of the country of what transpired at the time when Mr. Blaine related his unsuccessful attempt to secure reciprocity in the House bill, and, as the papers stated and as eyewitnesses have stated in my presence, in his mortification and rage seized his hat and smashed it on the table, saying the bill would not open a market for an additional barrel of flour or a pound of meat, referring to the bill as it was drawn up in the House of Representatives.

Afterwards, representing the State Department, my friend the senior Senator from Maine introduced the amendment which we have discussed here this morning. It was not acceptable to a majority of the Finance Committee, the Republicans then controlling the Senate, and the Aldrich amendment was brought in as a compromise. As I said before, it was accepted by Mr. Blaine because it was claimed it was the best that could be done.

But, again, our experiment with reciprocity as far as it went under the McKinley Act up to 1894, from 1890, was not successful. I have before me the official report of Mr. Worthington C. Ford as to the operation of the reciprocal arrangement, as it was termed, with the countries with which we had those treaties, first, from 1885 until 1890, before the treaties were made, and the increase in exports to all the countries of South America. During the time from 1885 until 1890, and it is the exports in which we are interested and not the imports, the increase amounted to 40.22 per cent. In 1890 the third section of the McKinley Act was enacted which contained the reciprocal feature, and from 1890 until 1894 the increase in the exports from this country to those countries amounted to only 22.55 per cent, or about one-half.

Here we have now an official and a mathematical statement as to the result of reciprocity. If it be true that these reciprocal commercial treaties will bring to us a large export trade with those countries, why was there not such an increase from 1890 to 1894, when we repealed the reciprocal features of the McKinley Act? Why was it that without those reciprocal treaties from 1885 to 1890 our export trade increased 40 per cent and more against 22 per cent under the reciprocal treaties?

Mr. President, we are attempting to fight successfully against the immutable laws of commerce and of nature. We are attempting to secure trade with South American countries by reciprocal treaties when we have no carrying trade, when our commercial travelers are not amongst those people seeking to know what they want and then fashioning our goods to suit those wants. Year after year our statesmen and politicians complain that the trade of South America goes by our doors and on to England. How does England command it? It commands it by superior enterprise, by immense superiority in the carrying trade. We have no carrying trade. It has dwindled down until it takes a microscope almost to find it. About 12 per cent of the commerce of the United States is carried in American bottoms.

A few years ago I was in Hamburg, the second great port of the world, destined to be the first. With the American consul I went around in his steam launch amongst the ships in the harbor. With 153 steam vessels in the harbor, the American flag was not on a single one of them. You can travel over the oceans of the world, and except upon a war vessel of the United States the Stars and Stripes are not to be discovered. Yet our Republican friends persist in their navigation laws year after year, as an African idolator worships his fetich, declaring that the system must be retained, while year after year our carrying trade is dwindling down, and the other great nations of the world, with their carrying trade, are taking away from us the commerce of these adjacent countries.

It would seem that nature had made the South American States commercially tributary to us. Propinquity and geography have made them our allies commercially, to say nothing of their political affinity, for they are Republics and we are the great exemplar Republic of the world. But their commerce goes by our doors in British ships and is carried to the ports of England, and the English drummers are found in the cities of South America discovering what those people need in the way of prints and cottons and manufactures and agricultural implements, even, of all kinds, and this trade is taken away from us.

Mr. President, I do not believe that this scheme will bring us the commercial relations which we seek to obtain. I do not believe that you can strike down the interests of every people with whom we come in contact and then administer to them this sugared dose of reciprocal commercial treaties.

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. President, the pending amendment provides—

That whenever the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, with a view to secure reciprocal trade with foreign countries, shall, within the period of two years from and after the passage of this act, enter into commercial treaty or treaties with any other country or countries—

Which treaties—

shall provide for the reduction during a specified period, not exceeding five years, of the duties imposed by this act, to the extent of not more than 20 per cent thereof, upon such goods, wares, or merchandise as may be designated therein of the country or countries with which such treaty or treaties shall be made as in this section provided for.

It also declares that the treaty may provide for the retention upon the free list of certain articles put by this bill upon the free list, and then that—

When any such treaty shall have been duly ratified, and public proclamation made accordingly, then and thereafter the duties which shall be collected by the United States upon any of the designated goods, wares, and merchandise from the foreign country with which such treaty has been made shall, during the period provided for, be the duties specified and provided for in such treaty, and none other.

Now we are told that this amounts to a law, and that when certain conditions provided for come about, then this law shall operate as to certain duties and no more shall be collected during the period of the existence of the treaty or that certain articles, for the length of time provided for, shall remain upon the free list, and that the treaties may provide that the reduction of duties shall extend over a period of five years, or that the particular articles shall remain upon the free list for the period of five years.

The Constitution gives no such power to the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. Then, if the President takes any such power, he must receive it in virtue of this act passed by the Senate and House of Representatives and approved by the President or passed over his veto. So we will have this state of case, that the legislative department of the Government will have conferred upon the Executive the power to make treaties he could not make under the Constitution, which treaties may provide that the revenues of the Government shall be controlled by their terms during a period not exceeding five years. If that authority can exist at all, it must exist in virtue of this act of the Congress of the United States; and if it be a power that can be enforced at all, it will rest upon an abdication, during the term of five years, by the two Houses of Congress of the right to legislate upon these subjects of taxation.

Suppose a treaty be made and ratified by the Senate, and next year the House of Representatives conclude that the rates of duties fixed in the treaty are insufficient to raise the necessary revenues, or that they operate to the detriment of the United States in some particular; are we to be told that the power of the House of Representatives to originate bills in regard to taxation and to provide for a different rate of duty has been taken away from the House; that the power reposed in the House by the Constitution has been successfully abdicated or abandoned by and through the mysterious process of such legislation as this?

I believe it was the tariff bill of 1833 which attempted to provide that certain descending rates of duty should prevail during a period of ten years. Mr. Clay was forced to admit that those provisions of the act were only morally, and not legally, binding, and it is known to the country that before the ten years had expired the provisions of the act had been utterly disregarded.

Here we are attempting to do that which could not be done in 1833—to clothe the President and the Senate with the power to suspend the constitutional functions of the House of Representatives and of the Congress of the United States during a period of five years.

If we had the power to do these things, we ought not to exercise that power. Why follow up this bill with provisions for reciprocity? Having turned our backs upon the business world, having made commerce almost a crime, why talk now about restoring natural conditions by a treaty?

We have brought distinguished men from the South American States into our country to consider our great resources, to become acquainted with the possibilities of the future. We entertained them at Philadelphia. We are taking them over the country, and I hold in my hand to-day a newspaper published in the city of Cincinnati containing a graphic picture of the scene which transpired on the Board of Trade of that city less than a week ago. This newspaper tells us that there was plenty of music and enthusiasm and speeches:

The large street flag of the chamber floated gayly in the breeze over the center of Fourth street, while another had been gracefully draped about the rostrum. In one of the archways separating the entrance from the floor proper hung a neat floral ornament. The word "Welcome" appeared in large letters upon a transparent sign, which was surrounded by a heavy frame of bright-colored flowers.

Chairs were arranged for their comfort, and the proceedings were opened by a speech from the president of the Board of Trade, which speech was responded to by the representative of the Argentine Republic, one of those South American countries which in the past has traded with the United States, and which country has bought from us two dollars' for every one dollar's worth of goods

we have bought from Argentina. What does this distinguished man say? Among other things, he said:

Allow me, gentlemen, to make a few remarks in regard to the Argentine Republic, which country I represent here. The imports from the United States to the Argentine Republic in 1896 amounted to the sum of $11,210,475. The exports from the Argentine Republic to the United States amounted to $5,401,963.

THE COMMERCIAL BALANCE.

The official figures show the difference in the commercial balance between your country and mine of $5,000,000 against the Argentine Republic. This balance is produced by the excess of importation from the United States to the Argentine Republic, and the small exportation from the Argentine Republic to the United States.

Now, your petroleum and your agricultural machinery are imported into our country free of duty, your pine wood paying a very small duty, and with us your Congress should have this in mind and treat the Argentine Republic with a certain amount of consideration; but, unfortunately, it has been to the contrary. The two principal products that we export to the United States are wool and hides. We have over 100,000,000 sheep, which produce every year about 250,000,000 kilos of wool, and this article has always been imported into the United States free of duty, the same as we import free of duty your machinery and your petroleum. But now the tariff bill has imposed a prohibitive tax upon our wool. We have been exporting to your country our hides during the past twenty-five years free of duty, but now you have taxed them with 1½ cents per pound, and you can not consider how much this duty will affect our trade when you think we have over 22,000,000 oxen.

On the very day that speech was made by the guest of the country, the Senate was engaged in increasing the duty on hides from 1½ cents per pound to 20 per cent ad valorem, which I understand amounts to a duty of 3 or 4 cents per pound.

The speaker, continuing, said:

We have been treated in an unfriendly manner, and at the same time you submit to us the idea of a reciprocity treaty. I am very sorry to say that under these circumstances the statesmen of the Argentine Republic will not accept any kind of treaties, not only for certain reasons that you can easily understand, but because our productions are exported free of duty to England, France, Germany, Belgium, and Italy, and we receive from Europe all the goods we require, all the capital that we need for our commercial development, and all the immigration necessary to populate our extended territory.

That is the first response we get from South America, from the one country in South America where the balance of trade is in our favor, to the reciprocity clause of this most extraordinary bill.

The Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE] says that in 1890 Canada was not intended to be included, and all during the past two months we have been engaged in the business of excluding the products of Canada from consumption by the American people. Canada is another country where the balance of trade is in our favor. The statistics show that $100,000,000 worth of trade between Canada and the United States was had during the year 1896, and that $33,000,000 covered our imports, while we sold to the Canadians $66,000,000 worth of our goods.

We are to bring prosperity back to the country, we are to build up our commerce, we are to enlarge our merchant marine through a bill like this, and we are told every day that prosperity was broken down, that the country was ruined through the provisions of what is called the Wilson-Gorman bill, which the other side omit no opportunity to denounce as a measure of perfidy and dishonor.

It is a little remarkable that under the operation of the Wilson Act last year——

Mr. HOAR. I am not sure that I understood the Senator from Kentucky. Does he claim that the phrase "a measure of perfidy and dishonor" applied to the Wilson bill is of Republican origin?

Mr. LINDSAY. I did not claim that it originated with the Republicans, but what I do say is that during all this discussion the Republicans have rolled it as a sweet morsel under their tongues.

I do not represent a manufacturing State. The gentlemen across the aisle have the manufacturing interests in their exclusive control. I cut out of the Manufacturer, a Philadelphia periodical devoted to the interests of the manufacturing people, an article which I will now read to the Senate. This is a Republican statement of manufacturing conditions as they exist under the provisions of the Wilson Act:

The figures giving the export trade of the United States for April have just been compiled by the Bureau of Statistics of the Treasury Department. They are again full of encouragement for our manufacturers. During the month we exported manufactured goods to the value of $24,014,318, or 31.56 per cent of the total exports of the month. The manufacturing industries have been advancing month by month in comparison with the farms and mines, the sale of whose products abroad can not keep pace with the great export movement in manufactured goods.

The figures for the ten months ending with April are no less striking. Manufactured merchandise during this period was sent abroad to the value of $224,023,016. Although the percentage is not so great as in the case of the single month, manufactures represent 25.35 per cent of the total exports for the period. Evidence accumulates of the growing popularity of American goods abroad. The enterprise of our manufacturers and merchants in placing them upon foreign markets is compelling the admiration of the world, and the statistics, as they are issued each month by the Government, attest fully enough to the success which this nation is so rapidly achieving in the foreign trade.

The exports of manufactured goods for the fiscal year ending 30th of June will exceed $270,000,000, which is more than was ever exported in any one year under any preceding tariff law.

The pending bill is intended to break down the sale of American manufactured goods in foreign countries and to compel the American people to support the manufacturers of the United States and to abandon this foreign trade. All that we get for the monstrous duties to be levied upon every character of foreign product, all we get for all the pains taken to break down barter with foreign countries, is this unconstitutional provision in the way of a reciprocity clause, which provides, if it provides anything, that, in order that it may be carried out, the House of Representatives, the Congress of the United States, shall be compelled, at the election of the President and the Senate, to abdicate their constitutional power to legislate upon the subject of taxation.

Mr. PETTUS. Mr. President, it seems to me that the proposition announced by the Senator from Texas as an objection to the power of legislation to enact this provision ought to be maturely considered before it is enacted. The power of Congress to make laws no one disputes, provided it is done inside of their delegated authority. No one disputes that the subject of the levying of duties is inside of that power. But it is the Congress that has the power to enact these laws, and it seems to me that the Senator from Texas has the right theory.

The Senator from Massachusetts makes an exception, and it is a well-known exception. We all recognize it. Congress could enact a law which was to terminate upon a certain fixed event. There is no doubt about that. Lawyers would not dispute it. Congress could enact that sugar should pay a tax of 5 per cent ad valorem so long as the United States owed any bonded debt, but that when the bonded debt was paid then the duty should cease. That is entirely a different proposition from the idea that Congress could invest other people with the right to change its laws. It is a different idea altogether. A law, as I have said, can be so framed as to terminate or change on a certain event to happen in the future, but that is an event fixed by the law itself; it does not depend upon the will of another. It is a thing to occur, and when it occurs then the law changes according to its own terms.

Now, what do you propose to do here? It is always best to simplify a law question in order to understand it clearly. I will illustrate what you propose to enact by an example. We levy a tax of 4 per cent ad valorem on hides imported into the United States, but we provide that whenever the President of the United States and the Senate shall see fit they may by treaty repeal that law and put hides on the free list. That is the sum and substance of this provision, except that it goes to all other things.

But I am confining it now to hides merely for the purpose of illustration. You enact that the President and the Senate combined may make a contract by which that law is repealed, and instead of putting a duty of 4 per cent on hides, they shall put hides on the free list. They can not do it. The Constitution of the United States vests the President and the Senate with no such power. The Congress can do it, and nothing but the Congress. Do you propose to repeal a law by the will of anybody less than Congress? No, Mr. President, so long as the Constitution stands the Senator from Texas in a single sentence announced what is necessarily the right conclusion in reference to this enactment.

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. President, if I believed with my colleague that there was any constitutional difficulty in voting for this amendment, I would not hesitate to vote against it, although I think I can see in the amendment itself a possible advantage, probably a very great advantage, to the commerce of the United States, particularly with the Orient and with South America and Central America.

When the McKinley bill was before the Senate and that reciprocity provision was in it, I made—but of course not in so clear a way as the Senator from Alabama [Mr. PETTUS] and the Senator from Texas [Mr. MILLS] have stated it—an argument against the constitutionality of that law based upon exactly the same predicate that the Senators advance at this moment.

I never felt more certain about anything, and scarcely ever felt more indignant about what I conceived to be a violation of the Constitution of the United States, than I thought was found in the McKinley reciprocity provision. The matter went to the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of Field against Clark, in 143 United States Reports, and I found myself in a minority, a very honorable minority, the Chief Justice and Justice Lamar, of Mississippi, the balance of the court deciding that my point was not well taken. They held in that case, as will be the fact here, that upon the occurrence of a certain event, to be determined in that case by the President of the United States, the rate of duty should be changed, and certain goods should either be put upon the free list or put under taxation, according to his judgment of the tariff policy of China Japan, Brazil, etc., as he might think or believe that that policy was in derogation of our rights, or in a spirit of hostility toward us, or that it was not fair and just, considering all of our relations under tariff laws with those powers.

The Supreme Court, in the case that I have mentioned, decided that the President of the United States could be invested by Congress with the power to decide when those events had occurred.

He had a very large latitude of discretion in making the decision. The subject that came to his attention in arriving at his conclusions under that law was of a judicial rather than a ministerial character, because he had to pronounce not only upon the existence of certain facts, but upon their bearing and effect upon the commerce between other countries and the United States. Notwithstanding that near approach to putting within his hand the power to repeal the statute, as I contended, the Supreme Court held that there was no such operation of that law at all; that when that law spoke in accordance with the decision arrived at by the President, as announced in his proclamation, it spoke from the act itself and not from any act performed by him to change the law in any particular; that the law spoke throughout the whole transaction, and only the law, and that the President of the United States did not in the slightest degree change the law; he merely decided that upon a certain state of facts the law was or was not operative.

The third section of the act of October, 1890, is as follows:

That with a view to secure reciprocal trade with countries producing the following articles, and for this purpose, on and after the 1st day of January, 1892, whenever and so often as the President shall be satisfied that the government of any country producing and exporting sugars, molasses, coffee, tea, and hides, raw and uncured, or any of such articles, imposes duties or other exactions upon the agricultural or other products of the United States, which, in view of the free introduction of such sugar, molasses, coffee, tea, and hides into the United States he may deem to be reciprocally unequal and unreasonable, he shall have the power and it shall be his duty to suspend, by proclamation to that effect, the provisions of this act relating to the free introduction of such sugar, molasses, coffee, tea, and hides, the production of such country, for such time as he shall deem just, and in such case and during such suspension duties shall be levied, collected, and paid upon sugar, molasses, coffee, tea, and hides the product of or exported from such designated country as follows, namely.

And then it goes on to make the rates of duty. The Supreme Court say in regard to that act:

That Congress can not delegate legislative power to the President is a principle universally recognized as vital to the integrity and maintenance of the system of government ordained by the Constitution. The act of October 1, 1890, in the particular under consideration, is not inconsistent with that principle. It does not, in any real sense, invest the President with the power of legislation.

For the purpose of securing reciprocal trade with countries producing and exporting sugar, molasses, coffee, tea, and hides, Congress itself determined that the provisions of the act of October 1, 1890, permitting the free introduction of such articles, should be suspended as to any country producing and exporting them that imposed exactions and duties on the agricultural and other products of the United States, which the President deemed—that is, which he found to be—reciprocally unequal and unreasonable.

Congress itself prescribed in advance the duties to be levied, collected, and paid on sugar, molasses, coffee, tea, or hides, produced by or exported from such designated country, while the suspension lasted. Nothing involving the expediency or the just operation of such legislation was left to the determination of the President. The words "he may deem" in the third section of course implied that the President would examine the commercial regulations of other countries producing and exporting sugar, molasses, coffee, tea, and hides, and form a judgment as to whether they were reciprocally equal and reasonable, or the contrary, in their effect upon American products.

But when he ascertained the fact that duties and exactions, reciprocally unequal and unreasonable, were imposed upon the agricultural or other products of the United States by a country producing and exporting sugar, molasses, coffee, tea, or hides, it became his duty to issue a proclamation declaring the suspension, as to that country, which Congress had determined should occur. He had no discretion in the premises except in respect to the duration of the suspension so ordered. But that related only to the enforcement of the policy established by Congress.

As the suspension was absolutely required when the President ascertained the existence of a particular fact, it can not be said that in ascertaining that fact and in issuing his proclamation, in obedience to the legislative will, he exercised the function of making laws. Legislative power was exercised when Congress declared that the suspension should take effect upon a named contingency. What the President was required to do was simply in execution of the act of Congress.

It was not the making of law. He was the mere agent of the lawmaking department to ascertain and declare the event upon which its expressed will was to take effect. It was a part of the law itself as it left the hands of Congress that the provisions, full and complete in themselves, permitting the free introduction of sugars, molasses, coffee, tea, and hides from particular countries should be suspended in a given contingency, and that in case of such suspension certain duties should be imposed.

The court then goes on to argue the subject at greater length, but that is as much of the opinion as it is necessary for me to read to justify me in my own belief in voting for this amendment so far as the constitutional question is concerned.

I can not find the difference in principle between the amendment proposed now and the decision of the Supreme Court as to the effect of the action of the President and the Senate in making a treaty of commercial reciprocity with any particular country within a certain given period whereby articles might be put upon the free list or the duty existing might be reduced 20 per cent—I suppose it means upon the value of the article.

If the President of the United States, acting alone, could lawfully pass upon the conditions of foreign commerce, as he was authorized to do under the act of 1890, and could form a judgment thereupon, whereupon the act taxing the various articles could be suspended absolutely, and if in doing that he did not repeal that statute, if in doing that he did not legislate at all, I can not understand why the President and the Senate, in the exercise of the treaty-making power, may not put this upon the footing of an agreement between the two countries, and why the act of Congress, if now passed, would not operate in advance to ratify and confirm a treaty and make it fully applicable to the subject.

I can not understand the distinction between the two cases, if one exists, and I have looked carefully to see if any distinction does exist, because I desire that this amendment shall pass. This tariff law contains enough now to astonish and almost to horrify me in respect to the injustice that it imposes upon the people of the United States, and also in respect to the open declaration of war against the commerce of the world. But notwithstanding I look upon it in that sense, and feel that it is justly liable to the objections which I have just expressed, I do not look at it as a mere red rag that I must run at every time a feature of it is displayed. If the Republican party in this Chamber and in the other House can put modifying provisions into this tariff bill which I think are for the benefit of the country, I will sustain them. I am bound to do that as a legislator on this floor.

It can not be said that commercial reciprocity upon fair terms with any country is disadvantageous to the United States, although the treaties, which were virtually conventions made under the act of 1890, were not sent to Congress for ratification or approval, and although the President had the right to select any article that we exported out of all our exports and make an agreement, if you please—not an actual agreement, but arrive at a consensus of opinion and action——

Mr. GRAY. I will call the attention of the Senator to the fact that the reciprocity clause in the act of 1890 did not contemplate a treaty at all.

Mr. MORGAN. I understand.

Mr. GRAY. It was merely a proclamation by the President, whenever he deemed the exactions of another government unequal reciprocally, that certain articles on the free list should be suspended from that list and that the duty which was provided by Congress in advance should be laid upon them.

Mr. MORGAN. My language is correct. I was not in the slightest degree in error, because I said it was not a treaty. I said it was a consensus of opinion, of action between two governments, which did not amount to a treaty or a contract or an agreement at all; and although the President of the United States could do that without presenting the subject to Congress for its approval or ratification, and the Supreme Court of the United States sustained him in it, yet in this case, when an actual agreement must be entered into and must be submitted to the Senate before it becomes operative, I think the guard and restriction is much more favorable to us than it was under the act of 1890.

Mr. GRAY. All I suggest is that the criticisms that lay against the provisions of the act of 1890 do not lie against this provision.

Mr. MORGAN. Very good.

Mr. PETTUS. I desire to call the attention of the Senator from Alabama to another feature which is not exactly in accordance with the decision the Senator has read. That law named the articles. It names what shall be done if the President elects. I am still of the opinion I was as to his power and as to our power to confer it. But suppose that decision to be the law and the President would have to act upon it until it is repealed. This is a provision for the reduction during a specified period not exceeding five years. That is uncertain. There may be, in the discretion of the President, from one to five years a reduction of all the duties imposed by this act to the extent not of 25 per cent, but of 20 per cent. He may reduce the rate 1 per cent, 2 per cent, 5 per cent, or 20 per cent. And then there is a further provision that he may put the articles on the free list. Is there no legislative power in all that?

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. President, I will deal with that proposition when I get to it. I had not reached it yet. I was trying to show that the power which was conferred under this amendment upon the President and the Senate is of the same nature as the power that was conferred upon the President alone under the act of 1890; and inasmuch as that power was held to be constitutional, this power I hold to be constitutional because I can not see that they are in the slightest degree different from each other.

Now, we desire, if I understand what the people of the United States ought to desire, as large a commerce as we can get with the outside world. We desire markets for our surplus products. There is scarcely one production that anyone can name of an ordinary or an organic character that the people of the United States do not produce in abundance and superabundance. We have a surplus for exportation of almost every production in the United States, and what we most want is a market in which we can exchange our surplus for the productions of other countries, not for money merely, but for the productions of other countries.

This amendment fosters that idea by enabling us to make concerted agreements with any foreign government in the world about any article that we put under taxation or any article that we do not put under taxation. So, with the consent of the Congress of the United States given in advance, the President and the Senate can negotiate commercial agreements with foreign countries which will be for the benefit of our home trade. Well, I like

that idea. I am very fond of it. I have never heard that the United States suffered any disadvantage even from the peculiar arrangements that were made by the President of the United States under the act of 1890; and while Congress was not informed from time to time of all these concerted arrangements between our country and other countries on these subjects, we were informed that quite a large increase in our commerce took place with those different countries.

It is very true that that law admitted the possibility of the President discriminating in favor of certain productions of the United States and against others. He might make an exchange with Brazil on the subject of coffee on the basis of our kerosene productions, and might omit the iron production or a great many other productions that we have in this country, to the disadvantage of those which were not preferred in the agreement. This act, however, takes that opportunity away from the President of the United States, and, with the consent of Congress, confers it upon the President and the Senate under the treaty-making power.

I do not consider, Mr. President, that these agents of the Government of the United States to enforce these laws have any discretion in the matter at all, except merely to suggest the political consent and make obligatory the contract between the United States and any foreign country with which the President may negotiate a commercial treaty of this character, provided two-thirds of the Senate shall vote to ratify and confirm it. That is caution enough; that is conservatism enough to answer, I think, the demands of the most timid man who will ever have to deal with this question. There is no legislation in that. If there is any legislation in that, then there was legislation in the act of 1890, notwithstanding the Supreme Court said there was none on the part of the President.

I am not undertaking, Mr. President, to repudiate or to get rid of a decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, even when it is made by a majority of but one of the judges; and here there were only two dissenting voices upon that bench, and they themselves concurred in all of this opinion except upon the point which I just now mentioned, and there were other very important points that were urged just as earnestly, and apparently upon as good foundation of argument, as the point in respect of the third section of that act.

Now I come to the question whether or not in passing this act we confer upon the Senate a new power. The Senate has the power to pass upon commercial treaties or treaties of every kind and character, and I have been always the jealous advocate of the exercise of that power by the Senate. I have always maintained that these diplomatic and commercial agreements which have had currency in the country, which have very often been approved and carried into effect without the assent or consideration of the Senate, are very dangerous, to say the least of it. The power is here conferring upon the President and the Senate the treaty-making power, which includes the power to make conventions and all manner of contracts with foreign governments, obligatory upon both. So I have been jealous of the exercise of that power.

Then, Mr. President, this arrives at an agreement between the United States, I will say, and Brazil as to the interchange of commodities which are produced in one country and are not produced in the other. I will take again kerosene and coffee. Coffee is not produced in the United States, and kerosene is not produced in Brazil, so far as I have ever heard. If the President of the United States sees that he can make an advantageous agreement with Brazil about a matter of that kind, then the question at once arises as to whether he has the power to make such an agreement. Well, he has not the power under the Constitution.

The question then arises, Can Congress confer upon him the power solely and exclusively to make a treaty or an agreement with Brazil with respect to commerce or in respect to anything else? You say, "No." Therefore it becomes necessary, in order to effectuate an agreement between Brazil and the United States, that the President and the Senate should act upon it. Here is no exercise of unconstitutional power; nor is it the exercise of a power conferred upon the President and the Senate by act of Congress; but it is an exercise of power conferred upon the President and the Senate by the direct language of the Constitution. So we are on perfectly safe ground up to this point.

When that treaty is made, it is a commercial treaty. We ask ourselves, Can any commercial treaty between the United States and a foreign country be made the supreme law of this land by the action of the President and the Senate alone? The answer is, No. The treaty itself is of such a nature as that it requires the assent of Congress to put it into effect. Then, have you the assent of Congress? I say it is in this act, and here it is. "But then the assent is given before the act is confirmed," says some critical gentleman, "and how can that be done?" Congress has as much right to give its assent in advance as it has after a contract has been made, because the President and the Senate can not bind Congress under this enactment except in the two particulars mentioned: One is a reduction of the duties upon imports from abroad not to exceed 20 per cent of the duty, and the other is to put a subject upon the free list that is now under taxation. I think that that demonstrates really that there is no fault in the action of Congress; there is no difficulty in the action of Congress in providing in advance and giving its consent in advance that an agreement or a treaty made under those limitations shall be effectual from the time of the ratification by the Senate and the issuance of the proclamation by the President which puts it into force and gives it publicity and makes it universally obligatory upon all the officers of the Government. So I can not see the difficulty in that case at all; but I can see, Mr. President, that very great advantage might come to this country from the reduction of duties upon the goods that we impose under this act or by putting many of the articles upon the free list that are contained in this act, and I admire the flexibility of this amendment, because it can be accommodated to the changing conditions or to the further experience of the people of the United States.

Shall I oppose this amendment upon the ground that it is in some direction or in some degree an approximation to free trade? Surely I can not, upon the principles which I advocate, predicate my opposition upon any such ground. Can the gentlemen on the other side oppose it on the ground that there is a reciprocal advantage? Certainly not. Their object is to get as much of the productions of other countries within the grasp of our people, or within their convenient use, as possible, and they think one of the ways to do that is to impose a high tariff duty upon goods within the United States, manufactured here, in order that their manufactories may be kept at work, and that they may be able thereby to send their surplus to foreign countries for traffic.

What means this law of rebate, about which my colleague [Mr. PETTUS] spoke the other day, which has been upon the statute book ever since the first tariff was enacted in this country? What is the general law of rebate? It is that any manufacturer can import from foreign countries any goods, any property that he pleases, any material whatever, raw material or in part manufactured. He can go on and complete it by manufacture and make out of it such a commodity as he chooses. He may have paid the full amount of duty when it came into the United States, or he can put it under bond and pay the duty if the article enters into consumption in our own country; or he may export the article and get a drawback of 90 per cent of all the duty he has paid.

What was the object of that law except to enable our mechanics and manufacturers to use their handicraft and their skill in sending their goods out to other markets to sell cheaper than they would sell them to our people? This encouragement has been given to this class of people from the foundation of this Government. I oppose it. I think it is an unjust and an unfair law. I think it gives advantages to certain classes of labor and occupations in this country at the expense of the people of the United States. Still we have no chance to repeal it. The Democratic party and the Republican party have alike adhered to it in every tariff bill that has been enacted, and have always upheld that provision.

Now, to get the benefit of that we ought to have the opportunity of making advantageous contracts with foreign countries that in the exchange of our productions, of whatever kind or character, we might get them reciprocally to send their goods to our market; and I can see nothing harmful in that to the people of the United States and nothing that impeaches my Democracy in the slightest degree. It is in the direction of free trade, and for that reason I want it.

Mr. GRAY. Mr. President, there is not only nothing that impeaches the Democracy of the Senator from Alabama [Mr. MORGAN] in voting for this amendment, but I think there is something in our records that goes to confirm the Democracy of some such measure as this, some amendment looking toward a little bit of free trade, for we recollect that in 1890 the very comprehensive reciprocity provision that was introduced in the first place by the distinguished Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE], said to have had its origin in the State Department, presided over by that distinguished statesman, Mr. Blaine, provided:

> And the President of the United States is hereby directed, without further legislation, to declare the ports of the United States free and open to all the products of any country of the American hemisphere upon which no export duties are imposed, whenever and so long as the government of such country shall admit to the ports of such country free of all national, provincial (State), municipal, and other taxes, flour, corn meal, and other breadstuffs, preserved meats, fish, vegetables and fruits, cotton-seed oil, rice, and other provisions, including all articles of food, lumber, furniture, and all other articles of wood, agricultural implements and machinery, mining and mechanical machinery, vessels or boats of iron, steel, or wood, structural steel and iron, steel rails, locomotives, railway cars and supplies, street cars, refined petroleum, or such other products of the United States as may be agreed upon.

Although that amendment was lost in the Committee on Finance, and in its place came out a sort of bastard reciprocity amendment, called the reciprocity feature of the act of 1890, it was offered in so many words by myself as a substitute for that

measure, and every Democrat in this Senate voted for it and every Republican voted against it. That was a large measure of free trade for this hemisphere.

Mr. President, I have no objection, but, on the contrary, I am anxious to kick as many holes in this tariff bill as I can. We will have surrounded ourselves by a barrier of commercial restriction when this bill becomes a law that will need to have daylight let through it, and wherever I can properly do so I shall be glad to aid in tearing down some part of that barrier and letting a little bit of free trade and free sunshine come in.

Mr. CHANDLER. Are you going to vote for this amendment?

Mr. GRAY. I am going to vote for this amendment, and that is the reason I have presumed to take a moment—I trust it will only be a moment—to explain why I shall vote for it.

I do not think this amendment is open to the objections that were made to the reciprocity feature of the McKinley bill of 1890, because in that case the provision allowing certain articles to come into this country free was to be suspended by the President whenever, in his judgment, he deemed that in any country the reciprocal relations were unjust or unequal; but in this case we merely provide in advance, as the Senator from Alabama has said, that whenever the President of the United States and the Senate of the United States in exercising the treaty-making power shall make a treaty with another country which shall be, in his judgment, advantageous to the United States—for, of course, he would not make it unless it was—

In consideration of the advantages accruing to the United States therefrom, shall provide for the reduction during a specified period, not exceeding five years, of the duties imposed by this act, to the extent of not more than 20 per cent thereof, upon such goods, wares, or merchandise as may be designated therein of the country or countries with which such treaty or treaties shall be made as in this section provided for; or shall provide for the transfer during such period from the dutiable list of this act to the free list thereof of such goods, wares, and merchandise.

Then we provide that upon said treaty being proclaimed only such duties shall be collected as are designated in such treaty.

In the first case in the reciprocity provision, so called, of the McKinley law, we undertook to say that the President might in effect—and that was the objection I had to it, and I voted against that part of it—that the President might transfer from the free list to the dutiable list certain articles, and might impose taxes upon the American people by way of retaliation upon a foreign country. But in this case we merely provide that when the treaty-making power of this country is exercised in a certain direction by legislation we will accommodate ourselves to it. This is not conferring upon the President any power. The treaty-making power resting in the President is conferred by the Constitution when it says:

He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties.

That is the language used in the Constitution in conferring that power. There is not another word to limit it. So that the President and the Senate may make a commercial treaty of any scope whatever; and although the Congress of the United States may be unwilling to pass the legislation necessary to carry it into effect, the Congress of the United States can not limit or qualify the power given by the Constitution to the President and the Senate to make such treaties as in their judgment shall be wise and expedient.

Mr. WHITE. Will the Senator allow me?

Mr. GRAY. In a minute.

So, then, the President, having the right, without this amendment—and this amendment can not confer the right if he has it now—the President exercising the right given by the Constitution to make a commercial treaty, we merely provide, that having been done within certain limits, if it shall be of a certain character that legislation shall accommodate itself to it.

Mr. WHITE. If it be true—and I am not saying it is not for the purpose of the question—that the President and the Senate can negotiate a commercial treaty fixing the rates of duty, can Congress by any act limit the exercise of that power?

Mr. GRAY. They can limit it by refusing to carry it out. That might break the treaty, but nevertheless the President and the Senate have the power to make a treaty. We can not only refuse to carry it out, and thereby violate our faith with the other nation—and it might be so serious as to be a casus belli—but we repeal the treaty, and thereby break the treaty after it is made.

Mr. WHITE. The Senator from Delaware misapprehends me. My allusion was to the provision of this section limiting the reduction of duty to 20 per cent. The point I wished to attract the attention of the Senator to was this: That if the Senate has the power, with the President, in the exercise of the treaty-making authority, to negotiate commercial treaties, can this legislation limit any reduction which may be made to 20 per cent? May not the President and the Senate, without any action, in spite of any action even, put articles upon the free list?

Mr. GRAY. Certainly. I answer the Senator from California that the President and the Senate may, in the exercise of the treaty-making power, negotiate a treaty which reduces the duties more than 20 per cent or puts articles upon the free list that are not included in the scope of this amendment. But this amendment merely says that if the treaty-making power shall, in the exercise of its undoubted right, make a treaty with any country which shall not reduce the duty more than 20 per cent or shall not put other than these articles on the free list, then the rate of duty prescribed in that treaty shall be in effect and shall be collected.

Mr. CHANDLER. Mr. President——

Mr. GRAY. If the Senator will wait one moment until I finish my proposition, I will yield to him.

If the President and the Senate should make a treaty without regard to this amendment at all, it would be in the exercise of the power conferred by the Constitution. Congress may refuse, undoubtedly, as I said a moment ago, to carry that into effect; or if it does not need legislation to carry it into effect, inasmuch as treaties made by and in pursuance of the treaty-making power are a part of the supreme law of the land, the Congress of the United States may repeal that treaty, or any part of it—though by repealing it it might break faith, as it undoubtedly would in a great many instances, with the nation with whom it was made—the power rests with Congress, and can not be successfully disputed.

Mr. CHANDLER. The statement which the Senator has just made covers the point of the inquiry that I proposed to make, which was in substance this: By this act we say beforehand by legislation that a certain contract may be made by means of a treaty which affects duties for a certain number of years, or authorizes that contract, which may be broken by the legislation of the two Houses. Necessarily it would be a breach of plighted faith, but it can be done if we choose to break our faith pledged in the form of this contract. Is not that the whole substance of the discussion?

Mr. GRAY. I think so. I agree with the Senator there. I do not see why we have not the power, as the legislative branch of the Government, to declare by legislative act that duties designated in a treaty made under the treaty-making power of the Constitution shall be the duties as designated in the treaty. We have the power, immediately after the negotiation of such a treaty, of rescinding this act; we can repeal that duty; undoubtedly it is all in our hands; but for whatever this act is worth, we have a right to pass it, and I can not see why it is not entirely within the legislative power granted by the Constitution.

Mr. PETTUS. I desire to ask the Senator from Delaware a question. I ask if he believes that the treaty-making power includes the right to repeal a law of the United States enacted by Congress?

Mr. GRAY. That is a different thing and a different question. I believe that the treaty-making power conferred by the Constitution is without any express limitation. I believe that in the exercise of that power a treaty may be made the result of which will be the supreme law of the land until it is repealed by Congress, or expires by its own limitation, or expires by Executive authority.

Mr. MILLS. A treaty of peace would repeal a declaration of war.

Mr. GRAY. It certainly would.

Mr. President, I did vote and speak against the reciprocity clause in the act of 1890, but I did vote for the broad measure of reciprocity introduced by the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE], which was supposed to have had its origin in the fertile and suggestive brain of the then Secretary of State, Mr. Blaine. I believe this amendment is not obnoxious to the criticism made against the former amendment, and therefore for the reasons I have stated I shall vote for it.

Mr. TELLER. Mr. President, I want to say a word or two as to this amendment. It is a very broad question, and one that presents to my mind many difficulties. The Senator from Delaware [Mr. GRAY] says that the treaty-making power is unlimited. That, I think, needs some qualification. The Supreme Court of the United States has declared that a treaty is the law of the land, and while it has hesitated somewhat to say that it is a legislative act, it has come very near that at least.

Mr. GRAY. The Constitution says it is the law of the land.

Mr. TELLER. The Constitution says it is the law of the land. The Supreme Court says it is a contract between the United States and the nation with which we make the contract, and that in this country it is a little more. It is a little more under our Constitution than it would be under the English constitution and the constitution of some other countries.

The Constitution of the United States, ex industria, puts the power to raise revenue in the House of Representatives, and I do not suppose that anybody will contend here for a moment that the House of Representatives can delegate that function to any other body. I do not suppose that anybody will contend that the House can subrogate its rights or that, because the House declines to act, we can originate revenue laws in this body. If the Senator from Delaware is correct, that there is no restriction whatever

upon the treaty-making power, it certainly is within the province of the Executive and the Senate to take away from the House the revenue-raising power by providing, when they provide for a system of revenue, for another, and thus nullify and abrogate their act.

Mr. GRAY. The Senator from Colorado will excuse me. I said there is no express restriction in the Constitution upon the treaty-making power.

Mr. TELLER. There is an express restriction upon the treaty-making power. The Constitution declares that the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, may make treaties. What did the authors of the Constitution intend? Did they intend that we should make commercial agreements and call them treaties? In those days commercial agreements were unknown to the diplomats of the world.

The other day I heard some Senators discussing the question, and they said when you make a commercial treaty you do not need to submit it to the Senate. If that is true, then we could shear the legislative body, and the President of the United States could assume the power which is expressly and exclusively given to the House to raise revenue, and he could do it in spite of the House and in spite of the Senate. The President of the United States can make no treaty of any kind or character without the consent of the Senate. That is one of the objections I had to the arbitration treaty. In my judgment, the arbitration treaty, carefully prepared and for the express purpose of shearing the Senate of its constitutional power to pass upon such questions, had left out the provision that the Senate should pass upon treaties submitting questions of dispute to the arbitration board provided.

This is a very grave question. It is one that is worthy of a great deal of consideration, and it ought not to have been brought in here in the last days of the session. I desire to vote for an arrangement for reciprocal commercial relations if I can. In my judgment the wisest and best policy in this matter is to remit it to the legislative department of the Government in the end. Let the President of the United States negotiate the treaties. Then let the House of Representatives have its constitutional power to say whether this shears the legislative bodies of their power to raise revenue.

The most important function of government is that of raising revenue. A nation can not exist unless it has proper revenues. In these days the whole of the world is practically an armed camp. I know if I should say a word about the warlike attitude of the world, I should run counter to the public sentiment of this country, that we have reached the millennium, we have reached the period when the sword is to be beaten into plowshares and people are to learn war no more, but it is a notorious fact that never in the history of the world have so many men been tramping with guns on their shoulders.

There has never been a time when there were so many ships afloat, with all the destructive weapons of the age. There has never been a time in the history of the world when the burden has been so great upon the people who produce to maintain idle armies and worthless ships as to-day, and that being true, self-protection, self-defense, requires that every nation shall keep within its legislative hand the power to raise revenue, adequate and sufficient at all times, and in a free Government like ours that power can not be remitted to the Executive. It must be held by the people through their representatives. It is unrepublican and it is undemocratic to transfer to the Executive, even with the approval of the Senate, the power to nullify the acts of the people's representatives, a function which has been studiously and carefully given to them by the Constitution and withheld from every other branch of the Government.

Mr. President, should the committee in the closing hours of the bill, too long delayed in its passage, too long a cause of disorder in the commercial world, have brought here such a question and submitted it? It seems to me they should not. I desire to vote, I repeat, for anything that will enable us to get closer commercial relations with our neighbors, but it must be done in a constitutional way. It must be done in such a way that those who are entitled to provide the revenue and who are entitled to say how much or how little it shall be shall not be hampered, and the right of the nation to exist shall not be imperiled because of a difference of opinion between the Executive and the House, or between the Executive and the Senate and the House.

What condition would we be in if the Senate of the United States should conclude that we wanted no revenue from imports and the House should determine that we wanted a revenue system as you have in this bill, more than you ever had in any other bill in the history of the Government? What would be the condition of this country should we then be confronted with a necessity of immediate and large amounts of revenue for our defense or the maintenance of our Army or the maintenance of our national integrity?

The amendments submitted day before yesterday for the first time involve grave constitutional questions and great questions of policy, which ought not to be in the closing hours of a debate like this thrust upon us, and we ought not to be asked to take part in its consideration. If the Senator who has the amendment in charge will bring it within the rule I have laid down, that the legislative department shall be consulted and shall approve, then I am willing to vote for it, because I want, as I repeat, closer commercial relations, and I believe in them.

Great Britain can make a treaty of this kind through her council; she has not to submit these questions by the constitution to the Parliament; and yet Great Britain will not to-day make an effort like this without the approval of Parliament. We ought not to make it, and it is not any answer to say that the House indicated their intention or willingness to abandon their constitutional prerogative by the provision they sent here. That is not the question.

The question is, Can we safely remit the revenue-raising function to the President and one branch of Congress, when the Constitution studiously declares that it shall exist in both Houses, and that in the first instance the House of Representatives shall be the moving agency, that their judgment shall be first? Why? Because they were supposed to represent the people, while we represent the States. It is supposed that a body which comes fresh from the people every two years would be likely to handle this question better than the representatives of the different States.

If this provision is carried out without any action on the part of the House, it will be in the power of the Senate and in the power of the President to determine practically what shall be and how much shall be the revenue in this country.

Mr. CHANDLER obtained the floor.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. I should like to ask the Senator from Colorado a question before he leaves the subject.

Mr. TELLER. Very well.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Does not the Senator think that this Congress, including the Senate and the House, can properly pass a law changing the rates in the pending bill upon the happening of a particular fact; and if so, can they not say that if this particular fact, namely, a treaty negotiated by the President and ratified by the Senate, shall take place, then the rates of this bill shall be different? Will not the House have exercised its power?

Mr. TELLER. No; it will not. It will have delegated its legislative power. It will have subrogated functions to determine in the first instance what shall be the duties and what shall be the revenue. It can not be done under our Constitution and under our laws, in my judgment, any more than you can delegate judicial authority and judicial functions. They may say that when sugar reaches a certain price per pound there shall be a duty of 1 cent a pound or 2 or 3 or 4 cents a pound, but that is a contingency which they provide for and anticipate and determine what shall be done when it is reached. They can not say we submit this question to the Executive mind, revised by the Senatorial mind, because they know nothing about what will be the Executive mind or the Senatorial mind. That is my answer to the Senator from Connecticut.

Mr. CHANDLER. Let me ask the question of the Senator from Colorado a little more fully. Does he maintain that it is not competent for Congress by law to authorize, within certain limits, a contract to be made by the President and the Senate with a foreign country that shall reduce the duties during a period specified upon goods, wares, and merchandise imported into the United States? Does the Senator say that such a contract can not be authorized by law of Congress because it is a surrender of the legislative power?

Mr. TELLER. Oh, no; I do not, and I have not said anything of the kind.

Mr. CHANDLER. That is all this provision is.

Mr. TELLER. I have said nothing from which that could be inferred. That is not the case. We could say here that the President of the United States may arrange with England that whenever England puts a duty of a certain class upon an article we will put the same duty upon it. We determine what that duty is. The legislative mind determines it. That is a very different case from one in which we say that the President, at his own will and at his own suggestion, without any action by the House or the Senate, shall fix the duties to suit himself, and if he can get the approval of one body of the legislative department, that it shall become the law. The case proposed is a very different case from that suggested by the Senator from New Hampshire.

Mr. CHANDLER. Let me ask the Senator if it really is a different case. By legislation a bargain is authorized to be made by the President and the Senate through a commercial treaty which affects duties within certain limits. It says within 20 per cent. Now, does the Senator say that it is a surrender of the legislative power for Congress beforehand to authorize a time contract within those limits?

Mr. TELLER. That is not what is proposed.

Mr. CHANDLER. That is exactly what is proposed.

Mr. TELLER. It is not what is proposed here. You propose to leave the whole question within those limits to the Executive and the Senate.

Mr. CHANDLER. That is what I say—those limits.

Mr. TELLER. You do not say the duty shall be a certain fixed duty. If you did, that would be the legislative act fixing the duty when the contingency provided for happened. I hope the Senator can see the distinction. If he can not, I will endeavor to make it a little clearer.

Mr. CHANDLER. I see the distinction, but it is very small. To say that Congress can by law authorize a commercial treaty of that kind, provided the law fixes the exact duties which the President may levy upon imported goods or may remove from imported goods, and yet can not give the President and Senate the discretion to make such a commercial treaty changing duties within certain limits, makes a very small distinction upon which the Senator attempts to found his claim that one act would be constitutional and the other act unconstitutional.

Mr. TELLER. Will the Senator from New Hampshire allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. CHANDLER. Certainly.

Mr. TELLER. What is the objection to submitting the commercial treaty to the House as well as to the Senate? I suppose everybody will admit that the Congress of the United States can make a commercial arrangement with another nation.

Mr. CHANDLER. The Senator from Colorado says it can not be done by authority given beforehand. It must all come back——

Mr. TELLER. I said nothing of the kind.

Mr. CHANDLER. It must come back to the House and the Senate, and the Senate and the House must pass upon every detail of it; otherwise one Congress is giving away the legislative power of another.

Mr. TELLER. That is what I say, that the Congress must ratify this kind of a treaty or else Congress must subrogate its duties and its rights in the matter. I desire to ask the Senator from New Hampshire what is his objection to submitting it to Congress? There must be some insurmountable objection from the way this matter is treated here. Is the Senator afraid of the House?

Mr. CHANDLER. The Senator did not ask me a question. He made a speech at me.

Mr. President, I call the attention of the Senator from Colorado to the fact that the Senate amendment is a substitute for a House provision. The Senator has complained of the Finance Committee for bringing in the amendment at this late day. The Senator at his home in Colorado for six weeks or two months had before him the provisions of the bill studying them, and he had section 3, which covers pages 191, 192, 193, and 194, before him and saw that the House of Representatives there proposed to surrender the power of making a commercial treaty to the President without even requiring such treaty to be approved by the Senate.

Now, the Senate Committee on Finance was confronted with that difficulty. The reciprocity clause of the act of 1890 did not provide for commercial treaties at all. It only provided that when the President was satisfied of a certain fact he might cause duties to be collected upon certain products at rates named, notably upon sugar, which would otherwise be free. But the fact that we have put a duty on sugar in the law now proposed has made it impossible to resort at this time to the old method of the law of 1890; so the House went on and authorized commercial treaties, adopted a new form of reciprocity by commercial treaties, and at great length inserted these provisions in the bill without any requirement that the Senate should ratify the treaties.

But the Senate committee have proposed a substitute for these long provisions of the House, to strike out which provisions a proposition has been pending for several weeks, and the substitute is a brief, concise, strong, intelligible, and, as I submit, an entirely constitutional provision of law.

Mr. LINDSAY. If the Senator from New Hampshire will permit me, I will suggest to him the fact that when the bill was reported back from the Finance Committee all of the reciprocity provisions were stricken out by way of amendment, and nothing was suggested in lieu of them until the pending amendment was presented.

Mr. TELLER. That is what I wanted to say.

Mr. CHANDLER. The Senator from Iowa distinctly gave notice of what he intended to do.

Mr. ALLISON. I wish to state that it has been said over and over again in this Chamber that these provisions were stricken out because we did not consider them effective for the purposes intended, and that during the consideration of the bill the Committee on Finance would present a substitute for these provisions. So the whole question has been before every Senator during the entire time.

Mr. CHANDLER. That statement was made two or three weeks ago.

Mr. LINDSAY. The substitute was not presented until yesterday, however.

Mr. ALLISON. Undoubtedly.

Mr. LINDSAY. And no one knew what it was going to be.

Mr. CHANDLER. The Senator from Kentucky knew it was coming. It is clear and concise, and the brilliant intellect of the Senator from Kentucky fathomed its depths in five minutes. He knows all about it—what it means and what it does not mean.

Mr. WHITE rose.

Mr. CHANDLER. Does the Senator from California desire to ask me a question?

Mr. WHITE. No, sir. I desire to make a few remarks in regard to this matter, if the Senator from New Hampshire has concluded.

Mr. CHANDLER. I was in hopes the Senator did. I was waiting for the Senator.

Mr. WHITE. I would if I did not not feel that I would be delaying the passage of this meritorious bill, which the Senator himself is now delaying.

Mr. CHANDLER. The Senator has a commendable anxiety to see this bill of prosperity and blessing take the place of the present law of perfidy and dishonor, and I sympathize with him; but there is required a few more hours' consideration of it.

The Senator from Kentucky complains that he ought to have seen this provision earlier. Within fifteen minutes after the Senator from Kentucky saw it he was on the floor making a learned exposition of it in opposition to the system of reciprocity proposed by the act.

Mr. WHITE. If the Senator from New Hampshire will allow me, I will retract what I said.

Mr. CHANDLER. I am delighted to hear the Senator.

Mr. WHITE. Is it the fact, I will ask the Senator, that the majority of the Committee on Finance, not having prepared the stamp-tax provision and desiring further consideration of the bill postponed, have requested the Senator from New Hampshire to take the time of the Senate this afternoon?

Mr. CHANDLER. No, Mr. President, they have not requested me to take the floor for that purpose. They asked me to take the floor to give attention to anything which the Senator from California might say that was worthy of notice, and nothing of that sort being before the Senate, I will go on with my brief remarks upon this important provision.

Mr. President, I am in favor of reciprocity provisions in tariff bills. I am a high protectionist, and I do not believe that duties once imposed should be stricken off lightly. But I am not to be deterred from supporting this amendment because it is supported by the Senator from Alabama [Mr. MORGAN] and the Senator from Delaware [Mr. GRAY], of a party opposite to mine. They say they are willing to have the duties of this bill reduced in this way, and so am I, because I am deliberately in favor of a system of reciprocal treaties with foreign countries.

I am in favor of improving and strengthening our commercial relations by specific arrangements with other nations, not only with the nations of the Western Hemisphere, but with the nations of Europe; and if this clause is adopted I expect great good to result from it.

There has been allusion here to-day to prospective difficulties with Germany growing out of the countervailing duty on sugar and other articles that have been imposed by this act. I am in hopes that the stress of such difficulties as may arise will be relieved by commercial treaties with Germany. I do not expect commercial treaties with England, because England is a free-trade country; but I do confidently expect that there will be commercial treaties negotiated under this clause, if it becomes a law, with the Republic of France.

That Republic is probably the most enlightened nation of the world in managing its trade relations with other countries. France is not a free-trade country, nor has she a rigid, unvarying system of tariffs. France is a nation of commercial treaties with other nations. Her system of relations with other countries is built upon special agreements with those countries. The French Executive, I think, has been given powers by the French Chambers to negotiate just such treaties as are provided for by the clause now under discussion. I do not believe that any constitutional impediment to such powers exists in France, because the French Chambers fix maximum and minimum duties; and within those limits—the Senator from Iowa will correct me if I am wrong—the duties are varied when France makes commercial arrangements with other countries.

Mr. ALLISON. I will say to the Senator that not only France, but Germany, Russia, Belgium, Holland, and, I believe, nearly every country of Europe has what are known as maximum and minimum rates and laws whereby within certain lines the proper council can reduce duties upon the products of other countries in consideration of the reduction of duties by other countries upon their products, and in that way Europe is to-day full of maximum

and minimum treaties affecting trade relations favorable to those countries with each other. This is in the same line and for the same purpose.

Mr. CHANDLER. The Senator has well stated briefly my whole idea. As I infer from what the Senator from Iowa has said, there is given in those countries to the Executive the power, within certain limits, to make reciprocal contracts with all the nations of the world, and that is the way those countries seek to build up their trade. The patriotic Senator from Alabama [Mr. MORGAN], who has studied the whole subject of our foreign relations, political and commercial, more carefully and fully than any other Senator in this Chamber, quickly perceived the advantages to this country to be derived from inaugurating in a new form, by a system of commercial treaties, the mutual adjustment of the respective tariff duties of other countries and of the United States, so as to vastly benefit our people and increase our trade.

Mr. President, I expect great good from this clause. I believe that the idea of reciprocity, which originated in these later days with Mr. Blaine, which was inaugurated in the McKinley Act of 1890, and which was unwisely struck down in the Wilson Act of 1894, will grow and strengthen until the principle is a part of the permanent policy of the United States.

As I said this morning in reference to the countervailing duty with Germany, for which I voted as a matter of necessity, but reluctantly, there are special reasons at this time why the Congress of the United States should show its willingness to negotiate on the most liberal terms with the European countries in connection with tariff duties.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President, I agree with the Senator from Colorado [Mr. TELLER] that it is unfortunate that this grave feature of the tariff bill is brought before us now that we are so near the terminative of the revenue debate. There are certain matters connected with the proposition which are very interesting, and which should be dwelt upon with more care than it is possible at this late hour to bestow.

I do not agree with the Senator from Alabama [Mr. MORGAN] that this amendment offers a case similar to that presented by the act of 1890 with regard to reciprocity, and which was passed upon by the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of Field *vs.* Clark. On the contrary, it is my opinion that the theory upon which the judgment in that matter rested is sufficient to indicate that the same court would decide that the proposed provision is beyond our power; that we can not confer upon the Executive a discretion as to the extent of tariff imposition, and can not deprive either House of or permit either to escape from the inhibitions and delegations of the Constitution.

There are two aspects in which this matter may be considered—first, as to its efficacy with reference to the President alone; and secondly, what, if anything, is added to its legal worth by the interposition of the Senate as an element of authority? In the adjudication referred to by the Senator from Alabama, the Supreme Court said—I am reading from page 692, volume 143, United States Supreme Court Reports:

> That Congress can not delegate legislative power to the President is a principle universally recognized as vital to the integrity and maintenance of the system of government ordained by the Constitution. * * *
>
> Congress itself prescribed, in advance, the duties to be levied, collected, and paid on sugar, molasses, coffee, tea, or hides, produced by or exported from such designated country, while the suspension lasted.

Now, note the point. In the act of 1890 there was absolutely no discretion attempted to be conferred upon the President as to the amount of duties to be levied beyond this, that the Executive was authorized to ascertain a certain fact, to wit, whether there had been discriminations against the United States, and when he so determined, then the rates directly fixed and defined by Congress went into effect.

The President exercised no discretion as to those rates. No power was attempted to be conferred upon him as to the amount of tariff that should be levied. But this proposed amendment assumes to give to the President of the United States, and as amended assumes to give him, in conjunction with the Senate, authority to make and enact a tariff within certain limits. The reduction shall not exceed 20 per cent. Within that boundary, the President, or President and Senate, may do as may seem desirable.

> That whenever the President of the United States, by or with the advice and consent of the Senate, with a view to secure reciprocal trade with foreign countries, shall, within the period of two years from and after the passage of this act, enter into commercial treaty or treaties with any other country or countries concerning the admission into any such country or countries of the goods, wares, and merchandise of the United States and their use and disposition therein, deemed to be for the interests of the United States, and in such treaty or treaties, in consideration of the advantages accruing to the United States therefrom, shall provide—

Shall provide what?—

> for the reduction during a specified period, not exceeding five years, of the duties imposed by this act, to the extent of not more than 20 per cent thereof.

Therefore the President and the Senate legislate as to this duty. The peculiar tribunal thus sought to be created does not find a fact upon the happening of which a tariff rate prescribed by law becomes operative, but the amount of the duty is settled apart from the Congress. The finding of the precedent fact is not related to the going into effect of a law already made, but is the result of an Executive and Senatorial determination as to the extent of the tariff, if any, that ought to be imposed. Thus, as suggested by the Senator from Indiana [Mr. TURPIE], the Executive or Executive and Senate are to enact a new law. Is not this the delegation of legislative power?

What is the rate of duty to be fixed under this amendment in case the President of the United States and the Senate shall find it advisable to enter into a commercial treaty? Is there anyone here competent to state the rate that shall be prescribed? Under the act of 1890, which was sustained by a divided court, there was no difficulty in that regard. Upon the happening of the event a certain tariff imposition fixed by law went into full force and effect. A complete scheme was made operative as soon as the President found the fact regarding a discrimination.

In the same opinion the court proceeds in the very line which I am now examining, speaking of the President:

> Nothing involving the expediency or the just operation of such legislation was left to the determination of the President.

But here the President is given the right to say whether it is expedient that the duty shall be 19 per cent, or 20 per cent, or 16, or 12, or 10, or 8, or 6.

Mr. PETTUS. Or nothing.

Mr. WHITE. Certainly.

The court continues:

> The words "he may deem" in the third section of course implied that the President would examine the commercial regulations of other countries producing and exporting sugar, molasses, coffee, tea, and hides, and form a judgment as to whether they were reciprocally equal and reasonable or the contrary in their effect upon American products.
>
> But when he ascertained the fact that duties and exactions, reciprocally unequal and unreasonable, were imposed upon the agricultural or other products of the United States by a country producing and exporting sugar, molasses, coffee, tea, or hides, it became his duty to issue a proclamation declaring the suspension, as to that country, which Congress had determined should occur.

But no such condition is disclosed here, no suspension is declared upon the declaration of which a duty goes into full force and effect; but as soon as a particular status is found to exist, then the President or the President and the Senate consider and deliberate and exercise a discretion (a function purely legislative) and enact that the tariff shall be 2, 4, 6, 8, or 10 per cent, or anything within 20 per cent. If this does not involve legislation, where do you find legislation? If it is not legislation, it is because it is not legislation to pass a tariff law. This does not present a case showing a finding of a fact effectual to put into operation a law already written, but it suggests the power to make a law as soon as an antecedent fact shall be ascertained. The decision proceeds:

> He had no discretion in the premises except in respect to the duration of the suspension so ordered. But that related only to the enforcement of the policy established by Congress. As the suspension was absolutely required when the President ascertained the existence of a particular fact, it can not be said that in ascertaining that fact and in issuing his proclamation, in obedience to the legislative will, he exercised the function of making laws. Legislative power was exercised when Congress declared that the suspension should take effect upon a named contingency. What the President was required to do was simply in execution of the act of Congress. It was not the making of law. He was the mere agent of the lawmaking department to ascertain and declare the event upon which its expressed will was to take effect. It was a part of the law itself as it left the hands of Congress that the provisions, full and complete in themselves—

Let me repeat—

> It was a part of the law itself as it left the hands of Congress that the provisions, full and complete in themselves, permitting the free introduction of sugars, molasses, coffee, tea, and hides from particular countries should be suspended in a given contingency, and that in case of such suspensions certain duties should be imposed.

Mr. President, this opinion, far from being a determination sustaining this attempted usurpation, is in reality a decision against the assumption. The reasons given by the court, and upon which alone the validity of the McKinley provision was sustained, do not appear in the pending proposition.

Again, Justice Harlan proceeds:

> "The true distinction," as Judge Ranney, speaking for the supreme court of Ohio, has well said, "is between the delegation of power to make the law, which necessarily involves a discretion as to what it shall be, and conferring authority or discretion as to its execution, to be exercised under and in pursuance of the law."

But by the committee amendment it is proposed to delegate to the President and to the Senate the power to fix a duty, not the power to find a condition of things upon the ascertainment of which the duty fixed by the law already enacted shall be effective, but to determine and decide the rate of duty, what the tariff imposition levied against certain commodities from certain countries shall be if contingencies specified arise. Congress does not fix the amount of duty. It is asked to delegate to the President or to the President and Senate the power to declare the extent of the tax.

Mr. PETTUS. Or whether there shall be any duty at all or not.
Mr. WHITE. Precisely. The court further proceeds:

"To assert that a law is less than a law because it is made to depend on a future event or act, is to rob the legislature of the power to act wisely for the public welfare whenever a law is passed relating to a state of affairs not yet developed, or to things future and impossible to fully know." The proper distinction, the court said, was this: "The legislature can not delegate its power to make a law; but it can make a law to delegate a power to determine some fact or state of things upon which the law makes, or intends to make, its own action depend."

It seems to me, Mr. President, that under this decision, so confidently relied upon here, it is palpable that the proposed amendment designs to give to the President of the United States the power to make a law, and if that be true it follows, unquestionably, that by adding "by and with the advice and consent of the Senate" we seek to cure an obvious difficulty by joining the Senate with the President. But can this reenforcement amount to anything? Whence do the President and the Senate derive the power to make treaties? From the Constitution. What is the limit and admeasurement of the right to engage in treaty obligations? Is it found outside of the organic law? Can it depend upon any act of Congress? Can it be added to or lessened by any act of Congress? Clearly not. The Senate and the President, acting pursuant to the treaty-making power prescribed by the Constitution, obtain from that instrument their authority, and from that instrument alone; and hence if the Constitution itself fails to give to the President and the Senate, acting pursuant to the treaty-making power, the authority to fix these duties, this act is absolutely void. But if the Constitution does confer that authority, this act is absolutely unnecessary. And it is not, so far as the wisdom of the proposition is concerned, material to inquire whether the authority does or does not rest in the Senate and in the President. It is needless in one case and impotent in the other.

The question, as I said, is a very interesting one. It is one not easy to discuss upon the spur of the moment. This amendment having been just tendered, affords no opportunity for careful examination. I do not feel prepared to speak satisfactorily regarding it. But there have been certain declarations made here which seem to fortify the statement of the Senator from Colorado [Mr. TELLER], that it is a very doubtful and a very close question as to whether the President and Senate can alone fix duties. I beg leave to read a brief minority report signed by Senators MORRILL, Voorhees, and ALDRICH, dated February 27, 1883, with reference to the Hawaiian Island treaty matter:

The undersigned agree to the report of the majority of the Committee on Finance, and for the following additional reasons not concurred in by other members of the committee:

When our Constitution was framed no compact between two different nations such as a reciprocity treaty was known or ever existed; and the power of the President, "with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senate concur," must be accepted as a limitation of the power to just what was then known and understood to be comprehended by the words "to make treaties."

The Constitution can not be changed by any modern diplomatic inventions. It is true that Cromwell, in 1654, made a treaty with Portugal, by which English woolens were to be admitted into Portugal at a lower rate of duty than from other countries, and the wines of Portugal were to be charged when brought to England with a less rate of duty than wines imported from France or elsewhere; but this, although a commercial treaty, was not a reciprocity treaty, and Adam Smith conclusively proved that even this much-vaunted treaty was disadvantageous to England.

Our Constitution does not lack harmony, and all of its provisions show that it was never intended that the President and the Senate should have even the initiative in regulating trade or commerce. That power is given up wholly to "Congress to regulate foreign and domestic commerce and with the Indian tribes," and the President can not call to his aid any foreign power, even with the advice and consent of the Senate, to regulate commerce, whether foreign or domestic.

A still greater inhibition of this modern shape of the treaty power is found in another provision of the Constitution, which provides that—

"All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills."

No reciprocity treaty could be made that would not be a direct infraction of this provision of the Constitution, as all such treaties must necessarily curtail the boundaries within which revenues are or can be raised. If such a treaty could be made with one nation, it would be possible to make like treaties with all, and thus the power of the House of Representatives to originate revenue bills would be suspended and frittered away.

It does not help the main question in the least to obtain the consent of an existing House of Representatives to pass a law in conformity with or to carry out the provisions of such a treaty. The power of the House to originate revenue bills inheres forever, and no existing House can exercise that power so as to deprive a succeeding House of any of its proper constitutional functions.

Again, the "most-favored-nation" clause, in the larger part of our treaties with other nations, is a perpetual suggestion of the most serious complications always lying in wait for all reciprocity treaties. Should any of these nations tender the same or equal terms, we must, of course, accord the same and equal favors, and any reciprocity treaty might be suddenly and wonderfully expanded; or we might have the alternative of a conflict with many nations with whom peaceful relations are most desirable.

In the determination of this question our experience ought to have some weight; and that experience shows, in every instance where a reciprocity treaty has been tried, that immense American interests have been sacrificed. No one has resulted to our advantage.

JUSTIN S. MORRILL.
DANIEL W. VOORHEES.
NELSON W. ALDRICH.

Mr. President, without affirming anything with reference to our right to affect revenue by making a treaty (for the Senator from Delaware may be correct, and we may have such a power; but it is an exceedingly dangerous power if it exists), I do not care to say anything more than that it is a disputable, a debatable question, one which should not be lightly considered or determined, but which should challenge the earnest attention of every Senator and should not be disposed of without the most careful and painstaking investigation. It is not a proper subject for a partisan caucus; it pertains to a broader field.

But under the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the case cited, we have no jurisdiction to confer upon the President any discretion as to the amount of duties to be levied; and by bringing the Senate to the aid of the President through this amendment, we do not contribute any authority to the treaty-making department of the Government. We can give nothing which it does not now possess.

The pending amendment is not, as has been intimated, a provision designed to prepare the way to make ready the home for a treaty hereafter to be ratified. On the contrary, it is an admitted curtailment of the power to make a treaty, if that power exists, as is stated and claimed by the friends of this provision, because if the Senate and the President have the power to make a treaty affecting the revenue, then it follows that the amendment is nugatory in so far as it seeks to circumscribe the limits of that power, and therefore is not only valueless, but trenches upon constitutional prerogatives.

Mr. President, what are the objects to be attained by this peculiar amendment? Reciprocal trade advantage. I am not discussing the matter in that aspect. I am speaking as to its legality.

I do not intend to vote for any measure which I believe to be without the power of Congress; I do not intend to vote for any amendment to this bill which I think will be utterly valueless for any purpose whatsoever, and which can not have in the slightest degree the effect which its friends claim they anticipate.

We have, Mr. President, negotiated treaties, and we have ratified treaties, in which there may be found a seeming exercise of the power to affect revenue, an interference with the right to raise revenue. I do not dispute that. We negotiated a treaty with Hawaii, by which we absolutely remitted the customs dues which we would ordinarily have collected under the revenue laws of the United States. I must, however, recognize the danger pointed out in the minority report which I have just read. It is apparent that the Senate and the President might, if their powers be as great as here claimed, absolutely ignore the House of Representatives with reference to revenue.

If we suppose a case where the President and the Senate are bitterly hostile to the House—and God grant that no such condition may ever arise, but in interpreting the organic law it is not amiss to consider possibilities—what would be the consequences of unlimited jurisdiction in the treaty-making tribunal regarding revenue?

The Constitution, it is true, fixes no specific limitation as to treaty inclusion, but this general delegation is limited wherever else in the organic law is contained a provision expressly allotting to any department of the Government authority to act in a specified case. Thus we are informed by this paramount authority that the House of Representatives must initiate revenue legislation and that the Senate is impotent to pass a revenue bill without that precedent condition. May we not inquire whether it is probable that that great instrument can be construed to permit us to do by indirection that which we can not directly accomplish?

Mr. President, in the contingency which I named we might negotiate commercial treaties with the world. It has been frequently held by the Supreme Court of the United States that a treaty may repeal an act, an act repeal a treaty, and that each is the paramount law of the land according to the latest in case of conflict controlling. Thus by a treaty we might repeal all revenue provisions, and when the House of Representatives has exercised its constitutional function and reenacted a revenue bill seeking to avoid such treaties, we can absolutely render their efforts abortive by refusing our participancy or acquiescence.

Thus inevitably would come about the result to which the Senator from Colorado [Mr. TELLER] alluded, and this body, not given any such authority by the Constitution to initiate or solely enact revenue measures, would exercise the power and maintain itself and would prescribe the form and extent of revenue exactions, and the House of Representatives, given by the founders of the Republic the right to begin such legislation, and made not only an essential part, but the constitutionally suggestive part of revenue laws, would be deprived of its functions, shorn of the prerogative granted expressly by the organic law itself.

The importance of these questions, which, as I have said several times, are debatable and present matters for careful consideration, demonstrates that this is not the proper time for the presentation of such an amendment as this. There is, of course, one consoling feature about the affair, if I am right in my contention,

and that is that the amendment will be inoperative; but it appears to me that the insertion of such a provision in this bill should be the result of most cautious and painstaking deliberation. I appreciate the difficulties of the Committee on Finance: I know the troubles they have had, and I can well excuse them, if they need any excuse whatever, for their failure to present this proposal earlier. We are here with the bill almost finished, but we have not the stamp-tax provision before us yet. Other important features are still withheld. The difficulties are undoubtedly inevitable, but they are no less unfortunate.

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. President, this case has been argued by some Senators, by my colleague [Mr. PETTUS] and the Senator from California [Mr. WHITE], upon the hypothesis that this amendment undertook to fix the rate of duty upon goods by the action of the President and the Senate, and that that was legislation. That is the most incisive as well as the strongest point which has been made against the amendment. This amendment does not assume to do anything of that kind; it does not fix any rate of duty at all; it does not assume to prescribe what the rate shall be or that it shall be changed in any respect whatever. It only intends to remit, and only goes to the extent of remitting, the duty under certain conditions and under certain circumstances, which would otherwise be raised under this law.

Mr. PETTUS. Has the Senator read the last clause of the proposed amendment, that the duties specified and provided for in such a treaty, and none others, shall be collected?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes; that is a prohibition upon the officers of the law to collect anything else after the duty has been remitted. But, Mr. President, this is a power which has been very often exercised in the United States.

Now, I will read to the Senate a statute on that subject, which was passed in 1828, which was again reenacted in 1830, and again in 1832, and, predicated upon that, there have been various enactments since 1832:

SEC. 4228. Upon satisfactory proof being given to the President, by the government of any foreign nation, that no discriminating duties of tonnage or imposts are imposed or levied in the ports of such nation upon vessels wholly belonging to citizens of the United States, or upon the produce, manufactures, or merchandise imported in the same from the United States or from any foreign country, the President may issue his proclamation, declaring that the foreign discriminating duties of tonnage and impost within the United States are suspended and discontinued, so far as respects the vessels of such foreign nation and the produce, manufactures, or merchandise imported into the United States from such foreign nation, or from any other foreign country; the suspension to take effect from the time of such notification being given to the President, and to continue so long as the reciprocal exemption of vessels belonging to citizens of the United States and their cargoes shall be continued, and no longer.

What kind of duties are provided for in this act? Duties of tonnage and imposts. What are imposts? They are decided by the Supreme Court of the United States to be customs dues, what we call tariff duties. There is an impost duty laid, and there was an impost duty laid until a recent date, discriminating at the rate of 10 per cent against those countries which made discriminations against us. The President of the United States, in virtue of section 4228, which I have just read, has the right, when he ascertains that a country from which goods come, or vessels come, makes no discrimination against us in imposts or in tonnage duties, to remit the imposts and tonnage prescribed under this act. Where does that power come from?

How did Congress ever fancy that it had the authority to confer upon the President of the United States the power absolutely to remit the whole of the impost and tonnage and customs duties, when the country with whom we were dealing, or with whom he was dealing, had prescribed in its commercial regulations that it would free our vessels from imposts and also from tonnage? That is a regulation of commerce.

Congress, says the Constitution, has the power to regulate commerce, but Congress makes the President of the United States its agent to regulate commerce upon certain terms and conditions which he ascertains to exist; and therefore he does not fix a new rate of duty upon goods coming in from foreign countries, nor does he fix a new rate of tonnage upon ships coming in from foreign countries, but he remits the duties and the tonnage. Now, what does this proposed amendment say? It says that—

In consideration of the advantages accruing to the United States therefrom, shall provide for the reduction during a specified period, not exceeding five years, of the duties imposed by this act, to the extent of not more than 20 per cent thereof.

We have as much right to authorize the President of the United States to remit impost duties levied under this act as we have to authorize him to remit a fine or a penalty or to authorize somebody else to do it. This is not legislation to tax anybody; it is legislation to remove taxation and legislation to remit the proceeds of taxation, so that they shall not come into the Treasury.

When the President and the Senate find out that a foreign government has placed itself in contract or agreement relations with us upon a basis to justify this act on the part of this wise and discriminating agency of the Government of the United States, then this law says—it is not a new law—that those duties shall be remitted. How much? You give to the President, and the Senate in conjunction with him, the authority to say how much. It is a mere instrumentality we establish in dealing here with the constitutional power of the President and the Senate as a treaty-making power, except to ascertain that a valid agreement of this kind has been made with a foreign country.

Suppose we ratify a treaty of that kind and a foreign country does not comply with this act, then it is a nullity; it can not be executed by the act; and not being capable of being executed by the act, and there being no other law to execute that treaty, it would naturally fail, it would amount to nothing—a mere effort that went out in smoke, in thin air.

Now we come to the free list. The President and the Senate have the right to remit absolutely duties imposed by this act and to keep a certain taxed article upon the free list, to provide for its retention on the free list whenever we can make a commercial agreement with them which, in the opinion of these agencies established by this law, is a good one for the benefit of the people of the United States. When the President and the Senate act in accordance with the latter clause of this provision, do they enact any new law? Do they assume to do it? Do they increase the taxation upon the people of the United States, or upon anybody else? There is no change, except merely that we can put articles upon the free list or retain articles already upon the free list, as provided in the terms of the act of Congress. It is confined as follows:

Or shall provide for the transfer during such period from the dutiable list of this act to the free list thereof of such goods, wares, and merchandise, being the natural products of such foreign country or countries and not of the United States; or shall provide for the retention upon the free list of this act during a specified period, not exceeding five years, of such goods, wares, and merchandise now included in said free list as may be designated therein; and when any such treaty shall have been duly ratified, and public proclamation made accordingly, then and thereafter the duties which shall be collected by the United States upon any of the designated goods, wares, and merchandise from the foreign country with which such treaty has been made shall, during the period provided for, be the duties specified and provided for in such treaty, and none other.

That is to say, you can not increase, you can not fix a new rate, you can not fix a new ad valorem percentage upon them. What you can do is to reduce the taxation upon them, or you can put them on the free list, or keep them on the free list.

I have not yet heard that the Government of the United States was so lame and impotent as that it did not have the right or the power to make a remission of revenues coming into its Treasury when that remission was considered to be for the public good.

That is my answer to the able disquisition of the Senator from California [Mr. WHITE] upon that opinion, in which, however, I think he is greatly mistaken as to what the court said, or intended to say, or meant, when he stated that the Supreme Court had determined in that case that the President of the United States could not, under any circumstances, decide upon anything which would change the measure of the administration of the law; not the law itself, but the measure of its administration.

Mr. President, the power of remitter exists all through the Government of the United States. All executive power has almost an inherent right to remit the rights of the United States up to a certain extent, but when it is conferred by a statute, there can be no doubt about it on constitutional grounds.

When the President does a thing of that kind, remits a penalty, or a fine, or a forfeiture, when he directs the Attorney-General to discharge a prosecution, to nolle pros a prosecution, or to discharge a proceeding in rem against a vessel which has been caught in the act of doing some wrong to the public law—all of those things are the exercise not simply of the pardoning power—that is not the power he exercises—it is the power in the name of the Government of the United States to remit penalties, to collect a part of a penalty or to collect all of it, or to remit the whole of it or to remit a part of it, and this act has not proceeded in any respect upon the idea that the President and the Senate were exercising either their ordinary constitutional functions in making treaties, or that they were legislating in any sense at all except as they were empowered as a special tribunal of the Government of the United States to say how much of its revenues might be given away in favor of a country that had projects to offer us that were valuable to the commerce of our country. I regret very much to believe that the Government of the United States is so constrained that it can not exercise for the benefit of this people a power like that.

We who are State-rights men and who look critically upon the powers of the Government of the United States are very apt to fall into error upon these things. But when the power exists, as it is displayed in the statute which I have just read here—which is a case entirely in point and has been often confirmed by the Congress of the United States and never heretofore denied—and we know that it does exist, our duty then is to construe the statute liberally in favor of the promotion of the welfare of the people of the United States. When the question of its nonexistence is presented, then, of course, that is a different matter. I

never ask a Senator a second question when he tells me that on constitutional grounds he can not conscientiously support a measure.

When that objection addresses itself to the conscience of a Senator, I let him alone, because that is a matter which impinges upon his oath of office, his oath to support the Constitution, and I care not to persuade any Senator to give up his views of the Constitution; but when we find a part of this power may be exercised—and I suppose the Senators who have been discussing it with me here this afternoon will not deny that these articles might be constitutionally put on the free list and the duty remitted entirely without engaging in legislation—when the power that we exercise is clearly within the reach of the Congress of the United States, then the next question that addresses itself to my mind is whether the exercise of it is beneficial for the people of this country. If it is, I at once turn and give a liberal construction to that power.

Mr. ALLISON. I hope we shall now have a vote upon the amendment.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question before the Senate is on the amendment proposed by the Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON], on behalf of the Committee on Finance, to strike out section 3 of the bill, on page 190, and insert in lieu thereof a new section. Is the Senate ready for the question?

Mr. TELLER. I do not want to delay this matter, but it seems to me this is not a question that ought to be voted upon with so much haste. I do not want to be placed in the position of delaying this bill in any way or manner, but there are certain things which I should like to have an opportunity of more fully examining before voting upon a question so important as this. However, if the Senate wants to vote upon it, I shall not stand in the way and prevent the vote being taken.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the amendment proposed by the Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON].

Mr. BACON. I call for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BAKER (when his name was called). I am paired upon this question with the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. ALLEN], and therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. HANNA (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Utah [Mr. RAWLINS], and therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. BATE (when the name of Mr. HARRIS of Tennessee was called). My colleague [Mr. HARRIS], who is unable to be here, is paired with the Senator from Vermont [Mr. MORRILL].

Mr. LODGE (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Georgia [Mr. CLAY], and therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. McBRIDE (when his name was called). I am paired for the day with the Senator from Texas [Mr. CHILTON]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. MALLORY (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROCTOR]. If he were present, I should vote "nay."

Mr. MARTIN (when his name was called). I am paired with the senior Senator from Montana [Mr. MANTLE]. If he were present, I should vote "nay."

Mr. PETTUS (when his name was called). I am paired with the senior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR]. If I had the privilege, I should vote "nay."

Mr. FAIRBANKS (when the name of Mr. PLATT of New York was called). I was requested to state that the junior Senator from New York [Mr. PLATT] is paired with his colleague [Mr. MURPHY].

Mr. PRITCHARD (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from South Carolina [Mr. McLAURIN]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. SEWELL (when his name was called). I am paired with the senior Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. MITCHELL]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. SPOONER (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. WALTHALL].

Mr. TURPIE (when his name was called). I am paired with the senior Senator from Minnesota [Mr. DAVIS]. If he were present, I should vote "nay."

Mr. BERRY (when Mr. WALTHALL's name was called). If the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. WALTHALL] were present, he would vote "nay."

Mr. WARREN (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Washington [Mr. TURNER].

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. LODGE. I transfer my pair with the Senator from Georgia [Mr. CLAY] to the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROCTOR], which will enable the Senator from Florida [Mr. MALLORY] and me to vote. I vote "yea."

Mr. MALLORY. I vote "nay."

Mr. PRITCHARD. I transfer my pair with the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. McLAURIN] to the senior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR], which will enable the Senator from Alabama [Mr. PETTUS] and me to vote, if it is agreeable to the Senator. I vote "yea."

Mr. GALLINGER. I have a general pair with the senior Senator from Texas [Mr. MILLS]. I transfer my pair to the Senator from Montana [Mr. CARTER], and will vote. I vote "yea."

Mr. PETTUS. I could not hear what the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. PRITCHARD] said.

Mr. GALLINGER. I will state, in the absence of the Senator from North Carolina, that he suggested that he was paired with the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. McLAURIN], and if agreeable to the Senator from Alabama, the junior Senator from South Carolina and the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] would stand paired, so that the Senator from North Carolina and the Senator from Alabama could vote.

Mr. PETTUS. Under that arrangement I will vote. I vote "nay."

Mr. BACON. I desire to state that my colleague [Mr. CLAY] has been recently called from the Chamber. If he were present, he would vote "nay."

Mr. BURROWS. I am paired with the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. CAFFERY], who has not voted. I transfer my pair to the Senator from Illinois [Mr. MASON], and will allow my vote to stand.

The result was announced—yeas 30, nays 18; as follows:

YEAS—30.

Allison,	Foraker,	Heitfeld,	Pritchard,
Burrows,	Frye,	Lodge,	Quay,
Chandler,	Gallinger,	McMillan,	Shoup,
Clark,	Gray,	Morgan,	Wellington,
Cullom,	Hale,	Nelson,	Wetmore,
Deboe,	Hansbrough,	Penrose,	Wilson.
Elkins,	Harris, Kans.	Perkins,	
Fairbanks,	Hawley,	Platt, Conn.	

NAYS—18.

Bacon,	Daniel,	Mallory,	Teller,
Bate,	Jones, Ark.	Pasco,	Vest,
Berry,	Kenney,	Pettus,	White.
Butler,	Lindsay,	Roach,	
Cockrell,	McEnery,	Stewart,	

NOT VOTING—41.

Aldrich,	George,	Mason,	Spooner,
Allen,	Gorman,	Mills,	Thurston,
Baker,	Hanna,	Mitchell,	Tillman,
Caffery,	Harris, Tenn.	Morrill,	Turner,
Cannon,	Hoar,	Murphy,	Turpie,
Carter,	Jones, Nev.	Pettigrew,	Walthall,
Chilton,	Kyle,	Platt, N. Y.	Warren,
Clay,	McBride,	Proctor,	Wolcott.
Davis,	McLaurin,	Rawlins,	
Faulkner,	Mantle,	Sewell,	
Gear,	Martin,	Smith,	

So the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. CULLOM. If the Senator in charge of the bill is willing, I should like to have a brief executive session.

Mr. ALLISON. I was about to ask consent of the Senate to fix a time when we can finally dispose of the bill in the Senate. I hope we may have unanimous consent that a time may be fixed. I trust we can finish the bill to-morrow.

Mr. TELLER. It is utterly useless for the Senator to ask the Senate to fix a time until we know all the amendments that are to be proposed. I do not intend to delay the passage of the bill, but I do not propose that a lot of amendments shall come in which we will have no opportunity to discuss.

Mr. WHITE. We want to see the bill, of course.

Mr. TELLER. Besides that, we want to see the bill. I will say to the Senator that there is no probability of the Senate being able to vote on the passage of the bill to-morrow.

Mr. ALLISON. I will waive the suggestion, then.

Mr. LINDSAY. I will ask whether it is in order to offer an amendment?

Mr. WHITE. Will the Senator from Kentucky allow me to ask a question of the Senator from Iowa?

Mr. LINDSAY. Certainly.

Mr. WHITE. Would it be possible for the Senator from Iowa to have any amendments which the committee may contemplate offering here to-morrow morning? Of course we have reliable information from the newspapers as to what is going to be done, but it is a little troublesome to have those papers upon our desks, and we find it difficult to read them; and if the Senator from Iowa will present the amendments in the morning or now, so far as I am personally concerned, I would be willing to arrange upon some time. I do not know, however, what the Senator may have in his possession in reference to the bill. I understand that there is an amendment regarding a stamp tax.

I believe yesterday I stated that there would be no antitrust amendment. I am willing personally to rely upon my judgment of the circumstances as to that, but if there are any other amendments coming, we might have them in the morning, and I think a very early arrangement could be had.

